COMPLEMENTATION IN PALAUAN

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1. INTRODUCTION

A survey of extant works on Palauan (PAL) reveals a steadily expanding interest in elucidating the syntactic properties of the language, and in the post-war period especially, much emphasis has been placed on the investigation of complex sentences, in particular those involving various types of subordination. In this essay, a specific type of subordination — namely, complementation — will be examined in detail, and contrasting complement structures will be identified in terms of salient syntactic and semantic characteristics.

2. CHARACTERISTICS OF OBJECT COMPLEMENTS

In PAL, as in all other languages, whole sentences (or propositions) can function as the subjects or objects of verbs. Thus, embedded sentences dominated by the subject NP (noun phrase) node are called *subject complements*, while those dominated by the object NP node are termed *object complements*. We shall focus first on the latter type.

There is an important class of PAL transitive verbs that can take either concrete objects or objects that describe actions or activities. These two contrasting object types are illustrated in the examples below:

(1) a. Ak mla mo merek er a subelęk.
I have finish my homework
I have finished my homework.

b. Ak mla mo merek el meruul a kall.
I have finish prepare food
I have finished preparing the food.

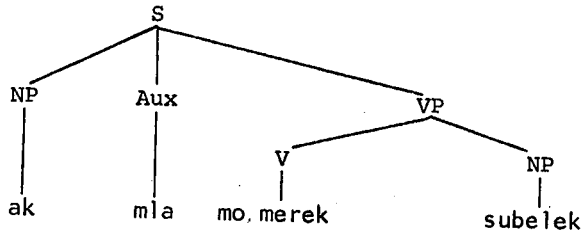
(2) a. A Droteo a milsuub er a reksi.
learned history
Droteo learned history.

b. A Droteo a milsuub el meruul a mlai.
learned make canoe
Droteo learned how to make canoes.

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Pacific Linguistics, C-80, 1984.
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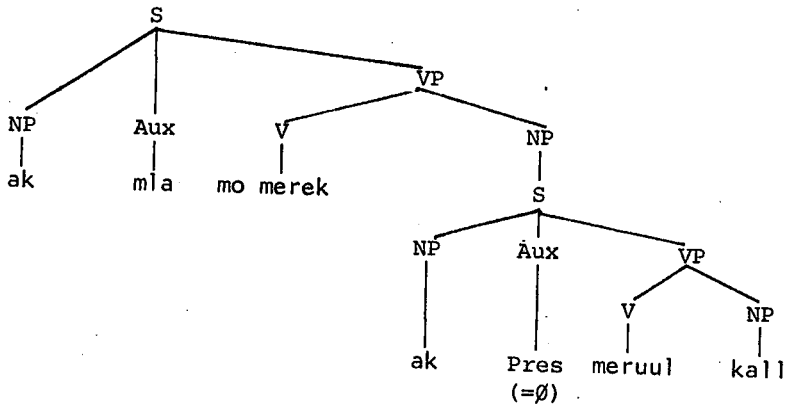
In the (a)-sentences above, the objects of mo merek *finish* and mesuub *learn, study* are the single concrete nouns subelek *my homework* and reksi *history*,[1] while in the (b)-sentences the objects of these same verbs designate certain actions or activities (preparing food, making canoes). Since the object in the (b)-sentences contains a finite verb but no overtly-expressed subject, we can conclude that it is ultimately derived from a fully specified embedded sentence whose subject has been deleted under identity with that of the 'higher', main clause. Thus, while 1a, for example, has the following deep structure (simplified with respect to irrelevant details),

(3)



sentence 1b has the more complex structure below:

(4)



In the deep structure configuration 4, the expansion of the object NP into a fully specified sentence (the object complement) reflects the semantic fact that in 1b, the object of mo merek *finish* is an entire activity (preparing food) performed by a particular agent (ak *I*). The semantic interpretation of 1b requires a deep structure in which the agent (= subject) of the embedded proposition is identical to that of the higher, main clause, since 1b can only be understood to mean that the person preparing the food and the person completing that preparation are one and the same individual. For this reason, the verb mo merek is said to require the ***Like-Subject Constraint***: in deep structures like 4, the subject of the object complement must always have the same referent as that of the verb mo merek itself. In deriving the actual surface structure 1b, the complement subject ak is deleted by a process called ***Equi-NP Deletion***, and an insertion rule introduces el at the beginning of the complement. As we will see, el marks many varieties of complements in PAL and is thus justifiably labelled a *complementiser*.[2]

In addition to having no overtly expressed subjects, the object complements of 1b and 2b require verb forms in the present tense, even when the verb of the main clause designates some past tense — e.g. mla mo merek *has finished* (recent

past), milsuub *learned* (non-recent past) — and the whole sentence therefore describes a past action or event. Thus, sentences like the following are ungrammatical because the (italicised) verb of the object complement is in some past tense:

(1b') *Ak mla mo merek el {*mirruul* / *mla meruul*} a kall.
I have finish {*prepared* / *have prepared*} *food.*

(2b') *A droteo a milsuub el {*mirruul* / *mla meruul*} a mlai.
learned {*made* / *have made*} *canoe*

The apparent 'neutralisation' of tense marking in the embedded sentences of 1b and 2b is a characteristic property of certain types of complement structures[3] as opposed to, say, relative clauses. Thus, as the following example shows, there are no restrictions whatsoever on the tense markers which can occur in PAL relative clauses:

(5) A chad el { a. mo meruul / b. meruul / c. mla meruul / d. mirruul } a mlai a Sebastian.

person { a. *will make* / b. *makes* / c. *has made* / d. *made* } *canoe*

The person who { a. *will make* / b. *makes* / c. *has made* / d. *made* } *the canoes is Sebastian.*

The differences in freedom of occurrence of tense markers in complement structures as opposed to other structures (e.g. relative clauses) may well represent a universal phenomenon. Thus, Kajita 1967:47-58 notes that in Eng., the object complements accompanying verbs like *hesitate, fail, volunteer,* etc. are restricted in their internal structure such that only the present tense form of the infinitive can occur:

(6) a. John hesitated to go/*have gone.
b. Bill failed to inform/*have informed the teacher.
c. Mary volunteered to drive/*have driven the limosine.

The starred verb phrases in 6 show that the object complement cannot contain past (or perfective) markers. By contrast, Eng. relative clauses have no tense restrictions, as the translation in 5 clearly illustrates.

Returning to the deep structure configuration of 4, we can now see that the embedded sentence which represents the object complement cannot be expanded with total freedom as can the highest (matrix) sentence. First of all, the NP subject of this complement cannot be *any* noun or pronoun, but must correspond to the subject of the matrix clause; and, second, the Aux node of the complement cannot be *any* tense marker at all, but must be specifically expanded as Pres (present tense).

