

1537
A STUDY OF WOLEAIAN GRAMMAR FOR THE BILINGUAL
EDUCATION PROGRAM IN WOLEAI

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

IN ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

MAY 1982

By

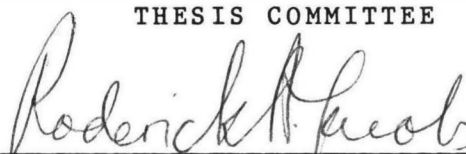
Anthony Francisco Tawerilmang

Thesis Committee:

Roderick A. Jacobs
Ho-min Sohn
Robert K. Krohn

We certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is satisfactory in scope and quality as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in English As A Second Language.

THESIS COMMITTEE



Chairman





ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to the many individuals who helped in one way or another in making this work possible. I especially wish to express my sincere appreciation to Professor Roderick Jacobs, of the University of Hawaii, for his invaluable suggestions, comments, and constructive criticism, which have helped to improve this thesis in many ways.

I am also grateful to Professor Ho-min Sohn, of the University of Hawaii, who first introduced me to the study of my own language; and to Frederick Jackson, Coordinator of the Bilingual Education Program for Micronesia at the University of Hawaii, for his encouragement and inspiration. I owe special thanks to the entire staff of the Bilingual Education Program for Micronesia at the University of Hawaii (Kenneth Rehg, Karen Kā'eo, Jean Kirschenmann, Ermile Hargrove, Frederick Jackson) for the kindness and cooperation extended to me during my studies at the University, and for proofreading certain sections of the manuscript.

I also wish to express my gratitude to Professor Sheldon Harrison, of the University of Western Australia, and Joel Bradshaw, for their comments and suggestions.

For financial support, I am grateful to the following agencies: the Yap Department of Education, the Yap Bilingual Education Project, the Bilingual Education Program for Micronesia at the University of Hawaii, and the Social Science Research Institute at the University of Hawaii.

ABSTRACT

Woleaian is one of several languages which make up what is often referred to as the Trukic Continuum. It is spoken by about 1,600 people on the following atolls: Eauripik, Woleai, Faraulep, Ifalik, Elato, and Lamotrek, all of which are in Yap State. The Trukic language group is a member of the Nuclear Micronesian language family.

This study attempts to describe the grammar of Woleaian within the general framework of the standard model of generative-transformational grammar. Where necessary, modifications are made to accommodate the unique grammatical characteristics of Woleaian.

It is the aim of this study to make available linguistic information that will be useful to the curriculum writers and teachers of the Woleai Bilingual Education Program. With such information, the curriculum writers can better control the syntactic complexity of the materials they write, and thus produce more efficient instructional materials.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iii
ABSTRACT	v
CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Woleai	1
1.2 Language Education in Woleai	1
1.3 Development of Bilingual Education Programs	4
1.4 The Purpose and Scope of This Study	8
1.5 Previous Work on Woleaian	9
Notes to Chapter 1	11
CHAPTER II. OVERVIEW OF WOLEAIAN GRAMMAR	12
2.1 Sound System of Woleaian	12
2.1.1 Woleaian Orthography	14
2.2 Structure of Words	17
2.2.1 Morphemes	18
2.2.2 Roots and Affixes	18
2.2.2.1 Prefixes	19
2.2.2.2 Suffixes	20
2.2.3 Reduplication	23
2.2.3.1 Initial Reduplication	23
2.2.3.2 Final Reduplication	24
2.2.3.3 Complete Reduplication	24

2.3	Noun Phrases	24
2.3.1	Demonstratives	25
2.3.1.1	Demonstrative Enclitic Constructions	25
2.3.1.2	Demonstrative Pronouns	27
2.3.2	Numeral Constructions	29
2.3.3	Possessive Constructions	29
2.3.3.1	The Construct Suffix Construction	30
2.3.3.2	The Possessive Suffix Construction	30
2.3.4	Locational Nouns	32
2.3.5	Conjoined Noun Phrases	33
2.3.6	Relative Clauses	34
2.3.7	Complement Clause Constructions	35
2.4	Verb Phrases	35
2.4.1	Subject Pronoun Copy	37
2.4.2	Aspect	38
2.4.2.1	Affirmative Aspect	39
2.4.2.2	Negative Aspect	42
2.4.3	Adverbs	44
2.4.3.1	Pre-Verbal Adverbs	44
2.4.3.2	Post-Verbal Adverbial Enclitics	46
2.4.3.3	Post-Verbal Adverbs	47
2.4.4	Directionals	47
2.4.5	Verbs	49
2.4.5.1	Intransitive Verbs	49

2.4.5.2	Neutral Verbs	53
2.4.5.3	Transitive Verbs	54
2.5	Basic Sentence Types	57
2.5.1	Equational Sentences	58
2.5.2	Verbal Sentences	61
2.5.3	Interrogative Sentences	63
2.5.3.1	Yes/No Question Sentences	63
2.5.3.2	Noun Phrase Questions	63
2.5.4	Imperative Sentences	65
2.5.5	Oblique Noun Phrases	66
2.5.5.1	Location Noun Phrases	67
2.5.5.2	Temporal Noun Phrases	68
	Notes to Chapter 2	69
CHAPTER III.	COMPLEX SENTENCES	70
3.1	Conjunctions	70
3.1.1	Coordinate Conjunctions	70
3.1.2	Subordinate Conjunctions	72
3.2	Relativization	74
3.2.1	Coreferential NP as Subject of a Lower Sentence	75
3.2.2	Coreferential NP as Direct Object of a Lower Sentence	77
3.2.3	Coreferential NP as Indirect Object of a Lower Sentence	79
3.2.4	Coreferential NP as Object of a Prepositional Phrase	80
3.2.5	Reduced Relative Clauses	82
3.2.6	<u>Le</u> as a Relative Marker	86

3.3	Complementation	87
3.3.1	Types of Complement Clauses	93
3.3.1.1	The <u>be/le</u> Contrast	93
3.3.1.2	Possessive Complement Clauses	95
CHAPTER IV.	TOPIC AND FOCUS	97
4.1	Topic and Focus Constructions	97
4.1.1	Topicalization	97
4.1.2	Focus Constructions	97
4.1.3	Summary Statements	103
CHAPTER V.	CONCLUSIONS	105
APPENDIX	108
BIBLIOGRAPHY	110

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

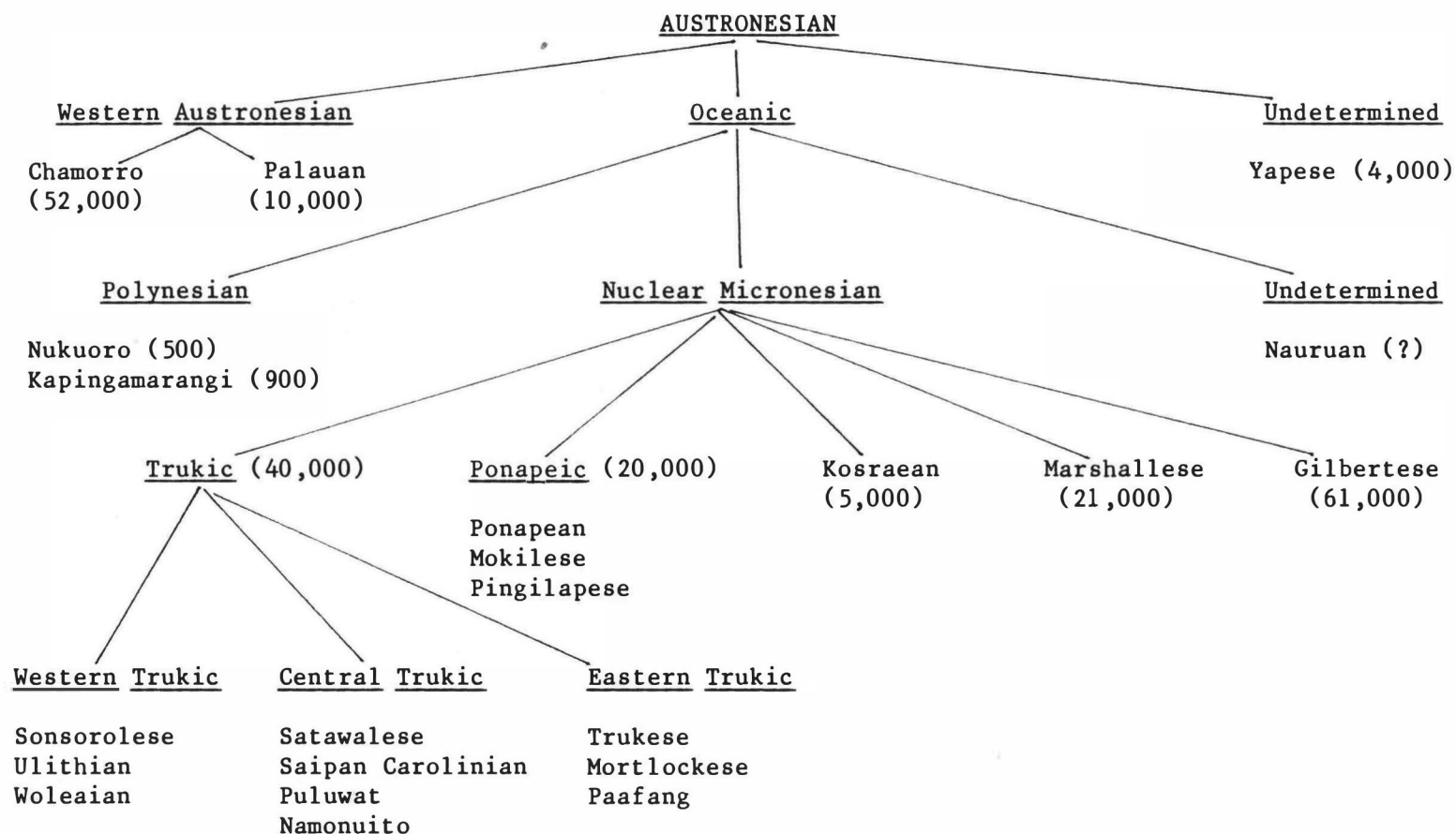
1.1 Woleai

Woleai Atoll consists of twenty very small islands, four of which are inhabited. It is located at 7°21' North latitude and 143°53' East longitude. Woleai and its neighboring islands of Ngulu, Ulithi, Fais, Sorol, Eauripik, Faraulep, Ifalik, Elato, Lamotrek, Satawal, and a number of uninhabited islands and atolls make up what is usually referred to as the "Outer Islands" of Yap.

The population of Woleai Atoll has risen steadily during the past ten years. In 1973, the U.S. Bureau of Census reported a total of 576 people claiming residence on Woleai. However, the recent census of 1980 reported a total of 659, an increase of 14.9 percent in seven years.

In the Outer Islands of Yap there are three major sister language groups--Ulithian, Woleaian, and Satawalese. The relationship between these language groups is shown in the chart on page 2. The Woleaian language is spoken on Woleai itself, Eauripik, Faraulep, Ifalik, Elato, and Lamotrek for a total of 1,601 native speakers of the language. The word "language" is used here for identifying the three different major speech communities--Ulithian,

INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN MICRONESIA



Woleaian, and Satawalese. I have no concrete linguistic evidence for calling each a language and not a dialect, only my own intuitions as a speaker of all three. But since that in itself is a whole topic which needs further research, I will not attempt to discuss the criteria for distinguishing between a language and a dialect.

1.2 Language Education in Woleai

Language education in Woleai and the neighboring islands has, until recently, been based on a policy of teaching English in every grade. This all-English language program was established in accordance with the language education policy of the early 1960's which stipulated that English was to be the sole medium of instruction in all government schools. However, after several years of implementation of the English language program, it was found that the children were losing respect for their own languages and cultures and were finding it difficult to understand important concepts which were presented only in English. This became a concern of parents, school officials, and politicians. In 1970 the Congress of Micronesia passed a resolution directing the Trust Territory Department of Education to incorporate the teaching of vernacular languages and cultures into the school curriculum. In order for the education department to comply with the recommendations stipulated in the resolution, it

became apparent that a thorough study and analysis of the various major and minor Micronesian languages, including Woleaian, was needed. The Department of Education took the initiative to negotiate with the University of Hawaii for language research to be conducted by the University. Eventually a contract was made between the Trust Territory Government and the University of Hawaii, and coordinated research on the various Micronesian languages was carried out according to the terms of the contract.

The major thrusts of the language research project were: 1) to compile bilingual dictionaries (vernacular-English) for each of the Micronesian languages, 2) to develop vernacular reference grammars, and 3) to standardize the existing orthographies for each of the languages. The standardization of the orthographies was made in consultation with orthography committees for each of the respective language groups in Micronesia. As the result of this research, there is now a Woleaian Reference Grammar and a Woleaian-English Dictionary, and the Woleaian orthography has been standardized and approved by the Woleai community.

1.3 Development of Bilingual Education Programs

In 1975, as the next step in complying with the Congress of Micronesia's resolution, a federally funded bilingual education project was established as a pilot project in one of the three elementary schools on Woleai.

The project sought to: 1) provide instruction in both English and the vernacular; 2) develop vernacular materials for first, second, and third grades; 3) train project teachers in the teaching of English as a second language and in bilingual education methodologies; 4) involve parents of project students as well as other members of the community in taking more active roles in project school activities. Each of the four major components above represents an area of need of the children in Woleai schools.

Beginning the same year, curriculum writers for the vernacular language started coming to the University of Hawaii to receive training in the teaching of English as a second language and bilingual education, concentrating on materials development and adaptation. During the summers, university extension courses and workshops were offered in Micronesia through the in-service teacher training program, and the project staff and teachers were encouraged to attend.

Today, a growing selection of vernacular language arts materials is becoming available. The materials are in various stages of development; some are still being written, others are being pilot-tested, and still others have been completed and are now regularly used in the classrooms.¹

It should be pointed out that in the development of these materials, the Woleaian Reference Grammar by Sohn (1975) has served as a principal resource. Those aspects of

the vernacular curriculum which deal with the structure of Woleaian were based on information provided by the reference grammar such as the discussions of the standardized orthography and of central morphological processes in the language, as well as the analysis of sentence structures. The same reference grammar has also been used as a class text in numerous university extension courses and workshops offered through the in-service teacher training program.

Although the reference grammar has provided the basis for the vernacular curriculum and has contributed tremendously to the success of other components of the educational program, it has become apparent that the development of more advanced and more complex materials for the upper grades is critical. It is this need that had motivated this study of the more complex sentence structures in the language.

As mentioned previously, the bilingual program incorporates the teaching of both English and the vernacular, but in terms of materials development, the program has concentrated more on development of vernacular materials, as these did not exist prior to the implementation of the program.² However, the English component has benefited as much as the vernacular from the improvement in the quality of vernacular instruction and materials. It has been reported by fourth grade teachers in

Woleai schools that the children who have participated in the program of bilingual education in the early grades do considerably better at the end of the fourth grade in second language skills and in other content area subjects than do the nonproject students. The reason for this seems obvious. As we mentioned earlier, the program provides instruction in both English and the vernacular; through this approach (the utilization of the mother tongue as a medium of instruction), these students can fully utilize their learning abilities as they do not have to deal constantly with the problems inherent in using the second language.

