

# **Toward a Reference Grammar of Tok Pisin**

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**Toward a Reference Grammar of  
Tok Pisin:  
An Experiment in  
Corpus Linguistics**

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## PREFACE

The present book has been composed with specific purposes and with a specific readership in mind.

The readership this book addresses is rather more comprehensive than that of professional linguists only. Uppermost in my mind have been nationals of Papua New Guinea who, for whatever reason, are interested in consulting a detailed grammar of Tok Pisin. Their number comprises, apart from linguists, a large number of other highly educated people: public servants, large numbers of those working in education at all levels, experts in the free professions, church leaders, editors, and no doubt many others who, for reasons of their own, are interested in the language.

For such a wider readership there have so far not been many publications. Most publications on Tok Pisin grammar have been written for linguists, and on specific topics. Some popular booklets addressing Tok Pisin grammar more holistically have been of dubious quality. There have been some excellent pedagogical grammars (Litteral 1983, first published 1979; Dutton 1973; Dutton and Thomas 1985; Smith 1989), but they address a different readership and are not works of reference.

The first among good reference studies has been Mihalic's grammar (1983, first published 1971), but it is compendious (being an introduction to the dictionary), and it is no longer completely current. Mihalic's grammar has been an excellent guide for those interested in maintaining "good" Tok Pisin and thus in supporting some kind of "standard" Tok Pisin. This raises the question whether there actually is any such lect as "standard" Tok Pisin—a topic I will return to below.

The specific purposes I have in mind in writing this book are in part determined by the readership I want to address. This book deals with a number of rather complex linguistic problems, and I have tried to make these understandable for highly educated people whose background in linguistics is roughly that of textbooks on grammar for students—English grammar for most. Thus, this book is "pedagogical" not in that it assists those who want to learn the language (although it may be of some use to them as well) but in that it deals with linguistic matters for nonlinguists. Linguists will immediately recognize the generalist assumptions underlying the treatment—largely those of a "functionalist" approach.

Apart from an English textbook tradition of grammar with which most readers are familiar, there is also the complication of the continued use of English in Papua New Guinea, that is, of its continued influence on the development of Tok Pisin. This is a decreolizing influence, ironically, on a language that has not yet creolized in many areas. As a consequence, this book does a fair amount of contrastive analysis: Tok Pisin as compared to English. Some linguists may feel that an adequate grammar of Tok Pisin should not be contrastive; they would want language particulars only. One or two critics of earlier drafts of some chapters have expressed that concern to me. I believe, however, that the issue is not just one of whether contrastive analysis is adequate. Rather, the insistence on language particulars only or mainly will ignore language universals. References in the book

to what some types of construction look like in other languages (not Tok Pisin or English) are not plentiful, but what there is seems to me of importance expositively.

In short, the book is pedagogical in the exposition of a functionalist and universalist approach. It approaches grammar problems against a background of traditional textbook grammars of English. And it studies Tok Pisin grammar contrastively with English, because of the continuing influence of that language on Tok Pisin. While I hope all this is helpful to the reader, the book is admittedly not an easy one. There is, perhaps, no “easy” way to describe Tok Pisin—or any language—in greater detail.

It has seemed to me essential to give a wealth of examples. As for closed lists, I have tried to include all relevant items.

\* \* \*

The data base for this book is a corpus consisting of published Tok Pisin texts. First and foremost there is the new translation of the Bible (Anonymous 1989). Then there are a number of self-help books and booklets, such as *Daunim sik long ples* (Bergmann and Bergmann n.d.), *Save na mekim* (Bergmann 1982, up to p. 364), and a number of smaller booklets: Gwyther-Jones 1976; Lot, Ape’e, and Klein 1984a, 1984b, 1984c, 1984d; Loudon 1985; Matane 1973; Sievert 1971; Tietze 1973, 1976, 1977, 1981. All this adds up to a very large corpus, totaling approximately 1,600,000 words. I have used some data also from the earlier Bible translation (Anonymous 1979), helped by Ramsey’s (1984) concordance.

Some linguists have expressed skepticism about including the Bible translation, precisely because it is a translation, supposedly done under foreign guidance. I do not share that skepticism, for a variety of reasons.

First, the 1979 translation has been done by nationals and foreign guidance has been largely limited to acquisition of funding, coordination, and other forms of logistics of this giant project. It is true that earlier translations (of the New Testament and the Psalms only; Anonymous 1979) were in the hands of foreigners to a far greater extent than has been the case with the 1989 translation, but those translators were natively fluent in Tok Pisin, and selective in the lect chosen, which has been rural Tok Pisin along the North Coast of the mainland. In fact, I have found the 1978 style even more “classical” than the 1989 translation—classical in the sense that rural Tok Pisin in the Mainland North has been followed more consistently.

Second, biblical Tok Pisin has so little variation grammatically that no degree of scholarly expertise could account for its grammatical consistency; only native command can, against a background of informal but apparently firmly established assumptions about what is “good” Tok Pisin. The history of mainland northern rural Tok Pisin remains yet to be recorded in its entirety in published form, but that there has been such a history, and that it is of considerable time depth, seems beyond question.

Third, let it be assumed, merely for the sake of argument, that this biblical lect of Tok Pisin has in part arisen from interference deemed undesirable from (whatever) standpoint of language ecology; even then the results are there to stay. Nationals



have been so consistently exposed (many even weekly) to biblical Tok Pisin that this lect has had a de facto strongly “standardizing” influence—at least receptively.

\* \* \*

These considerations trigger the question: just what is “Tok Pisin”? Variation among dialects, geographically and socially, is very considerable. Some dialects have been surveyed in professional studies; most have not. Both substrate influence and the continuing influence of English account for much of it. Is there a lect that is eligible to serve as a standard?

This book has been written on the assumption that there is, and it is contained in the corpus used, because of its uniformity grammatically. Negatively, I have not used texts from the weekly *Wantok*, which has now for some time been characterized by considerable variation internally and which has increasingly come under anglicizing influence. (Needless to say, this is not a criticism of the language of *Wantok*—it is a different lect.)

Since there is no officially imposed standard of Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea, linguists engaged in standardization projects have looked for a lect that might qualify as a standard form. Notably, linguists on the Committee on Standardization of the University of Papua New Guinea have determined that they consider the lect contained in the corpus like the one used for the present book as a standard. In one of my own publications (Verhaar 1991) I used the term “virtual standard.” It is this Virtual Standard that is described in the present book.

\* \* \*

Data for this book have, almost exclusively, been taken from the corpus. If I have created examples myself, there cannot be more of those than two or three, still based on corpus data, but with replacement of some word not affecting the construction concerned. In some examples that were very long in the original I have left out some subclause or coordinated clause not relevant to the description. Some data I have taken from other sources: three from my audio recordings of conversations (Ch. 6, 1.2, (1) through (3)); one or two others from Dutton and Thomas (1985), and from Mihalic (1983); and one (Ch. 14, 1.1, (1)) from Sankoff and Brown 1976. For Ch. 3, I have entered some morphological forms not attested in the corpus, and taken from Mihalic 1983. The same holds for Ch. 17, in respect to compounds. All these taken together (except for shortened examples) would total hardly more than a dozen. I can track down any example, if needed to settle some point.

Although orthography is fairly constant throughout the corpus, I have made no attempts to make decisions on alternative forms. The only changes I have made are the following: I spell *Nugini*, not *Nu Gini*; *galon*, not *gallon*; *hinsis*, not *hinses*; and *bikkot*, not *bik kot*.

\* \* \*

This book could not have been written without support and encouragement from many. I may specifically mention Tom Dutton, Nicholas Faraclas, and Frank

Mihalic, who have patiently sustained my barrages of ideas (some of them outlandish). Although I have been influenced by many studies on Tok Pisin, I have not in fact used any of them when writing the book, except for an occasional glance at Mihalic 1983 and Dutton and Thomas 1985, to refresh my memory on some point. I cannot recall having opened other books as I was writing. Hence, this book has no notes.

As for glosses of biblical data, I have ignored English translations (indeed, I do not know which one has served as the original for the translators) except for the need occasionally to check on spelling of proper names in English, or to check on some point of idiom. For the latter purpose, in dealing with nonbiblical data, I have occasionally checked *Liklik Buk* (Twohig 1986) for the proper English equivalent of some term found in *Save na mekim*.

I am very grateful to Ger Reesink for having taking the time and trouble to read through more than a dozen chapters in earlier versions. His comments have been very useful to me, and I may well regret later having stuck to my own analyses in certain respects.

Most important has been for me what I have learned from others linguistically more generally. Since this book has no notes, I wish to acknowledge here some publications that have significantly influenced my analysis.

Foley's (1980) study on "ligatures" has much influenced my treatment of attributes of the "linked" type (Chs. 13 and 14), and the idea that all linked attributes are relativizations, though not all are straightforwardly relative clauses. For relative clauses, I have been set on the right course by Sankoff and Brown (1976). For the idea of distinguishing alienable and inalienable possession I have profited from Faraclas 1990 and Romaine 1992 (the English example given in Ch. 12, 2.3.0 is due to Fillmore, but I have lost the reference). Faraclas 1990 has convinced me that Tok Pisin has no "adjectives" and that *-pela* is derivational, not paradigmatic. It was through studying Nichols 1986, on head-marking and dependent-marking languages, that I found further support for not considering *-pela* modifiers as adjectives—if they were, *-pela* would be the only dependent-marking suffix in the language. Finally, the way I have worked with "permanent" and "temporary" mental "files" in Ch. 7, 1.1, to explain the notion of deixis, is due to Talmy Givón (1979). All these publications have been sources of inspiration to me rather than sources of direct borrowing of some particular point. In informal contacts, I owe to Ger Reesink the awareness that verb + *i stap* progressives cannot be negated. For some corrections I am also indebted to an anonymous reader for this Press. Needless to say, none of these linguists are in any way responsible for the way I have used their work.

A brief comment on how I use the term "suppletive" (see Subject Index) may be helpful. I use it in expressions like "verb of suppletive meaning" and "suppletive verb" and "suppletive follow-up [constituent]." The term suppletive is already established in morphology to indicate paradigmatic alternants taken from a different morphological base. In that sense the term is systemic, not structural, and it related to form, not meaning. By contrast, my use of "suppletive" is

structural, not systemic, and relates to meaning, not form. It might have been less confusing if I had chosen a different term, but any alternative I have been able to think of seems inappropriate.

I am very grateful to Lois and Byron Bender for doing a superb editing job.

\* \* \*

I dedicate this book to my friends in Papua New Guinea.  
July 1993

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## 1: THE LANGUAGE

Tok Pisin is a language spoken in Papua New Guinea (PNG), by at least a sizable minority of the people, perhaps by a majority—there seems to be no reliable percentage figure. PNG has over 760 local vernaculars, and the majority of those who speak both Tok Pisin and the local language speak Tok Pisin fluently, having learned the language since childhood. Tok Pisin is one of the two national languages of the nation—the other one being Hiri Motu, which is spoken as a second language along part of the South Coast of the mainland. English is not a national language but, rather, the “official” language: it is used for the transaction of government business, in many large commercial firms, and in education. It is worth noting, however, that the language most used in Parliament is Tok Pisin.

### 1. Name of the Language

As the name suggests, Tok Pisin was originally a “pidgin” language. What a pidgin language is may be explained by considering the origin of Tok Pisin.

About one century ago (or perhaps even earlier), what has developed into what is now Tok Pisin originated in circumstances in which groups of people having no language in common but working together had to communicate with one another somehow. These workers (on plantations, for the most part) adopted, as best they could, part of the vocabulary of their English-speaking employers. But soon they began to develop their own grammar—and also many of the words borrowed from English began to take on somewhat different meanings. A new language arising from circumstances like those among those workers is called a “pidgin.” Tok Pisin is called an “English-based” pidgin because the principal source of the vocabulary was English. (Other pidgin languages in the world are based either on English also or on some other language, such as French, Portuguese, and Spanish.)

There are currently several dozen English-based pidgins in various parts of the world. Such languages are sometimes informally called “pidgin English,” but that expression may be misleading, for no such language is the same as what is commonly called “English.”

Tok Pisin has been variously known as “New Guinea Pidgin,” or “Melanesian Pidgin,” or “Tok Pisin.” The expression “New Guinea Pidgin” was correct from a geographical point of view in earlier times, when Tok Pisin was virtually unknown along the South Coast of the mainland. But that name is less appropriate now, since the language has been spreading in the South as well. Also, as noted, it is one of the national languages of PNG. The expression “Melanesian Pidgin” also seems inappropriate, since Tok Pisin is only one dialect of Melanesian Pidgin—the other two major dialects are Solomon Islands Pidgin, and Bislama (spoken in Vanuatu).

Another point needs to be made here. Names given to languages are distinguished as “exonyms” and “endonyms.” An exonym is the name of the language given to it by outsiders, not by its own speakers; an endonym is the name given

to it by its own speakers. Thus, for example, the endonym of English is “English,” but in Tok Pisin we use, for English, the exonym “Tok Inglis”; in French, “anglais,” and so forth.

Normally, non-speakers of a particular language use (their own) exonym for that language; thus, in English we speak of “French,” not of “français.” Of the Tok Pisin names mentioned above, “Melanesian Pidgin” or “New Guinea Pidgin” are (English-language) exonyms for Tok Pisin. But because these exonyms seem inappropriate, the endonym “Tok Pisin” has increasingly come to be the name of this language internationally—in other words, the endonym “Tok Pisin” has become its exonym also, and we adopt it in the present book throughout.

There is another advantage to using “Tok Pisin” as the name of this language. As a proper name, “Tok Pisin” loses the original meaning of “pidgin” (from which, of course, “pisin” derives). A “pidgin” language is, as is clear from the above, the native language of none of its speakers. After some time, however, children of those nonnative speakers learn the pidgin as their first language—in other words, that new generation speaks the “pidgin” natively.

This process is called “creolization”: the pidgin has creolized, it has become a creole language. Tok Pisin is now (at least in various parts of PNG) a creole. But its original exonyms still contain the expression “pidgin.” In the endonym “Tok Pisin,” however, “Pisin” is just a proper name, and does not have the connotation any more of a “pidgin” language. And this is another reason why “Tok Pisin” is an appropriate name for the language.

## 2. Standard Form of Tok Pisin

Any language characteristically has a variety of dialects. Dialects are distinguished as “geographical” dialects and as “social” dialects. Geographical dialects are characteristic of certain geographical areas—thus, the Sepik and New Ireland dialects of Tok Pisin are different in various ways. Social dialects are related to the social status of speakers. Thus Tok Pisin of the “bush” and “rural” and “urban” varieties are to a large extent characterized by social class rather than by geography.

Many languages have one particular dialect (perhaps characterizable geographically, but mainly socially) that is considered the standard form of the language. That is, the standard is the dialect used in the transaction of official business, in education, and the like. Though many people tend to consider the standard as the only “correct” form of the language (and significantly would not call it a “dialect”), such views must be seen as inspired by social prejudice. Any dialect, geographical or social, is as correct as any other. The advantage of having a standard form of a language is only the purely practical one of uniformity, at least for the kind of social processes that benefit from uniformity, such as in the transaction of business affecting all, or in education, and the like.

Many languages, such as English, for example, have the standard form documented in dictionaries, grammars, and textbooks used in schools—we could say

that the standard is “codified”; in many countries the government tends to have a hand in enforcing such a standard.

Tok Pisin has no standard form that is in any way officially imposed. The spelling, however, was at one time in the past determined officially by the Administration, but it is not now officially imposed or even followed. This is understandable, because Tok Pisin is the language of neither official government business nor education.

Nevertheless, there is one dialect of Tok Pisin that has been remarkably stable and uniform over many years. This form has had a history and a tradition that is not clear yet in all respects, but which came to be widely accepted since it has been described in word lists and grammars. The most widely used work of this kind is F. Mihalic’s grammar and dictionary (see the reference to it in the Preface).

Recent published Tok Pisin texts are remarkably consistent with that tradition, with some influence in some respects, no doubt, of those word lists and grammars, but in large part, most likely, because they go back to the same kind of sources on which those word lists and grammars were based.

We find this dialect of Tok Pisin represented in many self-help books and booklets, and in what has by now become a literary monument, the Bible translation. This unofficial standard may be called the “virtual standard” of Tok Pisin. It is in many ways already considered, for a variety of practical purposes, as the standard, even though in no way officially so far. It is this virtual standard of Tok Pisin that is described in the present grammar.

### **3. Tok Pisin and Its Social “Lects”**

As noted above, dialects may be distinguished as geographical and social; and social dialects are called that because each of them is characteristic of social status of its speakers.

Social dialects in pidgin and creole languages are typically determined by the influence of the language its vocabulary was based on—the source language, often called the “lexifier” language. For Tok Pisin, the lexifier language is English.

In pidgins that are in process of creolization, one would expect the influence of the lexifier language to diminish over time. However, often this does not happen, because of the continuing social influence of the lexifier language. Thus, the influence of English in PNG is still strong, especially in government circles and in education, and in urban areas geographically. As a consequence, there are social dialects, such that they are distinguished according to the measure of influence they are undergoing from English.

Such dialects are often distinguished in three social levels, called the “acrolect” (the highest, with the strongest influence from the lexifier language), the “mesolect” (where that influence is less), and the “basilect” (where it is least). Thus, we may speak of “acrolectal,” “mesolectal,” and “basilectal” forms of a pidgin or creole language.

Tok Pisin also has such levels. Because English continues to have a strong function in PNG, some forms of Tok Pisin are typically acrolectal. One may often hear such acrolectal Tok Pisin used in urban areas (at least by the well-to-do there), in informal speech in government circles, and in Parliament. Mesolectal forms of Tok Pisin are typically used in rural areas, and in circles where Tok Pisin is used rather than English, especially in church circles. It is more difficult to name areas or circles where we would find basilectal Tok Pisin. That is to say, there is a variety called “bush pidgin” (used in some of the more remote inland areas), but these are perhaps better not considered as basilectal, since Tok Pisin there is still used less than the local vernacular.

The virtual standard type of Tok Pisin described in this book is rather characteristically mesolectal. The influence from English grammar (as different from the vocabulary) is minimal. In contrast, vocabulary loans from English continue to increase in that virtual standard. As a consequence, inevitably, this virtual standard is not wholly untouched by acrolectal influence.



## 2: SOUNDS AND SPELLINGS

### 1. Orthography

In pre-Independence times in what is now PNG, some standards for Tok Pisin spelling had already been laid down by the then Administration, for the first time in February 1955—they were slightly revised afterwards. Hence Tok Pisin is now remarkably uniform in spelling, at least in texts composed with concern for uniformity—published texts first and foremost among them. In other texts composed without such concern, as in letters, or texts circulated in restricted circles, there is a great deal of variation. This is understandable, since Tok Pisin is not taught in schools and is used there only incidentally and informally. In circles with concern for orthography, spelling problems have often been settled with the help of F. Mihalic's Tok Pisin dictionary.

The alphabet of Tok Pisin is the Roman alphabet, omitting from those 26 characters the following: *c*, *q*, *x*, and *z*. In fact, however, the *c* is in use, in such abbreviations as *cm*, in full form *sentimita* 'centimeter'—the abbreviation *\*sm* is never used. *C* also occurs in expressions like *vaitamin C* 'vitamin C', or in an expression like *bihainim a-b-c*, which means 'to follow the alphabetical order'. It seems obvious, then, that *c* is indispensable in Tok Pisin orthography even though it is limited to just a few expressions. Thus, the Tok Pisin alphabet consists of 23 characters. There are no diacritical symbols (such as accents). From the point of view of ongoing standardization, however, it is clear that even *q*, *x* and *z* are obvious symbols available where they are needed—as they could be in, for example, texts on mathematics.

The standard orthography is the one used throughout the present book. Tok Pisin orthography bases spelling on pronunciation rather than on spelling of the English original: Tok Pisin spelling is (fairly) phonetic.

It is especially vowel characters that rather differ from English spelling, as we may see immediately in Tok Pisin words deriving from English. Thus, *u* in English *cup* appears as *a* in Tok Pisin *kap* 'cup'; *oo* in English *moon* appears as *u* in Tok Pisin *mun* 'moon, month'; English *ea* as in *mean* or *ee* as in *feet* appear as *i* in *min* 'to mean' and *fit* 'foot'; *ou* as in English *house* in Tok Pisin appears as *au* as in *haus* 'house'; *i* as in English *like* becomes *ai* in Tok Pisin, as in *laik* 'to like, will, shall'; and so forth.

For a speaker of English who learns Tok Pisin these differences at first take some getting used to, but after a while Tok Pisin spelling becomes easy—the reason is that it is simple and almost entirely consistent, whereas English orthography is exceptional in respect to its disharmony between spelling and pronunciation.

For consonant characters, pronunciation is in the majority of cases the guide for Tok Pisin spelling as well. For example, final *d* and *g* in English words like *hide* and *bag* appear in Tok Pisin orthography as *t* (as in *hait* 'to hide, hidden, secret') and *k* (as in *bek*)—a notable exception is *God* 'God', where *d* has

consistently been retained, although its pronunciation is *t*. Consonants not pronounced in English (for certain occurrences of the character *r*, at least in British and Australian English) are dropped: as in *doti* ‘dirty’; *foti* ‘forty’; and so forth. Other consonant characters pronounced in English but not in Tok Pisin are dropped in Tok Pisin orthography; for example, English *amount* appears in Tok Pisin as *amaun*—Tok Pisin has no consonant cluster *-nt* word-finally.

Orthography of Tok Pisin has not been internally consistent in every detail. Thus, for example, what is ‘family’ in English appears sometimes as *famili*, sometimes as *femili*.

Various topics now need some explanation in more detail. First, the English and Tok Pisin vowel systems are compared, and the consequences for Tok Pisin orthography reviewed (1.1); then, the same is done for the consonant systems of the two languages (1.2). Next, some notes are made on the sound structure of Tok Pisin words (1.3). This chapter concludes with some remarks on Tok Pisin pronunciation (2).

### 1.1 English and Tok Pisin Vowel Systems and Their Spelling

Vowel sounds are distinguished as “simple vowels” and “diphthongs.” Diphthongs are vowels with a change of the vowel quality between onset and end; examples in English are the vowels in *house*, *oats*, *boy*, *here*, *there*, *poor*, *bore*, *play*. All the other vowels are simple vowels, as in *sleep*, *slip*, *bet*, *bat*, *arm*, *hoot*, *foot*, *awe*, *hot*, *ahead* (first syllable). See any introductory handbook of English phonetics, for a description of these vowels.

Tok Pisin has fewer vowels than English. Simple vowels in Tok Pisin are spelled as *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u*. Examples: *papa* ‘father, owner’; *belo* ‘bell’, *liklik* ‘little, small’, *dok* ‘dog’, *tuptup* ‘cover, lid’. The Tok Pisin diphthongs are: *ai*, *au*, and *oi*. Examples: *lait* ‘light’; *haus* ‘house’; *boi* ‘boy, male worker’.

Tok Pisin, then, has five simple vowels as against ten in English; and three diphthongs as against eight in English—that is to say, as represented by Tok Pisin orthography (on pronunciation, see 2). Thus the Tok Pisin character *a* appears in *glas* ‘glass’ and in *alta* ‘altar’; *e* appears in *bek* ‘back’, *bet* ‘bed’, and *nem* ‘name’; Tok Pisin *i* in *bik* ‘big’ and *fit* ‘foot’ (derived from the English plural *feet*); Tok Pisin *o* is found in *kot* ‘court’ but also in *kot* ‘coat’, and in *dok* ‘dog’; Tok Pisin *u* in *mun* ‘moon’ and in *gut* ‘good’. The point here is to remember that these Tok Pisin examples are derived from the English words that serve as glosses for them—such loans serve our purpose here: to show how vowels different in English “merge” in Tok Pisin. (However, there are many Tok Pisin words that are not borrowings from English, or they are but with different glosses.)

Note that the English diphthong occurring in *oats* is occasionally spelled *ou* in Tok Pisin: *outs* ‘oats’; *hupou* ‘hoopoe’. The introduction of this spelling seems to be recent. The word *epa* ‘stingray’, is sometimes spelled *eipa*—representing only a simple vowel in the pronunciation of many speakers of Tok Pisin.

When two characters serve to represent one sound, we call two such characters a “digraph”—in the case of vowels, a “vocalic digraph.” Both English

and Tok Pisin have digraphs for diphthongs. English has also digraphs for simple vowels in many words, such as *ee* in *meet*, *ea* in *meat*, *oo* in *moon*, and so forth. In contrast, Tok Pisin has no vocalic digraphs except for diphthongs, and for all of them.

However, two vowel characters in succession need not be a digraph, in either language. Thus in English *rearm*, *e* and *a* represent different vowels. Tok Pisin, too, has such vowel characters in succession representing different (simple) vowels, but only when the suffix *-im* is preceded by a vowel: *baim* ‘to buy’; *selaim* ‘to catch’; *potoim* ‘to photograph’; *traim* ‘to try’. (Note that *baim* and *traim* drop one *i*; not \**baiim* or \**traaim*.)

## 1.2 English and Tok Pisin Consonant Systems

For the system of consonants in English, see an introductory handbook of English phonetics. There will also be an explanation there of “voiced” consonants (like *b*, *d*, *z*, and so forth) and “voiceless” consonants (like *p*, *t*, *s*, and so forth), of “laminals” (like *sh* in *ship*) and of “affricates” (a plosive consonant followed by a release (like *tch* in *catch*)—we will need these terms in what follows.

Several consonants found in English are not found in Tok Pisin: the *th* sound (whether voiced, as in *there*, or voiceless, as in *thin*); and the laminal *sh* sound (as in *fish*) and its voiced counterpart (as in *pleasure*).

Also, consider the affricates consisting of the two laminals just mentioned as a release after *t* (as in *catch*) or after *d* (as in *judge*). The voiceless affricate of this kind is not found in Tok Pisin (*was* ‘to watch’)—in any position. But the voiced affricate is found in Tok Pisin word-initially (*jas* ‘judge’) or word-medially (*ajenda* ‘agenda’), but not word-finally (*jas* ‘judge’).

Next, in Tok Pisin, there is a great deal of variation between the *p* and *f* sounds. The *f* character (which occurs only word-initially) typically represents the lip-teeth *f* sound (as in *foa* ‘four’, *finga* ‘finger’, and so forth), but orthographic *p* is often either the *f* sound, or the *p* sound, or a sound in between, produced with both lips (bilabially), by blowing air between them. There is much dialectical difference in this regard. Many speakers of Tok Pisin pronounce the *p* of the *-pela* suffix with such a “bilabial *f*” (as it may be called), but many others pronounce the *p* sound; examples *dispela* ‘this’; *bikpela* ‘large, big’; and so forth).

English has many consonantal digraphs; for example, there is the *th* for just one consonant sound; there is *ph* (as in *graph*, or in *phase*), and there are “doubles,” like *ss* (*hiss*), *zz* (*buzz*), and *ff* (*waffle*). In contrast, Tok Pisin has only one consonantal digraph: *ng* (pronounced like the final sound in English *hang*), as in *singsing* ‘dance, song’. However, the orthographic combination *ng*, as in *pinga* ‘finger’ may also represent two sounds: *ng* in *pinga* is pronounced approximately as in its English original, *finger*.

## 1.3 The Sound Structure of Tok Pisin Words

Languages differ not only in the kinds of sounds they have, but also in where these sounds can be used within word boundaries. For example, English has the

consonant spelled *ng*, as in *sing* and *singer* (word-finally and word-medially), but not word-initially: no English word begins with this consonant. The use of sounds within word boundaries is called the “distribution” of those sounds. It is this distribution, in Tok Pisin, that determines the sound “structure” of Tok Pisin words.

There are a variety of such structure laws in Tok Pisin, but our focus is now only on those laws (obtaining in words borrowed from English) that are different from those obtaining in the English original. In what follows we discuss two laws:

[1] Tok Pisin has no word-final voiced consonants

English *hide* becomes *hait*, *bed* becomes *bet*, *road* becomes *rot*, *judge* becomes *jas*, *bridge* become *bris*, *beads* become *bis*, *bag* becomes *bek*, *believe* becomes *bilip*. (Also the word *God* ‘God’ ends in the *t* sound, even though orthographically the character *d* is retained.)

[2] Tok Pisin has no word-final consonant clusters

English *amount* becomes *amaun*, *beads* becomes *bis*, *axe* becomes *akis*, *box* (or *fox*) becomes *bokis*; *dance* becomes *danis*; *six* becomes *sikis*.

Acrolectal Tok Pisin has some exceptions to these laws. Thus, English *accounts* becomes *akauns*; *allowance* becomes *alawans*; *defense* becomes *difens*; *against* becomes *egens*; *highlands* becomes *hailans*; *independence* becomes *indipendens*; *inch* or *inches* becomes *ins*; and so forth. Some of these, acrolectal though they are, are obviously there to stay.

A last point about the sound structure of words concerns a matter that is of no importance for a contrastive view of Tok Pisin and English. It is that of what may be called “phonetic reduplication.” Reduplication in Tok Pisin may also be morphological, and even phrasal. As an example of morphological reduplication consider *brukbruk* ‘to fall apart in little pieces’. This is an instance of morphological reduplication, because there is also a simple form *bruk* ‘to break [intr.], to fall apart’. Now consider the word *demdem* ‘snail’; since that is not derived from any word *\*dem*, the form *demdem* is an instance of (merely) phonetic reduplication and can thus be treated only under the heading of the sound structure of words. Here follows the class of the *demdem* type:

- (1) *bombom* ‘coconut frond’; *bukbuk* ‘[type of] timber tree’; *demdem* ‘snail’; *gaugau* ‘bizzard’; *kawawar* ‘ginger, ginger root’; *kongkong* ‘Chinese’; *kotkot* ‘small crow, raven’; *kuskus* ‘secretary’; *laulau* ‘Malay apple tree’; *liklik* ‘little, small’; *limlimbur* ‘to stroll, to walk’; *longlong* ‘confused, crazy, mad’; *malumalu(m)* ‘soft, tender’; *mama* ‘mother, woman’; *marimari* ‘compassionate, to pity’; *matmat* ‘grave’; *mumu* ‘ground oven’; *musmus* ‘bedbug’; *natnat* ‘mosquito’; *papa* ‘father’; *pekpek* ‘to empty one’s bowels’; *pispis* ‘to urinate’; *pitpit* ‘wild cane’; *popo* ‘papaya tree, papaya fruit’; *pukpuk* ‘crocodile’; *puspus* ‘sexual

intercourse, to have sexual intercourse'; *saksak* 'sago'; *seksek* 'to bounce, (to be) nervous'; *sipsip* 'sheep'; *supsup* 'arrow, spear'; *tuptup* 'cover'

The main purpose of giving this list here is to get it out of the way, so that we won't have to consider it any more when dealing with (nonphonetic) reduplication later (Ch. 17, 7).

## 2. Some Remarks on Tok Pisin Pronunciation

In the present chapter, we are not reviewing the vowel and consonant systems of Tok Pisin. There are several reasons for this. First, this chapter is about orthography mainly. Second, this chapter must be short: this book is about grammar. Third, Tok Pisin pronunciation varies a good deal according to geographical dialect (where it is heavily influenced by the local vernacular(s)), as well as according to social dialects: speakers of acrolectal Tok Pisin normally know English well and their Tok Pisin pronunciation is influenced accordingly.

What follows below is a set of topics that I hope are useful by way of brief information. They may be phrased as follows:

[1] Tok Pisin makes no difference between short and long vowels, the way English does. Thus, while English *moon* has a long vowel and *book* a short vowel, this difference does not appear between Tok Pisin *mun* and *buk*. In both words, the vowel is typically short.

[2] Tok Pisin makes no difference between high and low vowels, the way English does in certain pairs. The English vowel system has pairs differing only (or mainly) in that they are "high" or "low" (the "height" of a vowel is the distance between palate and tongue in the articulation of a vowel). Such pairs in English are: *bad* and *bed*; *bag* and *beg*. Tok Pisin does not make that difference: *bek* 'back', 'bag'; *het* 'head'. Another English pair differing only (or mainly) in height is heard in *strong* and *court*. Again, Tok Pisin makes no such difference: *strong* 'strong'; *kot* 'court'.

[3] Tok Pisin has simple vowels in borrowed words where the English original may have certain diphthongs. Thus, the diphthongs pronounced in English *name* or *bake*, in some dialects at least, are simple vowels in Tok Pisin; *nem* 'name', *bekri* 'bakery'. So are the diphthongs sometimes heard in English *coat* and *stone*. In Tok Pisin there are no diphthongs in such words: *kot* 'coat'; *ston* 'stone'.

### 3: MORPHOLOGY

Grammar consists of two principal parts: “morphology” and “syntax.”

Morphology is the grammatical organization of words within words; thus, it is about parts of words (apart from mere sounds)—such parts we call “morphemes.” In contrast, syntax is the grammatical organization of words among themselves, in groups of words called “phrases,” and of words and phrases within sentences; thus, syntax is about how phrases and sentences are organized. Syntax is discussed in Chs. 4 through 16; morphology is discussed in the present chapter, and taken up again in Ch. 17. Chs. 18 through 24 are about syntax again.

A few examples of the structure of English words may introduce some basic notions of morphology. The word *uncomfortable* consists of the part *un-* plus *comfortable*, while *comfortable* in its turn consists of *comfort* and *-able*. Note the dashes after *un-* and before *-able*: the dash is added to show that part of a word cannot occur by itself. We call such forms “bound” forms—forms like *comfort* and *comfortable*, which may occur by themselves, are called “free” forms. Most (but not all) bound forms are of a kind called “affixes.” Affixes are of various sorts; thus *un-* is a “prefix” and *-able* is a “suffix.”

It is tempting to consider forms that can have affixes as “words,” and thus as free forms. Free forms are certainly words, but the converse is not necessarily the case: some words are not free. Consider English words like *conclude*, *exclude*, *include* and *preclude*; one would recognize *con-*, *ex-*, *in-* and *pre-* as prefixes, and that is what they are—we find them also in many other words, such as *consume*, *expose*, *inform*, and *presume*. But the core (or the “base”) *\*clude* never occurs freely (any more than does *\*sume*). Nevertheless *\*clude* is the very center of *exclude*, *conclude*, *include*, and *preclude*; but it never occurs freely and so we may call it a “preword” of “preform.”

Morphology thus comprises, as building blocks: free forms, preforms, and affixes. The results of building with them are: forms with one or more affixes; compounds; and reduplications; reduplications may be considered one particular type of compounds.

Compounds are not invariably easy to distinguish from phrases—that is, word groups. On compounds (including reduplications) see Ch. 17.

As for Tok Pisin, its morphology has free forms, preforms, and affixes—as it happens, all affixes are suffixes. An inventory of those suffixes appears in 1; then, in 2 through 5, individual suffixes of various kinds are described.

#### 1. Tok Pisin Suffixes

As noted, the only affixes in Tok Pisin are suffixes. Affixation may serve either of two purposes: that of “inflection”; and that of “derivation.” It is easy to understand the difference between them by analyzing a few examples of English.

Consider the forms *clean*, *clean-s*, and *clean-ed*. The *-s* is for third person subject, and the *-ed* is for past tense, or past participle. Clearly, these three forms are

not three different words; rather, they are three different forms of one and the same word. The *-s* and *-ed* suffixes are inflectional; that is to say, these suffixes do not change the word *clean* into different words. Thus, the *-s* and *-ed* forms are inflectional forms of the same word: that is, of the verb *to clean*.

Next, consider *friend*, *friend-ly*, *friend-li-ness*, and *be-friend*. The first is a noun; the second, an adjective; the third, a noun again; the fourth, a verb. Though these four forms have the same base in common, that is, *friend*, these forms are nevertheless not just four forms of the “same” word—they are four different words. Hence we say that the suffixes *-ly* and *-ness*, and the prefix *be-*, are derivational; that is, they derive one word from another.

Tok Pisin has no inflectional affixes, it only has derivational affixes—and, once again, all of them are suffixes.

### 1.1 Tok Pisin Suffixes: Inventory

Tok Pisin suffixes are conveniently distinguished as the “original” ones (which have been in the language since earlier stages of its development), and the “recent” ones (which have appeared in the language at later stages). Table 1 shows the former; Table 2, the latter.

As Table 1 shows, most derivations (i.e. all except *-pela*) yield verbs, (and, in the case of *-im*, also some nouns); *-pela* yields a class of words we may call “modifiers” (to nouns), and, through them, nouns; and also pronouns and numerals.

In Table 2 are listed the more recent suffixes in Tok Pisin. They, too, are all derivational: *-a* derives actor nouns; *-ari* and *-ia*, person nouns; *-esen/-esin*, *-ing* and *-men*, nouns of various kinds; *-dom*, abstract nouns; *-all/-el*, modifiers; *-eri*, *-s* and *-sip*, a variety of nouns; *-sal*, both nouns and modifiers of nouns, of various kinds; *-tin*, the numerals from 13 through 19, from *ten*; and *-ti*, numerals that are multiples of ten.

The suffix *-pela* is treated in Section 2 and *-im* in Section 3. All the others listed in Table 1 are treated in Section 4, and those listed in Table 2 in Section 5.

## 2. The Suffix *-pela*

The suffix *-pela* is used to form a limited number of modifiers to nouns (2.1), some pronouns (2.3), and a variety of numerals (2.4).

TABLE 1. INVENTORY OF ORIGINAL TOK PISIN SUFFIXES

SUFFIX	TO DERIVE
<i>-an</i>	verbs
<i>-awel/-ewel/-owe</i>	verbs
<i>-im</i>	verbs ( → nouns)
<i>-pela</i>	nominal modifiers ( → nouns) pronouns

## 2.1 Noun Modifiers Marked by *-pela*

Modifier here is the name for a word that characterizes a noun, either attributively (we also say, as an attribute), or predicatively (or, as a predicate). To understand these terms, consider the English expressions *a red flower* and *the flower is red*; in them, *red* modifies (or, is a modifier of) *flower*. In English we may call *red* an adjective, but that may not be a very good name for its Tok Pisin counterpart. To avoid that term, let us use the term “modifier.” (For the sake of convenience, let us use the same term for adjectives in English as well.)

In *a red flower*, the modifier *red* is used attributively, or as an attribute. It attaches itself to *flower* (in the same phrase; on phrases, see Chs. 11 through 16). In *the flower is red*, the modifier *red* is used predicatively, or as a predicate. That is to say, it modifies *flower* through the copula verb *is*; (it is not in the same phrase as *flower*).

Modifiers marked by *-pela*, like their English adjectival cousins, may be used either attributively or (for most of them also) predicatively.

As noted, *-pela* modifiers to nouns are used attributively (as in *naispela haus* ‘beautiful house’) or predicatively (as in *dispela haus i naispela* ‘this house is beautiful’). However, these *-pela* modifiers show several subclasses. Some (like *bikpela*) must take *-pela* in both positions (or, as we say, *-pela* is obligatory in those positions). For other such modifiers (like *patpela*), *-pela* is obligatory in attributive position, but optional in predicative position (that is, in that position *-pela* may, but need not, be used). Yet another subclass (example: *dotipela*) has the *-pela* form obligatorily in attributive position, but *-pela* is prohibited in predicative position (that is, it must not be used in that position).

All *-pela* attributes precede the noun they modify. (There is also a different construction: noun plus the “linker” *i* plus the *-pela* attribute. That construction is discussed in Ch. 13, 1.1.1, and is further ignored here.)

Most *-pela* modifiers have *-pela* attached to forms of one syllable only (called monosyllables, or monosyllabic forms); but some such forms are polysyllabic

TABLE 2. INVENTORY OF RECENT TOK PISIN SUFFIXES

SUFFIX	TO DERIVE
<i>-a</i>	[actor] nouns
<i>-ari</i>	person nouns
<i>-all-el</i>	modifiers
<i>-dom</i>	[abstract] nouns
<i>-eri</i>	nouns
<i>-esen/-esin</i>	[abstract] nouns
<i>-ia</i>	[person] nouns
<i>-ing</i>	abstract nouns
<i>-men</i>	nouns
<i>-s</i>	nouns
<i>-sal</i>	modifiers and nouns
<i>-sip</i>	abstract nouns
<i>-ti</i>	numerals
<i>-tin</i>	numerals



(that is, they consist of more than one syllable)—in fact, as it happens, all of those (few) consist of two syllables only (those are disyllabic).

### 2.1.1 Noun Modifiers Marked by *-pela*: Inventory

Table 3 lists all noun modifiers taking *-pela* obligatorily in attributive position (except for *tru* occurring after the noun), and marked “obligatory,” “optional,” or “prohibited,” depending on the status of the *-pela* suffix predicatively. Some items are distinguished as “1” or “2,” for difference in meaning. Those differences appear from the examples given in 2.1.2. *Gol* is not used predicatively as a modifier, with or without *-pela*—see end of this subsection.

Entries marked with the “#” symbol are preforms: they do not occur freely; that is, they do not occur without *-pela* (or some other suffix)—unless they are used in compounds (see Ch. 17, 1.1).

Note: *sap* + *-pela* results orthographically in *sapela*, not *\*sappela*. As for *flet-pela*, *golpela* and *stingpela* used predicatively, it seems to be rare or nonexistent, with or without *-pela*.

Finally, a few other *-pela* modifiers have been recorded by researchers; examples: *krungutpela* ‘bent, crooked’; *orenspele* ‘orange(-colored)’; but forms like these seem to be rare, either attributively or predicatively, and they are ignored in Table 3 and in 2.1.2.

For more about items with optional *-pela* in predicate position, see Ch. 7, 3.

### 2.1.2 Noun Modifiers Marked by *-pela*: Examples

The following contains examples of each of the modifiers listed in Table 3; of each, attributive use is illustrated in a; predicative use, in b. (In (38), c and d are added, for reasons clear from the examples; also, predicative *gut* occurs only after *stap*.) Parentheses around *-pela* symbolize that *-pela* is optional.

- (1) a. *bikpela taun* ‘large town’  
 b. *gaden i bikpela* ‘the garden is large’  
 (2) a. *blakpela klaut* ‘dark cloud’  
 b. *klaut i blak(pela)* ‘the cloud is dark’

TABLE 3. THE USE OF *-PELA* WITH NOUN MODIFIERS

MODIFIER	PREDICATIVELY		
	OBLIGATORY	OPTIONAL	PROHIBITED
# <i>bik</i>	+		
<i>blak</i>		+	
# <i>blu</i>	+		
<i>brait</i>		+	
<i>braun</i>	+		
<i>brot</i>		+	
<i>doti</i>			+

MODIFIER	PREDICATIVELY		
	OBLIGATORY	OPTIONAL	PROHIBITED
<i>drai-1</i>			+
<i>#drai-2</i> [=tra <i>i</i> ]	+		
<i>flet</i>			not applicable
<i>gol</i>			not applicable
<i>grin</i>		+	
<i>gut</i>		+	
<i>hat-1</i>		+	
<i>hat-2</i>	+		
<i>hevi</i>			+
<i>hot</i> [= <i>hat-1</i> ]	+		
<i>isi</i>			+
<i>klia</i>			+
<i>klin</i>		+	
<i>kol</i>		+	
<i>las</i>			+
<i>liklik</i>		+	
<i>#long</i>	+		
<i>mau</i>		+	
<i>nais</i>		+	
<i>#nu</i>	+		
<i>#ol</i>	+		
<i>pat</i>		+	
<i>raun</i>	+		
<i>ret</i>		+	
<i>sap</i>			+
<i>smat</i>		+	
<i>smol</i>		+	
<i>sot</i>	+		
<i>sting</i>			not applicable
<i>stret-1</i>			+
<i>#stret-2</i>	+		
<i>strong-1</i>	+		
<i>strong-2</i>			+
<i>swit-1</i>	+		
<i>swit-2</i>			+
<i>tait</i>		+	
<i>#tra<i>i</i></i>	+		
<i>tru-1</i>			+
<i>tru-2</i>			not applicable
<i>wait</i>		+	
<i>#yang</i>	+		
<i>yelo</i>		+	

- (3) a. *blupela dres* ‘blue dress’  
b. *dres i blupela* ‘the dress is blue’
- (4) a. *braitpela dua* ‘wide gate’  
b. *dua i brait(pela)* ‘the gate is wide’
- (5) a. *braunpela banis* ‘brown wall’  
b. *banis i braunpela* ‘the wall is brown’
- (6) a. *brotpela rot* ‘wide road’  
b. *rot i brot(pela)* ‘the road is wide’
- (7) a. *ol dotipela pasin* ‘ways which make one unclean’  
b. *em i kamap doti* ‘he became unclean’
- (8) a. *draipela klos* ‘dry clothes’  
b. *nek bilong mi i drai* ‘I am thirsty’ [‘my neck is dry’]
- (9) a. *draipela pik* ‘enormous pig’  
b. *pik i draipela* ‘the pig is fat’
- (10) a. *ol fletpela ston* ‘flat stone’
- (11) a. *golpela tret* ‘gold-colored thread’
- (12) a. *grinpela sayor* ‘green vegetables’  
b. *sayor i grin(pela)* ‘the vegetables are green’
- (13) a. *gutupela kaikai* ‘good food’  
b. *kaikai i gutpela* ‘the food is good’  
c. *em i stap gut* ‘she is well’
- (14) a. *hatpela plet* ‘hot plate’  
b. *plet i hat(pela)* ‘the plate is hot’
- (15) a. *hatpela taim* ‘hard times [i.e. time of hardship]’  
b. *dispela taim em i hatpela* ‘these times are hard’
- (16) a. *olgeta hevipela samting* ‘all burdens’  
b. *han i hevi tru* ‘the branch is very heavy’
- (17) a. *isipela rot* ‘an easy way [of doing something]’  
b. *dispela rot i no isi* ‘this way [of doing it] is not easy’
- (18) a. *kliapela tingting* ‘clear thinking’  
b. *tok i klia* ‘the statement is clear’
- (19) a. *klinpela bet* ‘clean bed’  
b. *bet i klin(pela)* ‘the bed is clean’
- (20) a. *kolpela wara* ‘cold water’  
b. *wara i kol(pela)* ‘the water is cold’
- (21) a. *laspela wik* ‘the last week [of a total of weeks]’  
b. *em i las bilong ol* ‘he was the last of them’
- (22) a. *liklikpela stretpela baret* ‘a little straight drain’  
b. *tomato i kamap liklik(pela) tasol* ‘the tomatoes will be small’
- (23) a. *longpela tepmesa* ‘long tape measure’  
b. *tepmesa i longpela* ‘the tape measure is long’
- (24) a. *maupela banana* or *banana mau* ‘ripe banana’  
b. *banana i mau(pela)* ‘the banana is ripe’
- (25) a. *naispela laplap* ‘beautiful dress’  
b. *laplap i nais(pela)* ‘the room is nice’

- (26) a. *nupela haus lotu* ‘new church’  
 b. *haus lotu i nupela* ‘the church is new’
- (27) a. *olpela ka* ‘old car’  
 b. *ka i olpela* ‘the car is old’
- (28) a. *patpela man* ‘fat man’  
 b. *man i pat(pela)* ‘the man is fat’
- (29) a. *raunpela tebol* ‘round table’  
 b. *tebol i raunpela* ‘the table is round’
- (30) a. *retpela plaua* ‘red flower’  
 b. *plaua i ret(pela)* ‘the flower is red’
- (31) a. *sapela naip* ‘sharp knife’  
 b. *naip i sap* ‘the knife is sharp’
- (32) a. *smatpela manki* ‘smart boy’  
 b. *manki i smat(pela)* ‘the boy is smart’
- (33) a. *smolpela laplap* ‘small cloth’  
 b. *laplap i smol(pela)* ‘the cloth is small’
- (34) a. *sotpela baklain* ‘short rope’  
 b. *baklain i sotpela* ‘the rope is short’
- (35) a. *stingpela pasin* ‘loathsome behavior’
- (36) a. *stretpela tok* ‘honest words’  
 b. *tok bilong em i stret* ‘his words are honest’
- (37) a. *stretpela rot* ‘straight road’  
 b. *rot i stretpela* ‘the road is straight’
- (38) a. *strongpela man* ‘strong man’  
 b. *man i strongpela* ‘the man is strong’
- (39) a. *strongpela kaikai* ‘solid food’  
 b. *kaikai i strong* ‘the food is solid’
- (40) a. *switpela sofdring* ‘sweet soft drink’  
 b. *sofdring i switpela* ‘the soft drink is sweet’
- (41) a. *switpela kaikai* ‘delicious food’  
 b. *dispela kaikai em i swit moa* ‘this food is delicious’
- (42) a. *taitpela baklain* ‘tight rope’  
 b. *baklain i tait(pela)* ‘the rope is tight’
- (43) a. *trupela toktok* ‘true words’  
 b. *toktok i tru* ‘those words are true’  
 c. *papa tru* ‘real [i.e. biological] father’
- (44) a. *waitpela banis* ‘white fence’  
 b. *banis i wait(pela)* ‘the fence is white’
- (45) a. *yangpela meri* ‘young woman’  
 b. *meri i yangpela* ‘the woman is young’
- (46) a. *yelopela ston* ‘yellow stone’  
 b. *gras i kamap yelo(pela)* ‘the gras turns yellow’

For more examples of attributive use of these modifiers, see Ch. 11, 2.1.1, Ch.11, 2.8.6, and Ch. 13, 1.1.1.

## 2.2 Nominalized *-pela*

In many languages, one word class is sometimes treated as if it were another. Thus, in English, *swim* is a verb, but in *I'll go for a swim* the same form is used as a noun. The same kind of word class change (sometimes called “conversion”) happens with some *-pela* forms in Tok Pisin: they may be used as nouns. An example: in *longpela bilong plang* ‘the length of the board’, *longpela* is nominal, or is nominalized, as we may say.

Such nominalizations apply only to few *-pela* forms, that is, some that signify a measurement. This appears from the following examples (which are very common):

- (1) *bikpela bilong haus* ‘the size of the house’
- (2) *brotpela bilong dua* ‘the width of the door’
- (3) *longpela bilong plang* ‘the length of the board’

In contrast, nominalizations of other *-pela* modifiers are not well-formed. Some, however, may be used as nouns without *-pela*, as in: *Em i gat bikpela strong* ‘He has great strength’. *Brait*, although it expresses a measurement, is sometimes nominalized without *-pela*, as in: *Brait bilong dispela hap graun em i 100 mita* ‘The width of this plot is 100 meters’.

## 2.3 Pronouns Marked with *-pela*

Pronouns are distinguished as personal pronouns (in English, the *I, you, he, etc.* type), demonstrative pronouns (*this, that, these, those*), and indefinite numerals (like *some, other(s)*). There are other pronouns as well, for example interrogative pronouns, but only personal, demonstrative, and indefinite pronouns are relevant in this chapter. For example, concerning personal pronouns, Tok Pisin *mi* is ‘I’, and *mipela* is ‘we’; *yu* is singular ‘you’, and *yupela* is plural ‘you’. For personal pronouns, then, *-pela* marks the plural. In the demonstrative *dispela* ‘this, that’, *-pela* simply marks this form as the pronoun it is—it covers both singular and plural. The forms *wanpela* ‘a (certain)’ and *arapela* (or *narapela*) ‘other’ are indefinite pronouns.

The suffix *-pela* appears in three types of pronouns: personal; demonstrative; and indefinite.

As for personal pronouns, the following introductory notes may be useful.

While the linguistic expressions “first person,” “second person,” and “third person” are familiar, for Tok Pisin a few more distinctions are needed which are not relevant to a language like English.

First, the “number” categories of “singular” and “plural” are not enough. Tok Pisin also has the “dual” number (for “two”), and even “trial” (for “three”). Thus, it is necessary to distinguish “singular” from “nonsingular” (the latter comprising “numbers” exceeding the “one” of the singular).

In addition, the first person plural ‘we’ distinguishes two kinds, in Tok Pisin: “inclusive” (i.e. including the person or persons addressed); and “exclusive” (i.e. excluding those persons).

For a detailed examination of all personal pronouns, see Ch. 21, 1.

Suffixation of *-pela* is used only in nonsingulars (that is, in dual, trial, plural); and the suffix is invariably the final morpheme. It is used in nonsingulars only, excepting only *yumi* ‘we [incl.]’ and *ol* ‘they’. The relevant pronouns are listed in Table 4; also, “1,” “2,” and “3” stand for first, second, and third person—all nonsingular; “pl” for “plural”; “du,” for “dual”; “tr,” for “trial.”

For “[excl.]” (exclusive) and “[incl.]” (inclusive), see Ch. 21, 1.1. Some items in Table 4 need comment at this point:

[1] *Yumi* and *ol* are the only ones not taking *-pela*. (Recall that *olpela* means ‘old’.) All the others take *-pela* obligatorily. The forms *mi*, *yu*, and *em* without *-pela* are singular: ‘I’, ‘you’, and ‘he, she, it’, respectively.

[2] Why *yumi* does not take *-pela* is explained in Ch. 7, 1.1.

[3] Dual and trial third person have *em*, not *ol*, preceding them—*em* is best analyzed as a separate word in that position. There is, however, a subtle difference between *em tupela* and *tupela*, as well as between *em tripela* and *tripela*; see the examples below.

TABLE 4. *-PELA* IN PERSONAL PRONOUNS

		INCLUSIVE	NEUTRAL	EXCLUSIVE
1	PL	<i>yumi</i> ‘we’		<i>mipela</i> ‘we’
	DU	<i>yumitupela</i> ‘the two of us’ ‘we two’		<i>mitupela</i> ‘the two of us’ ‘we two’
	TR	<i>yumitripela</i> ‘the three of us’ ‘we three’		<i>mitripela</i> ‘the three of us’ ‘we three’
2	PL		<i>yupela</i> ‘you (people)’	
	DU		<i>yutupela</i> ‘you two’ ‘the two of you’	
	TR		<i>yutripela</i> ‘you three’ ‘the three of you’	
3	PL		<i>ol</i> ‘they’	
	DU		<i>tupela</i> ‘the two of them’	
	TR		<i>tripela</i> ‘the three of them’	

[4] What Table 4 does not show is the possibility of even “quadral” and “quintal” forms, like *yufopela* ‘you four’, ‘the four of you’, *yufaipela* ‘you five’, ‘the five of you’. Though these are rare, their use has been attested. In other words, personal pronouns are (derivationally) “productive” in the utilization of numerals.

Examples of personal pronouns with *-pela* must be few; other grammatical properties connected with personal pronouns (such as the use with them of the “predicate marker” *i*) are treated elsewhere (see Ch. 7, 1 and Ch. 21, 1). Consider:

- (1) *Yupela i no inap pasim mi.*  
‘You [pl.] can’t stop me [from doing this].’
- (2) *Mitripela i inap i go long ka.*  
‘The three of us [but not you] can go by car.’
- (3) *Yumitripela inap mekim wanpela samting.*  
‘The three of us [including you] will be able to do something.’
- (4) *Yumi ken baim balus.*  
‘We [i.e. you and I] are allowed to go by plane’.
- (5) *Em tripela i kros.*  
‘Those three [whom you may not know yet] are angry’
- (6) *Tripela i kros.*  
‘Those three [whom you already know] are angry’

As for the difference between the last two examples, see Ch. 21, 2.

The last item in this section is demonstrative and indefinite pronouns with *-pela*. The only demonstrative pronoun there is takes *-pela* (and obligatorily so), that is, *dispela* ‘this, that’. Examples:

- (7) *Dispela (em) i tru.*  
‘This is true.’
- (8) *Dispela toktok (em) i tru.*  
‘These words are true.’

For more on *dispela* as a demonstrative, see Ch. 21, 2.

There are only three indefinite pronouns taking *-pela*: *wanpela* ‘a certain’; *sampela* ‘some’ (which may be either singular or plural); and (*n*)*arapela* ‘other’. The latter two may be singular or plural; the suffix is obligatory. (*Wanpela* may also be a cardinal numeral; see 2.4) For more on indefinite pronouns, see Ch. 21, 5. Some examples:

- (9) *Wanpela sik i inap bagarapim saksak.*  
‘There’s one [particular] disease which destroys sago.’
- (10a) *Sampela man i kam, arapela man i go.*  
Or:
- (10b) *Arapela man i kam, arapela man i go.*  
‘Some people came, others went.’

- (11) *I gat sampela man i no laik i wok bung.*  
 ‘There are some men who do not like to join in the work.’  
 Or: ‘There is a man who does not like to join in the work.’

On the difference between *arapela* and *narapela*, see Ch. 21, 5.1.

## 2.4 Numerals with *-pela*

Numerals, like *wan* ‘one’, *tu* ‘two’, *tri* ‘three’, etc. take *-pela* under certain conditions, yielding *wanpela*, *tupela*, *tripela*, etc.

Numerals are distinguished as cardinal numerals (such as *one*, *two*, *three*, etc. in English) and ordinal numerals (*first*, *second*, *third*, etc.). What concerns us here is only the cardinal numerals, since *-pela* is used only in those.

Tok Pisin has two systems, which it is convenient to distinguish before discussing the use of *-pela* with them; let us call them A and B (System A is mesolectal, traditional, rural, and declining; System B, acrolectal, more recent, urban, and increasing).

In System A, only the cardinals 1 through 10 (*wan*, *tu*, *tri*, *foa*, *faiv*, *sikis*, *seven*, *et*, *nain*, and *ten*) are simple, that is, not composed, while those above 10 are composed. Thus, System A has no simple forms for cardinals above ten, as there are in English *eleven*, *twelve*, *twenty*, and so forth.

Rather, in System A, cardinals over 10 are expressed as in (1), while multiples of 10 take the form as shown in (2); System B, which is identical with System A in the cardinals 1 through 10, continues with anglicized forms (i.e. forms derived directly from English), as in (3); finally, multiples of 10 follow the same source, as in (4):

- (1) *wanpela ten wan* ‘11’; *wanpela ten tu* ‘12’; *wanpela ten tri* ‘13’; etc.
- (2) *tupela ten* ‘20’; *tripela ten* ‘30’; *fopela ten* ‘40’; etc.
- (3) *eleven* ‘11’; *twelv* ‘12’; *titin* ‘13’; etc.
- (4) *twenty* ‘20’; *titi* ‘30’; *foti* ‘40’; etc.

More discussion of cardinal numerals is found in Ch. 23, 1.1.1.

All the numerals so far may be called definite in that each of them represents definite, or denumerable, quantities. Indefinite numerals would be numerals like *planti* ‘many’. However, *planti* never takes *-pela*. There is one indefinite numeral, however, interrogative in form, that for some speakers of Tok Pisin takes *-pela*, and that is *hamaspela?* ‘how much?, how many?’.

*Twentipela* occurs occasionally, and this opens the way for *titipela*, *fotipela*, and so forth. The use of Systems B is declining rapidly.

In the rule given just now there was the qualification “whenever *-pela* is used,” for it is not always used. Complete rules are given in Ch. 23, 1.1.1. At this point, it is sufficient to say that *-pela* is not used: if the cardinals are used merely as numbers, without quantifying objects (as for example in simple counting); if they are followed by units of currencies, weights, and measures (*tu Kina* ‘2 Kina’; *titin*



*ins* ‘13 inches’; *foa kilo* ‘four kilos’, and the like); and in System B in numbers over 19.

### 3. The Suffix *-im*

Verbs are distinguished as intransitive (abbreviated “intr.”) and transitive (“tr.”). Examples of intransitive verbs in English are *go*, *sleep*, *hesitate*—such verbs cannot have objects. Examples of transitive verbs in English are *buy*, *build*, *read*. Such verbs may have objects, as we see in sentences like *I will buy a car*, *she is building a home of her own*, and *We never read such newspapers*. In English, there are some affixes which may derive transitive verbs from other forms; thus *quick* may be made into a verb by attaching the suffix *-en*: *quicken*; and *friend* with the prefix *be-* attached yield the verb *befriend*. However, such derivations are not very prominent in English.

In Tok Pisin, transitive verbs are derived from other forms by attaching the suffix *-im*. Thus, from *bihain* ‘afterwards, later’ we may derive the transitive verb *bihainim* ‘to follow’; and from *boil* ‘to boil [intr.]’, we derive *boilim* ‘to boil [tr.]’.

In contrast to such verb-deriving affixes in English like *-en* and *be-*, the *-im* derivation in Tok Pisin is an extremely common and also productive device to form transitive verbs. In fact, many *-im* verbs have *-im* attached to forms that we have called preforms, or prewords (1)—those preforms are thus the base of such words but not free forms. Examples are: *boinim* ‘to burn [tr.]’, ‘to give a thrashing to’; *givim* ‘to give’, or *putim* ‘to put’: *#boin*, *#giv*, and *#put* are not forms occurring by themselves—they are not free forms.

Some *-im* forms may be used also as nouns. Examples: *askim* ‘question’; *bekim* ‘answer’; and a few others—see 3.3.

Verbs derived with *-im* may be classified in various ways, depending on what the kind of form it is that *-im* is attached to—a preword (like *#giv*), or an adverb (like *bihain*), or an intransitive verb (like *boil*), and so forth.

In some instances, *-im* derives transitive verbs from verbs which are already transitive (and may even already have *-im*), with or without difference in meaning. These derivations are discussed in 3.1. Then, a range of examples of regular *-im* derivations is given (3.2). Next, *-im* forms used as nouns are exemplified (3.3). Finally, some complications in spelling, arising from *-im* suffixation, are presented (3.4).

#### 3.1 The Suffix *-im*: Transitive from Transitive

Transitive verbs without *-im* are few (see Ch. 18, 2.1). Some of them may add *-im*, with a difference in meaning; others, without such a difference. Examples of the latter are found in (1):

- (1) *bringimap* or *bringimapim* ‘to initiate, to author’; *erimaut* or *erimautim* ‘to divulge, to make known’; *holimpas* or *holimpasim* ‘to hold’; *litimap* or *litimapim* ‘to lift up, to raise, to exalt’; *min* or *minim* ‘to mean’;

*painimaut* or *painimautim* ‘to find out, to discover’; *tekewe* or *tekeweim* ‘to take away, to remove’; *tekimaut* or *tekimautim* ‘to throw (away), to get rid of’; *tromoi* or *tromoim* ‘to throw’. In all these except *tromoi*, there is a “fossilized” *-im* before *aut* or *ap* or *-ewe* or *pas*, and another *-im* is added, without difference in meaning. (Note that *tekewe* may also be intransitive, meaning ‘to peel off [intr.], to come off, to get detached’.)

Note the difference in meaning in the pairs in (2):

- (2) *kaikai* ‘to eat’ (*kaikai bret* ‘to eat bread’), but *kaikaim* ‘to bite’ (as in *dok i kaikaim mi* ‘the dog bit me’); *pekpek* ‘to defecate’ (*pekpek wara* ‘to have diarrhea’), but *pekpekim* ‘to defecate on’; *pispis* ‘to urinate’ (*pispis blut* ‘to have blood in one’s urine’), but *pispisim* ‘to urinate on’; *pulimap* ‘to put [something] into [some container], but *pulimapim* ‘to fill [some container] with [something]’.

### 3.2 Regular *-im* Verbs: Examples

Examples of verbs derived from preforms are found in (1); from verbs, in (2); from nouns, in (3); from modifiers, in (4); and from adverbs, in (5):

- (1) *adorim* ‘to adore’; *apim* ‘to raise’; *askim* ‘to ask’; *baim* ‘to buy’; *bingim* ‘to squeeze’; *blesim* ‘to bless’; *boinim* ‘to burn’; *holim* ‘to keep’; *karim* ‘to carry, to bring, to take’; ‘to suffer, to endure, to bear’; ‘to beget, to bring forth, to give birth’; *kilim* ‘to injure’; *kisim* ‘to get’; *kolim* ‘to call’; *pilim* ‘to feel [tr.; refl.]’; *planim* ‘to plant’; ‘to bury’; *pleim* ‘to play [e.g. record, cassette. etc.]’; *putim* ‘to put’; *redim* ‘to ready, to make ready’; *salim* or *selim* ‘to sell’; *salim* ‘to send’; *subim* ‘to shove, to push’; *yusim* ‘to use’.
- (2) *bamim* ‘to bump’; *bilipim* ‘to believe [tr.]’; *boilim* ‘to boil [tr.]’; *bungim* ‘to gather [something], to crowd around [someone]’; *draivim* ‘to drive [tr.]’; *dringim* ‘to drink’; *goapim* ‘to climb [tr.], to have intercourse with’; *gohetim* ‘to get [tr., i.e. some one] started [on a job]’; *haisapim* ‘to hoist up’; *hangamapim* ‘to hang (up) [tr.]’; *hivapim* ‘to hoist’; *kamapim* ‘to originate, to invent, to reveal’; *kamautim* ‘to dig up, to harvest’; *kapsaitim* ‘to pour (out), to spill, to tip over [tr.]’; *karamapim* ‘to cover (up) [tr.]’; *kaunim* ‘to count’; *luklukim* ‘to watch intently, to see often’; *sanapim* ‘to stand [tr.-caus.]’; *statim* ‘to start [tr.]’; *tingim* ‘to keep in mind, to remember [tr.]’; *tisim* ‘to teach’; *tokim* ‘to say to, to tell [someone]’;
- (3) *abusim* ‘to garnish, to season, to mix together’; *ainim* ‘to iron’; *ankaim* ‘to anchor [tr.]’; *bairaim* ‘to hoe’; *bilasim* ‘to decorate’; *bilumim* ‘to put in a string bag’; *gluim* ‘to glue’; *graunim* ‘to plant in soil’; *grisim* ‘to flatter’; *lokim* ‘to lock’; *nilim* ‘to nail (down)’; *rolaim* ‘to roll [tr.]’; *rongim* ‘to wrong’; *ropim* ‘to put [tr.] [e.g. beads] on a string’; *sadelim* ‘to saddle’; *spanaim* ‘to tighten [tr.] with a spanner’; *umbenim* ‘to gather [in net]’; *vaisim* ‘to hold [in a vise]’; *yisim* ‘to leaven’.

- (4) *hatim* ‘to heat’; *klinim* ‘to clean’; *kolim* ‘to cool [tr.]’; *krungutim* ‘to bend, to twist, to trample’; *nogutim* ‘to spoil’; *opim* ‘to open [tr.]’; *oraitim* ‘to fix, to heal’; *pasim* ‘to fasten, to close, to block’; *sapim* ‘to sharpen’; *slekim* ‘to slacken, to loosen’; *solapim* ‘to slap’; *stretim* ‘to straighten (out) [tr.], to repair’; *strongim* ‘to strengthen’.
- (5) *autim* ‘to express’; *bekim* ‘to answer, to reply’; *bihainim* ‘to follow [tr.]’; *daunim* ‘to defeat, to subject, to humiliate’; *ovaim* ‘to turn over’.

### 3.3 Conversion of *-im* Verbs to Nouns

Though *-im* derivations are overwhelmingly verbs only, some of those verbs are used as nouns also. Those are few, but those few occur rather frequently. They are:

- (1) *askim* ‘question’; *bekim* ‘answer’; *blesim* ‘blessing’; *helpim* ‘helper’, ‘assistant’, ‘substitute’; *holim* ‘handle’ [e.g. of cup]; *makim* ‘small scale model of building’; *pilim* ‘feeling’; *stretim* ‘correction’, ‘compensation’, ‘restitution’; *traim* ‘attempt’, ‘temptation’.

### 3.4 Note on Spellings for *-im* Verbs

Though normally *-im* is added to the source of derivation, there are some exceptions.

Double *i* is avoided. Thus, *trai* + *-im* becomes not *\*traiiim* but *traim*, *redi* + *-im* becomes not *\*rediiim* but *redim*. This principle controls also spelling of *baim* (rather than *\*baiim*) and *traim* (rather than *\*traiiim*) even though there is no free forms #*bai* (in the same sense) (*trai* does occur, followed by *long* + verb ‘to try to + verb’).

Occasionally one may find “intrusive *r*.” Thus, though *hama* ‘hammer’, yields the verb derived from it as *hamaim* ‘to hammer’, one may find a form like *hamarim*— with an *r* inserted (probably because of such an intrusive *r* in Australian English, on which consult manuals of English).

## 4. Other Traditional Affixes

Apart from the *-pela* and *-im* suffixes, Table 1 (see 1.1) also contains the suffixes *-an* and *-awel-ewel-owe*.

### 4.1 Derivations in *-an* and *-awel-ewel-owe*

These are very few. For *-an* we find *goan!* and *kaman!* (which only occur as exclamations) ‘come on!’. Since *go* and *kam* are so prominent as free forms, it is fairly obvious to analyze *-an* as a suffix.

For *-awel-ewel-owe* we find *ranawe* (sometimes also spelled *ranowe*) ‘to run away’, as well as *tekewe* [tr.] ‘to take away’, *tekewe* [intr.] ‘to come off, to be detached’ and *tekeweim* ‘to take away’.

None of these suffixes is productive; that is, they cannot be affixed to any other forms to derive new words.

## 5. Package Loan Suffixes

For the suffixes *-a*, *-all-el*, *-dom*, *-eri*, *-esen/-esin*, *-ia*, *-ing*, *-men*, *-s*, *-sen*, *-sip*, and *-ti*, see Table 2 (1.1). The label “package loans” may be used to indicate the words having those suffixes.

To understand this term, consider pairs like *kaunsil* ‘council’ and *kaunsila* ‘councilor’. *Kaunsil*, of course, was at one time borrowed directly from English (*council*); no doubt so was *kaunsila*, from English *councilor*. It seems reasonable now, in retrospect (that is, ignoring the original loans), and taking a “snapshot” of what the language is like at this time (or, as linguists say, analyzing a language “synchronously”), to see *-a* of *kaunsila* as a suffix deriving the name of a person associated with a *kaunsil*. The reason why this is plausible is that there is now a fair number of *X* and *X-a* pairs (see (1), below), and the association of the latter with the former is bound to be there. In short, then, that which has started as a separate twosome of package loans has now ended up in the language as forms with an identifiable correlation of form and meaning. The result is suffix status of *-a* in these examples. What obtains as an analysis for final *-a* in words of this type would obtain for the other suffixes identified here. That is the principle obtaining in what follows below.

### 5.1 Package Loans: Examples

Here follow examples. Note that some of these derivations minus the suffix are not free forms in Tok Pisin. Thus, while *kaunsila* may now (synchronically) be straightforwardly analyzed as derived from the free form *kaunsil*, or *spika* from *spik*, and so forth, there is no free form like #*menes* underlying *menesa*, or #*tis* underlying *tisa*. Examples:

- (1) Of *-a*: *boksa* ‘boxer’; *bukkupa* ‘bookkeeper’; *daiva* ‘diver’; *dairekta* ‘director’; *draiva* ‘driver’; *edita* ‘editor’; *fama* ‘farmer’; *fetilaisa* ‘fertilizer’; *frisa* ‘freezer’; *golkipa* ‘goalkeeper’; *jenereta* ‘generator’; *kastama* ‘customer’; *katsa* ‘catcher’; *kaunsila* ‘councilor’; *komanda* ‘commander’; *komisina* ‘commissioner’; *krieta* ‘creator’; *lida* ‘leader’; *loya* ‘lawyer’; *menesa* ‘manager’; *odita* ‘auditor’; *ofisa* ‘officer’; *pasindia* ‘passenger’; *pilaia* ‘player’; *pitsa* ‘pitcher’; *projekta* ‘projector’; *plama* ‘plumber’; *raita* ‘writer’; *redieta* ‘radiator’; *sapota* supporter; *skoakipa* ‘scorekeeper’; *skwata* ‘squatter’; *spika* ‘speaker’; *straika* ‘striker’; *stuakipa* ‘storekeeper’; *wina* ‘winner’; *tisa* ‘teacher’; *tresara* ‘treasurer’; *visita* ‘visitor’; *woda* ‘warder’
- (2) Of *-all-el*: *ilektoral* ‘electoral’; *judisial* ‘judicial’; *nesenal* ‘national’; *ofisal* ‘official’; *politikal* ‘political’; *provinsal* ‘provincial’; *ofisal* ‘official’
- (3) Of *-ari*: *misinari* ‘missionary’; *palamentari* ‘parliamentary’
- (4) Of *-dom*: *kingdom* ‘kingdom’; *fridom* ‘freedom’
- (5) Of *-eri*: *bateri* ‘battery’; *bekeri* ‘bakery’; *neseri* ‘nursery’; *printeri* ‘printery’; *seketeri* ‘secretary’

- (6) Of *-esen/-esin*: *asosiesen* ‘association’; *dekleresen* ‘declaration’; *edukesen* ‘education’; *eplikesen* ‘application’; *kompensesen* ‘compensation’; *kongregesen* ‘congregation’; *oganaisesen* ‘organization’; *plantessin* ‘plantation’; *rejistresen* ‘registration’; *stesin* ‘station’
- (7) Of *-ia*: *ensinia* ‘engineer’
- (8) Of *-ing*: *bading* ‘budding, grafting’; *blesing* ‘blesing’; *kaving* ‘carving’; *maining* ‘mining’; *mining* ‘meaning’; *miting* ‘meeting’; *plening* ‘planning’; *speling* ‘spelling’; *trening* ‘training’
- (9) Of *-men*: *apoinmen* ‘appointment’; *developmen* ‘development’; *dipatmen* ‘department’; *divelopmen* ‘development’; *invesmen* ‘investment’; *menesmen* ‘management’; *muvmen* ‘movement’; *palamen* ‘parliament’; *pemen* ‘payment’; *panismen* ‘punishment’; *tritmen* ‘treatment’
- (10) Of *-s*: *independens* ‘independence’
- (11) Of *-sen*: *politisen* ‘politician’
- (12) Of *-sip*: *lidasip* ‘leadership’; *membasip* ‘membership’; *sempionsip* ‘championship’; *sitisensip* ‘citizenship’; *skolasip* ‘scholarship’
- (13) Of *-ti*: *foti* ‘forty’; *fifti* ‘fifty’
- (14) Of *-tin*: *fiftin* ‘fifteen’; *seventin* ‘seventeen’

## 4: CLAUSES AND THEIR CONSTITUENTS

As noted in Ch. 3, syntax is the grammar of words in their relations among themselves, within word groups (also called “phrases”), and within the sentence.

Intuitively we know what a sentence is, and this intuitive understanding is orthographically reflected in ending a clause by a period or some other mark of final punctuation.

Sentences differ in that they may be simple or complex. An example of a simple sentence in English is: *I study this book*. Examples of a complex sentence are: *I study this book and I find it interesting* (two coordinated clauses), and *I study this book because I find it interesting* (one main clause and one subclause). A simple sentence is often called a clause, and a complex sentence is complex in that it consists of more than one clause. A clause within one sentence may be coordinated with one or more other clauses within it (that is, no such clause is dependent on any other). Or a clause may be subordinated to another clause (and is then dependent upon that other clause).

Table 5 is helpful for understanding the difference of sentence and clause. Complex sentences are treated in Ch. 24. The present chapter is about the clause, no matter whether it is a stand-alone clause (and thus a simple sentence) or one clause (main clause or subclause) in a complex sentence. For convenience’ sake, in this chapter a clause will mostly be supposed to be a simple sentence.

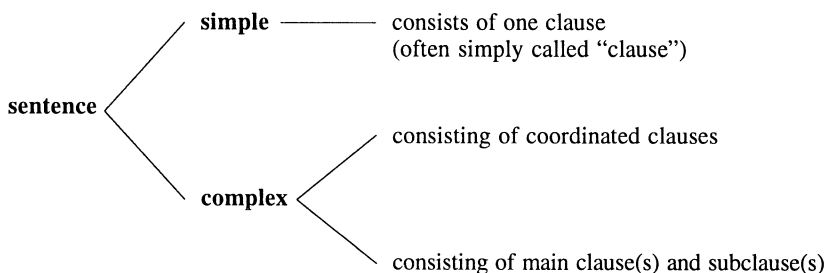
In 1, we review various approaches in the description of clauses. One of those approaches is that of constituent analysis, and that is examined in 2.

### 1. The Description of Clauses

Clauses may be described from a variety of viewpoints. One consists in identifying parts of a clause—we may call such parts constituents, and the approach is that of constituent analysis. The traditional analysis of a clause as consisting of subject, predicate, object, etc. gives the main framework of that constituent analysis of clauses.

A second approach in describing clauses is to determine what types of clause we have according to the “quality” of the clause. There are just two such qualities:

TABLE 5. SENTENCE AND CLAUSE



affirmative and negative. Negative clauses are usually described in terms of how they differ from affirmative clauses.

A third approach distinguishes clauses that are declarative from those that are interrogative (i.e. questions). Interrogative clauses are usually described in terms of how they differ from declarative clauses. In this third approach, we may occasionally have grounds for distinguishing some other type, like an exclamatory type of clause.

A fourth approach in describing clauses is one that concentrates on the core constituent of the clause, the predicate. It describes the clause the way its parts are organized in relation to the predicate. Predicates that are verbal are distinguished as intransitive (an intransitive predicate cannot have an object) and transitive (it can). Also, predicates are distinguished according to whether they are verbal or nonverbal. In Tok Pisin, both types are found.

A fifth approach analyzes the class, or “category,” of each individual word in a clause. It distinguishes verbs, nouns, conjunctions, adverbs, and the like.

The first approach, that of constituent analysis, is treated in the remainder of the present chapter; the second, the one based on quality (more particularly that of negation), in Ch. 5; the third, for questions, in Ch. 6; the fourth, for types of predicates, and their properties, in Chs. 7 through 10; the fifth, involving word classes, in Chs. 18 through 23.

## 2. Constituent Analysis of Clauses

Linguists distinguish, in the analysis of clauses, the predicate as what may be called the center, or the core, of the clause, and the other constituents, or satellites.

There are two types of such satellites: “arguments” and “nonarguments.” The arguments are the “subject,” and (in transitive clauses) also the “object” (with some verbs, even two objects). The other satellites, nonargument ones, are the “adjuncts.” Thus, in the English clause *I gave you that book yesterday*, the predicate is *gave*; the subject, *I*; the two objects, *you* and *that book*; and the adjunct, *yesterday*. This adjunct is a nonargument satellite.

In a language like English, the predicate is invariably verbal. Thus, *gave* in *I gave you that book yesterday*, is the verb—it is a “verbal” predicate. But also, a predicate may consist of the verb *to be* plus a noun or adjective. Thus, in *He is a coward*, the predicate is *is a coward*, but the verbal part *is* (called the “copula”) is not much more than a link between *he* and (as we might say) the “real” predicate, which is *a coward*. In contrast, in Tok Pisin *Em i Praim Minista* ‘He is the Prime Minister’, the predicate is not verbal: it is *praim minista*—about the predicate marker *i* we will worry later: it is important at this point only to note that *i* is not verbal.

The subject is what the predicate says something about. (We can say that the constituent found in predicate position “is predicated of” what we find in subject place.) Thus, the subject of *He is a coward* is *he*, and of *Em i praim minister* is *em*. As noted, the subject of *I gave you that book yesterday* is *I*.

If the predicate is a transitive verb, then the subject is the source of the activity expressed by the verb. The target of that activity is expressed by the object. Thus in *Em i wokim haus* ‘He built a house’ the object is *haus*. As noted, in *I gave you that book yesterday*, it is *that book* (often called the “direct” object), but also *you* (traditionally called the “indirect” object).

Subject and object, as arguments to the verb, are closely tied to it, but other constituents, nonargument ones, in a looser relation to the predicate, occur commonly. These are the adjuncts, and for the moment a few examples in English may give a first idea of what they are. Adjuncts like *yesterday*, *tomorrow*, *the next day*, *soon*, etc. are adjuncts of time; *here*, *there*, *in the city*, etc., adjuncts of place; *in this fashion*, etc., adjuncts of manner; *very*, *highly*, etc., adjuncts of degree.

The subject is discussed in 2.1; the object, in 2.2; the adjunct, in 2.3.

## 2.1 The Subject

As noted, the subject is the constituent the predicate says something about. Thus, in *Charles is ill*, and in *Mother cooks dinner*, the predicates (*is*) *ill* and *cooks* say something about *Charles* and *mother*. Another expression sometimes used is that (*is*) *ill* is predicated of *Charles*; and *cooks* is predicated of *mother*.

A special type of clause in Tok Pisin is the one that has no subject. It invariably has a predicate marked by *i*—“impersonal *i*” as it may be called (see Ch. 7, 1.4). Compare this with *it* in English as in: *It rains*, or *It snows*. Since there is not anything that “does” the raining or snowing, there is no “personal” subject. However, *it* here is a genuine subject grammatically, even though it is an impersonal one. By contrast, Tok Pisin has no impersonal subjects, but it does have what one could call impersonal predicates—that is, predicates with impersonal *i*, as in *i gat* ‘there is, there are’. (*Gat* accompanied by both subject and object means ‘to have’.)

The subject (if any) in Tok Pisin clauses is invariably placed before the predicate (for an apparent exception to this rule, see Ch. 6, 1.1 and Ch. 10, 2.2.3). Consider:

- (1) *Mi no save.*  
‘I don’t know’
- (2) *Renbo em i mak bilong promis.*  
‘The rainbow is a sign of a promise.’
- (3) *Bos bilong pilai em i makim wanpela boi.*  
‘The leader of the game appoints one boy.’
- (4) *Orait, nau yu ken planim pikinini rais.*  
‘All right, now you can plant the rice seedlings.’
- (5) *Namba wan wok bilong lukautim gaden em wok bilong kamautim gras nogut.*  
‘The first thing to do in taking care of your land is the job of taking out weeds.’
- (6) *Yumi save senisim pasin bilong yumi.*  
‘We [incl.] tend to change the way we [incl.] do things.’



- (7) *Tasol bilong wanem yupela i laik mekim dispela olgeta wok?*  
‘But why do you [pl.] want to do all these jobs?’
- (8) *Ol i no laik mekim wok long han na kisim doti.*  
‘They don’t like to do manual work and get their hands dirty.’
- (9) *Bai mi yet mi go helpim ol.*  
‘I will go there myself to help them.’
- (10) *Yu yet yu ken kamapim sampela nupela pilai.*  
‘You can find some new game yourself.’
- (11) *Wanpela taia i bagarap.*  
‘A tire blew.’

As these examples show, the subject may be a pronoun, or a noun, or a phrase. The position is to the left of the predicate. Often, when the subject is a noun, that noun gets repeated as a pronoun, as may be observed in (2), (3), and (5) (all three: *em*). Even a pronoun first or second person may be repeated, as in (9) (*mi*), and in (10) (*yu*). In other words, the subject is picked up in pronominal form before the verb. We may call a pronoun used that way a “resumptive” pronoun.

In conclusion, there is the construction *i gat* ‘there is, there are’, which has no subject (*i* is not a subject), and we will look at it later (Ch. 7, 1.4; and Ch. 7, 4). Examples (12) through (15) illustrate *gat* as ‘to have’; it has regular subjects, as appears in (12) through (14) (*em*, *ol*, and *dispela kantri*, respectively):

- (12) *Em i no gat pikinini.*  
‘She had no children.’
- (13) *Ol i gat planti bikpela taun.*  
‘They had many big towns.’
- (14) *Dispela kantri nau i gat independens.*  
‘This country now has independence.’

## 2.2 The Object

Objects go with transitive verbs, and in most instances there is only one object (traditionally called the direct object), which stands for what is affected (or effected) by the action expressed by the verb.

The direct object normally follows the verb in Tok Pisin, but may precede it if its topicality (its importance as a topic in the wider context) is higher than that of the subject.

A second object (known traditionally as the indirect object) stands for the recipient of an action, with verbs whose meaning involves ‘giving’ of some kind. An English example is *They gave us one hundred dollars*, or *She lent me the dictionary*—the indirect object is *us*, and *me*. Note that it follows the verb immediately, and precedes the direct object. A paraphrase of the first example would be *They gave one hundred dollars to us*, and of the second, *She lent the dictionary to me*, in which *to us* and *to me* still stand for the recipient but are not objects. They are not adjuncts either—but this point needs some further discussion.

The position of the indirect object immediately after the predicate is sometimes called the “promoted” position of the indirect object. Languages differ in the restrictions placed on such promotion. In English, there are quite a few verbs allowing such a promotion, as the examples just now show—such verbs are *tell* (*Tell **me** the news*); *pass* (*I passed **him** the hammer*); *give* (as exemplified); and a number of others. By contrast, verbs like *explain* and *communicate* do not permit promotion (compare: *I’ll explain the procedure **to you***, not *\*I’ll explain **you** the procedure*; or *They communicated the news **to me***, not *\*They communi- cated **me** the news*)

In Tok Pisin, the promotion construction is possible (though not necessary in all contexts) only with the verbs *givim* ‘to give’ and *soim* ‘to show’. As is the case in English, in Tok Pisin, too, the indirect object (or, as one might say, the promoted recipient), must follow the verb immediately.

Finally, the verb *gat*, which is equivalent to both ‘to be’ (with an object only) and ‘to have’ (with both subject and object) deserves special treatment.

The normal place of the object is after the predicate, but for special reasons it may precede both subject and predicate. Consider (in bold: all direct objects, including pronominal pick-up of them, if any, in caps; promoted indirect objects are also in bold):

- (1) *Dispela pasin tasol nau yu lukim hia.*  
‘It is exactly this way [of doing things] that you see here now.’
- (2) *Dispela tok bilong yu **EM** nau mi harim namba wan taim.*  
‘What you’re saying now I hear for the first time.’
- (3) ***Em** yupela tasol inap painimaut.*  
‘That [thing] only you [pl.] can find out.’
- (4) *Bai ol het bilong faktori ol i givim **pe** long ol wokman.*  
‘The factory managers will give a salary to the workers.’
- (5) *Austrelia em i save givim **hamas mani** long gavman bilong yumi?*  
‘How much money does Australia normally give to our [incl.] government?’
- (6) *Ol i no givim **mi dispela foti dola bilong mi.***  
‘They never gave me my 40 dollars.’
- (7) *Planti man i givim **samting** long yumi.*  
‘Many people give things to us [incl.]’

Note the object in front position in (1) through (3)—*dispela pasin* in (1), *dispela tok bilong yu* in (2), *em* in (3). In (2), the object is repeated in pronoun form (*em*) before the subject (*yupela*)—a pick-up device also found for subjects (see 2.1, examples (2), (3), (5)).

Consider the following examples with *soim*:

- (8) *Dispela piksa i soim **yumi** ol mak bilong graun bilong pilai basketbal.*  
‘This picture shows us [incl.] the lines of the basket ball field.’
- (9) *Glas i soim **yu** namba bilong skinhat.*  
‘The thermometer shows you how high the fever is.’

- (10) *Dispela strongpela ai i soim yumi planti samting i save stap hait.*  
 ‘This powerful eye [i.e. a microscope] shows us [incl.] many hidden things.’
- (11) *Na em i ken poinim pinga long wanpela boi, na boi i mas soim tupela han long em.*  
 ‘And he may point at a boy, and the boy must show his two hands to him.’

In (8) through (10), the indirect object is promoted. In (11), the constituent concerned is not, and it takes adjunct form.

In (4), (5), (7) and (11), the constituent standing for the recipient is marked by *long*, and the entire constituent seems to behave like an adjunct. In contrast, the recipient is promoted in (3) and (8) through (10); the reason is that the promoted indirect object is more highly topical (in the wider context) than whatever is the direct object. Only the verbs *givim* and *soim* allow of such promotion in Tok Pisin, but not other verbs involving the notion of ‘giving’, like *tilim* ‘to apporportion, to distribute, to grant, to give’, as in (12)

- (12) *Dispela tim i win na bai yumi tilim fopela poin long ol.*  
 ‘This team wins and we [incl.] give them four points.’  
 (not: \*[ . . . ] *tilim ol fopela poin*)

(Otherwise, *tilim* may also mean ‘to share [with], divide [among]’.)

The verbs *askim* ‘to ask’, *tokim* ‘to tell’, and *lainim* ‘to teach’ will, we might be inclined to think, typically have two expressions accompanying them: one standing for the person who receives the request, the information, or the instruction; and another standing for what is requested, what information is given, and what subject matter is taught—in short, it seems, indirect object and direct object respectively. These two constituents do indeed accompany such verbs in English, with the indirect object promoted: *I asked him that*, and *They told me the news*, and *She teaches us English*.

In Tok Pisin, however, it is only that recipient constituent that is the direct (and only) object in Tok Pisin; the other constituent (if any) is marked by *long*. Consider:

- (13) *Bilong wanem you askim mi long nem bilong mi?*  
 ‘Why do you ask me my name?’
- (14) *Mi laik askim yu long wanpela samting.*  
 ‘I want to ask you something.’
- (15) *Dispela man i tokim mi long olgeta samting i bin kamap.*  
 ‘This man told me everything that had happened.’
- (16) *Kuskus i no ken tokim ol liklik long dispela samting.*  
 ‘The assistant must not tell them even the least of this.’
- (17) *Pilai i save lainim yumi long pasin bilong wok strong na winim mak.*  
 ‘Games will teach us [incl.] perseverance and success.’
- (18) *Lainim ol long wanpela samting pastaim na bihain sampela arapela samting.*  
 ‘Teach them one thing first and some other things later.’

However, with *tokim*, when the message passed on is not repeated because it is understood from context, the person spoken to, if given prominence in context, is marked by *long*:

- (19) *Bilong wanem na mi mas tokim long yu?*  
 ‘[I haven’t even told my parents, so] Why should I tell you?’

(Note that *askim* may also mean ‘to request [someone to do something]’; *tokim*, ‘to tell [someone to do something], to order’; and *lainim* may also mean ‘to learn’.)

*Soim*, which may take a double object, with promoted recipient (as in (8) through (11)) is sometimes also constructed with the recipient as direct and only object, while the thing shown (the target, let us say) is marked with *long*—and thus *soim* aligns itself syntactically with *askim*, *tokim*, and *lainim*:

- (20) *Em i soim ol long olgeta samting i stap insait long banis bilong haus king na long olgeta hap bilong kantri bilong em.*  
 ‘He showed them everything in the royal compound and in every part of the country.’
- (21) *God i soim yu long samting em i laik mekim.*  
 ‘God has shown you what he is going to do.’
- (22) *Mi laik skulim yu gut, na soim yu long rot yu mas wokabaut long en.*  
 ‘I will teach you, and show you the road to follow.’
- (23) *Man bilong bosim pilai em i laik soim ol yangpela long lo bilong wanpela pilai.*  
 ‘The one who supervises the games will show the youngsters the rules of the game.’

Indeed, one may even find (rarely, it seems) a construction of *soim* accompanied by both recipient and target as nonarguments, marked with *long*:

- (24) *Taim wanpela profet i stap namel long yupela Israel, mi save soim mi yet long em long samting olsem driman na mi save givim tok long em long driman.*  
 ‘When there is a prophet among you [pl.] people of Israel, I myself will show him something like a vision, and speak to him in that vision.’

The reason here is clear: the subject (*mi*) is repeated for emphasis (*mi yet*) after the predicate (*save soim*), and this makes it impossible for the recipient (*long em*) to follow the verb immediately, so that it cannot be promoted. Thus, (24) is like (20) through (23), except that the recipient is not promoted.

It seems, then, that recipients marked by *long* are not evidently nonarguments. Or, they are not typically adjuncts, since they are satellites with a closer connection to the verb than is typically the case with adjuncts. For such recipients marked by *long* we may use the expression “oblique object.” Note that an oblique object is not necessarily a recipient, as (24) shows (*long samting*).

It will be convenient to have some abbreviations for a final summing up of double object constructions. Let the object be symbolized as “O,” unmarked as

“u,” marked as “m,” goal as “g,” and recipient as “r.” Thus, “Oru” stands for “unmarked recipient object,” and “Ogu” for “unmarked goal object”; and “Oru + Ogu” is a double object construction as symbolized, in that order. Then there are logically eight structural possibilities, as listed in (25)

- (25) (a) **Oru + Ogu:** *givim, soim*  
 (b) **Orm + Ogu:** ungrammatical\*  
 (c) **Oru + Ogm:** *askim, lainim, tokim, soim*  
 (d) **Orm + Ogm:** *soim*  
 (e) **Ogu + Oru:** ungrammatical  
 (f) **Ogm + Oru:** ungrammatical  
 (g) **Ogu + Orm:** *givim, soim, tilim, tokim*  
 (h) **Ogm + Orm:** ungrammatical

\*In that order; but an unmarked prepredicate object is possible with a postpredicate marked recipient.

It seems, then, that recipients marked by *long* are not evidently nonarguments. For such recipients (or, for that matter, goals) marked by *long* we may use the expression “oblique object.”

In conclusion, some notes on *gat* are needed. In 2.1, examples (12) through (14) illustrate *gat* as ‘to have’, and the non-subject constituent is, of course, the object. However, impersonal *i gat* ‘there is, there are’ likewise has an object rather than a subject. Consider:

- (26) *I gat wanpela rot tasol bilong kisim mani.*  
 ‘There is only one way to get income.’  
 (27) *I gat sampela arapela tok bilong helpim yumi.*  
 ‘There are some other passages [in the book] to help us [incl.]’  
 (28) *Sik asma i save painim painim sampela manmeri tasol, na arapela i no gat.*  
 ‘Asthma will now and then afflict only some people, not others.’

There is no subject with impersonal *i gat*; in other words, *wanpela rot tasol* in (26) is not the subject, and neither is *sampela arapela tok* in (27), nor *arapela* in (27); those are objects in front position (“fronted objects,” as we might say).

There are various reasons for this analysis. First, a genuine subject never follows the predicate in Tok Pisin but precedes it. It is true that *arapela* in (27) does precede the predicate, but that is not the neutral construction. In fact, it is like the object-first (or fronted object) construction as illustrated in 2.2, (1) through (3), and is fronted for the same contextual reasons: it has higher topicality, because it is more prominent (see Ch. 7, 4).

Second, a large number of languages (also in Papua New Guinea) have the same word for ‘to have’ and ‘to be’—in fact, English is rather idiosyncratic among languages in having separate verbs for the two. Tok Pisin is more representative cross-linguistically in this regard, and it seems straightforward to consider the impersonal *i gat* construction as having not a subject but an object.

There are a few other indications (as shown in Ch. 7, 4) that that is the only consistent analysis of *i gat*.

### 2.3 The Adjunct

As noted at the beginning of the chapter, clauses often have constituents other than predicate, subject and object. These are the adjuncts, such as those of time, place, manner, or degree.

Adjuncts are typically in a much looser relation to the predicate than are the arguments, subject and object. But it is possible for adjuncts to be as close to the verb as are the arguments. For an example of this in English, consider *I live in Chicago*. In that clause, the adjunct *in Chicago* cannot be omitted, or we would be left with *\*I live*, which is not a complete clause (if *live* means ‘to reside’). In advanced syntactic studies, it will not do to lump together as adjuncts those constituents that are not a subject, object, or predicate. Nevertheless, for our purposes here the term adjunct will do. Adjuncts may be single words or phrases.

Note also: clauses may have constituents other than predicate, subject, object, and adjunct. An obvious example of such a constituent is that of negation, such as *not* in English, and *no* in Tok Pisin. However, such constituents are better discussed separately (Ch. 5). Also, there are adverbs known as sentence adverbs, which relate to the entire clause rather than to the predicate, and are thus not satellites (Ch. 22, 2.5).

Adjuncts of place, time, manner, and degree are the principal types of adjuncts. Their place in the clause is normally either before or after the sequence subject-predicate-object, but some will be interposed between verb and object, and others between subject and verb. Adjuncts of time are illustrated in 2.3.1; of place, in 2.3.2; of manner, in 2.3.3; and of degree, in 2.3.4. Treatment of these adjuncts below will be rather brief, and more extensive treatment is found in Ch. 22.

#### 2.3.1 Adjuncts of Time

Examine the following:

- (1) *Em i kam insait gen.*  
‘He came in once again.’
- (2) *Traim gen.*  
‘Try once again.’
- (3) *Doktaboi i kisim gen dispela stik glas.*  
‘The orderly took the thermometer again.’
- (4) *Aisak i opim gen dispela hul wara.*  
‘Isaac reopened that water well.’

*Gen* ‘again’ is closely tied to the verb. Note how it even precedes the object in (2) through (4), no matter whether there is an overt object (as in (3) and (4)) or no overt object (as in (2)); in (1), *gen* is separated from the verb only by another adjunct (of place) (*insait*).

Other examples of adjuncts of time: *bipo* ‘formerly’, *bipo tru* ‘a long time ago’, *bipo bipo tru* ‘in the beginning’, *bihain* ‘later, afterwards’, *pastaim* ‘before [that time]’, *tumora* or *long tumora* ‘tomorrow’ (*long tumora* may also mean ‘the next day’), *asde* ‘yesterday’, *neks de*, ‘the next day’, *las wik* ‘last week’, *kwiktaim* ‘soon’, *bipo long dispela yia* ‘before this year’, *bihain long pati* ‘after the party’, and many similar ones.—Examples:

- (5) *Bipo bipo tru God i mekim kamap skai na graun.*  
‘In the beginning, God created heaven and earth.’
- (6) *Ol i go kamap long ples bipo Abram in bin wokim kem bilong en.*  
‘They went to the place where Abram had set up camp before.’
- (7) *Yu no tokim mi bipo.*  
‘You never told me (before).’
- (8) *Bipo yu kros long mipela.*  
‘You used to be angry at us [excl.].’
- (9) *Draiva, dispela laisens bipo i dai.*  
‘Driver, this license has expired.’
- (10) *Plaua bilong en i kamap bipo long taim bilong planti san.*  
‘It [i.e. the plant] blossoms before the dry season.’
- (11) *Tumora yu ken givim sampela kaikai long sikman.*  
‘Tomorrow you may give the patient something to eat.’
- (12) *Tumora olgeta man i kam bung long ples.*  
‘The next day all men came together in the village.’
- (13) *Bringim sikman kwiktaim long haus sik.*  
‘Take the patient to the hospital fast.’
- (14) *Dispela marasin i save daunim sik malaria kwiktaim.*  
‘This medication will cure malaria soon.’

As may be observed in these examples, adjuncts of time may either open or close the subject-predicate-object sequence. Some, like *bipo*, precede the subject even in relative clauses, as is the case in (6); beginners in Tok Pisin may easily miss this—see Ch. 14, 1.3, where it is shown that the adjuncts thus commonly opening relative clauses are: *bipo* ‘before, earlier’; *nau* ‘now, that very moment’; *oltaim* ‘always’; *pastaim* ‘earlier, before’; and (less frequently) *bihain* ‘afterwards, later’. For more on adjuncts of time, see Ch. 22, 2.2.

### 2.3.2 Adjuncts of Place

Consider:

- (1) *Blut i kapsait aninit long skin.*  
‘There’s internal bleeding.’  
[lit.: ‘Blood flows out under the skin.’]
- (2) *Sutim spet o fok i go aninit olgeta.*  
‘Push the spade or fork deep all the way [into the soil].’ (3)  
*Mobeta yumi stap hia na wetim narapela trak.*  
‘We [incl.] had better stay here and wait for another truck.’ (4)

*Dispela masin em yu lukim hia long piksa.*

‘This machine you see in the picture here.’

- (5) *Wanpela mak i stap long hap i kam na arapela long hap i go.*  
‘One line is on the near side and another on the far side.’
- (6) *Yu ken wokim dispela pilai insait long haus o long graun ausait.*  
‘You can play this game indoors or outside.’
- (7) *Em i mas holim bal na tasim man taim em i ran i kam klostu.*  
‘He must hold the ball and touch a man when he comes close running past.’
- (8) *Olgeta man i ken i ran i go nabaut long tupela hap graun.*  
‘All [players] may run around in all directions on both halves of the field.’
- (9) *Ol man bilong arapela tim i sanap nabaut nabaut.*  
‘The men of the other team take there position anywhere at all.’

Adjuncts are shown to take the form of one word only (e.g. *hia*), or of a phrase (e.g. *aninit long skin* and *nabaut nabaut*), or even of a clause (*taim em i ran i kam klostu*). Two different adjuncts may be found together (e.g. *nabaut* and *long tupela hap*). The typical position of such adjuncts is after the subject-verb-object sequence.

For more on adjuncts of place, see Ch. 22, 2.1.

### 2.3.3 Adjuncts of Manner

Some examples:

- (1) *Ol arapela man i sanap nating.*  
‘The others just stand there [without doing anything].’
- (2) *Nogut yumi traim nating.*  
‘Don’t let us [incl.] try in vain.’
- (3) *Wanpela man i no ken paitim bal tupela taim wantaim.*  
‘One and the same man must not hit the ball two times in a row.’
- (4) *Ol i mas wok wantaim.*  
‘They have to work together.’
- (5) *Pasim dua isi.*  
‘Close the door gently.’
- (6) *Em i slip long bet na i guria tasol.*  
‘He lies on his bed and just shivers [all the time].’
- (7) *Tupela i no ken mekim isi isi, tupela i mas hariap tru.*  
‘The two of them must not do it slowly, they must do it in a real hurry.’

Again, the preferred position of adjuncts of manner is after the subject-predicate-object sequence. For more on adjuncts of manner, see Ch. 22, 2.3.

### 2.3.4 Adjuncts of Degree

Examples:

- (1) *Klostu mi laik i dai.*  
‘I am near death.’



- (2) *Klostu tulait i kamap nau.*  
‘The day is breaking.’
- (3) *Em i no harim yupela liklik.*  
‘He doesn’t listen to you [pl.] in the least.’
- (4) *Ol i laikim yu tumas.*  
‘They like you very much.’
- (5) *Ol manmeri i pret tumas long yu.*  
‘The people are very much afraid of you.’
- (6) *Lain bilong yupela i laik pinis olgeta.*  
‘Your [pl.] clan will be destroyed totally.’

While the place of these adjuncts is typically after the subject-predicate-object sequence, shorter ones like *klostu* typically open a clause, and *tumas* precedes other adjuncts even closely associated with the verb (as in (5)).

For more on adjuncts of degree, see Ch. 22, 2.4.

## 5: NEGATIVE CLAUSES

In regard to the difference between affirmative and negative (the “qualities” of a clause), it is easier to describe how negative clauses have properties not found in affirmative clauses than inversely. Thus, the difference between those two qualities appears from the description of negative clauses, which are the “marked” type in regard to quality—affirmative clauses are “unmarked” for quality.

The negator in Tok Pisin is *no* ‘not’, immediately preceding the predicate, but following the predicate marker *i* if that marker is there (Ch. 7, 1). *No* may also be followed by *i* (no matter whether or not it is also preceded by *i*) with certain verbs (Ch. 10, 2.1; Ch. 10, 2.10).

When negation replaces a full clause, its form is *nogat* (*nogat tru* for emphasis). We may call this “replative *nogat*.” As such it immediately follows a full clause to emphasize negation in the full clause. (*Nogat* is then itself a clause, not a “full” clause, but, as we might say, a “truncated” clause.) *Nogat* may also serve as a reply to a Y/N question (*nogat* has a rather different meaning as a one-word reply to WH-questions). Finally, *nogat* may be a replative device in “question tags.”

There are also negative imperatives, which we shall call prohibitives; they are formed with *nogut* or *maski*.

Negation may also be further qualified by *moa*, in *no moa* ‘not any more, no more’, or similarly by *tu*, *liklik*, *olgeta*, *olkain*, *oltaim*, or *yet*—in a use different from what those words mean in affirmative clauses.

Two important notes need to be made here. First, *nogat* is to be distinguished from *no gat* ‘is not, are not’, or ‘has not, have not’, which is simply the negative form of *gat*. Second, in some older styles of Tok Pisin *no* may also mean ‘or’—its more usual form is *o*.

The negator *no* is discussed in 1; *nogat*, in 2; prohibitives, in 3; negation qualified by *moa*, *tu*, etc., in 4.

### 1. The Negator *no*

The following examples illustrate *no*:

- (1) *Mi no save.*  
‘I don’t know.’
- (2) *Yupela i no asua.*  
‘You [pl.] are not to blame.’
- (3) *Em i no laikim mi.*  
‘She does not like me.’
- (4) *Yupela i no ken mekim dispela samting.*  
‘You [pl.] can’t [i.e. aren’t permitted to] do this.’
- (5) *Bai ol i no inap planim kaikai moa.*  
‘You won’t be able to grow crops any more.’
- (6) *Sapos kagoboi natnat i no stap, sik natnat tu i no inap kamap.*  
‘If the mosquitoes which are carriers [of malaria] are not there, no one will get the disease.’

- (7) *Mi no gat pikinini bilong mi yet.*  
 ‘I don’t have children of my own.’

As appears from these examples, *no* immediately precedes the predicate—the first verb in a complex predicate ((4), (5), and second clause in (6)), and it follows *i* where present (all except (1) and (7)).

*No* affects the predicate, but it is not always clear whether other constituents of the clause are also affected in their own right. Thus, in (7), perhaps the speaker does have children, adopted, or those of a spouse from a previous marriage. In such a case *bilong mi yet* is especially affected by *no*. Consider also the following, with various readings of those examples added in square brackets.

- (8) *Asde i no gat man bilong wokim dispela samting.*  
 ‘Yesterday there was no one to do this.’ [Perhaps there was no one to do any work, or there was someone, but not yesterday, or not for this job.]
- (9) *Mi no inap kisim wanpela samting bilong yu.*  
 ‘I can’t take anything that belongs to you.’ [I can’t take anything that’s not mine; or: I don’t mind taking other people’s things, but not yours.]
- (10) *Meri i no laik i kam bek wantaim yu.*  
 ‘The woman doesn’t want to come back with you.’ [She doesn’t want to come back at all; or: She does, but not with you.]
- (11) *Bai yu no gat hatwok long kamautim gras nogut.*  
 ‘You won’t have to work hard to get the weeds out.’ [You won’t have to work hard at all; or: You’ll have hard work to do, but not for weeding.]

Thus there may be a measure of ambiguity (often resolved in wider context), of the same type encountered also in English (of which the glosses of (8) through (11) would be good examples).

Whether or not *no* is preceded by *i*, it may be followed by *i*, but only before the verbs *dai* ‘to die’, *go* ‘to go’, *kam* ‘to come’, *save* ‘to do habitually X’ (where X represents the verb following *save*), and *stap* ‘to be’. Consider:

- (12) *Sapos yu no i kam, orait bai dispela sik i kamap bikpela moa.*  
 ‘If you don’t come [to get medication], this illness will get very bad.’
- (13) *Yupela i no i kam helpim mi.*  
 ‘You [pl.] did not come to help me.’
- (14) *Tasol Moses i no i go wantaim ol.*  
 ‘But Moses did not go with them.’
- (15) *Tasol i no i stap long abus na susu tasol.*  
 ‘But it [i.e. this kind of protein] is not only present in meat and milk.’
- (16) *Long taim yu lukim lip bilong poteto i dai, tasol sampela wan wan i no i dai olgeta, orait em taim bilong kamautim kaikai.*  
 ‘When you see the leaves of the potato plant die off, but there are still a few leaves here and there that have not died off altogether, then it is time to harvest the potatoes.’
- (17) *Olsem na Lot na Abram i no moa i stap wantaim.*  
 ‘So it came about that Lot and Abram were no longer together.’

- (18) *Ol Siria in no moa i kam pait long ol Israel.*  
‘The Syrians no longer came to wage war on Israel.’
- (19) *Joahas i no moa i stap king.*  
‘Jehoahaz was no longer king.’
- (20) *Olsem na king bilong Isip wantaim ol ami bilong en i no moa i go pait long ol arapela kantri.*  
‘Thus, the king of Egypt with his troops no longer went to war against other countries.’
- (21) *Sapos yupela i no bagarapim ol samting mi tambuim long yupela, bai mi no moa i ken i stap wantaim yupela.*  
‘If you [pl.] don’t destroy all those things I have forbidden for you [pl.], I will not be able to be with you [pl.] any more.’
- (22) *Ol i no i save larim wanpela i stap.*  
‘They would not leave even one of them behind there.’

*I in no i* is not obligatory, and it is characteristic rather of a slightly more archaic style, characteristic of written Tok Pisin—it seems to be rare in colloquial forms of the language. Note that *save*, which may take *i* after *no* if it is an auxiliary, cannot have *i* as the verb for ‘to know’—thus, (1) could not have *i*. Even so, *no i save* is rare. For more on *no i*, see Ch. 10, 2.1 and Ch. 10, 2.10.

## 2. The Negator *nogat*

What a replacive negator is may be explained with an English example first. The negative answer to a question like *Have the students registered?* could be *No*, *they haven’t* or *They haven’t* or simply *No*. Each of these is replacive in the sense that it replaces the full clause *The students have not registered*. Stand-alone *no* may be called replacive—it replaces a full negative clause. Tok Pisin uses *nogat*, not *no*, as such a replacement. The question and the answer are each genuine clauses, though the second, the answer, is a truncated one.

Such replacive negations may also function in complex sentences, such as *hasn’t he?* in *He has arrived, hasn’t he?*. We call such an addition a question tag. In English, such a tag requires a repetition of the auxiliary also (here: *has*), but in Tok Pisin *o nogat* ‘or not’ suffices. While *He has arrived, hasn’t he?* is coordinating (that is to say, neither of the two clauses is a dependent clause), English may also have *not* in a dependent clause (subordinated to the main clause in the entire complex sentence), in a truncated clause like *if not* (as in *If not, call me*). In such constructions, Tok Pisin uses *nogat* also.

A replacive negator of a third kind in English would be the *not at all* addition (but never simply *not*) to a negative clause, as in *We do not go in for politics. Not at all*. The addition makes the negation of the previous clause emphatic. As it happens, in English such emphasis may also be accommodated within the negated clause itself (*We do not go in for politics at all*).

By contrast, in Tok Pisin the emphatic negator is, once again, *nogat*, but it has to be replacive, as a separate (truncated) clause—it cannot be accommodated in a the preceding negative clause itself.

Replacive *nogat* as an answer to a question (or as comment on a statement) is treated in 2.1; the same *nogat* within a complex sentence, in 2.2; and the same *nogat* as a negator all by itself, in 2.3.

## 2.1 *Nogat* in Answer to a Question or Comment on Statement

Consider:

- (1) *Ol i gat mani? Nogat.*  
'Do they have money? No.'
- (2) *Ating bai Bikipela i laikim dispela samting? Mi ting nogat.*  
'Would the Lord be pleased by that? I don't think so.'
- (3) *Yupela i bin mekim gut long em o nogat? Ating nogat.*  
'Have you [pl.] been treating him well or haven't you? Perhaps you haven't.'
- (4) *Em i ting bai mi amamas long dispela tok. Tasol nogat.*  
'He thinks I will like to hear this. But not so.'

Replacive *nogat* as exemplified here applies only to Y/N questions (see Ch. 6, 1, where some other important characteristics of answers to Y/N questions are discussed).

## 2.2 "Replacive" *nogat* in a Complex Sentence

Consider the following examples:

- (1) *Sapos i gat wanpela man hia i gat laisens inap long draivim dispela trak, orait em i ken draivim. Na sapos nogat, orait trak i mas i stap.*  
'If one of the people here has a license to drive a truck, then (s)he can drive it. If not, the truck stays right here.'
- (2) *Yu mas kirap na kaikai. Sapos nogat, yu no inap wokabaut i go long longpela rot.*  
'Get up and eat, or you won't be able to walk such a distance.'
- (3) *Ol i sekap long tok i klia o nogat?*  
'Did they check whether the exposition is clear or not?'
- (4) *Pikinini i sotwin, o nogat?*  
'Does the child have breathing problems, or does it not?'
- (5) *Tuhat i kamap o nogat?*  
'Is there a temperature [with the patient] or isn't there?'
- (6) *Em i orait o nogat?*  
'Is he in good health, or isn't he?'
- (7) *Ating bel i no mekim nois? Nogat olgeta?*  
'Is there perhaps no rumbling sound in the belly? Not at all?'

(Examples (3) through (7) are questions; see Ch. 6). Given the appropriate interrogative intonation, the tag *o nogat* may be omitted. In (1) and (2), replacive *nogat* occurs in a dependent clause. In (3) through (6), which are sentences comprising coordinated clauses, *nogat* is linked to the previous clause by *o* 'or'. (The affirmative counterpart of *sapos nogat* would be *sapos yes* or *sapos olsem* 'if so'—

see Ch. 24, 2.1.3) Finally, in (7) the negative emphasis takes the form of *nogat olgeta* (on *olgeta* in negative clauses more generally, see 4.6).

### 2.3 Replacive *nogat* All by Itself

As already indicated at the beginning of 2, negation cannot be emphasized within the negative clause itself. Emphasis is given by adding a new truncated clause, of the form *nogat* or *nogat tru*—the latter is somewhat more emphatic. Consider:

- (1) *Bipo tru i no gat poteto long Papua Niugini. Nogat.*  
'A long time ago there were no potatoes in Papua New Guinea. None at all.'
- (2) *Yu no ken slipim bek long graun nating. Nogat.*  
'Don't under any circumstances put a [rice] bag on the floor without anything underneath.'
- (3) *I no gat wanpela man em inap pasim rot bilong mi. Nogat.*  
'No one at all can stop me [from doing this].'
- (4) *Tupela i no abrusim dispela rot. Nogat tru.*  
'The two [cows] did not at all stray from this road.'
- (5) *Yupela i no ken kisim winmani long taim ol i bekim dinau. Nogat tru.*  
'You [pl.] are absolutely not allowed to charge interest when they pay back their debt.'

Apart from emphasis, *nogat* may be used to negate one particular constituent taken from a preceding clause:

- (6) *Yu save Iso i gat planti gras long skin bilong en. Tasol mi nogat.*  
'You know that Esau is very hairy. But not me.'
- (7) *Sampela snek tasol i posin snek, ol arapela nogat.*  
'Only some snakes are poisonous, not others.'
- (8) *Rapim marasin long olgeta hap bilong bodi, long pes tasol nogat.*  
'Rub the ointment on all parts of the body, but not on the face.'

### 3. Prohibitives with *maski* and *nogut*

Imperatives are treated as a modal form of the verb, in Ch. 19, 8.6. Negative imperatives, or prohibitives as we shall call them, are formed with *nogut* or *maski*. *Nogut* precedes the verb and requires a subject in between *nogut* and the verb. By contrast, after *maski* (which may be followed by *long*) as a marker of the prohibitive, a subject is not needed. Note: *nogut* may be a modifier to a noun attributively (Ch. 12, 1.4) or predicatively (Ch. 22, 1.2). And *maski* has a variety of other functions and meanings (Ch. 6, 2.2; Ch. 22, 2.5; Ch. 24, 2.1.6; Ch. 24, 4.2). Examples of prohibitive *maski*:

- (1) *Maski paitim bal long han, man i mas kikim bal i go.*  
'Don't hit the ball with your hand, it should be kicked.'

- (2) *Maski long planim rais long nupela gaden.*  
'Don't plant rice in a new field.'
- (3) *Maski long baim rais i kam long arapela kantri.*  
'Don't buy rice from other countries.'
- (4) *Maski yu yet samapim.*  
'Don't sew them yourself.'
- (5) *Maski aigris long sindaun long taun.*  
'Don't be envious of life in town.'
- (6) *Maski!*  
'Don't!'
- (7) *Maski hia.*  
'Not here!'; or 'Don't do that here!'
- (8) *Sik i pinis, maski long narapela sut.*  
'The sickness has gone, don't give another injection.'

Though these are genuine prohibitives, they are more than just that. *Maski* often means 'never mind' and may then stand alone as a sentence adverb (Ch. 22, 2.5). Thus, *maski* often needs no other constituent in context (as in (6)), or it does have a constituent not a verb, as in (7) and (8). Examples of prohibitive *nogut*:

- (9) *Nogut yumi tingting long biknem bilong kantri tasol.*  
'Don't let us [incl.] think only of the reputation of the country.'
- (10) *Nogut yu toktok kwik.*  
'Don't talk too fast.'
- (11) *Nogut yumi hatwok nating.*  
'Don't let's [incl.] do hard work in vain.'
- (12) *Nogut yupela i stap nabaut na bai yupela i lus.*  
'Don't you [pl.] wander around and later lose your way.'
- (13) *Nogut yu tok, poteto em i nupela samting tru long Papua Niugini.*  
'Don't say that potatoes are very new in Papua New Guinea.'

As prohibitive *maski* is wider in meaning and function than just a prohibitive, so also *nogut* actually marks a desiderative—it suggests that something is undesirable. As a consequence, this type of *nogut*-marked clause may have subjects other than first or second person:

- (14) *Nogut ol pikinini na ol yangpela i sindaun nating.*  
'Don't let's have the youngsters just sit around without any purpose.'
- (15) *Nogut ol yangpela i ting yu kros long ol.*  
'The children must not think you are angry at them.'
- (16) *Nogut wara i go insait long ia.*  
'Make sure no water gets into the [sick] ear.'

#### 4. Negation Qualified by *wanpela*, *samting*, *moa*, *tu*, etc.

Although in Tok Pisin the negator *no* cannot be made emphatic within the same clause, there are other ways of qualifying *no* that need separate discussion.

A convenient way of introducing such qualifiers of the negator is to consider first a few ways in which Tok Pisin differs from English, in regard to negative clauses.

Negating clauses in English will entail changes from *some* to *any*, *always* to *ever*, *also* to *either*, *more* to *any more*; and the like. Compare affirmative *Give me some money* to negative *Don't give me any money*, or affirmative *He always helps me* to negative *He doesn't ever help me* (or to *He never helps me*), or affirmative *He also gave me some advice* to negative *He didn't give me any advice either*, and so forth. Let us call all such differences the “some/any difference.” The rules for them are complicated, but it suffices here merely to point out that difference.

Tok Pisin does not make such differences as between affirmative and negative, except for *yet* in *no yet*. Furthermore, Tok Pisin does not have negators in nominal form, such as English *nothing*, *nobody*, *no one*, *nothing*; nor does Tok Pisin have negators in adverbial form, such as English *never* and *nowhere*. Consider:

- (1) *Mi no gat wanpela samting.*  
'I have nothing.' Or:  
'I haven't got anything.'
- (2) *Bai mi no kros liklik long dispela. Nogat.*  
'I won't be angry at this in the least.'
- (3) *Long dispela pasin yu no inap kisim sampela mani long olgeta taim tu.*  
'In this manner you won't ever be able to earn any money either.'
- (4) *Yupela i no ken mekim olkain wok long dispela tupela de.*  
'You [pl.] are not allowed to do any kind of work during these two days.'
- (5) *Mi no laik kisim dispela olgeta pasin kranki yupela i tok long en.*  
'I don't want to have anything to do with any of those strange ways of doing things you [pl.] are talking about.'
- (6) *Em i pas tru long Bikpela na oltaim em i no lusim Bikpela.*  
'He was united with the Lord, and never turned away from him.'
- (7) *Em i no moa belgut long yu.*  
'He is no longer well-disposed towards you.'
- (8) *Donki mi sindaun long en i no inap wokabaut moa.*  
'The donkey I am riding cannot walk any more.'

From these examples one might be tempted to conclude that Tok Pisin does not have those “some/any” or other special forms of negation (such as nominal and adverbial negators) found in English, and that thus negation in Tok Pisin presents no special problems related to that difference. But such a conclusion could be deceptive. This must now be explained for the *no* qualifiers *wanpela*; *samting*; *liklik*; *tu*; *olkain*; *ol-taim*; *olgeta*; *moa*; and *yet*; this will be done in 4.1 through 4.8.

#### 4.1 *Wanpela* and *samting*

In English, *something* is always positive in that it may refer to something out there, even though it is indefinite—we say that a constituent is then indefinite but referential. The reason why this *something* becomes (*not . . .*) *anything* in negative clauses is that, though it is still indefinite, it is no longer referential. This is why



English makes a difference between a clause like *I wouldn't want something like that* and *I wouldn't want anything like that*; in the former, the speaker has something referential (though perhaps vague) in mind, while in the second he does not.

The purpose of making this point here is that, since Tok Pisin seems to have no such “some/any” difference, the problem of definiteness and referentiality does not, one would think, come up. Examples like the following would appear to confirm that impression:

- (1) *Olgeta taia i olupela, na nau mi no gat wanpela bilong senisim dispela.*  
'All the [car's] tires are old, and now I do not have any to replace this one.'
- (2) *Tasol mi ting i no gat wanpela kantri long olgeta graun em i gat independens tru.*  
'But I think there is no country in the whole world that has true independence.'
- (3) *I no gat wanpela hap insait long bodi bilong yumi, blut i no save wokabaut i go long en.*  
'There is no(t a single) part of our [incl.] body where blood does not circulate.'
- (4) *Yumi no ken wet long wanpela man i mekim wok bilong yumi.*  
'We [incl.] cannot wait for anyone to do our work for us [incl.]'
- (5) *Na balus i no painim wanpela ples bilong sindaun na malolo long en.*  
'And the dove found no place to perch and rest.'
- (6) *I no gat wanpela samting Bikpela i no inap long mekim.*  
'There is nothing the Lord cannot do.'

Nevertheless, further analysis does not confirm that impression. For in Tok Pisin the combination of negation with *wanpela* or *samting* or *wanpela samting* invariably requires some modifier to these expressions: *bilong* [ . . . ] in (1); *kantri* [ . . . ] in (2); *insait* [ . . . ] in (3); *man* [ . . . ] in (4); *ples* [ . . . ] in (5), and *Bikpela* [ . . . ] in (6). In other words, *wanpela* or *samting* must have some measure of referentiality in Tok Pisin, even though it is not definite. Here are some more examples confirming that rule:

- (7) *Sapos yu no gat samting bilong selim na kisim mani long dispela, orait bai yu kisim mani we na baim dispela olgeta samting?*  
'If you have nothing to sell and earn money from, where are you going to get the money to buy all this?'
- (8) *Ol kumu na prut bilong diwai i no gat samting bilong givim strong long body na i no gat samting bilong mekim bodi i kamap bikpela.*  
'Vegetables and fruit from trees do not have anything to make the body strong and not anything [either] to make the body grow.' [in context: they have vitamins but not proteins and minerals]
- (9) *Aisak i lapun pinis na ai bilong en i pas na em i no moa lukim ol samting.*  
'Isaac was now old and his eyes were bad and he could not see things any more.'

- (10) *Yu no ken pinisim nabaut ol samting long graun bilong yumi.*  
‘Don’t exhaust all resources of our [incl.] land.’
- (11) *Yu no ken kaikai ol samting mi tambuim ol man long kaikai.*  
‘Don’t eat what I have forbidden people to eat.’

But there is more. In some negative clauses the *wanpela* or (*wanpela*) *samting* expressions are not only definite but, in addition, even referential. This appears to be the case with *no ken* clauses, which are negative imperatives (they also hold for *nogut* negative imperatives; for such imperatives, see Ch. 19, 8.6). Consider:

- (12) *Sapos wanpela man i no bihainim lo bilong pilai, pasim pilai na toksave long stretpela pasin bilong dispela pilai.*  
‘If someone does not obey the rules of the game, interrupt the game and point out the correct way to play the game.’
- (13) *Nogut you rausim wanpela i no gat strong. Yu no ken larim bikpela manki i bagarapim ol liklik manki.*  
‘Don’t deny participation [in the game] to someone who is not good at it. It won’t do to let a strong child bully the weak ones.’
- (14) *Nogut wanpela wanpela tasol i kirap long pilai na planti ol i sindaun nating.*  
‘It isn’t right if only a few join the game and many just sit around.’
- (15) *Yu no ken stat long wanpela pilai ol i no save long en.*  
‘Don’t start a game they [the children] are not familiar with.’
- (16) *Wanpela samting tasol yupela i no ken kaikai, em mit i gat blut i stap long en.*  
‘There’s only one thing you [pl.] must not eat, meat with blood still in it.’

(Examples (12) through (15) are from a text about how to supervise games by youngsters.) *Wanpela man* in (12) refers to a particular player, even though not identified; so does *wanpela i no gat strong* in (13), and *wanpela wanpela tasol* in (14); and *wanpela pilai* is one particular game, even though not identified. In (16), *wanpela samting* is even identified (i.e. meat with blood still in it).

In short, negative clauses containing *wanpela* or *samting* must have that constituent in such a form that it is definite to a degree, even though not referential; and with the negative imperatives *no ken* (and *nogut*) these constituents must even be referential as well.

#### 4.2 Liklik

*Liklik* ‘little, a little’, combined with negation is affected by negation in meaning not ‘a little’ but ‘not in the least’, as the following examples show:

- (1) *Bai mi no kros liklik long dispela. Nogat.*  
‘I won’t be angry at this in the least.’
- (2) *King i no save sot liklik long kaikai.*  
‘The king had no lack of any food in the least.’

- (3) *Ol pris i no ken kaikai liklik hap bilong dispela ofa.*  
‘The priests cannot eat even the least portion of this sacrifice.’
- (4) *Bikpela i no helpim ol liklik.*  
‘The Lord did not help them in the least.’
- (5) *Yu no bin pret liklik long kilim dispela king Bikpela i bin makim, a?*  
‘How is it that you were not afraid in the least to kill this king the Lord has anointed?’

However, *liklik* is not affected by the negation in other cases where context shows this:

- (6) *Maniman i no ken givim planti na rabisman i no ken givim liklik.*  
‘It is not permitted for wealthy people to give much and poor people to give little [i.e. instead, all must give the same amount].’

*Liklik* within a single phrase may have a negative connotation because of that phrase, as in *liklik tasol* ‘only (a) little’. But precisely for that reason, the negativity of *liklik tasol* and negation of a clause in which it occurs, cancel one another out:

- (7) *Nogut yumi save liklik tasol long pasin bilong pilai.*  
‘We [incl.] should not know just a little about the rules of the game.’

while the negativity of that phrase keeps it negative even in an affirmative clause:

- (8) *Sapos wanpela boi i lap liklik tasol, em i mas lusim pilai na lusim lain.*  
‘If a boy gives in to laughing even in the least, he must leave the game and the team.’

### 4.3 *Tu*

*Tu* ‘too, also’ in a negative clause shares in the negation. It normally precedes the verb if the share *tu* has in the negation concerns the subject of the clause, or some other constituent preceding the verb; and it follows the verb in case *tu* concerns some other constituent after the verb.

- (1) *Na God bilong Hesehia tu bai i no inap helpim yupela.*  
‘And the God of Hezekiah will not be able to save you [pl.] either.’
- (2) *Long dispela tu i no gat poto, olsem na mipela i droim piksa long han tasol.*  
‘Of this we don’t have a [photographic] picture either, so we [excl.] have just drawn a picture by hand.’
- (3) *Em i no hat long planim na lukautim. I no hat long kukim tu.*  
‘It is not hard to plant and cultivate. It isn’t hard either to cook them.’
- (4) *Long dispela pasin yu no inap kisim sampela mani long olgeta taim tu.*  
‘In this manner you won’t ever be able to earn any money either.’
- (5) *Em tu i no kam bek.*  
‘He didn’t come back either.’

Because of the English gloss ‘either’, whose position is at the end or near the end of the clause, these English renderings may contain some ambiguity not there in the Tok Pisin original; for example, in (4), *tu* refers to the subject (*God bilong Hesehia*), but in the English gloss it could concern ‘you’ in the sense of ‘not you either’. Similarly, in (5), *tu* concerns the subject (*em*), but in the English gloss it could concern ‘come back’. Hence, Tok Pisin in this particular regard is more precise than English.

For *tu*, special attention is needed for *na tu*, which often functions as a sentence opener, meaning ‘and also’, ‘in addition’, ‘furthermore’—it could thus be considered as a truncated clause. *Na tu* may open a negative clause, but then it doesn’t share in the negation. (Note that *liklik* in (8) does.)

- (6) *Na tu, i no gat wanpela man bilong helpim ol.*  
‘Also, there was no one to help them.’
- (7) *Na tu, i no gat wara bilong drink.*  
‘Also, it [i.e. the land] has no drinking water.’
- (8) *Na tu, em i no ken kalapim liklik ol lo bilong Bikpela.*  
‘Also, he must not swerve in the least from the Lord’s commandments.’

#### 4.4 *Olkain*

*Olkain* ‘all sorts of’ in negative clauses is affected by the negation:

- (1) *Yupela i no ken mekim olkain wok long dispela tupela de.*  
‘You [pl.] are not allowed to do any kind of work during these two days.’
- (2) *Em i no mekim olkain pasin nogut olsem ol king bilong Israel i save mekim.*  
‘He did not follow all the evil customs as the kings of Israel had been doing.’
- (3) *Em i no ken mekim olkain ofa long mi.*  
‘He must not make any kind of sacrifice to me.’

#### 4.5 *Oltaim*

As for *oltaim* in negated clauses, it may be affected by the negation (as in (1) and (2)) or it may remain unaffected by it (as in (3) through (5))—as may be ascertained in context:

- (1) *Oltaim em i no ken i go insait long Rum Tambu Tru baksait long bikpela laplap.*  
‘At no time must he enter the sanctuary beyond the veil.’
- (2) *Em i pas tru long Bikpela na oltaim em i no lusim Bikpela.*  
‘He was united with the Lord, and never turned away from him.’
- (3) *Yu no ken planim pinat long wanpela graun oltaim.*  
‘Don’t plant peanuts on the same plot all the time.’
- (4) *Yu no ken ting long wok bisnis oltaim.*  
‘One can’t have one’s work for business in mind all the time.’

- (5) *Sapos narapela man i baim graun bilong yupela, em i no ken holim oltaim.*  
‘If someone else buys your [pl.] land, he cannot hold on to it for always.’

#### 4.6 *Olgeta*

*Olgeta* ‘all’ may also be affected by negation ((1) through (5), where negation + *olgeta* means ‘none’), or unaffected by it ((6) through (10), where negation + *olgeta* means ‘not all’):

- (1) *Mi no laik kisim dispela olgeta pasin kranki yupela i tok long en.*  
‘I don’t want to have anything to do with any of those strange ways of doing things you [pl.] are talking about.’
- (2) *Taim tupela lain i ran, olgeta boi long lain i no ken lusim han long sol bilong boi i stap long pes bilong ol.*  
‘When the two teams run, no boy must take his hand off the shoulder of the boy facing him.’
- (3) *Yupela olgeta man i no ken kaikai wanpela samting inap sun i go down.*  
‘None of you [pl.] may eat anything at all until sunset.’
- (4) *Olgeta man i no tingting gut.*  
‘None of them considered things properly.’
- (5) *God, Bikipela bilong yumi i no bin makim narapela lain pris namel long olgeta lain bilong yupela Israel.*  
‘God, our [incl.] Lord has not destined any other lineage of priests among all the tribes of you [pl.] of the house of Israel.’
- (6) *Liklik mani yu save tromoi long haus sik em i no inap long baim olgeta marasin yu dringim na givim pe long planti dokta na nes.*  
‘The little money yu spend on hospitals is not enough to pay for all the medication you take and to pay all those doctors and nurses.’
- (7) *No ken putim olgeta kaukau i go long sospen long wanpela taim tasol.*  
‘Don’t put all the sweet potatoes in the pan all at once.’
- (8) *Mipela i no inap kamapim olgeta nem long hia.*  
‘We [excl.] can’t mention all their names here.’
- (9) *Yumi olgeta i no ken singaut long ol i bekim dinau.*  
‘None of us [incl.] can require of them that they pay back their debt.’
- (10) *Yu no ken salim olgeta man i go long pait.*  
‘Don’t send all of the troops to battle.’

#### 4.7 *Moa*

There is, in addition, *no moa* ‘no longer, no more, not any more’, also occurring separated by one or more other constituents (symbolized here as *no* [ . . . ] *moa*). Here follow examples of joint and separated occurrences of *no moa*:

- (1) *Dispela promis yu mekim long mi i no ken pasim yu moa.*  
‘This promise you made is now not binding on you any more.’
- (2) *Mi no moa kros long yu.*  
‘I am not angry at you any more.’

Joint *no moa* and separated *no* [ . . . ] *moa* vary rather freely, but with some restrictions. The first is that joint *no moa i* must take that form because of *i*, which may follow *no moa* under the same conditions it may follow *no*, as in (3) through (5), below. The second is that *ken*, *inap* and *gat* rather frequently separate *moa* from *no*, as in (6) and (7)—but even with these verbs joint *no moa* does occur occasionally, as in (8).

- (3) *Lot na Abram i no moa i stap wantaim.*  
‘Lot and Abram did not stay together any more.’
- (4) *Bai mi no moa i ken i stap wantaim yupela.*  
‘I will not be able to be with you [pl.] any longer.’
- (5) *Ol Siria i no moa i kam pait long ol Israel.*  
‘The Syrians did not wage war against the people of Israel any more.’
- (6) *Yumi no ken singaut moa long sampela arapela ol i helpim yumi.*  
‘We [incl.] must not appeal to others any more to help us [incl.]’
- (7) *Em i no moa belgut long yu.*  
‘He is no longer well-disposed towards you.’
- (8) *Referi i ken rausim dispela man long pilai na em i no ken pilai moa.*  
‘The referee can remove this man from the game and he may not play any more.’
- (9) *Sapos sampela kaikai i sot, orait bodi bai i no moa inap i stap gut, na sik i save kamap kwik.*  
‘If there isn’t enough food [i.e. with proteins, minerals and vitamins], then the body cannot be in good health, and then one may expect illness to strike soon.’
- (10) *Ol Israel i no moa lotu long Bikpela.*  
‘The people of Israel did not worship the Lord any more.’
- (11) *Sampela buk bilong bipo tu i stap, tasol i no gat rot moa bilong kisim.*  
‘There’s an older book [on this topic], but there’s no way to obtain it any more.’
- (12) *Sapos yu no painim arapela mak moa, orait sikman i gat malaria tasol.*  
‘If you don’t find any other symptoms, the patient just has malaria.’
- (13) *Donki mi sindaun long en i no inap wokabaut moa.*  
‘The donkey I am riding cannot walk any more.’

The important point here is the question whether *moa* in *no moa* shares in the negation. This is usually the case. However, in (12), one could argue for a positive meaning: *moa* could be read as ‘other’.

#### 4.8 Yet

Finally, *no yet* means ‘not yet’. Tok Pisin *yet*, when referring to time, in affirmative clauses means ‘still’. (Note: *yet* also means ‘self’—see Ch. 21, 1.3). In *no yet*, *yet* is typically separated from *no* (examples (1) through (6), below), except in an elliptic (or shortened) construction, where the predicate has been omitted because it is understood from the context ((7) through (9), below). Consider:

- (1) *Yumi no save yet wanem rot bai planti man ol i tok long yumi bihainim.*  
‘We [incl.] do not know yet just what is that road many people tell us [incl.] to follow.’
- (2) *Samting i pasim yumi tupela taim nau, na yumi no kamap yet long taun.*  
‘There have been two things now that have blocked us [incl.] from reaching town.’
- (3) *Bodi bilong ol pikinini i no gat save yet long daunim sik natnat.*  
‘The body of children has no immunity yet against malaria.’
- (4) *Mitupela i no save yet long wanem samting bai i kamap.*  
‘We [two] [excl.] do not know yet what will happen.’
- (5) *Tasol mipela i no harim yet long wanpela man i traim pinis long Papua Niugini.*  
‘But we [excl.] have not heard yet about anyone trying it in Papua New Guinea.’
- (6) *As ples bilong poteto em i Amerika, taim ol waitskin i no bin kamap yet long dispela hap.*  
‘The place of origin of the potato is America, when white people had not arrived yet in this region.’
- (7) *Glori na olgeta gutpela samting bilong God Papa i kapsait pinis long yupela waitman, long mipela Niugini man i no yet.*  
‘Fame and all good things from God the Father have been given to you [pl.] white people in abundance, but not yet to us [excl.] in New Guinea.’
- (8) *Olsem na bisnis welpam i stap long Kimbe na Popondetta na Bialla tasol, na long sampela hap i no yet.*  
‘So the oil palm business is found in Kimbe and Popondetta en Bialla, but not in other areas yet.’
- (9) *Taim bilong ol dispela samting i mas kamap, em i no yet.*  
‘The time for all this must come, but it has not come yet.’

## 6: INTERROGATIVE CLAUSES

In regard to the difference between declarative and interrogative clauses it is easier to describe how interrogative clauses have properties not found in declarative clauses than inversely. Thus, the difference between those two clause types appears from the description of interrogative clauses, which, of the two types, constitute the marked type. Declarative clauses, in comparison, are unmarked.

Questions are distinguished as Y/N questions and as WH- questions. “Y/N” stands for “yes/no,” and Y/N questions are questions to which the answer could only be ‘yes’ or ‘no’. By contrast, WH- questions are questions to which the answer would be some specified information other than “yes” or “no.”

Some examples from English may illustrate that difference first. A question like *Have you had your breakfast?* is a Y/N question, for only a “yes” or “no” answer would answer it fully. In contrast, a question like *What did you have for breakfast?* calls for some specific information (such as *bacon and eggs*). WH- questions are called that because, in English, most of them begin with a “wh-word,” such as *what?*, *who?*, *which?*, *where?*, *when?*, *why?*, etc. Although the “WH-” label is based on English only (and on its spelling only), that label has now become common in studies of interrogativity in whatever language. We adopt that convention here.

Y/N questions and WH- questions are distinct syntactic forms of interrogative clauses in any language, Y/N questions in Tok Pisin are treated in 1; WH- questions, in 2.

### 1. Y/N Questions

Y/N questions in Tok Pisin are conveniently treated under several headings.

First, a brief description is presented of the syntactic form of such questions, especially in regard to word order.

Second, there is the type of questions that have tags like *a?*, *o?*, *laka?*, and *o nogat*. Also, *ating* may introduce such questions.

Third, the answers to Y/N questions, though these are not themselves questions, depend on the quality of the questions and are best treated together with them.

Fourth, there is the matter of dependent questions; that is, questions depending on verbs of asking, or verbs which imply asking.

These points are examined in 1.1 through 1.4, respectively.

#### 1.1 The Syntax of Y/N Questions

Languages differ syntactically in the form of Y/N questions. Some invert the order of subject and predicate that obtains in the declarative clause type. We may observe this in English *Is he ill?* Compare with this the declarative order in *He is ill*. Some languages have no such inversion in Y/N questions but have special interrogative particles. Others again retain the word order of declarative clauses



and are characterized as questions by intonation only. Yet another kind of interrogative syntax has special auxiliary verbs for questions—as is the case in English, with *do* (as in **Do** you know?).

Tok Pisin has, in Y/N questions, the same word order as in declarative clauses. Some examples:

- (1) *Ating yu klia long dispela?*  
‘Do you understand this?’
- (2) *Yupela i stap gut?*  
‘Are you [pl.] all right?’
- (3) *Ating em inap?*  
‘Would he be able to [do this]?’ or: ‘Is that enough?’

Many Y/N questions have tags, and more examples are found in 1.2. They, too, illustrate declarative word order. There is just one apparent exception to this rule, as in the question:

- (4) *Inap mi painim wanpela diwai i gat sais stret bilong raunim rop hia?*  
‘Would I be able to find a tree of the right size to wrap the rope around?’

However, as will be set out later (Ch. 7, 1.4; and especially Ch. 10, 2.2.3), the status of verbal *inap* is somewhat ambivalent as between a personal verb (‘to be able to’) and an impersonal verb (‘to be possible’)—as an impersonal verb, having no subject, it would (and does) take clause-initial place even in declarative word order.

## 1.2 Y/N Questions with Tags; and Initial *ating*

A few preliminary notes are useful. First, we may recognize certain types of bias in questions. For example, the question *You don’t want to go, do you?* may easily rest on the assumption or hope (on the part of the speaker) that the addressee doesn’t want to go. That is, in fact, expressed in the declarative word order of the question. Only the tag turns the whole into a question. It differs from *Do you want to go?*, which does not necessarily express any such bias. (The term bias here has no connotations of disapproval, it just means the kind of assumption that may go into an interrogative clause, especially when that assumption is expressed by grammatical means.)

As in many other languages, Tok Pisin has its own devices to express or avoid bias in Y/N questions.

A second point of some importance is the following. Since word order of Tok Pisin Y/N questions is the same as that of declarative clauses, intonation (rising towards the end, for this type of question) will often be enough; but when it is not, the question tag *o nogat* may be added, without any notable nuance added. The tag is frequently dispensable.

The tag *o nogat?* may be attached to affirmative questions only, not to negative ones. Other tags are *a?*, *o?* (*no?* for some speakers), *laka?* Those may be

tagged on to affirmative and negative questions. Both affirmative and negative Y/N questions may be introduced by *ating* ‘perhaps, by any chance’; *ating* may carry a note of irony. The tag *a?* expresses surprise, and in a question introduced by *ating* even amazement or irony or sarcasm (there is falling intonation at the end). The tag *o?* (with level intonation at the end) expresses openness to an answer not matching bias, if any, in the question. This *o?* may be followed by *wanem?* Finally, *laka?*, which has originated from the Islands in the East, now seems to have become firmly established on the mainland also. It seems to express agreement with the bias for the quality (i.e. affirmative or negative) of the question. Consider:

- (1) *Em i kisim pepa bilong em long UPNG (o nogat)?*  
‘Did this man [i.e. a lawyer] get his title at the University of Papua New Guinea?’
- (2) *Bipo i gat dispela kain kastam tu (o nogat)?*  
‘Did you [pl.] formerly have that custom, too?’
- (3) *Em olsem wanem, yupela i gat dispela kastam tu, o?*  
‘But how’s that, do you [pl.] have that custom too [or what]?’
- (4) *Tru, a?*  
‘True?’ [i.e. ‘You don’t say so!’; or ‘I’ll be darned!’]
- (5) *Em tru, o?*  
‘Is that true [or what]?’
- (6) *Em stret, a?*  
‘Is that right?’ or: ‘Is that correct?’
- (7) *Ating em i samting bilong yu, a?*  
‘Is that any of your business? [I certainly wouldn’t think so!]’
- (8) *Ating Jon em i Kraisa o nogat?*  
‘Might John perhaps be the Messiah?’
- (9) *Yu no sem, a?*  
‘Aren’t you ashamed of yourself?!’
- (10) *Yu nidim ka o wanem?*  
‘Do you need a car, or what?’
- (11) *Yu nidim ka (a / laka)?*  
‘You need a car, don’t you?’

### 1.3 Answers to Y/N Questions

The answer to Y/N questions is *yes* (or *yesa*) ‘yes’ or *nogat* ‘no’ in Tok Pisin. But these answers are different from the way ‘yes’ and ‘no’ function in a language like English—a point certain to be confusing to the learner unfamiliar with that difference. Consider ((a) is the question; (b) and (c), the alternative answers):

- (1) (a) *Jon i kam pinis (o nogat)?*  
‘Has John come?’
- (b) *Nogat.*  
‘No (he hasn’t).’

