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Preface

As a student of linguistics, I am happy indeed to have been involved in the Pacific Language Development Project, which has made the writing and publishing of this grammar of the Woleaian language possible. I express my sincere thanks to Professor Donald M. Topping, project director, and to Professor Byron W. Bender, chairman of the Department of Linguistics of the University of Hawaii, for the kindness they extended to me during my participation in the project.

Ever since I was first associated with Ulithians and their language some seven years ago, I have felt privileged to learn about Micronesia, its languages, and its kind and sincere people, whose cultures are considerably different from my own. I admire many of their cultural assets, which are not shared by many other peoples of the world. I am particularly impressed by the Micronesian view that all Micronesians belong to a single family. I am proud and pleased that I have worked on and know something about the structures of their languages and that I might make a modest contribution to the people with this small work.

A major aim of this book is to provide as much of an overall picture of the sound system and grammatical structure of contemporary Woleaian as possible, using both traditional and current methods of linguistic description. Since this is the first systematic presentation of the grammar of the language, the description had to be organized from scratch, relying on primary speech data. It is inevitable, accordingly, that there may be many grammatical features of the language that I have either overlooked or handled improperly. I hope that any weaknesses or mistakes will eventually be eliminated through further study, preferably by the speakers of Woleaian themselves.

It is recommended that the reader, particularly the nonnative speaker, use this grammar together with *A Woleaian-English Dictionary* (The University Press of Hawaii, forthcoming).

Particular thanks are extended to Anthony Tawerilmang for

his some three years of excellent assistance and cooperation in this task. This work would not have been accomplished without his language data and painstaking efforts. I am greatly indebted to Professor Topping who read the manuscript and gave many valuable suggestions. Also, special thanks are expressed to Mrs. Arlene Koike, PALI Secretary, who was in charge of typing the manuscript.

Introduction

WOLEAI ATOLL

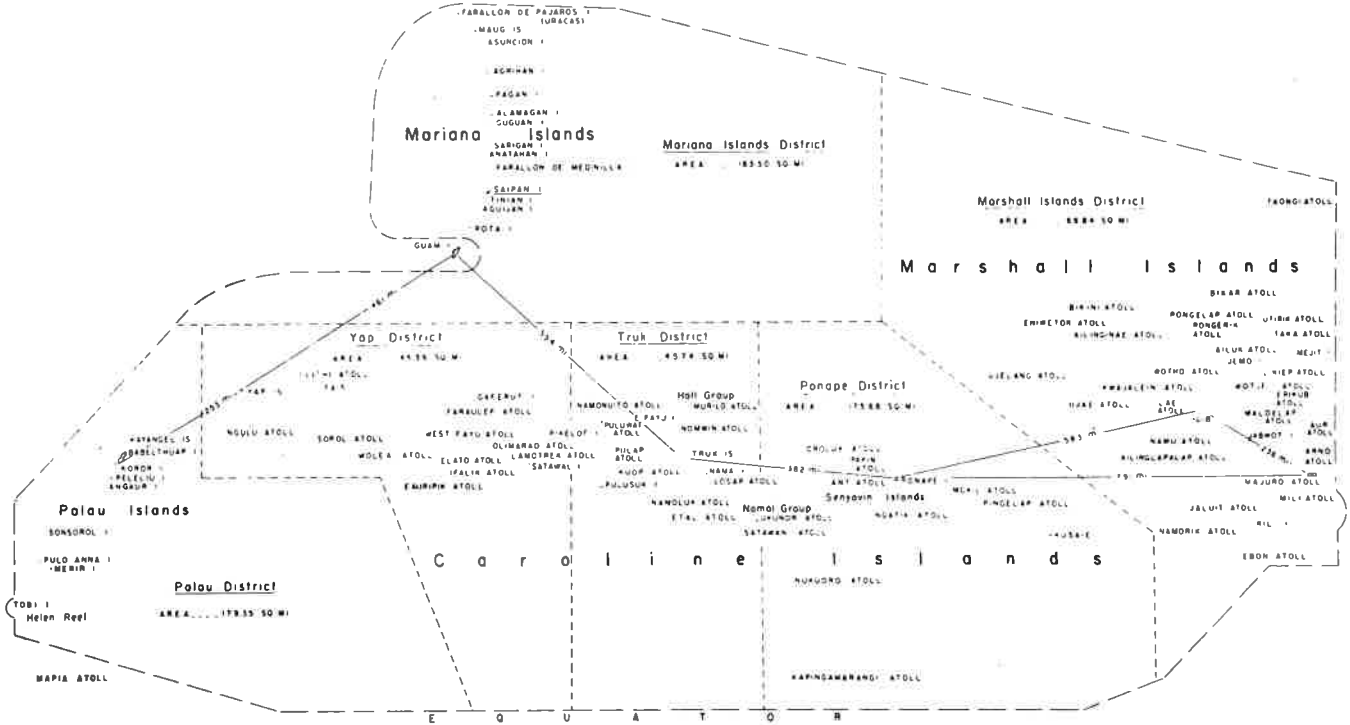
0.1 The atoll of Woleai is located in the center of the Yap District of the Trust Territory of the Pacific and at 7°21′ North latitude and 143°53′ East longitude (see Map 1). Woleai Atoll and its neighboring islands including Ulithi, Fais, Sorol, Eauripik, Faraulep, Ifaluk, Elato, Lamotrek and Satawal constitute the so-called Outer Islands of the western Carolines—'Outer' from Yap, the center of the traditional hegemony as well as the present administration.

Woleai Atoll consists of some 20 islands and islets (see Map 2). A reef near the island of Tagailap divides the total area into western and eastern lagoons. The seven inhabited islands of Woleai Atoll are ranked politically and socially from highest to lowest in the order of Wottagai, Falalus, Falalap, Tagailap, Sulywap, Raiur, Paliau, and Mariang. The two highest ranked islands are in the Western Lagoon.

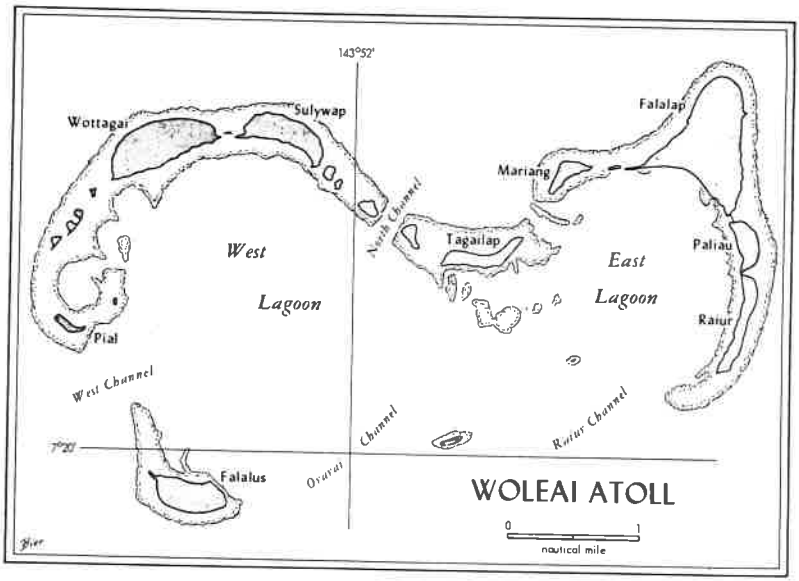
A recent census shows the population of the said inhabited islands as follows: Western Lagoon 230 (Wottagai 90, Falalus 80, and Sulywap 60) and Eastern Lagoon 346 (Falalap 270, Tagailap 53, Paliau 18, and Mariang 5), thus totaling 576.

FOREIGN INFLUENCE

0.2 The successive occupations and the control of the Atoll and other neighboring islands by foreign countries (Spain, nineteenth century; Germany, 1899–1914; Japan, 1914–1945; and the United States, since 1945) have all contributed to the Woleaian vocabulary, but certainly not to the grammar. Of these, the German influence has probably been the least. A rough count


Mariana Islands
Mariana Islands District
Marshall Islands District
Marshall Islands
Yap District
Truk District
Ponape District
Palau Islands
Palau District
Caroline Islands
Senyavin Islands
Hall Group
Namoi Group
EQUATOR

Map 1



Map 2

of the borrowed words appearing in the latest Woleaian-English Dictionary shows the following figures: Spanish 30, German 10, Japanese 300, and English 100, thus totaling some 440. In many cases, the borrowed words are different in form from the original ones, since the Woleaian sound pattern does not permit the original forms to be introduced as they are. A number of borrowings are from secondary sources. For example, English 'ink' was borrowed by Japanese as 'inki' from which Woleaian *ingki* was borrowed. Some examples of loanwords are as follows:

Spanish:	baarekow	'ship'
	baabiyor	'paper, book'
	filooras	'flower'
	galebaas	'calabash'
	kaalebus	'prison, to detain'
	karebau	'cow'
	peraas	'rice'
German:	kaantiin	'shop'
	Montaag	'Monday'
	raat	'bicycle'
	Toichi	'Germany'
	yam	'government office'

Japanese:	fitoong	'mattress'
	kachito	'movie'
	saremaata	'underwear'
	sasiing	'photograph, magazine'
	sensei	'teacher'
	stoosa	'car'
	skooso	'airport'
English:	filoowa	'bread' (from flour)
	naamwebereena	'umbrella'
	peleegis	'blanket'
	skuul	'school'
	stoowa	'store'
	temaago	'tobacco'
	yemma	'hammer'
	yoas	'horse'

Political and geographical closeness of Woleai to Yap has allowed some Yapese words to come into Woleaian, although the number is very small. Some of them are *bbuw* 'betel nut', *maipil* 'religious offering, to pray', *menaigaag* 'picnic', *pilung* 'chief', *resefash* 'low-caste people', and *sawey* 'a tribute system'.

THE WOLEAIAN LANGUAGE

0.3 According to a traditional linguistic classification, some 500 mutually related languages in the Pacific are grouped into four large language families. These are Indonesian, Melanesian, Polynesian, and Micronesian, which correspond largely to their geographical locations. Notwithstanding the prevalent conflicting views, the Micronesian family may be considered to include the following subfamilies: Trukic, Ponapean, Marshallese, Kusaiean, Gilbertese, and Nauruan. Woleaian, together with such neighboring languages as Ulithian, Trukese, and Mortlockese, belongs to the Trukic subfamily. In order to get a brief idea about the linguistic relationship existing among the Micronesian languages, let us list a few common words for comparison. The spelling symbols used are intended to represent the approximate *sounds* of the respective languages.

	'eye'	'hand'	'bone'	'ghost'	'coconut'	'cry'	'two'
Ulithian	maat	peo	chii	yalius	liu	tang	ruuw
Woleaian	maat	paaiu	shiu	yalius	liu	tang	riuw
Trukese	maas	paaw	chiu	eoniu	niu	seng	riu

Mortlockese	maas	paaiu	shiu	aniu	niu	seng	ruuw
Ponapean	maas	pee	chii	eni	nii	seng	riau
Marshallese	mach	pay	diy	anich	niy	chang	riwew
Kusaiean	mata	po	shi	inut	nu	tang	luo
Gilbertese	mata	bai	rii	ansi	nii	tang	uoua
Nauruan	eme	ebe	era	eyani	ini	eyang	aro

In spite of their geographical location within Micronesia, Palauan and Chamorro belong to the Indonesian family and Kapingamarangi and Nukuoro to the Polynesian family, with Yapese having no apparent close affinities within or without Micronesia.

DIALECTS

0.4 Although the present work is limited to the description of that Woleaian which is spoken in the atoll of Woleai, it must be kept in mind that the language is also spoken, with slight dialectal variations (accordingly, with high mutual intelligibility), on the neighboring islands, including Eauripik (population 150), Faraulep (150), Elato (50), Lamotrek (210), and Ifaluk (325). The differences among these dialects are found primarily in sounds and vocabulary, but very little in grammar. For example, Woleaian *waafatiul* 'paddling canoe' corresponds to Faraulep *waffatiul*, showing a slight difference in sounds. Woleaian *rang* 'turmeric' corresponds to Faraulep *taig*, showing difference in vocabulary.

The Woleai dialect itself is divided into two variants, i.e., Eastern and Western Lagoon, whose differences are minor indeed. Some noticeable examples are East *mwaash*: West *mwaar* 'finally', East *megaag*: West *mengaag* 'clothes', East *seeiur*: West *seiuur* 'plumeria', and East *peleegis*: West *pelaigit* 'blanket'.

The tree diagram in Figure 1 shows the interrelationship existing among the above-mentioned dialects. Lower branchings indicate closer relationships.

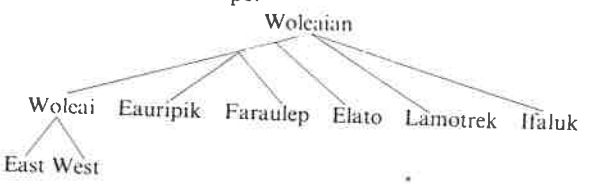


Fig. 1. Woleaian Dialects

PRESENT WORK

0.5 The present work is the first systematic presentation of the grammar of Woleaian, a result of the author's thirty-two months (July 1971–February 1974) of intensive analysis of the language with the untiring assistance of Tony Tawerilmang from Sulywap, Western Lagoon, Woleai. A few minor works so far available include *Guide to Woleai Spelling* (Mimeo) by A. G. Smith (Department of Education, Trust Territory Government, 1951), *A Caroline Islands Script* by S. H. Riesenberg and S. Kaneshiro (Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 173, 269–333. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1960), *Lessons in Woleai* (Mimeo) by E. Quackenbush (University of Hawaii, 1966), and *Systems of Measurement on Woleai Atoll, Caroline Islands* by W. H. Alkire (Fribourg, Switzerland, 1970).

The main target of this work is to present the sound system and grammar of contemporary Woleaian. Its historical development and its grammatical relation with other languages is outside the scope of the present work.

This work is intended for three types of audiences: native speakers who are interested in the structure of their language, non-native speakers who want to learn the language and the grammar and linguists who are interested in the language for their practical or theoretical purposes. With this in mind, the author has tried to give preference to expository clarity over theoretical generalization, avoiding involved discussions on problematic areas, to introduce familiar classical grammar terms wherever possible, deliberately suppressing more modern terms which would require careful and sometimes lengthy definitions, and to lay special stress on the choice of interesting and in themselves valuable examples to illustrate grammatical rules. In spite of such efforts, this grammar does not claim at all that it is anything near perfection either in contents or presentation.

Finally, it is hoped that this work will be useful for understanding the grammatical structure of Ulithian, which is the closest language to Woleaian. Although the sound systems of the two languages have many differences, they share a great many grammatical characteristics as well as lexical items, so that they are mutually intelligible.

1 Speech Sounds

GRAMMAR AND SPEECH SOUNDS

1.1 Ordinary people rarely stop to think about the nature and rules of their native language because they were born in it, just as they do not care about the existence and use of air because they were born surrounded by it. Once we start to observe a language carefully, however, we will be struck by the fact that language is marvelously structured and patterned. Just as a certain finite number of structured units and their patterned combinations give a human body animation, so a certain finite number of structured units such as speech sounds, words, phrases, clauses, sentences and their patterned combinations give a human language its communicative function. A grammar of a language is a systematic presentation of the nature and structure of such units existing in that language and the patterns of their combinations. The meanings and usages of individual words are given not in a grammar but in a dictionary. Thus a grammar and a dictionary are sufficient tools if anybody wants to know about a language.

In presenting a grammar of a language, it is convenient to draw dividing lines between units. The most common practice, which is roughly followed in this book, is the division into (1) **speech sounds**, (2) **words**, and (3) **phrases**, **clauses**, and **sentences**. The studies of these three divisions are technically called **phonology**, **morphology**, and **syntax** respectively.* Speech sounds of a language are the only units that do not have their inherent meaning. All the other units have certain meanings of their own.

*All **boldfaced** linguistic terms will be defined as they are introduced. Also, an index of linguistic terms is provided at the end of the book.

Speech sounds act as raw materials for such meaningful units.

The speech sounds of Woleaian will be discussed in this chapter and their orthographical representation in chapter 2. Words will be treated in chapters 3 and 4, and phrases, clauses, and sentences in chapters 5 through 9.

SPEECH ORGANS

1.2 Sounds are produced by human speech organs using the breath stream which leaves the lungs. Speech organs include the lips, teeth, tongue, palate, uvula, nasal and oral cavities, and vocal cords, as located in Figure 2.

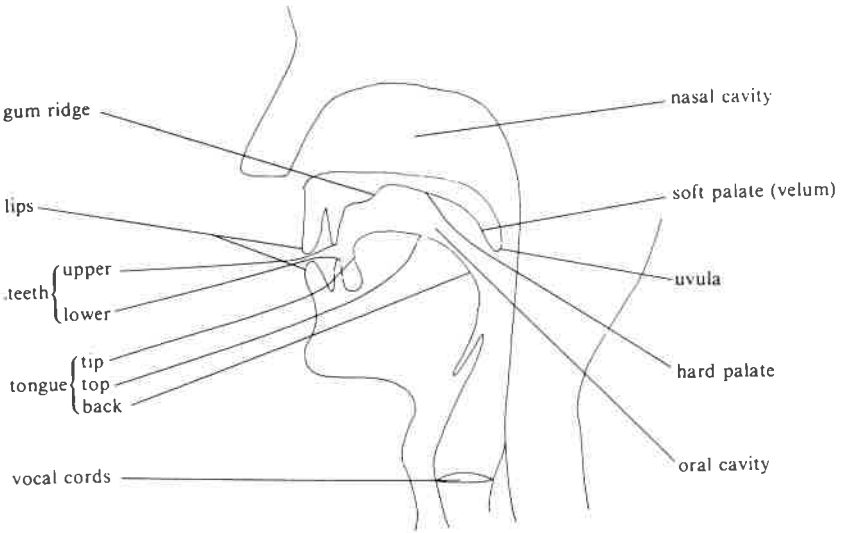


Fig. 2. Cross-section of Speech Organs

By manipulating the speech organs in various ways, human beings can produce an unlimited number of different sounds. Out of so many possible sounds, each language makes use of only a limited number for meaningful utterances.

In the first place, let us have a brief look at the roles each speech organ takes, with particular references to the production of English and Woleiaan sounds.

Vocal Cords. The air from the lungs passes through the

Adam's apple where two movable bands are located. These bands are called **vocal cords**. When the air passes through, the vocal cords may lie either wide open or be brought together partially, letting air pass, but causing the vocal cords to vibrate as it passes. When a sound is not accompanied by vibration of the cords, we get a **voiceless** sound. All the initial sounds in the English words *pig*, *sun*, *ship*, *church*, and Woleaian *paapa* 'to count', *silemw* 'your mother', *shoa* 'people', *cha* 'blood' are voiceless. When a sound is accompanied by vibration of the cords, we get a **voiced** sound. All the initial sounds in the English words *big*, *good*, *June*, *lamp*, *moon*, *rope*, *open*, *America*, and Woleaian *imwal* 'his house', *mwal* 'male', *liu* 'coconut' are voiced.

Tongue. The most important organ of speech is the tongue. In pronouncing a sound, we can raise or lower either the tip or the top (blade) or the back of the tongue (See above diagram). We can also place the tongue close to or against different areas of the roof of the mouth. For example, pronounce the following words and observe the movement of your tongue when you produce the initial sounds: (English) *it*, *air*, *other*, *wood*, *canoe*, *tree*, *choose*, *son*, *ship*; and (Woleaian) *ig* 'fish', *iul* 'to drink', *ur* 'to dance', *kut* 'to spit', *temai* 'my father', *gelaag* 'dog', *sseog* 'full', *loa* 'wave'. In pronouncing some types of sounds, the tip of the tongue is curled upward and backward. Such sounds are technically called **retroflexed**. The initial sounds of Woleaian *rig* 'to run', and *sho* 'copra' are somewhat retroflexed.

Teeth and **lips**. Sounds involving both lips are called **bilabial** and include the initial sounds in the English words *pin*, *bill*, *mill* and *wall*, and Woleaian *pach* 'thunder', *bo* 'swell', *ppiy* 'sand', *mmang* 'crazy', *mwari* 'to look at it', *wa* 'canoe'. Those involving the lower lip and the upper teeth are *f* or *ff* in the English word *fish* and Woleaian *faiu* 'stone' and *yaff* 'coconut crab'. Woleaian has bilabial sounds which are pronounced with the tongue back retracted to the soft-palate position (*b* in *bo*, *bb* in *bbat* 'skinny', *mw* in *mwal* 'man', and *mmw* in *mmwash* 'to get stuck'). Technically, these are called **velarized** bilabial sounds.

Gum ridge, **soft** and **hard palate**. There are also a series of regions in the roof of the mouth. From back to front, these are the soft palate (velum), the hard palate, and the gum ridge. Sounds made by contact with or near the soft palate include *k*, *g*, *ng* and *nng* in the English words *king* and *good* and in Woleaian *kang* 'sharp', *ngi* 'teeth', *giish* 'we (inclusive)', and *nngaw* 'bad'. The sounds made in the region of hard palate are *sh*, *ch* and *r*

in the English words *ship* and *church*, and in Woleaian *shiu* 'bone', *cha* 'blood', and *ra* 'branch.' The Woleaian *t*, *s*, *l*, and *n* in *tapp* 'kind', *ttir* 'fast', *seuw* 'one', *liu* 'coconut', and *ni* 'inside of' are pronounced at the area right behind the upper front teeth and the gum ridge.

Oral and nasal cavities, uvula. The breath stream that has passed the vocal cords goes either through the mouth or nose. The uvula closes off or admits air to the nasal cavity. As we have seen, most of the positions which can modify the breath stream for different sounds are located in the mouth. Except for *m*, *mw*, *n*, and *ng* which are nasal sounds made with the resonance of the nose cavity, all Woleaian sounds are **oral**.

CRITERIA OF SOUND CLASSIFICATION

1.3 Speech sounds are most often classified with reference to *where* they are made and *how* the sounds in question are produced. For example, both *p* and *w* in Woleaian are bilabial sounds, that is, produced by both lips. The difference between them cannot be accounted for by *where* in the speech organs, but by *how* they are produced: *p* by means of complete stoppage followed by sudden release of the air stream, and *w* by means of continued passage of the air through the channel of both lips.

We commonly distinguish two main types of sounds, **consonants** and **vowels**, in view of a broad *how* criterion. **Consonants** are those sounds in which the breath stream is obstructed in one way or another to produce audible friction, whether by stopping the passage of air entirely for a fraction of a second or by forcing it into narrow channels. Thus, for example, Woleaian *p*, *t*, *k*, *b*, *f*, *s*, *sh*, *ch*, *g*, *l*, *m*, *r*, *ng*, *mw* are all consonants. The following sample words will illustrate each of the Woleaian consonants.

paapa	'to count'	*ppiy*	'sand'
tapp	'kind, sort'	*ttir*	'fast'
kang	'sharp'	*bong*	'night'
bbesh	'white'	*fanng*	'itchy'
yaff	'coconut crab'	*simpai*	'to worry'
si	'we'	*sho*	'copra'
cha	'blood'	*pach*	'thunder'
geel	'you'	*gelaag*	'dog'
yaremat	'person'	*mmang*	'crazy'
rig	'to run'	*nngaw*	'bad'
mwal	'man'	*mmwut*	'to vomit'

Vowels are those sounds in which the breath stream, on its way from the lungs, passes through the mouth cavity without any audible friction. Thus, for example, Woleaian *i*, *e*, *a*, *oa*, *o*, *u*, *iu*, *eo* are all vowels, and are illustrated in the following words.

lim*i*	'fold it'	l*ii*l*i*	'to kill'
lewe*g*i	'lick it'	l*a*g	'to go'
l*oa*l*oa*	'wavy'	l*o*g	'to stay'
t*uu*l*o*ng	'to dive in'	k*u*t	'to spit'
l*iu*l*iu*	'to chew'	l*eo*l*eo*	'to fill with liquid'

There are also intermediate stages between the above two types, which are called **semi-vowels**, for which the breath stream is nearly obstructed but less so than in consonants. In Woleaian, there are two semi-vowels, *w* and *y*, as in *wa* 'canoe' and *yaai* 'mine'.

Consonants, vowels, and semi-vowels are further sub-classified according to *where* they are made and *how* they are produced. This will be discussed in the sections below.

WOLEAIAN CONSONANTS

1.4 In Woleaian, consonants are either simple or double. A simple consonant is weaker and shorter than the corresponding double consonant. Otherwise, they have the same sound quality except *b* and *bb* (see 1.4.2). Thus, the simple consonant *t* in *taw* 'channel' is weaker and shorter than the double consonant *tt* in *ttaaw* 'far'. A double consonant is about twice as long as a simple one.

Simple Consonants

1.4.1 There are fifteen simple consonants in Woleaian: *p*, *t*, *ch*, *k*, *b*, *f*, *s*, *sh*, *g*, *r*, *m*, *mw*, *n*, *ng*, and *l*. *ch*, *k* and *n* as simple consonants occur only in loan words. These fifteen consonants may be classified according to where and how they are produced in the speech organs. The relevant positions of their production include both lips, lip-teeth, teeth-gum, hard palate, and soft palate. The ways a consonant is produced involve **voice** (voiced or voiceless), **manner** (stop, fricative, nasal, or flap), and **tongue shape** (plain, pulled back, or curled back).

As already mentioned, the distinction between voiced and voiceless sounds is made respectively by the presence and absence of the vibration of the vocal cords. Woleaian has fewer voiced

consonants than voiceless ones. *r*, *m*, *n*, *ng*, *mw*, and *l* are voiced, while all the rest are voiceless.

A **stop** consonant is produced by complete stoppage and plosion of the air passage at some point in the mouth without release through the nose, as in *p*, *t*, *ch*, or *k*. A **fricative** consonant is produced by continued passing of the air through a channel of near contact, as in *f*, *s*, or *g*. A **nasal** consonant is produced by complete stoppage of the air passage at some point in the mouth simultaneously with release through the nose, as in *m*, *n*, *ng*, or *mw*. A **flap** consonant is produced by a single short beat of the tongue tip against the teeth-gum area, as in *l*.

Most of the consonants are produced with the plain tongue shape. Two consonants, *b* and *mw*, however, are produced with the tongue pulled back, while two consonants, *sh* and *r*, with the tongue curled back.

Thus, the fifteen simple consonants are arranged as in Table 1.

Table 1. Simple Consonants in Woleaian

How to produce			Where in speech organs				
voice	manner	tongue	lips	lip-teeth	teeth-gum	hard palate	soft palate
voiceless	stop	plain	p		t	ch	k
	fricative	plain		f	s		g
		pulled back	b				
		curled back				sh r	
voiced	nasal	plain	m		n		ng
		pulled back	mw				
	flap	plain			l		

p, *t*, *ch*, and *k* are voiceless stop consonants, pronounced approximately as *p*, *t*, *ch*, and *k* in the English words *speak*, *strong*, *matches*, and *skip*, where they occur either after another consonant or at the end of the word, and consequently without a noticeable puff of air, or **aspiration**. (Contrast these sounds with the same consonants at the beginning of the English words *pill*,

till, *church*, and *kill*, where they are pronounced with noticeable aspiration.) All Woleaian stops are never accompanied by such a puff of air or aspiration regardless of where they occur.

Simple *p* and *t* are quite common in native Woleaian words.

pai	'my hand'	paapa	'to count'
ta	'intestine'	metai	'my eyes'

On the other hand, simple *ch* and *k* do not occur in native words. They appear only in loanwords such as the following.

*ich*i	'one (Jap.)'	*Ch*oosèeng	'Korea'
*kimch*i	'Korean pickle'	*k*iiy	'key'
*k*aama	'cooking pot'	Kaatooli*k*	'Catholic'
*kach*ito	'movie'		

f, *s*, and *g* are voiceless fricative consonants. *f* and *s* are not different in sound quality from the initial sounds in English *fish* and *sun* respectively.

*f*iu*s*	'star'	ya*f*	'fire'
*s*ilash	'our mother'	*s*ei*g*	'10'

g is similar to *ch* in the German word *ich* 'I'. It is pronounced in the same areas as for *k*, but with friction.

i*g*	'fish'	gelaa*g*	'dog'

g is voiced between two vowels, as in *wegar* 'root.'

b is also a voiceless fricative consonant, produced as if one blew a candle, and at the same time pulling the tongue backward.

*b*o	'to swell'	*b*iitag	'to come up'
ta*b*	'taboo'		

Between two vowels, *b* tends to be voiced. For example, *tabeey* 'follow him' shows quite a bit of voicing in *b*.

sh is another voiceless fricative, produced in the same way as the initial sound of English *shepherd* but with the tongue curled backward.

*sh*o	'copra'	bbe*sh*	'white'

r is a voiced fricative, produced in the same way as the initial sound of English *read* but with the tongue curled backward.

*r*ee*r*e	'saw-like tattoo'	*r*ig	'to run'

sh and *r* are produced in the same palatal position in the same

manner. The difference is that *sh* is voiceless with a noticeable hissing sound and *r* is voiced with no such hissing. *sh* is produced by squeezing the air through a narrow slit between the tongue tip and the palate, and *r* is produced while allowing a flowing of air through a wide groove (hole) between the tongue tip and the palate. As we will see, when both of them are doubled, they are merged into *ch*.

m, *n*, and *ng* have the same sound quality as comparable English sounds.

*m*al	'bird'	yare*m*at	'person'
*n*aa*n*a	'mom	*ng*i	'tooth'

m and *ng* are common in native words, but simple *n* occurs only in loanwords, such as the following.

se*n*sei	'teacher'	mwoo*n*iyaa*n*	'devil'

mw is pronounced in the same way as *m* but with the tongue pulled back as if we were pronouncing the vowel *u* simultaneously with *m*. Compare *mw* and *m* in the following.

ya*mw*	'a canoe part'	ya*m*	'administration'
*mw*al	'man'	*m*al	'bird'

Woleaian *l* is **flap** sound more or less like the *r* in British *very*. *l* is pronounced with much less pressure than in the case of *t*. Compare *yal* 'sun' and *yat* 'time'. Although Woleaian *l* is not a tongue-side (**lateral**) sound but a flap, it corresponds to the tongue-side *l* in other neighboring languages including Ulithian. It is for this reason that we use the symbol *l* to represent the sound.

Double Consonants

1.4.2 There are eleven double consonants in Woleaian: *pp*, *tt*, *ch*, *k*, *bb*, *ff*, *ss*, *mm*, *mmw*, *n*, and *nng*. When *ch*, *k* and *n* occur in native words, they are always pronounced as double consonants. All these double consonants, except for *bb*, and their corresponding simple consonants share the same sound qualities except that double ones are stronger and longer than their simple counterparts, as in:

Simple consonants		*Double consonants*	
*p*ag	'cracked open'	*pp*ag	'even, equal'

Simple consonants		*Double consonants*	
*t*aw	'channel'	*tt*aaw	'far'
*kak*esang	'multiplication (Jap.)'	*kek*epal	'to promise'
*f*il	'proper'	*ff*ir	'to weave'
*s*ang	'three (Jap.)'	*ss*ang	'to curl backward'
*m*at	'eye, face'	*mm*at	'dry, to awaken, to become low tide'
*n*i	'two (Jap.)	*nn*i	'in'
*ng*as	'sweet smelling'	*nng*as	'to breathe'

bb, on the other hand, is not only stronger and longer than *b*, but also different from *b* in that it is a **stop** sound while *b* is a **fricative**. The tongue is pulled back for both as if we were pronouncing *u* simultaneously with the English *b*. The difference between *bb* and *pp* is only in the tongue shape—pulled back and plain, respectively.

*b*ang	'to wrestle'	*bb*ang	'crevice'
*bb*at	'skinny, thin'	*pp*at	'to cut'

While some simple consonants (*ch*, *k*, *n*) do not in general appear in native words, all the double consonants freely occur with all kinds of native words. Here are some examples where double consonants appear.

pp	ppiy	'sand'	tapp	'kind, sort'
tt	ttir	'fast'	metta	'what?'
ch	cha	'blood'	pach	'thunder'
k	kang	'sharp'	pak	'to shoot'
bb	bbesh	'white'		
ff	ffoor	'to make'	yaff	'coconut crab'
ss	sseg	'full'	kassiya	'ask him'
mm	mmang	'crazy'		
mmw	mmwut	'to vomit'		
n	niuw	'to wash'	bun	'heart'
nng	nngaw	'bad'	fanng	'itchy'

The four simple consonants, *g*, *sh*, *r*, and *l*, do not have corresponding double consonants. If, for some grammatical purpose such as the formation of the **progressive** form of a verb, these consonants may be doubled, a double *g* goes to *k*, doubled *sh* and *r* both go to *ch*, and doubled *l* to *n*. Thus, the simple fricatives,

when doubled, go to the double stops, just as the fricative *b*, when doubled, goes to the stop *bb*. Observe the following examples.

gettap	'to touch'	*kek*atepa	'to be touching it'
gangi	'eat it'	*kek*angi	'to be eating it'
pe*sh*angi	'stick to it'	pa*ch*	'to stick to'
*sh*al	'water'	*chech*aliuw	'fill it with water'
*r*osi	'decorate it'	*choch*	'to decorate'
*r*ig	'to run'	*ch*igirig	'to be running'
*r*ongorong	'to hear'	*ch*ongorong	'to be hearing'
*r*ang	'yellow powder'	*chech*ang	'apply yellow powder'
*l*iut	'to jump'	*n*iut	'to be jumping'
*l*iiy	'hit him'	*n*iiiy	'to be hitting him'

If one of the above simple consonants meets the same simple consonant during word formation, the same change illustrated above occurs. For example:

yaiu 'condition' + -l 'of' + ral 'day' = yaiu*ch*al 'weather'
tab 'tip' + -l 'of' + shiu 'bone' + lap 'big' + -l 'his' =
tabo*ch*iulepal 'tip of his backbone'
wel 'top of' + lang 'sky' = we*n*eng 'in the sky'
gal 'food' + -l 'his = ga*n* 'his food'
mal 'bird + -l 'of' = ma*n* 'bird of'

WOLEAIAN VOWELS

1.5

Simple Vowels

1.5.1 Woleaian has six simple vowels: *i, e, a, iu, u,* and *o*. These may be subclassified according to the tongue height, tongue frontness or backness, and the lip shape, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Simple Vowels in Woleaian

tongue	front (flat lips)	central (plain)	central (round)	back (round)
high	i		iu	u
mid	e			o
low		a		

Vowels in which the tongue is raised towards the roof of the mouth are called **high**. Thus, *i, iu,* and *u* are high vowels. Vowels in which the tongue is lowered are called **low** vowels. Thus, *a* is a low vowel. The intermediate ones, *e* and *o* are **mid** vowels. The terms **front**, **central**, and **back** refer to that part of the tongue that is used to give the vowels their particular quality. *i* and *e* are front vowels, *iu* and *a* are central, and *u* and *o* are back. Notice also that Woleaian *iu, u,* and *o* are pronounced with the lips rounded.

i is similar to the short variety of English *ee* in *meet*:

*i*tal	'his name'	*i*mwe*i*	'my house'
l*i*m*i*	'fold it'	wer*i*	'see it'

e is similar to English *e* in *bed*:

l*e*w*e*gi	'lick it'	m*e*tai	'my eyes'

e is pronounced with slight lip rounding when it occurs before a round vowel.

it*e*iu	'who?'	y*e*iu	'28th day of month'

a is similar to English *a* in *park*:

l*a*g	'to go'	y*a*rem*a*t	'person'
sil*a*l	'his mother'		

iu, in spite of the sequence of two symbols, is a simple sound. *iu* sounds as if the *i* and *u* were pronounced simultaneously. It is close to German *ü* in *müssen* 'must'.

l*iu*t	'to jump'	l*iu*	'coconut'
ite*iu*	'who?'		

u is similar to the short variety of English *oo* in *pool*:

k*u*t	'to spit'	*u*r	'to dance'
g*u*r*u*g*u*r	'orange'		

o is similar to English *o* in *short*:

l*o*g	'to stay'	t*o*g	'hither'
b*o*	'to swell'	r*o*ngor*o*ng	'to hear'

Double Vowels

1.5.2 There are eight double vowels: *ii*, *ee*, *aa*, *iu*, *eo*, *uu*, *oo*, and *oa*. The same spelling symbol *iu* is used for both simple and double

vowels. The double vowels may be arranged as in Table 3.

Table 3. Double Vowels in Woleaian

tongue	front (flat)	central (plain)	central (round)	back (round)
high	ii		iu	uu
mid	ee		eo	oo
low		aa		oa

The only difference between a simple and a double vowel is in length. A double vowel is about twice as long as a simple vowel. Notice in Table 3 that there are two double vowels, *eo* and *oa*, which do not have simple vowel counterparts. These two double vowels were historically each a sequence of two different vowels, but in modern Woleaian, they are simply long vowels.

eo is similar to French *oeu* in *coeur* 'heart,' pronounced with the lips rounded. It is the sound made by simultaneous pronunciation of *ee* and *oo*.

*ye*o*l* 'earlobe' *le*o*le*o 'fill with liquid'

oa is similar to English *aw* in *law*, which is called a long open *o*.

*to*a*r* 'not exist' *lo*a*lo*a 'wavy'
giy*o*a 'outrigger boom' *to*a*g*ota 'doctor'

All the other double vowels are simply lengthened varieties of the corresponding simple ones.

ii	l*ii*li	'to kill'	b*ii*tiw 'to come down'
ee	l*ee*ligu	'a taro sp.'	
aa	y*aa*i	'mine'	meng*aa*g 'clothes'
iu	l*iu*liu	'to chew'	
uu	t*uu*long	'to dive in'	
oo	l*oo*sor	'morning'	b*oo*t 'nose'

Word-final Vowels

1.5.3 Five voiceless vowels occur in final position at the ends of words along with a series of voiced vowels. The list of voiceless vowels is as follows. The dot underneath the vowel symbols indicate voicelessness.

ị ịụ ụ
ẹ ọ

Notice that the voiceless *a* does not occur. Such voiceless vowels are not indicated in the spellings used in this book. The voiceless vowels are shown in the respellings given between square brackets in the following examples. The square brackets mean that the enclosed symbols are phonetic symbols rather than conventional spelling.

[ị]	kel	'to dig'	[kelị]
	pak	'to shoot'	[pakị]
	tti	'to close'	[ttị]
	ki	'hot (as pepper)'	[kị]
[ẹ]	mas	'to die'	[masẹ]
	besh	'lime'	[beshẹ]
	gius	'octopus'	[giusẹ]
	mwaremwar	'lei'	[mwaremwarẹ]
[ịụ]	gach	'good'	[gachịụ]
	yalius	'ghost'	[yaliusịụ]
[ụ]	kab	'dull'	[kabụ]
	gilimw	'your skin'	[gilimwụ]
[ọ]	matt	'to sit'	[mattọ]
	tto	'deep'	[ttọ]
	shoabut	'woman'	[shoabutọ]

Although native speakers are reluctant to spell the word-final voiceless vowels, these are significant in distinguishing words with different meanings. For example, the two members in each pair in the following list are spelled the same, but pronounced differently. Their meanings are different too, indicating that they are separate words.

1.	besh	'hot'	[beshị]
	besh	'lime'	[beshẹ]
2.	yaf	'fire'	[yafị]
	yaf	'swim'	[yafẹ]
3.	gius	'louse'	[giusịụ]
	gius	'octopus'	[guisẹ]
4.	yalius	'ghost'	[yaliusịụ]
	yalius	'beard'	[yaliusẹ]
5.	lamw	'mosquito'	[lamwụ]
	lamw	'lagoon'	[lamwọ]

6.	gach	'good'	[gachịụ]
	gach	'fish smell'	[gachẹ]
7.	ub	'young coconut'	[ubịụ]
	ub	'chest'	[ubọ]
8.	metag	'pain'	[metagị]
	metag	'fear'	[metagịụ]
9.	lang	'sky'	[langị]
	lang	'house fly'	[langọ]
10.	bar	'box'	[barọ]
	bar	'tattoo kind'	[barẹ]
11.	pash	'tail'	[pashẹ]
	pash	'horny'	[pashịụ]

Voiceless vowels are also significant in that they affect the sound quality of the preceding vowel. For example, the *a*'s in the following examples are pronounced with the lips quite rounded due to the following rounded voiceless final vowel [ọ].

meshar	'dirt'	[mesharọ]
mwal	'to hide'	[mwalọ]
yagoyag	'to bind'	[yagoyagọ]

In the same way, the *e*'s in the following examples are pronounced with the lips rounded due to the round voiceless vowel [ịụ] or [ụ].

sseg	'full'	[ssegịụ]
bbel	'dirty'	[bbelịụ]
yareng	'coconut cream'	[yarengịụ]
geriuger	'to scratch'	[geriugerịụ]
lewemw	'your tongue'	[lewemwụ]
rebemw	'your mustache'	[rebemwụ]

Foreigners often find it difficult to hear the final voiceless vowels of Woleaian until they get used to it. Some voiceless vowels are more clearly audible than others, depending on the kind of vowels and the kind of preceding consonants. High vowels, [i], [ịụ], and [ụ], are clearer than the other kinds of vowels. [i] is the clearest one, and native spellings often show it as *i*, even though they omit other final voiceless vowels. After *g*, *s*, *f*, *l*, *w*, and *y*, voiceless vowels are more audible than they are following the other consonants such as *ng*, *r*, *t*, *sh*, *ch*, *mw*, and *m*. After a double consonant, voiceless vowels are clearly audible, as in:

gach	'good'	[gachịụ]
gatt	'finger'	[gattịụ]

matt	'to sit'	[mattọ]
pak	'to shoot'	[pakị]
tagun	'to turn around'	[tagunụ]

The above voiceless word-final vowels are sensitive to the sound environment. If a modifier word follows them, they tend to be voiced. In the following examples, the italicized parts are modifier words. Notice in the pronunciation that voiceless vowels are voiced before these modifier words.

imw *ka*	'these houses'	[imwe ka]
mwal *gach*	'good man'	[mwale gachịụ]
rig *lag*	'to run away'	[rigi lagọ]
bun *nngaw*	'bad heart'	[buno nngawẹ]
gotoat *la*	'that crack'	[gotoato la]
bush *gemas*	'very stupid'	[busho gemasẹ]
iur *lap*	'big lobster'	[iure lapẹ]
faliuw *shig*	'small island'	[faliuwe shigị]
yaliusiul *Yap*	'ghost of Yap'	[yaliusiuliu yapẹ]
mengaagul *shoabut we*	'the girl's clothes'	[mengaagulu shoabuto we]

While only five *voiceless* vowels may appear in word-final position, all the *voiced* vowels may occur in the same position. In word-final position, however, there is no particular difference between long and short *voiced* vowel qualities. In general, voiced vowels always tend to be short in this position, unless a modifier word follows or there is some **euphonic** reason to make them long. We normally use only simple vowel symbols for voiced vowel spellings in word-final position (except for *eo* and *oa* whose short symbols are not available). For spelling conventions, see chapter 2.

Examples where voiced final vowels occur follow.

weri	'see it'	[weri]
peshe	'leg'	[peshe]
wa	'canoe'	[wa]
ma	'shameful'	[ma]
faiu	'stone'	[faiu]
chau	'heavy'	[chau]
buk mwu	'that book (close to you)'	[buku mwu]
kachito	'movie'	[kachito]
bbo	'pounding stone'	[bbo]

leoleo	'to fill with liquid'	[leoleo]
giyoa	'outrigger-boom'	[giyoa]
loaloa	'wavy'	[loaloa]

These final vowels are lengthened in pronunciation before a modifier word, as in:

wa gach	'good canoe'	[waa gacchịu]
bbo we	'that pounding stone'	[bboo we]

Note to Linguists

From the theoretical point of view, we can say that a voiceless vowel is basically a simple vowel and a voiced vowel is a double vowel in word-final position. Then, we may proceed to say that, in word-final position, a simple vowel loses its voice and a double vowel becomes short unless it is protected by a following modifier word or a **suffix**. In this way, we may say that *bbo* 'pounding stone' [bbo] is basically *bboo*, while *tto* 'deep' [tto] which has a voiceless final vowel is basically *tto*. Thus, we may be able to naturally account for the fact that *bbo* has a voiced vowel, whereas *tto* has a voiceless vowel. Remember that this explanation is only for those who are linguistically sophisticated.

SEMI-VOWELS *w* AND *y*

1.6 The two semi-vowels *w* and *y* have both vowel and consonant qualities. They have vowel qualities somewhat similar to *u* and *i* respectively. They are **glides**, however, in that the tongue starts at a position slightly higher than for *u* and *i* and ending up with the tongue approaching the position for the vowel that immediately follows.

wa	'canoe'	weri	'see it'
yaal	'his object'	ye	'he, she, it'

The semi-vowels also have some consonant qualities. *w* is a bilabial sound, whereas *y* is palatal; however, there is no audible friction in the production of either of the semivowels. Besides, *w* and *y* function like a consonant in words in that they occur in the position parallel to that of a consonant. For example, there is a parallel between consonant + vowel and semivowel + vowel in word-initial position:

mas 'to die'
yas 'liver'

We have the double semi-vowel *ww*, but no example has been found where *yy* appears. It is known that historically even the simple *y* did not exist but is a later development. That is, *y* has been inserted between two different vowels (e.g., *iiy* [iiyẹ] 'he' which was *ia*) or before a word-initial vowel (e.g., *yalius* [yaliusịu] 'ghost' which was *anitu*). *w*, on the other hand, existed with other sounds in the past. The double *ww* appears in:

uwwar 'bright'
uwwel 'straight'

SOUND ALTERNATIONS

1.7

Base forms, Sound Environment and Alternation

1.7.1 A great many Woleaian words and their parts have more than one shape in both pronunciation and spelling. Since spellings are designed on the basis of sounds of words (plus the word boundary) as we will see in Chapter 2, we will observe sound alternations in this section.

Sound alternation of a word or a part of a word is caused by the sound environment in which it occurs. For example, observe the different pronunciations for 'name' below.

it	'name'	[iitẹ]
it gach	'good name'	[ite gachịu]
itei	'my name'	[itei]
itemam	'our name'	[itemamị]
ital	'his name'	[italẹ]

In the above examples, 'name' is pronounced in three different ways: [iitẹ], [ite], [ita]. It is obvious that the three different pronunciations are due to the sound environment in which each appears. [iitẹ] appears when it is pronounced without any modifying word or a part of a word such as *i* 'my' following. [ite] appears in three different sound environments, i.e., before a modifying word (i.e., [gachịu] 'good'), before [i], and before the vowel [a] (as in [mamị] 'our'). [ita] appears when it is followed by other vowels than [i] or [a]. We can imagine that one of the three different pronunciations is the **base form** from which the other

two are derived due to different sound environments. Although this sounds quite sophisticated, setting up of base forms of all Woleaian words and parts of words is necessary in order to explain systematically various alternant pronunciations of one and the same meaning unit (e.g., 'name').

A base form for a meaning unit is that form from which all the different pronunciations associated with the unit are predictable in a simple way, given the sound environments. Among the three pronunciations for 'name', [iitę] or [ite] cannot be the base form, because either of them cannot explain the derivation of the other pronunciations. If we decide **ita** as the base form (we will show base forms in boldface in the text to distinguish them from spellings and pronunciations), it is simple to account for the different pronunciations, since Woleaian has the following three sound alternation rules among others. These rules are applicable to all the Woleaian words for which the conditions given are met.

1. When the base form of a word has two simple vowels (e.g., **ita**), it is pronounced with the first vowel lengthened only if no modifier follows.
2. When the base form of a word has the simple vowel **a** at the end, it is pronounced as [e] before a modifier and as [ę] if nothing follows.
3. **a** in a base form is pronounced as [e] if it appears either between high vowels (i.e., [i], [iu], [u] and their voiceless counterparts) or before [a] or [oa].

These rules and some others will be elaborated in the remaining subsections.

Now, [iitę] is derived from its base form **ita** through (1) and (2), [ite] in [ite gachịụ] through (2), [ite] in [itei] through (3), and [ite] in [itemamị] through (3). [ita] in [italę] takes the same shape as the base form, because none of the above three rules apply to it. The word [italę] is not a two-vowel word, which means that (1) is not applicable. [a] in [italę] is not a word final vowel, which means that (2) is not applicable. Finally, [a] in [italę] is neither between high vowels nor before [a] or [oa], which means that (3) is not applicable.

Applying the above three rules of vowel alternations, derive the three different pronunciations [maatę], [mate], and [meta] from the base form **mata** 'eyes'. The sound environments are given below.

mat	'eyes'	[maatę]

mat gach	'good eyes'	[mate gachiụ]
metai	'my eyes'	[metai]
matemam	'our eyes'	[matemamị]
metal	'his eyes'	[metalẹ]

The base form of a word or a part of a word is not hard to find, once we get familiar with the patterns of sound alternations existing in the language. In Woleaian, consonants are quite consistent regardless of their sound environments. The only noticeable consonant alternations were given at the end of 1.4.2 concerning double consonants (i.e., *gg* changes to *k*; *shsh* to *ch*; *rr* to *ch*; and *ll* to *n*). On the other hand, vowels and semi-vowels are vulnerable to their sound environments. This is why the discussion of sound alternations in this section is limited to vowels and semi-vowels.

The most important sound environments are neighboring vowels and the word boundary, which are responsible for major vowel and semi-vowel alternations in Woleaian. Another minor environment is, as we have seen, the presence or absence of a modifying word (e.g., [iitẹ] vs. [ite gachiụ]).

In order to obtain base forms, pronounce the words in question in various sound environments, as we illustrated with 'name' and 'eyes' above. Technical details aside, follow the following methods.

(1) If you find an alternation between [a] and other vowels, decide [a] as the base form vowel. For example, between [e] and [a] in [itei] 'my name' and [italẹ] 'his name', [a] should be the base form vowel, hence **a**.

(2) If a long first vowel of an independently pronounced word (e.g., [iitẹ]) alternates with the corresponding short vowel contained in a larger word (e.g., [ital] 'his name'), the short vowel should be taken for the base form (e.g., **ita** 'name'). If a long vowel does not have a short alternant vowel, the long one is the base form vowel. For example, in [booti] 'nose' and [bootil] 'his nose', the first vowel is consistently long. Therefore, [oo] is the base form vowel as in **booti**.

(3) If the final vowel of a word is voiced (e.g., [wa] 'canoe' and [peshe] 'foot'), it should be long in the base form (e.g., **waa** and **peshee**). Such a final vowel is pronounced long when the word is followed by some other element (e.g., [waalẹ] 'his canoe' and [pesheelẹ] 'his foot').

(4) Many words and parts of words do not allow any element to be attached after them, preventing us from observing the alternation of final voiceless vowels. The general rule in such cases is simply to set up the voiced counterparts of the voiceless vowels for the base forms. Thus, the base forms of *shag* [shagịụ] 'just', *gaang* [gaangịụ] 'I', *mw* [mwụ] 'your', and *l* [lị] 'of' are respectively **shagiu**, **gaangiu**, **mwu**, and **li**. One exception to this rule is that the base form vowel of [ẹ] is **a**. Thus, for example, the base form of *l* [lẹ] 'his' is **la**.

There are a few minor additional points relevant to setting up of base forms. These will be taken up in the subsequent subsections.

In view of the above procedures for base form establishment, the two sets of examples given above concerning 'name' and 'eyes' may be rewritten as the following base forms.

Base Form	*Meaning*	*Base Form*	*Meaning*
ita	'name'	mata	'eyes'
ita gachiu	'good name'	mata gachiu	'good eyes'
itai	'my name'	matai	'my eyes'
itamami	'our name'	matamami	'our eyes'
itala	'his name'	matala	'his eyes'

Since the concept of base forms is quite new to non-linguists, the introduction of base forms will be limited to this section simply to inform the readers of the regularity underlying those superficially confusing sound (specially vowel) alternations. In *A Woleaian-English Dictionary* each spelled headword is followed by a base form.

Final Vowel Alternations

1.7.2 The simple vowel **a** at the end of the base form of a word is pronounced as [o] or [ọ] if it is preceded by the round vowel **o**, **oa** or **u** + consonant (semivowels are not included in the category of consonants). It is [o] if the word is followed by a modifying word, whereas it is [ọ] if nothing follows. For example, the base form of 'heart' is **buna** in view of the form [bunalẹ] 'his heart'. By itself, it is pronounced as [bunọ] with the voiceless final vowel. With a modifying word, it is pronounced as [buno] as in [buno gachịụ] 'good heart'.

Spelling	*Base Form*	*Meaning*	*Pronunciation*
bun	buna	'heart'	[bunọ]

Spelling	*Base Form*	*Meaning*	*Pronunciation*
bun gach	buna gachiu	'good heart'	[buno gachịụ]
ssoong	ssoonga	'anger'	[ssoongọ]
ssoong lag	ssoonga lago	'to be mad (completely)'	[ssoongo lagọ]
gotoat	gotoata	'crack'	[gotoatọ]
gotoat nngaw	gotoata nngawa	'bad crack'	[gotoato nngawẹ]

In all the other environments, the simple vowel **a** at the end of a base form is pronounced as [e] (before a modifying word) or [ẹ] (elsewhere).

mat nngaw	mata nngawa	'bad eyes'	[mate nngawẹ]
faliuw shig	faliuwa shigi	'small island'	[faliuwe shigị]
mmash	mmasha	'14th day of month'	[mmashẹ]
ttiul	ttiula	'to shine'	[ttiulẹ]
yet	yeta	'one'	[yeetẹ]

The simple vowel **i** at the end of a base form is pronounced as [iu] (before a modifying word) or [ịụ] (elsewhere) after **iu** and as [u] (before a modifying word) or [ụ] (elsewhere) after **u**, whether a consonant intervenes or not. Examples follow.

yaliusiul	yaliusiuli	'ghost of'	[yaliusiulịụ]
gattiu	gattiui	'my finger'	[gattiu]
mengaagul	mengaaguli	'clothes of'	[mengaagulụ]

In the base form **gattiui** 'my finger', the final vowel **i** and the immediately preceding vowel **iu** are merged in pronunciation, resulting in the voiced vowel [iu].

Except for the cases discussed above, all the final simple vowels of base forms are not changed to another vowel in pronunciation. They simply become voiceless if no modifying word follows *and* if the immediately preceding sound is a consonant. If not, they are pronounced as simple voiced vowels. For example, **langо** 'house fly' is pronounced as [langọ], because it is not followed by any modifier and the immediately preceding sound is the consonant **ng**. The word **faiu** 'stone', on the other hand, is pronounced with the final simple vowel **iu** voiced, because the immediately preceding sound is a vowel (**a**), hence [faaiu].

A double vowel at the end of a base form is pronounced as long before a modifier and as short if nothing follows. Examples follow.

wa gach	waa gachiu	'good canoe'	[waa gachiụ]
wa	waa	'canoe'	[wa]
peshe gach	peshee gachiu	'good leg'	[peshee gachiụ]
peshe	peshee	'leg'	[peshe]

Vowel Lengthening

1.7.3 As we have seen in the alternant forms, [iitę], [ite] and [ita] for 'name', the initial vowel of certain words is lengthened in pronunciation when the words appear independently without any modifier following. For a word to undergo such lengthening, the base form of the word must have the following structure.

1. The base form must consist of only two simple vowels, with one or two simple consonants. The position of a consonant may be taken by a semivowel.
2. If the two simple vowels are of the same quality, there must be a consonant intervening them (e.g., **rigi** 'to run, running'). If the two simple vowels are different in quality, there is no such restriction (e.g., **faiu** 'stone', **iuwa** 'neck' and **ita** 'name').
3. Even if the above two conditions are met, a word cannot undergo the said lengthening if it is not used as a **noun**, i.e., a word that names a thing or an event (e.g., **shagiu** 'just' is not a noun).

Remember that a base form containing a double consonant does not undergo such lengthening (e.g., **bbuwa** 'betel nut') and any base form followed by a modifier will not be lengthened either (e.g., **rigi mmwai** 'slow running').
Words that undergo the lengthening are illustrated below.

faiu	faiu	'stone'	[faaiu]
it	ita	'name'	[iitę]
iuw	iuwa	'neck'	[iuwę]
lang	lango	'house fly'	[laangọ]
mat	mata	'eyes'	[maatę]
rig	rigi	'running (noun)'	[riigi]

Words that do not undergo the lengthening are illustrated below.

bbuw	bbuwa	'betel nut'	[bbuwẹ]
bun	buna	'heart'	[bunọ]
rig mmwai	rigi mmwai	'slow running'	[rigi mmwai]
faliuw	faliuwa	'island'	[faliuwẹ]
chi	chi	'growing'	[chị]
cha	cha	'blood'	[cha]
be	bee	'divination'	[be]
peshe	peshee	'leg'	[peshe]
boot	booti	'nose'	[booti]
shag	shagiu	'just'	[shagiụ]

All the above words do not meet one or more of the three conditions given above. For example, **buna** 'heart' contains a double consonant (**n**), while **bee** 'divination' contains a double vowel and **faliuwa** 'island' consists of more than two simple vowels.

The above lengthening of the initial vowel is often called **compensatory** in that it is often believed that the lengthening is caused by the loss of voicing in the final vowel of the base form. For example, the lengthening of the first vowel of **ita** 'name' occurs simultaneously with the loss of voicing in the final vowel **a** which is pronounced as [ẹ].

There is yet another type of vowel lengthening, which may be called **euphonic**, because it is caused by an unconscious rhythmic habit of the speakers of the language. This appears with the class of words which are entitled **aspects** (3.10). If an aspect such as *sa* 'has been, has done', *be* 'will', or *bel* 'will immediately' precedes a **verb** (3.7) whose base form contains *two* simple vowels without any double consonant, its base form final vowel is exceptionally lengthened, as illustrated below.

Ye sa mas mal we.	'The bird died.'
[ye saaa masẹ maliu we]	
I be lag.	'I will go.'
[i beee lagọ]	
Ye bel mas.	'He is about to die.'
[ye beleee masẹ]	

a between High Vowels

1.7.4 When the simple vowel **a** occurs between high vowels, it is always pronounced as [e]. This happens regardless of the presence or

absence of a simple or double consonant between **a** and the high vowels. For example, the base form of 'my drink' is **iuliumai** and that of 'his drink' is **iuliumala**. The vowel **a** in **iuliumai** occurs between the high vowels **iu** and **i**, while the same **a** in **iuliumala** occurs between the high vowel **iu** and the low vowel **a**. Thus, the two words are pronounced respectively as [iuliumei] and [iuliumale]. This rule applies even across word boundaries as long as the word boundary is not accompanied by a **breath pause**, as exemplified below.

	i tei	i tai	'I . . . not'	[i tei]
Cf.	ye tai	ye tai	'he . . . not'	[ye tai]
	i mengimeng	i mangimangi	'I think'	[i mengimengi]
Cf.	ye mangimeng	ye mangimangi	'he thinks'	[ye mangimengi]

This rule and the rule to be discussed in the following subsection (1.7.5) both involve **a** changing to [e] but in different environments. A detailed discussion of this phenomenon is presented in the author's paper "*a*-raising in Woleaian" (Working Papers in Linguistics, Vol. 3, No. 8. 1971. University of Hawaii.).

Some more examples follow.

	itei	itai	'my name'	[itei]
Cf.	itash	itasha	'our name'	[itashẹ]
	iuwel	iuwali	'neck of'	[iuweli]
Cf.	iuwal	iuwala	'his neck'	[iuwalẹ]
	ragireg	ragiragi	'to line up'	[ragiregi]
	yangiyeng	yangiyangi	'to blow'	[yangiyengi]
	waliuwel	waliuwaliu	'plants'	[waliuweliụ]
	laiuleiu	laiulaiu	'deliver babies'	[laiuleiu]
	paaiu shel	paaiu shaliu	'water provisions'	[paaiu shelịụ]
Cf.	shal	shaliu	'water'	[shaalịụ]
	mal keil	maliu kaila	'strong man'	[maliu keilẹ]
Cf.	kail	kaila	'strong'	[kailẹ]
	buuweiu	buuwaiu	'to go out'	[buuweiu]
Cf.	toowaiu	toowaiu	'to go out'	[toowaiu]
	gaaiu ngeli	gaaiu ngalii	'to say to him'	[gaaiu ngeli]
Cf.	ngali	ngalii	'to him'	[ngali]

When the sound [e] which is derived from **a** in the above way is followed by a round vowel (e.g., [iu] or [iụ]), it is pronounced with slight lip rounding. For example, *waliuwel* 'plants' whose

base form is **waliuwaliu** is pronounced with [e] in [waliuweliụ] slightly lip-rounded, because [e] is followed by the round vowel [iụ].

As indicated above, the simple vowel **a** does not change to [e] if there is a breath pause between the two words involved. # indicates a breath pause in the following examples.

semal mal	semaliu # maliu	'one bird'	[semaliụ m*a*liụ]
weri sar laal	werii # sari laala	'see that child'	[weri s*a*ri laalẹ]
selimel tauyaf	selimaliu # tauyafa	'three swimmers'	[selimeliụ t*a*uyafẹ]

The double vowel **aa** never changes to [ee] in any environment, as observed in the examples [i t*aa*i] 'I . . . no longer' and [nig*aa*usapẹ] 'area below eye'.

a before a Low Vowel

1.7.5 When the simple vowel **a** occurs before a low vowel (i.e., [a] and [oa]), it is pronounced as [e]. There may be a consonant (simple or double) between the two vowels. This rule is responsible, for example, for the alternation between [meramẹ] 'moon' and [maremali] 'moon of'. The base form for 'moon' is **marama** and that for 'moon of' is **maramali**. Since the final vowel in **marama** is pronounced as [ẹ] (1.7.2), it is the first **a** that has to be pronounced as [e] due to the second **a**, thus resulting in [meramẹ]. In **maramali**, on the other hand, the third **a** does not change and it is the second **a** that has to be pronounced as [e] since this rule operates always from right to left. Now, the second **a** has changed to [e] due to the third **a**, and therefore the first **a** need not be changed, thus resulting in the pronunciation [maremali].

The change of **a** to [e] before [a] or [oa] may be called **dissimilatory** because the native speaker does not pronounce two simple low vowels in sequence, but makes the first dissimilar from the second. More examples of vowel dissimilation are given below.

before [a]:

metai	matai	'my eyes'	[metai]
matemam	matamami	'our eyes'	[matemami]
kekangi	kakangii	'be eating it'	[kekangi]

yefar	yafara	'shoulder'	[yefarę]
yaferai	yafarai	'my shoulder'	[yaferai]
yefaremam	yafaramami	'our shoulders'	[yefaremamį]
gemmat	gammata	'bailer'	[gemmatę]
gammetal	gammatali	'bailer of'	[gammetali]

before [oa]:

gemoaw	gamoaa	'erase it'	[gemoawę]
getoatoaw	gatoatoaa	'support it'	[getoatoawę]
getoala	gatoalaa	'make it bloom'	[getoala]
Cf. gasiuw	gasiua	'make it stand'	[gasiuwę]

When the first vowel is long, the dissimilatory change does not occur.

faarag	faaragi	'to walk'	[faaragi]
gaamam	gaamami	'we'	[gaamamį]
telaaiya	telaaiyaa	'net'	[telaaiya]

Semivowel Alternations

1.7.6 The two semivowels *y* [y] and *w* [w] serve to differentiate meanings of words, just as other sounds. For example, observe the paired words below and notice the difference in meanings.

Words with y		*Words with w*	
ye	'he'	we	'that'
yal	'to fly'	wal	'eight'
yo	'to sneak'	wo	'bunch'
yoa	'fish line'	wou	'sugar cane'
yaaya	'to possess'	waawa	'possess canoes'

On the other hand, there are certain meaning units which in their initial position have *y* in one environment, *w* in another, and nothing in the third, without any change in meaning. This alternation is perfectly predictable, given the base forms of the units and the environments in which they occur. That is, *y* appears if the preceding vowel is unrounded, *w* appears if the preceding vowel is round, and nothing appears if the preceding vowel is the same simple vowel as the following one. For example, the base form of the unit meaning 'me' is **ai** and that of the unit meaning 'it' is **a**. The base form **ai** 'me' corresponds to the four alternant pronounciations [yei], [yai], [wei], and [wai]. The base form **a** 'it' corresponds to [yę], [wę] and [a]. The [y]-[w]-

nothing alternation is due to the environments stated just above. The other alternations ([e]-[ẹ]-[a]) are due to the environments mentioned in 1.7.3 and 1.7.4. Observe the following examples.

weriyei	weriai	'see me'	[weriyei]
gaaiuwei	gaaiuai	'tell me'	[gaaiuwei]
garepaayai	garapaaai	'approach me'	[garepaayai]
liiy	liia	'kill it'	[liiyẹ]
gasiuw	gasiua	'build it'	[gasiuwẹ]
niuwa	niuwaa	'wash it'	[niuwa]

Note to Linguists

Such words as *yemwaamw* [yemwaamwẹ] 'to look', *yepeep* [yepeepẹ] 'lee platform of canoe' and *yengaang* [yengaangẹ] 'a measure' may be viewed as **reduplicated** base forms such as **amwa-amwa**, **epe-epe** and **anga-anga** respectively. In addition to the dissimilatory change of **a** to [e] and the final vowel change to [ẹ], it is considered that, in word-initial position, *y* is also automatically inserted if a word begins with an unrounded vowel, except for **i**. If, in this position, a word begins with a round vowel, except for **iu** and **u**, then *w* is automatically inserted, as we see in *woroor* [woroorọ] 'fence' whose base form is **oro-oro** and also in *wootobai* 'scooter' whose base form is **ootobai**. In the same way, we may consider that *gaaliyel* [gaaliyeli] 'to make fly', *gaaremat* [gaarematẹ] 'unnatural' and *yaremat* [yarematẹ] 'person' are derived from the respective base forms **ga-ali-ali**, **ga-aremata** and **aremata**, with the insertion of *y* in the first and last words.

