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INTRODUCTION

In this volume, there are several papers which describe particular aspects of Kosraean and Ponapeic languages.

The paper on 'Clause-final determiners in Kosraean' is actually an edited version of my dissertation written at the University of Hawaii in the years 1983-1985. Originally it contained some comments of the relevance of the topic to the theory of Government and Binding and the reader is referred to the original dissertation for reference to that.

The grammar sketch, word-list and text of Pingilapese is the first published general material on this Ponapeic language. Weldis Welley, from Pingilap, was the source of all the data in these papers. It provides a general place to begin for further research.

The paper on 'NP-NP constructions in Ponapeic languages' is actually a revision of an earlier paper written for *Working Papers in Linguistics* at the University of Hawaii. I actually had very little to add to the basic description in this paper, though perhaps some more speculations as to the implications.

There are several people I need to thank for their input into this volume. Of course, my long-suffering supervisor in Hawaii, Dr Roderick Jacobs, probably had the most input into what I am presently able to put out in linguistics. (However, he is not responsible for my speculations and errors. I take responsibility for those.) He not only had linguistic input, but was a friend and pulled me out of other difficulties when needed. And the other faculty, staff, and students at HI had much to do with keeping up my morale during the long process of graduate degrees.

Certainly my parents, Mr and Mrs Claud Good, had the first input as they insisted that I continue on my university work until I at least had my undergraduate degree.

Summer Institute of Linguistics has encouraged, pushed, and insisted that I keep on doing linguistics and has helped in many ways. More recently, USP-PLU and the University of Papua New Guinea has provided the impetus and time to continue on with research and writing. I am grateful to all three organisations.

Very recently, Malcolm Ross, referee for this volume, has continued to 'hang in there' with me when I was somewhat reluctant to keep going. Thank you and thank you to the others at the Australian National University, Pacific Linguistics who encouraged me.

The material contained in this volume has been developed and checked and rechecked with vernacular speakers of the languages concerned. Hopefully, the areas of uncertainty, though, stand out clearly and will inspire other linguists to do further research into the topics and languages, particularly in these days when I believe that syntax of Austronesian languages will begin to play a much more prominent role in comparative linguistics here in the Pacific area.

A PRELIMINARY GRAMMAR SKETCH, TEXT AND VOCABULARY OF PINGILAPESE

ELAINE M. GOOD AND WELDIS WELLEY

INTRODUCTION

Pingilapese is one variety of the Ponapeic language (Rehg 1981), a nuclear Micronesian language. It is spoken by about 1000 people who live on the coral atoll of Pingilap and on the island of Ponape. Pingilap atoll is located at about 163°E and 6°N, approximately 200 miles southeast of Ponape and 100 miles northwest of Kosrae.

The Pingilapese language is closely related to the other Ponapeic languages: Ponapean, Ngatikese and Mokilese. However, as minimal research has been done on Ngatikese and Pingilapese, it is not yet determined to which of the varieties of Ponapeic Pingilapese is most closely related.

Of the Ponapeic languages, both Mokilese and Ponapean boast an excellent grammar and dictionary (Harrison 1976, 1977; Rehg 1979, 1981). Under such circumstances, it is no doubt understandable that Pingilapese people sometimes feel that (1) their language has no grammar and (2) that there must be many fewer words in their language than in other Ponapeic languages.

This preliminary grammar and word list are thus offered to the Pingilapese people in hopes that they will see that their language does indeed have a grammar. In fact, the grammar is complicated enough that in this short paper, we are able to only briefly describe the main structures of the language. But we hope that others who know and study Micronesian languages will become interested in correcting and expanding the material contained in both the grammar and vocabulary. The vocabulary, of necessity, contains only a fraction of the words that actually are used in Pingilapese. But again, we invite corrections and expansion.

Section 1 of this account deals with the sounds and spelling for Pingilapese. Section 2 describes noun phrases and Section 3 verb phrases. Section 4 discusses sentence structure. The text is in Section 5, and a vocabulary in Section 6.

1.0 SOUNDS AND SPELLING

In this section, we first describe the phonemes in Pingilapese and give examples of their occurrence. Then we give examples of the phonemic contrast between the phonemes and list the spelling symbols that are used in the examples.

Papers in Kosraean and Ponapeic, 1-114.
Pacific Linguistics, C-112, 1989.
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1.1 PHONEMES

The following are the phonemes in Pingilapese as determined by a preliminary study. A description of the phonemes, some of their phonetic variants, and examples of their occurrence are given.^{1,2}

CONSONANTS

/p/	voiceless bilabial stop <i>par</i> 'old, sprouting coconut' <i>apɛɾɾ</i> 'shoulder' An unreleased variant may occur word finally. <i>tɛp</i> ~ <i>tɛp̚</i> 'an ear ornament'
/pʷ/	velarised rounded voiceless bilabial stop <i>pʷar</i> 'to appear, to rise (said of the sun)' <i>aupʷi</i> 'loose-tongued' An unrounded variant (which may also be unreleased) occurs word finally. <i>teipʷ</i> ~ <i>teip̚ʷ</i> ~ <i>teip̚ʷ</i> 'pandanus'
/t/	voiceless dental stop <i>tɛp</i> 'to stumble and fall' <i>autɛ</i> 'to load, to fill (T)' An unreleased variant may occur word finally. <i>autɔ̣t</i> ~ <i>autɔ̣t̚</i> 'to load, to fill (I)'
/k/	voiceless velar stop <i>kapʷ</i> 'new' <i>teke</i> 'to take meat out of a coconut' An unreleased variant may occur word finally. <i>tɛtɔ̣k</i> ~ <i>tɛtɔ̣k̚</i> 'to work'
/s/	voiceless alveolar fricative <i>sɛwɛ</i> 'people' <i>ansɛu</i> 'time' <i>rɛ·s</i> 'type of bird'
/m/	voiced bilabial nasal <i>mɔur</i> 'to be alive' <i>asimɛl</i> 'a sea perch' <i>tam</i> 'outrigger boom'
/mʷ/	rounded velarised voiced bilabial nasal <i>ɲʷɛaŋ</i> 'taro' <i>aɲʷise</i> 'mosquito' An unrounded allophone occurs word finally. <i>i·mʷ</i> 'house'
/n/	voiced alveolar (perhaps dental or with a dental variant) nasal <i>ni</i> 'coconut' <i>ɲɔp</i> 'to prepare, to study' <i>alin</i> 'road (C)'

- /ŋ/ voiced velar nasal
ŋul 'voice'
teleŋek 'move things from one place to another in several trips'
ma·ŋ 'mat'
- /l/ voiced alveolar (doubly articulated with a velar point of articulation) lateral
leŋ 'sky'
teulik 'to check around'
to·tol 'to pick fruit from a tree with one's hands (I)'
- /r/ voiced alveolar trill
řa 'branch'
āro 'banana species'
 A voiceless variant and a variant that begins voiced and ends voiceless occurs
 utterance final (though this is shown on a single word in the example).
řař ~ řař̄ ~ řař̄ř̄ 'to roar'

VOWELS

- /i/ high front close unrounded vowel
inek 'see'
siropi 'to burn (T)'
 A high front open allophone occurs before an alveolar nasal, trill or lateral.
ino·ro·r 'at the shore'
ira 'they two'
ŋul 'voice'
- /i·/ long high front close unrounded vowel
i·m 'house'
ti·p 'to sin'
si· 'bone'
- /e/ mid front close unrounded vowel³
ekis 'little'
tep 'to stumble and fall'
eře 'frame that attaches outrigger to the canoe'
- /e·/ long mid front close unrounded vowel
e·wa 'to hop on one foot'
ikone·t 'fish species'
ene· 'or else'
- /e/ mid front open unrounded vowel
etam 'type of skipjack'
inenin 'very, really'
su·k 'type of tree'
- /e·/ long mid front open unrounded vowel
e·t 'one'
inme·seŋ 'dawn'
kapweine· 'just now'

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/a/	low central open unrounded vowel <i>at</i> 'name' <i>katek</i> 'friendly, kind' <i>wɔ·sa</i> 'type of vine'
/a·/	long low central open unrounded vowel <i>a·t</i> 'current of water' <i>keta·k</i> 'make people or things line up' <i>tɛka·</i> 'and'
/ɔ/	low back close rounded vowel ⁴ <i>ɔs</i> 'brown and fallen pandanus leaves used for thatch' <i>kapɔkɔn</i> 'group, gathering' <i>ma·tɔ</i> 'old'
/ɔ·/	long low back close rounded vowel <i>ɔ·nek</i> 'all' <i>ɪnɔ·rɔ·r</i> 'at the shore' <i>kasɔ·rɔ·</i> 'to show favouritism'
/o/	mid back close rounded vowel <i>ok</i> 'flat-sided garfish (or needlefish)' <i>topuk</i> 'pay back, reciprocate' <i>inete·ko</i> 'ghost of a woman who dies in childbirth'
/o·/	long mid back close rounded vowel <i>o·rɔs</i> 'all' <i>tɔ·tol</i> 'pick with one's hands (I)' <i>kaloso·</i> 'to be sure to (I)'
/u/	high back close rounded vowel <i>usu</i> 'star' <i>suluk</i> 'number two growth stage of trevally' <i>pə·su</i> 'killer clam'
/u·/	long high back close rounded vowel <i>u·m^w</i> 'stone oven' <i>p^wu·n</i> 'batfish'

A glottal stop is sometimes pronounced initially in words that begin with a vowel. However, it seems to be insignificant.

1.2 PHONEMIC CONTRAST

Some pairs which show phonemic contrast for similar sounds are the following:

<i>p</i> – <i>p^w</i>	<i>paĩ</i> 'old, sprouting coconut' <i>p^waĩ</i> 'to appear, to rise (said of the sun)'
<i>m</i> – <i>m^w</i>	<i>mesɔ·r</i> 'shore facing inside of reef' <i>m^wes</i> 'garden, farm'

<i>n - ŋ</i>	<i>ni</i> 'coconut' <i>ŋi</i> 'claw of crab or lobster, tentacle'
<i>l - r</i>	<i>rŋ</i> 'to listen' <i>lŋ</i> 'fly (insect)'
<i>i - e</i>	<i>peros</i> 'fish species' <i>pirap</i> 'to steal'
<i>e - ε</i>	<i>tep</i> 'stumble and fall' <i>tep</i> 'hook a fish, ear ornament'
<i>u - o</i>	<i>m^wo</i> 'before' <i>m^wur</i> 'later'
<i>o - ɔ</i>	<i>tok</i> 'carved piece of coral for pounding breadfruit' <i>tɔk</i> 'to poke, inject'
<i>a - a</i>	<i>at</i> 'gall bladder' <i>a·t</i> 'current of water'
<i>e - e</i>	<i>tep</i> 'stumble and fall' <i>te·p</i> 'level, story of building, soil layer'
<i>i - i</i>	<i>tip</i> 'cut lengthwise' <i>ti·p</i> 'to sin'
<i>o - o</i>	<i>p^wokou</i> 'basket' <i>p^wo·k m^wɔkɔm^w</i> 'to giggle'
<i>ɔ - ɔ</i>	<i>kɔ·lau</i> 'five-banded surgeon fish' <i>kɔlɔl</i> 'orange olive shell'
<i>u - u</i>	<i>tul</i> 'to drip' <i>tu·l</i> 'tin roof'

1.3 SPELLING SYMBOLS

For the phonemes the following spelling symbols are used in this grammar:

SPELLING SYMBOL	PHONEMIC EQUIVALENT
<i>p</i>	/p/
<i>pw</i>	/p ^w /
<i>d</i>	/t/
<i>k</i>	/k/
<i>s</i>	/s/
<i>m</i>	/m/
<i>mw</i>	/m ^w /
<i>n</i>	/n/
<i>ng</i>	/ŋ/
<i>l</i>	/l/
<i>r</i>	/r/
<i>i</i>	/i/

<i>ih</i>	/i·/
<i>e</i>	/e/
<i>eh</i>	/e·/
<i>ae</i>	/ɛ/
<i>ae<i>h</i></i>	/ɛ·/
<i>a</i>	/a/
<i>ah</i>	/a·/
<i>u</i>	/u/
<i>uh</i>	/u·/
<i>o</i>	/o/
<i>oh</i>	/o·/
<i>oa</i>	/ɔ/
<i>oah</i>	/ɔ·/

The use of the symbol *h* for vowel length parallels the symbolisation of vowel length in Ponapean and Mokilese.⁵

Further research on the Pingilapese sound system would include research on the topics of stress, intonation, word breaks, consonant releases word finally, and the presence of possible transitional vowels.

2.0 NOUN PHRASES

Noun phrases occur in particular places in sentences. Thus, for ease in discussing the places that noun phrases occur, we will consider sentences in Pingilapese to be composed of two parts: the Topic: who or what the speaker is talking about, and the Assertion: what the speaker is saying about the topic.

- (1)

Topic	Assertion
<i>Koasoah soal lap maen mae en kawaehla kael eu.</i> pig black big one dem. past broke fence one	

The big, black pig broke the fence.

2.1 NOUN PHRASES IN SENTENCES

Topics in a sentence are noun phrases, as in Example 1. Within the assertion, a noun phrases may be an object of a verb (Obj NP), an object of a preposition (Prep NP), an indirect object (IObj NP) or may specify an instrument (Inst NP).

- (2)

<i>Ngaei kahkang kaehp.</i>	Obj NP
I eating yam	

I am eating yam.
- (3)

<i>Kaen kipi-sang pwoh rah eu.</i>	Prep NP
you/fut. fall-from on branch one	

You are going to fall off the branch.

- IObj NP
|
- (4) *Ngaei ki-aeng puk-eu reh woalae-maen.*
I/past give-to book-one to man-one
I gave a book to the man.

- Inst NP
|
- (5) *E wesih-kin ngaehi suhkaeh-pas.*
he hit-with me stick-one
He hit me with a stick.

Nouns that express time (Time NP) may occur sentence-initial or sentence-final.

- Time NP
|
- (6) *Laekapw ngaeh saemaesaeman ahdoa.*
tomorrow I/will remember come
Tomorrow I will remember (to) come.

- Time NP
|
- (7) *Ngaeh saemaesaeman ahdoa laekapw.*
I/will remember come tomorrow
I will remember to come tomorrow.

2.2 COMPOSITION OF NOUN PHRASES

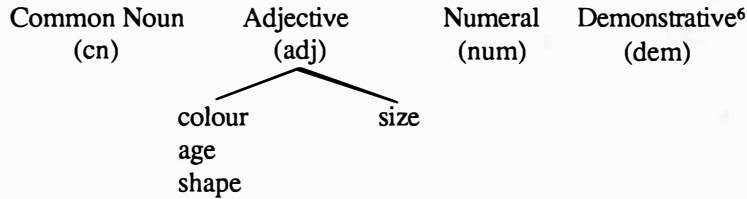
A noun phrase may be (1) a common noun with modifiers (Example 8), (2) a possessive construction (Example 9), (3) a construct form (Example 10), (4) a proper noun (Example 11), or (5) a pronoun (Example 12).

- (8) *Ngaei pwaeki kidih koarohroah sikisik maen maen.*
I/past chase dog white small one dem.
I chased that small white dog.
- (9) ... *irah karos diereda pwa pwoapwoaud eu semera*
they both realised that couple one class/their
pokepoke emen sang emen.
loved one from one
They both realised that their parents loved one more than the other.
- (10) *Kaeh soah paelaehdi pwoapwoak-in paehmw.*
you/will not cut hand-of arm-your
You won't cut your hand.
- (11) *Ewalt kidoa mwoah-maen rehi.*
Ewalt gave fish-one to/me
Ewalt gave one fish to me.
- (12) *Ngaei mwoahmwoahd.*
I-past sitting
I was sitting.

We begin by describing noun phrases that are common nouns with modifiers.

2.2.1 COMMON NOUNS WITH MODIFIERS

The order of modifiers for common nouns in a noun phrase is the following:



This order is shown in the following noun phrase:

cn	adj	adj	num	dem
<i>ihmw</i>	<i>koaroahroah</i>	<i>lap</i>	<i>siluh</i>	<i>mwoa</i>
house	white	big	three	dem
Those three big white houses				

A common noun generally occurs with at least a following numeral. Demonstratives in Pingilapese occur only if the speaker wishes to specify the location of an object.

2.2.1.1 DESCRIPTIVE ADJECTIVES

In the order of adjectives in a noun phrase, the adjective that specifies size must come last. There may be an as yet undiscovered preference of order for modifiers which denote colour, age and shape. However, it is unusual for more than an adjective of size and one other adjective to occur in a noun phrase.

Some of the more commonly used adjectives are the following:

Colour:	<i>koaroahroah</i> <i>soal</i> <i>weisahsa</i> <i>daen pwungal</i> (colour of sky, ocean) <i>daen saehwael</i> (colour of leaves) <i>daen mahu</i> ⁷	white black red blue dark green light green
Shape:	<i>pasae pas</i> <i>mwoaroauroau</i> <i>saehlap</i>	flat fat broad
Size:	<i>lap</i> <i>sikisik</i> <i>sok</i> <i>raei</i>	big, large small short long

Some adjectives with the addition of the suffix *-in*, 'of'⁸ can occur as heads of noun phrases.

pasaepas-in dekehi-eu
flatness-of island-one
flatness of the island

raehrae-in woalae-maen
tallness-of man-one
tallness of the man

2.2.1.2 NUMERALS

There are four sets of names for the numerals one through nine.

The numerals in Set I are used with nouns that specify long objects, such as *suhkae* 'tree', *al* 'road', and *war* 'canoe'.

Set I:	1	<i>aepas</i>
	2	<i>riaepas</i>
	3	<i>silipas</i>
	4	<i>pahpas</i>
	5	<i>luhpas</i>
	6	<i>woanaepas</i>
	7	<i>isipas</i>
	8	<i>waelaepas</i>
	9	<i>duaepas</i>

The numerals in Set II are used with animate nouns that denote animate things: people, fish, birds and animals, such as *woal* 'man', *mwoamw* 'fish' and *paraes* 'type of bird'.

Set II:	1	<i>aemen</i>
	2	<i>riaemaen</i>
	3	<i>silimaen</i>
	4	<i>pahmaen</i>
	5	<i>luhmaen</i>
	6	<i>woanaemaen</i>
	7	<i>isimaen</i>
	8	<i>waelaemaen</i>
	9	<i>duaemaen</i>

The numerals in Set III are used with nouns that name small things or pieces of things, such as *daelaenae maei* 'pan-baked breadfruit', *waesa ekis* 'small place'.

Set III:	1	<i>ekis</i>
	2	<i>riakis</i>
	3	<i>silikis</i>
	4	<i>pahkis</i>
	5	<i>limikis</i>
	6	<i>woanikis</i>
	7	<i>isikis</i>

- 8 *waelikis*
9 *duakis*

The numerals in Set IV are the general numeral forms and are used with all other nouns, such as *pwoapwoaud* 'couple', *kain* 'kind', *sapw* 'land' and *pil* 'stream'.

- Set IV:
- 1 *eu*
2 *riau*
3 *silu*
4 *pahu*
5 *limau*
6 *wonou*
7 *isu*
8 *waelu*
9 *duoau*

The numeral for 'one' in each of these sets (*aepas* in Set I, *aemen* in Set II, *ekis* in Set III and *eu* in Set IV) regularly occurs within noun phrases to denote singularity. In these cases, the function of the numeral may be that of a determiner or specifier. The numeral *aemaen* 'one' used in this function may be phonologically tied to a preceding noun, with the initial vowel of the numeral lost and a stem final vowel lengthened, as in the following examples:

- (13) *Ae kaesaekaesare koasoah-maen.*
he catching pig-one
He is catching the pig.
- (14) *Kas-aemaen mae (æ) sikisik sang kidih-maen.*
cat-one this (s.m.) small from dog-one
This cat is smaller than the dog.

In Examples (13) and (14), the nouns *koasoah* 'pig' and *kidi* 'dog' show the lengthened vowel, while *kas* 'cat' with a final consonant has the full form of *aemaen*.

In keeping with what seems to be an added function of specifier or determiner for the names for the numeral 'one', there is a plural form *pwi* which occurs in the numeral position and specifies 'more than one'. *pwi* may be either an independent form or tied phonologically to the noun stem (though without any phonological change in the final vowel of the stem).

- (15) *Waeraei wari pwi mwoa aen ahla Guam.*
class-my canoe pl. dem will go Guam
Those canoes of mine will go to Guam.

or:

- (16) *Waeraei wari-pwi mwoa aen ahla Guam.*
class.-my canoe-pl. dem will go Guam
Those canoes of mine will go to Guam.

There are also numeral names greater than nine, which are the same forms for all objects:

- 10 *eisaek*
20 *rieisaek*
30 *silihsaek*

40	<i>pahisaek</i>
50	<i>limeisaek</i>
60	<i>woneisaek</i>
70	<i>isihsaek</i>
80	<i>waelihsaek</i>
90	<i>tueisaek</i>
100	<i>epwiki</i>
200	<i>repwiki</i>
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600	<i>wonepwiki</i>
700	<i>isipwiki</i>
800	<i>waelipwiki</i>
900	<i>duepwiki</i>
1,000	<i>kid</i>
10,000	<i>naen</i>
100,000	<i>lop</i>
1,000,000	<i>rar</i>
10,000,000	<i>dep</i>
100,000,000	<i>sap</i>
1,000,000,000	<i>lik</i>

Numbers from 1 to a million are named from left to right, as follows:

<i>kid</i>	<i>duepwiki</i>	<i>waelihsaek</i>	<i>riau</i>
1000	900	80	2
1982			

There is one further set of number names. But this set does not occur in noun phrases. This set of numbers is used for counting objects without specifying the object.

1	<i>aehd</i>
2	<i>ari</i>
3	<i>esil</i>
4	<i>aepoang</i>
5	<i>alim</i>
6	<i>awoahn</i>
7	<i>aeis</i>
8	<i>aewael</i>
9	<i>adu</i>
10	<i>eisik</i>

The names of the days of the week from Monday through Friday are formed by prefixing the number names from this set with the form, *niy-* (meaning as yet undetermined).

<i>niyaehd</i>	Monday
<i>niyari</i>	Tuesday
<i>niyesil</i>	Wednesday

<i>nियाepang</i>	Thursday
<i>नियलिम</i>	Friday

2.2.1.3 DEMONSTRATIVES

The locative demonstratives which may occur finally in a noun phrase are:

<i>mae</i>	near to speaker (n/s)
<i>maen</i>	near to listener (n/l)
<i>mwoa</i>	away from speaker and listener (a/s, l)

- (17) *Woalae-maen en kila nih madoah raei pas mae.*
 man-one past saw coconut tree old tall one n/s
 The man saw this old, tall coconut tree.
- (18) *Ngaei pwaeki kidih koarohroah sikisik maen maen.*
 I-past chased dog white small one n/l
 I chased that small white dog.
- (19) *Koasoah soal lap maen mwoa aen kawaehla kael eu.*
 pig black big one a/s, l fut. broke fence one
 That big, black pig will break the fence.

The same demonstrative forms that are at the end of noun phrases may also function alone as locatives:

- (20) *Ngaei laemaehda pwa ngaeh miniminae mae.*
 I-past thought about my staying n/s
 I thought about staying here.
- (21) *Ihmw lahpaelap eu wa mwoa.*
 house big one (is) a/s, l
 The big house is there.

The form *mae* (and perhaps the others, too) may be used to refer to something previously mentioned in a discourse:

- (22) ... *rahsi (?) wiahkihda likoau kilin suhkaeh riepae mae dae ...*
 they made-with clothes skin-of tree two these and
 ...they made clothes with the bark of these two trees...

2.2.2 POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS⁹

Nouns may be divided into two groups on the basis of how their possessives are formed. Nouns that are directly suffixed to show possession are generally called 'inalienable nouns' by Oceanic linguists. Nouns which occur with a separate 'classifier' form which is suffixed to show possession are given the term 'alienable nouns'. We will follow this convention in this paper.

2.2.2.1 INALIENABLE NOUNS

Some common nouns, specifically names of body parts, and nouns such as *ad* 'name', *daidel* 'title' and *ngenengen* 'shadow', are possessed by using a possessive suffix on the noun. The possessive suffix is obligatory for this group of nouns.¹⁰ Possessive suffixes have distinctive forms to indicate singular (s), dual (d) and plural (p) and first (1), second (2) and third (3) person. There is also an exclusive-inclusive (ex, in) distinction in the first person dual forms.

Examples of the full possessive forms for some of the inalienable nouns are given below:

'head'	
<i>moangaei</i>	1s head
<i>moangaemw/moangomw</i>	1s head
<i>moangae</i>	3s head
<i>moangaes</i>	1d, p ex head
<i>moangaesa</i>	1d in head
<i>moangaemwa</i>	2d in head
<i>moangaera</i>	3d in head
<i>moangaesahsi</i>	1p in head
<i>moangaemwahsi</i>	2p in head
<i>moangaerahsi</i>	3p in head
'liver bile'	
<i>adiaei</i>	1s liver bile
<i>adimw</i>	2s liver bile
<i>adiae/adin</i>	3s liver bile
<i>adiaes</i>	1d, p ex liver bile
<i>adisa</i>	1d in liver bile
<i>adimwa</i>	2d in liver bile
<i>adira</i>	3d in liver bile
<i>adisahsi</i>	1p in liver bile
<i>adimwahsi</i>	2p in liver bile
<i>adirahsi</i>	3p in liver bile

The next three examples are given in parallel columns so that the reader may compare the forms.

	'arm'	'shadow'	'blood'
1s	<i>paehi</i>	<i>ngenengeniaei</i>	<i>isahi</i>
2s	<i>paehmw</i>	<i>ngenengenumw</i>	<i>isahmw</i>
3s	<i>paeh</i>	<i>ngenengenin</i>	<i>isahn</i>
1d, p ex	<i>paehs</i>	<i>ngenengenis</i>	<i>isahs</i>
1d in	<i>paehsa</i>	<i>ngenengenisa</i>	<i>isahsa</i>
2d in	<i>paehmwa</i>	<i>ngenengenumwa</i>	<i>isahmwa</i>
3d in	<i>paehra</i>	<i>ngenengenira</i>	<i>isahra</i>

1p in	<i>paehsahsi</i>	<i>ngenengenisahsi</i>	<i>isahsi</i>
2p in	<i>paehmwahsi</i>	<i>ngenengenumwahsi</i>	<i>isahmwahsi</i>
3d in	<i>paehrahsi</i>	<i>ngenengenirahsi</i>	<i>isahrahsi</i>

2.2.3.2 ALIENABLE NOUNS

Nouns not directly suffixed for possession (alienable nouns) occur with a form that is given the term 'classifier' by Oceanic linguists. The classifier is suffixed to show possession.¹¹

- (23) *Menlau ahdoa nah imwei ihmw eu.*
 please come to class/1s house one
 Please come to my house.
- (24) *En peki ei sehd eu.*
 he/past borrowed class/1s shirt one
 He borrowed my shirt.
- (25) *Ngaei aluh-da nah en Mike ohpes eu.*
 I/past walk-up to class/3s Mike office one
 I walked up to Mike's office.

The preferred ordering in possessive constructions is the following:

Classifier-Possessive Suffix, (Possessor), Possessed

However, there is at least one example in which the Classifier-Possessive Suffix follows the Possessed:

- (26) *Se kila serepein maen naeh.*
 we saw girl one class/3s
 We saw his daughter.

There are at least eight different classifier forms. We next look briefly at each of them.

1. The following classifier form and its suffixes occur with nouns that specify things that are fairly large and that are not necessarily considered to be a favourite possession.

1s	<i>aei</i>
2s	<i>aemw/oamw</i>
3s	<i>aeh/aen</i>
1d, p ex	<i>aes</i>
1d in	<i>aesah</i>
2d in	<i>aemwah</i>
3d in	<i>aerah</i>
1p in	<i>aesahsi</i>
2p in	<i>aemwahsi/oamwahsi</i>
3p in	<i>aerahsi</i>

This is the most general of the classifier forms and occurs with the most nouns. It occurs with nouns such as *suhkae* 'tree' and *sehd* 'shirt'.

- (27) *En peki aei sehd eu.* (cf. Example 24)
 he/past borrowed class/1s shirt one
 He borrowed my shirt.

2. A second classifier and its possessive suffixes occur with nouns that specify things that are small, things controlled by the owner, and things that are a favourite possession of the owner.

1s	<i>nei</i>
2s	<i>neumw/noumw</i>
3s	<i>neh</i>
1d, p ex	<i>neis</i>
1d in	<i>neisah</i>
2d in	<i>neumwah/noumwah</i>
3d in	<i>neira</i>
1p in	<i>neisahsi</i>
2p in	<i>neumwahsi</i>
3p in	<i>neirahsi</i>

These forms generally occur with nouns that specify toys, tools, sports equipment, school supplies and children.

Some nouns this classifier occurs with are: *puk* 'book', *serepein* 'girl', *pwihk* 'pig', *pwung* 'spear' and *opwo* 'ball'.

- (28) *Se kila serepein maen naeh.*
 we saw girl one class/3s
 We saw his daughter.

3. A third classifier and its suffixes occur with nouns that specify food.

1s	<i>kaenaei</i>
2s	<i>kaenaemw</i>
3s	<i>kaenaeh</i>
1d, p ex	<i>kaenaes</i>
1d in	<i>kaenaesah</i>
2d in	<i>kaenaemwah</i>
3d in	<i>kaenaerah</i>
1p in	<i>kaenaesahsi</i>
2p in	<i>kaenaemwahsi</i>
3p in	<i>kaenaerahsi</i>

This classifier occurs with nouns such as *mwenge* 'food', *wis* 'banana' and *karer* 'orange'.

- (29) *Sewen Kotoro seula isar kenerahsi¹² mwenge.*
 people/of Kotoro not enough class/3p food
 The people of Kotor did not have enough food.

4. A fourth classifier form and its possessive suffixes occur with nouns that specify things to drink. (This classifier may be related to the verb *nim* 'to drink', which it resembles in form).

1s	<i>nimaei</i>
2s	<i>nimaemw</i>
3s	<i>nimaeh</i>
1d, p ex	<i>nimaes</i>
1d in	<i>nimaesah</i>
2d in	<i>nimaemwah</i>
3d in	<i>nimaerah</i>
1p in	<i>nimaesahsi</i>
2p in	<i>nimaemwahsi</i>
3p in	<i>nimaerahsi</i>

These forms occur with nouns such as *pil* 'water', *pen* 'coconut water' and *saekau* 'a liquor, or beverage'.

5. A fifth classifier and its possessive suffixes occur with nouns that specify things that are chewed. (It may be even more specific, specifying something that is chewed, the juice swallowed, and the remainder spat out.)

1s	<i>ngidaei</i>
2s	<i>ngidaemw</i>
3s	<i>ngidaeh</i>
1d, p ex	<i>ngidaes</i>
1d in	<i>ngidaesah</i>
2d in	<i>ngidaemwah</i>
3d in	<i>ngidaerah</i>
1p in	<i>ngidaesahsi</i>
2p in	<i>ngidaemwahsi</i>
3p in	<i>ngidaerahsi</i>

In my data thus far, this classifier only occurs with the noun *kipar* 'pandanus'.

6. A sixth classifier and its possessive suffixes occur with nouns that specify means of transportation. (This classifier may be related to the noun *war* 'canoe' which it resembles in form.)

1s	<i>waeraei</i>
2s	<i>waeraemw</i>
3s	<i>waeraeh</i>
1d, p ex	<i>waeraes</i>
1d in	<i>waeraesah</i>
2d in	<i>waeraemwah</i>
3d in	<i>waeraerah</i>
1p in	<i>waeraesahsi</i>
2p in	<i>waeraemwahsi</i>
3p in	<i>waeraerahsi</i>

These forms occur with nouns such as *pwohd* 'boat', *war* 'canoe' and *paisikehl* 'bicycle'.

7. A seventh classifier form and its suffixes only occur with the noun *sapw* 'land'.

1s	<i>sapwaei</i>
2s	<i>sapwaemw</i>
3s	<i>sapwaeh</i>
1d, p ex	<i>sapwaes</i>
1d in	<i>sapwaesah</i>
2d in	<i>sapwaemwah</i>
3d in	<i>sapwaerah</i>
1p in	<i>sapwaesahsi</i>
2p in	<i>sapwaemwahsi</i>
3p in	<i>sapwaerahsi</i>

8. The eighth classifier form and its suffixes only occur with the noun *ihmw* 'house'.

1s	<i>imwaeia</i>
2s	<i>imwaemw</i>
3s	<i>imwaeh</i>
1d, p ex	<i>imwaes</i>
1d in	<i>imwaesah</i>
2d in	<i>imwaemwah</i>
3d in	<i>imwaerah</i>
1p in	<i>imwaesahsi</i>
2p in	<i>imwaemwahsi</i>
3p in	<i>imwaerahsi</i>

- (30) *Menlau ahdoa nah imwei ihmw eu.* (cf. Example 23)
 please come to class/1s house one
 Please come to my house.

The classifier for 'house' and its suffixes may sometimes stand in a possessive noun phrase (without the noun *ihmw* 'house'):

- (31) *Soahn en aluhla nah imwae ahiyoawa.*¹³
 John marker walker to house/his yesterday
 John walked to his house yesterday.

There may be classifier sets other than the eight we've listed here. Two possibilities are shown in the next examples.

- (32) *Ngeh minimine me eroh riei pwisak pwi en ahdo.*
 I/will stay here until class/1s male pl. will come
 I will stay here until my brother comes.

- (33) ... *irah karos diereda pwa pwoapwoaud eu semera*
 they both realised that couple one class/3p

pokepoke emen sang emen.

love one from one

They both realised that their parents loved one more than the other.

In Example (32), the form *riei* indicates a sibling relationship. In Example (33), the form *semera* indicates a parent relationship.

2.2.3 CONSTRUCT FORMS

Nouns in noun phrases may also be in a partitive type of relationship (i.e. Noun 'is a part of' Noun) to another noun in the phrase. This is indicated by a suffix *-in* that occurs on the noun:

kil-in suhkaeh-riae-pas
 skin-of tree-two-long
 skin of two trees

ik-in kihdih-maen
 tail-of dog-one
 the tail of the dog, the dog's tail

Semantics for this form that are slightly different from 'partitive' are shown in the following examples:

(34) *Sewe-n Kotoro seula isar kenerahsi mwenge.* (cf. Example 29)
 people-of Kotoro not enough class/3p food
 The people of Kotoro did not have enough food.

(35) *Soangae-n pisi-pwi ngei wia...*
 kind-of fooling I/fut do
 The kind of fooling I did,...

2.2.4 PROPER NOUNS

Proper nouns can be distinguished from common nouns by the fact that generally no modifiers, numerals, or demonstratives occur with proper nouns, while all these occur with common nouns. Using this criteria, we can say that place names and personal names are proper nouns.

(36) *Rick kahsihkaeh mwaengae.*
 Rick not/yet hungry
 Rick isn't hungry yet.

(37) *Ken ahla Ruk daeri ahiyoahwa.*
 you/past went Truk finish yesterday
 You went to Truk yesterday.

However, some common nouns may also function as proper nouns and occur without modifiers, numerals or demonstratives:

(38) *Ngei kelap pisi noahnoa mahs.*
 I/past often fooled mother before
 I often fooled mother before.

2.2.5 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Personal pronouns are forms that refer to people and things and that can substitute for other nouns in a sentence. As with possessive suffixes, the distinctions in pronouns are first person (1), second person (2), third person (3), singular (s), dual (d), plural (p), inclusive (in) and exclusive (ex).

Since we have already exhaustively listed possessive forms in Section 2.2, the description in this section will be concerned with the following sets of pronouns:

- (1) subject pronouns
- (2) object pronouns
- (3) one-word answer pronouns
- (4) pronouns in focus constructions
- (5) indirect object pronouns

Except for the indirect object forms, the following forms are the same in the pronoun sets we will list:

1d in	<i>kisah</i>
2d in	<i>koamwah</i>
3d in	<i>irah</i>
1p in	<i>kisahsi</i>
2p in	<i>koamwahsi</i>
3p in	<i>irahsi/re</i>

The singular and exclusive forms of pronouns, however, are slightly different in form and we now proceed to briefly describe these forms.

2.4.1 SUBJECT PRONOUNS

Subject pronouns are inflected for some aspects. The following forms are used if an action is happening at present or has happened in the not-too-distant past:¹⁴

1s	<i>ngaei</i>
2s	<i>kae</i>
3s	<i>ae/e</i>
1d, p ex	<i>sae</i>

- (39) **Ae** *daudaur sukae-pas.*
he climbing tree-one
He is climbing a tree.
- (40) **Kae** *ahla Ruk ahiyoahwa.*
you went Truk yesterday
You went to Truk yesterday.

If the speaker wants to specify an action that is completed (c), the following subject pronouns are used:

1s	<i>ngaei en</i> ¹⁵
2s	<i>ken</i>
3s	<i>en</i>
1d, p ex	<i>seh/sen</i>

This set of subject pronouns frequently occurs with the form *daeri* 'finished' someplace in the sentence.

- (41) ***En laid daeri.***
 3s, c fish finished
 He has already fished.
- (42) ***Seh (sen) rik aering daeri.***
 1d, p, ex, c pick coconut finished
 He has picked the coconuts.¹⁶

Further research may show conclusively that this set of subject pronouns are the pronouns from the first set of subject pronouns plus a pre-verbal form *en*. However, the semantics of the pre-verbal form needs further investigation.

Two further sets of subject pronouns are used when the speaker wants to specify an intention. One set indicates a positive intention (pi) and the other a negative intention (ni) and occurs with a negative form.

	Positive intention	Negative intention
1s	<i>ngaeh</i>	<i>ngaeh</i>
2s	<i>kaen</i>	<i>kaeh</i>
3s	<i>aen</i>	<i>aeh</i>
1d, p ex	<i>saen</i>	<i>saeh</i>
(43)	<i>Ngaeh pwainda dengki eu.</i> I/will buy torch one I will buy a torch.	
(44)	<i>Aen kaein ahla daim eu.</i> he/will will go time one He will go now.	
(45)	<i>Kaeh soah paelaehdi pwoapwoak-in paehtm.</i> you/will not cut hand-of arm/your You won't cut your hand.	
(46)	<i>Ngaeh soah deadoahk laekapw.</i> I/will not work tomorrow I won't work tomorrow.	

Finally, there is a set of subject pronouns that are used in sentences in which the Topic and Assertion are both noun phrases:

1s	<i>ngaei</i>
2s	<i>kae/kaewae</i>
3s	<i>ae</i>
1d, p ex	<i>sae/kihs</i>

(This set of subject pronouns differs from the subject set used for present and not-too-distant past only in the variations listed for the second person singular and exclusive forms.)

- (47) **Ngaei** *lih-maen*.
I woman-one
I am a woman.
- (48) **Kae/Kaewae** *saewaeh serih-maen*.
you not child-one
You aren't a child.
- (49) **Sae/Kihs** *saewaeh saerih-pwi*.
we/(ex) not child-pl
We aren't children.

2.4.2 OBJECT PRONOUNS

The forms of the object pronouns are the following:

- | | |
|----------|---------------|
| 1s | <i>ngaehi</i> |
| 2s | <i>kaewae</i> |
| 3s | <i>ih</i> |
| 1d, p ex | <i>kihs</i> |
- (50) **E wesihdi** *ngaehi*.
he hit me
He hit me.
- (51) **Serepein maen ae¹⁷ wesihdi i¹⁸**
girl one sm hit hit
A girl hit him.
- (52) **Kidih-maen ae kaeidi kihs**.
dog-one sm bit us
A dog bit us.

2.4.3 PRONOUNS AS ONE-WORD ANSWERS

The following set of pronouns is used in one-word answers to questions:

1s	<i>ngaei</i>
2s	<i>kaewae</i>
3s	<i>i</i>
1d, p ex	<i>kihs</i>

- (53) *Ihs maen*¹⁹ *ahla nah stowa?*
 who fm go to store
 Who is going to the store?

Ngaei.

me
 I (am).

Kaewae.

you
 You (are).

I

he/she/it
 He (she, it) (is).

Kihs.

we (ex)
 We (are).

2.4.3 PRONOUNS IN FOCUS CONSTRUCTIONS

The set of pronouns used in focus constructions²⁰ is the following:

1s	<i>ngaei</i>
2s	<i>koah/kaewae</i>
3s	<i>ih/ae</i>
1d, p ex	<i>kihs</i>

- (54) ***Ngaei mae wa kohpwa eu.***
 I fm carry box one
 I am the one who carried the box.

- (55) ***Koah/Kaewae mae akaeakaemaei.***
 you fm arguing
 You are the one who is arguing.

2.4.4 INDIRECT OBJECT PRONOUNS

Finally, the following is the set of indirect object pronouns:

1s	<i>rehi</i>
2s	<i>rehmw</i>
3s	<i>rehn</i>
1d, p ex	<i>rehs</i>
1d in	<i>rehsa</i>
2d in	<i>rehmwa</i>
3d in	<i>rehra</i>

- 1p in *rehsahsi*
 2p in *rehmwahsi*
 3p in *rehrahsi*

The form *reh-* signals the indirect object function of these pronouns.

- (56) *Ngaei pwahng rehn en ahdoa.*
 I ask him to come
 I asked him to come.
- (57) *Mwoah-maen, mae²¹ Ewalt kidoa rehi, mae kaeiaeu-lap.*
 fish-one rm Ewalt gave me one first-big
 The fish, which Ewalt gave me, is the biggest one.

2.4.5 PRONOUNS AND NUMERALS

One example has been found in which a subject pronoun occurs with a phonetically linked numeral classifier:

- (58) *Ae-pas edanikin ni de ae-pas edanikin mei.*
 it-one named coconut and it-one named breadfruit
 It is called 'coconut' and it is called 'breadfruit'.

It may be that the impersonal use of the third person pronoun ('it') allows the occurrence of a numeral classifier.²²

The following are charts of the pronouns we have described in Section 3:

SUBJECT PRONOUNS					
	PRESENT, PAST	COMPLETIVE	INTENTION		NP TOPIC AND ASSERTION
			POS.	NEG.	
1s	<i>ngaei</i>	<i>ngaei en</i>	<i>ngaen</i>	<i>ngaeh</i>	<i>ngaei</i>
2s	<i>kae</i>	<i>ken</i>	<i>kaen</i>	<i>kaeh</i>	<i>kae/kaewae</i>
3s	<i>ae/e</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>aen</i>	<i>aeh</i>	<i>ae</i>
1d, p ex	<i>sae</i>	<i>seh/sen</i>	<i>saen</i>	<i>sae</i>	<i>sae/kihs</i>
1d in	<i>kisah</i>				
2d in	<i>koamwah</i>				
3d in	<i>irah</i>				
1p in	<i>kisahsi</i>				
2p in	<i>komwahsi</i>				
3p in	<i>irahsi/re</i>				

NON-SUBJECT PRONOUNS				
	OBJECT	ONE-WORD ANSWERS	FOCUS	INDIRECT OBJECT
1s	<i>ngaehi</i>	<i>ngaei</i>	<i>ngaei</i>	<i>rehi</i>
2s	<i>kaewae</i>	<i>kaewae</i>	<i>koah/kaewae</i>	<i>rehmw</i>
3s	<i>ih</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ih/ae</i>	<i>rehn</i>
1d, p ex	<i>kihs</i>	<i>kihs</i>	<i>kihs</i>	<i>rehs</i>
1d in	<i>kisah</i>			<i>rehsa</i>
2d in	<i>koamwah</i>			<i>rehmwa</i>
3d in	<i>irah</i>			<i>rehra</i>
1p in	<i>kisahsi</i>			<i>rehsahsi</i>
2p in	<i>koamwahsi</i>			<i>rehmwahsi</i>
3p in	<i>irahsi/re</i>			<i>rehrahsi</i>

3.0 THE VERB PHRASE

Verb phrases (VP) occur in the Assertion part of a sentence. The types of forms that occur in the verb phrase and their order are the following:

Subject or focus marker	Pre-verbal aspect (pv)	Negative (neg)	Main verb (mv)	Noun phrases and/or prepositional phrases
----------------------------------	------------------------------	-------------------	-------------------	--

Included in the noun phrases and/or prepositional phrases that follow the main verb are direct objects, indirect objects, locative phrases, and time phrases.

Each of the types of forms will be discussed in the order in which they occur in the verb phrase.

3.1 SUBJECT MARKER

A subject marker (sm) occurs after the subject noun phrase in a sentence. It has not yet been determined whether subject markers are a part of the verb phrase or the subject noun phrase. However, the fact that they occur after a relative clause modifying the subject noun phrase indicates that the subject marker may be in the verb phrase:

- (59) *Woalae-maen* [_{RC} *mae inaenin pwaengaeda*] *en mwohdi de*
 man-one rm very tired sm sit and
mwoahmwoahd.
 waiting

The man who was very tired sat down and is waiting.

The subject marker has the same forms as the third person singular subject pronouns:

<i>ae/e</i>	present and not-too-distant past
<i>en</i>	completive (c)
<i>aen</i>	positive intentive (pi)
<i>ach</i>	negative intentive (ni)

The subject marker most frequently occurs with nouns that specify either a noun which is considered to be a specific person (almost like 'the man' in English) or with a person's name:

- (60) *Soahn ae kaukauruhr.*
 John sm laughing
 John (is) laughing.
- (61) *Woalae-maen en kila nih madoah raei pas.*
 man-one sm/c saw coconut old tall one
 The man saw the old, tall coconut.

The subject marker occurs less frequently with other nouns:

- (62) *Rais eu ae soahlae-la.*
 rice one sm salt-become
 The rice is salty.
- (63) *Kas aemaen mae ae sikisik sang kidih-maen.*
 cat one dem. sm small from dog-one
 The cat is smaller than the dog.

The subject marker, though it is a singular form, occurs if the subject noun phrase is plural:

- (64) *War luhpas en ahla Guam.*
 canoe five sm/c go Guam
 The five canoes went (to) Guam

The completive form of the subject marker, *en*, is the same in form as a pre-verbal aspect form that occurs with subject pronouns (Section 2.4.1). It is thus difficult to determine whether or not a subject marker is present in a sentence when a form *en* occurs.

3.2 FOCUS MARKER

The focus marker (fm) may also occur at the beginning of a verb phrase (but mutually exclusively with the subject marker). It inflects for aspect in a manner similar to the subject marker:

<i>mae/me</i>	present, not-too-distant past, completive
<i>maen</i>	intentive positive (ip)
<i>maeh</i>	intentive negative (in)

The function of the focus marker is to draw attention to the topic of the sentence.

- (65) *Soahn mae ahla laid.*
 John fm go fishing
 John is the one who is going (or went) fishing.
- (66) *Pohnpei mae kae koausanewe.*
 Ponape fm you live
 Ponape is the place where you live.

- (67) *Ngei maeh soah ahla laid.*
 I fm/in not go fishing
 I am the one who is not going fishing.
- (68) *Ngaei maen kah ahla laid.*
 I fm/ip may go fishing
 I'm the one who may go fishing.
- (69) *Kisahsi mae kang mweiyang.*
 we (d) fm ate taro
 We (two) are the ones who ate the taro.

As can be seen from comparing Examples (68) and (69), the focus marker, like the subject marker, does not inflect for a plural subject.

3.3 PRE-VERBAL TENSE-ASPECT MARKERS

Pre-verbal tense-aspect markers may either occur after subject or focus markers in the verb phrase or begin a verb phrase. They do not inflect as main verbs do. For ease of description, we discuss pre-verbs under two classifications: (1) modal pre-verbal markers and (2) adverbial pre-verbal markers.

3.3.1 MODAL PRE-VERBAL MARKERS

A pre-verbal marker is classified as modal if it never can stand alone as the main verb of any clause. The markers classified as modal are the following:

- | | | |
|--|-------------------|----------------------|
| | <i>kah</i> | may occur |
| | <i>ke</i> | will occur |
| | <i>kein/kaein</i> | just, habitual (hab) |
| | <i>udahn</i> | must' |
- (70) *Kaen kah repahkihda koasoah-men laekapw.*
 you/will may find pig-one tomorrow
 You will find the pig tomorrow.
- (71) *Lih pwi ke wiahda likou.*
 woman pl will make clothes
 The women will make the clothes.
- (72) *Kidih sikisik maen aen kein kawaela.*
 dog small one sm hab run/away
 The small dog habitually runs away.
- (73) *Aen kaein ahla daim-eu.*
 he (ip) just go time-one
 He is just going now.
- (74) *En udahn dedoahk dekah laid.*
 he/c must work and fish
 He must work and fish (completive).