- (c) *Yes.*  
 ‘Yes (he has).’
- (2) (a) *Ol dispela masin i no gat bikpela pe?*  
 ‘These machines are not expensive?’
- (b) *Yes.*  
 ‘No (they aren’t).’
- (c) *Nogat.*  
 ‘Yes (they are).’

Note that the difference between Tok Pisin and English is only in answers to negative questions. Answers to affirmative questions follow the same strategy in both languages.

The strategy in a language like English is as follows. In replying *yes* or *no* to a question, the quality of the question (affirmative or negative) is ignored. Thus, assuming John has come, then the answer is *yes* to the affirmative question whether John has come, but also to the negative question whether John has not come. Similarly, assuming John has not come, then the answer is *no* to the affirmative question whether John has come but also to the negative question whether John has not come. This is what is meant by “ignoring the quality (affirmative or negative) of the question.” Or, in other words, *yes* in English replaces an affirmative sentence as answer, and *no* replaces a negative sentence as answer, no matter whether, in either case, the question is affirmative or negative.

In contrast, Tok Pisin *yes* and *nogat*, in reply to questions, take as their target the quality of the question. Thus, assuming John has come, then the answer is *yes* to the affirmative question whether John has come (as in English) but *nogat* to the negative question whether John has not come. Similarly, assuming John has not come, then the answer is *no* to the affirmative question whether John has come but *yes* to the negative question whether John has not come. In other words, the answers *yes* and *nogat*, to affirmative questions, are the same as *yes* and *no*, respectively, in English, but the answers *yes* and *nogat* to negative questions correspond to *no* and *yes*, respectively, in English. Here are some more examples:

- (3) (a) *Ating strong bilong em i no inap?*  
 ‘Wouldn’t he be strong enough for that?’
- (b) *Yes.*  
 ‘No (he wouldn’t).’
- (c) *Nogat.*  
 ‘Yes (he would be).’
- (4) (a) *Yu no gat mani?*  
 ‘Don’t you have any money?’
- (b) *Yes.*  
 ‘No, (I don’t.)’
- (c) *Nogat.*  
 ‘Yes (I do).’

(For *nogat* in reply to WH- questions, see 2.1.2.)

### 1.4 Dependent Y/N Questions

A dependent question is a question depending, syntactically, on some verb of asking. Thus, in the sentence *Charles asked <if Mary could do this>*, the dependent question (that is, depending on the verb *asked*) is the part within angle brackets. In regard to the form of the question we call the subclause *if Mary could do this* an indirect question—the direct question would be *Can Mary do this?* (or, if the question was addressed to Mary, *Can you do this?*). Thus dependent questions take the form of an indirect question in a language like English.

Tok Pisin has two kinds of dependent Y/N questions. In one, the dependent question does not differ in any way from an independent question, except that the verb of asking plus the question result in one whole, in regard to intonation, and without the pause that may typically precede a new clause; we may call this the unmarked dependent question. The other kind of dependent question in Tok Pisin is the marked type, marked, that is, by *sapos* ‘if, whether’ at the beginning of the question. These two types are discussed in 1.4.1 and 1.4.2, respectively.

#### 1.4.1 Unmarked Dependent Questions

Here are some examples of this type:

- (1) *Mi laik askim yu bai yu mekim dispela samting o nogat.*  
‘I want to ask you if you will do this (or not).’
- (2) *Yu mas askim ol brata bilong yu ol i stap gut o nogat.*  
‘You must ask your brothers whether or not they are well.’
- (3) *Em bai i kam bilong askim yu bai pikinini i ken orait gen, o nogat.*  
‘She will come to ask you if the child will be well again.’

The tag *o nogat*, which is ordinarily optional, cannot invariably be dispensed with in dependent Y/N questions of the unmarked type, especially not when the question itself opens with *bai*, which may also open a clause of purpose (Ch. 24, 2.1.4); and considering that *askim* (like English *ask*) may also mean ‘to request’. Compare (1) with (4):

- (4) *God, mi askim yu bai yu tingim ol dispela gutpela wok mi bin mekim.*  
‘God, I ask you that you may remember these good works I have been doing.’

If (4) is to mean ‘God, I ask whether you will remember [ . . . ]’, then *o nogat* would have to be added.

#### 1.4.2 Marked Dependent Questions

The marked form of dependent Y/N questions is introduced by *sapos* as in:

- (1) *Inap yu stori liklik long mipela sapos yu gat dispela kain kastom olsem inisiesen?*  
‘Can you tell us [excl.] a bit if you people have this kind of custom like initiation?’

The *sapos* marking is clearly a case of anglicization and distinctly acrolectal. *Sapos* in Tok Pisin is the normal word to introduce a conditional clause (Ch. 24, 2.1.3), not a dependent question. Its use in published Tok Pisin texts is extremely rare, and in colloquial Tok Pisin it seems to occur only among those also fluent in English.

## 2. WH- Questions

As noted at the beginning of the chapter, WH- questions differ from Y/N questions in that an adequate answer to WH- questions gives information other than ‘yes’ or ‘no’. Any WH- question necessarily rests on some assumption (a bias). Thus, *When did you come?* rests on the assumption (the bias) that you did indeed come, and the detail to be filled in is the time. Similarly, *What plans does John have?* assumes that John has plans, and what is asked is: what plans.

WH- questions have their own syntactic structure, involving certain rules for word order as well as other syntactic properties. For Tok Pisin, these are briefly indicated at the beginning of 1.4. Also, like Y/N questions, WH- questions are distinguished as independent and dependent. Independent WH- questions are treated in 2.1; dependent WH- questions (to be renamed “dependent WH- constructions”), in 2.2.

### 2.1 Independent WH- Questions

WH- interrogatives in Tok Pisin are either single words or phrases (that is, word groups). In single word form these interrogatives are pronouns, such as *husat?* ‘who?’ and *wanem?* ‘what’; or adverbs *we?* ‘where?’, *hau?* ‘how?’, and *watpo?* ‘why?, what for?’; and there is one quantifying interrogative *hamas?* ‘how much?, how many?’ (for some speakers with *-pela*, *hamaspela?*; see Ch. 3, 2.4).

Some phrasal interrogatives are much like simple word interrogatives. They are: *wanem samting?* ‘what?’; *wanem kain?* ‘what kind of?’; *husat man?* ‘who [sg.; pl.]?’ or *husat ol man?* ‘who [pl.]?’; these, though phrasal, are syntactically equivalent to single word interrogatives in that they may occur in subject or object position.

Other phrasal interrogatives are marked by *long* or *bilong*, and can only be adjuncts; there is the group consisting of *long wanem* [+ noun], such as *long wanem taim?* ‘at what time?, at which time?, when?’; *long wanem hap?* ‘where?’; *long wanem as?* ‘for what reason?, why?’, and the like. Finally, there is *bilong wanem?* ‘why?’ (*Long wanem* without a noun following is not interrogative and means ‘because’—see Ch. 24, 2.1.2.)

*Husat?* ‘who?’ is used as a simple pronoun, that is, not modifying anything else with the interrogative phrase. We say it is used substantivally. *Husat?* is used attributively in *husat man?* or *husat meri?* ‘who? [sg. or pl.]’, which seems to be used only in subject position. *Wanem?* may be used either substantivally or attributively. Both substantival and attributive *wanem?* may be used in predicate position and in object or adjunct positions, but must be either clause-initial or clause-final. In subject position, *wanem?* can be used only attributively.

Phrasal interrogatives with *long* or *bilong* (*bilong wanem?*; and the *long wanem?* + noun type) must also be either clause-initial or clause-final. *Husat?* is discussed in 2.1.1; *wanem?*, in 2.1.2; *we?*, *hau?*, and *waipo?* in 2.1.3; phrasal WH- interrogatives, in 2.1.4; *hamas?* as a quantifying interrogative, in 2.1.5.

Finally, special discussion is needed for elliptical and parenthetical WH- interrogatives, in 2.1.6; and for serial *na* in WH- questions, in 2.1.7.

### 2.1.1 *Husat?*

*Husat?*, both in substantival and attributive use, always refers to humans, not things. It may be used as any constituent of the clause or as part of any constituent (as subject, object, or adjunct) and in predicate position—except for *husat man*, *husat ol man*, and *husat meri*, which seem to be used only as subject or predicate. *Husat?* may take either initial or final position in the clause, and must take final position as a predicate in equational clauses (see Ch. 7, 1.2).

Finally, *husat?* may be singular or plural. The plural may be made explicit by *ol*, as in an expression like *husat ol man?*

Predicative *husat?* is treated first; *husat?* in other positions, after that.

Predicative *husat* occurs in an equational clause. What an equational clause is may be illustrated with English examples first. Consider *That is my sister*, or *My sister is a dentist*. Syntactically, an equational clause equates subject and predicate. In *That is my sister*, the pronoun *that* points out a person (typically unknown to the addressee) and then identifies that person (*my sister*). This type of equational clauses may be called “identifying.” The clause *My sister is a dentist* does not identify one particular person (typically, the assumption is that the person has already been identified), but characterizes the person, according to her profession, (in this case, she is a dentist). This type of equational clause may be dubbed “characterizing.”

In many languages identifying and characterizing equational clauses are treated differently. In English, for example, that is what spells the difference between *That is my sister* or *It is my sister* (identifying) and *She is my sister* (characterizing). *She* typically refers to a person already known (though perhaps only vaguely).

In Tok Pisin the difference between identifying and characterizing equational clauses is that the predicate marker *i* (Ch. 7, 1) is used in the latter, but not in the former—that is, it is used with any subject other than *mi* ‘I’, *yu* ‘you [sg.]’, or *yumi* ‘we [incl.]’, none of which take *i* if occurring immediately before the predicate. Here we consider how this rule works out for WH- interrogatives:

- (1) *Yu husat?*  
‘Who are you?’
- (2) *Yu husat man na yu save tok nogut?*  
‘Who are you to judge?’
- (3) *Dispela man em husat?*  
‘Who is this man [whom I’ve never met yet]?’
- (4) *Dispela man em i husat?*  
‘Who is this man [whom I’ve met already]?’

- (5) *Em husat?*  
‘Who is it?’; or ‘Who is that?’ [i.e. that person I’ve never met]?’
- (6) *Em i husat?*  
‘Who is he [i.e. that person whom I’ve met already]?’
- (7) *Na arapela man em husat?*  
‘And who is my neighbor?’
- (8) *Dispela Pikinini Bilong Man em husat?*  
‘This Son of Man, who is he?’

(Note that *husat?* in (2) is used attributively.)

In (3) and (5), the clause is identifying; in (4) and (6), characterizing; note that *i* is not used in (3) and (5), and that it is present in (4) and (6). The explanation in brackets in the gloss expresses this difference.

Equational clauses in interrogative form often have a special use of *na*, which normally means ‘and’ but which, in WH- questions, fulfills a rather different function that may be called serial. Examples (with contextual information in square brackets):

- (9) *Mi husat na mi inap pasim rot bilong God?*  
‘Who am I to stop God?’
- (10) *Yu man, yu husat na yu bikmaus long God?*  
‘Who are you, man, to answer God back?’
- (11) *Dispela man em i husat na mi harim dispela tok long em?*  
‘[I had John the Baptist beheaded and] who [now] is this man [Jesus] [who some say is John] I hear these things about?’

For more on this construction, see Ch. 9, 1.

Occasionally, predicative *husat?* is clause-initial:

- (12) *Husat dispela man i wokabaut i kam long yumi?*  
‘Who is this man who is coming towards us [incl.]?’
- (13) *Husat dispela man i no gat gutpela tingting?*  
‘Who is this man who cannot think straight?’

Nonpredicative positions taken by *husat?* are those of any constituent in the clause. Consider:

- (14) *Husat (ol) man i stap long dispela konperens?*  
‘Who are attending the conference?’
- (15) *Husat man nogut i no pret long mekim olsem?*  
‘What evil man would not be afraid to do a thing like that?’
- (16) *Husat em i mama na brata bilong mi?*  
‘Who is my mother and who are my brothers?’
- (17) *Husat i bin givim dispela namba long yu?*  
‘Who has given you this right?’
- (18) *Yupela i laik painim husat?*  
‘Whom are you [pl.] looking for?’

- (19) *Profet i tok long husat na i mekim dispela tok?*  
‘Whom is the prophet speaking about?’
- (20) *Em i pikinini bilong husat?*  
‘Whose son is he?’
- (21) *Husat bai helpim mipela?*  
‘Who will help us [excl.]?’
- (22) *Husat i raun na bungim samting gen?*  
‘Who will go around and collect something [that’s been borrowed]?’
- (23) *Husat i tokim yu?*  
‘Who told you?’
- (24) *Bai yupela i lotu long husat?*  
‘Who will you [pl.] be worshiping?’
- (25) *Yu gat tok long husat?*  
‘Who are you talking about?’
- (26) *Ating king i laik mekim olsem long husat?*  
‘Who would the king want to treat that way?’

*Husat?* is subject in (14) through (17), and in (21) through (23); object, in (18); (part of an) adjunct, in (19), and in (24) through (26); it belongs in the phrase *pikinini bilong husat*, in which the part *bilong husat?* is a modifier of *pikinini*. Final position of *husat?* is found in non-subject position, as in (18), and after the first verb in (19), and further in (20), and (24) through (26).—Note that (19) is of the type illustrated in (9) through (11).

*Tru*, after *husat?*, lends urgency to the question:

- (27) *Husat tru bai i go?*  
‘Who is going anyway?’
- (28) *Husat tru bai i bosim dispela kantri?*  
‘Who anyway is going to govern this country?’
- (29) *Husat tru i king bilong kantri Israel, yu o narapela man?*  
‘Who, I wonder, is the king of this country Israel, you or someone else?’
- (30) *Husat tru i kilim ol dispela lain?*  
‘Who really killed these people?’

### 2.1.2 *Wanem?*

As with *husat?*, it is, also with *wanem?*, convenient to treat equational clauses with predicative *wanem?* and with nonpredicative *wanem?* separately.

Like *husat?*, *wanem?* may be used substantivally or it may be used attributively. Attributive use of *wanem?* is found in *wanem samting?*, in *wanem kain?*, and in *wanem?* [+ noun]. Predicative *wanem?* interrogatives are examined first; after that, nonpredicative ones; finally, *nogat* in reply to *wanem?* questions.

As with predicative *husat?*, so also with predicative (substantival) *wanem?* and with *wanem samting?* a distinction is needed between identification and characterization, and the use of the predicate marker *i* plays approximately the same role with these interrogatives.



However, for *wanem?* and *wanem samting?*, there are three rather than two points on the continuum between identification and characterization, as follows: The need for pure identification omits both *i* and *samting*; the need for what may be described as a mixture of initial characterization and further identification has *i* but omits *samting*; finally, the need for characterization only has both *i* and *samting*. The following examples, with additional information in brackets, illustrate these three points:

- (1) *Em wanem?*  
'What (on earth) is that [thing I've never seen yet]?'
- (2) *Em i wanem?*  
'What is that? [i.e. that thing I seem to recognize but not quite]'
- (3) *Em i wanem samting?*  
'What is it [i.e. I think I know, but need more information]?'
- (4) *Ombudsman em i wanem samting?*  
'What is an ombudsman? [i.e. I think I know, but not quite]'
- (5) *Biskit em i wanem samting?*  
'What is a biscuit?' [i.e. I know more or less, but not quite]
- (6) *Man em i wanem samting na yu save tingting long em?*  
'What is man, that you should think of him?'
- (7) *Tok tru em i wanem samting?*  
'What is truth?'

In (1), *em* refers to something quite unknown to the speaker (for example, some insect he or she has never seen); in (2), what *em* refers to is not unknown to the speaker, but he or she still lacks clear identification; finally, (3) asks for more information about something whose identity is already known. That type is also exemplified in (4) through (7): it is not that the speaker has no idea at all about what is named by the subject (an ombudsman; biscuit; man, truth), but further information is requested.

The additional clarifications in square brackets are supposed to be the questioner's if he or she were to phrase them, but the matter is more subtle, involving what the addressee knows (or, rather, what the questioner assumes the addressee knows). Here follow some examples of *wanem kain?* in predicate position; that is, as part of the predicate.

- (8) *Em i wanem kain man na win wantaim wara i harim tok bilong em?*  
'What kind of man is he, that even wind and water obey him?'
- (9) *Na ol dispela spia [ . . . ], em ol hap diwai o ain o wanem kain spia?*  
'And those spears [ . . . ], are they wooden spears, or iron, or what (kind)?'

Note that *na* is serial in (6) and (8)—see 2.1.7.

Next, we deal with *wanem samting?*, *wanem wanem samting?*, *wanem kain?*, and *wanem [+ noun]?* in other positions. As is the case with *husat?*, so also *wanem samting?* (or *wanem wanem samting?*), *wanem kain?*, and *wanem?* [+ noun] is found in all positions of subject, object, and adjunct, and in those positions *wanem?* is found either substantivally or predicatively. For example:

- (10) **Wanem** lo em i winim olgeta lo na i namba wan?  
‘Which commandment is the most important and the first?’
- (11) *Sapos ol i no mekim, bai wanem samting i kamap?*  
‘If they don’t do that, what will happen?’
- (12) **Wanem samting** i pasim rot na mi no inap kisim baptais?  
‘What is to keep me from being baptized?’
- (13) *Em long tok ples em yu kolim wanem?*  
‘What do you call that in the local language?’
- (14) *Bai mi mekim wanem na mi kisim laip?*  
‘What should I do to obtain life?’
- (15) *Yu tok wanem long yu yet?*  
‘What do you say about yourself?’
- (16) *Bai mi bihainim wanem rot?*  
‘What road should I follow?’
- (17) *Ol i gat oksen long wanem taim?*  
‘When do they have the auction?’
- (18) *Dispela meri i bilong wanem hap?*  
‘What area is this woman from?’
- (19) **Wanem samting tru** i gat maket long en?  
‘What would be the kind of thing there is a market for?’

Note that *na* is serial in (10), (12), and (14)—see 2.1.7.

In (10) through (12), it seems that the interrogative in subject position requires the phrasal form of *wanem samting?* or *wanem?* [+ noun]?; that is, \**wanem?* cannot be used substantivally in subject position. In contrast, in object position, *wanem?* can be used substantivally, as in (13) through (15); (16) exemplifies attributive *wanem?* in object position. Finally, (17) and (18) illustrate prepositional use.

In (19), the expression *long wanem samting?* has been avoided by turning *wanem samting?* into a subject, and by picking it up again as a preposition (*long*) plus the pronoun *en* clause-finally. This pronominal pick-up occurs a great deal in relative clauses (Ch. 14, 1.6).

Note *wanem samting tru?* in (19): *tru* lends urgency to the question.

In *wanem wanem samting?* we find *wanem?* reduplicated (in (21), the question is a dependent one):

- (20) *Ol i lukim wanem wanem samting tru insait long banis bilong you?*  
‘What kind of things did they actually see inside your home?’
- (21) *Na tu yu mas tingim gut wanem kain kain wok i stap na i gat wok long redim wanem wanem samting.*  
‘Also, you have to consider carefully what kinds of work there are and what kind of things you will need to prepare.’

See also Ch. 17, 7, on reduplications.

As noted at the beginning of 2, answers to WH- questions contain specific information relating to the WH- interrogative. When in reply to questions there is no information to be given directly related to the interrogative, the reply is *nogat*:

- (22) (a) *Yupela i mekim wanem long skul tude?*  
 ‘What did you [pl.] do at school today?’  
 (b) *Nogat.*  
 ‘Nothing.’

Though the best English gloss here happens to be ‘nothing’, there is in Tok Pisin no single word for English ‘nothing’ any more than Tok Pisin has other nounlike negations (such as *no one*, *nobody* in English). Rather, *nogat* in (22) (b) conveys something like “question is not applicable” (since the speaker of (22) (b) did nothing at school). Thus, *nogat* in reply to a WH- question exposes what the respondent considers to be the bias of the question.

### 2.1.3 *We?*, *hau?*, and *watpo?*

These three nonpronominal WH- question words are quite unlike one another in that *hau?* ‘how’ is a recent anglicization, and in that *watpo?* introduces an impatient question (often connotating anger on the part of the questioner). Of these three, only *we?* ‘where?’ is common. Consider:

- (1) *Watpo na mama i karim mi man?*  
 ‘Why did I have to be born a male?’  
 (2) *Hau yupela save wokim mani long krokodail?*  
 ‘How do you [pl.] make money from crocodiles?’  
 (3) *Ol i stap we?*  
 ‘Where are they?’  
 (4) *We stap papa bilong yu?*  
 ‘Where is your father?’  
 (5) *Yu stap we na yu kam?*  
 ‘Where are you coming from?’

Note serial *na* in (1) and (5)—see 2.1.7.

Example (1) is a jocular complaint by male boarding students, seeing that girls normally stay in the village. *Hau?* in (2) is from recordings of conversations (note also the anglicized *krokodail*, which in Tok Pisin is *pukpuk*); the usual Tok Pisin equivalent for ‘how?’ is *olsem wanem?* (2.1.4).

Of these three interrogatives, only *we?* is regular standard Tok Pisin—but the use of *watpo?* seems to be increasing in published texts. *We?* occurs clause-initially and clause-finally; in serial constructions like (5) it cannot be clause-initial. *We?* in fact seems to be clause-initial only with *stap* ‘be’, as in (4); note the inverted subject-predicate order, which is due to initial *we?*—it seems the inverted order in this construction is possible only with third person subjects.

### 2.1.4 Phrasal Interrogative Adjuncts

Phrasal interrogative adjuncts are: *bilong wanem?*, *bilong wanem samting?*, *bilong wanem as?* ‘why?’ (lit.: ‘for what reason, on what ground?’); and *olsem wanem?* ‘how?’. (Note: *Long wanem* ‘because’ is a complex conjunction, not an interrogative; see Ch. 24, 2.1.2.) Examples:

- (1) *Bilong wanem yu mekim olsem?*  
'Why do you do this?'
- (2) *Bilong wanem yupela i kros long mi?*  
'Why are you [pl.] angry at me?'
- (3) *Bilong wanem na mi mas tokim long yu?*  
'Why do I have to tell you?'
- (4) *Bilong wanem as na yu tokim mi long dispela samting?*  
'Why are you telling me about this?'
- (5) *Bilong wanem samting tru yu wok long mekim?*  
'What are you doing that for anyway?'

Note serial *na* in (3) and (4)—see 2.1.7.

*Tru* at the end of the interrogative phrase, as in (5), lends urgency to the question. For *olsem wanem?*, consider:

- (6) *Olsem wanem bai mi save dispela graun bai i kamap graun bilong mi?*  
'How will I know that this land will become my land?'
- (7) *Bai mi karim pikinini olsem wanem?*  
'How will it be possible for me to have children?'
- (8) *Olsem wanem na nau yupela i kam long me?*  
'How does it come about that now you [pl.] come to me?'
- (9) *Na yu olsem wanem?*  
'And how about you?'
- (10) *Olsem wanem na dispela sik i kamap long natnat?*  
'How does this disease [i.e. malaria] get to the mosquitoes?'

Note serial *na* in (8) and (10)—see 2.1.7.

### 2.1.5 *Hamas?* as a Quantifying Interrogative

*Hamas?* (sometimes: *hamaspela?*) 'how many?', 'how much?' is exemplified here:

- (1) *Yu gat hamas krismas nau?*  
'How old are you now?'
- (2) *Hamas de na nait bel hevi bilong mi i mas i stap?*  
'How many days and nights will my sadness last?'
- (3) *Hamas de pikinini i sik i stap?*  
'How many days has the child been ill?'
- (4) *Yu laik kisim hamas pe long wok bilong yu?*  
'How much do you want for your work?'

### 2.1.6 Elliptical and Parenthetical WH- Interrogatives

An elliptical construction is a construction not in full form—parts which are understood from context or from the situation itself in which utterances are made.

Thus, in English, in reply to the question *Have you seen that?*, the reply in full form would be *Yes, I have seen that* or *No, I have not seen that*; elliptically, however, we would say *Yes, I have* or *No, I have not*, or even just *Yes* or *No*. Such a

shortened utterance is a case of ellipsis; it is elliptical. Answers to questions are normally elliptical (1.3).

Here follow some examples of frequently occurring elliptical questions (these may function as exclamations as well, and are as such perhaps parallel to rhetorical questions):

- (1) *olsem wanem?* ‘how did this happen?, how are you?, how are things?, what’s the matter?’; *bilong wanem?* ‘why?, what for?’; *long wanem hap?* ‘in which area?’ (or, simply, ‘where?’—*we?* ‘where?’ does not seem to occur elliptically); *bilong husat?* ‘whose?, for whom?’; *wanem?* ‘what?’; *na wanem!* ‘but of course!’ is an exclamation.

The WH- question *wasamara?* ‘what’s the matter?’ is not a case of ellipsis; there is no full form of it. *Wasamara?* is a package loan directly from English. However, the use of it seems to be only regional and to be declining.

### 2.1.7 “Serialized” WH- Questions

Serial *na* is different from coordinating *na* ‘and’—an extensive treatment of serial *na* is found in Ch. 9. A number of examples are found above, in the present chapter.

This *na* may be called serial in that it combines two parts, at least one of which could be a stand-alone clause, into one clause only—or into a higher clause and its subclause (Ch. 24, 2.1.5). Consider once again 2.1.3, (5), repeated here:

- (1) *Yu stap we na yu kam?*  
‘Where are you coming from?’

If *na* were coordinating here, we would have two clauses, the first interrogative (*yu stap we?*), the second declarative (*yu kam*). Needless to say, such an analysis makes no sense at all. The whole of (1) is just one clause, and it is interrogative. Since Tok Pisin does not have an interrogative phrase \**long we?* ‘from where?’, two verbs are needed, and *na* serializes those, within one clause.

Consider also the following, where the one clause analysis is not obvious:

- (2) *Em i mekim wanem na yu gat sik?*  
‘What did he do [to you] that you got sick?’ or: ‘How did he make you sick?’
- (3) *Olsem wanem na yu kam long mi?*  
‘Why do you come to me?’
- (4) *Olsem wanem na em i no inap long wokim haus?*  
‘Why can’t he build a house?’ or: ‘How come he can’t build a house?’
- (5) *Bilong wanem na yupela i no laik go long pati?*  
‘Why don’t you [pl.] want to go to the party?’

Example (2) is compared to the construction in (1), except that the first verb in (2) is transitive, and what follows *na* is the result of what is stated before it. Thus the *na* clause may be seen as consecutive; see Ch. 24, 2.1.5. That consecutive analysis also applies to (3) through (5), where the first part is not verbal. It is in

fact elliptical, but still replaces a full clause, with consecutive meaning of *na*. This *na* after ‘why?’ words or phrases is extremely common in Tok Pisin.

## 2.2 Dependent WH- Constructions

In the discussion of dependent WH- questions, the issue arises about those other WH- clauses which are indefinite and generalizing rather than interrogative. Consider an English clause sequence like *What books do you want? You can charge them to me.* The first is a question, the second is not. It is only a short step from this sequence to the complex sentence *Whatever books you want, you can charge them to me*, and another short step from there to *Whatever books you want you can charge to me*, and to *You can charge to me whatever books you want*. Note that, in the last two, *them* has disappeared; *whatever books* has become the object (of *charge*), and the remainder is a relative clause. Indeed, in many languages, relative pronouns originate from interrogative pronouns, which is what we find also in Tok Pisin (see the introduction to Ch. 14). The dependent clause *whatever books you want* is clearly an indefinite or generalizing type of clause, rather than a dependent interrogative.

Many other languages have the same interrogative origin of what seems to be a gray area between interrogative and indefinite and generalizing subclauses, and Tok Pisin is one of them. (Because of this gray area, the heading of the present subsection reads “constructions” rather than “questions.” However, depending on each example, some of them are no doubt questions—dependent ones.) Consider:

- (1) *Husat (ol) man i no laik harim dispela tok, ol i ken go.*  
‘Whoever doesn’t want to listen to this talk may go.’
- (2) *Wanem (ol) man i no laik harim dispela tok, ol i ken go.*  
‘Whoever doesn’t want to listen to this talk may go.’
- (3) *Wanem samting bai i kamap, tokim mi.*  
‘Whatever happens, let me know.’
- (4) *Ol bikman bai ol i save long wanem samting ol i save toktok.*  
‘The headmen will then know what they are talking about.’

Note that in (1) and (2) the indefinite constituent in the dependent WH-clause (*husat* and *wanem*—the two clauses are identical except for this difference) is picked up again in the main clause as *ol*, where it is the subject. In contrast, in (3) and (4), there is no such pick-up (of *wanem samting*) in the main clause, since it would not be the subject there.

As appears from (2), *wanem* in such a dependent construction may be associated with humans: *wanem man*, *wanem meri*: *wanem* could never relate to humans in independent questions.

Also, *wanem* and *husat* in this type of gray construction may be reduplicated; consider:

- (5) *King i bin putim wanpela lo bilong makim wanem wanem lain i mas bosim wok bilong mekim musik long haus bilong God long olgeta de.*

'The king issued a decree that designated which groups must supervise the music in the house of God every day.'

- (6) *Bilong lukautim woksop i mas i gat wanpela man no meri i tingim gut wanem wanem samting i stap insait long woksop.*  
 'To look after the repair shop there has to be a man or woman who considers carefully what kind of things are in the shop.'
- (7) *Haus o wanem wanem samting yumi save wokim, em i ken sting.*  
 'A house or whatever else we [incl.] want to construct may deteriorate.'

(Note that *no* in (7) is the same as *o* 'or'.)

In conclusion, here are some examples of dependent *hamas?* questions:

- (8) *Yupela i mas painimaut hamas manmeri i stap.*  
 'You [pl.] have to find out how many people there are.'
- (9) *Dispela lista i tok hamas gol na silva ol i mas kisim.*  
 'This inventory list states how much gold and silver they have to get.'
- (10) *Em i mas was long hamas taim bilong pilai i stap yet.*  
 'He [i.e. the referee] has to consider how much playing time is left.'

These are clear instances of dependent questions.

Finally, when these WH- constructions are not dependent questions and are indefinite and generalizing in the sense meant here (of the 'no matter who' type, or 'no matter what', and the like), they may require *maski*, preceding them:

- (11) *Orait na em i tok, "Bai mi pinisim olgeta manmeri mi bin wokim, maski ol i stap long wanem hap."*  
 'Then he said: "I will destroy all the people I have created, no matter where they live."'
- (12) *Man i mekim sin bai em i mas i dai, maski em i husat man.*  
 'A man who sins must die, no matter who he is.'
- (13) *Maski hamas pe yupela i makim, em bai mi givim yupela.*  
 'No matter how much you [pl.] name, I will give it to you [pl].'

For discussion of these dependent WH- constructions, see Ch. 24, 2.1.6.

## 7: SIMPLE PREDICATES

The predicate is the principal constituent of the clause—its center, so to speak, or its core. In clauses containing a subject and an object, the predicate must be a verb in Tok Pisin, as it must be in any language: a transitive verb, in the nature of the case. But in intransitive clauses—that is, clauses with a subject only (apart from adjuncts, if any)—languages differ considerably.

For example, in Tok Pisin, the clause *Em papa bilong mi* ‘That is my father’ has no verb at all—the predicate is *papa bilong mi*. In contrast, English would convey the same in the form *That is my father*, containing the copulative verb (or copula) *is*. The predicate includes *is* and thus has the form *is my father*. As it happens, English has a rule that any type of predicate must be verbal.

The Tok Pisin clause *Em i papa bilong mi* ‘He is my father’ is also possible (it is slightly different from *Em papa bilong mi*), but *i* in it (traditionally called the predicate marker) is not verbal.

In other types of the intransitive predicate in Tok Pisin it is not always immediately clear whether or not the predicate is a verb. For example, in *Ol i amamas* ‘They are happy’ or ‘They enjoy themselves’, is *amamas* a verb, or an adjective, or what? This question is a question about word classes—verbs and nouns and adjectives and adverbs are word classes (see Ch. 18). For now, we may avoid the word class problem by calling *amamas* simply a modifier: it modifies *ol man*, and it does so in predicate form, or as we say, predicatively.

Whether or not a predicate is accompanied by the predicate marker *i* depends for the most part (though not entirely) on what kind of subject it has.

Finally, an intransitive predicate may contain a genuine verb. Thus, in *Ol i go long maket* ‘They go to market’, the predicate *go* is a verb.

For the purposes of the description to follow, it is convenient to divide predicates into those that are simple and those that are complex. A predicate consisting of one word only (as in *Ol i go long maket* ‘They go to the market’) is simple. Any nonverbal predicate is also considered simple, even if comprised of more than one word (as in *Em i papa bilong mi*). Verbal predicates containing a single copula verb are also simple (as in *Em i stap Praim Minista* ‘He is Prime Minister’).

All other predicates are complex. Thus, *Em i kamap king pinis* ‘He has become king’, ‘He is the king now’ has a complex predicate (because of *pinis*), even though the core verb (*kamap*) is a copula. Similarly, the predicate is complex in: *Ol i wokabaut i go* ‘They walked away’, ‘They went on foot’; or in *Mipela i amamas i stap* ‘We [excl.] were enjoying ourselves’; or in *Mi bin tokim yu bipo* ‘I told you earlier’; and so forth. Nothing much hinges on the distinction between simple and complex predicates as understood here, except that it provides a convenient division of subject matter for description and discussion.

Simple predicates are treated in the present chapter; complex predicates, in Chs. 8 through 10.

Finally, there are the so-called “presentative constructions.” These are constructions that introduce a new topic in context. They take special syntactic form in a large number of languages, including English, but in Tok Pisin they do not



(as compared to other predicate forms). Tok Pisin thus is rather exceptional among languages for having no such special form, and for that reason alone these constructions merit special discussion.

In the present chapter, the topics up for discussion are: the predicate marker *i* (Section 1); copulative predicates (Section 2); modifier predicates (Section 3); and presentative constructions (Section 4).

### 1. The Predicate Marker *i*

The particle *i* marks the predicate, and immediately precedes it. If there is *no* or *bin* (or both), *i* precedes it or them. The function of *i* is to pick up, in the form of this particle, one particular kind of subject, either third person or a subject with some third person element in it. But this needs a bit of explaining.

The subject triggering *i* is third person, such as *em* ‘he, she, it’, as in *Em i les* ‘He is tired’; or *ol* ‘they’, as in *Ol i les* ‘They are tired’; or a noun (or noun phrase), as in *Papa i les* ‘Father is tired’ or *Papa bilong yu i les* ‘Your father is tired’. In contrast, nonthird subjects do not trigger *i*; for example in *Mi les* ‘I am tired’, or in *Yu les* ‘You [sg.] are tired’, or in *Yumi les* ‘We [incl.] are tired’, there is no *i*.

However, even nonthird subject pronouns trigger *i* for the predicate in case other constituents intervene between that pronoun and the predicate, as in *Mi wanpela i les* ‘I alone am tired’; and this confirms the basic function of *i*, which is to pick up the subject pronoun. (Let us call this particular type of subject the remote subject pronoun.)

All this will be worked out in detail in subsections of **1** below. What is needed at this point is an explanation of what is meant by third (person) and nonthird as applying to subjects.

Pronouns are distinguished as first person (in English: *I* and *we*), second person (*you* [sg. and pl.]), and third person (*he*, *she*, *it*, *they*). Though the first-second-third person division looks straightforward enough, third person is really not in the same league with first and second—third person pronouns are just that: pronouns; that is, they replace nouns, while first and second person do not.

For example, instead of saying *The table is too low*, one could say (if that table has already been a topic in conversation) *It is too low*. This is not the case with *I* and *you*—just who is referred to by first and second person pronouns depends on who the speaker is. If I am ill and you are not, then the clause *I am ill* is true when I say it and false when you say it. Needless to say, we do call *I* and *you* pronouns, and that makes sense in that they could be replaced by a noun—for a different speaker (or hearer). For example, *Mary is ill* replaces (Mary’s own statement) *I am ill*, but only if some person other than Mary says it. Similarly, if I say to my brother *You are ill*, then I could rephrase that as *My brother is ill*, but only when speaking to someone not my brother. Thus it seems perfectly all right to retain the expression pronoun for first and second person. But for the matter in hand here it helps to remember that they are not pronouns in the same sense that *he*, *she*, *it*, and *they* are pronouns. Those replace nouns, while *I* and *you* do not.

Of course, if someone (referring to that table) says *It is too low*, and the hearer is not sure what *it* refers to, clarification is needed. The speaker will add, for example, *I mean the table*. But whether *it* refers to the table or to anything else does not depend on the identity of the speaker (or hearer). In contrast, when someone says *I* or *you*, then his or her hearers know who *I* refers to: the speaker; and who *you* refers to: the person or persons that speaker is addressing.

The difference between third and nonthird pronouns as explained may also be expressed by saying that first and second person pronouns are “deictic,” and that third person is “nondeictic.” The property of deixis (or deicticity) is one that applies to what is not identifiable except by reference to the identity of speaker and hearer. There are many other deictic words in a language like English, for example the demonstrative pronouns *this* and *that*: *this* concerns something close to the speaker; *that*, something away from the speaker. In contrast, *he*, *she*, *it*, *they*, are nondeictic. It is worth making that point here, for Tok Pisin *em* may be a (third person) personal pronoun (and thus is nondeictic, and triggers *i*), but *em* may also be a demonstrative pronoun and thus deictic (and it then does not necessarily trigger *i*).

In short, nondeictic subjects trigger *i*; deictic subjects do not, unless the pronouns in such subjects are remote subject pronouns. Then even they trigger *i*.

The following subsections deal with that rule in detail. The set of personal pronouns in subject position is examined in 1.1; *i* in equational clauses, in 1.2; the remote subject pronoun, in 1.3; impersonal *i*, in 1.4; the sound character of *i*, in 1.5; finally, some concluding notes on other functions of *i* are found in 1.6.

### 1.1 The Pronoun System and *i*

For extensive information about personal pronouns, see Ch. 21, 1. Here follow these pronouns, as subjects, with *amamas* as predicate.

(1) <i>Mi amamas.</i>	‘I am happy.’	(1 sg.)
<i>Yu amamas.</i>	‘You [sg.] are happy.’	(2 sg.)
<i>Em i amamas.</i>	‘He is happy.’ (or ‘she’)	(3 sg.)
<i>Yumi amamas.</i>	‘We [incl.] are happy.’	(1 pl. incl.)
<i>Mipela i amamas.</i>	‘We [excl.] are happy.’	(1 pl. excl.)
<i>Yupela i amamas.</i>	‘You [pl.] are happy.’	(2 pl.)
<i>Ol i amamas.</i>	‘They are happy.’	(3 pl.)

Note that *i* is triggered by: 3 sg., 3 pl., 1 pl. excl., and 2 pl. As for 3 sg. and 3 pl., they obey, as we might say, the third person rule. On the same grounds, *mi*, *yu*, and *yumi* do not trigger *i*. We might say that *yumi* equals 1 + 2. No 3 is involved.

But why does *mipela* trigger *i*? The speaker is spokesperson for more people in addition to himself or herself—one could say that *mipela* stands for ‘I and those with me’. So it is really 1 + 3; the ‘those-with-me’ part of it has a third person flavor—it has a bit of 3 in it. That is why *mipela* as subject triggers *i*.

Then, again, why does *yupela* trigger *i*? That is harder to understand. It is 2 only, though plural, and there seems to be no flavor of 3 at all. This raises the

question whether *i* could be triggered by subject pronouns ending in *-pela*. Such a question is obvious, for dual forms of pronouns (standing for two) and trial forms of pronouns (standing for three) also trigger *i*, even though the simple plural forms of these pronouns do not:

- |     |                              |                                      |
|-----|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (2) | <i>Yumitupela i amamas.</i>  | ‘The two of us [incl.] are happy.’   |
|     | <i>Yumitripela i amamas.</i> | ‘The three of us [incl.] are happy.’ |
|     | <i>Mitupela i amamas.</i>    | ‘The two of us [excl.] are happy.’   |
|     | <i>Mitripela i amamas.</i>   | ‘The three of us [excl.] are happy.’ |

(Note that the dual *yumitupela* and *yumitripela* have *-pela*, even though *yumi* does not—\**yumipela* is nonexistent.) It seems, then, that a *-pela* pronoun in subject position is an *i*-trigger. Why is that?

Perhaps this is because the suffix *-pela* lends something like nouniness to a word—that is, it makes that word into something close to a noun. A later section (Ch. 22, 1) will argue that *-pela* modifiers (those treated in Ch. 3, 2.1) are not really adjectives and have something nouny about them. Also, it has already been shown (in Ch. 3, 2.2) that some of such *-pela* modifiers may function fully as genuine nouns.

There are also other indications of that nouniness flavor of *-pela* forms. That is, second person *-pela* pronouns may be used as vocatives (i.e. as words of address, almost like proper names—and thus rather as nouns) as in *Moning, tupela!* ‘Good morning, you two!’ (English must have *you* there). Furthermore, a numeral like *tupela* may be used in the same way as a third person plural pronoun, to refer back to two people in the prior context, as in *Tupela i wokabaut i go* ‘They [i.e. the two of them] walked away’—or even as a pick-up subject pronoun in the same clause, as in *Abraham na Sara tupela i lapun pinis* ‘Abraham and Sara were already old.’

In short, *-pela*, in Tok Pisin grammar, has something like thirdness about it. This makes it understandable that all *-pela* pronouns in subject position trigger *i*—even *yumitupela* and *yumitripela*, despite the fact that *yumi* does not. At this point, let us return to the significance of deixis, as described just now.

The view of deictic constituents as interpretable only on the basis of the identity of the speaker is really founded in something more basic in language. That is to say, when we use language, we may talk about all kinds of things, of almost unlimited variety. In order to talk about topic X, we need to know something about X; in other words, we have a mental file on X. Thus in talking about (say) 20 different topics, we open 20 different files in our mind. But since we so frequently change topics, these are only temporary files. In contrast, every language user also has a permanent file, which is always open in the mind, and the content of which is the speaker himself or herself. This permanent file will change, of course (it is, as it were, continually being updated), but it is always there. That is what the basis of deixis is: that permanent file, for every speaker individually.

This perspective on language use makes the use of *i* more easily understandable. *I* is triggered by any temporary file on what is expressed in subject position, and it

picks up any topic in any temporary file—if expressed in subject position—immediately before the predicate by way of *i*. But the permanent file needs no such pick-up; hence *i* is not needed.

The following discussion (especially in 1.2 and 1.3) may make this perspective easier to understand.

## 1.2 *I* in Equational Clauses

Equational clauses were already discussed in Ch. 6, 2.1.1 and Ch. 6, 2.1.2, dealing with predicative *husat?* and predicative *wanem?* An equational clause is one that equates subject and predicate; examples: *That is my sister* and *My sister is a dentist*. The first is identifying; the second, characterizing. In Tok Pisin, in questions containing *husat?* in predicate position (and with a third person subject as an *i* trigger normally in place), the following rule obtains, “Characterizing equational clauses have *i*, but identifying equational clauses do not.” A similar but more subtle distinction holds for predicative *wanem* in equational questions.

The description of the use or nonuse of *i* in equational questions is really only a special case of that use or nonuse in all equational clauses, also (and indeed primarily) of declarative equational clauses. Such clauses are examined in 1.2.1.

### 1.2.1 *I* in Declarative Equational Clauses

Examine the following examples:

- (1) *Em i tokim Pita olsem, “Em Bikpela tasol.”*  
‘[John] said to Peter: “It is the Lord.”’
- (2) *Em i Pikinini Sipsip bilong God.*  
‘He is the Lamb of God.’
- (3) *Em mi tasol.*  
‘I am [i.e. the Messiah, the Son of the Blessed God].’

Note the context: (1) is found in the story in which the risen Jesus is seen by the disciples from the boat, standing on the lakeshore; the disciples do not recognize him, except John, who identifies him to Peter. In (2), John the Baptist speaks about Jesus (*em*), whom his hearers already knew. The predicate is a characterization, not an identification. In (3), Jesus answers a question of the high priest of the Sanhedrin: an identification.

Some other examples:

- (4) *Em samting bilong yu.*  
‘That is your business [not mine].’
- (5) *Em tingting bilong mipela.*  
‘That is what we [excl.] think [and never mind what others think].’
- (6) *Em nus bilong mi.*  
‘That is my nose.’
- (7) *Em hia adres bilong ol.*  
‘This is their address.’

- (8) *Em i pasin bilong wokim ples kol bilong pikinini kaikai.*  
 ‘This [i.e. shielding seedlings from the sun by placing large leaves on top of them] is a way to keep the seedlings cool.’
- (9) *Em i namba wan birua i save bagarapim blut bilong yumi.*  
 ‘That [i.e. malaria] is the biggest enemy that will make our [incl.] blood sick.’
- (10) *Em i wanpela buk bilong ol manmeri long ples.*  
 ‘That is a book for the people in the village.’

An equational clause may be identifying rather than characterizing merely because the subject is something unique (or supposed to be so by the speaker). Hence the interpretations added in brackets in the glosses of (4) and (5). Slightly differently, in (7), *em* merely anticipates *adres* (as does *this* in the gloss). In contrast, in (8) through (10), the subject is nonunique: in (8) *em* refers back to a previous description (indicated in the gloss in brackets), and *em* in (9) and (10) also refers back to something already mentioned before.

Anticipating (or cataphoric) *em* is, in the nature of the case, an unknown element and needs to be identified first, before it can be characterized; hence no *i*. In contrast, *em* that refers back (anaphoric *em*) refers to something already identified, and what follows in the predicate is a characterization rather than an identification.

Another way of phrasing this is to say that cataphoric *em* is deictic (even though third person), and that anaphoric *em* is nondeictic. Hence, the latter triggers *i*, while the former does not. (An apparent exception to this rule is *em* in (3), which is anaphoric, referring back as it does to ‘the Messiah, the Son of the Blessed God’; however, the high priest has implied that that could never be Jesus’ identity, and Jesus asserts that it is.)

In view of the above, it is clear that equational clauses with *mi*, *yu*, or *yumi* subjects do not trigger *i*, not even if the predicate is characterizing. Thus, (11)

- (11) *Mi Jon.*  
 ‘I am John.’

lacks *i* not because it is identifying (which it is) but because the subject is first person and thus deictic; and (12)

- (12) *Mi wanpela memba bilong dispela klap.*  
 ‘I am a member of this club.’

lacks *i* even though it is characterizing.

As the uniqueness of the subject alone may make an equational clause an identifying one, thus some predicative property may make it characterizing. This is commonly the case with *olsem* ‘thus, such, like that, the same, as follows’ (there are other meanings not relevant at this point). For example:

- (13) *Em i olsem [ . . . ].*  
 ‘It is as follows: [ . . . ].’

- (14) *Na skol em i olsem tasol.*  
 ‘And a school is exactly the same [kind of institution].’

### 1.3 The Remote Subject Pronoun

As already noted, *i* is triggered by a remote subject pronoun, that is, a subject followed immediately by a constituent not the predicate. Hence the essential pick-up function of *i*, picking up a subject not preceding immediately. Consider:

- (1) *Mi yet i no traim ol dispela marasin bilong ol tumbuna.*  
 ‘I have not myself tried these kinds of medicine of the ancestors.’
- (2) *Mi yet i go lukim kem bilong em.*  
 ‘I am going to see his camp myself.’
- (3) *Yu wanpela i les.*  
 ‘Only you are tired.’
- (4) *Yu wanpela tasol i no inap kirapim woksop long ples.*  
 ‘You are the only one who cannot start a repair shop in the village.’
- (5) *Yumi yet i mas mekim.*  
 ‘We [incl.] have to do this ourselves.’
- (6) *Olsem na yumi yet i mas mekim wok bilong kamapim wok rais.*  
 ‘So we [incl.] ourselves have to do the work to start rice agriculture.’
- (7) *Yumi olgeta i save, planti man i givim samting long yumi.*  
 ‘We [incl.] all know that many people gave us [incl.] things.’

This use of *i* picking up remote subject pronouns of the deictic kind is, though firmly established, probably fairly new. There is a different style register that does the pick-up job by repeating the full pronoun (for *mi*, *yu*, and *yumi*); that style is older, and now has a bit of a literary flavor. The full pronoun pick-up is found frequently in the Bible translation, and in some of the older self-help booklets. Examples:

- (8) *Mi bai mi stap wantaim yu.*  
 ‘I will be with you.’
- (9) *Mi bai mi birua long dispela man.*  
 ‘I will oppose this man.’
- (10) *Mi yet mi Bikpela.*  
 ‘I myself am the Lord.’
- (11) *Mi yet mi no inap i go wantaim yupela.*  
 ‘I myself cannot go with you [pl].’
- (12) *Na bai mi yet mi go toktok wantaim ol arapela kamda.*  
 ‘And I will go and talk to the other carpenters myself.’
- (13) *Mani bilong dispela wok i kam long narapela lain na mi yet mi no hatwok long bungim.*  
 ‘The funds for this project came from other quarters and I myself did not do a lot to raise them.’
- (14) *Mi wanpela tasol mi no inap lukautim ol dispela manmeri.*  
 ‘I cannot take care of all these people alone.’

- (15) *Mi wanpela tasol mi God tru.*  
‘I alone am the true God.’
- (16) *Yu yet yu save long wok mi bin mekim.*  
‘You yourself know about what I have been doing.’
- (17) *Yu yet yu toktok wantaim ol wantok.*  
‘Talk with your friends yourself.’
- (18) *Yu wanpela yu gat save moa.*  
‘Only you know much about it.’
- (19) *Yu wanpela tasol yu God tru.*  
‘You alone are the true God.’
- (20) *Olsem na yumi yet yumi wokim dispela.*  
‘And so we [incl.] do this ourselves [incl.]’
- (21) *Yumi yet yumi lukautim olgeta samting bilong yumi.*  
‘We [incl.] ourselves [incl.] look after all that is ours [incl.]’
- (22) *Yumi yet yumi no inap baim planti skul na haus sik samting.*  
‘We [incl.] ourselves [incl.] cannot afford many schools, hospitals, and the like.’
- (23) *Bipo yumi olgeta wan wan yumi save planim kaikai bilong yumi yet.*  
‘In the old days all and each of us [incl.] used to grow our [incl.] own food.’

A few more comments at this point may be helpful.

First, the expression “remote subject pronoun” is better than “remote subject.” For in phrases like *mi wanpela*, *yumi yet*, and the like, *wanpela* and *yet* themselves are part of the subject; so the entire subject would not be “remote” from the predicate—only the pronoun in it would. However, this point is merely terminological.

Second, when constituents not part of the subject intervene between subject and predicate, as in:

- (24) *Yumi bai i go.*  
‘We [incl.] will leave in a moment.’
- (25) *Mi bai i amamas.*  
‘I will be satisfied.’

the remote subject pronoun rule clearly applies, and these clauses are certainly “good” Tok Pisin (and are duly mentioned as such in Tok Pisin textbooks). However, such constructions now seem to be less common than they used to be. *Yumi bai go* and *Mi bai amamas* are somewhat more common, even in the latest Bible translation. An earlier Bible translation (of the New Testament and the Psalms only) had *bai mi* rather than *mi bai*, etc.—thus triggering neither *i* nor *mi* before the predicate. The new translation has a few instances of *mi tu bai* [ . . . ] ‘I too will [ . . . ]’, as in:

- (26) *Olgeta ples yu go long en, mi tu bai mi go long en.*  
‘Whatever place you will go to, I too will go there.’

- (27) *Na mi tu bai mi mekim gutpela pasin long yupela.*  
 ‘And I too will treat you [pl.] favorably.’

but *mi*, not *i*, does the pick-up job—the same device found in (8) through (23).

Third, the pick-up for remote subject pronouns is important only for *mi*, *yu*, and *yumi*. All the other pronouns (as well as nouns or noun phrases as subjects) require *i* anyway. The full pronoun pick-up, however, is still extremely common for third person subjects *em* and *ol*, even if not remote. Some examples given earlier are repeated here, and a few more are added:

- (28) *Bos bilong pilai em i makim wanpela boi.*  
 ‘The leader of the game appoints one boy.’
- (29) *Austrelia em i save givim hamas mani long gavman bilong yumi?*  
 ‘How much money does Australia normally give to our [incl.] government?’
- (30) *Liklik mani yu save tromoi long haus sik em i no inap long baim olgeta marasin yu dringim na givim pe long planti dokta na nes.*  
 ‘The little money you spend on hospitals is not enough to pay for all the medication you take and to pay all those doctors and nurses.’
- (31) *Dispela man em i husat?*  
 ‘Who is this man [whom I’ve met already]?’
- (32) *Ol manmeri bilong wanpela ples ol i bel hevi tru.*  
 ‘The people of one village were very sad.’
- (33) *Sampela man ol i no bilipim tok bilong mi.*  
 ‘Some people do not believe what I say.’
- (34) *Ol wokman bilong Malaria Kontrol ol i lusim dispela ples long apinun.*  
 ‘The workers of Malaria Control left the village in the afternoon.’

#### 1.4 Impersonal *i*

One particular use of *i* is impersonal in that it does not pick up any subject. There is, in fact, no subject.

Impersonal *i* has two functions. As for the first, *i* refers to something particular (either in preceding or in following text); however, that “something” is in no way a subject syntactically. Second, *i* does relate to something, but rather generally and perhaps vaguely—we might say, “globally.” Let us call the first *i* “referential” *i*; the second, “global” *i*.

Examine the following examples:

- (1) *I gat planti as na lek i solap.*  
 ‘There are many reasons why the leg may be swollen.’
- (2) *I gat tupela tim.*  
 ‘There are two teams.’
- (3) *I mas i gat bikpela stretpela hap graun bilong pilai.*  
 ‘There has to be a big level stretch of ground.’
- (4) *I no gat as long mi i stap moa.*  
 ‘There is no reason for me to stay any longer.’



These clauses illustrate referential *i*: in them, *i* refers to: *planti as*; *tupela tim*; *bikpela strepela hap graun*; and *as* (or *as long mi i stap moa*). But those are not the subjects of these clauses; they are objects, a point that concerns the analysis of *gat*. This verb corresponds to both ‘to be’ and ‘to have’ in English: Tok Pisin is one of those many languages (of which English is not one) that do not distinguish ‘have’ and ‘be’ (i.e. the kind of ‘be’ that asserts that something exists). When *gat* has a subject, it also has an object, and that construction corresponds to English ‘to have’; the ‘be’ use of *i gat* has an object and no subject (see also Ch. 4, 2.1 and Ch. 4, 2.2).

As for global *i*, it is found in the following:

- (5) ***I gutpela*** *sapos yu traिम olgeta kain pilai.*  
‘It is a good idea for you to try all kinds of games.’
- (6) ***I gutpela*** *sapos mi givim em long yu, na mi no givim em long man bilong narapela lain.*  
‘It would be a good thing if I give it to you and not to people of some other group.’
- (7) ***I tru***, *stat long taim ol manmeri i yangpela yet ol i save tingting long mekim pasin nogut.*  
‘It is true that people, when they are still young, will think of all kinds of evil things to do.’
- (8) ***I luk olsem*** *olgeta samting i pinis nau.*  
‘It looks as if everything is finished now.’
- (9) ***I no longtaim*** *na bai ol i wokim olgeta kain samting long laik bilong ol yet.*  
‘It will not be long before they will do all kinds of things as they please.’
- (10) ***I tambu*** *long king i maritim planti meri, long wanem, ol bai i mekim em i givim baksait long Bikpela.*  
‘It is forbidden for the king to marry many women, because they will make him turn his back on the Lord.’
- (11) ***I olsem.***  
‘That’s the way it is.’ Or:  
‘It’s like this [i.e. as follows].’
- (12) *Yumi olgeta i bilong Bikpela. I no yutupela tasol.*  
‘We [incl.] all bilong to the Lord, not just the two of you.’

The *i* marker here is global in that it does not strictly refer to anything in particular (expressible by a pronoun, noun, or noun phrase) but rather relates to something expressed by a statement in the above examples: in (5), to try out all games; in (6), to give something to one person and not to another; in (7), everything being finished; in (8), that young people are liable to do evil things; in (9), that those people will do anything they like; in (10), having too many wives; in (11), some statement that has preceded or that will follow immediately; and in (12), belonging to the Lord.

It is tempting to speak here of subject clauses to which then *i* is related the way English has constructions like *It is true that he has not attended the meet-*

ing, in which the subclause *that* [ . . . ] is the subject clause to which *it* refers. But Tok Pisin has no such subject clauses; on this, see Ch. 24, 2.2.1.

A comparison of Tok Pisin impersonal *i* with English impersonal *it* (global, perhaps) is also tempting. But Tok Pisin has no such impersonal subjects as *it* in *It rains* or *It snows*, in which *it* cannot be said to refer to or stand for or even be related to anything (there is not anything that “does” the raining or snowing). In any case, Tok Pisin *i* is not a subject, even though it is impersonal in some constructions.

Not every clause opening with *i* or *i no* is impersonal. Consider:

- (13) *Na sampela sik i no olsem. I no save kalap long wanpela man na i go long narapela, nogat.*  
 ‘And some diseases are not like that. They will not in any way go from one person to another.’
- (14) *Wok bilong kirapim ples o taun o kantri i mas sut long helpim olgeta manmeri. I no ken sut long helpim wanpela man o wanpela lain tasol.*  
 ‘Development of a village or town or country is about helping all the people. It is not about helping just one person or one tribe.’

In both examples, the *i* in bold picks up an identifiable thing mentioned before (*sampela sik*; *wok bilong kirapim* [ . . . ]). Actually, (13) and (14) are best considered as complex sentences, despite the punctuation with a period rather than a comma or semicolon. In short, the *i* in these examples has nothing impersonal about it.

A last construction with global *i* needing discussion is that of *i kam inap* and *i go inap*. First, these constructions are not necessarily impersonal. Thus, in *Em i go inap long taun* ‘He went as far as the town’, *i go* is personal, not impersonal, and *inap long taun* is an adjunct of place. However, *i kam inap* and *i go inap* very commonly have impersonal *i*, as in the following:

- (15) *Dispela lo i stap olsem yet, i kam inap nau.*  
 ‘This law still exists, to the present day.’
- (16) *Yu bin lukautim mi gut tru, stat long taim mama i karim mi na i kam inap nau.*  
 ‘You have taken good care of me, from when I was born to the present day.’
- (17) *Long 1974 na 1975 na i kam inap nau ol i wokim sampela gaden rais moa.*  
 ‘From 1974 and 1975 up to now they have cultivated some more rice fields.’
- (18) *Na planti manmeri i kam long Moses long moningtaim i go inap long apinun tru.*  
 ‘And many people came to Moses, from the morning till the afternoon.’
- (19) *Nau kwiktaim em i stat long namba wan na i kaun i go inap long ten.*  
 ‘Now he quickly starts with number one and counts as far as ten.’

- (20) *Long nait wanpela man i kamap na i pait wantaim em i go inap long tulaŋit.*

‘During the night a man came and wrestled with him until daybreak.’

### 1.5 The Sound Character of *i*

A word of caution may be useful at this point. In some publications it has been suggested that *mi* does not trigger *i*, because *mi* itself already ends in the *i* sound. This view would also apply to *yumi*, for the same reason.

In fast speech, there is no doubt that two successive *i* sounds would tend to be run together. Nevertheless, the “sound view” alone seems inadequate. It would explain why *Mi go* ‘I go’ has no *i* marker for *go*, but not why two *i*-sounds are not run together (except in fast speech), in case *mi* (or some other word ending in *-i*) happens to be the last word in a subject that is not first person. An example would be *Meri bilong mi i go* ‘My wife goes’: the subject *meri bilong mi* ends with *mi*, it is true, and thus happens to end in *-i*, but that subject is third person, not first person. Also, the rule that nondeictic subjects trigger *i* is hard to reconcile with an explanation of *i* on the basis of mere sound.

On the other hand, the argument based on sound may not be entirely without value. As 1.3 reports, the use of *i* after *bai* is declining. This may well be due to the final sound in *bai*.

In contrast to an *i*-sound preceding the predicate, there is one construction in which the predicate marker *i* is dropped before a following *i* sound—that is, before *inap* ‘(be) able, (be) sufficient’. For this, see Ch. 10, 2.2.1. Nevertheless, even here a mere “sound view” of *i* being dropped is inadequate: the verb *inapim* ‘to satisfy, to fulfill’ never drops *i* where required according to the 1.1 rules.

### 1.6 Other Functions of *i*

*I* as a predicate marker (except for impersonal *i*; see 1.4) picks up a subject either because it is nondeictic or because, even though deictic, it is not adjacent to the predicate (the remote subject). *I*, however, fulfills other functions as well.

The first such function is to link verbs constructed in a serial construction. This will be explained in Ch. 10. *I* may also follow *no*, or *no moa*, no matter whether *no* or *no moa* is also preceded by *i* (see Ch. 10, 2.1 and Ch. 10, 2.10).

A second function is similar to the first and coincides with that of the predicate marker; it consists in constructing two or more successive clauses in which the subjects are identical. In some such constructions, *i* in a subsequent clause suffices to pick up the subject of an earlier clause while leaving it out; in others, *i* cannot function this way. This subject matter will be treated in Ch. 24, which deals with complex sentences.

A third function is that of linking certain types of attributes to their head nouns. An obvious example of such linking in Tok Pisin is the relative clause. However, Tok Pisin (in contrast to a language like English) also has relativizations that are not clauses. The latter are discussed in Ch. 13, the former in Ch. 14.

## 2. Copulative Predicates

A copula is a constituent linking subject and predicate. Not all such constituents are copulas. For example, in Tok Pisin, the predicate marker *i* may be regarded as some kind of a link between subject and predicate. Nevertheless, *i* is not a copula.

Genuine copulas may be verbal or nonverbal. Nonverbal copulas are found in many languages, though not in English. In Tok Pisin, a nonverbal copula has now for some time been developing from the pick-up pronoun *em*. Clauses with verbal (or nonverbal) copulas are equational clauses; they may be either identifying or characterizing, in a language like English. In Tok Pisin, copulative *stap*, *kamap*, *go* and *tanim* introduce characterizing modifiers only. By contrast, copulative *em* introduces an identifying modifier only.

In English, copula verbs are *be*, and some others, like *become*. *Be* is stative; that is to say, clauses like *He is a tailor* or *She was a judge* express a state of affairs, rather than a process. In contrast, *become* reflects a process (a change from one state to another), as in *They easily become angry* or *She became a minister*. Such copulas may be called dynamic. English has more such copulas, as may be observed in such clauses as *he turned traitor*, and *They will grow restive*, and *He went crazy*, and the like.

Tok Pisin has verbal copulas as well, both stative and dynamic. The most frequent stative one is *stap*, while *kamap*, *go*, and *tanim* are dynamic copulas. *Em* as a copula is stative only. The Tok Pisin verbal copula is examined in 2.1; copulative *em*, in 2.2.

### 2.1 Verbal Copulas

The principal stative verbal copula in Tok Pisin is *stap* ‘[copulative] be’. Two rarer ones are *sindaun* and *sanap*.

Of all three verbs, there are also noncopulative uses. First, *stap* may be locative; it is related to a location. Second, *stap* may simply mean that something exists (apart from being located somewhere), a use of *stap* called existential. Third, *stap* may be used serially with some other verb, to indicate that the process or action signified by the other verb continues; that use of *stap* is called “progressive.” Progressive *stap* is discussed in Ch. 8, 1.4.1; for the others, see 4; Ch. 8, 1.4; and Ch. 18, 6.

*Sindaun* and *sanap* are, in most contexts, postural verbs; that is, verbs that express some posture of the body—*sindaun* means ‘to sit (down)’; *sanap*, ‘to stand (up)’. Postural verbs in copulative use are quite common across languages. Thus English *stand* is copulative in *How do matters stand?*, and *sit* is in *That did not sit well with him*.

In addition to the stative copula *stap*, there are three principal dynamic copulas, *kamap*, *go*, and *tanim*; and one that is rarer, namely *kirap*. There are also the serial copulative constructions *kamap i tanim*, *tanim i kamap*, and *tanim i go*.

Note that *kamap* may also mean ‘to arrive’, ‘to come’, and ‘to happen’; and that *go* also means ‘to go’; also, *tanim* may mean (transitively) ‘to turn’ or ‘to

knead’, and (intransitively) ‘to turn (around)’. Finally *kirap* may mean ‘to get up, to stand up’, and figuratively, ‘to be startled, to be surprised’.

Copulative stative *stap*, *sindaun*, and *sanap* are examined in 2.1.1; dynamic *kamap*, *go*, *tanim*, and *kirap*, in 2.1.2.

### 2.1.1 Copulative *stap*, *sindaun*, and *sanap*

For *stap*, consider:

- (1) *Em i stap bos.*  
‘He is in charge.’
- (2) *Em i stap wanpis.*  
‘He is all alone.’
- (3) *Dispela nem i stap nem bilong ol.*  
‘This name is their name.’
- (4) *Ol i stap as nating.*  
‘They were naked.’
- (5) *Ol i stap wokboi nating.*  
‘They were slaves.’
- (6) *Klos bilong en i stap klin tru.*  
‘His clothes are really clean.’
- (7) *Mi stap gut.*  
‘I am well.’
- (8) *Rop i mas stap tait.*  
‘The rope must be tight.’
- (9) *Em i stap Prait Minista.*  
‘He is the Prime Minister.’
- (10) *Bipo em i bin stap Prait Minista.*  
‘He had been Prime Minister earlier.’
- (11) *Dispela yangpela man i stap nating.*  
‘This young man is unmarried.’ or:  
‘This young man is unemployed.’
- (12) *Blut bilong en i raun na skin bilong en i stap gutpela.*  
‘His blood circulates normally, and his body is in good shape.’
- (13) *Olgeta poteto i stap drai na i stap gut.*  
‘All the potatoes are dry and in good condition.’
- (14) *Yu wanpela tasol i ken i stap papa bilong woksop.*  
‘Only you yourself can be the owner of the repair shop.’
- (15) *Sapos man i no stap wanbel wantaim arapela, em i no save stap amamas.*  
‘If a man is not in harmony with others, he will not be happy.’
- (16) *Bilum bilong win i stap klin na gutpela.*  
‘The lungs are clean and in good condition.’
- (17) *Ol i stap komiti.*  
‘They are committee members.’
- (18) *Sampela kaikai i mas i stap grinpela yet.*  
‘Some fruits should still stay green.’

(19) *Graun i stap kol na i gat wara.*

‘The soil is cool and moist.’

Copulative *stap* is followed by a noun (such as *bos* in (1) or *nem* in (3)), or by a modifier not a noun (such as *wanpis* in (2), or *drai* in (13)). All clauses with copulative *stap* are equational clauses; however, all of them seem to be characterizing and none identifying.

To understand this, compare (9) with (20) and (21):

(20) *Em Prait Minista*

‘That [i.e. a person as yet unknown to the addressee] is the Prime Minister.’

(21) *Em i Prait Minista*

‘He [i.e. a person already identified] is Prime Minister.’

Of these two, (20) is identifying and (21) is characterizing. Since (9) is characterizing also, the question arises how (9) and (10) differ from (21). In other words, what nuance is imparted by *stap*? It seems that *stap* has the connotation of something temporary, whereas neither (20) nor (9) nor (10) has such a nuance. Example (9) presents the person referred to by *em* as a person whose identity is known but whose capacity of Prime Minister may be, in context, new information. This is particularly clear in (10), which is about some time in the past; thus, (10) has neither a parallel like (20) nor one like (21).

Consider also (3), which would fit a context where other names are alternatives, thus introducing a time element. Perhaps at one time these people had different names. Example (4) has *stap* against a background assumption that no one is naked all the time—again a temporary element. If I say (7), I say I am well now, but obviously no one is well all the time. Hence *\*Mi gut* would not be well-formed. Comparable analyses would hold for all the other examples.

This property of copulative *stap* is reflected in the syntax of the examples. Identifying equational clauses can only have a noun in the predicate; in contrast, several examples above have nonnouns in the predicate, as in (2), (6), (7), etc.

For *sindaun* and *sanap*, examine the following examples:

(22) *Yumi mas was gut long olgeta samting, na bai ol pikinini na tumbuna pikinini ol tu inap sindaun gut.*

‘We [incl.] must take good care of everything, and then our children and grandchildren will be well.’

(23) *Planti man o meri i sindaun wanpis na i no gat gutpela pren.*

‘Many men or women are lonely and have no good friends.’

(24) *Olgeta manmeri i ken sindaun gut na amamas.*

‘May all people be well and happy.’

(25) *Toktok bilong ol man nogut i olsem man i sanap hait na i redi long kilim man i dai.*

‘The words of evil men are like men who are hidden, ready to kill people.’

(26) *Yu mas sanap strong. Yu no ken pret.*

‘Stand firm. Do not fear.’

### 2.1.2 Copulative *kamap*, *go*, *tanim*, and *kirap*

The following examples illustrate *kamap*:

- (1) *Tupela i kamap bikpela.*  
'The two of them grew up.'
- (2) *Em i kamap papa bilong wanpela pikinini man.*  
'He became the father of a son.'
- (3) *Devit i kamap king.*  
'David became king.'
- (4) *Em i kamap lapun tru.*  
'He became really old.'
- (5) *As bilong diwai i kamap waitpela.*  
'The base of the tree becomes white.'

*Kamap* may be followed by a noun or by a constituent functioning more exclusively as a modifier. It is occasionally followed by *i* before *orait* 'well, healthy, cured', as in:

- (6) *Planti taim skin namel long raunpela mak i kamap i orait gen.*  
'Often the skin in between the marks [of ringworm] heals again.'
- (7) *Orait ol i save dispela samting ol i laik mekim bai i kamap i orait.*  
'Then they knew that this thing they wanted to do would work out well.'

However, *kamap orait* without *i* seems to be more common:

- (8) *Sampela taim em i bin lukim ol dokta long haus sik ol i save givim marasin long ol pikinini na ol manmeri i gat sik, na ol i bin kamap orait gen.*  
'On occasion he had seen doctors at the hospital give medication to children and grownups, and they had become well once again.'
- (9) *Orait na Joram i lusim pait na i go i stap long taun Jesril bilong wet long kamap orait gen.*  
'Then Jehoram lost the fight [and got wounded], and he went to the town of Jezreel to wait until he recovered.'

All clauses with copulative *kamap* are characterizing; none are identifying.

For copulative *go*, examine the following:

- (10) *Sapos splin i go liklik, orait pikinini i ken lusim marasin.*  
'When the spleen reduces in size, the child can stop taking medication.'
- (11) *Sapos ol buk i go liklik, yu no ken wari moa.*  
'When the boils become small, you need not worry any more.'
- (12) *Nogut strong bilong kon bilong yu i tanim i go lapun.*  
'Don't let the quality of the corn [seedlings] become old.'
- (13) *Em i stap i go lapun tru na em i dai.*  
'He lived to become very old and he died.'
- (14) *Dispela samting i save tanim man i go longlong.*  
'This [i.e. drunkenness] will cause a man to become incoherent.'

- (15) *Arapela jems i mekim na sua i go nogut olgeta.*  
‘Other germs will make a sore worse.’
- (16) *Sapos yu larim kru bilong wara karis i stap longpela taim liklik, bai em i tanim i go nogut na i gat pait.*  
‘If you let the shoots of water dropwort sit for fairly long, they will turn bad and have an unpleasant taste.’
- (17) *Sapos mi sanap long kot bilong God, tok bilong mi bai i go paul olgeta na i kotim mi yet.*  
‘If I stand before the judgment of God, my speech will become confused and I will judge myself.’
- (18) *Tasol ol man bilong mekim pasin nogut i save lusim gutpela rot na i go paul.*  
‘But people doing bad things will stray from the right road and go wrong.’
- (19) *Nau long dispela taim, wok bilong planim taro i laik i go slek liklik.*  
‘In these times, growing taro tends to become a bit less intensive.’
- (20) *Long dispela pilai, raunpela lain i go sotpela liklik.*  
‘In this game, the circle becomes a bit shorter.’
- (21) *Wanpela sik bilong taro kongkong i save mekim as bilong en i go bikpela na longpela tru, na lip i go sotpela.*  
‘One [particular] taro disease will make the stem grow big and very long and the leaves short.’

Copulative *tanim* is exemplified in the following:

- (22) *Yupela manmeri bilong graun, yupela i mas i dai na tanim graun gen.*  
‘You [pl.] people made of dust, you [pl.] must die and turn to dust again.’
- (23) *Long dispela pilai, hos i tanim man, na man i tanim hos.*  
‘In this game, horses become men and men become horses.’
- (24) *Taim kaikai bilong en i redi, lip i save tanim i kamap retpela.*  
‘When the fruits are ready [for picking], the leaves will turn red.’

Note that (8) and (12) illustrate *tanim i go* as a serial copulative construction; similarly, we find *tanim i kamap* in (24); see Ch. 8, 1.1.2.

For copulative *kirap*, consider:

- (25) *Paia i kirap bikpela.*  
‘The fire grew big.’
- (26) *Ol i paitim solwara na em i kirap waitpela.*  
‘They hit the surf and it turned white.’

A final note: two transitive verbs, *kisim* ‘to get, to obtain’ and *painim* ‘to find’, are developing towards copulative status. In expressions like *kisim sik* and *painim sik* ‘to fall ill’, *kisim strong* or *painim strong* ‘to become strong’, *kisim bagarap* or *painim bagarap* ‘to be damaged’, the words following *kisim* or *painim* may be interpreted as nouns (‘to contract a disease’, ‘to obtain strength’, ‘to meet disaster’ would be glosses roughly reflecting this), and on such readings *kisim* and *painim* are regular transitive verbs, which they typically are in other contexts.



Nevertheless, it is only a short step here from transitive to copulative. Many languages have gray areas between their expressions for ‘obtain’ and ‘become’ (indeed English is one of them, with *get* in both meanings).

## 2.2 Copulative *em*

Examine the following examples:

- (1) *God i mekim kamap tupela bikpela lait. Bikpela **em** san bilong givim lait long de, na liklik **em** mun bilong givim lait long nait.*  
‘God created two big lights. The biggest one was the sun, to give light during the day, and the smaller one was the moon, to give light at night.’
- (2) *Manmeri bilong painim dispela mani **em** yupela.*  
‘The people who must raise these funds are you [pl.]’
- (3) *As bilong dispela kain pilai **em** bilong traim save na tingting bilong ol.*  
‘The reason for this kind of game is to test their knowledge and reasoning.’
- (4) *Nem bilong dispela man **em** Dabi.*  
‘The name of this man is Dabi.’
- (5) *Nem bilong dispela lain wokman **em** Malaria Kontrol, na wok bilong ol **em** long pamim marasin long olgeta haus.*  
‘The name of this group of workers is Malaria Control, and their work is to spray all houses with chemicals.’

There are various ways of describing the syntax of these clauses. One is to divide each clause (twice in (1) and (5)) into one part up to but not including *em* (bold), and another starting with that *em*. In such an analysis, that second part has demonstrative *em*, identifying rather than characterizing (hence it does not trigger *i*), and the first part is just the topic picked up by *em* in the second clause. In other words, *em* would be the pronominal pick-up device examined in 1.3.

Though this analysis is straightforward enough, it leaves us with *em*, rather than *ol*, in (2), where *ol* (even if followed by *i*) would be “odd.”

A second analysis would perhaps be more straightforward. It would consider the part before *em* as subject, *em* as a copula (a nonverbal one, to be sure), and the part after *em* as the predicate; the whole would be one clause (twice in (1) and (5)). This would also remove the *em*-rather-than-*ol* problem arising in the first analysis.

Nothing very much hinges on the second analysis, except that pronominal pick-ups of a preceding topic can become pretty much indistinguishable from a copula (a nonverbal one, to be sure) in many languages. In Tok Pisin, such a development seems to be in full progress.

## 3. Modifier Predicates

Simple predicates in Tok Pisin may be verbal, or nonverbal, or—as suggested at the beginning of the chapter—something that is not quite obviously either. The central issue here is just what the word class called verb is in Tok Pisin; that issue is

discussed in Ch. 18. If a predicative constituent is not quite identifiably a verb or a noun, we call it a modifier; its status as a word class is discussed in Ch. 22. At this point it suffices to recall that modifier predicates may be verbal in that such a predicate may have a verbal copula.

Below, we need to discuss one type of modifier: those that may have a *-pela* form (see Ch. 3, 2.1). For some of the series there, the *-pela* form is used both attributively and predicatively. For others, predicative form cannot have *-pela*. Here we must consider those that may or may not have *-pela* in predicate position. They are: *blakpela*, *braitpela*, *brotpela*, *grinpela*, *gutpela*, *hatpela-1*, *klinpela*, *kolpela*, *liklikpela*, *maupela*, *naispela*, *patpela*, *retpela*, *smatpela*, *smolpela*, *taitpela*, *waitpela*, and *yelopela*. In predicative position, is there any difference between the forms with and without *-pela*?

Of some of these, it is hard to know what determines the use of *-pela* predicatively. Dialects seem to vary widely in this regard, and the data base for this book does not suffice for some of these items, especially those that now seem to be rare: *braitpela*, *brotpela*, and *smolpela*. Also, while *tait* is copiously attested, *taitpela* is not found in the corpus at all—attributively or predicatively (other researchers have found it attested in their data). Again, while *liklik* and *mau* are common, these forms with *-pela* are rare. Of the others, five are color names, and nothing much seems to unite the remaining ones, from a purely semantic point of view.

There is some indication that the *-pela* form used predicatively (also after a copula like *stap* or *kamap*) is more objective, while the form without *-pela* entails emotion of some kind. For *blak*, consider:

- (1) *Mi stap nogut na pes bilong mi i senis na i blak olgeta.*  
'I am not well and my face has become dark [with grief].'
- (2) *Skin bilong mi i blak, tasol mi naispela tumas.*  
'I am black, but beautiful.'
- (3) *Mi inap mekim skai i blak nogut tru, olsem em i putim klos bilong sori long man i dai pinis.*  
'I will make the heavens dark, as if they donned mourning clothes.'
- (4) *Smok bilong haus i mekim pes bilong ol i blak olgeta.*  
'The smoke from the temple has covered their faces with soot.'
- (5) *Klaut i blak na skai i retpela.*  
'The clouds are dark and the sky is red.'
- (6) *Kisim hap sakol na traim brukim long han. Sapos em i bruk na insait bilong en i blak olgeta, orait, em i gutpela sakol.*  
'Take a piece of charcoal in your hand. If it breaks up and the inside of it is all black, it is good charcoal.'

By contrast, *blakpela* simply names a color ('black' or 'dark'):

- (7) *Ating yu pispis liklik liklik, na pispis i yelo tru o blakpela?*  
'Perhaps you urinate little, and the urine is yellow or dark?'

There seems to be a similar difference for the other color name modifiers:

- (8) *Skin bilong namba wan i ret tru na i gat planti gras.*  
'The skin of the first one was all red and hairy.'
- (9) *Tupela ai bilong en i ret, long wanem, em i save dring planti wain.*  
'His eyes were red, because he drank a great deal of wine.'
- (10) *Kala bilong sua i ret na wait wantaim.*  
'The color of the sore is red and white together.'
- (11) *Na lait bilong san i sutim wara, na ol i lukim wara i ret nogut tru olsem blut.*  
'And the light of the sun fell on the water and they saw the water was all red, as red as blood.'
- (12) *Mi krai moa yet na ai bilong mi i solap na i ret olgeta.*  
'I cry ceaselessly and my eyes are swollen and red.'
- (13) *Ol tit bilong en i wait tru.*  
'His teeth were splendidly white.'
- (14) *Gras bilong het bilong en i wait moa yet olsem gras bilong sipsip.*  
'His hair was all white, like sheep's wool.'
- (15) *Na namba faiv em ston sadonikis, em i ret na wait wantaim.*  
'And the fifth stone was an agate, red and white.'
- (16) *Lukim: Ating skin i wait na yelo? Kala insait long karamap bilong ai i wait?*  
'Look at it [i.e. the eye]. Is the skin white and yellow? Is the color inside the eyelid white?'
- (17) *Lip bilong ol i stap grin oltaim.*  
'Their leaves always stay fresh.'
- (18) *Nogut poteto i stap longtaim long san na i kamap grin.*  
'The potatoes should not be in the sunlight for long and turn green.'

Examples of *-pela* forms of color names used predicatively:

- (19) *Ol dispela klos i mas waitpela tasol.*  
'These robes may only be white.'
- (20) *Tasol mi lapun pinis na gras bilong mi i waitpela.*  
'I am old now and my hair is white.'
- (21) *Na skin bilong en i kamap waitpela olgeta.*  
'And his skin became all white [from leprosy].'
- (22) *Na san bai i kamap tudak na mun bai i kamap retpela olsem blut.*  
'And the sun will turn dark and the moon will turn as red as blood.'
- (23) *Dispela laplap i kamap grinpela o retpela.*  
'This clothing becomes greenish or reddish.'

Some of these are as apt to be interpreted as expressing emotion of some sort, the way this is the case with the predicates without *-pela*; indeed, the two may meet in context:

- (24) *Ol klos bilong en i waitpela tru olsem ais, na gras bilong het bilong en i wait moa yet olsem gras bilong sipsip.*  
'His clothes were as white as snow and his hair was white like sheep's wool.'

For *hatpela* and *kolpela*, the corpus does not show a striking difference between predicative forms with and without *-pela*:

- (25) *Skin bilong pikinini i hat tumas, tasol em i pilim kol nogut.*  
‘The child’s skin glows, but he feels very chilly.’
- (26) *Lukaut, dua bilong oven i hat!*  
‘Careful, the oven door is hot!’
- (27) *Taim yu kukim pinat, paia i no ken hat tumas, nogut pinat i paia.*  
‘When you burn peanuts, the fire must not be too hot, so the peanuts won’t catch fire.’
- (28) *Rausim laplap, wet liklik inap em i kol.*  
‘Take the bandage out [of the hot water], and wait until it has cooled off.’
- (29) *Mi kol tumas.*  
‘I am very cold.’
- (30) *Yu ken kaikai dispela poris kon taim em i hatpela yet.*  
‘You can eat this porridge while it is still warm.’
- (31) *Mi save pinis long olgeta pasin yu save mekim. Mi save, yu no kol na yu no hat. Mi laik bai yu stap kolpela o yu stap hatpela. Tasol nogat. Yu hat liklik tasol. Yu no hatpela tru na yu no kolpela tru.*  
‘I know all the things you always do. I know that you are neither hot nor cold. I wish you were either hot or cold. But no. You are only lukewarm. You are not really hot and you are not really cold.’

Note how the two forms vary in (29).

While predicative *klinpela* typically means ‘physically clean’, predicative *klin* seems to be reserved for ‘ritually clean’. The difference is especially striking since ritual purity requires (in the context of the examples below) physical cleanliness.

- (32) *Na yupela i mas bihainim ol pasin bilong kamap klin, na putim ol klinpela klos.*  
‘And you [pl.] must always be clean, and put on clean clothes.’
- (33) *Dispela ples i klin long ai bilong God.*  
‘This place must be clean before God.’

But, again, the *-pela* form may signify ritual purity:

- (34) *Yupela olgeta i ken kaikai, maski yupela i klinpela o i no klinpela long ai bilong God.*  
‘All of you [pl.] may eat this [meat], no matter whether you [pl.] are clean or not.’

*Nais* is very common after *luk*, which has a status close to that of a copula, and occurs also after a postural verb like *sanap*, which has such a status also. But *nais* also occurs without a copula. In all such constructions, it has a meaning like ‘charming’.

- (35) *Josep i gat strongpela bodi na em i luk nais tru.*  
‘Joseph was well-built and looked handsome.’

- (36) *Judit em i wanpela smatpela meri tru, na pes bilong en i nais moa.*  
‘Judith was a very clever woman, and her face was beautiful.’
- (37) *Na em i sanap nais tru long pasin bilong ol kwin.*  
‘Her bearing was charming, like a queen.’

Predicative *naispela* means ‘beautiful’:

- (38) *Olgeta dispela diwai i naispela tru.*  
‘All the trees were beautiful.’
- (39) *Tasol liklik susa bilong en i naispela tumas.*  
‘But his little sister was very beautiful.’

As for *pat*, here are examples:

- (40) *Ol bulmakau na sipsip na meme bilong ol, ol i pat nogut tru.*  
‘Their cattle and sheep were very fat.’
- (41) *Nau ol i stap gut na ol i pat moa na i gat planti gutpela samting.*  
‘Now they are prosperous and overly well fed and they have many valuable possessions.’
- (42) *Yupela i pat tumas, olsem ol bulmakau i save kaikai planti gras na i kamap patpela.*  
‘You [pl.] [women] are too fat, like cows eating grass and becoming fat.’
- (43) *Nogut skin bilong meri i pat nating long gris tasol.*  
‘Women [who are pregnant] must not be fat.’
- (44) *Sapos namel bilong stik banana i liklik na as i no pat, na lip i bikpela, dispela kain em i nogut.*  
‘If the middle of the banana tree is thin and the bottom part not thick, and the leaves are big, that kind is bad.’

For an example of predicative *patpela*, see the end of (40). Note that *pat* as applying to the women connotes a negative judgment, whereas for cattle it does not.

For *smat*, consider:

- (45) *Em i tingting planti na em i no moa smat long mekim wok bilong em.*  
‘He was brooding and was no longer skilled in his work.’
- (46) *Tok bilong yu i smat tru, i wankain olsem tok bilong ol man bilong trik na giaman.*  
‘The way you talk is very cunning, the same as the way deceivers and hypocrites talk.’
- (47) *Maski long rabisim man i no smat tumas.*  
‘Don’t humiliate people who are not very clever.’
- (48) *Narapela olsem susu o abus i gat wok bilong helpim bodi i kamap bikpela na i stap smat.*  
‘Other foods like milk and meat are needed to make the body grow and be healthy.’

- (49) *Yu ken kirapim kain kain wok wantaim ol pipel, sapos yu smat na yu gat save.*

‘You can start various kinds of work with the people, if you are clever and know what you are doing.’

Predicative *gut* occurs only after *stap* or *kamap*, and then means ‘healthy’, ‘prosperous’, ‘well’; it is very common indeed. Consider:

- (50) *Bihain tasol bai dispela wok i kamap gut.*  
‘That project will be successful only later.’
- (51) *Mi stap gut long ples bilong mi.*  
‘I am all right in my own village.’
- (52) *Long dispela pasin bai yu stap gut long taim bilong ren na taim bilong san.*  
‘In this way you will be well in the dry season and in the rainy season.’
- (53) *Sampela sikman i stap gut long planti mun o yia, na sik i kamap gen.*  
‘Some patients [with this disease] are well many months or years, and then the disease comes back.’

In sum, it turns out that these modifier predicates tend to drop the *-pela* form (which is also possible predicatively) to convey connotations of feelings (positive or negative). This is not clearly the case for all of these items, but the tendency towards this differentiation seems to be attested more often than can be due to accident.

#### 4. Presentative Constructions

In stretches of discourse, we often introduce a new topic, a new character in the cast, so to speak, or (as we shall call it) a new participant. A favored position for a new participant is in object position. In English, the following examples illustrate this (the new participant is in small caps):

- (1) And then we saw **A POLICEMAN**.
- (2) They finally found **AN OFFICIAL WILLING TO HELP THEM**.

A presentative construction is a construction in which a new participant is introduced in subject position. This is a common device in any report or narrative. In English, the subject (in caps) typically follows the verb (in bold). Consider:

- (3) Once upon a time there **was** **A POWERFUL KING**. The king lived in a beautiful palace, and in the same palace there **lived** **HIS BEAUTIFUL DAUGHTER**. One day, while the king was sitting on his throne, there **entered** **A MESSENGER**, and the king’s daughter followed after him.

Note the order verb + subject. The typical order is subject + verb, and this order we see in *the king lived*, in *the king was sitting*, and in *the king’s daughter followed*—in these constructions, the subject is no longer a new participant.

The verb in these constructions is limited to a small class. Above, there are *was*, *lived*, *entered*: the first two are stative verbs; the third, a movement verb. Other examples of stative and movement verbs in this type of construction:

- (4) On the edge, there **sat** A LITTLE BOY.
- (5) At the corner **stands** A LARGE BUILDING.
- (6) Then there **came** A HAIL STORM.
- (7) There **appeared** A SOLDIER.
- (8) Then there **approached** THE TRAIN.
- (9) After that there **emerged** A LARGE CROWD OF PEOPLE.

and the like. Note that these stative verbs may be verbs describing a posture of the body (like *to sit* or *to stand*)—postural verbs.

Negatively, in these constructions one cannot have any other verbs; hence, the following would not be well-formed (with or without *there*): \**Then there wrote the king a letter*; and \**After that, there initiated those people a new plan*.

In short, this type of presentative construction has two principal characteristics, in English and, it is important to note here, in very many other languages as well: first, inverted order of subject and predicate; second, the verb must be a stative verb, a postural verb, or a verb of movement.

There is a second type of presentative construction in English with the new participant in subject position, exemplified here:

- (10) A MAN once **ploughed** his field.
- (11) A WOMAN was **doing** her laundry at the river bank.
- (12) A CHILD once **encountered** a fairy.

The reason why we have subject + verb order here in a presentative construction is that the verb is neither a stative verb nor a movement verb.

There are other important properties of English presentative constructions, but those need not detain us here. The above examples are given for contrastive reasons, for comparison with Tok Pisin. Tok Pisin is exceptional among languages in not having the inverted order of subject and verb in presentative constructions. In Tok Pisin, there are five types of presentative constructions:

- [a] with the stative verb *i stap*;
- [b] with the stative impersonal verb *i gat*;
- [c] with a postural verb;
- [d] with a movement verb; and
- [e] with a verb that is none of the above.

In [a] and in [c] through [e], the new participant is in subject position and precedes the verb; by contrast, in [b], the new participant follows the verb, but it is the object, not the subject.

Note also the predicate marker *i* in *i stap* and *i gat*: *i* would be absent only after *mi*, *yu*, and *yumi*, but none of these pronouns would, in the nature of the

case, be a new participant in any context; for the same reason, the verb in [c], [d] and [e] would invariably be marked with *i*.

The constructions [a] through [e] are treated in 4.1 through 4.5, respectively.

#### 4.1 Presentative Constructions with *i stap*

Examine:

- (1) *Wanpela man i stap, papa bilong en i wanpela Isip.*  
'There was a certain man with an Egyptian father.'
- (2) *Wanpela taim wanpela man i stap long haus lotu, em i gat spirit nogut i stap long en.*  
'Once there was a man in the synagogue who was possessed by an evil spirit.'
- (3) *Wanpela kepten bilong 100 soldia em i stap na em i gat wanpela wokboi.*  
'There was a centurion there who had a servant.'
- (4) *Wanpela yangpela meri i gat bel, na bai em i karim wanpela pikinini man na kolim nem bilong en Emanuel.*  
'There is a maiden who is with child, and she will bear a son and name him Emmanuel.'
- (5) *Wanpela maniman em i gat bosboi bilong en i stap.*  
'There was a rich man who employed an overseer.'
- (6) *Wanpela man i stap, nem bilong en Josep.*  
'There was a man named Joseph.'

Note the indefinite pronoun *wanpela*. Since *wanpela* may also be a numeral, or be correlative with *narapela* (and thus not a new participant), examples (1) through (6) are different from the following, which are not presentative constructions:

- (7) *Wanpela taia i bagarap.*  
'One tire has blown.'
- (8) *Wanpela man tasol bilong tim i ken putim han long bal.*  
'Only one member of the team may touch the ball with his hand.'
- (9) *Wanpela lain i mas sanap long wanpela mak na arapela tim i mas sanap long narapela mak.*  
'One group must stand at one line, the other at another line.'

#### 4.2 Presentative Constructions with Impersonal *i gat*

With *i gat*, the new participant does follow the verb, but it is not a subject—recall that impersonal *i gat* can only have an object (Ch. 4, 2.1; Ch. 4, 1.4):

- (1) *I gat marasin bilong dispela sik tu i stap.*  
'There is a pesticide for this disease.'
- (2) *Na i gat sampela pis moa i gat nil na marasin nogut.*  
'And there are some other fish that have a poisonous sting.'
- (3) *Na i gat sampela masin tu bilong helpim dispela kain wok.*  
'And there are also some machines useful for this job.'



- (4) *Tasol i gat arapela rot tu bilong wokim brik.*  
'But there is another way to make bricks.'
- (5) *Nau long dispela taim i gat sampela hevi bilong wokim rup bilong haus.*  
'Nowadays there is a problem in putting a roof on a house.'
- (6) *I gat wanpela traipela tarangau i stap.*  
'There was a large eagle.'

Thus, this construction is more like the one found in many other languages, but the new participant is in object place.

### 4.3 Presentative Constructions with a Postural Verb

Examine:

- (1) *WANPELA ENSEL i sanap long han sut.*  
'There was an angel standing on the right.'
- (2) *Tasol WANPELA DIWAI i sanap namel tru, em God i tambuim mitupela long kaikai pikinini bilong en.*  
'But in the middle there stands a tree, the one God has forbidden us [excl.] two to eat the fruits of.'
- (3) *Na WANPELA BIKPELA STON SOL i sanap i stap.*  
'And there stood a big pillar of salt.'
- (4) *WANPELA MAN i sindaun i stap long dispela sia.*  
'There was One sitting on the throne.'
- (5) *WANPELA MAN i wankain olsem yumi man bilong graun i sindaun i stap long dispela klaut.*  
'There was sitting on that cloud a man like us [incl.] earthly beings.'

### 4.4 Presentative Constructions with a Movement Verb

The movement verbs here are *go*, *kam*, *ran*, and the like. They are often serially combined with other movement verbs:

- (1) *WANPELA MAN BILONG GOD i kam toktok long mi.*  
'There is a man of God who has just come to talk to me.'
- (2) *WANPELA MAN i ran i kam.*  
'There was a man who came running.'
- (3) *WANPELA TOK WIN i kamap olsem King Antiokus i dai pinis.*  
'There circulated a rumor that king Antiochus had died.'
- (4) *WANPELA SAVEMAN BILONG LO i kam.*  
'There came a lawyer.'
- (5) *WANPELA NAISPELA MERI TRU i kam i stap.*  
'There has come a very beautiful woman.'
- (6) *WANPELA MERI BILONG SAMARIA em i kam bilong pulimapim wara.*  
'There came a Samaritan woman to draw water.'

#### 4.5 Presentative Constructions with a Verb Other Than the Above

Examples:

- (1) *WANPELA MAN i wokim gaden wain.*  
'There was a man who had a vineyard.'
- (2) *WANPELA MERI i harim tok bilong em i stap.*  
'A woman was listening to what he was saying.'
- (3) *WANPELA MAN i bungim mipela long rot.*  
'There was a man who met us [excl.] on the road.'
- (4) *WANPELA YANGPELA MAN i solapim mi na mi kilim em i dai.*  
'There was a young man who struck me, and I killed him.'
- (5) *Na WANPELA MAN i lukim em na i askim em olsem, "Yu painim wanem samting?"*  
'And there was a man who saw him and asked him, "What are you looking for?"'

## 8: SERIAL COMPLEX PREDICATES

As noted in Ch. 7, a predicate is complex if it contains more than one verbal constituent. (Or, a complex predicate is complex if it is a verbal phrase.) Thus, *em i go long maket* ‘he went to the market’ contains a simple predicate, and so does *em i stap Praim Minista* ‘he is Prime Minister’ (even though *stap* is a copula here and *Praim Minista* also belongs to the predicate). In contrast, in *em i bin go long maket* ‘he had gone to the market’, there are two verbal constituents, and so there are in *em i kamap king pinis* ‘he is the king now’. The assumption here is that *Praim Minista* is not verbal—which is straightforward enough; and also that *bin* and *pinis* are verbal—which perhaps would need some justification. A discussion of the word class “verb” will be found in Chs. 18 and 19. For now, let us assume some of the things to be elaborated there.

Since complex predicates are phrases, it helps to distinguish the “core” verb from any other verbal forms accompanying it. Thus, in *em i bin go long maket* ‘He had gone to market’, the core is *go*. Core is not necessarily the same as “head.” For example, in *em i laik wokim haus* ‘he wants to build a house’, the core is *wokim*—it is what grammars call the main verb, with *laik* as an auxiliary. But that auxiliary is the head in some important respects. For example, it, and not the core, is marked for negation.

Complex predicates are of various kinds. The serial predicate type is treated in the present chapter; serialization with *na*, in Ch. 9; verb + object + *i* + verb, in Ch. 10, 1; and auxiliary + main verb, in Ch. 10, 2.

### 1. Serial Predicates

To understand what serial predicates are, it helps to examine a few English examples first. Consider:

- (1) I will go and see him.
- (2) He will come and see me.
- (3) I will go there to see him.
- (4) He will come to see me.
- (5) I went and saw him.
- (6) I will go there soon and see him.
- (7) He will come some time tomorrow and see me.

In (1) and (2), the two verbs are linked by *and*; in (3) and (4), by *to*. Of the two verbs linked by *and* neither is the “upstairs” or the “downstairs” verb—that is, neither is dependent on the other. In contrast, a verb following *to* is not the “equal” of the verb preceding it; or: *see* is a downstairs verb in regard to *go* and *come*, respectively, in (3) and (4). Thus, the predicate in (3) and (4), though it consists of two verbs, is not serial. In contrast, those in (1) and (2) are. That is to say, a verbal phrase like *go and see* or *come and see* is one whole and cannot be changed the way single verbs can. For example, it cannot change tense. Thus, (5) is well-

formed, but not as a past tense of the serial construction *go and see*. Even in the future tense, if other constituents intervene within the sequence *go and see* or *come and see*, as is the case in (6) and (7), the construction is not serial. Rather, (6) and (7) are complex sentences, as is (5), each consisting of two coordinating clauses.

Note that each of (1) through (4) is a simple clause. A complex predicate is only one predicate, not two, and occurs (by definition) in a simple clause. In contrast, (5) through (7) are complex sentences. Sentence (6), for example, consists of the clauses *I will go there soon* and *I will see him*, linked by *and*—and because the subject and the auxiliary are the same in both clauses, *I will* may be omitted in the second clause. The two clauses are “equals”—that is, neither is dependent on the other. We say they are coordinated clauses. However, they are different clauses and so (by definition) the verbs *go* and *see* in (6) do not add up to a single (complex) predicate. A similar analysis applies to sentences (5) and (7).

Thus, in (1) through (7), single (though complex) predicates are found only in (1) through (4). Of those, only (1) and (2) have serial predicates.

As it happens, to *go and see* or *come and see* types are among the very few serial predicate types found in English. (There is also the *try and X* type—as in *I'll try and do this*; and the *go X* type—as in *We'll go swim in the lake*. But the latter type is limited to rather informal speech.)

By contrast, Tok Pisin has a considerable variety of serial predicates. In 1 and 2 and subsections, the following are examined (“V” stands for “verb”—the core verb):

- [a] the type V + *i go* or V + *i kam*;
- [b] the type *go* + V and *kam* + V;
- [c] the copulative type;
- [d] the V + *i stap* type (the “progressive”);
- [e] the “perfective” type consisting of V + *pinis*; and
- [f] V + *i* + V of “suppletive” meaning.

The types [a] through [e] are examined in 1.1 through 1.5, respectively; type [f] is examined in 2.

### 1.1 Serials Ending with *i kam* or *i go*

Languages differ in how they express, in the predicate, processes involving change. Those are of various kinds, and an important one is the kind of process that involves movement from one place to another. Verbs expressing such movements are called “locomotive” verbs. Examples of such verbs in English are *to travel*, *to come*, *to go*, *to ascend*, *to descend*, and so forth.

Locomotive verbs may involve a direction—for example, up or down. Thus English expresses movement upwards in a stand-alone verb like *to ascend*, or in a verb with an adverb added to express the upward direction, as in *to go up*. Similarly, for downward direction, there are *to descend* and *to go down*.

The directionality of locomotive verbs is often deictic. That is to say, the direction is expressed in relation to the place where the speaker is (in stories or reports,

the “speaker” may be the person with whom the narrator or reporter identifies). Thus, English *to go* expresses locomotion away from the speaker; *to come*, towards the speaker. While these are examples of intransitive verbs, such differences are found also with transitive verbs: *to bring* involves movement towards the speaker; *to take*, away from the speaker. But other locomotive verbs have no such deictic element: intransitively, there is a verb like *to walk*; transitively, a verb like *to carry*—those are neutral as between locomotion towards or locomotion away from the speaker.

Tok Pisin handles locomotive verbs involving directionality in a different fashion. Consider once again the English clause *He walked away*; it expresses movement away from a place where the speaker is (or a place with which the speaker identifies); and it does so in two constituents—the verb *walked* and the adverb *away*. In contrast, Tok Pisin uses two verbs: *Em i wokabaut i go*. The verbs *wokabaut* and *go* are not in any upstairs-downstairs relation to one another; they are equals, and in one and the same predicate. In short, *wokabaut i go* is a serial verb construction—at once locomotive and deictic in this case. The second verb requires *i*, regardless of whether the first verb has or does not have *i* (according to rules set out in Ch. 7, 1).

Apart from the locomotive V + *i go* and V + *kam* types (in which *go* and *kam* also express locomotion), there are other verbs expressing change. We may call those “mutative” verbs, which are followed by copulative *i go*. This type is not found in English. In a sentence like *The manager let the food go bad*, the verb *go* is, it is true, a copula, of the dynamic type signifying a change (the food went from good to bad), but *let* expresses only the source of that change, not the change itself. In contrast, in Tok Pisin *kukim i go tan* ‘to cook until well-done’, *kukim* itself expresses the change, in a process expressed by *go tan*.

In short, V + *i go* and V + *i kam* may have either a locomotive or a mutative V. Locomotive V + *i go* and V + *i kam* is reviewed in 1.1.1; mutative V + copulative *i go*, in 1.1.2.

### 1.1.1 Locomotive V + *i kam* or *i go*

Locomotive verbs, either transitive (like *karim* ‘to carry’, *bringim* ‘to bring, to take’, *apim* ‘to raise’) or intransitive (like *flai* ‘to fly’, or *ran* ‘to run’) are serially combined with *i go* to express movement away from the speaker and with *i kam* to express movement towards the speaker (once again, the “speaker” may be the person—or place—the narrator or reporter identifies with). Transitive verbs are followed by their objects first, before *i go* or *i kam* follows.

- (1) *Dispela em i pikinini bilong mi stret na bai mi karim em i go.*  
‘This is my own child and I am taking him away.’
- (2) *Karim kaikai i kam.*  
‘Carry the food this way.’
- (3) *Karim sikman i go long haus sik.*  
‘Take the sick person to the hospital.’

- (4) *Ol lang i sindaun long sua na karim ol jems i kam.*  
‘Flies will alight on the sore and carry germs along with them.’
- (5) *Apim soyabin wantaim pipia i go antap tru, bai win i rausim pipia.*  
‘Throw the soybeans with the dust up high, so the wind can blow away the dust.’
- (6) *Yu mas bringim pikinini i kam long haus sik.*  
‘You have to take the child to the hospital.’
- (7) *Ol i goap, na trak i bringim ol i go.*  
‘They boarded, and the truck took them away.’

Note the object of the locomotive verb following that verb and preceding *i kam* or *i go*. It is to this object that *kam* or *go* relates as if it were their own subject. For a the *na*-serial variation of this construction, see Ch. 9, 2.

(Special attention is needed for *bringim*, which differs from English *to bring*. In English, *to bring* already implies direction of the movement towards the speaker, and it differs in that respect deictically from *to take*. Compare: *Bring it to me* with *Take it to them*. By contrast, Tok Pisin *bringim* is not deictic. It is neutral in regard to direction to or away from the speaker, as shown in (6) and (7), respectively.)

With intransitive verbs, *i kam* and *i go* share the same subject with the core. Examples:

- (8) *Dispela pisin i flai i go na i no kam bek.*  
‘This bird flew away and did not come back.’
- (9) *I olsem wanpela ensel i karim em na i flai i kam.*  
‘It was as if an angel came flying, carrying him.’
- (10) *Yutupela hariap i go bak long wok.*  
‘You two, hurry back to your work.’
- (11) *Yu mas hariap i kam bek kwiktaim.*  
‘You must come back in a hurry soon.’
- (12) *Na i olsem bikipela tarangau i hetwin i kam daun bilong holimpas wanpela liklik abus.*  
‘And it was as if a big eagle came diving to catch a small animal.’
- (13) *Olgeta dua long skai i op na wara i kapsait i kam daun.*  
‘All the sluices of heaven opened and the waters poured down.’
- (14) *Em i ranawe i go bek long lain bilong em.*  
‘He ran away back to his own group.’
- (15) *Mi lusim kem na ranawe i kam long yu.*  
‘I left the camp and came running to you.’
- (16) *Ol i no ken ran i go na holim bal long han wantaim.*  
‘They may not run and hold the ball at the same time.’
- (17) *Bai ol yangpela ran i kam kwik long ples bilong pilai.*  
‘The youngsters will soon come running to the place of the games.’
- (18) *Na i olsem Bikipela i stap long win na i spit i kam.*  
‘It was as if the Lord came soaring on the wind.’

- (19) *Ol dispela de i go pinis hariap olsem kanu i spit i go long wara.*  
‘These days go by fast, like a canoe skimming away on the water.’
- (20) *Bai dispela straika i wokabaut i go long fes bes.*  
‘The batter will walk to first base.’
- (21) *Husat dispela man i wokabaut i kam long yumi?*  
‘Who is this man coming (walking) towards us [incl.]?’

Note also *ranawe i kam* in (15): *kam*, rather than *go*, is deictically triggered, of course (by second rather than first person), and although *ranawe* does mean ‘to run away [from some place]’, the ‘away’ part is not as strong as in English—hence, in the English gloss of (15), that part could not be expressed without making it rather “odd.”

Though the core verb is typically a verb of locomotion, there are other verbs (especially *lukluk* ‘to look’) that may be the core in this type of construction:

- (22) *Yu sanap hia na yu lukluk i go long olgeta hap. Lukluk i go long hap sankamap na long hap san i go daun, na long hap not na long hap saut.*  
‘Stand here and look in all directions. Look to the east and to the west, to the north and to the south.’
- (23) *Yu lukluk i go antap long skai na yu lukim òl sta.*  
‘Look up to the sky and look at the stars.’
- (24) *Yupela i no ken tanim na lukluk i go bek.*  
‘Don’t (you [pl.]) turn around and look back.’
- (25) *Bikpela i stap long klaut na long paia, na klostu i laik tulait em i lukluk i go daun long ol ami bilong Isip.*  
‘The Lord was in the cloud and the fire, and just as dawn was breaking he looked at the army of Egypt down there.’
- (26) *Na mi laik bai yu lukluk i kam long dispela haus long olgeta de, long san na long nait.*  
‘And I wish that you watch over this house every day, day and night.’

*Lukluk* means ‘to look [actively]’ (*lukluk nabaut*, for example, as also *lukluk raun*, is ‘to look around, to look in all directions’), and it has, of course, “directionality” in the sense that “active” looking entails looking at something away from the one who looks. But Tok Pisin treats *lukluk* as a verb of movement, as appears from (19) through (23), and deictically so—follow-up verbs are either *i go* or *i kam*.

There is also a serialized construction type with two follow-up verbs, each preceded by *i*, in the form *i go i kam*, for movement back and forth. (In addition, there is the serial construction *i go i go*, but that is not limited to locomotive verbs, and is durative; see 1.4.2.) Examine:

- (27) *Mipela i toktok i go i kam olsem.*  
‘We [excl.] chatted back and forth in that way.’
- (28) *Ol man i mas wokabaut i go i kam, ol i save hait na bihainim ol liklik rot tasol.*  
‘The men had to go back and forth, they would stay out of sight and go along back roads only.’

- (29) *Na ol i lukim lait bilong klaut i sut i go i kam.*  
'And they saw lightning everywhere.'
- (30) *Bai em i tromoi han i go i kam klostu long hap sik bilong mi.*  
'He will move his hands over the diseased area of my body.'
- (31) *Ol dispela hetman i save salim planti pas i go i kam.*  
'These leaders would send one another many letters.'
- (32) *Tupela i no ken paitim bal i go i kam namel long tupela tasol.*  
'The two must not bounce the ball back and forth just between them.'
- (33) *Ol boi i mekim lek bilong ol i go i kam na ol i krai "Tait! Tait! Tait!"*  
'The boys swing their legs back and forth and call out "Flood, flood, flood."'
- (34) *Pulim win long plastik tasol i go i kam.*  
'Just breathe into the plastic bag and inhale from it, several times over.'

The verb preceding *i kam i go* is intransitive in (27) through (29), and transitive in (30) through (34).

Note that the serial structure *i go i kam* may also be a predicate by itself. That is, no other verb precedes it:

- (35) *Tok i go i kam.*  
'The conversation went back and forth.'
- (36) *Tudak i karamapim bikpela wara na spirit bilong God i go i kam antap long en.*  
'Darkness covered the water, and the spirit of God hovered over it.'
- (37) *Ol kain kain tingting i go i kam.*  
'All kinds of thoughts came and went.'

Observe, however, that *go i kam* may be just an instance of *V + i kam* type (without the "back and forth" idea, therefore). This seems clear in:

- (38) *Olgeta hap mi go i kam, mi save stap long haus sel tasol.*  
'Wherever I go, I just stay in my tent.'

where *go* just means the locomotion to a certain place, and *i kam* is used because the place reached is the place of arrival—of the speaker.

### 1.1.2 Mutative *V + Copulative i go or i kamap*

Examine:

- (1) *Raunim hap laplap long hul bilong klos, bai hul i no ken bruk i go bikpela.*  
'Sew a piece of cloth along the opening [for the head] of the robe, so that the opening may not tear and become large.'
- (2) *Wanpela bikpela rop i lusim klok na bihain em i bruk i kamap planti na karim blut i go long lek na han na het na long ol rop kaikai.*  
'A big artery runs from the heart and then furcates into many arteries to carry the blood to legs and arms and head and the digestive system.'
- (3) *Em i save mekim wara i go antap na tanim i kamap ren.*  
'He causes the waters to rise up and to turn into rain.'



- (4) *Skin bilong buk i bruk, na wara wantaim susu bilong sua i kamap na **tanim i go** drai na strong.*  
‘The skin on the boil breaks, and water, along with the discharge from the boil, comes and makes it dry and hard.’
- (5) *Bai lip i **tanim i go** yelopela.*  
‘The leaf will turn yellow.’
- (6) *Skin bilong soyabin bai i wok long **tanim i kamap** retpela.*  
‘The skin of the soybean will be turning red.’
- (7) *Putim liklik sol na planti wara liklik, na **tanim i kamap** malumalu gut.*  
‘Add some salt and a fair amount of water, and knead it until it is properly soft.’
- (8) *Dispela samting i save **tanim man i go** longlong.*  
‘This [i.e. drunkenness] will cause a man to go mad.’
- (9) *Em i “Liklik Buk” i stap long tok Inglis bipo na nau ol i **tanim i kamap** long Tok Pisin pinis.*  
‘It is “Liklik Buk,” which was in English and has now been translated into Tok Pisin.’
- (10) *Tok na piksa i stap long buk “Save na Mekim” ol i **tanim i go** long Tok Pisin.*  
‘Text and pictures are in the book “Save na Mekim,” which has been translated into Tok Pisin.’
- (11) *Rausim skin pinat, **boilim** pinat i go tan.*  
‘Take the skin away from the peanuts, then boil them until they are done.’
- (12) *Mi bai kisim hama bilong **krungutim** arere i **kamap** stretpela kona.*  
‘I will get a hammer to bend the back of it into a straight angle.’
- (13) ***Brukim** lip o hap laplap i **kamap** liklik inap karamapim kat yu laik pasim.*  
‘Fold a leaf or a piece of cloth into a small piece that can cover the cut you want to bandage.’
- (14) *Taim dispela raisobiam i kamap long yu, bai yu **rapim i go** long pikinini soyabin pastaim, orait, planim.*  
‘When this rhizobium arrives, rub it on the soybean seedlings first, then plant them.’
- (15) ***Memeim** graun i go liklik na stretim gut.*  
‘Turn the soil over until it is loose, and level it carefully.’

Observe that (1) through (5) have intransitive mutative verbs; those verbs are transitive in (6) through (15). Note that *tanim* may be intransitive (because “reflexive,” see Ch. 18, 3), as in (3) through (6), and transitive, as in (7) through (10).

## 1.2 The *go* + Core or *kam* + Core Type

This type is not unlike the English one found in *to go swim*, *to go play tennis*, *let's go do this*, and the like, except that this type in English is distinctly informal whereas in Tok Pisin it is not limited to informal speech. Also, while a similar construction in English is not possible with *come* (one cannot have \**come swim*, etc., at least not in British English), in Tok Pisin *kam* + verb is also common.

The construction has no *i* after *go* or *kam*. The follow-up core may be any verb (intransitive or transitive) expressing something the subject has control of—we may call such verbs “volitional.” Thus *sindaun* ‘to sit, to sit down’ is volitional, because it expresses a posture change we have control of, but *pundaun* ‘to fall’ is not. However, *i go* + core may be part of a larger construction, that is, locomotive verb + *i go* (discussed in 1.1.1), and a nonvolitional verb like *pundaun* may be introduced by *i go*, but then there is control on the part of the subject of the core verb.

Cores not straightforwardly verbs are also found in this type of construction—again, provided they imply control.

Another construction, *hariap* ‘to hurry’, followed by *i* + a verb, may also be considered as belonging to this type.

There is, however, one exception to this rule: the follow-up verb *kamap* ‘to arrive’ (which is nonvolitional). *Kamap* may also mean ‘to happen’ (nonlocomotive), or ‘to become’ (copulative; see Ch. 7, 2.1.2), but when it is locomotive (‘to arrive’), *go* or *kam* may precede it. This rule is no longer widely followed, however, and has by now become part of a more classic style.

### 1.2.1 *Go* + Core or *kam* + Core: Examples

For *go* + core, examine:

- (1) *Na Dan i laik stapim dispela trak, olsem na em i go sanap namel long rot na i tromoi han.*  
‘And Dan wanted to stop this truck, so he stood in the middle of the road and held up his hand.’
- (2) *Na bai mi yet mi go toktok wantaim ol arapela kamda.*  
‘And I will talk to the other carpenters myself.’
- (3) *Wara i stap aninit long skai i mas i go bung long wanpela hap tasol, bai ples drai i kamap.*  
‘The waters under heaven must come together in one place, so that dry land may emerge.’
- (4) *Na bihain natnat i go sindaun long skin bilong narapela man na sutim skin bilong en.*  
‘And later the mosquito will alight on someone else’s skin and bite.’
- (5) *Bai mi yet mi go helpim ol.*  
‘I will go to help them myself.’
- (6) *Sapos yu gat askim, yu ken i go askim ol.*  
‘If you have questions, you may go and ask them.’
- (7) *Na em i go pulimapim wara long skin meme.*  
‘And she went to fill the goat skin with water.’

The follow-up verb is intransitive in (1) through (4), transitive, in (5) through (7). Examples of *kam* + core:

- (8) *Mi man bilong narapela kantri na mi kam sindaun namel long yupela.*  
‘I am from a different country and I have come to settle among you [pl.]’

- (9) *Olgeta lain sipsip i kam bung pinis.*  
'All the herds of sheep are together now.'
- (10) *Ol i kam kaikai.*  
'They came for dinner.'
- (11) *Wanpela trak i kam sanap klostu long ol.*  
'A truck came and stopped near them.'
- (12) *Plisman i kam stapim trak na katim tok bilong mi.*  
'The policeman came to stop the truck and interrupted what I was saying.'
- (13) *Josep i kam bungim papa bilong em.*  
'Joseph came to meet his father.'
- (14) *Dispela boi em i bin singautim, em i mas i kam holim bal.*  
'This boy whose name he calls out must come to catch the ball.'

The follow-up verb is intransitive in (9) through (11); transitive, in (12) through (14).

Next, here are some examples of *kam kamap* and *go kamap*:

- (15) *Nau olgeta boi i kalap long wanpela lek tasol i go kamap long dispela mak.*  
'Now all the boys hop on one leg only until they reach that line.'
- (16) *Nogut dispela sik i go kamap long olgeta poteto bilong yu.*  
'Make sure this disease will not affect all your potatoes.'
- (17) *Em i go kamap na em i sindaun arere long wanpela hul wara.*  
'He arrived and sat down next to a water well.'
- (18) *Ol brata bilong mi ol i kam kamap pinis.*  
'My brothers have arrived.'
- (19) *Ol i kam kamap long ples drai.*  
'They arrived at the desert.'
- (20) *Ol soldia i kam kamap long ples daun.*  
'The soldiers arrived in the valley.'

For comparison, here are a few examples of (locomotive) *kamap*, without *go* or *kam* preceding:

- (21) *Na bihain tru bai ol i kamap long taun.*  
'And much later they arrived at the town.'
- (22) *Nau ol i kamap pinis long lain kokonas.*  
'Now they reach the coconut plantation.'
- (23) *Long apinun ol i kamap long haus sik.*  
'In the afternoon, they reached the hospital.'

It is the type found in (15) through (20) that is the more classic construction.

Here follow a few examples of *go* + nonvolitional verb, as part of a locomotive verb + object + *i go* construction:

- (24) *Orait manki i ran i go, na Jonatan i sutim wanpela supsup i abrusim em na i go pundaun long hap.*  
'Then the child ran away, and Jonathan shot an arrow past him to a place farther away where it fell.'

- (25) *Ol i olsem ol man i lukim narapela man i laik pundaun long rot na ol i subim em i go pundaun olgeta.*  
 ‘They are like people who see another man totter on the road and shove him so he falls.’

Next, some examples of *go* or *kam* + cores that are not obviously verbs of movement:

- (26) *Sapos man i paitim bal na em i no mekim wanpela paul, orait wantu i mas ran i go hariap na kamap long fes bes.*  
 ‘If a man hits the ball and he makes no other mistake, then he must run fast to first base.’
- (27) *Na narapela man bilong tim i mas i go hariap bilong paitim bal.*  
 ‘And another player in the team must run fast to hit the ball.’
- (28) *Jehoiada i tok long ol man i no ken i go malolo long taim ol i pinis wok.*  
 ‘Jehoiada said that the men could not take a rest when they finished the job.’
- (29) *Em i laik save as bilong dispela samting, olsem na em i go prea long Bikpela.*  
 ‘She wanted to know the meaning of this, so she went to pray to the Lord.’

Such uses of *go*, which imply locomotion of some sort, should be distinguished from *go* + modifier where *go* is copulative (Ch. 7, 2.1.2).

Finally, the following will illustrate *hariap* + verb:

- (30) *Yutupela hariap i go bek long wok.*  
 ‘You two, go back to work fast.’
- (31) *Orait em i lusim ol manmeri na i hariap i kisim spia bilong en.*  
 ‘Then he left the people and hurriedly got his spear.’
- (32) *Yu mas hariap i kam bek kwiktaim.*  
 ‘You must come back in a hurry.’

### 1.3 The Copulative Type

Copulative serials begin with *tanim* ‘to change [intr.]’, followed either by *i go*, or *i kamap*. Examples given earlier (Ch. 7, 2.1.2) are repeated here as (1) through (3), and a few more are added.

- (1) *Nogut strong bilong kon bilong yu i tanim i go lapun.*  
 ‘Don’t let the quality of the corn [seedlings] become old.’
- (2) *Sapos yu larim kru bilong wara karis i stap longpela taim liklik, bai em i tanim i go nogut na i gat pait.*  
 ‘If you let the shoots of water dropwort sit for fairly long, they will turn bad and have a pungent taste.’
- (3) *Taim kaikai bilong en i redi, lip i save tanim i kamap retpela.*  
 ‘When the fruits are ready [for picking], the leaves will turn red.’

- (4) *Wanpela binatang i save go insait long nupela lip bilong kon na bai lip i **tanim i go** yelopela na i bruk long namel.*  
‘One [kind of] pest will go inside new corn leaves and the leaf will then turn yellow and break in the middle.’
- (5) *Tasol yu no lukim suga arere long sospen i laik **tanim i go** drai.*  
‘But you won’t see the sugar in the back of the pan, which will turn dry.’
- (6) *Olgeta bin i no save kamap blakpela long wanpela taim tasol. Sampela bai **tanim i go** blakpela pastaim na yu mas wok long kisim pastaim.*  
‘Not all beans will turn black at the same time. Some will turn black earlier and then you have to harvest those first.’

A special case of serialization, with a dynamic core and a stative follow-up, is *kamap i stap*:

- (7) *Graun i mas **kamap i stap** lus olgeta olsem neseri bilong kumu.*  
‘The soil [for growing rice] must become all loose, as in the vegetable nursery.’

#### 1.4 The “Progressive” Types: Core + *i stap*; and Core + *i go i go*

The grammar term “progressive” is well-known from English grammar, and illustrated in such forms as *She was walking down the hallway* or *He is writing a letter*. The construction consists of a form of *to be* followed by the *-ing* form of a verb. The verb may be transitive (like *write*) or intransitive (like *walk*); *be* is an auxiliary verb. The construction auxiliary + core verb (as we might call it) in English is not a serial construction.

By contrast, the progressive form in Tok Pisin is a serial verb construction, consisting of: core + *i stap*; core + *i go i go*. (That core must be just that, not an auxiliary. For example, *i mas i stap* or *i ken i stap* have *mas* and *ken* as modal auxiliaries, and *stap*, not *mas* or *ken*, is the core verb—such constructions are examined in Ch. 10, 2, and they are not the construction under review here.)

Core + *i stap* is examined in 1.4.1; core + *i go i go*, in 1.4.2. Then, a comparison will be needed between core + *i stap* and *stap* + core, in 1.4.3.

##### 1.4.1 Core + *i stap*

Progressive *i stap*, as noted, follows the core verb. If the core verb is intransitive, *i stap* normally follows immediately. However, the intransitive core is not necessarily a verb. Here follow some examples of this construction:

- (1) *Na ol pasindia ol i sindaun **i stap** na ol i tingting planti.*  
‘And the passengers were sitting there and they worried.’
- (2) *Ol i kaikai **i stap**.*  
‘They are eating.’
- (3) *Ol i toktok **i stap**.*  
‘They were chatting.’

- (4) *Ol i amamas i stap.*  
'They were having a good time.'
- (5) *Wara Nail i bagarap i stap inap long sevenpela de.*  
'The Nile was polluted for seven days.'
- (6) *Em i ran i go namel long ol dispela manmeri i bung i stap.*  
'He ran to these people who had gathered together.'
- (7) *Ol i holim botol loliwara na dring i stap.*  
'They were holding bottles of soft drink and were drinking.'
- (8) *Sapos mipela i no pamim marasin long olgeta liklik haus long gaden na toilet samting, bai ol natnat inap hait i stap na kaikaim yupela na givim sik malaria moa.*  
'If we [excl.] do not spray all the garden shacks and toilets, the mosquitoes will be able to stay hidden and bite you [pl.] and cause a lot of malaria.'
- (9) *Na em i go sindaun longwe liklik, na em i wok long krai i stap.*  
'And she sat down at some distance, and she kept crying.'
- (10) *Bai dispela lam i ken lait i stap long olgeta de.*  
'May this lamp be lighted all day.'
- (11) *Na bihain em wantaim meri bilong en i sanap lukluk i stap.*  
'And then he and his wife stood there looking.'
- (12) *Bilong wanem yupela i sindaun nating na luk sori i stap?*  
'Why are you [pl.] just sitting there and looking sad?'
- (13) *Em i malolo i stap.*  
'He was resting.'
- (14) *Dua i op nating i stap, na i no gat man i was long en.*  
'The door was open just like that, and there was no one to watch it.'
- (15) *Dispela asua bai i pas i stap long mi oltaim.*  
'This guilt will stay with me forever.'
- (16) *Sapos yupela i lukim donki bilong birua bilong yupela i karim kago na i pundaun i stap, yupela i mas helpim birua.*  
'If you [pl.] see a donkey of an enemy of yours [pl.] succumbing under its load, you [pl.] must help your enemy.'
- (17) *Hamas de pikinini i sik i stap?*  
'How many days has the child been ill?'

Note that the core is not necessarily a verb (*amamas* in (4), *malolo* in (13), *sik* in (17)).

Transitive verb + *i stap* requires closer analysis. In the construction transitive V (+ object) + *i stap* (in which the object may be omitted if understood from the context) a complication for our topic here is twofold: either that construction is not a single predicate at all, or it is a single predicate but not a serial one.

First, consider the following examples in which the construction is not a single predicate at all:

- (18) *Long apinun ol i kamap long haus sik, na ol i lukim doktaboi i stap yet long haus sik.*

‘In the afternoon they arrived at the clinic and they saw that the orderly was still in the hospital.’

- (19) *Na kanu em tu yu no ken larim i stap nating.*

‘And the canoe you cannot leave just as it is either.’

- (20) *Na long ol tripela distrik wan wan yupela i mas makim wanpela taun i stap long gutpela ples bai man i no ken hatwok long i go long en.*

‘And in each of the three districts you [pl.] must designate a town that is in a good place, so that people will not have much trouble reaching it.’

In (18), there is the transitive verb (*lukim* ‘to see’) followed by what by itself is a separate clause (*doktaboi i stap yet* ‘the orderly is still [there]’), and thus there is here no construction at all of the type *lukim + doktaboi + i stap*. That is to say, *i stap* does not relate to *lukim*—*i stap* is not part of the predicate *lukim*. *Stap* is locative here (expressing presence in some place). For a verb like *lukim* in a sentence like (18), see Ch. 10, 1.1.

In (19), we find the transitive verb *makim* ‘to designate’, followed by its object *wanpela taun i stap long gutpela ples* ‘a town that is in a good place’; that object itself consists of *wanpela taun* plus the relative clause *i stap long gutpela ples*. And thus *i stap* belongs wholly within that relative clause and has no direct relation to *lukim*.

In (20), again, *no ken larim i stap nating* is one single predicate, composed of an upstairs verb *larim* (itself qualified by the auxiliary *ken*), and with the object (*kanu*, or rather *em*, which picks up *kanu*) omitted, plus a downstairs verb *stap* (itself qualified by *nating*; *stap* is a copula here). *Larim* and *stap* are thus not equals, and although they are the principal constituents in one predicate, that predicate is not serial. Note also that (3) is negative; but progressive constructions are never negative (see Ch. 19, 5).

In short, the serial construction that has the form of V (+ object) + *i stap* should be carefully distinguished from such a construction, which is not serial.

A second point to be raised here is one concerning *gat* + object + *i stap* (or *i kamap*) which is indeed serial. It may take either of two forms. The first is: subject + (*i*) *gat* + *i stap*, corresponding to English ‘have’; the second, impersonal *i gat* + object + *i stap* (or *i kamap*), corresponding to English ‘be’.

Serial core + *i stap* constructions other than those of which the core is *gat* are exemplified first; then, the *gat* core + *i stap* (or *i kamap*) serials.

- (21) *Katu i tok olsem, na sotpela taim ol i pasim maus i stap.*

‘Katu said this, and for a few moments they were all silent.’

- (22) *Na tupela i sanap klostu long Moses long hap na long hap na holim han bilong en antap. Tupela i holim i stap inap san i go daun.*

‘The two of them stood close to Moses on either side of him, and supported his arms held high. They kept holding them until sunset.’

- (23) *Na sapos man i kukim ples kunai bilong em yet na paia i kamap bikipela na i kalapim mak na kukim wit long gaden bilong narapela man o kukim wit ol i bin katim na hipim i stap, orait dispela man i bin laitim paia i mas bekim olgeta kaikai paia i bin kukim.*

‘And if a man burns the weeds off his land and the fire develops and goes across to another man’s land or burns the wheat they have been cutting and storing, then the man who started the fire must give compensation for the crops burned by the fire.’

- (24) *Tripela boi bilong kisim pis i paitim solwara i stap.*  
 ‘The three boys who fish keep hitting the sea [surface].’
- (25) *Sapos em inap makim wanem man i holim ring i stap, orait tupela i senis.*  
 ‘If he can point out the man who is holding the ring, then the two change places.’
- (26) *Nau as bilong pilai i holim pitpit na i tanim tanim i stap.*  
 ‘Now the main player holds the sugar cane and keeps turning it.’

Note the word order: V + object + *i stap*. However, the object is omitted when known from the context—*han bilong en* in (22), *wit* in (23), *kaikai* in (23), and *pitpit* in (26).

Finally, consider (27):

- (27) *Dispela pen i stap i stap na i no save lusim mi.*  
 ‘This pain is there all the time, and will not leave me.’

which looks like being a progressive of *stap*. While there seems nothing wrong with such an analysis, *i stap i stap* here could also be regarded as an instance of reduplication.

As already suggested in passing (Ch. 4, 2.1; Ch. 7, 1.4), the verb *gat* may have either of two forms: subject + *gat* + object (English parallel: ‘to have’); and impersonal *i gat* + object (English parallel: ‘to be’). The construction to be discussed here is the one in which *gat* + object is followed by *i stap*.

*Gat* + object asserts of the object primarily that it exists. In impersonal *i gat* + object form, mere existence is asserted; in subject + *gat* + object form, the object exists as something possessed by the subject. Thus, *gat* is what is called “existential.” What is important in the present subsection is that the addition of *i stap* makes the existential meaning “locative,” which is to say not only that the thing exists, but also that it exists in a particular place. Examine the following examples:

- (28) *Mi gat dispela wanpela gutpela taia tasol i stap, na nau em tu i bagarap.*  
 ‘I only have this one good tire here, and now it too has blown.’
- (29) *Mi gat ol meme i stap.*  
 ‘I have the goats here.’
- (30) *Larim em i gat hul i stap.*  
 ‘Leave the opening in there [i.e. in the altar] as it is.’
- (31) *Sapos graun i stap aninit long haus em i gat wara i stap, mobeta yu putim poteto insait long bokis, na putim bokis antap long sampela ston.*  
 ‘If the ground underneath the house is moist, better put the potatoes in a box and put the box on a couple of bricks.’

All of these are all of the subject + *gat* (or ‘have’) type, and *i stap* expresses the locative presence of the object.



Now consider examples of the impersonal *i gat* type:

- (32) *Namel long dispela gaden i gat wanpela diwai i stap em diwai bilong givim laip.*  
‘In the middle of the garden there was one tree, the tree of life.’
- (33) *Long dispela taim na long taim bihain tu i bin i gat ol traipela man i stap long graun.*  
‘In those times and also later there were giants on the earth.’
- (34) *I gat sampela distrik i stap long ol liklik maunten long hap bilong san i go daun.*  
‘There were some districts in the hilly area in the West.’
- (35) *I gat wanpela man i stap?*  
‘Is anybody there?’
- (36) *Yupela i ting mi no gat planti longlong man i stap long kantri bilong mi, a? I gat planti i stap.*  
‘You [pl.] think there are many crazy people in my country, do you? There are indeed plenty.’
- (37) *I gat marasin bilong dispela sik tu i stap. Ol i kolim fangisait o tomato das.*  
‘There is a spray available for this disease. They call it fungicide or tomato dust.’
- (38) *I gat wanpela meri i stap long dispela taun na em i gat planti mani samting.*  
‘There was a certain woman in this town and she had great wealth.’
- (39) *Na i gat wanpela rum i stap long pes bilong haus.*  
‘And there was one room in the house, along the front of it.’
- (40) *I gat tupela man i stap long wanpela taun. Wanpela i gat planti mani samting na narapela em i rabis na i gat liklik tasol.*  
‘In a certain town, there were two men. One was very affluent and the other was poor and had only very little.’

In (32) through (40), location is important: *namel long dispela gaden* in (32); *long graun* in (33); *long ol liklik maunten* in (34); and so forth. In (35), *i stap* itself is needed to express what appears as ‘there’ in the English gloss. In (37), there is no adjunct of place, but *i stap* suggests that the spray is available. To recognize this point, compare (10) with (41):

- (41) *I gat tupela arapela marasin bilong dring, tasol em i gat bikpela pe tru, na gavman i no save givim dispela marasin.*  
‘There are two more kinds of medicine one could take, but they are very expensive, and the government does not normally provide them.’

in which, significantly, *i stap* is lacking, for though the medication exists, for all practical purposes it is not anywhere—the government does not provide it. Or consider (42):

- (42) *I gat wanpela rot tasol bilong kisim mani bilong baim dispela samting.*  
‘There is only one way to get money to pay for this thing.’

where *rot*, meaning ‘way, manner’, something abstract, therefore, which is not “located” anywhere.

As *i gat* + object + *i stap* has *i stap* as expressing location, thus *i gat* + object + *i kamap* expresses a point in time to which *i gat* is relevant, a point in time when something happens (also with locative implications), as in (43) and (44):

- (43) *I gat wanpela samting i kamap long yupela, a?*  
 ‘Something happened to you [pl.], didn’t it?’
- (44) *Sapos pikinini kaikai i sot long gris bilong graun, orait, bai i no gat gutpela samting i kamap long gaden.*  
 ‘If the seedlings lack nutrition from the soil, there will be nothing good happening in the garden.’

In conclusion, note that the sequence *i gat* + object + *i stap* may not be a serial construction at all, as shown in (45):

- (45) *Bai i no gat wanpela samting i stap gut.*  
 ‘There will be nothing that is still in good condition.’

where the object of *gat* is *samting i stap gut*, containing, in turn, *i stap gut* as a relative clause modifying *samting*. Note that (45) is negative. Once again, progressive constructions are never negated.

### 1.4.2 Serial *i go i go*

While serialization with *i stap* may be progressive in the sense that what the core expresses is in progress, serialization with *i go i go* may be called “durative,” and it differs slightly from the progressive. The durative draws attention to the time length of what is expressed by the core verb—a duration that is excessive, or at least longer than expected. There is, in the durativity of *i go i go*, also something repetitive: an action is done time and again, rather than one single time of it enduring over time. In conversational Tok Pisin *i go i go* may even permit more repetitions: *i go i go i go. . . .*

Another difference between progressive *i stap* and durative *i go i go* is that *i go i go* may occur by itself (and, since there is *i go* twice, the construction is reduplicative).

This predicate type has a core verb that may be intransitive or transitive; with a transitive core verb, the object (if expressed—it may be omitted if known from the context) precedes *i go i go*. Here are examples:

- (1) *Ol i wokabaut i go i go na ol i les tru long rot.*  
 ‘They walked and walked, and they were exhausted from the trip.’
- (2) *Yu mas pait i go i go na pinisim dispela olgeta man nogut.*  
 ‘You must go on and on fighting and eradicate all these evil people.’
- (3) *Na ol i wok i go i go inap ol i pinisim haus, olsem God bilong ol i bin tok.*  
 ‘And they worked without pause until they finished the house, as their God had told them.’

- (4) *Sikman i traut i go i go na i no gat kaikai i stap long bel bilong en.*  
 ‘The patient keeps vomiting until there is no food in his stomach any more.’
- (5) *Ol man bilong king i painim ol i go i go inap long arere bilong wara Jordan.*  
 ‘The king’s men kept pursuing them [i.e. spies] as far as the banks of the river Jordan.’
- (6) *Sapos yu laik stat long pes 1 na ritim buk i go i go na pinisim olgeta, orait, yu ken mekim. Tasol mi ting bai yu sindaun longpela taim na wok i no inap kirap.*  
 ‘If you want to read the book from page 1 to the end in one go, all right, you can do that. But I think you will then sit a long time, and the job cannot be started.’
- (7) *Olgeta man wan wan i mas mekim i go i go inap long taim i pinis.*  
 ‘Each of the men must do this, the one after the other, until time is up.’
- (8) *Planti manmeri moa i ran i kam ausait long dua, olsem na ol i sakim em i pundaun na ol i krungutim em i go i go inap em i dai.*  
 ‘A whole crowd of people ran outside the gate, and so they pushed him down and they trampled on him until he died.’

In (1) through (3), the core verb is intransitive; in (4) through (8), transitive. The object, as known from the context, is omitted in (7) (which is from the rules of a game; one job imposed by the rules is the object of *mekim*).

As mentioned, *i go i go* ‘to go on and on’ may stand alone as a predicate, and neither occurrence of *i go* is the core verb:

- (9) *Pilai i mas i go i go inap long 20 minit.*  
 ‘The game must continue for 20 minutes.’
- (10) *Dispela resis i go i go inap long wanpela man i gat fopela kiau i stap insait long banis bilong en. Na em i winim dispela resis.*  
 ‘This race continues until one player has four eggs within his own field. And he wins this game.’

Note that *mas* in (9) is not a core verb—it is an auxiliary to *i go i go*.

*I go i go* may be a stand-alone expression even without being a predicate. It is then in fact an impersonal verb (see Ch. 7, 1.4):

- (11) *Tupela i holim han na ran wantaim na kam bek na kisim namba tri memba, i go i go inap long tim olgeta i bin raun long mak na kam bek pinis. Tim i pinis pastaim em i win.*  
 ‘The two hold hands while running and come back and fetch the third member [of the team], and so on and on until the whole team has run around the mark and come back. The team that finishes first wins.’
- (12) *Lida i mas kolim narapela pasin olsem i go i go inap long tupela man tasol i stap. Tupela i win.*  
 ‘The [game] leader must announce in that way other changes and go on doing so until there are only two left. Those two have won.’

Finally, progressive *i stap* and durative *i go i go* are occasionally combined in one predicate:

- (13) *Yu kisim olsem i stap i go i go na as i kamap lapun na bai em yet i dai.*  
 ‘You keep harvesting it [i.e. the spinach], and keep doing this until the stem itself becomes old and dies off.’

### 1.4.3 V + *i stap* and *stap* + V

Tok Pisin grammars record *stap* + core verb (transitive or intransitive) as a progressive of the core verb. Thus we find *stap singsing* ‘to be singing, to be dancing’ alongside *singsing i stap*; or *yu stap mekim wanem samting?* ‘what are you doing?’.

Whatever the status of progressive *stap* + verb in colloquial Tok Pisin (where it seems to be rare), the construction is virtually nonexistent in texts available in print. Examine:

- (1) *Na ol Livai i gat wok bilong was long ol dua bilong haus bilong Bikpela, ol i stap was long ol wan wan dua.*  
 ‘And the Levites had the duty to keep guard at the doors of the temple, they kept watch at each of the doors.’
- (2) *Na ol i stori tu long ol arapela samting i bin kamap long em, na long ol manmeri bilong Israel na long ol kantri i stap raunim Israel.*  
 ‘And they [i.e. seers and prophets] have recorded all the other things that happened to him [i.e. David] and to the people of Israel and to the countries that surround Israel.’

Neither (1) nor (2) seems to qualify as an instance of the progressive. Though *raunim* ‘to surround’ is a verb that would allow of a progressive form, it is clearly stative in (2), and thus *stap* in *stap raunim* is better analyzed as copulative *stap*. Likewise, *stap was* in (1) describes a distribution of tasks rather than the actual process of men in process of fulfilling one such task, that is, the guarding the doors.

While *raunim* and *was* may function as genuine verbs, a modifier like *amamas* is different: it may mean ‘(to be) happy’ (which is stative) or ‘to enjoy oneself’ (something clearly indicating a process). Thus it makes sense to ask if there is a difference between *stap amamas* and *amamas i stap*—and more particularly if *stap amamas* could be progressive. Consider:

- (3) *Sapos wanpela man i gat gutpela haus na gaden, na em i stap amamas na wanbel wantaim ol arapela man, tasol sapos em i gat bikpela sik, bai yumi no ken tok, “dispela man i stap gut.” Nogat.*  
 ‘If someone has a good house and garden, and he is happy and in harmony with the other people, but he has a serious illness, we [incl.] cannot say “this man is all right.”’
- (4) *Olsem na ol i wok long lotu na amamas i stap inap long sevenpela de moa.*  
 ‘And so they engaged in worship celebrations and enjoyed themselves for another seven days.’

In (3), the predicate *i stap amamas na wanbel* is stative. Although *amamas* may involve some kind of process, *wanbel* does not, and so the entire predicate is perhaps best interpreted as stative. In contrast, in (4), the enjoyment goes with active celebrations, and thus *amamas i stap* seems progressive.

In short, while *amamas i stap* may be progressive, there seems to be no clear indication that *stap amamas* is, too. It may as well be considered as a copulative predicate.

It seems that the modifier (of the subject) after *stap* is in the majority of cases a noun (and thus stative), or a nonnominal expression such as *gutpela*, or *hait*, or *hangre*, or *kol*, and thus indisputably stative. Thus, a progressive construction *stap* + modifier is not well documented.

*Stap* may mean ‘to be (still) there’ and seems to have that meaning in (5):

- (5) *Em i stap i go lapun tru na em i dai.*  
 ‘He lived to grow very old and he died.’

### 1.5 The “Perfective” Core + *pinis* Type

Another type of serial construction is one ending with *pinis*. The core preceding it may be a verb (transitive or intransitive) but also any of a variety of other word classes, including nouns. *Pinis* as follow-up verb may be called perfective, but rather in the sense of completive; that is to say, what is expressed by the core constituent has come to the end of a process leading towards it. A few examples may illustrate this first:

- (1) *Nait i go pinis na moning i kamap.*  
 ‘The night was over, and it was morning.’
- (2) *Mi lapun pinis.*  
 ‘I am already old.’
- (3) *Mipela i wokim sampela haus pinis.*  
 ‘We [excl.] have built some houses.’
- (4) *Planti yangpela ol i skol pinis.*  
 ‘Many young people have had an education.’
- (5) *Mi saveman pinis.*  
 ‘I am an expert now.’

In (1) and (3), note the verbs *go* and *wokim*, intransitive and transitive, respectively; in (4), *skol*, more typically a noun, functions as a verb; *lapun* in (2) and *saveman* in (5) are modifiers. *Pinis* follows the core constituent, but not necessarily immediately. In (3) there is even the object first (*sampela haus*), then *pinis*.

*Pinis* marks the end of a process, but that process is not necessarily contained in the meaning of the core constituent. Thus, *lapun*, which means ‘old’, is of itself stative in meaning, but of course there is a process of getting old preceding that state; what *pinis* does to *lapun* in (2) is to mark the end of that process. Similarly, *saveman* ‘expert’ has in itself nothing of the process needed for someone to become an expert; nevertheless, what *pinis* conveys in (5) is that the process of becoming an expert has come to an end.

*Pinis*, in clauses like these, combines with the core constituent (*go, lapun, wokim, skul, saveman*) to form a serial predicate. In other words, *pinis* in these clauses is not the core constituent. But it could be; consider:

- (6) *Olgeta wok i pinis, na yumi mas bung long stua bilong ol Saina.*  
'All the work is finished, and we [incl.] must now get together in the Chinese store.'
- (7) *Bipo mi lukim dispela long sampela driman, na nau tupela yia i pinis.*  
'I saw this once in a dream, and now two years have gone by.'
- (8) *Olsem na sampela arapela bisnis em tu bai i pinis.*  
'And so several other businesses will close.'
- (9) *Na taim pilai i pinis, orait em i ken autim ol poin bilong tupela tim na ol i ken save husat i win.*  
'And when the game is over, then he [i.e. the leader] can announce the scores of the two teams, and they will know who has won.'