On the other hand, the nonproject students who are also nonnative speakers of English (which is the second language), are limited in their ability to develop their cognitive skills. In other words, the acquisition of second language skills is hampered by the students' inability to understand the language of instruction, and, as a result, the nonproject students do not perform as well as the project students. This observation is in line with Niyekawa-Howard's study of bilingual education in American Samoa in which she reported:

. . . when English is used as the medium of instruction, children have to learn a whole list of basic words before they can express simple relational ideas like 'This is larger, but the smaller one is heavier.' In other words, in emphasizing the use of English in school, children are not allowed to engage in cognitive activities they can easily manage. They are reduced to the level of three or four year olds as far as their

verbal activities are concerned. They do not receive cognitive stimulation, nor can they exercise their cognitive abilities. Most of their efforts go into learning a new language. They have no choice but function at a lower level as far as intellectual activities are concerned. (Niyekawa-Howard 1971)

The success of the bilingual program has led to suggestions that the program be extended to all schools in the Woleai language group. The grades currently being served by the program are first, second, and third.³

1.4 The Purpose and Scope of This Study

The purposes of this study are: 1) to present an overview of Woleaian grammar, and 2) to present a linguistic analysis of complex sentences in Woleaian.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of relevant aspects of Woleaian grammar including a general description of the orthographic system and major phonological rules of the language, a discussion of noun phrases and verb phrases, and a brief consideration of basic sentence types. Chapter 3 is concerned with the processes involved in complex constructions with respect to coordinate and subordinate conjunctions, relative clauses, and complement clauses. Chapter 4 provides a general description of topic and focus constructions in Woleaian. In Chapter 5 we consider some implications of this study for vernacular education of Woleaian-speaking children.

1.5 Previous Work on Woleaian

Smith (1951) designed a guide to Woleaian spelling and recommended its use in schools, but the spelling system was never used. In 1956, Whitcomb discussed the major health problems in Woleai using situational dialogs. The text was translated into Woleaian by Gatelmar (1956). The spelling used by Gatelmar is basically consistent with present-day Woleaian orthography except for a few orthographic symbols and conventions of word division. In a separate work, Riesenbergr and Kaneshiro (1960) describe the Woleaian script and discuss its possible origin. They observed that at one time the writing system was in use throughout the central Carolines, and they noted slight variations in the use of the system from island to island. The spelling systems appeared to be of two types, which they called Type I and Type II. The Type I version is made up of 78 characters, most of which can be assigned phonetic values. The rest are pictographic symbols. Type II is a syllabary consisting of 19 characters. In other words, each symbol or a group of symbols represents a syllable. Quackenbush (1968) gave sound correspondences for various Trukic languages and dialects. Alkire (1970) described the cultural, social, and political practices in Woleai and its neighboring islands. He designed his own system of transcription of Woleaian words. More recently, Sohn (1971) has discussed morphophonemic changes in Woleaian phonology, especially

with respect to the raising of /a/ to [e] in certain environments. Sohn (1973) described relative clause formation in Micronesian languages and pointed out that embedded noun phrases in relative clause constructions do not move to clause-initial position.⁴ Sohn (1975) gave a general description of Woleaian grammar, and Sohn and Tawerilmang (1975) compiled the first Woleaian-English Dictionary.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. These instructional materials were written by Yarofaisaf, Uolai, and Tawerilmang with support from the Title VII Bilingual Education Program.
2. Although English instructional materials are available for all grade levels, the bilingual program continues to adapt and revise them in order to make them suitable for use in Woleaian schools.
3. The present Yap State Language Education Policy stipulates that vernacular languages in Yap State be taught in grades 1-8. Beyond the eighth grade level, the vernacular becomes an optional subject.
4. Concerning Sohn's observation regarding the movement of embedded noun phrases in relative construction, it has recently been reported by Sugita and Rehg that such movement is permissible in Ponapean and Trukese languages.

CHAPTER II

OVERVIEW OF WOLEAIAN GRAMMAR

2.1 Sound System of Woleaian

The main purpose of this section is to explain the orthographic system used in this thesis to transcribe Woleaian. To make the explanation clear, however, it will also be necessary to comment briefly on some major phonological rules of the language.

As presented in Sohn and Tawerilmang (1975), the Woleaian phonemic inventory includes the consonants and vowels shown in the chart below. Rare phonemes, found primarily in loans, are in parentheses.

(1) Consonant Inventory:

	Labial	Labio-Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Retro-flex	Velar
Stops	p		t	t ^s t ^s		(k)
Affricates						
Fricatives	β ^w	f	s		ʂ	x
Nasals	m, m ^w		(n)			ŋ
Liquids			l		r	
Glides	w			j		

(2) Vowel Inventory:

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	y	u
Mid	e	ø	o
Low		a	ɔ

Vowels may be distinctively short or long. All consonants may occur long (geminate), at least intervocalically. When they do, the manner of articulation changes in several instances, as follows:

(3) Single Consonant

Geminate Consonant

β^w

p^wp^w

ʂ

t^ʂt^ʂ

x

kk

r

t^rt^r

l

nn

The other geminate consonants are simply doubled or long versions of the single ones.

All words in Woleaian end in a vowel, but if the final vowel is short, it is devoiced, or "whispered." If the final short vowel is /a/, it is also raised to [e]. Final long vowels are shortened phonetically unless followed by a suffix or enclitic. Here are some examples:

[laxo]	[laxo-i]
'to go'	'my going'
[xøɾø]	[xøɾø:-li]
'crane bird'	'crane of'
[teraxi]	[teraxi-ti]
'to sail'	'sail to'
[metaxy]	[metaxy-mwu]
'to be afraid'	'afraid of you'
[jalyte]	[jalyta-le]
'small islands'	'his small islet'

While in some cases vowel length is inherent (systematic phonemic), in most cases it is predictable. Specifically, any underlying disyllabic word is lengthened when the word is the sole constituent of a phrase.¹ This is most noticeable for nouns or pronouns since it is quite common for a noun to be the only constituent of a noun phrase (see section 2.3), but it may also occur with verbs when, for example, the verb is uttered in isolation or when the sentence is imperative.

2.1.1 Woleaian Orthography

The orthography used from here on in this thesis is essentially that employed in Sohn (1975), and Sohn and Tawerilmang (1975), with two exceptions: 1) final voiceless vowels are here represented in the orthography, and 2) all vowel length, whether predictable or not, is represented. The orthography used here is the same as that currently being taught in Woleai schools.

The orthographic symbols used are as follows:

Phoneme	Orthographic Representation
/p/	p
/t/	t
/k/	k
/β ^w /	b
/f/	f
/s/	s
/ʃ/	sh
/x/	g
/m/	m
/n/	n
/ŋ/	ng
/m ^w /	mw
/l/	l
/r/	r
/w/	w
/j/	y
/i/	i
/e/	e
/y/	iu
/ø/	eo
/a/	a
/u/	u

Phoneme	Orthographic Representation
---------	-----------------------------

/o/	o
/ɔ/	oa

When the phoneme is long, the orthographic symbol is simply doubled, with the following exceptions:

Phoneme	Single	Geminate
β ^w	b	pw
s	sh	ch
x	g	k
n	n	n
m ^w	mw	mmw
ŋ	ng	nng
r	r	ch
l	l	n
y	iu	iu
ø	eo	eo
ɔ	oa	oa

When the symbols k, n, iu, eo, and oa are written, it is impossible to know, unless one is a speaker of Woleaian, whether the phoneme is short or long. Although this has caused no problems for Woleaians using their orthography, it is sometimes confusing to outsiders. The following words contain both short and long counterparts for each of the four phonemes mentioned above:

<u>Phoneme</u>	<u>Short</u>	<u>Long</u>
/k/	[kuru:su] 'cross'	[k:utu] 'to spit'
	[kelaasi] 'cup'	[k:epate] 'to talk'
/n/	[na:na] 'mother'	[n:ete] 'sure'
	[noori] 'glue'	[n:inge] 'beautiful'
/y/	[ylefi] 'fish sp.'	[xy:xy] 'to bite'
	[tyxywefi] 'to wrap'	[ty:faxeray] 'ghost'
/ɔ/	[teɔro] 'dolphin'	[jɔ:fe] 'bridge'
	[sɔɔlo] 'morning'	[fɔ:fɔ] 'fish sp.'
	[xɔrɔ] 'crane bird'	[xɔ:xɔ] 'to tie'
/ø/	[sørø] 'to decay'	[jø:ri] 'familiar'

For further discussion of the Woleaian orthography employed here, see Sohn (1975:42-51).

2.2 Structure of Words

In this chapter we will be looking at the structure of words and the processes by which the morphemes are combined to form words. The discussion will focus primarily on the most productive word-formation processes in Woleaian.

2.2.1 Morphemes

In Woleaian, a morpheme may consist of a single syllable with a distinct meaning or a several syllables with a distinct meaning, as in these examples:

(4) John ye lii-re yaremate kawe.

J. he kill-they people those

'John killed those people.'

(5) Mary ye sa pechaaiu.

M. she PERF hungry

'Mary is hungry.'

Notice that -re 'they' in the word lii-re 'kill them' is a single morpheme with a single syllable while pechaaiu 'hungry' in sentence (5) is also a single morpheme but is polysyllabic.

2.2.2 Roots and Affixes

A word may consist of a single morpheme, as in pechaaiu 'hungry', or it may have more than one morpheme, as in lii-re 'kill them'. The stem for pechaaiu is the whole word itself, but the stem for lii-re is lii-, while -re is an affix. Basically there are two kinds of affixes in Woleaian: prefixes and suffixes. Prefixes are of two major types: causative and locative. True suffixes are also of two major types: object and possessive. Each type of affix is discussed below.

2.2.2.1 Prefixes

In this section we will be looking at the ways in which prefixes are attached to the stem words. Look at example sentence (6) below:

(6) Mary ye ga-mwongoo-we John.

M. she cause-eat-him J.

'Mary fed John.'

The morpheme ga- in ga-mwongoo-we 'feed him' is a causative prefix attached to the verb mwongo 'to eat'. Normally, a transitive verb cannot be causativized, but an intransitive verb can. Observe sentences (7) and (8) below:

(7) *John ye ga-lii-ye Mary Bill.

J. he cause-kill-her M. B.

(8) Mary ye ga-meot-a mai kawe.

M. she cause-cook-it breadfruit those

'Mary cooked those breadfruits.'

The verb lii-ye 'kill him' is already a transitive verb, therefore, it cannot take the causative prefix ga-. Example (7), in which ga- is attached to the transitive verb lii-ye is an ungrammatical sentence. However, sentence (8), in which the prefix ga- is attached to the intransitive verb meote 'cooked', making it transitive, is a normal Woleaian sentence. In summary, the causative prefix ga- can only be

attached to intransitive and neutral verbs, which then must undergo the object copying rule. The object copying rule attaches a pronominal copy of the object, suffixing it to the already causativized verb, making it into a full-fledged transitive verb.

The locative prefix le- can only be attached to certain nonlocative nouns, such as the following:

taati	'salt water'	le-tteti	'in salt water'
shaaliu	'fresh water'	le-cheliu	'in fresh water'
liibe	'pit'	le-nibe	'in pit'
tiipe	'mind'	le-ttiipe	'in mind'

2.2.2.2 Suffixes

As mentioned earlier, there are two major types of suffixes: object suffixes and possessive suffixes. The object suffixes are listed below:

<u>Object Suffix</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Person</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Animate</u>
-yai, -yei -wai, -wei	'me'	first	singular	animate
-go	'you'	second	singular	animate
-Ø -ye, -we	'him/her/it'	first	singular	both
-gishe	'us (incl.)'	first	plural	animate
-gemami	'us (excl.)'	first	plural	animate
-gami	'you'	second	plural	animate

<u>Object Suffix</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Person</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Animate</u>
-re	'them'	third	plural	animate
-ni	'them'	third	plural	inanimate

These suffixes can only be attached to transitive verbs or prepositional verbs, as in sentences (9) and (10) below:

(9) John ye weri-gishe.

J. he see-us

'John saw us.'

(10) Mary ye gaaiu-ngalii-re kepate we.

M. she tell-to-them news the

'Mary told them the news.'

We have seen one type of suffixation, object suffixation, in which the object trace is suffixed to a verb. Now we will consider possessive suffixation, in which the possessive marker is suffixed to a noun. In Woleaian, there are two ways in which possession can be expressed; one way is by suffixing the possessive marker to a possessed noun, and the other is by suffixing the same marker to a noun classifier. Examples of each of the two possessive types are given below:

(11) Mary ye sheog-i peshee-i.

M. she message-it leg-my

'Mary massaged my legs.'

(12) Shoabuto we ye kaumwuu-we shimwee-re.

woman the she comb-it head-their

'The woman combed their hair.'

In the above examples, the possessive marker is attached directly to the possessed noun. However, in the sentences below, the possessive marker is attached to a possessive classifier.

(13) John ye foor-i stoosa we waa-i.

J. he make-it car the vehicle-my

'John fixed my car.'

(14) Mary ye masiuriu lani imwe we imwe-mwu.

M. she sleep in house the house-your

'Mary slept in your house.'

For further discussion of possessives, refer to section 2.3.

A list of possessive suffixes is as follows:

<u>Possessive Suffix</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
-i	'my'
-mwu	'your'
-le	'his/her/its'
-mi	'your (plural)'

<u>Possessive Suffix</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
-mami	'our (plural exclusive)'
-she	'our (plural inclusive)'
-re	'their'

2.2.3 Reduplication

In this section we shall look at reduplication, another major word-formation process in Woleaian. Reduplication is a very productive process in Woleaian; it involves both complete and partial repetition of words. Both verbs and nouns can undergo reduplication, but reduplication of verbs is more common than reduplication of nouns. Reduplication often implies repetition of an on-going action, which usually results in a slight change in meaning of the original stem. Reduplicated words generally fall into the grammatical class "verb" except for a few fossilized words.² The following are the three types of reduplication processes in Woleaian:

2.2.3.1 Initial Reduplication

Initial reduplication is the most productive type of reduplication process in the language. It involves the repetition of the first syllable in a word, as in these:

masiuriu 'to sleep'	memmasiuriu 'to be sleepy'
fatiule 'to paddle'	fefetiule 'to paddle'

2.2.3.2 Final Reduplication

Although final reduplication appears in a number of Woleaian words, the process is not as productive as initial reduplication. In final reduplication, the end of the word from the final voiced syllable is repeated, as in the following:

faliuwe
'island'

faliuweliuwe
'to own an island'

masiuriu
'sleep'

masiuriusiuriu
'to be blinking'

2.2.3.3 Complete Reduplication

Complete reduplication is not very productive in Woleaian. It converts nouns into predicate forms and requires the repetition of the whole stem, as in these words:

shiu
'bones'

shiushiu
'to be bony'

geo
'hooks'

geogeo
'to be hooked'

2.3 Noun Phrases

In Woleaian a noun phrase may consist of a single word (e.g., a noun or a pronoun), or a combination of elements. Within a given noun phrase, there is a head noun (or a pronoun) whose function is to express the central meaning of the phrase; all other elements in the phrase may serve as modifiers of the head noun.

A noun phrase may be constructed in a number of ways, depending on the kinds of modifiers occurring in the phrase. Listed below are the major types of noun phrase constructions in the language:

- (15) demonstrative constructions
- (16) numeral constructions
- (17) possessive constructions
- (18) locational noun constructions
- (19) conjoined noun phrases
- (20) relative clause constructions
- (21) complement clause constructions

Each of the above is discussed in the following sections:

2.3.1 Demonstratives

Demonstratives in Woleaian are of two types. In one type the head noun is followed by a demonstrative enclitic while in the other a demonstrative pronoun alone constitutes the noun phrase, as we shall see below.

2.3.1.1 Demonstrative Enclitic Constructions

In a demonstrative enclitic construction, the demonstrative serves as a modifier of the head noun. There are two subclasses of demonstrative enclitics: independent enclitics and relational enclitics. The forms are shown below:

<u>Independent Enclitic</u>		<u>Relational Enclitic</u>	
<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
yeele	kaale	ye	ka
'near speaker'		'near speaker'	
mwuulo	kamwuulo	mwu	kamwu
'near hearer'		'near hearer'	
laale	kelaale	la	kela
'away from both'		'near hearer'	
yeiye	kaiye	we	kawe
'include both'		'away from both'	

Except for we 'the' and kawe 'those', all the above demonstratives refer to the spatial location of an object, a person, or an event in relation to either or both the speaker and the hearer. Observe the following sentences:

(22) John ye foori imwe yeele.

