

21 *Ngatikese Men's Language*

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1 Introduction¹

Ngatikese Men's Language, also known as Ngatikese Pidgin, is spoken on the island of Ngatik, the main island in the Sapwuahfik Atoll, situated about 90 miles south-west of Ponape (Pohnpei) in the Caroline Islands of Micronesia. This rather unusual pidgin owes its origin to a series of bloodthirsty events which took place on Ponape and on its near neighbour, the Sapwuafik atoll, in the years 1836–37 (see Maps 1 and 2).

Hezel (1983:121) records that in 1836 relations between the Ponapean chiefs and the resident European beachcombers and omnipresent visiting whalers were no longer cordial, basically as a result of their lack of respect for local Ponapean custom.

In 1836 the London whaleship *Falcon* ran aground as it attempted to leave Madolenihmw harbour on Ponape. The stranded seamen set up camp on a small island nearby, taking off their whale oil and stores. Captain Hingston caught a group of Ponapeans trying to make off with the topsail of the *Falcon*, flew into a rage and struck their leader, the *nahnawa* of Madolenihmw. This led to a declaration of war, the *nahnawa* announcing that he would exterminate every foreigner in the Ponape area. The crewmen of the *Falcon* managed to get word to other ships in port to come to their assistance, which was agreed on condition that they hand over their cargo of whale oil as payment. The ships involved were the *Avon*, the *Unity* and the *Lambton*, which was commanded by Captain 'Bloody' Hart. A force of 40 seamen, together with the Europeans living ashore and some 400 Ponapean allies, combined to attack the *nahnawa* and his followers. They easily outgunned their opposition, inflicted heavy casualties and captured the *nahnawa*, who was hanged from the yardarm of the *Lambton* by Captain Hart, the self-appointed leader of the Europeans.

Hart had other scores to settle. Just prior to the Ponape incident, he and his crew had been attacked by a large band of armed men on Ngatik, where they had gone to trade for fine

¹ This paper is dedicated to Tom Dutton, a friend and distinguished pidgin and creole specialist in the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies at The Australian National University, whose writings and seminars have done much to enrich the field. An earlier version of the paper was presented at the Fourth International Conference on Oceanic Linguistics, Niue, 5–9 July 1999.

turtle shell. The *Lambton* managed to escape without loss of life, yet Hart vowed vengeance and, in 1837, almost a year after the *Falcon* incident, he took aboard several Europeans and twenty Ponapeans, all armed, and headed for Ngatik. They went ashore and killed everyone they encountered. In all Hart and the landing party from the *Lambton* killed every adult man on the island. The only males to escape had put to sea at the beginning of the slaughter. The Englishmen spared the women (those who had not killed themselves) and their infant children and installed an Irishman, Paddy Gorman, as chief of Ngatik in return for a regular supply of turtle shell. Captain Hart and the *Lambton* sailed away from Ngatik leaving a few of the Europeans and the twenty Ponapeans ashore to collect shell and to provide solace to the widowed Ngatikese women. Descendants of this community form the major part of the present day Ngatik population.