SOUND COMBINATIONS

1.8 There are certain characteristic patterns of sound combinations in Woleaian words. In English, for example, the word *scream* contains three different consonants [skr-] in initial position. The English language allows up to three consonants in word-initial position. This is not the case with Woleaian. Some major patterns that characterize the sound system of Woleaian are given below.

(1) All Woleaian words begin with a consonant, a semivowel or a high vowel (i.e., *i*, *iu* or *u*). This rule also applies to loan-words. No word begins with a non-high vowel.

initial consonant:	*p*agow	'shark'
	*ff*as	'to laugh'

initial semivowel:	*y*aremat	'person'
	*w*a	'canoe'
initial high-vowel:	*i*mw	'house'
	*u*mw	'oven'
	*iu*l	'to drink'

(2) A sequence of two different consonants never occurs except in loanwords. A sequence of more than two different consonants does not occur even in loanwords. The following loanwords illustrate sequences of two different consonants.

*pr*eet	'biscuit'	kaa*nt*iin	'store'
*sk*uul	'school'	*st*oowa	'store'
se*ns*ei	'teacher'	*sk*ooso	'air field, airport'

(3) Two unlike vowels in sequence are allowed in any but the initial position, but note that the first vowel is always non-high and the second always high. One of the two unlike vowels may be long. More than two vowels never occur.

biul*eiu*	'place'	bet*ai*	'to be fat'
ch*au*	'to be heavy'	*faiu*	'stone'
m*ai*	'breadfruit'	melo*ufeiu*	'a part of a men's house'
t*au*	'usually'	tt*ou*	'to stab'
temw*aaiu*	'sickness'	w*ou*	'sugar cane'

(4) No word ends in a consonant or semivowel without a voiced or voiceless vowel following. If a word ends in a voiceless vowel when pronounced independently, that vowel is not spelled, as we have seen.

iiya	'where'	[iiya]
tai	'not'	[tai]
me	'and'	[me]
boot	'nose'	[booti]
maliil	'mangrove tree'	[maliilẹ]
nngaw	'bad'	[nngawẹ]
gamwuutiy	'sweet potato'	[gamwuutiyẹ]

(5) A word of minimum sound sequence consists of (1) a simple vowel, or a simple consonant or a semivowel followed by a voiced simple vowel, or (2) a double consonant followed by a voiceless vowel.

Examples of (1): i 'I' [i]

	ye	'he'	[ye]
	me	'and'	[me]
Examples of (2):	tti	'to close'	[tṭi]
	kiu	'finger nail'	[kịụ]

Although a double consonant may be followed by a voiced or voiceless vowel, a simple consonant is never followed by a voiceless vowel in a minimum word.

(6) The consonant *m* does not occur before the vowel *u*, but it does before all the other vowels.

(7) The semivowel *y* does not appear before any high vowel, while the semivowel *w* does not appear before a high round vowel (i.e., *iu* or *u*).

(8) Double semivowels are very rare if at all. No *yy* is found, while the only words yet found where *ww* occurs are the following.

uwwar 'to be bright'
uwwel 'to be straight'

(9) Differing from English or Japanese, Woleaian does not allow a sequence of a consonant followed by a semivowel. Thus, the Japanese words *kaisha* 'company' and *shashin* 'photograph' are borrowed in Woleaian as *kaisa* and *sasiing* respectively.

(10) The only voiceless vowel that is allowed after *y* and *w* in word-final position is [ẹ]. Thus, when a word is spelled with a final semivowel, we automatically pronounce [ẹ] after it.

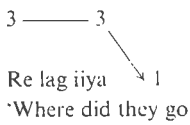
bbuw	'betel nut'	[bbuwẹ]
ppiy	'sand'	[ppiyẹ]

PITCHES AND INTONATION CONTOURS

1.9 In addition to consonants, vowels and semivowels, there are two other features in our speech sounds which take part in actual communication. These are the **intensity** with which the air is expelled from the lungs and the **pitch** which is caused by the tension of vocal cords. Intensity is the degree of force with which a vowel is uttered, while pitch is the musical tone involved. In English, for example, each vowel of a word is pronounced with a different degree of force. Thus, the word *permit* means 'to allow' when the second vowel is pronounced with a strong force,

while it means 'permission' or 'license' when the first vowel is intensified. In Woleaian, however, intensity is not particularly significant, because all vowels are pronounced with equal intensity in general.

On the other hand, musical tones or pitches appear in any language, differentiating, for example, a statement sentence from a question sentence. Their patterns are not the same in all languages, however. Individual musical tones may be called **pitch levels** and chains of them, **intonation contours**. For example, pronounce the following sentence and notice the pitch levels and the intonation contour.



'Where did they go?'

The numbers 3 and 1 are pitch levels, and the whole sequence 3-3-1 is an intonation contour.

Four significant pitch levels are recognized in Woleaian. These are low (1), mid (2), high (3), and extra-high (4). These four pitch levels are distributed over intonation contours which are of three significant kinds, significant in the sense that they are relevant to keeping the meanings of sentences apart. Since pitches and intonation contours in Woleaian are relevant only to sentence types, it would be advisable to refer to Chapter 5, where sentences are classified according to their types.

The three intonation contours are of the following shapes. (Each number represents one of the pitch levels described above.)

2 – 4 – 2
3 – 3 – 1
2 – 4 – 2 – 3 – 1

Notice at the end of each type of contour that the pitch level drops by two degrees, i.e., from 4 to 2 and from 3 to 1. This dropping of pitch is abrupt toward the end of each sentence. More specifically, the dropping is made on the last sound of a sentence in the case of the 2-4-2 contour. If this last sound is a voiceless vowel, the dropping is effected on it. If it is a voiced vowel, the dropping starts at about the middle of the vowel. In the case of the other two contours, 3-3-1 and 2-4-2-3-1, the dropping is effected always on or beginning with the last voiced (or spelled) vowel of a sentence. In the 3-3-1 contour, for example,

3-3 continues until the second to the last voiced (or spelled) vowel, and then very suddenly it falls down to level 1, as illustrated below.



Re gal buutog me iiya?
'Where do they usually come from?'

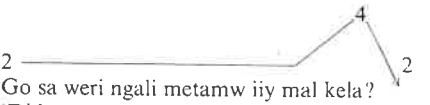
(1) The 2-4-2 Contour
This contour is of the shape:



It is used to mark question sentences (5.3.1) which does not contain a question word such as *metta* 'what?' or *iiya* 'where?' These sentences are comparable with such English constructions as 'Did you go to school?' which has a 2-3-3 contour differing from Woleaian. Notice in the following examples that the highest pitch level (4) is on the last voiced or spelled vowel, and then it abruptly falls down to level 2.



Ye be buutog?
'Does he come?'



Go sa weri ngali metamw iiy mal kela?
'Did you see those germs with your eyes?'



Go gassiya toagota iga we ye lag?
'Did you ask the doctor when he went?'



Go giula mele ye temwaaiu iyang?
'Do you know the reason why he is sick?'

The first two examples are simple sentences and the last two are

of complex type (5.1.2). The same intonation contour applies to both types of sentences as shown above.

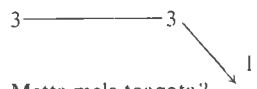
(2) The 3-3-1 Contour
This contour is of the shape:



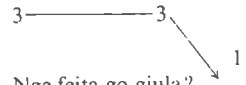
3–3 here indicates a long sequence of the third level pitch which lasts up to the second voiced or spelled vowel from the end of a sentence. Then it falls down to level 1.

This contour is used with (1) all **question-word question sentences**, (2) all **simple command sentences**, and (3) **simple statement sentences** (5.1.2 and 5.3). These are illustrated below.

1. Question-word questions



Metta mele toagota'?
'What is a doctor?'



Nge feita go giula'?
'And did you know it?'



Metta iiy mena'?
'What is it?'

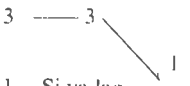


Re weey ununul metta'?
'What do they look like?'

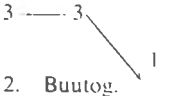


Ileet mele ye temwaaiu mena laumw'?
'When was you child sick?

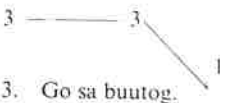
2. Simple commands



1. Si ya lag.
   'Let's go.'

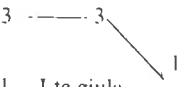


2. Buutog.
   'Come here.'

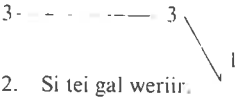


3. Go sa buutog.
   'You come here.'

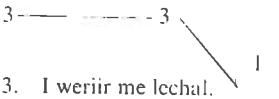
3. Simple statements



1. I te giula.
   'I don't know about it.'



2. Si tei gal weriir.
   'We usually cannot see them.'

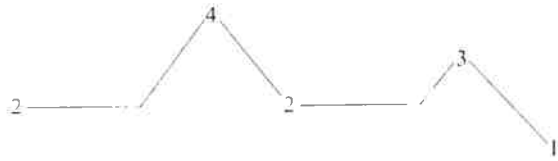


3. I weriir me lechal.
   'I saw them in the water.'

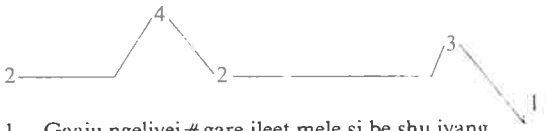
Although the 3–3–1 contour ranges over the three different sentence types, it is still easy to distinguish one sentence type from the rest, since sentence types are based on different structural characteristics including word-order and use of special words, as well as the meanings involved and the situation of the speech.

(3) The 2–4–2–3–1 Contour

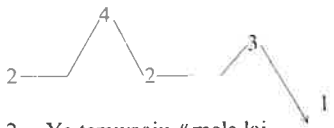
This contour is of the shape:



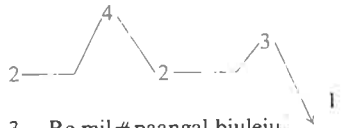
This contour has two humps, and is found in sentences which contain a breath pause within them. Occurrence of a breath pause is not random, but follows certain patterns. For example, a pause appears between two clauses forming a sentence, before most **adjuncts** (5.1.4 and chapter 8), before the **subject** if this appears after the **predicate** (5.1.4), and after the **noun phrase** which is emphasized or functions as a **topic** by being placed in the front-most position of a sentence (5.3.3). These are illustrated below. (# indicates a pause)



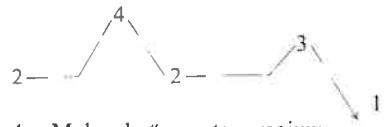
1. Gaaiu ngeliyei # gare ileet mele si be shu iyang.
   'Tell me when we will meet.'



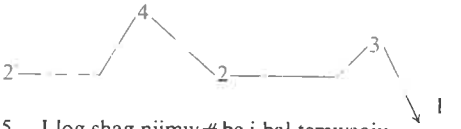
2. Ye temwaaiu # mele lai.
   'This child of mine is sick.'



3. Re mil # paangal biuleiu.
   'They lived everywhere.'



4. Mal mele # ye gatemwaaiuw.
   'Germs are the ones that make him sick.'



5. I log shag niimw # be i bal temwaaiu.
'I stayed home because I was also sick.'

Notice that the above sentences are of various types, simple or complex (where two clauses appear) on the one hand, and imperative or statement on the other. Thus, any sentence, as long as there is a pause within it, carries the "two hump" contour. In our actual utterances, we use a variety of complicated sentences, sometimes far longer than the ones illustrated above. In such cases, the three basic intonation contours discussed above are applied sequentially one after another, with some possible modification of pitch levels. The detailed discussion of them is beyond the scope of this book.

2 Orthography

SPEECH AND WRITING

2.1 The people of Woleai need a standard way of writing that everyone can use, since writing is very important in our use of language, especially in our complex modern society. The main role of a writing system or an **orthography** is to represent speech, enabling communication across time and distance. Thus, writing and reading correspond respectively to speaking and hearing.

There are three basic types of writing systems in use in the present world. These are **alphabetic**, **ideographic**, and **syllabic** writing systems. Most of our familiar writing systems, including that of English, are alphabetic. If a system uses symbols each of which directly corresponds to an individual sound, and not to a word or meaning, it is called **alphabetic**. Thus, for example, *k* in the alphabet of English represents a sound and not a meaning. If a system uses symbols each of which directly corresponds to a word or meaning, it is called **ideographic**. Thus, for example, the Chinese character 大 [tai] represents the meaning 'big'. If a writing system uses symbols each of which corresponds neither to an individual sound nor to a meaning but to a **syllable** (a sequence of sounds pronounced by a chest pulse), it is called **syllabic**. Thus, for example, the Japanese letter カ [ka] represents a meaningless syllable consisting of a consonant followed by a vowel.

Ideographic systems have the serious disadvantage that they must include a great number of symbols, because every language has tens of thousands of words or meanings, and the users of such an ideographic system are subjected to a much heavier burden on their memory than are those whose languages are represented alphabetically. For example, a dictionary of Chinese contains

more than 50,000 different characters. On the other hand, syllabic systems are adequate only in such a language as Japanese where there are a small number of different syllables. The number of syllables depends on the number of consonants and vowels as well as the complexity of syllable structure. For example, Japanese has only fifty-one basic letters representing all possible syllables in the language, because the number of vowels and consonants is very small and the syllable structure is very simple.

Woleaian has a syllable structure as simple as Japanese, but has many more consonants and vowels than Japanese. This fact makes it undesirable for Woleaians to have a syllabic system. Alphabets have an advantage over the other systems, in that only a small number of letters are used to represent an infinite number of words or meanings of a language. Since the number of letters is small (for example, English has 26 basic letter symbols), it is easy to learn, write and read the symbols. For this reason, an alphabetic system has been adopted to represent the Woleaian language.

Certain forms of writing were available in Woleai in the past. They were mostly syllabic writings which are known to have originated in Faraulep and from the Japanese *katakana* syllabary. Japanese katakana is still used by those who were educated in Japanese schools. With the introduction of English, the English alphabet has been used to represent Woleaian but in a profusion of different forms. In general, each person develops his own system not only in selecting symbols but also in the way to put the symbols together for words and sentences. For this reason, we must have a **standard orthography** which should cover the selection of symbols and spelling conventions.

SOUND-LETTER CORRESPONDENCE

2.2 An ideal alphabetic system should serve not only for the native speakers who already know the language but also for those who either partly know the language or want to learn or work on it. If an orthography is to be devised only for those who have native control of the language, we do not need any strict correspondence between sound and letter, because a loose correspondence can also give the ordinary speaker enough indication of what has been said so that he can supply the rest. In any language, a great deal can be omitted without a corresponding great loss in transmitting messages from one person to another.

For example, if we use, following traditional practices, the symbol *u* for both [u] and [iu] and write down *shug* for both 'mountain' and 'basket', there is not much difficulty in the conveyance of messages, since the native speakers would pronounce the difference, [shiugịụ] and [shugụ], correctly if they know the context in which the word occurs. For non-native speakers who want to learn a language or are in the process of learning, or even for those native speakers who are not mature in the language, a strict correspondence between sound and letter is very important, for it will make language learning much easier and faster if they can learn how to pronounce each written word and sentence correctly. Furthermore, a strict sound-letter correspondence is also desirable not only for the benefit of native speakers who are in the initial stage of reading but also because writing should be a correct representation of speech. We could think of a totally separate set of sound symbols alongside of alphabetic letters as in English, but if the alphabetic letters themselves can be used as sound symbols, nothing could be more efficient.

In designing an alphabetic orthography which will represent the sounds of a language, we have to take two aspects into account. In the first place, we need to design a set of symbols that will accurately represent all of the speech sounds existing in the language. Next, we need to establish spelling conventions which are relevant to writing down actual words and sentences of that language. Let us take an example. We have designed such alphabetic symbols as *g*, *a*, *sh*, *ch*, *iu*, *o*, and *e* for Woleaian, to represent the respective sounds. However, we have a spelling problem as to how we write down the three words meaning 'good', 'tickle', and 'fish smell' whose only differences are in their final voiceless vowels. We have to establish a convention as to whether a final voiceless vowel is to be written down or not. I personally prefer to write all the voiceless vowels to avoid the ambiguity and attain a correct representation of speech, but almost all native speakers prefer to omit voiceless vowels in spellings for practical purposes. The Yap Outer Islands Orthography Committee Meeting held December 26, 1972 through January 5, 1973 in Yap favored the omission. Thus, the three words of different pronunciation are to be spelled identically.

gach	'good'	[gachịụ]
gach	'tickle'	[gachọ]
gach	'fish smell'	[gachẹ]

The orthography followed in this book and to be presented below is basically in agreement with the results reached at the above-mentioned meeting. Since the meeting did not consider all the details that are necessary for a standard orthography, the present orthography includes many additions and minor modifications to the one agreed upon by the members who attended the meeting.

THE ALPHABET

2.3 From the beginning of this book, the author has deliberately used the Woleaian alphabetic letters to indicate sounds, so we are already practically familiar with the Woleaian alphabet. Also, we are already aware of the sound quality that each letter has. All the alphabetic letters of Woleaian are borrowed from the Roman (or English) alphabet. By borrowing the letters from English, time and labor in learning to read and write will be saved due to our familiarity with them, and also due to their simplicity in comparison with other alphabets existing in the present world. Furthermore, adoption of the letters from the English alphabet allows us to use standard typewriter keyboards.

The Woleaian alphabet and punctuation marks used in this book are as follows:

Consonants

Simple	*Double*
p	pp
t	tt
ch	ch
k	k
b	bb
f	ff
s	ss
sh	—
g	—
r	—
m	mm
mw	mmw
n	n
ng	nng
l	—

Vowels

Simple	*Double*
i	ii
e	ee
a	aa
iu	iu
u	uu
o	oo
—	eo
—	oa

Semi-vowels

Simple	*Double*
w	ww
y	—

Punctuation marks

. period (ends a sentence)
, comma (used to enumerate words, phrases, or clauses)
? question mark
! exclamation mark
( ) parentheses (used for various purposes, as in English)
‘ ’ single quotation marks

Other symbols

(1) Arabic numerals are used to indicate numbers.
(2) Mathematical symbols like +, −, ×, and ÷ are used.
(3) Capital letters are used for the first letters in sentences and for proper nouns.

The letters of the English alphabet do not provide all the symbols required by the Woleaian speech sounds. In order to get around such a situation, two letters are used to indicate a single sound, as in *ch*, *sh*, *mw*, and *ng* for consonants and *iu*, *eo*, and *oa* for vowels. One serious drawback of two letter symbols, or **digraphs**, is that ambiguities may occur as in English *ph* (ha*ph*azard vs. *ph*oto). This is rarely the case with Woleaian digraphs given above, because no sequence of different consonants or non-high vowels occur. The only possible ambiguity might arise with *iu* in such words as *faiu* ‘stone’. It could be pronounced either as [fa-iu] or as [fai-u]. However, no sequence of high vowels is found in any Woleaian words. Therefore, the pronunciation of [fai-u] is

ruled out, and we have to pronounce *iu* as a single sound wherever it occurs.

The three simple consonants, *ch*, *k*, and *n*, are spelled in the same way as their double counterparts. This allowance was not made without reason. In native words, the simple consonants do not occur. They are used in almost all cases to represent loanwords, as in *chichibanto* 'brassiere' (Jap.), *kakesang* 'to compute' (Jap.), and *naana* 'mother (?)'. Therefore, when a native word contains *ch*, *k*, or *n*, the reader immediately knows that they are double in pronunciation.

On the other hand, use of *iu* for both the simple and double vowels is not motivated by a linguistic reason of the above kind, but by an aesthetic one. As to the ambiguity between simple *iu* and double *iu*, recourse is made to native speakers' knowledge of the language.

Both *eo* and *oa* (as in *leoleo* 'to fill with liquid' and *loaloa* 'to be wavy') represent double or long vowels. The doubling of two vowel symbols is justified by the fact that they are long. The selection of the composite symbols *e* and *o* for *eo*, and *o* and *a* for *oa* is motivated, as mentioned elsewhere, by the fact that the sound represented by *eo* is pronounced with the tongue at the position between that for *e* and that for *o* and the sound of *oa* is pronounced with the tongue at the position between that for *o* and that for *a*.

The principle adopted for double consonant symbols is that we double the simple counterparts if these are single letters and double only the first letter if digraphs are involved. An example of the latter is *nngaw* 'bad.'

SPELLING CONVENTIONS

2.4 The next consideration is how to spell Woleaian words and sentences by means of the above alphabetic letters. The basic principle adopted here is to write down words in letters corresponding to their actual pronunciation, with some exceptions. This means that, although we know that the same base form of a meaningful unit underlies different alternant shapes (see 1.7). we will spell the alternant shapes, not the base form, because the alternant shapes are actual pronunciations while the base form is set up by reducing the actual sounds caused by sound environment to their source sounds. Thus, for example, compare the sounds, base forms, and spellings of the following words.

Pronunciation	*Base Form*	*Spelling*	*Meaning*
[metai]	matai	metai	'my eyes'
[matemami]	matamami	matemam	'our (excl.) eyes'
[imwei]	imwai	imwei	'my house'
[imweli]	imwali	imwel	'house of'
[imwalɛ]	imwala	imwal	'his house'
[imwemami]	imwamami	imwemam	'your (pl.) house'
[mate ka]	mata kaa	mat ka	'these eyes'
[imwe ka]	imwa kaa	imw ka	'these houses'

Suppose, contrary to the principle we have adopted, we use base forms as our spellings. This practice would have some advantages over the practice of spelling based on actual pronunciation. First of all, one meaning unit would have only one form of spelling, as in *mata* 'eyes', *imwa* 'house', *li* 'of', and *la* 'his', while the pronunciation-based spelling system requires us to have such alternant spelling forms as *mat*, *mate*, *meta* for 'eyes', and *imw*, *imwe*, *imwa* for 'house'. Secondly, base form spellings would provide more information on the meaning of words or parts of words. For example, the present spelling system does not distinguish 'of' from 'his', both being spelled *l*, while the base form spelling system would spell them respectively as *li* and *la*. Thirdly, base form spellings would render reading and writing for meaning much easier, since one-word one-shape contributes to quick word recognition as well as to quick memory of spellings. Finally, the one-word one-spelling principle would contribute to the simplicity of dictionaries. Instead of listing different forms of one word as two, three, or four entries, we can list only one form, and the rules of predictable pronunciations can be given in a few lines at the beginning of each dictionary.

In spite of the above advantages, the base form spelling system has not been adopted. The main reason is that, at least at this stage of linguistic sophistication, native speakers are reluctant to have the burden of memorizing the rules of converting actual pronunciations to base forms. Thus, convenience is put forth ahead of simplicity. Moreover, the present spelling system does not represent word-final voiceless vowels. This practice is perfectly all right with native speakers, but for foreigners there will be no way of predicting the correct pronunciation of the final vowels and their influence on the preceding vowel unless the foreigners have already mastered the words.

Let us enumerate the spelling conventions we have adopted below.

(1) A unit of spelling is a **word**, including a **compound** word (for the definition of a word, see 3.2). Each word is preceded and followed by a space. See the following examples:

Iiy mele ye buutog.
'He was the one who came.'

Ye sa garep Bbainaaki.
'Christmas is coming near.'

Re tau iul gashi.
'They habitually drink alcoholic beverages.'

Ye toulap shoa temwaaiu ka re melaw.
'Many sick people survived.'

Iseli tog seliig buk!
'Give me thirty books!'

Re sa fiteg fengan sar kawe.
'The children fought with each other.'

Paangal yaremat nge re chepar be re be lag teramiy.
'Everybody believes that he (lit. they) will go to heaven.'

Ye gach ni feramw?
'Do you feel good?'

I tipeli be i be chuwaai ngalig faafash wa.
'I want to buy four canoes for you.'

(2) If a word and the following modifier word are combined as a unit in pronunciation, the two words are spelled without space as if they were a compound.

libaagili 'hide it' (lib 'to hide' + agili 'with it')
gewaagili 'avoid it' (gaw 'to avoid' + agili)
mmwutaagili 'vomit it' (mmwut 'to vomit' + agili)

(3) A **numeral** and the **classifier** noun following it are spelled without space. They constitute a compound.

semal 'one animate' (se 'one' + mal 'animate')
seuw 'one general object' (se 'one' + uw 'general object')
selimal 'three animates' (seli 'three' + mal 'animate')
waliul 'eight handfuls' (wali 'eight' + iul 'handful')

(4) If a **verb** never occurs without a **directional**, it is spelled without space. In the same way, if a word never occurs without a **demonstrative,** it is spelled without space.

biitag 'to go up' (bii 'to move' + tag 'up')
toolong 'to enter' (too 'to move' + long 'into')

mele 'this thing' (mel 'something' + ye 'this')
ila 'that thing' (i 'the thing' + la 'that')

(5) Words are spelled as they are pronounced, except for the cases stated in (6) through (11).

(6) Any word with a voiceless vowel at the end is spelled without that vowel, even though that final vowel becomes voiced when a modifying word follows it. One exception to this is stated in (7).

boot 'nose' [bootɨ]
boot kawe 'those noses' [booti kawe]
faliuw 'island' [faliuwɐ̨]
faliuw gach kela 'those good islands' [faliuwe gachiu kela]

(7) If a word consists only of a double consonant followed by a voiceless vowel, that vowel is spelled. This is because, otherwise, such a word would be spelled only with a consonant letter.

tti 'to close' [ttɨ]
mmwe 'to sleep well' [mmwɐ̨]
kiu 'fingernail' [kɨu]

Due to this convention, such words and those words which consist of a double consonant and a voiced vowel are not differentiated in spelling.

bbo 'to pound' [bbo]
tti 'tea' [tti]

The difference shows up, however, when another element follows the words.

ttil 'closing of' [ttilɨ]
ttiil 'tea of' [ttiilɨ]

(8) All word-final voiced vowels are spelled as simple.

faiu 'stone'
me 'and'
getoala 'make it bloom'
peshe 'leg'
ila 'that'
sa (perfective)
iuwei 'my neck'

If these final vowels are followed by another element attached to them, they are pronounced as long if they follow a consonant and

pronounced as short if they follow a vowel.

pesheel 'leg of' (peshe 'leg' + l 'of')
faiul 'stone of' (faiu 'stone' + l 'of')

Since there is no letter representing the simple counterpart of *eo* or *oa*, these letters will be retained even though they appear as a word-final vowel.

leoleo 'to fill with liquid'
loaloa 'to be wavy'

(9) Vowels that alternate between short and long due to the so-called compensatory lengthening (1.7.3) are spelled as simple in all their occurrences.

mat 'eyes' [maatę]
it 'name' [iitę]
paiu 'hand' [paaiu]
iuw 'neck' [iuwę]

(10) Euphonic vowel lengthening (1.7.3) is not represented in spelling.

Si ya lag. 'Let's go.' [si yaaa lagǫ]
I bel rig. 'I am ready to run.' [i beleee rigį]

(11) When a vowel undergoes some minor sound change but is not changed to another existing vowel completely, then that change is disregarded in spelling.

werig 'see you' [weri^{u}gǫ]
ngalig 'to you' [ngali^{u}gǫ]
bootimw 'your nose' [booti^{u}mwụ]
sseg 'full' [sse^{u}gịụ]
iteiu 'who?' [ite^{u}iu]
sefash 'one long object' [sefa^{u}shǫ]

3 Word Classification

INTRODUCTION

3.1 So far we have been concerned mainly with the speech sounds of Woleaian without paying much attention to the meaning. For communicative purposes, however, any utterance must consist of both sounds and the associated meaning. We now proceed to the discussion of meaningful units in our grammar.

Meaningful units are found at several different **levels** in any language. At the lowest level, we find **minimal** meaningful units such as *imw* 'house' and *-i* 'my'. Such minimal meaningful units are technically called **morphemes** and they cannot be divided further into smaller meaningful units. On the next level and up, we find **words** such as *imwei* 'my house', **phrases** such as *imw gach we* 'the good house', **clauses** such as *Ye gach* 'It was good' as embedded in *I weri imw we ye gach* 'I saw the house which was good', and **sentences** such as the last example, in that order. These different levels of meaningful units might be illustrated by the following chart:

Sentences
|
Clauses
|
Phrases
|
Words
|
Morphemes

These different terms will be used throughout the rest of this grammar.

In a reference grammar of this sort, it is convenient to start with words, classifying them in terms of their relation with other words in sentences and discussing their formations in terms of various morphemes. The classification of words will be handled in this chapter. Their formation from morphemes will be discussed in the following chapter. In the next stage will come such higher meaningful units as phrases, clauses and sentences, all of which will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

THE WORD

3.2 Before we take up the classification of words, let us briefly see what a **word** is. Although we use the term word so frequently, it is not easy to define it in a precise way. Putting all the technical details aside, we may say that a word is any meaningful unit that a native speaker considers a smallest **independent** functional unit in sentences. A native speaker of the language also recognizes a word when he hears it spoken by itself outside the context of a sentence.

Since a word is a functional unit, it must be assigned to a part of speech in the language in question. For example, *him* in the English phrase *see him* is a word to English speaking people, and is assigned to the part of speech called **pronoun**. To Woleaians, *-i* 'him' in *weri* 'see him' is not considered a word but a part of a word; and, since it is not a word it cannot be assigned to any part of speech. Obviously words are identified differently from language to language. In Woleaian, words are identified conveniently to fit into the grammatical and word-formational characteristics of Woleaian. So are English words. For the purpose of comparison see the sentences below where each individual word is given a number. Observe the different word divisions and the lack of correspondences between Woleaian and English.

Woleaian	*English*
(1) (2)	(1) (2) (3)
Re lap.	'They are big.'
they big	

Woleaian	*English*
(1) (2) (3) Ye sa gamwongoowai. he perf. make eat me	(1) (2) (3) (4) 'He has fed me.'
(1) (2) (3) (4) (5) Ye lag yaremat we Yap. he go man the Yap	(1) (2) (3) (4) (5) 'The man went to Yap.'

As we have seen, not all minimal meaningful units are words. Some are as in *imw* 'house', *mat* 'eye' and *mwongo* 'to eat', but others are only part of a word as in *-i* 'my' in *imwei* and *ga-* (causative) and *-wai* 'me' in *gamwongoowai* 'make me eat'. When a word consists of more than one morpheme, that morpheme which is considered the main part in meaning and function is called the **stem** of the word (e.g., *mwongoo* in *gamwongoowai*) and the morpheme that has an auxiliary meaning and function is called an **affix** (e.g., *a-* and *-wai*). If an affix is put before a stem, it is called a **prefix**. If it is put after, it is a **suffix**. Thus, *ga-* is a prefix and *-wai* is a suffix.

PARTS OF SPEECH

3.3 In presenting a grammar of a language, it is very efficient if we group all of the words (words include word stems in this section) of the language into a certain number of **parts of speech** or **word-classes** such as **nouns**, **pronouns**, **verbs**, **adverbs**, **prepositions** and **conjunctions**. This practice of grouping into word classes enables us to make simple statements about the grammatical relations existing among words. If we make a grammatical statement, for example, that a **demonstrative** always follows a noun in Woleaian, this statement applies to all the words classed as demonstratives and to thousands of words which are classed as nouns in Woleaian. This is much simpler than listing all of the individual words.

In this grammar, all Woleaian words are grouped into eleven word classes or parts of speech according to the different relations or functions they have with regard to other words in sentences. The most general relations existing among words are of three kinds: **head**, **modifier**, and **connector**. The eleven parts of speech of Woleaian are derived from these three basic word relations as shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Parts of Speech

word relations			parts of speech
1. head	1. of noun phrase 2. of verb phrase	1. nominal 2. pronominal*	(1) noun (2) pronoun (3) verb
2. modifier	1. noun modifier in quantity: precedes the modified noun		(4) numeral
	2. noun modifier in the position with regard to speaker and hearer: follows the modified noun		(5) demonstrative
	3. verb modifier in aspect: precedes the modified noun		(6) aspect
	4. noun/verb/clause modifier in manner: precedes or follows the modified word or clause		(7) adverb
	5. noun/verb modifier in direction: follows the modified word		(8) directional
3. connector	1. between the subject noun and the verb: conveys person and number of the subject, taking the position before the verb phrase		(9) subjective
	2. between a verb and a noun: appears before the noun		(10) preposition
	3. between two nouns, two phrases, and two clauses		(11) conjunction

(*Technical terms used in this table will be explained in the following discussion.)

Any Woleaian word must belong to one or more of the parts of speech described in Table 4. Here are some examples of words illustrating each part of speech. Abbreviations for each part of speech are given in brackets.

(1) noun [N]:

imw	'house'	-mal	'animate object'
Mariiken	'America'	riuw	'two'
shal	'water'	tat	'sea'
Tony	(personal name)	iuliuma-	'drinkable object'
yengaang	'work'	woa-	'upside, on'

(2) pronoun [PN]:

gaang	'I'	iir	'they'
metta	'what?'	iiya	'which place?, where?'
iyang	'about it, there'		

(3) verb [V]:

faiufeiu	'to weave'	gach	'to be good'
giula	'know it'	kewaag	'to be escaped'
masiur	'to sleep'	iul	'to drink'
iuliumi	'drink it'	weri	'see it'

(4) numeral [NM]:

se-	'one'	riuwa-	'two'
seli-	'three'	faa-	'four'

(5) demonstrative [DM]:

ye	'this'	la	'that'
we	'that (unseen)'	kela	'those'

(6) aspect [AS]:

be	'will' (prospective)
sa	'have been' or 'have done' (perfective)
tewai	'will not' (negative prospective)

(7) adverb [AD]:

gal	'usually'
gemas	'indeed, very, extremely'
mwo	'for a moment'
ngoa	'yes'
shag	'just'

(8) directional [DR]:

lag	'away'
tog	'hither'

(9) subjective [SB]:

i	'I'
si	'we (inclusive, i.e., includes the hearer)'

(10) preposition [P]:

me	'from'
ngali	'to it'

(11) conjunction [C]:

be	'because, that'
me	'and'
nge	'and'

The classes of nouns and verbs are open in the sense that the number of words of each class is very large and any newly coined words or loanwords are usually absorbed by one of these two classes. All the other parts of speech are closed, with the number of member words in each being very limited.

Notice in the examples given above that certain words are followed or preceded by a hyphen (-). The hyphen means that such words, more precisely word stems, do not appear without some other word or affix following or preceding. Such words are called **bound** or **defective** words in contrast with **free** or **complete** words which do not carry a hyphen. For example, *inw* may appear by itself but *-mal* with the meaning 'animate object' always appears with a numeral preceding, as in *semal* 'one animate object'.

Following are some sample sentences with each part of speech labeled by the abbreviations given in the preceding list.

I gal niuniuwan mmwai.
SB AD V V
'I tend to think slowly.'

Gaang mele i ssoong be toagota ye mmwai tog.
PN N-DM SB V C N SB V DR
'I got mad because the doctor came late.'

Go buutog me iiya?
SB V-DR P PN
'Where are you from?' or 'Where have you been?'

John ye be ttir lag ni bugotal.
N SB AS V DR N N
'John needs to go home early.'

Ye gach wa we.
SB V N DM
'That canoe was good.'

Re sa weri sefash wa gach.
SB AS V NM-N N V
'They saw a good canoe.'

FULL WORDS AND PARTICLES

3.4 The most important and grammatically useful classification of words is into their parts of speech, i.e., in terms of their function or relation with other words in sentences. Another method of

word classification is in terms of the ways in which the words are formed. By this method, words may be classified as **full words** and **particles**. Full words are those which may take one or more affixes, or may enter into compounds with other words. Many nouns and verbs belong in this class, as do all demonstratives, numerals, directionals, some prepositions, and some adverbs. On the other hand, particles are those words which never take any affix or form a compound. To this class belong most pronouns, some nouns and verbs, some adverbs, some prepositions, and all aspects, subjectives, and conjunctions. Examples follow:

	Stem form		*Affixed form*	
full words:	imw	'house'	imwemw	'your house'
	la	'that'	kelaal	'those over there'
	lag	'to go'	gelago	'make him go'
	-mal	'animate object'	gaselimeliul	'the third animate object of'
	seli-	'three'	seliig	'thirty'
	ngali	'to'	ngaliyei	'to me'
	tog	'hither'	gabuutogoow	'make him come'
	tema-	'father'	temal	'his father'
particles:	gaang	'I'		
	metta	'what'		
	gal	'usually'		
	go	'you'		
	me	'from'		
	nge	'and'		
	shag	'just'		

NOUNS

3.5

Subclassification

3.5.1 The class of nouns is the largest of all the parts of speech. A noun has nominal function, i.e., names an object, a state, an event, an action, or whatever. Nouns are always the head of a **noun phrase** (one or more words functioning like a noun). Noun phrases play fundamental roles in all kinds of sentences, as we will see in chapter 6. For example, the noun phrase *imw gach ka* 'these good houses' has the noun *imw* as its head. Both *gach* 'good' and *ka* 'these' modify *imw*.

In the following sentences, noun phrases are italicized and nouns are indicated with N.

Go sa weri *waafaliuw farigit we*?
N
'Have you seen the big ship?'

Yaremat laal ila *semal sensei*.
N N N
'That person over there is a teacher.'

I sa fatiul long *lan liuwa we*.
N N
'I paddled into the calm.'

Notice in the above examples that certain noun phrases contain more than one noun. Such a noun phrase, therefore, has more than one head within itself.

Nouns are divided into the following seven subclasses on the basis of different grammatical, word-formational and meaning characteristics: (1) **numeral classifier**, (2) **enumerative counter**, (3) **possessive classifier**, (4) **locational noun**, (5) **inalienable noun**, (6) **proper noun**, and (7) **common noun**. The particular characteristics of each of these subclasses of nouns will be described in the following subsections.

Numeral Classifiers

3.5.2 The numeral classifier nouns include all those words which are preceded by numerals such as *se-* 'one', *riuwa-* 'two' and *seli-* 'three' up to *tiwa-* 'nine', which in turn never appear without a numeral classifier. Together, the numeral and the classifier form a **numeral compound** like *semal* 'one animate object' and *sefash* 'one long object'. A numeral compound may or may not be followed by a noun. If it is, there must be consistency or harmony in meaning between the classifier and the following noun as in:

sefash wa	'one (long object) canoe'
riuwemal yaremat	'two (animate) persons'
selimetip mai	'three torn pieces of breadfruit'
faamat ig	'four kinds of fish'

Numeral classifiers are of several different kinds. These may broadly be divided into **quality**, **quantity**, **measurement**, and **digits**.

A list of numeral classifiers, which is not exhaustive, is given below.

(1) quality classifiers:

classifier		*example* (se- 'one' + classifier + noun)	
-bulog	'portion'	sebulog tengar	'one portion of tuna fish'
-faat	'string of something'	sefaat faaliyap	'a string of apples'
-fash	'long object'	sefash wa	'one canoe'
-feiu *or* faiu	'round object'	sefaiu usous	'one bead'
-gatt *or* gett	'finger'	segatt gatt	'one finger'
-gofet	'broken piece'	segofet mar	'a piece of preserved breadfruit'
-is	'banana hand'	seis wish	'one banana hand'
-mal	'animate'	semal mal	'one bird'
-matip *or* metip	'torn piece'	sematip bulag	'one taro piece'
-peo	'flat object'	sepeo reesa	'one blade'
-pa	'chain-like object	sepa mwaremwar	'one lei'
-paliy *or* peliy	'side'	sepaliy fal	'one side of men's house'
-pat	'piece of utterance'	sepat kepat	'one piece of talk'
-peig	'side'	sepeig faaileng	'one side of the earth'
-ran	'day'	seran ran	'one day'
-sheo	'flat object'	sesheo paap	'one board'
-shimw	'bundle'	seshimw galogal	'one bundle of sennit'
-tab	'half of thin, long object'	setab waaliish	'one half of pencil'
-tal *or* -tel	'line, layer'	setal fitug	'one layer of meat'
-tar	'age group'	setar tar	'one generation'
-tip	'cut-up segment'	setip mai	'one piece of breadfruit'

(1) quality classifiers: (contd)

-uw	(general category)	seuw tegag	'one cup'
-yal *or* -yel	'thin piece'	seyal temaag	'one cigarette'

(2) quantity classifiers:

classifier		*example* (se- 'one' + classifier + noun)	
-boot	'one member of a pair'	seboot sifisif	'one of a grass skirt pair'
-bis	'a few'	sebis bulag	'a few taros'
-fiiy	'handful'	sefiiy limilim	'one handful of taro leaves'
-gumw	'mouthful'	segumw melik	'a mouthful of milk'
-kiut	'a little'	sekiut shal	'some water'
-mat	'kind'	semat faiu	'one kind of stone'
-mweiu	'group'	semweiu peraas	'some bags of rice'
-mmwit	'small amount'	semmwit ig	'a few fish'
-pileg	'bundle, group'	sepileg fafiiy	'a bundle of firewood'
-tap *or* -tep	'kind'	setap mengaag	'one kind of clothes'

(3) measurement:

classifier		*example* (se- 'one' + classifier + noun)	
-gatt	'finger length'	segatt bulag	'one finger-length taro'
-mwaliu	'forearm length'	semwaliu	'one forearm length'
-ngaf	'fathom'	sengaf mengaag	'one fathom of clothes'
-peiu *or* -paiu	'arm length'	sepaiu	'one arm length'
-yang	'finger length'	seyang	'one finger length'

(4) digits:

classifier		*example* (se- 'one' + classifier + noun)	
-ig	(10th digit)	seig	'10'

-biuguiw	(100th digit)	sebiugiuw	'100'
-ngeras	(1,000th digit)	sangeras	'1,000'
-n	(10,000th digit)	sen	'10,000'
-lob	(100,000th digit)	selob	'100,000'
-piy	(1,000,000th digit)	sepiy	'1,000,000'
-ngit	(10,000,000th digit)	sengit	'10,000,000'
-ngerai	(100,000,000th digit)	sangerai	'100,000,000'

In the quality classifiers above, *-uw* is the general classifier which is used for unspecified objects or objects not included in one of the other more specific categories.

Many classifier nouns are derived from other nouns by generalizing the specific meanings of the latter. For example, the classifier *mal* comes from the noun *mal* 'bird, animal': the classifier *faiu* 'round object' from *faiu* 'stone'. Thus, we may have the following constructions in which both the classifier and a noun of the same shape occur:

semal mal	'one (animate) bird'
riuwefaiu faiu	'two (round object) stones'

One final remark is needed in connection with the status of a classifier as a noun. Classifiers are classed as nouns on the following grounds. First of all, in a compound like *semal gelaag* 'one (animate) dog', *-mal* and *gelaag* have about equal importance in meaning and function and, therefore, both should be considered heads. Secondly, the relation between the two words is that of apposition or equation, either being able to stand independently without the other. For example, *semal* by itself can be the head of a noun phrase, as in *I sa weri semal* 'I saw one (animate).' Similarly, *I sa weri gelaag* 'I saw dogs'.

Enumerative Counters

3.5.3 Enumerative counters include specific terms from one to nine which are used to count objects in sequence like 'one, two, three ...' These words are regarded as nouns, because each of them is equivalent to a numeral followed by a classifier which constitute a noun phrase.

Fast counting	*Slow counting*	
yet	yeta	'one'
riuw	riuwa	'two'
yel	yeli	'three'

Fast Counting	*Slow Counting*	
fang	fangi	'four'
lim	lima	'five'
wol	wola [West];	wolo [East] 'six'
fis	fisi	'seven'
wal	wali	'eight'
tiw	tiwa	'nine'

Woleaian people count objects up to nine with the numbers listed above. For the number 'ten', *seig* is used just as for non-sequential counting. This word is formed from the numeral *se-* 'one' and *-ig* '10th digit classifier.' If the objects number more than ten, the sequential counting does not use the tenth digit *seig*, but simply repeats *yet* or *yeta* 'one' up to *tiw* or *tiwa* for numbers up to 'nineteen'. For 'twenty', the word *riuweig* is used, which is a combination of *riuwe-* '2' and *-ig*. The same process is repeated for the numbers above 20. This method of sequential counting is widely used when enumerating totals and allotting shares of food.

Possessive Classifiers

3.5.4 Possessive classifiers are used to classify nouns when they are possessed, just as numeral classifiers classify nouns when they are counted. Thus, for example, *iuliumei shal* 'my water (to drink)' has the classifier *iuliume-* 'drinkable object' which agrees in quality with *shal* 'water'.

Possessive classifiers are classed as nouns, because they, first of all, function as the head of a noun phrase with their own independent meaning. In the sentence *Lai sar laal* 'That child is my child', *lai* 'my child' which consists of the classifier *laiu* 'child' + *-i* (note the sound alternation) is the only member of a noun phrase and is the head. In many cases, a classifier occurs without a noun following within the same noun phrase in this way. Secondly, the fact that a classifier appears with a **possessive suffix** (e.g., *-i* 'my') is another reason to view it as a noun. All possessive classifiers are bound in that they must be followed by a possessive suffix. Examples follow:

Classifier		*example* *(classifier + -i 'my' + noun)*	
gela- *or* gale-	'food'	gelai ig	'my fish food'
		galemam ig	'our (excl.) food'

Classifier		*Example*	
gapite- *or* gapita-	'oil for anointing'	gapitei gapigep	'my coconut oil for anointing'
giliye- *or* giliya-	'mat'	giliyei giliye-peopeo	'my mat of coconut leaves'
gola-	'caught object'	golai ig	'my fish that I caught'
goshaa-	'raw food'	goshaai ig	'my raw fish' or 'my sashimi'
fale-	'men's house'	falei (imw)	'my men's house'
faliuwe- *or* faliuwa-	'island'	faliuwei (faliuw)	'my island'
imwe- *or* imwa-	'shelter'	imwei skuul	'my school to sleep in'
laniye- *or* laniya-	'place to stay'	laniyei (laniy)	'my place to stay'
laiu- *or* la-	'child, domestic animal, tool, etc.'	lai gelaag	'my dog'
maata-	'garden'	maatai (maat)	'my garden'
mwera- *or* mware-	'lei kind'	mwerai mwaremwar	'my lei'
paa-	'bait'	paai ig	'my fish bait'
shaliu-	'water well'	shaliu (shal)	'my water well'
shiuwe- *or* shiuwa-	'earring'	shiuwei ring	'my earring'
iuliume- *or* iuliuma-	'drinkable object'	iuliumei koofi	'my coffee'
waa-	'vehicle'	waai skooki	'my plane'
yaa-	(general category)	yaai baabiyor	'my book'

Notice that many of the classifiers have the same forms as the corresponding non-classificatory nouns, but have more general meaning than the latter. If both have the same meaning, the noun following the classifier may be omitted, as in *falei (fal)* 'my men's house'.

classifier		*non-classifier*	
imwa-	'shelter'	imw	'house'
waa-	'vehicle'	wa	'canoe'
fale-	'men's house'	fal	'men's house'

Observe the following concrete examples:

imwei imw	'my (shelter) house'
imwei skuul	'my school (to sleep in)'
waai wa	'my (vehicle) canoe'
waai wootobai	'my (vehicle) scooter'
falei (fal)	'my men's house'

Just as *-uw* is the general numeral classifier, so is *yaa-* the general possessive classifier which occurs with a wide range of nouns including those which do not appear with any other classifier.

seuw baabiyor	'one book'
yaai baabiyor	'my book'
seuw chiya	'one chair'
yaai chiya	'my chair'

Locational Nouns

3.5.5 A group of Woleaian nouns including *faa-* 'under, underside' and *woa-* 'on, upside' have such locational meanings as expressed by English prepositions 'under', 'on', 'in', 'at', 'among', 'after', 'before', and 'out of'. Observe the italicized words in the following:

Ye masiur *faal* mai we.
under-of
'He slept under the breadfruit tree.'

I skuul *woal* Mariiken.
on-of
'I studied in America.'

Ye log semal lang *woal*.
on-his
'There is a fly on him.'

One might be tempted to regard such Woleaian words as prepositions rather than nouns. Woleaian locational words have, however, many characteristics that force us to class them as nouns. In the first place, all of them take a possessive suffix including *-l* 'of'. In fact, most of them do not appear if not followed by a possessive suffix. We have classed all the other words that take a possessive suffix as nouns—possessive classifiers and inalienable nouns (see below). It is reasonable to regard locational words as nouns in this respect.

Secondly, locational words appear after the real preposition *me* 'from, on, in, at' as in *me reel imw we* 'from the house',

literally 'from at-of the house', and *me woal* 'from (*or* at) it', literally 'from (*or* at) its upside. Otherwise, *me* appears only before a noun or pronoun, as in *me Mariiken* 'from (*or* in) America' and *me iiya* 'from where'. This is another reason why we should classify a locational word as a noun.

Thirdly, the grammatical behavior of a locational word is the same as other nouns indicating place. Observe the parallelism between the italicized words in the following:

1. I be lag *Yap*.
   'I will go to Yap.' (*Yap* is a place noun.)

   I be lag *reel*.
   'I will go to him' (*ree-* is a locational word.)

2. Ye sa buutog me *Yap*.
   'He has come from Yap.'

   Ye sa buutog me *reel*.
   'He has come from him.'

Finally, locational words may appear as the subject of a sentence, although not frequently.

Ye gach *lan*.
'The inside is good.' (lan = lalo- 'inside' + -l 'its')

Liugiul imw yeel ila ye sheolap.
outside-of
'The outside of this house is spacious.'

These examples show that locational words are nouns even in meaning and they are not quite the same as English prepositions.

Here are the most often used locational nouns:

faa-	'under, underside'
(i)mwowa-	'before, front'
(i)mwiri-	'after, behind, back'
lalo-	'in, inside'
liugiu-	'out of, outside'
liuwan-	'among, between'
lugo-	'in the center, middle'
ree-	'at, with, to'
shiu-	'on, top (canoe *or* tree)'
woa-	'on, upside'
we-	(contraction of *woa-*)
yaro-	'near, neighbor'

Inalienable Nouns

3.5.6 In Woleaian, as in other Pacific languages, there is a keen division between **alienable** and **inalienable** nouns. Alienable nouns denote such objects which, in the mind of a native speaker, are transferable from one person to another, whereas inalienable nouns denote nontransferable objects. For example, *chiya* 'chair' which can be transferred from one person to another is an alienable noun, and *mat* 'eye' which cannot be transferred is an inalienable noun. When an alienable object is possessed, a possessive classifier must precede the noun denoting it, as in *yaai chiya* 'my chair'. When an inalienable object is possessed, a possessive suffix must be attached to the noun denoting it, as in *metai* 'my eye'. Certain objects may be both transferable (or alienable) and nontransferable (or inalienable) according to how they are used. For example, *baabiyor* 'book' as an object is transferable, and it is possessed with a classifier as in *yaai baabiyor* 'my book'. On the other hand, if the book is written about a person the book is no longer transferable from the person in that sense. Thus, *baabiyoroi* is 'my book' in the sense of 'book about me'. Alienable nouns will be discussed in 3.5.8 as part of common nouns.

Inalienable nouns have neither any classificatory function nor locational characteristics. For example, *iuliumei shal* 'my water' and *metai* 'my eye' show that *iuliume-* is a classifier but *meta-* is not. While the locational noun *ree-* appears after the preposition *me* as in *me reel John* 'from John', this never happens with an inalienable noun. Thus, we cannot say *me metal John* 'from John's eye' but we have to say *me reel metal John*. There are several meaning classes of inalienable nouns in Woleaian. They are broadly divided into four classes as follows, among which kinship terms and body parts are most frequently used. In general, kinship terms do not appear without a possessive suffix.

kinship terms:

bisi-	'brother, sister (same sex)'
laiu-	'child'
sila- *or* sile-	'mother'
tema- *or* tame-	'father'

body parts:

boot	'nose'

galong	'body'
mang	'forehead'
mat	'eye'
shimw	'head'
iuw	'neck'

'referential' objects: (those objects which are 'about' the person represented by a possessive suffix)

baabiyor	'book'	baabiyoroi	'book about me'
sasiing	'picture'	sasiingei	'picture of me'
kachito	'movie'	kachitooi	'movie about me'

verbal nouns: Many non-transitive verbs (3.7) may be followed by a possessive suffix, resulting in inalienable nouns. The possessive suffix may mean either the actor (or agent) of the action denoted by the verb or the 'referential' object of the action.

lag	'going'	lagoi	'my going'
buutog	'coming'	buutogoi	'my coming'
tang	'crying'	tangi	'crying over me (or about me)'

Proper Nouns

3.5.7 Proper nouns are a class of nouns that refer to the names of persons, places, and other culturally unique objects or events. Proper nouns are spelled with the initial sound capitalized. Examples follow.

persons:	Ramwon, Taregos, Tawerilmang, Ken, Sohn, John
places:	Mariiken 'America', Saapaan 'Japan', Iulitiw 'Ulithii', Weleya 'Woleai', Yap 'Yap', Fais 'Fais', Ngeliuw 'Ngulu', Baalaau 'Palau', Songshal 'Sonsorol', Bbul 'Pulo Anna', Raaiur 'Raiur', Paliyaw 'Paliyaw', Felaalap 'Falalap'
stars:	Bbu 'Crux star', Metariuw 'Scorpio star'
spirits:	Bugolimar 'name of a male divination spirit' Ilemail 'name of a male divination spirit' Libbul 'name of a male divination spirit' Magoomweiu 'name of a male divination spirit' Ilagoomal 'name of a female divination spirit'

oceans:	Wooireg 'ocean from Lamotrek to Satawal'
	Matol 'ocean from Elato to Lamotrek'
	Metaw Pengag 'ocean from Ifaluk to Faraulep'
	Faal Yaroma 'ocean from Woleai to Ifaluk'
	Metaw Mwal 'ocean from Yap to Palau'
	Matewal Woal 'ocean from Faraulep to Guam'
days of the week:	Santei 'Sunday'
	Sebaato 'Saturday'

Common Nouns

3.5.8 Common nouns include the majority of nouns. They may appear after a possessive or numeral classifier as the second word in a noun phrase, as the following examples will illustrate:

iuliumei *shal*	'my water (to drink)'
goshaal *ig*	'his raw fish'
imwash *imw*	'our (incl.) house'
waami *wa*	'your (pl.) canoe'
waar *wootobai*	'their scooter'
yaamw *baabiyor*	'your (sing.) book'
semal *mal*	'one bird'
riuwemal *gelaag*	'two dogs'
seig *liu*	'ten coconut trees'
selifash *ira*	'three pieces of wood'
faafash *mai*	'four breadfruit trees'
fitemal *yaremat*	'how many people'
seyal *baabiyor*	'a piece of paper'



Nouns indicating time and place belong to this general class.

biuleiu	'place'
laiu	'tomorrow'
lalow	'yesterday'
rag	'year'
skuul	'school'

Since common nouns form a 'catch-all' class, whatever nouns that do not belong to the other type of nouns described above fall in this class.

PRONOUNS

3.6

Pronominal Function

3.6.1 Pronouns function as the head of a noun phrase, just as do all the nouns. One basic difference between a pronoun and a noun is in its **pronominal** function; that is, replacement of a noun or noun phrase. Thus, in the sentence *Ye rig lag semal sar betai, iiy mele bisi* 'A fat child ran away, he is my brother,' *iiy* 'he' replaces the whole noun phrase *semal sar betai* 'a fat child'. *Iiy* is a pronoun.

A pronoun and a noun are different in meaning also. Pronouns have either purely grammatical meanings such as **person** (1st, 2nd, or 3rd), **number** (singular or plural), or much more general meanings than nouns. *Iiy* indicates third person singular, and that is all, whereas the noun *sar* has an involved dictionary meaning, such as 'a young person of either sex, especially between infancy and youth'.

Four different types of pronouns are recognized in Woleaian: (1) **personal pronouns**, (2) **question pronouns**, (3) **defective pronouns**, and (4) *iyang*.

Personal Pronouns

3.6.2 Personal pronouns are somewhat similar to English pronouns, although in detail they are not the same, especially in the member pronouns and their uses. In Woleaian, there is a set of subjectives (3.13) which share the function of English pronouns, while there are no separate possessive (e.g., English 'my', 'his', or 'their') or objective (e.g., English 'me', 'him', or 'them') pronouns. Instead, Woleaian has possessive and objective suffixes respectively (4.2.1 and 4.2.2).

The following list includes all the personal pronouns:

	singular	*plural*
1st person	gaang 'I'	giish 'we (inclusive)'
		gaamam 'we (exclusive)'
2nd person	geel 'you'	gaami 'you'
3rd person	iiy 'he, she, it'	iir 'they'

Each personal pronoun indicates person and number. Woleaian pronouns show the distinction between **inclusive** and **exclusive**

plural in the first person. Inclusive means that the hearer is included in 'we' and exclusive means that the hearer is excluded from 'we'. As we will see, this distinction is relevant to subjectives, possessive suffixes and objective suffixes, indicating that the distinction is an important part of the life of Woleaians and other Pacific islanders.

No affix may be attached to personal pronouns, which means that they are particles (3.4). Historically, each of the personal pronouns seems to have consisted of a stem followed by a possessive suffix. For example, *giish* 'we (inclusive)' seems to have been formed from *gii* '?' + *-sh* 'our (inclusive)', but there is no separate meaning for *gii* in present Woleaian. Further examples of the personal pronouns are as follows:

Gaang i be lag.
'As for me, I will go.'

Iir mele re mwal.
'They are the ones who hid.'

Geel me *iiy* gai sa buutog.
'You and he should come.'

Question Pronouns

3.6.3 Four pronouns listed below are all question words.

metta (*or* meta)	'what'
iteiu	'who'
ileet	'when'
iiya	'where'

Metta (or its variant *meta*) expects a response with a non-human noun or noun phrase.

go weri *metta*?
'What did you see?'

I weri *sefaiu taama*.
'I saw a marble.'

Iteiu expects a response with a human noun or noun phrase.

Iteiu mele ye buutog?
'Who came?'

Tony.
'Tony.'

Ileet expects a response with a time noun or noun phrase.

Ileet mele ye sa mas.
'When did he die?'

Ye sa mas *rag we*.
'He died last year.'

Iiya expects a response with a place or locational noun or noun phrase.

Go bel lag *iiya*?
'Where are you going?'

Iulitiw.
'Ulithi.'

Since all these question words correspond to a noun or noun phrase, it is quite natural that they are assigned to the pronoun class. None of the question pronouns can take an affix, as in the case of personal pronouns.

The Defective Pronouns *i-* and *mel-*.

3.6.4 The two pronouns *i-* 'that thing' and *mel-* 'some thing' function in a similar way. They do not appear without something following, usually a demonstrative, in which sense they are defective. *i-* may occasionally take a suffix or a word other than a demonstrative, but *mel-* always appears with a demonstrative. As we will see in detail (6.7.3), the two defective pronouns, when followed by a demonstrative, take many important grammatical roles.

The reason that they are considered pronouns, rather than nouns, is that their function is pronominal. They do not name concrete objects as observed in the following sentences:

Ila mele semal galuuf.
'It's a lizard.'
(Lit. That thing is something which is a lizard.)

Iga mele i sub me iyang.
'Here is the place I was born.'
(Lit. Here is something where I was born.)

Ifa iiy?
'Where is he?'

Some *i-* and *mel-* compounds are as follows:

i- : iyeel 'this here'

imwu 'that there (near the hearer)'
ila 'that, O.K.'
ilaal 'that thing over there'
ifa 'which, where, what'
iga 'here'
igela 'this time, now'

mel-: mele (from *mel* + *ye* 'this') 'something here'
mena (from *mel* + *la* 'that') 'that, something that'
meleka (from *mel* + *ka* 'these') 'these things'

The Locative Pronoun *iyang*

3.6.5 The pronoun *iyang* has such varied meanings as 'at it, about it, to it, there'. Its properties are intricate. First of all, it always refers to a locative or place expression. Observe the following sentences:

1. *Iiya* mele go be lag *iyang*?
   'Where is the place you are going to?'
2. I tefaal tog me *iyang*.
   'I came from there.'
3. *Saapaan* mele i buutog me *iyang*.
   'Japan is the place I came from.'

In (1), *iyang* refers to the locative question pronoun *iiya* 'where?' In (2), it refers to a place which should have appeared in a preceding sentence or at least to a place which the hearer knows about in the speech situation. In (3), *iyang* refers to the place noun *Saapaan* which appeared in the same sentence.

Secondly, *iyang* is a particle. No prefix or suffix is attachable to it. Finally, *iyang* and *metta* 'what?' together introduce the meaning 'why?'

Metta go tai lag *iyang*? 'Why didn't you go?'

A detailed discussion of the grammatical function of *iyang* will be made in 8.3.4.

VERBS

3.7

Definition and Classification

3.7.1 Any word that may typically function as the head of a **verb**

phrase (chapter 7) belongs to the class of words called **verb**. In the sentence *Ye rig lag sar we* 'The child ran away', for example, the word *rig* 'to run' is the head or the most important part in the verb phrase *rig lag* and it is a verb. The range of meanings covered by verbs is wide and varied indeed, but the most common categories of meaning are those of mental and physical action or state of all kinds. The following examples are all verbs.

gach	'to be good'	gapeta	'say it'
gayefa	'make him swim'	lag	'to go'
rig	'to run'	ttir	'to be fast'
iul	'to drink'	iuliumi	'drink it'
yaali	'own it'	yaleyal	'to wish'
yog	'to be possible'	yoor	'to exist'

Verbs may be subclassified into three sets according to their respective grammatical peculiarities, the basic one of which is whether they can take an **object** or not: (1) **intransitive** verbs [Vi], (2) **neutral** verbs [Vn], and (3) **transitive** verbs [Vt]. In grammar, an object is a noun or noun equivalent (such as an object suffix, noun phrase, or clause) to which the action of a verb is directed. If a verb never takes an object, it is an intransitive (e.g., *gach* 'to be good', *lag* 'to go', *rig* 'to run', *ttir* 'to be fast', *yog* 'to be possible', and *yoor* 'to exist'). If a verb does not occur without an object, more specifically an object suffix, it is a transitive verb (e.g., *gapeta* 'to say it', *gayefa* 'make him swim', *iuliumi* 'drink it', and *yaali* 'own it'). If a verb may or may not take an object, more specifically a noun or noun equivalent but not an object suffix, it is a neutral verb (e.g., *iul* 'to drink', *faiufeiu* 'to weave', and *mwongo* 'to eat').

The three types of verbs are illustrated in the following examples.

intransitive verb:
Ye *tang*.
'He cried.'
Ye *ttewas* imw we.
'The house was destroyed.'

transitive verb:
Ye *iuliumi*.
'He drank it.'
Ye *gangi* seuw mai.
'He ate a breadfruit.'

neutral verb:
Ye *mongo*.
'He ate.'
Ye *mwongo* mai.
'He ate breadfruit.'

Intransitive Verbs

3.7.2 Intransitive verbs in Woleaian are characterized by not taking any object. For example, *Ye lag Tony* 'Tony went' contains the subject of the sentence *Tony*, but there is no object of the verb *lag* 'to go'. The verb *lag* may not take an object under any circumstances, and, therefore, is an intransitive verb. In the sentences *Ye lag Yap* 'He went to Yap' and *Ye buutog me Yap* 'He came from Yap,' *lag* is followed by other words, but these are not objects to which the verb is directed. *Yap* is a noun indicating the location to or from which the action of the verb *lag* is led and is not the object of the verb.