3.3.2 ADVERBIAL PRE-VERBAL MARKERS

Pre-verbs are adverbial if they can either occur in clauses which are answers to questions or if they can appear in positions other than in the pre-verbal one. The adverbial pre-verbs are the following:

<i>peineh</i>	still,only
<i>pwisek</i>	also
<i>sek</i>	also
<i>inenihn</i>	very
<i>siahk</i>	always
<i>nemen</i>	want
<i>kaken/kak</i>	can

- (75) *Irahsi sek wiahda epwi songeh doadoahk.*
 they also do some kind/of work
 They also do some kind of work.
- (76) *Songe-n kasoahroahr eu inenihn koluk, a irah peineh sikisik.*
 type-of favouritism one very bad but 3/d still small
 This type of favouritism is very bad, but they (2) are still small.
- (77) *Irahsi kaken kohpeda ansou me melimel en lel Pohnpei.*
 3/p can predict time rm typhoon²³ reach Ponape
 They can predict the time that the typhoon (would) reach Ponape.
- (78) *Ngei kak.*
 I can
 I can.
- (79) *Irah nemen wiahda eu²⁴ dol men ihle.*
 3/d want make one mountain rm high
 They (2) want to make a mountain that is high.

3.4 NEGATIVES

There are six negative forms:

<i>saewaeh</i>	not, present and not-too-distant past
<i>soah</i>	not, completive (c) and intentive (i)
<i>kahsihkaeh</i>	hasn't, never has
<i>audih</i>	it is not
<i>kedeh</i>	don't!
<i>sa-</i>	negative prefix on verbs

The form *saewaeh* is used with present and not-too-distant past:

- (80) *Ae saewaeh laid rahn eu.*
 he not fishing day one
 He is not fishing today.

soah occurs with intentive (i) and completive (c) aspect:

(81) *Aeh soah ahla saeraek laekapw.*
 3s/in not/i go sailing tomorrow
 He will not go sailing tomorrow.

(82) *En wering ngaehi wed ngei en soah.*²⁵
 3s/c call me suddenly I/c not/c
 She called me and suddenly I was gone.

The form, *kahsihkaeh*, has approximately the semantics of 'hasn't' or 'never has' in English:

(83) *Rick kahsihkaeh mwaengae.*
 Rick hasn't eat
 Rick hasn't eaten.

kedeh is the negative imperative form:

(84) *Mwedang kedeh pwa pad.*
 hurry don't be late
 Hurry, don't be late.

The negative prefix *sa-* on some verbs changes the meaning of the verb to an opposite meaning.

(85) *Ae sa-pwung omw lekadi mwoah-maen ahiyoahwa.*
 it not-right your cut fish-one yesterday
 It's wrong, your cutting the fish yesterday. (You cut the fish wrong yesterday.)

3.5 MAIN VERBS

Main verbs in an assertion can be reduplicated and occur with verbal affixes (Sections 3.5.3, 3.6 and 3.7).

We divide main verbs into two classes: adjectival verbs and true verbs.

3.5.1 ADJECTIVAL VERBS

Adjectival verbs appear in both the assertion of a sentence and in the topic. In the assertion, they can be reduplicated²⁶ and occur with verbal suffixes and can be preceded by pre-verbs, as in the following examples:

(86) *Irah lape-lape-la.*
 3/d big-completive
 They (2) are already big.

(87) *A e inenihn lape-sang ngehi.*
 but he very big-from me
 But he is bigger than me.

In the topic, adjectival verbs occur, uninflected, as adjectives in noun phrases (and of course, also in any noun phrase):

- (88) *Woal madoa lap men ae meimeir.*
 man old big one sm sleeping
 The big, old man is sleeping.

3.5.2 TRUE VERBS

True verbs appear in only the verb phrase in the assertion of a sentence. They can be reduplicated and triplicated and occur with verbal affixes.

- (89) *Irah mei-meir.*
 3d sleeping
 They are sleeping.
- (90) *Koahmwahsi pah-pah-pap.*
 2p still swimming
 You (pl) are still swimming.
- (91) *Ih mae kipih-di.*
 he fm fall-down
 He fell down.
- (92) *E wesih-kin ngaehi suhkeh-pas.*
 he hit-with me stick-one
 He hit me with a stick.

We begin by describing reduplication and triplication of verbs.

3.5.3 REDUPLICATION AND TRIPLICATION

Reduplication of verbs indicates 'continuous action':

- (93) *Kidih-maen ae wou-wou.*
 dog-one sm barking
 The dog is barking.

Triplication indicates a prolonged action and can be translated by 'still' or 'yet' in English:

- (94) *Kidih-maen ae wou-wou-wou.*
 dog-one sm still/barking
 The dog is still barking.

There is a phonological pattern which is evident in reduplication and triplication, namely that of not allowing consonant clusters.

3.5.3.1 CONSONANT CLUSTERS IN REDUPLICATION AND TRIPLICATION

Frequently in the processes of reduplication and triplication, consonant clusters would be formed. However, one of two things happens to the normally formed clusters.

- | | | | |
|-------|-----------------|-----|-------------------------|
| (101) | <i>pile</i> | --- | <i>pilipile</i> |
| | say | | saying |
| | <i>pile</i> | --- | <i>pilipilipile</i> |
| | say | | still/saying |
| (102) | <i>raepahki</i> | --- | <i>raepaeraepahki</i> |
| | find | | finding |
| | <i>raepahki</i> | --- | <i>reapaeraeparahki</i> |
| | find | | still/finding |

Another pattern for reduplication and triplication is the repetition of the first four phonemes, as in these examples:

- | | | | |
|-------|---|-----|-----------------------------------|
| (103) | <i>kusupaek</i> | --- | <i>kusukusupaek</i> ²⁹ |
| | coming of surf over reef in low tide
(no triplicated form) | | |
| (104) | <i>kerir</i> | --- | <i>kerikerir</i> |
| | love in secret
(no triplicated form) | | |

However, until the question of inserted vowels is researched, we cannot definitively say that there is a pattern in which the first four phonemes of a verb stem are repeated.³⁰

We next list some exceptions to the pattern of repetition of the first three phonemes and what also seem to be exceptions to our description of the process of preventing consonant clusters from occurring in reduplicated and triplicated forms.

(1) If the third phoneme is a u, the resulting reduplicated and triplicated forms show some variation:

- | | | | |
|-------|----------------|-----|----------------------------------|
| (105) | <i>koau</i> | --- | <i>koaukoau/koahkoau</i> |
| | build a house | | |
| | <i>koau</i> | --- | <i>koaukoaukoau/koahkoahkoau</i> |
| (106) | <i>daur</i> | --- | <i>daedaur</i> |
| | trace the past | | |
| | <i>daur</i> | --- | <i>daehdaedaur</i> ³¹ |
| (107) | <i>saul</i> | --- | <i>sahsaul</i> |
| | sink | | |
| | <i>saul</i> | --- | <i>sahsahsaul</i> |

(2) If the second phoneme of a verb stem is a long vowel, one can regard the verb stem as conforming to the pattern of reduplication of the first three phonemes by regarding the long vowel as two phonemes:

- | | | | |
|-------|---------------|-----|-------------------------|
| (108) | <i>mwoahd</i> | --- | <i>mwoahmwoahd</i> |
| | wait | | |
| | <i>mwoahd</i> | --- | <i>mwoahmwoahmwoahd</i> |

- (109) *kehmwis* ——— *kehkehmwis*
 show love through a gift
 (no triplicated form)

(3) Some forms can be interpreted as either showing the loss of a non-homorganic consonant or as conforming to a pattern of repetition of the first two phonemes and vowel (the second phoneme) lengthening:

- (110) *diraip* ——— *dihdiraip*
 drive

diraip ——— *dihdihdiraip*

The following examples show another possible reduplication pattern in which the first two phonemes are repeated:

- (111) *alu* ——— *alialu*³²
 walk
 (no triplicated form)
- (112) *akupwung* ——— *akaeakupwung*
 justify one's self
 (no triplicated form)

Some examples of reduplication and triplication of verb stems that have only two phonemes are the following:

- (113) *dae* ——— *daehdae*
 sew (transitive)

dae ——— *daehdaehdae*
- (114) *uhk* ——— *uhyuhk*³³
 guide around

uhk ——— *uhyuhyuhk*
- (115) *ahn* ——— *ahyahn*
 be familiar with
 (no triplicated form)

Finally, a single one-phoneme verb stem reduplicates as follows:

- (116) *u* ——— *uyu*
 stand

It may be possible, after further research, to generalise that one of two things happens if a verb stem has less than three phonemes: (1) the stem vowel is lengthened, or (2) a *y* is inserted.

3.5.3.3 INHERENTLY REDUPLICATED FORMS

Some verb stems occur only reduplicated. There is no unreduplicated form. Many of these, however, have a triplicated form, as in the following examples:

- | | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------------|-----|----------------------------|
| (117) | <i>loapwoaloapw</i>
wash clothes | --- | <i>loapwoaloapwoaloapw</i> |
| (118) | <i>aemwiaemw</i>
wash one's hands | --- | <i>aemwiaemwiaemw</i> |
| (119) | <i>daewaedaew</i>
talk | --- | <i>daewaedaewaedaew</i> |
| (120) | <i>duhdu</i>
bathe | --- | <i>duhduhdu</i> |

3.5.3.4 VERBS WITHOUT REDUPLICATION OR TRIPPLICATION

Some verb stems have no reduplicated or triplicated forms. The following are some verb stems that have neither:

<i>nopwa</i>	to suddenly have nothing
<i>appa</i>	to broad-jump (Japanese loan)
<i>uhdi</i>	stop
<i>angin</i>	powerful
<i>aud</i>	out (in baseball, Japanese loan)
<i>aewaen mwaengae</i>	greedy

These verbs seem to be either stative or specify a sudden action.

3.5.3.5 REDUPLICATED FORMS OF ADJECTIVAL VERBS

Adjectival verbs can occur in noun phrases in a reduplicated form, as in the following examples:

- (121) *Woal madoah-madoah maen ae alialu.*
 man very/old one sm walking
 The very old man is walking.

- (122) *Ngaei kila suhkae lihngi-ling pas.*
 I see tree very/beautiful one
 I see a very beautiful tree.

The semantics for such reduplicated forms can be expressed by the word 'very' in English.

The reduplicated adjectival forms do not pattern like the reduplicated and triplicated forms of verbs in the verb phrase. This is partly because of the possibility of a tendency to lengthen the stem vowel (or last stem vowel) to a great extent to show the semantics. Thus, it is difficult to distinguish length as part of a reduplication pattern. The following are some examples.³⁴

- (123) *Woal si..sib maen en kipidi.*
 man very/thin one sm/c fell/down
 The very thin man fell down.

- (124) *Ngaei en kila suhkae pi..rpiraek pas.*
 I/c saw tree very/crooked one
 I saw a very crooked tree.

We now proceed to a description of verbal affixes.

3.6 THE CAUSATIVE PREFIX

A prefix of the form *ka-* attaches to some verbs, usually the adjectival verbs, and has the semantics of 'to cause...to be...':

- (125) ... *de Saumenkepinpil ka-kahleh-la Uraikitam, ...*
 and Saumenkepinpil cause-mad-compl Uriakitam
 ...and Saumenkiepinpil made Uraikitam mad,...
- (126) *De eremas kaken onopeda, ka-kehleh-la imwerahsi ...*
 and people can get/ready, cause-strong-compl their/houses
 And the people can get ready, strengthen their houses...
- (127) *Uwen dir-in pares kein ka-keih-di sapw pwa re kein*
 much full-of pares just cause-dark-begun land that they just
ka-dirih-la nah wehwe.
 cause-full-compl in air.
 There were so many *pares* (type of bird) that darkened the land that they filled up the air.

3.7 VERBAL SUFFIXES

We first describe a verbal suffix that is primarily an indicator of instrumental.

3.7.1 THE INSTRUMENTAL SUFFIX

A verbal suffix *-kin ~ -kih* occurs with verbs when the speaker wants to specify an instrument in the sentence:

- (128) *Re ke wiah-kih-da³⁵ kilin suhkeh riepas.*
 they usually make-with-asp. skin/of tree two
 They usually make (it) with the skin of two trees.
- (129) *Aei pwoud pahda pwokou eu me apwipw-kin³⁵ uhk eu.*
 my wife made basket one that closed-by net one
 My wife made a basket that is closed by a net.

The instrument suffix may also occur with an adjectival verb. In this case, a noun phrase may follow the verb and the semantics of the suffix is harder to specify:

- (130) *mwahu 'good' + -kin — mwahukin 'like, want'*
Irahsi pwisek seweh mwahu-kin kepweh ioak.
 they also not want things many
 They also don't want many things.

The semantics of *-kin* in the following examples is yet to be determined:

- (131) *Irahsi ke kaken pwekeda weik-pwi me sousou-kin paun kid.*
 they usually can carry load-pl. rm heavy-? pound 1000
 They usually can carry heavy loads of 1000 pounds.

- (132) *Peineh kepweh wiahda kenerahsi mwenge dekah erahsi*
 only things make their food and their
likou pwa irahsi keieu kesempwali-kin.
 clothes that they first consider/important-?
 (It is) only things to make their food and their clothes that they consider of first
 importance.

3.7.2 DIRECTIONAL SUFFIXES

Following the instrumental suffix (if there is one) a group of suffixes occur that are called directional suffixes by Oceanic linguists.

With verbs that specify motion, the suffixes specify the direction of the motion. The following are the forms of the directional suffixes and examples of their usage when they indicate direction:

-la 'away from'³⁷

- (133) *Soahn ae wah-la kihs mwoah.*
 John sm carry-away us there
 John took us there.

- (134) *Ngaei men kah ah-la laid.*
 I fm will go-away fish
 I am the one who will go fishing.

-da 'up'

- (135) *Ngaei ah-da peida ahioahwa.*
 I go-up high yesterday.
 I went up high yesterday.
- (136) *Ngaei aluh-da nah en Mike ohpes eu.*
 I walk-up to his Mike office one
 I walked up to Mike's office.

-di 'down'

- (137) *Ngaei aluh-di Kalo eu ahioahwa.*
 I walk-down Kalo one yesterday
 I walked down (to) Kalo yesterday.
- (138) *Ngaei keseu-di pwoh dehp keieu.*
 I/will run-down on floor first
 I will run down (to) the first floor.

-doa/do 'towards speaker (to s)'

- (139) *Ngaei ah-doa nah imwei kulok pahu ahioahwa.*
 I go-to s to house/my clock four yesterday
 I came to my house at four o'clock yesterday.

- (140) *Ae pwokdih-doa in pwarer eu ...*
 she came-to s to stream one
 She came to a stream...

-wei 'towards listener (to l)'

- (141) *Ngeh keseu-wei nah Suhnin par eu ahdoa.*
 I/will run-to l in June year one coming
 I will return to you in June next year.
- (142) *Mine puk silu ngeh kih-wei raehmw.*
 exist book three I/will give-to l to/you
 There are three books I will give to you.

-eng 'away from speaker and listener (away s, l)'

- (143) *Ngaeh aluhi-eng wol riaemen ahiah-la mwoh-i.*
 I/will walk-away s,l man two walk-away before-me
 I will walk to the two men who are walking before me.
- (144) *Ngaei keseu-eng in sirop eu.*
 I ran-away s,l to fire one
 I ran to the fire.

-sang 'from NP'

- (145) *Imweh me ihmweu melimel eu peuki-sang oas-in.*
 house fm house-one typhoon one blow-from roof-of
 That house, the roof was blown off by the typhoon.³⁸

-lahng 'towards'

- (146) ... *de ngei kapw warepas nah sed ah-lahng waesaehk ...*
 and I take canoe/one to sea go-toward place
 ...and I took the canoe to the sea, going towards the place...

-pene 'together'

- (147) *Eu rahn irah daedaohak-pene.*³⁹
 one day 3 d work-together
 One day they (2) worked together.

-peseng 'apart'

- (148) *Isoahpwi⁴⁰ kaein aluh-peseng dae wed aeraemas*
 they just walk-apart and suddenly people
ohros en pokon-pene, ...
 all sm gather-together
 They just walked apart and suddenly all the people gathered together,...

These suffixes may also be used with non-motion verbs. They are then aspectual in semantics. Though the specific aspectual use of all the suffixes is yet to be researched, we give some examples of this usage:

The suffix, *-la*, indicates a completed action:

- (149) *Sohn me woalae-maen irah kemeh-la.*
 John fm man-one they kill-compl.
 John is the man they killed.

The suffix, *-da*, indicates an action or state that has begun:

- (150) *Serepein men Soulik kinih-di⁴¹ nehn e seng-da.*
 girl one Soulik pinch- leg-her she cry-begin
 The girl, that Soulik pinched her leg, began to cry.

The suffix, *-do*, specifies that the action has continued up until a particular point in time:

- (151) *Luhk wol maneman sang in sep-in kewa ahiah-do.*
 Luhk man magic from ? start-of time come-now
 Luhk was a magic man from the beginning until now.

There are probably other aspectual semantics for directional suffixes which will be evident upon further research.

3.8 TRANSITIVITY IN VERB PHRASES

We can initially divide true verbs⁴² into transitive and intransitive verbs.

Transitive verbs may occur uninflected⁴³ in subject verb object (SVO) constructions:

- | | | |
|---|---|----|
| S | V | O |
| (152) <i>Kidih maen ae kaesarehda kihs.</i> | | |
| dog one sm chased | | us |
| The dog chased us. | | |

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|---------|
| S | V | O |
| (153) <i>Ngaei wesihdi woal maen.</i> | | |
| I hit | | man one |
| I hit the man. | | |

Some of these verbs can occur in subject verb (SV) constructions, either with an additional suffix *-ek*⁴⁴ or in a form which is a reduplication of part of the transitive form.

- | | | |
|--|---|---------|
| S | V | O |
| (154) <i>Lih pwi paelangaeda likoau.</i> | | |
| woman pl. dried | | clothes |
| The woman dried the clothes. | | |

- | | |
|---|---|
| S | V |
| (155) <i>Likoau eu en paelang-ek-eda.</i> | |
| cloth one sm dry-intr.-begin | |
| The cloth has begun to dry. | |

Here is a list of some transitive verbs and their intransitive forms:

TRANSITIVE		INTRANSITIVE	
Reduplicated:			
<i>uhp</i>	cover with a sheet	<i>upuhp</i>	be covered with a sheet
<i>saim</i>	sharpen	<i>saeisaei</i>	be sharpened
Suffixed:			
<i>wekid</i>	turn NP over	<i>wekedaek</i>	to be turned over
<i>poahk</i>	brush NP off	<i>poahkek</i>	be brushed off

Intransitive verbs may occur uninflected in subject verb (SV) constructions:

(156) S V
Kisah saewaeh daedoahk.
 we d not work
 We didn't work.

(157) S V
Pwisak maen pas.
 boy one play/tag
 The boy played tag.

Some intransitive verbs have transitive forms which are formed by the addition of the suffix *-i ~ -ae*. Here is a list of some of them:

INTRANSITIVE		TRANSITIVE
<i>daepahl</i>	massage	<i>daepalae</i> ⁴⁵
<i>kuk</i>	cook	<i>kuki</i>
<i>pirap</i>	steal	<i>pirapae</i>
<i>pidaek</i>	be surrounded	<i>pidaeki</i>
<i>peid</i>	throw down	<i>peidi</i>
<i>pas</i>	play tag	<i>pasae</i>

Though most of the true verbs found thus far fit into the categories we have described, there are some transitive-intransitive pairs which do not. We give the following list to show some examples (though we do not intend to imply that transitive is necessarily the basic form for the verbs in this list):

TRANSITIVE		INTRANSITIVE
<i>pwain</i>	buy	<i>pwei</i>
<i>poadok</i>	plant	<i>poad</i>
<i>pa</i>	weave	<i>pei</i>
<i>deuk, dewi</i>	put in a container	<i>deu</i>
<i>laemaelaemae</i>	think	<i>laemae</i>
<i>duhp</i>	dive for	<i>du</i>
<i>daur</i>	climb	<i>daeu</i>

And finally, contrast these forms:

TRANSITIVE	INTRANSITIVE	
<i>doak</i>	stab	<i>doaka</i>
<i>doahk</i>	massage	<i>doahke</i>

From the list, it can be seen that there may be at least one additional identifiable process for forming intransitive from transitive, namely that of loss of the final one or two phonemes. However, this awaits further research.

Finally, some verbs can occur with a noun following the verb stem and the verbal suffixes following the noun:

- (158) *Soahn ae kasikaeh wei-mweiyangae-la.*
 John sm not/yet dug-taro-compl.
 John hasn't yet dug taro.

If a noun appears in this construction, it has no modifiers or numerals or demonstratives with it.

This type of construction is called an 'incorporated object' construction by Oceanic linguists.

3.9 NOUN PHRASES AND PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

We now look briefly at the noun phrases (NPs) and prepositional phrases (PPs) which follow the main verb in a verb phrase. Included in these are direct objects, indirect objects, instrumental noun phrases, time phrases, location phrases and other prepositional phrases.

Of these, we give examples first of a direct object, an indirect object, and an instrumental noun phrase:

Direct object

- (159) *Kihs maen kah wahda kopwa eu.*
 2 ex fm will carry box one
 We (2) will carry the box.

Indirect object

- (160) *Rick aen kah kidoa puk eu rehi laekapw.*
 Rick sm will give book one to/me tomorrow
 Rick will give a book to me tomorrow.

Instrumental noun phrase

- (161) *E wesih-kin ngaehi subkeh-pas.*
 he hit/with me stick-one
 He hit me with a stick.

We now look more specifically at time phrases, locational phrases, and prepositional phrases in general.

3.9.1 TIME PHRASES

We discuss all time phrases under the general topic of the verb phrase, though undoubtedly many time phrases are a feature of the entire sentence. Generally, time phrases occur either at the end of a sentence as in Example (160) and below or at the beginning of a sentence as in Examples (164) and (165).

- (162) *Kae saewach oanoap daim eu.*
 you(s) not study now
 You aren't studying now.
- (163) *Saen kah loapwoaloapw laekapw.*
 we will wash/clothes tomorrow
 We will wash clothes tomorrow.
- (164) *Ahiyoahwa, ngaei kang koasoa.*⁴⁵
 yesterday I ate pig
 Yesterday I ate pig.
- (165) *Mahs mahs, mine pwoapwoaud eu dekah ...*
 before before exist couple one and
 Once upon a time, there was a couple and...

Further research will undoubtedly reveal other places in the sentence where time phrases can occur.

The following are some of the more commonly used time phrases:

<i>pwong eu</i>	tonight
<i>inimaehsaengaewa</i>	this morning
<i>ahiyowa</i>	yesterday
<i>laekapw</i>	tomorrow
<i>rahn eu</i>	today
<i>par eu ahiyoahwa</i>	last year
<i>mahs</i>	before
<i>mahs mahs</i>	once, once upon a time
<i>oh mahs</i>	long ago
<i>souas</i>	noon
<i>ahseu eu</i>	the first time
<i>ansou ohros</i>	all the time
<i>anseukis</i>	anytime
<i>ekis ansaeu</i>	later on

3.9.2 LOCATIVE PHRASES

Some locative phrases include prepositions and they will be discussed in Section 3.9.3. In this section, we describe locative phrases that do not include prepositions.

After a motion verb, place names may occur without a preposition:

(166) *Ngaei ahla Pohnpei mwirin ei ahdo Hawaii.*
 I went Ponape after my come Hawaii
 I went to Ponape after I came to Hawaii.

(167) *Maehlael eu me serepein maen ahla Ruk.*
 true one fm girl one went Truk
 It is true that the girl went to Truk.

But, nouns other than place names may also occur without a preposition:

(168) *Pwisak maen laemaelaemae ahla skuhl.*
 boy one thinking go school
 The boy is thinking (about) going (to) school.

The main verb does not have to specify movement (as *ahla* and *ahdo* do) in order for a noun to occur without a preposition:

(169) ... *song-en eremas-pwi sek mine Pohnpei mahs.*
 kind-of person-pl. also exist Ponape before
 ...this kind of people also existed in Ponape before.

However, most locative phrases occur as prepositional phrases, which we look at next.

3.9.3 PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

Prepositions have the following characteristics:

- (1) They occur with a specified object of some kind.
- (2) They specify direction, location or time.

We first list and give examples of prepositional forms:

nah 'in, inside'

(170) *Ae saewae mesik-in alu nah kei.*
 he not afraid-of walk in dark
 He is not afraid of walking in the dark.

(171) *Pahpa seweh nemen mine nah ihmw.*
 papa not want stay in house
 Papa doesn't want to stay in the house.

in 'to, at'

(172) *Ae pwok-dih-doa in pwarer eu ...*
 she come-down-to to stream one
 She came down to the stream...

(173) ... *e inek-eng in pe.*
 she look-at at arm
 ...she looked at her arm.

pah 'under'

- (174) *Ware-pas en mine pah sed.*
 canoe-one compl. is under sea
 The canoe is already under the sea.

likin 'outside'

- (175) *War ohros waeiaek-dih-la likin woas ...*
 canoe all sail-down-away outside reef
 All the canoes sailed outside the reef...

mwirin 'after'

- (176) *Mwirin souas e ahla dedoahk nah sapw ...*
 after noon he go work in land
 After noon he goes to work in the land...

pwob 'on top of'

- (177) *Ngaei kila likou pwelepwel eu pwob ded eu.*
 I see dress dirty one on floor one
 I see a dirty dress on the floor.

The following form is obligatorily suffixed:

ipe- 'near'

- (178) *Kihla rehn mwoahmw luhman ipe-mw.*
 give to/him fish five near-you
 Give him the five fish near you.
- (179) *De e pile, "Keia eroh ipe-i".*
 and he say move until near-me
 And he said, "Move until (you are) near me".

The possessive suffixes indicate that *ipe-* 'near' may be derived from a noun with a meaning such as 'side'.

Other possible prepositions are shown in the following examples:

- (180) ... *dekah sek sok pideki i*
 and also fly around her
 ...and also flew around her.
- (181) *De e pile, "Keia eroh ipei.* (Example 179)
 and he say move until near/me
 And he said, "Move until (you are) near me".
- (182) ... *de eremas-in dekeh eu kah ahla rikido*
 and people-of island one will go pick/up/bring
pwikereihkin keilen imweri.
 spread/out nearby house/their
 ...and the people of the island will go pick up and bring and spread (it) out nearby their houses.

In the next section we describe sentences.

4.0 SENTENCE STRUCTURE

In this section, we first describe interrogative and imperative sentences. We then go on to talk about complex and compound sentences and finally we give examples of exclamations.

4.1 INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES

Interrogative sentences ask a question, generally a question in which information is requested (though, of course, questions may also be rhetorical). In this section, we describe both direct and indirect questions.⁴⁷ We first look at direct questions.

4.1.2 DIRECT QUESTIONS

Questions without question words are identified by non-falling final intonation in the question:

_____ ↗

or

- (183) *Kaen pwili alsih?*
 you join game
 Are you joining the game?

Sometimes, though, a noun phrase subject of such a question is extraposed:

- (184) *Eh dil, sounpwong?*
 it disappear moon
 Has the moon disappeared?

Some questions with question words consistently begin with the question word, which is followed by a form of *mae* or *me*:

- (185) *Ihs me pwa ken ahla nah skuhl?*
 who mkr say you go to school
 Who said you can go to school?
- (186) *Dahme kisahsi en wia?*
 what/mkr we will do
 What will we do?

Though in our examples, the *me* form is separated from *ihs* 'who' and written connected to *dah* 'what', there is no doubt that *me* has the same function, as can be seen when the *me* form inflects for tense/aspect:

- (187) *Ihs maen ahla nah stowa?*
 who mkr/will go to store
 Who will go to the store?

- (188) *Dahmaen wiawiaeng me ekeh⁴⁸ soa.*
 what/mkr doing that he/will not
 What to do now that he is not (here)?⁴⁹

However, at least for the question word *ih*s ‘who’, the *mae* ~ *me* form is not obligatory:

- (189) *Ihs serepein maen pwilipwili kaewae?*
 who girl one accompany you
 Who is the girl accompanying you?

Since the *mae* forms used in these questions inflect (Examples 187 and 188), it is likely that their function is similar to that of the focus marker, which also inflects for tense/aspect (Section 3.2), rather than to the function of the relative marker (Section 4.3.1), which does not inflect for tense/aspect.

A further question word that occurs with this marker is *ngahd* ‘when’:

- (190) *Ngahd mae kaen pwuridoa?*
 when fm you return
 When will you return?

Another question word, *iah* ~ *ia* ‘where, how’ may either at the beginning of the question or in the place of the locative phrase which it replaces:

- (191) *Iah Tekira?*
 where Tekira
 Where is Tekira?
- (192) *Kae ah-sang ia?*
 you come-from where
 Where do you come from?
- (193) *Iah uwaen mwoani ae nainikin?*
 how much money he have
 How much money does he have?

The question form *dah* ‘what’ may also appear as a part of a noun phrase with the meaning of ‘which’:

- (194) *Song-en kaeueh suhkeh dah pas me ke sukuksuk?*
 kind-of root tree which one that you pound
 What kind of root are you pounding?

A further question word used is *ahiaed* ‘why’:

- (195) *Ahiaed irah ke mwaekaemwaekaer?*
 why they arguing
 Why are they arguing?

4.1.2 INDIRECT QUESTIONS

Indirect questions are frequently introduced by the same question words used in direct questions. Generally, indirect questions are introduced by the complementiser (comp) *pwa* (Section 4.3.2).

- (196) *Anseu oh irah peineh sikisik sehse pwa dahme mwahu*
 time that they still small not/know compl what/mkr good
dahme koluk.
 what/mkr bad
 At that time, they are still small and don't know what is good and what is bad.
- (197) ... *pwahdoa rehi pwa ihs pwa aen uhdah kamaekamaela.*
 tell to/me comp. who because he must be/killed
 ...tell me who because he must be killed.

Sometimes, though, the question word appears without the complementiser *pwa*:

- (198) *Irahsi ke kairehkin eremas ohros dahmen lel irahsi.*
 they will notify people all what/mkr reach them
 They will notify all the people what will reach them.
- (199) *Ae saehsae iahpwae⁵⁰ aen wia.*
 he not/know how he do
 He did not know how to act.

Note the use of *da* in this indirect question:

- (200) *Ae peki reh Uli da e kaken mweideng Hina en pwoudikin ...*
 he ask to Uli if he can let Hina sm marry
 He asked Uli if he could let Hina marry (him)...

4.2 IMPERATIVE SENTENCES

Imperatives may occur with a second person subject pronoun:

- (201) *Kaen ahdo meir!*
 you come sleep
 You come sleep.
- (202) *Koamwi⁵¹ ke soh kaepaeidoakidi ...!*
 you/pl will stop sharpening
 You will stop sharpening...!

However, frequently, no second person pronoun occurs:

- (203) *Ahdo meir!*
 come sleep
 Come sleep!
- (204) *Ahla wahdo peruhmw eu!*
 come carry broom one
 Bring the broom!
- (205) *Kaetae saeng!*
 don't cry
 Don't cry.

4.3 COMPLEX SENTENCES

Complex sentences are those in which there is more than one verb phrase (or main verb) in which one of the clauses containing the main verb cannot occur alone. We classify these dependent clauses as (1) noun phrase modifiers, (2) verb phrase complements, (3) juxtaposed verbs, and (4) adverbial-type clauses.

4.3.1 NOUN PHRASE MODIFIERS

Noun phrase modifiers (or relative clauses, as we will call them) may occur directly following the noun phrase that they modify:

- (206) *Serih-maen mae naemaen maeir mwoahdi nah al.*
 child-one rm want sleep sit on road
 The child, who wants to sleep, is sitting on the road.

- (207) *Ngaei kahkang mwoahmaen mae kae wahdoa.*
 I eating fish rm you brought
 I am eating the fish that you brought.

One head noun may be modified by more than one relative clause:

- (208) *Irahsi ke wiah-kin sahr song-en pesin pwun eu*
 they would make-with knives kind-of shell empty one
me mine nah sed me edanikin lipwei.
 rm exist in sea that called lipwei
 They would make knives with a kind of empty shell that exists in the sea that is called lipwei.

However, for clauses that modify a topic noun phrase, the preferred order is to extrapose the relative clause, even though in some cases, the extraposition results in what some prescriptive grammarians would call a 'misplaced modifier':

- (209) *Serih-maen mwoahdi nah al mae naemaen maeir.*
 child-one sit on road rm want sleep
 The child is sitting on the road, that wants to sleep.⁵²

Also, look at these examples:

- (210) *Pwisakae-maen mae ngaei kila ae kauae-la.*
 boy-one rm I saw sm ran/away
 The boy that I saw ran away.

Preferred order:

- (211) *Pwisakae-maen ae kauae-la mae ngaei kila.*
 boy-one sm ran/away rm I saw
 The boy ran away that (or who) I saw.

In Example (210), the ordering of the relative clause with the subject marker following it is shown clearly. However, if the sentence contains a focus marker rather than a subject marker, the relative clause cannot be extraposed:

- (212) *Soahn mae aei perianae-maen maen kah soawaesae ngaei.*
 John rm my friend-one fm will help me
 John, who is my friend, is the one who will help me.
- (213) ** *Soahn maen kah soawaesae ngaei, mae aei perianae-maen.*
 John fm will help me rm my friend-one
 John is the one who will help me, who is my friend.

When there are two relative clauses in a sentence, one of which modifies a final noun phrase while the other modifies the topic, the preferred ordering is to extrapose the topic relative clause so that it follows the relative clause with the final noun phrase:

- (214) *Woalae-maen mae mwaemwaeisdoa reh Sally ae daedoahk*
 man-one rm visiting to Sally sm work
nah sdohwa eu mae kapweinae koakoauda.
 in store one rm just built
 The man who is visiting Sally works at the store which has just been built.

Preferred order:

- (215) *Woalae-maen ae^{s3} daedoahk nah sdowa eu mae kapweinae*
 man-one sm work at store one rm just
koakoauda mae mwaemwaeisdoa reh Sally.
 built rm visiting to Sally
 The man is working at the store that was just built who is visiting Sally."

The relative marker, *mae*, is optional if the relative clause occurs directly after the head noun phrase:

- (216) *Aeraemas-pwi (mae) saengaesaengsaeng en mwaekid.*
 person-plural (rm) crying sm leaving
 The people who are crying are leaving.

But the relative marker is obligatory if the relative clause is extraposed:

- (217) *Aeraemas-pwi en mwaekid mae saengaesaengsaeng.*
 person-plural sm leaving rm crying
 The people are leaving who are crying.
- (218) ** *Aeraemas-pwi en mwaekid Ø saengaesaengsaeng.*
 person-plural sm leaving crying
 The people are leaving (who are) crying.

The relative marker, though similar in form to the focus marker (Section 3.2) does not inflect for tense/aspect.

4.3.2 VERBAL COMPLEMENTS

There are three kinds of verbal complements: (1) full-sentence complements introduced by the complementiser *pwa*, (2) full-sentence complements without *pwa*, and (3) complements introduced by a possessive pronoun.

4.3.2.1 FULL-SENTENCE COMPLEMENTS WITH *pwa*

- (219) *Pwisakae-maen laemaelaemae pwa aen kauae-la.*
 boy-one think comp he run-away
 The boy thinks that he will run away.
- (220) *Ngaei aesae pwa ae minae iahkiu laekapw.*
 I know comp it is baseball tomorrow
 I know that there is a baseball (game) tomorrow.

The main verbs that support complements introduced by *pwa* are verbs of verbal expression, mental process, or verbs that describe a faculty of the senses, such as the following:

<i>laemaelaemae</i>	think
<i>saeman</i>	remember
<i>maonaekaela</i>	forget
<i>pile</i>	say
<i>sehse</i>	know
<i>mahkaehng</i>	sorry
<i>kila</i>	see
<i>diaer</i>	find, discover
<i>sengkin</i>	cry/for

There is a main verb *pwa* 'say', which can be followed by verbal complements that are not introduced by the *pwa* complementiser:

- (221) ... *e pwa eh dedoahk me inenihn kehl.*
 he say his work fm very strong
 ...he said his work was very strong.

Thus, it seems likely that the complementiser *pwa* is an extended use of the main verb *pwa* 'say'.

4.3.2.2 FULL-SENTENCE COMPLEMENTS WITHOUT *pwa*

Other full-sentence verbal complements occur without a complementiser:

- (222) *Ngaei naemaen ngeh alu lap.*
 I want I/will walk big
 I want to walk a lot.
- (223) *E seweh naemaen rieh serepein men en ese lamelam ...*
 she not want her sister one sm know plan
 She didn't want her sister to know the plan...

4.3.2.3 COMPLEMENTS INTRODUCED BY A POSSESSIVE PRONOUN

In some verbal complements, the subject of the complement is a possessive pronoun:

- (224) *Ngaei saemaesaeman omw meir nah kilahs ahioahwa.*
 I remember your sleep in class yesterday
 I remember you slept in class yesterday.

The verbs in these complements may be reduplicated and affixed:

- (225) *Ngaei kila omwah ali-aluh-la in sdohwa eu.*
 I saw your(2) walking-away to store one
 I saw you (2) walking to the store.

4.3.3 JUXTAPOSED VERBS⁵⁴

In some sentences, there are juxtaposed main verbs. Frequently, at least one of the juxtaposed verbs is an action verb such as *ahla* 'go', *ahdoa* 'come', *alu* 'walk', or *keseu* 'run'.

- (228) *Re kaken alu ahla laid pwaisek⁵⁵ sei ahla laid.*
 they can walk go fish also paddle go fish
 They can walk (and) go (and) fish (and) also paddle (and) go (and) fish."
- (229) ... *eh perianemen en kah ahdoa pangihda i*
 his friend sm will come wake him
 ...his friend will come (and) wake him.

The subject of juxtaposed verbs is necessarily the same and is stated only before the first main verb. However, the first verb in the construction may have a following pronoun, noun phrase or prepositional phrase:

- (230) *Lieni kein sek pwili i seng.*
 Lieni just also accompany her cry
 Lieni would also cry with her.
- (231) ... *de seu pelang raripwi pwohkekedahdoa de ...*
 and sun fry coral wash/up and
 ...and the sun fries the coral (and) washes up and...
- (232) ... *de e pileh-do rehi pwa ...*
 and he say-to to/him saying
 ...and he says to him saying...

However, it is much more frequent to have, following the last verb, a pronoun (as in Example 229), noun phrase, or prepositional phrase:

- (233) ... *ae kaein doake-da koareh-di maesach ...*
 he just reach-up scratch-down her/face
 ...he just reached up (and) scratched down her face...
- (234) ... *de ae kaein alu koahdahla nah imwaera.*
 and she just walk come/up to their/house
 ...and she just walked (and) came up to their house.

Frequently, juxtaposed verbs indicate actions that follow each other directly (as in Examples 229 and 233). They may also indicate actions that are going on simultaneously (as in Example 230). Finally, they may give additional information about the type of action that is taking place, as in Example 234 and the following example:

- (235) *E mwekihda keseu ahla in nih-pas.*
 he move run go to coconut/tree-one
 He moved (and) ran (and) went to the coconut tree.

4.3.4 ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Adverbial clauses specify actions or circumstances that are related to a main clause of a sentence and include the main clause with their scope. We will describe them in three categories: (1) conditional clauses, (2) time clauses and (3) reason clauses.

4.3.4.1 CONDITIONAL CLAUSES

Conditional clauses typically impose a restriction on the actual occurrence of the event specified in the main clause.

- (236) *Ma kaen ahdoa ngaeh awi kaewae.*
 if you come I/will await you
 If you come, I will wait for you.

The speaker in Example (236) is specifying that his 'waiting' is dependent on knowing with some certainty that the other person will come. The clause introduced by *ma* expresses uncertainty on the part of the speaker concerning the actual occurrence of the event. The fact that the only pre-verb which is restricted to not occurring in this conditional clause is the form *ke* 'definitely will occur' indicates the conditional semantics of these clauses.

Other clauses that seem to be closely related semantically to 'conditional', along with their introducers are illustrated here.

apweh ma 'even if'

- (237) *Apweh ma kae kaken ahdoa, ngei sewe awi kaewae.*
 even if you can come I not await you
 Even if you can come, I won't wait for you.

eh ma 'unless'

- (238) *Ngeh soh pangin kaewea, eh ma mehkos wiawi.*
 I/will not call you unless something happen
 I won't call you unless something happens.

meh ma 'since'

- (239) *Meh ma ken ahla, ngeh ahla.*
 since you went I/will go
 Since you went, I will go.

peineh ma 'only if'

- (240) *E kah mine na ihmw peineh ma e sohmwahu.*
 he will stay in house only if he sick
 He will stay in the house only if he is sick.

mihda ma 'even if'⁵⁶

- (241) *Mihda ma e inenihn madoa, e ahlu mwedange-sang ngehi.*
 even if he very old he walk fast-from me
 Even if he is very old, he walks faster than me.

emedeh ma 'as if'

- (242) ... *ken wia de ke mwomwehda emedeh ma koah me mengeikin.*
 you do(it) and you pretend as if you fm easy/for
 ...you do it and you pretend as if it is easy for you.

4.3.4.2 TIME CLAUSES

The following are sentences in which a time clause expresses the event of the main clause in relation to the time of the event specified in the time clause:

in, ineh 'when, while, as'

- (243) *In eh dedoak Guam, Sohn sohmwahu-da.*
 when his work Guam John sick-became
 When he worked in Guam, John became sick.
- (244) *Ineh ngei pwisak sikisik, ngei inenihn laid pwoh piriu.*
 when I boy little I really fish on reef
 When I was a little boy, I really fished on the reef.

eroh 'until'

- (245) *Pwisakemen e dedoahk eroh lok.*
 boy/one sm work until tired
 The boy worked until (he was) tired.

mwirin 'after'

- (246) *Ngei ahla Ponpei mwirin ei ahdo Hawaii.*
 I go Ponape after my come Hawaii
 I went to Ponape after I came to Hawaii.

mwoh 'before'

- (247) ... *dae kakelehla imwerahsi mwoh melimel en lel erahsi wesah.*
 and strengthen their/houses before typhoon sm reach their place
 ...and strengthen their houses before the typhoon would reach their place.

4.3.4.3 REASON CLAUSES

The following are examples of sentences which express in an adverbial clause the reason for the event of the main clause:

pwa 'because'

- (248) *Pahpa wol mwahumen pwa e pwerisek ...*
 papa man good because he work/hard
 Papa is a good man because he works hard...

apweh 'because'⁵⁷

- (249) *Irah en uhdahn wia apweh mwane saemaerah ae wia.*
 they must do(it) because guy father/their sm do(it)
 They have to do it because that guy, their father did it.

4.4 CO-ORDINATE SENTENCES

Co-ordinate sentences have two or more clauses joined by a conjunctive form. There is no scope relationship between the clauses. Rather they may refer to events that occur in a time sequence or events in which there is some specified contrast or events in which there is a choice.

The following are examples of the co-ordinate sentence structures and their conjunctive forms:

dae 'and'

- (250) *Ae alu lik dae e kalelepek dae wed e lus.*
 he walk outside and he look/careful and suddenly he jump
 He walked outside and he looked carefully and suddenly he jumped.

a 'but'

- (251) *Ae mwaengae a ae pwaisaek maeir.*
 he ate but he also sleep
 He ate, but he also slept.

ke 'or'

- (252) *Sohn aen ahdoa ke Meri aen ahdoa.*
 John sm come or Mary sm come
 John will come or Mary will come.

4.6 EXCLAMATIONS

Exclamations are distinguished by the fact that they cannot be specified as being part of any phrase, not do they have a specifiable semantic function in clauses or sentences. Instead, they express some emotion of the speaker. The following are examples of exclamations in Pingilapese:

- (253) *Soah, ngaeh pwili kaewae.*
 no I/will accompany you
 No, I will accompany you.

- (254) *Enemwahu, kaen kaein pwili ngaehi.*
 okay you just accompany me
 Okay, you just accompany me.

- (255) *Ehde, ke pwa ken pisihdi ngehi ...*
 what you say you fool me
 What? You say you will fool me...
- (256) *Sedinmoahnpwel, oh!* or *Sedinmoahnpwel, eh!*
 Sedinmoahnpwel oh Sedinmoahnpwel oh
 Oh, Sedinmoahnpwel! Oh, Sedinmoahnpwel!

4.5 FINAL REMARKS ON THE DESCRIPTION

In this preliminary grammar, we have attempted to give an overall view of Pingilapese grammar. In many respects it is very similar to the grammar of the other Ponapeic languages. However, we believe that particularly in some grammatical aspects, the grammar of Pingilapese presents some fascinating possibilities for research and comparison with the other languages. It would be helpful in many ways to study syntactical differences in Ponapean, Mokilese, and Pingilapese and such a study seems likely to yield some important implications for the theory of syntactic change just because the language varieties are so closely related.

And so, this description and data are offered in the hopes of inspiring further research into this fascinating area of linguistics.

5.0 PINGILAPESE TEXT

Daie mwoamwen⁵⁹ meh Pohnpei mahs. Irahsi sek wiahda
 this people/of one Ponape long/ago they also made

epwi songeh doadoahk. Lih pwi ke⁶⁰ wiahda likou.
 some kind/of work woman pl. usually made clothes

Re ke wiah-kihda kilin suhkeh reipas. Epas
 They usually make-with skin/of tree two one

edanikin ni, de epas edanikin mei. Irahsi
 named coconut and one named breadfruit they

wiah-kihda likou kilin suhkeh reipas me de kein
 make-with clothes skin-of tree two this and just

ede pwa meimei de lih pwi ke likou-kin
 name that meimei and woman pl. usually clothes-with

oh mahs. Daie en wol pwi erahsi dedoahk. Wiawi
 very long/ago this past man pl. their work making

ihmw dekah pekeake nah sapw. Esoah neirahsi
 house and cut-grass on land was/no their

sahr. Irahsi ke wiah-kin sahr songen pesin
 knife they usually make-with knife kind/of empty

pwun eu me mine nah sed me edanikin lipwei.
 shell one that exist in ocean that named lipwei

Irahsi pwaisek palewar, de soah neirahsi sile.
they also make/canoe and is/not their axe

Irahsi ke wiah-kin sile mehkis mine na sed
they usually make-with axe something exist in ocean

me edanikin peiniki, de wia-kihda war. Irahsi ke
that names *peiniki* and make-with canoe they would

seweh noaroke kepweh dedoahk sang reh meh wai,
not greedy tools work from them that foreign

pwa peineh songen kepwe eu me irahsi ke mwaukin,
because also kind/of tool one that they usually like

pwah sile de en mine neirahsi me irahsi pein
that axe and past exist their that they themselves

wiahda. Li ke pein wiahda erahsi likou. Irahsi
make women usually themselves make their clothes they

pwaisek seweh mwahukin kepweh-ioak. Peineh kepweh
also not like things-many only things

wiahda kenerahsi mwenge dekah erahsi likou pwah
make their food and their clothes that

irahsi keieu kesempwalikin.
they first consider/important.

Pwung sek pwili wad kesempwal, eke edanikin pai
spear also with count important or/else named fortunate

rehrahsi, pwah irahsi ke mawinikin. Irahsi ke
for/them because they usually fight/with they usually

seweh limpoak pene nah pwung erahsi. Irahsi ke
not like each/other in between them they usually

imwinsihsi pene oh mahs ahsou pwi soh lamelam.
enemies each/other very long/ago time pl. not Christianity

Mine eremas me inenin kehl Pohnpei oh mahs.
exist people that very strong Ponape very long/ago

Irahsi ke kaken pwekeda wesikpwi me sousoukin
they used/to can carry loads that heavy/for

paun kid. Songen eremas pwi ehme edanikin Kauna.
pound 1000 kind/of person pl. ones/that called Kauna.