*Pinis* is a stand-alone predicate here, and there is nothing serial about these predicates. As a stand-alone, *pinis* may be the core constituent, accompanied by an auxiliary; examine:

- (10) *Yu tok long mi mas pinis long wokim gaden.*  
'You say I must stop working in the field.'
- (11) *Maus bilong dispela rop i op nau, na bikpela blut i kapsait i go i go na i no laik pinis.*  
'The end of this artery is now open, and a great deal of blood keeps flowing out and there will be no end to it [i.e. the bleeding].'
- (12) *Mi laik wokim alta bilong Bikpela long dispela hap, bai dispela bikpela sik i kamap long ol manmeri, em i ken pinis.*  
'I want to build an altar for the Lord here, so that the disease striking the people may end.'
- (13) *Lain bilong yu bai i no inap pinis.*  
'Your house [of sovereignty] will never end.'

These clauses have predicates consisting of *pinis* as the core constituent, preceded by an auxiliary verb (*mas, laik, ken, inap*). But such constructions are not serial, and *pinis* is the core constituent as much as it is in (6) through (9). (Note that *pinis* may also be a noun, meaning 'end'—as in *mak bilong pinis* 'finishing line'.)

In short, predicates with *pinis* as a core constituent need to be distinguished from serial predicates with *pinis* as a follow-up verb to mark the perfective aspect of the process leading to what is expressed in the core constituent.

### 1.5.1 Core + Perfective *pinis*: Examples

Examine the following examples, in addition to (1) through (5) in 1.5:

- (1) *Mi tok pinis, gavman em i giaman tumas!*  
'I have already said that the government lies about everything!'

- (2) *Na planti manmeri ol i save pinis long dispela pasin.*  
‘And a lot of people already know about how this is done.’
- (3) *Na gavman i putim pinis planti didiman.*  
‘And the government has appointed many agricultural officers.’
- (4) *Ol i kisim dispela kaikai pinis.*  
‘They now have this food.’
- (5) *Dok i dai pinis.*  
‘The dog is dead.’
- (6) *Ka i bagarap pinis.*  
‘The car is out of order.’
- (7) *Yes, yumi redi pinis long planti samting olsem.*  
‘Yes, we [incl.] are now prepared for a lot of such things.’
- (8) *Orait, yumi wanbel pinis long kirapim woksop.*  
‘All right, now we [incl.] are definitely agreed to start a repair shop.’
- (9) *Dispela laisens i doti na bruk pinis, na plisman i hatwok long ritim. Em i ritim pinis na i tok, “Draiva, dispela laisens bipo i dai, na sikispela mun i go pinis.”*  
‘This [driving] license was soiled and torn, and the policeman had trouble reading it. He read it and he said, “Driver, this license expired, already six months ago.”’
- (10) *Olaman! Tingting bilong mi em i paul pinis!*  
‘By golly! I am all confused about this now!’
- (11) *Sapos yu les long traim han na wokim samting, orait olgeta samting i stap pinis long ol stua nabaut.*  
‘If you have had enough of trying to make things yourself, well, then everything is available in the stores in various places.’
- (12) *Mi les pinis!*  
‘I am fed up with this!’
- (13) *Em i gat sik malaria pinis.*  
‘He now has malaria.’
- (14) *Ol i bikpela pinis.*  
‘They are grown-ups now.’
- (15) *Pen i stap longpela taim pinis, o, nau tasol em i kamap?*  
‘Has the pain been there for a long time or has it just started?’
- (16) *Em i kamap meija pinis taim mipela i harim dispela stori hia.*  
‘He had become a major by the time we [excl.] heard this story.’
- (17) *Ol i kamap haiden pinis.*  
‘They ended up as pagans.’

The glosses may be a help to understanding what perfective *pinis* does. Thus, in (4), (7), (9), and (12) through (14), the perfective aspect has been expressed by ‘now’; in (1), (2), by ‘already’; other glosses express the perfective aspect differently, by tense for example (‘has been’, ‘had become’). In (10), *stap pinis* has been glossed as ‘is available’; see also ‘ended up’ in (17).

Note that, with a transitive verb as the core, *pinis* may precede the object, as in (3), or follow it, as in (4). The difference is in whether the object is already known from the context (*dispela kaikai* in (4)) or is new (*planti didiman* in (3)). We speak here of old topics and new topics, respectively. An old topic (one already known in context) has a high degree of topicality; a new topic, a low degree of topicality. The degree of topicality may be so high that the object is simply omitted, as is the case with *ritim* in (9), even omitted twice (the second time with *pinis*): what the policeman has read is the license, which has just been mentioned and is the major topic of this passage.

## 2. The Core Verb + *i* + Verb of Suppletive Meaning

In 1.1, the serial follow-up verbs *i go* and *i kam* were presented as deictic—that is, according to directionality relative to the speaker. There is yet another aspect to these constructions, however. Since the core verb of the 1.1 type of predicate is a locomotive verb, *kam* and *go* may also be considered as copying part of the meaning of the core verb. We may call this “semantic copying,” resulting in what may be called a “reduced” copy of what is expressed by the core verb. On the other hand, *i kam* and *i go* also “supplement” something not in the core verb: the directionality of the locomotion. It is in this regard that we may, from a semantic point of view, say that *i kam* and *i go* are (in these constructions) suppletive in meaning.

This characteristic of serial constructions is, however, not limited to the type locomotive verb + *i kam* or *i go*; that is to say, the suppletive side need not be just deictic. Consider:

- (1) *No ken pulapim gris i pulap olgeta long sospen.*  
 ‘Don’t fill the whole pan with the grease.’

More literally: ‘Don’t pour (*pulapim*) the grease into the pan [so that it will] fill (*pulap*) the [whole] pan.’ (Note: *pulapim* usually means ‘to fill [some container with something]’; in (1), however, it means ‘to pour [something into some container]’—a meaning more usually that of *pulimap* or *pulimapim*. *Pulap* means either ‘filled [with something]’ or ‘filling [some container with something]’, which is what it means in (1), in regard to *gris*.) The follow-up verb *i pulap*, then, is a reduced copy of *pulapim*, as *i go* or *i kam* is of the locomotive verb preceding it.

It is this type of serialization with a suppletive follow-up verb that is exemplified in 2.1.

### 2.1 Suppletive Verbs: Examples

Consider:

- (1) *Planti manmeri moa i ran i kam ausait long dua, olsem na ol i sakim em i pundaun na ol i krungutim em i go i go inap em i dai.*  
 ‘A whole crowd of people ran outside the gate, and so they pushed him down and they trampled on him until he died.’



Other serial constructions are locomotive but not (in most contexts) deictic, and the follow-up verb then can only be *go*:

- (2) *Em i daunim het bilong en i go daun long bet.*  
'He let his head sink on the bed.'
- (3) *Slipim dram i go antap long ples bilong paia.*  
'Place the drum on top of the fireplace.'
- (4) *Nogut sikman i kus nabaut na rausim win na kus i go longwe.*  
'The patient should avoid coughing in just any direction [i.e. without covering his mouth] and have his breath and cough go far and wide.'
- (5) *Ol i save taitim baklain na hangamap i go daun insait long ol hul.*  
'They always stretch a rope and descend along it into the mines.'
- (6) *Bai gris i pundaun i go bek long sospen na kaukau tasol i stap antap long spun.*  
'The grease will fall back into the pan and what is left on the spoon is only the sweet potato.'
- (7) *Bikpela tarangau i hetwin i kam daun bilong holimpas wanpela liklik abus.*  
'A big eagle dived down to catch a small animal.'

However, *i kam* rather than *i go* may be indicated by the situation:

- (8) *Sapos yu hatim paia tumas, bai suga i boil i kam antap na i kapsait.*  
'If you make the fire too hot, the sugar will surface and flow over.'
- (9) *Si i bruk i kam pairap long nambis.*  
'The waves break into thundering surf towards the beach.'

That situation for (8) is, of course, that a cook will look at pans from above, so the sugar will 'come' rather than 'go'; and for (9), that the obvious place for the observer is on the beach.

Another kind of construction within this type is illustrated here:

- (10) *Na yumi wokabaut raun raun longpela taim tru long ples maunten bilong kantri Idom.*  
'And we [incl.] wandered around very long on our way to the country of Edom.'
- (11) *Yu wantaim ol soldia bilong yu i mas wokabaut raunim dispela taun wanpela taim long olgeta de.*  
'You and your troops must march around this town once every day.'
- (12) *Lea wantaim ol pikinini bilong en i mas wokabaut bihainim tupela.*  
'Leah and her children had to follow the two [girls].'
- (13) *Ol dispela de i go pinis hariap olsem kanu i spit i go long wara.*  
'These days pass by fast, like a canoe that goes by on the river.'
- (14) *Sapos yupela i wokabaut brukim gaden wain bilong wantok bilong yupela, orait yupela i ken kaikai pikinini wain long laik bilong yupela.*  
'If you [pl.] walk through your [pl.] neighbor's vineyard, you [pl.] may eat all the grapes you [pl.] want.'

- (15) *Dispela olgeta pasindia ol i kirap nogut na lukluk raun long ol arapela.*  
 ‘All these passengers were startled and looked at the others around them.’
- (16) *Em i tokim ol long i go na lukluk raun long dispela taun.*  
 ‘He told them to go and take a look around in that town.’

Though *wokabaut* is a locomotive verb, the follow-up verb is not deictically directional—since ‘walk’ is not enough to convey all, the follow-up verb is suppletive in regard to it. *Spit i go* is not clearly deictic as away from the speaker; the image, rather, is of a canoe going past.

Yet another type is illustrated by the following:

- (17) *Dabi i singaut strong, i spik, “Putim sampela paiawut moa na kisim wanpela blanket moa bilong karamapim em!”*  
 ‘Dabi shouted, “Add some firewood and get another blanket to cover him!”’
- (18) *Em i askim narapela man, i spik, “Yu laik mekim wanem long taun?”*  
 ‘He asked someone else, “What are you going to do in town?”’
- (19) *Meri i mas bekim tok kwiktaim tumas, i spik, “Mi stap hia.”*  
 ‘The woman must answer very quickly, “I am here.”’
- (20) *Na olgeta manmeri i singaut bikmaus olsem, “Em i king bilong yumi.”*  
 ‘And all the people called out loudly, “He is our [incl.] king.”’

*I spik* makes *singaut*, *askim*, and *bekim tok* suitable for directly quoted words. However, the use of *i spik* in this construction (and of the verb *spik* in general) has declined a great deal, and it is not much used any more.

## 9: SERIAL COMPLEX PREDICATES WITH NA

In Tok Pisin, *na* very commonly means ‘and’, and it is then coordinative in that it coordinates clauses, forming a complex sentence, much the same way this is done with *and* in English. Consider the clause *I bought stamps at the post office* and the clause *I went home*. Those may be coordinated to form one complex sentence *I bought stamps at the post office and (I) went home*. The second *I* is then optional. The coordinating “conjunction” (as it is called) is *and*. Tok Pisin uses *na* roughly in the same fashion, and its use will be treated in Ch. 24, 1.1.

However, *na* is also very commonly used to serialize two clauses in such a way that they become one clause. Such serialized clauses have been briefly illustrated for WH- questions, in Ch. 6, 2.1.7; apart from that type there is also *na*-serialization in declarative clauses opening with an adjunct giving a reason. Furthermore, *na* serialization is used in some negative constructions, and in what we may call “bracketed” constructions (such as a relative clause).

- (1) *Yu stap we na yu kam?*  
‘Where are you coming from?’
- (2) *Em i mekim wanem na yu gat sik?*  
‘What did he do [to you] that you got sick?’ or: ‘How did he make you sick?’
- (3) *Nogut yu hariap tasol na yu mekim nating.*  
‘Don’t do this hurriedly, or it’ll be no use your doing it.’
- (4) *Em i helpim Papa, em i bin salim mi na mi kam.*  
‘He [i.e. who helps children for Christ’s sake] helps the Father, who sent me [i.e. Christ] here.’
- (5) *Mama i karim mi na mi man bilong Rom.*  
‘I [i.e. St. Paul] was born a Roman citizen.’
- (6) *Olsem na gavman i mas tingting long stretting Mosbi.*  
‘(And) so the government should decide to clean up Port Moresby.’
- (7) *Long dispela as na bai mi makim hevi ol bai i karim, em dispela hevi ol i save pret tumas long en.*  
‘For that reason I will select hardships for them, those hardships that they dread.’
- (8) *Olsem wanem na dispela sik i kamap long natnat?*  
‘How does this disease [i.e. malaria] get to the mosquitoes?’

If we were to consider (1) as a complex sentence, consisting of two coordinate clauses separated by *na*, it would make no sense. It would force a reading comprising a question ‘where were you?’ and a declarative ‘you came’. Rather, the whole of (1) is one single question consisting of two serialized predicates, *stap* and *kam* (as it happens, with the same subject); *na* serializes the two predicates.

A comparison with the English gloss may be helpful by way of contrast. In *Where are you coming from?*, the WH- part (*where . . . from*) combines with the rest (*are you coming*). But Tok Pisin has no parallel to ‘where . . . from’ (\**long we?* is not well-formed), and thus Tok Pisin makes the WH- part a predicate all its own.

Example (2) parallels the construction in (1), except only that the first verb in (2) is transitive. In (3) through (5), the obvious objection against analyzing *na* as serial would be the question: why not just coordinative? In other words, why cannot (3), (4), and (5) be interpreted as complex sentences, each consisting of coordinated clauses?

But that analysis will not do. Consider (3); the only interpretation of the part after *na* is that it expresses the consequence of the part before *na*—the part after *na* is “consecutive.” That is to say, ‘It’ll be no use your doing it’ can only be the consequence of ignoring the advice not to act hurriedly. But coordinating *na* would never have the clause following it as exclusively consecutive. As will be explained in Ch. 24, 2.1.5, coordinative *na*, of its very nature, makes all sorts of links between the clauses preceding and following it possible.

Hence *na* here is consecutive and serial, not coordinative. This is clear for *na* in (4) as well: the part *em i bin salim mi na mi kam* is a relative clause (with *Papa* as antecedent). But a relative clause cannot consist of a relativizer (here: *em*) as the subject (of *bin salim*) in a clause coordinated (within the same relative clause!) with a second clause having a different subject (*mi*). That would be as irregular as an English sentence like: *This is Charles, <who sent me those books \*and I like them>*. In other words, if *na* were coordinative in (4), the relative clause in it would not be well-formed. In actual fact, however, *salim mi na mi kam* in (4) simply means ‘sent me here’, and it is equivalent to *salim mi i kam*, the construction treated in Ch. 8, 1.1.

Similarly, in (5), a coordinative reading between *mama i karim mi* (literally, ‘mother gave birth to me’) and *mi man bilong Rom* makes no sense. Paul was born a Roman citizen. That is what this sentence states, and *na* in it is serial, not coordinative.

Finally, in (6) through (8), *olsem*, and *long dispela as*, and *olsem wanem?* are elliptical (or truncated) clauses and become one serialized sentence with what follows, because of *na*. In Papua New Guinea English, one may hear sentences like *Why and you do that?*, meaning ‘Why do you do that?’ The *and*, which would make it incoherent in Standard English, here reflects serial *na* in Tok Pisin.

Sentences with predicates serialized by *na* may be broken down according to various types:

- [a] interrogative core + *na* + follow-up;
- [b] locomotive core verb + *na* + *go* or *kam* follow-up;
- [c] elliptical core + *na* + follow-up;
- [d] negative core + *na* + follow-up;
- [e] core verb + *na* + verb of suppletive meaning;
- [f] *traim na* + follow-up;
- [g] causative *mekim na* + follow-up.

These types are examined in 1 through 7, respectively.

### 1. Interrogative Core + *na* + Follow-up

This type of *na* serialization was treated briefly in Ch. 6, 2.1.7. The examples there are repeated here:

- (1) *Yu stap we na yu kam?*  
'Where are you coming from?'
- (2) *Em i mekim wanem na yu gat sik?*  
'What did he do [to you] that you got sick?' or: 'How did he make you sick?'
- (3) *Olsem wanem na yu kam long mi?*  
'Why do you come to me?'
- (4) *Olsem wanem na em i no inap long wokim haus?*  
'Why can't he build a house?' or: 'How come he can't build a house?'
- (5) *Bilong wanem na yupela i no laik go long pati?*  
'Why don't you [pl.] want to go to the party?'

Examples (1) and (2) have verbal core structures; those structures are elliptical in (3) through (5). Here are some more examples:

- (6) *Bilong wanem na mi mekim bikpela hatwok nating?*  
'Why am I doing all this work to no purpose?'
- (7) *Bilong wanem na mi toktok planti long kain kain samting bilong wokim long braun suga?*  
'Why am I talking so much about various ways of producing brown sugar?'
- (8) *Profet i tok long husat na i mekim dispela tok?*  
'Whom is the prophet speaking about?'

### 2. Locomotive Core Verb + *na* + *go* or *kam* + Follow-up

Consider:

- (1) *Klostu dai i holim mi na mi go long matmat olsem umben i holimpas mi na mi no inap long ranawe.*  
'Death almost brought me to the grave, like a net that prevents me from running away.'
- (2) *God i bringim ol Kristen i dai pinis na ol i kam bek wantaim Jisas.*  
'God brings Christians who have died back with Jesus.'
- (3) *Bai mi salim yu na yu go longwe rot long ol manmeri bilong arapela lain.*  
'I will send you far away, to other peoples.'
- (4) *Olsem na i no yupela i bin salim mi na mi kam long dispela ples. God yet i salim mi na mi kam.*  
'Therefore, it was not you [pl.] who sent me to this place. God himself sent me here.'

- (5) *Bikpela, em God bilong ol tumbuna bilong yupela, em i bin salim mi na mi kam long yupela.*  
‘God, the God of your [pl.] forefathers, has sent me to you [pl.]’
- (6) *Yu singautim mi na mi kam.*  
‘You called me.’
- (7) *Mi olsem man i stap insait long bikpela hul i daun tumas na mi laik bagarap, tasol Bikpela i pulim mi na mi kam antap.*  
‘I am like a man who is at the bottom of a very deep pit and will suffer injury, but the Lord pulled me out of it.’

The construction verb + object + *na* + *go* or *kam* is virtually the same as verb + object + *i* + *go* or *kam* (for examples, see Ch. 8, 1.1). The *na* variation illustrated here is more literary—in fact it is (in the corpus used here) pretty much limited to biblical Tok Pisin.

In the examples (1) through (9), the core is a transitive construction. Intransitive cores are possible as well, in this type of serialization, as in:

- (8) *Olsem na ol i wokabaut long lek tasol na i go.*  
‘And so the just went walking [rather than by truck].’

*Wokabaut* [ . . . ] *na i go* is equivalent to *wokabaut i go*.

### 3. Elliptical Core + *na* + Follow-up

In serial constructions, there is the core structure and the follow-up verb—the latter is always verbal, but the core structure need not be. Thus, *Em i salim mi na mi kam* ‘He sent me here’, has *em i salim mi* as the core—which has a subject, verb, and object, and the remainder has the follow-up verb *kam* (the same analysis would hold for *Em i salim mi i kam*).

By contrast, in *Olsem wanem na yu kam long mi?* ‘Why do you come to me?’, the core is the nonverbal phrase *olsem wanem?*, and it functions (in regard to the serialization) in exactly the same manner as a verbal core structure does. The only difference is that a nonverbal core like *olsem wanem?* is elliptical—that is to say, it is a shortened equivalent of a verbal structure (something like ‘how does it come about that [ . . . ]?’).

Elliptical cores very commonly serialize with *na*. There are two forms of it: interrogative; and declarative. The interrogative type is illustrated in 1. The declarative type has for its core *olsem na* ‘thus’, ‘therefore’ and *orait na* ‘and then’. Examples:

- (1) *Olsem na yumi mas toktok long dispela.*  
‘Therefore, we [incl.] have to discuss this.’
- (2) *Orait na bai gavman em i no inap baim skul na haus sik na kain kain arapela samting olsem bilong helpim yumi.*  
‘Then, the government will not be able to pay for schools and hospitals and various other things like that to help us [incl.]’

- (3) *Orait na ol dispela man i go lukim olgeta hap graun.*  
 ‘Then, these men went to survey all parts of the land.’

#### 4. Negative Core + *na* + Follow-up

*Na*-serialization is frequently indicated after a negative core. Examine:

- (1) *Mi no God na bai mi givim pikinini long you.*  
 ‘I am not God, that I could give you a child.’
- (2) *Mi no God na bai mi kotim yu.*  
 ‘I am not God, that I should judge you.’
- (3) *Mi no man bilong pret na bai mi ranawe na hait.*  
 ‘I am not so cowardly as to run away and hide.’
- (4) *Hesekia i no inap helpim yupela long winim mi na bai yupela i stap gut.*  
 ‘Hezekiah will not be able to help you [pl.] defeat me, so that you [pl.] would be safe.’
- (5) *Ol hevi i no inap i kamap long mi na bai mi kraii.*  
 ‘Suffering will not be able to make me sad.’

It is important to recognize why *na* in these examples is not coordinative, that is, not like English *and*, linking clauses. The reason is that the negation extends beyond *na*—or, as linguists say, its “scope” includes the part after *na*. But the scope of negation does not extend beyond coordinative *na* when the part after *na* has its own subject, no matter whether that subject is the same as before *na* (as in (1) through (3)) or different (as in (4) and (5)). For the scope of negation extending or not extending beyond coordinative *na*, see Ch. 24, 2.1.5.

For the sake of contrast, a few examples follow here, with *na* as coordinative, not serial:

- (6) *Sapos yu mekim olsem, orait bai yu no gat rong moa, na bai yu amamas.*  
 ‘If you do this, you have no guilt, and you will be happy.’
- (7) *Taim bilong ol i no pinis yet na bai ol i dai.*  
 ‘Their time will not have come yet and they will die [nevertheless].’

Note that negation here does not extend beyond *na*. Serial *na* may be triggered also by implied negation. Examine:

- (8) *Ating bai mi lusim na mi kamap king bilong yupela, a?*  
 ‘Do I really have to give it [i.e. my oil] up to become your [pl.] ruler?’
- (9) *Ating wanpela samting i bin kamap long em na em i no klin long ai bilong God?*  
 ‘Could something have happened to him so that he is not clean?’
- (10) *Ating i no gat God i stap long Israel, na yupela i laik i go, a?*  
 ‘Is there then no God in Israel, that you [pl.] should prefer to go [and consult an idol?]?’

- (11) *Ating i no gat God i stap long Israel na yu mekim olsem, a?*  
‘Is there then no God in Israel, that you should do a thing like that?’
- (12) *Ating yu bin putim tingting na save long ol tarangau long pasin ol i save mekim, na ol i save kirap na flai i go long hap saut, a?*  
‘Was it you, then, who gave the hawks their instinct to do what they do, that they would rise up and fly to the south?’
- (13) *Ating yu save tru na yu tok olsem?*  
‘Do you say this of your own knowledge?’

*Ating* of itself means ‘perhaps’, and though it expresses doubt, it lends support to what is being asserted. In questions, however (Ch. 6, 1.2), the doubt may be ironic and thus imply negation. In the above, the doubt or irony is expressed by *a?* (Ch. 6, 1.2).

### 5. Core Verb + *na* + Verb of Suppletive Meaning

In Ch. 8, 2, we discussed the “copy” character of the follow-up verb in some serial constructions of the type core + *i* + verb. Because of the copy character of the follow-up verb, it is also called a suppletive verb.

A core that is a good example of serial *na* constructions is the verb *helpim* ‘to help’. In English, *help* is followed by an object + *to* plus a verb (*to* is there in British English, and is usually lacking in American English)—(*to* +) verb depends on *help*, syntactically, In Tok Pisin, *helpim* + object + *na* serializes the construction. Examine:

- (1) *God i helpim mi na mi lusim tingting long ol pen bilong mi.*  
‘God has helped me to forget my sufferings.’
- (2) *Bikpela i helpim ol na ol i daunim olgeta birua bilong ol.*  
‘The Lord has helped them to conquer all their enemies.’
- (3) *Na ol meri i no save karim pikinini bipo, nau God i helpim ol na ol i karim inap sevenpela pikinini.*  
‘And the women who were unable to have children before God now has helped to have up to seven children.’
- (4) *Nau God i bin helpim em na em i mekim dispela samting.*  
‘Now God has helped him do this.’
- (5) *Yu bin helpim ol na ol i sanap strong.*  
‘You have helped them stand firm.’
- (6) *Yu bin helpim mi na mi gat biknem long ai bilong ol manmeri.*  
‘You helped me to have a good reputation with the people.’

Note how the follow-up construction requires its own subject; and the follow-up verb is suppletive in regard to the meaning of *helpim*.

There are quite a few verbs like *helpim*—as the core verb in this type of construction. Consider:

- (7) *Sapos i gat wanpela woksap klostu long yu na ol i gat samting bilong sodaim ain, orait, yu ken askim ol na ol i ken wokim.*



- 'If there is a repair shop close by and they have things to solder iron, then you can ask them to do this.'
- (8) *Na sapos wanpela wantok bilong yupela Israel i kamap rabisman, em i ken larim dispela man bilong narapela kantri i **baim em na em i stap wokboi nating bilong en.***  
 'And if someone of you [pl.], the people of Israel, becomes poor, he may let this man from another country buy him as his slave.'
- (9) *Snek i **grisim mi na mi kaikai pikinini bilong dispela diwai.***  
 'The snake tempted me to eat the fruit of this tree.'
- (10) *Yu bin **grisim mi na mi bin larim** yu i mekim save nating long em.*  
 'You talked me into letting you ruin him for no reason.'
- (11) *Yu save **givim kaikai long ol na ol i kaikai.** Yu tasol yu **givim ol na bel bilong ol i pulap.***  
 'You give them food to eat. You alone gave it to them to their heart's content.'
- (12) *Mi bai raitim wanpela pas long king na **givim yu na yu ken i go givim em.***  
 'I will write a letter to the king and give it to you for you to pass on to him.'
- (13) *Bikpela, yu sori tumas long mi na yu **holim mi na mi no pundaun long sin.***  
 'Lord, you had mercy on me and you kept me from falling into sin.'
- (14) *Nau Holi Spirit i olsem i **kalabusim mi na mi go long Jerusalem.***  
 'It is as if the Holy Spirit leads me to Jerusalem as a prisoner.'
- (15) *Mama i **karim mi na mi kam long dispela graun bilong mekim wanpela wok tasol, em bilong autim tok tru, bai olgeta manmeri i ken harim.***  
 'I was born into this world for one task only, that is, to proclaim the truth, so that all people may hear it.'
- (16) *Mama i **karim mi na mi man bilong Rom.***  
 'I was born a Roman citizen.'
- (17) *Na God i **kilim em na em i dai stret long dispela hap.***  
 'And God killed him right there.'
- (18) *Yu save **givim mi gutpela tok bilong stiaim wokabaut bilong mi, na bihain bai yu kisim mi na mi stap wantaim yu long heven.***  
 'You always give good advice for my way of life, and later you will receive me with you in heaven.'
- (19) *Paia bai i **kukim ol na ol bai i pinis.***  
 'Fire will destroy them.'
- (20) *God i **larim mi na bai mi lukim em i winim ol birua bilong mi.***  
 'God will let me witness his victory over my enemies.'
- (21) *Na pris i mas **lukim ol na ol i mas kukim dispela bulmakau olgeta long paia.***  
 'The priest must watch them make a burnt offering of the bull [i.e. they must make the offering in his presence].'
- (22) *Dispela man i bekim tok olsem, '**Husat i makim yu na yu kamap hetman na jas bilong mipela?***  
 'This man replied, "Who has appointed you as our [excl.] leader and judge?"'

- (23) *Bikpela yet i bin makim yu na yu kamap king.*  
‘The Lord himself has appointed you to become king.’
- (24) *Mi yet mi bin pasim yu na yu no bin slip wantaim dispela meri na mekim sin long ai bilong mi.*  
‘I myself [i.e. God] shielded you from sleeping with this woman and sinning before me.’
- (25) *Bikpela i daunim ol Filistia na pasim ol na ol i no i kam pait insait long kantri Israel gen.*  
‘The Lord humbled the Philistines and prevented them from waging war inside Israel.’
- (26) *Tasol nau bai mi pasim ol na bai ol i no inap mekim nogut long yu na long kantri bilong yu.*  
‘But now I will make it impossible for them to harm you and your country.’
- (27) *Mipela i ranim em na em i ranawe.*  
‘We [excl.] chased him away.’
- (28) *Bai mi rausim em na em i no ken mekim wok pris moa.*  
‘I will remove him from his office as a priest.’
- (29) *Nogut yu rausim mi na mi stap longwe long yu.*  
‘Don’t remove me from your presence.’
- (30) *Yu singautim mi na mi kam.*  
‘You invited me here.’
- (31) *Goan, yupela skulim mi na bai mi save gut long ol pasin nogut mi bin mekim.*  
‘Go ahead, you [pl.] show me all the bad things I have been doing.’
- (32) *Bainat i sutim em na em i dai.*  
‘The sword pierced and killed him.’
- (33) *Josua i tokim ol na ol i kukim Hasor wanpela tasol.*  
‘Joshua made them burn down only [the town of] Hasor.’
- (34) *Na Solomon i tokim ol na ol i wokim Rum Tambu Tru.*  
‘And Solomon made them build the Holy of Holies.’
- (35) *Husat bai i trikim em na bai em i go na i dai long pait?*  
‘Who will trick him into going and being killed in the war?’
- (36) *Yu rausim sin bilong mi bai mi kamap klin. Yu wasim mi na bai mi kamap klin olgeta, na i winim ais i waitpela tru.*  
‘You remove my sin and I will become clean. You wash me wholly clean, whiter than snow.’
- (37) *God i bin wokim ol manmeri na ol i kamap olsem em yet.*  
‘God created men and women in his own likeness.’

Note the core verbs: *askim* ‘to ask’, *baim* ‘to pay’, *grisim* ‘to tempt’, *givim* ‘to give’, *holim* ‘to hold’, *kalabusim* ‘to imprison’, *karim* ‘to carry’, ‘to give birth’, *kilim* ‘to kill’, *kisim* ‘to get, to receive’, *kukim* ‘to burn’, *larim* ‘to let, to permit’, *lukim* ‘to watch, to see, to witness’, *makim* ‘to appoint’, *pasim* ‘to prevent’, *ranim* ‘to chase, to pursue’, *rausim* ‘to remove’, *singautim* ‘to invite’, *skulim* ‘to teach’,

*sutim* ‘to pierce’, *tokim* ‘to tell, to order’, *trikim* ‘to trick, to deceive’, *wasim* ‘to wash’, *wokim* ‘to make, to create’. All these verbs require some supplementary information expressed in the follow-up construction, which is serialized with the core structure by *na*.

The question here, once again, is whether *na* in at least some of these examples could be open to interpretation as coordinative *na*. In a few of them, that is probably possible. An example would be (18), on a reading like ‘Fire will destroy them and that will be the end of them’. In the majority of them, however, everything speaks against coordinative analysis. There are various factors here.

One is negation in the core structure, extending across *na* followed by an overt subject (as noted also in 4): this criterium would apply to (24) through (26). Note that *pasim* is already negative in meaning, yet the follow-up structure is also negative. Another factor is that of *i kam* and *i go* directional follow-ups, as in (15), (25), and (30). Structures like (16) have already been shown to be serial in the introduction to this chapter. Then, there are “frozen” expressions like *kilim i dai* ‘to kill’ (on which see 6), which may take the form of *na* serialization, as in (17).

*Na* serialization of the suppletive type is amply exemplified in biblical Tok Pisin but rather less common in nonbiblical Tok Pisin publications.

## 6. *Traim na* + Follow-up

*Traim* is an aspectual (“conative”) auxiliary, and it will be examined in Ch. 19, 7. It also occurs as *traim na* and is then serial. It is not unlike *try and* + verb in informal English, as in *Let’s try and do this right now*. It is, in the corpus, rather rare in biblical Tok Pisin but fairly well attested in nonbiblical Tok Pisin. Examine:

- (1) *Traim na pilim klok.*  
‘Try to monitor the heart beat.’
- (2) *Tasol yupela manmeri bilong taun o stesin yupela i ken traim na kukim dispela kain poris outs.*  
‘But you [pl.] people in the towns and stations may try to cook this kind of oats porridge.’
- (3) *Sapos i no gat gutpela kokonas tru long hap bilong yu, traim na kisim long ol didiman long Madang.*  
‘If there are no good coconuts in your area, try to get them from the agricultural officer in Madang.’
- (4) *Sapos yu laik traim na lukautim bafalo, askim didiman bilong yu.*  
‘If you want to try keeping a buffalo, ask your agricultural officer.’
- (5) *Lukluk gen long piksa na skelim dispela man. Traim na wokim liklik stori bilong en.*  
‘Look at the picture again and observe this man. Try to write a story about him.’
- (6) *Ol meri long ples i ken traim na samapim.*  
‘The women in the village can try to sew them [i.e. a type of dress].’

- (7) *Yu mas **traim na harim** tok ples bilong ol ensin.*  
 ‘You must try to understand the language of the sounds of the engine.’

### 7. Causative *mekim na* + Follow-up

A serial construction requiring separate treatment is that of *mekim* ‘to cause’ (not followed by an object) and having *na* introducing the follow-up structure. It is very common. Examine:

- (1) *Nogut win na ren i **mekim na** strong bilong fetilaisa i lus nating.*  
 ‘Do not let the wind and rain cause the strength of the fertilizer to be lost and useless.’
- (2) *Sampela binatang tu ol i save **mekim na** hevi i kamap long gaden poteto.*  
 ‘Some insects will also cause trouble for the potato field.’
- (3) *Dispela strongpela ai i **mekim na** man inap lukim planti samting ai nating i no inap lukim.*  
 ‘This powerful eye [i.e. a microscope] will let a man see many things that the unaided eye cannot see.’
- (4) *Yis i **mekim na** i gat win insait long bret. Dispela i **mekim na** bret i solap na i kamap malumalu.*  
 ‘Yeast brings air into the bread. This causes the bread to rise and become soft.’
- (5) *Wok bilong ol meri tasol i **mekim na** planti tausen tausen manmeri i stap gut.*  
 ‘Just what women do causes thousands of men to be well.’
- (6) *Mi no save wanem samting i **mekim na** mi no dai.*  
 ‘I do not know what shielded me from death.’
- (7) *Wanem samting i **mekim na** yutupela i luk wari tru?*  
 ‘What makes you two look so worried?’
- (8) *Wara inap **mekim na** poteto i sting kwik.*  
 ‘Water can cause potatoes to rot fast.’
- (9) *Sampela man ol i tok, sanguma na posin i **mekim na** man i painim sik.*  
 ‘Some people say that sorcery and spells make people sick.’

A parallel construction is *mekim* + object + verb; for this construction, see Ch. 10, 1.

## 10: NONSERIAL COMPLEX PREDICATES

As is set out in Ch. 8, a complex predicate may be serial or nonserial. The former has been treated in Chs. 8 and 9. The latter will be examined in the present chapter.

Nonserial complex predicates have the constituents in the verb phrase arranged in an upstairs-downstairs relation. The core verb is then the dependent verb, depending on the head verb. That head verb may be a verb signifying perception or control of some kind, in regard to what is mentioned in the object following it and preceding the core verb: the perception or control verb + object + core verb construction. This is discussed in 1. There is also the head verb + core, in which the head is an auxiliary verb, examined in 2.

### 1. Perception or Control Verb + Object + *i* + Dependent Constructions

As explained earlier, in serial constructions the parts that are serialized, those that we have called core and follow-up, are equals. That is, neither is downstairs or upstairs in relation to the other.

There are other multipart predicates that do have parts in an upstairs-downstairs relationship. An example in English would be *He made me write the report* or *She let me write the report*, or *They asked me to write the report*. There is, in such constructions, the upstairs verb (*made, let, asked*) followed by an object (*me*), which at the same time is in a subject relation to the downstairs verb (*write*). As it happens, English has different types of such constructions—for example, after *ask* the downstairs verb is marked by *to*, whereas after *make* or *let* there is no such marking.

Tok Pisin, too, has such upstairs-downstairs predicate constructions. It consists of an upstairs verb + object + *i* + downstairs (or dependent) construction—the *i* must always be there, independently of deictic rules for *i* explained in Ch. 7, 1 (those rules apply only to the upstairs verb). The upstairs verbs fall into various categories: verbs such as *harim, kolim, laikim, lukim, pilim, tingim* are verbs of perception (physical or mental). They may be called “perceptual.” By contrast, verbs such as *helpim, larim, makim, mekim, pasim, putim*, and *wetim* may be seen as verbs of “control”. A few examples to illustrate these:

- (1) *God, yu harim mi i singaut long yu.*  
'God you hear me cry out to you.'
- (2) *Mi laikim yupela tripela i kam long haus sel bilong mi.*  
'I want the three of you [pl.] to come to my tent.'
- (3) *Long dispela de em i putim ol i stap pris.*  
'On that day he appointed them as priests.'
- (4) *Na bai mi mekim gut long yu na mekim yu i gat biknem tru.*  
'I will treat you well and make you enjoy a good reputation.'

Note the object (*mi, yupela, ol, yu*), followed by *i* (even after *mi*).

There are a few other verbs that may require some further analysis. Consider (5):

- (5) *God yet i kalabusim ol i stap olsem.*

‘God himself delivers them to this condition [of need for redemption].’

To the unwary, the *i stap* part of this clause could suggest a progressive form (Ch. 8, 1.4) of *kalabusim* (‘to imprison’), and thus a reading like ‘God keeps them imprisoned’. However, *i stap* belongs in the phrase *i stap olsem*, which in its turn aligns with *ol*, not with *God yet*—which it would if *i stap* were progressive. Example (5) is very similar to the type treated in Ch. 9, 5. The meaning of *i stap olsem* is suppletive in regard to *kalabusim*; see Ch. 9, 5, (14). The prime example of such a construction, of course, is *kilim* [+ object +] *i dai* ‘to kill’ (*kilim* is not in itself always ‘to kill’ and may also mean something like ‘to injure badly’, ‘to beat up badly’—hence the suppletion *i dai*). The important point here is that the examples in Ch. 9, 5 are serial, while (5) and the other examples of the present subsection are not.

In a number of cases, the construction of the perceptual and control verb type is possible serially with *na* as well as nonserially with object + *i* + verb. However, the latter construction is tied to a limited class of perceptual and control verbs (those in the examples of 1.1 below pretty much exhaust the list), whereas the control verbs functioning as core verbs in serial *na* constructions are more numerous. Quite many of those (like *askim* ‘to ask’, *baim* ‘to pay’, *grisim* ‘to tempt’) cannot have nonserial parallels as in the present subsection. The serial construction is also somewhat more literary, and largely limited to biblical Tok Pisin in published texts.

The part after *i* is called “dependent” rather than “verb,” because that part is not always verbal, as examples below will show.

### 1.1 Verb + Object + *i* + Dependent: Examples

Examine, in addition to the examples of 1:

- (1) *Yu harim ol i kraik long yu long helpim ol.*  
‘You hear them cry to you to help them.’
- (2) *Mi harim ol i tok bai ol i go long taun Dotan.*  
‘I hear them say they were going to Dothan.’
- (3) *Smok, buai, na kopi, ol dispela lain i no gat wanpela samting bilong helpim bodi. Ol i sambai bilong grisim nek tasol, na helpim ai i op.*  
‘As for cigarettes, betel nut, and coffee, these things have nothing that is good for the body. They are there only to please our taste, and to help us to keep our eyes open [i.e. not to doze off].’
- (4) *Sapos yu givim kain poris olsem long pikinini bilong yu long moningtaim, bai dispela inap helpim em i stap strong long skul i go inap belo.*  
‘If you give the children such porridge [i.e. something substantial] in the morning, this will help them to stay fit until noon.’
- (5) *Kein i paitim brata bilong em na kilim em i dai.*  
‘Cain struck his brother and killed him.’
- (6) *Orait nau yupela i save, long bilip nating tasol God i no save kolim man em i strepela man.*

- ‘Now then, you [pl.] know that God will not call a man just because of faith alone [i.e. without good works].’
- (7) *Sapos em i laikim ai o tit o han o lek samting bilong wantok i mas bagarap, orait ol i mas bekim wankain pasin long em yet.*  
‘If he wants a brother’s eye or tooth or arm or leg harmed, then they [i.e. the others] must deal with him the same way.’
- (8) *Tasol mi laikim yupela i mas bihainim rot bilong i stap gut.*  
‘But I desire that you [pl.] follow the good road.’
- (9) *Rais i gutpela tu bilong bungim na larim i stap planti mun.*  
‘Rice is also easy to store and let stand for months.’
- (10) *Yu yet i mas bosim pilai. Yu no ken larim ol manki i bosim.*  
‘You yourself are in charge of the games. Do not let the children take charge.’
- (11) *Na olgeta Israel i lukim ol i go.*  
‘And all the people of Israel saw them leave.’
- (12) *Spakman yet i pilim bikpela strong, arapela man i lukim em i longlong tasol.*  
‘A drunk feels very strong; others see that he is just crazy.’
- (13) *Olsem na mi Bikpela, mi mekim de Sabat i narakain de tru. Na mi makim em i de bilong mi stret.*  
‘Therefore I, the Lord, make the Sabbath a very special day. And I set it apart as a day wholly for me.’
- (14) *Na kapsaitim wel bilong oliv long ol, bilong makim ol i kamap pris na bai ol i ken mekim wok bilong mi.*  
‘And anoint them, to consecrate them as priests, so that they can do my work.’
- (15) *Bikpela yet i bin makim em na putim em i stap king.*  
‘The Lord himself has chosen him and appointed him to be king.’
- (16) *Nogut yu mekim em i traup na kukim nek gen.*  
‘Do not make him [i.e. someone who has accidentally swallowed acid] throw up and burn his throat once again.’
- (17) *Jop, ating yu inap long bungim wanpela lain sta na pasim ol i stap wantaim long wanpela hap bilong skai, a?*  
‘Job, can you really get one constellation of stars together and harness them in one part of the sky?’
- (18) *Taim mi lusim slip na mi kirap na mi pilim yu i stap wantaim mi, bai mi amamas.*  
‘When I wake up and rise, and feel you [God] are with me, I feel happy.’
- (19) *Na sapos yu bihainim tok bilong en, bihain bai yu pilim em i samting nogut.*  
‘And if you do what she [i.e. a loose woman] says, you will feel later it is an evil thing.’
- (20) *Jehosafat i makim ol man bilong harim kot na em i putim ol i stap long olgeta taun bilong Juda i gat strongpela banis.*  
‘Jehoshaphat appointed judges and placed them in all the fortified towns of Judah.’

- (21) *Ol i ting, sapos han bilong ol i kisim doti, orait bai ol man i tingim ol i wokboi nating.*  
 ‘They [i.e. young people who have finished school] think that if they do work that gets their hands dirty people will think they are working people without standing.’
- (22) *Olsem na ol i go hait klostu long ol bikpela dua bilong banis i raunim taun, na ol i wetim em i kam.*  
 ‘And so they hid nearby the town wall gates and waited for him to come.’
- (23) *Sapos ol i tokim yumi long wetim ol i kam long yumi, orait bai yumi sanap tasol long dispela hap.*  
 ‘If they tell us [incl.] to wait for them to come to us [incl.], then we [incl.] will just stand here.’

The verb of perception or control is only inadequately classified under these terms: *harim* ‘to hear’, *lukim* ‘to see’, *pilim* ‘to feel’ are obvious items in the perceptual category, while *tingim* ‘to think’ may be seen as some kind of perception mentally; *kolim* ‘to call [someone so-and-so]’ may then be seen as expressing such a perception.

In addition, *mekim* ‘to cause’ is obviously a verb of control, and *makim* ‘to choose, to appoint [someone in a position]’, along with *putim* ‘to place [someone in a position]’ may be straightforwardly seen as verbs of control—negatively, *pasim* ‘to fasten’. But to include in that control class *larim* ‘to let [someone do something]’, and especially *wetim* ‘to wait for, to await’, seems a bit strained.

Though *kilim* seems to fit the control class,—a bit quirkily, perhaps—it needs suppletive *i dai*, and is thus very similar to the construction described in Ch. 9, 5, except that there it is serialized with *na*. But in fact, apart from this difference, the two constructions are identical.

Note how, at first sight, two types of constructions seem to fit the type under review here. The first is the one treated in Ch. 8, 1.1 (like *karim*, or *bringim*, etc. + object + *i go* or *i kam*); the second, the one examined in Ch. 8, 1.4, with progressive *i stap*—at least the type with a transitive core verb, described in Ch. 8, 1.4.1.

Nevertheless, neither type belongs here. Serial constructions with *i go* or *i kam* as follow-up verbs have *go* or *kam* as a mere directional after a verb of locomotion; consider, however, (11), (22), and (23)—*lukim* and *wetim* are not locomotive verbs, even though *go* and *kam* are, in their own right.

As for *i stap*, in the progressive form it always aligns with the subject, not the object. In (9), (16), (17), (19), and (20), however, *i stap* aligns with the object. In (4), of course, *stap* is a copula—the entire downstairs structure is *i stap strong*. Here are some more examples of *i stap* where it is not progressive:

- (24) *Poteto bilong planim na poteto yu laik lusim i stap bilong kaikai bihain, dispela poteto yu mas putim long haus poteto na bosim gut.*  
 ‘The potatoes you want to plant and the potatoes you want to put aside to eat later, these potatoes you should put in the potato shed and take good care of.’



- (25) *Mi bin kisim sik na bosman bilong mi i lusim mi i stap long dispela hap na mi wanpela i stap hia inap tripela de i go pinis.*  
 ‘I fell ill and my master left me here and I have been here alone for the last three days.’
- (26) *Yu marimari long ol na yu no lusim ol i stap long ples drai.*  
 ‘You took pity on them and you did not forsake them in the desert.’

A few final comments may be useful. First, note that the object, if understood from previous context, may be omitted. The only example of this above is (9), where the object of *larim* is the rice, and so it is simply dropped. Second, the downstairs construction need not be verbal, as is clear from (3) (*i op*), from (6) (*i stretpela man*), from (12) (*i longlong tasol*), from (13) (*i de bilong mi stret*), in (18) (*i samting nogut*), and in (21) (*i wokboi nating*).

## 2. Predicates with Auxiliaries

In a language like English, predicates may consist of parts in a variety of ways. There are copulative constructions, consisting of a copula and a nominal part, as in *John is ill*, or *Jean became a celebrity*. Or a construction is causative, as in *I made them write a report*, or in *Anne caused me to have doubts*. As we have seen, Tok Pisin has both types of multipart predicates.

Another variety of multipart predicate in a language like English is that of core verb plus auxiliary verb. Thus, in *We have decided this*, the auxiliary (of the perfect tense) is *have*, and the core verb is *decide*—here in the past participle form *decided*. Or, in *They will leave*, there is the auxiliary (of the future tense) *will*, and the core verb *leave*—in the infinitive form. Or again, in *They are swimming*, a predicate in the progressive form, there is the auxiliary *are*, and the core verb *swimming*—here in the form of the present participle. The progressive form is an aspectual form of the verb.

English has yet another type of auxiliary, traditionally called “modal” auxiliary. Examples are: *We must go*, or *They can read it*, or *She may visit them*, or *We are to register immediately*, or *We have to study Russian*, in which *must*, *can*, *may*, *be (to)*, and *have (to)* are the modal auxiliaries (or “modals” for short), with *go*, *read*, *visit*, and *study* as the core verbs. The entire predicate may then be called a modal predicate. Tok Pisin also has such modal predicates, with modal auxiliaries.

Auxiliaries of tense, aspect, and modality belong in a system in which those three properties of verbal forms are combined, and this system is known as the “TAM” system (acronym for Tense, Aspect, Modality). This is a system in that tense, aspect, and modality are interlocked in complicated ways that are different in different languages. Auxiliaries, it must be noted, are not the only devices operative in the TAM system, but in the present chapter only auxiliaries are examined. For a more detailed description of the TAM system in Tok Pisin, see Ch. 19. Auxiliaries, in the present chapter, are described mainly in regard to the form that complex predicates of this type may take.

Tok Pisin has only one auxiliary of tense, *bin*, but even this may also serve nontense purposes. Then, the future may be expressed by *bai*, but *bai* is not an auxiliary; it is not part of the predicate. Also, the future is often expressed by *laik*, but that is really a modal auxiliary (as will be explained below). More can be found about *bin*, *bai*, and *laik* in Ch. 19.

Modal auxiliaries in Tok Pisin are *inap* ‘can, be able to’, *ken* ‘can, may, be allowed to’, *mas* ‘must, have to’, and *laik* ‘like’, ‘be about to’. There are two aspectual auxiliaries; that is, *save* ‘to be accustomed to’ (the “habitulative”); and *traim* ‘to try’ (the “conative”). In addition, the negator *no* often behaves like an auxiliary. Finally, there is the auxiliary *bin*, which is strongly temporal but which may serve modal purposes as well. For more about all those, see Ch. 19.

We must now first examine some structural properties that they auxiliaries have in common, in 2.1. Then, *inap* is examined, in 2.2; *ken*, in 2.3; *mas*, in 2.4; *laik*, in 2.5; *save* ‘be accustomed to’, in 2.6; *traim*, in 2.7; *wok long* ‘be in process of’, in 2.8; *bin*, in 2.9; and *no*, in 2.10. Examples below have been selected more especially for core verbs listed in 2.1—those that may, must, or cannot be preceded by *i*—but examples with other core verbs will be given as well.

## 2.1 Auxiliaries: Some Structural Properties

The auxiliaries *inap*, *ken*, *mas*, *laik*, *save*, and *bin*, as well as the negator *no*, have in common that they may (in some cases, must) be followed by *i* before the following core constituents: *dai* ‘to die’; *gat* ‘have’, ‘be’; *go* ‘to become’, ‘to go’; *kam* ‘to come’; *kamap* ‘to happen’, ‘to arrive’, ‘to become’; *no ken* ‘be prohibited’; *kirap* ‘to rise’, ‘to become’; *krai* ‘to cry, to weep’; *orait* ‘well, healed, cured’; *pas* ‘united’; *ran* ‘to run’; *save* ‘to do customarily’; *stap* ‘stay’, ‘be’; *tok* ‘to speak’, ‘to say’.

See Table 6 for a useful summary of how *i* stands between the auxiliaries and the core constituents that follow. The top line lists the auxiliaries, except *save*, which never has *i* after it before any core verb. The leftmost column lists the cores that are preceded by *i*, after at least one of those auxiliaries. For the abbreviations “a” and “n” we could use the terms “obligatory” and “prohibited” respectively; “r” and “s” would be “optional.” What distinguishes “r” from “s” is that, for “r”, *i* is not commonly there, while “s” indicates that it is about as common for *i* to be there as it is not to be. Finally, the blanks say that the combination auxiliary + the core concerned never occurs—with or without *i*.

The table shows immediately that *inap i dai*, *ken i dai*, and *laik i dai*, for example, are well-formed; that *\*inap dai*, *\*ken dai* and *\*laik dai* are not; that *mas dai*, *bin dai*, and *no dai* are well-formed, and that *mas i dai*, *ken i dai*, and *no i dai* are also. In this manner all the uses of *i* after auxiliaries can be checked in the table.

The “r” and especially the “s” instances, that is, those that may but need not have *i*, are largely distinguished only stylistically. With *i*, the “r” and “s” structures are somewhat more archaic, more classical, more literary.

A final note may be useful. *I dai* is occasionally a noun, meaning ‘death’ (in spoken Tok Pisin commonly pronounced *indai*), and so is *dai* without *i* preceding,

and thus examples like the following have nothing to do with the construction discussed above:

- (1) *Ol i wok strong long painim i dai, olsem man i wokim hul bilong painim mani i hait i stap long graun.*  
 ‘They try very hard to find death, like a man who digs a hole to find money hidden in the ground.’
- (2) *Mi bai i stap longpela taim tru long dispela graun na bai mi sindaun isi long haus bilong mi yet na wetim i dai.*  
 ‘I will have a very long life on this earth and I will live peacefully in my home and await death.’
- (3) *Ol inap tru long painim dai long taim ol i bin go na kisim wara.*  
 ‘They really could have died when they had gone to fetch water.’

### 2.2 The Auxiliary *inap*

*Inap* as a modal auxiliary must be distinguished from *inap* as a modifier, meaning ‘sufficient’, and it may then also function as a stand-alone predicate, as in

**TABLE 6. / AFTER AN AUXILIARY BEFORE SOME CORE CONSTITUENTS**

AFTER -->	<i>inap</i>	<i>ken</i>	<i>mas</i>	<i>laik</i>	<i>bin</i>	<i>no</i>
BEFORE						
<i>dai</i>	a	a	s	a	s	s
<i>gat</i>	n	r	a		a	n
<i>go</i>	a	s	s	s	s	s
<i>kam</i>	s	s	s	s	s	s
<i>kamap</i>	s	r	n	s	s	n
<i>no ken</i>						
<i>kirap</i>	s	n	n	n	n	n
<i>krai</i>	n	n	n	r	n	n
<i>orait</i>	s	r	n	n	n	n
<i>pas</i>	n	n	s	n	n	n
<i>ran</i>	n	r	n	n	n	n
<i>save</i>						
<i>stap</i>	s	s	s	a	s	s
<i>tok</i>	r	n	n	n	n	n

a = always, n = never, r = rare, s = sometimes, blank = not applicable

*Em inap*, which may mean ‘That’s enough’ or ‘That is sufficient’ (see Ch. 19 8.1). Also, *inap* or *inap long* may mean ‘as far as’ or ‘until’, as in *inap long banis* ‘as far as the wall’ or in *inap long belo kaikai* ‘until noon’ (see Ch. 12, 2.2). Finally, *inap long* may function as a conjunction, to introduce a clause within a complex sentence (for this, see Ch. 24, 2.1.1).

None of these three are auxiliaries, although there are gray areas between *inap* as the modifier ‘sufficient, enough’ and the auxiliary verb ‘to be able to, to be capable of’ (Ch. 19 8.1).

*Inap* as a modal auxiliary is followed by the core constituent, either immediately or with either *long* or *i* (but not both) between it and the core constituent. That core is usually a verb, intransitive or transitive, but it may be a constituent not straightforwardly verbal, for example *drai* ‘dry’, *kros* ‘angry’, *malolo* ‘relaxed’, *pas* ‘fastened’, *sot* ‘lacking [in something]’, *tan* ‘well done [i.e. cooked]’, and the like.

Recall here that *inap* does not normally take *i* (before it) in affirmative clauses, even where other verbs take *i* (according to rules reviewed in Ch. 7, 1); however, negations of *inap* do take *i* (according to those Ch. 7, 1 rules). Again, affirmative *inap* sometimes does take *i*. Dispensing with *i* in the affirmative affects even relative clause formation containing *inap* (Ch. 14, 1.3).

An important characteristic of the auxiliary *inap* is that it is ambivalent as between its use as a personal verb (‘can, to be able to, to be capable of’) and as an impersonal verb (‘to be possible, to be sufficient’). See Ch. 19, and Ch. 7, 1.

In what follows, the use of *i* with (i.e. before) *inap* is discussed in 2.2.1; the use of *i* after *inap*, in 2.2.2; the personal and impersonal sides to *inap*, in 2.2.3; and the use of *long* after *inap*, in 2.2.4.

### 2.2.1 *Inap* and the Predicate Marker *i*

As noted briefly earlier (Ch. 7, 1.6), *inap* does not normally have *i* immediately preceding it. For example:

- (1) *Ating em inap karim pikinini, a?*  
‘Surely she cannot have children?’
- (2) *Bai yupela inap kisim graun bilong ol.*  
‘You [pl.] will be able to get their land.’
- (3) *Ating yu yet inap sapim ol plang long bus, a?*  
‘You don’t really think you can make planks in the rain forest yourself, do you?’

With verbs other than *inap*, there would have to be *i* preceding the verb—because of the subject form in (1) and (2), and because *yu* is a remote subject in (3) (Ch. 7, 1). The complication with *inap*, however, is that it rarely if ever has *i* immediately before it—that is, in affirmative clauses. In contrast, negated *inap* takes *i* wherever required by the rules reviewed in Ch. 7, 1:

- (4) *No ken putim spirit o aidin insait long sua. Em bai kukim gutpela skin wantaim na sua i no inap drai kwik.*

‘Don’t put alcohol or iodine on the sore. That will burn the healthy skin also, and the sore cannot become dry soon.’

- (5) *Pasim lek o han, na i no inap meknais moa; kisim hap plang o stik o mambu na pasim long lek o han.*  
 ‘Splint the [fractured] arm or leg, so it won’t be able to move any more; get a board or stick or a piece of bamboo and splint the arm or leg.’
- (6) *Sapos yu holim paia klostu long bros bilong yu, orait ating siot bilong yu i no inap paia, a?*  
 ‘If you hug fire to your breast, couldn’t your shirt catch fire?’

One of the uses of *i* in Tok Pisin is that of relativization; that is, to introduce relative clauses (on which see Ch. 14, 1.3). But even relativizing *i* is not easily accommodated immediately before *inap*. Consider the following examples (in which relative clauses are enclosed in angle brackets):

- (7) *Em i tokim ol long tupela driman bilong en, tasol i no gat wanpela man <inap autim as bilong dispela tupela driman>.*  
 ‘He told them about his two dreams, but there was no man who could explain the meaning of those two dreams.’
- (8) *I no gat wanpela man <inap long bosim ol dispela bikpela lain manmeri bilong yu>.*  
 ‘There is no one who can govern these huge groups of your people.’
- (9) *Mi no gutpela man <inap long karim su bilong em>.*  
 ‘I am not the good man [i.e. I am not worthy] who can hand him his footwear.’

Relative clauses are normally introduced by *i*, but before *inap* even relativizing *i* is dropped.

Occasionally, *i* does precede *inap* immediately:

- (10) *Taim mipela traim nupela wok Vilis Et o helpim dokta long Finschhafen, mipela wokim sampela pepa <i inap helpim ol Vilis Et long kos>.*  
 ‘When we [excl.] tried a new Village Aid project or helped the doctors in Finschhafen, we [excl.] wrote some papers that could help the Village Aid team in the course.’
- (11) *Mi ting olgeta man ol i inap save long dispela pasin.*  
 ‘I believe all people can know this way of doing it.’
- (12) *Yupela i ting yupela i inap stretim mi, a?*  
 ‘Do you [pl.] really think you [pl.] can correct me?’
- (13) *Olsem wanem na dispela man i inap helpim yumi?*  
 ‘How can this man help us [incl.]?’
- (14) *Sapos man i inap kaunim olgeta wesan, orait bai em i inap kaunim olgeta pikinini bilong yu.*  
 ‘If a man could count all the grains of sand, then he could count all your offspring.’

Example (10) is one of an *i*-introduced relative clause.

2.2.2 *Inap i*

As Table 6 shows, *inap* is followed by *i* before: *dai* ‘to die’, *go* ‘to go’, *kam* ‘to come’, *kamap* ‘to become’, ‘to arrive’, *kirap* ‘to rise’, ‘to start [intr.]’, *orait* ‘well, healed, cured’, *stap* ‘stay’, ‘be’, and *tok* ‘talk, speak’. Except for *dai* and *orait*, the others are verbs that overwhelmingly have *i* also after modals other than *inap* (2.3 through 2.10). However, except for *dai* and *go*, which always have *i* after *inap*, *i* before the others is occasionally dispensable.

First, examples of *inap i*:

- (1) *Sapos yupela i mekim olsem, bai yupela i no inap i dai kwik.*  
‘If you [pl.] do this, you [pl.] cannot die at an early age.’
- (2) *Bikpela i rausim dispela sin bilong yu na yu no inap i dai.*  
‘The Lord forgives this sin of yours, and you cannot die.’
- (3) *Sapos yu no bin pasim mipela, mipela inap i go na kam bek tupela taim pinis.*  
‘If you had not stopped us [excl.], we [excl.] would have been able to go and come back twice.’
- (4) *Yupela i no inap i go antap long maunten.*  
‘You [pl.] cannot go up on the mountain.’
- (5) *Poteto i mas i stap long ples win i save kam i go long en. Olsem na nogut yu pasim haus strong tumas na win i no inap i kam insait.*  
‘The potatoes should stay in a place where the wind comes and goes. Therefore, don’t close the shed so that the wind cannot come in.’
- (6) *Ol birua bai i no inap i kam klostu.*  
‘The enemies will not be able to come very near.’
- (7) *Husat inap i kamap papa bilong woksop i gat tupela rot olsem.*  
‘Whoever can become the owner of the repair shop has two ways [of doing things], as follows.’
- (8) *Bai olgeta samting yupela i mekim inap i kamap gutpela.*  
‘All that you [pl.] will do will work out well.’
- (9) *Bihain em inap i kirap na holim stik na wokabaut.*  
‘Later he [i.e. a wounded person] will be able to get up and walk with a stick.’
- (10) *Na bai yupela i no inap i orait gen.*  
‘And later you [pl.] will not be able to get well.’
- (11) *Sapos ples i stap klin oltaim, orait natnat bai i no inap i stap klostu long ples na givim sik long yumi.*  
‘If the village is clean at all times, then the mosquitoes will not be able to stay close to the village and make us [incl.] ill.’
- (12) *Sapos sampela kain kaikai i sot, orait bodi bai i no moa inap i stap gut, na sik i save kamap kwik.*  
‘If certain kinds of food are lacking, then the body cannot stay well, and sickness will come fast.’
- (13) *Bai ol i no inap i tok, “Lukim, em i stap hia”, o, “Em i stap long hap”.*  
‘They will not be able to say, “Look, he is here,” or, “He is there.”’

Examples without *i* (note the angle brackets enclosing a relative clause):

- (14) *Ol lain tumbuna pikinini bilong yu bai i no inap kam bek kwik long dispela graun.*  
‘Your offspring will not be able to come back to this land soon.’
- (15) *Yu inap kam wantaim mi, o nogat?*  
‘Can you come with me?’
- (16) *Em i strongim ami bilong en na mekim i kamap strongpela tru, bai ol Israel i no inap kam pait long em.*  
‘He strengthened his army and made it become a really strong force, so that the people of Israel would not be able to come and wage war.’
- (17) *Sapos yu wokim gaden, bai graun i pasim gris bilong en na kaikai bai i no inap kamap.*  
‘When you till the ground, the soil will not be rich and the crops will not be able to grow.’
- (18) *Ol maunten i stap longwe tumas, na mi no inap kamap hariap long ol.*  
‘The mountains are very far away, and I cannot come to them soon.’
- (19) *Tasol mi ting bai yu sindaun longpela taim na wok i no inap kirap.*  
‘But [in just reading the handbook] you will sit a long time and the work will not be able to start.’
- (20) *Dispela em i lis bilong sampela sik <inap kirap long wanpela man na kalap i go long narapela>.*  
‘This is a list of diseases that may affect one man and spread to others.’
- (21) *Bai yupela i no inap stap longpela taim long dispela graun.*  
‘You [pl.] will not be able to stay in this land for long.’
- (22) *Sapos yu mekim drai gut kaukau bilong yu na pulimapim long bek, bai em inap stap gut planti mun.*  
‘If you dry your sweet potatoes and put them in bags, then they can stay good for a long time.’
- (23) *Mi man nating tasol. Mi no inap tok long wanpela samting.*  
‘I am a man of no consequence. I cannot talk about anything.’
- (24) *Mipela i no inap tok olsem mipela i no bin mekim rong.*  
‘We [excl.] cannot say that we [excl.] have done nothing wrong.’

Finally, some examples of *inap* with other core verbs:

- (25) *Mi no inap karim pikinini.*  
‘I cannot have children.’
- (26) *Mi no inap mekim olsem yu tok.*  
‘I cannot do what you say.’
- (27) *Mipela i no inap haitim hevi bilong mipela long yu.*  
‘We [excl.] are unable to hide our [excl.] suffering from you.’
- (28) *Ol inap tromoi planti takis long gavman, na bai gavman i baim skul na rot na haus sik samting.*  
‘They are able to pay a great deal of tax to the government, and the government will be able to pay for schools and roads and hospitals.’

### 2.2.3 Personal and impersonal *inap*

As noted in 2.2, *inap* may be a personal verb ('can, to be able to') or an impersonal verb ('to be possible'). This is easily understandable for speakers of English, for in English we may have constructions like *It cannot be that they lost their way*, in which *it cannot be* has impersonal *it* and means 'it is impossible'. In Tok Pisin, *inap* may be impersonal in a similar way. Consider:

- (1) *Na hevi bilong dispela bras i moa yet na i no inap man i skelim.*  
 'And the weight of this bronze was tremendous and it was impossible for any man to weigh it.'

*No inap* here means '(to be) impossible' and *man* is not the subject—subjects never follow their predicates in Tok Pisin. Of course, in regard to meaning only, it is hard to distinguish between the impossibility of weighing the bronze and the inability of anyone to weigh it. Thus, the reason why *inap* in (1) is considered as impersonal is purely syntactic. Consider:

- (2) *Taim pikinini kabis i kamap olsem foa ins samting, orait, nau inap yu planim long gaden.*  
 'When the new cabbages [in the nursery] measure about four inches, then you can plant them in the field.'

In (2), the 'you can' gloss is best as a translation, but *inap* is syntactically impersonal: 'it is possible that you plant [ . . . ]'. In regard to meaning, however, the dividing line between impersonal and personal tends to blur:

- (3) *Ating inap mi go singautim wanpela meri Hibru long givim susu long pikinini na lukautim bilong yu, o nogat?*  
 'Can I go and call a Hebrew woman to nurse the baby and take care of it?'

*Inap* is impersonal here, and the question 'is it possible that I call [ . . . ]' is just a way to ask the addressee's agreement to the proposal made: 'can I?' meaning 'may I?' The impersonal side of *inap* may take syntactic form in that *long* follows it:

- (4) *Inap long mi go ranim ol dispela man, o nogat? Na sapos mi go, bai mi inap lukim ol?*  
 'Can I go in pursuit of these men? And if I do that, shall I see [i.e. overtake] them?'

As will be shown in 2.2.4, *inap*, whether personal or impersonal, may be followed by *long*, immediately preceding the core verb, but in the first clause of (4) it precedes also the subject *mi*, and thus marks *inap* in that clause as impersonal. In the second clause, however, *inap* is personal. Note that *mi* precedes it.

Here follow some more examples of impersonal *inap*:

- (5) *Inap yu givim sampela long mi?*  
 'Can you give me some?'
- (6) *Na sapos ol i save yu meri bilong mi, orait inap ol i kilim mi.*  
 'And if they know you are my wife, they may kill me.'



- (7) *Yu painim hap pipia paip bilong wara, em inap yu kisim nating.*  
‘Get an old piece of water pipe, one that you get for free.’
- (8) *Olsem na inap yu larim mipela i wokabaut long kantri bilong yu?*  
‘So would you let us [excl.] travel in your country?’
- (9) *Inap mi raitim planti tok moa long yupela, tasol mi no laik putim dispela tok long wanpela pas.*  
‘I could write you [pl.] more, but it don’t want to include that in one letter.’
- (10) *Papa, inap mi tokim yu long wanpela samting?*  
‘Father, can I talk to you about something?’

Note that the glosses do not directly reflect *inap* as impersonal. Some of these examples are questions, and thus one may get the impression that there is an inversion here of the order of subject and predicate. However, no questions in Tok Pisin have this inversion (Ch. 6, 1.1).

As will be shown in Ch. 24, 2.1.4, impersonal *inap* may even become a purposive conjunction, introducing a clause in a complex sentence:

- (11) *Na tu em i katim longpela klos bilong ol i go sot tru, inap ol arapela man i ken lukim as bilong ol, na em i salim ol i go.*  
‘Also, he cut their long robes very short, so that the other people could see their buttocks, and he sent them away.’

*Inap*, expressing possibility (of the buttocks to be exposed), simply becomes a device to introduce a clause of purpose—‘so that, in order that’ (see Ch. 24, 2.1.4).

Finally, here are some examples illustrating the ambivalence between personal and impersonal *inap*:

- (12) *Bai yumi no inap tru long yumi go bek long olupela pasin.*  
‘We [incl.] will not be able at all any more to go back to the old ways.’

In (12), *inap* is personal in that *yumi* precedes it, and impersonal in that *long yumi* follows.

#### 2.2.4 *Inap long*

Apart from the few cores that require or permit *i* to precede them after *inap* (2.2.2), there are other cores following *inap*, such that *long* may precede them; *long* need not follow *inap* immediately (note angle brackets enclosing a relative clause):

- (1) *Yu ting mi no inap long givim yu planti mani samting, a?*  
‘Do you really think I cannot give you many things?’
- (2) *I no gat wanpela samting Bikpela i no inap long mekim.*  
‘There is nothing the Lord cannot do.’
- (3) *Ol i mas kisim nem bilong olgeta man i gat 30 krismas na i go inap long 50 krismas, em ol man <inap long mekim wok insait long haus sel bilong God>.*  
‘List the names of all men between 30 and 50 years old, that is, the men who can perform tasks in the Tent of God.’

- (4) *Nilpis tu i gat nil <inap long sutim man>.*  
‘Scorpion fish, too, has a sting that can sting a person.’
- (5) *Ol helt senta tasol i gat wanpela marasin <inap long kilim dispela jems>.*  
‘Only the health centers have the medication that can kill these germs.’
- (6) *I gat wanpela kain liklik masin <inap long yu yet i kamautim gris bilong pinat na wokim wel>.*  
‘There is one kind of small machine enabling you to extract fat from the peanuts and produce oil.’
- (7) *Yupela i no inap tru long kam insait long taun bilong mipela.*  
‘You [pl.] cannot at all enter our [excl.] town.’

Note that *inap* in (6) is impersonal and that, in (7), *tru* intervenes between *inap* and *long*.

It does not seem clear that any notable difference is involved in using or not using *long* after *inap*. When *inap* is a modifier meaning ‘enough, sufficient’ (not a modal auxiliary, therefore), *long* is regularly added to express ‘enough for, sufficient for’. Thus, *Em i no inap long mi* may mean ‘That’s not sufficient for me’. Compare (8) with (7):

- (8) *Liklik mani yu save tromoi long haus sik em i no inap tru long baim olgeta marasin yu dringim na givim pe long planti dokta na nes.*  
‘The small sums you spend on the hospital cannot at all pay for all the medication you take or for the salaries of many doctors and nurses.’

In (7), *inap* is more obviously a modal auxiliary, while in (8) *inap* could be read as ‘to be sufficient’—your money is not sufficient for the expenses.

On *inap long* as a complex preposition, see Ch. 15, 2.

### 2.3 The Auxiliary *ken*

The auxiliary *ken* has a variety of meanings that will be more fully explored in Ch. 19, 8.2. For our purposes here it may be glossed as ‘may’. Like English *may*, it functions in a wish (of the type *May she succeed*); or it expresses permission (of the type *Under the rules, he may do this*). But *ken*, unlike English *may* but like English *can* and a bit like Tok Pisin *inap*, may also express ability. Note these nuances in the examples below.

Syntactically, *ken* is somewhat less complex than *inap*. The core constituent (usually a verb) follows immediately. However, before the following core constituents *i* is optional or obligatory: *dai* ‘to die’; *gat* ‘have, be’; *go* ‘go’; *kam* ‘come’; *kamap* ‘to become’, ‘to happen’; *orait* ‘well’, ‘healed’; *ran* ‘to run’; and *stap* ‘to stay’, ‘to be’. Before *dai*, *i* is obligatory. As for the others, both *ken i gat* and *ken gat* seem to be rare; *ken i go* and *ken go* are both common; *ken i kam* and *ken kam* are both common; while *ken i kamap* is rare, *ken kamap* is common; both *ken i orait* and *ken orait* are rare; while *ken i ran* is rare, *ken ran* is common; finally, both *ken i stap* and *ken stap* are common.

Here follow some examples of *ken* followed by these cores:

- (1) *Bai mi kaikai na long ai bilong Bikpela bai mi givim yu las blessing bilong mi pastaim, na bihain mi **ken i dai**.*  
‘I will eat and, before the Lord, I will give you my last blessing, and then I am ready for death.’
- (2) *Olsem tasol ol birua bilong yu i **ken i dai**.*  
‘May the enemies meet their death in just the same way.’
- (3) *Na banis bilong ol taun bilong ol i **ken i gat strongpela dua ain**.*  
‘May the walls of the town have strong iron gates.’
- (4) *Yu mas larim hap mita samting namel long rup na banis, bai lait i **ken i go insait long sip**.*  
‘You must leave about half a meter between the roof and the railings, so that light may come into the ark.’
- (5) *Larim yangpela meri i stap wantaim mipela tenpela de samting, na bihain em i **ken i go**.*  
‘Let the girl stay with us [excl.] for ten days or so, and then she may go.’
- (6) *Tasol ol i no **ken go klostu long ol na helpim ol**.*  
‘But they [i.e. the players] may not get close to them [i.e. the team mates] and help them.’
- (7) *Naip i no **ken go daun tru long mit, nogut yu katim wanpela bikpela rop bilong blut o rop wailis**.*  
‘The knife must not go deep into the flesh [i.e. when lancing a boil], so that you will not cut an artery or nerve.’
- (8) *Pilai i **ken go i go inap long bal i kalap long mak bilong graun bilong pilai**.*  
‘The game may go on until the ball bounces on the line of the playing field.’
- (9) *Yu save marimari moa yet long mi, olsem na nau yu **ken i kam helpim mi**.*  
‘You always have mercy on me, so may you now come to help me.’
- (10) *Na olgeta dispela lain i **ken i kam bung wantaim yumi**.*  
‘And may all these groups come together with us [incl.]’
- (11) *Aiwara i **ken kam daun long nait, tasol long moningtaim bai yu amamas gen**.*  
‘Perhaps you weep during the night, but in the morning you will be joyful again.’
- (12) *Yu bin promis long mekim dispela haus i kamap haus bilong yu, na ol manmeri i **ken kam klostu long yu long en**.*  
‘You had promised to have this house become your house, and that all the people could approach you in it.’
- (13) *Olsem na i gutpela sapos yumi inap lainim ol yangpela long gutpela pasin bilong pilai bai ol i **ken kamap strong long bodi na tingting**.*  
‘So it would be good if we [incl.] are able to teach young people the right way to play games, so they may become strong in body and mind.’

- (14) *Sapos yu givim bel tru long dispela wok bilong helpim tru ol lain asples, orait yu **ken i kamap** olsem wokman bilong Opis bilong Viles Dvelopmen na kisim liklik fohnait bilong dispela wok yu save mekim long ples.*  
 ‘If you put your heart into this task of truly helping the grassroots people, then you may well become a worker of the Office of Village Development and get paid something for this work you will be doing in the village.’
- (15) *Bikpela, mi laik bai tok bilong mi na tingting bilong mi i **ken i orait** long ai bilong yu.*  
 ‘Lord, I wish that my words and thoughts may be unblemished before your eyes.’
- (16) *Yupela i mekim olsem, orait bai sik bilong yupela i **ken orait**.*  
 ‘If you [pl.] do this, then your [pl.] illness will be cured.’
- (17) *Olgeta man i **ken i ran** i go nabaut long tupela hap graun, tasol i tambu long ol i go insait long raunpela mak.*  
 ‘All the men [i.e. players] may run around in both parts of the field, but it is forbidden to them to go inside the circle line.’
- (18) *Man i holim bal i no **ken ran** i go nabaut.*  
 ‘The one who holds the ball may not run around.’
- (19) *Yupela ol arapela i **ken i stap** bel isi na i go bek long papa bilong yupela.*  
 ‘The others among you [pl.] can feel safe and go back to your [pl.] father.’
- (20) *Sapos yu mekim save long ol, bai ol i **ken stap** gut olsem wanem?*  
 ‘If you punish them, how can they be well?’

For *ken* + other core verbs, consider:

- (21) *Ating mipela i **ken** kisim bek mani bilong mipela na bai mipela i baim narapela trak?*  
 ‘Could we [excl.] perhaps get our [excl.] money back so that we [excl.] can pay our fare in another truck?’
- (22) *Sapos yu holim wisil yu no **ken** winim planti tumas.*  
 ‘If you have a whistle, don’t blow it too often.’
- (23) *Yu no **ken** wari long dispela.*  
 ‘Don’t worry about that.’
- (24) *Rostim pinat. No **ken** boilim.*  
 ‘Roast the peanuts. Don’t cook them.’
- (25) *Yumi **ken** pilai inap long wanem taim?*  
 ‘How long can we [incl.] play?’
- (26) *Tupela i mas pas i stap na ran wantaim na i no **ken** bruk.*  
 ‘The two of them must keep holding one another and they may not separate.’
- (27) *Ol i no **ken** les long pilai.*  
 ‘They must not get tired of playing [the same game all the time].’
- (28) *Mi no **ken** malolo kwik.*  
 ‘I must not relax soon.’

## 2.4 The Auxiliary *mas*

*Mas* ‘must, should, ought to’ is like English *must* in that it expresses a duty, and also inevitability.

Like *ken*, *mas* has a simpler syntax than *inap*. The core constituent (usually a verb) follows immediately. However, before the following core verbs *i* may or must intervene: *dai* ‘to die’; *gat* ‘to have, to be’; *go* ‘to go’; *kam* ‘to come’; *no ken* ‘be prohibited’; *pas* ‘united’; and *stap* ‘to be’—*gat* and *no ken* are the only ones that must always be preceded by *i* after *mas*. Examples:

- (1) *Belong wanem mipela i mas i dai nau?*  
‘Why do we [excl.] have to die?’
- (2) *Man i bin kilim arapela man em i ken i stap gut inap em i kot pastaim.*  
*Na sapos kot i tok, em i mas i dai, orait ol i ken kilim em i dai.*  
‘The man who kills another man may be safe [from reprisals] until he appears in court. And if the court rules that he must die, then they may kill him.’
- (3) *Man i kilim i dai narapela man, em yet i mas dai long han bilong ol man, long wanem, God i bin wokim ol manmeri i kamap olsem em yet.*  
‘A man who kills another man must die at the hands of men, for God has made man in his own image.’
- (4) *Yu ken yusim planti pilai long yut wok yu save mekim, tasol yu mas i gat gutpela save long olgeta pilai pastaim.*  
‘You can use many games for youth work, but you must have good knowledge of all the games first.’
- (5) *Referi i mas i gat wisil.*  
‘The referee must have a whistle.’
- (6) *Yu mas i go long lain bilong papa bilong mi.*  
‘You must go to my father’s family.’
- (7) *Skinhat i mas i go daun taim twelpela aua i pinis.*  
‘The fever has to go down within twelve hours.’
- (8) *Pilai i mas go i go inap long tripela man i aut pinis.*  
‘The game must go on until three players are out.’
- (9) *Na yu mas go long stesin na baim ofis.*  
‘You have to go to the [police] station to pay the fine.’
- (10) *Sapos natnat i kaikaim yu na yu kisim malaria, orait yu mas i kam hariap long haus sik.*  
‘If the mosquitoes bite you and you get malaria, then you have to come to the hospital fast.’
- (11) *Olgeta manmeri i mas i kam bung long dua bilong haus sel bilong mi.*  
‘All people must come together at the entrance of my tent.’
- (12) *Wok medikol i mas kam insait long wan wan ples.*  
‘The work of the medical orderly must come to each village.’
- (13) *Sapos sotwin i kamap, em i mas kam bek long haus sik.*  
‘If asthma develops, he [i.e. the patient] must come back to the hospital.’

- (14) *Yes, ol pikinini bilong mi, yupela i mas i pas wantaim Krai.*  
‘Yes, my children, you [pl.] must be united with Christ.’
- (15) *Kamautim isi na hap graun i mas pas yet long ol rop.*  
‘Remove [what you have grown in the nursery] and a bit of soil must still cling to the roots.’
- (16) *Olgeta manki i mas i stap insait long wanem tim yu makim pinis. Ol i no ken senis nabaut.*  
‘All the children must stay in the team you have formed. They cannot switch teams.’
- (17) *Brukim tupela tim i go long tupela hap. Namba wan hap bilong wanpela tim i mas i stap long hap i go tasol, na arapela hap tim i mas i stap long hap i kam tasol.*  
‘Divide the two teams in the two parts [of the field]. The group of one team must stay in the far part, and the group of the other team in the near part.’
- (18) *Holim arapela arere bilong rop na wokabaut na makim graun olsem. Tasol rop i mas stap tait.*  
‘Hold the other end of the rope and walk along with it to mark the field. But the rope must stay tight.’
- (19) *Ples i mas stap klin, ol pik i no ken raun long ples na pekpek nabaut.*  
‘The village must be clean, don’t let the pigs run around the place and shit all over.’
- (20) *Olsem na taim yupela i kisim pinis dispela graun Bikpela i laik givim long yupela, yupela i mas i no ken mekim dispela kain pasin nogut tru.*  
‘Therefore, when you [pl.] obtain this land the Lord wants to give to you [pl.], you [pl.] absolutely must not commit this terrible crime.’
- (21) *Bikpela i tok long mi mas i no ken kaikai na dring wanpela samting na tu mi mas i no ken bihainim dispela rot mi bin kam long en na mi go bek long ples. Mi mas bihainim narapela rot.*  
‘The Lord said to me that I am not to eat or drink anything [here] and that I am not to take the road along which I came and go back to my place. I must follow a different road.’

For *mas* with other core verbs, examine:

- (22) *Dispela kontrak i tok long mipela i mas wokim sampela haus.*  
‘This contract states that we [excl.] have to build several houses.’
- (23) *Na yumi mas painim mani bilong mekim gut olupela rot na bilong wokim nupela tu.*  
‘And we [incl.] have to find funds to repair old roads and to build new ones too.’
- (24) *Yu mas tingting gut na wok strong long kisim dispela save.*  
‘You have to consider things well and work hard to obtain this knowledge.’
- (25) *Yumi mas toktok long dispela.*  
‘We [incl.] have to discuss this.’

- (26) *Referi i mas givim dairek fri kik long arapela tim, long hap man i bin mekim pasin nogut long en.*  
 ‘The referee must give a direct free kick to the other team, on the spot where the mistake was made.’
- (27) *Yu mas strong long ol pikinini i no ken kisim na kaikai.*  
 ‘You have to insist that the children cannot get [the potato seeds] and eat them.’
- (28) *Net hia i mas longpela olsem 183 sentimita na sotpela sait i mas kamap 15 sentimita.*  
 ‘This net must be 183 centimeters long and the width should become 15 centimeters.’
- (29) *Graunpos i kamap olsem bun bilong haus na i mas strong liklik.*  
 ‘The ground post becomes like the backbone of the house and must be rather sturdy.’
- (30) *Sikman i mas malolo long haus.*  
 ‘The patient must rest at home.’

## 2.5 The Auxiliary laik

*Laik* means ‘to want’, as well as ‘to be about to’ or ‘to be imminent’; perhaps *laik* is best considered as expressing a particular tendency for the near future, whether or not the tendency is due to human volition or to some other tendency not controlled by human will or desire. *Laik* is therefore quite different from its English “sound-alike”, *like*. It is, rather, more like English *will*, which may also be related to human volition but need not be. However, this parallel may also be deceptive. In particular, *will* in English negated *will* (*will not*, *won’t*) may be volitional or nonvolitional, whereas in Tok Pisin negated *laik* refers to will or desire, and cannot be nonvolitional.

Like *ken* and *mas*, *laik* also is syntactically simpler than *inap*. The core constituent (usually a verb) follows immediately. However, before the following cores *i* may or must intervene: *dai* ‘to die’; *go* ‘to go’; *kam* ‘to come’; *kamap* ‘to happen’; ‘to become’, *krai* ‘to cry, to weep’, *stap* ‘to stay’, ‘to be’. Of these, *dai* and *stap* are obligatorily preceded by *i*; with the others, *i* is optional. However, it seems that *i* is rare with *kamap* and with *krai*.

Here are some examples with each of these core verbs first.

- (1) *Sapos yupela i no laik i dai, yupela i mas ran i go antap long ol maunten.*  
 ‘If you [pl.] do not want to die, go into the hills.’
- (2) *Klostu mi laik i dai, na dispela namba bilong mi olsem namba wan pikinini bai i helpim mi olsem wanem?*  
 ‘I am near death, and how will my authority as eldest son help me?’
- (3) *Wanpela pikinini, nem bilong en Piring, em i kisim sik nogut tru na klostu i laik i dai.*  
 ‘One child, whose name is Piring, has become very seriously ill and is close to death.’

- (4) *Mi laik i go bek long bikman bilong mi.*  
‘I want to go back to my boss.’
- (5) *Nau long dispela taim, wok bilong planim taro i laik i go slek liklik.*  
‘Now these days taro cultivation is diminishing a bit.’
- (6) *Klostu san i laik i go daun nau, na liklik taim bai i tudak.*  
‘The sun will set soon, and it will not be long before it is dark.’
- (7) *Mi laik go hariap na lukim dispela profet na bai mi kam bek.*  
‘I want to go in a hurry to see this prophet and then I will come back.’
- (8) *Em i mas kisim wanpela kilogram plaua, inap olsem ofa bilong kukim wit, na ofaim hap long moningtaim na hap long apinun long taim san i laik go daun.*  
‘He must get one kilo of flour as a sacrifice, and offer part of it in the morning and the other part in the afternoon towards sunset.’
- (9) *Ol pren na wantok bilong mi ol i no laik i kam klostu long mi.*  
‘My friends and relatives do not want to come near me.’
- (10) *Taim klaut i pairap, dispela i soim yumi olsem strongpela win na ren i laik i kam.*  
‘When there is lightning, this shows us [incl.] that there will soon be wind gusts and heavy rain.’
- (11) *Tasol mipela i laik kam bek long yu, olsem na yu mas bringim mipela i kam bek.*  
‘But we [excl.] want to come back to you, so you must bring us [excl.] back.’
- (12) *Bikpela i laik kam na bosim olgeta graun.*  
‘But the Lord will come, and rule the earth.’
- (13) *Klostu sampela i laik i kamap longlong long dispela as.*  
‘Some of them [i.e. the grassroots people in the villages] will tend to lose their common sense for this reason [i.e. all kinds of new-fangled things being available now].’
- (14) *Wanem kain wok bai i laik kamap insait long woksop bihain?*  
‘What kind of work will be needed later in the repair shop?’
- (15) *Na ol i save, klostu taim nogut tru i laik kamap long ol olsem tudak i karamapim graun.*  
‘And they know that times of woe are coming, like darkness covering the earth.’
- (16) *Olsem na yupela i laik kamap pris tu, a?*  
‘You [pl.] actually want to become priests?’
- (17) *Mipela i laik kamap wankain olsem ol arapela kantri.*  
‘We [excl.] want to become like the other nations.’
- (18) *Josep i sori tru na em i pilim olsem em i laik i krai.*  
‘Joseph felt deeply moved and felt as if he would burst into tears.’
- (19) *Na Josep i sori tumas long liklik brata bilong em, na klostu em i laik krai.*  
‘Joseph felt very sorry for his youngest brother, and he almost wept.’
- (20) *Mipela i laik i stap sotpela taim long dispela kantri.*  
‘We [excl.] would like to stay in this country for a while.’



- (21) *Yu gat wanem kain strong na yu no laik i stap aninit long mi.*  
 ‘What kind of power do you have that you don’t want to obey me?’

For *laik* with other core verbs, see:

- (22) *Sapos ol i laik wokabaut long lek tasol, orait bai planti taim i lus long rot, na bihain tru bai ol i kamap long taun.*  
 ‘If they want to just walk, that will cost a lot of time, and they will arrive in town much later.’
- (23) *Yu laik mekim wanem long taun?*  
 ‘What do you want to do in town?’
- (24) *Pasin bilong yumi em nau i laik senis.*  
 ‘Our [incl.] customs are now bound to change.’
- (25) *Em i no laik kaikai. Nogat. Na em i no laik dring tu.*  
 ‘He does not want to eat at all. And he does not want to drink either.’
- (26) *Na mi laik skruim narapela tok moa long dispela.*  
 ‘And I want to say something more about this.’
- (27) *Sapos yumi laik malolo, orait yumi ken malolo.*  
 ‘If we [incl.] want to rest, then we [incl.] can rest.’
- (28) *Mipela i laik stori liklik long tripela kain wok i stap.*  
 ‘We [excl.] want to tell a bit about three kinds of jobs there are.’
- (29) *Taim sik i kamap nupela, na bodi i stat long kirapim pait, fiva tu i laik redi na i laik i go antap.*  
 ‘When the illness comes on again, and the body starts defending itself, the fever is ready also and will rise high.’
- (30) *Taim fiva i no go antap moa long apinun, yu ken save, sik i laik pinis nau.*  
 ‘When the fever does not become high any more in the afternoon, the illness will soon be finished.’
- (31) *Arapela man i kisim liklik sua na i no longtaim na susu i kamap na sua i no laik drai.*  
 ‘Someone else will get a small sore and it will not be long when there is a discharge from it, and the sore will not become dry.’

## 2.6 The Auxiliary *save*

*Save* means ‘to know’, and then it is not an auxiliary. As an auxiliary, *save* denotes something habitual or customary, and may be glossed as ‘to be accustomed to’, or ‘to have the habit of’. It thus denotes a side of the predicate (expressed in the core constituent following *save*) that linguists call “aspectual”—more on *save* as aspectual is found in Ch. 19, 6.

Aspectual *save* is by its very nature an auxiliary. It is never followed by *i*, and thus Table 6 does not apply to it directly. Indirectly it does, because aspectual *save* may itself be preceded by either *no* or *no i*, as will be shown in 2.10.

*Save* has been glossed here as ‘be accustomed to’ or ‘have the habit of’, but English glosses of clauses with the auxiliary *save* are bound to vary a great deal,

because English does not have an auxiliary of this kind fitting all contexts. Some English examples are: *Boys will be boys*, where *will* expresses what *save* does in Tok Pisin. Another one is *used to*, as in *They used to play cricket*, but of this English only has a past tense. In *He always shaves in the morning*, what *always* expresses is rendered by *save* in Tok Pisin. Yet another English “parallel” of Tok Pisin *save* is *would*, as in *They would ask the strangest questions*. Finally, English frequently does not express what is rendered by Tok Pisin *save* at all, as in *We have our meetings at 9 a.m. here*, which in most contexts would express a habit or custom—Tok Pisin would use *save* to express this.

Syntactically, the auxiliary *save* is not very complex. It is followed by the core, without anything intervening—not *i*, definitely, but not even other constituents, such as those of degree. For example, English *It was very much their custom to [ . . . ]* cannot be rendered in Tok Pisin as *\*Ol i save tru [ . . . ]*. *Save tru* certainly occurs in Tok Pisin, but then *save* is ‘to know’. Here are some examples of auxiliary *save*:

- (1) *Graun i no bin i stap olsem yumi save lukim nau.*  
‘The earth was then not the way we [incl.] see it now.’
- (2) *I gat wanpela kain ston i dia tumas, em ol i save kolim kanilian.*  
‘There was one kind of precious stone, the kind they call onyx.’
- (3) *Ol i no save pret long God.*  
‘They did not fear God.’
- (4) *Banara bilong en i no save popaia.*  
‘His arrows never missed.’
- (5) *Dispela pasin i stap, na olgeta wok bilong yumi em i save kamap gutpela.*  
‘This is one way to do it, and all our [incl.] work will yield results.’
- (6) *Mi no save bilip long samting mi lukim long driman.*  
‘I do not believe in something I see in dreams.’
- (7) *Long nait mi slip na ol natnat i save kam long haus bilong mi.*  
‘At night I sleep and then the mosquitoes will come to my house.’
- (8) *Olsem na em i singautim dispela yangpela man i save karim ol samting bilong pait bilong en.*  
‘So he called this young man who always carried his weapons.’
- (9) *Lip na kaikai bilong poteto i save sting, em dispela sik yumi kolim poteto blait.*  
‘The leaves and the fruit of the potato plant [when affected by disease] will rot, and that is the disease we [incl.] call potato blight.’
- (10) *Mi, mi save mekim wok long taun.*  
‘As for me, I have a job in town.’
- (11) *Mi olsem hap plang i save haitim yu.*  
‘I am like a shield that protects you at all times.’
- (12) *Gavman i save tingting long ol manmeri bilong taun tasol.*  
‘The government will care only about people in towns.’

The core may be a transitive verb (*lukim, kolim, mekim, karim, haitim*), or an intransitive verb (*kam, kamap, bilip, tingting*), or a modifier not straightforwardly verbal (*pret, popaia, sting*).

## 2.7 The Auxiliary *traim*

In Tok Pisin, there are no fewer than three different constructions in which *traim* 'to try [to do something]' is followed by another verb. (Note that this *traim* differs from *traim* 'to try out [something], to put to the test'.) These three are: *traim* + V; *traim long* + V; and *traim na* + V; the first two are treated below; the third is serial and is examined in Ch. 9, 6. For *traim* + V, consider:

- (1) *Bai mi go antap long maunten gen na kamap long Bikpela, na mi ken traिम askim em long lusim sin bilong yupela.*  
'I will go up the mountain once again to meet the Lord, and I will try to ask him to forgive your [pl.] sin.'
- (2) *Traim beten strong moa.*  
'Try to pray harder.'
- (3) *Ating apinun bai mi traिम pilai pingpong namba wan taim.*  
'This afternoon I may try to play pingpong for the first time.'
- (4) *Sapos dispela i kamap, orait, traिम planim long narapela hap graun.*  
'If that works out, then try to plant it in some other plot.'
- (5) *Traim opim maus bilong sua, na bihain putim long hatwara.*  
'Try to open the eye of the sore and then dip it into warm water.'
- (6) *Bai ol i traिम ranawe na hait long dispela strongpela win.*  
'They will try to escape and take shelter from the strong wind.'
- (7) *Mi laik yu traिम tok pait wantaim mi.*  
'I want you to try to argue with me.'
- (8) *Olgeta man wan wan i mas traिम wokabaut i go antap long dram.*  
'Every one of the men should try to walk on the drum.'

For *traim long*:

- (9) *Na ol Isip i traिम long ranawe, tasol ol i no inap.*  
'And the Egyptians tried to escape, but they were not able to.'
- (10) *Olsem na watpo mi traिम traिम long soim olsem, mi no bin mekim rong?*  
'So why would I keep trying to show them that I have not done anything wrong?'
- (11) *Olgeta samting mi laik mekim, ol birua i traिम long bagarapim.*  
'All that I want to do the enemies try to destroy.'
- (12) *Ol man nogut i traिम long pasim mi bilong pulim mi i go long pasin bilong ol, tasol mi no lusim tingting long lo bilong yu.*  
'Evil men tried to stop me in order to tempt me to their way of life, but I did not forget your laws.'
- (13) *Traim long kisim diskaun.*  
'Try to get a discount.'

*Traim long* seems to carry the connotation that the attempt fails or is likely to fail.

## 2.8 The Auxiliary *wok long*

There is a progressive construction consisting of *wok long* + core verb. As a stand-alone verb, *wok* means 'to work', but a word of caution is needed not to associate

progressive *wok long* with activity that is expressed by *wok* as ‘to work’. For example, while (1)

- (1) *Ol bisnisman ol i laik pulim planti mani moa, olsem na oltaim ol i save wok long painim nupela pasin bilong lukautim bisnis bilong ol.*  
 ‘Businessmen want to earn a great deal of money, so they are for ever looking for new ways to promote their business.’

has *wok* in a context where the need for hard work is indeed implied, yet a gloss ‘[ . . . ] always work to find new ways [ . . . ]’ would be erroneous: *wok long* as a progressive entails no exertion on the part of a volitional human being at all. This latter point is clear from (2),

- (2) *Nogut bihain olgeta tul bilong woksop i stap nabaut na wok long lus no bagarap.*  
 ‘Don’t leave the tools of the repair shop lying around so that they are getting lost or damaged.’ [Note: *no* here is ‘or’, usually *o* in Tok Pisin]

for tools getting lost or damaged do not exert any activity doing so. Here follow some more examples:

- (3) *Tasol ating bai ol i no wok long lukautim sampela arapela lain.*  
 ‘But perhaps they [i.e. civil servants favoring their own friends] will then not be taking care of other groups.’
- (4) *Yu no laikim dispela hevi nau i wok long kamap long yu, tasol yu bin laik long mekim pasin nogut.*  
 ‘You do not want these trials to afflict you all the time, but you have been disposed to evil things in the first place.’
- (5) *Na tupela i wok long tok pait long ai bilong king.*  
 ‘And the two were arguing with one another before the king.’
- (6) *Tait i wok long kamap yet inap long 40 de, na wara i kamap antap moa na i litimapim sip.*  
 ‘The flood kept rising for 40 days, and the water rose and lifted the ark.’
- (7) *Tasol ol pisin i wok long kam kaikai ol dispela bret samting.*  
 ‘But the birds kept coming to eat this bread and other food.’
- (8) *Em i wok long bikhet yet.*  
 ‘He still remained stubborn.’

It may be asked, of course, if *wok long* as an auxiliary of the progressive could not entail the view that inanimates may also exert an activity of some kind. Such a question is rather obvious, given that gray area of expressions of control and no control as found in other auxiliaries, such as *ken* and, especially *inap*. Also, such a gray area is characteristic of progressive forms in some vernaculars, and the first language of a Tok Pisin speaker is bound to influence his or her use of Tok Pisin. To understand this interpretation, consider English *It is trying to rain*, which imputes control to the weather. On the other hand, Tok Pisin has progressive *wok long* for many more speakers than have such a first language characterized by that gray area.

## 2.9 The Auxiliary *bin*

*Bin* is an auxiliary that has been given various names by grammarians; one of them is “anterior”, and that often means “anterior to some event in the past.” As such, it may be compared to the English “pluperfect tense”—*had* + past participle, as in *We had forgotten our passports*. Forgetting to take the passport along would then be anterior to some later event in the past, such as being denied entry to another nation. There is a great deal more to *bin* than this type of anteriority (see Ch 19, 2). At this point, however, we only want to examine the structure of *bin* predicates. *Bin* may or must be followed by *i* (and by nothing else) before the following core constituents: *dai* ‘to die’; *gat* ‘to have’, ‘to be’; *go* ‘to go’, ‘to become’; *kam* ‘to come’; *kamap* ‘to happen’ ‘to arrive’, ‘to become’; and *stap* ‘to be’. The *i* must be there before *gat*, and with the other cores it may but need not be used; before *kamap*, *i* is rare. Examples:

- (1) *I gutpela sapos mipela i bin i dai long Isip o long dispela ples drai nating.*  
‘It would have been good if we [excl.] had died in Egypt or in that desert.’
- (2) *Tasol ol i kisim tu olkain bilas long bodi bilong ol birua i bin i dai long dispela pait.*  
‘But they also took all kinds of precious objects from the bodies of the enemies who had died in this battle.’
- (3) *Watpo mi no bin i dai long bel bilong mama, o long taim mama i bin karim mi?*  
‘Why did I not die in my mother’s womb, or when I was born?’
- (4) *Em i no ken kaikai mit bilong animal i bin dai nating.*  
‘He must not eat meat of an animal that has died a natural death.’
- (5) *Mipela i kaunim olgeta soldia mipela i save bosim na i no gat wanpela i bin dai long pait.*  
‘We [excl.] counted all the soldiers under our [excl.] command, and not a single one has died in the battle.’
- (6) *Bipo i no gat wanpela man i bin i gat dispela kain save, na tu bihain bai i no gat wanpela man inap long kisim wankain save olsem yu.*  
‘There has never been a man as wise before, and also in the future there will be no man who can obtain wisdom like yours.’
- (7) *Long dispela ples olgeta kain man i stap, maski ol i bin i gat biknem o ol i man nating.*  
‘In this area there are all kinds of people, those who are renowned as well as people of no consequence.’
- (8) *Bai em i givim planti samting moa long yu na i winim tru ol samting yu bin i gat bipo.*  
‘He will give you many things, more than you ever had before.’
- (9) *Ol tumbuna i bin i gat dispela tingting tu.*  
‘The ancestors also held this view.’
- (10) *Ol man i bin i go wantaim mi ol i mekim arapela kain tok na dispela i mekim ol manmeri i pret.*

‘Those who had gone together with me said different things and this made the people afraid.’

- (11) *Em i bin i go wok long gaden na nau em i kam bek.*  
‘He had gone to work on the land and now he came back.’
- (12) *Long san yu bin stap insait long klaut na yu bin go pas long ol, na ol i bihainim yu.*  
‘During the day you [i.e. God] were present in the cloud and went before them, and they followed you.’
- (13) *Taim kos i pinis ol Vilis Et i bin go bek long ples na mekim wok.*  
‘When the course was finished the Village Aid people went back to their village and did their tasks.’
- (14) *Taim ol man i bin i kam bung, ol i bin kolim nem bilong ol wan wan taun bilong ol Israel, na i no gat wanpela man bilong taun Jabes long distrik Gileat i bin i stap.*  
‘When the men had come together they had made a roll call of every single town of Israel, and there had been no one from the town of Jabesh of the district of Gilead.’
- (15) *Ol man bilong king i go bilong painim dispela tupela Israel i bin i kam bilong lukstil.*  
‘The king’s men went in search of these two Israeli men who had come to spy.’
- (16) *Dispela bikpela lain manmeri i bin kam long olgeta hap bilong kantri.*  
‘These large groups of people had come from all parts of the country.’
- (17) *Ol dispela lain i bin i stap long graun bilong ol yet, na i no gat ol tripman i bin kam i stap wantaim ol na paulim tingting bilong ol.*  
‘This tribe had lived in their own land, and there were no drifters from elsewhere who had come to stay with them and confuse their thinking.’
- (18) *Wanpela as bilong kirapim woksop long ples em i olsem: kliaim tingting long ol kain kain kago i bin i kamap olsem wanem.*  
‘One principle for starting a repair shop in the village is: to understand better how the various kinds of new things available have come here.’
- (19) *Dispela tok i bin kamap tu long gavman bilong yumi.*  
‘This issue has arisen also in our [incl.] government.’
- (20) *Wanem taim sik i bin kamap nupela?*  
‘When did the illness show itself for the first time?’
- (21) *Wanem samting i bin kamap long sikman na em hap i dai?*  
‘What happened to the patient that he lost consciousness?’
- (22) *Bipo em i bin i stap bel hevi, long wanem, mama bilong en i bin dai.*  
‘He had been depressed, because his mother had died.’
- (23) *Oltaim em i bin i stap pren tru bilong God.*  
‘He had always been dedicated to God.’
- (24) *Dispela sik i save kamap long man bilong nambis, o long ol man i bin stap long nambis planti yia.*  
‘This illness will afflict coastal people, or people who have lived near the coast many years.’

- (25) *Ol i laik wokim dispela haus gen long hap graun bipo haus i bin stap long en.*  
 ‘They wanted to build this house on the plot where the house had been before.’

Here are some examples of *bin* with other core verbs:

- (26) *Yumi no bin wokim dispela rot.*  
 ‘We [incl.] never built this road.’
- (27) *Ol pikinini i bin kisim sut long bebi klinik tripela taim pinis.*  
 ‘The children have now had three injections in the baby clinic.’
- (28) *Ol dokta long haus sik i bin kaunim planti buk na skul planti yia long dispela wok.*  
 ‘The doctors at the hospital have studied many books and trained many years for this work.’
- (29) *Ol tumbuna i no bin wari long dispela.*  
 ‘The ancestors never worried about this.’

## 2.10 The Auxiliary *no*

The negator *no* has been examined in Ch. 5, 1; as noted above, *no* may be followed by *i* before the verbs *dai* ‘to die’, *go* ‘to go’, *kam* ‘to come’, *save* ‘to be accustomed to’ and *stap* ‘to be’. Note that *no* and following *i* may be separated by *moa*: *no moa i* (see Ch. 5, 4.7). The suggestion here is that *no i* behaves as an auxiliary.

To have *no* treated as an auxiliary may at first seem somewhat strange. However, many languages have a verbal negator (more or less as in English *He failed to do this*). The possibility of *i* following *no* places it in the same type of construction found in predicates with other auxiliaries. Examples:

- (1) *Mi lukim pinis pes bilong God, na mi no i dai.*  
 ‘I have seen the face of God, and I did not die.’
- (2) *Tasol ating i gat arapela man i bin harim kain tok olsem na i no i dai? Nogat.*  
 ‘But is there anyone else who has heard words like these [from God], and not died? Certainly not.’
- (3) *Ol dispela man i laikim tumas long i dai, tasol ol i no i dai.*  
 ‘These men just wanted to die, but they did not die.’
- (4) *Sapos hul bilong raunwara i no i go daun inap, bai san i hatim tumas wara na pis i bagarap.*  
 ‘If the pond is not deep enough, the sun will overheat the water and the fish will die.’
- (5) *Bilong wanem na yu no i go long haus bilong yu?*  
 ‘Why don’t you go home?’
- (6) *Tripela de i no i go pinis yet na yupela i mas i kam bung.*  
 ‘Before three days have passed, you [pl.] must meet.’

- (7) *Sapos yu i no i kam, orait dispela sik bai i kamap bikpela moa.*  
‘If you do not come [to the hospital], this illness will grow much worse.’
- (8) *Pikinini Bilong Man tu em i no i kam bilong ol man i ken mekim wok bilong helpim em.*  
‘The Son of Man did not come for people to serve him.’
- (9) *Na ol i no i kam bilong lukim Jisas tasol.*  
‘And they did not come just to see Jesus.’
- (10) *Na ol i kisim olgeta sipsip na olgeta bulmakau na olgeta donki i go. Ol i no i save larim wanpela i stap.*  
‘They took all the sheep and cattle and donkeys away. They would never leave even one animal there.’
- (11) *Sapos dispela rot i no i stap, orait, yu no ken baim samting hariap long namba wan stua yu lukim.*  
‘If the way is not open to you, then don’t just buy things in a hurry at the first store you set eyes on.’
- (12) *Dispela protin i stap long abus na long susu. Tasol i no i stap long abus na susu tasol. Nogat.*  
‘This protein is found in meat and milk, but not just in meat and milk.’
- (13) *As ples bilong gis i no i stap long ples hat olsem Papua Niugini.*  
‘The region of origin of geese is not in a hot place like Papua New Guinea.’

*No i save* is extremely rare. While *no i dai* and *no i stap* does occur in nonbiblical Tok Pisin, they are more characteristic of biblical Tok Pisin, as are the other *no i* constructions.



## 11: NOUN PHRASES

To begin this chapter, a brief and quite general explanation is given of what phrases are. Then the focus narrows down to nominal phrases, the topic of the present chapter and continuing on through Ch. 14. A preview of what the present chapter examines is given at the close of this introduction.

As explained in Ch. 4, and charted in Table 5 there, syntax is distinguished as syntax of clauses and syntax of (complex) sentences. Chs. 4 through 7 deal with the syntax of the clause; complex sentences are examined in Ch. 24.

But clauses and sentences are not all there is to syntax. Because syntax deals with relations among words (Ch. 3), there is also a syntax of groups of words that belong together: of phrases. The qualification of a group, that the words in the group belong together, is important. We cannot take just any succession of words in a clause and decide that it is a group, or phrase.

As an example, consider the English clause (1).

- (1) Constant study will develop the intellect rather considerably over a fairly long period of time.

We cannot just decide that we are going to consider *develop the* as a phrase, or *intellect considerably*, or *over a fairly*. Rather, the phrases in this clause are: *constant study*, *will develop*, *the intellect*, and *over a fairly long period of time*. These parts are also the basic constituents of the entire clause. They are, in fact, subject, predicate, object, and adjunct, respectively; there is one more single-word adjunct, *considerably*.

Observe that these phrases are not all of the same type: *constant study* and *the intellect* are noun phrases or nominal phrases; *will develop* is a verb phrase; *over a fairly long period of time* is a prepositional phrase (within it, *fairly long* is an adjectival phrase); and *rather considerably* is an adverbial phrase. Though phrases typically share boundaries with constituents of the clause, there are smaller phrases that are part of larger phrases. Thus, *constant study* is the subject in (1), but in (2) it is an object; and in (3) it is part of a prepositional phrase. Also, in (1), *a fairly long period of time* is a noun phrase within a prepositional phrase.

- (2) I recommend constant study.
- (3) With constant study one may eventually understand these things.

If we ignore verb phrases (which are typically complex predicates, treated in Chs. 8 through 10), the phrases we find in English are: nominal phrases, adjectival phrases, adverbial phrases, and prepositional phrases.

In Tok Pisin, we find the same types of phrases, except that modifier phrase is a better term than adjectival phrase, for reasons indicated earlier (Ch. 3, 2; Ch. 7, 3) and to be more fully developed later (Ch. 22, 1). Modifiers may be used attributively and predicatively, and it is the former that we are concerned with here.

The present chapter and Chs. 12 through 14 examine nominal phrases in Tok Pisin; prepositional phrases are examined in Ch. 15; modifier phrases and adverbial phrases, in Ch. 16.

In the discussion of phrases it is important to distinguish phrases from compounds. That issue is raised in Ch. 17.

Nominal phrases are of two types: one type consists of a head and an attribute; the other consists of two (rarely, more than two) nouns (or nominal phrases) that are conjoined to one another. An example of the former, in English, is *a good worker*, in which *worker* is the head and *good* the attribute; an example of the latter is *workers and employers*, in which two nouns are conjoined to one another. Neither noun is an attribute to the other, or otherwise a dependent of the other. (One of these nouns, or both, may well be of the former type, as in *young workers and employers*, or *workers and their employers*, or *young workers and their employers*.)

Let us call the former type the subordinating type (the attribute is subordinated to the head) and the latter type the conjoined type.

As for the subordinating type, such a phrase is nominal in that the head is a noun (or a pronoun). A few examples taken from English may explain this first.

Consider the phrase *a good worker*. The head is *worker*, and that head is modified by *a* (an article) and the adjective *good*. Since Tok Pisin has no articles, we need not worry about them. The constituent that accompanies the head is called the attribute; thus, *good* is an attribute.

In *a good worker*, the attribute happens to be an adjective. But attributes are not, in English, necessarily adjectives. In *John's secretary*, for example, the attribute, *John's*, is a noun, in the genitive form. In *John's capable secretary*, there are two attributes, the genitive *John's*, and the adjective *capable*. In *John's secretary for appointments*, there are, once again, two attributes: *John's*, and the prepositional phrase *for appointments*. Again, in *The secretary who was fired*, the attribute is a relative clause, i.e. *who was fired*. In short, in English, an attribute may be (among other things) an adjective, or a noun, or a prepositional phrase, or a relative clause. Attributes may also be quantifiers (*twenty workers*) rather than adjectives (or modifiers).

In Tok Pisin, things are rather different in regard to relativized attributes. In English, relative clauses are the only kind of relative construction there is. That is, relative constructions in English must always be clauses. Thus they always contain a predicate, which in its turn in this language must always be verbal (the predicate in the above example is *was fired*). In contrast, in Tok Pisin, though relative constructions are often clauses, yet as often they are not.

The conjoined type will be examined in 1; the subordinating type, in 2, and in Chs. 12 through 14.

The subordinating type may be subclassified by type of attribute and the sequential place of the attribute.

Attributive modifiers in Tok Pisin may be classified as follows. There are the attributes that precede the head noun (or pronoun), for example *gutpela* 'good', as in *gutpela man* 'good man'. Let us call such attributes preposed attributes. Then, there are the attributes that follow the head noun (or pronoun), for example, *ain* 'iron', as in *ba ain* 'iron bar'. These may be called postposed attributes.

Furthermore, postposed attributes may be distinguished as relative constructions and nonrelative constructions. Let us call the former "linked" constructions, and

the latter “unlinked.” That is to say, a relative construction, as an attribute, is linked to the head. Thus, *ain* in *ba ain* ‘iron bar’ is unlinked to *ba*, the head. This is another way of saying there is no *i* between them to link the attribute to the head. In contrast, *spak* in *man i spak* ‘a drunk’ is linked to *man* by *i*. Similarly, *kam pastaim* in *man i kam pastaim* ‘the man who came earlier’ is linked to *man*, once again by *i*. (Linked constructions that are clauses do not always have *i*. That will be explained in Ch. 14.)

Table 7 presents this classification of attributes in Tok Pisin graphically. Preposed attributes are treated in 2; unlinked postposed ones, in Ch. 12; linked postposed attributes, in Chs. 13 and 14. As noted, all of these are of the subordinating type; the conjoined type is treated first, in 1.

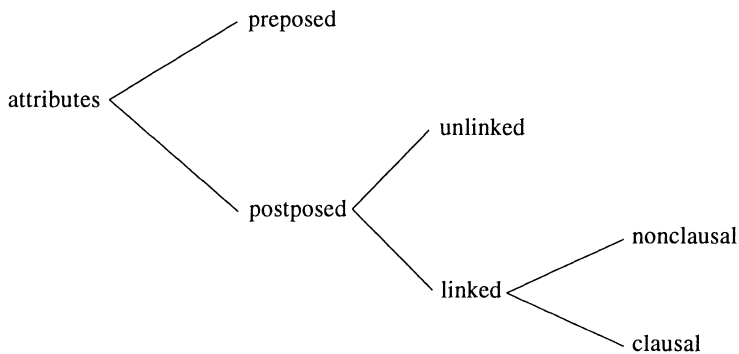
### 1. The Conjoined Type

This type of noun phrase may take three forms: the conjoiner is *na* ‘and’; or it is *o* (in some older texts, *no*) ‘or’; or *tupela* (joining no more than two). Below, the conjoiner is in caps, and the entire phrase is in bold.

For *na* and *o*, it is quite common to have more than two conjoined, and *na* or *o* must be repeated between each two. We find an important difference with English here in conjoined phrases of the enumerative type, which use *and* or *or* obligatorily only before the last conjoined item in a series of more than two (as in *We bought books, food, theater tickets, and other things*). Consider:

- (1) *Ol man ol i laik kisim mani inap long baim **kaikai NA laplap samting**.*  
‘They want to get money to buy food and clothing, and so forth.’
- (2) ***Kaukau NA taro NA kain kain arapela kaikai em mipela i save planim yet.***  
‘Sweet potatoes, taro and various other crops, those we [excl.] still grow regularly.’
- (3) ***Manmeri bilong painim dispela mani em yupela NA mi NA olgeta manmeri i stap long dispela graun.***

TABLE 7. CLASSES OF ATTRIBUTES



'The people who look for this money, those are you [pl.] and I and all the people who are here on earth.'

- (4) *Mi laik baim rais NA mit NA klos bilong meri pikinini bilong mi.*  
'I want to buy rice, meat, and clothes for my wife and children.'
- (5) *Dispela sik i save kilim planti pikinini NA planti lapun tu NA sampela yangpela NA bikpela manmeri tu.*  
'This disease will kill many children and many elderly people as well, and some young people and adults too.'
- (6) *Bikpela wari NA hevi i daunim strong bilong bodi.*  
'A lot of worrying and problems take their physical toll.'
- (7) *Yu mas planim sampela mak insait long graun bai i stap oltaim, olsem hap diwai O ston O simen samting.*  
'You have to set out some marks on the [playing] field, of the kind that stays there, like a piece of wood or a stone or something like a block of cement.'
- (8) *Lukaut, no ken tasim poin O namel bilong nil.*  
'Make sure you don't touch the point or middle of the needle [of the syringe].'
- (9) *Planim tripela O fopela mambu i gat hul.*  
'Place three or four hollow bamboo sticks in the ground.'
- (10) *Planim kaukau na taro, na planti kon na planti pinat O soyabin O mangbin.*  
'Plant sweet potatoes and taro, and a lot of peanuts or soybeans or mung beans.'

*Tupela* as a conjoiner is possible only under strict rules. The items conjoined must be persons, not things; and (in the nature of the case) singular, not plural. They must also be simple, not phrasal. (In fact, the items conjoined are typically proper names.) Also, they must be definite (one cannot have, for example, *wanpela man* 'a certain man' as an item joined by *tupela*; one would have to have *wantaim* 'with' then). Only the first item may be a pronoun, that is, *mi* or *yu*; the second item cannot be a pronoun. With *mi* or *yu* as the first item, it is orthographically joined with *tupela*: *mitupela*, *yutupela* (the joined spelling of pronoun with conjoiner is perhaps not entirely consistent orthographically). Consider:

- (11) *Bihain Moses TUPELA Aron i go long king bilong Isip.*  
'Afterwards Moses and Aaron went to the king of Egypt.'
- (12) *Na king i no harim tok bilong Moses TUPELA Aron.*  
'And the king did not listen to Moses and Aaron.'
- (13) *Yupela olgeta sanap long hap i go na mi TUPELA Jonatan bai i sanap long dispela hap.*  
'All of you [pl.], stand over there, and I and Jonathan will stand here.'
- (14) *King, inap yu TUPELA Haman i ken kam long wanpela bikpela kaikai nau long nait?*  
'King, can you and Haman come to a banquet tonight?'

- (15) *Olsem na namba tu taim king TUPELA Haman i go kaikai wantaim Esta.*  
 ‘And so the second time the king and Haman went to eat with Esther.’

Conjoined items may also dispense with a conjoiner. An example is in (4), above: *meri pikinini*. But such conjoinings are not productive, and are perhaps better considered as compounds; see Ch. 17, 6, on the conjoined type of compound.

## 2. Preposed Attributes

Preposed attributes in nominal phrases are of various kinds, which are:

- [a] the *-pela* attributes: that is, *-pela* modifiers, *-pela* pronouns, and *-pela* cardinal numerals;
- [b] attributive cardinal numerals without *-pela*;
- [c] attributive nonnumeral quantifiers: *hamas*, *liklik*, *olgeta*, *planti*, *sampela*;
- [d] attributive pronouns without *-pela*: *husat*, *wanem*, and a few others;
- [e] attributive ordinal numerals of the form *namba wan* ‘first’, *namba tu* ‘second’, etc.;
- [f] attributive classifiers: *hap* ‘piece, bit’, *kain* ‘kind’, *lain* ‘group’, and *stik* ‘oblong object’; and
- [g] modifiers without *-pela*.

The classes [a] through [f] will be examined in 2.1 through 2.7, respectively. Then, multiple preposed attributes and their order are examined in 2.8.

### 2.1 Preposed *-pela* Attributes

Attributes in *-pela* form are: the *-pela* modifiers, some *-pela* pronouns used attributively, and *-pela* numerals.

The *-pela* modifiers are considered a class apart from the other two classes because those other classes are not strictly modifiers; rather, those are quantifiers. For example, in English, *large tables* and *three tables* have in common that *large* and *three* are both attributive. But *large* expresses a quality, while *three* expresses a quantity. The former may be called a modifier, the latter a quantifier. Quantifiers tend to behave differently from modifiers in many languages, including Tok Pisin; hence it is useful to treat them as different types of attributes. However, in 2.1 they are treated the same, for a reason of descriptive convenience: they both take the *-pela* suffix, they are both attributive, and they are both preposed.

The *-pela* pronouns used attributively are in part indefinite pronouns (Ch. 21, 5), in part (indefinite) quantifiers (Ch. 23, 1.2).

What is important about *-pela* numerals used attributively is that they may alternate, according to rules to be made explicit below, with the “same” numerals without *-pela*.

The *-pela* modifiers are reviewed in 2.1.1; *-pela* pronouns, in 2.1.2; and *-pela* cardinal numerals, in 2.1.3.

### 2.1.1 Attributive *-pela* Modifiers

As noted in Ch. 3, 2., the suffix *-pela* serves to form modifiers, pronouns, and a range of cardinal numerals. Modifiers may modify predicatively and attributively; only their attributive use is of importance here.

Of *-pela* attributes that are modifiers, here follow, once again, the examples given in Ch. 3, 2.1.2, adding a number of others, but leaving out the predicative use that was exemplified there.

- (1) *bikpela bagarap* ‘calamity, disaster’; *bikpela bisnisman* ‘big businessman’; *bikpela de* ‘feast day’; *bikpela dua* ‘gate’; *bikpela hevi* ‘big problem’; *bikpela hul* ‘large hole, large pit, large cave’; *bikpela hangre* ‘famine’; *bikpela hap* ‘large chunk’; *bikpela hatwok* ‘a lot of hard work, demanding task’; *bikpela ka* ‘big car’; *bikpela kaikai* ‘opulent dinner’; *taim bilong bikpela kol na ais* ‘winter season’; *bikpela laik* ‘strong desire’; *bikpela lain* ‘big crowd’, ‘large [extended] family’; *bikpela mani* ‘large sum of money’; *bikpela manki* ‘big boy’; *bikpela nois* ‘big noise’; *bikpela pe* ‘high salary, high price’; *bikpela raun* ‘wide circle’; *bikpela ren* ‘cloud burst, downpour, heavy rain’; *bikpela rot* ‘highway’; *bikpela samting* ‘something big’; *bikpela sik* ‘serious illness’; *bikpela skinhat* ‘high [body] temperature’; *bikpela strong* ‘great strength, great power’; *bikpela tait* ‘flood’; *bikpela takis* ‘high tax’; *bikpela taun* ‘large town’; *bikpela tenkyu* ‘profuse thanks’; *bikpela tudak* ‘deep darkness’; *bikpela wok* ‘big job’
- (2) *blakpela diwai eboni* ‘black hardwood’; *blakpela hos* ‘black horse’; *blakpela klaut* ‘dark cloud’; *blakpela lewa* ‘liver’; *blakpela mak* ‘dark spot’; *blakpela pen* ‘black paint, tar’; *blakpela pisin* ‘raven’
- (3) *blupela baklain* ‘blue string’; *blupela dres* ‘blue dress’; *blupela gras bilong sipsip* ‘blue sheep’s wool’; *blupela klos* ‘violet robes’; *blupela laplap* ‘blue cloth’; *blupela pis* ‘parrot fish’; *blupela samting* ‘something blue’; *blupela ston sapaia* ‘blue sapphire’; *blupela string* ‘violet ribbon’; *blupela tret* ‘purple thread’
- (4) *braitpela dua* ‘wide gate’
- (5) *braunpela banis* ‘brown wall’
- (6) *brotpela rot* ‘wide road’
- (7) *dotipela klos* ‘dirty clothes’; *ol dotipela pasin* ‘ways that make one unclean’
- (8) *draipela klos* ‘dry clothes’
- (9) *draipela abus* ‘huge wild animals’; *draipela diwai* ‘huge tree’; *draipela haus semen* ‘big brick house’; *draipela pik* ‘fat pig’
- (10) *ol flatpela ston* ‘flat stones’
- (11) *golpela tret* ‘gold-colored thread’
- (12) *grinpela lip* ‘green leaf’; *grinpela pen* ‘green paint’; *liklik grinpela poteto* ‘small green potatoes’; *sampela grinpela na retpela samting* ‘some green and red things’; *grinpela sayor* ‘green vegetables’; *grinpela ston emeral* ‘green emerald stone’

- (13) *gutpela abus* ‘animals without blemish’; *gutpela buk* ‘useful book’; *gutpela gol* ‘pure gold’; *gutpela graun i gat gris* ‘rich soil’; *gutpela kaikai* ‘good food’; *gutpela laisens* ‘valid license’; *gutpela laplap* ‘fine linen’; *gutpela man* ‘good man, upright man’; *gutpela pasin* ‘good conduct’; *gutpela pasis* ‘good harbor’; *gutpela pe* ‘good salary’; *gutpela plaua* ‘fine flour’; *gutpela samting* ‘something good’; *gutpela save* ‘expert knowledge, higher wisdom’; *gutpela sindaun* ‘prosperous life’; *gutpela smell* ‘fragrant odor’; *gutpela taim* ‘time of prosperity’; *gutpela tingting* ‘wisdom’; *gutpela tok* ‘encouraging words’
- (14) *hatpela gris* ‘hot grease’; *hatpela paia* ‘hot fire’; *hatpela plet* ‘hot plate’; *hatpela samting* ‘something hot’; *hatpela san* ‘the sun’s heat’; *hatpela skul* ‘school of discipline’; *hatpela ston* ‘brimstone’; *hatpela wara* ‘hot spring’; *hatpela win* ‘scorching wind’
- (15) *hatpela askim* ‘difficult question’; *hatpela man* ‘hard man, demanding man’; *hatpela taim* ‘hard times, time of hardship’; *hatpela wok* ‘strenuous work’
- (16) *hevipela hap ain* ‘heavy piece of iron’; *hevipela plang long nek* ‘heavy yoke’; *ol hevipela samting bilong pait* ‘heavy armor’; *olgeta hevipela samting* ‘all burdens’
- (17) *isipela rot* ‘an easy way [of doing something]’
- (18) *kliapela tingting* ‘clear thinking, good judgment’
- (19) *klinpela bel* ‘pure heart’; *klinpela bet* ‘clean bed’; *klinpela bodi* ‘body undefiled’; *klinpela gos* ‘clean gauze’; *klinpela klos* ‘clean clothes’; *klinpela lait* ‘clear light’; *klinpela laplap* ‘clean cloth’; *klinpela pasin* ‘irreproachable behavior’; *klinpela tingting* ‘sincere thoughts’; *klinpela wara* ‘clean water, clear water’
- (20) *kolpela rum* ‘cool room’, ‘walk-in freezer’; *kolpela wara* ‘cold water’; *kolpela win* ‘cool breeze’
- (21) *laspela wik* ‘the last week [of some total of weeks]’
- (22) *liklikpela stretpela baret* ‘a little straight drain’; *liklikpela buk long rop bilong legum* ‘little knot on the root of the legume’
- (23) *longpela baklain* ‘long rope’; *longpela baret* ‘long drain’; *longpela bin* ‘snake beans’; *longpela bun* ‘tall thin man’; *longpela diwai* ‘tall tree’; *longpela gras* ‘tall grass’, ‘long hair’; *longpela han* ‘long sleeves’, ‘long arms’, ‘long branches’; *longpela klos* ‘long robe’, ‘outer garment’; *longpela kus* ‘whooping cough’; *longpela lain* ‘long row’; *longpela laip* ‘long life’; *longpela makmak* ‘stripe’; *longpela manmeri* ‘tall people’; *longpela mas* ‘tall mast [on ship]’; *longpela nek* ‘heron, crane’, ‘long neck’; *longpela hap paip* ‘long piece of pipe’; *longpela pepa* ‘scroll’; *longpela pitpit* ‘lowland sugar cane’; *longpela pos ston* ‘tall stone column’; *longpela rot* ‘long road’; *longpela ston* ‘slab, monument’; *longpela stori* ‘long stori’; *longpela taim* ‘a long time’; *longpela taua* ‘high tower’; *longpela tepmesa* ‘long tape measure’; *dispela longpela wokabaut* ‘these long wanderings’
- (24) *maupela banana* ‘ripe banana’

- (25) *naispela bis* ‘beautiful beads’; *naispela klos* ‘beautiful clothes’; *naispela laplap* ‘beautiful dress’; *naispela let paspas* ‘beautiful girdle’; *naispela meri* ‘beautiful woman’; *naispela pel bilong solwara* ‘ocean pearls’; *naispela plaua* ‘beautiful flower’; *naispela samting* ‘something beautiful’; *ol naispela ston i dia tumas* ‘beautiful precious stones’
- (26) *nupela bret* ‘fresh bread’; *nupela haus lotu* ‘new church’; *nupela kaikai* ‘fresh food’; *nupela king* ‘new king’; *Nupela Kontrak* ‘New Testament’; *nupela kru* ‘new shoots [of plant]’; *nupela lain manmeri* ‘new generation’; *nupela lip* ‘new leaf’; *ol nupela marit* ‘newly-weds’; *nupela mun* ‘new moon’; *nupela nem* ‘new name’; *nupela pikinini* ‘new-born baby’; *nupela samting* ‘something new’; *nupela skai na nupela graun* ‘a new heaven and a new earth’
- (27) *olpela bek* ‘old sack’; *olpela dram* ‘old drum’; *olpela haus* ‘old house’; *olpela hul wara* ‘old water well’; *olpela ka* ‘old car’; *Olpela Kontrak* ‘Old Testament’; *olpela laplap* ‘old rag’; *olpela nem* ‘old name’; *olpela pasin* ‘traditional way of life’; *olpela pren* ‘old friend’; *olpela samting* ‘something old’; *olpela skin meme* ‘old [wine] skin’; *olpela tin* ‘old can’; *olpela tingting* ‘traditional ways of thinking’; *olpela tok bokis* ‘old proverb’; *olpela wel* ‘discarded oil’; *olpela yis* ‘old yeast’
- (28) *patpela man* ‘fat man’; *patpela skin bilong ol waitman* ‘the well-fed bodies of white people’; *patpela pikinini bulmakau* ‘fattened calf’
- (29) *raunpela lain* ‘circle’; *raunpela musik* ‘tambourine’; *raunpela samting* ‘something round’; *liklik raunpela ston* ‘pebble’; *raunpela tebol* ‘round table’
- (30) *retpela ai* ‘inflamed eyes, conjunctivitis’; *retpela blutsel* ‘red blood cells’; *retpela klos* ‘purple robe’; *retpela laplap* ‘purple cloth’; *retpela pen* ‘red paint’; *retpela plaua* ‘red flower’; *retpela ston* ‘red jewel’; *retpela string* ‘red ribbon’; *retpela suga* ‘brown sugar’; *retpela tret* ‘red thread’
- (31) *sapela kona* ‘sharp corner’; *sapela naip* ‘sharp knife’
- (32) *smatpela haus* ‘beautiful home’; *smatpela yangpela man* ‘smart young man’; *smatpela manki* ‘smart boy’; *smatpela meri* ‘charming woman’; *smatpela tingting* ‘sharp mind’; *smatpela toktok* ‘intelligent comments’
- (33) *smolpela laplap* ‘small cloth’
- (34) *sotpela baklain* ‘short rope’; *sotpela hap* ‘short piece’; *sotpela mak* ‘width’; *sotpela man* ‘short man’; *sotpela naip* ‘dagger’; *sotpela nem* ‘abbreviation’; *sotpela pitpit* ‘highlands sugar cane’; *sotpela rot* ‘short road’; *sotpela stori* ‘brief account’; *sotpela taim* ‘a short time’; *sotpela tok* ‘brief statement’; *sotpela toksave* ‘brief announcement’; *sotpela trausis* ‘shorts’
- (35) *stingpela god* ‘worthless god [i.e. idol]’; *stingpela pasin* ‘loathsome behavior’; *stingpela samting* ‘something loathsome’
- (36) *stretpela man* ‘man of integrity’; *stretpela pasin* ‘blameless life’; *stretpela pe* ‘fair price’; *stretpela tingting* ‘clear conscience’; *stretpela tok* ‘honest words’; *stretpela wokman* ‘loyal worker’



- (37) *stretpela graun* ‘level ground’; *stretpela kona* ‘right angle’; *stretpela lain* ‘straight line’; *stretpela ples* ‘level ground’, ‘table land’; *stretpela rot* ‘straight road’
- (38) *strongpela banis* ‘fortification’; *strongpela glas* ‘magnifying glass, microscope’; *strongpela handel* ‘sturdy handle’; *strongpela kantri* ‘powerful nation’; *strongpela laik* ‘strong desire, determination’; *strongpela lain ami* ‘strong army’; *strongpela man* ‘strong man’; *strongpela marasin nogut* ‘strong poison’; *strongpela ren* ‘heavy rain, downpour, cloud-burst’; *ol strongpela soldia* ‘fighting men’; *strongpela tok* ‘stern words, firm order’; *strongpela win* ‘strong wind, tempest’; *strongpela wok* ‘exploits, marvels’
- (39) *strongpela bras* ‘solid bronze’; *strongpela dring* ‘liquor’; *strongpela kaikai* ‘solid food’; *strongpela promis* ‘firm promise, oath’; *strongpela skin* ‘horny skin, callus’; *strongpela spet* ‘thick mucus’; *strongpela sua* ‘ulcer’; *strongpela tingting* ‘firm intention’
- (40) *switpela hani* ‘sweet honey’; *switpela wine* ‘sweet wine’; *switpela sofdring* ‘sweet soft drink’
- (41) *switpela kaikai* ‘delicious food’; *switpela samting olsem* ‘something tasty like that’; *switpela singsing* ‘sweet songs’; *switpela smel* ‘fragrance’; *switpela tok* ‘flattery’
- (42) *taitpela baklain* ‘tight rope’
- (43) *trupela tok* ‘true statement, truth, what is said truly’; *trupela toktok* ‘true words’
- (44) *waitpela banis* ‘white fence’; *waitpela blut* ‘white discharge [from sore]’; *waitpela gras* ‘gray hair’; *waitpela gras bilong sipsip* ‘white wool’; *waitpela hos* ‘white horse’; *waitpela klaut* ‘white cloud’; *waitpela klos* ‘white clothes’; *waitpela laplap* ‘white linen’; *waitpela makmak* ‘white spots’; *waitpela pen* ‘white paint’; *waitpela samting* ‘something white’; *waitpela sit paia* ‘white ashes’; *waitpela spet* ‘foam’; *waitpela suga* ‘white sugar’; *waitpela susu* ‘white discharge’; *waitpela tret* ‘white thread’
- (45) *yangpela brata* ‘younger brother’; *yangpela lip* ‘fresh leaves’; *yangpela man* ‘young man, youth’; *yangpela manki* ‘young boy’; *yangpela meri* ‘young woman’; *yangpela ofisa* ‘young officer’; *yangpela pikinini* ‘young child’
- (46) *yelopela kus* ‘whooping cough’; *yelopela spet* ‘yellow saliva’; *yelopela ston topas* ‘yellow topaz stone’

### 2.1.2 Attributive *-pela* Pronouns

Attributive *-pela* pronouns are: *arapela* ‘other [sg. or pl.]’; *dispela* ‘this, that, these, those’; *sampela* ‘some [sg. or pl.]’; *wanpela* ‘one, a certain’; and *wanpela wanpela* ‘each, every, one by one’. (Each of these may also be used as a stand-alone, or substantivally; that is, not as an attribute to any noun.)

*Arapela* may be a quantifier (‘other’ as ‘more, additional’) or a modifier (‘other’ as ‘different’), but frequently the two overlap, as they do in English *other*. *Arapela*

may be either singular or plural. *Dispela* ‘this, that, these, those’ is a demonstrative pronoun (Ch. 21, 2), and may be singular or plural. *Sampela* ‘some’ may be singular or plural; in the plural, it is often indistinguishable from the (nonnumeral) quantifier of the same form (see 2.3). All four may be accompanied by *ol* in the plural, either before or after, except for *arapela*, which can have *ol* only preceding it.

Finally, *wanpela* may be a cardinal numeral (see 2.1.3). Or it may be an indefinite pronoun, meaning ‘one, a certain’. *Wanpela wanpela* means ‘each’.

Examples of *arapela*:

- (1) *olgeta arapela animal* ‘all the other animals’; *ol arapela pasindia* ‘(the) other passengers’; *ol dispela arapela king* ‘these other kings’; *fopela arapela king* ‘four other kings’; *graun bilong arapela lain* ‘the land of another tribe’; *arapela kain samting* ‘another kind of thing’; *arapela samting* ‘something else’; *sevenpela arapela bulmakau* ‘seven more cows’; *arapela faipela laplap* ‘five other sheets’; *olgeta arapela taia* ‘all the other tires’; *sampela arapela bisnis* ‘some other corporations’; *kain kain arapela samting* ‘other things of various kinds’; *arapela tim* ‘the other team’; *long arapela hap* ‘on the other side’

The form *narapela* may also be used attributively, but for our present purposes the above *arapela* examples will do. On the (subtle) differences between *arapela* and *narapela*, see Ch. 21, 5.1.

Examples of *dispela* (‘this, that, these, those’; in the glosses below, only ‘this’ and ‘these’ are used):

- (2) *dispela bulmakau* ‘this cow’; *dispela wanpela gutpela taia* ‘this one (and only) good tire’; *dispela olgeta wok* ‘all this work’; *long dispela as tasol* ‘precisely for this reason’; *dispela ol presen* ‘these presents’; *ol dispela faipela samting* ‘these five things’; *dispela save* ‘this expertise’; *ol dispela hevi* ‘these problems’; *dispela marasin* ‘this medication’; *olgeta dispela ol lain famili* ‘all these families’; *dispela ol twelpela lida* ‘these twelve leaders’; *dispela ol samting* ‘all this’; *dispela ol nupela lain manmeri* ‘these new tribes’

Examples of *sampela*:

- (3) *sampela tok* ‘some discussion’; *sampela kamda* ‘some carpenters’; *sampela mani* ‘some money’; *sampela arapela kantri* ‘some other nation(s)’; *ol sampela yangpela man* ‘some young men’; *sampela ol susa bilong em* ‘some of his sisters’

Note the different sequences of the attributes; for more about the sequence, see 2.8. Note also the plural marker *ol*, and how its position is variable; for more about this *ol*, see Ch. 20, 4.

Examples of *wanpela* and of *wanpela wanpela*:

- (4) *wanpela man* ‘someone’; *wanpela yangpela man* ‘a (certain) young man’; *wanpela samting* ‘something’; *wanpela hap graun* ‘a field’; *wanpela*

*wanpela wokboi* ‘each worker’, ‘the one worker after the other’; *tripela taim long wanpela wanpela yia* ‘three times every year’; *nem bilong wanpela wanpela pikinini* ‘the name of each child’; *wanpela wanpela tim* ‘each team’

For more about the use of indefinite pronouns, see Ch. 21, 5.

### 2.1.3 Attributive *-pela* Numerals

For the use of *-pela* cardinal numerals, see Ch. 3, 2.4. As explained there, cardinal numerals are those used for counting without specifically expressing order in a range (as in ordinal numerals), as in English *one, two, three*. They serve as quantifying attributes to nouns. Cardinal numerals take the *-pela* suffix as described in Ch. 3, 2.4.1. For how or whether *-pela* is affixed according to the two different numeral systems found in Tok Pisin, see Ch. 3, 2.4. For more on numerals, see Ch. 23, 1.1.

Here follow examples, repeated from Ch. 3, 2.4.1 (“A” and “B” refer to the two systems described at the beginning of Ch. 3, 2.4):

- (1) *wanpela tebol* ‘one table’; *tupela banara* ‘two bows’; *wanpela ten sikispela sumatin* ‘sixteen pupils’ (A); *sikistinpela sumatin* ‘sixteen pupils’ (B); *fopela ten sevenpela haus* ‘forty-seven houses’ (A)

*Wanpela wanpela* may mean ‘few’ (for countables), and is then followed by *tasol* ‘only, just’; for example:

- (2) *wanpela wanpela kain liklik pilai tasol* ‘just a few little games’

However, *wanpela wanpela* without *tasol* may mean ‘each’ (2.1.2); *-pela* is not needed then. *Wan wan* is found also.

Cardinal numerals may be determined as the approximate number by the postposed attribute *samting* ‘about, approximately’; or as a total, by postposed *olgeta* (see 2.1.1).

A final note: the indefinite numeral typically without *-pela* is *hamas* ‘how much, how many’ (on which see 2.3); but *hamaspela* sometimes does occur, although it seems to be rare or nonexistent in published Tok Pisin texts.

## 2.2 Attributive Cardinal Numerals without *-pela*

Cardinal numerals without *-pela* are of two kinds: first, there is the use of *wan, tu, tri*, etc. for currency units and weights and measures, as in:

- (1) *tu kilo* ‘two kilos’; *faiv sentimita* ‘five centimeters’; *ten Kina* ‘ten Kinas’

The second is that of numeral quantifiers above 10 in System B as described in Ch. 3, 2.4:

- (2) *twenti faiv haus* ‘twenty-five houses’; *eti diwai* ‘eighty trees’; *tri hundet sikisti faiv de* ‘three hundred and sixty-five days’

In the cardinal numeral system are also those that may be preposed attributes without *-pela*, i.e. some fractions:

- (3) *hap aua* ‘half hour’; *long hap rot* ‘halfway’; *wan na hap aua* ‘one and a half hours’

Cardinal numerals may be determined as the approximate number by the postposed attribute *samting* ‘about, approximately’; or as a total, by postposed *olgeta* (see Ch. 12, 1.3).

### 2.3 Attributive Nonnumeral Quantifiers without *-pela*

Quantifiers may be numeral (2.2) or nonnumeral (2.3). English examples of nonnumeral quantifiers are *many* (for countables, as in *many buildings*), *much* (for noncountables, as in *much water*), *plenty* (for both, as in *plenty rooms* and *plenty food*), and so forth.

The Tok Pisin nonnumeral quantifiers without *-pela* are: *hamas*, *liklik*, *olgeta*, and *planti* (all of which may occur also as stand-alones). Note that *liklik* may also be a modifier (2.7).

None of these nonnumeral quantifiers is distinguished according to whether the head noun denotes something countable or uncountable, except for *liklik* ‘little’, which (in preposed position) only goes with noncountables. As noted in 2.1.3, the Tok Pisin counterpart for English ‘few’ is *wanpela wanpela* (or *wan wan*), usually followed by *tasol*. But *wanpela wanpela* suggests ‘very few’, ‘just a few’, and cannot mean ‘few-but-more-than-just-a-few’. To express the latter, Tok Pisin uses *liklik lain*, followed (usually) by a countable. (On *lain* as a classifier, see 2.6.) Examples:

- (1) *hamas pe* ‘how much in salary’; *hamas taim* ‘how long’; *hamas gutpela gol* ‘how much genuine gold’; *hamas yia* ‘how many years’; *hamas manmeri* ‘how many people’; *hamas de na yia* ‘how many days and years’; *hamas stas* ‘how much starch’
- (2) *liklik wara* ‘(a) little water’; *liklik taim* ‘(a) little time’; *liklik blut* ‘(a) little blood’; *liklik wel* ‘(a) little oil’; *liklik liklik kaikai tasol* ‘very little food only’; *liklik lain manmeri tasol* ‘few people only’; *liklik lain bilong yupela* ‘you [pl.], few in number as you are’; *dispela liklik lain tasol* ‘only those few’
- (3) *olgeta arapela taia* ‘all the other tires’; *olgeta mani* ‘all the money’; *olgeta samting* ‘everything, all things’; *dispela olgeta lo* ‘all these rules’; *olgeta wok* ‘all the work, all jobs’; *olgeta liklik ples* ‘all the small villages’; *olgeta tok bilong yu* ‘all you have said’; *olgeta arapela man* ‘all the other men’; *long olgeta taim* ‘all the time, at all times’
- (4) *planti mani* ‘a great deal of money’; *planti taim* ‘a lot of time’; *planti nupela pasin* ‘many new customs’; *planti samting* ‘a lot of things, a lot, a great deal’; *planti gutpela samting* ‘many good things’; *planti arapela wokman* ‘many other workers’; *planti gutpela vaitamin* ‘a lot of good vitamins’; *planti longwe ples* ‘many distant villages’

## 2.4 Attributive Pronouns without *-pela*

Pronouns not marked by *-pela* and used attributively are: *husat* ‘which [sg. or pl.]’; *wanem* ‘which, what kind of [sg. or pl.]’; and *wan wan* ‘each’. Each of these may also occur as stand-alones.