We may subclassify intransitive verbs into a number of groups in view of the different grammatical relations they have with other words, as well as their meanings. The most conspicuous divisions are as follows: **adjective**, **passive**, and **common. Adjective** intransitive verbs (or simply **adjectives**) are those verbs which can modify a noun, as *good* in *the good boy*. Thus, an adjective can function both as a main verb and (secondarily) as a noun modifier, while passive and common intransitive verbs function only as main verbs. For example, the intransitive verb *gach* 'good *or* to be good' is an adjective in that it has the above kind of double function, as in:

as a main verb:	Ye *gach* sar we. 'The boy is good.'
as a modifier:	Sar *gach* we ila lai. 'The good boy is mine.'

In its function as the modifier of a noun, an adjective is placed immediately after the noun, as we see in *sar gach we* 'the good boy'.

The class of adjectives is fairly large. Here are some more examples.

baaliyel	'round' or 'to be round'
bash	'crooked' or 'to be crooked'
bbat	'dry' or 'to be dry'
bboa	'spoiled' or 'to be spoiled'
bbur	'peeled' or 'to be peeled'
lap	'big' or 'to be big'
tottor	'captured' or 'to be captured'

Woleaian and English adjectives are not always in a one-to-one

correspondence. For example, the English word *happy* is an adjective but the corresponding Woleaian word *ker* 'to be happy' is not. *kker* is used only as a main verb, never as a noun modifier. It is, therefore, not an adjective, but a **common** intransitive verb.

Passive intransitive verbs (or **passives**) are characterized by having the suffix *-ag* or *-eg* which provides the co-occurring verb with the 'passive stative' meaning. For example, *baiteg* 'to be (in the state of being) untied' as used in the following example is a passive.

Gelaag laal ye sa *baiteg*.
'The dog over there is untied.'

The number of passives is around forty. These are listed in 4.4.1. From the word-formational point of view, passives are derived from certain transitive verbs with the addition of the suffix *-ag* or *-eg*. For example, *baiteg* is derived from the transitive verb *baisi* 'untie it' plus *-eg* with a slight sound change. (See 4.5.2)

Common intransitive verbs include all the rest, forming the largest class of intransitive verbs. They never function as noun modifiers. Their only function is to serve the main verb of a sentence or clause. For example, *yoor* 'to exist', *toar* 'not to exist', *feita* 'what happened?', *mmwut* 'to vomit', *ttal* 'to dream', *yaleyal* 'to wish', *yog* 'to be possible', *mmwel* 'to be able', *ker* 'to be happy', *ba* 'to appear (from behind)', *bbis* 'to shoot up', *lag* 'to go', *masiur* 'to sleep', *shapp* 'to be capsized', and *tang* 'to cry' are all common intransitive verbs. In the following sentence examples common intransitive verbs are italicized.

Ye shiuwel *yoor* mai?	'Is there still breadfruit?'
Ye *toar* faal.	'There is no reason.'
Go *feita*?	'What happened to you?'
I sa *mmwuta*agili.	'I vomited it.'
Re *yaleyal* yagili.	'They wished for it.'
Ye *yog* be i be gangi.	'I can eat it.'
I *niuniuwan* mmwai.	'I think slowly.'
Ye sa *masiur* sar we.	'The child has been sleeping.'

Neutral Verbs

3.7.3 In English, there is no distinction between the verb *drink* in *I will drink water* and that in *I will drink the water*. In Woleaian, this is not the case. Two related but different verbs are used in such contexts, as noticed in the following examples.

I be *iul* shal.
'I will drink water.'

I be *iuliumi* shal we.
'I will drink the water.'

Here, *iul* is a neutral verb, whereas *iuliumi* 'drink it' is a transitive verb.

A neutral verb can never take an object suffix even though it can take an object noun (e.g., *shal* 'water' in the above example). The object noun may be omitted, as in:

I be *iul*.
'I will drink (something).'

A neutral verb never appears with an object noun that represents a specific object. For example, *shal we* 'the water' represents not any kind of water, but certain specific water that both the speaker and hearer know. Thus, *iul* cannot be used with *shal we*, with which only the transitive verb *iuliumi* is used. As we will see in 6.7, demonstratives such as *we*, *mwu* 'that (close to hearer)', and *laal* 'that over there' carry the meaning of 'specificity'. Therefore, when an object noun is followed by a demonstrative, a neutral verb cannot be used as the main verb.

The following are some of the neutral verbs. The word-formational characteristics of the neutral verbs will be discussed in the following chapter.

chag	'to chase'	fitiyetiy	'to marry'
faiufeiu	'to weave'	mwongo	'to eat'
ffoor	'to make, to do'	piraf	'to steal'
katiu	'to dye'	taiuteiu	'to pull'
laiuleiu	'to deliver babies'		

A majority of neutral verbs have corresponding transitive verbs which are related to them in word-formation. For example, the neutral verb *piraf* 'to steal' has the corresponding transitive verb *pira* 'steal it'. There are a few neutral verbs, however, which have no such formally related transitive verbs. One example is *mwongo* 'to eat'. The transitive counterpart is *gangi* 'eat it', as observed in the following examples.

Re be *mwongo* ig sar kelaal.
'Those children over there will eat fish.'

Re be *gangi* ig ka sar kelaal.
'Those children over there will eat those fish.'

Transitive Verbs

3.7.4 Transitive verbs are those verbs which always take an object suffix when they appear in a sentence. The object noun may be indicated or not in sentences. In either case, the actual object referred to by the transitive verb is specifically envisaged in the mind of the speaker. The sentences in (1) contain an object noun, while those in (2) do not. The italicized words are object nouns.

1. I be iuliumi *liu la.*
   'I will drink that coconut.'

   Ye sa buga *shal we.*
   'She boiled the water.'

   Re shepegi *yaremat laal.*
   'They kicked that man over there.'

2. I be iuliumi.
   'I will drink it.'

   Ye sa buga.
   'She boiled it.'

   Re shepegiyei.
   'They kicked me.'

   Go fiteey?
   'What did you do with it?'

In the above example sentences, *iuliumi*, *buga*, *shepegi*, and *fiteey* are transitive verbs followed by an object suffix. The full paradigm of the object suffixes is presented in 4.2.2. If we leave out the object suffix, we get the stem of each transitive verb. But remember that such stems do not appear by themselves in sentences. In the following transitive verb stems, the hyphen (-) indicates that the stems are bound, i.e., do not occur without an object suffix.

bug-	'boil'	giul-	'know'
fitee-	'do what with?'	li-	'kill'
gachiu-	'like'	sorom-	'suck'
gatewas-	'break, destroy'	shepeg-	'kick'
giutiuf-	'spit on'	taling-	'hear'

Most of the transitive verbs may take one object noun, but there are a few transitive verbs which may take two objects, i.e., **indirect** and **direct**. The object suffix in such verbs indicates the indirect object. Such verbs are similar to English dative verbs like *give*, as in *I gave him a book*, where *him* is the indirect object and *a book* is the direct object of the verb. The two-object transitive

verbs that are found include *gaaiu-* 'tell', *ganee-*' 'give', and *gassiy-* 'ask'. Sentence examples follow.

Gaaiu*wei* [mele ye ta mmwel].
IO DO
'Tell me what is wrong.'

Ye ganee*r sar mwal kawe* [ig we].
IO DO
'He gave the boys the fish.'

I gassiyaa*r sar kawe* [seuw gassi].
IO DO
'I asked the boys a question.'

In these examples, IO stands for an indirect object and DO, a direct object.

Transitive verbs may be divided into a number of different groups according to how they are formed. This will be dealt with in 4.4.3 and 4.5.

NUMERALS

3.8 In 3.5.3, it was stated that Woleaian has enumerative counters which are used to count things in sequence like 'one, two, three . . .' in English. Enumerative counters are not used in sentences. On the other hand, Woleaian has the class of words which are different from enumerative counters in that they are used in sentences and they must be followed by a classifier noun (3.5.2). Such words are called **numerals**. There are ten numerals as follows:

numerals	*enumerative counters* (fast counting)	
se-	yet	'one'
riuwa-	riuw	'two'
seli-	yel	'three'
faa-	fang	'four'
lima-	lim	'five'
wolo-	wol	'six'
fisi-	fis	'seven'
wali-	wal	'eight'
tiwa-	tiw	'nine'
fita-	—	'how many?' or 'a few'

The numerals *riuwa-*, *lima-*, *tiwa-*, and *fita-* have alternant forms

riuwe- or *ruwo-*, *lime-* or *limo-*, *tiwe-* or *tiwo-*, and *fite* or *fito-* respectively. That is, the final vowel *-e* appears when the following vowel (in the classifier noun) is a high vowel or *a*, as in *riuweig* 'twenty' and *riuwemal* 'two animates'. The final vowel *-o* appears when the following vowel is *u* or *o*, as in *limouw* 'five general objects'.

Using the numeral classifier noun *-mal* (or its alternant *-mel*) as an example, we can derive the following set of numeral compounds.

semal	'one animate'
riuwemal	'two animates'
selimel	'three animates'
faamal	'four animates'
limemal *or more naturally* limmal	'five animates'
wolomal	'six animates'
fisimel	'seven animates'
walimel	'eight animates'
tiwemal	'nine animates'

The numbers above nine are derived from these nine numerals with the addition of numeral classifiers and *me* 'and' in the following way, again using *-mal* or *-mel* as an example.

seig	'ten'
seig me semal	'eleven animates'
seig me riuwemal	'twelve animates'
seig me tiwemal	'nineteen animates'
riuweig	'twenty'
riuweig me semal	'twenty-one animates'
tiweig	'ninety'
sebiugiuw	'one hundred'
sebiugiuw me semal	'one hundred and one animates'
sebiugiuw me seig me semal	'one hundred and eleven animates'
sangeras	'one thousand'
sangeras me tiwebiugiuw me fisiig me selimal	'1973 animates'
sen	'ten thousand'
riuwan me riuwangeras me faaig me selimal	'22,043 animates'
selob	'100,000'
sepiy	'1,000,000'
sengit	'10,000,000'
sangerai	'100,000,000'

Notice that whenever a digital classifier (e.g., *-ig*, *-biugiuw*, *-ngeras* or *-n*) follows a numeral, the other kind of classifier (*-mal* or *-mel* in the above examples) is not allowed.

Fita, *fite-*, or *fito* is included in the class of numerals, in that it behaves in a way similar to the other numerals in phrases and sentences. It has two meanings 'how many?' and 'a few'.

*fite*mal yaremat 'how many people?' or 'a few people'
*fita*gofet mai 'how many pieces of breadfruit?' or 'a few pieces of breadfruit'
*fite*ig 'how many tens?' or 'a few tens'
*Fito*uw mele go weri? 'How many did you see?'
I weri *fite*mal sar shoabut. 'I saw a few girls.'
Ye sa *fito*uw klok? 'What time is it?'

DEMONSTRATIVES

3.9 The main function of a demonstrative is to point out the one (singular) or more (plural) things referred to and distinguish them from other things of the same meaning class. For example, the demonstratives *ye* 'this' and *ka* 'these' in *imw ye* 'this house' and *imw ka* 'these houses' indicate that the speaker is referring to certain specific house and houses near him, and not to any house or houses.

A demonstrative always follows the noun it modifies. If there is an adjective which also modifies the noun, the demonstrative follows the adjective, as in *imw gach ka* 'these good houses'.

A demonstrative specifies the following meanings:

(1) Singular or plural. There is no formal marker for singular number, while plural number is marked by *ka* (or *ke* which appears before the low vowel *a*).

singular: imw laal 'that house over there'
plural: imw *ke*laal 'those houses over there'

(2) Location in relation to the speaker and hearer. The specification of the location of the thing(s) referred to is made by a demonstrative. There are five different forms used for this purpose, and these are the core elements in demonstratives.

ye	'this (near speaker)'
mwu	'that (near hearer)'
la	'that (near hearer or away from both speaker and hearer)'

we	'that (unseen, but in the minds of speaker and hearer)'
fa	'which? (asking for the location)'

Ye 'this' is omitted if it is pluralized, i.e., preceded by *ka*, as in *imw ka* 'these houses'. *Ye*, *mwu*, and *la* refer to the object(s) which are visible by both the speaker and hearer, whereas *we* and *fa* carry the meaning that the object(s) are not visible, at least by the speaker. Thus, for example, when the speaker says *imw la* 'that house (near you)' he assumes that the house is visible by the hearer as well as by himself. When the speaker says *imw we* 'that house (we are talking about)', he assumes that the house is not visible. *La* has two meanings, 'near hearer' and 'away from both speaker and hearer'. Which meaning it takes in each case depends on whether the location emphatic suffix *-l* (see below) follows or not. If it does not follow *la*, *la* always means 'near hearer', while if it does, *la* always means 'away from speaker and hearer'.

imw *la*	'that house (near you)'
imw *laal*	'that house over there'

Both *mwu* and *la* have the meaning of 'near hearer'. The only difference is that *mwu* is used when the object is to be pointed (or selected among others), which is not the case with *la*.

imw *mwu*	'that house near you (pointing, among a few houses)'
imw *la*	'that house near you (there is only one house near the hearer)'

(3) Emphasis of location. In addition to the above, Woleaian has a device to emphasize the location of the object by means of a demonstrative. Two suffixes are used for this purpose. The suffix *-l* may be attached to *ye*, *mwu*, *la* and their plural forms, specifying the location emphatically. It never appears after *we* and *fa*.

imw yee*l*	'this house *here*'
imw mwuu*l*	'that house (near you) *there*'
imw kelaa*l*	'those houses *over there*'

Notice that before *-l* the vowel is lengthened. Notice further that *laal* (= *la* + *-l*) has the meaning of 'away from both speaker and hearer', as mentioned above. The other suffix *-iy* may be attached only to *ye* 'this' and *ka* 'these', indicating that the speaker is located inside the object referred to, as in *imw yeiy* 'this house (in which I am)'.

The above three categories—number, location in relation to the speaker and hearer, and location emphasis—are linked in that order in a demonstrative. Observe the following examples.

imw kamwuul	(= ka (plural) + mwu 'that near you' + -l 'there') 'those houses there near you (pointing)'
imw kaiy	(= ka (plural) + zero 'this near me' + -iy 'I am in') 'these houses among which I am located)'
imw kawe	(= ka (plural) + we 'that we are talking about') 'those houses we are talking about'
imw kefa	(= ke (plural) + fa 'which?') 'which houses?'

Table 5 contains all the Woleaian demonstratives.

Table 5. Woleaian Demonstratives

Location in relation to speaker & hearer	Location emphasis	Number	
		Singular	Plural
Close to speaker	non-emphasis	ye 'this'	ka 'these'
	emphasis	yeel 'this here'	kaal 'these here'
	emphasis	yeiy 'this in which I am'	kaiy 'these in which I am'
Close to hearer	non-emphasis	mwu 'that (pointing)'	kamwu 'those (pointing)'
	emphasis	mwuul 'that there (pointing)'	kamwuul 'those there (pointing)'
	non-emphasis	la 'that'	kela 'those'
Away from speaker & hearer	emphasis	laal 'that over there'	kelaal 'those over there'
In minds of speaker & hearer	—	we 'that'	kawe 'those'
Question	—	fa 'which?'	kefa 'which?'

See 6.7 for the grammatical functions of demonstratives and their various meanings covering both time and space.

ASPECTS

3.10 In grammar, the term **aspect** is used to refer to the nature of the action of a verb as to its beginning, completion, duration, or repetition. In Woleaian, there is a group of words which show such aspectual features and which have their unique grammatical rules. Such words are called **aspects**. One typical grammatical rule is that they appear only in the position right after a subjective (e.g., *i* 'I' *go* 'you', *ye* 'he, she, it', *si* 'we (inclusive), or *re* 'they'). In the following sentences, the italicized words are examples of aspects.

I *bel* mwongo.
'I *am ready* to eat.'

Ye *sa* mwongo.
'He *has* eaten.'

Ye *tewai* yog be go *be* ser.
'You cannot tell.'
(Lit. It *will not* be possible that you *will* tell.)

Aspects are divided into positive and negative. In the above examples, *bel*, *sa* and *be* are positive aspects, while *tewai* is a negative aspect. The following list includes all the Woleaian aspects.

positive aspects

sa *or* ya (completed action *or* durative state)
be (prospective action, i.e., action that will begin)
bel (immediate future, i.e., action about to begin)

negative aspects

ta *or* te 'not'
tai *or* tei 'not'
taai 'no longer'
teit 'not yet'
tewai 'will not'
tewaai 'will no longer'
tewait 'will not yet'
te '(so that) may not'

Sa and *ya* (*ya* appears only after the subjective *si* 'we (inclusive)'

and *sa* elsewhere) indicate not only completed action but also durative state, as illustrated below.

Ye *sa* lag.
'He has gone.'

Ye *sa* mas.
'He is dead.'

Si *ya* pechaaiu.
'We are hungry.'

Furthermore, these aspects are used to express command or a proposal, in which case the action has already begun in the speaker's imagination.

Go *sa* lag.
'Go away.'

Si *ya* lag.
'Let's go.'

Be and *bel* differ in terms of immediateness. When *be* is used, the action or state will happen sometime in the future, whereas *bel* implies that the action or state will take place right away. *Bel* consists of *be* followed by the suffix *-l* which has the meaning of immediateness.

I *be* mwongo.
'I will eat (later).'

I *bel* mwongo.
'I am ready to eat.'

All the negative aspects have *ta* or *te* as the first sounds, which fact implies that either *ta* and *te* or *t* seem to carry the negative meaning. Furthermore, *wa* as in *tewai* 'will not' seems to mean future, while *it* as in *teit* 'not yet' and *tewait* 'will not yet' carries the meaning of 'yet,' and the long *a* in *taai* 'no longer' and *tewaai* 'will no longer' carries the meaning of 'any longer'. Although the negative aspects may be analyzed in the above way, they occur in fact as inseparable units.

Strictly speaking *ta* (or *te* which appears before *a* or between high vowels) with the meaning 'not' and *tai* (or *tei* which appears after a high vowel) do not indicate an aspectual phenomenon, but they are treated as aspects because they function grammatically in the same way as the other aspects. Some verbs appear only with *ta* or *te* (e.g., *guila* 'to know'), others only with *tai* or *tei* (e.g., *nar* 'to taste'), and still others with both of them. In the first two cases,

the meaning difference between the two aspects cannot be detected, but in the last case, that is, when both may appear before the same verb, the meaning difference is rather clear. *ta* or *te* has a general meaning and a prolongation of action, while *tai* or *tei* has more specific, emphasized or instantaneous meaning. Since the latter has emphatic meaning, it carries contrastive meaning too.

1. Ye *ta* mett.
   'It is not well cooked.'

   Ye *tai* mett.
   'It never gets cooked.'

2. I *ta* log igeiy lalow.
   'I wasn't here yesterday.'

   I *tei* log igeiy lalow.
   'This was not the place where I was yesterday (but somewhere else).'

Taai 'no longer' implies that an event which has taken place will not occur any longer, while *teit* 'not yet' implies that an event is expected to happen in the future.

Re *taai* masiur.
'They don't sleep any longer.'

Go *taai* sensei igela.
'You are no longer a teacher now.'

Ye *teit* mat.
'He has not been full yet.'

I *teit* weri shag. 'I didn't see him yet.'

Tewai 'will not' is the negative counterpart of *be* 'will'.

I *tewai* sig iyang.
'I won't be mad at it.'

Gai *tewai* mwaliyeliy.
'You guys, be quiet.'

Tewaai 'will no longer' and *tewait* 'will not yet' are the prospective counterparts respectively of *taai* 'no longer' and *teit* 'not yet'.

Gai *tewaai* kaalebusaag.
'We will no longer detain you.'

Si *tewaai* bal foori yengaang we.
'We (incl.) will no longer do the work again.'

Ye *tewait* foori.
'He will not make it yet.'

Te '(so that) may not' is a kind of hypothetical or mild negation, appearing only in subordinate clauses, **imperative** (or command) sentences, or **exclamatory** sentences, as illustrated below.

Go sa mwal be ye te werig.
'Hide so that she may not see you.'

Go te liiy sar la!
'Don't hit that child!'

For detailed uses and grammatical relations of aspects, see 7.2.

ADVERBS

3.11 Adverbs are a set of words that typically serve as modifiers of a word (mostly verbs, but occasionally nouns and pronouns), a clause, or a sentence, and express manner, emphasis, degree, affirmation, denial, doubt, or exclamation. In general, adverbs are subgrouped into word modifiers (e.g., *gal* 'usually', *shag*, 'just', *mmwai* 'slowly') and clause or sentence modifiers (e.g., *gare* 'by any chance, right?'). Word modifiers are further subdivided into those appearing only before the word they modify (e.g., *gal* 'usually') and those appearing only after it (e.g., *shag* 'just, still', and *mmwai* 'slowly'). In the following sentences, the adverbs are italicized. Notice the position of each adverb in relation to the verb in the first three sentences, and further notice the function of *gare* in the fourth sentence where it modifies a whole clause (*ye bel buutog*).

Ye sa *gal* buutog.
V
'He has started to come (regularly).'

Ye mwongo *shag*.
V
'He still eats.'

I niuniuwan *mmwai*.
V
'I think slowly.'

Gare ye bel buutog, ila nge i tewai lag.
'If (by any chance) he comes, I won't go.'

A word-modifying adverb which appears before the word it modifies must be placed immediately before that word. Thus, observe the following example where the adverb *bal* 'also'

immediately precedes the word *rig* 'to run' and the aspect *be* 'will' comes before the adverb.

Ye be *bal* rig.
'He will also run.'

The adverbs that appear only before the modified word include the following.

bal	'also, again, only'
fai	'almost, mostly'
far	'rather'
ga	'each'
gal (*or* ga)	'usually, habitually, repeatedly'
mwaash	'finally, eventually'
sar	'somewhat, a little'
tau	'readily, always, frequently'
te	'indeed, very, extremely (appears in exclamatory sentences)'

The uses of the above adverbs will be discussed in 7.3.

Word-modifying adverbs which appear after the modified word are of two kinds, **particle adverbs** and **non-particle adverbs**. Particle adverbs, whose only grammatical function is as adverb, never allow any suffix to be attached to them. There are only two members in this group.

shag	'just'
mwo	'even, indeed, ever, for a moment, in the first place'

Non-particle adverbs either allow attachment of an object suffix, or are derived from other parts of speech such as verbs or nouns, or both. Examples follow.

fengal *or* fengan	'together (fe- 'mutual' + ngal 'to')'
fetang	'away from each other (fe- + tang 'away from')'
fetal	'around'
ffeo	'newly' (from the verb *ffeo* 'to be new')
gach	'well, very' (from the verb *gach* 'to be good')
gemas	'very, indeed, extremely'
mmwai	'slowly' (from the verb *mmwai* 'to be slow')
ppag	'evenly (from the verb *ppag* 'to be even')
ppas	'compactly' (from the verb *ppas* 'to be compact')

sekiut	'a little' (from the numeral compound *sekiut* 'a little, a few')
seuw	'together' (from the numeral compound *seuw* 'one general object')
ttaaw	'far' (from the verb *ttaaw* 'to be far')

Examples in which a non-particle adverb has an object suffix follow.

I weri ppagiur lag.
them
'I saw all of them.'

Re tai gal gashewera fetaleer?
it
'Don't they carry it around?'

A non-particle adverb always immediately follows the word it modifies. If, therefore, a non-particle adverb appears with a particle adverb or a directional, it necessarily precedes them, as in the following examples:

Ye gal wel *ffeo* shag?
part. ADV
'Does it change newly?'

Piipi *gachiuw* mwo.
part. ADV
'Look at it well.'

Ye yaf *ttaaw* lag.
DIR
'He swam far away.'

Re sa gebbarog *gemas* tiw.
DIR
'They bowed deeply downward.'

If a particle adverb and a directional occur together, the fomer must follow the latter. Thus, observe the order of words in the following example.

Re rig *ppag tag shag*.
non-part. DIR part.
ADV ADV
'They ran up at the same time.'

Further discussion of the adverbs appearing after the word modified will be presented in 7.3.3 and 7.3.4.

Clause or sentence adverbs include such words as the following.

gare	'by any chance, right?'
geraamwo	'even, indeed'
mali	'maybe, perhaps, probably'
ngoa	'Yes'
yeeb	'No'
yak	'Oh!'
yok	'Oops!'

All the above adverbs appear in a clause or sentence initial position except *gare* which may occur both in the initial and final position. When *gare* appears initially, it has the meaning 'by any chance, if', but when it occurs finally it means 'right?, is that so?' All the above adverbs may appear independently without being part of any sentence. Some examples follow.

Gare ye be buutog, nge i tewai lag.
'If (by any chance) he comes, I won't go.'

Go sa mwongo, *gare*?
'You have eaten, haven't you?'

Geraamwo, i tai foori.
'I don't have to do it.'

Mali, ye be piung goshou laiu.
'Maybe, it will rain tomorrow.'

Ngoa, i be lag.
'Yes. I will go.'

Yeeb, i tewai lag.
'No. I won't go.'

Yak! Go feita?
'Oh! What's wrong with you?'

Yok! Mwarei.
'Oh! My dear.'

Except for the non-particle adverbs mentioned above, all adverbs are particles in that no affix of any kind is allowed to be attached.

DIRECTIONALS

3.12 Directionals consist of a set of six words which, in principle, indicate the direction of the action of the word (mostly verbs) they modify. The six directionals are the following.

tog	'here, to the speaker'

lag	'there, away'
tag	'up, to the east'
tiw	'down, to the west'
long	'into, to the inland'
waiu (*or* weiu)	'out, to the outside, to the seaward'

A directional refers basically to spatial direction, but also occasionally to temporal or psychological direction. The following examples illustrate this.

spatial direction:

Ye rig *lag*.
'He ran away.'

Bii*tiw* ni gapilamw.
'Go westward to the village.'

John ye too*long* lan ruumw we.
'John entered the room.'

I giula be ye toar le ye be buu*weiu* igeiy.
'I know that no one would come out here.'

temporal direction:

rag ye *tog* 'next year'
rag ye *lag* 'last year'

psychological direction:

Ye sa yaai *lag*.
'It has become mine.'

Paangal *lag* yaremat nge re sa mas.
'Everybody died.'

Ye shap *tag* yaal tang iga ye weriyei.
'She began to cry as soon as she saw me.'

I ligiti *tiw* selibiugiuw toala reel.
'I left 300 dollars to him.'

As noticed in the above examples, the position of a directional is after the word it modifies. If there is a non-particle adverb which co-occurs, the directional is placed after it, but it always precedes a particle adverb.

Re tewai naamw *tog* mwo.
part.
ADV
'They definitely won't come.'

Re rig seuw *tog* shag.
non- part. part. ADV ADV
'They came running altogether.'

The same form as the directional *lag* is used as the intransitive verb with the meaning 'to go'. The verb *lag* has its contracted form *la* which appears before another verb.

Ye *lag*.
'He went.'

Ye sa *la* fita.
'He went fishing.'

The directional *tag* seems to be related etymologically to *tega-* 'rising' in such words as the following.

tegal Bbiu 'rising of the Crux star'
tegal Metariuw 'rising of the Scorpii star'

The initial *l*'s of *lag* and *long* undergo a sound change if they follow a word ending in *l*. That is, two *l*'s go to *n*, as in:

Ye sa *minag* (+ mil 'to live' + lag 'away') woal Yap.
'He has been living on Yap so far.'

Movement along geographical directions is indicated by means of a verb of movement followed by a directional. This is illustrated in Figure 3. The movement verb *bii-* 'to come, to go, to move' is used as an example.

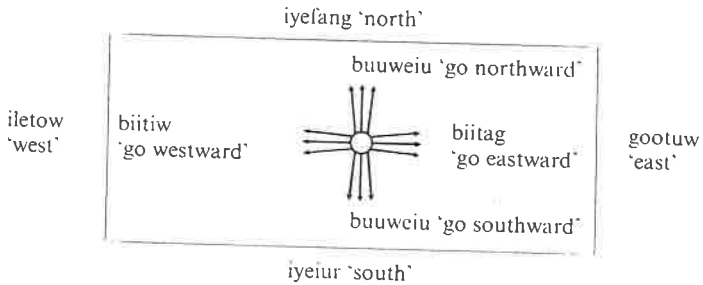


Fig. 3. Directional Movement

Although directionals are basically independent words, they sometimes enter into compounds with other words, as noticed in the following examples.

gatoo*waiuw* 'make him walk out'
gabuu*tog*oor 'make them come here'
gabuu*long*oow 'bring him in'
buu*tog*oi 'my coming'
too*waiul* 'its result, its outcome'
rigi*tog*ol semal gelaag 'a dog's running this way'
gabuu*tog*owai 'make me come'
ge*tage*fius 'learning about rising stars'

Individual uses of directionals will be discussed in 7.4.

SUBJECTIVES

3.13 The basic function of a subjective is to represent the person and number of the subject noun or pronoun in a **predicative sentence** (a sentence where a verb appears), relating that subject to the main verb. In the following sentence, for example, the subjective *re* represents the third person plural number of the subject *sar kelaal* 'those children over there'.

Sar kelaai *re* sa tangiteng.
'Those children over there cried and cried.'

We may call *sar kelaal* a **real subject** and *re* a **grammatical subject**, because it is *sar kelaal* that the speaker actually refers to in the speech situation and it is *re* that is closely related with the verb *tangiteng*. The real subject is only indirectly related to the verb by way of the grammatical subject.

When the real subject is a personal pronoun, it is omitted unless it has to be emphasized. Compare the two sentences below.

Ye sa lag. 'He went.'
(The real subject *iiy* 'he' is omitted.)

Iiy (mele) *ye* sa lag. 'He is the one who went.'
(Both *iiy* and the subjective *ye* 'he' appear.)

A subjective never appears in an **equational sentence** (a sentence where there is no main verb). In the following sentence, for example, *sar kelaal* is the (real) subject of the sentence, but no subjective is allowed, because there is no verb to which a subjective is related. Thus, a subjective is necessary only in a predicative sentence.

Saril skuul sar kelaal.
'Those children over there are students.'

Just as we have seven personal pronouns, we have seven subjectives.

Subjective	*Meaning*	*Person*	*Number*	*Corresponding personal pronouns*
i	'I'	1st	sing.	gaang
go	'you'	2nd	sing.	geel
ye	'he, she it'	3rd	sing.	iiy
si	we (incl.)'	1st	pl. (incl.)	giish
gai	'we (excl.)'	1st	pl. (excl.)	gaamam
gai	'you'	2nd	pl.	gaami
re	'they'	3rd	pl.	iir

As mentioned above, the third person singular *ye* and the plural *re* may appear with either a noun subject or pronoun subject, representing its person and number. However, the first and second person subjectives cannot represent a noun, because any noun must necessarily be a third person. The only real subjects that are allowed to occur with a first or second person subjective are corresponding personal pronouns, as illustrated below.

Gaang i bel yaf.
'*I* am ready to swim.' or 'I am the one who is ready to swim.'

Giish ila si shepar ngalig.
'As for us (incl.), we trust you.'

Both personal pronouns and subjectives indicate only person and number, but their differences are obvious. Personal pronouns go with all the nouns in functioning as real subjects. They are never directly related with the main verb, as we have observed above.

The subjective always takes the position immediately before a verb phrase. Except in command sentences, a subjective must appear whenever a main verb does.

This topic will be discussed further in 5.2.3.

PREPOSITIONS

3.14 Prepositions are those words that combine with a noun, pronoun, or noun equivalent to form a phrase that typically has an **adjunct** relation (chapter 8) to the main functional parts (such as the subject, main verb, object) of a sentence. A preposition must

immediately precede the word it occurs with, and that word is called the **object** of the preposition. For example, the italicized words in the following are prepositions and the immediately following words are their objects. Together (i.e., a preposition + its object), they constitute an adjunct of each sentence.

Go buutog *me* iiya?
'Where did you come from?'

Ye chuwaaiiy imw we *be* imwei.
'He bought the house for me.'

Go sa weri *ngali* metamw?
'Did you see it with your own eyes?'

Occasionally, the object of a preposition is itself a phrase, i.e., consisting of more than a word. The italicized noun phrase in the following sentence is an example.

Ye gach me *reer semweiu.*
'That was amusing to some people.'

There are two prepositions proper and three prepositions that **inflect** exactly like transitive verbs. The first set may be called **particle prepositions** and the second **inflectional prepositions.** In spite of the formal difference, both sets may be placed under one part of speech in view of the common grammatical function they share.

particle prepositions:

me 'from, to, at'
be 'as'

inflectional prepositions:

ngali 'to, with, for'
tangi 'away from'
yagili *or* agili 'with, for'

Me indicates the point of location where an action or state occurs. Thus, the object of *me* must have locative meaning. Observe the italicized words which are objects of *me* and notice that they all indicate certain location.

I kabiung me *skuul.*
'I study at school.'

Ye sa tefaal me *spitaal.*
'He came back from the hospital.'

I meyaafi yaal rig weiu tal we me *lan pai*.
'I felt the rope slipping off (the inside of) my hand.'

Iiy ye gach me *imwowai*.
'He is better than I.'
(Lit. he is good from my front.)

Sar mwal we ye shuungiir me *igeiy*.
'The boy met them here.'

The word *be* is used both as a preposition and as a conjunction (3.15), in that it may precede a noun, pronoun, or noun equivalent as well as a clause. When it precedes a clause, it is a conjunction. Its use as a preposition is illustrated below.

Ye sa gattewa lag *be* mwusoa.
'It has been hatched as a hookworm.'

Be metta go giula iyang?
'How do you know about it?'

I faseng ngali *be* silei.
'I called her (as) my mother.'

The three inflectional prepositions are always accompanied by an object suffix just in the same way as transitive verbs. However, none of these prepositions function like a verb in any case. If the object of an inflectional preposition is a personal pronoun, it is always omitted. In the following, (1) illustrates the case in which the object of a preposition shows up and (2) illustrates the case in which it is omitted because it is a personal pronoun.

1. Ye tti *ngali ug paarang*.
'It is enclosed with a wire screen.'

I gaiu *ngali John* be ye be lag.
'I told (to) John to go.'

I mmwai *ngali giubiul we*.
'I was late to the dinner.'

Re mas *tangi sar kawe selimel ikawe wenaiur*.
'They died leaving behind (*or* away from) three children of theirs.'

Ye toulap *tangi* 1,000.
'It's more than a thousand.'

John ye ker be ye ttir *tangi Bill*.
'John prided himself on being faster than Bill.'

Ye mmwuta*agili metta*?
'What did he vomit?'

Rig *yagiliir lag sar kela.*
'Run away with those children.'

2. Ye sa gasiu *ngalig* seuw imw gach?
'Did he build a good house for you?'

Ye nngaw *ngaliir.*
'He is brutal to them.'

I sa shepar *ngalig.*
'I trust (to) you.'

Toagota mele ye gaweri *ngaliyei.*
'The doctor showed it to me.'

Rig *tangi.*
'Run away from him.'

Ruwouw rag yaamw tugofaiy *tangiyei.*
'You are two years older than I.'

I sa ker *yagilig.*
'I am proud of (*or* with) you.'

Teo *yagili* tog.
'Crawl here with it.'

The preposition *yagili* has an alternant form, *agili*, which appears only after a word which ends in a voiceless vowel [ẹ]. For example, *mmwut* 'to vomit' ends in that voiceless vowel and, therefore, *agili* appears after it.

The grammatical functions and various uses of prepositions will be discussed further in chapter 8 (Adjuncts).

CONJUNCTIONS

3.15 Conjunctions are the particles that join together words, phrases, or clauses within a sentence. Each conjunction has its own dictionary meaning. The italicized words in the following example sentences are Woleaian conjunctions. Corresponding English words are also italicized.

Re yengaang fengan mwal laal *me* shoabut yeel.
'The man over there *and* this lady here work together.'

Iiy ye kail *nge* ye gach me imwowai.
'He is strong *and* he is better than I.'

Iiy *gare* gaang mele ye be lag.
'He *or* I have to go.'

Ye toar *le* ye liuwaneey *be* John ye be nngaw.
'There was none *who* expected *that* John would be so cruel.'

As with prepositions, the class of conjunctions does not have many members. The following are about all that are found.

me	'and'
nge	'and, but, then'
gare	'or, whether'
ye	'and so'
le	'that'
be	'that, because, so that'
bon	'because'

The conjunction *me* joins nouns, pronouns or noun phrases. It rarely joins clauses (see 9.3). This is a basic difference from *nge* which rarely joins nouns, pronouns or noun phrases, but mainly joins clauses. Here are examples of *me*.

Gai bisibis shag *me* iiy.
'He and I are just brothers.'

Re mil woal mengaag bbel *me* woal giyegiy bbel.
'They are on dirty clothes and on dirty mats.'

Semal *me* semal nge ye sa ker.
'Everybody is happy.'

Seliig *me* faamal gelaag re mas.
'Thirty-four dogs died.'

For more on the conjunction *me*, see 6.3 and 6.9.

The conjunction *gare* joins not only words and phrases, but also clauses. In addition to the use as a conjunction, it is also an adverb (with the meaning 'by any chance') when placed in the initial position of a sentence. Its use as a conjunction is illustrated below.

joining of words/phrases:

Ulithi ila seliig *gare* meta faliuwal.
'Ulithi consists of thirty or some islands.'

joining of clauses:

Iiy mele ye sa mas *gare* mela temal mele ye sa temwaaiu.
'Either he died or his father is sick.'

Si be piipiiy *gare* yoar mwusoa reemw.
'Let's see if you have worms.'

For more on the conjunction *gare*, see 6.3 and 9.3.

All the other conjunctions but *me* and *gare* are used exclu-

sively to join clauses. Occasionally, the conjunctions *nge* and *ye* join a word or phrase and a clause as we will see below.

Ye be buutog *nge* i be lag.
'He will come and (*or* but) I will go.' or 'If he comes, then I will go.'

Twenty minit *nge* ruiwemal mele ye sub.
'In twenty minutes, two (animates) were born.'

Iwe shag *nge* ye ffas iiy Genaiuliwish.
'And then Genaiuliwish laughed.'

Paangal yaremat *nge* re tang shag.
'All the people cried.' (Lit. all the people and they cried.)

Re sa la fita fita *ye* re sa tefaal tog igela.
'They fished and fished and then they came back now.'

Yoor pilaal ngali John *le* go be ttir tog.
'It is important to John that you are here on time.'

Ye tiwegili *le* John ye tewai buutog.
'I believe that John won't come.'

I tai tipeli John *be* ye be iul gashi.
'I don't want John to drink alcoholic beverage.'

Ye gagila *be* ye be rig lag.
'He tried to escape.' (Lit. he tried so that he will escape.)

I log shag niimw *be* i bal temwaaiu.
'I stayed home because I was also sick.'

I tewai lag fita *bon* i temwaaiu.
'I won't go fishing because I am sick.'

For more on the above conjunctions, see 9.3.

4 Word Formation

MECHANISMS OF WORD FORMATION

4.1

Stem, Derivation and Inflection

4.1.1 In the preceding chapter, we classified all Woleaian words into eleven parts of speech according to their grammatical functions in sentences. In the Woleaian dictionary, each word is assigned to a particular part of speech. We have also divided words into two kinds, full words and particles. Particles are those single meaningful units or morphemes which do not allow any affix to be attached. All the others are full words.

In this chapter, we will see the shapes of full words, discussing the patterns of word-formation in Woleaian. As a first step, it will be necessary to observe what kinds of mechanisms are involved in the formation of full words.

A full word in Woleaian may consist of as many as three layers. The inner most layer is called the **stem**. This layer carries the most fundamental meaning of a word. All words must have a stem, but may not have the other layers. Particles (e.g., *me* 'and', *re* 'they') consist only of a stem. Full words including *imw* 'house', *mwal* 'man', and *rig* 'to run' also consist only of a stem.

A stem may be simple or complex. A simple stem consists of only one morpheme, while a complex stem contains more than one morpheme of about equal importance in meaning and grammatical function. For example, the word *mwalelepai* 'my uncle' contains a complex stem, *mwalelap* 'uncle', which is analyzed into two equally important morphemes *mwal* 'male' and *lap* 'big'. The combination of two morphemes to form a stem is called **compounding**. Thus, *mwal* and *lap* are compounded to

form a complex stem in the word *mwalelepai*. More examples of compounding will be given shortly.

Centering around the layer of stem comes the next layer, that of **derivation**. Derivation is a mechanism by which one word is derived from another with the attachment of an **affix**, either a **prefix** or a **suffix**. For example, *re-* in the word *resaapaan* 'Japanese people' is a prefix of the derived word (*re-* 'people' + *Saapaan* 'Japan'), while *-li* is a suffix in the word *laiuliyei* 'have me as a child' (*laiu* 'child' + *-li* 'to own' + *yei* 'me'). Both *re-* and *-li* may be called **derivational affixes**, in that they fill the layer of derivation of the respective words.

A derived word may belong to a part of speech (or a subclass of a part of speech) different from the word from which it is derived. For example, *Saapaan* is a proper noun, but *resaapaan* 'Japanese people' is a common noun. *Laiu* 'child' is a noun, but *laiuli* 'have (him) as a child' is a transitive verb.

All derivational affixes carry some kind of unique dictionary meaning, as in the case of *re-* 'people' and *-li* 'to own'.

In general, derived words are entered in the dictionary along with the words from which they are derived. Thus, for example, both *Saapaan* and *resaapaan* are entered in the dictionary.

The above-mentioned characteristics of derived words are not shared by inflected words to be discussed below.

The outmost layer of a word is that of **inflection.** As in the case of derivation, inflection is also a mechanism which uses a prefix or a suffix to get an inflected word. However, there are certain fundamental differences between an inflected word and a derived word, in addition to the difference in layers. In the first place, an inflected word belongs to exactly the same part of speech (or subclass of a part of speech) as the corresponding non-inflected word. For example, the inflected word *laiuliyei* 'have me as a child' (here *-yei* 'me' is an **inflectional suffix**) and the non-inflected *laiuli* 'have (him) as a child' belong to the same part of speech, a transitive verb.

Secondly, all inflectional affixes (e.g., *-yei* 'me', *-i* 'my', *ka-*(plural)) have only such grammatical meanings as person, number, or progression of action. Finally, inflected words do not, in general, appear in a dictionary, because their formation is predictable. For example, the inflected word *mwalelepai* 'my uncle' (here *-i* 'my' is an inflectional suffix) is not entered in a dictionary but only its non-inflected form *mwalelap* 'uncle' is.

Compounding, Affixation, and Reduplication

4.1.2 The three layers of a word are filled in with appropriate morphemes by way of the two word-formational processes, **compounding** and **affixation.** As mentioned earlier, compounding is a process that uses two or more simple stems to form a new complex stem (e. g., *mwalelap* 'uncle' and *bisibis* 'to be in brother relation'). Affixation is a process that attaches an affix (a prefix or a suffix) to a stem (e. g., *mwalelepai* 'my uncle' and *chechal* 'to water' (from *shal* 'water')).

As a subtype of both compounding and affixation, we have a productive process called **reduplication**. Reduplication is a particular type of word-formational process whereby the whole or part of a single stem is repeated in the same word. This is one of the most common ways of extending vocabulary in Woleaian as well as in other Oceanic languages. Reduplication is of two types: **compound** and **affixal**.

Compound reduplication is the name given when the entire stem is repeated, forming a new complex stem. A great many words belong to this group. Examples follow.

Simple stem		*Complex stem*	
bat	'shallow, deaf'	batebat	'thirsty'
bis	'brother'	bisibis	'to be in brother relation'
rong	'hearsay, tradition'	rongorong	'to hear'
tii (-ngi)	'push (it)'	tiiti	'to push'
shiu	'bone'	shiushiu	'bony'

The following examples are also considered to belong to compound reduplication, although the final reduplicated vowels are voiceless and thus not spelled below.

Simple stem		*Complex stem*	
fi (-ti)	'tie (it)'	fiif	'to tie'
giu (-w)	'bite (it)'	giug	'to bite'
na (-ri)	'taste (it)'	nan	'to taste'
ngiu (-ti)	'chew (it)'	ngiung	'to chew'
ti (-gi)	'sew (it)'	tiit	'to sew'

Compound reduplication is limited to simple syllable stems of the above kind, but not all simple syllable stems are subject to compound reduplication, as we will see shortly with regard to affixal reduplication.

Affixal reduplication may be divided into the following three types on the basis of where the reduplication takes place in a word and how many vowels of a word are reduplicated.

(1) reduplication of the final part including one voiced vowel and one voiceless vowel:

Stem		*Reduplicated word*	
maliuw	'loose'	maliuweliuw	'quiet'
masow	'hard'	masowesow	'strong'
malif	'thin'	malifilif	'thin'
fitiy	'spouse'	fitiyetiy	'to marry'
peras	'to splash'	peraseras	'to scatter'

(2) reduplication of the initial part including a vowel:

Stem		*Reduplicated word*	
shal	'water'	chechal	'to water'
rang	'yellow powder'	chechang	'apply powder'
liuwanee (-y)	'think (it)'	niuniuwan	'to think'

Notice that the initial consonant of the stem is doubled before the reduplication of the initial part takes place. Accordingly, the reduplicated part also has the doubled initial consonant. As described in chapter 1, the doubling of *l*, *sh*, *r*, *g*, and *b* results in the change in the quality of the respective consonants, as in *n*, *ch*, *ch*, *k*, and *bb* (stop sound *bb* in contrast with the fricative *b*).

(3) doubling of the initial consonant of the stem:

Stem		*Reduplicated word*	
bug (-a)	'boil (it)'	bbug	'boiled'
gaw	'to run away'	kewaag	'being exiled' (kewa- 'to run away' + -ag (passive)
fagefag	'to cough'	ffegai	'my coughing'
tiut	'breast'	ttiu	'my breast'

Initial consonant doubling also frequently occurs when the causative prefix *ga-* or *ge-* is attached, as we observe in the following examples.

shewar	'to move'	gachewar	'to carry'
gefail (-i)	'make (it) pass'	geffail	'to pass each other'
masiur	'to sleep'	gemmasiur	'to make sleep'

More on reduplication will be discussed with regard to verb formation in 4.4 and 4.5.

Nature of Complex Stems

4.1.3 As mentioned above, a complex stem is formed through compounding two or more simple stems, whether the simple stems are of the same or different form. Once a complex stem is formed, it is used like a simple stem, and may take a prefix or suffix. For example, the complex stem *sheolap* 'to be wide, wideness' (*sheo* 'leaf' + *lap* 'big') can take a suffix, as in *sheolepal* 'wideness of'.

The meaning of a complex stem is in general not simply the result of adding together the meanings of the simple stems that form the complex stem. The following examples illustrate this.

boongas	'to be fragrant'	(bo 'smell' + ngas 'good')
matemasiur	'to be blind'	(mat 'eye' + masiur 'to sleep')
metagisag	'to go to toilet'	(metag 'pain' + sag 'belly')
mwalelap	'uncle'	(mwal 'man' + lap 'big')
sheogit	'to be narrow'	(sheo 'leaf' + git 'small')
tageloa	'surf'	(tag 'to go up' + loa 'wave')
getagefius	'rising star'	(ge- (causative) + tag 'to go up' + fius 'star')
fatifet	'to be angular'	(fat 'corner')
lapelap	'greater'	(lap 'big, great')
batebat	'thirsty, to dry'	(bat 'low tide')
matemat	'use as eyes'	(mat 'eye')
rangerang	'yellow'	(rang 'turmeric')
werewer	'lightning'	(wer 'light')

Historically, many complex stems are survivals of old phrases. Since this is the case, the simple stems constituting a complex stem are usually ordered in the same way as they would appear in a phrase. For example, the order of noun + modifier in the phrase *mwal lap* 'big man' is retained in the complex stem *mwalelap* 'uncle'. Only rarely is the order reversed, as in *langimaal* 'cloud' which is from *lang* 'sky' and *mal* 'animal'. The order in a phrase would be *mal lang* 'sky animal'.

In the process of forming certain complex stems, some sounds may have been dropped completely from the original words, thus blurring the original shapes of the meaningful elements. For example, *faaileng* 'earth' consists of *faa-* 'under' + *-i* + *lang* 'sky'. The form *-i* here seems to be from *-l(i)* 'of' from which the *l* has been lost. This *-i* does not appear in other contexts, thus having become an entirely dead affix. Since this

is the case, all complex stems are entered in the dictionary as separate entries.

INFLECTIONAL PARADIGMS OF WOLEAIAN

4.2 Let us now observe the layer of inflection more closely. In any language, we can distinguish several **inflectional paradigms** (or inflectional patterns) according to the different grammatical functions and meanings that inflectional affixes have. The paradigms of inflection recognized in Woleaian are, however, quite different from those of other languages, including English. For example, the English inflectional suffix *-s* in *he works* does not have any counterpart in the corresponding Woleaian sentence *Ye yengaang*. On the other hand, the English progressive inflectional suffix *-ing* corresponds to Woleaian initial reduplication as we will see shortly.

Four inflectional paradigms or patterns are recognized in Woleaian: **possessive, objective, progressive** and **plural.**

Possessive Suffixes

4.2.1 The person and number of a possessor are shown by the suffixes constituting the **possessive paradigm.** These suffixes are attached to appropriate nouns. There are seven regular members of possessive suffixes just as in personal pronouns and in subjectives. In addition, Woleaian has the suffix *-l* 'of' which is grammatically and formally closely related to the other members of the possessive paradigm. Let us call this suffix the **defective possessive suffix**, since it does not stand by itself but is always followed by a noun, which is not the case with the regular suffixes.

	Possessive suffix	*Meaning*	*Person*	*Number*
Regular:	-i	'my'	1st	singular
	-mw	'your'	2nd	singular
	-l	'his, her, its'	3rd	singular
	-sh	'our (incl.)'	1st	plural (incl.)
	-mam	'our (excl.)'	1st	plural (excl.)
	-mi	'your (pl.)'	2nd	plural
	-r	'their'	3rd	plural
Defective:	-l	'of'	3rd	singular or plural

For the difference between the defective *-l* 'of' and the regular suffixes, observe the following examples.

metal	'his eyes'
metal John	'eyes of John'
metaar	'their eyes'
metal John me Mary	'eyes of John and Mary'
(*or* metaar John me Mary)	

Notice that the defective suffix is relevant only to the third person possessor, singular or plural. Thus, *-l* 'of' + noun is equivalent to *-l* 'his' or *-r* 'their.'
Examples of the possessive paradigm follow.

mat	'eyes'	metai	'my eyes'
		metamw	'your eyes'
		metal	'his, her, its eyes'
		metash	'our (incl.) eyes'
		matemam	'our (excl.) eyes'
		metami	'your (pl.) eyes'
		metaar	'their eyes'
		metal	'eyes of'

When the possessive suffix *-i* 'my' is attached to a word whose final vowel is high voiceless vowel (and thus not spelled except in single-vowel words), it simply makes the voiceless vowel voiced (and thus now spelled). Examine the paired words below.

Noun		*Noun with -i 'my'*	
fat	'eyebrow'	fatiu	'my eyebrow'
boot	'nose'	booti	'my nose'
kiu	'finger nail'	kiu	'my finger nail'
(*iu* is voiceless)		(*iu* is voiced)	

Two words *paiu* 'hand' and *laiu* 'child' are exceptional in that they lose the final vowel *iu* before the suffix *-i* 'my', as in *pai* 'my hand' (Cf. *paiul* 'his hand') and *lai* (Cf. *laiul* 'his child').

Before the possessive suffix *-r* 'their', a simple vowel is always lengthened, as shown in the following examples.

bootiir	'their noses'
metaar	'their eyes'
fatiur	'their eyebrows'
yewaar	'their mouths'

As discussed in 3.5, not all nouns may take a possessive suffix. However, one rule is that any word that may take a regular possessive suffix may also take the defective suffix *-l*

'of', but the reverse is not true. In the following, subclasses of nouns are arranged according to their possibility of taking a possessive suffix.

(1) nouns that take both regular and defective suffixes:
possessive classifiers (e.g., *gelai* 'my food', *gan* (*gal* + *-l*) 'food of')
locational nouns (e.g., *faai* 'under me', *faal* 'underside of')
inalienable nouns (e.g., *bisi* 'my brother', *bisil* 'brother of')

(2) nouns that take only the defective suffix:
common nouns (e.g. *liul* 'coconut of')
proper nouns (e.g. *Weleyaal* 'Woleai of')

(3) nouns that do not take any:
numeral classifiers (e.g., *-mal* 'animate')
enumerative counters (e.g., *yet* 'one')

None of the pronouns can take any possessive suffix.

Object Suffixes

4.2.2 The next paradigm of inflection is that of object suffixes. All transitive verbs must take a suffix of this paradigm. Each suffix shows **person**, **number**, and **animateness** of the object of the transitive verb with which it occurs. For example, the sentence *I sa weriir toagota kawe* 'I saw those doctors' contains the object suffix *-r* 'them' in *weriir* 'see them', which indicates that the object *toagota* is a third person plural and animate. If the speaker does not want to specify 'those doctors' but simply say 'them', he would use the sentence *I sa weriir* 'I saw them.' The object suffix paradigm includes the following members.

Suffix	*Meaning*	*Person*	*Number*	*Animateness*
-yai, -yei -wai, -wei	'me'	1st	sing.	animate
-g	'you'	2nd	sing.	animate
-ϕ -y, -w	'him, her, it'	3rd	sing.	animate/inanimate
-gish	'us (incl.)'	1st	pl. (incl.)	animate
-gemam	'us (excl.)'	1st	pl. (excl.)	animate
-gami	'you (pl.)'	2nd	pl.	animate
-r	'them'	3rd	pl.	animate
-n	'them'	3rd	pl.	inanimate

The first person singular has four forms: *-yai* appears after a

non-high, unrounded vowel; *-yei* after a high, unrounded vowel; *-wai* after a non-high, round vowel, and *-wei* after a high, round vowel (e.g., *giulaayai* 'know me', *weriyei* 'see me', *gamwongoowai* 'feed me', *gemasiuriuwei* 'make me sleep').

The third person has a number of different forms both in singular and plural. In the singular, certain transitive verbs take only ϕ (which means zero), while others take only *-y* or *-w*. *-y* appears after the unround vowels *i* or *e*, whereas *-w* appears after the round vowels *iu*, *u*, *oa* or *eo*. Whether a transitive verb takes *-ϕ* or *-y/-w* depends on the kind of verb it is. On this basis, we can divide all transitive verbs into ϕ class and *-y/-w* class. For example, *iuliumi* 'drink (it)' and *weri* 'see (it)' belong to ϕ class, whereas *lii-* 'kill' (*liiy* 'kill it'), *tabee-*'accompany' (*tabeey* 'accompany it') and *giu-* 'bite' (giuw 'bite it') belong to *-y/-w* class.

The final vowel in a ϕ class verb (e.g., *iuliumi* and *weri*) may be considered a kind of transitive verb forming morpheme, because in many cases a word without it belongs to another class of words. Thus, *iuliuma-* 'drinking object' and *wer* 'to see' are not transitive verbs any longer.

The two different third person plural suffixes have their own inherent meanings, **animate** or **inanimate**. Use of *-r* or *-n* depends respectively on the animate or inanimate nature of the object of the transitive verb involved, as we observe in the following sentences.

I weriir yaremat kawe.
'I saw those people.'

I werin imw kawe.
'I saw those houses.'

Remember that before the suffix *-r* a single vowel is prolonged, hence *weriir* and not **werir*.

Word examples with all the object suffixes follow.

weri	'see (it)'	weriyei	'see me'
		werig	'see you'
		weri	'see him, her, it'
		werigish	'see us (incl.)'
		werigemam	'see us (excl.)'
		werigemi	'see you (pl.)'
		weriir	'see them (animate)'
		werin	'see them (inanimate)'

tabee-	'accompany'	tabeeyei	'accompany me'
		tabeeg	'accompany you'
		tabeey	'accompany him, her, it'
		tabeegish	'accompany us (incl.)'
		tabeegemam	'accompany us (excl.)'
		tabeegami	'accompany you (pl.)'
		tabeer	'accompany them (animate)'
		tabeen	'accompany them (inanimate)'

In addition to transitive verbs, the following words may also take an object suffix. Notice that all these words occur after a verb. (Suffixes are italicized in the example sentences.)

(1) non-particle adverbs such as *gemas* 'very', *gach* 'well', and *fetal* 'around'
Piipi gachiu*w* mwo.
'Look at it well just a while.'

(2) directionals such as *tog* 'hither', *lag* 'away', *waiu* 'out', and *tiw* 'down'
Gatoowaiu*w* sar laal.
'Let the kid walk out.'

(3) inflectional prepositions such as *ngali* 'to it', *tangi* 'away from it', and *yagili* or *agili* 'with, for it'
I fang ngaliir seuw baabiyor.
'I sent them a letter.'

As we notice in the above example sentences, the object suffixes are rather closely related to the kind of verbs which they occur with, although they are not directly attached to the verbs. For example, the object suffix *-w* in *piipi gachiuw* is the object of the verb *piipi* 'to look at' and the adverb *gach* 'well' merely modifies the verb. Thus, the appearance of an object suffix in such constructions depends on the kind of main verb that occurs in the sentence.

Progressive Action

4.2.3 A widespread category of inflection in Oceanic languages is that of progressive action. This inflection is formed in Woleaian by means of reduplication of the initial part (that includes a consonant and a vowel) of all kinds of action verbs. For example, the progressive action of the verb *mwongo* 'to eat' is expressed as *mwommwongo* 'to be eating', as in the following sentence.

Ye sa mwommwongo.
'He has been eating.'

Inflectional reduplication indicates progressive action, but as a secondary meaning of progressive action, it also shows the change of a state, often to be translated as 'become'. This is particularly the case when the verb is basically that of state, as illustrated below.

Ye *tettewas* lag piletoa we.
'The window is broken up.'

Ye sa *bbibbiliteg* tiw mengaagul Mary.
'Mary's dress became loose.'

Ye sa *checha* lag lan lang.
'The sky became red.'

As we have seen above, progressive action is expressed, in general, by reduplication of the initial part that contains a single vowel. Recall that the initial simple consonant becomes doubled when reduplication takes place, with *g* changing to *k*, *l* to *n*, *sh* and *r* to *ch*, and the fricative *b* to the stop *bb*.

*p*iraf 'to steal'	*mm*wut 'to vomit'
pi*pp*iraf 'to be stealing'	mwu*mm*wut 'to be vomiting'
*ch*a 'red'	*m*il 'to stay'
chec*h*a 'to become red'	mi*mm*il 'to be staying'

If a verb begins with a vowel, the reduplication ranges over two initial vowels, as in the following example.

iul 'to drink'
iuliul 'to be drinking' (The second *iu* is long.)
John ye *iuliul* semweiu faiuriumil. 'John is drinking something.'

Since inflection forms the outer-most layer, no prefix may precede the reduplicated part. When a **causative** verb (with the causative prefix *ga-* or *ge-*) is to be specified for progressive action, the causative prefix is reduplicated.

intransitive	:	metaf	'to be clear'
progressive	:	memmetaf	'to become clear'
causative	:	*g*ematefa	'explain it'
progressive	:	*keke*matefa	'be explaining it'

Ye *kekematefa* semweiu faiuriumil.
'He is explaining something.'

Plural Marking for Nouns

4.2.4 Woleaian number is an inflectional category in that it shares

the characteristics of inflection discussed thus far. For the full paradigm of demonstratives including number, see 3.9.

In Woleaian, a noun can be either singular or plural if there is no demonstrative following. Thus *imw* may mean 'a house' or 'houses' depending on the situation. Once, however, a noun is modified by a demonstrative, it has to be specified whether it is singular or plural, since the category of number is an integral part of demonstratives. In other words, a demonstrative never appears without specifying number. Thus, *imw laal* 'that house over there' is singular, whereas *imw kelaal* 'those houses over there' is plural. When a noun is plural, the plural marker *ka* is prefixed to that part of a demonstrative which indicates location in relation to speaker and hearer. When the noun is singular, there is no such marker.

NOUN FORMATION

4.3 Let us now turn our attention from the paradigms of inflection to the more inner parts of words, particularly nouns (in this section) and verbs (in the following section) which involve the most complex mechanism of word formation.

Nouns of Complex Stem

4.3.1 In Woleaian, most of the intransitive and neutral verbs can be used as abstract nouns without any change in form. *Buutog* 'to come, coming', *toowaiu* 'to come out, outcome', and *rigitog* 'to run hither, running hither' in the following examples are used as abstract nouns.

buutogoi	'my coming'
toowaiul	'its result, its outcome'
rigitogol semal gelaag	'a dog's running hither'

Since these abstract nouns are basically verbs, they will be discussed in 4.4. Only non-verbal nouns are taken up in this section.

Complex nouns are of various sorts and appear most frequently in proper nouns, such as place names and personal names, and common nouns such as fish, star, plant, and bird names, house and canoe parts, and names of all kinds of cultural assets, as well as such inalienable nouns as kinship terms and body parts. In fact, complex nouns are so prevalent that

they range over all walks of Woleaian life. Complex nouns form a major portion of the Woleaian vocabulary. In the following, we will illustrate them according to certain characteristic meaning classes. Notice in the examples that many words are composed of more than two morphemes. In many cases, two simple stems are compounded by means of the defective possessive suffix *-l* 'of', reflecting that such complex stems were historically noun phrases.

(1) kinship terms

Complex Nouns	*Component Morphemes*
sinisila- 'grandmother'	sila- 'mother' + -l 'of' + sila- 'mother'
bisissila- 'aunt'	bisi- 'sibling of same sex' + -l 'of' + sila- 'mother'
laiune- 'grandchild'	laiu- 'child' + -l 'of' + laiu- 'child'
temattema- 'grandfather'	tema- 'father' + -l 'of' + tema- 'father'

Although the defective possessive suffix *-l* 'of' is not apparent in the above complex nouns, it is not difficult to identify it. In Woleaian words, a vowel is frequently dropped between two *l* sounds. Thus, for example, when *sila-* 'mother' and *-l* 'of' meet, the result is *sill*. As we know, *ll* is always pronounced as *n*. Thus, 'mother of' is *sin*. *Sinisila-* 'grandmother' is derived from *sin* 'mother of' followed by *sila-* 'mother'. The *i* between *sin* and *sila-* is nothing but the voiced form of the voiceless vowel following *sin*.

Moreover, when the consonant *l* is immediately followed by a dental, alveolar (gum area) or palatal consonant, it is frequently assimilated to the latter, resulting in a double dental, alveolar or palatal consonant. The double *ss* and *tt* in *bisissila-* 'aunt' and *temattema-* 'grandfather' respectively are the result of such an assimilation.

