# PREVERBAL PARTICLES IN PINGELAPESE: A LANGUAGE OF MICRONESIA 

# A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I AT MĀNOA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF <br> DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN LINGUISTICS <br> AUGUST 2012 <br> <br> BY <br> <br> BY RYOKO HATTORI 

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Keywords: Pingelapese, Micronesia, evidentiality, pronouns
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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to acknowledge the various funding agencies and institutions that have made my dissertation study possible.

I wish to thank the Morita Scholarship Foundation for sending me to the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa for my graduate studies and the Department of Linguistics, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa for providing me with a Graduate Assistantship and a Pacific Asia Scholarship Tuition Waiver at various times during my graduate studies. I would also like to thank the East-West Center for providing me with a Degree Fellowship.

Thanks also go to the organizations that funded my field work in the Federated States of Micronesia, which are the Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (award reference \# FTG0110); the American Association of University Women (Pacific Fellowship); and the Arts and Sciences Advisory Council at University of Hawai ‘i at Mānoa.

My deepest gratitude goes to my chairs, Professors William O'Grady and Kenneth Rehg. I wish to thank them for all the continuous and patient advising and moral support at the various stages of this challenging undertaking. Dr. O'Grady's Introduction to Grammatical Analysis class Ling422 made me decide to study in this program, and Dr. Rehg's Field Methods class Ling630 introduced me to language documentation and the Pingelapese language. With his deep knowledge in Micronesian languages, Dr. Rehg challenged me with data and facts from related languages that my analysis would have to cope with, but at the same time he always worked with me to develop a feasible analysis. With his extensive experience in the field of syntax and typology, Dr. O'Grady encouraged me to extend the scope of this study beyond the Micronesian languages and to develop a robust analysis to make this dissertation a contribution for a larger audience. I am very thankful that my co-chairs, each with different specialties, co-operated to make this dissertation possible.

My study of the Pingelapese language was initiated and supported by my Pingelapese friends in Hawai‘i: Mrs. Billie-Jean Manuel, Mr. Adino Ehmes, Mrs. Alice

Ehmes, Mr. Dayne Lemuel, and Mr. Allen Ehmes. These people not only assisted my study in Hawai‘i but also arranged my safe stay and study in Pohnpei and Pingelap, Federated States of Micronesia. In Pohnpei, my host mother Mrs. Susan Ehmes and her family welcomed me into their loving home and helped me to network with important people for my study in the community. Mr. Weldis Welly, one of the co-authors of a Pingelapese sketch grammar, kindly shared his linguistic intuitions with me. On Pingelap, my host father Mr. Charley Ilander and his family helped me to immerse myself in their culture and languages. Mr. Ensler Rizana was a brilliant assistant in this project. I am thankful to all of my wide range of Pingelapese friends from the young children in Mwalok Head Start and primary level class in Pingelap Sunday School to the oldest people in the community for their hospitality and friendship.

My thanks also go to Dr. Valerie Guerin, who encouraged me to keep my writing mood, read my draft twice, and helped me to reorganize the flow of my dissertation.

Last but not least, I thank my parents, Isamu and Sueko Hattori, for their love and support. My deepest appreciation also goes to my husband, David Arakaki, who has always been there for me.


#### Abstract

This dissertation presents a synchronic and diachronic study of Pingelapese pronouns and auxiliary verbs-ae, e, aen, and en. Synchronically, Pingelapese employs subject pronominal clitics, not subject agreement markers, unlike Proto-Micronesian and many other contemporary Micronesian languages. Pingelapese also possesses auxiliary verbs that express evidentiality-the speaker's degree of certainty about propositions (ae for low certainty and $e$ for high certainty) -as well as inchoative meaning ( $-n$ ). The combination of evidentiality and inchoative auxiliary verbs yields a realis-irrealis contrast. Comparison with other Micronesian languages reveals that marking evidentiality in this way is unique to Pingelapese. These subject pronouns and auxiliary verbs together compose pronoun-auxiliary complexes.

A diachronic study concludes that the root vowel of Proto-Micronesian subject agreement markers was leveled into a uniform vowel ae in Pohnpeic languages. This root vowel $a e$ was innovatively reanalyzed as a low-evidentiality marker, which was accompanied by the development of a high-evidentiality marker $e$, in the history of Pingelapese. The development of the high-evidentiality marker $e$ from the leveled root vowel $a e$ was achieved through the merger of a following hypothetical high front vowel particle $*_{i}$ (with the high certainty meaning), vowel height assimilation, and final vowel deletion.


In contrast, the inchoative morpheme $-n$ of $a e n$ and $e n$ has a cognate in all Micronesian languages, descending from the Proto-Micronesian "immediateness marker" *nae.

Along with the reanalysis of the root vowel of Proto-Micronesian subject agreement markers into evidential markers, the pre-root vowel parts have turned into subject pronominal clitics: $s$ - ' 1 dual/pl exclusive', $k$ - ' 2 sg ', Ø- ' 3 sg ', $r$ - ' $3 \mathrm{dual} / \mathrm{pl}$ '.

The Pingelapese stand-alone auxiliary verbs developed by extracting $a e, a e n, e$, and en from the subject pronoun-auxiliary complexes, leaving the person/number morphemes behind.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| GRAMATICAL TERMS |  | NCL | numeral classifier |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | NP | noun phrase |
| $1 \mathrm{~s}, 1 \mathrm{D}, 1 \mathrm{P}$ | first person singular, dual, | O | object pronoun |
|  |  | PCL | possessive classifier |
| 1D/P | first person dual or plural | PL/pl | plural |
| 2S, 2D, 2P | second person singular, dual, plural | POSS | possessive pronoun |
| 2D/P | second person dual or plural | PRF | perfect |
| 3s, 3D, 3P | third person singular, dual, | REDUP | reduplication |
| plural |  | RM | relative clause marker |
| 3D/P | third person dual or plural | S | subject pronoun |
| AGRS | subject agreement | SG/sg | singular |
| AGRO | object agreement | TR | Transitive suffix |
| ASP | aspect | V | verb |
| AUX | auxiliary verb | VC | verbal complex |
| COMPL | completive | VP | verb phrase |
| DEM | demonstrative | PTTV | optative |
| DET | determiner | ART | article |
| des | desiderative maker | T | tense |
| DIR | directional | A | aspect |
| EX/excl. | exclusive | prog | progressive |
| foc | focus marker | H | human |
| HEV | high evidential marker | fut | future |
| IN/incl. | inclusive | pres | present |
| INC | inchoative |  |  |
| IND | independent pronoun |  | GUAGE NAMES |
| LEV | low evidential marker |  |  |
| MOD | mood | CHK | Chuukese |
| NEG | negative marker | CRL | Carolinian |
| N | noun | KIR | Kiribatese |


| MAP | Mapia | PON | Pohnpeian |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| MOK | Mokilese | PUA | Pulo Annian |
| NRS | Marshallese | PUL | Puluwatese |
| MRT | Mortrockese | STW | Satawalese |
| PCK | Proto-Chuukese | ULI | Ulithian |
| PNG | Pingelapese | WOL | Woleaian |
| PMC | Proto-Micronesian | KSR | Kosraean |

## CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION AND LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

### 1.1. Introduction

The purpose of this study is to describe Pingelapese auxiliary verbs. Chapter 1 gives background information on Pingelap and Pingelapese. Chapter 2 provides a brief sketch grammar of the language to enable readers to understand the discussion in the subsequent chapters. Chapter 3 presents major sentence types. Chapter 4 investigates synchronically the auxiliary verbs that occur in predicate-initial position. Chapter 5 provides an exhaustive list of the negators and preverbal elements. Chapter 6 is a diachronic investigation of the auxiliary verbs discussed in chapter 4. Chapter 7 discusses Pingelapese personal pronouns in comparison with Proto-Micronesian and other Micronesian languages. A summary of all findings is provided in chapter 8. A Pingelapese dictionary developed throughout the fieldwork can be found in the appendix.

The collected audio files and their transcriptions, along with pedagogical language materials developed throughout the fieldwork, are available from the Endangered Languages Archive at SOAS, London (http://elar.soas.ac.uk/). This archive includes a picture dictionary, children's books, cartoons, and video animations.

### 1.2. General Background

### 1.2.1. Location

Pingelapese is spoken primarily on Pingelap atoll and the high island of Pohnpei, two of the eastern Caroline Islands. The coordinates of Pingelap atoll, the homeland of the Pingelapese people, are approximately $161^{\circ} 42^{\prime} \mathrm{E}$ and $6^{\circ} 13^{\prime} \mathrm{N}$. The atoll is composed of three small coral islets—Pingelap, which is the only one inhabited, Daekae, and Sukoru. Collectively, all three islets cover only about three square miles, and the highest point on the atoll is only 10 feet above sea level. (See map 1.1 below.)

Map 1.1. Pingelap atoll (Damas 1994)


Lying approximately 164 miles ESE of Pohnpei and 150 miles WNW of Kosrae, Pingelap's nearest neighbor is the atoll of Mokil (see maps 1.2 and 1.3). Politically, Pingelap atoll is part of the state of Pohnpei in the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM). The island of Pohnpei, where the national and state capitals are located, is approximately 130 square miles in area. Kosrae island, the only island of the Kosrae state and the location of the state capital, is approximately 43 square miles in area. The cultural and
linguistic influence on Pingelapese from both Pohnpeian and Kosraean will be described in the following sections.

Map 1.2. Location of the Federated States of Micronesia in the Pacific (Central Intelligence Agency 2012)


Map 1.3. Location of Pingelap atoll in the Federated States of Micronesia (Government of the Federated States of Micronesia 2012)


### 1.2.2. Classification

Pingelapese belongs to the Austronesian language family, a language group with origins among the Austronesian people who migrated out of Taiwan about 5,000 years ago eastward (as far as Rapanui) and westward (as far as Madagascar).

Micronesian peoples are part of the group that went east, through South East Asia and Melanesia, and migrated into Micronesia approximately 2,000 years ago. The genetic relationships of Micronesian languages are well established. Pingelapese belongs to the Pohnpeic branch of the Micronesian language family as shown in figure 1.1.


Figure 1.1. Membership and subgrouping of Micronesian languages (Jackson 1983:433)

Pingelapese is closely related to Mokilese with 83 percent lexical similarity between the two languages and to Pohnpeian with 79 percent lexical similarity (Rehg 1981). The percentage of cognates shared among Nuclear Micronesian languages is shown in table 1.1. ${ }^{1}$

Table 1.1. Percentage of cognates shared among Nuclear Micronesian languages (based on Bender 1971:432 and Rehg 1981:9)

|  | Chuukic |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Pingelapese | ---- | Pingelapese |  |  |  |  |  |
| Mokilese | ---- | 83 | Mokilese |  |  |  |  |
| Pohnpeian | 36.1 | 79 | 73 | Pohnpeian |  |  |  |
| Marshallese | 29.0 | --- | --- | 32.5 | Marshallese |  |  |
| Kiribatese | 23.2 | --- | --- | 25.9 | 21.3 | Kiribatese |  |
| Kosraean | 22.2 | --- | --- | 25.7 | 23.8 | 15.3 | Kosraean |

[^0]
### 1.2.3. Number of speakers

Many Pingelapese moved to the high island of Pohnpei over the last century. The early motivations for this emigration were population density on the atoll and natural disasters. The present motivation is related to the Pingelapese people's changing values related to the amenities of modern society: a cash economy, education, and health care.

Today, of the 2,000 Pingelapese in the world, there are approximately 200 speakers on the last inhabited islet of the Pingelap atoll and 1,200 on the high island of Pohnpei in two major communities-Mwalok in Sokehs municipality and Mand in Madolenihmw municipality. The characteristics of each community will be described in section 1.2.7. The rest of the Pingelapese are scattered in other locations. This emigration trend is continuing today, as more and more Pingelapese are leaving their homeland, first for Pohnpei and then, through a compact of free association, for the United States. The compact association signed in 1982 provides the FSM financial support and allows citizens of the FSM to work and study without a visa in the U.S. In exchange, the U.S. receives full international defense authority and responsibilities.

### 1.2.4. Social system

The chief source of food for the Pingelapese is the sea and the reefs surrounding the islands of the atoll. The secondary source is the substantial agriculture on the atoll, which includes the cultivation of coconuts, taro, and breadfruit. Pingelapese have a matrilineal clan society. The traditional chiefdom system is weakly sustained, yet title holders have power in decision making with regard to tradition. However, since the establishment of a mission on Pingelap in 1873 (Morton et al. 1973:327), the church has been a strong presence in everyday life. For example, Christmas is the biggest annual event, and it attracts more participants than traditional Pingelapese events. All of the residents on Pingelap are Christian, mostly Protestant. The building of any church except for the existing church (United Church of Christ) on Pingelap is prohibited by the Pingelap constitution.

### 1.2.5. Brief history of the Pingelapese people

### 1.2.5.1. Early history

According to the estimate of Morton et al. (1971:360), the original settlement of Pingelap occurred 1,000 years B.P. A period of about 800 years passed before the first European recorded contact, a visit to the atoll by Duperrey, a French marine hydrographer, in 1824 (Eilers 1934:409-412). The origin of the Pingelapese people is still uncertain. Their oral history suggests multiple ancestries. One story states that they are related to the Kosraean Royal Spirit (Damas 1994). In this story, the spirit, Nahwehlap, appeared on a pile of sand, Pingelap. The spirit went to Kosrae and married a Kosraean Royal Spirit and then they returned to Pingelap to stay and reproduce. Their offspring are the ancestors of the Pingelapese people.

Another story, which is more widely known than the previous one, explains that the Pingelapese are descendants of the Yapese (Hurd 1977). In this version, the origin of Pingelap begins with two brothers from Yap discovering a pile of sand, Pingelap, where they encountered two women. ${ }^{2}$ Later, one of the brothers traveled to Kosrae and started the long association with the island in the legendary history. Morton et al. (1973:322) consider that this reference to Yap is not necessarily a reference to the island known by that name today, but rather a reference to the habitat of the gods known throughout much of Micronesian mythology. This theory is supported by the fact that little similarity exists between Yap and Pingelap, culturally and socially. Also, linguistically, there is little similarity between the languages.

[^1]Although there are surprisingly fewer mentions of Pohnpei than of Yap or Kosrae in Pingelapese oral history, the close linguistic relationship between Pingelap and Pohnpei is a confirmed fact. While Mokil is Pingelap's nearest neighbor, Rehg (pers. comm.) claims that the Pingelapese people are from Pohnpei rather than from Mokil, based on his finding that Pingelapese share more vocabulary terms with Pohnpeian than with Mokilese. He suggests a scenario where the Mokilese first broke off from Pohnpei and colonized Mokil atoll. When the Pingelapese broke off from Pohnpei later, the nearer Mokil atoll was already occupied and so they colonized the Pingelap atoll.

Several versions of oral histories agree that the Kosraean dynasty ruled Pingelap after the fourth Pingelapese paramount chief died and the royal line ended due to a devastating typhoon that struck Pingelap, reducing the population to $30 .^{3}$ Thus, the fifth paramount chief of Pingelap, Mwungesamarou, was a Kosraean. ${ }^{4}$

One version of the story states that the Kosraean dynasty continued from the fifth through the sixteenth chief. Another version divides the same era into two series of dynasties, one from Kosrae (the fifth through the twelfth) and one from Kiribati (the thirteenth through the sixteenth). ${ }^{5}$ Yet another version states that the fifth and the sixth rulers are Kosraean, from the seventh the reign reverted to the Pingelapese, and then the thirteenth through the sixteenth rulers were Kiribatese.

The involvement of the Kosraean dynasty in the chiefdom left an evident mark in the Pingelapese title system. The term to refer to a Pingelapese paramount chief is currently doahkesa, which comes from the Kosraean term tohkohsrah 'paramount chief'

[^2](Lee 1976:142). ${ }^{6}$ It is said that the Pingelapese paramount chief used to be called nahmwarki, which is codnate to Pohnpei nahnmwarki. However, after the Kosraean ruler took the paramount chiefdom, the name for the position was replaced with doahkesa and this name is still used even though the title has now returned to the Pingelapese. ${ }^{7}$

Morton notes that "genealogies suggest that Pingelap has been occupied for at least 25 generations, and perhaps longer than 1,000 years. This would give sufficient time for a succession of typhoons, famines, and immigration" (Morton et al. 1971:360). It seems clear that whenever the most recent resettlement occurred, it must have emanated from Pohnpei, for influences from that direction clearly predominate in Pingelapese language and culture.

Repeatedly, powerful typhoons have struck Pingelap atoll. The one in 1775, Lengkieki, is recorded as truly devastating. When Lengkieki struck Pingelap atoll, it destroyed the land resources and caused famine. This catastrophic event killed 90 percent of the population, leaving about 30 survivors on Pingelap (Morton et al. 1971). This led to intensive inbreeding among closely related survivors, causing subsequent genetic disorders. Today, between 5 to 10 percent of the Pingelapese have achromatopsia: extreme light sensitivity, poor vision, and complete inability to distinguish colors. The book The Island of the Colorblind (1997) by Oliver Sacks and the PBS documentary film of the same name discuss this fact.

### 1.2.5.2. Linguistic influence of colonial powers

There has been a succession of colonial powers over the Pingelapese. Before European contact, Pingelap was ruled by Kosraeans and possibly Kiribatese according to Pingelapese oral history. Before the Spanish American War, Spain ruled the region (1886-1899) but Pohnpei still had enough power to influence the Pingelapese. Before World War I, Germany ruled the region (1899-1914). And after World War I, it was the Japanese (1914-1945). After World War II, the U.S. influence became significant (from 1945 on). And, throughout, the Pohnpeians have been dominant over the Pingelapese.

[^3]All of these colonial powers came with their own languages (Spanish, German, Japanese, and English) and left influences in the vernacular languages in Micronesia.

For example, mahlen 'draw' in Pohnpeic languages is from German malen 'picture/paint'; sidohsa 'car' in many Micronesian languages is from Japanese jidousha 'car'; and pwuhs 'push' in Pohnpeic languages is from English. Along with intrusions from these international invaders' languages and cultures, influences from Micronesian neighbors such as Pohnpeian and Kosraean have also been significant in Pingelapese. As mentioned above, the Pingelapese people broke off from the Pohnpeian people and the Pingelapese language shows similarities with the Pohnpeian language. Furthermore, the continuous political dominance of Pohnpeians in the region has sustained the dominance of the Pohnpeian language, and consequently has introduced the Pohnpeian language into Pingelapese. The major source of Kosraean influence is from the period of the Kosraean dynasty on Pingelap and the continuing intermarriage between the people of these two islands.

### 1.2.6. Language policy

The domains of different languages depend on the communities. In general, all Pingelapese people by the age of 10 speak Pingelapese, their mother tongue, and Pohnpeian, their second language, because Pohnpeian is used as a means of teaching in school. However, those on Pingelap atoll have limited control of the Pohnpeian language due to less contact with Pohnpeian. An interpreter is often employed when a Pohnpeian official gives a talk on Pingelap. Pingelapese people with a high school education also speak English as their third language. ${ }^{8}$ Eighteen indigenous languages are spoken in the FSM and five in Pohnpei state alone. The national language of the FSM is English, and the official language of Pohnpei state is Pohnpeian. In schools and public life, the use of Pohnpeian and English is required. This is true even on Pingelap atoll. A Pingelapese native speaker (whom I interviewed, and who wished to remain anonymous) reported that he kept failing the examination on English words in Pingelap elementary school because

[^4]he could not pronounce the [f] sound in 'flower', which is not part of the Pingelapese phoneme inventory. Although the FSM government is not actively suppressing local minority languages, it is doing very little to promote them.

### 1.2.7. Language shift

While the degree of language shift differs depending on the community, each of the communities has experienced language change or language shift. This shift has been occurring in the vocabulary, the phonology, and in the syntax. The changes in vocabulary are easiest to detect. A considerable replacement of native words with nonnative words has occurred. For example, younger people use iou to mean 'tasty', whereas elders claim that iou is a Pohnpeian word and that the Pingelapese word for 'tasty' is $e u$. Young people use loau 'to be cool (when touching something)', whereas elders claim that younger people are using a Pohnpeian word and that the Pingelapese word is leu. In the sound system, foreign phonemes are now being adopted in some borrowed words, such as people's names. Most young people's names are English names such as Karen. The English /I/ was introduced into the Pingelapese language in people's names (e.g., Karen, Daryl, Xavier). Also, native phoneme distinctions are ignored in some lexemes in the speech of Pingelapese youth. Mr Ilander Charley, who was the Pingelap elementary school principal at the beginning of my field work, analyzed this as the outcome of Pohnpeian spelling. This is evident when Pingelapese who grew up outside of Pingelap atoll try to chant liwemoimoi-the traditional chant composed of place names on Pingelap atoll. They try to pronounce place names that they are not familiar with from the text written in the borrowed Pohnpeian alphabet. This writing system underspecifies an important Pingelapese phoneme contrast (/ع/ and /e/), and understandably, these Pingelapese speakers miss the phoneme contrast when they sing the chant, disappointing the elders. The Pingelapese people are multilingual and have a general tendency to switch to the Pohnpeian language in the presence of a Pohnpeian speaker and to English in the presence of an English speaker. Pohnpeian and English speakers do not have this attitude and do not have the ability to do that because they do not know the Pingelapese language, except for the few who were raised in Sokehs
municipality. Often, Pohnpeian speakers consider Pingelapese a dialect of Pohnpeian because the Pingelapese people understand Pohnpeian people speaking and respond in Pohnpeian. However, if a Pingelapese speaker employs Pingelapese when speaking to a Pohnpeian, the Pohnpeian will not fully understand. More details will be discussed in the following chapter.

### 1.2.8. Communities

Although the homeland of the Pingelapese people is Pingelap atoll, the majority of Pingelapese reside outside of the atoll today. The biggest community of Pingelapese is now Mwalok, on Sokehs island of Pohnpei, and the second largest community is Mand, in the inland area of Pohnpei (see map 1.4). Others live in several places in the U.S. The estimated population in each location (as reported by Pingelapese people) is summarized in table 1.2.

Table 1.2. Estimated distribution of Pingelapese population

|  | Population |
| :---: | :---: |
| Pingelap atoll | 200 |
| Mwalok, Pohnpei | 800 |
| Mand, Pohnpei | 600 |
| Guam | 100 |
| Hawai‘i | 100 |
| Other places in the U.S. | 400 |

Map 1.4. Locations of Pingelapese colonies on Pohnpei (FSM Visitors Board 2012)


In the following subsections, I will describe the characteristics of each community.

### 1.2.8.1. Pingelap atoll

The Pingelap people consider Pingelap atoll to be their homeland is considered to be the home of the Pingelapese people, and most of its few hundred residents are still Pingelapese. The non-Pingelapese on the atoll are those who married Pingelapese, often from neighboring Mokil and Kosrae. While the Pingelapese language is employed in everyday life, Pohnpeian and English are used in education and administration. All the materials provided by the Pohnpei State Department of Education are written in either Pohnpeian or English.

Fifty years ago, according to some Pingelapese elders whom I interviewed during the fieldwork, there was an effort to teach the Pingelapese how to write in the Pingelapese language at the Pingelap atoll elementary school. The efforts seem to have been suspended for at least a few decades. However, after Mr Ilander Charley became the principal of Pingelap atoll elementary school, he and other teachers started to teach first graders how to read and write in Pingelapese using the alphabet system that he learned when he was a child (this alphabet contains one vowel symbol more than the Pohnpeian alphabet). He teaches his students how to read and write in Pohnpeian only after they learn the Pingelapese alphabet. English is introduced by the second grade. The graduation examination at the end of elementary school and the entrance examination for high school are both in English. In the year 2005, only one student out of a hundred Pingelapese twelfth graders of the three communities passed the graduation examination. The student was born and grew up on the island of Hawai'i, moved to Guam when she was a second grader, then moved to Pingelap atoll a year before the exam. Thus, she was atypical as a Pingelapese student. Mr Charley reported me that the lack of a suitable orthography and literacy materials are negatively influencing Pingelapese children's learning and the Pingelapese language itself. He observed that the younger generations, especially those in the Pingelapese colonies on Pohnpei, are substituting one phoneme for another $(/ \varepsilon />/ \mathrm{e} /$ ) in a limited set of words, employing borrowings from Pohnpeian and English to replace native words (lipahrhro 'butterfly' > petapelai), and having a hard
time learning the Pohnpeian alphabet, which underspecifies crucial Pingelapese phoneme contrasts. ${ }^{9}$ There is no high school on Pingelap atoll, and those who want to seek higher education must move to Pohnpei.

Most residents on the atoll rely on a subsistence economy, based primarily on fishing and secondarily on agriculture. Some work as teachers or run small stores. There is no electricity service and residents depend on solar power and generators. Water is generally collected from rainwater and each household has its own water tank. One household claims that they have a well, with water of drinkable quality. Many households now have a TV and VCR (using electricity from solar power and generators, and despite the fact that there are no radio or TV signals). They are fond of Hollywood movies. During my first fieldwork trip on Pohnpei in 2005, the airstrip on Pingelap had been damaged and had not been used for years. Although it was repaired by the end of 2006, most of the Pingelapese people cannot afford the airfare. A ferry that people call a field trip ship in the region runs roughly three to four times a year. It is the most used transportation to Pohnpei. It takes one day from Pingelap to Mokil and then one more day from Mokil to Pohnpei, and it is rarely on schedule. The U.S. Peace Corps withdrew from Pingelap following the destruction of the airstrip. Most traditional leaders (chiefs and title holders) and very elderly people, including the paramount chief, are not on Pingelap but on Pohnpei. This emigration trend has turned Pingelap into a depopulated atoll. A considerable number of houses and portions of taro patches are now abandoned. Today, families are separated among the communities. Currently, about 200 people reside on Pingelap, which is significantly lower than the capacity of the atoll.

### 1.2.8.2. Mwalok

The Pingelapese residence in Mwalok, Sokehs municipality on Pohnpei has a century-long history. Migration to Mwalok in 1911-1912 is attributed to the damage on Pingelap from a devastating typhoon in 1905 and the availability of space on Sokehs Island after the Germans killed or exiled the native Pohnpeians who engaged in the Sokehs Rebellion against German occupation in 1910. Also, recruitment by the German

[^5]administration and overcrowding on the atoll itself led approximately 200 Pingelapese people to move into this new colony around this period. Mokilese and Mortlockese also formed new colonies in the same region. Because the Pingelapese settlement in Mwalok was certified by the German government, and not by Pohnpeian chiefs, the Pingelapese people were not and still are not forced to accept Pohnpeian customs. Pingelapese in Mwalok can keep Pingelapese practices. ${ }^{10}$

People from Mokil atoll formed their community at Dampei, just next to Mwalok, at the same time as the Pingelapese immigration. There has been intensive intermarriage between Pingelapese and Mokilese, both before and after the formation of their colony in Sokehs island. Due to the linguistic genetic relationship and the intensive daily contact, Mokilese and Pingelapese are almost mutually interchangeable; it is open to debate whether they are separate languages or dialects of a single language. Mwalok and Dampei share a head start program and an elementary school so that Pingelapese children acquire the Mokilese language, games, and culture, from their Mokilese relatives and friends. Often they do not know whether the game that they are playing is of Pingelapese or Mokilese origin. There is not a single Pingelapese who does not have any Mokilese relatives, and vice versa. It is impossible to find a monolingual Pingelapese speaker and a monolingual Mokilese speaker to act as research participants for a mutual intelligibility experiment.

Pingelapese people use the Pingelapese language on an everyday basis but Pohnpeian and English influences are strong. At the Mwalok elementary school, Pohnpeian and English are used, and students learn how to write in Pohnpeian and English but not in Pingelapese. All Pingelapese are Christian, and church activity is central to the community. Some people have a negative attitude toward Pingelapese traditional religious customs, saying that they are still in darkness. More and more Pingelapese are moving to Mwalok from Pingelap atoll and building houses in this small place. The region is now so crowded that in Micronesia it is commonly called a ghetto.

[^6]Because there is not enough space for farming, many Pingelapese turn to the cash economy, working in stores in Kolonia (the state capital, a 30-minute drive from Mwalok) or in the government, which are all Pohnpeian language environments.

### 1.2.8.3. Mand

Mand is the second biggest community of Pingelapese people, and while it is similar to Mwalok in being a colony of Pingelapese, it is different in its history and status. Pingelapese people immigrated into Mand, part of Madolenihmw municipality, in 1954 with permission from the Pohnpeian high chief of Madolenihm and the U.S.
administration's homesteading program following the death of many breadfruit trees on Pingelap atoll. Madolenihm is one of the municipalities on the island of Pohnpei. It includes Nan Madol, the ancient Pohnpeian city that used to be the political and religious center of Pohnpei. Although there is a high chief in each municipality in Pohnpei, the high chief on Madolenihm is considered to be above all other high chiefs. As Mand is part of the municipality governed by the Pohnpeian highest chief, Pingelapese in Mand have to adapt to Pohnpeian customs. For example, Pingelapese have to conduct funerals in the Pohnpeian way, not the Pingelapese way, serving kava although Pingelapese do not drink kava.

Mand is a rather bigger place than Mwalok, and small scale farming is very common. This place is also crowded and has the look of a village. (Pohnpeian people do not form villages but are scattered over the island.) There is a branch elementary school in Mand for lower grades. ${ }^{11}$ The higher grades go to the elementary school outside of Mand. There is a high school in walking distance from Mand but very few Pingelapese students attend high school.

[^7]
### 1.2.8.4. Communities in the United States

Although the communities in the United States and its territories are fluid due to job availability, Guam and Hawai'i form a gateway from Micronesia to the U.S., and each hosts a stable Pingelapese population. The common migration pattern is as below.

## (1) Common migration pattern

Pingelap atoll $\rightarrow$ Mwalok, Pohnpei $\rightarrow$ Guam $\rightarrow$ Hawai $‘ i \rightarrow$ mainland U.S.A.

Pingelapese from Pingelap tend to target the U.S. due to the crowded conditions of the Pingelapese community in Pohnpei and the difficulty of finding employment as a newcomer to Pohnpei.

A significant number of homeless Micronesians is reported in Hawai‘i. However, it is very rare for Pingelapese people to be homeless in Hawai‘i. Some Pohnpeian people in Hawai'i who wished to remain anonymous reported me that the migration from Pohnpei state to Hawai‘i started later than the migrations from Marshall Islands and Chuuk state. The news of the challenging life in the U.S. from Chuukese and Marshallese emigrants prepared later emigrants from Pohnpei state, including Pingelapese, for a better "landing," with a better understanding of the U.S. lifestyle. The largest Pingelapese community in Hawai‘i is located in Wahiawā on the island of O‘ahu. Others live in Honolulu and elsewhere.

Although first generation immigrants speak Pingelapese, members of the second generation often have a limited and passive knowledge of Pingelapese. They tend to respond in English when they are being talked to in Pingelapese. Commonly, they use English with other Pingelapese children, too.

The motivation for the move from Hawai‘ $i$ to the mainland U.S. is the pressure of Hawai‘i's high cost of living and low wages and the better job prospects on the mainland (Graham 2008).

### 1.2.9. State of language documentation

Not much work has been done on the Pingelapese language. A brief sketch grammar by Good and Welley (1989) and a study of the causative construction of the
language by Wong (1990) are the only records of this language. The grammar of Good and Welley will be surveyed in the following chapter. Today, Pingelapese remains one of the least documented languages in Micronesia, lacking a dictionary, grammar book, standard orthography, and a translation of the Bible.

### 1.3. Choice of community

I have worked with four types of Pingelapese speakers. Those at the University of Hawai‘i helped with my first analysis of the language. These people were highly literate in English and generally fairly conscious of linguistic concepts. Mwalok was my first field site (in 2005) in Pohnpei, and I observed dialectal varieties in the population there. During my fieldwork in Mwalok, I had the chance to work with Pingelapese who were born and raised on Pingelap and only temporarily visiting Mwalok. After meeting various Pingelapese people, I decided to work on the variety spoken on Pingelap atoll for several reasons. First, the population on Pingelap atoll is the least influenced by Pohnpeian. Second, the population on Pingelap atoll is the least influenced by English. Third, the population on Pingelap atoll is less influenced by Mokilese than those in Mwalok. Fourth, the population on Pingelap atoll uses Pingelapese most of the time and in most domains. Fifth, the population on Pingelap atoll is most interested in sustaining their language and culture. Sixth, the literacy materials to be produced as a by-product of my dissertation work will be most likely to be used efficiently in the Pingelap atoll elementary school.

> My fieldwork on the Pingelapese language is summarized below.

## Aug 2002-May 2005

## Hawai'i

Conducted linguistic fieldwork among Pingelapese speakers on the island of O‘ahu. Collected and archived audio recordings of the Pingelapese language. Developed sketch grammar of Pingelapese.

## Jun-Aug 2005

## Federated States of Micronesia

Conducted linguistic fieldwork among Pingelapese speakers on the island of Pohnpei (Mwalok and Kolonia). Collected and archived numerous audio and video recordings of the Pingelapese language. Developed sketch grammar of Pingelapese.

Nov 2006-Apr 2007
Federated States of Micronesia
Conducted linguistic fieldwork among Pingelapese speakers on Pingelap atoll and the island of Pohnpei. Collected and archived numerous audio and video recordings of the Pingelapese language. Collected data for Pingelapese dictionary.

## Jul-Dec 2007

## Federated States of Micronesia

Conducted linguistic fieldwork among Pingelapese speakers on Pingelap atoll and the island of Pohnpei (Mwalok and Mand). Collected and archived numerous audio and video recordings of the Pingelapese language. Collected data for Pingelapese dictionary.

## Jan 2007-Dec 2011

## Hawai'i

Conducting linguistic fieldwork among Pingelapese speakers on the island of $\mathrm{O}^{\prime} \mathrm{ahu}$. Collected and archived numerous audio and video recordings of the Pingelapese language. Developing Pingelapese dictionary and descriptive grammar of the Pigelapese language.

## CHAPTER 2. BASIC LINGUISTIC FACTS ABOUT PINGELAPESE

This chapter presents a minimal sketch grammar of Pingelapese. It provides the grammatical facts that are relevant to the discussions in subsequent chapters. Note that phonological rules relevant to this dissertation are discussed separately in the following chapter. All data presented in this dissertation is, unless otherwise noted, data that I collected during my fieldwork

### 2.1. The phoneme inventory

### 2.1.1. Consonants

There are ten consonants and two glides in Pingelapese. The chart below contains the phoneme inventory of consonants and glides in IPA notation, arranged by place and manner of articulation. The superscript ${ }^{\mathrm{y}}$ indicates a velarized sound and ${ }^{\mathrm{w}}$ indicates a labialized sound produced with lip rounding.

Table 2.1. Consonants and glides

| Manner of articulation |  | Place of articulation |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Bilabial | Dental | Alveolar | Palatal | Velar |  |
| Stops | plain | p | t |  |  | k |
|  |  <br> labialized | $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{wy}}$ |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | s |  |  |  |
| Nasals | plain | m | n |  |  | y |
|  |  <br> labialized | $\mathrm{m}^{\mathrm{wy}}$ |  |  |  |  |
| Liquids |  | l | r |  |  |  |
| Glides | w |  |  | y |  |  |

Minimal pairs demonstrating the phoneme contrasts are provided below.
/p/ vs. /p $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{wy}}$ /par/ 'sprouting coconut' vs. /p $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{wy}}$ ar/ 'to appear'
$/ \mathrm{m} / \mathrm{vs} . / \mathrm{m}^{\mathrm{wy}} / \quad / \mathrm{m} \varepsilon \mathrm{s}^{2} /$ 'face' vs. $/ \mathrm{m}^{\mathrm{wy}} \varepsilon \mathrm{ES} /$ 'garden'
/n/ vs. /y/
/ni/ 'coconut tree' vs. /ni/ 'teeth'
/l/ vs. /r/
/loy/ 'fly (insect)' vs. /roy/ 'to listen'

### 2.1.2. Vowels

Previously, Good and Welley (1989) had reported that Pingelapese has seven vowel phonemes (see table 2.2).

Table 2.2. Pingelapese vowel phonemes from Good and Welley (1989)

|  | Front | Central | Back |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| High | /i/ |  | $/ \mathrm{u} /$ |
| Higher Mid | $/ \mathrm{e} /$ |  | $/ \mathrm{o} /$ |
| Lower Mid | $/ \varepsilon /$ |  | $/ \mathrm{o} /$ |
| Low |  | $/ \mathrm{a} / \mathrm{l}$ |  |

However, I discovered that Pingelapese has in fact eight vowel phonemes (see table 2.3). This is also the first discovery of an eight-vowel system in any Pohnpeic language.

Table 2.3. Pingelapese vowel phonemes from author's field work (2002-2011)

|  | Front | Central | Back |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| High | /i/ |  | $/ \mathrm{u} /$ |
| Higher Mid | $/ \mathrm{e} /$ |  | $/ \mathrm{o} /$ |
| Lower Mid | $/ \varepsilon /$ |  | $/ \mathrm{s} /$ |
| Low |  | $/ \mathrm{a} /$ | $/ \mathrm{p} /$ |

If we consider that the vowel /a/ belongs in front position, not central position, the vowel system can be captured by four heights and two degrees of advancement, [-back] and [+back], as in table 2.4 below. The Pingelapese vowel system with [-round] [-back] vowels in four heights and [+round] [+back] vowels in four heights is more symmetrical than the vowel systems of other Pohnpeic languages.

Table 2.4. Pingelapese vowel phonemes in two advancements

|  | Front | Back |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| High | $/ \mathrm{i} /$ | $/ \mathrm{u} /$ |
| Higher Mid | $/ \mathrm{e} /$ | $/ \mathrm{o} /$ |
| Lower Mid | $/ \varepsilon /$ | $/ \mathrm{s} /$ |
| Low | $/ \mathrm{a} /$ | $/ \mathrm{p} /$ |

Below are the minimal pairs exemplifying some phoneme contrasts.
/i/ vs. /e/ /sik/ 'to be crowded' vs. /sek/ 'butt'
/e/ vs. /e/ /sek/ 'butt' vs. /sek/ 'too, also'
/u/ vs. /o/ /suk/ 'to pound' vs. /sok/ 'to be short'
/o/vs. /o/ /tok/ 'food pounder, back' vs. /tok/ 'to point at'
/o/vs. /a/ /pok/ 'to look for lice' vs. /pak/ 'fat nose, or flattened thing'

Minimal sets demonstrate that the phoneme / $\mathrm{b} /$ is distinct from other vowels, as shown in (1) through (5). Additional words with the phoneme / $\mathrm{p} /$ are shown in (6).
(1) Minimal set for $/ \mathrm{u} /$, $/ \mathrm{o} / \mathrm{l} / \mathrm{o} / \mathrm{l} / \mathrm{p} /$
(a) /puk/ 'book'
(b) /pok/ 'to resemble someone'
(c) $/ \mathrm{pok} /$ 'to look for lice'
(d) $/ \mathrm{pdk} /$ 'to hit'
(2) Minimal set for $/ \mathrm{o} /, / \mathrm{o} /, / \mathrm{p} /$
(a) /tok/ 'food pounder, back'
(b) /tok/ 'to point at'
(c) /twk/ 'turtle shell'
(3) Minimal set for $/ \mathrm{a} / \mathrm{l} / \mathrm{o}, \mathrm{d} /$
(a) /ras/ 'two or more people tie for first place'
(b) /ros/ 'whale'
(c) $/ \mathrm{rds} /$ 'to be dark'
(4) Minimal set for $/ \mathrm{u} /$, /o/, /p/
(a) /suk/ 'to pound'
(b) /sok/ 'to be short'
(c) $/ \mathrm{spk} /$ 'to fly'
(5) Minimal pair for $/ \mathrm{o} /$, $/ \mathrm{p} /$
(a)/roy/ 'to listen'
(b) /rmy/ 'to be overcooked'
(6) More words with / $\mathrm{p} /$
(a) /spka/ 'to mix'
(b) /aroy/ 'fish name'
(c) /lisarop/ 'hat'
(d) /i:sp:r/ 'egg'
(e) /rd:rd/ 'beard'
(f) $/ \mathrm{kpk} /$ 'to block water from coming in a canoe'
(g) /mpk/ 'fish name'
(h) /nok/ 'coconut fiber'
(i) $/ \mathrm{kpp}^{\mathrm{wy}} /$ 'to cough'

I made the initial discovery of this phoneme with Ms. Billie-Jean Manuel, a Pingelapese speaker from Mwalok in her twenties. I then confirmed the existence of this vowel with younger speakers and elderly speakers in Mwalok and Pingelap atoll, including Mr.

Weldis Welley, who is the co-author of Good and Welley (1989) and the father of Ms. Manuel. As one of the confirmation strategies, I prepared small cards that had an English translation of some Pingelapese words on them. These words contained the minimal sets for the target vowel [p], such as (1) through (5). Then, I put the cards in front of the Pingelapese speakers in a random order and played the audio file of the Pingelapese words randomly. The speakers were asked to pick the card that matched the Pingelapese word they had just heard. All of the 10 Pingelapese participants picked the right card, that is, they correctly identified the vowels.

Proto-Pohnpeic /o/ was lowered to / / / in Pingelapese in some words, as shown in table 2.5 below.

Table 2.5. Proto-Pohnpeic /o/ to Pingelapese /o/

|  | Pingelapese | Pohnpeian | Mokilese |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 'to listen' | roy | ron | ron |
| 'to be cold' | lou | lou | lou |
| 'mother' | no:no | no:no | no:no |

In fewer instances, Proto-Pohnpeic /o/ was lowered to / / / in Pingelapese, as shown in table 2.6 below.

Table 2.6. Proto-Pohnpeic /o/ to Pingelapese / $\mathrm{D} /$

|  | Pingelapese | Pohnpeian | Mokilese |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 'to shoot' | dpk | dok | dok |
| 'to fly, to land' | spk | sok | jok |
| 'to hit' | ppk | pok | pok |
| 'a fish species' | arpy | oron | oron |
| 'to be dark' | rds | rot | ros |
| 'hat' | lisarpp | lisorop | ------ |

Further investigation is required for this clockwise shift in Pingelapese non-high vowels.
Among Pohnpeic languages, only Pingelapese possesses a phonological process called low vowel dissimilation, which raises the first of two low vowels /a/ in successive
syllables. This phonological process was first demonstrated for Marshallese by Bender (1969) and attested in a number of Micronesian languages such as Woleaian (Sohn 1971) and Satawalese (Roddy 2007). Outside of Micronesia, it is reported in Ere, a language of the Admiralty Islands (Blust 1996), Southern Paamese in East Vanuatu (Crowley 1992), and the Southern Vanuatu subgroup (Lynch 1996). Blust (1996) reported that, in all of these languages, word final vowel deletion preceded low vowel dissimilation and dissimilation applied iteratively from the right. Pingelapese low vowel dissimilation raises the first of the two low vowels to a mid vowel $/ \varepsilon /$ as show in table 2.7 .

Table 2.7. Low vowel dissimilation in Pingelapese

|  | Pingelapese | Pohnpeian | Mokilese |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 'moon' | meram | maram | maram |
| 'frequently' | kelap | kalap | kalap |
| 'ocean’ | medau | madau | madau |
| 'to teach' | pedahk | padahk | padahk |
| 'stone' | sckai | takai | sakai |
| 'to be slow' | malemal | malamal | malmal |
| 'magic' | maneman | manaman | manman |
| 'to do something for the first time' | pasckap ${ }^{\text {wy }}$ | pasakap ${ }^{\text {wy }}$ | ------- |
| 'person' | cremas | aramas | aramaj |
| 'generosity | kelahyen | kalahyan | kalahyan |

### 2.2. Orthography

### 2.2.1. Writing practices in Pingelapese

Pingelapese is used more actively on the Pingelap atoll, but Pohnpeian and English are still dominant in education and administrative communication with those outside Pingelap. Whether on the atoll or in other communities in Pohnpei, Pingelapese people speak Pingelapese at home, employ Pingelapese, Pohnpeian, and English at church, and use English and Pohnpeian in education, administration, and business settings. As this distribution of language usage suggests, while Pingelapese people practice the writing and reading of English and Pohnpeian, they do not have the opportunity to read and write in their language. Thus, Pingelapese is basically a spoken
language rather than a written language. While Pingelapese people are literate in English and Pohnpeian, their reading and writing proficiency is low in Pingelapese.

### 2.2.2. Literacy challenge

Mr. Ilander Charley, the principal of the Pingelap atoll elementary school, reported that Pingelapese children have great difficulty learning how to write both Pingelapese and Pohnpeian. Since the only literacy materials available to Pingelapese children are either in Pohnpeian or in English, first graders start studying alphabets and readings that are not in their native language.

The Department of Education produces materials for the Pohnpeian and English languages and distributes them to schools. For example, it produced a poster of a coconut tree and words to describe its parts (see figure 2.1). On the poster, there is an arrow pointing toward the coconuts with the word $u h p w$, which means 'a drinking coconut' in Pohnpeian. This poster causes difficulty for Pingelapese children, because on Pingelap atoll, no one calls drinking coconuts /u:pw/. They are called /pen/ in the Pingelapese language. Mr. Charley reported that Pingelapese first graders tried to correlate the letter ' $u$ ' to the sound $/ \mathrm{p}$ /, the letter ' $h$ ' to the sound $/ \mathrm{e} /$, and the letters ' pw ' to the sound $/ \mathrm{n} /$.


Figure 2.1. Reproduction of the poster used at the Pingelap Atoll Elementary School

Pingelapese people are reluctant and not confident in writing in Pingelapese.
They prefer to write in English or in Pohnpeian. This could be due to the lack of training in writing in Pingelapese and the lack of an alphabet suited to the language. Writing
must be taught, whereas spoken language is acquired automatically. Writing systems vary in complexity, but regardless of their level of sophistication, they must all be taught.

### 2.2.3. Orthography development

In the 1970s, many language communities in Micronesia formed orthography committee boards and selected their standard orthography. Unfortunately, since the Pingelapese community did not reach that point, they were left without an agreed-upon writing system (Welley 1989). For this reason, the atoll name has been spelled differently from its actual pronunciation in most documents, such as world maps and administrative records. The atoll name is actually pronounced /pinilap/. The phonemically accurate spelling for this island name is Pingilap. However, in this paper, I use Pingelap, the commonly accepted spelling for this atoll name.

Pingelapese people who are in their sixties reported that they learned a Pingelapese orthography (distinct from Pohnpeian orthography) at the Pingelap elementary school on the atoll about 50 years ago. I will call this orthography the early orthography. In Mwalok, this orthography is not actively used and not known to many people. One of my language consultants from Mwalok, in his twenties, reported that he saw the early orthography just once, on a New Year T-shirt made by Mr. Weldis Welley. Mr. Welley graduated from Pingelap atoll elementary school before he moved to Pohnpei for higher education, and he was considered to be the community's language consultant (he received the title Luhk from the paramount chief for this role).

When Pingelapese in Mwalok have occasion to write in Pingelapese, such as words of a song for singing practice, they usually employ the Pohnpeian orthography. On the other hand, the early orthography is still known to people on Pingelap, although they are not using it in everyday life. Pingelap atoll people stated that the Pingelapese history and legends need to be written in this orthography, whereas administrative matters, such as announcements on bulletin boards or municipal office documents, may be written in the Pohnpeian orthography. For example, the first version of the Pingelap constitution is written in the Pohnpeian orthography. (The second version is said to be written in the early orthography, but it is not printed yet (Welley, pers. comm., 2007).

Several teachers tried to revive the early orthography and teach it at the Pingelap atoll elementary school. But, due to personnel changes, the orthography has not been taught continuously.

This early orthography makes a phonemic distinction that is crucial for Pingelapese reading, whereas the borrowed Pohnpeian orthography does not. Two phoneme contrasts are ignored in borrowed Pohnpeian orthography. (7) and (8) below show that the alternation of $/ \mathrm{e} /$ and $/ \varepsilon /$ changes the meaning of the words in Pingelapese. However, in the Pohnpeian alphabet, these distinct words are written down the same way. (9) and (10) show that $/ \mathrm{J} / \mathrm{and} / \mathrm{p} /$ are distinct sounds, and the alternation of the two sounds changes the meaning of the words. (9) and (10) are different words but are also written down the same way with the Pohnpeian orthography.

| Sounds | Meaning | Spelling in <br> Pohnpeian Alphabet |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $(7) / \mathrm{seu} /$ | "sugar cane" | 'seu' |
| $(8) / \mathrm{seu} /$ | "sun" | 'seu' |
| $(9) / \mathrm{tok} /$ | "point at" | 'doak' |
| $(10) / \mathrm{tgk} /$ | "turtle shell" | 'doak' |

Pingelapese has eight vowels, whereas the Pohnpeian alphabet only contains six vowel symbols. That is, when the Pohnpeian alphabet is employed in Pingelapese writing, only six symbols are available to write eight vowels. With the Pohnpeian alphabet, the distinction between $/ \mathrm{e} /$ and $/ \varepsilon /$ is underspecified by the dual use of 'e' and that between $/ \mathrm{\rho} /$ and $/ \mathrm{p} /$ is underspecified by the dual use of 'oa.'

There are several principles in orthography development. The orthographic principle of "one symbol/one sound" (Gleason 1961) would suggest adding two more vowel letters for Pingelapese to resolve the mismatch between the number of available letters and distinctive sounds. However, there is a competing principle, that of "minimal departure from what existed previously" (the borrowed Pohnpeian alphabet in this case) drawn from many previous cases of orthographic revision (Rehg 2004).

Considering the trade-off between these two principles, I examined the significance of the ambiguity caused by the dual use of ' e ' and ' oa ' in written communication in Pingelapese. I have found that the dual use of ' $e$ ' causes intolerable ambiguity that contextual cues cannot help to resolve. As shown in (11) and (12), /e/ and $/ \varepsilon /$ contrast in function words. While John's going fishing was already realized in sentence (11) with /e/ in the auxiliary verb, John's going fishing is not yet realized but will be realized in the future in sentence (12) with $/ \varepsilon /$.

## Sounds

John HEV-INC go fish
(12) /s:on $\underline{\varepsilon n} \quad$ a:la laid/ "John will go fishing." 'Soahn en ahla laid.' John LEV-INC go fish

## Meaning

"John went fishing."

Spelling in Pohnpeian Alphabet 'Soahn en ahla laid.'

I propose that the two distinct sounds represented by 'e' in the alphabet borrowed from Pohnpeian must be represented with different letters. However, I suggest the continued use of 'oa' for two distinct vowels, whose distinction can safely be ignored in reading since the contrasts between $/ \mathrm{s} /$ and $/ \mathrm{p} /$ appear in lexical words such as nouns and verbs. The ambiguity caused by the dual use of 'oa' is tolerable, as it can be resolved through contextual cues.

Consequently, I propose that, for Pingelapese, one vowel letter 'ae' be added to aid in written communication. Although the difference represented in the two distinctive phonemes is crucial, the distinction is underspecified in writing using the Pohnpeian alphabet (dual use of 'e' for the two phonemes), and contextual cues does not help to resolve the ambiguity. Figure 2.2 summarizes the proposal.

[^8]Phoneme Symbol Phoneme distinction

| $/ \mathrm{e} /$ | 'e' |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $/ \varepsilon /$ | 'ae' | Specified |


| $/ \mathrm{s} /$ |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $/ \mathrm{p} /$ | 'oa', | Underspecified |

Figure 2.2. Two solutions for previous dual use of Pohnpeian alphabet symbols

Table 2.8 below summarizes the alphabet employed in this dissertation. This alphabet system is the early alphabet discussed above, which was used 50 years ago on Pingelap atoll and mysteriously fell into disuse. Some of the reasons might be that emigration out of Pingelap escalated, the Pingelapese population on Pohnpei far outnumbered that on Pingelap, and those on Pohnpei have been exposed to the Pohnpeian alphabet.

Table 2.8. Pingelapese alphabet

| Alphabet | Sounds |
| :---: | :---: |
| 'a' | /a/ |
| 'ae' | /ع/ |
| 'e' | /e/ |
| 'i' | /i/ or /y/ |
| 'o' | /o/ |
| 'oa' | $1 \mathrm{~d} /$ or / $\mathrm{p} /$ |
| 'u' | /u/ or /w/ |
| 'h' | /:/ signals vowel length |
| 'k' | /k/ |
| 'l' | /1/ |
| 'm' | /m/ |
| 'mw' | $/ \mathrm{m}^{\mathrm{wx}} /$ |
| 'n' | /n/ |
| 'ng' | /n/ |
| 'p' | /p/ |
| 'pw' | $/ \mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{w}} /$ |
| 'r' | /r/ |
| 's' | /s/ |
| 'd' | /t/ |
| 'w' | /w/ |

Here I list the motivations for using this alphabet in this dissertation.

1. This alphabet makes a crucial phoneme distinction with 'e' for $/ \mathrm{e} /$ and 'ae' for $/ \varepsilon /$.
2. This alphabet is a minimal departure from the Pohnpeian alphabet that most Pingelapese are familiar with. It does not introduce additional symbols for the other phonemic contrast that can be safely ignored in writing-thus, the continuous usage of 'oa' for $/ \mathrm{\rho} /$ and $/ \mathrm{p} /$ remains.
3. This alphabet is equal to what was used and taught at Pingelap atoll 50 years ago.
4. This alphabet is known to elders and the Pingelap atoll population.
5. The scope of this dissertation crucially involves the phonemic contrasts between /e/ and $/ \varepsilon /$.

### 2.3. Morphology

### 2.3.1. Verbal morphology

Pingelapese utilizes many verbal suffixes and a few verbal prefixes. In this section, I will briefly present these affixes.

Verbal suffixes and the order of suffixes are shown in tables 2.9 and 2.10.

Table 2.9. Verbal suffixes

| Suffix |  | Plus the Root |  | Yields |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| -i | 'transitive' | kuk | 'to cook (vi)' | kuk-i | 'to cook (vt)' |
| -ek | 'intransitive' | kik | 'to kick (vt)' | kik-ek | 'to be kicked' |
| -kin | 'with (instrument)' | ius | 'to use' | ius-kin | 'to use with' |
|  | 'at (the direction of the state)' | mwahu | 'to be good' | mwahu-kin | 'to be good at' |
| Directional suffix |  | Plus the Root |  | Yields |  |
| -da | 'up' | alu | 'to walk' | aluh-da | 'to walk up' |
| -di | 'down' | alu | 'to walk' | aluh-di | 'to walk down' |
| -doa | 'towards speaker' | ah | 'go' | ah-doa | 'to come' |
| -wei | 'towards listener' | keseu | 'to run' | keseu-wei | 'to run to the listener' |
| -eng | 'away from speaker and listener' | alu | 'to walk' | aluh-eng | 'to walk away' |
| -lahng | 'towards' | $a h$ | 'to go' | ah-lahng | 'to go toward' |
| -paesaeng | 'apart' | alu | 'to walk' | aluh- <br> paesaeng | 'to walk apart' |
| -la | 'away from' | wa | 'to carry' | wah-la | 'to carry away' |
| -paenae | 'together' | su | 'to meet' | suh-paenae | 'to meet together' |
| -sang | 'from' | keseu | 'to run' | keseu-sang | 'to run from' |

Table 2.10. Order of verbal suffixes

| 1st | 2nd | 3rd | 4th | 5th | 6th |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $-i$ | $-e k$ | $-k i n$ | $-d a$ | $-d o a$ | - sang |
|  |  |  | $-d i$ | $-l a$ | $-e n g$ |
|  |  |  | $-l a h n g$ | - -wei |  |
|  |  |  | intermediate |  |  |
|  |  |  | -paenae |  |  |
|  |  |  | -paesang |  |  |

When directional suffixes are employed with a non-motion verb, they exhibit figurative meanings as shown below.