2.1. Further examples of object complements

In the sentences below we observe further instances of object complements following the transitive verb mo merek *finish*:

(7) a. Ak mlo merek el remurt er a eai el klok.
I finished run at eight clock
I finished running at eight o'clock.

b. A Droteo a mla mo merek el bechiil.[4]
has finished married
Droteo is no longer married.

c. Ke mla mo merek el omengur?
you have finished have dinner
Have you finished eating?

d. Ke mla mo merek el melamech a dekool?[5]
you have finished smoke cigarette
Have you finished smoking your cigarette?

Other transitive action verbs such as omuchel *begin* and melasem *try (out)* resemble mo merek in allowing both concrete objects (as in the (a)-sentences) and object complements (as in the (b)-sentences):

(8) a. Kede mo omuchel er a blai er a klukuk.
we will begin house tomorrow
We will begin (to build) the house tomorrow.

b. Te ulemuchel el meruul er a blai er a elii.
they began make, house yesterday
build
They began to build the house yesterday.

(9) a. Ke mla melasem er a sasimi?[6]
you have try out sashimi
Have you tried out/tasted the sashimi?

b. Ak millasem el menga er a ngikel.
I tried eat fish
I tried to eat the fish.

PAL has a small class of transitive state verbs[7] that can be identified by the following two features: first, like all other transitive verbs, they can take objects; and, second, like all other state verbs, they have past tense forms derived with the auxiliary mle *was, were*. Two transitive state verbs — meduch *know how (to), be skilled at* and metitur *be ignorant of, not know how (to), not be capable of* — can be followed by concrete objects as well as object complements. Thus, the examples below parallel those of 8 and 9 above:

(10) a. Ak mle meduch er a ochur.
I was skilled at math
I used to be good at math.

b. A Droteo a mle meduch el melekoi a tekoi er a Siabal.
was skilled at speak Japanese
Droteo used to be good at speaking Japanese.

(11) a. Ak metitur er a mesil er a sidosia.
I am ignorant of motor of car
I don't know anything about (fixing) car motors.

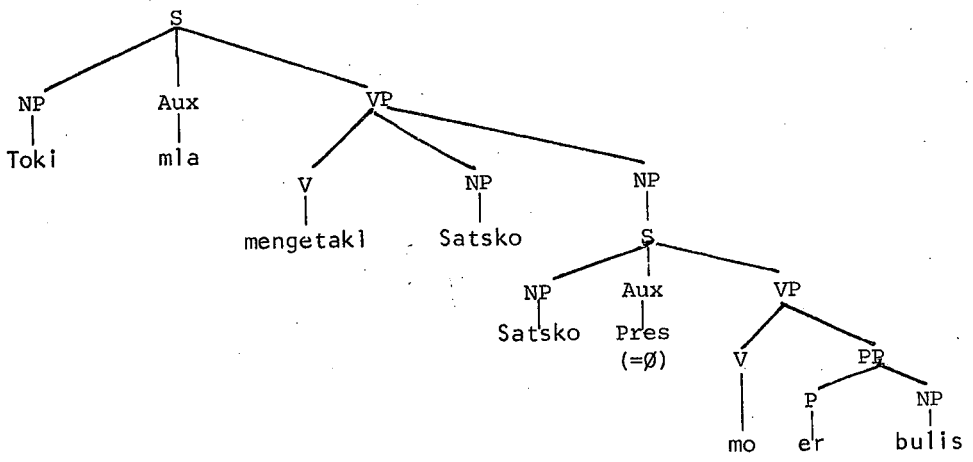
b. A John a metitur el mengikai.
is ignorant of swim
John doesn't know how to swim.

In all of the examples given so far, the unexpressed subject of the object complement is understood to be identical to that of the preceding higher verb. There are some cases, however, in which the unexpressed subject of the object complement is understood differently, as in the sentence below:

(12) A Toki a mla mengetakl er a Satsko el mo er a bulis.
has persuaded go to police
Toki has persuaded Satsko to go to the police.

Here, the higher subject (Toki) influenced some other person (Satsko) to do a particular action (i.e. go to the police). In other words, the action of going to the police was carried out by the person persuaded (Satsko) rather than by the person doing the persuading (Toki). Therefore, the unexpressed subject of the object complement el mo er a bulis *(to) go to the police* cannot be identical to Toki, the subject of mla mengetakl *has persuaded*, but rather must be identical to Satsko, the noun immediately following mla mengetakl. In 12, then, the verbal expression mla mengetakl appears to be followed by a succession of two objects, the first a noun identifying the person influenced or affected by the persuasion and the second an object complement describing the action pursued as a result of the persuasion. This two-object structure, in which the first object may be termed 'indirect' and the second 'direct', is illustrated in 13, the deep structure of 12:

(13)



In the derivation of 12 from 13, the identical subject Satsko of the object complement is deleted under identity with the indirect object Satsko of the main clause, and the complementiser el is inserted in complement-initial position.

The two-object structure described above is typical of other PAL verbs such as olengeseu *help*, olisechakl *teach*, and oldurech *tell, ask*. Observe the examples below:

(14) a. Ak ullengeseu er a Toki el meruul a subelel.
I helped do her homework
I helped Toki do her homework.

b. Ak ngilsuterir[8] a resechelik el mengetmokl er a blai.
I helped them my friends clean house
I helped my friends clean the house.

c. A rubak a ullisechakl er a Droteo el melasech a mlai.
old man taught carve canoe
The old man taught Droteo how to carve canoes.

d. A sensei a ulderchak[9] el mo er a Guam.
teacher told me go to
The teacher told me to go to Guam.

3. CHARACTERISTICS OF SUBJECT COMPLEMENTS

Any adequate description of PAL syntax must recognise a process of *subject extraposing*, as illustrated in the pairs of sentences below:

(15) a. A sechelik a mla mei.
my friend has come
My friend has come.

b. Ng mla me a sechelik.
he has come my friend

(16) a. A biang a mekelekolt.
beer cold
The beer is cold.

b. Ng mekelekolt a biang.
it cold beer

To PAL speakers, the (a) and (b)-sentences in 15-16 are equally natural and acceptable. While the (a)-sentences show the normal word order *subject — predicate*, in the (b)-sentences the subjects (sechelik *my friend* and biang *beer*) have been shifted, or *extraposed*, to the right of the predicates (mla mei *has come* and mekelekolt *is cold*). Thus, the (b)-sentences are derived from the (a)-sentences by a process of subject extraposing, which leaves in subject position a *pronominal trace* of the extraposed subject. Since the extraposed subjects of 15-16 are third person singular nouns, the third person singular non-emphatic pronoun ng *he, she, it* remains as a trace. If, however, the extraposed subject is third person (human) plural, the pronominal trace must be te *they*, the corresponding third person (human) plural non-emphatic pronoun. With 15 above, contrast the following pair:

(17) a. A resechelik a mla mei.
my friends have come
My friends have come.

b. Te mla me a resechelik.
they have come my friends

The only difference between 15 and 17 is that the subjects are singular (sechelik *my friend*) and plural (resechelik[10] *my friends*), respectively; in the former case the pronominal trace is ng, while in the latter it is te.