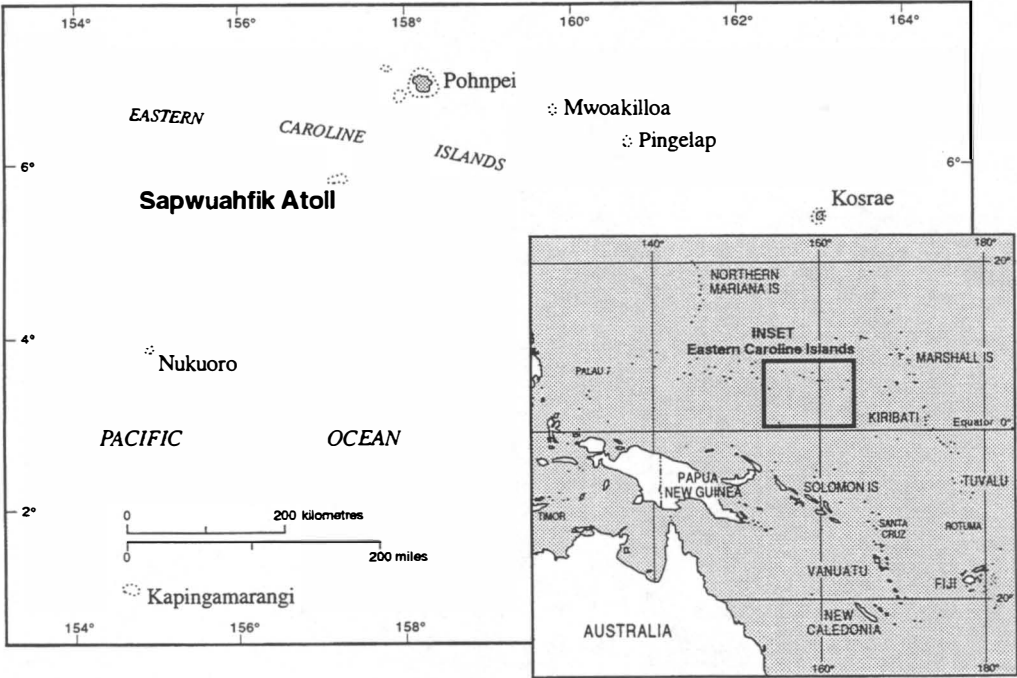
What developed linguistically from this situation was a rather odd pidgin language, derived from the South Seas Jargon/Pidgin of the 1830s, spoken by those engaged in maritime activities in the Pacific, and the Ngatik dialect of Ponapean, the standard language of Ngatik since time immemorial. This language is known today as the Ngatikese Men's Language or Ngatikese Pidgin. It contains a large number of English-derived lexical items and morphosyntactic elements, together with a very considerable Ngatikese element, which is indeed the dominant element in this pidgin language. What is striking about the English-derived elements is that they include a number of features which are characteristic of the New South Wales pidgin of the 1820s and 1830s (Troy 1995; see §3 below).

Fieldwork on Ponape was undertaken in July 1997 as part of a broader study on the origins and development of Pacific pidgins (Tryon & Charpentier, in prep.). In the course of this fieldwork, my chief consultant, Remikio Frank, informed me that Pidgin, as he calls it, is commonly used by the male population of Ngatik today, especially when they are engaged in communal activities such as fishing, and house- or boat-building. Ngatik has a population of some 500 people today. Previous ethnographic and historical studies of Ngatik include Poyer (1992) and McClintok (1994). Kenneth Regh, an expert on Ponapean, kindly made available his field notes and assisted with interviews, together with Damian Sohl, Director of Education for Ponape (Pohnpei).