J. he make-it house this

'John made this house.'

(23) Mary ye gachiu-we varemata la.

M. she like-him person that

'Mary loves that person.'

While independent demonstratives refer strictly to spatial location, relational demonstratives can refer both to spatial and mental locations:

- (24) Shoabuto we ye gachiu-we niuniuwane ye yaa-i.
woman the she like-it idea this my
'The woman likes this idea of mine.'

In the above sentence, the morpheme ye 'this' which occurs between niuniuwane 'one's state of mind' and yaa-i 'my' is a relational demonstrative. Its function in the sentence is to indicate the mental location of a noun in relation to the speaker. Notice that the noun being modified can be either a concrete noun or an abstract noun. Compare (24) to (25) below.

- (25) Iire re weri waa we.
they they see canoe the
'They saw the canoe.'

The demonstrative ye 'this' refers to new information while we 'the' often implies given information, or prior knowledge of an object, person, or an event with respect to either or both the speaker and the hearer.

2.3.1.2 Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns are of two types, the mel-type and the i-type. The precise semantic difference between the

two is difficult to identify, but when each is compounded with a demonstrative enclitic, the difference becomes more conspicuous, as in the following:

(26) Geele go be gangi i-yeele.

you you FUT eat-it PRON-DEM

'You will eat this one.'

(27) Gaami gai be iuliu-mi mel-yeele.

you you FUT drink-it PRON DEM

'You all will drink this one.'

The i-type is used when the speaker assumes that the hearer has prior knowledge of the thing being talked about (given information) while the mel-type is used when new information is introduced. As we see in (26) and (27) above, each type has a demonstrative enclitic form attached to it.³ Thus, the surface structure of this equational sentence is grammatical:

(28) I-yeele waa we.

PRON-DEM canoe the

'This is the canoe.'

while the structure in (29) below is ungrammatical:

(29) *Mel-yeele waa we.

PRON-DEM canoe the

2.3.2 Numeral Constructions

A numeral construction consists of a bound numeral with a numeral classifier which together form a numeral compound specifying some nominal which is optional. In the following examples, the first morpheme in faa-maliu 'four animate' and faa-fasho 'four long objects' is a numeral, while the second one is a numeral classifier for the particular noun that follows:

- (30) Faa-maliu yaremate re niuniutu fetale.
four-animate people they jump around
'Four people are jumping around.'

- (31) Faa-fasho liu ye macho lago.
four-long coconut fall away
'Four coconut trees fell down.'

The choice of a numeral classifier depends on the semantic class of the classified noun phrase that follows. See Appendix A for listings of the classifier forms.

2.3.3 Possessive Constructions

There are basically two ways in which possession can be expressed: in one, the head noun is followed by the possessive construct suffix -li 'of', and in the other it is followed by the possessive suffix. Each of the construction types is discussed below.

2.3.3.1 The Construct Suffix Construction

In a construct suffix construction, the head noun is followed by the construct suffix -li 'of', as in these:

(32) John ye weri imwe-li Mary.

J. he see house-of M.

'John saw Mary's house.'

(33) Gaangiu i fela waa-li John.

I I adze canoe-of J.

'I adzed John's canoe.'

2.3.3.2 The Possessive Suffix Construction

There are basically two ways in which possession can be expressed through possessive suffixation: 1) the possessive suffix is attached to the possessed noun, 2) the possessive suffix is attached to the noun classifier. In order to understand the processes involved, we have to also understand how certain nouns in the language behave with respect to possessive suffixes.

Nouns are divided into two classes: alienable and inalienable nouns. Alienable nouns require noun classifiers while inalienable nouns do not. For alienable nouns, the possessive suffix is attached to the classifier, as in (34) and (35) below:

(34) Waa-mwu stoosa ye cha.

vehicle-your car it red

'Your car is red.'

(35) Mwera-i seiuriu ye gachiu.

lei-my plumeria it good

'My plumeria lei is beautiful.'

It should be noted that the head noun is optional when the speaker assumes the referent of the noun phrase is obvious to the addressee. Thus, (34) and (35) with deleted head noun appear in (36) and (37) respectively.

(36) Waa-mwu ye cha.

vehicle-your it red

'Your vehicle is red.'

(37) Mwera-i ye gachiu.

lei-my it good

'My lei is beautiful.'

For inalienable nouns, the possessive suffix is directly attached to the head noun. Examples follow:

(38) Simwe-i ye farigiti.

head-my it big

'My head is big.'

(39) Yewa-mwu ye gachiu.

mouth-your it good

'Your mouth is good.'

For alienable nouns, the possessive suffix is attached to the classifier, not the possessed noun, as in (38) and (39) above. While alienable nouns constitute a large class of nouns, inalienable ones are limited to such nouns as kinship terms, body parts, and personal characteristics and belongings.

2.3.4 Locational Nouns

Locational nouns consist of a bound prepositional noun with a possessive marker, as in sentences (40) and (41) below:

(40) John ye masiuriu faa-le.

J. he sleep under-its

'John slept under it.'

(41) Mary ye matto woa-li faiu we.

M. she sit on-of stone the

'Mary sat on the stone.'

Syntactically, this class of nouns behaves like inalienable nouns in that they can be directly possessed and do not require classifiers. That is, both the possessive and the possessive construct can be directly attached to a

locational noun, as we have just observed in (40) and (41) above. It is important to note that Woleaian locational nouns often correspond to prepositions in English.

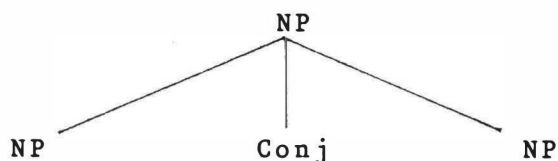
The following are some forms of locational nouns:

faa-	'underside, under'
mwiri-	'back, behind, after'
mwoa-	'front, before'
lalo-	'in'
ligiu-	'outside, around'
woa-	'on, over, above, surface'
shiu-	'on, top'
ree-	'at, with'

2.3.5 Conjoined Noun Phrases

A conjoined noun phrase is made up of two simple noun phrases conjoined by the connectors me 'and' or gare 'or', as illustrated by the tree structure below:

(42)



(43) John me Mary re mwongo.

J. and M. they eat

'John and Mary are eating.'

(44) John gare Mary mele ye be lago?

J. or M. the-one it FUT go

'Is it Mary or John that will go?'

For a more detailed discussion of conjoined noun phrases, refer to section 3.2.

2.3.6 Relative Clauses

A relative clause construction in Woleaian is a noun phrase, which in turn consists of a head noun phrase followed by a sentence. This embedded sentence is the modifier of the preceding noun phrase, that is, the head noun phrase. This head noun phrase is coreferential with an understood noun phrase in the embedded sentence, as we see in these examples:

(45) Mwaale we ye farigiti ye masiuriu.

man the he big he sleep

'The man who is big is sleeping.'

(46) Sari we ye gangi ige we ye gapweshi.

child the he eat fish the it barbecued

'The child ate the fish which was barbecued.'

In sentence (45), the head noun phrase mwaale we 'the man' is coreferential with the understood subject noun phrase of the embedded sentence. However, the coreferential noun phrase in the embedded sentence has been deleted by the

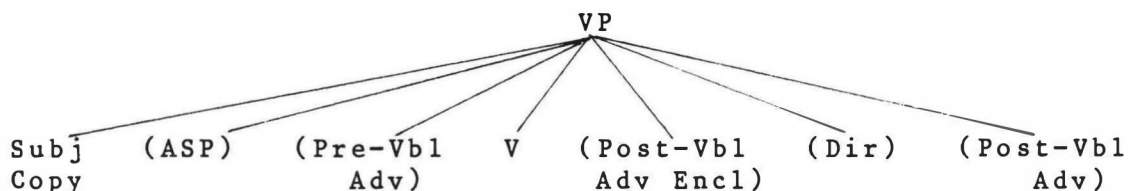
2.3.7 Complement Clause Constructions

(47) John ye giula be Mary ye be mwongo.
CMP
J. he know that M. she FUT eat '
'John knows that Mary will eat.'

Notice* that in sentence (47) above, be Mary ye be mwongo 'that Mary will eat' is a noun phrase functioning as an object of the sentence. However, in sentence (48), yaa-le lago Mary is nominalized and serves as the subject of the sentence. Refer to section 3.3 for further discussion of noun phrase complements.

Verb phrases in Woleaian occur only in the predicate phrase of a verbal sentence. The possible combinations and

orders of constituents within the surface verb phrase are shown in the diagram below. Optional constituents are shown in parentheses:



Although it is extremely rare for all the word classes shown here to occur in the same verb phrase, it is by no means impossible, as we see in the sentence below:

- (49) Gelaagu we ye sa fasiuli mwongo fetale togo shagiu.
 dog the it PERF already eat around hither just
 'The dog has just been eating around in this direction.'

It is helpful to consider both the deep structure and the surface structure of such phrases in order to understand how certain elements function. While the surface verb phrase obligatorily includes both a subject copy and a verb in the deep structure, only one element is obligatory, that is, a verb. Depending on the type of verb involved, other elements can also occur in the phrase.

2.4.1 Subject Pronoun Copy

The subject pronoun copy is inserted transformationally by the obligatory Subject Copying rule, which inserts a pronominal subject copy into the verb phrase:

(50) John ye yengaange.

J. he work

'John is working.'

(51) Shoabuto kawe re bulaasi.

women PL-that they drunk

'Those women are drunk.'

In (50) above, ye 'he' is the pronominal copy of the subject noun phrase, and in (51) re 'they' is the copy of the plural noun phrase. The choice of the pronoun form depends on the number and person properties of the preceding subject noun phrase. Listed below are the different subject pronoun forms:

i	'I'	singular
go	'you'	singular
ye	'he/she/it'	singular
gai	'you'	plural
gai	'we'	plural exclusive
si	'we'	plural inclusive
re	'they'	plural

In a verb phrase construction, the subject pronoun copy is always inserted in the phrase-initial position, making it the first morpheme in the verb phrase, as in these:

(52) Mary ye sa fasiuli mwongo.

M. she PERF already eat

'Mary had already eaten.'

(53) Mwaale beshebeshe kawe re shiuweli masiuriu lago
man white those they still sleep away
shagiu.

still

'Those white men are still sleeping.'

2.4.2 Aspect

The function of the aspect marker in a verb phrase is quite important in that it indicates the degrees of certainty regarding the occurrence of an action represented by the verb. Unlike English tense where time element is a crucial factor, in Woleaian the concept of time is secondary to the certainty of occurrence of an action. In the following sentences, aspect markers indicate the different types of occurrences that a verb may represent: completion of an action, occurrence of an action in the "general" future, and occurrence of action in the immediate future.

(54) John ye sa gangi ige we.

J. he PERF eat fish the

'John had eaten the fish.'

(55) Mary ye be iuliu biya.

M. she FUT drink beer

'Mary will drink beer.'

(56) Paul ye bel masiuriu.

P. he FUT sleep

'Paul will sleep right away.'

Aspect markers are of two types--affirmative or negative.

Each type is discussed below.

2.4.2.1 Affirmative Aspect

The affirmative aspect markers in Woleaian take on six different forms, and each form is listed and discussed below:

Ø	'unmarked aspect'
be	'unspecified future'
bel	'specified future'
sa	'completion of action'
ya	'variant of <u>sa</u> and also a hortative form'
baabe	'rare form of unspecified future'

An unmarked aspect occurs when none of the visible markers appear in a sentence. Example (57) below has "unmarked aspect":

(57) John ye mwongo bulage.

J. he eat taro

'John eat/ate taro.'

The forms be and bel are used to mark events or situations that may occur at some future time. The choice between be and bel depends on the speaker's perception of the anticipated event. Compare these sentences:

(58) John ye be yengaange laiu.

J. he FUT work tomorrow

'John will work tomorrow.'

(59) John ye bel yengaange laiu.

J. he FUT work tomorrow

'John will eventually work tomorrow.'

In (58) the speaker is merely reporting what John may be doing the next day, but there is no assurance that he (John) will actually perform the specified activity. However, in (59), the speaker is quite certain that John will work the next day.

The uses of sa and its variant ya vary considerably from one situation to another. They are typically used to indicate completion of an action, as in the following:

(60) Mwaale kawe re sa yengaange.

man PL-that they PERF work

'Those men have finished working.'

(61) John ye sa mwongo.

J. he PERF eat

'John has (already) eaten.'

The form ya appears with only the pronoun si 'we (inclusive)' and functions like sa, as in the example sentences below:

(62) Giishe si ya mwongo.

We we PERF eat

'We have eaten.'

(63) *Giishe si sa masiuriu.

We we PERF sleep

As can be seen in (63) above, the use of the perfective form sa with the first person plural inclusive si 'we' results in an ungrammatical sentence. We have to note also that the form ya may have a hortative meaning, as expressed below:

(64) Si ya lago fita.

We HRT go fishing

'Let's go fishing.'

2.4.2.2 Negative Aspect

The negative aspect marker forms are as follows:

ta/te	'not'
te	'intentional not'
tai/tei	'not'
taai	'no longer'
teiti	'not yet'
teweiti	'will not yet'
tewai	'will not'
tewaai	'will no longer'

To contrast ta/te 'not' with te 'intentional not', compare the following sentences:

(65) John ye lago Yap be ye ta giula be

J. he go Yap because he not know that

yooro fitegi.

exist war

'John went to Yap because he did not know there was a war.'

- (66) John ye lago Yap be ye te giula be
J. he go Yap because he not know that
yooro fitegi.

exist war

'John went to Yap so as not to know (anything) about
the war.'

The following sentences illustrate use of the remaining
markers:

- (67) Mary ye tai mwongo.

M. she not eat

'Mary is not eating.'

- (68) Paul ye taai yengaange.

P. he no-longer work

'Paul is no longer working.'

- (69) Sari we ye teiti masiuriu.

child the he not-yet sleep

'The child has not slept yet.'

- (70) Gaangiu i teweiti lago school.

I I will-not-yet go school

'I will not go to school yet.'

- (71) Gaami gai tewai kepate.

you you will-not talk

'You guys will not talk.'

(72) John ye tewaai lago reeli imweli Mary.

J. he will-no-longer go at-of house-of M.

'John will no longer go to Mary's house.'

For a detailed discussion of the aspect markers, refer to Sohn (1975:84-85, 218-223).

2.4.3 Adverbs

There are three types of adverbs that can occur in a verb phrase. All have the same function, they modify the verb. The three adverb types are: pre-verbal adverbs, post-verbal adverbial enclitics, and post-verbal adverbs. Each type is characterized by the position in which it occurs in a verb phrase, as we shall observe below.

2.4.3.1 Pre-Verbal Adverbs

The pre-verbal adverbs occur between the aspect marker, if present, and the verb, as in these sentences:

(73) John ye sa gal mwongo bulage.

J. he PERF usually eat taro

'John has been eating taro regularly.'

(74) Mary ye tai fasiuli giula yengaange.

M. she not already know work

'Mary simply did not know how to work.'

In the above examples, gal 'usually' in (73) and fasiuli 'already' in (74) are pre-verbal adverbs functioning as

modifiers of the verb. Below are some of the common pre-verbal adverbs:

tau	'habitually'
bale	'also'
gale	'usually'
fasiuli	'already'
mwaashiu	'just'
fari	'rather'
saro	'slightly'

These adverbs can occur in a sequence of up to three different words in random order before the verb, as in these sentences:

(75) Ken ye fasiuli bale gale yengaange.

K. he already also usually work

'Ken has also been working continuously.'

(76) Ken ye bale fasiuli gale yengaange.

K. he also already usually work

'Ken has also been working continuously.'

(77) Ken ye gale bale fasiuli yengaange.