(2) body parts

Complex Nouns	*Component Morphemes*
boshalingi 'gum'	bosh 'gum' + -l 'of' + ngi 'tooth'
faalipeshe 'sole'	faa- 'underside' + -l 'of' + peshe 'foot'
firoaroa 'wrinkle'	firoa- 'wrinkle' + partial reduplication

Complex Nouns	*Component Morphemes*
gurubulipeshe 'ankle'	gurub 'young fruit' + -l 'of' + peshe 'foot'
shiulap 'spinal cord'	shiu 'bone' + lap 'big'
ugoug 'gall bladder'	ug 'net' + reduplication
yoalikeo- 'throat'	yoa 'string' + -l 'of' + keo 'crow'

(3) place names

Complex Nouns	*Component Morphemes*
Faaleyangiyeng (a place on Woleai)	fal 'men's house' + yangiyeng 'windy'
Faaligul (a place on Falalus, Woleai)	faa- 'underside' + -l 'of' + gul 'fish-poison tree'
Faalimei (a place on Wottagai, Woleai)	faa- 'underside' + -l 'of' + mai 'breadfruit'
Matettewas (a place on Woleai)	mat 'eye' + ttewas 'to break'
Mwegiumweg (a place on Ulithi)	mweg 'arrowroot' + reduplication
Shiulifaaliyap (a place on Falalus, Woleai)	shiu- 'on' + -l 'of' + faaliyap 'local apple'
Welibiugiuw (a place on Falalap, Woleai)	we- 'on' + -l 'of' + biugiuw 'stuck-out reef'

(4) personal names

Complex Nouns	*Component Morphemes*
Gagileyai	gagile- 'to spy' + -yai 'me'
Materangerang	mat 'eye' + rangerang 'yellow'
Mwashogoshog	mwashog 'thief' + partial reduplication
Tawerilimeng	ta- 'not' + weri 'see' + -l 'of' Meng (a person's name)
Urutog	ur 'to dance' + tog 'hither'

(5) fish species

Complex Nouns	*Component Morphemes*
gattiuliyal 'starfish'	gattiu 'finger' + -l 'of' + yal 'sun'

Complex Nouns	*Component Morphemes*
mesaapaliy 'broad sole'	mat 'eye' + paliy 'side'
matefaaib 'hammerhead shark'	mat 'eye' + faib 'cross'
ngiungiu 'triggerfish species'	ngiu 'a kind of noise' + reduplication
siniyengiletow 'Portuguese man-of-war'	sila- 'mother' + -l 'of' + yang 'wind' + letow 'west'
tagiuraara 'swordfish'	tag 'needle fish' + raara 'branchy'

(6) birds

Complex Nouns	*Component Morphemes*
gappeshig 'a young bird'	gapp 'young' + shig 'small'
gappeyal 'a bird almost reaching adulthood'	gapp 'young' + yal 'to fly'
garegar 'grey-backed tern'	gar 'drying up of throat' + redup.
giyegiy 'white or fairy tern'	giy 'mat' + redup.
sheolap 'noddy tern'	sheo 'leaf, size' + lap 'big'
wetiyas 'hawk, eagle'	wet 'to claw' + yas 'liver'

(7) plants and their parts

Complex Nouns	*Component Morphemes*
mwaremwar 'lei flowers'	mwar 'lei' + redup.
mwegiumweg 'arrowroot'	mweg 'arrowroot' + redup.
shiishi 'polypodium'	shi '?' + redup.
shoofar 'sprouting copra'	sho 'copra' + far 'sponge, core'
shoomang 'premature copra'	sho 'copra' + mang 'premature'

(8) transportation

Complex Nouns	*Component Morphemes*
shoasemal 'a kind of small canoe'	shoa 'load' + se- 'one' + mal 'animate'
waafaliuw 'ship'	wa 'vehicle' + faliuw 'island'
waailiil 'submarine'	wa 'vehicle' + iliil 'to dive'
waayal 'airplane'	wa + yal 'to fly'

(9) canoe parts

Complex Nouns	*Component Morphemes*
gaimweimw 'shelter on canoe'	ga-(causative) + imw 'house' + redup.
goshoulibong 'upper-most horizontal line of canoe'	goshou 'rain' + -l 'of' + bong 'night'
langoliyepeep 'a canoe part supporting the small platform on the opposite side of the outrigger float'	lang 'fulcrum' + -l 'of' + yepeep 'platform'

(10) houses and house parts

Complex Nouns	*Component Morphemes*
faaishimw 'one layer of house roof'	faa- 'underside' + -i 'of' + shimw 'head'
imweligebiitag 'a small menstrual house where a girl goes for her first menses'	imw 'house' + -l 'of' + ge- (causative) + biitag 'to go up'
imwetaampooning 'tent'	imw 'house' + taampooning 'tent'
siureung 'post going up to ridgepole'	siur 'pole' + ung 'ridgepole'
weiulipiing 'end-wall thatch rafters'	weiu 'rafter' + -l 'of' + piing 'gable end-wall'

(11) anatomical measurements

Complex Nouns	*Component Morphemes*
magooshig 'one finger joint length'	mago 'curve, joint' + shig 'small'
magoolap 'two finger joint length'	mago + lap 'big'
segatt 'one finger length'	se- 'one' + gatt 'finger'
sepeshanim 'a palm width'	se- 'one' + pash 'tail' + -l 'of' + lim 'hand'
segumwush 'length from wrist to end of fingers'	se- + gumwush 'wrist'
sepaiu 'full arm length'	se- + paiu 'hand'

(12) stars and other natural phenomena

Complex Nouns	*Component Morphemes*
fiusiulirag 'stars used to designate seasons and their subdivisions'	fius 'star' + -l 'of' + rag 'year'
fiusiunecheg 'stars of the seasons'	fius + -l + le- 'in' + rag 'year'
mworafius 'stars used in forecasting weather'	mwor 'storm' + fius
yaroiut 'rain'	yaro- 'near' + ut 'rain'
masecha 'dysentery'	mas 'die, disease' + cha 'blood'
maselipig 'epidemic'	mas 'die' + -l 'of' + pig 'small island'

(13) geographical directions

Figure 4 shows the commonly used geographical directions. They are referred to mostly in the context of wind direction in navigation. The terms are all complex words.

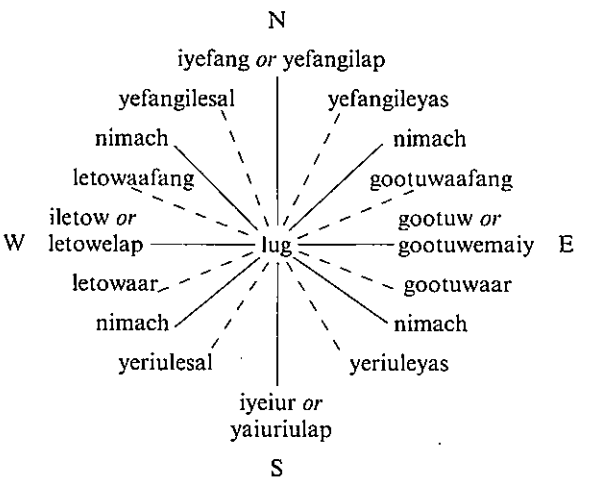


Fig. 4. Geographical Directions

(14) other cultural assets

Complex Nouns	*Component Morphemes*
beeliweiy 'divination on inter-island canoe voyage'	be 'divination' + -l 'of' + waiy 'voyage'

Complex Nouns	*Component Morphemes*
Bugolimar 'a divination spirit'	bug 'knot' + -l 'of' + mar 'preserved breadfruit'
falitemwar 'taboo (socially, culturally unacceptable)'	fal 'taboo' + ta 'not' + mwar 'undecided'
silemas 'orphan'	sila- 'mother' + mas 'die'
shaniufash 'a kind of shell bait'	shal 'water' + -l 'of' + fash 'pandanus'
temachow 'one who is skillful in catching flying fish with scooping nets'	tam 'father' + -l 'of' + shou 'scooping net'

There are many other complex nouns. Moreover, whenever a new cultural item is introduced, we need a word to name it. One way is to introduce a loanword together with the item from the source country. An equally common way is to coin a complex word using existing native words. *Waafaliuw* 'ship' (wa 'canoe' + faliuw 'island') is an example.

Derivative Nouns

4.3.2 Derivation of nouns through affixes, which results in **derivative nouns**, is not a common method of increasing vocabulary in Woleaian. At most, there are a few widely used affixes plus some others which may be attached to a limited number of stems. The following are about all that have been found.

(1) Prefixes

ga- or *ge-* (nominalizer)

This prefix has the same shape as the causative prefix and may be related to it historically. When it is affixed to certain verbs, the resulting words are nouns. In this sense, it may be called a **nominalizing prefix** (a prefix that makes a verb a noun).

Derivative Nouns	*Component Morphemes*
*ga*angiyeng 'cloth signal indicating canoe direction with regard to wind'	ga- + yangiyeng 'windy'
*ga*bboalag 'yeast'	ga- + bboa 'spoiled' + lag 'away'
*ga*imweimw 'shelter on a canoe'	ga- + imweimw 'use as house'
*ge*ffas 'jokes'	ge- + ffas 'laugh'

A productive use of this prefix is as **ordinalizer** of a numeral. Any numeral followed by a classifier can be ordinalized with this prefix, in which case the defective possessive suffix *-l* 'of' follows the numeral construction, as observed below.

*ga*riuwemaliu*l* yaremat 'second person'
*ga*seige*l* imw 'the tenth house'

la- (female marker)

This prefix is attached to most women's names, which is the major sign distinguishing women's names from those of men (e.g., *Lapiy*). This prefix is even extended to female animals as in *laigeriug* (a female of a kind of whale).

le- 'in'

This prefix has roughly the meaning 'in' with regard to time and space. It appears with a limited number of stems that indicate time or space. The initial consonant of the stems is doubled as will be noticed below.

Derivative Nouns	*Component Morphemes*
*le*ttabol yal 'in the afternoon'	le- + tab 'end' + -l 'of' + yal 'sun'
*le*chal 'in water'	le- + shal 'water'
*le*namw 'in the lagoon'	le- + lamw 'lagoon'
*le*ttat 'in the sea'	le- + tat 'sea'

li- '-er' (agent)

The prefix indicates the actor or doer of the action of the cooccuring verb. This is similar to the English suffix *-er* in *worker*. This prefix appears very frequently with a reduplicated stem.

Derivative Nouns	*Component Morphemes*
*li*beitiugiutiug 'a fish sp.'	li- + bai 'to untie' + tiugiutiug 'to wrap'
*li*gaatangiteng 'one who cries often'	li- + gaa 'always' + tangiteng 'to cry'
*li*gamwelimwel 'liar'	li- + ga- (causative) + mwelimwel 'to tie'
*li*gesuburaara 'spider'	li- + ge- (causative) + sub 'to be born' + raara 'branchy'
*li*matemeram 'ribbed turbine shell'	li- + mat 'eye' + meram 'moon'

Derivative Nouns	*Component Morphemes*
*li*mmwareut 'a bird at feather-bearing stage'	li- + mmwar 'to appear' + ut 'feather'

re- (people)

This prefix may be related etymologically to such third person plural forms as *re* 'they', *-r* 'them, their', and *iir* 'they'. Functionally, however, it is simply prefixed to a noun that indicates place, giving the meaning 'those who live in . . .'

Derivative Nouns	*Component Morphemes*
*re*saapaan 'Japanese people'	re- + Saapaan 'Japan'
*re*mariiken 'Americans'	re- + Mariiken 'America'
*re*biuleiu kaiy 'neighbors'	re- + biuleiu 'place' + kaiy 'these'
*re*bugotai 'my relatives'	re- + bugot 'village' + -i 'my'

tau- (expert)

This prefix is normally attached to an action verb with resulting meaning 'expert' of the action referred to by the stem.

Derivative Nouns	*Component Morphemes*
*tau*yengaang 'expert, good worker'	tau- + yengaang 'to work'
*tau*rig 'good runner'	tau- + rig 'to run'
*tau*yaf 'swimmer'	tau- + yaf 'to swim'

(2) Suffixes

Suffixes of nouns are even rarer than prefixes. So far only two have been found. They are listed below.

-ga or *-ge* (time/space marker)

This suffix appears with the defective pronoun *i-* 'that thing, that' with the resultant meaning of time or space. It also appears with the word *biuleiu* 'place'. A demonstrative may follow the suffix.

i*ga* 'when, at the time when'

ig*e*la 'there'

ig*e*iy 'this area (I am in)'

ig*e*mwu 'there near you' (*mwu* 'that near you')

ig*a*we 'that time (we know)'

ig*e*la 'now'

buileiu*ga* 'this particular place'

buileiu*geiy* 'this area (I am in)'

buileiu*gawe* 'that particular place (we know)'

Go gassiya toagota we i*gawe* ye log?

'Did you ask the doctor when he was here?'

-ya or *-ye* (classifier formative)

In 3.5.4, we discussed nouns that function as possessive classifiers, as in *laiu-* 'child-like object', *iuliuma-* 'drinkable object', and *yaa-* 'general object'. All of them are inherently classifiers and are to be included in the dictionary. On the other hand, there is a regular process to change a transitive verb to a possessive classifier. This is done by attaching the suffix *-ya* (*-ye* between high vowels) to the transitive verb. In this sense, the suffix may be called a **classifier formative** which has the rough meaning 'that which, the thing(s) which'. The suffix must always be followed by a possessive suffix. Since this process is so general, we do not need to list the derived classifiers in the dictionary.

transitive verb:	weri	'see (it)'
derived classifier:	weri*yei*	'that which I have seen'
Weriyei sar we.	'The child is one whom I saw.' or	
	'The child is one whom I will see.'	

VERB FORMATION

4.4 While there are many verbs which consist of a simple stem, there are similarly a number of verbs which are either complex stems or derived words. For example, *lag* 'to go', *gach* 'to be good', *tang* 'to cry', and *weri* 'to see' are simple stem verbs, whereas *buutog* 'come' and *gaweri* 'to show' are a complex stem and a derived verb respectively.

In the following subsections, patterns of verb formation will be discussed separately for intransitive, neutral, and transitive verbs.

Intransitive Verbs

4.4.1 Intransitive verbs consisting of two or more morphemes are formed through the following processes: (1) compounding of different simple stems, (2) reduplication, (3) prefixation, and

(4) suffixation. These will each be discussed and illustrated below.

(1) Compounding of different stems. In general, simple stems of different kinds do not freely form a complex stem. Most of the existing complex stems have been fossilized through a long period of time.

Complex Verbs		*Component Morphemes*
baaliyel	'to be round'	baali '?' + yal 'to fly'
biitag	'to go up'	bii 'to move(?)' + tag 'up'
faachag	'to chase'	faa '?' + chag 'to chase'
gaalipeo	'call someone by hands'	ga- (causative) + yal 'to fly' + peo 'fan'
mwaliyel	'to get dizzy'	mwal 'to get confused' + yal 'to fly'
sheomwit	'to be narrow'	sheo 'leaf' + mwit 'tiny'
toulap	'to be many'	tou- 'amount' + lap 'big'

(2) Reduplication. Included here are examples of whole stem reduplication and partial reduplication, as illustrated below.

batebat	'to be thirsty' (bat 'deaf, shallow')
gitigiit	'to be little' (git 'small')
misimis	'tell lies' (mis 'fool')
pariuper	'to push with force' (par 'to push')
raara	'to be branchy' (ra 'branch')
yangiyeng	'to be windy' (yang 'wind')
maliuweliuw	'to be quiet' (maliuw 'to be loose')
masowesow	'to be strong' (masow 'hard')
peraseras	'to scatter' (peras 'to splash')
chechang	'to apply powder' (rang 'yellow powder')

(3) Prefixation. Not many prefixes are found in complex verbs. Most of the prefixes found so far occur with a limited number of stems.

liug- 'superficially, a bit'
liugiuffeeiu 'to be a bit chilly, cool' (ffeeiu 'to be cold')
liugiummet 'to feel guilty' (mmet '?')
liugiupalepal 'a bit dry' (palepal 'to be dry')
liugiunngaw 'to be uncooperative' (nngaw 'to be bad')

piti- 'slight'
pitiffas 'to laugh a partial laugh' (ffas 'to laugh')

pitimmel 'to smile' (mmel 'to laugh, smile')
pitissoong 'to be slightly angry' (ssoong 'to be angry')

che- 'very'
chefas 'to hard' (fas = old form of *faiu* 'stone')
cheifaas 'to be very exaggerating' (faasiu 'to exaggerate')
chegas 'to show off' (gaas 'enthusiastic')
chemaaw 'to be very hard' (maaw 'to be hard')

far- 'rather not'
farigit 'to be big' (git 'to be small')
farimwosh 'to be long' (mwosh 'to be short')

ta(i)- 'not'
taikeil 'to be weak' (kail 'to be strong')
tammwel 'to be incorrect, wrong' (mmwel 'to be possible, good')
taweri 'not to see' (weri 'to see')

(4) Suffixation. The only widely used suffix of intransitive verbs is *-ag* or *-eg*, (*-eg* appears only after a high vowel) which gives a passive meaning to the verbs. Although this suffix is used quite often, it does not appear with all verbs. Only certain transitive verb stems whose meanings can be 'physically changeable' or at least 'psychologically changeable' may appear with the suffix. Since such stems cannot be easily categorized, the derived words (verb stem + *-ag*) are entered in the dictionary as separate words from the corresponding transitive stems. Such derived verbs may be called **passive verbs**, as we observed in 3.7.2. The list below contains most of the passive verbs in Woleaian. The derivative relation between passive and transitive verbs will be discussed in 4.5.

baiteg	'united'	baatag	'disclosed'
baliteg	'gone around for something		
belingeg	'snapped off'	biliteg	'loosened'
bisingeg	'opened'	burongag	'peeled'
bugotag	'knot-made'	shiireg	'wet'
shiriweg	'sprained'	shiyelag	'helped'
shougeg	'captured'	shoangag	'pressed'
feshingeg	'plucked'	feingeg	'torn'
filetag	'stirred'	fisingeg	'burnt'
fiyengag	'squeezed'	libetag	'burried'
limingeg	'folded'	liyetag	'all set'
liuwetag	'snapped'	mweiuteg	'broken'
mwulotag	'crumpled'	peotag	'hit'

pariungeg	'carried on head'	taletag	'freed'
toafag	'rubbed'	wauteg	'hit, spanked'
wegiteg	'turned over'	wetigeg	'scooped out'
paangag	'counted'	wolotag	'opened'
wolopag	'settled'	geotag	'hooked'
gappengag	'crossed'	yapileg	'twisted'
iuyelag	'collected'	iushiungeg	'shaken'

-ag or *-eg* is not an inflectional suffix but a derivational suffix in that it is not used with all transitive stems and is not the outer-most layer. The defective possessive suffix *-l* 'of' may appear after the passive suffix, as in *fisingegil* 'being burnt of.'

Neutral Verbs

4.4.2 Recall that those words that do not appear with an object suffix but still may take an object noun were given the name neutral verbs. Neutral verbs having more than one morpheme are formed through (1) compounding of different simple stems (2) reduplication, (3) prefixation, and (4) reduplication-prefixation.

(1) Compounding of different stems.

Complex Verbs	*Component Morphemes*
baigeoreo 'to scratch'	bai- 'to untie' + georeo 'to scratch'
gaalipeo 'to fan'	ga- (causative) + yal 'to fly' + peo 'fan'
ngiulew 'to kiss'	ngiu 'to chew' + lew 'tongue'
shiitag 'to start'	shii- 'to begin' + tag 'up'

(2) Reduplication. This includes not only whole stem reduplication but also such partial reduplications as initial or medial consonant doubling and initial or final part reduplication, as can be seen in the examples below.

baliubel 'to cover' (baliuw 'cover it')
fiyefiy 'to squeeze' (fiya 'squeeze it')
laiuleiu 'to deliver (a baby)' (laiu 'child')
liugiuliug 'to expect' (liugiuw 'expect it')
teet 'to sew' (teey 'sew it')
waawa 'to use as canoe' (wa 'canoe')
faliuweliuw 'to own land temporarily' (faliuw 'island')

fitiyetiy 'to marry' (fitiyeli 'marry him')
tettal 'to discuss' (telati 'discuss it')
tottor 'to catch' (torofi 'catch it')
bbiung 'to fall on' (biungiuti 'fall on it')
ffat 'to pinch' (fatigi 'pinch it')

(3) Prefixation. Certain intransitive verbs become neutral verbs with the addition of the causative prefix *ga-* or *ge-*.

geman 'to get ready' (man 'to be ready')
gemak 'to distribute' (mak 'to break away')
gammwel 'to take care (of)' (mmwel 'to be good')
getach 'to rip' (tach 'to be ripped')

(4) Reduplication-Prefixation. Frequently, a neutral verb has both reduplication and the causative prefix.

gapoupou 'to spill' (gapouw 'spill it'; pou 'to be dumped')
geragireg 'to read' (geragi 'read it'; rag 'to be matched')
gareperep 'to get close' (garepa 'approach to it'; rep 'to be near')
gasuusu 'to spill' (gasuuw 'spill it'; su 'to be spilled')
gatettar 'to rip' (gatera 'rip it'; tar 'to be destroyed')
gasesser 'to pour' (gasere 'pour it'; ser 'to be poured')
gassoong 'to tease' (gasoonga 'tease him'; ssoong 'to be angry')

An irregular doubling of consonants appears with certain verbs. That is, instead of the stem consonant doubling, the consonant *g* in the causative prefix is doubled, with the resultant *k*.

kapeo 'to measure' (gapeow 'measure it'; peo 'to be even, measured')
kateo 'to interpret' (gateow 'interpret it'; teo 'to be interpreted')
kemwash 'to hold' (gemwashiu 'hold it'; mwash 'to be held')

Transitive Verbs

4.4.3 In Woleaian, transitive verbs may be inherent or derived from other words, including intransitive verbs. From the standpoint of word-formation, transitive verbs can be classified into the following groups, which will further be subdivided.

(1) simple-stem transitive verbs
(2) thematic-stem transitive verbs
(3) complex-stem transitive verbs

(4) derived transitive verbs
(5) mixed-type transitive verbs

Recall that any verb which must take an object suffix is called a transitive verb, and that a transitive verb belongs either to *ϕ* class or to *-y/-w* class depending on which form it takes as the third person singular object suffix. In the discussion of transitive verbs, it is useful to include simple-stem verbs, since these are also divided into the two classes mentioned above. In the following, the third person singular object suffix will be attached to each transitive verb.

(1) Simple-stem transitive verbs. A great number of verbs belong to this class. Some of them are used only as transitive verbs and others may be used as other parts of speech if they do not include the object suffix. Examples follow.

ϕ class:	buga	'boil it'	fagola	'care for it'
	foori	'make it'	gabungiu	'learn it'
	gangi	'eat it'	giula	'know it'
	ngefa	'measure it'	mmesa	'watch it'
	niuwa	'wash it'	peta	'mix it'
	riugiu	'find it by chance'	sheeri	'attack it'
	weri	'see it'		

-y/-w class:	baaniiy	'inspect it'	bariugiuw	'sing it'
	biuliuw	'hold it'	biuniuw	'break it'
	faliuw	'pierce it'	faiuw	'weave it'
	fiyangoow	'tell it (a story)'	giuw	'bite it'
	kiliiliiy	'clean it'	liiy	'kill it'
	mangiiy	'remember it'	maauluuw	'fight it'
	pakiiy	'shoot it'	shapiiy	'start it'
	taiuw	'pull it'	touuw	'spear it'

(2) **Thematic-stem** transitive verbs. The term 'thematic' refers to verb stems that have an additional but meaningless element attached before the suffix is added. For example, the transitive verb *iuliumi* 'drink (it)' loses the final part *mi* in the neutral verb *iul* 'to drink' (*iul* is pronounced as [iulịụ]). *Mi* does not have any dictionary meaning of its own, but it has a kind of transitive verb forming function. The thematic element *ngi* in *shoangi* 'press it' (from *shoashoa* 'to press') is another example. *Mi* and *ngi* here are thematic elements in that they appear just before the object suffix (the object suffix is zero in the above examples). These thematic elements may have been an integral part of a simple

transitive stem. It is entirely arbitrary as to which thematic element appears in which stem. Note that all thematic-stem transitive verbs belong to ϕ class.

Thematic element	*Vt*	*Gloss*
-fi	meyafi	'feel it'
	toafi	'rub it'
	torofi	'catch it'
-gi	bisigi	'open it'
	felagi	'cut it'
	fatigi	'pluck it'
	fatogi	'write it, plant it'
	firegi	'weave it'
	lewegi	'lick it'
	mwalogi	'hide behind it'
	shepegi	'kick it'
	shougi	'capture it'
-li	bbooli	'pound it'
	fagili	'hunt it, look for it'
	fangiuli	'wake it'
	fitiyeli	'marry him'
	libeli	'burry it'
	peoli	'hit it'
-mi	iuliumi	'drink it'
	ragomi	'hug it'
	woromi	'swallow it'
-ngi	feshingi	'pick it (flowers, etc.)'
	shoangi	'press it'
	shuungi	'meet it'
-ri	mwaari	'look at it'
	ngiuri	'smell it'
	nari	'taste it'
	pari	'cut it'
	sheeri	'attack it'
	shiiri	'moisten it'
-si	bugosi	'make knots of it, tie it'
	lemesi	'make knots of it'
	ngarisi	'gnaw it'
-ti	biungiuti	'fall on it'
	faati	'kick it'
	fileti	'stir it'
	fiti	'tie it'

Thematic element	*Vt*	*Gloss*
	liuweti	'swing it'
	nngaweeti	'dislike it'
	ngiuti	'chew it'

As noticed above, a thematic element consists of a consonant and the high vowel *i*. The only exceptional form is a consonant followed by *iu* which is also a high vowel. This form appears irregularly when the preceding vowel is a back vowel (*iu* or *o* in particular). The following represent most of the exceptions that have been found.

Thematic element	*Vt*	*Gloss*
-giu	riugiu	'find it by chance'
	siugiu	'pound it'
	iushiugiu	'shake it'
-ngiu	fasengiu	'call it'
	pariungiu	'carry it on head'

These verbs also belong to ϕ class in object suffix selection.

(3) Complex-stem transitive verbs. There are not many words that belong to this class. Some verbs consist of two simple stems of different sorts; others are reduplicated forms.

Different stems

-*y*/-*w* class: baigeoreow 'scratch it' (bai- 'to untie' + georeo 'to scratch')
ngiuleweey 'kiss him' (ngiu 'to chew' + lew 'tongue')

Reduplication

-*y*/-*w* class: legiulegiuw 'pull it'
liuliuw 'chew it'

(4) Derived transitive verbs. These are of two types, i.e., **causative verbs** and **possessive verbs**. Causative verbs are formed by adding the causative prefix *ga-* or *ge-* to an intransitive verb, and possessive verbs are formed by adding the ownership suffix *-li* 'to own' to a classifier or inalienable noun. For example, *mmwe* is 'to sleep well', *gammwe* is 'make him sleep well'. *Waa-* is the classifier for vehicles; *waali* is 'have it as vehicle'. Additional examples of causative and possessive transitive verbs are given below.

Causative transitive verbs

ϕ class:	gebbaro	'bend it'
	gabeshi	'heat it'
	geffato	'stake it'
	gakusu	'make it spout'
	gakere	'make him happy'
	gemakiu	'give birth to him'
	garepa	'approach it'
	gasoonga	'tease him'
-y/-w class:	gapeow	'measure it'
	gapouuw	'dump it'
	gapiuniuw	'plug it up'
	gasorouuw	'respect it'
	gasouuw	'say goodbye to him'
	gasiuw	'build it'

Possessive transitive verbs (all ϕ class)

classifier + *li*:

faliuweli 'have it as island' (faliuwa- 'Cl for islands')

imweli 'have it as dwelling' (imwa- 'Cl for dwellings')

iuliumeli 'have it as drink' (iuliuma- 'Cl for drinkable objects')

laiuli 'have it as child' (laiu- 'Cl for child, etc.')

mwerali 'wear it as lei (mwera- 'Cl for leis')

inalienable noun + *li*:

iteli 'have it as name' (it 'name')

mengaaguli 'have it as clothes' (mengaag 'clothes')

metali 'have it as eye' (mat 'eye')

ngetali 'make holes in it' (ngat 'hole')

pesheeli 'have it as foot' (peshe 'foot')

temali 'have him as father' (tam- 'father')

(5) Mixed-type transitive verbs. Certain verbs are formed through more than one process, as illustrated below. The numbers (2), (3) and (4) refer to the transitive verb types mentioned above.

	Complex verbs	*Component morphemes*
(2) + (3):	liugiunngaweeti 'neglect it'	liug 'outside' + nngaw 'bad' + ti (thematic)

	Complex verbs	*Component morphemes*
(2) + (4):	gatewaali 'hatch it'	ga- (causative) + tewa 'broken' + li (ownership)
(3) + (4):	ganngonngo 'shake it'	ga- (causative) + nngonng 'shake'
	gemagelagela 'scatter it'	ge- (causative) + megalegal 'scattered'

FORMAL RELATIONS AMONG VERBS

4.5 Many words are interrelated to each other in one way or another in word-formation. Verbs are very often related to other words, while other parts of speech, including nouns, are related to other words only sporadically. For example, the intransitive verb *lag* 'to go' is related to the transitive verb *gelago* 'make him go,' whereas such pronouns as *gaang* 'I' and such prepositions as *me* 'from' are not related to any other words in word-formation.

The discussion of this section will center around verbs, in particular the relation existing between transitive, intransitive and neutral verbs. For the sake of convenience, let us take up the different types of transitive verbs discussed in 4.4.3 and see how the other words are formed in relation to the transitive verbs.

Simple-stem Transitive Verbs and Related Words

4.5.1 Quite a few simple-stem transitive verbs (4.4.3) have the same shape as the corresponding neutral verbs (4.4.2), except that the former must be followed by an object suffix and has a voiced stem-final vowel. There are, in general, no corresponding intransitive verbs.

		Vt	*Vn*
ϕ class:	faamwa	'care for him'	faamw 'to care for'
	faiira	'rub it'	faiir 'to rub'
	fela	'cut it'	fal 'to cut'
	leppa	'partition it'	lapp 'to partition'
	mmesa	'watch it'	mmas 'to watch'
	niuwa	'wash it'	niuw 'to wash'
	peta	'mix it'	pat 'to mix'
-y/-w class:	baaniy	'inspect it'	baan 'to inspect'
	faaligiiy	'stamp on it'	faalig 'to stamp on'

	Vt	*Vn*
kakeruuw	'to check it (in calculation)'	kakeru 'to check'
limetiiy	'make it good'	limet 'to make good'
maauluuw	'fight it'	maaul 'to fight'
mattipiiy	'spit it out'	mattip 'to spit'
meshangiuw	'restrict it'	meshang 'to restrict'
mweliiy	'tie it'	mwel 'to tie'
tafishiiy	'trap it'	tafish 'to trap'
tingaroow	'ask for it'	tingar 'to ask for'

Notice in the above examples that simple-stem transitive verbs ending in the vowel *a* belong to *ϕ* class, while those ending in other vowels belong to *-y/-w* class. This applies to a majority of simple-stem transitive verbs.

Another group of simple-stem transitive verbs have corresponding neutral verbs where a simple transitive stem is reduplicated, wholly or partially. Whole-stem reduplication is probably the most common.

		Vt	*Vn*
ϕ class:	fiya	'squeeze it'	fiyefiy 'to squeeze'
	tefa	'cut it'	tafetaf 'to cut'
	buga	'boil it'	bbug 'to boil'
	foori	'make it, do it'	ffoor 'to make, to do'
	fili	'choose it'	ffil 'to choose'
	gapeta	'say it'	kepat 'to say'
-y/-w class:	baliuw	'cover it'	baliubel 'to cover'
	beey	'take it up from underground'	beebe 'to take up from underground'
	faiuw	'weave it'	faiufeiu 'to weave'
	fishiiy	'knock it'	fishifish 'to knock'
	liugiuw	'expect it'	liugiuliug 'to expect'
	mangiiy	'remember it'	mangimeng 'to remember
	ragiuw	'take a handful of it'	ragiureg 'to take a handful of'
	taguuw	'chase it'	tagutog 'to chase'
	teey	'sew it'	teet 'to sew'
	touuw	'spear it'	toutou 'to spear'
	shaliuw	'fill it with liquid'	chechal 'to fill with liquid'

Vt		*Vn*	
sasheey	'scrutinize it'	sessash	'to scrutinize'
soroow	'turn it around'	sossor	'to turn around'
tageey	'ride it'	tettag	'to ride'
tiuleey	'talk about it'	tiuttiul	'to talk about'
giuw	'bite it'	kiuk	'to bite'
gofetiiy	'chip it off'	gofetifet	'to chip off'
gouseey	'cover it up'	gouseus	'to cover up'
baaiiy	'roll it up'	bbaai	'to roll up'
biuliuw	'hold it'	bbiuliu	'to hold'
shageey	'chase it'	chag	'to chase'
fageow	'pity for it'	ffageo	'to pity for'
saweey	'go alongside of it'	ssaw	'to go alongside of'
tabeey	'follow it'	ttab	'to follow'
gasheey	'throw it'	kash	'to throw'

A small number of simple-stem transitive verbs do not have corresponding neutral verbs. Instead, they have nouns or intransitive verbs that are related to them.

Vt		*Vn*	*Vi* or *N*
shapiiy	'start it'	*	shap 'to start, origin'
fiyangoow	'tell it'	*	fiyang 'to story-tell, story'
ngefa	'measure it'	*	ngaf 'fathom'

A small number of simple-stem transitive verbs have both neutral and intransitive or noun counterparts.

Vt	*Vn*	*Vi* or *N*
biuniuw 'break it'	biubbiun 'to break'	biun 'broken'
shaliuw 'fill it with liquid'	chechal 'to fill with liquid'	shal 'water'
kiliiliiy 'clean it'	kiliil 'to clean'	kiliil 'to be clean'

A unique case is with *pira* 'steal it' and its neutral verb *piraf* 'to steal'. Here the transitive verb is formed from the corresponding neutral verb by the deletion of the final consonant.

Thematic-stem Transitive Verbs and Related Words

4.5.2 We have seen that thematic elements occur in certain transitive verbs. The neutral verbs that are related to such transitive verbs

lack the thematic element. As we will see below, certain thematic transitive verbs have corresponding passive intransitive verbs. In this case, a general rule of passive verb formation is to delete the vowel in the thematic element and add the passive suffix *-ag* or *-eg*. For example, compare the transitive verb *feingi* 'tear it' and the corresponding passive verb *feingeg* 'to be torn'. A few exceptional cases will be discussed later.

Recall that all thematic transitive verbs belong to ϕ class in object suffix selection.

There are three patterns in the relation between the thematic verbs and the corresponding neutral verbs. These are illustrated below.

(1) transitive stem minus thematic element equals neutral verb

Vt	*Vn*	*Vi*
bbooli 'pound it'	bbo 'to pound'	*
fangiuli 'wake him up'	fang 'to wake up'	fangiuleg 'awaken'
fitaali 'fish it'	fita 'to fish'	*
petangi 'land on it'	pat 'to land'	*
peoli 'hit it'	peo 'to hit'	peotag 'being hit'
sheengi 'discover it'	she 'to discover'	*
shougi 'scoop it'	shou 'to scoop'	shougeg 'scooped'
shuungi 'meet him'	shu 'to meet'	*
wegiti 'turn it over'	weg 'to turn over'	wegiteg 'turned over'

(2) transitive stem minus thematic element + reduplication equals neutral verb. (Here reduplication in neutral verbs includes that of a whole-stem, a part, and consonant-doubling.)

Vt	*Vn*	*Vi*
(whole-stem reduplication)		
baisi 'untie it'	baibei 'to untie'	baiteg 'united'
belingi 'snap it off'	belibel 'to snap off'	belingeg 'snapped off'
biliti 'loosen it'	bilibil 'to loosen'	biliteg 'loosened'
bisigi 'open it'	bisibis 'to open'	bisingeg 'opened'
bugosi 'tie it'	bugobug 'to tie'	bugotag 'tied'
burongi 'peel it'	burobur 'to peel'	burongag 'peeled'
fatogi 'write it, plant it'	fatofat 'to write, to plant'	fatogag 'written, planted'
feingi 'tear it'	feifei 'to tear'	feingeg 'torn'
fileti 'stir it'	filefil 'to stir'	filetag 'stirred'

Vt	*Vn*	*Vi*
fisigi 'burn it'	fisifis 'to burn'	fisingeg 'burnt'
fiyengi 'squeeze it'	fiyefiy 'to squeeze'	fiyengag 'squeezed'
lewegi 'lick it'	lewelew 'to lick'	*
mweiuti 'break it'	mweiumweiu 'to break'	mweiuteg 'broken'
mwuloti 'crumple it'	mwulomwul 'to crumple'	mwulotag 'crumpled'
ngiuri 'smell it'	ngiungiu 'to smell'	*
nari 'taste it'	nan 'to taste'	*
shoangi 'press it'	shoashoa 'to press'	shoangag 'pressed'
shiyeli 'help it'	shiyeshiy 'to help'	*
toafi 'rub it'	toato 'to rub'	toafag 'straight'
iushiugiu 'shake it'	iushiush 'to shake'	iushiungeg 'shaken'
fiti 'tie it'	fiif 'to tie'	*
ngiuti 'chew it'	ngiung 'to chew'	*
rosi 'decorate it'	choch 'to decorate'	*
siugiu 'pound it'	sius 'to pound'	*
(initial or final part reduplication)		
torofi 'catch it'	tottor 'to catch'	*
telati 'free it'	tettal 'to free'	taletag 'freed'
fitiyeli 'marry him'	fitiyetiy 'to marry'	*
(initial or medial consonant doubling)		
biungiuti 'fall on it'	bbiung 'to fall on'	*
ragomi 'hug it'	chag 'to hug'	*
faati 'kick it'	ffa 'to kick'	*
feshingi 'pick it'	ffesh 'to pick'	feshingeg 'picked'
ngiusiuri 'snort it'	nngius 'to snort'	*
peshangi 'stick to it'	ppash 'to stick to'	*

(3) A small number of thematic verbs do not have corresponding neutral verbs, but have intransitive or noun counterparts. Still others have neither.

Vt	*Vn*	*Vi* or *N*
liuweti 'toss it'	*	liuwetag 'tossed'
nngaweti 'dislike it'	*	nngaw 'bad'
tipeli 'want it'	*	tip 'feeling'
lemasi 'make knots of it'	*	*
mwari 'look for it'	*	*
sheeri 'attack it'	*	*
woromi 'swallow it'	*	*

As we have observed in the above, there are some cases in which certain consonant changes occur in the thematic element

when the passive suffix is attached to it. In the first place, the thematic consonant *s* is always changed to *t* in the passive verb, as in the following.

baisi 'untie it'	:	baiteg 'untied'
ngarisi 'gnaw it'	:	ngariteg 'gnawed'
pilesi 'close it'	:	piletag 'closed'

(The word 'close' has two transitive forms, *pilesi* and *pileta*. Notice the alternation between *s* and *t*, the latter appearing before the low vowel *a*.)

Secondly, the thematic *g* either remains as it is or is changed to *ng* in the passive verbs.

g – *g*	fatogi 'write it'	:	fatogag 'written'
g – *ng*	bisigi 'open it'	:	bisingeg 'opened'
	fisigi 'burn it'	:	fisingeg 'burnt'

Thirdly, *l* is changed to *t* in certain passive verbs.

libeli 'burry it'	:	libetag 'burried'
peoli 'hit it'	:	peotag 'being hit'

Causative Transitive Verbs and Related Words

4.5.3 We have seen that most intransitive verbs can be changed to causative verbs with the addition of the causative prefix *ga-* or *ge-*. In most cases, both transitive and neutral verbs have causative forms, but their shapes are not always the same.

(1) Transitive causative verbs have the same form as neutral causative verbs in the following examples, except that the former must have an object suffix and a voiced stem final vowel which the latter lack.

Vt	*Vn*	*Vi*
gakere 'make him happy'	gaker 'to make happy'	ker 'to be happy'
gammeta 'wake him up'	gemmat 'to wake up'	mmat 'to wake'
gammwe 'make him sleep well'	gammw 'to make sleep well'	mmwe 'to sleep well'
gacheiuw 'carry it on back'	gacheiu 'to carry on back'	cheiu 'to be carried on back'
gassita 'make it hard'	gassit 'to make hard'	ssit 'to be hard'

Vt	*Vn*	*Vi*
gaskuula 'teach him'	gaskuul 'to teach'	skuul 'to study'
gattepa 'get ready for it'	gettap 'to get ready for'	tap 'to be ready'

(2) In the following examples, the neutral causative verbs contain reduplicated parts, while the transitive verbs do not. Reduplication covers whole-stem, part of a stem, and consonant-doubling as follows.

Vt	*Vn*	*Vi*
(whole-stem reduplication)		
gashipe 'comfort him'	gashipeship 'to comfort'	ship 'to stop crying'
galewa 'scare it'	gelawelaw 'to scare'	law 'to be scared'
galifa 'steal it'	galifelif 'to steal'	lif 'to sneak'
galinga 'watch it'	galingeling 'to watch'	ling 'to appear'
gapouw 'spill it'	gapoupou 'to spill'	pou 'to be dumped'
gasouw 'throw it straight'	gasousou 'to throw straight'	sou 'to be pierced'
gasuuw 'spill it' (partial reduplication)	gasuusu 'to spill'	su 'to be spilled'
gatera 'rip it'	gatettar 'to rip' (*or* gettar)	tar 'to be destroyed'
(consonant doubling)		
gabeshi 'heat it'	gabbesh 'to heat'	besh 'to be hot'
gebbaro 'bend it'	gebbar 'to bend'	bbar 'to be curved'
gemaagiufa 'encourage him'	gemmaagiuf 'to encourage'	maagiuf 'to be encouraged'
gametta 'cook it'	gammett 'to cook'	mett 'to be cooked'
gasouuw 'see it on a trip'	gassou 'to see on a trip'	sou 'to depart'

(3) The consonant *g* in the causative prefix is doubled in the following neutral verbs.

Vt	*Vn*	*Vi*
gemwashiu 'hold it'	kemwash 'to hold'	mwash 'to be held'

Vt	*Vn*	*Vi*
gapeow 'measure it'	kapeo 'to measure'	peo 'to be even, to measure'
gatiwe 'strip it off'	katiw 'to strip off'	tiw '(to go) down'

(4) Certain causative transitive verbs do not have corresponding neutral or intransitive verbs.

Vt	*Vn*	*Vi*
gemagelagela 'scatter it'	*	megalegal 'to be scattered'
gaaiuta 'load it'	gaaiut 'to load'	*
getoatoaw 'support it'	getoatoa 'to support'	*
gattiugeow 'investigate it'	gattiugeo 'to investigate'	*

Possessive Transitive Verbs and Related Words

4.5.4 Possessive transitive verbs are, as we have seen, derived from classifiers or inalienable nouns with the addition of the suffix *-li* 'to own, have'. Corresponding neutral verbs are also derived from the same words by means of whole-stem reduplication. There is a difference in meaning between a possessive transitive and a corresponding neutral verb. The former indicates permanent ownership, whereas the latter indicates temporary ownership, i.e., 'to use'.

Vt	*Vn*	*N*
faliuweli 'own it (land) permanently'	faliuweliuw 'own land temporarily'	faliuwe-'Cl for islands'
imweli 'own it (a house)'	imweimw 'to use as house'	imwe-'Cl for dwellings'
laiuli 'own it (a child)'	laiuleiu 'raise child'	laiu- 'Cl for child, etc.'
legali 'own it as bracelet'	lagelag 'to use as bracelet'	lega- 'Cl for bracelets'
temali 'have him as father'	tametam 'to be a father (for)'	tema- 'father'
waali 'own it (a canoe, etc.)	waawa 'to use as vehicle'	waa- 'Cl for vehicles'
yaali 'own it (general object)'	yaaya 'to use'	yaa- 'Cl for general objects'

5 Sentence Patterns

MAJOR AND MINOR SENTENCES

5.1

Definition

5.1.1 From this chapter on, our discussion will concern the ways in which words are combined to form higher levels of meaningful units, such as phrases, clauses, and sentences. A broad picture of the patterns of Woleaian sentences and their structure will be given in this chapter, while detailed discussions will be undertaken separately on different types of phrases (chapters 6–8) and on various grammatical relations of simple and complex sentences (chapter 9).

Traditional grammars often restrict the term 'sentence' to refer to an utterance which expresses a complete thought, and which contains a **subject** and a **predicate**. A subject is that part of a sentence or clause about which something is said or done, whereas a predicate is the part of a sentence or clause that expresses what is said of the subject. A moment's reflection will show, however, that a 'complete thought' can be expressed by many kinds of utterances that do not have a subject and predicate, and which can in effect consist of as little as one word, as in the shout *Pagow*! 'Shark!' Many longer utterances may not contain a subject or predicate, but are still perfectly complete in the meaning they express. For example, the complete answer to the question *Iteiu mele sensei*? 'Who is the teacher?' is *Melewe ye buutog* 'The one who came.'

For purposes of our discussion, let us give the term **major sentence** to those expressions which contain a subject and a predicate, and the term **minor sentence** to those which do not

contain a subject, a predicate, or both, but still express a complete thought.

The following examples illustrate major sentences in Woleaian. As we will see in 5.2, major sentences are of two types, i.e., those whose predicate consists of a noun phrase (**equational sentences**) and those whose predicate consists of a verb phrase (**predicative sentences**).

(1) equational major sentences

Waal *wa ttewas*.
Pred. Subj.

'The broken canoe is his (canoe).'

Gaang semal sensei.
Subj. Pred.

'I am a teacher.'

Bisi *sar we*.
Pred. Subj.

'That child is my brother.'

(2) predicative major sentences

Sar we ye sa rig lag.
Subj. Pred.

'The boy ran away.'

I be weri toagota.
Subj. Pred.

'I will see the doctor.'

Equational and predicative types are used most frequently by Woleaians in their daily life. Most of the remaining discussions in this grammar concern such major sentences, while discussion of minor sentences will be limited to 5.1.3.

Simple and Complex Major Sentences

5.1.2 Woleaian major sentences are further divided into two types: simple and complex. The basic requirement of a simple major sentence is one subject associated with one predicate, with or without other elements. The equational and predicative sentences given just above are all simple sentences.

Sometimes the subject or predicate of a simple sentence consists of two words or phrases which are appositively related. For example, the subject of the following equational sentence

consists of the pronoun *iir* 'they' and the noun phrase *sar kawe* 'those children'. These two phrases are related to each other appositively, referring to the same object in the real world. Together they constitute one subject, which is associated with the predicate *ifa* 'where, which'.

Ifa *iir sar kawe*?
Pred. Subj.

'Where are those children?'

In a similar way, the predicate of the following predicative sentence consists of two verbs *la* 'to go' and *fita* 'to fish'. In spite of the two verbs, we cannot consider the sentence as complex, in that the two verbs are closely related to each other in structure and meaning (*la* does not appear by itself), and both together are associated with the subject *ye* 'he'.

Ye sa *la fita.*
Subj. Pred.

'He has gone fishing.'

Sometimes, two or more words in a subject or predicate are connected by means of a conjunction. In such a case, the sentence is still viewed as simple as far as the condition of one-subject one-predicate is met. Thus, for example, the following sentence is a simple one.

Gaang me mwanaal gai mil shag lan seuw skuul.
Subj. Pred.

'That man and I are in the same school.'

Another type of simple sentence includes those in which a part of the sentence is placed in the sentence initial position for emphasis or as a topic. In this case, a word (i.e., emphasis or topic marker) is often placed after the preposed part. Such sentences are illustrated below.

Laumw pabiiy nge bal ila *ssengal.* (nge = emphasis marker)
Pred. Subj.

'Your pigs are also like that.'
(Lit. Your pigs, their way is also that.)
Iiya mele yaremat re *gal lag iyang*? (mele = emphasis marker)
Subj. Pred.

'Where do those people usually go?'

Gaang ila seig me seuw *ragi*. (ila = topic marker)
Pred. Subj.
'I am eleven years old.'

When two or more simple sentences (or clauses) occur within a larger sentence, we call it a complex sentence. The clauses may be of the same type, i.e., all equational or predicative, or may be of different types. Traditionally, complex sentences are classified into **coordinative** and **subordinative** types. When two or more clauses in a sentence come one after another, each not depending in its existence on another, we call such a sentence a **coordinative sentence**. The following sentences illustrate this.

(1) equational + equational
Gaang John nge iiy Mary.
'I am John and she is Mary.'

(2) predicative + predicative
Ye ffas iiy Tawerilimeng nge ye sa ser.
'Tawerilmang laughed and said.'

Semweiu re yenai nge re fatifet.
'Some are long and (they are) angular.'

(3) predicative + equational
Yoor bisi selimel sar mwal nge riuwemal mwangeyai sar shoabut.
'I have three brothers and two sisters.'
(Lit. there are three brothers of mine and my sisters are two)

The two or more clauses constituting a coordinative sentence are called **coordinate clauses**.

A sequence of clauses of which one clause (the **subordinate clause**) is dependent on the other (the **main** clause) is called a **subordinative sentence**. Subordinative sentences are again of two types: **sequential** and **embedding**. The former type includes a subordinate clause that depends on the whole main clause, while the latter has a subordinate clause that depends on a word or phrase of the main clause. The following sentences illustrate this.

(1) sequential subordinative sentences:

predicative subordinate + equational main
Ye far gabel nge gaang semal mal.
'I wish I were a bird.'

Ye be semal nge ruwouw toowail.
'One (animate) becomes two.'
(Lit. it will be one (animate) but its result is two)

equational subordinate + predicative main
Ifa ssengal nge go sa giula?
'How have you come to know it?'
(Lit. what is its manner and you have known it?)

predicative main + predicative subordinate
I tewai lag bon be i temwaaiu.
'I won't go because I am sick.'

I giula be re gal gatemwaaiugish.
' I know that they usually make us (incl.) sick.'

(2) embedding subordinative sentences:
Notice that the italicized clause is dependent on or embedded in the preceding noun phrase (boldfaced).

Iteiu **ikawe** *re buutog igeiy bong*?
'Who were those who came here last night?'

Gaang **mwal we** *go gasi mengaaguliu lalow.*
'I am the man whose coat you took yesterday.'

Go tewai mwongo woal gattiumw **iga** *ye bbel.*
'Don't eat with your fingers when they are dirty.'

Ifa **ssengal** *yaal gaweri ngalig*?
'How did he show it to you?'
(Lit. What is the way of his showing it to you?)

Complex sentences comprised of more than two clauses are used frequently in Woleaian. For example, the following sentence consists of four clauses.

I tipeli be *i be giula* gare *yor le ye be buutog.*
(a) (b) (c) (d)

'I want to know if there is anybody who is coming.'

Notice that (a) is the main clause upon which (b)–(d) are dependent, (b) is in turn the clause upon which (c)–(d) depend, and (c) is the clause in which (d) is embedded.

The above survey of complex sentences is just to introduce the reader to the complexity of sentence constructions. A detailed discussion will be made in chapter 9.

Minor Sentences

5.1.3 Minor sentences, due to their very nature, do not lend themselves to a systematic classification as do major sentences. In general, however, there are two main kinds of minor sentences: those which refer back to the context (either some feature of a preceding utterance or the real-life situation) and complete it, and those

which appear independently. The former type is called **completive** and the latter **exclamatory**. Completive minor sentences can be of all sorts, as far as the forms can stand by themselves.

In Woleaian, such parts of speech as verbs, modifiers and connectives cannot, in principle, stand alone, and therefore do not appear independently as completive minor sentences unless they are accompanied by some other words. For example, numerals may appear as minor sentences only when they are followed by a numeral classifier (e.g., *selimel* 'three animates'); demonstratives, only when they appear with a modified noun (e.g., *imw laal* 'that house over there'); directionals, only when they appear with a modified word (e.g., *paangaar lag* 'all of them'); adverbs, when they appear with a modified word (e.g., *gaang shag* 'only me'); prepositions, only when they appear with their object (e.g., *me Yap* 'from Yap'); and conjunctions, only when they appear with the words they join (e.g., *nge iiteiu* 'and who?').

Verbs may not stand by themselves, unless they are action verbs and appear in commands, in which case the subjective *go* 'you' or *ga* 'you-pl.' is understood. Verbs are thus required to appear with a subjective. In this case, however, the sentences are not minor but major, since they contain a subject and a predicate (e.g., *Ye rig* 'He ran.'). Thus, no verb appears as a minor sentence.

Some examples of completive minor sentences (italicized) are presented below.

A. Fitemal yaremat mele re sa buutog?
'How many people have come?'

B. *Selimel.*
'Three.'

A. Ifa iir sar kawe?
'Where are those children?'

B. *Iiye.*
'These here.'

A. Re log iiya sar kawe?
'Where do those children stay?'

B. *Iga.*
'Here.'

Sentence adverbs like *ngoa* 'yes', *yeeb* 'no', *yengoa* 'of course', *maii* 'perhaps', and *gare* (tag question—'is that so?') are frequently used as completive minor sentences by themselves.

Go be lag? *Ngoa.*
'Will you go?' 'Yes.'

Go tewai lag? *Yeeb.*
'Won't you go?' 'No.'

Go lag? *Yengoa.*
'Did you go?' 'Of course.'

Ye sa lag? *Mali.*
'Did he go?' 'Maybe.'

Yoor semal ig, *gare*?
'There was a fish, wasn't there?'

Here are some of the frequently used exclamatory minor sentences.

(1) Vocative expressions

Eei!	'Hello!'
Tawerilimeng!	'Taweilmang!'
Mwarei!	'My dear (woman to woman)!' (Lit. my lei)
Mauesh!	'Sir (addressed to a commoner)!'
Welimwemw toagota!	'Hello, doctor!' (Lit. upside of your front, doctor)

(2) Interjections

Shiu!	(exclamation of disapproval)
Yek!	'Oh!'
Yek ngoa!	'Oh, yeh!'
Yeei!	'Oh (with satisfaction)!'
Yaak!	'Oh!' (female expression of surprise)'
Yoou!	'Oh!'
Yoa! *or* Yoaiu!	'Oh!'

(3) Swear words

Bengassilomw!	'Between the legs of your mother!'
Feesilemw!	'Fuck your mother.'
Yalius ttet!	'Devil of the sea!'

Minor sentences are especially frequent in easy-going, give-and-take dialogue, in which they often form a numerical majority of the sentences used.

Grammatical Functions

5.1.4 In discussing the grammatical structure of Woleaian major sentences, it is necessary to clarify the concept of grammatical functions. In this grammar, such terms as **subject, predicate, direct**

object, **indirect object**, and **adjunct** are frequently used. These terms represent the respective functions or grammatical relations between words in a sentence.

We are already familiar with the grammatical function that a subject, object or predicate has.

The function of adjuncts is rather secondary in importance in that adjuncts may or may not be present in a sentence without affecting the grammaticality of the sentence. The position of an adjunct is either sentence-initial or sentence-final, not medial. An adjunct indicates the relation of time, place, manner, source, direction, reason, benefaction, etc. with the other functions, mainly the predicate, within a sentence. For example, the following sentence has the subject *John* and *ye* 'he', the predicate *lii-* 'kill', the object *Bill*, the object suffix *-y* 'him' of the verb, and the adjunct *me woal Maui* 'on Maui'. The adjunct in this sentence indicates the place relation with the predicate.

John ye liiy Bill *me woal Maui.*
'John killed Bill on Maui.'

In this sentence, the subject, predicate, and object are the essential functions, in that none of them may be omitted without rendering the sentence ungrammatical. On the other hand, the adjunct may be omitted without affecting the grammaticality of the sentence.

A grammatical function is not limited to a word or phrase. It may involve a clause also. In the following examples, the italicized parts are the grammatical functions that contain a clause.

Ye yog *be i be lag.*
subject

'It is possible that I will go.'

I tipeli *be i be lag.*
object

'I want to go.'

I be lag *iga ye be buutog.*
adjunct

'I will go when he comes.'

The concept of grammatical functions will be made clearer as we proceed. In particular, chapter 8 is devoted to various adjuncts existing in Woleaian.

EQUATIONAL AND PREDICATIVE SENTENCES

5.2

Criteria of Distinction

5.2.1 A simple major sentence or clause is either **equational** or **predicative**. An equational sentence or clause has a subject and a noun phrase (NP) predicate, while a predicative sentence or clause has a subject and a verb phrase (VP) predicate, as shown below.

Equational:	Iiy *semal shoabut kemwatiyetiy.* Subj. NP Pred.
	'She is a beautiful girl.'
Predicative:	Sar kawe re *lag* iiya? Subj. VP Pred.
	'Where did those children go?'

The difference between the two types of sentences is observable in their meanings also. The subject and the predicate of the equation type are in appositive relation, the former identifying the latter, while the predicate of the predicative type expresses the action, state, or quality of the subject.

Another difference between the two types is the presence of a subjective (3.13) in the predicative type and its absence in the equational type, as we saw in the above examples. *Re* 'they' in the second sentence is a subjective. In fact, presence and absence of a subjective is the key criterion in deciding whether a sentence belongs to one or the other type.

Still another difference is that the subject of an equational sentence is never omitted, whereas the omission of the subject noun phrase in a predicative sentence does not affect the grammaticality of the sentence. This is because the subjective of a predicative sentence acts as the subject even if the subject noun phrase is not present. Observe the following. (The symbol * indicates that the sentence is ungrammatical.)

Semal sensei yaremat laal.
'That man is a teacher.'

*Semal sensei.
'He is a teacher.'

Yaremat laal ye be mas.
'That man will die.'

Ye be mas.
'He will die.'

One further difference is that no aspect (3.10) may appear in the predicate of an equational sentence, which is not the case with the predicative type. Aspects appear only in predicative sentences, as in:

Ye *sa* temwaaiu.
'He has been sick.'

I *be* lag Meriiken.
'I will go to America.'

There are certainly more differences between the two types of sentences. These differences will be discussed under the respective sections below.

Equational Sentences

5.2.2 The basic order between the subject and predicate of an equational sentence is *predicate + subject*. This order is basic, regardless of whether the sentence is a statement or question. Notice the order of predicate and subject in the following examples. The subjects are italicized.

Metta *kofamw*?
Pred. Subj.

'How are you?'

Ruwouw rag *yaamw tugofay tangiyei.*
Pred. Subj.

'You are two years older than I.' (Lit. your being older than I is two years)

Iteiu *ikawe re buutog igeiy bong*?
Pred. Subj.

'Who are those who came here last night?'

Seuw baabiyor gach *mele.*
Pred. Subj.

'This is a good book.'

There are four cases, however, where the order is reversed. (1) If the subject is a personal pronoun, it precedes the predicate, as in the following examples.

Geel iteiu?
Subj. Pred.

'Who are you?'

Gaang Tony.
Subj. Pred.

'I am Tony.'

Iiy semal sensei lan rag we ruwouw iwe ye sa lag.
Subj. Pred. Adjunct

'He was a teacher two years ago.'

(2) If the subject is to be emphasized, it has to be placed before the predicate. In this case, a demonstrative compound (e.g., *mele* 'something which'), or the conjunction *nge* 'and', or a slight pause occurs between the subject and the predicate.

John melewe shoal liliil galuuf.
Subj. Pred.

'John was the killer of the lizard.'

Pabiiy ka laumw nge bal ila ssengal.
Subj. Pred.

'Your pigs are also like that.'

Mena fitiyei [pause] semal mwal gach.
Subj. Pred.

'My husband is a good person.'

(3) If the subject is to be topicalized, it has to be placed before the predicate, with a topic marker (i.e., *i-* demonstrative compound such as *ila* 'that thing') coming between them.

Imw we ye yal lag yasol ila imwel bisi.
Subj. Pred.

'The house whose roof was blown off is my cousin's.'

Shoa kawe si kaalebuusaar ikela sar shoabutol Iulitiw.
Subj. Pred.

'As for those people whom we detained, they are girls from Ulithi.'

(4) If the predicate is a clause itself, it is always placed after the subject. The predicate clause, in this case, is headed by a conjunction (*be* or *le* 'that').

Tipel John be ye be lag Hawaii.
Subj. Pred.

'John's wish is to go to Hawaii.'

Any noun or noun equivalent may function as a subject or

a predicate in equational sentences. A noun equivalent includes a pronoun, a demonstrative compound, a noun phrase, or a clause that behaves like a noun. In the sentence *Gaang John* 'I am John', the subject *gaang* is a personal pronoun and the predicate is a proper noun. In *Lang kawe ikelaal* 'Those are the flies', the subject *ikelaal* is a demonstrative compound and the predicate *lang kawe* is a noun phrase. In *Fitemal sar mwal ka re lag igelaal*? 'How many boys went there?' the subject *sar mwal ka re lag igelaal* consists of a noun phrase *sar mwal ka* which contains within itself a clause, while the predicate *fitemal* is a noun phrase consisting of a numeral and a numeral classifer.

Under (4) above, we illustrated a case in which the predicate consists of a clause. In the following sentence, the subject is not a clause itself, but a **nominalized** clause, i.e., a noun phrase which still contains some reflex of a clause.

Ruwouw inchi *yaai farinwosh tangig.*
Pred. Subj.

'I am two inches taller than you.' (Lit. my being taller than you is (by) two inches)

A question word (e.g., *metta* 'what') cannot be the subject of an interrogative equational sentence in Woleaian, but it can be the predicate. This is because it is through the question word that the speaker seeks the information about the subject. The question words that can be the predicate of an equational sentence are limited to *iteiu* 'who?' *metta* or *meta* 'what?' *ifa* 'which?' and *fita-* 'how many?' all of which are pronouns.

Iteiu yaremat laal?
'Who is that man?'

Meta lepal iuliumal shal?
'How much water did he drink?' (Lit. What's the size of his water?)

Ifa itemw?
'What's your name?' (Lit. Which is your name?)

*Fite*fash wa kawe re chuwaaiiy?
'How many canoes did they buy?' (Lit. How many are the canoes they bought?)

Such question words as *ileet* 'when?' and *iiya* 'where?' cannot function as a subject or a predicate. They are used only as adjuncts.

By their very nature of 'identification' and due to the lack

of a verb, equational sentences can never be used as commands. Moreover, no distinction between past, present and future can be made by means of aspects, since no time-expressing aspect is allowed in an equational sentence. Thus, the sentence *Gaang semal sensei* may mean 'I was a teacher', 'I am a teacher', or 'I will be a teacher', depending on the speech situation. If there is a time adjunct, then the time concept will not be ambiguous, as in the following example.

Gaang semal sensei *lan rag ruwouw iwe ye sa lag.*
time Adjunct
'I was a teacher two years ago.'

As noticed in the above sentence, adjuncts may appear extensively in equational sentences as well as in predicative sentences. Some more examples follow.

Fitefaiu fius *lan lang*?
Adjunct
'How many stars are there in the sky?'

Ifa ssengal sepeel *iyang*?
about-it
Adjunct
'How do you spell (about) it?'

Predicative Sentences and the Function of Subjectives

5.2.3 In 5.2.1 it was pointed out that predicative sentences are characterized by the obligatory presence of a subjective, the optional presence of an aspect, the appearance of a verb that indicates action, quality or state, and the optional presence of a subject noun phrase. The most important of these is the presence of a subjective in that subjectives are the unique property of predicative sentences as against equational ones, and they always show up whenever there is a predicative sentence. The only occasion in which the subjective may be omitted is in commands, as we have seen. However, in this case, the omitted subjective is understood and may show up whenever emphasis in required.

Go buutog!
'You come!'

Gai buutog!
'You guys come!'

Buutog!
'Come!'

A subjective represents the person and number of the expressed or understood subject noun phrase that it refers to. The noun phrase here includes a personal pronoun also, as shown in the following examples.

Gaang i ta weri.
'I did not see it.'

Gaami gai lag!
'You (pl.) go!'

Iir ila *re* taai tang.
'As for them, they no longer cry.'

John ila *ye* ta weri.
'As for John, he did not see it.'

Sar kawe ila *re* taai tang.
'As for those children, they no longer cry.'

In the above, the first italicized part in each sentence is the subject noun phrase, and the second italicized part is the subjective. Notice that the noun phrase and the subjective agree in person and number. For example, *gaang* 'I' is 1st person singular, and so is *i* in the first sentence above. *Sar kawe* 'those children' is 3rd person plural, and so is *re* in the last sentence. If a subjective is 1st or 2nd person (e.g., *i* 'I' and *go* 'you'), only a personal pronoun (e.g., *gaang* 'I' and *geel* 'you') is allowed to be its subject noun phrase, because no noun can be a 1st or 2nd person. In the third person, both a noun or pronoun may be the subject because all nouns are 3rd person and so are the two personal pronouns *iir* 'they' and *iiy* 'he, she, it'. Pronouns are generally omitted in the subject position unless they are to be emphasized or topicalized. In the three sentences above where a pronoun occurs, the pronouns are either emphasized or topicalized as the translations indicate. Otherwise, the sentences would be as follows.

I ta weri.
'I did not see it.'

(Gai) lag!
'Go! You guys.'

Re taai tang.
'They no longer cry.'

In a predicative sentence, the subject noun phrase is often placed after the predicate (normally before an adjunct if there is any) although the position of a subjective never changes. A subjective always remains immediately before the verb phrase.

Observe the following examples. The subject noun phrases are italicized.

Mele lai ye temwaaiu.
Ye temwaaiu *mele lai.*
'My son is sick.'

I tipeli be *John* ye be lag.
I tipeli be ye be lag *John.*
'I want John to go.'

Yaremat laal ye sa iuliumi.
Ye sa iuliumi *yaremat laal.*
'That person over there has drunk it.'

Maselipig ye be weriir meleka lai.
Ye be weriir *maselipig* meleka lai.
Ye be weriir meleka lai *maselipig.*
'The epidemic will sicken my children.'

Notice in the last example that the subject may come either before or after the object noun phrase. This postposition of a subject (placing the subject after the predicate) is not allowed, however, (1) if the subject is a personal pronoun, (2) if the subject is emphasized or topicalized, (3) if the object of the verb is a clause, or (4) if the postposition would cause ambiguity in the meaning of the sentence. Thus, for example, the following sentence contains a clause object (i.e., *be Mary ye sa siyal*) and the subject *John* is not allowed to be postposed.

John ye giula be Mary ye sa siyal.
'John knows that Mary is pregnant.'

The subject of the following sentence (i.e., *John*) cannot be postposed, because it would cause ambiguity, i.e., 'John saw Mary' or 'Mary saw John.'

John ye weri Mary.
'John saw Mary.'