Examples of attributive use (*ol* in parentheses is optional for the plural):

- (1) *husat (ol) man* ‘what man’, ‘what people’, ‘whatever man’, ‘whatever people’
- (2) *wanem samting* ‘what’, ‘what thing’, ‘whatever’, ‘whatever thing’
- (3) *olgeta wan wan animal* ‘every animal, one by one’
- (4) *ol wan wan lain* ‘every single tribe’

More on these pronouns is found in Ch. 6, 2.1.1 and Ch. 6, 2.1.2; and in Ch. 21, 3 and Ch. 21, 5.

## 2.5 Attributive Ordinal Numerals

Ordinal numerals are numerals expressing order of ranking; English examples are: *first*, *second*, *third*, etc. In Tok Pisin, ordinal numerals are nominal phrases consisting of *namba* + cardinal numeral (without *-pela*)—thus: *namba wan*, *namba tu*, *namba tri*, etc. Such a nominal phrase in its entirety may function attributively, in preposed position. Examples:

- (1) *ol namba wan pikinini man* ‘the eldest sons [of families]’; *namba wan taim* ‘the first time’; *namba tu hap taim bilong pilai* ‘the second half of the game’; *ol namba tu lain meri bilong en* ‘his concubines’; *namba tri man* ‘the third person’; *ol namba foa lain tumbuna pikinini* ‘the children of the fourth generation’; *namba ten mun* ‘the tenth month’; *namba sikis pikinini man* ‘the sixth son’

The *namba* + cardinal attribute may be postposed also; see Ch. 12, 3, where the difference between the alternative positions is explained.

## 2.6 Attributive Classifiers: *hap*, *lain*, *kain*, *kiau*

Some preposed attributes express that the head noun belongs to a larger group (*lain*) or a larger kind (*kain*), or to a partial quantity of what the head noun names (*hap*), or to a larger class according to shape (*kiau*). Consider:

- (1) *dispela lain plisman* ‘this squadron of police’; *wanem kain wok?* ‘what kind of job?’; *dispela hap tok* ‘this statement’

At first sight, we might recognize a problem of grammatical analysis here, perhaps prompted by the gloss: ‘this squadron of police’, or ‘what kind of job’. The attributes here are clearly ‘of police’ and ‘of job’. Though glosses do not prove anything grammatical about their originals, these glosses raise a useful question: are not *plisman*, *wok*, and *tok* actually the attributes?

But if they were, would not the appropriate form be *lain bilong plisman* and *kain bilong wok* and *hap bilong tok*? Such phrases are certainly possible in Tok Pisin, and they would be of a different form—nominal phrases with postposed attributes. Why, then, could not we classify (1) through (3) there?

The solution seems to be as follows: some attributes behave syntactically as heads. Examine English *two head of cattle*, or *five pair of trousers*. Syntactically, *of cattle* and *of trousers* are the attributes (duly marked by *of*), and thus *head* and *pair* are heads. But semantically the construction is just the other way around: *two head of* and *five pair of* are quantifiers, in phrase form—just a roundabout way of saying ‘two’, ‘three times two’ or ‘six’, and ‘five’. Of course quantifiers are attributive in regard to the noun quantified, and so the real heads are *cattle* and *trousers*. Linguists call such words as *head* or *pair* “classifiers.”

Tok Pisin *lain*, *kain*, and *hap* are such classifiers. They are attributes, even though syntactically they may look like the head nouns.

Here are some more examples:

- (2) *lain kokonas* ‘coconut plantation’; *dispela tupela lain man* ‘these two groups of people’; *olgeta lain wokman* ‘all the workers’; *dispela lain buk* ‘this book series’; *wanpela lain komiti* ‘a committee’; *ol lain saveman* ‘the experts’; *ol lain haiden* ‘the gentiles’; *lain famili* ‘[extended] family’; *lain soldia* ‘troops’
- (3) *kain kain wok* ‘various jobs’; *kain kain gutpela samting* ‘various good things’; *kain wok olsem* ‘a job like that’; *olgeta kain pilai* ‘games of all kinds’; *kain kain vitamin* ‘various vitamins’; *kain kain kago* ‘various commodities’
- (4) *hap graun* ‘plot’; *hap diwai* ‘piece of wood’; *hap plang* ‘wooden shield’; *narapela hap mani* ‘the other part of the money’; *liklik hap plastik* ‘a piece of plastic’; *liklik hap wara* ‘a bit of water’; *hap das* ‘a bit of dust’
- (5) *kiau asperin* ‘aspirin tablet’; *kiau entesit* ‘antacid tablet’; *kiau klorokwin* ‘chloroquine tablet’; *kiau kinin* ‘quinine tablet’

All these three items, *lain*, *kain*, and *hap*, may occur also as genuine head nouns, with a postposed attribute marked by *bilong*; for these, see Ch. 12, 2.3.1.

On *olkain* ‘all kinds of’, which is best treated as an indefinite quantifier, see Ch. 21, 5.5.

## 2.7 Other Preposed Attributes

Apart from the preposed attributes reviewed in 2.1. through 2.5, there is a range of others, which do not seem to have much more in common than that they have no *-pela* suffix.

They are: *aipas* ‘blind’; *fri* ‘free’; *giaman* ‘false’; *haiden* ‘pagan’; *hapkas* ‘ethnically mixed’, ‘cross-bred’; *holi* ‘holy’; *kranki* ‘incorrect, strange’; *lapun* ‘old’; *las* ‘last’; *liklik* ‘(a) little’, ‘small’; *longlong* ‘crazy, confused’; *longwe* ‘far, remote distant’; *mama* ‘female’; *mauspas* ‘dumb, tongue-tied, incapable of speaking’; *nambawan* ‘best, outstanding, first rate’; *nambatu* ‘second rate’; *nambaten* ‘very

bad'; *namel* 'middle'; *narakain* (rarely in preposed position: *arakain*) 'different, special'; *neks* 'next'; *pikinini* 'child, offspring'; *olkain* 'all kinds of, various'; *pipia* 'discarded, unusable'; *rabis* 'bad, discarded, poor'; *pipia* 'discarded, worthless'; *rait* 'right'; *tambu* 'in-law'; *wankain* 'same, similar'; *tumbuna* 'children's offspring', 'ancestral'; *wel* (or *wail*) 'wild'; *wel* 'oily, thick'. In addition, some names of materials, used attributively in postposed position, occasionally occur also in preposed position; see examples of (26), below.

*Aipas*, *holi*, *giaman*, *haiden*, *kranki*, *maupas*, *namel* and *tambu* occur also as postposed attributes, unlinked (and some of these also with linked alternatives; see Ch. 13, 1.1.2.) All the others except *tumbuna* may occur in postposed position but only linked by *i*. *Tumbuna*, nonattributively, means 'ancestor(s), grandchild(ren), or offspring'. For *laspela* and *liklikpela*, see 2.1.1; *liklik* may also be a quantifier (see 2.3). Note that the sense of preposed *mama* extends not exclusively to procreation (as is the case with postposed *mama*—see Ch. 12, 1.2) but also to other forms of provenance.

Note the orthographic difference between *namba wan* 'first' (2.4) and *nambawan* 'outstanding', and similarly with *namba tu* and *nambatu*. This difference reflects a difference in meaning, as glossed. Grammatically, the difference is that *-wan* and *-tu* in *nambawan* and *nambatu* are no longer counters or numerals. *Nambaten* 'of poor quality' has been recorded but seems to be rare or nonexistent in published Tok Pisin texts. Examples:

- (1) *ol aipas man* 'the blind'; *ol yaupas na aipas man* 'the deaf and the blind'
- (2) *fri kik* 'free kick [in soccer]; *fri tro* 'free throw [in basketball]; *fri man* 'free man, free person'
- (3) *kain kain giaman bilip* 'various forms of superstition'; *ol giaman god* 'idols'; *giaman haus* 'temporary shack'; *kain giaman pasin olsem* 'such dishonest acts'; *giaman profet* 'false prophet'; *giaman rup* 'bad awning'; *giaman stov* 'imitation of a stove'; *dispela giaman tok* 'this false testimony'
- (4) *dispela haiden man* 'this pagan man'; *ol dispela haiden Filistia* 'these pagan Philistines'; *haiden meri* 'pagan woman'
- (5) *hapkas pik* 'cross-bred pig'
- (6) *holi God* 'holy God'; *Holi Spirit* 'Holy Spirit'
- (7) *kranki meri* 'babbling woman'; *kranki pasin* 'incorrect way [of doing something]'; *dispela kranki tok bilong yu* 'those weird things you say'; *planti kranki toktok* 'a lot of nonsense'
- (8) *wanpela lapun man* 'an old man'; *lapun papa* 'old father', 'grandfather'; *lapun profet* 'old prophet'; *ol lapun ofisa* 'the elders'
- (9) *las blesing* 'last blessing'; *las de bilong namba seven wik* 'the last day of the seventh week'; *kot bilong las de* 'the judgment on the last day'; *las hap bilong laip bilong en* 'the remainder of his life'; *las kaikai* 'final meal'; *las king bilong ol* 'their last king'; *las man i bin tasim bal* 'the last one to touch the ball'; *las pikinini man bilong en* 'his youngest son';

- las prais* ‘lowest price’; *las sapta* ‘the last chapter’; *las samting* ‘the last thing’; *las tok* ‘conclusion’; *las tok em i autim* ‘his last words’; *las wik* ‘last week’
- (10) *liklik abus* ‘small game’; *liklik animal* ‘small animal’; *liklik brata* ‘small brother, younger brother’; *liklik hap blut* ‘a bit of blood’; *liklik hap paia* ‘spark’; *liklik lain* ‘a small family’; *liklik maunten* ‘hill, hill-ock, ‘mound’; *liklik papa* ‘uncle’; *liklik pikinini* ‘small child’; *liklik pinga* ‘little finger’; *liklik ples* ‘small village, hamlet’; *liklik raunwara* ‘pond’; *liklik samting* ‘something small’; *liklik snek* ‘worm’; *liklik ston* ‘pebble’; *liklik taim* ‘short time’; *liklik wara* ‘small stream’, ‘a little water’; *liklik wel* ‘a bit of oil’; *liklik win* ‘breeze’
- (11) *longlong man* ‘crazy man, confused man, fool’; *longlong pasin* ‘foolish customs’
- (12) *ol longwe diwai* ‘trees in the distance’; *ol longwe ples* ‘faraway places’
- (13) *mama bea* ‘female bear’; *mama diwai* ‘donor tree for graft [on other tree]’; *mama kakaruk* ‘hen’; *mama natnat* ‘female mosquito’; *mama pinga* ‘thumb’; *mama rop wailis* ‘main nerve’; *mama snek* ‘female worm’
- (14) *ol mauspas dok* ‘dumb watchdogs’
- (15) *ol nambawan ensel* ‘the highest choir of angels’; *planti nambawan gutpela wit tru* ‘the very best wheat’; *nambawan kaikai* ‘the best food’; *ol nambawan kaptan* ‘the best commanders’; *nambawan king* ‘king of kings’; *nambawan rumtru bilong haus* ‘the very best room of the house’; *ol nambawan samting* ‘the very best things’; *wanpela nambawan taun* ‘a very important town’; *nambawan wokman* ‘experienced worker’
- (16) *nambatu pasis* ‘emergency harbor’
- (17) *namel ia* ‘middle ear’; *namel mak* ‘mark in the center’; *namel namel sais* ‘average size’; *namel stik* ‘axis [of a drum for turning it to burn peanuts]’; *namel waia* ‘the wire in the center’
- (18) *narakain de tru* ‘a quite different [kind of] day, a very special day’; *ol dispela narakain gutpela samting* ‘those other good things’; *narakain narakain kap gol* ‘gold cups of various designs’; *narakain manmeri* ‘different [kind of] people’; *narakain pasin* ‘different way of life’; *narakain narakain pe long wankain samting* ‘different prices for the same thing’; *narakain samting* ‘something different’; *narakain wok* ‘a different job’
- (19) *neks man* ‘the next person’; *neks taim* ‘next time’; *neks wik* ‘next week’; *neks wiken* ‘next weekend’
- (20) *olkain animal* ‘all kinds of animals’; *olkain bret* ‘all kinds of bread’; *olkain gutpela kaikai* ‘all kinds healthy of food’; *olkain samting* ‘various things’; *olkain gutpela save* ‘all kinds of good skills’; *olkain wok* ‘various jobs’
- (21) *pikinini diwai* ‘small (newly planted) tree’, ‘receiver tree of grafting [or “budding”] from another tree’; *pikinini hos* ‘colt’; *pikinini kaikai* ‘small fruit [as seedling]’; *pikinini pik* ‘piglet’; *pikinini pukpuk* ‘baby croco-



- dile'; *pikinini pusi* 'kitten'; *pikinini rop wailis* 'smaller nerves [branching off from main nerve]'; *pikinini stik taro* 'taro shoot'; *pikinini trakta* 'small tractor'
- (22) *pipia kaikai* 'discarded food'; *pipia kapa* 'discarded copper'; *pipia laplap* 'old rag'; *hap pipia paip* 'old piece of pipe'; *pipia rop diwai* 'old tree roots'; *pipia skin* 'old skin'; *pipia timba* 'scrap wood'; *pipia tin na botol samting* 'discarded cans, bottles, and the like'; *pipia wel* 'discarded oil'
- (23) *rabis bulmakau* 'starved cows'; *rabis bus* 'useless part of jungle [without game or timber]'; *rabis giaman god* 'worthless idols'; *rabis kaikai* 'poor food'; *rabis pasin* 'evil ways'; *rabis kaikai* 'bad food'; *rabis ples* 'poor village'; *ol rabis manmeri* 'poor people'; *olgeta rabis samting* 'all the worthless things'; *rabis wel bilong ka* 'discarded oil from car engine'; *rabis wik* '[alternative] week without pay'
- (24) *rait sait* 'right [hand] side'
- (25) *tambu mama* 'mother-in-law'; *tambu meri* 'sister-in-law'; *tambu papa* 'father-in-law'; *ol tambu pikinini* 'sons-in-law and daughters-in-law'
- (26) *tarangu man* 'poor wretch'
- (27) *tumbuna kumu* 'vegetables known from time immemorial'; *tumbuna mama* 'ancestral mother [of all the living]', 'grandmother'; *tumbuna papa* 'ancestor', 'forefather', 'grandfather'; *tumbuna papamama* 'ancestors', 'the elderly [still living]'; *tumbuna pikinini* 'grandchild'; *ol tumbuna bilong tumbuna pikinini* 'great-grandchildren'
- (28) *wankain bagarap* 'the same injury'; *wankain hevi* 'equal burden, same obligation'; *wankain lo tasol* 'one law system only'; *wankain mak* 'the same measurement'; *wankain pasin* 'the same manner'; *wankain pe* 'the same salary'; *wankain rait* 'equal rights'; *wankain sais* 'the same size'; *wankain samting* 'something similar'; *wankain sans* 'equal opportunity'; *wankain skel* 'the same measurement system'; *wankain strong* 'the same strength'; *wankain tritmen* 'the same treatment'
- (29) *wel abus* 'wild game'; *wel animal* 'wild beasts'; *wel bulmakau* 'wild ox'; *wel dok* 'fox, hyena, wolf'; *wel donkey* 'wild donkey'; *wel kukamba* 'wild vine'; *wel meme* 'wild goat'; *wel pitpit* 'marsh rushes'; *wel pusi* 'leopard'; *wel sipsip* 'mountain sheep'; *wel taro* 'elephant yam'
- (30) *wel wara* 'thick liquid, oily liquid'

One may occasionally find names of materials as attributes normally postposed (Ch. 12, 1.1) also in preposed position; they are: *ain* 'iron'; *kapa* 'copper' and *plastik* 'plastik':

- (31) *ain paip* 'iron pipe'; *kapa waia* 'copper wire'; *plastik bek* 'plastic bag'; *plastik paip* 'plastik pipe'; *plastik rop* 'plastic string'; *plastik sirins* 'plastic syringe'

The preposed position of attributes here is clearly part of "package" loans from English.

## 2.8 Multiple Attributes and Their Order

Among the above examples of preposed attributes there are some that are multiple, such as *rabis giaman* ‘worthless idols’, *dispela ol twelpela lida* ‘these twelve leaders’, and the like. Thus the multiple attributes, in these examples, are *rabis giaman* and *dispela ol twelpela*.

The question that arises here is: what rules control combinations of two or more preposed attributes? Such rules are phrased in terms of specific classes of attributes, of the order of them, and of *ol*, which is a plural marker but not itself an attribute. The classes are: *-pela* modifiers, modifiers without *-pela*, numerals, nonnumeral quantifiers, pronouns, and *ol*.

A few general rules may be phrased here first:

- [a] *ol* may either precede or follow *dispela* and *sampela*, and it can only precede any other modifier it marks; also, *ol* with *olgeta* can only follow *olgeta*;
- [b] *olgeta* may precede or follow only *dispela*, and can only precede any other attribute;
- [c] numerals may precede or follow *(n)arapela*, and can only precede any other attribute;
- [d] two numerals may be conjoined in the “alternative” sense;
- [e] no *-pela* attribute (modifier or pronoun) can precede *sampela* or *ol sampela*;
- [f] multiple *-pela* modifiers are possible, with preferential order for some combinations.

These rules are discussed in 2.8.1 through 2.8.6, respectively.

### 2.8.1 *Ol* Marking *dispela* or *sampela*

Nominal phrases may be marked for plural with *ol*, preposed to the entire phrase, as in *ol gutpela skol* ‘good schools’, or *ol arapela manmeri* ‘other people’. For a more complete analysis of the plural marker *ol*, see Ch. 20, 4.

There are two attributes, however, that may have *ol* either preposed or postposed—*dispela* and *sampela*. The following illustrates this:

- (1) a. *ol sampela yangpela man* ‘some young men’  
b. *sampela ol susa bilong em* ‘some of his sisters’
- (2) a. *ol sampela man na meri* ‘some men and women’  
b. *sampela ol ples* ‘some villages’
- (3) a. *ol dispela samting* ‘all this, all these things’  
b. *dispela ol presen* ‘these presents’
- (4) a. *ol dispela pikinini* ‘those children’  
b. *dispela ol stilman* ‘those thieves’

Attributive *olgeta ol* seems to be rare:

- (5) *olgeta ol bikman na ol hetman* ‘all (the) leaders and commanders’;  
*olgeta ol man* ‘all (those) men’

### 2.8.2 *Dispela olgeta* and *olgeta dispela*

No other attribute (with or without *-pela*) can precede *dispela*, except *olgeta*—which may also follow. Only if *olgeta* precedes is it possible to mark plural with *ol*, but only after *dispela*.

- (1) a. *dispela olgeta wok* ‘all those jobs’
- b. *olgeta dispela ol lain family* ‘all these families’

### 2.8.3 Numeral + (*n*)*arapela* and (*n*)*arapela* + Numeral

Nominal phrases quantified by numerals have, as one would expect, the numeral in front, as in *tripela bikpela taun* ‘three big towns’. With *arapela* (or *narapela*), however, either order is possible: (*n*)*arapela* + numeral; or numeral + (*n*)*arapela*:

- (1) a. *fopela arapela king* ‘four other kings’
- b. *narapela sikispela laplap* ‘six other cloths’
- (2) a. *sevenpela arapela bulmakau* ‘seven other cows’
- b. *narapela sevenpela bulmakau* ‘seven other cows’

English allows the same sequences of numeral and *other*: for example, in (*the*) *seven other buildings* and *the other seven buildings*. Note that *the* is possible but not necessary in the former, and necessary in the latter—the latter, with the sequence *other* + numeral, must be definite (hence *the* or some other word marking the phrase definite, such as *my*). The same difference seems to exist in Tok Pisin; see Ch. 21, 5.1.

### 2.8.4 Numeral + Numeral

Numerals may be conjoined, quantifying a noun, in an “alternative” or “additional” sense, such as *tupela (o) tripela*, with or without *o* ‘or’ (in some texts: *no*), or even *na* ‘and’. Examples:

- (1) *fopela o faipela de* ‘four or five days’; *tupela o tripela bal* ‘two or three balls’; *tenpela o 20 de* ‘ten or 20 days’; *tripela o fopela de tasol* ‘only three or four days’; *long tupela o tripela hap* in two or three parts’; *long tripela na fopela lain tumbuna* ‘into the third and fourth generations’; *tupela o tripela mun* ‘two or three months’; *tupela tripela moa pilai* ‘another two or three games’; *tripela o faipela samting* ‘three to five things’; *faipela o sikispela stik* ‘four or five stems [of a plant]’; *faipela o sikispela taim* ‘five or six times’; *tupela tripela taim* ‘two or three times’

### 2.8.5 (*Ol*) *sampela* as Preposed to Other *-pela* Attributes

Phrases with multiple attributes containing *sampela* or *ol sampela* or *sampela ol* cannot have other *-pela* attributes preceding them. Those must follow, as in *ol sampela yangpela man* ‘some young men’, or in *sampela arapela kantri* ‘some other nations’. While this may seem familiar to a speaker of English (in which *some* cannot be preceded by an attribute in the same phrase either), there are a

few apparent exceptions to this rule for Tok Pisin. For example, in *mipela sampela kamda* ‘some of us [excl.] carpenters’, or in *yupela sampela manmeri* ‘some of you [pl.] people’, a *-pela* pronoun precedes *sampela*. However, the pronoun here (*mipela*, *yupela*) is the head of the phrase, while the remainder (*sampela kamda*, *sampela manmeri*) is the attribute, postposed, of the kind called an apposition (see Ch. 12, 4).

### 2.8.6 Multiple *-pela* Modifiers

Apart from *-pela* attributes that are not modifiers (pronouns, numerals), the modifiers themselves may combine in one attributive phrase, as in *bikpela raunpela lain* ‘large circle’ or in *ol longpela traipela man* ‘tall giants’, or (linked by *na* ‘and’ or by *o* ‘or’) as in *gutpela na bikpela samting* ‘something good and great’ and in *sotpela o longpela resis* ‘a short or a long running contest’.

The question arising here is whether there is any preferred order of multiple *-pela* modifiers used attributively. (Reduplications—like *gutpela gutpela*—are not reviewed here. They are treated in Ch. 17, 7.)

We examine the unlinked constructions first, those without *na* or *o*; after that, the linked constructions. For convenience, let us call the first modifier the “opener.”

The most frequent openers seem to be: *bikpela*, *gutpela*, and *naispela*:

- (1) *bikpela blakpela klaut* ‘big black cloud’; *wanpela bikpela blupela samting* ‘something large and blue’; *bikpela longpela pos* ‘big tall column’; *bikpela longpela snek* ‘large long worm’; *bikpela longpela ston* ‘big long slab’; *bikpela naispela banis laplap* ‘large fine drapery’; *bikpela raunpela lain* ‘large circle’; *bikpela stretpela hap graun* ‘large level field’
- (2) *gutpela naispela laplap* ‘good beautiful cloths’; *gutpela naispela klos* ‘good fine robes’; *gutpela waitpela laplap* ‘good white cloths’; *gutpela switpela kaikai* ‘good sweet fruit’; *planti gutpela stretpela lo* ‘many good just laws’; *ol gutpela stretpela man* ‘good just men’; *gutpela switpela hani* ‘good sweet honey’; *ol gutpela stretpela pasin* ‘good upright behavior’; *ol gutpela sotpela tok* ‘short sayings of wisdom’; *gutpela yelopela ston topas* ‘fine yellow topaz stone’; *ol gutpela yangpela man* ‘good young men’; *ol gutpela bikpela wok em i bin mekim* ‘the marvels he has worked’; *ol gutpela naispela laplap* ‘good beautiful cloths’; *gutpela yangpela pikinini kaikai* ‘good new seedlings’
- (3) *wanpela naispela bikpela laplap* ‘a beautiful large cloth’; *ol naispela retpela klos* ‘fine red clothes’; *ol naispela yangpela meri* ‘beautiful young women’; *ol naispela bikpela haus* ‘the beautiful mansions’; *naispela blupela ston* ‘beautiful blue stones’; *naispela patpela pikinini sipsip* ‘beautiful fattened lambs’

*Longpela* and *nupela* may be openers:

- (4) *longpela waitpela mak* ‘long white strips’; *longpela traipela man* ‘tall giants’; *wanpela longpela retpela laplap* ‘a long red robe’

- (5) *nupela retpela blutsel* ‘new red blood cells’; *nupela klinpela bel* ‘a new pure heart’

The other openers are: *liklikpela*, *patpela*, *strongpela* and *yangpela* (however, *liklikpela* is rare, and *liklik* is much more common). Consider:

- (6) *liklikpela stretpela baret* ‘a small straight drain’  
 (7) *patpela yangpela bulmakau* ‘fat young cows’  
 (8) *strongpela patpela bulmakau* ‘strong fat cows’; *ol strongpela yangpela man* ‘strong young men’; *ol strongpela waitpela ston* ‘hard white stones’; *strongpela yelopela ai bilong sua* ‘the hard yellow head of the boil’  
 (9) *yangpela patpela meme* ‘young fattened goats’

The examples so far show that first modifiers may also be seconds: *bikpela* after *gutpela* and *naispela*; *naispela* after *bikpela* and *gutpela*; *longpela* after *bikpela*; *patpela* after *naispela*, *strongpela* and *yangpela*; and *yangpela* after *gutpela*, *naispela*, *patpela* and *strongpela*. The following seem to be prevalingly or exclusively openers: *gutpela*, *nupela*, *liklikpela*, and *strongpela*.

Modifiers for color never seem to be openers: *waitpela*, *retpela*, *blupela*, and *yelopela*; others that do not seem to be openers are: *switpela*, *stretpela*, *sotpela*, *traipela*, and *klinpela*.

Sequences of *-pela* modifiers linked by *na* or *o* are different, in that on either side of *na* or *o* the modifiers may be mutually exclusive, or at least alternative to one another. Consider (arranged according to openers):

- (10) *bikpela na naispela haus* ‘a big and beautiful house’  
 (11) *blupela na retpela tret* ‘blue and red thread’; *blupela na retpela gras bilong sipsip* ‘blue and red sheep’s wool’; *blupela na retpela laplap* ‘blue and red robes’; *blupela o retpela gras bilong sipsip* ‘blue or red sheep’s wool’  
 (12) *grinpela na retpela samting* ‘green and red things’  
 (13) *gutpela na bikpela samting* ‘good and great things’; *gutpela na switpela kaikai* ‘solid and tasty food’; *gutpela na stretpela pasin* ‘good and just behavior’; *ol gutpela na stretpela manmeri* ‘good and just people’; *gutpela na stretpela ofa* ‘good and sincere sacrifice’; *gutpela na stretpela tingting* ‘good and sincere thought’; *gutpela na stretpela tok* ‘good and just words’; *gutpela na stretpela taro kongkong* ‘good and straight Singapore taro’  
 (14) *nupela na bikpela pen* ‘a sudden and severe pain’; *nupela na olupela win* ‘new and old air’; *nupela na olupela gaden* ‘the new and the old garden’  
 (15) *raunpela na retpela mak* ‘a round and red mark [on the skin]’  
 (16) *retpela na blupela gras bilong sipsip* ‘red and blue sheep’s wool’; *retpela na blupela tret* ‘red and blue thread’; *retpela na blupela laplap* ‘red and blue robes’; *retpela na waitpela na blupela ston* ‘red and white and blue stones’  
 (17) *smatpela na draipela haus* ‘a nice and big house’  
 (18) *sotpela o longpela resis* ‘a short or long running contest’

- (19) *ol stretpela na gutpela pasin* ‘honest and good way of life’  
 (20) *strongpela na gutpela soldia* ‘good hardened fighters’; *strongpela na hevipela hap ain* ‘a strong and heavy piece of iron’  
 (21) *waitpela na blupela laplap* ‘white and blue robes’; *waitpela o blakpela skin* ‘white or black skin’  
 (22) *yangpela na bikipela manmeri* ‘young and big adults’  
 (23) *yelopela o grinpela spet* ‘yellow or green saliva’

Frequent openers here are *gutpela* and *naispela*, as they are also in unlinked constructions. In apparent contrast to unlinked constructions, color names are often first, but only in combination with other color names, and they cannot be openers of conjoined modifiers.

Perhaps the following generalization obtains: Modifiers denoting transient attributes (like *gutpela*, *naispela*, *nupela*) tend to precede those denoting more permanent attributes (like *longpela*, *sotpela*, *waitpela*).

## 12: NOUN PHRASES WITH UNLINKED ATTRIBUTES

As explained in Ch. 11, postposed attributes in nominal phrases may be divided into two classes: unlinked and linked.

We begin with the former in the present chapter; linked attributes are reviewed in Chs. 13 and 14.

There are the following classes of unlinked attributes:

- [a] single word attributes (such as *ba ain* ‘iron bar’ and *ples daun* ‘valley’; *pikinini man* ‘son’; *wok kamda* ‘carpentry’);
- [b] prepositional attributes, i.e. attributes taking the form of a prepositional phrase (such as *man bilong yu* ‘your husband’);
- [c] ordinal numerals (such as *de namba seven*);
- [d] appositions (such as *mipela sampela kamda* ‘some of us [excl.] carpenters’).

Classes [a] through [d] are examined in 1 through 4.

### 1. Single Word Unlinked Attributes

Postposed attributes that are single words may be broken down into several categories. Two of them are semantic:

- [a] material attributes (like *ba ain* ‘iron bar’; *bokis diwai* ‘wooden box’); and
- [b] attributes denoting gender or other source of provenance (like *bulmakau man* ‘bull’; *pusi meri* ‘tabby cat’);

and these types are never linked—that is, they do not take *i*.

There are two more subclasses without any obvious semantic basis they share, but which do, however, have certain syntactic properties in common. They are:

- [c] other attributes that cannot take *i* (like *taim bihain* ‘future’; *man nating* ‘man of no consequence’); and
- [d] attributes that take *i* optionally (like *tok tru* ‘true words, truth’; *tok i tru* ‘truthful statement’).

The syntactic properties are different for each of these types.

Types [c] and [d] comprise the classes of words that could never, in any clause that is not equational, take predicate position; thus, a clause \**Em i bihain* for ‘He was late’ is unacceptable, and a verb is needed, as in *Em i kamap bihain* ‘He was late’, ‘He arrived late’.

Type [d] comprises the class of words suiting predicate position. Thus, as the clause *Tok i tru* ‘The statement is true’ is well-formed, the phrase *tok i tru* ‘true statement’ is well-formed also. However, in this type, *i* for linking is not obligatory: *tok tru* is also well-formed.

Types [a] through [d] are examined in 1.1 through 1.4, respectively.

### 1.1 Material Attributes as Postposed Attributes

The most important of these (glossed here as nouns) are: *ain* 'iron'; *ais* 'ice'; *bras* 'brass, copper, bronze'; *diwai* 'wood'; *gol* 'gold'; *graun* 'earth, clay'; *gumi* 'rubber'; *kapa* 'copper'; *kunai* 'grass'; *let* 'leather'; *mambu* 'bamboo'; *nailon* 'nylon'; *plang* 'wood, board'; *plastik* 'plastic'; *salfa* 'sulfur'; *semen* (or *simen*) 'cement, concrete'; *silva* 'silver'; *singel* 'shingles'; *slika* 'glossy material, silk'; *sol* 'salt'; *ston* 'stone'; *tais* 'mud'; *wesan* 'sand'.

Some of these may be found also in preposed position; see Ch. 11, 2.7. Examples:

- (1) *ba ain* 'iron bar'; *dua ain* 'iron gate'; *haus ain* 'house with iron roof'; *karis ain* 'iron chariots'; *kona ain* 'iron hook'; *paip ain* 'iron pipe'; *pipia ain* 'discarded iron'; *sospen ain* 'iron pot'; *stik ain* 'iron bar'; *stov ain* 'iron stove'; *tamiok ain* 'iron axe'
- (2) *ren ais* 'hail'
- (3) *alta bras* 'bronze altar'; *ba bras* 'bronze [axle] bar'; *bis bras* 'copper-colored beads'; *bokis bras* 'bronze box'; *bulmakau bras* 'bronze calf'; *dis bras* 'bronze dish'; *hat bras* '[copper] helmet'; *huk bras* 'copper hook'; *mani bras* 'copper coin'; *pen bras* 'bronze-colored paint'; *pin bras* 'bronze peg'; *plet bras* 'bronze plate'; *pos bras* 'bronze posts'; *ring bras* 'bronze ring'; *sen bras* 'bronze chain'; *siot bras* 'harness'; *snek bras* 'bronze serpent'; *sospen bras* 'copper pot'; *spia bras* 'bronze spear'; *waia bras* 'copper wire'; *wil bras* 'bronze wheel'
- (4) *bet diwai* 'wooden board'; *bokis diwai* 'wooden box'; *bun diwai* 'wooden frame'; *garamut diwai* 'wooden signal drum'; *nil diwai* 'wooden peg'; *plang diwai* 'wooden board'; *pos diwai* 'wooden post'; *spun diwai* 'wooden spoon'; *stik diwai* 'wooden stick'
- (5) *ai gol* 'gold top'; *alta gol* 'golden altar'; *belo gol* 'gold bell'; *bilas gol* 'gold ornament'; *bulmakau gol* 'golden calf'; *dis gol* 'gold dish'; *hat gol* 'golden crown'; *huk gol* 'gold hook'; *kap gol* 'gold cup'; *medal gol* 'gold diadem'; *paspas gol* 'gold bracelet'; *paura gol* 'gold powder'; *plet gol* 'gold plate'; *ring gol* 'gold ring'; *sen gol* 'gold chain'; *sia gol* 'golden couch'; *stik gol* 'golden scepter'; *tret gol* 'golden thread'
- (6) *sospen graun* 'earthen pot'; *liklik maunten graun* 'earthen wall'
- (7) *botol gumi* 'hot water bottle'; *mambu gumi* 'hose'; *plastik gumi* 'loop, intrauterine device'; *su gumi* 'rubber boots, galoshes'
- (8) *hat kapa* 'helmet'; *haus kapa* 'house with tin roof'; *nil kapa* 'copper nail'; *pipia kapa* 'throwaway copper'; *plet kapa* 'copper plate, cymbal'; *siot kapa* 'harness'; *skin kapa* 'flat copper'
- (9) *haus kunai* 'house with thatched roof'; *rup kunai* 'thatched roof'
- (10) *su let* 'leather shoes'
- (11) *rup mambu* 'bamboo roof'
- (12) *baklain nailon* 'nylon cable'; *rop nailon* 'nylon rope'
- (13) *banis plang* 'wooden partitioning'; *bet plang* 'wooden shelf'; *bokis plang* 'wooden box'; *rup plang* 'wooden roof'; *tuptup plang* 'wooden cover'



- (14) *baket plastik* ‘plastic bucket’; *banis plastik* ‘plastic wrapping’; *bek plastik* ‘plastic bag’
- (15) *ston salfa* ‘brimstone’
- (16) *haus semen* ‘brick house’; *paip semen* ‘clay pipe’; *plet semen* ‘porcelain plate’; *plua simen* ‘cement floor’
- (17) *ba silva* ‘silver rod’; *banis simen* ‘concrete wall’; *bilas silva* ‘silver ornaments’; *bokis silva* ‘silver box’; *dis silva* ‘silver dish’; *kap silva* ‘silver cup’; *mani silva* ‘silver coin’; *plet silva* ‘silver plate’; *ring silva* ‘silver ring’
- (18) *rup singel* ‘shingled roof’
- (19) *mit sol* ‘salted meat’
- (20) *klos slika* ‘clothing made of glossy material [like silk, nylon]’
- (21) *akis ston* ‘stone axe’ *alta ston* ‘stone altar’; *banis ston* ‘stone wall’; *barat ston* ‘stone trough’; *hama ston* ‘stone hammer’; *haus ston* ‘stone house’; *hip ston* ‘cairn’; *maunten ston* ‘rocky mountain’; *pipia ston* ‘scattered stones’; *ples ston* ‘stony field’; *pos ston* ‘stone post’; *slet stone* ‘slate, tablet [for writing]’; *tamiok ston* ‘stone axe’; *tang ston* ‘wine press’
- (22) *ples tais* ‘muddy place, swamp’
- (23) *ples wesan* ‘desert’

Note that *hap* and *kain*, followed by any of these material nouns, are themselves the attribute—see Ch. 11, 2.6. Thus, marking attributes (in bold), these phrases appear as follows: *hap ain* ‘a piece of iron’ (not *hap ain*), *kain graun* ‘kind of soil’ (not *kain graun*)—and so forth. A similar analysis holds for quantifiers including nouns: *tu kilogram silva* (not: *tu kilogram silva*), and so forth.

Multiple material nouns as attributes are also possible, and there seems to be no preferred order of them:

- (24) *bilas gol na silva* ‘gold and silver ornaments’; *bilas silva na gol* ‘silver and gold ornaments’; *dis gol na silva* ‘gold and silver dishes’; *haus ain na kapa* ‘house with tin roof and iron joints’

As noted, these attributes are never preceded by *i*, and this may be correlated with the ineligibility of these words to occupy predicate position in a clause (apart from equational clauses).

## 1.2 Attributes Denoting Gender or Other Source of Provenance

These attributes are three: *mama* ‘mother’ (used only for female animals and plants); *man* ‘male’; and *meri* ‘female’ (used for animals and humans). Examples:

- (1) *bulmakau man* ‘bull’; *dok man* ‘male dog’; *hos man* ‘stallion’; *meme man* ‘billy goat’; *pato man* ‘drake’; *paul man* ‘cock’; *pik man* ‘boar’; *pikinini man* ‘son, small boy’; *pukpuk man* ‘male crocodile’; *pusi man* ‘tomcat’
- (2) *bulmakau meri* ‘cow’; *dok meri* ‘bitch’; *hos meri* ‘mare’; *meme meri* ‘nanny goat’; *pato meri* ‘duck’; *paul meri* ‘hen’; *pik meri* ‘sow’; *pikinini*

*meri* ‘daughter, small girl’; *pren meri* ‘girl friend’; *pukpuk meri* ‘female crocodile’; *pusi meri* ‘tabby cat’

- (3) *bi mama* ‘bee queen’; *diwai mama* ‘tree from which graft is taken’; *donki mama* ‘mother donkey’; *kakaruk mama* ‘rooster’; *pato mama* ‘duck’; *pisin mama* ‘mother bird’; *pik mama* ‘sow’

Note that *mama* may also be preposed and may then have a more extensive sense, as in *mama pinga*. See Ch. 11, 2.7.

### 1.3 Other Postposed Attributes, Unlinked Only

These attributes have in common with all the other obligatorily unlinked attributes that in a clause they cannot take predicate position. The most important ones are: *bihain* ‘later’; *bipo* ‘earlier, former’; *giaman* ‘false’; *haiden* ‘pagan’; *hia* ‘here’ (more informally often spelled *ya*); *kais* ‘left [hand]’; *nabaut* ‘scattered’; *namel* ‘middle’; *nating* ‘unattached’, ‘sheer’; *olgeta* ‘in all, total, whole’; *samting* ‘about, approximately’, and the like’; *santu* ‘holy’; *sut* ‘right [hand]’; *tasol* ‘only’; *wanpela* ‘alone’; *wantaim* ‘together’; and *yet* ‘self’. (Of these, some may also be preposed attributes, i.e. *aipas*, *giaman*, *haiden*, and *namel*. See Ch. 11, 2.7). Examples:

- (1) *long de bihain* ‘the next day’; *de bihain tru* ‘doomsday’; *kaikai bihain* ‘dessert’; *long sampela taim bihain* ‘some time later’; *taim bihain* ‘future’; *wanpela taim bihain* ‘on a later occasion’; *long yia bihain* ‘in the year after, next year’
- (2) *ol manmeri bipo* ‘people in former times’; *nait bipo* ‘the previous night’; *gutpela taim bipo* ‘earlier times of affluence’; *long olgeta taim bipo* ‘always in the past’; *wanpela taim bipo* ‘once earlier, once before, an earlier occasion’

*Bipo*, used attributively, alternates with (attributive) *bilong bipo*, but the latter usually indicates greater time depth (see 2.3.2).

- (3) *kot giaman* ‘mockery of justice’; *mak giaman* ‘false measures [in weighing]’; *pasin giaman* ‘hypocrisy, deceit’; *tok giaman* ‘lies’, ‘hypocritical words’
- (4) *pasin haiden* ‘pagan customs’

Note that *giaman* and *haiden* may also occur as preposed modifiers. See Ch. 11, 2.7.

- (5) *dispela bikpela ston hia* ‘this rock’; *dispela graun hia* ‘this land’; *dispela hul hia* ‘this well’; *em hia* ‘this, the following’; *Dan hia* ‘Dan here’; *dispela manki hia* ‘this child’; *ol dispela manmeri hia* ‘these people’; *mitupela dispela meri hia* ‘the two of us women here’; *dispela ples wesana hia* ‘this desert’; *ol dispela samting hia* ‘all this, all these things’; *ol dispela ston hia* ‘these stones’; *ol gutpela gutpela samting bilong yupela hia* ‘all your [pl.] treasured possessions’; *graun hia* ‘this land’; *kail hia* ‘this wedge’; *liklik spia hia* ‘this arrow [symbol]’; *lista hia* ‘this list, the

list here'; *mipela hia* 'we [excl.] here'; *piksa daunbilo hia* 'the picture below [in book]'; *piksa hia* 'this picture, the picture here'

Because *dispela* by itself is deictically neutral (i.e. neutral as between what is near the speaker and remote from the speaker), the addition of *hia* makes it deictically speaker-oriented. On deixis, see Ch. 7, 1. (in its relevance to the predicate marker *i*), and Ch. 21, 2. Also, when attributive *hia* combines with other postposed attributes, it comes last, as is illustrated in some of the examples.

- (6) *han kais* 'left hand'; *lek kais* 'left foot, left leg'
- (7) *ol kantri nabaut* 'countries in the region'; *gras nabaut* 'weeds'; *ol manmeri nabaut* 'people everywhere'; *nil nabaut* 'scattered nails'; *pipia nabaut* 'scattered garbage'; *ol rabis kaikai nabaut* 'junk food everywhere'; *sik nabaut* 'rampant disease'; *ol somil nabaut* 'saw-mills here and there'
- (8) *mak namel* 'mark in the center'; *skin namel* 'the skin in the center [of a sore spot]'

*Namel* in postposed position is short for *namel long* + noun (2.2), with the part *long* + noun already known from the context.

- (9) *ai nating* 'unaided eye'; *as nating* 'naked'; *bilip nating* 'empty faith'; *bret nating* 'plain bread'; *bun nating* 'extremely thin'; *de nating* 'day without significance'; *dram nating* 'empty drum'; *god nating* 'powerless idols'; *gras nating* 'just grass'; *graun nating* 'just dust'; *hambak nating* 'empty bragging'; *han nating* 'branch without fruit'; *kam han nating* 'come empty-handed'; *kaikai nating* 'tasteless food'; *hatwok nating* 'hard work in vain'; *kus nating* 'common cold'; *lip diwai nating* 'just a fluttering leaf'; *mak nating* 'innocuous mark [on skin]'; *manmeri nating* 'poor people'; *man nating* 'man of no consequence'; *manki nating* 'a mere child'; *mauswara nating* 'empty drivel'; *nem nating* 'just a name'; *paura nating* 'just powder'; *pipia nating* 'worthless scraps, just trash'; *plaua nating* 'flour only'; *ples nating* 'uninhabited area, desert'; *ples drai nating* 'desert'; *ples wesan nating* 'desert'; *promis nating* 'empty promise'; *samting nating* 'something of no importance, trifle'; *soldia nating* 'foot soldier'; *sua nating* 'sore not requiring treatment'; *taun nating* 'small town'; *tingting nogut nating* 'unfounded suspicions'; *tok nating* 'empty words'; *tok pait nating* 'useless argument'; *toktok nating* 'idle prattle'; *tok tru antap nating* 'oath taken in vain'; *tok win nating* 'just empty words'; *tret nating* 'just thread'; *wara nating* 'just water'; *win nating* 'just wind'; *wokboi nating* '[male] slave'; *wokmeri nating* '[female] slave'

*Nating* as a modifier is a very productive device of semantic modification (it is never the opposite number of English 'nothing'). Because of this productivity, the glosses in (9) would not fit all contexts.

- (10) *faipela de olgeta* ‘five days in all’; *kantri bilong ol olgeta* ‘their whole country’; *seven olgeta* ‘seven in all’; *sevenpela taim olgeta* ‘a total of seven times’; *long tingting bilong ol olgeta na long bel bilong ol olgeta* ‘with all their minds and all their hearts’; *wanpela de olgeta* ‘one whole day long’; *wanpela mun olgeta* ‘one month in all’; *yumi olgeta* ‘all of us [incl.]’; *yupela olgeta* ‘all of you [pl.]’
- (11) *ol bal, rop, stik samting* ‘balls, ropes, sticks and the like’; *liklik dram o basket samting* ‘a small drum or a basket or something like that’; *haus skul na haus sik samting* ‘schools and hospitals and so forth’; *masin samting* ‘machines and other equipment’; *tu mita samting* ‘about two meters, two meters or thereabouts’

*Samting*, of course, may also be the head of a nominal phrase, as in *gutpela samting* ‘something good’, *olgeta samting* ‘everything, all things’, and the like.

- (12) *Papa Santu* ‘Holy Father [i.e. Pope]’
- (13) *han sut* ‘right hand’; *lek sut* ‘right leg’; *yau sut* ‘right ear’; *ai sut* ‘right eye’
- (14) *dispela man tasol* ‘only this man’; *em tasol* ‘only he’; *em wanpela tasol* ‘only he alone’; *liklik tasol* ‘only a little’; *liklik liklik kaikai tasol* ‘very little food only’; *long dispela as tasol* ‘precisely for this reason’; *mi tasol* ‘only I’; *mitupela tasol* ‘only we [excl.]’; *sampela tasol* ‘only some’; *ol stua tasol* ‘only the stores’; *Tok Inglis tasol* ‘English only’; *wankain lo tasol* ‘one law system only’; *yu tasol* ‘only you’; *yu yet tasol* ‘only you yourself’; *yumi tasol* ‘only we [incl.]’; *yupela tasol* ‘only you [pl.]’
- (15) *Bikpela wanpela tasol* ‘only the Lord alone’; *em wanpela* ‘she alone’; *God wanpela tasol* ‘only God alone’; *Jon wanpela* ‘John alone’; *mi wanpela* ‘I alone’; *yu wanpela* ‘you alone’

*Wanpela* is not a numeral here, and neither is it an indefinite pronoun. In either case, if used attributively, it would be preposed.

- (16) *tupela marit wantaim* ‘man and wife together’; *yumi olgeta wantaim* ‘all of us [incl.] together’
- (17) *em yet* ‘he himself’; *mi yet* ‘I myself’; *mipela yet* ‘we [excl.] ourselves’; *mitupela yet* ‘the two of us [excl.] ourselves’; *ol yet* ‘they themselves’; *yu yet* ‘you yourself’; *yumi yet* ‘we [incl.] ourselves’; *yupela yet* ‘you [pl.] yourselves’

As noted in 1, these attributes (except, rarely, *mauspas*) are never preceded by *i*, and none of them could occupy predicate position, at least not in the same meaning. For example, *giaman* may be used verbally (‘to lie, to pretend’) and would then be eligible for predicate position. Also, *sut* may mean ‘to shoot’.

A special issue must be raised at this point. In Tok Pisin, some adverbs that may be used as attributes may also occur as adjuncts (as described in Ch. 4, 2.3, i.e. qualifying the predicate). Such an adjunct, however, may well follow a noun immediately, and then a closer look is needed. Since English has the same characteristic as Tok Pisin in this regard, a few English examples may serve as an

explanation. The clause *I saw the man below* is ambiguous: it may say that the place where I saw the man was below, and then *below* is an adjunct (of place). Or *below* may be an attribute to *man*—not the man on the roof, for example; and then *below* is an attribute, to *man*. A similar ambiguity obtains in Tok Pisin. The ambiguous ones in the present subsection are: *bipo*, *hia*, *nating*, and *olgeta*. Two examples are given of each—**a** and **b**. The **a**-example illustrates the word in question as an adjunct (not in bold); the **b**-example, as an attribute (in bold).

- (18) a. *Bai mi strongim dispela kontrak bipo mi bin mekim wantaim yupela.*  
‘I will uphold this covenant I made with you [pl.] earlier.’  
b. *Yupela tingting i go bek long taim **bipo**.*  
‘Your [pl.] memory goes back to time of yore.’
- (19) a. *Ating yu ken pasim trak hia?*  
‘Could you stop the truck here?’  
b. *Gutpela tumas dispela man **hia** em i laik helpim yumi.*  
‘It is a very good thing that this man here wants to help us [incl.]’
- (20) a. *Yu no ken tromoi planti wara nating.*  
‘You must not waste a lot of water for no purpose.’  
b. *Kus **nating** i go pas, na nau ia i pen?*  
‘Did it start with the common cold, and now there is ear pain?’

Example (18) **a** does not mean ‘[ . . . ] the earlier covenant I made with you’: *bipo* is part of the relative clause *bipo mi mekim wantaim yupela*. See Ch. 14, 1.3, examples (15) through (21).

*Olgeta* has a few complications needing a brief comment. It may be an adverb belonging to a modifier (e.g. *gutpela olgeta* ‘wholly good’—see Ch. 16, 3.2) and it may even be separated from such a modifier by a noun (*gutpela na stretpela man olgeta* ‘a wholly good and upright man’). Or it may qualify an adverb (*mi tok tru olgeta* ‘I speak wholly truthfully’). When it modifies a numeral (as it does in several examples in (10), above), it hovers between a modifier and a quantifier (on which see Ch. 22, 2.4). The glosses in (10) follow the modifier reading. Then, *olgeta* may happen to have a position immediately after a noun and yet be a qualifier to a verb as in (21) **a**, or a genuine modifier in a nominal phrase, as in (21) **b**:

- (21) a. *Bikpela smok i karamapim maunten olgeta.*  
‘A dense smoke covered the mountain entirely.’  
b. *Ol soldia i mas wokabaut raunim taun sevenpela taim **olgeta**.*  
‘The soldiers must walk around the town up to seven times in all.’

As for *tasol*, examine:

- (22) a. *Bosman i mas isi long em tasol.*  
‘The owner must deal with him leniently.’  
b. *Na bai mi mekim ol man long lain bilong em **tasol** i kamap king oltaim oltaim.*  
‘And I will make only his descendants kings for ever.’

In (22) **a**, *tasol* qualifies *isi* (and is thus an adverb) in the reading followed here (in keeping with the context from which this clause has been taken), that is, the reading that leniency is what counts (and not that harshness is all right except in regard to this one person). In contrast, in (22) **b**, *tasol* modifies *em* (or *lain bi-long em* on a slightly different reading) and is thus an attribute.

#### 1.4 Other Postposed Attributes, with Linked Alternatives

This class, too, is a mixed group. The most important items in it are: *aipas* ‘blind’; *antap* ‘upper, high’; *daun* ‘deep, low, low-lying’; *daunbilo* ‘lower, at the bottom’; *drai* ‘dry’; *hat* ‘hot’; *holi* ‘holy’; *kol* ‘cool, cold’; *kranki* ‘mistaken, wrong, foolish’; *kros* ‘angry’; *nogut* ‘bad, evil, useless’; *olsem* ‘similar’; *ros* ‘rusted’; *tambu* ‘forbidden, holy’; *tru* ‘true, real’; and *tudak* ‘dark’. One, *tru*, may take *-pela*, but only in preposed position (see Ch. 11, 2.1.1). Examples:

- (1) *dispela man aipas* ‘this blind man’; *tupela man aipas* ‘two blind men’
- (2) *arere antap* ‘top [side], upper side’; *hap antap* ‘upper part’; *mak antap* ‘height [measurement]’; *ples antap* ‘high place, area at high elevation’; *plua antap* ‘upper floor’; *rum antap* ‘upper room’; *ol sta antap* ‘the stars up there’; *skai antap* ‘the high skies’; *tok antap* ‘the discussion above [in book]’; *tok tru antap* ‘oath’; *tok tru antap nating* ‘oath taken in vain’; *wara antap* ‘the waters above, the clouds’
- (3) *ples daun* ‘valley, low-lying plain’
- (4) *arere daunbilo* ‘bottom, bottom hem, lower side’; *banis daunbilo* ‘lower partitioning’; *hap daunbilo* ‘lower part’; *kona daunbilo* ‘lower corner’; *lista daunbilo* ‘the list below [in book]’; *mak daunbilo* ‘depth [measurement]’; *piksa daunbilo* ‘the picture below [in book]’; *solwara daunbilo* ‘the depths of the sea’; *tok daunbilo* ‘the discussion below [in book]’; *wara daunbilo* ‘the waters below’

*Antap* is often (even attributively) followed by *long* + noun, but then the attribute is a phrase, and is exemplified in 2.2. *Daunbilo* is never followed by *long* + noun, attributively or otherwise (in the same phrase). *Aninit*, which occurs commonly with *long* (‘underneath’), does not seem to occur attributively without *long*.

- (5) *ples drai* ‘desert, arid region’
- (6) *ples hat* ‘a hot place’
- (7) *de holi* ‘holy day’; *ensel holi* ‘holy angel’; *God holi* ‘holy God’; *haus holi* ‘holy temple, temple’; *maunten holi* ‘holy mountain’; *nem holi* ‘holy name’; *pasin holi* ‘holiness’; *ples holi* ‘holy place’; *rum holi* ‘shrine’; *taun holy* ‘holy city’
- (8) *ples kol* ‘cool spot, shaded spot, cold area’
- (9) *pasin kranki* ‘wrong behavior’; *tingting kranki* ‘wrong ideas’; *tok kranki* ‘foolish words’
- (10) *bel kros* ‘angry feelings’; *tok kros* ‘angry words’

- (11) *bel nogut* ‘anger’; *ol binatang nogut* ‘pests’; *driman nogut* ‘bad dream, nightmare’; *gras nogut* ‘weeds’; *kaikai nogut* ‘food gone bad’; *laplap nogut i bruk nabaut* ‘an old torn rag’; *lek nogut* ‘injured leg, sore foot’; *ol lek nogut* ‘the crippled’; *man nogut* ‘evil man’; *marasin nogut* ‘poison, pesticide’; *meri nogut* ‘prostitute’; *pasin nogut* ‘evil ways’; *pe nogut* ‘retribution’; *piksa nogut* ‘scandalous picture’; *ples wesan nogut* ‘inhospitable desert’; *samting nogut tru* ‘something really bad’; *sik nogut* ‘bad disease, venereal disease’; *smel nogut* ‘stench’; *snek nogut* ‘poisonous snake’; *spirit nogut* ‘evil spirit’; *sua nogut* ‘festering sore’; *taia nogut* ‘blown tire’; *taim nogut* ‘times of adversity’; *tok nogut* ‘backbiting’; *toktok nogut* ‘empty prattle’
- (12) *ren ais olsem* ‘such a hail storm’; *pasin olsem* ‘a similar way [of doing something]’; *kain man olsem* ‘such a type of person’; *liklik mani olsem* ‘so little money’; *kain meri olsem* ‘such a woman’; *kain ofa olsem* ‘such a sacrifice’; *long kain pe olsem* ‘at such a price’; *kain samting olsem* ‘that kind of thing’; *ol wilka olsem* ‘such wheeled stands’; *kain wok olsem* ‘such a job’
- (13) *fletain ros* ‘rusted sheet iron’
- (14) *bret tambu* ‘consecrated bread’; *diwai tambu* ‘forbidden tree, holy tree’; *ples tambu* ‘sanctuary’; *Rum Tambu* ‘The Holy Place’; *Rum Tambu Tru* ‘The Holy of Holies’; *tok tambu* ‘secret language’; *wara tambu* ‘holy water’
- (15) *as tru* ‘the very foundation, the real reason’; *God tru* ‘the living God’; *indipendens tru* ‘full independence’; *papa tru* ‘the real [i.e. biological] father’; *papa tru bilong graun* ‘the rightful owner of the property’; *mama tru* ‘[someone’s] own mother’; *meri tru bilong yu* ‘your own wife’; *pikinini tru bilong yu* ‘your own child’; *poroman tru* ‘a true friend’; *pren tru* ‘a true friend’; *profet tru* ‘true prophet [i.e. not a false one]’; *rup tru* ‘adequate roof’; *samting tru* ‘something true’; *saveman tru* ‘a real expert’; *tok tru* ‘truth’; *wanblut tru* ‘member of one’s own family’
- (16) *pes tudak* ‘sad face’; *ples tudak* ‘dark place’; *dispela taim tudak* ‘this time of darkness’

For constructions with these attributes marked by *i*, see Ch. 13, 1.2.1.

As with the attributes of 1.4, there may be ambiguity of the item as between adjunct and attribute. In the following examples, the gloss makes a choice where there is one:

- (17) a. *Em i mas holim bal antap.*  
 ‘He has to hold the ball high.’  
 b. *Em i save lotuim ol sta antap.*  
 ‘He regularly worshipped the stars above.’
- (18) a. *Em i mas holim stik daunbilo liklik.*  
 ‘He must hold the stick rather low.’  
 b. *Hap daunbilo i retpela.*  
 ‘The lower part is red.’

- (19) a. *Ol i holim han olsem.*  
‘They hold their hands like that.’  
b. *Ol i hait baksait long diwai na aninit long haus na long ol kain ples olsem.*  
‘They hide behind trees and under houses and in similar places.’
- (20) a. *Ol i mekim gupela wok tru.*  
‘They did a very good job.’  
b. *Bai yumi no gat indipendens tru.*  
‘We [incl.] will not have true independence.’

## 2. Postposed Prepositional Attributes

Prepositional phrases in regard to their own internal structure are treated in Ch. 15. For our purpose here, which is the attributive use of such phrases, only a few characteristics of prepositional phrases need to be set out by way of introduction.

In a prepositional phrase, the preposition is the head. Tok Pisin prepositions are either simple or complex. The simple ones are: *long* ‘about, at, by, from, in, on, to, with’, *bilong* ‘of’, and *wantaim* ‘with’. Complex prepositions (which in fact are compounds—see Ch. 17, 2.2) occur only with *long*, and they consist of any one of a few nouns expressing concepts of space combining with *long*; the compound is equivalent to a simple preposition. A few examples: *antap long* ‘on, on top of’, and *aninit long* ‘under, underneath’.

*Bilong* (followed by a noun) may be called possessive in some rather general sense. What precedes *bilong* is what is possessed (or the possessee); what follows *bilong*, the possessor. Thus, in *kantri bilong ol* ‘their country’, *kantri* is the possessee, and *ol* is the possessor, which is marked by *bilong*.

*Wantaim* (unlike *long* and *bilong*) may be used in several rather different ways. It may be an attribute all by itself (1.3), or an adjunct (Ch. 4, 2.3.3), or it may function as a preposition ‘with’ (see also Ch. 15, 4).

We may break down treatment of prepositional phrases used as attributes into the following categories:

- [a] those with simple *long*;
- [b] those with a complex *long* preposition;
- [c] those with *bilong*;
- [d] those with *wantaim*.

These topics are examined in 2.1 through 2.4, respectively.

### 2.1 Prepositional Attributes Opening with *long*

Prepositional phrases opening with *long* have the same form no matter whether they are used attributively or nonattributively. Examples: *long ples kol* ‘in a cool place’; *long dispela taim* ‘at that time’; *long sampela arapela kantri* ‘in some other countries’; *long bikbus* ‘in the rain forest’; *long pasin senis senis* ‘in rotation’; and so forth. *Long* in such phrases may also be followed by words that are not always



straightforward nouns: *long hia* ‘here’; *long daunbilo* ‘below’; and so forth. Such phrases too are used attributively; but *long*, with *hia* and *daunbilo*, may also be dropped, as noted in 1.4.

Here are examples of *long* phrases used attributively:

- (1) *olgeta abus long bus* ‘all the animals in the forest’; *olgeta dua long skai* ‘all the sluices of heaven’; *hul long ston* ‘cavity in the rock’; *las tru long lain* ‘the very last one in the row’; *namba wan manki long lain* ‘the first child in the row’; *save long wanem samting i gutpela, na wanem samting i nogut* ‘knowledge of good and evil’; *ol taun long hap san-kamap* ‘the towns in the east’; *tok long daunbilo* ‘the explanation below [in a book]’; *tok long hia* ‘the text here [e.g. on this page]’; *toksava long ol pilai* ‘announcements about the games’

The preposition *long* corresponds to several prepositions in English, among them: ‘at’, ‘by’, ‘from’, ‘in’, ‘on’, ‘to’, ‘with’. *Long* thus expresses place (in or at a place, as well as to and from a place), time, instrument, and various other things; for full details, see Ch. 15, 1. In *long* phrases used attributively, however, *long* expressing place only has the ‘in’ or ‘at’ sense (not those of ‘to’ and ‘from’); for time, only punctual time, not duration, qualifies for attributive use. Other *long* meanings do not seem to occur in attributive *long* phrases.

Although constructions as in (1) are well-established grammatically, they are rather rare. There is a distinct preference for the linked form of what is in all other respects the same construction, i.e. (head) noun + *i stap* + prepositional phrase (and thus, in fact, a relative clause):

- (2) *olgeta samting i stap long graun* ‘everything on earth’

The comparative rareness of phrases with attributes opening with *long* is directly related to the impossibility of *long* being dropped to turn such phrases into compounds (see Ch. 17, 4.1).

As shown in 1.3 and 1.4, adverbs immediately following nouns are not necessarily attributes; they may be adjuncts. The same is true of prepositional phrases immediately following nouns. Examples are divided into **a** and **b**, as in 1.3 and 1.4:

- (3) a. *Mi save mekim wok long taun.*  
 ‘I have a regular job in town.’  
 b. *Ol manmeri long dispela ples i save long tok bilong em i tru.*  
 ‘The people in this village know that what he says is true.’  
 (4) a. *Ol i laik planim rais long maunten i go daun.*  
 ‘They want to plant rice on the mountain slopes.’  
 b. *Yumi ken planim rais long olgeta hap long nambis.*  
 ‘We [incl.] can plant rice everywhere in the coastal areas.’

## 2.2 Prepositional Attributes Opening with a Complex Preposition with *long*

As just noted (2.1), the preposition *long* is itself neutral as between distinctions made in English in ‘at’ or ‘on’ or ‘in’ as distinct from ‘to’ and ‘from’, and also as

between other ways of expressing location expressible in English by prepositions like ‘between’, ‘above’, ‘underneath’, and the like. There are many ways in which such distinctions are made in Tok Pisin in clauses. For example, it may depend on the type of verb (see Ch. 15, 1.2). But for our purpose at this point we need to discuss only the phrases that function, together with *long*, as prepositions, most of them concerning place, some of them concerning time. These are: *aninit long* ‘below, under, underneath’; *antap long* ‘on, on top of, over, above’; *arere long* ‘alongside (of)’; *ausait long* ‘outside’; *baksait long* ‘behind, at the back of’; *bihain long* ‘after’; *insait long* ‘inside’; *klostu long* ‘near, close to’; and *namel long* ‘between’. (*Abrus long* ‘alongside’, *bipo long* ‘before [of time]’, *inap long* ‘until, as far as’, *paslain long* ‘before [of place], in front of’ and *raun long* ‘around’ belong to this class, but their use in an attributive prepositional phrase seems to be rare or nonexistent.)

Like other prepositional phrases, phrases beginning with these two-word sequences are in the majority of instances adjuncts, not attributes; however, they may also function attributively. Examples:

- (1) *buk olsem mabel aninit long wasket* ‘a boil like a marble underneath the chin’; *olgeta graun aninit long solwara* ‘all of the ocean floor’; *skin aninit long banis* ‘the skin below the chest area’; *solap aninit long han* ‘a swelling in the armpit’; *wara aninit long graun* ‘the water in the ground’
- (2) *hap bodi antap long bel* ‘parts of the body above the belly’; *ol wan wan kona antap long alta* ‘each of the horns on the altar top’; *gras antap long ai* ‘eyebrows’; *gras bilong het antap long pes* ‘head hair’; *ol pipel antap long bikipela maunten* ‘mountain people’; *olgeta samting antap long graun* ‘everything above the ground’; *skin antap long buk* ‘the skin on the boil’
- (3) *gaden arere long haus* ‘the land alongside the house’; *graun arere long bikrot* ‘the land alongside the highway’; *pipia arere long haus* ‘the rubbish alongside the house’; *skin arere long nek* ‘the skin of the throat area’; *skin arere long skru* ‘the skin along the knee joint’
- (4) *bikipela hap graun ausait long kem* ‘a large field outside the camp’; *hul wara ausait long taun* ‘the well outside the town’; *ples ausait long taun* ‘a place outside the town’
- (5) *rum baksait long bikipela laplap* ‘the room behind the curtain’
- (6) *de bihain long de sabat* ‘the day after the sabbath day’; *long sevenpela o nainpela mun bihain long taim bilong planim* ‘seven to nine months after the time of planting [the crop]’; *tupela yia bihain long bikipela tait* ‘two years after the big flood’
- (7) *ol banis insait long dispela rum* ‘the partitionings inside that room’; *graun insait long mak* ‘the area within the poles’; *olgeta hap insait long haus* ‘all the rooms within the house’; *ol het tok insait long sapta* ‘the headings in the chapter’; *liklik waitpela mak insait long maus* ‘a small

white spot in the mouth'; *tupela man insait long haus* 'the two men inside the house'; *nupela pikinini insait long bel bilong mama* 'the baby in the mother's womb'; *ples insait long nus* 'nose cavity'; *rot bilong kaikai insait long bel* 'the digestive tract in the belly'; *olgeta arapela wok insait long haus* 'all the other work in the building'

- (8) *bus klostu long nambis* 'the rain forest near the coast'; *stretpela graun klostu long taun* 'level ground near the town'; *olgeta hap klostu long ol* 'all stretches [of land] near them'; *ples kibung klostu long dua bilong taun* 'the meeting place near the town gate'; *ples stret klostu long nambis* 'coastal plain'; *taun klostu long wara* 'the town near the river'
- (9) *banis namel long tupela rum* 'the wall between the two rooms'; *dispela hevi namel long mipela* 'this calamity among us [excl.]'; *kontrak namel long mi na yupela* 'covenant between me and you [pl.]'; *olgeta man namel long yupela* 'all men among you [pl.]'; *wanem man namel long yumi?* 'what man among us [incl.]?'; *ples daun namel long ol maunten* 'the low plain between the mountains'; *rot namel long tupela gaden* 'the road between the two fields'; *skin namel long ol bun banis* 'the skin between the ribs'; *spes namel long olgeta nil diwai* 'the clearance between all the wooden pegs'

Whereas *raun long* 'around' may open a prepositional phrase, such a phrase does not seem to occur attributively. That is to say, phrases like \**rot i raun long maunten* for 'road around the hill' seem to be avoided, in favor of *rot i go raun long maunten*. Thus the construction is a linked one (and the prepositional phrase is an adjunct, not an attribute), and also seems to describe location by way of movement (*raun* also often means 'to wander, to go around'). Similarly, prepositional *raun long* is found with other verbs; see (12), where the **b** counterpart is lacking.

More generally, as shown in 2.1, prepositional phrases are not necessarily attributes, and in fact are more often adjuncts (as is the case also with adverbs). Similarly prepositional phrases of the type noun + *long* etc. are often adjuncts, not attributes. Examples here are divided into **a** and **b**, as in 1.3, 1.4 and in 2.1; once again, note that (12) has no **b** counterpart.

- (10) a. *Ol i mekim ofa ausait long kem.*  
'They made a sacrifice outside the camp.'
- b. *Ol i tromoi i go long ples ausait long taun.*  
'They threw them [i.e. certain stones] away in some place outside the town.'
- (11) a. *Dispela man i bin kamap bikman tru namel long ol brata bilong em.*  
'This man had become a real leader among his friends.'
- b. *Spes namel long olgeta nil diwai em i olsem wan fit wan fit.*  
'The clearance between all the wooden pegs is about one foot between each two.'
- (12) a. *Em i lukluk raun long ol manmeri i sindaun raun long em.*  
'He looked around at the people who were sitting around him.'

### 2.3 Prepositional Attributes Opening with *bilong*

As noted earlier (Section 2), *bilong* is possessive in some general sense, and marks the possessor following it (as in *bilong dispela man*), while the preceding noun is the possessee (*haus bilong dispela man* ‘this man’s house’).

The qualification “in some general sense” is important. This is also apparent from possessive phrases in English. For example, the phrase *Peter’s book* may refer to a book that Peter wrote, or a book about Peter, or a book Peter has bought, or perhaps borrowed; the semantic link between possessor and possessee is extremely flexible. In Tok Pisin there is a similar flexibility of that relation. More importantly, Tok Pisin has one type of semantic relation between possessor and possessee not present in English. This may be made clear on the basis of a distinction between “alienable” and “inalienable” possession.

These concepts themselves are rather straightforward. We possess certain things inalienably—for example, a leg or an arm, or some other part of the body. Other things are possessed alienably, like books, or money, or a car. Inalienable possession concerns the integrity of our identity (in the case of body parts, physical integrity), while alienable possession is more marginal to that identity or integrity (as is the case with books and cars).

While the distinction is easy to understand, it is still irrelevant linguistically unless the distinction takes testable linguistic form. It does in many languages. For example, in some languages an alienable possessee follows the possessor, and an inalienable possessee precedes it. Or the two types may be marked differently morphologically (as is the case in some languages in Papua New Guinea). English does not make such distinctions morphologically in possessive phrases, but it does in other ways. For example, we can say *I have a missing tooth*, but not *\*I have a missing dollar bill*. Teeth belong to physical integrity (and the way English phrases it, a missing tooth is expressed as something one “has”), but dollar bills do not (hence a dollar bill that has disappeared is not expressed as something one “has”). Nevertheless, in phrase form, English does not distinguish, grammatically, between alienable and inalienable possession.

Tok Pisin, however, does. Compare *ka bilong mi* ‘my car’, or *arere bilong klos* ‘the hem of the garment’ with *man bilong belhat* ‘an irascible man’—that is, a man “possessed” by an irascible temper. A *man bilong belhat* is not a person who gets angry once in a while, but one whose anger defines his character. He will tend to be angry at the slightest provocation. In contrast, *mi* does not define my car, and *arere* does not define the garment.

The difference grammatically is in the possessor, which, in phrases of alienable possession is typically the owner of some property (for example, *mi* in *ka bilong mi*), or a whole in regard to some part of it (for example, *klos* in *arere bilong klos*). In contrast, in phrases of inalienable possession, the possessor is not an owner of anything, nor a whole in regard to any part of it. Hence, *belhat*, which may be used nominally (as it is here), is not a straightforward noun (it may also be a modifier to a noun). The possessor may even be a verb, as in *man bilong mekim posin* ‘sorcerer’.

Since we started out with examples from English, it could be objected here that English also has phrases of inalienable possession of the type just reviewed in Tok Pisin—for example, in *a man of hot temper*, or in *a woman of great social awareness*. However, the possessor then still has to be strictly nominal, and could not be verbal. Neither condition obtains for Tok Pisin phrases of inalienable possession.

Thus, the specific grammatical property of phrases of inalienable possession in Tok Pisin is that the possessor is not typically an owner, or a whole in respect to a part of it, and that it need not be a straightforward noun. Thus, *buk bilong man* ‘the man’s book’ expresses alienable possession, while *man bilong buk* ‘a bookish person’ expresses inalienable possession. Other specific properties of phrases of inalienable possession in Tok Pisin are described in 2.3.2.

There is another reason for distinguishing inalienable possession in Tok Pisin. It is the obligatory use of the possessor phrase, of the form *bilong* + pronoun, where it seems to be unnecessary, or redundant. To grasp this, consider (1):

- (1) *Em i mas holim bal antap na baksait long HET bilong en long tupela HAN bilong en.*  
 ‘He must hold the ball above and to the back of his head in both hands.’

It seems that *bilong en* is redundant, twice. The reason, however, for these possessor phrases being obligatory is that, in very many local vernaculars in PNG, words for ‘head’ and ‘hand’ are inalienably possessed, and thus have the possessor phrase obligatorily, and this is reflected in Tok Pisin.

Apart from being a preposition of possession, *bilong* may also mean ‘in order to’, and is then followed by a verb. For that construction, see Ch. 24, 2.1.4. However, *bilong* + verb may also be a possessive attribute, but only in a possessive phrase of inalienable possession; examples are found in 2.3.2.

Phrases of alienable possession are exemplified in 2.3.1; of inalienable possession, in 2.3.2.

### 2.3.1 Phrases of Alienable Possession with *bilong*

Some examples:

- (1) *as bilong dispela* ‘the reason for this’; *asua bilong yu* ‘your fault’; *famili bilong man i dai pinis* ‘the family of the deceased’; *han bilong diwai* ‘branch of a tree’; *hap bilong dispela* ‘part of this’; *olgeta hap bilong graun* ‘all the parts of the earth’; *laik bilong ol* ‘their preference’; *lida bilong wok* ‘supervisor of the job’; *maus bilong umben* ‘the opening of the net’; *meri bilong dispela man* ‘this man’s wife’; *moning bilong de bihain* ‘the morning of the following day, the next morning’; *nem bilong ol* ‘their names’; *pe bilong haus* ‘the price of the house’; *ol samting bilong mi* ‘all my things’; *samting bilong yu* ‘your problem, your responsibility’; *sit bilong paia* ‘the ashes of the fire’; *skin bilong bulmakau* ‘a cow’s hide’; *speapat bilong ol tul* ‘spare parts of the equipment’; *taim bilong bikpela kol* ‘winter season’; *tambu bilong mi* ‘my in-law’; *tok bilong en*

‘what he says, his words, his message’; *wanpela bilong ol* ‘one of them’;  
*wok bilong en* ‘his work’

A possessive phrase may have multiple attributes; *bilong* must then be repeated and *na* or *o* links the possessors:

- (2) *long ai bilong king na bilong ol ofisa bilong en* ‘in the presence of the king and his courtiers’; *ol animal bilong ples na bilong bus* ‘domesticated animals and animals living in the wild’; *wanpela buk bilong ol manmeri long ples, na long taun, na bilong ol papamama, na bilong ol yangpela, na bilong ol studen i pinis long gret 6, na bilong olgeta wokman i bin skul long tok ples na long tok Pisin* ‘a book of the people in the villages, and of parents, and of youth, and of students who have completed grade 6, and of all workers who have received their training in the vernacular or in Tok Pisin’; *God bilong Abraham na bilong Aisak na bilong Jekop* ‘The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob’; *wanpela man bilong yupela o bilong narapela kantri* ‘a man from among you [pl.] or from another country’; *taim bilong pilai na long lap* ‘a time for play and laughter’; *wara bilong pait muli o bilong swit muli* ‘the water of sour lemon or orange lemonade’; *wokboi nating bilong en o bilong wanpela wanfamili bilong dispela man* ‘a slave of his or of a member of the family of this man’; *wokman bilong gavman na bilong misin na bilong kampani* ‘the employees of the government, the mission, and the companies’

Note that *bilong en* in the first example of (2) is not one of the series, because it determines *ofisa*, which is itself one possessor of the series; a comparable analysis holds for *bilong dispela man* at the end of the next to the last example in (2).

In conclusion, phrases with an alienable *bilong* attribute cannot drop *bilong* to form a compound (see Ch. 17, 4.1), which is another way of distinguishing alienable *bilong* from inalienable *bilong*.

### 2.3.2 Phrases of Inalienable Possession with *bilong*

Phrases with attributes of inalienable possession may be characterized as follows. The head is a noun of very comprehensive meaning, such that the information contained in the attribute is vital, but also such that the entire phrase remains fairly general, because the *bilong* phrase identifies a characteristic possessed by some of those named by the head, rather than pinning down one particular specimen of the class named by the head.

For example, the phrase *meri bilong dispela man* ‘this man’s wife’ does not characterize women in general, but names one particular woman; *bilong* here is alienable. In contrast, in *meri bilong amamas* ‘cheerful woman’ names not any particular woman but rather one kind of woman, and *bilong* is inalienable.

Note that, so far, this explanation is purely semantic. But purely semantic considerations are not sufficient to justify grammatical differences; to establish

such differences, differences of form must be shown to obtain. But such formal differences are clearly there. In *meri bilong dispela man*, the attribute is referential to one particular man—this particular one. In contrast, one cannot have, grammatically, \**meri bilong dispela amamas*—whatever that would mean.

The heads of phrases with attributes of inalienable possession are a class of nouns, of which the following are some: *banis* ‘fence, partitioning, wall’; *bet* ‘shelf’; *buk* ‘book, record’; *haus* ‘house, place of shelter’; *mak* ‘mark, characteristic’; *man* ‘man, person’; *manmeri* ‘men and women, people’; *meri* ‘woman’; *pasin* ‘way, behavior’; *pikinini* ‘child’; *ples* ‘place’; *rop* ‘string’; *sik* ‘disease, illness’; *taim* ‘time’. Examples:

- (1) *bet bilong kaikai* ‘buffet table’, ‘market stall’
- (2) *banis bilong bulmakau* ‘cow stable, paddock’; *banis bilong meri* ‘convent enclosure, boarding school for girls’; *banis bilong paul* ‘chicken pen, chicken yard’; *banis bilong pik* ‘pigsty’
- (3) *buk bilong bipo* ‘old book’; *buk bilong gavman* ‘government record’; *buk bilong God* ‘Scripture’; *buk bilong lo* ‘law book’; *buk bilong wok gaden* ‘gardening manual’
- (4) *haus bilong abus* ‘cattle stable’; *haus bilong beten* ‘house of prayer’; *haus bilong bi* ‘bee hive’; *haus bilong kakaruk* ‘chicken pen’; *haus bilong king* ‘palace’; *haus bilong pato* ‘duck pen’; *haus bilong pisin* ‘bird’s nest’; *haus bilong smokim mit* ‘shed for smoking meat’; *haus bilong spaida* ‘spider’s web’
- (5) *mak bilong dinau* ‘pledge, security [for loan]’; *mak bilong kol* ‘temperature’; *mak bilong ring* ‘seal’; *mak bilong sua* ‘scar’; *mak bilong sik* ‘symptom’
- (6) *man bilong aninit long God* ‘God-fearing man’; *man bilong belhat* ‘irascible person’; *man bilong bikhet* ‘stubborn man’; *man bilong bihainim tok bilong Bikipela* ‘a man obedient to the Lord’s word’; *man bilong bringim tok* ‘messenger’; *man bilong buk* ‘bookish man’; *man bilong driman* ‘dreamer’; *man bilong giaman* ‘liar’; *man bilong graun* ‘worldly man’; *man bilong kaikai* ‘glutton, overeater’; *man bilong longwe ples* ‘stranger’; *man bilong lukautim sipsip* ‘shepherd’; *man bilong lukautim wain* ‘cup-bearer’; *man bilong lukstil* ‘spy’; *man bilong mekim hambak pasin* ‘wicked man’; *man bilong mekim musik* ‘musician’; *ol man bilong nambis* ‘coastal people’; *man bilong pait* ‘fighter’; *man bilong Papua Niugini* ‘Papua New Guinean’; *ol man bilong ples wesan nating* ‘desert people’; *man bilong raitim ripot bilong graun* ‘surveyor’; *man bilong ran* ‘runner’; *man bilong raun long bus* ‘wanderer’; *man bilong sakim tok* ‘disobedient man’; *man bilong sin* ‘sinner’; *man bilong spak* ‘drunkard’; *man bilong tanim tok* ‘translator, interpreter’; *man bilong tok tru* ‘truthful man’; *man bilong toktok* ‘eloquent man, talkative man’
- (7) *manmeri bilong bikhet* ‘stubborn people’; *manmeri bilong giaman* ‘deceitful people’; *manmeri bilong God stret* ‘God’s own people’; *manmeri bilong graun* ‘worldly people’; *manmeri bilong hambak*

- 'haughty people'; *manmeri bilong kaikai* 'gluttonous people'; *manmeri bilong les* 'lazy people'; *manmeri bilong ples* 'village people'; *manmeri bilong mekim sin* 'sinful people'; *manmeri bilong sakim tok* 'disobedient people'; *manmeri bilong sin* 'sinful people'; *manmeri bilong tupela tingting* 'unbalanced people'
- (8) *meri bilong amamas* 'cheerful woman'; *meri bilong belgut* 'sweet woman'; *meri bilong bel nogut* 'bitter woman'; *meri bilong helpim em* 'her maid'; *meri bilong marit* 'bride'; *meri bilong pret* 'a woman given to anxiety'; *meri bilong rot* 'prostitute'
- (9) *pasin bilong aninit long God* 'obedience to God'; *pasin bilong bikhet* 'stubbornness'; *pasin bilong bipo* 'traditional custom'; *pasin bilong giaman* 'lying, hypocrisy' pretense'; *pasin bilong glasman* 'divining'; *pasin bilong kamap klin* 'purification rite'; *pasin bilong katim skin* 'circumcision rite'; *pasin bilong lotu* 'worship rites'; *pasin bilong mekim ofa* 'sacrificial rite'; *pasin bilong pait* 'warfare'; *pasin bilong pamuk nabaut* 'sexual promiscuity, prostitution'; *pasin bilong sakim tok* 'disobedience'; *pasin bilong sik mun* 'menstruation'; *pasin bilong sin* 'sinfulness'; *pasin bilong sori na krai* 'mourning'; *pasin bilong spak* 'alcoholism'; *pasin bilong stil* 'stealing'
- (10) *pikinini bilong krai* 'cry baby'; *yupela pikinini bilong snek nogut* 'you [pl.] brood of vipers'
- (11) *ples bilong bung* 'conference center, meeting place'; *ples bilong kamapim kiau* 'ovaries'; *ples bilong kamapim pispis* 'kidneys'; *ples bilong paia* 'hearth'; *ples bilong sutim kaikai* 'trough'; *ples bilong wokim bret* 'bakery'
- (12) *rop bilong blut* 'artery'; *rop bilong holim ol bun* 'bone ligament' *rop bilong pekpek* 'rectum'; *rop bilong pikinini* 'umbilical cord'
- (13) *sik bilong ai* 'eye disease'; *sik bilong bungim bodi nabaut* 'venereal disease [resulting from promiscuity]'; *sik bilong dring planti* 'alcoholism'; *sik bilong ia* 'ear disease'; *sik bilong kru ol raskol jems i wokim* 'meningitis'; *sik bilong lek* 'black leg disease [of potato plant]'; *sik bilong mun* 'menstrual indisposition'; *sik bilong natnat* 'malaria'; *sik bilong skin* 'skin disease'
- (14) *taim bilong biksan* 'high noon'; *taim bilong hevi* 'hard times'; *taim bilong kol* 'cool season, winter'; *taim bilong malolo* 'vacation'; *taim bilong pait* 'war time'; *taim bilong ren* 'rainy season'; *taim bilong san* 'dry season'; *taim bilong sori* 'mourning period'

Note the verbs after *bilong*: *bihainim*, *lukautim*, *mekim*, and the like. Other words marked by *bilong* may, in an appropriate context, be nominal, such as *kaikai*, *aninit*, and the like. Others again seem to be of the modifier type, such as *amamas*. Finally, there are the apparently straightforward nouns, such as *nambis* and *ples*.

On closer inspection, however, the only words that seem to be straightforward nouns turn out not to be all that straightforward. That is to say, it is essential for the noun (or noun phrase) marked by *bilong* to be general, not definite, and not even



referential. Thus, *manmeri bilong taun* ‘town people’, or *manmeri bilong ples* ‘village people’, have *taun* and *ples* as nonreferential; the word does not refer to any particular town. This would certainly be possible, as in *ol manmeri bilong dispela taun*, but the attribute here is alienable, not inalienable, and the phrase belongs in 2.3.1, not here. Similarly, the phrase *ol manmeri bilong graun* ‘the people on earth’ is alienable, while *manmeri bilong graun* ‘worldly people’ is inalienable. In the former, *graun* is definite and referential (this place under the heavens where people live), while in the latter it is general (worldliness as a characteristic of certain people). Similarly, in *sik bilong ai* ‘eye disease’, *ai* cannot be distinguished according to right or left eye. Again, in *sik bilong Jon* ‘John’s illness’, the *bilong* attribute is alienable. It expresses nothing about the nature of the illness.

This distinction definite/indefinite and referential/nonreferential are pretty reliable, and only proper names (*man bilong Papua Niugini* ‘a Papua New Guinean’) are an apparent exception.

(The mandatory property of the possessor here, that it be indefinite and non-referential, is a property of what linguists call incorporation, which holds for phrases of inalienable possession, but not for phrases of alienable possession.)

There is an attribute *bilong bipo*, which is in many instances close to the inalienability status; consider:

- (15) *ol bikman bilong bipo* ‘the leaders of the past’; *guttaim bilong bipo* ‘the good old days’; *haus lotu bilong bipo* ‘the church that used to be here’; *kontrak bilong bipo* ‘the old covenant’; *lo bilong bipo* ‘an ancient law’; *Man bilong bipo bipo yet* ‘the one Ancient of Days, the Son of Man’; *olgeta maunten bilong bipo* ‘the hills that have always been there’; *pasin bilong bipo* ‘the old ways’; *ol pren bilong bipo* ‘those who used to be friends’; *ol samting bilong bipo* ‘things the way they used to be’; *dispela strongpela taun bilong bipo tru* ‘this strong city founded in ancient times’; *dispela tok bilong bipo* ‘that time-honored saying’; *ol tumbuna bilong bipo* ‘the forefathers in times of old’

What is striking about these phrases is that the head, or core, of the phrase (the possessee, so to speak) is intimately determined by the attribute *bilong bipo*. That is to say, there is no continuity with the present (those leaders lived long ago, those good times are past, the church is no longer there, and so forth). In this regard such phrases differ from those with *bipo* (without *bilong*) as an attribute; see examples in 1.3, (2).

## 2.4 Prepositional Phrases Opening with *wantaim*

*Wantaim* + noun is used attributively rather rarely. Here are some clear cases of attributive use:

- (1) *bel isi wantaim God* ‘peace with God’; *gutpela sindaun bilong Papua Niugini wantaim narapela kantri o wantaim wanpela bikpela oganai-*

*sesen* ‘good relations of Papua New Guinea with another country or with some big organization’; *toktok hait wantaim loya* ‘private interview with a lawyer’

Clearly, *bel isi wantaim God* is not a coordination of ‘peace’ and ‘God’; rather, it is the peace one finds in God. Similar analyses hold for the other examples.

Once again, as shown in 2.1 and 2.2, prepositional phrases are not necessarily attributes. To recognize this for *wantaim* + noun, compare **a** and **b** in the following example:

- (2) a. *Pasim lek wantaim hap laplap antap long skru na daunbilo long skru.*  
 ‘Bandage the leg with a piece of cloth above the knee and below the knee.’
- b. *Sapos ia wantaim pen i no inap harim tok gut, namel ia i gat sik.*  
 ‘If the ear that is painful has hearing problems, there is otitis media.’

### 3. Ordinal Numerals as Postposed Attributes

As described in Ch. 11, 2.5, attributive ordinal numerals may be preposed to the head noun. They are, however, also found in postposed position. Consider:

- (1) *de namba foa* ‘the fourth day’; *de namba wan* ‘the first day’; *piksa namba wan* ‘picture number one, the first picture’

Postposed position of attributive ordinals does not reflect value or hierarchy as much as such ordinals in preposed position. Also, no plural marker *ol* can accompany phrases with postposed ordinal attributes, but they can in those with preposed ones. Finally, preposed attributes of this kind seem to be more common than the postposed ones illustrated here.

### 4. Appositions

One particular kind of attribute is one called “apposition.” An apposition clarifies a noun, in the form of another noun or a noun phrase. Examples in English are: *John, the plumber*, or *Anne the dentist*. As appears from these two examples, English orthography may or may not use a comma. This convention depends on whether the apposition is needed for full identification of the head, in which case the use of a comma is unusual (as in *Charles the Bald*, not *Charles the Bold*), or on whether the apposition is just additional information for reasons other than those of identification; then a comma is preferred. The reference to orthographic tradition in English contrasts with Tok Pisin orthography, in which there seems to be no tradition to omit or use a comma to distinguish between what is “restrictive” or “nonrestrictive” in attributes.

An apposition necessary for identification of the head noun is called a restrictive apposition. The apposition in *Charles the Bold* is needed because there are many persons called Charles. In contrast, in the sentence *This man here, my dentist incidentally, is my guest this evening*, the apposition *my dentist* is not needed for identification of *this man here*. Such an apposition is called a nonrestrictive apposition. English has both types of apposition. Note that the order of head and apposition in a restrictive construction may often be reversed, as in *Charles the doorman* and *The doorman Charles*. For more on restrictive and nonrestrictive attributes, see the introduction to Ch. 14.

Tok Pisin has restrictive and nonrestrictive appositions (postposed only); those introduced by *em* are invariably nonrestrictive. *Em* may then be compared with English ‘namely’ or ‘that is’ or ‘that is to say’. Consider:

- (1) *Abel, brata bilong Kein* ‘Abel, Cain’s brother’; *Aisak, pikinini bilong Abraham* ‘Isaac, Abraham’s son’; *Aron, papa bilong tupela* ‘Aaron, father of the two’; *God, Bikpela bilong yumi* ‘God our [incl.] Lord’; *God Papa* ‘God the Father’; *liklik samting bilong helpim bodi i kamap bikpela, dispela samting ol saveman i kolim protin* ‘something very tiny that helps the body grow big, that is, what the experts call protein’; *Lot, pikinini bilong brata bilong en* ‘Lot, his brother’s son’; *Papa God* ‘the Father God’; *Sara, meri bilong Abraham* ‘Sarah, Abraham’s wife’

Note: *God Papa* and *Papa God* are good examples of the reversibility of head and apposition (*God Papa*, as it happens, is most commonly used by Catholics; *Papa God*, by Protestants).

Here are some examples with *em* introducing the apposition:

- (2) *kain ston i dia tumas, em ol i save kolim kanilian* ‘a very precious stone, the kind they call onyx’; *man na meri na pikinini na lapun tru, em yumi olgeta wan wan* ‘men and women and children and old people, that is, all and each of us [incl.]’; *masin bilong brukim graun, em yumi kolim plau* ‘the device for turning the soil, that is, what we [incl.] call a plough’

Some of these are indistinguishable from nonrestrictive relative clauses of type [c], reviewed in the introduction to Ch. 14. From that perspective, appositions exemplified in (2) are actually linked attributes.

As for pronouns, only some may be heads of appositions, i.e. *mipela* ‘we [excl.]’, *yumi* ‘we [incl.]’, and *yupela* ‘you [pl.]’. What these have in common is that they are plural. However, *ol* ‘they’ cannot serve as head of an apposition. Neither can any singular pronoun. (Tok Pisin cannot have phrases of the type *I, Claudius* or *you, the man in charge*.) Examples:

- (3) *mipela ol brata bilong yupela* ‘we [excl.] your [pl.] brothers’; *mipela ol manmeri bilong yu* ‘we [excl.], your people’; *mipela ol memba* ‘we [excl.] members’; *mipela ol meri* ‘we [excl.] women’; *mipela ol Papua New Guinea* ‘we [excl.] Papua New Guineans’; *mipela sampela kamda*

- ‘some of us [excl.] carpenters’; *mipela sampela manmeri* ‘some of us [excl.] men and women’; *mipela ol wokman* ‘we [excl.] workers’
- (4) *yumi ol bikman* ‘we [incl.], leaders’; *yumi ol Israel* ‘we [incl.], the people of Israel’; *yumi ol lain bilong Israel* ‘we [incl.], the tribe of Israel’; *yumi ol man tasol* ‘we [incl.], mere human beings’; *yumi ol manmeri bilong en* ‘we [incl.], his people’; *yumi sampela* ‘some of us [incl.]’
- (5) *yupela aipas* ‘you [pl.] blind people’; *yupela ol arapela* ‘the others among you [pl.]’; *yupela ol kain kain samting bilong solwara* ‘you, [pl.] things of all kinds of the sea’; *yupela ol lain yut* ‘you [pl.] young people’; *yupela ol manmeri bilong ples* ‘you [pl.] village people’; *yupela ol marit* ‘you [pl.] married people’; *yupela ol pisin* ‘you [pl.] birds’; *yupela ol pren bilong mi* ‘you [pl.], my friends’; *yupela sampela manmeri* ‘some men and women among you [pl.]’

As will be shown later, only these pronouns can be the antecedents of relative clauses, and even then only provided they already have an apposition attached to them (see Ch. 14, 2).

For a numeral as apposition to *em*, see Ch. 21, 2.

### 13: NOUN PHRASES WITH LINKED ATTRIBUTES

As indicated in the introduction to Ch. 11 and shown in Table 7, postposed attributes in Tok Pisin are either unlinked or linked. Phrases with unlinked attributes were examined in Ch. 12; and linked attributes, in the present chapter and in Ch. 14.

Of various things to be briefly set out here, that of linking is the principal notion. That term is not commonly found in school grammars, but such grammars do discuss relative clauses. For example, in the sentence

- (1) *The tree **that was cut down yesterday** was dead.*

the part in bold is a relative clause, which in its turn is an attribute to what it says something about, namely, that tree; *tree* is called the “antecedent” of the relative clause. Within the relative clause, *that* is called the “relative pronoun.” In English, the relative clause is indeed a clause—that is, it has a predicate, and other parts that normally accompany the predicate in a typical declarative clause. In fact, as it happens, the relative clause is the only kind of linking (attributes to nouns) there is in English.

In contrast, Tok Pisin has two types of this linking. One is the relative clause—the clausal type. The other one is a nonclausal type of linking.

Nonclausal linked attributes are treated in 1 (the link there is always *i*). Clausal linked attributes—relative clauses, therefore—are examined in Ch. 14 (the link is *i* in some constructions, but not others).

#### 1. Nonclausal Linked Attributes

Linked nonclausal attributes have *i* as the link. We are already familiar with *i* as the predicate marker (Ch. 7, 1), and also with *i* as a pick-up marker in some types of serial predicates (Ch. 8). More generally, *i* guarantees the continuity of some topic within clauses, sentences, and sequences of those. We find a similar function for *i* in linked attributes—both clausal and nonclausal. As noted, it is the nonclausal type that we examine in 1 here.

A few simple examples may introduce our topic here. Consider the construction *man i spak*. This may be a clause, meaning ‘the man is drunk’, or it may be a phrase, meaning ‘the drunken man’. Context, of course, will immediately make it clear which. Here, we discuss only the phrase. Or, consider the construction *plet i bruk*. Again, this may be a clause (‘the plate is broken’) or a phrase (‘broken plate’). It is the phrase we are concerned with here. The modifiers *spak* and *bruk* require *i*. We say that *i*, with such attributes, is obligatory.

As we have seen, some attributes have *i* optionally. Their occurrence without *i* has been reviewed in Ch. 12, 1.4; here they need to be reviewed as linked attributes.

Phrases with obligatorily linked attributes are treated in 1.1; those with optionally linked attributes, in 1.2.

## 1.1 Obligatory Linked Attributes

Postposed attributes that require linking with *i* are of two kinds.

First, there are the *-pela* modifiers (those that may also occur in preposed position, as reviewed in Ch. 11, 2.1.1). These, when postposed, must take *i*. Note that it is only the *-pela* modifiers that may occur in postposed position, not the other *-pela* attributes (examined in Ch. 11, 2.1.2 and Ch. 11, 2.1.3); those are invariably preposed attributes.

Second, the following attributes without *-pela* occur commonly in postposed position, and they must have *i*: *blak* ‘black’; *bruk* ‘broken, split’; *buk* ‘high, rolling’; *dak* ‘dark [of color]’; *dia* ‘expensive, precious’; *doti* ‘dirty, unclean’; *drai* ‘dry’; *hait* ‘hidden’; *les* ‘tired, lazy’; *liklik* ‘small’; *longlong* ‘crazy, confused’; *marit* ‘married’; *mauspas* ‘aphasic, tongue-tied’; *narakain* ‘different’; *tambu* ‘forbidden, holy’; *tan* ‘cooked’; *wankain* ‘same, similar’; *wel* ‘thick, oily’; and *yaupas* ‘deaf’. Of these, *blak* and *liklik* are also found with *-pela* in postposed position—the first class. (Some of these may also be preposed to the head noun; see Ch. 11, 2.7.)

These two classes are exemplified in 1.1.1 and 1.1.2, respectively.

### 1.1.1 Postposed Linked *-pela* Modifiers

Examples of this class:

- (1) *wanpela lain ami i bikpela moa yet* ‘a very large army indeed’; *elefan i bikpela moa* ‘a huge elephant’; *kat i no bikpela* ‘a minor cut [in the skin]’; *narapela lo i bikpela na i winim dispela tupela lo* ‘the second important command, more important than these two commands’; *poteto i no bikpela tumas* ‘potatoes that are not very big’; *olgeta samting i nambawan tru na i bikpela moa yet* ‘everything outstanding and very great’; *splin i bikpela tumas* ‘badly swollen spleen’
- (2) *bulmakau man i gutpela tru* ‘a very healthy bull’; *laip i gutpela tru* ‘an affluent life’; *pasin i gutpela na stretpela olgeta* ‘wholly good and honest behavior’; *ol samting i no gutpela* ‘everything that is not good’; *wok i no gutpela tumas* ‘a job that is not very good’
- (3) *paia i hatpela tru* ‘a very hot fire’; *hap laplap i klinpela* ‘a clean rag’
- (4) *laip i longpela tru* ‘a very long life’; *wanpela pislain i longpela liklik* ‘a fairly long fish line’
- (5) *prais i naispela moa* ‘a very beautiful prize’
- (6) *sua i nupela* ‘a new sore’; *kon i nupela* ‘fresh corn’
- (7) *laplap i olupela pinis* ‘discarded rag’
- (8) *bros i raunpela olsem dram* ‘a round chest, like a drum’
- (9) *tret i retpela tru* ‘deep red thread’; *tupela ai i retpela* ‘inflamed eyes’; *sua i retpela* ‘a red sore’
- (10) *man i sotpela tru* ‘a very short man’
- (11) *wanpela man o meri i stretpela* ‘an upright man or woman’
- (12) *man i strongpela moa* ‘a very strong man’

- (13) *ol dispela wil i traipela nogut tru* ‘these truly gigantic wheels’  
 (14) *ais i waitpela tru* ‘wholly white snow’; *mak i waitpela liklik* ‘a whitish spot [on skin]’  
 (15) *ol man i yangpela yet* ‘men who are still young’; *ol meri i yangpela liklik* ‘fairly young woman’  
 (16) *sik bilong blakpela lewa na ai i yelopela* ‘hepatitis’

Note that in some of these examples the *-pela* modifier is itself a phrase (a modifier phrase; see Ch. 16, 3) and could thus not occur in preposed position. That is, *gutpela man* ‘good man’ is well-formed, but *\*gutpela tumas man* will not pass muster; it will have to take the form of *man i gutpela tumas*. The phrasal form of the modifier includes its negation with *no*.

There are no criteria here to distinguish clearly between phrases and relative clauses: such data are, so to speak, in a gray area between linked attributes as (themselves) phrases and genuine relative clauses. It is precisely in this regard that Tok Pisin is strikingly different from a language like English, which has no such gray area; the only linked attributes it has are relative clauses. Finally, note that *i* + bare modifier (as in *hap laplap i klinpela*, in (14)) is rare. The difference between *klinpela laplap* and *laplap i klinpela* is that the modifier *klinpela* in the latter has more emphasis than in the former—a matter of context.

### 1.1.2 Postposed Linked Modifiers without *-pela*

Examples of this class:

- (1) *ples tudak tru i blak nogut tru* ‘place of utter darkness’  
 (2) *banis i bruk* ‘cracked wall’; *bun i bruk* ‘broken bone’; *kapa i bruk tuhap* ‘cloven hoof’; *klos i bruk* ‘torn clothes’; *olpela laplap nogut i bruk nabaut* ‘torn old rag’; *plet i bruk* ‘broken plate’; *samting i bruk* ‘something broken’; *si i bruk* ‘breaking waves, surf’; *hap sospen graun i bruk* ‘piece of a broken earthen pot’; *sua i bruk* ‘open sore’; *tret i bruk* ‘broken thread’  
 (3) *hos i buk* ‘rearing horse’; *si i buk* ‘high waves [at sea]’  
 (4) *braunpela kala i dak* ‘dark brown color’  
 (5) *ston i dia tumas* ‘precious stone’  
 (6) *abus i doti* ‘unclean animal’; *hap laplap i doti* ‘dirty rag’; *man o meri i doti* ‘unclean man or woman’; *pasin i doti tru* ‘unclean act’; *samting i doti* ‘something unclean’; *toktok i doti* ‘scandalous talk’

*Pasin doti* is occasionally found—without *i*.

- (7) *bret i drai* ‘dry bread’; *gras i drai* ‘dry grass, straw’; *graun i drai* ‘dry ground’; *kunai i drai* ‘dry grass’; *ples i drai olgeta* ‘wholly dry region’; *ples daun i drai* ‘dry valley’  
 (8) *samting i hait* ‘something hidden’; *tok i hait* ‘mysterious words’  
*Tok hait* means ‘secret language’; it is better considered a compound, not a phrase.  
 (9) *wokman i les* ‘tired worker’

- (10) *binatang i liklik* ‘small insects’; *ol lain i liklik true* ‘very small tribes’; *long hap rot i liklik tru* ‘somewhere on a minor road’; *samting i liklik tru* ‘something very minor’
- (11) *ol man i longlong nogut tru* ‘people gone berserk’; *man i longlong olgeta* ‘someone out of his mind’; *man i longlong pinis* ‘someone who has lost his mind’; *ol manmeri i longlong* ‘crazy people’; *ol manmeri i longlong na i no gat save* ‘confused and ignorant people’; *olsem wanpela pisin i longlong na i kalap nabaut* ‘like startled birds, fluttering around’
- (12) *man i marit nupela na i amamas long meri bilong en* ‘a man who is married and loves his wife’; *ol manmeri i marit* ‘married people’; *man na meri i marit* ‘married men and women’; *ol manmeri i marit nupela* ‘the newly-weds’; *meri i marit* ‘married woman’; *meri i marit pinis* ‘bride’
- (13) *man i mauspas* ‘aphasic man, man who is tongue-tied’
- (14) *samting i narakain tru* ‘something really different’; *pasin i narakain tru* ‘a truly different custom’
- (15) *dispela pasin i tambu long mekim long de Sabat* ‘this way, forbidden on the Sabbath’; *ples i tambu long en* ‘a place forbidden to him’; *narapela kain toktok i tambu tru* ‘another kind of forbidden talk’
- (16) *kaikai i tan* ‘cooked food’
- (17) *narapela kantri i wankain olsem kantri bilong yupela yet* ‘another country like your [pl.] own’; *wanpela man i wankain olsem yu* ‘a man like yourself’; *pikinini man i wankain olsem em yet* ‘a son like himself’; *musik i wankain olsem ol dispela musik* ‘music like this music’; *bikpela pati i wankain olsem ol king i save mekim* ‘a great feast like those the king always gives’; *tupela hap ston i wankain* ‘two identical pieces of stone’
- (18) *wara i wel* ‘thick liquid, oily liquid’; *karamap i wel* ‘soft tissue’
- (19) *man i yaupas* ‘deaf man’

Once again, the assumption here is that these are phrases, not independent clauses. But what about *banis i bruk pinis* and *wokman i les pinis*? They, too, may be clauses—independent ones. But could the attribute be a relative (and thus dependent) clause? It obviously could be, as appears from a phrase like *haus i bruk pinis na i pundaun* ‘the house that was damaged and collapsed’. Thus, noun + *i* + attribute may have the attribute as: [a] the predicate in an independent clause; or [b] a relative (and thus dependent) clause; or [c] a phrase. Whether it is either [a] or, if not [a], then either [b] or [c], is easily verified in context. But there is no such criterion to decide between [b] and [c]. Tok Pisin has a gray area between attributes that are linked to the head nonclausally and those that are so linked clausally, that is, as a relative clause. Once again, it is especially in this regard that Tok Pisin is strikingly different from a language like English.

## 1.2 Optionally Linked Attributes

Consider once again postposed attributes discussed in Ch. 12. They are: single word attributes (Ch. 12, 1), prepositional attributes (Ch. 12, 2), ordinal numerals



(Ch. 12, 3), and appositions (Ch. 12, 4). All of these were presented as occurring unlinked—without *i*.

The question now arises which of those could have *i* as well. The general rule may be phrased as follows: any one-word modifier that may be used in predicate position may also be used attributively and may then be linked (by *i*) to its head noun; in addition, if such a modifier is the head of a phrase (not a noun phrase), the entire phrase may be linked to its head noun (by *i*).

As for unlinked single word attributes, these cannot be used in predicate position, as explained in Ch. 12, 1.3. Concerning unlinked phrasal attributes, these are only prepositional phrases.

Optionally linked attributes of either kind are discussed in 1.2.1.

### 1.2.1 Optionally Linked Attributes

Of the single word attributes, some need not but may take *i*—see Ch. 12, 1.4. The list is repeated here: *aipas* ‘blind’; *antap* ‘upper, high’; *daun* ‘deep, low, low-lying’; *daunbilo* ‘lower, at the bottom’; *drai* ‘dry’; *holi* ‘holy’; *kol* ‘cold, cool’; *kranki* ‘mistaken, wrong, foolish’; *kros* ‘angry’; *nogut* ‘bad, evil, useless’; *olsem* ‘similar’; *ros* ‘rusted’; *tambu* ‘forbidden, holy’; *tru* ‘tru, real’; and *tudak* ‘dark’.

By “single word attributes” here is meant the kind of attribute that could, but does not have to, stand as a single word. Thus, in *God i holi* ‘holy God’, *holi*, a single word attribute, could become phrasal by adding, for example, an adverb: *God i holi olgeta* ‘God most holy’. In the following examples, there are many such attributes, phrasal by expansion.

- (1) *animal i aipas* ‘blind animal’; *man i aipas* ‘blind person, blind man’s buff [game]’; *ol manmeri i aipas* ‘the blind’
- (2) *biknem i antap tru* ‘very high reputation’; *maunten i antap moa* ‘very high mountain’; *long ples i antap tru* ‘at a very high elevation [in the mountains]’; *ol ples i antap long ol bikpela na liklik maunten* ‘high places in the hills and the mountains’
- (3) *bikpela hul i daun tumas* ‘bottomless pit’; *ples i daun tumas* ‘lowest plains’; *solwara i daun moa* ‘very deep ocean’; *solwara i daun tru* ‘very deep sea’; *wara i daun tumas* ‘very deep water’
- (4) *ples i tudak olgeta na i daunbilo tru* ‘a dark place at great depth’
- (5) *ol bin i drai pinis* ‘the dry beans’; *graun i drai* ‘dry soil’; *kus i drai na i no gat spet* ‘a dry cough without phlegm’; *ples i drai* ‘a dry place’; *skin i drai ba slek* ‘dry loose skin’; *wanpela hap i drai na i tudak na i kol* ‘a dry, dark and cool place’
- (6) *God i holi olgeta* ‘God most holy’; *ofa i holi* ‘holy sacrifice’; *manmeri i holi* ‘holy people’; *pasin i holi* ‘holy life’
- (7) *bokis ais i kol tru* ‘deep-freeze’; *olgeta ples i kol* ‘all cool places’; *ples i antap tru na i kol tumas* ‘very high and cold areas’; *ples i kol tumas* ‘very cold area’; *wanpela hap i drai na i tudak na i kol* ‘a dry, dark and cool place’; *wara i kol* ‘cold water’

- (8) *gavman i no stret na i kranki* ‘dishonest and inefficient government’; *pasin i kranki tru* ‘wrong behavior’; *tok i kranki* ‘foolish talk’
- (9) *mama bea i kros long pikinini bilong en i lus* ‘the mother bear angry at the disappearance of her cubs’; *ol man i kros long em* ‘the men angry with him’; *man i kros long brata bilong en* ‘a man angry with his brother’; *olsem weldok i kros* ‘like an aggressive wolf’
- (10) *bret i drai na i nogut pinis* ‘a dry crust of bread gone bad’; *nem i nogut moa yet* ‘very bad reputation’; *pikinini rais i nogut* ‘rice seeds of poor quality’; *ples i nogut tru* ‘very inhospitable area’; *snek i nogut moa yet* ‘extremely poisonous snake’; *narapela snek i nogut moa yet* ‘another even more poisonous snake’; *wain i nogut liklik* ‘wine of lesser quality’; *wanpela i nogut* ‘a bad one’
- (11) *wanpela God i olsem Bikipela* ‘a God like the Lord’; *lain i olsem lain soldia* ‘a group like a regiment of soldiers’; *mak i olsem* ‘a similar symptom’; *wanpela man i olsem em* ‘a man like him’; *man i olsem yu* ‘a man like you’; *nois i olsem planti wisil* ‘a sound like that of many whistles’
- (12) *olsem kapa i ros pinis* ‘like rusted copper’
- (13) *ol animal i tambu long yupela i kaikai* ‘the animals you [pl.] are forbidden to eat’; *paia i tambu* ‘unlawful fire [i.e. not to be used for sacrifices]’; *ol samting bilong God i tambu tru long ol arapela man* ‘holy things of God not to be used [for other purposes] by others’
- (14) *pasin i tru* ‘way of life in truth’; *tok i tru* ‘the truth’
- (15) *klaut i tudak olgeta* ‘cloud of unknowing’; *ol kona i tudak moa* ‘deep recesses of darkness’; *ples nogut i tudak tru* ‘place of darkness’; *rot i tudak* ‘way of darkness’

The question arises as to what motivates the use of *i* with attributes that may occur also without it. One reason is that of emphasis and thus semantic; the other is that of structure, and thus syntactic.

As for emphasis, first, note how many of the examples here have the attribute in phrase form expressing a high degree of the quality expressed by the attribute—not just *antap* but *antap tru*, or *antap moa*; not just *daun* but *daun tumas*; and so forth. Expression of the degree of that quality lends a measure of emphasis to that quality, and emphasis tends to make the attribute a linked one—with *i*. In context, the topicality of the quality expressed by the attribute is higher than warranted by mere attribute status. Or consider *pikinini rais i nogut*, which is contrasted to good seeds in the context (not given above), and *tok i tru*, which is seen as opposed to words of deceit.

Syntactically, with a postposed attribute that is phrasal, linking by *i* makes it easier to “process” the attribute. In *ol ples i antap long ol bikipela na liklik maunten*, the phrase *antap* [ . . . ] *maunten* “stays together” more straightforwardly if marked by *i*. Although phrases with such attributes do occur unlinked, that form of them is rather rare. Linking with *i* seems to be preferred, and in fact more commonly a regular relative clause form is more frequent, of the type *ol ples i stap antap long*

[ . . . ] (note the use of *stap*). Again, then, in nominal phrases with attributes that are themselves phrases, the syntax tends to be that of a gray area between linked attributes that are not relative clauses and regular relative clauses (see 1.1.1 after (16) and 1.1.2 after (19)).

## 14: RELATIVE CLAUSES

As explained in Ch. 11, postposed attributes may be either unlinked or linked (see Table 7 in that section). Unlinked postposed attributes were examined in Ch. 12. As for linked attributes, these may be either nonclausal or clausal, with a gray area in between them. The nonclausal linked attributes as well as those in the gray area were discussed in Ch. 13. Fully clausal linked attributes—that is, relative clauses—are examined in the present chapter.

As explained in Chs. 11 and 13, relative clauses are full clauses containing, that is, a full predicate and other constituents that may accompany a predicate. Relative clauses are typically, but not invariably, attributes. Only attributive relative clauses are dealt with in the present chapter (for other ones, see Ch. 24).

This introduction gives some principal characteristics of relative clauses, so that central notions of the grammar of relative clauses are clear. This exposition will work mainly with examples from English, and this will help recognize how Tok Pisin is strikingly different from English in various important respects. A brief description about how relative clauses may originate is added, because of its use for understanding relative clauses in Tok Pisin. Finally, a preview is given of how treatment of relative clauses in Tok Pisin will be subdivided.

### Central Concepts

In order to deal with relative clauses in Tok Pisin, some familiarity is needed with a few principal properties of the grammar of relative clauses and with a set of notions needed to discuss those properties. To facilitate this task, some examples taken from English are listed first, to be referred to in the discussion to follow.

- (1) *the student who learns French*
- (2) *the books that are useful*
- (3) *problems that worry me*
- (4) *the students whom I have seen*
- (5) *books that they have purchased*
- (6) *things that I don't want*
- (7) *public officials in whom people have no confidence*
- (8) *the teacher from whom I have learned most*
- (9) *plans that I was objecting to*
- (10) *the people whom we were working with*
- (11) *equipment that I have paid for*
- (12) *the fool that he is*
- (13) *The student, who is learning French, should perhaps enroll for Arabic as well.*
- (14) *The books, which—by the way—are useful, are also inexpensive.*
- (15) *The students, whom—incidentally—I have seen, have all expressed satisfaction about the course.*
- (16) *the students I have seen*

- (17) *books **they have purchased***  
 (18) *things **I don't want***  
 (19) *plans **I was objecting to***  
 (20) *people **we were working with***  
 (21) *equipment **I had paid for***  
 (22) *the place **where they met***  
 (23) *the guests in the garden, **who were about to leave***  
 (24) *the guests in the garden **who were about to leave***  
 (25) *the time **when he came***  
 (26) *the reasons **why we did this***  
 (27) *Over there is the football field, **where—I should add—tomorrow's game will be played.***  
 (28) *Thursday seems a good day, **when—incidentally—we will also celebrate your birthday.***

### Antecedent; Relativizer

A relative clause is an attribute to its head, and the head of such a construction is called the antecedent. Thus, in (1), the part in bold is the relative clause, and *student* is the antecedent. As its name suggests, the antecedent comes before the relative clause. The constituent that links the two in (1) is *who*. Let us call that the “relativizer.” Other such relativizers in English are *which*, as in (14), or *that*, as in (3); and also *when*, as in (25), and *where*, as in (22).

### Relativizers as Pronouns; Their Argument Status; Stranded Prepositions

The relativizers *who* and *which* (and, in some ways, *that*) are pronouns—relative pronouns. As pronouns, they behave like other pronouns (and nouns) in at least three respects: first, they may be part of the predicate (the copulative type); second, they may be arguments to the verb (i.e. subject or object—see Ch. 4, 2.); third, they may follow a preposition.

As for the first, see (12): the relative pronoun *that* is nominal part of the predicate—its verbal part is *was*.

As for the second: in regard to subject and object, we may say that relative pronouns in English have “argument status.” Thus, *who* in (1), *that* in (2) and in (3), and *which* in (14) are all subjects (within the relative clause). *Whom* is object in (4), as is *that* in (5), (6), and (9).

Third, *who* (and *which*) may also follow prepositions, as appears from (7) and (8); however, *that*, as a relativizer, cannot follow a preposition (see (11)). The preposition may also be placed at the end of the relative clause, as appears from (9) and (10); even *that* may be used in this type of construction, as in (11). When prepositions are thus in final position, they are called “stranded prepositions.”

Except for relativizing *husat*, Tok Pisin has no pronominal relativizers, except as *em* (or *en*) and *ol*, only after *long* or *bilong*.

### Restrictive and Nonrestrictive Relative Clauses

A relative clause conveys information about its antecedent. This information may be essential to identify the antecedent uniquely, or at least sufficiently for it to make the sense it is supposed to in context. When a relative clause contains such essential information, it is called a restrictive relative clause.

Or a relative clause may give nonessential information, not strictly needed for adequate identification of the antecedent; then the relative clause is a nonrestrictive one. (In English, punctuation conventionally follows the distinction between restrictive and nonrestrictive relative clauses: the latter is separated from the antecedent by a comma; the former is not. By contrast, there is no such consistent orthographic tradition in Tok Pisin.)

All of (1) through (12) may be read as having restrictive relative clauses (in fact, they are supposed to—there is no comma in any of them). Now consider (13) through (15), and compare those with (1), (2), and (4) respectively; (13) through (15) are given in the form of complete sentences, to provide context—very minimal context, but enough to make the point. One may think of a nonrestrictive relative clause as of a kind of parenthetical remark; for example, comments like *incidentally* or *by the way* may be inserted in nonrestrictive relative clauses—as illustrated in (14) and (15)—but not in restrictive ones. Note that *who* may be either restrictive or nonrestrictive, while *that* can be used only restrictively. Some authors use *which* only nonrestrictively; others use it either way. In conversation, the tendency is to use *which* only nonrestrictively.

Tok Pisin also has both restrictive and nonrestrictive relative clauses.

### Dropping Relative Pronouns

In English the relative pronoun may be dropped when it is the object, or when it depends upon a stranded preposition, but (in either case) only if the relative clause is restrictive. Examples (16) through (21) illustrate this. Compare them with (4) through (6) and (9) through (11), respectively.

In Tok Pisin, the object of a relative clause that is coreferential with the antecedent is not expressed (that is, it is “dropped”), but it is not then a “pronoun,” when it is dropped.

### Coreferentiality of a Constituent in a Relative Clause and of the Antecedent

“Coreferentiality” means the property of two or more constituents such that they refer to the same person or thing. Thus, in *John grabbed **his** bag*, or in *Nobody wants to fool **himself***, the parts in bold are coreferential. A similar analysis applies to relative clauses. Thus, in (1), *student* and *who* are coreferential; in (2), *books* and *that*; in (7) *public officials* and *whom*. In (17) through (21), the constituent coreferential with the antecedent is dropped, but we may still say that it is the object in the relative clause that is coreferential with the antecedent—in (17) and (18)—and that is a sensible analysis, for the relative pronoun may be

dropped precisely because it is the object. A slightly different analysis holds for (19) through (21).

### The Remote Antecedent

Typically, an antecedent immediately precedes the relative clause. This is the case in all examples above, except (23) and (24). In those two, *guests* is the antecedent, and it does not immediately precede the relative clause. (One could say that the entire phrase, *the guests in the garden*, is the antecedent, and that in its full form it immediately precedes the relative clause, but in that phrase *guests* is the head, which is still at some distance from the relative clause. Thus, we may call *guests* a remote antecedent.) Note that (23) is nonrestrictive and (24) restrictive.

In English, remote antecedents do not have special consequences for the relative clause, but in Tok Pisin they do, as appears in 1.3, below.

### Relativizers as Adverbs

In English, relativizers may be adverbs rather than pronouns. They are: *when*, *where*, and *why*. Examples: (25) through (28); note the restrictive relative clauses in (22) and (25), and the nonrestrictive ones in (27) and (28)—with the parenthetical comments as test for nonrestrictiveness. Relative *why* cannot be used nonrestrictively (nonrestrictively we would have to say *which is why* [ . . . ], where *which* is nonrestrictive, and *why* still restrictive).

Relative *where*, *why*, and (perhaps less frequently) *when* may be dropped—on condition, once again, that the relative clause is nonrestrictive.

Tok Pisin also has adverbial relativizers—for place, though not for time.

### The Genesis of Relative Clauses

How do relative clauses originate in languages? This question, much discussed by specialists in linguistics, has its importance also for our topic, and appears in part from things that immediately meet the eye. In English, for example, the pronouns serving as relativizers, *who* and *which*, are also interrogative pronouns. It is not surprising, then, to find the origins of relative pronouns from interrogative pronouns in a language like English. The pronoun *that*, of course, is a demonstrative, and in languages like Dutch and German, relative pronouns are mainly derived from demonstrative pronouns. In Tok Pisin, the interrogative *husat* ‘who’ now increasingly functions also as a relative pronoun. Almost certainly there has been influence from English in this particular regard, but that may not be the whole story. The process of interrogatives becoming relatives has characterized developments in many other languages.

There are also many languages that have nonpronominal relativizers: Tok Pisin *i* is a clear example of this. Studies have shown that relative clauses linked nonpronominally to their antecedents are most likely to have arisen from independent clauses.

The relative clause is a dependent clause. Across languages, many types of dependent clauses have developed from independent clauses. This is particularly the case in Tok Pisin, in which the distinction between independent and dependent clauses is in various respects rather artificial (see Ch. 24). Thus, in Tok Pisin relative clauses have many features found also in independent clauses. This will be explained in more detail in the present chapter.

### Preview

In 1, different strategies of forming relative clauses are reviewed. In 2, it is shown that only third-person antecedents can have relative clauses, and that non-third must be made third first in order to be relativized. Also, pronouns cannot be antecedents in Tok Pisin, not even third person pronouns.

## 1. Strategies of Relativization in Tok Pisin

The strategies for relativizing nouns (not adverbially) in Tok Pisin are:

- [a] The relative clause, in a form not different from that of an independent clause, is opened and closed with the deictic particle *ya*.
- [b] The relative clause is opened with *we*, either as an adverbial relativizer or to relativize the subject.
- [c] The subject of the relative clause is coreferential with the antecedent, and it triggers *i* as the relativizer.
- [d] The subject of the relative clause is coreferential with the antecedent, and it triggers *em* for the singular and either *ol* or *em ol* for the plural.
- [e] The object of the relative clause is coreferential with the antecedent, and is typically not expressed in restrictive clauses, though it is typically expressed in nonrestrictive clauses.
- [f] In the relative clause, a phrase consisting of a preposition and a pronoun is such that the pronoun is coreferential with the antecedent.
- [g] For antecedents denoting humans (third person only), the relative pronoun *husat* ‘who’ may be used, as an alternative to strategy [c] only.

These seven strategies are reviewed in 1.1 through 1.7, respectively.

### 1.1 *Ya* as Relativizer

Here is an example:

- (1) *Yu lukim dispela ya kon wantaim muruk i sanap long en ya?*  
 ‘Did you see the one that had corn and cassowaries on it?’

*Ya* (also appearing in some records as *hia*) is a deictic particle that may, all by itself, be an attribute (see Ch. 12, 1.3, (5) for examples). To mark a relative clause, it seems to be used by speakers when they do not know immediately how to continue what



they are saying, not unlike the way informal English has *y'know*, as in an utterance like: *This man—y'know—he had called me before—y'know—he asked me to go to Main Street*. This is, as we might say, a tentative way of saying *This man, who had called me before, asked me to go to Main Street*. Note that the stretch *he had called me before* in the tentative phrasing has the shape of an independent clause, while *who had called me before* in the more tightly organized second way of conveying the same information is a relative clause, dependent.

The *ya* [ . . . ] *ya* relativization seems to be wholly absent from published Tok Pisin texts, and it seems to be rarely used, if at all, in at least several major Tok Pisin dialects. As specialized studies have shown (example (1) is taken from one of them), *ya* has all the makings of the kind of particle that could have developed into a relativizer. But it has apparently not done so to the point where it has entered standard or received Tok Pisin—although it may well still be used in the area where it has been recorded.

We shall ignore the *ya* relativization in the remainder of this chapter.

## 1.2 Relativizing *we*

*We* in interrogative clauses means ‘where?’ (Ch. 6, 2.1.3). It may be relativized adverbially, as relative ‘where’. Examples (the antecedent appears in small caps):

- (1) *Ol i mas bihainim HAP namba 17 we i gat tok long hamas vot i mas sapotim nupela lo.*  
‘They have to follow Article 17, where it says how many votes are needed to pass a new law.’
- (2) *Em i gutpela sapos i gat liklik HAUS bilong bekri we yu inap bungim olgeta samting.*  
‘It would be good if there is a small shed for the bakery where you can store everything.’
- (3) *Tasol sapos dispela abus i pundaun long HUL wara we wara i kamap nating long graun o long tang wara, bai wara i no inap kamap doti.*  
‘But if such an animal falls into a water well where the water springs straight from the ground, or into a water tank, then the water is not impure.’
- (4) *Bipo em i save go paslain long yupela bilong soim rot long yupela na bilong painim PLES we yupela i ken sanapim ol haus sel.*  
‘He used to go before you [pl.] to show you [pl.] the way and to find a place where you [pl.] can pitch your tents.’
- (5) *Em i bin kisim bek yupela long ISIP, we yupela i bin i stap wokboi nating.*  
‘He has freed you [pl.] from Egypt, where you [pl.] had been slaves.’
- (6) *Orait Elaija i kisim bodi bilong pikinini long han bilong mama na em i karim i go antap long HAUS we rum slip bilong Elaija i stap long en, na em i slipim pikinini long bet.*  
‘Then Elijah took the body of the child from the mother and carried to up to the room where Elijah slept, and he laid the child on the bed.’

The locative relativizer *we* behaves pretty much the way the English relativizer *where* behaves. However, in (6), the relative clause has *long en* added, as another coreferential constituent—a feature of the relativization types of 1 [f] (see 1.6). The *we* type of relativization is perhaps typically restrictive; however, an obvious reading of (5) is a nonrestrictive one. The relative clause there is not needed for unique identification of *Isip*, which as a proper name is already uniquely identified.

Occasionally relativizing *we* concerns time, rather than place:

- (7) *I mas gat tupela TAIM we ol memba i ken paitim tok long dispela lo ol i laik wokim.*

‘There have to be two times when the members can debate this new law they want to make.’

Finally, relativizing *we* may have argument status, and thus be a variation on the 1.3 and 1.4 types, below, as in:

- (8) *No ken tanim hapsait SAP we yu laik katim long en.*

‘Don’t bend the cutting edge [of the razor] that you want to use for cutting.’

This use of *we* is frequent in spoken Tok Pisin in a number of dialects, but is uncharacteristic of received Tok Pisin found in published Tok Pisin texts.

### 1.3 Subject Coreferential with Antecedent: Resumptive *i*

In this type of relative clause, the antecedent is immediately followed by *i*, which picks up the antecedent coreferentially in a construction in which it replaces the subject of the relative clause. Consider (antecedents in small caps):

- (1) *Sapos GRAUN i stap aninit long haus em i gat wara i stap, mobeta yu putim poteto insait long bokis.*

‘If the soil underneath the shed is damp, it is better that you put the potatoes in a box.’

- (2) *Na tu PLES i stap longwe long taun i gat hevi bilong baim transpot bilong kisim samting i kam.*

‘Also, a village that is far from any town would be burdened with the expense of getting things to the village.’

- (3) *Em i SAMTING i sut long gutpela kaikai.*

‘That is something that has to do with good food.’

- (4) *I gat ol kain kain HELPIM i stap.*

‘There are various kinds of assistance available.’

- (5) *God em i olsem wanpela gutpela PAPA i was long yumi na lukautim yumi gut.*

‘God is like a good father who watches over us [incl.] and takes very good care of us [incl.]’

- (6) *Dispela buk i gat tok save bilong ol SIK i save kamap planti taim insait long Papua Niugini.*  
‘This book has information about the diseases that are found often in Papua New Guinea.’
- (7) *Wetkot i no gat rong inap kot i soim em i gat rong. Olsem yumi mas tingim em i MAN i no gat rong.*  
‘Whoever awaits trial is innocent until the court determines he or she is guilty. Thus we [incl.] must presume he or she is a person who is innocent.’
- (8) *Tasol MAN i no bin katim skin, em i no ken kaikai.*  
‘But one who has not been circumcised cannot eat [from sacrificed food].’

In relative clauses of this type, *i* is dropped immediately before *inap* (see Ch. 10, 2.2.1, and Ch. 19, 8.1).

Note the various clausal forms of the relative clause: with an intransitive verb in (1) through (6); and with a transitive verb in (7) and (8). There are adjuncts of various kinds. From (1) through (8), nothing precedes *i* within the relative clause. Indeed nothing can, except for any of a small number of one-word adjuncts of time, i.e. *bai* (which is a future tense marker), *bipo* ‘earlier’, *nau* ‘now’, *oltaim* ‘always’, and *pastaim* ‘before earlier’—but, it seems, rarely, if ever, *bihain* ‘afterwards, later’. No other adjuncts ever precede *i* in this type of relative clause. Consider:

- (9) *Nau mi laik mekim kontrak wantaim yupela na wantaim ol lain PIKININI bilong yupela bai i kamap bihain.*  
‘Now I establish my covenant with you [pl.] and with your [pl.] descendants who will come.’
- (10) *Na i no gat wanpela MAN bai i go wok long gaden wain bilong ol.*  
‘There is no one who will work in his vineyard.’
- (11) *Taim mi dai, MAN bai i kisim ol samting bilong mi, em Elieser.*  
‘When I die, the man who will inherit what is mine is Eliezer.’
- (12) *I no gat wanpela MAN bai i lukim em moa.*  
‘There is no one who will set eyes on him any more.’
- (13) *Ol manmeri i wokim gen ol TAUN bipo i bin i gat strongpela banis.*  
‘The people rebuilt the towns that had had strong ramparts before.’
- (14) *Orait Josua i tokim dispela tupela MAN bipo i bin kam na lukstil long dispela ples [ . . . ].*  
‘Then Joshua told these two men who had come previously and spied in that area, [ . . . ].’
- (15) *Em Sihon, king bilong taun Hesbon na OK, king bilong kantri Basan, bipo i save stap long taun Astarot.*  
‘Those were Sihon, king of Heshbon, and Og, the king of Bashan, who had been at Ashtaroth earlier.’
- (16) *Ol MAN bipo i save kam i stap sampela taim long haus bilong mi, ol i lusim tingting pinis long mi.*  
‘The people who used to come to stay at my home have forgotten me.’

- (17) *Na planti gras na ol pitpit samting bai i kamap long ol PLES bipo i drai tru.*  
'And grass and reed will grow in the regions that used to be parched.'
- (18) *Mi lukim olgeta hap GRAUN bipo i gat gris, tasol nau i kamap ples wesana nating.*  
'I saw the fields that used to be fertile but have now become a desert.'
- (19) *BOI bipo i ran i go stret, nau em i go stan.*  
'The boy who ran forward first now runs backwards.'
- (20) *Em bai i rausim planti lain PIPEL nau i stap long dispela graun.*  
'He will remove many tribes that now inhabit this land.'
- (21) *Yu no laikim dispela HEVI nau i wok long kamap long yu.*  
'You do not like these trials that are afflicting you now.'
- (22) *God, Bikpela bilong yumi, bai i bringim yupela i go long dispela GRAUN nau yupela i laik kisim, na em bai i rausim planti lain PIPEL nau i stap long dispela graun.*  
'God, our [incl.] Lord, will take you [pl.] to this land you [pl.] will now be given and he will remove many people who now live on that land.'
- (23) *Yupela ol MANMERI nau i stap long Jerusalem, yupela bai i no moa sori na krai.*  
'You [pl.] people who now live in Jerusalem, you [pl.] will not be sad nor weep any more.'
- (24) *Bai mi kirapim gen ol dispela TAUN nau i bagarap i stap.*  
'I will rebuild those towns that are now in ruins.'
- (25) *Mi save pinis, dispela MAN oltaim i save kam kaikai wantaim yumi, em i gutpela man.*  
'I am sure now that this man who always used to come and eat with us [incl.] is a good man.'
- (26) *Mobeta yu dring liklik wain wantaim, bilong helpim bel bilong yu, na bilong rausim dispela SIK oltaim i save kamap long yu.*  
'Do drink some wine along with it [i.e. water], for the sake of your stomach, and to remove that illness that you always have.'
- (27) *Na dispela tupela ENSEL pastaim i bin go wantaim Bikpela long lukim Abraham, tupela i kam.*  
'And these two angels who had earlier gone with the Lord to Abraham came [to Lot].'
- (28) *Dispela HUK pastaim i bin i stap strong em bai i lus na pundaun.*  
'This peg, which used to be strong, will get loose and fall down.'
- (29) *Ol MAN pastaim i bin sutim tok long em, ol i rausim longpela klos bilong ol na putim i stap klostu long lek bilong wanpela yangpela man, nem bilong en Sol.*  
'The men who had been arguing against him put their upper clothes at the feet of a young man named Saul.'

All these examples have been presented in full sentences to show the relative clause position in them. In isolation the grammar of these clauses would be no different if independent. That is, in each of the examples just now, the parts in

caps and in bold together and without what precedes and follows would have the structure of an independent clause.

Note that this type of relative clause is restrictive, and that it typically does not have a remote antecedent.

#### 1.4 Pronominal Subject Coreferential with Antecedent

The form of this type of relative clause is identical to that of 1.3, except that *i* is preceded by *em*, *ol*, or *em ol*. Semantically, this type is typically nonrestrictive, and could be nonrestrictive only with a remote antecedent; this is particularly the case with *ol i* as relativizer. Table 8 represents all this, including also the use of *i* of the type of 1.3—and thus, once again, only for subjects coreferential with the antecedent.

Relative clauses with the relativizers *em*, *em ol*, and *ol* are treated in 1.4.1 through 1.4.3, respectively.

##### 1.4.1 *Em i* as Relativizer, Coreferential with Antecedent

Consider the following examples with the relativizer *em i* (capitals are used for the antecedent, or for its head if the antecedent is itself a phrase):

- (1) *Olsem wanem na kain gutpela MAN olsem, **em oltaim i save mekim stretpela pasin long ol man**, nau em i lusim strong bilong ai bilong em na i no save lukluk moa?*  
 ‘Why is such a good kind of man, who has always been just to people, now losing his eyesight and cannot see any more?’

TABLE 8. DISTRIBUTION OF *I*, *EM I*, *OL I*, AND *EM OL I* AS RELATIVIZERS (SUBJECT AND ANTECEDENT COREFERENTIAL)

	restrictive		nonrestrictive	
	singular	plural	singular	plural
antecedent remote	—	<i>ol i</i>	<i>em i</i>	<i>ol i</i> <i>em ol i</i>
antecedent immediately preceding	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>em i</i>	<i>em ol i</i> <i>ol i</i>

The “—” sign says that the construction concerned is rare or nonexistent.

- (2) *Sapos yupela i lukim BODI bilong wanpela man ol i kilim pinis, em i stap long wanpela hap bilong dispela graun God i laik givim long yupela, [ . . . ].*  
 ‘If you [pl.] see the body of a man who has been killed, which lies somewhere in this land God is giving you [pl.], [ . . . ].’
- (3) *Long dispela taim i gat wanpela yangpela MAN bilong lain bilong Livai, em i stap long taun Betlehem.*  
 ‘There was then a young man of the Levi clan, who stayed in the town of Bethlehem.’
- (4) *BIKPELA I Gat Olgeta Strong, em i stap long maunten Saion, em i bin givim ol dispela pikinini long mi.*  
 ‘Almighty God, who dwells on Mount Zion, has given me these children.’
- (5) *Ol arapela boi i sanap long wanpela MAK, em i stap longwe liklik olsem 20 fit.*  
 ‘The other boys stand at a marked point, which is fairly far, about 20 feet.’
- (6) *Nem bilong ol taun ol i kisim i olsem, [ . . . ] na Hasor Hadata na KERIOT HESRON, em i gat narapela nem Hasor, na [ . . . ].*  
 ‘The names of the towns they conquered are as follows: [ . . . ] and Hazor-hadattah, Kerioth-hezron, which is also called Hazor, and [ . . . ].’
- (7) *WARA bilong wanpela gras, em i gat strong bilong helpim sua, nem bilong en aloe.*  
 ‘The juice of one plant, which can treat sores, is called aloe.’
- (8) *BIKPELA, em i God bilong mipela HIBRU, em i bin bung wantaim mipela.*  
 ‘The Lord, who is the God of us [excl.] Hebrews, has come to meet us [excl.].’
- (9) *Na Bikpela i bin winim OK, king bilong Basan, em i bin bosim tupela taun Astarot na Edrei.*  
 ‘And the Lord has defeated Og, king of Bashan, who had ruled the two towns of Ashtaroth and Edrei.’
- (10) *GOD, Bikpela bilong yumi, em i bin kisim yupela long Isip na bringim yupela i kam, em bai i stap wantaim yupela.*  
 ‘God, our [incl.] Lord, who has led you [pl.] out of Egypt, will be with you [pl.].’
- (11) *GOD, em i God bilong mipela, em i bin mekim gut tru long mipela.*  
 ‘God, our [excl.] God, has blessed us [excl.].’
- (12) *Na man i helpim mi, em i no helpim mi tasol. Nogat. Em i helpim PAPA, em i bin salim mi na mi kam.*  
 ‘And he who welcomes me, welcomes not only me. No. He welcomes the Father, he who sent me.’

Observe the remote antecedent (or an antecedent such that its head is remote). It is this remoteness that triggers *em i* rather than just *i* as in the type described in 1.3. It seems safe to conclude that most or all of the relative clauses in (1) through (12) are nonrestrictive.

1.4.2 *Em ol i* as Relativizer, Coreferential with Antecedent

Consider:

- (1) *Long dispela taim God bai i givim gutpela sindaun long olgeta MANMERI bilong Israel, em ol i bin bihainim lo bilong em.*  
‘At that time God will give them a prosperous life, to them who have been obeying his laws.’
- (2) *Mi bai tekewe sin bilong olgeta Israel na bilong ol MANMERI bilong narapela kantri i stap wantaim ol, em ol i bin kalapim sampela lo bilong mi.*  
‘I will pardon the sins of the community of Israel and of all the people from other lands that live among them, that is, those who have violated any of my laws.’
- (3) *Mipela i bin pait long planti KANTRI, em ol i gat planti god i stap.*  
‘We [excl.] have fought in many countries, those that have many gods.’
- (4) *Ol TEBOL ol i wokim long gol, em ol i bilong putim bret ol i givim long God.*  
‘The tables they made of gold, those that are for putting bread on them they give to God.’
- (5) *Na Jeroboam i kisim 800,000 strongpela SOLDIA, em ol i saveman tru bilong pait, na ol i kam bilong pait long ol Juda.*  
‘And Jeroboam led 800,000 strong soldiers, who were experienced fighters, and they came to fight against Judah.’
- (6) *Dispela lista i gat nem bilong ol HETMAN bilong ol wan wan lain, em ol i bin i stap long Babilon na i go bek long Jerusalem wantaim mi Esra, taim Artaserksis i stap king.*  
‘This is the list of names of the heads of families, those who had stayed in Babylon and went back to Jerusalem with me Ezra, when Artaxerxes was king.’
- (7) *Mi mekim save na bagarapim ol dispela KANTRI, em ol i gat planti piksa bilong ol giaman god i stap long ol.*  
‘I have punished and destroyed those countries, which had many images there of idols.’
- (8) *Na bai mi mekim save long ol arapela lain PIPEL, em ol i bin mekim nogut long ol Israel.*  
‘And I will punish those other nations, who have treated the people of Israel badly.’
- (9) *Mi givim tu long ol WANTOK, em ol i bin kam wantaim mi olsem ol kalabusman na ol i stap long Ninive.*  
‘I gave some [alms] also to my brothers, who had come with me and lived at Nineveh as exiles.’
- (10) *ALTA bilong kukim paura bilong kamapim smok i gat gutpela smel, em ol i bin karamapim long gol, em i stap long dispela rum.*  
‘The altar for offering incense, the one plated with gold, is in this room.’

For the *em ol i* type as well, it seems obvious that most or all are nonrestrictive; note also the remote antecedents.

### 1.4.3 *Ol i* as Relativizer, Coreferential with Antecedent

Lastly, there are the relative clauses with *ol i* as relativizer; in the glosses of the following examples, the comma before a relative clause (which in English orthography consistently characterizes nonrestrictive clauses only) indicates that the relative clause could be either restrictive or nonrestrictive.

- (1) *Olsem na yu mas kisim nem bilong olgeta namba wan PIKININI man, ol i winim wan mun pinis.*  
'So you must take a census of all male children(, those) who are over one month old.'
- (2) *Ol i kisim inap 12,000 MAN olgeta, ol i redi long pait.*  
'They collected up to 12,000 men(, those) who were ready for war service.'
- (3) *Ating i gat sampela MAN i stap hia, ol i bin wokim nupela haus na i no i go i stap long em yet na i no askim God long mekim gut long en?*  
'Are there any men here who have built a house and have not yet moved into it and not yet asked God's blessing over it?'
- (4) *Orait em i mekim wanpela tok long ol PRIS bilong lain Livai, ol i lukautim Bokis Kontrak bilong God.*  
'Then he will give an order to the priests of the tribe of Levi, those who looked after the Ark of the Covenant.'
- (5) *Na taim ol MERI, man bilong ol i dai pinis, ol i bin kam askim yu long helpim ol, yu no bin helpim ol.*  
'And when there were widows who came to ask you to help them, you have not helped them.'
- (6) *Ol MAN bilong Israel long hap not, ol i bin i stap kalabus long narapela kantri, kalabus bilong ol bai i pinis na ol bai i kam bek.*  
'The people of Israel in the north(,) who were exiled to another country, their exile will end and they will return.'
- (7) *Planti MERI tu i stap, ol i bin bihainim Jisas na i lusim Galili na i kam bilong helpim em.*  
'There were also many women, those who had followed Jesus and had left Galilee to serve him.'
- (8) *Mipela i gat fopela MAN, ol i bin mekim wanpela promis long God.*  
'We [excl.] have four men who have made a vow to God.'
- (9) *Yupela no ken mekim nogut long ol MANMERI bilong narapela kantri, ol i stap wantaim yupela.*  
'You [pl.] must not treat badly the people from other countries who live among you [pl].'
- (10) *Na sampela SAVEMAN bilong wokim ol kain kain samting, ol i stap yet long Jerusalem, na em i kisim ol tu i go.*



‘And some craftsmen in various crafts(,) who were still in Jerusalem, he also led away.’

- (11) *Yupela i save, ol arapela MANMERI bilong God, ol i stap long olgeta hap bilong graun, ol tu i save karim wankain pen olsem yupela.*

‘You [pl.] know that others of the people of God, those who live in all parts of this earth, bear the same sufferings as you [pl.] do.’

- (12) *Olsem tu long taim bilong profet Elisa planti MAN i stap long Israel, ol i gat sik lepra.*

‘Likewise, at the time of the prophet Elisha there were many people in Israel who had leprosy.’