Irahsi me ke lahpelap de sek rehrei.
they ones usually very/big and also very/tall

De eu rahn, songen eremas eu me, mein reimen
and one day kind/of person one this people two

<i>irah dedoahk</i>	<i>pene.</i>	<i>Eden</i>	<i>emen</i>	<i>Saumenkepinpil</i>	<i>de</i>
they work	together	name/of	one	Saumenkepinpil	and
<i>emen edanikin</i>	<i>Uraikitam.</i>	<i>Irah</i>	<i>nemen</i>	<i>wiahda</i>	<i>eu dol</i>
one named	Uraikitam	they want	make	one	mountain
<i>men ihle.</i>	<i>Eu rahn</i>	<i>irah dedoahk</i>	<i>pene</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>Saumenkepinpil</i>
that high	one day	they work	together	and	Saumenkepinpil
<i>kamwekerehda</i>	<i>Uraikitam,</i>	<i>pwa</i>	<i>e pwa</i>	<i>eh dedoahk</i>	<i>me</i>
make/angry	Uraikitam	because	he say	his work	focus
<i>inenihn kehl.</i>	<i>De eu rahn</i>	<i>Uriakitam</i>	<i>ahla</i>	<i>wehedi</i>	
very strong	and one day	Uraikitam	went	lie/down	
<i>de kein meirila.</i>	<i>De mwahne</i>	<i>pwilie</i>	<i>kein</i>	<i>pwekeda</i>	
and just slept	and that/guy	partner	just	pick/up	
<i>sekai eu desepeda</i>	<i>kerang nah</i>	<i>ei eu</i>	<i>eroh udahn</i>		
stone one began	heat/it in	fire one	until very		
<i>karekar.</i>	<i>De e kein</i>	<i>pwekeda</i>	<i>sekai</i>	<i>karekar</i>	<i>eu kieng</i>
hot	and he just	pick/up	stone hot	one	put/in
<i>nah kepim</i>	<i>woaren</i>	<i>Uraikitam</i>	<i>de kein</i>	<i>kemehla</i>	<i>i De</i>
to bottom/of	throat/of	Uraikitam	and just	killed	him and
<i>pwah wiahda</i>	<i>sapw eu</i>	<i>me edanikin</i>	<i>Kahmar.</i>	<i>Sapw eu e</i>	
because made	land one	that called	Kahmar	land one	it
<i>mine nah wein</i>	<i>Net. Erah</i>	<i>dedoahk</i>	<i>kein</i>	<i>uhdi</i>	<i>seweh</i>
exist in area	Net their work	just	stop	not	
<i>pweida</i>	<i>pwa erah</i>	<i>peirin</i>	<i>pene</i>	<i>dekah</i>	
accomplished	because their	put/down	each/other	and	
<i>imwinsihsih</i>	<i>pene</i>	<i>me karehda.</i>	<i>Irah</i>	<i>pwa emine</i>	
enemies	each/other	that reason	they say	there/are	
<i>songen eramasipwi</i>	<i>sek mine</i>	<i>Pohnpei</i>	<i>mahs.</i>	<i>Songen</i>	
kind/of people	also exist	Ponape	before	kind/of	
<i>eremas pwi</i>	<i>me, irahsi</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>soahroar</i>	<i>sang udahn</i>	
person pl.	this they	subj./mkr	different	from real	
<i>eremas pwa</i>	<i>irahsi emedeh</i>	<i>eni,</i>	<i>pwa</i>	<i>erahsi</i>	
person because	they like	ghosts	because	their	
<i>lokeia ke</i>	<i>maneman.</i>	<i>Irahsi</i>	<i>emedeh</i>	<i>(pwa)</i>	<i>soukahp.</i>
words were	magic	they like	(?)	prophets	
<i>Irahsi kaken</i>	<i>kohpeda</i>	<i>ansou me</i>	<i>melimel</i>	<i>en lel</i>	
they can	prophecy	time that	typhoon	would reach	
<i>Pohnpei.</i>	<i>Irahsi ke</i>	<i>kairehkin</i>	<i>eremas</i>	<i>ohros</i>	<i>dahmen</i>
Ponape	they would	notify	person all	what/will	

lel irahsi. De eremas kaken onopeda, kakehlehla
 reach them and people can prepare strengthen

imwerahsi mwoh melimel en lel erahsi wesa.
 their/houses before typhoon would reach their place

De karehda irahsi ke peiemwahu in-en melimel lel
 and is/reason they would lucky when typhoon reach

irahsi. Eremas pwi me ke lokeiah maneman, pwa
 them person pl these would talk magic because

ma irahsi sek imwekereng reh eremas, irahsi kaken
 if they also be/insulted by people they can

wiahda eng in kawehla dipwisou dekah sapw ohros.
 make wind to destroy things and land all

Ma songen irair eu me wiawi, eremas ohros kein
 if kind/of situation one that happen people all just

mwedang weirida erahsi sekau de ahla peki mahk
 quickly pull/up their kava and go ask forgiveness

reh soukohp pwi. De wed en mwahula sapw,
 to prophet pl. and suddenly it/would come/good land

pwa erahsi kapekap ke mine mene. Irahsi ke
 because their prayers would exist power they would

kapekapeng reh Luhk. Luhk wol maneman sangin
 pray to Luhk Luhk man magic from

sepin kewa ahiahdo.
 beginning time come/to/now

Songen eremas pwi me en seipidila Pohnpei
 kind/of person pl. focus already become/few Ponape

rahn eu rehsa. Emine me peineh miniminehdoa
 day one to/us there/are some still living

lel rahn pwi me. Sek mine me peineh moumour nah
 to day pl. these also exist some also alive in

sapw eu me edanikin Salapwuk. Songen eremas pwi
 land one that called Salapwuk kind/of person pl.

me ke edanikin Sau Rakim.
 these were called clan Rakim

FREE TRANSLATION:

This is the way Ponapeans lived long time ago. They also did some kinds of work. The women made clothes. They usually made them from the bark of two trees. One is called coconut and one is called breadfruit. They made clothes from the bark of these two trees and they called it *meimei* and the women usually wore them long ago. This is the work of the men. They built houses and cut grass on the land. There were no knives. They made knives from a kind of empty shell from the ocean called *lipwei*. They also made canoes and they didn't have axes. They usually made axes from something from the ocean called *peiniki* and made canoes with it. They were not greedy for tools from the foreigners, because there was one kind of tool they liked, which is the axes they made themselves. The women made their own clothes too. They also didn't want many things. Only things to make their food and their clothes, that they considered important. Spears were also counted important or considered lucky for them because they fought with them. They did not usually like each other. They were enemies long ago when there was no Christianity.

There were people that were very strong in Ponape long ago. They used to carry loads that were heavy up to 1000 pounds. This kind of people were the ones called Kauna. They were usually very big and very tall.

One day, this kind of people, two of them worked together. One was named Saumenkepinpil and the other Uraikitam. They wanted to make a high mountain. One day they worked together and Saumenkepinpil made Uraikitam angry because he said his own work was very strong. So one day Uraikitam just went and laid down and went to sleep. And his partner picked up a stone and began heating it in the fire until it was very hot. Then he picked up the hot stone and put it in the bottom of Uraikitam's throat and killed him. And that's the reason for the land called Kahmar. It is in the municipality of Net. Their work was stopped and not finished because they were putting each other down and were enemies, that's the reason.

They say there were also another kind of people in Ponape before. These people were different from real people; they were like ghosts; their words were magic. They were like prophets. They can prophesy the time that a typhoon will reach Ponape. They would notify all the people that it will hit Ponape. So the people could prepare and strengthen their houses before the typhoon would reach their place. And that is why they were fortunate when the typhoon hit them. This kind of people would talk magic; if they were insulted by the people, they could make a wind to destroy everything, land and things. If this situation occurred, the people would quickly pull up their kava and go and ask forgiveness of the prophets. Then suddenly it would be quiet because their prayers were powerful. They would pray to Luhk. Luhk was a man of magic from the beginning of time until now.

There are already very few of this kind of people in Ponape. There are still some living in these days. There are also some still alive in a place called Salapwuk. These people are also called the Clan Rakim.

6.0 PINGILAPESE VOCABULARY

In this vocabulary, the following symbols are used:

Parts of speech:

ADV	adverb	PRE	prefix
CONJ	conjunction	PRON	pronoun
DEM	demonstrative	PREP	preposition
EXCL	exclamation	PV	preverb
INT	introductory interrogative form	QUANT	quantifier
N	noun	SUF	suffix
NEG	negative	VI	intransitive verb
NUM	numeral	VT	transitive verb

Known borrowings:

E	English	N	Nauruan
G	Gilbertese (Kiribati language)	P	Polynesian
J	Japanese	PON	Ponapean
M	Marshallese		

Other symbols and abbreviations:

H	chiefs' or high language	lit.	literally
con.	connotative	sl.	slang

The alphabetical arrangement of the orthographic symbols in this vocabulary is as follows:

a, ah, ae, d, e, eh, i, ih, l, m, mw, n, ng, o, oh, oa, oah, p, pw, r, s u, uh, w, y

Alternative spellings are given following a comma.

A

<i>a</i>	N	fish species, growth stage of mullet
<i>a</i>	N	edible soft part of a young coconut
<i>a</i>	CONJ	but
<i>ad</i>	N	gall bladder
<i>ad</i>	N	name, reputation
<i>adoal</i>	N	fish species, third growth stage of trevally
<i>adoahl</i>	N	coconut variety, having fruit with a sweet husk
<i>adu</i>	NUM	nine, system for counting objects
<i>aikem</i>	N	taro variety
<i>aiki</i>	VT	to tow
<i>aikihek</i>	VI	to tow
<i>aikiu</i>	VI, J	to distribute, to dole out
<i>aikiu</i>	N, J	a distributed portion

<i>ain</i>	VI, E	to iron clothes
<i>ain</i>	N	an iron for ironing clothes, handcuffs, shackles
<i>aini</i>	VT, E	to iron clothes
<i>ainoko</i>	N, J	half-caste
<i>air</i>	VI	to be worried, preoccupied
<i>air</i>	VI	to pick lice out of hair
<i>ais</i>	N	tree species, characterised by strong wood, used in making poles for paddling canoes
<i>ais</i>	N, E	ice
<i>aisaera</i>	N, J	ashtray
<i>aiskehki</i>	N, J, E	popsickle
<i>aispwakos</i>	N, E	icebox
<i>aiye</i>	N	centipede
<i>ak</i>	N	tree species, mangrove
<i>ak-</i>	PRE, VI	make a demonstration of
<i>akaekanaekan</i>	VI	to demonstrate neatness
<i>akaekehl</i>	VI	to demonstrate strength
<i>akaelapaelap</i>	VI	to be cocky, haughty, inconsiderate
<i>akaemai</i>	VI	to argue
<i>akaemaeman</i>	VI	to be able to do magic tricks, to feign godliness
<i>akaedaei</i>	VI	to strive to succeed or get ahead
<i>akisikisik</i>	VI	to be polite or humble
<i>akisuei</i>	VI	to exaggerate one's importance or the importance of one's actions
<i>akoasei</i>	VI	to light a fire
<i>aksuahu</i>	VI	to deviate, to disagree, to dissent
<i>akupwung</i>	VI	to justify oneself
<i>al</i>	N	road
<i>alaeal</i>	VI	to be striped
<i>alaelap</i>	N	highway, big road
<i>alaen wudiraek</i>	N	Milky Way
<i>alaesang</i>	VT	to copy from
<i>alaesapw</i>	VT	to play a game, similar to 'capture the flag'

<i>alaesapw</i>	N	a game similar to 'capture the flag'
<i>alikidoahr</i>	N, E	alligator
<i>alim</i>	NUM	five, system for counting objects
<i>alis</i>	VI	to aim with a spear or gun
<i>alisi</i>	VT	to aim with a spear or gun
<i>alisikisik</i>	N	path
<i>alpaped</i>	N, E	alphabet
<i>alu</i>	VI	to walk
<i>aluh daeki</i>	VI	to waddle [lit. to 'walk duck']
<i>aluh suhkae</i>	VI	to walk on stilts [lit. to 'walk stick (or branch)']
<i>ama</i>	INT	what if
<i>amirikae</i>	N	banana species, from South America
<i>amis</i>	VI	to clench one's teeth in anger, to make faces
<i>ampangia</i>	N, J, E	umpire
<i>amperehla</i>	N, E	umbrella
<i>amwin</i>	VT	to wipe, to wash
<i>amwise</i>	N	mosquito
<i>anaeanae, anahnae</i>	VT	to need, to want
<i>andehna</i>	N, E	antenna
<i>anehwei</i>	VI	to leave
<i>anikeseke</i>	EXCL	exclamation of disdain or disregard
<i>ansaeu, ahsaeu</i>	N	time
<i>ansaeukis</i>	N	anytime
<i>ansu</i>	N, J	starfruit
<i>angaeangin</i>	VI	to be excited or anxious
<i>angedenged</i>	VI	to fight and not give up, to be persistent, to try hard
<i>angin</i>	VI	to be powerful, to be fast because of power
<i>angka</i>	N, E	anchor
<i>angkaehlail</i>	VI	to be determined, to rape
<i>angkesep</i>	N, E	handkerchief
<i>apa dopi, appa</i>	N, J	to broadjump
<i>apaekahs</i>	N, E	half-caste

<i>apaelaeng</i>	VI	to sparkle (said of little waves on the surface of water at night)
<i>apaer</i>	N	shoulder
<i>apaerapaer</i>	VI	to carry on the shoulder
<i>apaerae</i>	VT	to carry on the shoulder
<i>apid</i>	VT	to carry inanimate things under one's arm or in folded arms in front of one
<i>apol</i>	N, E	apple
<i>apuhs</i>	N	tree species, fruit bearing tree, also the name of the fruit
<i>apwid</i>	N	canoe part, curved pieces that connect the outrigger to the canoe hull
<i>apwin</i>	VT	to cover
<i>apwin</i>	VI	to wash one's face
<i>apwinek</i>	VI	to cover
<i>apwuraiyasi</i>	N, J	tree species, type of palm
<i>araeda</i>	VI	to fool
<i>araedahi</i>	VT	to fool
<i>araemaki</i>	N, J	stomach band
<i>araer</i>	VI	to spray (said of rain)
<i>ardo arda</i>	VI, J	to measure angles in a house [sl.]
<i>arere</i>	N	fish species, type of parrot fish
<i>ari</i>	NUM	two, system used for counting objects
<i>aro</i>	N	banana species, also called <i>inahsio</i>
<i>aroang</i>	N	fish species, number five growth stage of trevally
<i>asi</i>	N, J	chopsticks
<i>asimel</i>	N	fish species, type of sea perch
<i>asoarae</i>	VT	to be lonely for
<i>au</i>	N	mouth
<i>au likamw</i>	VI	to be a compulsive liar
<i>au mas</i>	VI	to use bad language
<i>aud</i>	VI, E	baseball term, 'out'
<i>audae, aude</i>	VT	to fill, to load
<i>audaepae</i>	N	contents, subject matter
<i>audoahd</i>	VT	to fill, to load
<i>audih, audihn</i>	NEG	not

<i>audokahp</i>	N, J, E	baseball term, outside curve
<i>aulaid</i>	VI	to celebrate a new net, to make an informal agreement to wait for those who are out fishing
<i>aulaid</i>	N	celebration for a new net, an informal agreement to wait for those who are out fishing
<i>aupwi</i>	VI	to be loose-tongued, to not keep confidences
<i>awael</i>	VT	to change, to replace
<i>awelek</i>	VI	to change, to replace
<i>awi</i>	VI	to wait

AH

<i>ahaed</i>	INT	why
<i>ahd</i>	N	current of water
<i>ahd</i>	N	any card that is hearts in suit
<i>ahdaela</i>	VI	to drift with the current
<i>ahdaewæk</i>	VI, E	to be difficult [lit. 'hard work']
<i>ahding</i>	N	crab species, small, reddish crab
<i>ahiyoa, ahioahwa</i>	N	yesterday
<i>ahl</i>	N	fish species, type of barracuda
<i>ahlaek</i>	N	reed
<i>ahmw</i>	VI	to swarm (said of small flies)
<i>ahmwiniwael</i>	N	small flies found in the bushes
<i>ahn</i>	VT	to be used to, to be familiar with or acquainted with
<i>ahn</i>	EXCL	what else? so what?
<i>ahnikin</i>	VT	to have, to own
<i>ahnpaehk</i>	N, E	handbag
<i>ahs</i>	N, E	hatch
<i>ahsik</i>	N	phase of the moon, from full moon to new moon

AE

<i>ae</i>	PRON	third person singular subject, he, she, it
<i>ae</i>	EXCL	exclamation on offering something
<i>aed</i>	N	fish species, large growth stage of keipweni

<i>aedaepae</i>	INT	how much, how many
<i>aedal</i>	EXCL	'pass', on forgoing one's opportunity to cut cards
<i>aedam</i>	N	fish species, type of skipjack
<i>aedar</i>	VI	to paint following a line
<i>aedasi</i>	VI, J	to be barefoot
<i>aediaed</i>	VI	to be blurry, cloudy, smoky
<i>aehd</i>	NUM	one, system used for counting objects
<i>aehl</i>	N, E	hell
<i>aei</i>	N	fire
<i>aaidu</i>	VI	to go towards the sea
<i>aeikomou</i>	N, G	tug of war
<i>aeinpwoahd</i>	VI, E	to cook in a pot
<i>aeinpwoahd</i>	N	cooking pot
<i>aeinpwoahd par</i>	N	food boiled with coconut cream and molasses
<i>aeis</i>	NUM	seven, system used for counting objects
<i>aeikaedar</i>	VI	to fish with a pole and fly dragged on the water's surface
<i>aeikaedare</i>	VT	to fish with a pole and fly dragged on the water's surface
<i>aeikan</i>	VT	to begin a fire for a stone oven
<i>aeikanek</i>	VI	to begin a fire for a stone oven
<i>aeledo</i>	VI, E	to sing alto
<i>aelimoang</i>	N	mangrove crab
<i>aema</i>	N, E	hammer
<i>aemaedaeh,</i> <i>naemaedaeh</i>	VI	to be like, to be similar to
<i>aemaen</i>	NUM	one, system used for counting objects
<i>aemwi</i>	N	the bunch of coconuts still on the tree
<i>aemwiaemw</i>	VI	to wash or wipe one's hands
<i>aen</i>	PRON	third person singular, future he, she, or it will
<i>aeni, aenih</i>	N	ghost, spirit, [sl. a person who can't behave]
<i>aenaire</i>	N	game with marbles
<i>aeng</i>	N	wind
<i>aengaedahn</i>	VI	to be tired of looking after a persistent child, to be tired of a repetitious task

<i>aengisik</i>	N	a comfortable breeze
<i>aengisik</i>	VI	to be breezy
<i>aengupup</i>	N	gust of wind
<i>aepaesik</i>	N	fish species, blue-tail mullet
<i>aepas</i>	NUM	one, long object counting system
<i>aepi</i>	VT	to pull, to pull on a line
<i>aepiaep</i>	VI	to pull, to pull on a line
<i>aepil</i>	N	fish species, small growth stage of the gold-striped goatfish
<i>aepilinwok</i>	N	fish species, second growth stage of the gold-striped goatfish
<i>aepwaehpw</i>	VI	to be eager, to be enthusiastic
<i>aepwaekan</i>	ADV	a short time ago, a little while ago
<i>aepwal</i>	VI	to be difficult or hard
<i>aepwali</i>	VT	to look after, to be responsible for
<i>aeraemas</i>	N	person, people
<i>aeriaer</i>	VI	to spread burning rocks in a stone oven
<i>aeriaeri</i>	VT	to spread burning rocks in a stone oven
<i>aering</i>	N	mature coconut with no milk and brown on the outside
<i>aewa</i>	N, E	hour
<i>aewael</i>	NUM	eight, system used for counting objects
<i>aewaen mwaengae</i>	VI	to be greedy for food
<i>aewahnaeir</i>	N	chief of the south, also named <i>doahkaesa</i> , <i>nahmwariki</i>
<i>aewahnaepaeng</i>	N	chief of the north, also named <i>nahnaewa</i>
<i>aewan</i>	VI	to show love through a gift
D		
<i>da</i>	N	infection in the mouth, affecting young children
<i>da</i>	VI	to have the disease, <i>da</i>
<i>da</i>	INT	what
<i>-da</i>	SUF	up, to come into a state of
<i>dad</i>	N	floor
<i>dadaemai,</i> <i>daedaemai</i>	VI, J	to roof a house

<i>dadaemaih,</i> <i>daedaemaih</i>	VT, J	to roof a house
<i>dai</i>	N	frame of a house or of a canoe
<i>daid</i>	VI, E	tired, tight
<i>daidel</i>	N, E	title, position
<i>daidohwa</i>	N, J	World War Two
<i>daikaer</i>	N, E	tiger
<i>daikisang</i>	VI, J	to build
<i>daikisang</i>	N, J	carpenter
<i>daimaen</i>	N, E	diamond
<i>dainaemaid</i>	N, E	dynamite
<i>dairok</i>	VI	to bow down, to fall on one's knees
<i>daiwang</i>	N	banana species, long thin banana usually used while green
<i>dak</i>	VI	to ride in a vehicle or canoe
<i>dakae, dake</i>	VT	to ride in a vehicle or canoe
<i>dakaer, daker</i>	VI	to shine, to light up
<i>dakihlok</i>	VI	to surf, [lit. 'ride waves']
<i>daksi</i>	N, E	taxi
<i>daksi</i>	VI, E	to drive a taxi
<i>dakuwang</i>	N, J	pickled radish
<i>dal</i>	N	coconut shell, dish, container
<i>dalaek</i>	VI	to singe feathers off a bird
<i>dalaek</i>	VI	to be used up, to run out of something, to lack something
<i>dalaeke</i>	VT	to singe feathers off a bird
<i>daloak</i>	N	a food made from the meat of a coconut that has shoots
<i>dam</i>	N	boom on an outrigger canoe, wife (from boom, in the sense of a steadying influence)
<i>damidi</i>	VI	to slip down [sl. to be circumcised]
<i>dampolo</i>	N, E	down below
<i>damwur</i>	VT	to massage or run one's hand on another's back to show one is sorry
<i>damwurek</i>	VI	to massage or run one's hand on another's back to show one is sorry
<i>dangapaur</i>	VI	to be a slacker or one who says he will do it, but doesn't

<i>dangkaido</i>	N, J	searchlight from a ship or tower
<i>dangu</i>	N, E	military tank (old usage: a bulldozer)
<i>dap</i>	VI	to catch with hands or some instrument, to play catch
<i>dapaeng</i>	VT	to rip off, to break, to break open a lock
<i>dapaengek</i>	VI	to rip off, to break, to break open a lock
<i>dapaer</i>	VT	to catch with hands or some instrument, to play catch
<i>dapaerek</i>	VI	to catch breadfruit with one's hands
<i>dapengmwahlihi</i>	VI	to rip into pieces
<i>dapiohka</i>	N, E	cassava
<i>dapol</i>	VI, E	to fold, to double
<i>dar</i>	VI	to cut off with a knife
<i>darinipwong</i>	VI	to deep-sea fish with a line, to trawl in the late evening
<i>daroapw, daropw</i>	N	fish species, type of surgeon fish
<i>daur</i>	N	channel
<i>daur</i>	VT	to climb
<i>daur</i>	VT	to trace the past
<i>daurek</i>	VI	to trace the past
<i>dawael</i>	N, E	towel
<i>dawin</i>	VT	to fill a hole
<i>dahdar</i>	N	space under the eaves
<i>dahk</i>	VI	to line up
<i>dahkida</i>	N, E	doctor of medicine
<i>dahkpwohd</i>	N, E	tugboat
<i>dahlimw</i>	VI	to mop, to wipe, to dry, to bathe children with a cloth
<i>dahlimwi</i>	VT	to mop, to wipe, to dry, to bathe children with a cloth
<i>dahloang</i>	N	canoe rollers, usually palm leaf heads
<i>dahloang</i>	VI	to use canoe rollers, to roll a canoe
<i>dahloange</i>	VT	to use canoe rollers, to roll a canoe
<i>dahme</i>	INT	what, which
<i>dahn</i>	VI	to be old or worn out
<i>dahpohlaen</i>	N, E	tarpaulin
<i>dahr</i>	VI	to be fast
<i>dae</i>	VT	to sew

<i>dae</i>	CONJ	and, then
<i>daedaelidi</i>	VI	to be sleepy, also used to inform people who are keeping you awake
<i>daedi</i>	VI, E	to be dirty or untidy
<i>daedoahk</i>	VI	to work
<i>daedoahk</i>	N	work
<i>daehng</i>	VI	to give a lot of sap (said of coconut trees)
<i>daehpahl</i>	VI	to massage
<i>daehpahle</i>	VT	to massage
<i>daei, dei</i>	VI	to surpass, to be ahead, to be beyond a place
<i>daeiahwae</i>	N	fish species, giant groper
<i>daeipw</i>	N	pandanus variety
<i>daekae</i>	N	island, atoll
<i>daekae</i>	VT	to take meat out of a coconut
<i>daekaedaek</i>	VI	to take meat out of a coconut
<i>daekah</i>	CONJ	and, used with noun phrases
<i>daekasingai</i>	N, J	shell variety, trochus
<i>daeki</i>	N, E	duck
<i>daekilahr</i>	N	fish species, swordfish, sailfish
<i>daelaen paerai</i>	N, E	fry pan
<i>daelaen wain</i>	N, E	chalice, communion tray
<i>daelaen maei</i>	N	pan-baked breadfruit
<i>daelaengaek</i>	VI	to carry a heavy object slung over one's shoulder
<i>daelal</i>	VI	to spread one's legs while lying down, to be bow-legged
<i>daema</i>	N, J	light bulb, bullet
<i>daemahski</i>	N, J	a game, pool
<i>daemahski</i>	VI, J	to play pool
<i>daemonga</i>	N, J	zero in a score
<i>daemongao</i>	VI, J	to have nothing
<i>daen</i>	N, E	ton
<i>daeng</i>	N	ripe pandanus fruit, pregnancy from seven months on
<i>daeng</i>	N, E	tank for catching water

<i>daengahnga</i>	VI	to be lazy
<i>daengihng</i>	VI	to ring (said of one's ears)
<i>daengin mohng</i>	N	oxygen tank [lit. 'tank breath']
<i>daep</i>	VI	to hook a fish
<i>daep</i>	N	an ear ornament
<i>daep</i>	VI	to wear the ear ornament, <i>daep</i>
<i>daepahkil</i>	VI	to stare [lit. 'sew under the skin']
<i>daepahkili</i>	VT	to stare [lit. 'sew under the skin']
<i>daepang</i>	N	a chopping board, a piece of wood which is smooth on top and used for pounding breadfruit or cutting fish
<i>daepwae, depwa</i>	ADV	maybe
<i>daepwae</i>	VI	to pull, to yank (said of a fish on a line)
<i>daepwae</i>	VT, H	to bathe
<i>daepwaedaepw</i>	VI, H	to bathe
<i>daepwan</i>	VT	to follow in someone's tracks
<i>daeri</i>	VI	to be finished or completed
<i>daeri</i>	CONJ	then
<i>daeu, deu</i>	VI	to climb
<i>daeu</i>	VT	to make a net
<i>daeu, doau</i>	VI	to inspect for defects
<i>daeu hk</i>	VI	to make a net
<i>daeuli</i>	VT	to pass a moving object going in the same direction
<i>daeulihk, doaulihk</i>	VI	to check around
<i>daeulihki, doaulihki</i>	VT	to check around
<i>daeuluhl, doauluhl</i>	ADV	absolutely, really, completely
<i>daewaedaeu</i>	N	tale, story
<i>daewaedaeu</i>	VI	to tell a tale or story
<i>daewaerahn</i>	N	fish species, red bulls-eye
<i>daewasi</i>	N, J	scrubbing brush
<i>daewi, doawi</i>	VI	to inspect for defects
<i>daewi</i>	VT	to tell a tale or story
<i>de</i>	VI	to be expert in catching flying fish
<i>dedei</i>	VI	to sew

<i>deinahk, seinahk</i>	N	a mat of coconut leaves
<i>deip</i>	N, E	tape, cassette recorder
<i>deip</i>	VI, E	to tape
<i>deipi</i>	VT, E	to tape
<i>deipin</i>	VI, E	to patch
<i>deipini</i>	VT, E	to patch
<i>deiwarawar</i>	VI	to dig a ditch
<i>deiyad</i>	VI	to embroider
<i>deiyadi</i>	VT	to embroider
<i>del</i>	N	flock (of birds)
<i>dekein</i>	VI	to be tired
<i>den kaki</i>	VI, E	to be tan (said of clothes) [lit. 'colour khaki']
<i>deng</i>	N, J	score, grade on a test
<i>dengiwa</i>	N, J	telephone
<i>dengki</i>	N, J	flashlight
<i>dep</i>	VI	to pull out a nail, to hook with something, to dig out a young coconut, breadfruit, or banana
<i>dep</i>	VI	to stumble and fall
<i>dep</i>	NUM	ten million
<i>depa</i>	N, E	dipper
<i>depang</i>	N, J	an iron trough
<i>depedep</i>	N	fishing kit, tackle box
<i>depela</i>	VI	to be more than enough, to be in excess
<i>depi</i>	VT	to pull out a nail, to hook with something, to dig out a young coconut, breadfruit, or banana
<i>depi</i>	VT	to stumble and fall
<i>depsilae, depsilae</i>	VI	to dig or pick clams with an iron bar
<i>depwa</i>	N	body
<i>dereu</i>	N	skull
<i>des</i>	N, E	test
<i>deu</i>	N	place for sitting
<i>deu</i>	VI	to fill (refers to objects that themselves aren't being put in a container)
<i>dewi, deuk</i>	VT	to put things into a container or box

<i>dewin aeni</i>	N	a love nest
<i>dewinimaen</i>	N	bird cage
<i>dewinipuk</i>	N	bookcase
<i>dewinmwoani</i>	N	place for keeping money
<i>di</i>	N, E	tea
<i>di</i>	N	same age
<i>-di</i>	SUF	down, completive
<i>diae</i>	VT	to steer with a paddle
<i>diaer</i>	VT	to find
<i>did</i>	N	wall
<i>didi</i>	VI	to make a wall
<i>dip</i>	N	piece of taro or breadfruit cut lengthwise
<i>dipael</i>	VT	to pick breadfruit with a pole, to flick something out of the way
<i>dipaelek</i>	VI	to pick breadfruit with a pole, to flick something out of the way
<i>dipaen</i>	VI	to be sinful, to be full of sin
<i>dipaenaes</i>	N	a clot of blood
<i>dipaenaes</i>	VI	to clot (said of blood)
<i>dipaenihd</i>	N	strands of the dried husk of a young drinking coconut
<i>dipi</i>	VT	to cut lengthwise
<i>dipikelekel</i>	VI	to fall when walking or running
<i>dipw</i>	N	grass, seaweed, trash, litter, bush land
<i>dipw</i>	N	clan
<i>dipwidipw</i>	VI	to be grassy, to be littered
<i>dipwisaeu, dipwisou</i>	N	thing
<i>dir</i>	VI	to be a lot, to be many
<i>diraip</i>	VI	to drive (a car)
<i>diraiipi</i>	VT	to drive (a car)
<i>diraehs</i>	N, E	strand of rope
<i>diraepw</i>	VI	to worry
<i>direp</i>	N, E	a trip
<i>diewisaek</i>	NUM	ninety

<i>dihdi</i>	N	breast
<i>dihdi</i>	VI	to suck at the nipple
<i>dihdil</i>	VI	to put under in weaving, to stick through
<i>dihl</i>	VI, E	to shuffle, to deal cards
<i>dihli</i>	VT, E	to shuffle, to deal cards
<i>dihn</i>	N	tin can
<i>dihng</i>	VI	to make the sound made when laughter can no longer be controlled
<i>dihp</i>	N	sin
<i>dihp</i>	VI	to sin
<i>do</i>	N	coconut sennit
<i>dok</i>	N	a carved round piece of coral with a handle
<i>doko moahng</i>	VT	to shave the head
<i>dokol</i>	N	the lump of taro left over after grating
<i>dokomoang</i>	N	a shaved head
<i>dolepaesaeng</i>	VI	to fall apart at a joined place, the join usually being in one place near the middle
<i>dolesang</i>	VI	to fall off when ripe
<i>dolung</i>	VT	to pick with the hands
<i>doluwis</i>	N	bananas cooked with breadfruit in a stone oven or bananas boiled with rice
<i>dopas</i>	VI	one marble jumping over another when it is shot
<i>dopodop</i>	VI	to pay back, to reciprocate
<i>dopuk</i>	VT	to pay back, to reciprocate
<i>dor</i>	N	cloth made from banana fibre
<i>doro</i>	N, J	iron bar with iron wheels at each end, on which a frame is set, rolls on tracks, used for moving things
<i>dohdai</i>	N, J	lighthouse
<i>dohdol</i>	VI	to pick with the hands
<i>dohming</i>	N, J	native
<i>dohnas</i>	N, E	donut
<i>dohnkia</i>	VI, E	unconcerned [lit. 'don't care']
<i>doa</i>	VI	to be far

<i>-doa</i>	SUF	towards speaker, an action that has continued until the present time
<i>doad</i>	VI	to happen closer together than expected, the faster beating of the heart, the speeding up of labour pains, to be closer than usual (said of plants)
<i>doak</i>	VI	to stab, to poke, to inject
<i>doaka</i>	VT	to stab, to poke, to inject
<i>doakadoak</i>	VI	to be prickly or spiny
<i>doakaemaei</i>	VI	to poke a hole in unripe breadfruit and pour salt water in to hasten ripening
<i>doakaeoas</i>	VI	to make thatch or shingles from brown pandanus leaves
<i>doakoadoak</i>	N	places where there is high land
<i>doakoamwoamw</i>	VI	to spear fish
<i>doal, dol</i>	N	mountain
<i>doal</i>	VI	to mix
<i>doala</i>	VT	to mix
<i>doamw</i>	VI	to get bald or be bald
<i>doap</i>	N, E	tub
<i>doapwoahk</i>	N	bird species, slightly larger than <i>paraehs</i>
<i>doar</i>	VI	to catch, to be critically ill
<i>doarae</i>	VT	to catch, to save from dying when sick, to stop others from fighting, to save someone from drowning, to defend someone in court
<i>doauluhlila</i>	VI	to go and never return
<i>du</i>	VI	to dive
<i>duaemaen</i>	NUM	nine, animate counting system
<i>duaepak</i>	N	times nine
<i>duaepas</i>	NUM	nine, long object counting system
<i>duekis</i>	NUM	nine, counting system for pieces
<i>duekid</i>	NUM	nine thousand
<i>duepwiki</i>	NUM	nine hundred
<i>dul</i>	VI	to drip
<i>dumwar</i>	N	constellation name
<i>dun</i>	N	bunch of breadfruit
<i>dun</i>	VI	to bunch

<i>dunae</i>	VT	to bunch
<i>duwau</i>	NUM	nine, general counting system
<i>duhkin</i>	VT	to dive for, to dive with equipment
<i>duhl</i>	N	corrugated iron roof
<i>duhla</i>	VI	to sink, to drown
<i>duhp</i>	VT	to dive for
<i>duhpaek</i>	VI	to be weak from hunger
<i>duhriaen</i>	N	tree species
E		
<i>e</i>	EXCL	don't
<i>edeoang</i>	N	coral variety, orange in colour and secretes a poisonous substance
<i>edied</i>	VI	to draw water
<i>edip</i>	VT	to draw water
<i>edpil</i>	VI	to tip water out
<i>eilepen</i>	N	most of
<i>eirua</i>	VI	to slap one's hand against the inside of one's elbow
<i>eirua</i>	N	the slapping of one's hand against the inside of one's elbow
<i>eisaek</i>	NUM	ten, all counting systems
<i>ek</i>	VI	hide
<i>ekek</i>	EXCL	exclamation of surprise
<i>ekis</i>	VI	little
<i>ekis</i>	N	a small piece of something
<i>elep</i>	NUM	a half
<i>eneh</i>	CONJ	or else
<i>enehwa</i>	CONJ, ADV	otherwise
<i>epwi</i>	QUANT	some
<i>epwiki</i>	NUM	one hundred
<i>epwuhna</i>	N	fish species, number six growth stage of trevally
<i>erē</i>	N	the frame that attaches the outrigger to the canoe
<i>eri</i>	VT	to put

<i>erek</i>	VI	to sail
<i>eroh</i>	PREP	until
<i>es</i>	N	banana variety
<i>esies</i>	VI	to peel or husk with one's teeth
<i>esil</i>	NUM	three, system for counting objects
<i>esir</i>	VT	to peel or husk with one's teeth
<i>eu</i>	NUM	one, another, general counting system
<i>eupak</i>	NUM	times one

EH

<i>eh</i>	EXCL	yes
<i>ehi</i>	EXCL, E	hey!
<i>ehwa</i>	VI	to hop on one foot
<i>ehwa</i>	N	the hopping on one foot

I

<i>ia</i>	INT	where, which
<i>iakiu</i>	VI, J	to play baseball
<i>iakiu</i>	N, J	baseball
<i>iakumehda</i>	N, J	hundred metre race
<i>iamakodo</i>	VI	pink
<i>iahd</i>	N, E	yard
<i>iahdin likoau</i>	N	yard goods, material [lit. 'yard-of clothes']
<i>iahk</i>	VI	to become crazy
<i>iahk</i>	VI	to strip the prickly edges off a pandanus leaf using a string of coconut fibre
<i>iahkipis</i>	VI	to roll leaves
<i>iaho</i>	EXCL	well, what happened; see, I told you so
<i>iahpwae</i>	INT	how is it? what is it?
<i>idaek</i>	VT	to ask
<i>idaid</i>	VI	to press
<i>idaid</i>	VI	to transport
<i>idamwoalae</i>	VT	to rub one's eyes

<i>idamwoalaeiek</i>	VI	to rub one's eyes
<i>idan</i>	VT	to transport
<i>idang</i>	VT	to press
<i>ideid</i>	VI	to ask
<i>idikal</i>	VI	to rub two sticks together to make a fire
<i>iding</i>	VT	to command, to force
<i>iding</i>	VT	to grind
<i>idoa</i>	PREP	after me
<i>ienepaed</i>	N	fish species, goatfish with a black-striped tail
<i>iesda</i>	VI	to rise from the dead
<i>ik</i>	N	tail
<i>ikare</i>	N	fish species, type of mullet
<i>ikel</i>	N, E	eagle
<i>ikem</i>	N	fish species, type of trigger-fish
<i>ikil</i>	VT	to move things
<i>ikmwaenaekaenaek</i>	N	smoked fish
<i>ikoaik</i>	VI	to eat only meat
<i>ikoaikae</i>	VT	to eat only meat
<i>ikonehd</i>	N	fish species, used for bait and for eating
<i>il</i>	VI	to lie down in a specific direction
<i>ilail</i>	VI	to make a nest (said of pigs)
<i>ilail</i>	N	a nest made by pigs
<i>ilau</i>	N	tree species, bearing a fragrant white flower
<i>ilahraek</i>	VI	to travel
<i>ilaek</i>	N	errand
<i>ilaek</i>	VI	to go on an errand, to court a girl
<i>ilaeki, ileki</i>	VT	to give an errand to, to ask a favour of
<i>ilihl</i>	VI	to steer a boat with a rudder or paddle
<i>ilihli</i>	VT	to steer a boat with a rudder or paddle
<i>ilik</i>	N	shore facing towards the open sea, the place in Pingilap where no one lives
<i>iling</i>	N	pillow
<i>imw</i>	N	end, edge

<i>imweker</i>	VI	to be insulted
<i>imwila</i>	VT	to end, to finish
<i>imwilakae</i>	N	end
<i>imwinsihsi</i>	N	enemy
<i>imwisek</i>	VI	to finish
<i>in</i>	CONJ	when, in, up to
<i>inapae</i>	VI	to place an old mat under a new mat
<i>inapaenap</i>	N	an old mat placed under a new mat, a Pingilapese diaper, small woven mats, lap clothes
<i>inaur, inaeu</i>	VI	to make fancy fastenings of rope to join two pieces of wood
<i>inauri, inaeuwi</i>	VT	to make fancy fastenings of rope to join two pieces of wood
<i>inaurihek, inaewihek</i>	VI	to make fancy fastenings of rope to join two pieces of wood
<i>inahmae</i>	N	fish species, juvenile growth stage of the black-spotted sea perch
<i>inahraek</i>	VI	to line up one hundred mature coconuts in rows of ten to be sold, planted or used later
<i>inahraeki</i>	VT	to line up one hundred mature coconuts in rows of ten to be sold, planted or used later
<i>inahsio</i>	N	banana species, also balled <i>aro</i>
<i>inaek</i>	VI, H	to look
<i>inaekae</i>	VT, H	to be straight, upright, to do everything right
<i>inaenae</i>	VI	across
<i>inaeng</i>	VI	to desire [con: sexual desire]
<i>inaengiaeng</i>	VI	to be willing
<i>inaenin</i>	ADV	very, really
<i>inaepw</i>	VI	to be unlawful, restricted, forbidden
<i>inaepwi</i>	VT	to be unlawful, restricted, forbidden
<i>-inaeh</i>	SUF	as, like
<i>indand</i>	VI	to be famous
<i>inedehkio</i>	N	the ghost of a woman who dies in childbirth
<i>inendohng</i>	VI	to come directly or straight
<i>ini, iniani</i>	N	yoke or pole used for carrying equally weighted burdens

<i>ini, iniani</i>	VI	to carry equally weighted burdens with a yoke or pole
<i>inim</i>	VT	to cook
<i>inipwel</i>	N	taro patch
<i>inihlois</i>	N	loincloth that used to be worn a long time ago
<i>inihn</i>	VI	to cook
<i>inmaehsaeng</i>	N	dawn
<i>inoaroahr</i>	N	at the shore
<i>insaen</i>	N	will, choice
<i>insaene, insene</i>	VI	to feel
<i>insaenmwahu, insenemwahu</i>	VI	to be happy or comfortable, to feel good
<i>insenemwahukin</i>	VI	to be tamed
<i>insaensued, insensued</i>	VI	to be sad, unhappy, or uncomfortable, to not feel good
<i>insaes</i>	N, E	hinges
<i>insis, ins</i>	N, E	inch
<i>ioak</i>	VI	to be many
<i>ir</i>	VI	to fly
<i>ira</i>	PRO	they two
<i>irair</i>	N	situation
<i>irahsi</i>	PRO	they, more than two
<i>irae</i>	VT	to line up
<i>iraek</i>	VI	to line up
<i>iraek</i>	N	a line-up
<i>iroap, irop</i>	N	mat
<i>isais</i>	VI	to reward with food for service
<i>isaisi</i>	VT	to reward with food for service
<i>isanikin</i>	VT	to use an opportunity, to take advantage of
<i>isar</i>	VI	to be enough
<i>isah</i>	INT	who
<i>isae</i>	N	a reward of food when the means for getting it are borrowed, i.e. tools, nets, bait, canoe
<i>isaek</i>	N	the old shell of a husked drinking coconut with the meat dried out of it
<i>isaeu</i>	N	tree species, zamanu

<i>isik</i>	VT	to shake
<i>isikek</i>	VI	to shake
<i>iskis</i>	NUM	seven, counting system for small pieces
<i>isimaen</i>	NUM	seven, animate counting system
<i>isimwas</i>	N	dedication for a new house
<i>isimwas</i>	VI	to have a dedication for a new house
<i>isipak</i>	NUM	times seven
<i>isipas</i>	NUM	seven, long object counting system
<i>isipwiki</i>	NUM	seven hundred
<i>sihsaek</i>	NUM	seventy
<i>isohping</i>	N, J	big soy sauce bottle
<i>isoahpwi</i>	N	royal people
<i>isu</i>	NUM	seven, general counting system
<i>isup</i>	VT	to dunk a person when he has done something for the first time or visited other islands, to dunk someone while fighting
<i>isupaek</i>	VI	to dunk a person when he has done something for the first time or visited other islands, to dunk someone while fighting
<i>ikeap</i>	N	mildew
IH		
<i>ihd</i>	N	tree species, the white flowers of which are made into head leis; the wood is used to make the <i>kia</i> of a canoe
<i>ihdil</i>	VI	to torch fish
<i>ihdenkoamw</i>	N	a New Year's fishing competition in two parts: (1) to find the people who catch the first three fish and (2) to find the three people who catch the most fish
<i>ihkoak</i>	N	the green leaves used for the first layer of the covering of the <i>uhmw</i>
<i>ihlae</i>	VI	to be high
<i>ihlok</i>	VI	to be rough (said of the sea)
<i>ihlok</i>	N	wave of the sea
<i>ihmw</i>	N	house

<i>ihpal</i>	N	screen-like cover on young coconut leaves when they come out, a cloth or sack made from this cover
<i>ihsino</i>	VI	to care about, to be concerned
<i>ihsing</i>	N	writing, marks of a pen or pencil
<i>ihsing</i>	VI	to write
<i>ihsingi</i>	VT	to write

K

<i>kadek</i>	VI	to be kind or friendly
<i>kadehde</i>	VT	to look closely at, to examine, to witness, to have something clarified
<i>kadipikelekel</i>	VT	to cause to fall, to tempt
<i>kadiri</i>	VT	to fill to the top
<i>kadirihek</i>	VI	to fill to the top
<i>kadoake</i>	N	top
<i>kaidad</i>	N	shell variety, heart shell
<i>kaies</i>	N	the watch kept for the rising from the dead on the third day
<i>kain</i>	N, E	kind, type
<i>kaiptwi</i>	VT	to deliver a baby
<i>kairehkin</i>	VT	to notify
<i>kairu</i>	N	frog
<i>kakaehl</i>	VT	to strengthen (said of inanimate things)
<i>kakaehleiek</i>	VI	to strengthen (said of inanimate things)
<i>kakeidi</i>	VT	to darken
<i>kakili</i>	VT	to stare at
<i>kala</i>	ADV	overly much, very
<i>kalaengaelaeng</i>	VT	to squint
<i>kalaeu</i>	N	root of a tree
<i>kalelepeki</i>	VT	to look at
<i>kali</i>	N	fish species, blue-spotted rock cod
<i>kalingi</i>	VT	to make beautiful
<i>kalipwuhsi</i>	VT, E	to imprison
<i>kalosoh</i>	VI	to be sure to

<i>kaludeu</i>	N	bad treatment
<i>kamaehlaelae</i>	VT	to believe
<i>kamengeik</i>	VT	to make something easy
<i>kamesik</i>	VI	to be fierce, strange, frightening
<i>kamwaekaer</i>	VI	to make angry
<i>kamwaekaerae</i>	VT	to make angry
<i>kanaengae</i>	N	contents, subject matter
<i>kanaengaema</i>	VI	to be patient
<i>kanekanengemaieng</i>	VI	to keep awake
<i>kanoang</i>	N	eyes
<i>kang</i>	VT	to eat
<i>kap</i>	VT	to pile or bundle together (more than one thing)
<i>kap</i>	N	bundle
<i>kapahraek</i>	VI	to compare
<i>kapaekap</i>	VT	to pray
<i>kapes, kapis</i>	VT	to make fun of
<i>kapehd</i>	N	stomach, heart
<i>kapilepil</i>	N	plan
<i>kapilepil</i>	VI	to make plans
<i>kapin, kaepin</i>	N	south, bottom, end
<i>kapin pae</i>	N	elbow [lit. 'bottom of arm']
<i>kapoakoan</i>	N	gathering, group
<i>kapoakoan</i>	VI	to gather together
<i>kapw</i>	VI	to be new
<i>kapwaeinaeh</i>	ADV	just now
<i>kapwe</i>	VT	to move or take
<i>kapweipwi</i>	VI	to be strange or foreign
<i>kapwili</i>	VT	to catch fish
<i>kapwioake</i>	VI	to splash
<i>kapwosi</i>	VT	to forget, to decide not to do something, to cause someone not to do something
<i>kapwuriae</i>	VT	to return or give something back to a person