It was stated above that the subject noun phrase and the subjective in a predicative sentence agree in person and number. This agreement is straightforward if the subject is a personal pronoun, as we have observed. If the subject is a singular noun, the subjective is always *ye*, i.e., 3rd person singular. If the subject is a plural noun, however, two things must be taken into account in the agreement between it and the subjective: (1) whether the noun is animate or not, and (2) whether the noun is postposed or not. An animate plural noun or sequence of singular nouns

always takes the subjective *re* if it is not postposed.

Shoabut kelaal re tai geshawera fetaleey?
'Don't those girls over there carry it around?'

Paangal yaremat nge *re* tipeli be re be ppaiu lag shag.
'All the people wanted to be silent.'

John me Mary re teit fitiyetiy.
'John and Mary are not yet married.'

If an animate plural noun or sequence of singular nouns is placed after the predicate, the subjective may be either *ye* or *re*.

Re (or *ye*) toulap *sar mwal ka* re tipeli be re be fita ni bong.
'Many little boys want to catch fish at night.'

If the plural subject noun is non-animate, the subjective is either *ye* or *re* if the subject is not postposed, while the subjective is always *ye* if the subject is postposed, as shown below.

Waliuwel kawe re (or *ye*) mwaiushiush.
'Those trees shook.'
Ye (but not *re*) mwaiushiush *waliuwel kawe*.

Notice that plants belong to the non-animate class in the linguistic habits of the Woleaian people.

If a subject is a clause or a nominalized clause, the subjective is always *ye*.

Ye far gach *be ye sa buutog Field Trip*.
'It is good that the field trip ship came.'

Ye ttir *yaai faarag*.
'I walk fast.' (Lit. My walking is fast.)

If two or more singular subjects are connected by *gare* 'or', the subjective is *ye*.

Mali *John gare Mary* mele *ye* gattittig gita.
'Maybe either John or Mary was playing the guitar.'

If two or more subject noun phrases are connected by *me* 'and', the subjective is determined by such factors as the person and number of the totality of the subject noun phrases. For example, *gaang me John* 'John and I' includes the speaker and a third person but not the hearer. If this phrase is used as the subject, the subjective must be the 1st person plural exclusive, *gai* 'we (exclusive)'. If *geel me gaang* 'you and I' is the subject, the subjective is *si* 'we (inclusive)', because the hearer is included

in 'we'. If the phrase *gaami me iir* 'you (pl.) and they' is the subject, the subjective is *gai* 'you (pl.)' of course.

Gaang me John gai shu seuw lan skuul.
'John and I went to school together.'

Geel me gaang si bel lag.
'You and I will go.'

Gaami me iir gai be lag.
'You (pl.) and they will go.'

The subjective *ye* is often used impersonally without any apparent noun phrase subject. This use of *ye* is similar to that of the English impersonal pronoun *it*, as in *It's fine*. The meaning range that *ye* may refer to cannot easily be defined, but in general *ye* refers to such abstract notions, as time, distance, wish, and possibility.

Ye tai paangal yat nge ye gal nngaw tipal iyang.
'It is not all the time that he is sad.'

Ye be fai sekiut nge John ye sa yor pilaal.
'Later John will be something.'

Ye far gabel nge gaang semal mal.
'I wish I were a bird.'

Ye be mmwel?
'Is it possible?'

Ye be mmwelel yaal peshangi?
'Is it possible for it to stick to him?'

A predicative sentence may have one or two objects, since the action indicated by a verb may influence something other than the subject. If two objects appear in a sentence, one is the indirect object (which comes first) and the other, the direct object. Since objects are closely related to the kinds of verbs, they will be discussed in detail in 7.5, where neutral, transitive, and causative constructions are dealt with. Only a few example sentences are given below. The italicized parts are the objects. The last sentence has two objects, *sar kawe* (indirect) and *ig we* (direct).

Ye wegiweg *mai*.
'He is turning breadfruit.'

I iuliumi *liu we*.
'I drank that coconut.'

Ye ta tipeli *be gai be fitiyetiy*.
'He doesn't want us to get married.'

I ganeer *sar kawe ig we.*
'I gave the children the fish.'

As has been mentioned, a predicative sentence may have an aspect. Since aspects appear in verb phrases, they will be discussed in 7.2 in the chapter on Verb Phrases.

Predicative sentences frequently have adjuncts of various sorts. Here are some examples in which the adjuncts are italicized.

Si ya gal log *Mariiken.*
'We (incl.) used to stay in America.'

Ye be ttir lag *ni bugotal.*
'He needs to go home early.'

I ta log *igeiy lalow.*
'I wasn't here yesterday.'

Go gal gaas *iga go be gal shuungi mena fitiyemw*?
'Are you enthusiastic when you meet your wife?'

STATEMENT, QUESTION, COMMAND, EMPHASIS, TOPIC, AND EXCLAMATION

5.3 Along with the classifications of sentences made thus far, we may distinguish sentence forms or structures from the situational functions of utterances, such as giving information, eliciting information, inducing or preventing action by others, emphasizing or topicalizing a certain element within a sentence, and uttering exclamations. Each of these six situational functions are illustrated below with English sentences.

statement:	John runs to school.
question:	Does John run to school?
command:	John! Run to school!
emphasis:	*John* runs to school. *or* It is John who runs to school.
topic:	As for John, he runs to school.
exclamation:	John runs to school! *or* How fast John runs to school!

These six sentence types based on the situational functions of utterances are also distinguished in Woleaian, as will be discussed below.

Statement and Question

5.3.1 Statement (or declarative) sentences in Woleaian give information in a plain and straightforward manner. These are the basic sentences from which the other types of sentences are thought to be derived. They certainly occur most frequently in daily

conversations. In many cases, statements are used as answers to questions, since the latter seek information while the former provide information.

Woleaian statement and question sentences, whether equational or predicative, are not distinguishable in terms of structural arrangements of words. Notice the following pairs of sentences.

(1) equational: Iiy semal sar skuul.
'He is a student.'

Iiy semal sar skuul?
'Is he a student?'

(2) predicative: Go weri sar we.
'You saw the child.'

Go weri sar we?
'Did you see the child?'

The structural similarity also holds in negative sentences.

Ye tai gal gashigeshig.
'He doesn't get tired.'

Ye tai gal gashigeshig?
'Doesn't he get tired?'

The difference, however, shows up in other ways. There are two kinds of question sentences: **yes-no questions** and **question-word questions**. All the question sentences given above belong to the class of yes-no questions, because the hearer is expected to answer 'yes' or 'no'. Thus, the only difference between a statement and a corresponding yes-no question is the 3–3–1 intonational pattern in the former and the 2–4–2 intonational pattern in the latter (see 1.9). Question-word questions have the 2–4–2 intonation just as statements do, and they have a question word in the sentences. Compare the sentences in each set below. Question words are italicized.

1. John mele ye weri.
'John (is the one who) saw it.'

Iteiu mele ye weri.
'Who (is the one who) saw it?'

2. Re sa lag lalow.
'They went yesterday.'

Re sa lag *ileet*?
'When did they go?'

3. John ye bel lag Mariiken.
'John will go to America.'

John ye bel lag *iiya*?
'Where will John go?'

Thus, the only difference between a statement and a question-word question is the absence in the former and the presence in the latter of a question word. The question words include such pronouns as *iteiu* 'who?', *metta* 'what?', *fita-* 'how many?', *ileet* 'when?', *iiya* 'where?', the demonstrative *fa* 'which?', and the verb *feita* 'what happens?'. *Iteiu*, *metta* (or *meta*), and *fita-* occur as a subject or an object of a sentence, but *ileet* and *iiya* are used only as an adjunct of time and place respectively, as we have seen above. Example sentences in which *fita-*, *-fa* and *feita* appear are as follows.

*Fite*mal mal kawe?
'How many birds were there?' (Lit. how many animates are those birds?)

Ifa ital?
'What's his name?'

Ifa iiy John?
'Where is John?'

Baabiyor *fa* mele go tipeli?
'Which book do you want?'

Go *feita*?
'What happened to you?'

Nge *feita* go tai gassiy?
'Why didn't you ask?'

Iwe, ye sa *feita*?
'Then what did it do?'

Nge ye *feita* ye temwaaiu?
'Then why is he sick?'

Metta functions not only as the subject or object of the main verb, but also as an object of a preposition.

Be metta go giula iyang?
'How do you know about it?'

Ye log be *metta*?
'He lived as what?'

Although *iiya* cannot be the subject or object of a verb, it may appear, just like the other question pronouns, as the possessor

of a noun phrase, as in:

Johnal iiya yaremat laal?
'John of which place is that man?'
(Lit. John of where is that man?)

Woleaian has a simple way of forming a **tag-question**, which is a kind of yes-no question. This is done by adding the sentence adverb *gare* 'Is it right?...' to a statement. The statement has 3–3–1 intonation, but *gare* is pronounced with rising intonation.

Iiy semal sensei, *gare*?
'He is a teacher, isn't he?'

Go ser igawe be go temwaaiu, *gare*?
'You said before that you were sick, didn't you?'

When a question clause is subordinate to a statement clause, the whole sentence is a statement, and therefore the sentence ends in a 3–3–1 intonation.

1. Go sa ker?
   'Are you happy?'

   I tipeli be i be giula gare go sa ker.
   'I want to know whether you are happy.'

2. Meta mele?
   'What's this?'

   I tipeli be i be giula gare meta mele.
   'I want to know what this is.'

Command

5.3.2 A command (or imperative) sentence is used in a situation where we induce or prevent action by others. Since only *action* is relevant to commands, no equational sentence may be used as a command. A command sentence must be a predicative one in which the main verb must be an action verb (e.g., *buutog* 'to come', *rig* 'to run', *liiy* 'kill it').

Since the meaning of a command sentence is a request whose response is realized in the future, no command sentence refers to the past, nor includes any words that are relevant only to the past (e.g., *lalow* 'yesterday', the aspect *teit* 'to have not been yet').

The subject of a Woleaian command sentence is one of the following: the second person singular *geel* (pronoun) and *go* (subjective), the second person plural *gaami* (pronoun) and *gai* (subjective), and the first person inclusive plural *giish* (pronoun) and *si* (subjective). No other person and number are used in

commands. The first person inclusive plural subject *giish* and *si* gives the meaning of 'let us...'

Geel go lag!
'You, go!'

(Go) matt tiw geel!
'You sit down!'

Gaami gai tewai gachorong!
'You guys, don't make noise!'

Giish si ya lag!
'As for us (incl.), let's go!'

When the subject of a command sentence is a second person, it may be omitted unless the subject is to be emphasized. The omission includes not only the pronoun, but also the subjective, as shown below. In the case of the first person plural subject, only the pronoun (*giish*) may be omitted.

Omission of pronoun:

Gai yemwari meleka metal!
'You (pl.) look at his eyes!'

Go la masiur!
'Go to sleep!'

Go sa weti!
'Wait!'

Gai tewai mwongo!
'Don't eat, you people!'

Si ya mwongo!
'Let's eat!'

Omission of pronoun and subjective:

Mas!
'Die!'

Siu tag!
'Stand up!'

Wol tiw!
'Lie down!'

Liiy gelaag laal!
'Kill that dog over there!'

Gashiuwa molofitimem!
'Forgive us our sins!'

Ttiiy lag getam la!
'Shut that door!'

Gopiiy mai la!
'Cut that breadfruit!'

Gasi tog semweiu fafiy me reel John!
'Bring some fire-wood from John!'

Gafenga lag tamwel la ni bugotal!
'Let the chief go back to his own place!'
Ligiti be re be bariug!
'Let them sing!'

Teotag shiul wa be si be mas seuw!
'Go onto the canoe so that we two shall die together!'

Tera ngali shimwel gius kelaal galebaas kaal!
'Throw these calabashes onto the head of the octopus!'

The omission of a subject in a command sentence is made because the speech situation makes it clear who the subject is. If, however, the speaker wants to avoid the ambiguity between, say, 'you (sing.)' and 'you (pl.)', he does not omit *go* or *gai*.

Although a subjective may be omitted in command sentences in the above way, it is not omitted if an aspect appears in the predicate. The most frequently occurring aspect in commands is the negative aspect *tewai* 'don't', but other aspects also occur.

Go *tewai* lag!
'Don't go!'

Go *tewai* fatogi itemw lan baabiyor la!
'Don't sign the paper!'

Gai *tewai* gemwashiu tal yeel!
'You (pl.) don't hang on to this rope!'

Si *tewai* lag!
'Let's not go!'

Go *sa* gak tog gelash mwongo!
'Bring some food for us!'

Gai *be* buutog!
'You people must come here!'

Gai *sa* shiuw me igeiy!
'You people leave here!'

As noticed above, both the aspects *be* 'will' and *sa* or *ya* (perfective: remember that *ya* appears only after the subjective *si*) may be used in commands referring to the future. There is a slight difference in meaning between the three sentences below.

1. Mwongo! *or* go mwongo! Eat!

2. Go be mwongo! Eat!
3. Go sa mwongo! Eat!

(1) is a pure command, requesting the hearer to eat. Compared with this (2) and (3) have the meaning of a mild command or a kind of proposition. (2) indicates that the hearer is not ready to eat and the speaker suggests that he eat. The hearer may or may not eat. (3) indicates the speaker's assumption that the hearer is ready to eat. In the mind of the speaker, the hearer's action of eating has already been initiated. The speaker simply urges the hearer to go on eating. The use of the perfective *sa* or *ya* in command is allowed to this extent.

The (obligatory) appearance of *ya* in a propositive-type of command with *si* 'we (incl.)' as the subject has the same implication. For example, the sentence *Si ya lag* 'Let's go' implies that the speaker thinks that the hearer is ready to go.

The intonation pattern of command sentences was discussed in 1.9.

Emphasis and Topic

5.3.3 Emphasis and topic constructions are very productive in Woleaian. Any noun phrase (including pronouns) may be emphasized or topicalized, but verb phrases or particles may not. An emphasized or topicalized noun phrase is always placed in sentence initial position, usually followed by a special word (or an emphasis or topic marker), as illustrated below.

plain statement:	I weri imw we. 'I saw the house.'
emphasis:	Imw we mele i weri. 'The house (is the one that) I saw.'
topic:	Imw we ila i weri. 'As for the house, I saw it.'

In these examples, *imw we* is emphasized with the emphasis marker *mele*. It is topicalized with the topic marker *ila* following.

Let us first observe **emphasis constructions**. We have two different kinds of emphasis: **selective** and **non-selective**. By selective emphasis, we mean that an object (referred to by the emphasized noun phrase) is selected among other similar types of objects and is emphasized. The selective emphasis marker is always *mele* (i.e., *mel-* 'something' + *ye* 'this'). The basic meaning of *mele* is 'something which...' or 'someone who...' The

selectively emphasized part is new information to the hearer. This will be contrasted with topic constructions where the topicalized part is old information to the hearer. This is the reason why a question word which seeks information and therefore is not old information can be emphasized but can never be topicalized, as in the following example.

Metta mele go weri?
'What did you see?' (Lit. what is something you saw?)
but not: *Metta ila go weri? *'As for what, did you see it?'

In the following examples of selective emphasis, notice the different functions the emphasized noun phrases have in the sentences.

equational sentences:
Metta mele D.G.?
'What's D.G.?' (*Metta* is the predicate.)

John mele shoal liliil galuuf.
'John is the killer of the lizard.' (*John* is the subject.)

predicative sentences:
John mele ye biung.
'John is (someone who is) right.' (*John* is the subject.)

Yaremat laal mele i sa weri.
'That person (is someone) I saw.' (*Yaremat laal* is the object.)

Ileet mele ye temwaaiu mena laumw?
'When did your child get sick?' (*Ileet* is the adjunct.)

Iiteiu mele ye be lag?
'Who will go?' (*Iiteiu* is the subject.)

Imw la mele ye gach yasol.
'That is the house whose roof is good.' (*Imw la* is a part (i.e., the possessor) of the subject.)

Non-selective emphasis constructions do not give any selective meaning to the emphasized object, but simply have the hearer's attention focussed on the emphasized object. The emphasized part is neutral as to the old/new information to the hearer. The emphasis marker used is either *nge* or a slight pause. The basic meaning of *nge* is 'and' or 'and then', but in emphasis constructions *nge* simply has the meaning of drawing the hearer's attention to the emphasized part.

In general *nge* occurs in the following limited cases.

(1) If the emphasized noun phrase has the meaning of exhaustiveness like 'all' or 'every', *nge* must appear after it.

Ilegil ngiil nge ye gach.
'All his teeth are good.' (*Ilegil ngiil* is the subject.)

Ilegil baabiyor kela yaal nge ye nngaw.
'All the books of his are bad.' (*Ilegil baabiyor kela yaal* is the subject.)

Paangal yaremat nge re gal paketi biuleiu la re melaw me iyang.
'Everybody misses the place where he was born.' (*Paangal yaremat* is the subject.)

Paangal faiuriumil ka nge ye gal gangi.
'All these things he usually eat.' (*Paangal faiuliumil ka* is the object.)

Paangel yat nge go gal liiy fitiyemw?
'Is it often that you beat your wife?' (*Paangal yat* is the adjunct.)

More often, the above sentences are used in the emphasis construction. If they are, however, to be de-emphasized, the normal word order is used, in which case *nge* is removed. Thus, for example, the first sentence would be *Ye gach ilegil ngiil*, and the last sentence *Go gal liiy fitiyemw paangal yat*? in their de-emphasized forms.

(2) Time adjuncts, when emphasized, are placed in sentence-initial position followed by *nge*, as in the following examples.

Faal gasseuw nge i gal temwaaiu.
'Sometimes I am sick.'

Faal seuw nge i tai niuwa.
'Once I didn't wash it.'

20 *minet nge* riuwemal mele ye sub.
'In 20 minutes, two (animates) were born.'

(3) Place adjuncts may occasionally be emphasized in the same way. Notice in this case that the locative pronoun *iyang* can replace a locative noun. This applies to any construction where a locative noun phrase is emphasized or topicalized (see 8.3.4).

plain statement: Ye toulap toulap mele re log *reel sefaiu ssobul shal.*
place adjunct
'Lots of them stay in one drop of water.'

emphasis: *Sefaiu ssobul shal nge* ye toulap toulap mele re log reel (or *iyang*).
'One drop of water contains lots of them.'

(4) Personal pronouns may be emphasized by means of *nge* as well as by *mele* or a pause.

Gaamam nge sar skuul.
'As for us, we are students.'

(5) Numeral compounds are often emphasized with *nge* following.

Ruwouw nge go be gashu ngali ruwouw ila nge ye bel faauw.
'Two and two equal four.'

(6) When an adverb indicating emphasis (e.g., *bal* 'also') appears in the emphasized noun phrase, *nge* is used as the emphasis marker.

Bal pabiiy ka laumw nge bal ila ssengal.
'Also your pigs are also like that.'

Zero emphasis marker (i.e., slight pause) is used widely, whenever simple emphasis is intended, as illustrated below.

Imw kelaal [pause] ye gach.
'That house is good.' (*Imw kelaal* is the subject.)

John [pause] paangal yaremat nge re gachiuw.
'John is loved by everybody.' (*John* is the object.)

Metta [pause] go tai lag Yap lalow iyang?
'Why didn't you go to Yap yesterday?' (*Metta* is an adjunct.)

Sar mwal we ye tai rigirig [pause] ye sa nngaw tipal.
'The boy who lost the race felt sorry.' (*Sar mwal we ye tai rigirig* is a part, i.e., the possessor of the subject.)

The de-emphasized counterparts of the above examples are as follows.

Ye gach imw kelaal.
Paangal yaremat nge re gachiuw John.
Go tai lag Yap lalow reel metta?
Ye sa nngaw tipel sar mwal we ye tai rigirig.

Topic constructions are formed by placing the noun phrase to be topicalized in sentence-initial position and adding the topic marker *ila* (a demonstrative compound meaning 'that thing') after it. There is a slight pause between *ila* and the following construction. Any noun phrase in an equational or predicative sentence may be topicalized in this way, except that in the equational sentence only the subject is topicalized.

equational: *Gaang ila* semal sensei. (*Gaang* is the subject.)
'As for me, I am a teacher.'

John ila semal shoal mwongool pagow. (*John* is the subject.)
'As for John, he is a shark-eater.'

Yaremat la ye ffeo buk kela yaal ila lai sar skuul.
(*Yaremat la ye ffeo buk kela yaal* is the subject.)
'As for the person whose books are new, he is my student.'

predicative: *Giliy me giyegiy ka ye bbel ila* yoor lang iyang.
(*Giliy me giyegiy ka ye bbel* is the adjunct.)
'As for those dirty mats, there are ants in them.'

Sar skuul kawe limmal ila re gach gemas. (*Sar kawe limmal* is subject.)
'Those five students of mine are very good.'

Since a topic construction assumes that the topicalized noun phrase is old information to the hearer (in contrast to a selective emphasis construction), it is unnatural to use a topic construction in a question. Thus, topic is relevant only to statements.

Exclamation

5.3.4 Two types of exclamatory constructions are commonly used in Woleaian. One is to use the question verb *fiteey* 'what happens to it?' followed by the adverb *mwo* 'just'. The subject is a nominalized construction whose subjective is the third person singular *ye* 'it'. *Ye* is normally followed by the perfective aspect *sa*.

Ye sa fiteey mwo farimwoshol!
'How tall he is!' (Lit. His tallness, what's happened!)

Ye sa fiteey mwo mmengal!
'What a fool he is!'

Ye sa fiteey mwo yaar mmang shoabut!
'How silly women are!'

The other type uses the adverb *te* 'indeed, very, extremely'. This adverb is placed immediately before the verb.

Re te mmang shoabut!
'How silly women are!'

Ye te tagiyet iwe imw!
'How tall that building was!'

Ye te filewas iyeel saar!
'How incapable this child is!'

Ye te kemwatiyetiy mwo lenamwol faliuwei!
'How pretty the inside of the lagoon of this island is!'

In this second type, a slight change in intonation will give a negative (or sarcastic) meaning. Compare the two sentences in each pair below.

1. Ye te mmera mwo iyeel wa!
   fast
   'How fast this canoe is!'

   Ye te mmera mwo iyeel wa!
   'How slow this canoe is!'

2. Ye te fil gach iyeel sar!
   capable
   'How capable this child is!'

   Ye te fil gach iyeel sar!
   'How incapable this child is!'

3. Ye te gach mwo iyeel faiuriumil!
   'How good this thing is!'

   Ye te gach mwo iyeel faiuriumil!
   'How bad this thing is!'

6 Noun Phrases

FUNCTION AND KIND

6.1 As we have seen thus far, noun phrases form the most frequently appearing grammatical class. This is due to the varied grammatical functions a noun phrase has: the subject of an equational or predicative sentence, the predicate of an equational sentence, the direct or indirect object of a verb, the head of an adjunct, the possessor in an attributive (or possessive) construction, and the main verb itself. The following examples are given as a recapitulation of the grammatical functions of a noun phrase. The bracketed parts are all noun phrases. Remember that the head, or the most important part, of a noun phrase is a noun or pronoun.

(1) both subject and predicate of an equational sentence

[Giliyal] [melekawe igelaal].
Pred. Subj.
'Those over there are his mats.'

[Semal mwal gach] [mena fitiyei].
Pred. Subj.
'My husband is a good person.'

(2) subject in a predicative sentence

Ye toar [gelai].
Subj.
'I got nothing to eat.'

Ye sa geraat [faal ungel imw yeel].
Subj.
'The ceiling of this house has turned sooty.'

(3) object of a verb

Ye ganeer [sar mwal kawe] [ig we].
indirect Obj. direct Obj.
'He gave the boys the fish.'

(4) head of an adjunct or adjunct itself

Ye sa buutog me [iiya]?
head of Adjunct
'Where has he come from?'

Ye was John [yat we ye ppiung tiw].
Adjunct
'John got hurt when he fell down.'

(5) possessor in an attributive construction

I ta weri yaar [sar kelaal] baabiyor.
Possessor
'I did not see those boys' books.'

The larger noun phrase *yaal sar kelaal baabiyor* 'those boys' book(s)' is an attributive construction, whose minimum requirement is a noun followed by a possessive suffix or by a defective possessive suffix (*-l* 'of') + possessor noun phrase (*yaal sar kelaal* 'those boys' general object' in the above example). See 6.8 for detailed discussions.

(6) main verb

Ye sa [ilegil ker].
Main V.
'He is very happy.'

I tai [tipei] be re be tamwaaiu rebugotai.
Main V.
'I don't want my relatives to be sick.'

Ilegil ker 'all of happiness' and *tipei* 'my feeling' are noun phrases both in structure and in meaning. Noun phrases are sometimes used to function as main verbs (7.5.6).

In addition to the classification of noun phrases according to their functions as above, we can classify them in terms of their structure. In the first place, all noun phrases are either simple or complex. The latter consists of more than a simple phrase. This will be discussed in 6.3.

Secondly simple noun phrases are divided into the following types: (1) **bare-nominal** construction which consists of a noun or pronoun; (2) **adjective** construction where an adjective should modify the head noun; (3) **demonstrative** construction where a demonstrative modifies the head noun; (4) **attributive** construction in which a possessive suffix is attached to the head noun; and (5) **numeral** construction which consists of a numeral and other elements. These will be elaborated on in 6.5 through 6.9.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF SIMPLE NOUN PHRASES

6.2 Let us now examine the internal structure of simple noun phrases. A simple noun phrase is composed of the central part, which provides the key meaning of the phrase, and the peripheral part, which provides such auxiliary meanings as negation, emphasis, or manner. The peripheral part is structurally less important and may be dispensed with. It includes the negative aspect *tai* 'not', such adverbs as *gal* 'always', *bal* 'also', *shag* 'just', and such directionals as *lag* 'away, complete'. All these peripheral elements are particles, which will be discussed separately in 6.4. In the following examples of noun phrases, the italicized words are such peripheral elements.

Gaang *shag*	'just me'
paangal *lag* yaremat	'everybody'
tai iir	'not them'
tai gal semal yaremat	'not only one person'
bal seuw teengal shal gach	'also a good water tank'

Notice that a peripheral element modifies the whole noun phrase, rather than any particular word (say the head) of it.

There are three characteristic structures of the central parts of noun phrases. The simplest structure is of the following shape, in which parentheses indicate that the grammatical classes enclosed in them are optional.

$$\text{Type 1.} \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{Noun} \\ \text{Pronoun} \end{matrix} \right\} + (\text{Adjective}) + (\text{Demonstrative})$$

This means that a noun phrase may consist only of a noun or a pronoun (bare-nominal construction) on the one hand, or may consist of a noun or pronoun followed by an adjective (adjective construction), and/or by a demonstrative (demonstrative construction). It further means that an adjective or a demonstrative always *follows* the head noun or pronoun and that, if both an adjective and a demonstrative appear, the adjective comes first. Pronouns are rarely followed by a modifier, except for the defective pronouns *i-* 'that thing' and *mel-*'something', with which a demonstrative must occur (e.g., *ila* 'that', *ika* 'these', *mele* 'this', *meleka* 'these'). The following noun phrases illustrate the above structure.

(1) noun or pronoun

John	imw	'house'

yaremat	'person'	shoabut	'female'
laiu	'tomorrow'	geel	'you'
iir	'they'	metta	'what'

(2) noun + adjective

bugot gach	'good village'	wa ttewas	'broken canoe'
mal nngaw	'bad thing'		

(3) noun + demonstrative or pronoun + demonstrative

sar yeel	'this child'	yat we	'that time'
wa kawe	'those canoes'	mai laal	'that breadfruit'
mele	'this thing'	ikèla	'those things'

(4) noun + adjective + demonstrative

sar gach yeel	'this good child'
mwongo nngaw la	'that bad food'
imw lap kelaal	'those big houses over there'

The second type of noun phrase structure is of the following shape, which is called the attributive or possessive construction.

Type 2. Noun + possessive suffix + (possessor Noun Phrase) + (possessed Noun Phrase)

The minimum requirement of this structure is a noun followed by a possessive suffix, as illustrated below.

lai	'my child'	metal	'his eyes'
yasol	'its roof'	imwemw	'your house'
waamam	'our (excl.) canoe'	itash	'our (incl.) names'
gelami	'your (pl.) food'	woar	'on them'

The possessor noun phrase may be placed after the possessive suffix. In this case, the third person singular suffix *-l* 'his, her, its' has to be changed to the defective suffix *-l* 'of' while the plural suffix *-r* may optionally be changed to *-l* 'of'.

imwal	'his house'	imwel bisi	'house of my brother'
ilegil	'his everything'	ilegil ngiil	'all of his teeth'
imweer	'their house'	imweer yaremat ka imwel yaremat ka	'house of these people'

Since the possessor can be a noun phrase of any type, it may contain another noun phrase within itself. Thus, for example, the following phrases are the result of such repeated embedding of noun phrases.

lan mwaliumwul imw we	'inside the kitchen of the house'
faal ungel imw yeel	'under the ceiling of this house' (Lit., underside of the ridgepole of this house)

If a possessive classifier is the first (or head) noun in an attributive construction, a possessed noun phrase may also occur, as illustrated below.

Classifier + poss. suffix + possessed Noun Phrase (italicized)

imwash *imw*	'our (incl.) house'
lai *sar skuul gach*	'my good student'
gelaar *ig*	'their fish'
yaal *kapetal Saliwis*	'his speaking of Marshallese'

Classifier + poss. suffix + possessor Noun Phrase + possessed Noun Phrase

yaal sar mwal ka baabiyor	'these students' books'
waal John stoosa	'John's car'
iuliumel John me Mary liu	'John and Mary's coconuts'

The possessor Noun Phrase may be placed after the possessed Noun Phrase with exactly the same meaning. In this case, the possessive suffix of the classifier is always a regular one (i.e., *-l* 'his, her, its' or *-r* 'their'), not the defective *-l* 'of'.

yaar *baabiyor* sar mwal ka	'these male students' books'
waal *stoosa* John	'John's car'
iuliumaar *liu* John me Mary	'John and Mary's coconuts'

The third type of noun phrase structure includes numeral constructions, which are of the following shape.

Type 3. Numeral Compound + (classified Noun Phrase)

A numeral compound consists of a numeral (e.g., *se-* 'one') and a numeral classifier (3.5.2) which must always occur together, as in *seuw* 'one general object', *riuwemal* 'two animate objects', *selifeiu* 'three round objects', and *faagofet* 'four broken pieces'.

A numeral compound may be followed by a noun phrase which agrees with the numeral classifier in meaning. For example, *yaremat* 'person' is a living being and therefore it may follow, say, *selimel* 'three animates', as in *selimel yaremat* 'three persons'. Hence, we may say that *yaremat* is a noun numerically classified by the classifier *mal*. A classified noun phrase may frequently

be omitted, either if it is understood or if the speaker does not want to specify it. In the following numeral constructions, the italicized parts are classified noun phrases.

seliuw *buk*	'three books'
sefash *wa faliuw*	'a ship'
seuw *bugot gach*	'a good piece of land'
selimel *bisi*	'three brothers of mine'
fitemal *sar mwal ka*?	'how many of these boys?'
semal *mwangeyal John sar shoabut*	'one sister of John'

Notice that some classified noun phrases belong to Type 1 structure and others to Type 2 (i.e., *bisi* 'my brothers' and *mwangeyal John sar shoabut* 'John's sister').

For detailed discussions on the noun phrases of the above three types, see 6.5–6.9.

COMPLEX NOUN PHRASES

6.3 The three types of noun phrase structure discussed in the preceding section include all and only simple noun phrases. Those which do not belong to one of them are complex noun phrases, which may be classified into four types as follows.

(1) A complex noun phrase is formed when two or more simple noun phrases are joined by a conjunction. Conjunctions used are *me* 'and', *nge* 'and', and *gare* 'or'. *Nge* and *gare* are also used to join coordinate clauses, while *me* is used only to join noun phrases. When *nge* joins two (or more) noun phrases, there is a slight pause before and after it, which is not the case with the other two. *Me* is preferred to *nge* in most cases. *Nge* is used only when the speaker wants to connect noun phrases loosely. In the following sentences, the italicized parts are complex noun phrases.

Yaremat laal me sar yeel re bisibis.
'That person and this child are brothers.'

Ye sa bbel *paiul me metal.*
'His hands and eyes are dirty.'

Gaaiu ngaliyei gare *ileet nge iiya* mele si be shu me iyang.
'Tell me where and when we will meet.'

Semal yalius gare metta iiy yaremat we.
'That person is a ghost or something.'

Ye mwongo *ig gare mai.*
'She ate fish or breadfruit.'

I tipeli be i be giula gattittigil *piano gare baiolin.*
'I want to learn to play either the piano or the violin.'

A complex noun phrase of this type may consist of any number of simple noun phrases. In this case, the conjunction must appear after all simple noun phrases, and must be followed by a slight pause. In the following, pause is marked with a comma.

John me, Bill me, Mary re shu fengan me woal Yap.
'John, Bill, and Mary met on Yap.'

When a personal pronoun and a noun phrase are joined, the pronoun comes first. However, there is no fixed order among pronouns if more than one pronoun is involved.

Gaang me mwanaal gai mil shag lan seuw skuul.
'That man and I are in the same school.'

Geel me gaang (or *gaang me geel*) si bel lag.
'You and I will go.'

Certain personal pronoun appearing in a complex noun phrase is predictable due to the presence of another element that indicates person and number (i.e., a subjective, an object suffix, or a possessive suffix). Such a pronoun is omitted. For example, when the complex noun phrase *gaang me iiy* 'I and he' is used as the subject, the subjective is naturally *gai* 'we (excl.)'. Since *gai* always includes the speaker (*gaang*) and one or more people other than the hearer, *gaang* is always predictable whenever *gai* occurs. Thus, *gaang* is omitted in such a context, as in *Gai gaffiteg shag me iiy* 'He and I are the same'. Omission of personal pronoun occurs when the complex noun phrase that contains the pronoun is either a subject, object, or the possessor in a possessive construction.

Re mil seuw *me resaapaan kawe.* (*Iiy* 'he' or *iir* 'they' is omitted before *me resaapaan kawe.*)
'He (*or* they) and the Japanese people lived together.'

Gai yengaang fengal *me yaremat la.* (*Gaang* 'I' is omitted before *me yaremat la.*)
'The man and I work together.'

Ye werigemi *me yaremat la.* (Geel 'you' is omitted before *me yaremat la.*)
'He saw you and that person.'

Yaamam *me John* baabiyor mele. (*Gaang* 'I' is omitted before *me John*.)
'This is John's and my book.'

In the last sentence, the possessive suffix *-mam* 'our (excl.)' in *yaamam* 'our (excl.) general object' already includes the speaker, i.e., *gaang* 'I', which need not be expressed. Only the specific third person (here *John*) is expressed if the speaker so wishes, because the omission of *John* would not allow the hearer to predict *John*.

(2) Another type of complex noun phrase consists of simple noun phrase followed by a clause, which, structurally, is embedded in the former. Detailed discussions of this structure will be taken up in chapter 9. A few examples only will be presented here. The italicized parts are complex noun phrases of this type. The embedded clause in a complex noun phrase is either equational or predicative.

I toolong lan mwaliumwul *imw we imwel Tony*.
'I went into the kitchen of Tony's house.'

Ye temwaaiu *mele lai*.
'This child of mine is sick.'

Yoor *sefash wa faliuw le ye tabeey tog*.
'There is the ship (lit. a ship) he came by.'

Yaremat la i be ganeey buk we ila maareyerai.
'That person whom I shall give the book to is my friend.'

Ye was John *yat we ye ppiung tiw*.
'John got hurt when he fell down.'

As we saw above, an equational embedded clause lacks a subject; only the predicate is present. Thus, for example, *imwel Tony* in the complex noun phrase *imw we imwel Tony* 'the house which is Tony's house' is the predicate, and is the only member of the clause embedded in the simple noun phrase *imw we*. As we will see in 9.2, the omitted subject is *imw we* 'the house', which is omitted because it is identical with the head noun *imw we*.

Just like an other kind of noun phrase, a complex noun phrase of this type may function as the subject, predicate, object, possessor, or an adjunct of sentence, as we have partly observed in the above examples.

(3) A third type of complex noun phrase consists of two simple noun phrases without any connector. In this case, the two phrases refer to the same object. Thus, they are in appositive

relation structurally. The following three patterns are the most conspicuous.

First, a noun phrase is occasionally preceded by a personal pronoun, as illustrated below.

Metta *iiy mena*?
'What is that?'

Ifa *iiy Tony*?
'Where is Tony?'

Iwe shag nge ye ffas *iiy Genaiuliwish*.
'And then Genaiuliwish laughed.'

Go sa weri ngali metamw *iiy germ kela*?
'Did you see those germs with your eyes?'

Iiy semal metta, *iiy mwenaal*?
'What is that man, over there?'

Iteiu mele ye lag wrestling bong? *Iir Ramwon*.
'Who went to the wrestling last night?' 'Ramwon and others.'

The third person personal pronouns are the most common in this pattern of complex noun phrases. The main function of such an appositive pronoun is emphasis. That is, it directs the attention of the hearer to the object the speaker is going to talk about. For example, *Metta iiy mena*? 'What is that?' is used in the case where the speaker cannot see the object, while *Metta mena*? 'What is that?' is used when he looks at the object. In certain cases like *Ifa iiy Tony*? 'Where is Tony? the appearance of the pronoun is obligatory, perhaps for the same reason. In our last example above, *iir* and *Ramwon* do not refer to exactly the same object, but *Ramwon* is included in *iir* 'they'.

Second, a possessive and a numeral construction may appear in apposition. The order between the two constructions is free, as shown below.

Yoor *bisi selimel sar mwal*.
Yoor *selimel sar mwal bisi*.
'I have three brothers.'

Notice that the two constructions (i.e., *bisi* and *selimel sar mwal*) refer to the same object. Either of the constructions may be omitted without rendering the sentence ungrammatical.

Third, a simple noun phrase may be followed by the topic marker *ila*, as we saw in 5.3.3. A topic construction is in fact nothing but a kind of appositive complex noun phrase, in that

the topicalized noun phrase and *ila* 'that thing' refer to the same object. For example, the italicized part in the following topic construction is a complex noun phrase.

John ila ye sa buutog.
'As for John, he came.' (Lit. John that one he came)

(4) A fourth type of complex noun phrase consists of a simple noun phrase followed by a locative noun phrase. The italicized parts in the following are complex noun phrases of this type. *Igelaal* 'over there', *iyang* 'there', and *reel kaaleich* 'at school' are locative noun phrases.

Giliyal *melekawe igelaal.*
'Those things over there are his mats.'

Paangal shoa kela igelaal nge wel bisimw?
'Are all the people over there your brothers?'

Lang kela iyang mele re gal gak tog temwaaiu.
'Those flies there usually carry sickness.'

Paangaar sar skuul reel kaaleish nge re ser be iir ila re gach tangiir shoa ka re sa tugofaiy.
'All the college students believe that they are better than the older ones.'

The above four types of complex noun phrases are often intermingled, resulting in even more complex noun phrases. Furthermore, a complex phrase may be embedded in a simple phrase. Study the *italicized* parts below to see what kinds of noun phrases are involved.

John ye buutog mil *woal faliuw ruwouw kawe Yap me Iulitiw, ikawe faliuwel Micronesia.*
'John came to live on Yap and Ulithi, which are two islands of Micronesia.'
Giliy me giyegiy ka ye bbel ila yoor germ iyang.
'Dirty mats contain germs.'
Ye sa ker *yat we melewe fitiyal ye log reel.*
'He was happy when his wife stayed with him.'

NOMINAL PARTICLES

6.4 As stated at the outset of 6.2, the peripheral positions of a noun phrase are occupied by nominal particles. These include the following.

Pre-nominal particles:

adverbs	bal	'also'	gal	'only, usually'
	mwaash	'finally'	fai	'just, only, almost'
aspect	tai	'not'		

Post-nominal particles:

adverbs	shag	'just'	mwo	'even, indeed, just'
directional	lag	'away, completely'		

All these particles except *fai* 'almost, only' appear more often in verb phrases (7.2–7.4). Pre-nominal adverbs appear immediately before the head noun, while the aspect *tai*, if it occurs with an adverb, precedes it.

Bal John mele ye be bal buutog.
'John also will come.'

Bal semat mwusoa ila ye bal gal gatemwaaiur sar.
'There is also another kind of worm that causes babies to become sick.'

Gal iir shag mele re tang.
'Only they cried.'

Mwaash igela mele i bel lag.
'Finally now, I will go.'

Tai gal semal mal mele.
'This is not the only bird.'

It is common that if a subject noun phrase contains the adverb *bal*, the cooccurring verb phrase also has the adverb, as noticed in the two examples above. The adverb *gal* is also used as a part of the idiom *galsebiun* 'short', which is analyzed as *gal-se-biun* 'only-one-break'. *Mwaash* may appear only with an adjunct noun phrase. This is quite natural in that the meaning it has may not be compatible with a noun phrase that may function as a subject or object.

Fai does not occur with a verb phrase. It appears only in a noun phrase which is a numeral construction.

I mwaash mwongo *fai sekiut*.
'I will eat in a little while.'

The literal meaning of *fai sekiut* is 'only a little bit', but here it is used as a time adjunct with the meaning 'a little while' or 'soon'.

Native speakers seem to be reluctant to use the aspect *tai* as a nominal particle, although it is grammatical. Whenever a noun phrase is to be negated with this particle, people tend to introduce

a subjective before it, in which case the equational sentence is turned to a predicative sentence.

1. Tai semal toagota John.
   Ye tai semal toagota John.
   'John is not a doctor.'

2. Shoabut kaal ila tai refaliuwei be refaliuw kelaal.
   Shoabut kaal ila *re* tai refaliuwei be refaliuw kelaal.
   'These women are not from this island but from a distant place.'

Post-nominal particles occur after the head noun in such a way that the directional *lag* is the closest to the noun, and *shag* or *mwo* follows it if both appear. *Shag* and *mwo* never occur together.

Iiy lag shag woal yaal mil mil.
'She lived entirely alone.'

Ila shag lepal.
'That's all.' (Lit. its size is just that)

Iiy shag yaal fisigi.
'He burnt himself.' (Lit. his burning is just he)

Semal mwo nge ye tai melaw.
'No one survived.'

Igela mwo nge ye shiuwel mil shag iiy faiu la.
'Even now, there still is that stone.'

Ye shiuwel *iteiu shag* mele ye mas?
'Still who else is dead?'

Paangal lag siugiun kaal nge iuliumei?
'Are all these eggs (completely) mine?'

As observed in the last example above, if a post-nominal particle occurs in an attributive (or possessive) construction, it is placed immediately after the head noun and before the possessor noun phrase. More examples follow.

Toulepal shag imw kawe ila ye ttewas.
'Most of the houses were destroyed.'
Paangal lag gesh kawe nge re mas.
'All those rats died.'

The meanings of the post-nominal particles are very subtle, mostly to intensify the head noun in a certain way. If they are omitted, the meaning of the noun is so much weakened. For example, compare the three phrases below.

iiy 'he' or 'himself'

iiy shag	'only himself'
iiy lag shag	'only, only himself'

BARE-NOMINAL CONSTRUCTIONS

6.5 Nouns and pronouns can stand by themselves without being accompanied by an inflectional affix or modifier, in which case they are the sole member of a noun phrase. Such a noun phrase may be called a **bare-nominal construction.** Bound (or defective) nouns and pronouns and all numerals do not constitute a bare-nominal construction, since they must have either an inflectional suffix or a modifier. For example, the following are bound words (- indicates boundness).

(1) Nouns: kinship terms (e.g., tema- 'father,' sile- 'mother')
possessive classifiers (e.g., yaa- 'general object', iuliuma- 'drinking object')
locational nouns (e.g., faa- 'underside', woa- 'upside')
numeral classifiers (e.g., -faiu 'round object', -fash 'long object')

(2) Pronouns: defective pronouns (i.e., i- 'that thing', mel- 'something')

(3) Numerals: all (e.g., se- 'one', riuwa- 'two', seli- 'three')

All the above bound nouns except numeral classifiers require a possessive suffix, whereas numeral classifiers require a numeral. The defective pronouns require a demonstrative, and all numerals require a numeral classifier.

Among the free (not bound) nouns, common and proper nouns occur as bare-nominal constructions most frequently. Some of them are such compounds as *waafaliuw* 'ship', *Shiulifaaliyap* 'a place on Falalus', *Faalimei* 'a place on *Wottagai*', *Tawerilimeng* (a person's name).

When a common noun is used as a bare construction, it has a non-restricted meaning without reference to singular or plural number. For example, *imw* in the sentence *Yoor imw woal Yap* 'There are houses on Yap' is the sole member of the subject noun phrase. It does not specify whether there is one house or there are many houses. It does not specify what kind of houses they are. It does not refer to any specific house(s).

If an adjective followed *imw* in the sentence, say *imw gach* 'good house', the meaning would be quite specified. If a demon-

strative followed *imw*, as in *Ye tagiyet imw laal* 'That house over there is tall', the meaning of *imw* would be extremely specified, because *imw laal* refers to one particular house in view. Some more examples of common bare-nouns follow.

Ye mwongo *peraas* sar we.
'The boy eats rice.'

Temaag meleel.
'This is a cigarette.' or 'These are cigarettes.'

Yoor *tafey* reel.
'He has medicine.'

I be iul *liu*.
'I will drink (a) coconut(s).'

Ye toulap *yaremat* lan skuul.
'There are many people in school.'

Proper nouns are already specific by themselves, in that they refer to certain specific objects in the real world. Therefore, the use of an adjective, a demonstrative, or any other modifier with a proper noun is unnatural, unless there are two or more objects called by a proper noun, as in *John yeel* 'this John' and *John laal* 'that John over there'.

Re be lag *Guam*.
'They will go to Guam.'

Sohn ye tipeli.
'Sohn wants it.'

Ye be buutog *Yap Islander*.
'Yap Islander will come.'

Certain common nouns have specific referents in the minds of the Woleaian people. These include *toagota* 'doctor', *teramiy* 'heaven', *geleisiya* 'church', *paatere* 'priest', *skuul* 'school', *lamw* 'lagoon', and other recently borrowed words. In many cases, these words appear without a modifier, but people understand what they refer to. These words are semi-proper nouns at the present state of the language. For example, one specific *paatere* 'priest' may be traveling around the Outer Islands at a specific time, and everybody knows who he is. By saying *paatere* without a demonstrative, everybody can refer to that priest.

Toagota ye sa buutog.
'The doctor has arrived.'

Paangal Christian nge re chepar be re be lag *teramiy*.
'All believers believe that they will go to heaven.'

Ye gal fitemal garengaap mele ye buulong le *namw*.
'Just a few bonitos entered the lagoon.'

Re ur me *skuul*.
'They dance at school.'

Such time nouns as *laiu* 'tomorrow' and *lalow* 'yesterday' appear without modification in the same way as proper nouns do.

Re be tefaal me reel yaar fikeisin *laiu*.
'They will come back from vacation tomorrow.'

Lalow i shuungi semweiu sar skuul iloumaaw.
'Yesterday I met some bad students.'

All pronouns, except for the two defective ones (i.e., *i-* and *mel-*), appear without modification, because they always refer to specific objects (or persons) or ask for specific objects in the case of question-words. Structurally, a pronoun replaces the whole noun phrase, rather than a part of it. For example, the personal pronoun *iiy* 'he' replaces *sar gach we* 'the good child', and not simply *sar* or *sar gach*, in the following.

Lai *sar gach we*. *Iiy* semal sar skuul.
'The good child is mine. He is a student.'

Observe the italicized pronouns which are the sole members of the respective noun phrases in the following.

Iteiu mele ye be mmwelel foori tapp la?
'Who can do such a thing?'

Iir sensei.
'They are teachers.'

Metta mele go tewai lag *iyang*?
'Why won't you go?'

Go be lag *iiya*?
'Where are you going?'

ADJECTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

6.6 A noun phrase in which an adjective modifies the head noun is called an **adjective construction**. An adjective modifies a noun by singling out one quality of the thing denoted by the noun, as we see in *imw gach* 'good house' where the adjective *gach* singles out the 'good' quality of 'house'. A noun modified by an adjective

may be single or compound. *Imw* in the above example is single, while *imw piipi* in *imw piipi gach* 'good glass house' is compound. Ă single noun consists of one word, but a compound noun consists of more than one word. Compound nouns include *libbey mwal* 'twin boys', *sar skuul* 'student', *gelaag Sepaal* 'Japanese dog', *bugot tamwel* 'the capital city', *waafaliuw* 'ship', *waaffatiul* 'a kind of canoe', *maliumwashog* 'thief', *shal kel* 'waterwell'.

The position of an adjective is always after the noun it modifies and before the demonstrative, if any.

libbey mwal *chiil* kawe	'those small twin boys'
sar skuul *toulap* kawe	'those many students'
mwongo *nngaw* la	'that bad food'
mal *temwaaiu*	'sick person'

All adjectives are intransitive verbs. In other words, certain intransitive verbs function both as main verbs and adjectives. Most of such intransitive verbs indicate quality, quantity, or state. For example, *betai* 'to be fat' indicates a quality. It may be used both as a main verb and as an adjective, as shown below.

Ye *betai* maliug laal.
'That chicken over there is fat.'

Maliug *betai* laal ila lai.
'That fat chicken over there is mine.'

Here are some more examples of adjectives appearing in noun phrases.

shoabut *tugofaiy* we mwangeyal John 'John's elder sister'
old

kook *gariffeeiu* 'cold Coke'
cold

mal *paashigishig* 'small animal'
small

mengaag *bbel* 'dirty clothes'
dirty

wa *ttewas* 'broken canoe'
broken

mal *gassemmwit* 'tiny animal'
tiny

shoabut *kemwatiyetiy* 'beautiful girl'
beautiful

Certain adjectives are derived from intransitive verbs through reduplication. Without reduplication, such verbs cannot be adjectives.

sar *memmasiur* 'sleeping child' (masiur 'to sleep')
gelaag *kekebat* 'barking dog' (gebat 'to bark')
gelaag Sepaal *beshebesh* kawe 'those white Japanese dogs' (besh 'to be white')

It is common to express the idea of comparative by reduplicating an adjective, as we see in the following example.

Lamwocheg lapelap 'Greater Lamotrek, i.e., Lamotrek, Elato, and Satawal'

The position of the adjective may be filled by an adjective followed by an adverb which modifies that adjective. In the following sentence, for example, the adverb *gemas* 'very' modifies only the adjective *gach* 'good'.

Imw *gach gemas* we ila (ye) tai imwei.
'That very good house is not for me.'

Certain adjective constructions have already been fossilized as single words. For example, the word *yenap* 'road' consists of *yal* 'way' and *lap* 'big', but at present it is used as a single word and another adjective may follow it, as in *yenap gach* 'good road'. Such fossilized words are entered in a dictionary as separate entries.

Within a noun phrase, an adjective and the modified noun form the closest unit in relation to the other elements. For example, a demonstrative or a numeral compound is not related to the modified noun alone but to the whole adjective construction. Notice in the following that the italicized adjective constructions have, as wholes, a grammatical and meaning relation with the parts which are not italicized.

semal *maliumwashog nngaw*	'a bad thief'
mwal kail we	'the strong man'
misiilel piipiil *mal paashigishig*	'a microscope'
(Lit. machine of looking at small animals)	

Since an adjective construction is a noun phrase, it may serve as the main verb of a predicative sentence. In the following sentence, *tip temwaaiu* 'sick feeling' is a noun phrase used as a main verb.

I sar tip temwaaiu.
'I don't feel really good.'

As a main verb, *tip temwaaiu* has the meaning 'to be in the state of sick feeling'.

Pronouns, proper nouns, semi-proper nouns (including time words), defective nouns, and numerals do not, in general, occur with an adjective. Pronouns and (semi-) proper nouns are quite specific in their meanings, as we have observed, which fact would make an adjective redundant in many cases. Defective nouns and numerals are structurally bound with an element other than an adjective, which would not allow room for an adjective. Thus, **John gach* 'good John', **Iir gach* '*good they', **temai gach* '*good my father', **mele gach* 'good this', **se gach mal* 'one good animate' are all ungrammatical. If we need to specify the idea of an adjective with such a word, we have to use a **relative clause** (9.2) as follows.

John le ye gach	'John who is good'
iir le re nngaw	'they, who are bad'
temai le ye gach	'my father who is good'
mele ye nngaw	'that which is bad'

Remember that *gach* and *nngaw* in the above constructions are no longer adjectives but are main verbs.

DEMONSTRATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

6.7

Nature and Function of Demonstratives

6.7.1 When a noun phrase contains a demonstrative, it is called a **demonstrative construction**. The internal structure and the meanings of demonstratives were discussed in 3.9. A demonstrative may or may not appear in a noun phrase. If it does, it takes the last position of the central part of a noun phrase, as illustrated below.

sar *laal*	'that child over there'
sar mwal *laal*	'that boy over there'
sar mwal gach *laal*	'that good boy over there'

A demonstrative commonly modifies a noun, specifying whether the noun refers to a singular or plural object, whether the noun refers to an object close to the speaker, hearer, or both,

or not, and whether the location of the object is particularly emphasized or not. For example, *sar laal* contains the demonstrative *laal* 'that over there', which specifies that the noun is singular, the object referred to by the noun is away from both speaker and hearer, and the location of *sar* is emphasized with the suffix *-l* 'there' in *laal*.

The only pronouns that occur with a demonstrative are the defective *i-* and *mel-* as we will see shortly. They do not stand without a demonstrative.

None of the other parts of speech ever take a demonstrative. Proper or semi-proper nouns do not in general take a demonstrative, unless such a noun refers to more than one object, as in:

John we mèle ye giula mele netal.
'That John is the one who knew the fact.'

Defective nouns (e.g., *yaa-* 'general object', *faa-* 'underside') and verbal nouns (e.g., *lag* 'going') do not take a demonstrative.

Woleaian demonstratives have two interrelated functions: **independent** and **relational**. When a demonstrative is not followed by a word, phrase or clause that modifies the head noun (regardless of the presence or absence of a particle like *shag* or *mwo*), it has an **independent function**. In the following phrases, the italicized demonstratives all have this function.

imw *yeel*	'this house here'
sar skuul *kaal*	'these students here'
imw *yeiy*	'this house (I am in it)'
liu *mwuul*	'that coconut tree there near you (pointing)'
liu *la*	'that coconut tree near you (no pointing)'
ig *kelaal*	'those fish over there'
fiyang *we*	'the story we are talking about'
baabiyor *kefa*?	'which books?'

When a demonstrative is followed by a word, phrase, or clause that modifies the head noun, it has a **relational function**, in that it relates the modifier to the head noun in addition to its own modification of the noun. The modifier following a demonstrative is either a relative clause—equational or predicative—or a locative word.

relative clause:

equational: ig *ka selimel*
'three fish here'
(Lit. these fish which are three)

kook *mwu iuliumemw*
'Your coke there'
(Lit. that coke which is your drink)

wa *kawe faafash*
'those four canoes'
(Lit. those canoes which are four)

predicative: shoa temwaaiu *ka re melaw*
'these sick people'

liu *we go fatogi*
'that coconut you planted'

mengaag *kela i gachiuw*
'those clothes I like'

locative word: wa *ka igeiy*
'these canoes here'

sar mwal *we iyang*
'that boy there'

yaremat *kela reel skuul*
'those people at school'

Not all demonstratives have both independent and relational functions. For example, demonstratives having such suffixes as *-l* 'there' or *-iy* (speaker is in the object) do not have relational function. Question demonstratives (i.e., *-fa* and *-kefa* 'which') cannot be used in a relational function. On the other hand, *ye* 'this', *mwu* 'that (near you)', and their plural forms cannot be used as independent demonstratives. Observe the following sentences. The italicized parts are noun phrases. The parenthesized demonstratives are not allowed, hence marked with*.

*Sar kaal (*ka)* re lag.
'These children went.'

*Sar ka (*kaal) re lag* ila sar skuul.
'These children who went are students.'

Ye mwongo *yaremat fa*?
'Which person ate?'

I be tapetap *saar mwu (*mwuul) yaamw*.
'I will use your knife.'

I be tapetap *saar mwuul (*mwu)*.
'I will use that knife near you.'

The following chart classifies the demonstratives according to their functions.

Independent	*relational*
yeel 'this here'	ye 'this'
kaal 'these here'	ka 'these'
yeiy 'this (in which I am)'	
kaiy 'these (among which I am)'	
mwuul 'that there (near you—location pointing)'	mwu 'that (near you—pointing)'
la 'that (near you)'	la 'that (near you)' or 'that'
kela 'those (near you)'	kela 'those (near you)' or 'those'
laal 'that over there'	
we 'that (we talk about)'	we 'that (we talk about)'
kawe 'those (we talk about)'	kawe 'those (we talk about)'
fa 'which?'	
kefa 'which (pl.)?'	

The discussion of relational demonstratives will be resumed in connection with relative clauses in 9.2.2.

Spatial, Temporal, and Mental Reference

6.7.2 All demonstratives except *we* and *kawe* refer basically to the spatial location of the object with regard to the speaker and hearer. *We* and *kawe*, on the other hand, never refer to spatial location. A noun modified by *we* or *kawe* denotes an object which both the speaker and hearer already know. That object is old information to the hearer.

Ye tumwul *liu we.*
'That coconut tree (we are talking about) thrives.'

Gasiir tog *sar kawe wenei.*
'Fetch those children of mine.'

I mengaagu *mengaag kawe.*
'I wore those clothes (we are talking about).'

Thus, *we* and *kawe* do not modify a noun whose referent is observable. As we will see shortly, these demonstratives refer to mental location in most cases, except when they modify a time word.

The question demonstrative *fa* 'which?' and its plural *kefa* 'which (pl.)?' are quite neutral and may refer to spatial, temporal or mental location, as illustrated below.

Baabiyor fa mele go bel chuwaaiiy? (spatial/mental)
'Which book will you buy?'

Rag fa mele go buulong lan kaaleish iyang? (temporal)
'Which year did you enter the college?'

Those demonstratives which take the location emphasis suffix *-l* 'there, here' refer basically to spatial location.

I be tabeey *wa kaal.*
'I will go by these canoes here.'

I weri *buk mwuul.*
'I saw that book there (near you).'

Gelaag laal ye torofi mal we.
'That dog over there caught the bird.'

The two demonstratives *yeiy* and *kaiy* end in the suffix *-iy* which has the meaning 'speaker is located in the object' denoted by the noun. Compare

imw yeiy	'this house I am in'
imw yeel	'this house here (I am outside)'
ikeiy	'these objects I am in'
ikaal	'these objects (I am outside)'
igeiy	'this here (I am in)'
igaal	'here (I am outside)'

Further observe the following sentences.

Sar mwal la ye bel mwongo ila *semal rebiuleiu kaiy.*
'The boy who is ready to eat is one of my neighbors.'

Ye log semal shoabut kemwatiyetiy gemas woal *faliuweiy.*
'There is one really beautiful woman on this island.'

When these demonstratives modify a time word, they refer to temporal location, as in the following examples.

ragiiy	'this year (I am in)'
ragikeiy	'these years (I am in)'
raleiy	'today (I am in)'
ran kaiy	'nowadays'

Notice that *ye* in *yeiy* is frequently dropped, in which case the remaining part (*-iy*) is spelled attached to the noun. Similarly, *waaiy* 'this boat (I am in)', *biuleiugeiy* 'this place (I am in)', *faailengiiy* 'this world (I am in)'. Sentence examples containing these time words follow.

Imw we i chuwaaiiy rag we ila ye gach tangi imw ye mele temai ye chuwaaiiy be imwei *ragiiy*.
'The house which I bought last year is better than the house my father bought for me this year.'

Mwal we ye buutog lalow ila ye sa shiuw *raleiy*.
'The man who arrived yesterday left today.'

We, *kawe*, *la*, *kela*, *laal*, *kelaal* have time reference when they modify a time word. *We* and *kawe* refer to the past, while the rest refer to the future, as illustrated below.

rag we	'last year'	rag kawe	'last (or past) years'
rag la	'one year in future'	rag kela	'those years in future'
rag laal	'the year after next'	rag kelaal	'next years'
ran we	'that day in past'	ran kawe	'those days in past'
ran la	'that day in future'	ran kela	'those days in future
ran laal	'the day after tomorrow'		

Ye 'this' followed by the directional *tog* or *lag* indicates time, if it appears with a time word. Its plural *ka* does not behave this way.

rag ye tog 'next year' (the year to come)
rag ye lag 'last year' (the year past)

Mwu, *kamwu*, *mwuul*, *kamwuul* never refer to time location. They are not used with a time word.

All demonstratives may refer to mental location. If the cooccurring noun is an abstract kind, mental reference is the only possible meaning, as we see in the following.

Go be laiuleiu mwusoa reel *tapp la*.
kind-that
'You will have hookworms by doing that kind.'

I mesaigeti gemaseey *fiyang kaal*.
story-these
'These stories are interesting to me.'

In other cases, mental reference is predictable from the context.

Igela mwo nge ye shiuwel mil shag *iiy faiu la*.
that-stone-that
'Even now that stone still exists.'

Tamweliul Losiyap yeel ye sa mas.
chief-of-L.-this (here)
'This chief of Losiyap (we are talking about) died.'

As already stated, *we* and *kawe* do not refer to spatial location. Except with a time word, in which case they refer to time, *we* and *kawe* have only mental reference.

Sifisif kawe ila sifiir *sar shoabut kawe.*
'Those skirts belong to those girls.'

Ye kekamwongoow *stilo we.*
'He is feeding that pig (we are talking about).'

Demonstratives with a relational function frequently refer to mental location, as observed below..

Shoal giubiul kawe yaash re sa buutog.
'Our guests have arrived.'

Wa la waamw ila ye chau paliuwal.
'That canoes of yours (we are talking about)is expensive.'

Ye masowesow *gelaag ye lai.*
'This dog of mine (we are talking about) is strong.'

Demonstrative Compounds

6.7.3 The two defective pronouns *i-* 'that thing' and *mel-* 'something' are bound with a demonstrative, forming demonstrative compounds. Any demonstrative may follow the pronouns. The uses of the *i-* demonstrative compounds and those of *mel-* demonstrative compounds are not the same.

Five major uses are associated with *i-* compounds: (1) independent demonstrative pronoun, (2) head noun phrase (or **antecedent**, 9.2) of a relative clause, (3) topic marker, (4) sentence adverb (or sentence introducer), and (5) time-place adjunct.

(1) When a demonstrative with an independent function follows the pronoun *i-*, the demonstrative compound refers directly to an object or event which either exists in the real world or appeared in the preceding context. Since this demonstrative compound does not name an object or event, it functions like a pronoun, hence an independent demonstrative pronoun.

Iyeel tamwel we yaash.
Here is our (incl.) chief (we are talking about).'

Ikaal sensei kawe yaar.
'Here are their teachers (we are talking about).'

Baabiyor we yaai *imwuul.*
'That (with you) is my book.'

Ifa itemw?
'What's your name?' (Lit. which is your name?)

Ikefa imweer?
'Where are their houses?' (Lit. which are their houses?)

(2) If a noun phrase contains two or more relative clauses and these clauses are associated with one head noun, a common practice is to attach the first clause immediately after the head noun followed by a demonstrative, and attach the second clause to the *i-* demonstrative compound. In this case, the demonstrative modifying the head noun and that modifying the pronoun *i-* are the same. Therefore, *i-* compounds function as the head noun phrase of a relative clause, although they are pronominal referring back to the first head noun phrase.

Siilo kawe ruwouw *ikawe* re log lan shimwan ila re tai betai.
'Those two pigs which are in the pen are not too fat.'

I sa iuriu tiw lettet *wa we* waai *iwe* i foori lan wiik we.
'I launched that canoe of mine which I made last week.'

(3) Among the *i-* demonstrative compounds, only *ila* 'that thing' (and rarely its plural form *ikela* 'those things', which may be replaced by *ila*) may be used as the topic marker (see 5.3.3). It is placed right after the noun phrase which is topicalized.

Meleel ila seuw teebol.
'As for this, it is a table.'

Gelaag Sepaal beshebesh kawe ikela (or *ila*) wenei.
'As for those white Japanese dogs, they are mine.'

Sar kawe faamal ila re gach gemas.
'As for those four students, they are the best.'

(4) Some *i-* demonstrative compounds are used as a sentence adverb or sentence introducer. The common ones are *ila* 'that' and *iwe* 'that'.

Iwe nge ye sa lag.
'Then he left.'

Ila!
'That's right.'

Iwe, si ya lag!
'Now let's go!'

(5) When *i-* is followed by the time-place suffix *-ga*, a demonstrative must appear after it. In this case, the demonstrative

ye is omitted, but the meaning 'this' is retained. The function of such a construction in a sentence is as an adjunct, as other time or place words.

time:	iga ...	'at the time when ...'
	igawe	'before, then'
	igela	'now, this time'
place:	iga	'here'
	igaal	'this place here'
	igeiy	'here (I am in)'
	igelaal	'over there'

sentence examples:

Igela mwo nge ye shiuwel melaw.
'Even now he is still alive.'