K. he usually also already work

'Ken has also been working continuously.'

2.4.3.2 Post-Verbal Adverbial Enclitics

The occurrence of the post-verbal adverbial enclitics is restricted to the position immediately following the verb. In the example sentences below, the words gemas 'very' and fengani 'together' are post-verbal adverbial enclitics, serving as modifiers for the preceding verbs:

(78) John ye sa metagiu gemas igela.

J. he PERF afraid very now

'John is very afraid now.'

(79) Yaremate kawe re sa shu fengani.

people PL-that they PERF meet together

'Those people have met together.'

Other such adverbs are fetale 'around', and fetangi 'apart'. Of the three types of adverbs, only post-verbal enclitics can take object suffixes:

(80) Mary ye metagiu gemaseeye mwaale we.

M. she afraid very-him man the

'Mary is very afraid of the man.'

(81) John ye biuliu fetaleeye sari we.

J. he hold around-him child the

'John is walking around holding the child.'

2.4.3.3 Post-Verbal Adverbs

There are just two post-verbal adverbs--shagiu 'just' and mwo 'even, rather'. However, they occur quite frequently. In a single verb phrase, shagiu and mwo do not normally co-occur. However, in certain subordinate constructions, the co-occurrence of such adverbs is permitted. The example sentences below illustrate the use of shagiu and mwo:

(82) John ye mwongo shagiu.

J. he eat just

'John is just eating.'

(83) Mary ye faaragi shagiu boongi.

M. she walk just last-night

'Mary just walked last night.'

(84) Sari yeele ye bele masiuriu mwo igela.

child this he FUT sleep rather now

'This child would rather sleep now.'

(85) John ye be rigi mwo sekiute.

J. he will run rather one-bit

'John would rather run for a while.'

2.4.4 Directionals

The directional modifiers constitute another word-class which appears in the verb phrase. The primary function of a

directional modifier is to indicate the direction of an action performed or to be performed by a verb, as in these examples:

(86) John ye teo tiwe.

J. he climb down

'John climbed down.'

(87) Mary ye gasheeye tage boola we.

M. she throw-it up ball the

'Mary threw the ball up.'

As we can see, a directional word can be placed adjacent to a verb; however, there are degrees of binding involved. A directional can be as tightly bound to a verb stem as in the following:

(88) Gaangiu i buu-longo ni-iimwe.

I I move-inward in-house

'I went inside a house.'

(89) George ye too-waiu me ni-iimwe.

G. he move-outward from in-house

'George went out of a house.'

or it can be as loosely bound as in these sentences:

(90) Mary ye gasheeye tage faiu we.

M. she throw-it up stone the

'Mary threw the stone up.'

(91) John ye pilesi tiwe baro we.

J. he close-it down box the

'John closed down the box.'

The following are the directional words in Woleaian:

tage	'up'
tiwe	'down'
lago	'away'
togo	'hither'
longo	'inward'
waiu	'outward'

2.4.5 Verbs

As noted earlier, a verb is the most important and the only obligatory constituent of a verb phrase. All the other constituents are optional. Verbs in Woleaian are classified into three major classes according to their function:

intransitive verbs, neutral verbs, and transitive verbs.

Each of the verb classes is discussed below.

2.4.5.1 Intransitive Verbs

Intransitive verbs can be divided into four subclasses--general intransitives, statives, passives, and

causatives. Each subclass of intransitive verbs differs from the others in both syntactic function and configuration as we shall see.

General intransitives are those verbs which generally express action and which do not take object noun phrases:

(92) John ye sa rigi.

J. he PERF run

'John has run.'

(93) Mwaale we ye faaragi tage.

man the he walk up

'The man is walking up.'

Other intransitive verbs are as follows:

teragi	'to sail'
gerage	'to crawl'
fatiule	'to paddle'
tauolo	'to shout'

Stative verbs in Woleaian are those intransitive verbs which represent a state, condition, quality, or quantity of a subject noun phrase. While stative verbs can appear in the same environments as general intransitive verbs, the reverse is not the case. For instance, a stative verb can also be placed adjacent to a noun in a reduced relative clause construction, as in these sentences:

(94) Shoabuto gachiu we ye masiuriu.

woman beautiful the she sleep

'The beautiful woman is sleeping.'

(95) Mwaale farimwosho we ye temwaaiu.

man tall the he sick

'The tall man is sick.'

A general intransitive verb cannot serve as this kind of modifier. Compare sentences (94) and (95) above to (96) and (97) below:

(96) *Shoabuto faaragi we ye masiuriu.

woman walk the she sleep

'The walking woman is asleep.'

(97) *Mwaale tauolo we ye temwaaiu.

man shout the he sick

'The shouting man is sick.'

Some stative verbs are listed below:

ninge 'beautiful'

farimwosho 'tall'

cha 'red'

kaile 'strong'

lape 'big'

Passive verbs make up a small group of intransitive verbs to which gi, a nonproductive ending is attached; the meaning is passive or resultative, as in the following:

(98) Mai we ye sa feshingegi lago.

breadfruit the it PERF picked away

'The breadfruit has been picked.'

(99) Mengaagu we ye sa wolotagi lago.

cloth the it PERF unfold away

'The cloth has been unfolded.'

Sohn (1975:122-123) lists thirty-nine examples of this type of intransitive verb.

Causative verbs are formed by adding the causative prefix ga- to intransitive verb stems. As discussed in the section on roots and affixes, only nontransitive verbs can be causativized. When an intransitive verb is causativized, it may become a neutral verb or a transitive verb. In the latter case, it must take an object suffix, either singular or plural, depending on the number property of the object noun phrase:

(100) John ye ge-faaragii-ye sari we.

J. he cause-walk-him child the

'John made the child walk.'

(101) Mary ye ga-rigii-re lago gelaagu kawe.

M. she cause-run-they away dog PL-that

'Mary let those dogs run away.'

A sample list of causative transitive and neutral verbs, together with their intransitive sources, is provided in Sohn (1975:134-135).

2.4.5.2 Neutral Verbs

In Woleaian, neutral verbs are characterized by their unique syntactic relation to object noun phrases. As we will observe in the examples below, neutral verbs can take what appear to be object noun phrases.

(102) Sari laale ye mwongo ige.

child that he eat fish

'That child eats fish.'

(103) Mwaale kawe re iuliu shaaliu.

man PL-that they drink water

'Those men drink water.'

In actual speech, this object noun phrase is optional when the reference is known. A partial list of neutral verbs follow:

iuliu 'to drink'

mwongo 'to eat'

kabiungiu 'to learn'

pirafe	'to steal'
faato	'to plant'
chage	'to chase'
faiufeu	'to weave'

The meaning expressed by an object noun phrase of a neutral verb is usually generic, but in some instances it can be partitive. Observe the following sentences:

(104) John ye iuliu liu.

J. he drink coconut

'John drinks coconuts.'

(105) Mary ye iuliu liu we.

M. she drink coconut the

'Mary drinks some of the coconuts.'

As (105) indicates, when the object noun phrase is definite, its meaning becomes partitive.

2.4.5.3 Transitive Verbs

Transitive verbs make up a large class of verbs in Woleaian. Although in many cases transitive verbs may have the same verb stems as intransitive and neutral verbs, they are quite different in other respects. Transitives, including causative forms with ge-/ga- inflect with object suffixes, as in the example sentences below:

(106) John ye lii-ye gelaagu we.

J. he kill-it dog the

'John killed the dog.'

(107) Paul ye wautii-re sari kawe.

P. he spank-them child PL-that

'Paul spanked those children.'

As we can see in the above sentences, a transitive verb can take an object suffix as well as an object noun phrase. The object suffix is a copy of the noun phrase that immediately follows the verb; it is inserted and attached onto the verb by a regular Object Copying rule.

Within the class of transitive verbs, there are further subclasses--ditransitives and prepositional verbs. Each of the subclasses is discussed below.

A ditransitive verb is a verb that can be followed by two object noun phrases--direct and indirect object noun phrases, and must always be inflected with an indirect object suffix. The inflected object suffix is a copy of the indirect object noun phrase which immediately follows the main verb. Since this object suffix is a copy, it must agree in person and number with the following indirect object noun phrase, as in these examples:

(108) John ye ganee-re mwaale kawe se-foasho stoosa.

J. he give-them man PL-that one-long car

'John gave those men a car.'

(109) Mary ye gassiye-a mwaale we kepate we.

M. she ask-him man the news the

'Mary asked the man about the news.'

A prepositional verb consists of two morphemes--a preposition and an obligatory object suffix, as shown below:

(110) Mary ye pirafe selaapiye ngali mwaale we.

M. she steal money to-him man the

'Mary stole some money and gave it to the man.'

(111) John ye gaaiu-ngali Mary fiyango we.

J. he tell-to-her M. story the

'John told Mary the story.'

Notice that a prepositional verb may occur as an independent form following the main verb (and its object), as in (110) above, or it may be tightly bound with the main verb, as in (111). In the second case, the compound appears very similar to a ditransitive verb. A prepositional verb by itself cannot function as a main verb in a given sentence. This is an important difference between a prepositional verb and other transitive verbs.

When a directional modifier is used with a transitive verb, the object suffix precedes the directional, as in (112) below:

(112) John ye tingi-go tage.

J. he push-you up

'John pushed you up.'

2.5 Basic Sentence Types

In this study we will draw on the standard generative-transformational framework as presented in Chomsky (1965) and Jacobs and Rosenbaum (1967). Although the model itself has since undergone considerable modification, e.g., Chomsky's Lectures on Government and Binding (1981), the changes do not appear significant for our purposes.

In the standard model of generative-transformational grammar there is a level of deep structure, the level generated by the phrase structure rules and lexical insertion rules. The core semantic rules apply to this level. Transformational rules apply cyclically to convert the deep structure strings into surface structures. Phonological and phonetic rules interpret the surface structure strings.

This section deals with the two major simple sentence types found in Woleaian--equational and verbal. An equational sentence is a sentence made up of a subject noun phrase and a predicate noun phrase. The predicate noun

phrase may serve as a modifier of the subject noun phrase, as in this sentence:

(113) John semaliu paliuwe shoo.

J. one-animate navigator ripe-coconut

'John is a skillful navigator.'

As for verbal sentences, there is also a subject noun phrase, but the predicate is made up of an obligatory verb phrase and followed, optionally, by one or more noun phrases as in the sentence below:

(114) Mary ye sa mwongo.

M. she PERF eat

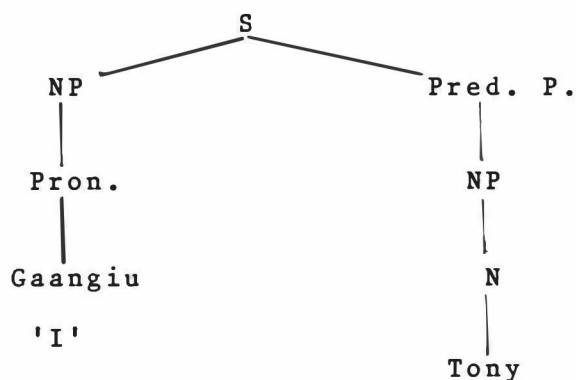
'Mary has eaten.'

The structures of the two major simple sentence types are discussed in 2.5.1 and 2.5.2 below.

2.5.1 Equational Sentences

An equational sentence consists of two obligatory noun phrases, a subject noun phrase and a predicate noun phrase, as illustrated by the tree structure below:

(115)



Gaangiu Tony.

'I am Tony.'

In the above sentence, the predicate phrase (Tony) contains no verb. Woleaian has nothing comparable to English copula.

The subject noun phrase of an equational sentence can be a simple noun or a pronoun. Unlike verbal sentences a subject prefix is not added to the predicate phrase. In (116) and (117) below, we show a common noun followed by a demonstrative:

(116) Mwaale we se-maliu sensei.

man the one-animate teacher

'The man is a teacher.'

(117) Sar kawe se-mwoi sari-skuulo.

child those one-group child-school

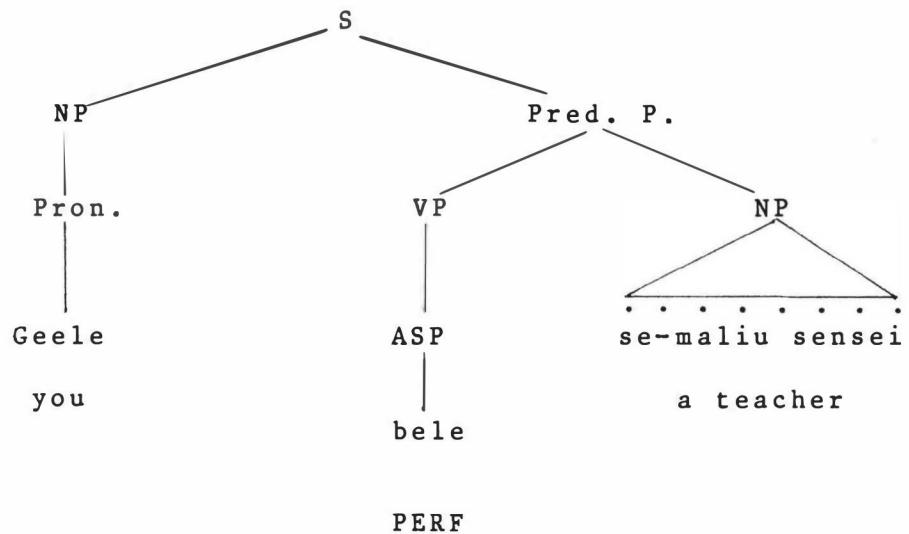
'Those children are students.'

It is important to note that when the subject of an equational sentence is a pronoun, it must be an absolute pronoun. The list of absolute pronouns is as follows:

<u>Person</u>	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1 exclusive	gaangiu 'I'	gaamami 'we'
1 inclusive		giishe 'we'
2	geelee 'you'	gaamii 'you'
3	iiye 'he/she'	iire 'they'

If a tense-aspect marker or one of a set of pre-verbal adverbs is present in the predicate phrase, the whole sentence functions as a verbal sentence and a subject copy is required. Thus the structure

(118)



must become

(119) Geele go bele se-maliu sensei.

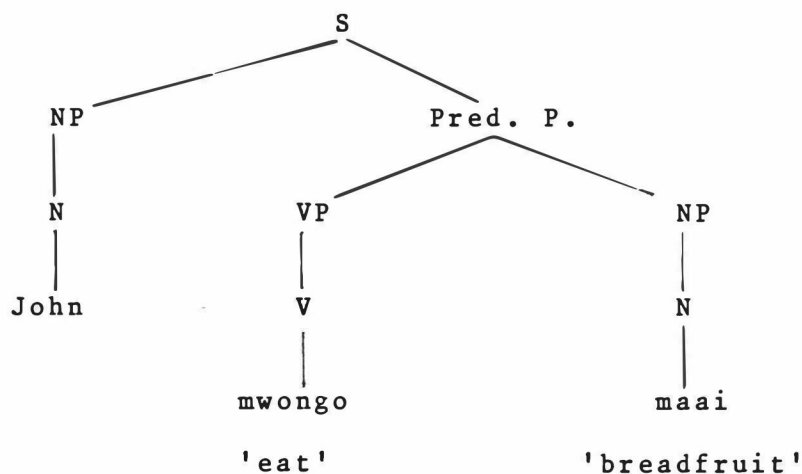
you you FUT one-animate teacher

'You will become a teacher.'

2.5.2 Verbal Sentences

A verbal sentence is made up, in the deep structure, of a subject noun phrase followed by a predicate consisting of a verb phrase and optional noun phrases following the verb phrase. One difference between this analysis and the standard model of generative-transformational grammar should be noted here. The constituent in Woleaian that we refer to as the verb phrase is not the same as the generative grammar "verb phrase," which corresponds more or less to our predicate phrase. The Woleaian verb phrase is simply a verbal complex separate from any object noun phrase. In the tree structure below, the object noun phrase maai 'breadfruit' is not dominated by the verb phrase node.