<i>karaemwahu,</i> <i>kahraemwahu</i>	VI	to be beautiful or handsome [lit. 'face good']
<i>karekar</i>	VI	to be hot
<i>karos</i>	QUANT	both
<i>karoangae</i>	VT	give attention to
<i>karuk</i>	N	envelope [lit. 'cause hide']
<i>kas</i>	N, E	cat
<i>kasepe</i>	VI	to count, to make a difference
<i>kasik</i>	VT	to expect
<i>kasik</i>	VI	to be sour
<i>kasoahroah</i>	N	favouritism
<i>kasoahroah</i>	VI	to show favouritism
<i>kasoahsoa</i>	VI	fishing method, trawling in the late evening
<i>kau</i>	VT	to build
<i>kau, kaw</i>	VI	to flee, to escape
<i>kaukpene</i>	VT	to destroy
<i>kawae</i>	VT	to break a fence
<i>kawaeilihaen</i>	VI	to pull something up onto a place
<i>kawisaekaesaek</i>	VI	to sprinkle, to spray
<i>kawisaekaesaekae</i>	VT	to sprinkle, to spray
<i>kah</i>	PV	definitely will
<i>kahlaenwoa</i>	N	fish species, honeycomb rock cod
<i>kahnihmw</i>	N	village, city, town, place where people live [lit. 'group of houses']
<i>kahpinda</i>	N, E	carpenter
<i>kahpwa</i>	VI	to be able, to improve in quality, much more (used with stative verbs)
<i>kahraeda</i>	VI	to be the cause or reason
<i>kahraepae</i>	N	the cause
<i>kahsik, kahsikaek</i>	NEG	not yet, has not yet
<i>kaekae</i>	N	bird species, small white bird with black beak, also called <i>maengki</i>
<i>kaedaidi</i>	VT	to tighten
<i>kaedar</i>	VT	to send

<i>kaedarek</i>	VI	to send
<i>kaedaur</i>	VT	to continue one's emotion or sickness, to spread a sickness to others
<i>kaedahk</i>	VI	to make people or things line up
<i>kaedahkae</i>	VT	to make people or things line up
<i>kaedaekaed</i>	N	thatching
<i>kaedaeoas</i>	VI	to thatch a house
<i>kaedaeoasi</i>	VT	to thatch a house
<i>kaei</i>	VT	to bite or chew
<i>kaei, kei</i>	VI	to move a short distance (said of people)
<i>kaeiaae</i>	N	edge
<i>kaekaeir</i>	VI	to grow up
<i>kaekael</i>	VI	to have an erection
<i>kaelai</i>	N	sugar-cane variety
<i>kaelap</i>	ADV	usually, often
<i>kaelapwuk</i>	VI	to be alone
<i>kaelahngaen</i>	VI	to give thanks
<i>kaelahngaeni</i>	VT	to thank
<i>kaelahs</i>	N	smoke
<i>kaemadipw</i>	N	feast
<i>kaemadipw</i>	VI	to feast, to celebrate
<i>kaemadipwi</i>	VT	to feast, to celebrate
<i>kaemwahl</i>	VI	to disdain, to disregard, to look down on
<i>kaemwahl</i>	VI	to disdain, to disregard, to look down on
<i>kaemwan</i>	VI	to joke, to make jokes
<i>kaemwani</i>	VT	to joke, to make jokes
<i>kaenaehkae</i>	N, P	native
<i>kaenaekaemwan</i>	N	a person who always jokes [lit. 'you joke']
<i>kaepasae</i>	VI	to arrive
<i>kaepaei</i>	N	fish species, blue-spotted box-fish, also called <i>kohpwa</i>
<i>kaepaeidoak</i>	VI	to listen with concentration
<i>kaepaeidoakae</i>	VT	to quieten
<i>kaeipaeisik</i>	N	song or chant of magic

<i>kaepaer</i>	VI	to be dangerous
<i>kaepaer</i>	N	danger
<i>kaepahraek</i>	VI	to preach, to give a speech, to compare, to balance
<i>kaepase</i>	N	fish species, tiger mullet
<i>kaepi</i>	VI	to be far behind or last in a race
<i>kaepina</i>	N	sugar-cane variety
<i>kaepwaehpwae,</i> <i>kepwehpwe</i>	VI	to be rich
<i>kaeraekaer</i>	VI	to leak, to have diarrhoea from eating the fish <i>deikaenpaeng</i>
<i>kaeraenieng</i>	ADV	almost, nearly
<i>kaerang</i>	VT	to heat on top of a fire
<i>kaerae</i>	VI	to be close
<i>kaesale</i>	VI	to tell
<i>kaesairoang</i>	N	noise
<i>kaesairoang</i>	VI	to be noisy
<i>kaesalae</i>	VT	to show
<i>kaesar</i>	VT	to chase
<i>kaesauli</i>	VT	to drown
<i>kaesaeman</i>	N	a celebration, a birthday party
<i>kaesaempwel</i>	VI	to consider important
<i>kaesaeu</i>	N	rain
<i>kaesaeu</i>	VI	to rain
<i>kaesaehk</i>	VI	to move a short distance with a hurried movement, to jump
<i>kaesiwaraewar</i>	N	a rolled-up leaf of the pandanus tree used in children's play
<i>kaesiwaraewar</i>	VI	to roll
<i>kaewiniwei</i>	N	a hook used in deep-sea fishing and in trawling
<i>kaeh</i>	VI	to have a habit
<i>kaehngid</i>	N	mango
<i>kaehpwal</i>	N	adventure, difficulty [lit. 'cause hard']
<i>kedar</i>	VT	to send someone
<i>kede</i>	VT	to spread

<i>kede</i>	NEG	don't
<i>kedera</i>	N	men's house
<i>keikidi</i>	VT	to put something down
<i>keilen</i>	N	side of
<i>keipweni</i>	N	fish species
<i>keihngihng</i>	VI	to push
<i>kelelel</i>	N	a young coconut leaf
<i>kemehla</i>	VT	to kill
<i>ken</i>	N	side of
<i>kepar</i>	N	flock (of birds)
<i>kepahkihdi</i>	VT	to beat and leave marks
<i>kepweh</i>	N	things, tools, crops
<i>kerang</i>	VT	to heat
<i>kered</i>	VI	to enter quickly
<i>kesekai</i>	VT	to turn something into stone
<i>keseman</i>	VT	to remind
<i>keseu</i>	VI	to run
<i>kesehke</i>	VI	to rush
<i>kesihwo</i>	VI	to be naughty
<i>kewa</i>	N	time
<i>kehl</i>	VI	to be strong
<i>kehmwes</i>	VI	to show love through a gift
<i>kehpwel</i>	N	adventure
<i>ki-</i>	VT	to give
<i>kia</i>	N	long, straight poles across the middle of the hull of the canoe and the frame that attaches the outrigger to the canoe
<i>kia</i>	VT	to refuse, to not want to
<i>kid</i>	NUM	thousand
<i>kid</i>	N	garbage, trash, litter
<i>kiderap</i>	VI	to roll up in a mat
<i>kidi</i>	N	dog
<i>kidikid</i>	N	package

<i>kidikid</i>	VI	to wrap
<i>kidim</i>	VT	to wrap
<i>kik</i>	N	finger
<i>kila</i>	VT	to see
<i>kileli</i>	VT	to remember
<i>kini</i>	VT	to pinch
<i>kipar</i>	N	pandanus tree and fruit
<i>kipaesang</i>	VI	to move out of the way
<i>kipidih</i>	VI	to land (said of birds)
<i>kipoahk</i>	N	cloud
<i>kireda</i>	VI	to climb
<i>kiripw</i>	N	young coconut, just before it is ready to drink
<i>kiris</i>	VI	to slip or slide
<i>kis</i>	VI	to be small or young
<i>kiseng</i>	VT	to control
<i>kihng</i>	N, E	rooster
<i>kihpaenae</i>	VT	to gather things together
<i>kihs</i>	N	octopus
<i>kokohp</i>	VI	to prophesy
<i>kol</i>	VT	to catch
<i>kolemedekeng</i>	VT	to put up with or stand
<i>kilokol</i>	VI	to carry in one's hands
<i>koluk</i>	VI	to be bad
<i>komis</i>	N	shell variety, gold-mouth turban shell
<i>komis laengaelaeng</i>	N	shell variety, tapestry turban shell
<i>komwad</i>	VI	to be brave
<i>kopwokopw</i>	VI	to cough
<i>kopwoaroapwoar</i>	VI	to hope, to believe
<i>koul, koaul</i>	VI	to sing or chant
<i>kousan</i>	VI	to live
<i>kohkohwaki</i>	VT	to possess
<i>kohm</i>	N, E	comb
<i>kohpeda</i>	VT	to prophesy

<i>kohpwa, kaepaei</i>	N	fish species, blue-spotted box fish
<i>kohsipwi</i>	N	gods
<i>koad</i>	N	spear for fishing
<i>koadoakoad</i>	VI	to be husked
<i>koadoam</i>	VT	to husk
<i>koahng</i>	VI	to be good, better, favourable
<i>koakeles</i>	N	ant
<i>koalae</i>	N	seed, testes
<i>koaloal</i>	N	shell variety, orange olive shell
<i>koanaehng</i>	VI	should, to be appropriate to, to fit
<i>koarae</i>	VT	to scratch
<i>koaroahroa</i>	VI	to be white
<i>koasaehla</i>	VT	to cross
<i>koasoa</i>	N	pig
<i>koasoanae</i>	VT	to settle, to make up one's mind, to set plans
<i>koasoanaeiek</i>	VI	to arrange, to make plans
<i>koau</i>	VT	to build a house
<i>koahlau</i>	N	fish species, five-banded surgeon fish
<i>koahs</i>	N, E	god
<i>kuk</i>	VI	to call (said of a chicken)
<i>kuk</i>	VI, E	to cook
<i>kuki</i>	VT, E	to cook
<i>kusukus</i>	VI	to spit
<i>kusuned</i>	N	law
L		
<i>lalaekaeng</i>	VI	to be clever or intelligent
<i>laload</i>	N	fish species, number four growth stage of trevally
<i>lam</i>	N	lagoon
<i>lamelam</i>	N	heart, feelings, plan, Christianity
<i>lahs</i>	N, E	last
<i>laeang</i>	N	shell variety, millipede spider shell
<i>laeka</i>	VT	to cut up fish

<i>laeki</i>	VI, E	to be lucky
<i>laemae</i>	VI	to think
<i>laemaelaemae</i>	VT	to think
<i>laemaelaemaehkihda</i>	VT	to suspect
<i>laeng</i>	N	sky, horizon
<i>laengaelaeng</i>	VI	to sparkle
<i>laengae</i>	N	coconut, older than a green coconut
<i>laep</i>	N	a piece of taro or breadfruit cut crosswise
<i>laepaedahla</i>	N	north or inland
<i>laepaedoakae</i>	N	next to, but near speaker
<i>laepaeir</i>	N	south side
<i>laepaela</i>	N	behind
<i>laepaelaepaela</i>	VI	to be late in time
<i>laepaelakae</i>	N	next to, but away from speaker
<i>laepidihla</i>	N	south or towards the sea
<i>laesapwil</i>	N	fish species, little bonito
<i>laehpaeng</i>	N	windward
<i>led</i>	VT	to smell
<i>leikoad</i>	N	fish species, red-lined trigger fish
<i>lel</i>	VT	to arrive at, to reach
<i>lel</i>	VI	to be beautiful or pretty
<i>lepous</i>	N	inland
<i>leseneke</i>	N	fish species, large growth stage of the topsail drummer
<i>li</i>	N	woman
<i>liaksohroahr</i>	VI	to discriminate, to separate from those who are different
<i>liaes</i>	N	a giant ghost that eats people
<i>lidaen pwareas</i>	N	fish species, butterfly fish
<i>likaemwarere</i>	N	mold
<i>likaendihkaep</i>	N	fantail or cowtail ray
<i>likid</i>	VT	to throw with strength
<i>likid</i>	VT	to make flour out of wheat, to develop film
<i>likidek</i>	VI	to make flour out of wheat, to develop film
<i>likimwei</i>	VI	to speed or go fast

<i>likou raehraei</i>	N	dress
<i>limak</i>	VT	to splash water on someone or something
<i>limehsang</i>	VT	to bail water out
<i>limpoak</i>	VT	to love
<i>limsoaresang</i>	VT	to rock, to swing back and forth
<i>limwilimw</i>	N	fish species, small growth stage of the topsail drummer
<i>ling</i>	VI	to be beautiful
<i>lingerengeng</i>	VI	to be angry
<i>lipahroang</i>	N	type of ray
<i>lipw</i>	N	hole
<i>lipwei</i>	N	shell variety
<i>lipwoar</i>	VT	to scold
<i>lisaroap</i>	N	hat
<i>lisok</i>	N	hen
<i>lihlihsed</i>	N	coral reef
<i>lok</i>	VI	to be tired
<i>lokeia</i>	VI	to talk
<i>lokeia</i>	N	talk, words
<i>lol</i>	VI	to be soaked
<i>lop</i>	VT	to cut
<i>lopuk</i>	VT	to cut into pieces, to cut a felled tree into logs
<i>loulap</i>	VI	to be single, unmarried, or a widow
<i>lohlei</i>	VI	to be frightened, afraid, or nervous
<i>lohloi, lohlei</i>	N	fear, nervousness
<i>loale</i>	PREP	inside of
<i>loang</i>	N	fly (insect)
<i>loang</i>	N	the last beam on all four walls of a house
<i>loapwoaloapw</i>	VI	to wash clothes
<i>loapwoar</i>	VT	to wash clothes
<i>luae</i>	N	the remainder or rest of something
<i>lukepe</i>	N	half
<i>lukepenepwong</i>	N	midnight
<i>lus</i>	VI	to jump

<i>luhlue</i>	VI	to have left or gone
<i>luhs</i>	VT	to loose
M		
<i>ma</i>	CONJ	if
<i>mad</i>	N	low tide, shallows
<i>madaela</i>	VI	to be low tide or shallow
<i>madoa</i>	VI	to be old
<i>makaerael</i>	N, E	fish species, mackerel
<i>malun</i>	VI	to be cloudless or calm
<i>maneman</i>	N	magic
<i>maneman</i>	VI	to do magic
<i>manoakae</i>	VT	to forget
<i>manus</i>	N	shell variety, royal conch shell
<i>mangedenged</i>	VI	to reach the limit
<i>mar</i>	N, PON	fish species, bristle-toothed surgeon fish
<i>marep</i>	VI	to wink or blink
<i>mareu</i>	VI	to be thirsty
<i>masepwehk</i>	N	fear
<i>maskaesa</i>	VI	to be unbalanced
<i>maskoro</i>	N	fish species, adult growth stage of the black-spotted sea perch
<i>maudaer</i>	N, N	harmonica
<i>mahk</i>	N	forgiveness
<i>mahn</i>	VI	to be sour
<i>mahng</i>	N	mat made from dried green pandanus leaves cut in strips
<i>mahs</i>	ADV	before, long ago
<i>mahspwihpwa</i>	ADV	sometimes before
<i>mahwin</i>	N	war
<i>mahwin</i>	VI	to fight
<i>mahwini</i>	VT	to fight
<i>mae</i>	DEM	this by speaker, here, relative marker
<i>maedaehsaek</i>	VI	to be just like

<i>maedaek</i>	VI	to hurt
<i>maedau</i>	N	fish species, small growth stage of the blunt-nosed soldier-fish
<i>maedaeu</i>	N	the part of the ocean beyond the reef
<i>maedi</i>	N	fish species, adult collared sea bream
<i>maeirang</i>	N	offering
<i>maelahu</i>	N	fish species, small growth stage of the golden-lined spinefoot
<i>maen</i>	DEM	that near listener, there
<i>maengaer</i>	N	fish species, large growth stage of flying fish
<i>maerahra</i>	VI	to be light in weight
<i>maeram</i>	N	moon
<i>maes</i>	N	edge of sand or beach, the shore
<i>maesal</i>	N	fish species, spotty-tail
<i>maesaraer</i>	N	fish species, blunt-nosed soldier fish
<i>maesoahr</i>	N	shore facing the inside of the reef
<i>maehlakaen</i>	VI	to continue on
<i>maehsaeng</i>	N	morning
<i>medekahn</i>	VI	to discuss, to talk about
<i>medekahni</i>	VT	to discuss, to talk about
<i>mei</i>	N	breadfruit
<i>mein</i>	N	people
<i>melau</i>	EXCL	please
<i>meleilei</i>	VI	to be slow
<i>melimel</i>	N	typhoon
<i>mene</i>	N	power
<i>menemen</i>	N	animal
<i>menikiraek</i>	N	fish species, large growth stage of the blunt-nosed soldier fish
<i>meniok</i>	VI	to be happy or joyful
<i>menseiraen</i>	VI	to hide negative thoughts
<i>mensok</i>	N	bird
<i>menger</i>	N	fish species, flying fish
<i>mepwi</i>	N	things

<i>merain</i>	N	light of the moon
<i>merahrahkis</i>	VI	to be soft (said of someone's voice)
<i>mese</i>	N	face, eyes
<i>mesik</i>	VI	to be afraid
<i>mesihn</i>	N, E	machine
<i>mehdahkihla</i>	VI	to not care
<i>mehkis</i>	N	something
<i>mehla</i>	VI	to die or be dead
<i>minae</i>	VI	to exist or be
<i>mihk</i>	VT	to inhale, to suck
<i>mihkek</i>	VI	to inhale, to suck
<i>mihkek</i>	N	red spots on the skin caused by sucking
<i>mihnia</i>	INT	which
<i>mor</i>	N	edible parts of food
<i>mohng</i>	VI	to breathe
<i>mohng</i>	N	breath
<i>moaikila</i>	VI	to quiet down
<i>moange</i>	N	head, top place in a game
<i>moangemwahu</i>	VI	to be clever [lit. 'head good']
<i>muhieu</i>	N	warning

MW

<i>mwadoang</i>	VI	to play games
<i>mwakohko</i>	N	hunger
<i>mwaraemwar</i>	N	head lei
<i>mwarkaela</i>	N	fish species, large growth stage of a fish resembling the parrot fish
<i>mwaroang</i>	N	noise
<i>mwasoak</i>	N	lizard
<i>mwahne</i>	N	guy, fellow
<i>mwahsael</i>	N, E	the Marshall Islands
<i>mwahseik</i>	N	fish species, king amber-jack
<i>mwahu</i>	VI	to be good

<i>mwaegang</i>	N	taro
<i>mwaedang</i>	VI	to hurry
<i>mwaedael</i>	N	fish species, large growth stage of the gold-striped goatfish with two white stripes near its tail
<i>mwaelik</i>	VI	to move
<i>mwaekaer</i>	VI	to be mad or angry
<i>mwaekid</i>	VI	to leave or move
<i>mwaemwaeis</i>	VI	to visit
<i>mwaengae</i>	VI	to eat
<i>mwaengas</i>	N	coconut after it is brown
<i>mwaengki</i>	N	bird species, small white bird with a black beak, also called <i>kaekae</i>
<i>mwaengki</i>	N, E	monkey, ape, gorilla
<i>mwaeraekaeraek</i>	VI	weak, flexible
<i>mwaerai</i>	N	fish species, estuary rock cod
<i>mwaes</i>	N	garden, farm
<i>mwaes</i>	N	female dog in heat
<i>mwaesahn</i>	VI	to watch
<i>mwaesahni</i>	VI	to watch
<i>mwaesaewael</i>	N	garden, farm [lit. 'farm bush']
<i>mwei</i>	VI	to allow or permit
<i>mweid</i>	VT	to let go, to break a binding on a person
<i>mweidek</i>	VI	to let go, to break a binding on a person
<i>mwir</i>	N	magic
<i>mwir</i>	VI	to do magic
<i>mwiridi</i>	VT	to do magic
<i>mwirih soauas</i>	N	afternoon
<i>mwirin</i>	CONJ, PREP	after
<i>mwisiloa</i>	N	fish species, female parrot fish
<i>mwo, mwoh, mwowe</i>	CONJ, PREP	before, in front of
<i>mwomwehda</i>	VI	to pretend
<i>mworourou</i>	VI	to be fat

<i>mwohdi</i>	VI	to sit down
<i>mwoamw</i>	N	fish
<i>mwoamwen</i>	VT	to pretend, to look like, to appear like
<i>mwoamwene</i>	N	fish species, large growth stage of the golden-lined spinefoot
<i>mwungae</i>	VI	to have the feast, <i>mwungomwung</i>
<i>mwungomwung</i>	N	feast when the first breadfruit is ready to be used
<i>mwungomwung</i>	VI	to reap
<i>mwur, mwuhr</i>	ADV	later, in the future

N

<i>nainikin</i>	VT	to own, to have, to beget
<i>naip</i>	N, E	knife
<i>nahk</i>	N	a large hand net with a straight handle used for fishing on the reef, also the name for this kind of fishing
<i>nahmwariki</i>	N, PON	chief, ruler, highest title on Pingilap
<i>nahmwariki</i>	VT	to rule
<i>nahnaekoas</i>	N	coconut sennit strand
<i>nahnaewa</i>	N	second highest title on Pingilap
<i>nahsipw</i>	N	bend in the reef
<i>nahsouwas</i>	N	noon
<i>naek</i>	N	rolled dried pandanus leaves before they are made into strips for weaving
<i>naek</i>	VI	to roll dried green pandanus leaves
<i>naekae</i>	VT	to roll dried green pandanus leaves
<i>naemaedaeh</i>	ADV	just like (original for <i>aemaedae</i>)
<i>ne</i>	N	leg
<i>nekenek</i>	VI	to keep or store
<i>nekid</i>	VI	to save something and be responsible for it oneself
<i>nehnehla</i>	VI	to think quietly
<i>nehk</i>	ADV	really, very
<i>ni</i>	N	coconut
<i>nikai</i>	N, J	two-storey building
<i>nihdek</i>	VT	to push

<i>nihmadoa</i>	N	fish species, largest growth stage of the collared sea bream
<i>nohkin</i>	ADV	very much
<i>nohno</i>	N	mother
<i>noakoanoak</i>	VI	to be ugly
<i>noaroke</i>	VT	to be greedy for
<i>nu</i>	VI	to be shocked
<i>nudinud</i>	VI	to be fatty

NG

<i>ngang</i>	VT	to dry
<i>ngang</i>	VI	to be dry
<i>ngenengen</i>	N	shadow
<i>ngi</i>	N	claw of a crab or lobster, tentacle
<i>ngid</i>	VT	to chew sugar cane, coconut or pandanus
<i>ngil</i>	N	voice, talk
<i>ngidila</i>	VI	to be crowded
<i>ngoar</i>	N	a really low tide
<i>ngoar</i>	VI	for tide to be really low
<i>ngoar</i>	VI	to snore
<i>ngud</i>	VI	to whisper

O

<i>ok</i>	N	fish species, needle fish, flat-sided garfish
<i>oko</i>	N	a game in which laughter must be controlled and rocks are thrown at the one who can't control his laughter
<i>opwo</i>	N	ball
<i>oureman</i>	VI	to dream
<i>oh</i>	ADV	intensifier
<i>ohne</i>	QUANT	all
<i>ohroas</i>	QUANT	all
<i>oakoas</i>	VT	to light something
<i>oanioan</i>	N, E	onion

<i>oanoap</i>	VT	to study, to prepare
<i>oapoahn</i>	N, E	metal spearhead used for catching turtles or whales
<i>oareoar, oaroahr</i>	N	shore, beach
<i>oas</i>	N	brown and fallen pandanus leaves used for a thatched roof, a thatched roof
<i>oas</i>	VI	to make a thatched roof

P

<i>pa</i>	VT	to weave
<i>pa, pah</i>	PREP	under, down
<i>pad</i>	VI	to be late
<i>padikihda</i>	VI	to be tired of waiting
<i>padoak</i>	VI	to stick
<i>pai</i>	VI	to be fortunate
<i>pakda</i>	VT	to weave
<i>pakae</i>	VI	to be dull (not sharp)
<i>pakaelaeki</i>	VI	to act in a purposeful manner while attributing the outcome to luck
<i>pakoa</i>	N	fish species, shark
<i>pal</i>	VT	to chop
<i>palek</i>	VI	to lie (in position)
<i>palewar</i>	VI	to build canoes [lit. 'chop canoe']
<i>pali koikoi</i>	N	grated green banana put back in the inner skin and cooked
<i>paliaeir</i>	N	south [lit. 'side south']
<i>paliepeng</i>	N	north [lit. 'side north']
<i>palimaesae</i>	N	east [lit. 'side east']
<i>palimaesahdahlakaen</i>	N	northeast [lit. 'side east further away of']
<i>paliwer</i>	N	body
<i>pang</i>	VI	to fish with a rod
<i>pangae</i>	VT	to fish with a rod
<i>pangihda</i>	VT	to wake someone up
<i>pangaepang</i>	VI	to be chopping
<i>par</i>	N	an old, sprouting coconut

<i>paraes</i>	N	bird species, black with a white hat and black legs
<i>paroak</i>	VT	to grab, to catch with hands
<i>pas</i>	VI	to pay a prayer visit
<i>pas</i>	N	the game of tag
<i>pas</i>	VI	to play tag
<i>pas</i>	VI	to arrive at a destination near the speaker
<i>pasae</i>	VT	to tag
<i>pasaepas</i>	N	flatness
<i>pasaepas</i>	VI	to be flat and big, usually said of land
<i>pahl</i>	N, E	file
<i>pahlae</i>	N	coconut fibre from the midrib of a coconut frond
<i>pahli</i>	VT, E	to file
<i>pahraek</i>	VI	to equal or be the same
<i>pahsu</i>	N	killer clam
<i>paun</i>	N, E	pound (measure of weight)
<i>pae</i>	N	ray species, estuary stingray
<i>paedaed</i>	VI	to fall
<i>paedahk</i>	VI	to teach, to show
<i>paedahk</i>	N	teaching
<i>paedihdi</i>	N	fish species, first growth stage of trevally
<i>paei</i>	VI	to play the game <i>paeisih</i>
<i>paeida</i>	N	a higher elevation, upstairs
<i>paeidi</i>	N	a lower elevation, downstairs
<i>paeik</i>	VI	to obey
<i>paeikupw</i>	N	fish species, damsel fish
<i>paeisih</i>	N	a game played by throwing sticks
<i>paeipaesaeng</i>	VI	to be confused or undecided
<i>paeis</i>	N	a nickname
<i>paeis</i>	VT	to nickname
<i>paeki</i>	VT	to ask or beg
<i>paelae</i>	VT	to make canoes
<i>paelae</i>	VT	to cut
<i>paelaek</i>	N	coconut husk

<i>paelang</i>	VT	to dry
<i>paelangek</i>	VI	to dry
<i>paena</i>	N	fish species, black-barred garfish
<i>paenaeu</i>	VI	to advise, to correct by giving advice
<i>paenaui</i>	VT	to advise, to correct by giving advice
<i>paerae</i>	N	room
<i>paeraepaer</i>	N	fish species, large-toothed flounder
<i>paerap</i>	N	the platform positioned above the hull in the middle of the canoe
<i>paesahu</i>	N	shell variety, bear paw shell
<i>paehm</i>	VT	to feel
<i>paehmaela</i>	VI	to wake up
<i>paehpaehm</i>	VI	to be awake
<i>paehs</i>	N	ashes
<i>pe</i>	N	hand
<i>pedahkieng</i>	VT	to teach
<i>pei</i>	VI	to weave
<i>peid</i>	VI	to throw down, to put or drop in
<i>peidek</i>	N	question
<i>peidi</i>	VT	to throw down, to put or drop in
<i>paeimwahu</i>	VI	to be lucky
<i>peikiri</i>	N, E	oven
<i>peiniki</i>	N	a shell variety
<i>peinsemoange</i>	N	hair
<i>peipaelaengaelaeng</i>	N	half-banded snake eel
<i>peipei</i>	VI	to float
<i>peipei</i>	N	type, kind
<i>peirin</i>	VI	to put someone down
<i>pek</i>	N	beach
<i>pekadela</i>	VT	to defecate
<i>pekalekal</i>	VI	to be soft or watery
<i>pekeake</i>	VI	to cut grass
<i>pekimahk</i>	VI	to apologise or ask forgiveness

<i>pelang</i>	VI	to be cooked or fried by the sun
<i>pen</i>	N	green coconut
<i>pen</i>	VI	to dig a large plot of land
<i>peni</i>	VT	to dig a large plot of land
<i>peneui</i>	VT	to train someone
<i>pepeneui</i>	VT	to persuade
<i>perap</i>	N	the shelf in a canoe
<i>pere</i>	VT	to hide, to block from view, to protect
<i>pereised</i>	N	brace, trousers with bibs or suspenders
<i>peren</i>	VI	to be happy
<i>pereu</i>	N	reef
<i>peros</i>	N	fish species, juvenile growth stage of a fish resembling the parrot fish
<i>peruhmw</i>	N, E	broom
<i>pesereid</i>	VI	to pass a moving object going in the opposite direction
<i>pesin</i>	VI	to be empty
<i>peuk</i>	VT	to flow or act blown by the wind, to blow (said of the wind)
<i>peukek</i>	VI	to flow or act blown by the wind, to blow (said of the wind)
<i>pey</i>	VI	to fight
<i>pehri</i>	N	bamboo
<i>pidaek</i>	VI	to be surrounded
<i>pidaeki</i>	VT	to surround or be around something
<i>pidehkieng</i>	VT	to show
<i>pik</i>	N	sand, beach
<i>pikisang</i>	VT	to release, to let go
<i>pikoas</i>	VI	to be curly or wavy
<i>pilahnae</i>	VT, E	to plan, to make plans
<i>pilaed</i>	N	pole used for picking breadfruit
<i>pilaemaei</i>	VI	to pick breadfruit using a pole
<i>pilaehn</i>	N, M	fish species, bristle-toothed surgeon fish
<i>pil</i>	N	stream
<i>pile</i>	VI	to say, to tell

<i>pina</i>	VT	to block or stop
<i>pinapin</i>	VI	to be blocked or stopped
<i>pirap</i>	VI	to steal
<i>pirapae</i>	VT	to steal
<i>pis</i>	N	brown and fallen pandanus leaves used for mats, hair
<i>pis</i>	N	a fool
<i>pis</i>	VI	to fool
<i>pisi</i>	VT	to fool
<i>pispoahra</i>	N	a game like jacks, played with rocks and a ball [lit. 'go from one to another on branch']
<i>pihd</i>	N, E	feet (a measure of length)
<i>pihn</i>	VI	to paint
<i>pihni</i>	VT	to paint
<i>pihs</i>	N, E	necklace
<i>po-</i>	VI	to leave, to hang from something
<i>piko</i>	VT	to beat or spank
<i>porok</i>	N	chick
<i>pohkdahdo</i>	VI	to wash up from the sea
<i>pohla</i>	VI	to be left
<i>pohneing</i>	N	south
<i>pohnkake</i>	VI, PON	to be lazy
<i>poad</i>	VI	to plant
<i>poadok</i>	VT	to plant
<i>poakae</i>	VT	to love (animate objects, except for non-relatives)
<i>poakihla</i>	VI	to catch a lot of fish
<i>poakoan</i>	VI	to gather together
<i>poahk</i>	VT	to brush something off someone else's back or to scratch someone's back
<i>poahkek</i>	VI	to brush something off someone else's back or to scratch someone's back
<i>puk</i>	N, E	book
PW		
<i>pwa</i>	VI	to say, complementiser

<i>pwa da</i>	INT	why
<i>pwain-</i>	VT	to buy
<i>pwaisaek</i>	ADV	also
<i>pwal</i>	VI	to be split, to have an operation
<i>pwar</i>	VI	to appear, to rise (said of the sun)
<i>pwarer</i>	N	stream
<i>pwahd</i>	VI	to splash
<i>pwahlahl</i>	N	fish species, adult growth stage of the scarlet sea perch
<i>pwahnoh</i>	VI	to think
<i>pwahng</i>	VI	to order or command
<i>pwaeinae</i>	N	cost, salary
<i>pwaeinapaer</i>	N, E	pineapple
<i>pwaeipwaei</i>	N	fish species, tuna
<i>pwaeik</i>	VT	to carry, to pick up
<i>pwaeiki</i>	VT	to chase
<i>pwaelaek</i>	N	feet
<i>pwaelang</i>	VT	to split a coconut
<i>pwaelangaek</i>	VI	to split a coconut
<i>pwaelael</i>	N	baby
<i>pwaelidaehdi</i>	VT	to cover something so it fits
<i>pwede</i>	N	dummy or stupid person
<i>pwedin</i>	VI	to be drifted
<i>pwei</i>	VI	to buy
<i>pweida</i>	VI	to be accomplished or finished
<i>pweipwei</i>	VI	to be stupid
<i>pwekemwar</i>	N	a feast held to bestow a title [lit. 'take title']
<i>pwekemwar</i>	VI	to have a feast to bestow a title
<i>pwekesapweng</i>	VI	to swear
<i>pwelemaesak</i>	N	mud
<i>pwelepar</i>	N	ashes from a rock
<i>pwengeda</i>	VI	to be tired
<i>pwikaer</i>	N	coral that is dead, washed up on the beach, and bleached by the sun

<i>pwikereihkin</i>	VI	to be spread around
<i>pwikin</i>	VI	to be sharp
<i>pwilak</i>	N	fish species, brown unicorn fish
<i>pwili</i>	VT	to accompany
<i>pwili</i>	N	partner
<i>pwilikasekasdihla</i>	VI	to be thrown down into something
<i>pwilipwil</i>	VT	to copy
<i>pwioak</i>	VI	to splash
<i>pwiriamweila</i>	VI	to be surprised or shocked
<i>pwiripwir</i>	VI	to struggle
<i>pwisak</i>	N	boy
<i>pwise</i>	N	excrement
<i>pwisirek</i>	VI	to be rough (said of someone's voice)
<i>pwihk</i>	N, E	pig
<i>pwoipwoil</i>	VI, E	to be boiling, also said of someone who is really angry
<i>pwok-</i>	VI	to enter, to appear
<i>pwokil</i>	VI	to go through
<i>pwokou</i>	N	basket
<i>pwole</i>	N	roof
<i>pwong</i>	N	night
<i>pwongidi</i>	VI	to become night
<i>pwopwokiha</i>	VI	to not be able to endure or tolerate
<i>pwosela</i>	VI	to be discontinued
<i>pwoudkihda</i>	VT	to marry
<i>pwoh</i>	PREP	on, on top of
<i>pwohdok</i>	N	back
<i>pwohdok</i>	PREP	behind
<i>pwokoamwoakoamw</i>	VI	to giggle
<i>pwohmwahu</i>	VI	to smell something that has a good smell
<i>pwohn</i>	N	smell
<i>pwohpik</i>	N	beach, shore
<i>pwohred</i>	VI	to get up from a lying or sitting position
<i>pwohsuwed</i>	VI	to smell something that has a bad smell

<i>pwoalaehdi</i>	VT	to grab
<i>pwudungi</i>	VT	to kick a hole in something or to kick something out of place
<i>pwuka</i>	VI	to be responsible
<i>pwul</i>	VI	to be young
<i>pwunsoal</i>	N	shell variety, reticulated olive shell, humpback cowry shell
<i>pwung</i>	N	spear for fishing
<i>pwungkin</i>	VT	to want or like, to agree to
<i>pwungul</i>	VT	to lean on
<i>pwungulek</i>	VI	to lean
<i>pwupw</i>	N	fish species, trigger fish
<i>pwur</i>	VI	to turn, to come back or return
<i>pwuroapw</i>	VI	at the same time
<i>pwuroapwaela</i>	VI	to return at once
<i>pwurur</i>	VI	to be rushed
<i>pwuhn</i>	N	fish species, batfish
<i>pwuhngal</i>	N	deep sea, where the sea is blue

R

<i>ra</i>	N	branch
<i>rap</i>	N	painted reef eel
<i>rar</i>	VI	to roar
<i>rar</i>	N	general term for coral
<i>rahn</i>	N	day
<i>rahnidi</i>	VI	to become day
<i>raeda</i>	N, E	rudder
<i>raek</i>	N	breadfruit season
<i>raepaen</i>	VT	to find taro
<i>raepahki</i>	VT	to find
<i>raehn</i>	N	bird species, type of <i>paraehs</i> , similar to <i>raehs</i> , except with yellow-orange legs
<i>raehs</i>	N	bird species, type of <i>paraehs</i>
<i>rensed</i>	N	salt or sea water

<i>rer</i>	VI	to shake, to be nervous
<i>rehrer</i>	N	shaking
<i>riari</i>	N	sibling
<i>rik</i>	VT	to pick or pick up
<i>rikaehkaeh</i>	VI	to be hungry
<i>rok</i>	VI	to bow, to hang one's head down
<i>roang</i>	VT	to hear
<i>roas</i>	VI	to be dark
<i>roahroa</i>	N	beard, moustache
<i>ruhruhmaedau</i>	VI	to be unconscious
<i>ruhruhmaedau</i>	N	unconsciousness
 S		
<i>saim</i>	VT	to sharpen a tool or weapon
<i>sak</i>	QUANT	a lot
<i>sal</i>	VI	to be brave and not regard the possibility of one's own physical harm
<i>salaeda</i>	VT	to know, to make clear
<i>saloangaela</i>	VI	to have disappeared or be lost
<i>samwa</i>	QUANT	about
<i>samwae</i>	VT	to lick
<i>samwaesang</i>	VT	to be like
<i>samwei</i>	N	fish species, smaller growth stage of the collared sea bream
<i>samwoaroau, samwer</i>	N	priest
<i>sand</i>	N	finger nail
<i>sapaeng, sapeng</i>	VT	to answer
<i>sapih</i>	N	wooden bowl
<i>sapw</i>	N	land
<i>sapwaela</i>	VI	to become land
<i>sapwungkin</i>	VI	to disagree
<i>saraeda</i>	VI	to look up
<i>sarong</i>	VI	to not listen

<i>sas</i>	N	floor
<i>saulila</i>	VI	to drown
<i>sawoahla</i>	VI	to sleep deeply
<i>sahdu</i>	N	fish species, juvenile growth stage of the scarlet sea perch
<i>sahr</i>	N	knife
<i>sahroaloak</i>	N	shell variety, tiger cowry shell
<i>sahsal</i>	VI	to be shown, to be made clear
<i>sae</i>	N	leaf
<i>saei</i>	N	fish species, porcupine fish
<i>saeipil</i>	N	a watery type of breadfruit
<i>saeipwok</i>	N	breadfruit, bananas, or taro boiled and then recooked in coconut cream and molasses
<i>saeisaei</i>	VI	to sharpen
<i>saekai</i>	N	stone
<i>saemaer</i>	VT	to beat one stick against a bundle of sticks in a stick game, to cut the stick used in the game to the right size
<i>saemwaemwae</i>	VI	to be poor
<i>saen</i>	N	a piece of sand, pandanus leaf, or coconut fibre; a measuring instrument for making the strips of pandanus leaf used in weaving mats
<i>saeidimid</i>	N	fish species, male parrot fish
<i>saeng</i>	VI	to cry
<i>saep</i>	N	fish species, number seven growth stage of the trevally
<i>saepaeik</i>	VI	to disobey
<i>saepaekaenkoa</i>	VI, H	to be thankful
<i>saepoahr</i>	N	fish species, dolphin
<i>saepwahdin</i>	N	pandanus variety
<i>saera</i>	N	fish species, scarlet fin soldier fish with yellow spots on edge of fins
<i>saeraek</i>	N	sail
<i>saeraek</i>	VI	to sail
<i>saeraekin iroap</i>	N	sail made from a mat made of whole brown pandanus leaves
<i>saeraekin mahng</i>	N	sail made from strips of dried green pandanus leaves
<i>saeraewi</i>	VI	to be holy or superstitious

<i>saei</i>	M	sun
<i>saeu</i>	N	type of fishing, done by forcing fish into a channel towards nets at the end
<i>saeun</i>	N	spouse
<i>saewaeh</i>	NEG	not
<i>saewih lap</i>	N	shell variety, horned helmet shell
<i>saewih sik</i>	N	shell variety, triton's trumpet shell
<i>saeh</i>	N	a round in fly-fishing
<i>saehloahl</i>	N	fish species, rainbow fish
<i>saehd</i>	N, E	shirt
<i>saehwood</i>	N	fish species, red soldier fish
<i>saehwood wahu</i>	N	fish species, red soldier fish with two white stripes on the body
<i>sdoahp</i>	N, E	stove
<i>sdohsa</i>	N, E	car
<i>sdohwa</i>	N, E	store
<i>se</i>	N	fish species, largest growth stage of the gold-striped goat fish
<i>sed</i>	N	sea
<i>sei</i>	VI	to paddle
<i>seimahk, deimahk</i>	N	mat of coconut leaves
<i>seipidila</i>	VI	to be very few
<i>seipidipwi</i>	N	just a few
<i>seihlae</i>	VI	to be lower
<i>sek</i>	N	hip
<i>sekau</i>	N	kava
<i>semaeraeda</i>	VI	to wind up for a throw
<i>semeseman</i>	VT	to remember
<i>seni</i>	N	sugar-cane variety, brought by a lady of that name
<i>seng</i>	VI	to be tight
<i>sep-, sap-</i>	VT	to start
<i>sep</i>	N	a beginning or start
<i>sepe</i>	N	cheek
<i>sepelakin</i>	VI	to be huge

<i>serepein</i>	N	girl
<i>serihpwaelael</i>	N	baby
<i>seukunahneken</i>	N	fish species, small growth stage of the gold-striped goat fish with two white stripes near the tail
<i>seula</i>	NEG	no longer, would not
<i>seulipilip</i>	N	any one, either one, a choice of one
<i>seulipilip</i>	VI	to choose
<i>sewe</i>	N	people
<i>sewi</i>	N	whistle
<i>sehlap</i>	VI	to be broad
<i>sehni</i>	N	coconut fronds
<i>sehse</i>	VI	to not know
<i>siae</i>	N, E	deer
<i>siaenaeni</i>	N	mushroom [lit. 'ear ghost']
<i>silais</i>	N, E	a slice of bread or fish
<i>silae</i>	N	ax
<i>silae</i>	N	elongate clam
<i>sile</i>	VT	to guard
<i>siloangaloang</i>	N	long-finned freshwater eel
<i>siloangoaloang</i>	N	sea-water eel
<i>simaend</i>	N, E	cement, concrete
<i>simwinamwin</i>	N	rainbow
<i>simwoak</i>	VI	to agree, to say yes
<i>sinakoake</i>	N	elder in church or prayer house
<i>sineik</i>	N, E	snake
<i>singilad</i>	N, E	T-shirt
<i>sipenepen</i>	N	sea cucumber
<i>sipw</i>	N	inward side of a corner
<i>sipw</i>	VI	to be broken
<i>sipwaen pae</i>	N	inside of elbow [lit. 'inside of corner arm']
<i>sipwang</i>	VT	to break or rip
<i>sipwangek</i>	VI	to break or rip
<i>sipwasipwidi</i>	VI	to be broken in pieces

<i>sirangaenpwaepwae</i>	VI, M	to strike a bait while moving in the opposite direction to a trawling line
<i>sirop</i>	VI	to burn
<i>siropi</i>	VT	to burn
<i>sis</i>	N	fish species, larger growth stage of flying fish
<i>sih</i>	N	bone
<i>sihdaek</i>	N	roof gables
<i>sihmaehmae</i>	VI	to work or act devotedly [lit. 'bone crushed']
<i>sihr</i>	N	stick used in playing the game <i>paesihhr</i>
<i>sihsi</i>	VI	to be thin
<i>sok</i>	VI	to be short (said of hair)
<i>sokidi</i>	VT	to stop and never continue
<i>song</i>	N	type, kind
<i>sopidi</i>	VI	to be steep
<i>soposopihla</i>	VI	to go straight down
<i>soposopdik</i>	N	cliff
<i>sosohngaeng</i>	VT	to put
<i>soukahp</i>	N	prophet
<i>soukihda</i>	VT	to catch fish
<i>sounpwong</i>	N	moon, month
<i>sousou</i>	VI	to catch with a net
<i>sowese</i>	VT	to help
<i>sohmwahu</i>	VI	to be sick
<i>soa</i>	NEG	future negative
<i>soak</i>	VI	to fly
<i>soakohr</i>	N	fish species, lunar-tailed rock cod
<i>soakoapa</i>	N	fish species, flute-mouth
<i>soal</i>	VI	to be black
<i>soanpei</i>	N	soldier
<i>soang</i>	VT	to try
<i>soang</i>	N	a tool with equally spaced teeth for cutting pandanus leaves
<i>soangoasoang</i>	N	fish species, black-barred garfish with red spot at end of needle

<i>soau</i>	N	clan
<i>soaundaeu</i>	N	inspector
<i>soaunpar</i>	N	clan, year
<i>soauwas</i>	N	noon
<i>soahp</i>	N, E	soap
<i>soahroahr</i>	VI	to be different or special
<i>suk</i>	VT	to pound
<i>suluk</i>	N	fish species, number two growth stage of trevally
<i>suoang</i>	VT	to meet
<i>suhkae</i>	N	tree, stick
<i>suhre</i>	N	fish species, pick-handle barracuda
<i>suhs</i>	N, E	shoes
U		
<i>u</i>	VI	to stand
<i>u</i>	N	tide
<i>umpwilapwil</i>	VI	to be pink
<i>undeng</i>	VI	to steer a car
<i>undengi</i>	VT	to steer a car
<i>upuhp</i>	N	a sheet
<i>upuhp</i>	VI	to be covered with a sheet or mat
<i>usu</i>	N	star
<i>uwaen</i>	ADV	very much
<i>uwaen</i>	N	amount of
<i>uhdei</i>	N	fish species, cardinal fish
<i>uhdahn</i>	VI	very much, really
<i>uhdi</i>	VI	to be stopped
<i>uhk</i>	VT	to lead
<i>uhk</i>	VI	to blow a whistle, to blow (said of the wind), to exhale, to smoke a cigarette
<i>uhkaeng</i>	N	a strong wind
<i>uhkek</i>	VI	to lead
<i>uhloal</i>	N	high tide [lit. 'tide deep']

<i>uhmw</i>	N	stone oven
<i>uhp</i>	VT	to cover with a sheet or mat
W		
<i>wa</i>	VT	to carry
<i>wad</i>	VT	to consider, to take account of
<i>wai</i>	VI	to be strange or foreign
<i>walaewal</i>	N	bend in the land that creates a bay
<i>war</i>	N	canoe
<i>wahkal</i>	VI	to be foreign
<i>wahlilhaep</i>	N	cow-nose ray
<i>wahwih</i>	N	fruit of the <i>wih</i> tree, resembles star fruit
<i>wahwihmaen</i>	N	things made out of materials from someplace else, things foreign made, an unowned tree that floats in from the sea
<i>wael</i>	N	forest, jungle, bush
<i>wael</i>	VI	to change the leaves in the process of preserving breadfruit
<i>waerae</i>	N	wood
<i>waeraengae</i>	N	middle
<i>waesa</i>	N	place, village
<i>waesiek</i>	VI	to go out (said of canoes)
<i>waehdi</i>	VI	to lie down
<i>waehwe</i>	N	air, atmosphere
<i>we</i>	ADV	there
<i>wed</i>	VI	to be sudden
<i>wei</i>	N	district
<i>wei</i>	VT	to dig
<i>weiduh, waeiduh</i>	VI	to go, to walk
<i>weirida</i>	VT	to pull up (plants)
<i>weisahsahla</i>	VI	to be reddish
<i>weisoa</i>	N	small lice
<i>wekedaek</i>	VI	to turn something over
<i>wekesahsa</i>	VT	to sway or roll from side to side because of a defect
<i>wekid</i>	VT	to turn something over

<i>weladpeseng</i>	VT	to open
<i>welian</i>	VT	to replace
<i>wen</i>	VI	to dance
<i>wenikin</i>	VT	to dance
<i>werawer</i>	VT	to own a canoe
<i>wer</i>	VT	to shout
<i>wereila</i>	VI	to be a long time
<i>wering</i>	VT	to call
<i>wesewesanikin</i>	VT	to hate
<i>wesi</i>	VT	to beat or spank
<i>wesik</i>	N	load
<i>wesik</i>	VT	to bring
<i>wehweh</i>	VI	to understand, to be aware of
<i>wia</i>	VT	to make
<i>widaek</i>	VI	to pour
<i>widaeki</i>	VT	to pour
<i>widir</i>	N	fish species, yellow-spotted rock cod
<i>wielikiliki</i>	VT	to assume, to underestimate
<i>wik</i>	VT	to change
<i>wik</i>	VI	to be changeable
<i>win</i>	N	feather, scale
<i>wina</i>	VT	to pluck feathers, to scale a fish, to skin a pig
<i>wires</i>	N	bird species, long-tailed New Zealand cuckoo
<i>wirakaeak</i>	VI	to cry and whirl around, to stagger when drunk
<i>wis</i>	N	banana
<i>wis</i>	VT	to pull towards a person
<i>wih</i>	N	tree species
<i>wol</i>	N	hole
<i>wohla</i>	VT	to cover
<i>woad</i>	N	fish species, toado
<i>woadelehs</i>	N	fish species, crowned soldier fish
<i>woal</i>	N	man
<i>woar</i>	N	throat

<i>woas</i>	N	reef
<i>woahsa</i>	N	vine species

NOTES

- The system of phonetic representation followed is that given in *Phonetics* by William A. Smalley, Practical Anthropology, New York 10591, U.S.A. 1963, except for the following symbols:
 - w indicates velarisation
 - ˜ indicates rounding
- Other symbols used in this description are:
 - (T) indicates a transitive form of a verb
 - (I) indicates an intransitive form of a verb
 - (C) indicates a 'construct' form of a noun (see Section 2.2.3).
- In the grammar sketch, text, and word list, variations of /e/ and /ɛ/ in the same word can be noted.
- Variations of /o/ and /ɔ/ in the same word can be noted in the grammar sketch, text, and word list.
- See Rehg, (1981:117) and Harrison, (1976:320).
- It is as yet undetermined whether the demonstrative is part of the NP or whether it functions as an adverbial-type of demonstrative, such as the word *here* may in English.
- This may be the colour of a type of parrot fish, the colour of which is bluish. In a closely related language, Ponapean, *mahu* is the name of any bluish parrot fish.
- See Section 2.2.3.
- Most of the material in this section is from Welley (1975).
- Since the morpheme breaks for inalienable nouns are not yet determined, we do not show them in the sketch, text, or word list.
- We do not generalise as to the suffix forms for the classifiers.
- This spelling may be a variable pronunciation for these forms or a place where the phoneme that appears here is undecided. The spellings in written text examples have been retained in this sketch.
- The form of the noun, *ihmw* 'house', in this sentence contrasts with the classifier form *imw*- in vowel length, which indicates that it is the classifier that appears here instead of the noun. (In my data, where it is certain that the noun form occurs, it always shows vowel length.)
- It is still uncertain what the exact time limits are on the not-too-distant past.