-     - $d a$ as inchoative meaning: expressing the onset of a state
(13) Seprepein-maen Soulik kinih-di neh-n e saengae-da.
girl-NCL Soulik pinch-DIR leg-her HEV cry-DIR
'The girl that Soulik pinched on her leg began to cry.' (Good and Welley 1989:37)
- -da as completive meaning: an action or activity has been carried through to its logical conclusion
(14) $R$-ae kukih-da kaenae-i mwaengae. 3s.S-LEV cook-DIR food-my food 'They cooked my food.'
-     - di as completive meaning: an action or activity has been carried through to its logical conclusion
(15) Soahn e rising-di wae-n ihmw. John HEV close-DIR door-of house 'John closed the door of the house.'
- -la as perfect aspect: used to indicate that a new state has come about as a result of the change from some previous state
(16) Linda e mwoaroaruroaru-la.

Linda HEV fat-DIR
'Linda became fat.'

-     - $l a$ is used to indicate that the action is completed
(17) Sohn e kangae-la koanoa-mw.

John HEV eat-DIR food-your
'John completely ate your food.'

- -doa specifies that the action has continued up until a particular point in time
(18) Luhk $e$ woal manaeman sang in sep-in kaewa ahiah-doa. luhk HEV man magic from of start-of time come-DIR 'Luhk was a magic man from the beginning until now.'
- -sang is used as comparative
(19) Pingelap e mwahu-sang Pohnpei. Pingelap HEV good-DIR Pohnpei 'Pingelap is better than Pohnpei.'

A more detailed analysis of verbal suffixes is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Verbal prefixes are listed in table 2.11.

Table 2.11. Verbal prefixes

| Prefix |  | Plus the Root |  | Yields |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sa- | 'not' | pwung | 'to be correct' | sa-pwung | 'to be incorrect' |
| sou- | 'the opposite of' | mwahw | 'to be good' | sou-mwahu | 'to be ill' |
| $k a-$ | 'causative' | maehla | 'to die' | ka-maehla | 'to kill' |

### 2.3.2. Nominal morphology

The nominal construct suffix is $-n$ (e.g., woalae-n 'man of').
(20) kili-n woalae-maen
skin-of man-NCL
'the man's skin'

More on possessive construction is presented in Chapter 7.

### 2.3.3. Morpho-phonology

Pingelapese employs partial or total reduplication to express durative meaning.
Pingelapese also employs triplication, in which a verb or a part of a verb is repeated twice, to express a continuative meaning. Consider sentences (21) and (22). (21) presents the verb saeng 'to cry' without reduplication or triplication. This verb is reduplicated in (22), yielding the durative meaning, and triplicated in (23), yielding the continuative meaning.
(21) Pwohpwo ae saeng.
baby.girl LEV cry
'Baby girl cries.'
(22) Pwohpwo ae saengae-saeng.
baby.girl LEV cry-cry
'Baby girl is crying.'
(23) Pwohpwo ae saengae-saengae-saeng.
baby.girl LEV cry-cry-cry
'Baby girl is still crying.'

Triplication has been discussed only for a few languages, for example in the SinoTibetan languages Bantawa (Rai and Winter 1997), Tibetan (Uray 1954), Chintang (Rai et al. 2005), and the Austronesian language Thao (Blust 2001). Pingelapese and Mokilese are the only two languages that exhibit triplication in Micronesia.

### 2.4. Grammatical typology of Pingelapese

### 2.4.1. Accusative language

The majority of Oceanic languages, including Micronesian languages, are accusative languages (Lynch 1998:150). So is Pingelapese. Thus, the subject pronouns of transitive
and intransitive verbs are marked in the same way, but the object pronoun of a transitive verb is marked differently. Consider sentences (24) through (26).

## (24) $\underline{K-a e}$ saeng. <br> 2S.S-LEV cry <br> 'You cry.'

(25) $\underline{\text { K-ae }}$ kila lih-maen.

2S.S-LEV see woman-NCL
'You see the woman.'
(26) Lih-maen ae kila kaewae. woman-NCL LEV see 2 s .0
'The woman sees you.'

Sentences (24) and (25) are intransitive and transitive, respectively. Both have kae 'you' as subject. In sentence (26), the form of the object 'you' is kaewae, not kae.

When the subject and object nominal are expressed by a noun phrase, there is no morphological marking of case. See lihm-maen 'the woman', the subject of an intransitive verb in (27); lih-maen 'the woman', the object of a transitive verb in (25); and lih-maen 'the woman', the subject of a transitive verb in (26). The word ae, which follows the subjects of intransitive and transitive verbs in (26) and (27), is not a nominative case marker but an auxiliary verb as discussed in Chapter 4.

## (27) Lih-maen ae mwaengae. <br> woman-NCL LEV eat <br> 'The woman eats.'

### 2.4.2. No morpho-syntactic tense in Pingelapese

Pingelapese marks aspect morpho-syntactically, but not tense. Sentences (20) through (22) are not marked for tense. Adding a temporal phrase will mark the tense of the sentence. For example, if (20) through (22) have the temporal phrase aio 'yesterday', these sentences will be understood as past tense sentences.

### 2.4.3. Canonical word order

The word order seen in (20) through (22) is the Pingelapese canonical word order, Subject-Verb-Object. Non-canonical order will be discussed in Chapter 3. Pingelapese exhibits the word order pattern commonly attested in the languages that are called headinitial languages, right-branching languages, or head + complement languages. These languages position the verb before the object noun phrase. I will present such word order patterns with Pingelapese data below.

Consider sentence (28). Here the verb kila is positioned before the object noun phrase kas-aemaen.
(28) Lih-maen ae kila kas-aemaen.
woman-NCL LEV see cat-NCL
'The woman sees a cat.'

### 2.4.4. Prepositions

Pingelapese has prepositions, not postpositions, and a prepositional phrase follows the verb. In (29), the prepositional phrase nah ihmw-in saeraewi follows the verb kapakap.
(29) Linda ae kapakap nah ihmw-in saeraewi. Linda LEV pray in house-of service 'Linda prays in the church.'

### 2.4.5. Possessive construction

In a direct possessive construction, the possessed noun precedes the possessor noun. In (30), the possessed noun ik precedes the possessor noun kidih-maen.
(30) iki-n kidih-maen
tail-of dog-NCL
'a dog's tail'

In an indirect possessive construction, the possessive classifier precedes the possessor noun. The expression of the specific possessed object is optional. When it is expressed, it appears after the possessor noun. In (31), the possessed noun classifier
waerae 'vehicle' precedes the possessor noun Linda and the specific possessed object daksi-pas 'a taxi' follows.
(31) waerae-n Linda daksi-pas PCL-of Linda taxi-NCL
'Linda's taxi'

### 2.4.6. Subordinating conjunction

A subordinating conjunction is positioned before the clause that it introduces, as shown in (32) with pwa 'because'. Pingelapese constituent order is uniformly right branching.
(32) $\emptyset$-ae maehla pwa $\emptyset$-e-ne saewaeh mwaengaeh. 3s.S-LEV die because 3s.S-HEV-INC not eat 'He is dying because he hasn't eaten.'

### 2.4.7. Noun phrase structure

The noun phrase structure is as follows:

NOUN (Adjective) (Numeral) (Demonstrative)

This word order is exemplified in (33).
(33) kidi koaroahroah sili-maen mwoa
dog white three-NCL DEM
'those three big dogs'

This order within the noun phrase is an example of Universal 20, proposed by Greenberg (1966), as follows:

Universal 20. When any or all of the items (demonstrative, numeral, and descriptive adjectives) precede the noun, they are always found in that order. If they follow, the order is either the same or its exact opposite. (Greenberg 1966:87)

### 2.5. Pronouns

Pingelapese employs independent pronouns, preverbal subject pronouns, and noun-suffixed possessive pronouns, which are summarized in tables 2.12 through 2.14 below. Independent pronouns are used as a one-word answer, the head of a focus construction, or a direct object. Subject pronouns came from two sources, one from the proto-Micronesian subject agreement set and one from an independent pronoun set. In some person number categories, two forms from different origins (e.g., sae and kihs for first person dual and plural exclusive) are interchangeably used. These will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

Table 2.12. Pingelapese independent pronouns

|  |  | Singular | Dual | Plural |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1st person | Exclusive | ngaehi | kihs |  |
|  | Inclusive |  | kisa | kisahsi |
| 2nd person |  | kaewae <br> koamwi | koamwa | koamwahsi |
| 3rd person |  | ih | ira | irahsi |

Table 2.13. Pingelapese subject pronouns ( $\dagger$ marks those from Proto-Micronesian independent pronouns)

|  |  | Singular | Dual | Plural |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1st person | Exclusive | $\dagger n g a e i$ | sae, $\dagger k i h s$ |  |
|  | Inclusive |  | $\dagger k i s a$ | $\dagger k i s a h s i$ |
| 2nd person |  | $k a e$ | $\dagger k o a m w a$ | $\dagger k o a m w a h s i$ |
| 3rd person |  | $a e$ | rae, $\dagger \mathrm{i} r a$ | rae, $\dagger$ irahsi |

Table 2.14. Pingelapese possessive pronouns

|  |  | Singular | Dual | Plural |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $1^{\text {st }}$ person | Inclusive |  | $-s a$ | $-s a h s i$ |
|  | Exclusive | $-i$ | $-s$ | $-s$ |
| $2^{\text {nd }}$ person |  | $-m w$ | $-m w a$ | $-m w a h s i$ |
| $3^{\text {rd }}$ person |  | $-\emptyset,-n$ | $-r a$ | $-r a h s i$ |

### 2.6. Numeral classifiers

Pingelapese possesses at least five sets of numeral classifiers that combine a number and a noun that reflects some feature of the meaning of the object, such as its
shape and use. They are listed in table 2.15. The first four sets were reported in Good and Welley (1989) and also confirmed by my language consultants. The last set is newly reported by my language consultants.

Table 2.15. Numeral classifiers from one through nine

|  | Set 1 | Set 2 | Set 3 | Set 4 | Set 5 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: |
| $\mathbf{1}$ | aepas | aemaen | ekis | aepah | eu |
| $\mathbf{2}$ | riaepas | riaemaen | riakis | riapah | riau |
| $\mathbf{3}$ | silipas | silimaen | silikis | silipah | silu |
| $\mathbf{4}$ | pahpas | pahmaen | pahkis | pahpah | pahu |
| $\mathbf{5}$ | luhpas | luhmaen | limikis | luhpah | limau |
| $\mathbf{6}$ | woanaepas | woanaemaen | woanikis | waonaepah | wonou |
| $\mathbf{7}$ | isipas | isimaen | isikis | isiph | isu |
| $\mathbf{8}$ | waelaepas | waelaemaen | waelikis | waelaepah | waelu |
| $\mathbf{9}$ | duaepas | duaemaen | duakis | duaepah | duoau |

Set 1 is for long objects: e.g., tree, road, and canoe.
Set 2 is for animate things: e.g., people, fish, birds, and animals.
Set 3 is for small things or pieces/fragments of things: e.g., piece of pizza.
Set 4 is for number of occurrences: e.g., once, twice.
Set 5 is for other objects: e.g., balloon, skirt. This set is also used as default classifiers.
A numeral classifier can be analyzed as a composition of a numeral part and a classifier whose choice depends on the class of the head noun as shown in (34).
(34) sili-pas
three-NCL
'three long objects'

A numeral classifier follows its head noun as shown in (35).
(35) suhkae riae-pas
tree two-NCL
'two trees'

Table 2.16 shows numeral names greater than nine, which are the same forms for all objects. (36) and (37) are examples. Thus, only the form of unit 1 is sensitive to the class of the head noun. Pohnpeian has the same counting system.

Table 2.16. Ten-power counting

| 10 | eisaek (eisek) |
| ---: | :--- |
| 100 | epwiki (aepwuki) |
| 1,000 | kid |
| 10,000 | naen |
| 100,000 | lop |
| $1,000,000$ | rar |
| $10,000,000$ | dep |
| $100,000,000$ | sap |
| $1,000,000,000$ | lik |

(36) rie-isaek ae-pas
two-unit10 one -NCL
'twenty-one of long objects'
(37) sili-pwili pah-isaek riae-pas three-unit100 four-unit10 two-NCL 'three hundreds forty-two'

There is one further set of number names that does not occur with a classifier, as shown in table 2.17. This set is used for counting objects without specifying the object. The number names of this set are employed to yield the names of the days of the week from Monday through Friday, as shown in table 2.18.

Table 2.17. Number names

| 1 | aehd |
| :---: | :---: |
| 2 | ari |
| 3 | esil |
| 4 | aepoang |
| 5 | alim |
| 6 | awoahn |
| 7 | aeis |
| 8 | aewael |
| 9 | adu |
| 10 | eisik |

Table 2.18. Days of the week

| ni-aehd | Monday |
| :--- | :--- |
| ni-ari | Tuesday |
| ni-esil | Wednesday |
| ni-aepaeng | Thursday |
| ni-alim | Friday |

Possessive classifiers are discussed in detail in Chapter 7, when the possessive pronouns are presented.

### 2.7. Polite register

Pohnpeian is the only Micronesian language to possess highly developed honorific speech today (Rehg 1981:359). ${ }^{2}$ Pohnpeian employs royal language only with two of the highest chiefs and respect honorifics (high language) with all other superiors or with respected equals. They also employ humiliative language, used to lower oneself or others in the presence of superiors (Keating 1998:402). Pohnpeian honorifics are highly structured, reflecting the hierarchical society.

When people moved from Pohnpei and migrated to Pingelap, they must have had honorifics. However, they are mostly lost in today's Pingelapese, ${ }^{3}$ which employs mostly

[^9]commoner's language, with limited polite vocabulary. The population of Pingelap is small and the society is more egalitarian. There is no enforcement of honorific speech to mark a hierarchical social order in Pingelapese.

Nonetheless, my older language consultants reported that the polite vocabulary, loakaeiah wahu 'language of respect', is used to address high title holders and elders. Women should use it with their brothers, the elders say, and parents would use it to their young children (as young as babies) so that they would learn these expressions and use them with their parents.

In the following, I list the polite vocabulary, collected from the elders on Pingelap atoll and in Mwalok, Pohnpei.
A. Body parts

|  | Common word | Polite word |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 'face' | maesae | peidakemw |
| 'head' | moangae | walimwi |

Other polite expressions are simply created by adding the polite second person singular possessive suffix -mwi (e.g., aeawe 'mouth' > aewae-mwi 'your mouth [polite]').
B. Something from the body

|  | Common word | Polite word |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 'speech' | loakaeia | mwaekas |

C. Inanimate object

|  | Common word | Polite word |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 'drinking coconut' | nim pen | mwaesael pen |
| 'breakfast' | mwaengaeh inimaehsaeng | mwaesael in inimaehsaeng |
| 'drinking water' | nim pil | mwaesael pil |

killed by a party of European and Pohnpeian men. The current population is made up of the descendants of surviving women and children as well as immigrants. Honorifics are not part of the egalitarian society developed after the massacre.
D. Verb

|  | Common word | Polite word |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 'to laugh' | kauruhr | koamwoakoamw |
| 'to lie down' | waehdi | aengidi |
| 'to sleep' | maeir | rorong |
| 'to be happy, joyful' | paeraen | meniok |
| 'to speak' | loakaeia | mwaekas |
| 'to say' | pwa | pile |
| 'to wake up' | paehmaela | eseda |
| 'to get up' | pwohrda | eseda |
| 'to defecate' | paek | kainen |
| 'to wash one's face' | duhp maesaen aemaen | daepwaehla |
| 'to think' | laemae | maedaewe |
| 'to eat' | mwaengae | mwaesael |
| 'to bathe' | duhdu | daepwaedaepw |

### 2.8. Summary

In this chapter, a sketch grammar of the Pingelapese language was briefly presented. This provides the reader with a basic understanding of the language, which is required to follow the discussion in the subsequent chapters.

## CHAPTER 3. MAJOR SENTENCE TYPES

In this chapter, we will briefly look at the structure of major sentence types in Pingelapese: transitive sentences, intransitive sentences, existential sentences, and equational sentences.

### 3.1. Transitive sentences

Transitive verbs describe actions or states that are directed toward some specific person or object. These verbs involve at least two participants and the word order is fixed as Subject-Transitive Verb-Object. When the verb is active, the subject's semantic role is Agent and the object's semantic role is Patient (Payne 2006:105-107). When the verb is stative, the subject's semantic role is Experiencer and the object's semantic role is Theme. The order of basic sentence elements in transitive sentences is summarized in (1).
(1) Subject + Transitive Verb + Object

Agent active Patient
Experiencer stative Theme

An elicited example of an active transitive sentence is shown in (2), with the verb poakihdi 'hit'.
(2) Linda e poakihdi ngaehi.

Linda HEV hit 1s.O
'Linda hit me.'

An elicited example of a stative transitive sentence is shown in (3), with the verb aeasae 'to know'.
(3) Linda e aesae Adino. Linda HEV know Adino
'Linda knows Adino.'

The structure of the transitive sentence (3) can be diagrammed as in (4). The syntactic positioning of $e$ will be dealt with in chapter 4 .


Both an active transitive verb and a stative transitive verb can be observed in (5), which is extracted from a recorded story about a Japanese man who visited Pingelap to meet his father's old friends. This paragraph depicts an event in which a little Pingelapese boy saw a non-Pingelapese man for the first time in his life. The active transitive verb, pwilihdoa 'to join', is underlined and the stative transitive verb, kila 'to see', is marked by a square around it.
(5) Woal-maen $e$ pwilih-doa sep rahneu. Mwahnae-kapw maen $e$ man-NCL HEV join-DIR ship today man-young NCL HEV pwilih-doa sep dae ngaei kapwenaeh kila eh mwoamwaen woal mae, join-DIR ship and 1s.S first.time see well kind.of man DEM audih meh Pingelah-maen mae woal-maen.
not person.of Pingelap-NCL RM man-NCL
'The man came on the ship today. This young man came on the ship. And, for the first time, I saw this kind of man, a man who was not a Pingelapese man.'

### 3.2. Intransitive sentences

Intransitive verbs involve only one core grammatical relation-the subject. If the verb is active, the participant is the Actor (or Agent) who performs the action (Payne

2006:105-106). If the verb is stative, the subject is the person or object characterized or affected by the state or condition named by the verb. In this case, the semantic role for the subject is Theme or Experiencer. These are summarized in (6).
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { (6) } & \text { Subject } & + \\ \text { Agent/Actor } & \text { Intransitive Verb } \\ \text { Theme/Experiencer } & \text { active } \\ & \text { stative }\end{array}$

An elicited example of an active intransitive sentence is shown in (7), with the verb alu 'to walk'.
(7) Linda e alu.

Linda HEV walk
'Linda walks.'

The structure of sentence (7), an intransitive sentence, can be depicted as in (8).


Example (9) is an elicited example of a stative intransitive sentence, with the verb maehla 'to die'.
(9) Linda e maehla.

Linda HEV die
'Linda is dead.'

The recorded speech in (10) showcases examples of active intransitive verbs and stative intransitive verbs. It describes the family of the non-Pingelapese man mentioned earlier in (5). The active intransitive verb keseula 'to run' is underlined and the stative intransitive verbs, minaehla 'to live', mwahula 'to be good', and ahdoa 'to come' have a square around them.
(10) Woalae-maeh saemae ae pwoaudikihda lih Ngaesik-maen dae irahsi man-NCL father LEV marry woman-of Ngatik-NCL then 3P.S keseu-la minaeh-la Sepahn aeh dae mwahu-la mahwin-eu dae lih-maen run-DIR live-DIR Japan well then good-DIR war-NCL and woman-NCL ae nainkihda serih-pwi dae irah ahdoa Pohnpei. LEV conceive child-PL then 3D.S come Pohnpei
'The father married a woman from Ngatik (Sapwuafik) and they went away to Japan and lived there. Then, the war situation got better. The woman had children in Japan and later the family returned to Pohnpei.'

### 3.3. Intransitive word order and split intransitivity

The word order of intransitive sentences has been shown as Subject-Verb, which is the canonical order, until this point in this chapter. However, there are occasions when the opposite order, Verb-Subject, is used for intransitive sentences, as shown in (11). (11a) is a canonical intransitive sentence, where the subject noun phrase noamw dengkihkis 'your flashlight' precedes the intransitive verb lel 'to be beautiful'. In contrast, (11b) shows the reverse word order, where the subject noun phrase noamw dengkihkis 'your flashlight' follows the intransitive verb lel 'to be beautiful'. (No comparable alternative is found for transitive verbs.)
(11) a. Noa-mw denkih-kis e lel.

PCL-your flashlight-NCL HEV beautiful
'Your flashlight is beautiful/cool.'
b. E lel noa-mw denkih-kis.

HEV beautiful PCL-your flashlight-NCL
'Your flashlight is beautiful/cool.'

Thus, this intransitive verb, lel 'to be beautiful', allows the subject noun phrase to occur in either preverbal position or postverbal position. However, not all intransitive verbs allow the alternative word order Verb-Subject, as shown in (12). (12a) shows the canonical word order where the subject noun phrase Adino 'Adino' precedes the intransitive verb lusidi 'to jump'. However, switching the word order results in an ungrammatical sentence, as shown in (12b).

## (12) a. Adino e lusidi. <br> Adino HEV jump <br> 'Adino jumped.' <br> b.*E lusidi Adino. <br> HEV jump Adino

Unlike the intransitive verb lel 'to be beautiful', shown in (11), the alternative word order Verb-Subject is not allowed for lusidi 'to jump'. Thus, the postverbal subject position is available with a certain type of intransitive verbs, but not with others. This contrast is an example of "split intransitivity": a system where the subjects of intransitive verbs are treated in two distinct ways (Payne 2006).

Pingelapese intransitive verbs can be divided into two classes: unaccusatives, which have Theme-like subjects, and unergatives, which have Agent-like subjects. Lel 'to be beautiful' in (11) is an example of an unaccusative verb, where the semantic role of the subject NP is Theme. Lusidi 'to jump' in (12) is an example of an unergative verb, where the semantic role of the subject NP is Agent. One of the effects of the division of intransitive verbs into unergative and unaccusative subclasses is the difference in the relative positions of the subject and the verb in Pingelapese intransitive sentences. In Pingelapese, unaccusative verbs permit subjects to occur to the right; unergative verbs do not. Thus, the unergative verb lusidi 'to jump' cannot have the subject to its right, as shown in (12b), but the unaccusative verb lel 'to be beautiful' can, as shown in (11). The grammatical difference between (11b) and (12b) is due to the nature of the thematic grid of the verb-whether the intransitive verb takes an Agent-like subject or a Theme-like subject.

Sentences (13) through (15) provide more examples of unergative verbs that do not allow a subject noun phrase to occur to the right, in the postverbal position.
(13) a. Adino e mwaengae.

Adino HEV eat
'Adino eats.'
b.*E mwaengae Adino.

HEV eat Adino
(14) a. Pwhpwo e duhdu. baby.girl HEV bathe 'The baby girl bathes.'
b.*E duhdu pwohpwo. HEV bathe baby.girl
(15) a. Pwhpwo e saeng. baby.girl HEV cry 'The baby girl cries.'
b.* ${ }^{*}$ saeng pwohpwo. HEV cry baby.girl

Examples (16) through (22) show unaccusative verbs that allow the subject noun phrase to occur to the right, in the postverbal position.
(16) a. Sip luh-pas e saulila.
ship five-NCL HEV sink
'Five ships sunk.'
b. E saulila sip luh-pas. HEV sink ship five-NCL
'Five ships sunk.'
(17)
a. Pen-eu e kipila. coconut-NCL HEV fall 'A coconut fell.'
b. E kipila pen-eu.

HEV fall coconut-NCL
'A coconut fell.'
(18) a. Duhl-pwi e soausoau. tool-PL HEV heavy
'Tools are heavy.'
b. $E$ soausoau duhl-pwi.

HEV heavy tool-pl
'Tools are heavy.'
(19) a. Waenihmw-eu e risida. door-NCL HEV closed 'A door is closed.'
b. E risida waenihmw-eu.

HEV closed door-NCL
'A door is closed.'
(20) a. Aeraemas sili-maen e maehla. person three-NCL HEV die 'Three people died.'
b. E maehla aeraemas sili-maen. HEV die person three-NCL 'Three people died.'
(21) a. Saeraewi e nek.
service HEV finished
'The service is finished.'
b. E nek saeraewi.

HEV finished service
'The service is finished.'
(22) a. Doaudoau-pas e daerihla. story-NCL HEV end 'A story ends.'
b. E daerihla doaudoau-pas. HEV end story-NCL 'A story ends.'

Among the two word orders for unaccusative verbs, Subject-Verb is the canonical order and Verb-Subject is less commonly attested in the data. The latter is heard in the context where the speaker has just noticed the event and describes the event as it happens. For example, when the speaker comes to the beach in the dark and finds you wearing a bright 6-LED head-mounted flashlight, he would utter e lel noamw denkihkis! 'Your flashlight is beautiful/cool!', the Verb-Subject order sentence, seen in (11b). ${ }^{1}$ This is a description of what happened to me during my fieldwork.

Manipulating this word order is part of the skills needed for storytelling. This word order helps the listener feel the excitement or the dynamics of the events in the story, whether it be a past event or a fairytale. By doing this, the narrator pulls the listeners into the flow or momentum of the story. Sentences like (16) through (22) are heard in such contexts.

Consider (23) below, where Verb-Subject word order for an unaccusative verb is seen: the unaccusative verb mwahula 'to be good' precedes the subject mahwin eu 'a war'. (23) is taken from a recorded story about the family of a young Japanese man who visited Pingelap to meet his father's old friend. This non-canonical word order is used to show the dynamic change in the state of World War II. When the situation on Pohnpei got better, those people who fled to Japan could return to Pohnpei with their children.
(23) Woalae-maeh saemae ae pwoaudikihda lih Ngaesik-maen dae irahsi man-NCL father LEV marry woman-of Ngatik-NCL then 3P.S keseu-la minaeh-la Sepahn aeh dae mwahu-la mahwin-eu dae lih-maen run-DIR live-DIR Japan well then good-DIR war-NCL and woman-NCL ae nainkihda serih-pwi dae irah ahdoa Pohnpei. LEV conceive child-PL then 3D.S come Pohnpei
'The father married a woman from Ngatik (Sapwuafik) and they went away to Japan and lived there. Then, the war situation got better. The woman had children in Japan and later the family returned to Pohnpei.'

[^10]Another example of the Verb-Subject order is commonly found at the end of Pingelapese stories in the expression daerihla doaudoau-pas, as shown in (24). The subject doaudoau-pas 'a story'-marked by a square-follows the unaccusative verb daerihla 'to end', underlined. With this expression, the speaker pushes the audience out of the story and pulls them back into reality. The non-canonical word order of VerbSubject is again used to mark a dynamic change.
(24) Daepwah daim-oh mae, kaei daerih-la doaudoau-pas.
then time-NCL DEM just end-DIR story-NCL
'Here ends the story.'

The above examples demonstrate that the choice between the two word orders available for unaccusative verbs is based on discourse pragmatics.

The role of discourse pragmatics in split intransitivity is also reported in other languages outside of Micronesia. Yagua (spoken in northeastern Peru) is one of a few such languages reported to exhibit split intransitivity based on discourse pragmatics (Payne 1997:148). In Yagua, intransitive verbs of locomotion can take a subject pronoun for the Agent argument or for the Theme argument depending on the discourse context. Consider (25).
(25) a. Muиy sii-myaa-si-ñíí.
(Yagua, Payne 1997:148)
there run-COMPL-out-3.Patient
'There he rushed out.'
b. Sa-sii-myaa-síy.
(Yagua, Payne 1997:148)
3.Agent-run-COMPL-out
'He rushed out.'

In example (25a), the subject is expressed as an enclitic -ñíl. This is the form that is used for the direct object of a transitive verb. In (25b), the subject is expressed with a prefix $s a$-. This is the form used for the subject of a transitive verb. Thomas Payne claimed that this distinction is clearly not based on semantics since the sole argument in both clauses is understood to be equally agentive, volitional, and so forth. Payne's (1992) empirical
study of narrative text shows that the enclitic -ñ̂íl (for a Theme-type argument, exemplified in [25a]) occurs as a subject at scene changes and episodic climaxes, whereas the prefix $s a$ - (for an Agent-type argument, in [25b]) occurs elsewhere. Similar observations have been made for Pajonal Campa (Heitzman 1982) and Asheninca Campa (Payne and Payne 1991), which are areally but not genetically related to Yagua.

Erteschik-Shir (2007) claims that the "out-of-the-blue change-event" (211) sentences are marked as all-focus sentences. Such sentences treat the subject as a nontopic, and suppress those prosodic and/or morphosyntactic subject properties that are associated with the role of subjects as topic expressions (Lambrecht 2000:624). This includes dislocating the subject (syntactic inversion) to render an all-focus out-of-theblue reading. English existential sentences (e.g., Once upon a time, there was a very beautiful princess) and presentational sentences (e.g., There marched the soldiers) are considered to be such cases. ${ }^{2}$ According to Kiss (2002) and Holmberg (2000), English existential sentences employ exactly this strategy to yield an all-focus sentence.

Pingelapese split intransitivity appears to be governed primarily by semantics (i.e., Verb-Subject word order is available only to unaccusative verbs) and secondarily by discourse pragmatics (it is employed for expressing dynamic changes and episodic climaxes). My language consultants expressed absolute rejection of Verb-Subject order for the sentences with unergative verbs in (12) through (15), in a difference from Yagua (25b). Those non-canonical word order intransitive sentences attested in my transcriptions are all unaccusative verbs. More empirical narrative study is needed to reconfirm my observations of this phenomenon in Pingelapese.

The syntactic phenomenon of relative position with regard to unaccusative/unergative differences is also known in Mandarin (Kao 1993). In a

[^11]| (a) | E-wor ruo ri-Majel | ro | im re-naaj | bōk jerammon jān |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3S.AGRS-exist two one.from-Marshalls | the.PL.human and | 3P.AGRS-fut | receive benefit from |  |
| juon special scholarship eo... |  |  |  |  |
| a special scholarship the.SG |  |  |  |  |
| 'There are two Marshallese that will receive the benefits from a special scholarship...' |  |  |  |  |

(Marshall Islands Journal, Nov. 9, 2007:11)

Mandarin presentative construction, unaccusative verbs permit subjects to occur to the right, whereas unergative verbs do not. (26) and (27) employ the unaccusative verbs lai 'to come' and chen 'to sink', respectively. These verbs allow the subject to occur to the right. On the other hand, the unergative verbs fei 'to fly' and shui 'to sleep' do not allow the subject to occur to the right, as illustrated in (28) and (29).
(26) Lai le yi-ge keren.
(Mandarin, Kao 1993:207)
come ASP one-NCL guest
'Here comes a guest.'
(Mandarin, Kao 1993:207)
(27) Chen le wu-tiao chuan.
sink ASP five-NCL ship
'Five ships sank.
(28) * Fei le yi-chi niao.
(Mandarin, Kao 1993:207)
fly ASP one-NCL bird
(29) * Shui le yi-ge xiaohai.
(Mandarin, Kao 1993:207)
sleep ASP one-NCL child

It is interesting that this use of non-canonical word order with unaccusative verbs is also reported in the language development of English-speaking children. Pierce (1992) observed that although children around two years old correctly position subjects in front of transitive or unergative verbs, they sometimes position subjects after unaccusative verbs. Examples of such non-canonical word order utterances from Pierce's study are shown below. The unaccusative verbs are underlined. The information in parentheses indicates the names and ages (years;months) of the children producing the relevant utterances. ${ }^{3}$

[^12](30) (a) Go truck. (Mackie 2;2)
(b) Allgone big stick. Allgone rock. Allgone stone. Allgone bee. (Jonathan 1;11-2;0)
(c) (Here) come Eve. All gone grape juice. Come Fraser. (Eve 1;7-1;8)
(d) Fall the cradle. (Peter 2;2)
(e) Going (re)corder. Going it. Allgone sun. (Naomi 1;10-1;11)
(f) Go Foster in town. (April 2;9)
(g) Come Mommy. Come airplane. Here come tickle. Come Cromer? (Adam 2;3-

Split intransitivity is also seen in nominalizations. Soaun- is a derivational prefix that converts a verb into a noun meaning 'a practitioner of the action described by the verb'. This prefix attaches to transitive verbs and unergative verbs, but never to unaccusative verbs. Thus, the transitive verb pok 'to hit' and the unergative verb duhdu 'to bathe' can take the nominalizing prefix souan-, as in (31) and (32), whereas the unaccusative verb lel 'to be beautiful' cannot, as in (33).
(31) soaun-pok
(Transitive verb)
practitioner-hit
'a practitioner of hitting'
soaun-duhdu
(Unergative verb) practitioner-bathe
'a practitioner of bathing'
(33) $* \begin{aligned} & \text { soaun-lel } \\ & \text { practitioner-be.beautiful }\end{aligned}$

More examples of soaun-nominalization for unergative verbs are shown in (34).
(34) a. soaun-kahlek
(Unergative verb)
practitioner-dance
'a practitioner of dancing'
b. soaun-laid
(Unergative verb)
practitioner-fish
'a practitioner of fishing'
c. soaun-lus
(Unergative verb)
practitioner-jump
'a practitioner of jumping'

Another example of soaun-nominalization is in the recorded speech shown in (35).
Soaun- is prefixed to the unergative verb pei 'to fight' and converts it into a noun meaning 'a practitioner of fighting' or 'a soldier'.
(35) Dae Swinglen, Lemuel, aemaen meh Mwoasaeloak aedae-h maeh Maks then Swinglen Lemuel NCL person Mortlock name-his well Maks pwah irah mae maehla sili-maen oh maehdi, saewaeh pwuridoa maehla. are 3D.IND RM die three-NCL oh die not return die ng Irah pwil soaun-pei in Saepahn. mmm 3D.S join practitioner-fight of Japan
'As for Swinglen, Lemuel, and another Mortlockese by the name of Maks, all three of them died (in battle) and never returned. They fought as Japanese soldiers.'

Examples of the non-applicability of soaun-nominalization to unaccusative verbs are shown in (36).
(36) a. * soaun-kipila
(Unaccusative verb)
practitioner-fall
b. * soaun-minae
(Unaccusative verb)
practitioner-exist

The same split intransitivity phenomenon is also known in -er nominalization in English (Keyser and Roeper 1984). While many unergative verbs permit -er nominalizations (e.g., walker, runner, speaker, jumper), most unaccusative verbs do not (e.g., *fainter, *faller, *slipper, *exister). Note that transitive verbs also take -er in English (e.g., hunter, drinker, helper, chaser).

Table 3.1 summarizes the types of nominalization strategies for transitive verbs, unergative verbs, and unaccusative verbs in English and Pingelapese. In both languages, only verbs that take Agent-type subjects can undergo this type of nominalization.

Table 3.1. Agentive nominalization in Pingelapese and English

|  | Transitive verbs <br> (Agent type subject) | Unergative verbs <br> (Agent type subject) | Unaccusative verbs <br> (Theme type subject) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Pingelapese <br> soaun -nominalization | YES | YES | NO |
| English <br> -er nominalization | YES | YES | NO |

### 3.4. Existential sentences

Although the postverbal subject word order is available for unaccusative intransitive verbs, its usage is not very common, as discussed in section 3.3. However, there is one type of unaccusative intransitive sentences-termed "existential"-where the postverbal subject order is dominant. As the name implies, existential sentences make an observational statement about the existence of an object and generally say nothing more about the object than that it does or does not "exist." The rather small class of existential verbs in Pingelapese includes minae 'to exist', soh 'to not exist', dir 'to exist in large numbers', and daeri 'to be finished'. The use of these verbs is exemplified in (37), with the postverbal subject.
(37) a. $E$ minae pwopwoud-eu.

HEV exist couple-NCL
'There is a couple.'
b. $E$ soh aeraemas.

HEV not. exist person
'There are no people.'
c. $E$ dir serih-pwi.

HEV exist.many child-PL
'There are many children.'

As shown below, existential verbs typically do not allow a preverbal subject.
$(38) *$
$\begin{gathered}\text { Pwopwoud-eu e } \\ \text { couple-NCL HEV }\end{gathered} \frac{\text { minae } .}{\text { exist }}$.

Existential sentences with a postverbal subject are commonly heard at the beginning of a story in order to introduce the characters and objects for the first time. Thus, in terms of information structure, this word order is used to introduce new information or the focused information. This distribution also coincides with the observation made earlier in this chapter that postverbal subjects are marked, and are used to describe the event that the speaker has witnessed or realized. In storytelling, the narrator uses the Verb-Subject order to present the characters and objects to the audience. In other words, with this marked word order, the narrator guides the audience to encounter the characters and objects in the story for the first time. As an example, consider (39), the introduction to a recorded Pingelapese folktale. Note that the existential verb minae 'to exist' precedes the subject noun phrase.
(39) Mahs mahs, e minae pwoapwoaud-eu naeirah pwisak riae-maen before before HEV exist couple-NCL their boy two-NCL Luhpahkiare ih Ihmwaeraeu. Luhpahkiare and Ihmwaeraeu 'Long long ago, there was a couple with two sons, Luhpahkiare and Ihmwaehraeu.'

Some members of the audience may be truly new to the story, some members may already know the story-as these are community folktales-and some may even know the story as well as the storyteller. With postverbal subject word orders, they are all invited to discover the characters and to witness a shocking event for the first time, literally or figuratively.

## (40) E maehla lih-maen!

HEV die woman-NCL
'The woman died!'

In contrast, when the subject has already been mentioned (i.e., it is the topic, or old information), ${ }^{4}$ it would appear in the preverbal position. Such an example with the

[^13]verb minae from a recorded description of traditional Pingelapese medical knowledge and techniques is shown in (41).

## (41) Maerain-eu mwoa e minae pwoh Pingelap. wisdom-NCL DEM HEV exist on Pingelap 'Such knowledge existed on Pingelap.'

In this sentence, the verb minae 'to exist', which is identical to the existential verb minae discussed earlier, follows the subject noun phrase. The utterance in (41) is in the middle of the narration, after the speaker has already talked about the traditional medical techniques that people in his father's generation performed. Thus, the object, maerain eu mwoa 'that wisdom', is not newly introduced into the scene by this utterance. Note that unlike the existential sentence shown in (37) above, this sentence does more than just state the existence of the referent of the subject. It states the location pwoh Pingelap 'on Pingelap'.

A sentence with an existential verb and a locative noun phrase is understood to be locative, rather than truly existential. When an existential verb is used in this way, the canonical word order Subject-Verb is employed. Consider the grammaticality contrast between (42a) and (42b). When the location noun is expressed with the existential verb, the subject noun phrase is positioned preverbally in (42a), and, crucially, cannot be in the postverbal position, as shown in (42b). ${ }^{5}$

[^14](a) Mie rais.
(Rehg 1981:280)
exist rice
'There is rice.'
(b) Lih-o $\underline{\text { mi }}$ wasah-o.
(K. Rehg, pers. comm., 2011) woman-DEM exist place- DEM
'The woman is in that place.'
(42) a. Sohn e minae Hawaii.

John HEV exist Hawai‘i 'John is in Hawai‘i.'
b. *E minae Sohn Hawaii. HEV exist John Hawai‘i

This contrast is also shown in the two sentences at the very beginning of a Pingelapese folktale in (43).
(43) Mahs mahs, e minae pwopowud-eu. Irah minae Naehmahl. before before HEV exist couple-NCL 3D.S exist Naehmahl 'Once upon a time, there was a couple. They lived in the place called Naehmahl.'

The first is a true existential sentence, which introduces the characters of the story for the first time. It employs the postverbal subject word order, with the subject noun phrase pwopwoud eu 'a couple' following the existential verb minae 'to exist'. The second is a locative sentence that describes the location (Naehmahl) of the characters that were mentioned in the previous sentence, and employs the preverbal subject word order.

A true existential sentence could present more information about the subject, by using a relative clause. The recorded data in (44) and (45) below exemplify this point. The postverbal subjects are followed by a relative clause, which is headed by a relative clause marker mae 'that/which'.
(44) $E \quad \underline{\text { minae }}$ soang-aen daedoahk oh [mae wihwiawi Pingelap sang mahs HEV exist type-of work one RM done Pingelap from before ahdoa lel rahn-ipwi mae].
come arrive day-PL DEM
'There is a kind of work that has been done on Pingelap from long ago until today.'
(45) Ae dir soang-aen laid [mae aeraemas ke wia]. LEV many type-of fishing RM people habit do 'There are many kinds of fishing that people do.'

### 3.5. Equational sentences

Equational sentences are minimally composed of two noun phrases-one of which normally has the function of locating or identifying the other-and an auxiliary verb in between, as illustrated in example (46).
(46) John $\underline{e}$ soaun-padahk-maen.

John HEV practitioner-teach-NCL
'John is a teacher.'

The nature of this auxiliary verb $e$ will be discussed in chapter 4. At the end of chapter 4, equational sentences will be discussed in comparison with equivalent sentences in other Micronesian languages.

### 3.6. Summary

This chapter discussed Pingelapese major sentence types: transitive sentences, intransitive sentences, existential sentences, and equational sentences. In the discussion on intransitive sentences and existential sentences, two alternative word orders were presented. Equational sentences were briefly introduced in this chapter. A close look at the Pingelapese equational sentences will be provided, along with a comparative study with other Micronesian languages, at the end of chapter 4.

## CHAPTER 4. AUXILIARY VERBS $A E, A E N, E$, AND $E N$

This chapter will discuss the grammatical category and function of $e, a e, e n$, aen, and aeh, which are called subject markers in Good and Welley (1989). Good and Welley's description is summarized in table 4.1.

Table 4.1. Good and Welley's (1989:25) subject markers ae/e present and not-too-distant past subject marker en completive subject marker aen positive intentive subject marker aeh negative intentive subject marker

These elements appear after the subject and before the verb. An example with $e$ and $a e$ is shown in (1).


Two research questions arise regarding these elements:

Question 1: What are the grammatical categories of these forms?
Question 2: What is the difference between these forms?

To answer these questions, I will focus on $e$ and $a e$ in sections 4.1 and 4.2, and then turn to the other elements in sections 4.3 and 4.4.
4.1. The grammatical category of $e$ and $a e$

This section addresses the first research question, about the grammatical category of $e$ and $a e$. One hypothesis, suggested by Good and Welley (1989), is that these morphemes are a part of the subject noun phrase. Another hypothesis is that these morphemes are a part of the verb phrase. I will begin by presenting evidence that
undermines both hypotheses. I will then provide evidence that these morphemes are auxiliary verbs that stand between the subject and the verb phrase.

### 4.1.1. The part-of-the-subject-NP hypothesis

Good and Welley (1989) refer to the markers studied in this chapter as subject markers, which they described as follows.

A subject marker occurs after the subject noun phrase in a sentence. It has not yet been determined whether subject markers are a part of the verb phrase or the subject noun phrase. (Good and Welley 1989:24)

Although Good and Welley did not actually decide on the categorization of these markers, the authors refer to them as subject markers throughout their paper. The first possibility suggested by Good and Welley (1989) is the part-of-the-subject-NP hypothesis or subject marker hypothesis, which will be examined in this subsection. The second possibility is the part-of-the-VP hypothesis, which will be examined in subsection 4.1.2.

There are problems for the part-of-the-subject-NP hypothesis. The first problem arises if subject markers are considered to be postpositions. Typologically, head-initial languages like Pingelapese should have prepositions rather than postpositions. Having postpositions is odd in head-initial languages. ${ }^{1}$ As shown in chapter 2, Pingelapese employs prepositions, not postpositions.

The second problem is that the "subject markers" seem to inflect for aspect, as can be seen in table 4.1. According to the table, $e$ and $a e$ are used if an action is happening in the present or has happened in the not-too-distant past. If the speaker wants to specify an action that is completed, en is used. To indicate a positive intention or a negative intention, aen and aeh are used, respectively. These variants appear to be marking aspectual and/or modal distinctions. However, such contrasts are usually not carried by a subject marker.

Further evidence to undermine the part-of-the-subject-NP hypothesis comes from existential sentences, which were discussed in chapter 3. The canonical word order in

[^15]Pingelapese is Subject-Verb-Object. However, in existential sentences, the verb comes first and the subject follows the verb, as shown in (2).
(2) Canonical Word Order

Subject-Verb

## Existential Word Order <br> Verb-Subject

Verbs used in existential sentences include minae 'to exist', soah 'to not exist', dir 'to be many', and daeri 'to be finished'. If $e$ and $a e$ are subject markers, they should always appear after the subject noun, even when the subject noun appears in noncanonical positions. ${ }^{2}$ Contrary to expectations, $e$ and $a e$ always appear before the verb. (3) and (4) show that $e$ and ae precede the verb even with subject-postposing. This strongly suggests that $e$ and $a e$ are not subject markers.
(3) Mahs mahs, e minae pwoapwoaud-eu.
before before HEV exist couple-NCL
'Once upon time, there was a couple.'
(4) * Mahs mahs, minae pwoapwoaud-eu e.
before before exist couple-NCL HEV

Further counter-evidence against the part-of-the-subject-NP hypothesis comes from sentential intonation. In Pohnpeian, there is a correlation between syntactic phrases and intonation phrases at some level (Rehg 1981:303). Each phrase is pronounced with slightly lower pitch than the preceding one, and the end of each phrase is signaled by a slight rise or a slight fall in pitch. Thus, a slight rise indicates that the end of the phrase has been reached, but not the end of the sentence. A slight fall indicates that the end of both the phrase and the sentence has been reached. Example (5) illustrates the Pohnpeian intonation pattern. Here, the prosody signals a phrase boundary between the subject Limwei and a verbal complex composed of pahn and duhdu.

[^16](5) Intonation boundary between a subject noun phrase and a verbal complex Limwei pahn duhdu.
(Pohnpeian, Rehg 1981:303)
Limwei will bathe
'Limwei will bathe.'

## Limwei pahn duhdu.

The same pattern is also observed in Pingelapese. The part-of-the-subject-NP hypothesis for Pingelapese predicts that intonation boundaries should not occur between a subject noun and $e$ or $a e$. Contrary to this prediction, an intonation boundary is observed between the subject noun and $e$ or $a e$. In example (6), the subject noun forms a single intonation phrase while $a e$ and the verb form another intonation phrase. Thus, ae behaves intonationally as part of the verb phrase. This, then, is further evidence against the claim that $e$ and $a e$ are part of the subject NP.
(6) Intonation boundary between a subject noun and $a e$

Soahn ae saeiloak.
John LEV travel
'John travels.'


It is common for speakers of Micronesian languages, especially Chuukic languages, to treat these preverbals and the following verb as one unit, spelling them without a space in between (see [7]).


Examples (3), (4), and (6) together provide convincing evidence that $e$ and $a e$ are part of neither the subject NP nor the element that occurs with it. Hereafter, I refer to $e$ and ae as simply "markers" or by their pronunciation. Their glosses will be dealt with
after I establish a more definitive analysis in section 4.1.4. The next hypothesis to be evaluated is the part-of-the-VP hypothesis.
4.1.2. The verb-prefix hypothesis

Another possibility that must be rejected is that $e$ and $a e$ are verb prefixes.
Counter-evidence to this hypothesis comes from the fact that negative words (8), adverbs (9), modal preverbals (10), and adverbial preverbals (11) can intervene between $e$ or $a e$ and the verb.
(8) Negative word between $a e$ and a verb Soahn ae saewaeh wei-mwaeiang-aela. John LEV not dig-taro-DIR
'John does not dig taro.'
(9) Adverb between $a e$ and a verb

Soahn ae peinaeh saeisaeiloak. John LEV still traveling 'John is still traveling.'
(10) Modal preverbal between aen and a verb

Eh perian-aemaen ae-n kah ahdoa.
his friend-NCL LEV-INC will come
'His friend will come.'
(11) Adverbial preverbal between $a e$ and a verb

Soahn daekah Mehri ae kakaen kohpeda melimel.
John and Mary LEV can predict typhoon
'John and Mary can predict the typhoon.'

These data suggest that $e$ or $a e$ are not directly connected to the verb.
Furthermore, the fact that negative words, which are generally considered to be outside VP (Radford 1997:232), occur to the right of the marker investigated here strongly undermines the part-of-the-VP hypothesis.

Further evidence against the part-of-the-VP hypothesis comes from the fact that $e$ and ae do not always appear with a verb. In general, bound morphemes (such as affixes) cannot be dropped in one conjunct of a coordinate construction simply because it is
present in the other conjunct. Examples of English affixes in coordinate conjunctions are given in (12) and (13). The affix $-s$ is expressed in the second clause and dropping it results in an ungrammatical sentence, as shown in (13). This demonstrates that the affix $s$ is tightly bound to the verb.
(12) Affix is expressed in both clauses (English)

John eat-s and drink-s.
(13) Affix is dropped in the second clause (English)

* John eat-s and drink- $\underline{\text {. }}$

The Pingelapese markers studied here behave differently from English affixes in coordinate conjunction. The examples in (14) and (15) illustrate that e/ae can be absent in the second clause of a coordinate structure, in contrast to English affixes.
(14) a. Eh perian-pwi ae laid. his friend-PL LEV fish 'His friends fish.'
b. Eh perian-pwi ae kuk.
his friend-PL LEV cook
'His friends cook.'
(15) $a e$ is dropped in the second clause

Eh perian-pwi ae laid daekah Ø kuk.
his friend-PL LEV fish and cook
'His friends fish and cook.'

The fact that $e$ and $a e$ can be dropped suggests that these elements are not tightly bound to the verb, but rather are outside of the verbal constituent, as shown in figure 4.1, so that they can have scope over a conjoined VP.


Figure 4.1. Structure of coordinate conjunction

In sum, all of the examples discussed in this subsection suggest that neither $e$ nor $a e$ is part of a verb phrase, but rather, both are independent of the verb.

### 4.1.3. The third-person-singular pronoun hypothesis

If $e$ and $a e$ are not part of the subject NP or part of the VP, what is their grammatical category? Another possibility that might be considered is the third-person-singular-pronoun hypothesis. Indeed, Good and Welley (1989) also raised this possibility.

The third-person-singular-pronoun hypothesis for $e$ and ae may find support from the study of other Oceanic languages. According to Lynch et al. (2002:83), an agreement clitic that marks the person and number of the subject always occurs in Proto-Oceanic, regardless of the presence or absence of an overt subject noun phrase. Most contemporary Oceanic languages retain this pattern, and the same is true for many Micronesian languages. The sentences in (16) and (17) show data from Pulo Annian, a Chuukic language. The subject proclitic must agree with the subject noun phrase in person and number, as the following grammatical and ungrammatical pairs of examples show.
(16) a. Singular subject noun and third person singular subject proclitic

Niweisi na e madili. (Pulo Annian, Oda 1977:29)
child DEM 3S.AGRS sleep
'That child is sleeping.'
b. Singular subject noun and third person plural subject proclitic
$\begin{array}{llll}\text { * Niweisi } & n a & \underline{l e} & \text { madilit. } \\ \text { child } & \text { DEM } & \text { 3P.AGRS } & \text { sleep }\end{array} \quad$ (Pulo Annian, Oda 1977:29)
(17) a. Plural subject noun and third person plural subject proclitic Niweisi ka-na le madili. child PL-DEM 3P.AGRS sleep 'Those children are sleeping.'
b. Plural subject noun and third person singular subject proclitic

* Niweisi
ka-na
$\underline{e}$ madili.
(Pulo Annian, Oda 1977:29) child PL-DEM 3S.AGRS sleep

In (16a), the agreement clitic $e$ 'he' agrees with the subject noun phrase in person and number, and in (17a), le 'they' agrees with the plural subject noun phrase. A person and number mismatch between the subject noun phrase and the subject agreement clitic yields ungrammaticality. Thus, (16b) is ungrammatical due to the number mismatch between the singular subject noun and the third person plural subject agreement clitic le 'they'. The number mismatch between the plural subject noun and the third person singular subject agreement clitic $e$ 'he/she/it' also results in the ungrammatical sentence (17b). This type of obligatory subject agreement is found in all Chuukic languages, Marshallese, and Kiribatese.

Obligatory subject agreement, as in the Pulo Annian data, is not attested in Pingelapese. This is shown in (18) and (19), which are the Pingelapese counterparts to the Pulo Annian examples in (16) and (17).
(18) a. Singular subject noun and third person singular subject proclitic

Serih-maen e maeir.
child-NCL HEV sleep
'That child is sleeping.'
b. Singular subject noun and third person plural subject proclitic
*Serih-maen $\frac{r-e}{\text { child-NCL }} \frac{\text { maeir } .}{} \quad \begin{aligned} & \text { mas.S-HEV } \\ & \text { sleep }\end{aligned}$
(19) a. Plural subject noun and third person singular subject proclitic

Serih-pwi e maeir.
child-PL HEV sleep
'Children are sleeping.'
b. Plural subject noun and third person plural subject proclitic

$$
{ }^{*} \begin{aligned}
& \text { Serih-pwi } \\
& \text { child-PL }
\end{aligned} \frac{r-e}{3 \mathrm{D} / \mathrm{P} . S-\mathrm{HEV}} \begin{aligned}
& \text { maeir } \\
& \text { sleep }
\end{aligned}
$$

If Pingelapese had obligatory subject agreement like Pulo Annian, we would expect the third person singular proclitic $e$ 'he/she/it' for (18) and the third person plural proclitic re 'they' for (19). Contrary to these expectations, both grammatical sentences (18a) and (19a) employ $e$, regardless of the number difference in the subject noun phrase. Using
the third person plural subject proclitic $r e$ 'they' simply results in ungrammatical sentences, as in (18b) and (19b).

Thus, unlike Pulo Annian, many other Micronesian languages, and most Oceanic languages, the particle between the subject noun phrase and the verb does not agree with the subject noun phrase in Pingelapese. The third-person-singular-pronoun hypothesis is not supported for Pingelapese e/ae.

Sentence (20) provides an additional piece of evidence indicating that the marker under discussion does not carry any person or number feature.
(20) Non-singular non-third person subject and the marker under discussion Irahsi daekah kaewae ae laid. 3P.IND and 2S.IND LEV fish 'They and you fish.'

The subject noun phrase in (20) is composed of a third person plural pronoun and a second person singular pronoun. A subject of this type can also be expressed by the second person plural subject pronoun koamwahsi 'you (plural)' in Pingelapese. If $a e$ is considered third person singular, there would be a mismatch, both in number and person, with the subject noun phrase in (20), but the sentence is grammatical. This is another piece of evidence against the third-person-singular-pronoun hypothesis.

Under the third-person-singular-pronoun hypothesis, the reference of the markers is expected to be third person singular. Contrary to this expectation, the noun preceding the marker, which is the antecedent of the marker, can be non-third person, singular or plural, as shown above. This evidence leads me to reject the third-person-singularpronoun hypothesis.

Most Micronesian languages exhibit obligatory subject agreement. The distribution is summarized in figure 4.2 , in which languages that require subject agreement are underlined.