Recall also 1.3; it was shown that the adjuncts of time *bai*, *bipo*, *nau* and *oltime* may take initial position, before the relativizer *i*. However, these adjuncts never occur before the relativizer in the *em i*, *ol i* or *em ol i* type discussed just now. As for *bai*, it does occur initially in dependent clauses of apparently the same type, but *bai* then is a purposive conjunction (for which see Ch. 24, 2.1.4):

- (13) *Na yupela i mas wokim ol siot na ol let olsem paspas na ol laplap bilong het bilong ol pikinini man bilong Aron, bai ol i ken bilas gut tru na i gat nem long ai bilong ol manmeri.*

‘And you [pl.] must make tunics and girdles and head dresses for the sons of Aaron, so they may be dignified and prominent before all people.’

- (14) *Na mi bin tokim ol soldia bilong mi bai ol i mas bungim mi long narapela hap.*

‘And I told my soldiers that they had to join me elsewhere.’

### 1.5 Object Coreferential with Antecedent

In this type of relative clause, its object is coreferential with the antecedent. That object is typically unexpressed, but it may appear as *em* or *ol*, at the beginning of the relative clause. In the former case, the relative clause is restrictive; in the latter, nonrestrictive.

Examples of restrictive relative clauses:

- (1) *Nogut yu kros planti long PASIN ol i mekim.*  
‘Don’t get very angry at their way of doing it.’
- (2) *Mobeta yu kisim D.D.T. o narapela PAURA ol i kolim insek das na putim long yangpela kabis.*  
‘Better get D.D.T. or a different powder that is called “insect dust.”’
- (3) *Ol i mas wasim olgeta KLOS ol i putim asde.*  
‘They must wash the clothes they wore the day before.’
- (4) *Yumi mas yusim gut olgeta SAVE yumi pilim i stap insait long yumi pinis.*  
‘We [incl.] should use fully all the knowledge we [incl.] feel we [incl.] already have.’
- (5) *Ol tasol i save wokim dispela olgeta SAMTING yu lukim hia.*  
‘It’s they who make all these things you see here.’

- (6) *Yu mas save gut long ol PILAI **yu redim.***  
 ‘You have to be thoroughly familiar with the games you prepare.’
- (7) *Na olgeta MANMERI **mipela i lukim, ol i longpela bun tru.***  
 ‘All the people we [excl.] saw were very tall.’
- (8) *Dispela ol MAN **yutupela i kilim i dai long maunten Tabor ol i olsem wanem?***  
 ‘These men you killed at Mount Tabor, what were they like?’
- (9) *Tasol wanem MAN **ol birua i holim bai ol i sutim i dai long bainat.***  
 ‘Whatever men the enemies captured they killed with the sword.’
- (10) *Long taim bilong harim kot ol i save helpim tasol ol MAN **ol i laikim.***  
 ‘When they hear a case in court, they will help only people whom they like.’
- (11) *Na mi kisim ol gutpela gutpela SAMTING **ol i bin bungim i stap.***  
 ‘And I have obtained the treasures they had collected.’

Note the absence of an overt object in the relative clause. If the subject happens to be *ol* or *em*, that pronoun is not the relativizer.

Normally no constituent can precede the subject, except for those listed as taking initial position in 1.3—with the exception of *bai*:

- (12) *Sara i karim pikinini long dispela TAIM **bipo God i bin makim.***  
 ‘Sarah bore a child at this time God had determined.’
- (13) *Nau bai mipela i kirap i go long dispela KANTRI **bipo Bikpela i tok bai em i givim mipela.***  
 ‘We [excl.] will now set out for that land, which the Lord has said he will give to us [excl.].’
- (14) *Ating nau MIT i kol pinis, **bipo yu bin hangamapim.***  
 ‘The meat that you have hung up will now have cooled off.’
- (15) *Na ol i lukim gen dispela STA **bipo ol i bin lukim long hap sankamap.***  
 ‘And they saw once again the star they had seen before in the east.’
- (16) *Mi laikim dispela PASIN **nau mi mekim.***  
 ‘I like the way I do it now.’
- (17) *Ol i mas save long dispela gutpela WOK **nau gavman bilong yumi em i mekim long kantri bilong yumi.***  
 ‘They should know about this good work our [incl.] government is doing in our [incl.] country.’
- (18) *Olgeta dispela hap GRAUN **nau yu lukim bai mi givim long yu.***  
 ‘All the land you see now I will give to you.’
- (19) *Givim mi sampela bilong dispela retpela SUP **nau yu kukim.***  
 ‘Give me some of the red soup you are cooking.’
- (20) *Tasol God i bihainim PASIN **oltaim em i save bihainim.***  
 ‘But God follows ways he always follows.’
- (21) *Na san bai i lait strong moa yet na lait bilong en bai i kamap bikpela tru i winim LAIT **oltaim em i save givim.***  
 ‘And the sun will give a very bright light, and its light will be more than the light it always gives.’

- (22) *Na ol i mas kisim ol nupela ston na senisim ol STON pastaim ol i bin rausim, na wokim dispela hap banis gen.*  
‘And they must get new stones and replace the ones they have removed earlier.’
- (23) *Ol i lukim klaut i karamapim kem, na ol hap GRAUN pastaim wara i karamapim olgeta, nau em i kamap drai.*  
‘They saw the cloud that covered the camp, and the waters that covered the land, now receded.’
- (24) *Dispela TOK pastaim mi mekim, em mi laik mekim gen.*  
‘This statement that I made earlier, I will make again.’

The reason why *bai* cannot take initial position in this type of relative clause (which requires a subject) is that *bai* + subject in a subclause is purposive (see Ch. 24, 2.1.4). Thus, if this type of relative clause needs *bai*, it follows the subject:

- (25) *Karim ol ofa i go long dispela wanpela PLES Bikpela bai i makim bilong lotu.*  
‘Take the sacrifices to this one place the Lord will choose.’
- (26) *God bai i mekim gut long olgeta SAMTING yupela bai i mekim long dispela graun.*  
God will bless everything you [pl.] will do in this land.’
- (27) *Ol dispela gutpela SAMTING mipela bai i kisim, ol i winim tru olgeta arapela samting.*  
‘These good things we [excl.] will obtain by far exceed everything else.’

For the sake of comparison, here are examples of purposive *bai* opening a clause with object suppression:

- (28) *Na yu mas givim ol dispela lo long ol Israel bai ol i ken bihainim.*  
‘And you must give these laws to the people of Israel, so they can observe them.’
- (29) *Yupela i mas larim dispela kaikai i stap bilong ol rabisman na ol narapela lain i stap wantaim yupela, bai ol i kisim.*  
‘You [pl.] must leave this food for the poor and the strangers who live among you [pl.] so they may get it.’
- (30) *Yupela i mekim olsem, orait ol tumbuna pikinini bilong yupela i no bin harim lo bilong God, bai ol i ken harim.*  
‘If you [pl.] do so, then your [pl.] grandchildren who have not heard the law of God will be able to hear it.’
- (31) *Na ol Israel i stap long dispela taim nogut bai ol i no ken lusim tingting long dispela song, bai ol i wok long singim yet.*  
‘And the people of Israel during that time of adversity will not be able to forget this song, which they will still be singing.’

Rarely, in this type of relative clause, is the object overtly expressed:

- (32) *MAN ol i tasim em pinis, em i lus na em i mas sindaun nating long ples bilong em.*

'The person they have touched, he loses and he must sit down in his place.'

Relative clauses with deleted coreferential object seem to be typically restrictive. But they need not be; the following are nonrestrictive, and require *em* (never *ol*), for singular or plural:

- (33) *Na i gat wanpela kain STON i dia tumas, em ol i save kolim kanilian.*  
'And there was one kind of precious stone, the kind they call onyx.'
- (34) *Na bai yupela i stap long dispela ples na lotu long ol giaman GOD bilong ol, em ol i bin wokim long diwai na ston.*  
'And you [pl.] will live in that land and worship the idols, those which they have made of wood and stone.'
- (35) *Devit i pasim wanpela LAPLAP bilong pris, em ol i bin wokim long naispela laplap.*  
'David put on a tunic, one which had been made of fine linen.'
- (36) *I no gat wanpela BLESING moa i stap, em yu ken givim long mi?*  
'Is there no other blessing left for me, one you can give me?'
- (37) *Na yupela i mas ofaim tu ol OFA bilong paia i kukim olgeta na OFA bilong kapsaitim wain, em yupela i save ofaim long olgeta de.*  
'And you [pl.] must offer burnt sacrifices and wine offerings, those you [pl.] offer daily.'

## 1.6 Pronoun after Preposition Coreferential with Antecedent

So far, the relative clause types reviewed have been such that either subject or object of the relative clause is coreferential with the antecedent. In the type to be discussed next, the pronoun coreferential with the antecedent is a pronoun after a preposition. Thus, in English, the phrase *the equipment with which I work* has *which*, following a preposition, as coreferential with the antecedent. In a language like English, this is possible because *which* is a pronoun, and pronouns behave like nouns in various ways, one of which is that they may follow a preposition. In English, also, such a preposition may be a stranded one, appearing at the end of the relative clause: *the equipment which I work with*, or *the equipment that I work with* (*that* is possible only with a stranded preposition, because it cannot follow a preposition immediately), or *the equipment I work with* (deleting the relative pronoun).

In contrast, relativizers in Tok Pisin of the types discussed so far are not pronouns and thus cannot have prepositions. In addition, Tok Pisin has no stranded prepositions. The strategy followed in Tok Pisin for this type of relative clause is as follows: the preposition is *bilong* or *long*, and it is followed by *em* (or *en*) for singular or *ol* for plural. As for the pronoun marked by *long*, it is placed at the end of the relative clause (or at least at the end of the principal constituents thereof). The pronoun itself is the relativizer, and thus the relativizer in this type of clause is the only one (except for *husat*) that is pronominal. In short, if English followed Tok Pisin relative syntax, the phrase just now would have the form: *\*the*

equipment I work with it. (In fact, one may hear some Tok Pisin speakers use such constructions when they speak English.) This type is overwhelmingly restrictive.

For relativizing *long en* (or *long em*) and *long ol*, consider:

- (1) *SAMTING yumi sot long en, em gavman i no save givim long yumi.*  
'If we [incl.] are lacking in anything, the government will not give it to us [incl.]'
- (2) *Em i mas redim nem bilong SAMTING ol i ken wokim piksa long en, olsem kapul na pik na ka na trak na bulmakau na paul.*  
'He [i.e. the leader of a drawing contest] has to prepare the names of things they [i.e. the children] can make pictures of, like possums and pigs and cars and trucks and cows and chickens.'
- (3) *Long HAP tupela bun i join long en, tupela i gat waitpela karamap i wel isi tru.*  
'At the place where the two bones are joined, those bones have a white layer that moves smoothly' [i.e. cartilage].'
- (4) *Skelim gut GRAUN yu laik wokim neseri long en.*  
'Take a good look at the place where you want to build the nursery.'
- (5) *Wanpela SAMTING i stap na yu mas was long en, em i olsem: Yu no ken putim planti fetilaisa tumas.*  
'One thing that you have to be careful about is this: Don't use too much fertilizer.'
- (6) *Sapos yu bin kisim kain PLASTIK ai i ken lukluk i go insait long en, orait, bai yu inap lukim buk.*  
'If you have readied a piece of plastic you can see through, then you will be able to see the lump.'
- (7) *Mi no laik kisim dispela olgeta PASIN kranki yupela i tok long en.*  
'I don't want to accept all these new strange customs you [pl.] are talking about.'
- (8) *Em i mas sanap ausait long mak long PLES bal i bin kalap long en.*  
'He [who in soccer throws in the ball] must stand outside the line at the place where the ball bounced.'
- (9) *Sapos yu laik kirapim pilai, yu no ken stat long wanpela PILAI ol i no save long en.*  
'If you want to start games, don't start with a game they [i.e. the children] are not familiar with.'
- (10) *Ston kambang em i waitpela STON ol man i save wokim kambang long en.*  
'Limestone is a white stone people make lime from [i.e. for chewing betel nut].'
- (11) *Heven em i sia king bilong mi na graun em i PLES mi putim lek bilong mi antap long en.*  
'Heaven is my throne and the earth is the place I rest my feet on.'
- (12) *Ol MAN bilong wanpela kantri yupela i no save long ol, ol bai i kam kisim olgeta kaikai yupela i bin hatwok long planim.*

- 'People of a nation that you [pl.] don't know will come and obtain the crops you [pl.] have worked hard to raise.'
- (13) *Long ol dispela PLES **Bikpela bai i rausim yupela i go nabaut long ol, bai ol manmeri i lukim ol samting nogut i kamap long yupela.***  
 'In the places to which God will banish you [pl.] to wander about in, people will see misfortunes come over you [pl.]'
- (14) *Tasol ol dispela WOKMERI **nau yu tok long ol, ol bai i givim biknem long mi.***  
 'But the maids you speak of now will honor me.'
- (15) *Ol MANMERI **mi no bin save long ol, nau ol i stap aninit long mi.***  
 'People I did not know at first now obey me.'
- (16) *Bihain Moses i singautim olgeta MAN **Bikpela i bin givim gutpela save long ol.***  
 'Later, Moses called in all the men to whom the Lord had given wisdom.'

Here are some examples with *bilong*:

- (17) *Ol i painim wanpela DIWAI **as bilong en i stap long nambis na han bilong en i stap antap long solwara.***  
 'They get a tree the base of which is on the beach and a branch is in the sea.'
- (18) *Em i mekim olsem, na dispela BOI **ai bilong en i pas em i singaut, "Yu no wokabaut."***  
 'He does this, and this boy who is blindfolded calls out "Don't walk!"'
- (19) *Em i lukim wanpela SIPSIP man, **kom bilong en i pas long wanpela liklik diwai.***  
 'He saw a ram whose horns were caught in a bush.'
- (20) *Taim em i slip em i driman, na em i lukim wanpela LATA, **as bilong en i stap long graun na het bilong en i go antap long heven.***  
 'As he slept he had a dream, and he saw a ladder whose bottom part was on earth and whose head reach up to heaven.'
- (21) *Em i no ken maritim MERI, **man bilong en i dai pinis, o meri, man bilong en i rausim em pinis.***  
 'He must not marry a woman whose husband has died nor a woman whose husband has divorced her.'
- (22) *Yupela i no ken rongim ol man bilong arapela lain na ol PIKININI, **papa bilong ol i dai pinis.***  
 'You [pl.] must not deal unjustly with people of other tribes or with children whose father has died.'

These relative clauses must have their own subject, as is clear from the examples. Again, we find *bipo*, *nau*, *olaim*, and *pastaim* preceding these subjects—except, once again, for *bai*. Consider:

- (23) *Long moningtaim tru Abraham i go long dispela PLES **bipo em i bin sanap long en na toktok wantaim Bikpela.***

'Early in the morning Abraham went to the place where he had stood and talked to the Lord.'

- (24) *Na bihain em i askim ol olsem, "Olsem wanem long lapun PAPA bilong yupela, **bipo yupela i bin tokim mi long en?***

'And after that he asked them, "How is your [pl.] old father you [pl.] told me about earlier?"'

- (25) *Yupela i no ken mekim kontrak wantaim ol manmeri bilong dispela KANTRI **nau yupela i laik i go long en.***

'Don't you [pl.] make a pact with the people of that country you are about to enter.'

- (26) *Na ol dispela arapela lain pipel i no gat stretpela lo olsem ol dispela LO **nau mi bin skulim yupela long en.***

'And those other people do not have good laws like those laws I have taught you [pl.]'

- (27) *Dispela STRONG bilong God **oltaim em i wok long helpim yumi ol manmeri i bilip long em, em i bikpela moa moa yet.***

'This power of God he is always helping us [incl.] humans to believe in is infinitely great.'

- (28) *Bihain pris i mas putim liklik wel long ol dispela PLES **pastaim em i putim liklik blut long en.***

'Then the priest must put some oil on the areas he has earlier put blood on.'

Once again, *bai* is precluded from taking first place in this type of relative clause, because *bai* + subject is purposive:

- (29) *Mi promis pinis long Moses olsem, olgeta hap GRAUN **yupela bai i wokabaut long en, em bai mi givim yupela.***

'I have promised Moses that all the land you [pl.] will set foot on I will give you [pl.]'

- (30) *Na ol i mas karim ol dispela ston i go long PLES **yupela bai i wokim kem long en long nait.***

'And they must carry those stones to the site where you [pl.] will set up camp for the night.'

### 1.7 Relativizing *husat*

*Husat?* is an interrogative pronoun (see Ch. 6, 2.1.1). Here is an example of relativizing *husat*:

- (1) *Orait, nau PIKININI o SIKMAN, **husat i gat pekpek wara, i mas dring dispela suga-sol-wara.***

'Well then, children or those ill who have diarrhea must drink that sugar-salt-water solution.'

The commas are misleading: the only reading of the relative clause is a restrictive one.

In published texts, relative use of *husat* is extremely rare; in biblical Tok Pisin, it is wholly absent. In spoken Tok Pisin of the urban kind, it seems to be on the rise. Where it is used, it has argument status and seems to be mainly the subject of the relative clause.

Since interrogative *husat?* may be preceded by a preposition, it is not surprising that relative constructions like the following are found:

- (2) *Sampela pilai i kirapim pasin wanbel long ol husat i insait long en.*  
'Some games promote harmony among those who are involved in them.'
- (3) *Em i gat rait tu long toktok o rait i go long husat em i laik.*  
'He has the right to speak his mind and to go to whoever he likes.'

However these relative clauses here have no antecedent. This construction is of the type discussed in Ch. 6, 2.2. That section is on dependent WH- questions, but there is a gray area between such subclauses and relative clauses without antecedent, and (2) and (3) seem to belong there. Note that *ol* in (2) is not the antecedent: pronouns cannot be antecedents (see also 2, below). In any case a relative clause without antecedent does not belong in a treatment of head plus attribute. For such clauses, see Ch. 24, 2.2.

## 2. Personal Pronouns as Antecedents

In English, not only nouns but also personal pronouns may be antecedents of relative clauses. Thus in *I, who have signed the letter, feel responsible for it*, the antecedent is *I*. Similar examples with *you*, *he*, etc. are easily found.

In contrast, in Tok Pisin, pronouns by themselves cannot be relativized; but some of them (not all) may be relativized if accompanied by an apposition. Those that may take appositions are—as shown in Ch. 12, 4—*mipela* 'we [excl.]', *yumi* 'we [incl.]', and *yupela* 'you [pl.]'. Here are examples of relativizations of these pronouns, provided with a suitable apposition:

- (1) *Yu no ken lusim sin bilong ol, long wanem, ol i bin mekim planti tok bilas na rabisim MIPELA OL MAN i wok long banis.*  
'Do not forgive them their sin, for they have slandered and maltreated us [excl.], who were working on the wall.'
- (2) *Yu mas tingim mipela ol wokman bilong yu, na yu mas kam bek na stap wantaim MIPELA OL LAIN yu bin makim bilong yu yet.*  
'Remember us [excl.] your servants, and come back and stay with us [excl.], whom you have marked as your own.'
- (3) *Em i bin salim tok i kam long MIPELA OL MAN i stap hia long Babilon.*  
'He has sent a message to us [excl.] who are here in Babylon.'
- (4) *Ol i taik pinisim MIPELA OL MANMERE i save lotu long yu.*  
'They want to destroy us [excl.] people who worship you.'
- (5) *Plis, yu ken lukluk i kam daun long MIPELA OL MANMERE i stap kalabus.*  
'Please, may you look down on us [excl.] people who are exiled.'



- (6) *Em i kamap long MIPELA OL MAN bipo God i bin makim bilong autim tok bilong em.*  
‘He appeared to us [excl.], whom God had chosen to proclaim his message.’
- (7) *Yu mas i stap gutpela soldia bilong Krai Jisas na karim hevi bilong dispela wok wantaim MIPELA OL ARAPELA MAN i karim hevi.*  
‘You must be a good soldier of Christ Jesus and carry the burdens of this office together with us [excl.] other people who suffer.’
- (8) *YUMI OL MANMERE bilong Moap i ranawe i kam i stap long Sela, yumi mas salim pikinini sipsip i go long king bilong Juda long Jerusalem.*  
‘We [incl.] men and women who fled to Sela to stay there, we [incl.] must send lambs to the king of Juda in Jerusalem.’
- (9) *God bai i marimari kwiktaim na bringim YUMI OL LAIN i stap nau long olgeta hap bilong graun i kam bung wantaim long ples holi bilong em.*  
‘God will soon show his mercy and bring us [incl.] who are now scattered all over the world here together in his holy place.’
- (10) *Em i pasin bilong marimari bilong God long mekim save kwiktaim long YUMI OL JUDA i bin mekim sin.*  
‘That is God’s way of mercy, to chastise immediately us [incl.] people of Juda who have sinned.’
- (11) *Jisas i bin opim rot bilong YUMI OL MANMERE i bilip long God.*  
‘Jesus has opened the way for us [incl.] people who believe in him.’
- (12) *YUPELA OL MANMERE Bikpela i bin makim bilong em yet, yupela i mas tingim gen ol strongpela wok bilong Bikpela.*  
‘You [pl.] men and women whom the Lord has made his own, you [pl.] must remember the marvels the Lord has worked.’
- (13) *YUPELA OL MANMERE i save stap aninit long God, yupela kam harim tok bilong mi.*  
‘You [pl.] men and women who obey God, (you [pl.]) come and hear what I have to say.’
- (14) *YUPELA OL LAIN i save stap arere long solwara, na yupela ol bisnisman bilong taun Saidon yupela i mas sori na stap isi.*  
‘You [pl.] people who live along the shore, and you [pl.] traders of the city of Sidon, you [pl.] weep and be silent.’
- (15) *YUPELA OL HETMAN i go pas long kibung, yupela putim gut yau long ol tok bilong mi.*  
‘You [pl.] princes who lead the assembly, you [pl.] listen carefully to my words.’
- (16) *YUPELA OL MAN i save hatwok tru na i karim ol bikpela hevi, yupela olgeta kam long mi na bai mi givim malolo long yupela.*  
‘All of you [pl.] who labor and carry heavy burdens, (you [pl.]) come to me and I will give you [pl.] rest.’

There is an older type of construction that does not seem to be in general use any more, one in which pronouns (without apposition) can be relativized with the same pronouns as relativizers. Consider:

- (17) *King Artaserksis, MIPELA ol wokboi bilong yu, mipela i stap long hapsait bilong wara Yufretis, mipela i gat sampela tok.*  
 ‘King Artaxerxes, we [excl.] your servants, who stay across from the Euphrates river, we [excl.] have a message for you.’
- (18) *Orait MIPELA ol manmeri bilong yu, mipela i olsem ol sipsip bilong yu, bai mipela i tenkyu long yu oltaim oltaim.*  
 ‘And so we [excl.] your people, who are your sheep, will give thanks to you for ever and ever.’
- (19) *MIPELA olgeta ofisa i save mekim wok bilong yu long dispela kantri, mipela ol namba wan kiap na olgeta arapela ofisa, mipela i pasim tok pinis long yu ken mekim wanpela lo i strongpela tru.*  
 ‘All of us [excl.] officers who do your work in this country, we [excl.] who are the prefects and other officers, we [excl.] are agreed that you should issue a decree to be strictly enforced.’
- (20) *MIPELA i no liklik pikinini nau tasol mipela lusim susu bilong mama.*  
 ‘We [excl.] are not babies just weaned.’
- (21) *MIPELA aposel na mipela hetman, mipela ol brata bilong yupela, mipela i raitim dispela pas i go long yupela.*  
 ‘We [excl.] apostles and we [excl.] elders, who are your [pl.] brothers, we [excl.] write this letter to you [pl.]’

These constructions show a striking parallel to the pronominal pick-up function of a remote subject. This is normally *i*, as shown in Ch. 7, 1.3, (1) through (7), also for subject not normally triggering *i*. But an older tradition (illustrated in Ch. 7, 1.3, (8) through (23)) has pick-up pronouns identical to the remote subject pronoun: and those are precisely the ones not normally triggering *i*—that is, *mi*, *yu*, and *yumi*.

Exactly the same strategy seems to apply to relativization as exemplified in (17) through (21) here. The principal consideration for this analysis comprises several points. First, relativizers, too, are pick-up devices to maintain topic continuity. Second, relative clauses are much less dependent in Tok Pisin than they are in a language like English. And third, such clauses derive fairly immediately from independent clauses, at first inserted as parenthetical utterances. See the introductory discussion at the beginning of this chapter.

## 15: PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

Apart from noun phrases, the syntax of phrases distinguishes: prepositional phrases, modifier phrases, and adverbial phrases. Prepositional phrases are examined in the present chapter. But first we introduce the notion of object of a preposition, and we distinguish between simple and complex prepositions.

### The Preposition and Its Object

A prepositional phrase is a phrase with a preposition for its core or head. The rest of the phrase is commonly called the object of the preposition. This object is a noun (or a noun phrase).

The expression “object” needs some explaining—traditionally objects are associated with verbs. There are, however, two main reasons why it makes sense to use the name object also for the noun (or noun phrase) depending on a preposition.

First, consider languages that have a nominal case system. In such languages, prepositions govern a particular case in their objects, just as verbs do in regard to their objects. For example, in English, pronouns have different case forms: the pronouns *I, he, she, we, they* are nominative forms (they are used in subject position), and their object form (or accusative case) is *me, him, her, us, and them*, respectively. Both case forms are exemplified in clauses like *She sees me*, or *They follow us*, or *We challenge them*, and so forth. Now, the same accusative forms are used not only after verbs but also after prepositions: *with him; on them; for us*; and so forth. Tok Pisin has no nominal case system—although some differences in the use of *em* and *en* will be relevant here, as we shall see (1.7). The main purpose, however, of bringing up nominal case here is to show why the expression object for the constituent depending on a preposition makes sense across languages.

There is a second reason why linguists use the expression “object” for what depends on a preposition. Across languages, prepositions are rather like verbs—also in languages that do not have a nominal case system. For example, English uses what appears to be certain verbal forms very much as if they were prepositions. Thus, in *Concerning him, we will decide later*, the constituent *concerning* is very much like *about*. Or examine this: *Throw out any items exceeding ten kilos in weight*; here, *exceeding* is very much like the preposition *above*. Tok Pisin has one such preposition in verbal form, *winim*, as we shall see in 5. In what follows, we will use the label object for the noun (or noun phrase) depending on a preposition.

### Simple and Complex Prepositions

Prepositions may be “simple” (like *with* and *on* and *for* in English—and *long* and *bilong* in Tok Pisin) or “complex.” Complex prepositions consist of more than one word (in fact, they are compounds—see Ch. 17, 2.2). Examples in English are: *on top of, because of, for the sake of*, and the like; Tok Pisin has complex prepositions like *antap long* ‘on top of’, *aninit long* ‘underneath’, and the like.

We have already considered some properties of prepositional phrases, where those phrases are used attributively, in a larger nominal phrase (see Ch. 12, 2). Let us summarize those properties and add some details not in that section.

The simple prepositions in Tok Pisin are *long* ‘about, at, by, from, in, on, to, with’; *bilong* ‘of’; and *wantaim* ‘with’—there are no complex preposition with *bilong*. (*Bilong* and *long* may also open a verb phrase or subclause—see Ch. 24, 2.2.3; and *wantaim* may also be used as an adverb—see Ch. 22, 2.3.1).

*Long* expresses primarily place, time, and instrument—plus a few others, such as ‘about, concerning’, and those introducing cause or reason. As for place, *long* corresponds not only to English ‘in’ and ‘at’ to express that someone or something is in a certain location at rest, but also ‘from’ and ‘to’, involving motion. We may call such senses “directional.” (Recall that it is those directional senses that *long* cannot have in prepositional phrases used attributively, and that neither can it in the “instrumental” sense—see Ch. 12, 2.1.)

Complex prepositions are: *aninit long* ‘below, under, underneath’; *antap long* ‘on, on top of, over, above’; *arere long* ‘alongside (of)’; *ausait long* ‘outside’; *baksait long* ‘behind, at the back of’; *bihain long* ‘after’; *bipo long* ‘before [of time]’; *inap long* ‘until, as far as’; *insait long* ‘inside’; *klostu long* ‘near, close to’; *namel long* ‘between’; *paslain long* ‘before [of place], in front of’; and *raun long* ‘around’. (Recall that all of these except *bipo long*, *inap long*, *paslain long*, and *raun long* may also open prepositional phrases used attributively—see Ch. 12, 2.2.)

Finally, the verbal form *winim* ‘over and above’, or ‘exceeding’ may be considered as prepositional in certain constructions.

Phrases opening with *long* as a simple preposition are examined in 1; those with *long* in a complex preposition, in 2; those opening with *bilong*, in 3; with *wantaim*, in 4; with *winim*, in 5.

### 1. Prepositional Phrases with Simple *long*

From the point of view of a speaker of English who begins to learn Tok Pisin, *long* (as a simple preposition) may seem puzzlingly vague. It may indicate location (of someone or something at rest), and then it corresponds to English *at*, *in*, *on*. Or it may indicate locomotion (for someone or something moving), mainly corresponding to English *to* and *from*—directional *long*. Furthermore, *long* may mark a recipient (roughly English *to*), or an instrument (*with*). In addition, *long* may relate to time, expressible in English by *at*, *on*, *in*, *during*. Finally, there are some other uses of *long* marking a topic (‘about, concerning’), or a reason (‘because of’), as well as some that are hard to classify because of figurative use of (perhaps originally) locative use. Let us dub all these simply “other.”

*Long* as a simple preposition of location is exemplified in 1.1; directional *long*, in 1.2; *long* as marking a recipient, in 1.3; *long* as marking an instrument, in 1.4; *long* as marking time, in 1.5; *long* in those senses dubbed “other” just now, in 1.6; in conclusion, the uses of *long em* and *long en* are discussed in 1.7.

#### 1.1 *Long* Marking Location

As noted, this type of prepositional phrase may be used attributively or non-attributively. For example, *olgeta abus long bus* ‘all the animals in the forest’ has *long bus* as a locative prepositional phrase, and in this example it happens to be

used attributively. But in *Olgeta abus i stap long bus* ‘All the animals are in the forest’ (or ‘all the animals that are in the forest’), *long bus* is not an attribute: it is an adjunct. The point here is that, as far as the internal structure of this type of prepositional phrase is concerned, it makes no difference whether the phrase is used attributively or not. Hence, the locative examples in Ch. 12, 2.1, (1) will do as well here—and some more are added:

- (1) *long arapela kantri* ‘in another nation’; *long arere bilong spia* ‘alongside the spear’; *long as bilong botol* ‘at the bottom of the bottle’; *long baret* ‘in the drain’; *long baksait bilong lip* ‘at the back of the leaf’; *long bekri* ‘in the bakery’; *long bel bilong mama* ‘in the woman’s uterus’; *long bus* ‘in the forest’; *long daunbilo* ‘below’; *long dispela raunwara* ‘in this pond, on that lake’; *long get* ‘at the gate’; *long graun* ‘in the ground, on earth’; *long hap* ‘on one side’; *long hap na long hap* ‘on either side’; *long haus poteto* ‘in the potato shed’; *long hia* ‘here’; *long hap sankamap* ‘in the east’; *long lain* ‘in the row’; *long maket* ‘on the market, in the market place’; *long maunten* ‘on the mountain, in the mountains’; *long nupela gaden* ‘in the new garden’; *long Papua Niugini* ‘in Papua New Guinea’; *long ples* ‘in the village’; *long sampela haus sik* ‘in some hospitals’; *long skai* ‘in the sky’; *long solwara* ‘on the sea, in the sea’; *long ston* ‘in the rock’; *long ol stua* ‘in the stores’

## 1.2 “Directional” *long*

Directional *long* means ‘to’ or ‘from’. We know which it is in context, with the verb as the key. Consider:

- (1) *Dispela stori i kam long Mista Swale.*  
‘This story comes from Mr. Swale.’
- (2) *Dispela toksave i go long Mista Swale.*  
‘This message is destined for Mr. Swale.’
- (3) *Ating yumi wokim stua na yumi baim samting long sampela man na yumi selim long ol arapela man.*  
‘Perhaps we [incl.] build a store and we [incl.] buy things from some people and we [incl.] sell them to other people.’
- (4) *Ol i kukim bret long dispela plaua i no gat yis ol i bin kisim long Isip na i kam.*  
‘They baked bread with the flour they had brought from Egypt.’
- (5) *Yumi mas bringim em i go kwiktaim long haus sik.*  
‘We [incl.] must take him to the hospital fast.’
- (6) *Em i bin bringim mi i kam stret long haus bilong brata bilong bikman bilong mi.*  
‘He brought me straight to the house of my master’s brother.’
- (7) *Na em i ken poinim pinga long wanpela boi, na boi i mas soim tupela han long em.*  
‘And he may point at a boy, and the boy must show his two hands to him.’

The verb (or serial verb construction) in bold is the clue to the directionality of *long*, i.e. away from, or towards, some point of reference. Recall that the directional prepositional phrase cannot be used attributively; see Ch. 12, 2.1.

### 1.3 *Long* Marking a Recipient

As described in Ch. 4, 2.2, some verbs involve “giving” of some kind, and then the “target” (i.e. what is given, passed on, etc.) will be the object, while the “recipient” is marked with *long*. Examples of this marking:

- (1) *Bai mi singaut long em i givim dispela mani **long** mi nau tasol!*  
‘I’ll demand that he gives me this money right now!’
- (2) *Bikpela hap i save go long bekim dinau **long** beng.*  
‘A large portion tends to go for paying back debts to the bank.’
- (3) *Sapos em i dinau **long** yupela long mani, orait yupela i no ken pulim winmani long taim em i bekim dinau.*  
‘If he owes you [pl.] money, you [pl.] must not charge interest at the time he repays the debt.’
- (4) *Orait dispela tim i win olsem na bai yumi tilim fopela poin **long** ol.*  
‘Then that team wins, so we [incl.] give them four points.’
- (5) *Yu ken raitim pas **long** ol.*  
‘You can write them a letter.’
- (6) *Na em i ken poinim pinga long wanpela boi, na boi i mas soim tupela han **long** em.*  
‘And he may point at a boy, and the boy must show his two hands to him.’
- (7) *Bilong wanem na mi mas tokim **long** yu?*  
‘[I haven’t even told my parents] So why should I tell you?’
- (8) *Toksave **long** ol pastaim long ol i mas bihainim wisil namba wan taim yu winim.*  
‘Tell them ahead of time that they must obey the whistle the first time you blow it.’

The recipient may also be promoted to object position, and then there is no *long* to mark it—see Ch. 4, 2.2, (8) through (10), (13) through (18). In (7), above, *tokim* has *long yu* rather than (direct object) *yu*, because *yu* is new information—by reason of contrast.

A prepositional phrase with *long* marking a recipient is rarely if ever used attributively.

### 1.4 *Long* Marking an Instrument

Examples:

- (1) *Ating bai mi helpim brata hia na paitim ain **long** hama.*  
‘I may as well help my friend and beat the iron with a hammer.’
- (2) *Yu ken kamautim poteto **long** spet na **long** baira.*  
‘You can harvest the potatoes with a spade and a fork.’

- (3) *Painim kain diwai i no save bruk gut sapos yu laik brukim **long** tamiok.*  
'Get wood that will not split easily when you want to split it with an axe.'
- (4) *Karamapim bebi gut **long** laplap.*  
'Cover the baby well with a piece of cloth.'
- (5) *Hangamapim botol **long** rop yu pasim long as bilong botol.*  
'Hang up the bottle with a string that you tie to the bottom of the bottle.'
- (6) *Ol i pasim kau **long** baklain.*  
'They tie the cow with a rope.'

The instrumental *long* phrase is rarely if ever used attributively.

### 1.5 Long Marking Time

Examples:

- (1) *Mobeta yu pinisim dispela pilai **long** taim ol i laikim yet.*  
'Better finish this game while they still enjoy it.'
- (2) *Dispela sik i save kamap planti **long** taim i gat bikpela ren i stap inap sampela de.*  
'This disease will strike at a time when it rains heavily for several days.'
- (3) *Olgeta tim wan wan i mas wokim wanpela haus pisin antap long diwai **long** tupela aua samting.*  
'All the teams must make a bird's nest in a tree within about two hours.'
- (4) ***Long** belo na **long** apinun rausim karamap, na putim marasin, na pasim gen.*  
'At noon and in the afternoon take the dressing off, apply medication, and dress it again.'
- (5) *Sapos wanpela man i kaikai buai klostu klostu **long** planti yia, wanpela sua nogut i ken kamap long maus.*  
'If a man chews betel nut frequently during many years, a tumor may develop in his mouth.'
- (6) *Sampela sikman i stap gut **long** planti mun o yia, na sik i kamap gen.*  
'Some patients are all right for many months or years, and then the disease strikes again.'
- (7) *Tasol **long** nait em i bin tok, het bilong en i pen.*  
'But in the evening he had said that he had a headache.'
- (8) *Marasin bilong pamim em yu ken pamim long lip **long** moningtaim **long** taim olgeta wara i stap long lip em i drai pinis.*  
'You can spray the insecticide on the leaves in the morning, when all the moisture on the leaf has gone.'

### 1.6 Long Marking Senses Other Than the Preceding

Examples:

- (1) *Husat i save helpim gavman **long** dispela?*  
'Who assists the government in this?'

- (2) *Dispela mani i save helpim yumi long dispela olgeta wok.*  
'These funds will help us [incl.] in all these tasks.'
- (3) *Long dispela pasin tasol bai yumi no inap kisim independens tru.*  
'In this manner alone we [incl.] will never attain true independence.'
- (4) *Na dispela olgeta pasindia ol i kirap nogut na lukluk raun long ol arapela.*  
'And all those passengers were startled and stared at one another.'
- (5) *Olsem na ol i wokabaut long lek tasol na i go.*  
'So they all just went on foot.'
- (6) *Brukim ol man long tupela tim.*  
'Divide the men into two teams.'
- (7) *Na long dispela as tasol ol i save kirapim bisnis.*  
'And for this reason alone they will start a business.'
- (8) *Yu tok long wanem kantri?*  
'What country are you talking about?'
- (9) *Larim olgeta i stap, long wanem, dispela yia graun i mas malolo gut.*  
'Leave all of it [i.e. the field] the way it is, for this year the ground must lie fallow.'
- (10) *Yupela asples i save pinis long wokim haus long kain kain samting bilong ples na bus.*  
'You [pl.] village people know everything about building a house from all kinds of materials found in the village and in the forest.'
- (11) *Givim tritmen long malaria.*  
'Give treatment for malaria.'
- (12) *Sikman i sot tru long wara.*  
'The patient is dehydrated.'
- (13) *Ol pikinini i kisim dispela sut pinis, ol i no save bagarap long sik misils.*  
'Children who have been inoculated with this will not normally succumb to measles.'

The different senses of *long* here are hard to convey with English glosses, although some correspond closely to English prepositions: like 'about, concerning', as in (8); or 'from [a certain material]', as in (10). Others are associated with reason or cause, as in (7) and (9). Again, some are close to a locative, as in (5), or to a directional, as in (4); or a manner is expressed, as in (3), or some respect in which what is asserted is presented as true, as in (2).

### 1.7 *Long em (bilong em) and long en (bilong en)*

After *long*, the pronoun *em* frequently takes the form *en*. This is also the case after the preposition *bilong*; the two are treated together here. *Em* cannot be replaced by *en* in any other construction except after *long* or *bilong* as head of a prepositional phrase.

The qualification "as head of a prepositional phrase" is important. Consider:

- (1) *Bipo Australia i tok pinis long em i laik helpim yumi.*  
'Australia has already said that it will assist us [incl.]'



- (2) *Em i mas mekim olsem inap long em i kamap long hom bes.*  
‘He must do this until he reaches home base.’
- (3) *No gat rot bilong em i lusim baket wantaim wara na i kam ausait gen.*  
‘There is no way for it [i.e. a rat] to get out of the bucket with water.’
- (4) *Sapos man i dinau long yupela na i givim yupela saket bilong en olsem mak bilong em i mas bekim dinau, orait yupela i mas givim saket long em gen long dispela de tasol, long taim san i no go daun yet.*  
‘If someone owes you [pl.] money and he gives you [pl.] his cloak as a pledge that he will pay back the debt, then you [pl.] must return his cloak to him on that very day, by sunset.’

In none of these instances is *em* the object of *long* or *bilong*: the constituent depending on the preposition is a clause—the part from *em* up to the end in each of these examples. *Em* is the subject in that clause, and thus it could never take the form *en*. On these constructions, see Ch. 24, 2.2.3.

In genuine prepositional phrases, *en* cannot replace *em* after *bilong* in case that pronoun is emphasized. The emphasis may appear from emphatic stress in pronunciation, as in (5). Such a stress may or may not be present in (6) through (9), but note that *bilong* in those examples is in predicate position.

- (5) *Dispela i samting bilong em.*  
‘That’s his problem.’
- (6) *man o meri i kisim na lukautim pikinini i no bilong em*  
‘a man or woman who adopts and cares for a child not his [or: her] own.’
- (7) *Tumora long moningtaim Bikpela bai i soim yumi husat ol man i bilong em.*  
‘Tomorrow in the morning the Lord will show us [incl.] who is his.’
- (8) *Olgeta ples na olgeta manmeri bilong ples, ol tu i bilong em.*  
‘All places [on earth] and all people are also his.’
- (9) *Bai God i kisim bek yu wantaim lain bilong yu, na bai yupela i bilong em.*  
‘God will save you and your household, and you [pl.] will be his.’

Another construction requiring *em* rather than *en* after *long* or *bilong* is one in which the object of a preposition is itself a noun phrase, with *em* as the head. *Em* may open such a noun phrase when followed by *tasol* ‘only’, *wanpela* (or *wanpela tasol*) ‘alone’, or yet ‘self’.

Examples with *em tasol*:

- (10) *Mipela i laik lotu long God, Bikpela bilong yumi na bihainim ol lo bilong em tasol.*  
‘We [excl.] want to worship God, our [incl.] Lord, and obey only his laws.’
- (11) *Na bai mi mekim ol man long lain bilong em tasol i kamap king oltaim oltaim.*  
‘And I will make only his descendants kings for ever.’
- (12) *Na bihain em i kirapim win long hap bilong sankamap, na long strong bilong em tasol, em i kirapim win long hap bilong saut.*  
‘And then he stirred up an east wind and, by his might only, he conjured up a wind from the south.’

*Tasol* following *em* is not necessarily an attribute to *em*; if it is not, then *en* may (though it need not) replace *em*:

- (13) *Pasin bilong mekim save i mas inapim RONG bilong en tasol.*  
 ‘The measure of punishment must match only his transgression’
- (14) *Em i mekim toktok long ol long HAN bilong en tasol.*  
 ‘He conveyed a message with his arms only.’
- (15) *Ating yu lukim ENSEL bilong en tasol.*  
 ‘You must have seen only his angel.’

The constituent modified by *tasol* is in small caps. That is, in (13), *tasol* says that the punishment must match the transgression itself, not the circumstance that the perpetrator is this particular person. In (14), *tasol* modifies *han*—that they are not someone else’s arms is moot. In (15), *tasol* modifies *ensel*, not the one whose angel it is.

Thus, if (13) through (15) had *em* rather than *en*, they could be ambiguous. For example, (13) could then be read as asserting that the punishment should match not the transgression, but specifically the identity of the perpetrator.

*Tasol* may even follow *em* in such a way that *tasol* modifies neither *em* nor another noun, but is, rather, a qualifier, as in:

- (16) *Bosman i mas isi long em tasol.*  
 ‘The owner must deal with him leniently.’

where *tasol* modifies neither the pronoun *em* nor any noun but qualifies *isi* ‘lenient’; and *long em* here could be *long en*. (That is to say, the reading of (16) in the context from which it has been taken has *tasol* qualifying *isi*.) But a different reading of (16), such that the owner must be lenient to this one person only (and possibly harsh to others), would require *em—en* would be ruled out.

Next, examples having *em* rather than *en* after *long* or *bilong* in *em wanpela*, or *em wanpela tasol*:

- (17) *Na yupela i mas lotu long em wanpela tasol, na mekim olgeta promis bilong yupela long nem bilong em wanpela tasol.*  
 ‘And you [pl.] must worship only him, and swear your [pl.] oaths by his name only.’
- (18) *Na mi wet long em wanpela tasol i helpim mi.*  
 ‘And I wait only for him to help me.’
- (19) *Biknem bilong em wanpela i winim tru biknem bilong olgeta manmeri.*  
 ‘His greatness alone is more than that of the greatness of all men and women.’
- (20) *Yupela i mas makim dispela haus i bilong em wanpela tasol.*  
 ‘You [pl.] must dedicate this temple as his only.’
- (21) *Na olgeta samting i bilong em wanpela tasol.*  
 ‘And everything will belong to him alone only.’

*Em* followed by *wanpela* or *wanpela tasol* such that some other constituent rather than *em* is modified seems to be rare or nonexistent. There is another reason why

*em* rather than *en* is called for in (20) and (21): *bilang* is a predicate there—depending on *makim* in (20) and a predicate all by itself in (21).

Finally, here are examples having *em* rather than *en* after *long* or *bilang* in *em yet* (*yet* meaning ‘self’):

- (22) *Olsem na Sara i lap long em yet.*  
‘So Sarah laughed to herself.’
- (23) *Orait dispela man i laik kamap klin em i mas wasim klos bilang en na kapsaitim wara antap long em yet.*  
‘Then this man who wants to cleanse himself must wash his clothes and pour water over himself.’
- (24) *Krais Jisas i bin mekim yupela i kamap holi, na i makim yupela i bilang em yet.*  
‘Christ Jesus has made you [pl.] holy, and makes you [pl.] his own.’
- (25) *Na em i wokim haus bilang em yet.*  
‘And he built a house for himself.’

*Em* followed by *yet* such that some other constituent rather than *em* is modified seems to be rare or nonexistent. Of course, if *yet* is an adverb of time and happens to follow *em*, *en* as an alternative is available, as in:

- (26) *Ples ol i no kamap long en yet i gutpela olsem gaden Iden.*  
‘The place where they had not arrived yet was good, like the garden of Eden.’

Several additional notes may be of some use here. First, *em* to the exclusion of *en* after *long* or *bilang* may perhaps be considered as having a measure of emphasis in common—*tasol*, *wanpela* (or *wanpela tasol*) identify what precedes it exclusively, and thus have a measure of prominence in the organization of information. Or, after *bilang* as a predicate, as in (5) through (9), above, the pronoun would, in context, convey new information—another form of such prominence.

This prominence view of *em* or *en* after *long* or *bilang* is also clear from how certain constructions prefer *en* rather than *em*—because the pronoun is, in context, not prominent in any way. In the nature of the case, third person pronouns convey old information: they are anaphoric to (that is, they refer back to) some noun in prior context. But among items of old information, some are more prominent than others. This appears rather clearly in relative clauses, of the type discussed in Ch. 14, 1.6—the type in which *en* follows *long* or *bilang*, in such a way that *en* is coreferential with the antecedent. And indeed, *en* rather than *em* seems to be the regular form in that type of relative clause—as all the examples in Ch. 14, 1.6 show. A few of those are repeated here:

- (27) *Em i mas sanap ausait long mak long ples bal i bin kalap long en.*  
‘He [who in soccer throws in the ball] must stand outside the line at the place where the ball bounced.’
- (28) *Sapos yu laik kirapim pilai, yu no ken stat long wanpela pilai ol i no save long en.*

'If you want to start games, don't start with a game they [i.e. the children] are not familiar with.'

- (29) *Wanpela samting i stap na yu mas was long en, em i olsem: Yu no ken putim planti fetilaisa tumas.*

'One thing that you have to be careful about is this: Don't use too much fertilizer.'

- (30) *Ol i painim wanpela diwai as bilong en i stap long nambis na han bilong en i stap antap long solwara.*

'They get a tree the base of which is on the beach and a branch is in the sea.'

- (31) *Em i lukim wanpela sipsip man, kom bilong en i pas long wanpela liklik diwai.*

'He saw a ram whose horns were caught in a bush.'

In contrast, in a relative clause in which such a prepositional phrase is not coreferential with the antecedent, the information may well be a bit more prominent, leading to *em* rather than *en*:

- (32) *Dispela marasin i save pas longpela taim liklik long LIP yu bin pamim long em.*

'This pesticide will cling for a long time to the leaves you have sprayed with it.'

*Em* in the relative clause in (32) is coreferential not with the antecedent *lip* but with *marasin*, farther back in the prior text (and even there not new information, as shown by *dispela*).

The *em-en* difference as reflecting informational prominence is more characteristic of biblical Tok Pisin than of nonbiblical Tok Pisin, but even in nonbiblical Tok Pisin deviations from it seem to be very rare.

## 2. Long in Complex Prepositions

Prepositional phrases opening with complex prepositions are introduced at the beginning of the chapter. Some are locative only (also in a figurative sense based on the locative sense), and some are temporal only; finally, some may be either locative or temporal.

Here follow examples of locative ones:

- (1) *abrus long ol man* 'at a distance from the men'
- (2) *aninit long banis* 'below the ribs'; *aninit long diwai* 'under a tree'; *aninit long graun* 'under the ground, underground'; *aninit long han* 'under the arm, in the armpit'; *aninit long haus* 'underneath the shed'; *aninit long karamap* 'under the wrap'; *aninit long ol* 'below them, subject to them, obeying them'; *aninit long mi* 'under my authority'; *aninit long sol bilong han* 'under the armpit'; *aninit long skai* 'under the heavens'; *aninit long*

- taunam* ‘under the mosquito net’; *aninit long tebol* ‘under the table’; *aninit long wanpela blanket* ‘under a blanket’; *aninit long wara* ‘under the water surface, submerged’; *aninit long wasket* ‘below the skin’
- (3) *antap long butoma* ‘above the navel’; *antap long diwai* ‘up in a tree’; *antap long dua* ‘over the door’; *antap long en* ‘on top of it’; *antap long graun* ‘above ground level’; *antap long het* ‘over the head, on top of the head’; *antap long maunten* ‘on top of a mountain, on a mountain peak’; *antap long ol arapela* ‘on top of the others’; *antap long paia* ‘over a fire’; *antap long skru* ‘above the knee’; *antap long tupela stilt* ‘on two stilts’; *antap long wan handet tausen* ‘over one hundred thousand’; *antap long wanpela hap pepa* ‘on a sheet of paper’; *antap long wara* ‘on the water surface’; *antap long yu* ‘with authority over you’
- (4) *arere long en* ‘next to it’; *arere long gaden rais* ‘next to the rice paddy’; *arere long Papua Niugini* ‘bordering on Papua New Guinea’; *arere long ples* ‘next to the village’; *arere long rot* ‘by the roadside, alongside the road’; *arere long tripela sait* ‘on three sides’; *arere long skru* ‘next to the knee’; *arere long solwara* ‘along the shore, by the seaside’; *arere long wara* ‘by the river’
- (5) *ausait long en* ‘outside it’; *ausait long kalabus* ‘outside prison’; *ausait long kem* ‘outside the camp’; *ausait long marit* ‘outside of marriage’; *ausait long maus* ‘from his mouth’; *ausait long Papua Niugini* ‘outside Papua New Guinea’; *ausait long penalti eria* ‘outside the penalty area’; *ausait long san* ‘outside the sunlight’; *ausait long taun* ‘out of town’
- (6) *baksait long em* ‘behind him’; *baksait long haus* ‘at the back of the house’; *baksait long het* ‘behind the head’; *baksait long hom bes* ‘behind home plate’; *baksait long namba wan hap* behind the first part [of the playing field]’; *baksait long ol* ‘behind them’; *baksait long sia* ‘behind the chair’; *baksait long ston* ‘behind the rock’; *baksait long straika* ‘behind the batter’; *baksait long taun* ‘on the other side of the town’
- (7) *insait long en* ‘inside it’; *insait long dispela buk* ‘in this book’; *insait long fopela banis* ‘in the four columns [of a chart]’; *insait long graun* ‘in the ground, underground’; *insait long haus* ‘indoors’; *insait long haus kaikai* ‘inside the restaurant’; *insait long hul* ‘in the hole’; *insait long ofis* ‘inside the office’; *insait long spes nating* ‘within the empty space’; *insait long taunam* ‘under a mosquito net’; *insait long tingting bilong em* ‘in his thoughts, at the back of his mind’; *insait long wanpela yia* ‘within one year’
- (8) *klostu long belo kaikai* ‘near noon’; *klostu long graun* ‘near ground level’; *klostu long haus bilong yu* ‘near your home’; *klostu long nain klok* ‘close to nine o’clock’; *klostu long nambis* ‘close to the beach’; *klostu long ol* ‘near them’; *klostu long paia* ‘near the fire’; *klostu long taim bilong kisim kaikai* ‘near harvesting time’; *klostu long wanpela diwai* ‘close to a tree’; *klostu long wara* ‘near the river’
- (9) *namel long ai* ‘in the center of the iris’; *namel long gaden* ‘in the middle of the garden’; *namel long graun bilong pilai* ‘in the center of the play-

ing field'; *namel long mipela* 'among us [excl.]'; *namel long namba wan na namba tu taim* 'between the first and second time'; *namel long ol yet* 'among themselves'; *namel long tupela* 'between the two [of them]'; *namel long tupela skru bilong lek bilong en* 'between his knees'; *namel long tupela tupela ston* 'between each two of the stones'; *namel long wan wan poteto* 'between each two potato plants'; *namel long yupela* 'among you [pl.]'

- (10) *paslain long bal i kamap* 'facing the coming ball'; *paslain long ol* 'ahead [of place; or in time] of them'; *paslain long ol arapela tim* 'before [in time] the other team'; *paslain long ol manmeri* 'in front of the people'; *paslain long taim yu planim pikinini rais* 'before the time you plant the rice seeds'
- (11) *raun long bel* 'around the waist'; *raun long dispela hap graun* 'around this piece of ground'; *raun long em* 'around him'; *raun long haus sel* 'around the tent'; *raun long nek* 'around the neck'; *raun long tempel* 'around the temple'

The figurative examples are easy to recognize, like *aninit long* meaning 'under the authority of', but these are based on locative meaning.

All of these may also, in context, be locomotive in meaning, as in:

- (12) *Spia i abrus long mi* 'The spear missed me'; *Bal i go aninit long lek* 'The ball goes below the leg'; *go antap long maunten* 'to go up the mountain'; *pundaun arere long hul* 'to fall beside the hole'; *go ausait long kantri* 'leave the country'; *go baksait long lain* 'to go behind the line'; *kam insait long haus* 'to come into the house'; *kamap klostu long taun* 'to arrive near the town'; *go namel long graun bilong pilai* 'to go to the center of the playing field'; *kamap paslain long mak* 'overshoot the line'; *lukluk raun long ol arapela* 'to look around at the others'

Next, examples of those having only temporal sense, i.e. *bihain long* and *bipo long*:

- (13) *bihain long bilum bilong kaikai na blakpela lewa* 'behind the stomach and liver'; *bihain long dispela de* 'after that day'; *bihain long en* 'after that'; *bihain long dispela toksave* 'after that announcement'; *bihain long kaikai* 'after dinner'; *bihain long ol arapela* 'after [in time] the others'; *bihain long sampela taim* 'after some time'; *bihain long sik mun* 'after menstruation'; *bihain long tupela wik* 'after two weeks'; *bihain long faipela yia samting* 'after about five years'

One may encounter (very rarely) expressions like *bihain long wanpela mak long graun* 'behind a line in the field', where *bihain long*, therefore, is locative. But such expressions are due to direct influence of English, and are not well-formed in the lect described in the present grammar.

- (14) *bipo long de Sabat* 'before Sabbath day'; *bipo long dispela de* 'before that day'; *bipo long Februeri namba 17 liklik* 'a bit before February 17';

*bipo long dispela taim* ‘before that time’; *bipo long indipendens* ‘before independence’; *bipo long taim bilong planti san* ‘before the dry season’; *bipo long woa* ‘before the war’

Finally, *inap long* is either locative or temporal. In fact it is wider in meaning than both, seeing that *inap* often means ‘enough’, ‘sufficient’, ‘to be possible’, and ‘to be able’. Even in these last two (verbal) senses (see Ch. 10, 2.2.3) it may be followed by *long* (see Ch. 10, 2.2.4).

- (15) *inap long apinun* ‘until the afternoon’; *inap long arere bilong dram* ‘as far as the edge of the drum’; *inap long 45 minit* ‘45 minutes long, up to 45 minutes’; *inap long hia* ‘up to here’; *inap long K 10,000* ‘not exceeding K 10,000’; *inap long longpela bilong wanpela sait* ‘as long as the length of one side’; *inap long skai* ‘up to the heavens’; *inap long taun* ‘as far as the town’; *inap long tripela yia* ‘up to three years, three years long’; *inap long tude* ‘until today, until now’; *inap long tulait* ‘until sunrise’; *inap long wan mail samting* ‘up to about one mile’; *inap long wanpela krismas na fopela mun* ‘up to one year and four months’; *inap long wanpela week olgeta* ‘up to one full week’

Of all the complex prepositions reviewed here, only *antap long*, *bihain long*, *bipo long*, and *paslain long* can open a prepositional phrase used attributively (Ch. 12, 2.2). All of the initial words (*antap*, etc.) may be used as adverbs (except, it seems, *abras* and *baksait*), as appears from these examples:

- (16) *Wanpela man i salim bal aninit.*  
‘One man throws the ball down.’
- (17) *Neks man i salim bal antap.*  
‘One man kicks the ball up high.’
- (18) *Ol boi bipo i sindaun long lain ol i mas kirap na sanap arere.*  
‘The boys who were sitting in a row before have to get up and stand aside.’
- (19) *Pusi i stap ausait.*  
‘The cat is outside.’
- (20) *Wanpela man i mas sanap long mak bilong sait na tromwe bal i kam insait.*  
‘One man has to stand at the sideline and throw the ball inside [the field].’
- (21) *Em i mas holim bal na tasim man taim em i ran i kam klostu.*  
‘He must hold the ball and touch a player as he comes running close.’
- (22) *Ol man bilong tim i no statim pilai i no ken stap insait long ring i stap namel.*  
‘The team members who do not start the game cannot stand within the circle in the center.’

See also Ch. 22, 2.1.1.

All of these initial words (except for *abras*, *bihain*, *bipo*, *inap*, *paslain*, and *raun*) may be used as nouns. The following examples show this: each of them has an attribute with *bilong*:

- (23) *aninit bilong graun* ‘the levels below the ground’; *aninit bilong lek* ‘the lower part of the leg’; *antap bilong maunten* ‘the top of the hill’; *antap bilong skon* ‘the top of the scone’; *arere bilong provins* ‘the boundary of the province’; *arere bilong rot* ‘the roadside’; *ausait bilong dram* ‘the outside of the drum’; *ausait bilong haus* ‘the outside of the house’; *baksait bilong haus* ‘the back of the house’; *baksait bilong sikman* ‘the patient’s back’; *insait bilong han* ‘the palm of the hand’; *insait bilong sirins* ‘the inner part of the syringe’; *namel bilong ai* ‘iris’; *namel bilong mak* ‘the center of the spot [on skin]’

In fact, like many other noun phrases, these, too, may be the object in a prepositional phrase opening with *long*—which is the reason why the examples in (23) are given here. Consider:

- (24) *long aninit bilong graun* ‘at lower levels below the ground’; *long antap bilong dispela laplap* ‘on this linen’; *long antap bilong wilkar* ‘at the top of the carriage’; *long arere bilong rot* ‘at the roadside’; *long arere bilong wara* ‘at the waterfront’; *long ausait bilong dram* ‘on the outside of the drum’; *long ausait bilong haus* ‘on the outside of the house’; *long baksait bilong arapela man* ‘at the back of the other man, on the back of the other man’; *long baksait bilong tim bilong ol* ‘behind their team’; *long insait bilong en* ‘on the inside of it’; *long insait bilong tang* ‘on the inside of the tank’; *long namel bilong raunpela mak* ‘in the center of the round spot [on skin]’; *long namel bilong smokpaip* ‘halfway up the chimney’

However, in these examples the part in bold is not a complex preposition. To take the last example, with an analysis valid for all the items in (24), there is *long* + its object *namel bilong smokpaip*, a noun phrase, which in its turn consist of *namel* and the attribute *bilong smokpaip*.

Given all this, special attention is needed for *aninit*, *antap*, *arere*, *baksait*, and *namel*, in a construction not with *long* preceding and *bilong* following, as in (24), but with *long* preceding and *long* following. Consider:

- (25) *Baksait bilong ol bulmakau i stap long aninit long tang wara.*  
‘The hindquarters of the oxen were underneath the water tank.’
- (26) *Namba wan boi i mas wokim het bilong man klostu long antap long pepa bilong em.*  
‘The first boy must draw the head of a man near the top of his sheet of paper.’
- (27) *Long arere long hap graun yu laik yusim, makim wanpela stretpela lain.*  
‘At the end of the plot you want to use [i.e. for games], draw a straight line.’
- (28) *Em i mas raun long baksait long tim na ran i go long fron gen.*  
‘He must go around to the back of the team and run to the front again.’
- (29) *Balus man i save helpim em long namel long de.*  
‘The male pigeon will help her [i.e. the female pigeon] late morning and early afternoon.’



Consider the syntax of the parts in bold. The first *long* is a simple preposition and its object is all of the rest of the phrase (in bold). The object itself, however, consists of the noun following the first *long* as the head of the noun phrase; the second *long* up to the end (in bold) is a prepositional attribute.

In other words, what the construction in bold in (25) through (29) and those in (24) have in common is that they consist of *long* + object noun phrase, with that noun phrase consisting of head noun + attribute. Negatively, what they have in common is that none of them contains a complex preposition.

A final point to be made concerns *antap*, *aninit*, etc. as nouns. Not all of this series are nouns; *inap*, *klostu*, *paslain* and *raun* are not nouns in their own right. To these exceptions belong also *bipo* and *bihain*, but these too may behave as nouns in that they can have *long* before them:

- (30) *Dispela em i skel bilong ol manmeri bilong ples long bipo.*  
‘This was the judgment of the village people in the old days.’
- (31) *Makim wanpela buk i laik kamap nupela kru long bihain.*  
‘Select one node to become a new sprout later.’
- (32) *Oltaim oltaim yu stap God, long bipo na long bihain tu.*  
‘You are God for all eternity, in the past and in the future.’

and since these phrases (in bold) are phrases of the type discussed in 1.5, we recognize a measure of nouniness in *bipo* and *bihain*.

### 3. Prepositional Phrases with *bilong*

In Ch. 12, 2.3, prepositional phrases opening with *bilong* were discussed extensively in the context of prepositional phrases used attributively. These phrases are all possessive (alienably and inalienably). See Ch. 12, 2.3 for examples, which need not be repeated here.

It so happens that nonattributive prepositional phrases opening with *bilong* are rare. They occur only when *bilong* is itself the predicate, as in:

- (1) *Maski ol i bilong wanem kala o tok ples o asples o politikal pati o lotu.*  
‘It does not matter what the color of their skin is, or place of origin, or political party, or religion.’
- (2) *Dispela pilai em i bilong tupela boi tasol.*  
‘This game is for two boys only.’
- (3) *Tasol bihain yu mas bekim dispela mani wantaim hap mani antap i bilong intres.*  
‘But later you have to repay these funds together with an additional sum for interest.’
- (4) *Em i bilong ol mama i karim nupela.*  
‘That [medicine] is for women who have recently given birth.’
- (5) *Dispela sut em i bilong ol meri i karim pinis na ol i lusim planti blut.*  
‘This injection is for women who have delivered a baby and are hemorrhaging.’

- (6) *Yelopela em i bilong nambis na ples hat.*  
 ‘The yellow kind [of fruit] is for the coastal area and hot areas.’

Note that, though such phrases may be possessive, they often mark a recipient—what English expresses by *for* (*the benefit of*). See the glosses of these examples.

*Bilong* often introduces either a verb or verbal phrase of an entire clause. Then *bilong* is purposive and means ‘in order to’ and is not properly characterized as a preposition. On purposive *bilong*, see Ch. 24, 2.1.4.

#### 4. Prepositional Phrases with *wantaim*

The preposition *wantaim* means ‘with’ in the sense of ‘in company of’. Linguists call this the “comitative” sense of the preposition. Examples of comitative *wantaim* are:

- (1) *Dan wantaim Katu tupela i lap.*  
 ‘Dan together with Katu laughed.’
- (2) *Ol i wet wantaim tupela pren.*  
 ‘They waited, together with two friends.’
- (3) *Golkipa i ken wokabout wantaim bal inap long fopela step tasol.*  
 ‘The goalkeeper may move with the ball only up to four steps.’
- (4) *Yu mas putim fetilaisa wantaim poteto long graun.*  
 ‘You have to put the fertilizer with the potato in the soil.’
- (5) *Bisnis poteto em i olsem gupela kaikai wantaim mani.*  
 ‘Commercial potato growing is like good food with money added.’
- (6) *Paitim bal antap long net i go kamap long hap tebol bilong narapela man i pilai wantaim yu.*  
 ‘Hit the ball over the net to the part of the table of the other man who plays with you.’
- (7) *Mi subim skru wantaim sobled i go insait long hul bilong en.*  
 ‘I push the screw together with the saw blade into its hole.’
- (8) *Na i gupela sapos i gat ruf wantaim banis.*  
 ‘And it would be good if there is a roof, with walls [to the shed].’

As discussed before, a prepositional phrase with *wantaim* may be attributive; see Ch. 12, 2.4. The examples there are repeated here:

- (9) *bel isi wantaim God* ‘peace with God’; *gupela sindaun bilong Papua Niugini wantaim narapela kantri o wantaim wanpela bikpela oganai-sesen* ‘good relations of Papua New Guinea with another country or with some big organization’; *toktok hait wantaim loya* ‘private interview with a lawyer’

However, it is rather rare for *wantaim* phrases to be used attributively, and (1) through (6) above (given in clauses so that their nonattributive use is clear) are more representative.

*Wantaim* is also, but rarely, used to mark an instrument. Here are some examples of instrumental *wantaim*:

- (10) *Taitim hinses wantaim tupela bolt na nat.*  
'Tighten the hinges with two nuts and bolts.'
- (11) *Meri bilong mi bai i amamas tru long em i ken katim paiawut wantaim naispela so hia.*  
'My wife will be very happy that she can cut fire wood with this beautiful saw.'
- (12) *Olgeta man wan wan i mas tanim wanpela wil wantaim wanpela stik.*  
'Each one of the men has to turn the wheel with a handle.'

The development of a 'with' preposition from comitative to instrumental is known to occur in many languages, and Tok Pisin seems to be going that way also. However, the normal instrumental preposition is still *long*, as shown in 1.4. Recall that the instrumental *long* phrase is rarely if ever used attributively, and the same holds for instrumental *wantaim* phrases.

*Wantaim* is not always a preposition; it may be an adverb (see Ch. 22, 2.3.1).

## 5. Prepositional Phrases with *winim*

*Winim*, in one of its meanings as a verb, may be roughly glossed as 'to exceed'—more accurately perhaps 'to be equal to or to exceed'. But *winim* plus its object often seems to lose much of its verbal character and then means 'more', 'over and above'—more accurately, 'equal to or more than'. It is very commonly in predicate position:

- (1) *Sapos skinhat i winim 37.5, yumi tok, "Sikman i gat skinhat."*  
'If the body temperature is over 37.5, we [incl.] say, "The patient has a fever.'"
- (2) *Painimaut as bilong kus i stap longpela taim na i winim fopela wik.*  
'Find out the cause of coughing that has been there a long time and over four weeks.'
- (3) *Taim pikinini i winim fopela mun, susu bilong mama tasol i no inap.*  
'When the baby is over four months, breast feeding is no longer enough.'
- (4) *Namba bilong ol i winim wan handet.*  
'The total of them is over one hundred.'
- (5) *Was gut, hat bilong gris i winim hat bilong wara.*  
'Be careful, hot fat is much hotter than hot water.'

If *winim* in this sense occurred only in predicate position, one could be skeptical about interpreting it as a preposition. However, the *winim* phrase may just be tagged on to a clause, the way a genuine verb syntactically could not. For example:

- (6) *Sapos yu kukim kaukau long gris bai i kamap swit tru, winim ol samting bilong stua olsem sispop na swit basket.*

'If you cook sweet potatoes in fat they will be delicious, better than all the food in the store like sweet drinks and cookies.'

- (7) *Kaikai long gaden kaukau i planti, winim kaikai long gaden taro.*  
'A field of sweet potatoes yields a lot, more than a field of taro.'
- (8) *Planim i go daun winim 10 sentimita, em i olsem, winim pinga bilong han.*  
'Plant it at least 10 centimeters deep, that is, at least the length of a finger.'

## 16: MODIFIER PHRASES AND ADVERBIAL PHRASES

Modifier phrases are phrases the head of which is a modifier. Thus, in *The nurse was **very skilled***, or in *She was **a very skilled** nurse*, the part in bold is a modifier phrase, with *skilled* as the head, and *very* as the dependent.

An adverbial phrase is a phrase of which the head is an adverb, with a dependent constituent (itself an adverb also) qualifying that adverb. Thus in *She did her job **very well***, the part in bold qualifies the verb, and it is for that reason an adverbial phrase. *Well* is qualified by the constituent dependent on it, i.e. *very*, itself an adverb also. In this chapter, both types of phrases will be treated.

*Very* in both English examples above is an adverb of degree. Many modifiers and adverbs are “gradable,” as we may say, according to the degree of what is expressed by the modifier head or the adverb head.

One system of such gradability of modifiers and adverbs is the one known traditionally as the “degrees of comparison.” In English, we find this in modifier phrases such as *expensive* (“positive” degree), ***more expensive*** (“comparative” degree), and ***most expensive*** (“superlative” degree). The head is *expensive*, the qualifiers are marked in bold (the positive degree is not phrasal). The qualifier may itself be phrasal, as in ***much more expensive*** and ***by far the most expensive***—the constituents in bold are adverbial phrases, and their constituency is ***much more*** and ***by far [...]*** *most*. (In English, as it happens, some adjectives have morphological rather than phrasal comparatives and superlatives, as in *easier* and *easiest*; Tok Pisin, however, has no morphological degrees of comparison, so we may ignore such forms.)

Qualifiers of degree in Tok Pisin are: *liklik* ‘a bit, a little, somewhat, rather’; *moa* ‘more, very’; *moa moa* ‘much more, extremely’; *olgeta* ‘altogether’; *stret* ‘precisely’; *tasol* ‘just, only’; *tru* ‘indeed, truly, very’; *tumas* ‘very, greatly’ (usually) or ‘too much’ (occasionally); and *yet* ‘even’ (as a qualifier of *moa* or *moa moa*).

Below, the subject matter is broken down into the following topics. First, there is a “gray area” between modifier phrases and adverbial phrases in that qualifiers to phrases and qualifiers to verbs may overlap. We examine this in 1. Second, degrees of comparison are treated in 2. Third, qualifiers other than those in degrees of comparison are reviewed in 3.

### 1. Qualifiers in a Gray Area

The difference between modifier phrases and adverbial phrases is not as clear-cut in Tok Pisin as it is in a language like English; and the most convenient approach for Tok Pisin is to treat them together.

In English, clauses like *The nurse was **very skilled*** and *She was **a very skilled** nurse* have *very skilled* as a modifier phrase, for *skilled* is an adjective in both clauses (predicatively in the former and attributively in the latter), and *very* is thus a qualifier to the adjective *skilled* in either case. In contrast, in *The nurse did her job **very well***, the adverb *very* qualifies *well*, which is itself an adverb, and thus *very well* is an adverbial phrase.

In certain constructions in Tok Pisin, we observe roughly the same difference. Compare (1) and (2):

- (1) *Sapos pilai i hat liklik, yu mas skulim ol isi isi.*  
 ‘If the game is rather complicated, you have to teach them patiently.’
- (2) *Ating mi kisim plais na wok isi liklik.*  
 ‘I might as well get pliers and work a bit more easily.’

In (1), *hat liklik* is a modifier phrase, containing the qualifier *liklik*. In contrast, in (2), *isi liklik* is an adverbial phrase, with *liklik* as a qualifier.

The gray area between a modifier phrase and an adverbial phrase in Tok Pisin appears immediately whenever such a phrase is the predicate, or part of the predicate. Compare:

- (3) *Mi ting mi klia liklik.*  
 ‘I think I understand it a bit.’
- (4) *Yumi mas pilai inap long 45 minit pastaim na malolo liklik inap long faiv minit tasol.*  
 ‘We [incl.] must play 45 minutes first, and then rest a bit for up to five minutes.’

In (3), *liklik* qualifies *klia*, and *klia* is the predicate. *Klia* may be considered as a modifier (used predicatively) of *mi*. But *klia* here does not so much mean ‘clear’ as ‘to understand’. Is it thus a modifier or a verb? If it is a modifier, *klia liklik* is a modifier phrase, and *liklik* is an adverb; if it is a verb, *klia liklik* is a verb phrase (and thus not our business here), and *liklik* in it is an adverb all the same—an adjunct in fact—but not, on this analysis, an adverbial phrase. A similar analysis would obtain for (4).

In Tok Pisin, it is not as obvious as it is in a language like English whether what we find in predicate position is a verb or a modifier (that is, one not identical with the predicate). However, since we deal with phrases here only according to their internal structure, we may as well consider *klia liklik* as a modifier phrase. And a similar analysis would apply to *malolo liklik* in (4).

Given these assumptions, we need not distinguish between modifier and adverbial phrases in what follows. The qualifiers *liklik*, *olgeta*, *stret*, *tasol*, *tru* and *tumas* are exemplified in 3.1 through 3.6, respectively; *moa* is treated in 2.4 through 2.6.

## 2. Degrees of Comparison

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, degrees of comparison are traditionally distinguished as positive, comparative, and superlative. The origin of this tradition was at one time rooted in an almost exclusive interest in morphology only—in view of those many languages that form comparative and superlative

by affixation. Thus, there was little interest in the positive degree, because in languages most studied then the positive was not marked morphologically as a degree. The positive form also was not supposed to have a standard relevant to any such degree, the way comparatives do (*bigger than X*), as well as superlatives (*biggest of all X*). In the present examples, “X” stands for that standard.

But, obviously, the positive degree may have a standard as well, in what we may call the equative construction (*as big as X*). Thus, all three degrees may be the head of a modifier (or adverbial) phrase, in three different constructions: the equative, comparative, and superlative constructions.

Traditionally, the comparative and the superlative degrees have each been distinguished as relative and absolute. The relative use has a standard (as just explained); by contrast, the absolute use lacks a standard—at least in overt form. Thus, in *John’s choice is the better choice*, it is not expressed in regard to what John’s choice is better (although context will normally make clear what that standard is); and therefore, *better* here is an absolute comparative grammatically. (For one or two comparatives in English, there is even a special morphological form for that absolute, as in the phrase *the lesser evil*.) Absolute superlatives in English are found in clauses like *Jack is the greatest!*—no one cares what the standard is and what the clause says is that Jack is very great indeed. In some languages absolute superlatives of a modifier *X* means ‘very *X*’; for example, Latin *altissimus* (superlative of *altus* ‘high’) means ‘highest’ as a relative superlative and, ‘most high’ or ‘very high’ as an absolute superlative; absolute superlatives are also very common in Italian. As for the positive, traditionally it has been treated as absolute (though in equative phrases it is relative). In a large number of languages (Tok Pisin among them), however, absolute positives may function as absolute comparatives.

Considerations such as these are needed to understand Tok Pisin degrees of comparison. Briefly, these are organized as follows (“Z” stands for the modifier, or adverb, which is the head of the phrase; “X” stands for the standard):

- [a] *Z + olsem + X* may function as a positive used relatively—‘as Z as X’: the equative construction;
- [b] *Z + liklik* may function as a comparative used absolutely—‘rather Z, more Z’; since a standard is implied (contextually or situationally), we may consider this to be a comparative: the absolute comparative;
- [c] *moa Z + olsem* (or *long*) + X, may function as a comparative used relatively, with a standard marked by *olsem* (or *long*)—‘more Z than X’: the relative comparative with preposed *moa*;
- [d] *Z moa* (or *Z moa moa*, or *Z moa yet*, or *Z moa moa yet*) may function as a comparative, used absolutely—‘very Z’, ‘extremely Z’: the absolute comparative with postposed *moa*;
- [e] *Z moa* (or *moa yet*, or *moa moa yet*) + *olsem + X*, may function as a comparative, used relatively—‘more Z than X’: the relative comparative with postposed *moa*;

- [f] *Z moa* (or *Z moa yet*, or *Z moa moa yet*) + *olsem* + X may function as a comparative, used absolutely and with an equative standard—‘more Z, like X’: the absolute comparative with an implied equative standard; and
- [g] an alternative construction, with *winim*, to express comparison.

Construction [g] is neither a modifier phrase nor an adverbial phrase, and is added here only to facilitate understanding of [a] through [f]. The *winim* construction is treated in Ch. 15, 5.

The constructions [a] through [f] are illustrated in 2.1 through 2.6, respectively.

## 2.1 The Positive in the Equative Construction

This construction is exemplified in English in *Bill is as tall as John*. English thus has *as* + positive + *as* + noun; *as* + noun is then the standard, and that standard is marked by (the second) *as*. Somewhat differently, Tok Pisin has positive + *olsem* + noun. Examples:

- (1) *Na i switpela olsem bisket ol i wokim wantaim hani.*  
‘And it was as sweet as wafers made with honey.’
- (2) *Mi no gutpela olsem ol wokmeri bilong yu.*  
‘I am not as good as your maid servants.’
- (3) *Lain bilong yu i ken kamap bikpela olsem lain bilong Peres.*  
‘May your family become as big as that of Perez.’
- (4) *Na skin bilong en i kamap gutpela olsem skin bilong nupela pikinini.*  
‘And his flesh became as clean as that of a infant.’
- (5) *I no gat wanpela meri i naispela olsem ol.*  
‘There was no girl as beautiful as they.’
- (6) *Ol i sindaun long ol hos na ran i kam, na lek bilong ol hos i pairap bikpela olsem biksi i pairap long nambis.*  
‘They came galloping on horseback and the horses’ legs thundered as the surf thunders on to the beach.’
- (7) *Mi kamap longpela olsem ol diwai limbum bilong Engedi, na mi kamap naispela olsem ol purpur bilong Jeriko, na strongpela olsem ol diwai oliv long gaden, na bikpela olsem ol diwai i stap klostu long wara na i kamap longpela tru.*  
‘I have grown as tall as a palm of Engedi, and I have become as beautiful as the rose bushes of Jericho, and as strong as olive trees in the field, and as big as the trees close to water and tall indeed.’
- (8) *Aiglas insait long ai yet i kamap waitpela olsem smok, taim man i lapun.*  
‘The lens within the eye itself turns as white as smoke, when a man [who has a cataract] gets old.’
- (9) *Katim longpela olsem bikpela bilong dram na paitim i go pas tru long insait.*  
‘Cut it as large as the size of the drum and knock it firmly in position inside it.’

A frequent form of this construction is *wankain olsem* ‘the same as’:



- (10) *Dispela pilai em i wankain olsem soka, tasol ol man i mas paitim bal long han tasol.*  
‘This game is the same as soccer, but the players hit the ball with their hands only.’
- (11) *Narapela sik jem em i wanpela sik i kamap wankain liklik olsem blak lek.*  
‘This [plant] disease becomes more or less the same as black leg disease.’
- (12) *Sapos yu toktok isi isi, ia i gat pen i harim tok gut, wankain olsem gupela ia.*  
‘If you speak slowly, the painful ear can hear you, the same as the good ear.’
- (13) *Sut bilong pasim bel em i wok wankain liklik olsem pil.*  
‘The injection to prevent pregnancy works about the same as the pill.’
- (14) *Plaua kaukau i no wankain olsem plaua yu baim long stua.*  
‘The flour from sweet potatoes is not the same as the flour you buy in the store.’
- (15) *Tumora long wankain taim olsem nau, bai mi mekim bikpela ren ais i kam daun.*  
‘Tomorrow, same time as now, I will let fall a big hail storm.’

Observe that the head is an adverb, not a modifier, in (6), (9), (12) and (13).

## 2.2 The Positive as an Absolute Comparative

The positive qualified by *liklik* may function as an absolute positive (‘rather Z’), as in (1) through (7), but also as an absolute comparative (‘more Z’), as in (8) through (14). Note that, in (8), *liklik* happens to be Z, not a qualifier of any Z:

- (1) *Na em i go sindaun longwe liklik, long wanem, em i tingting olsem, “Mi no ken lukim pikinini i dai.”*  
‘She sat down at some distance, for she thought, “I cannot see the child die.”’
- (2) *Aisak i sindaun long dispela hap longpela taim liklik.*  
‘Isaac stayed there rather long.’
- (3) *Sapos pilai i hat liklik, yu mas skulim ol isi isi.*  
‘If the game is rather complicated, you have to teach them patiently.’
- (4) *Bihain liklik, Samson i go bek gen bilong maritim dispela meri.*  
‘Some time after this, Samson went back to marry this woman.’
- (5) *Na em i go liklik, na em i pundaun long graun.*  
‘And he went some distance and he fell on the ground.’
- (6) *Pikinini i sik planti taim liklik, na em i no kaikai gut?*  
‘Has the child been unwell fairly long, and doesn’t he eat well?’
- (7) *Putim liklik sol na planti wara liklik, na tanim i kamap malumalu gut.*  
‘Add a bit of salt and a fair amount of water, and knead it so it becomes soft.’
- (8) *God i mekim kamap tupela bikpela lait. Bikpela em san bilong givim lait long de, na liklik em mun bilong givim lait long nait.*

'God created two big lights. The bigger one was the sun, to give light during the day, and the smaller one was the moon, to give light during the night.'

- (9) *Taim dispela pikinini i kamap bikipela liklik, mama i kisim em i go long pikinini meri bilong king.*  
'When this child grew bigger, his mother took him to the king's daughter.'
- (10) *Na plua namba tu em i bikipela liklik.*  
'And the second floor is more spacious.'
- (11) *Op bilong dua em inap sikis mita na hap. Tasol taim ol i opim dua, mak i go sotpela liklik, inap faiv mita tasol.*  
'The width of the gate was six and a half meters. But when the gate was open, the entrance was narrower, five meters only.'
- (12) *Na bihain papa bilong gaden i salim ol arapela wokboi i go long ol. Em i salim planti liklik, i winim namba em i bin salim bipo.*  
'Later, the owner of the vineyard sent other workers to them. He sent more of them than he had sent before.'
- (13) *Ating mi kisim plais na wok isi liklik.*  
'I might as well get pliers and work a bit more easily.'
- (14) *Sapos kerot i no gat spes taim em i kamap bikipela liklik, orait yu mas rausim wan wan.*  
'If the carrots don't have enough space when they grow bigger, then take them out one by one.'
- (15) *Taim paia i kukim man bikipela liklik, buk i save kamap na i gat wara insait.*  
'When a man is burnt more badly, sores will appear and there will be discharge from them.'
- (16) *Nau raunpela lain i go sotpela liklik.*  
'Now the circle becomes a bit smaller.'

The absolute positive and absolute comparative are not always clearly distinguished except in context.

Recall that *liklik* in negative clauses may function differently (see Ch. 5, 4.2). Also, *liklik* may be a quantifier rather than a qualifier (see Ch. 23, 1.2).

### 2.3 The Relative Comparative with Preposed *moa*

Comparatives with preposed *moa* are extremely rare in our corpus. The following is pretty much all of it (example (4) is not a clause but a title, in phrase form):

- (1) *Long nem bilong Bikipela, mi tok tru tumas, man i mekim dispela kain pasin em i man nogut tru. Na i moa gut long ol i kilim em i dai.*  
'In the name of the Lord, I assure you, a man who does this kind of thing is a truly evil man. And it would be better if he were killed.'
- (2) *I moa gut sapos laip bilong mi i pinis.*  
'It would be better if my life ended.'

- (3) *Olgeta man i lusim kot pinis, i gat rait long apil o askim kot i moa antap long lukim gen kot bilong em.*  
 ‘Whoever loses a court case has the right to appeal or to ask a higher court to review his case.’
- (4) *Sampela moa pawa bilong lidaship lo.*  
 ‘Some more provisions under the leadership law.’
- (5) *Wok marimari i ken mekim panismen moa isi.*  
 ‘Pardons may make punishment more lenient.’

Note that *moa* as a quantifier normally precedes what is quantified (see Ch. 23, 1.2).

#### 2.4 The Absolute Comparative with Postposed *moa*

A comparative marked by postposed *moa* is often absolute. The comparative marker *moa* may also take the form *moa moa yet*, for greater intensity.

Two forms of the construction with (simple) *moa* should be distinguished: the absolute comparative with a standard not marked but known from context (‘more Z’; that is, ‘more’ than some implied standard); and the absolute comparative without any standard (‘very Z’, ‘extremely Z’). (It seems that *moa yet* and *moa moa yet* is typically used absolutely.) The former is illustrated in (1) through (3); the latter, in (4) through (11). The difference is often clear from context, but some contexts would permit either reading. Consider:

- (1) *Bihain wara i winim olgeta maunten na i go antap moa long sevenpela mita.* [*long*: not ‘than’ but ‘by’]  
 ‘Later the waters rose above all the mountains, and rose even more, by seven meters.’
- (2) *Olsem na i gutpela moa sapos mi ranawe i go long kantri Filistia na bai Sol i no inap kisim mi.*  
 ‘So it is better for me to escape to the land of the Philistines, so that Saul cannot catch me.’
- (3) *I tru papa i bin givim hevi long yupela, tasol mi bai givim bikpela hevi moa long yupela.*  
 ‘True, my father made you [pl.] bear a heavy burden, but I will make you [pl.] bear even heavier burdens.’
- (4) *Bikpela ren moa i kam daun long san na long nait.*  
 ‘Very heavy rains fell, day and night.’
- (5) *Tasol ol Idom i tok strong moa olsem, “Nogat tru. Yupela i no ken.”*  
 ‘But the Edom people insisted very strongly, “By no means. You [pl.] must not.”’
- (6) *Na long dispela as yupela i pas i stap longtaim moa long ples Kades.*  
 ‘And for that reason alone you [pl.] were tied down in Kadesh a very long time.’
- (7) *Na bai yupela inap i stap longpela taim moa long dispela gutpela graun i gat planti gris.*  
 ‘And you [pl.] will stay for a very long time in this good fertile land.’

- (8) *Olsem na God i mekim bikpela strongpela wok moa bilong kisim bek mipela long Isip.*  
‘And so God with his mighty hand freed us [excl.] from Egypt.’
- (9) *Lain Josep i strong moa olsem wel bulmakau i gat kom.*  
‘Joseph’s tribe became mightily strong, like an ox with powerful horns.’
- (10) *Bikpela i save helpim mi, olsem na mi amamas moa long em.*  
‘The Lord always helps me, so I rejoice in Him.’
- (11) *Paitim ol plet bras strong moa bai krai i kamap bikpela na litimapim nem bilong Bikpela.*  
‘Make the clanging cymbals resound in high praise of the name of the Lord.’

Here follow examples with *moa moa*, *moa yet*, and *moa moa yet*:

- (12) *Tasol Lot i strong moa yet long tupela, na bihain tupela i go long haus wantaim em.*  
‘But Lot pressed the two of them very much, and then they went to his home with him.’
- (13) *Na ol i harim na bel bilong ol i nogut moa yet.*  
‘And they listened and they became very disturbed.’
- (14) *Ating dispela pasin nogut bai i kamap bikpela moa yet.*  
‘This evil may well become very serious.’
- (15) *Long 1980, namba i go antap moa yet, olsem 20 milion kina samting long wanpela yia.*  
‘In 1980, the total rose dramatically, by about 20 million kina in one year.’
- (16) *Bai yu les moa yet long ren i pundaun.*  
‘You will get enough of the rainfall.’
- (17) *Na wara i kamap antap moa moa yet na i karamapim olgeta bikpela maunten.*  
‘And the waters rose ever higher and covered all the big mountains.’
- (18) *Em i kros moa moa yet long ol na i mekim save tru long ol.*  
‘He was enraged at them and visited hardships on them.’
- (19) *Ol i save mekim kain kain pasin nogut moa moa yet.*  
‘They often commit all sorts of outrages.’
- (20) *Ol bai i pret moa moa yet.*  
‘They will be terrified.’
- (21) *Dispela strong bilong God oltaim em i wok long helpim yumi ol man-meri i bilip long em, em i bikpela moa moa yet.*  
‘This power of God that always helps us [incl.] people who believe in him is infinite.’
- (22) *Ol bodi bilong yumi bai i kamap gutpela moa moa yet olsem bodi bilong em yet.*  
‘Our [incl.] bodies will be filled with the glory of his own body.’
- (23) *Pastaim ol i bin i stap nogut, tasol sapos ol dispela pasin doti i kalabusim ol gen, orait ol bai i stap nogut moa moa yet.*

‘They used to be evil, but if these shameful deeds enslave them again, they will end up infinitely worse.’

*Moa*, *moa yet* and *moa moa yet* are often qualifiers to quantifiers (see Ch. 23, 1.2).

## 2.5 The Relative Comparative with Postposed *moa*

The relative comparative with postposed *moa* marks its standard with *olsem* or with *long*. This construction is extremely hard to distinguish from absolute comparatives with equative standard (treated in 2.6). For example, *antap moa olsem heaven* may mean ‘higher than the heavens’ (the reading given to (1), below), or ‘very high, like the heavens’ (the construction exemplified in 2.6). Here follow only a few examples, but among those of 2.6 there are some that could be read as illustrating relative comparatives.

- (1) *Save bilong God i antap moa olsem heaven.*  
‘The wisdom of God is higher than the heavens.’
- (2) *Ol i amamas moa yet olsem ol man i amamas long lukim ren i pundaun bihain long taim bilong bikpela san.*  
‘They are happier than people who are happy to see rainfall after the dry season.’
- (3) *Samting yu bin kisim long pasin bilong giaman, bai yu ting em i swit moa olsem gutpela kaikai.*  
‘What you have obtained by deceit may seem to you sweeter than good food.’

All such examples in the corpus are open to analysis as absolute comparatives with equative standard. One reason to keep the relative comparative reading open is that such a reading is quite obvious in data where *moa olsem* has *moa* qualifying a verb rather than a modifier. Another reason is that a relative comparative reading is as obvious in data where *moa olsem* (or *moa long*) has *moa* as a quantifier (on which see Ch. 23, 1.2). The first reason is perhaps most compelling, seeing that the distinction between verbs and modifiers is fuzzy in this language.

## 2.6 The Absolute Comparative with Equative Standard

The absolute comparative (marked by postposed *moa*) with an equative standard (marked by *olsem*) has the standard as an illustration, not as a measure, or yardstick. If it were that, the comparative would be relative, not absolute. That is to say, while ‘higher than the heavens’ would have ‘the heavens’ as a standard of measure, while ‘very high, like the heavens’ has ‘the heavens’ as an illustration of height.

This construction appears in abundance in biblical Tok Pisin, but it seems to be rare in nonbiblical Tok Pisin. Examine:

- (1) *Ol birua i kam long hap not, ol i strong moa olsem ain.*  
‘The enemies that come from the north, they are very strong, like iron.’

- (2) *Bodi bilong mi i hat moa olsem paia i kukim, na mi gat bikpela sik tru.*  
‘My body is glowing hot, like a fire that burns, and I am very sick indeed.’
- (3) *Het bilong yu i antap moa olsem het bilong maunten Karmel. Gras bilong yu i lait olsem naispela laplap bilong king.*  
‘Your head is held high like Mount Carmel. Your hair shines so, like the beautiful mantle of a king.’
- (4) *Yu kis long mi na i swit moa olsem wain.*  
‘You kiss me and it is so delicious, like wine.’
- (5) *Ples bai i luk nais moa yet olsem bikbus bilong Lebanon.*  
‘The land will look very beautiful, like the forests of Lebanon.’
- (6) *Gras bilong het bilong en i wait moa yet olsem gras bilong sipsip.*  
‘The hair of his head was as pure as wool.’
- (7) *Ol dispela lain man i longpela moa olsem diwai sida na i strong moa olsem diwai ok.*  
‘These men were as tall as cedars, and as strong as oaks.’

This construction and that discussed in 2.4 are the same, except for the standard here, which may or may not be present in the examples of 2.4. It is in examples (9) and (22) there.

### 3. Qualifiers: Other

The other qualifiers of degree, apart from *moa* as used in phrasal degrees of comparison, are: *liklik* ‘a little, a bit, slightly’; *olgeta* ‘wholly’; *stret* ‘precisely, exactly’; *tasol* ‘only, merely’; *tru* ‘truly, really, very’; and *tumas* ‘very’. They are exemplified in 3.1 through 3.6, respectively.

#### 3.1 *Liklik* as a Qualifier

*Liklik* may be a modifier (occasionally with *-pela*—see Ch. 3, 2.1.1; Ch. 11, 2.1.1; Ch. 11, 2.8.6; Ch. 13, 1.1.1), or a quantifier (Ch. 23, 1.2), or an adverb not in a modifier phrase, or in an adverbial phrase (Ch. 4, 2.3.4). In Ch. 5, 4.2 there is a description of *liklik* in negative clauses. The following examples of *liklik* as a qualifier in phrases only involve affirmative clauses:

- (1) *Sapos pilai i hat liklik, yu mas skulim ol isi isi.*  
‘If the game is rather difficult, be patient in teaching them.’
- (2) *Mi ting mi klia liklik.*  
‘I think I understand it a bit.’
- (3) *Namba bilong ol man bilong dispela pilai i mas bikpela liklik.*  
‘The number of players for this game must be fairly large.’
- (4) *Tasol bipo liklik, long taim ol tumbuna bilong ol waitskin, i no gat ol dispela masin na fektori bilong ol.*  
‘But a bit earlier, at the time of the ancestors of the white people, these machines and factories were not there.’

Depending on context, any of these could be read as expressing the absolute comparative reviewed in 2.2.

### 3.2 *Olgeta* as a Qualifier

*Olgeta* may be an adjunct, qualifying whatever is in predicate position (Ch. 4, 2.3.4); it may be a quantifier (Ch. 11, 2.3; Ch. 12, 1.3). For *olgeta* in negative clauses, see Ch. 5, 4.6. The following examples all involve affirmative clauses:

- (1) *Ol pikinini bilong diwai wain i kamap na i mau olgeta.*  
'The grapes sprouted on the vine and became ripe altogether.'
- (2) *Sindaun bilong ol i kamap nogut olgeta.*  
'Their condition became thoroughly bad.'
- (3) *Pasin bilong mi em i gutpela na stretpela olgeta.*  
'My ways are good and altogether just.'
- (4) *Bai skin bilong en i slek olgeta.*  
'His body will become weak altogether.'
- (5) *Ol tripela rot i no narakain olgeta.*  
'The three methods are not wholly different [from each other].'
- (6) *Pikinini i mas dring marasin long tripela de olgeta.*  
'The child must take the medicine three days in all.'
- (7) *Nau kukim i go tan olgeta.*  
'Then, cook it until wholly done.'

### 3.3 *Stret* as a Qualifier

*Stret* may be a modifier (with or without *-pela*, see Ch. 3, 2.1.1). As a qualifier, it may qualify modifiers or quantifiers either by itself or in a phrase:

- (1) *Na nau em bai i kolim ol, ol manmeri bilong em stret.*  
'And now he will call them his own people.'
- (2) *Ol bai i kisim taim nogut stret.*  
'They will suffer nothing but misfortune.'
- (3) *Na em i bagarapim dispela taun olgeta, na dispela taun em i kamap rabis stret.*  
'And he will destroy this town altogether, and this town will become sheer rubble.'
- (4) *Bai gavman i kaunim Nesenel Kepital Distrik olsem wanpela provins stret.*  
'The government will consider the National Capital District a province in its own right.'
- (5) *Gutpela i gat spes klostu long dua bilong ol longpela samting olsem diwai, na yu ken subim i go insait stret.*  
'It would be good if there is [adequate] space near the door for long things like lumber, so you can move them right in.'

- (6) *Yu kapsaitim semen long faiv gallon dram na putim stik long namel stret.*  
‘Pour the cement into a five gallon drum and place the pole right in the middle.’
- (7) *I gat fok bilong dispela wok stret.*  
‘There is a fork precisely for this job.’

### 3.4 *Tasol* as a Qualifier

*Tasol* has a variety of meanings and functions. It may be a coordinating conjunction (Ch. 24, 1.2), or it may be a modifier (Ch. 12, 1.3). As a qualifier, it may qualify a verb (in predicate position) as a one word adjunct (Ch. 4, 2.3.3). Here are examples of *tasol* as a qualifier in modifier phrases and adverbial phrases:

- (1) *Dispela em i asua bilong yu tasol.*  
‘This is only your fault.’
- (2) *Mi man nating tasol.*  
‘I am just a man of no consequence.’
- (3) *Ol i kamap nau tasol.*  
‘They have only just arrived.’
- (4) *I gat tupela tim, na long wan wan tim i gat sikispela man tasol.*  
‘There are two teams, and in each team there are only six players.’
- (5) *Na skul em i olsem tasol.*  
‘And schools are exactly the same.’
- (6) *Ol waitskin i gat wanpela pilai olsem tasol.*  
‘White people have exactly the same game.’
- (7) *Na ol i go i go olsem tasol.*  
‘And they keep doing this just like that.’

### 3.5 *Tru* as a Qualifier

*Tru* may be a modifier (Ch. 3, 2.1.1), or, as an adjunct, a single word qualifier to whatever is in predicate position (Ch. 4, 2.3.4), or a qualifier in a modifier phrase or adverbial phrase. Examples of the latter:

- (1) *Bai mi amamas tru.*  
‘I will be delighted.’
- (2) *Dispela tok em i kranki tru.*  
‘This is sheer nonsense.’
- (3) *Bikpela masin bilong kampani em i save mekim gutpela wok tru.*  
‘The big machine of the company will do a very good job of it.’
- (4) *Olaman, sap bilong tit i narakain tru.*  
‘Boy! The teeth [of the saw] are so sharp, there’s nothing like it.’
- (5) *Em i harim dispela tok na em i belhat nogut tru.*  
‘He heard what they said and he was terribly angry.’
- (6) *Kaikai em i wanpela gutpela samting tru.*  
‘Food is something really good.’



- (7) *Ol i no klia tru long as bilong sik.*  
‘They do not understand what causes the illness.’
- (8) *Tambu tru!*  
‘Strictly prohibited!’ or: ‘Keep out!’

### 3.6 *Tumas* as a Qualifier

*Tumas* as a single adverb may qualify whatever is in predicate, as an adjunct of degree (Ch. 4, 2.3.4). It may also be a qualifier in a modifier phrase or an adverbial phrase, as in:

- (1) *Em i senis kwik tumas.*  
‘It changes fast.’
- (2) *Maski long rabisim man i no smat tumas.*  
‘Don’t make fun of someone who is slow-witted.’
- (3) *Nogut bal i daunbilo o i antap tumas.*  
‘The ball should not go too high or too low.’
- (4) *Planti tumas manmeri bilong ples ol i mekim olsem.*  
‘Very many people in the village do this.’
- (5) *Em i no bikipela mani tumas long wokim samting bilong pilai basketbal.*  
‘It doesn’t cost very much to make things needed to play basketball.’
- (6) *Suga i gat bikipela pe tumas.*  
‘Sugar is too expensive.’

## 17: COMPOUNDS AND REDUPLICATION

This chapter returns to morphology, picking up from Ch. 3. As was shown there, morphology works with a variety of building blocks to form words: free forms, preforms, and affixes. One class of affixes is that of suffixes—the only affix class we find in Tok Pisin. Affixes may be inflectional or derivational; those in Tok Pisin are derivational only.

Any one of these building blocks may combine with any other one of them to form words—with the obvious exception of affix + affix. In such formations, when there is more than one free form or preform (with or without affixation), the result is a compound. Different or identical free forms or preforms may combine to form compounds. Compounds may in certain cases be hard to distinguish from phrases, and we will return to that problem shortly; a similar problem is found with reduplications.

Examples of compounds in Tok Pisin are *bikman* ‘boss, leader’, *haiskul* ‘high school’, and *loman* ‘lawyer’. In *bikman*, we find *#bik*, a form we also recognize in *bikpela* ‘big’, but *#bik* itself never occurs as a free form; it is a bound form, a preform. Similarly, in *haiskul*, we find *#hai*, likewise a preform. Since preforms are bound forms, it is essential to remember that not all bound forms are affixes. Suppose that we decided that *#bik* in *bikman* is a prefix, on the ground that it is a bound form; then *bikpela* would consist of two affixes (since *-pela* is certainly an affix). But an affix is always (by definition) attached to what is a word (or “lexeme,” or “lexical item”)—either a free form lexeme or a preform lexeme. And thus *#bik* in *bikman* must be a lexical item as much as it is in *bikpela*. But it is a lexeme in bound form—a preform. Similarly, in *haiskul*, *#hai* is a preform. In contrast, in *loman*, both components, *lo* ‘law’ and *man* ‘man’, are free form lexical items.

A compound is thus a single word, consisting of two or more lexical items, one or more of which may be of the preform type. Those parts of compounds are called the “components” of the compound. As already noted, in addition to these components, there may also be one or more affixes.

A reduplication is a compound such that its components are identical. A language like English does not have many reduplications but there are some, like *goody-goody*. Tok Pisin has a number of them, such as *lukluk* ‘to watch’, *makmak* ‘spots, motley [marks]’, and *tingting* ‘to think’. Some reduplicated forms have suffixes, as in *harharim* ‘to listen carefully’, or *karkarim* ‘to carry around, to hatch’. Note that *lukluk* consists of two free forms, and that *harharim* and *karkarim* have reduplicated preforms: reduplicated *#har* + *-im* and reduplicated *#kar* + *-im*.

So much for some of the terminology to be used. A few issues and principles need to be discussed next. First, compounds need to be distinguished from phrases.

### Compounds and Phrases

The general principle of how phrases and compounds differ is rather straightforward. A phrase consists of more than one word, while a compound is one word only. Hence, compounds belong to morphology (which is about the internal structure of words) while phrases belong to syntax.

A few examples from English may clarify this. Consider the phrase *the corner of the street*. Its head (*corner*) is a noun, and so the whole is a noun phrase. The attribute is *of the street*, duly marked by the preposition *of* (of course, *of the street* is, considered by itself, a prepositional phrase). What *of* does is mark the relation between *corner* and *street* (a possessive relation). The marker *of* is needed syntactically; one could not say *\*corner street*, or *\*the corner the street*.

Now consider the compound *street corner*. There is no marker of any kind (except that of accent—on *street*), and all we observe is what looks like two nouns in succession. We consider *street corner* as one word, a compound one, with two components, i.e. *street* and *corner*. Note that the core (or head) in the phrase *the corner of the street*, as well as in the compound *street corner*, is *corner*. In the phrase, *corner* comes first; in the compound, it comes last.

For all these reasons, *street corner* is easily identified as a compound; it could not possibly be a phrase.

However, in English we may also have compounds with an order of the components that is the same as the order of words in a phrase—for example, *high school* or *elementary school*. How do we know, then, that those are compounds, not phrases? We know because they cannot be manipulated syntactically the way phrases can. For example, *a high tower* (a phrase) may be changed into *a very high tower*, or into *a rather high tower*, or into *a high and impressive tower*, or into *a tower that is high*. Clearly, we can make no such changes in *high school* or *elementary school*. Thus, those are compounds: their parts (or components) stick to one another in ways not characteristic of a phrase.

For another example, consider *the heir apparent*. Let us assume, by way of a thought experiment, that it is a phrase; the adjective *apparent* is after the noun *heir*, and that position is unusual. Attributive adjectives in English normally precede the head noun. On the other hand, there are also other such attributes after the noun, as in *the Governor General*, or in *the body politic*. So then we could say that these are phrases, but such that the adjective follows the head noun and cannot precede it.

Yet that analysis will not do, for *heir apparent*, etc. cannot be manipulated syntactically. For example, while we may change *a good man* into *a good and honest man*, we cannot change *the heir apparent* into *\*the heir apparent and honest*. Similarly, we cannot have *\*the Governor General and wealthy*, or *\*the body politic and greedy*. (Actually, compounds like *heir apparent* or *Governor General* or *body politic* are package loans—as it happens, package loans from French.)

In Tok Pisin, the distinction between phrases and compounds is as straightforward as it is in English—at least in a large number of cases. For example, we would consider *bikpela man* ‘big man’ as a phrase, and *bikman* ‘leader, boss’ as a compound, and with good reason: #*bik* is a preform. Also, while we could have phrases like *bikpela tebol* ‘large table’, *bikpela gaden* ‘large field’, and the like, there are (as yet) no such words in Tok Pisin as *\*biktebol* or *\*bikgaden*—compounds typically cannot be formed as productively as can phrases. In short, the status of *bikman* as a compound, not as a phrase, seems indisputable. Another

such case is *banis bulmakau* ‘paddock’: it must be a compound because its phrase form would be *banis bilong bulmakau*.

But in other cases the distinction between compound and phrase is not as straightforward; there is in fact much more of a gray area between compound and phrase in Tok Pisin than there is in English. Consider *bokis diwai* ‘wooden box’: in Ch. 12, 1.1 we treated that as a phrase, with *diwai* as modifier. It would certainly not be impossible to treat *bokis diwai* as a compound—it all depends on whether *diwai* (as a modifier) is regarded as a noun in the fullest sense. In short, it depends on how one sees word classes in Tok Pisin. On such questions, see Chs. 20 and 22.

There is a subtle and easily misleading element in dealing with such questions: orthography. *Bokis diwai* is written as two words, and *bikman* as one; so there could be the temptation to see them as phrase and compound, respectively. But orthography is not a safe guide for such things, as is clear also in English. For example, *airline* is written as one word, but *air disaster* is not, even though both are compounds without any doubt, with the same core, and of the same type. Similarly, in Tok Pisin *fes et* ‘first aid’, which is definitely not a phrase, neither *#fes* nor *#et* (meaning ‘aid’) are free forms (or even preforms); yet they are represented as single words orthographically.

On the other hand, it is possible that orthographic convention reflects phrase or compound status, at least for some types of phrases and compounds. This is indeed the case, to a remarkable extent, in Tok Pisin orthography, at least for compounds in which the dependent component precedes the core component. This must be because of the intuitive good sense of those who, over the years, have contributed to the standardization of Tok Pisin orthography. On the other hand, in other types of compounds orthographic joining or separation is not a good guide. More about orthography of compounds in 9.

Next we turn to the classification of compounds.

### Types of Compounds

In order to have a workable basis for the classification of compounds, we need to consider their various properties.

First, according to grammatical relations between components of compounds, we may distinguish “UD” compounds, “flat” compounds, and “package loan” compounds.

Second, UD compounds may be broken down into two subtypes. One subtype is such that the core may (given a suitable context) replace the entire compound; let us dub those core compounds. The other subtype names something not named by any of its components, and thus the entire compound stands in for a third entity; these we may call “stand-in” compounds.

Third, UD compounds may be distinguished according to the sequential order of dependent and core.

Finally, flat compounds may be distinguished as comprising two types: the conjoined type; and the reduplicated type.

### UD Compounds, Flat Compounds, and Package Loan Compounds

Some compounds are such that one component determines another. For example, in *street corner*, the component *street* determines *corner*—semantically. Thus, *street* is the dependent component, and *corner* is the head or core. Let us use core to name that component (reserving the term head for the head of a phrase). The components are in an upstairs-downstairs relation to one another. Let us call this type the UD type. Other examples of UD compounds in English are: *high school* and *governor general*.

In contrast, other compounds have no upstairs-downstairs relationships of components. Obvious examples are expressions like *Johnnie-come-lately* or *stick-in-the-mud*, and also reduplications such as *goody-goody*. We may recognize immediately that there is no UD relation of components of such compounds. There is no difference of level of components. We may dub such compounds flat compounds.

In addition to UD compounds and flat compounds, there is the package loan type of compound. That is, a compound is borrowed as a whole (as a package) from some other language. We have already considered English package loan compounds such as *heir apparent*, *Governor General*, and *body politic*. Another example would be the German compound *Wunderkind* ‘extraordinarily talented child’, or the French expression *enfant terrible* ‘childish person upsetting social conventions’. People using such expressions would very likely be aware of German *Wunder* ‘wonder, miracle’ and *Kind* ‘child’, and of French *enfant* ‘child’ and *terrible* ‘terrible’, and thus would have the feel, precisely or vaguely, of its composite nature, even though neither component is found by itself in English. Now, while *Wunderkind* and *enfant terrible* in English would be rather marginal cases of a package loan compound, package compounds are extremely common in Tok Pisin—all derived, lock, stock and barrel, from English. For example, in *fes et* ‘first aid’, neither *\*#fes* nor *\*#et* (in this sense) is found as a lexical item in Tok Pisin. Nevertheless, so many Tok Pisin speakers have at least a minimal command of English that *fes et* could easily be “felt” as a compound—which is of course the reason why the components are separated orthographically. It is characteristic of package loan compounds that the components are not obviously identifiable and that thus relationships between them are obscure.

### Core Compounds and Stand-in Compounds

Compounds are of various types, considered according to how they function in their contexts. Consider once again *street corner*. In a context where it occurs repeatedly it may be simply replaced by *corner*—the core of the compound. This type, then, is such that, given enough background information in context, the core may replace the entire compound. We may call such compounds core compounds.

But other compounds are different. For example, *blockhead*, even when occurring frequently in the same context, cannot be replaced by *head*—or, for that matter, by *block*. This is because what *blockhead* refers to is a stupid person,

not any kind of head or any kind of block. Linguists call such compounds “bahuvrihi” compounds; the term is taken from Sanskrit. A compound of this type stands in for something neither its head nor its dependent—a third something, as we might say. Let us avoid the somewhat outlandish term bahuvrihi, and call such compounds stand-in compounds: that is, the entire compound stands in for something that cannot be identified with either the core or the dependent.

In short, while a street corner is just that, a corner, a blockhead is neither a block nor a head, but stands in for something else. Tok Pisin has a large number of core compounds and a fair number of stand-in compounds as well.

### Order Types of UD Compounds

As explained in above, UD compounds have, as components, a core and a dependent. The latter determines the meaning of the other.

Thus, in English *street corner*, the core is *corner*, and *street* says what kind of a corner. We might say that *corner* is, in the communication process always involved in language use, old information (or the topic already known), and *street* is new information (a new topic added). The structure of the old information and the new information components also determines accent (see 9).

Let us abbreviate these mouthfuls as “OI” and “NI.” Similarly, in *governor general*, *governor* is OI; *general*, NI. From the two examples given it is already clear that compounds consisting of NI and OI components allow of two sequences of those components: NI + OI and OI + NI. At least this is so in English; as we shall see, these two sequences are found also in Tok Pisin.

### Flat Compounds: Conjoined and Reduplicated

As stated earlier, flat compounds are such that neither component determines the other; there is no upstairs-downstairs relationship between components. There are two types of flat compounds: conjoined and reduplicated.

Tok Pisin examples of the conjoined type are: *papamama* ‘father and mother, parents’, and *manmeri* ‘men and women, people’. In phrase form, these would read *papa na mama* ‘father and mother’, and *ol man na ol meri* ‘men and women’. Since *na* conjoins, in such a phrase, the part before it with the part that follows, we may call the compound form (the one without *na*) the conjoined compound form. English has no compounds of this type, except as part of a larger compound. (To understand this, consider *teacher-child relationships*: it is a UD compound, with *relationships* for its core, and *teacher-child* for its dependent. However, that dependent is itself a compound—flat. It would read *teacher and child* in phrase form; within the larger phrase form its form would be *relationships between teacher and child*.)

Tok Pisin does have compounds with conjoined components, as has just been illustrated.

The criteria (or parameters) upon which the above classifications are based do not add up to a unique basis for an overall classification of Tok Pisin compounds. The reason is that the parameters overlap. Thus, the package loan class stands in

an obscure relation to both the UD class and the flat class. As for the NI and OI components in UD compounds, in principle alternative classifications could be made semantically for either component, apart from the twofold class based on their sequential order. Also, flat compounds resemble very closely the stand-in type.

In addition, other classifications easily come to mind. For example, that of one class based on formal characteristics and another class based on semantic considerations. Such a subclassification would hold for all UD compounds, core and noncore.

In short, any chart classifying compounds exhaustively would have to be multidimensional. Clearly, a choice has to be made that does justice to the variety of compounds in Tok Pisin. Since a wealth of examples is essential, the choice will have to be one that is best suited for this purpose. The following considerations seem to be important for such a choice.

First, there are the UD compounds, distinguished as core and noncore. But the noncore UD's (the stand-in UD type) are found, as it happens, only in NI + OI order, so they cannot be subclassified by order.

Second, flat compounds (conjoined and reduplicated) cannot be subclassified by order either, while the order of components in package loans is "frozen," "in the package," and thus moot.

Consequently, only core compounds are amenable to subclassification by order. NI + OI UD core compounds, as classifiable by this sequential order, and thus according to form, are treated in 1, and as classifiable semantically in 2 and 3. It will be most convenient to have a classification by NI (rather than by OI) for the former for those in 1, and by both NI and OI for those in 2 and 3 respectively. Then, the OI + NI type (classified by NI) is investigated in 4.

Next, noncore UD compounds, that is, the stand-in type, are treated in 5.

Flat compounds of the conjoined type are reviewed in 6; those of the reduplicated type, in 7.

Package loan compounds are treated in 8.

Finally, some remarks on accent within compounds and on orthography are presented in 9.

Table 9 may be helpful in studying the present chapter.

### 1. NI + OI Core Types: Formal Classes

Core compounds with NI + OI order are well illustrated by items like: *bikman* 'leader', *het tok* 'title, heading', *wantok sistem* 'the system favoring friends', and *wokabaut spana* 'adjustable wrench'. The cores *man*, *tok*, *sistem* and *spana* are the cores and OI; and #*bik*, *het*, *wantok*, and *wokabaut* say what kind of *man*, *tok*, *sistem* and *spana*, and are thus NI. We are here concerned with compounds of this particular NI + OI type such that a formal subclassification will be both obvious and useful. In 1.1, we consider subclasses such that:

- [a] the NI component is the base of a *-pela* modifier;
- [b] the NI component is a pronoun that in free form takes *-pela*;
- [c] the NI component is a *-pela* numeral.

**TABLE 9. CLASSIFICATION OF COMPOUNDS**

				-pela modifier base 1.1
			formal by NI §1	-pela pronoun base 1.2
				-pela numeral base 1.3
				non-pela base NI (§2)
				non-pela base NI 2.1
		NI + OI	semantic by NI §2	complex preposition 2.2
				body part NI 2.3
	core UD			person name core 3.1
UD compounds			semantic by OI §3	animal name core 3.2
				other core 3.3
				NI without bilong 4.1.1
				gender NI 4.2
		OI + NI by NI §4		directional NI 4.3
				ordinal number NI 4.4
				derivation from phrases 4.5
	noncore UD			stand-in §5
				conjoined §6
flat	—			reduplicated §7
				package loan §8



This still leaves:

[d] the NI component is a form not a *-pela* modifier base.

but [d] is “formal” mainly negatively, and it is better considered in 2.

The subclasses [a] through [c] are reviewed in 1.1 through 1.3.

### 1.1 A *-pela* Modifier Base as NI Component

Recall the modifiers taking *-pela*, treated in Ch. 3, 2. and Ch. 11, 2.1.1, occurring in phrases such as *bikpela tebol* ‘large table’, *sotpela man* ‘short man’, and the like. The base of these *-pela* forms (a preform like *#bik* or a free form like *sot*) often serves as NI component in NI + OI core compounds, as we may observe in *bikman* ‘leader’, or *sotwin* ‘asthma’. That *bikman* must be a compound is, as noted above, evident from the NI form alone; *#bik* never occurs freely. And that *sotwin* must be a compound is equally evident, though *sot* may be a free form. Yet as a preposed modifier it must take the form *sotpela*.

Of this type, the class with *#bik* comprises the most examples; these are found in (1); others, in (2) through (21).

- (1) *bikbaset* ‘national budget’; *bikbisnis* ‘big enterprise’; *bikbol* ‘elephantiasis’; *bikbos* ‘chief manager’; *bikbrata* ‘elder brother’; *bikbus* ‘forest, jungle, rain forest’; *bikdaun* ‘faraway, remote’; *bikdaunbilo* ‘hold [of ship]’; *bikdua* ‘main entrance, gate’; *bikgan* ‘cannon’; *bikhetim* ‘disobey, to be stubborn towards’; *bikhetman* ‘stubborn man’; *bikhetmanmeri* ‘obstinate people’; *bikhetpasin* ‘disobedience, obstinacy, willfulness’; *bikjas* ‘supreme judge’; *bikkot* ‘higher court [of law]’; *biklo* ‘international law’; *bikmama* ‘[paternal] great-aunt’; *bikman* ‘leader’; *bikmasta* ‘supreme ruler, [foreign] V.I.P.’; *bikmaunten* ‘high mountain, mountain range’; *bikmaus* ‘to shout, to be a loud-mouthed person’; *bikmausim* ‘to shout at’; *bikmoning* ‘very early morning’; *biknait* ‘(dead of) night’; *biknem* ‘reputation, generic [as opposed to specific] name’; *bikpaia* ‘hell’; *bikples* ‘town’, ‘homeland’; *bikpris* ‘high priest’; *bikrot* ‘highway’; *bikrum* ‘main hall, living room’; *biksan* ‘noonday sun’; *biksi* ‘heavy swell [at sea]’; *biksiti* ‘large city’; *biksotwara* ‘high seas, open sea, ocean’; *bikstua* ‘supermarket’; *biksusa* ‘elder sister’; *biktaun* ‘large town, city’; *bikwara* ‘main river’; *bikwin* ‘high wind, hurricane’; *bikwok* ‘public works’
- (2) *blakbokis* ‘bat, barn owl, flying fox’; *blakbot* ‘blackboard’; *blaklewa* ‘liver’; *blakmaket* ‘black market’; *blakman* ‘black person’; *blakskin* ‘black person’; *blaksmit* ‘blacksmith’
- (3) *blulang* ‘March fly’; *bluston* ‘copper sulfate’
- (4) *braun suga* ‘brown sugar’
- (5) *draibiskit* ‘dry biscuits’; *draidok* ‘dry dock’; *draiwara* ‘ebb, low tide’
- (6) *grinbin* ‘winged bean’; *grinlip* ‘[edible] green leaves, greens’

- (7) *gut apinun* ‘good afternoon’; *gutbai* ‘goodbye, to say goodbye’; *gut ivning* ‘good evening’; *gut moning* ‘good morning’; *gutnait* ‘good evening, good night’; *gutnem* ‘good name, reputation’; *gutnius* ‘good tidings, gospel’; *gutpren* ‘(good) friend’; *gutsaming* ‘benefit, property, resources’; *guttaim* ‘good old days, time of good weather, time of peace’; *gutwan* ‘excellent!, good show!’; *gutwis* ‘good wishes’; *gutwok* ‘good works’
- (8) *hatwok* ‘hard work, to work hard’
- (9) *hatpasin* ‘anger’; *hatwara* ‘hot water’
- (10) *klinpaia* ‘purgatory’; *klinpasin* ‘chastity’
- (11) *koldring* ‘cold drink’; *kolsinglis* ‘guernsey, sweater’; *kolsis* or *kolsisis* ‘chisel, cold chisel’; *kolwara* ‘cold water, cool water’; *kolwin* ‘cold wind, cool breeze’
- (12) *longsia* ‘deck chair, easy chair’; *longtaim* ‘a long time (ago)’; *longwe* ‘faraway, distant’
- (13) *Nu Ailan* ‘New Ireland’; *Nu Briten* ‘New Britain’; *Nuyia* ‘New Year’
- (14) *raun spana* ‘socket wrench’; *raunwara* ‘lake, pond’; *raunwin* ‘cyclone, whirlwind’; *raunwom* ‘ringworm’
- (15) *retsos* ‘tomato ketchup’
- (16) *sapston* ‘whetstone’
- (17) *smolbis* ‘small beads, pearls’; *smolbrata* ‘young brother, younger brother’; *smoldokta* ‘medical assistant’; *smolhaus* ‘latrine, toilet’; *smolmama* ‘[paternal] aunt’; *smolnem* ‘specific [as opposed to generic] name’; *smolpapa* ‘[paternal] uncle’
- (18) *sotkat* ‘short cut’; *sotwin* ‘short of breath, asthma, asthmatic’
- (19) *stretpasin* ‘good behavior, integrity, straightforwardness’
- (20) *switbrus* ‘marijuana’; *switkaikai* ‘dessert’; *switmuli* ‘sweet cordial’; *switpatete* ‘sweet potato’
- (21) *wailbanana* (or *welbanana*) ‘wild [inedible] banana’; *wailpik* (or *welpik*) ‘wild pig’; *wailsaksak* ‘nipa palm’; *weldok* ‘wild dog, fox, wolf’; *welpis* ‘dolphin’; *welpusi* ‘feral cat, lion, tiger’

### 1.2 A *-pela* Preform Pronoun Base as NI Component

These are compounds in which the NI component is a preform occurring also as the base form in *-pela* pronouns (Ch. 3, 2.1.1), but with an OI component rather than *-pela*. These preforms are only two: #*ara* (or #*nara*); and #*dis*:

- (1) *arakain* ‘different(ly)’; *arasait* ‘(on) the other side’; *arataim* ‘(at) some other time’; *arawe* ‘(in) some different/other way’; *diskain* ‘this kind, this sort’; *dissait* ‘(on) this side’; *distaim* ‘(at) this time’

Those with #*ara* have another form #*nara*. For the differences between them, see Ch. 21, 5.1.

### 1.3 A *-pela* Numeral Base as NI Component

These compounds have for the NI component a factor numeral that in free form may take *-pela*; these compounds are themselves numerals (Ch. 3, 2.4; Ch. 23, 1.1.1). Examples follow:

- (1) *tu hundet* ‘two hundred’; *wan hundet* ‘one hundred’; *wansiling* ‘one shilling’; *wantausen* ‘one thousand’; *tuhap* ‘in half, in two, in two parts’; *tuwil* ‘two-wheeled’; *tupis* ‘a pair, two in number’

However, most compounds with NI *wan* and some with other factor numerals are stand-in compounds (see 4).

Also, there is the class of numerals that are multiples of 10 in system [a] and multiples of 100 and of some higher powers of 10 in both system [a] and system [b] (on these systems, see Ch. 3, 2.4, and also Ch. 23, 1.1.1). For example:

- (2) *tupela ten* ‘twenty’; *faipela ten* ‘fifty’; *tri handet faipela ten sikis* ‘three hundred and fifty-six’; *seven tausen foa handet foti foa* ‘seven thousand four hundred and forty-four’; *et milion seven handet sikisti faiv tausen nain handet sikisti sikis* ‘eight million seven hundred and sixty-five thousand nine hundred and sixty-six’

and so forth. Note that *tupela ten* is not a phrase—the way *tupela kiau* ‘two eggs’ would be. For each example of the larger numbers in (1), the part in bold combines only with the numeral that follows it, as a compound within a compound. That is to say, it would not make sense to have a phrase (like *seven handet*) within a more comprehensive compound of UD’s within UD’s.

## 2. NI + OI Core Types: Semantic Classes by NI

Semantic classification of compounds may be based on any semantic parameter that promises to yield a workable arrangement of various types; more particularly, such a classification may be made either by NI or by OI. One class by NI could cover class [d] mentioned in 1, which is a class negatively determined according to form (i.e. other than the formal classes of 1.1 through 1.3), and to a certain extent these may be reclassified semantically. This will be done in 2.1 for certain semantic NI categories. Complex prepositions ending with *long* are semantically distinguished by the NI—to be reviewed in 2.2. A third semantic class by NI would be constituted by the type in which the NI names a body part, as in 2.3.

Then, various semantic classifications by OI are presented in 3.

### 2.1 Material Names and Names of Behavior Types for NI

The NI material names here are all monosyllables. Consider:

- (1) *ainston* ‘iron ore’; *aisblok* ‘ice cube’; *aiskrim* ‘ice cream’; *golip* (orthographic form for \**gollip*) ‘gold lip shell’; *golmain* ‘gold mine’; *golmani* ‘gold, gold coins, gold currency’; *golston* ‘gold nugget, gold ore’; *grisman* ‘fat person, flatterer’; *grismani* ‘bribe’; *solmarasin* ‘epsom salts, laxative’; *solmit* ‘corned beef, salted meat’; *solmuli* ‘lemon’; *solwara* ‘salt water, sea’; *stonmasis* ‘[lighter] flint’; *sugaken* ‘sugar cane’

Behavior types for NI are in large part such that *pasin* ‘behavior, way [of doing something]’ is the OI:

- (2) *antapasin* (orthographic form for *\*antappasin*) ‘pride’; *batpasin* ‘bad habit(s), vice’; *batpilai* ‘indecent acts’; *bikhetpasin* ‘stubbornness’; *bisipasin* ‘diligence, eagerness, hurry’; *daunpasin* ‘humility’; *isipasin* ‘calm, gentleness, mildness’; *klinpasin* ‘chastity’; *lesbaga* ‘lazy-bones’; *maritpasin* ‘relations with person as in marriage’; *pamukpasin* ‘prostitution’; *stilpasin* ‘dishonesty, thievery’; *stretpasin* ‘good behavior, integrity, straightforwardness’

## 2.2 Complex long Prepositions Distinguished by NI

These are:

- (1) *aninit long* ‘below, under, underneath’
- (2) *antap long* ‘on, on top of, over, above’
- (3) *arere long* ‘alongside (of)’
- (4) *ausait long* ‘outside’
- (5) *baksait long* ‘behind, at the back of’
- (6) *bihain long* ‘after’
- (7) *bipo long* ‘before [of time]’
- (8) *inap long* ‘until, up to [of time]’; ‘as far as, up to [of place]’
- (9) *insait long* ‘inside’
- (10) *klostu long* ‘near, close to [of time or place]’
- (11) *namel long* ‘between’
- (12) *paslain long* ‘before [of place], in front of’
- (13) *raun long* ‘around [of place]’

Most of these were treated in Ch. 15, 2, dealing with prepositional phrases. Most of them, but not all, may be used to mark an attribute, as shown in Ch. 12, 2.2.

All these are called “complex prepositions” in the passages cited, to distinguish them from the “simple” preposition *long*. The point made here is that they are compounds. The OI is *long* (that is, it is the component common to all of them), and the NI is *aninit*, *antap*, *arere*, etc.

## 2.3 Body Part Name for NI

Names of body parts may be NI components in NI-OI core compounds. The body parts are often used metaphorically. Consider:

- (1) *aiglas* ‘eye-glasses, spectacles’; *aigris* ‘envy, to envy’; *aipas* ‘blind, to be blind’; *airaun* ‘dizzy, to be dizzy’; *aiwara* ‘tears’
- (2) *asbret* ‘heel of loaf of bread’; *asde* ‘yesterday’; *aslo* ‘basic law’; *asnem* ‘given name, name given at birth’; *asples* ‘home town, native village, place of origin’; *astingting* ‘basic idea, policy, reason’; *astok* ‘basic premise, basic statement’

- (3) *bakbot* ‘port side [of ship]’; *baksait* ‘back, bottom, rear’; *bakbun* ‘backbone’
- (4) *hetkela* ‘bald, bald person’; *hetklia* ‘well-instructed, intelligent’; *hetkota* ‘headquarters’; *hetman* ‘leader’; *hetmeri* ‘woman in charge’; *hetpen* ‘headache’; *het tok* ‘heading, title’; *hetwin* ‘dive, to dive’
- (5) *iapas* (also: *yaupas*) ‘deaf’
- (6) *lekbruk* ‘cripple’
- (7) *mausgras* ‘beard’; *mausman* ‘spokesman’; *mausogan* ‘mouth organ’; *mauspas* ‘dumb, mute, speechless, tongue-tied’; *mauswara* ‘drivel, empty words, nonsense talk’
- (8) *nusgras* ‘moustache’; *skingras* ‘body hair’

### 3. NI + OI Core Types: Semantic Classes by OI

Any semantic classification of core compounds by OI is based on a general principle: the core names something general, and the dependent component narrows down the “extension” of the core to something more specific.

In semantics, the extension of an expression is the capacity of that expression to refer to a whole range of objects (or persons, animals). In other words, extension is about the extent of reference to objects (etc.) within in a large class.

For example, English *ship* has an extension such that various kinds of craft for locomotion on the water surface are covered. But English also has compounds such that *ship* is the core, while the dependent determines what kind of ship is referred to—as in *cargo ship*, *steamship*, *war ship*, and the like.

Languages differ in the ways in which they specify members of a class of objects (etc.). For example, in English, not all kinds of ships are named by compounds—as shown by expressions like *ferry*, *canoe*, and the like. In other words, the vocabulary (or lexicon) of any language has compounds as well as simple (i.e. noncompound) words to be specific about members of large extension classes. For another example, consider English *flesh* and *meat*. Both refer to what may be called the same sort of tissues of living things, but the difference is that flesh prepared for human consumption is called *meat*. In contrast, German has the lexeme *Fleisch* referring to what in English is called *flesh* as well as *meat*. The same holds for Tok Pisin *mit*.

The importance of these considerations for our purpose here is the following: Tok Pisin specifies subclasses of larger classes by compounds rather than by specific simple lexemes as compared to English. To be aware of this is important in one particular respect—in regard to the idea that Tok Pisin has a more limited lexicon than a language like English. There are several aspects here. Not surprisingly, English, which is spoken in communities with highly developed technological, economic, educational, and political structures, needs more words than speakers of Tok Pisin; also, English has a history of greater time depth in recorded and preserved lexical form than does Tok Pisin. On the other hand, if the idea that simple lexemes in Tok Pisin are less numerous than in a language like English

leads to the idea that the Tok Pisin lexicon is poorer in comparison to English, then behind this there lurks the prejudice that a lexicon consists only (or mainly) of such simple lexemes. But compounds are lexemes in their own right.

In fact, in some respects, the capacity for compounding in Tok Pisin is greater than in English. Consider English *big*—it figures in compounds such as *big-souled* and *big-talking*, but there are only very few of those (and all are adjectives). In contrast, Tok Pisin has a long list of compounds such that the core has a large extension and that #*bik* is the dependent (see 1.1, (1)). As it happens, such compounds are more conveniently treated by NI. The point is, however, that compounds are lexemes in their own right and should be accounted for in any consideration about the size of the lexicon.

In principle, all core compounds could be classified by OI extension. Those that are so classified in the present subsection are those whose core type is that of person names like *boi* ‘boy, man’; *man* ‘man, person’; *masta* ‘employer, ruler’; *meri* ‘woman’; *pikinini* ‘child’; *pren* ‘friend’; and a few others. These are exemplified 3.1. Another core type, less numerous, is that of animal names (3.2). Yet another comprises a variety of core types; let us call those “other” (3.3).

### 3.1 Person Names as Cores

Examples:

- (1) *bosboi* ‘overseer [on plantation]’; *doktaboi* ‘medical orderly’; *draivaboi* ‘driver’; *ensinboi* ‘engineer’; *hausboi* ‘[male] servant in household’; *kagoboi* ‘general laborer’; *kauboi* ‘cowboy’; *kukboi* ‘[male] cook’; *kukiboi* ‘[male] cook’; *lewaboi* ‘lover’; *mumutboi* ‘garbage collector, scavenger’; *pinistaimboi* ‘worker at end of contract term’; *plisboi* ‘policeman’; *senkelboi* or *skelboi* ‘[single] man living off the community [in traditional village]’; *skulboi* ‘schoolboy’; *sutboi* ‘hunter [hired to shoot game]’; *tisaboi* ‘teacher’; *wokboi* ‘worker’
- (2) *bikbos* ‘chief manager’
- (3) *bikbrata* ‘elder brother’; *smolbrata* ‘younger brother’
- (4) *busdokta* ‘native sorcerer’; *smoldokta* ‘medical assistant’
- (5) *kauboi draiva* ‘reckless driver’
- (6) *bikjas* ‘supreme judge’
- (7) *buskanaka* ‘country bumpkin’
- (8) *plis komanda* ‘police commander’
- (9) *boskuk* ‘chief cook, chief steward’; *hauskuk* ‘cook of the house’
- (10) *bikmama* ‘[paternal] great-aunt’; *smolmama* ‘[paternal] aunt’
- (11) *asplesman* ‘local person’; *ausaitman* ‘stranger, person from other place’; *baman* ‘bartender’; *bikhetman* ‘stubborn person’; *bikman* ‘leader’; *bilipman* ‘believer’; *bisnisman* ‘businessman’; *blakman* ‘black person’; *bosman* ‘overseer’; *bulsitman* ‘con man’; *busman* ‘person from the interior’; *daiman* ‘deceased person’; *dripman* ‘squatter, vagabond’; *friman* ‘free person’; *giamanman* ‘cheat, hypocrite, impostor, liar’; *glasman* ‘researcher, seer’; *golman* ‘goal keeper’; *grileman* ‘man

with ringworm'; *grisman* 'fat person, flatterer', *haidenman* 'pagan man'; *hambakman* 'braggart, loafer, playboy'; *hapman* 'he-man'; *helpman* 'one who helps, savior'; *hetman* 'head, leader'; *Holiman* 'the Holy One'; *holiman* 'saint'; *kaisman* 'lefthanded person'; *kalabusman* 'prisoner'; *kamdaman* 'carpenter'; *kamman* 'transient, temporary visitor'; *kilman* 'killer, murderer'; *krankiman* 'clumsy person, ignoramus'; *krungutman* 'crippled person, troublemaker'; *krutman* 'recruit'; *kusai-man* 'deceitful person'; *lainsman* 'linesman [in soccer]'; *laipman* 'living person, the living'; *lepaman* (or *lepraman*) 'leper, person with Hansen's disease'; *lesman* 'lazy person, lazy bones'; *loman* 'lawyer'; *longlongman* 'mad person'; *lukstilman* 'peeping Tom'; *lusman* 'loser'; *maniman* 'wealthy person'; *maritman* 'married man'; *maselman* 'muscular man'; *mausman* 'spokesman'; *musikman* 'musician'; *naiptamiokman* 'peasant'; *nambisman* 'coastal person'; *namelman* 'mediator, middleman'; *niusman* 'journalist'; *ombudsman* 'ombudsman'; *paiaman* 'fire fighter'; *paitman* 'fighter, warrior'; *pamukman* 'brothel-goer'; *paniman* 'clown, jokester'; *pasman* 'one first in line, team leader'; *peman* 'paymaster, redeemer'; *pesman* 'representative'; *plisman* (or *polisman*) 'policeman'; *poroman* 'comrade'; *posinman* 'sorcerer'; *pretman* 'coward, frightened person'; *pukpukman* 'person affected by ringworm'; *rabisman* 'beggar, poor person'; *ranaweman* 'fugitive, refugee'; *Sainaman* 'Chinese'; *sakman* 'cruel person'; *sangumaman* 'sorcerer'; *saveman* 'expert'; *siaman* 'chairman'; *sikman* 'patient, sick person'; *sinman* 'sinner'; *sitman* 'cheater, impostor'; *skelman* '[single] man living off the community [in traditional village]'; *slipman* 'person asleep'; *spakman* 'drunkard'; *stiaman* 'helmsman, wheels man'; *stilman* 'thief'; *storiman* 'narrator, story-teller'; *stuaman* 'store keeper'; *suaman* 'person with sores'; *susokman* 'white collar person'; *sutman* 'hunter'; *takisman* 'tax collector'; *tambaranman* 'leader of secret [ancestor] cult'; *tokman* 'representative'; *trabelman* 'troublemaker, promiscuous man'; *trikman* 'magician'; *tripman* 'squatter, vagabond'; *votman* 'voter'; *waitman* 'white person'; *wasman* 'guard, herdsman, sentry, watchman'; *welman* 'savage, slick operator'; *wokman* 'laborer, worker'

- (12) *bikhetmanmeri* 'obstinate people'; *rabismanmeri* 'poor people'; *save-manmeri* 'experts [men and women]'
- (13) *bikmasta* 'supreme ruler, [foreign] V.I.P.'; *plismasta* 'patrol officer'
- (14) *banismeri* 'boarding school girl'; *doktameri* '[female] nurse'; *grilemeri* 'woman with ringworm'; *haidenmeri* 'pagan woman'; *hapmeri* 'perfect wife, strong woman'; *hetmeri* 'woman in charge'; *kusaimeri* 'deceitful woman'; *lewameri* 'lover'; *maritmeri* 'married woman'; *pablikmeri* 'prostitute'; *pamukmeri* 'prostitute'; *pasindiameri* 'prostitute'; *pukpukmeri* 'woman affected by ringworm'; *rabismeri* 'poor woman'; *rotmeri* 'prostitute'; *singelmeri* 'unmarried woman'; *skulmeri* 'school girl'; *trabelmeri* 'troublesome woman, loose woman, unfaithful wife'; *wokmeri* '[female] worker, working woman'

- (15) *smolpapa* '[paternal] uncle'
- (16) *skulpikinini* 'school child'
- (17) *boipren* 'boy friend'; *gelpren* 'girl friend'; *gutpren* 'good friend'

### 3.2 Names of Animals as Cores

Examples:

- (1) *taro bitil* 'taro beetle'
- (2) *blakbokis* 'flying fox'
- (3) *plisdok* 'police dog'; *weldok* 'wild dog, fox, wolf'
- (4) *buspaul* 'wild fowl'
- (5) *ginipik* 'guinea pig'; *welpik* or *wailpik* 'wild pig'
- (6) *bunpis* 'tarpon'; *flaipis* 'flying fish'; *grilepis* 'pearl perch'; *maulpis* '[kind of] fish'; *nilpis* 'blowfish, scorpion fish'; *solpis* 'salted fish'; *sopis* 'marlin'; *stonpis* 'stone fish'; *tinpis* 'canned fish'; *welpis* 'dolphin'; *winpis* 'flying fish'
- (7) *welpusi* 'feral cat, lion, tiger'

### 3.3 Other Cores

Examples:

- (1) *pasindia balus* 'passenger plane'
- (2) *wailbanana* or *welbanana* 'wild [inedible] banana'
- (3) *grinbin* 'winged bean'; *soyabin* 'soybean'
- (4) *esbokis* 'cooler, ice box'; *kesbokis* 'cash box'; *tulbokis* 'toolbox'
- (5) *spakbrus* 'marijuana'; *switbrus* 'marijuana'
- (6) *holide* 'holiday'; *pestode* 'feast day';
- (7) *koldring* 'cold drink'; *sofdring* 'soft drink'
- (8) *masin gan* 'machine gun'
- (9) *lephan* 'left hand'; *raithan* 'right hand'
- (10) *smolhaus* 'latrine, toilet'
- (11) *karamap kabis* '[kind of] cabbage'; *saina kabis* 'Chinese cabbage'
- (12) *bikkot* 'higher court [of law]'
- (13) *sia let* 'seat belt'
- (14) *grinlip* '[edible] green leaves'
- (15) *biklo* 'international law'
- (16) *kaskas marasin* 'medication for scabies'; *kus marasin* 'coughing medicine'
- (17) *kakaruk marit* 'common law marriage'
- (18) *bikmaunten* 'high mountain, mountain range'
- (19) *wara melen* 'water melon'
- (20) *staf memba* 'staff member'
- (21) *bikmoning* 'very early morning'
- (22) *busnaip* 'bush knife'
- (23) *biknait* 'dead of night'; *Krismas nait* 'Christmas night'



- (24) *biknem* ‘reputation, generic [as opposed to specific] name’; *gutnem* ‘good name, reputation’; *haidennem* ‘pagan name’; *lasnem* ‘last name’; *smolnem* ‘specific [as opposed to generic] name’
- (25) *bikpaia* ‘hell’; *klinpaia* ‘purgatory’
- (26) *bikples* ‘town, homeland’; *daimanples* ‘place of the dead’
- (27) *bikpris* ‘high priest’
- (28) *bikrot* ‘highway’; *busrot* ‘bush track’
- (29) *bikrum* ‘main hall, living room’
- (30) *arasait* ‘(on) the other side’; *dissait* ‘(on) this side’
- (31) *wailsaksak* ‘nipa palm’
- (32) *biksan* ‘noonday sun’
- (33) *biksi* ‘heavy swell [at sea]’
- (34) *didimanskul* ‘agricultural school’; *haiskul* ‘high school’; *komyunity skul* ‘grade school’
- (35) *fulspak* ‘dead drunk’
- (36) *pukpukspana* ‘pipe wrench’; *raun spana* ‘socket wrench’; *ring spana* ‘socket wrench’
- (37) *bluston* ‘copper sulfate’; *sapston* ‘whetstone’
- (38) *bikstua* ‘supermarket’; *marasin stua* ‘druggist’s store, dispensary’; *trekstua* ‘trade store’
- (39) *braun suga* ‘brown sugar’
- (40) *lip tabak* ‘leaf tobacco’
- (41) *bihaintaim* ‘future’; *bipotaim* ‘ahead of time’; *distaim* ‘(at) this time’; *ful AIM* ‘full time’; *guitaim* ‘good old days, time of good weather, time of peace’; *Istataim* ‘Easter time’; *Jemantaim* ‘time of German rule [in New Guinea]’; *kwiktaim* ‘soon, right away’; *longtaim* ‘a long time’; *moningtaim* ‘morning time’; *nameltaim* ‘meantime’; *pastaim* ‘first [in time], earlier’; *pinistaim* ‘end of [labor] contract period’
- (42) *het tok* ‘heading, title’
- (43) *dakwait* ‘gray’
- (44) *aiwara* ‘tears’; *bikwara* ‘main river’; *draiwara* ‘ebb, low tide’; *haiwara* ‘flood, high tide’; *hatwara* ‘hot water’; *kolwara* ‘cool water’; *raunwara* ‘lake, pond’
- (45) *bikwin* ‘high wind, hurricane’; *buswin* ‘cool [offshore] wind [from bush at night]’; *kolwin* ‘cool breeze’; *raunwin* ‘cyclone, whirlwind’; *sitwin* ‘asthma, short of breath, winded’
- (46) *bikwok* ‘public works’; *gutwok* ‘good works’; *hatwok* ‘hard work, to work hard’

#### 4. OI + NI Core Types

The OI-NI core type of compound is well illustrated by *banis pik* ‘pigsty’; *bot sel* ‘sail boat’; *wok bung* ‘to work together’; *kamap* ‘to arrive’; *namba wan* ‘the first’; and so forth. There is a great variety of subtypes, and the following are listed here:

- [a] the type with NI component dropping *bilong*;
- [b] the “directional” type;
- [c] the ordinal numeral type; and
- [d] derivations from phrases.

These are explored in 4.1 through 4.4.