PAL has a special group of obligatorily possessed nouns[11] which, among other things, refer to such concepts as liking or disliking, as illustrated in the examples below:

(18) a. Ng soak a biang — *I like beer./I'd like some beer.*
my liking, beer
what I like

b. Ng sorir a buuch. — *They like betel nut./They'd like some betel nut.*
their liking, betel
what they like nut

(19) a. Ng chetik a milk. — *I dislike milk./I don't want any milk.*
my disliking,
what I dislike

b. Ng chetil a dekool. — *He dislikes cigarettes./He doesn't want any cigarettes.*
his disliking, ciga-
what he dislikes rette

Although the Eng. equivalents for the above examples include verbs (*like, dislike*), the PAL sentences do not contain any verbs at all but instead have obligatorily possessed nouns such as soak *my liking, what I like* and chetil *his disliking, what he dislikes* followed by concrete nouns such as biang *beer* and dekool *cigarette*. Therefore, these sentences appear to mean, literally, *My liking is beer, His disliking is cigarettes,* and so on.

What is striking about all of the sentences in 18-19 is the appearance of ng in initial (subject) position. The only plausible explanation for this ng is that it has arisen as a pronominal trace of an extraposed subject. Thus, we propose that a sentence like 18a is derived from the following source by a process of extraposition:

(20) A biang a soak. — *Beer is what I like.*

Example 20 is a copular sentence in which two noun phrases (biang *beer* and soak *my liking, what I like*) are being equated. The structure of 20 is the same as that of copular sentences such as the following:[12]

(21) A Droteo a sensei er a ochur.
teacher of math
Droteo is a math teacher.

Interestingly enough, copular sentences like 20 are not used very frequently by speakers of PAL. Such a sentence would be uttered only for the purpose of imparting a special emphatic connotation — i.e. 20 implies that it is beer and only beer (out of a choice of various possible beverages) that the speaker has come to like. Under normal circumstances, a copular sentence like 20 — namely, one containing as its second element a form of the obligatorily possessed nouns soal or chetil — must undergo the process of subject extraposing to yield sentences like 18-19. In other words, while subject extraposing is optional with sentence types such as those of 15-16 (in which both the (a) and (b)-alternatives are equally acceptable), this process is nearly *obligatory* with copular sentences containing soal and chetil.[13]

Now, with 18a and 19a compare the following sentences:

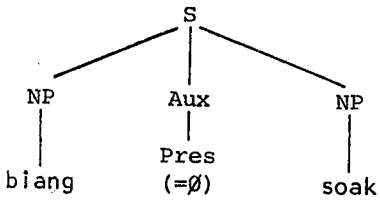
(22) a. Ng soak el melim a biang
my liking, drink beer
what I want
I want to drink some beer.

b. Ng chetik el melim a milk.
my disliking, drink
what I don't want
I don't want to drink any milk.

Whereas the sentence-final elements in 18a and 19a are extraposed subject noun phrases (biang and milk), in 22a-b the sentence-final elements el melim a biang and el melim a milk are reduced clauses containing a finite verb (melim *drink*) but no overtly expressed subject. Although the subject of these clauses is not expressed, it is nevertheless understood to be identical to the pronominal possessor 'my' designated by the suffix (-ak or -ik) on the preceding obligatorily possessed noun (soak or chetik).

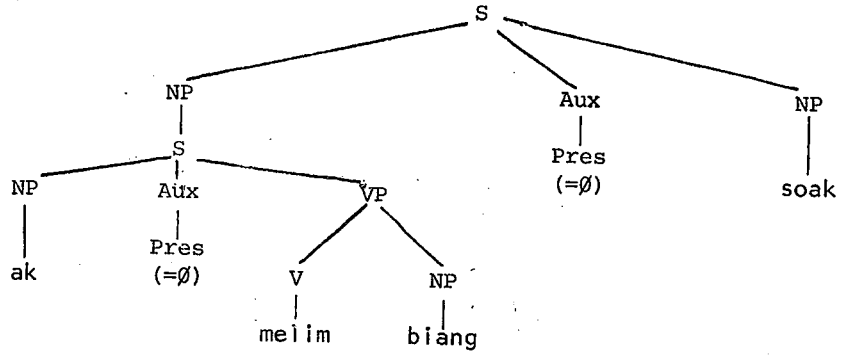
The abovementioned phenomena can be accounted for if we assume that sentences like 22a-b have as their subjects not simple noun phrases, but entire sentences representing activities performed by a specific agent. Thus, while 18a is derived by subject extraposing from a relatively simple copular structure of the form

(23)



a sentence like 22a has its source in the following more complex structure:

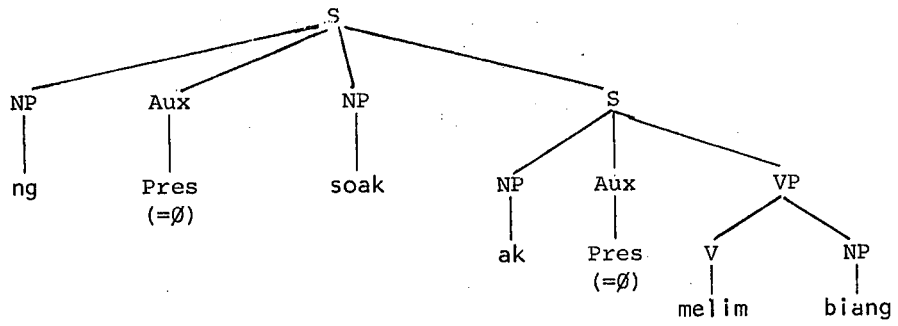
(24)



Although 24 is a copular sentence like 23, its subject has the structure of an entire sentence — i.e. the subject NP of 24 dominates a ***subject complement***. Just as in the case of object complements, the structure of the subject complement in 24 is restricted in two significant ways: first, the embedded subject (ak *I*) cannot be freely chosen but must correspond to the pronominal possessor of the obligatorily possessed noun soak in the matrix sentence;[14] and, second, the verb of the subject complement must be in the present tense.