Ye shap tag yaal tang *iga ye weriyei.*
'She began to cry when she saw me.'

Ye log seuw baabiyor *igaal.*
'There is a book here.'

Gai tipeli be go be mil shag *iga.*
'We want you to stay right here.'

Go sa shiuw me *igeiy*!
'You leave here!'

While *i-* compounds have the meaning 'that here, that there, that which ...,' *mel-* compounds have the meaning 'something here, something there, something which ...' When we use the latter compounds, we assume that the hearer does not have any knowledge of the existence of the object or event referred to. By expressing a *mel-* compound, therefore, the attention of the hearer is drawn to a certain object or event. There are three major uses of *mel-* compounds: (1) independent demonstrative pronoun, (2) head noun phrase of a relative clause, and (3) emphasis marker.

(1) With the meaning stated above, a *mel-* compound is used as an independent demonstrative pronoun.

Meleel ila semal worm.
'This is a worm.' (Lit. As for something here, it is a worm.)

John ye pira *melekawe.*
'John stole those things.' (Lit. John stole certain things we are talking about.)

(2) Just as a noun followed by a demonstrative can be the head noun phrase of a relative clause, a *mel-* compound may have

the same role. The only difference is that the former construction is a nominal one, the latter a pronominal one.

Ye sa ker yat we *melewe fitiyal ye log reel.*
'He was happy when his wife (Lit. someone who is his wife) stayed with him.'

Mena (= mel + la) John ye mmwutaagili ila segofet gofetil faaliyap.
'That which John vomited is a piece of apple.'

Ye gal fitemal garengaap *mele ye buulong le namw.*
'There were only a few bonitos that entered the lagoon.'

(3) The demonstrative compound *mele* is used as an emphasis marker, as we saw in 5.3.3.

John *mele* ye giula.
'John is the one who knows it.' (Lit. John is someone who knows it.)

Iiya *mele* ye buutog me iyang?
'Where did he come from?' (Lit. where is some place he came from?)

Relation between Demonstrative and Other Constructions

6.7.4 Since a demonstrative construction has a specific meaning in terms of number and location, it can be the object of a transitive verb. Remember that a transitive verb must have an object suffix which refers to a specific thing or event in the real world. On the other hand, if a noun phrase does not contain a demonstrative, it cannot be said to occur as the object of a transitive verb, but rather as that of a neutral verb. Compare the following sets of sentences.

Transitive Verb:	I iuliumi *shal we.*	'I drank the water.'
Neutral Verb:	I iul *shal.*	'I drank water.'
Transitive Verb:	Ye torofi *mal we.*	'He caught the bird.'
Neutral Verb:	Ye ttor *mal.*	'He caught birds.'

When a demonstrative construction is preceded by a numeral compound, the meaning is something like 'so many of these (or those) ...' Thus, *riuwemal yaremat* is 'two persons', while *riuwemal yaremat ka* is 'two of these persons'. That is, a demonstrative modifies the head noun of the phrase rather than the numeral. Since this is the case, a plural demonstrative construc-

tion can occur with a singular numeral compound, as illustrated below.

Semal yaremat kela ila lai.
'One of those people is my child.'

Ye sa mmash *semweiu mai kawe.*
'Some of the breadfruit are ripe.'

Semweiu 'a group' in the second sentence is a singular form, although the meaning indicates a group.

A demonstrative construction cannot appear after a possessive classifier as its classified noun. For example, we can say *yaai baabiyor* 'my book', but cannot say *yaai baabiyor yeel* in the sense 'this book of mine'. In this case, we have to make it a relative construction, as in *baabiyor ye yaai* 'this book of mine'. Similarly:

Ye gangin *mai kawe gelai.*
'He ate those breadfruit of mine.'

A demonstrative does not occur immediately after a possessive suffix. We have, however, cases where we want to express the number and location of a noun with a possessive suffix. A common practice in this case is to place a *mel-* 'something' demonstrative compound before that suffix-bearing noun. Thus, for example, instead of saying **temamw we* 'that father of yours', we should say *melewe temamw.* Similarly:

Ye ttelaagili *melewe gamweral.*
'He was dreaming of his girlfriend.'

John mele ye giula *mele netal.*
'John was the one who knew this truth.'

Melewe sin John ye ganngewa John.
'That mother of John hates him.'

If a noun is followed by the defective suffix *-l* 'of' and the possessor noun phrase, a demonstrative may come after these.

tamweliul Losiyap *yeel*	'this chief of Losiyap'
toagotaal Mariiken *la*	'that doctor of America'

ATTRIBUTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

6.8

Structure

6.8.1 In 6.2, it was indicated that the attributive (or possessive) con-

struction is of the following shape.

Noun	+ possessive suffix	+ (possessor Noun Phrase)	+ (possessed Noun Phrase)

A possessed noun phrase may also be called a **classified** noun phrase, because it appears only when the head noun with a possessive suffix is a classifier. Thus, for example, in *imwei imw* 'my house', the first *imw* is a classifier and the second *imw* is a possessed or classified noun.

Since an attributive construction is a noun phrase where there appears a possessive suffix, all the following noun phrases are each an attributive construction. The first set includes those of simple structure and the second those of complex structure.

(1) simple construction:

mwangeyai	'my sibling (different sex)'
tipash	'our (incl.) mind'
yaar	'their general objects'
temal iteiu?	'whose father?'
temal semal saril Weleya	'father of a Woleai child'
yaal John baabiyor	'John's book'
iuliumei kook	'my Coke to drink'

(2) complex construction:

faal mele John ye tipeli Mary iyang
'reason that John likes Mary'

reel John be ye gaagu
'concerning John's being lazy'

yaar gal mwongo
'their usual eating'

mmwelel yaar gal mwongo
'possibility of their usual eating'

Notice in each of the complex attributive constructions above that a clause is embedded in a noun phrase. In the first example, the possessor noun phrase *mele* 'something which' includes a clause (*John ye tipeli Mary iyang* 'John likes Mary with it'), while the second example has *John* as the possessor which embeds the clause *be ye gaagu* 'that he is lazy'. In the last two examples, the incomplete clause *gal mwongo* 'usually eat' functions as the possessed or classified noun phrase, whose classifier is *yaar* 'their'.

A personal pronoun does not normally occur as a possessor.

For example, we say *yaai baabiyor* 'my book' or *metai* 'my eye', but never **yaai gaang baabiyor* or **metai gaang*. Thus, only a noun or noun phrase appears as a possessor. Since this is the case, a complex noun phrase consisting of a pronoun + *me* 'and' + noun phrase loses the pronoun when it functions as a possessor, as noticed below.

yaamam me Ben baabiyor (nor *yaamam gaang me Ben baabiyor)
'Ben's and my book'

yaami me John baabiyor (not *yaami geel me John baabiyor)
'John's and your book'

yaash me John baabiyor (not *yaash gaang me geel me John baabiyor)
'John's, your and my book'

yaar me John baabiyor (not *yaar iir me John baabiyor)
'John's and their book'

The defective possessive suffix *-l* 'of' is closely related to the two regular possessive suffixes *-l* 'his, her, its' and *-r* 'their', and all these three suffixes are third person. *-l* 'of' (pronounced with a voiceless *i* following) must appear if the immediately following possessor is a singular noun phrase, while *-l* 'his, her, its' (pronounced with a voiceless *e* following) may appear only when there is no possessor immediately following.

yaa*l* John baabiyor 'of'	'John's book' (Lit. object of John book)
yaa*l* baabiyor 'his'	'his book'
yaa*l* baabiyor John 'his'	'John's book' (Lit. his book John)

If the immediately following possessor is a plural noun phrase, either *-l* 'of' or *-r* 'their' must occur.

yaa*l* yaremat ka baabiyor
'of'
yaa*r* yaremat ka baabiyor
yaa*r* baabiyor yaremat ka
'these people's book'

yaa*l* John me Bill baabiyor
yaa*r* John me Bill baabiyor
yaa*r* baabiyor John me Bill
'John's and Bill's book'

Notice in the above examples that the possessor may be placed after the possessed or classified word, in which case the possessive suffix is always a regular one, i.e., not the defective *-l* 'of'.

Since the defective suffix *-l* 'of' requires a possessor noun phrase to follow, we may frequently have long constructions where *-l* and a possessor are repeated.

John mele shoa*l* lilii*l* galuuf.
'John is a lizard killer.' (Lit. John is a man of killing of lizard)

Paanga*l* lag tamwe*n* (= tamweliu*l*) yaremeta*l* faliuw we nge re mas.
'The rulers of the people of the island were all killed.'

Gaang ila seig me seuw rag yaai tugofaiy tangi mena fitiye*l* laiu*l* bisi*l* temai.
'I am eleven years older than my cousin's wife (wife of son of brother of my father).'

Alienable and Inalienable Possession

6.8.2 Possession is an important concept in the language of the Woleaian people. To Woleaians, certain things are thought to be alienable (i.e., transferrable to others) and others are not. This fact is reflected in their language. Possession of an alienable thing is expressed by means of a possessive classifier followed by the noun denoting the thing.

iuliumei shal	'my water (to drink)'
iuliumemw liu	'your coconut (to drink)'
galemam ig	'our (excl.) fish (to eat)'
laiul gelaag	'his dog'
laiul John gelaag	'John's dog'
yaal yaremat we chiya	'the man's chair'

In the above examples, the first word is the classifier and the last is the alienable object in each phrase. Notice that a classifier and its alienable noun must agree in meaning. For example, the classifier *goshaa-* 'raw food' may occur with such nouns as those denoting papaya, banana, eggs, fish, meat, apple, orange and ghost. The same alienable noun may be associated with two or more classifiers if it has different meanings. For example, *ig* 'fish' may be raised in an aquarium, in which case we may say *lai ig* 'my fish (that I grow)'. For cooked food, we may say gelai ig 'my fish', whereas for a raw fish we may say *goshaai ig* 'my raw fish to eat'. The general classifier *yaa-* 'general object' covers

a wide range of alienable nouns as we have already stated. Moreover, *yaa-* may be used as a classifier for a clause, as shown below. (For details, see 9.5)

I weri *yaal John liiy gius we.*
'I saw John's killing of the octopus.'

Possession of an inalienable thing is expressed simply by attaching a possessive suffix (and often a possessor noun phrase) to the noun denoting the thing. Inalienable nouns include not only kinship terms and body parts but also other abstract or concrete nouns, and nouns indicating locations so far as these nouns may be inalienably possessed by a possessor. Thus, for example, *silei* 'my mother', and *temal John* 'John's father' are kinship terms; *talingemw* 'your ears' and *metaar yaremat kawe* 'those people's eyes' are body parts; *paangal yaremat* 'everybody', *tappil* 'its kind', *itemi* 'your (pl.) names', *tangil* 'crying for him', *paliuwal* 'its value' are abstract nouns; *baabiyoroi* 'book written about me', *yasol* 'its roof' are concrete nouns; and *reemw* 'at you', *woal ppiy* 'sea shore' are locative expressions.

In sentences, alienable nouns are frequently omitted, only the classifiers appearing. For example, we may say either *Iuliumei shal mele* 'This is my water to drink' or *Iuliumei mele* 'This is my drink'. Inalienable nouns are never omitted in this way. A classifier and an alienable noun have parallel grammatical and word-formational characteristics. Grammatically, both may appear in the same functions such as subject, object, predicate and adjunct. Word-formationally, both must have a possessive suffix. In each of the following pairs of sentences, the first is an alienable and the second is an inalienable construction.

1. *Iuliumemw* shal la.
   'That water is your drink.'

   Bisimw yaremat la.
   'That person is your brother.'

2. Ye sa weri *laiush gelaag.*
   'He saw our (incl.) dog.'

   Ye sa weri *temash.*
   'He saw our (incl.) father.'

When an alienable noun takes a demonstrative, we have to turn the position of the noun and that of the classifier around, making a complex noun phrase construction. Thus, we may say *lai sar* 'my child', but not **lai sar we* 'that child of mine'. We have to

say *sar we lai.* More examples follow.

Ye liiy Bill me lan *ruumw we yaal.*
'He killed Bill in his room.'

Ye tai gariffeeiu *kook mwu iuliumemw.*
That Coke of yours is not cold.'

Wa la waamw ila ye chau paliuwal.
'That canoe of yours is very expensive.'

Ye gangin *mai kawe gelai.*
'He ate those breadfruit of mine.'

Iseli long lan *tuutuul sho la yaash.*
'Put it in that copra bag of ours (incl.).'

Woleaian has an inalienable noun which has an unique property. It is the defective (or bound) noun *we-* 'all'. This noun always appears with the defective suffix *-l* 'of' followed by another inalienable noun (usually a kinship term) or a classifier construction. The following sentences illustrate this.

Wel bisimw melekaal?
'Are those over there your brothers?'

Ilegil maliug kawe tiweuw nge *wenaumw (= wel laumw).*
'Those nine chickens are all yours.'

Re be buutog *wel gamwerai.*
'My girl friends will all come.'

Riuwemal *wel fitiyei.*
'I have two wives.'

Sar kawe limmal ikawe re ur wel ppiy ila *weneiul (= wel laiul) tamwel.*
'Those five children who are playing on the beach are children of the chief.'

Notice that *we-* always has the plural meaning and that the possessor noun phrase is a living being.

A great many nouns are inherently either alienable or inalienable. There are some nouns, however, which may be both alienable and inalienable, in which case they have different meanings, as well as different constructions. Let us take two examples. The common noun *baabiyor* 'book' may be alienable, in which case its possession is expressed with a classifier, as in *yaai baabiyor* 'my book (the book belonging to me)'. It may also be inalienable if the book is written by someone or written about someone. In this case, its possession is expressed by means of a suffix, as in *baabiyoroi* 'my book (written by me or written

about me)'. The other example involves the verbal nouns, i.e., nouns derived from verbs without change in form. *Piraf* 'stealing' may be alienable in the construction like *yaal shoabut we piraf* 'the woman's stealing', but it is inalienable in the construction like *pirefal shoabut we* 'stealing of the woman (someone stole the woman)'. Similarly:

yaai ssoong	'my anger'
ssoongai	'anger toward me'
yaal bariug John	'John's song (John sang)'
bariugiul John	'song for John'
yaal mmwut John	'John's vomiting (the fact)'
mmwutel John	'John's vomiting (the manner of vomiting)'

There are some other nouns which may be used both alienably and inalienably in terms of structure, but do not show any meaning difference. These are illustrated below.

yaal ganiur tamwel we	'the king's hat'
ganiuriul tamwel we	'the king's hat'
yaamw lag	'your going'
lagomw	'your going'

Meanings of Attributive Relations

6.8.3 A noun and its possessor (a possessive suffix and, if any, a possessor noun phrase) are related not always in terms of 'possession', (i.e., something possessed by someone) although in majority of cases they are. Toward the end of 6.8.2, we observed various meanings involved in attributive relations, i.e., relations between a noun and its possessor (e.g., *yaai baabiyor* 'my book' and *baabiyoroi* 'book about me'). In view of such varied meanings, the term 'attributive' is preferred to the term 'possessive'. Since we cannot cover the whole range of meaning involved in attributive relations, only certain general meaning categories will be presented in the following.

The relationship between a classifier and its possessor is, in general, that of possession. In *iuliumei shal* 'my water', for example, the relation between the classifier *iuliume-* 'drinkable object' and the suffix *-i* 'my' is that of possession. Similarly in *imwemw imw* 'your house (your sleeping place, house)' and *yaal John yengaang* 'John's work (John's general object, work)'.

The meaning between a derived classifier (4.3.2) and its possessor is that of 'goal', since all derived classifiers come from transitive verbs. For example, the derived classifier *weriya-* 'the object someone sees' and the possessive suffix *-sh* 'our (incl.)' in *Weriyash mal we* 'That bird is the one of our seeing' have the relation of goal and actor. Remember that *weriya-* is derived from the transitive verb *weri* 'see it' and the suffix *-ya*. Similarly:

Liiyel John gius we.
'The octopus is what John killed.'

Fooriyeer remwosuwe mele.
'This is what ancient people made.'

Inalienable constructions reveal varied meaning relations, in particular when verbal nouns are followed by a possessive suffix. The commonest meaning involved is belonging to, possession by, or existence in the possessor, as illustrated below.

talingee*r*	'their ears'
bugota*l*	'his village'
tipe*l* shoabut we	'the woman's will'
ragi*mw*	'your age'
kesa*l* Weleya	'language of Woleai'
temaa*r* libbey mwal kawe	'father of those twin boys'
faa*l* mena	'meaning of that'
yaiu*l* bong	'condition of the night'
sari*l* skuul	'student' (child belonging to school)
yagi*l* temwaaiu yeel	'because of this patient'
tamwe*n* yaremeta*l* faliuw we	'chief of the people of that island'
sha*n* la*n* melaiuliul we	'fresh water of that spring' (water of the inside of that spring)

The meaning between an inalienable noun and its possessor may be some kind of 'association'. Examples follow.

shoa*l* milaai	'farmers' (people associated with fields)
kapeta*l* mal toar pilaal	'talk about silly matters' (talk associated with things whose value is none)
ilegi*l* bbel	'dirt all over' (everything of dirt)
toulepaa*r* mele kela wel bisimw	'most of those brothers of yours'
waa*l* fatiul	'paddling canoe'
ree*l* yaf	'by means of fire'

Sometimes the possessor describes the state or action that the inalienable noun has, as shown in the following examples.

ttiri/ gashigeshig	'fastness of fatigue'
ssite/ chog	'degree of wetness'
ttewasi/	'its breaking down'
lepal iuliumal shal	'degree (or size) of his water consumption'

On the other hand, the following examples illustrate the case in which the inalienable noun describes the action that the possessor has.

shoa/ niil mal	'hunter' (person who kills animals)
shoa/ mwongool pagow	'shark eater'
misiile/ piipiil mal paashigishig	'microscope' (machine of seeing small animals)
lime/ gamett	'utensils for cooking'

Sometimes the possessor is the goal of the action denoted by the inalienable noun, as illustrated below.

ffoori/ ila	'making of that'
nii/ mal	'killing of animals'
gatumwulo/ filooras	'raising of flowers'
gammwele/ mele	'taking care of this'

The inalienable noun occasionally indicates the benefaction for the possessor.

bariugiu/ John	'song for John'
giubuloor shoal kaalebuus lan fiteg	'party for prisoners of war'
gapingepinge/ yalius	'hymns' (songs praising God)

The inalienable noun occasionally indicates the place where the possessor is located.

teenga/ shal gach	'tank of good water'
laniye/ mwongo	'place for keeping food'

In the following example, the inalienable noun describes the result of the action denoted by the possessor.

kamela/ yaai maipil	'miracle of my prayer'

There are lots of other meaning relations. In some cases, the meaning is hard to decide, particularly when the attributive construction is used more or less idiomatically, as illustrated below.

faa*l* seuw	'once in a while' (underside of one)
piipii*l* faal yal	'sun glasses' (glass of underside of sun)
gaselimeliu*l* yaremat	'the third person'
gafiteuwe*l* baabiyor	'which book?' (what ordinal number is the book?)

NUMERAL CONSTRUCTIONS

6.9

Structure

6.9.1 In 6.2, it was indicated that the numeral construction is of the following shape.

Numeral Compound + (classified Noun Phrase)

That is, a noun phrase where a numeral compound (numeral + numeral classifier) occurs is called a **numeral construction.** For example, the following noun phrases are all numeral constructions. The numeral compounds are italicized. Notice that classified noun phrases may be omitted.

seuw	'one general object'
seuw teebol	'one table'
waligumw	'eight mouthfuls (of liquid)'
waligumw shal	'eight mouthfuls of water'
fitemal garengaap	'how many bonitos' or 'a few bonitos'
semweiu sar skuul iloumaaw	'some bad students'
sefash wa kawe waal	'one of the canoes of his'

A list of numeral classifiers together with illustrative numeral constructions was given in 3.5.2, while numerals were listed in 3.8.

When a numeral construction is to be specified with a demonstrative, the numeral compound is placed after the classified noun, with the demonstrative intervening. Observe the italicized parts in the following sentences.

Ye sa mash *ig ye selimel.*
'These three fish are rotten.'

I geragi *buk we seliuw.*
'I read the three books.'

Silo kawe ruwouw ikawe re log lan shimwan ila re tai betai.
'Those two pigs which are in the pen are not too fat.'

John ye torofi *ig kawe seig*.
'John caught those ten fish.'

Iseli tog *maileoriul waain mwu riuwaleo*.
'Give me those two bottles of wine.'

Sometimes, a possessive classifier and a numeral compound take one and the same classified noun phrase. In such a case, the natural order is that the numeral compound comes before the possessive classifier.

selimel lai sar skuul 'my three students'

If in this case the classified noun phrase is to be specified with a demonstrative, the common practice is to place the possessive classifier after the demonstrative, as in the following examples.

Sefash wa kawe ye sa sseg gemas.
'The other canoe of his is over-loaded.'

Ye sa bes *seig buk kawe yaar*.
'Those ten books of theirs are old.'

Complex numeral compounds are expressed by means of *me* 'and' as shown in the following examples.

seig me seuw baabiyor	'11 books'
sebiugiuw me riuweig	'120'
sangeras me semal yaremat	'1001 persons'

Notice that a numeral with a higher decimal precedes that with a lower decimal, connected by *me*. If the last numeral is between one and nine, a classifier is attached to it. The classified noun phrase may again be omitted, as we see in the following example.

Gaang ila *seig me seuw* rag yaai tugofaiy tangi mena fitiyel laiul bisil temai.
'As for me, I am eleven years older than my nephew.' (Lit. as for me, the age of my being older than my nephew is eleven)

Since a numeral construction is a noun phrase, it may function like any other noun phrase, e.g., as a subject, object, predicate, possessor, adjunct element, or head of a relative clause, as illustrated below.

Semweiu siuliutaaw re mwariyei lalow. (subject)
'A group of soldiers visited me yesterday.'

Iseli tog *seliig buk*. (object)
'Give me thirty books.'

Faamal laiul. (predicate)
'He has four children.' (Lit. his children are four)

Ye sa faal *seig* yaal mmwut John. (possessor)
'John vomited ten times.'

Faal *seuw* nge ye sa buutog. (adjunct element)
'He came once in a while.'

Ifa *seuw* le go tipeli? (head of a relative clause)
'Which one you like?'

As a noun phrase, a numeral construction may be preceded or followed by a nominal particle. The adverbs *ga* 'each, respectively' and *fai* 'almost, only' appear only with a numeral construction, before which they are placed.

Bal seuw teengal shal mele yaai.
'I also have a tank of water.'

Re buutog faal *ga* seuw yat.
'They come once in a while.'

Fang ngaligemam *ga* setip filoowa be galemam.
'Give us (excl.) bread piece by piece for our food.'

Ye be buutog *fai* sekiut.
'He will come pretty soon.'

Numeral Classification

6.9.2 As we have observed, each numeral classifier is associated in counting with one or more classified nouns which agree in meaning with it. For example, the classifier *-mal* 'animate object' is associated with such animate nouns as *yaremat* 'person', *gelaag* 'dog', *ig* 'fish', *mal* 'bird', *sensei* 'teacher', *tauyaf* 'swimmer'. All countable nouns in Woleaian are classified by numeral classifiers in this way, just as all alienable nouns are classified by possessive classifiers.

In both possessive and numeral classification, a classified noun has much more specific and narrower meaning than the classifier. For example, the possessive classifier *waa-* 'vehicle' has more general meaning than the classified noun *wa* 'canoe' in *waai wa* 'my canoe (my vehicle, canoe)'. The numeral classifier *mal* 'animate object' is more general in meaning than the classified noun *mal* 'bird' in the numeral construction *faamal mal* 'four

birds (four animate objects, birds)'.

Just as we have a possessive classifier (*yaa-*) indicating a general category, so we have a numeral classifier (*-uw*) indicating a general category. *-uw* is the classifier which is used for unspecified objects or objects not included in one of the other more specific categories. In addition to this catch-all use, it may appear with the objects which normally take other classifiers. For example, the two sentences below are both grammatical and have no essential difference in meaning.

I torofi tiwemal mal.
I torofi tiweuw mal.
'I caught nine birds.'

Besides, big animals like *yoos* 'horse', *ras* 'whale', *siilo* 'pig' do not occur with the animate classifier *-mal*, but with the general classifier. *Pagow* 'shark' may occur with both *-mal* and *-uw* without noticeable difference in meaning.

Seuw 'one general object' has certain idiomatic uses with the meanings 'together, as one unity, once, sometimes', in which case no classified noun may follow.

Re rig *seuw* tog shag.
'They ran hither altogether.'

Si bel mil nge giish *seuw*.
'Let's live together as one.'

Faal *seuw* nge i tai niuwa.
'Sometimes I don't wash it.'

Faal *seuw* nge ye bbel yaai limel gamett.
'Sometimes my cooking utensils are dirty.'

Certain numeral classifiers, which mostly indicate 'a group' or 'small amount', occur only with the numeral *se-* 'one', as we notice in the following examples. Such numeral compounds may classify nouns quite broadly. That is, any noun may appear with them if there is no inconsistency in meaning.

sekiut	'some'
gal sebiun	'only a little'
gal semmwit	'tiny'
semweiu	'a group'

Between a numeral compound and its classified noun phrase, we observe two kinds of meaning: **appositive** and **partitive**. The appositive meaning holds when the numeral construction is not

specified with a demonstrative. Thus, *semal maliumwashog* 'a thief' has the numeral compound *semal* 'one animate object' and the classified noun phrase *maliumwashog* 'thief'. Since these two parts of the phrase are related appositively, the appositive meaning 'an animate object, thief' obtains between them. The partitive (denoting a part of something) meaning holds in the first place, when a numeral compound precedes a classified noun phrase with a demonstrative. Thus, *semal maliumwashog ka* 'one of these thiefs' consists of the numeral compound *semal*, which is singular, and the classified noun phrase *maliumwashog ka*, which is plural, the former (*semal*) referring to one (i.e., a part) of the thieves. Notice that *ka* 'these' is related only to *mal mwashog*, never to the numeral compound.

The partitive meaning also holds when a personal pronoun (always plural) follows a numeral compound. Thus, *semweiu gaamam* 'some of us (excl.)' contains the plural pronoun *gaamam*, and *semweiu* denotes only a part of the object *gaamam* denotes. Following are some sentence examples where the two kinds of meaning show up.

(1) appositive:

Yoor *fitemal sar mwal*?
'How many boys are there?'

Limmal sar skuul re fiteg lalow.
'Five students fought yesterday.'

I tipeli be i be chuwaai ngalig *faafash wa*.
'I want to buy you four canoes.'

Fiteuw piipiil faaliyal mele go tipeli?
'How many sunglasses do you want?'

(2) partitive:

Ye sa mmash *semweiu mai kawe*.
'Some of the breadfruit are ripe.'

Faamal sar skuul ka ila re tai metaf.
'Four of the students do not understand.'

Seig yaremat ka re tai lag.
'Ten of these people did not go.'

Selimel gaami re tai lag tabeey giubul we.
'Three of you did not go to the party.'

Ordinal Expressions

6.9.3 The numeral constructions we have discussed thus far are all of the cardinal type. We have also ordinal expressions, which are derived regularly from cardinal constructions, as shown below.

prefix ga- or *ge*	+	numeral compound	+	defective possessive suffix *-l* 'of'	+	classified noun phrase

Examples are as follows.

*ge*faaman*n* yaremat	'the fourth person'
*ga*riuwefasho*l* wa	'the second canoe'
*ga*fiteuwe*l* yoos	'how many-th horse'

These appear in sentences as illustrated below

Sar shoabut la lai ila gefaaman yaremat.
'That daughter of mine is my fourth.'

Gaseigel imw ila imwei.
'The tenth house is mine.'

Gafitabongil wiik igela?
'What day of the week is it today?'

Notice in the above examples that the meaning relation in terms of classification discussed in the preceding sub-section holds in exactly the same way in ordinal expressions. For example, the classifier *mal* 'animate object' and the classified noun *yaremat* 'person' agree in meaning in the expression *gefaaman yaremat*.

The ordinalizing prefix *ga-* or *ge-* has the same shape as the causative prefix but does not have causative meaning. Together with the defective suffix *-l* 'of', it gives the ordinal meaning.

When compound numerals are involved in ordinal expressions, *me* 'and' is used to join them and the ordinalizing prefix may be omitted together with *-l*, except the final *-l* as indicated in the following examples.

(ga)seige(l) me (ga)semaliul ig
'11th fish'

(ga)sengerasi(l) me (ga)sebiugiuwe(l) me (ga)seliyegi(l) me (ga)riuwemaliul mwal
'1132nd man'

The days of the week from Tuesday through Friday are expressed by using ordinal constructions as follows.

Santei	'Sunday'
Gachitagel yengaang	'Monday'
Gariuweranel yengaang	'Tuesday'
Gaseliranel yengaang	'Wednesday'
Gefaaranel yengaang	'Thursday'
Galimeranel yengaang	'Friday'
Sebaato	'Saturday'

7 Verb Phrases

INTERNAL STRUCTURE

7.1 While a noun phrase performs such grammatical functions as subject, nominal predicate, object, possessor, or the head of an adjunct, a verb phrase functions as a verbal predicate. The difference between a nominal and a verbal predicate as has already been mentioned (5.2) is that a nominal predicate is the predicate of an equational sentence. Thus, in *Gaang semal sar skuul* 'I am a student', *semal sar skuul* 'a student' is the nominal predicate. While a verbal predicate is the predicate of a predicative sentence. In *Gaang i bel lag* 'As for me, I will go', *bel lag* 'will go' is the verbal predicate. Thus, a verb phrase is necessary only in a predicative sentence. In a predicative sentence, the verb phrase is placed immediately after the subjective (e.g., *i* 'I', *go* 'you').

A verb phrase must have at least one element, i.e., the **verb.** Centering around the verb, one or more words may occur, modifying the verb in various ways. Many of these words are particles. There is a rigid order among these modifying words. The following chart shows the order of the classes these words belong to, assuming that all of them occur in verb phrase.

order	1	2	3	4	5	6
class	aspect	adverb	verb	adverb	directional	adverb
	(AS)	(AD)	(V)	(AD)	(DR)	(AD)

The only class that must always appear is the verb. All the rest are optional. In actuality, cases are rare when all of them occur together in a sentence. In the following example sentences, the italicized parts are verb phrases.

I *tipeli.*
(V)
'I want it.'

Ye *mwaiushiush* waliuwel we.
(V)
'The tree shook.'

Go *be gal kililiiy shag* paumw!
(AS) (AD) (V) (AD)
'You must always clean your hands!'

Re *rig seuw tog shag*.
(V) (AD) (DR) (AD)
'They ran hither together.'

I *tipeli* be ye *be man seuw lag shag* meleel.
(V) (AS) (V) (AD) (DR) (AD)
'I want this to be done at once.'

Re *tewai naamw tog mwo*.
(AS) (V) (DR) (AD)
'They definitely won't show up.'

In general, no more than one word in each class given in the above chart may appear within a verb phrase. There are two exceptions to this, however. The first exception is the adverb which takes the position immediately before the verb. As we will see later, any number of words belonging to this class may occur in sequence. In the following sentence, both *bal* and *gal* belong to this class.

Re *sa bal gal mwongo*.
(AS) (AD) (AD) (V)
'They also sometimes ate.'

The other exception concerns the verb. Occasionally two verbs occur in sequence within a verb phrase. One typical example is the case where the verb *lag* 'to go' or its contracted form *la* is followed by any verb, as illustrated below.

Iiya mele yaremat re gal *lag* (or *la*) *gapelaar* iyang?
'Where do people go to relieve themselves?'

I tewai *lag* (or *la*) *fita* be i temwaaiu.
'I won't go fishing because I am sick.'

Ye tage stoosa we be ye be *lag* (or *la*) *chuwaai* filoowa.
'She took the car to buy bread.'

The elements constituting a verb phrase are united closely and, in general, do not allow, for example, the object of the verb or an adjunct to come between them. Such an object or adjunct must follow the last member of a verb phrase in a sentense, as shown below.

I *be gangi shag* sekiut shiul wa.
Obj. Adjunt
'I will eat only a little on the ship.'

In the following, the classes of words that form a verb phrase will be discussed one by one.

USES OF ASPECTS

7.2

Aspectual Phenomena and Tense

7.2.1 Many languages have morphemes which indicate such **tenses** as past, present, and future. In English the present form of a verb (e.g., *work*) is different from its past form (e.g., *worked*). The suffix *-ed* indicates the past tense of the verb. Thus, tense indicates that an event is located in time. In Woleaian, tenses of this kind are totally lacking. There is no morpheme that distinguishes past from present, for example. The sentence *Ye lag Mariiken* may indicate past in the context *Ye lag Mariiken lalow* 'He went to America yesterday', while it may indicate future in the context *Ye lag Mariiken laiu* 'He will go to America tomorrow'. What is important in Woleaian is **aspect**, which indicates that an event is distributed over time. That is, Woleaian has morphemes that indicate such aspectual features as 'already begun', 'completed', 'going on', 'yet to appear in the future', 'to appear immediately', and the negation of these.

The word class that takes the first position in a verb phrase is the aspect. An aspect is placed right after a subjective. All Woleaian aspects are given in 3.10. All aspects are particles in that no affix may be attached to them.

The 'going on' or progressive aspectual feature is expressed not by an aspect but reduplication of a verb. This will be discussed in 7.5.1. The other features mentioned are expressed by aspects such as *sa* or *ya* (completed, already begun), *be* 'will', *bel* 'will immediately', *ta* or *tai* 'not', *taai* 'no longer', *teit* 'not yet', *tewai* 'will not', *tewaai* 'will no longer', *tewait* 'will not yet', and *te* 'so that may not'.

If there is no aspect in a verb phrase, that sentence simply describes the fact, state, or action the verb refers to without any aspectual sense. Compare the two sentences below. The first of them is aspectless, while the second contains the aspect *sa*.

John ye piraf mengaag.
'John steals clothes.'

John ye *sa* piraf mengaag.
'John has stolen clothes.'

Aspects do not appear in noun phrases. The only exception is the negative aspect *tai* 'not' (or its contracted form *ta*) which indicates plain negation and thus appears in a noun phrase. Observe the following examples.

Shoabut melekaal?
'Are these women?'

Yeeb, *tai* shoabut melekela.
'No, those are not women.'

Yaal John meleel?
'Is this John's?'

Tai yaal John mena.
'That is not John's.'

Ta iir be gaami mele gai lemali fetaleey ununul yaash libel mas we.
'You people led the funeral ceremony, not them.'

Tai giish mele si be gafila be iir mele re be gafila.
'It is for them to manage it, not for us.'

In a simple sentence, an aspect refers to an aspectual phenomenon at the time when this sentence is delivered. For example, the sentence *Gai be fitiyetiy* 'We will get married' contains the aspect *be* 'will', and the action of marriage will take place in the future from the time when this sentence is uttered. In a complex sentence which consists of two or more clauses, however, an aspect refers to an aspectual phenomenon on the basis of the time when the action that the first verb indicates takes place. For example, the sentence *Ye sa tipeli be gai be fitiyetiy* 'He wanted us to get married' has the first clause in the aspect of completed action (*sa*) and the second clause with the aspect *be* 'will'. *Be* here indicates future with respect to the time when the action of the first verb *tipeli* 'wanted it' takes place. This same relationship between completed and future time aspects can be seen in the following examples:

Meta go tai tipeli be go *be* lag Yap iyang?
'Why didn't you want to go to Yap?'

I tipeli be go be lag iga go *be* man.
'I want you to leave when you are (*will be) ready.'

Gare go *be* buutog, ila nge gai be giula mele gai be foori.
'If you come (*will come), then we will know what we will do.'

Positive Aspects *be*, *bel*, *sa*

7.2.2 *Be* 'will' and *bel* 'will immediately' signal an action not yet undertaken (prospective action) in contrast with *sa* (or *ya*) which indicates the action already undertaken or completed. The meanings of *be* and *bel* are different in two respects. First, *bel* indicates that the action of the verb will take place immediately, while *be* indicates a more distant future time. Observe the following examples:

Ye *be* mwongo.
'He will eat (sometime in future).'

Ye *bel* mwongo.
'He is ready to eat.'

Another related difference is that *bel* is used when the speaker is certain of the action to take place, while *be* is used where the speaker is not certain. Observe the following sentence where both *be* and *bel* occur.

I *bel* fang be go *be* iul kook.
'I will let you drink Coke.'

Bel fang here implies that the action of the subject will take place not only immediately but also surely, whereas *be iul* implies that it is up to the hearer (*go* 'you') to drink Coke or not.

The following sentence contains *bel* in the second clause.

Ruwouw nge go be gashu ngali ruwouw ila nge ye *bel* (**be*) faauw.
'Two and two equal four.'

This *bel* cannot be replaced with *be* because 'two and two equal four' is an unmovable truth and no probability is involved. Similarly, compare the three sentences below and notice the difference in meaning.

I shepar ngalig.
'I trust you.'

I *be* shepar ngalig.
'I will trust you.'

I *bel* shepar ngalig.
'Now I will definitely trust you.'

Be and *bel* have quite a wide meaning range, corresponding to English 'will', 'shall', 'should', 'may', 'must', 'ought to ', 'be ready to', 'need', etc. Notice that all these meanings contain some degree of prospective aspect. Observe the following sentences where the aspects appear.

(1) *Be* John ye *be* ttir lag ni bugotal.
'John needs to go home early.'

Ye *be* mas.
'He may die.'

Go *be* lag.
'You should go.'

Gai *be* man nge gai sa buutog.
'When you are through, come here.'

(2) *Bel* I *bel* gefaniiy.
'I will immediately take care of it.'

Si *bel* kililiiy paangal faiuriumil.
'We (incl.) would immediately clean everything.'

Ye *bel* rig.
'He is ready to run.'

John ye *bel* mil be semal sensei.
'John will (soon and surely) be a teacher.'

Gare ye *bel* buutog, ila nge i tewai lag.
'If he comes, I won't go.'

Sa (*ya* if the subjective is *si* 'we (incl.)') indicates that an event has already begun in the mind of the speaker or has already been completed at the time of utterance. According to the kind of verb it occurs with and according to the construction it appears in, *sa* has the five general meaning ranges described below.

(1) completed action

The most common meaning *sa* has is that the action referred to by the verb has been completed. In this meaning, *sa* does not simply indicate the past action, but a definitely completed action. Thus, compare the two sentences below, the first of which has the meaning of completion and the second the meaning of simple present or past.

Metta go *sa* mwongo?
'What have you eaten?'

Metta go mwongo?
'What did (*or* do) you eat?'

Observe the following sentences, the last of which contains *sa* in a subordinate clause.

Ye *sa* mas.
'He is dead.'

Go *sa* gashigeshig ngaliyei.
'You have helped me a lot.'

I *sa* woromi booti.
'I have just swallowed my nose dripping.'

Si *ya* gal log Mariiken.
'We (incl.) used to live in America.'

Ye far gabel nge ye *sa* buutog field trip.
'I wish that the field trip ship had come.'

(2) continuative state

Verbs of state like *ker* 'to be happy' may appear with *sa*, in which case the verb phrase indicates that the state referred to by the verb was originated in the past and is still going on in the present. If, however, there is a time word like *lalow* 'yesterday', the state was originated before the time indicated by such a time word and was still going on at the time.

Ye *sa* ker.
'He is happy.'

Ye *sa* ker lalow.
'He was happy yesterday.'

I *sa* ngiush reel gelaag we.
'I am tired of the dog.'

Ye giula be Mary ye *sa* siyal.
'He knows that Mary is pregnant.'

The same holds when a noun phrase functions as the main verb, as shown in the following examples.

Ye *sa* ilegil ker.
'He is very happy.'

Ye *sa* yaai lag.
'It has become mine (still mine).'

I ta giula be ye *sa* semal sensei.
'I didn't know that he had become a teacher.' or
'I don't know the fact that he has become a teacher.'

(3) continuative action

When *sa* is followed by a verb in the form of progressive

action, the meaning involved is that the action was initiated in the past and is still continuing. Progressive action is expressed in the reduplicated form of a verb.

Metta go *sa foffoor*?
'What are you doing?'

John ye *sa pippira* melekawe.
'John is stealing those things.'

Ye *sa bibbiliteg* tiw mengaagul Mary lalow.
'Mary's dress was becoming loose (down) yesterday.'

(4) command or proposal

Sa also has the meaning of command or proposal. In either case, the speaker imagines that the action of the subject has already been initiated in his mind. For example, compare the two sentences below which are both commands.

Mwongo!
'Eat!'

Go *sa* mwongo!
'Eat!'

In the first sentence, the speaker requests the hearer to eat when the hearer does not show any sign of eating, while in the second the speaker urges the hearer to eat when the hearer is already ready to eat. Similarly, observe the following.

Go *sa* lag!
'You go!' or 'Good-bye!'

Gai *sa* fiyango ngaliyei fiyang we!
'You guys, tell me the story!'

Go *sa* shiuw me igeiy!
'You, leave here!'

In the following sentences of proposal, the speaker imagines that the hearer has already started the action.

Si *ya* foori liiwen.
'Let's make the replacement.'

Si *ya* lag yengaang.
'Let's go to work.'

When *sa* appears in a second clause of a command or proposal, the speaker thereby assumes that the action indicated by the first clause will surely take place, as well as the action of the second clause.

Gasi kagool yeel nge go *sa* gasi tog!
'Take this basket and bring it.'

Gare ye tewai mas, iwe nge gai *sa* ireey lag lib we!
'If the person is not going to die, fill up the hole!'

Si be manol mwongo nge si *ya* lag fita.
'After we finish eating, then we will go fishing.'

Since *sa* is used to express command or proposal and completed action, we may occasionally have ambiguity such as in the following sentence:

Go *sa* lag! 1. 'You go!' or 'Good-bye!'
2. 'You have gone!'

The speech situation as well as intonation normally make the meaning clear in such cases.

(5) hypothetical future

When *sa* occurs in the second clause of a coordinative or subordinative sentence, it expresses a certain type of future meaning which is similar to the case of command or proposal. In this case, the action of the verb that occurs with *sa* is thought by the speaker to take place in all probability. If, in this case, *sa* is replaced by *be* 'will', no probability of the action will be implied. Compare the sentences in each pair.

1. Go be búutog nge gai *sa* giula mele gai be ffoor.
'If you come, we will (probably) know what to do.'

Go be buutog nge gai *be* giula mele gai be ffoor.
'If you come, we will know what to do.'

2. I tipeli be i be lag mwo nge i *sa* tefaal.
'I want to be away for a moment, and then will (probably) come back.'

I tipeli be i be lag mwo nge i *be* tefaal.
'I want to be away for a moment, and then will come back.'

More examples of this use of *sa* follow.

Ye bel fai sekiut nge ye *sa* ppaiu lag me yengaang.
'He will finally stop working.'

Iga go be shiuw me Guam, iwe nge go *sa* lag iiya?
'When you leave Guam, where will you go from there?'

Iga re be buutog, iwe nge ye *sa* kepat ngaliir.
'When they come, she will talk to them.'

This use of *sa* holds even when a time expression precedes the

sa clause, as observed below.

Nge go *sa* la iiya?
'And then where are you going?'

Laiu nge i *sa* ganeey semal mwal baabiyor kawe.
'Tomorrow, I will give those books to a man.'

Fai seliuw rag nge i *sa* tabeey kaaleish.
'I will (probably) enter college three years later.'

Sa has the meaning of future only when the speaker assumes that another event is definitely going to take place. If, therefore, the causing event is skeptical in the mind of the speaker, *sa* with the future meaning is not allowed in the second clause. Compare the two sentences below.

Gare i be lag Yap, ila nge i *be* (**sa*) lag Iulitiw.
'If I were to go to Yap, then I would go to Ulithi.'

I be shiuw me Yap nge i *sa* lag Iulitiw.
'When I leave Yap, I will go to Ulithi.'

Negative Aspects *ta*, *tai*, *taai*, *teit*, *tewai*, *tewaai*, *tewait*, *te*

7.2.3 The two negative aspects *ta* 'not' and *tai* 'not' do not, strictly speaking, have aspectual meaning. They simply negate sentences. They are classed as aspects because they have a grammatical function parallel to the other aspects. Since they do not indicate real aspectual phenomena, they may also appear in the noun phrase, as we have already seen. Thus, the first sentence below is a simple statement, whose simple negation is the second set of sentences.

Ye mil igeiy.
'He lives here.' or 'He is here.'

Ye *tai* mil igeiy.
'He does not live here.'

Ye *ta* mil igeiy.
'He is not here.'

Certain verbs occur only with *ta*, others only with *tai*, and still others with both. In the first two cases, the meaning difference between *ta* and *tai* does not show up clearly, but in the third case the meaning diverges. That is, *ta* has a general meaning indicating a prolongation of the negative action or state, while *tai* gives more specific, emphasized and instantaneous meaning. *Tai* also has contrastive meaning. Compare the sentences in each pair below.

1. I *ta* log igeiy lalow.
   'I wasn't here yesterday.'

   I *tai* log igeiy lalow.
   'This was not the place where I was yesterday (but somewhere else).' (contrastive meaning)

2. Ye *ta* weriyei.
   'He didn't see me (i.e., he just passed by).'

   Ye *tai* weriyei.
   'He didn't look at me (i.e., didn't pay close attention to look for me).'

3. Ye *ta* tiwegil yaal foori.
   'He rumbled (mixed) it up.'

   Ye *tai* tiwegil yaal foori.
   'He did not do it in order.'

4. Gai sa liiy liiy nge ye *ta* mas.
   'We continued to hit it, but it didn't die (i.e., it lay down but was not dead).'

   Gai sa liiy liiy nge ye *tai* mas.
   'We continued to hit it, but it stood up without dying.'

Quite a few verbs may occur with both *ta* and *tai* in the above way. In addition to the above verbs, we also find such verbs as *mett* 'to be cooked', *mat* 'to be full', *meyaf* 'to feel', *fil* 'to fit', and *tipeli* 'want it' occurring with both *ta* and *tai*.

The number of verbs which allow only *ta* is very small. Some of these verbs are *giula* 'know it', *mmwel* 'to be possible', *yog* 'to be possible', *yoor* 'to exist', *far* 'to fit', and *rongorong* 'to hear'. Sentence examples follow.

Si *te* giula.
'We (incl.) don't know it.'

Re *ta* mmwelel lag.
'They cannot go.'

Ye *te* far.
'It does not fit.'

Ye *ta* yog yaai lag.
'It's not possible for me to go.'

Ye toar (= *ta* yoor) semal sar kawe le ye chepar be ye sa mas mwal tug ofaiy we.

'None of the boys believes that the old man died.'

If, however, an adverb comes between *ta* and one of the above verbs, *ta* is necessarily replaced by *tai*, as shown below.

Si *tai* gal giula.
'We (incl.) usually don't know it.'

A number of verbs appear only with *tai*. These include *nar* 'to taste', *nem* 'to be tied', *buutog* 'to come', *ngiuri* 'smell it', *lag* 'to go', *ffeoiu* 'to be cold', *tti* 'to be closed', *kepat* 'to talk', *gatepa* 'touch it', *mach* 'to fall', *teotag* 'to climb up, to be rich', and many noun phrases. Sentence examples follow.

John ye *tai* lag skuul.
'John did not go to school.'

Ye *tai* teotag.
'He is not rich.'

Ye *tai* nem.
'It is not tied.'

Ye *tai* paangal yat nge si gal mwongo mai.
'Not always do we eat breadfruit.'.

Two negative aspects, *taai* 'no longer, not ever' and *teit* 'not yet', may be considered extensions of *ta* or *tai* both in form and in meaning. *Taai* is used when certain action, state, or event has been discontinued, while *teit* is used when a certain action, state, or event has not taken place but is expected to take place. Compare the sentences in each set below.

1. I *tei* mwongo.
   'I didn't eat.'

   I *taai* mwongo.
   'I stopped eating.' or 'I do not eat any longer.'

   I *teit* mwongo.
   'I have not eaten yet.'

2. I *te* giula.
   'I don't know it.'

   I *taai* giula.
   'I no longer know it.'

   I *teit* giula.
   'I don't know it yet.'

More examples of *taai* and *teit* follow.

Ye *taai* tang sar we.
'The child stopped crying.'

Ye *taai* log igeiy.
'He is no longer here.'

Ye *taai* yoor mai.
'There is no more breadfruit.'

I *taai* kail.
'I feel weak.' (Lit. I am no longer strong.)

John me Mary re *teit* fitiyetiy.
'John and Mary are not married yet.'

Re *teit* feffasengiur sar kawe.
'The children have not been called yet.'

Ye *teit* yoor le ye weri yaal pitimmel.
'Never did anyone see him smile.'

Ye *teit* mat.
'He has not been full yet.'

Teit seems to be a negative counterpart of the aspect *sa* which describes an event already undertaken or completed, in that both *teit* and *sa* involve the aspectual phenomenon ranging over the past up to the present. Thus, compare the meanings of the two sentences below.

Ye *sa* lag mwal we.
'That man has gone away.'

Ye *teit* lag mwal we.
'That man has not gone away yet.'

The three negative aspects *tewai* 'will not', *tewaai* 'will no longer', and *tewait* 'will not yet' correspond to *ta* or *tai*, *taai* and *teit*, respectively. The former set refers to an event related to the future, while the latter set does not have this property.

Tewai is the negative counterpart of *be* 'will'. This fact is illustrated by the following pair of sentences which have the same meaning. Notice that *tewai* 'will not' corresponds to *tai* 'not' and *be* 'will'.

Ye tiwegili le tipei be John ye *tewai* buutog.
'I believe that John won't come.'

Ye *tai* tiwegili le tipei be John ye *be* buutog.
'I don't believe that John will come.'

Just as *be* has such varied meanings as 'will, shall, need, may, shoul, etc.', so *tewai* has many negatively related meanings. Here are some examples.

Ye *tewai* lag shoabut laal.
'That girl over there will not go.'

Ye *tewai* mmwelel nem.
'It cannot be tied.'

Go *tewai* metag!
'Don't be afraid!'

Gai *tewai* mwaliyeliy!
'You guys, be quiet!'

Gelaag ka laumw ye *tewai* gal fanigat liugiul imw.
'These dogs of yours shouldn't defecate outside the house.'

Go *tewai* mwongo woal gattiumw iga ye bbel.
'You shouldn't eat with your fingers when they are dirty.'

Si *tewai* lag.
'Let's not go.'

The meaning 'must' is often expressed by double negation in the following way: place *tewai* (or any other negative aspect) before the main verb *mmwel* 'to be possible' and another *tewai* in the subordinate clause. The conjunction is *be*.

Ye *tewai* mmwel be ye *tewai* gangi.
'He must eat it.' (Lit. It is not possible for him not to eat it.)

Ye *tewai* mmwel be si *tewai* mas.
'We must die.' (Lit. It is not possible for us not to die.)

Re *tai* gal mmwel be re *tewai* gommwal gangi mwo segofet me reel wong.
'They must eat a little bit of the turtle first.' (Lit. It is not possible for them not to be the first to eat a little bit of the turtle meat.)

Tewaai contains the meaning 'any longer' in addition to the meaning given by *tewai* 'will not'. Its use is similar to *tewai*, as noticed in the following examples.

I *tewaai* lag fita.
'I won't go fishing any longer.'

Si *tewaai* bal foori yengaang we.
'We (incl.) shouldn't do the work any longer.'

Mali i *tewaai* lag.
'Maybe, I will stop going.'

Go *tewaai* liiy.
'Don't hit him any longer.'

Mali ye *tewaai* tipeliyei.
'Perhaps, he won't like me any longer.'

Tewait contains the meaning 'yet' in addition to the meaning given by *tewai*, just as *teit* 'not yet' is an extension of *tai* or *ta*.

Ye *tewait* foori.
'He will not make it yet.'

Ye *tewait* log igeiy.
'He will not live here yet.'

The negative aspect *te* 'so that not, lest' indicates a warning, and appears only in a subordinate clause. The subordinate conjunction is *be*.

I tai lag be i *te* mas.
'I didn't go lest I should die.'

Go tewai gal teotag shiul waliuwel be go *te* ppiung.
'Don't climb trees lest you should fall.'

Si be gemwangiul shag be meleka wechiyelai re *te* rongorong.
'Let us talk quietly so that my companions may not hear.'

Go be foori be ye tewai yangiyeng lag me reesh be ye *te* ngiuri boosh.
'Don't let the wind blow from us, lest our scent should reach him.'

Occasionally, *te* appears in a subordinate clause whose main clause is understood. In this case, the meaning is 'should not,' 'ought not,' or 'be careful lest.'

Go *te* liiy sar la!
'Be careful lest you should hit the child!'

Go *te* yengaang!
'You shouldn't work!' or 'You ought not to work!'

There are two aberrant grammatical relations involved in negative aspects. First, the adverbs *mwaash* 'finally' and *te* 'indeed' occasionally appear before a negative aspect, although the reverse order is more normal.

I *mwaash ta* weri lag shag igela.
'He finally disappeared from my sight.'

I *mwaash taai* yengaang.
'I finally don't work.'

Ye *te tai* filewas iyeel sar!
'How incapable the child is!'

Second, a sequence of two or three negative aspects is often allowed.

Ye *tai tai* mmang.
'It is not the case that he is not crazy.'

Ye *tai ta* weri be ye weri.
'It is not the case that he did not see it, because he saw it.'

Ye *tai tai* fil gach be ye fil gach.
'It is not that it is not proper; it is proper.'

Ye *tai tai tai* fil gach.
'It is not the case that it is proper.'

USES OF ADVERBS

7.3

Subclasses of Verbal Adverbs

7.3.1 In 7.1 it was stated that adverbs take three different positions in a verb phrase: right before the verb, right after the verb, and at the end of a verb phrase. No adverb appears in more than one position. That is, each verbal adverb has its own position. For example, the adverb *bal* 'also' occurs only before the verb, *gemas* 'very, indeed, extremely' only immediately after the verb, and *mwo* 'just' at the end of a verb phrase. Observe the following examples to see the position of each adverb.

I *bal* temwaaiu.
'I was also sick.'

Ye chau *gemas* paliuwel stoosa we.
'The car is too expensive.'

Piipi gachiuw *mwo*!
'Look at it carefully!'

Let us call such adverbs as *bal* **pre-verb** adverbs and adverbs like *gemas* and *mwo* **post-verb** adverbs. Furthermore, adverbs like *gemas*, which occur immediately after the verb, may take an object suffix if the verb is transitive, and therefore may be called **non-particle** adverbs. Adverbs like *mwo* never take any affix, and thus may be called **particle** adverbs. All pre-verb adverbs are particles, too.

Pre-verb adverbs may occur in a sequence in a verb phrase so far as there is no inconsistency in meaning. In this case, there is no fixed order among them. Thus, all the following orders are acceptable.

Ye { *tau bal gal* / *tau gal bal* / *bal tau gal* / *bal gal tau* / *gal tau bal* / *gal bal tau* } fita lag shag.

'He also readily usually goes fishing.'

On the other hand, post-verb adverbs of the same class never appear in sequence. For example, *mwo* and *shag* occur only at the end of a verb phrase, and they never appear together in a verb phrase.

Verbal adverbs may appear even in such a verb phrase which functions as a noun phrase, e.g., as a possessor noun phrase. In the following sentences, *shiuwel* 'continuation of, still', *ilegil* 'all of, very', and *fasiul* 'usualness of, usually' are all followed by a verb phrase which functions as a possessor noun phrase. Notice that the adverbs appear in the verb phrases.

Ye shiuwel *gal* buutog *shag*.
'He still comes.'

Ye tewai ilegil *gal* beshikar *gemas*.
'Don't make it too hot.'

Ye fasiul *gal* buutog.
'He usually comes.'

As we have already seen (6.4), many of the adverbs also occur in noun phrases.

Pre-verb Adverbs

7.3.2 *Gal* 'usually, habitually' is one of the most common adverbs. In English, quite frequently a habitual action is expressed simply by a verb without an adverb. In Woleaian, such an action is expressed by *gal*. Compare the Woleaian sentences and the English translations below.

Go *gal* kililiiy shag paumw!
'You must always clean your hands!'

Re tai *gal* geshawera fetaleey?
'Don't they carry it around?'

I *gal* ssoong iga go gal foori mal nngaw.
'It bothers me that you do such bad things.'

Si tei *gal* weriir.
'We normally cannot see them.'

Re *gal* buutog me iiya?
'Where do they usually come from?'

Lack of *gal* implies one action, whereas its presence indicates a continuous, repeated or habitual action. Compare the sentences in each pair.

1. Go mwongo iga?
   'Did you eat here? (one action)'

   Go *gal* mwongo iga?
   'Do you eat here? (habitually)'

2. Ye sa buutog.
   'He has come.'

   Ye sa *gal* buutog.
   'He has started to come.'

3. Ye tewai ilegil beshikar gemas!
   'Don't make it too hot! (one action)'

   Ye tewai *gal* ilegil beshikar gemas!
   'Don't make it too hot! (habitually)'

In the third pair above, for example, the first sentence is used, say, when the hearer is heating water, whereas the second sentence is used, for example, when the doctor gives instructions to a patient not to usually boil water too hot for a certain purpose.

The adverb *ga* has the same meaning as *gal*, and appears only where *gal* is not allowed, e.g., when the verb is reduplicated. Thus, *ga* seems to be a contraction of *gal*.

Ye *ga* tangiteng John.
'John cries easily.'

I sa *ga* chochol.
'I was usually dark.'

Cf. Ye sa *gal* (**ga*) buutog.
'He has usually come.'

Bal 'also, again' frequently modifies the subject of the verb with which it occurs. In this case, the meaning is 'also'. Occasionally, however, it may also modify the verb with the meaning 'again.'

I log shag niimw be i *bal* temwaaiu.
'I stayed at home, because I was also sick.'

Ye *bal* buutog.
'He also came.'

I tewaai *bal* foori tappil yengaang yeel.
'I will not do the work again.'

Bal also appears in an exclamation sentence, in which case it does not clearly give the meaning 'also', but only implies it.

Go *bal* kepaiupeiu mwo!
'How dare you do it!'

Ye *bal* kemwatiyetiy mwo lenamwol faliuwei!
'How pretty the inside of the lagoon of this island is!'

Tau 'readily, easily, frequently' is used to indicate frequently occurring actions. Observe the following examples.

Ye *tau* yengaang.
'He frequently works.'

Gai *tau* mwongo.
'We (excl.) frequently eat.'

Ye *tau* buutog iga.
'He readily comes here.'

Ye geffaayag reel yaal *tau* yewal mwashog.
'He is notorious for his frequent lies.'

Ye *tau* masel gashi.
'He very easily suffers from liquor.'

Ye *tau* weriwer shag yalius.
'He frequently sees ghosts.'

When *tau* and *gal* 'habitually' appear together, *tau* normally comes first, and the meaning is fuller than when either one is used alone.

Gai tei *tau gal* niuniuwaneey kofal rag.
'We do not usually think so much about years.'

Far 'rather' appears in such constructions as follows.

I bel *far* ganoog.
'I would rather give it to you.'

Far gasi tog.
'Rather bring it here.'

I tewai *far* tabeey tipal.
'I would rather not agree with him.'

Ye *far* gach.
'It's rather good.'

Gai *far* welibuuw be gai win.
'We (excl.) won rather by luck.'

Semweiu ila re *far* bal ser be Guam ila siyan Micronesia.
'Some people rather also include Guam within the boundary of Micronesia.'

Mwaash 'just now, at last, finally, eventually' contains some kind of time element in its meaning. Thus, for example, *yaremat ye ye buutog* means 'this person who came', whereas *yaremat ye ye mwaash buutog* means 'this person who came just now'. Observe the following sentences.

Uwaal waliuwel we ye *mwaash* ppiung tiw shag.
'The fruit just fell down.'

I bel *mwaash* lag igela.
'I will finally go now.'

Re *mwaash* gola shag faliuweiy.
'They arrived here just now.'

John ye *mwaash* fitiyetiy shag.
'John just got married.'

Si gal buga mwo nge si *mwaash* gatiutiu ngaliir sar.
'We usually boil it first and then we eventually bathe children.'

As stated toward the end of 7.2.3, *mwaash* may precede a negative aspect in a sentence.
Sar 'somewhat, a little' limits the meaning of the verb it precedes. The following pairs illustrate its uses.

1. Ye gach.
   'It is good.'

   Ye *sar* gach.
   'It is a little good.'

2. Ye iiye sengal.
   'It is like this.'

   Ye *sar* iiye sengal.
   'It is something like this.'

3. Ye farimwosh.
   'It is long.'

   Ye *sar* farimwosh.
   'It is a little longer.'

4. I sa tai kail.
'I feel weak.'

I sa *sar* tai kail.
'I feel a little weak.'

Te 'very, indeed, extremely' appears only in exclamatory sentences. The following sentences illustrate this.

Ye *te* mmera mwo iyeel wa!
'How fast this canoe is!'

Ye *te* masegach mwo ila faiuriumil!
'How good that thing is!'

As mentioned in 7.2.3, *te* may appear before a negative aspect.

Ye *te tai* mmang iyeel sar!
'How sane this child is!'

Post-verb Adverbs (non-particle)

7.3.3 Post-verb adverbs of the non-particle type appear immediately after the verb they modify. These adverbs are quite different from each other in their derivational source. Adverbs like *gemas* 'very, indeed, extremely', *fetal* 'around', *fengal* 'together', and *fetang* 'separately' are used only as post-verb adverbs of the non-particle type. Adverbs like *seuw* 'altogether' are basically numeral compounds, while adverbs like *ffeo* 'newly', *ttaaw* 'far', *ppag* 'evenly', *gach* 'well', *nngaw* 'badly', *mmwai* 'slowly', and *ttir* 'fast' are derived from corresponding verbs without any formal change. Observe the following examples, in which the italicized words are adverbs of the above type.

I te giula mele ye ssoong *gemas* iyang.
'I don't know why he is so angry.'

Ye toulap *gemas*.
'It's a lot indeed.'

Ye ssit *gemas* yaai ssoong.
'I was mad indeed.'

I ur *fetal* reel skuul we.
'I played around at school.'

Gaang me John gai shu *fengal* lan skuul.
'John and I met at school.'

Paangal rebugotal nge re be tteiuy *fengan*.
'All of his relatives will get together.'

Re rig *fetang*.
'They ran from each other.'

Re rig *seuw* tog shag.
'They ran here together.'

Ye gal wel *ffeo* shag?
'Does it change anew?'

Ye be mmwelel yaf *ttaaw* lag?
'Can he swim far away?'

Re rig *ppag* tag shag.
'They ran up at the same time.'

I sa niuniuwan *nngaw* lag shag reel yaal gaagu John.
'I am worried about John's being so lazy.'

I be ttir *tefaal*.
'I shall be back.'

I gal niuniuwan *mmwai*.
'I tend to think slowly.'

I faarag *ttir*.
'I'm walking fast.'

Notice in the above that a directional and a particle adverb always occur after an adverb of the type in question if they both occur in a sentence. However, if a compound verb consisting of a defective verb (e.g., *too-* 'to move', *buu-* 'to move') and a directional occur with an adverb of the non-particle type, the latter must follow the former, as shown below.

Re sa toolong *sekiut*.
'They approached into (it) a little.'

Re buutog *seuw*.
'They came altogether.'

All the adverbs of the non-particle type, except numeral compounds, take an object suffix if they follow a transitive verb. In this case, the transitive verb always takes the zero object suffix, while the adverb takes the appropriately inflected object suffix, as illustrated below.

I tipeli gemaseey be go be lag igelaal.
'I would very much like you to be there.'

Ye sa gateo fenganiir.
'He made them crawl to each other.'

Si tepangi fenganigish.
'We (incl.) help each other.'

Si gammwele gachiu*gish*.
'We are being careful.'

I weri ppagiu*r* lag.
'I saw all of them.'

'I be fatogi tefaaliiy.
'I will write it again.'

Gashiuwa fishii*y* lag!
'Clean it up!'

Occasionally, the position of an adverb is filled not by a word but by a phrase. One such case is when the adverb phrase consists of a verb modified by *gemas*, as illustrated below.

Yat we ye la gola tog melewe bugotal iwe nge ye sa gaaiu ngali tugofaiy we yaal be ye be shage *ttir gemaseey*.
'When he was returning home, he said to his elder brother, "Come after me, and hurry!" '

Another case is when a numeral compound is modified by a nominal particle.