Figure 4.2. Obligatory subject agreement in Micronesian languages
The languages that do not exhibit obligatory subject agreement are spoken in a geographically restricted area in the east of Micronesia. They include Kosraean and the Pohnpeic languages: Pohnpeian, Mokilese, and Pingelapese. The obligatory subject agreement may have come from Proto-Micronesian, but was lost in Kosraean and the Pohnpeic languages. Due to their geographic closeness, these communities have been influencing each other's languages. It is believed that people who migrated from the island of Pohnpei to the Mokil and Pingelap atolls are today's Mokilese and Pingelapese people. Pohnpeian features in Mokilese and Pingelapese are prevalent. There has also been intermarriage among Pingelapese, Mokilese, and Kosraeans from ancient times through today, which might also have caused linguistic influence.

### 4.1.4. The auxiliary hypothesis

The part-of-the-subject-NP hypothesis, the part-of-the-VP hypothesis, and the third-person-singular-pronoun hypothesis have been evaluated in the previous subsections, and the predictions of each hypothesis have not been confirmed. In their place, I propose that $e$ and $a e$ are auxiliaries.

As shown in table 4.1 (repeated here as table 4.2), $e$ and $a e$ express aspect.

Table 4.2. Good and Welley's (1989) subject markers (repeated from table 4.1)

| ae/e | present and not-too-distant past |
| :--- | :--- |
| en | completive |
| aen | positive intentive |
| aeh | negative intentive |

Aspectual information is usually carried by elements that deal with the proposition, such as auxiliaries or verbs (elements in the verb phrase in traditional grammar or in IP in Generative Grammar). Thus, the fact that $e$ and $a e$ express aspect suggests that they are auxiliaries. The existential sentences (3) and (4), repeated here as (21) and (22), show that $e$ or $a e$ are closer to the verb than to the subject noun.

$$
\begin{gathered}
(21)(=[3]) \begin{array}{l}
\text { Mahs mahs, e minae pwoapwoaud-eu. } \\
\text { before before HEV exist couple-NCL } \\
\text { 'Once upon time, there was a couple.' }
\end{array} \\
(22)(=[4]) * \begin{array}{l}
\text { Mahs mahs, minae pwoapwoaud-eu e. } \\
\text { before before exist couple-NCL HEV }
\end{array}
\end{gathered}
$$

Again, this is a characteristic of auxiliaries. In (8) through (11), repeated here as (23)(26), elements intervene between $e$ or $a e$ and the verb, in a way similar to what is observed between auxiliaries and verbs in other languages.
(23) (= [8]) Negative word between ae and a verb

Soahn ae saewaeh wei-mwaeiang-aela.
John ??? not dig-taro-DIR
'John does not dig taro.'
(24) (= [9]) Adverb between $a e$ and a verb

Soahn ae peinaeh saeisaeiloak.
John ??? still traveling
'John is still traveling.'
(25) (= [10]) Modal preverbal between aen and a verb

Eh perian-aemaen aen kah ahdoa.
his friend-NCL ??? will come
'His friend will come.'
(26) (= [11)]) Adverbial preverbal between ae and a verb $\begin{array}{lllll}\text { Soahn daekah Mehri ae kakaen } & \text { kohpeda } & \text { melimel. } \\ \text { John and } & \text { Mary ??? can predict } & \text { typhoon }\end{array}$ ‘Joh and Mary can predict the typhoon, 'John and Mary can predict the typhoon.'

The e/ae markers in Pingelapese and auxiliary verbs in English behave similarly in coordinate conjunctions. Examples of Pingelapese coordinate conjunctions are shown in (27), repeated from (15), in which the marker is absent in the second clause.

```
(27)(= [15]) ae is dropped in the second clause
    Eh perian-pwi ae laid daekah Ø kuk.
    his friend-PL ??? fish and cook
    'His friends fish and cook.'
```

In (28) is an example of an English coordinate conjunction with an auxiliary verb, where the auxiliary verb is absent in the second clause.
(28) An auxiliary is dropped in the second clause (English)

John will eat and Ø drink.

Word order provides additional evidence that e/ae have a position corresponding to auxiliaries in English. The linear ordering of the subject, auxiliary, negative word, adverb, and verb in English is shown in (29). The ordering of subject, $e$ or $a e$, a negative word, adverb, and verb in Pingelapese is shown in (30). The parallels are suggestive, and the $e$ or $a e$ in Pingelapese seems to have a position corresponding to the aspectual auxiliary verbs in English.
(29) Category order in English Subject aspectual auxiliary (negative word) (adverb) verb John does not frequently fish
(30) Category order in Pingelapese
Subject ??? (negative word) (adverb) verb
Soahn elae saewaeh kaelap laid

John HEV/LEV not frequently fish
'John does not frequently fish.'

All the evidence provided above supports the claim that $e$ and $a e$ in Pingelapese are auxiliary verbs. Payne (1997:84) defines auxiliary verbs as follows:

Auxiliary verbs are verbs in that they satisfy the morphosyntactic definition of verbs. However, they are auxiliaries in that they do not embody the major conceptual relation, state, or activity expressed by the clause. They are often semantically "empty," or they express "auxiliary" information such as tense, aspect, or mode. (Payne 1997:84)

### 4.1.5. Formal analysis

For the sake of exposition, I will assume that e/ae is located in a predicate-initial position that is outside the verb phrase. ${ }^{3}$ Figure 4.3 shows the structure of sentence (31). Harrison (1976:180) positions Mokilese modals outside of the verb phrase, and Bender and Sohn (1973:110) treat Ulithian auxiliaries in a similar way.
(31) Soahn e saewaesae Mehri.

John HEV help Mary
'John helps Mary.'


Figure 4.3. Tree structure of a Pingelapese sentence

[^17]The structure of conjoined VPs in Pingelapese and English is exemplified in figures 4.4 and 4.5 respectively, once again showing the parallel between $e / a e$ and auxiliary verbs in English.


Figure 4.4. Structure of a Pingelapese coordinate conjunction sentence


Figure 4.5. Structure of an English coordinate conjunction sentence

In this section, I have answered my first research question: "What are the grammatical categories of these forms?" I have shown that the most likely grammatical category for $e$ and $a e$ is that of auxiliary, and that they are located in a predicate-initial position external to the verb phrase. In the next section, the functional difference between $e$ and $a e$ is discussed.

### 4.2. Difference between $e$ and $a e$

In this section, I will address the second research question: "What is the difference between $e$ and $a e$ ?" Good and Welley (1989) report that $e$ and ae appear in free variation. Under their analysis, sentences that differ only in terms of the form of auxiliaries, such as (32) and (33), would have the same meaning. However, because I have shown that $e$ and $a e$ are separate phonemes (/e/ and $/ \varepsilon /$, respectively) in Pingelapese, it is natural to assume that they are also syntactically and/or functionally different.
(32) Soahn e laid.

John HEV fish
'(Definitely,) John fishes/is fishing.'
(33) Soahn ae laid.

John LEV fish
‘(Probably,) John fishes/is fishing.'

In the language data that I have elicited, I have observed that my language consultants make evidential distinctions (Chafe 1986; Mushin 2001; Payne 1997) between $e$ and $a e . E$ encodes a high degree of evidentiality; the speaker is more certain that the information in her speech is true. In contrast, ae encodes a low degree of evidentiality; the speaker is less certain that the information in her speech is true.

Examples (32) and (33) differ in their meaning. Sentence (32), with $e$, implies that the speaker is rather certain that the proposition is true (similar to the meaning of definitely in English). Sentence (33), with ae, implies that the speaker is less certain that the proposition is true (similar to the meaning of probably in English). More examples to support this claim are provided in the following discussion.

When the information is first hand, and the speaker is very sure that the information she is encoding is true, $e$ is preferred. As an example, (34) would be preferred over (35) in such a situation, because the higher clause implies that the speaker himself had first-hand information by seeing what is described in the embedded clause.
(34) Ngaei kila pwa Soahn e laid. 1s.S see that John HEV fish 'I saw that John was fishing.'
(35)? Ngaei kila pwa Soahn ae laid.

1s.S see that John LEV fish

In contrast, when the information is second-hand and the speaker's certainty can vary, either form could occur, depending on the speaker's level of certainty. When the speaker is sure that the information she is reporting is true, $e$ is employed in a sentence like (36). When the speaker is less sure that the information she is reporting is true, $a e$ is used, as seen in (37).
(36) Ngaei rong pwa Soahn e laid.

1s.S heard that John HEV fish 'I heard that John was fishing (and I am fairly certain about it).'
(37) Ngaei rong pwa Soahn ae laid.

1s.S heard that John LEV fish
'I heard that John was fishing (but I make no commitment to it).'

In the case of interrogative sentences, $a e$ is preferred, as illustrated in the grammaticality contrast between (38) and (39), as the speakers are not sure about the truth of the propositions and cannot make a commitment to them. This is supported by Mondorf's (2002) claim that non-declarative speech is one of the means to signal that the speaker has no commitment to the truth of the proposition.
(38)? Soahn e laid?

John HEV fish
(39) Soahn ae laid?

John LEV fish
'Does John fish? / Is John fishing?'

Additional evidence is found in existential sentences. The pair of existential sentences in (40) and (41) establishes the existence of something. When an existential sentence asserts the existence of the speaker himself, $e$ is employed as in (40), because speakers are certain about their own existence. For this reason, use of $a e$ in a sentence about the speaker's existence is inappropriate, as illustrated in (41).

| (40) | E minae | ngaehi |
| ---: | :--- | :--- |
|  | HEV exist | 1S.IND |
|  | 'I exist.' |  |
| $(41) *$ |  |  |
|  | Le minae | ngaehi. |
|  |  | LEV exist | 1S.IND.

In this section, I have answered the second research question, which asks about the difference between $e$ and $a e$, by showing that there is an evidential difference between the two: $e$ encodes a high degree of evidentiality and $a e$ encodes a low degree of evidentiality. This finding also supports the auxiliary hypothesis outlined in the previous section, since evidentiality deals with the proposition and is more likely to be encoded by a verb-related element. Payne (1997) claims that languages where evidentiality is grammaticalized make evidential and epistemic distinctions in the verbal morphology and further claims that the evidential system of these languages is almost always linked to the tense/aspect/mode (TAM) system. The proposal made in the previous section and this section aligns well with Payne's claims.

The use of $e$ is presented in the three narratives below. (42) is extracted from a narrative about the traditional Pingelapese medical arts, which are now lost. The speaker described the setting of a bone, which he observed when he was a child, and he states in (42) that he was amazed by the skill of Pingelapese adults at that time. He employed the high certainty auxiliary verb $e$ in the clause that states that their skills were marvelous, by which he was amazed. Note that the intensifier adverb inaenin 'very' is used with the high certainty auxiliary verb $e$ in this example.
(42) Mae ngaei wadaehkihla ira pwa aerah paepaehm oangin daedoahk-eu well 1s.S admire 3D.O that their sense for work-NCL e inaenin mwahu e inenin lap. HEV very good HEV very big 'What amazed me about them is their keen sense of feeling in the work [bone setting].'
(43) is extracted from a narrative about the bombing on Pingelap by the U.S. military. (The U.S. military found that Japanese soldiers were staying on Pingelap, and
because of this, they bombed Pingelap.) The high certainty auxiliary verb $e$ is employed in the clause describing the U.S. military's finding out about the presence of Japanese soldiers on Pingelap. The assumption is that the U.S. military must have been very certain about the military presence of their enemy to bomb Pingelap.
(43) Irahsi koausan-la mwoa dae ansoau-kis mae meh Amerikae 3P.S settle-DIR there and occasion-NCL RM people.of America diaeraeda pwa e minae meh Sepahn mwoa dae irah kaedarae-la find that HEV exist people.of Japan DEM and 3D.S send-DIR sompihr-pwi Pingelap. Dae ansoau-kis mae sompihr lel mwoa dae airplane-PL Pingelap then occasion-NCL RM airplane arrive DEM and irah kasaehdi pokudang pwoh Pingelap.
3D.S throw bomb on Pingelap
'They [Japanese soldiers] settled on Pingelap. And, when the Americans discovered that there were Japanese on Pingelap, they sent airplanes to Pingelap. When the airplanes arrived at Pingelap, they bombed Pingelap.'
(44) is extracted from a narrative about a man from Japan whom the speaker saw when he was a child. Preceding this sentence, the speaker had talked about this man and other background information. When his narration came back to the Japanese man, he used the high certainty auxiliary verb $e$ to talk about his existence, which was already well established.
(44) Dae $\underline{e}$ minae mwahnae-kapw-maen mae ngaei e-n kaesalaehda then HEV exist man-young-NCL RM 1S.S HEV-INC talk aepwaekan aewa. while ago
'Then, there is a man whom I told you about already.'
(45) presents the use of the low certainty auxiliary $a e$. It is taken from a narrative about 12 children who were about to be killed by their stepmother. In (45), one of the children is asking his stepmother a question. In the question sentence, the low certainty auxiliary verb $a e$ is employed.
(45) noahnoa, ae soah maeh naein Kaehnaie sihr-pas? mother LEV not.exist well her Kaehnaie stick-NCL 'Mother, is Kaehnaie's stick around here?'
(46), from the same narrative as (45), is a model case of the usage of two auxiliary verbs. In (46), the children ask the stepmother whether their toy stick is around, using the low certainty auxiliary verb $a e$. The stepmother wants to trick them into going into the open ocean so that they will drown. So she lies to them that the toy stick they are looking for is in the open ocean, persuasively using the high certainty marker $e$. The children believe what their stepmother says and later, in the second half of the story, they do drown.
(46) Irah ahdihdoa pwa noahnoa, ae soah naein Kaehnaie sihr-pas? 3D.S went say mother LEV not.exist her Kaehnaie stick-NCL Ø-ae pwah Ø-ae soah, Ø-e pei-pei-doh ile-h maedu, 3s.S-LEV say 3s.S-LEV not.exist 3s.S-HEV float-float-DIR location-of ocean pwah $\emptyset$-e pile pwa Ø-e minoh nah maedau. oh $3 \mathrm{~S} . S-\mathrm{HEV}$ say that $3 \mathrm{~S} . S-\mathrm{HEV}$ exist in ocean 'They [the children] went down and asked, "Mother, is Kaehnaie's stick not around here?" She said "It's not around here. It is floating around in the open ocean. It is in the open ocean.""
4.3. The other forms in the subject marker set

In addition to $e$ and $a e$, discussed in the previous subsections, Good and Welley (1989) also listed en 'completive', aen 'positive intentive', and aeh 'negative intentive', as shown in table 4.1, repeated here as table 4.3. ${ }^{4}$

Table 4.3. Good and Welley's (1989) subject markers (repeated from table 4.1)

| ae/e | present and not-too-distant past |
| :--- | :--- |
| en | completive |
| aen | positive intentive |
| aeh | negative intentive |

However, I believe that Good and Welley's (1989) description is inaccurate.
First, although Good and Welley reported a positive versus negative contrast between aen and aeh, there is no such contrast. Rather, the two forms are different phonetic realizations of the same morpheme. My language consultant provided the sentences in

[^18](47) and (48), in which both forms occur in positive and negative contrasts. Thus, aen and aeh are interchangeable and can be used for both positive and negative intentions.
(47) Positive sentence
a. With aen

Soahn ae-n daedoahk laekapw.
John LEV-INC work tomorrow
'John will work tomorrow.'
b. With aeh

Soahn ae-h daedoahk laekapw.
John LEV-INC work tomorrow
'John will work tomorrow.'
(48) Negative sentence (with a negator soah)
a. With aen

Soahn ae-n soah daedoahk laekapw.
John LEV-INC not work tomorrow
'John won't work tomorrow.'
b. With aeh

Soahn ae-h soah daedoahk laekapw.
John LEV-INC not work tomorrow
'John won't work tomorrow.'

The positive and negative contrast simply comes from the existence of a negator in the negative sentences or the lack of a negator in the affirmative sentences, not from the alternation between aen and aeh. The aen~aeh variation is apparently governed by optional deletion of a word-final coronal nasal and compensatory vowel lengthening.
(49) World final coronal nasal deletion and vowel lengthening

Vn\# => V:\#

Aeh derives from aen through the application of a productive and optional phonological rule that is widespread in Pingelapese and typically common in casual styles of speech (e.g., aed-aen~aed-aeh 'name-of', lih-maen~lih-maeh 'a woman').

Second, although Good and Welley (1989) described the meaning of aen as intentive, their description is too narrow. An intentive particle, by definition, should occur only with a volitional subject: a subject whose referent has the ability to intend or
make a decision, such as a human being. Contrary to what is expected from the label "intentive" given by Good and Welley, aen co-occurs with a non-volitional subject. The subject in (50) is sikuhl 'school', and the subject of (51) is melimel 'typhoon'. Neither is volitional. Sentence (52) is about raining. No one can intend it to occur. These data clearly show that the auxiliary verb aen co-occurs with non-volitional subjects. For this reason, I do not label this auxiliary verb "intentive."
(50) Sikuhl ae-n kah sepeda laekapw. school LEV-INC fut start tomorrow 'School will start tomorrow.'
(51) Melimel ae-n ahdoa.
typhoon LEV-INC come
'A typhoon will come.'
(52) Daepwa, Ø-ae-n kaesaeu.
probably 3S.S-LEV-INC rain
'It will rain probably.'

Additional data show that the auxiliary verb aen also does not necessarily signal action in the future. For example, consider the following sentence (53).
(53) Pwoapwoaud-eu ae-n udahn wah-doa rais ahioa a irah manokae-la. couple-NCL LEV-INC need carry-DIR rice yesterday but 3D.S forget-DIR 'That couple would have brought rice yesterday, but they forgot it.'

Here aen is used to signal that an action was to have taken place in the past, but did not. For this reason, aen is better considered as an irrealis marker than as a future marker.

Third, for the completive marker en and eh, I also argue for allomorphy-a single morpheme with two different realizations. As shown in (54), the two sentences with en and $e h$ are both grammatical and have the same meaning. This variation is also explained by the optional rule of word-final coronal nasal deletion and vowel lengthening, proposed above in (49).
(54) Completive
a. With en

| Soahn | e-n | ahla laid | daeri. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| John | HEV-INC go fish | already |  |
| 'John has already gone fishing.' |  |  |  |

b. With $e h$

| Soahn | $\frac{e-h}{}$ | ahla | laid | daeri. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| John | HEV-INC | go | fish |  |
| already |  |  |  |  |

'John has already gone fishing.'

Fourth, I disagree with Good and Welley's (1989) labeling of this auxiliary verb as "completive" (see table 4.1). Consider the sentence with en (55).
(55) Soahn e-n laid.

John HEV-INC fish
'John started to fish.'

Although this sentence means that John started fishing, it does not entail that John's fishing was completed. It is possible that John is still fishing. Thus, the event is realized, but it may still be incomplete. To narrow the meaning to 'John has finished fishing', Pingelapese speakers would add an adverb such as daeri 'already' or a verbal suffix such as $-l a$, which is used to indicate a completed action. These two strategies to express a completed event are employed in (56).
(56) Soahn e-n laidi-la daeri.

John HEV-INC fish-DIR already
'John completed fishing already.'

For these reasons, I label en "realis" rather than "completive." The perfective aspect is marked by a verbal suffix or an adverb.

In sum, aen is the irrealis mood marker and en is the realis mood marker. The realis mood portrays situations as actualized, as having occurred, or as actually occurring. On the other hand, the irrealis mood portrays a situation as purely within the realm of thought or possibility (Mithun 1999:173). The description of these morphemes by Good and Welley (1989) is therefore revised as in table 4.4.

Table 4.4. Auxiliary verbs

| $a e$ | high certainty |
| :--- | :--- |
| $e$ | low certainty |
| aen $\sim a e h$ | irrealis |
| en $\sim e h$ | realis |

The use of en is exemplified in (57), a recorded narration of how a group of Japanese soldiers escaped from Pingelap atoll when attacked by the U.S. military.
(57) Sensikang-pas e-n duhdih-la nah sed ahla. submarine-NCL HEV-INC dive-DIR in sea go
'The submarine dived into the sea and left.'

Sentence (58), taken from a procedural narrative on how to prepare coconut oil, exemplifies the use of aen.

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\text { Oil-in oa-h aering-pwi ae-n } & \text { sikisik. }  \tag{58}\\
\text { oil-of PCL-your coconut.meat-PL LEV-INC } & \text { small } \\
\text { 'The oil from the coconut will be small.' }
\end{array}
$$

The discussion on $e$ and $a e$ in section 4.2 is relevant here for the examination of $e n$ and aen. I believe that $e$ is a component of the realis auxiliary verb en, which encodes the certainty of the realized event, and that the evidential ae is part of the irrealis auxiliary verb aen, which encodes the uncertainty associated with unrealized events. The morphological complexity of en and aen will be discussed in chapter 6 in a diachronic discussion on these auxiliary verbs.

It has been reported that the distinction between realis and irrealis mood is displayed in the alternation of root-initial consonants in a few areas within the Oceanic region (Lynch 1998). The distinction made by auxiliaries in Pingelapese is similar to the realis and irrealis distinction reported by Lynch, although the means of expressing the distinction are different. Note, however, that Pohnpeian, which is said to be closely related to Pingelapese, does not have forms equivalent to the auxiliaries reported in this chapter (Rehg 1981).

### 4.4. Auxiliary verbs in Pingelapese equational sentences

In this section, I will revisit the equational sentences, which were briefly presented in chapter 3. I will discuss the significance of the use of the auxiliary verbs e/ae in Pingelapese equational sentences and other phenomena related to their verbal characteristics in comparison with equational sentences in other Micronesian languages.

### 4.4.1. Verbless equational sentences in other Micronesian languages

Many Micronesian languages are reported to have equational sentences. Previous studies have observed that equational sentences in Micronesian languages are minimally composed of two noun phrases, one of which normally has the function of locating or identifying the other. Thus, it is said that Micronesian equational sentences do not have a verbal element, although the comparable sentence type includes a verb in some other languages (e.g., English: John $\underline{i s}$ a teacher). However, this description of equational sentences does not apply to Pingelapese equational sentences. This section will start with a descriptive report on Pohnpeian and Mokilese equational sentences and then move to the examination of Pingelapese equational sentences.

In (59), we can see an example of an equational sentence from Pohnpeian.
(59) Soulik soun-padahk emen. (Pohnpeian, Rehg 1981:325)
Soulik practitioner-teach NCL
'Soulik is a teacher.'
(59) is a verbless sentence composed of a personal noun referring to a title holder Soulik and a noun phrase soun-padahk emen 'a teacher'. Soun-padahk emen is clearly a noun phrase, having a nominal classifier emen in it.

The sentence in (60) is an example of an equational sentence from Mokilese. This sentence is also a verbless sentence with two noun phrases, John and john-padahk men 'a teacher'. The nominal classifier -men signals that john-padahk men is a noun phrase. Thus, there is no verbal element in (60).

## (60) John john-padahk men.

(Mokilese, Harrison 1976:142)
John practitioner-teach NCL
'John is a teacher.'

Additional evidence for the claim that these equational sentences are verbless comes from two linguistic phenomena. First, in Pohnpeian, while verbal sentences employ verbal subject pronouns, equational sentences employ independent pronouns. If the noun phrase Soulik is pronominalized, the following sentence results.
(61) Ih soun-padahk emen.

3S.IND practitioner-teach NCL
'He is a teacher.'

Here the third person singular independent pronoun ih 'he' is employed, not the third person singular verbal subject pronoun $e$ 'he'.

Sentences (62) and (63) show the complementary distribution of a verbal subject pronoun and an independent pronoun. (62) is an example in which the third person singular verbal subject pronoun $e$ is used. On the other hand, (63) is an example of the third person singular independent pronoun ih in a one-word answer. Independent pronouns do not occur in a subject pronoun position when the clause contains a verb.

## (62) $\underline{E}$ wahdo kilel-o.

(Pohnpeian, Rehg 1981:160)
3S.S bring picture-DEM
'He brought that picture.'
(63) $\underline{I h}$. (in response to a question like "Who brought the picture?")

3S.IND
'Him.' (Pohnpeian, K. Rehg, pers. comm., 2011)

Replacing $e$ with ih in (62) or $i h$ with $e$ in (63) will result in ungrammatical sentences.
The fact that independent pronouns, not verbal subject pronouns, are used in equational sentences serves as supporting evidence for the claim that these sentences are verbless in Pohnpeian. Comparable evidence is not available for Mokilese, as the language has lost the verbal subject pronoun set, and now the independent pronoun set is
employed in all cases. Thus, in Mokilese, there is no apparent contrast between independent pronouns and verbal subject pronouns.

A second piece of evidence for the claim that equational sentences are verbless comes from negation. In Pohnpeian, there are distinct negation mechanisms for verbal predicates and noun phrase predicates. Pohnpeian verbal sentences may be negated by the use of the verbal negator sohte, which is the most common verbal negator. Its use is illustrated in the contrast between an affirmative sentence and its negative counterpart in (64a) and (64b), respectively. Notice that sohte, as negator of the entire verbal sentence, appears after the subject and before the predicate phrase.
(64) a.Nohno pahn men pehle mwengeh-o. (Pohnpeian, Rehg 1981:326) mother will want.to reheat food-DEM 'Mother will want to reheat that food.'
b. Nohno sohte pahn men pehle mwengeh-o. (Pohnpeian, Rehg 1981:326) mother not will want.to reheat food-DEM 'Mother will not want to reheat that food.'

On the other hand, Pohnpeian noun phrase predicate sentences are negated by the use of kaidehn, the negator for the noun phrase. (65) shows how this negator is used in a short answer. Here, kaidehn negates the following noun, Linda 'Linda'.

Kaidehn Linda.
(Pohnpeian, K. Rehg, pers. comm., 2011)
not Linda
'Not Linda.'

The use of this noun phrase negator in negative equational sentences is illustrated in (66), where an affirmative equational sentence (66a) is followed by its negative counterpart (66b).
(66)
a. Ih soun-padahk emen.

3S.IND practitioner-teach NCL
'He is a teacher.'
b. Kaidehn ih soun-padahk emen. (Pohnpeian, Rehg 1981:325) not 3S.IND practitioner-teach NCL 'He is not a teacher.'

As this example illustrates, the negator kaidehn precedes the sentence it negates. The occurrence of kaidehn between the two noun phrases is not attested (K. Rehg, pers. comm.). Thus, the Pohnpeian negation mechanism for verbal predicates and for nominal predicates is different in terms of the form of the negator and its position in the structure.

How equational sentences are negated in Mokilese is illustrated in (67), where an affirmative equational sentence (67a) is followed by its negative counterpart (68b). The Mokilese-English dictionary (Harrison 1977:28) contains an entry for a noun phrase negator: "jaudi, neg. Not. Used to negate noun phrases." This negator jaudi is positioned in between the two noun phrases in the negated equational sentence (67b), in contrast to the sentence initial occurrence of Pohnpeian kaidehn in the negated equational sentence shown in (66b).

Note that this sentence medial occurrence of a noun phrase negator in a negative equational sentence is not attested in Pohnpeian. In Pohnpeian, the noun phrase negator kaidehn occurs at the beginning of the sentence.
(67) a. Ih oa-i john-padahk-wa.
(Mokilese, Harrison 1976:310)
3s.IND PCL-my practioner-teach-DET
'He is my teacher.'
b. Ih jaudi oa-i john-padahk-wa. (Mokilese, Harrison 1976:310)

3S.IND not PCL-my practioner-teach-DET
'He is not my teacher.'

The characteristics of equational sentences in Pohnpeian and Mokilese are summarized in table 4.5.

Table 4.5. The characteristics of equational sentences in Pohnpeian and Mokilese

|  | Verbs | Pronoun for the subject | Negator |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Pohnpeian | No | Independent pronouns <br> Verbal subject pronoums | Noun phrase negator <br> Verbal negators |
| Mokilese | No | N.A. | Noun phrase negator <br> Verbal negators |

Based on this evidence, previous studies on Pohnpeian and Mokilese concluded that equational sentences do not exhibit the characteristics of verbal sentences and that they are minimally composed of two noun phrases, without a verb. It has also been concluded that equational sentences in other Micronesian languages are verbless.

### 4.4.2. Pingelapese verbal equational sentences

However, the situation in Pingelapese is quite different. Equational sentences, described as verbless constructions in other Micronesian languages, are expressed as verbal constructions in Pingelapese. Consider the Pingelapese equational sentence in (68), which is composed of two noun phrases with an auxiliary verb $e$ in between them, but without an accompanying verb. The nature of this auxiliary verb $e$ was discussed in sections 4.1 and 4.2.
(68) John daekah Linda e soaun-padahk-pwi. John and Linda HEV practitioner-teach-PL 'John and Linda are teachers.'

Dropping the auxiliary verb $e$ from (68) will result in an ungrammatical sentence, as in (69). Thus, Pingelapese equational sentences require a verbal element, unlike Pohnpeian or Mokilese.

$$
\begin{array}{ccc}
(69) * & \text { John daekah } & \text { Linda soaun-padahk-pwi. } \\
\text { John and } & \text { Linda practitioner-teach-PL }
\end{array}
$$

The auxiliary verb $e$ between the two noun phrases expresses that the speaker has high certainty about the truth of his statement. When the speaker wants to express that he is not certain of the truth of his statement and does not want to commit to what is
expressed in his statement, he employs $a e$ instead of $e$. This is shown in (70), a question with $a e$.
(70) John daekah Linda ae soaun-padahk-pwi? John and Linda LEV practitioner-teach-PL ‘Are John and Linda teachers?'

This sort of mood distinction is typically expressed by a verbal element and can be taken as an indication that equational sentences are verbal sentences. ${ }^{5}$ The equational sentence (70) includes an auxiliary verb ae and a null-verb (equivalent to the English copula), as illustrated in figure 4.6.


Figure 4.6. Structure of equational sentence

When a pronoun is employed as the subject of an equational sentence, the verbal subject pronoun, not the independent pronoun, is used. In (71), the second person singular verbal subject pronoun $k e$ is employed and the sentence is grammatical. In contrast, the use of the second person singular independent pronoun kaewae results in an ungrammatical sentence, as in (72) and (73).

[^19][^20](71) $K$-e soaun-paedahk-aemaen.
2S.S-HEV practitioner-teach-NCL
'You are a teacher.'

(72) * Kaewae $\begin{gathered}\text { soaun-paedahk-aemaen. } \\ \text { 2S.IND }\end{gathered} \quad$ practitioner-teach-NCL.
(73) * Kaewae e soaun-paedahk-aemaen.
2S.IND HEV practitioner-teach-NCL

The pair in (74) shows the distribution of Pingelapese subject pronouns and independent pronouns. For a verbal sentence, a verbal subject pronoun $k e$ is employed, while a verbless one-word answer employs the independent pronoun kaewae. Employing kaewae for (74a) instead of ke, or ke for (74b) instead of kaewae, would result in ungrammatical sentences.
(74) a. K-e saewaesae Linda.

2s.S-HEV help Linda
'You helped Linda.'
b. Kaewae. (in response to a question like "Who did this?")

2S.IND
'You.'

Thus, the type of pronoun used for the subject of a Pingelapese equational sentence is different from Pohnpeian. In equational sentences, Pohnpeian employs only independent pronouns, whereas Pingelapese uses only verbal subject pronouns. This indicates that Pingelapese equational sentences are verbal.

Like Pohnpeian and Mokilese, Pingelapese also has a noun phrase negator, which is audih. Audih is cognate with the Mokilese noun phrase negator jaudi. In fact, Mokilese also use audi as an alternate form of jaudi. The relationship with Pohnpeian kaidehn is not clear, but the function is basically the same. I will show how audih is used in Pingelapese, and then move on to an examination of how equational sentences are negated.

The use of audih is exemplified in (75). There is no verbal element in this sentence and audih negates the following noun ngaehi 'me'.
(75) Audih ngaehi!
not 1s.IND
'Not me!' (in response to a question like "Who did this?")

A similar example is seen in (76), which is from the recorded narration of a Pingelapese legend. In this scene, a father is scolding his son, saying that the son touched the fish that the father caught for his mistress. Here, audih negates the following noun phrase koanoamw 'your food'.
(76) Dae woal aemaen pwah ihs mae pwa koanoa-mw, audih koanoa-mw, then man NCL say who FOC say PCL-your not PCL-your kaenae-h lih maeh nah sapw; kaenae-n lih maen maeh Dahmap, food-of woman NCL in island food-of woman NCL person.of Dahmap ihs mae pwah wei reh-mw pwa koanoa-mw?
who FOC say DIR to-you that PCL-your
'The father told him, "Who said this is your food? This is not your food. It's for my woman at Dahmap, who said that this is yours?'

In (77) is an example of the usage of audih in a recast. The speaker is describing the season for a traditional Pingelapese stick-throwing game. First, he said that it is in the month of May. Then he corrected his statement, naming different months. Here, audih negates the following noun phrase Mei 'May'.
(77) Mwadoang-eu mae, aeraemas wia nah soaunpwong in Mei, wei nah game-NCL DEM people do in month of May wait in soaunpwong in audih Mei nah soaunpwong in Mahs, April, epwi seri kaei month of not May in month of March April some child just paei-paei-wei lel nah Mei. game-game-DIR arrive in May
'This game is played during the month of May. Wait...not the month of May. During the months of March and April. Some kids continue playing into the month of May.'

In (78), the speaker describes his first encounter with a non-Pingelapese man. In this paragraph, audih negates the noun phrase meh Pingelap 'Pingelapese person'.
(78) Woal-maen e pwilih-doa sep rahneu, mwahn-aekapw maen e pwilih-man-NCL HEV join-DIR ship today man-young NCL HEV joindoa sep dae ngaei kapwenaeh kila eh mwoamw-aen woal mae, audih DIR ship and 1s.S first.time see well kind-of man DEM not meh Pingelap-maen mae woal-maen.
person.of Pingelap-NCL RM man-NCL
'The man came on the ship today, this young man came on the ship and this was my first time to see this kind of man, a man who was not a Pingelapese man.'

The noun phrase negator audih is not used when an equational sentence is negated; this is unlike the way the noun phrase negator is used in Pohnpeian and Mokilese. In (79) and (80), an affirmative equational sentence is followed by its negative counterpart. The negative counterpart employs the verbal negator saewaeh 'not'.
(79) a. Linda ae soaun-paedahk-aemaen Linda LEV practitioner-teach-NCL
'Linda is a teacher.'
b. Linda ae saewaeh soaun-paedahk-aemaen.

Linda LEV not practitioner-teach-NCL
'Linda is not a teacher.'
(80) a. K-ae soaun-paedahk-aemaen

2S.S-LEV practitioner-teach-NCL
'You are a teacher.'
b. K-ae saewaeh soaun-paedahk-aemaen.

2S.S-LEV not practitioner-teach-NCL
'You are not a teacher.'

Example (81) shows the usage of saewaeh in a negative verbal sentence. (81a) is an affirmative verbal sentence with the verb saewaesae 'help'. This sentence's negative counterpart in (80b) is negated with the verbal negator saewaeh, not the noun phrase negator audih. As seen in the negative equational sentences in (79b) and (80b) and the negative verbal sentence in (81b), saewaeh does not occur in sentence-initial position, unlike Pohnpeian kaidehn, but occurs in front of the main verb. Thus, Pingelapese negators for verbal sentences and equational sentences are the same in form and in distribution. Verbal negators will be discussed further in chapter 5 .
(81) a. Linda ae saewaesae John.

Linda LEV help John
'Linda helped John.'
b. Linda ae saewaeh saewaesae John.

Linda LEV not help John 'Linda didn't help John.'

Unlike in Pohnpeian and Mokilese, the nominal negator audih is not employed to negate equational sentences in Pingelapese, as illustrated in (82).
(82) a. * Audih Linda ae soaun-paedahk-aemaen. not Linda LEV practitioner-teach-NCL
b. * Linda ae audih soaun-paedahk-aemaen. Linda LEV not practitioner-teach-NCL
c. * Audih k-ae soaun-paedahk-aemaen. not $2 \mathrm{~S} . S-\mathrm{LEV}$ practitioner-teach-NCL
d. * K-ae audih soaun-paedahk-aemaen. 2s.S-LEV not practitioner-teach-NCL
e. * Audih kaewae soaun-paedahk-aemaen. not 2S.IND practitioner-teach-NCL
f. * Kaewae audih soaun-paedahk-aemaen. 2s.IND not practitioner-teach-NCL

Thus, Pingelapese equational sentences are negated in the same way as verbal sentences, supporting the hypothesis that Pingelapese equational sentences are verbal sentences rather than verbless sentences.

The characteristics of equational sentences in Pohnpeian, Mokilese, and Pingelapese are summarized in table 4.6.

Table 4.6. The characteristics of equational sentences in Pohnpeian and Mokilese

|  | Verbal element | Pronoun for the subject | Negator |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Pohnpeian | No | Independent pronouns <br> Verbal subject promoums | Noun phrase negator <br> Verbal negators |
| Mokilese | No | N.A. | Noun phrase negator <br> Verbal negators |
| Pingelapese | Yes | Independent pronouns <br> Verbal subject pronouns | Noun phrase negator <br> Verbal negators |

Whereas Pohnpeian and Mokilese equational sentences do not allow verbal elements in the sentence, Pingelapese equational sentences require verbal elements. Pingelapese equational sentences are composed of two noun phrases, an auxiliary verb $e / a e$, and a null verb. The subject of a Pohnpeian equational sentence coincides with the independent pronoun, not with the pronoun set used in verbal sentences. In contrast, the subject of a Pingelapese equational sentence does not coincide with the independent pronoun, but with the verbal pronoun (see table 4.7).

Table 4.7. Distribution of pronouns among verbal sentences, equational sentences, and one-word answers in Pohnpeian, Mokilese, and Pingelapese

|  | Subj. of verbal <br> sentence | Subj. of equational <br> sentence | One-word answer |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Pohnpeian | Verbal pronoun | Independent pronoun | Independent pronoun |
| Mokilese | Independent pronoun | Independent pronoun | Independent pronoun |
| Pingelapese | Verbal pronoun | Verbal pronoun | Independent pronoun |

Finally, the negation mechanism of Pohnpeian and Mokilese equational sentences differs from that of their verbal sentences, whereas the negation mechanism of a Pingelapese equational sentence is the same in a verbal sentence.

In this section, it was shown that a Pingelapese equational expression requires an auxiliary verb (e/ae) and employs the type of pronoun and the negator that is usually found in verbal sentences. This evidence undermines the verbless analysis for Pingelapese equational sentences that works for other Micronesian languages. I conclude that we should treat Pingelapese equational sentences as verbal sentences.

In sum, the Pingelapese equational sentence is composed of the subject, auxiliary verb, null copula verb, and predicative noun, as illustrated in figure 4.6. In this type of sentence, the predicative noun has the function of describing the subject.

In one respect, equational sentences are different from other verbal sentences. They cannot co-occur with the aspectual auxiliary verbs aen or en, which were discussed in sections 4.1 and 4.2, or with aspectual suffixes such as $-l a$-a directional suffix marking completive meaning. Thus, unlike other verbal sentences, an equational sentence cannot be employed to express the realization of an event. (83a) shows that employing the aspectual markers aen or -la in equational sentences is simply ungrammatical. To express such a meaning, the nominal soaun-paedahk will not take a nominal classifier and undergo a zero verbalization process. The non-usage of a nominal classifier allows one to use soaun-paedahk as a verb that can co-occur with the aspectual auxiliaries aen or en and with the aspectual suffix - $l a$, as seen in (83b).
(83) a. * Linda ae-n soaun-paedahk-aemaen-la.

Linda LEV-INC practitioner-teach-NCL-DIR (Intended meaning = 'Linda is going to become a teacher.')
b. Linda ae-n soaun-paedahk-la.

Linda LEV-INC practitioner-teach-DIR
'Linda is going to become a teacher.'

These data indicate that Pingelapese equational sentences differ from other verbal sentences in at least one respect.

### 4.5. Summary

While $e$ and $a e$ in Pingelapese have been called subject markers and were considered to be in free variation (Good and Welley 1989), I have argued that the two forms are in fact auxiliary verbs that encode evidentiality distinctions: the speaker's relative certainty about the truth of the proposition expressed. $E$ encodes a high degree of evidentiality in that the speaker is more certain that the information in her speech is true. In contrast, ae encodes a low degree of evidentiality; its use implies that the speaker is less certain that the information in her speech is true. This is the first study to report the
role of evidentiality in any Micronesian language (K. Rehg, pers. comm., 2011) or, to the author's knowledge, any Oceanic language, which suggests the need for further research on this topic in Micronesian languages.

It was also shown that the other forms listed as subject markers in Good and Welley (1989) -en and aen - are auxiliary verbs, each of which has an alternate phonetic realization ( $e h$ and aeh, respectively). The meaning of the two auxiliary verbs was examined, and it was concluded that they encode realis and irrealis, respectively.

This study of equational sentences reveals that they are quite different in Pingelapese than in other Micronesian languages in that they show characteristics of verbal sentences, perhaps indicating that there is pressure in the Pingelapese language system to make all sentences comply with a canonical sentence structure that involves a verb.

This chapter provides a synchronic study of Pingelapese $a e, e, a e n$, and en. A diachronic investigation of these preverbals will be presented in chapter 6.

## CHAPTER 5. EXHAUSTIVE LIST OF PREVERBAL ELEMENTS (NEGATORS AND PREVERBALS)

As shown in Chapter 4, the initial position in the verbal complex is designated to hold one of the following auxiliary verbs: ae, e, aen, or en. This chapter will discuss other elements that can occur between auxiliary verbs and the main verb, in the slot that is underlined in (1).
(1) $[\text { Subject Noun }]_{N P}[[$ Auxiliary Verb] (negator) (preverbs) [Main Verb] $]$ vc.

### 5.1. Negators

The second slot in the verbal complex is for sentential negators. The list of Pingelapese sentential negators is shown in table 5.1. The usage of these negators is described and exemplified in the following subsections.

Table 5.1. Pingelapese sentential negators

| saewaeh | 'not' | the most common |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| seuhla | 'no longer' |  |
| soah | 'not' | used only with aen |
| dae | 'don't' | only in commands, used commonly with kae $\left(2^{\text {nd }}\right.$ <br> person singular subject proclitic $)$ |
| kahsikaeh | 'not yet' |  |

### 5.1.1. Saewaeh 'not'

Saewaeh is the most common and the default negative marker for main verbs, as shown in the elicited example in (2).
(2) Soulik e saewaeh kila Marce.

Soulik HEV not see Marce
'Soulik does not see Marce.'

The next examples in (3) and (4) are from recordings of the telling a traditional story and the narrative description of a Pingelapese coronation ceremony, respectively.
(3) Dae woal-aemaen pwahdihla reh-n pwa ngaei saewaeh mesik kaewae. then man-NCL say to-him that $1 \mathrm{~s} . \mathrm{S}$ not afraid 2 s .0 'Then, the man said to him "I'm not afraid of you.""
(4) A ae-minae daewi-n a Ø-ae saewaeh pwili wia pwekemwar peinaeh but LEV-exist place-of but $3 \mathrm{~S} . S-$-LEV not join do coronation only Doahkaesa, aeh Nahnaepas, Nahlaimw dae Nahneken mae kae mae wia Doahkaesa well Nahnaepas Nahlaimw and Nahneken FOC habit FOC do kasaeraewiae-n pwekemwar. ceremony-of coronation
'There is a specific place for him [Nahnaewa] but he does not participate in conducting the ceremony. Only Doahkaesa [paramount chief], Nahnaepas, and Nahneken are those who conduct the coronation ceremony.'

Another example of saewaeh is seen in (5), from a recorded speech about a rumor, which circulates among Pingelapese, about the unexplained death of many Pingelapese workers in Nauru. It is said that Germans tried to kill Nauruans but they mistakenly poisoned the food that went to the workers from other Micronesian islands.
(5) Pwah meh Saehmaen laemae-laemae irah-n kaen kaemaehla ira well people.of German think-think 3D.S-INC just kill 3D.O dae sapwaenkihla sapwae-ra, irah naemaen pwain sang irah saek saewaeh and takeover land-their 3D.S want.to buy from 3D.S also not naemaen naeskihla.
Want.to sell
'The Germans decided to kill them [Nauruans] off and take over their land, they [Germans] wanted to buy it but they [Nauruans] didn't want to sell [it].'

### 5.1.2. Seula 'no longer'

Seula is used to express a state or activity that once existed but no longer does. It is translated as 'no longer' or 'not anymore', as shown in (6).
(6) Ngaei e-n seula sohmwahu.

1S.S HEV-INC no.longer sick
'I'm not sick anymore.'

The usage of seula is attested below in a procedural text on how to make coconut oil.
(7) Dae k-ae-nae inim, inim, inim oah pil-aeh laeh-eu aeroh then 2 S.S-LEV-INC cook cook cook oh liquid-of coconut.oil-NCL oh k-ae-n inaekae pwa Ø-ae-n uhdahn ae-n koaroahroah-la 2S.S-LEV-INC find that 3S.S-LEV-INC really LEV-INC white-DIR oah pil-eu kaen seula kiried. your liquid-NCL just no.longer murky 'You will cook the oil until you see that the oil is white and no longer murky.'
5.1.3. Soah 'not'

Soah is a negative marker that occurs with the auxiliary verb aen, as in (8).
(8) $\emptyset-\underline{a e-h}$ soah ahla saeraek laekapw.
(Good and Welley 1989:28)
3S.S-LEV-INC not go sail tomorrow
'He will not go sailing tomorrow.'

The same usage is seen in (9), from a narrative about how to prepare coconut oil.
(9) Dae k-ae anahnae kih-sang kirihskih nahn oah, [nahn oah] then 2S.S-LEV need move-DIR coconut.water in well [in well] aering-eu pwa $\emptyset$-ae-n soah kawae ansaeu-pwi mae coconut.meat-NCL so.that 3S.S-LEV-INC not disturb occasion-PL RM k-ae padik.
2s.S-LEV squeeze
'You need to remove the coconut water from the coconut meat so it will not disturb your squeezing.'

This combination of aen and soah is used as a suggestion or invitation, as shown in (10).
(10) Koamwahsi ae-n soah pwili kihs?

2P.S LEV-INC not join 2D/P.O
'Why don't you guys join us?'

When followed by soah, the auxiliary verb aen is often pronounced as oah as in (11).
(11) Koamwahsi oa-h soah pwili kihs?

2P.S LEV-INC not join 2D/P.O
'Why don't you guys join us?'

Another such example is seen in (12), a text on traditional medical techniques.
(12) Ira-h-n saehrdi saehrdi dae kol-kihdi pae-h aeraemas-maen 3D.S-LEV-INC peel peel and hold-with hand-of person-NCL pwa Ø-oa-h soah mwaekae-mwaekid
so.that 3S.S-LEV-INC not move-move
'They would tear off the skin then hold the person's hands and prevent them from moving.'

### 5.1.4. Dae 'do not'

Dae is used as a negative command and translated as 'don't'. While the English negator don't can occur with or without an overt subject, the Pingelapese negative command dae can only occur with an overt subject. Consider the grammatical difference between (13) and (14). An English negative command sentence without an overt subject is grammatical, as in (13). However, the corresponding Pingelapese sentence in (14) is ungrammatical. ${ }^{1}$ A Pingelapese negative command requires an overt subject, as shown in (15).

Don't do that!
(14) * Dae wia!
don't do
(15) $K$-ae dae wia!

2s.S-LEV don't do
'Don't do!'
(15) is one of the first expressions Pingelapese children produce, probably due to an abundant input of such expressions from caregivers. (16) is from a Pingelapese

[^21](a) Dehr sumwoak!
(Pohnpeian, K. Rehg, pers. comm., 2012) don't smoke
'Don't smoke!'
This may be the result of a concern to avoid using the wrong subject pronoun, the choice of which is sensitive to the social status of the addressee. Unlike in spoken conversation, the writer of this sign does not know who the addressee is or the status of the addressee. Using the wrong pronoun can be a serious problem in the highly structured Pohnpeian society, but this sign can be addressed to people of any status.
nursery song sung to a girl baby. The girl baby is the addressee, and the second person singular pronoun kae is used to refer to her.
(16) Pwohpwo $e$-ae dae saengae-saeng $e$ soa inae-mw ae-n baby.girl oh 2 S.S-LEV not cry-cry HEV not.exist mom-your LEV-INC pwaekaeda kaewae wa, wa, wa.
hug/lift $2 \mathrm{~s} . \mathrm{O}$ carry carry carry
'Hey baby girl. Don't cry. Your mom is not here to pick you up and hug you. Carry carry carry.' (The babysitter or grandmother is carrying the baby at the end of song.)
(17) is from the Pingelapese legend of Liewihdaekaikai, a smart little boy, and a giant.
(17) Dae Liewihdaekaikai kaen pwahng reh-n pwa k-ae dae kang ngaehi and Liewihdaekaikai just talk to-him that $2 \mathrm{~S} . S-$ LEV not eat 1 s .0 pwa k-ae-nae kang ngaehi dae nah aewoa-mw kaen pwiseh-la. because 2 S.S-LEV-INC eat 1 S.O and inside mouth-your just poo-DIR 'Then, Liewihdaekaikai just told him [the giant], "Don't eat me. If you eat me, your mouth will get full of poo.""

As seen in these examples, dae is almost always heard with the second person singular pronoun kae. However, in elicitation, the co-occurrence of the second person dual koamwah and dae are attested, as shown in (18).
(18) Koamwah dae wia!

2D.S don't do 'You guys don't do!'

Dae was also found with koamw 'you (respectful)' in a recorded legend in (19), in which one person is telling the other person not to think about his ex-wife.
(19) Koamw dae laemae-laemae lih mwahl aemaen koamwi naekae noau-mwi 2s.S not think-think woman useless NCL 2S.S find PCL-your serih-pwi dae kaein, Ø-ae pwa awuh kaelahngaen aen koamwa, koamwi child-PL then just 3S.S-LEV say oh generous of 2D.IND 2D.S e-n kaespahlih-doa nae-i serih-pwi. HEV-INC bring-DIR PCL-my child-PL '[The neighbor said], "Don't mind that useless woman, look here you have your children again." Then, the father said, "Thanks you two, you have brought back my children.""

Although Good and Welley (1989) list kaedae as a negator for commands, I list dae, not kaedae, as a negator for a command sentence due to its occurrence without kae.

### 5.1.5. Kahsikaeh 'not yet'

Another negator that occurs in verbal sentences is kahsikaeh 'not yet', exemplified in (20).
(20) Ngaei kahsikaeh oanoap-aeda.

1s.S not.yet ready-DIR
'I'm not ready yet.'

The sentence in (21) is from the recorded narration of a Pingelapese traditional stick-throwing game. This sentence contains an example of kahsikaeh.
(21) Dae, minae serih-pwi mae nohkin paeraen-kin paei dae epwi ansaeu and HEV exist child-PL RM also happy-with game and some time irahsi kaein paei mwoh ansaeu ae-h kahsikaeh lel. 3P.S just game before time LEV-INC not.yet arrive 'Some kids get too excited and start playing before the right time [breadfruit season].'

Kahsikaeh appears as kahsik when it occurs on its own, as shown in (22).

## (22) Kahsik.

not.yet
'Not yet.' (in response to a question like "Did you finish your homework?")

It is probable that kahsikaeh is the combination of kahsik and aen, with aen taking a verb phrase complement. This would explain why kahsik and not kahsikaeh is used when there is not a verb. The reason that aen is realized as aeh in kahsikaeh is that it is governed by the optional rule, discussed in Chapter 6, which deletes a word final coronal nasal and adds compensatory vowel lengthening. I will come back to this analysis at the end of the next section.

### 5.1.6. Summary

The relative word order of an auxiliary verb and a negator, first presented in (2), is shown here in (23).

| (23) Subject | Auxiliary Verb | Negator <br> Soulik | $e$ | saewaeh |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

### 5.2. Other preverbals

There are other particles that can occur in a verbal complex in addition to the already mentioned auxiliary verbs and negators, as shown in table 5.2.

Table 5.2. Pingelapese preverbal elements

| kah | 'may' | expressing indefiniteness/immediateness |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ke | 'habitually' | expressing habitual aspect |
| kaein (kaen) | 'just/simply' | express an important change in the situation |
| peinaeh | 'still/only' | expressing the stability of the situation |
| naemaen | 'want' | expressing desire or willingness |
| kakaen (kahn) | 'can' | expressing ability and, sometimes, permission |

The preverbals shown in table 5.2 precede the main verb and serve as deontic modals, aspect markers, and adverbs. These preverbals should be distinguished from auxiliary verbs. Auxiliary verbs appear in the very first position of the verbal complex and they mark epistemic modality and realis or irrealis. They precede a negator when they co-occur, as shown in section 5.1. In contrast, the preverbals in table 5.2 follow an auxiliary verb and also a negator, as shown in (24), in which the auxiliary verb ae precedes the negator saewaeh, and the preverbal kakaen follows.
(24) Linda ae saewaeh kakaen koul.

Linda LEV not can sing
'Linda cannot sing.'

Another example is seen in (25), taken from a Pingelapese speaker's narration about traditional medical treatment.
(25) Aeraemas wah-doa nae-iri seri reh-i pwa aema ngaei saewaeh kahn wia people bring-DIR PCL-their child to-me asking if $1 \mathrm{~S} . \mathrm{S}$ not can do 'People bring their children to me asking if I can treat them.'

The linear order in which these elements occur is summarized in (26). ${ }^{2}$
(26) Subject Auxiliary verb Negator Preverbals Main verb

### 5.2.1. Kah 'may'

$K a h$ is used to express the uncertainty or the non-immediateness of the event described. Thus, with kah, the speaker does not show commitment to the realization of the event described in the sentence. The best English translation for this word is probably 'may', as illustrated in (27).

## (27) Pahpa ae-n kah ahdoa? <br> father LEV-INC may come <br> 'May Father come?'

Example (28) describes the preparation of drinkable water during drought conditions. Pingelapese people boil well water before they use it for cooking or drinking. This example shows the usage of kah and aen. The contrast between aen (used with the actual boiling) and kah (used to describe the boiled water's use) showcases the difference in certainty or immediateness between the two elements.
(28) Ira-h-n pwoail-ihda aeroh daeri dae irah kah kuk-kin daekah 3D.S-LEV-INC boil-DIR long finish then 3D.S will cook-with and nim pil-pwi ah-sang nah pwaraer.
drink water-PL come-DIR in well
'They are to finish boiling the well water. Then, they will cook with or drink it.'

Notice that the adverb dae 'then' occurs between the two utterances in (28), to express the timing difference. The event in (29a) must be realized as a precondition of the event in (29b). The usage of aen in (29a) and of kah in (29b) marks the timing or certainty difference of the two events.

[^22](29) (a) Ira-h-n pwoil-ihda aeroh daeri. 3D.S-LEV-INC boil-DIR long finish 'They are to finish boiling [the water].'
(b) Irah kah kuk-kin daekah nim pil-pwi ah-sang nah pwaraer. 3D.S will cook-with and drink water-PL come-DIR in well 'They will cook with or drink it.'

Another example of the usage of kah is shown in (30), from the description of a traditional reef fishing method, which is still used today. Here aen and kah occur next to each other. This kah expresses the timing difference with respect to the event that should occur beforehand.
(30) Mwaedangaela uhda waesah-pwi mae r-ae-n kahn minaeh-wei hurry stand place-PL RM 3D/P.S-LEV-INC can exist-DIR mwoh Ø-ae-n kah pwongih-di dae maeram ae-n kah sikida. before 3s.S-LEV-INC may night-DIR and moon LEV-INC may protrude 'People hurry to the spots where they want to fish before it gets dark and the moon is out.'