15. The form, *en*, has appeared in my data once with a third person dual inclusive pronoun

Irah en ahla duhdu.
 3p,d,c go swim
 They (2) went swimming.

This may indicate that *en* for this set of pronouns is actually a pre-verb *en* (Section 3.3) with completive semantics, but which has become phonologically attached to some of the pronoun forms.

16. As might be expected, these pronoun forms have not been found in sentences that contain a negative, since such an action does not occur and thus would not be completed.
17. This form is a subject marker (Section 3.1).
18. In the written text, this object pronoun is frequently written without length. However, when the object pronouns were investigated separately, the vernacular speaker insisted on the length.
19. This form is a focus marker (Section 3.2).
20. See Section 3.2.
21. This form is the relative marker (Section 4.1.1).
22. This example raises a question as to whether a pronoun truly stands in the place of an entire noun phrase in Pingilapese.
23. See footnote 15.
24. The numeral in this noun phrase is first in the noun phrase. This may be due to the presence of the relative clause following the noun or to some undetermined semantic factor.
25. Negatives may occur as the main verb in some clauses.
26. It may be that adjectival verbs cannot undergo triplication, while true verbs can. This possibility needs further research.
27. We assume for convenience in description that duplication and triplication are both processes that operate directly on the stem of the verb. In a closely related language, Mokilese, for instance, there are different patterns of reduplication and triplication for some verbs (Harrison 1976:222, also p.c.):

<i>kang</i>	—	<i>kahkang</i>
eat		
<i>kang</i>	—	<i>kangkangkang</i>

(I omit the specific semantics of the reduplicated and triplicated forms in Mokilese, but they seem to be close to the semantics of the forms in Pingilapese.)

28. It is possible that these vowels, or perhaps some of them, are historical final vowels of the verb stem.
29. From this point on, we give meanings only for the verb stem, partly for convenience and partly because of the difficulty of expressing in English the meanings for some of the reduplicated and triplicated forms.

30. Note also that the verb stem in Example 103 may be a compound verb stem. However, no research has yet been done on compound words in Pingilapese.
31. These forms may be evidence against the theory that reduplication and triplication in Pingilapese are separate processes that operate directly on the verb stem. If triplication, for instance, operates on the duplicated form, it would be convenient to describe the triplicated form of this verb, *daehdaedaur*, as a repetition of the first three phonemes of the duplicated form, *daedaur*, with subsequent loss of a homorganic consonant and lengthening of the preceding vowel.
32. The inserted vowel here remains unexplained.
33. Note the following pattern of reduplication for a stem which has the same phonemes but different semantics:

uhk ——— *ukuhk*
to blow through a whistle

uhk ——— *ukuhkuhk*

34. Dots are used here to indicate length just as Weldis used when he wrote out these sentences.
35. See Section 3.7.2 for the meanings of the other verbal suffixes. We simply use 'asp' to indicate aspectual usage of directional suffixes as the semantics needs further research.
36. It is not certain why there is an apparently unchanged consonant cluster here.
37. The motion indicated by this suffix seems to be away in any direction from the position of the topic of the sentence.
38. This is a rather free translation.
39. Also see the next example.
40. This pronoun form is one used for royalty.
41. This is an aspectual use of *-di*, but I'm not certain exactly what the aspect is.
42. Adjectival verbs are intransitive.
43. By the term uninflected we refer to the inflections we will describe which show transitivity or intransitivity, not the directional suffixes.
44. The form *-ek* may indicate some type of passive construction, though perhaps not a true passive where the instrument can be specified.
45. It may be that some of the forms in this list are used with incorporated objects as in Example 158. But lack of data prevents us from determining this at present.
46. This may be an example of an incorporated object.
47. Though indirect questions belong with our discussion of complex sentences, we discuss them here. With limited data, discussing both together gives a better overall view of interrogatives.
48. Though this form is written as *ekeh* in the text in which this sentence occurs, it is most likely a combination of the subject pronoun *e* 'he, she, it' and the pre-verbal form *ke* 'will occur'.
49. This is a free English translation, but it gives the best sense of the semantics of this question.

50. Whether or not *iahpwae* is the standard form with meaning of 'how' or two forms with the *pwae* having a separate meaning is yet to be determined.
51. This plural form is used to address titled people since they represent more than one person in their position.
52. It may be that one can tell that this relative clause modifies the subject noun phrase because of its semantics and because of the preference of extraposition.
53. The subject marker in this example is optional. However, it is not optional if the relative clause directly follows the noun phrase, as in Example 214.
54. Since there has not been enough research done to tell whether these are serial verbs, we merely call them juxtaposed verbs. It may be that they are actually reduced complement and/or reduced coordinate constructions.
55. Though this is an adverbial form, we presume that in this case it also indicates some type of clause juncture.
56. It is not certain what the semantic and perhaps functional differences are between *mihda ma* 'even if' and *apweh ma* 'even if'.
57. It is not clear what relation this form has to *apweh ma* 'even if'.
58. The form used between nouns is *deakah* 'and'.

Woalaemaen daekah pwisakmaen pwungkin.
 man and boy agree
 The man and the boy agree.
59. For several forms, we do not indicate morpheme breaks as the phonological changes at these breaks are still to be researched.
60. The form, *ke*, seems to have the sense of 'usually' or 'would' in the historical past of this text.

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Ngatikese

- (3) $\begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{Ohl-o} \\ \text{man-that} \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{sohnpadahk} \\ \text{teacher} \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{men.} \\ \text{one, a} \end{array}$
That man is a teacher.

Mokilese

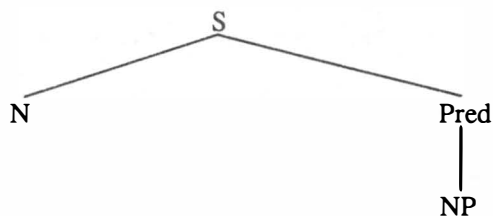
- (4) $\begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{John} \\ \text{John} \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{johnpadahk} \\ \text{teacher} \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{men.} \\ \text{one, a} \end{array}$
John is a teacher.

The NP-NP structure in Pingilapese differs somewhat from the structure in the other varieties since Pingilapese has preserved the preferred use of a subject pronoun, *ae*⁴ 'sp', for animate subjects:

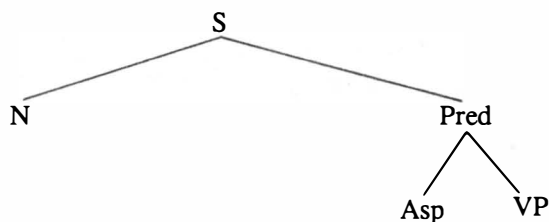
Pingilapese

- (5) $\begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{Woal} \\ \text{man} \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{maen} \\ \text{one} \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c} \text{SP} \\ \text{ae} \\ \text{sp} \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{soaunpadahk} \\ \text{teacher} \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{emen.} \\ \text{one, a} \end{array}$
The man is a teacher.

Aside from the as yet unresolved question as to whether the subject pronoun is in the subject noun phrase or part of the verb phrase in Pingilapese, we can posit a structure for the NP-NP constructions in which the first noun phrase is the subject or topic of the sentence and the second noun phrase is predicated of the first.



Of course, in a typical NP-VP sentence, the Predicate would be expanded as aspect and a verb phrase:



In the structure which illustrates the NP-NP sentence type, we have not indicated aspect. But it is fairly obvious that there should be some way of expressing such things as 'That man will be(come) a teacher.' and 'That man was a teacher.' How are such things expressed in the NP-NP structure?

3.0 ASPECT IN THE NP-NP STRUCTURE

The problem, of course, is that, from the examples we have seen thus far, there is no copula in the NP-NP structures in Ponapeic which could support aspectual changes in the structure.

And indeed, this does pose a problem for the NP-NP structure in Ponapeic.

First, we note that if aspect is to be expressed in Northern Ponapean, the second noun cannot be modified by either numerals or adjectives. Instead, it undergoes a lexical verbalising process by the addition of a suffix *-la*, which also allows pre-verbal aspectual forms to be used.

- (6) *Ohl-o pahn sounpadahk-la.*⁵
 man-that will teacher-verbaliser
 That man will become a teacher.

The same type of verbalising process occurs in Ngatikese, Mokilese, and Pingilapese when aspect is expressed:

Ngatikese

- (7) *Ohl-o nehn sounpadahk-la.*
 man-that will teacher-verbaliser
 That man will become a teacher.

Mokilese

- (8) *John pirin johnpadahk-la.*
 John will teacher-verbaliser
 John will become a teacher.

Pingilapese

- (9) *Woal maen ae-n⁶ kah soaunpaedahk-la.*
 man one sp will teacher-verbaliser
 That man will become a teacher.

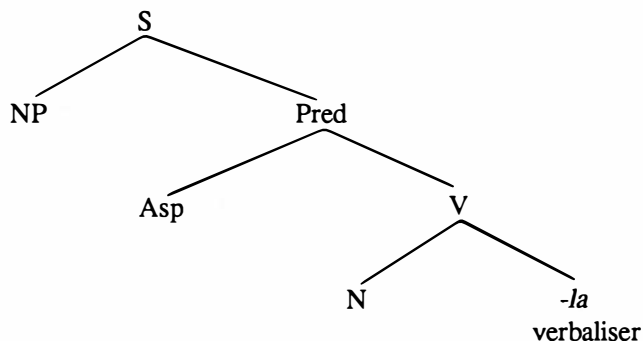
When no pre-verbal aspectual form occurs in the sentence in Example 6, the suffix *-la* may also express a completed aspect and the sentence becomes ambiguous in meaning:

- (10) *Ohl-o sounpadahk-la.*
 man-that teacher/teach-verbaliser/completive
 That man was a teacher.
 or
 That man taught.

However, the sentence in Example 6 is not ambiguous in meaning, nor is its verbal counterpart in Example 11:

- (11) *Ohl-o pahn sounpadahk.*
 man-that will teach
 That man will teach.

Thus, we note that when aspect is to be expressed in the NP-NP type of structure, the forms are actually pressed into the more common sentence structure in which the predicate contains a verbal instead of a noun phrase:



Thus, aspect seems to be prohibited from occurring in the strict NP-NP structure which we first described.

Even though it would seem that a copula would appear for the purpose of expressing aspect in an NP-NP structure if there were one available, the next question we want to discuss is whether or not there is any equational structure which has a copula form. One possibility is the sentence construction which has an NP-me-NP structure.

4.0 NP-me-NP SENTENCES

A sentence termed a 'focus' sentence by Ken Reh (1981) resembles closely the NP-NP sentence structure we have been discussing:

- (12) *Ohl-o me sounpadahk.*
 man-that ? teacher, teach

This kind of sentence is variously translated into English by vernacular speakers as the following:

That man is the one who teaches.
 That man is the one who is a teacher.
 That man is a teacher.

We examine first the possibility that the last translation in which *me* could be interpreted as a copula is the closest translation for this structure.

If *sounpadahk* 'teacher, teach' in Example 12 is a noun, we would expect that modifiers and/or numerals could also occur with it in this sentence.

However, this is not the case:

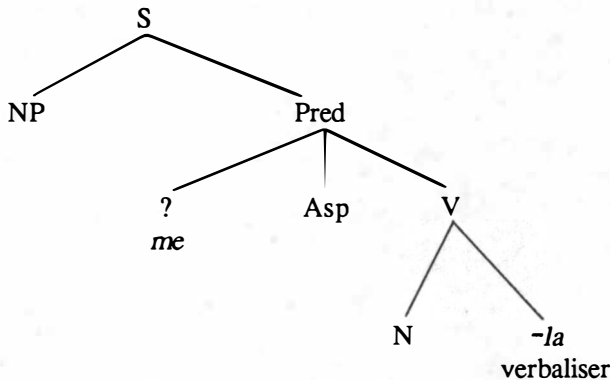
- (13) ** *Ohl-o me sounpadahk pwulopwul emen.*
 man-that ? teacher young one, a
 That man is a young teacher.

- (14) ** *Ohl-o me sounpadahk emen.*
 man-that ? teacher one
 That man is a teacher.

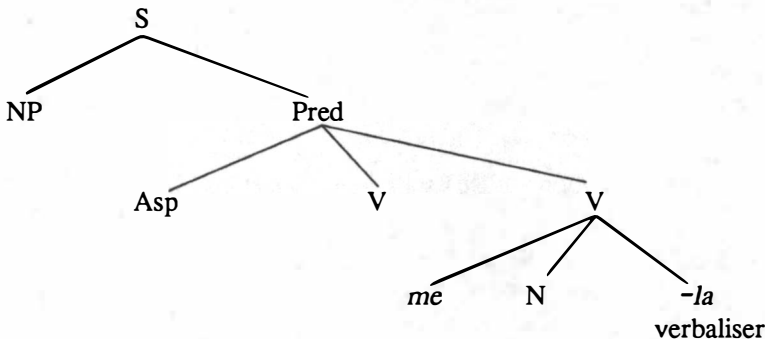
In fact, if we wish to say 'That man is a teacher,' and use the *me* in the sentence, the structure that is acceptable is one in which the verbaliser, *-la*, is used:

- (15) *Ohl-o me sounpadahk-la.*
 man-that ? teacher-verbaliser
 That man is a teacher.
- (16) *Ohl-o me pahn sounpadahk-la.*
 man-that ? will teacher-verbaliser
 That man will become a teacher.

Thus, it seems that sentences containing *me* must be followed by a verbal construction, not a noun phrase.



However, a problem arises with this structure if we want to claim that *me* is copular (or verbal) in nature. Then, we would have two verbals and aspect should precede the first one:



Of course, theoretically, this is possible if we claim that this is some kind of deep structure and that aspect is moved by a transformation to give the correct surface structure.

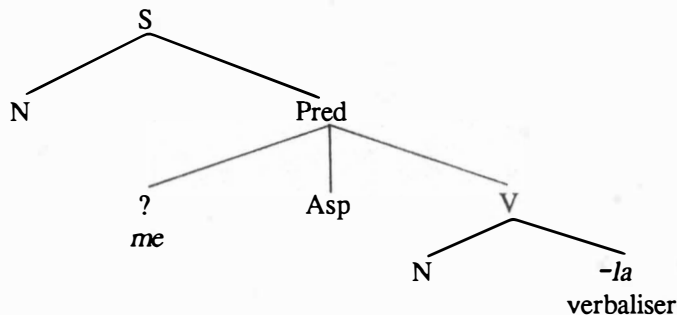
However, considering that the form *me* always precedes aspect, as in Example 16, it seems unlikely to posit that *me* follows aspect in some deeper structure. Furthermore, in Northern Ponapean, *me* never inflects for aspect. In Pingilapese, however, what seems to be the related 'focus' sentence, the form related to *me* in Ponapean, does inflect for aspect:

- (17) *Ih me maraemarar.*
 he ? hiccoughing
 He is hiccoughing.

- (18) *Sohn me-n kah daur suhkeh-pas.*
 John ?-future will climb tree-one
 John will climb the tree.
- (19) *Sepe mae kipi-di.*
 Sepe ?/past fall-down
 Sepe fell down.

In Examples 18 and 19, it can be seen that the aspectual inflection is a suffix. Thus, even though the *me* is inflected for aspect, it is likely that aspect 'follows' the form in this sense.

So the following strange structure seems to describe the actual situation for sentences with *me*:



We can thus say that there is a good possibility that *me* is not a copula and not verbal.

We return then to the original focus sentence (Example 12 repeated here as Example 20):

- (20) *Ohl-o me sounpadahk.*
 man-that ? teacher, teach
 That man is the one who teaches.
 That man is the one who is a teacher.
 That man is a teacher.

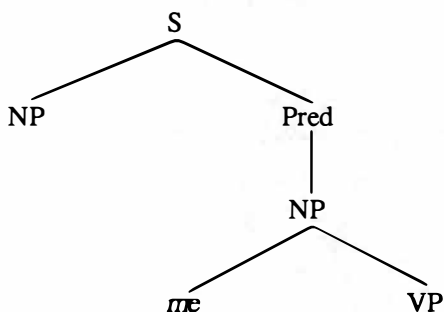
There are still two possible translations of this statement which may be termed 'focus' and not strictly copular in nature.

I have already shown that the *me* form cannot be followed by what is a complete noun phrase, but must be followed by a verbal construction. Thus, the only translation that would fit these constraints is the first one, i.e., 'That man is the one who teaches.'

There is evidence then that this kind of sentence could be interpreted as a focus construction, much like the first focus sentence in English which was used to translate this construction. However, it should be kept in mind that such focus sentences in Ponapean would have to have the constraint that no noun phrase can occur in the predicate part of the construction.

But, there is an alternative proposal which I would like to consider, e.g., that these sentences with *me* can be described more adequately as equational sentences, the same type of construction as the NP-NP construction I discussed first. In this case, the *me* form would be interpreted as a nominal form which maintains the 'equivlanee' relationship.

The following tree structure, one similar to the one shown for NP-NP constructions, can be used to show this proposal:



To support this proposal, we need other evidence in Ponapeic languages to show that the *me* forms are likely to be nominals and can thus be used as the head of a noun phrase.

Such evidence comes from the indefinite pronoun forms in the Ponapeic languages.

5.0 INDEFINITE PRONOUN FORMS

In searching for uses of the *me* forms in Ponapeic languages, we begin with a set of forms in Northern Ponapean that are called demonstrative modifiers and demonstrative pronouns, shown in the following chart (Rehg, 1981:154)

	DEMONSTRATIVE MODIFIERS	DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS
SINGULAR		
by speaker	-t	<i>me(t)</i> ⁷
by hearer	-en	<i>men</i>
away from speaker and hearer	-o	<i>mwo</i>
PLURAL		
by speaker	-kat	<i>metakan</i>
by hearer	-kan	<i>menakan</i>
away from speaker and hearer	-kau	<i>mwohkan</i>

The demonstrative modifiers on the chart are clitic suffixes that are obligatory at the end of a noun phrase unless the noun is being used in a generic sense. The demonstrative pronouns, on the other hand, replace entire noun phrases.

- (21) *Met pahn mengila.*
 this/one will wither
 This one will wither.

- (22) **Metakan** *ohla*.
 these broken
 These are broken.

The form, *me*, by itself can substitute in noun phrases for the noun, taking demonstratives and modifiers as other nouns do.

- (23) *I ese pwutak reirei-o.*
 I know boy tall-that
 I know that tall boy.

- (24) *I ese me reirei-o.*
 I know one tall-that
 I know that tall one.

me can also substitute for inanimate nouns.

- (25) *I mwahuki pinsuhl reirei-o.*
 I want pencil long-that
 I want that long pencil.

- (26) *I mwahuki me reirei-o.*
 I want one long-that
 I want that long one.

The analysis that Rehg presents of the demonstrative pronouns is that historically they contain two or three morphemes, although they are fossilised at present. He suggests that the pronoun is composed of the form, *me*, plus a demonstrative suffix and a plural suffix. This analysis leaves the form *me* with the semantic burden of an indefinite noun such as 'one'.

me-t

one-this

me-t-akan

one-this-plural

Rehg (1981), in fact, gives the term 'replacive pronoun' to the form *me* in this usage of substituting for noun phrases (Examples 24 and 26).

Thus, in northern Ponapean there is evidence that there is a *me* form which is nominal. This supports the notion that *me* could be used as the head of a noun phrase, possibly in an NP-NP construction.

In the other Ponapeic languages, likewise, there are *me* (or *me*-related) forms which can be used in place of a noun phrase.

Ngatikese

- (27) **Meh** *ohla*.⁸
 this broken
 This is broken.

Pingilapese

- (28) *Ngaei mwahukin maeh⁹ pas rei.¹⁰*
 I want one class long
 I want the long one.

In Mokilese, it is not as clear that the form used in the focus sentence:

- (29) *Woall-o ma pirin johnpadahk-la.*
 man-that ? will teacher-verbaliser
 That man will become a teacher.

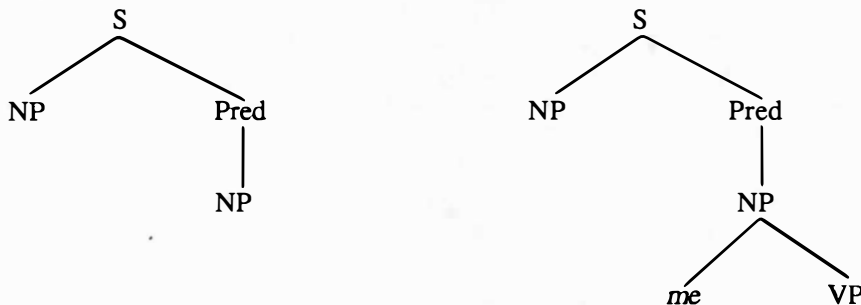
is related to the pronoun that substitutes for nouns in a noun phrase:

- (30) *Wahdohng ngoahi min-pas-o.*
 bring me one-long-that
 Bring me that long one.

However, in three of the four Ponapeic languages, there is good evidence that the form used in the focus type of sentence is nominal and that the focus sentence could be described as an 'equational' sentence in which the basic NP-NP structure is preserved by the use of a nominal 'head' in the predicate.

6.0 THE EQUATIONAL STRUCTURE

Thus far, I have posited that there are two kinds of sentences in Ponapean languages which are 'equational' and that they can be shown by similar structures:



Such structures would allow a description of these sentences in which focused sentences would not need the ad hoc constraint that noun phrases in NP-NP sentences cannot be focused without first being verbalised.

However, we cannot claim that *me* in the second type of structure is a subject of the VP, as the structure seems to indicate. Examples such as the following show this:

Northern Ponapean

- (31) *Arail doadoahk me irail tapiada.*
 their work focus they started
 Their work is what they started.

Mokilese

- (32) *Mwingehu ma ngoah wahdo.*
 food focus I brought
 It was food that I brought.

Pingilapese

- (33) *Woal men mae ngaei mwahukin.*
 man the focus I like
 The man is the one I like.

Nevertheless the structure does represent the 'equational' nature of NP-NP sentences.

In addition to these two kinds of sentences, we might claim that relative clauses in Ponapean languages have the same 'equational' structure.

7.0 RELATIVE CLAUSES

Relative clauses in Ponapean languages have a structure which is almost identical to the 'focus' type of equation structure in each variety of Ponapean.

Northern Ponapean

- (34) *Ohl [me koh-sang Ruk-o] uhdahn kadek.*
 man Rel. came-from Truk-that very kind
 That man who came from Truk is very kind.

Ngatikese

- (35) *Ih ese ohl [me nehn kohdo lakapw-kau.]*
 I know man Rel. will come tomorrow-those
 I know those men who will come tomorrow.

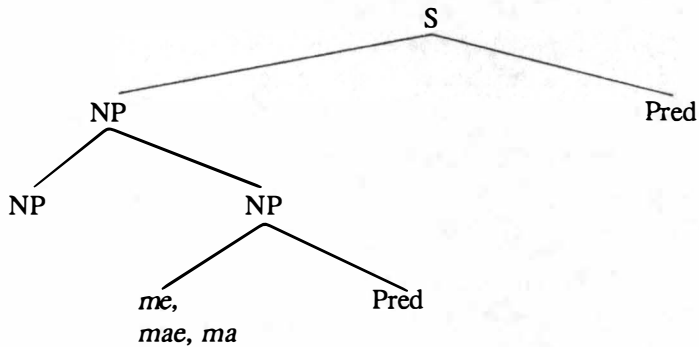
Pingilapese

- (36) *Serih maen [mae naemaen maeir] mwoah-di nah al.*
 child the Rel. want sleep sit-down on road
 The child who is sleepy sat down on the road.

Mokilese

- (37) *Jerpein-o [ma ngoah suhoang] mihn Pohnpeimen.*
 girl-that Rel. I met one/of Ponapean
 That girl that I met is Ponapean.

I would thus like to propose that the relative clause structures in Ponapean languages show the basic 'equational' relationship posited for NP-NP and focus sentences. As in focus sentences, the *me* would indicate the second NP in an NP-NP construction. We can show this by using the following structure for relative clauses:



In the relative clause structure, however, the noun phrases are shown juxtaposed without a predicate node since the 'equational' relationship is not asserted in an embedded sentence. However, in a sentence that is not embedded, the relationship would be asserted and the predicate node would appear in the structure.

8.0 CONCLUSION

In this short paper I have identified the equational sentence in Ponapeic languages as being basically two juxtaposed noun phrases (NP-NP) without an intervening copula. In this construction, aspect can only be indicated if the sentence is pressed into an NP-VP structure.

I have also suggested that besides the basic NP-NP construction, two other constructions, the focus sentence and the relative clause, are equational as shown by the use of a nominal *me* (*mae*, *ma*) to retain an NP-NP sentence structure.

Further research needs to be done on the semantics of the NP-NP structures and the implications of the claim that NP-NP signals 'equational' needs to be more thoroughly examined. However, the preliminary results do indicate that the juxtaposition of two noun phrases by itself can indicate such semantics. Thus, we have a possible close link with a particular type of structure and semantics in a group of closely related languages. It seems that it should be possible to indicate in a non-ad hoc manner such a link in any grammar theory which is used to describe these languages.

NOTES

1. This paper is a revision of Elaine M. Good, 1977. 'Relative Clause Structures in Ponapean Languages' *Working Papers in Linguistics*, Volume 9, No. 3, 87-98.
2. Ponapean has two dialects, the Northern and the Southern, both spoken on the main island of Ponape. The analysis of Ponapean done by Rehng (1981) is based on the Northern dialect. And this is the data that will also be used in this paper.
3. In the Ponapeic languages, *h* represents vowel length, *d* a phonetic *t*, *oa* a phonetic *ɔ*, and *w* after a *p* or *m* indicates velarisation.
4. The digraph, *ae*, represents the phonetic sound, ϵ . The apparent phonemic difference between *e* and *ae* is not written in Northern Ponapean as it is predictable. However, until further phonological research is done on Pingilapese, this difference will be written.

5. Rehg (1981) states that *-la* is a directional suffix with a meaning of 'there, away from speaker and hearer', but that it can also be used to indicate that an action has been carried to its logical conclusion. Thus, the form is not to be thought of as a general 'verbaliser'. However, in its usage in this kind of sentence it seems to have this function.
6. The subject pronoun in Pingilapese inflects for aspect when it is followed by a verbal construction. Since there is no aspect expressed in the NP-NP construction, we do not find the pronoun occurring inflected in this construction.
7. The final *t* is optional on this form.
8. In Ngatikese, a final *-t* in this demonstrative form is lost and the preceding vowel lengthened (Rehg, p.c.).
9. In Pingilapese, the *me* is spelled *mae*, though Rehg (p.c.) says that they are pronounced the same. The phoneme, ϵ , is not indicated in Northern Ponapean as it is in Pingilapese.
10. The form *pas* is a classifier that shows it is a long object. Generally in a noun phrase, *pas* would follow the adjective *rei* 'long', but it may be that *rei* 'long' is something like a reduced relative clause in this sentence.

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CLAUSE-FINAL DETERMINERS IN KOSRAEAN

ELAINE M. GOOD

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In this first section we will examine the phenomenon of final determiner-like particles for some clauses in Kosraean.^{1,2} We will argue that these particles are determiners of the *ah* series (Section 2) having the same form and function and obeying the same informational constraints as determiners in simple noun phrases. We further show that these determiners cannot be easily associated with the head noun phrase or with any simple noun phrase internal to the clause. These findings lead us to two possible descriptions of the functions of these particles which we examine in regards to the adequacy of an explanation for all occurrences of the *ah* determiner in clauses, i.e. in relative clauses (Section 2), verbal complements (Section 3), adverbials (Section 4), and interrogatives (Section 5).

1.1 OVERVIEW OF DISCUSSION

In this section, we briefly discuss the Kosraean language and its place in the Austronesian family of languages. Next, drawing on Lee's (1975) grammar and my own research, we present a brief overview of Kosraean grammar. Finally, we describe some of the notational conventions used in this article.

In Section 2 we consider clausal markers occurring finally in relative clauses. We argue that these do not function as ordinary determiners, i.e. they do not specify simple noun phrases. However, if we limit these determiner particles so that they specify noun phrases, we can describe them by saying they are associated with the relative marker *ma* (as the head of a noun phrase) in some kind of an appositional relationship. But these forms are also associated with certain properties of the tense/aspect constituent of the relative clauses. It thus seems that these determiner-like particles could be described by saying they are associated with the clause itself. We therefore also consider a very general statement associating them with the clause features. In the Section 3 discussion of complement clauses which have the same final forms, we find some difficulties formulating a general descriptive statement associating the particles with the clause features similar to that formulated for relative clauses. However, the description in which we limit the occurrence of the particles to

Papers in Kosraean and Ponapeic, 127-196.
Pacific Linguistics, C-112, 1989

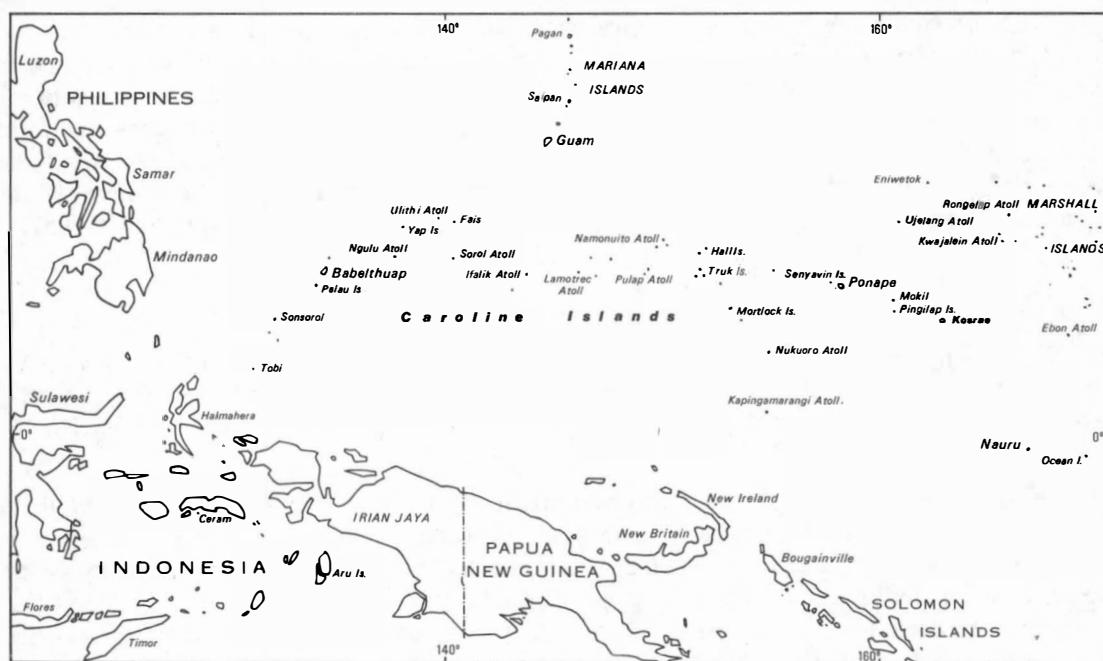
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occurring with a nominal is found to have certain advantages over the statement. In Sections 4 and 5 we discuss adverbial clauses and interrogative sentences also occurring with clause-final particles. In Section 6, we briefly review the two descriptions we have given of the function of these particles and point out what is needed for further research.

1.2 THE KOSRAEAN LANGUAGE

Kosraean is the language of between 4,500 and 5,000 people almost all of whom live on the island of Kosrae in the Caroline Islands. The island is about 42 square miles in area and located at approximately 164° E and 5° N.



MAP 1: LOCATION OF CAROLINE ISLANDS

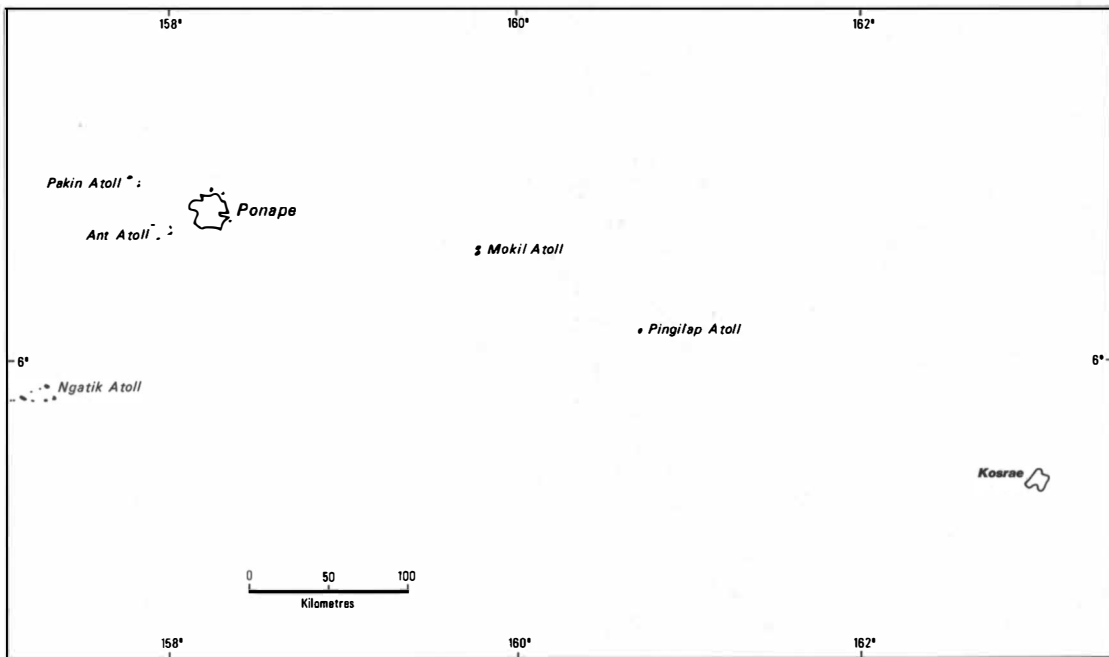
Kosrae is about 300 miles southeast of Ponape, about 150 miles southeast of Mokil and 100 miles southeast of Pingilap.

There are also Kosraean speakers living on Ponape in an area of Kolonia (the capital) known as the 'Kosraean village'. Of course there are individual Kosraean speakers on the other Micronesian islands and elsewhere.

Kosrae was traditionally on the route of the whaling ships in the 1800s and there are written records of at least 75 whalers and explorers visiting Kosrae in the years of 1800-1860 (Wilson n.d.).

These visitors include Americans, Canadians, French, and Russians. At least some from the crews are known to have jumped ship and married on the island. Their descendants still live there. Around 1880, schools for Gilbertese and Marshallese children were being run by the missionaries on the island of Kosrae, thus introducing intensive language contact with other Micronesian languages. German, Spanish, and Japanese were also in use on the island during the times in which Germany, Spain and Japan ruled there – 1885, 1886-1899, and 1914-1945, respectively. It is not known what effect – apart from lexical borrowing – contact with these languages has had on Kosraean.

Soon after missionaries arrived in Kosrae in 1852, an influenza epidemic broke out. At the time the population was estimated as 1,200 (Wilson n.d.). By 1859, the population had decreased to 600. In 1880 the population was recorded as 200. By 1937 the population had again increased to 1,267 and in 1956 it was recorded as 2,320. There are no available records of language change during the time covering the decline and subsequent increase of population.



MAP 2: LOCATION OF KOSRAE

It has been claimed that there are three major dialects of Kosraean (Jeff Marck, p.c.). However, in the absence of a dialect study, the nature of the differences is unclear.

Pawley (1972) and other comparative linguists place Kosraean within a possible Micronesian group of the Eastern Oceanic subgroup of the Austronesian language family (Blust 1977):

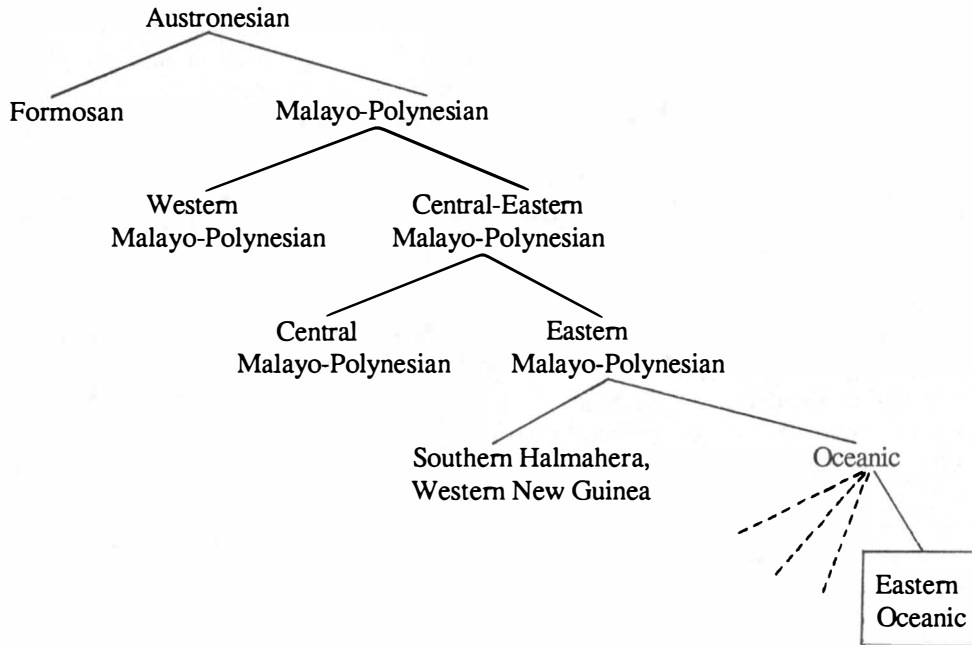


FIGURE 1: THE PLACE OF EASTERN OCEANIC IN AUSTRONESIAN

Jackson (1982) considers Kosraen to be a single member of a first order Proto-Micronesian subgroup:

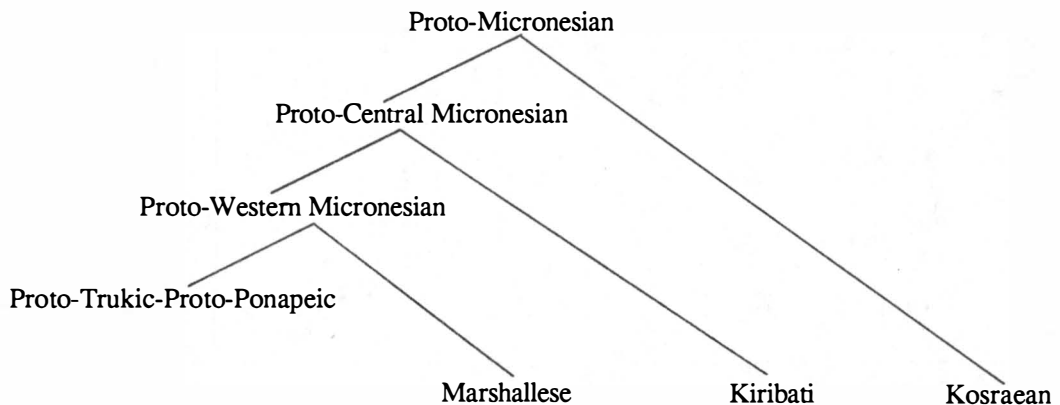


FIGURE 2: THE PLACE OF KOSRAEAN IN PROTO-MICRONESIAN

Research has thus far failed to reveal whether Kosraean is a separate branch of Proto-Micronesian as shown above or whether it is perhaps related more closely to one of the other Micronesian languages.

1.3 KOSRAEAN GRAMMAR

In this section we present a brief overview of Kosraen grammar.

1.3.1 PHONOLOGY

Lee (1975:9-16) posits a twelve-vowel system for Kosraean:³

(1)		Front	Central	Back
	High	<i>i</i>	<i>ɨ</i>	<i>u</i>
	Mid	<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>
	Low-mid	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>ʌ</i>	<i>ɔ</i>
	Low	<i>æ</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>oɑ</i>

Lee gives examples of vowel length variation as a means of differentiating between particular words (Lee 1975:17), but claims that length is predictable on the basis of which syllable the vowel occurs in. He thus does not represent length in the orthography. The vowels are indicated by the following symbols:

(2)		Front	Central	Back
	High	<i>i</i>	<i>ih</i>	<i>u</i>
	Mid	<i>e</i>	<i>uc</i>	<i>o</i>
	Mid-Low	<i>ac</i>	<i>uh</i>	<i>oh</i>
	Low	<i>ah</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>oɑ</i>

As Lee states (Lee 1975:48), vowels frequently change vowel quality or may even be reduced when affixes appear in a word. (See Lee 1975:76-91 for listing of some verb-related vowel changes.)

The basic consonants, Lee claims, are the following (Lee 1975:18):

(3)		Bilabial	Labio-Dental	Dental	Palatal	Velar
	Stop	<i>p</i>		<i>t</i>		<i>k</i>
	Fricative		<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	
	Nasal	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>		<i>ŋ</i>
	Lateral			<i>l</i>		
	Flap			<i>r</i>		
	Glides		<i>y</i>			<i>w</i>

Any of the consonants may be velarised.⁴ This velarisation is indicated in the spelling system by a *w* following the consonant. The spelling symbols for the consonants are indicated as shown above, except for the following symbols: *ʃ* = *sr*, *ŋ* = *ng*. Upon addition of affixes, a final consonant may be velarised (Lee 1975:93):

(4)	<i>nihm</i>	'drink'	<i>nuhmwack</i>	'to drink part of something'
-----	-------------	---------	-----------------	------------------------------

Word stress is on the penultimate syllable, e.g., '*fah.fah* 'poi', *muh.lah.lah* 'light' (Ibid:33,34).

1.3.2 SENTENCE STRUCTURE

Kosraen has two major sentence types – predicational sentences and equational sentences. Predicational sentences have a main verb as the head of the predicate and conform to a fairly strict SV(O) order as in (5) below:

- (5) S V O
 [Pahpah mahtuh se] [use] [usr ah.]
 papa old det. brought banana det.
 The grandfather brought the bananas.

Some speakers are reported to allow topicalisation of noun phrases internal to the sentence, but in our experience, such strings are considered unacceptable:⁵

- (6) P S V
 * [Ussr ah,] [pahpah mahtuh se] [use].
 banana det. papa old det. brought
 The bananas, the grandfather brought.

Nor are other inversions of SVO word order acceptable:

- (7) V S O
 * [Use] [pahpah mahtuh se] [usr ah.]
 brought papa old det. banana det.
 The grandfather brought the bananas.

- (8) S O V
 * [Pahpah mahtuh se] [usr ah] [use.]
 papa old det. banana det. brought
 The grandfather brought the bananas.

The restrictions noted on the ordering of constituents also hold for dependent sentential structures such as relative clauses, complement clauses, adverbial clauses, and indirect questions.

Equational sentences are sentences in which both the subject and the predicate are noun phrases in the semantic relation: X is a Y. They have no main verb. There are basically two kinds of equational sentences, those composed of only two noun phrases and those having two noun phrases with an intervening *pa*. For convenience we translate *pa* as 'is' though the actual status of *pa* is far from clear.

- (9) NP NP
 [Alihk el] [tuhlihk Kosrae se].⁶
 Alec s.m. child Kosrae det.
 Alec is a Kosraean child.

- (10) NP NP
 [Ma sih-k] pa [lohm se lwacyac lacsac ah.]⁷
 thing class-my is house det. side left det.
 My thing is the house on the left.

Lee's (1977) characterisation of *pa* sentences as cleft sentences seems appropriate. The *pa* equationals differ from the other type in that the regular information structure order, old information before new information, as in (9), is reversed. In (10) *ma sih-k* 'my thing' is new information while *loh m se* 'the house' is considered to be within view of the hearer. The sense of (10) may be expressed without *pa*, but the order of the noun phrases must be reversed, as in (11):

- | | | | |
|------|---------------------------------------|------|----------------------|
| | NP | | NP |
| (11) | [<i>Lohm se lwacyacn lacsac ah</i>] | | [<i>ma sih-k.</i>] |
| | house det. side | left | det. thing class-my |
| | The house on the left is my thing. | | |

The reversal of information structure in *pa* equational sentences will prove to be useful in our discussion of the occurrence of determiners in noun phrases (Section 2.3.1).

1.3.3 VERB PHRASES

Verb phrases in predicational sentences consist of one or more pre-verbal tense-aspect particles, a main verb, and any noun phrase for which the verb is subcategorised, as well as adverbs, time phrases, location phrases, and other prepositional phrases. The ordering is approximately the following:

- (12) [vP T(ense)/A(spect), MV, NP (d.o.), NP (i.o.), PP, (Adv....)]

Time adverbials may also appear sentence initially and other adverbs may occur before T/A, etc. See Lee (1975:248-281) for further detailed description.

1.3.4 NOUN PHRASES

Noun phrases in Kosraean may consist of one of the following:

- (1) a pronoun
 - (2) a proper noun with a subject or object marker (see (17) below and footnote 6)
 - (3) a phrase containing a head noun with various modifiers, such as adjectives, numerals, classifiers (and possessive pronouns), place names, an adverbial time word⁸ and a determiner
- (13) *El som-lah.*
 he go-away
 He went away.
- (14) *Kuhn el liye oak ah.*
 Kuhn s.m. saw canoe det.
 Kuhn saw the canoe.