In deriving 22a from 24, the subject complement is obligatorily extraposed, leaving the pronominal trace ng.[15] Thus, the following intermediate structure results:

(25)



Then, the subject ak *I* of the extraposed subject complement is deleted under identity with the possessor suffix -ak of soak and the complementiser el is inserted at the beginning of the complement.

From the above discussion we can see that PAL subject complements and object complements are restricted in identical ways and must undergo identical transformations such as Equi-NP deletion and complementiser insertion. Furthermore, it is clear that subject extraposing is obligatory in copular sentences with soak and chetik, etc. regardless of whether the deep structure subject is a simple noun phrase (as in 18-19) or a fully specified embedded sentence — i.e. a subject complement (as in 22). It should be noted in passing that deep structures like 23 semantically represent either *general statements* or statements about someone's desire (or lack of desire) on a *specific occasion*, while deep structures like 24 can only represent specific occasions. Because 19a, repeated here for convenience,

(19a) Ng chetik a milk. *I dislike milk./I don't want any milk.*
my disliking,
what I dislike

is derived from a structure like 23, chetik refers either to a general, habitual distaste (chetik = *I dislike* [*on all occasions*]) or to a lack of desire on a specific occasion (chetik = *I don't want* [*on this particular occasion*]). By contrast, 22b

(22b) Ng chetik el melim a milk. *I don't want to drink any milk.*

can only constitute a refusal on a specific occasion.[16]

As we have seen above, the obligatorily possessed nouns soal *his/her liking* and chetil *his/her disliking* can have either simple noun phrases or sentential complements as their deep structure subjects. As opposed to soal and chetil, the frequently-occurring obligatorily possessed nouns sebechel *his/her ability* and kirel *his/her obligation* can only take subject complements in deep structure. For this reason, sebechel and kirel are always followed in the surface structure by extraposed subject complements, as illustrated in the examples below:

(26) a. Ng sebechek el eko er a blim er a klukuk.
my ability come, go your house tomorrow
I can come to your house tomorrow.

b. A Droteo a sebechel el melekoi a tekoi er a Siabal.
his ability speak Japanese
Droteo can speak Japanese.

c. Ng kirem el menguiu tia el hong.
your obligation read this book
You must read this book.

d. A Toki a kirel el mesuub er a elechang.
her obligation study now
Toki has to study now.

3.1. Further examples of subject complements

Examination of negative sentences in PAL reveals that the negative state verb diak *isn't, doesn't exist* (past: dimlak) is a higher verb that can take either simple noun phrases or sentential complements as subjects. Note first the following negative expressions of existence:

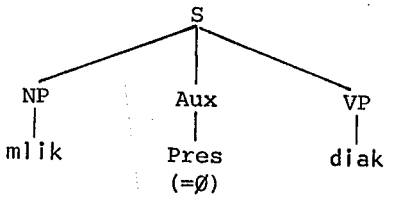
(27) a. Ng diak a mlik. *I don't have a car.*
isn't my car

b. Ng dimlak a ududel a Toki. *Toki didn't have any money.*
wasn't her money

c. Ng diak a chad er tiang. *There isn't anyone here.*
isn't person here

In each case, the logical subject of diak appears in sentence-final position and diak itself is preceded by the pronominal subject ng *it.* Clearly, 27a-c have been derived by the now-familiar process of subject extraposing, which leaves a pronominal trace in the original subject position. Thus, 27a has a deep structure like the following,

(28)

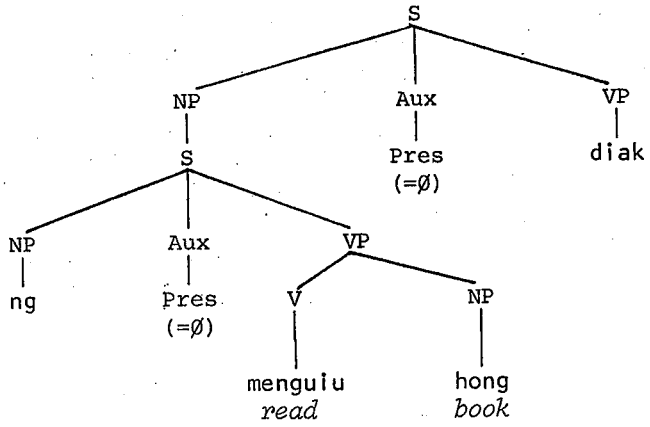


where the extraposed subject of 27a (mlik *my car*) is indeed the underlying subject of the higher (matrix) negative verb. As in the case of deep structures containing the obligatorily possessed nouns soal *his liking* and chetil *his disliking* as predicates (cf. 18-19 above), deep structures with the negative verb diak as predicate must apparently undergo subject extraposing obligatorily. Therefore, 28 must be processed or else the ungrammatical sentence 29 will result:

(29) *A mlik a diak. *I don't have a car.*

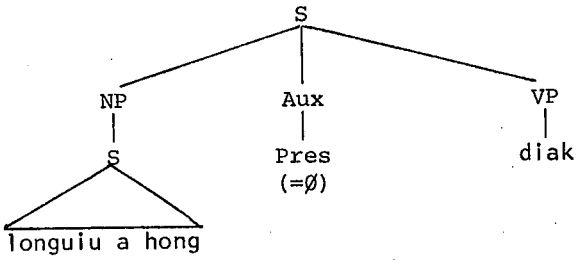
Now, if the underlying subject of diak is a whole proposition rather than a simple noun phrase, we have deep structures like the following, in which the proposition in question appears as a subject complement:

(30)



Before the subject complement of 30 is obligatorily extraposed, its subject and verb must be changed into a *hypothetical* verb form under the influence of the governing higher verb diak. In PAL, the hypothetical mood is required when a particular proposition is *unrealised* — i.e. when it is denied, supposed, assumed, imagined, wished for, etc. Because a context of denial is supplied by diak, the sequence of embedded subject ng *he* and (non-hypothetical) verb menguiu *read* must be replaced by the hypothetical verb form longuiu, which consists of a prefixed hypothetical pronoun lo- *he* and the stem of the verb menguiu.[17] Thus, 30 is transformed into

(31)



Finally, subject extraposing applies obligatorily to 31 to yield

(32) Ng diak (el) longuiu a hong. *He's not reading the books.*

In example 32, sentence-initial ng is, of course, a pronominal trace of the extraposed sentential subject. The complementiser el has been parenthesised because it is not altogether clear whether or not it really occurs in the surface structure of sentences like 32. Although all of the complement structures so far examined are clearly introduced by el in the surface structure, the phonological evidence for el in 32 is rather unconvincing. Thus, all we hear between diak and longuiu of 32 is a weak schwa ([ə]) transition. Moreover, in cases like the following,