(120)



John ye mwongo maai.

J. he eat breadfruit

'John ate breadfruit.'

In the previous section we considered the process by which the subject pronoun copies are derived. We saw that the copies were inserted by transformation and attached to the predicate phrase. This subject pronoun copy plays an important role in a verbal sentence. The presence or absence of a subject pronoun copy in a given sentence indicates the type of the sentence. Compare sentences (121) and (122) below.

(121) John se-maliu sensei.

J. one-animate teacher

'John is a teacher.'

(122) .Mary ye sensei lalowe.

M. she teacher yesterday

'Mary taught yesterday.'

As can be seen, sentence (121) is an equational sentence in that it is made up of a subject noun phrase and a predicate noun phrase, and the subject pronoun copy is absent.

However, sentence (122) is a verbal sentence. The subject pronoun copy (ye 'she') marks sensei as a verb rather than a noun. That sensei must be a verb in sentence (122) is also clear from the fact that no noun modifier may occur with it.

(123) *Mary ye sensei laale lalowe.

M. she teach that yesterday

2.5.3 Interrogative Sentences

There are basically two types of question sentences in Woleaian--yes/no question sentences and noun phrase questions. Each type is discussed below.

2.5.3.1 Yes/No Question Sentences

The structure of a yes/no question sentence is exactly the same as that of a declarative sentence, except that the question is marked with rising intonation. Refer to Sohn (1975) for discussion of intonation⁹ and pitch contours.

(124) John ye bele mase?

J. he FUT die

'Is John going to die?'

(125) * Shoabuto kawe re sa buu-togo?

woman PL-that they PERF move-hither

'Have those women come?'

2.5.3.2 Noun Phrase Questions

The question words in Woleaian are as follows:

mel-fa	'which one'
i-fa	'which, where'
ii-ya	'where (location)'
i-leete	'when'

i-teiu	'who'
metta	'what'
feita	'what happened'
fite-	'how many'

Each of the above question words may function as a noun phrase in a sentence except for feita 'what happened', which behaves like a predicate verb. Feita must co-occur with a subject copy; it cannot occur by itself. Observe the examples below:

(126) John ye feita?

J. he what-happen

'What happened to John?'

(127) Ye feita John?

he what-happen J.

'What happened to John?'

(128) *Feita John?

what-happen J.

Notice that the question word can be placed at sentence-initial or sentence-final position; the choice depends on which part of the sentence is focused. See section 4.1 for discussion of focus.

All other question words can also undergo the same positioning process we observed above. Here are more examples:

(129) Geele iteiu?

you who

'Who are you?'

(130) Iteiu geelee?

who you

'Who are you?'

2.5.4 Imperative Sentences

Imperative sentences are verbal sentences. In the deep structure of an imperative sentence, there is a subject noun phrase and a predicate verb phrase. However, on the surface the subject noun phrase is usually omitted. Look at these examples:

(131) Masiuriu!

'Sleep!'

(132) Gaami gai niutiu!

you-PL you-PL jump

'You all jump!'

As the above examples show, sentence (131) omits everything but the main verb masiuriu 'sleep'. However, sentence (132) retains both the subject noun phrase and the predicate verb

phrase. The subject noun phrase of an imperative sentence may be in the second person singular or plural. It is also possible to have a first person plural as subject of an imperative-hortative sentence, as in (133) below:

- (133) Si ya lago!
 we-PL HRT go
 'Let's go!'

The difference between a regular imperative sentence and an imperative-hortative sentence is that the latter requires the subject copy si 'we (plural inclusive)'. Absence of the subject copy in an imperative-hortative construction results in an ungrammatical sentence, as in (134) below:

- (134) *Ya lago!
 HRT go

2.5.5 Oblique Noun Phrases

In section 2.3 we studied the different processes by which simple noun phrases could be constructed, and as we have just observed in this section, a noun phrase of the type we have studied so far can function as both a subject and a predicate of an equational sentence, or as a subject and object of a verbal sentence. Now we will consider another major type of noun phrase--the oblique noun phrase.

An oblique noun phrase may be a location phrase or a temporal phrase, depending on the semantic properties of the head noun. In sections 2.5.5.1 and 2.5.5.2 we will focus our attention on the two noun phrase types.

2.5.5.1 Location Noun Phrases

A location noun phrase may consist of a proper noun or a common noun indicating a place location, and may optionally be preceded by me 'from, at', (the only active preposition in the language). Look at the example sentences:

(135) John ye buu-togo me Yap.

J. he move-hither from Yap

'John came from Yap.'

(136) Sari laale ye mwongo me skuulo.

child that he eat from school

'That child ate at school.'

Compare sentences (135) and (136) above to sentences (137) and (138) below:

(137) Tom ye lago Guam.

T. he go Guam

'Tom went to Guam.'

(138) Mary ye masiuriu skuulo.

M. she sleep school

'Mary slept at school.'

Notice that the presence or absence of me 'from, at' makes a difference in meaning of the sentence pairs. The form me is used to indicate movement of an action, especially with respect to a place location where the action originates. me is frequently prefixed to the locational nouns discussed in section 2.3.4.

2.5.5.2 Temporal Noun Phrases

A temporal noun phrase may consist of a single noun, or of a noun and a demonstrative enclitic, as in these sentences:

(139) John ye lago lalowe.

J. he go yesterday

'John went yesterday.'

(140) Gary ye buu-togo raaleiy me Yap.

G. he move-hither day-this from Yap

'Gary came from Yap today.'

When both a temporal and a locative phrase appear in the same sentence, the one being in focus immediately follows the main verb of the sentence, as in (140) above.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. The rule is slightly more complicated than this. In fact, the determining factor is whether the word has two morae, rather than two syllables. If there are more than two morae, as, for instance, when one of the consonants is doubled in a disyllabic form (e.g., /matto/ 'sit'), the lengthening rule does not apply.
2. Some fossilized words are: liu-ttetteli 'coconuts', gemwaremware 'flowers for night dancers', and gapeipei 'drift woods'.
3. For imperative sentences, the subject noun phrase is deleted on the surface because it is understood.

CHAPTER III

COMPLEX SENTENCES

3.1 Conjunctions

Conjunctions constitute a small class of words whose function in a sentence is to conjoin two or more phrases or sentences. We discussed conjoined noun phrases in section 2.3.5, and we showed that two simple noun phrases can be conjoined by either of the two connectors: me 'and' and gare 'or, if, whether'. Now we will consider other types of conjunctions: first those which conjoin two or more independent sentences or phrases (in section 3.1.1), and second, subordinate conjunctions (in section 3.1.2).

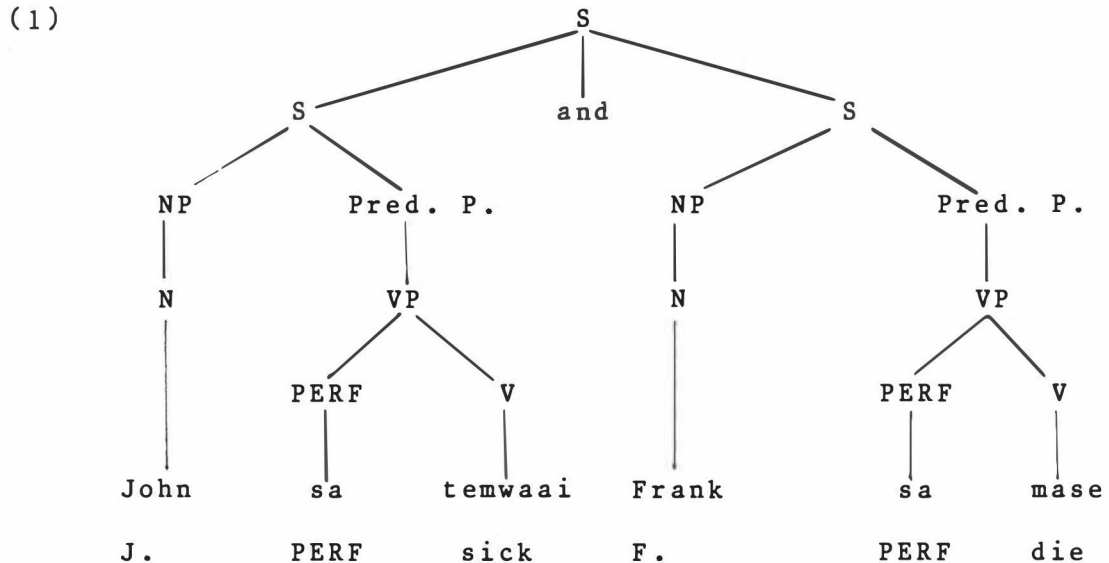
Listed below are some of the common conjunction forms:

nge	'and, but, then'
gare	'or, if, whether'
me	'and'
be	'that, because, so that'
bono	'because'

3.1.1 Coordinate Conjunctions

Coordinate clauses may be conjoined by these conjunctions: nge 'and, but, then', gare 'or, if, whether', and me 'and'. The tree structure in (1) below shows the

deep structure of a coordinate conjunction sentence. As we shall see, the conjunction nge 'and, but, then' may conjoin two or more full sentences, or predicate phrases.



- (2) John ye sa temwaai nge Frank ye sa mase.
 J. he PERF sick and F. he PERF die
 'John had been sick, and Frank had died.'

- (3) Shoabuto laale ye pechaaiu nge ye batebate.
 woman that she hungry and she thirsty
 'That woman is hungry and thirsty.'

The conjunction gare 'or, if, whether' may conjoin two or more full independent sentences. To illustrate its usage, consider the yes/no question sentence in (4) below:

- (4) Go be mwongo bulage gare go be mwongo peraasi?
you will eat taro or you FUT eat rice
'Will you eat taro or rice?'

When the referent is understood, the second clause may be reduced, as in sentence (5) below:

- (5) Go be mwongo bulage gare peraasi?
you FUT eat taro or rice
'Will you eat taro or rice?'

The conjunction me 'and' is used to conjoin two or more noun phrases, but never full sentences or predicate phrases.

- (6) John me Mary re yengaange.
J. and M. they work
'John and Mary are working.'

- (7) *John ye yengaange me Mary ye yengaange.
J. he work and M. she work

- (8) *Mwaale we ye mwongo me ye masiuriu.
man the he eat and he sleep

3.1.2 Subordinate Conjunctions

In this section we will focus our attention on the formation of subordinate clauses. As we shall see, a subordinate clause is dependent for its existence on the main clause. This subordinate clause is often introduced by

the following conjunctions: gare 'or, if, whether', be 'that, because, so that', and bono 'because'. Each of the subordinate conjunctions is discussed below.

The conjunction gare 'or, if, whether' may conjoin two or more coordinate clauses as well as subordinate clauses. As a subordinate conjunction, it may conjoin two full sentences, one of which is dependent on the other.

- (9) John ye be fita gare Mary ye be ffoori mwongo.
J. he FUT fishing if M. she FUT make food
'John will fish if Mary will prepare some food.'

The conjunction be 'that, because, so that' may connect two full sentences, but each sentence is dependent on the other. Observe the following:

- (10) Gelaagu we ye sa mase be John ye lii-ye.
dog the it PERF die because J. he kill-it
'The dog died because John killed it.'

The conjunction bono 'because' is used the same way as the conjunction be; that is, bono may also conjoin two full sentences. And since bono is a subordinate conjunction, the two sentences being conjoined must have some sort of semantic relation. As we shall see in the following examples, the conjunctions be and bono appear to have similar syntactic and semantic functions, but differ

slightly in intensity; bono expresses a more intense commitment to the truth of the embedded sentence:

(11) John ye tai lago fita be Mary ye temwaaiu.

J. he not go fishing because M. she sick

'John did not go fishing because Mary was sick.'

(12) John ye tai lago fita bono Mary ye temwaaiu.

J. he not go fishing because M. she sick

'John did not go fishing because Mary was sick
indeed.'

As mentioned above, bono may join two full sentences, but never noun phrases. Consider the examples below.

(13) John ye tai yengaange bono Mary ye bulaasi.

J. he not work because M. she drunk

'John did not work because Mary was drunk indeed.'

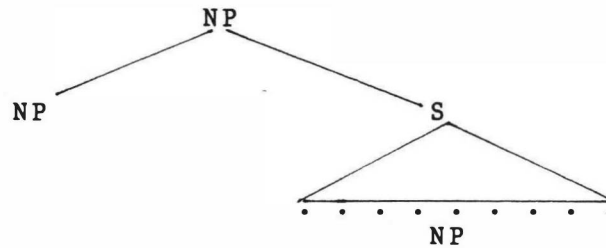
(14) *Mary bono John re temwaaiu.

M. because J. they sick

3.2 Relativization

A relative clause construction consists of a head noun phrase followed by an embedded sentence. The embedded sentence is the relative clause which modifies the preceding head noun phrase, the "antecedent." Both the head noun phrase and the relative clause are dominated by the same noun phrase, as in the tree structure below:

(15)



The antecedent of the relative clause, its head noun phrase, is coreferential with a noun phrase in the embedded sentence. As we will observe in the following sentences, the noun phrase in the lower sentence which is coreferential with the head noun phrase may have any of the regular functions (subject, direct object, indirect object, and object of a prepositional phrase) in the embedded sentence.

3.2.1 Coreferential NP as Subject of a Lower Sentence

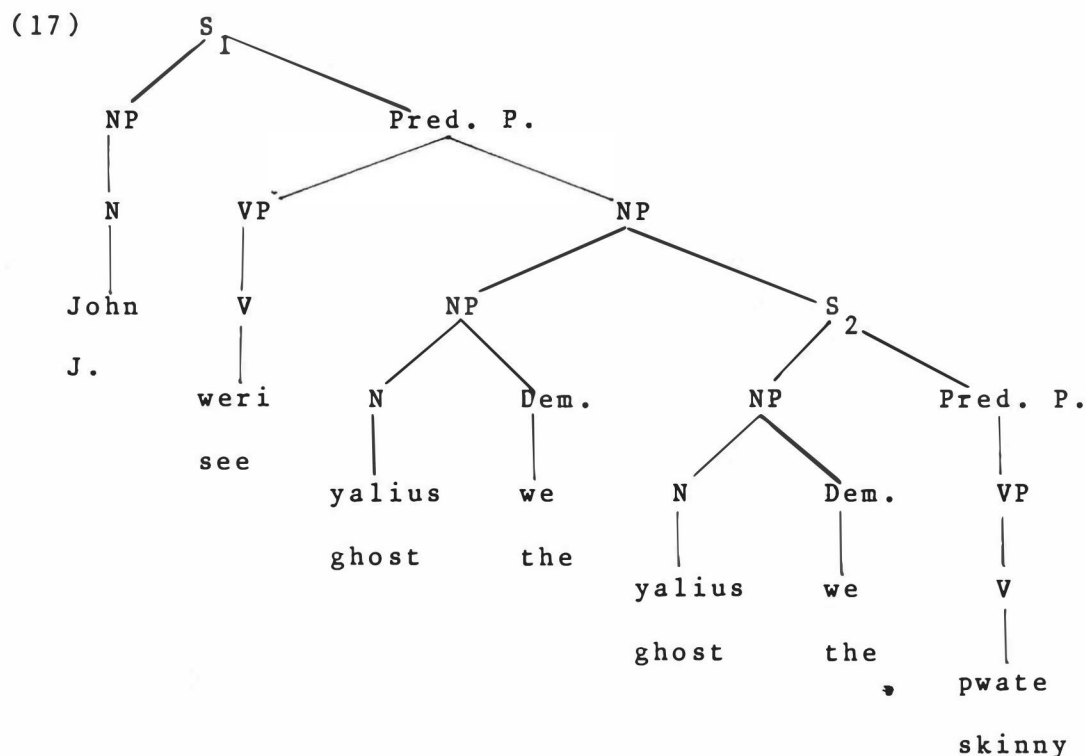
In sentence (16) below, the coreferential noun phrase in the subject position of the lower sentence is relativized and deleted, leaving only the pronominal trace ye in the predicate phrase of the lower sentence.