I be lag *fai sekiut* nge i sa tefaal.
'I want to go away for a while, and then come back.'

As we will see later, all post-verb adverbs may appear after a verbal preposition (i.e., *ngali* 'to it', *tangi* 'away from it', or *yagili* 'for it, with it'), as illustrated below.

Ye sa teo *yagili ppagiur tag*.
'He has carried all of them up.'

Post-verb Adverbs (particle)

7.3.4 Only two adverbs, *shag* and *mwo*, belong to this group. These appear very frequently, but their meanings are hard to define. *Shag* means something like 'just'; *mwo* means 'for a moment, indeed, ever, even, just'. These adverbs take the last position of a verb phrase, as already stated. They never take any affix. They are purely particles which function only as a post-verb or post-noun adverb.

Piipi gachiuw *shag*!
'Just look at it!'

Piipi gachiuw *mwo*!
'Look at it carefully just a minute!'

The uses of these two adverbs are closely related to the Woleaian people's subtle feelings in expressing various actions. Unless we have full access to the functioning of their minds as well as their culture, a complete understanding of the uses of the adverbs may not be attained. Some cases in which they are used are as follows.

Shag is used to express unexpectedness. Compare the two sentences below.

Ye shiuwel yoor peraas.
'(I expected there is some rice and) there is still rice.'

Ye shiuwel yoor *shag* peraas.
'(I thought there is no rice but) there is still rice.'

Shag also limits the action of the verb in a diminutive sense. This is the most frequently occurring meaning of *shag*. Compare the two sentences below.

I tipeli be i be gangi sekiut.
'I want to eat a little bit.'

I tipeli be i be gangi *shag* sekiut.
'I want to eat just a little bit.'

Shag may indicate continuation of an action. Compare:

1. Ye sa lag igelaal.
   'He went there.'

   Ye sa lag *shag* igelaal.
   'He kept going there.'

2. Re fitiyetiy.
   'They married.'

   Re fitiyetiy *shag*.
   'They are still married.'

Shag also indicates immediateness, as observed below.

Ye gola faliuw nge ye sa masiur.
'When he arrived home, he slept.'

Ye gola *shag* faliuw nge ye sa masiur.
'As soon as he arrived home, he slept.'

The strong meaning of 'just' or 'just in vain' is expressed by the phrase *lag shag*. *Lag* is a directional with meanings 'away, completely.'

Ye shiuwel kel *lag shag*.
'He is still digging (in vain).'

Ye sa yarofali *lag shag*.
'I called him in vain.'

Mwo is used to indicate such meanings as the following.

'for the moment' or 'first of all'

1. I be tabeey tipal. 'I will agree with him.'
   I be tabeey *mwo* tipal. 'I will agree with him for the moment.' (I might change my mind.)
2. Felagi shoa la! 'Cut the copra!'
   Felagi *mwo* shoa la! 'Cut the copra first!'

'indeed,' 'even,' or 'ever'

Ye tai siuyelai *mwo* nge ye sa nag mwal we.
'It was indeed not long before the man appeared.'

Re ta niugiuliug lag *mwo* be John ye be nngaw.
'It wasn't indeed expected of John that he could be so cruel.'

Re tewai naamw tog *mwo*.
'They won't even (care to) come.'

I tewai naamwal mas *mwo* reel.
'I won't even be killed by him.'

Ye tai yoor *mwo* faal seuw le ye be chiuwel tefaal ngali Mariiken.
'Under no circumstances will he ever come back to America.'

'keep on . . . ing'

1. Mwongo!
   'Eat!'

   Mwongo *mwo*!
   'Keep on eating!'
2. Faarag!
   'Walk!'

   Faarag *mwo*!
   'Keep on walking!'

Mwo appears as part of the idiom *tai chaal mwo* 'to be nothing, no one.'

Ye tai chaal *mwo* le ye melaw.
'No one even survived.'

Ye tai bal chaal *mwo* biuleiuga ye lag iyang.
'He did not go anywhere all day, either.'

DIRECTIONALS

7.4

Meanings of Directionals

7.4.1 The final class of verbal modifiers is that of directionals. There are six directionals in Woleaian, as given in 3.12. A directional is always placed after the verb it modifies. As we have seen, certain adverbs precede and certain other adverbs follow a directional, if they occur together within a verb phrase.

Re sa gebbarog *gemas tiw*. 'They bowed deeply downward.'
AD DR

Re tewai naamw *tog mwo*. 'They won't ever come.'
DR AD

A directional appearing in a verb phrase may indicate either spatial or mental direction, depending on the kind of verb it modifies. By spatial direction, we mean that something changes its location from one place to another. Verbs of motion such as *yal* 'to fly', *buu-* 'to move', *gebbarog* 'to bow', *fal* 'to look', *gasi* 'bring it', *ttir* 'to hurry', and *tabeey* 'follow it' obtain, in general, the meaning of spatial direction when they occur with a directional.

Ye *yal lag* yasol imw we.
'The roof of the house was blown away.'

Ye sa *buuweiu*.
'He has gone out.'

On the other hand, a directional that modifies a verb of non-motion gives, in general, mental direction. Such verbs as *cha* 'to be red', *gariffeeiu* 'to be cool', *ttewas* 'to be broken', *geppaiuw* 'force it', *niuniuwan* 'to think', *gaterang* 'to be noisy', and *mwiyemwiy* 'to sweat' are of this type.

Ye *cha lag* lan lang.
'The sky reddened.'

Re sa *kekangi tag*.
'They ate it up.'

The spatial and mental meaning of a directional is parallel to the spatial and mental meaning of a demonstrative (see 6.7.2). Besides, a directional (i.e., *tog* or *lag*) indicates time when it appears with a time noun. This is also parallel to the function

of a demonstrative.

rag ye *lag or* rag we	'last year'
rag ye *tog or* rag laal	'next year'

Woleaian is similar to English in that English adverbs like *up* have both spatial and mental meaning (e.g., *go up* vs. *eat up*).

Defective motion verbs like *buu-* (or *bii-*) and *too-* never appear without a directional. Together with a directional, they form a compound verb. Since they are compounds, an adverb which otherwise occurs before a directional must follow it, as already mentioned. An object suffix, if any, must follow the directional in such a compound, as in the following examples.

Gabuutogoor!
'Make them come!'

Gabuulongoow!
'Bring it in!'

I gatoowaiuw.
'I made him walk out.'

Otherwise, a directional never takes a suffix. Notice in the following examples that the verb takes an object suffix but the directional does not.

I be gashiuwaagami *lag*.
'I will take you (pl.) away.'

Iseli *long*!
'Put it in!'

Metta go tai tabeey *lag* skooki Yap iyang?
'Why didn't you go to Yap by plane?'

In one case, a directional is placed outside the verb phrase it belongs to. This happens when there is a verbal preposition (i.e., *ngali* 'to it', *yagili* 'with it, for it', and *tangi* 'away from it') which is associated with the verb. In this case, the directional modifying the verb is placed not before the verbal preposition but after it. Remember, however, that the directional is outside the verb phrase, although it modifies the verb, since a verbal preposition is a part not of the verb phrase but of an adjunct.

Rig *yagili lag* sar la!
'Run away with the child!'

Teo *yagili tog*!
'Crawl this way with it!'

Uses of Directionals

7.4.2 *Tog* 'here, to the speaker' seems to be related etymologically to to the verb *tog* 'to arrive', as we see in *Shoal giubul kawe re sa tog* 'The guests have arrived.' It indicates an action directed toward the speaker, both spatially and mentally. The spatial use of *tog* is illustrated in the following sentences.

Wa we go tabeey *tog* ilaal.
'The boat you came on is over there.'

Re gal gak *tog* temwaaiu.
'They bring sickness.'

Ye gal mmwai *tog*.
'He is always late in coming.'

Go lag, gasi *tog* raw we!
'Go and get the kettle over here!'

The mental use of *tog* is illustrated below. In the example, *kitigiit* means 'to decrease', while *kitigiit tog* is 'to come to decrease'.

Re sa kitigiit *tog* shag iir giuriugaag kawe.
'Those sea-gulls have been decreasing.'

As mentioned, *tog*, when appearing with a time word, indicates the time yet to come, as in *rag ye tog* 'next year'.
The directional *lag* 'there, away, completely' is certainly related to the verb *lag* 'to go', as we see in *Go lag ni bugotamw*! 'Go away home!' The spatial use of *lag* is illustrated below.

Ye gagila be ye be rig *lag*.
'He tried to run away.'

Ye too*lag* iyefang yang.
'The wind is to the north.'

Stoosa we ye garepa *lag* geraash we.
'The car approached (away) the garage.'

Buk we ye ppiung *lag* me reel John.
'John lost the book.'

When *lag* is used with an adjective verb, it means there has been a change of state. Compare the sentences in each pair below.

1. Ye cheofas paarang we.
   'The metal is hard.'
   Ye cheofas *lag* paarang we.
   'The metal hardened.'

2. Ye gariffeeiu shal we.
   'The water is cool.'
   Ye gariffeeiu *lag* shal we.
   'The water became cool.'

3. Piletoa we ye ttewas.
   'The window is broken.'
   Piletoa we ye tettewas *lag*.
   'The window became broken.'

The commonest mental meaning of *lag* is 'completely'. This meaning commonly appears when the verb indicates certain actions, but not motion.

I ta giula faal mele ye tti *lag* getam we iyang.
'I don't know the reason why the door is closed completely.'

I maliuwegili ppagiuw *lag* be ye fasiul bbat talingal libel saaril.
'I completely forgot that he was deaf from birth.'

Ye sa mwiyemwiy ppag *lag* John.
'John sweated all over.'

Sar kawe re libeli *lag* maliug we faal bbel.
'The children covered the chicken completely with earth.'

Re sa minag (= mil *lag*) woal Yap.
'They are living on Yap (permanently).'

Lag occasionally simply emphasizes the action of the verb. In this case, it does not necessarily have the meaning 'completely'.

Ye nag *lag* be John mele ye biung.
'It turns out that John is right.'

Ye gaweri *lag* be faailengiiy ila ye shaapaap.
'He showed that the world is round.'

Even stronger emphasis is expressed by means of the sequence *lag shag*. Frequently, the emphasis is accompanied by the meaning of endurance or continuation. Observe the following examples.

Re gaterang *lag shag* lugol bong.
'They were being noisy at midnight.'

I sa niuniuwan nngaw *lag shag* reel yaal gaagu John.
'I am worried about John's being lazy.'

Paangal yaremat nge re tipeli be re be ppaiu *lag shag*.
'Everyone preferred to remain silent.'

Sar kawe re sa weti *lag shag* iiy melewe temaar.
'Those children have been waiting for their father.'

Gelaag we ye kekebat *lag shag* lan bongil we.
'The dog barked all night.'

John me Mary re gal fiteg *lag shag*.
'John and Mary just quarreled so often.'

When used with a time word, *lag* indicates past, since the event has passed away from the speaker, as in *rag ye lag* 'last year'.

The directional *tag* 'up, upward, eastward' is related to the verb *tag* 'to ride', as we see in *tage* 'ride it', *tageer* 'ride them', *tegalibbu* 'rising of the *Bbu* star', *tegalimetariuw* 'rising of Scorpii', and *getagefius* 'rising star'. The spatial use of *tag* is illustrated below.

Ye teoteo *tag* weneng.
'He climbed up to the sky.'

Ye sa bbubbuwach *tag* shal me faal bbel.
'The spring bubbled up from the ground.'

Ye sa bii*tag* me lettet.
'He arose out of the sea.'

Ye sa bii*tag*.
'He went eastward.'

Ye ug *tag* fita loosor we.
'He went fishing eastward early this morning.'

The meaning 'upward' is associated with various expressions which involve the mental use of *tag*.

John ye tai teo *tag*.
'John is not rich.' (Lit. John did not go up.)

Ye sa chib *tag* me temwaaiu.
'He is recovered (up) from his sickness.'

Ye shap *tag* yaal tang iga ye weriyei.
'She began (*up*) to cry as soon as she saw me.'

Shoabut we ye seganngewaagili Mary iwe ye sa foori *tag* kapital Mary.
'The other girl who is jealous of Mary tried to ruin her name.'

The directional *tiw* 'down, downward, westward' is the opposite of *tag* in meaning and usage. The spatial use of *tiw* is illustrated below.

Re seiuleiul *tiw* me faal yoa we.
'They are hanging down from the string.'

I sa iuriu *tiw* lettet wa we waai iwe i foori.
'I launched the canoe I made.'

Matt *tiw*!
'Sit down!'

Gai rongorong yaal rig *tiw* ni yal.
'We (excl.) heard him running down the street.'

Ye la tub *tiw* shag yal we.
'The sun sank down.'

Bii*tiw* ni gapilamw!
'Go down (westward) to the village for a while!'

Ye mwus *tiw*, mwus *tiw* shag, bii*tiw* shag.
'He jumped westward, jumped westward, thus coming westward.'

The mental use of *tiw* is illustrated below.

I ligiti *tiw* selibiugiuw toala reel.
'I left 300 dollars to him.'

Go lag nge go sa ligitigemam *tiw* igeiy!
'Go on, leave us here!'

The directional *waiu* (or *weiu* after a high vowel) 'out, outward' also has the meaning of the geographical directions 'to the north, to the south'. The spatial use of this directional is illustrated below.

Ye buu*weiu*.
'He came out.'

Ye rig *weiu* me niimw.
'He ran out of the house.'

I meyafi yaal rig *weiu* tal we me lan pai.
'I felt the rope slipping out of my hands.'

The mental use of *weiu* may be observed in the following sentence.

Re sa laiuleiu *weiu* shag.
'They just continued to deliver babies.'

The directional *long* 'in, into, inward, to the inland' appears in such sentences as the following.

Too*long*!
'Come in!'

Iseli *long* lan tuutuul sho la yaash!
'Put it in our copra bag!'

Ye buu*long* lan kaaleish.
'He entered the college.'

Re sa gatoow *long* John faal tamwel.
'They elected John Chief.'

Ye sa too*long* faal tamwel.
'He was elected Chief.'

VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

7.5

Introduction

7.5.1 The most important and the only obligatory element in a verb phrase is the verb. All the other elements of a verb phrase discussed up to now modify the verb in one way or another, being placed before or after it.

According to the different kinds or functions of the verbs, verb constructions may be classified into the following five types: (1) **intransitive** constructions, (2) **neutral** constructions, (3) **transitive** constructions, (4) **causative** constructions, and (5) **nominal-type** constructions. Each of the five types is illustrated below.

(1) Yoor yaal misin.
'He has a machine.' (Lit. exists his machine)

Re sa toolong.
'They came in.'

(2) Re sa faiufeiu giliy.
'They wove mats.'

I be faiufeiu.
'I am going to weave (something).'

(3) I weri ppagiur lag.
'I saw all of them.'

I tabeey.
'I followed him.'

(4) Ye gatewasiiy piletoa we.
'He broke the window.'

John ye gaweri ngali Mary ngel we.
'John showed Mary the picture.'

(5) Ye sa fitouw ragil?
'How old is he?'

I sar tip temwaaiu.
'I don't feel really good.'

Notice that the sentences in (1) contain the intransitive verbs *yoor* 'to exist' and *too-* 'to move', the sentences in (2) contain the neutral verb *faiufeiu* 'to weave', the sentences in (3) the transitive verbs *weri* 'see it' and *tabeey* 'follow it', the sentences in (4) the causative verbs *gatewasiiy* 'break it' and *gaweri* 'to show', and the sentences in (5) the noun phrases *fitouw* 'how many?' and *tip temwaaiu* 'sick feeling'. The five types of verb constructions will be discussed in the following subsections.

The progression of an action or state is expressed by reduplicating the initial part of a verb. If the verb begins with a consonant, only the initial consonant and vowel are reduplicated. In this case, a single initial consonant is first doubled and then the reduplication takes place, as shown below.

Plain form	*Progressive form*
buga 'boil it'	*bbub*buga 'to be boiling it'
pira 'steal it'	*ppip*pira 'to be stealing it'
cha 'to be red'	*che*cha 'to be reddening'
giuw 'bite it'	*kiuk*iuw 'to be biting it'
shaliuw 'fill it'	*che*chaliuw 'to be filling it'

Bbubbuga and *ppippira* may be spelled as *bubbuga* and *pippira*, because the first double consonant in each word is less strong than the second double consonant. If the verb begins with a vowel, the reduplication includes the first consonant as follows.

iul 'to drink' *iu*liul 'to be drinking'

Progressive reduplication appears not only with verbs of action but also with verbs of state, i.e., adjective verbs. For example, *cha* 'to be red' is a verb indicating state. When it is reduplicated, it indicates a continued change into the state of redness.

Ye sa *che*cha lag lan lang.
'The sky is becoming red.'

When an action verb is reduplicated, it indicates continued or repeated action.

John ye *ppip*piraf.
'John is stealing.'

Ye *mmem*mengaag semweiu faiuriumil.
'He is wearing something.'

I *mmwom*mwongo.
'I am eating.'

Intransitive Constructions

7.5.2 We speak of a verb as intransitive if it never takes an object. A construction where an intransitive verb occurs is called an **intransitive construction**. The following sentences are all intransitive. The italicized words are intransitive verbs. Notice that an intransitive verb denotes the state or action of its subject.

Re tewai *naamw* tog mwo.
'They definitely won't come.'

Ye *feita*?
'What happened?'

Sar we ye tai *tang*.
'The child stopped crying.'

John ye *repiy* be ye *ttir* lag.
'John is clever because he left early.'

Ye sa *fisingeg*.
'It is burnt.'

Temaag ye *mngaw* ngaliir yaremat.
'Cigarettes are harmful to man.'

Ye tewai *mmwel* be go be *gaaiu* ngaliyei yat ye go be *shiuw* iyang?
'Can't you tell me the time when you are going to leave?'

The last sentence in the above consists of three clauses all of which are intransitive constructions.

As we saw in 3.7.2, intransitive verbs are classified into common, adjective and passive. In the above sentences, *naamw* 'to appear', *feita* 'do what?', *tang* 'to cry', *mmwel* 'to be possible', *gaaiu* 'to say', and *siuw* 'to leave' are common intransitive verbs. *Repiy* 'to be clever', *ttir* 'to be early', and *nngaw* 'to be bad' are adjective intransitive verbs. *Fisingeg* 'to be burnt' is a passive verb. There is no formal marker which is characteristic to either common or adjective verbs. Adjective verbs are different from common ones in that they can modify a noun in a noun phrase, as in *sar repiy* 'a clever child'. Passive verbs are marked by the passive suffix *-ag* or *-eg*.

Most common intransitive verbs may stand by themselves

in a verb phrase, without requiring any other element. For example, the italicized common verbs in the following sentences are the only members of their respective verb phrases.

Ye *lag*.
'He went.'

John ye *metag* shimwel.
'John has a headache.'

Re *rig*.
'They ran.'

There are, however, certain common intransitive verbs which have some restrictions in their occurrence. In the first place, Woleaian has the existential verbs *yoor* 'to exist' and *toar* 'not to exist'. *Yoor* is peculiar in that it never occurs with a subjective if there is no aspect or adverb that precedes it.

Yoor yaai buk.
'I have books.'

Wa we *yoor* yaremat shiul ye ser ngali imw we.
'The car carrying people hit the house.'

Yoor pilaal ngali John le go be ttir tog.
'It is important to John that you are here on time.'

The following sentence carries the subjective *ye* because the aspect *be* intervenes between the subjective and *yoor*.

Ye fasiul tiwegil be ye be *yoor*.
'It is always true that there will be something.'

Toar is also unique in that it contains in itself the negative aspective *ta* 'not'. It has to have a subjective as in other verbs.

Ye *toar*.
'There is none.'

Both *yoor* and *toar* are used only when the subject noun is not specific, i.e., when the thing denoted by the noun is not specified or pinpointed. Thus, we may say *Yoor sar mwal lan klas yeel* 'There are boys in this class', but we may not say **Yoor sar mwal kawe lan klas yeel* 'Those boys are in this class.' With a specific subject noun, *log* 'to stay' or *tai log* 'not to stay' must be used. Thus, we may say *Ye log sar mwal kawe lan klas yeel*, but not **Ye log sar mwal lan klas yeel*.

Secondly, verbs of motion such as *buu-* 'to move' (its variant *bii-*) and *too-* 'to move' never appear without a directional. The

other kinds of verbs take a directional only optionally.

Re sa *buutog*.
'They have arrived.'

Re sa *biitag*.
'They went eastward.'

Re sa *toolong*.
'They came in.'

Thirdly, a small class of common intransitive verbs (e.g., *mmwel* 'to be possible') frequently require their subject to be a clause, as illustrated below. The subject clause is italicized.

Ye be mmwel *be go be foori yat ye ye toar mele go ffoor*?
'Can't you do it at any time when it is convenient to you?'

Ye tewai yog *be go be ser*.
'You never can tell.'

Fourthly, there are quite a few common intransitive verbs which may often appear with a verbal preposition (e.g., *ngali* 'to it'). In the following examples, verbal prepositions are italicized.

Ye ser *ngali imw we*.
'It hit the house.'

I be faseng *ngali* be silei.
'I will call her (as) my mother.'

Go be tteiuy *ngaliir yaremat kaal* me faal waliuwel laal.
'You will meet this group of people under that tree over there.'

Mal we ye yal *yagili lag semal mal*.
'The bird flew away with an insect.'

Ye sa teo *yagili ppagiur tag*.
'He has carried all of them up.'

Adjective verbs describe the state of the subject in a sentence. This state includes not only the quality or quantity of a person, thing or event, but also the state that has resulted from a certain action. Thus, in the following examples the adjective verb *kokol* 'to be kinky' describes the quality of hair, whereas *feofeo* 'to be tied' describes that the log is being tied.

Ye *kokol* shimweer.	'Their hair is kinky.'
Cf. shimw *kokol*	'kinky hair'
Ye *feofeo* ira we.	'The log is tied.'
Cf. ira *feofeo*	'a tied log'

Since there is no formal marker that distinguishes a common

intransitive verb from an adjective verb, the reader is asked to test whether a verb is an adjective or not by simply placing an appropriate noun before the verb. If the construction is grammatical, the verb is an adjective. Accordingly, all the italicized verbs in the following are adjectives.

Ye *shigar* lan lamwol.	'It is calm in this lagoon.'
Cf. lamw shigar	'calm lagoon'
Ye *sheeta* gemas John.	'John is gossipy.'
Cf. sar sheeta	'gossipy boy'
Ye sa *chog* mele we mengaag.	'My clothes are wet.'
Cf. mengaag chog	'wet clothes'
Ye *bulobul* klook mwu yaamw.	'Your watch is shiny.'
Cf. klook bulobul	'shiny watch'

In 4.5.2 we saw the word-formational relation between a transitive verb of the thematic type and a passive verb (e.g., *feshingi* 'pick it' vs. *feshingeg* 'to be picked'). A similar relation also holds between a transitive construction where a thematic-type transitive verb occurs and an intransitive construction where a passive verb occurs. Observe the two sentences below.

Ye sa *feshingi* lag filooras we.
'He has picked the flower.'

Ye sa *feshingeg* lag filooras we.
'The flower has been picked.'

Notice that, in the first sentence, which is a transitive construction, the subject is *ye* 'he' and the object is *filooras we* 'the flower', whereas in the second, which is an intransitive construction, the subject is *filooras we* and the passive verb *feshingeg* describes the state of the subject. Thus, a passive sentence always has a corresponding transitive sentence in this way. The object of a transitive sentence corresponds to the subject of a passive sentence. Compare the paired sentences below.

1. Ye *fisigi* baabiyor we yaal.
   'He burned the paper.'

   Ye *fisingeg* baabiyor we yaal.
   'His paper was burnt.'
2. Si be *balisi* faliuweiy.
   'We will inspect this island.'

Ye be *baliteg* ngaliyash faliuweiy.
'This island will be inspected by us (incl.).'

3. Ye sa *burongi* lag gin pesheei lan yoofius yeel.
'He has peeled the skin of my legs in this office.'

Ye sa *burongag* lag gin pesheei lan yoofius yeel.
'The skin of my legs has been peeled in this office.'

Neutral Constructions

7.5.3 A construction where a neutral verb occurs is called a **neutral construction**. As we have seen, a neutral verb is different from an intransitive verb in that it may take an object. This object may be omitted when it is understood. *Lag* 'to go' is an intransitive verb, and *iul* 'to drink' a neutral verb in the following sentences.

I be *lag*.
'I will go.'

I be *iul* shal.
'I will drink water.'

I be *iul*.
'I will drink (something).'

A neutral verb is different from a transitive verb in that it does not take an object suffix. Moreover, unlike a transitive construction, the object noun phrase of a neutral construction is not specific, i.e., it does not specify any concrete object in the real world. Thus, *I be iul shal* 'I will drink water' is uttered when the speaker does not specify any particular water. If he wants to specify the object, he has to use a transitive construction, as in the following.

I be *iuliumi* shal we.
'I will drink the water.'

Notice that *iuliumi* 'drink it' is a transitive verb and the object noun is specified by means of the demonstrative *we* 'the, that'. Thus, we must remember that an object noun phrase occurring with a neutral verb is always in the non-specific form, i.e., the object is not a proper or semi-proper noun or it lacks a demonstrative. More examples of neutral constructions follow.

Ye *chechal* lam.
'He is filling lamps.'

I *mwongo* ig me mai.
'I ate fish and breadfruit.'

Go be *laiuleiu* mwusoa.
'You will have hookworms.'

Ye tewai mmwelel yaal *geragireg* buk.
'He cannot read.'

John ye *mwongo* ig nge Tony ye *mwongo* maliug nge Ken ye *mwongo* fitig.
'John ate fish, Tony chicken, and Ken meat.'

John ye *mwommwongo*.
'John is eating.'

I sa *tor tor* ye i nngiush.
'I caught, caught and I got tired.'

While a proper or semi-proper noun or a noun with a demonstrative cannot be the object of a neutral verb, a numeral or possessive construction may appear as the object of a neutral verb as well as that of a transitive verb. When it does, a neutral verb makes it unspecific, while a transitive verb makes it specific. Compare the paired sentences below.

1. Ye *iuliul* semweiu faiuriumil.
   'He is drinking something.'

   Ye *iuliumi* semweiu faiuriumil.
   'He is drinking it (something).'

2. Si ya *ffoor* liiwen.
   'Let's make replacements (generally).'

   Si ya *foori* liiwen.
   'Let's make its replacements (specifically).'

Certain neutral verbs require an indirect object in addition to their direct object. The indirect object is expressed by means of the verbal preposition *ngali-* 'to' followed by its object. The indirect object construction always precedes the direct object, when they appear together. In the following examples, the indirect (IO) and direct (DO) objects of each neutral verb are bracketed.

Fiyango [*ngali toagota*] [*fiyang we*].
IO DO
'Tell the story to the doctor.'

Go tewai *gaaiu* [*ngaliyei*] [*yat ye go be lag iyang*]?
IO DO
'Won't you tell me the time when you are going to leave?'

John ye be *fang* [*ngali Mary*] [*ruwouw toala*].
IO DO
'John owes two dollars to Mary.'

Notice in the above that a specific direct object may occur with a neutral verb if there is an indirect object. Thus, a non-specific object is required only when the neutral verb does not take an indirect object.

Certain neutral verbs may take a clause as their direct object. Verbs like *ser* 'to say', *shepar* 'to believe', *rongorong* 'to hear', *fang* 'to allow', and *gaiu* 'to tell' are of this type. Observe the following sentences where the object clause is headed by the conjunction *be* 'that'.

Go *ser* be 2,000 toowail lan 20 minet?
'Do you say that its result is 2,000 in 20 minutes?'

Go *chepar* be re gal gatemwaaiugish?
'Do you believe that they usually make us sick?'

I *rongorong* be ye bariug me Hilton Hotel.
'I heard that he sang at the Hilton Hotel.'

I bel *fang* be go be iul gashi.
'I will let you drink wine.'

I *gaaiu* ngaliir be re be gasi tog wong kawe.
'I told them to bring the turtles.'

Transitive Constructions

7.5.4 A construction in which a transitive verb occurs is called a **transitive construction**. As we have seen, a transitive verb is so called because it always takes an object suffix. It always refers to a certain specific object in the real world. Observe the two sentences below.

I tipelig.
'I like you.'

Ye weri ppagiu*r* lag.
'He saw all of them.'

The object suffixes *-g* 'you' and *-r* 'them' in the above refer to the specific objects 'you' and 'them' and the presence of the suffixes indicates that the verbs *tipeli* and *weri* are transitive verbs and the sentences are transitive constructions. Remember that an object suffix is attached to the adverb (i.e., the non-particle

adverb) if there is one, instead of the transitive verb, hence *weri ppagiur* (7.3.3).

If an object is to be specified further, the corresponding noun phrase or a clause follows the object suffix. In this case, the object suffix and the following noun phrase or clause always refer to the same thing. In the following examples, *-r* 'them' and *gelaag kawe* 'those dogs', and the zero object 'him' in *gassiiya* 'ask him' and *mwal we* 'the man' each refer to the same object.

I weriir *gelaag kawe*.
'I saw those dogs.'
(Lit. I saw them, those dogs.)

I gassiya *mwal we* seuw gassiy.
'I asked the man a question.'
(Lit. I asked him, the man, a question.)

The following sentence is an example in which a clause is the object of the transitive verb.

John ye sa giula *be Mary ye sa foori*.
'John knew that Mary had done it.'
(Lit. John knew it, that Mary had done it.)

Personal pronouns are, in general, not allowed to appear as objects of a transitive verb, because the corresponding object suffixes indicate the person and number required. Pronouns are thus entirely redundant. We say *Ye sa weriyei* 'He saw me' but not * *Ye sa weriyei gaang*. The only case where a personal pronoun is allowed as an object is when the pronoun occurs as part of a compound noun phrase, as observed below.

Ye sa werigemam me *iir*.
'He saw us (me and them).'

Even here, the pronoun indicating the speaker (*gaang* 'I, me') does not occur after the suffix *-gemam* 'us (excl.)' because the speaker is already included in the objects the suffix refers to. Since *gaang me iir* 'me and them' loses *gaang*, only the remaining part *me iir* 'and them' fills the object position.

As we have seen, we have two object suffixes for the third person plural: *-r* and *-n*. The former refers to humans and animals, and the latter refers to objects which are not human. Thus, animals are referred to by both *-r* and *-n*.

I weriir / I weri } yaremat kawe. 'I saw those people.'

I weriir I werin I weri	gelaag kawe.	'I saw those dogs.'
I weriir I werin I weri	ig kawe.	'I saw those fish.'
I werin I weri	waliuwel kawe.	'I saw those trees.'

As noticed in the above, the plural third person suffix may be omitted if the object noun phrase makes it clear, by means of a demonstrative, that the object is plural.

Since an object suffix and the following object noun phrase both refer to the same specific thing, a noun phrase which does not refer to a specific object or event may not follow an object suffix. For example, we cannot say **I weriir yaremat* 'I saw people', because the *-r* refers to a group of people the speaker has in mind, while *yaremat* 'people, person' refers to any person, singular or plural. Thus, the rule here is that a noun phrase (and also a clause) must be specific in order to be the object of a transitive verb. If a noun phrase contains a demonstrative, it is always specific. All proper nouns are also specific in view of their very nature. Semi-proper nouns like *toagota* 'doctor', *päätere* 'priest', and *skuul* 'school' are also specific in the present cultural situation of Woleaians. Thus, the following sentences are all grammatical.

Go gassiiya *toagota*?
'Did you ask the doctor?'

John mele ye touuw *Bill.*
'John was the one who struck Bill.'

Metta go tai tabeey lag *skooki* iyang?
'Why didn't you go by plane?'

Ye sa tabeey *skuul.*
'He attended the school.'

Ye tewai mmwel be i be ttiril yaai ligiti *Honolulu.*
'I cannot leave Honolulu soon.'

Ye gachiuw *buk we.*
'He liked the book.'

I chuwaaiiy lag *bot we.*
'I sold the boat.'

I maliuwegili lag *melewe* netal.
'I forgot the fact.'

Ifa ssengal nge ye sa peshangi *sar ye* lai?
'How has it stuck to this child of mine?'

A question word may be the object of either a transitive or a neutral verb, depending on whether the speaker considers the object specific or not. Thus, the following two constructions are both grammatical with slightly different meanings.

Ye foori metta?
'He did what?' (transitive)

Ye ffoor metta?
'He is doing what?' (neutral)

In the same way, a possessive construction may appear as the object of either a transitive or neutral verb, depending on whether the speaker considers the object specific or not.

I pira gan ig.
'I stole his fish.' (transitive)

I piraf gan ig.
'I stole fish for him.' (neutral)

All the following sentences are examples where a possessive construction (italicized) is the object of a transitive verb.

Si bel kililiiy *paangal faiuriumil.*
'We (incl.) will clean every thing (we have).'

Ye gal iseli long *paiul* lan yewal?
'Does he usually put his hand in his mouth?'

I giula *kofal.*
'I know about it.'

I sa meyafi *yaal rig weiu tal we* me lan pai.
'I felt the rope slipping off my hands.'

A numeral construction normally does not occur as the object of a neutral verb, but only as that of a transitive verb regardless of whether the speaker considers it specific or not.

I weriir semweiu me lechal.
'I saw some (animates) in the water.'

Ye foori seuw kaagool.
'He made a box.'

I torofi tiwemal mal.
'I caught nine birds.'

Even if a noun phrase is not specific at all, it may still be allowed

as the object of a transitive verb, if the object referred to by the noun phrase is divisible into smaller quantities. In this case, the meaning is **partitive**. That is, the object suffix of the verb does not refer to the whole object the noun phrase indicates, but only a part of it. In English, 'some of' may be a close translation.

I be lag chuwaaiy filoowa.
'I will go to buy some bread.'

Re gal fiti tog fanigat.
'They are usually contained in some waste materials.'

Ye iuliumi (n) liu nge ye gangi mai nge ye teit matt shag.
'He drank coconuts, ate breadfruit, but was still not full.'

Verbal nouns such as 'singing', 'studying', and 'fighting' may appear as the object of a transitive verb, although they are not specific.

I tipeli ur.
'I like dancing.'

Ye gachiuw yaf.
'He likes swimming.'

Gai tai tipeli fiteg.
'We (excl.) don't want fighting.'

As we have seen, a clause may function as the object of a transitive verb. More examples follow.

Go liuwaneey be ye be buutog?
'Do you except him to come?'

Ye gagila be ye be rig lag.
'He tried to run away.'

Si be piipiiy gare yoor musoa reemw.
'Let's see if you have worms.'

Re foori be ye be laiura me Bill.
'They made him dance the stick-dance with Bill.'

Notice in these examples that the object suffix is always third person singular and it refers to the whole event indicated by the clause.

In a transitive construction, an object noun phrase or clause comes immediately after the verb phrase. This means that it follows any verbal element (e.g., an adverb or directional). This also means that it precedes any adjunct if there is one. The following sentences illustrate this.

I tipeli *gemaseey be go be lag igelaal.*
Adverb Object
'I would very much like you to be there.'

Go be gal kililiiy *shag paumw.*
AD. Obj.
'Always clean your hands.'

I ligiti *tiw selibiugiuw toala reel.*
DR Obj. Adjunct
'I left 300 dollars with him.'

There are a few transitive verbs which allow both direct and indirect objects, just like the English transitive verb 'to give'. In this case, the object suffix of the verb always refers to the indirect object.

Gaaiuwei [*mele ye ta mmwel*].
IO DO
'Tell me what is wrong.'

I ganeey [*selipeo tegagiul shal*].
IO DO
'I gave him three glasses of water.'

I be gassiyaag [*seuw gassiy masherag*] lan skeeng ye yaamw.
IO DO
'I will ask you an easy question in the exam.'

If the indirect object is to be specified further with a noun phrase, the noun phrase always precedes the direct object, as follows.

I mengiiy be ye be gach iga go be gaaiuw [*toagota*] [*kofal*].
IO DO
'I think it would be good if you tell the doctor about it.'

Ileet mele yaremetal faliuw we re gassiya [*yaar tamwel*]
IO
[*kofal yat ye ye be shiuw waafaliuw iyang*]?
DO
'When did the people of the island ask their Administration about the ship schedule?'

As we will see more closely in 9.4, there are a few transitive verbs which allow two direct objects. In this case, one of the objects is a clause and always follows the non-clause object.

I tai tipelig [*be go be foori tappil melekela*].
DO_1 DO_2
'I hate for you to do things like that.'

Ye foori [*shal we*] [*be ye be gariffeeiu*].
DO_1 DO_2
'He caused the water to be cold.'

Causative Constructions

7.5.5 A sentence where the verb phrase contains a causative verb is called a **causative construction**. A causative verb is derived from an intransitive, neutral, or transitive verb, or occasionally even from a noun or a numeral compound, with the addition of the causative prefix *ga-* or *ge-*. For example, the causative verb *gatemwaaiuw* 'make him sick' is derived from the intransitive verb *temwaaiu* 'to be sick'.

The first sentence below is an intransitive construction, while the second one is a causative construction. Notice that the subject of an intransitive verb corresponds to the object of a causative verb.

Ye sa *temwaaiu* sar yeel.
'This child is sick.' (intransitive)

Ye sa *gatemwaaiuw* sar yeel.
'It has made this child sick.' (causative)

Ye in the first sentence refers to the subject *sar yeel* 'this child', whereas *ye* in the second sentence refers to someone (the subject) other than *sar yeel* (the object).

A majority of causative verbs are derived from intransitive verbs. Practically, almost all intransitive verbs can be causative verbs with the addition of *ga-* or *ge-*. In Woleaian, a majority of verbs are intransitive. When a causative verb is derived from an intransitive verb, it behaves like a transitive or neutral verb taking an object. It is more like a transitive if the object is specific, and more like a neutral if the object is non-specific. In the following, *gammwele* (in the first sentence) is a transitive verb, while *gammwel* (in the second) is a neutral verb. Notice that the object noun phrase *mwongo ka* 'these foods' which occurs with *gammwele* is also specific, and *mwongo* 'food' which occurs with *gammwel* is non-specific, i.e., 'any food'.

Gai be gammwele mwongo ka.
'We (excl.) will take care of these foods.' (transitive)

Gai be gammwel mwongo.
'We (excl.) will take care of food.' (neutral)

Cf. Ye be mmwel.
'It will be good.' (intransitive)

As we observed above, the subject of an intransitive construction becomes the object of a corresponding causative construction. This grammatical relation is quite consistent, as illustrated below.

1. *Wa we ye* ser ngali wosh we.
   'The canoe hit (against) the reef.'

   John ye gasere *wa we* ngali wosh we.
   'John made the canoe hit (against) the reef.'

2. *Ye* ttewas *piletoa we.*
   'The window broke.'

   John ye gatewasiiy *piletoa we.*
   'John broke the window.'

3. *Re* was.
   'They got hurt.'

   Re gewasiu*r.*
   'They hurt themselves (on purpose).'

4. *Ye* nngaw *be go be foori mena.*
   'Your doing that is bad.'

   I ganngewa *be go be foori mena.*
   'I hate your doing that.'

When an intransitive verb which cannot stand without a directional (e.g., *buu-* 'to move' and *too-* 'to move') is changed to a causative verb, the object suffix of the causative verb comes after the directional, as in *gabuutogoor* 'make them come', *gatoowaiuw* 'make him walk out'.

Go sa gabuutogoor yaremat kawe?
'Have you made those people come?'

If a causative verb is derived from a free intransitive verb, a directional follows the object suffix.

Gashingaag ye geppaiuwei lag me reel yengaang.
'Noises forced me to stop working.'

When a causative verb is derived from either a neutral or a transitive verb, it takes both indirect and direct objects. The original object of a neutral or a transitive verb remains as the direct object of the causative verb, while the original subject becomes the indirect object. The subject of the causative verb is newly introduced. Observe the following sentence examples.

I mwongo *peraas* soral kawe.
Subj. Obj.
'I ate rice on those mornings.' (neutral construction)

Re gamwongoo*wai peraas* soral kawe.
IO DO
'They fed me rice on those mornings.' (causative construction)

If the indirect object is to be specified further, a noun pnrase may be placed immediately after the suffix.

I gamwongoo*w* [*sar we*] [*maliug me mar*] lan giubul we lalow.
IO IO DO
'I fed the boy chickens and preserved breadfruit at the party yesterday.'

While in verbs like *gamwongo* the object suffix always indicates the indirect object, there is another class of causative verbs derived from a neutral or transitive verb whose object suffix always indicates the direct object. With such verbs, the indirect object is expressed by means of the verbal preposition *ngali* 'to'.

Ye gafengaa*r* [*ngaliyei*].
DO IO
'He sent them to me.'
(Cf. *fang* 'to send')

John ye gaweri [*ngali Mary*] [*ngel we*].
DO IO DO
'John showed Mary the picture.'
(Cf. *weri* 'see it')

Si gagiulaali [*ngali John*] [*yat we ye tewaai mwongo iyang*].
DO IO DO
'We notified John of his day of fast.'
(Cf. *giula* 'know it')

Notice in the above examples that, if the direct object is specified with a noun phrase, it has to follow the indirect object.

It is rare, but there are cases where a noun (or a noun phrase) or a numeral compound becomes a causative verb with the addition of the causative prefix *ga-* or *ge-*. The following sentences illustrate this.

I gasenseii*y*.	'I made him a teacher.'
him	(Cf. *sensei* 'a teacher')
I be geffaalipesheeg.	'I will ask you for a favor.'
you	(Cf. *faal peshe* 'underside of feet, favor')
Ye sa gariuweig*a*.	'He has made it twenty.'
it	(Cf. *riuweig* 'twenty')

As we have seen thus far, causative constructions behave in a similar way to transitive constructions in many cases. Let us

observe two more such behaviors of causative constructions. As in the case of a transitive verb, when a causative verb is followed by a non-particle adverb (e.g., *fetal* 'around', *fengan* 'together', *gach* 'well', and *gemas* 'indeed, exceedingly'), an object suffix is attached to the adverb rather than to the causative verb. In this case, the causative verb appears in its transitive (not neutral) form with the zero suffix (7.3.3).

Re tai gal gashewera fetaleey?
'Don't they carry it around?'
(Cf. *shewar* 'to migrate')

Si be gal gammwele fenganigish.
'We (incl.) will take care of ourselves together.'
(Cf. *mmwel* 'to be good')

I ganngewa gemaseey iga ye gal mmwai tog.
'I hate it very much when he comes late.'
(Cf. *nngaw* 'to be bad')

Ye sa gateo fenganiir.
'He made them crawl to each other.'
(Cf. *teo* 'to climb, crawl')

As we saw, if the causative verb is a neutral one, i.e., the object is nonspecific, there is no need to attach an object suffix to the adverb.

Gelaag me paabiiy re tai gal gachewar fetal.
'Dogs and pigs usually don't carry (them) around.'

Notice in this example that the final vowel of the causative verb (*-a*) does not appear.

As in the case of a transitive construction, a causative verb may take an object suffix even though the object noun phrase is not specific. In this case the meaning relation between the suffix and the noun phrase is partitive.

Ye bal gal *gatemwaaiur sar*.
'It also makes some babies sick.'

Nominal-type Constructions

7.5.6 Although a verb usually functions as the center of a verb phrase, this is not always the case. A wide range of nouns, pronouns, demonstrative constructions, numeral constructions, and possessive constructions may function as the verb of a verb phrase. In particular, many kinds of possessive (or attributive) construc-

tions are used not only as a verb quite freely but also only as a verb, i.e., only in a verb phrase. In spite of this, they are classed as noun phrases in view of their word formational characteristics.

When a noun phrase functions as a verb, we frequently find an aspect or an adverb before the noun phrase. In Woleaian, the meaning of a verb is variously reinforced or modified by the presence of a subjective, an aspect, or adverbs. Such reinforcing and modifying elements frequently give a noun phrase a verb-like meaning. Thus, for example, when the noun phrase *semal sensei* 'a teacher' is used as the verb in the first sentence below, it is grammatical because of the presence of the aspect *sa* (perfective). The second sentence, however, is rather unnatural because of the lack of such an aspect.

John ye sa semal sensei. 'John became a teacher.'
*John ye semal sensei.

The following sentences illustrate different types of noun phrases functioning as a verb.

Nouns:

Ye tai *ira* mele i li ngali mena lai.
whip
'It is not a whip that I beat my child with.'

Ye tai *iloumaaw*.
bad-behavior
'He behaved himself.'

Adjective Constructions:

I sar *tip temwaaiu*.
sick feeling
'I don't feel really good.'

Iiy ye sa *sar skuul*.
school child
'He became a student.'

Pronouns:

Ye be *iteiu*?
who
'Who will he be?'

Ye tewai *iir*.
they
'It won't be them.'

Demonstrative Constructions:

Ye tai *mai kaal* mele ye mmash be mai kelaal.
these breadfruit
'These breadfruit are not ripe but those over there are.'

Ye gal *iiye* ssengal shag.
this
'It is usually like this.'

Ye be *ifa* ssengai?
which
'What shall I do?'

Numeral Constructions:

Ye gal *fitemal* garengaap mele ye buulong lenamw.
a few (animates)
'Just a few bonitoes entered the lagoon.'

Ye fai *sekiut* nge ye be mas.
a little
'He will soon die.'

Possessive Constructions:

Ye bal gal *ttiril gashigeshig.*
fastness of exhaustion
'He also exhausts easily.'

Ye sa *ilegil bbel.*
all of dirt
'He is dirty all over.'

As stated above, possessive constructions that can function as a verb are varied. Such constructions as *shiuwel* + noun phrase 'still...', *fasiul* + noun phrase 'already...', gommwal + noun phrase 'first...', *gabool* + noun phrase 'very...', *ssitel* + noun phrase 'very...', *mweshal* + noun phrase 'willingly...', *ugol* + noun phrase 'early...', and *mmwelel* + noun phrase 'possibly...' are rarely used other than as verbs. Observe the following examples.

John ye *shiuwel melaw.*
'John is still alive.'

Shal yeel ila ye *shiuwel beshikar.*
'This water is still hot.'

Ye *shiuwel iiy shag.*
'It's still him.'

Ye *fasiul bat* talingal.
'He was already deaf.'

Ye *fasiul tiwegil* be ye be yor.
'It is already true that it will exist.'

Go be *gommwal buutog Yap*.
'You should first come to Yap.'

Ye feffas bon ye *gabool ffas* geffas kawe.
'She laughed because the jokes were very funny.'

Ye *ssitel chog* melekamwu giliyemam.
'Those mats of ours are very wet.'

Mauwesh la ye *mweshal tabegish*.
'The poor one willingly followed us (incl.).'

Ye *mweshal*.
'He agrees to it.'

Ye *ugol mwongo*.
'He eats early.'

I be *mmwelel mwongo*.
'I can eat.'

Ye be *nmwelel yaf ttaaw lag*?
'Can he swim far away?'

I tewai *naamwal mas mwo* reel.
'I absolutely won't be defeated by him.'

Re sa *piuppiungiul mas tiw*.
'They fell down to death.'

Ye be *lisiyaal yaai lag* nge gai mwaash gapetaag.
'After my leaving, then you may say so.'

Ye sa *yaai* lag.
'It has become mine.'

Re *ununul metta*?
'What do they look like?'
(Lit. They are shape of what?)

Ye tai *yewal mwashog*.
mouth of thief
'He is honest.'

Ye sa *faal seig* yaal mmwut John.
underside
of ten
'John vomited ten times.'

Ye tai *paangal yat* nge ye gal nngaw tipal iyang.
'Not all the time is he sad.'

8 Adjuncts

INTRODUCTION

8.1 Grammatical functions such as subject, predicate, and direct or indirect object are central in any Woleaian sentence. In addition to these, many sentences contain other functions which are called **adjuncts**. An adjunct is not a principal function in a sentence, but simply qualifies or completes the meaning expressed by the above mentioned central functions. In many cases, an adjunct may be omitted without rendering the sentence ungrammatical, which is not the case with central functions such as subject. Furthermore, an adjunct takes, in principle, the last position in a sentence or clause, i.e., after all the central functions (see 8.5 for exceptions). All this means that adjuncts are rather peripheral to the meaning as well as the structure of a sentence. In the following examples, the adjuncts are italicized.

Gelaag we ye kekebat lag shag *lan bongil we.*
'The dog barked *all night.*'

Ye sa tefaal *me spiital.*
'He has come back *from the hospital.*'

Yoor tafey *reel.*
'There is some medicine *with him.*'

The meanings of adjuncts are quite varied. They carry such meanings as time (e.g., *laiu* 'tomorrow'), place (e.g., *woal Mariiken* 'in America'), goal (e.g., *ngali John* 'to John'), source (e.g., *me iiya* 'from where?'), reason (e.g., *be metta* 'for what?'), accompaniment (e.g., *yagili John* 'with John'), instrument (e.g., *reel ira* 'with a branch'), purpose (e.g., *be gêlai* 'for my food'), function (e.g., *be tamwel* 'as the chief'), and many other meanings. Adjuncts with different meanings may appear in sequence within

a sentence. Following are some examples. Adjuncts are bracketed.

Iiy mele ye sensei [ngaliir] [me woal Yap].
'He is a teacher *for them on Yap*.'

Si kaalebuus [me bugot we] [rag we].
'We were arrested *at the village last year*.'

Gai mwal [lan imw yeiy] [faal fiteg we].
'We hid *in this house during the war*.'

Iteiu mele ye lag [resling] [bong]?
'Who went *to the wrestling last night*?'

Metta go tai lag [Yap] [lalow] [reel ruwouw klok] [iyang]?
(Lit.) 'What didn't you go *to Yap yesterday at two for*?'

There is no tightly fixed order among the different adjuncts occurring in sequence within a sentence, but a preferred order is, in general, as follows: the verbal preposition, *be* construction, place words, time words, and others, as we may partly observe in the above examples.

If two or more adjuncts are parallel in meaning and structure, the conjunction *me* 'and' is placed between them, as in English.

Re mil *woal mengaag bbel me woal giyegiy bbel*.
'They are on dirty clothes *and* on dirty mats.'

Although the normal position of adjuncts is after all the central functions, there are a few cases where this does not hold. In the first place, an adjunct is placed in sentence initial position if it is emphasized (see 5.3.3). Examples follow.

Igela mele i sub me iyang.
'This place is where I was born.'

Ileet mele ye sa buutog?
'When was it that he came?'

Reel John mele ye temwaaiu iyang.
'It was at John's place that he was sick.'

Faal seuw nge ye bbel yaai limel gamett.
'Sometimes my cooking utensils are dirty.'

Secondly, if the subject noun phrase of a sentence appears after the verb phrase together with an adjunct, it may precede or follow the adjunct. In general, if the adjunct is so closely related to the verb that the verb does not stand alone without the adjunct, the subject noun phrase follows the adjunct. Otherwise, the subject generally precedes it. For example, the verb *log* 'to stay' in the first sentence below requires the adjunct *iiya* 'where?' and,

therefore, the subject follows the adjunct. In the second sentence below, the verb *gach* 'to be good' may stand without the adjunct *woamw* 'on you, toward you'; therefore, the subject precedes it.

Re log *iiya* sar kawe?
'Where are those children?'

Ye sa gach tipei *woamw*.
'I like you.' (Lit. My feeling is good toward you.)

Thirdly, if a central function is a clause, it follows an adjunct. For example, the following sentence contains a clause as the object, before which the adjunct *ngaliir* 'to them' occurs.

Ye gaaiu *ngaliir* be re be gasi tog wong kawe.
'He told them to bring the turtles.'

In view of the structural characteristics, adjuncts are classified into the following four groups: (1) **time word expressions**, (2) **locative expressions**, (3) *be* **constructions**, and (4) **verbal prepositions**. Among these, locative expressions are the most frequently encountered, and involve the most varied internal structures. The four groups are illustrated below. Each number below corresponds to each of the above four groups.

(1) John ye masiur *igela*.
'John is sleeping now.'

(2) I kabiung *me skuul*.
'I learn at school.'

(3) Ye sa gattewa lag *be musoa*.
'It has been hatched as a hookworm.'

(4) John ye nngaw *ngaliir semweiu*.
'John was bad to someone.'

These four groups of adjuncts will be discussed one by one in the following sections.

TIME WORD EXPRESSIONS

8.2 There are a group of nouns, pronouns, and noun phrases which express time. These words and phrases are illustrated below. Notice that the phrases also include such things as demonstratives, numerals, and attributes. Such words and phrases are used typically as adjuncts, i.e., rarely used as a central function.

Noun or Pronoun:

lalow 'yesterday'
laiu 'tomorrow'
bong 'last night'
ileet 'when?'
iga . . . 'at the time when . . .'

Demonstrative Construction

ragiiy 'this year'	rag kaiy 'these years'
rag laal 'next year'	rag kelaal 'next years'
rag we 'last year'	rag kawe 'past years'
rag ye tog 'next year'	rag ye lag 'last year'
raleiy 'today'	fegafeiy 'this evening'
wiik we 'last week'	yat we 'then (past), at the time'
igawe 'before, then'	igela 'now, this time'

Numeral Compound:

seran 'one day'

Attributive Construction ('all' + time word):

ilegil yat 'all the time'
paagal wiik 'every week'
paangal yat 'often'
paangal ran 'every day, all day'
paangal yatol mwongo 'all during mealtime'

Such time words as *lalow* 'yesterday', *laiu* 'tomorrow', and *ileet* 'when' never appear with a demonstrative. *Ileet* is a question pronoun which functions only as an adjunct. More frequently, it is placed in sentence initial position as a form of emphasis.

Semweiu siuliutaaw re mwariyei *lalow*.
'Several soldiers visited me yesterday.'

Re be tefaal *laiu*.
'They will come back tomorrow.'

Ileet mele ye sa mas?
'When did he die?'

The time noun *bong* 'night' has the meaning 'last night' if there is no demonstrative following. For *ni bong* 'at night', see 8.3.

I ta weri John me Mary me taaun *bong*.
'I saw neither John nor Mary in town last night.'

Iteiu ikawe re buutog igeiy *bong*?
'Who were those who came here last night?'

Iga (defective pronoun *i-* + time-space suffix *-ga*) indicates either time or place according to the context in which it appears. When

it is not followed by a demonstrative, it is only a place word meaning 'here'. In order for *iga* to have a time meaning, it must be followed by a clause that modifies it.

Ye shap tag yaal tang *iga ye weriyei.*
'She began to cry (at the time) when she saw me.'

Go tewai mwongo woal gattiumw *iga ye bbel.*
'Don't eat with your fingers (at the time) when they are dirty.'

When *iga* is followed by a demonstrative, a clause may or may not follow it, as in the case of the other demonstrative constructions including *yat* + demonstrative.

Melewe temai mele metal yaloosh *igawe.*
'My father was our representative before.'

Go gassiya toagota *igawe ye log?*
'Did you ask the doctor (at the time) when he was here?'

Ye sa ker *yat we.*
'He was happy at that time.'

Ye was John *yat we ye ppiung tiw.*
'John got hurt (at the time) when he fell down.'

Other demonstrative constructions which contain a time word are illustrated below.

Mwal ye ye buutog lalow ila ye sa shiuw *raleiy.*
'The man who arrived yesterday left today.'

Mwal we ye fitiyeli shoabut we *soraleiy* ila semal Kaatooliik.
'The man who married the girl this morning is a Catholic.'

Re gamwongoowai peraas *soral kawe.*
'They fed me rice on those mornings.'

Gabiungali waaseola laal urul faliuwash *fegafeiy.*
'Teach that foreigner the native dances this evening.'

Ye sa sensei woal Yap *rag we.*
'He was a teacher on Yap last year.'

The following sentence is an example where a numeral compound functions as an adjunct.

Ye la fita *seran.*
'He went fishing one day.'

Attributive constructions indicating time occur in the following example sentences.

Ye gal yengaang *paangal ran.*
'He usually works all day.'

Sar ka wenei re gal gassiyaayei kofal faiuriumil *paangal yatol mwongo.*
'My children used to ask me a lot of questions all during the mealtime.'

As we have seen in 8.1, a time adjunct is normally placed after a place adjunct if they both occur. Thus, the first sentence is more natural than the second below.

Ye be ppiung goshou *igeiy laiu.*
Ye be ppiung goshou *laiu igeiy.*
'It will rain heavily here tomorrow.'

Any time adjunct may be placed in sentence initial position for emphasis.

Ilegil yat nge ye gal metag segamw?
'Is your stomach painful all the time?'

Lalow i shuungi semweiu sar skuul iloumaaw.
'Yesterday I met some bad students.'

Iga sar re gal lag metagisag, re gal mmwelel niuw paiur?
'When the children go to the toilet, do they usually clean their hands?'

When the idea of 'in', 'during', or 'within' is expressed relating to time, a noun indicating location(i.e., a locational noun, 3.5.5) must be placed before the time word in question. In the following example, *lan* 'inside of' is placed before the time phrase *wiik we*. This will be discussed further in 8.3.3.

I sa iuriu tiw lettet wa we waai iwe i foori *lan wiik we.*
'I launched the canoe of mine which I made last week.'

LOCATIVE EXPRESSIONS

8.3

Structure

8.3.1 A locative expression must contain a word which denotes a certain place or location. Such a word may be called a **locative word** in contrast with a time word. In Woleaian, *skuul* 'school' may be used as a locative word, but *imw* 'house' may not, for the reasons given below. Locative words behave differently from the other kinds of words. Let us compare *skuul* which is locative with

imw which is not. In the first place, *skuul* can stand by itself as an adjunct, whereas *imw* cannot. The first sentence below is grammatical, but the second one is not.

John ye tai lag skuul we.
'John did not go to the school.'

*John ye tai lag imw we.
'John did not go to the house.'

In order for *imw* to appear as an adjunct, it has to be preceded by a locative word. Thus, the following sentence is grammatical because the locative word *reel* (*ree-* 'at, to' + *-l* 'of') precedes *imw*.

John ye tai lag *reel imw we*.
'John did not go to the house.'

Secondly, the preposition *me* 'from' may immediately precede *skuul*, whereas it cannot come before *imw* unless a locative word precedes *imw*. Thus, both *me skuul we* 'from the school' and *me reel imw we* 'from the house' are grammatical, but **me imw we* is not.

Similar to *imw*, the noun *bugot* 'village, family' is not a locative word. Thus, only the first sentence below is grammatical, because *bugotal* 'his village, family' is preceded by a locative word *ni* 'inside of'.

Ye sa gommwal gasi tog *ni bugotal*.
*Ye sa gommwal gasi tog *bugotal*.
'He formerly brought her to his village (*or* family).'

Locative words may be classified as follows. Examples are given.

Proper or Semi-proper Noun

Weleya 'Woleai'	Saipel 'Saipan'
Iulitiw 'Ulithi'	Mariaalas 'Marianas'
Yap 'Yap'	Saapaan 'Japan'
Mariiken 'America'	galesiya 'church'
skuul 'school'	resling 'wresling'

Common Place Noun:

skuul 'school'
biuleiu 'place'
gotel 'hotel'

Pronoun or Pronoun Compound:

iiya 'where?'
iyang 'there (refers to a place already mentioned)'
iga 'here (pronoun *i-* + *-ga* 'time/place')
igaal 'here (specific)'
igeiy 'here (speaker is in the place)'
igelaal 'over there'
iyat 'up'
ilal 'under'

The prefix le- '*in*' + *Noun*:

lettet 'at sea' lenamw 'in lagoon' letipa- 'in mind'

Locational Noun (3.5.5):

ree- 'at, to, for'
woa- 'on'
faa- 'under'

Any locative word may be preceded by the preposition *me* 'from', as in *me Weleya* 'from Woleai', *me biuleiu we* 'from the place', *me iiya* 'from where?' *me iga* 'from here', and *me reel* 'from him'. Let us briefly examine the nature of *me* as it is used as a preposition.

In English, an action toward something is expressed by 'to' and source by 'from', while location is expressed by 'at, in, on', etc. In Woleaian, the idea of 'to' is simply understood and does not have a corresponding form. On the other hand, the idea of 'from' is expressed always by *me*. Compare the two sentences below.

Ye be buutog *Yap*.
'He will come *to* Yap.'

Ye be buutog *me Yap*.
'He will come *from* Yap.'

There is no preposition in Woleaian which corresponds to 'at', 'on', 'in', 'among', etc., but the same ideas are, in general, expressed simply by locational nouns (e.g., *ree-*, *ni-*).

Ye log *ni imw*.
'He stayed inside the house.'

Re log *woal Mariiken*.
'They live in America.'

Such locational nouns take the preposition *me* when the idea of 'from' is expressed.

Ye buutog *me ni imw*.
'He came from inside the house.'

In addition to the meaning of 'from', *me* is also used to specify or pinpoint the location where a certain action takes place. In this case, *me* has the meaning 'at', 'in', or 'on'. In Woleaian, therefore, 'He sings at home' and 'He sings at home (not elsewhere)' are different, as reflected below.

Ye ur *niimw*.
'He sings at home.'

Ye ur *me niimw*.
'He sings at home (not elsewhere).'

If a certain action "takes place" at a certain pinpointed place, *me* must occur. It seems that to Woleaians "movement *from a location*" and "action taking place *at a location*" are both associated with the idea of "source." Observe the following examples.

1. Re gal buutog *me iiya*?
'Where do they come from?'

Ye sa ppaiu lag *me reel ffooril menaal*.
'He refrained from doing that.'

I sa tefaal *me reel Tony*.
'I came back from Tony.'

2. I ganeey sar we seuw buk *me geleisiya*.
'I gave the boy a book at the church.'

I weriir semweiu *me lechal*.
'I saw something in the water.'

Si kaalebuus *me igeiy*.
'We were arrested here.'

There is yet another case where the preposition *me* is used before a locative word. When the locative word is an adjunct of an equational sentence, and the idea of 'at, on, in' is to be expressed, *me* must be used.

Paris mele bugot tamwel *me woal France*.
'Paris is the capital of France.'

From the observation made above, the internal structure of locative expressions may be summarized as follows:

(me) + Locative Word (+ non-locative noun phrase)

The parentheses indicate the optional nature of the elements. This structure is illustrated by *reel* 'to him', *me reel* 'from him', and *me reel yaremat we* 'from that person'.

When a locative expression is emphasized, it is placed in sentence initial position. This will be discussed in 8.3.4.

The remaining three subsections of this section (i.e., 8.3.2–8.3.4) will be devoted to the discussion of (1) simple locative constructions where all the locative expressions but locational nouns and the locative pronoun *iyang* will be discussed; (2) locational noun constructions; and (3) the locative pronoun *iyang*.

Simple Locative Constructions

8.3.2 All locative expressions other than those which contain a locational noun or *iyang* are called simple locative constructions. In the first place, simple locative constructions include those constructions which consist of a proper or semi-proper locative noun. Such a noun is used without a demonstrative, because it refers to a specific place, which makes a demonstrative unnecessary.

Wa kawe limefash re be lag *Guam*.
'Those five canoes are going to Guam.'

Ye be buutog *Weleya*.
'He will come to Woleai.'

Ye toulap wa ffoor *me Iulitiw*.
'Many canoes are made in Ulithi.'

I rongorong be ye bariug me *King Hotel*.
'I heard that he sang at the King Hotel.'

I ta weri John me Mary *me spiital*.
'I saw neither John nor Mary at the hospital.'

Secondly, a simple locative construction may contain a common noun indicating place. Such a noun is, in general, followed by a demonstrative. However, if a common noun is preceded by *paangal* 'all of' or *ilegil* 'all of', a demonstrative does not have to appear.

Ye sa tefaal *me biuleiu we*.
'He came back from the place.'

Re mil *paangal biuleiu*.
'They are everywhere.'

Thirdly, a simple locative construction may consist of the question pronoun *iiya* 'where?' This pronoun is used only as an adjunct. It is never followed by any modifier.

Go bel lag *iiya*?
'Where are you going?'

Go buutog *me iiya*?
'Where did you come from?'

Ye peshangi *me iiya*?
'Where does it get stuck to him.'

Fourthly, the defective pronoun *i-* 'that' enters into compounds with the suffixes *-ga* (time *or* place). *-yat* 'up', or *-lal* 'inside', functioning as simple locative constructions. After *iga*, a demonstrative may appear, but not after *iyat* and *ilal*.

Gai tipeli be go be mil shag *iga*.
'We prefer you to stay right here.'

Giliyal melekawe *igelaal*.
'Those mats over there are his.'

Ye log seuw baabiyor *igaal*.
'One book is here.'

Baabiyor we ye log *iyat*.
'The book is located above.'

Go sa shiuw *me igeiy*!
'You leave here!'

Iteiu ikawe re buutog *igeiy* bong?
'Who were those who came here last night?'