- (15) N Adj Num Class Place Time Det
 [NP *Lohm luhlahp luo sih-k Awai met ah*] *kuhkakaihnyuhklac*.
 house big two class-my Hawaii first det. sold
 The first two big houses of mine in Hawaii were sold. (Lee 1975:327)

Lee (1975:99,100) lists the subject and object personal pronouns as follows:

- | | | | |
|------|------|----------------|---|
| (16) | | Subject | Object |
| | 1 ps | <i>nga</i> | <i>-yuh</i> |
| | 2 ps | <i>kom</i> | <i>-kom</i> |
| | 3 ps | <i>el</i> | <i>-el, -il, -uhl, -ohl, -acl</i> |
| | 1 pp | <i>kuht</i> | <i>-kuht</i> |
| | in | | |
| | ex | <i>kitacl</i> | <i>-kitacl</i> |
| | 2 pp | <i>komtacl</i> | <i>-komtacl</i> |
| | 3 pp | <i>eltahl</i> | <i>-eltahl, -iltahl, -uhltacl, -ohltahl, -acltahl</i> |

As indicated above, the object forms are suffixes, attached to the main verb. The variations in the vowels for the third person forms are conditioned by the preceding vowel. (See Lee 1975:78-83.)

The third person subject pronoun *el* is also used as a subject marker (s.m.) following a proper name only:

- (17) *Sah el som-lah Pohnpe.*
 Sah s.m. go-away Ponape
 Sah went to Ponape.

Possessive proforms (as in (20)) may be directly suffixed to some head nouns (e.g., those that include body parts, spatial relations, and nouns derived from adjectives or verbs) or to classifiers which occur with the noun (also see (10) above):

- (18) *Nga liye muhtah-l.*
 I saw face-his
 I saw his face.
- (19) *Kuhn el liye oak okoac-l.*
 Kuhn s.m. saw canoe class-his
 Kuhn saw his canoe.

The possessive pronominals are as follows (Lee 1975:103):

- | | | | |
|------|-----|-----------|---------------------------------------|
| (20) | | Singular | Plural |
| | 1 p | <i>-k</i> | <i>-sr (incl.)
-ktacl (excl.)</i> |
| | 2 p | <i>-m</i> | <i>-mtacl</i> |
| | 3 p | <i>-l</i> | <i>-ltahl</i> |

Lee claims that the stems to which these affixes are attached have final vowels, which are perhaps a composite of a stem-final vowel and a suffix-initial vowel.

Some of the more commonly used classifiers, listed by Lee (1975:111) are:

- | | | |
|------|-----------------|--------------------|
| (21) | <i>okoac-</i> | transportation |
| | <i>se-</i> | land, shelter |
| | <i>suhnwac-</i> | plant |
| | <i>nahtuh-</i> | tool, pet, toy |
| | <i>nihmac-</i> | drink |
| | <i>niyac-</i> | chewable food |
| | <i>na-</i> | edible food |
| | <i>la-</i> | general classifier |

Possessive noun phrases which include a classifier and frequently a noun phrase specifying the possessor may occur with two determiners:

- (22) *Samwel el use [NP mani se la-l (Sohn) ah].*
 Samwel s.m. carry money det. class-his (John) det.
 Samuel carried his (John's) money.

Some possessive noun phrases, however, have what seems to be an appositional phrase referring to the possessor:

- Appositional NP
- (23) [NP[NP *Mukul se*] [NP *tuhmwe-n muhtwacn ah*]] *arulacna mahtuh.*
 man det. spouse-of woman det. very old
 The woman's husband is very old.

The existence of possessive phrases like those in (23) may be relevant to one description of relative clauses explored in Section 2.6.1.

1.4 NOTATIONAL CONVENTIONS USED IN THIS PAPER

The tree diagrams used in the description which associate the final determiner with a nominal head require some explanation. Though we follow some of the conventions of X-bar theory (Jackendoff 1974) and use the basic view of the composition of a sentence that is used in the more recent Government-Binding (GB) theory (Chomsky 1981), we do not imply that there is any basis (in this paper, anyway) for the basic tenets of these theories in the Kosraean language. In fact, we use only two of the notations from these theories in our description.

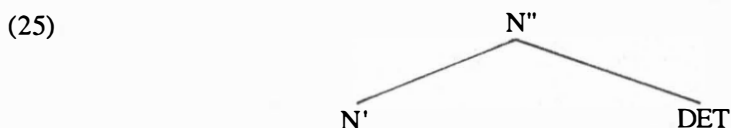
They are as follows:

1. As in GB theory, we use the convention of saying that there is some kind of sentence-initial place for such items as question markers, complementisers, and perhaps words that are moved to a sentence-initial place. We follow GB theory in calling this place COMP:

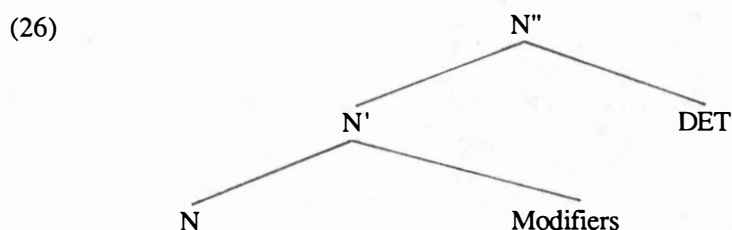


Notice that in this diagram, we thereby use the idea that the sentence has two 'levels', S' and S. (We assume that S itself is composed of NP-VP as in Chomsky's Standard Theory (Chomsky, 1965).)

2. As in X-bar theory, (Jackendoff, 1974) we use the idea that phrases have levels. In particular, determiners for noun phrases are considered to be identified in the expansion of the highest level, N'' as follows:

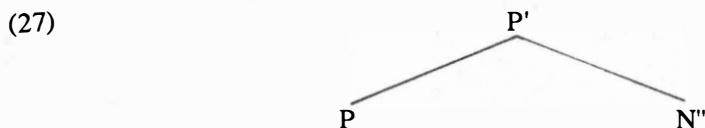


All other modifiers are identified in the expansion of N', with the lowest level N identifying only the head noun:



As can be clearly seen, such notation has the advantage that one can talk about determiners and show them clearly, using this notation.

A verb phrase, of course, is identified as V'', though in this paper, we do not expand V'' since it is not needed in our discussion. Prepositional phrases are P' with the expansion as follows:



We do not imply that Kosraean provides any basis for such levels (though of course it may). However, the reader will see as the discussion continues that this notation has the clear advantage of making determiners stand out clearly in the tree notation, and the structures in which the determiners function is also clearer. The notation and the trees themselves allow one to see at a glance the relationship described.

2.0 DETERMINERS IN RELATIVE CLAUSES

In this section we show that the determiner particles occurring finally in relative clauses are indeed the determiners that occur in noun phrases. However, in the syntactic context of relative clauses, they do not function as determiners for simple lexical nouns. We identify the features of realised tense and restrictiveness as being associated with the occurrence of the final determiner particle.

2.1 RELATIVE CLAUSE TYPES

In this section we show that realised tense [+REALIS] (or [+R]) and restrictiveness [+RES] are the particular features in relative clauses which are associated with the occurrence of the determiner particles, i.e. *ah*, *uh*, etc. We look first at unrealised ([-REALIS] or [-R]) tense versus realised tense [+R] in relative clauses.

a. In some relative clauses the preverbal tense-aspect form is restricted to *in* 'unrealised tense' (specified as IRR) as in (28) below:

- (28) *Mukul ah oruh-lah ma se* [_S' \emptyset [_S *kuht in sritacl-kihn* \emptyset]].
 man det. make-perf. thing det. we IRR play-with
 The man made something for us to play with.

(See 3.1 for the occurrence of *in* in clausal complements.)

Any realised preverbal tense-aspect marker may occur in a clause which is [+REALIS]:

- (29) *Mwet se* [_S' *ma* [_S \emptyset *ac som uh*]] *tuhng.* (cf. (31))
tuh
fah
 etc.
 man det. REL REAL go det. cry
 The man who (will, has) go(ne) is crying.

b. A relative clause containing the IRR marker *in* never has one of the relative markers, *suc*, *ma*, or *suc ma*, i.e. it always has \emptyset in the introductory position (cf. (28)):

- (30) * *Mukul ah oruh-lah ma se* [_S' *ma* [_S *kuht in sritacl-kihn* \emptyset]].
suc
suc ma (cf (28))
 man det. make-perf thing det. REL we to play-with
 The man made something for us to play with.

A [+R] clause may be introduced either by one of the markers in (31) or by \emptyset : (Also see Examples (29), (33), and (36).)

- (31) *Mukul se* [_S' *ma ac som uh*] *tuhng.*
suc ma
 man det. REL will go det. cry
 The man who will go is crying.

c. No final determiner particle occurs in a clause with *in* 'IRR':

- (32) * *Mukul ah oruh-lah ma se* [_S' \emptyset [_S *kuht in sritacl-kihn ah.*]]⁹
 man det. make-perf. thing det. we to play-with det.
 The man made something for us to play with. (cf. (28))

However, a determiner particle may occur with a clause which is introduced by *ma*, *suc ma*, or \emptyset (though not with clauses introduced by *suc*, as seen in (36) and (37)) and which contains a preverbal [+R] tense-aspect particle (or no preverbal particle, indicating present or past tense):

- (33) *Mukul ah oruh-lah ma se* [_S' *ma* [_S *kuht luhngse* \emptyset *ah*]].
suc ma **uh**
 \emptyset etc.
 man det. make-perf thing det. REL we like det.
 The man made something we like.

Thus, the occurrence of irrealis *in* is negatively correlated with the occurrence of the final determiner particle.

Since [-R] clauses never contain a final determiner particle, realised tense may be a necessary feature of clauses with determiner particles. However, the feature of realised tense [+R] is necessary but not sufficient to predict the occurrence of the final determiner particles. The restrictive feature [+RES] must also be present. Relative clauses with determiner particles differ from those without in the following respect:

A relative clause must have a determiner particle if the clause identifies the referent of the head noun phrase, i.e. it is restrictive, [+RES], (indicated here by the lack of commas in the sentence and gloss):

- (34) *Mwet se* [_S *ma* [_S \emptyset *som uh*]], *tuhng*.
 man det. REL go det. cry
 The man who is going is crying.

Contrast:

- (35) * *Mwet se*, [_S *ma* [_S \emptyset *som uh*]], *tuhng*.
 man det. REL go det. cry
 The man, who is going, is crying.

An unrestricted relative clause [-RES], as in (36), is introduced by the relative marker *suc* 'REL' and does not occur with a final determiner particle:

- (36) *Mwet se*, [_S *suc* [_S \emptyset *som*]], *tuhng*.
 man det. REL go cry
 Some man, who is going, is crying.
- (37) * *Mwet se*, [_S *suc* [_S \emptyset *som ah*]], *tuhng*.
uh, etc.
 man det. REL go det. cry
 Some man, who is going, is crying.

Two syntactic features associated with the restrictive/nonrestrictive feature in [+R] clauses are (1) the possibility of extraposition and (2) the choice of determiner for the head noun phrase. First, a nonrestrictive clause may be extraposed:

- (38) *Mwet tuhng*, [_S *suc* [_S \emptyset *som*]]. (cf. 36)
 man cry REL go
 Some man is crying, who is going.

while a restrictive clause may not:

- (39) * *Mwet se tuhng*, [_S *ma* [_S \emptyset *som ah*]] (cf. (34))
suc ma *uh*, etc.
 \emptyset
 man det. cry, REL go det.
 The man is crying, that is going.

Secondly, only the determiner *se* may occur with the head noun phrase of a restrictive [+RES] clause:

- (40) *Mwet se* [_S *ma* [_S \emptyset *som ah*]] *tuhng*.
 man det. REL go det. cry
 The man that is going is crying.
- (41) * *Mwet ah* [_S *ma* [_S \emptyset *som ah*]] *tuhng* (cf. (40))
sac,
 etc.
 man det. REL go det. cry
 The man that is going is crying.

Any determiner from either the *ah* or the *sac* series (Section 2.3) may occur with the head noun phrase of a nonrestrictive [-RES] clause:

- (42) *Mwet ah* [_S *suc* [_S \emptyset *som*]], *tuhng*. (cf. (36), (40), (41))
uh
sac,
 etc.
 man det. REL go cry
 A man (some man, men, etc.), who is going, is crying.

Thus, the occurrence of the final determiner particle in a relative clause is associated with the feature [+RES] in a clause with a realised tense [+R]. Restrictiveness as a feature is, in addition, associated with the characteristics of nonextraposition and the restriction of the head noun phrase determiner to *se*.

The very limited data we have suggests that [-R] clauses (those with *in* 'IRR') must also be restrictive. Like restrictive clauses which are [+R], the choice of determiner in the head noun phrase of the IRR clause is limited to *se*:

- (43) * *Mukul ah oruh-lah ma ah* [_S \emptyset [_S *kuht in sritacl-kihn* \emptyset]].
sac, (cf. (32))
 etc.
 man det. make-perf. thing det. we to play-with
 The man made something for us to play with.

As to extraposition, this feature remains undetermined for [-R] clauses because of the limited data available. However, we expect that [-R] clauses cannot be extraposed and will prove to be restrictive. If this is the case, it may be only the feature [+RES] which is associated with the impossibility of extraposition and restriction of the determiner for the head noun phrase to *se*. The feature of realised/unrealised tense may then be the determining factor in the occurrence of the determiner particles.

We return to discussion of clause features in 2.6.3. The following chart summarises the features of relative clauses noted in this section.

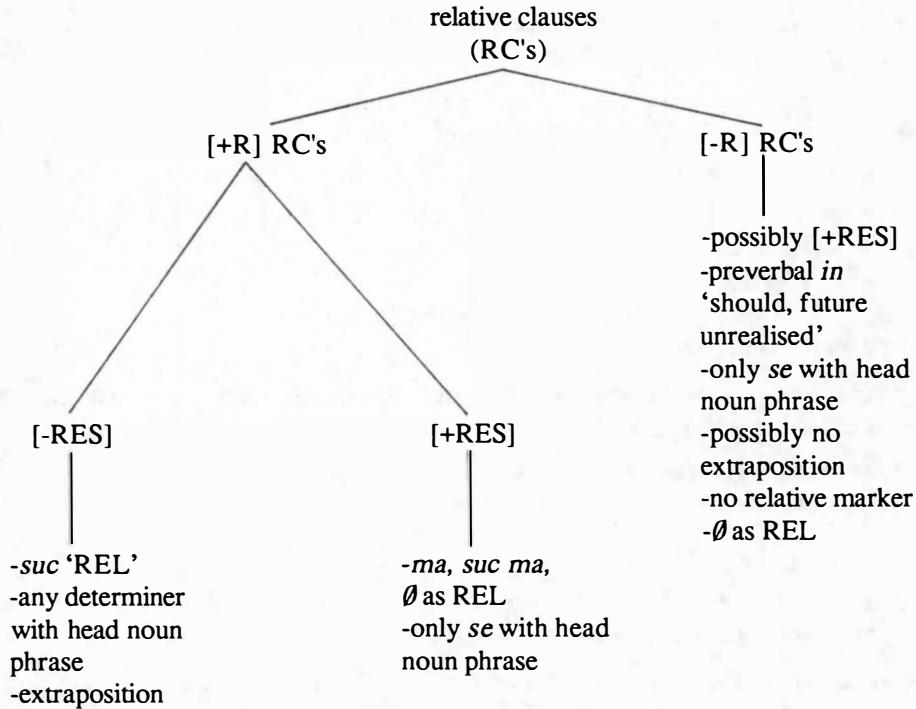


FIGURE 3: RELATIVE CLAUSE TYPES:

[-R] = unrealised tense/aspect, [+R] = realised tense/aspect, [+RES] = restrictive (necessary to identify referent of head noun phrase), [-RES] = nonrestrictive (not necessary to identify referent of head noun phrase).

In the next section, we consider the so-called 'missing noun phrases' which occur in all the types of relative clauses discussed in this section.

2.2 MISSING NOUN PHRASES

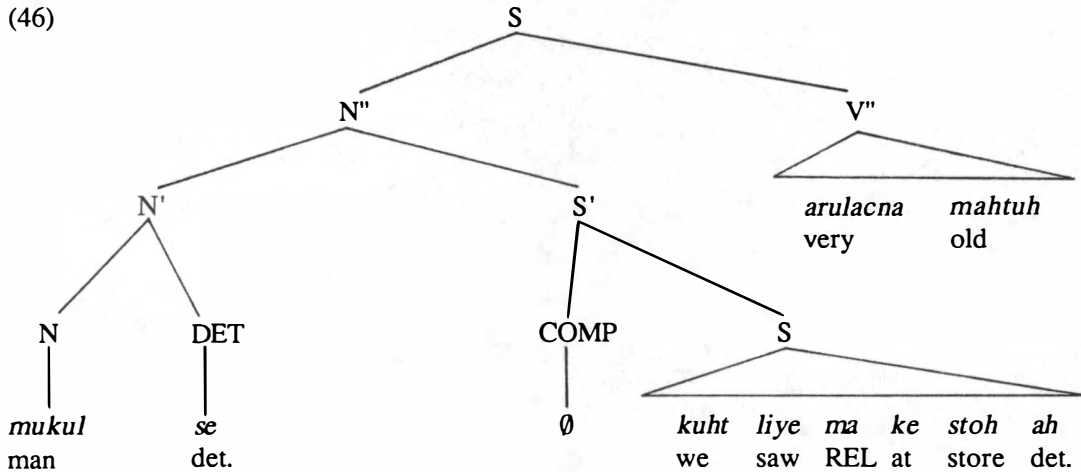
Virtually all relative clauses described in Section 2.1 lack one otherwise obligatory noun phrase. (The single exception is discussed later in this section.)

- (44) *Mukul se* [_S *ma* [_S *kuht liye* Ø *ke stoh ah*]] *arulacna mahtuh*.
 man det. REL we saw at store det. very old
 The man that we saw at the store is very old.

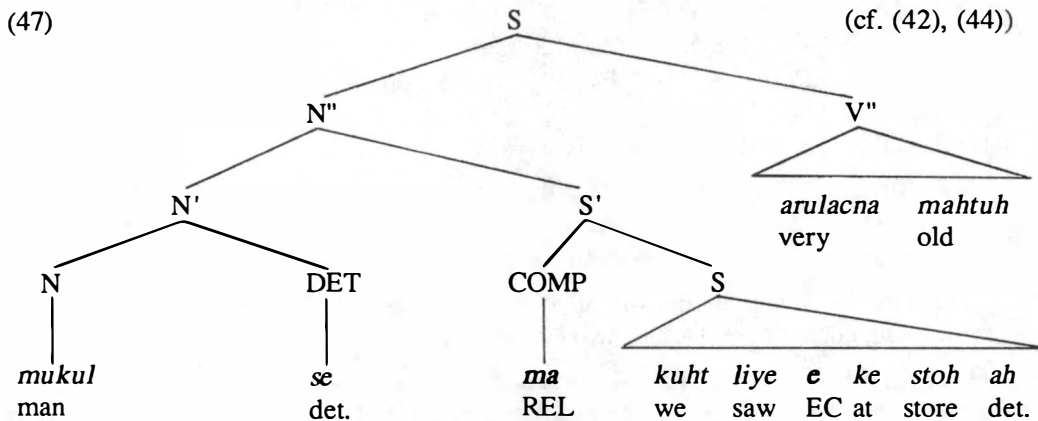
- (45) *Sohn el molwelah lahm sahrom se* [_S *suc* [_S Ø *sa na muhsahllah*]].
 John s.m. bought lamp light det. REL soon very broke
 John brought a flashlight, which broke very soon.

Transitive verbs such as *liye* 'see' in (44) are subcategorised for a direct object. But there is no overt object in (44). The verb *muhsahllah* 'broke' in (45) which must generally have a subject, lacks an overt subject. If a relative clause has a *ma*, *suc*, or *suc ma*, we could say that the relative

marker occurs in the place of the missing noun phrase (henceforth shown as *e* in the examples and designated as an empty category, EC) in some kind of underlying structure:

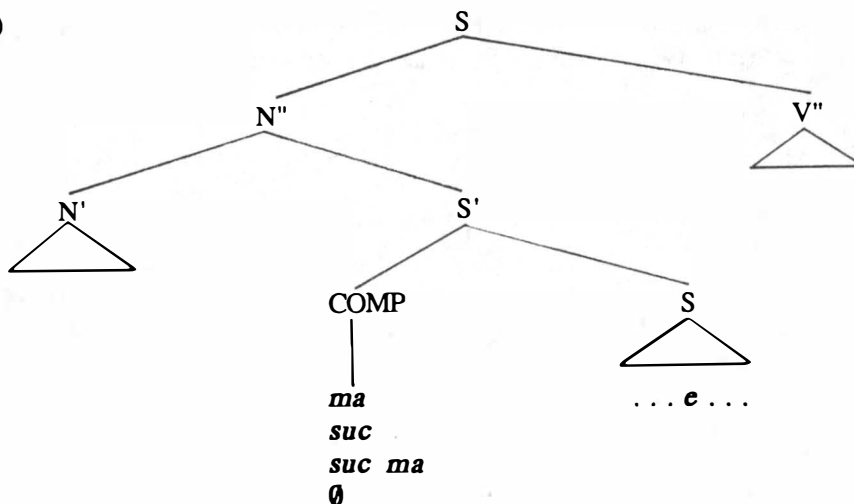


The form *ma* would then have to be moved, perhaps to the position dominated by the COMP node as in (47) below.



However, some relative clauses have no introducer. So, if we elect to say that there is movement of some unit (perhaps one of the relative markers) we also need to say that it is followed by some kind of deletion. This is an unnecessary complication. More reasonably, we can say, that for these clauses, a phonetically null noun phrase occurs at some level of structure (thus also avoiding theoretical controversy). For clauses introduced by *ma* and *suc ma* we could also claim that the introducers are in some type of sentence initial position of which we will designate as COMP:

(48)



In this case, the phonetically null noun phrase, *e*, has the same referent as the relative clause marker in COMP.

The single exception to the statement that all relative clauses in Kosraean have a missing noun phrase is those relative clauses in which the head noun phrase and bound variable are locative. In these clauses, a resumptive pronoun *we* 'there' occurs:

- (49) *El luhngse lohm se* [_S ∅ [_S *mwet ah muhta we ah*]].
 he like house det. man det. stay there det.
 He likes the house (where) the man is staying.

- (50) *Nga luhngse muhta ke infohk se* [_S *ma* [_S *kom muhta we an*]].
 I want sit on ground det. REL you sit there det.
 I want to sit on the ground where you are sitting.

In (49) and (50) the locative pronoun, *we* 'there' has the same referent as the relative marker (\emptyset , *ma*) and as the missing noun phrase does in the other relative clauses.¹⁰

Finally, we suggest that when COMP of the relative clause contains *suc ma*, the two items in COMP may require separate interpretations. Recall that relative clauses introduced by *suc* have no determiner particle:

- (51) *Nga konwacuhk moni* [_S *suc* [_S *e wihk-lac in pohk se*]].
 I found money REL hide-perf. in box det.
 I found (some) money, which was hidden in a box.

However, a determiner particle occurs if the clause is introduced only by *ma*, as in (52):

- (52) *El etuh tuhlih mukul se* [_S *ma* [_S *kom liye e ah*]].
 he know child male det. REL you see EC det.
 He knows the boy that you saw.

A determiner particle also occurs when the relative clause is introduced by the combination *suc ma*:

- (53) *Mukul se* [_S *suc ma* [_S *e ullac ah*]] *muhta nuh ten in soano.*
 man det. REL EC tired det. sat down to wait
 The man who is tired sat down to wait.

These observations could indicate a structural difference between *suc*-introduced relative clauses and those introduced by *suc ma*. We return to this problem in Section 6.3.

We next show that the determiner particles in relative clauses are indeed determiners.

2.3 THE LEXICAL CLASS OF DETERMINERS

In this section we show that the determiner particles in relative clauses are the same morphologically (in form and meaning) as the determiners which occur in simple noun phrases. Simple noun phrases are noun phrases defined roughly by Lee (1975:237) as the string:

- (54) Noun Adj Num CL(assifier) P(roper)N(oun) Det

The simple noun phrase in this definition contains no prepositional phrase or clause. We note first that the determiner particles occurring in the head noun phrases of relative clauses are found in the same form in simple noun phrases:

- (55) *Mukul yohk se engan.*
 man big det. happy
 The big man is happy.

- (56) *Mukul yohk ah engan.*
 man big det. happy
 The big man is happy./The big men are happy.

The difference between *se* in (55) and *ah* in (56) is that the noun phrase in (55) is marked for singularity by *se*, but in (56) the noun phrase may be understood as either singular or plural, i.e. 'The big men are happy' is an acceptable translation for (56) but not for (55). In addition *se* marks a position near the speaker, while *ah* is unmarked for position.

The determiners in (55) and (56) are chosen from the following paradigms (Lee 1975:129):¹¹

(57)	<i>sac</i> series		<i>ah</i> series
	<i>se</i>	the one, near speaker	<i>uh</i> the, near speaker
	<i>sacn</i>	the one, near hearer	<i>an</i> the, near hearer
	<i>soh</i>	the one, away from speaker and hearer	<i>oh</i> the, away from speaker and hearer
	<i>sac</i>	the one	<i>ah</i> the

While determiners from the *sac* series are used only when the nominal referent is singular, the *ah* series is, as we saw above, unmarked for number. Both series are inflected for spatial deixis, and additionally, each contain one member unmarked in this respect, i.e., *ah* 'the' and *sac* 'the one'.¹²

In a simple noun phrase, one determiner--and only one--from either set¹³ may occur in final position (as in (55) and (56) above):

to be known to the hearer), the determiner must occur. Generally, this means that the determiner must appear with the subject of the sentence, while a direct object or object of a preposition need not have a determiner: subjects in Kosraean are normally 'given' or 'old' information.

- (62) *Mos uh wo.*
 breadfruit det. good
 Breadfruit is good.
- (63) * *Mos Ø wo.*
 breadfruit good
 Breadfruit is good.
- (64) *El luhngse mos (uh).¹⁵*
 he like breadfruit (det.)
 He likes breadfruit.

This generalisation extends to non-generic nouns:

- (65) *Ninac el eslah pik soko (ah).*
 mother s.m. bought pig one (det.)
 Mother bought one pig.

Noun phrases with non-generic reference and no final determiner (in the new information part of the sentence) are more acceptable if they contain a numeral, as in (65) (*pik soko* 'one pig' is considered new information for the hearer). However, in the part of the sentence which is old information (the subject in (66) below), even if a noun phrase has a numeral, it is not acceptable without a determiner as well. In (66) and (67), *pik soko* 'one pig' is assumed to be known to the hearer:

- (66) * *Pik soko Ø luhngse mongo.*
 pig one like eat
 One pig likes to eat.
- (67) *Pik soko ah luhngse mongo.*
 pig one det. like eat
 One pig likes to eat.

In discourse, an entire sentence may be considered new information and then the determiner in the subject noun phrase is optional:

- (68) *Tiac paht oasr usr na fohn se¹⁶ tuh oan inse.*
 not late exist banana intens whole det. past lie inside
Muh luo (ah) pac oan.
 orange two (det.) also lie
 Not much later there was a whole banana lying inside. Two oranges also lay (there).

In (68) the entire second sentence is considered new information by the speaker. The noun phrase *muh luo* 'two oranges' is something the speaker considers that the hearer does not know is there. It seems then that determiners are obligatorily present only in noun phrases considered 'given' or 'old' information. This conclusion is strengthened when we consider noun phrases in equational sentences in which the information structure is reversed, as we shall see.

- (73) *Pohl se* [_S *ma* [_S *nuhtuh-k ah tili (ah)*]] *pa ma se*
 ball det. REL child-my det. threw (det.) is thing det.

[_S *ma* [_S *nga luhngse ah*]].

* Ø

REL I want det.

The ball that my child threw is the thing that I want.

Thus, we see that the occurrence of a determiner in a relative clause is subject to the same informational constraints as the occurrence of a determiner in a simple noun phrase.

2.3.3 SUMMARY

In 2.3 - 2.3.2 we have shown that the final particles in relative clauses are indeed the determiners of the *ah* series that also occur in simple noun phrases. The *ah* and *sac* series comprise the category 'determiner', a lexical category, the members of which occur singly in simple noun phrases (cf. (58)).

We have shown that the final determiner for a relative clause is obligatory when the noun phrase containing it is considered by the speaker to be old information but optional if the noun phrase is new information. These are the same information constraints as for determiners in simple noun phrases.

Thus, if we treat final *ah* particles in relative clauses as something other than lexical determiners, we would miss a significant generalisation. What we need to do is describe the specific role of these determiners in clauses. For instance we might say they are specifiers (a somewhat vague term in itself) as Chomsky, 1970 claims. If so, what constituent do they specify? Determiners function as specifiers of noun phrases, according to Chomsky. Of course, this does not prevent us from describing determiners as specifying a constituent other than a noun phrase. If, however, Kosraean determiners do in fact specify only noun phrases, one plausible candidate for the specified constituent is the head NP of the relative clause.

2.4 THE HEAD NP-DETERMINER ASSOCIATION

We might associate the final determiner in relative clauses with the head noun phrase:

- (74) *Tuhlihk mukul se* [_S *ma* [_S *nga liye e oh*]] *kaheng-lac*.
 child make det. REL I saw EC away/spkr/hrr ran-away

The boy that I saw ran away.

If we do, then we have an explanation for the fact that the spatial deixis of the *ah* series determiner refers to the head noun phrase. In (74) it is clear that the position indicated by *oh* 'away from speaker and hearer' refers to *tuhlihk mukul se* 'the boy'.

However, there are problems with such an association. First, it entails having two determiners for the head noun phrase in (74), i.e. *se* and *oh*. The second determiner *oh* might be either postposed or form part of a discontinuous determiner constituent.

One way around the complication of two determiners in relative clauses is to claim as Lee (1975:347, 350) does, that the *se* with the head noun phrase is a numeral, not a determiner. Thus, associating the *ah* determiner with the head noun phrase would not have the effect of positing that

there are two determiners for the head noun phrase. Rather, it would occur with a numeral *se* and an *ah* determiner.

However, an examination of the relevant characteristics of numerals indicates that this solution is not plausible. We find that the particle *se* with the head noun phrase does not conform to the observed facts concerning numerals, which are given below.

There are two series of cardinal numerals; those which occur with names of fish, insects, four-legged animals, plants, transportation, and long, pointed objects (Series I below) and those which occur with humans and all other referents (Series II below). We list some of the forms (see Lee 1975:119f for a more complete listing and description of usage):

(75)	SERIES I	SERIES II
1	<i>soko</i>	<i>sie</i>
2	<i>lukoac</i>	<i>luo</i>
3	<i>tolko</i> (or <i>tolkoe</i>)	<i>tolu</i>
4	<i>yoko</i>	<i>ahkosr</i>
5	<i>luhmko</i> (or <i>luhmkoe</i>)	<i>limekosr</i>

The occurrence and semantic properties of these numerals are as follows:

a. All numerals may occur prenominaly in a noun phrase and are generally considered partitive in this position, e.g., 'one/two, etc. of N':

- (76) *Nga liye* [_N *soko* [_N *kosro*] *ah*].
 I saw one/of dog det.
 I saw one of the dogs.

b. A numeral may occur postnominally and before a final determiner of the *ah* series. In this case it is not partitive, but numerative:

- (77) [_N [_N *Kosro*] *soko ah*] *yohk*.
 dog one det. big
 The one dog is big.

- (78) [_N [_N *Mwet*] *luo ah*] *somlah*.
 man two det. left.
 The two men left.

c. The *sie* 'one' numeral of Series II, however, differs from the other numerals in that it occurs prenominaly (and only prenominaly) with both a partitive and a numerative meaning:

- (79) *Nga liye* [_N *sie* [_N *fohtoh*] *ah*].
 I saw one,one/of basket det.
 I saw one (one of the) basket(s).

Lee's claim is that *se* postnominally is a numeral in Series II, the variant of *sie* 'one' which occurs postnominally:

- (80) [Nⁿ [N *Fohtoh*] *se*] *yohk*.
 basket the/one big
 The (singular) basket is big.

However, *se* differs from the numerals described in (75)-(79) in the following respects:

a. *se* never occurs prenominally (with or without a partitive function) (contrast with a. above):

- (81) * [Nⁿ *Se* [N *fohtoh*] *ah*] *yohk*. (cf. (77), (79))
 one basket det. big.
 One (one of the) basket(s) is big.

b. *se*, unlike other numerals, cannot occur postnominally with another determiner (from the *ah* series) after it (contrast with b. above):

- (82) * [Nⁿ [N *Fohtoh*] *se ah*] *yohk*. (cf. (77), (78))
 basket one det. big.
 The one basket is big.

c. While the occurrence of Series I and II numerals is restricted to the word classes listed above, *se* (like other members of the *sac* series of determiners) is not restricted to the nouns with which Series II numerals occur, as we would expect if *se* were a variant of *sie* 'one'. On the contrary, *se* may occur with nouns which normally take a Series I numeral:

- (83) *Kosro se yohk*.
 sac,
 etc.
 dog det. big
 The dog is big.

- (84) *Kosro soko ah yohk*. (cf. (77)) (Series I numeral)
 dog one det. big
 The one dog is big. ¹⁸

- (85) * *Kosro luo ah yohk*. (Series II numeral)
 dog two det. big
 The two dogs are big.

- (86) *Kosro lukoac ah yohk*. (Series I numeral)
 dog two det. big
 The two dogs are big.

Thus, we have shown that the form *se* contrasts with the regular numeral forms in the following respects: (1) *se* does not occur with a partitive function (cf. (81)), (2) *se* cannot occur with a

following *ah* determiner (cf. (82)), and (3) *se* may occur with any noun (as shown in (80),(83)-(86)). Numerals, on the other hand, (1) occur with both partitive and numerative functions (cf. (76), (77)), (2) can occur with a following *ah* determiner (cf. (76), (78)) and (3) have differing forms restricted to particular classes of nouns (cf. (77), (78)). We thus conclude that *se* does not function as a numeral, but rather as a determiner.

Since the *se* with the head noun phrase is a determiner, associating the final *ah* determiner with the head noun phrase of the relative clause would mean that the head noun phrase would actually have two determiners, *se* and a determiner from the *ah* series. However, we saw that determiners for simple noun phrases occur singly at the end of simple noun phrases. Thus, associating the final *ah* determiner of the relative clause with the head noun phrase which already has the determiner *se* is not possible without violating the constraint on determiner distribution.¹⁹

Thus, the Head NP-determiner association seems implausible because it requires the occurrence of double determiners and saying that there are either discontinuous determiners or determiner movement (both highly unlikely). A sound description of these determiners would fulfill the following conditions: (1) it would allow only one determiner for any simple noun phrase and (2) it would provide for the presence of the two determiners in a way which would not require having unlikely discontinuous determiners or movement transformations and which would show their occurrence to be a basic property of a specific type of structure.

A second alternative association for the *ah* determiner is one with a noun phrase which occurs within the relative clause.

2.5 THE INTERNAL NP-DETERMINER ASSOCIATION

Any attempt to associate the *ah* determiner in relative clauses with a lexical noun phrase internal to the relative clause would mean saying that some internal noun phrase has two determiners (the same problem which arose with the association of the *ah* determiner with the head noun phrase):

- (87) *Kuht lohng sramsram sac sin mukul se* [_S *ma*
 we heard story det. from man det. REL
 [_S *e liye e sac ah*]].
 EC saw fire det. det.

We heard the story from the man who saw the fire.

In addition, such an association fails because the final determiner occurs in clauses with no internal lexical noun phrase, as (88) indicates:

- (88) *Mwet se* [_S *ma* [_S *e muhta soano ah*]] *ac som*.
 man det. REL EC sit wait det. will go
 The man who is sitting waiting will go.

An association of the *ah* determiner with a lexical internal noun phrase would thus require a separate description for sentences such as the one in (88). These are unnecessary complications. Finally we look at the possibility of associating the determiner with the relative marker.

2.6 RELATIVE *ma* AND THE *ah* DETERMINER

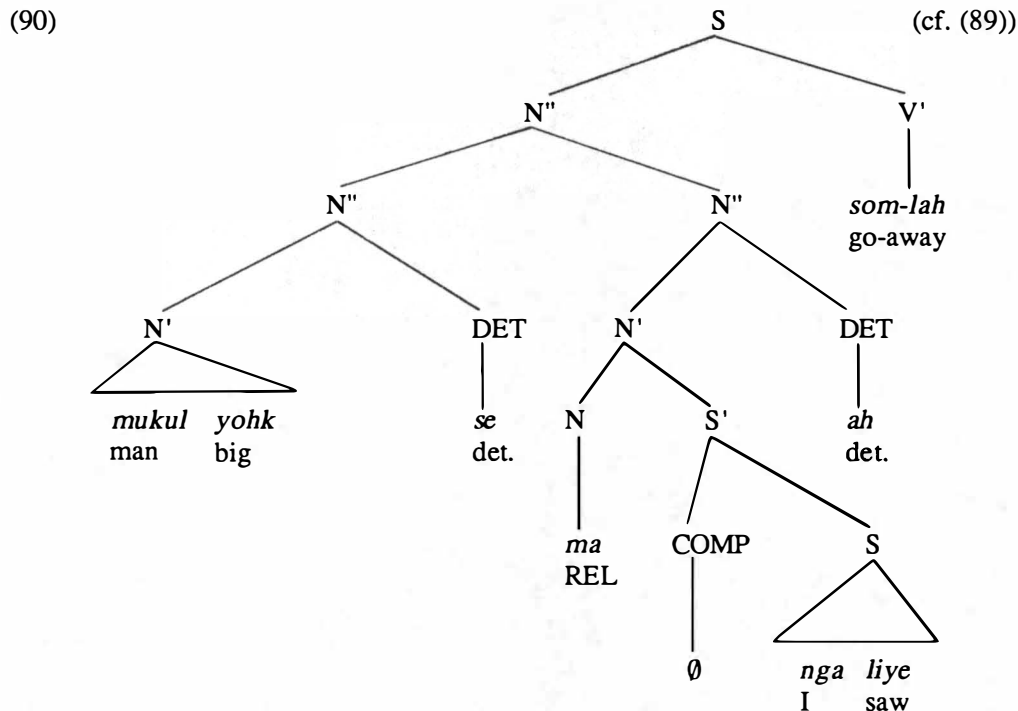
The previous associations for the determiner in relative clauses have failed primarily because they add a determiner to simple noun phrases which already have a determiner. Associating the *ah* determiner with the relative marker, however, avoids this problem since the relative marker in the clause never has a determiner immediately after it:

- (89) *Mukul yohk se* [_S *ma* * *ah* [_S *nga liye e ah*]] *som-lah*.
 * *sac*
 * *se*,
 etc.

man big det. REL det. I saw EC det. go-away
 The big man that (det.) I saw went away.

The sentence in (89) is grammatical without a determiner after *ma*.

If the final determiner is associated with *ma*, we could describe relative clauses as being appositional with the head noun phrase. Using a tree structure to show apposition, as below in (90), avoids difficult to read embedded brackets and labelling.



The big man that I saw went away.

In (90) above, the relative clause is embedded in a noun phrase with *ma* as its head noun. This noun phrase is in apposition to *mukul yohk se* 'the big man'.

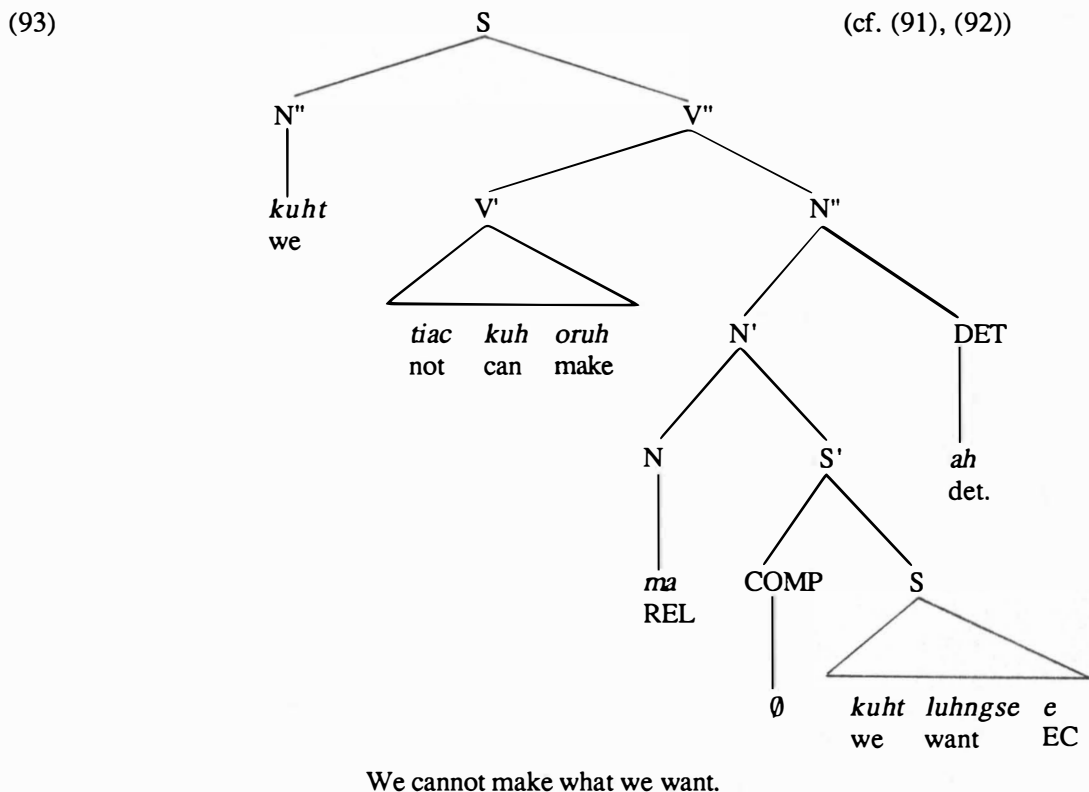
The structure in (90) can also describe relative clauses without a noun phrase to which the *ma* noun phrase is appositive:

- (91) *Kuht tiac kuh oruh* [_{RC} *ma kuht luhngse e uh*].
 we not can make REL we want EC det.
 We cannot make what we want.

In one description of sentences such as in (91) Lee (1975:368) treats *ma* clauses as instances of relative clauses which have *ma se* 'the thing' as a head noun phrase:

- (92) *Kuht tiac kuh oruh ma se* [_S *ma* [_S *kuht luhngse e uh*]].
 we not can make thing det. REL we want EC det.
 We cannot make the thing that we want.

Presumably, (91) would be derived from (92) by a series of deletions. However, in the absence of concrete evidence that the sentences in (91) and (92) are instances of the same structure, we treat them as separate structures.²⁰ Using the same tree structure shows clearly that the relative clause in (91) has *ma* as a 'head noun':

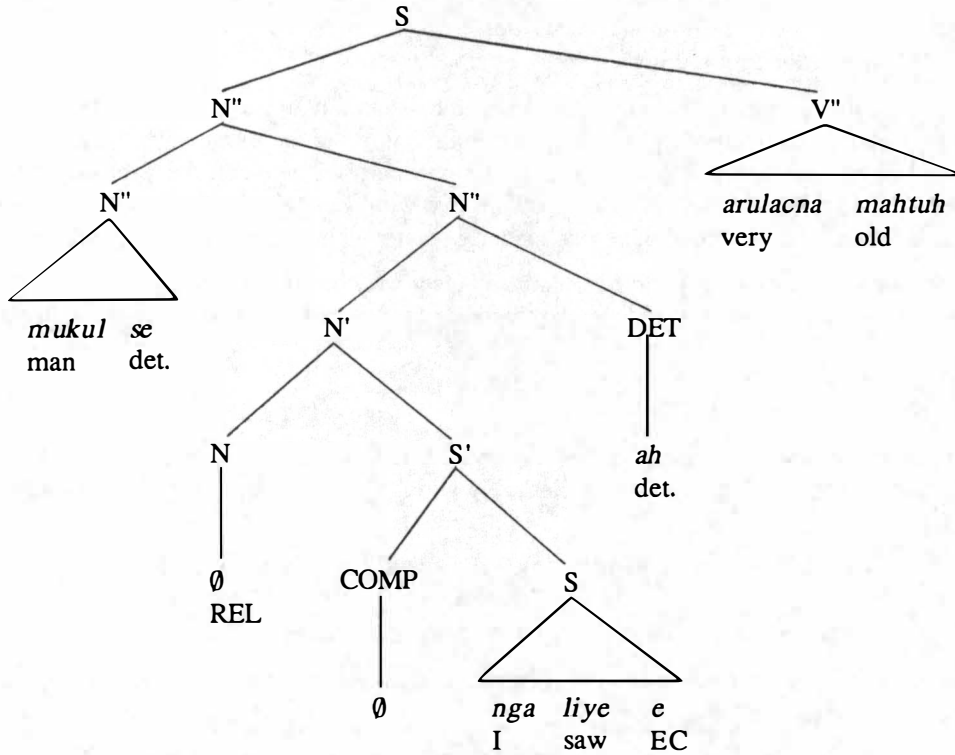


Relative clauses with a final determiner but no *ma* may also be described as appositional:

- (94) *Mukul se* [_S \emptyset [_S *nga liye e ah*]] *arulacna mahtuh*.
 man det. REL I saw EC det. very old
 The man I saw is very old.

Using the same kind of tree structure as in (90), the sentence in (94) can be described as an appositional structure with a zero head noun for the phrase in apposition:

(95)



The man I saw is very old.

In (95) we have used a zero head noun for relative clauses with a \emptyset relative marker and *ah* determiner. Though this is not the most elegant claim, just such a device may be needed for other 'headless' relative constructions occurring in *pa* equational sentences (also see 1.3.2, Example 10)):

- (96) [_{N''} *Puk sacn*] *pa* [_{N''} \emptyset [_N *Sohn el retelah e ah*]].
 book det. is John s.m. read EC det.
 The book is (the one) John read.

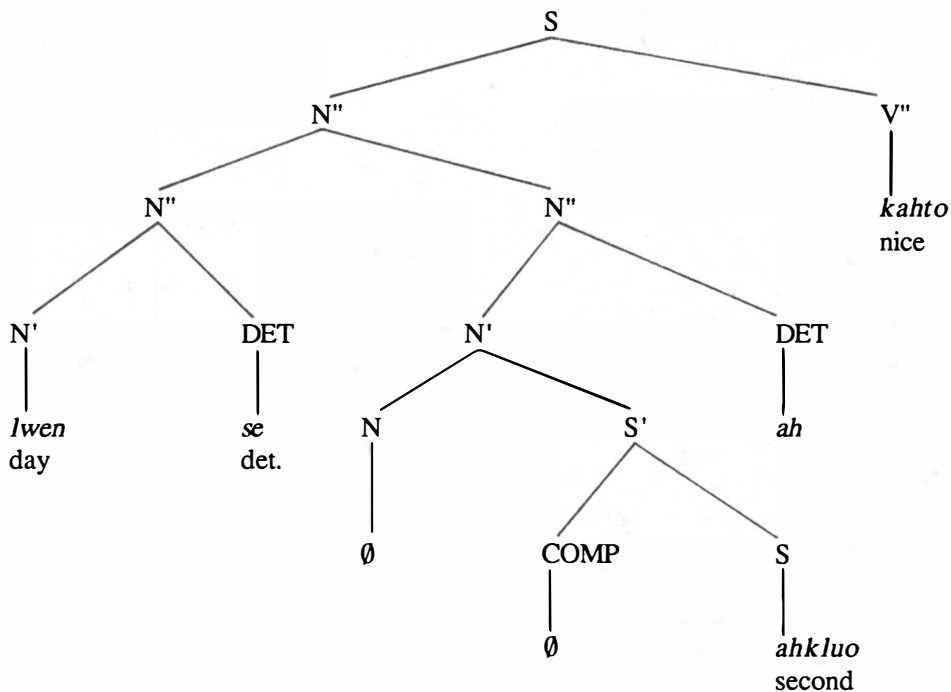
Since the sentence in (96) is a type of equational sentence and using a zero head for the second noun phrase seems required in this case, a zero head for the relative clause in (94) is not unreasonable.