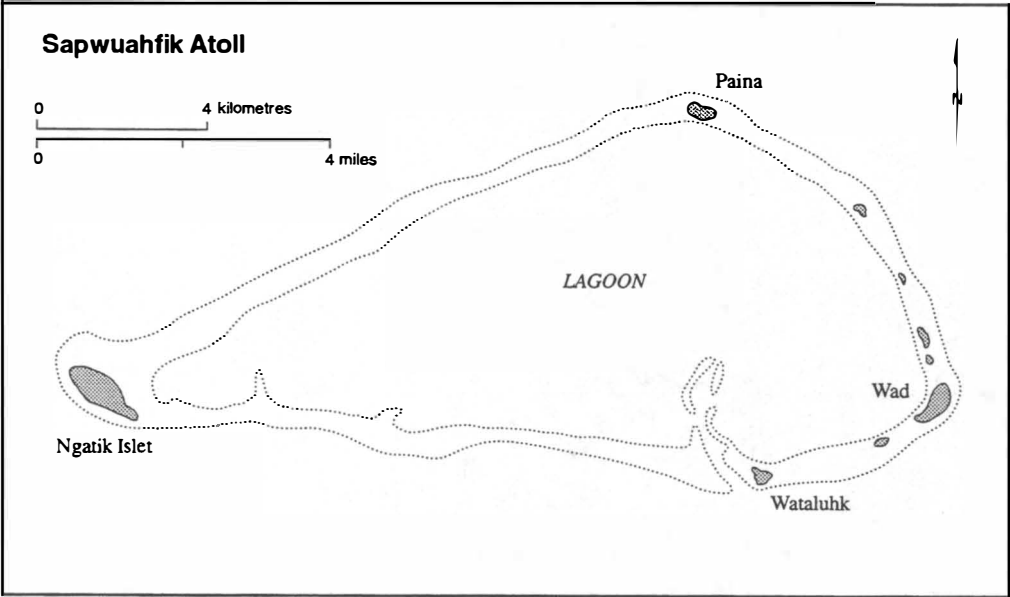
2 Ngatikese Pidgin morphosyntax

Ngatikese Pidgin is an unusual Pacific pidgin in many ways. As noted above, it cannot really be described as an English-based pidgin in that the majority of its lexicon is drawn from Ngatikese, a very close relative of Ponapean, a Nuclear Micronesian language, spoken on the Sapwuhfik Atoll of which Ngatik Island is the main landmass. However, there is still a considerable proportion of English-derived vocabulary and a large number of morphosyntactic markers which characterise other Pacific English-based pidgins. Many of the constructions employed are found in the very early English-based pidgin spoken in New South Wales in the 1820s and 1830s (Troy 1995), but which no longer figure in 20th century pidgin languages of Melanesia. Most noticeable in Ngatikese Pidgin is the absence of the ubiquitous *long* and *blong*, the high frequency relators which are an integral part of all other English-based Pacific pidgins today.

What follows is a brief account of Ngatikese Pidgin morphology and syntax, followed by two short illustrative Ngatikese Pidgin texts.



Map 1: Eastern Caroline Islands



Map 2: Sapwuahfik Atoll

2.1 Ngatikese/Ponapean pronouns

Because there appears to be some mixing of Ngatikese Pidgin and normal Ngatikese lexemes and grammatical functors, reflected in the texts below, both the Pidgin and the regular Ngatikese/Ponapean pronoun forms are given in full.²

Table 1: Ngatikese/Ponapean pronouns

	INDEP	SUBJ	OBJ	POSS
1S	<i>ngehi</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>-ie</i>	<i>-i, Ø</i>
2S	<i>kowe/koh</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>-uhk</i>	<i>-mw</i>
3S	<i>ih</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>-Ø</i>	<i>-Ø</i>
1DL.PLEXC	<i>kiht</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>-kit</i>	<i>-t</i>
1DL.INC	<i>kita</i>	<i>kita</i>	<i>-kita</i>	<i>-ta</i>
2DL	<i>kumwa</i>	<i>kumwa-</i>	<i>kumwa-</i>	<i>-mwa</i>
3DL	<i>ira/ihr</i>	<i>ira</i>	<i>-ira</i>	<i>-ra</i>
1PL.INC	<i>kitail</i>	<i>kitail</i>	<i>-kitail</i>	<i>-tail</i>
2PL	<i>kumwail</i>	<i>kumwail</i>	<i>-kumwail</i>	<i>-mwail</i>
3PL	<i>irail/ihr</i>	<i>irail/re</i>	<i>-irail</i>	<i>-rail</i>

Table 2: Ngatikese Pidgin pronouns

1S	<i>mū</i> ³	<i>ai</i>	<i>-mi</i>	<i>mai</i>
2S	<i>yu</i>	<i>yu</i>	<i>-iuk</i>	<i>yu</i>
3S	<i>ih</i>	<i>ih</i>	<i>-im</i>	<i>hi</i>
1DL.PLEXC	<i>mehn</i>	<i>mehn</i>		
1DL.INC	<i>yumih</i>	<i>yumih</i>		
2DL	<i>ohlou</i>	<i>ohlou</i>		
3DL	<i>rhe</i> ⁴	<i>rhe</i>		
1PL.INC	<i>mehn</i>	<i>mehn</i>		
2PL	<i>ohlou</i>	<i>ohlou</i>		
3PL	<i>rhe</i>	<i>rhe</i>		

² In standard Ponapean orthography, followed here, /h/ following a vowel indicates a long vowel.