The usage of aen and kah is interesting in this example. In this sentence, three aen and two kah are used. I extract those parts and show them in (31). Aen is marked by underlining, and kah is enclosed in a box.
> (a) $R$-ae-h kahn minaeh-wei

> 3D/P.S-LEV-INC can exist-DIR
> 'They can get [there].'
(b) Ø-ae-n kah pwongih-di dae maeram ae-n kah sikida.

3S.S-LEV-INC may night-DIR and moon LEV-INC will protrude 'Subsequently, it gets dark and the moon is out.'

The event in (31a) has to be realized before the one in (31b). The absence of kah in (31a) and its presence in (31b) indicate that the realization of (31a) is more certain (and in an immediate time frame) than the realization of (31b).

Kah does not necessarily refer to a future event. Consider (32), which is about the childhood memory of a 60-year old Pingelapese man. It is not a narration on customs or
traditions that continue today, but rather his memory of an event he experienced. Thus, this sentence is clearly describing a past event. In the description of this past event, kah is employed.
(32) Nahn aerah rahnmwahu-la daeri daepwah Takuro kah pwahng reh pahpa. when 3D.S greet-DIR finish then Takuro would talk to father 'When they had finished greeting, Takuro then talked to my father.'

The sentence in (32) describes two events, one of which precedes the other. The event described in (33a) precedes that in (33b). Kah marks the time difference between the two. Here, kah is best translated as 'subsequently'.
(33) (a) Nahn aerah rahnmwahu-la daeri when 3D.S greet-DIR finish 'When they had finished greeting'
(b) Takuro kah pwahng reh pahpa. Takuro would talk to father
'Takuro subsequently talked to my father'

Another, similar example is seen in (34), which describes how several Pingelapese men joined the Japanese military and toured to Chuuk and Rabaul, and then to New Guinea. This event happened more than 50 years before this speaker participated in our recording. As we can see, the men's arrival in New Guinea, which is marked by $k a h$, is an event subsequent to their arrival in Chuuk and Rabaul, which are not marked by kah. Thus, kah marks the subsequent character of the event.
(34) Ahla rah keseula Ruk pwili sep, sep in mae-h mahwin. Keseula go 3D.S run Chuuk join ship ship of things-of war run lel Ruk ahla lel Raepwaul ahla lel ia-hdae-n Raepwaul. arrive Chuuk go arrive Rabaul go arrive what-name-of Rabaul Daepwah irah kah saeu-sang Raepwaul anewei ia-hdae-n then 3D.S subsequently move-DIR Rabaul well what-name-of anewei maeh Nu kini.
well well New Guinea.
'They went on to Chuuk on a warship. They went to Chuuk and then from Chuuk to Rabaul. Then they went from Rabaul and went on to New Guinea.'
5.2.2. $K e$ 'habitual'
$K e$ is used to mark a habitual event, action, or state, as seen in (35).
(35) Ø-e ke maeir.

3s.S-HEV habit sleep
'She habitually sleeps.'

The usage of ke is seen in examples (36) through (39), taken from a narrative about the tradition of pwekemwar, the Pingelapese coronation.
(36) Dah mae ke wiawi nah pwekemwar sang mahs ahiahdoa lel rahnoh what FOC habit happen in coronation from before come arrive days reh-sa.
by-us
'What happens during the coronation ceremony from the past to the present.'
(37) Ngaeh daewi mwoamwaen pwekemwar daekah dipwisoau-pwih mae 1S.S.LEV.INC talk how coronation and item-PL RM ke daedoahk nah ansaeu-kis mae pwekemwar ke wiawi. habit work in occasion-NCL RM coronation habit happen 'I am going to talk about how the ceremony of a coronation and the items used when a coronation ceremony takes place.'
(38) Pwah uhdahn mwar duau mae ke minae sang mahs ahiahdoa. these indeed title nine FOC habit exist from before come 'These are the original nine titles from the past through to the present.'
(39) Mae kisahsi [ke] ke kolo-kol sang mahs aeh mwahn-pwi sang reh that 2P.IN.S habit habit hold-hold from before well guy-PL from by mwahn-pwi saemae-sahsi mahs ahiahdoa.
guy-PL father-our before come
'This is what we have been holding on to from our forefathers from the past up to today.'

Ke often co-occurs with the adverb kaelap 'usually'. Consider the examples in (40) from the traditional coronation narrative and in (41) from a description of the traditional stickthrowing game.
(40) Dae Nahlaimw mae-n kahlua aeh kaepar-eu aeh ae-minae aeh and Nahlaimw FOC-INC lead well march-NCL and LEV-exist well saehnih riau ke kaelap wesik ansaeu-kis mae kaepar-eu ae-n coconut.leaf two habit usually hold occasion-NCL RM march-NCL LEV-INC alialuhdih-doa ah-iah-sang laehpaeng ahiahdih-doa lel Maesaeiroang dae walk-DIR go-go-DIR Laehpaeng walk-DIR arrive Maesaeiroang then lel Mwaeniap. arrive Mwaeniap
'Nahlaimw is the one to lead the march, and there are two coconut leaves that are carried during the march from Laehpaeng to Maesaeiroang to Mwaeniap.'
(41) Soangae-h sihr-pwih mae meh Pingelap ke kaelap daedoahk kin kind-of stick-PL FOC people.of Pingelap habit always work in paei kin suhkae kaelaeseu, airam, sopwuk, pwah kidahk, pwah soangae-h compete in tree kaelaeseu airam sopwuk and kidahk and kind-of suhkaeh-pwi aeh mae meh Pingelap kaelap paei kin. tree-PL well RM people.of Pingelap usually game with 'The kinds of stick that Pingelapese usually use for the game are the stick plants kaelaeseu, airam, sopwuk, and kidahk, these are the plants or trees that Pingelapese usually play the game with.'

### 5.2.3. Kaein 'just'

Kaein seems to mark a change in the situation or event narrated. The status or action described in the clause with kaein is important, striking, and often sudden, but not surprising. ${ }^{3}$ The best English translation may be 'just' or 'simply'.
(42) is extracted from the story of a Pingelapese man who was visited by Takuro, the son of his old Japanese friend, and who learned what happened to his friend after they got separated. The Pingelapese man, pahpa in the speech, is the speaker's father. The first kaein precedes uhdi 'stop/freeze' and marks that this freezing is striking in the scene, asking for the listener's attention. The second kaein precedes naehnaehlah 'quiet down' and marks the striking change from the shock to silence.

[^23](42) Dae pahpa ae roang dae Ø-ae kaein uhdi naemaenaeh ih mae then, father LEV hear and 3S.S-LEV simply stop as 3S.IND FOC shock, dae Ø-e kilahla reh maeh Takuro in maesae-h Takuro dae shock and 3S.S-HEV look to guy Takuro of face-of Takuro and Ø-ae kaein naehnaehlah dae ngaei kilahla ini maesae-n pahpa pilae-n 3s.S-LEV just quiet(v) then 1s.S saw in face-of father water-of maesae e-ne kaer.
eye HEV-INC run.(for liquid)
'As my father heard this, he came to a stop as if he was in shock and he looked at Takuro's face and fell silent. I looked at my father's face and saw tears coming down.'
(43) is from the description of the coronation ceremony, during which Pingelapese people shout and scream to scare away ghosts. Here, kaein precedes mesikida 'get scared'. This marks the striking change in that the scary ghosts get scared by Pingelapese people.
(43) R-ae kaein mesiki-da dae keseu-sang pwa pwah kahraepaen 3D/P.S-LEV simply scare-DIR then run-DIR reason intensifier why nah pwekemwar kisahsi ke wer dae se. in coronation 2P.IN.S habit scream and shout
'They [ghosts] will simply get scared and run away and this is the reason why we scream during the march for the title ceremony.'
(44) is from a narration describing the Pingelapese traditional stick-throwing game.

Children enjoy throwing the sticks. However, when the traditional leaders call the game to a stop, suddenly everybody stops playing. Kaein marks the drastic change, but the change is not surprising because it is the local tradition.
(44) R-ae-n paei-paei-paei ahlah dae mwahn-pwi saemae-s irahsi 3D/P.S-LEV-INC game-game-game continue then person-PL father-our 3P.S penik-pwi saemae-s mwahn-pwi laepaelap isoah-pwi nah kahnihmw-pas penik-PL father-our person-PL authorized title.holder-PL in kahnihmw-NCL ae-n ruwaes pwa Ø-ae-n seula dae r-ae kaein pwaisaek LEV-INC command that 3S.S-LEV-INC stop and 3D/P.S-LEV simply also seula paei uhdi.
stop game stop
'They will play on until the elders, the penik [traditional leaders], will call the game to a stop and everybody stops playing.'

Kaein does not necessarily occur with a verb that describes an action. In (45), it occurs with the verb uhlang 'depend', which has a stative meaning. There is still a drastic change here, from the situation where Pingelapese people can get rainwater to the situation where they have to depend on wells.
(45) Ansaeu in ngangaeda sapw mae soahla kaesaeu, dae aeraemas karoas occasion of drought land FOC no rain and people all kaein uhlang in pwaraer. simply depend on well
'During times of drought, everyone simply depended on the water wells for water.'

The wells in Pingelap are usually used only for laundry or house cleaning. Due to the water's quality, and the well not being sanitary enough, the well water is not for drinking or bathing, except in exceptional times of drought.

### 5.2.4. Peinaeh 'still/only’

The other preverbal to be noted is peinaeh. The best translation for peinaeh is probably 'still' or 'only', depending on the context. Consider the elicited example in (46), which can mean either that making clothes is the only thing Linda does or that Linda is still making clothes.
(46) Linda ae peinaeh wiahda likou.

Linda LEV only/still make clothes
'Linda only/still makes clothes.'

Example (47) describes the use of church buildings on Pingelap. The best translation of peinaeh here seems to be 'only'.

Imwae-n kapaekap-pwi mae aesaewaeh peinaeh auisila kapwunod aen house-of pray-PL FOC not only host activity of saeraewi daeri ke anahn in saeraewi daeri a pwaisaek auisilah saek church only or need of church only but also host also anahn-pwi mae minae nah wei mae mwaekae-mwaekid nah pwaekil-pwi. need-PL RM exist in well that move-move in group-PL 'These houses of worship are not only used for housing church activities or needs only but they are also used to host the needs of the community activity.'

Example (48) describes the sole role for Nahnaewa in the coronation ceremony. The best translation here is 'only'.
(48) Nahnaewa saewaeh pwili wia pwekemwar $\emptyset$-ae peinaeh Nahnaewa not join do coronation.ceremony 3s.S-LEV only mwoah-mwoahd dae roangae-roang.
sit-sit and listen-listen
'Nahnaewa [title] is not involved doing anything in the coronation ceremony. He is only present and observes.'

Example (49) is taken from the narration of a young Japanese man who visited Pingelap to greet his father's old friends. In the previous sentence, the Pingelapese people told this young man that one of the three people he had asked to see had been killed in the war. In the target sentence, they told him that the two other Pingelapese men are still alive and living on Pingelap. The best translation of peinaeh in this sentence is 'still'.
(49) Dae irah pwahng reh-n pwa woal riae-maen mae peinaeh moau-moaur then 3D.S tell to-him that man two-NCL DEM still alive-alive irah mini-minae Pingelap.
3D.S exist-exist Pingelap
'They told him that the two other men are still alive and living on Pingelap.'
5.2.5. Naemaen 'want to'

Naemaen is used to express desire-a type of deontic modality. In (50), it expresses the subject's desire to go to Hawai‘i.
(50) Ngaei naemaen ahla Hawaii.

1s.S want.to go Hawai‘i
'I want to go to Hawai‘i.'

The next examples, (51) and (52), are from a text narrating the rumor among Pingelapese concerning the unexplained death of many Micronesian workers on Nauru. Using naemaen, (51) describes the Germans' desire to own Nauru and (52) describes the Germans' desire to kill Nauruans and buy the island of Nauru, and the Nauruans' desire not to sell their land.
(51) Ø-ae pwa meh Germany naemaen irahsi naemaeh sapwaen-kihla 3s.S-LEV said people.of Germany want.to 3P.S want.to own-with Nauru aeh pwa phosphate aeh irahsi daedoahk-kin phosphate. Nauru well because phosphate well 3P.S use-with phosphate 'He said that the Germans wanted to own Nauru because of the phosphate. They used phosphate.'
(52) Pwah meh Saehmaen laemae-laemae irah-n kaen kaemaehla ira because people.of Germany think-think 3D.S-INC just kill 3D.O dae sapwaen kihla sapw-aera, irah naemaen pwain sang irah saek then own with land-their 3D.S want.to buy DIR 3D.S also saewaeh naemaen naeskihla.
not want.to sell
'The Germans decided to kill them [Nauruans] off and take over their land, they [Germans] wanted to buy it but they [Nauruans] didn't want to sell.'

### 5.2.6. Kakaen 'can'

Kakaen is a deontic modal expressing ability, and, sometimes, permission, as shown in the elicited data in (53) and the recorded data in (54).
(53) Pwohpwo e kakaen loakaeia.
baby.girl HEV can talk
'The baby girl can talk.'
(54) Kisah kakaen pile pwa lopidih welu mae minae pwoh Pingelap mae 2D.IN.S can say that division eight RM exist on Pingelap RM wiahda pwaekil pahu mae mini-minae pwoh Pingelap daim-eu mae. do big.group four RM exist-exist on Pingelap time-NCL DEM 'We can say that there are eight divisions that exist on Pingelap that make up four groups that are living on Pingelap at this time.'

Kakaen is interchangeable with kahn, which is heard in casual speech as shown in (55) below.
(55) K-ae kahn wiahda daloak, k-ae kakaen wiahda doal rais, rais 2 S .S-LEV can make daloak 2 S .S-LEV can make mix rice rice doal-ahng par loalae. mix-DIR coconut.sprout inside
'You can make daloak [sweet treat with coconut meat]. You can make rice mix by mixing coconut meat inside [of a rice cooking pot].'

When not followed by a verb, in answering a question, kakaen is realized as kak, as shown in (56).
(56) Ngaei kak.

1S.S can
'I can.' (as an answer to the question Kae kakaen laid? 'Can you fish?')

Thus, the distribution of the three forms is as follows. When there is no following verb, kak is employed. When there is a following verb, kakaen or kahn is employed. While kakaen is used in writing and careful speech, kahn is employed in casual speech.

### 5.2.7. History of preverbals

It is probable that kakaen came from kak and aen as shown in (57), in parallel with the origin of the verbal negator kahsikaeh, discussed in subsection 5.1.5. In this analysis, the first verb takes the infinitival phrase complement and aen functions as an infinitival marker.


Support for this analysis comes from Pohnpeian and Pingelapese. In (58), a Pohnpeian sentence, the first verb is followed by the suffix $-n$ and a second verb, yielding the meaning 'in order to'.
(58) Irail kolah-n laid.
(Pohnpeian, Rehg 1981:342)
3P.S go-AUX fish
'They went there in order to fish.'

Similar patterns are found in Pingelapese. In (59), the first verb soang 'to try' is followed by the auxiliary verb aen and then by a second verb pwudungidi 'to step on', yielding the infinitival meaning 'try to step on'.
(59) Ngaei soang-ae-n pwudungidi aenih-maen.

1S.S try-LEV-INC step goblin-NCL
'I try to step on the goblin.'

The same pattern is seen in (60). In this sentence, the first verb kasik 'to expect/predict' is followed by the auxiliary verb aen and then by the second verb pwudungidi 'to step on', yielding the infinitival meaning 'expect/predict to step on'.
(60) Ngaei kasik-ae-n pwudungidi aenih-maen.

1s.S expect-LEV-INC step goblin-NCL
'I expect to step on the goblin.'

Thus, the combination of kak and aen appear to have fused to yield the preverbal kakaen, just as kasik and aen merged to give the verbal negator kahsikaeh.

The same analysis can probably be applied to naemaen 'want to', which only takes either a verbal complement or clausal complement, but not a nominal complement. Consider sentence (61).

## (61) Ngaei naemaen ahla Hawaii.

1s.S want.to go Hawai‘i
'I want to go to Hawai‘i.'

This naemaen could have been developed from naem-aen ('want'- AUX). ${ }^{4}$
As shown in table 5.1 on page 111 and table 5.2 on page 117, many preverbals and the negator kahsikaeh end with a nasal sound (or lengthened vowel). This indicates that they developed from the first verb and the infinitival marker aen.
K. Rehg (pers. comm., 2011) also reported his impression that many Pohnpeian particles that occur between the subject noun and the main verb end in a nasal. ${ }^{5}$ The

[^24]Mokilese data in the Mokilese reference grammar (Harrison 1976) point in the same direction. ${ }^{6}$

### 5.2.8. Summary

In this chapter, the elements that can occur between an auxiliary verb and a main verb were discussed. These elements include negators and preverbals, the former preceding the latter. The elements that can appear before a main verb vary considerably in Micronesian languages. A sample word list of one hundred lexical items shows that Pingelapese shares 79 percent of its words with Pohnpeian (Rehg 1981:9). Despite the similarity in their lexicons, the two languages are quite different in the elements they allow in front of a main verb. This could be the result of the grammaticalization of serial verbs and infinitival expressions in the past.

Note that the Micronesian verbal elements tend to coalesce, as shown in chapter 4 in how Chuukese speakers write the verbal complex. Chuukese speakers often spell the preverbals and the following verb as one unit without a space in between, as shown in (62) (repeated from [7] in chapter 4).
(62) Ewe mwan epwenenoo ngeni Hawaii. (Chuukese)
one man 3s.AGRS-will-immediately/certainly-go to Hawai'i
'Immediately/Certainly, the man will go to Hawai'i.'

Lynch et al. (2002:84) state that elements in the Oceanic verbal complex are subject to phonological attrition, yielding quite rapid morphological changes and the formation of portmanteau proclitics. It is highly probable that preverbal elements in Pingelapese and other Micronesian languages have developed from serial verbs or infinitival expressions through phonological reduction and morphological change. A comparative and diachronic study in this area remains to be undertaken.

[^25]
## CHAPTER 6. POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF PINGELAPESE PREVERBALS

### 6.1. Pingelapese innovation

In chapter 4, I showed that, in Pingelapese, the speaker's certainty about the event described in the utterance is expressed by the auxiliary verbs $e, a e, e n$, and aen. Among Micronesian languages, this mood distinction is found only in Pingelapese. Pohnpeian and Mokilese are two other languages in the same Pohnpeic language family. Based on a hundred-word sampling list, Pingelapese shares 79 percent of words with Pohnpeian and 83 percent with Mokilese (Rehg 1981:9). These two closely related languages do not exhibit this mood distinction, and none of the other, more distantly related Micronesian languages do either. In fact, this distinction in evidentiality is not reported in any other Oceanic language. Therefore, I consider the reported certainty distinction to be an innovation in Pingelapese, not a retention from a proto language. In this chapter, I try to explain how these four form distinctions developed in the history of Pingelapese.

### 6.2. Proto-Pohnpeic to Pingelapese

The four forms to be discussed in this chapter are shown in figure 6.1.
$a e$
$a e n$
$e$
$e n$

Figure 6.1. Auxiliary verbs that involve certainty mood distinction

The first two auxiliaries, ae and aen, are traceable back to Proto-Pohnpeic, but the latter two, $e$ and en, are not. This analysis comes from two sources of evidence: the vowel systems in the proto languages and cognates in existing languages.

### 6.2.1. The absence of $e$ in the Proto-Pohnpeic vowel system

First, while Proto-Micronesian is said to have had the same five-vowel system as Proto-Oceanic, Proto-Pohnpeic had a six-vowel system (Rehg 1984) as shown in figure 6.2. Note that there is $/ \varepsilon /(a e)$ but no $/ \mathrm{e} /(e)$ in the Proto-Micronesian and Proto-Pohnpeic vowel systems. The phoneme $e$ in today's Pohnpeic languages is considered to have developed rather late in the history of Pohnpeic languages. Therefore, it is impossible to reconstruct $e$ and en in Proto-Pohnpeic.

5-vowel system for Proto-Micronesian


6-vowel system for Proto-Pohnpeic


Figure 6.2. Proto-Micronesian and Proto-Pohnpeic vowel systems (the phoneme symbols are illustrated in Pingelapese orthography)

### 6.2.2. Ae and aen in other Pohnpeic languages

Second, the cognates of Pingelapese ae and aen are found in Pohnpeian and Mokilese, the other Pohnpeic languages. The cognate of Pingelapese $a e$ is the third person singular clitic subject pronoun in Pohnpeian. The Mokilese lack of a cognate for $a e$ is due to the loss of the entire set of clitic subject pronouns in that language. Instead, independent subject pronouns such as the third person singular ih are used to fill this gap in Mokilese. The usage and non-usage of $a e$ in each language is shown in (1) through (3).
(1) $\emptyset$-ae sihsi.

3S.S-LEV thin
'He is thin.'
(2) $\underline{A e}$ tihti.
(Pohnpeian, K. Rehg, pers. comm., 2010)
3s.S thin
'He is thin.'
(3) $\underline{I h}$ sihsi.
(Mokilese)
3s.S thin
'He is thin.'

Cognates of aen are found in both Pohnpeian and Mokilese, shown underlined in (4) through (6). Note that a phonemic distinction between $/ \mathrm{e} /$ and $/ \varepsilon /$ is not made in either the Pohnpeian or the Mokilese orthography. However, here I mark the phonemic distinction in the two languages by employing the Pingelapese orthography ( $e$ vs. $a e$ ); I do this only when it is needed for the discussion in this dissertation. Thus, in (5) and (6), the phonemic distinction is marked for the cognates of aen but not for other words that are not relevant to the discussion. I follow the same practice for the cognates of the four Pingelapese auxiliary verbs, ae, aen, $e$, and $e n$, in data from other Micronesian languages in this dissertation.
(4) Pahpa ae-n kah ahdoa?
(Pingelapese)
father LEV-INC fut come
'Is Father coming?'
(5) Kitail kohla laid pwe kitail aen kang mwahmw. 2P.IN.S go fish that 2P.IN.S AUX eat fish
'Let's go fish so that we can eat fish.'
(Pohnpeian, Rehg 1981:341)
(6) Kisai aen pidekihla arain kello.
(Mokilese, Harrison 1976:177)
2P.IN.S AUX surround their fence
'We should surround their fence.'

The discussion so far is summarized in figure 6.3.

$$
\text { Existed in Proto-Pohnpeic }\left\{\begin{array}{c}
a e \\
a e n \\
e \\
e n
\end{array}\right\} \quad \text { Developed only in Pingelapese }
$$

Figure 6.3. The history of Pingelapese $a e, a e n, e$, and en

### 6.2.3. Development of $e$ and $e n$

The particles $e$ and en and the certainty mood contrast in today's Pingelapese (i.e., ae/aen for low certainty vs. e/en for high certainty) did not exist in Proto-Pohnpeic but developed later in the history of Pingelapese. The two forms that can be traced back to Proto-Pohnpeic, ae and aen, do not carry the "high certainty" meaning. On the other hand, the two forms that are unreconstructable in Proto-Pohnpeic, $e$ and en, exhibit the "high certainty" meaning. This contrast, summarized in figure 6.4, indicates that the high certainty meaning with $e$ and en was developed after Proto-Pohnpeic and it is thus a Pingelapese innovation.

$e \quad$ Developed only in Pingelapese
en $\}+$ High certainty meaning

Figure 6.4. The complementary distribution of the high certainty meaning

To explain the development of $e$ and $e n$ and the certainty mood contrast from Proto-Pohnpeic to Pingelapese, I need to postulate the presence of a hypothetical high front vowel particle $*_{i}$ after $*$ ae and $*$ aen, which raised $* a e ~ i n t o ~ * e ~ w h e n ~ i t ~ c l i t i c i z e d ~ t o ~$ them. Although there is no synchronic evidence for $*_{i}$ in this position, its postulation is consistent with a holistic understanding of the phonology in these languages. I consider that this particle $*_{i}$ is the origin of the certainty/realis mood contrast among ae, aen, e, and en. The origin of the high certainty meaning and its relation to the hypothetical $*_{\mathrm{i}}$ is summarized in figure 6.5.

Proto-Pohnpeic

## In Pingelapese



Figure 6.5. The development of the high certainty contrast among ae, aen, e, and en

Figure 6.5 illustrates that this hypothetical $*_{i}$, with the high certainty meaning, must have started as an enclitic, or as a free particle that became an enclitic later. This cliticization yielded $* \mathrm{ae}=\mathrm{i}$ and $* \mathrm{aen}=\mathrm{i}$, along with $* \mathrm{ae}$ and $* \mathrm{aen}$, which were straight retentions from Proto-Pohnpeic. To the outcomes of $*=\mathrm{i}$ cliticization, $* a e=\mathrm{i}$, and $* a e n=\mathrm{i}$, the height assimilation rule applies. This phonological rule, shown in figure 6.6 , is well attested in the history of Micronesian languages (Rehg 1984).

Short [ae] raises to [e] when followed by any number of consonants and /i/

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ae }>\mathrm{e} /{ }_{\_} \mathrm{C}_{0} \mathrm{i} \\
& {\left[\begin{array}{l}
+ \text { syllabic } \\
\text {-high } \\
\text {-long } \\
\text {-back } \\
- \text { tense }
\end{array}\right] \rightarrow\left[\begin{array}{l}
\text {-low } \\
+ \text { tense }
\end{array}\right] / ـ[\text {-syllabic }]_{0}\left[\begin{array}{l}
+ \text { syllabic } \\
+ \text { high } \\
\text {-back }
\end{array}\right]}
\end{aligned}
$$

Figure 6.6. Height assimilation

The hypothetical high front vowel $*_{i}$ allows the vowel raising across the clitic boundary: $/ \varepsilon /$ in $* \mathrm{ae}=\mathrm{i}$ and $* \mathrm{aen}=\mathrm{i}$ assimilates to the following high front vowel and gets raised to /e/. The application of this rule produces $* \mathrm{e}=\mathrm{i}$ from $* \mathrm{ae}=\mathrm{i}$ and $* \mathrm{en}=\mathrm{i}$ from $* a e n=\mathrm{i}$.

Subsequently, the enclitic *i became a suffix, feeding the word final vowel deletion rule summarized in figure 6.7.

A word final vowel is deleted when it is not the only vowel in the word.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \mathrm{V} \rightarrow \varnothing / \mathrm{VC} \mathrm{C}_{1} \_\# \\
& \text { [+syllabic] } \rightarrow \varnothing /[+ \text { syllabic }][\text {-syllabic }]_{1} \_\#
\end{aligned}
$$

Figure 6.7. Final vowel deletion

This rule, again well attested in the history of Micronesian languages (Rehg 1984), deletes the final vowel when it is not the only vowel in the word and produces $e$ from *e-i and en from *en-i.

The history of Pingelapese $a e$, aen, $e$, and en is summarized in table 6.1, with the hypothetical high front vowel $*_{\text {i }}$ and the two phonological rules shown in figures 6 and 7. Thus, ae and aen are simply retentions from Proto-Pohnpeic. And $e$ and en are a Pingelapese innovation through the addition of a hypothetical $*_{i}$ and the application of the height assimilation rule and word final vowel deletion rule.

Table 6.1. Derivation of $e$ and $e n$ in the history of Pingelapese

| Proto-Pohnpeic | $* \mathrm{ae}$ | $* \mathrm{aen}$ |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | Hypothetical *i | $* \mathrm{ae} \mathrm{i}$ | *aen i |
| cliticization |  |  |  | $\mathrm{ae}=\mathrm{i}$ | aen= i |
| Height assimilation |  |  |  | $\mathrm{e}=\mathrm{i}$ | en=i |
| suffixation |  |  |  | $\mathrm{e}-\mathrm{i}$ | en-i |
| Word final vowel deletion |  |  |  | e | en |
| Pingelapese | $a e$ | aen |  | $e$ | $e n$ |

### 6.3. Proto-Micronesian to Proto-Pohnpeic: Examination of Pohnpeic aen

The morphology of Pohnpeic aen is examined using Mokilese data in this section.
Then, in section 6.4, I expand the discussion to other Micronesian languages to explain the history of Pohnpeic aen.

As shown in section 6.2, aen is reported in all three of the Pohnpeic languages: Pohnpeian, Mokilese, and Pingelapese. I will take a close look at Harrison's (1976) description of Mokilese aen and provide a counter analysis.

Harrison (1976:176) reports that the pre-predicate aen often combines with a preceding pronoun to form contractions. The examples he gives are shown in figure 6.8.

|  | Harrison (1976:176) |
| :---: | :---: |
| $1{ }^{\text {st }} \mathrm{sg}$ | $n g o a h+a e n ~ b e c o m e s ~ n g o a n ~$ |
| $2^{\text {nd }} \mathrm{sg}$ | koah +aen becomes koan |
| $3{ }^{\text {rd }} \mathrm{sg}$ | ih +aen becomes in |
| $1^{\text {st }}$ dual.incl | kisa + aen becomes kisahn |
| $1^{\text {st }}$ pl.incl | kisai +aen becomes kisain |

Figure 6.8. Harrison's description of contraction between subject pronoun and aen

Harrison's (1976:88) Mokilese subject pronouns are shown in table 6.2 for reference.

Table 6.2. Mokilese pronouns (Harrison 1976:88)

|  | Singular | Dual | Plural | Remote plural |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $1^{\text {st }}$ person |  |  |  |  |
| inclusive |  | kisa | kisai | kihs |
| exclusive | ngoah, ngoahi | kama | kamai | kimi |
| $2^{\text {nd }}$ person | koah, koawoa | kamwa | kamwai | kimwi |
| $3^{\text {rd }}$ person | ih | ara, ira | aria, irai | ihr |

Note that, unlike Pohnpeian and Pingelapese, Mokilese lost all subject clitic pronouns, and now employs independent pronouns for this purpose.

Harrison states that "the combination of aen and the singular pronouns ngoah, koah, and ih results in a short vowel, even though the vowels of the uncontracted pronouns are long" (176). Harrison's scenario requires a vowel-shortening rule, which is unmotivated for these data. To derive the combinations of the first, second, and third singular pronouns and aen, his analysis reduces three moras into one mora as shown in figure 6.9. ${ }^{1}$


Figure 6.9. Harrison's mora reduction

Such mora reduction is unmotivated as this vowel-shortening rule is inconsistent with generaly accepted understandings of Micronesian phonology.

In the discussion that follows, I provide another scenario that does not require this unattested vowel-shortening rule. To start the discussion of the derivation of pronouns and aen, it is necessary to determine the base forms of the pronouns. I consider that the base forms of the pronouns are not those given in figure 6.8 or table 6.1 but are instead those that appear in figure 6.10. Thus, I consider that the three singular pronouns have short vowels in their base forms. The first person inclusive dual consists of three moras,

[^26]ending with two vowels. The first person inclusive plural consists of two moras, ending with a glide.

|  |  | The base forms |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $1^{\text {st }} \mathrm{sg}$ | ngoa |  |
| $2^{\text {nd }} \mathrm{sg}$ | koa |  |
| $3^{\text {rd }} \mathrm{sg}$ | $i$ |  |
| $1^{\text {st }}$ dual.incl | kisaa |  |
| $1^{\text {st }}$ pl.incl | kisay |  |
|  |  |  |

Figure 6.10. The base forms of Mokilese pronouns

In my analysis, the base form ngoa is realized as ngoah, koa as koah, and $i$ as $i h$, in the surface form when unaffixed. This is due to the application of the vowel lengthening rule, which is widely attested in Micronesian languages. (For a crosslinguistic, historical explanation of this rule, see Rehg 1984). The vowel lengthening rule is shown in (7), and (8) provides an example of the third person singular pronoun after the application of the rule.
(7) Lengthening of the vowel in a monosyllabic noun phrase $[\#(\mathrm{C}) \mathrm{V}(\mathrm{C}) \#]_{\mathrm{NP}}=>[\#(\mathrm{C}) \mathrm{V}:(\mathrm{C})]_{\mathrm{NP}}$

```
(8) Ih koah-di John.
    3S.S bite-DIR John
    'It bit John.'
```

The reason why kisaa is realized as kisa in its surface form is that the word final vowel deletion rule (shown in section 6.2.3), which is also widely attested in other Micronesian languages, applies. This word final vowel deletion is not applied to kisay since the word final phoneme is not a vowel but a glide, ${ }^{2}$ and kisay is realized as is in its surface form. These derivations are summarized in figure 6.11. Note that while the vowel lengthening rule is retained in Pohnpeian, it is lost and no longer productive in both Pingelapese and

[^27]Mokilese. This shared loss is probably due to the close contact, including intermarriage, between the two language groups. The lengthened forms in the two languages are considered to be fossilized forms.

|  | The base forms |  | The surface forms |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $1{ }^{\text {st }} \mathrm{sg}$ | ngoa | $\rightarrow$ vowel lengthening rule $\rightarrow$ | ngoah |
| $2^{\text {nd }} \mathrm{sg}$ | koa | $\rightarrow$ vowel lengthening rule $\rightarrow$ | koah |
| $3{ }^{\text {rd }} \mathrm{sg}$ | $i$ | $\rightarrow$ vowel lengthening rule $\rightarrow$ | ih |
| $1^{\text {st }}$ dual.incl | kisaa | $\rightarrow$ final vowel deletion rule $\rightarrow$ | $\rightarrow \quad k i s a$ |
| $1^{\text {st }}$ pl.incl | kisay |  | kisay |

Figure 6.11. The derivation of pronouns, when not affixed

These pronouns can now be brought into the discussion on "contraction of the base forms of subject pronouns and aen" (Harrison 1976:176). Against Harrison's claim, I argue that it is $-n$ suffixation that creates the surface forms, not the contraction of subject pronouns and aen. As shown in figure 6.12, given this analysis, no special phonological rules are needed for suffixing $-n$ to subject pronouns.
The meaning of $-n$ could be "accomplished/realized." The reconstruction of the protoform of $-n$ will be provided as supporting evidence for this analysis in section 6.4.

|  | My analysis |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $1^{\text {st }} \mathrm{sg}$ | The base forms of subject pronoun $-n$ | The surface form |  |  |
| ngoa | $-n$ | becomes | ngoan |  |
| $2^{\text {nd }} \mathrm{sg}$ | koa | $-n$ | becomes | koan |
| $3^{\text {rd }} \mathrm{sg}$ | $i$ | $-n$ | becomes | in |
| $1^{\text {st }}$ dual.incl | kisaa | $-n$ | becomes | kisaan |
| $1^{\text {st }}$ pl.incl | kisay | $-n$ | becomes | kisayn |
|  |  |  |  |  |

Figure 6.12. Mokilese derivation of pronouns, when suffixed by $-n$

In this alternative scenario, I do not need to posit the awkward vowel-shortening rule that is required in Harrison's analysis. This new analysis is more plausible from the perspective of Micronesian phonology. And this analysis in Mokilese motivates
reconsideration of the explanation for Pingelapese aen and other related forms, as shown in figure 6.13.

|  | My analysis |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $1^{\text {st }} \mathrm{sg}$ | The base forms of subject pronoun $-n$ | The surface form |  |  |
| $2^{\text {nd }}$ | ngaey | $-n$ | becomes | $n g a e h$ |
| $3^{\text {rd }} \mathrm{sg}$ | kae | $-n$ | becomes | kaen/kaeh |
| $1^{\text {st }}$ dual.excl | $-n$ | becomes | aen/aeh |  |
| $3^{\text {rd }}$ dual | sae | $-n$ | becomes | saen/saeh |
| rae | $-n$ | becomes | raen/raeh |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |

Figure 6.13. Pingelapese derivation of pronouns, when suffixed by $-n$

I consider Pingelapese aen to be the result of $-n$ suffixation to the third person singular subject clitic $a e$. The other person and number forms are explained in the same way. Thus, kaen, saen, and raen are the result of $-n$ suffixation to the second person singular subject clitic pronoun kae , the second person exclusive dual sae, and the third person dual rae, respectively. These forms can also be realized as kaeh, aeh, saeh, and raeh. This variation is apparently governed by the following optional rule, which is widespread in Pingelapese. My Pingelapese language consultants reported that they use this rule commonly, especially when they are using a casual speech style.
(9) World final coronal nasal deletion and vowel lengthening Vn\# => V:\#

The suffixation of $-n$ to the first person singular subject clitic pronoun ngaey produces ngaeh through the irregular loss of the glide, the subsequent rule described above: word final nasal deletion followed by vowel lengthening, which is not optional in this case. This first person singular subject clitic pronoun suffixed by $-n$ is realized only in one form, ngaeh, unlike other pronouns suffixed by $-n$ that are realized in two variants, such as kaen and kaeh for the second person singular. The first person singular subject clitic pronoun is unique in other ways, too. First is its high frequency compared to other person/number categories, especially in casual speech mode. The subject clitic pronoun is also more frequent than other pronoun sets. Thus, the first person singular subject
clitic pronoun is given to behaving idiosyncratically. Second, the first person singular subject clitic pronoun has a peculiar history. Ngaey is not historically part of a subject pronoun set, unlike $a e$, kae, rae, and sae. The Proto-Micronesian first person singular subject clitic pronoun is *ú, as shown in table 6.3 , and it is reflected as $i$ ' 3 sg subject proclitic' in Pohnpeian (Jackson 1983). However, this morpheme is lost in Pingelapese. To fill the gap, Pingelapese employs ngaey, which is from the first person singular independent pronoun ngaehy. Due to its highly frequent usage and peculiar history, it behaves irregularly.

Table 6.3. Proto-Micronesian independent pronouns and subject clitic pronouns (Jackson 1983)

| Independent pronouns |  | Subject Pronouns |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 sg | *ngau | 1sg | *ú |
| 2sg | *koe | 2sg | *ko |
| 3sg | *ia | 3sg | *e |
| 1pl.inc | *kit, t'a | 1pl.inc | *ti, e |
| $1 \mathrm{pl.exc}$ | *kamami | $1 \mathrm{pl.exc}$ | *ka(m)i(?) |
|  | *kami |  |  |
| 2 pl | *kamii | 2 pl | * $\mathrm{ka}(\mathrm{m}$ ' $) \mathrm{u}(?)$ |
|  | *kam'u |  |  |
| 3 pl | *ira | 3 pl | *ra |

I consider that the independent pronoun ngaehy is a noun phrase, while the subject clitic pronoun ngaey is not, but is part of a verbal complex, as shown in (10) and (11). Note that the two are different in terms of vowel length.
(10) $[\text { Independent pronoun }]_{\mathrm{NP}}$
(a) $[\underline{N g a e h y}]_{\mathrm{NP}}$.

1S.IND
'It's me.' (as a one-word answer to a wh-question such as "Who did this?")
(b) Ø-e kikih-di [ngaehy] ${ }_{\mathrm{NP}}$.

3s.S-HEV kick-DIR 1s.O
'He kicked me.'
(11) [Subject clitic pronoun V$]_{\mathrm{Vc}}$
[Ngaey aesae $]_{\mathrm{vc}}$.
1s.S know
'I know.'

This difference is explained by the lengthening of the vowel in a monosyllabic noun phrase (see [7]). This rule applies to the independent pronoun (realized as ngaehy), which is in the noun phrase, but not to the subject clitic pronoun (realized as ngaey), which is in the verbal complex.

### 6.4. The history of Proto-Pohnpeic *aen

In the previous section, I discussed the development from Proto-Pohnpeic *ae and *aen to Pingelapese $a e, a e n, e$, and $e n$. In this section, the discussion goes further back in time and reveals the history of Proto-Pohnpeic *aen, which does not have cognates in many of the non-Pohnpeic languages and is not reconstructed for Proto-Micronesian (Bender et al. 2003).

The keys to this investigation are two particles found in other Micronesian languages, whose distribution, meaning, and function are similar to Proto-Pohnpeic *aen.

### 6.4.1. Proto-Micronesian *nae

To explain the history of Proto-Pohnpeic *aen (the already established ProtoMicronesian third person singular subject clitic *ae [Bender et al. 2003] + suffix *-n), finding a nasal particle in preverbal position is crucial. I studied the data available on Micronesian languages and reconstructed *na or *nae (the vowel quality is not yet determined between $/ \mathrm{a} /$ and $/ \varepsilon /$ ), glossed as an immediate marker in Proto-Micronesian. Hereafter, I spell this word as *nae in this dissertation.

Supporting evidence for my reconstruction of *nae is found in all Micronesian languages with available data. In figure $6.14, \mathrm{I}$ list the correspondences between the Proto-Micronesian consonant $/ \mathrm{n} /$ and its cognates in current languages (Bender et al. 2003). I use solid black lines to mark the languages that retain Proto-Micronesian *nae. Under the solid black lines, I list the cognate forms in each language. As can be seen,
cognates of Proto-Micronesian *nae are attested in all languages descendent from ProtoMicronesian for which there are data. Note that no information is available for Mapia.


Figure 6.14. The correspondences of Proto-Micronesian $/ \mathrm{n} /$ and the retention of ProtoMicronesian *nae (tree is adapted from figure 6 in Jackson 1983:433)
(12) is an example of the usage of the cognate of Proto-Micronesian *nae in Chuukese. Ne 'is about to' appears between the subject clitic kae 'you' and the verb nó 'go'.
(12) $K e$-ne-nó.
(Chuukese)
2S.AGRS-will-go
'Bye.' (Literally, 'You are about to go.') (to one departing)

More examples of *nae cognates, fromUlithian, Pulo Annian, Puluwatese, Chuukese, Mortlockese, Marshallese, Kiribatese,, and Kosraean are shown below.
(13) Xo le loxo.

2S.AGRS should go
'You are to go.' or 'You should go.'
(14) Donn $e$ naw intimi-i sani ye.
(Pulo Annian, Oda 1977:151)
John 3S.AGRS TA drink-it water DEM
'John is about to drink this water.'
(15) Wo le fáyiló.

2S.AGRS immediately go
'You are going.'
(16) Ke-ne-пómw.

2S.AGRS-will-stay
'Bye.' (to one staying while the speaker is leaving)
(17) Ke-ne-méwúr.

2S.AGRS-will-sleep
'Good night.' (to one going to sleep)
(18) Ke-ne-lo.
(Mortlockese)
2S.AGRS-will-go
'Bye.'
(19) $E \quad \underline{n a}$ taetae.
(Kiribatese, Grove et al. 1985:76)
3S.AGRS will speak
'He will speak.' or 'He is going to speak.'
(20) Kwö-n jeeaal-e wa en bwe e-n $\underline{n}$ itok.

2S.AGRS-PTTV beckon-TR canoe that so.that 3S.AGRS-PTTV come
'Beckon that canoe to come here.'
(Pagotto 1987:485)
(21) El welah kuht in som.
(Kosraean, Lee 1975:307)
He allow us to.be.to go
'He allowed us to go.'

The sentential location of *nae, between the subject clitic and the verb, is similar to Proto-Pohnpeic aen and its modal meaning is also similar to that of Pohnpeic aen.

From the distribution of its cognates in today's Micronesian languages, I deduce that the location of Proto-Micronesian *nae in a sentence should be after the subject clitic and before the verbal elements, as posited in figure 6.15 .
(SUBJECT) Subject clitic (*nae) VERB
Figure 6.15. Sentential location of *nae in a Proto-Micronesian sentence

The Proto-Micronesian word order is considered to be Subject-Verb-Object (Jackson 1986:205). And subject and object clitic pronouns were obligatory regardless of the expression of nominal subject and object in Proto-Micronesian, as exemplified in the Pulo Annian data in (14). ${ }^{3}$ As figure 6.15 indicates, in the Proto-Micronesian pattern, the subject noun phrase was not obligatory but the subject clitic was. It is clear that the meaning and sentential distribution of Proto-Micronesian *nae is quite similar to ProtoPohnpeic *aen.

Proto-Micronesian *nae has never been studied from a historical linguistic perspective, nor has it been reconstructed before. It is possible that the reason *nae went unnoticed previously is because it was obscured by other, more noticeable particles that had similar meanings and that also behaved as auxiliaries. One such particle is *pwae. In the next section, I examine *pwae, as it is especially important to understanding the distribution of aen in Micronesian languages.

### 6.4.2. Proto-Micronesian *pwae

Bender et al. (2003:70) reconstructed ${ }^{*} \mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{w}}$ [ae], glossed as a future aspect marker for Proto-Micronesian, as follows: ${ }^{4}$

PMc *p ${ }^{w}$ [ae] 'future aspect marker': Chk $-p{ }^{w} e$; Mrt $-p^{w^{w}} e$; Pul $-p^{w} e$; Crl $b^{w} e$; Stw $-p{ }^{w} e$; Wol $-b e$; PuA $-p^{w} e$; PCk ${ }^{*}-p{ }^{w} e$; Ksr $f a c$. Cf. POc *ba (Ross 1988). Cf. also PCMc *pw[ae] 'because'. Jackson (1986:229 fn. 4) gives PMc *p ${ }^{\mathrm{w}}$ a. (Bender et al. 2003:70)

In (22), there is an example of the usage of the cognate of *pwae in Satawalese, a Chuukic language. Pwe appears between the subject clitic $e$ and the verb ngaene.

[^28](22) Joe e pwe ngaene-r pwuna.
(Roddy 2007:77)
Joe 3s.AGRS will give-3P.O taro
'Joe will give them taro.'

More examples of pwe from Ulithian, Pulo Annian, Woleaian, Puluwatese, Chuukese, Mortlockese, and Kosraeanare shown in (23) through (29).
(23) Yi be loxo Yasor walsuu. (Ulithian, Sohn and Bender 1973:111) 1s.AGRS will go Yasor tomorrow 'I will go to Yasor tomorrow.' (not immediate)
(24) Yangi tamai e pwe mana pwi-to. (Pulo Annian, Oda 1977:82) wind bad 3s.AGRS will perhaps come-DIR
'A bad wind may come.'
(25) Ye be mas.
(Woleaian, Sohn 1975:214)
3s.AGRS may die
'He may die.'
(26) Yi pwe fáyiló.

1S.AGRS will go
'I'm going.'
(27) Ewe mwan e-pwe-noo ngeni Hawaii.
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { (27) Ewe mwan e-pwe-noo ngeni Hawail. } \\ \text { one man 3s.AGRS-may-go to } & \text { Hawai'i }\end{array}$
'The man may go to Hawai‘i.'
(28) Ewe mwan e-pwe-loo ngeni Hawaii.
(Puluwatese, Elbert 1974:86)
one man 3s.AGRS-may-go to Hawai'i
'The man may go to Hawai'i.'
(29) Nga fah topuk kom.
(Kosraean, Lee 1975:306)
I intent write you
'I will (try to) write to you'

From the distribution of its cognates, I conclude that the sentential location of Proto-Micronesian *pwae is after the subject clitic and before the verbal elements, as shown in figure 6.16.
(SUBJECT) Subject clitic $\begin{gathered}\text { (*pwae) } \\ \\ \\ \text { future aspect marker }\end{gathered}$

Figure 6.16. Sentential location of *pwae in a Proto-Micronesian sentence

Thus, the meaning and sentential distribution of Proto-Micronesian *pwae is quite similar to Proto-Pohnpeic *aen.

Cognates of *pwae are attested in Kosraean and many Chuukic languages: Ulithian, Pulo Annian, Woleaian, Satawalese, Carolinian, Puluwatese, Chuukese, and Mortlockese, as the citation from Bender et al. (2003) on page 154 shows.

Figure 6.17 provides a family tree of Micronesian languages in which the retention of Proto-Micronesian *pwae is marked by a solid gray line under the language names. The forms in each language are also shown under the solid gray lines. The cognate of Proto-Micronesian *pwae is not confirmed in Mapia due to the lack of data for that language. For the correspondences of Proto-Micronesian $/ \mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{w}} /$, see Bender et al. (2003).


Figure 6.17. Retention of Proto-Micronesian *pwae (tree is adapted from figure 6 in Jackson 1983:433)

Cognates of *pwae and *nae often co-occur. A cognate of *nae appears after *pwae and adds a meaning of immediateness or certainty to the sentence. Examples of these two morphemes from Ulithian, Woleaian, Satawalese, Puluwatese, Chuukese, and Mortlockese, and are provided below.

| (30) | $Y i \quad \frac{b e}{} \quad$ loxo. $\quad$ (Ulithian, Sohn and Bender 1973:111) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1S.AGRS will |  |
| 'I am ready to go.' or 'I am going.' (Immediate meaning) |  |

(31) John ye bel mil be semal sensei. (Woleaian, Sohn 1975:214) John 3S.AGRS will stay as one.animate teacher 'John will [soon and surely] be a teacher.'
(32) $I$ be-l gefaniiy.
(Woleaian, Sohn 1975:214)
1s.AGRS will-immediate care
'I will immediately take care of it.'
(33) Wo pwe-ne noa reen imwa-n. (Satawalese, Roddy 2007:70)

2s.AGRS will-immediate go to house-her
'You will go to her house [immediately].'
(34) Yi pwe le fáyiló.
(Puluwatese, Elbert 1974:86)
1s.AGRS will immediately go
'I'm going immediately.'
(35) Ewe mwan e-pwe-ne-noo ngeni Hawaii. (Chuukese)
one man 3S.AGRS-will-immediately/certainly-go to Hawai'i 'Immediately/Certainly, the man will go to Hawai'i.'
(36) Ewe mwan e-pwe-ne-noo ngeni Hawaii. (Mortlockese)
one man 3s.AGRS-will-immediately/certainly-go to Hawai'i
'Immediately/Certainly, the man will go to Hawai'i.'

According to a Chuukese language consultant and a Mortlockese consultant, sentences (35) and (36) are also grammatical without ne, as in (37) and (38) below. However, there is a semantic difference between the sentence with and without $n e$. Ne adds certainty of the speaker, which could be from the immediate scheduling of the event.
(37) Ewe mwan e-pwe-noo ngeni Hawaii.
one man 3s.AGRS-will-go to Hawai'i
'The man will go to Hawai‘i.'
(38) Ewe mwan e-pwe-noo ngeni Hawaii.
(Mortlockese)
one man 3S.AGRS-will-go to Hawai'i
'The man will go to Hawai‘i.'

Note that the cognates of *pwae and *nae are spelled as one word in (33), the Satawalese data. The same is true for Chuukese (35) and Mortlockese (36). Furthermore, as seen in the Woleaian data in (31) and (32), the cognates of Proto-Micronesian *nae are reflected as just a single consonant (namely $/ 1 /$ ) attached to the preceding word, a reflex of *pwae. This illustrates the characteristic of Proto-Micronesian *nae to cliticize onto the preceding word. Also, note that pwe attaches to the preceding subject clitic in the Chuukese and Mortlockese data. These suggest that, in Micronesian languages, it is not uncommon for auxiliary verbs to attach to the immediately preceding subject clitic, especially in Chuukic languages.

The Carolinian cognate of *pwae is listed as a bound morpheme in the Carolinian-English dictionary by Jackson and Mark (1991). Thus, Carolinian -bwe is glossed as "Future, irrealis aspect marker, indicating uninitiated action; will." The dictionary also lists the other bound morpheme, -bwele, glossing it as "Future aspect marker. Imminent future, indicates action is just about to begin; about to. Related -bwe." This -bwele must come from Proto-Micronesian *pwae and *nae. These Carolinian data indicate that cognates of Proto-Micronesian *pwae and *nae tend to attach to the preceding morphemes in this language, too.

The word order of sentences with *pwae and *nae is summarized in figure 6.18.
(SUBJECT) Subject clitic (*pwae) (*nae) VERB
future aspect marker immediateness marker
*nae could be cliticized/suffixed to *pwae
$\rightarrow$ pwaenae or pwaen
Figure 6.18. Sentential location of *pwae and *nae in a Proto-Micronesian sentence

Thus, *pwae intervenes between a subject clitic and *nae.

Both *pwae and *nae exhibit similarities with Proto-Pohnpeic *aen, with respect to their sentential position, meaning, and usage. They are located between the subject clitic and the verb, and both are used to refer to a future time. However, the phonetic difference between *pwae and aen is too great to posit that the two are cognates. ProtoMicronesian *nae might be the origin of the nasal of Proto-Pohnpeic *aen and the initial vowel part/ae/ could be from the Proto-Micronesian third person singular subject clitic *ae (Bender et al. 2003). Section 6.4 .3 will discuss how *nae was able to attach to the subject clitic pronoun.
6.4.3. The loss of *pwae and retention of *nae

The retention of Proto-Micronesian *pwae and *nae is shown in figure 6.19.
While Proto-Micronesian *nae survived in all descendent languages, Proto-Micronesian *pwae was lost in some of the languages, especially non-Chuukic and non-Kosraean: Pohnpeian, Mokilese, Pingelapese, Marshallese, and Kiribatese.


Figure 6.19. Retention of Proto-Micronesian *pwae and *nae (tree is adapted from figure 6 in Jackson 1983:433)

Note that cognates of Pingelapese aen are found in Pohnpeian, Mokilese, Marshallese, and Kosraean. These languages, including Pingelapese, lost *pwae.

I assume that for those languages that lost Proto-Micronesian *pwae, some syntactic changes also occurred to the usage of Proto-Micronesian *nae. First, due to the loss of *pwae, the descendent of *nae moved to the slot immediately to its left, a position that is second in the verbal complex, after the subject pronoun. This allowed the phonological merge of the subject pronoun and the descendent of *nae, without being blocked by *pwae. The similar phonological merge of *nae might have happened even to Proto-Micronesian *pwae. Those languages that retained Proto-Micronesian *pwae up until the present exhibit the cliticization/suffixation of *nae to the preceding *pwae. Chuukese speakers and Mortlockese speakers commonly spell the subject clitic pronoun, $p w e, n e$, and the verb without an intervening space, as shown in (31) and (32). Along with be 'will, should' (Sohn 1976:7), Woleaian-English dictionary lists $-l$, an aspectual suffix that attaches only to be 'will' indicating immediateness, and states that its base form is -le (Sohn 1976:80). Thus, le suffixed to the preceding auxiliary verb be and the vowel part of $l e$ was deleted due to the word final vowel final deletion rule. ${ }^{5}$ This exemplifies the tendency of Micronesian verbal elements to attach to each other and even merge phonologically. This process is summarized in figure 6.20 .

[^29]In these rules, (d) indicates that the rule is attested only diachronically; (d?) signals that the diachronic status of the rule is unclear; and (o) means that the rule is an optional rule. Some Micronesian languages, such as Chuukese, do not exhibit these processes. For extensive discussion on these processes in Micronesian languages, see Rehg 1991.

TIME


Figure 6.20. The suffixation of *nae to subject pronoun

Second, the semantics of *nae expanded to cover the meaning that *pwae had been used to express. In Proto-Micronesian, *pwae was the prime marker for future aspect meaning and *nae was somewhat secondary, just adding immediateness to the meaning. This function is found in all languages that retained ${ }^{*}$ pwae. On the other hand, in those languages that lost Proto-Micronesian *pwae, the descendent of ProtoMicronesian *nae is now used as a prime marker for an unaccomplished event, without a necessary reference to the immediateness of the situation. For example, Pagotto (1987:487) lists Marshallese $-n$ as a prime auxiliary that denotes an unrealized but potential event or state. Mokilese $-n$ is labeled as an unaccomplished activity marker (Harrison 1977:61). However, these forms do not just mark an unaccomplished event. Pagotto (1987:487) incorporated the previous translations of this morpheme-'be to' (Bender 1969:96), 'jussive' (Bailey 1967:9) and 'should' (Zewen 1977:54)—into the feature $[+p t t v]$ (optative). Mokilese $-n$ is often translated as 'to be to' (Harrison 1977:177). Thus, it is not just an unaccomplished event, but also about the realization. This is also evidenced by the fact that Mokilese $-n$ is required in purpose clauses (263) and that it is used to introduce an infinitive clause (272). Pingelapese $-n$ is about the beginning of a state or activity, and best-glossed as 'inchoative': "a distinctive aspectual form expressing the beginning of a state or activity" (Trask 1993:137).