(16) John ye weri yalius we ye pwate.

J. he see ghost the it skinny

'John saw the ghost which is skinny.'

The tree diagram below shows the important constituents in the deep structure before the transformational rules apply.



We will now consider the rules needed to derive the surface structure in (16) from the deep structure in (17) above. On the S_2 cycle, the coreferential noun phrase in the subject position is copied onto the predicate phrase by the regular Subject Copying Rule. This rule inserts a pronominal copy of the subject noun phrase, attaching it to the leftmost position in the predicate phrase of the S_2 cycle, and then the Relativization Rule deletes the coreferential subject noun phrase in the lower sentence.

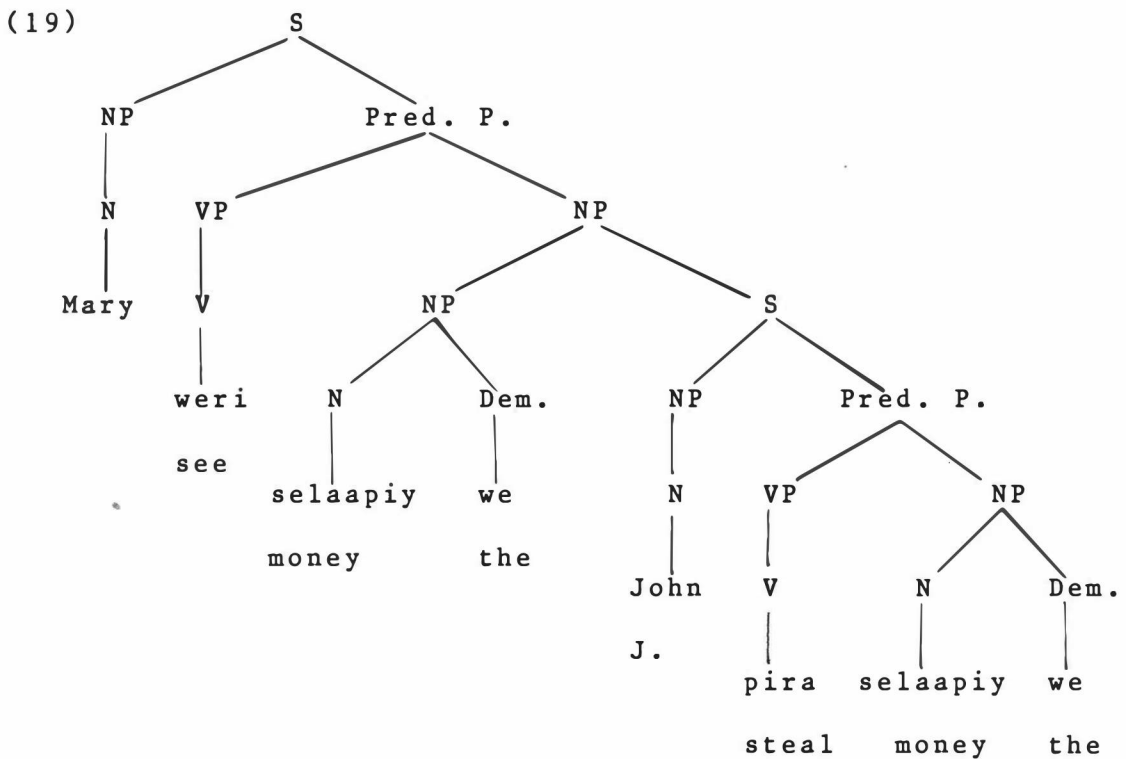
3.2.2 Coreferential NP as Object of a Lower Sentence

We will now look at the coreferential noun phrase in direct object position in the lower sentence, as in (18) below:

(18) Mary ye weri selaapiy we John ye pira.

M. she see money the J. he steal

'Mary saw the money which John stole.'



This object noun phrase can have any of the following properties: it can be a singular noun phrase, a plural animate noun phrase, or a plural inanimate noun phrase. For the third person singular object suffix, there is no

distinction made between animate and inanimate objects. The same suffix form can become a copy of either an animate or inanimate object, as in the following sentences:

(20) Mary ye weri imw we John ye gachiu-we.

M. she see house the J. he like-it

'Mary saw the house which John liked.'

(21) Mary ye weri shoabut we John ye gachiu-we.

M. she see woman the J. he like-her

'Mary saw the women whom John liked.'

However, for the third person plural object suffixes, the animate and inanimate objects are distinguished. Compare the sentences in (22) and (23) below:

(22) Mary ye weri-n selaapiy kawe John ye pira-n.

M. she see-them money those J. he steal-them

'Mary saw the money which John stole.'

(23) Mary ye weri-r mwaal kawe John ye lii-r.

M. she see-them man those J. he kill-them

'Mary saw those men whom John killed.'

The object suffix -n in sentence (22) marks both plurality and inanimateness while the corresponding form -r in sentence (23) carries the features [+plural] and [+animate]. Each of these verbal suffixes in the embedded sentences is

the pronominal trace of a deleted coreferential noun phrase in object position in the lower sentence.

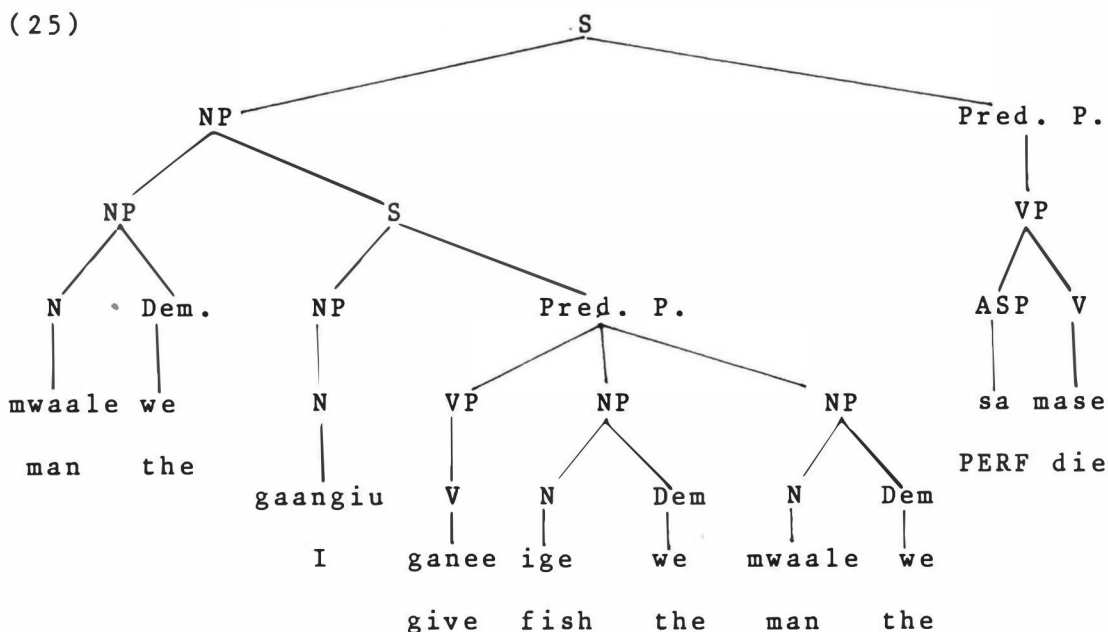
3.2.3 Coreferential NP as Indirect Object of a Lower Sentence

In (24) below, the deleted noun phrase is the indirect object, which is identical in reference with the head noun phrase:

(24) Mwaale we i ganee-ye ige we ye sa mase.

man the I give-him fish the he PERF die

'The man whom I gave the fish to had died.'



The indirect object in Woleaian may occur directly under the predicate phrase, as in sentence (25) above. In this tree structure, the coreferential noun phrase mwaale we in the

lower sentence is the indirect object. In deriving (24) from (25), the Subject Copying rule is needed to attach a pronominal copy of the subject onto the predicate phrase. Then the Object Copying rule inserts a pronominal copy of the coreferential noun phrase (the indirect object) after the verb as a suffix. Since absolute pronouns are optional, Pronoun Deletion optionally deletes the pronoun subject of the lower sentence. Finally, the Relativization Transformation eliminates the coreferential noun phrase in the lower sentence. It is important to note that the verbal suffix in sentence (24) is a trace of the deleted indirect object noun phrase, not the direct object noun phrase.

3.2.4 Coreferential NP as Object of a Prepositional Phrase

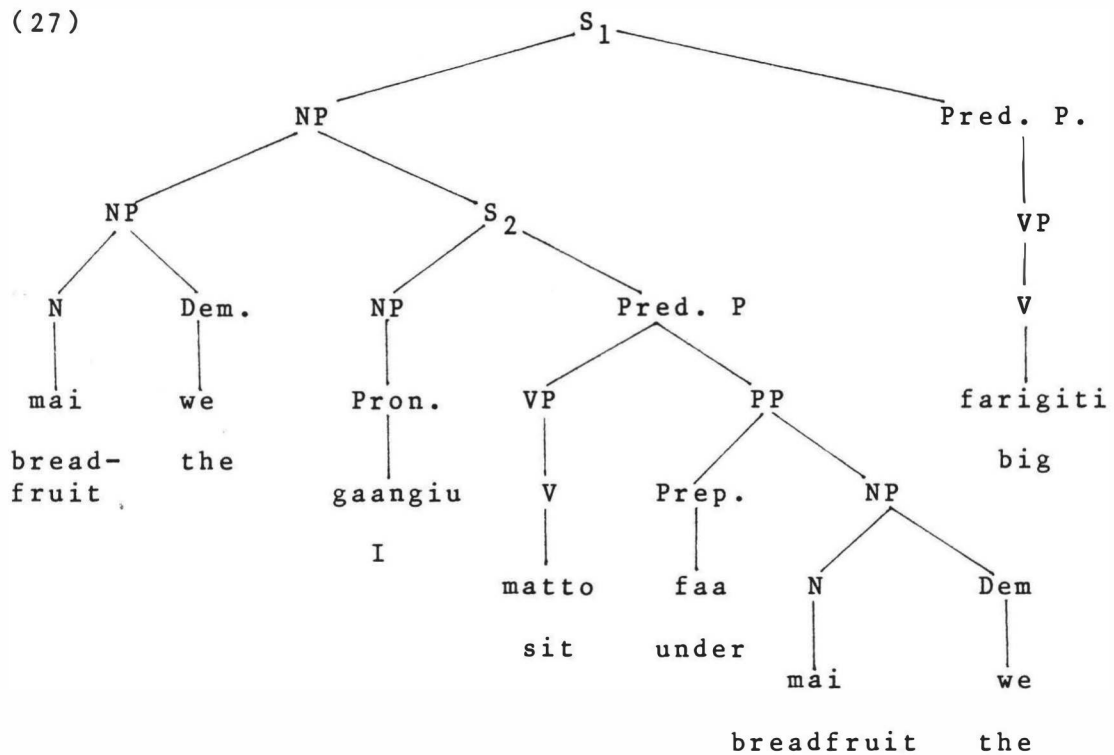
Now we will consider constructions in which the referential noun phrase in the lower sentence is the object of a prepositional phrase, as in (26) below:

(26) Mai we i matto faa-le ye farigiti.

breadfruit the I sit under-it it big

'The breadfruit tree which I sat under is big.'

(27)



The following rules are needed to derive sentence (26) from the deep structure in (27) above: On the S_2 cycle, the regular Subject Copying rule inserts a pronominal copy of the subject noun phrase, attaching it to the leftmost position in the predicate phrase of the S_2 cycle. Then the Absolute Pronoun Deletion rule optionally deletes the subject pronoun of the lower sentence. Following the Absolute Pronoun Deletion rule is the Possessive Copying rule. This rule inserts a possessive copy of the object noun phrase of the prepositional phrase, suffixing it to the preceding preposition. Finally, the Relativization

Transformation rule deletes the coreferential noun phrase in the lower sentence.

3.2.5 Reduced Relative Clauses

Reduced relative clauses in Woleaian are used extensively in everyday speech.

(28) Shoabut we ye gachiu ye masiur.

woman the she good she sleep

'The woman who is beautiful is sleeping.'

(29) Si gangi ig we ye gapweshi.

we eat fish the it barbecue

'We ate the fish which was barbecued.'

The modifying predicates (gachiu 'beautiful', gapweshi 'barbecued') in the unreduced relatives above may be shifted leftward into the head noun phrase immediately before the demonstrative, as in (30) and (31) below.

(30) Shoabut gachiu we ye masiur.

woman good the she sleep

'The beautiful woman is sleeping.'

(31) Si gangi ig gapweshi we.

we eat fish barbecue the

'We ate the barbecued fish.'

It should be noted that relative clause reduction is restricted to certain types of verbs, verbs expressing a state of affairs thought of as being longlasting, as in these examples:

- (32) Shoabut we ye betai. N Dem. Pron. V
 woman the she fat 1 2 3 4
 'The woman who is fat.'
- (33) Shoabut betai we. 1+4 2 Ø
 woman fat the
 'The fat woman.'
- (34) Shoabut we ye ssoong.
 woman the she angry
 'The woman who is angry.'
- (35) Shoabut ssong we.
 woman angry the
 'Woman angry.'

Listed below are some of the verbs that can be used in relative clause reduction:

- (36) betai 'be fat'
 tamweol 'become a chief'
 filewasiu 'be unskillful'
 iloumaaw 'be naughty'
 sigesig 'be always angry'

chiile	'be small'
gachiu	'be good'
mangeraaiu	'be a sex maniac'
pwate	'be skinny'
pweshe	'be white'

In relative clause reduction, the verb behaves like an English adjective in that the word is placed adjacent to the head noun as a modifier. But in English the adjective is a prenominal element within the head noun phrase, while in Woleaian the modifier follows the head noun. The important phenomenon to observe here is that in both languages, the modifier is directly adjacent to the head noun. Contrasting the types of verbs used in (33) and (35) in terms of meaning, the one in (33) is often used when expressing temporary action or occurrences while the one in (35) is implying a more lasting state of affairs.

A similar phenomenon occurs in English with certain modifiers, such as the present (V-ing) and past (V-en) participles. The construction, The typewriter which was broken, is ambiguous between a state (usually more longlasting) and an event (of shorter duration). The reduced phrase, the typewriter broken, contains a reference to the event of breaking, while the broken typewriter, in which the predicate separates the article from the noun, contains a reference to the state of the typewriter.

When the head noun of the relative clause is followed by a demonstrative, both must agree with each other in number and animateness. We should mention here, though, that inanimate noun phrases are generally not marked for plurality. The demonstrative which follows the head noun serves as a specifier for the head noun as well as a relativizer for the entire sentence.

(37) Shoabut we i weri ye sa lago.

woman the I see she PERF go

'The woman whom I saw has gone.'

(38) *Shoabut i weri ye sa lago.

woman I saw she PERF go

'Woman I saw had gone.'

Not all demonstratives can co-occur with the head noun of a relative clause. There is a special class of demonstratives that Sohn (1975) calls "Relational Demonstratives":

(39) Relational Demonstratives

Singular:

ye 'this near speaker'

mwu 'that near hearer'

la 'that near hearer'

we 'the one both speaker and hearer know about'

Plural:

ka 'these near speaker'

kamwu 'those near hearer'

kela 'those near hearer'

kawe 'those both speaker and hearer know about'

As the following example sentences show, only relational demonstratives can co-occur with the head noun:

(40) Waa we re fela ye mmera.

canoe the they make it fast

'The canoe which they made is fast.'