³ English-derived lexemes appear in **bold** throughout the text, to contrast with the Ngatikese Ponapean content.

⁴ In Ngatikese Pidgin, orthographic *rh* = [x].

The Ngatikese pronouns distinguish four series: independent, subject, object and possessive forms, and three numbers: singular, plural and dual. A peculiarity of the system is the merging of first person plural and dual forms (*mehn*). The Ngatikese Pidgin pronominal system mirrors the normal Ngatikese language in all respects, apart from the fact that the inclusive/exclusive distinction is lost with plurals (*mehn/mehn*) as opposed to *kita/kiht*. In addition the plural/dual distinction is lost with the exception of *yumih* (1DL.INC) which contrasts with *mehn* (1DL/PL).

Examples:⁵

INDEP: *Mehn kan-la wan big kiti.*

1PL.EXC eat-DIR ART big dog

'We're eating a big dog.'

SUBJ: *Yumih kon ko tumoro.*

1DL INC FUT go tomorrow

'We two are going to go tomorrow.'

OBJ: *Ai kon kama-iuk.*

1S FUT hit-2S

'I'm going to hit you.'

POSS: *Wat hi nihm?*

what 3S name

'What is his/her name?'

2.2 Nouns and noun phrases

Ngatikese Pidgin nouns are often English-derived, although there is a surprisingly high proportion of Ngatikese-derived vocabulary. For example:

<i>kiti</i>	'dog'	<i>nihm</i>	'name'
<i>boe</i>	'boy'	<i>ohlmehn</i>	'old man'
<i>deke</i>	'island'	<i>tipakerh</i>	'tobacco'
<i>rein</i>	'rain'	<i>mahi</i>	'breadfruit'
<i>malek</i>	'fowl'	<i>women</i>	'woman'

5 The following abbreviations are used in this paper:

ABIL	abilitative	EXC	exclusive	OBJ	object
ART	article	FUT	future	PERF	perfective
CA	completed action	HAB	habitual	PL	plural
CAUS	causative	IMPERS	impersonal	PM	predicate marker
CL	classifier	INC	inclusive	POSS	possessive
COND	conditional	INCHO	inchoative	REL	relative
DEIC	deictic	INDEP	independent	S	singular
DEM	demonstrative	INST	instrumental	STAT	stative
DIR	directional	LOC	locative	SUBJ	subject
DL	dual	NEG	negative	TM	transitive marker

2.3 Noun modifiers

Noun modifiers in Ngatikese Pidgin include demonstratives, possessives, adjectives and numerals/quantifiers. Where they co-occur, they observe the following order:

Demonstrative + Quantifier +	Adjective + NOUN
Possessive	Numeral/Article

(a) Demonstratives: *tat* 'this, that'

Like many other Pacific pidgins, Ngatikese Pidgin does not normally distinguish between proximate and distant with demonstratives. Thus:

<i>tat boe</i>	'that boy'
<i>tat men</i>	'this man'
<i>insaed tat aos</i>	'inside that house'

(b) Possessives

<i>hi nihm</i>	'his name'
<i>mai nihm</i>	'my name'

(c) Numerals/Quantifiers:

1	<i>wan/ehu</i>	20	<i>twante</i>
2	<i>tuh</i>	30	<i>terte</i>
3	<i>trih</i>	40	<i>fohte</i>
4	<i>foh</i>	50	<i>fefte</i>
5	<i>faif</i>	60	<i>siskste</i>
6	<i>siks</i>	70	<i>sefinte</i>
7	<i>sefin</i>	80	<i>eite</i>
8	<i>eiht</i>	90	<i>nainte</i>
9	<i>nain</i>	100	<i>antet</i>
10	<i>ten</i>	1000	<i>tausin</i>

<i>fest</i>	'first'
<i>seken</i>	'second'
<i>ohl</i>	'all'
<i>planti</i>	'many, plenty'

Examples:

<i>wan pohpohd</i>	'one married couple'
<i>tuh taim</i>	'twice'
<i>ohl kiht kon ko</i>	'all of us are going to go'

(d) Adjectives:

<i>nokuht</i>	'bad'
<i>natakain</i>	'different'
<i>kreisi</i>	'crazy'
<i>big</i>	'big'
<i>eve</i>	'heavy'
<i>ohl</i>	'old'

Examples:

tat fela ih nokuht 'that fellow is no good'.
wan big kiti 'a big dog'

2.4 Verb phrase

The Ngatikese Pidgin verb phrase has the following structure:

Subject + PM(*ih*) + Verb-TM + Object

The standard Pacific pidgin predicate marker (*ih*) occurs only when the subject is a third person pronoun or a singular noun. In other environments it is dropped. *Ih* is in fact the third person singular pronoun both in Ngatikese Pidgin and coincidentally in the Ngatikese dialect of Ponapean.

Examples:

Tat serhpein ih mimi nin tat lepinpik-o.
 DEM girl PM stay LOC DEM sand.cay-DEIC
 'That girl stayed on that sand-bar.'

Tat men i tat women tel ne-rha serhpein-o tat
 DEM man and DEM woman tell CL-3DL daughter-DEIC that

irha kon ko laid.
 3DL FUT go fishing
 'That man and woman told their daughter that they were going fishing.'

Pos ih dohn laik samding...
 COND PM does.not like something
 'If he doesn't like something...'

(a) Tense:

Future tense is generally indicated by *kon (ko)* + Verb; *bwambwai* ('soon'), is sometimes used in the same context, as in the following examples:

Mehn kon tek-it, bwambwai ih kotou.
 1PL.EXC FUT take-it soon 3S rain
 'We'll take it; it's going to rain soon.'

Irha kon ko laid.
 3PL FUT go fishing
 'They are going to go fishing.'

Mehn kon finis tumoro.
 1PL.EXC FUT finish tomorrow
 'We will finish tomorrow.'

The standard Ngatikese Ponapean future marker *nehn* is also found occasionally, as in:

Irha nehn wa-di-do.
 2DL FUT bring-back-DEIC
 'They will bring it back.'

Past/Present tense are unmarked in Ngatikese Pidgin, as in the following:

Wan lahp-o ih pwa-ng wan lahp-o.
 one friend-DEIC 3S say-DIR one friend-DEIC
 'One man said to the other'

Mehn kan-la wan big kiti.
 1PL.EXC eat-DIR ART big dog
 'We ate a big dog.'

(b) A habitual is indicated by *kin*, as in many other Pacific pidgins.

Meik ih kin tuh samding laik wan kreisi men.
 CAUS 3S HAB do thing like ART crazy man
 'It makes him act like a crazy person.'

(c) Negation is most commonly indicated by *neve*, although *nading* is also used, as in the following examples:

Ihr neve kih-da et kehpwe.
 3PL NEG unload-up 1PL things
 'They didn't unload our things.'

Ihr neve opin as.
 3PL NEG open hatch
 'They didn't open the hatch.'

Re neve kak pihrh.
 3DL NEG ABIL fly
 'They cannot fly.'

Dene nading iet sompihrh.
 it.is.said not yet plane
 'It is said that there were no planes then.'

(d) Transitivity is irregularly marked. When it is marked, the transitive markers are either *-it* or *-im*. Thus:

Ih teik tat koknet wawa-la oh vain wan lepinpik.
 3S take DEM coconut carry-away and find ART sandbank.
 'She took the coconut away and found a sandbank.'

Mehn kon teik-it.
 1PL.EXC FUT take-it
 'We'll take it.'

Ih teik-it awei.

3S take-TM away
'He took it away.'

Ih hit-im mi.

3S hit-TM 3S
'He hit me.'

Ih hit-im it.

3S hit-TM 3S
'He hit it.'

- (e) A causative is indicated by *meik ih*, as in the following:

Ai meik ih soldia wok in rod.

1S CAUS 3S soldier walk LOC road
'I made the soldier walk on the road.'