These meanings of $a e-n$ are exemplified in the extract in (39), from a procedural narrative on how to prepare coconut oil.
(39) Pwa rahni-pwi r-ae diaeraeda pwa ma aeraemah-maen padik because day-PL 3D/P.S-LEV realized that if person-NCL squeeze aeraemah-maen ae-n padik oah laeh-eu ae-n kaehl pwa person-NCL LEV-INC squeeze your oil-NCL LEV-INC strong because uhdahn Ø-ae-n kakaen padik sang pilae-n oah aering-eu really 3 S.S-LEV-INC can squeeze DIR liquid-of your coconut.meat-NCL padik sang pilae-n oamw aering-eu pwa oamw oili-kis squeeze DIR liquid-of your coconut.meat-NCL so.that your oil-NCL ae-n kakaen lap
LEV-INC can big
'This is because today people realize that the person who is supposed to squeeze the coconut has to be strong so that he will be able to squeeze out as much of the juice as possible thereby resulting in a bigger amount of the oil.'

This text includes four instances of $a e-n$. The first $a e-n$ is translated 'supposed to' or 'in the role to'. The second ae-n is translated as 'have to' or 'should'. The third and fourth $a e-n$ mark the expected result. These diverse meanings stem from meanings of $a e$ and $-n$ : low evidentiality and inchoative.

The expansion of Proto-Micronesian *nae into the domain of Proto-Micronesian *pwae is seen in infinitival constructions. In Proto-Micronesian, *pwae could also have conveyed an infinitival meaning when it occurred with a personal pronoun after a verb. (Note that Proto-Micronesian had an obligatory subject-doubling, as discussed in section 4.1.3.) (40) is an example of its Satawalese cognate pwe being used in this way. This example could be better analyzed as the verb tipaeni 'to like' taking a clausal complement re pwe suunga pigiseo 'they (= co-indexed with the higher clause subject) will draw pictures'.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { (40) Wonigaet re tipaeni } \frac{\text { re }}{\text { 3P.AGRS }} \frac{\text { pwe }}{\text { will }} \text { suunga pigiseo. } \\
& \text { child 3P.AGRS like } \\
& \text { 'Children like to draw pictures.' }
\end{aligned}
$$

The above expression is realized using Proto-Micronesian *nae in those languages that lost Proto-Micronesian *pwae. As reported in chapter 3, Pingelapese aen is used to
introduce an infinitival clause. The relevant example is repeated in (41). This is also confirmed in the rest of the Pohnpeic languages, namely Pohnpeian and Mokilese, as shown in (42) and (43).
(41) Ngaei soang-ae-n pudungidi aenih-maen. 1s.S try-LEV-INC step goblin-NCL 'I try to step on the goblin.'
(42) Irail kolah- $\underline{n}$ laid.
(Pohnpeian, Rehg 1981:342)
3P.S go-AUX fish
'They went there in order to fish.'
(43) Ngoah jong in kadoarihla doadoahkko. (Mokilese, Harrison 1976:275) 1s.S try AUX finish work 'I try to finish the work.'

Thus, Proto-Micronesian *pwae and Proto-Pohnpeic *aen are similar in their infinitival usages.

As illustrated in (44), a similar usage of the cognate of Proto-Pohnpeic *aen for infinitival meaning is also reported in Marshallese, another language that lost ProtoMicronesian *pwae.
(44) I-ar itö-n köllää $a-o ̈ \quad$ likjab. (Marshallese, Pagotto 1987:501)

1S.AGRS-COMPL come-to pay thing-my debt
'I came to pay my debts.'

Pagotto (1987:500) observed that certain intransitive verbs have coalesced with the complementizer (her term) in 'to' and co-occur with bare inner infinitival complements. it $\ddot{O} \underline{\sim} \sim i t \ddot{\ddot{n}} \underline{\underline{n}}$ 'come to' $(<i t o k+i n)$ is one of these verbs. She further stated that "this coalescence in Marshallese is comparable to English 'to' construction in verbs such as 'gonna' (< 'going to') and 'wanna' (< 'want to')" (Pagotto 1987:500).

It seems that the function of Proto-Micronesian *pwae is inherited in the reflexes of Proto-Micronesian *nae in those languages that lost Proto-Micronesian *pwae.

In section 6.3, I discussed the development of Pingelapese auxiliary verbs, $a e$, aen, $e$, and en from Proto-Pohnpeic *ae and *aen, and their roles as modals, and I
analyzed the morphology of *aen as $* a e+*$-n. In section 6.4 , my discussion went further back in time to Proto-Micronesian. I discussed the development of ProtoPohnpeic aen from Proto-Micronesian, referring to the retention of Proto-Micronesian third person singular subject pronoun *ae and *nae and the loss of *pwae. The progressions from Proto-Micronesian to Proto-Pohnpeic and from Proto-Pohnpeic to Pingelapese are summarized in tables 6.4 and 6.5.

Table 6.4. The progression of Pingelapese $a e$ and $a e n$ from Proto-Micronesian to ProtoPohnpeic

| Proto- <br> Micronesian |  | *ae | *pwae | *nae $^{\text {Loss of *pwae }}$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Suffixed |  |  | ae nae |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Word final vowel deletion | $\underline{ }$ | ae-nae |  |
|  |  | ae | ae-n |  |
| Proto-Pohnpeic |  |  |  |  |

Table 6.5. The development of Pingelapese $a e$, aen, $e$, and en from Proto-Pohnpeic

| Proto-Pohnpeic |  | $*$ ae | $*$ ae-n | $*_{\text {ae }}$ | $*$ ae-n |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Hypothetical $*_{\mathrm{i}}$ | - | - | ae $^{\mathrm{i}}$ | $*$ ae-n i |
|  | Encliticized | - | - | $\mathrm{ae}=\mathrm{i}$ | ae-n=i |
|  | Height assimilation | - | - | $\mathrm{e}=\mathrm{i}$ | $\mathrm{e}-\mathrm{n}=\mathrm{i}$ |
|  | Suffixed | - | - | $\mathrm{e}-\mathrm{i}$ | $\mathrm{e}-\mathrm{n}-\mathrm{i}$ |
|  | Word final vowel deletion | - | - | e | $\mathrm{e}-\mathrm{n}$ |
| Pingelapese |  | $a e$ | $a e-n$ | $e$ | $e-n$ |

### 6.5. The source of Proto-Micronesian *nae

Previously, the history of the Micronesian future marker na/nae had not been cross-linguistically studied, nor was it reconstructed in Proto-Micronesian by Bender et al. (2003). The only two studies that refer to Micronesian na/nae are those by Harrison (1983) and Ross (1988). Harrison suggested that the Proto-Oceanic preverbal free morpheme *na was not a future marker but a common article and that the origin of Micronesian na/nae is the same as that of Proto-Oceanic *na 'common article'. In response to Harrison's claim, Ross (1988) proposed that although Milke (1968) reconstructed *na 'sign of future' for Proto-Oceanic, this *na was neither a member of a set of Proto-Oceanic tense/aspect-marking morphemes nor a marker of the future,
because the expected consistent distribution of its reflexes occurs only in Western Oceanic languages. Ross observed that if the Proto-Oceanic preverbal free morpheme *na had indeed been the future marking member of a set of tense-marking morphemes, he would expect its reflexes to have a more consistent distribution outside Western Oceanic languages as well.

Ross claimed that there is a semantic inconsistency in the cognates outside of Western Oceanic languages, pointing out 'future' in Kiribatese and 'irrealis dependent' in Kosraean, Marshallese, Mokilese, and Pohnpeian, 'future', 'potential', 'non-past', and 'intentive' for the cognates in Central Vanuatu, South Vanuatu, and Fijian. In addition, he showed that the other forms, which consist of $*_{\mathrm{n} V}$, mark tenses other than the future. This includes Kosraean na: perfective, Mokilese ne perfective, and Pingelapese en/-n.

Based on their restricted distribution, non-uniform meaning in attested cognates outside of Western Oceanic languages, and different tense marking by similar $n \mathrm{~V}$ forms, Ross proposed that these forms are descended not from one Proto-Oceanic form but from the three members of the putative Proto-Oceanic spatial/temporal deictic set. A deictic system is based on location relative to the speaker or to some other person and often also relative to the addressee. Deictic expressions are tied to the context of the individual speech act; they do not refer to fixed points in space.
 (distant from both speaker and addressee) were used to indicate temporal relations but their reflexes became part of the verb phrase independently in different Oceanic languages. In at least part of the Proto-Western Oceanic dialect chain, the Proto-Oceanic deictic *na was reinterpreted as a future marker, and thereby as an integral part of the verb phrases.

Proto-Oceanic spatial deictics are listed in (45), and Ross's proposal is summarized in figure 6.21.
(45) Proto-Oceanic spatial deictics (from Ross 1988:374)
*e/*ne (near speaker)
*a/*na (near addressee)
${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{o} /$ *no $^{\prime}$ (distant from both speaker and addressee)


Figure 6.21. Development hypothesis by Ross (1988)

As examples of the extension from spatial deictics to temporal deictics, Ross provided the following:
(46) na-minoa DEM-day 'tomorrow'
(47) ei-minoa DEM-day 'yesterday'

Future usage of na- 'near addressee'
(Aua, Ross 1988:374)

Past usage of $e i$ - 'distant from both speaker and addressee'
(Aua, Ross 1988:374)

Similar examples can be found in the Micronesian language Pulo Annian, a Chuukic language. The basic function of deictics is to identify the person, the thing, or the event referred to in relation to a spatial location. (48) through (50) exemplify this usage. The deictics may identify the temporal location of a head noun, usually a time word. In (51) through (53), the deictics are used for temporal reference.
imwa ye
(Pulo Annian, Oda 1977:36)
house DEM
'this house by me'
(49) imwa na
(Pulo Annian, Oda 1977:36)
house DEM
'that house by you'
(50) imwa we
(Pulo Annian, Oda 1977:37)
house DEM
'the/that house not in view but which we know of'
(51) I mana ttana pwongi ye.
(Pulo Annian, Oda 1977:38) 1 S .AGRS perhaps dream night DEM 'I may dream tonight.'
(52) I mana ttana pwongi na.
(Pulo Annian, Oda 1977:38) 1S.AGRS perhaps dream night DEM ''I may dream some night [in the future].'
(53) I ttana pwongi we.
(Pulo Annian, Oda 1977:38) 1S.AGRS dream night DEM 'I dreamed the other night.'

More examples of the semantic expansion of deictics from spatial to temporal can be found in Pohnpeic languages. In Pohnpeian, the demonstrative pronoun met (near the speaker) can also be used to express the present time 'now', as shown in (54) and (55).
(54) $E$ wah-do met.
(Pohnpeian, Rehg 1981:152)
3S.S bring-DIR DEM
'He brought it here.'
(55) $E$ wie doadoahk wasah-t met. 3s.S do work place-DEM DEM 'He is working here now.'

In Mokilese, deictics occurring with temporal nouns denote time (Harrison 1976:85-86). (56) shows examples of the spatial usage of a deictic, and (57) and (58) are examples of a temporal usage.
(56) Woall-e, jaudi woall- $\underline{\text { o. }}$
(Mokilese, Harrison 1976:77) man-DEM not man-DEM 'This man, not that man.'
(57) Ngoah pirin indoa apwakann-e.
(Mokilese, Harrison 1976:85) $1 \mathrm{~s} . \mathrm{S}$ will come time-DEM 'I'll come in a little while.'

This phenomenon is also quite common in Western Melanesian Oceanic languages-for example Vitu kua 'near speaker, now', Notsi afala 'near speaker, now', and Aua ei 'near speaker, now' (Ross 1988:374).

However, it is difficult for me to accept Ross's proposal, for at least three reasons. First, Ross claims that the cognates of Proto-Western Oceanic future marker *-na are more local in their distribution outside of Western Oceanic languages. Ross listed only five languages from Micronesia: Kiribatese, Marshallese, Mokilese, Pohnpeian, and Kosraean. My reconstruction of the Proto-Micronesian secondary future marker *nae makes it clear that its cognates are found in all Micronesian languages. Thus, the distribution is not as local as Ross thought. It is as wide as the Micronesian language family. This finding could help us to better understand the meaning and function of the Proto-Oceanic preverbal free morpheme *na. Outside Western Oceanic languages, and other than the five Micronesian languages, Ross listed Adua from Admiralties; Aoba/Ndiundui, North Maewo, and Paama from Central Vanuatu; Proto-Erromangan, Lenakel, and South-West Tanna from South Vanuatu; and Fijian. More investigation in Oceanic languages may reveal that the distribution of Proto-Oceanic *na is wider than previously thought, which would allow researchers to reconstruct * na in other proto languages, as I have done for Micronesian languages in this dissertation.

Second, although the Micronesian spatial deictics and the cognates of a ProtoMicronesian *nae 'future marker' share consonants that correspond to the ProtoMicronesian nasal coronal stop, reconstructions of the Proto-Micronesian spatial deictics lack systematicity, as shown in the following citation from Bender et al. (2003:20).

PMc *ena 'this, that': Chk een 't. (near person addressed and speaker or next to come up)'; Pul yeen; Crl yeel 't. close to speaker', (i)-yeel 't. one (emphatic)'; Crn (i)-yeen 't. one (emphatic)'; Wol yeele 't. here near me'; PuA yena (sic) 't. here'; PCk *yeena; Pon -,,n'that, by you'; Mrs yeü 'that'; Ksr (i¥)-,,n 'that, those'. (Bender et al. 2003:20)

Here, Proto-Micronesian *ena is glossed as 'this, that', suggesting a semantic variation among the cognates. While the Carolinian cognate is glossed as 't. close to speaker' and the Woleaian cognate as 'here near me', the Proto-Chuukic and the Pohnpeian cognates are glossed as 'that by you'. There is clearly a mismatch in form/meaning. Therefore, it is difficult to compare tense/aspect/mood morphemes and deictics from a diachronic perspective.

Third, Ross's analysis is based on the formal similarity between the temporal usage of deictics and tense-aspect markers in Oceanic languages. Ross claimed that a member of the noun phrase became part of the verb phrase. However, he did not explain the mechanism yielding this reanalysis. One possible explanation might be that the last element in the noun phrase was reanalyzed as the first element in the verbal complex.

The sentential locations of deictics and of the auxiliary verb in question are not quite the same. At a quick glance, Pohnpeic aen seems to occur right after a nominal, which is the canonical position of demonstratives in Pohnpeic languages, as shown in (59) and (60). In (59), the auxiliary verb aen appears right after the lower clause subject noun irail 'they'. In (60), the demonstrative aen 'that by you' appears right after a noun. (61) demonstrates how the spatial demonstrative is used in a sentence. (59) and (60) show the similarity of the sentential location of unaccomplished/future aspect aen and demonstrative aen; both occur after the subject noun and before the verb. (62) and (63) are similar examples from Mokilese.
(59) Irail koh-la pwe irail [aen laid] $]_{\mathrm{VC}}$.
(Pohnpeian, Rehg 1981:341)
3P.S go-DIR because 3P.S AUX fish
'They went there so that they could fish.'
(60) $[\text { kidi-aen }]_{\mathrm{NP}}$ dog-DEM
'that dog by you'
(Pohnpeian, Rehg 1981:145)
(61) [Wahr kalaimwun-aen $]_{\mathrm{NP}}$ pwoar. (Pohnpeian, K. Rehg, pers. comm., 2011) canoe large-DEM crack
'That large canoe by you cracked.'
(62) Kisai [aen pidekihla aria kello] $]_{\mathrm{Vc}}$.
(Mokilese, Harrison 1976:177)
2P.IN.S AUX surround their fence
'We should surround their fence.'
(63) $[\text { woall-aen }]_{\mathrm{NP}}$
(Mokilese, Harrison 1976:78) man-DEM
'that man by you'

These data seems to support the mechanism I suggested for Ross's reanalysis hypothesis: the demonstrative *na, which was the last element in the noun phrase, became the first element of the verbal complex, serving as a future marker. This is summarized in (64).
(64) Re-interpretation of NP final element as verbal complex initial element
$[\ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots . . \text { aen }]_{\mathrm{NP}}[\ldots . . . . .]_{\mathrm{VC}}$
$[\ldots . . . . . .]_{\mathrm{NP}}[\text { aen ......... }]_{\mathrm{VC}}$

However, counter evidence is found in non-Pohnpeic languages. As discussed in section 6.4.2, another verbal element, namely Proto-Micronesian *pwae, can intervene between the subject and the future marker $n e$ as shown in (65), repeated from (35) (see examples [30] through [36] in section 6.4.2).

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
(65)(=[35]) & \text { Ewe mwan epwenenoo ngeni Hawaii. (Chuukese) } \\
& \text { one man he-will-immediately/certainly-go to Hawai‘i } \\
& \text { 'Immediately/Certainly, the man will go to Hawai‘i.' }
\end{array}
$$

In (65), the subject noun ewe mwan 'the man' is clearly separated from ne 'immediately' by pwe 'will'. Ne is in between two verbal elements: the future marker pwae and the right verb noo 'go'. This shows that ne 'immediately', from Proto-Oceanic *na, is not in the position to be a demonstrative or in the position adjacent to the noun phrase element. Demonstratives are part of a noun phrase and they cannot occur between two verbal elements. This serves as counter evidence to the possible mechanism described earlier for Ross's reanalysis hypothesis, which proposes that the Proto-Western Oceanic future marker *na came from the Proto-Oceanic demonstrative *na, at the level of ProtoMicronesian. Note that Proto-Oceanic *ba 'desiderative, future' is reconstructed by Ross
(1988:372), and Bender et al. (2003:70) make reference to it in their reconstruction of Proto-Micronesian *pwae. ${ }^{6}$ Yet the formal similarity between the temporal usage of deictics and tense/aspect markers is intriguing. How an element in the noun phrase became an element in the verbal phrase remains to be explored.

The investigation of pwae and nae in Micronesian languages casts doubt on the mechanism for the hypothesis that the demonstrative was reanalyzed as a future marker. The Proto-Micronesian future marker *nae was not adjacent to a nominal subject but in between two verbal elements: *pwae and the verb. This is summarized in figure 6.22.


Figure 6.22. Sentential locations of *pwae and *nae in a Proto-Micronesian sentence

Clearly, Proto-Micronesian *nae is occurring in a verbal complex-not the place where demonstratives occur. The meaning of the cognates of *pwae are rather consistent because it served as a primary future marker. On the other hand, the non-uniform meaning of the reflexes of Proto-Micronesian future marker *nae comes from its nature as a secondary aspect/mood marking morpheme, adding a more vague notion, like immediateness. Furthermore, in the languages that lost *pwae, the semantics of *nae needed to be changed to fill the semantic gap created by that loss. In light of this scenario, the semantic non-uniformity of reflexes of Proto-Micronesian *nae is not surprising. Further study of Proto-Oceanic *ba 'future marker', the word order change,

[^30]and the reanalysis mechanism of $*$ na is needed, and should help make it possible to evaluate the demonstrative origin hypothesis proposed by Ross (1988).

### 6.6. Summary

This chapter presented a diachronic study of Pingelapese auxiliary verbs. Pingelapese innovatively developed pronoun-aux complexes, through the merger of $-n$, a hypothetical high front vowel particle $*_{i}$ (with the high certainty meaning), vowel height assimilation, and final vowel deletion. The stand-alone auxiliary verbs came from the third person singular subject pronoun-aux set through the loss of the pronominal features.

## CHAPTER 7. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

In this chapter, the Proto-Micronesian pronominal system will be presented and then the Pingelapese pronominal system will be discussed. Subsequently, the discussion will be expanded to a comparison of the other Micronesian languages.

### 7.1. Proto-Micronesian personal pronouns

Rehg and Sugita (1975) reconstructed the Proto-Micronesian personal pronoun system, and Jackson (1983) supported their reconstruction by providing additional language data. Jackson's Proto-Micronesian reconstruction set is summarized in table 7.1.

Table 7.1. Proto-Micronesian pronominal system (Jackson 1983)

|  | Subject Pronouns | Independent <br> Pronouns | Object Pronouns | Possessive <br> Pronouns |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ssg | *ú | *ngau | *-(y)ai | *-xu |
| 2sg | *ko | *koe | *-ko | *-m'u |
| 3sg | *e | *ia | *-a | *-ña |
| 1pl.incl | *ti, e | *kit, t'a | *-kit' t'a | *-t'a |
| 1pl. excl | *ka(m')u(?) | *kami | *kamami | *-kamami <br> *-kami |
| 2pl | *kam'u | *-mi | *-mami |  |
| 3pl | *ra | *ira | *-mii |  |

Note that, for his Proto-Micronesian reconstructions of subject and object pronouns (his terms), Jackson did not specify whether they were in fact agreement markers or pronouns. This dissertation follows Jackson in the loose usage of the term "pronoun" for these

Proto-Micronesian forms. The issue of categorical status (pronouns or agreement markers) will be discussed in section 7.6.

For Proto-Micronesian, four sets of personal pronouns are reconstructed: preverbal subject pronouns, independent pronouns, postverbal object pronoun suffixes, and noun-suffixed possessive pronouns. The following three distinctions are made in person: first person (the speaker), second person (the addressee[s]), and third person (the person[s] spoken about). These pronouns also exhibit two distinctions in number: singular (one person) and plural (two or more persons). First person plural pronouns are divided into two types: inclusive and exclusive. The inclusive first person plural pronoun refers to the speaker and the addressee(s). The exclusive first person plural pronoun refers to the speaker and some other person(s), but not the addressee(s). Thus, the inclusive pronoun includes addressee(s) in its referent set, whereas the exclusive pronoun excludes the addressee(s). As show in table 7.1, no gender distinction is made in ProtoMicronesian, and this is consistent with Proto-Oceanic (Lynch et al. 2002:67). As for number, Jackson (1983:33) states that "there is no evidence of 'dual' (two persons) or 'trial' (three persons) morphemes as reconstructed by Pawley (1972) for Proto-Eastern Oceanic."

### 7.2. Pingelapese independent pronouns

Micronesian independent pronouns are typically used as a one-word answer or as the head of a focus construction. Additionally, they are used as a direct object in Pingelapese, due to the loss of direct object suffixes in that language, which will be discussed in sections 7.4 and 7.5. (1) and (2) provide examples of such usage. The whquestion in (1a) can be answered by a sole independent pronoun as in (1b). The same independent pronoun is employed in a focus construction in (2) and as a direct object in (3). Pingelapese independent pronouns are summarized in table 7.2.
(1) a. Ihs mae keieu?
who FOC best
'Who is the best?'
b. Ngaehi!

1S.IND
'Me!'
(2) Ngaehi mae keieu.

1s.ind FOC best
'I am the best.'
(3) Linda e kikihdi ngaehi.

Linda HEV kick 1S.IND
'Linda kicked me.'

Table 7.2. Pingelapese independent pronouns

|  |  | Singular | Dual | Plural |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1st person | Exclusive | ngaehi | kihs |  |
|  | Inclusive |  | kisa | kisahsi |
| 2nd person |  | kaewae <br> koamw | koamwa | koamwahsi |
| 3rd person |  | ih | ira | irahsi |

Proto-Micronesian independent pronouns are retained in Pingelapese. However, there is a part of the Pingelapese paradigm that departs from the Proto-Micronesian paradigm. While both Proto-Micronesian and Pingelapese have the same person system and inclusive/exclusive distinctions, they are different in terms of their number system. The Proto-Micronesian pronoun system has only two number distinctions-singular and plural. On the other hand, Pingelapese pronouns, except for the first person exclusive, have a three-way number distinction: singular, dual, and plural. Dual is used for two people and plural for more than two.

All the dual pronouns and plural pronouns consist of more than one morpheme. If you examine these pronouns, you will observe that all the dual forms end in $-a$, while all the plural forms end in -si. It may be deduced that the roots for both the dual and plural forms of these pronouns are kis- for the first person, koamw- for the second person, and
$i r$ - for the third person, to which the dual number marker -ah ( $-a a$ ) may be added to give the dual forms. Then, the final vowel deletion rule, which was discussed in section 4.3, deleted the second $a$. In addition, the plural number marker -si may be added to the dual form to give the plural forms. ${ }^{1}$ Consider (4), where the second person independent pronouns are shown in different numbers.

## (4) Second person independent pronouns

a. Koamw
Singular
b. Koamw-a
Dual
c. Koamw-ah-si Plural

This -si could be historically related to the Proto-Pohnpeian numeral sili 'three'. Lynch et al. (2002) reported that some Oceanic languages have a dual pronoun series and a plural pronoun series with elements reflecting the numerals 'two' and 'three', respectively, as shown in Niuafo'ou, Marquesan, and Nadrogā in table 7.3. There is good evidence that the numerals *rua 'two' and *tolu 'three' were cliticized to independent pronouns to mark dual and plural.

Table 7.3. Numeral elements in dual and plural pronouns in Oceanic languages (Lynch et al. 2002)

|  | Niuafo'ou | Marquesan | Nadrogā |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $2^{\text {nd }}$ person singular | koe | 'oe | iko |
| $\begin{aligned} & 2^{\text {nd }} \text { person dual } \\ & \text { (number } 2) \end{aligned}$ | $\frac{k o ̄ l u a}{(u a, ~ l u a)}$ | oue | kèmuru (rиa) |
| $2^{\text {nd }}$ person plural (number 3) | $\begin{aligned} & \text { kōtou } \\ & \text { (tolu) } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 'otou } \\ & (t o ‘ u) \end{aligned}$ | kemutou (tolu) |

Lynch et al. (2002) also report that the reduced forms of 'two' and 'three' are found in the pronouns of other Oceanic languages: Yapese, the Admiralties, the Willaumez languages, Fijian, and many Polynesian languages. Table 7.4 showcases Yapese examples from Jensen (1977a, 1977b) and Fijian examples from Schütz (1985).

[^31]Table 7.4. Numeral elements in dual and plural pronouns in Yapese and Fijian

|  | Yapese |  | Fijian |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| $2^{\text {nd }}$ person singular | guur | $2^{\text {nd }}$ person singular | $o$ |
| $2^{\text {nd }}$person dual <br> (number 2) | gimeew <br> (ruw) | $2^{\text {nd }}$ person dual <br> (number 2) | drau <br> $($ rua $)$ |
| $2^{\text {nd }}$ person plural |  |  |  |
| (number 3) | gimeed <br> (dalip) | $2^{\text {nd }}$ person paucal <br> (number 3) | dou <br> $($ tolu $)$ |

Marshallese plural pronouns can be suffixed for numbers representing two or more individuals. These suffixes include -ro 'two', -jil 'three', -eān 'four', and -uij 'five or more', as summarized in table 7.5 (Bender 1969a, 1984). ${ }^{2}$

Table 7.5. Numeral elements with non-singular pronouns in Marshallese

|  | Marshallese |
| :---: | :---: |
| $2^{\text {nd }}$ person dual (number 2) | koṃro (ro) |
| $2^{\text {nd }}$ person trial (number 3) | komjil <br> (jil) |
| $2^{\text {nd }}$ person four (number 4) | koṃeān (eān) |
| $2^{\text {nd }}$ person five or more (number 5) | komuij (uij) |

All the Pohnpeic languages show similar endings in dual and plural pronouns; dual pronouns end with $-a$ and plurals end with different forms, as shown in table 7.6.

[^32][^33]Table 7.6. Numeral elements in dual and plural pronouns in Pohnpeic languages

|  | Pohnpeian | Mokilese | Pingelapese |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $2^{\text {nd }}$ person singular | kowe/koh | koa/koawoa | kaewae/koamw |
| $\begin{gathered} 2^{\text {nd }} \text { person dual } \\ \text { (number } 2 \text { ) } \end{gathered}$ | kumwa (ria) | kamwa (ria) | koamwa (ria) |
| $2^{\text {nd }}$ person plural (number 3) | kumwail (sili) | kamwai (jili) | koamwahsi (sili) |

The endings of the plural pronouns presumably came from a part of the numeral 'three'. Pohnpeian plural pronouns seem to be marked by -ili, the last three phonemes in the numeral sili 'three'. After the application of the final vowel deletion rule, which was discussed in section 4.3, the suffix -ili is realized as -il. Mokilese is marked by the first vowel - $i$, and Pingelapese is marked by the first two phonemes -si (see [5]).

Pohnpeian
Mokilese
Pingelapese


The difference between dual and plural may contribute to expressing respect in Pingelapese. It is possible to use a plural form for two people to express respect, as seen in (6). The subject of the first sentence is clearly dual, but in the following sentence, the third person plural form irahsi is used for the dual antecedent.
(6) Aeraemas lap-aelap rie-maen $e$ ah-sang Pohnpei. Irahsi me minae person big-big two-NCL HEV come-DIR Pohnpei 3D.IND FOC exist nah ihwmi-n saeraewi.
in house-of service
'Two authorities came from Pohnpei. They are the ones who are in the Church.'

It is impossible to use plural forms to refer to animals, which are always treated as lower status in Pingelapese culture, as seen in (7a). The dual pronoun is employed to refer to more than two animals, as in (7b).
(7) a.* Kidih sili-maen $e$ wow-wow-wow. Irahsi me keidi ngaehi aio. dog three-NCL HEV bark-bark-bark 3P.IND FOC bite 1s.O yesterday
b. Kidih sili-maen e wow-wow-wow. Irah me keidi ngaehi aio. dog three-NCL HEV bark-bark-bark 3D.IND FOC bite 1s.O yesterday 'Three dogs are barking. They are the ones that bit me yesterday.'

The Proto-Micronesian first person exclusive set is lost in Pingelapese. On the other hand, the inclusive set is inherited from Proto-Micronesian. As seen in figure 7.1, kihs 'first person dual/plural exclusive independent pronoun' and kisa 'first person dual inclusive independent pronoun' (and kisahsi 'first person plural inclusive independent pronoun') in today's Pingelapese are from the Proto-Micronesian first person plural inclusive pronoun *kit, t'a (Jackson 1983:360). A similar substitution occurred in subject, object, and possessive pronouns.


Figure 7.1. First person non-singular pronouns in Proto-Micronesian and Pingelapese

This also holds for Pohnpeian, but not for Mokilese. Like Pingelapese, Pohnpeian lost the Proto-Micronesian first person exclusive pronouns. Mokilese, on the other hand, retained the Proto-Micronesian first person exclusive set as it is.

### 7.3. Subject pronouns

7.3.1. Subject pronouns in Proto-Micronesian and other Micronesian languages

Subject pronouns occur at the beginning of the verbal complex. Examples (8) through (10) are from Pulo Annian, one of the languages that retained the ProtoMicronesian forms fairly well. The first person singular subject pronoun $i$ ' $I$ ', the second person singular ko 'you', and the third person plural le 'they', exemplified in (8) through (10), are quite similar to the Proto-Micronesian subject pronoun set (see table 7.1). In fact, these forms in Pulo Annian are not pronouns but agreement markers that co-occur with fully expressed subject noun phrases. This will be examined closely in section 7.6.
(8) $\underline{I}$ pwe nako Kkonon.

1s.AGRS will go Koror
'I will go to Koror.'
(9) Ko ta kae sie.

2s.AGRS not even leave
'Don't you dare leave.'
(Pulo Annian, Oda 1977:86)
(10) Le te made.

3P.AGRS not die
'They are not dead yet.'
(Pulo Annian, Oda 1977:86)
7.3.2. Pingelapese subject pronouns

Unlike Pulo Annian, Pingelapese subject pronouns are indeed pronouns rather than agreement markers, because they do not co-occur with fully expressed subject noun phrases, as discussed in section 7.6. The two tables that follow summarize the pronouns used for Pingelapese subjects. Those derived from Proto-Micronesian subject pronouns are in table 7.7 and those apparently from Proto-Micronesian independent pronouns are in table 7.8.

Table 7.7. Pingelapese subject pronoun clitics that came from Proto-Micronesian subject Pronouns

|  |  | Singular | Dual | Plural |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1st person | Exclusive |  | sae |  |
|  | Inclusive |  |  |  |
| 2nd person |  | $k a e$ |  |  |
| 3rd person |  | $a e$ | $r a e$ |  |

Table 7.8. Pingelapese subject pronouns that came from Proto-Micronesian independent Pronouns

|  |  | Singular | Dual | Plural |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1st person | Exclusive | ngaei | kihs |  |
|  | Inclusive |  | kisa | kisahsi |
| 2nd person |  |  | koamwa | koamwahsi |
| 3rd person |  |  | ira | irahsi |

The usage of the first person singular subject pronoun ngaei is illustrated in (11).

## (11) Ngaei kah ahla Kolonia. <br> 1S.S may go Kolonia <br> 'I may go to Kolonia.'

This form is quite different from the Proto-Micronesian first person singular subject pronoun *ú. It seems reasonable to conjecture that Pingelapese lost the Proto-
Micronesian first person singular subject pronoun. In consequence, ngaei (from the first person singular independent pronoun *ngau) is being used to fill the gap.

This first person singular subject pronoun ngaei is distinct from the first person singular independent pronoun ngaehi, as discussed in section 6.3. The former is pronounced as $/ \mathrm{y} \varepsilon \mathrm{y} /$ and thus has one mora, while the latter is pronounced as $/ \mathrm{y} \varepsilon: y /$, with two moras. This length difference quite nicely demonstrates that the two pronouns are distinct underlyingly. One is realized with a short vowel because it does not meet the condition for the vowel lengthening rule (see [12]), whereas the other is realized with a long vowel because it meets the condition for the rule and therefore undergoes the lengthening.
(12) Lengthening of the vowel in a monosyllabic noun phrase $[\#(\mathrm{C}) \mathrm{V}(\mathrm{C}) \#]_{\mathrm{NP}}=>[\#(\mathrm{C}) \mathrm{V}:(\mathrm{C})]_{\mathrm{NP}}$

This vowel lengthening rule, which applies only to a monosyllabic noun phrase, is widely attested in Micronesian languages. For a cross-linguistic/historical explanation of this rule, see Rehg 1984.

Table 7.9 summarizes the developmental history of the Pingelapese first person singular subject pronoun ngaei and the first person singular independent pronoun ngaehi.

Table 7.9. History of ngaei and naeghi

|  | Subject pronoun | Independent pronoun |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Proto-Micronesian | *ú | *ngau |
|  |  | - |
|  | Lost in Pingelapese | $\downarrow$ |
|  | ngau | ngau |
|  | [ngaei .........] $]_{\mathrm{vc}} / \mathrm{ycy} /$ | $[\text { ngaei }]_{\mathrm{NP}} / \mathrm{ycy} /$ |
| Lengthening of the vowel in a monosyllabic noun phrase | ----- | $\left[{ }^{\text {gaaehi }}\right]_{\mathrm{NP}} / \mathrm{yc}: \mathrm{y} /$ |
|  | [ngaei .........] $]_{\mathrm{vc}} / \mathrm{y} \varepsilon \mathrm{y} /$ | $[n g a e h i]_{\mathrm{NP}} / \mathrm{yc}: \mathrm{y} /$ |

Proto-Micronesian employed *ú for the first person singular subject pronoun and *ngau for the first person singular independent pronoun. However, in the history of Pingelapese, the former form was lost. To fill the gap, Pingelapese speakers started to employ the corresponding independent pronoun form, which came from ProtoMicronesian *ngau, for a first person singular referent that is encoded as subject. The independent pronoun is in a noun phrase, whereas the subject pronoun is in a verbal complex. The vowel lengthening rule is applied only to the former. Thus, the first person singular subject pronoun is realized as ngaei / $\mathfrak{y y} /$ with one mora, but the first person singular independent pronoun is realized as ngaehi / $\mathfrak{y}$ : $\mathrm{y} /$ with two moras.

A reflex of the Proto-Micronesian first person singular pronoun *ú is seen only in one fossilized expression in Pingelapese, which is shown in (13). Both sentences (13) and (14) are possible in Pingelapese to express that the speaker does not know something,
but (14) is the most common in all generations. The verb saehsae 'to not-know' in (14) is formed with the negative prefix $s a$ - and the verb aesae 'to know'. The expression in (13) is not highly frequent but is occasionally heard from elders in conversation. Apparently, the verb saeh 'to not-know' in (13) is a shortened form of saehsae 'to notknow' in (14). Pingelapese speakers observed that a speaker would utter (13) with knitted brow because s/he has searched her/his memory very carefully but could not think of the answer. It is thus almost like an interjection. Because $i$ ' $I$ ', the reflex of ProtoMicronesian first person singular pronoun *ú, is not productive, being limited to this one interjectional expression, I did not include it in the Pingelapese subject pronoun table.
(13) $\underline{I}$ saeh!
1s.S not.know 'I don't know!'
(14) Ngaei sae-hsae.

1s.S not-know 'I don't know.'

Some of the Proto-Micronesian subject pronouns have survived into today's Pingelapese, as in table 7.8: Proto-Micronesian second person singular subject pronoun *ko > Pingelapese second person singular subject pronoun kae; Proto-Micronesian third person singular subject pronoun *e (considered to be pronounced as $a e$ ) >Pingelapese third person singular subject pronoun $a e$; Proto-Micronesian first person inclusive plural pronoun *ti > Pingelapese first person dual/plural exclusive pronoun sae; ProtoMicronesian third person plural pronoun *ra > Pingelapese third person dual/plural pronoun rae. These forms are illustrated in (15) through (18).
(15) $\quad \underline{\text {-ae }}$ ah-sang $i a$ ?

2S.S-LEV come-DIR where
'Where are you from?'
(16) $\quad \emptyset$-ae ah-sang ia?

3s.S-LEV come-DIR where 'Where is he from?'

```
(17) S-e sae-hsae!
    1D/P.EX.S-HEV not-know
    'We don't know!'
```

```
(18) R-ae ahla Hawaii.
    3D/P.S-LEV go Hawai`i.
    'They go to Hawai'i.'
```

It is impossible to replace the second person singular and the third person singular subject pronouns with the independent pronouns, as shown in (19) and (20).

```
(19) * Kaewae ahsang ia?
    2S.IND come-DIR where
    (Intended meaning = 'Where are you from?')
(20)* Ih ah-sang ia?
    3S.IND come-DIR where
    (Intended meaning = 'Where is he from?')
```

On the other hand, independent pronoun forms can alternate with the second person dual/plural inclusive subject pronoun and third person dual/plural subject pronoun. The alternative form for sae 'first person dual/plural exclusive pronoun' is kihs. Thus, sae from the Proto-Micronesian subject pronoun and kihs from the Proto-Micronesian independent pronoun are in competition in the first person dual/plural subject pronoun slot. The alternative forms for rae 'third person dual/plural subject pronoun' are irah and irahsi, both from independent pronouns. Rae is used for both dual and plural (i.e., nonsingular). On the other hand, forms that came from the independent pronouns mark the dual/plural distinction; irah is for dual and irahsi is for plural. ${ }^{3}$ Rae is also in competition with irah and irahsi.

The usage of the independent pronoun-derived forms as subject pronouns is exemplified in (11) (for the first person singular) and in (21) through (23). These forms are apparently derived from independent pronouns: Proto-Micronesian *ngau >

[^34]Pingelapese ngaei, Proto-Micronesian *kit > Pingelapese kihs, Proto-Micronesian *ira > Pingelapese ira.
(21) Kihs sae-hsae!

2D/P.EX.S not-know
'We don’t know!'
(22) Ira ahla Hawaii.

3D.S go Hawai'i.
'They go to Hawai‘i.'
(23) Irahsi ahla Hawaii.

3P.S go Hawai'i.
'They go to Hawai‘i.'

Thus, the independent pronouns are expanding the domains in which they are employed. The forms that came from the independent pronouns have taken over the first person singular subject pronoun slot and now are in competition with subject pronouns in the second exclusive dual/plural slot, the third person dual slot, and the third person plural slot.

The interchangeability of the original subject pronouns and the independent pronouns (which are becoming subject pronouns) is exemplified in (24), a recorded conversation. The speaker is asked to tell what she knows about the origin of Dihndihn, a song and dance that many Pingelapese believe to be a Pingelapese traditional art. Many speakers report that they do not understand the language in the song because it is ancient Pingelapese. However, interviews with elders revealed that it is a Marshallese song and dance that Pingelapese people learned from the Marshallese when they were working on other islands. ${ }^{4}$ The dance seems like a marching dance that spread widely in Micronesia during the Japanese era. Pingelapese do not understand the lyrics in Dihndihn because it is Marshallese, not because it is ancient Pingelapese. In (24), the speaker is using rae and irahsi interchangeably. A similar interchangeability of third person plural subject

[^35]pronouns-one from Proto-Micronesian subject agreement marker and one from ProtoMicronesian independent pronoun-is also observed in Pohnpeian (i.e., rae and irail) (Rehg 1981:159).
(24) R-ae ahla daedoahk, hmm Eniwaedak, Usilang, irahsi ahla daedoahk 3D/P.S-LEV go work well Enewetak Usilang 3P.S go work in ngaei saeh da wie aering daekaedaek ke da ngaei in 1s.S not.(know) what do coconut.meat husk or what 1s.S saewaeh wehwehkin apwah Dihndihn maeh r-ae lokaehiah mwahsael not clear but Dihndihn FOC 3D/P.S-LEV talk Marshallese 'They went to work in Enewetak and Ujilang. I do not know what kind of work they did, well probably they did cutting out coconut meats or husking coconuts but I'm not sure. Anyway, in "dihndihn," they use Marshallese language.'

Younger Pingelapese speakers in Mwalok, Pohnpei, report their preference for irahsi rather than rae. Avoiding rae, which is commonly heard in the Pohnpeian language, in favor of irahsi confirms their identity as Pingelapese. One young person even reported that rae is Pohnpeian, not Pingelapese. (Pohnpeian employs rae for the third person plural subject pronouns and for the honorific second person singular.) In Keller's (2006) compilation of Pingelapese legends and history collected from Pingelapese people in Pohnpei, only three uses of the third person singular short form subject pronouns (i.e., two raen and one ren) are attested in the 90-page document (with size 12 font and line spacing at 1.5 ; half is written in Pingelapese and half is written in English). However, two of my language consultants on Pingelap atoll, one in his early 30s and one in his 60s, reported that rae is part of the Pingelapese language and is still used on Pingelap atoll, especially by the elders. And this report is confirmed in the texts that I audio recorded during my fieldwork.

The report from younger Pingelapese people on Pohnpei indicates the unconscious resistance of Pingelapese to assimilating themselves to the dominant regional language, Pohnpeian. Mwalok, on the island of Pohnpei, to which many Pingelapese migrated a hundred years ago, is the largest of the Pingelapese communities. Having been surrounded by Pohnpeian and other language communities for a century, all Pingelapese in Mwalok speak Pohnpeian as a second language. Nevertheless, the

Pingelapese language has been sustained. The resistance against the pressure from the dominant language, Pohnpeian, may be causing a dissimilation trend in Pingelapese.

Other number and person subject pronouns are identical to the independent pronouns, similar to the Proto-Micronesian patterns. (25) employs koamwa 'second person dual subject pronoun', which is formally identical to the corresponding independent pronoun.
(25) Koamwa dae kae-sai-roang!

2D.S not cause-not-hear
'You two don't dare be noisy!'

### 7.3.3. Morpheme analysis of Pingelapese subject pronouns

Pingelapese subject pronoun clitics that came from Proto-Micronesian subject pronouns appear in four forms, the same as auxiliary verbs. Consider (26) through (29), which contain the second person singular subject proclitic.
(26) K-ae aesae?

2s.S-LEV know
'Do you know?'
(27) K-ae-n ahla ia?

2s.S-LEV-INC go where
'Where are you going?'
(28) $\underline{K-e}$ soun-paedahk-aemaen.

2S.S-LEV practitioner-teach-NCL
'You are a teacher.'
(29) K-e-n ah-doa.

2S.S-HEV-INC come-DIR
'You have come.'

Chapter 6 discussed how the four Pingelapese auxiliary verbs-ae, $e$, aen, and en-developed from Proto-Micronesian *ae 'third person singular subject pronoun' through the suffixation of the immediateness marker $-n$, height assimilation to the hypothetical following high vowel *i, and deletion of a word-final vowel. I hypothesize
that this development happened with subject pronouns first and that the genuine auxiliary use developed later.

Because of the partial paradigm look of sae, kae, ae, and rae, which all end with $a e$, Pingelapese presumably reanalyzed these forms, segmenting them into a root, $a e$, preceded by the distinct person/number markers. Thus, $s$ marks first person dual/plural exclusive, $k$ marks second person singular, $r$ marks third person dual/plural, and third person singular is marked by zero.

The reinterpretation of the root vowel $a e$ as an evidentiality marker is a secondary development. This innovation of an evidential contrast between $a e$ vs. $e$ triggered the reanalysis of these forms as segments in a way that makes eminent sense. The segmentation was first motivated by the appearance of a paradigm involving the subject pronouns. The subsequent emergence of the evidential contrast that assigned the meaning to the root vowels $a e$ and $e$ made that segmentation more plausible.

Among Micronesian languages, it is only in Pingelapese that the two factors responsible for this reanalysis are attested: the partial paradigm look of the subject pronouns due to the leveling of the root vowel(s) and the assignment of distinguishable meaning to the root vowel(s). In many contemporary Micronesian languages, the subject agreement markers/pronouns end in various vowels, as did the Proto-Micronesian subject agreement markers which end in ú, $\mathrm{o}, \mathrm{e}, \mathrm{i}$, and a, as shown in table 7.1 in section 7.1. Because leveling of the root vowel(s) progressed in Pohnpeic languages, Pohnpeian also exhibits this partial paradigm look, but it does not assign specific meaning to the root vowel. ${ }^{5}$ Figure 7.2 summarizes this contrast among Micronesian languages.

[^36]Table 7.A. Pohnpeian subject pronouns that came from Proto-Micronesian subject agreement markers

|  |  | Singular | Dual | Plural |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1st person | Exclusive | $i$ | sae |  |
|  | Inclusive |  |  |  |
| 2nd person |  | $k a e$ |  | rae |
| 3rd person |  | $a e$ |  |  |

The Proto-Micronesian first person singular subject agreement marker is retained in Pohnpeian as the subject pronoun $i$, which does not end with ae like the other subject pronouns; Pingelapese lost this form. Thus, the look of the Pohnpeian subject pronouns provides less motivation for the speakers to reanalyze and segment them. Forms in table 7.A can be reconstructed for Proto-Pohnpeic. Note that Mokilese lost


Figure 7.2. Distribution of the partial paradigm look and the assignment of distinguishable meaning to the root vowel among Micronesian languages

In the history of Pingelapese, the Proto-Micronesian subject pronominal clitics underwent the development illustrated in tables 7.10 and 7.11, yielding $k$-ae, $k$-ae-n, $k-e$, and $k-e-n$ for the second person singular subject proclitics.

Table 7.10. The progression of Pingelapese kae and kaen from Proto-Micronesian to Proto-Pohnpeic

| Proto- <br> Micronesian |  | 2so <br> 2sg |  | *pwae |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

all the subject pronouns that came from Proto-Micronesian subject agreement markers, as discussed in section 7.5.

Table 7.11. The development of Pingelapese kae, kaen, ke, and ken from Proto-Pohnpeic

| Proto-Pohnpeic |  | *kae | *kae-n |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Hypothetical *i | - | - | *kae i | *kae-n i |
|  | Encliticized | - | - | kae=i | kae-n=i |
|  | Height assimilation | - | - | ke=i | ke-n=i |
|  | Suffixed | - | - | ke-i | ke-n-i |
|  | Word final vowel deletion | - | - | ke | ke-n |
| Pingelapese | Segmented | $\underset{\text { 2s.S.-LEv }}{k-a e}$ | $k-a e-n$ 2s.S-LEV-INC | $\begin{gathered} k-e \\ \text { 2s.S.-HEV } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} k-e-n \\ \text { 2s.S-HEv-NC } \end{gathered}$ |

The same explanation can also be applied to the four person/number subject procliticskae, sae, ae, and rae. Tables 7.12 and 7.13 illustrate how the four forms for the third person singular subject proclitic- $\varnothing-a e, ~ \emptyset-a e-n, \varnothing-e$, and $\emptyset-e-n-$ have developed in a similar manner.

Table 7.12. The progression of Pingelapese ae and aen from Proto-Micronesian to Proto-Pohnpeic

| Proto- <br> Micronesian | Loss of *pwae | *ae | *pwae | *nae |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Suffixed |  |  | ae nae |
|  | Word final vowel deletion | - |  |  |
|  |  | ae-nae |  |  |
| Proto-Pohnpeic |  | ae-n |  |  |

Table 7.13. The development of Pingelapese $a e, a e n, e$, and $e n$ from Proto-Pohnpeic

| Proto-Pohnpeic |  | *ae | *ae-n | *ae | *ae-n |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Hypothetical *i | - | - | *ae i | *ae-n i |
|  | Encliticized | - | - | $\mathrm{ae}=\mathrm{i}$ | ae-n=i |
|  | Height assimilation | - | - | $\mathrm{e}=\mathrm{i}$ | e-n=i |
|  | Suffixed | - | - | e-i | e-n-i |
|  | Word final vowel deletion | - | - | e | e-n |
| Pingelapese | Segmented | $\begin{aligned} & \emptyset-a e \\ & 3 \text { SS.S-LEV } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \emptyset-a e-n \\ \text { 3S.S.LEv-NC } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \varnothing-e \\ \text { 3s.S.HEv } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Ø-e-n } \\ \text { 3S.S-HEv-INC } \end{gathered}$ |

As shown at the bottom of tables 7.11 and 7.13 , it is conjectured that a person/number morpheme, a certainty marker, and an inchoative marker compose today's Pingelapese subject pronoun-auxiliary complexes. This is summarized in table 7.14 with
second person singular examples. ${ }^{6}$ Here, the voiceless velar stop $k$ - represents the second person singular subject proclitic, which cliticizes to the following auxiliary verb.

Table 7.14. Pronoun inventory for second person singular

| Second person singular $(k-)$ | -inchoative | + inchoative (-n) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| -certainty $(a e)$ | $k-a e$ | $k$ - $a e-n$ (irrealis) |
| +certainty $(e)$ | $k-e$ | $k-e-n$ (realis) |

The same analysis is applied to other subject proclitics that came from Proto-Micronesian, as shown in tables 7.15 through 7.17. The first person exclusive dual/plural subject proclitic is the voiceless alveolar fricative $s$-, which cliticizes to the following auxiliary verb.

Table 7.15. Pronoun inventory for first person exclusive dual/plural

| First person exclusive <br> dual/plural $(s-)$ | -inchoative | +inchoative (-n) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| -certainty $(a e)$ | $s-a e$ | $s$ - $a e-n$ (irrealis) |
| +certainty $(e)$ | $s-e$ | $s-e-n$ (realis) |

The third person singular subject proclitic is considered to be zero, which is not unusual cross-linguistically. This cross-linguistic tendency is attested in Pohnpeian, whose third person singular object suffix is marked by zero. ${ }^{7}$

[^37]Table 7.16. Pronoun inventory for third person singular

| Third person singular (Ø-) | -inchoative | + inchoative (-n) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| -certainty $(a e)$ | $\emptyset-a e$ | $\emptyset-a e-n$ (irrealis) |
| + certainty $(e)$ | $\emptyset-e$ | $\emptyset-e-n$ (realis) |

The third person dual/plural subject proclitic is the alveolar liquid $r$-, which cliticizes to the following auxiliary verb.

Table 7.17. Pronoun inventory for third person dual/plural

| Third person dual/plural $(r-)$ | -inchoative | + inchoative (-n) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| -certainty $(a e)$ | $r-a e$ | $r-a e-n$ (irrealis) |
| +certainty $(e)$ | $r-e$ | $r-e-n$ (realis) |

As discussed earlier in this section, the Proto-Micronesian first person singular subject pronoun *ú was lost in Pingelapese. The current form, ngaei, came from the independent pronoun. As shown in the paradigm in table 7.18, there is no $a e$ vs. $e$ certainty contrast for it. This idiosyncrasy may be due to the high certainty in the proposition with the first person singular subject. Another idiosyncrasy for the first person singular is in the +inchoative forms. In the irrealis form (-certainty, +inchoative), the auxiliary ae-n is fused into ngaei, yielding ngaeh. This is analyzed as a portmanteau morpheme, rather than a multi-morphemic $n g-a e-h$, at this stage. On the other hand, in
(b) Sohn wahdo-Ø.
(K. Rehg, pers. comm., 2011) John bring-3s.O
'John brought her.'

However, in written Pohnpeian, they spell it out as ih, as in (c) (K. Rehg, pers. comm., 2011). This is not attested in the spoken language, as in (b). This writing practice must be due to the influence of the earlier Pohnpeian Bible, which employs ih for the third person singular object suffix - $\varnothing$.
(c) Sohn wahdo ih. [Only in written Pohnpeian]
(K. Rehg, pers. comm., 2011)

John bring-3s.O
'John brought her.'
the realis form (+certainty, +inchoative), the auxiliary e-n remains detached. These idiosyncrasies may be partly due to its recent provenance from the independent pronoun.

Table 7.18. Pronoun inventory for first person singular

| First person singular (ngaei) | -inchoative | +inchoative (-n) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| -certainty (ae) | ngaei | ngaeh (irrealis) |
| +certainty (e) | ngaei | ngaei e-n (realis) |

I will not propose the same morpheme analysis for subject pronouns (or agreement markers) in Proto-Micronesian or other Micronesian languages because there is no distinguishable meaning for the mid front vowel in those languages, unlike in Pingelapese, as discussed earlier in this subsection.

The genuine auxiliary usage of $a e$, aen, $e$, and en must have started after the development of the subject proclitic-auxiliary complex. Thus, auxiliary verbs ae, aen, e, and en were extracted from the subject proclitic-auxiliary complexes, leaving the person/number morphemes behind. This development must have been especially prompted by the third person singular pronoun-auxiliary complexes. The third person singular subject pronoun-auxiliary complexes, whose person-number information is marked by $\emptyset$-, are identical to the auxiliary verbs in their forms. Extraction of ae, aen, e, and en from the third person singular subject pronoun-auxiliary complexes must have been most economical, because it simply drops a phonologically null-morpheme. The special role of the third person singular set will be discussed further in section 7.9.

When the subject is a noun or a pronoun derived from an independent pronoun and such a subject occurs with mood/aspect information, it is simply followed by an auxiliary verb as shown in (30) and (31). Note that the auxiliary verbs do not carry any person or number information.
(30) Serih-pwi ae-n kah ahdoa. child-PL LEV-INC may come 'Children may come.'
(31) Irahsi ae-n kah ahdoa.

3P.S LEV-INC may come 'They may come.'

### 7.4. Object pronouns

Proto-Micronesian is reconstructed to have employed verbal suffixes to express object pronouns (Jackson 1983). (32) is an example from Pulo Annian, which retains Proto-Micronesian object suffixes. The first person singular object suffix -ei 'me', which came from the corresponding Proto-Micronesian object pronoun *-(y)a, is used in (32).
(32) Nai-mwu e wauti-ei.
(Pulo Annian, Oda 1977:65)
child-your 3s.AGRS hit-1s.AGRO
'Your child hit me.'