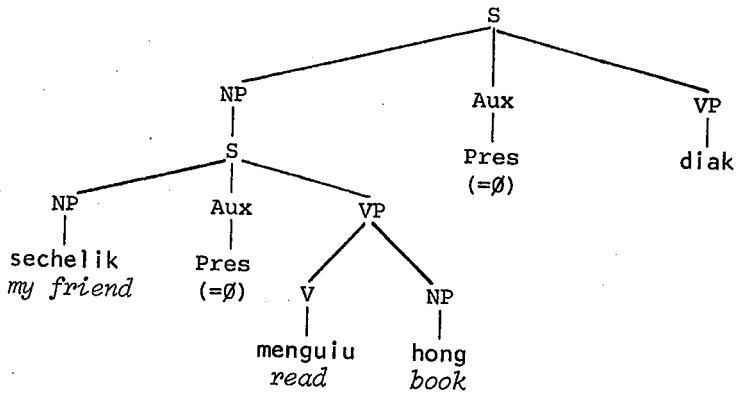
(33) a. Ng diak (el) ksecher. *I'm not sick.*
isn't I-sick

b. Ng diak (el) chobong. *You're not going.*
isn't you-go

there is no sound at all between the k of diak and the initial k or ch (glottal stop) of the immediately following hypothetical verb form. For purposes of maintaining the generalisation that all subject and object complements are introduced by el in the surface structure, it would obviously be preferable to claim that el also exists in sentences like 32 and 33a-b. But this claim would have to be made at the expense of rather ad hoc phonological rules that would either reduce el to schwa or delete it entirely. This question cannot be solved definitely at the present time and must be left open to further research.[18]

Now, suppose that the subject complement of a deep structure like 30 contains a specific third person subject rather than a pronoun such as ng *he*; in other words, consider the deep structure

(34)



Once the subject complement has been changed to the hypothetical mood, it is extraposed to yield a structure of the form

(35) ng diak (el) [sechelik longuiu hong]$_S$

The structure 35 represents an intermediate structure that must be further changed by applying either of two transformational rules. These rules operate to meet an apparent constraint that prevents a specific third person subject (e.g. sechelik *my friend* of 35) from remaining in the initial position of an extraposed subject complement. Thus, a rule of subject extraposing must apply *within* the extraposed complement of 35 to give

(36) Ng diak (el) longuiu a hong a sechelik.
My friend isn't reading the books.

Alternatively, a subject-raising rule must move the embedded subject sechelik back to sentence-initial position, where it substitutes for the pronominal trace ng. Application of subject-raising to 35 yields the following sentence:

(37) A sechelik a diak (el) longuiu a hong.
My friend isn't reading the books.

Some further examples parallel to 36-7 are listed below:

(38) a. Ng diak (el) loilil er a sers a rengalek.
aren't play in garden children
The children aren't playing in the garden.

b. A rengalek a diak (el) loilil er a sers.
The children aren't playing in the garden.

(39) a. Ng diak (el) leklou a mlid.
isn't big our car
Our car isn't (that) big.

b. A mlid a diak (el) leklou.
Our car isn't (that) big.

4. CHARACTERISTICS OF ADVERBIAL COMPLEMENTS

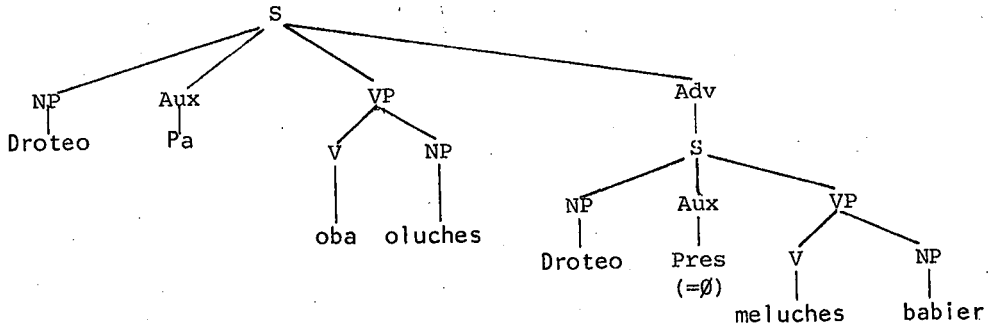
In the sections above, we have surveyed PAL subject and object complements, both of which are introduced as embedded sentences under the NP (noun phrase) node. A third major complement type to be discussed in this section does not involve embedding under NP but appears to be adverbial in nature. Observe, for example, the clauses introduced by el in the following sentences:

(40) a. A Droteo a uleba a oluches el meluches a babier.
was using pencil write letter
Droteo was using a pencil to write the letter.

b. A Droteo a milluches a babier el oba a oluches.
was writing have, hold pencil
Droteo was writing the letter with (lit. holding) a pencil.

In 40a-b, the clauses introduced by el *modify* or *specify* the preceding main clause by designating, respectively, the *purpose* of the activity of the main clause or the *instrument* with which that activity was carried out. Just as in the case of the subject and object complements discussed in 2.-3.1. above, the sequences introduced by el in 40a-b have no overtly expressed subject and contain verbs in the present tense form even though the event designated by the whole sentence took place in the past. Furthermore, the el-clauses are interpreted as having subjects which are coreferential with the subjects of the preceding clause. For these reasons, it is clear that the *purpose* and *instrument clauses* of 40a-b should be analysed in deep structure as fully specified sentential structures embedded under an adverbial node. Thus, the deep structure of 40a contains an *adverbial complement*:

(41)



In deriving 40a from 41, the familiar rule of Equi-NP Deletion must apply to the (obligatorily) identical embedded sentence subject (Droteo), and the complementiser el must be introduced in complement-initial position.

Additional examples of adverbial complements are given in the sentences below; in 42, the complements are purpose clauses, while in 43 they are instrument clauses:

(42) a. Ak ousbech a udoud el mo mechar a bail.
I need money go buy clothes
I need money to (go) buy clothes.

b. Ke okiu ker el mo er a kederang?
you traverse where go to beach
What route do you take (in order) to get to the beach?

c. Ng ngar er ngii a bilem el mo er a party?
there are your clothes go to
Do you have clothes to go to the party with?

d. A Droteo a me er a blik el me mesuub.[19]
come to my house come study
Droteo is coming over to my house to study.

(43) a. Ak milkodir a ngikel el oba a biskang.
I killed fish have, hold spear
I killed the fish with a spear.

b. A rechad er a Siabal a omengur el olab[20] a hasi.
Japanese (people) eat have, hold chopsticks
The Japanese eat with chopsticks.