Meik ih kin tuh samding laik wan kreisi men.

CAUS 3S HAB do thing like ART crazy man
'It makes him act like a crazy person.'

- (f) A desiderative is indicated by *wan/laik* + verb, as in:

Yu wan go? 'Do you want to go?'

Yu laik go? 'Would you like to go?'

Pos yu laik mi kam to taon. 'If you want me to come to town.'

- (g) Conditional is indicated by *pos* preceding the conditional clause, as in:

Pos ih dohn laik samding...

COND PM does.not like something
'If he doesn't like something...'

Pos yu kam...

'If you come...'

- (h) Relative Clauses are introduced by the relativisers *tat* or *me*. *Me* is the standard Ngatikese Ponapean relativiser, while *tat* is English-derived. For example:

Tat men i tat women tel ne-rha serhpein-o tat irha

DEM man and DEM woman tell CL-3DL daughter-DEIC that 3DL
kon ko laid.

FUT go fishing

'That man and woman told their daughter that they were going fishing.'

Ih tat ering tat wiada tat deke nihm Paina.

3S DEM coconut REL form DEM island name Paina
'It is that coconut which forms that island of Paina.'

Mahsmahs ket wan pohpoh me nainiki wan serhpein.

Long.ago was ART couple REL have ART daughter
'Long ago there was a couple who had a daughter.'

...piht me irha *kon* palang-wei pahn ketpin.
 pandanus REL 3DL FUT dry-out LOC sun
 '...pandanus which they are going to dry out in the sun.'

(i) An impersonal construction is indicated by *men*, corresponding to commonly encountered Pacific pidgin *man*, as subject, as in:

In Ngatik men wok had.
 LOCNgatik IMPERS work hard
 'In Ngatik people work hard'.

2.5 Interrogatives

<i>u?</i>	'who?'
<i>weh?</i>	'where?'
<i>wat?</i>	'what?'
<i>hames?</i>	'how much?' 'how many?'
<i>wasmada?</i>	'how?' 'how come?'

Examples:

<i>u teik tat bot?</i>	'Who took that boat?'
<i>weh tat kiti?</i>	'Where's that dog?'
<i>wat yu se?</i>	'What did you say?'
<i>hames paon yu want?</i>	'How many pounds do you want?'

2.6 Locatives

Remarkably, the ubiquitous Pacific pidgin locative *long* is absent from Ngatikese pidgin, replaced by other English-derived locatives, as for example:

<i>insaed tat aos</i>	'in that house'
<i>in Ngatik</i>	'in Ngatik'
<i>kam to taon</i>	'come to town'

2.7 Time

Common time adverbs include the following:

<i>bwambwai</i>	'soon, in the future'
<i>mahsmahs</i>	'long ago'
<i>longtaim</i>	'long ago'
<i>wan teh</i>	'one day'

2.8 Greetings

Common greeting are:

<i>menseng mwahu</i>	good morning
<i>pwong mwahu</i>	good night
<i>pwai simis</i>	By Jimmy!
<i>pwai kale</i>	By golly!

2.9 Non-verbal sentences

The following are examples of non-verbal sentences:

(a) Equationals:

Tat ker ih nihm Limenarhleng.
 DEM girl 3S.POSS name Limenarhleng
 'That girl's name is/was Limenarhleng.'

Mai nihm Remikio.
 1S.POSS name Remikio
 'My name is Remikio.'

(b) Statives: *ket* (corresponding to common Pacific pidgin *i gat*)

Mahsmahs ket wan pohpohd.
 long.ago STAT ART couple
 'Long ago there was a married couple.'