Finally, if the relative marker *ma* is the indefinite pronoun *ma* 'one, thing', then there is some evidence that our description of *ma* as a head noun (in (90) and (93)) is a reasonable one. First, we note that *ma* 'one, thing' may occur as the head of a simple noun phrase:

It is reasonable to assume that a numeral may be used as a noun. However, in the case of ordinal numbers, we contend that they are not nouns, but verbals and that the description shown in the structure in (101) (which is analogous to the structure for possessive noun phrases in (99), is incorrect, while the one for relative clauses (cf. 93)) is the one required. We examine the evidence for this.

All ordinal numbers are formed by a combination of the causative prefix for verbs *ahk-* and a numeral. This verb prefix is never used to derive nouns in Kosraean (see Lee 1975:194-201) and, in fact, never occurs on any noun. The verb prefix of the ordinal number may indicate the presence of a predicate and thus a sentence. A better description would then resemble the appositional one given for relative clauses with an *ah* determiner, but without an introductory *ma*:

(102)



The second day was nice.

This description is the same as the appositional description for relative clauses without a relative marker (cf. (95)).

2.6.3 SOME CONCLUSIONS

In this section we have used an appositional description for relative clauses with an *ah* determiner, one that treats the determiner as being associated with the relative marker *ma*, which is the head noun of the appositional noun phrase. For clauses without *ma*, but with an *ah* determiner, it was necessary to have a zero head for the appositional phrase, which also seems necessary for some clauses in *pa* equational sentences (cf. (96)) and for ordinal number phrases (cf. (102)).

This kind of a description for relative clauses has the advantage that it associates the determiner with the relative marker, *ma*, which may be the proform *ma*, and provides a determiner for this form,

while *ma* provides a 'head noun' for the clause-final determiner of the *ah* series. We have noted the disadvantage that for some clauses the *ah* determiner is associated with a zero head noun. However, as we have also pointed out, there are other structures in the language (e.g., some 'headless' relative clauses in *pa* sentences and the ordinal number phrase) which seem to also need such a description. Though it is not clear that relative clauses are 'modifiers' based on some defineable features as this description would suggest, it can be noted that this may be exactly the description which would permit the appearance of a determiner with a zero head noun in a noun phrase, e.g., as in English: 'He took the blue one and I took **the red**.' If the clause is considered a 'modifier' of the head noun phrase, it is also not unreasonable to find a determiner after this 'modifier'. Thus, some pragmatic reason is given for the position of the *ah* determiner after the relative clause.

This appositional description is the one we were led to by limiting the occurrence of the final clause determiner in Kosraean to specifying nouns in noun phrases.

However, alternatively, we could say that the *ah* determiner is simply associated with the clause (a clause specifier instead of a noun specifier) on the basis of features of relative clauses with an *ah* noted in 2.1:

(103) CLAUSE SPECIFIER

A determiner from the *ah* series may be a specifier for a clause if the clause is [+R(EAL)] and [+R] (restrictive).²²

Such a statement avoids two problems inherent in the appositional description that was presented.

(1) It avoids the use of trees and hence the association with a particular theory of grammar (the Transformational-Generative theory).

(2) One does not have to 'find' a noun with which to associate the determiner form, thus avoiding the problem of zero 'heads' for noun phrases.

Instead of a tree structure, a simple statement is given on the basis of easily noted features of the clause itself.

However, as sometimes occurs with such statements, we will find in subsequent sections that the features of other clauses with a final *ah* determiner are not as easily stated. Rather we will see that the appositional description associating the *ah* determiner with the relative marker *ma* not only 'explains' all the occurrences of the *ah* series of determiners with clauses, but it also clearly gives a significant insight into the function of these determiners in clauses which would remain obscure if only a statement such as that given above is considered adequate.

3.0 THE *ah* DETERMINER IN COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

We saw in Section 2 that relative clauses with a final *ah* determiner are introduced either by *ma* 'relative marker' or \emptyset and have the features [+R(EAL)] (realised tense) and [+RES] (restrictive). We considered an association in which *ma* was the nominal head of an appositional noun phrase and the *ah* determiner was associated with *ma*. In this section, we find that only two kinds of predicate complements occur with an *ah* determiner: full-sentence complements introduced by a complementiser *ke* (3.2) and constructions with possessive subjects, which we will claim are gerunds (3.3). If the clauses with possessives are in fact noun phrases, their co-occurrence with an *ah* determiner is expected. Describing the function and occurrence of the determiner with a *ke*

complement is a more difficult task, though, since there is no reason to regard *ke* as a noun. Nor is there another noun phrase to which the *ke* complement may be considered an appositive. This is the central problem considered in this section.

3.1 IRREALIS *in* AND THE *ah* DETERMINER IN COMPLEMENTS

The pre-verbal irrealis tense marker *in* which occurs in subordinate clauses occurs in complements with subjects:

- (104) *Kuht kuh liye* [_S *muh* [_S *kuht in luti lac-los*]].
 we can see compl. we IRR study about-them
 We can see that we should study about them.
- (105) *El srihke* [_S \emptyset [_S *ela-n kahsrus*]].²³
 he try he-IRR ruh
 He tried (to) run.

It also occurs in complements without overt subjects:

- (106) *Tuhlihk sac sahweng* [_S \emptyset [_S *e in som-lah*]].
 child det. afraid EC IRR go-away
 The child is afraid to leave.

As in relative clauses, *in* 'IRR' indicates that the tense of the clause is unrealised. In (104)-(106), for example, there is no indication that the actions have ever occurred or that they will occur in the future. A complement (with or without a subject) containing *in* cannot take an *ah* determiner:

- (107) * *Kuht kuh liye* [_S *muh* [_S *kuht in luti lac-los ah*]].
 we can see compl. we IRR study about-them det.
 We can see that we should study about them. (cf. (110))
- (108) * *Tuhlihk sac sahweng* [_S \emptyset [_S *e in som-lah ah*]].
 child det. afraid EC IRR go-away det.
 The child is afraid to leave. (cf. (106)).

Thus, as with relative clauses, the occurrence of *in* 'IRR' is negatively correlated with the occurrence of the *ah* determiner. As we found with relative clauses, realised tense is necessary but not sufficient to characterise a clause with a final *ah*. However, the occurrence of *ah* complements is additionally linked to the occurrence of initial *ke*. For instance, a clause may have a pre-verbal tense/aspect form with a realised tense but not take the *ah* determiner as in (109) below:

- (109) *Nga etuh* [_S *lah* [_S *el ac som * ah*]].
 \emptyset
 I know compl. he will go det.
 I know that he will go.

Thus, the negative correlation noted for *in* 'IRR' and *ah* is not sufficient to account for the occurrence of *ah* in complements.

3.2 FULL-SENTENCE COMPLEMENTS

Full-sentence complements are introduced by one of five complementisers: *lah*, *muh*, *tuh*, \emptyset or *ke*:²⁴

- (110) *Nga pahkomuhta* [_S ***lah*** [_S *nga tuh som-lah*]].
 I sorry compl. I perf. go-away
 I am sorry that I left.
- (111) *Mwet sac nuhnuh* [_S ***muh*** [_S *tuhlihk ah ac kaheng-lac*]].
 man det. know compl. child det. will run-away
 The man knows that the child will run away.
- (112) *Nga finsrak* [_S ***tuh*** [_S *kom na ac wi-yuh nuh ke loh m se*]].
 I hope compl. you really will go/with-me to house det.
 I hope that you really will go with me to the house.
- (113) *Mukul sac esam* [_S \emptyset [_S *eltahl kahsruhsr ekweyah*]].
 man det. remember compl they run yesterday
 The man remembers they ran yesterday.
- (114) *Winio el lohng* [_S ***ke*** [_S *pik ac tuhng ah*]].
 Winio s.m. hear compl. pig det. cry det.
 Winio hears that the pig is crying.

Of the complements illustrated in (110)-(114), only those with the *ke* complementiser occur with a final *ah* determiner. A final determiner in any of the other complements is ungrammatical.

How do non-*ke* complements differ from *ke* complements? The internal structure of all full-sentence complements, including *ke* complements is exactly that of independent clauses, except in one significant respect. Like independent clauses, full-sentence complements include the following:

1. preverbal tense-aspect forms, ²⁵ i.e. *ac* 'will' (cf. (113)), *tuh* 'perfective' (cf. (110)), *fah* 'may in the future', etc.:
- (115) *Nga luhlalhfongi* [_S *lah* [_S *e ac fah wo nuhsu-m*]].²⁶
 I believe compl. EC will may good for-you
 I believe that (it) probably will be good for you.
2. verbal direction/aspect suffixes, i.e. *-lah*, *-lac* 'away, finished, etc.' (cf. (110), (111)), *-ack* 'up, partially do' etc.
- (116) *Eltahl nuhnkuh* [_S *lah* [_S *eltahl ac uhm-ack piru ah*]].
 they know compl. they will drink-partially beer det.
 They know that they will (partially) drink the beer.
3. adverbials and negatives:
- (117) *Tuhlihk sac fahk* [_S *muh* [_S *eltahl pac som-lah Pohnpe*]].
 child det. said compl. they also go-away Ponape
 The child said that they also went (to) Ponape.
- (118) *Mukul sac etuh* [_S *lah* [_S *el luhman mas*]].
 man det. know compl. he a/little sick
 The man knows that he is a little sick.

- (119) *Eltahl muhkuhnlah* [_S lah [_S eltahl soenna tohpohklah siyuck ac]].
 they forgot compl. they not/yet answer question det.
 They forgot that they (had) not yet answered the question.
- (120) *El oelac* [_S lah [_S el tiac lohng ma Tekira el fahk nuhse-l]].
 he upset compl. he not heard what Tekira s.m. said to-him
 He was upset that he (had) not heard what Tekira said to him.

4. the full range of other arguments, i.e. prepositional phrases, object noun phrases, etc., as in (121):

- (121) *El luhkwekin* [_S lah [_S mukul sac sun [_N tuhlihk sac.]
 he deny compl. man det. met child det.
 [p^r ke lutlut ac]].
 at school det.
 He denied that the man met the child at the school.

The significant difference between independent clauses and complements introduced by *lah*, *muh*, *tuh*, and \emptyset is that the complements allow the irrealis marker *in* (or its contracted form *-n*):

- (122) *Sohn el sruhnga* [_S lah [_S ela-n som]].
 John s.m. hate compl. he-IRR go
 John hates that he should go.
- (123) *Ema el ac fahk* [_S muh [_S ela-n som]].
 Emma s.m. will say compl. he-IRR go
 Emma will say that he should go.
- (124) *Wo* [_S tuh [_S kuht in suk puk sac]].
 good compl. we IRR search book det.
 It is good that we should search (for) the book.
- (125) *Kuhn el sap* [_S \emptyset [_S nga-n tuhkuh]].
 Kuhn s.m. order compl. I-IRR come
 Kuhn ordered (that) I should come.

ke complements differ in one important respect from other clauses. They allow an *ah* determiner on the same basis of informational structure as simple noun phrases with a determiner. Significantly, they do not allow *in*:

- (126) * *El etuh* [_S ke [_S ela-n moli susu sac ah]].
 he know compl. he-IRR buy milk det. det.
 He knows that he should buy the milk.

The sentence in (126) is grammatical if the irrealis tense marker is replaced with a realised tense:

- (127) *El etuh* [_S ke [_S el moli susu sac ah]].
 he know compl. he buy milk det. det.
 He knows that he bought (is buying) the milk.

The meaning intended for (126) is expressed as a *lah* complement clause, one which does not permit a final determiner:

- (138) * *Alihk el isyac [oak srihsrihk soko]_i e_i som.*
 Alec s.m. took canoe small one EC go
 Alec took the one small canoe went.²⁹

The verb in serial verb constructions can have any tense, depending on the semantics or tense of the first verb, pragmatic factors, and the pre-verbal tense/aspect markers for the first verb. Since no *in* may occur in these constructions, we may characterise them as having a realised tense, i.e. [+R].

Though serial constructions are [+R], they do not take final *ah* determiners:

- (139) * *Samwel el muhtwacwac-ack som ah.*
 Samuel s.m. walk/about-in/process go det.
 Samuel walked about going. (cf. (1434))

3.3.3 GERUNDS

Like serial verbs, another type of construction lacks a complementiser and contains no pre-verbal tense/aspect form. Since these constructions have a possessive subject and an *ah*-series determiner, we can describe them as having a nominal function and as being gerunds:

- (140) *Tuhlihk muhtwacn ah ahksahfyac-lah [s_i tuhta lalos ah].³⁰*
 child female det. finish-perf. sew their det.
 The girls finished their sewing.

In (140) the gerund is in the object position of the transitive verb, *ahksahfyac-lah* 'finish'. (The verb is composed of the causative prefix *ahk-* and the intransitive verb, *sahf* 'finish', a combination which clearly signals a transitive verb (Lee, 1975:189) in Kosraean.) Gerunds may also occur in subject position:

- (141) [_S *Som luhk ah*] *wo.*
 go my det. good
 My going is good.

In this respect they differ from the other constructions discussed:

- (142) * [_S *Lah [s_i nga som]*] *wo.*
 compl I go good
 That I am going is good.
- (143) * [_S *∅ [s_i e in som-lah]*] *wo.*
 EC IRR go-away good
 To leave is good.
- (144) * [_S *Ke [s_i pik ah tuhng ah]*] *wo.*
 compl pig det. cry det. good
 That the pig is crying is good.

Since these gerunds occur in noun phrase positions (cf. (140), (141)), and have the appropriate possessive form (cf. (140)), e.g., NP Poss DET, we claim that they are noun phrases. If this is correct, the occurrence of the *ah* determiner is simply the normal occurrence of a determiner in a noun phrase.

We thus see that for subjectless complement clauses, the *ah* determiner simply does not occur (if gerunds are noun phrases, not clauses), no matter what the tense of the clause. We might say then that for a complement clause a subject is necessary for the occurrence of *ah*. Thus, only the occurrence of the *ah* determiner in *ke* complements (Section 3.2) requires an explanation.

3.4 HOW TO DESCRIBE *ke* COMPLEMENTS

We saw in 3.2 that *ke* complements do not allow irrealis *in*. These are also the only full-sentence complements which take *ah* determiners. There are some features of *ke* (which we give below) which could point to a description of *ke* as a noun. But let us first consider some more general questions. What is it about *ke* clauses that allows an *ah* determiner and forbids the occurrence of *in*? Can we give a simple statement which would associate the *ah* determiner with the clause simply on the basis of clause features? Or is it more adequate to say that the final determiner is related to some kind of a noun phrase?

We first give a statement which describes the occurrence of the *ah* determiner on the basis of clause features (as a Clause Specifier):

(145) CLAUSE SPECIFIER STATEMENT

A determiner from the *ah* series is a specifier for a clause if the clause is [+R] and is introduced by *ke*.

As noted in 3.2 [+R] is a feature for complements implies that the irrealis *in* is prohibited from occurring. Since this is only true for *ke* complements, we might expect that the feature [+R] completely defines complements with an *ah* determiner. However, as pointed out in 3.3, subjectless complements which are necessarily [+R] (serial verb complements) do not take a determiner. Thus, we must eliminate in our statement the possibility of *ah* determiners occurring with serial verbs. It seems that one precise way to do this is to stipulate the presence of the *ke* complementiser. Notice that this statement for complements differs from the statement for relative clauses in that the feature [+RES] is not used in it and additionally, the occurrence of *ke* in the clauses is specified.

This statement is little more than a description of one position where *ah* occurs. In addition, the features required for this statement differ from those required for the statement for relative clauses. However, there is an alternative description for *ke* complements analogous to the appositional one given for relative clauses.

First, we note that there is a preposition *ke* 'about, to, for'. The preposition *ke* introduces noun phrases, including gerunds:

(146) *El ahkacsmakinye-yuh* [_P *ke* [_N *loh*m *uh*]].
 he remind-me about house det.
 He reminded me about the house.

(147) *El ahkacsmakinye-yuh* [_P *ke* [_N *folo-yak* *lalos* *uh*]].
 he remind-me about angry-get their det.
 He reminded me about their getting angry.

It occurs with a possessive suffix to indicate a pronominal object:

- (148) *Eltahl lwesihk nuh sel Sepe ke-ik.* (Lee, 1975:140)
 they gossip to Sepe about-me
 They gossiped to Sepe about me.

ke, like other prepositions in Kosraean, may not stand alone in a sentence:

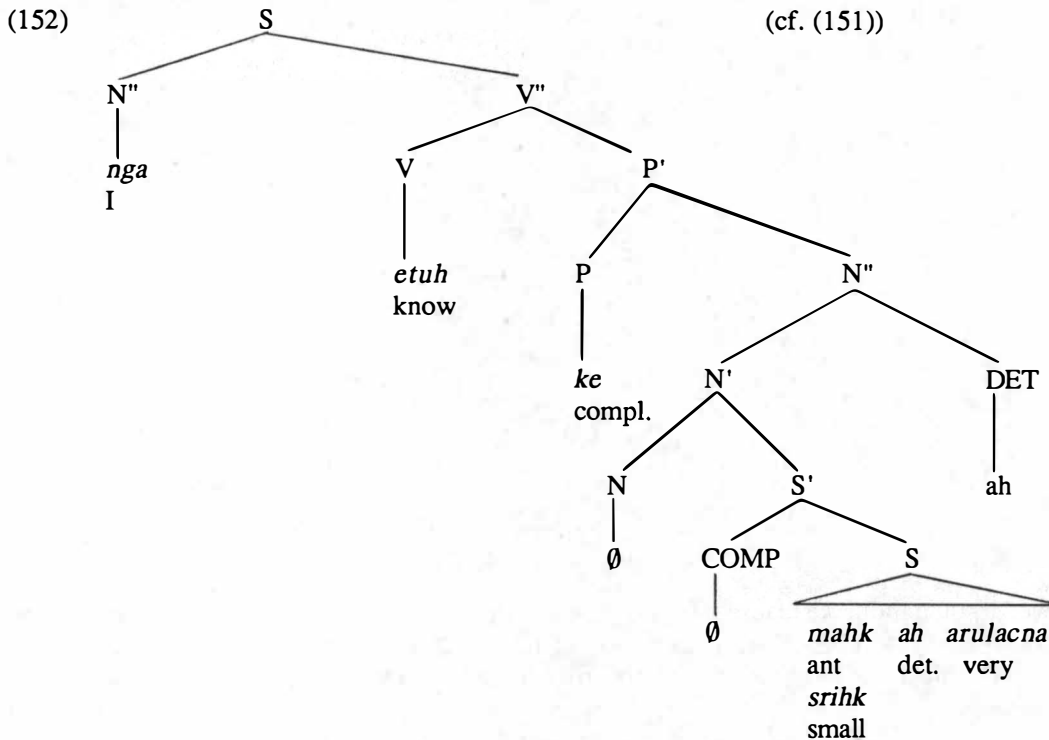
- (149) * *Sah el suhmaht ke.*
 Sah s.m. smart at
 Sah is smart at.

It would be reasonable then to say that the preposition *ke* may have not only noun phrases and gerunds as objects, but also an S', which we show in (157) as embedded in a noun phrase as an object (again using a tree structure for clarity):

- (150) *Nga liye lut la-l [p' ke [s' el liye ik luhlaph ah ah]].*
 I saw surprise his about he saw fish big det. det.
 I saw his surprise that he saw the big fish.

- (151) *Nga etuh [p' ke [s' mahk ah arulacna srihk ah]].*
 I know about ant det. very small det.
 I know that ants are very small.

If the complimentiser *ke* is indeed the preposition *ke*, we should consider the possibility that the construction following *ke* (for instance, in (151), i.e. *mahk ah arulacna srihk ah* 'ants are very small') is part of a noun phrase having a zero noun head. This provides us with a plausible description of the final determiner:



I know that ants are very small.

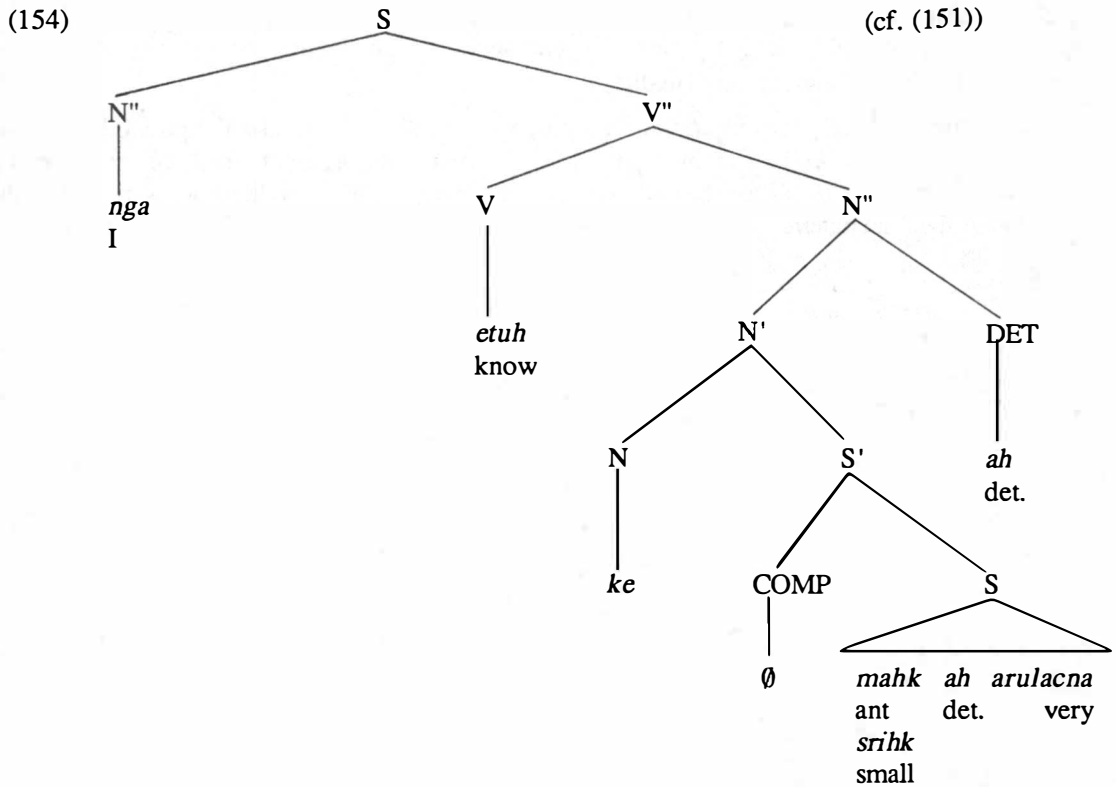
Basically, this is the same description we suggested for headless relative clauses in 2.6.

As we have already pointed out, there are some disadvantages for this kind of a description. Although treating the *ke* of complements as a preposition allows us to describe the occurrence of the determiner in a fairly general way, one disadvantage is that we must allow for a zero head noun.

An alternative to treating *ke* as a preposition with a zero noun object is suggested by the fact that Lee states that *ke* may occur with possessive suffixes (cf. (148)) (Lee 1975:137):

- (153) 1 p s *ke-ik*
- 2 p s *ke-im*
- 3 p s *kac-l*
- 1 p p *kac-sr*

The possessive suffixes could be taken to indicate that *ke* is a noun since in Kosraean these suffixes are normally attached only to nominals. We could then claim that the *ah* determiner is associated with a head noun, *ke*:



I know that ants are very small.

However, though the *ke* clause in (154) could be in the position of object of *etuh* 'know', there are cases where the *ke* clause is less clearly a nominal, since the verbs it occurs with do not generally take a direct object, e.g., *pahkomuhta* 'sorry' may be followed by a prepositional phrase, but not a noun phrase:

- (155) *Nga pahkomuhta* [p. *ke tuck ah som-lah uh*].
 I sorry about duck det. go-away det.
 I am sorry about (that) the duck went away.

The possessed forms (as in (153)) occur in sentence positions in which prepositional phrases rather than noun phrases occur:

- (156) *Eltahl lwesihk nuh sel Sepe ke-ik*. (Lee 1975:141)
 they gossip to Sepe about-me
 They gossip to Sepe about me.

However, they fail to occur in argument positions where noun phrases are expected to appear, e.g., as subject or object:³¹

- (157) * *Nga one-lah kac-l*.
 I hit-perf. about-him
 I hit him.

- (158) * *Ke-im som-lah*.
 about-you go-away
 You left.

Thus, if *ke* + possessive constructions are to be nominals, an ad hoc account of their special distribution would be required.

Moreover, although there is a *ke* that is indeed a preposition with the appropriate semantics, there is no ordinary noun *ke*. The occurrence of *ke* with gerunds (as in 147) seems to us to support the prepositional analysis. The fact that it can precede an embedded clause should not seem strange to those familiar with the 'for' phenomenon in English. We therefore prefer to describe *ke* as always a preposition, never a noun.

3.5 SOME COMMENTS

We have described the occurrence of the *ah* determiner in full-sentence *ke* complements as due to the nominal status of the object of *ke*. With gerunds, the occurrence of the *ah* has been described as a normal consequence of the noun phrase status of gerunds. Likewise, for *ke* complements, we have preferred to describe the occurrence of *ah* as due to the preposition *ke* introducing a nominal (for which we have somewhat controversially used a zero noun head). *ke* complement constructions are thus seen to be prepositional phrases, a description consistent with the general usage of *ke* in Kosraean.

This description fits well with the appositional description of relative clause constructions considered in Section 2, where for a particular type of relative clause, a zero-form head was also associated with the final determiner. In both relative clause constructions and complements, clauses with an *ah* determiner are marked for realised tense, i.e. [+R], which seems to be the sentential counterpart of the Definite/Given characteristic of nouns. (See Section 2.3 for a discussion of givenness, or old information, and the occurrence of determiners.) It is thus hardly surprising that clauses which must be [+R] should be marked with a determiner. However, the statement with which we attempted to capture this clause feature given at the beginning of 3.4 proved to have the disadvantages of (1) differing with the statement formulated for relative clauses and (2) being too specific (in that it must include the mention of the complementiser *ke*) to be useful. It remains to be

seen whether the appositional description in which the final determiner is associated with a nominal and which we have already shown to be applicable to relative clauses and complements, is feasible for other clause-like constructions with a final determiner, or whether we need to look for another description.

4.0 THE *ah* DETERMINER IN ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Adverbial clauses in Kosraean express concepts such as time, reason, place, and condition. Syntactically, they are full clauses which have a 'subordinating' particle either within the clause or introducing it. The combination of the clause and 'subordinating' particle may not occur as an independent sentence.

In our previous discussion of the *ah* determiner in relative clauses and complements, we found that the irrealis *in* and the *ah* determiner could not occur in the same clause. On that basis, we said that the determiner form occurs only in [+R] (realis) clauses. However, we will now see that in adverbial clauses, there is no occurrence of the irrealis form *in*. Instead, the feature [+R] is morphologically encoded with different forms in adverbial clauses.

4.1 IRREALIS *in* IN ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

The irrealis *in* never occurs in adverbial clauses:

(159) * *Fin kom in tuhkuh, nga ac soanwe-kom.*
 if you IRR come I will wait-you
 If you come, I will wait (for) you.

(160) * *Ke kom in som uh, nga ac wi-kom.*
 when you IRR go det. I will accompany-you
 When you go, I will accompany you.

Other pre-verbal tense/aspect markers such as *ac* 'future' may freely occur:

(161) *Fin kom ac tuhkuh, nga ac soanwe-kom.* (cf. (159))
 if you will come I will wait-you
 If you come, I will wait (for) you.

(162) *Ke kom ac som uh, nga ac wi-kom.* (cf. (160))
 when you will go det. I will accompany-you
 When you go, I will accompany you.

Though irrealis *in* does not occur in adverbial clauses, the occurrence of the *ah* determiner is nevertheless restricted to occur in only certain clauses. What are the characteristics of the adverbial clauses which take an *ah* determiner?

4.2 ADVERBIAL CLAUSES WITH *ah* DETERMINERS

The *ah* determiner in adverbial clauses incorporates temporal deixis rather than spatial deixis:

- (163) *ah* past time
uh present and future time
an future time
ac potential time
- (164) *Met liki pahkah ah tuhkuh ah, eltahl oracni.*
 before typhoon det. come det. they work
 Before the typhoon came, they worked.

In adverbials in which no determiner may occur, the 'subordinating' particle is either in pre-verbal or pre-clausal position:

- (165) *Kom fin ac tuhkuh, nga ac soanwe-kom.*
 you if will come I will wait-you
 If you will come, I will wait (for) you.
- (166) *Fin kom ac tuhkuh, nga ac soanwe-kom.*
 if you will come I will wait-you.
 If you will come, I will wait (for) you.

However, adverbial clauses with determiners can be distinguished from those in which no determiner may occur by the syntactic characteristic that the 'subordinating' particle in an *ah* adverbial clause occurs only in pre-clausal position:

- (167) *Ke kom ac som uh, nga ac wi-kom.*³²
 at/the/time you will go det. I will accompany-you
 When you go, I will accompany you.
- (168) * *Kom ke ac som uh, nga ac wi-kom.*
 you when will go det. I will accompany-you
 When you go, I will accompany you.

The introducer for an adverbial with an *ah* determiner must be chosen from the following list (see (190) for introducers of adverbials with an *ah* determiner):

- (169) *ke* when, at the same time
nwe ke until
met liki before
ke srihpen for the reason of
mweyen because
tukun after

We will show in Sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2 that the introducers in this list, like *ke* in *ke* complements, are prepositions. (Some perhaps are nominals.)

4.2.1 PREPOSITIONAL SUBORDINATORS

In Section 3.4 we showed sentences with the preposition *ke* 'about, for, to':

- (170) *El ahkasmakinye-yuh [p. ke [N. loh m uh]].*
 he remind-me about house det.
 He reminded me about the house.

We pointed out that the preposition *ke* takes possessive suffixes to indicate pronominal objects:

- (171) *Suhmislah sie sramsram an ke-ik.*
 write one story det. about-me
 Write one story about me.

ke, usually translated 'when', also introduces adverbial clauses, as in (172):

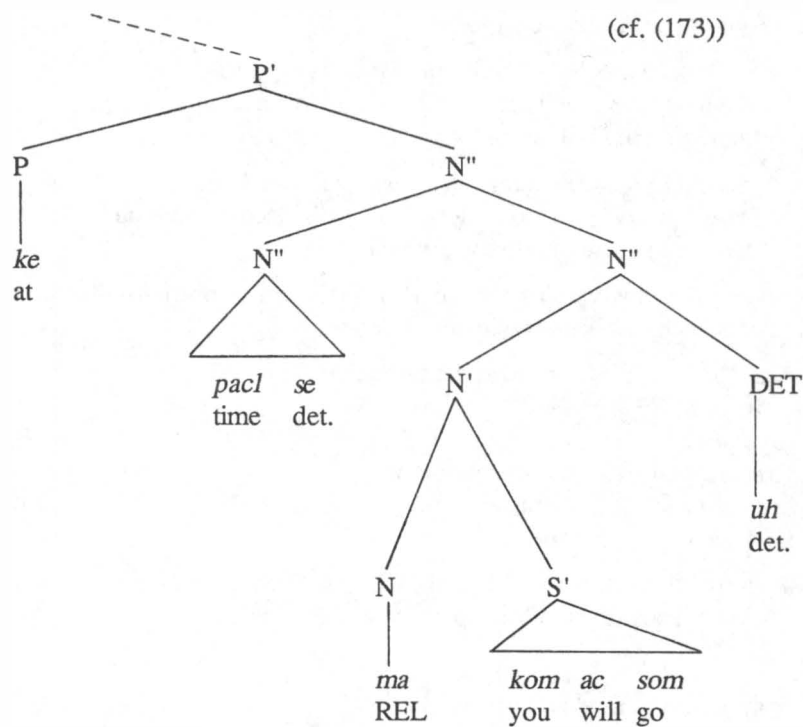
- (172) *Ke kom ac som uh, nga ac wi-kom.*
 when you will go det. I will accompany-you
 When you go, I will accompany you.

Corresponding to (172), there is a clause with the same meaning in which *ke* clearly functions as a preposition.:

- (173) [_{P'} *Ke* [_{N'} *pacl se*] [_{RC} *ma kom ac som uh*], *nga wi-kom.*
 at time det. REL you will go det. I accompany-you
 At the time that you go, I will accompany you.

For (173), it seems that the appositional structure posited for relative clauses in Section 2 is applicable. Again we use a tree structure for illustration:

(174)



At the time that you go,...

ke also occurs in other adverbial clauses as part of the complex introducer *nwe ke*, as in (175) below:³³

- (175) *Nwe ke tuhlihk ah tuhkuh an, el tiac som.*
 until child det. come det. he not go
 Until the child comes, he won't go.

We consider *nwe ke* to be a complex preposition (cf. English *ahead of*) analogous to the locative preposition *nuh ke* in (176) (Lee 1975:143):

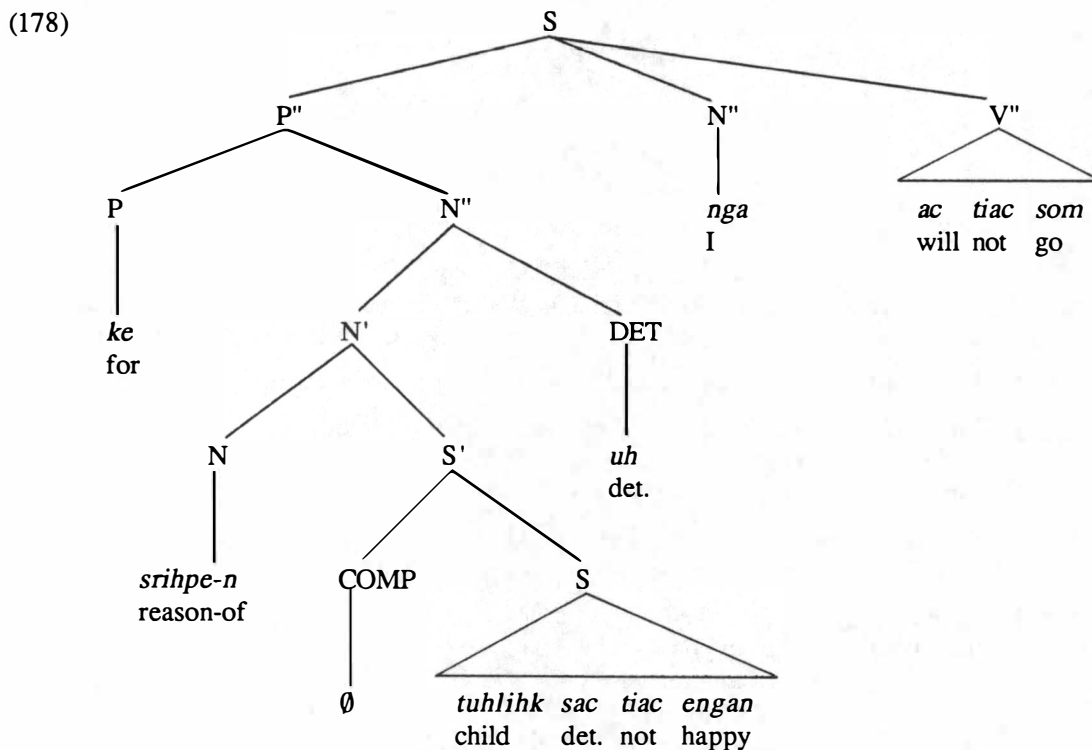
- (176) *Nga ukoelah won ah [P' nuh ke [N' kalkal in won sac]].*
 I chased chicken det. up to cage of chicken det.
 I chased the chicken up to the chicken cage.

ke also occurs as part of a complex introducer for reason clauses:

- (177) *Ke srihpe-n tuhlihk sac tiac engan uh, nga ac tiac som.*
 for reason-of child det. not happy det. I will not go
 Because the child is not happy, I won't go.

In (177) *ke* introduces the noun phrase *srihpe-n* 'the reason of'. In this context, then, *ke* is clearly a preposition.

The clause introduced by *ke srihpe-n* in (177) may be also included in the kind of description we used for prepositional phrases introduced by *ke*:

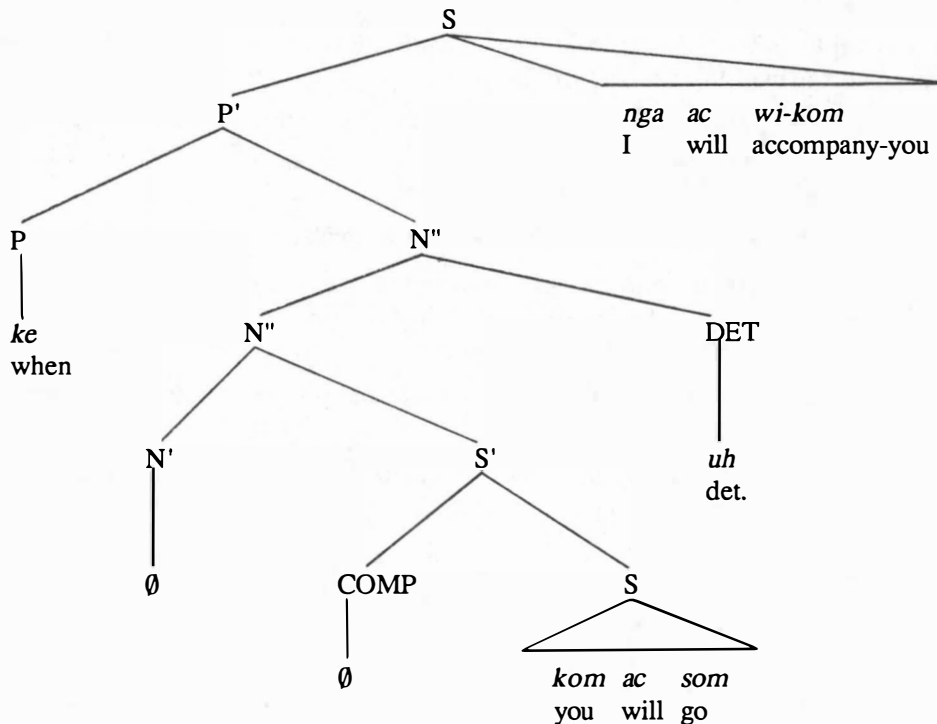


Because the child is not happy, I won't go.

The occurrence of prepositional *ke* in this introducer adds weight to our contention that *ke* in adverbial clauses is a preposition. This preposition *ke* may take a noun phrase object which may contain a clause.

If *ke* is a preposition in adverbial clauses, then we use a similar description for clauses with *ke* in which the *ah* determiner is associated with a zero head noun:

(179)



When you go, I will accompany you.

The zero noun in this description is a distinct disadvantage, though it is analogous to the zero noun in the description for complements in Section 3.4. We would miss a significant generalisation if we say that *ke* is a preposition in some clauses and something else in this kind of adverbial clause.

One kind of adverbial clause is introduced by another prepositional form:

- (180) *Met liki pahkah ah tuhkuh ah, eltahl oracni.*
 before typhoon det. come det. they work
 Before the typhoon came, they worked.

The combination introducer in (180) is composed of *met* (probably related to the time adverbial *met* 'first') and *liki*, which appears to be the preposition *liki* 'from':

- (181) *liki-yuh* from me
liki-kom from you
luhkwe-l from him, her
luhkwe-sr from us
- (182) *Sohn el srolah liki oak soko ah.* (Lee, 1975:145)
 John s.m. jump from canoe one det.
 John jumped (off) from the boat.

If *liki* is a preposition, then a description similar to the one we picture for adverbials with *ke* would also work for clauses introduced by *met liki*.

4.2.2 NOMINAL SUBORDINATORS

Two other introducers that occur in adverbial clauses, *tuku-n* 'after' and *mweye-n* 'because' look like nominals:

- (183) *Tukun el orekma upac ah, el mas-ack.*
 after he work hard det. he sick-become
 After he worked hard, he became sick.

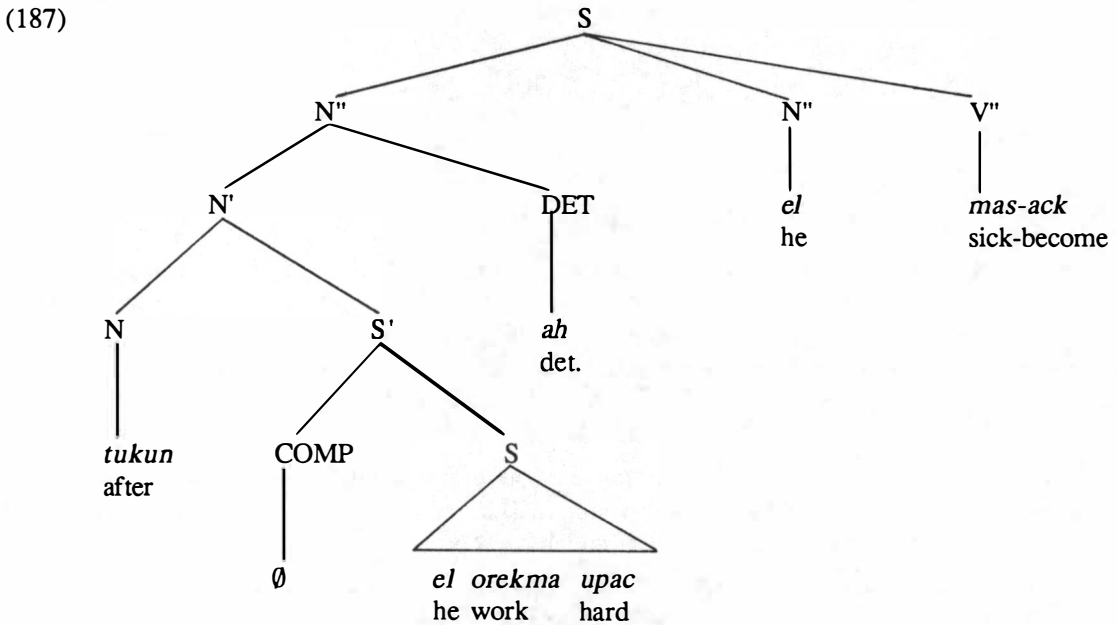
- (184) *Mweyen kom kuh in som uh, nga ac som.*
 because you can IRR go det. I will go
 Because you can go, I will go.

tukun looks like the 'construct' form of the noun *tohkoh* 'back' and *mweyen* may be the construct form of *mwe* 'thing'.³⁴ 'Construct' forms are formed by the addition of a suffix *-n* to a noun when it is in a possessive or 'part of' relation with another noun:

- (185) *Nga liye niye-n tepuh se.*
 I saw leg(s)-of table det.
 I saw the leg(s) of the table.

- (186) *Sife-n muhtwacn se ngal-yack.*
 head-of woman det. hurt-cont.
 The head of the woman (the woman's head) is hurting.

If *tukun* and *mweyen* are indeed nominals, we presumably have a description similar to the one in (179), but without the preposition:

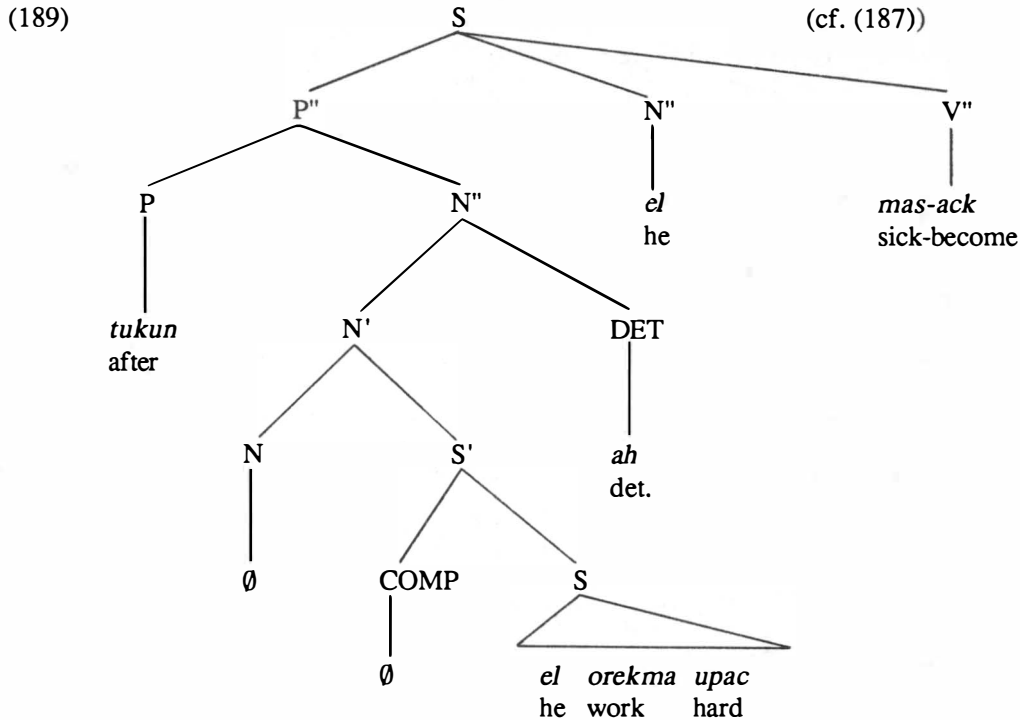


After he worked hard, he became sick.

The grammatical role of the 'adverbial' noun phrase in (187) is not clear. Nominal time words may also occur in this position:

- (188) *Ofong nga ac som-lah.*
 tonight I will go-away
 Tonight I will go away.

It may be, however, that these forms, which look like nominals, have now become prepositions. In this case, the following structure could be used as a description:



After he worked hard, he became sick.

However, note that a construct form marked by the suffix *-n* is a nominal form, e.g., *siye-n kosro* 'belly of the dog'; *-n* does not occur with any of the prepositions, e.g., **ke-n*, **liki-n*.³⁵ Thus, at least historically, the construct forms in adverbial clauses were probably nominal. Synchronically though, we might claim that the prepositional analysis is more valid, particularly since there is no syntactic difference between adverbial clauses introduced by *tukun* and *mweyen* and those introduced by forms we have claimed to be prepositions.

If the description we have given is correct, adverbial clauses with an *ah* determiner are characterised by prepositional (perhaps some nominal) introducers, and the description is like that for complements with a prepositional introducer which we showed in Section 3.4.

But what about the feature [+R]? Can we show that adverbial clauses that don't allow an *ah* determiner are marked [-R] in a manner analogous to other clauses we have examined?

4.3 ADVERBIAL CLAUSES WITHOUT AN *ah* DETERMINER

Adverbial clauses in which a determiner may not occur have one of the following subordinators:

- (190) *fin* if
fuhnuh if, past
finnwe even if
fintwe only if

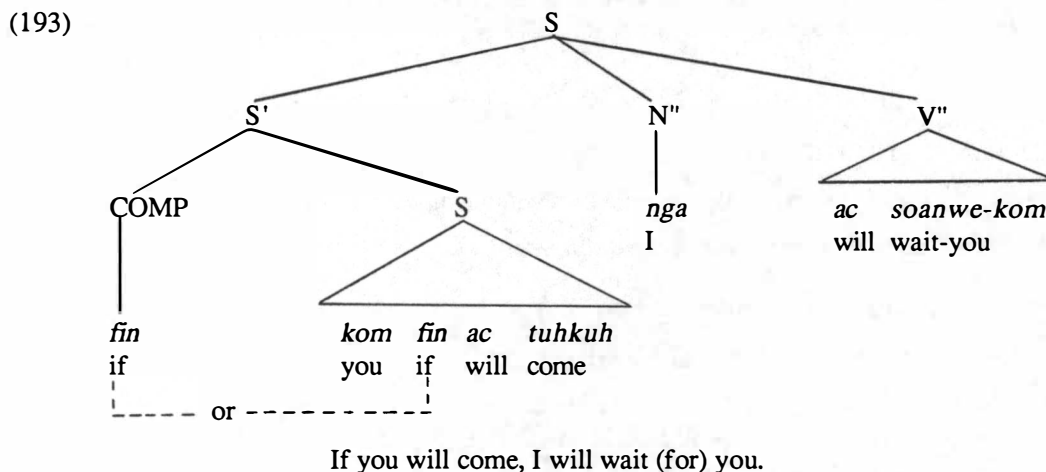
As pointed out in Section 4.1, the irrealis *in* does not occur in these clauses. Nor do they allow an *ah* determiner:

- (191) * *Fin kom ac tuhkuh ah, nga ac soanwe-kom.*
 if you will come det. I will wait-you
 If you will come, I will wait (for) you.