Unlike Proto-Micronesian and other Micronesian languages (e.g., Pohnpeian), an object pronoun is not expressed by a suffix in Pingelapese. Pingelapese, as well as Mokilese, lost the entire object suffix set from Proto-Micronesian, and uses independent pronouns such as ngaehi 'me', demonstrated in (33), to fill the gap. As stated in section 7.3, the long vowel in ngaehi is the result of the application of the vowel lengthening rule, which is applicable only to noun phrases. Thus, this object pronoun ngaehi is clearly not a verbal suffix but an independent noun phrase, whereas the subject pronoun ngaei in (34) is judged to be a part of a verbal complex because it has a short vowel in it.
(33) Noa-mw serih-maen e poakihdi ngaehi. PCL-your child-NCL HEV hit 1s.O Your child hit me.'
(34) Ngaei aesae kaewae. 1s.S know 2s.O 'I know you.'

Because Pingelapese object pronouns are expressed by independent pronouns, I do not provide a table for object pronouns in this section.

Pingelapese independent pronouns, subject pronoun clitics from ProtoMicronesian subject pronouns, and subject pronouns that came from Proto-Micronesian independent pronouns are provided again here in tables 7.19-7.21.

Table 7.19. Pingelapese independent pronouns (repeated from table 7.2)

|  |  | Singular | Dual | Plural |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1st person | Exclusive | ngaehi | kihs |  |
|  | Inclusive | kisa | kisahsi |  |
| 2nd person |  | kaewae <br> koamwi | koamwa | koamwahsi |
| 3rd person |  | ih | ira | irahsi |

Table 7.20. Pingelapese subject pronoun clitics that came from Proto-Micronesian subject pronouns (repeated from table 7.7)

|  |  | Singular | Dual | Plural |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1st person | Exclusive |  | sae |  |
|  | Inclusive |  |  |  |
| 2nd person |  | kae |  |  |
| 3rd person |  | $a e$ | rae |  |

Table 7.21. Pingelapese subject pronouns that came from Proto-Micronesian independent pronouns (repeated from table 7.8)

|  |  | Singular | Dual | Plural |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1st person | Exclusive | ngaei | kihs |  |
|  | Inclusive |  | kisa | kisahsi |
| 2nd person |  |  | koamwa | koamwahsi |
| 3rd person |  |  | ira | irahsi |

### 7.5. Deviation from Proto-Micronesian pronoun system

The discussion in sections 7.3 and 7.4 demonstrated the trend toward the loss of the proto subject and object pronouns and the expansion of the independent pronoun forms into their former domains. This trend in Pohnpeic languages is summarized in table 7.22 , in which the gray cells are filled by the independent pronoun forms. The white cells are where the Proto-Micronesian pronouns are retained (e.g., Pohnpeian singular subject pronouns and singular object pronouns). The cells that are half gray and half white are where the original subject pronouns are in competition with the
independent pronouns, which are becoming the new subject pronouns (i.e., first person dual exclusive, first person plural exclusive, third person dual, and third person plural in Pingelapese subject pronouns and second person plural in Pohnpeian subject pronouns). The arrows mark the expansion of the independent pronoun forms into the domains of subject pronouns and object pronouns after Proto-Micronesian (e.g., the Pingelapese and Mokilese singular object pronouns). The gray cells without arrows pointing into them (i.e., non-singular object pronoun cells) are where the independent forms are used as retentions from Proto-Micronesian, not the result of the expansion from ProtoMicronesian. ${ }^{8}$ I used a dotted arrow for second person dual and plural subject pronouns, because the Proto-Micronesian forms already appear to be the same or shortened forms of the independent pronouns, as seen in table 7.1.

Table 7.22. Expansion of the independent pronouns into the domain of subject and object pronouns

|  | Mokilese |  |  | Pingelapese |  |  | Pohnpeian |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | subj | ind | obj | subj | ind | obj | subj | ind | obj |
| 1sg | $\leftarrow$ | - | $\rightarrow$ | < | - | $\longrightarrow$ | $i$ |  | -ie |
| 2sg | 4 | - | $\longrightarrow$ | kae |  | $\longrightarrow$ | kae |  | -uhk |
| 3sg | 4 | - | $\rightarrow$ | ae |  | $\rightarrow$ | ae |  | -Ø |
| 1dual.incl | 4 | - |  |  | - |  |  |  |  |
| 1pl.incl | 4 | - |  |  | - |  |  |  |  |
| 1dual.excl | 4 | - |  | sae | - |  | sae |  |  |
| 1pl.excl | 4 | - |  | sae | - |  | sae |  |  |
| 2dual | 4 | - |  |  | - |  |  | - |  |
| 2pl |  | - |  |  | - |  |  | - |  |
| 3dual |  |  |  | rae | - |  |  | - |  |
| 3 pl | 4 |  |  | rae | - |  | rae | - |  |

The loss of Proto-Micronesian subject and object pronouns and the expansion of independent pronouns into these domains are most significant in Mokilese. As the allgray Mokilese cells in table 7.22 show, independent pronouns are used in all three domains: independently, as subjects, and as objects. In fact, Mokilese is the only Micronesian language that lost the entire set of Proto-Micronesian subject and object pronouns. Pingelapese lost all the Proto-Micronesian object pronouns, for which it now

[^38]employs independent pronouns. On the other hand, some of the Proto-Micronesian subject pronouns survived in Pingelapese, although many of them are in competition with forms that came from independent pronouns. This competition demonstrates that the substitution of subject pronouns by independent pronouns is gradual, not instant. Pohnpeian retains all the Proto-Micronesian object pronouns and many of the subject pronouns.

The expansion of independent pronouns into the domain of subject and object pronouns seems to have been caused by a push effect (there is no gap, but they invade anyway) rather than a pull effect (a gap needs to be filled). In Pingelapese, the original subject pronouns are still available for the second person exclusive dual/plural, the third person dual, and the third person plural. But the independent forms are competing against them, although there is neither a vacuum among these forms, nor a need to pull the independent pronouns in to fill a gap.

The substitution of Proto-Micronesian subject and object pronouns by the independent pronoun forms could be viewed as a simplification of the earlier system. It is assumed that old Pingelapese and Mokilese had distinct sets of pronouns for the three categories, as Pohnpeian does today, but the independent forms have gradually substituted for other sets, resulting in simplification of the systems. Among the three Pohnpeic languages, Mokilese is the language that underwent this pronominal simplification the most completely. It ended up using the independent pronouns exclusively. Pingelapese had the next most radical simplification in the pronoun system, and Pohnpeian had the least simplification.

In table 7.23, I have added Pingelapese data to Jackson’s (1983) ProtoMicronesian and Micronesian personal pronouns chart that illustrates the loss of subject pronouns and the expansion of the independent pronouns in these languages.

Table 7.23. Proto-Micronesian and Micronesian personal pronouns (modified from Jackson 1983:358-359) ${ }^{\text {ab }}$
SUBJECT AGREEMENT MARKERS/PRONOUNS


Expansion of the use of independent pronouns into subject pronoun domain Loss of PMC 1pl.excl and developing new 1 pl.excl from PMC 1 pl.incl

## INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

|  | PMC | PCK | KIR | MRS | PON | PNG | MOK | KSR |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1sg | *ngau | *ngangu | ngngai | ngah | ngaehi | ngaehi | ngoahi | nga |
| 2sg | *koae | (*kae(ae)na) | ngkoe | qaey | kowae | kaewae | koawoa | (kom) |
| 3 sg | *ia | *ia | ngaia | yaey | ih | ih | Ih | (el) |
| 1pl.incl | *kit, t'a | *kica | ngaira(?) | kaej | kit- | kisa | kihs | kuht |
| 1pl.excl | *kamami | *kaamami |  | kaemmaem(W) | (kiht) | (kihs) |  | (kitacl) |
|  | *kami | *kami |  | kaem(E) |  |  | kam-\# |  |
| 2pl | *kamii | *kamii | ngkamii | kaemiy(E) |  |  |  |  |
|  | *kam'u |  |  | qaem'(W) | kumw- | koamw- | kamw-\# | kom-tacl |
| 3 pl | *ira | *ira | ngaiia | yaer | ihr | ira | ihr | el-tahl |

OBJECT AGREEMENT MARKERS/PRONOUNS

|  |  | CYCLE 1 | CYCLE 2 |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | AGREEMENT | NOT AGREEEMENT MARKERS BUT PRONOUNS |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | PMC | PCK | KIR | MRS | PON | PNG | MOK | KSR |
| 1sg | *(y)ai | *ai | -ai | -yeh | -yae | @ | @ | -yuk |
| 2sg | *ko | *ko | -ko | -yaq | -yuk | @ | @ | @ |
| 3 sg | *a | * ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | -a | @ | -Ø | @ | @ | @ |
| 1pl.incl | *kit, t'a | *kica | -(i)ra(?) | -kej | @ | @ | @ | @ |
| $1 \mathrm{pl.excl}$ | *kamami | *kaamami | (-(i)ra) | -kaemmaem(W) | @ | @ | @ | @ |
|  | *kami | *kami |  | -kaem(E) | @ | @ | @ | @ |
| 2pl | *kamii | *kamii | @ | -kaemiy(E) | @ | @ | @ | @ |
|  | *kam'u |  |  | -qaem'(W) | @ | @ | @ | @ |
| 3 pl | *ira | *ira | -ia | -yaer | @ | @ | @ | @ |

$\exists$

| POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | PMC | PCK | KIR | MRS | PON | PNG | MOK | KSR |
| 1sg | *-xu | *-i | -u | -i | -i | -i | -i | -k |
| 2sg | *-m'u | *-m'u | -m' | -m' | -mw | -mw | -mw | -m |
| 3sg | *- ña | *-na | -na | -n | -Ø | -Ø, -n | -Ø, -n | -1 |
| 1pl.incl | *-t'a | *-ca | -ra | -d | -t | -sa | -sa | -sr |
| 1 pl. excl | *-mi | *-mi | (-ra) | -m | (-t) | (-s) | -ma | (-k-tacl) |
|  | *-mami | *-mami |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2 pl | *-mii | *-mii | -mii | -mi | (-mwa) | (-mwa) | (-mwa) | (-m-tacl) |
| 3 pl | *-(i)ra | *-ira | -ia | -aer | -Vra | -Vra | -Vra | -1-tacl |

${ }^{\text {a }}$ Pohnpeian, Pingelapese, Mokilese duals are listed in the plural row, for ease of comparison.
${ }^{\mathrm{b}}$ @ means that the independent pronoun is used for this function.
${ }^{\mathrm{c}}$ Reconstructing object agreement for PCK is problematic due to the lack of object agreement in Chuukese, Mortlockese, and Satawalese, although Ulithian, Pulo Annian, Woleaian, Carolinian, and Puluwatese do exhibit object agreement.

The comparison of the degree of loss of subject pronouns and the expansion of the independent pronouns in Micronesian languages is shown in (35). A similar comparison for object pronouns is shown in (36).

## (35) Subject pronoun set



Mokilese > Kosraean > Pingelapese > Pohnpeian, Marshallese > Kiribatese, Chuukic languages
(36) Object pronoun set
$\begin{array}{ll}\text { lost } & \text { Proto-Micronesian object pronouns } \longrightarrow \text { independent pronouns } \longrightarrow \\ \text { more expansion } \longleftarrow \longrightarrow & \text { retained } \\ \text { less expansion }\end{array}$
Mokilese, Pingelapese > Kosraean > Marshallese > Pohnpeian > Kiribatese > Chuukic languages

The intrusion of independent pronouns into the subject and object pronoun domain exhibits a similar pattern. The leftmost language, Mokilese, is the only language that lost all the Proto-Micronesian distinct pronouns for the subject and the object, employing the independent pronouns exclusively in all positions. Pingelapese and Kosraean follow Mokilese. Rightmost are the Chuukic languages, which retain the complete Proto-Micronesian system. The expansion of independent pronouns is not attested in these languages.

Those languages on the left side in (35) and (36), the most advanced in simplification of the pronouns, are Mokilese, Pingelapese, and Kosraean, which do not form a language subgroup. However, there is a link among these languages. Mokilese, Pingelapese, and Kosraean are spoken in areas geographically close to each other and there has been a trend of intermarriage among these three language communities in the past and in the present. Cultural influence is also significant. For example, the common Pingelapese term to refer to the paramount chief, doahkaesa, came from Kosraean
tokosra. ${ }^{9}$ Significant Kosraean influence in Pingelap legends and historical stories is also reported (Damas 1994).

Furthermore, Pingelap, Mokil, and Kosrae islands each similarly experienced the near extinction of their populations. Pingelap and Mokil atolls have been repeatedly struck by powerful typhoons. Around 1775, a devastating typhoon, Lengkieki, struck Pingelap and Mokil atolls, destroying land resources and causing famine. This catastrophic disaster killed 95 percent of the population, leaving about 20 survivors on Pingelap and even fewer on Mokil (Morton et al. 1971). The Kosraean population was nearly eradicated by diseases introduced by outsiders. Between 1823 and 1884, the population of the island of Kosrae decreased from roughly 3,000 to about 200 persons (Gorenflo 1993). The reported sociocultural repercussions of this population change included the loss of the traditional title system, abandonment of farmsteads, and a change in settlement patterns from continuous settlement along the coast into aggregation around the church. Similar sociocultural changes must have accompanied the population decreases on Pingelap and Mokil. The massive population decrease in Pingelap was followed by intensive intra-marriage, causing subsequent genetic diseases, such as color blindness. (See The Island of the Colorblind [1997], a book written by Oliver Sacks and a PBS documentary film of the same name.) The demographic changes documented for Pingelap, Mokil, and Kosrae over the past 150 years were particularly dramatic in the Micronesian region.

In addition to affecting their social structure and culture, the near extinction of the population may have had a significant impact on the languages, one outcome of which could be the simplification in the pronoun system. Nettle (1999) claims that language change may be faster in small communities. It is reasonable to assume that, following the near extinction of Pingelapese, Mokilese, and Kosraean populations, the languages underwent significant change, causing deviation from Proto-Micronesian, such as the disruption in the pronoun system.

[^39]It is reported that the near extinction of the people of Pingelap, Mokil, and Kosrae was followed by rapid population growth, producing populations greater than any previously documented on these islands (Gorenflo 1993; Morton et al. 1971). Thus, a few surviving adults raised many children at a time when they had to focus on surviving in an inhospitable living environment after a catastrophic disaster. Having few adults who can serve as language role models and many peer children, the generation after the population decrease and the destruction of the traditions and social hierarchy could have forced innovations in the languages, serving as the frontline of language change. Pohnpeian and Pingelapese speakers reported that their children sometimes use independent pronoun forms in environments where adults would use other forms. Also, during my stay on Pingelap, I witnessed young Pingelapese children's overuse of the second person singular independent pronoun form. A similar cross-linguistic tendency of children to use default pronominal forms where adults use other forms is also reported in English (Radford 1990), French (Clark 1985), Russian (Babyonyshev 1993), German (Schütze 1995), Dutch (Powers 1995), Faroese (Jonas 2002), and Malagasy (Ntelitheos and Manorohanta 2004). The demographic and sociocultural upheaval in Pingelap, Mokil, and Kosrae might have allowed children to grow up without acquiring the use of three distinct pronominal sets. One of the accounts for the selection of default pronouns is said to be high perceptual saliency.

Although significant population decrease also occurred on Pohnpei, destruction of the sociocultural system is not reported for this island (Gorenflo and Levin 1992). ${ }^{10}$ Pohnpeian retained the Proto-Micronesian pronominal system fairly well compared to Mokilese, Pingelapese, and Kosraean. Social organization has always been more hierarchically structured on Pohnpei compared to Pingelap and Mokil. For example, the Pohnpeian title system is very complicated: Pohnpeians acquire different titles as they satisfy the conditions for each successive title throughout their life. To gain a higher title, Pohnpeians must demonstrate their ability, reputation, contribution to the community, and cultural and linguistic knowledge, along with their lineage. In contrast to this Pohnpeian title system, Pingelapese and Mokilese have a relatively flat social structure

[^40]and an inborn title system. They do not gain higher titles throughout their life like Pohnpeians. The title system has already been democratically abandoned in Mokil ${ }^{11}$ and $K_{o s r a e}{ }^{12}$ and is fragile in Pingelap.

### 7.6. Subject agreement and object agreement

Expressions of subject and object nominals' person and number features in the verbal complex are obligatory in many Micronesian sentences, regardless of the presence or absence of subject and object noun phrases. These are considered to be instances of agreement. Pulo Annian is one of the languages that exhibit subject and object agreement. The Pulo Annian sentence in (32) in section 7.4 has a subject noun phrase expressed as naímwu 'your child'; nevertheless, it expresses the person and number of the subject noun phrase in the third person singular agreement morpheme $e$ (he/she/it).

More Pulo Annian examples showing subject agreement appear in (37) and (38). ${ }^{13}$
(37) a. Singular subject noun and third person singular agreement marker Niweisi na $\underline{e} \quad$ madili. (Pulo Annian, Oda 1977:29) child DEM 3s.AGRS sleep
'That child is sleeping.'
b. Singular subject noun and third person plural subject agreement marker

* Niweisi na le madili.
(Pulo Annian, Oda 1977:29) child DEM 3P.AGRS sleep

[^41](38) a. Plural subject noun and third person plural subject agreement marker

Niweisi ka-na le madili. (Pulo Annian, Oda 1977:29)
child PL-DEM 3P.AGRS sleep
'Those children are sleeping.'
b. Plural subject noun and third person singular subject agreement marker

* Níweisi ka-na e madili.
(Pulo Annian, Oda 1977:29) child PL-DEM 3S.AGRS sleep

In (36a), the preverbal morpheme $e$ 'he' agrees with the subject noun phrase niweisi na 'that child' in person and number, whereas in (38a), le 'they' agrees with the plural subject noun phrase níweisi ka-na 'those children'. A person and number mismatch between the subject noun phrase and the agreement morpheme results in an ungrammatical sentence, as in (37b). This example is ungrammatical due to the number mismatch between the singular subject noun niweisi na 'that child' and the third person plural subject agreement morpheme $l e$ 'they'. The number mismatch between the plural subject noun niweisi ka-na 'those children' and the third person singular subject agreement morpheme $e$ 'he/she/it' also results in an ungrammatical sentence in (38b). This type of obligatory subject agreement is found in all Chuukic languages, Marshallese, and Kiribatese.

In the study of the evolution of new agreement systems from pronominal elements, the following cline has been proposed as the pathway.
(39) Grammaticalization cline (Hopper and Traugott 1993)

Independent pronoun $>$ clitic pronoun $>$ agreement marker ${ }^{14}$

In the final stage of this cline (agreement marker), the following hierarchy is proposed.

[^42](a) Sar kelaal re sa tangiteng
(Woleaian, Sohn 1975:93)
child those 3 s .agrS ASP cry.REDUP
'Those children over there cried and cried.'
(40) Definiteness hierarchy (Culbertson and Legendre 2010)

Pronoun > Definite NP > Indefinite NP

In this view, agreement markers start out as optional clitics that gradually become obligatory, beginning with the NP types on the left of the definiteness hierarchy and then becoming generalized rightward step-by-step (Culbertson and Legendre 2010).

Marshallese, as seen in (41), has the same subject agreement pattern as Pulo Annian (37-38); its agreement pattern has reached the rightmost position of the definiteness hierarchy in (40). Consider the Marshallese sentences in (42) and (43), which illustrate agreement with wh-subject noun phrases (indefinite NP). ${ }^{15}$
(41) Irooj ro re-naaj ettōr n̄an kweilọk eo. (Willson 2008:22) chief the.PL.human 3P.AGRS-T(fut) run to meeting the.s
'The chiefs will run to the meeting.'
(42) Wōn $\underline{e}$-ar

ṃwijbar-e eok?
who 3S.AGRS-T(past) cut.hair.trans-TR 2S.O
'Who cut your hair?'
(Willson 2008:78)
(43) Wōn ro re-j tutu $i \quad$ ar?
(Willson 2008:80)
who the.PL.human 3PL.AGRS-T(pres) swim in lagoon
'Who ( pl ) is swimming in the lagoon?'
${ }^{15}$ Similar patterns are also found in Carolinian (a) and in Woleaian (b-d).
(a) Iyo e féérú? (Carolinian, Jackson and Marck 1991:84)
who 3s.AGRS do
'Who did it?'
(b) Iteiu ikawe re buutog igeiy bong?
(Woleaian, Sohn 1976:146)
who those 3P.AGRS come here night
'Who are those who came here last night?
(c) Paangal lag yaremat nge re sa mas. (Woleaian, Sohn 1976:91) all/every already person emphasis 3P.AGRS ASP die 'Everybody died.'
(d) Paangal yaremat nge re gal paketi biuleiu la re melaw me iyang. all/every person emphasis 3P.AGRS usually miss place DEM 3P.AGRS live from there 'Everybody misses the place where he was born.' (Woleaian, Sohn 1975:162)

Object agreement is also obligatory in some Micronesian languages, as shown in the Pulo Annian sentence in (44).
(44) a. I mwasani- $\underline{a}$ Dohn.
(Pulo Annian, Oda 1977:63)
1S.AGRS like-3s.AGRO John
'I like John.'
b. I mwasani-ila yalemata ka-na. (Pulo Annian, Oda 1977:63)

1s.AGRS like-3P.AGRO man PL-DEM
'I like those men.'

The sentence in (44a) has the object NP Dohn (John); nevertheless, it employs the object agreement suffix - $a$ 'him/her/it', which agrees with Dohn in person and number.

Similarly, (44b) has the object NP yalemata ka-na 'those men', but nevertheless employs the object pronominal suffix ila 'them', which agrees with the object noun phrase in person and number.

According to Lynch et al. (2002:83), a subject proclitic that marks the person and number of the subject always occurred in Proto-Oceanic, regardless of the presence or absence of a subject noun phrase. And the same was true of an object enclitic with regard to the object noun phrase. This is illustrated in the following Proto-Oceanic reconstruction.

$$
\begin{array}{rllll}
\text { (45) * } & i=k a R a t-i=a & a & \text { tau } & n a \\
& \text { 3S.AGRS=bite-TR=3S.AGRO } & \text { ART } & \text { person } & \text { ART } \\
& \text { 'The pig bit a/the person.' } & & & \\
& \text { pig }
\end{array}
$$

Many contemporary Oceanic languages retain such a pattern, and Pulo Annian is one of those languages. From the fact that double expression of the subject and object information is established in Proto-Oceanic and the fact that the same patterns are found in existing Micronesian languages, we can infer that Proto-Micronesian maintained these patterns. Thus, the subject and object agreement patterns that we see in Pulo Annian, Puluwatese, Ulithian, Woleaian, and Carolinian are retentions from Proto-Micronesian rather than independent innovations in each language.

However, the obligatory agreement between the subject noun phrase and subject proclitic and between the object noun phrase and object pronominal suffix illustrated in the Pulo Annian data is not attested in Pingelapese. In section 4.1.3, it was noted that there is no agreement between the subject noun phrase and the main verb. As shown in (46), use of a subject pronoun matching the person and number of the subject noun phrase results in an ungrammatical sentence in Pingelapese. ${ }^{16}$ Apparently, Pingelapese lost the Proto-Micronesian pattern of agreement. That is, Proto-Micronesian subject agreement is lost in Pingelapese, and many of the agreement markers are now used as pronouns.
(46) Plural subject noun and third person singular subject pronoun clitic

* Serih-pwi r-e maeir. child-PL 3D/P.S-HEV sleep

Pingelapese also lost object agreement. ${ }^{17}$ Consider (47a) and (47b), where the object noun phrases are singular and plural, respectively. There is no difference in the verb ending between the two. The person and number of the object noun phrases are not expressed on any external category.
(47) a. Linda e kikihdi serih-maen.

Linda HEV kick child-NCL
'Linda kicked the child.'
b. Linda e kikihdi serih-pwi.

Linda HEV kick child-PL
'Linda kicked the children.'

[^43](a) Serih-pwi, r-e maeir.
child-PL 3D/P.S-HEV sleep
'The children, they sleep.'
The topicalized noun phrase is followed by a pause and Pingelapese speakers report that the topicalized noun phrase is outside the clause. (46) is not an example of topicalization.
${ }^{17}$ As stated earlier in this section, Proto-Micronesian object suffixes, which seem to have served as agreement markers, are lost in Pingelapese, and independent pronouns are serving as object pronouns (not agreement markers). Thus, from Proto-Micronesian to today's Pingelapese, object pronouns shifted from the final stage of the grammatical cline to the initial stage in the next cycle of "re-grammaticalization."

The sentences in (48) contain plural object noun phrases. (48) is extracted from a recorded legend about the revival of 12 children who were trapped by their stepmother and killed. The verb kihdi 'to put down' is followed by a plural object noun phrase kaenaerah mwaengaeh pwi 'their food baskets'. There is no agreement marker for the object pronoun in the sentence.
(48) Dae irah pwa uh mwaedang kisah ahla kila, irah waeidihdoa wed, then 3D.S say well hurry 2D.IN.S go see 3D.S come oh! kihdi kaenae-rah mwaengaeh-pwi pwoh pik, naekdihla wadae-wadaelah put PCL-their food-PL on sand find count-count eisaek riae-maen, uh mwahu.
ten two-NCL well good
'They said to each other let's hurry, let's go and see, they came down and put down their food baskets on the beach. They looked over and counted twelve.'

The next example is from the same story. A couple who lived in the neighborhood revived the 12 dead children and brought them to their father, who was dying from the sadness of losing his children. They lined up the 12 children near their father. The verb kaedahkaehdi 'to line up' is followed by a plural object noun phrase serih pwi 'children', without any agreement marker.
(49) Daepwah irah kaein ahda, ahdahdoa aeh Ø-e-ne kaedahkaehdi serih well 3D.S just go go well 3s.S-HEV-INC line child -pwi pwoh moangae-nae woal-aemaen, pangae-pangin pwa Ø-e pile -PL on head-of man-NCL call-call then 3s.S-HEV say pwa oh.
that oh
'So they went up and he lined up the children by their father's head and called out to him and the father replies, oh.'

The passage in (50) is excerpted from near the end of the same story. The father is reunited with his 12 children, and the helpful neighbor is telling him that he should forget his second wife, who he kicked out after she killed his children, and that he should just enjoy being with his children. The verb naekae 'to find' is followed by a plural object noun phrase noaunmwi serih pwi 'your children', without any agreement marker. The verb kaespahlihdoa 'to bring back' is also followed by an object noun phrase naei serih pwi 'my children', without any agreement marker.
(50) Koamw dae laemae-laemae lih mwahl aemaen koamwi naekae noau-mwi 2s.S not think-think woman useless NCL 2s.S find PCL-your serih-pwi dae kaein, Ø-ae pwa awuh kaelahngaen aen koamwa, koamwi child-PL then just 3S.S-LEV say oh generous of 2D.IND 2S.S $e-n \quad$ kaespahlih-doa nae-i serih-pwi. HEV-INC bring-DIR PCL-my child-PL
'[The kind neighbor said,] "Don't mind that useless woman, look here you have your children again." The father responded, "Thank you two, you have brought back my children."
7.7. The distribution of subject agreement and object agreement in Micronesian languages

I studied the Micronesian data available and found that most Micronesian languages exhibit obligatory occurrence of agreement between the subject noun and the proclitic. Fewer languages exhibit obligatory object agreement, as illustrated in the examples in section 7.6 and in table 7.19 in section 7.5.

The distribution of the obligatory subject agreement pattern and obligatory object agreement pattern is summarized in figure 7.3, where obligatory subject agreement is marked by a black line under the language names and obligatory object agreement is marked by a gray line.


Figure 7.3. Obligatory subject agreement and object agreement in Micronesian languages (subject agreement is marked by black and object agreement is marked by gray)

The obligatory subject agreement in existing languages must have come from Proto-Micronesian. The languages that lost this obligatory subject agreementPohnpeian, Mokilese, Pingelapese, and Kosraean-are spoken in a geographically restricted area, which is in central Micronesia. Due to their geographical closeness, these language communities have influenced each other. It is believed that people who migrated from the island of Pohnpei to Mokil atoll and Pingelap atoll are today's Mokilese and Pingelapese people (K. Rehg, pers. comm., 2011). Thus, Pohnpeian features are prominent in Mokilese and Pingelapese. There is also a trend of intermarriage among Pingelapese, Mokilese, and Kosraeans from ancient times to today, which also might have caused linguistic influence among them.

On the other hand, object agreement is not as widespread as subject agreement in Micronesian languages. As seen in figure 7.3, subject and object agreement are not attested in Kosraean nor in any of the Pohnpeic languages: Pohnpeian, Mokilese, and Pingelapese. Satawalese, Chuukese, Mortlockese, Marshallese, and Kiribatese do not exhibit object agreement, whereas these languages retain subject agreement.

The following two Chuukese sentences in (51) and (52) show this patternsubject agreement but not object agreement. There is a subject proclitic matching the subject noun phrases ( $a$ for the third person singular subject and $r a$ for the third person plural subject), whereas there is nothing matching the object noun phrase. Note that interchanging the subject proclitics $r a$ and $a$ makes the sentence ungrammatical.
(51) Ewe nengin $\underline{a}$ efenu ewe aat.
(Lagoon Chuukese) one girl 3s.AGRS punch one boy 'A girl punched a boy.'
(52) Kewe nengin ra efenu kewe aat.
(Lagoon Chuukese) some girl 3P.AGRS punch some boy 'Some girls punched some boys.'

This Chuukese pattern is also found in Mortlockese (Matsunami 1998:49-52, 8889), Marshallese (Rudiak-Gould 2004), Kiribatese (Groves et al. 1985:57), and Satawalese (Roddy 2007). The subject argument triggers agreement (occurring even with
an explicitly stated subject noun phrase), whereas the object argument does not. The Chuukese patterns are repeated in the Mortlockese data in (53) and (54). ${ }^{18}$
(53) Ewe nengin $\underline{e}$ afonu ewe aat.
(Mortlockese) one girl 3S.AGRS punch one boy 'A girl punched a boy.'
(54) Ekewe nengin re afonu ekewe aat.
(Mortlockese) some girl 3P.AGRS punch some boy 'Some girls punched some boys.'

The distribution pattern of subject agreement and object agreement conforms to the relational hierarchy for agreement for nominative-accusative languages (Croft 1990:106).
(55) A relational hierarchy for agreement
subject > direct object > indirect object > other

This relational hierarchy represents that fact that agreement is most likely to be triggered by the subject. If the direct object triggers agreement, then there must be agreement with the subject, too. And if the indirect object triggers agreement, then the direct object and the subject must do so as well. As shown in figure 7.3, in Micronesian languages, all languages that exhibit the object agreement pattern (marked by a gray line) also exhibit subject agreement (marked by a black line). And there is no language that does the opposite, exhibiting object agreement but not subject agreement. The distribution of subject agreement and object agreement in Micronesian languages complies with Croft's relational hierarchy for agreement.

[^44]
### 7.8. A problem and possible solution

Pingelapese's loss of the Proto-Micronesian agreement pattern is possibly problematic for the grammaticalization cline in (40), repeated here as (56). Subject "pronouns" in Kiribatese, Marshallese, and Chuukic languages are actually agreement markers and in the final stage of the cline. On the other hand, those in Pohnpeian, Pingelapese, Kosraean, and Mokilese are pronouns and in the earlier stages of the cline, as illustrated in (56). If we take the view that Proto-Micronesian employed subject agreement as found in the Proto-Oceanic reconstruction, in many Chuukic languages, and in Marshallese, then Pingelapese, Pohnpeian, Mokilese, and Kosraean would involve retrogression in the cline. Yet grammaticalization is thought to be unidirectional (Ariel 1999:200).
(56) Independent pronoun $>$ clitic pronoun $>$ agreement marker

| Mokilese |  | Chuukic languages |
| :--- | :--- | :---: |
| Kosraean | Pingelapese <br> Pohnpeian | Marshallese |
|  |  | Kiribatese |

One solution is to hypothesize that Proto-Micronesian used subject pronouns, not agreement markers, and that Pingelapese, Pohnpeian, and Mokilese retained those patterns, whereas Chuukic languages and Marshallese progressed to the final stage of the grammaticalization cline. Although this is the simplest and most plausible hypothesis, it goes against the tradition of the historical study of Oceanic languages (Lynch et al. 2002:84).

Another solution for this problem is to consider the possibility that Pingelapese, Pohnpeian, and Mokilese are in a second (or later) cycle of a grammaticization process, as shown in the modified cline in (57). Lynch et al. (2002) state that phonological attrition of independent pronouns into subject proclitics must have occurred several times over the history of some Oceanic languages.
(57) (independent pronoun >) free pronoun > clitic pronoun > agreement marker > $\emptyset$

| CYCLE 1 |  |  |  | Chuukic languages <br> Marshallese <br> Kiribatese |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| CYCLE 2 |  | Pohnpeian | Pingelapese |  |  |
| CYCLE 3 | Pohnpeian <br> Pingelapese <br> Mokilese <br> Kosraean |  |  |  |  |

Consider table 7.23 , presented in section 7.5 , which is sorted to show the cycles of grammaticalization. We would expect that each cycle shows distinct characteristics. The expectation is satisfied by (1) diverse vowel quality (e.g., /a/, /i/, /u/, / $\varepsilon /$ /, /o/) in cycle 1 agreement markers vs. leveled vowel quality (e.g., $/ \mathrm{i} /$, $/ \varepsilon /$ ) in cycle 2 free/clitic subject pronouns; (2) loss of the Proto-Micronesian first person plural exclusive set in cycle 2 subject pronouns (and development of the new first person plural exclusive from ProtoMicronesian first person plural inclusive); and (3) expansion of independent pronouns in cycle 2 subject pronouns.

Of course, the new cycle must be fed by something. The elements that underwent grammaticalization in cycle 1 (subject agreement markers in this case) should already have disappeared and therefore should not be able to feed cycle 2 . If cycle 2 is fed by a very different item (e.g., determiners or demonstratives), cycle 2 forms are expected to be significantly different from the cycle 1 forms, but the subject pronouns we see in cycle 2 are in fact quite similar to cycle 1 subject agreement markers. This similarity might be explained by language contact (and intermarriage), which is very common in Micronesia: it is possible that language contact fed cycle 1 subject agreement markers to cycle 2 , yielding the similarity that would not otherwise be expected from grammaticalization alone. In addition, independent pronouns may also have fed into cycle 2 or cycle 3 in some cases, as evidenced by the expansion of independent pronouns into the subject pronouns domain, as in Pingelapese sentence (58), where the independent pronoun kisa is used as a subject pronoun.

## (58) Kisa ahla Hawaii.

2D.IN.S go Hawai‘i
'We go to Hawai'i.'

There is an indication that this originally independent pronoun is undergoing grammaticalization, as a phonologically reduced form is attested as in (59).

## (59) $\underline{S a} \quad$ ahla Hawaii. <br> 2D.IN.S go Hawai‘i

(Pingelapese)
'We go to Hawai'i.'
7.9. The loss of subject agreement and object agreement

It is believed that the loss of object agreement happened earlier than the loss of subject agreement in Pingelapese. See table 7.24 for the ordering.

Table 7.24. The diachronic ordering of the loss of obligatory agreement
$\left.\begin{array}{|c|lll|}\hline \text { Proto-Micronesian } & \text { Subject }_{\text {sp/sn }}\left[\mathrm{X}_{\text {sp/sn }} \text { VERB Y Yop/on }\right.\end{array}\right]$ Object $_{\text {op/on }}$

Note: $s p$ represents the subject's person information, $s n$ represents the subject's number information, $o p$ represents the subject's person information, on represents the subject's number information.

The first reason to posit this order is the distribution of each pattern in existing languages in Micronesia, seen in figure 7.3. There is a higher retention rate of subject agreement than of object agreement in Micronesian languages. Also, there are languages that exhibit subject agreement but not object agreement, while there is no Micronesian language that does the opposite. This suggests that the loss of object agreement started before the loss of subject agreement.

Second, while Pingelapese apparently lost subject agreement and object agreement, it exhibits a residue of subject agreement. Micronesian languages are categorized into four types, outlined in table 7.25.

Table 7.25. Micronesian languages and agreement patterns

| Subject agreement and object agreement | Subject $_{\text {sp/sn }}\left[\mathrm{X}_{\text {sp/sn }}\right.$ VERB Y $\left.{ }_{\text {op/on }}\right]$ Object $_{\text {op/on }}$ |  | Pulo Annian <br> Puluwatese <br> Ulithian <br> Woleaian <br> Carolinian |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Subject agreement but no object agreement | Subject $_{\text {sp/sn }}\left[\mathrm{X}_{\text {sp/sn }}\right.$ VERB] | Object $_{\text {op/on }}$ | Satawalese Chuukese Mortlockese Marshallese Kiribatese |
| Residue of subject agreement and no object agreement | Subject $_{\text {sp/sn }}[\mathrm{X}$ VERB] | Object $_{\text {op/on }}$ | Pingelapese |
| No subject nor object agreement | Subject $_{\text {sp/sn }}$ [VERB] | Object $_{\text {op/on }}$ | Pohnpeian Mokilese Kosraean |

Note: $s p$ represents the subject's person information, $s n$ represents the subject's number information, $o p$ represents the subject's person information, on represents the subject's number information.

First are the languages that exhibit both subject agreement and object agreement. These include Pulo Annian, Puluwatese, Ulithian, Woleaian, and Carolinian. Second are those that exhibit only subject agreement, including Satawalese, Chuukese, Mortlockese, Marshallese, and Kiribatese. Third is the language that exhibits a residue of subject agreement, but not of object agreement. Pingelapese is such a language. Fourth are the languages that lost both subject agreement and object agreement without any residue. These include Pohnpeian, Mokilese, and Kosraean.

The residue of subject agreement is preserved in the auxiliary verbs in Pingelapese. As discussed in chapter 6, Pingelapese takes an auxiliary verb between the subject noun phrase and the main verb, as exemplified in (60) and (61). Since $e$ does not exhibit the person and number feature of the subject noun phrase, as shown in (61) and (62), it is not considered to be a subject pronominal. However, this $a e$ is certainly the historical residue of the Proto-Micronesian third person singular *e (considered to be pronounced as $a e$ ).
(60) Linda ae mwaukin kas-aemaen. Linda LEV like cat-NCL
'Linda likes a cat.'
(61) Serih-pwi ae mwaukin kas-aemaen. child-PL LEV like cat-NCL
'The children like a cat.'

## (62) * Serih-pwi r-e mwaukin kas-aemaen. child-PL 3D/P.S-HEV like cat-NCL

In Proto-Micronesian languages, the two subject pronouns *e and $*_{\text {ra-and possibly }}$ other pronouns too ${ }^{19}$-could have occurred between the subject noun phrase and the main verb: the third person singular subject pronoun when the subject is third person singular and the third person plural subject pronoun when the subject is third person plural. Such patterns are still maintained in Pulo Annian, as exemplified in (63), repeated from (37a) and (38a), where $e$ is from Proto-Micronesian *e and $l e$ is from *ra.
(63) a. (= 37a) Singular subject noun and third person singular subject agreement marker
Níweisi na e madili.
(Pulo Annian, Oda 1977:29)
child DEM 3s.AGRS sleep
'That child is sleeping.'
b. (= 38a) Plural subject noun and third person plural subject agreement marker Niweisi ka-na le madilit. (Pulo Annian, Oda 1977:29) child PL-DEM 3P.AGRS sleep
'Those children are sleeping.'

Between the third person singular subject pronoun and the third person plural, the former is shorter and more frequent. It is also more likely to be adopted for use as a generic marker that is semantically underspecified (no person/number information).

In the course of losing subject agreement, Pingelapese seems to have adopted *e 'third person singular' as a default predicate marker that does not carry any inherent features of the subject noun, as this is the cross-linguistically semantically least marked,

[^45](a) Kisa di pwe dei-nako.
(Pulo Annian, Oda 1977:30)
1P.IN.IND 1P.IN.AGRS TA fish-DIR
'We (inclusive) will go fishing.'
shortest, and most frequent member of the paradigm. This reanalysis was also reinforced by the innovation of the evidential contrast between $a e$ and $e$. This complies with a general principle of language change, proposed by Blust (1977:8): grammatical innovations tend to make use of existing morphological material.

This Pingelapese auxiliary verb is a historical residue of subject agreement, whereas there is no such residue for object agreement in Pingelapese. This serves as another piece of evidence for the claim that object agreement was lost before subject agreement.

The Pulo Annian sentence in (64) illustrates the retention of the ProtoMicronesian third person singular pronoun, while the Pingelapese sentence in (65) illustrates its historical residue.
(64) The third person singular subject agreement marker retained from ProtoMicronesian

Niweisi na $\underline{e} \quad$ madilit. (Pulo Annian, Oda 1977:29)
child DEM 3S.AGRS sleep
'That child is sleeping.'
(65) The auxiliary verb that is historical residue of Proto-Micronesian third person singular agreement marker
Serih-maen e maeir.
child-NCL HEV sleep
'The child sleeps.'

The development of auxiliary verbs through the reanalysis of subject pronouns is unique to Pingelapese, and is not found in other Micronesian languages.
7.10. Possessive pronouns

Possession is expressed in two constructions: a direct possessive construction and an indirect possessive construction.

### 7.10.1. Direct possession

In the direct possessive construction, the possessive pronoun is attached directly to the possessed noun. The direct possessive construction indicates that the possessee is
irremovable, an integral part of the possessor, such as a kin member or a body part (generally corresponding to so-called inalienable possession).

Possessed Noun + possessive pronominal suffix

The possessive pronouns used in direct possessive constructions are summarized in table 7.26.

Table 7.26. Possessive pronouns

|  |  | Singular | Dual | Plural |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1st person | Inclusive |  | $-s a$ | - sahsi |
|  | Exclusive | $-i$ | $-s$ | $-s$ |
| 2nd person |  | $-m w$ | $-m w a$ | $-m w a h s i$ |
| 3rd.person |  | $-\emptyset,-n$ | $-r a$ | $-r a h s i$ |

The usage of possessive pronouns is illustrated in the following tables. Table 7.27 provides examples with the kinship term saemae 'father'. Table 7.28 gives examples with the body part term maesae 'face'. The second person possessive suffix affects the vowel quality of the possessed noun phrase, which can be pronounced either saemaemw or saemoamw.

Table 7.27. Direct possession of saemae 'father'

| saemae 'father' | Singular | Dual | Plural |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1st person | Inclusive |  | saemae-sa | saemae-sahsi |
| 2nd person | Exclusive | saemae-i | saemae-s | saemae-s |
| 3rd person |  | saemae-mw <br> saemoa-mw | saemae-mwa <br> saemoa-mwa | saemae-mwahsi <br> saemoa-mwahsi |

Table 7.28. Direct possession of maesae 'face'

| maesae 'face' | Singular | Dual | Plural |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1st person | Inclusive |  | maesae-sa | maesae-sahsi |
| 2nd person | Exclusive | maesae-i | maesae-s | maesae-s |
| 3rd person |  | maesae-mw <br> maesoa-mw | maesae-mwa <br> maesoa-mw | maesae-mwahsi <br> maesoa-mw |

Direct possession with a possessive pronoun in a sentence is illustrated in (66).
(66) Iah saemoa-mw?
where father-your
'Where is your father?'

When a possessor is expressed by a noun phrase in direct possession, the construct suffix $-n$ is used, as seen in (67). Notice that there is no possessive pronoun employed in (67).
(67) iki- $\underline{n}$ kidih-maen
tail-of dog-NCL
'the dog's tail'

### 7.10.2. Indirect possession

In the indirect possessive construction, the possessive pronoun is not attached to the possessed noun, but rather to a separate morpheme that is called a possessive classifier, such as for foods and objects. The possessed noun is optionally expressed. The indirect possessive construction indicates that the possessee is removable and not an integral part of the possessor (generally corresponding to alienable possession).

Possessive classifier + possessive pronominal suffix (Possessed Noun)

The suffixation of possessive pronouns to a possessive classifier is demonstrated in the tables that follow. Table 7.29 presents examples with the possessive classifier kaenae 'food'.

Table 7.29. Indirect possession with classifier kaenae 'food'

| kaenae 'food' |  | Singular | Dual | Plural |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1st person | Inclusive |  | kaenae-sa | kaenae-sahsi |
| 2nd person | Exclusive | kaenae-i | kaenae-s | kaenae-s |
| 3rd person |  | kaenae-mw <br> koanoa-mw | kaenae-mwa <br> koanoa-mwa | kaenae-mwahsi <br> koanoa-mwahsi |

The patterns with and without a possessed noun are shown in (68) and (69), respectively. When it is not necessary to specify the food, the possessed noun is not expressed, as in (69), which is very commonly heard when somebody serves others food.
(68) Audih kaenae-i mwaengae.
not PCL-my food
'Not my food.'
(69) Koanoa-mw.

PCL-your
'Your food.'

Table 7.30 presents examples with the possessive classifier waerae 'vehicle'.

Table 7.30. Indirect possession with classifier waerae 'vehicle'

| waerae 'vehicle' |  | Singular | Dual | Plural |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1st person | Inclusive |  | waerae-sa | waerae-sahsi |
| 2nd person | Exclusive | waerae-i | waerae-s | waerae-s |

Patterns with and without a possessed noun are shown in (70) and (71), respectively.
When it is not necessary to specify the vehicle, the possessed noun is not expressed, as in (71), which could be used, for instance, to remind the operator at a taxi company that you are waiting for a taxi you requested.
(70) Waerae-i daksih-pas e-n ahdoa! PCL-my taxi-NCL HEV-INC come 'My taxi has come!'
(71) Iah wasa waerae-i?
where place PCL-my
'Where is my vehicle?'

As with direct possession, when a possessor is expressed as a noun phrase in indirect possession, the construct suffix $-n$ is used on the classifier, as seen in (72) and (73).

## (72) waerae-n lih-maen

PCL-of woman-NCL
'the woman's vehicle'
(73) waerae- $\underline{n}$ lih-maen daksih-pas

PCL-of woman-NCL taxi-NCL
'the woman's taxi'

In both direct and indirect possession, the construct suffix $-n$, not a possessive pronoun, is employed, regardless of the number of the possessor, as shown by (74) and (75), with plural possessor noun phrases. Thus, agreement-like behavior is not observed for possessive pronouns.
(74) iki- $\underline{n}$ kidih-pwi
tail-of dog-PL
'the dogs' tails'
(75) waerae- $\underline{n}$ lih-pwi

PCL-of woman-PL
'the women's vehicle'

### 7.11. Summary

In this chapter, Pingelapese independent pronouns, subject pronouns, and object pronouns were presented by comparing Pingelapese with Proto-Micronesian and with other existing Micronesian languages. The deviation from the Proto-Micronesian agreement markers in each language demonstrates the change toward the exclusive use of independent pronouns. This deviation is more radical in central Micronesia, a fact that was discussed in relation to the severe population decreases in the history of the region. The obligatory expression of subject agreement and object agreement that came from Proto-Oceanic is being lost in some Micronesian languages, in a manner consistent with the cross-linguistic relational hierarchy of agreement. Possessive pronouns were also briefly described.

## CHAPTER 8. CONCLUSION

### 8.1. Summary

This dissertation has investigated the Pingelapese auxiliary verbs ae, aen, $e$, and en synchronically and diachronically. The synchronic investigation demonstrated that Pingelapese possesses auxiliary verbs that express the speaker's certainty about propositions as well as the realis-irrealis contrast. Comparison with other Micronesian languages has revealed that marking evidentiality in this way is unique to Pingelapese, and is thus a Pingelapese innovation. On the other hand, the nasal component of the auxiliary morpheme that expresses the realis-irrealis contrast has a cognate in all Micronesian languages, descending from the Proto-Micronesian "immediateness marker" *nae.

Claim 1. Pingelapese innovatively developed four pronoun-auxiliary complexes from Proto-Micronesian subject agreement markers.

The development of Pingelapese auxiliary verbs was preceded by the development of pronoun-auxiliary complexes by suffixation of $-n$ that came from the Proto-Micronesian *nae and the introduction of an evidential contrast, as shown in figures 8.1 through 8.4.

Time

| PMC | Proto-Pohnpeic |  | Pingelapese |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1D/P.EX | 1D/P.EX | 1D/P.EX - +inchoative | 1D/P.EX $- \pm$ evidential - +inchoative |
| *sae | *sae | *sae-n | $s-a e, s-a e-n, s-e, s-e-n$ |

Figure 8.1. Development of certainty contrast, realis, and irrealis with Pingelapese first person dual/plural exclusive subject pronouns

Time

| PMC | Proto-Pohnpeic |  | Pingelapese |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2 S | 2 S | $2 \mathrm{~s}-+$ inchoative | $2 \mathrm{~s}- \pm$ evidential -+ inchoative |
| *kae | *kae | *kae-n | $k-a e, k-a e-n, k-e, k-e-n$ |

Figure 8.2. Development of certainty contrast, realis, and irrealis with Pingelapese second person singular subject pronouns

Time

| PMC | Proto-Pohnpeic |  | Pingelapese |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 3 S | 3 S | $3 \mathrm{~S}-+$ inchoative | $3 \mathrm{~S}- \pm$ evidential -+ inchoative |
| $* \mathrm{ae}$ | $* \mathrm{ae}$ | $* \mathrm{ae}-\mathrm{n}$ | $\emptyset-a e, \emptyset-a e-n, \emptyset-e, \emptyset-e-n$ |

Figure 8.3. Development of certainty contrast, realis, and irrealis with Pingelapese third person singular subject pronouns

Time

| PMC | Proto-Pohnpeic |  | Pingelapese |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $3 \mathrm{D} / \mathrm{P}$ | $3 \mathrm{D} / \mathrm{P}$ | $3 \mathrm{D} / \mathrm{P}-+$ inchoative | 3D/P $- \pm$ evidential -+ inchoative |
| *rae $^{\text {rae }}$ | *rae | *rae-n | $r-a e, r-a e-n, r-e, r-e-n$ |

Figure 8.4. Development of certainty contrast, realis, and irrealis with Pingelapese third person dual/plural subject pronouns

The subject proclitics from Proto-Micronesian were retained in Proto-Pohnpeic, and were then suffixed by a bound morpheme *-n 'inchoative', yielding Proto-Pohnpeic *kae '2sg', *kae-n '2sg-inchoative', *sae '1dual/pl excl.', *sae-n '1dual/pl excl.inchoative', *rae ‘3dual/pl', *rae-n ‘3dual/pl-inchoative', *ae '3sg', and *ae-n ‘3sginchoative'. Innovatively, Pingelapese subject clitics and subject clitics suffixed by $-n$ developed a certainty distinction (evidentiality). I have shown that this was achieved through the addition of a hypothetical high front vowel particle $*_{i}$ that must have added a high certainty meaning to the proposition. This was followed by height assimilation (of preceding vowels to this high front vowel $*_{i}$ ) and word-final vowel deletion. Through these processes, Pingelapese acquired four forms for each pronoun, as shown in figures 8.1 through 8.4. Each phoneme became assorted with a distinctive meaning, which makes it possible to posit the morpheme analysis illustrated in table 8.1. For example, $k$ marks 'second person singular', $e$ ' + certainty', and $n$ '+inchoative'. This left $\varnothing$ - to mark 'third person singular', as in figure 8.3.

Table 8.1. Pronoun inventory (e.g., second person singular)

| Second person singular <br> $(k)$ | -inchoative | + inchoative (-n) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| -certainty $(a e)$ | $k-a e$ | $k$-ae-n (irrealis) |
| +certainty $(e)$ | $k-e$ | $k-e-n$ (realis) |

Due to the historical meaning of *nae, irrealis ae-n does not simply encode irrealis but also indicates that the proposition is highly likely to be realized.

Claim 2. Pingelapese auxiliary verbs developed from the subject pronoun-auxiliary complexes.

Subsequently, genuine auxiliary verbs were developed by extracting $a e$, aen, $e$, and en from the subject pronoun-auxiliary complexes, leaving the person/number morphemes behind. Figure 8.5 illustrates how this happened with the third person singular subject pronoun-auxiliary complexes.

Time
Pingelapese


Figure 8.5. Development of the auxiliary verbs from the third person singular subject pronoun set

The Pingelapese auxiliary verbs are best treated as historical residues of obligatory subject agreement in Proto-Micronesian. Diachronically, a subject agreement clitic occurred in the initial position of the verbal complex, even when a fully expressed subject noun phrase was present. In this position, the pronoun-auxiliary complex developed into auxiliary verbs through the loss of pronominal features that had been marked by $k-, s-, \emptyset-$, and $r$ - (a case of semantic bleaching). The third person singular
pronoun-auxiliary complexes were most likely involved in this development, as illustrated in figure 8.5 . Note that the third person singular subject pronoun-auxiliary complexes are the shortest among all person-number sets, probably the most frequent in the position, and identical in form to the auxiliary verbs..

These auxiliary verbs are now seen in equational sentences, which were historically nonverbal in Proto-Micronesian (Jackson 1986:204). ${ }^{1}$ However, to comply with the pressure to make all sentences verbal in Pingelapese, equational sentences recently came to require a null verb, whose existence is signaled by the presence of an auxiliary verb.

Payne (1997:112) claims that equational sentences tend to lack a semantically rich lexical verb (a verb that itself expresses the major semantic content of the predication), as shown in table 8.2.

Table 8.2. Predicate types according to the likelihood of lacking a semantically rich lexical verb (Payne 1997:113)

Most likely to lack a semantically rich verb

Not likely to lack a semantically
rich verb, but still may
Predicate > Predicate > Existentials > Possessive > Locomotion nominals locatives clauses clauses adjectives

NP-NP juxtaposition without a verbal element in equational sentences in ProtoMicronesian and today's other Micronesian languages complies with Payne's claim. In fact, NP-NP juxtaposition is the most common way to express a predicate nominal (Payne 1997:114).

Pingelapese equational sentences also comply with the common pattern represented in table 8.2. Pingelapese equational sentences involve an auxiliary verb and a null copula verb (which is evidenced by the presence of the auxiliary verb).

[^46]> (a) * mwaane na aramata-ni dakau. man that person-of reef.island 'That man (is) of a reef island.'

In occurring with an auxiliary verb and a null verb (rather than a semantically rich lexical verb), Pingelapese equational sentences comply with the pressure to make all sentences verbal, while at the same time complying with the cross-linguistic tendency to avoid semantically rich lexical verbs in equational sentences.

Claim 3. Pingelapese has third person singular subject pronoun sets that are distinct from genuine auxiliary verbs.

Earlier in this section, I claimed that the auxiliary verb set and the third person singular subject pronoun-auxiliary complex set are identical in their forms (the former carries no person number feature and the latter carries the third person singular feature marked by $\emptyset-$-). Now, the question that could be raised is: "Does Pingelapese have a third person singular subject pronoun set that is distinct from auxiliary verbs?" Consider the Pingelapese examples (1) and (2), repeated from chapter 7. These are examples of infinitive clauses (or reduced purpose clauses). Here, the auxiliary verb aen is pronounced/written as attached to the preceding verb, but does not have the third person singular reading. The speaker, not the third person, would be the one to step on a goblin.
(1) Ngaei soang-ae-n pwudungidi aenih-maen. 1s.S try-LEV-INC step goblin-NCL
'I try to step on the goblin.'
(2) Ngaei kasik-ae-n pwudungidi aenih-maen.

1S.S expect-LEV-INC step goblin-NCL
'I expect to step on the goblin.'

If the speaker wants to indicate that the stepper is not the speaker, but the addressee, she would say (3) and (4). Here, $k$-ae-n (2sg - -evidential - +inchoative) is employed. And kaen is detached from the preceding verb, unlike aen in the sentences with co-referential subject reading in (1) and (2) above.
(3) Ngaei soang k-ae-n pwudungidi aenih-maen.