3 Ngatikese Pidgin and Pacific pidgins

As stated above, Ngatikese Pidgin cannot really be described as an English-based pidgin in that English contributes less than half of its lexicon and morphosyntactic markers. Indeed, there is a great deal of mixing of Ngatikese Pidgin and Ngatikese Ponapean in the data collected. Thus, the same speaker may use both Pidgin and Ponapean forms for the same taxon. For example:

'rain'	<i>rein</i> (Eng. 'rain'); <i>kotou</i> (PON)
'hit'	<i>hitim</i> (Eng. 'hit'); <i>kama</i> (PON)
'coconut'	<i>koknet</i> (Eng. 'coconut'); <i>ehring</i> (PON)
FUT	<i>kon (ko)</i> (Eng. 'going go'); <i>nehn</i> (PON)
REL	<i>tat</i> (Eng. 'that'); <i>me</i> (PON)

This may simply reflect a situation in which Ngatikese Pidgin is not in regular use, leading to code mixing due to imperfect recall of the Pidgin forms. On the other hand it may be a regular feature of the language as the Ngatikese Pidgin pronominal system is obviously English-based with singular pronouns (including possessives), while with plurals and duals the Ngatikese Ponapean forms predominate, for example: *mehn* 1D/PL.EXC, *re* 3DL/PL. In fact

the only non-singular English-derived pronominal forms are: *yumih* (Eng. 'you and me'), 1DL/INC and *ohlou* (Eng. 'all of you') 2DL/PL.

Ngatikese Pidgin is unintelligible to other Pacific pidgin speakers without a knowledge of Ponapean, so significant is the role and proportion of Ngatikese Ponapean morphosyntactic markers and lexicon. Most striking is the absence of the relators *long* and *blong*, and the suffix *-fela* with pronominal forms. On the other hand, fundamental Pacific pidgin items such as *olsem*, *tumahs* and *bwambwai* are commonly encountered.

A number of features of Ngatikese Pidgin bear striking similarities to early New South Wales Pidgin (Troy 1995). Most striking are the possessives (e.g. *hi nihm* 'his name', as opposed to, for example, Bislama *nem blong em*), and the future tense introduced by *kon ko*, as opposed to *bambai*, which retains its 19th century meaning of 'soon, presently'. Also striking is the use of the transitive marker *-it*, as in *teikit* 'take', which co-occurs with *-im*, as it does in the New South Wales pidgin of the 1820s and 1830s. Given the fact that Ngatikese Pidgin has its origins in an event which took place in 1837, and that Ngatik (Sapwuahfik) has had little contact with other Pacific islands since the demise of the whaling trade, as opposed to the constant contacts with Sydney during the early years (Tryon & Charpentier, in prep.), it is perhaps not too surprising that some features of Ngatikese Pidgin mirror features of the long-extinct New South Wales Pidgin.

4 Ngatikese Pidgin texts

Text 1: The origin of Paina Island

Mahsmahs ket wan pohpohd me nainiki

Long.ago there.was a couple REL have

Once upon a time there was a couple who had

wan serhpein. Ih neim Limenarhleng. Tat

a daughter 3S name Limenarhleng that

a daughter called Limenarhleng. That

ker ih-te ne-rha serhpein. Wan teh

girl 3S-only CL-3DL daughter. One day

girl was their only daughter. One day

tat men i tat women tel ne-rha serhpein-o

that man and that woman tell CL-3DL daughter-DEM

that man and woman (that couple) told their daughter

tat irha kon ko laid oh tat serhpein en ahpw

that 3DL FUT go fishing and that daughter too really

that they were going to go fishing and that the daughter should

kilang piht me irha kon palang-wei pahn

observe pandanus REL 3DL FUT dry-out in

look after the pandanus that they were drying in the

ketpin. Irha ov en ih prokap wete. Tat serhpein

sun 3DL off and 3S break.up weather that girl

sun. They went off and the weather became inclement. The daughter

ih vikit wat irha pwang-o, en pih kau ih wet
 3S forget what 3DL say-DEM and pandanus DEM 3S wet
 forgot what they told her, and the pandanus became wet.

Tat pohpwohd ih pwur, en ket mat iang ne-rha
 That couple 3S return and get mad with CL-3DL
 The couple returned and became angry with their

serhpein-o oh irha kaus-la. Tat serhpein erhi ko we.
 daughter-DEM and 3DL banish-away that girl thus go away
 daughter and banished her. So the daughter went away.