(41) *Waa laal re fela ye mmera.

canoe that they make it fast

'The canoe which they made is fast.'

3.2.6 Le as a Relative Marker

We have seen examples of relational demonstratives functioning both as a modifier of a head noun and as a relativizer for the embedded sentence. There is one relative marker which is not a relational demonstrative but rather a complementizer. Observe the sentence below:

(42) I weri semal shoabut le ye gachiu.

I see one woman who she good

'I saw a woman who was beautiful.'

Note that the head noun in (42) is followed not by a demonstrative but by the complementizer le. Le, as we will see in the chapter on complementation, typically marks a complement sentence as unasserted. Relative clauses, of course, are not normally asserted as new information. Therefore, if a complementizer were to occur we would expect le rather than be. Although le appears to be filling the complementizer slot in (42), it might be that this complementizer introduces all relatives in deep structure but is generally deleted. Such a speculation is supported by the fact that this complementizer can co-occur with a demonstrative, as in (43) below. A similar role is played in English by the complementizer that which alternates under certain conditions with the relative pronouns and which used to co-occur with relative pronouns in Middle English (Roderick A. Jacobs, pers. comm.).

(43) John ye weri shoabut we le ye gachiu.

J. he see woman the RM she good

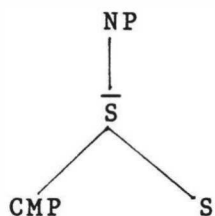
'John saw the woman that is beautiful.'

3.3 Complementation

In Section 3.2, we dealt with one type of sentence embedding--the relative clause construction--in which the relative clause sentence and its head noun phrase are dominated by the same noun phrase node, and the head noun phrase is coreferential with a noun phrase in the embedded

sentence. In this section we will be looking at a different type of embedding, noun phrase complements. The tree diagram below shows the basic structure of a complement clause.

(44)



In this structure, the barred S represents the complement clause, which consists of a complementizer and a sentence, and is dominated by a noun phrase. This dominating noun phrase may appear in the subject position of the main sentence, as in (45) and (46).

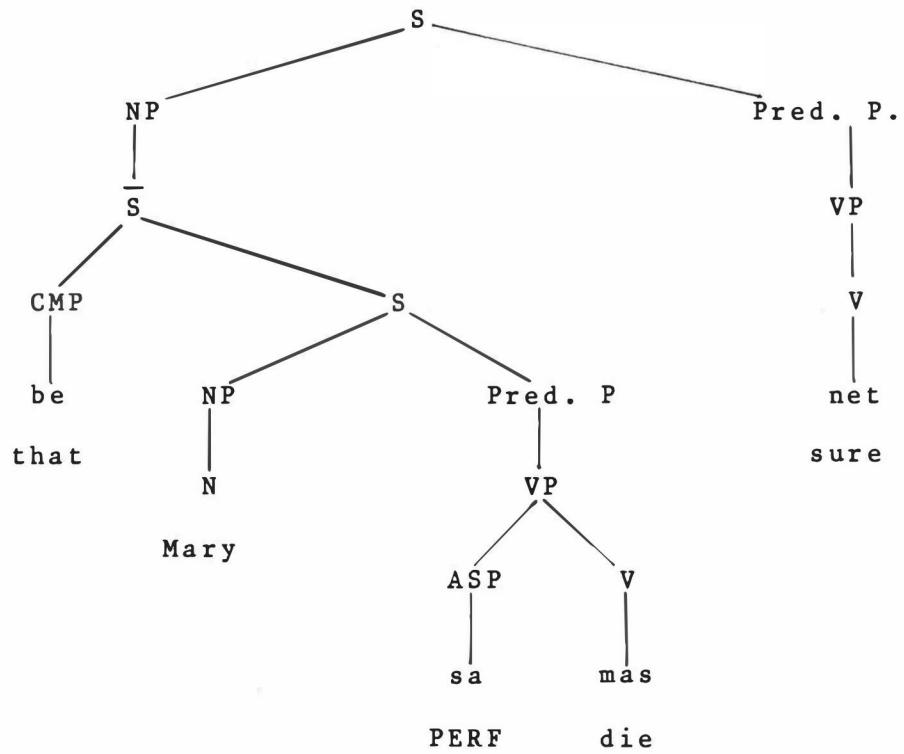
(45) Ye net be Mary ye sa mas.

it sure that M. she PERF die

'It is true that Mary had died.'

We posit the following as an approximation of the underlying structure of the above sentence:

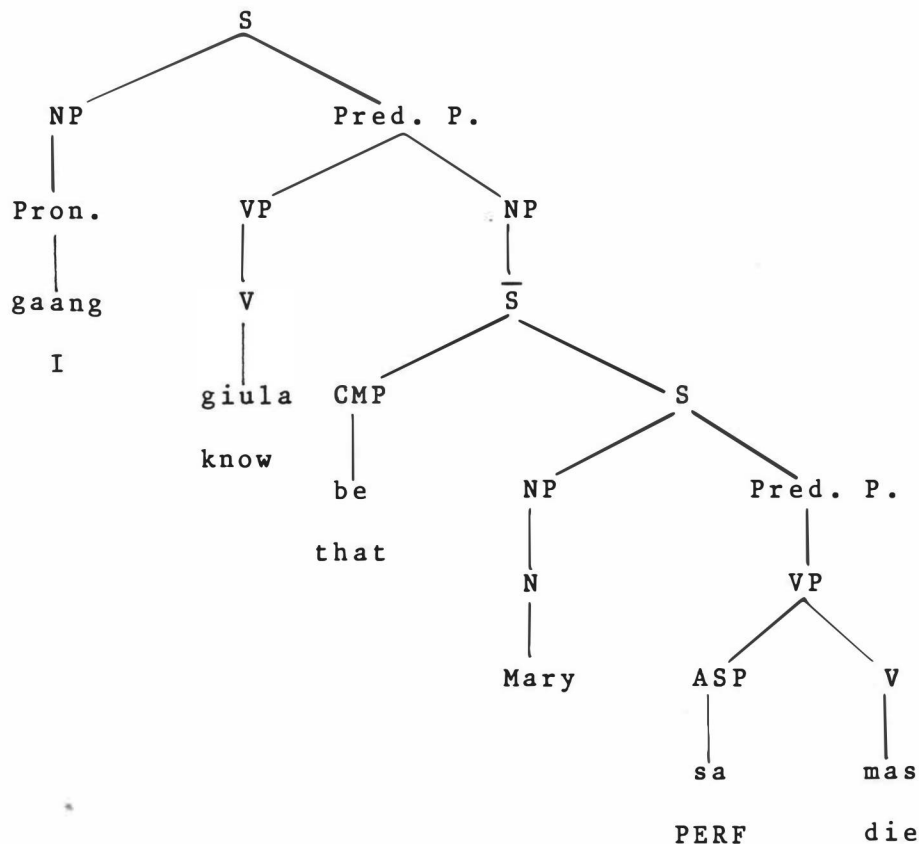
(46)



Or the dominating noun phrase may come under the predicate phrase as object of the main verb, as in (47):

(47) I giula be Mary ye sa mas.

I know that M. she PERF die



Or it may have some kind of adverbial relation, as in the purpose construction in (48):

(48) John ye liiye Mary be ye be mas.

J. he kill-her M. in-order she FUT die

'John killed Mary in order for her to die.'

As with relative clauses, there is no limit on the number of embedded sentences. Observe the example below:

(49) I seor be Mary ye gemasi be gaang

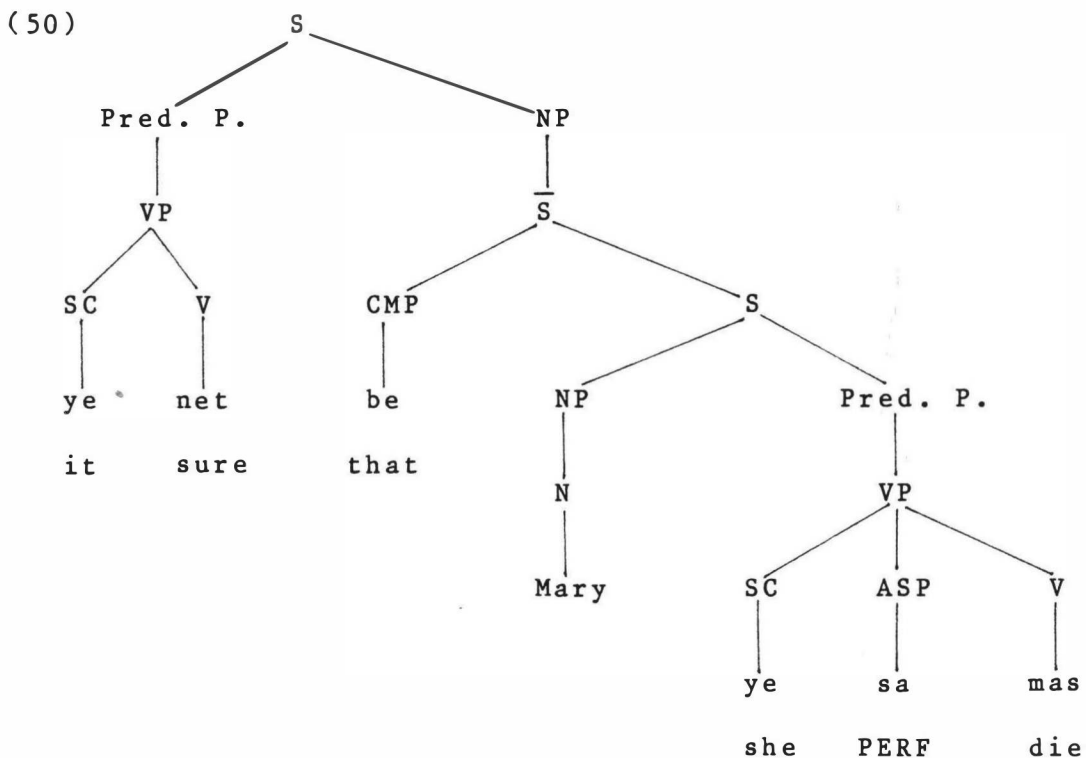
I say that M. she assume that I

i sa giula be iiye . . .

I PERF know that she

'I believe that Mary assumes that I know that she...'

Noun phrase complements in subject position in underlying structure are less straightforward. The underlying structure (46) has a sentential complement subject which has to be extraposed to post-verbal position, as in (50) below:



Note that the Subject Copy rule must apply before Extraposition.

Embedded sentences with the complementizer be can only follow certain type of matrix verbs. For purposes of identification, we will refer to such verbs as Communicative-Cognitive verbs.

(51) Verbs Taking be:

Communicative-Cognitive Verbs

mangiiye	'to think'
gemasi	'to assume'
giula	'to know'
gaaiuwe	'to tell'
seor	'to say'
gaangimasow	'to insist'
gapeta	'to agree'
tipeli	'to like'
yaleyale	'to wish for'
meyafi	'to feel it'

These verbs are limited in number and are used to express communicative or cognitive notions concerning an embedded proposition. The verbs share not only common semantic characteristics but also a common grammatical feature--they cannot undergo complete reduplication. Thus there are no forms like mangiiyemangiiye, giulagiula, etc. Although the verb yaleyale 'to wish for' looks suspiciously like a complete reduplication, we should treat it as an

unreduplicated form since the word cannot be further divided.

3.3.1 Types of Complement Clauses

There are basically three types of complement clauses in Woleaian: be complements, le complements, and nominalizations. In the first two, the complementizers introduce a full sentence with the usual groupings of subject and predicate constituents. However, nominalized complements are introduced by the possessive classifier yaa-, to which a pronominal marker for the subject noun phrase is suffixed.

3.3.1.1 The be/le Contrast

Full complement clauses are introduced into deep structure by one of the two sentence complementizers, be and le. Semantically the two complementizers differ somewhat, but the precise nature of the difference is hard to pin down. Compare the following sentences:

(52) John ye giula be Mary ye sa mas.

J. he know that M. she PERF die

'John knows that Mary has died.'

(53) John ye giula le Mary ye sa mas.

J. he know that M. she PERF die

'John already knows that Mary has died.'

Note that sentence (52) differs from sentence (53) only with respect to the complementizer. The difference appears to be an informational contrast. Sentence (52) might be used when the entire content of the predicate phrase is the new information being asserted. On the other hand, sentence (53) is likely to be used when the speaker believes the addressee is already aware of Mary's death but is not yet aware that John already knows it. Thus John ye giula is the new information, what is being asserted. We might refer to be complements as assertive complements (functionally similar to the waa complements in Thai described in Ekniyom 1981) while le complements are called nonassertive complements (not unlike Ekniyom's thii complements). The complementizer be sometimes corresponds to English because and in order to, depending on the type of logical relation involved, as in these sentences:

- (54) John ye masiur igela be ye tai masiur boongi.
 J. he sleep now because he not sleep last-night
 'John sleeps now because he did not sleep last night.'

- (55) John ye liiye Mary be ye be mas.
 J. he kill M. in-order she will die
 'John killed Mary in order for her to die.'

In Woleaian, it is not possible to have be in sentence-initial position, unlike English, in which because and in order to can appear in this position.

3.3.1.2 Possessive Complement Clauses

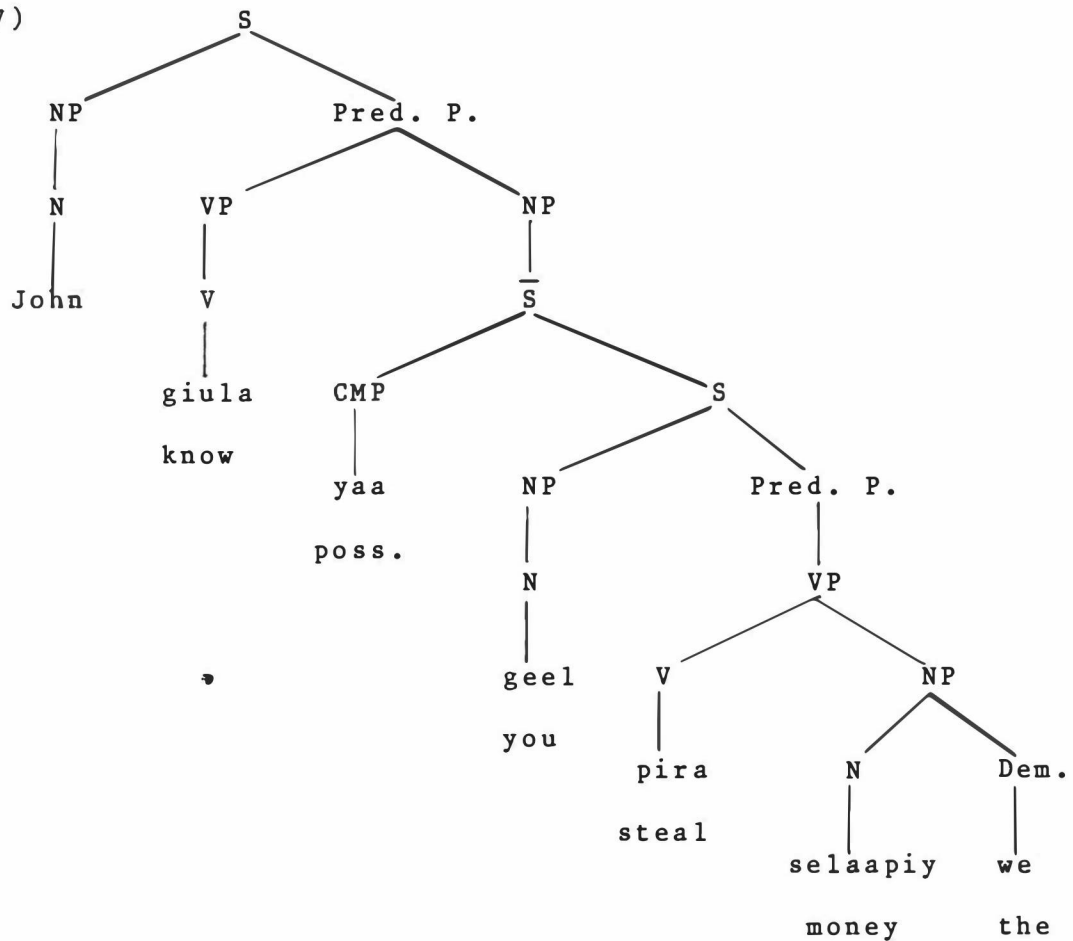
The structure of possessive complement clauses is similar to that of the full complement clause structures discussed earlier. However, in a possessive complement construction, the general possessive classifier yaa- serves as the complementizer:

(56) John ye giula yaamw pira selaapiy we.