Is there any reason to say that these clause are [-R] i.e. that they have an unrealised tense? The reason has to be semantic. All the clauses without determiners are 'conditional' clauses. It seems reasonable to say that these clauses have the feature [-R] and that this feature is marked on these clauses by the subordinator. Some evidence that supports such a statement comes from the fact that the subordinator for these clauses may occur as a pre-verbal form, i.e. in the position of tense/aspect markers:

- (192) *Kom fin ac tuhkuh, nga ac soanwe-kom.*
 you if will come I will wait-you
 If you will come, I will wait (for) you.

This position is analogous to the position of the irrealis *in*. The 'conditional' forms may thus also be forms of the same morphological class which mark unrealised tense. We cannot 'prove' that these forms signal the [-R] feature of these clauses, but in light of the semantics of the subordinators and their alternative position as tense/aspect markers, they seem likely candidates to be markers of [-R]. Note that whatever the attachment of these adverbial clauses in the sentence structure, the subordinator occurs either in COMP or in the pre-verbal tense-aspect position without difficulty:



4.4 THE TWO POSSIBLE DESCRIPTIONS FOR ADVERBIALS

If, for adverbials, we say that the feature [-R] is signalled by the 'conditional' subordinators, we can give a general statement which indicates this, calling the final determiner a clause specifier:

(194) CLAUSE SPECIFIER

A determiner from the *ah* series may be a specifier for an adverbial clause if the clause is [+R].

The feature [+R] in this statement is defined as the non-occurrence of 'conditional' subordinators.

Looking at this statement, we can see that it partially 'fits' with the statements for relative clauses (2.6.3) and complements (3.4). However, for the statement in (194), we had to extend the definition of the feature [+R] which definitely detracts from the generality of this statement.

On the other hand, we also presented a different description based on the fact that most of the introducers for adverbial clauses with final determiners are prepositions. We would expect then that the 'object' of a preposition could occur with a determiner. And so in this description we have shown a dominating N" and an *ah* determiner associated with it, the same kind of description we used for relative clauses (2.6.3) and complements (3.4).

We did see, however, that two of the introducers, *tukun* 'after' and *mweyen* 'because' look like construct nouns. These two forms could thus be head nouns for a noun phrase containing a clause with a final *ah*. Or they could synchronically be prepositions with no retention of nominal quality. If the latter is true, adverbial clauses introduced by these forms can be considered to be the same structurally as the clauses we have claimed are introduced by prepositions. At present, there is no evidence which enables us to choose between these alternatives.

5.0 THE *ah* DETERMINER IN INTERROGATIVES

Interrogatives present serious problems to our attempt to provide a coherent description of the occurrence of the *ah* determiner. For the constructions discussed thus far – relative clauses, complements, and adverbials – the occurrence of the irrealis *in* or 'conditional subordinators' excludes the occurrence of the *ah* determiner. However, this observation does not apply to interrogatives.

5.1 THE IRREALIS *in* IN INTERROGATIVES

The irrealis marker *in* can occur in interrogatives without an *ah* determiner:

- (195) *Efuh kuh nga in lutlut pahtuhr?*²⁶
 why I IRR learn fish
 Why should I learn fishing?

But it also appears when an *ah* determiner occurs:

- (196) *Eltahl siyuck [s, lah mwet meac se e in muhta ah].*
 they ask compl. man what det. EC IRR stay det.
 They asked what man is staying.

The negative correlation between irrealis *in* and the *ah* determiner is thus not maintained in interrogatives.

5.2 SOME PROPERTIES OF INTERROGATIVES

WH-questions contain 'WH' words like the following:

(197)	NON-NOMINAL WH WORDS		NOMINAL WH WORDS
	<i>efuh</i>	why	<i>meac</i> what
	<i>fuhkah</i>	how	<i>suc</i> who
	<i>ngac</i>	when	N <i>ekahsr</i> how many N
	<i>oyac</i>	where	N <i>fuhkah</i> which N
	<i>efuh kuh</i>	why	<i>ma ngac</i> how old (i.e., thing when)
	<i>fuhkah tuh</i>	how come	other NP's with a WH word
	<i>piyac</i>	where	

(See Lee, 1975:165f for a complete listing). Nominal WH words have reference to objects, while non-nominals do not.

Questions with WH words have the following properties:

- a. All questions with a nominal WH word have an otherwise obligatory missing noun phrase (marked as *e* 'EC'), very much as in relative clauses (Section 2.2):³⁷

(198) *El etuh [lah meac se Mako el fahk e ah].*
 he know compl. what det. Mako s.m. said EC det.
 He knows what Mako said.

(199) *Suc kom liye e ah?*
 who you see EC det.
 Who did you see

Questions with a non-nominal WH word do not:

(200) *Nga luti-yac [lah efuh pwepuh ah isis muhi.]*
 I learn-past compl. why paper det. burn fast
 I learned why paper burns fast.

(201) *Kom srem-lah fuhkah?*
 you stuck-perf. how
 How did you get stuck?

- b. Questions containing a nominal WH word occur with an *ah* determiner (cf. (196), (198), (199)), while those containing a non-nominal WH word do not:

(202) * *Nga luti-yac (lah efuh pwepuh ah isis muhi ah).*
 I learn-past compl. why paper det. burn fast det.
 I learned why paper burns fast. (cf. (200))

(203) * *Kom srem-lah fuhkah ah?*
 you stuck-perf. how det.
 How did you get stuck? (cf. (201))

c. An interrogative introduced by a nominal WH word may have the determiner *se* (and only *se*) with the WH word:³⁷

(204) *Meac se kom nuhkuh?*
 what det. you know
 What do you know?

(205) *Meac * sac kom nuhkuh?*
 * *ah*,
 etc.
 what det. you know
 What do you know?

No determiner can occur with an introductory non-nominal WH word:

(206) *Efuh * ah nga enenuh?*
 * *sac*,
 etc.
 why det. I need/to
 Why do I need to?

d. Of the non-nominal WH words, the following – *efuh* ‘why’, *efuh kuh* ‘why’, and *fuhkah kuh* ‘how come’ – occur in clause-initial position (cf. (195), and (206)). The others, *fuhkah* ‘how’ (cf. (201)), *ngac* ‘when’, *oyac* ‘where’, and *piyac* ‘where’, occur in a non-initial position:

(207) *Kom tuhkuh ngac nuh Kosrae?* (Lee 1975:161)
 you come when to Kosrae
 When are you coming to Kosrae?

(208) *El tuh muhta oyac ekweyah?* (ibid:163)
 he past stay where yesterday
 Where did he stay yesterday?

(209) *Mitmit nuhtihk ah piyac?* (ibid. 164)
 knife my det. where
 Where is my knife?

All nominal WH words must be clause-initial (except in echo questions):

(210) * *Kom liye suc ah?*
 you saw who det.
 Who did you see?

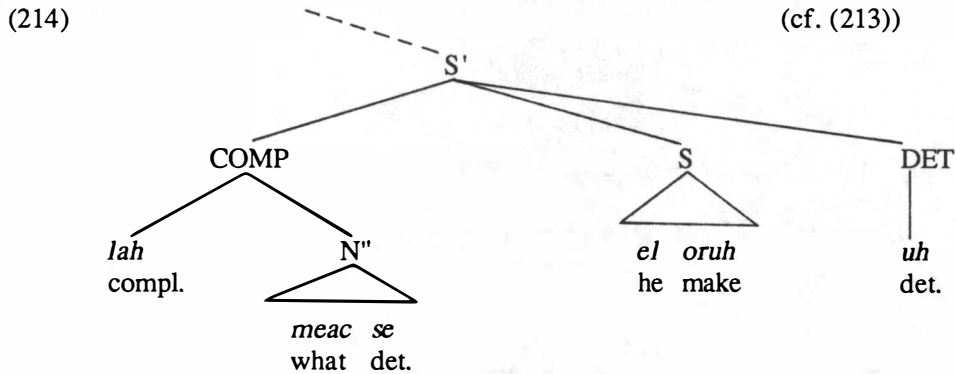
Why does the *ah* determiner occur only in questions with nominal WH words? Is there evidence for an association with a dominating N" which would allow us to use a description similar to that given for other clauses with *ah* determiners? Let us look first at indirect questions to begin to answer this question.

5.3 INDIRECT QUESTIONS

Indirect questions in Kosraean are always introduced by the complementiser *lah* (see Section 3.2):³⁸

- (211) *El som liye [S' lah pwacye kuh tiac].*³⁹
 he go see compl. true or not
 He went to see if (it) was true or not.
- (212) *El nuhnkuh [S' lah eltahl ac kaheng-lac fuhkah].*
 he know compl. they will run-away how
 He knows how they will run away.
- (213) *Eltahl siyuck [S' lah meac se el oruh uh].*
 they ask compl. what det. he make det.
 They asked what he is making.

Example (213) contains the nominal WH word *meac* and the final determiner. One possible approach would be to claim that the Nominal WH word (*meac se*) is in COMP:



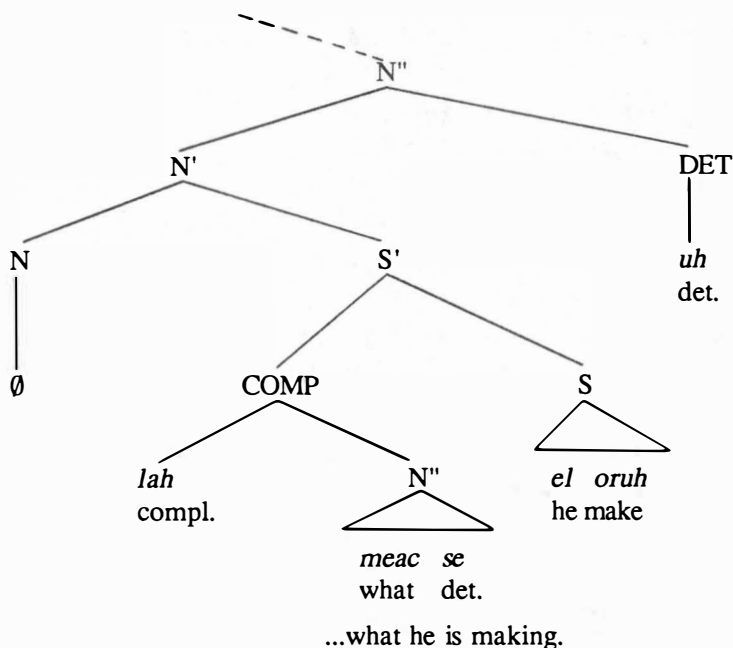
...what he is making.

This would mean that the determiner (*uh* in (214)) would have no nominal to specify. If *meac se* 'what' were instead immediately dominated by S', the determiner could be associated with the nominal WH word. However, note that the WH word would then have two determiners, a phenomena we have shown to be generally ungrammatical for noun phrases in Kosraean (Section 2.3). It would be preferable, then, if our description did not have to associate the final determiner with the nominal WH word.

An alternative suggests itself. We might consider the possibility that complement in this case is a noun phrase, which may be an object of the matrix verb, as is shown in this diagram:

(215)

(cf. (214))



However, though it may be possible to justify the zero head noun in the description in (215), this description is not one we can use for direct questions, as we shall see. (Furthermore we never have a construction in which there is a nominal in the place of the zero noun head shown in this structure.)

5.4 DIRECT QUESTIONS

Direct questions are optionally introduced by the question marker *kuh* (glossed as Q here):

(216) ***Kuh kom liye ful rangrang sac?***

Q you see shell yellow det.

Did you see the yellow shell?

(217) ***Kuh kom srem-lah fubkah?***

Q you stuck-perf. how

How did you get stuck?

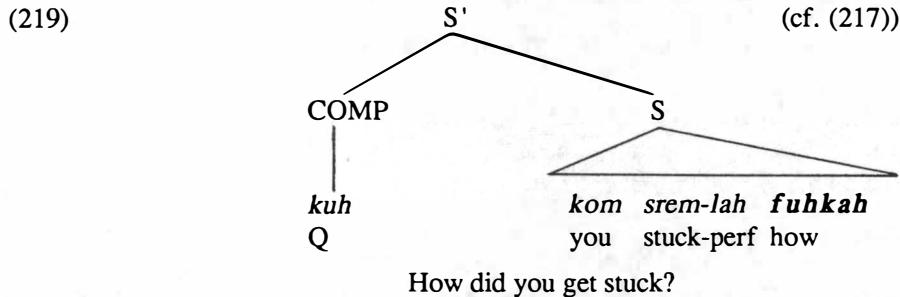
(218) ***Kuh meac se kom oruh an?***

Q what det. you make det.

What did you make?

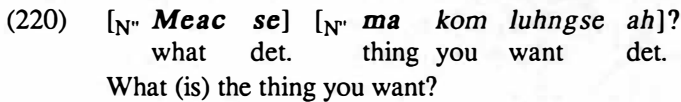
The questions in (216) through (218) are equally acceptable without the question marker.

We assume that *kuh* 'Q' occurs in the COMP position of a question:⁴⁰

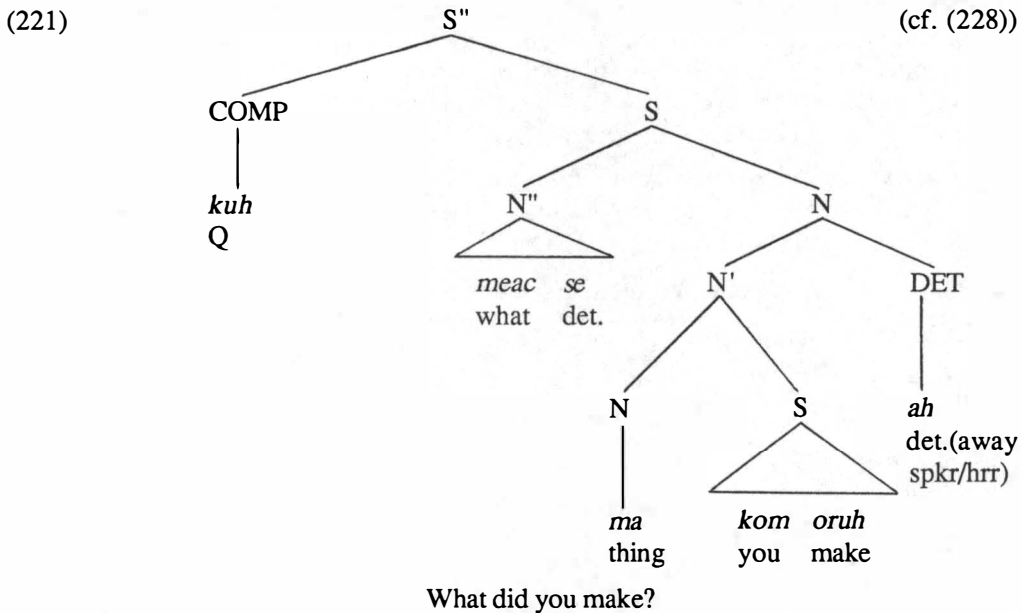


However, as we've already shown for indirect questions, having a nominal WH word also in COMP and associating the final determiner with it has the following problems: (1) there is no justifiable position for the WH word in which it could be directly associated with the determiner, and (2) two determiners would be associated with the WH word. Also, the possible dominating N'' which might be a way of describing indirect questions (cf. (215)) would have no justification for direct questions since they could not be described as 'objects' of a verbal.

How then can we describe the *ah* in questions with nominal WH words? One possible description is suggested by the following alternate form of questions with nominal WH words:



The sentence in (220) suggests to us that questions with nominal WH words may be equational sentences in which the WH word is a noun phrase functioning as a predicate as shown in (221):



This description shows a basic equational type of structure.

For questions without *ma*, the description in (221) would have a zero noun head associated with the final determiner (as we've see for other clauses with a final determiner).

Further evidence for the worth of such a description comes from a consideration of declarative equational sentences:

- (222) [_N *Lohm se lwayacn lacsac ah*] [_N *ma sihk*].
 house det. side left det. one my

The house on the left side is mine.

In (222) the first noun phrase, *loh m se...* 'the house...' is considered given information (within sight) and the second noun phrase *ma sihk* 'mine', is the new information. We could thus say that *ma sihk* is functioning as the Predicate of the sentence. For *pa* equational sentences (Section 1.3.2), the informational structure is reversed. The equivalent of (222) in the form of a *pa* sentence is (223):

- (223) [_N *Ma sihk*] *pa* [_N *loh m se lwayacn lacsac ah*].
 one my is house det. side left det.

Mine is the house on the left side.

In (223) the first noun phrase would be the Predicate (or new information) and the noun phrase following *pa* the Given (or old) information. Thus, it is not unusual that a Predicate (the new information) should appear initially in some equational sentences. For questions, then, with nominal WH words, we can say that the nominal WH words are the new information that is not known since it is being requested. The clause following the WH word, on the other hand, is the Given information. In fact, Lee (1975:369f) suggests that questions with nominal WH words are equational with the same information structure as *pa* equational sentences, i.e. New Information, Given Information. Sohn (1975:146f) gives also an equational description for some questions in Woleaian, a related Micronesian language.

As we have pointed out, in Kosraean the *ah* determiner occurs only with those questions which have a nominal WH word. It is these questions, then, that we will call equational. The description in (221) has a zero-head form for some questions (i.e. those without *ma* 'thing'), an undesirable feature. However, as pointed out, any questions with a nominal WH word may occur with a *ma* introducing the clause, as in (220) repeated here as (224):

- (224) [_N *Meac se*] [_N *ma kom luhngse ah*]?
 what det. thing you want det.

What do you want?

But there is no analogous structure for interrogatives with non-nominal WH words:

- (225) *Efub nga enenuh*?
 why I have/to
 Why do I have to?

- (226) * *Efuh ma nga enenuh?*
 why thing I have/to
 Why do I have to?

Nor does the *ah* determiner occur in interrogatives with non-nominal WH words:

- (227) *Efuh nga enenuh * ah?* (cf. (225))
 why I have/to det.
 Why do I have to?

In the description given for questions with nominal WH words in (221) the *ah* occurs with the part of the sentence that is given information, while the *meac se* is the new information which is requested. This gives one desired result for the occurrence of *ah*, as we have before shown: that the *ah* series of determiners must occur with Given information in a sentence (Section 2.3).

As noted earlier (Section 5.1), *in* may occur in any question and the feature [+R] is not defineable for questions. Thus, we cannot make a statement utilising the feature of realised tense (specified as [+R]) that is comparable to the statements we made for the other clauses with a final determiner.

6.0 SUMMARY

In this paper we have been looking at the phenomenon of final determiner-like particles for clauses. We have shown that these particles are indeed determiners of the *ah* series (2.3), having the same form and function and obeying the same informational constraints as determiners in simple noun phrases. Further, we have shown (2.4, 2.5) that these determiners cannot be easily associated with any simple noun phrase internal or external to a relative clause, with the exception of the relative marker. These findings led us to consider two ways of talking about these determiners for clauses. One way of describing them would be to formulate a simple statement for them, based on features of the clause itself. We first review the statements formulated on this basis.

6.1 FINAL DETERMINERS AND CLAUSE FEATURES

The statement we were able to make that would associate the final determiner of a relative clause with the clause itself was the following:

- (228) A determiner from the *ah* series in a relative clause is associated with the features [+R(EAL)] and [+RES].

The feature [+R(EAL)] was linked to the occurrence of the irrealis form *in*. If the *in* can occur in the clause, the clause is [-R]; if not, it is [+R].

Restrictive relative clauses ([+RES]) differ syntactically from other types of clauses in that they do not undergo extraposition. Their head noun phrases allow only the determiner *se*. We assigned the feature [+RES] to such clauses. We noted that the feature [+R] may be the significant one with respect to the occurrence of a final determiner, since both [+R] and [-R] clauses may be [+RES].

As in relative clauses, the *ah* determiner cannot occur in complement clauses if the irrealis form *in* occurs. However, unlike relative clauses, not all [+R] complements occur with an *ah* determiner. Only complements introduced by the form *ke* appear with an *ah* determiner (3.1). No other particular clause feature (such as [+RES], etc.) can be identified for *ke* complements. Thus, for complement clauses a statement such as the following seems to be required:

- (229) A determiner from the *ah* series in a complement is associated both with the feature [+R] and with the introductory form *ke*.

However, as we can see, the two statements, one for relative clauses and one for complement clauses, cannot be collapsed into one statement, though in both cases the clauses must be [+R].

However, for adverbial clauses, a more general statement was possible:

- (230) A determiner from the *ah* series in an adverbial clause is associated with the feature [+R].

However, for adverbials, [-R] is marked by the occurrence of the following introducers with conditional semantics (4.3), not by the occurrence of the irrealis form *in*:

- | | | |
|-------|---------------|----------|
| (231) | <i>fin</i> | if |
| | <i>fuhnuh</i> | if, past |
| | <i>finnwe</i> | even if |
| | <i>fintwe</i> | only if |

Thus, our definition of [+R] for this statement is less general than would be useful.

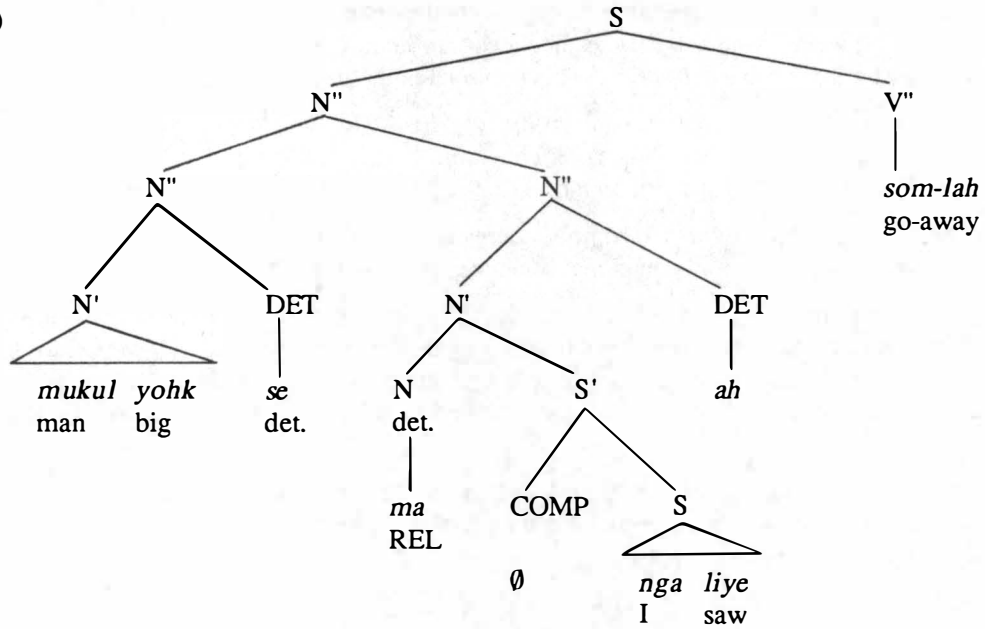
As we found in Section 5, however, the feature [+R] faces an additional difficulty in relation to the occurrence of the *ah* determiners in interrogatives. The irrealis *in* can occur in *any* interrogative, irrespective of whether or not an *ah* determiner occurs (5.1). Thus, the criteria by which we defined the feature [+R] for relative clauses and complements does not work at all for interrogatives. It thus seems as if the feature itself is not the relevant one with which we should associate the final *ah* determiner. Unless we can pinpoint such a general feature which can be specifically defined for all occurrences of the determiner, a simple statement does nothing more than state the rather uninteresting fact that some clauses take an *ah* specifier.

6.2 THE ASSOCIATION WITH A NOMINAL

Alternatively, we have also looked at a description for clauses in which the *ah* is associated with some kind of nominal. Since it is hard to pinpoint exactly what that nominal is in some instances, we chose to signify it by means of the symbol N" and to show it in a tree diagram (limited as such diagrams may be).

For relative clauses, this nominal (which we called N") was in apposition to the head noun phrase:

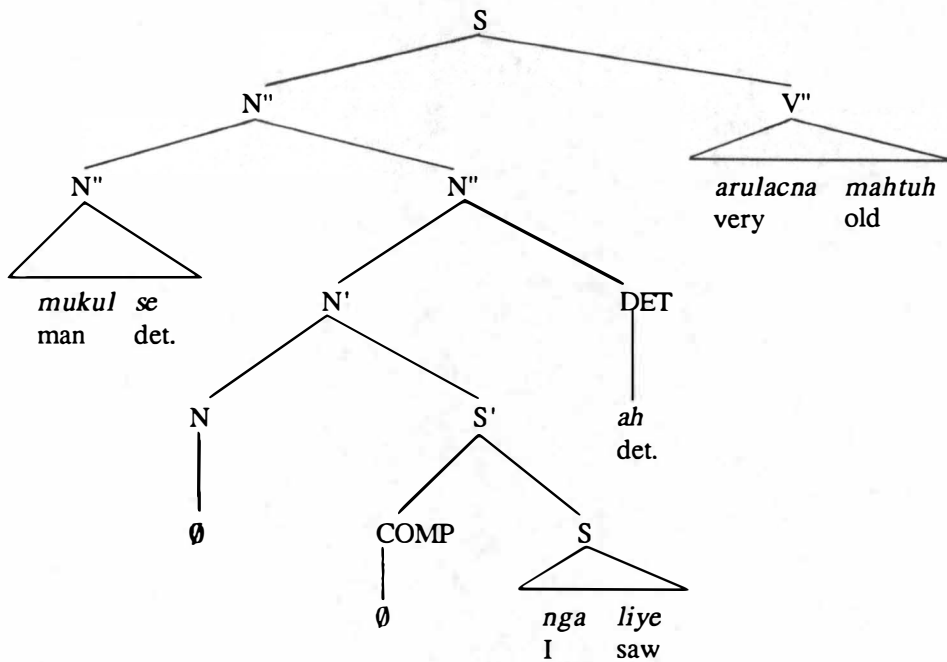
(232)



The big man that I saw went away.

The *ah* in the relative clause in (232) is thus associated with the relative marker *ma*, which is, in this description, an indefinite pronoun (2.6) and an eligible head. The problem was that not all relative clauses have *ma*. For some clauses, there is a zero noun in this position, as in (233):

(233)



The man I saw is very old.

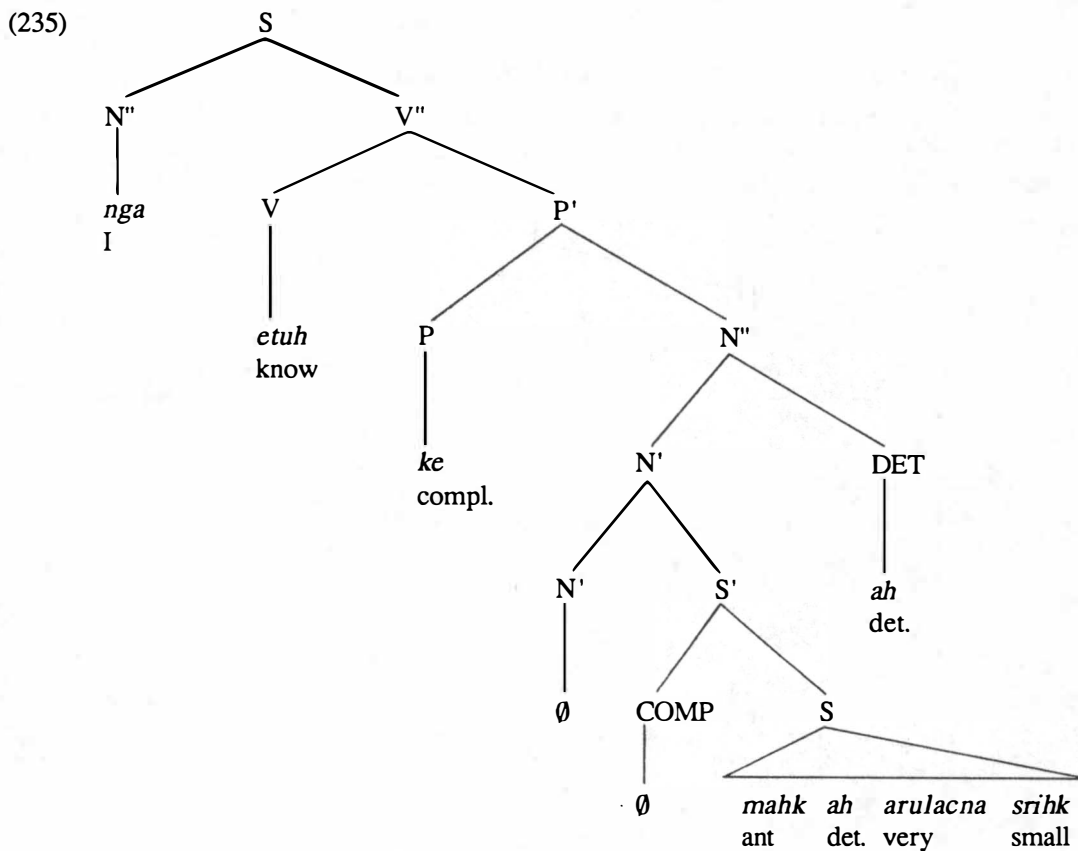
It is obvious that having a determiner associated with a nominal that is not realised is not an elegant description. However, one other type of clause, an equational one, seems to also have a final determiner associated with a zero noun. This is shown in the *pa* equational sentence in (234):

- (234) [_{N'} *Puk sacn*] *pa* [_{N'} \emptyset *Sohn el retelah e ah*].
 book det. is John s.m. read EC det.
 The book is (the one) John read.

For these, a description with a zero noun seems reasonable for the second noun phrase since we might want to say that this is an equational sentence i.e. X(NP) is a Y(NP).

Such a description also gives a description for the relative clauses introduced by the combination relative marker *suc ma* which we did not completely describe in Section 2. However, we learned in Section 5.3⁴¹ that the *suc* 'who' in questions is a nominal WH word and we can probably thus say that *suc ma* is a combination nominal with which the final *ah* determiner can be associated in relative clauses.

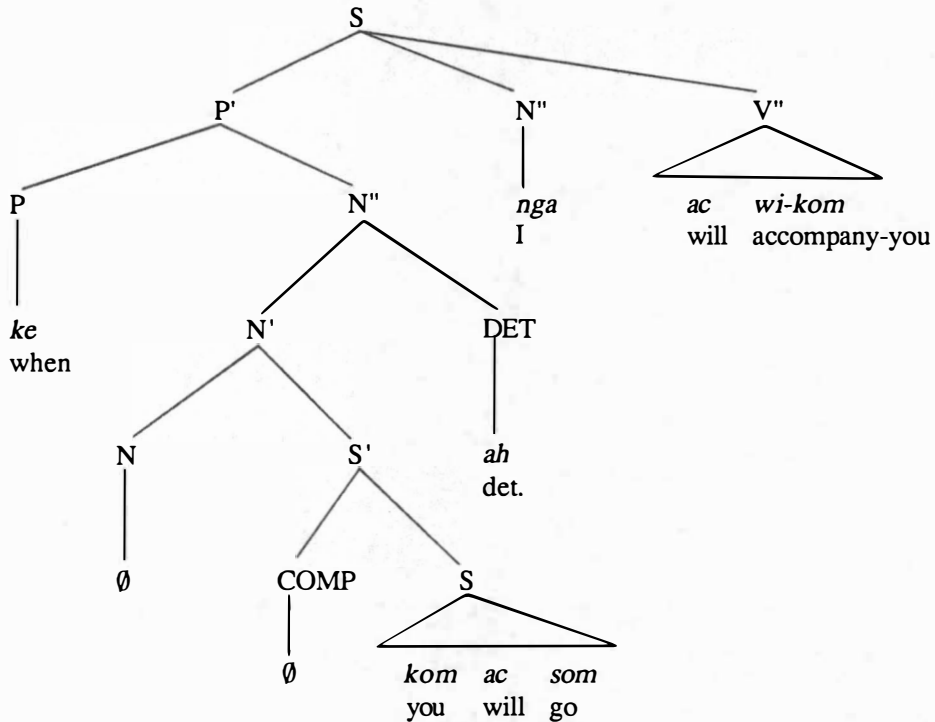
As to *ke* complement clauses, we again found that it was useful to use a zero nominal. It allowed us to capture that notion that *ke* retains its prepositional character (3.4). We thus used a similar description for *ke* complement clauses:



I know that ants are very small.

One advantage of this description is that it applies also to adverbials, particularly those introduced by *ke* (4.2.1):

(236)



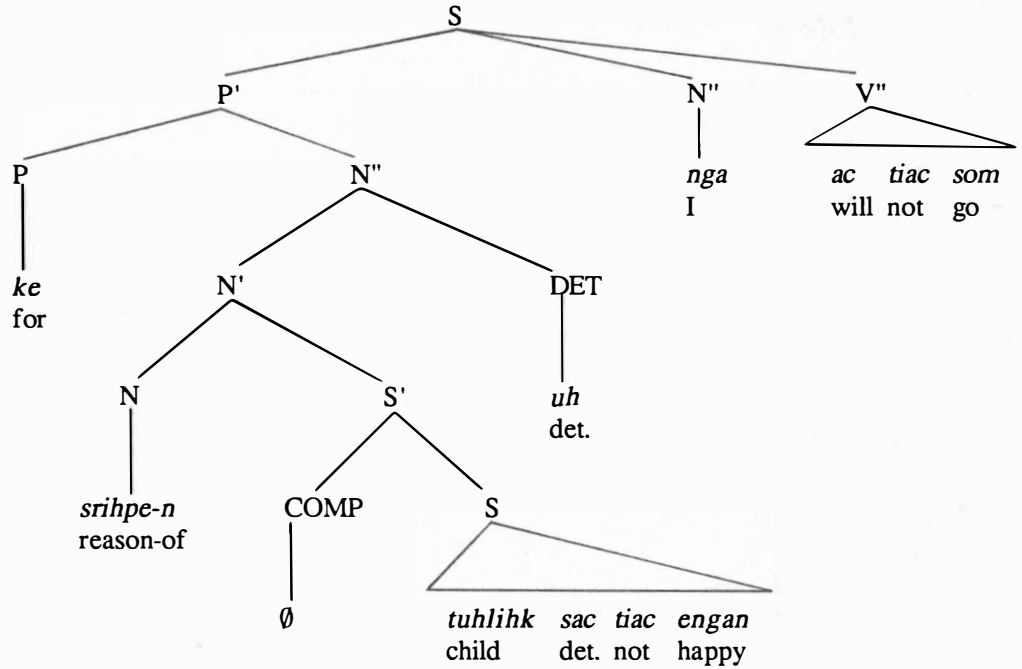
When you go, I will accompany you.

As noted before, for one kind of adverbial clause with the preposition *ke* (a reason clause), *ke* occurs with a following nominal, *srihpe-n* 'reason of':

- (237) **Ke srihpe-n tuhlihk sac tiac engan uh, nga ac tiac som.**
 for reason-of child det. not happy det. I will not go
 For the reason (that) the child is not happy, I will not go.

We suggested that this type of clause in (237) can be described by the following:

(238)

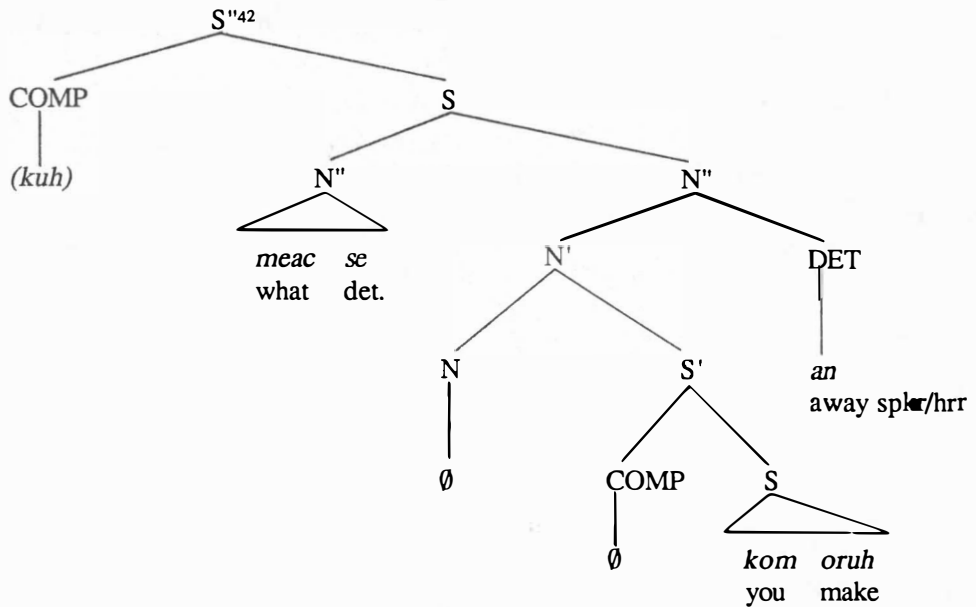


Because the child is not happy, I won't go.

The description in (238) is similar to the one we gave for relative clauses in that there is a nominal (dominated by N'') and the final determiner is associated with a head noun.

For interrogatives, associating the final determiner with a nominal gave us an equational rather than appositional description, i.e. the first nominal being predicated of the second:

(239)



What did you make?

However, this equational kind of a description is like the appositional one in that there is a nominal (N") with a zero head noun. Questions with a nominal WH word, though, may have a lexical head:

- (240) *Meac se [ma kom oruh an]?*
 what det. thing you make det.
 What (is) the thing you made?

So, actually, a description which includes a nominal (N") is general enough to cover all occurrences of the 'clausal' *ah* in Kosraean.

However, we remember that there were strong indications that there is some kind of association of the *ah* determiner with clause features and we should not ignore these, even though we were not able to state this association in some precise way.

How can we take account of the features noted?

To give a direction for a possible answer to this, we look back at the fact that the occurrence of determiners in both simple noun phrases and in relative clauses is linked to the Given/New information distinction in sentences (2.3.1,2.3.2). If a noun phrase (or relative clause and its head noun phrase) is considered Given, it must have a determiner. If, however, it is new information, no determiner need occur and generally does not occur unless the speaker wishes to specify a feature such as spatial deixis or number. The *ah* determiners, in particular, are sensitive to the information structure of a sentence.

The Given/New correlation for the occurrence of the *ah* determiners in noun phrases has an analogous correlation in interrogatives (see (239) above) where the determiner marks Given information. We would expect this for equationals, of course, since both the Given information and the Predicate are nominals.

We noted also that for relative clauses, where the situation is the clearest, a combination of the features of realised tense and restrictiveness is required for the occurrence of *ah*. Similarly, the *ah* in adverbials and complements signalled realised tense of the clause.

What we might say, then, is that realised tense in clauses and the Given (Definite) feature for noun phrases are analogous in some way.

As we have shown, it proved difficult to describe this analogy of Realised tense and Givenness by use of a simple statement which would be inclusive of all the occurrences of the *ah* determiner in clauses.

However, we were able to use a descriptive tree structure in which we used the fact that we wished the *ah* determiner to be associated with a nominal which we symbolised by N" and in which the determiner is in a typical determiner position. We are not claiming any theoretical significance for this structure (though there may be some), but rather wish to remind the reader that this simply signifies a possible relationship between Realised tense in clauses and the Givenness feature of noun phrases, which is grammatically marked in Kosraean by the *ah* series of determiners. We would be pleased should further research reveal a more succinct way of describing this relationship.

NOTES

1. The phenomena investigated in this paper and the possible descriptions for it are a direct outcome of various syntax classes taught by Professor Roderick Jacobs of the University of Hawaii, Honolulu and of discussions with Professor Jacobs.
2. In this discussion, we use the terms Kosraean and Kosrae, rather than Lee's Kusaiean and Kusaie, since the latter terms are phonetically similar to derogatory terms in Japanese and the terms Kosraean and Kosrae are preferred by vernacular speakers.
3. Lee does not indicate what phonetic system he is using and I have not done any basic phonetic research on Kosraean. In particular, it is not clear what phonetic vowel Lee is indicating by the symbol *oa*.
4. It is not clear how *k* and *ŋ* can be velarised.
5. Lee (1975:321) lists examples where the object noun phrase appears at the beginning of the sentence:

Kaki ah, eltahl tahkuhs.
 coconut det. they remove/meat
 The coconut, they remove (the) meat.

However, I have not been able to get verification of such structures from vernacular speakers.

6. The occurrence of the subject marker *e/* in such equational sentences may indicate that it is part of the subject noun phrase.
7. The second noun phrase in this example is, in all probability, an instance of a noun phrase in which the head occurs only with the determiner *se* and there is a final determiner from the *ah* series (similar to some possessive noun phrases described in Section 2.6.1 and ordinal number phrases described in Section 2.6.2). However, only one instance of this kind of complex noun phrase occurs in my data and further research may show that there are other complex noun phrases with this configuration.
8. See Example (15) for an instance with an adverbial time word.
9. In the available material, the examples also all have the instrumental *kih* and a corresponding missing noun phrase in the object position. (*kih* forms a transitive verb when it occurs with an intransitive verb, Lee 1975:183.) However, occurrences in my material are restricted to language lessons and I assume this regularity is likely to be a function of the lesson design.
10. An alternative to saying that *we* is a resumptive pronoun in relative clauses is suggested by the occurrence of subject and object pronouns with subject and object noun phrases in a related Micronesian language, Mokilese (Sheldon Harrison, p.c.). In Mokilese, subject and object pronouns may occur in root clauses along with subject and object noun phrases as in the following configuration:

NP_{Subj} Pron._{Subj} ...V... Pron._{D.Obj.} NP_{D.Obj.} ...

In Kosraean, however, the locative pronoun that occurs in some relative clauses does not co-occur with a prepositional phrase in other clauses:

- (1) *Nga luhngse som ke acn oh.*
 I want go to place det. (over there)
 I want to go to that place.
- (2) * *Nga luhngse som ke acn oh we.*
 * *Nga luhngse som ke we acnoh., etc.*
 I want go to (there) place det. (there)
 I want to go to that place.

Thus, resumptive locative pronouns in Kosraean are not 'copy' pronouns like those in Mokilese sentences. They may be inserted in the empty noun phrase position.

11. The series labels and glosses are mine.
12. See Section 2.4 for further comments on the status of *se* as a numeral or determiner.
13. Lee (1975:119) lists a class of determiners with the forms *nge*, *ngacn*, *ngo*, and *ngi*. However, I have found no consistent morphological difference between these and the locational adverbs; all their occurrences in sentences are easily interpreted as adverbs.
14. The use of a determiner in new information may simply show that the speaker wishes to indicate spatial deixis or singularity (*sac* series); thus a determiner occurs for pragmatic or semantic reasons rather than as an indicator of the information status of the noun phrase.
15. *luhngse* 'like' is a transitive verb in Kosraean with no intransitive form which would be a 'derived intransitive' in Lee's terms. A 'derived intransitive' is a verbal form which may be combined with a following noun to produce another verbal form. The combined noun does not occur with a determiner nor do verbal suffixes follow the noun (Lee 1975:270-277).
16. Apparently, the speaker is using *se* in this instance to specify singularity.
17. In addition, note that the additional specificity attributed to the head noun phrase by a relative clause may be the reason that the final determiner for relative clauses in new information occurs much more frequently than the final determiner for a simple noun phrase in new information.
18. Note also that there appears to be a semantic difference between (83) and (84), the latter being more of a claim concerning the number of dogs than the former.
19. The fact that the determiner *se* in complex noun phrases seems to lack spatial deixis and instead to function like the determiner *sac* 'the', which is the form without spatial deixis in simple noun phrases, remains unexplained.
20. Lee's formulation may reflect the historical changes, however.
21. All the expansions of possessive noun phrases in Kosraean have not been determined.
22. Jackendoff (1977) and Stowell(1981) claim that Subjects are Sentence Specifiers in Government-Binding (GB) Theory. Exactly how our statement that determiners may also be some kind of Sentence Specifiers fits into that claim (should I at some future time suggest that this is a legitimate GB claim) is an issue for further research.
23. The pre-verbal *in* of verbal complements may be contracted and cliticised to the first person singular and third person singular pronouns:

nga 'I' + *in* = *nga-n*, *el* 'he, she' + *in* = *elan*

Presumably, the *a* in *elan* is a remnant of a historical final *a* on the pronoun (Jeff Marck, p.c.).

24. Indirect questions, though they are also complement structures, are discussed in Section 5.
25. See Lee (1975:299f) for a description of the tense/aspect forms and their semantics; see also his description of the verbal direction/aspect suffixes (1975:282f).
26. The verb *wo* 'good' may regularly appear with a null subject. The subject of *wo* in these sentences may be the null subject or an empty subject co-indexed with the matrix subject. The sense from the context of my material indicates that it is the null subject.
27. Unaffixed verbs in Kosraean are realised present or close past tense; they never have the semantics of an action completely in the future.
28. Though this example was originally written with a comma after *oak srihsrihk soko* 'one small canoe', there is no change in intonation after the noun phrase which would indicate the end of one independent clause and the beginning of another.
29. These complements are termed 'serial' verbs in Austronesian languages and are particularly widespread in Papua New Guinea (Andrew Pawley, p.c.).
30. Pronouns in Kosraean are not marked for gender:
el 'he, she', *eltahl* 'them, f. or m.', *-l* 'his, hers'
31. Possessive pronominal forms also occur with *se* 'to, at, in regard to, on, etc.' Lee (1975:137f) claims that *se* is the human counterpart of *ke* which is used with nonhuman objects. My own data suggests *ke* may also have human objects.
32. Though the closest English translation for *ke* in these clauses is 'when', the form simply indicates that the time of the adverbial clause is the same as the main clause. There is no WH form present. This is consistent with the semantics of preposition *ke* of 'at'.
33. Lee (1975:144, 170, 302) lists *nuh* as being the prepositional tense/aspect form and *nwe* as exclusively a coordinating conjunction. However, this dichotomy does not appear in my data.
34. The *-ye-* in the construct form of this noun is not entirely explained. However, *mwe* 'thing' is the likely base form and its construct form is *mweye-n*. A similar case (Lee 1975:64) is *ne* 'leg' with a construct form of *niye-n* 'leg of'. Jacobs (p.c.) gives a parallel *p^wa/p^wai* 'that, because/thing' from Kiribatese. In this form, an alternate *-i* occurs finally. It may be that *mwey-* is an alternate for *mwe-*. But it is difficult in both cases to tell what the history of these forms is.
35. Lee (1975:137) lists construct forms for *ke* and *liki* as *ke* and *liki*. However, without the *-n* suffix, there is no obvious basis for identifying these as construct forms. Nor does he give any examples of their usage where they are obviously constructs.
36. Lee(1975)161) claims that the introductory *efuh kuh* 'why' is a single unit, perhaps with the added semantics of disapproval.
37. We have encountered one example of what seems to be an introductory nominal WH word, but where there is no empty category:

Mwe meac nga in muhta ahkos ma sap inge?
 thing what I IRR stay obey REL command here
 Why should I obey rules (what commands) here?

However, note that in this case, the meaning is adverbial. My material is not sufficient to show whether the *ah* determiner occurs in such cases. The *ah* determiner is not obligatory, but I have not found on what basis it may be omitted in direct questions.

38. Lee (1975:158) has found an instance of an interrogative in which the initial noun phrase ends with a *sac*:

Luhn suc nuknuk sac mihsacsac ah?
 class. who clothes det. torn det.
 "Whose clothes are torn?"

I have no such examples in my data. Note that the WH phrase in this case is a possessive and the *sac* may be associated only with *nuknuk* 'clothes'.

39. I have one example in which an indirect question is introduced by the *muh* complementiser:

Ke eltahl som ah, kom nuhnkuh muh meac se eltahl liyacack ah
 when they go det. you know compl. what det. they see det.
 "When they went, you know what they saw."

39. Indirect questions without a WH word seem to be analysable as *lah* complements (Section 2.3).
40. *kuh* never occurs indirect questions and thus is in complementary distribution with the complementiser in indirect questions.
41. Why *suc* does not occur with an *ah* determiner in relative clauses is not accounted for in our analysis. The reason may be related to the fact that *suc* relatives are nonrestrictive.
42. In this tree, we presume that, as with other items, the sentence may have more than one level.

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