#### 4.1 The Type with NI Component Dropping *bilong*

Recall the phrase type with a postposed attribute that is itself a prepositional phrase (Ch. 12, 2). Those prepositional phrases open with *long* (Ch. 12, 2.1, simple; Ch. 12, 2.2, complex), or with *bilong* (Ch. 12, 2.3.1, alienable; Ch. 12, 2.3.2, inalienable), or with *wantaim* (Ch. 12, 2.4). Recall also that attributive prepositional phrases with *long* and with *wantaim* are rare, as well as those with alienable *bilong*.

The importance of those features of attributive prepositional phrases is directly reflected in the formation of compounds. The rules for having an NI component parallel the rules for the possibility of using prepositional phrases attributively.

As for *long*, no attributive phrase with *long* could drop *long* and become a compound. Thus, the phrase (with simple *long*) *ol taun long hap sankamap* ‘the towns in the east’ could never become a compound *\*taun hap san kamap*, and (with complex *long*) *gras antap long ai* ‘eyebrows’ could never become *\*gras ai*. What blocks the formation of such compounds is directly related to what makes attributive *long* phrases rare. The preference is to have such phrases in a relative clause, with a verb like *stap* (see Ch. 12, 2.1, (2)).

What has been said of *long* also holds for alienable *bilong*. A phrase like *as bilong dispela* ‘the cause of this, the reason for this’ could not take composite form as *\*as dispela*, and *lida bilong wok* ‘supervisor of the job’ could not become *\*lida wok*.

By contrast, at least some phrases with inalienable *bilong* could drop *bilong* and take compound form, as in *haus pik* ‘pigsty’—which could take a well-formed phrasal form as *haus bilong pik*. Granted, some other phrases with inalienable *bilong* could not drop *bilong*; for example, *man bilong buk* ‘bookish man’ could not become *\*man buk*. But there is one type of phrase with attributive *bilong* that may drop *bilong*. That type is represented by *haus pik* ‘pigsty’, and *banis bulmakau* ‘paddock’.

To understand what type this is, let us consider the cores *haus* and *banis*. They would also be the core, or head, in phrasal form: *haus bilong pik*, and *banis bilong bulmakau*. Cores like *haus* or *banis* are so extensive in meaning (see 3) that they need some NI added—in the form of an attribute in phrases and as an NI component in compounds. The examples below are listed according to those extensive cores (or OI components).

Finally, there are the phrases with an attributive *wantaim* phrase. Once again, as noted (Ch. 12, 2.4), such phrases are extremely rare. Not surprisingly, then, none of them can drop *wantaim* and become a compound. Thus, *toktok hait wantaim loya* ‘private interview with a lawyer’ could not possibly become *\*toktok hait loya*. It is

true that *wantaim* in the sense of ‘and’ may be dropped, but then *wantaim* does not introduce an attribute, and the result is a conjoined compound (see 6).

Let us call cores like *haus* and *banis*, so extensive in meaning, the extensive core type.

#### 4.1.1 Extensive Core + NI: Examples

- (1) *sitbet* ‘bed sheet’
- (2) *abus bulmakau* ‘beef’; *abus sipsip* ‘mutton’
- (3) *as tanget* ‘leaf-covered bottom’
- (4) *banis bulmakau* ‘corral, cow stable, fenced pasture, paddock’; *banis meri* ‘convent enclosure, girls’ boarding school’; *banis paul* ‘chicken coop, chicken pen, chicken yard’; *banis pik* ‘enclosure for pigs’; *banis sista* ‘convent enclosure’; *banis win* ‘chest’
- (5) *basket pipia* ‘trash can, waste basket’
- (6) *bek kopra* ‘bag of copra, copra bag’; *bek rais* ‘bag of rice, sack of rice’; *bek trausis* ‘trousers pocket’
- (7) *belgut* ‘contented, contentedness’; *belhat* (or *belhot*) ‘anger, angry, enraged, rage’; *belhevi* ‘regret, regretful, sad, sadness’; *belisi* ‘peaceful, calm’; *belklin* ‘pure of heart, sincere’; *belpen* ‘angry, anger’; *beltru* ‘faithful’
- (8) *belo bek* ‘afternoon bell, afternoon’; *belo kaikai* ‘lunch time, noon’
- (9) *bet kaikai* ‘buffet table, market stall’
- (10) *bokis ais* ‘refrigerator’; *bokis kontrak* ‘ark of the Covenant’; *bokis mani* ‘cash box, money box’
- (11) *bot sel* ‘sail boat’
- (12) *buk baibel* ‘bible’; *buk beten* ‘prayer book’; *buk singsing* ‘song book’
- (13) *bun diwai* ‘inner part of tree trunk’
- (14) *diwai aiai* ‘Malay apple tree’; *diwai aila* ‘[type of] tree [with edible fruit]’; *diwai akas* ‘acacia tree, wattle tree’; *diwai amberoi* ‘[type of] timber tree’; *diwai arang* ‘pandanus tree, screwpine tree’; *diwai aitan* ‘[type of] timber tree’; *diwai baibai* ‘[Cycas family] decorative palm’; *diwai erima* ‘ilima tree’; *diwai fik* ‘fig tree’; *diwai fikus* ‘banyan tree, rubber tree’; *diwai kapiak* ‘breadfruit tree’; *diwai galip* ‘[Tahitian] chestnut tree’; *diwai kanu* ‘[type of] timber tree’; *diwai kwila* ‘[type of] iron wood tree’; *diwai malas* ‘[type of] timber tree’; *diwai marmar* ‘jacaranda [type of] tree, raintree’; *diwai mareo* ‘[type of] timber tree’; *diwai marita* ‘pandanus tree’; *diwai mangro* ‘mangrove tree’; *diwai nabaut* ‘tree unfit for lumber’; *diwai nar* ‘hardwood tree [good for lumber]’; *diwai oliv* ‘olive tree’; *diwai prut* ‘fruit tree’; *diwai sirsan* ‘[Japanese] cherry tree’; *diwai talis* ‘tree bearing edible nuts’; *diwai ton* ‘[type of] tree [with edible fruits]’; *diwai tor* ‘[type of] iron wood tree’; *diwai towan* ‘[type of] tree’; *diwai tulip* ‘tree with paired edible leaves’; *diwai utun* ‘[coastal] tree with four-cornered fruits [used to stun fish]’; *diwai wain* ‘grapevine’; *diwai yambo* ‘guava tree’; *diwai yar* ‘casuarina tree’; *diwai yati* ‘teak tree’; *diwai yerima* ‘octomeles tree’

- (15) *dokta kanaka* 'magic healer, sorcerer'; *dokta kat* 'surgeon'
- (16) *ensel lukaut* 'guardian angel'
- (17) *gaden wain* 'vineyard'
- (18) *gan pisin* 'shotgun'
- (19) *gavana jeneral* 'governor general'
- (20) *gras bulmakau* 'hay [as cattle feed]'; *gras lek* 'grass whose seedlings cling to body and clothes'; *gras matmat* 'mimosa'; *gras nil* 'touch-me-not, sensitive plant'
- (21) *haus ais* 'walk-in freezer, cold storage plant'; *haus balus* 'hangar'; *haus blut* 'menstrual hut'; *haus boi* 'sleeping quarters for laborers'; *haus bot* 'boat house'; *haus buk* 'library'; *haus bulmakau* 'cow shed'; *haus drai* 'copra drier'; *haus dring* 'bar, hotel'; *haus gaden* 'garden storage shed'; *haus ka* 'garage'; *haus kaikai* '[detached] kitchen, pantry'; *haus kakaruk* 'chicken coop'; *haus kamda* 'carpenter's shop'; *haus karim* 'birth hut [in bush], maternity ward'; *haus kat* 'operating room, surgery room'; *haus kiap* 'government officer's house'; *haus kopra* 'copra shed'; *haus kot* 'court house'; *haus kuk* '[detached] kitchen'; *haus lepra* 'lepro-sarium'; *haus lotu* 'church'; *haus man* 'men's house [in traditional vil-lage]'; *haus mani* 'bank'; *haus marasin* 'dispensary'; *haus marit* 'mar-ried people's quarters'; *haus meri* 'women's house [in traditional vil-lage]'; *haus misin* 'mission center, missionary's house'; *haus pamuk* 'brothel'; *haus pasindia* 'hotel, inn, motel'; *haus paul* 'chicken coop'; *haus pekpek* 'latrine, [outside] toilet'; *haus pepa* 'office'; *haus pik* 'pig-sty'; *haus pispis* 'toilet, urinal'; *haus pos* 'post office'; *haus samap* 'tailor's shop'; *haus sik* 'clinic, hospital'; *haus sista* 'convent, nurses' quarters'; *haus skul* 'school [building]'; *haus slip* 'bunk house'; *haus so* 'saw mill'; *haus tambaran* 'ancestral spirit house'; *haus win* 'gazebo'
- (22) *hul abus* 'game trap'; *hul bom* 'bomb crater'
- (23) *kaikai marit* 'wedding banquet'
- (24) *karamap kabis* 'parcel of cabbage'; *karamap saksak* 'parcel of sago'
- (25) *klok belo* 'alarm clock'
- (26) *klos misa* 'vestments for mass'; *klos pait* 'armor'; *klos pris* 'priest's vestments'
- (27) *lam bensin* 'pressure lamp'; *lam kerasin* 'kerosene lamp'; *lam woka-baut* 'hurricane lantern'
- (28) *let sia* 'seat belt'
- (29) *mambu tambaran* 'paired [male and female] flute [used in secret ritual dances]'
- (30) *masis bensin* 'cigarette lighter'
- (31) *masta binatang* 'pest control officer'; *masta kot* 'lawyer'; *masta plis* 'police master'; *masta rot* 'road construction supervisor'
- (32) *meri banis* 'boarding school girl'
- (33) *misis dokta* '[female] nurse'
- (34) *naip bret* 'bread knife'; *naip kopra* 'copra knife'; *naip skru* 'pen knife, pocket knife'

- (35) *pasin birua* ‘hatred, hostility, ill-will’; *pasin kanaka* ‘native custom’; *pasin pamuk* ‘promiscuous ways, prostitution’; *pasin tambaran* ‘ancestor cult’; *pasin waitman* ‘the way of white people’
- (36) *paus mani* ‘money pouch, wallet’
- (37) *pik susu* ‘brood sow’
- (38) *pikinini bulmakau* ‘calf’; *pikinini dok* ‘puppy’; *pikinini hos* ‘colt’; *pikinini meme* ‘kid [goat]’; *pikinini pato* ‘duckling’; *pikinini paul* ‘chicken’; *pikinini pik* ‘piglet’; *pikinini pis* ‘minnow, small fish’; *pikinini pukpuk* ‘baby crocodile’; *pikinini pusi* ‘kitten’; *pikinini sipsip* ‘lamb’
- (39) *pis nil* ‘perch, [any] spiny fish’; *pis wesan* ‘bass’
- (40) *ples balus* ‘air field’; *ples bung* ‘market, meeting place’; *ples kanaka* ‘native village’; *ples kik* ‘football field, soccer field’; *ples kunai* ‘grassland, prairie, savanna’; *ples maunten* ‘mountainous region’; *ples pilai* ‘playground’; *ples singsing* ‘dancing ground’; *ples tais* ‘marshland’; *ples waswas* ‘bathing place’; *ples wokabout* ‘zebra crossing’;
- (41) *plet boi* ‘[standard issue] bowl for laborers’; *plet kanaka* ‘[carved] wooden plate, [carved] wooden platter’; *plet musik* ‘gramophone record’
- (42) *ren ais* ‘hail, snow’
- (43) *rop banana* ‘stalk of bananas’; *rop buai* ‘cluster of betel nuts’; *rop daka* ‘betel pepper vine’; *rop diwai* ‘vine [on tree]’; *rop kokonas* ‘cluster of coconuts’; *rop wailis* ‘nerve’
- (44) *rot kruse* ‘way of the cross, stations of the cross’; *rot win* ‘windpipe’
- (45) *rum draiva* ‘driver’s cabin [in truck]’; *rum gat* ‘[overnight] detention cell, police cell’; *rum kaikai* ‘dining room’; *rum karim* ‘delivery room [for childbirth]’; *rum kat* ‘surgery room’; *rum slip* ‘bedroom’
- (46) *sia bens* ‘bench, church pew’
- (47) *sik asma* ‘asthma’; *sik apendisaitis* ‘appendicitis’; *sik bel pen* ‘stomach ache’; *sik blak lek* ‘black leg [plant] disease’; *sik bronkaitis* ‘bronchitis’; *sik bun nating* ‘malnutrition’; *sik epilepsi* ‘epilepsy’; *sik fangas* ‘fungus [plant] disease’; *sik fiva* ‘fever’; *sik gestraitis* ‘gastritis’; *sik gonoria* ‘gonorrhoea’; *sik haipatensen* ‘high blood pressure, hypertension’; *sik hepataitis* ‘hepatitis, jaundice’; *sik het i pen* ‘headache’; *sik hukwom* ‘hookworm’; *sik influenza* ‘influenza’; *sik jem* ‘fungus disease’; *sik kaskas* ‘scabies’; *sik konsangtivaitis* ‘conjunctivitis’; *sik kus* ‘cold, cough’; *sik kus nating* ‘common cold’; *sik lepra* ‘hansen’s disease, leprosy’; *sik malaria* ‘malaria’; *sik mams* ‘mumps’; *sik menisaitis* ‘meningitis’; *sik misils* ‘measles’; *sik mun* ‘menstrual indisposition’; *sik natnat* ‘malaria’; *sik niunionia* ‘pneumonia’; *sik pekpek wara* ‘diarrhea’; *sik peritonaitis* ‘peritonitis’; *sik pikbel* ‘indigestion [from eating pork gone bad]’; *sik poteto blait* ‘potato blight’; *sik stem kanka* ‘stem canker’; *sik tetanus* ‘tetanus’; *sik tibi* ‘tuberculosis’; *sik tibi bilong kru* ‘cerebral tuberculosis’; *sik vairas* ‘virus disease’; *sik vidi* ‘venereal disease’
- (48) *singsing tambaran* ‘ancestor worship’; *singsing tumbuan* ‘dance with face masks’

- (49) *sip smok* 'steamship'
- (50) *skin banana* 'banana skin'; *skin diwai* 'tree bark'; *skin kambing* 'lime gourd [for betel nut]'; *skin kina* 'clam shell, oyster shell'; *skin palai* 'lizard skin'; *skin pas* 'envelope'; *skin pilo* 'pillow case'
- (51) *smok smel* 'incense'
- (52) *sop smel* 'perfumed soap'
- (53) *sospen waitman* 'pan [of type used by white people]'
- (54) *spana wokabaut* 'adjustable wrench'
- (55) *spia botol* 'obsidian, spear tipped with volcanic matter'
- (56) *stik kambing* 'lime spatula'; *stik masis* 'match'
- (57) *ston aget* 'agate stone'; *ston ametis* 'amethyst stone'; *ston beryl* 'beryl stone'; *ston emeral* 'emerald stone'; *ston haiasin* 'turquoise stone'; *ston jasper* 'jasper stone'; *ston konilian* 'carnelian stone'; *ston krisolait* 'quartz stone'; *ston krisopres* 'chalcedony stone'; *ston masis* 'flint'; *ston sadonikis* 'onyx stone'; *ston sapaia* 'sapphire stone'; *ston topas* 'topaz stone'
- (58) *tabak brus* 'leaf tobacco'; *tabak stik* 'stick tobacco, trade tobacco'
- (59) *taro kanaka* 'native taro'; *taro kongkong* 'Chinese taro'; *taro plaua* 'Chinese taro'; *taro singapor* 'Chinese taro'
- (60) *tin bulmakau* 'can of beef'; *tin mit* 'tin of meat'; *tin susu* 'tinned milk, tin of milk'
- (61) *tok amamas* 'congratulation, good wishes, happy prattling'; *tok bilas* 'mockery'; *tok bilas long god* 'blasphemy'; *tok bilip* 'creed, recitation of creed'; *tok boi* [older name for] 'tok pisin'; *tok bokis* 'parable, secret language'; *tok gris* 'flattery'; *tok gumi* 'rambling story, tall tale, yarn'; *tok masta* 'bad tok pisin [as spoken by foreigners]'; *tok maus* 'spoken language'; *tok mosong* 'woolly talk'; *tok orait* 'agreement'; *tok pait* 'quarrel'; *tok parabel* 'parable'; *tok piksa* 'parable'; *tok pilai* 'jest, joke, pun'; *tok pisin* 'tok pisin'; *tok ples* 'local vernacular'; *tok singsing* 'melodious recital'; *tok sori* 'expression of sympathy, to express sympathy'; *tok win* 'idle tale, rumor'
- (62) *waia karamap* 'insulated wire'
- (63) *wok bembe* 'cargo cult'; *wok bisnis* 'the business profession'; *wok blaksmi* 'smith's work'; *wok brik* 'brick making'; *wok bus* 'jungle patrol'; *wok didiman* 'agricultural advising'; *wok dokta* 'medical practice'; *wok fama* 'agriculture'; *wok gaden* 'agriculture, gardening'; *wok gavman* 'administration'; *wok gol* 'gold mining'; *wok han* 'handicraft'; *wok kakao* 'cocoa industry'; *wok kamda* 'carpentry'; *wok king* 'function of king'; *wok kompos* 'compost making'; *wok kopi* 'coffee industry'; *wok kopra* 'copra processing'; *wok kuk* 'cooking'; *wok kuskus* 'secretarial work'; *wok lukaut* [God's] 'Providence'; *wok marimari* 'works of mercy'; *wok medikol* 'orderly's work'; *wok mekanik* 'engineering'; *wok meri* 'women's work'; *wok misin* 'mission work'; *wok mumut* 'collecting night soil'; *wok nes* 'nursing'; *wok pris* 'priesthood'; *wok profet* 'prophecy'; *wok rais* 'rice agriculture'; *wok saksak* 'sago processing'; *wok*

*samap* ‘sewing’; *wok sambai* counseling; *wok seketeri* ‘secretariat’; *wok semen* ‘masonry’; *wok skol* ‘education’; *wok soldia* ‘soldiery’; *wok sori* ‘penance’; *wok tisa* ‘teaching’; *wok tresara* ‘treasury’; *wok wain* ‘vine tending, vineyard’

#### 4.2 The Directional Type

A number of OI + NI compounds have NI components indicating direction of one kind or another, of the form: (*a*)*baut*, #*ap*, *aut*, *bek*, #*bilu*, and *daun*. *Pas* does not involve direction, but morphologically it may be included among these items. (Note that #*ap* cannot be an affix. If it were, *apim* ‘to raise’ would consist of two affixes. Thus, #*ap* must be a preform.)

Here are compounds with the items mentioned as NI:

- (1) *raunabout* ‘roundabout’; *wokabout* ‘to walk’

*Wokabout* is a bit of a problem analytically, because *wok* means not ‘to walk’ but ‘to work’. One could, of course, assume there is a preform #*wok* ‘to walk’. But *wokabout* originated from Australian substandard English and means ‘to walk’ and not necessarily ‘to walk around’. However, the ‘around’ element is never far, even in Tok Pisin, as appears from compounds like *wokabout spana* ‘wrench’, whose meaning suggests circular movement. The adverb *nabaut* ‘here and there, in all directions’ also favors this interpretation. There is a Tok Pisin dialect with the verb *gokambaut* ‘to roam’.

- (2) *bagarap* ‘ruined, to be ruined’; *bringimap* (or *bringimapim*) ‘to author, to originate, to start’; *dresap* ‘to dress up [intr.]’; *goap* ‘to go up, to climb [intr.]’; *goapim* ‘to climb [tr.]’; *to have sexual intercourse with [a woman]’; kamap* ‘to arrive, to happen’; *kamapim* ‘to cause, to raise [tr.]’; *lokup* ‘to lock up [intr.]’; *to be locked up’; lokupim* ‘to lock up [tr.]’; *pairap* ‘to explode [intr.]’; *pairapim* ‘to explode [tr.]’

All of these have free form bases (*baga* ‘slob’, etc.). Note intrusive *r*, itself frequent in informal English following *baga* and *paia*.

There are others that could be analyzed in the same fashion, but which are more obscure because of a preform base not found in any other morphological structure in Tok Pisin at all (except for #*pul*—see below). Examples:

- (3) *haisap* (or *haisapim*) ‘to hoist’; *hangamap* ‘to hang [intr.]’; *hangamapim* ‘to hang, to hang up [tr.]’; *hariap* ‘to hurry [intr.]’; *hariapim* ‘to hurry [tr.]’; *hensapim* ‘to hold up [under armed threat]’; *klosap* ‘almost, nearly’; *litimap* (or *litimapim*) ‘to lift, to raise’; *pulap* ‘full’

The last item has its own range of derivations, including single and double *-im* found also in some of the items above, making #*ap* more prominent than it could be by reason of its base, if any (?#*pul*):

- (4) *pulap* ‘full’; *pulapim* ‘to pour [liquid] into [container]’; *pulimapim* ‘fill [container] with [liquid]’

The following could hardly be analyzed as compounds, because of their very obscure origin, for many speakers of Tok Pisin. Some also seem to be obsolete:

- (5) *lafap* 'to sail closer to the wind'; *hivap* (or *hivapim*) 'to hoist, to raise'; *kaverap* 'envelope'; *kipap* 'to tack close to the wind'; *pikap* 'record player'; *sanap* 'to stand, to stand up'; *sarap* 'to be silent, to shut up [intr.]'; *sarapim* 'to silence, to shut up [tr.]'; *sekap* 'check up [intr.]'; *sirap* 'to cheer up'
- (6) *eramaut* 'exhaust [of a car]'; *eramautim* 'to divulge, to belch [e.g. smoke]'; *dropaut* '[school] dropout'; *getaut* 'to get out [intr.]'; *kamaut* 'to come out'; *kamautim* 'to dig up, to harvest, to pull out'; *kliraut* 'to clear out [intr.], to run away'; *lukaut* 'to guard [things] [intr.], to watch out'; *lukautim* 'to guard, to take care of, to watch [tr.]'; *painimaut* (or *painimautim*) 'to discover, to find (out)'; *singaut* 'to shout'; *singautim* 'to call, to invite'; *tekimaut* (or *tekimautim*) 'to dig out, to harvest, to take out, to weed (out)'; *telimaut* (or *telimautim*) 'to announce, to confess, to make public, to reveal'; *tokaut* 'to speak out'; *tokautim* 'to divulge, to express'
- (7) *kambek* 'to come back'; *tanbek* 'to turn back [intr.]'; *tokbek* '(to) answer'
- (8) *daunbilo* 'down below, down there'
- (9) *brukdaun* 'breakdown, to break down'; *kamdaun* 'to come down'; *lindaun* 'to bend over'; *lukdaun* 'to look down'; *nildaun* 'to kneel, to kneel down, to genuflect'; *pundaun* 'to fall, to fall down'; *pundaunim* 'to cause to fall'; *sindaun* 'to sit down, way of life'; *sindaunim* 'to cause to sit down, to set down, to settle [tr.]'
- (10) *holimpas* 'to hold tight, to hold [firmly] on to'; *holimpasim* 'to hold [under arrest], to capture, to grasp'

### 4.3 The Ordinal Numeral Type

The last type of OI + NI core compounds is that of *namba* + numeral (without *-pela*), used attributively either before or after the head of a noun phrase (see Ch. 11, 2.5 and Ch. 12, 3, respectively). The attribute itself, however, is a compound:

- (1) *namba wan* 'the first'; *namba tu* 'the second'; *numba twenti* 'the twentieth' and so forth. There are three such compounds that have a metaphorical meaning, and conventional orthography writes those in one word:

- (2) *nambawan* 'excellent, outstanding'; *nambatu* 'second choice'; *nambaten* 'of poor quality'

but the last, *nambaten*, seems to be rare.

### 4.4 Derivations from Phrases

Some transitive verbs in Tok Pisin are derived from phrases. From the phrase *tok nogut* 'bad language, backbiting' (see Ch. 12, 1.4, (11)) there is derived the verb



*toknogutim* ‘to revile’. This seems to be the only item of that kind. A dialectical verb *tokgutim* ‘to praise’ is not of that type, since \**tok gut* is not a phrase in Tok Pisin (its form would be *gutpela tok*).

### 5. Stand-in Compounds

Stand-in compounds are compounds such that no component can stand for the whole compound. This is clearly the case with the conjoined type (Section 6) and the reduplicated type (Section 7), but UD compounds may also be of the stand-in type. An example is *wanpilai* ‘playmate’, and it is UD: *wan* is the dependent, and *pilai* is the head. However, neither *wan* nor *pilai* can replace the entire compound.

Most stand-in compounds seem to be classifiable on formal grounds. There are those with a numeral as NI (most of those with *wan*), and those with the basis of a *-pela* modifier as NI. Examples:

- (1) *wanai* ‘one-eyed, one-eyed person’; *wanbel* ‘twin’; *wanbisnis* ‘person of the same firm’; *wanblut* ‘blood relative’; *wanhaus* ‘house mate, one who shares the same house’; *wankaikai* ‘messmate, one who eats at the same table’; *wankain* ‘the same kind’; *wanlain* ‘person of same tribe’; *wanlotu* ‘person of same church’; *wanmak* ‘same size’; *wannem* ‘namesake’; *wanpes* ‘look-alike’; *wanpilai* ‘playmate’; *wanpis* ‘alone, lonely, lonely person, orphan, person without relatives, unattached person’; *wanpisin* ‘same tribe’; *wanples* ‘person from the same village’; *wanrot* ‘travel companion’; *wanskul* ‘schoolmate’; *wansolwara* ‘fellow Pacific Islander’; *wansospen* ‘table mate’; *wantaim* ‘together’; *wantebol* ‘table mate’; *wantu* ‘suddenly; right away’; *wantok* ‘compatriot, person of same language’; *wanwin* ‘in one breath’; *wanwing* ‘monoplane’; *wanwok* ‘fellow worker, work mate’; *wanwokabaut* ‘traveling companion’
- (2) *faivkona* ‘[five-cornered] tin of meat’; *fohans* ‘four-hands game’; *fokona* ‘[four-cornered] tin of meat’; *fowil* ‘four wheel [drive]’; *handethan* ‘centipede’; *Sevende* ‘Seventh Day Adventist’; *sikiswil* ‘lorry, semi-trailer’; *trimas* ‘tall person’; *tubel* ‘doubting, wavering’; *tuhans* ‘two hands game’; *tuhap* ‘in half, in two parts’; *tulip* ‘plant with paired leaves’; *tumaus* ‘double-barreled shotgun’; *tusamap* ‘double-waisted waist cloth’; *tuwing* ‘biplane’
- (3) *bikbel* ‘caribou, fat person’; *bikhet* ‘stubborn (person), disobedient (person)’; *bikmaus* ‘loud-mouthed person’; *blakskin* ‘black person’; *waitskin* ‘white person’; *guthet* ‘intelligent person, thinker’; *longnek* ‘bottle of beer [with long top]’; *sothan* ‘shorthand’; *smolmaus* ‘sixteen gauge shotgun’

### 6. The Conjoined Type

This type of flat compound consists of components that add up to the sum of them, semantically. They are of three kinds. The first conjoins nouns denoting persons for the most part, and includes a few others:

- (1) *bratasusa* ‘brothers and sisters’; *hanlek* or *lekhan* ‘arms and legs, hands and feet’; *mamapapa* ‘mother and father, parents’; *mankimeri* ‘boys and girls’; *manmeri* ‘men and women’; *mastamisis* ‘[foreign] men and women’; *meri pikinini* ‘wife and children’; *papamama* ‘father and mother, parents’; *Papua Niugini* ‘Papua New Guinea’; *ritrait* ‘reading and writing’; *Triwan* ‘Triune [God]’

The order of the joined components is fixed, except in the following two pairs: *papamama* and *mamapapa*; *hanlek* and *lekhan*.

The second comprises numerals, from the largest to the smallest multiples of ten (excepting those of 11 through 19), followed by numbers under ten (alternatives in (2) reflect the systems [a] and [b] explained in Ch. 3, 2.4; see also Ch. 23, 1.1.1):

- (2) *tupela ten faiv* or *twenti faiv* ‘twenty-five’; *tripela ten seven* or *titi seven* ‘thirty-seven’; *wan handet fopela ten nain* ‘one hundred and forty-nine’; *foa tausen sikis handet nainpela ten foa* or *foa tausen sikis handet nainti foa* ‘four thousand six hundred and ninety-four’

and so forth. Note that, after *hundred*, English has *and* but Tok Pisin *handet* has no *na* after it.

The third type is pronominal and appears only in one example:

- (3) *yumi* ‘we [incl.]’

which joins *yu* and *mi*.

## 7. Reduplications

Reduplications are of two kinds: phonetic (Ch 2, 1.3) and morphological (Ch. 3). Phonetic reduplications are not compounds at all. Morphological reduplications are, and they are our topic here.

In Tok Pisin compounds, the form reduplicated is either a free form or a bound form (a preform). Bound form reduplications are reviewed in 7.1; free form reduplications may be distinguished according to whether the free form can function as a attribute that is a modifier, or as an attribute that is a nonmodifier (quantifiers, mainly). Reduplicated modifiers are examined in 7.2; reduplicated nonmodifiers, in 7.3. Other free forms that are not bases for *-pela* affixation, such that they may be reduplicated, are exemplified in 7.4.

### 7.1 Bound Form Reduplications

Examples of bound form (or preform) reduplications:

- (1) *askaskim* ‘to ask persistently’; *harharim*, ‘listen intently’; *holholim* ‘to hold tight’; *kalkalap* ‘to frolic, to jump up and down’; *karkarim* ‘to carry around all the time, to hatch’; *singsing* ‘dance, dance festival, incantation, [rocking] motion, to dance [intr.], to sing [intr.]’; *tantanim* ‘to revolve [intr., tr.], to roll [intr., tr.]’; *waswas* ‘to bathe, to wash oneself’

Note the preform. Thus, in (2), #*har* is found in *harim* and is thus a preform; similarly, #*kar* occurs in *karim*, #*tan* in *tanim*, and so forth. (*Was*, it is true, occurs as free form, but then it means ‘to watch over, to guard’, and is thus not the same as #*was*, which is the base for *waswas*. That base is also found in *wasim*.)

It is especially the preform reduplications that must be distinguished from phonetic reduplications. Thus, *kuskus* ‘secretary’ is not a compound, because, though *kus* ‘cough’ occurs freely, there is no such form underlying *kuskus*. Similarly, though there is the preposition *long*, as well as the base #*long* for *longpela* ‘long’, there is no such base for *longlong*. For other phonetic reduplications, see Ch. 2, 1.3.

## 7.2 Free Form Reduplicated Modifiers

Modifiers that may be reduplicated are for the most part those with *-pela*, and, in addition, *liklik* ‘a few, few, little, small’. What these modifiers (in unreduplicated form) have in common is that, when used attributively, they occur in preposed position (Ch. 11, 2.1). That is, when postposed, they must be linked to their heads by *i* (Ch. 13, 1.1.1).

In reduplicated form they are for the most part used only attributively; predicatively they seem to be rare.

These reduplicated *-pela* modifiers are only used with nouns used in a plural sense (whether or not marked as such, for example by *ol*). Also, they invariably convey feelings in regard to the high degree in which the modifier obtains, or to the large quantity of what is modified by the reduplicated form, or both. Consider:

- (1) *arapela arapela* (or *narapela narapela*) ‘different, each one different, a different one each time, one another’; *bikpela bikpela* ‘in large quantities, huge, very large’; *gutpela gutpela* ‘outstanding, very good [in great numbers]’; *liklik liklik* ‘very little [and many], very few [but more than one]’; *longpela longpela* ‘long [and many]’; *naispela naispela* ‘nice [and numerous]’; *nupela nupela* ‘new [and trendy], altogether new [and very good]’; *sotpela sotpela* ‘concise, in short pieces, very short’; *strongpela strongpela* ‘very strong [and numerous]’; *traipela traipela* ‘huge [and many]’; *wanem wanem?* ‘what [pl.]’

Note the glosses, which suggest what kind of feeling is involved in regard to degree and quantity. They suggest variability of connotations in regard to feeling, but one would need examples in clauses to appreciate those fully. Such examples are given in Ch. 19, 9. Here we are concerned only with the morphology of these reduplications.

## 7.3 Free Form Reduplicated Nonmodifier Attributes

These concern mainly, or perhaps exclusively, numerals. Consider:

- (1) *faipela faipela* ‘each five, five each’; *fopela fopela* ‘groups of four’; *liklik liklik* ‘in small pieces, very little each’; *sikispela sikispela* ‘in groups of six, six each’; *tenpela tenpela* ‘each ten, ten each’; *tripela*

*tripela* ‘each three, three each, in groups of three, three every time’; *tupela tupela* ‘in pairs, in twos, two each, each two’; *wanpela wanpela* ‘each one, a few, one by one, one each, one each time’; *wan wan* (also spelled *wanwan*) ‘each’

These numerals in reduplicated form (keeping *-pela*, except for *liklik liklik* and *wan wan*) are often used in a distributive sense. The distributive sense is elaborated in Ch. 23, 1.1.2. Here, we are concerned with such reduplications only morphologically.

#### 7.4 Other Reduplicated Free Forms

Examine the following:

- (1) *askim askim* ‘to ask around, to ask repeatedly, to beg’; *brukbruk* ‘to break [intr.] in several places, to come apart’; *brukbrukim* ‘to break [tr.] into little pieces, to mash [e.g. taro]’; *brukim brukim* ‘to break [tr.] into small pieces, to decompose [tr.]’; *bungbung* (also spelled *bung bung*) ‘to gather [intr.] eagerly, to gather [intr.] from all directions, to gather [intr.] in great numbers’; *glasim glasim* ‘to investigate in all details’; *gogo* ‘to walk fast, to go around a great deal’; *haphap* (also spelled *hap hap*) ‘slipshod, so-so, superficial, bit by bit, piece by piece’; *haphapim* ‘to do [something] by halves, to do a half-hearted job of [something], to cut into equal parts’; *isi isi* ‘carefully, slowly’; *helpim helpim* ‘to help here and there, to help many people, to help one another’; *hipim hipim* ‘to pile up [tr.] in great quantities, to pile up [tr.] in great variety’; *joinim joinim* ‘to attach [many things] together’; *kain kain* (also spelled *kainkain*) ‘all kinds of’; *kalap kalap* (also spelled *kalapkalap*) ‘to frolic, to jump up and down’; *katim katim* ‘to cut into several pieces, to cut in several places’; *katkatim* ‘to cut into little pieces, to cut down in large numbers’; *kraikrai* (also spelled *krai krai*) ‘to cry loudly, to keep crying’; *lulus* ‘totally lost’; *makmak* ‘motley, variously colored, spots’; *manman!* ‘gosh!, oh, boy!’; *mekim mekim* ‘to do repeatedly’; *moa moa* ‘very much indeed’; *nabaut nabaut* ‘scattered all around, in all directions’; *naisim naisim* ‘to move [tr.] back and forth’; *oltaim oltaim* ‘always, for ever and ever’; *painim painim* ‘to keep looking for’; *paitim paitim* ‘to keep beating, to keep hitting, to keep pounding’; *paitpaitim* ‘give a thorough thrashing to [someone]’; *paspas* ‘band, bandage, belt’; *paspasim* ‘to tie up in several knots’; *paulpaul* ‘to lead a dissolute life’; *pilim pilim* ‘to grope’; *raun raun* ‘to wander around’; *sakim sakim* ‘to keep shaking [tr.]’; *salim salim* ‘to send in large numbers, to send in several directions’; *singsing* ‘to sing songs, to perform dances’; *slekim slekim* ‘to keep slackening’; *smelim smelim* ‘to sniff at things’; *sutim sutim* ‘to knock against [something] repeatedly’; *tanim tanim* ‘to keep turning around’; *tingting* ‘to think [intr.], thinking, thought’; *toktok* ‘to chat, to talk, chat, chatting, talk, talking’; *traim traim* ‘to try repeatedly, to keep trying’; *wilwil* ‘bicycle’; *wilwilim* ‘to roll [tr.]’

Because the form that is reduplicated is free, there are those that are variously written as one word or as two. However, when the free form itself has a suffix, the two forms are invariably separated orthographically.

### 8. Package Loans

On package loans in noncompound morphology, see Ch. 3, 5. and Ch. 3, 5.1; for compounding, they are here distinguished from UD compounds and flat compounds, as explained in the introduction to this chapter.

In Tok Pisin, these compounds are of various kinds. First, there are the following:

- (1) *holan!* ‘hold on!, wait!’; *kaman!* ‘come on!’; *goan!* ‘go ahead!’; *daun-bilo* ‘below, down there, underneath’

The first three of these are of the exclamatory kind, and are used only the way imperatives are; *daunbilo* is an adverb. All these may be treated as compounds; *#an* recurs in the first three, which have free *go* and *kam* in them, and bound *#hol* (appearing in a verb like *holim* and *holholim*). Also, the first three are semantically closely related, and *daun* is readily identifiable as a free form in many constructions. On the other hand, these compounds are not home-made and thus not productive. One could not make new compounds with *#an* or *#bilo*.

The next item is marginal and cannot perhaps be called “Tok Pisin” at all:

- (2) *eksaminesen resal* ‘examination results’; *etpos* ‘aid post’; *fauntenpen* ‘fountain pen’; *flaiwaia* ‘fly wire’; *gren fainal* ‘grand final [in sports]’; *kago kal* ‘cargo cult’; *Papua Niugini Benging Korporesen* ‘Papua New Guinea Banking Corporation’; *Pot Mosbi Skulbois Soka Asosiesen* ‘Port Moresby Schoolboys Soccer Association’; *ring lida* ‘ring leader [of a criminal organization]’; *sefti stika* ‘safety sticker’; *soka pilaia* ‘soccer player’; *soka sisen* ‘soccer season’; *stadi senta* ‘study center’; *top kwaliti plastiks* ‘top quality plastics’; *top stoa* ‘top stores’; *top tripela skul* ‘the three top schools’; *viles developmen* ‘village development’; *wiken* ‘weekend’

and the like. Most of these are taken from the Tok Pisin language weekly *Wantok*.

In large part, these expressions are just English, transliterated in Tok Pisin, that is, spelled in Tok Pisin orthography. Note plural *-s* in *skulbois* and *plastiks*, and the spelling of *stoa*, rather than *stua*. There is no lexical item *top* in Tok Pisin (even if there were, borrowing English *top*, it would have to be spelled *\*tap*). One may well be extremely skeptical of these compounds, and it seems better to consider these expressions as items of “Papua New Guinea English,” represented in Tok Pisin orthography. They have no place in the Tok Pisin lect of this grammar.

But other similar formations will have to be accepted as Tok Pisin. For example:

- (3) *Eksekyutiv Kaunsel* ‘Executive Council’; *Difens Fos* ‘Defense Force’; *Ekting Minista* ‘Acting Minister’; *fes et* ‘first aid’; *Gavana Jeneral*

‘Governor General’; *indipenden kantri* ‘independent nation’; *Lidasip Lo* ‘Leadership Law’; *malaria kontrol* ‘malaria control’; *nesenal gavman* ‘national government’; *Oganik Lo* ‘Organic Law’; *Ombudsman Komisen* ‘Ombudsman Commission’; *Pablik Trasti* ‘Public Trustee’; *pablik sevan* ‘public servant’; *Praim Minista* ‘Prime Minister’; *provinsal gavman* ‘provincial government’

and very many others. Although they could be lumped together with the examples in (2), these terms belong to public life and its bureaucracy, the official language of which is English. Thus, whether or not expressions in (3) are seen as unfavorable to the language ecology of Tok Pisin, they are official and tied to official offices and institutions—in contrast to the examples in (2), which relate to private organizations and persons, or at least are unofficial expressions even if belonging to public life.

Expressions as in (3) are changeable, at least in principle, and are thus open to reform—mainly, of course, in drives for standardization with consequences that are public.

Yet another type of package is that with #*tu* originally deriving from the English adverb of degree *too*. English *too*, however, signals an excessive degree, and it is precisely that feature that is absent in the Tok Pisin loans (hence no bold for NI in the examples). Consider:

- (4) *tudak* ‘darkness’; *tudia* ‘too expensive, very expensive’; *tuhat* ‘perspiration’; *tulait* ‘dawn, daybreak, light’; *tumas* ‘too much, very much, greatly’

With *tudia* and *tumas*, however, the excessive degree meaning may still be there.

There is another #*tu*, in a few package items:

- (5) *tude* ‘today’; *tumora* ‘tomorrow’

Then, there is #*ol*, still retaining its meaning in the source language, English, of ‘all’, in:

- (6) *olde* ‘all day’; *olkain* ‘all kinds of’; *oltaim* ‘always’

## 9. Accent in Compounds; Orthography

Accent in UD compounds is on the NI component. This is typically so in many languages and it is easy to understand why. While the OI represents a topic already known in context, the NI represents a new topic, making that of the OI specific.

Consider an English phrase like *John’s car*. The attribute (which contains the NI part of the phrase) is *John’s* and thus it receives what we might call the phrase accent. (Of course, in context, *car*, rather than *John’s*, may receive the accent by reason of contrast—for example in *John’s car, not John’s bicycle*. Such contrastive accent is possible also in compounds, as in *a police sergeant, not a police colonel*. But let us leave contrastive accent out of consideration.)

In short, Tok Pisin compounds have the accent on the NI component: *raun spana*; *smoldokta*; *sotwin*; *arakain*; *tupela ten* ‘twenty’; *grismani*; *hetmeri*; *daiman*; *ensel lukaut*; *haus ais*; *haus ka*; *lam bensin*; *bagarap*; and so forth.

So far, there has been nothing unexpected. There are, however, a few compounds that are homographs (that is, with the same spelling for more than one compound), but are not pronounced the same way—the accent differs. Thus, *as lo* means ‘basic law’, but *as lo* means ‘principle of law’. Similarly, *lip tabak* means ‘leaf tobacco’, while *lip tabak* means ‘leaf of tobacco’. Such complications arise from the fact that both NI + OI and OI + NI orders of components are found in this language; then, when either of two identical components could be the NI, we have one token representing two types—as logicians say. But that one token is only the orthographic representation: in pronunciation, we have two tokens for two types, and thus the ambiguity occurs only in written form.

For accent, there are complications. Compounds are often used in a context where not only the NI component is new, but also the OI component. Consider a context in which *gutwok* ‘good works’ is used for the first time. Then there may well be what is called “even stress” on the two components. It is for such reasons that homograph compounds are difficult to disambiguate. For example, if *as lo* occurs for the first time in a context, it may well have even stress, and then the following context will have to help decide whether we are dealing with *as lo* ‘basic law’ or with *as lo* ‘law principle’.

As for orthography more in general, there is the question whether components should be joined or separated by a space. Here are some fairly reliable rules:

- [a] The OI + NI type of UD compounds have their components separated for most compounds examined in 4.1, for all in 4.2, and 4.4, and for all in 5 except the numerals therein.
- [b] Many of the NI + OI type of UD compounds have their components joined. This holds for most of those of 1.1, for all of 1.2, for those of 1.3 except for those that in their entirety are numerals, for all of those of 2.1, 2.2, 3.1, and for most of those of 3.2 and 3.3.

In short, orthographically most OI + NI compounds have their components separated, while most NI + OI compounds have them joined. Furthermore:

- [c] All conjoined flat compounds have their components joined (except for *Papua Niugini*).
- [d] All reduplicated forms with free components of more than one syllable have those components separated; the other reduplications have them joined.
- [e] The prevalent convention for package loans is to join or separate their components according to their original forms in English orthography.

## 18: VERBS AND TRANSITIVITY

In Ch. 4, we analyzed the utterance unit we call the “clause” according to its constituents: subject, predicate, one or more objects, and one or more adjuncts. These parts of the clause (often also called parts of the sentence) are parts, or constituents, in that they constitute an utterance precisely according to what makes the utterance a clause (or sentence).

According to an old tradition briefly mentioned in Ch. 4, 1, there is another analysis of a clause or sentence: according to its “parts of speech”—an analysis also called “parsing.” It consists in a word-for-word analysis of an utterance, in such a way that each word is labeled for its class membership. For example, parsing the clause *We were quite happy* will yield: *we*, pronoun; *were*, verb; *quite*, adverb; and *happy*, adjective. These labels are names of word classes—also named “categories.” (Note: the adjective derived from “category” in the sense of “word class” is “categorial”—not “categorical.”) Each label may be made more precise: *we*, personal pronoun; *were*, copula verb; *quite*, adverb of degree; *happy*, stative adjective.

In the present chapter through Ch. 23 we examine what kind of categories are found in Tok Pisin. Verbs are examined in the present chapter and Ch. 19; nouns, in Ch. 20; pronouns, in Ch. 21; modifiers and adverbs, in Ch. 22; and a few others, in Ch. 23.

There has been a long tradition of word classes in the West (to a total of ten classes), and though these are found (more or less) in well-studied languages of Western Europe, the list has only partial crosslinguistic value. We will review each of those classes in the chapters mentioned.

Verbs, to begin with, are language-universal: all languages have verbs. The clearest example is that of transitive verbs. These have (typically) a subject and an object, and denote a process or activity originating from what is denoted by the subject and affecting (or effecting) what is denoted by the object. In Tok Pisin, by far most transitive verbs are marked morphologically by the suffix *-im*, as in: *mekim* ‘to do’; *wokim* ‘to make’; *toknogutim* ‘to slander’; *planim* ‘to bury, to plant’; and the like.

Next to transitives, which have one object, there are ditransitives or (the term to be used here) bitransitives, which have two objects (see Ch. 4, 2.2). Another subclass of verbs is that of semitransitives. A semitransitive construction in English is found in a clause like *We objected to that proposal*. It has a prepositional object (*to that proposal*), which in many ways is comparable to a regular object. Tok Pisin also has such constructions (with *long*). Next, there are reflexive verbs. In English these have transitive form with a reflexive pronoun in object position (*They killed themselves*), but they may also do without the reflexive pronoun (*I shave every morning*). In Tok Pisin, reflexives are *-im* verbs with special syntactic properties as compared to other *-im* verbs.

The subclass of intransitive verbs in Tok Pisin comprises those which express some process—a kind called dynamic intransitives. Examples are: *go* ‘to go’; *kam* ‘to come’; *wok* ‘to work’. Such verbs are like their opposite numbers in English in two important respects: they are genuine verbs and they are intransitive.



Now consider other lexemes that may take predicate position, such as in *Em i malolo long dispela de* ‘He rested on that day’, or in *Em i amamas* ‘She was happy’. *Malolo* and *amamas* are modifiers (stative, not dynamic, on the readings given just now), used predicatively. It does not seem to serve any descriptive purpose to call them verbs. True, their English equivalents, in clause form, are either verbal (*to rest*) or require a verb (*to be happy*)—a copula. But while there are no such things as nonverbal predicates in English, Tok Pisin does have such predicates. In short, Tok Pisin has no stative intransitive verbs of the kind illustrated here. *Malolo* and *amamas* are modifiers that may be used in predicate position.

On the other hand, *Ol i malolo* may also have a reading reflected in the gloss ‘They were relaxing’, and *Ol i amamas* may mean what is reflected in the gloss ‘They were enjoying themselves’. On such readings, *malolo* and *amamas* are dynamic and have a verbal flavor. Also, these words may also be used in a nouny way in expressions like *de bilong malolo* ‘day of rest’ and *meri bilong amamas* ‘cheerful woman’.

In short, some words in Tok Pisin do not have unique categorial status. They are border cases adjacent to several word classes.

So far, we have found that indubitable verbs come in various subclasses: bitransitive verbs, transitive verbs, semitransitive verbs, (dynamic) intransitive verbs, and reflexive verbs. To these must be added the verbs *gat* and *stap*; although those are stative, they behave like verbs in all ways. Finally, Tok Pisin also has copulative verbs and auxiliaries.

The order of treatment of these subclasses of verbs is as follows: bitransitives in Section 1, transitives in 2, reflexives in 3, semitransitives in 4, intransitives in 5, and the verbs *gat* and *stap* in 6.

Then, auxiliaries belong to the tense-aspect-mood system of verbs (the “TAM” system). This system is treated in Ch. 19, which will also deal with a few other issues raised in the exploration of the verb class.

### 1. Bitransitives

Bitransitive verbs are verbs taking two objects. These are traditionally distinguished as indirect and direct object. An English example would be *Charles gave Mary a book*. *Mary* is the indirect object; *a book*, the direct object. The distinction between direct and indirect is made on semantic grounds, in that the indirect object denotes the recipient, while the direct object denotes what is affected (or effected) by the verb. In such double object constructions the indirect object may be promoted to direct object position (Ch. 4, 2.2). (In fact, across languages—including some vernaculars in Papua New Guinea—recipients are not the only semantic class that may be so promoted. It is, however, the only semantic class that may be promoted in English, as well as in Tok Pisin.)

On the other hand, the distinction between indirect and direct object is dubious in many languages, and it is dubious also in Tok Pisin. Tok Pisin does have double object constructions, but only with the verbs *givim* ‘to give’ and *soim* ‘to show’; see Ch. 4, 2.2, (6) and (8) through (10), repeated here:

- (1) *Ol i no givim mi dispela foti dola bilong mi.*  
‘They never gave me my 40 dollars.’
- (2) *Dispela piksa i soim yumi ol mak bilong graun bilong pilai basketbal.*  
‘This picture shows us [incl.] the lines of the basketball court.’
- (3) *Glas i soim yu namba bilong skinhat.*  
‘The thermometer shows you how high the fever is.’
- (4) *Dispela strongpela ai i soim yumi planti samting i save stap hait.*  
‘This powerful eye [i.e. a microscope] shows us [incl.] many hidden things.’

But such clauses may also be constructed with a single object and may mark the recipient constituent with *long*; see Ch. 4, 2.2, (5) and (11), repeated here:

- (5) *Austrelia em i save givim hamas mani long gavman bilong yumi?*  
‘How much money does Australia normally give to our [incl.] government?’
- (6) *Na em i ken poinim pinga long wanpela boi, na boi i mas soim tupela han long em.*  
‘And he may point at a boy, and the boy must show his two hands to him.’

In English, other verbs besides *to give* and *to show* may be used bitransitively, as for example *to ask* (*We asked her this*), *to tell* (*Tell me the truth*), *to teach* (*They taught us Tok Pisin*), but their Tok Pisin equivalents (*askim*, *tokim*, *lainim*) are not bitransitive. In Tok Pisin, with those verbs, it is the recipient that takes direct object position; and the thing asked, told, or taught is marked with *long* (examples: Ch. 4, 2.2, (13) through (18)). Also, *tokim* may have the recipient (the person told) marked with *long*, just in case the direct object (the information transmitted) is deleted (example: Ch. 4, 2.2, (19)).

Thus, these verbs are never bitransitive. This shows how the semantic interpretation underlying the traditional distinction between indirect and direct object is not of primary importance for bitransitivity in Tok Pisin. On the islands of Eastern Papua New Guinea one may even hear clauses like *Em i givim mi long buk* ‘He gave me a book’ (perhaps better glossed as ‘He presented me with a book’)—but such a construction deviates from what is considered as standard Tok Pisin in the present book. Another construction that is closely similar to this does have a place in standard Tok Pisin (and is even distinctly classical), i.e. one with *soim*; see Ch. 4, 2.2, (22), repeated here:

- (7) *Mi laik skulim yu gut, na soim yu long rot yu mas wokabaut long en.*  
‘I will teach you and show you the road to follow.’

with the recipient as the direct (and only) object. *Soim* may even be used intransitively, with two adjuncts, each taking *long*, a construction that could have a double object elsewhere; see Ch. 4, 2.2, (24), repeated here:

- (8) *Taim wanpela profet i stap namel long yupela Israel, mi save soim mi yet long em long samting olsem driman na mi save givim tok long em long driman.*

‘When there is a prophet among you [pl.] people of Israel, I myself will show him something like a vision, and speak to him in that vision.’

In short, the only bitransitives in Tok Pisin are *givim* and *soim*.

## 2. Transitives

Most transitive verbs have the suffix *-im*, but a few do not; those are treated in 2.1; the others, having final *-im*, in 2.2.

### 2.1 Transitives without Word-final *-im*

As reviewed in Ch. 3, 1, suffixation with *-im* derives transitives from intransitives. But there are a number of transitive verbs that lack final *-im*: e.g. *kaikai* ‘to eat’, or *pispis* ‘to urinate’. Of those, a few do have *-im* but nonfinally, before #*ap*, *aut*, or *pas*, as in *pulimap* ‘to fill’, *painimaut* ‘to find out’, or *holimpas* ‘to hold, to get hold of’. These, too, may have final *-im* in addition to nonfinal *-im*: *pulimapim*, *painimautim*, *holimpasim*.

The following may lack *-im* altogether (not counting *gat*):

- (1) *beten* ‘to pray’; *dring* ‘to drink’; *gat* ‘to have’; *kaikai* ‘to eat’; *lego* ‘to drop’; *luksave* ‘to recognize’; *min* ‘to mean’; *pekpek* ‘to defecate’; *pilai* ‘to play’; *pispis* ‘to urinate’; *save* ‘to know’; *seken* ‘to second’ [*i.e.* a motion]; *tekewe* ‘to subtract’; and *tromoi* ‘to throw’.

Of these, *seken*, a meeting format expression, seems to be recent, perhaps mainly through its use in Parliament. A few others have been recorded as belonging to this small class of transitives: *haisap* and *hivap*, each meaning ‘to hoist, to raise’ (*haisap sel* ‘to hoist the sail’, *hivap anka* ‘to raise anchor’), but they seem to have gone out of use. On *haisapim*, see below.

Here are some examples:

- (2) *Ol i beten rosario.*  
‘They said the rosary.’
- (3) *Em i dring wara pinis.*  
‘He drowned.’
- (4) *Mobeta mau yumi kaikai liklik samting na dring loliwara.*  
‘Now let us [incl.] eat a snack and have a soft drink.’
- (5) *Ol i dring planti strongpela dring.*  
‘They drink a lot of liquor.’
- (6) *Mi gat dispela wanpela gutpela taia tasol i stap.*  
‘I only have this good tire.’
- (7) *Dan i kaikai buai i stap.*  
‘Dan was chewing betelnut.’
- (8) *Lego anka!*  
‘Drop anchor!’

- (9) *Mi luksave dispela man long pes bilong em.*  
'I recognize this man from his face.'
- (10) "*Ples*" i *min* wanem samting?  
'What does "ples" mean?'
- (11) *Yu pekpek wara hamas time?*  
'How long have you had diarrhea?'
- (12) *Nogut olgeta de yu pilai sofbal tasol.*  
'Don't play just softball all day.'
- (13) *Sikman i pispis blut.*  
'The patient passes blood in his urine.'
- (14) *Hamas taim i stap bilong pilai? Em yu save.*  
'How much playing time is there? That you know.'
- (15) *Wanpela memba i seken mosen.*  
'One member seconded the motion.'
- (16) *Tekewe mani bilong baim olgeta samting bilong wokim 100 skon.*  
'Deduct the money spent to buy everything needed to make 100 scones.'
- (17) *Tromoi umben!*  
'Cast the [fishing] net!'

Of these verbs, the following may have *-im*: *dringim* 'to drink'; *haisapim* 'to hoist, to raise'; *kaikaim* 'to bite, to chew'; *minim* 'to mean'; *pekpekim* 'to defecate on'; *pispisim* 'to urinate on'; *tekeweim* 'to remove, to take away'; and *tromoim* 'to throw'.

Note that for some of these there is a difference in meaning with and without *-im* (*kakaim*; *pekpekim*; *pispisim*). For the others, there seems to be no difference in meaning. Finally, *tekewe* may be intransitive, meaning 'to be suspended [from office], to come off, to get detached, to peel off'. The verbs *minim*, *pekpekim* and *pispisim* have been recorded but there are no examples of them in the data base for this book. Here are examples of the others:

- (18) *Bai ol manmeri i no inap dringim dispela wara.*  
'The people will not be able to drink this water.'
- (19) *Ol i mas haisapim plak bilong lain bilong ol yet long kem bilong ol.*  
'They must raise the flag of their own clan in their camp.'
- (20) *Ol snek i kaikaim ol na planti manmeri i dai.*  
'Snakes bit them and many people died.'
- (21) *Ol i laik tekeweim em long wok jas.*  
'They are going to suspend him as a judge.'
- (22) *Gavana Jeneral i tekewe long wok inap sampela taim.*  
'The Governor General is suspended from office temporarily.'
- (23) *Ol i kisim em i go na tromoim em i go daun long wanpela hul wara i drai pinis.*  
'They caught hold of him and threw him into a dry well.'
- (24) *Sapos hap skin bilong poteto i tekewe pinis bai em i ro inap kamap gut.*  
'If a piece of the skin of the potato comes off, the potato will not come up well.'

Of the verbs in (1), *luksave* and *save* may have what amounts to semi-transitivity, i.e. the verb + *long*. Consider:

- (25) *Yumi mas save long lo bilong pilai pastaim.*  
‘We [incl.] have to know the rules of the game ahead of time.’
- (26) *Josep i luksave long ol brata, tasol ol i no luksave long em.*  
‘Joseph recognized his brothers, but they did not recognize him.’

On semitransitive verbs, see 4.

Here is a list of transitives with nonfinal *-im* (see Ch. 3, 3.1) apart from those listed in (1);

- (27) *bringimap* ‘to author, to originate’; *erimaut* ‘to divulge, to make known’; *holimpas* ‘to hold’; *litimap* ‘to lift up, to exalt, to raise’; *painimaut* ‘to enquire about, to find out’; *pulimap* ‘to pour into, to put into, to load on to’; *tekimaut* ‘to harvest’; *telimaut* ‘to confess, to reveal’

All of these may also have *-im* word-finally: *bringimapim*, *erimautim*, etc. Only one of them has a free form base, i.e. *pulap* ‘full, filling’, and besides *pulimap* and *pulimapim*, also *pulapim* is derived from it.

Some examples (the ones not exemplified seem to be rare):

- (28) *Husat i bringimap dispela pasin?*  
‘Who started this custom?’
- (29) *Tasol long fes bes, man i mas holimpas bal tasol.*  
‘But at first base, the player must only hold the ball.’
- (30) *Maski putim sop. Nogut smel bilong sop i holimpasim plastik.*  
‘Don’t use soap, so the smell of the soap won’t cling to the plastic.’
- (31) *Man bilong bosim pilai em i no ken tingting long litimapim nem bilong em yet. Nogat.*  
‘The game leader must on no account blow his own horn.’
- (32) *Bikpela wok na save bilong ol dokta i sut long painimaut olgeta mak bilong sik pastaim. Painimaut pinis, dokta i mas skelim gut, em i mak bilong wanem sik.*  
‘What the doctor does and knows concerns mainly finding out first what the symptoms are. Once he knows this, the doctor must judge what illness the symptoms point to.’
- (33) *Mi glasim gut wan wan Konstitusen, mi wok long painimautim mining tru bilong em, mi sekim mining wantaim sampela loman, orait, nau mi traim tanim dispela mining long Tok Pisin.*  
‘I examined each of the articles of the Constitution carefully, looked for their precise meaning, checked that meaning with some lawyers, and then tried to translate that meaning into Tok Pisin.’
- (34) *Ol meri pulimap wara long baket.*  
‘The women poured water into the bucket.’
- (35) *Orait nau yu ken pulimapim rais long bek i stap.*  
‘Then you can put the rice in the bag.’

(36) *No ken pulapim gris i pulap olgeta long sospen.*

‘Don’t fill the whole pan with the grease.’

(37) *Pulapim kap long ti.*

‘Fill the cup with tea.’

There does not seem to be any appreciable difference between these verbs with and without final *-im*. Examples (36) and (37) are added, illustrating *pulapim*, which may mean ‘to pour [something] into [some container]’ (the same as for *pulimap* and *pulimapim*) as well as ‘to fill [some container] with [something]’.

## 2.2 Transitives with Final *-im*

These transitives are formed from a variety of base forms, such as preforms (like *askim* ‘to ask’, from #ask), from verbs (*sanapim* ‘to set upright’, from *sanap* ‘to stand’), nouns (*nilim* ‘to nail down’, from *nil* ‘nail’), modifiers (*slekim* ‘to loosen, to slacken’, from *slek* ‘loose, slack’), and adverbs (*bihainim* ‘to follow’, from *bihain* ‘after’) (see Ch. 3, 3.2).

In one respect, Tok Pisin transitives are quite unlike English transitives. In English, certain transitives may be used absolutely—that is, without an object. We may recognize such absolute use in clauses like: *She always reads in the afternoon; I never write in the morning; I cross only on zebra paths; No one should drive after having alcohol*. Note that, in English, such absolute use is possible only when it does not matter what the object is—in other words, when whatever the object may be is entirely nontopical. In fact, then, such verbs are, in context, intransitive. But when the object is topical, it must be there, in English—usually in pronominal form: *As for that newspaper, I never read it; I don’t like those motor cycles; I never drive them* (or: *I never drive any of them*).

In Tok Pisin, things are just the other way around. That is, one cannot have a transitive verb with a nontopical object. On the other hand, while the object is often dropped after a verb, it is then invariably highly topical. As for nontopical objects, consider:

(1) *Em i rait kranki.*

‘Her spelling is wrong’

(2) *Ol i rit isi isi.*

‘They read slowly.’

(3) *Pasim ai bilong man bai em i no inap lukim wanpela samting.*

‘Blindfold the man so he can’t see.’

In (1), *raitim* would not be well-formed, and neither would *ritim* in (2). In (3), *lukim* is all right, provided that it is followed by *wanpela samting*. An object must follow here because it is nontopical.

In contrast, when the object is topical, especially because it has preceded in context, it is simply dropped—though dropped may not be an appropriate expression. One cannot drop what is not there. But no object is there because it is not needed. Examples:

- (4) *Yu mas tok kliia pastaim long ol lo bilong pilai na ol i mas **bihainim**.*  
‘You have to explain clearly beforehand about the rules of the game, and they will be able to obey those.’
- (5) *Yu mas karamapim gut olgeta poteto, nogut san i **bagarapim**.*  
‘Cover all the A potatoes carefully, so the sun won’t destroy them.’

Note how highly topical those objects of *bihainim* and *bagarapim* are. For more on topicality, see Ch. 21, 1.6.

### 3. Reflexives

Examples of reflexive verbs in English are: *to kill oneself*, *to wash oneself*, and so forth. The structure of such expressions is that of a transitive verb with a reflexive pronoun. Tok Pisin has no such pronouns, though there are phrasal forms of what are reflexive pronouns in English; *mi yet* ‘myself’, *yu yet* ‘yourself’, and so forth (see Ch. 21, 1.3). English also has verbs that dispense with the reflexive pronoun: *to wash* for *to wash oneself*, and similarly with *to bathe* and *to shave*. Also, *to turn* ‘to become’ may be interpreted as changing oneself. The point of adding this is that Tok Pisin *tanim* is exactly of this kind:

- (1) *Yupela i no ken **tanim** na lukluk i go bek.*  
‘Don’t (you [pl.]) turn around and look back.’
- (2) *Bai lip i **tanim** i go yelopela.*  
‘The leaf will turn yellow.’
- (3) *Sapos man i lusim wanpela hap em i no ken **tanim** na i go bek long dispela hap.*  
‘If a man leaves one area, he may not turn around and go back to that area.’
- (4) *Orait ol i **tanim** na lukluk i go long haus sel bilong God.*  
‘Then they turned around and looked at the tent of God.’

*Tanim* may be a transitive verb, as in *tanim pes* ‘to turn one’s face’, with *pes* as the object; or in *tanim* ‘to knead’, also with an object. Or it may be intransitive, ‘to turn around’, i.e. ‘to turn oneself’, as in (1), (3) and (4); or ‘to turn itself into’, ‘to become’, as in (2). In these meanings, there is no object, topical or nontopical, and for all purposes the verb may be regarded as reflexive.

It is possible (though not obvious) to consider a few other *-im* verbs readily interpretable as intransitive to be special cases of reflexivity—i.e. *kisim*, *painim*, *pilim*, and *tantanim* (each of which may be used transitively also) as in:

- (5) *Ol i no laik mekim wok long han na **kisim** doti.*  
‘They don’t like to do manual work and get their hands dirty.’
- (6) *Sampela man ol i tok, sanguma na posin i mekim na man i **painim** sik.*  
‘Some people say that sorcery and spells make people sick.’
- (7) *Josep i sori tru na em i **pilim** olsem em i laik i krai.*  
‘Joseph felt deeply moved and felt as if he would burst into tears.’

- (8) *Stik i tantanim hariap.*  
 ‘The stick turned around fast.’

At least one reflexive verb is found in reduplicated form, without *-im*, i.e. *waswas* ‘to wash oneself, to bathe’:

- (9) *Long apinun, taim ol i pinisim wok, ol i mas waswas gut wantaim wara na sop.*  
 ‘In the afternoon, when they finish work, they must wash themselves well with water and soap.’

There is one verb, *hangamap* ‘to hang [intr.]’, which may also be used reflexively, meaning ‘to hang oneself’:

- (10) *Em i go hangamap long bus.*  
 ‘He went and hanged himself in the jungle.’

#### 4. Semitransitives

*Save long* and *luksave long* (see 2.1, (25) and (26)) are good examples of constructions that are transitive semantically but intransitive syntactically. For this reason such constructions may be called semitransitive. English has similar constructions: *to know* is fully transitive in *I know this*, and somewhat less transitive in *I know about this*. The former tends to suggest full knowledge; the latter, partial knowledge.

In Tok Pisin, with *-im* verbs, marking of what is semantically the object with *long* is treated in Ch. 4, 2.2. This may be an indirect object (not promoted), and it is found with *askim, givim, lainim, soim, tokim*; but the direct object may take *long* also (with the indirect object promoted), and *long* may even mark both objects. See Ch. 4, 2.2, and the discussion there. Marking an object with *long* depends on degree of topicality. In the present context it is important to recognize that distribution of topicality affects also the degree of transitivity.

#### 5. Intransitives

As explained in 2, intransitive verbs in Tok Pisin are dynamic verbs. That is to say, stative predicates in this language are not usefully described as verbs—except for *gat* and *stap*. Examples of such dynamic intransitives in 2 were: *go* ‘to go’; *kam*, ‘to come’, and *wok* ‘to make’. To these may be added *save* ‘to be accustomed to.’ But these are easily recognized as verbal, since they are used also in serial predicates (Chs. 8 and 9), or as auxiliaries (Ch. 10). But what about others?

Dynamic intransitives come in various subtypes. A first type consists of verbs of locomotion (the type involving coming and going) *bung* ‘to come together’; *go* ‘to go’; *goap* ‘to climb [intr.], to have sexual intercourse [said of male]’; *gohet* ‘to go ahead’; *hetwin* ‘to dive’; *kalap* ‘to jump’; *kam* ‘to come’; *kamap* ‘to arise, to arrive,



to come up' [also: 'to happen']; *kamaut* 'to come out, to emerge'; *kapsait* 'to fall, to pour [intr.] out'; *kirap* 'to arise'; *meknais* 'to move'; *pundaun* 'to fall'; *ran* 'to run'; *ranawe* 'to run away'; *raun* 'to wander around'; *raus* 'to get out'; *sanap* 'to stand, to rise'; *spit* 'to move swiftly'; *surik* 'to back away, to recede'; *tekewe* 'to come off, to get detached'; *wokabaut* 'to walk'. Again, some of these are used as copulas, or as auxiliaries, or in serial constructions.

A second type consists of postural verbs, indicating body posture (the 'stand' and 'sit' type), as well as activities typically involving the body or some part of it: *baut* 'to bow, to turn around'; *bikmaus* 'to shout'; *boksen* 'to box'; *danis* 'to dance'; *dring* 'to drink'; *esasais* 'to take physical exercise'; *guria* 'to shake, to tremble'; *hangamap* 'to hang [intr.]'; *hariap* 'to make haste'; *kik* 'to kick [intr.]'; *kirap* 'to get up'; *kis* 'to give a kiss'; *krai*, 'to cry, to weep'; *kus* 'to cough, to sneeze'; *lap* 'to laugh'; *lindaun* 'to lean forward'; *luk* 'to look'; *lukaut* 'to watch out [for something]'; *lukluk* 'to look intently'; *luksave* 'to recognize'; *lukstil* 'to spy'; *mauswara* 'to talk nonsense'; *meknais* 'to move [one's body or part if it]'; *nildaun* 'to kneel'; *pekpek* 'to have a bowl movement'; *pispis* 'to urinate'; *pundaun* 'to fall'; *puspend* 'to have sexual intercourse'; *sanap* 'to stand, to stand up'; *sarap* 'to shut up [intr.]'; *sekan* 'to shake hands'; *seksek* 'to be tossed about'; *sindaun* 'to sit, to sit down'; *sing* 'to sing'; *singaut* 'to shout, to call out [intr.]'; *singsing* 'to dance'; *slip* 'to lie, to lie down'; *sotwin* 'to be winded, to have asthma'; *surik* 'to withdraw [intr.]'; *tok* 'to say, to talk'; *toktok* 'to talk [for some time], to chat'; *traut* 'to throw up, to vomit'; *waswas* 'to bathe [intr.], to wash oneself'. Although some of these verbs seem to have a stative meaning, they are subject to control, and would thus count as dynamic.

It is the third type which is hardest to determine, and we will look at them after examples of the first two types.

There is some overlapping of these types, especially of the first and the second. Examples with verbs of the first type:

- (1) *Win i gutpela, mipela i ken baut.*  
'The wind is good, we [excl.] can tack [our canoe].'
- (2) *Mobeta ol i bung na kamapim wanpela kampani olsem koprativ.*  
'It is better for them to join in starting a company like a cooperative.'
- (3) *Bihain em i ken i go.*  
'After that he may go.'
- (4) *Em i hetwin i go daun long wara.*  
'He dived into the river.'
- (5) *Wanpela kain sik i save kalap long narapela man, arapela kain sik i no save kalap long narapela man.*  
'Some diseases may go from one person to another, others do not affect others.'
- (6) *Mani bilong dispela wok i kam long narapela lain.*  
'Funding for this project comes from others.'
- (7) *Dispela sik i save kamap planti long taim i gat bikpela ren i stap inap sampela de.*  
'This disease will easily appear when there are heavy rains for a few days.'

- (8) *Sapos pipia i no kamaut, salim sikman i go long haus sik.*  
‘If the foreign object does not come out [of the ear], send the patient to the hospital.’
- (9) *Taim ol i kirap long tumora, ol i mas wasim olgeta mat na blanket na putim long san.*  
‘When they get up the next day, they must wash all mats and blankets and place them in sunlight.’
- (10) *Kisim tupela stik na pasim long sait sait, nogut lek o han i meknais.*  
‘Get two sticks [to make a splint] and tie them alongside, so the [fractured] leg or arm cannot move.’
- (11) *Nogut wara i ran spit tumas long taim bilong ren na rausim planti graun.*  
‘It would be bad if the water flows too fast during rainfall and erodes the soil.’
- (12) *Bihain em tu i ranawe long bus.*  
‘Later he too made his escape to the bush.’
- (13) *Yu raus!*  
‘Get out!’
- (14) *Wara i save spit nogut tru.*  
‘The water runs very swiftly indeed.’
- (15) *Sapos wanpela man i lusim arere em i no ken surik na go bek long dispela mak.*  
‘If someone leaves the sideline he may not go back to that point.’
- (16) *Sapos hap skin i tekewe pinis bai em i no inap kamap gut.*  
‘If a piece of the skin of the potato comes off, the potato will not grow well.’

Of the second type, consider the following examples (for *kirap*, see (9), above):

- (17) *Em i baut long bisop.*  
‘He bowed to the bishop.’
- (18) *Yu no bikmaus long mi.*  
‘Don’t yell at me.’
- (19) *Plaua i kamap slek na lip bilong en i hangamap i go daun.*  
‘The flower loses firmness and its leaves are drooping.’
- (20) *Ol i kirap nogut na lukluk raun long ol arapela.*  
‘They were startled and looked at one another.’
- (21) *Na em i lindaun na i lukluk i go insait.*  
‘And he leaned forward and looked inside.’
- (22) *Nau sanap antap long taia olsem piksa i soim.*  
‘Then stand on the tire as shown in the picture.’
- (23) *Olgeta memba bilong tim i mas sindaun long stretpela lain.*  
‘All the members of the team must sit in a straight row.’
- (24) *Ol soldia i singaut bikmaus na wokabaut i go.*  
‘The troops were shouting loudly as they went.’

- (25) *Em i slip long bet na i guria tasol.*  
 ‘He was lying on the bed and just shivered.’

The main problem with the third type is that many expressions in predicate position could be either stative (and as such would be modifiers, not verbs) or dynamic (and would on that ground qualify for membership of the verb class). For example:

- (26) *Ol i amamas i stap.*  
 ‘They were happy’ or: ‘They were enjoying themselves.’  
 (24) *Luluai i hambak long hat bilong em.*  
 ‘The chief is proud of his hat.’ or: ‘The chief is showing off his hat.’

However, there seems to be no way of deciding—not even necessarily in context in all cases—whether stative and dynamic are necessarily mutually exclusive. They would be only if some difference of syntactic form would tell stative and dynamic apart—and sometimes there seems to be no such difference. Thus, Tok Pisin grammar and semantics will often not make it possible to assign modifier or verb class membership to this kind of items in predicate position.

## 6. The Verbs *gat* and *stap*

As noted in several passages before (Ch. 4, 2.1; Ch. 4, 2.2; Ch. 7, 1.4; Ch. 8, 1.4.1), *gat* means what in English is distinguished as ‘to be’ and ‘to have’. Tok Pisin distinguishes the two syntactically, not lexically: *gat* in the ‘have’ sense has both a subject and an object, and *gat* in the ‘be’ sense only has an object, is impersonal, and occurs only in third singular form (and thus always with *i*). *Gat* in this sense says merely that something exists, and may thus be called an existential verb.

Also, *stap* may be a copula verb in equational clauses, and the use of *stap* in such clauses stamps such clauses as characterizing, not identifying, and as characterizing the subject only temporarily (Ch. 7, 2.1.1). Or *stap* may be locative, whether or not the location is expressed overtly.

Finally, existential *gat* may be made locative in the serial predicate taking the form *gat* + object + *i stap*, and denoting an event in the serial construction *gat* + object + *i kamap* (Ch. 8, 1.4.1).

The following examples show these properties of *gat* and *stap*:

- (1) *Sapos i gat wanpela man hia i gat laisens inap long draivim dispela trak, orait em i ken draivim. Na sapos nogat, orait trak i mas i stap.*  
 ‘If there is someone here who has a license to drive this truck, then he can drive it. And if not, the truck must stay right here.’  
 (2) *I gat planti kain kain pilai i stap.*  
 ‘There are a lot of kinds of games.’  
 (3) *I gat marasin bilong dispela sik tu i stap.*  
 ‘For this illness too, there is medication available.’

- (4) *Pilai i go i go olsem inap long wanpela man tasol i stap. Em i win.*  
 ‘The game goes on and on in this way until there is only one player left. He is the winner.’
- (5) *Em i singaut, “Yu stap.” Em i singaut olsem, na olgeta boi i mas sanap nating.*  
 ‘He calls out “Stay right there.” Once he does, all the boys must just stand there.’
- (6) *Tasol hevi tu i stap.*  
 ‘But there are also problems.’

*Gat* in (1) through (3) is existential, and impersonal. It is purely existential in (1) only; there is no *stap* in the first sentence in it, for the clause up to the first comma is conditional. Where existence is not certain, location is irrelevant. In (2) and (3), the addition of *i stap* indicates availability (of the games, and of the medication). In (4), *stap* is locative in that the only player who is left is in the place for those not eliminated yet. In (5) and (1) *stap* means ‘to be’, locatively, in a place without moving to another place. Thus ‘to stay’ is an appropriate gloss there. Finally, *stap* in (6) indicates that the problems are not merely potential ones, but actual ones, already present.

One difference between existential (and thus impersonal) *gat* and locative *stap* (i.e. presence, or availability, in a certain place) is that impersonal *gat* introduces a new topic, whereas locative *stap* most obviously concerns a known entity. Consider:

- (7) *Sapos yu laik planim bikpela laulau na i no gat long hap bilong yu, orait, salim tok i go long didiman.*  
 ‘If you want to plant a big (Malay) apple tree and there aren’t any in your area, inform the agricultural officer.’
- (8) *Wanpela gupela marasin ol i kolim Ratak na i gat long stua. Narapela marasin ol i kolim Warfarin. Em tu i gat long stua.*  
 ‘One good [rat] poison is called Ratak and it is in the stores. Another poison is called Warfarin. That, too is in the stores.’
- (9) *Bihain long namba tu woa, rebit tasol i helpim planti manmeri long ol taun bilong Jemani i stap laip. I gat long Filipins, long Indonesia na long Wes Irian tu.*  
 ‘After the second world war, rabbits were useful [as food] to many people who had survived in the towns of Germany. There are rabbits also in the Philippines, Indonesia, and in West Irian.’

Note the adjuncts of place: *long hap bilong yu*; *long stua*; *long Filipins*; *long Indonesia na long Wes Irian*. Such adjuncts would normally call for *stap* rather than *gat*; but note that, in (7), the apple tree is nonexistent in that part (thus making locative presence irrelevant). In (8), the poison does exist, and so do the rabbits in (9). However, *stap* would be out in (8) and (9) because *stap* would be associated with an identifiable object, not with a species (rabbits) or a general product (i.e. poison). In short, *stap* is more concrete and *i gat* is more abstract.

The more concrete property of *stap* appears also from its use as a copula. Recall the difference between (20), (21) and (9) (Ch. 7, 2.1.1), repeated here:

- (10) *Em Prait Minista.*  
'That [person as yet unidentified] is the Prime Minister.'
- (11) *Em i Prait Minista.*  
'He [already identified to some extent] is the Prime Minister.'
- (12) *Em i stap Prait Minista.*  
'He [already identified] is (currently) the Prime Minister.'

Example (12) differs from (10) (identifying) and from (11) (characterizing), in that *stap* highlights the temporal nature of the office of Prime Minister. Thus, the locative nature of noncopulative *stap* is matched by the temporal nature of copulative *stap*.

## 19: THE TENSE-ASPECT-MODALITY SYSTEM AND PARTICIPANT FOCUS

As noted earlier, “TAM” is an abbreviation used to denote the complex ways in which tense, aspect and modality characterize the verbal system, in any language. The most traditional of these notions is that of tense, as marked on verbs, in the form of bound morphemes. But many languages have no morphological tense and indicate the time (in relation to the time of speaking) by other means available in morphologically free form, by adjuncts like ‘now’, ‘then’, ‘yesterday’, ‘ten years ago’, and so forth, and also by other means, described below. Tok Pisin is a language without bound morphemes for tense.

The aspect of a verbal form concerns various properties of an action or state signified by the verb: that it is durative, for example, or habitual, or progressive, or iterative, or punctual in time, or inchoative. The English progressive form, for example, of *read* has *reading*, preceded by a form of *be*: as in *I am reading*.

Finally, modality concerns the attitude of the person referred to by the verb’s subject, and is about the desire to do something, or the ability, necessity, permissibility, or obligation. Such expressions, in a language like English (and also Tok Pisin), take the form of modal auxiliaries (*want, can, may, must*). Modality is further complicated by the speaker’s (rather than the subject’s) attitudes in making utterances. The imperative is a clear example of this. Also, what a verb signifies may be presented as real or actual (in the *realis*), or as possible or probable, or even counter-to-fact (*irrealis*). Thus, in English, *were* (rather than *was*) as first or third person form past tense is used for the *irrealis*, as in *if I were there, I would help her*. Or, the speaker may mark a predicate for bias of one form or another; for example, questions may be biased in favor of what the questioner feels the answer should be, or of what the questioner assumes the addressee’s attitude will be; or the speaker’s attitude towards the truth value of a declarative sentence may be involved. All these properties of attitudes of the speaker find expression in manifold ways in actual utterances—depending on the language. Here, we are only concerned with how these properties find expression in the Tok Pisin verbal system.

While expressions of tense, aspect, and mood add up to quite a few descriptive complications for any one particular language, the most prominent complication is in this: how tense, aspect, and modality are intertwined—as they are in any language. In English, for example, tense may be used for the *irrealis* modality (past tense in *If he came, I would deny him entry*); modal auxiliaries serve the same purpose (*would* in the higher clause in the example just now); future tense markers in English have originated from modals (*will*); the progressive form may serve a modal purpose of volitionality with statives (*he is being pleasant*). It would be easy to add more examples.

Hence it is perhaps the best descriptive strategy to take the TAM system as a whole. We will do this for Tok Pisin in the various sections of this chapter. We look at the unmarked verb in 1, at the aspectual markers *bin, bai,* and *pinis* in 2–4, at aspectual serial constructions for progressive or durative in 5, at the aspectual

auxiliary *save* in 6, and at the aspectual auxiliary *traim* in 7. The other TAM features in the verbal system are those of the imperative and of modal auxiliaries, and they are treated in 8. Some of these constructions were already treated earlier in this book, mainly in regard to their form. Then, we deal with aspect as marked by the morphological process of reduplication in 9.

In conclusion, there is focus, or the focus system, in regard to prominence of participants with respect to what is expressed in the verb. In a language like English, focus uses the special device of voice forms—that is, active and passive, for this language. In many other languages, the reflexive is also morphologically a voice. Tok Pisin has no passive verb form, but there are syntactic devices accomplishing what English accomplishes by change of verbal voice. This topic will come up for analysis in 10.

### 1. The Unmarked Verb

In a report about the past, the unmarked verb form in Tok Pisin is used for main events in the past. By “main events” here is meant those events that advance the story line: foregrounded events. The narration of those events is often interrupted by backgrounded events or states of affairs, contemporary with those main events, as well as by references to “anterior” events or states: a past-before-the-past.

First, consider (1) (Piring is a boy down with malaria; Dabi is the boy’s father):

- (1) (a) *Long dispela taim Piring em i slip long bet na i guria tasol.* (b) *Na Dabi i **putim** han long het bilong Piring, na skin bilong pikinini i hat tumas, tasol em i pilim kol nogut.* (c) *Dabi i **singaut** strong, i spik, “Putim sampela paiawut moa na kisim wanpela blanket moa bilong karamapim em!”* (d) *Nau Dabi em i **tingting** long olgeta samting i bin kama long dispela wik i go pinis.*

‘(a) At that time Piring was lying on his bed and he was just shivering. (b) And Dabi put his hand on Piring’s forehead, and the skin was very hot, but he was very cold indeed. (c) Dabi shouted, saying “Put some more wood on the fire and get another blanket to cover him!” (d) Then Dabi remembered all the things that had happened that past week.’

The foregrounded events are those expressed by *putim*, *singaut*, and *tingting* (in bold). The other items in predicate position are background: *slip* and *guria* in (a); *hat* and *pilim* in (b) (those coincide, temporally, with the main events); and *bin kama* in (c) (which narrates something anterior to the main events). The direct speech of Dabi’s quoted words in (c) are a stretch of discourse in their own right—not narrative. In it, *putim* and *kisim* are nevertheless heavily foregrounded: they are imperatives.

Foregrounded events in a report about the past take the unmarked verb form. Predicates foregrounded for some other reason, as in imperatives, or descriptions of the present, or of hypothetical situations (as in conditional clauses) take the same form:

- (2) *Sapos yumi wokabaut long lek, dispela em i hevi. Maski, mobeta yumi stap hia na wetim narapela trak.*  
 ‘If we [incl.] go on foot, that will be hard. No, better stay here and wait for another truck.’

Note that background predicates in (1) are also unmarked. The lexical nature of at least some of them, however, are not punctual events, or not events at all. Thus, *slip* in (1) (a) is not punctual (and, as background verb, it is not dynamic); *guria*, though dynamic in that it names a process, is not punctual either.

## 2. The Marker *bin*

As already hinted, *bin* marks anterior, a past-before-the-past. Depending on the verb that follows it, it may, though it need not, be followed by *i* (Ch. 10, 2.9).

The anterior character of a verb marked by *bin* is illustrated in the following examples:

- (1) *Na long dispela gaden God i putim dispela man em i bin wokim.*  
 ‘And in this garden God placed this man he had created.’
- (2) *Bipo ol i bin kolim Basan olsem, graun bilong ol Refaim.*  
 ‘In the past Bashan had been called the country of the Rephaim.’
- (3) *Gideon i kirap long moningtaim tru na em i go lukim dispela gras bilong sipsip em i bin putim i stap.*  
 ‘Gideon rose early in the morning and he went to look at the fleece he had put in storage.’
- (4) *Olgeta wan wan i bringim ol ring ol i bin kisim na ol i putim antap long dispela laplap.*  
 ‘All of them, one by one, brought the rings they had taken and put them on the cloak.’

But *bin* also marks a point in time anterior to any time that is, anterior to nonpast: anterior to present, or to some time in the future, or even some point on a time line unrelated to speaker’s time—we may call this anterior to nonpast:

- (5) *Skin i solap nabaut ol i no bin klinim na pasim ol sua bilong en. Na ol i no bin putim marasin liklik.*  
 ‘His whole body is bruised and no one has cleaned and dressed his sores, and no one has soothed it at all with oil.’
- (6) *Bikpela, yu bin givim baksait long ol manmeri bilong yu.*  
 ‘Lord, you have abandoned your people.’
- (7) *Namba tu tim bai i kisim ol poin inap long hamas taim namba wan tim i bin paitim bal.*  
 ‘The second team will earn points equal to the total of times the first team has hit the ball.’
- (8) *Ol i no klia ol dispela kago i bin i kamap olsem wanem.*  
 ‘They do not know how these commodities have become available.’



- (9) *Ol lain i bin kamapim dispela liklik buk hia ol i wok i stap bilong kamapim sampela liklik buk moa i save sut long kain kain narapela het tok.*  
 ‘The people who have produced this booklet are still working to produce some additional booklets dealing with other topics.’
- (10) *Yu mas mekim olsem mi bin tokim yu.*  
 ‘You must do as I told you.’
- (11) *Husat i bin givim dispela namba long yu?*  
 ‘Who has given you this right?’

Note that the nonpast here is the present in (6), (7), (9), (10) and (12), the future in (11), and some point in time unrelated to speaker’s time in (8)—(8) spells out a rule for a game.

But *bin* may even mark a hypothetical past, marking an irrealis, of the kind we call “counterfactual”:

- (12) *Sapos yu no bin pasim mipela, mipela inap i go na kam bek tupela taim pinis.*  
 ‘If you had not stopped us [excl.], we [excl.] would have been able to go and come back twice.’
- (13) *I gutpela sapos mipela i bin i dai long Isip o long dispela ples drai nating.*  
 ‘It would have been better if we [excl.] had died in Egypt or in that desert.’
- (14) *Sapos mipela i bin i stap na i dai long Isip, ating em bai i gutpela.*  
 ‘If we had stayed in Egypt and died there, perhaps that would have been better.’
- (15) *Mi ting i gutpela sapos mi no bin wokim ol.*  
 ‘I think it would have been better if I had not made them.’

When *bin* marks anterior to past, it often corresponds to the English pluperfect tense (such as *had gone*, *had made*, etc.), and this is the case also in counterfactual use. But when *bin* marks anterior to the present time, then it corresponds with the English perfect tense (such as *has gone*, *has made*, etc.). Anterior-to-present *bin* presents the anterior event or state as still having its consequence for the present, just as the English perfect does. To complete this comparison: the unmarked form for a past event (as in Section 1) corresponds to the English past tense (or preterite: *went*, *made*, etc.).

### 3. The Marker *bai*

To indicate the future, the unmarked form of the constituent in predicate position is not sufficient, and the marker *bai* is required. (Older forms of *bai*, i.e. *baimbai* or *bambai* have become rare.) The place of *bai* is either clause-initial (and so before the subject) or predicate-initial; if the latter, then either the predicate marker *i* or some other repeat pronoun attaches itself to the predicate (see Ch. 7, 1.3, on the remote subject). The presence of *bai* is needed even if some other constituent expressing the future (such as *bihain* ‘afterwards, later’) is present. Consider:

- (1) *Orait bai mi go long kiap na mi krosim em nogut tru!*  
‘Well, I will go to the district officer and give him a piece of my mind!’
- (2) *Sampela ol yet bai ol i kam na helpim mi.*  
‘Some people will come of their own accord to help me.’
- (3) *Bihain bai yumi yet yumi bosim kantri bilong yumi.*  
‘Later we [incl.] ourselves [incl.] will govern our [incl.] country.’
- (4) *Olsem na wanem samting bai i kamap bihain, mi no ken wari.*  
‘And so whatever happens later I don’t have to worry about.’
- (5) *Nil kapa bai i no ros kwik. Nil nabaut bai i ros.*  
‘Copper nails will not rust easily. If you take just any nails that happen to be around, those will rust.’

But the future in a conditional clause need not be marked by *bai*—even though it is a clear case of irrealis. Only the main clause has *bai*, in spite of the fact that the aspect of the predicate in the both clauses is irrealis.

- (6) *Sapos meri i karim pikinini na blut i lus i go i go, bai meri i dai.*  
‘If a woman in childbirth keeps hemorrhaging, the woman will die.’
- (7) *Sapos man i bosim gut bai ol inap i stap longpela taim.*  
‘If a person takes good care of them, they will be able to stay in good condition a long time.’
- (8) *Tasol sapos tumora wanpela natnat i givim binatang bilong malaria i go gen long dispela sikman, bai marasin yu bin givim pinis, em bai i no inap banisim nupela sik.*  
‘But if some day later a mosquito gives the malaria virus once again to this patient, then the medication you have given him will not be able to shield him from another sickness.’
- (9) *Kain diwai olsem bai i no bruk, sapos yu paitim planti nil i go insait.*  
‘That kind of wood will not split if you hammer a lot of nails into it.’
- (10) *Sapos yu planim nupela poteto i no gat kru, bai dispela poteto i slip nating long graun na i sting.*  
‘If you plant a new potato without shoots, this potato will lie uselessly in the soil and rot.’

Similarly with a counterfactual irrealis, *bai* is needed only in the main clause, even though the predicate in the subclause is irrealis as well.

- (11) *Sapos mipela i bin i stap na i dai long Isip, ating em bai i gutpela.*  
‘If we [excl.] had stayed in Egypt and died there, perhaps that would have been better.’

Note that *bai* may also function as a conjunction introducing a purposive clause (see Ch. 24, 2.1.4).

In temporal subclauses with a relation of simultaneity with the next higher clause containing the future marker *bai*, that marker is not found in the subclause (see Ch. 24, 2.1.1).

Relative clauses containing *bai* almost invariably place *bai* first in the relative clause, even before relativizing *i*. *Bai* shares this property with *bipo* ‘earlier’, *nau* ‘now’, *olaim*, and *pastaim* (Ch. 14, 1.3).

Of the two longer forms of *bai*, namely *baimbai* and *bambai*, the former seems to have gone out of use, but the latter still occurs:

- (12) *Sapos ren i wasim yumi na kol i kisim yumi na tupela lek i kol na olgeta skin i kol, bambai dispela kus i save kamap.*  
 ‘If we [incl.] are soaking wet because of the rain and our [incl.] feet are cold, and our [incl.] whole body is cold, then soon this cough may get us [incl.]’
- (13) *Nogut mi brukim long han nating na bambai skin bilong han i tekewe tu.*  
 ‘I must not break it with my bare hands, or the skin will come off my hands.’

#### 4. The marker *pinis*

As is explained in Ch. 8, 1.5, the aspect marker *pinis* indicates that a process has finished. This process may be expressed in the predicate constituent, as in:

- (1) *Na gavman i putim pinis planti didiman.*  
 ‘And the government has appointed many agricultural officers.’

or, if the predicate constituent expresses a state rather than a process, then *pinis* indicates that the process leading to that state as a result has finished; as in:

- (2) *Ol i bikpela pinis.*  
 ‘They are grown-ups now.’

Thus, the aspect marker *pinis* imparts even to stative predicates a prior process element. In this regard *pinis* differs from *bin* in that, for *bin* predicates, the anterior element does not have to indicate a process of any kind, nor the end of one. *Pinis* marks completion. It is here called a perfective marker, in keeping with common usage in TAM studies, but completive would perhaps be a more appropriate term to use.

The place of *pinis* is after the predicate constituent, either there or (in case that is a transitive verb) after the object—this often means clause-finally.

Here are some more examples:

- (3) *Tenpela yia i go pinis bihain long independens.*  
 ‘It’s ten years now since Independence.’
- (4) *Mi tok pinis, gavman em i giaman tumas!*  
 ‘As I said before, the government is very hypocritical.’
- (5) *Plantim manmeri ol i stap pinis long dispela haus kaikai.*  
 ‘There were already many people in the restaurant.’

- (6) *Planti yangpela ol i skol pinis.*  
'Many youngsters are out of school.'
- (7) *Wanpela kandere bilong mi i gat bekri pinis.*  
'One of my relatives now owns a bakery.'
- (8) *Hap aua samting bai yu harim smel bilong skon i tan pinis.*  
'After about half an hour you can smell the scone[s] already done.'
- (9) *Ol saveman i painimaut pinis, wanem kain samting i stap insait long wan wan kaikai.*  
'From their research the experts now know what there is in each kind of food.'
- (10) *Pen i stap longpela taim pinis, o, nau tasol em i kamap?*  
'Has the pain been there a long time already, or has it just started?'
- (11) *Sapos yu klia pinis dispela sikman i gat sik tibi, salim em i go long haus sik tasol.*  
'Once you are sure the patient has tuberculosis, just send him to the hospital.'

One verb, *dai* 'to die', is always marked by *pinis* for death occurring in the past, provided that event is foregrounded in the text; *dai* as nonpast does not normally take *pinis*:

- (12) *Meri bilong em i dai pinis.*  
'His wife died.'
- (13) *Bai mi go long ples bilong ol man i dai pinis.*  
'I will go the place of the dead.'
- (14) *Sapos yu kaikai, wantu bai yu dai.*  
'If you eat it, you will die instantly.'
- (15) *Na Mikal, pikinini meri bilong Sol, i no karim wanpela pikinini i go inap long taim em i dai.*  
'And Michal, Saul's daughter, had no children until the day she died.'

Note the time-frame in (15); although Michal had already died by the time the narrator tells this story, her death was future in regard to the earlier period. Or, in terms of narrative text analysis, *em i dai* is backgrounded.

The completive aspect marked by *pinis* carries with it the realis modality. As a consequence, predicates marked by *pinis* cannot be negated, and only very rarely combine with *bai*—apparently only or mainly with *dai*. (But when *pinis* 'finished, to finish [intr.]' is a stand-alone predicate, it can be negated normally, as for example, *Dispela hevi i no inap pinis* 'This suffering will not end'). Consider:

- (16) *Olsem na bai yupela i dai pinis long graun bilong ol birua.*  
'You [pl.] shall perish in the land of your enemies.'
- (17) *Bai mi sutim em wanpela taim tasol na bai em i dai pinis.*  
'I will pierce him only once, and he will die.'
- (18) *Sapos yumi no mekim wanpela samting long em, bai em i dai pinis.*  
'If we [incl.] do not do anything for him [i.e. a patient], he will die.'

There is one construction consisting of verb (or other predicate constituent) followed by *pinis*—without a subject and frequently without any other constituent. This truncated construction summarizes what has been said in context, in order to go on to the next point. For example:

- (19) *Tok pinis, orait kirapim pilai gen.*  
‘Once you have explained this, restart the game.’
- (20) *Malolo pinis, orait ol i mas pilai inap long 20 minit moa.*  
‘After resting, they must play another 20 minutes.’
- (21) *Planim pinis, yu no ken lusim nating.*  
‘Once you have planted them [i.e. the carrots], don’t just abandon them.’
- (22) *Putim pinis, orait yu mas karamapim kwik.*  
‘Once you have put it on [i.e. fertilizer], cover it [with soil] immediately.’
- (23) *Waswas pinis, na wasim klos pinis, em nau, putim marasin.*  
‘After bathing, and after washing [the child’s] clothes, apply the medicine.’

Even *pinis* by itself, as a truncated clause, is a completive marker and functions in the same way:

- (24) *Pinis, orait dispela man i mas kisim sampela hap bilong sipsip.*  
‘When that has been done, this man must take a piece of mutton.’
- (25) *Pinis, orait, skelim: Yelopela kus i stap o nogat?*  
‘After that, find out: is there bronchitis?’
- (26) *Pinis, putim pinat long san gen na pinat i mas drai olgeta.*  
‘Once that is done, place the peanuts in sunlight to dry.’

See also Ch. 24, 2.1.1.

## 5. The Progressive or Durative

The progressive form, consisting of an intransitive predicate constituent (verbal or nonverbal) + *i stap*, or of a transitive verb + object + *i stap* is examined in Ch. 8, 1.4.1; *wok long* + verb (or modifier), in Ch. 10, 2.8; another progressive or durative serial predicate form is that of a core + *i go i go*, examined in Ch. 8, 1.4.2—both constructions were examined there mainly according to form.

These constructions are easily associated with English progressives and duratives (like *we are working* or *she kept doing this*), but the similarity can be misleading. Notably, English progressives and duratives may take negative form (as in *We were not doing this for fun*); in contrast, the Tok Pisin progressives and duratives cannot be negative. The reason is that this construction in Tok Pisin must have realis modality (as also with predicates marked with *pinis*—see 4). Consider:

- (1) *Ol i toktok i stap.*  
‘They were chatting.’

- (2) *Mipela i amamas i stap.*  
‘We [excl.] were enjoying ourselves.’
- (3) *Na wanpela man i mas sanap i stap na was long fes bes.*  
‘And one player must stand and watch first base.’
- (4) *Orait nau mi laik i go bek long dispela tok mi mekim i stap.*  
‘So now I want to come back to what I was saying.’
- (5) *Wara Nail i bagarap i stap inap long sevenpela de.*  
‘The Nile was polluted for seven days.’

Examples (1), (2), (4) and (5) are about the past, and (3) spells out a game rule; all are realis.

If the realis aspect is the reason why negation is impossible, the question arises whether *i stap* progressives are possible in futures, that is, whether they can be marked by *bai*. *Bai* [ . . . ] *i stap* progressives turn out to be very rare. Consider:

- (6) *Dispela asua bai i pas i stap long mi oltaim.*  
‘This blame will attach to me forever.’
- (7) *Bai lam i lait i stap long dispela ples mi stap long en, long apinun i go inap long moningtaim.*  
‘The flame will burn in that place I am in, from the afternoon until morning.’
- (8) *Na bai graun bilong yupela i no gat man na i stap nating na ol taun bai i bagarap i stap.*  
‘And your [pl.] country will be uninhabited and be a waste, and the towns will be in ruins.’
- (9) *Bai mi wet i stap long ples bilong brukim wara.*  
‘I will be waiting at a place where the river can be crossed.’
- (10) *Tasol bai mi givim dispela kantri long ol, na ol bai i sindaun i stap long en.*  
‘I will give this land to them, and they will settle down there permanently.’
- (11) *Bai yupela i lukluk tasol i stap na ol man bilong arapela kantri i kisim ol pikinini bilong yupela na karim i go.*  
‘You [pl.] will be watching helplessly as people from other countries will take your children and lead them away.’
- (12) *Yu no inap kamap orait gen. Nogat tru. Bai yu slip i stap olsem tasol na bai yu dai.*  
‘You will certainly never get well. You will just be laid up like this and you will die.’
- (13) *Graun bai i guria nogut tru na em bai i bruk nabaut na op i stap.*  
‘The earth will shake terribly and break apart everywhere and have chasms all over.’
- (14) *Bai ol natnat inap hait i stap.*  
‘The mosquitoes will be able to stay hidden.’
- (15) *Bai sampela ol i toktok i stap na ol i no harim gut tok bilong yu.*  
‘Some will talk and they will not hear what you say.’

- (16) *Bai dispela lam i ken lait i stap long olgeta de.*  
 ‘May this flame always be burning every day.’

These are special types of future: they are promises, predictions, or (as in (12)) strong wishes, and they present future events or states as facts. Note that not a single one of them has a transitive core verb, and that most of them are modifiers rather than verbs.

The *wok long* + core construction is exemplified in the following:

- (17) *Dispela dipatmen em i wok long helpim yumi long kirapim nupela bisnis bilong yumi yet.*  
 ‘This department helps us [incl.] to start new businesses of our [incl.] own.’
- (18) *Mi wok long drilim hul bilong skru i go insait bihain.*  
 ‘I am drilling a hole for a screw to go in afterwards.’
- (19) *Na bai yumi wok long kisim save long pasin nau i kamap long kantri bilong yumi.*  
 ‘And we [excl.] will be familiarizing ourselves with new ways that have come to our [incl.] country.’
- (20) *Tasol ating bai ol i no wok long lukautim sampela arapela lain.*  
 ‘But perhaps they will not be looking after any other clan.’
- (21) *Tait i wok long kamap yet inap long foti de.*  
 ‘The flood kept rising for forty days.’
- (22) *Graun i wok long drai.*  
 ‘The ground was getting dry.’
- (23) *Em i wok long krai i stap.*  
 ‘She wept and wept.’
- (24) *Tasol ol pisin i wok long kam kaikai ol dispela bret samting.*  
 ‘But the birds kept coming to eat all this bread and other food.’
- (25) *Nau ol i ting ol i moa yet na ol i wok long litimapim nem bilong ol yet.*  
 ‘Now they feel they are very important, and they keep blowing their own horn.’
- (26) *Wara i wok long drai isi isi.*  
 ‘The water was receding slowly.’
- (27) *Ol lip bilong ol diwai samting ol i wok long dai na pundaun.*  
 ‘The leaves of trees and shrubs were dying and falling off.’

Since *wok* as an independent verb means ‘to work’, it is tempting to interpret *wok* in these *wok long* + core constructions as dynamic. Yet it is not, as is clear from (17), (18), (22) and (23)—the cores are not dynamic there. But even with dynamic cores (as in (13) through (16) and (19) through (21)) *wok* merely expresses progressivity and durativity.

Finally, examples of core + *i go i go*:

- (28) *Em i wok long gro i go i go.*  
 ‘It [the fetus] will grow constantly.’

- (29) *Na ol i mas ran i go i go inap long olgeta wan wan man bilong tim em i bin karim stik.*  
 ‘And they must keep running until each and every one of the team has carried the stick.’
- (30) *Bihain namba tri i mekim olsem na olgeta man wan wan i mas mekim i go i go inap long taim i pinis.*  
 ‘Then the third one [of the players] does the same thing and each and every one [of them] must do so until time is up.’
- (31) *Planti taim pikinini i kus i go i go na traut.*  
 ‘Often the child will keep coughing and vomit.’

Note the two progressive markers *wok* and *i go i go* in (27).

## 6. Aspectual *save*

*Save*, the auxiliary that marks what is expressed by the following verb as habitual, is called aspectual to distinguish it from nonauxiliary *save* ‘to know’. Aspectual *save* is treated for its form in Ch. 10, 2.6. Here follow some examples:

- (1) *Planti kantri i save bung long resis long ol dispela kain kain pilai.*  
 ‘Many nations meet regularly to compete in these games of various kinds.’
- (2) *Malaria em i namba wan sik i save bagarapim ol manmeri bilong dispela kantri.*  
 ‘Malaria is the principal disease that destroys the people of this country.’
- (3) *Sik malaria em i bikpela sik tru na planti manmeri pikinini i save dai long dispela sik.*  
 ‘The malaria disease is a very big disease and many men, women, and children die of that disease.’
- (4) *Pilai i save helpim yumi olsem wanem?*  
 ‘How will sport be good for us [incl.]?’
- (5) *Rais i no save sting kwik.*  
 ‘Rice does not go bad soon.’
- (6) *Sampela binatang tu ol i save mekim na hevi i kamap long gaden poteto.*  
 ‘Some bugs will also cause trouble in the potato field.’
- (7) *Haus kunai em i save pasim hat bilong san na i pasim kol bilong nait. Tasol haus kapa em i save hat long san na kol tumas long nait.*  
 ‘A thatched house will keep the sun’s heat and the night’s cold out.’
- (8) *Tasol i luk olsem kain kain hevi i save poroman wantaim dispela ol naispela kago i save kamap nau long dispela taim.*  
 ‘But it looks as if problems of various kinds come along with these nice commodities that become available nowadays.’
- (9) *Naispela haus tasol i sanap nating em i no save mekim wok yet.*  
 ‘A nice house that just stands there is of no use yet.’
- (10) *Wanpela kain sik i save kalap long narapela man, arapela kain sik i no save kalap long narapela man.*  
 ‘Some diseases will not affect other, other diseases will.’



Note that English does not necessarily express the habitual aspect in all instances, and that therefore some glosses in the above examples do not. English *will* may be aspectual, as in *boys will be boys*, and it is this *will* that is found in several examples above.

In some languages (such as Dutch and German) the habitual and the progressive are not distinguished in verb form. Not surprisingly, speakers of English whose first language is such a language, will often use the progressive for the habitual. This is not well-formed in English, as for example: \**He is shaving every morning*, rather than the well-formed *He shaves every morning*. Thus, Dutch and German learners of Tok Pisin may easily confuse *save* forms with the progressive (such as verb + *i stap*), or they may omit aspectual *save* where needed.

### 7. Aspectual *traim*

The auxiliary *traim* expresses an attempt to do what the follow-up verb represents, and may thus be called a conative auxiliary). It differs from *traim* as a transitive verb, which means ‘to try out, to test’. Consider:

- (1) *Ol i traim lukluk i go insait long haus, tasol ol i no laik i go insait tru.*  
‘They tried to look inside the house, but they did not really want to go inside.’
- (2) *Maket bilong ples i stap pinis. Traim salim skon tu.*  
‘The market is already there in the village. Try to sell scones, too.’
- (3) *Traim subim pinga namel long banis na skin.*  
‘Try to push your finger between bandage and skin.’
- (4) *Mi ken traim askim em long lusim sin bilong yupela.*  
‘I will try to ask him to forgive your [pl.] sins.’
- (5) *Olsem na traim beten strong moa.*  
‘Therefore, try to pray harder.’
- (6) *Bai ol i traim ranawe na hait long dispela strongpela win.*  
‘They will try to flee and take shelter from this strong wind.’

For other examples, see Ch. 10, 2.7.

Conative *traim* may also be serialized with the following verb: see Ch. 9, 6. Also, conative *traim* often marks the follow-up verb with *long*, as exemplified in Ch. 10, 2.7.

### 8. Modal Auxiliaries; and the Imperative

Modal auxiliaries are *inap*, *ken*, *laik*, *mas*, and *save*. Also, the negator *no* may function as an auxiliary, in which case it is also a modal.

Modal auxiliaries are discussed according to their syntactic form in Ch. 10, 2; these formal characteristics concern mainly the use of *i* following the auxiliary and immediately preceding any of a small number of cores. In what follows now we must examine these modals in a more detailed manner.

There are special reasons for doing so, and these have to do with the expression of notions like ability and inability, desire, intention, necessity, obligation, permissibility, possibility, prohibition, and sufficiency. A few examples of how these notions are expressed in English may serve to explain them.

In English, obligation may be expressed by *must* (as in *They must register first*) and so may necessity (as in *What goes up must come down*). *Must not* does not express negative necessity (which is expressed by *need not*) but rather negative obligation—or prohibition (as in *We must not take the law into our own hands*). Possibility is expressed by *may* (as in *That may well happen*), and so is permissibility (as in *We may claim tax exemption*). On the other hand, *may not* expresses negation of possibility (as in *That plan may not work out*) or negation of permissibility (that is, prohibition) (as in *You may not smoke here*), but *might* is not the past tense of permissibility, except in indirect speech (*She said that we might enter*). Prohibition is graded: *You must not smoke here* is stronger than *You may not smoke here* or *You cannot smoke here*, and *You are not to smoke here* is even milder (*to be to*, negated, as a prohibition, deemphasizes the source of the prohibition).

These few examples show how modal auxiliaries may overlap in this language in subtle ways. Parameters are: the individual auxiliaries; affirmation and negation with each of them; and the notions of ability, necessity, possibility, and the others mentioned just now.

Tok Pisin also has such a multi-dimensional map of modal auxiliaries. They are best treated under the headings of each of the auxiliaries themselves. This will be done, for *inap*, *ken*, *laik*, and *mas*, in 8.1 through 8.4, respectively; and for *no*, which is a special case, in 8.5. Finally, the imperative is treated in 8.6.

### 8.1 *Inap*

As noted earlier (Ch. 10, 2.2), there is a gray area between *inap* ‘sufficient’ as a stand-alone modifier and the auxiliary *inap*. This is apparent especially with *inap* followed by *long*, as described and exemplified in Ch. 10, 2.2.4. Also, there is the gray area between personal and impersonal *inap*, but the difference is mainly syntactic (in regard to word order), as shown in Ch. 10, 2.2.3. All of this concerns form rather than meaning.

The meaning of the auxiliary *inap* is most aptly described as signifying an ability based on something outside the control of the person who is able to do this or that (or a nonhuman that is capable of effecting something). For example, I may be able to go skating, but that depends on there being ice—a condition not under my control. Or I may be able to give you money, but the money may have come to me through circumstances not within my control. (For nonhumans, there is typically no control on the part of the source of what happens.) The ability predicated by *inap* of its subject is thus a kind of ‘being enabled’. Consider:

- (1) *Pasim lek o han, na i no inap meknais moa; kisim hap plang o stik o mambu na pasim long lek o han.*

- ‘Splint the [fractured] arm or leg, and it won’t be able to move anymore; get a board or stick or a piece of bamboo and splint the arm or leg.’
- (2) *San em inap bagarapim poteto kwik.*  
‘The [heat of the] sun can destroy the potatoes fast.’
- (3) *Wokim baret inap long slipim poteto.*  
‘Make a ditch ample enough for the potatoes to lie in.’
- (4) *Bai poteto inap i stap gut fopela mun samting.*  
‘The potatoes can stay good a long time.’
- (5) *Wari na bel nogut, tupela inap kamapim kain kain sik.*  
‘Preoccupation and negative feelings, those two can trigger various kinds of illness.’
- (6) *Wok bisnis na mani inap helpim man. Tasol em inap tu long bagarapim wanbel wantaim arapela na pinisim bel isi bilong man.*  
‘Business and money count for something. But they can also destroy harmony with others and destroy people’s equanimity.’
- (7) *Tasol narapela mak i bung wantaim narapela mak, na dispela em inap soim yumi stret wanem sik i stap.*  
‘But some symptoms combine with others, and this will show us [incl.] clearly what the illness is.’

Note ‘can’ in the gloss of (2) and (4) through (6). This is the kind of ‘can’ also found in English in the sense of what may happen through external causes, as in *The weather can be extremely cold here*; or in *Children can be difficult*.

When the subject of *inap* is a person, there may still be a bit of this derived ability; consider:

- (8) *Em i klostu, na mi inap kamap hariap long en.*  
‘It [i.e. a town] is nearby, and I can reach it quickly.’
- (9) *Inap yu givim sampela long mi?*  
‘Can you give me some [of it]?’
- (10) *God i mekim Resel inap long karim pikinini.*  
‘God made it possible for Rachel to have a child.’
- (11) *Olsem na ol Livai tasol inap karim Bokis Kontrak.*  
‘And so only those of the Levi clan may carry the Ark of the Covenant.’
- (12) *God bai i no inap lusim yu.*  
‘God will definitely not abandon you.’
- (13) *Mi no inap pasim maus moa.*  
‘I cannot be silent any more.’

In (8), the ability to reach the town quickly is because of its nearness. In (9), the question is about possibility rather than about ability. In (10), the ability for Rachel to have children comes from God. In (11), ability translates as a prerogative. In (12), God will not abandon the person, and that is presented as against everything God stands for. Finally, in (13), the speaker is driven by something else to speak out. Of course, context does not invariably indicate that ability derives from another source, but semantically *inap* contains this possibility.

## 8.2 *Ken*

*Ken* is treated according to its syntactic properties in Ch. 10, 2.3. The following describes some semantic features of *ken*.

This auxiliary is used to express (im)possibility, (in)ability, (in)capability, permission (or prohibition), a wish (optativity), and willingness or promise.

For possibility (often expressed in English by either *may* or *can*), and impossibility (in English, *cannot*), consider:

- (1) *Yu ken baim aiglas bilong ritim buk long sampela haus sik na long ol bikpela taun long sampela stua bilong ol Saina.*  
'You can buy reading glasses in some hospitals and in the big towns in some stores of Chinese firms.'
- (2) *Ol dispela rop i holim tupela bun i pas wantaim, na skru i no ken lus.*  
'These ligaments holds two bones together, so that the joint cannot get loose.'
- (3) *Na taim pilai i pinis, orait em i ken autim ol poin bilong tupela tim na ol i ken save husat i win.*  
'And when the game is over, it will be possible for him to announce the scores of the two teams, and they can know which one has won.'
- (4) *Tasol influenza i ken redim rot bilong sik niu monia, na dispela i ken kilim man i dai.*  
'But influenza may be the start of pneumonia, and that illness can kill a person.'
- (5) *Orait, man i no gat sik na i stap klostu, em i ken pulim hap win wantaim vairas, na dispela sik i ken kamap long em tu.*  
'Now, someone who is not ill and is very close [to someone who is ill] may inhale air that contains the virus, and then the disease may get to him, too.'

This meaning of possibility easily melts into ability of some kind, which may melt into *inap* as '(be) able'; as appears from:

- (6) *Olgeta sua i doti i ken kamapim dispela sik nogut. Liklik sua tu inap.*  
'All sores with dirt in them can trigger this serious disease. Small sores can, too.'
- (7) *Yu ken baim pedel hia long stua, tasol isi tru long yu yet wokim.*  
'You can buy [pingpong] rackets in the store, but it is very easy to make them yourself.'

Permission and prohibition with *ken* are very common:

- (8) *Olsem na yu ken i go slip wantaim wokmeri bilong mi.*  
'And so you may sleep with my maid servant.'
- (9) *Yupela i ken i go na lotu long God, Bikpela bilong yupela.*  
'You [pl.] may go and worship the Lord, your God.'
- (10) *Bai yupela i ken i stap long wanem hap graun yupela i laikim.*  
'You [pl.] may stay in whatever area you like.'

- (11) *I no gat wanpela man o meri i ken lusim banis bilong en.*  
‘There is no man or woman who may leave home.’
- (12) *Tasol ol i no ken go insait long raun.*  
‘They may not go inside the circle.’
- (13) *Yupela i no ken rausim dispela marasin i stap long haus.*  
‘You [pl.] must not remove this pesticide from the house.’
- (14) *Yumi no ken les.*  
‘We [incl.] must not give up.’
- (15) *Yu no ken mauswara, poro.*  
‘Don’t talk nonsense, mate.’
- (16) *No ken digim baret i go daun tumas.*  
‘Don’t dig the drain too deep.’
- (17) *No ken!*  
‘Don’t!’

Note the *no ken* prohibitive without a subject in (16), and even without any other constituent in (17).

Here are some optative examples:

- (18) *Bai ol man bilong olgeta ples i ken kamap wokboi bilong yu, na manmeri bilong olgeta kantri i ken i stap aninit long yu.*  
‘May people everywhere become your servants, and may the people of all nations be under your rule.’
- (19) *Yu ken i stap gut.*  
‘May you be well.’
- (20) *Bikpela hevi i ken i stap antap long Kenan.*  
‘May misfortunes be Canaan’s lot.’
- (21) *Yu bin tok bai God i ken bagarapim dispela ol stilman.*  
‘You said: may God destroy those robbers.’

but this optative meaning may merge into one of willingness and even promise—backed by someone able to make it come true:

- (22) *Yupela i mekim olsem na bai yupela i no ken i dai.*  
‘Do so, and you [pl.] shall not die.’
- (23) *Yes, papa. Mi ken i go.*  
‘Yes, father. I will go.’
- (24) *Sapos yu laik i go long han sut, orait mi ken i go long han kais.*  
‘If you go left, I will go right.’
- (25) *Bai mi kisim bek ol long ol arapela kantri na bringim ol i kam long kantri Israel, em graun bilong ol yet. Na bai ol i ken i stap gut oltaim long ol maunten na klostu long ol wara.*  
‘I shall gather them together from other nations and bring them back to their own land. And they shall always be well in the mountainside and close to water.’
- (26) *Pikinini, yu no ken wari. Mi yet mi ken kisim dispela bagarap.*  
‘Child, don’t worry. I myself will accept the curse.’

The meaning of promise or willingness may be expressed negatively, equivalent to what in English is expressed by “need not,”

- (27) *Yu no ken wari.*  
‘You need not fear.’
- (28) *Olsem na yu no ken i go na baim wan wan samting long stua. Nogat. Bungim sampela samting na askim stuakipa long kisim diskaun.*  
‘You need not go and buy every single item in the store. Get some items together and ask the store keeper for a discount.’
- (29) *Man i bilip i no ken pret.*  
‘He who has faith need not be afraid.’

In example (18) an optative clause is marked for the future with *bai*. Very often, however, *bai* introduces a purposive clause (see Ch. 24, 2.1.4) and is a conjunction rather than a future marker. Since a purposive clause often expresses a desire or wish and thus may contain *ken*, it is important to recognize the clause as a subclause, as for example:

- (30) *Na ol i save askim mi long mekim stretpela pasin long ol na stap klostu long ol, bai ol i ken amamas.*  
‘And they always ask me to treat them justly and stay close to them, so that they may feel secure.’
- (31) *Pulimapim saksak long plastik bek o tin, bai em i ken kamap senis bilong rais.*  
‘Put the sago in plastic bags or cans, so they may be available as a change for ice.’
- (32) *Na yu mas bringim ol i go insait long sip wantaim yupela, bai ol i no ken i dai.*  
‘You must bring them [i.e. two of each kind of animal] into the ark with you [pl.], so they will not perish.’

### 8.3 *Laik*

*Laik* is treated according to its syntactic properties in Ch. 10, 2.5. The following describes some of its semantic features.

*Laik* expresses a meaning somewhere on the scale between a desire on the part of a person capable of such a desire and an immediate future without there being any desire, in short, between ‘want to’ and [future] ‘will’. Consider these extremes first, in (1) and (2) respectively:

- (1) *Mi laik wokim sutkes bilong mi.*  
‘I want to make my own suitcase.’
- (2) *Aee, sobled i laik lus.*  
‘Oh! The saw blade is going to detach itself.’

What strikes one about the subject is that in (1) it denotes a human (*mi*) capable of desire, and in (2), a mere thing (*sobled*) that is not. Hence, in (1), *laik* expresses a

desire, while in (2) it does not. Nevertheless, future (rather than desiderative) *laik* may also apply to humans, as in:

- (3) *Helpim mama taim em i laik karim.*  
‘Help the mother when she is about to give birth.’
- (4) *Em i save olsem klostu em i laik i dai.*  
‘He knew he was close to death.’
- (5) *Sapos yu no klia, na em i no laik kamap gut, orait, salim em i go long haus sik.*  
‘If you are not sure, and he [the sick person] shows no sign of improvement, send him to the hospital.’

A more typical use of future *laik* is, of course, that with nonhuman subjects:

- (6) *Bun bilong tomato i laik karim han na lip.*  
‘The stem of the tomato plant will sprout branches and leaves.’
- (7) *Tasol yu no ken pamim long biksan na long taim ren i laik i kam olsem long apinun.*  
‘However, you must not spray [the insecticide] in full sunlight or when rain is about to fall in the afternoon.’
- (8) *Wanem wok i laik kamap insait long woksop, orait, tingim pastaim samting i stap long ples no bus nabaut.*  
‘No matter what jobs will be done in the repair shop, consider first what is available in the village or in the bush.’
- (9) *Lista hia i laik soim sampela samting yu inap painim nating no long liklik mani tasol.*  
‘This diagram will list things you can get for free or at very low prices.’

Some examples are clearly desiderative:

- (10) *Na em i no laik kaikai. Nogat. Na em i no laik dring tu.*  
‘And he did not want to eat at all. And he did not want to drink either.’
- (11) *Bai ol dispela Juda i no laikim moa laip bilong ol yet. Bai ol i laik i dai tasol.*  
‘The people of Judah will not like their lives any more. They will just want to die.’
- (12) *Yumi olgeta, yumi laik i stap gut.*  
‘All of us [incl.] want to be well.’
- (13) *Sikman i no laik i go long haus sik.*  
‘The patient does not want to go to the hospital.’

But many instances of *laik* are somewhere in between those extremes; and, even in context, desiderative meaning and future meaning will merge. (In the following examples, two glosses are provided to reflect the merger.)

- (14) *Nau mi laik autim sampela liklik tok save i go pas long dispela buk.*  
‘Now I want to say some things by way of introduction to the book.’ (or: ‘Now I will [ . . . ].’)

- (15) *Fopela man i laik resis wantaim, ol i sanap redi klostu long fopela arapela banis.*  
 ‘Four players who want to run together stand ready near the other four lines.’ (or: ‘Four players who will [ . . . ].’)
- (16) *Nau mipela i laik pamim marasin long haus bilong yupela.*  
 ‘Now we [excl.] want to spray pesticide in your [pl.] homes.’ (or: ‘Now we are about to [ . . . ].’)
- (17) *Olgeta boi bilong namba tu lain i holim wanpela han i go klostu long dispela boi, olsem ol i laik sekan.*  
 ‘All the boys of the second team put their hands forward to this boy, as if they are about to shake hands.’ (or: ‘[ . . . ], as if they want to [ . . . ].’)

*Laik* sometimes marks the follow-up verb with *long*, but only in the desiderative sense.

- (18) *Skelim gut sampela askim olsem: Bai ol man i laik long baim?*  
 ‘Consider carefully some question like: Will people want to buy them [i.e. your products]?’
- (19) *Em i no laik long kaikai wantaim ol.*  
 ‘He did not want to eat with them.’
- (20) *Mi no laik long lukim em moa.*  
 ‘I do not want to see her anymore.’

Note that *laik* is not invariably an auxiliary. For example, *mi no laik* simply means ‘I don’t like this’ or ‘I don’t like to do this’. Also, *laik long* means approximately the same as *laikim* ‘to like, to be sympathetic towards, to love’. Finally, *laik* may function as a noun, as in *long laik bilong ol yet* ‘according to their own preference’.

#### 8.4 *Mas*

On the formal characteristics of *mas*, see Ch. 10, 2.4. *Mas* expresses a duty, or inevitability. Consider:

- (1) *Yu mas mekim wok olsem.*  
 ‘You have to do the following.’
- (2) *Yu mas strong long ol pikinini i no ken kisim na kaikai.*  
 ‘You have to insist with the children that they must not pick them [i.e. certain fruits] and eat them.’
- (3) *Na tu i mas i gat spes long arere bilong woksop.*  
 ‘Also, there has to be space alongside the workshop.’
- (4) *Ol ston i mas longpela olsem 40 cm samting.*  
 ‘The bricks must be about 40 centimeters long.’
- (5) *Sikman i mas lusim smok.*  
 ‘The patient must quit smoking.’
- (6) *Skinhat i mas i go daun taim twelpela aua i pinis.*  
 ‘The fever must go down within twelve hours.’



- (7) *Laplap i mas i gat wara.*  
‘The cloth should be moist.’

Note that with nonhuman subjects *mas* approaches the meaning of necessity, and with human subjects that of duty.

Negated *mas* is often ‘need not’, but may also mean ‘must not’:

- (8) *Yu no mas wari sapos han bilong yu i guria liklik.*  
‘You need not worry if your hand trembles a little.’
- (9) *I no mas i gat liklik win i stap insait moa.*  
‘There must not be any air inside [the pot].’
- (10) *Yupela i no mas kisim sampela hap graun.*  
‘You [pl.] must not acquire any piece of property.’

### 8.5 *No* as an Auxiliary

In Ch. 10, 2.10, it was mentioned that *no*, followed by *i*, may be regarded as an auxiliary. As noted there, there are languages in which negation is verbal. Indeed, this is to a certain extent the case in English, which must have negation marked on the auxiliary *to do* (*I do not know*), except with other auxiliaries (*He will not come*; *I shall not wait*; *They cannot pay*; etc.), as well as with *to be* (*We are not ready*; etc.).

As noted in Ch. 5, 1 and elaborated in Ch. 10, 2.1, *no* (or *no moa*) can be followed by *i* only before the verbs *dai* ‘to die’, *go* ‘to go’, *kam* ‘to come’, *ken* ‘can, may’, habituaive *save*, and *stap* ‘to be’. Examples are found in that section. The *i* construction is classic and is declining.

### 8.6 The Imperative

The imperative occurs as the unmarked form, with the 2nd person pronoun ((1) through (5)), or without it ((6) through (10)):

- (1) *Yupela sarap na kam slip.*  
‘Shut up and come to bed.’
- (2) *Yu no wokabaut.*  
‘Don’t walk.’
- (3) *Yu lusim graun bilong yu na ol brata bilong yu, na ol lain bilong papa bilong yu, na yu go long wanpela graun bai mi soim yu long en.*  
‘Leave your country and your family and your father’s clan, and go to a land I will show you.’
- (4) *Yu sanap hia na yu lukluk i go long olgeta hap.*  
‘Stand here and look around in all directions.’
- (5) *Yupela go i stap tripela de pastaim na yupela kam bek.*  
‘Go away first for three days and then come back.’
- (6) *Go askim ol arapela lain manmeri.*  
‘Go and ask the other people.’

- (7) *Kam bek long Bikpela na givim baksait long ol pasin nogut, na abrusim tru ol rabis pasin.*  
‘Come back to the Lord, and turn away from evil ways, and avoid wholly bad deeds.’
- (8) *Mekim ol i pret na i ranawe.*  
‘Frighten them so they will flee.’
- (9) *Putim bainat bilong yu i go bek long paus bilong en.*  
‘Put your sword back into its sheath.’
- (10) *Holim skin bilong mi, na lukim.*  
‘Touch my body, and see.’

There is an exhortative use of verbs with *yumi*, which may as well be ranked with imperatives:

- (11) *Yumi go long wok nau.*  
‘Let us [incl.] go to work now.’
- (12) *Yu kam na yumi go long haus.*  
‘Come and let us [incl.] go home.’
- (13) *Yumi kirap nau na mekim dispela wok.*  
‘Let us [incl.] get started and do this job.’

## 9. Iterative Aspect

There is one form of verbal aspect that is morphological, by reduplication. The aspect may be called iterative, indicating that what the verb signifies happens repeatedly, or at least consists of similar parts. Consider:

- (1) *Ol i askim askim na ol i painimaut olsem Gideon, pikinini bilong Joas, i bin mekim dispela samting.*  
‘They made enquiries left and right and found out that Gideon, the son of Joash, had done this.’
- (2) *Ol dispela skin meme i nupela yet taim mipela i pulimapim wain long ol. Tasol lukim nau. Ol i brukbruk nabaut.*  
‘These goat skins were new when we [excl.] filled them with wine. Look at them now. They have burst all over.’
- (3) *Brukbrukim ol alta na ol pos ston.*  
‘Smash the altars and stone posts to pieces.’
- (4) *Bilum bilong kaikai i save kamapim wanpela strongpela marasin bilong brukim brukim kaikai.*  
‘The stomach produces a strong acid to break down the food.’
- (5) *Olgeta manmeri i mas bung bung na sindaun long gutpela gras.*  
‘Let the people get together and sit down on the green grass.’
- (6) *Yu ken bungim bungim i kamap naispela blanket o laplap.*  
‘You can sew them [i.e. leftover pieces of cloth] together to make a good blanket or cover.’

- (7) *Ol saveman i wok long **glasim glasim** ol sikman na ol i painimaut wanpela samting olsem.*  
‘Scientists have been examining the patients and they have found the following.’
- (8) *Wok i mas kamapim pasin bilong bung wantaim na wok poroman, na i mas kamapim pasin bilong **helpim helpim** tu.*  
‘The work should create ways of getting people together and working together, and should create an atmosphere in which people help one another.’
- (9) *Dispela kain samting bai i kamap long ol man i **hipim hipim** planti samting bilong ol yet, tasol ol i stap rabis long ai bilong God.*  
‘This kind of thing happens to people who keep piling up their own possessions, but they are poor in the eyes of God.’
- (10) *Yu ken **joinim joinim** pipia laplap.*  
‘You can sew these leftovers of cloth together.’
- (11) *Sapos krai bilong ensin i no senis planti, na krai bilong en i no **kalap kalap**, em bai ensin i stap gut.*  
‘If the sound of the engine does not vary a lot, and there is no engine knock, the engine will be all right.’
- (12) *Nau **katim katim** arere bilong en long hekso inap 2.5 sentimita.*  
‘Then cut the edge of it with a hacksaw 2.5 centimeter deep.’
- (13) *Ol i go longlong olgeta na ol i **katkatim** olgeta wan wan man ol i bungim.*  
‘They were beside themselves with rage and they cut down every man they encountered.’
- (14) *Na long apinun em i kam bek, na em i **krai krai** long pikinini bilong em, i go inap long moningtaim gen.*  
‘And in the afternoon she came back, and she wept over her child until daybreak.’
- (15) *Yu ken mekim olsem yu lukim hia long piksa. **Mekim mekim** olsem, inap long olgeta pipia i go pinis.*  
‘You can do this the way shown in the picture. Keep doing this, until all the chaff has been removed.’
- (16) *Ol liklik rop i bruk, na ol i no inap kamap gut gen, sapos man i no givim malolo long skru. Sapos em i **naisim naisim**, bai bodi i no inap stretim rop i bruk na pen bai i no pinis.*  
‘Small ligaments are damaged, and they will not get better unless the person rests the knee. If he keeps moving it, the body will not be able to heal them, and the pain will not cease.’
- (17) *Tasol mi **painim painim**, nogat.*  
‘I keep searching, but in vain.’
- (18) *Na bihain ol i kisim sit bilong paia na **paitim paitim** na i kamap olsem paura stret.*  
‘And after that they collected the embers and kept beating them until they were just powder.’

- (19) *Paspasim rop long pasin bilong* “Raunwara man.”  
‘[To make a net,] tie the rope in the way of the lake-dwelling knot.’
- (20) *Ol i olsem man i stap long ples tudak na i pilim pilim nabaut bilong painim rot.*  
‘They are like people in the dark groping around to find their way.’
- (21) *Yu mas raun raun pastaim na skelim pe bilong dispela samting yu laik baim long sampela narapela stua.*  
‘You have to shop around first and get an idea of the price of what you want to buy.’
- (22) *Sapos yu no laik rapim long han, orait, pulimapim long bek o basket mambu wantaim liklik ston. Sakim sakim inap ston i tekewe skin.*  
‘If you don’t want to rub them by hand [to remove the husks], put them into a bag or basket with pebbles. Keep shaking until the husks come off.’
- (23) *Olsem na Devit i salim salim sampela man bilong i go tok sori long Hanun.*  
‘And David dispatched several men with his condolences to Hanun.’
- (24) *Na ol i paitim ol kundu na ol i wok long singsing na danis.*  
‘And they played tambourines and they kept singing and dancing.’
- (25) *Pulim rop strong liklik bai em i go kais, slekim slekim rop, bai em i go sut.*  
‘Pull the rope rather firmly so it goes to the left, then let it run out bit by bit so it will move to the right.’
- (26) *Pikinini pik i no inap kaikai planti long namba tri wik. Em bai i smelim smelim tasol.*  
‘The baby pig cannot eat in the third week. It will just keep sniffing.’
- (27) *Na tu, pik bai i sutim sutim baket na kaikai i kapsait.*  
‘Also, the pig will knock against the bucket and the food will fall out.’
- (28) *Man bilong wokim sospen, em i kisim graun malumalum na em i tanim tanim nabaut long han bilong em.*  
‘The potter takes clay and keeps turning it around in his hands.’
- (29) *Ol manmeri i tingting tasol long ol samting nogut.*  
‘People just keep thinking of evil things.’
- (30) *Bai sampela ol i toktok i stap na ol i no harim gut tok bilong yu.*  
‘Some of them will keep chatting and they will not hear what you say.’
- (31) *Sapos yu laik traim dispela wok bading, orait, kisim han nating bilong wanpela diwai na traim traim han bilong yu pastaim.*  
‘If you want to try your hand at budding, take just any tree branch and keep trying your hand at it.’

Note how the iterative aspect is expressed in the glosses—in some cases that aspect is implicit and is not expressed. Note also how the iterative aspect combines with the durative (with *i stap*), as in (30), or appears in other ways (*nabaut* in (2), (20) and (28); a quantifier like *olgeta* in (5) and (13) or *planti* in (9); or an adjunct of duration like *i go inap long moningtaim* in (14); and so forth).

## 10. Participant Focus

In the verbal system of a language like English, there are different grammatical voices, namely the active (as in *John hit Bill*) and the passive (*Bill was hit by John*). There are various motivations for choosing between voices. One of them is a change of focus. Thus, in *John hit Bill*, the speaker's focus is on John; in *Bill was hit by John*, the focus is on Bill. Syntactically, a change from active to passive makes the object of the active into the subject of the passive. Or, if we phrase this in terms of participants, in terms of agent and patient, we will have to say that in the passive, the patient is in focus, and the agent is out of focus—the agent may even be dropped (*Bill was hit*). Thus, the motivation for passive, in English, may be the need to move the agent out of focus as much as focusing on the patient.

There are various ways the speaker may focus on a nonagent participant. For example, the clause does not have to be made passive, and the patient may be put in initial position, as in *Bill he hit (not Jack)*. Thus, we see that in a just one language like English, there are various strategies for focusing on a nonsubject participant.

Tok Pisin has no verbal voice; the language has no passive. But Tok Pisin has other means of bringing a nonagent in focus. As shown in Ch. 4, 2.2, the object may be placed in preverbal position. But there are other ways, which will now be examined briefly.

First, there are reflexive verbs in *-im*. These are transitive morphologically, but not semantically. How reflexives are important for our topic here is shown in 10.1.

Second, some verb forms have an impersonal subject-agent (usually *ol* 'they'), which does not refer to anyone in particular—something exceptional for agent-subjects. Or the verb form may have a referential subject, but one that is low in topicality. Such constructions are reviewed in 10.2.

### 10.1 Reflexive *-im* Verbs

As shown earlier (Ch. 18, 3), reflexive *-im* verbs have no object in overt form. Reflexive verbs in English may have an object (the appropriate reflexive pronoun), as in *He killed himself*. Yet such constructions cannot be made passive (one cannot say *\*Himself was killed by him*). That they cannot is understandable: the agent and the patient are identical in reflexive constructions, and it is for this reason that reflexive *-im* verbs in Tok Pisin cannot have an object.

These verbs are few in number, but each of them is common; they are: *painim*; *pilim*; *tanim*; and *tantanim*. Consider:

- (1) *Em i sori tru na em i pilim olsem em i laik i krai.*  
'He was moved and he felt as if he wanted to cry.'
- (2) *Penina i save tok bilas long Hana na Hana i save pilim nogut tru na i krai.*  
'Peninnah used to taunt Hannah, and Hannah felt so bad she cried.'

- (3) *Mi pilim hevi tru long ol dispela tok yu mekim long mi.*  
‘I feel burdened by these things you are saying to me.’
- (4) *Ol i no save pilim sem long dispela kain pasin.*  
‘They do not feel ashamed about his kind of behavior.’
- (5) *Bai ol i pilim nogut pastaim na bai ol i kam bek long mi.*  
‘They will feel bad first and will come back to me.’
- (6) *Sapos ol manmeri i pilim belgut, orait pes bilong ol bai i amamas.*  
‘If the people feel contented, they will have happy faces.’

Note that some of these may be analyzed as transitive—that is, if what follows *pilim* is analyzed as object (such as *hevi* in (3) or *sem* in (4)). The difference between nominal and nonnominal modifiers is often not one of a clear break in this language. On the other hand, *nogut* and *nogut tru* (see (2) and (5)) are never nominal, and so *pilim* is reflexive in meaning when followed by either. Note also that *pilim* is also often used transitively, as in:

- (7) *Na sampela hap bilong bodi bilong sikman yu mas pilim.*  
‘And some parts of the patient’s body you have to examine manually.’
- (8) *Sapos yu pilim skin bilong sikman, yu inap pilim skin i hat nau.*  
‘If you feel the patient’s skin, you can feel immediately that the skin is hot.’

For *painim*, consider:

- (9) *Taim ol paip bilong win o ol bilum bilong win i painim bagarap, kus i save kamap.*  
‘When wind pipe or lungs are damaged, coughing often will be a consequence.’
- (10) *Taim ol i painim sik, bai i no gat strong bilong helpim ol gut.*  
‘When they fall ill, there will be no resistance to keep them in good health.’
- (11) *Ol i ken helpim yupela long taim yupela i painim hevi.*  
‘They can help you [pl.] when you are in trouble.’

The analysis given for reflexive *pilim* applies also to this use of *painim*. Unlike *pilim*, however, *painim* may even be near-copulative, as briefly indicated in Ch. 7, 2.1.2. *Painim* is also often used transitively, as in:

- (12) *Yu mas kisim bal na painim gutpela ples bilong ol i pilai.*  
‘Yu have to get a ball and find a good place for them to play.’
- (13) *Sapos ol lang i no painim ples long putim kiau, ol bai i pinis.*  
‘If the flies do not find a good place to lay eggs, that will be the end of them.’

*Tanim* and its iterative *tantanim* may be reflexive in that ‘to turn around’ may be equivalent to ‘to turn oneself around’, as in:

- (14) *Em bai i mas **tanim** na ranim arapela.*  
‘He must then turn around and chase the other one.’
- (15) *Ol i kamap long mak pinis na ol i **tanim** i kam bek long mak bilong stat gen.*  
‘They arrive at the finish line and they turn back to the start line.’
- (16) *Lek i krungut i **tanim** na lukluk i go long arapela lek.*  
‘A club foot is turned towards the other foot.’
- (17) *Bikpela bai i kisim bikpela na strongpela bainat bilong en i sap nogut tru na katim dispela snek masalai i save **tanim tanim** na ranawe nabaut.*  
‘The Lord will get his big and sharp-edged sword and slay the twisting sea-dragon.’

Like *pilim* and *painim*, *tanim* also occurs fully transitively:

- (18) *Tanim blakpela paura pomet wantaim wara na wokim kompres long dispela.*  
‘Mix potassium permanganate with water and use it to make a compress.’
- (19) *Wokim paia aninit long dram na tanim dram isi isi.*  
‘Make a fire underneath the drum and turn the drum around slowly.’

Also, *tanim* (like English *to turn*) used reflexively may be a dynamic copula (‘to become’); see Ch. 7, 2.1.2.

## 10.2 Focus on Patients by Reason of a Low Topicality Agent

This section is best introduced with a few examples first:

- (1) *Sapos yu lukim sampela binatang i kamap, mobeta yu kisim DDT o narapela paura **ol i kolim** insek das na putim long yangpela kabis.*  
‘If you see some pests appear, better get DDT or some other powder called “insect dust” and apply it to the young cabbage plant.’
- (2) *Planti taim tomato i save painim wanpela sik **ol i kolim** fangas.*  
‘Often tomato plants contract a disease called “fungus.”’
- (3) *Na dispela **ol i kolim** rais padi.*  
‘And this is called a “rice paddy.”’
- (4) *Long tok Inglis **ol i kolim** dispela sik stem kanka.*  
‘In English this disease is called “stem canker.”’

In these examples, *ol* is nonreferential; that is to say, no particular people are referred to by this pronoun. It is a bit like English *people*, used as an indefinite pronoun. This use of *ol*, however, makes it possible to make the object of *kolim* prominent as new information in context—as a new topic, as the principal focus. This object is *narapela paura* in (1), *wanpela sik* in (2), *dispela* in (3), and *dispela sik* in (4). Note that the object in (2) is the antecedent of the relative clause (*ol i kolim fangas*), in which clause the object is not expressed.

Now compare (1) through (4) with (5):

- (5) *Mipela i putim nem long tok Inglis tu, long wanem, ol kampani bilong salim sits, ol i raitim long tok Inglis tasol.*

‘We [excl.] add the names [of the seeds] also in English, for the companies that sell the seeds write it in English only.’

where *ol* in *ol i raitim* refers back to *ol kampani bilong salim sits*. In other words, *ol* is anaphoric here, resuming a topic just mentioned—low on the topicality scale because in context the contrast is between Tok Pisin names of the seeds and their English names.



## 20: NOUNS

As any language has verbs, so also any language has nouns. Nouns are used to denote persons, animals, things—or some abstract property of them conceived as something that is there “by itself” (as with *beauty*, *difficulty*, or *size*). Nouns (or noun phrases) typically occur in subject and object place, and with adpositions. It is useful here to compare nouns with pronouns: both are “nominal:” pronouns take the place of nouns to avoid repetition of those in context.

Nouns and pronouns behave much the same way syntactically. They have in common that they may function as subject or object, and that they are heads of noun phrases, or dependents in prepositional phrases. It is this behavior that stamps pronouns as well as nouns as nominal.

Nominals are thus the more general class dealt with in the present chapter and Ch. 21—distinguishable as classes of nouns and pronouns.

A traditional subclassification of nouns distinguishes between “class nouns” (like *house*, *child*, *book*, *mountain*—denoting persons, etc. that come in “classes”), “material nouns” (like *iron*, *wood*, *stone*, *plastic*—denoting not things but the matter things are made of), “proper names” (*Alice*, *Jack*, *Smith*), and “collective nouns” (such as *mass*, *heap*, *pile*, etc.). Another subclass is that of “classifiers” (*a yoke of oxen*; *a pair of shoes*; *a pride of lions*).

Tok Pisin too has all these classes of nouns: class nouns, material nouns, proper names, collective nouns, and classifiers. But this subclassification calls for some caution. It may be merely lexical—that is to say, in regard to meaning only or mainly—the kind of meaning dictionary makers are concerned with. What we will be doing here is rather different: we treat such subclasses as word classes—a matter of grammar. Lexical meaning, it is true, is needed to do this type of grammar, but only to the extent lexical meaning is needed for grammatical purposes. A few examples may explain this difference.

Consider pairs of near-synonyms in English like *village* and *town*. What they have in common grammatically is that both are nouns and may take plural form (this stamps them as class nouns). The fact that *village* and *town* differ also lexically (which a good English dictionary would reflect) is of no importance grammatically. Now consider Tok Pisin *ples* ‘village’ and *bikples* ‘town’: apart from the purely lexical differences (which a good Tok Pisin dictionary would reflect), there is also a grammatical difference: *ples* is a simple noun while *bikples* is a compound, in which *bik-* signifies larger size, greater importance, and the like. English has no such compounds: to indicate the larger size, etc., English must use a different lexeme (*town* rather than *village*), or (if no separate lexeme is available) a phrase form with *large*, *big*, *important*, etc. as an attribute. The aspect under which Tok Pisin nouns are studied below is one combining lexical semantics with grammatical properties.