1s.S try 2S.S-LEV-INC step goblin-NCL
'I try to get you to step on the goblin.' (Lit: 'I try you to step on the goblin.')
(4) Ngaei kasik k-ae-n pwudungidi aeni-maen.
$1 \mathrm{~S} . \mathrm{S}$ expect $2 \mathrm{~S} . S-$-LEV-INC step goblin-NCL
'I expect you to step on the goblin.'

Sentences (1) through (4) demonstrate that the auxiliary verb aen is used to yield a co-referential subject reading, whereas a subject clitic is used along with the auxiliary verb to yield a non-co-referential subject reading in Pingelapese reduced purpose clauses. ${ }^{2}$ To indicate that the third person who is not co-referential to the subject in the higher clause would be the stepper, Pingelapese uses (5) and (6), which are homophonous with the forms used in (1) and (2), since the third person agreement prefix is null.
(5) Ngaei soang Ø-ae-n pwudungidi aenih-maen.

1s.S try 3s.S-LEV-INC step goblin-NCL
'I try to get him/her to step on the goblin.' (Lit: 'I try him/her to step on the goblin.')
(6) Ngaei kasik $\emptyset$-ae-n pwudungidi aenih-maen.

1s.S expect 3s.S-LEV-INC step goblin-NCL
'I expect him/her to step on the goblin.'

Crucially, however, sentences (5) and (6) are different from (1) and (2) in that aen in (5) and (6) is written detached from the higher verb, suggesting that Pingelapese speakers recognize a difference between the two sets of forms.

The contrast between (1-2) and (5-6) demonstrates that Pingelapese has two aen morphemes: one that functions as an auxiliary verb without pronominal information and one that functions as the third person singular pronoun (in which the person/number meaning is marked by zero).
${ }^{2}$ It is also possible to use the pronoun-aux with a co-referential reading, as in (a).

```
(a) Ngaei kasik ngaeh pwudungidi aenih-maen.
    1s.S expect 1S.S.LEV.INC step , goblin-NCL
    'I expect myself to step on the goblin.'
```

However, the overt realization of pronominal information in (a) adds a special meaning to the proposition, such as would fit the following scenario: "Several people were holding a meeting to discuss who will step on the goblin. One person had some special reason to step on a goblin, such as the goblin stepped on her in the past and she really had to take revenge on the goblin. So she said, 'I expect MYSELF (not anybody else) to step on the goblin.'" This sort of usage of pronoun-aux is not common for a co-referential reduced purpose clause.

Claim 4. The loss of object agreement preceded the loss of subject agreement.
The patterns of retention and loss, in today's Micronesian languages, of the ProtoMicronesian obligatory subject and object agreement markers point to the demise of object agreement prior to subject agreement. Evidence for this claim comes from the historical residue of subject agreement in the auxiliary verbs ae, aen, e, and en in Pingelapese and the loss of object agreement without leaving any residue.

Claim 5. Linguistic change accompanies social upheaval.
The Proto-Micronesian subject clitics tend to be replaced by the expanding independent pronouns in eastern Micronesian languages, Mokilese being the most extreme (in that it uses independent pronouns exclusively), followed by Kosraean and then by Pingelapese. On the other hand, there is no such deviation (loss/replacement/competition) in the pronominal systems of western Micronesian languages. Crowley (1992) discusses the spreading of linguistic changes in relation to social upheaval. What has been happening in Central Micronesia-near extinction of the population, rapid population growth' and intensive intermarriage among Mokilese, Kosraeans, and Pingelapese-represents such social upheaval. Because Pingelap was governed by seven consecutive Kosraean rulers, because of the influx of Kosraean immigrants, and because of frequent intermarriage with Kosraeans, the Kosraean influence is pervasive in Pingelapese legends and the title system. Being the closest neighboring atolls to each other, Mokilese and Pingelapese also influence each other heavily, sharing some unique linguistic characteristics (e.g., triplication). The intimate relations between the language communities are also replicated in their colonies in Pohnpei and the United States. Pingelapese and Mokilese people almost always live close to each other and intermarry. Presumably, linguistic diffusion (Crowley 1992) has been occurring among Pingelapese, Mokilese, and Kosraeans.

### 8.2. The future of Pingelapese

The future of the Pingelapese language probably depends on those who live outside of their home atoll, which is now the majority of Pingelapese. Pingelap atoll has suffered from depopulation and currently has only 200 residents. This number is
expected to be reduced further, as there is no incentive for this remote atoll to stop this emigration trend. The major force for language maintenance is the thousand Pingelapese residing in Mwalok, Pohnpei. Being within commuting distance to Kolonia, the economic center of Pohnpei state, and Palikir, the political center of Pohnpei state and the Federated States of Micronesia, Mwalok will not be depopulated. Because Mwalok is a rather small area and not very cultivatable, Pingelapese who live in Mwalok remarkably excel at participating in a cash economy and getting government jobs, which are relatively new to the region This caused tension with the Pohnpeian people, who later realized that many jobs had been taken by Pingelapese while the Pohnpeians remained anchored in their traditional values that involve their title system and large land resources.

The people of Mwalok'have been maintaining the Pingelapese language for a century despite pressure from Pohnpeian-the dominant regional language-and the influence from other languages. This pressure has a positive effect on the conservation of the Pingelapese language. It stimulates Pingelapese identity and causes them to consciously or unconsciously resist assimilation. ${ }^{3}$ This is evidenced by the Pingelapese (conscious or unconscious) linguistic resistance, which is a means to remain different from the Pohnpeian people. As this community forges its identity through its language, it also encourages dissimilation from Pohnpeian. My assumption is that the Pingelapese people will maintain their language as long as they can sustain their presence in the region and that the Pingelapese language will continue to be distinct from Pohnpeian.

The long-lasting multilingualism in the region also might have contributed to the maintenance of the minority languages. Speakers do not think that they have to give up their language to add one more language to their repertoire. In addition, Micronesian multilingualism is rather relaxed. Citizens do not need to be able to write well in several languages. Being a non-perfect speaker of a particular language is nothing to be afraid of. Pingelapese speakers can work in a Pohnpeian environment with incomplete command of Pohnpeian and English, although they cannot talk to Pohnpeian high title holders in Pohnpeian.

[^47]However, the situation of the Pingelapese colony in the U.S. is different from the situation in Micronesia. A good command of English, both in speaking and writing, is needed to be successful in school and to go about daily life in the U.S.-a mostly monolingual country. Due to the pressing demand of "English only," some Pingelapese families in the U.S. mainly or even exclusively use English at home.

### 8.3. Future research

There are several directions for future research on the Pingelapese language.
(i) A study of language survival and language change in each Pingelapese community is needed. Mand speakers are said to be the most "Pohnpeianized" both in culture and language. For example, the Pohnpeian pronoun ihr 'they' is often heard among Pingelapese speakers in Mand. Ihr is never heard on Pingelap atoll or in Mwalok. Sometimes, Mwalokese tease Mand speakers about their "Pohnpeianized" Pingelapese speech.
(ii) Triplication is a phenomenon that is very rare in the world's languages. It is attested only in Pingelapese and Mokilese in Micronesian languages. An investigation of triplication would be meritorious indeed. Several intensive studies have been done on Pohnpeian reduplication (Davis 1997; Kennedy 2002a, 2002b, 2003; McCarthy 1999; McCarthy and Prince 1986; Rice and Avery 1987). Now is the time to extend the study of Micronesian reduplication into a study of triplication.
(iii) The new vowel phoneme reported in chapter $2, / \mathrm{p} /$, should also be investigated, especially in relation to the vowel systems of other Micronesian languages. Pingelapese is the only language with an eight-vowel system among Pohnpeic languages. Is this a Pingelapese innovation? Or is it a retention from the proto language found only in Pingelapese? There is a possibility that this eighth vowel is a retention. The vowel is attested in basic vocabulary, in words such as those meaning 'turtle shell', 'to hit', 'to fly', 'coconut fiber', and 'to block water from coming into a canoe'. Further investigation would provide insight into the history of Pingelapese.
(iv) The cultural and linguistic investigation of Pingelapese ties to Kosraean, Tarawa (Kiribati), and Pohnpeian is especially important, but remains to be conducted.
(v) I am personally very curious about the future of the certainty contrast. It is clearly a Pingelapese innovation, but is it on the rise or in decline? I found that speakers can explicitly explain the realis/irrealis contrast (i.e., aen vs. en) better than the certainty contrast (i.e., $a e$ vs. e), which suggests that the realis/irrealis contrast may have more chance of surviving.
(vi) Also needed is a comparative and diachronic study of other preverbals in the language. As already noted, the development of the system might involve infinitival constructions using the auxiliary verb aen and subsequent grammaticalization.
(vii) The examination of what have been called "subject pronouns" in Micronesian languages would constitute a significant contribution to the study of grammaticalization. Questions to be explored on this topic include: Are they pronouns or agreement markers? Do they agree with an indefinite NP? Are they free words, clitics, or affixes?
(viii) A lexicographic study is urgently needed for this language. The recent escalating trend of emigration out of Pingelap atoll indicates a high probability that Pingelap will become an uninhabited atoll in the near future. Loss of the Pingelapese home atoll would result in the loss of indigenous vocabulary. Although the Pingelapese language may survive outside of Pingelap atoll, the traditional vocabulary (e.g., fishing terminology, place names) may be lost. In Mwalok, there are few Pingelapese who are fishermen and these few use Yamaha motor boats. In Mand, there are no fishermen, because Mand is on a mountainside and far from the ocean. It is crucially important to document the language of Pingelap atoll, which is hanging by a thread.
(ix) A comprehensive grammar of Pingelapese is also desirable. The fact that the speakers of Pohnpeian, the closest language to Pingelapese, do not understand Pingelapese fully indicates that they are two different languages. A comprehensive grammar of Pingelapese, which is currently lacking, is needed not only for researchers but also for the community itself, which is emigrating from the home atoll.

## APPENDIX. PINGELAPESE-ENGLISH DICTIONARY

The preliminary dictionary in the following appendix was developed through my field work. I was fortunate to have access to the previous vocabulary collections: Good and Welley (1989), a class project in lexicography, and Mrs. Jessi Miller and Mr. Brett Miller-former Peace Corps members on Pingelap. This is summarized in Table A.1.

Table A.1. Previous vocabulary collections

| Source | Major Language consultant(s) |
| :--- | :--- |
| Good and Welley’s Vocabulary (1989) | Mr. Weldis Welley (Pingelap <br> atoll/Mwalok) |
| Vocabularies collected by Jessi Miller and <br> Bret Miller (former Peace Corp on Pingelap). | Ms. Mercy Rikin (Pohnpei island) <br> Mr. Rainier Frank (Pingelap atoll) |
| Class project in Lexicography class | Ms. Billie-Jean Manuel (Mwalok) |
| My field work | Mr. Ilander Charly (Pingelap atoll) <br> Mr. Ensler Rizana (Pingelap atoll) |

I went over all these word lists with my language consultants and corrected the spelling and meanings. We also expanded the number of entries to over 4,000 words.

The language consultants in each project are authentic Pingelapese speakers. The language consultant who worked with Good and Welley (1989) is Mr. Weldis Welley. He was raised on Pinegelap atoll and graduated from Pingelap atoll elementary school. He, then, moved to Pohnpei for higher education. Subsequently, he attended the University of Hawaii. He teamed up with a graduate student in linguistics, Ms. Elaine Good, and produced Good and Welley (1989). After he returned to Pohnpei, he resided in Mwalok. He gained a reputation for his linguistic knowledge, his promotion of the Pingelapese language, and the conservation of proper Pingelapese usage. For this, he received the title Luhk from the paramount chief. This title is not a traditional one. It was made for Mr. Weldis in recognition of his linguistic leadership role.

Pingelap atoll sometimes has U.S. Peace Corps volunteers. Two of the memorable Peace Corps members to the Pingelapese are Mr. Brett and Jessi Miller of 2004. During their tenure, they collected Pingelapese vocabularies, as their own
activities, not a project assigned by the Peace Corps. Ms. Mercy Rikin was their language tutor on Pohnpei, who was hired by the Peace Corps. On Pingelap, Mr. Rainier Frank was recommended as their language tutor by their host father Ehlis Ernest.

The UH lexicography class project was fortunate to have Ms. Billie-Jean Manuel as a language consultant and a class mate. She learned how to use dictionary software and typed in Good and Welley (1989)'s vocabularies. She is a daughter of Mr. Weldis and learned proper Pingelapese usage from her father. She is very smart and diligent - the ideal language consultant.

Dictionary making in my field work was mainly conducted on Pingelap atoll. I worked with Mr. Ilander Charley who was about 60 years old during my field trip. Previously, he was a Pingelap elementary school principal, and he has been serving as senior pastor on the atoll. He is considered to be one of best speakers on Pingelap. My other language consultant is Mr. Ensler Rizana, who was in his late 20's. He graduated from the College of Micronesia. He knows how to use a computer and he mastered Transcriber - transcribing software - in a day. Both language consultants were immersed in the life of Pingelap. So, they know indigenous vocabulary (e.g. fishing terms) well. Mr. Charley was very familiar with the early alphabet that distinguishes /e/ and $/ \varepsilon /$, being a promoter of the alphabet for a long time. Mr. Rizana also knew the alphabet. In this dictionary, the early alphabet is employed.

## Pingelapese-English dictionary


akedopodop $v i$. To return a favor or revenge. Serihmaen e naemaen akedopodop. Kids want to return a favor.
akele $n$. Fish sp., bigger size of sinsil (barred flagtail), see sinsil.
ahkihdoa $v i$. To come for. John aen kah ahkihdoa aen mwaengae. John will come to eat. [Note: always followed by aen + Verb]
akikisik vi. to be polite, humble.
akisuaei $v i$. to exaggerate one's importance, the importance of one's actions, to show off one's possesion.
akoa $a d v$. Same as "ada".
akoas $v t$. To light something.
akoasaei vi. To start a fire.
aksuwahu vi. To compete. Kaedae aksuwahu. Do not compete.
akupwung $v i$. To justify oneself.
akusuahu $v i$. To deviate, to dissent, to disagree.
al $n$. road. $3 s$ : alin.
ahl $n$. Fish sp., type of barracuda.
alapaped $n$. Alphabet. From: e.
alae $v t$. To acquire. Ngaei alae mweimwei. I acquired a permission.
alaeal $v i$. To be stripe.
ahlaek $n$. Plant sp., reed.
alaelap $n$. Big road.
alaemweimwei $v t$. To allow, to give a permission.
alaen wudiraek $n$. Milky way.
alaesang $v t$. To copy from.
$\operatorname{alaesapw}_{1} n$. A game, similar to capture the flag, not commonly practiced anymore.
$\operatorname{alaesapw}_{2}$ vi. To play a game, similar to 'capture the flag'.
alialuh mwahl vi. To walk around without purpose.
alim nит. Five, a system of counting objects.
alis $_{1}$ vi. To aim with a spear or gun. [Note: cf. vt"alisi"]
$\operatorname{alisi}_{1} v t$. To aim with a spear of gun. [Note: cf. vi "alis"]
alisikisik $n$. Path.
alol vi. To cry, high language.
$\mathbf{a l u}_{1} \quad v i$. To walk.
alu $_{2} \quad n$. A baby who started to walk.
aluh daeki $v i$. To waddle. [Note: [lit. to 'walk duck']]
aluhkin suhkae $v i$. To walk on stilts.
aluhpaesaeng $v i$. To scatter of human beings.
ama int. What if, =ada.
Amirikae ${ }_{1} n$. U.S.A.
$\operatorname{amis}_{1} v i$, $-i$ vt. To bite one's lip in sorrow, to
make sorrow or angry faces, to clenche a fist as an expression of the feeling. E amisi kilin aewae.
$\mathbf{a m i s}_{2} \quad v t$. To wash someone else's or owns's face.
ampangia $n$. Umpire. From: j, e.
amperehla $n$. Umbrella. From: e.
$\mathbf{a m p u}_{1} \quad v i$. To be carried on someone's back.
$\mathbf{a m p u}_{2} \quad v t$. To carry on someone's back.
ahmw vi. To swarm (said of a small fly). Amwise e ahmw. Mosquito swarms.
ahmwaenaewael $n$. Very small fly-like insect found in bushed, fruit fly, orange body.
amwin $v t$. To wash hands and dishes. Ngaei amwin paehi. I wash my hands.
amwise $n$. Mosquito.
amwowuh $v t$. To carry on one's back.
$\mathbf{a h n}_{1} v t$. To be used to, to be familiar with, to be acquainted with.
$\mathbf{a h n}_{2}$ excl. What else? So what?
anahnae $v t$. To need, to want, to request. John anahnae Mike aen ahla Hawaii. John requested Mike to go Hawaii.
anaewei $v i$. To leave.
andaena $n$. Antenna. From: e.
andios $n$, vi. A snorkell mask, To do underwater fishing with snorkeling goggles, but not dive into the deep ocean.
anewei $v i$. To leave.
anikesekes $_{1}$ excl. Exclamation of disdain or disregard.
anikesekesi $v t$. To ignore something that you should not ignore. Lihmaen e anikesekesihdi Mary.
ahnikin $\quad v t$. To have, to own.
ahnpaehk $n$. Handbag. From: e.
ansaeu $n$. Time, occasion.
ansaeukis $n$. One time.
ansoau mwaedang/ansaeu mwaedang
$n$. A short time (future or past).
ansu $n$. Star fruit tree, or the fruit. From: j.
ahng $v i$. To be angry.
angahng $v i$. To evapolate. E lap angahng in pil poaileu. [Note: from aeng]
angaeangin $v t$ taking $v p$. To be willing to do. Ngaei angaengin ahla laid. I am willing to go fishing.
angaed likamw vi. To vent own's anger on other person for no reason.
angedenged $v i$. to fight and not give up, to be persistent, to try hard.
angedenged $v i$. To reach the limit. Woalaemean ae uhdahn angedenged.
angiangin $v i$. To evapoRate. E lap angahng in pil poaileu. [Note: from aeng]
angin vi. To be powerfull or fast. Opwoheu e uhdahn angin. Pwohpwo e angin aeh keseu.
angka $n$. Anchor. From: e.
angkaehlail vi. To be persist. From: Pohn.
angkesip $n$. Handkerchief. From: e.
apa dopi vi. To broad jump. From: j. [Note: [appa]]
apaekahs $n$. Half-caste. From: e.
apaelaeng $n$. Sparkle (said of the little waves on the surface of water at night).
apaer $n$. Shoulder. 3s: apaerae.
apaerae $_{1}$ vi. To carry on the shoulder. Pwohpwi e apaerae. Pwohpwo carry something on her shoulder. [Note: cf. vi "apaeraerae"]
apaerae $_{2}$ vt. To carry on the shoulder. [Note: cf. vi "apaerapaer"]
$\mathbf{a p i d}_{1} n$. Canoe part, curved pieces that connect the outrigger to the canoe hull.
$\mathbf{a p i d}_{2} \quad v t$. To carry something either under one's arm or in folded arms in front of oneself.
$\mathbf{a p i d}_{3} \quad v t$. To fold.
apidpae $v i$. To fold one's arm.
apol $n$. Apple.
appa vi. To broad jump. From: j.
apuhs $n$. Plant sp., small green fruit bearing tree, also the name of the fruit.
apwah conjunction. But because.
apwi $v$. To cover.
apwin $v$. To cover. Ngaei apwindi aeinpwoahd eu. I covered a pot.
apwinek vi. To cover. [Note: some say this is not a Pingelapese word]
apwuraiyasi $n$. Plant sp., type of palm, this does not exist on Pingelap, but exists in Pohnpei. From: j.
araeda vi. To give up, to lose in a game. [Note: cf. vt "araedahi"]
araekohl $n$. Alcohol.
araemaki n. Stomach band. From: j.
araer $v i$. To be a wind blowing rain.
ardo arda vi. Slang for measuring angles in a house or the level device for Pingelapese. From: j .
arere $n$. Fish sp., Pacific longnose parrot-fish, white body, the nose does not look long to me, though.
ari num. Two, system used for counting objects.
arohlaeng $n$. Palate of mouth. Arohlaengin pwisakmaen e lap. The boy's mouth is big.
aroang $n$. Fish sp., middle size stage of blue fin
travelly.
ahs $n$. Hatch inside the ship, storage. From: e.
asi n. Chopsticks. From: j.
ahsik $n$. A phase of the moon, from full moon to new moon.
asimel $n$. Fish sp., Scribbled snapper, silver body and yellow fins.
asipwihrek $n$. Pandanus sp.
asoarae vt. To be lonely for, to miss something.
au $n$. Mouth. $3 s$ : aewae.
au likamw vi. To be a compulsive liar.
au mas $n$. Astinky mouth, used to harsh a person.
aud $v i$. To be out, baseball term, 'out'.
audaud $_{1} \quad$ vi. To be loaded, to be filled. Seppas e audaud. [Note: cf. vt "audae"]
audaud $_{2}$ vi. To know. John e ahdaudkihda paraewar.
audae $v t$. To fill. Ngaei audaehda kaep eu. I filled the cup. [Note: cf. vi "audaud"]
audaepan vi. To be knowledgeable.
audaepae $n$. Contents, subject matter.
audih neg. Not, nominal negator. [Note: va "audihn"]
audihn neg. Not, 3rd person. [Note: va "audih"]
audokahp $n$. Baseball term, outside curve. From: j,e.
audoa vt. To fill up.
aulaid $_{1}$ vi. To celebrate a new net.
aulaid $_{2} n$. Celebration for a new net, an informal agreement to wait for those who are out fishing.
aupwi vi. To be loose-tongued, to not keep confidences.
aus vi, vt. To save something, not waste. Linda mae ausla luwaen mwaengaeh pwi. Linda saved the leftover food.
ausik vin. To be temperate, in speaking.
awael vt. To change (covering, pages, clothes), to replace. [Note: cf. vi "awelek"]
awaelaek vi. To change (covering, pages, clothes), to replace. [Note: cf. vt "awael"]
awi vi, vt. To wait.
Awilaid $n$. Feast in which a group goes fishing and another group waits for the fish. The waiting team prepares land foods and share it with the fishing team. The catch by the fishing team will be shared with the waiting team.
awlap vi. To talk big but no action.

## Ae - ae

$\mathbf{a e}_{1}$ pron. Third person singular in present, he, she, it, possessive pronoun, his, her.
$\mathbf{a e}_{2}$ excl. Exclamation on offering something. [Note: from aeng]
aed $n$. Fish sp., large growth stage of keipweni.
aehd num. One, system used for counting objects.
$\boldsymbol{a e h d}_{3} n$. The first experience of something in life. Aehdin ngaei wiawi kaineu. First time, I will do this kind of thing.
aedal excl. 'Pass', on foregoing one's opportunity to cut cards.
aedam $n$. Fish sp., Big eye trevally.
aedasi $\quad v i$. To be barefoot. From: j.
aedaepae int. How much, how many.
aediaed vi. To be blurry, cloudy, smoky.
$\mathbf{a e i}_{1} \quad n$. Fire.
$\mathbf{a e i}_{2}$ pron. My.
aeidoa $_{1} n$. Two or more breadfruit at the end of a branch.
aeidoa $_{2}$ vi. To move over short distance towards the speaker.
aeikaer $n$. Acre.
aeikomou $n$, vi. Tug or war, to tug, to have a war.
aeilaepaen $n$. Most of.
aeimoalu $v i$. To mourn someone who died. Woalaemaen aeh aeimoaluhkin aeh pwoaud.
aeinpwoahd $n$. Cooking pot. From: e.
aeinpwoahd $v i$. To cook in a pot. From: e.
aeinpwoahd par $v i$. To cook a food called 'par'.
aeipaediadi $v i$. To compete. Irah aeipaediadi. They compete.
aeis num. Seven, old system used for counting objects.
aeiseseul $n$. Pandanus sp .
aek To hide themselves.
aek $n$. A game, hide and seek.
aekan vt. To begin a fire. [Note: cf. vi "aekanek"]
aekanek vi. To begin a fire. [Note: cf. vt "aekan"]
aekaedah $v i,-i v t$. To smoke a fish.
aekaedar $v i$. To to fly fishing. [Note: cf. vt "aekaedarae"]
aekaedarae vt. To fly fish. [Note: cf. vi "aekaedar"]
aekaer $v t$. To call, to summon.
aeki $v t$. To hide. Lihmaen e aekihla sendeu.

The woman hide the money.
aehki paes $n$. A game, hide and seek using the left over of a pandanus fruit, one team hides the pandanus fruit left overs and the other team searches it.
aekiaek $v i$. To be hidden.
aehl n. Hell. From: e.
aelaep num. A half.
aelaewaenpwong $v i$. To go out at night for the purpose of a sexual liaison.
Aeldaer $n$. A church title.
aeledo $v i$. To sing alto. From: e.
aeliaek $n$. Fish.sp., Scissor-tailed fusilier, white and greenyellow lines from the head to tail, although this looks similar to mwahseik, this fish is smaller than mwahseik.
aelimoang $n$. Mangrove crab.
aelisae $n$. chin.
aema $n$. Hammer. From: e.
aehmas $v i$. To be raw. Sashimi eu e aehmas.
aemaen num. One, another, system used for counting objects.
aemwi ${ }_{1} n$. A bunch of coconuts, still on the tree.
$\mathbf{a e m w i}_{2} v t$. To wash hands.
aemwiaemw vi. To wash or wipe one's hands.
$\mathbf{a e n}_{1}$ preverb. Third person singular in the future, he, she, it will.

- $\mathbf{a e n}_{2}$ poss. cl. A general possessive classifier.
aen kaeiaengekis id??? In a little while.
aenaire $n$. A marble game. From: j.
aenaeh conj. Or else.
aenaehwa conj, adv. Otherwise.
aeni $n$. Ghost, spirit, (slang, a person who can't behave).
aenih aeraemas $n$. A ghost that looks like a human being.
aeni un. a ghost of a dead person who cannot go heaven for some reason and stays in the place where he or she died, also he or she cannot move around.
aenihwaeraewaer $n$. Echo.
aenihwerewer $n$. Echo. Irah roang aenihwerewer. They heard echo.
aeng $n$. Wind. $3 s$ : aengin.
aeng in Saenaewaerae $n$. Seasonal strong wind in January.
aeng pup $n$. Small circular winds.
aengaedahn $n_{1}$ vi. To be serious.
aengaedahn $n_{2}$ vi. To be worried.
aengaelap $n$. Typhoon, gale.
aengaemwahuki $v t$. To take advantage.
aengidi $v i$. To lie down, high language.
aengisik $_{1} n$. A comfortable breeze.
aengisik $_{2}$ vi. To be breezy. [Note: [aeng(wind)-sik(good)]]
aengpup $n$. Trade wind.
aengupup $n$. Gust of wind.
aepas num.cl. One, long object counting system.
aepaesik $n$. Fish sp., blue-tail mullet.
aepi $v t$. To pull, to pull on a line. Wolaepwi en aepihdi maeipas. The men pull down the bread fruit tree using a rope. [Note: cf. vi "aepiaep" Note. aepihda=pull the sail up]
aepiaep $v i$. To pull, to pull on a line, fishing. [Note: cf. vt. "aepi"]
aepil $n$. Fish sp., Yellow fin goatfish, white body and yellow line from its eye to tail, and yellow fins, the smallest stage in this group.
aepilinwok $n$. Fish sp., Yellow stripe goatfish, second growth stage in this group, white body and black spot on its side, unclear yellow line on the side from the head to the base of the tail.
aepwal vi. To be difficult, to be hard.
aepwali $v t$. To look after, to be responsible for.
aepwaekan $a d v$. A short time ago, a little while ago.
aepwaekan ekis $a d v$. Soon (future).
aepwaekan wa $a d v$. A while ago, ago than aepwaekan.
aepwaehpw vi. To be eager, to be enthusiastic. John e aepwaehpw in ahla Hawaii.
aepwaehpwali $v t$. To take care.
aepwiaepw n. Cover.
aehr/aeh $a d v$. Right now.
aeraemas $n$. Person, people.
aeraewahn $n$. Plant sp., a type of pandanus tree that does not bear fruit.
$\mathbf{a e r i}_{1}$ possesive pronoun. Their.
$\mathbf{a e r i}_{2}$ vt. To spread burning coral stones in a stone oven. [Note: cf. vi "aeriaer"]
aeri $_{3} v t$. To poke stick in. Ngaei aeri nah siaei. I put a stick into my ear (to clean the ear not to smash it).
$\operatorname{aering}_{1} n$. Mature coconut with no milk and brown on the outside.
aering daekaedaek $n$. Copra.
aeroh prep. Until.
aes- $n$. Lung of animal and human.
aesahsi pron. Ours.
aesae vt. To know. Ngaei aesae kaewae.
aeu $v i$. To be delicious.
aeuirar $n$. Fish sp., Orangefin emperor with yellowish body, deep ocean fish.
aewa n. Hour. From: e.
aewan $v i$. To show love thorough a gift. [Note: high language]
aewaeh lal $v i, n$. To be talkative, a talkative person.
aewael num. Eight, system used for counting objects.
aewaen kaerae $n$. A type of fishing hook with a curved hook and a holder (dindir inside).
aewaen loakaeia vi. To be talkative. Lihmaen en aewaen lokaeiala. The woman is talkative.
aewaen mwaengae $v i$. To be greedy for food.
aewaen wedei $n$. Talkative mouth.
aewihrar $n$. Fish sp., orangefin emperor (Lethrinus kallopterus).

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\mathbf{D}-\mathbf{d}
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$\mathbf{d a}_{1} \quad v i$. To have the disease called da.
$\mathbf{d a}_{2} n$. Sickness, infection in the mouth, affecting very young children.
$\mathbf{d a}_{3}$ int. What.
-da suf. Upward, to come into a state of, directional suffix.
dad $n$. Wooden floor.
dadami $n$. Japanese style mat.
dahdar $n$. Space under the eaves. 3 s : dahdarin.
dadaemai $v i$. To roof a house. From: j.
dadu $n$. Tatoo. From: e.
daheu $n$. "What?" for singular object.
dai $i_{1} n$. Frame of a house or of a canoe. $3 s$ : dain.
dai $_{2} n$. Of riahkah, whole part other than handle.
daid vi. To be tight, to be tired. From: e.
daidel $n$. Title, position. From: e. $3 s$ : daielin.
daidohwa $n$. World War Two. From: j.
daikaer $n$. Tiger. From: e.
daikisang $v t, n$. To build, a carpenter. From: j.
dail $n$. Tile, or thick plastic sheet.
daim $n$. Time.
daimaen $n$. Diamond. From: e.
daimeu $a d v$. Now.
dainaemaid $n$. Dynamite. From: e.
daipaer n. Diaper. From: e.
daipwuhn $n$. Typhoon. From: e. 3s: daipwuhnin.
dairok vi. To bow down, to fall on one's knees.
$\mathbf{d a k}_{1}$ vi. To shine, of things that can shine, such as moon, sun, star, dohdai, denki. Saeu eu en dakaeda.
dak $_{2}$ vi. To be pale.
$\mathbf{d a k}_{3}$ vi. To ride in a vehicle or canoe. [Note: cf. vt "dakae"]
dahk $n$, vi. A line, To line up.
dakae $v t$, vi. To ride in a vehicle or canoe. [Note: cf. vi "dak"]
dakaekae vi, vt. To skin off kaelaekael (young coconut leaf).
dakaer $v t$. To light up, to illuminate, to shine, of things that can shine or light, such as Denki. Denkihkis e dakaerda kidihmaen. *Ngaei dakaerda kidihmaen.
dahkida n. Doctor of medicine. From: e.
dakihlok vi. To surf. [Note: [lit 'ride waves']]
dakir vt. To skin off trees, or to cut the tree that is already lying on the ground to form a canoe shape but still before "kasae".
dakiraekdi vi. To be cut down in entiety.
dakirdi $v$. To cut down in enrirety.
dahkis n. "What?" for specific singular object.
dahkoas $n$. "What?" for vague things, such as plural objects or activity.
dahkpwohd $n$. Tugboat. From: e.
daksi $1_{1}$ vi. To drive a taxi. From: e.
daksi ${ }_{2} n$. Taxi. From: e.
dakuwang $n$. Pickled radish. From: j.
dal $n$. Coconut shell, container, plate, dish.
dahla $n$. Dollar. From: e.
dalaek $_{1}$ vi. To singe (burn) feathers off an animal. [Note: cf. vt "dalaeke"]
dalaek $_{2} v i$. To use up, to run out of something, to lack something. Ngaei dalaekkin marble.
dalaeke $v t$. To singe feathers off an animal. [Note: cf. vi "dalaek"]
dahlimw vi, -i vt. To wash or clean using a cloth or mop. [Note: cf. vi "dahlimwi"]
daloak $n$. A food made from the meat of a coconut that has shoots.
dahloang $_{1}$ vi, -i or -e vt. To use canoe rollers to roll a canoe. [Note: cf. vt "dahloange", "dahloangi"]
dahloang $_{2} n$. Canoe roller, usually the primary rib of coconut leaf.
dam $_{1} n$. The outrigger, wife (from boom, in the sense of a steadying influence). $3 s$ :
daemae.
dam $_{2}$ vi. To slip down. [Note: slang, circumcised]
Dahmap n. Place name, north tip of the main island.
dahmae int. What, which.
damidi vi. To slip down. [Note: [sl. to be circumcised]]
damio $n$. Small ax.
dampaelo $n$. To dump things to someone. From: e.
damwur vi, -i $v$ t. To massage or run one's hand on the back of another to show that one is sorry.
damwurek vi. To massage or run one's hand on the back of another to show that one is sorry. [Note: cf. vt "damwur"]
dahn vi. To be worn out.
dang $n$. Thigh.
dangapaud vi. $n$. To be a slacker, or one who says he will do it, but doesn't, a slacker.
dangaepau $v i, n$. To be lazy to an extreme degree, or a very lazy person.
dangaeraei vi. To have long legs.
dangkaido $n$. Search-light from a ship or tower. From: j.
dangku $n$. Tank (military). From: j, e. [Note: old usage, bulldozer]
dap $v i$. To catch with hands or some instrument, to play catch. [Note: cf. vt "dapaer"]
dapaeng $v t$. To rip off, to break open a lock, to break. [Note: cf. vi "dapaengek"]
dapaengek vi. To rip off, to break open a lock, to break. [Note: cf. vt "dapaeng"]
dapaengmwahl $v i,-i v t$. To rip into pieces.
dapaer $v$. To catch with hands or some intrument, to play catch. [Note: cf. vi "dap"]
dapaerek vi. To catch something with one's hands.
dapidi vi. To have sexual intercorse for the first time, of a male.
dapiohka $n$. Tapioca. From: e.
dapol vi. Double. From: e.
dahpohlaen $n$. Dahp, a huge plastic sheet. From: e.
dapwae $v t$. To revile.
dahpwoahd $n$. Teapot. From: e.
dar $v i, v t$. To cut off with a knife.
dahr $v i$. To be fast in motion.
darini pwong vi. To deep-sea fish with a line, to trawl in the late evening.
daroapw $n$. Fish sp., type of surgeon fish.
daroapw oangikin $n$. Fish sp., Whitecheek surgeonfish, gray body and white tail and
small white dot under its eyes.
daroapw soal $n$. Fish sp., Brown surgeonfish, gray body and dark yellow dots in its face.
daroawa $n$. The carved part in the mwaes, positioned above kia and connected to pwoais and the two edged apids by strings, made out of kaingae (a tree that grow in shore line, known to be very strong).
dau $n$. Harbour.
daun vt. To bury things. Kaen daundi oamw uhmw eu.
daur $_{1} n$. Channel.
daur $_{2}$ vt, -i vt. To climb. [Note: cf. vi "daeu"]
daur $_{3}$ vt. To follow the path. [Note: cf. vi "daurek"]
daurek vi. To follow the path. [Note: cf. vi "daur"]
dawang $n$. Plant sp., a soft taro variety.
dawael $n$. Towel. From: e.
dawin $v t$. To fill a hole.
dae $_{1}$ vt. To sew. [Note: cf. vi "dedei"]
dae $_{2}$ conj. And, then.
dae $_{3}$ neg. Not, used to negate commands.
daedael $v i$. To be crowded.
daedaeli $v$. To tighten something.
daedaelidi $v i$. To be sleepy, also used to inform people who are keeping you awake. Ngaei daedaelidi. Maesaei daedaelidi. I am sleepy. My eyes are sleepy.
daedi vi. To be dirty or untidy. From: e.
daedoahk $\mathbf{k}_{1}$ vi. To work.
daedoahk ${ }_{2} n$. Work.
daei vi. To surpass, to be ahead. [Note: va "dei"] daeia $n$. Tire.
daeiahwae $n$. Fish sp., a kind of grouper, bottom fish, looks like Widir but bigger.
daeiahwe $n$. Fish sp., adult stage of wider, coral fish.
daeipw $n$, vi. A unripe pandanus, to be not yet ripe.
daek $n$. Fish sp., big reef needlefish, silver long body and a red spot at end of needle, dangerous fish.
daehk $n$. Deck of a boat. From: e.
daekah conj. And, used with noun phrases.
daekasingai $n$. Shell variety, trochus. From: j.
daekae ${ }_{1} \quad$ vt. To take meat out of a coconut. [Note: cf. vi "daekaedaek"]
daekae $_{2} \quad n$. Island, atoll.
daekae $_{3} n$. The name of a specific islet in Pingelap.
daekaedaek vi. To take meat out of a coconut. [Note: cf. vt "daekae"]
daeki $n$. Duck. From: e.
daekilahr $n$. Fish sp., swordfish, sailfish.
daekilahr saeraek $n$. Fish sp., sailfish.
daeksis n. Tax. From: e.
dael $v i$. Of many animate things, move from one place to another.
daelal $v i$. To spread the legs while lying down, to be bow-legged.
daelaedaip $n$. Someone who protests a lot but does not take. From: e. tell type(typing).
daelaeia vi, $n$. Fishing method, throw net, or to fish by thrownet.
daelaen paerai $n$. Fry pan. From: e.
daelaen wain $n$. Chalice, communion tray. From: e.
daelaenae maei n. A food, pan-baked breadfruit.
daelaengaek vi. To carry a heavy object on the shoulder or slung over the shoulder using a pole. [Note: cf. vt "daelaengaeki"]
daelaengaeki $v t$. To carry a heavy object on the shoulder or slung over the shoulder using a pole. [Note: cf. vi "daelaengaek"]
Daelaewan $n$. A name of atoll in Kiribati, from where some people came and stayed on Pingelap.
daeliki vt. To check around. [Note: cf. vi "daeulihk", va "doaulihki"]
daelihki $v t$. To check around. [Note: va "doaulihki"]
daelimwlimw vi. To be slippery. [Note: "limw" is a moss-like plant]
daema ${ }_{1} n$. Light bulb, bullet. From: j.
daema $_{2} n$. Favorite item.
daemahkin vt. To favor. Ngaei daemahkin saehd eu. I favoram happy with the shirt.
daemango $n$. Zero in scores. From: j.
daemango vi . To have score zero. Ngaeh kah daemango. I will have score zero.
daemahski n. A game, pool. From: j.
daemahski vi. To play pool. From: j.
daen $n$. Ton. From: e.
daehn $n$. Fish sp., All black and white snapper, vary in size and appearance.
daeng $n$. Tank used for catching water. From: e.
daehng vi. To give a lot of sap (said of a coconut tree).
daengahnga $v i, n$. To be lazy to a great degree, or the kind of person.
daengin mohng $n$. Oxygen tank. From: e. [Note: [lit. 'tank breath']]
daengihng $v i$. To have a ringing in one's ears.
daep $_{1}$ vi. To hook a fish. [Note: cf. vt "daepae"]
daep $_{2} \quad n$. A traditional ear ornament.
daehp $n$. Step in a stair. From: e.
daepahkil $v t$. To stare. [Note: [lit. 'sew under the skin']]
daepahkili vt. To stare at.
daepal $v t$. To step over, to cross. Pwisakmaen e daepahla pihlahpas. The boy crossed the river.
daehpahl $v i$. To massage. Noahnoa En daehpahlaeda Ryoko. Aunty En massaged Ryoko. [Note: cf. vt "daehpahle"]
daepahlae $v t$. To massage. [Note: cf vi. "daehpahl"]
daepang $n$. A chopping board, a piece of wood that is smooth on top used for pounding breadfruit or cutting fish.
daepae interr. How many, how much. Ae daepae? How many?
daepae $_{1} \quad v t$. To use daep as an ear ornament.
daepae $_{2}$ vt. To hook a fish. [Note: cf. vi "daep"]
daepae $_{3}$ To wear sonething (such as flower) behind one's ear or in the hair.
daepae rohs $v i$. To wear flower behind ear or in the hair. Linda en daepae rohsla.
daepaehnae interr. When and where, asking detailed date, time, place.
daepwa $a d v$. Perhaps, maybe.
daepwan $v t$. To follow in someone's tracks.
daepwae $_{1} \quad v i$. To pull, to yank (said of a fish on a line).
daepwae ${ }_{2} v t$. To wash one's own or someone else's body or body parts. [Note: high langugae, cf. vi "daepwaedaepw"]
daepwaedaepw vi. To bathe oneself. [Note: high language, cf. vt "daepwae"]
daepwaei vi, taking $v p$ object. To have done something accidentally. E daepwaeila. He did that accidentally.
daepwaek $n$. Cloud.
daepwaekin $a d j$. Cloudy.
daepwaehla vi, vt. To wash one's face. Ngaeh daepwaehla maesaei.
daer vi. To stop bearing fruits, of coconut trees. Nihpas mwoa e daeraela.
daerak $n$. A feast that occurs with a transfer of land ownership, often after a funeral.
daerak maehla $n$. Daerak ceremony (land transition) after the death of the testator.
daerak moaur $n$. Daerak ceremony (land transition) during the lifetime of testator.
daeraeu $n$. Skull.
daeri $_{1}$ vi. To be finished, to be completed.
daeri ${ }_{2}$ conj. Then.
daeri ${ }_{3}$ Only.
daeu $_{1}$ vi. To make a net. Kisah kah daeu.
[Note: cf. vi "daeuhk"]
daeu $_{2}$ vi. To climb. [Note: cf. vt "daur"]
daeu $_{3}$ vi. To inspect for defects. [Note: cf. vt "daewi", va "doau"]
daeuhk vi. To make a net.
daeuli vt. To pass a moving object (could be animate) going in the same direction.
daeulik vi. To check around. [Note: cf. vt "daeulihki", va "doulik"]
daeulihki $v t$. To check around.
daeuwek $v t$, $v i$. To be sprained, to spraine. $\mathbf{E}$ daewekela nehn. He sprained his foot
daewasi $n$. Scrubbing brush. From: j.
daewaerahn $n$. Fish sp., Goggle eye.
daewekpaesaeng $a d j$. To be sprained. E daewekpaesaeng nehn.
daewi vt. To inspect for defects. [Note: cf vi "daeu", va "doawi"]
daewi vt. To tell a story. [Note: cf vi "daeu", va "doawi"]
de $\quad v i$. To be expert in catching flying fish using a net.
dehde vi. To be clear, to be understandable, to be official, to be public. Ngaei dehdehkin loakaeia Wai. Loakaeia wai e dehde.
dedei vt. To sew. [Note: cf. vt "dae"]
dehdehkin $v t$. To know throughoutly.
dei vi. To surpass, to be ahead.
deiyahd vi. To embroider. [Note: cf. vt "deiyadi"]
deiyahdi vt. To embroider. [Note: cf. vi "deiyad"]
deikaenaepaeng $n$. Fish sp., oil fish, flat deep fish, big and glossy, eat with care.
deinahk $n$. A mat of coconut leaves. [Note: va "seinahk"]
$\operatorname{deip}_{1} \quad$ vi. To tape.
$\operatorname{deip}_{2} \quad n$. Tape, cassette recorder.
deipi vi. To tape. [Note: cf. vi "deip"]
deipin vi. To patch. [Note: cf. vt "deipini"]
deipini $v t$. To mend using needle and thread on cloth. [Note: cf. vi "deipin"]
Deirek $n$. The feast hosted by a Doahkaesa and his family. [Note: My informants do not know this word. Need more study on this.]
deiwaraewar vi. To dig a ditch.
dekeu vi. To limp. E dekedekeu nah al. E dekedekeukin nehn. He limps on the road. He walks with a limp.
dekilahr $n$. Fish sp., deep ocean fish, dark blue body, its lower jaw is a lot longer than its upper jaw.
dekilahr paena n. Fish sp., Barred halfbeak and Lutke's halfbeak, a kind of dekilahr
without a huge fin on the back and stomach.
dekilahr saeraek $n$. Fish sp., a kind of dekilahr with a huge fin on the back and stomach.
del A flock (of animal or people).
deliep $n$, -ae $v$ t. Wild guess, to make a wild guess.
den $n$. Color.
den kaki vi. To be tan (said of clothes). From: e. [Note: [lit. 'color khaki']]

Den pwel $n$. Brown. [Note: pwel=dirt]
dendemwosi $n$. Snail. From: j. [Note: no snail on Pingelap, and rare in Pohnpei]
deng $n$. Score, grade on test. From: j.
dengeu $v i$. To be the lowest tide. En dengeula uheu.
dengiwa $n$. Telephone. From: j.
dengki $n$. Flashlight. From: j.
$\operatorname{dep}_{1}$ vi. To stumble and fall. [Note: cf. vt "depi"]
$\operatorname{dep}_{2}$ vi. To pull out a nail, to hook with something, to dig out a young coconut, breadfruit, banana, clam, and so on. [Note: cf. vt "depi"]
$\operatorname{dep}_{3}$ num. Ten million.
dehp $n$. Level, story of a building, layer of soil.
depa $n$. Dipper. From: e.
depang $n$. An iron trough, that Pingelapese people use to mix cement.
depaelek $v i$. To pick breadfruit with a pole, to flick something out of the way.
depedep $n$. Fishing kit, tackle box.
depela $v i$. To be more than enough, to be in excess.
dehpeu $n$. One-story building.
$\operatorname{dep}_{1} \quad v t$. To make someone stumble and fall. [Note: cf. vi "dep"]
depi $\mathbf{i}_{2}$ vt. To pull out a nail, to dig out a young coconut, breadfruit, or banana. [Note: cf. vi "dep"]
depisilae vi. To dig or pick clams with an iron bar. [Note: va "depsilae"]
des $n$. Test. From: e.
deu $_{1} n$. Place for sitting, or just a place. $3 s$ : dewin.
deu $_{2} n$. A net for breadfruits, or bigger size bag-shaped net, or bag.
deuk vi. To fill, to put things into a container (refers to objects that themselves aren't being put into a container). [Note: cf. vi "deu"]
dew n. Place.
dewi vt. To put things into a container or sack, to serve food. [Note: cf. vi "deu"]
dewin aeni $n$. Place for sexual liaison, love
nest (for human being), usually in bushes.
dewin kus $n$. A hole on the canoe to hold the mast.
dewin nahk $n$. Wildlife sanctuary.
dewin pahsinsae $n$. Passenger's place, deck on the ship.
dewinimaen $n$. Bird cage.
dewinipuk $n$. Bookcase.
dewinmwoani $n$. Place for keeping money.
di $_{1} \quad n$. Grade, age. Irah diheu. Irah dihriau. They are in the same age. They are different one year (eg. 72 years old and 73 year old). $3 s$ : diae.
di $_{2} \quad n$. Tea. From: e.
-di verb. suff. Downward, completive.
diae $v t$. To steer with a paddle.
diaeda n. vi. Mask, to wear a mask. Orange lel sohmwahu in hart attack, pwa ae uhdahn mesikida diaedah pwi aeraemah pwi koalkoaloang.
diaen $n$. Period of time. $\mathbf{E}$ diaen maei. It is a time of breadfruits.
diaer $v t$. To find.
diaerek vi. To be found. Ngaei diaerek. I was found.
did $n$. Wall.
didi $v i$. To make a wall.
dihdi $_{1}$ vi. To suck at the nipple.
dihdi ${ }_{2} n$. Breasts. $3 s$ : dihdihn. [Note: cf. n "nuhnu"]
dihdil $v i$. To put a rope or pis under or above the other in weaving, to stick through.
didipwoapw $n$. Jew's harp.
dik $v i$. To jump up from water. Aepilkis dikidah sang nah sed.
dikek $n$. Needle.
dikereker $v i$. To be small and many, of plant.
dikeu $_{1}$ vi. To somersault, to dive, to fall down head first.
dikeu ${ }_{2} n$. A road that goes straight and then drops down suddenly, but not a cliff, the road still goes on.
dihkirehl $n$. Tea kettle. From: e.
dikisaenaeri $n$. Dictionary. From: e.
dikoi $_{\text {eu }} \quad n$. Kite.
dikoadoak $v i$. To be demanding. E dikoadoak. He is demanding.
dikoanoakoan vi. To be spoiled and sticky.
dil $v i$. To enter or exit, to penetrate, to go through.
$\operatorname{dil}_{2} n$. Coconut fronds that have fallen off the tree.
dil $_{3} n$. Torch made from coconut fronds (dry brown fronds).
dihl vi. To shuffle, to deal cards. From: e. [Note: cf. vi "dihl"]
dilda vi. To get inside. Koamwah dilda nah ihmweu.
dihli $v t$. To shuffle, to deal cards. From: e.
dilidakae mwahl $v i$. To break into someone's house and rob.
dilies $n$. Canoe line, used to open or close the sail.
dilila vi. To get out.
$\operatorname{dilim}_{1}$ vi. To get out.
$\operatorname{dilim}_{2}$ vi. To pull hair. [Note: from dilimohng]
dilimi $v t$. To make something go through.
dilimoang vi. To pull hair.
dilimwas vi. To wander around. [Note: [lit. dil (to go through, penetrate) + mwas (wordm)] ]
dilinaekaela $v i$. To be taken over the body by a spirit.
diling $v i$, -i or -la $v$. Of a spirit, to take over a human body. Isohpahu e dilingla wolaemaen.
dihmaera $v i$. To wake up early.
dimaesae $v t$. To start. John mae dimaesae aei home work eu.
dihmaesae vt. vi. To start (old language). Ih mae dihmaewsaehda skuhleu. He is the one who started the school.
dimpaer $n$. Timber. From: e.
dimpel $n$. A reel on the fishing line that controls the length of the line.
$\operatorname{dihn}_{1} \quad n$. Can. From: e.
$\operatorname{dihn}_{3} n$. Canned food.
Dihn dihn $2 n$. A song and dance with beating cans, brought from Marshall Islands.
dinak $n$. Space between kaedahl (rafters) over which thatch is placed.
dindir $n$. The holding part not to make the stabbed or hokked fish go, in a spear or a fishing hook.
$\operatorname{ding}_{1} n$. Dimple. Serepeinmaen $\mathbf{e}$ ahnikin ding. The girl has a dimple.
$\operatorname{ding}_{2}$ vi. To ring (a bell). [Note: cf. vt "dingi"]
dihng vi. To make the creaky sound by closing vocal cords, this may be heard when someone speaks too lound or laughs too much.
dingar $n$. Fish sp., small to middle size fish, fish with silver belly and yellow side and top, silver or brown line on the yellow part from the head to but, Blue-lined snapper and Yellow-lined spinecheek are called with this name.
Dingarlainsoal $n$. Fish sp., Yellow spot
emperor, middle size fish with silver body and yellow lines from the neck to waist.
dingi $v t$. To ring (a bell).
dingiding $v i$. To sprinkle (rain).
$\operatorname{dingiding}_{2} n$. Raindrop.
$\operatorname{dip}_{1}$ vi. To cut lengthwise. [Note: cf. vt "dipi"]
$\operatorname{dip}_{2}$ A piece of taro or breadfruit that has been cut lengthwise.
$\operatorname{dihp}_{1} \quad$ vi. To sin.
$\operatorname{dihp}_{2} \quad n$. Sin. $3 s$ : diape.
dipan $v i$. To be full of sin, to be sinful.
dipael $v i$, -ae vt. To be flipped, to make someone flipped.
dipael $_{1} \quad v t$. To pick breadfruit with a pole, to flick something out of the way using a stick. [Note: cf. vi "dipaelek"]
$\operatorname{dipaenaes}_{1} \quad n$. A clot of blood.
dipaenaes $_{2} \quad$ vi. To clot blood.
dipaenihd $n$. Strands of the dried husk of a young drinking coconut.
dipeduhmaei vi. To pick breadfruit.
dipi vt. To cut lengthwise. [Note: cf. vi "dip"]
dipikelekel $v i$. To drip and fall when walking or running.
dipoahk $n$. Cloud.
dipoakaenuhda $n$. The left over from coconut oil making, white, gray, color sponge like objects.
dipoap $n$. Plant sp., big tree with fruits.
$\operatorname{dipw}_{1} n$. Grass, seaweed, trash, bush land, litter.
$\operatorname{dipw}_{2}$ n. Clan.
Dipw in Sapwenpek $n$. A clan name.
dipwidipw vi. To be grassy, to be littered.
Dipwin Lap n. A clan name.
Dipwin Luhk n. A clan name.
Dipwin Maen n. A clan name.
Dipwin Pahn Maei $n$. A clan name, also called as Dipw in wai.
Dipwin Wai n. A clan name, also called as Dipw in maei.
dipwisaeu $n$. Thing. [Note: va "dipwisou"]
dipwisoau $n$. Materials.
dir $v i$. To be many, to be a lot.
diraip vi. To drive (a car). From: e. [Note: cf. vt"diraipi"]
diraipi vt. To drive (a car). [Note: cf. vi "diraip"]
diraepw vi. To worry, to be bothered.
diraehs $n$. Strands of rope, string. From: e.
direp $n$. A trip. From: e.
diroamw $n$. Drum. From: e.
diroamwaekang $n$. Drum. From: e.
Dihsaempae $n$. December.
dihspwuhn $n$. Teaspoon. From: e.
do $n$. Coconut sennit being soaked in the ocean to be used to make ropes and so on.
dohdai $n$. Lighthouse. From: j.
dohdol $v i$. To pick with the hands. [Note: cf. vt "dolung"]
dok $_{1} n$. A food pounder.
dok $_{2} n$. Back of the body.
$\mathbf{d o k}_{3} v i$, -i $v t$. To get skin-head, to give skin-head.
doko moahng $v i$, -ae $v t$. To be a shaved head, to shave the head.
dokol $n$. Lump of taro left over after grating.
dokomoang $n$. A shaved head.
dol $v i$. To be dead drunk.
dol $_{2} \quad v i$, -ae $v t$. vi To be taken off or to be fall off, vt To take something from the original place.
dolepaesaeng $v i$. To fall apart at a place where something is joined.
dolesang vi. To fall off when ripe (fruit).
dolung $v t$. To pick with the hands. [Note: cf. vi "dohdol"]
doluwis $n$. A food, bananas cooked with breadfruit in a stone oven, or bananas boiled with rice.
domae $n$. The final person who is strongest in a team.
dohming $n$. Native. From: j.
dohnas $n$. Donut. From: e.
dohnkia vi. Don't care, unconcerned. From: e.
dongorongor $n$. The soft upper part of the shell of the coconut, at a younger growth stage, before pen.
dopas $_{1}$ vi. One marble jumping over another when it is shot. [Note: japanese?]
dopas $_{2} \quad$ vi. To speed up. [Note: japanese?]
dopodop vi. To pay back, reciprocate, to revenge. [Note: cf. vt "dopuk", negative meaning]
dopuk $_{1} \quad v t$. To pay back, reciprocate, to revenge. [Note: cf. vi "dopodop", negative meaning]
dopuk $_{2} v t$. To talk back.
dohpwohsa vi. To divorce.
dor $n$. Cloth made from banana fibre.
doro $n$. Iron bar with iron wheels at each end that has a frame on top and rolls on tracks, used for moving things from one place to another. From: j. [Note: j. torokko]
doa $v i$. To be far.
doa $v t$. To soak breadfruits in mar making or coconut fiber in broom making. E`doahdi aeh maei eu. He soaked his breadfruits.
-doa suf. Towards the speaker, directional suffix.
doad vt. To tighten the rope and cut the fruit. Ae doadaela aemwih pas dae kadaridi
paeidi. He tightened the rope and cut the bunch of coconut and lowered it down.
doad $_{1}$ vi. To be closer than usual (plants).
doad $_{2}$ vi. To happen faster in sequence than is expected, the faster beating of the heart, the speeding-up of labor pains.
doahdoahsi $n$. A game, group jump rope.
$\operatorname{doak}_{1}$ vi. To stab, to poke, to inject, to shoot, to point at. [Note: Deep oa, cf vt. "doaka"]
doak $_{2} n$. Turtle shell.
doahk $v$. To grope for things in upper place by hands.
doahk $_{1}$ vi. To massage. [Note: cf. vt "doahke"]
doak in silasil $n$. Vaccination.
doaka vt. To stab, to poke, to inject, to shoot, point at. [Note: Deep oa, cf. vi "doak"]
doakadoak vi. To be prickly, spiney.
doahkae vt. To massage. [Note: cf. vi "doahk"]
doakaemaei $v i$. To poke a hole in unripe breadfruit and put salt water in the hole, so that it gets ripe faster.
doakaeoas vi. To make shingles from brown pandanus leaves, to make thatch.
doahkaesa $n$. The highest title for the island of Pingelap, nahmwariki.
doakosoal vi. To have a dark big cloud in the sky, could be sunny or could be cloudy. [Note: [turtleback+black]]
doakoadoak $n$. Peak of the land or sand.
doakoamwoamw $n$, vi. Fshing method, spear fishing, to do this kind of fishing.
doal $_{1} \quad v i$. To combine. [Note: cf. vt "doala"]
doal $_{2}$ n. Mountain. 3s: mountainin. [Note: no mountain on Pingelap, but there is a game with a sand mountain]
doala $v t$. To combine. [Note: cf. vi "doal"]
doahla $v i$. To be far ahead in a race, far away.
doahlihnahpeipei $n$. A game, make sand mountains, put treasures in those, and compete which team can reach the treasure fastest, by destroying those mountains.
doamw vi. To be bald.
$\operatorname{doang}_{1}$ vi, -ae vt. To start.
doahng $n$. Plant sp., used for lumber, this does not exist on Pingelap, but exists in Pohnpei.
doangae $v t$. To skin or peel. [Note: When it comes to fruit, only the harder kind can be the object. Green banana can be object but not yellow banana. Mangroove tree can be the object.]
doangaedoang lap $n$. Jellyfish. [Note: Mwalok youth use "lily pwudoang" for this.]
doap $n$. Tub. From: e.
doapoahk $n$. Bird sp., Soody turn, rather larger black body and a white spot on the forehead.
doapwoahk $n$. Bird sp., rather larger bird, black body, black lip, black leg.
doar $v i$. To be in critical condition. Aemaen ae doar.
doahr vi. To come in a big group, of fish. Mwoamwpwi e doahraedoa.
doarae $v t$. To catch, to save, to defend someone in court. Ngaei ahla doarae roakumw. John doaraehla Mary nah melimel. I go to catch crabs.
doaroas $n$. The triangles in the roofframe.
doau vi. To climb.
doau nahk vi. To make a net, a nahk.
doaudoau $_{1} n$. Tale, story. Limaen e doaudoaudoa rehs.
doaudoau $_{2} \quad v i$. To tell a tale or story.
doaui $v$. To tell in complete.
doauli $_{1}$ vi. To pass physically (not past-future, not dying). Ene doaulihla. He past.
doauli $_{2}$ To be more than enough.
doaulik vi. To check around. [Note: cf. vt "doauliki", va "daeulik"]
doauliki vt. To check around. [Note: cf. vi "doaulik", va "daeulik"]
doauluhl $a d v$. Really, completely.
doauluhlila vi. To go and never return.
doaupen vi. To climb a tree to get drinking coconuts. Woalaemaen saemaen Soulik pilehng rehn aen ahla doaupen. Soulik's father told him to go get drinking coconuts.
doawi $v t$, vi. To inspect for defects. [Note: cf. vi "doau"]
doawi $v t$. To tell. Ngaeh doawi doaudoaupas.
du vi. To dive. [Note: cf. vt "duhp"]
duau num. cl. Nine, general counting system.
duaemaen num. Nine, animate counting system.
duaepak $n$. Times nine.
duaepas num. cl. Nine, long object counting system.
duhd paeihs $n$. Tooth paste. From: e.
duhdehp $n$. Two story or toller building. [Note: From "two step"]
duhdu vi. To bathe.
duekid $n$. Nine thousands.
duekis num. cl. Nine, system used to count pieces.
duepwiki num. Nine hundred.
duhi $_{1}$ vt. To dive for. [Note: cf. vi "du"]
duhkin $v t$. To dive for, to dive with equipment.
dukihoang vt. To bend one's will. John dukihoang Mike.
duku $n$. Clitoris.
dul vi. To drip.
dul $n$. Drop.
duhl $_{1} n$. Tin roof, roof of corrugated iron.
duhl $_{2} \quad n$. Tool. From: e.
duhla vi. To sink, to be drown.
dumwur $n$. Constellation name for a group of stars.
dun $n_{1} n$. A group.
dun ${ }_{2} n$. A bunch of breadfruits ( 2 in a bunch). limaedun $2 \times 5=10$ breadfruits
dunae vt. To bunch. [Note: cf. vi "dun"]
dunaenae maei $n$. A bunch of breadfruits.
$\mathbf{d u h p}_{2}$ vt. To wash.
Dupakawa n. A clan name.
duhpaek vi. To be starving. Ene duhpaekla. He starved.
dupwul vi, vt. To carry on one's side or under one's arm. Pwohpwo dupwul. Pwohpwo carries something on her shoulder.
duhriaen $n$. Plant sp., fruit bearing tree, this does not exist on Pingelap, but in Pohnpei.
duweisaek num. Ninety, general counting system.