4.1. Further examples of adverbial complements

In addition to designating purpose and instrument, PAL adverbial complements have numerous other functions, all of which involve modification or specification of the event described in the preceding main clause. The major additional types, together with any unique characteristics, are summarised below.

Any adverbial complement that specifies the conveyance used to move from one location to another is called a *means of transportation clause*. Adverbial complements with this function always contain the existential verb ngar *exist, be (located)* followed by a *locational phrase* consisting of the relational word (or preposition) er *in* and a noun phrase designating any kind of conveyance — e.g. car, train, boat, etc. The sentences below contain typical means of transportation clauses:

(44) a. Ak mlo er a Siabal el ngar er a skoki.
I went to Japan exist in plane
I went to Japan by plane.

b. A Droteo a blechoel el mo er a skuul el ngar er a sidosia.
always go to school exist in car
Droteo always goes to school by car.

c. A Masaharu a mlo er a Merikel el ngar er a diall.
went to America exist in ship
Masaharu went to America by ship.

Any adverbial complement which identifies the person with whom some action is pursued is termed a *comitative clause*. PAL comitative clauses always contain the special word obengkel *accompany, be together with*. This word, which may be related to the verb oba *have, hold, carry*, is unique in PAL in that it has the characteristics of both a verb and a noun. Thus, just like any verb prefixed with the verb marker o-,[21] obengkel has a past tense form in ule- (i.e. ulebengkel *accompanied, was together with*); furthermore, its distribution resembles that of verbs, since it directly follows the sentence subject, as in the examples below:

(45) a. Ak ulebengkel a Toki er a elii.
I accompanied-her yesterday
I was with Toki yesterday.

b. Ak ulebengkterir a resechelik er a elii.
I accompanied-them my friends yesterday
I was with my friends yesterday.

The noun-like behaviour of obengkel should also be clear from 45a-b. In these sentences, obengkel behaves like an *obligatorily possessed noun* in that it must always take a possessor suffix that agrees in person and number with the individual accompanying the subject in pursuit of the activity concerned. For this reason, the possessor suffix -el of ulebengkel in 45a agrees with the third person singular noun Toki, while the possessor suffix -terir of ulebengkterir in 45b agrees with the third person human plural noun resechelik *my friends*.

Now, in the sentences below, the special word obengkel occurs in adverbial complements functioning as comitative clauses:

(46) a. Ak mlo er a kedera el obengkel a Droteo.
I went to beach accompany-him
I went to the beach with Droteo.

b. Ng sebechem el mo el obengkek?
your ability go accompany-me
Can you go with me?

c. Ak mililil el obengkterir a resechelik.
I was playing accompany-them my friends
I was playing with my friends.

d. Ng soak el mo mengedúb el obengkem.
my desire go swim accompany-you
I want to go swimming with you.

Because *purpose, instrument, means of transportation*, and *comitative clauses* have the common function of specifying, qualifying, or giving further information about the action or event of the main clause, they could all be described by means of a convenient cover term such as *specifying clause*. While particular functional labels like *purpose clause, instrument clause*, etc. are not as readily available for the adverbial complements found in the sentences below, it is nevertheless clear that they all represent types of specifying clauses:

(47) a. A Droteo a ulureor el mengesbreber a blai.
was working paint house
Droteo was working/used to work painting houses.

b. A sechelik a mla er a diall el me er a Belau.
my friend was in ship come to Palau
(lit.) My friend was in a ship coming to Palau. = My friend came to Palau by ship.

c. A Toki a ulebengkel a Droteo el mo er a party.
accompanied-him go to
(lit.) Toki accompanied Droteo going to the party. = Toki went to the party with Droteo.

d. A Toki a mle dengchokl el kmeed er a Droteo.
was seated near to
Toki was seated near Droteo.

(48) a. Ak mirrael el mo er a Belau.
I travelled go to Palau
I travelled to Palau.

b. A Toki a rirurt el me er a blik.
ran come to my house
Toki ran to my house.

c. A katuu a riredekekl er a chedeuel a blik el mo
cat jumped from its roof my house go
er a kerrekar.
into tree
The cat jumped from the roof of my house into the tree.

d. A Droteo a ngilai a ilumel el me er a party.
brought drink come to
Droteo brought the drinks to the party.

e. Ak nguu a bechik el mo er a ocheraol.
I take my wife go to money-raising party
I'm taking my wife to the money-raising party.

f. Ng soak el oldurokl er a ngelekek el mo er a Merikel.
my desire send my child go to America
I want to send my child to America.

g. A sensei a ulduruklii a dempo el mo er a Saibal.
teacher sent telegram go to Saipan
The teacher sent the telegram to Saipan.

(49) a. A Droteo a lmuut el mo er a Belau er a klukuk.
return go to Palau tomorrow
Droteo is going back to Palau tomorrow.

b. A John a liluut el me er a Hawaii er a elii.
returned come to yesterday
John came back to Hawaii yesterday.

c. Ak liluut el menguiu er a hong.
I returned read book
I reread the book.

(50) a. A Toki me a Droteo a dmak el mesuub er a library.
and together study in
Toki and Droteo are studying at the library.

b. A resechelik a dilak el mengiis er a kliokl.
my friends were together dig hole
My friends were digging the hole together.

(51) a. A Toki a mla er a Merikel el ta el rak.
was in America one year
Toki was in America for one year.

b. Ak milsuub er a Siabal el eru el buil.
studied in Japan two month
I studied in Japan for two months.

(52) a. Ak mo kie er tia el mo (er a) sabadong.
I go live here go to Saturday
I'll be (living) here until Saturday.

b. Kau a cherreuek el mo er a kodall.
you my enemy go to death
You're my enemy until death.

(53) a. Ak ngilelmii a biang el rokir.
I drank up beer all
I drank up the whole bottle of beer.

b. Ke mla chemuiu a hong er kau el rokui?
you have read book of you all
Have you read all your books?

(54) a. A Droteo a milengitakl el (mle) klou a ngerel.
was singing was big his voice
Droteo was singing loudly.

b. A Toki a ulureor el kmal (mle) meringel.
was working very was hard
Toki was working very hard.

In 47a, the specifying clause el mengesbreber a blai *painting houses* narrows down or limits the scope of the activity of working expressed in the preceding main clause; in other words, the adverbial complement describes the particular kind of work involved. Similarly, in 47b-d, the specifying clauses all serve to narrow down the scope of various *states* described in the main clause. Thus, in 47d, for example, el kmeed er a Droteo *(being) near Droteo* provides specific information about where the subject (Toki) was seated.