Or consider material nouns like *water*, *sand*, *tobacco*, and the like. Such nouns do not typically take plural form, or an indefinite article or an indefinite pronoun (we say that such nouns are not countable, or, simply, that they are “noncount”). There are other features of material nouns, too: when those are quantified, they

take *much* and *little*, rather than *many* and *few* (which are the corresponding forms of quantification for class nouns). But then, again, sometimes such nouns are “count” rather than “noncount”: *the waters of the ocean; the sands of the desert; the tobaccos on offer*. Such plurals take on class noun characteristics: *waters* is then, rather like ‘waves’, or ‘stretches of water’; *sands*, rather like ‘sand dunes’ or ‘varieties of sand’; *tobaccos*, rather like ‘species of tobacco’; *ponderings*, rather like ‘topics of consideration’.

The conclusion is clear: subclasses may overlap. We will see that such overlappings are rather more common in Tok Pisin than they are in English.

Below, the subject matter is broken down as follows:

- [a] overlap of material nouns and class nouns;
- [b] proper names with *ol* as collective nouns;
- [c] classifiers;
- [d] the function of *ol*.

These are treated in 1 through 4.

### 1. Material Nouns and Class Nouns

Here is what should be a fairly complete list of material nouns in Tok Pisin: *ain* ‘iron’; *ais* ‘ice’; *bras* ‘brass, copper, bronze’; *diwai* ‘wood’; *gol* ‘gold’; *graun* ‘earth, clay’; *gumi* ‘rubber’; *kapa* ‘copper, zinc’; *katen* ‘cardboard’; *koten* ‘cotton’; *kunai* ‘grass’; *let* ‘leather’; *mambu* ‘bamboo’; *nailon* ‘nylon’; *pepa* ‘paper’; *plang* ‘wood, board’; *plastik* ‘plastic’; *salfa* ‘sulfur’; *semen* (or *simen*) ‘cement’; *silva* ‘silver’; *singel* ‘shingles’; *slika* ‘glossy material’; *sol* ‘salt’; *ston* ‘stone’; *tais* ‘mud’; *wesan* ‘sand’.

These lexemes may often function as modifiers, as set out in Ch. 12, 1.1 (for modifiers as a word class, see Ch. 22.). Here follow, merely for the sake of comparison first, examples of their use as material nouns:

- (1) *Planti liklik ain i stap insait long olgeta kumu.*  
‘There is a fair amount of iron in all vegetables.’
- (2) *Sapos man i painim planti pis pinis, em i save putim long ais.*  
‘If a man has caught plenty of fish, he will put it on ice.’
- (3) *Yu ken kisim olkain samting olsem long ol, gol na silva na bras.*  
‘You may accept all kinds of things from them, gold and silver and bronze.’
- (4) *Planim sampela mak insait long graun bai i stap oltaim, olsem hap diwai o ston o simen samting.*  
‘Place a permanent mark in the field, such as a piece of wood or stone or concrete.’
- (5) *Wokim bokis na pulimapim graun long en.*  
‘Make a box and fill it with soil.’
- (6) *Ol rop bilong blut ol i malumalu olsem gumi.*  
‘The arteries are soft, like rubber.’

- (7) *Em i waitpela ston ol man i save wokim kambang long en.*  
'That is a white stone from which lime is made.'
- (8) *Tekewe dispela susu long klinpela gos o koten.*  
'Remove this discharge [of the sore] with clean gauze or cotton wool.'
- (9) *Ruf inap yupela wokim long kunai, i nogat wok long kapa.*  
'If you [pl.] make a thatch roof, that will do, there is no need for zinc.'
- (10) *Tasol i gat rot bilong tanim dispela skin i kamap let.*  
'But there is a way to turn this hide into leather.'
- (11) *Kisim wanpela baklain na wanpela hap mambu olsem ring.*  
'Get a rope and a piece of bamboo as a ring.'
- (12) *Redim samting olsem: Hap baklain, ol i wokim long narakain plastik, yumi kolim nailon.*  
'Have the following ready: a piece of rope made of a different kind of plastic we [incl.] call nylon.'
- (13) *I mas i gat tupela gol i gat ring i pas long hap plang.*  
'There have to be two goals with a ring fastened to a piece of board.'
- (14) *Ol gaden bai i bagarap na i stap nating. Na sol na salfa bai i pulap long ol.*  
'The fields will be scorched and useless. And salt and sulfur will cover them.'
- (15) *Brukim diwai i kamap sotpela stretpela plang, ol i kolim "singel."*  
'Cut wood into small straight pieces called "shingles."'
- (16) *Ol i wokim laplap long slika.*  
'They made clothes from silk.'
- (17) *Wokim baret na tais i kamap drai.*  
'Make a drain so the mud will get dry.'
- (18) *Ston, wesan na graun yu yet yu save painim we.*  
'Stone, sand, and soil you yourself know where to get.'
- (19) *Pepa na katen samting tu inap sting.*  
'Paper, cardboard, and the like may also decay.'
- (20) *Klinim sua long katen.*  
'Clean the sore with cotton wool.'
- (21) *Sampela samting moa i stap. Ol saveman i painimautim na ol i kolim fosfet (sotpela nem: P), na potes (sotpela nem: K), na magnesia (sotpela nem: Mg), na salfa (sotpela nem: S).*  
'But there is more [of what is needed in the soil]. Experts have found it and they call it phosphate (abbreviation: P), and potassium (abbreviated: K), and magnesia (abbreviated: Mg), and sulfur (abbreviated: S).'

Our point now is that most of these can also be used as class nouns, so that they can be quantified (with a numeral, or the indefinite pronoun *wanpela*):

- (22) *Kisim tupela longpela ain, inap wan mita.*  
'Get two long pieces of iron, one meter long.'

- (23) *Ol i bung wantaim em na sindaun long ples kol long as bilong wanpela diwai.*  
‘They joined him and sat down in a cool spot at the base of a tree.’
- (24) *Makim wanpela hap graun olsem wanpela **graun** bilong volibal.*  
‘Mark off one piece of ground as a volleyball field.’
- (25) *Inap wokim long tupela **gumi** bilong taia.*  
‘One can make it from two tubes.’
- (26) ***Kapa** bilong pinga i waitpela.*  
‘The fingernails are white.’
- (27) *Long apinun tru kisim ol nupela pikinini pato na putim ol long wanpela katen.*  
‘Late in the afternoon get the ducklings and put them in a cardboard box.’
- (28) *Yu ken putim **let** long bikpela wil long sait.*  
‘You can attach the belt to the large wheel at the side.’
- (29) *Planim tripela o fopela **mambu** i gat hul.*  
‘Place three or four pieces of hollow bamboo in the ground.’
- (30) *Ol arapela manmeri i no ken kisim ol **pepa** na kago na mani na bilas bilong em.*  
‘Other people may not take his documents and possessions and money and jewelry.’
- (31) *Sapos yu yusim plaiwut, orait, nilim tupela **plang** olsem mi mekim hia.*  
‘If you use plywood, nail the two boards the way I do here.’
- (32) *Slipim wanpela **plastik** aninit.*  
‘Lay a sheet of plastic underneath.’
- (33) *Na binatang bilong kamapim naispela laplap, ol i kolim silk wem o **slika**.*  
‘The insect that produces this cloth material they call silkworm.’
- (34) *Em i sindaun long wanpela **ston**.*  
‘He sat down on a rock.’

Note that, as class nouns, some items have a meaning rather different from the corresponding material nouns; prominent examples: *diwai*, *kapa*, *let*, and *slika*.

## 2. Proper Names with *ol* as Collective Nouns

Proper names or names of ethnic groups, families or institutions, when marked by *ol*, turn those nouns into collective nouns, denoting the inhabitants of the geographical area, or the members of those groups, families, of institutions. For example:

- (1) *ol Australia* ‘(the) Australians’; *ol Filipins* ‘(the) Philippinos’; *ol Hit* ‘(the) Hittites’; *ol Inglis* ‘the English, English people’; *ol Isip* ‘(the) Egyptians’; *ol Israel* ‘(the) people of Israel’; *ol Japan* ‘(the) Japanese’; *ol Jerusalem* ‘(the) people of Jerusalem’; *ol Juda* ‘(the) Jews’; *ol Kenan* ‘(the) Canaanites’; *ol Livai* ‘(the) Levites’; *ol Masedonia* ‘(the) Macedonians’; *ol Melanesia Kaunsil* ‘(the) members of the Melanesian

Council'; *ol Papua Niugini* '(the) people of Papua new Guinea'; *ol Rom* '(the) Romans'; *ol Saina* '(the) Chinese'; *ol Sudan* '(the) Sudanese'; *ol Tolai* '(the) Tolai people'; *ol Uganda* '(the) people of Uganda'; *ol Yunitek* '(the) people in Unitech [i.e. The University of Technology]'; *ol Yurop* '(the) Europeans'

### 3. Classifiers

Consider the following noun phrases in English: *a bit of information*; *two pair of shoes*; *five yoke of oxen*. In the first, *information*, which is a noncount noun, cannot pluralize (*\*two informations*) or be quantified even in the singular (*\*an information*; *\*one information*); it needs a special device (*bit*, or *item*) to function as countable. In the second example, the head noun *shoe* denotes something that comes in pairs, so, even though *shoe* is a count noun, it needs a special device (*pair*) to mark two of them as belonging together. As for the third example, if oxen come in twos, a special device (*yoke*) is needed to express this. This leads to an analysis briefly indicated in Ch. 11, 2.6: the apparent attribute (*of information*; *of shoes*; *of oxen*) is really the head, and the apparent head is really part of a quantifier—the quantifier is phrasal: *a bit of*; *two pair of*; *five yoke of*.

For our present topic, this makes it necessary to identify the class of nouns that need, or at least may take, a classifier. Languages differ a great deal in how many classifiers there are (Japanese has a few dozen, Indonesian about a dozen, and Kilivila, Trobriand Islands, has more than one hundred). Tok Pisin has only a few: *hap*, *kain*, *kiau*, and *lain*.

As explained in Ch. 11, 2.6, classifiers like *hap*, *kain*, *kiau* and *lain* are attributes (to the following noun), not heads (and thus the following noun is not an attribute). We must now develop this idea a bit more. While in Ch. 11, 2.6 the focus is on the classifier, here it is on the following noun.

Another kind of classifier is what often precedes a geographical name: rather than saying *Sepik* 'the [river] Sepik', Tok Pisin prefers *wara Sepik* 'the river Sepik'. Here, too, *Sepik* may be regarded as the head, and *wara* as a classifier.

*Hap*, *kain*, *kiau* and *lain* are treated in 3.1 through 3.4, respectively, classifiers with geographical names in 3.5.

#### 3.1 *Hap* as a Classifier

The classifier *hap* is used with material nouns and abstract nouns, such that these nouns represent something interpreted as arbitrarily divisible rather than countable exemplars of some class. The noun following *hap* is the head of the phrase. Consider (head nouns in bold):

- (1) *hap abus* 'piece of meat'; *tupela hap stretpela ain* 'two straight pieces of iron'; *hap bel daunbilo* 'abdomen'; *liklik hap das* 'a bit of dust'; *hap diwai* 'piece of wood'; *dispela hap graun* 'piece of land'; *etpela hap kanda* 'eight canes'; *hap kapa waia* 'piece of copper wire'; *wanpela*

*hap kona bilong gaden* ‘some corner area of the garden’; *hap klinpela laplap* ‘clean piece of cloth’; *wanpela hap lo* ‘a law’; *hap mambu* ‘piece of bamboo’; *hap mani* ‘amount of money’; *hap namba 12* ‘Article 12, Section 12’; *hap paia* ‘flame, spark’; *hap pepa* ‘piece of paper’; *hap pipia nabaut* ‘odds and ends all over the place’; *sampela sotpela hap pitpit* ‘some short pieces of sugar cane’; *hap plang* ‘piece of board’; *hap plastik* ‘sheet of plastic’; *hap ples* ‘area’; *hap rop* ‘piece of rope’; *ol dispela kain liklik hap samting* ‘that kind of small details’; *hap simen* ‘block of concrete’; *hap skin* ‘piece of skin’; *hap ston* ‘pebble, piece of rock’; *namba tu hap taim bilong pilai* ‘the second half of the game’; *wanpela hap taunam* ‘one mosquito net’; *hap tok* ‘statement, word’; *liklik hap wara* ‘a bit of water’; *liklik hap wesan* ‘a bit of sand’; *hap win* ‘a breathing’; *hap winmani* ‘a bit of profit’

Some of the head nouns (e.g. *kona* and *plang*) could well be used as class nouns in two types of constructions. The first is the phrase type *hap bilong* + noun, in which *bilong* + noun is the attribute, and *hap* the head. This construction is mandatory if what follows *hap* is a pronoun. The second phrase type has *hap* not as a classifier but as a quantifier (meaning ‘half’). The first type is illustrated in (2); the second, in (3):

- (2) *waitpela hap bilong ai* ‘the white of the eye’; *olgeta hap bilong em* ‘all the parts of it’; *wanpela hap bilong graun* ‘one part of the field’; *hap bilong nus* ‘part of the nose’; *hap bilong pipia* ‘part of the trash’; *tupela hap bilong rop* ‘the two halves of the rope’; *bikpela hap bilong skin* ‘a large area of the skin’; *hap bilong sol* ‘part of the shoulder’; *hap bilong dispela tok* ‘part of this statement’
- (3) *hap lita* ‘half a liter’; *hap pinga* ‘half a finger [long]’; *hap mita* ‘half a meter’

### 3.2 *Kain* as a Classifier

A noun classified by *kain*, or reduplicated *kain kain* (also spelled *kainkain*) is a class noun, but the class is presented as one that has subclasses—various sorts or kinds or species. Examples:

- (1) *olgeta kain animal* ‘all kinds of animals’; *kain kain diwai* ‘various sorts of trees’; *wanpela kain diwai* ‘one particular species of tree’; *wanem kain driman?* ‘what kind of a dream?’; *dispela olgeta kain hevi na bagarap* ‘all these kinds of suffering and disaster’; *kain kain kaikai* ‘assorted foods’; *olgeta kain pilai* ‘games of all kinds’; *planti kain kain pipel* ‘many people of all kinds’; *kain kain samting* ‘all kinds of things’; *kain kain arapela samting* ‘various other things’; *nupela kain samting* ‘some new kind of thing’; *kain kain samting nogut* ‘various kinds of wrong things’; *dispela kain save* ‘this kind of expertise’; *dispela kain sik* ‘this kind of illness’; *kain kain taim bilong yia* ‘various seasons’;

*kain tok olsem* ‘this kind of talk’; *kain kain tri* ‘various kinds of trees’;  
*kain kain wok* ‘all sorts of jobs’; *wanem kain wok?* ‘what kind of job?’

In contrast to *hap* + noun, which may vary with *hap bilong* + noun (3.1, (2)), *kain* does not seem to have a *bilong* + noun attribute. The only apparent example in the corpus is:

- (2) *Dispela kain pam i no inap pamim wara i go antap tru. Ol i wokim dispela kain bilong pamim wara i go long liklik teng antap long haus.*  
 ‘This kind of pump cannot pump water very high. They make this kind to pump water to a small tank on the roof of the house.’

but *bilong* here is purposive: ‘in order to’—it does not mark an attribute.

### 3.3 *Kiau* as a Classifier

*Kiau* as a classifier seems to occur mainly or only in the meaning of ‘tablet’ of medication. For example:

- (1) *tupela kiau entesit* ‘two antacid tablets’; *faipela kiau Pairentel long wanpela taim* ‘five tablets of Pyrantel at the same time’; *tupela kiau klorokwin* ‘two tablets of chloroquine’

*Kiau*, when not a classifier, means ‘egg’ or ‘seed’ (also in metaphorical senses), and may then be followed by an attribute marked with *bilong*:

- (2) *kiau bilong ai* ‘eyeball’; *wanpela kiau bilong kakaruk* ‘one hen’s egg’; *kiau bilong natnat* ‘mosquito eggs’; *kiau bilong planti kain sayor* ‘the seeds of many kinds of vegetables’

### 3.4 *Lain* as a Classifier

This classifier, which may apply to any group of people as a tribe, family, institution, or commercial firm, has a nominal status in between those of collective nouns and class nouns. Consider:

- (1) *ol lain asples* ‘grassroots people’; *sampela lain liklik liklik binatang* ‘some species of small germs’; *dispela lain buk* ‘this series of books’; *lain Juda* ‘the tribe of Judah’; *lain kokonas* ‘plantation, row of coconut trees’; *bikpela lain komiti* ‘a committee with many members’; *bikpela lain manmeri* ‘a large number of people’; *liklik lain pato* ‘a few ducks’; *ol lain tumbuna pikinini* ‘the grandchildren’; *dispela lain pipel* ‘these people’; *lain plisman* ‘police detachment’; *ol lain saveman* ‘the experts’; *ol dispela lain sikman* ‘patients with this disease’; *lain soldia* ‘army, squadron’; *wanpela lain vairas* ‘one particular kind of virus’; *longpela lain wokman* ‘a large number of employees’; *yupela ol lain yut* ‘you [pl.] young people’

As is the case with *hap* and *kiau*, so *lain* may also be the head of a phrase with a *bilong* attribute, and this construction is mandatory if what follows *lain* is a pronoun:

- (2) *lain bilong bin na pi na pinat na soibin* ‘the species of beans, peas, peanuts, and soybeans’; *ol lain bilong Nesenol Spots Institut* ‘the people of the National Sports Institute’; *lain bilong ol yet* ‘their own team’; *wanpela lain bilong Yunaitet Nesen* ‘one office of the United Nations’; *lain bilong yu* ‘your family, your tribe, your institution, your firm’

### 3.5 Classifiers with Geographical Names

Phrases containing a geographical name are somewhat unbalanced grammatically in Tok Pisin. This is because some such phrases, especially those relevant to government, are borrowed directly from English, in package loans. Thus, *Morobe Province* is borrowed directly from English *Morobe Province*. Similarly, *Is Sepik Provins* ‘East Sepik Province’ and *Wes Sepik Provins* ‘West Sepik Province’ are borrowed directly from English.

But some names have word order more recognizably Tok Pisin. The river Sepik is called *wara Sepik* ‘the river Sepik’. Like rivers, mountains are not administrative units, thus we have *maunten*, as in *maunten Wilhelm* ‘Mount Wilhelm’. Names of towns, if unknown to the hearer, will easily take *taun*, as in *taun Madang* ‘the town of Madang’.

## 4. The Function of *ol*

*Ol* is a plural marker for nouns. It is not an article—*ol* is not necessarily, and in fact is often not, “the same” as English (plural) *the*. English *the* is typically definite, but *ol* need not be, as appears from the following examples:

- (1) *Em i no gat ol pikinini man. Em i gat ol pikinini meri tasol.*  
‘He had no sons. He had daughters only.’
- (2) *Ol dispela lain i bin i stap long graun bilong ol yet, na i no gat ol tripman i bin kam i stap wantaim ol.*  
‘These people had been living on their own land, and never had strangers come and settled among them.’
- (3) *Pastaim dispela graun i bin i stap nating na i no gat ol diwai na gras samting i kamap long en.*  
‘This area had been barren and no trees, grass, or anything had grown there.’
- (4) *Bai ol i no gat ol naispela klos.*  
‘They will not have beautiful clothes.’
- (5) *Ol i bin painim ol man bilong helpim ol, tasol i no gat man i stap.*  
‘They have been looking for people to help them, but there was no one.’
- (6) *Ol i save salim ol kain kain tul long liklik mani tasol.*  
‘They regularly sell various kinds of tools for just very little.’



- (7) *Yu no inap painim nating, baim long ol hadwea stua*  
‘You will not get it for free, buy it in hardware stores.’
- (8) *Malaria i save painim ol pikinini na ol mama i gat bel planti taim.*  
‘Malaria will often affect children and pregnant women.’
- (9) *Long 100 yia pinis ol saveman i kamapim rot long wokim wanpela strong-pela glas tru, inap long lukim ol liklik samting ai nating i no inap lukim.*  
‘In the past hundred years experts have found ways to make a very strong magnifying glass, so they can see small things the unaided eye cannot see.’
- (10) *Askim ol lapun.*  
‘Ask older people.’

In these examples *ol* marks the following noun as a collective—much the same as *ol* with a proper name (see 2). The collective property of *ol* + noun is not easily expressed in English. For (1), for example, one would have to think of *ol pikinini man* as ‘male offspring’ and of *ol pikinini meri* as ‘female offspring’. In (2), what makes all strange newcomers alike is that they are seen as undesirable; in (3), what is relevant for those trees is that they all grow on ground previously barren; and so forth.

On the other hand, what is semantically plural is not necessarily marked by *ol*; this is obviously the case when there is a quantifier, or some other constituent in the plural (in bold in the following examples):

- (11) ***Klostu wan milion** pipel i save yusim dispela nesenel tok ples bilong Papua Niugini.*  
‘Almost one million people use this national language of Papua New Guinea.’
- (12) ***Planti** pipel i pret long marasin bilong waitman.*  
‘Many people are afraid of the white man’s medicine.’
- (13) ***Planti** wokman bilong sios na gavman na bisnis, na **planti** manmeri long ples ol i helpim edita long skruim save bilong en.*  
‘Many workers of the church and government and business, and many village people have helped the editor and made him more knowledgeable.’
- (14) ***Sampela** yangpela meri tu i kam.*  
‘Some young women came also.’

But then, again, even with such quantifiers *ol* may be used to stamp the following noun as collective:

- (15) *Sapos man i laik kirapim kem, bai busnaip na tamiok i no inap. Em i mas i gat sampela kain tul, **ol planti** man bilong ples i no save holim yet.*  
‘If a man wants to start a camp [for work outside the village], a bush knife and axe are not enough. He must have several tools many village men do not own yet.’
- (16) ***Planti ol** dispela stesin i no gat lektrik pawa.*  
‘Many of those stations [far from town] do not have electric power.’

- (17) *Planti ol papamama bilong yumi i no kisim save yet long bosim abus.*  
‘Many couples among us [incl.] have not yet acquired the skill to manage cattle.’
- (18) *Na ol tripela arapela king i ranawe i go antap long ples maunten.*  
‘And the three other kings fled up into the mountains.’

On the other hand, even without quantifiers, nouns that are semantically plural often lack marking with *ol*, simply because number (one or more) is contextually irrelevant; for example:

- (19) *Marasin i stap insait long kain kain samting olsem lip bilong diwai, gras, plaua, na skin bilong diwai.*  
‘There is medicine in various things such as leaves of trees, grasses, flowers, and bark of trees.’
- (20) *Dispela i no inap helpim yu wantaim pikinini bilong yu.*  
‘This is of no use to you and your children.’
- (21) *Ol pik i save bagarapim gaden.*  
‘Pigs will mess up the gardens.’

Plural reading is obvious in a clause like (19), but in other cases it depends on context. The actual contexts from which (20) and (31) are taken trigger a plural reading of the nouns concerned. But since there is no suggestion of collectiveness, *ol* would be out of place.

*Ol* may even mark material nouns—showing that the difference between material and collective admits of overlap:

- (22) *Bai mi senisim ol bras bilong yu wantaim gol, na ol ain bilong yu wantaim silva. Na bai mi senisim tu ol plang bilong yu wantaim bras na ol ston bilong yu wantaim ain.*  
‘Your bronze I will exchange for silver. And I will exchange your wood for bronze, and your stone for iron.’
- (23) *Ol rop i gat nil na ol gras nogut bai i kamap na karamapim gaden bilong yu.*  
‘Brambles and thistles will cover your fields.’

As noted in Ch. 11, 2.8.1, nouns that take the attribute *ol* and have the attribute *sampela* ‘some’ or *dispela* ‘this’ (each of which may have either singular or plural reading, and thus need *ol* for plural) or *olgeta* ‘all’, may have *ol* either preceding or following the attribute. The examples in Ch. 11, 2.8.1 were phrases only. Here follow similar examples in clauses:

- (24) *Dispela taun Hebron ol sampela lain i bin wokim pastaim.*  
‘This town of Hebron had been built earlier by some tribes.’
- (25) *Ol sampela man na meri i gat gupela naispela laplap.*  
‘Some men and women had good, beautiful clothes.’

- (26) *Ol sampela rabisman bilong yupela i bin paulim tingting bilong ol manmeri long taun.*  
 ‘Some worthless people among you [pl.] have been leading the people in the town astray.’
- (27) *Yupela i mas makim ol sampela taun bilong ol man i ken i go hait insait long ol.*  
 ‘You [pl.] must choose some towns for people to seek sanctuary in.’
- (28) *Em i bin singautim ol sampela manmeri i kam.*  
 ‘He had invited some people [to his place].’
- (29) *Wanpela taim ol sampela Israel i laik planim bodi bilong wanpela man.*  
 ‘Once some people of Israel were about to bury a man.’
- (30) *Na ol i go long ol glasman na long ol sampela manmeri i save toktok wantaim tewel bilong ol man i dai pinis.*  
 ‘And they went to sorcerers and to some people who regularly spoke to the spirits of the dead.’
- (31) *Mi raitim kontrak bilong baim graun na mi pasim na putim mak bilong mi long en, long ai bilong ol sampela man.*  
 ‘I wrote a contract to buy property and signed it in front of some people [as witnesses].’
- (32) *I gat wanpela liklik niuspepa, nem bilong em “Yumi kirapim.” Ol sampela wokman bilong gavman i save kamapim.*  
 ‘There is a small newsletter, entitled “Yumi kirapim.” Some government officials produce it regularly.’
- (33) *Sapos yu laik planim tomato, orait, tingim ol sampela lo bilong en.*  
 ‘If you want to plant tomatoes, there are some rules you have to keep in mind.’

*Sampela ol* + noun is found only in nonbiblical Tok Pisin, and even there it is rare. Examples:

- (34) *Mama na sampela ol susa bilong Piring ol i sindaun raunim em na ol i kra i stap.*  
 ‘Piring’s mother and some of his sisters were sitting around him and they were crying.’
- (35) *Mipela i bin painimaut sampela ol ples i sot long kain samting olsem.*  
 ‘We [excl.] have found some villages that lack the following kind of things.’
- (36) *Sampela ol samting i no inap kamap gut, sapos yu karamapim as bilong en olgeta.*  
 ‘Some things [you plant] cannot grow well if you cover all of [the soil at] the base.’

*Sampela* is neutral as between singular and plural readings, and thus when a plural reading is essential, *ol* is required. However, such a plural reading may be clear from other structural properties.

The following examples illustrate *ol dispela*:

- (37) *Orait ol i kisim graun na pulimapim gen ol dispela hul wara.*  
'Then they got soil and filled in those water holes.'
- (38) *Mi lukim ol dispela samting pikinini bilong yu i karim i kam.*  
'I see these things your sons have brought here.'
- (39) *Wanpela bilong ol dispela taun bai ol i kolim long nem "Taun Bilong San."*  
'One of those towns they call "Town of the Sun."'
- (40) *Yu mas tokim ol dispela manmeri i stap wantaim yu olsem.*  
'You must tell those people who are staying with you as follows.'
- (41) *Ol dispela lain wokman i pamim marasin long olgeta haus.*  
'These workers spray every house with insecticide.'
- (42) *Yu mas kaikai ol dispela tripela lain kaikai long olgeta wan wan de.*  
'You must eat these three kinds of food every day.'

For *dispela ol*, examine:

- (43) *Olgeta dispela ol lain famili, em ol wan wan lain famili bilong ol tumbuna pikinini bilong Noa.*  
'All these tribes, they comprised every family of the descendants of Noah.'
- (44) *Dispela ol lo Bikpela i bin givim long ol Israel long han bilong Moses.*  
'These laws the Lord had given to the people of Israel through Moses.'
- (45) *Na dispela ol samting bai i mekim tingting bilong yu i bagarap na bai yu kamap aipas.*  
'And these things will destroy your thinking and you will become blind.'
- (46) *Na i no gat man bai i stap long dispela ol taun.*  
'And there will be no one left in those towns.'
- (47) *Mi sori long dispela ol manmeri.*  
'I take pity on these people.'
- (48) *Yu ken putim sampela pis insait long raunwara na dispela ol pis bai kaikai kiau bilong natnat.*  
'You can place some fish in the pond, and these fish will eat the mosquitoes' eggs.'
- (49) *Dispela ol liklik buk hia i laik soim rot long yu yet inap wokim samting long han.*  
'These booklets will show you the way for you to make things with your own hands.'

*Dispela* is neutral as between singular and plural readings, and thus when a plural reading is essential, *ol* is required. However, such a plural reading may be clear from other structural properties.

*Olgeta ol* is extremely rare—(50) through (52) are the only instances in biblical Tok Pisin):

- (50) *Olgeta ol bikman na ol hetman bilong ol bai i no i stap moa.*  
'All the leaders and princes will be no more.'

- (51) *Em i sindaun long haus sel wantaim Aisak na Jekop, em olgeta ol man God i bin promis long givim dispela graun long ol.*  
 ‘He lived in a tent together with Isaac and Jacob, that is, all people to whom God had promised to give them this land.’
- (52) *Konstitusen i givim dispela rait long lukautim ol fridom long olgeta ol opisa bilong Papua Niugini.*  
 ‘The Constitution gives the right to protect the freedoms to all [law] officers of Papua New Guinea.’

*Ol olgeta* is even rarer in the corpus; there is just one instance of it in biblical Tok Pisin:

- (53) *Yupela i no ken aigris long meri bilong narapela man. Na yupela i no ken mangalim haus bilong em na graun bilong em na ol wokboi na wokmeri bilong em na bulmakau bilong em na donki bilong em na ol olgeta arapela samting bilong em tu.*  
 ‘You [pl.] shall not covet someone else’s wife. And you [pl.] must not set your heart on his house and property, and his men and women servants, and his cattle or anything that is his either.’

Finally, *ol* marks plurals also in forms of address, as vocatives, as we might say:

- (54) *Ol pren, mi ting Dan i tok stret.*  
 ‘Friends, I think what Dan says is right.’
- (55) *Orait, ol brata, mi go het long wok stret.*  
 ‘All right, friends, I will start work right away.’
- (56) *Ol wantok, yumi no ken mauswara.*  
 ‘Friends, let us [incl.] not talk nonsense.’

## 21: PRONOUNS

The term “pronoun” suggests that it takes the place of a noun. Thus *he* may stand for *John* or *that man*, *she* for *Anne* or *the judge*, and so forth. Note, however, that this is true only for third person pronouns.

As for first and second person pronouns, such as *I*, *you*, *we*, it is true that these stand for persons (speaker(s), addressee(s)), and that such persons can be referred to by the use of appropriate nouns. Nevertheless, in context this is never the case. Speakers do not typically refer to themselves with the use of nouns (at least not in English or Tok Pisin). If John Smith were to say \**John Smith needs money and I need it now*, it would not be well-formed. In short, what are called pronouns stand for nouns in some wider sense that is not contextual. By contrast, contextually, only third person pronouns stand for nouns (anaphorically—that is, for a preceding noun; or cataphorically—that is, for a following noun).

These precisions are not merely speculative. As is explained in Ch. 7, 1, nonthird pronouns are deictic, and third person pronouns are deictic if and only if they are demonstrative. Recall that these distinctions are important for the description of the predicate marker *i*.

With these provisos, there is no problem about considering as pronouns those that have traditionally been so regarded, including nonthird.

What subclasses of pronouns there are depends on the language. English has both personal and possessive pronouns; Tok Pisin has no possessive pronouns (pronominal possession is expressed by *bilong* + personal pronoun: *bilong mi*, *bilong yu*, and so forth). English has relative pronouns, but Tok Pisin forms relative clauses with nonpronominal relativizers, with the only (and fairly rare) exception of the pronominal relativizer *husat*. Both English and Tok Pisin have demonstrative, interrogative, and indefinite pronouns. For Tok Pisin, then, the subclasses are: personal, demonstrative, interrogative, relative, and indefinite. But for each of these subclasses the difference between English and Tok Pisin is considerable.

Personal, demonstrative, interrogative, relative, and indefinite pronouns are treated in 1 through 5, respectively.

### 1. Personal Pronouns

For the *-pela* form of personal pronouns, see Ch. 3, 2.3. Table 10 gives the entire paradigm of personal pronouns in Tok Pisin. For the use of the predicate marker *i*, see Ch. 7, 1. Below, the following topics are selected for discussion:

- [a] first person inclusive and exclusive;
- [b] singular, plural, dual, and trial;
- [c] personal pronouns in syntax;
- [d] personal pronouns as heads of phrases;
- [e] the functions of *em* and *ol*;

[f] *em* and *ol* as objects: when they are needed;

[g] *em* and *en*.

These are treated in 1.1 through 1.7, respectively.

### 1.1 First Person Inclusive and Exclusive

The first person plural pronouns *yumi* and *mipela* differ in that *yumi* ‘we’ includes the addressee and *mipela* ‘we’ excludes the addressee. While many languages have this difference in their pronoun system, English does not. Consider:

- (1) *Pasin bilong yumi em nau i laik senis.*  
 ‘Our [incl.] way of life is now going to change.’

TABLE 10. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

	INCLUSIVE	NEUTRAL	EXCLUSIVE
1 SG		<i>mi</i> ‘I’	
2 SG		<i>yu</i> ‘you’	
3 SG		<i>em</i> ‘he, she, it’	
1 PL	<i>yumi</i> ‘we’		<i>mipela</i> ‘we’
DU	<i>yumitupela</i> ‘the two of us’ ‘we two’		<i>mitupela</i> ‘the two of us’ ‘we two’
TR	<i>yumitripela</i> ‘the three of us’ ‘we three’		<i>mitripela</i> ‘the three of us’ ‘we three’
2 PL		<i>yupela</i> ‘you (people)’	
DU		<i>yutupela</i> ‘you two’ ‘the two of you’	
TR		<i>yutripela</i> ‘you three’ ‘the three of you’	
3 PL		<i>ol</i> ‘they’	
DU		<i>tupela</i> ‘the two of them’	
TR		<i>tripela</i> ‘the three of them’	

1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person, sg = singular,  
 pl = plural, du = dual, tr = trial

- (2) *Bai yumi mekim wanem samting long helpim pikinini bilong mi?*  
‘What shall we [incl.] do to help my child?’
- (3) *Yumi olgeta, yumi laik i stap gut.*  
‘All of us [incl.] want to be in good condition.’
- (4) *Yumi ol man i samting nating, long wanem, yumi bai i stap sotpela taim tasol, na bai yumi dai.*  
‘We [incl.] human beings are nothing, we [incl.] will live only a short time, and then we [incl.] will die.’
- (5) *Mipela inap lukautim mipela yet long kaikai na klos samting.*  
‘We [excl.] can provide for ourselves [excl.] as far as food, clothing, and the like are concerned.’
- (6) *Mipela sampela manmeri i traim pinis.*  
‘Some of us [excl.] men and women have tried this.’
- (7) *Mipela sampela kamda mipela i ting long kisim bikpela wok liklik na mipela i bung na mekim wok.*  
‘Some of us [excl.] carpenters consider taking on fairly big projects, and we [excl.] get together to do this.’
- (8) *Mipela i laik soim tripela rot i narakain narakain liklik.*  
‘We [excl.] want to show three ways that are rather different.’

## 1.2 Singular, Plural, Dual, and Trial

Like many other languages, but unlike English, Tok Pisin has a grammatical number system not only comprising singular and plural, but also dual (for two) and trial (for three). As it happens, these number categories obtain only for personal pronouns. Table 10 in 1.1 lists them; they are *yumitupela* ‘the two of us [incl.]’; *mitupela* ‘the two of us [excl.]’; *yumitripela* ‘the three of us [incl.]’; *mitripela* ‘the three of us [excl.]’; *yutupela* ‘the two of you’; *yutripela* ‘the three of you’; and two pronouns that occur also as numerals: *tupela* ‘the two of them’; and *tripela* ‘the three of them’. Note ‘the’ in the gloss of each: while as numerals *tupela* and *tripela* may be indefinite, as pronouns they are always definite and referential. Examples:

- (1) *Yumitupela i amamas.*  
‘We [incl.] are both happy.’
- (2) *Mitupela i wanples.*  
‘We [excl.] are both of the same village.’
- (3) *Yumitripela i bekin tok long en.*  
‘The three of us [incl.] answered him.’
- (4) *Mitripela i autim wari bilong mitripela.*  
‘We [excl.] three are expressing our worries.’
- (5) *Yutupela i go selim kopra bilong yutupela.*  
‘You two, go sell your copra.’
- (6) *Tripelela i hetman bilong ol lain famili bilong Ladan.*  
‘These three are the heads of the families of Ladan.’



- (7) *Tru tumas, ating yutripela tasol i gat olgeta gupela tingting na save.*  
‘No doubt, only you three have the right thoughts and all wisdom.’
- (8) *Tupela i kamap long dispela ples God i bin tok long en.*  
‘The two of them arrived at this place God had spoken to him about.’

Pronominal *tupela* and *tripela* may even be used as vocatives, that is, as forms of address:

- (9) *Moning, tupela.*  
‘Good morning to both of you.’
- (10) *Moning, tripela.*  
‘Good morning to the three of you.’

Duals and trials do not exhaust the pronominal paradigm; in (11), *fopela* is used pronominally.

- (11) *Dan em i baim loliwara bilong fopela olgeta.*  
‘Dan bought soft drinks for all four of them.’

Various publications have recorded fully pronominal forms with *faipela*, but these are not attested in our corpus.

Here is an example in which *tupela* is not anaphoric and thus not a pronoun but a numeral:

- (12) *Sapos i gat twenti man i stap na lida i tok “bung sikis,” orait lain i ken bung sikispela sikispela na em inap etin man tasol. Olsem na tupela i mas lus.*  
‘If there are 20 players present and the leader says “groups of six,” the group may break up into groups of six. So two will be left over.’

### 1.3 Personal Pronouns in Syntax

Personal pronouns function as subjects and objects of verbs, and as predicates of equational clauses. They may also function as dependents of the prepositions *long*, *bilong*, and *wantaim*. In all these positions a pronoun may be followed by *yet* ‘self’. *Yet* itself is indeclinable; its form does not change. Pronouns as subjects are illustrated in (1) through (7); as objects, in (8) through (14); as subjects with *yet*, in (15) through (21); as objects with *yet* (in reflexive constructions therefore) in (22) through (28). Consider:

- (1) *Mi ken givim yu sampela marasin bilong pinisim dispela sik.*  
‘I can give you some medication to cure this illness.’
- (2) *Yu ken baim taunam long stua na yu slip insait long en.*  
‘You can buy a mosquito net in the store and you sleep inside it.’
- (3) *Em i lukim ol dispela lain wokman i kam.*  
‘He saw all these workmen coming.’

- (4) *Yumi no ken les!*  
'We [incl.] must not give up!'
- (5) *Mipela i bin tromoi faiv Kina tasol.*  
'We [excl.] have spent only five Kinas.'
- (6) *Yupela i ting wanem?*  
'What do you [pl.] think?'
- (7) *Bai ol i no amamas tumas.*  
'They will not be very satisfied.'
- (8) *Blut i sutim mi.*  
'I have a throbbing pain.'
- (9) *Buk i laik helpim yu long kirapim tingting na save.*  
'The book will help you to think about things and give you more knowledge.'
- (10) *Tapiok i no save kamap gut long ples kol na ais inap kilim em.*  
'Cassava will not grow well in cold places and subzero temperatures will kill it.'
- (11) *Nogut divelopmen i kalabusim yumi.*  
'Don't let development make us [incl.] its prisoners.'
- (12) *Husat bai helpim mipela?*  
'Who will help us [excl.]?'
- (13) *Bai ol birua i kam kilim yupela i dai.*  
'Enemies will come to kill you [pl.]'
- (14) *Bai i no gat man moa bilong pretim ol.*  
'There will be no one any more to frighten them.'
- (15) *Mi yet i no traim ol dispela marasin bilong ol tumbuna.*  
'I have not tried these medicines of the ancestors.'
- (16) *Yu yet i ken skelim.*  
'You can make your own judgment.'
- (17) *Em yet tu i wok long stretim tok Pisin.*  
'He is also correcting the Tok Pisin text himself.'
- (18) *Yumi yet i mas i gat rot bilong kamapim sits bilong en long planim.*  
'We [incl.] ourselves have to have a way to produce the saplings, to plant them.'
- (19) *Mipela yet i no inap raitim dispela buk.*  
'We [excl.] ourselves are not able to write that book.'
- (20) *Bai yupela yet i lukim dispela samting i kamap.*  
'You [pl.] yourselves will see this come to pass.'
- (21) *Bai ol yet i bagarapim yupela.*  
'They themselves will destroy you [pl.]'
- (22) *Mi no bin hatwok long helpim mi yet tasol.*  
'I have not worked hard to help just myself.'
- (23) *Yu mas lukautim em olsem yu save lukautim yu yet.*  
'You must care for him as you always care for yourself.'
- (24) *Em i save daunim em yet.*  
'He always humbles himself.'

- (25) *Yumi mas laikim ol wantok olsem yumi save laikim yumi yet.*  
‘We [incl.] must love our brothers as we [incl.] love ourselves [incl.]’
- (26) *Mipela i mas helpim mipela yet long mekim kantri i go het.*  
‘We [excl.] have to help ourselves [excl.] to develop the nation.’
- (27) *Yupela i mekim gutpela wok tru long helpim yupela yet.*  
‘You [pl.] are doing a very good job helping yourselves [pl.]’
- (28) *Sampela lain wokman i bung wantaim bilong strongim ol yet.*  
‘Some workers get together to strengthen their own position.’

Personal pronouns in predicate position in equational clauses (on which see Ch. 7, 1.2) can only be first or second person, and they are typically followed by *tasol* ‘only, ‘no one other than’. Examples:

- (29) *Yes, em mi tasol.*  
‘Yes, that’s me.’
- (30) *Dispela maniman em yu tasol.*  
‘This wealthy man is no one but yourself.’
- (31) *I no yutupela tasol.*  
‘It’s not just the two of you.’
- (32) *Na i no mipela tasol.*  
‘It’s not just us [excl.]’

Personal pronouns are also found after prepositions:

- (33) *Mi harim dispela blut i krai long mi long bekim dispela rong.*  
‘I hear this blood cry out to me for vengeance.’
- (34) *Bai mi givim olgeta long yu.*  
‘I will give all of it to you.’
- (35) *Em i salim ol presen i go paslain long em.*  
‘He sent presents in advance.’
- (36) *Goan, yumi salim sampela man i go pas long yumi na luk stil long dispela hap graun.*  
‘Let us [incl.] send a few men ahead of us [incl.] to spy in that area.’
- (37) *Yupela i mas givim nating dispela taun long mipela.*  
‘You [pl.] must surrender this town to us [excl.] unconditionally.’
- (38) *Em yet i bin promis long yupela.*  
‘He has promised you [pl.] this himself.’
- (39) *Yupela bai i stap aninit long ol.*  
‘You [pl.] will be under their authority.’
- (40) *Yupela i no ken i go insait long haus sel bilong mi.*  
‘You [pl.] must not enter my tent.’
- (41) *Orait nau mi laik kaunim ol pasindia bilong yu.*  
‘And now I want to count your passengers.’
- (42) *Mi ting mobeta yumi go bek long ples bilong yumi.*  
‘I think we [incl.] had better go back to our [incl.] village.’

- (43) *Ol komunis i no save larim wanpela man i bosim kantri bilong em yet.*  
'The communists will not let anyone rule their own country.'
- (44) *Ating bai ol narapela yutgrup i amamas long i kam long ples bilong mipela.*  
'Perhaps other youth groups will be happy to come to our [excl.] village.'
- (45) *Yupela i mas skelim wanem rot tru i sut long ples bilong yupela.*  
'You [pl.] have to judge which way is really the one for your [pl.] area.'
- (46) *Ol yet bai inap daunim sik long ples bilong ol yet.*  
'They themselves will be able to combat disease in their own village.'
- (47) *Na olgeta man i harim dispela bai ol i amamas wantaim mi.*  
'And everyone will rejoice with me.'
- (48) *God i save stap wantaim yu long olgeta samting yu mekim.*  
'God is always with you in everything you do.'
- (49) *Ol man i bin tok pait wantaim em.*  
'People have been arguing with him.'
- (50) *Tasol Moses i no i go wantaim ol.*  
'But Moses did not go with them.'
- (51) *Plis, yupela mekim kontrak wantaim mipela bilong yumi sindaun gut wantaim.*  
'Come, let us make an agreement with us [excl.] that we [incl.] will live in peace together.'

As (43) and (46) show, *yet* may follow pronouns also in prepositional phrases.

#### 1.4 Personal Pronouns as Heads of Phrases

As explained in Ch. 12, 4, only *mipela*, *yumi* and *yupela* may have appositions. A few of the examples given in that section are repeated here:

- (1) *mipela ol brata bilong yupela* 'we [excl.] your [pl.] brothers'; *mipela ol manmeri bilong yu* 'we [excl.], your people'; *mipela ol memba* 'we [excl.] members'
- (2) *yumi ol bikman* 'we [incl.], leaders'; *yumi ol man tasol* 'we [incl.], mere human beings'; *yumi ol manmeri bilong en* 'we [incl.], his people'; *yumi sampela* 'some of us [incl.]'
- (3) *yupela aipas* 'you [pl.] blind people'; *yupela ol arapela* 'the others among you [pl.]'; *yupela ol kain kain samting bilong solwara* 'you [pl.], things of all kinds of the sea'

As noted in Ch. 14, 2, a personal pronoun by itself cannot be the antecedent of a relative clause, but a phrase whose head is a pronoun can.

Singular personal pronouns may head a phrase whose dependent is *wanpela* 'alone', often in the form *wanpela tasol*; examples:

- (4) *Yupela i mas bihainim mi wanpela tasol.*  
'You [pl.] must follow me alone.'

- (5) *Yu wanpela tasol i no inap kirapim woksop long ples*  
 ‘You cannot start a workshop in the village on your own.’
- (6) *Sikman i gat kus em wanpela i mas slip long wanpela rum.*  
 ‘A patient who coughs must sleep in one room alone.’

### 1.5 The Functions of Pronominal *ol* and *em*

The pronoun *ol* fulfills a variety of functions, which may be distinguished as impersonal and anaphoric.

Impersonal *ol* does not refer to anyone in particular:

- (1) *Ol i kolim fangisait o tomato das.*  
 ‘People call it fungicide or tomato dust.’ or: ‘It is called fungicide or tomato dust.’
- (2) *Ating yu lukim: ol i save bilasim haus lotu wantaim plaua.*  
 ‘Perhaps you understand: people will make a church beautiful with flowers.’
- (3) *Ol i save kisim graun long gaden. Ol i rausim pipia, rop kunai, na lip samting.*  
 ‘Clay is taken from the field. Rubbish, grass roots, leaves, etc. are removed.’

In fact, this is the construction treated in Ch. 19, 10.2, that of object focus through a construction with a nonreferential subject. The construction is close to what would be a passive in English.

Anaphoric *ol* is quite different: it (in bold below) refers to a noun or noun phrase (in small caps) mentioned and identified in a preceding clause:

- (4) *Sapos yu wokim bisnis KAKARUK, tingim gut: Yu no ken lusim **ol** i stap nating wanpela o tupela de. **Olgeta de** yu mas wok long givim kaikai.*  
 ‘If you run a chicken farm, note carefully: you must not abandon them even one or two days. Every day you must feed them.’
- (5) *I gat kain kain arapela PATO tu i stap. Kala bilong **ol** i naispela.*  
 ‘There are various other kinds of ducks, too. Their color is beautiful.’
- (6) *Taim **ol** waitman i kam na toktok long baim graun, **ol** TUMBUNA i no ting, bai **ol** i lusim graun i go long narapela man olgeta. Nogat. **Ol** i ting long waitman bai i mekim wok na helpim **ol**, em tasol.*  
 ‘When white people came and talked about buying land, the ancestors did not think they would cede the land to others. On the contrary. They thought the whites would work and help them, no more.’
- (7) *Soim long **ol** MANMERI na **ol** i ken luk save.*  
 ‘Show it to people so they may recognize it.’

In the following, *ol* picks up a prior subject in the same clause:

- (8) *Na olgeta PASINDIA **ol** i lukim pes bilong Leke em i kros tumas, na **ol** tu **ol** i lap moa yet.*

‘And all the passengers saw Leke’s angry face, and they, too, burst out laughing.’

- (9) *Na planti MANMERI ol i save pinis long dispela pasin.*  
‘And many people already know about that custom.’

For this resumptive *ol* (as also resumptive *em*), see Ch. 4, 2.1.

While impersonal *ol* has no parallel singular nonreferential *em*, anaphoric *em* is quite common:

- (10) *Sapos MAN i laik wokim haus na em i gat morota tasol bilong wokim rup, ating em inap?*  
‘If a man wants to build a house and he only has palm leaf shingles to make the roof, would that do?’
- (11) *SPAKMAN yet i pilim bikpela strong, arapela man i lukim em i longlong tasol.*  
‘A drunkard himself will feel he can manage anything; others only see that he is out of his mind.’
- (12) *Sapos SIKMAN i gat kus longpela taim pinis, na yu no inap salim em i go long haus sik hariap, bai em i no ken slip long wanpela rum wantaim ol arapela manmeri.*  
‘If the patient has had a cough for a long time, and you cannot send him to the hospital soon, then he must not sleep in the same room with other people.’

and so is resumptive *em*:

- (13) *Yumi harim pinis, SKINHAT em i mak tasol.*  
‘As we [incl.] have already heard, fever is only a symptom.’
- (14) *STRONG bilong daunim sik natnat em i save lusim bodi bilong meri, taim em i gat bel.*  
‘The body’s defenses against malaria in a woman’s body diminishes when she is pregnant.’
- (15) *DISPELA em i gutpela kaikai bilong pik na kakaruk.*  
‘This is good feed for pigs and chickens.’

While anaphoric *ol* is anaphoric to a plural, that plural may be semantic rather than according to form:

- (16) *Olsem tasol, sapos yu slip wantaim meri bilong NARAPELA MAN, ol bai i mekim save long yu.*  
‘Likewise, if you sleep with another man’s wife, he will have his revenge.’
- (17) *Sapos yu autim tok bilong mi long DISPELA TAUN, ol bai i no inap harim.*  
‘If you give testimony about me in this town, its people will not be willing to listen to you.’

While such constructions are rather rare, it is much more common for anaphoric *em* to refer to a noun or noun phrase that is formally plural:

- (18) *OLGETA HAP GRAUN yupela bai i wokabaut long en, em bai mi givim yupela.*  
‘All the places you [pl.] will set foot on, those I will give to you [pl.]’
- (19) *Olsem na OL SAMTING em i bin ting long mekim long mi, em bai i mekim.*  
‘So all the things he has decided to do to me, those he will do.’
- (20) *OL SAMTING mi makim pinis bilong mekim, em bai mi mekim.*  
‘The things I have decided to do, those I will do.’
- (21) *Na yu kisim DISPELA WEL BILONG OLIV NA PAURA BILONG KAMAPIM SMOK I GAT GUTPELA SMEL, em mi bin givim yu.*  
‘And you have taken [for idol worship] the olive oil and incense, those I have given to you.’
- (22) *Na OLGETA MANMERI BELING MI, em mi bin salim ol i go i stap nabaut long Sudan na long ol arapela kantri, ol bai i bringim ol ofa i kam long mi.*  
‘And all my people, those I have sent to wander in Sudan and in other countries, they will come and make sacrifices to me.’
- (23) *OL PASIN MI LAIKIM TUMAS LONG MEKIM, em mi no save mekim. Tasol OL PASIN MI NO LAIKIM TRU, em oltaim mi save mekim.*  
‘The things I would so much like to do, those I do not always do. But the things I detest, those I regularly do.’
- (24) *Mi bin wokim GRAUN NA SKAI NA SOLWARA na olgeta samting i stap long en.*  
‘I have created the earth and the sky and the sea and everything that is in them.’

Note the anaphoric referent *en* in relative clauses in (18) and (24).

*Em* may also refer to a whole clause in the preceding context:

- (25) *Sapos yumi go bek long Isip, em bai i gutpela.*  
‘If we [incl.] go back to Egypt, that will be good.’
- (26) *Sapos wanpela taun tasol i stap, em bai i no gutpela tumas.*  
‘If there is only one town [as a safe haven], this will not be good enough.’
- (27) *Tomas i tokim em, “Bikpela, yu go we, em mipela i no save.”*  
‘Thomas said to him, “Lord, where you are going, that we [excl.] do not know.”’

*Em* may also be copular; see Ch. 7, 2.2. Also, there is the kind of *em* that is not anaphorically pronominal and that functions as the marker of a main clause, after a prior subclause; see Ch. 24, 2.1.3.

### 1.6 *Em* and *ol* as Objects: When Are They Needed?

*Em* and *ol* may be used in object position (and are then anaphoric rather than impersonal); see 1.3. But they are often not needed; consider (the verb dispensing with the object is in bold; prior mention of it, in small caps):

- (1) *Sapos i gat wanpela man hia i gat laisens inap long draivim DISPELA TRAK, orait em i ken draivim.*

- 'If there's someone here with a license to drive this truck, then he may drive it.'
- (2) *Sapos yumi laik kisim NUPELA SAMTING, orait yumi mas baim.*  
'If we [incl.] want to get something new, then we [incl.] have to buy it.'
- (3) *Taim PIKININI BILONG LETES i kamap olsem foa ins samting, orait, kamautim na planim long gaden.*  
'When the lettuce saplings are about four inches tall, take them out [of the nursery] and plant them in the field.'
- (4) *Namba wan wok bilong bosim SUA, em i olsem: Wasim na klinim. Wasim na klinim pinis, orait, no ken larim i stap nating.*  
'The first thing to do when doing something about a sore is this: wash it and clean it. That done, do not leave it at that.'
- (5) *Putim wanpela hap LAPLAP HATWARA, rausim na wet inap em i kol liklik tasol. Orait, rausim hap wara, brukim LAPLAP na slipim antap long sua. Karamapim long plastik o lip.*  
'Make a hot compress, take it out [of the hot water], and wait until it cools off a bit. Then fold the compress and put it on the sore. Cover it with a piece of plastic or a leaf.'
- (6) *Tokim sikman em i mas muvim WAN WAN PINGA, brukim na stretim.*  
'Tell the patient to move each finger in turn, to bend it and straighten it.'

Note that the first mention (*dispela trak; nupela samting; etc.*) is itself in object position in regard to its own verb.

Especially in relative clauses, where the antecedent takes object position, *em* or *ol* is not needed as a resumptive device; note that the antecedent itself, in its own clause, is the object in the following examples

- (7) *Sapos yu hipim olgeta poteto long wanpela hap tasol, em bai yu gat hatwok long kisim wanem KAIN POTETO yu laik kisim.*  
'If you throw all the potatoes in one pile, then later you will have to do a lot of work to get those you want to get.'
- (8) *Dispela rot i helpim tru bilong tingim olgeta ODA woksop i kisim.*  
'The approach is very useful to consider all the orders the workshop will get.'

and others are found in Ch. 14, 1.5. In those, too, the antecedent is most often in object position in the main clause.

The object place of the antecedent (in its own clause) is important, since objects are often new topics, and new topics are most prominent. It is the prominence of the topic that is the antecedent that appears to motivate dropping an object pronoun (*em* or *ol*) in the relative clause itself.

Note that, in many of the following examples, the antecedent does not have such high topic prominence. That lower prominence appears to motivate the presence of *em* or *ol* that is coreferential with the antecedent. That is to say, in (9), the antecedent (*ol*) is the subject of its own clause; so is *wanpela man* in (11),



*Piring* in (12), *wanpela boi* in (13), *ol Viles Et* in (14), *man* in (15), *ol pipel* in (17), *ol* in (18), and *pikinini* in (20). That leaves (10), (16) and (19) with the antecedent in object position (within its own clause), but note that *bisnisman* in (10) is indefinite.

- (9) *OL i save pinis, sapos OL i laik wokim gaden, na OL i no singautim mi, maski bai mi yet mi go **helpim ol**.*  
 ‘They already know that if they want to work on the field and they do not call me, I will go of my own accord to help them anyway.’
- (10) *Gavman bilong yumi em i save mekim hatwok bilong strongim ol BISNISMAN na **helpim ol**.*  
 ‘Our [incl.] government will go to great lengths to support businessmen and help them.’
- (11) *Bai WANPELA MAN bilong tim i ken brukim wara tasol na wara i no ken **wasim em**.*  
 ‘One man of the team can just cross the stream without getting wet.’
- (12) *Bihain PIRING em i stap isi na doktaboi em i kisim blanket na **karamapim em**.*  
 ‘After that Piring was comfortable and the medical assistant got a blanket and covered him.’
- (13) *WANPELA BOI i stap namel na olgeta boi i **raunim em**.*  
 ‘One boy is in the center and all the boys circle him.’
- (14) *Taim kos i pinis OL VILIS ET i bin go bek long ples na mekim wok. Ol wanples i **lukautim ol**.*  
 ‘When the course was finished, the Village Aid people had already gone back to their village and done their work. The village people took care of them.’
- (15) *Na i no longtaim na nupela sik i painim OL, na yu **helpim ol** gen na ol i orait.*  
 ‘And after a short time they fell ill again, and you nursed them again, and then they got better.’
- (16) *Long sampela hap ol i tok, sapos MAN i kaikai planti kru sako o kru pamken, sik tibi bai i **painim em**.*  
 ‘In some areas people say that if a man eats a lot of sago shoots or shoots of pumpkin, he will get tuberculosis.’
- (17) *Haisin i kamap, sapos OL PIPEL yet i klia long wanem as na sik i **painim ol** klostu klostu.*  
 ‘Hygiene will become an issue if people themselves understand why they get ill ever so often.’
- (18) *Marasin OL i bin daunim bipo, em i no **helpim ol** moa.*  
 ‘The medication they have taken before will be of no use to them any more.’
- (19) *Salim SIKMAN i go long dokta, na em i **skelim em**.*  
 ‘Send the patient to a doctor, and he can examine him.’
- (20) *PIKININI i sik planti taim liklik, na em i no kaikai gut? **Skelim em** gut.*  
 ‘Is the child rather often ill, and does he not eat well? Examine him well.’

*Ol* and *em*, then, when appearing as objects, are anaphoric to a previous topic of fairly low topicality.

### 1.7 *Em* and *en*

As noted in Ch. 15, 1.7, *em* varies with *en* only after *long* and *bilong*. In all other positions, *em* is the only correct form to use. Notably, even after *long* or *bilong* the only form to use is *em* in case that pronoun is the subject of the following verb, and in case the pronoun is followed by *wanpela* and *yet* ('self'), and by *tasol* if *tasol* is an attribute to *em*. After *bilong*, *em* is the form to use in case *bilong* is in predicate position. In sum, it seems that *en* shows a lower informational relevance than if *em* were used after *long* or *bilong* in constructions where both pronoun forms are possible. This rule seems to be more specific for biblical Tok Pisin than for nonbiblical Tok Pisin.

## 2. Demonstrative Pronouns

There is one demonstrative pronoun ending in *-pela*, namely *dispela* (see Ch. 3, 2.3 and Ch. 11, 2.1.2). Also, *em*, whenever deictic, is demonstrative (Ch. 7, 1.2.1). Finally, *hia* is demonstrative, but it seems strained to call it a pronoun. Rather, it is a modifier like others, postposed (and it may even modify *dispela*); see Ch. 12, 1.3. Thus, we need to deal here with only *dispela* and *em*.

*Dispela* is used attributively, or as a stand-alone constituent (substantively). Examples of attributive use:

- (1) *Takis bilong yumi em i no inap long baim dispela olgeta samting gavman i givim long yumi.*  
'Our [incl.] taxes are not enough to pay for all these things the government gives us [incl.]'
- (2) *Wanpela vairas i kamapim dispela sik.*  
'One particular virus causes this illness.'
- (3) *Didiman bilong dispela hap i salim ripot wantaim poto i kam.*  
'The agricultural officer in that area sent us a report with a picture.'
- (4) *Dispela man em i bilong Jemani.*  
'This man lives in Germany.'
- (5) *Kain kain rot i stap bilong mekim dispela wok.*  
'There are various ways to do this job.'

The following shows substantival use of *dispela*:

- (6) *Em i no ken wari long dispela.*  
'He need not worry about that.'
- (7) *Dispela em i hatwok long painimaut.*  
'This is very hard to find out.'
- (8) *Dabi i bin kliaim tingting bilong ol tu long as bilong dispela.*  
'Dabi had explained to them, too, the cause of this.'

- (9) *Mi no save long dispela.*  
‘I did not know that.’

*Dispela*, whether used attributively or substantively, is neutral in regard to person; that is to say, it does not distinguish between what is near to the speaker (as in English *this*) or remote from the speaker (as in English *that*). However, first person status accrues to *dispela* if followed by *hia* (also spelled *ya*), as in:

- (10) *Dispela hia em i isi.*  
‘This one is easy.’
- (11) *Ol Yunitek i wokim dispela hia wantaim ol Baindoang, Morobe Provins.*  
‘The people of the University of Technology make this [i.e. a generator] together with the people of Baindoang, Morobe Province.’

The two number categories of *dispela* are singular and plural. The plural is marked by *ol* and/or a quantifier):

- (12) *Long ol dispela, sapos man i brukim wanpela lo, orait, referi bai givim bal i go long arapela tim.*  
‘Concerning these [rules of a game], if someone violates a rule, the referee will give the ball to the other team.’
- (13) *Olsem na sapos yu kapsaitim wara, bai dispela ol liklik natnat i dai.*  
‘And so, if you throw away the water, these small mosquitoes will die.’
- (14) *Orait, sapos yumi tingim dispela olgeta, i luk olsem i gat planti as bilong kirapim woksop long ples.*  
‘Now, if we [incl.] consider all this, it looks as if there are many reasons to start a workshop in the village.’
- (15) *Mi kaunim gut ol wan wan de bilong dispela tripela yia.*  
‘I counted carefully every single day of those three years.’
- (16) *Na ol dispela planti samting yupela i bin kisim, bai yupela i putim i stap long wanem hap?*  
‘And all those many things you [pl.] have acquired, where will you store them?’

In equational clauses, the difference between the nondeictic personal pronoun *em* and the deictic demonstrative *em* correlates with the difference between characterizing and identifying clauses, respectively (see Ch. 7, 1.2).

Demonstrative *em* may also introduce an apposition, and is then close to ‘namely’ (see Ch. 12, 4). The *em* combining with *ol* as a relativizer may also seen as demonstrative—see Ch. 14, 1.4, Table 8, and Ch. 14, 1.4.2.

In addition, demonstrative *em* may precede a numeral pronoun to introduce it as new informatio. See Ch. 3, 2.3; examples (6) and (7) given in that section are repeated here:

- (17) *Em tripela i kros.*  
‘Those three [whom you may not know yet] are angry’

(18) *Tripela i kros.*

‘Those three [whom you already know] are angry’

*Tripela* in (18) is anaphoric, and is a regular third person pronoun. In (17), *tripela* is a numeral and is appositional to demonstrative *em*. For that reason the one-word spelling *emtripela* found in some books (along with *emtupela*, etc.) does not seem well-founded grammatically.

### 3. Interrogative Pronouns

As the introduction to Ch. 6 explains, questions are either Y/N questions or WH-questions; interrogative pronouns are found in WH-questions (and there are also other interrogative words that are not pronouns). Those pronouns are *husat?* ‘who?’ and *wanem?* ‘what?, which?’. Each may be used substantively or attributively. *Husat?* is treated in Ch. 6, 2.1.1; *wanem?*, in Ch. 6, 2.1.2. For each of these pronouns, it is syntactically important whether they are used as subjects or as predicates.

### 4. Relative *husat*

As set out in Ch. 14, relativizers in Tok Pisin are not pronominal, with the exception of *husat* (Ch. 14, 1.7), which is thus a genuine relative pronoun. However, it is extremely rare.

### 5. Indefinite Pronouns

As explained in Ch. 3, 2.3, there are three indefinite pronouns ending in *-pela*: *arapela* (or *narapela*) ‘other [sg. or pl.]’; *sampela* ‘some [sg. or pl.]’; and *wanpela* ‘a (certain)’. To these must be added: *samting* ‘something’; and *olkain* ‘all kinds of’. As for *samting*, Tok Pisin differs from English in that it has no negative indefinites (such as *nothing*, *none*, *no one*, *nobody*), and in that it does not have negation-sharing indefinites (such as *anything*, *anyone*, *anybody*). The question then arises how Tok Pisin expresses negation and negation-sharing in clauses with indefinite pronouns.

The five indefinite pronouns mentioned are discussed in 5.1 through 5.5.

#### 5.1 *Arapela/narapela*

Considered semantically, *arapela* and *narapela* may be rather generally glossed as ‘other’, but the semantic differences between them are subtle. The meaning of ‘other’ may be distinguished as ‘additional’, or ‘more’ (more characteristic of *arapela*), and as ‘different’ (*narapela*). While these shades of meaning overlap to a certain extent, their differences are more important.

Grammatically, there are several properties of *arapela* and *narapela* that are rather different as between the two. We may distinguish their use predicatively

and nonpredicatively; the latter may be further distinguished as attributive and substantival. Also, each of these two pronouns may be reduplicated.

These (and other) semantic and grammatical properties are captured in Table 11. Boxes are identified by underscored characters *a* through *p*. Parentheses around an item symbolize that the item is rare.

### 5.1.1 The Individual Functions

Box *a*: *Arapela* used substantivally is not found in predicate position.

Box *e*: *Narapela* used substantivally is rare in predicate position; the entire corpus has only about a dozen instances (none of them in biblical Tok Pisin). Here are some instances:

- (1) *Ol liklik raunpela buk long sangana ol i narapela.*  
'The little round sores in the crotch are different.'
- (2) *Ol i wokim dispela buk long Saut Amerika, osem na yu lukim pes bilong ol manmeri i narapela.*  
'This book was produced in South America, so you see that the faces of the people are different.'
- (3) *Mi no tok long kopra. Em i narapela na i gat strongpela smel.*  
'I do not mean copra. That is different and has a distinct odor.'
- (4) *Sindaun long ples i narapela liklik.*  
'Village life is a bit different.'

The common form of expressing 'different' predicatively is *narakain*—see Ch. 22, 1.2.

TABLE 11. ARAPELA AND NARAPELA,  
SEMANTICALLY AND GRAMMATICALLY

	PREDICATIVE	NONPREDICATIVE		REDUPLICATED
		ATTRIBUTIVE	SUBSTANTIVAL	
'ADDITIONAL'	<u>a</u>	<u>b</u> <i>arapela</i> <i>narapela</i>	<u>c</u> <i>arapela</i>	<u>d</u> <i>(arapela)</i>
'DIFFERENT'	<u>e</u> <i>(narapela)</i>	<u>f</u> <i>(narapela)</i>	<u>g</u> <i>narapela</i>	<u>h</u> <i>narapela</i> <i>(arapela)</i>
'THE ONE . . . THE OTHER'	<u>i</u>	<u>j</u>	<u>k</u> <i>narapela</i>	<u>l</u>
'EACH OTHER'	<u>m</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>o</u> <i>arapela</i> <i>(narapela)</i>	<u>p</u>

Nonpredicatively, both attributive and substantival use of *arapela* is common in the sense of ‘additional, more’ and never in the sense of ‘different’.

Box b: Here follow examples of attributive use:

- (5) *Mi askim yu long tingim tu dispela arapela promis yu bin mekim long papa bilong mi.*  
‘I ask you to remember also that other promise you made to my father.’
- (6) *Olsem na em i laik save pastaim, bai em inap pait long dispela arapela king na rausim em, o nogat?*  
‘So he wants to know first whether or not he will be able to fight that other king and remove him.’
- (7) *Na ol sipsip na ol bulmakau na ol arapela samting bilong ol, bai ol i bilong yumi tu.*  
‘And the sheep and cattle and all their other possessions will be ours [incl.]’
- (8) *Ol i save raun nabaut long graun bilong ol arapela lain pipel.*  
‘They often wandered around on the land of other tribes.’
- (9) *Ol arapela pasindia ol i bihainim em.*  
‘The other passengers followed him.’
- (10) *Planti arapela samting tu olsem tasol.*  
‘Many other things are exactly the same.’
- (11) *Lukaut! Dispela sik i bagarapim ol pikinini nogut tru na em i redim rot bilong tripela arapela bikpela sik.*  
‘Be careful! This disease affects children very seriously, and prepare the way for three other serious diseases.’
- (12) *I gat tupela arapela marasin bilong dring, tasol em i gat bikpela pe tru.*  
‘There are two other oral medicines, but they are very expensive indeed.’

Note that *arapela* in (5) and (6) is singular, while in (7) through (12) it is plural. Plurality may be marked by *ol*, or there may be a quantifier. While such marking is not surprising, it is worth noting that *narapela* has *ol* fairly rarely, while *narapela* with quantifiers is very rare indeed—we return to this below, Box f.

Box c: Substantival use of *arapela* is found in these examples:

- (13) *Na sampela arapela ol i save mekim kain kain wok bilong kisim mani.*  
‘And some others do various kinds of jobs to make money.’
- (14) *Givim gutpela tingting long ol man i save daunim ol arapela.*  
‘Give wisdom to people who will humiliate others.’
- (15) *Ol arapela ol i sindaun long graun tasol.*  
‘The others just sat down on the ground.’
- (16) *Sampela pilai i no gat planti man i pilai (o arapela i lukluk tasol).*  
‘Some games do not have many players (or the others just watch the game).’
- (17) *Pasin bilong laikim ol arapela em i pasin bilong God.*  
‘Loving one’s neighbor is the due to God.’

Though *ol arapela* is used for ‘fellow human’ (always plural, it seems) in a negative and in a positive sense (as in (13) and (17) respectively), (*ol*) *narapela* is apparently not used in this positive sense.

Box d: Reduplicated *arapela* is not found in biblical Tok Pisin. In nonbiblical Tok Pisin, it occurs only a few times, but in a reciprocal sense and is thus better treated in Box o.

Box f: Attributively, *narapela* pretty much obeys the following rules: [a] in the singular it is very common, and it is this use where we find considerable overlap of the meanings of ‘additional’ and ‘different’; [b] in the plural it is extremely rare with a quantifier preceding it (in some instances, following it). Here follow examples illustrating rule [a]:

- (18) *Na i gat narapela diwai tu i stap, em diwai bilong givim gutpela save long wanem samting i gutpela na wanem samting i nogut.*  
‘There was also another tree, the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.’
- (19) *God i givim narapela pikinini long mi bilong kisim ples bilong Abel.*  
‘God has given me another son to replace Abel.’
- (20) *Sik i pinis, maski long narapela sut.*  
‘The illness is over; don’t even think of another injection.’
- (21) *Man i kilim i dai narapela man, em yet i mas dai long han bilong ol man.*  
‘A man who kills another man, he himself must die at the hands of men.’
- (22) *Na Kus i gat narapela pikinini man, nem bilong en Nimrot.*  
‘Cush got another son, named Nimrod.’
- (23) *Mi mas bihainim narapela rot.*  
‘I must follow a different road.’
- (24) *Mi inap givim em narapela gaden wain.*  
‘I am willing to give him another vineyard.’
- (25) *Em i tok olsem, na nau tasol ol i harim krai bilong narapela trak i kam long rot.*  
‘He had said this, and at the same moment they heard the roar of another truck approaching along the road.’
- (26) *Na bihain pilai gen inap long narapela 45 minit.*  
‘And after that, play again for another 45 minutes.’
- (27) *Tambu long narapela man i stilim tok na kamapim long wanpela buk o pepa bilong em yet.*  
‘It is forbidden for someone else to steal text and get it into a book or article of his own.’

Note the overlap of ‘additional’ and ‘different’.

As for rule [b], we may distinguish the plural marker *ol*, and quantifiers such as *olgeta* ‘all’, *planti* ‘many’, and cardinal numerals such as *tupela* ‘two’ and *tripela* ‘three’. While such plurals are extremely common with *arapela*, with *narapela* some quantifiers never occur, while others are extremely rare.

*Ol narapela* (also in reduplicated form) occurs only about two dozen times in the corpus (compared with thousands of times for *ol arapela*). Some examples:

- (28) *Yupela i mas larim dispela kaikai i stap bilong ol rabisman na ol narapela lain i stap wantaim yupela, bai ol i kisim.*  
 ‘You [pl.] must leave these fruits for the poor and for the strangers who live in your [pl.] area, so they may collect them.’
- (29) *Bikpela lain manmeri i stap, na ol i singaut nabaut na i mekim ol narapela narapela tok.*  
 ‘There was a large crowd, and people were shouting all over the place, and shouted all kinds of things.’
- (30) *As tul bilong ples i stap pinis na i gat wok long wanem ol narapela tul moa?*  
 ‘The basic tools are already there in the village, and what other tools do we need?’

There is no instance of *\*planti narapela*. While *dispela narapela* is often found (fitting the type illustrated in (18) through (26), above), there is no instance of *\*ol dispela narapela*. Whenever *sampela* precedes *narapela* it is ‘some [sg.]’, never ‘some [pl.]’, and thus *sampela* in this position is never a quantifier. The same holds for *wanpela narapela*, where *wanpela* is an indefinite pronoun, not the numeral ‘one’. However, there are (very rare) instances where *narapela* is followed, not preceded, by a numeral:

- (31) *Bihain narapela sevenpela bulmakau i kam antap.*  
 ‘Then seven other cows came up [out of the river]’
- (32) *Ol i samapim faipela wantaim na i kamap wanpela longpela laplap. Na ol i mekim olsem tasol long narapela sikispela laplap.*  
 ‘They joined five [of these sheets]. And they did the same with the remaining six.’
- (33) *Na ol i mas putim narapela tripela lain ston na wanpela lain plang.*  
 ‘And they have to add another three lines of stone blocks and one line of wooden blocks.’

In (35), the reading ‘different’ is obvious (in context, these are the ugly and lean cows, emerging from the river after the seven fat and sleek cows), but the reading ‘additional’ is more obvious for (36) and (37). Perhaps these constructions should be seen as singulars, and would thus fit the type illustrated in (22) through (31), above.

Note that, in sum, there are two reasons for having parentheses around *narapela* in Box f: first, plural *narapela* is rare on the reading ‘different’; second, while singular *narapela* used attributively is very common, it is fairly neutral in regard to the readings ‘additional’ and ‘different’.

Box g: Substantival *narapela* is usually correlative with *narapela* or *wanpela*, expressing what in English is ‘the one [ . . . ] the other’ or ‘each other’. Thus it also belongs to Box k and Box o.



Box h: Reduplications of *narapela* are rather common in the distributive and reciprocal senses discussed for Box *k* and Box *o* below, respectively. But others are found as well:

- (34) *Em i tok, na ol klaut i pairap strong na planti klaut moa i kirap long narapela narapela hap na i kam bung.*  
‘He speaks, and the clouds thunder and many more clouds build up in different parts of the sky and they come together.’
- (35) *Ol narapela narapela lain bai i kam i stap long taun.*  
‘Many different tribes will come to stay in town.’
- (36) *Planti man bilong ol narapela narapela ples nau ol i stap long Jerusalem.*  
‘Many people from all kinds of places are now in Jerusalem.’
- (37) *I gat narapela narapela rot bilong mekim dispela wanpela wok tasol.*  
‘There are many different ways to do just this one job.’

Box k: What this box symbolizes is the distributive sense expressed in English by ‘the one [ . . . ] the other’, or also ‘one [for] each’. This sense is expressed by *narapela*, either simple or reduplicated. When simple, it correlates with *wanpela* in the same construction, or also with another instance of *narapela*. Such a correlation is not found with reduplicated *narapela*. Examples:

- (38) *Bikpela i givim narapela narapela wok long mitupela.*  
‘The Lord has given to each of the two of us [excl.] a different task.’
- (39) *Wanpela i lus pinis, na mi no lukim em moa. [ . . . ] Nau yupela i laik kisim narapela tu i go longwe long mi.*  
‘One [of my sons] perished, and I never saw him again. Now you [pl.] are going to take the other one away from me.’
- (40) *Wanpela ol i kukim wantaim wel bilong oliv na narapela ol i no bin kukim wantaim wel.*  
‘One [cake of bread] they baked with oil and the other they baked without oil.’
- (41) *Na wanpela man i mas sanap i stap na was long fes bes, narapela long seken bes, na narapela tet bes.*  
‘And one man must stand ready at first base, another at second base, and a third one at third base.’
- (42) *Em pasin bilong pes bilong ol. Olgeta i opim tupela wing, na arere bilong wing bilong wanpela wanpela i pas long arere bilong wing bilong narapela narapela.*  
‘This is how they looked. They all had their wings spread, and the sides of the wings of each of them touched the side of the wings of the others.’
- (43) *Na ol i save kaikai wantaim long narapela narapela haus bilong ol.*  
‘And they regularly had a meal together in the house of each of them.’
- (44) *Ol i putim kaikai bilong Josep long narapela tebol na bilong ol brata long narapela tebol. Na ol Isip i stap wantaim Josep ol i kaikai long narapela tebol gen.*

‘They put the food for Joseph on one table, and for his brothers on another table. And the Egyptians who were with Joseph took their meal at another table again.’

- (45) *Em i haitim fifti long narapela hul na fifti long narapela hul.*  
 ‘They concealed fifty in one cave and fifty in another.’
- (46) *Narapela em i rot bilong laip na narapela em i rot bilong i dai.*  
 ‘One way is the way of life, and the other way is that of death.’

Box o: This symbolizes the reciprocal sense of *narapela*, and also of *arapela*, though in different ways. Reciprocal *narapela* seems to be limited to constructions where distributive sense and reciprocal sense overlap. For example, (41) may be read as ‘[ . . . ] touched one another’s wings’; and (42) as ‘[ . . . ] in one another’s houses’. In contrast, *arapela* may be reciprocally correlative with *wan wan* ‘each’, as in:

- (47) *Olsem na yumi go daun na paulim tok ples bilong ol bai wan wan bilong ol i no ken save moa long toktok bilong ol arapela.*  
 ‘So let us [incl.] go down and confuse their language, so they cannot understand one another any more.’
- (48) *Ol wan wan lain bilong yupela i save stap longwe longwe long ol arapela lain wanwok.*  
 ‘Your [pl.] working teams are always far away from one another.’
- (49) *Tingting bilong olgeta wan wan man na meri i bilong daunim ol arapela na pulim ol samting bilong ol.*  
 ‘The only thing all people think of is how they can get the better of one another and acquire their possessions.’
- (50) *Na wan wan i askim narapela bilong wanem em i kam bek.*  
 ‘And all of them asked one another why they came back.’
- (51) *Ol disaipel wan wan ol i lukluk long ol arapela.*  
 ‘The disciples looked at one another.’
- (52) *Na nau mi givim nupela lo long yupela olsem, yupela wan wan i mas laikim tru ol arapela. Mi bin laikim yupela tru, na olsem tasol yupela wan wan i mas laikim tru ol arapela.*  
 ‘And now I give this new command to you [pl.]: you [pl.] must love one another. I have loved you [pl.], and you [pl.] must love one another.’
- (53) *Yupela wan wan i no ken giamanim ol arapela Kristen.*  
 ‘You [pl.] Christians must not deceive one another.’
- (54) *Kisim sampela tin na putim ol tin wan wan antap long arapela.*  
 ‘Get some cans and put them on top of one another.’

## 5.2 Sampela

*Sampela* ‘some, a few, a bit’ is an indefinite pronoun and also a quantifier. Since the two overlap, it seems better to treat them together. *Sampela* may be used attributively or substantively, and in either case *sampela* may be singular or

plural if count, and neither if noncount. We may begin with attributive *sampela*, with a count head noun in the plural:

- (1) *Sampela tarangau i kam na i laik kaikai ol dispela abus, tasol Abram i rausim ol.*  
‘Some birds of prey came to eat of the carcasses, but Abram drove them off.’
- (2) *Na em i tokim tu ol lain bilong em long kisim sampela ston na hipim ol gut.*  
‘And he ordered his kinsmen to collect some stones and make a pile of them.’
- (3) *Mipela sampela kamda mipela i ting long kisim bikpela wok liklik na mipela i bung na mekim wok.*  
‘Some of us [excl.] carpenters consider taking up rather big jobs and we [excl.] have got together to do this.’
- (4) *Na sampela man ol i kirapim tretstua.*  
‘And some people start a trade store.’

Note that, in (3), though *sampela* is an attribute to *kamda*, the entire phrase *sampela kamda* is an attribute (as it happens, in apposition) to *mipela*.

Examples of *sampela* plus count noun in the singular are rare:

- (5) *Na sapos sampela man i gat tok long arapela man, orait ol i ken i go long tupela na bai tupela i ken stretim.*  
‘If anyone has a difference to settle with another man, then they [i.e. the contestants] may go to them [i.e. Aaron and Hur] for the two of them to rule on a settlement.’
- (6) *Ating bai mi mekim wanpela samting olsem lepra i kamap long sampela haus bilong mekim haus i bagarap.*  
‘I may do something, such as strike a house with leprosy, to destroy that household.’
- (7) *Na long nem bilong mi yet bai profet i autim tok, na sapos sampela man i sakim tok bilong em, bai mi mekim save long em.*  
‘And in my name the prophet speaks, and if anyone disregards what he says, I will punish him.’

Note that *sampela* occurs in a conditional clause in (5) and (6)—where the number (one or more) really does not make any difference. In (6), final *em* shows that *sampela* is singular. The normal pronoun expressing singular ‘some’ is *wanpela*.

Examples of attributive *sampela* with a noncount noun:

- (8) *Bai mitupela i go long beng na kisim sampela mani.*  
‘The two of us [excl.] will go to the bank and get some money.’
- (9) *Orait wanpela de em i dring sampela wain na em i spak.*  
‘Then, one day, he drank wine and was drunk.’

- (10) *Yu mas kisim sampela wara.*  
‘You have to get some water.’
- (11) *Ol i bringim sampela wit na paura bilong kamapim smok i gat gutpela smel.*  
‘They brought some wheat and incense.’
- (12) *Sampela taim bihain, ol i kalabusim mi wantaim ol wanblut na wantok.*  
‘Some time later, they led me into exile along with my relatives and people of my tribe.’

But the difference between count and noncount is not always obvious: *sampela kaikai* may mean ‘some kinds of food, but also ‘some food’; *sampela plang* may mean ‘some pieces of timber’, but also ‘some timber’; *sampela taim* may mean ‘sometimes’ or ‘several times’. In context, however, it is normally possible to tell which is which. For example:

- (13) *Sapos em i kirap, orait yu ken givim planti wara long em, na tumora yu ken givim sampela kaikai long em.*  
‘If he wakes up, you can give him plenty of water, and tomorrow you can give him some food.’
- (14) *Na sampela kaikai i no helpim bodi bilong mama wantaim nupela pikinini: suga na loli na swit bisket.*  
‘And some kinds of food are of no use to a mother with a new-born child: sugar, candy, and sweet biscuits.’
- (15) *Sori tru, ating sampela taim i no gat rot bilong helpim o senisim dispela hevi.*  
‘Unfortunately, sometimes there is no way to relieve or to remove this problem.’
- (16) *Sapos sampela taim i pinis, na tupela marit i laik kamapim pikinini, orait, sista i mas rausim plastik gumi.*  
‘If after some time the couple wants to have children, then the nurse can remove the IUD.’

*Sampela taim* [ . . . ] *sampela taim* is found correlatively, meaning ‘at some times [ . . . ] at other times’, (or ‘sometimes [ . . . ] sometimes’):

- (17) *Sampela taim em i tok long em i pilim skin bilong en i hat, na sampela taim em i pilim skin bilong en i kol.*  
‘Sometimes he [or she; i.e. the patient] says his body feels hot, and at other times he feels cold.’

Plural may be marked by *ol* (usually preceding, sometimes following):

- (18) *Harim: ol sampela binatang i stap, na ol saveman i lukim pinis long strongpela glas.*  
‘Note carefully: there are some bacteria that experts have found under the microscope.’

- (19) *Wokim wankain skel long olgeta manmeri na i no ken lusim ol sampela i stap nating.*  
‘Devise the same criteria for all people; one must not leave out any people who do not seem to count.’
- (20) *Wan wan taim ol sampela man i save planim gaden saksak.*  
‘Once in a while some people will plant sago on their fields.’
- (21) *Mama na sampela ol susa bilong Piring ol i sindaun raunim em na ol i kra i stap.*  
‘Piring’s mother and some of his sisters were sitting around him and crying.’

See also Ch. 11, 2.8.1.

*Sampela* is always plural with a proper name for its head noun:

- (22) *Na sampela Refaim i bin i stap long kantri Moap.*  
‘And some of the tribe of Rephaim had lived in the country of Moab.’
- (23) *Olsem na sampela Israel i go hait long ol hul bilong graun.*  
‘Some Israelites went and hid in holes in the ground.’
- (24) *Ol Juda bilong Antiok wantaim sampela Grik i kros long dispela samting i bin kamap.*  
‘The Judaeans of Antioch along with some Greeks were indignant at this thing that had happened.’

Finally, here are examples of *sampela* used substantivally:

- (25) *Olsem na sampela ol i save helpim yumi.*  
‘And so some [people] always help us [incl].’
- (26) *Inap yu givim sampela long mi?*  
‘Can you give me some of it?’
- (27) *Dispela kontrak i tok long mipela i mas wokim sampela haus. Na mipela i wokim sampela pinis.*  
‘According to this contract we [excl.] must build a number of houses. And [excl.] we have already built some.’
- (28) *Bai mi mekim ol lain pikinini bilong yu i kamap planti moa, na sampela bai i kamap king.*  
‘I will multiply your offspring, and some [of them] will be kings.’

One common construction containing substantival *sampela* is one with a *bilong* attribute:

- (29) *Givim mi sampela bilong dispela retpela sup nau yu kukim.*  
‘Give me some of that red soup you are making.’
- (30) *Olsem na sampela bilong ol i go i stap long graun long hap sankamap inap long arere bilong ples drai.*  
‘So some of them went to settle on land in the east all the way to the desert border.’

- (31) *Na bai mi makim sampela bilong ol bilong kamap pris.*  
‘And I will make some of them priests.’

### 5.3 *Wanpela*

*Wanpela* ‘a, a certain, one, some’ is an indefinite pronoun and also either a quantifier (the numeral ‘one’; see Ch. 23, 1.1.1) or a modifier meaning ‘alone’ (see Ch. 12, 1.3). The quantifier *wanpela* is treated in Ch. 23, 1.1.1. The reduplicated form *wanpela wanpela* means ‘each’, and is treated in Ch. 23, 1.1.2.

Indefinite *wanpela* may be used attributively or substantively. Attributively, *wanpela* often introduces a new topic in context. The construction containing the *wanpela*-plus-noun phrase is linguistically known as a presentative construction. In many languages, the subject of a presentative construction is postverbal—that is, it follows the verb. English is a good example of such a language: it has constructions like: *Once upon a time there was a king*; and *Then there came a big thunderstorm*; and *At that time, there arose a problem*; and *After that followed a pause*. The point of giving these examples of presentative constructions in English at this point is to draw attention to the fact that, in Tok Pisin, such constructions do not have a postverbal subject. Their subjects, containing *wanpela*, are preverbal. Consider:

- (1) *Wanpela wara i kamap long Iden bilong givim wara long dispela gaden.*  
‘There flowed a river from Eden to water the garden.’
- (2) *Wanpela tambu i stap.*  
‘There is one (certain) thing that is forbidden.’
- (3) *Wanpela buk bilong kukim bret i stap.*  
‘There is one (certain) book [on this topic].’
- (4) *Tasol wanpela diwai i sanap namel tru, em God i tambuim mitupela long kaikai pikinini bilong en.*  
‘But exactly in the middle there stands a tree, one that God has forbidden the two of us [excl.] to eat the fruits from.’
- (5) *Em i tok olsem, na nau tasol wanpela plisman i kam long motabaik na i go pas liklik na i stapim trak.*  
‘He said this, and at the same moment there came a policeman on a motorcycle and he drew up before the truck and stopped it.’

There are also presentative constructions with *i gat*, and these seem to be an exception to the preverbal subject rule, in that the *wanpela* phrase follows *i gat*:

- (6) *Bilong lukautim woksop i mas i gat wanpela man no meri i tingim gut wanem wanem samting i stap insait long woksop.*  
‘To take care of the workshop there has to be a man or woman who remembers well what there is in the workshop.’
- (7) *Insait long bia na strongpela dring i gat wanpela samting ol i kolim “alkohol.”*  
‘In beer and hard liquor there is something called “alcohol.”’

- (8) *I gat wanpela marasin, yu ken baim long ol marasin stua long taun.*  
 ‘There is a certain medicine, and you can buy it in the dispensaries in town.’

However, the *wanpela* phrase with impersonal *i gat* is not the subject. Rather, it is the object, and thus must follow the verb; see Ch. 4, 2.2. Note also the following construction, in which *i gat* + the *wanpela* phrase is followed by *i stap*:

- (9) *Lukim, i gat wanpela bikpela ston i stap klostu long mi.*  
 ‘Look, there is a big rock next to me.’
- (10) *Na i gat wanpela ples daun i stap namel long ol na bikpela dua bilong taun.*  
 ‘And there was a ravine between them and the town gates.’
- (11) *Long dispela taim i gat wanpela profet meri i stap, nem bilong en Debora.*  
 ‘In that time there was a prophetess, by the name of Deborah.’

In short, presentative constructions in Tok Pisin do not have reversed order of subject and verb—the order found in English.

Indefinite and thus new topics may also be in subject position in nonpresentative constructions, or (more frequently, it seems) in object position. Both are illustrated in (15), while object position is the one in (12) through (14):

- (12) *Wokim wanpela paia hariap.*  
 ‘Start a fire fast.’
- (13) *Karamapim sua wantaim wanpela lip na pasim.*  
 ‘Cover the sore with a leaf and fasten it.’
- (14) *Long sampela hap ol i kisim wanpela rop i gat marasin bilong kilim pis long wara, ol i kolim “dainamait.”*  
 ‘In some areas they get a certain root that has some strong substance that kills fish, they call it “dynamite.”’
- (15) *Taim wanpela nois i painim ia bilong yumi, dispela skin palai long namel ia i mekim nois. Sapos yu paitim wanpela kundu, na arapela kundu i sanap klostu, skin palai bilong en i save guria tu.*  
 ‘When a noise enters our [incl.] ear, this drum in the middle ear makes a noise. If you hit a hand drum, and another hand drum is close the hide of it will tremble as well.’

Phrases with indefinite *wanpela* may also take other syntactic positions, notably after prepositions:

- (16) *Tupela man i no ken holim bal. Ol i mas traim long paitim bal i go long wanpela poroman bilong ol.*  
 ‘Two men must not hold the ball. They must try to hit the ball so it goes to a fellow player.’
- (17) *Putim semen long wanpela ples i drai.*  
 ‘Store the cement in a dry place.’

- (18) *Salim sikman long wanpela haus sik i gat dokta bilong katim man.*  
‘Send the patient to a hospital where there is a surgeon.’
- (19) *Kisim sutlam na sutim lait i go insait long ai bilong wanpela man.*  
‘Get a torch and aim the beam in someone’s eye.’
- (20) *Sampela taim dispela hevi em i mak bilong wanpela bikpela sik.*  
‘Sometimes this problem is a symptom of some serious illness.’
- (21) *Sapos ol polis i save long pes bilong wanpela raskol pinis, ol inap long painim em na kalabusim em.*  
‘If the police know the face of some criminal, they can find him and put him in jail.’

Substantival use of *wanpela* is commonly followed by *bilong* plus noun; consider:

- (22) *Givim sampela pinat long wanpela bilong tupela.*  
‘Give some peanuts to (either) one of the two.’
- (23) *Orait, wanpela bilong ol i tok olsem.*  
‘Then, someone among them spoke as follows.’
- (24) *Salim wanpela bilong yupela i go kisim liklik brata bilong yupela i kam.*  
‘Send someone among you [pl.] to bring your [pl.] little brother.’

*Wanpela* may occur in correlation with *wanpela*, as well as in correlation with *arapela*, meaning ‘one [ . . . ] another’ or ‘the one [ . . . ] the other’:

- (25) *Yu mas wokim tripela plua o dek long dispela sip, wanpela daunbilo na wanpela namel na wanpela antap.*  
‘You must make three decks in this ark, one below, one in the middle, and one on top.’
- (26) *Na yu mas kisim tupela tupela bilong olgeta kain animal, wanpela man na wanpela meri.*  
‘You must take two of every kind of animal, one male and one female.’
- (27) *Nem bilong wanpela, em Ada, na nem bilong arapela, em Sila.*  
‘The name of the one was Adah, and the name of the other was Zillah.’

Finally, reduplicated *wanpela wanpela* is distributive in meaning; its form is also *wan wan* (see also 5.1).

- (28) *Na em i kisim wanpela wanpela long olgeta kain animal na pisin i klin long ai bilong Bikpela.*  
‘And he took one of each kind of animals that were clean before the Lord.’
- (29) *Long olgeta twelpela ston wan wan ol i raitim nem bilong wanpela wanpela pikinini man bilong Jekop, bilong makim olgeta lain bilong Israel.*  
‘On each of the twelve stones they engraved the names of each son of Jacob, to mark all the tribes of Israel.’
- (30) *Tripela taim long wanpela wanpela yia yupela i mas makim bikpela de bilong lotu long mi.*  
‘Three times every year you [pl.] must set aside a feast day in my honor.’



### 5.4 *Samting*

*Samting* ‘something’ as a pronoun is used only substantively, and may be either singular or plural. (Note that *samting* may also be an attribute, postposed, unlinked, and is then less straightforwardly pronominal—see Ch. 12, 1.3.; and *samting olsem* may also mean ‘about, approximately’.)

*Samting* may be considered as the head of a phrase, taking a preposed attribute (for example, *gutpela samting* ‘something good’), or a postposed attribute (*samting nogut* ‘something bad’), or even just the plural marker (*ol samting* ‘everything’). In such phrases, *samting* behaves pretty much like a noun.

A second analysis needed is that of *samting* according to its syntactic function in the clause. Such an analysis concerns, most importantly, the absolute use of *samting*—that is, *samting* without any attributes to it (or even without *ol*). But also, *samting* heading a phrase may be considered not according to the internal structure of the *samting* phrase, but rather according to how such a phrase functions syntactically in the clause.

The first analysis is made in 5.4.1; the second, in 5.4.2.

#### 5.4.1 *Samting* Heading a Phrase

The attributes *samting* may take may be pronouns, nonpronominal modifiers, quantifiers, the plural marker *ol* (which is not really an attribute—but we may now ignore this), or combinations of these. Consider:

- (1) *Olsem na nau mi laik rait liklik long dispela samting.*  
‘And so I want to write a bit on this.’
- (2) *Kuskus i no ken tokim ol liklik long dispela samting.*  
‘The secretary must not discuss any details of this.’
- (3) *Ol i save tromoi planti gutpela samting yu ken givim wok long en bihain long ples.*  
‘[In the towns,] people often throw away many good things you may have use for later in the village.’
- (4) *Lista hia i laik soim sampela samting yu inap painim nating.*  
‘This list will show you some things that you can acquire without cost.’
- (5) *Tripela samting i mas bung wantaim na haus bai i sanap strong.*  
‘Three things must combine to have your house stand up sturdy.’
- (6) *Bikpela samting sapos wok insait long woksop i laik ran smat.*  
‘It is great if work in the workshop will run well.’
- (7) *Insait long dram oven olgeta narapela samting olsem kaukau no abus inap tan gut tu na i kamap swit moa.*  
‘In the drum oven all other things like sweet potatoes or meat will get well done and become very tasty.’
- (8) *Em inap long yu mumuim abus insait no kukim kaukau no kain kain narapela samting tu.*  
‘It [i.e. the oven] makes it possible for you to pressure-cook sweet potatoes and various kinds of other foods also.’

- (9) *Redim olgeta **samting** bilong wok.*  
‘Prepare everything for the job.’
- (10) *Orait skelim, wanem **samting** i sot.*  
‘Then, verify what things are still needed.’
- (11) *Vaitamin na mineral em i liklik **samting** i stap insait long kaikai.*  
‘Vitamins and minerals are small things found in food.’
- (12) *Olgeta kaikai na kumu i no save pulim wankain **samting** long graun.*  
‘Not all fruits and vegetables extract the same things from the soil.’

With the plural marker *ol*:

- (13) *Yu mas kamap pastaim na redim ol **samting** long ples bilong pilai.*  
‘You have to arrive early and set up everything in the playing field.’
- (14) *Planim ol **samting** long pasin senis senis.*  
‘Plant everything in rotation.’
- (15) *Dispela ol **samting** i stap ples klia.*  
‘These things are visible.’
- (16) *Insait long ai i gat ol dispela **samting** [ . . . ].*  
‘Inside the [human] eye there are the following [ . . . ].’
- (17) *Yupela i ken makim pe bilong dispela meri, na tokim mi long wanem ol gutpela **samting** mi mas givim yupela.*  
‘You [pl.] can set the bride price for this woman and tell me what presents I must give you.’

Here follow examples with postposed attributes to *samting*:

- (18) *Bai ol dispela **samting** nogut i kamap long yupela.*  
‘All those misfortunes will afflict you [pl].’
- (19) *Na wanpela wokmeri i save go tokim tupela long ol **samting** i kamap long taun.*  
‘And a maid servant regularly went to tell the two of them about all that happened in town.’
- (20) *Tasol em i no **samting** bilong yumi long kaunim ol man.*  
‘But it is not fitting for us [incl.] to take a census.’
- (21) *Em i ting dispela i **samting** nating.*  
‘He did not think that was any problem.’
- (22) *I no gat wanpela **samting** i kamap.*  
‘Nothing happened.’
- (23) *Em wanpela **samting** ol dispela tripela strongpela soldia i bin mekim.*  
‘This is one thing the three brave soldiers had done.’

#### 5.4.2 *Samting* in the Clause

Absolute *samting* in the more classical Tok Pisin of the Bible translation is rather rare and never stands for ‘something’. (English *something* is referential, even though indefinite; the nonreferential alternative for *something* in English is

anything.) Rather, absolute *samting* in biblical Tok Pisin is like English *things*, or it often remains unexpressed in English. Let us begin with examples of the latter sort:

- (1) *Long taim yupela i metaim samting na skelim samting na kaunim ol samting bilong arapela man i baim, orait yupela i no ken giamanim em.*  
'When you [pl.] measure and weigh, and count things for someone else to buy, you [pl.] must not deceive him.'
- (2) *Na ol i gat ai, tasol ol i no inap lukim samting. Na ol i gat yau, tasol ol i no inap harim samting.*  
'They have eyes, but they cannot see anything. And they have ears, but they cannot hear anything.'
- (3) *Ol dispela god i no inap lukluk o harim toktok o kaikai o smelim samting.*  
'These gods cannot see or hear words or eat or smell.'
- (4) *Ol i gat nus, tasol ol i no inap smelim samting. Ol i gat han, tasol ol i no inap holim samting.*  
'They have noses, but they cannot smell anything. They have hands, but they cannot hold anything.'
- (5) *Olgeta man i gat gutpela tingting, ol i save tingting gut pastaim na mekim samting.*  
'All men who have wisdom will think carefully before acting.'
- (6) *Ol i save giaman, na kilim man i dai, na stilim samting, na mekim pasin pamuk.*  
'They will lie, and kill people, and steal, and live promiscuously.'
- (7) *Yu no ken bel hevi taim yu givim samting long narapela man.*  
'Do not give to others with a heavy heart.'
- (8) *Ol i gat pinga, tasol ol i no inap pilim samting.*  
'They have fingers but cannot feel.'
- (9) *Yu no ken givim samting long ol manmeri nogut.*  
'Do not give to evil people.'
- (10) *Givim samting long narapela manmeri taim ol i sot long samting.*  
'Give freely to people who are in need.'
- (11) *Sapos yu laik givim samting long ol rabisman, yu no ken salim man i winim biugel i go paslain long yu.*  
'If you want to give to the poor, do not send someone to trumpet it before you.'
- (12) *Yupela i mas wok long painim samting na bai yupela i lukim.*  
'Keep searching, and you [pl.] will see it.'

As it happens, all instances of *samting* in these examples are in object position. In English, when the object of a verb is in no way topical, it can be left out—at least with certain verbs, which are then used almost intransitively. By contrast, leaving out an object in Tok Pisin points to high topicality, as shown in 1.6. A nonreferential object, therefore, needs to be overtly expressed in Tok Pisin, and absolute *samting* is the instrument for doing so. The examples (1) through (12) are put together here because the verbs in them are such that their equivalents in

English happen to be verbs that are easily used intransitively. But the nonreferential function of *samting* in object position is illustrated also with other verbs; consider:

- (13) *Olgeta man na meri bilong Israel i laik givim samting long Bikpela, ol i bringim bilong mekim ol wok Bikpela i bin tokim Moses long mekim.*  
‘All the men and women of Israel who wished to give something to the Lord brought it in order to do what the Lord had told Moses to do.’
- (14) *Yupela i no ken putim samting long rot bilong ol aipas bilong mekim ol i pundaun.*  
‘You [pl.] must not put anything in the way of the blind so they will be tripped up.’
- (15) *Ol arapela man i no ken bringim samting i kam insait long taun.*  
‘Others cannot bring anything into town.’
- (16) *Husat i bin givim samting long mi pastaim na bai mi mas bekim samting long em?*  
‘Who has first given me anything so that I must give him something in return?’
- (17) *Na bai mi bagarapim ol olsem wara i tait na bagarapim samting.*  
‘And I will destroy them as a flood destroys everything.’
- (18) *Ol i no gat haus kaikai o haus bilong putim samting long en.*  
‘They have no barns to store anything.’

In some of these examples, note ‘anything’, rather than ‘something’, in the gloss, especially in negative and interrogative clauses.

In nonbiblical Tok Pisin, *samting* in object position more easily parallels English *something*, and this shows the continued influence—not necessarily a favorable one—of English on Tok Pisin even grammatically. Examples:

- (19) *Nau planti man ol i save planim samting bilong selim na kisim mani long dispela.*  
‘Now many people plant things for sale and for profit.’
- (20) *Na sapos yumi no gat faktori bilong wokim samting na selim na kisim mani, orait bai olsem wanem?*  
‘And if we [incl.] had no factories to manufacture things and sell them and make a profit, then what?’
- (21) *Dispela ol liklik buk hia i laik soim rot long yu yet inap wokim samting long han.*  
‘These little books will show you the way how you yourself can make something by hand.’

In more classical Tok Pisin, *samting* would not easily be used absolutely in these examples, and more appropriate forms would be *wanpela samting* or *ol samting*—in short, absolute *samting* would not be well-formed.

Absolute *samting* is not found at all in subject position, either in biblical or nonbiblical Tok Pisin. The reason is that a subject must be topical in Tok Pisin, and though it could be topical even if indefinite (as it would be with *wanpela*), it has to be referential. The following illustrates this:

- (22) *Wanpela samting i kamap, a?*  
‘Something happened, didn’t it?’
- (23) *Wanpela samting God i laikim tumas, em ol manmeri i save bihainim pasin bilong gupela tingting.*  
‘One thing that pleases God very much is people who will follow the ways of wisdom.’
- (24) *Wanpela samting i stap na yu mas harim gut na bihainim gut, em i olsem [ . . . ].*  
‘There is one thing you must listen to well and follow, that is the following: [ . . . ].’
- (25) *Wanpela samting moa ol i painimautim, em i gat nem long tok Pisin.*  
‘One thing they have discovered has a name in Tok Pisin.’
- (26) *Wanpela samting insait long ol ai i wok long tanim lait bilong san i kamap lektrik pawa.*  
‘One thing in the eyes [of the solar panel] keeps turning sunlight into electric power.’
- (27) *Wanpela samting i save sot long planti hap graun em i kambang.*  
‘One thing the soil is often lacking is lime.’
- (28) *Wanpela samting i stap na yu mas was long en, em i olsem: Yu no ken putim planti fetilaisa tumas.*  
‘There is one thing you must take seriously, that is, the following: do not use much fertilizer.’

The subject precedes the verb in Tok Pisin, and it is this initial position that requires topicality. It is, then, not surprising that an object placed before the verb cannot have *samting* used absolutely either: *wanpela* is required as its attribute. Once again, though *wanpela* is indefinite, it is (in such a position) referential:

- (29) *Wanpela samting tasol yupela i no ken kaikai, em mit i gat blut i stap yet long en.*  
‘Only one thing you [pl.] must not eat, meat with blood still in it.’
- (30) *Wanpela samting tasol mi save. Bipo mi stap aipas, tasol nau ai bilong mi i op.*  
‘One thing only I know: I was blind, and now I can see.’
- (31) *Wanpela samting ol i save mekim. Ol i save lukautim gut ol manmeri.*  
‘I know only one thing: they always take good care of the people.’

The question arises whether *ol samting* (without any attribute—*ol* is not an attribute) is comparable to absolute *samting*. It is, as appears from the following:

- (32) *Aisak i lapun pinis na ai bilong en i pas na em i no moa lukim ol samting.*  
‘Isaac was old now and his eyes were without light and he could not see any more.’
- (33) *Orait pikinini, yu harim gut tok bilong mi na mekim ol samting olsem mi tokim yu.*  
‘Now, my son, listen to me carefully, and do as I tell you.’

- (34) *Orait Moses wantaim Eleazar i mekim ol **samting** olsem Bikpela i bin tokim Moses.*  
‘Moses and Eleazar did as the Lord had told Moses.’
- (35) *Ol i stilim ol **samting**, na ol i giaman na ol i haitim ol dispela samting.*  
‘They stole and lied and concealed it all.’
- (36) *Olsem na mi larim ol i bihainim pasin bikhet bilong ol, na ol i mekim ol **samting** long laik bilong ol.*  
‘So I left them to their stubborn selves, and they did as they pleased.’
- (37) *Yupela i no save sori long ol man i sot long ol **samting**.*  
‘You [pl.] are never concerned about people who are in need.’

These examples closely parallel (1) through (12). Others are:

- (38) *Tokim Israel long kisim ol **samting** na givim long mi.*  
‘Tell Israel to take it all and give it to me.’
- (39) *Dispela man, em i saveman tru bilong wokim ol **samting** long bras.*  
‘This man was an expert bronze worker.’
- (40) *Mi lukim wanpela ensel i kam daun long heven, em wanpela bilong ol ensel i save was long ol **samting**.*  
‘I saw an angel come down from heaven, one of the angels who watches over everything.’
- (41) *Lesman i wankain olsem man i save bagarapim ol **samting**.*  
‘One who is lazy is like one who destroys.’

### 5.5 *Olkain* and *kain kain*

*Kain* followed by a noun is a classifier (Ch. 11, 2.6; Ch. 20, 3.2) and *kain kain* in the same position may be the reduplicated form thereof (Ch. 17, 7.4). But *kain kain* ‘various kinds of’ may as well count as an indefinite pronoun, if those kinds are unspecified in context. This is certainly the case with *olkain*, which occurs only attributively and which never specifies anything. Also, like other indefinites, *olkain* may share in negation (Ch. 5, 4.4). Examples:

- (1) *Kaukau na taro na **kain kain** arapela kaikai em mipela i save planim yet.*  
‘Sweet potatoes and taro and various other crops, those we still grow regularly.’
- (2) *Sampela arapela kantri i helpim ol long **kain kain** samting.*  
‘Some nations provide them with aid for a variety of things.’
- (3) ***Kain kain** tok olsem i stap.*  
‘There are various kinds of such stories.’
- (4) *Sampela samting i save kamap gutpela long **olkain** graun.*  
‘Some things [i.e. crops] will grow on various kinds of soil.’
- (5) *Yu bai kukim **olkain** gutpela kaikai tru.*  
‘You will cook all kinds of good foods.’
- (6) *Yupela i no ken mekim **olkain** wok long dispela tupela de.*  
‘You [pl.] are not allowed to do any kind of work during these two days.’

## 22: MODIFIERS AND ADVERBS

The word classes to be treated in the present chapter are modifiers and adverbs. By “modifiers” is meant modifiers to nouns, either attributively or predicatively. Adverbs could also (plausibly) be called “modifiers” (and are often so called by linguists—they “modify” either a verb or any other word class not a noun). In the present book, let us reserve the term “modifier” for the word class modifying nouns, and every one-word qualifier to a verb or another class not a noun we call an adverb.

Modifiers are discussed in 1; adverbs in 2.

### 1. Modifiers

The class called modifiers here has traditionally been called that of adjectives. As suggested above (Ch. 3, 2.; Ch. 7, introduction; Ch. 7, 1.1; and Ch. 11, introduction), there is no straightforwardly recognizable class of adjectives in Tok Pisin, while no doubt there is a class of modifiers (of nouns), used either attributively or predicatively. Grammars of Tok Pisin will call the *-pela* modifiers like *gutpela* ‘good’ adjectives. But adjectives as a class should be clearly distinguishable from both verbs and nouns, and the class called modifiers in this book is not. For one thing, *-pela* modifiers are too nouny for adjectival status as a word class; this is true also, and perhaps more so, of modifiers not marked with *-pela*.

There is another advantage to recognizing a modifier class in Tok Pisin. Modifiers as understood here comprise many forms apart from the *-pela* modifiers, as shown in Chs. 11 through 13. Of course, some of these are phrases (or even clauses), rather than simple words, but then these phrases have a categorial name, too: modifier phrases (Ch. 16). In short, a modifier category avoids many analytical problems that would be insoluble—and would thus turn out to be inappropriate for Tok Pisin. A few examples may clarify this point.

Consider *bokis diwai* ‘wooden box’. It is considered as a phrase in Ch. 12, 1.1; *bokis* is the head and *diwai* is the modifier—in this instance, an attribute. But why could *bokis diwai* not be a compound? (See Ch. 17, introduction) In fact *diwai* could and does function in compounds, as in *bun diwai* ‘inner part of tree trunk’ (Ch. 17, 4.1.1), *rop diwai* ‘vine [on tree]’, *skin diwai* ‘tree bark’ (Ch. 17, 4.1.1). But note that in these expressions *diwai* means ‘tree’, not ‘wood’; the relation between components is an inalienable one, dispensing with *bilong* (Ch. 17, 4.1.0). In short, *diwai* as a class noun (‘tree’) behaves differently from *diwai* as a material noun (‘wood’). It seems more appropriate to see *diwai* as a noun, subclassifiable as class noun and material noun. The former may function as NI in a compound and the latter as a modifier in a phrase. A class system including adjectives would be an unnecessary complication in the description of this language.

One more consideration may be helpful. Consider *indipenden kantri* ‘independent nation’. It is a package loan and thus a compound (Ch. 17, 8). It is a compound because *indipenden* cannot be manipulated syntactically. For example, there is something “odd” about *\*indipenden na gutpela kantri* (for ‘an independent and

good nation'). Thus, though at first sight it may be tempting to consider *indipenden* as what its original (*independent*) is in English: an adjective. But in Tok Pisin it is not even a modifier (as understood here)—rather, it is the NI component in a compound. Hence, we dispense with the category adjective, and recognize the modifier class instead.

Attributive one-word modifiers have been treated in great detail above. Morphologically, there are those that take *-pela* (see Ch. 3, 2.1). Syntactically, various kinds of modifiers have been reviewed in the discussion of noun phrases where the modifier precedes the noun (see Ch. 11). Among postposed modifiers, there are the unlinked ones (Ch. 12); for linked attributes (some of which are one word items), see Ch. 13. However, as shown in that chapter, such linked attributes are really relativizations. As relativized modifiers, they can be seen also as predicative. That is to say, *man i spak* 'a drunken man', could be analyzed as 'a man who is drunk', and *spak* would be predicative within the relative clause—see Ch. 13, 1.1.1 and Ch. 13, 1.1.2.

Given all this, what remains to be examined here is the other modifiers used predicatively—typically in a clause having its own nominal (or pronominal) subject (there is no such subject in relative clauses where *i* replaces the antecedent).

But this raises a new problem: how do we tell whether a predicate is verbal or nonverbal? If nonverbal, it would be a modifier (not counting nouns in predicate position, but those are found only in equational clauses). In short, we need to distinguish verbs from modifiers.

This problem is taken up in Ch. 18, 5. It is argued there that intransitives (apart from auxiliary verbs, locomotive verbs, postural verbs, and the statives *gat* and *stap*) can be verbs only if they are dynamic, not stative—that is, if they signify some kind of a process. But some among them may be used either in a dynamic or in a stative sense; for example, *amamas* 'happy' or 'to enjoy oneself'; or *hambak* 'proud' or 'to show off'.

In 1.1, more examples are given of such predicates, which categorially seem to belong in a gray area between the modifier class and the verb class.

Then, in 1.2, we take up modifiers (also used predicatively) that are stative only and thus outside the gray area in between verbs and statives.

### 1.1 A Gray Area between Verbhood and Modifierhood

In the examples below, the constituent in predicate position is a verb on the reading given first, and a modifier on the reading given after "Or."

- (1) *Nogut yu ting long wok bisnis tasol na aigris long dispela tok bilong wokim suga.*  
'Don't think only of business and don't set your heart on this talk about producing sugar.' Or: '[ . . . ] it is no use to be envious [ . . . ].'
- (2) *Em i airaun gen na em i pundaun.*  
'She was dizzy once again and she fell.' Or: 'Her head was spinning [ . . . ]'



- (3) *Kilim i dai lapun bafalo, kukim, singsing na amamas.*  
 'Slaughter the old buffalo, cook, dance, and enjoy yourselves.' Or: '[ . . . ] and be happy.'
- (4) *Olanan, K 200 i bikpela mani. Na sapos masin i bagarap bai mi mekim wanem?*  
 'Boy! Two hundred Kinas is a lot of money. And when the machine develops trouble, then what will I do?' Or: '[ . . . ] is out of order [ . . . ].'
- (5) *Mi no save belhat kwik.*  
 'I do not get angry quickly.' Or: 'I am not quick to anger.'
- (6) *Ol dispela manmeri i save bikhet.*  
 'These people are always stubborn.' Or: 'These people always oppose everything.'
- (7) *Olsem na mi bai mi birua long dispela man, na rausim em long lain manmeri bilong mi.*  
 'So I will be hostile to this man, and remove him from my people.' Or: '[ . . . ] work against him, and [ . . . ]'
- (8) *Sapos sakol i bruk na insait bilong en i blak olgeta, orait, em i gutpela sakol.*  
 'When charcoal falls apart and the inside is all black, then it good charcoal.' Or: 'When is charcoal is in pieces, and [ . . . ].'
- (9) *Em i raun raun inap wara i drai na graun i kamap.*  
 'It [i.e. a pigeon] flew around until the flood subsided and the ground appeared.' Or: '[ . . . ] had subsided and [ . . . ].'
- (10) *Mi tok pinis, gavman em i giaman tumas!*  
 'As I said, the government is very hypocritical.' Or: '[ . . . ] the government is lying.'
- (11) *Lulai i hambak long hat bilong em.*  
 'The chief is proud of his hat.' Or: 'The chief is showing off his hat.'
- (12) *Long narapela sik, bai lip i krungut na i pas pas.*  
 'In case there is another [plant] disease, the leaves will bend and stick to one another.' Or: '[ . . . ] will be bent and [ . . . ].'
- (13) *Skin i solap na i hat na i pen na i lait.*  
 'The skin swells up and becomes hot and painful and glistening.' Or: '[ . . . ] is swollen and hot and painful and glistening.'
- (14) *Bikpela mani i lus long maket na long stua.*  
 'A lot of money is spent in the market and in the store.' Or: '[ . . . ] is gone [ . . . ].'
- (15) *Pulim het i go bek, bai rot bilong win i op.*  
 'Pull the head [of the person drowned] back, so that the windpipe opens.' Or: '[ . . . ] the windpipe is open.'
- (16) *Na ol i orait long toktok bilong Josep.*  
 'And they agreed with what Joseph had been saying' Or: 'And what Joseph had been saying was acceptable to them.' Or: 'And they were agreed to what [ . . . ].'

- (17) *Na sapos ol i **popaia** long sampela pasin bilong mekim ofa, maski.*  
 ‘And if they make a mistake in the way they make a sacrifice, that doesn’t matter.’ Or: ‘If they are wrong about the way [ . . . ].’
- (18) *Buk i **pulap** long susu.*  
 ‘The boil fills with pus.’ Or: ‘The boil is full of pus.’
- (19) *Ol i kamap pinis long ol dua bilong taun na ol i **redi** long pait.*  
 ‘They had arrived at the town gates and they prepared for battle.’  
 Or: [ . . . ] were ready for battle.’
- (20) *Ol i **strong** long mipela i mas mekim dispela promis.*  
 ‘The insisted that we [excl.] should make this promise.’ Or: ‘They were adamant that [ . . . ].’

The items belonging in the gray area are numerous: there are only a few modifiers that are purely stative—see 1.2.

Note that quite a few of those constituents in bold could be nouns—for example, *aigris* ‘envy’; *airaun* ‘dizziness’; *amamas* ‘happiness, enjoyment’; *bagarap* ‘misfortune, destruction’; *belhat* ‘anger’; *birua* ‘enemy’; *giaman* ‘lie, hypocrisy’; *hambak* ‘boastfulness, vanity’; *hat* ‘heat’; *pen* ‘pain’; *lait* ‘light’; *op* ‘width’; *popaia* ‘error, miscalculation’; *solap* ‘swelling’; *strong* ‘strength’. Such words, however, do not constitute a gray area, because none of them has any categorial ambiguity in the same syntactic position. That is to say, as nouns, these words take subject or object position, or follow a preposition. Nouns and modifiers do not overlap, while verbs and modifiers do.

## 1.2 Stative Modifiers

First and foremost among stative modifiers that may be used predicatively is the *-pela* set (including those that may, need not, or cannot have *-pela* in predicate position; see Ch. 3, 2.1). For predicative use of those, see Ch. 7, 3.

Apart from that set, there are not many others that can only be stative in any context (and are thus not verbs as defined), and that cannot be analyzed as nouns (at least not in predicate position). The following list should be fairly complete: *les* ‘lazy’; *narakain* (but not *arakain*) ‘different’; *dia* ‘dear, expensive, precious’; *fri* ‘free’; *kranki* ‘wrong, erroneous’; *nogut* ‘bad, evil’; *smut* ‘smooth’; and *wankain* ‘same, similar’. Some of those (*fri*, *smut*) look like recent direct loans from English and are thus not significant for predicative modifier status. Some examples of the others:

- (1) *Tru, long moningtaim mi **les** long dispela tok, tasol nau mi laik tumas long harim.*  
 ‘True, this morning that conversation bored me, but now I would very much like to hear it.’
- (2) *Yumi no ken **les**.*  
 ‘We [incl.] must not give up.’
- (3) *Dispela pilai em i **wankain** olsem basketbal tasol gol bilong pilai i **narakain**.*

- 'This game is similar to basketball but the purpose of the game is different.'
- (4) *Olsem na kaikai bilong dispela tupela samting i no **narakain** tumas.*  
'So the nutrition [value] of these two things [i.e. ingredients] is not very different.'
- (5) *Olaman, sap bilong tit i **narakain** tru.*  
'Boy! The sharpness of the teeth [of the sawblade] are something else again!'
- (6) *Ol tripela rot i no **narakain** olgeta.*  
'The three ways [of doing this] are not altogether different.'
- (7) *Dispela pasin em i gutpela tru, tasol pe bilong masin em i **dia** tumas.*  
'This way [of doing it] is very good, but the price of the machine is very high.'
- (8) *Kain kain kaikai long stua i **dia** tumas.*  
'Various foods in the store are very expensive.'
- (9) *Dispela tok em i **kranki** tru.*  
'This talk is nonsense.'
- (10) *Sampela speling i **kranki**, sampela piksa i no kamap gut, sampela tok i popaia.*  
'Some things are spelled wrong, some pictures did not come out right, some things that were said were beside the mark.'
- (11) *Tasol pasin bilong wokim wait rais em i **nogut** liklik.*  
'This custom of producing white rice is rather bad.'
- (12) *Grinpela poteto em i **nogut** long yumi manmeri i kaikai.*  
'Green potatoes are bad for us [incl.] people to eat.'

*Arakain*, synonym of *narakain*, does not occur predicatively at all in the corpus, and in biblical Tok Pisin not at all, in any position. There is nothing surprising in the fact that *narakain* in the meaning as 'other, additional' (rather than 'different') is not found in predicate position, while in the sense of 'different' *narakain* would be what one would expect, as judged by the difference between *arapela* and *narapela*—on that difference, see Ch. 21, 5.1.

## 2. Adverbs

Adverbs qualify verbs, or any other category except nouns and pronouns. Thus, in

- (1) *They came in **fast**, at **very** low altitude, **just** above tree top level, and thus completed their mission **exceptionally well**.*

the words in bold are adverbs: *fast* qualifies the verb *came in*; *very* qualifies the adjective *low*; *well* qualifies the verb *completed*; *exceptionally* qualifies the adverb *well*; and *just* qualifies the preposition *above*. Adverbs that qualify verbs are really one-word qualifiers. In English, some adverbs differ from the adjectives concerned (*good* becomes *well*); more typically, adverbs derived from adjectives

are marked by the suffix *-ly* (*exceptional* becomes *exceptionally*); and some adverbs are morphologically underived (*very*; *just*).

By contrast, Tok Pisin has no special morphological form for adverbs. Some words are used only adverbially, while others function as adverbs only because of their syntactic function—they could also, in different syntactic functions, be nouns, or modifiers.

Adverbs are traditionally classified on semantic grounds: adverbs of place, of time, of manner, and of degree. Adverbs of place in English are *here*, *there*, *across*; adverbs of time, *now*, *then*, *tomorrow*; adverbs of manner, *badly*, *expertly*, *swiftly*, *thoroughly*; adverbs of degree, *very*, *highly*, *rather*.

We will use a semantic classification also for Tok Pisin adverbs. Those of place, time, manner and degree are examined in 2.1 through 2.4, respectively. There are two more subclasses of adverbs: those called “sentence adverbs,” and those called “clause qualifiers”; those are dealt with in 2.5 and 2.6.

## 2.1 Adverbs of Place

Adverbs of place are of various kinds. First, there are those that could also function as nouns. Second, there are those that do not double as nouns but do occur as qualifiers in complex prepositions. A third kind does not occur in complex prepositions, but is also found attributively. The fourth is not really a kind all its own, and comprises only: *hia* ‘here’, *arewe* ‘the other way’, and *we?* ‘where?’.

These four are reviewed in 2.1.1 through 2.1.4.

### 2.1.1 Adverbs of Place Doubling as Nouns

Those that could also function as nouns are: *aninit* ‘lower part, underside’; *antap* ‘upper part, top’; *arasait* ‘other side’; *arere* ‘border, edge’; *ausait* ‘outer side, outside’; *daunbilo* ‘lower part’; *insait* ‘inside’; and *namel* ‘center’. (*Baksait* ‘back, rear’ and *hapsait* ‘other side’ belong to this list as nouns, but neither of them can be used as a stand-alone adverb—although they are used adverbially before *long*.)

As nouns, these may be preceded by *long*, resulting in a locative phrase: *long antap* ‘at the top’; *long namel* ‘in the center, in the middle’; *long baksait* ‘at the back’; and so forth.

But any of these may also be followed by *long*, resulting in what above was called a complex preposition (Ch. 12, 2.2), as in *aninit long* ‘below, under, underneath’; *antap long* ‘on, on top of, over, above’; *arere long* ‘alongside (of)’; *ausait long* ‘outside’, and so forth. Numerous examples are found in Ch. 12, 2.2. When followed by *long*, these are genuine adverbs, and they qualify *long*. (As noted just now, *baksait* and *hapsait* can also be used to qualify *long*.)

Only the stand-alone adverbial use of these items needs to be illustrated here (adverbial *arere* seems to be extremely rare):

- (1) *Sanapim waia na tromoi ol ston antap long en. Ol liklik ston bai i pundaun aninit.*

‘Place the wire sieve in position and throw the stones on top of it. The smaller pebbles will fall down underneath.’

- (2) *Na ol i lukim ol samting i stap olsem Akan i bin tok, na silva i stap aninit tru.*  
‘And they saw things there the way Achan had said, and the silver was at the very bottom.’
- (3) *Opim tin na putim long graun. Maus long en i stap antap.*  
‘Open the can and set it on the ground. The opening should face up.’
- (4) *Yu mas wokim tripela plua o dek long dispela sip, wanpela daunbilo na wanpela namel na wanpela antap.*  
‘You must make three levels or decks on this ship, one at the bottom, one in the middle, and one high up.’
- (5) *Ol boi i sindaun long lain ol i mas kirap na sanap arere.*  
‘The boys who sit in a row must get up and stand by the side.’
- (6) *Planti nupela haus i bihainim skel bilong arapela kantri. I no gat gutpela spes bilong man i sindaun ausait.*  
‘Many new houses are built according to foreign designs. There is no good space for a person to sit outside.’
- (7) *Ol i no inap i go ausait.*  
‘They were unable to go outside.’
- (8) *Slipim dram i go antap long ples bilong paia. Sait yu bin katim i mas i stap daunbilo.*  
‘Set the drum on top of the place for the fire. The side you have cut should face downwards.’
- (9) *Olgeta i mas i stap daunbilo tasol.*  
‘They should all just stay down there.’
- (10) *Wanpela man i mas sanap long mak bilong sait na tromwe bal i kam insait.*  
‘One man must stand at the side line and throw the ball inside.’
- (11) *Bringim tebol i go insait na putim ol samting antap long en.*  
‘Bring the table inside and put the things on it.’
- (12) *Ol i laik haitim ring long dispela man i sanap namel.*  
‘They want to hide the ring from this man standing in the center.’
- (13) *Tasol wanpela diwai i sanap namel tru, em God i tambuim mitupela long kaikai pikinini bilong en.*  
‘But one tree stand right in the middle, and God has forbidden the two of us [excl.] to eat its fruit.’

### 2.1.2 Adverbs of Place Doubling as Qualifiers

These are: *klostu* (also *klosap*, although not found in our corpus) ‘near, nearby’, and *paslain* ‘in front of’. Each of them can also have strong connotations of time rather than of place. Consider:

- (1) *Tupela tasol i stap na i no gat narapela man i stap klostu.*  
‘There were only the two of them and no other person was near.’
- (2) *Kam klostu liklik.*  
‘Come a bit closer.’

- (3) *Na em i tokim tupela wokmeri wantaim ol pikinini bilong bilong tupela long wokabaut i go paslain.*  
‘He ordered the two slave girls and their children to travel at the head [of the group].’
- (4) *Oltaim long san dispela klaut i save go paslain long ol manmeri, na long nait dispela paia i go paslain.*  
‘During the day this cloud always went ahead of them, and during the night that fire went ahead.’

### 2.1.3 Adverbs of Place Doubling as Attributes

A third kind of adverb of place does not occur in complex prepositions, but is also found attributively. There are two of these: *longwe* ‘far’ (preposed) and *nabaut* (postposed) ‘here and there, in various places, in various directions’. On their attributive use, with examples, see Ch. 11, 1.7 (*longwe*) and Ch. 12, 1.3 (*nabaut*).

As adverbs, they may be reduplicated. Examine:

- (1) *Arapela tim i mas sanap longwe liklik inap olsem ten mita.*  
‘The other team should stand at some distance, about ten meters.’
- (2) *Sikman i gat kus i mas slip longwe liklik long ol arapela famili.*  
‘The sick person with a cough should sleep at some distance from the other members of the family.’
- (3) *Ol i mas sotim laplap na putim lek longwe longwe.*  
‘They have to hitch up their loincloths and stretch out their legs as far as they can.’
- (4) *Ol i sindaun longwe longwe liklik.*  
‘They sit down fairly far away.’
- (5) *Olgeta manki i mas i stap insait long wanem tim yu makim pinis. Ol i no ken senis nabaut.*  
‘The children must stick to the team you assign them to. They must not change teams all the time.’
- (6) *Olgeta narapela samting yu inap painim nabaut, o?*  
‘As for the other things, would you be able to find them here or there?’
- (7) *Olgeta samting bilong wokim bret (plaua, yis, suga, sol i go i go) i no ken stap op nabaut nabaut.*  
‘All the ingredients for making bread (flour, yeast, sugar, salt, and so forth) must not sit exposed all around.’
- (8) *Kru i bagarap na i no wok stret. Kru i salim tok save, tasol em i go paul, na ol masel i guria nabaut nabaut.*  
‘The brain is badly affected and does not function properly. The brain sends information, but does so arbitrarily, and the muscles become spastic.’

### 2.1.4 *Hia, we, and arawe*

There are three more adverbs of place that, for convenience’s sake, we may regard as a fourth kind; that is, *hia* ‘here’, *we* ‘where’, and *arawe* ‘some other place’.

*Hia* may also function nominally in *long hia* ‘here’ (see Ch. 15, 1.1); it also may be a postposed attribute, as shown in Ch. 12, 1.3. For *hia* used adverbially, examine:

- (1) *Yu sanap hia na yu lukluk i go long olgeta hap.*  
‘Stand here and look in all directions.’
- (2) *Dispela olgeta samting i stap hia, ol i bilong mi.*  
‘All these things that are here belong to me.’

*We?* ‘where?’ is an interrogative adverb—see Ch. 6, 2.1.3. As explained there, *we* rarely takes clause initial position (and only with *stap*), and is normally clause-final. Here are some more examples, including some ((30) and (31)) of *we* in dependent questions:

- (3) *Bai yumi go we?*  
‘Where shall we [incl.] go?’
- (4) *Na we stap bikpela kaikai bilong olgeta dispela bikpela hatwok bilong yu?*  
‘And where are the fruits of all this big hard work of yours?’
- (5) *Tasol bai em i kisim mani we bilong baim na lukautim?*  
‘But where will he get the money to buy it and maintain it?’
- (6) *Na mi no save hul bilong ol laion i stap we.*  
‘And I do not know where the lion’s den is.’
- (7) *Ston, wesan na graun yu yet yu save painim we.*  
‘Stones, sand, and clay, you yourself know where to find them.’

*We* may also be a relativizing adverb, or even pick up the antecedent—see Ch. 14, 1.2. Finally, *we* may also be a noun, meaning ‘way, manner’.

*Arawe* is illustrated in:

- (8) *Dispela pe i no kam long Palamen, tasol arawe.*  
‘The payment comes not through Parliament, but from elsewhere.’
- (9) *Yu no tanim olsem, tanim arawe.*  
‘Don’t turn it like that; turn it the other way.’
- (10) *Mi go arawe, yu go arawe.*  
‘I go one way, you go another.’

Observe how, in (10), the two occurrences of *arawe* are correlative, and parallel that of the indefinite pronouns *narapela* [ . . . ] *narapela*—see Ch. 21, 5.1.

## 2.2 Adverbs of Time

Several subclasses may be distinguished. There are those referring to a point in time (or roughly so) in the present (such as *nau* ‘now’, or *tude* ‘today’); or in the future (such as *tumora* ‘tomorrow’, or *bihain* ‘afterwards, later’); or in the past (such as *asde* ‘yesterday’ or *bipo* ‘earlier, before’). These are examined in 2.2.1 through 2.2.3. Adverbs for time duration (such as *oltaim* ‘always’ or *longtaim* ‘a long time’) are reviewed in 2.2.4. Two more adverbs, *gen* ‘again’ and *yet* ‘still’ do not fit this continuum, and they are discussed in 2.2.5.

### 2.2.1 Adverbs for the Present

Two adverbs refer to some point in time (or roughly so) in the present: *nau* ‘now’; and *tude* ‘today’. Examples:

- (1) *Na dispela pasin nau i senis*  
‘This custom has now changed.’
- (2) *Tru tumas, nau kain kain masin insait long ol fektori i save wokim ol kago hariap.*  
‘Indeed, all kinds of machines in the factories will produce commodities fast.’
- (3) *He poro, i no taim bilong slip nau!*  
‘Hello, mate, this is no time to sleep!’
- (4) *Olsem na wok tru nau tasol i stat.*  
‘So the real job starts right now.’
- (5) *Orait, nau putim as bilong glas aninit long han.*  
‘All right, now place the thermometer underneath the armpit.’
- (6) *Nau planti manmeri long Papua Niugini i gat tingting long ol i mas bihainim ol waitman.*  
‘Nowadays many people in Papua New Guinea get the idea that they must do as white people do.’
- (7) *Tude long sampela hap bilong Papua Niugini tu, poteto i laik kamap wanpela bikpela samting.*  
‘Nowadays, in some areas of Papua New Guinea, growing potatoes is getting to be something big.’
- (8) *Nogut yumi kirapim sampela wok bilong helpim yumi tude tasol na tumora bai i pinis na hevi i kamap gen.*  
‘Do not let us [incl.] start some project to support us [incl.] today, and tomorrow it is finished and the problems come once again.’

The place of *nau* is either clause-initial, or clause-final; in the middle of the clause, it seems to be rare. Note that if *nau* occurs in a restrictive relative clause, its place is very typically at the beginning, even before relativizing *i* (see Ch. 14, 1.3). In nonrestrictive relative clauses, however, *nau* never occurs before the relativizer *em i*, *ol i*, or *em ol i* (see Ch. 14, 1.4.3). The same rules do not seem to hold for *tude*.

Both *nau* and *tude* also occur nominally, in that they may be preceded by *long*. That is, *long nau* and *long tude* may mean the same as *nau* and *tude*, but also ‘for now, for the present, for today’, and *inap long now* and *inap long tude* means ‘until the present, until today’.

### 2.2.2 Adverbs for the Future

Those referring to some point in time in the future (near or remote) are: *bambai* ‘after a while, in due course’; *bihain* ‘later’; *tumora* ‘tomorrow, the next day’, *haptumora* ‘the day after tomorrow, the third day’; *kwik* or *kwiktaim* ‘fast, soon’; and *wantu* ‘immediately, right away’. Examples:



- (1) *Bambai ol arapela yangpela yet ol i ken pasim maus bilong dispela bikmaus.*  
'After a while the other youngsters themselves will silence the one with the big mouth.'
- (2) *Bambai yu lukim wanem samting?*  
'After a while, what will you see?'
- (3) *Bihain bai yumi bosim kantri bilong yumi yet.*  
'Later we [incl.] will govern our [incl.] own country.'
- (4) *Olsem na wanem samting bai i kamap bihain, mi no ken wari.*  
'And so whatever happens later, I need not worry about that.'
- (5) *Sapos em i kirap, orait yu ken givim planti wara long em, na tumora yu ken givim sampela kaikai long em.*  
'When he awakes, you can give him a lot to drink, and tomorrow you can give him something to eat.'
- (6) *Tumora olgeta man i kam bung long ples.*  
'The next day all people gathered in the village.'
- (7) *Tasol nau na tumora na haptumora mi mas wokabaut i go.*  
'But now and tomorrow and the day after tomorrow I must go on.'
- (8) *Na haptumora tupela i ken slip wantaim gen, sapos tupela i laik.*  
'And the next day the couple can sleep together again, if they want to.'
- (9) *Olsem na nogut em i man bilong kros kwik.*  
'So he should not be a man who gets angry soon.'
- (10) *Mi no ken kaikai kwik. Mi mas autim tok bilong mi pastaim.*  
'I cannot eat for a while. I have to give my message first.'
- (11) *Ol lip i kamap na kwiktaim ol plaua i kamap.*  
'The leaves will sprout first and soon the blossoms will come out.'
- (12) *Na kwiktaim bai yupela i dai long dispela gutpela kantri.*  
'And soon you [pl.] will die in that land of promise.'
- (13) *Tasol sik i no kamap wantu. Sik i save stap hait inap sampela krismas.*  
'But the disease will not show immediately. The disease will be latent up to several years.'
- (14) *Haitim banana long ol pikinini na long man bilong yu tu. Nogut ol i pinisim wantu.*  
'Hide the bananas from the children and your husband, so they won't finish them immediately.'

Note that, unlike English *tomorrow*, Tok Pisin *tumora* may also mean 'the next day', as it does within the broader context of (6). The time anchor for English *tomorrow* is the time of speaking (also called "speaker's time"); in Tok Pisin, that anchor of *tumora* is any point in time, whether it is the time of speaking (as it is in (5)), or a time before or after. Similarly, the time anchor for English *the day after tomorrow* is the time of speaking; for *haptumora* 'the day after tomorrow', 'two days later', that anchor also applies to (7), but not to (8).

Another form of *bambai* is *baimbai*, but its use is declining. As for *bai*, it seems a bit far-fetched to call it an adverb, since it is grammatical rather than lexical—being a future marker.

Of these adverbs, *bihain*, *tumora* and *haptumora* occur also nominally in that they may be preceded by *long*.

### 2.2.3 Adverbs for the Past

Adverbs that refer to some point of time in the past are: *asde* ‘yesterday’; *hapasde* ‘the day before yesterday’; *bipo* ‘before, earlier’; *bipotaim* ‘before, earlier’; *paslain* ‘before’, and *pastaim* ‘before earlier’. Examples:

- (1) *Man, naispela pati asde bilong opim woksop. Het i pen yet.*  
‘Boy, that was a nice party yesterday at the opening of the workshop. I still have a hangover.’
- (2) *Long apinun ol i mas waswas gen wantaim wara na sop, na ol i mas wasim olgeta klos ol i putim asde.*  
‘In the afternoon they must wash themselves with water and soap, and they have to wash all the clothes they wore the day before.’
- (3) *Orait, mi helpim em long dispela marasin, wan na hap kiau, long de bipo hapasde, na hapasde, na asde.*  
‘Then I administered to him this medicine, one and a half tablets, three days ago, the day before yesterday, and yesterday.’
- (4) *Bipo yumi olgeta wan wan yumi save planim kaikai bilong yumi yet.*  
‘In the old days each of us [incl.] used to grow our [incl.] own food.’
- (5) *Bipo mi go long Australia na mi stap tripela yia long skol.*  
‘Before that, I went to Australia and went to school [there] for three years.’
- (6) *Ol i mas tilimaut wok long ol komiti bipotaim liklik bai ol i ken mekim gut wok bilong ol.*  
‘Committee business should be assigned a bit ahead of time, so the members can do their work adequately.’
- (7) *Sapos Difens Fos i mas go insait long wanpela woa, orait, bipotaim yet o wantu bihain long em i statim dispela wok, em i mas ripot long Palamen.*  
‘If the Defense Force engages in war acts, then before or immediately after beginning operations, it must report to Parliament.’
- (8) *Lain i kisim bek olgeta fopela stik paslain, em i win.*  
‘The group that gets back all four sticks first has won.’
- (9) *Long olgeta yia yupela i mas kisim ol kaikai i mau paslain long gaden na bringim i kam.*  
‘Every year you [pl.] must take the fruits of your garden that are ripe first, and bring them.’
- (10) *Pastaim yu toktok, em mi lusim tingting pinis.*  
‘What you said earlier has slipped my mind.’
- (11) *Putim sanpepa pastaim na tebol i kamap smut tru.*  
‘Use sandpaper first and the table will become very smooth.’

Note that in (1), *asde* is anchored to speaker’s time, while in (2) that anchor is not fixed in time (these are rules for caring for patients of skin disease). In (3), the anchor is speaker’s time.

*Paslain* is locative for its basic meaning, as illustrated in 2.1.2. But (like English *ahead of*) *paslain* may also be temporal rather than locative, as in (8) and (9).

Of these adverbs, *asde*, *hapasde*, *bipo* and *bipotaim* may also be used nominally, in that they may have *long* preceding them.

#### 2.2.4 Adverbs of Duration

Adverbs of duration are: *longtaim* ‘a long time’, *oltaim* ‘always’, *oltaim oltaim* ‘for ever and ever’. Examine:

- (1) *Sapos yu putim fetilaisa, bai graun inap i stap gut longtaim moa.*  
‘If you use fertilizer, the soil will be good for a very long time.’
- (2) *I no longtaim na pik i kam bek na bagarapim gaden gen.*  
‘It won’t be long before the pig comes back and messes up the field once again.’
- (3) *Yu no ken wokim wanpela kain pilai oltaim.*  
‘Do not always play the same game.’
- (4) *Man bilong bosim pilai em i mas kisim nupela tingting oltaim.*  
‘The man who supervises games must come up with new ideas all the time.’
- (5) *Na bai dispela graun i stap graun bilong yupela oltaim oltaim.*  
‘And this country will be your [pl.] country forever.’
- (6) *Bikpela, yu bai stap king oltaim oltaim.*  
‘Lord, you will be king for ever and ever.’

#### 2.2.5 Gen and yet

Here are examples of *gen* ‘again’ and *yet* ‘still, yet’. Recall that *yet* may mean ‘self’ and is then an attribute to the noun or pronoun it follows (see Ch. 12, 1.3). The adverb *yet* corresponds to English *yet* in negative clauses and to English *still* in affirmative clauses (see Ch. 5, 4.8). The adverb *yet* may also be an adverb of degree (see 2.4). Note that ‘yet’ may correspond to *gen* if *gen* means ‘additional’.

Examples of the ‘yet’ or ‘still’ meaning:

- (1) *Dispela tok pastaim mi mekim, em mi laik mekim gen.*  
‘This is what I said and I want to say it again.’
- (2) *Rup kapa i sakim hat bilong bilong paia i go daun gen long kopra.*  
‘The copper roof reflects the heat of the fire and forces it down once again on the copra.’
- (3) *Wan aua pinis gen, tanim gen.*  
‘After yet another hour, knead it once again.’
- (4) *Kaukau na taro na kain kain arapela kaikai em mipela i save planim yet.*  
‘Sweet potatoes and taro and various other crops we [excl.] still grow.’
- (5) *Na yumi no save yet wanem rot bai planti man ol i tok long yumi bihainim.*  
‘And we [incl.] do not know yet what ways many will tell us [incl.] to follow.’

### 2.3 Adverbs of Manner

Adverbs of manner are adverbs that express the manner in which what is expressed by the verb takes place or is done. They are: *gut* ‘well’, *hap hap* ‘so-so, in a haphazard manner’, *hariap* ‘hurriedly, in a hurry’, *isi* ‘softly’; *isi isi* ‘slowly’, *krungut* ‘bent’, *kwik* ‘quickly, fast’, *nating* ‘in vain, to no purpose’, *nogut* ‘badly’, *olsem* ‘in this manner, as follows’, *smat* ‘smartly’, and *wantaim* ‘together’. Also, some words in *-pela* that are typically modifiers, used attributively or predicatively, may function in a way that seems to be somewhere on a continuum between predicative and adverbial use. We may call them semiadverbs. The one most frequently occurring is *bikpela*, and others are: *longpela*, *naispela*, *nupela*, *sotpela*, and *waitpela*.