Sar mwal we ye shuungiir *me igeiy* fegafeiy.
'The boy met them here this evening.'

When *iga* is used as a time adjunct (8.2), it may be followed by a clause that modifies it. As a locative adjunct, it does not take a clause.

Finally, the locative prefix *le-* turns the co-occurring non-locative noun into a locative expression which constitutes a simple locative construction. Thus, for example, *lamw* 'lagoon' is not a locative word, but *lenamw* 'in lagoon' is. Observe the following sentences.

Ye gal fitemal garengaap mele ye buulong *lenamw*.
'Just a few bonitos entered the lagoon.'

Waafaliuw we ye terag lag *lettet*.
'The ship moved through the water.'

Ye tiwegili *letipei* be ye tewai buutog.
'I believe that he won't come.'
(Lit. That he won't come is true in my mind.)

I maliuwegili ppagiuw lag be ye fasiul bat talingal *lebel saaril*.
'I completely forgot that he was deaf from the time of his childhood.'

I weriir semweiu *me lechal*.
'I saw some of them in water.'

Locational Noun Constructions

8.3.3 Locational nouns such as *ni* 'in', *lan* 'inside of, its inside', *ree-* 'at, to, on, in, with, about, for', *woa-* or *we-* 'on', *faa-* 'under', *liuwen* 'between, among', *imwowa-* or *mmwa-* 'before', *liugiu-* 'outside', and *shiu-* 'on' are all locative words. They also share many common features. (In spite of the English preposition-like translations, they are all nouns.) First, their meanings are all associated with location. Second, they appear only in an attributive construction, i.e., ending in a possessive suffix (e.g., *woar* 'on them, their upside' and *woal yaremat ka* 'on these people, upside of these people'). Since they are bound with a possessive suffix, no demonstrative is allowed after them. Third, a locational noun always takes the *initial* position of a locative noun phrase. It never follows another noun within an adjunct. A non-locative word or phrase may follow a locational noun, thus together forming a **locational noun construction**. Any construction whose head position is taken by a locational noun may be called a locational noun construction, as the italicized part in the following sentence illustrates.

John ye buutog, mil *woal faliuw ruwouw kawe*.
'John came and stayed on the two islands.'

Notice that the locational noun *woa-* takes the head position of the construction. Sometimes, more than one locational noun construction may occur in a sentence.

Ye bel mil be semal sensei [lan High School] [reel rag ye ye be buutog].
'He will be a teacher at the high school next year.'

Let us observe the uses of individual locational nouns. The two nouns *ni* and *lan* are related in meaning. It seems (and this is merely conjecture) that *ni* has been derived from *leli*

(*le-* 'in' + *li* 'of') with the deletion of the first vowel, and *lan* from *lalol* (*lalo-* 'inside' + *l* 'of' *or* 'its'). While *ni* means simply 'in' or 'at', *lan* means positively 'inside' or 'during'. Observe the occurrences of *ni* in the following examples.

Ye be ttir lag *ni bugotal.*
'He needs to go home early.'

Ila seuw faiuriumil le si gal gabuulongoow *ni ferash.*
'That is a thing we usually bring into our body.'

I log shag *ni imw* be i bal temwaaiu.
'I stayed at home because I was also sick.'

Gai rongorong yaal rig tiw *ni yal.*
'We heard him running down the street.'

John ye ur *ni getam.*
'John danced outdoors (around the door).'

The preposition *me* may occur before *ni*, as illustrated below.

Re sa toolong *me ni feral pesheesh.*
'They came in from our legs.'

Mwal we i weri yaal rig weiu *me ni imw* ila semal mal mwashog.
'The man whom I saw running out of the house is a thief.'

As we notice in the above examples, *ni* does not appear without another noun following. *Lan* (*lalo* 'inside' + *-l* 'of, its'), on the other hand, may either be followed by another noun or stand by itself. If followed by a noun, its meaning is 'inside of'. Otherwise, it means 'its inside'.

Ye log *lan ruum we.*
'He is inside the room.'

Buk we ye log *lan.*
'The book is in it (its inside).'

Ye bbug ig we *lan raw.*
'The fish boiled in the pot.'

Ye sa buulong, mil *lan taal.*
'It came in and stayed in his intestines.'

Iseli long *lan tuutuul sho la yaash.*
'Put it inside our copra bag.'

Ye tabeey lag Mary *lan giubul.*
'He went with Mary to the party.'

I be gassiyaag seuw gassiy masherag *lan skeeng ye yaamw.*
'I will ask you an easy question on your exam.'

Again, the preposition *me* may precede *lan*.

Semal mal mwashog ye liiy *me lan ruum we*.
'A thief killed him in the room.'

Ye toulap shoa ka re gaaiu ngali kofal melewe *me lan imwel ttei we*.
'Many people told him about it in the meeting house.'

Ni and *lan* may appear before a time word, resulting in a locative expression. In this case, *ni* indicates simply the point of time with the meaning 'at' or 'in', while *lan* indicates duration with the meaning of 'during' or 'within'. Here also, *me* may precede *ni* or *lan*.

Mwal we ye fitiyeli shoabut we *ni ssor*.
'The man married the woman in the morning.'

Ye toulap sar mwal ka re tipeli be re be fita *ni bong*.
'Many little boys want to catch fish at night.'

Ye gasiuw seuw imw be imwei *lan rag we*.
'He built a house for me (during) last year.'

Ye tang lag shag *lan bongil we*.
'He cried continually during the night.'

Go ser be 2,000 toowail *lan* 20 *minet*?
'Do you say that its result is 2,000 within 20 minutes?'

Mai we ye biun raal ila fasiul shag yaal mena tematemai *me lan rag kawe*.
'The breadfruit tree whose branch is broken has been my grandfather's tree from long ago.'

The most frequently used locational noun is *ree-* with its varied meanings. In many cases, its meaning is determined by the meaning of the verb it occurs with and the nature of the noun phrase that follows it. Let us observe some typical uses of *ree-* below.

(1) location 'at', in', or 'on'

I ur fetal *reel skuul we*.
'I played around at the school.'

Si be piipiiy gare yoor mwusoa *reemw*.
'Let us see if there are worms in you.'

Ye liugiuliug tipash *reel*.
'He can be depended upon.' (Lit. our minds can rely on him.)

Time words may follow *ree-* to pinpoint or 'locate' the time involved, as shown below.

Ye be shiuw wa faliuw *reel yat yeel.*
'The ship will leave *at* this time.'

(2) direction toward 'to'
Go be lag *reel iteiu*?
'To whom will you go?'

Buutog *reel imw we imwemam* be si be mwongo.
'Come to our house so we can eat.'

Gasi tog wong we *reei.*
'Bring the turtle to me.'

(3) reference 'about', 'concerning', 'at', 'on' or 'of'
Iiy ye gach *reel skuul*?
'Is he good at study?'

Ye metag *reel semweiu faiuriumil.*
'He was afraid of something.'

I sa simpai lag shag *reel John be ye gaagu.*
'I am worried about John's being lazy.'

(4) cause 'for,' 'due to,' or 'because of'
Ye geffaayag *reel yaal tai tau yewalimwashog.*
'He is well known for his not telling a lie.'

(5) accompaniment 'with'
Ye gal ur *reel mena bisil* paangal yat.
'He plays with his brother often.'

Ye sa ker yat we melewe fitiyal ye log *reel.*
'He was happy when his wife stayed with him.'

(6) agent 'by'
I tewai naamwal mas mwo *reel.*
'I absolutely won't be defeated by him.'

(7) instrument 'with'
Ye ttou segal John *reel saar.*
'John's stomach was stabbed with a knife.'

Re gal ur *reel yaf.*
'They play with fire.'

The preposition *me* is placed before *ree-* if the location, reference, cause, etc. are pinpointed or if the source is indicated. Observe the following examples.

Ye gach *me reer semweiu.*
'It is good for someone.'

Gashingaag ye geppaiuwei lag *me reel yengaang.*
'The noise forced me to stop working.'

I chuwaaiiy siilo kawe *me meel John*.
'I bought those pigs from John.'

Re be tefaal *me yaar fikeisiun* laiu.
'They will come back from their vacation tomorrow.'

Woa- and *we-* both refer to the place on top of something. There is some slight difference in meaning between them, although both could have come from the same form. *Woa-* seems to indicate more positively the 'topside', while *we-* indicates some general area of the object. Besides, *woa-* appears with all kinds of nouns so far as there is no inconsistency in meaning, whereas *we-* occurs only with a handful of limited nouns such as *ppiy* 'sand', *lang* 'sky', *shug* 'mountain, hill', and *mmwa-* 'front, before'.

1. Ye niuniut fetal melewe bisil *woal yasol imw we*.
'His brother is jumping around on the roof of the house.'

   Loka kawe go chuwaaiiy ye farikikit *woal pesheel*.
'Those shoes you bought are big on his feet.'

2. Re gal lag *wel ppiy*.
'They usually go to the beach.'

   Ye toulap fius *weneng*.
'There are many stars in the sky.' (Cf. *weneng* from *wel* + *lang*)

The difference between *woa-* and *we-* may be seen clearly in the following pair.

Ye weriir semweiu sar be re ur *woal ppiy*.
'He saw some children playing on the beach.'

Ye weriir semweiu sar be re ur *wel ppiy*.
'He saw some children playing in the beach area.'

If the 'topside' is pinpointed or if the source of an action is specified, *me* comes before the locational nouns.

John me Mary me Tony re shu fengan *me woal Yap*.
'John, Mary, and Tony met on Yap.'

Ye mas *me woal Weleya*.
'He died on Woleai.'

As in the case of other locational nouns, *woa-* and *we-* may be used not only for spatial 'topside', but also for mental 'topside'. The following examples illustrate the latter.

Ye sa gach tipei *woar*.
'I am happy for what they have done.' (Lit. My feeling is good about them.)

Re mil *woal mengaag bbel.*
'They live in dirty clothes.'

Ye gaaiu ngaliir be re be gasi tog wong kawe reel imw we imwal *me wel nmwel iga re be liir.*
'He told them to bring the turtles to his house before they kill them.'

Faa- means 'underside', but it also indicates a mental association to 'underside'. To the latter belongs the temporal use of the noun with the meaning 'during'.

(1) spatial meaning

Sar kawe re libeli lag maliug we *faal bbel.*
'The children covered the chicken with earth.'

Go bel tteiuy ngaliir yaremat kaal *me faal waliuwel laal.*
'You will meet this group of people under that tree.'

Ye torofi ig kawe seig ikawe re seiuleiul tiw *me faal yoa we.*
'He caught those ten fish which are hanging down from the string.'

(2) mental meaning

Re sa gateow long Tom *faal tamwol.*
'They elected Tom as their leader.' (Lit. they made Tom climb into the underside of chief)

Re sa buulong *faal sensei.*
'They became teachers.' (Lit. they came into the underside of teacher)

Faliuweiy ila faliuweer resepaal *faal fiteg we.*
'This island was Japanese territory during the war.'

Faal gasseuw nge i gal temwaaiu.
'Sometimes, I am sick.' (Lit. under each one, I am usually sick)

Faal pesheemw 'please (Lit. under your feet)' is used as an idiomatic expression. It is placed in sentence initial position, followed by the conjunction *nge* 'and, but'.

Faal pesheemw nge go sa buutog.
'Please come!'

The locational noun *liuwen* 'between, among' is probably derived from *liuweliu-* 'among (not used independently)' and *-l* 'of, its', because the possessive suffix *-l* 'of, its' does not occur after it. Since *liuwen* is already an unanalyzable unit, possessive suffixes other than *-l* appear after *liuwen*, as in *liuweniur* 'among them'.

Re mil *liuwen fanigat*.
'They live among waste materials.'

Re mil *liuweniur*.
'They live among them.'

Ye ifa ssengal nge re sa toolong *me liuwen meshoar*?
'In what way did they get (into) among dirt.'

Imwowa- and its short form *mmwa-* 'before' are used to indicate spatial and mental frontness. Since they are associated with mental frontness, they are frequently used for comparison, providing the meaning 'more than, better than'. In most cases, they are preceded by the preposition *me*.

Iiy ye gach *me imwowai*.
'As for him, he is better than I.'

Ye foori sefash wa le ye mmera gemas *me mmwal boot*.
'He made a canoe that is faster than a motorboat.'

Mai mele ye farigit pilaal ngaliir yaremetal Weleya *me mmwal paangal uwaal waliuwel*.
'Breadfruit is more valuable than any other fruit to the people of Woleai.'

Shiu- 'on' is used only for canoes and trees. Since canoes and trees are not human, there is no instance in which *shiu-* is followed by any possessive suffixes other than *-l* 'of, its'.

Ye gaw lag *shiul wa*.
'He ran away in a canoe.' or 'He ran away to (the topside of) a canoe.'

Liugiu- means 'outside, backside'.

Ye log *liugiul ruumwwe*.
'He is outside the room.'

Yaro- means 'near'.

Ye tai pakiiy Bill *me yarol imw we*.
'He did not shoot Bill near the house.'

The above locational nouns are only those which are used rather often. There are some other minor ones which will not be discussed here.

The Locative Pronoun *iyang*

8.3.4 *Iyang* 'there, about it, at it, on it, by it ...' is a locative word in that it refers to location and functions like any other locative

word. It is the head of an adjunct, and *me* may directly precede it. *Iyang* has its own unique characteristics. It neither follows any noun nor precedes any word or suffix in an adjunct. The only possible member that goes with *iyang* is *me*, whose appearance is optional. *Iyang* never functions as anything other than a locative adjunct. Furthermore, it is never placed in sentence initial position for emphasis.

Iyang is a pronoun in that it never names a concrete object or event in the real world. Unlike other pronouns such as *iiya* 'where?', *iyang* is always **anaphoric**. That is, it refers to something already said either by the speaker or the hearer in a speech situation. Thus, for example, you can introduce *iiya* 'where?' when you begin a conversation, as in *Ye lag iiya?* 'Where did he go?' Also, you can start a conversation by saying *I mwongo igelaal* 'I ate there'. With *iyang*, however, you canot initiate a conversation. You cannot start with *I mwongo iyang* 'I ate there'. In order for this sentence to be meaningful, some other sentence must have been uttered, as in *I lag Yasor, nge i mwongo iyang* 'I went to Yaso, and I ate there.'

When we say that *iyang* must refer to something already mentioned, we mean that that 'something' is always a noun, a pronoun, a noun phrase, or even a clause, but never a verb phrase, an adverb, a preposition or a conjunction. In the example just above, *iyang* refers to the locative noun *Yasor*.

We can think of four situations where *iyang* appears.

(1) A speaker uses *iyang* to refer to a construction expressed by his hearer. Thus, *iyang* in Speaker B's sentence below refers to *reel imw laal* 'to that house' in Speaker A's sentence.

Speaker A: I bel lag *reel imw laal*.
'I will go to that house.'

Speaker B: I be bal lag *iyang*.
'I will go there, too.'

(2) *Iyang* refers to a construction that appeared in a preceding sentence or clause uttered by the same speaker.

Ye sa gasi *seuw shiug*, ye sa iseis long faiu *iyang*.
'He carried a basket and put stones in it.'

In a similar way, *iyang* may refer to the whole clause.

Si be foori, be si be mwel *iyang*.
'We will do it, so that we may benefit from it.'

Yaamw foori mal nngaw ila i gal ssoong *iyang*.
'That you could do such a bad thing bothers me.'
(Lit. your doing bad things, that I am angry at it)

(3) When a locative noun, pronoun, or noun phrase is emphasized and placed in sentence initial position, the original adjunct position is filled with *iyang*. Compare the paired sentences below.

1. Ye lag *Yap*.
'He went to Yap.'

Yap mele ye lag *iyang*.
'It is Yap that he went to.'

2. Go be lag *iiya*?
'Where will you go?'

Iiya mele go be lag *iyang*?
'Where is the place you will go to?'

If there is *me* in the original adjunct position, *iyang* follows it.

3. Ye buutog *me Yap*.
'He came from Yap.'

Yap mele ye buutog *me iyang*.
'It is Yap that he came from.'

4. Ye temwaaiu *me skuul*.
'He was sick at school.'

Skuul mele ye temwaaiu *me iyang*.
'It is at school that he was sick.'

Occasionally, *me* moves to sentence initial position together with the locative expression. In such a case, still another *me* appears with *iyang*.

Me Yap mele ye buutog *me iyang*.
'From Yap he came (from).'

Me iiya mele go buutog *me iyang*.
'From where did you come (from).'

Instead of emphasizing the whole locative construction, we may simply emphasize the non-locative phrase that follows the locative word. In such a case, *iyang* is not introduced. Instead, the suffix *-l* 'of' of the locative word is changed to *-l* 'its'.

1. I masiur *faal waliuwel laal*.
'I slept under that tree over there.'

Faal waliuwel laal mele i masiur *iyang*.
'Under that tree I slept.'

Waliuwel laal mele i masiur *faal*.
'That tree is the one I slept under (it).'

2. Ye staati *reel John*.
'She studied with John.'

Reel John mele ye staati *iyang*.
'With John she studied.'

John mele ye staati *reel*.
'John is the one she studied with (him).'

The same rule applies if *me* precedes a locative expression.

3. Ye be buutog cornbeef *me reer karebau kelaal*.
'Cornbeef will come from those cows.'

Reel karebau kelaal mele ye be buutog cornbeef *me iyang*.
Karebau kelaal mele ye be buutog cornbeef *me reel*.

Even though a locative noun phrase is emphasized and placed in sentence initial position, *iyang* does not show up if the emphasized phrase is followed by *nge* 'and' as the emphasis (or focus) marker.

Faal gasseuw *nge* i tai niuwa.
'Once in a while, I do not wash it.'

Lan 20 minet *nge* ye sa sub.
'In twenty minutes, he was bron,'

Cf. Lan 20 minet *mele* ye sub *iyang*.
'It is in twenty minutes that he was born.'

When a time expression is placed in sentence initial position, *iyang* may or may not occur. If *iyang* does not occur, the meaning of the sentence involves pure time, whereas the presence of *iyang* gives the 'locative' meaning of time, as illustrated below. This is because *iyang* is a locative word.

1. Go buutog *ileet*?
'When did you come?'

Ileet mele go buutog?
'When did you come?'

Ileet mele go buutog *iyang*?
'*At* what time did you come?'

2. Ye temwaaiu (*reel* or *lan*) *rag we*.
'He got sick last year.'

Rag we mele ye temwaaiu.
'It was last year that he was sick.'

Rag we mele ye temwaaiu *iyang*.
'It was during last year that he was sick.'

In connection with emphasis (or focus) constructions, the locative pronoun *iyang* is often used to indicate reason. The

meaning of reason appears when the emphasized and preposed part is a pronoun like *metta* 'what' or *ila* 'that'.

Metta mele go yengaang *iyang*?
'Why did you work?'

I gal niuniuwan lag shag gare *metta* mele ye foori melekaal *iyang*.
'I often wonder about why he does these things.'

Ila mele si be temwaaiu *iyang*.
'That's why we will be sick.'

(4) In a relative clause construction (9.2) whose antecedent (or head word) is a locative word, *iyang* appears in the relative clause. The following sentences illustrate this. More will be discussed in 9.2.

I giula *biuleiu* la ye lag *iyang*.
'I know the place where he went.'

Paangal yaremat nge re gal paketi *biuleiu* la re melaw *me iyang*.
'Everybody misses the place where he was born.'

Wa we yoor yaremat *iyang* ye ser ngali imw we.
'The car in which there are people hit the house.'

Gaaiu ngaliyei gare *iiya* mele si be shu me *iyang*.
'Tell me where we will meet.'

If the antecedent is a time word, *iyang* may appear in the relative clause only when the 'location' of time is intended.

Ye tewai mmwel be go be gaaiu ngaliyei *yat* ye go be shuungi *iyang*?
'Won't you be able to tell me when you will meet him?'

I tewai maliuwegili lag *rag* we i buulong lan kaaleish *iyang*?
'I can never forget the year when I entered the college.'

If the antecedent is a pronoun, *iyang* appears in the relative clause with the meaning 'why'.

I tei giula *mele* ye ssoong gemas *iyang*.
'I don't know why he is so angry.'

be CONSTRUCTIONS

8.4 There are only two particle prepositions in Woleaian: *me* and *be* (3.1.4). We observed the uses of *me* in the preceding section in connection with locative expressions. *Be*, as a preposition, always occurs right before a noun, a pronoun or a noun phrase. Its meanings are extremely varied. The various meanings are

largely dependent upon the nature of the verbs it occurs with. But they also depend on the nature of the noun that follows *be*. *Be* is somewhat similar to the English preposition 'as' but not always so.

The meanings of *be* may be divided into **quotative** and **non-quotative**. When *be* occurs with a verb of saying such as *ser* 'to say' or *fesangiu* 'to call', its meaning is quotative, as illustrated below.

Melewe re ser *be hookworm*.
'That's something they call hookworms.'

Re ser *be metta*?
'What did they say?'

I fasengiu ngali *be silei*.
'I called her (as) my mother.'

Typical non-quotative meanings of *be* include the following.

(1) function 'as', 'for', 'to be', 'in the capacity of'

Re tipeli be John mele ye be mil *be yaar mwal*.
'They wanted John to be their leader.'

I be fili semal mwal *be yaash tamwel*.
'I will choose a man as our chief.'

(2) purpose 'for'

Re fitaali semweiu ig *be gelai*.
'They caught some fish for my food.'

I chuwaaiiy looka kela *be lookaal*.
'I bought those slippers for his shoes.'

I tewai lag fita *be yagil temwaaiu yeel*.
'I won't go fishing because (*or* for the benefit) of this patient.'

I be chuwaai ngalig sefash wa *be gafilemw*.
'I will buy you a canoe for your use.'

(3) state or status 'as'

Ye toar mele i giula *be terel*.
'I don't know anything as its cause.'

Ye toar mele i giula *be faal* le ye be mas iyang.
'I don't know (anything as) the reason why he should die.'

Ye sa gattewa lag be maliug.
'It was hatched as a chick.'

(4) reason 'for'

Go tai tipeli be go be lag Yap *be metta*?
'Why don't you want to go to Yap?'

Be metta?
'What for?'

Be adjuncts may also be emphasized and placed in sentence initial position.

Be metta go ser iyang?
'Why did you say (something) about it?'

Be metta go giula reel?
'How (Lit. as what) do you know about it?'

VERBAL PREPOSITIONS

8.5 The last group of adjuncts is characterized by verbal prepositions. Woleaian has three verbal prepositions: *ngali* 'to it', *tangi* 'away from it', and *yagili* 'with it'. They have several distinct grammatical properties.

(1) The verbal prepositions do not appear without an object suffix (just like a transitive verb). Exactly the same object suffixes (4.2.2) are used for both transitive verbs and the prepositions; hence, they are called **verbal prepositions**. If the object is to be specified further, a noun phrase follows the suffix.

ngali 'to him, her, it'
ngali sar we 'to the child'
ngaliyei 'to me'
ngaliir sar kawe 'to those children'

(2) In spite of its similarity to a transitive verb, a verbal preposition never functions as a verb. It always leads an adjunct, without allowing any word or prefix before it. Observe the following examples.

I gaaiu *ngali John* be ye be lag.
'I told John to go.'

Ye rig lag *tangiir yaremat ka*.
'He ran away from these people.'

(3) Verbal prepositions are heavily dependent in their uses on the nature of verbs. For example, in the first sentence above, *gaaiu* 'to tell' requires *ngali*, but does not allow *tangi* or *yagili*. In the same way, *gabiung* 'to teach' requires *ngali* to complete the meaning in the following sentence.

Go sa gabiung ngaliyei.
'You have taught me.'

(4) An adjunct consisting of a verbal preposition takes the frontmost position among all the adjuncts occurring in a sentence. Notice this fact in the following examples.

I fasengiu [ngali] [be silei].
'I called her (as) my mother.'

John mele reikateo [ngaliir remariiken] [faal fiteg we] [me woal Truk].
'John was an interpreter in Truk for Americans during the war.'

(5) An adjunct consisting of a verbal preposition precedes even the object noun phrase or the object clause of the verb, although it must follow the object suffix of the verb, if any. The italicized parts below are adjuncts that precede the object of the verb.

I galiugiuliugiu *ngali John* be Bill ye tai nngaw gemas.
'I convinced (it to) John that Bill was not so bad.'

It also precedes the subject that is placed after the verb.

Ye tewai mmwel *ngaliyei* yengaang we.
Subject
'I won't be qualified for the work.'

(6) A directional (e.g., *tog* 'hither') or a particle adverb (i.e., *shag* 'just' and *mwo* 'just, for a moment') or a non-particle adverb (e.g., *fengan* 'together') that modifies the verb comes immediately after the verbal preposition, but before the object of that verbal preposition, if any. Observe the following examples for a directional and a non-particle adverb.

Rig yagiliir *lag* sar kela.
'Run away with those children.'

Ye sa teo yagili *fenganiir tag*.
'He has carried all of them up.'

Notice in the last example that the adverb *fengan* takes over the object suffix of *yagiliir*, just as it takes over the object suffix of a transitive verb (3.11 and 7.3.3).

(7) In spite of the fact that a verbal preposition is closely associated with the verb, it does not form a part of the verb phrase. In the first place, it may follow a noun, as in the following example.

Tony mele reikateo ngaliir remarikeen.
'Tony is an interpreter for Americans.'

Secondly, as we see in the examples given thus far, a verbal

preposition behaves somewhat like an indirect object in meaning. However, it cannot be considered an indirect object in view of the properties discussed above.

Ngali is the most frequently used preposition. Its basic meaning is 'to', but it carries other meanings too, in particular 'for' and 'with'.

Ye bel tefaal *ngali Iulitiw*.
'He should return to Ulithi.'

Go sa weri *ngali metamw* iiy raat we?
'Did you see the bicycle with your own eyes?'

Ye tti *ngali ug paarang*.
'It is enclosed with a wire screen.'

Ye sa gasiu *ngalig* seuw imw gach.
'He has built a good house for you.'

I sa shepar *ngalig*.
'I trust you.'

Ye gal mang *ngaliyei* shag be i sa imweli seuw imw farigit.
'I imagined myself owning a big house.'

Ngali may occur with all kinds of verbs—intransitive, neutral and transitive. Since it has the meaning 'to', it carries the meaning of indirect object when it occurs with a neutral or transitive verb.

I mmwai *ngali giubul we*.
'I was late to the dinner.' (with an intransitive)

Ye gal gamett *ngali* mwongo gach.
'She cooks good food for him.' (with a neutral)

Tangi 'away from' occurs in the following examples.

Re mas *tangi sar kawe selimel ika we weneiur*.
'They died leaving behind them three children.' (with an intransitve)

Ye gasi *tangiir*.
'He took him away from them.' (with a transitive)

From the meaning of 'away from', *tangi* is frequently used to indicate comparative degree, such as 'better than' or 'more than'.

Re gach *tangiir shoa ka re sa tugofaiy*.
'They are better than the old folks.'

Ye toulap *tangi* 1,000.
'It is more than a thousand.'

Ruwouw rag yaamw tugofaiy *tangiyei.*
'You are two years older than I.'

Ye ker be ye ttir *tangi Bill.*
'He prided himself on being faster than Bill.'

Yagili has the meaning 'with, carrying' in principle, but occasionally also 'for, for the benefit of'. The initial *y* is omitted after *-a* in the preceding word.

I sa ker *yagilig.*
'I am proud of you.' (Lit. I am happy with you.)

Teo *yagili* tog.
'Crawl this way with it.'

Rig *yagiliir lag sar kela.*
'Run away with those children.'

Ye mmwuta*agili metta*?
'What did he vomit?'

I gabeta*agili John* be ye be lag.
'I yelled for John to go.'

Ye mangiiy be shoa kawe si fout *yagiliir ila re be tefaal tog be re be* gaaiu ngaliir be si ya gashigeshig.
'He thinks that the men for whom we voted will visit us to thank us.'

9 Complex Sentences

INTRODUCTION

9.1 Expression of our thoughts is not always made through simple sentences consisting, say, of a subject and a predicate. Simple sentences are necessary but not sufficient tools for speech communication, because in many cases our thoughts are more efficiently expressed by means of complex sentences. For example, the complex sentence *I gachiur shoa ka re gachiuwei* 'I like these people who like me' expresses the idea contained in it more efficiently than any sequence of simple sentences (e.g., *I gachiur shoa ka* 'I like these people' and *Shoa ka re gachiuwei* 'These people like me'.) All human languages have devices to form complex sentences by allowing one clause to be embedded in another or by conjoining one clause with another.

Up to now, our main concern has been with simple sentences and their grammatical parts. Since any complex sentence is formed from simple sentences (or clauses), we do not need to introduce any new functions or elements that have not been discussed. We simply need to take a few conjunctions already discussed and describe the ways they are used to join clauses. Furthermore, we will describe the ways clauses are joined with each other without the help of a conjunction.

By definition, a sentence consisting of more than one clause is a complex sentence. There are four major patterns of complex sentence formation in Woleaian: (1) **relative clause formation**, (2) **conjunctive sentence formation**, (3) **functional clause formation**, and (4) **nominal clause formation**. These will be discussed separately in the following sections. The four patterns are illustrated by the following sentences.

(1) **Relative Clause:**
I ganngewa sar shoabut ka re tau kepat.
'I hate the girls who talk much.'

(2) **Conjunctive Sentence:**
Sar we ye sa peyaaya nge ye temwaaiu.
'The child is getting weak and sick.'

(3) **Functional Clause:**
I ta giula (be) gare ye be lag.
'I doubt if he is going.'

(4) **Nominal Clause:**
Ye ssit gemas yaal wautiyei.
'He hit me hard.'
(Lit. His hitting me was really strong.)

Notice in each of the above sentences that two clauses are joined in one way or another. Thus, they are all complex sentences. Many complex sentences consist of three or more clauses belonging to the same or different patterns.

Among the four patterns, relative clause formation is the most involved, as we will see in the following section. When a clause modifies a noun, a pronoun or a noun phrase, that clause is called a **relative clause** and the noun, the pronoun or the noun phrase is called an **antecedent** of that clause. In sentence (1) above, the clause *re tau kepat* 'they talk much' modifies the noun phrase *sar shoabut ka* 'the girls', and therefore is a relative clause, while the noun phrase is the antecedent of the clause.

In a **conjunctive sentence**, on the other hand, two or more clauses are joined in sequence, and no clause modifies any one element of another clause. In sentence (2), the two clauses are joined with the conjunction *nge* 'and'. The subject noun phrase of the second clause is also *sar we* 'the child', which is simply omitted because it refers to the same subject of the first clause.

A **functional clause** is so called because the clause itself takes the role of a functional unit (or a function) such as a subject or an object. In sentence (3) above, the clause *gare ye be lag* 'by any chance (or if) he will go' is the object of the verb *giula*, and therefore is a functional clause.

The fourth pattern involves sentences in which the embedded clause takes a noun phrase position and partly loses its status as a clause, i.e., lacks the subjective. This is somewhat similar to such English constructions as 'my seeing him' or 'the manner of his dying', which are often called **gerundive** constructions. Let us call such Woleaian constructions **nominal clauses**. In sentence

(4) above, *wautiyei* 'hit me' takes the position of a classified noun phrase, whose classifier is *yaal* 'his general object'. *Wautiyei* lacks its subjective *ye* 'he', hence it is a nominal clause.

There is one minor group of sentences which might be called complex sentences but obviously do not belong to any of the above four patterns. Observe the following sentences.

Shoa *tau iul temaag* re iul gashi.
'Smokers are drinkers.'

Mary ye tipeli leol ngas *chau paliuwal.*
'Mary wants expensive perfumes.'

Ye toulap wa *ffoor me Iulitiw.*
'Many canoes are made on Ulithi.'

Mal *mwaash kel* gamwuutiy kela?
'Are these potatoes new?'

Notice that the italicized parts all modify the preceding noun. In this respect they look like relative clauses. Notice further that they lack the subjective, in which respect they look like nominal clauses. For example, *tau iul temaag* 'frequently smoke cigarettes' modifies *shoa* 'people'.

We will not consider the above sentences particularly complex, but view them as deviant adjectival constructions. That is, the italic parts are viewed as idiomatic adjective compounds rather than clauses. This is based on the fact that such sentences are few and the meanings of the compounds are quite idiomatic.

RELATIVE CLAUSE FORMATION

9.2

Structure of Relative Constructions

9.2.1 As we have briefly seen in the preceding section, a relative clause must have an antecedent. A clause without an antecedent is not a relative clause. In English, an antecedent and its relative clause are very often connected by such relative pronouns as *who, whose, whom, which, that* and such relative adverbs as *where* and *when*. In Woleaian, there is no relative pronoun similar to English pronouns. Most of the connecting function is done by the demonstrative that the antecedent has. That is, if the antecedent has a demonstrative, a relative clause is attached directly

to the antecedent, as in the following examples. The italicized words are demonstratives.

I weri mal *we* re torofi.
'I saw the bird they caught.'

Yaremat *la* i pira yaal baabiyor ila yaai sensei.
'That person whose book I stole is my teacher.'

I giula biuleiu *la* ye log iyang.
'I know the place where he lives.'

If, however, the antecedent does not contain a demonstrative, the conjunction *le* 'that' must be placed between the antecedent and its relative clause. No other conjunction or other word is used for this purpose.

I tipeli semal yaremat *le* ye gach.
'I want someone who is good.'

We cannot call *le* a relative pronoun, because *le* does not have any pronominal function. It simply joins two elements of the sentence together.

An antecedent, the conjunction *le* (if present), and the relative clause constitute a **relative construction**. In the last sentence example, *semal yaremat le ye gach* 'someone who is good' is a relative construction which includes all the three elements just mentioned.

A complex sentence containing a relative construction is formed from two simple sentences. Thus, for example, the complex sentence *I weri mal we re torofi* 'I saw the bird they caught' is derived from *I weri mal we* 'I saw the bird' and *Re torofi mal we* 'They caught the bird.' Notice that both sentences share the noun phrase *mal we* 'the bird'. That two simple sentences must share an identical noun phrase is an important requirement for them to be combined into a complex sentence of the relative type. When this requirement is met, one of the simple sentences can modify that noun phrase of the other which has an identical noun phrase in the former sentence. In the above example, *Re torofi mal we* can modify, as a relative clause, *mal we* which occurs in *I weri mal we*. As we know, the modified noun phrase is an antecedent. Let us call the first sentence a modifying sentence (which will become a relative clause) and the second sentence a main sentence. Now the general processes involved in deriving a complex sentence are as follows. First, place the modifying sentence right after the antecedent noun phrase in the main

sentence. As a result, we get **I weri mal we re torofi mal we* from the above two simple sentences. Second, delete the noun phrase which is identical with the antecedent. As a result, we get the grammatical complex sentence *I weri mal we re torofi*. Since the noun phrase identical with the antecedent is omitted, the antecedent must have a **dual function** with regard to the main sentence and the relative clause. In the above sentence, the antecedent *mal we* is the object of the main verb *weri* and, at the same time, the object of the relative clause verb *torofi*. The dual function of an antecedent will be discussed in 9.2.3. There is yet a third process. If there is no demonstrative in the antecedent, introduce the conjunction *le* 'that' between the antecedent and the relative clause. For example, the complex sentence *I tipeli semal yaremat le ye gach* 'I want someone who is good' is formed from the following two simple sentences through all the three processes stated above.

I tipeli semal yaremat.
'I like someone.'

Semal yaremat ye gach.
'Someone is good.'

1st process: *I tipeli semal yaremat semal yaremat ye gach
2nd process: *I tipeli semal yaremat ye gach
3rd process: I tipeli semal yaremat le ye gach.

The antecedent *semal yaremat* 'someone' functions as the object of the main verb *tipeli* 'want it' and, at the same time, as the subject of the relative clause.

As we know, there are two sentence types in Woleaian: predicative and equational. The former involves a verb phrase predicate, while the latter involves a noun phrase predicate. *Re torofi mal we* 'They caught the bird' is a predicative sentence and *Lai sar kawe* 'Those children are mine' is an equational sentence. Relative constructions are formed from both types of sentences. Thus, 'the bird they caught' is expressed by *mal we re torofi* as we saw above, while 'those children who are mine' by *sar kawe lai*. As we can see in the last example (*sar kawe lai*), a relative clause of the equational type consists only of a predicate noun phrase. Thus, *lai* in the example is the predicate of the clause. This is quite natural because the subject of *lai* 'my children' is *sar kawe*, which is deleted because it is identical with the antecedent. Observe a few more examples below.

(1) predicative clause:
Ye sa weri shoabut we *ye sa tang*.
'He saw the girl who cried.'

Ye gasi tog semal mal le *ye weey yaal kepat yaremat*.
'He brought a bird which talked like a man.'

(2) equational clause:
Wa kawe *faafash* re be lag Guam.
'Those five canoes are going to Guam.'

Melewe *temal John* ye ganngewa.
'John's father hates him.'

Ye masowesow gelaag ye *lai*.
'This dog which is mine is strong.'

In general, the predicate of an equational relative clause is a numeral compound (e.g., *faafash* 'five long objects') or a possessive construction (e.g., *temal John* 'John's father' or *lai* 'my child'). Certain locative expressions behave in a similar way. For example, *iga* 'here' and *igelaal* 'over there' in the following sentences may be regarded as equational relative clauses.

I weriir yaremat ka *iga*.
'I saw these people (who are) here.'

Yaremat kela *igelaal* ila resepaal.
'Those people over there are Japanese.'

When an antecedent is modified by a relative clause, its meaning is specified in certain ways. For example, in the relative construction *shoabut we ye sa tang* 'the girl who cried', the noun *shoabut* '(any) girl' is specified by the demonstrative *we* 'that', and the antecedent *shoabut we* 'that girl' is further specified by the relative clause *ye sa tang* 'she cried'.

Relational Demonstratives and *le*

9.2.2 In 6.7.1 we saw that there are two sets of demonstratives: independent and relational, and that only relational demonstratives (i.e., *ye* 'this', *ka* 'these', *mwu* 'that (near you)', *kamwu* 'those (near you)', *la* 'that', *kela* 'those', *we* 'that (we talk about)', and *kawe* 'those (we talk about)') may appear in an antecedent modified by a relative clause. Independent demonstratives like *yeel* 'this here' and *yeiy* 'this (in which I am)' are never used before a relative clause.

The relational demonstrative *ye* and its plural *ka* are used

to indicate that the object referred to by the antecedent is located close to the speaker, either physically or mentally. Physical closeness is illustrated by the following sentences.

I tipeli yaremat *ye* ye gach.
'I like this person who is good.'

Buutog mwo reel imw *ye* imwei.
'Come to this house which is mine.'

Yaremat *ka* igaal ila remariiken.
'These people who are here are Americans.'

Mental closeness to the speaker is illustrated by the following.

Go tewai gaaiu ngaliyei yat *ye* go be lag iyang?
'Won't you tell me the time (Lit. this time) when you are going to leave?'

Ikela germ *ka* re gal gabuulongoow suup ni ferai.
'Those are the (Lit. these) germs which usually bring poison into my body.'

Sentences like the following do not tell whether the demonstrative *ye* or *ka* indicates physical or mental closeness to the speaker. The actual speech situation will make it clear.

Imw we ye gach tangi imw *ye* mele temai ye chuwaaiiy be imwei ragiiy.
'That house is better than this (we see) *or* this (we talk about) house which my father bought for me this year.'

Sar *ka* re tangiteng ila re be ttiril mas.
'These (we see) *or* these (we talk about) children who always cry die fast.'

Ye is omitted after the time-space suffix *-ga*, as in *iga* 'here, when...' or *biuleiuga* 'this place', although its meaning is there. The other demonstratives may appear after the suffix.

I gal ssoong *iga* sar re gal foori.
'I usually get mad when (or at this time when) children do it.'

Nge feita go giula *biuleiuga* re mil iyang?
'How did you know where they live?'

The relational demonstratives *mwu* and *kamwu* are used when the thing indicated by the antecedent is definitely close to the hearer, both physically and mentally. Physical closeness is illustrated below.

Ye tai gariffeeiu kook *mwu* iuliumemw.
'That Coke near you which is yours is not cold.'

Ganeey ig *kamwu* limmal.
'Pass him those five fish near you.'

Mental closeness to the hearer is illustrated below.

Ye tiwegil be ye toar tisiis reel sar *mwu* laumw.
'It is probable that there is no disease in your child.'

In this example, *sar mwu laumw* 'that child which is yours' may indicate a child who is present at the place or a child who is not there.

The relational demonstratives *la* and *kela* (the same forms are used for independent demonstratives) are used when the thing indicated by the antecedent is not particularly close either to the speaker or to the hearer, both physically and mentally. Physical closeness is illustrated below.

Sar mwal *la* ye bel mwongo ila semal rebiuleiukeiy.
'That boy who is going to eat lives in our neighborhood.'

Yaremat *la* ye ffeo buk *kela* yaal ila lai sar skuul.
'That man whose (Lit. those) books are new is my student.'

Mental closeness is illustrated below.

I giula biuleiu *la* ye lag iyang.
'I know the place where he went.'

Ye log seliuw buk *la* i be genoog.
'I have three books to give to you.'

The relational demonstratives *we* and *kawe* (the same forms are used for independent demonstratives) are used when the thing referred to by the antecedent is not observable but known to the speaker and the hearer. All the other demonstratives mentioned above are used to draw the attention of the hearer to the thing which the hearer is not aware of. For example, compare the two sentences below.

Go be buutog mwo reel imw *la* imwei.
'Please come to my house (the hearer does not know the location).'
or 'Please come to that house of mine (the hearer can see the house).'

Go be buutog mwo reel imw *we* imwei.
'Please come to that house of mine (the speaker and hearer are talking about or the hearer knows the location).'

More examples follow illustrating the use of *we* and *kawe*.

Yaremat *we* re liiy ila John.
'The man they killed was John.'

Imw *we* ye yal lag yasol ila imwel bisi.
'The house whose roof was blown off is my brother's.'

Ye gangin mai *kawe* gelai.
'He ate those breadfruit of mine.'

Shoabut tugofaiy *we* mwangeyal John ila fitiyel toagotaal Mariiken *we* ye gaffeyag.
'John's elder sister is the husband of a famous American doctor.'

As we saw in 9.2.1, the conjunction *le* 'that' is used to join a relative clause to its antecedent, if the antecedent does not contain a demonstrative. Differing from a demonstrative, *le* by itself does not specify the meaning of the antecedent in any way. For example, the demonstrative *ye* gives the meaning 'this' to the antecedent noun, whereas *le* does not specify the noun in this way, but has the meaning 'any'. Compare:

I tipeli semal yaremat *la* ye gach.
'I like that person who is good.'

I tipeli semal yaremat *ye* ye gach.
'I like this person who is good.'

I tipeli semal yaremat *le* ye gach.
'I like any person who is good.'

Le appears quite freely whenever there is no demonstrative before a relative clause. A demonstrative cannot occur if a noun ends in a possessive suffix. Neither can it appear after a personal pronoun. *Le* does not have such restrictions, as can be seen in the examples below.

Ye toar rebugotal *le* ye guila kapetal Mariiken.
his
'He doesn't have any relatives who can speak English.'

Ye toar *iir le* i weri.
them
'I did not see any of them.'

I giula be ye toar waafaliuw *le* ye be buutog.
'I know that no ship will come.'

Ila seuw faiuriumil *le* si gal temwaaiu iyang.
'That is something we are usually sick of.'

I yaleyal be i be giula biuleiu *le* ye mil iyang.
'I wish I knew where he is now.'

Mena fitiyei ye foori seuw kaagool *le* ye tti ngali ug paarang.
'My wife made a box which is enclosed with a wire screen.'

Le may occasionally appear without an antecedent. In this case, *le* absorbs the antecedent, with the meaning 'one who, anyone who' always referring to person. A demonstrative never behaves this way.

I giula be ye toar *le* ye be buutog.
'I know that no one will come.'

Ye toar *le* ye buutog reel tteiuy we lalow.
'No one came to the meeting yesterday.'

Dual Function of the Antecedent

9.2.3 An antecedent has dual functions, i.e., with respect to the main sentence and to the relative clause. For example, in *Wa we go tabeey tog ilaal* 'That over there is the ship you came by', the antecedent *wa* functions as the predicate of the main (equational) sentence, whose subject is *ilaal*. At the same time, *wa* is the object of the transitive verb *tabeey* 'accompany it' in the relative clause. Similarly, in *I weri mal we re torofi* 'I saw the bird they caught', the antecedent *mal we* is the object of the verb *weri* 'see it' in the main sentence and, at the same time, the object of the verb *torofi* 'catch it' in the relative clause. Any antecedent has such dual functions. Since we are already familiar with such main sentence functions of an antecedent as subject, direct or indirect object, predicate, adjunct, and possessor, let us now look at its function in a relative clause.

As we have seen, a relative clause is either predicative or equational. Thus, an antecedent may be the subject of both types of relative clauses.

(1) Subject of predicative clause:

Ye foori *seuw kaagool le ye gach*.
'He made a box which is good.'

Yaremat kela re sa ker ila lai sar skuul.
'Those persons who are happy are my students.'

(2) Subject of equational clause:

Siilo kawe ruwouw ila re tai betai.
(Lit.) 'Those pigs which are two are not fat.'

Ye sa pak be ye be weri *shoabut we laiul.*
(Lit.) 'He is anxious to see the girl who is his child.'

In an equational relative construction, the antecedent is always the subject of the relative clause, and never the predicate. For example, in the last sentence, *shoabut we* 'the girl' is the subject of *laiul* 'his child'.

An antecedent also functions as the object of the verb in a relative clause, as illustrated below.

Shoabut we re liiy ila Mary.
'The girl they killed is Mary.'

In this sentence, the object of *liiy* 'kill it' is the antecedent *shoabut we* 'the girl', which in turn is the subject of the whole sentence.

If the verb of a relative clause may take both an indirect and direct object, the antecedent may function either as the indirect or the direct object of the verb.

Yaremat la i be ganeey buk we ila mareyerai.
'That person whom I shall give the books to is my friend.'

Ye log *seliuw buk le i be genoog.*
'I have three books that I will give you.'

An antecedent may function as the object of the verbal preposition in a relative clause.

Mena ye nmwutaagili ila segofet gofetil faaliyap.
'That which he vomited is a piece of an apple.'

In this sentence, notice that *mena* 'that thing' is the object of the preposition *agili* 'with it'.

An antecedent can be the possessor of a noun phrase in a relative clause. In the first sentence below, the antecedent *imw we* 'the house' is the possessor of *yas* 'roof', and it is reflected as a possessive suffix *-l* 'its' in *yasol* 'its roof'. In the second sentence, the antecedent *yaremat kela* 'those people' is the possessor of *yaa-* 'general object' and reflected as the suffix *-r* 'their' in *yaar* 'their general object'.

Imw we ye yal lag yasol ila imwel bisi.
'The house whose roof was blown off is my brother's.'

Yaremat kela ye ffeo buk kela yaar ila lai sar skuul.
'Those people whose books are new are my students.'

An antecedent can be a pure time expression of a relative clause.

In the following example, the antecedent *iga* 'the time' is the time adjunct for both the main sentence and the relative clause.

Go gassiya toagota *iga we ye log*?
'Did you ask the doctor when he was here?'

An antecedent may function as a locative adjunct of any kind. In this case, the locative pronoun *iyang* 'there, about it, etc.' is placed at the last position (i.e., the adjunct position) in the relative clause. As we discussed in 8.3.3, a time word may have a locative expression when we emphasize 'at', 'on', 'in' or 'during'. These are illustrated below.

Paangal yaremat nge re gal paketi *biuleiu la re melaw me iyang*.
'Everybody misses the place where he was born.'

Go tewai gaaiu ngaliyei *yat ye go be lag iyang*?
'Won't you tell me when (or at what time) you are leaving?'

Finally, an antecedent indicates an adjunct of a relative clause which means reason or cause. In this case also, the clause takes *iyang* at the end.

Ila *seuw faiuriumil la si gal temwaaiu iyang*.
'That is something we are usually sick from.'

I ta giula *mele ye ssoong gemas iyang*.
'I don't know why he is so mad.'

Multiple Relative Constructions

9.2.4 Occasionally we need to express two or more relative clauses all of which modify one and the same antecedent, i.e., multiple relative constructions. There are two ways to form such constructions. One such way is to introduce the pronoun *i-* 'that thing' followed by the same demonstrative as the one that the antecedent contains. We place this *i-* compound before each relative clause other than the first one, as in the following examples.

Iiy semal sensei lan *rag we* ruwouw *iwe* ye sa lag.
'He was a teacher two years ago.'
(Lit. he was a teacher in the year which was two, which passed)

I bel gasiir tog *mwal kawe* seig *ikawe* re gal ur reel yaf.
'I will bring ten men who play with fire.'

I sa iuriu tiw lettet *wa we* waai *iwe* i foori lan wiik we.
'I launched the canoe which is mine, which I made last week.'

Sar kawe limmal *ikawe* re ur wel ppiy ila weneiul tamwel.
'Those five children who are playing on the beach are the children of the chief.'

The second way of forming a multiple relative construction is to use the conjunction *le*. This method, however, applies only to a construction in which the antecedent is the defective pronoun *mel-* 'something'. In other cases, the first way mentioned above is commonly followed. With *mel-* as the antecedent, each relative clause except the first one is preceded by *le*, as illustrated below.

I ta giula *mele* ye ffoor ngali *le* ye sa wegiteg tipel shoabut we.
'I didn't know how he could persuade her.'
(Lit. I didn't know something he did to her, by which the girl was persuaded)

Ye toar *mele* i giula *le* terel *le* ye tewai tabeegish iyang.
'I don't see any reason why he should not follow us..
(Lit. there is nothing that I know, that is its cause, by which he should not follow us)

CONJUNCTIVE SENTENCE FORMATION

9.3 Traditionally, conjunctive sentences in a language are grouped into two types: **coordinate** and **subordinate**. Conjunctive sentences are said to be coordinate if neither of the clauses is dependent on the other. For example, *Iiy ye kail nge ye gach me imwowai* 'He is stronger and he is better than I' would be a coordinate type because the two clauses in it are quite independent, i.e., either can stand without the other.

In a subordinate type, one of the clauses is dependent on the other. For example, *Ye be buutog nge i sa lag* 'If he comes, then I will go' would be a subordinate type in that the first clause is conditional to or dependent upon the second. See 5.1.2 for further discussions.

In many cases, however, it is not easy to tell whether a sentence is a coordinate or a subordinate type, because the dependency relation is very subtle and hard to pinpoint. Even if it is clear that one clause depends on the other in a sentence, it is still difficult to tell the degree and nature of the dependency. We will observe some major types of conjunctive sentences, therefore, in terms of the conjunctions used, rather than in terms of coordinates and subordinates.

In 3.15 we listed seven conjunctions (*me* 'and', *nge* 'and, but,

then', *gare* 'or, whether', *ye* 'and so', *le* 'that', *be* 'that, because, so that', and *bon* 'because'). *Me* connects words and phrases, but rarely clauses (see below for an exceptional case). *Le* joins a relative clause with its antecedent, as we saw in 9.2.2. *Le* also connects a functional clause with the main clause, as we will observe in 9.4. Thus, *le* is not relevant in this section.

The most frequently used conjunction is *nge*. Its main function is to join clauses to form a conjunctive sentence. Its meanings are varied, ranging over 'and', 'but', 'then', and even 'that'. The different meanings depend on the nature and meanings of the conjoined clauses.

Ye sa peyaaya *nge* ye temwaaiu.
'He has been getting weak and sick.'

Mwal we ye was *nge* ye tai mas.
'The man was injured, but not killed.'

Gare ye be buutog *nge* gaang i be lag.
'If he comes by any chance, then I will go.'

Ye far gabel *nge* gaang semal mal.
'I wish I were a bird.'
or 'It is somewhat wishful that I were a bird.'

Notice in the last sentence and in the following that *nge* may join a predicative and an equational clause. The first clause in each case is a predicative and the second an equational clause.

Si bel mil *nge* giish seuw.
'Let's live together as one.'
(Lit. we will live and we are one)

Yoor bisi selimel sar mwal *nge* riuwemal mwangeyai.
'I have three brothers and two sisters.'
(Lit. three brothers of mine exist and my sisters are two)

A stronger meaning of 'then' is provided by placing the demonstrative compound *ila* 'that' or *iwe* 'that' before *nge*.

Ruwouw nge go be gashiu ngali ruwouw *ila nge* ye bel faauw.
'If you add two to two, then it will be four.'

Nge is occasionally used as a sentence introducer. In this case, we may consider that the first clause is understood. *Nge* is often reinforced by *iwe (shag)* '(just) that' or *ila*.

Nge ye sa iiteiu?
'Then who else?'

Iwe shag nge ye ffas iiy Genaiuliwish.
'And then Genaiuliwish laughed.'

Ila nge i sa temwaaiu.
'Then I got sick.'

Use of *nge* as an emphasis marker was discussed in 5.3.3. In the following examples, *nge* may optionally be replaced by *me* 'and' whose main function is to join words and phrases. At present, the conditions under which *me* is allowed are not clear.

Ye far gabel *me* (or *nge*) ye be buutog field trip.
'I wish that the field trip ship would come.'

I yaleyal be far gabel *me* (or *nge*) ye toar mele ye wel ngalig.
'I hope that nothing would happen to you.'

I yaleyal be geraamwo *me* (or *nge*) si tabeer.
'I wish that we had gone with them.'

Gare, as a conjunction, joins not only words or phrases but also clauses. When it joins clauses, it also has the meaning 'or'. Observe the following example.

Gaang mele i bel rig lag *gare* iiy mele ye bel rig weiu.
'Either I will run away or he will run out.'

Ye 'and so, and then' always joins clauses, never words or phrases. Occasionally, however, it joins a clause with a locative adjunct.

Re sa la fita fita *ye* re sa tefaal tog igela.
'They fished, fished, and then came back.'

Ye sa buulong, buulong *ye* lan fal we.
'They went and went (and so) into a men's house.'

Be and *bon* both mean 'because'. They may occur together, in which case *bon* always precedes *be*. Thus, there is no particular difference in meaning between *be*, *bon* and *bon be*.

I tewai lag fita { be / bon / bon be } i temwaaiu.

'I won't go fishing because I am sick.'

I ker *be* Mary ye sa buutog.
'I am glad because Mary came.'

Ye feffas *bon* ye gabool ffas geffas kawe.
'She laughed because the joke was funny.'

I giula *bon be* ye foori.
'I know it because he did it.'

Bon may be analyzed into *bel* 'cause, foundation' and *-l* 'its', but its major use is as a conjunction. *Bon be* may be considered as a compound conjunction.

Be, not *bon*, has the meaning 'so that' or 'in order that' in the following examples.

I chuwaaiiy lag boot we *be* i be gasi paliuwal.
'I sold the boat to get money.'

Buutog reel imw we imwemam *be* si be mwongo.
'Come to our place so that we can eat.'

I bel tepangig *be* si be faiuw liiwen meleka giliyemw.
'I will help you so we will weave the replacement of your mat.'

Gai gaangimasow ngali *be* ye be maliuwegili lag yaal yengaang.
'We forced him to ignore his work.'

I gatiweli John *be* ye ta lag.
'I prevented John from going.'
(Lit. I prevented John so that he will not go)

Since *be* introduces a functional clause (9.4) also, the difference between that use and the use stated in this section may not be entirely clear. In such a case, *bon* must be used in order to give the meaning 'because'. Compare the two sentences below in this respect.

I giula *bon* (*be*) ye foori.
'I know it because he did it.'

I giula *be* ye foori.
'I know that he did it.'

FUNCTIONAL CLAUSE FORMATION

9.4 When a clause functions, by itself, as a subject, an object, or a possessor in a noun phrase, it is called a **functional clause**. A clause does not function as the subject or predicate of an equational sentence, nor as an adjunct.

A functional clause is normally preceded by a conjunction. Two conjunctions are used for this purpose: *be* 'that' and *le* 'the fact that'. *Be* is used far more frequently than *le*. The meaning difference between *be* and *le* is very delicate. In general, *be* is used regardless of whether the content of the functional clause is a fact that the speaker thinks is true or false. In other words, *be* is used wherever the English conjunction 'that' is used. *Le* is used when the speaker thinks the content of a functional clause

is a true fact. For example, compare the two sentences below.

I mangiiy *be* John ye tewai buutog.
'I think John won't come.'

I mangiiy *le* John ye tewai buutog.
'I am thinking the fact that John won't come.'

In the second sentence above, the speaker knows that John will not come, whereas in the first he does not have any such knowledge in advance. This kind of distinction in meaning between *be* and *le* seems to be blurred in actual use, and *be* is much preferred in many cases. In fast speech, *be* is often omitted if the context makes it predictable.

Ye tai tipei (*be*) i be gaaiug mele ye ta mmwel iyang.
'I don't want to tell you what's wrong with it.'

A functional clause is either predicative or equational, as in the case with other kinds of clauses. In the first sentence below, the clause *be ye be mmwel* 'that it will be possible' is predicative, while in the second the clause *le geel John* 'the fact that you are John' is equational.

Ye tiwegil *be ye be mmwel.*
'It is true that it will be possible.'

Ye net *le geel John.*
'The fact that you are John is true.'

When a functional clause is used as the subject of a sentence, it is placed after the predicate. Besides, the subjective whose subject is a functional clause is always *ye* 'it'. These facts are observed in the above two sentences. Here are more examples where a functional clause is a subject.

John *ye* tai fiti lag shag tipal *be ye be foori.*
'As for John, he hesitated to do that.'
(Lit. as for John, that he will do it does not agree to his mind at all)

Ye be mmwel *be go be foori yat ye ye toar mele go ffoor.*
'You can do it any time when it is convenient for you.'

Ye tewai fil *le re be gepaliuweliiy mwaliyal.*
'It will not be proper to oppose his words.'

A functional clause may be used as the object of a neutral or a transitive verb. The object suffix of such a transitive verb is always the third person singular form (i.e., *-y*, *-w*, or zero), which

directly refers to the content of the functional clause. Examples where a functional clause is the object of a neutral verb are as follows.

Go ser *be* 2,000 *toowail lan* 20 *minet*?
'Do you say that its result is 2,000 in 20 minutes?'

I kekepal *be i be gak tog selaapiy*.
'I promise to bring money.'

Go chepar *be re gal gatemwaaiugish*?
'Do you believe that they usually make us sick?'

Re tai niugiuliug lag mwo *be ye be nngaw*.
'They didn't expect that it would be so bad.'

Examples where a functional clause is the object of a transitive verb are as follows.

Go mangiiy *be ye be buuweiu igeiy*?
'Do you think (it) that he will come out here?'

I giula *be ye foori*.
'I know (it) that he did it.'

Ye gagila *be ye be rig lag*.
'He tried (it) that he would run away.'

I tipeli *be i be giula iteiu mele ye be buutog*.
'I want to know (it) who will come.'

A functional clause can be the object of a neutral or a transitive verb which is causative, i.e., a verb beginning with the causative prefix *ga-* or *ge-*.

I galiugiuliugiu ngali Bill *be John ye tai nngaw gemas*.
'I convinced Bill that John was not so bad.'

As indicated above, *be* may be omitted in rapid speech when the meaning is perfectly clear. If a functional clause begins with the adverb *gare* 'by any chance, whether', and the clause is the object of a verb, *be* is more frequently omitted.

I ta giula *(be) gare ye be lag*.
'I doubt whether he is going.'

Si be piipiiy *(be) gare yoor mwusoa reemw*.
'Let's see if there are any worms in you.'

I tipeli be i be giula *(be) gare iteiu mele ye be buutog*.
'I want to know who will come.'

I gal niuniuwan lag shag *(be) gare meta mele ye foori melekaal iyang*.
'I often wonder about why he does these things.'

Since *be* is so frequently dropped before *gare*, it now seems that *gare* itself is a conjunction leading a functional clause. In this case *gare* has the meaning 'whether (or not)'.

Certain transitive verbs which have a functional clause as the object allow another object which is the same as the subject of the functional clause. For example, observe the sentence below.

I tai tipeli [*John*] [*be ye be iul gashi*].
Obj. Obj.
'I don't want John to drink alcohol.'

Notice in the above sentence that *tipeli* has the direct object *John* and another direct object *be ye be iul gashi* which describes the action of *John*. The following examples all follow the same pattern.

Sar mwal we ye weri*yei* [*be i sa buutog*].
Obj. Obj.
'The boy saw me coming.'

I tipelig [*be go be ttir lag niimw*].
Obj. Obj.
'I want you to hurry home.'

I tipeli [*Bill*] [*be ye be gattigi piano we*].
Obj. Obj.
'I want Bill to play the piano.'

Re sa gewaiiy shag [*John*] [*be ye be ttir lag*].
Obj. Obj.
'They tempted John to leave early.'

I gemassi*yei* lag [*be gaang semal mal mwashog*].
Obj. Obj.
'I pretended (to myself) that I am a thief.'

I gatiweli [*John*] [*be ye ta lag*].
Obj. Obj.
'I prevented John from going.'

A functional clause may be used, although not frequently, as the possessor of an attributive (or possessive) construction. In the following example, the italicized clause is the possessor of the noun *pila* 'worth, value, importance', agreeing with the possessive suffix *-l* 'its'.

Yoor pilaal ngali John *le go be ttir tog*.
'It is important to John that you are here on time.'
(Lit. its value exists to John, that you are here on time)

NOMINAL CLAUSE FORMATION

9.5 A predicative clause which lacks the subjective takes the position of a noun phrase. For example, *mwongo ig* 'eat fish' in *yaal mwongo ig* 'his eating food' is a clause which lacks the subjective *ye* 'he', and takes the position of a noun phrase, i.e., after the classifier *yaal* 'his general object' (Cf. *yaal baabiyor gach* 'his good book'). Such a clause is called a nominal clause, as was mentioned in 9.1.

There are two positions where a nominal clause occurs: the **possessor position** and the **appositive position**. In the phrase *yaal John baabiyor* 'John's book (Lit. John's general object, book)', the possessor position is taken by *John* and the appositive position by *baabiyor* 'book'. It is 'possessive' because *John* functions as the possessor of *yaa-* 'general object'. It is 'appositive' because *yaal John* and *baabiyor* are appositively related to each other, referring to the same object.

When a nominal clause occurs in the possessive position, it is always preceded by the defective possessive suffix *-l* 'of'. Observe the italicized nominal clauses in the following which follow the suffix *-l* 'of'.

Iteiu mele ye be mmwelel *foori tapp la*?
'Who can do such a thing?'

Ye be mmwelel *peshangi*.
'It can stick to him.'

Ye tewai ilegil *gal beshikar gemas*.
'Don't make it too hot.'

Ye tai fasiul *gal fal tog*.
'He does not always look here.'

Two things must be noticed in the above examples. First, the noun whose possessor is a nominal clause is used as the verb of the main sentence. Second, the subjective of the main sentence (*ye* in the above examples) is the subject of the action or state indicated by the verb of a nominal clause. For example, *ye* 'he' in the first sentence above is the one who 'does such a thing' (i.e., *foori tapp la*). The above examples constitute the typical pattern where possessor nominal clauses are used.

Appositive nominal clauses occur only after the general classifier *yaa-* 'general object' which is followed by a possessor. The possessor is expressed by a possessive suffix, sometimes followed by a noun and sometimes not. Differing from possessive

nominal clauses, appositive clauses are used very frequently. Observe the following examples.

I ta giula yaal *sa sensei*.
'I didn't know of his having become a teacher.'

Mwal we i weri yaal *rig weiu me niimw* ila John.
'The man whom I saw running out of the house is John.'

Ye shap tag yaal *tang* iga ye weriyei.
'She began to cry as soon as she saw me.'

Ifa ssengal yaar *gatemwaaiugish*?
'How do they make us sick?'

Ifa ssengal yaami *gaweri ngali*.
'How do you guys show it to him?'

Notice in the above examples that the subject of each nominal clause, although not expressed in terms of a subjective, is shown by the possessive suffix. In the first sentence, for example, the subject of *sa sensei* is the same person indicated by the suffix *-l* 'his'. If the subject of a nominal clause is to be specified in terms of a noun or noun phrase, it may be placed either immediately after the verb phrase of the clause or as the possessor of *yaa-* as follows.

1. I weri yaal mwongo ig *John*.
   I weri yaal *John mwongo ig*.
   'I saw John eating fish.'

2. Go sa giula yaal sa buutog *John* me Yap?
   Go sa giula yaal *John* sa buutog me Yap?'
   'Do you know about John's having come from Yap?'

3. Ruwouw rag yaami tugofaiy *me John* tangiyei.
   Ruwouw rag yaami *me John* tugofaiy tangiyei.
   You and John are two years older than I.'

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