The sentences in 48 all have main clauses containing an intransitive verb of movement (e.g. merael *travel, walk,* remurt *run,* etc.) or a transitive verb of conveyance (e.g. nguu *bring, carry,* oldurokl *send,* etc.). The accompanying adverbial complement contains a directional verb (i.e. me *come,* mo *go,* or eko *go (to the hearer's location)*) that narrows down the scope of the action designated by the preceding main clause by indicating the *direction of movement.* In a sentence like 48c, the *source* of the movement is indicated as well, in this case by the *source phrase* er a chedeuel a blik *from the roof of my house.*

In 49 and 50, main clauses containing forms of the verbs lmuut *return, do again* and dmak *be together* are followed by specifying clauses indicating, respectively, the action that is repeated or the activity that is pursued jointly by the persons designated as subjects of the sentence. As examples like 50a-b show, the subject of dmak *be together* must always be plural (e.g. Toki me a Droteo *Toki and Droteo* of 50a or resechelik *my friends* (= plural prefix re- + sechelik) of 50b).

Finally, as the groups of sentences in 51-4 illustrate, specifying clauses can function to denote a period or duration of time (51), a time limit (52), a quantity or amount (53), or the manner in which an activity is pursued (54). Many further subtypes exist, each with its own special characteristics, but unfortunately further discussion is beyond the scope of the present paper.[22]

5. EARLIER STUDIES ON PAL COMPLEMENTATION

Walleser (1911) presents very little on the syntactic structure of PAL complex sentences. Thus, he gives only brief recognition (133-4) to the function of el, which he explains as joining adjectives, adverbs, or clauses to (preceding or following) nouns or verbs. He provides just a few examples involving complementation, citing sentences containing specifying clauses of manner (cf. 54 above).

Many more types of complement structures are recognised by Capell (1950). Referring to the 'ligative article' el as an element that 'serves to link together words and phrases to make them practically one unit' (5-6), Capell presents (24ff.) a wide range of examples illustrating adverbial complements of the specifying variety — e.g.

(55) a. Ngii a mengitakl el ungil. (= specifying clause of manner — cf. 54)
he sing good
He sings well.

b. Ak liluut el mei. (= specifying clause following lmuut — cf. 49)
I returned come
I returned/came back.

c. Ak kie er tia el mo er a klukuk. (= specifying clause of time limit — cf. 52)
I stay here go tomorrow
I'll stay here until tomorrow.

In addition, Capell specifically mentions (32) the use of el clauses to express purpose, giving examples such as the following:

(56) a. Ng mle el omes er ngak.
he came see me.
He came to see me.

b. Ak ousbech er a besebes el melechet a kekere el klalo.
I use string tie small thing
I'm using string to tie up the small things.

Finally, Capell presents examples of object clauses (following transitive verbs such as meduch *know how (to), be skilled at* and metitur *be ignorant of, not know how (to), not be capable of* — cf. 10-11 above) and extraposed subject clauses (associated with such obligatorily possessed nouns as soak *my liking,*

what I like and sebechek *my ability* — cf. 22a and 26a-b).

Carlson (1967), intended for Peace Corps use, includes many examples and practice drills on PAL complement structures. Broad coverage is given to extraposed subject complements (3.2-4., 4.3., and 4.5.), purpose clauses (9.5.), and comitative clauses (8.). Interesting supplementary discussions are provided on topics such as the various pronunciations of el — i.e. as [l] after words ending in vowels, as Ø after words with final l, and as [el] otherwise (12.8.).[2 3]

Labelling el as a Verbindungsmorpheme ('linking morpheme') Pätzold (1968) gives a wide-ranging analysis of the many constructions that involve this element. Of particular relevance are Pätzold's discussions on specifying clauses of manner and direction (87ff.), purpose clauses (134-5), Nominalsätze ('nominal sentences') containing obligatorily possessed nouns of wishing, disliking, ability, etc. (i.e. sentences with extraposed subject complements) (102ff), and object complements (137).

NOTES

1. For discussion of the word a, which introduces most PAL noun phrases, and the word er, which marks object noun phrases as specific, see Josephs 1978:2.6-7.

2. For convenience of exposition, it will be assumed in this paper that the complementiser el is transformationally introduced. Whether this analysis is correct, or whether el has a phrase structural origin and is therefore present in deep structure, will be left as an open question. Note that el is also used to introduce PAL relative clauses and to link modifying expressions to a following noun (see Josephs 1975:Chaps. 23-24).

3. The neutralisation of tense marking noted here is found in clauses accompanying various classes of implicational and non-implicational verbs (see Karttunen 1970 for further details).

4. In this sentence, the object complement following mla mo merek contains the *state verb* bechiil *married* (cf. buch *spouse*). Therefore, a literal translation of 7b would be *Droteo has finished being married.*

5. As the Eng. equivalents for the sentences of 7 indicate, the sequence mo merek + *object complement* always refers to the finishing of something on a particular instance or occasion. Thus, in 7d, for example, the speaker is asking someone on a particular occasion (e.g. before a class is to begin) whether or not he has finished smoking. Such a question is quite different in meaning from the following:

Ke mla choitii	a omelamech	el dekool?	
you have give up, quit	*(action of) smoking*	*cigarette*	
Have you quit/given up smoking cigarettes?			

As opposed to 7d, here the speaker is asking the person addressed whether or not he has quit or stopped the *habitual* action of smoking. The object of mla choitii *has quit* is not a complement sentence but a noun phrase containing the *derived action noun* omelamech *(action of) smoking* followed by the modifying expression el dekool *of cigarettes*.

6. With concrete objects, melasem can also mean *challenge* or *check (on)*, as in the following sentences:

a. Ke melasem er ngak? — *Are you challenging me?*
you challenge me

b. Ke mla chesemii a mlim — *Have you checked (the condition of) your car?*
you have check your car

7. For a detailed discussion of these verbs, see Josephs 1975:7.4.

8. The form ngilsuterir is a perfective verb (see Josephs 1975:Chapter 6.) in the past tense; the suffix -terir *them* refers to a third person human plural object and agrees, of course, with the following specific noun object resechelik *my friends*. If a specific object is omitted from a sentence like 14b, we get the following:

Ak ngilsuterir el mengetmokl er a blai.
I helped them clean house
I helped them clean the house.

Here, the first object is the pronominal suffix -terir *them* of the perfective verb form ngilsuterir *helped them*, and the second object is the object complement introduced by el.

9. The form ulderchak is a perfective verb in the past tense. In this sentence, the first object is the pronominal suffix -ak *me* of the perfective verb form. Cf. note 8 above.

10. The plural prefix re- (sometimes reduced to r-) is attached only to human nouns. See Josephs 1975:2.5 for a detailed discussion.

11. An obligatorily possessed noun is one that has no independent unsuffixed form but must always occur with a pronominal suffix indicating the possessor. Thus, we have forms like budek *my skin*, budel *his, her, its skin*, etc. but no independent word bud *skin*. Cf. Josephs 1975:3.5.