The unmarked adverbs of the first list just now are examined in 2.3.1; those semiadverbs marked with *-pela*, in 2.3.2.

#### 2.3.1 Unmarked Adverbs of Manner

Examples:

- (1) *Tasol yu mas tingting gut na wok strong long kisim dispela save.*  
‘But you must think carefully and take the trouble to acquire this knowledge.’
- (2) *Lida i mas was gut bai ol i pilai long stretpela pasin.*  
‘The leader must watch carefully that they will play according to the rules.’
- (3) *Yumi save mekim. Tasol planti mani i save lus nating long dispela wok. I no karim kaikai gut. Long wanem? Yumi save mekim hap hap tasol.*  
‘We [incl.] do this regularly. But a lot of money is wasted in doing so. It does not bear fruit. Why? We [incl.] do it only superficially.’
- (4) *Ol man bilong tim i mas poroman wantaim bai olgeta i ken brukim dispela banis hariap.*  
‘The men of the team must work together so that all of them may scale the fence fast.’
- (5) *Olaman, sap bilong tit i narakain tru. Hariap mi katim paiawut pinis.*  
‘Boy! The teeth [of the saw] are extraordinarily sharp. I’ve cut the firewood very fast.’
- (6) *Yu tok isi tasol, na skulim ol.*  
‘Speak softly only, and teach them.’
- (7) *Kamautim kumu isi wantaim ol rop.*  
‘Pull out the vegetable sapling gently, along with its roots.’
- (8) *Tanim dram isi isi.*  
‘Turn the drum slowly.’
- (9) *Bosim paia gut na hatim wara isi isi.*  
‘Maintain the fire carefully and heat the water slowly.’
- (10) *Ating sikman i sanap krungut?*  
‘Does the patient stand up hunched?’
- (11) *Nogut pikinini i mas wokabaut krungut.*  
‘It would be bad if the child must walk with a limp.’

- (12) *San em inap bagarapim poteto kwik.*  
‘The sun can destroy potatoes fast.’
- (13) *Planti taim bodi i pinisim kwik ol vairas nogut, na sik i pinis.*  
‘Often the body will quickly kill off the bad viruses, and the disease passes.’
- (14) *Em i stap nating.*  
‘He is a bachelor.’; or: ‘He is unemployed.’
- (15) *Na ol arapela man i sanap nating.*  
‘And others just stand there.’
- (16) *Na nogut yumi traim nating.*  
‘And we [incl.] should not try it without knowing how to do it.’
- (17) *Nogut yu hariap tasol, na yu mekim nating.*  
‘Don’t do this too fast or you will do it in vain.’
- (18) *Em i belhat nogut tru.*  
‘He is very angry indeed.’
- (19) *Ol i kirap nogut na lukluk raun long ol arapela.*  
‘They were startled and looked around at one another.’
- (20) *Stretim olsem: tanim semen wantaim wesan na karamapim dispela hap i bruk.*  
‘Repair it as follows: mix cement with sand and cover those places that are broken.’
- (21) *Sapos yu mekim olsem, wanpela baket em inap long wasim han 100 taim.*  
‘If you do it that way, one bucket is enough to wash one’s hands a hundred times.’
- (22) *Bikpela samting sapos wok insait long woksop i laik ran smat na i no gat planti hevi i kamap.*  
‘It is a good thing if work in the workshop runs well and there are not many problems that arise.’
- (23) *Yu yet i ken mekim sampela pilai wantaim ol na bosim wantaim.*  
‘You can do some games with them yourself and lead it as well.’
- (24) *Tupela i mas pasim tupela lek wantaim.*  
‘The two must tie the two legs together.’
- (25) *Tupela ai wantaim i retpela.*  
‘Both eyes are red.’

### 2.3.2 Semiadverbs Marked with *-pela*

Modifiers marked by *-pela* are treated in Ch. 3, 2. for their morphology; in Ch. 11, 2.1.1. as preposed attributes in phrases; in Ch. 13, 1.1.1 as postposed attributes, but linked, and thus really used predicatively.

Nonverbal predicates are linked to a (nondeictic) subject by *i*, or may follow a copula—and this is true also of *-pela* modifiers in predicate position. But nonverbal predicates may also be linked to the subject (deictic or nondeictic) by a copula verb (see Ch. 7, 2). Such verbs are *stap*, *sindaun*, *sanap* (Ch. 7, 2.1.1) or *kamap*, *go*, *tanim*, *kirap* (Ch. 7, 2.1.2). The predicate character of whatever follows any of these

verbs as copulas was taken for granted in Ch. 7, 2. But it is clear that only equational clauses have pure modifiers, and that after the copulas listed just now that predicate has an adverbial flavor. Consider some examples from Ch. 7, 2.1.2:

- (1) *Tupela i kamap **bikpela**.*  
'The two of them grew up.'
- (2) *As bilong diwai i kamap **waitpela**.*  
'The base of the tree becomes white.'
- (3) *Wanpela sik bilong taro kongkong i save mekim as bilong en i go **bikpela na longpela tru, na lip i go sotpela**.*  
'One [particular] taro disease will make the stem grow big and very long, and the leaves short.'
- (4) *Paia i kirap **bikpela**.*  
'The fire became big.'
- (5) *Ol i paitim solwara na em i kirap **waitpela**.*  
'They hit the surf and it turned white.'

In these, the *-pela* words may still be interpreted as predicative, seeing that *kamap*, *go*, and *kirap* are copulas. Yet these verbs are not purely equational. They involve process, locomotion, change of posture, and so we could say that the words in bold are a bit towards the adverb pole on the modifier-to-adverb continuum. In the following, the words in bold are closer yet to the adverb pole on the continuum:

- (6) *Taim em i katim skin **bikpela**, na kat i go daun insait long mit, sampela taim bai em i katim bikpela rop bilong blut tu.*  
'When he cuts the skin too deep, and the cut goes into the flesh, he may sometimes cut a major artery as well.'
- (7) *Planti pikinini i gat **bikpela bel tru**. Long sampela, dispela em i mak bilong sampela sik, kain olsem splin i solap **bikpela**.*  
'Many children have a swollen belly. With some, this is a symptom of a serious illness, for example that the spleen is badly swollen.'
- (8) *Skin i sikrap **bikpela**.*  
'The skin itches badly.'
- (9) *Skru i solap **bikpela na pen bikpela**.*  
'The joint is badly swollen and is very painful.'
- (10) *Sapos mama i pilim **bikpela pen**, tokim em long em i mas pulim win **bikpela**.*  
'If the woman is in great pain, tell her to take deep breaths.'
- (11) *Ol man i gat planti mani, ol i givim **bikpela**, na ol man i no gat planti, ol i givim liklik.*  
'People who have much money give much, and people who do not have much, give little.'
- (12) *Yupela dua, yupela op. Yupela dua bilong bipo tru, yupela op **bikpela**, bai nambawan king i ken i go insait.*  
'You [pl.] gates, open. You [pl.] old gates, open widely, so that the high king may enter.'

- (13) *Biksi i kamap na i pairap bikpela.*  
 ‘The surf rolls in and thunders mightily.’

*Bikpela* is the semiadverb used most frequently; but there are others. Consider:

- (14) *Sapos yu laik wokim kain blaus olsem bilong bikpela pikinini, orait, wokim longpela, inap long skel bilong en.*  
 ‘If you want to make that kind of blouse for bigger children, make them longer, according to size.’
- (15) *Papa bilong dispela kanu i bin wokim naispela tru. Maski wokim naispela, sapos yu no laik.*  
 ‘The owner of this canoe made it very nice indeed. You don’t have to make it nice, if you don’t like to.’
- (16) *Sapos yu laik kaikai kerot nupela, em i gupela tu.*  
 ‘If you want to eat carrots raw, that is good also.’
- (17) *Sapos man i marit nupela, ol i no ken salim em i go long ami o long mekim arapela bikpela wok bilong gavman.*  
 ‘If a man is newly married, he cannot be drafted into the army or be given other demanding work for the government.’
- (18) *Ol bikpela kaikai bilong ol manmeri i marit nupela, ol bai i pinis olgeta.*  
 ‘Elaborate banquets for newly-weds will disappear altogether.’
- (19) *Tasol mi gat tok long yu olsem, taim yu bilip nupela, yu bin laikim mi tru, tasol nau nogat.*  
 ‘But I have this against you: when you accepted the faith, you loved me sincerely; but now, not any more.’
- (20) *Piksa i soim longpela longpela stis long yu ken luk save gut. Tasol taim yu samap tru, yu mas samap sotpela, olsem namba wan piksa i soim.*  
 ‘The picture shows the long stitches only, so you can recognize them. But when you actually sew, sew in short stitches, as the first picture shows.’

## 2.4 Adverbs of Degree

Adverbs of degree express the degree to which a modifier or a qualifier applies. Thus, in English, *high* is a modifier (for example, in *a high pole*), and the degree to which it applies may be expressed by adverbs of degree like *very*, *extremely*, *fairly*, *moderately*, and the like (*a very high pole*; *an extremely high pole*, and so forth) such adverbs are, syntactically, dependents of the modifier. Similarly, an adverb may also take an adverb of degree as its dependent. Thus, *very* in *very competently* (as in *she did her job very competently*), is an adverb of degree. In sum, adverbs of degree are dependents in either modifier phrases or adverbial phrases (see Ch. 16).

One set of expressions of degree is in what has traditionally been called the degrees of comparison (of adjectives, or of adverbs). Adverbs in these degrees have been treated in Ch. 16, 2, other adverbs of degree in Ch. 16, 3.

Apart from adverbs of degree in modifier phrases and adverbial phrases, there are also such adverbs qualifying verbs; for example, *highly* in *He esteemed her highly*, or *moa* in *She loved him more*.

In Tok Pisin, adverbs of degree immediately qualifying the predicate (apart from the *-pela* semiadverbs described in 2.3.2) are: *moa* ‘more, very much’; *olgeta* ‘altogether, fully, wholly’; *tru* ‘wholly, thoroughly’; and *tumas* ‘much, very much’. (Note that the constituent in predicate position may be a modifier, and adverbs of degree with them have been treated in Ch. 16.)

*Moa* in negative clauses (in so far as affected by negation) is described in Ch. 5, 4.7. Here are some examples not within the scope of negation:

- (1) *Nau bai man bilong mi i laikim mi moa.*  
‘Now my husband will love me more.’
- (2) *Jekop, narapela nem bilong en Israel, i save laikim Josep moa long ol arapela pikinini bilong em.*  
‘Jacob, also named Israel, always loved Joseph more than his other children.’
- (3) *Tasol Lot i strong moa yet long tupela.*  
‘But Lot insisted even more with [the two of] them.’
- (4) *Na ol strongpela man bilong Moap i seksek moa yet.*  
‘And the powerful men of the Moabs trembled with great fear.’
- (5) *Bai mi bekim rong bilong yupela moa yet.*  
‘I will punish your [pl.] misdeeds severely.’
- (6) *Hana i pilim nogut tru na i krai moa yet na i prea long Bikpela.*  
‘Hannah felt great bitterness, and with many tears she prayed to the Lord.’
- (7) *Bikpela i helpim yumi Israel moa yet, na i winim tru ol dispela birua.*  
‘The Lord has helped us [incl.] the people of Israel mightily, and has defeated these enemies.’

*Olgeta* may be a quantifier, meaning ‘all’ (Ch. 12, 1.3); it may be affected by negation (Ch. 5, 4.6). *Olgeta* may also be a qualifier in a modifier phrase or an adverbial phrase (Ch. 16, 3.2). In the following, *olgeta* directly qualifies the predicate:

- (8) *Long taim yu lukim lip bilong poteto i dai, tasol sampela wan wan i no i dai olgeta, orait em taim bilong kamautim kaikai.*  
‘When you see the leaves of the potato plant die off, but a few have not yet died off altogether, then it is time to harvest the potatoes.’
- (9) *Sapos yu baim gutpela ensin na wampela taim tasol yu lusim wel olgeta, bai em i wok 10 minit tasol na i bagarap olgeta.*  
‘If you buy a good engine and run it without any oil even once, it will run just ten minutes and be totally wrecked.’
- (10) *Haus bilong ol i save bagarap olgeta.*  
‘Their house would be totally destroyed.’

However, *olgeta* as a qualifier of degree tends to overlap with *olgeta* as a quantifier, as between a reading like ‘the whole of it’ and ‘all of it’.



*Tru* may be a modifier, used predicatively (Ch. 3, 2.1.1), or a postposed modifier in a noun phrase (Ch. 3, 2.1.1; Ch. 12, 1.4). *Tru* may also be a qualifier in modifier phrases and adverbial phrases (Ch. 16, 3.5). In the following, *tru* directly qualifies the predicate:

- (11) *Dispela samting i bagarapim tru, na man i no inap skelim toktok na tingting bilong en.*  
'This [i.e. alcohol] destroys him [the alcoholic] wholly, and people cannot make sense of what he says or thinks.'
- (12) *Was gut na kukim tru, na marasin nogut bilong tapiok i mas aut olgeta.*  
'Make sure you boil it thoroughly, so that the bad stuff in the cassava is completely removed.'
- (13) *Paia i mas hatim tru skin bilong stov.*  
'The fire must make the stove's mantle red hot.'
- (14) *Ol krismas bilong ol i winim tru ol krismas bilong mi.*  
'Their age is much greater than mine.'
- (15) *Em i mas inapim tru dispela arapela promis.*  
'He has to fulfill these other promises fully.'

Finally, there is *tumas*. It may be a qualifier in a modifier phrase of an adverbial phrase (Ch. 16, 3.6). In the following, *tumas* directly qualifies the predicate:

- (16) *Yu mekim gupela tok, na mi laikim tumas.*  
'What you say is good, and I like it very much.'
- (17) *Yumi laik tumas long baim kain kain samting.*  
'We [incl.] like very much to buy various kinds of things.'
- (18) *Nogut yu pulim tumas wanpela pilai na bai taim i no inap long mekim arapela.*  
'Don't play one game so long that there won't be time for another game.'
- (19) *Nogut san i hatim em tumas, na bai em i kamap grinpela.*  
'The sun must not heat it to the point where they turn green.'

## 2.5 Sentence Adverbs

Sentence adverb has been the traditional name for adverbs that qualify an entire clause, not just the verb or any other word class in predicate position. A few English examples may clarify this. In *Unfortunately, the suspect escaped* (or, *The suspect unfortunately escaped*), what is considered unfortunate is that the suspect escaped. In *Wisely, John spoke to the superintendent* (or, *John wisely spoke to the superintendent*), it is asserted that it was wise for John to speak to the superintendent. Paragraphs of these examples would be: *The subject escaped and that was unfortunate*; and *John spoke to the superintendent and that was wise*. Compare the second example with *John spoke to the superintendent wisely*, in which *wisely* only modifies *spoke*. In short, a sentence adverb extends over the whole clause, or, its scope is the entire clause. With other adverbs, the scope is only the phrase (verb phrase, modifier phrase, adverbial phrase) in which it occurs. Note that sentence adverbs of this kind relate immediately to the clause in which they occur.

Examples of such sentence adverbs in Tok Pisin are: *mobeta* ‘better, rather, preferably’; and *tu* (after *na*) ‘furthermore, also’.

There are other expressions that relate to a whole clause (or a set of clauses) that precedes—a kind of truncated clause. Examples in English (phrases rather than single word) are *all right*, *never mind*, or *too bad*. Such expressions in Tok Pisin are *maski* ‘never mind’; *orait* ‘all right, after that, that done’ (often unexpressed in English); and *sori* ‘too bad’.

For *mobeta*, consider:

- (1) *Mobeta mi wokim dispela samting planti moa, na ol man ol i ken baim long mi.*  
‘I’d better make a lot more of these, so people can buy them from me.’
- (2) *Ol pren, mobeta nau yumi go long haus kaikai na kaikai liklik samting.*  
‘Friends, we [incl.] had better go to a restaurant and get something to eat.’
- (3) *Sapos yu no save gut mobeta yu no traim.*  
‘If you don’t know, better not try it.’
- (4) *Mobeta yu lukluk namba tu taim.*  
‘Better take another good look.’
- (5) *Olsem na mobeta sikman i no ken dring aspirin bilong daunim liklik het pen.*  
‘So a patient should preferably not take an aspirin to get rid of some minor headache.’
- (6) *Mobeta yu sindaun wantaim ol pipel na harim tok bilong ol.*  
‘Better sit down with the people and listen to them.’
- (7) *Ating mobeta i mas lusim dispela tingting.*  
‘Perhaps he’ll be better off without those ideas.’

Note that *mobeta* relates to the entire clause, not just to the predicate in it.

*Mobeta* is not a comparative, and it never has a standard X as in ‘better than X’. *Mobeta* is also not a modifier. Expressions like *i mobeta* ‘it is better’ are very rare and their status as acceptable Tok Pisin is perhaps best considered suspect.

*Tu* as a sentence adverb occurs after *na*—there is a pause after *na tu*, and that little phrase relates to what follows immediately. Examples:

- (8) *Na tu hamas man i save mekim wok insait long woksop?*  
‘(Consider) also, how many people will work in the repair shop?’
- (9) *Na tu ples i stap longwe long taun i gat hevi bilong baim transpot bilong kisim samting i kam.*  
‘Also, a village far from town has the problem of payment for getting things transported to them.’
- (10) *Na tu redim klinpela wara.*  
‘Also, have clean water ready.’
- (11) *Na tu, skinhat i helpim ol dokta long painimaut, sik i stap olsem wanem.*  
‘Also, [information about] the temperature [of the sick person] can help the doctor in finding out what kind of illness it is.’

- (12) *Na tu, mipela i toktok long sampela pasin bilong kukim ol dispela kaikai.*  
‘In addition we [excl.] discuss several ways of cooking these kinds of food.’

For *maski*, consider:

- (13) *Sapos mi laik wokim nupela gaden, na mi no singautim sampela man, orait maski, sampela ol yet bai ol i kam na helpim mi.*  
‘If I want to till new ground, and I don’t ask anyone else to join me, it makes little difference, for there will always be some who will come to help me.’
- (14) *Maski, mobeta yumi stap hia na wetim narapela trak.*  
‘Never mind, let us [incl.] just stay here and wait for another truck.’
- (15) *Orait, maski, yumi ken bihainim narapela rot.*  
‘Well, now, it doesn’t matter, we [incl.] can do it some other way.’
- (16) *Sapos sikman i traut, maski, em i no ken lusim dring.*  
‘If the patient vomits, never mind, he must not stop drinking.’
- (17) *Dispela matres i papa stret bilong baksait pen: maski, rausim.*  
‘This mattress is the immediate source of the back pain. Forget it, throw it out.’
- (18) *Maski, mi no ken harim tok bilong yu.*  
‘Forget it, I don’t have to listen to you.’
- (19) *Maski, larim ol i bihainim laik bilong ol yet.*  
‘Never mind, let them do what they want.’

*Maski* also has quite different functions. Especially, it marks dependent questions with indefinite WH- expressions (see Ch. 6, 2.2), it marks negative imperatives (prohibitives—see Ch. 5, 3), and it marks concessive clauses (Ch. 24, 2.1.6). As a sentence adverb, *maski* is followed by a pause. Consider (17), above, where *maski* [pause] *rausim* means ‘never mind, throw it out; by contrast *maski rausim* would mean ‘don’t throw it out’.

For *orait*, consider:

- (20) *Sapos yupela i kisim planti mani moa, orait bai yupela i mekim wanem long dispela?*  
‘If you [pl.] get a great deal of money, then what will you [pl.] do with it?’
- (21) *Orait, olsem wanem na em i laik selim kopra?*  
‘Now [given what you say], why would he want to sell copra?’
- (22) *Sapos yumi kirapim bisnis na lukautim gut, orait bai yumi kisim profit long dispela.*  
‘If we [incl.] start a business and take good care of it, then we [incl.] get profit from that.’
- (23) *Orait. Nek bilong mi i drai, na mi hangre tu. Mobeta yumi go.*  
‘Fine [i.e. what you say]. I am thirsty, and hungry too. Let us [incl.] go.’
- (24) *Orait. Nau yu no bikmaus long ol.*  
‘All right [given what I have said]. Now don’t shout at them.’

- (25) **Orait.** *Nau namba tu lain i go hait.*  
 ‘That done, now the second group goes and hides [in the bush].’
- (26) *Sapos snek i kaikaim lek, orait, man i no ken wokabaut, nogat tru.*  
 ‘If a snake bites a man in the leg, then he must not walk. Not at all.’

*Orait* typically marks the beginning of the main clause after a temporal subclause (Ch. 24, 2.1.1) or conditional subclause (Ch. 24, 2.1.3).

## 2.6 Clause Qualifiers

No review of adverbs is complete without mentioning the kind that may be called clause qualifiers. They are: *ating*, to introduce a question; *no*, the negation marker; and *nogat*, which is replacive for a negative clause. While *ating* has some properties of a sentence adverb, and *nogat* as replacive relates to a previous clause, *no* is a species of adverb all its own, in that it affects the entire clause. On all of these, see Ch. 5, 1 and Ch. 5, 2.

## 23: OTHER WORD CLASSES

The remaining word classes are quantifiers, prepositions, conjunctions, and interjections. These are treated in 1 through 4.

### 1. Quantifiers

Grammars traditionally identify a word class of numerals. Numerals are about quantity, and so they are also called quantifiers. But the class of quantifiers comprises more than numerals. Numerals quantify in numbers (for example, in English, *eleven houses*), but other quantifiers do not (in *many houses*). Nonnumeral quantifiers are further distinguished according to whether the nouns they quantify are count (that is, they can be counted, as in *many houses*) or noncount (they cannot, as in *much water*).

The descriptive advantage of treating numeral and nonnumeral quantifiers (both count and noncount) together is that, syntactically, they behave much the same way in many languages, Tok Pisin among them.

Quantifiers may occur as stand-alones or in phrases. In the discussion of phrases (Chs. 11 through 16), quantifying phrases were not included. In the present chapter, they will be. It is more convenient to do so, even though quantifying phrases cannot be said to belong to a word class.

Below, numeral quantifiers are treated in 1.1, nonnumeral quantifiers in 1.2, and the syntax of quantifiers in 1.3.

#### 1.1 Numeral Quantifiers

Traditionally, the class of numerals has been divided into different subclasses: cardinal numerals ('one', 'two', 'three', etc.), and ordinal numerals ('first', 'second', 'third', etc.). Depending on the language, distributive numerals have been considered as another special subclass: expressions like 'one by one', or 'two each' are one-word items in some languages, including Tok Pisin though not including English. But if numerals are seen as quantifiers, ordinal numerals are not in that class, for they do not quantify a noun; rather, they are modifiers. In Tok Pisin, they are phrasal, and they have been treated in Ch. 11, 2.5 (preposed) and in Ch. 12, 3 (postposed). Distributive numerals, however, are quantifiers.

Cardinal numerals are examined in 1.1.1; distributive numerals, in 1.1.2.

##### 1.1.1 Cardinal Numerals

Cardinal numerals may take *-pela*, and were for that reason treated in Ch. 3, 2.4; two different systems (A and B) involving simple and composed numerals are explained there, and rules for suffixation with *-pela* are also given.

Here follow sets more complete than given there; those of 1 through 10 in both System A and System B, in (1); those of 11 through 20, System A, in (2); those of 11 through 20, System B, in (3); multiples of 10, through 100, System A, in (4); multiples of ten, through 100, System B, in (5); multiples of 100,

through 1,000, in both systems, in (6); higher multiples of 100, and so forth, in (7); those over 100, 1,000, and so forth, but under the next multiple of 100, 1,000, and so forth (8):

- (1) *wan* ‘one’; *tu* ‘two’; *tri* ‘three’; *foa* ‘four’; *faiv* ‘five’; *sikis* ‘six’; *seven* ‘seven’; *et* ‘eight’; *nain* ‘nine’; *ten* ‘ten’
- (2) *wanpela ten wan* ‘eleven’; *wanpela ten tu* ‘twelve’; *wanpela ten tri* ‘thirteen’; etc., through *wanpela ten nain* ‘nineteen’; *tupela ten* ‘twenty’
- (3) *eleven* ‘eleven’; *twelv* ‘twelve’; *titin* ‘thirteen’; *fotin* ‘fourteen’; *fifitin* ‘fifteen’; *sikistin* ‘sixteen’; *seventin* ‘seventeen’; *etin* ‘eighteen’; *naintin* ‘nineteen’; *twenti* ‘twenty’
- (4) *tupela ten* ‘twenty’; *tripela ten* ‘thirty’; etc., through *nainpela ten* ‘ninety’ (that is, those of (1), with *-pela* suffixed, followed by *ten*); *wan hundet* ‘one hundred’
- (5) *twenti* ‘twenty’; *teti* ‘thirty’; *foti* ‘forty’; *fifti* ‘fifty’; *sikisti* ‘sixty’; *seventi* ‘seventy’; *eti* ‘eighty’; *nainti* ‘ninety’; *wan hundet* ‘one hundred’
- (6) *wan hundet* ‘one hundred’; *tu hundet* ‘two hundred’, etc., through *nain hundet* ‘nine hundred’ (that is, those of (1), without *-pela*, followed by *hundet*); *wan tausen* ‘one thousand’
- (7) *wan tausen* ‘one thousand’; *tu tausen* ‘two thousand’; etc. (that is, those of (1), without *-pela*, followed by *tausen*); *wan milion* ‘one million’
- (8) *wan handet fifitin* ‘115’; *tu handet sikisti seven* ‘267’; *nain handet eti nain* ‘989’; *wan tausen tu hundet twenti tu* ‘1,222’; *faiv tausen twelv* ‘5,012’; *fifitin tausen seven handet tu* ‘15,702’; *nain milion sikis handet nainteen tausen et hundet twenti sikis* ‘9,619,826’ (that is, unlike English, which often uses *and* after hundreds, thousands, millions, Tok Pisin does not use *na*)

*Tupela* may also function to join two nouns in a conjoined noun phrase; see Ch. 11, 1. Also, *tupela* may be a pronoun; see Ch. 3, 2.3 and Ch. 21, 1.

### 1.1.2 Distributive Numerals

Distributive numerals are reduplicated and marked with *-pela* for all numerals exceeding ‘one’; for ‘one’, there are two forms, *wan wan*; or *wanpela wanpela*. These numerals are distributive in any of a variety of senses: ‘one each’ (distributed over persons or things); or ‘one at a time’ (distributed over time); or ‘one in each place’ (distributed in space); and the like. Examples:

- (1) *Em i makim wanpela wanpela wokboi bilong lukautim wan wan lain animal.*  
‘He entrusted each of the workers with the care for each herd of cattle.’
- (2) *Tripela taim long wanpela wanpela yia yupela i mas makim bikpela de bilong lotu long mi.*  
‘Three times each year you [pl.] must reserve a feast day for worship.’
- (3) *Tupela man i wok wantaim long tanim. Ol i brukim wanpela wanpela stik suga tasol.*  
‘Two men are turning the machine. They break one sugar cane stick each time.’

- (4) *Strongim lek bilong tebol long **tupela tupela** hap plang long fopela kona.*  
'Make the legs of the table firm with two blocks of wood in each of the four corners.'
- (5) *Mipela i planim pos diwai o pos ain long olgeta **tupela tupela** mita.*  
'We [excl.] planted wooden or iron posts at two-meter intervals.'
- (6) *Na em i singautim ol twelpela disaipel i kam, na em i salim ol i go **tupela tupela**.*  
'He called the twelve disciples, and sent them before him in twos.'
- (7) *Sapos yu givim gutpela kaikai long ol balus, bai balus meri i karim nupela kiau long olgeta **tripela tripela** wik.*  
'If you feed the pigeons well, the female will lay eggs every three weeks.'
- (8) *Banis long ol **wan wan** sait bilong taun i gat **tripela tripela** dua.*  
'The town walls had three gates on each side.'
- (9) *Brukim ol man **fopela fopela** long sampela tim. Ol tim i resis long 50 mita o 100 mita.*  
'Divide the men in teams of four. The teams run 50 or 100 meters.'
- (10) *Em i gat gia, olsem na wanpela man i tanim na strong bilong dispela man em inap long brukim **faipela faipela** stik suga.*  
'It has a gear, so one man operates it and the strength of this man is enough to break five sugar cane stems at a time.'
- (11) *Sapos i gat 20 man i stap na lida i tok "bung 6," orait lain i ken bung **sikispela sikispela** na em inap 18 man tasol.*  
'If 20 players are present and the [game] leader says "groups of six," then they can regroup in sixes, comprising only 18 players.'

Observe *wanpela wanpela* in (1) and *wan wan* in (2). Here follow some more examples of *wan wan*:

- (12) *Ol **wan wan** wel i gat namba, bihainim **wan wan** wok. Kisim wel bihainim namba bilong en stret olsem skultok bilong masin i soim yu.*  
'Each kind of oil has its own number. Take the oil of the right number shown in the manual of the machine.'
- (13) *Kisim katen o strongpela pepa na wokim paus. Em i bilong slipim stret ol piksa bilong **wan wan** klos.*  
'Get cardboard or packing paper and make an envelope. That will preserve the patterns of each article of clothing.'
- (14) *Raitim leta **wan wan**, maski bungim.*  
'Write block letters, not script.'
- (15) *I no gat man **wan wan** i papa long hap graun **wan wan**, olsem man i papa long wanpela kago.*  
'There are no individual persons who own this or that plot of ground, the way a man can own some commodity.'

*Wan wan* and *wanpela wanpela* may also be a nonnumeral quantifier ('few, 'one or two'), especially with *tasol* ('only few'); see 1.2. None of the other cardinals can be used this way.

For the syntactic properties of these distributives, as well as their phrase forms, see 1.3.

## 1.2 Nonnumeral Quantifiers

Quantifiers other than numerals are: *moa* ‘more’; *olgeta* ‘all’; *planti* ‘many, much’; *sampela* ‘some, a bit of, a couple of’; (interrogative) *hamas* ‘how much, how many’; and *liklik* ‘little, a little’. None of these distinguish between count and noncount, except for *liklik*, which is used only with noncount nouns; *liklik* as an attribute to count nouns means ‘little, small’.

*Moa* may be a qualifier in comparative modifier and adverbial phrases (see Ch. 16, 2.3 through Ch. 16, 2.5). *Moa* may also be a verb qualifier of degree (Ch. 22, 2.4). The following illustrates *moa* as a quantifier:

- (1) *Mi gat wanpela tok moa.*  
‘There’s one more thing I have to say.’
- (2) *Adam i stap et hundet yia moa.*  
‘Adam lived for another 800 years.’
- (3) *I mas gat tu mun o moa namel long namba wan na namba tu taim ol i paitim tok.*  
‘There have to be two months or more between the first and the second debate.’
- (4) *Suprim Kot i gat pawa sapos wanpela jas tasol i harim kot, o sapos moa jas i sindaun wantaim.*  
‘The Supreme Court has jurisdiction if a single judge presides, or if more judges sit together.’
- (5) *Tumora bai mi kam bek gen na givim sampela marasin moa.*  
‘I will come back tomorrow and give some more medicine.’
- (6) *Bai mi mekim ol lain pikinini bilong yu i kamap planti moa.*  
‘I will make the number of your offspring increase.’
- (7) *Sapos bebi i pulim fifty taim o moa insait long wanpela minit, em i gat sik niu monia.*  
‘If the baby’s breathing rate is 50 times a minute or more, it has pneumonia.’
- (8) *Na i gat moa long sikis tausen dispela tarangu.*  
‘And there are more than 6,000 of these poor people.’

*Moa* in (8) has a standard following it, marked by *long*: ‘more than’. But this construction is rare in the corpus and the typical way of expressing such a standard is with *winim* (see Ch. 15, 5).

*Olgeta* may be a qualifier rather than a quantifier (see Ch. 4, 2.3.4 and Ch. 16, 3.2), and it is affected by negation in special ways in either case (Ch. 5, 4.6). The following illustrates *olgeta* as a quantifier, including some in negative clauses where *olgeta* is not affected by the negation:

- (9) *Tasol bilong wanem yupela i laik mekim dispela olgeta wok?*  
‘But why do you [pl.] want to do all this work?’



- (10) *Bipo yumi **olgeta** wan wan yumi save planim kaikai bilong yumi yet.*  
'In the old days each and every one of us [incl.] used to grow our [incl.] own food.'
- (11) ***Olgeta** samting em i gat pe bilong en.*  
'Everything has its price.'
- (12) *Yupela i mas bihainim **olgeta** lo bilong mi.*  
'You [pl.] must obey all my laws.'
- (13) *Na **olgeta** i kaikai na ol i pulap na ol i no hangre.*  
'And all ate and they were satisfied and no longer hungry.'
- (14) *Em i harim stori bilong **olgeta** samting God i bin mekim.*  
'He heard the story of all that the Lord had done.'
- (15) *Yumi no gat dispela **olgeta** samting.*  
'We [incl.] do not have all those things.'
- (16) *Hetmeri em yet i no kisim **olgeta** save pinis.*  
'The woman in charge herself does not know everything.'
- (17) *Yu no ken wet long skin bilong **olgeta** kaikai i kamap yelopela.*  
'Don't wait until the skin of all the fruit has turned yellow.'
- (18) *Mi no save gut as bilong **olgeta** tok bilong yu.*  
'I don't quite know what you mean by all those things you say.'

In (15) through (18), *olgeta* is unaffected by negation.

For *planti*, examine:

- (19) *Na **planti** ol i kirapim bisnis bilong ol yet.*  
'And many start their own businesses.'
- (20) ***Planti** manmeri ol i save mekim wok bilong kisim mani.*  
'Many people regularly work to earn money.'
- (21) *I gat **planti** samting yu ken givim wok long en bihain.*  
'There are many things you will be needing later.'
- (22) *Tasol yumi **planti** man yumi no bin tingting gut long dispela pasin.*  
'But many of us [incl.] have not considered this custom carefully.'
- (23) *Yu inap kamapim **planti** gutpela poteto.*  
'You can grow plenty of good potatoes.'
- (24) *Na tu i no **planti** pipia i save lus nating.*  
'Also, not much sawdust gets wasted.'
- (25) *Sapos yu wokim bekri long semen em bai i stap **planti** yia moa.*  
'If you build the bakery with cement it will stay there for very many years to come.'
- (26) *I nogat wok long **planti** suga bilong kukim bret no skon.*  
'Not much sugar is needed to bake bread or scones.'

*Sampela* may be either singular (as an indefinite pronoun) or plural (as a quantifier):

- (27) ***Sampela** ol i mas i kam daun, na twelpela tasol i stap.*  
'Some have to get off [the truck], and only twelve can stay.'
- (28) *Ol i bung na baim **sampela** samting long stua bilong ol Saina.*  
'They got together and bought a few things in the Chinese store.'

- (29) *Yu save, sampela kantri ol i gat pasin bilong komunis.*  
'As you know, some nations have a communist system.'
- (30) *Mobeta yumi baim sampela buai pastaim.*  
'We [incl.] had better buy some betel nut first.'
- (31) *Namel long ol bihain bai sampela ol i kisim wok gavman.*  
'Some among them will later be public servants.'
- (32) *Tasol sampela liklik pikinini na sampela lapun i no gat skinhat.*  
'But some small children and some elderly people do not have a fever.'
- (33) *Sampela sikman i sot tru long wara.*  
'Some patients are severely dehydrated.'

*Hamas* was treated in Ch. 6, 2.1.5 (for independent questions) and Ch. 6, 2.2 (for dependent questions). For *hamas* as an attribute, see Ch. 11, 2.1.3; it occasionally takes *-pela*. The following illustrate *hamas*:

- (34) *Kaunim, hamas taim em i pulim win insait long wanpela minit.*  
'Count how many times he breathes in one minute.'
- (35) *Yu karim hamas pikinini pinis?*  
'How many children have you had?'
- (36) *Skelim, meri i gat bel hamas mun.*  
'Estimate how many months the woman has been pregnant.'
- (37) *Wan wan marasin i gat lo long givim hamas taim.*  
'Each medicine has a rule about how many times it should be given.'
- (38) *Na hamas pik bai yu lukautim?*  
'And how many pigs will you keep?'
- (39) *Yu laikim hamas telepon?*  
'How many phones do you want?'

*Liklik* may be a modifier ('little, small') (Ch. 11, 2.7), and as such occasionally takes *-pela* (Ch. 3, 2.1.2); or it may be a qualifier of degree ('a bit'), either in a modifier phrase or an adverbial phrase (Ch. 16, 3.1) or as an adjunct to the verb (Ch. 4, 2.3.4); it may be affected by negation (Ch. 5, 4.2); and it may be reduplicated (Ch. 17, 7.2). Below are some examples of quantifying *liklik* (the negatives in (38) and (39) do not affect *liklik*):

- (40) *Liklik taim tasol na yumi Papua Niugini bai yumi yet bosim wok gavman bilong yumi.*  
'A little time only, and we [incl.] Papua New Guineans will run our [incl.] government ourselves [incl].'
- (41) *Kapsaitim liklik kerasin antap long dispela wara.*  
'Pour a little kerosene on this water.'
- (42) *Nogut yumi save liklik tasol long pasin bilong pilai.*  
'It would be bad if we [incl.] knew only a little about how to play the game.'
- (43) *Putim pinis pikinini rais long baret, orait karamapim long liklik graun tasol.*

'After you have put the rice seeds in the furrow, cover them with a bit of soil.'

- (44) *Maniman i no ken givim planti na rabisman i no ken givim liklik.*

'It is not permitted for wealthy people to give much and poor people to give little [instead, all must give the same amount].'

- (45) *Nogut yumi save liklik tasol long pasin bilong pilai.*

'We [incl.] should not know just a little about the rules of the game.'

### 1.3 The Syntax of Quantifiers

There are various syntactic properties of quantifiers. First, there are the ways negation affects a quantifier (Ch. 5, 4.1; Ch. 5, 4.2; Ch. 5, 4.6; Ch. 5, 4.7). Second, there is word order for numeral quantifiers used attributively, preceding or following their head nouns. Third, the sequential position of nonnumeral attributive quantifiers needs to be examined.

The second point is treated in 1.3.1, the third in 1.3.2.

#### 1.3.1 Attributive Numeral Quantifiers

Cardinal numerals precede their heads if they are quantifiers ((1) through (6)). Cardinals, however, may function as ordinals, and must then follow the head. The obvious type of such constructions is with *namba* as the head: *namba* + cardinal may then be used attributively, either preposed as in (7) and (8), or postposed as in (9) and (10). Other count nouns may also be used (such as *step* 'step', *piksa* 'picture' or *pes* 'page', as in (11) through (14)).

- (1) *Longpela bilong en et na hap sentimita.*

'The length of it is 8½ centimeters.'

- (2) *Yu ken wokim liklik stov long twenti lita dram (em i foa galen dram).*

'You can make a stove from a twenty liter drum (that is a four gallon drum).'

- (3) *Em i mas i stap sevenpela o nainpela de.*

'Let it stand seven to nine days.'

- (4) *Dispela tok bilong yu em nau mi harim namba wan taim.*

'What you are saying I now hear for the first time.'

- (5) *Nau putim i go bek long frisa na larim i stap twelv aua na i go strong olgeta.*

'Now put it back in the freezer and let it stand for twelve hours so it will become all hard.'

- (6) *Sapos yu samap liklik tasol, putim wel long olgeta sikis mun o long olgeta wan yia wan yia.*

'If you use the sewing machine only occasionally, use oil every six months or every year.'

- (7) *Sapos wanpela kantri i laik kamapim tu handet titi tausien tan long naitrosin fetilaisa long wanpela yia, ol i ken bihainim tupela rot.*

'If a country wants to produce 230,000 tons of nitrogen fertilizer in one year, there are two ways this can be done.'

- (8) *Namba tri tenkyu bilong mi i go long meri bilong mi.*  
'The third expression of gratitude goes to my wife.'
- (9) *Sampela kaikai i stap long lis namba tri, em i gat bikpela pe bilong en.*  
'Some kinds of food on the third list are very expensive.'
- (10) *Orait long maikroskop long skel namba wan tausen, yumi inap lukim jems.*  
'Now, with a microscope magnifying one thousand times we [incl.] can see germs.'
- (11) *Wok, step wan: Mi makim sais stret bilong krungutim arere bilong long-pela ain hia. Step tu: Mi yusim fotin ins drilbit na bihainim mak stret bilong drilim ol hul.*  
'This job, first step: I mark the exact size for bending the edge of this long piece of iron. Second step: I use a 14 inch drill bit and drill the holes exactly where they should be.'
- (12) *Piksa foa. Sapos yumi katim het bilong masin long namel stret, bai ol i luk olsem.*  
'Picture 4. If we [incl.] cut the head of the machine in the middle, they [i.e. the components] will look like this.'
- (13) *Sapos yu laik stat long pes wan na ritim buk i go i go na pinisim olgeta, orait, yu ken mekim.*  
'If you want to start on page 1 and read the book all the way to the end, well, you can do that.'
- (14) *Liklik simen inap tu na hap sentimita inap.*  
'A layer of cement of up to 2½ centimeter is enough.'

Cardinals may themselves be qualified by (preposed) *inap* 'up to, at least' or *olsem* 'about, approximately'; and by (postposed) *olgeta* 'in all, total', *samting* 'about, approximately', and *stret* 'exactly'.

- (15) *Nau dikim hul, inap sikisti sentimita.*  
'Now dig a hole 60 centimeters deep.'
- (16) *Soyabin na pinat na mangbin i gat planti protin, olsem twentifaiv pesen na teti pesen.*  
'Soybeans and peanuts and mung beans have a lot of proteins, about 25% to 30%.'
- (17) *Na tu, pe bilong dispela kain somil em i bikpela, olsem foa tausen Kina o sikis tausen Kina samting.*  
'Also, the price of this kind of sawmill is high, about 4,000 to 6,000 Kinas.'
- (18) *Long ples kol bai kain mit olsem i stap gut inap tripela wik o fopela wik samting.*  
'In a cool place meat of this kind stays good up to about three or four weeks.'

- (19) *Wokim bikpela haus na lukautim **twenti** o foti o wan handet pik olgeta.*  
‘Build a big sty and keep 20 or 40 or 100 pigs in all.’
- (20) *Em i **etpela** hip olgeta.*  
‘That is eight heaps [of compost] all together’
- (21) *Putim longpela stik i winim man, olsem tu o **tri** mita samting.*  
‘Place tall sticks higher than a man, about two or three meters.’
- (22) *Op bilong raun i mas tu o **tri** mita samting.*  
‘The diameter of the circle should be two to three meters.’
- (23) *Boilim gen, **faiv** minit samting.*  
‘Boil it again, for about five minutes.’
- (24) *Dispela rot i wok gutpela liklik long ol meri i bihainim taim bilong sik mun stret, na lukim sik mun long olgeta **fopela** wik stret.*  
‘This is a good way for women who have regular periods and have their periods exactly every four weeks.’
- (25) *Yu mas mekim dispela wok bilong makim Aron wantaim ol pikinini man bilong en i kamap pris, inap long sevenpela de stret*  
‘You must fulfill this command of making Aaron and his sons priests, and take exactly seven days over their investiture.’

Cardinals precede all preposed modifiers, if any ((26) and (27)); but the pronouns (*n*)*arapela* ‘other’ and *dispela* ‘this, that’ may precede the cardinal ((26) through (30)); the quantifier (but not the qualifier) *olgeta* invariably precedes the cardinal ((31) and (32)).

- (26) *Givim spes inap sikis mita namel long tupela diwai kapok. Em i olsem **sikispela** bikpela step.*  
‘Keep a clearance of at least six meters between two cotton tress. That is about six big steps.’
- (27) *Dispela kantri Nimrot i bosim i gat **tripela** bikpela taun.*  
‘This country Nimrod ruled over had three big towns.’
- (28) *Lukim ol poin long narapela **fopela** tim i stap daunbilo.*  
‘See the scores of the other four teams below.’
- (29) *Dispela **faipela** king wantaim ol ami bilong ol, ol i bung wantaim long ples daun.*  
‘These five kings with their troops gathered in the valley.’
- (30) *Na long olgeta strong bilong en, em i subim dispela **tupela** pos.*  
‘And with all his strength, he thrust these two pillars.’
- (31) *Maski wanem rot yupela i laik bihainim bilong wokim dram oven, ol tul i wankain long olgeta **tripela** rot.*  
‘No matter which way you [pl.] want to do it, the tools are the same for all three ways.’
- (32) *Senisim banis olgeta **tripela** o **fopela** de tasol.*  
‘Change the dressing every three or four days only.’

For the sequential position of *dispela* and *narapela* in regard to the plural marker *ol* and to other preposed attributes, see Ch. 11, 2.8.

### 1.3.2 Attributive Nonnumeral Quantifiers

Of the nonnumeral quantifiers listed above (1.2), all may be used attributively in preposed position, and postposed position is the normal one only for *moa* and *olgeta*, under certain conditions different for each.

*Moa* is typically used in postposed position and then relates to a preposed quantifier; this is illustrated in all examples of 1.2 except for (4). Here is another, with *moa* reduplicated:

- (1) *Stat long tanim plaua nau. I gat wok long kapsaitim moa moa wara isi isi taim yu tanim plaua inap long wan na hap kap olgeta.*  
 ‘Now begin to knead the flour. More water, in small quantities, needs to be added every time, slowly, while kneading, one and a half cups in all.’

But quantifying comparatives with *moa* are rare and are more typically expressed in the form of the *i winim* construction (see Ch. 15, 5).

*Olgeta* is in postposed position after pronouns (plural, in the nature of the case, but excepting *ol*)

- (2) *Bipo yumi olgeta wan wan yumi save planim kaikai bilong yumi yet.*  
 ‘In the old days, each and every one of us [incl.] used to grow our [incl.] own food.’
- (3) *Na mipela olgeta tu olsem tasol.*  
 ‘And we [excl.] are all in just the same position.’
- (4) *Yupela olgeta i toktok pastaim na wanbel.*  
 ‘All of you [pl.] have to talk first and create a consensus.’

All the other nonnumeral quantifiers are preposed, as illustrated in 1.2.

- (5) *Ol i stilim olgeta gutpela samting bilong taun na karim i go.*  
 ‘They stole all valuables from the town and took them away.’
- (6) *Na em i katim planti raunpela makmak i raunim ol dispela piksa.*  
 ‘And he engraved many scrolls around this picture.’
- (7) *Mobeta yu painim sampela naispela yangpela meri.*  
 ‘Better find a few beautiful young women.’
- (8) *Na tu dispela lista i tok long hamas gutpela gol ol i mas yusim.*  
 ‘Also, this list says how much pure gold they have to use.’
- (9) *Na putim liklik gutpela graun na karamapim kiau.*  
 ‘And add some good soil to cover the seed.’

*Planti* may itself be qualified by *liklik* preposed to noncount nouns only, or postposed to such nouns; with count nouns, *planti* + noun + *liklik* is the only possible word order (*planti liklik* + count noun means ‘many small [ . . . ]’).

- (10) *Planti liklik ain i stap insait long olgeta kumu.*  
 ‘Quite a bit of iron is found in all vegetables.’
- (11) *Bai yumi gat planti mani liklik.*  
 ‘We [incl.] will have quite a lot of money.’

- (12) *Ol dispela tul i gat wok **planti** taim liklik.*  
 ‘These tools are needed fairly often.’

## 2. Prepositions

Prepositions are: *long*, *bilong*, and *wantaim*. They are best treated as heads of prepositional phrases, and have been so treated in Ch. 15.

## 3. Conjunctions

Conjunctions are best treated as markers of coordinated and of subordinated clauses. They will be so treated in Ch. 24.

## 4. Interjections

Interjections are words that play no role in the grammatical organization of clauses, and for that negative reason alone they are a word class apart. Examples in English are *hey*, *oh*, *ah*, *hello*, and the like. They are exclamations, or devices to draw the interlocutor’s attention.

Interjections in Tok Pisin are represented in bold in the following examples.

- (1) ***Olaman!*** *Samting i pasim yumi tupela taim nau.*  
 ‘By golly! We [incl.] have had problems two times now.’
- (2) ***Man!*** *Em i gupela.*  
 ‘Boy! That’s great.’
- (3) *Wanpela boi i statim pilai na em i tok, “**Ha.**” Namba tu boi i tok “**Ha, ha.**” Namba tri boi i tok, “**Ha, ha, ha.**”*  
 ‘One boy starts the game and says “Ha.” The second boy says “Ha, ha.” The third boy says “Ha, ha, ha.”’
- (4) ***Uff, hatwok tru!***  
 ‘Gosh! What a hard job!’
- (5) ***He poro, klostu mi pinis long katim hap diwai long namel.***  
 ‘Hey, mate! I’m almost through sawing this piece of wood in two.’
- (6) ***Oiyo, brata! Lukaut!***  
 ‘Oh, mate. Watch out!’
- (7) ***Aee, yumi bungim mani bilong baim semen pastaim.***  
 ‘Hey! Let us [incl.] collect money first to buy cement.’
- (8) ***O sori tru, brata bilong mi.***  
 ‘Oh, too bad, my friend.’
- (9) ***E, Moses. Mi harim nois bilong pait insait long kem.***  
 ‘O, Moses! There is sound of battle in the camp.’

## 24: COMPLEX SENTENCES

A complex sentence is a sentence consisting of more than one clause.

What is important in the relations between clauses in a complex sentence is how these relations can be classified. There are two principal types: those of coordination and of subordination. Thus, in (1)

- (1) *<I left the office> <and I wanted to go home>.*

the two clauses enclosed in angle brackets are coordinated (and *and* is a coordinating conjunction). Again, in (2)

- (2) *<I left the office>, <because I wanted to go home>.*

the second clause is subordinated to the first (and *although* is a subordinating conjunction). A subordinate clause is called a subclause. The clause on which it depends may be called a main clause. But that main clause may, in its turn, depend on another clause. For example, in (3)

- (3) *<I said> <<that I left the office> <because I wanted to go home>>.*

(note the double angle brackets), the clause in bold is the main clause of what follows it and also (part of) the subclause depending on *I said*. Thus, while the term subclause is always clear, the term main clause may be confusing, and we are better off calling that part in bold the next higher clause (or the higher clause) of what follows.

The syntax of complex sentences thus involves the notions of coordinate clause and subordinate clause (or subclause), and that of (next) higher clause of a subclause.

Below, we first treat coordination (Section 1) and subordination (Section 2). Next, a preceding clause may influence a clause following it in various ways, especially in regard to two kinds of constituents in the follow-up clause: in regard to nouns and pronouns, or nominals (Section 3), and in regard to TAM markers (Section 4).

### 1. Coordination

Coordination of two or more clauses may be so loose that the clauses concerned could as well pass for a succession of simple clause sentences. Thus, it is hard to distinguish (1) from (2), or (3) from (4):

- (1) *<I left the office> <and I went home>.*  
(2) *I left the office. [pause] And I went home.*  
(3) *<I left the office> <but I did not go home>.*  
(4) *I left the office. [pause] But I did not go home.*

The difference depends on phonological criteria, such as intonation (fall in tone of voice at the end of each simple-clause sentence), or on the length of a pause



before the second clause, or both. Orthography is supposed to distinguish a coordinated sentence from successive simple clauses (final punctuation; new capital). For simplicity's sake, let us now assume that orthography faithfully reflects the difference, even though sometimes it does not. (A special case is the stand-alone *Nogat*, on which see Ch. 5, 2.)

But there may also be grammatical tests to coordination as different from successive simple clause sentences. In (5)

- (5) <I left the office> <and went home>.

the second clause lacks *I*. The subject of *went* is the same as the subject of *left*. What kind of rules obtain in regard to subjects and all nominals for Tok Pisin is discussed in Section 3.

Also, coordinate clauses differ as marked by different conjunctions. In English, *and* is a neutral conjunction; *but*, a contrastive conjunction; *or*, an alternative conjunction (in logic, *or* is called disjunctive, but linguistically it would be outlandish to speak of a disjunctive conjunction); and *so*, a consecutive conjunction.

Neutral coordination in Tok Pisin is examined in 1.1; contrastive coordination, in 1.2; alternative coordination, in 1.3; consecutive coordination, in 1.4.

For coordination within subclauses, see 2.3.

### 1.1 Neutral Coordination

The conjunction of neutral coordination is *na*. Examples:

- (1) <Yu go long ples bilong mi> <**na** bai yu lukim!>.  
'Go to my village and you will see it!'
- (2) <Mipela sampela kamda mipela i ting long kisim bikpela wok liklik>  
<**na** mipela i bung> <**na** mekim wok>.  
'Some of us [excl.] carpenters are considering taking on fairly big projects, and we have joined forces and got to work.'
- (3) <Papa bilong Piring em i sindaun> <**na** em i tingting planti>.  
'Piring's father sat down, and he worried.'
- (4) <Long apinun ol i kamap long haus sik>, <**na** ol i lukim doktaboi i stap yet long haus sik>.  
'In the afternoon they reached the hospital, and they saw that the medical assistant was still in the hospital.'
- (5) <Dispela sik i bikpela sik tru>, <**na** em i save kilim man i dai>.  
'This illness is a very serious illness, and it will kill a man.'
- (6) <Kisim ol gutpela sits bilong kopi> <**na** planim long neseri pastaim>.  
'Take good coffee saplings, and plant them in the nursery first.'
- (7) <Ol birua i bagarapim pinis kantri bilong yupela>, <**na** ol i kukim ol taun bilong yupela>.  
'The enemies have destroyed your [pl.] nation, and they have burned your [pl.] towns.'

Coordinative *na* is neutral in more than one sense. Neutral *na* is different from contrastive and alternative conjunctions, but *na* is neutral also in another respect, in that all sorts of semantic relationships between the coordinated clauses are possible. As an example, consider (1), where the order of the clauses reflects the temporal order of what the clauses express. That is, the carpenters consider first, then get together, then do their joint work. A similar analysis holds for (2), (3), (4), and (6). But in (5), the second clause is consecutive (the illness kills people because it is serious). Again, what the clauses of (7) express could well reflect simultaneous happenings. On the other hand, a consecutive reading of (2) is also plausible (once the addressee goes to the speaker's village, he will see for himself). Depending on context, different semantic readings of relations between the clauses are possible. In short, coordinative *na* (pretty much like English *and*) is neutral in regard to how clauses relate to one another semantically.

It is important to observe this, for in a different type of sentence, *na* is open to consecutive reading only, and is better considered as either a link in serial constructions within one and the same clause (see Ch. 9), or as subordinating consecutive *na* (see Section 2).

## 1.2 Contrastive Coordination

In contrastive coordination, *tasol* 'but' is the conjunction:

- (1) <Yumi no save long olgeta samting bihain bai i kamap>, <**tasol** wanela samting mi save>.  
'We [incl.] do not know about all that may happen later, but one thing I know.'
- (2) *Em i no laik harim dispela tok*, **tasol** *mi laik tumas long harim*.  
'He does not want to hear this talk, but I do, very much.'
- (3) <Fiva i stap pinis>, **tasol** *em i wok yet long go antap*.  
'There is a fever all right, but it will continue to rise.'
- (4) <I gat kain kain sua>, <**tasol** tritmen i wankain liklik>.  
'There are various kinds of sores, but the treatment is more or less the same.'
- (5) <Meri i gat bel pinis>, <**tasol** em i no pilim yet>.  
'The woman is definitely pregnant, but she does not feel it yet.'
- (6) <Simen i no save sting>, <**tasol** em i ken bruk>.  
'Cement will not decay, but it can break.'
- (7) <Josep i luksave long ol brata>, <**tasol** ol i no luksave long em>.  
'Joseph recognized his brothers, but they did not recognize him.'
- (8) <Na Herot i laik kilim Jon i dai>, <**tasol** em i pret long ol manmeri>.  
'And Herod wanted to kill John, but he was afraid of the people.'

## 1.3 Alternative Coordination

In alternative coordination, *o* 'or' is the conjunction:

- (1) <Ating solap i bin kamap nating>, <o liklik sua i go pas>, <o samting paitim hap bilong bodi na solap i kamap?>  
'Did the swelling begin just like that, or was there a sore first, or did something hit the body causing the swelling?'
- (2) <Sampela i no inap toktok>, <o i no inap harim tok>.  
'Some [of the patients] cannot talk, or cannot hear what is said.'
- (3) <Yu ken baim long stua>, <o yu yet i ken wokim>.  
'You can buy it in the store, or you can make it yourself.'
- (4) <Ol birua bai i kilim ol i dai>, <o ol bai i sot long kaikai na i dai>, <o sik nogut bai i bagarapim ol na ol i dai>.  
'Enemies will kill them, or they will die of hunger, or a bad disease will destroy and kill them.'
- (5) <Ol i no laik harim tok bilong mi> <o larim mi i skulim ol>.  
'They do not want to listen to me, or let me teach them.'
- (6) <Mipela i no ken brukim lo bilong God> <o sakim tok bilong em>.  
'We [excl.] must not break the law of God, or go against his word.'
- (7) <Yu laik bai ol Babilon i kisim mipela na kilim mipela> <o bringim mipela i go kalabus long Babilon>.  
'You want the Babylonians to take us [excl.] as prisoners and kill us [excl.], or to take us [excl.] into exile in Babylon.'

The question tag *o nogat* may be seen as coordinative, but as a tag it is perhaps better seen as part of the syntax of Y/N interrogatives; see Ch. 6, 1.2.

#### 1.4 Consecutive Coordination

In consecutive coordination, the conjunction is complex: *olsem na* 'so' or 'and so'.

- (1) <Na Dan i laik stapim dispela trak>, <olsem na em i go sanap namel long rot na i tromoi han>.  
'And Dan wanted to stop this truck, so he stood in the middle of the road and held up his hand.'
- (2) <Ol i pret long dispela sik>, <olsem na ol i hariap tasol na abrusim dispela haus i go>.  
'They were frightened by that illness, and so they went hurriedly past that house and avoided it.'
- (3) <Dok oltaim i kaikaim ol>, <olsem na ol i laik kilim dog>.  
'The dog always bites them, so they want to kill the dog.'
- (4) <Vairas em i liklik samting>, <olsem na yu no inap lukim long ai nating>.  
'A virus a something very small, so you cannot see it with the naked eye.'
- (5) <Sampela mama ol i wari long haus i paia>, <olsem na ol i wokim paia long ausait, long graun>.  
'Some housewives are afraid the house might catch fire, and so they make a fire outside, on the ground.'

- (6) <*Tasol i no gat poto*>, <*olsem na mipela i droim piksa long han tasol*>. 'But there is no photograph of it, so we [excl.] have just drawn a picture of it by hand.'
- (7) <*Ol rat i gat planti save*>, <*olsem na yumi mas bihainim gut sampela lo bilong pait long rat*>. 'Rats are very clever, so we [incl.] should follow some rules of how to eradicate rats.'

## 2. Subordination

Subordination involves mutual relations between a subclause and its higher clause. Those relations are marked (if so) in various ways. The subclause may be marked with a subordinating conjunction, as for example the conjunction *because* in sentence (1) or the same marking plus a marker for the next higher clause (such as the higher clause marker *then*) in sentence (2)

- (1) <I left the office>, <**because** I wanted to go home>.  
 (2) <**If** he refuses>, <**then** we'll just have to drop the plan>.

On the other hand, there may be no overt marker, as in (3)

- (3) <She likes the furniture <**they have bought**>>.

in which the relative clause *they have bought* is still marked covertly: *bought* has no object expressed in the relative clause.

We may classify sentences containing subclauses as follows. First, there are those with adverbial relations to the main clause. Consider (4) with (5) or (6):

- (4) <I left the office> <**because I wanted to go home**>.  
 (5) **Therefore** I left the office.  
 (6) I left the office **for that reason**.

What is expressed in the subclause of (4) could (if clear from context) be expressed as an adverb (*therefore*) in (5), or as an adverbial phrase (*for that reason*) in (6). Such substitutions show that the subclause in (4) is an adverbial subclause.

Second, there are the subclauses whose relation to the next higher clause is that of replacing a noun (or noun phrase) in the next higher clause. Compare (7) with (8):

- (7) <This is <**what I claim**>>.  
 (8) This is **my claim**.

In (7), the subclause *what I claim* fills the predicate slot of the higher clause. That is to say, if *what I claim* is replaced by *my claim*, we get (8). The substitution is a noun phrase, and what it corresponds to in (7) is in the position of the nominal part of the predicate and thus a nominal subclause. Such a nominal clause may

also fill subject position of the higher clause, as in (9), or object place, as in (10), or stand for the dependent of a preposition and thus be in nonargument place, as in (11):

- (9) <<**What I claim**> is true>.
- (10) <You accept <**what I claim**>>.
- (11) <I am not happy with <**what you claim**>>.

All these subclauses are nominal subclauses.

Third, there are the subclauses that function as an attribute to some noun in the next higher clause. Thus, in (12)

- (12) <I bought a computer <**that is equipped with a modem**>>.

the subclause is a relative clause, that functions as an attribute to its antecedent.

Subordination with subclauses of the first and second class will be examined in 2.1 and 2.2, respectively. The third type was treated in Ch. 14.

On coordination within subclauses, see 2.3.

## 2.1 Adverbial Subclauses

In Ch. 22, 2, adverbs are subclassified as adverbs of place, time, manner, and degree, and this is adequate for adverbs as a word class. However, an adverb is a one-word adjunct, and the adjunct perspective would be more appropriate for sub-classification of the type of subclause under review here. On the other hand, the term adverbial subclause is well-established in syntax, and we will use it here.

We may distinguish adverbial subclauses of time, place, reason or cause, condition, purpose, consequence, contrast, and manner.

The subclause in bold face in (1) is one of time (a temporal subclause); in (2), of place (locative); in (3), of reason of cause (causal); in (4), of condition (conditional); in (5), of purpose (purposive); in (6), one of result or consequence (consecutive); in (7), of contrast (concessive); in (8), of manner (modal):

- (1) <**When he came**> <she was ready to leave>.
- (2) <I cannot reach you> <**where you are**>.
- (3) <They cannot publish the article> <**because it is too long**>.
- (4) <They can publish the article> <**if it is shortened**>.
- (5) <I will help him> <**so that he may finish the job in time**>.
- (6) <The crate was so heavy> <**that it damaged the floor**>.
- (7) <They went there> <**although they had not been invited**>.
- (8) <Everything happened> <**as he had told us**>.

In Tok Pisin, all these clause-types are represented except the locative. What corresponds in Tok Pisin to a locative adverbial subclause in a language like English is a location name as antecedent followed by a relative clause. For example, in (9), the part within angle brackets is a relative clause depending on the antecedent *hul wara* 'well', while in (10), the part within angle brackets is a relative clause depending on *bodi* 'body'.

- (9) *Dispela abus i pundaun long hul wara <we wara i kamap nating long graun>*.  
 ‘This animal fell down in the well, where there is a water spring.’
- (10) *I no gat wanpela hap insait long bodi bilong yumi, <blut i no save wokabaut i go long en>*.  
 ‘There not (a single) part of our [incl.] body where blood does not circulate.’

In short, locative subclauses in Tok Pisin are not adverbial.

Temporal, causal, conditional, purposive, consecutive, concessive, and modal subclauses are examined in 2.1.1 through 2.1.7, respectively.

### 2.1.1 The Temporal Subclause

Temporal conjunctions for this type of subclause are: the simple conjunction *taim* ‘when’; and the complex conjunctions *long taim* ‘when’; *inap long* or *inap long taim* ‘until’; *bihain long* or *bihain long taim* ‘after’; *bipo long* (but not *bipo long taim*) ‘before’; *pastaim long* ‘after’; and other like *long de* ‘on the day when’ and *long nait* ‘in the night when’. These clauses with conjunctions are examined first; next, temporal clauses without conjunctions are considered.

In regard to the former, it is easy to see that *bihain long*, *bipo long*, and *pastaim long* are conjunctions. However, with respect to the others (*taim* and those complex conjunctions ending in *taim* or other apparent nouns for time such as *de* and *nait*), the question arises whether *taim*, *de*, and *nait* are not better regarded as the heads of a relative clause. We will come back to this question later.

Examples of clauses marked by *bihain long*:

- (1) *<Em i givim ol dispela lo long ol> <bihain long ol i lusim Isip>*.  
 ‘He gave them these laws after they had left Egypt.’
- (2) *<Bihain long Devit i kilim Goliath i dai>, <em i kam bek long kem>*.  
 ‘After David killed Goliath, he came back to the camp.’
- (3) *<Bihain long Jop i bin beten bilong helpim ol pren bilong en>, <Bikpela i givim em gutpela sindaun gen>*.  
 ‘After Job had prayed for his friends, the Lord restored to him his fortunes.’
- (4) *<Bihain long Sol i kamap king bilong Israel>, <em wantaim ol soldia bilong en i pait long ol birua bilong Israel>*.  
 ‘After Saul had become king of Israel, he and his soldiers fought against Israel’s enemies.’
- (5) *<Bihain long taim ol Israel i winim ol Juda long pait>, <ol Idom i kam bek na ol i pait gen long ol Juda na winim ol>*.  
 ‘After the people of Israel defeated the people of Juda in warfare, the Edomites came back and warred against the people of Juda and defeated them.’

The complex conjunction *bipo long* as marking a temporal subclause is attested only once in biblical Tok Pisin (example (6)—note, there, *tripela yia* as a quali-

fier to the conjunction), but it is more common in nonbiblical Tok Pisin. *Pastaim long* is attested only once in the entire corpus:

- (6) <*Tripela yia bipo long ol Asiria i kisim dispela taun bilong ol Filistia*>, <*Bikpela i bin tokim Aisaia, pikinini bilong Emos, long mekim dispela pasin*>.  
‘Three years before the Assyrians conquered this town of the Philistines, the Lord had ordered Isaiah, son of Amoz, to do the following [ . . .].’
- (7) <*Oltaim klinim blakbot gut*>, <*bipo long miting i stat*>.  
‘Always clean the blackboard before the meeting begins.’
- (8) <*Kapsaitim wara long ol liklik kumu long neseri*> <*bipo long yu kamautim*>.  
‘Pour water on the vegetable saplings in the nursery before you take them out.’
- (9) <*Bipo long yu statim bisnis*> <*yu mas skelim planti samting*>.  
‘Before you start a business you have to consider many things.’
- (10) <*Bipo long yu ken wokim mani ripot*>, <*yu mas mekim stoktek*>.  
‘Before you can make a money report, you have to take stock.’
- (11) <*Bipo long yu statim bisnis*>, <*mobeta yu skelim na stretim sampela samting*>.  
‘Before you start a business, you had better consider and prepare some things.’
- (12) <*Pastaim long yu laik i go het long wok*> <*yu mas klia long dram oven i wok olsem wanem*>.  
‘Before you are about to start work, you have to understand how a drum oven works.’

Recall that *bihain long* and *bipo long* occur also as complex prepositions (Ch. 15, introduction; Ch. 15, 2) and also only in a temporal sense. Recall also that *pastaim long* does not—the latter, indeed, is virtually nonexistent as a conjunction as well. In addition, while *bihain long* may mark a phrase used attributively, *bipo long* does not (Ch. 12, 2.2).

*Bipo long taim* is also found, but it never seems to parallel *bipo long*. Rather, it means ‘formerly, when’, and the temporal subclause is thus a regular *long taim* subclause (see example (34) and those that follow below).

Now, consider the following marked by *inap long* or *inap long taim*:

- (13) *Pilai i mas i go i go <inap long wanpela tim i kisim fiftin poin>*.  
‘The game must go on until one team scores 15 points.’
- (14) *Pilai i ken go i go <inap long bal i kalap long mak bilong graun bilong pilai>*.  
‘The game can go on and on until the ball crosses the lines of the play field.’
- (15) *Man i bin tromwe bal in no ken tasim bal gen <inap long narapela man i bin tasim bal pastaim>*.  
‘The man who has thrown in the ball may not touch it until another man has.’

- (16) *Wet <inap long dram i kol pinis>.*  
‘Wait until the drum has cooled off.’
- (17) *Em i mekim olsem <inap long sik bilong mun i pinis>.*  
‘She does this until her periods are past.’
- (18) *No ken givim aspirin long nupela pikinini <inap long em i winim tripela mun>.*  
‘Don’t give aspirin to an infant until it is three months old.’
- (19) *Yumi mas helpim ol long painim sampela tul na save, <inap long ol i ken winim wok bilong ol>.*  
‘You have to help them find some tools and acquire experience, until they are up to their job.’

Temporal *inap long* as a conjunction is close to purposive *inap long*; (19) is a clear example of this (‘so they are up to their job’; see 2.1.4). However, a temporal *inap long* subclause that shares its subject with that of the higher clause cannot drop that subject, while dropping such a shared subject is possible in purposive *inap long* subclauses (see 2.1.4).

For *inap long taim*, examine:

- (20) *Namba tu tim i mas stat long kaunim na kolim hamas taim ol i paitim bal <inap long taim ol i paitim bal i go long arapela tim>.*  
‘The second team has to begin counting and announcing how many times they hit the ball until they hit the ball to the other team.’
- (21) *Ol i mekim mekim <inap long taim ol i les>.*  
‘They keep doing this until they are tired.’
- (22) *Wet <inap long taim yu laik subim paip i go insait long hul bihain>.*  
‘Wait until you are ready to push the pipe into the opening later.’
- (23) *Dispela wok i save stap long bodi bilong meri i go <inap long taim em i kisim bel, o, em i kamap lapun>.*  
‘This cycle goes on regularly in the woman’s body until she becomes pregnant or becomes old.’

Next, here are examples with *taim*:

- (24) *<Taim bel bilong man i bagarap>, <olgeta wok bilong bodi tu i kisim bagarap>.*  
‘When a man is sick in the belly, all the functions of the body are also badly affected.’
- (25) *<Taim sikman i kus>, <em i mas kus long han bilong en>.*  
‘When a sick man coughs, he must keep his hand in front of his mouth.’
- (26) *<Taim buk i kamap pinis>, <planti man ol i laikim>.*  
‘When the book appeared, many people liked it.’
- (27) *<Taim yu bekim ol dispela askim pinis>, <bai ol i soim yu i wanem kain telepon o wailis i gutpela long yu>.*  
‘By the time you are through answering these questions, they will show you what kind of telephone or radio suits your needs.’



- (28) <*Taim kaukau i drai tru*>, <*pulimapim long bek*>.  
‘When the sweet potatoes are completely dry, put them in a bag.’
- (29) <*Taim yu laik kukim bret*>, <*yu mas tanim plaua wantaim yis na wara*>.  
‘When you want to bake bread, you have to mix flour with yeast and water.’
- (30) <*Taim Moses i litimapim han bilong en i go antap*>, <*ol ami bilong Israel i wok long winim pait*>.  
‘When Moses lifted his arms to heaven, the troops of Israel prevailed.’
- (31) <*Taim yupela i kamap long arere bilong wara Jordan*>, <*yupela go sanap insait long wara na wet i stap*>.  
‘When you [pl.] arrive at the bank of the Jordan, stand in the water and wait.’
- (32) <*Taim ol i gat ol dispela gutpela gutpela samting*>, <*bikpela hevi bai i karamapim ol*>.  
‘While they have all this wealth of good things, misery will overwhelm them.’
- (33) <*Taim ol man i gat gutpela tingting na save i harim dispela tok bilong mi*>, <*bai ol i tokim mi olsem [ . . . ]*>.  
‘When wise and knowledgeable men hear what I say, they will say to me [ . . . ].’

As is clear from these examples, the temporal clause meshes with the higher clause in tense. Note the past in (26) and (30); timelessness in (24), (25), and (29); and the future in (27), (31), (32), and (33). Future is marked by *bai* in the higher clause, as (27), (32), and (33) show, though not where there is some other future indicator, such as an imperative, as in (31). However, there is no such marker in the subclause (see Ch. 19, 3).

While *taim* is a simple conjunction, there are also complex conjunctions: *long taim* ‘when’; *inap long taim* ‘until’; *bihain long taim* ‘after’. There are also a few complex conjunctions with words other than *taim*, such as *long de* ‘on the day when’ and *long nait* ‘on the night when’. Of all these, *long taim* is most common:

- (34) <*Long taim yu laik kirapim pilai*>, <*pastaim yu mas skulim ol man long ol lo bilong pilai*>.  
‘By the time you are about to start a game, you must first teach the players the rules of the game.’
- (35) <*Long taim em i tasim han bilong namba tu memba*> <*namba tu i mas ran na mekim ol dispela faipela samting*>.  
‘When he touches the hand of the second player, the second must run and do all those five things.’
- (36) <*Dispela sik i save kamap planti*> <*long taim i gat bikpela ren i stap inap sampela de*>.  
‘This pest will be there when there is constant heavy rain for several days.’
- (37) <*Odaim samting*> <*long taim liklik hap bilong en i stap yet*>.  
‘Order some while there is still a little in stock.’

- (38) <Ol natnat i save kaikaim yumi <long taim san i go daun na long nait>.  
'The mosquitoes will bite us [incl.] when the sun sets, and during the night.'

*Inap long taim* seems to be less frequent:

- (39) <Pilai i mas i go i go> <inap long taim ol i kisim planti poin olsem fifti samting>.  
'The game must continue until they score many points, like about fifty.'
- (40) <Na man i bin paitim em i mas lukautim em> <inap long taim em i orait gen>.  
'And the man who has struck him must care for him until he has recovered.'
- (41) <Na yupela bai i gat kaikai> <inap long taim dispela nupela kaikai i redi na yupela i kisim>.  
'And you [pl.] will have food until the new crops are ready for you [pl.] to harvest.'

Here are examples with *long de* and *long nait*. Note how there is a pick-up in the next higher clause, with time expressions.

- (42) *Na* <long de bipo ol haiden i bin mekim alta i kamap doti>, <long dispela de tasol ol Israel i blesim dispela nupela alta>.  
'And on the day the gentiles had defiled the altar, on that same day the people of Israel blessed this new altar.'
- (43) <Long nait Judas i bin putim Jisas long han bilong ol birua>, <long dispela nait Bikpela Jisas i kisim bret, [ . . . ]>.  
'On the night Judas delivered Jesus up into the hands of the enemies, on this night the Lord Jesus took bread, [ . . . ].'

The higher clause of a temporal subclause may be marked with *orait* 'then'. This is not so much temporal 'then' as a marker of where the higher clause begins. Consider:

- (44) <Taim sevenpela de i go pinis>, <orait bikpela tait i kamap na i stat long karamapim graun>.  
'When seven days had elapsed, the flood waters appeared and began to cover the earth.'
- (45) <Taim bos bilong Josep i harim olgeta dispela tok bilong meri bilong en>, <orait em i kros nogut tru>.  
'When Joseph's master heard all this from his wife, he was enraged.'
- (46) <Bihain long sampela yia i go pinis>, <orait Jehosafat i go long taun Samaria bilong lukim Ahap>.  
'After some years had gone by, Jehoshaphat went to the town of Samaria to visit Ahab.'

The *orait* marking is optional, and is in fact not very frequent. Its use is merely to mark the beginning of the higher clause (such a marking makes processing of the information easier, certainly if the subclause is long), and may be seen as stylis-

tic rather than strictly grammatical. For it to be used, though, the temporal subclause must precede the higher clause, and the higher clause must be the highest in the entire sentence.

There may also be higher clause markers in phrase form, and those are explicitly temporal in meaning—and may even combine with *orait*:

- (47) *Na <taim em i gat tingting na i stat long save long wanem pasin i gutpela na wanem pasin i nogut>, <long dispela taim bai em i kaikai hani na sis ol i wokim long susu bilong bulmakau na sipsip>.*  
 ‘And by the time he acquires wisdom and begins to distinguish what is good from what is evil, at that time he will feed on honey and cheese made from cattle milk.’
- (48) *<Long taim yu planim mama bilong yu klostu long matmat bilong mi>, <long dispela de yet yu mas i go>.*  
 ‘When you bury your mother next to my grave, on that day you must leave.’
- (49) *<Long taim yu laik i dai>, <long dispela de tasol yu ken tilim ol samting i go long ol lain bilong yu>.*  
 ‘When you are on your deathbed, on that day you may divide everything among members of your family.’
- (50) *<Taim mi no gat strong>, <long dispela taim tasol mi gat strong tru>.*  
 ‘When I lack strength, right then I am strong indeed.’
- (51) *<Long taim olgeta samting i kamap nupela, na Pikinini Bilong Man bai i gat biknem na i sindaun long sia king bilong en>, <long dispela taim yupela ol man i bin bihainim mi yupela tu bai i sindaun long twelpela gutpela sia na yupela bai i bosim ol twelpela lain bilong Israel>.*  
 ‘When all is made new, and the Son of Man will be glorified and will sit on his throne, then you [pl.] who have followed me, you [pl.] too will sit on twelve ornate seats and rule the twelve tribes of Israel.’
- (52) *Na <long taim Tobit i go bek long haus bilong em>, <long dispela taim stret Sara i lusim rum antap long haus bilong em na i kam daun>.*  
 ‘And when Tobith went back to his home, at exactly that time Sarah came down from her upstairs room.’
- (53) *<Taim ol i kukim wara bilong suga na mekim drai na suga tasol i stap>, <orait long dispela taim suga i no waitpela>.*  
 ‘When the sugarcane liquid is boiled and made to evaporate and there is sugar only, at that stage the sugar is not white.’

The question arises here as to why we cannot consider *taim* as a noun, functioning as an antecedent for a relative clause. Such a question becomes more urgent when we see that *taim* may be preceded by *long*, and may take various syntactic forms. On such an analysis, the above examples would be excluded from the class of adverbial clauses for the same reason that we found, earlier, that adverbial subclauses of place are not found in Tok Pisin.

Note, however, two important differences. First, these locative constructions need a relativizer: either *we* ‘[relative] where’, or, obliquely, *long en* (see

the examples in 2.1). By contrast, *taim* clauses cannot have any such relativizers. Second, *taim* or *long taim* do not have a constituent status in the next higher clause, as genuine antecedents always do. For these two reasons, it seems more straightforward to consider *taim* (simple) and *long taim* (complex) as conjunctions, and the subclauses they mark as straightforwardly adverbial. The same analysis would hold for *long de* and *long nait* as temporal conjunctions.

Finally, there are temporal subclauses without a conjunction. They are typically truncated clauses consisting only of a verb + *pinis* (or even just *pinis* 'that done'). The higher clause is typically, though not invariably, marked by *orait*:

- (54) <*Mekim olsem pinis*>, <*orait, tupela i planim taro na banana, na kumu, painap, kon, tomato, na kaukau tu*>.  
'If you do it this way, the two of them can plant taro and bananas, and vegetables, maize, tomatoes, and sweet potatoes, too.'
- (55) <*Katim pinis*>, <*orait putim long san*>.  
'Once you have cut them, put them in the sun.'
- (56) <*Planim pinis*>, <*yu no ken lusim nating*>.  
'Once you have planted them [i.e. the saplings], you must not neglect them.'
- (57) <*Pinis*>, <*putim pinat long san gen na pinat i mas drai olgeta*>.  
'That done, put the peanuts in the sun again for them to become altogether dry.'
- (58) <*Pinis*>, <*orait skelim*>: <*yelopela kus i stap o nogat?*>.  
'That done, observe: is there still a chronic cough?'

The truncated *pinis* clauses never occur as stand-alone sentences, and thus they are subclauses. As subclauses, however, they indicate what precedes in time that which the higher clause expresses. Thus they are temporal subclauses.

But if this is so, then complete clauses with the same temporal function and without a conjunction must be temporal subclauses also; the higher clause is then marked as such by *orait*:

- (59) <*Ol i go kamap long Jerusalem*>, <*orait dispela ofisa i go i stap klostu long baret*>.  
'They arrived at Jerusalem, and this officer took his position close to the water conduit.'
- (60) <*Senisim gia i go long tu pinis*>, <*orait lusim brek na givim ges*>.  
'Change to second gear, get your foot off the brake, and accelerate.'
- (61) <*Pris Sefanaia i kisim pas bilong Semaia*>, <*orait em i go long Jeremaia na ritim dispela pas long em*>.  
'The priest Zephaniah received Shemaia's letter, went to Jeremiah, and read it to him.'

### 2.1.2 The Causal Subclause

Such subclauses may be called causal in a rather general sense. Some of them give a straightforward cause (as in <*She got wet*> <*because it had rained*>), oth-

ers give a reason rather than a cause (as in <*She preferred to stay home*> <*because it rained*>), but nothing much seems to hinge on such differences in Tok Pisin. The conjunction is complex: *long wanem*. (The anglicization *bikos* is recent.) *Long wanem?* in some spoken forms of Tok Pisin may mean ‘why?’, but the standard form *bilong wanem?* seems more appropriate as an interrogative adverb (see Ch. 6, 2.1.4); although *long wanem* + noun may be an interrogative phrase (in dependent as well as in independent questions), the noun is essential—see Ch. 6, 2.1, introduction). Thus, stand-alone *long wanem* is a causal conjunction only. Consider:

- (1) <*Yupela i no ken i go*>, <*long wanem, Bikpela i no i stap wantaim yupela*>.
 

‘You [pl.] must not go, because the Lord is not with you [pl.]’
- (2) <*I tambu long king i maritim planti meri*>, <*long wanem, ol bai i mekim em i givim baksait long Bikpela*>.
 

‘It is forbidden to the king to marry many women, because they will lead him to turn away from the Lord.’
- (3) <*Bai ol i no amamas tumas*>, <*long wanem, ol i no lukim wok bilong yu i stap olsem wanem*>.
 

‘They will not appreciate this, because they will not see what your work accomplishes.’
- (4) <*Taim yumi slip*> <*ol mambu i pas liklik*>, <*long wanem, yumi no save pulim win strong taim yumi malolo*>.
 

‘When we [incl.] sleep, our wind pipes narrow a bit, because we [incl.] do not breathe deeply when we [incl.] rest.’
- (5) <*Ol i pret moa*>, <*long wanem, tingting bilong ol i paul na i no skelim samting stret*>.
 

‘They are terrified, because their thinking is confused and they have no good judgment.’
- (6) <*Sikman i mas dringim tablet long moning, belo, apinun na biknait*>, <*long wanem*>, <*marasin i save lusim bodi kwik*>.
 

‘The patient must take a tablet in the morning, at noon, afternoon, and midnight, because the medication leaves the body after a short time.’
- (7) <*Kon i winim rais*>, <*long wanem, em i gat planti liklik samting bilong helpim bodi i kamap bikpela, dispela samting ol saveman i kolim protin*>.
 

‘Maize is better than rice, because it contains quite a bit of this substance that helps the body to grow, this substance the experts call protein.’

It is characteristic of *long wanem* that it is only loosely connected with the preceding clause, to the point where that clause and the *long wanem* clause may almost be analyzed as coordinate (roughly the same way English clauses marked by *for* are coordinate with the preceding clause). Spelling reflects this: often *long wanem* follows final punctuation. Also, orthographically it is very common to have a comma after *long wanem*, suggesting a pause between *long wanem* and what follows it (roughly the way English can start a new sentence with *And the*

reason is that [ . . . ]). The *long wanem* clause follows the next higher clause and never precedes it.

### 2.1.3 The Conditional Subclause

A conditional subclause poses a condition for what is expressed in the higher clause to be true. An English example: <*If they want it*>, <*they will ask you*>; in English *if* is the conditional conjunction. In Tok Pisin, it is *sapos*, if there is a conjunction; however, conditional subclauses may also dispense with a conjunction.

Conditional *sapos* clauses may either precede or follow the next higher clause. If the subclause precedes, then quite frequently, though not necessarily, the next higher clause is marked with *orait*, provided the next higher clause is the highest clause in the entire sentence. Another such marking is *em*, which, it is important to note, is not pronominal; this *em* is not found in biblical Tok Pisin. Finally, the *sapos* clause may be a truncated one.

First, examples with the higher clause introduced by *orait*:

- (1) <*Sapos mi laik mekim wanpela samting*>, <*orait mi save mekim tasol*>. 'If I want to do something, I always just do it.'
- (2) <*Sapos mipela i pinisim kwik sampela haus*>, <*orait ating bai mipela i kisim narapela kontrak*>. 'If we [excl.] finish some houses fast, we [excl.] will perhaps get a contract [for new orders].'
- (3) <*Sapos yu laik pasim dua wantaim hinsis*>, <*orait baim hinsis na sampela bolt wantaim nat*>. 'If you want to attach the door with hinges, buy hinges and a few nuts and bolts.'
- (4) *Na* <*sapos yupela i laik askim gen*>, <*orait yupela i ken kam bek na askim*>. 'And if you [pl.] want to ask him again, you [pl.] can come back and ask him.'
- (5) <*Sapos yumi strong tumas long yumi no ken larim ol arapela kantri i helpim yumi*>, <*orait mi ting bai yumi mekim bikpela hevi i kamap long yumi yet*>. 'If we [incl.] insist too much that we [incl.] cannot let other countries give us aid, I think we [incl.] will be bringing big problems on ourselves [incl].'
- (6) <*Sapos i tru em i laik mekim*>, <*orait em i ken mekim nau tasol*>. 'If it is true he wants to do it, he can do it right now.'

Next, here are examples without *orait*:

- (7) <*Sapos yupela i bihainim dispela tingting bilong mi*>, <*sindaun bilong yupela bai i gutpela*>. 'If you [pl.] follow this wisdom of mine, your [pl.] life will be prosperous.'
- (8) *Na* <*sapos dispela olgeta samting i no kamap yet*>, <*ating planti man ol i strong long yumi kisim independens tru*>.

‘And if all this has not happened yet, perhaps many insist that we [incl.] attain independence.’

- (9) *Orait* <**sapos** *sampela arapela kantri ol i helpim yumi*>, <*long dispela pasin tasol bai yumi no inap kisim indipendens tru*>.  
 ‘Well now, if some other nations help us [incl.], then in this way we [incl.] shall not be able to attain true independence.’

These examples would be perfectly well-formed with *orait*. Needless to say, if the higher clause precedes the conditional clause, it cannot be marked by *orait*.

The higher clause marker *em* is not found in biblical Tok Pisin but is fairly common in nonbiblical Tok Pisin:

- (10) <**Sapos** *yu hipim olgeta poteto long wanpela hap tasol*>, <**em** *bai yu gat hatwok long kisim wanem kain poteto yu laik kisim*>.  
 ‘If you throw all the potatoes in just one heap, you will have trouble finding the ones you want.’
- (11) <**Sapos** *tupela i slip wantaim long de i gat piksa bilong pikinini*>, <**em** *bai pikinini i ken kamap*>.  
 ‘If the couple sleep together on a day that has the picture of a child [on the rhythm calendar], then the woman could get pregnant.’
- (12) <**Sapos** *i no gat kakaruk man, na kakaruk meri i karim kiau*>, <**em** *bai pikinini kakaruk i no inap kamap long dispela kiau*>.  
 ‘If there is no cock, and the hen lays eggs, there can be no chicken in those eggs.’
- (13) <**Sapos** *yu lukautim pato long banis tasol, na yu no givim planti gras na lip samting*>, <**em** *bai pato i no inap kamapim pikinini*>.  
 ‘If you keep ducks only in a pen and you don’t give them a lot of grass and leaves, the ducks will not have any ducklings.’

It is easy to see that the marker *em* is not pronominal, because the clause marked has its own arguments, and *em* does not refer back to any argument in the subclause. Of course, *em* after a conditional clause may well be pronominal. That would be an obvious possibility, as in <**Sapos** *tingting bilong bos i strong pinis*>, <**em** *bai i wet liklik*> ‘If the leader is clever, he will wait a moment’—where *em* clearly refers back to *bos*), but *em* in (10) through (13) is not of that kind.

The *sapos* clause may be a truncated one (see Ch. 5, 2):

- (14) <**Sapos** *olsem*>, <**orait** *sampela lain i gat strong bai ol i putim sampela man olsem plisman bilong lukautim ol yet*>.  
 ‘If so [that is, if there is no police force], then some influential people will appoint some policemen to look after these people themselves.’
- (15) <**Sapos** *nogat*>, <**orait** *bai planti yia i lus*>.  
 ‘If not, many years will be wasted.’

As noted above, conditional clauses may be unmarked by any conjunction. An obvious example in English is <**Do this**>, <*and you will succeed*>, with a reading ‘If you do this, you will succeed.’ Tok Pisin, too, has such constructions, also in the form of an imperative, with the higher clause marked with *bai*, or with *orait*:

- (16) <Mekim olsem>, <**bai** yu no ken putim kompos gen, taim yu planim poteto>.  
‘If you do it this way, you won’t need to add compost again when you plant tomatoes.’
- (17) <Mekim olsem>, <**bai** planti rop i kamap>.  
‘If you do this, there will be many roots.’
- (18) <Pris i mekim olsem>, <**orait** bai mi lusim sin bilong dispela man>.  
‘If the priest does this, then I will forgive the sins of this man.’
- (19) <Em i mekim olsem>, <**orait** dispela sik i pinis>.  
‘If he does this, he will be cured of his illness.’

However, these examples may also be analyzed as being in the gray area between coordination and subordination in even more than one way: the *bai* clauses may be purposive (2.1.4).

#### 2.1.4 The Purposive Subclause

Purposive conjunctions are *bai*, *bilong*, *inap*, and *inap long*.

*Bai* is a future marker in a very general sense (in that purposes by their very nature relate to the future), but quite unlike *bai* as a future marker in the narrower sense discussed earlier (Ch. 19, 3). The future marker *bai* is variable in position, whereas the purposive conjunction *bai* invariably opens the purposive subclause, and that subclause always follows its next higher clause. Consider:

- (1) <Pulim het i go bek>, <**bai** rot bilong win i op>.  
‘Pull the head back, so the windpipe opens.’
- (2) <Klinim ples, pasim ol hul wara i stap long ol>, <**bai** natnat i no inap putim kiau na karim pikinini moa>.  
‘Clean the village grounds, close the water holes, so the mosquitoes cannot lay eggs and procreate.’
- (3) <Orait, kisim pikinini i go long bebi klinik>, <**bai** ol sista i givim wanpela sut long em>.  
‘Now, take the child to the baby clinic, so the nurses can give it an injection.’
- (4) <Kisim sutlam na sutim lait bilong en long ai>, <**bai** yu lukim klia>.  
‘Get a torch light and aim the light of it at the eye, so you can see it clearly.’
- (5) <Karamapim long gras>, <**bai** i no gat lang>.  
‘Cover it with grass, so there won’t be any flies.’
- (6) <Mekim olsem>, <**bai** ren i no inap rausim planti graun>.  
‘Do it this way, so the rain can’t wash away the soil.’
- (7) <Karim planti pikinini>, <**bai** ol lain bilong yupela i pulapim olgeta hap bilong graun>.  
‘Multiply, so your [pl.] offspring may cover all parts of the earth.’
- (8) <Orait yu mas promis long ai bilong God>, <**bai** yu no mekim pasin giaman long mi>.  
‘You must promise me before God that you will not deceive me.’



- (9) <Yu ken givim long papa bilong yu>, <**bai** em i kaikai>.  
'You may give it to your father for him to eat.'
- (10) <Na ol i putim olkain marasin long bodi bilong en>, <**bai** bodi i no ken bagarap>.  
'And they embalmed the body, to preserve it from decay.'

The higher clause typically contains what is called a manipulative verb form, that is, a verb expressing an attempt to control some person or event. Thus, in (1) through (7), the verb is an imperative; and in (8) and (9), there is a manipulative auxiliary (*mas*; *ken*). But the higher clause may also be descriptive of an action that happens to have a purpose that is expressed (like *ol i putim*, as in (10)). The relation between the higher clause and the *bai* subclause is a loose one, and alternative analyses are possible.

A purposive *bai* clause is quite common after *laik*:

- (11) *Mi laik* <**bai** yu putim yau long tok bilong mi>.  
'I want you to listen to what I have to say.'
- (12) *Mi no laik* <**bai** yu wok nating>.  
'I don't want you to do work without pay.'
- (13) *Em i laik* <**bai** ol i mas sindaun bihainim krismas bilong ol>.  
'He wanted them to sit down ranked according to their age.'
- (14) *Yu laik* <**bai** mi helpim yu olsem wanem>?  
'How to you want me to help you?'

Purposive clauses marked with *bilong* are exemplified below:

- (15) <Ol Tolai i save planim kaukau long nupela gaden kakao>, <**bilong** kunai i no ken kamap>.  
'The Tolai people always plant sweet potatoes in a new field of cocoa, so no sword grass can grow there.'
- (16) <Long ples kol bilong Papua Niugini yu ken banisim haus gut na putim sampela plang>, <**bilong** pik i slip antap long en>.  
'In cooler places in Papua New Guinea you can fence off the [pig] sty well and lay some boards in it, so the pigs can lie down on them.'
- (17) <Wokim liklik haus wantaim dua>, <**bilong** balus i go insait>.  
'Make a small nest with a door, so the pigeon can go in.'
- (18) <Planti liklik hap graun i stap>, <**bilong** yumi ken planim diwai long en>.  
'There are many open spaces of ground for us [incl.] to plant trees on.'

If the higher clause and the *bilong* clause share the same subject, that subject is dropped in the subclause:

- (19) <Katim sampela diwai i go sotpela>, <**bilong** pulimapim long dram>.  
'Split some wood into short bits, so you can stuff them into the drum.'
- (20) <Em i sutim sampela askim long ol>, <**bilong** kirapim tingting>.  
'He fires some questions at them, to start them thinking.'

- (21) <Putim ol samting long san>, <bilong mekim drai>.  
'Place it all in the sun, to dry it.'

Examples with *inap long* follow here:

- (22) *Ausait dram i karamapim spes nating na kalabusim hatwin <inap long em i ken raunim na hatim gut insait dram>*.  
'The outside drum surrounds empty space and keeps the hot air inside so it can heat the inside drum well.'
- (23) *Sikman i mas dring planti <inap long em i pispis planti>*.  
'The patient must drink a lot, so he will urinate a great deal.'
- (24) *Taim bilong kirapim pilai, yu mas sanap long wanpela ples <inap long ol i lukim yu>*.  
'At start time, you have to stand in a place where they can see you.'
- (25) *Man i mas i gat spes, <inap long em i ken i stap bilong em yet>*.  
'A man needs space, so he can have privacy.'
- (26) *Lukluk long husat yangpela i gat save na strong na gutpela pasin <inap long em i kamap lida>*.  
'Look for whoever among the young thinks straight and is purposeful and has a good record, so he may become the leader.'
- (27) *Ol i bin skelim gut dispela rot, <inap long em i wok gut tru>*.  
'They have formed a judgment about this way, so it will work as desired.'

### 2.1.5 The Consecutive Subclause

A consecutive subclause is one that expresses the consequence or result of what is expressed in the next higher class. The conjunction marking a consecutive clause in Tok Pisin is *na*—a subordinating conjunction and markedly different, syntactically, from coordinative *na*. As explained in 1.1, coordinative *na* is neutral in that all kinds of semantic relationships between the coordinate clauses is possible. Those relations may be temporal, causative, concessive, consecutive, purposive, and so forth: what the reading is depends on context, not on the syntax of coordination within the sentence itself.

By contrast, *na*, which serializes the predicates of the clauses, is open to a consecutive reading only (no matter what the context), and in fact the clause following *na* is more appropriately considered as a subclause, immediately depending on the clause that precedes it. Also, there are syntactical constraints on serial *na*: unlike coordinative *na*, serial *na* does not block the scope of negation, whereas coordinative *na* does.

All this is treated in great detail in Ch. 9.

### 2.1.6 The Concessive Subclause

*Maski* is the marker of a negative imperative, or more generally of prohibitives; see Ch. 5, 3. It may also be a sentence adverb (Ch. 22, 2.5). As a conjunction, it is concessive, and may also take the form *maski sapos* if the concessive part is conditional.

*Maski* as a conjunction does not quite parallel English *although*, and mainly two differences need to be noted. First, a *maski* subclause conveys something that is dismissed as rather irrelevant (in relation to what the next higher clause conveys), and this is not a matter of course for an *although* subclause. Thus, an appropriate gloss for the conjunction *maski* is, not rarely, ‘never mind that [ . . . ]’, or ‘no matter what [ . . . ]’. Second, an *although* clause is not conditional, but *maski* is, and may even take the form of *maski sapos*—which is rather like English *even if* in that it combines the concessive and the conditional). Consider:

- (1) <Em i save inapim ol promis em i bin mekim>, <**maski** dispela pasin i givim bikpela hevi long em>.  
‘He will fulfill the promises he has made, even though this will be a burden to him.’
- (2) <**Maski** taim bilong dai i kamap>, <bilip bilong ol i stap strong yet>.  
‘Even though their lives are in danger, they will persevere in their faith.’
- (3) <**Maski** mi karim bikpela pen tumas>, <bai mi amamas tru>.  
‘Even though I suffer much pain, I will be joyful.’
- (4) <**Maski** i no gat wanpela man i save long pasin mitupela i mekim>, <God i lukim gut olgeta pasin bilong mitupela>.  
‘Even though no one knows what the two of us are doing, God sees all of what we do.’
- (5) <Na em bai i no inap lusim sin bilong ol>, <**maski** ol i givim planti ofa>.  
‘And he will not be willing to forgive their sins, no matter how many sacrifices they offer.’
- (6) <**Maski** ol manmeri i gat gutpela tingting>, <ol tu i ken paul na kamap olsem ol aipas>.  
‘Even though people may be wise, they too can be in error and become like the blind.’

The speaker is thus dismissive of information in the subclause. Often this is expressed by phrasing alternatives (note *o* ‘or’)—in context, it matters little which one obtains:

- (7) <**Maski** klaut i stap longpela taim **o** sotpela taim tasol>, <ol Israel i bihainim tok bilong Bikpela>.  
‘No matter whether the cloud was seen a long time or a short time, the people of Israel obeyed what the Lord had said.’
- (8) <Yupela i mas skelim olgeta man long wankain pasin tasol>, <**maski** em i bikman **o** man nating>.  
‘You [pl.] must judge everybody by the same standards, no matter whether he is an important man or a man of no consequence.’
- (9) <**Maski** em i gat planti mani samting **o** em i stap rabisman>, <bel bilong em bai i amamas tasol>.  
‘No matter whether he has much money or is poor, his heart will be at peace.’

For *maski sapos*, consider:

- (10) *Na <maski sapos mi mas ranim em i go long olgeta hap bilong Juda>, <orait bai mi go inap mi kisim em>.*  
 ‘And if I have to pursue him through all the parts of Judah, I will do so until I track him down.’
- (11) *<Maski sapos yupela i stap long olgeta kantri i stap longwe tru>, <mi bai kisim yupela long ol dispela kantri na bringim yupela i kam>.*  
 ‘Even if you [pl.] live in all faraway countries, I will find you [pl.] in those countries and bring you [pl.] back.’
- (12) *<Na maski sapos ol saveman i tok ol i save pinis long as bilong ol dispela samting>, <tok bilong ol i no tru>.*  
 ‘Even if learned men say they understand how all this comes about, what they say is not true.’

*Maski* also marks a dependent WH- construction, as described in Ch. 6, 2.2. To the few examples given there, the following may be added here:

- (13) *<Maski wanem rot yupela i laik bihainim bilong wokim dram oven>, <ol tul i wankain long olgeta tripela rot>.*  
 ‘No matter what way you [pl.] would like to follow in making a drum oven, the tools are the same for all three ways [indicated here].’
- (14) *<Maski wanem kain taim nogut i kamap long mipela>, <mipela bai i abrusim>.*  
 ‘No matter what misfortunes will befall us [excl.], we will [excl.] survive them.’
- (15) *<Na maski wanem samting i kamap long mi>, <mi no ken pasim maus>.*  
 ‘And no matter what will happen to me, I must not be silent.’
- (16) *<Olsem na bai God i helpim yu>, <na <maski wanem hap yu stap long en>, olgeta wok bilong yu bai i kamap gutpela>.*  
 ‘So God will help you, and no matter where you are, all that you do will prosper.’

The next higher clause may be marked by *tasol*, but that seems to be rare:

- (17) *<Maski ol dispela piksa i gat ai>, <tasol ol i no inap lukluk>.*  
 ‘Even though these pictures [of idols] have eyes, they cannot see.’
- (18) *<Maski pastaim ol i bin mekim strongpela tok long ol manmeri bilong God i mas lusim ples>, <tasol nau ol i ranim ol na ol i laik kisim ol i kam bek gen>.*  
 ‘Even though earlier they had told the people of God to leave, they now went in pursuit of them and wanted to bring them back.’
- (19) *<Maski yu yet yu gat planti samting moa>, <tasol yu no inap kisim laip long ol dispela samting bilong yu>.*  
 ‘Even though you own very much indeed, you cannot secure your life with what you have.’

### 2.1.7 The Modal Subclause

The expression modal subclause is used here rather comprehensively, and includes any adverbial clauses expressing some manner applying to what is expressed in the next higher clause. This manner often takes the form of a comparison. Thus, the subclause (bold) in <They did the job> <**as they had been told to**>, expresses a comparison between order and execution. Here are some examples of such comparative constructions in Tok Pisin, with the conjunction *olsem*:

- (1) <Tasol graun i no bin i stap> <**olsem** yumi save lukim nau>.  
'But the earth was not always as we [incl.] see it now.'
- (2) <Orait Noa i mekim olgeta samting> <**olsem** God i tokim em>.  
'Then Noah did all as God had told him to.'
- (3) <Tasol mi no ken bagarapim moa olgeta samting i gat laip>, <**olsem** mi mekim pinis>.  
'But I will not again destroy all living things as I have done now.'
- (4) <Bai mi lusim sin bilong ol>, <**olsem** yu askim mi long mekim>.  
'I will forgive their sins, as you have asked me.'
- (5) <Olsem na pasim hul gut>, <**olsem** yumi save pasim hul bilong tang wara long insait>.  
'So close the hole as we [incl.] would plug a hole in a water tank from the inside.'
- (6) <Long maikroskop em i kamap bikpela> <**olsem** piksa hia i soim>.  
'Under the microscope it is blown up, as this picture shows.'
- (7) <Rot bilong abrusim dispela sik em i wankain> <**olsem** yumi toktok pinis long sik poteto blait na sik blak lek>.  
'The way to avoid this pest is the same as we [incl.] have explained about potato blight and black leg.'
- (8) <Sampela sikman i pilim> <**olsem** ol i laik traut>.  
'Some patients felt like vomiting.'
- (9) <Ais i no save bagarapim lip bilong poteto> <**olsem** em i save bagarapim kaukau>.  
'Frost will not destroy potato leaves the way it will destroy sweet potatoes.'

If the next higher clause is marked by *olsem tasol* 'in exactly the same way', the subclause may dispense with the conjunction. This construction is only found in biblical Tok Pisin, and it seems to have been more common in earlier translations.

- (10) <Pasin yupela i laik ol man i mekim long yupela>, <**olsem tasol** yupela i mas mekim long ol>.  
'Just as you [pl.] want to be treated by others, so also you [pl.] must treat them.'
- (11) <Pastaim God i laikim tumas long mekim yupela i kamap planti na i gat planti samting>, <**olsem tasol** nau Bikpela bai i laikim tumas long bagarapim na pinisim yupela>.

- 'Just as earlier God took delight in giving you [pl.] increase and prosperity, so now he will take delight in ruining you [pl.] and killing you [pl.]'
- (12) <*Skai i stap antap tru long graun*>, <*olsem tasol ol pasin bilong mi na tingting bilong mi i winim tru ol pasin bilong yupela na tingting bilong yupela*>.  
 'As the heavens are high above the earth, so my ways and thoughts are high above your [pl.] ways and your [pl.] thoughts.'
- (13) <*Ol man i save bungim gras nogut na kukim long paia*>, <*olsem tasol bai ol i mekim long las de bilong dispela graun*>.  
 'Just as the darnel is always gathered and burnt in the fire, so it will be on the last day of this earth.'
- (14) <*Sol i save mekim ol abus samting i stap gut*>, <*olsem tasol yupela i mas kamap olsem gutpela sol i kamapim gutpela sindaun namel long ol brata*>.  
 'As salt makes food tasty, so also you [pl.] must become like good salt that renders the life of your brothers peaceful.'
- (15) <*Papa bilong mi em i givim kingdom long mi*>, <*olsem tasol mi givim kingdom long yupela*>.  
 'Just as the Father has conferred the kingdom on me, so I confer a kingdom on you [pl.]'

These constructions are not easily analyzed as coordinated clauses, for then the use of *na* would be typical.

There are other ways of accommodating modal adjuncts in clause form, but these typically take the form of relative clauses.

## 2.2 Nominal Subclauses

As explained in 2, nominal subclauses compare to what are nouns or noun phrases in the next higher clause, or to attributive constituents in such phrases. Among sentences with subclauses relating to the higher clause as a noun or noun phrase, there are some dependent WH- constructions (Ch. 6, 2.2). Recall that these were discussed in relation to dependent WH- questions. Hence, those dependent WH- constructions we have called constructions rather than questions, since they belong to a gray area of overlap of dependent questions and indefinite, or generalizing clauses. Here it may be added that such indefinite clauses are often relative clauses without an antecedent. Since such relative clauses are replacive of nouns rather than attributes to them, they are not treated in Ch. 14, which is exclusively about relative clauses as attributes.

Subject clauses are examined in 2.2.1; object clauses, in 2.2.2; and nonargument clauses, in 2.2.3. (It seems that Tok Pisin has no predicate subclauses of this type.) Attributive clauses are all relative clauses, and they have been examined in Ch. 14.

In subject, object, and nonargument clauses, *husat* and *wanem* are used to generalize the subject, object, or nonargument. While *husat* may be used substantively or attributively, *wanem* can be used only attributively, in this type of subclause.

### 2.2.1 Subject Clauses

Subject clauses are all of the WH- construction type. Examples:

- (1) <<**Husat man** i laik bihainim Bikpela>, orait em i mas i kam long mi>.  
'Whoever wants to follow the Lord must come to me.'
- (2) Na <<**husat man** i kaikai dispela mit>, em bai i gat asua>.  
'And whoever eats of this meat does wrong.'
- (3) <<**Husat** i putim yau long em>, em bai i sindaun gut tasol>.  
'Whoever listens to him will be prosperous.'
- (4) <<**Husat bilong yupela** i save tingim yet lo bilong God na i save bihainim tru kontrak bilong em>, orait yupela kam na bihainim mi nau>.  
'Whoever among you [pl.] who always meditates on God's law and lives according to his covenant, come and follow me.'
- (5) <<**Husat** i gat pekpek wara> i mas dring planti>.  
'He who has diarrhea must drink a lot.'
- (6) <<**Wanem man** i ran i go na i stap namel long tupela mak> em i lus>.  
'Whoever among the players runs and is between the two lines loses.'
- (7) <<**Wanem boi** i wokabaut strong na i kamap paslain long mak>, em i win>.  
'Whichever boy runs fast enough to get beyond the line wins.'
- (8) <<**Wanem ai** yu laik wasim>, em i mas i stap daunbilo>.  
'Whichever eye you are about to wash should be below [the other eye].'

### 2.2.2 Object Clauses

Object clauses are of various types. One of them is the WH- construction type. Examples:

- (1) Tasol <<**husat** bai i sindaun long han sut na long han kais bilong mi>, dispela em i no samting bilong mi long makim>.  
'But who will sit at my right hand and left hand, this is not something for me to decide.'
- (2) <Yu makim tasol <**wanem matmat** yu laik kisim>>.  
'You decide which burial place you wish to acquire.'
- (3) Orait na <ol i tromoi ston bilong makim <**husat** i mas kisim dispela wok>>, na ston bilong Matias i kamap.  
'Then they drew lots to determine who should be given this task, and the lot fell to Matthias.'
- (4) Tasol <dispela man i kamap orait gen em i no save <**husat** tru i bin tokim em>>.  
'But the man who was healed did not know who had told him that.'
- (5) Na <<**husat** i opim ai bilong em>, em tu mitupela i no save>.  
'And who opened his eyes, that we [two] [excl.] do not know either.'
- (6) <Yu bos bilong en na yu ken mekim <**wanem samting** yu ting i gutpela long mekim>>.  
'You are her mistress and you can do [with her] whatever you please.'

- (7) <Bai mi givim yupela <**wanem samting** yupela i laikim>>.  
'I will give you [pl.] whatever you want.'
- (8) Na <bai yumi lukim <**wanem samting** i kamap long ol driman bilong en>>.  
'And [after we have killed him] we [incl.] will see what his next dream will be.'
- (9) <<**Wanem man** i paitim papa o mama bilong en>, orait yupela i mas kilim em i dai>.  
'Anyone who strikes his father or mother, you [pl.] must kill.'

Another type is the clausal object of verbs of knowing and perception like *harim* 'to hear', *lukim* 'to see', *pilim* 'to feel', *save* 'to know', and *tok* 'to say'. Examples:

- (10) *Ating ol ofisa bai i harim olsem, mitupela i bin toktok wantaim.*  
'Perhaps the officials will hear that we [excl.] two have talked together.'
- (11) *Tasol planti yia i go pinis na nau yumi lukim olsem tok bilong ol i popaia.*  
'But many years have gone by and now we [incl.] recognize that what they said was a mistake.'
- (12) *Mi pilim olsem yu wok long brukim ol bun bilong mi olsem laion, i go inap long moning.*  
'All night until sunrise, I feel as if you crush my bones like a lion.'
- (13) *Na bai yu save olsem, mi tasol mi Bikpela.*  
'And you will know that I alone am the Lord.'
- (14) *Yu bin tok olsem dispela haus em i haus bilong yu.*  
'You have said that this dwelling is your house.'

But it is hard to place the angle brackets. Is *olsem* part of the subclause (and thus the conjunction marking it), or is it part of the higher clause? In the former analysis, *olsem* can only mark, roughly, what English marks with the conjunction *that*. On the latter reading, *olsem* would be roughly equivalent to English *thus*, or *as follows*—thus, (10) could as well be glossed as 'Perhaps the officials will hear this: that we have talked together'; or (14) as 'You have spoken thus: this dwelling is your house.'

Some more examples with *tok* are helpful here:

- (15) *Man i tok olsem, bai em i wokim wanpela haus bilong mekim dispela wok.*  
'The man says that he wants to build a house to do this work.'  
Or: 'The man says: he wants [ . . . ].'
- (16) *God i tok olsem de namba seven bilong olgeta wik em i bikpela de bilong em yet.*  
'God said that the seventh day of every week is a special day devoted to him.'  
Or: 'God said: the seventh day [ . . . ].'
- (17) *Tasol ol man i tok olsem, sapos yu harim driman, yu inap long autim as bilong en.*



‘But people say this: if you listen to [the report of] a dream, you can explain its meaning.’

(18) *Mi tok olsem, yu God bilong mi.*

‘I say: you are my God.’

Note that the quoted words in (15) are indirect speech (in direct speech, *em* would be *mi*), but these two types of quoted speech cannot always be distinguished, as they cannot in (16). In (17) and (18), the quoted words are in direct speech.

In fact, *olsem* followed by a comma is frequently followed by direct speech enclosed in quotes:

(19) *Na ol i tok olsem, “Givim mipela wara.”*

‘And they said, “Give us [excl.] some water.”’

and then *olsem* certainly belongs to the higher clause, not the subclause—that is to say, the quotation marks suggest a pause between what leads up to reported speech and that speech itself.

It is typical of *olsem* introducing object clauses of this kind that it straddles the fence between the two clauses. If, in (14), it belongs to *yu bin tok*, the two clauses are coordinated; if it belongs to *dispela haus* [ . . . ], then that part is a subclause. A similar analysis would hold for some of the other examples. *Olsem* is characteristically in a gray area between coordination and subordination.

A third type is that of dependent questions. As described in Ch. 6, 1.4.1, these have the same form as independent questions—see the examples there. There is no conjunction equivalent to English markers of dependent questions (*if* or *whether*). Tok Pisin does have *sapos* to mark a dependent question, but that is a recent anglicization, and the data base used here does not attest it.

### 2.2.3 Nonargument Clauses

The typical form of nonargument clauses is that they take the form of a clause after the preposition *long* or *bilong* (with *wantaim*, such clauses are rare or non-existent). The clause thus replaces a noun—a nonargument noun. A typical form of this construction is one in which *long* marks a dependent question as an indirect one. Consider:

(1) *Bai ol i ken skelim tok bilong mitupela. Na <bai yumi lukim <tok bilong husat i stret>>.*

‘We will be able to settle the dispute of the two of us [incl.]. And we will see which [of us] is right.’

(2) *Taim em i wokabaut i go em i lukim wanpela yangpela man bilong taun Sukot na i holimpas em na <i askim em long <husat i hetman bilong Sukot>>.*

‘When he went there he saw a young man of the town of Succoth and he stopped him and asked him who were the chieftains of Succoth.’

(3) *Na <mi bai tokim yu long <husat man yu mas makim bilong kamap king>>.*

‘And I will tell you whom you must designate to become king.’

- (4) <Dispela lis i tok klia long <husat meri i mas karim long haus sik>>.  
'This list makes it clear what [kind of] women must give birth in the hospital.'
- (5) Na <i gat narapela diwai tu i stap, em diwai bilong givim gutpela save long <wanem samting i gutpela na wanem samting i nogut>>.  
'And there was another tree, the tree of knowledge about what is good and what is evil.'
- (6) Na <<wanem nem man i kolim ol long en>, orait dispela nem i stap nem bilong ol>.  
'And whatever name he calls them by, that name will be their name.'
- (7) Na <bai mi toksave long yutupela long <wanem ol samting yutupela i mas mekim>>.  
'And I will let both of you know what you must do.'
- (8) <Mi tingting planti long <wanem pasin bihain bai i kamap long graun bilong yumi>>.  
'I think a lot about what way of life will develop in our [incl.] land.'

But there are others:

- (9) <Bipo Australia i tok pinis long <em i laik helpim yumi>>.  
'Formerly Australia stated that it would like to help us [incl.]'
- (10) <Bai mi singaut long <em i givim dispela mani long mi nau tasol!>>  
'I will demand that he give me this money right now!'
- (11) <Sampela taim em i tok long <em i pilim skin bilong en i hat>>.  
'Sometimes he says that he feels that his skin is hot.'
- (12) <Mi putim pen long as bilong graunpos long <em i no ken sting kwik-taim>>.  
'I apply paint to the bottom of the post to make sure it won't rot.'
- (13) <Askim sikman long <em i mas lukluk i go longwe>>.  
'Ask the patient to look in the distance.'
- (14) <Pasim ples bilong ol lang na ol natnat long <ol i na ken putim kiau>>.  
'Cover the places where flies and mosquitoes gather, so they won't be able to lay eggs.'

The *long* clause may be the indirect form of a statement, a desire or order, and some, like (12) through (14) are hardly distinguishable from purposive subclauses.

*Long* + clause is very common after the modal auxiliary *laik*. There are two forms of this construction: such that the subclause has no overt subject of its own (the covert subject is coreferential with the subject of *laik*); and such that the subject has an overt subject of its own (which is then not coreferential with the subject of *laik*). To consider the former type as having a subclause seems a bit strained. After all, *laik long* is often a variation on *laik*; examples are found in Ch. 19, 8.3. But the latter type does involve a genuine subclause:

- (15) <Man bilong bosim pilai em i mas laik long <ol yangpela i stap belgut na ol i amamas>>.

'The one who supervises the games should be eager for the young to enjoy them and be happy.'

- (16) <Ating yu laik long <tomato bilong yu i kamap gutpela>>.

'Of course you want your tomatoes to grow well.'

- (17) <Ol Moap i no laik long <ol Israel i bosim ol moa>>.

'The people of Moab did not want to be under the rule of the people of Israel any more.'

Subclauses introduced by *bilong* are often purposive subclauses—see 2.1.4.

### 2.3 Coordination within Subclauses

Although clauses joined by *na*, *o* or *tasol* (1) are at the same syntactic level, it is very common for such coordinated clauses to be, jointly, in a subclause relation to some higher clause, or for each of them to be marked as a subclause. Examine the following examples (coordinated subclauses in bold face):

- (1) *Orait bihain* <*sapos long Papua Niugini yumi gat self gavman pinis*> *na* <*yumi laik kisim independens tru*>, *long dispela taim yumi mas painim mani long dispela kantri bilong yumi yet na helpim gavman bilong yumi.*

'Then, later, if we [incl.] have self-determination in Papua New Guinea and we [incl.] want true independence, at such a time we [incl.] must find funds in our [incl.] own country and help our [incl.] government.'

- (2) <*Sapos yumi yet yumi no inap baim dispela samting*>, *na* <*sapos sampela arapela kantri ol i helpim yumi*>, *orait bai yumi gat liklik hap independens tasol.*

'If we [incl.] ourselves cannot afford these things, and if some other country assists us [incl.], we [incl.] do not have true independence.'

- (3) <*Taim em i kamap longpela*>, *na* <*kaikai bilong en i kamap bikpela*>, *orait em i save pundaun.*

'When it [i.e. the tomato plant] grows tall, and its fruit become big, they will fall off.'

- (4) *Man* <*i givim bel tru long wok*> *na* <*i gat save*> *em inap mekim wok i kamap smat moa wantaim sampela as tul tasol.*

'A man who puts his heart in it and is competent can produce good work with only a few basic tools.'

In (1) and (2), *sapos* subclauses are coordinated; note that *sapos* is repeated in (2) but not in (1). In (3), *taim* clauses are coordinated; in (4), relative clauses.

Coordination in subclauses can be made quite long for the same reason any subclause can be long. The pick-up device in the next higher clause, such as *orait* or some resumptive pronoun, is given in small caps in the examples that follow (example (6) follows (5) immediately in context):

- (5) *Sapos* <*tupela man i kros*> *na* <*wanpela man i brukim han*> *na* <*paitim narapela man*> *o* <*paitim em long ston*>, *tasol* <*em i no kilim em i dai*>, *ORAIT yupela i no ken bekim rong bilong dispela man.*

'If two men are angry and one strikes the other with his fist or with a stone but does not kill him, then you [pl.] must not hold him liable.'

- (6) *Tasol sapos <dispela man i bin kisim bagarap, EM i mas i stap long bet>, na <bihain em inap i kirap> na <holim stik> na <wokabaut>, ORAIT DISPELA MAN i bin paitim em, EM i mas bekim mani long em.*

'But if this man who is injured must keep his bed, and later he is able to get up and use a cane and walk, then this man who has struck him must pay him compensation.'

- (7) *Sapos <wanpela man i tekewe samting i karamapim wanpela hul long graun>, o sapos <em i wokim bikipela hul> na <i no karamapim>, na <wanpela bulmakau o wanpela donki i pundaun long en> na <i dai>, ORAIT DISPELA MAN i bin wokim hul em i mas baim papa bilong abus.*

'If a man removes the cover of a pit in the ground, or if he digs a large hole and does not cover it, and an ox or a donkey falls into it and dies, then this man who has dug the hole must pay compensation to the owner of the animal.'

- (8) *Na sapos <man i kukim ples kunai bilong em yet> na <paia i kamap bikipela> na <i kalapim mak> na <kukim wit long gaden bilong nara-pela man> o <kukim wit ol i bin katim na hipim i stap>, ORAIT DISPELA MAN i bin laitim paia i mas bekim olgeta kaikai paia i bin kukim.*

'And if a man burns off his own field and the fire becomes bigger and spreads and burns the wheat of the man in the next field or stacked wheat there, then this man who started the fire must compensate for the crops he has burnt.'

### 3. Pronominal Anaphora

Recall that the typical clause form contains (in addition to its predicate) nouns, noun phrases, and pronouns—in short, nominals of various forms. These may serve as subject and object (as arguments, therefore), and in nonargument constituents of the clause (for example, the object of prepositional phrases).

Reference to such nominals is called anaphoric reference. Third person personal pronouns are used for this purpose. There are rules governing the use of these anaphoric pronouns.

Even within the confines of a clause (intraclausally) there may be such anaphoric reference. Recall, first, that remote subject nonthird pronouns trigger the predicate marker *i* (which, of course, is not a nominal), but also, in some style registers, they may trigger their own pick-up forms (resumptive forms) (Ch. 7, 1.3), while third person pronouns and nouns (or noun phrases) trigger *em* or *ol* (Ch. 4, 2.1). In the present subsection, we consider rules for repeating or omitting nominals not within clauses, but among clauses (interclausally) within complex sentences.

The interclausal resumptive use of nominals by pronouns (or, sometimes, nouns) is examined in 3.1; omission of nominals by reason of their use in a prior clause, in 3.2.

### 3.1 Resumptive Pronouns

Interclausally, these pronouns are *em* and *ol*. Below follow examples of their use in follow-up coordinate clauses. Consider (anaphoric pronouns are in bold, and the nominals they refer to in caps):

- (1) <*I no gat gutpela rot bilong pinisim dispela SUA* >, <*na em i save kilim man i dai*>.  
'There is no good way to cure this tumor, and it will kill a man.'
- (2) <*Salim SIKMAN i go long DOKTA, na em i skelim em*.>  
'Send the patient to the doctor, and he will examine him.'
- (3) <*Tilim OL MAN long fopela tim*>, <*na ol i mas sanap long hap bilong ol*>.  
'Group the men in four teams, and they must stand in their places.'
- (4) <*KUS NATING em yet i no wanpela bikpela sik*>, <*tasol em i ken redim rot bilong tupela arapela bikpela sik*>.  
'A cough by itself is not a major illness, but it can set the stage for two serious diseases.'
- (5) <*OL MAN LONG PLES i laikim lipti, tasol ol i no save dring planti*>.  
'Village people like tea, but they do not drink it much [for sugar is too expensive].'
- (6) <*MAN bilong meri i mas orait long promis bilong meri*> <*o em i mas pasim meri na meri i no ken bihainim promis*>.  
'The woman's husband must approve of the woman's pledge, or he must prevent the woman from fulfilling the pledge.'
- (7) <*Maski OL MANi save ran kwik*> <*o ol i strongpela man bilong pait, ol i no inap ranawe long ol birua*>.  
'No matter whether the men run fast or whether they are good soldiers, they cannot escape the enemies.'
- (8) <*SIKMAN i traut*>, <*olsem na em i no inap dring marasin*>.  
'The patient vomits, so he is not able to take oral medication.'

What these examples do not illustrate is whether such pronouns are used optionally or obligatorily; that aspect of anaphoric use is treated in 3.2.

Resumptive pronouns are very common after a subclause, in the next higher clause. Here are a few examples with temporal and conditional subclauses, with *em* and *ol* as resumptive, and with or without the higher clause marker *orait*:

- (9) <*Sapos WANPELA MAN i stap ofsait*>, <*em i gat asua taim narapela memba bilong tim bilong em i tasim bal*>.  
'If a man is offside, he makes an error when another member of his team touches the ball.'
- (10) <*Sapos OL MANKI i mekim gutpela pilai*>, <*ol i no gat taim bilong tingting long ol kain samting nogut*>.  
'If the children play a good game, they have no time to think of all kinds of mischief.'

- (11) <*Sapos PIKININI i mekim stretpela pasin na em i bihainim gut olgeta lo bilong mi*>, <*orait em bai i stap gut*>. ‘If the son lives justly and obeys all my laws, he will prosper.’
- (12) <*Sapos OL GUTPELA MANMERI i save tingting planti long ol kain kain samting nogut*>, <*orait ol bai i no inap luksave moa long wanem samting i gutpela na wanem samting i nogut*>. ‘If good people always think about all kinds of evil things, they will not be able to tell anymore what is good from what is evil.’

Similar examples with different types of subclauses, and with or without the higher clause marker *orait* are common.

### 3.2 Deletion of Nominals

For Tok Pisin, deletion of nominals is fairly straightforward in some constructions. An example of this is the very common construction in which *em* or *ol* is deleted in object position, a matter described in Ch. 21, 1.6. In such constructions it does not matter whether the nominal referred to occurs in a separate sentence in prior text, or in a subclause of the higher clause at issue, or in a clause coordinated with the clause at issue. Consider:

- (1) **“*Yu no bekim yet askim bilong mi.*”** *Na Katu i tok, “Yes, tru. Nau mi laik bekim.”*  
 “‘You have not yet answered my question.’” And Katu said: “Right. I will answer it now.””

The first clause in bold has *askim* ‘question’, as an object of *bekim* ‘to answer’; in the second clause in bold, the object of *bekim* is that very question, but it is not expressed. Obviously, those two clauses do not make up a complex sentence—they are not even contiguous. Thus, deletion of an object mentioned in prior discourse is a matter much wider than that of use or nonuse of anaphoric pronouns in a complex sentence.

Consider, now, deletion of a subject pronoun in a follow-up coordinate clause. For such a clause, rules are easier to phrase. One is that, with two or more coordinated clauses, subject deletion is readily possible, though not necessary, after *na* (neutral, see 1.1) and *o* (alternative, see 1.3), but not possible after *tasol* (contrastive, 1.2) or after *olsem na* (consecutive, 1.4). This can easily be checked on above in the examples in those subsections.

In subordinating constructions, in the follow-up clause (no matter whether that is the subclause or the higher clause), an overt subject pronoun is needed for anaphoric reference, with the only exception of consecutive *na* clauses, where an overt pronoun for subject is common, though not mandatory. Again, this may be verified in the examples of 2.1.1 through 2.1.7.

## 4. The Scope of TAM Markers

By TAM markers here is understood all the tense-aspect-modality auxiliaries, including the negator *no*, as treated in Ch. 20 (for their formal characteristics, see

Ch. 10). Here we examine these TAM markers in their syntactic relations from a clause to its follow-up clause in a complex sentence.

What is involved here may be explained with some English examples first. Consider the following sentences:

- (1) <He **likes** to do this job> <and to finish it quickly>.
- (2) <He **likes** to do this job> <and **likes** to finish it quickly>.
- (3) <He did **not** want to finish the job quickly> <and declined to do so>.
- (4) <He did **not** want to finish the job quickly> <but did not decline to do so>.
- (5) <We do **not** want to go there> <and fail>.

In (1), the modal *likes to* is not repeated in the follow-up clause, although it does apply there. It could, however, be repeated, as (2) shows. Thus, the scope of *likes* is such that its repetition is not needed, but repetition is possible. In short, repetition is optional. In (3), negation in the first clause does not affect the follow-up clause; its scope does not extend beyond the conjunction. If that follow-up clause is negated, as it is in (4), then it has to have its own negator, and repetition of the negation is obligatory. By contrast, in (5) the scope of negation in the first clause extends to the follow-up clause. If *fail* is to be negated in the follow-up clause, as it is in (5), negation is prohibited. We need not worry about what rules apply in English here. The examples are meant only to explain the notion of scope, for TAM markers.

Examples (1) through (5) are sentences comprising coordinated clauses only. For subordination, consider the following:

- (6) <John did **not** refuse <because he was tired>>.
- (7) <John did **not** refuse>, <because he was tired>.

In (6), the causal subclause is a restrictive subclause; in (7), it is nonrestrictive. That is, the subclause in (6) is embedded in the higher clause; in (7), it is not. (Note the distribution of the angle brackets in the two examples; the difference happens to be reflected orthographically—in the comma). In (6), negation extends to the subclause. In fact, (6) entails that John did refuse, though not because he was tired. By contrast, in (7) John did not refuse, and the reason he did not was that he was tired. Once again, our purpose is not to describe scope for English for sentences like these, but merely to explain the notion of scope, for this type of construction.

The notion of scope for Tok Pisin needs attention because rules for scope in Tok Pisin are rather different from scope rules for English. In what follows, we select two types of constructions involving scope in Tok Pisin. The first may be dubbed that of modal scope; the second, modal repeat.

Modal scope is examined in 4.1; modal repeat, in 4.2.

#### 4.1 Modal Scope

The modals *bin*, *inap*, *ken*, *mas*, *laik*, *no*, and *save* extend their scope beyond coordinative *na* and beyond *o* when these conjunctions combine predicate cores, on condition that there be no overt subject after the conjunction, nor even *i*:

- (1) <Dispela draiva em i no **bin** tingting gut> <**na** kisim wanpela i kam bilong senisim>.  
'This driver hasn't used his head and brought one [i.e. a spare tire].'
- (2) <Em **bin** bamim> <o tanim lek>?  
'Has he bumped or sprained his foot?'
- (3) <Bai gavman em **inap** kisim planti takis> <**na** baim kain kain samting yumi laik kisim long kantri bilong yumi>.  
'The government will be able to get a lot of tax money and pay for various things we [incl.] want to obtain for our [incl.] country.'
- (4) <Strong bilong man yet em i no **inap** apim> <o karim hevipela samting olsem bikpela diwai>.  
'A man's own physical strength cannot lift or transport heavy things like big trees.'
- (5) <Yumi **ken** selim> <**na** kisim mani long dispela>.  
'We [incl.] can sell [our products] and get money from that.'
- (6) <Em i no **ken** subim> <o holim narapela man>.  
'He [i.e. any player] must not push or touch another man.'
- (7) <Yu **mas** raun raun pastaim> <**na** skelim pe bilong dispela samting>.  
'You have to shop around first and compare prices of this.'
- (8) <Em i **mas** toktok wantaim>, <o raitim pas i go long [ . . . ]>.  
'He has to consult, or write a letter to [ . . . ].'
- (9) <Ol i no **laik** mekim hatwok long han> <**na** kisim doti>.  
'They don't want to do heavy work and get their hands dirty.'
- (10) <Sapos <yu **laik** kukim> <o salim long maket>>, <orait, yu ken wasim pastaim>.  
'If you want to burn them [i.e. peanuts] or sell them on the market, you can wash them first.'
- (11) <Yu **no** ken <<kaunim hap> <**na** lusim hap>>.&br/>'Don't read only some passages and skip others.'
- (12) <Tisa bilong ol i **no** toktok planti>, <o raitim planti samting long blakbot>.  
'The teacher does not talk a great deal, or write many things on the blackboard.'
- (13) <Ol tumbuna bilong yumi ol i **save** mekim hatwok tru> <**na** wokim dispela olgeta gutpela samting yumi save lukim long dispela taun>.  
'Our [incl.] ancestors always worked hard and made all these things that we [incl.] see in this town [for us to buy].'
- (14) <God em i strong bilong yumi Israel> <**na** em i no **save** giaman o senisim tingting bilong en>.  
'God is the strength of us [incl.] people of Israel, and he never lies or changes his thoughts.'

What blocks the scope of a TAM marker from extending to the follow-up coordinative clause is not the conjunction *na* or *o*, but an overt subject (in bold face) after that conjunction—no matter whether the subject is identical to or different from that of the preceding clause:



- (15) <Yu **ken** kisim twelpela tasol> <**na** yu no ken winim dispela namba>. 'You may take only twelve [passengers] and you may not go over that number.'
- (16) <Tasol i gat wanpela samting bai i kamap long yumi olgeta>, <maski yumi **save** mekim ofa> <o yumi no **save** mekim ofa>. 'But there is one thing that will happen to all of us [incl.], no matter whether we [incl.] regularly offer sacrifices or we [incl.] do not regularly make sacrifices.'
- (17) <I no gat wanpela bilong ol>, <lek bilong en i tait **na** em i laik pundaun, o ai bilong en i laik slip>. 'There is no one among them whose legs are tired so they will fall down, or whose eyes will close with sleep.'
- (18) <Na ai bilong ol manmeri bai i **no** pas moa **na** bai ol i lukim klia ol samting>. 'And their eyes will not be closed any more, and they will see clearly.'

Since coordinated follow-up clauses opening with contrastive *tasol* and consecutive *olsem na* invariably require their own subject, the scope of a TAM marker in the previous clause never extends to the follow-up clause.

Examples above in regard to *na* are about coordinative *na* only, not about the subordinative consecutive conjunction *na*. If the next higher clause contains *no*, the scope of this negation extends beyond *na*, into the subclause, even though the subclause requires either its own subject or at least the predicate marker *i*. (TAM markers other than *no* in the next higher clause do not have their scope extended into the subclause.)

This construction is examined and exemplified in Ch. 9, 4.

## 4.2 Modal Repeat

The construction here characterized is one that has a clause expressing will or desire, with a subclause repeating that will or desire by means of the auxiliary *ken* or *mas*, which we may call the repeat modal. The subclause then needs a subject of its own. The construction is invariably well-formed also without that auxiliary, and may be considered as a stylistic variation on the latter. Typical verbs in the higher clause are: *askim* (or *askim strong*) 'to request'; *laik* (or *gat laik*) 'to want', *strong* (or *tok strong*) 'to insist'; *tambuim* 'to forbid'; and even a sentence adverb like *mobeta* 'better', which may function the way a higher verb does. For *askim*, consider:

- (1) <Tasol mipela i **askim** yu> <long yu **mas** tokaut klia long yu bin kisim long dispela buk **SAVE NA MEKIM**>. 'But we [excl.] request that you state clearly that you have borrowed [this text] from *Save na mekim*.'
- (2) <**Askim** em> <long em i **mas** tokim yu> <long em i **mas** daunim marasin olsem wanem>>. 'Ask him to tell you how to take this medicine.'

- (3) <Em i *askim* Jisas strong> <long em i *mas* rausim spirit nogut i stap long pikinini meri bilong en>.  
‘He implored Jesus to expel the evil spirit in his daughter.’
- (4) <Yupela i bin *askim* Bikpela> <bai em i no *ken* toktok gen>.  
‘You [pl.] had asked the Lord not to speak again.’
- (5) <Ol i *askim* em strong> <long em i *mas* bihainim rot long ples nating na kam hariap na bringim sampela kaikai i kam long ol>.  
‘They urged him to take the road through the wilderness and bring them some food in a hurry.’
- (6) Josep, <mi *askim* yu, <plis yu *mas* lusim dispela bikpela rong na sin ol brata bilong yu i bin mekim long yu>.  
‘Joseph, I ask you to forgive this great crime your brothers have committed against you.’
- (7) <Tasol nau mi *askim* yu>, <<sapos yu laik> yu *ken* lusim sin bilong ol>.  
‘But now I ask you, if it pleases you, to forgive their sins.’
- (8) <Haman i laik *askim* Esta> <bai em i *ken* marimari long em>.  
‘Haman was about to ask Esther to show him mercy.’

In (6), it is possible to regard *plis yu mas* [ . . . ] as direct speech (that is, directly quoted words) and thus not as a subclause, but in that case *plis* may be regarded as a sentence adverb, functioning the way a higher clause would.

The repeat modal is not obligatory; consider the following examples, which show this (there may or may not be a subject in the subclause):

- (9) <Bungim sampela samting na *askim* stuakipa> <long kisim diskaun>.  
‘Buy various things at the same time and ask the storekeeper for a discount.’
- (10) <*Askim* ol didiman> <long ol i helpim yu>.  
‘Ask the agricultural officer to help you.’  
Note that *askim* in the construction examined here is ‘to request’, and not ‘to ask [information]’, which would not express will or desire.

Here are examples with *laik*:

- (11) <Na mipela i laik> <bai yupela tu i *mas* save>.  
‘And we [excl.] want you [pl.] to know too.’
- (12) <Yu laik> <kus i *mas* lusim yu>, <orait, yu lusim smok>.  
‘You want to get rid of your cough: quit smoking.’
- (13) <Olsem na mi laik> <bai ol man bilong olgeta ples i *mas* apim han bilong ol na mekim prea>.  
‘And so I want people everywhere to raise their hands in prayer.’
- (14) <God i gat strongpela laik tru> <long ol manmeri i *mas* stap aninit long em wanpela tasol>.  
‘It is God’s strong will that people obey only him.’
- (15) <Em i laik> <bai dispela tripela lida bilong taun i *mas* i kam lukim em>.  
‘He wanted these three elders of the town to see him.’

- (16) <Papa bilong mi i **laik**> <bai yu **mas** i kam lukim em>.  
'My father wants you to come and see him.'
- (17) <Olgeta pasin <yupela i **laik**> <bai ol arapela manmeri i **mas** mekim long yupela>>, <ol dispela pasin tasol yupela i mas mekim long ol>.  
'The way you [pl.] want to be treated by others, this way you [pl.] must treat others.'
- (18) <Na mi **laik**> <bai yupela i no **ken** givim baksait long ol wanblut long taim ol i gat hevi>.  
'And I don't want you [pl.] to turn away from your relatives in time of need.'
- (19) <Mi **laik**> <bai dispela man i **ken** bagarap>.  
'I hope this man will be destroyed.'
- (20) *Tru tumas*, <mi **laik**> <bai Bikpela i **ken** mekim olsem yu tok>.  
'I assure you, I hope the Lord will do as you say.'

Again, the repeat modal is not needed (the subclause needs its own subject):

- (21) <Mi no **laik**> <bai ol man i daunim na rabisim nem bilong mi>.  
'I do not want my good name to be held in low esteem and to be smeared.'
- (22) <Mi **laik**> <bai yupela i givim kaikai long ol man i hangre>.  
'I want you [pl.] to give food to the hungry.'

*Strong* often means 'to insist':

- (23) <Naman i **strong**> <long Elisa i **mas** kisim presen>, tasol Elisa i no laik na em i no kisim.  
'Naaman insisted that Elisha accept presents, but Elisha did not want to and did not accept any.'
- (24) <Hesekia i **strong**> <long ol wokman bilong en i **mas** strongim banis bilong Jerusalem hariap>.  
'Hezekiah urged his workmen to strengthen the walls of Jerusalem without delay.'
- (25) <Na yu **mas strong**> <long ol kot i **mas** mekim stretpela pasin long ol rabisman>.  
'You must demand from the courts that they treat poor people justly.'
- (26) <Ol i **strong**> <long mipela i **mas** mekim dispela promis>.  
'They demanded that we [excl.] make this promise.'
- (27) <Na ol bikman bilong ol i save **strong tumas**> <long ol manmeri i **mas** bihainim tok bilong ol>.  
'And their rulers make severe demands upon the people to obey them.'
- (28) <Ol i **tok strong**> <long mi **mas** givim gude long yupela>.  
'They insisted that I give you [pl.] [their] best greetings.'
- (29) <Ol i **strong**> <long king i no **ken** kukim buk>.  
'They urged the king not to burn the scroll.'
- (30) <Tupela i **toktok strong**> <long ol manmeri bai ol i no **ken** mekim sin>.  
'The two of them urged strongly that the people not commit sin.'

- (31) *Na em i tok strong long ol i no ken givim baksait long lo*.  
‘And he commanded them not to turn away from the law.’

Here are some examples without the repeat modal (with or without a subject in the subclause):

- (32) *<Ol i strong> <long bihainim tok bilong yu>*.  
‘They are consistent in obeying you.’
- (33) *<Tasol Sol i strong> <long Devit i maritim Merap>*.  
‘But Saul demanded that David marry Merab.’

*Tambuim*, as a prohibition, typically triggers *no ken* as what in effect is a double modal: since *tambuim* is semantically negative, it triggers *no*:

- (34) *<Long dispela as tasol yumi save tambuim pikinini> <i no ken pasim pes long bek plastik>*.  
‘Precisely for this reason we [incl.] forbid children to put their heads in a plastic bag.’
- (35) *<Olsem na kepten em i tambuim ol soldia> <long ol i no ken kilim ol kalabus>*.  
‘So the centurion forbade the soldiers to kill the prisoners.’
- (36) *<Orait Jisas i tok strong long ol disaipel na i tambuim ol> <long ol i no ken tokim wanpela man long em i husat tru>*.  
‘Then Jesus with great insistence forbade his disciples to tell anyone who he really was.’
- (37) *<Na long dispela pasin ol i brukim lo bilong God <i bin tambuim ol man> <long ol i no ken mekim ol arapela samting i kamap god bilong ol>>*.  
‘And in this way they broke the law of God, who had forbidden them to fashion other things as their idols.’
- (38) *<Em i tambuim ol manmeri> <long ol i no ken i go wantaim em>*.  
‘He forbade the people to accompany him.’

The same construction type without modal repeat (and without a subject in the subclause):

- (39) *<Tasol wanpela diwai i sanap namel tru>, <em> <God i tambuim mitupela long kaikai pikinini bilong en>*.  
‘But there is one tree in the middle, the one God forbids us [two] to eat the fruit of.’
- (40) *<Mi tambuim yupela pinis> <long mekim dispela kain tok>*.  
‘I have forbidden you [pl.] to talk this way.’

Finally, *mobeta* ‘preferably’ is a sentence adverb (see Ch. 22, 2.5) and may be analyzed as structurally the equivalent of a higher clause verb in this type of construction:

- (41) <Olsem na ating **mobeta**> <yu **mas** lusim Asiria na Babilon na yu **mas** i go sindaun long kantri Midia>.  
‘So it would perhaps be better for you to leave Assyria and Babylon and to settle in the country of Media.’
- (42) <**Mobeta**> <yupela man i gat save yupela i **mas** pasim maus tasol>.  
‘It is better for you [pl.] prudent people just to remain silent.’
- (43) <**Mobeta**> <yupela i **mas** soim ol man olsem, dispela kain pasin em i nogut>.  
‘It would be better for you [pl.] to show the people that such things are evil.’
- (44) <**Mobeta**> <tupela han bilong mi i **ken** lus na pundaun long graun>.  
‘It would be better for me to lose my two hands and have them fall down on the ground.’
- (45) <Olsem na **mobeta**> <sikman i no **ken** dring aspirin bilong daunim liklik het pen>.  
‘And so it is better for the patient not to take aspirin to relieve a slight headache.’
- (46) <Tasol **mobeta**> <yu no **ken** putim marasin>.  
‘Better not use any pesticide.’

No modal repeat:

- (47) <Maski>, <**mobeta**> <yumi stap hia na wetim narapela trak>.  
‘Never mind, we [incl.] better wait for another truck.’
- (48) <**Mobeta**> <yu baim fetilaisa>.  
‘Better buy fertilizer.’

It is possible to see these repeat modals as suppletive in the sense this expression has in the serial constructions examined in Ch. 8, 2, and Ch. 9, 5. It is important to observe that these repeats are not just redundant—which is what they could look like if compared to English. In English, when I say that I want to do some job, then there is a sense in which I could say that I “must” do that job. But if I then combine the “want” element with the “must” element, then what I want is not just doing that job, but being obliged to do it (one way of phrasing that would be *I must do this job, have no choice in the matter, and that is the way I want it*). It is that difference that does not apply to using or not using repeat modals in Tok Pisin, and the view of redundancy of that repeat would be a view inspired by English. On the other hand, of course, the modal repeat is optional. The difference, then, between such constructions without and with the modal repeat is one between less and more emphasis on the will, desire, prohibition, etc. expressed in the higher clause verb.

In other words, the scope of the higher clause verb extends all the way through the subclause, except when emphasis is needed.

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