Ih sapal-sang Ngetik, ih kohkoh-da-la nan sehd oh
 3S walk-from Ngatik 3S go-up-away through lagoon and
 She walked away from Ngatik, went on up through the lagoon and

ih vain wan ering. Ih teik tat koknet wawa-la
 3S find a ripe.coconut 3S take that coconut carry-away
 she found a ripe coconut. She took the coconut with her

oh vain wan lepinpik. Ih teik tat ering ih
 and find a sandbar 3S take that coconut 3S
 and (then) she discovered a sandbar. She took the ripe coconut and

saripidi. Tat serhpein ih mimi nan tat
 bury.it that girl 3S stay on that
 buried it. The girl remained on that

lepinpik-o. Tat ering ih wes. Ih tat ering
 sandbar-DEM that coconut 3S sprout 3S that coconut
 sandbar. The ripe coconut sprouted. It was that ripe coconut

tat wiahda tat deke nihm Paina.
 that form that island name Paina
 which formed the island of Paina.'

Text 2: The flying men of Ngatik

Longtaim tu lahp, tu lahp irha pilahn-da
 Long ago two friends two friends 3DL plan-INCHO
 'Long ago two friends planned to

irha kon ko Pohnpei. Irha kon ko al sika,
 3DL FUT go Ponape 3DL FUT go get tobacco
 go to Ponape. They were going to go and get some tobacco.

Irha pilahn-da irha kon pihrh dahdo Pohnpei;
 3DL plan-INCHO 3DL FUT fly up.to Ponape
 They planned to fly up to Ponape;

ansou-o dene nading iet sompihrh, rhe neve
 time-DEM it.said not yet aeroplane 3DL NEG
 at that time they say that there no planes yet, they could not

kak pihrh, irh rhe pilahn-da me rhe kon
 can fly 3DL 3DL plan-INCHO REL 3DL FUT
 fly, they planned to

koh-dala Pohnpei pwain-da kene-rha tipakerh.
 come-there Ponape find-PERF CL-3DL tobacco
 come here to Ponape to get their tobacco.

irha pwur-di-do wa-di-do kene-rha tipakerh, irha
 3DL return-CA-DEIC carry-CA-DEIC CL-3DL tobacco 3DL
 They would then bring their tobacco back (home)

koh-do net-ki ale-ki, ne-rha; irha kon oni teik
 come-DEIC sell-INST barter-INST CL-3DL 3DL FUT only take
 and come and sell it, barter it; they would only take

malek en pwihk ime; irha kon teik-ki tipakerh
 chicken and pig only 3DL FUT take-INST tobacco
 fowls and pigs for it; they were going to take the tobacco

me irha nehn wa-di-do. Irha ko dou-da nan wan
 REL 3DL FUT carry-CA-DEIC 3DL go climb-up in a
 that they would bring back home. They went and climbed up a

mahi. wan lahp-o ih pwa-ng wan lahp-o: yu
 breadfruit one friend-DEM 3S say-to one friend-DEM 2S
 breadfruit tree. One man said to the other: "You

kon weit, ai kon pihrh-da-la lel Pohnpei, mahs
 FUT wait 1S FUT fly-up-there to Ponape first
 wait, I am going to fly up to Ponape, but first of all

i nen pil mahs raon pohn Ngatik tu taim.
 1S FUT also first go.around over Ngatik two times
 I am going to fly around over Ngatik twice.

Ih ai kon raon-do, te kita kon wia
 then 1S FUT round-DIR then 1DL FUT do
 I will go around and then we are going to make

wan pihpihrh-la karhos ie. E lahp-o
 a fly-there together DIR one friend-DEM
 a flight there together. One man,

lahp-o ie mwomwon pihrh, ih samp en lus
 friend-DEM DIR try.to fly 3S jump and jump
 that first man attempted to fly; he jumped and

e pah pwupw-di nan tepin tat mahi;
 3S sudden fall-down to base that breadfruit
 he fell straight down to the bottom of the breadfruit tree;

ih la e rheirhei-peseng lipwongmas.
 3S go 3S pallid-DIR unconscious
 he went all white; he was unconscious.'

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