12. In the present tense there is no overt expression of the verb 'be' in copular sentences. In the past tense, however, the stative auxiliary mle *was, were*, functions as a copula. Thus, the corresponding past form of 21 would be

A Droteo a mle sensei er a ochur.
was teacher of math
Droteo was a math teacher.

13. Another class of PAL sentences in which subject extraposing is obligatory is represented by the large variety of idiomatic expressions composed of a possessed form of the abstract noun reng *heart, spirit* followed by an intransitive or stative verb (see Josephs 1975:17.4.). Such expressions, illustrated below, are used to describe emotional states, feelings, and personality traits:

a. Ng ungil a renguk. — *I'm happy.*
good my heart

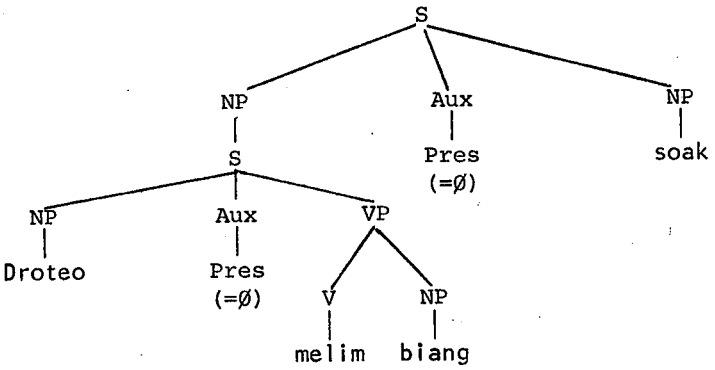
b. Ng klou a rengul a Toki. *Toki is patient.*
big her heart

c. Ng smecher a rengud. *We're homesick.*
sick our (incl.) *hearts*

d. Ng ngilasech a rengrir. *They got angry.*
rose up their hearts

14. Thus, according to this analysis, deep structures of the following type are ill-formed because the subject of the embedded complement (Droteo) is not identical to the possessor (*I*) of the matrix sentence possessed noun soak *my liking*.

a.



Because (a) is ill-formed, any sentences derived from it are, of course, ungrammatical:

b. *Ng soak el Droteo a melim a biang.
(I want/would like Droteo to drink beer.)

In order to express the intended meaning, the correct PAL sentence is

c. Ng soak a Droteo a lolim a biang.
I want/would like Droteo to drink beer.

Here, the sequence a lolim a biang appears to be a *conditional clause* introduced by a *if* and containing the third person singular *hypothetical* (i.e. non-real or conditional) verb form lolim *(if) he drinks* (cf. non-hypothetical melim *drink*). Thus, sentence (c), which means, literally, *I would like it if Droteo drank beer*, has a deep structure different from that of (a). For further justification of this analysis, see Josephs 1975:17.9., 19.1., and 19.4.

15. Note that ng occurs as the pronominal trace for extraposed subjects that fall into either of the following categories: (i) singular noun, human or non-human, or (ii) subject complement designating an activity, event, or proposition. By contrast, te occurs as the pronominal trace only when the extraposed subject is a plural human noun.

16. For further analysis of constructions which contrast with respect to the semantic opposition *general statement* vs. statement about a *specific occasion*, see Josephs 1975:17.8.

17. This description of hypothetical verb forms has been greatly oversimplified. For a more detailed discussion of the morphological and semantic properties of these forms, consult Josephs 1975:4.10., 4.10:1-9., and Chapter 19.

18. An alternative analysis would involve the claim that extraposed structures following diak are not introduced by the complementiser el (or any complementiser, for that matter). This would apparently be an idiosyncratic feature of diak since it is possible to find other verbs whose extraposed subject complement must contain a hypothetical verb form but is nevertheless introduced by el. Thus, Robert Gibson has pointed out (personal communication) the following sentences involving the higher verb dersta *(happen) once in a while.*

a. Ng di dersta el kbo er a chei.
only once in a while I go fishing
I only go fishing once in a while.

b. Ng dersta el lebo lsecher.
once in a while he get sick
He gets sick occasionally.

19. This sentence illustrates a pattern commonly found in sentences containing purpose clauses: if the verb of the main clause is one of the three directional verbs me *come*, mo *go*, or eko *go (to the hearer's location)*, then the following purpose clause must contain an expression of the form ***directional verb + action verb*** in which the directional verb matches that of the preceding main clause. Observe the following examples:

a. Ng kirek el eko er a blim el eko remuul a kall.
my obligation go to your house prepare food
I have to come to your house to prepare the food.

b. A ngalek a mlo er a stoa el mo omechar a kall.
child went to store buy food
The child went to the store to buy food.

For further details, see Josephs 1975:15.2.1.

20. In all instrument clauses, the verb oba *have, hold, carry* must be used in one of its (perfective) forms. Thus, in 43a oba is used with a third person singular object, while in 43b olab is required with a third person plural (non-human) object.

21. For an in-depth analysis of the PAL verb marker, see Josephs 1975:Chapter 6.

22. The amazing variety of PAL specifying clauses is set forth in greater detail in Josephs 1975:Chapter 15. In addition, direct and indirect quotation are expressed by specifying clauses introduced by el kmo *(lit.) being like (the following)* or el ua (i)se *(lit.) being like that*, as in the examples below:

a. A Droteo a dilu er ngak el kmo "Ng soak el eko er a blim.".
said to me my desire go to your house
Droteo said to me, "I want to come to your house.".

b. A Droteo a dilu er ngak el kmo ng soal el me er a blik.
Droteo told me that he wants to come to my house.

c. A Droteo a silebedak el kmo a demal a mla mad.
informed me his father has die
Droteo informed me that his father died.

d. Ak rirenges el kmo a Cisco a mo er a Bulabe.
heard go to Ponape
I heard that Cisco is going to Ponape.

e. Ak omdasu el kmo a Toki a mo er a Guam er a klukuk.
I think *go to* *tomorrow*
I think that Toki is going to Guam tomorrow.

f. A Toki a diak loumera el kmo a Satsko a oumlai.
isn't believe *own a car*
Toki doesn't believe that Satsko owns a car.

For a more complete analysis of direct and indirect quotation, see Josephs 1975:Chapter 21.

23. Carlson's decision to spell el uniformly regardless of pronunciation has been adopted in the PAL orthography used in this paper and in Josephs 1975. This orthography owes much to the following principle set forth in Carlson 1967: 12.8:

> Certain structural particles (er, el, a) have been retained in the lesson materials even though they are not always pronounced in normal speech. They are written in these lessons to help show structural relations.

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