J. he know your steal money the

'John knows about your stealing the money.'

(57)



As we have seen, the complementizer is important because it indicates the information status of the embedded sentence. We assume in this study that complementizers are base constituents rather than forms introduced by some kind of Complementizer Insertion Transformation.

CHAPTER IV

TOPIC AND FOCUS

4.1 Topic and Focus Constructions

In this chapter we will be looking at topicalization and at focus constructions, which provide different ways of structuring the information in a sentence. As we will see, a noun phrase may be topicalized or focused, depending on the informational status determined by the speaker.

4.1.1 Topicalization

Topicalization is a very productive process in Woleaian, one which can apply to both verbal and equational sentences. Normally, any noun phrase which is either definite or generic can be topicalized, except for predicate noun phrases in equational sentences. A noun phrase may be topicalized when the information is given, that is, old information. In such cases the speaker assumes that the referent is understood by the addressee. We will observe in the example sentences below that a topicalized noun phrase always occurs in sentence-initial position and is set off from the rest of the sentence by a pause. In the examples pauses are indicated by commas.

The following constituents may be topicalized: subject noun phrases, object noun phrases, place phrases, and time phrases. Sentences (1) and (2) below are examples of topicalized subject noun phrases.

- (1) Gaangiu, i sa bulaasi.

I I PERF drunk

'As for me, I am drunk.'

- (2) Paangali yaremate woali salope, re bele mase.

all-of people on-of earth they FUT die

'As for all the people on earth, they will die.'

In sentences (3) and (4), the direct object and indirect object, respectively, are topicalized:

- (3) John, Mary ye gachiu-we.

J. M. she love-him

'As for John, Mary loves him.'

- (4) Mary, Frank ye fange babiyoro we ngali.

M. F. he give paper the to-her

'As for Mary, Frank gave the paper to her.'

When a place phrase is topicalized, it is preposed to sentence-initial position, and the surface trace iyange 'there, at' is placed after the preposition me 'from, at'. Examples are as follows:

- (5) I weri John me igemwuulo.

I see J. from there

'I saw John there.'

- (6) Igemwuulo, i weri John me iyange.

there I see J. from there

'There, I saw John.'

A time phrase may also be topicalized in much the same way. It is moved to sentence-initial position, leaving the surface trace iyange 'there, at' in sentence-final position.

- (7) I metagiu yaliusiu yato we.

I afraid ghost time the

'I was afraid of ghosts at that time.'

- (8) Yato we, i metagiu yaliusiu iyange.

time the I afraid ghost at

'At that time, I was afraid of ghosts.'

4.1.2 Focus Constructions

A noun phrase or a verb phrase may be focused when new or emphatic information is given. Consider the following sentences:

- (9) Mele John ye gangi ila semaliu ige cha.

Pro. J. he eat-it Foc. one-animate fish red

'What John ate was a red fish.'

(10) Yele John ye fageo-we ila Mary.

Pro. J. he love-her Foc. M.

'The one that John loved was Mary.'

(11) Mele John ye foori ngali ige cha we ila ye gangi.

Pro. J. he do to-it fish red the Foc. he eat-it

'What John did to the red fish was eat it.'

In all three example sentences, ila serves as a focus marker. It introduces the new information. In (9) the noun phrase semaliu ige cha 'one red fish' is new information. The given information mele John ye gangi 'what John ate' is introduced by the form mele. Notice that when the focused noun phrase is human, as in sentence (10) above, the form yele is used in place of mele. In sentence (11) the verb phrase is focused.

It is common in Woleaian for new (nonemphatic) information to be introduced in sentence-final position. However, in emphatic sentences, the noun phrase being emphasized may appear in sentence-initial position, with the form mele placed between the emphatic noun phrase and the rest of the sentence. Since emphatic information is in fact new information, mele, which marks given information, is needed in the position described above to separate the new information which precedes from the old information which follows.

The following sentence constituents may be focused: subject noun phrase, object noun phrase, place phrase, and time phrase. Compare the sentence pairs below in which the second sentence in each pair is marked for focus while the first one is not. Sentence (13) below shows a focused noun phrase in subject position:

(12) John ye masiuriu.

J. he sleep

'John slept.'

(13) John mele ye masiuriu.

J. Pro. he sleep

'John was the one who slept.'

Sentence (15) below is a focus sentence in which the emphatic object noun phrase has been shifted to sentence-initial position, with the form mele placed immediately after it:

(14) John ye mwongo bulage.

J. he ate taro

'John ate taro.'

(15) Bulage mele John ye mwongo.

taro Pro. J. he eat

'Taro is what John ate.'

A place phrase may be focused (when emphasized) and moved to sentence-initial position, leaving its surface trace iyange 'there, at' in sentence-final position, as in sentence (17) below:

(16) John ye weri boola we me igaale.

J. he see-it ball the from here

'John found the ball here.'

(17) Igaale mele John ye weri boola we me iyange.

here Pro. J. he see-it ball the from there

'Here is the place where John found the ball.'

When a place phrase is focused as new (nonemphatic) information, it is introduced by ila, while the given information is introduced by biulei ga 'this place':

(18) John ye weri boola we me igaale.

J. he see-it ball the from here

'John saw the ball here.'

(19) Biulei ga John ye weri boola we me

place this J. he see-it ball the from

iyange ila igaale.

there Foc. here

'Where John saw the ball was here.'

Similarly, when the time phrase is emphasized, it is moved to the beginning of the sentence, and the mele form is

placed immediately after it. Just as with the emphatic place phrase, the surface trace iyange 'there, at' is left in sentence-final position, as in (21) below:

(20) John ye temwaaiu yato we.

J. he sick time the

'John was sick at that time.'

(21) Yato we mele John ye temwaaiu iyange.

time the Pro. J. he sick at

'That time was when John was sick.'

A nonemphatic time phrase may also be focused, with ila functioning as introducer of the new information while yato we marks the given information:

(22) John ye bulaasi yato we.

J. he drunk time the

'John was drunk at that time.'

(23) Yato ye John ye bulaasi iyange ila yato we.

time this J. he drunk at Foc. time the

'When John was drunk was at that time.'

4.1.3 Summary Statements

In topic constructions, the topicalized noun phrase or clause is fronted, but not focused or emphasized. As we observed in the above examples, the topicalized noun phrase

or clause is marked by a pause (represented by a comma), and followed by a clause. We also observed that topic status is possible only for given information, which may correspond to the subject or object, or to oblique phrases of place or time.

A focused noun phrase or clause (nonemphatic) is introduced by ila 'focus marker' as new information (only in sentence-final position, never fronted), while the given information may be introduced by any of the focused noun phrase/clause referential forms: mele, yele, biulei-ga, yato-ye. The choice of a referential form depends on the semantic properties of the focused noun phrase or clause.

Another possibility is for a noun phrase or a clause to be fronted and emphasized. This emphatic noun phrase or clause may be subject, object, or oblique (place or time) noun phrase. In this construction, mele is often placed after the emphatic noun phrase or clause (which gives new information) to separate it from the given information in the sentence.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

In this study I have attempted to describe the aspects of Woleaian grammar which I feel will be most helpful to curriculum writers developing effective instructional materials for the Woleai Bilingual Education Program. These areas of the grammar include: 1) an overview of Woleaian grammar, which provides general statements about the Woleaian spelling system and the major phonological processes, discusses the productive morphological processes in the language, describes the major sentence constituents (such as noun phrases and verb phrases), and discusses the major sentence types; and 2) a description of complex sentences in Woleaian. Complex sentences are those which contain coordinate or subordinate clauses, relative clauses, or complement clauses.

In carrying out this study, I have consulted other works on Woleaian as well as those on other Trukic languages, such as Ulithian, Saipan Carolinian, Lagoon Trukese, and Pulo Annian. Wherever relevant, I have also referred to works on Ponapeic languages.

In presenting the language data, I have tried to keep my analysis in conformity with the standard model of

generative-transformational grammar. However, for ease of reading by nonlinguists (the primary target audience of this study), I have chosen not to adopt the conventional style of rule formulation. Instead, my analysis has been presented in narrative form.

This study seeks to provide Woleaian curriculum writers with linguistic information that will be helpful to them in their development of more advanced and complex vernacular materials for the upper grades in Woleai schools. At present, there are no instructional materials for these grades. The existing bilingual education program serves only the lower grades (grades one, two, three), and the instructional materials currently available for these grades employ relatively simple syntactic structures. It is hoped that this thesis will serve as a linguistic resource in the development of more advanced Woleaian readers as well as materials for the content area subjects, all of which will require the use of the more complex structures described here.

It is also hoped that this study may be utilized by the Yap State Department of Education's in-service teacher training program. Each summer, the Department conducts university extension courses at a central location in Yap. For many teachers who are isolated on scattered atolls during the entire school year, these summer extension

courses provide their only means for professional and academic growth. Courses dealing with the basic structure and orthographies of the vernacular languages are often taught through this program. There is a growing need for reference materials that present grammatical information in a way easily understood by the average teacher, who is not trained in linguistics. It is important for teacher trainers and teachers themselves to be more consciously aware of the important processes of Woleaian (or the other vernacular languages of Yap), the complexities involved, and how these processes influence decisions made with regard to orthography, classroom instruction and materials development.

This work is the first of its kind to be conducted by a native speaker of Woleaian. Although it covers a broad area of the grammar, it is by no means thorough. With Woleaian firmly established as the medium of instruction for the upper grades of our schools, the demand for more and better written materials in Woleaian and for more and better understanding of the nature of Woleaian itself, will continue to grow. There will be a need for a more detailed description (yet readable to native speakers who are not linguistically trained) than this sketch provides. The aspects of Woleaian grammar described here represent a small, but nevertheless important, first step in this direction.

APPENDIX A
NUMERAL CLASSIFIER FORMS

-bisi	'group of small objects'
-bongi	'night'
-booti	'grass skirts'
-bulogo	'short piece'
-e/uwe	'general classifier'
-faate	'strung fish'
-fati	'corner'
-faiu	'round'
-fasho	'long'
-feti	'piece of breakable objects'
-fitugo	'meat'
-fiye	'handful'
-gatiu	'fingers'
-kiute	'little'
-leo	'bottle'
-maliu	'animate'
-mate	'kind, type'
-mmwiti	'little'
-mwaliu	'elbow's length'
-mweiu	'some'
-ngafe	'stretched arms length'
-pa	'strung ornament, coconut fronds'

-paiu	'arms'
-paliye	'flat side'
-pate	'words'
-peigi	'half side'
-peo	'flat, cupful'
-pilegiu	'bundle'
-ragi	'year'
-rane	'days'
-sheo	'flat and thin'
-shimwe	'bundle of sennit'
-sogumwu	'mouthful'
-soumwu	'bunch'
-tabo	'piece'
-tali	'rows'
-tapi	'kind'
-tare	'layers'
-teope	'bottomful of liquid'
-tipe	'slices'
-yali	'thin, flat, small'
-yange	'stretched fingers length'
-yati	'coconut sprouts'

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Akmajian, A. and F. Heny. 1975. An Introduction to the Principles of Transformational Syntax. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.
- Alkire, William. 1970. "Systems of Measurement on Woleai Atoll, Caroline Islands." Anthropos, Vol. 65, No. 1, pp. 1-73.
- Bird, David. 1979. "Language Use and Language Policy in Micronesia," World Association for Christian Communications Journal, Vol. 26, No. 3, pp. 12-14. London.
- Bird, David and Jean Kirschenmann. 1981. "Designing Literacy Programs for Pacific Island Schools: The Issue of Mass Produced Reading Texts." Paper presented at the Third Conference of the National Association for Asian and Pacific American Education. Honolulu.
- Chan, Leok-Har. 1982. A Study of Information Structure and Sentence Mood in Hokkien Syntax. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. University of Hawaii.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1965. Aspects of the Theory of Syntax. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.
- _____. 1981. Lectures on Government and Binding. Dordrecht, Holland: Foris Publications.
- Ekniyom, Peansiri. 1981. A Study of Informational Structuring in Thai Sentences. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. University of Hawaii.
- Elameto, Jesus. 1977. Linguistic Dimensions of Vernacular Education for Saipan Carolinians. Unpublished MA thesis. University of Hawaii.
- Gatelmar (trans.). 1956. "Island Health." Yap: Department of Education.
- Harrison, Sheldon. 1976. Mokilese Reference Grammar. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.
- Jackson, Frederick. n.d. "The Verb Phrase in Saipan Carolinian." Unpublished MS. University of Hawaii.

- Jacobs, Roderick A. in press. "Relatives, Equatives, and Information Structuring." In Bender, Byron W. (ed.), Studies in Micronesian Linguistics, Pacific Linguistics, Series C. Canberra: The Australian National University.
- . in press. "Some Syntactic Processes in Kiribati." In Bender, Byron W. (ed.), Studies in Micronesian Linguistics, Pacific Linguistics, Series C. Canberra: The Australian National University.
- Jacobs, Roderick A. and Peter S. Rosenbaum. 1967. Grammar 1 & 2: An Introduction to Transformational Grammar. Boston, Mass.: Ginn and Company.
- . 1968. English Transformational Grammar. Waltham, Mass.: Xerox College Publishing.
- Niyekawa-Howard, Agnes. 1971. "Report of the Bilingual Education Task-Force." Mimeograph. University of Hawaii.
- Oda, Sachiko. 1976. "Complementation in Micronesian Languages," Working Papers in Linguistics, Vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 1-20. University of Hawaii.
- . 1977. The Syntax of Pulo Annian (A Nuclear Micronesian Language). Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. University of Hawaii.
- Quackenbush, Edward Miller. 1968. From Sonsorol to Truk: A Dialect Chain. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. University of Michigan.
- Rehg, Kenneth. 1981. Ponapean Reference Grammar. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii.
- Riesenberg, Saul and Shigeru Kaneshiro. 1960. "A Caroline Islands Script," Anthropological Papers, No. 60. Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Printing Office.
- Smith, Alfred. 1951. "Guide to Woleai Spelling." Unpublished MS. Yap: Department of Education.
- Sohn, Ho-min. 1971. "A-raising in Woleaian," Working Papers in Linguistics, Vol. 3, No. 8. University of Hawaii.

- _____. 1973. "Relative Clause Formation in Micronesian Languages," Working Papers in Linguistics, Vol. 5, No. 8, pp. 93-124. University of Hawaii.
- _____. 1975. Woleaian Reference Grammar. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii.
- Sohn, Ho-min and Byron Bender. 1973. A Ulithian Grammar. Canberra: The Australian National University.
- Sohn, Ho-min and Tony Tawerilmang. 1975. Woleaian-English Dictionary. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii.
- Sugita, Hiroshi. To appear. Trukese Reference Grammar. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii.
- Sugita, Hiroshi and Kenneth Rehg. 1980. "Some Evidence for Movement in Micronesian Relativization." Working Papers in Linguistics, Vol. 12, No. 1. University of Hawaii.
- Uehara, Eiko. 1982. Some Informational Dimensions of Embedding in Japanese. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. University of Hawaii.