## E - e

e excl. Exclamation.
$\mathbf{e h}_{1}$ excl. Yes.
edeoang $n$. Coral sp., orange in color and secretes a poisonous substance.
edied vi. To draw water. [Note: cf. vt "edip"]
edip $v t$. To draw water. [Note: cf. vi "edied"]
edipil vi. To fetch water.
ehi excl. Hey. From: e.
ehiaek sent. adv. Yes. [Note: ehk in a casula speech]
eirua $_{1}$ vi. To slap one's hand against the inside of one's elbow, or against outside of one's ankle.
eirua $_{2} n$. The slapping of one's hand against the inside of one's elbow, or against outside of one's ankle.
eisaek num. Ten, all counting systems.
eisaek eu num. Eleven, general counting system.
ekek excl. Exclamation of surprise.
ekis $_{1} v i$. To be little.
ekis $_{2} n$. A small piece of something.
ekis ansaeu prepp. Later on.
eldaer $n$. A church title, an elder in a church.
eles $n$. Plant sp., big tree with white flowers, small non-edible fruit.
Eminalau $n$. The title for Souwel's wife.
en preverb. Realis completive.
eng $n$. Clam sp., the bigger stage of silae, edible clam.
Epreil n. April.
epwi quan. Some.
epwi quantifier. Some.
epwi ansoau $a d v$. Sometimes (not future).
epwiki num. One hundred.
epwuhna $n$. Fish sp., sixth growth stage of trevally.
ere $n$. The stick-like parts in the mwaes (connecter) between the hull and outrigger, parallel to the hull and the outrigger and
above the apid and kia, we can have as many eres as we want.
$\mathbf{e S}_{1} \quad n$. A bunch of banana.
$\mathbf{e S}_{2} \quad v i$. To hop, of stone on the surface of water. Saekai eu es pwoh sed.
eseda vi. To wake up, to get up. Lydia saewaeh eseda.
ex-serihpwi (by their voices)
esies $_{1} \quad v i$. To peel or husk with one's teeth.
esil num. Three, system for counting objects.
esir vt. To peel or husk with one's teeth. [Note: cf. vi "esies"]
eu num. One, another, general counting system.
eu aeh The other.
eu rahn $a d v$. Someday (future).
eueu quan. Each. Eueu pwihn aen wiahda warpas.
eupak num. Times one.
eusaek $a d v$. One more. kihdoa eusaek. Give me one more.
ehwa $_{1} v i$. To hop on one foot.
$\mathbf{e h w a}_{2} n$. The hopping on one foot.
ia int. Where, which, how. [Note: At the beggining of a sentence, "ia" will get lengthened and become "iah." In the situ-position, this lengthning is less likely to happen,cf. "kaen ahla ia?"]
iahd n. Yard. From: e.
iahdin likoau $n$. Yard goods, material. [Note: [lit. 'yard-of-clothes']]
iahk $_{1} \quad v i$. To be crazy.
iahk $2_{2}$ vi, ae $v t$. To strip the prickly edges off a leaf using a string of coconut fiber.
iahkipis vi. To strip the pricky edges off from the pandanus leaf.
iakiu $_{1}$ vi. To play baseball. From: j.
iakiu $_{2} n$. Baseball. From: j.
iakumehda $n$. Hundred meter race. From: j.
iamakodo vi. To be pink.
iao excl. Well, see, I told you so.
iahpwae int. How is it? what is it?
iaengae $n$. Friend. $3 s$ : iaengae. [Note: Some say that this is Pingelapese word, some older people say that this is Pohnpeian word.]
iaep $v i$. To be moldy. Naei irip eu en iaepaela. $\operatorname{iaep}_{2} n$. Mold.
ihaep $v t$. To stain. En ihaepla aeh wirohs eu. She stained her skirt.
id $\quad n$. End. Idin doaudoaupas mae mae.
ind $n$. Plant sp., the white flowers of which are made into head leis; the wood is used to make the "kia" of a canoe.
idaid $_{1}$ vi. To press.
idaid $_{2}$ vt. To transport, to carry. Ngaei daekah John e idaid kaepwah sukuhl. John and I sent things to school.
idamwaelae vt. To rub. Ngaei idamwaelae dehpluen.
idamwaelaeiek $v i$. To rub.
$\mathbf{i d a n g}_{1} v t$. To press.
idang $_{2}$ vt. To transport using a vehcle. Ngaei idang likoaukis.
idawaen $v t$. To comply. Maenlau idawaen ngaei. Please follow me.
idaek $v t$, $v i$. To ask. Ngaei idaek kaewae. Ngaei idaek rehmw.
ideid vi. To ask.
ihdenkoamw $n$. A New Year's fishing competition in two parts; (1) to find the people who catch the first three fish and (2)
to find the three people who catch the most fish.
idi $v i$. To be ended. Doaudoaupas e idiidi. Doaudoaupas e idila.
idihd $v i,-i v t$. To grate. Ngaei idihdi wis.
idikal $n, v i$. A match, to make fire, to rub two sticks together to make a fire.
ihdil vi. To torch fish, without using a canoe or boat, walk on the reef.
iding $_{1}$ vi. To command, to force. Ngaei idingkin kaewae aen ahla Hawaii.
iding $_{2} v t$. To grind, grate.
idingaeng $v t$. To force (to do).
ido $n$. Well.
ienepaed $n$. Fish sp., Bandtail goatfish, white body amd yellow/orange lines from the head to the base of the tail, the tail is stripe in black and white.
ies $v i$. To rise from the dead.
ik $\quad n$. Tail. $3 s$ : ikin.
ikare $n$. Fish sp., type of mullet.
ikaehk $v i$. To walk fast.
ihkaep $n$, vi. Mildew, to have mildew.
ikehde $n$. Fish sp., Pink Christmas Wrasse and Pink Surge Wrasse, smaller colorful fish.
ikel n. Eagle. From: e.
ikem n. Fish sp., Blacktail snapper, the older stage of oangele, silver body with yellow lines from the neck to the base of the tail, yellowish fin, and a big black spot on its side stomach.
ikem-en-asimel $n$. Fish sp., Scribbled snapper.
ikidoa $v i$. To move toward the speaker. [Note: the distance could be llong]
ikil $v i, v t,-i v t$. To move objects on the surface, to slide. Maenlau ikildoa rehi. Ngaei ikil pwohleu. Please move toward me. I move the ball.
ikmwaenaekaenaek $n$. Smoked fish.
ikoik n. Plant sp., tree that has yellow flowers, used as a part of canoe.
ikonehd $n$. Fish sp., used for bait and for eating.
ikonehd $n$. Fish sp., deepwater bream, similar to aepil but with violet color.
ikonehd $n$. Fish sp., Many of fusilier, small to mid size fishes.
ikoaik $_{1} n$, vi. A meal with only meat (raw or cooked), to eat only meat (raw or cooked).
ikoaik $_{2} \quad n$, vi. Raw meat, to eat raw meat.
ikoaikae $v t$. To eat only meat.
ihkoak $n$. The leaves used already or to be used for the covering of the stone oven.
ihkoaroas $n$. Ocean-snail.
$\mathbf{i l}_{1} \quad v i$. To lie down in a direction as others in the room do.
$\mathbf{i l}_{2} \quad$ A general term for younger stage of edible plants, shoot.
$\mathbf{i l}_{3} \quad n$. Replantable part of a plant.
ilail $_{1} v i, n$. A nest, to make a nest (said of land animal).
ilahraek ${ }_{2}$ vi. To do trolling.
ilas $v t,-i v t$. To tear by teeth.
ilas $_{3} v t$. To bite and pull. Serihkis en ilasla dihdih eu. The baby bite and pulled a breast. (the mother screamed.)
ilau $n$. Plant sp., vine with no flower, medicine for small children's skin trouble.
ihlae $v i$. To be high.
ilaek $_{1}$ vi. To go on an errand, to court a girl. [Note: cf. vt "ilaeki"]
ilaek $_{2} \quad n$. Errand.
ilaeki $v t$. To give an errand to someone, to ask a favor of. [Note: cf. vi "ilaek"]
ilik $n$. Shore facing towards the open sea, the place in Pingelap where no one lives.
Ilikin Pwenepek $n$. A place name in the reef, north of Pingelap.
ilihl $v i$. To steer a boat with a rudder or paddle.
ilihli $v t$. To steer a boat with a rudder or paddle.
iling $v i$, $v$ t. To use a pillow or cusion under your head when you lie down. Ngaei naemaen iling. Ngaei naemaen iling pillow riau. *Ngaei naemaen iling madless eu. Ngaei naemaen ilingkin madless eu. (pillow and cusion are very natural to be used in iling so it does not need to have -kin. Madless is a litle bit unusual so it needs -kin.)
ilingaenwei $n$. Seacucumber sp., big brown sea cucamber.
[Note: [iling-aen-wei=pillow-of-turtle]]
ihlok $_{1} \quad$ vi. To be rough (said of the sea).
ihlok $_{2} \quad n$. Wave of the sea.
iloangoaloang $v i,-i v t$. vi To stand on the tiptoe, vt To stand tiptoe and reach.
impiokai $n$. A competitive prize show, an exhibition, of craft work and farming products. From: j.
$\mathbf{i m w}_{1} \quad n$. End, edge. end, edge
ihmw $n$. House. $3 s$ : imwae.
ihmw pwi $n$, vi. A leaky roof, to be a leaky roof.
ihmw saeraewi $n$. Church.
imwaen kapoakoan $n$. A big meeting house.
[Note: This house was built without nails. But, this house no longer exists.]
imwaen kasdo $n$. Movie theatre.
imwaen kaudaek $n$. House of worship.
imwaen mwadoang $n$. Gym.
imwaen saeraewi $n$. Church.
imwaen war $n$. Canoe house.
imwaen wiesued $n$. Brothel.
imwaenoas $n$. Thatched roof house.
imwaenwini $n$. Hospital.
imweker $v i$. To be insulted.
imwi vi. To end, to finish. Ngaei imwikihla aei HW eu. HW eue imwila.
imwilakae $n$. End.
imwilap $n$. Large end of a canoe. [Note: "Imwilap" is always made from the bottom side of the tree]
imwin $n$. End. Irah ahla imwin pihlap eu. They went to the end of the river.
imwin par $n$. The last season among the three seasons.
imwinsihsi $n$. Enemy.
imwisek vi. To finish.
imwisik $n$. Smaller end of a canoe. [Note: "Imwisik" is always made from the top-side of the tree]
imwsaek vi. To be finished.
in conj. When, in, up to.
-in suff. Of.
inahmae $n$. Fish sp., Longspot snapper.
inapae vi. To place something (mat, sheets, dadami) under another thing.
inapaenap $n$. An old mat placed under a new mat, a Pingelapese diaper, small woven mats, lap clothes.
inahraek $v i$. To line up one hundred mature coconuts in rows of ten to be sold, husked, planted or used later.
inahraeki $v$. To line up one hundred mature coconuts in rows of ten to be sold or husked, planted or used later.
inahsio $n$. Plant.sp., a type of banana seen in Pohnpei but not on Pingelap.
inaur vi. To make a fancy fastenings of rope to join two pieces of wood, the kind seen in "mwaes". [Note: va "inaeu"]
inauri $v$. To make a fancy fastenings of rope to join two pieces of wood, the kind seen in "mwaes". [Note: va "inaeuwi"]
inaurihek vi. to make a fancy fastenings of rope to join two pieces of wood, the kind seen in "mwaes". [Note: va "inaewihek"]
inae $n$. His mother. 3s: inae. [Note: ihn is mother, inae is 3rdsg posseson mother]
-inaeh nominal suf??? As, like. [Note: need more study]
inaekae $v t$. To be straight, upright, to do everything right. [Note: cf. vi "inaek"]
inaekae vt. To look for. [Note: high language]
inaen $v i$, -ae $v t$. To be straight, to go straight or directly, vt to stretch/proceed to something and reach.
inaenae $v i$. To be across. Imwaen Pahpa Oak e inaenae dispensary.
inaenin $a d v$. Very, really.
inaeng $v i$, $-i v t$. To desire [con: sexual desire].
inaengi $v$. To want. Ngei inaengi wis eu.
inaengiaeng vi. To be willing.
inaengin vi (to be followed by a vp). To intend, intention. Ngaei inaengin ahla Hawaii.
inaengin $v i$. To be excited, anxious.
inaepw vi. To be unlawful, restricted, forbidden.
inaepwi vt. To forbid.
inaepwiehkidi $v t$. To prohibit. $\mathbf{E}$ inaepwiekihdi kidihmaen pwoh Pingelap. (kidihmaen is the subject)
inaehsaehwoad $n$. Fish sp., Violet squirrel fish.
indand $v i$. To be famous.
inedehko $n$. The ghost of a woman who died in childbirth.
$\operatorname{ini}_{1} \quad n$. A yoke or pole used for carrying equally weighted burdens.
ini maehsaeng phrase. In the morning.
iniani $n$. A yoke or pole to be used to carry equally weighted burdens.
iniani $_{2} \quad v i, \quad v t$. To carry equally weighted burdens with a yoke or pole.
iniae $v$. To carry equally weighted burdens with a yoke or pole.
inihlois $n$. Loincloth that used to be worn a long time ago.
inim $v t$. To cook.
inihn vi. To cook.
inipwel $n$. Taro patch.
iniwaei $a d v$. To someone or something. Pakohpwi e koaulaeng iniwaei. The sharks sang for someone. *Pakohpwi e koaulaeng iniwaei lihmaen.
inoahk $n$. A pole with a knife at the end, used to cut things on a tree.
inoaroahr preposition phrase. By the shore. 3 s : inoaroahrin.
inoau vi. Promise. Irah inoaukihpaenae ahla Kolonia laekapw. Ngaei inoauwei raehmw. They promised each other to go Kolonia tomorrow. I promised to you.
inoaui vt. To tie up. Irah inoauihdi suhkaehpas.. They tied the tree.
inoauin apid $n$. The connection between apid and pwoais.
inoauin daroawa $n$. The connection between
daroawa and pwoais and apids.
inoauin mwaes $n$. Connection in the mwaes.
ins $\quad n$. Inch. From: e.
insan vi. To desire.
insaen $n$. Will, choice.
insaenae $n$. His choice.
insaenmwahu $v i$. To be happy or comfortable, to feel good.
insaensued $v i$. To be sad, unhappy, or uncomfortable, to not feel good.
insaes $n$. Hinges. From: e.
insino vi. To worry, to take care. E insinohkin kaewae. He worried about you.
insis $n$. Inch. From: e.
ing $\quad n$. Fish fin on the back and on the stomack side.
ingihng vi. To sway or roll from side to side because of some outside force. Micro Gloly en ingihngla.
ingking $n$. Plant sp., big tree with pale pink flower and non-edible fruit, used for a canoe part (apid).
iohi dong expression. The expression used to sing the timing of start in a race. [Note: This cannot be used in a sentence. doang to start but iohi dong is dong]
iohioh $n$. Yoyo, a toy.
iohla interjection. Exclamation when carrying a heavy thing.
ioak $v i$. To be many.
ioar $v i, v t$. To stir, to mix.
ioau $v i$. To be delicious.
ihpal $n$. Screen-like cover on young coconut leaves when they come out, a cloth or sack made from this cover.
ihpal ${ }_{2} n$. Brown gaze looking skin of coconut tree. [Note: this can be used as a screener]
ipae $n$. Side.
ipaen prep. Beside.
ipaenaeh prep. Near. E mwohdi ipaenaeh pwisakmaen. She sit down near the boy.
ihpwa $n$. Hermit crab. [Note: Mwalok youth use -maen for this.]
ipweu $n$. Handle of ax, nife, or fan.
ipwidi $v i$. To be born, to deliver.
ipwihpw $v i$. To be half caste of. Linda e iwpihpw Sepahn. [Note: ipwi-ipw]
ipwoang $v i$, $-i v t$, kin $v t$. To pursuade.
ihr $v i, n$, -aeh $v t$. To be strung, a string for stringing, vt to string.
ira pro. They two.
irair $_{1} \quad n$. Situation.
irair $_{2} n$. Border.
irairdi $v i$. To be restricted, to be forbidden. En
irairdi kidi sang Pingelap. (Kidi is the subject of the sentence.) Dogs are resticted from Pingelap.
irahsi pro. They, more than two.
irae $v t$. To line up, to tie up. Noahnoa iraehda dohnaspwi.
iraehdi $v t$. To restrict, to forbid. Irah iraehdi maehkoas. They restricted things.
iraek $_{1} v i,-i v t$. To line up, to make things (people) line up.
iraek $_{2} n$. A line-up. $3 s$ : iraekin.
ihri $v t$. To wipe.
ihrihng $n$. Earring. From: e.
irip $n, v t$. Fan, to fan.
irihpwoa $n$. A celebration, including food distribution, which occurs when the paramount chief recovers from an illness or serious injury.
$\operatorname{irir}_{2}$ vi. Of many birds, to fly.
irihr $_{\text {eu }} n$. A local grater to grate food.
irihr mwaeiang $n$. Grated taro mixed with bananas and sweetened.
irihrpwo $n$. A feast that occurs if something bad happens to the nanmwarki.
irisi $v t$. To grate. Irah irisdi mwaeiang eu.
iroir vi. To look out. John ae iroir sep.
iroap $n$. Woven pandanas mat, made of non-stripped whole leaf.
Ihs interr. Who in a question sentence.
isah int. Who, high word.
ihsa $n$. Blood.
isais $v i$. To be rewarded with food for service.
isaisi $v t$. To reward with food for service.
isan $v i$. To behave. Pwohpwo e isanikin mwahu daim eu.
isanikin $v t$. To use an opportunity, to take advantage of. Ngaei isanikin pwa sip kamnaehpwur eb lel.
isar vi. To be enough.
isae $n$. A reward of food when letting someone borrow something, i.e. tools, nets, bait, canoe.
isaek $n$. The old shell of a husked drinking coconut with the meat dried out of it.
isaeu $n$. Plant sp., Zamanu, very big tree with white flower, strong wood for building house.
isik $v t$. To shake.
isikek $v i$. To shake.
isikis num. Seven, counting system for small pieces.
isimaen num. Seven, animate counting system.
isimoame $n$. A game involving boucing a ball, usually played by girls. From: j.
isimwas $_{1} n$. Dedication for a new house.
isimwas $_{2}$ vi. To have a dedication for a new house.
ihsino vi. To care about, to be concerned. Kedae isinohkin. Never mind.
isinohkin $v t$. To care about.
ihsing $_{1} \quad n$. Writing, marks of pens or pencil.
ihsing $_{2} \quad$ vi. To write. [Note: cf. vt "ihsingi"]
ihsing in paenaeinaei $n$. Census.
ihsingi $v t$. To write.
ihsingihdi $v t$. To write it down. Ngaei ihsingihdi aedaemw. I wrote down your name.
isipak num. Times seven.
isipae vi. To shake hands. Irahsi isipae. They shake hands.
isipwiki nит. Seven hundred.
isihsaek num. Seventy.
isihsi vi. To be shaken.
isohping $n$. Big soy sauce bottle. From: j.
Isoahpahu $n$. Four royal gods in a royal male body.
isoahpwi $n$. Royal people.
ihsoahr n. Egg. [Note: Deep oa]
ihsoahrahn $n$. Early morning.
isu $_{1}$ num. Seven, general counting system.
isup $v t$. To dunk a person when he has done something for the first time or visited other islands, to dunk someone while fighting.
isupaek vi. To dunk a person when he has done something for the first time or visited other islands, to dunk someone while fighting.
iwi vi. To be tasty (used to describe meat). Mwalaekaemaen e iwi.
kah $p v$. Will.
kaaesaehkin vt. To inform. Ngaei kaaesaehkin kaewae mihding eu.
kadaek $v i$. To be kind or friendly.
kadaeng vt. To pull it tight. Maenlau kadaeng saelaepas.
kadehde vt. To look closely at, to examine, to testify, to witness, to have something clarified, to make official.
kadek $v i$. To be kind, to be friendly, the most highly prized personality quality in Pingelap.
kahden n. Curtain. From: e.
kadidi vt. To roof.
Kahdilik $n$. Catholic.
kading $_{1}$ vi, -i $v$. To cut open, for the purpose of taking pit the contents, such as the content of a can or guts of a fish.
kading $_{2}$ vi, -i vt. To take the animal's guts out. Ngaei kading. Kae kadingila oamw paraes.
kading $_{3}$ vi, -i $v$. To open at the top, of a drinking coconut (this usage is only by younger people).
kadingaek $v i$. To be opened at the top, of a drinking coconut (this usage is only by younger people).
kadip vi, -ae vt. To accuse.
kadipikelekel $v t$. To cause to fall, to tempt.
kadiri $v$. To fill to the top. [Note: cf. vi
"kadirihek"]
kadirihek vi. To fill to the top. [Note: cf. vt "kadiri"]
kadoak $n$. Top.
kaduhdul vi, vi. To sprinkle water. Kaedae kaduhdul. [Note: duhdul???]
kadul $v i$, $-i$ v. To sprinkle water. [Note: duhdul???]
kaidad $n$. Shell variety, heart shell.
kaies $v i$, $v$. To do the watch kept for the rising from the dead on the third day.
kahil $n$. A fish which is featured in an origin myth of Pingelap, but not a real fish.
kailong vi. To hate very much.
kaimes $n$. Clam sp., small and non-edible.
kain $n$. Kind, type.
kainaen $n$, vi. Toilet.
kainaenae $v$. To move things to a direction.
kainaenaed prep. In front of (but with some distant).
kaingae $n$. Plant sp., a tree that grows on the shore line, known to be very strong, used for daroawa in a canoe.
kahioak vi. To be able to take care of one's self, to be talented.
kaipwek vi. To deliver.
kaipwi vt. To deliver, make a birth, help delivery.
kair n. Communication.
kairaekae $v t$. To place in successive order.
kairehkin $v t$. To notify.
kairin $v t$. To notice.
kairu n. Frog. From: j. [Note: no frog on Pingelap]
kaisaeisoal vi. To abstain.
kaiseisoal vi. To fast, to abstain from something. Pwisakmaen e kaiseisoal. The boy stopped eating.
kak preverb, cannot be followed by $a v p$. To be able, can. Ngaei kak.
kahk $n$. The distance of a step.
kahkahlapaelap vi, -i vt. To do it faster, slang.
Kahkahlia One of the sections on Pingelap, section two. [Note: The theme color of this group is white]
kahkahsikisik vi, -i vt. To do it slower, slang.
kakaei $v t$. To darken.
kakaehl vt. To strengthen. [Note: cf. vi "kakaehleiek"]
kakaehliek vi. To strengthen (said of inanimate things). [Note: cf. vt "kakaehl"]
kakaen preverb, followed by a $v$. To be able, can.
kakid vi, kakidi vt. To litter. Kaedae kakid. Do not litter.
kakili $v t$. To stare at.
kakihr $v i, n$. Deep-water fishing, or do this kind of fishing.
kakon $n$. Box.
kakudukeidi $v$. To break into small pieces with the hands, such as breadfruit.
kakun vi, kakuni $v$. To extinguish a fire, to turn off things with on/off switch. Maenlau kakunihla aei eu. Please put the fire out.
kala vi. To overly show off. Mary, kaedae kala.
kahlae $v t$. To save own food or denki or battery. Linda kahlaehdi cake pwi oh mwuhr. Linda saved the cakes for later.
kahlaek $_{1}$ vi. To dance.
kahlaek $_{2}$ vi. To torch fish for flying fish, using a bigger size canoe. fishing
kalaekaepaen $n$. Things that requires one's caution.
kalaengaelaeng vt. To squint.
kalaepaen Coconut fruit that is old enought to drink, on a stage before aering (this word is younger people's new creation).
kalaepaenae vi. To be ideal, to be appropriate.
kalaeu $n$. Any root of a plant. 3 s : kalaeua.
kahleiek $v i$. To save one's own and use others. Kaedae kahleiek. Linda mae kaeiaeu aesae kahleiek. Do not use other person's stuff. Linda is the number one in terms of saving her own stuff and using other's.
kahlenaewoa $n$. Fish sp., Leopard hind, small reef fish, light brown body and black and white dot.
kali $n$. Fish sp., Peacock grouper.
kalidoar vi. To bother, to irritate. Kaedae kalidoar. Do not irritate others.
kalidoarae vt. To irritate, to bother.
kalimesik vi. To be strange, to be scary.
kalingi $v t$. To make beautiful.
kalingi $_{2}$ vt. To make it appear, to see? Kisahsi kalingi Pohnpei. E kalingi Pohnpei (E sounds like a ship or something).
kalipwuhs $n$. Jail.
kalipwuhsi vt. To imprison. From: e.
kalokoloki vt. To punish.
kaloal mwahu n, -i vt. Magic used to make people think positive about someone. Woal madoahmaen e kaloal mwahui pwisakaemaen. The old man used the magic to make the boy like him.
kalsoh vi? preverb?, to be followed by a vp. To make it sure, to make it realized, strongthen the asking sentence. Kaen kalsoh ahdoa. (stronger than Kaen kah ahdoa.) *Kaen kah kalsoh ahdoa. John aen kahsoh ahdoa. (prediction of the speaker) John will be coming.
kahlua $v$ t. To guide, to escort. Lihmaen e kahlua naeh serihmaen.
kaludu $n$. Bad treatment.
kaludu n, kaluduhi vt. slavery, to make someone a slave. Soaunpeipwi e kaluduhi aeraemaspwi. ngaei kaludu. The soldiers make peope slaves. I am a slave.
kahmahm $v i$, $-i \quad$ vt. To deny. Kaedae kahmahm. Do not deny.
kamaedaendaen $v t$. To carve.
kamaehlaelae vt. To believe.
kamaengaei $v$ v. To make something easy.
kamesik $_{1}$ vi. To be strange, to be scary.
$\mathbf{k a m e s i k}_{2} n$. Fish sp., fresh water eel.
kampio $v i$, -in $v t$. To care for an invalid in the hospital.
kamwaeidihdi vi. To be prohibited from getting breast feeding.
kamwaekaer vi. To make someone angry. [Note: cf. vt "kamwaekaerae"]
kamwaekaerae vt. To make someone angry. [Note: cf. vi "kamwaekaer"]
kamwaemwae vt. To act.
kamwaerae vt. To demolish. Irah kamwaeraehdi ihmw eu. They destroyed the house.
kamwopwi $v t$. To suffocate.
kanaekan $v i$. To be clean, to be neat.
kanaemaenaemae $v i,-i \quad v t$. To pamper children, to spoil children.
kanaengae $n$. Contents, subject matter (not as polite as audaepae). E soah kanaengae. [Note: cf. "audaepae"]
kanaengaema $v i$. To be patient. Irah kanaekanaengaemahiaeng mwaekaer eu. They patiently waited for the argument to finish.
kanaengaen uhmw $n$. Food materials (uncooked), usually Taro, provided by the outer circle of the relatives in derak, this food will be divided among the derak participants. [Note: [content of stone-oven], see siwih perian]
kanaewoal vi. Of woman, to treat all men extraordinary very well always.
kanda $v i$, $-h i$ vt. vi To have short hair, of woman, vt To cut some woman's hair short.
kandaeu $_{1} \quad n$. Ladder.
kandaeu ${ }_{2} \quad n$. Stairs.
kandaeu $\mathbf{u}_{3}$ To control the growth of a branch or vine of a plant, by providing a stick that the vine of branch can twist around.
kaneki $v t$. To finish.
kanili $v i$. Of man, to treat any woman extraordinary well always.
kahnihmw $n$. Village, city, town, the place where people live in contrast to places where they don't live. [Note: [lt. kahn (group) + ihmw (house)] ]
kanoang $n$. Round object. [Note: according to Pahpa Rayner]
kanoang $n$. Seeds from sopwuk or sesen, often used as a blow-gun bullet.
kanoangaenaemas $n$. Eyes. [Note: high language, [kanoangaenae-mas]]
kansohpa $n$. Place to dry coconut fiber.
kang $v t$. To eat. [Note: cf. vi "mwaengae"]
$\mathbf{k a n g}_{2} \quad n$. Japanese scale. From: j.
kangae lau $v i$. To french kiss, literally, 'to eat the tongue'.
kangko vi, vt. To dribble (basketball).
kangoang $v i$. To pursuade.
kangoangoahkin $v$. To talk someone to let him do something.
$\mathbf{k a p}_{2}$ n. Bundle.
kahp vi. To curve, of a road or path. From: e.
kapakal $v t$. To grind of food.
kapahraek vi. To compare, to search.
kapae $_{1} \quad v t$. To pile or bundle together (more than one thing).
kapaehd Stomach. $3 s$ : n.
kapaehd maedaek n. Stomach ache.
kapaekap vi. To pray.
kapaehmae vt. To wake someone up.
kapaeraen $v i$. To be interesting.
kapei $v t$. To drift away. Ihlok eu e kapeihla opwoh eu.
kapih war ${ }_{1} n$. Paddler who sits in the stern of a canoe.
kapih war ${ }_{2}$ vi, -i vt. To paddle in the stern of a canoe.
kapilepil $_{1} \quad n$. Plan.
kapilepil $_{2}$ vi. To make plans.
kapili vt. To melt. Ngaei kapili kirihseu.
kapin n. South, bottom, end. [Note: va. "kaepin"]
kahpin $n$. Cabin, in the ship.
kapin pae n. Elbow. [Note: [lit. 'bottom of arm']]
kapin paehn ${ }_{1}$ The distance between one side of the elbow to the tip of the other side finger when you open your arms.
kapin paehn 2 Elbow.
kapinh wari $v t$. To paddle from the stern of a canoe.
kahpinda $n$. Carpenter. From: e.
kapined $n$. Cabinet.
kaping $n$. Grateful feeling. Ngaehi ahnikin kaping. I am grateful.
kapingi $v t$. To tangle or twist in messy way.
kapingko vi, -i vt. To elbow one's way through. John e kapingko suhkaehpwi.
kapirda $v t$. To increase the volume from TV, radio, music player, of water, or of fire.
kapirdi $v t$. To decrease the volume from TV, radio, music player, of water, or of fire.
kapis $v t$. To make fun of, to tease. Pwisakmaen e kapis ngaehi. The boy teased me. [Note: va. "kapis"]
kahpis n. Garbage. From: e.
kapoa $n$. Fish sp., double-lined mackerel.
kapoaekoan in pwaekil $n$. Section meeting, section work.
kapoakoan ${ }_{1} n$. Gathering, group.
kapoakoan 2 vi. To gather together.
kapw vi. To be new.
kahpwa $\mathbf{a}_{1}$ helping verb. Future marker used with stative verb only. Aen kahpwa mwaula. It will get better.
kahpwa 2 preverb, to be followed by a stative verb. Already. John en kahpwa maeir. John kahkahpwa maeir. (past) John en kahpwa lalaekaeng. *John aen kah kahpwa maeir. [Note: Some older people disagree with this definition]
kahpwal $n$. Problem, difficult situation. Kaedae kiaeng kahpwalin aeraemas. Do not give problems to people.
kapwae $v t$. To move or take, to pull.
kapwaeinaeh $a d v$. Just now.
kapwaelae $v$. To complete.
kapwaeng vi, -ae vt. To make people sick of, tired. Aeh kaepahraek eu e kapwaeng. His speech is tiring.
kapweipwei $v i$, $v$. To confuse, to trick.
kapwidipwid $n$. The projection around the canoe hull.
kapwil $v i$, -i $v$. To cut or beat a fish in fishing, to let it quiet down. Ngaei kapwili nah indil.
kapwioakae $v t$. To splash.
kapwisas $v i,-a e v t$. To try to get on someone's nerves. Serepeinmaen e kapwisasae pwisakmaen.
kapwosi vt. To cause someone not to do something. Ngaei kapwosihdi aeh John kaeskaesairoang.
kapwoapwoaud $v i$, $i v t, n$. To marry, to make people marry. Kisah kapwoahpwoaud. Irah kapwoapwoaudla. Ngaei (paster) kapwoapwoaudihla koamwa.
kahpwul vi, -i vt. To light up with a torch, commonly in Kahlaek fishing.
kapwung $_{1}$ vi, -i vt (make it correct). To judge. Irah kapwung nah koahrd. They judge in the court.
kapwungi vt. To correct. Irah kapwungihla naeirah pihpahpwi. They corrected their papers.
kapwurae vt. To return or give something back to a person. Ke kakaen maenlau kapwuraehiaeng? Could you please repeat that?
kapwuraehng vt. To repeat. E kapwuraehng aeh loakaeia. He repeated his words.
kapwuriamwei vi. To be surprising, to be interesting.
kapwururi vt. To rush people.
$\mathbf{k a r}_{\mathrm{vi}}$ To pull or cut grass.
karae $v t$. To pull it off (grass or weed).
kahrae vt. To tease. Kedae kahrae serepeinmaen. Do not tease the girl.
kahrae vi. To be the cause or reason.
karaekar $v i$. To be hot.
karaemoa vi. To pull off grasses.
karaemwahu vi. To be beautiful or handsome. [Note: [lt. karae(face) + mwahu (good)], va "kahraemwahu", polite or not?]
kahraepae $n$. The cause.
kahraepae $v$. Reason.
karaer $_{1} n$. Lime.
$\operatorname{karaer}_{2} v i$. To be sour.
karaer $_{3} v i$. To be spoiled and sour, of food.
kardeda $v t$. To cut down vines or grass.
kahriaer vi. To tease. Kaedae kahriaer. Do not tease.
karik $v i$, $-i$ vt. Fish poisoning. Serihkis $\mathbf{e}$ karikla. Ngaei karikila Maengaer. Children got fish posoning. I am sick from poisoning of a flying fish.
kariko $n$. Skin disease causing many black spots on the skin.
karipwud vi, -ae vt. To scratch. kedae karipwud. Ngaei karipwudae nehi. Do not scratch. I scratch my leg.
karihrir vi. To go into the shade to avoid sunlight.
karoangae $v t$. To get attention from.
karuk $n$. Envelope. [Note: [lt. ka (cause) + ruk (hide)]
karukae vt. To hide. [Note: cf. vt karuki, vi ruk]
karuki vt. To hide.
kas n. Cat. From: e. [Note: There are cats on Pingelap atoll, although dogs were all eradicated there.]
kahs vi, kahs $n$ couple. To be a lover, to be friends between opposite sex. Serepeinmaen mwoa daekah pwisakmaen mwoah mae kahs.
kahs $n$. Gasoline.
kasapwasapw en paenaeinaei $n$. A gift of land from sister's husband to wife's brother.
kasae $v$. To throw. Adino e kasae opwoheu reh Edih. Adino threw the ball to Edih.
kasae $_{2} v t$. To cut the tree into canoe shape.
kasaekas $v i$. To fish from the shore using a line, not a pole. John e kasaekas.
kahsael $_{1}$ vi. To jump to the tree using a rope, like a Tarzan.
kahsael $_{2}$ vi. To jump off from the branch holding the branch, so that the person will not fall down.
kahsael $_{3}$ vi. To release the hand from the branch when he is hanging below the branch, so that he will jump down to ground.
Kasaelael $_{1}$ greeting. Greeting, hello, good bye.
kasaelael $_{2}$ vi. To be beautiful, to be nice.
kasaepae vi. To count, to make a difference, to be usefull.
kasaepae $v i$. To be important. Serihmaen e uhdahn kasaepae. The child is very important.
kasaeraewi n. Ceremony.
kasdo $n$. Movie. From: j.
kasepae vi. To be useful.
kases $n$. Ripe breadfruit wrapped in leaves and prepared in an stone oven.
$\mathbf{k a s i a}_{1} n$. Pole for steering.
$\mathbf{k a s i a}_{2} v i$, $-i$ v. To steer with a pole. Ngaeh kasiai warpas.
$\mathbf{k a s i k}_{1}$ vi, -i $v$. To expect.
kahsik neg. Not yet, has not yet, as one-word answer.
kahsikae neg. Has not, not yet, to be used in a sentence. [Note: va. kahsikaeh, kahskaeh]
kasikdoa vt. To expect major Christian occasions.
kasin n. Cousin.
kaskuhl vi. To learn. Ngaei naemaen kaskuhlkin mahd. I want to study mathmatics.
kasoang vi. To practice. Irah kasoang in pahsked. They practice basketball.
kasoahr $v t$. To revoke. Irah kasoahrla aerah pikinik eu. They canceled their picnic plan.
kasoahroahr $_{1} \quad n$. Favoritism.
kasoahroahr $_{2}$ vi, -ae vt. To devide. Ngaei kasoahroahrae serihpwi.
kasoahsoa $n$, vi. Fishing method, to trawl in the late evening, or to do this kind of fishing.
kahsoausoau $n$. Grave yard.
kasuroang $n$. Ritual dedication to the wife's parents with foods, taken at the first Chiristmas after the wedding.
$\mathbf{k a u}_{1}$ v. To make something stand up. [Note: [ka+u(stand up)]]
$\mathbf{k a u}_{2}$ vi. To flee, to escape. [Note: va "kaw"]
kahu $n$. Belt.
kaudapae vi. To raise hand.
kaudaek vi, -oang vt. To worship.
kaun vi, vt. To be in charge. Ihmae kaun. Ihmae kaun sukuhl. He is in charge of. He is in charge of the school.
kaun en sukuhl $n$. Principle.
kaunop vi, vt, -i vt. To prepare. Koamwah kaunopda. Are you guys ready?
kauruhr vi. To laugh.
kauwae vt. To destroy, to disrupt, to be disrupted. Serihmaen e kauwaehla uhmw eu. Pwisakpwi e kawaehda mihding eu. The child destroyed the stone oven. The boys dirupted the meeting.
kawaileli $v i$. To set a target and work hard for that.
kawaeil $v i$. To pull something up onto a place.
kawaehpaenae $v t$. To destroy totally.
kawaehwae $v i$, $n$. To explain, explaination. Ngaei kawaehwaehaeng mahd reh lihmaen. Aeh kawaehwaeh eu e aepwal. I explained math to the woman. His explanation was difficult.
kaweid $v i$, - $i v t, n$. To give advice, advice. Irah kaweidi pwisakpwi. Irah kaweid. Aeh kaweid eu e saewas. They advised to the boys. They advised. His advice was helpful.
kawiki vt. To disguise. Pwisakpwi e kawikihla mwoamwaera. The boys disguised their faces.
kawisaekae $v i$, $v t$. To sprinkle.
kawisaekaesaek vi. To sprinkle, to spray. [Note: cf. vt "kawisaekaesaekae"]
kawisaekaesaekae vt. To sprinkle, to spray. Ngaeh kawisaekaesaekae suhkaepas. [Note: cf. vi "kawisaekaesaek"]
kawla $_{2}$ vi. To swear. E kawla pwa aen uhdahn maehlael. He swore that he would be really honest.
kawsaekaesaek $n$. Bush sp., short to middle size bush, often used to decorate church stages or to sprinkle water.
$\mathbf{k a e}_{1}$ preverb. Just, timing.
$\mathbf{k a e}_{2}$ prom. You.
kaeh vi. Just. [Note: va of kaein]
kaeh mwaekaer vi. To be short tempered. [Note: kaeh might be from kaein, but for this, we cannot use kaein. fossilized to kaeh.]
kaeakae $_{1} n$. Bird sp., small white bird with a dark purple beak, the skin after its feather taken off is black, so people say that this bird is like Satan.
kaedaidi $v$. To tighten.
kaedahk vi. To make people or things line up. [Note: cf. vt "kaedahkae"]
kaedahkae vt. To make people or things line up. [Note: cf. vi "daedahk"]
kaehdal $n$. The (many) poles on a roof to put "oas" on, that are vertical to roof center.
kaehdanikin $v t$. To name. Ngaei kaehdanikin naei serihmaen pwah Linda.
kaedap $v$ t. To hang. Ngaei naemaen kaedap likoau eu.
kaedar vt. To send, to release. Ngaeh kah kaedar kisih likoau eu sang Hawaii. Irah kaedaraela amwise pwi.
kaedarek vi. To send. [Note: cf. vt "kaedar"]
kaedaur vi. To spread. Meh wai ahdoae dae kaedauraeng sohmwahu in wai pwoh Pingelap.
kaedae $_{2}$ neg. You don't.
kaedaekaed $_{1}$ vi. To thatch.
kaedaekaed $_{2} n$. Thatching.
kaedaekaed $_{3} n$. Bird sp., another kind of sandpiper, small Booby.
kaedaeoas vi. To thatch a local roof. [Note: cf. vt "kaedaeoasi"]
kaedaeoasi vt. To thatch a local roof. [Note: cf. vi "kaedaeoas"]
kaedaera n. Men's house.
kaedaera $n$. Men's house. [Note: There used to be two men's house on Pingelap. But they no longer exist.]
kaediraepw $a d j$, vt. To be busy, to bother. Se kaediraepw rahn eu. Kaedae kaediraepw lihmaen. We are busy today. Do not bother the woman.
kaedoaudoak $n$. Descendant.
kaeduhl $v t$. To place a tin roof. Kisah kaeduhlihdi ihmw We put tin roof on the house.
$\mathbf{k a e i}_{1} v t$. To bite.
$\mathbf{k a e i}_{2}$ vi. To move a short distance (said of people). [Note: va. "kei"]
kaei kikinpae $v i$. To cut one's nails.
kaeia exclamation. Come. [Note: This word cannot be used in a sentence. Use as a one-word expression for ordering.]
kaeiar $n$. Bird sp., the nickname of these birds are kahren kaesaeu, two kind of this 1 . bigger, white body and gray back, some black on the tip of the wing, , 2, smaller, all white, black stripe on forehead.
kaeieu $n$. The best.
kaeikaei in amwise ${ }_{\text {eu }} n$. Mosuqite bite.
kaeilae $_{1} \quad n$. Edge.
kaeilae $_{2} \quad a d v$. Near.
kaeilaen $n$. Side of, edge of.
kaeiloa $v i$, -i $v$. To peel the skin of a bread fruit tree.
kaeimwin $n$. Corner.
kaein preverb. Just.
kaeinaek $n$. A descent unit based on a core of partrilineally linked males but with a periphery of in-marrying females and adoptees of both sexes. Traces to a know apical ancestor.
kaeiniap n. Papaya.
kaeingihng $_{1}$ vi, - $i$ vt. To sway one's own body to the side to make space for someone at the other side.
kaeipwaeni expression. Excuse me.
kaeir vi. To grow up.
kaeisael $n$. Stem of the coconut bundle.
kaehk $v$. To be overtired, of muscle.
kaekapwae vt. To remodel, to make new. Irah kaekapwaehda imwaera. They renewed their house.
kaehkae $n$. Slope in the shore.
kaekael vi. To have an erection.
kael $n$. Fence.
kaehl $l_{1}$ vi. To be strong.
kaela $v i, n$. To show off, a person who shows off, who try to get attention to one's possibly attractive aspect. Kaedae kaela.
$\mathbf{k a e l a}_{2} n$. Collar.
kaela $_{3}$ To be proud. Ngaei kaelahkin kwaewae.
kaelahgaen $n$. Kindness, generousity.
kaelai $n$. Plant sp., sugar-cane variety.
kaelahmwaengae vi. Glutton.
kaelahngaen $v i$. To give thanks.
kaelahngaeni $v t$. To thank.
kaelap $a d v$. Often.
kaelahp n. Ocean turtle sp., smaller and weaker shell.
kaelapae vt. To magnify. Ngaei kaelapae roangaepas. I magnified the rumor.
kaelapuk vi. To be alone.
kaelahs $_{1} n$. Smoke, not tabacco. 3s: kaelahsin.
kaelaekahpw n. Banana flower. [Note: we make a soup from this]
kaelaekael $n$. A young coconut leaf on the top of the grown up tree. [Note: not the leaf from the coconut on the ground]
kaelaelaewak vi. To be hard (not soft).
kaelaeu $n$. Plant sp., hibiscuss, a tree similar to paenae, used as a canoe part.
kaeleseu $n$. Plant sp., a shrub about 5 m that has many red flowers.
kaemadipw $_{1} \quad n$. Feast.
$\mathbf{k a e m a d i p w}_{2} \quad$ vi. To feast, to celebrate.
kaemadipw saeraewi $n$. Service where people receive wine and bread.
kaemadipwi $v t$. To feast, to celebrate.
kaemahk $v i$. To stay under the eaves of a house to avoid a shower (sudden rain).
kaemanae vt. To approve.
kaemanidae $v t$. To tame. Ngaei kaemanidae pwihkimaen.
kaemaeik n. Fish sp., Bumphead parrotfish, gray body fish, glow big.
kaemaekaemaela vi. To be killed. Pwihkimaen en kaemaekaemaela. The pig was killed. $3 s$ : killed.
kaemaehla vt. To kill.
kaemaelis $_{1} n$. Food that is pounded and coated with coconut.
kaemaelis $_{2} \quad v i,-i v t$. To be prepared with grated coconut, To prepare food with grated
coconut. Rais e kaemaelisda. Ngaei kaemaelis. Ngaei kaemaelisi rais.
kaemaehsaeng $v t$. To be an early person. Irah kaemaehsaengla mihding. They came the meeting early.
kaemwakael vi. To clean. Nessa en kaemwakaella nah ihmw.
kaemwahl vi. To disdain, to disregard, to look down on. [Note: cf. vt "kaemwahli"]
kaemwahli $v t$. To disdain, to disregard, to look down on.
kaemwan vi. To joke, to make jokes.
kaemwani $v$ t. To joke, to make jokes. John e kaemwani Mike. John joked about Mike.
kaen $_{2} n$. Of, used in the subject-verb inversion in a noun phrase. E roang sipwidi kaen suhkaehpas. He heard that breaking down of the three. [Note: $\mathrm{np}[\mathrm{V}$ kaen N ]]
kaehn $v t$. To feel.
kaena $v i$. To win. John mae kaenahla nah siai in keseu. John is the one who won in the running competition.
kaenaeh lihmahdoa $n$. Fish sp., Bluegill longfin (Pingelapese people do not eat those, although Kosraean eat those.). [Note: [food-of-woman-aged]]
kaenaei $v i$. To take care. Kaenaeiaeng kaewae. Take care.
kaenaeiaeng $v t$. To be careful to protect.
kaenaeisik $v i,-i \quad v t$. To deliver a baby. Lihmaen en kaenaeisikihla naeh pwohpwomaen.
kaenaehkae $n$. Native. From: poly.
kaenaemae vt. To taste. Ngaei kaenaemae suhp eu.
kaenaen possesive classifier. Food of.
kaeng vi. To be sharp. Naipas e uhdahn kaeng. Naipas en kaengaela.
kaengang $v i$. To be dry.
kaengangae $v t$. To dry.
kaehngid $n$. Mango. [Note: no mango on Pingelap]
kaep $n$. A cup.
kaep $_{2}$ vi. To grow. Ngaei kaepaeda. Ngaei kaepaekihda pound silu. Ngihn e kaepda. E kaepda ngihn.
kaep $_{3}$ vt. To grow. Pwohpwo e kaepda ngihn. Ngaei kaepda ngihaei.
kaehp $n$. Yam.
kaepaik $v i$, - $i v t$. To carry on one's shoulder. Pwohpwo e kaepaik. Pwohpwo carries something on her shoulder.
kaepahki vt. To beat and leave marks.
kaepalaepal $n$. Steps made on the coconut tree
trunk, to help the person who climb a coconut tree.
kaepar $_{1} \quad n$. Flock (of animate things).
kaepar $_{2} \quad v i, n$. To march, march.
kaeparae $v t$. To breed. Kisah kaeparae pwihkaemaen.
kaepahraek $_{1} \quad$ vi. To preach, to give a speech, to compare, to balance.
kaepahraek $_{2} \quad v i$, $-i v t$. To make things straight.
kaepas $_{1} n$. Addition, in mathmatics.
kaepas $_{2}$ vt, -ae vt, aehiang $v t$. To add, to attach.
kaepasaehpaenae vi. To mingle each other.
kaepase $n$. Fish sp., tiger mullet.
kaepase $n$. Fish sp., small reef fish, silver body with yellow fin.
kaepae $_{1} \quad n$. Thigh.
kaepae $_{2} \quad v t$. To organize.
kaepaedoakaen vi. To grow toward something beyond the supposed-to-be border not supposedly, of plant.
kaepaei $n$. Fish sp., blue-spotted box-fish, also called kohpwa. [Note: cf. "kohpwa"]
kaepaeidoak $v i$. To listen with concentration.
kaepaeidoakae $v t$. To quiet.
kaepaeisik $n$. Song or chant of magic.
kaepaekaep $v i$. To pray.
kaepaelae $v$. To knead "mar". Lihmaen en kaepaelaehla mar eu.
kaepaehpaenae $v t$. To put in order, to sort out. Maenlau kaepaehpaenae pihpahpwi.
kaepaer $_{1}$ vi. To be dangerous.
kaepaer $_{2} n$. Danger.
kaepaesaekai $v i$. To be crazy and lazy. Pwisakaemaen en kaepaesaekaila.
kaehpeipei $n$. Driftwood, log. E dir kaehpeipei pwoh pik.
kaepi $v i$. To be far behind or last in a race. [Note: maybe japanese?]
kaepih Leleu $n$. A place name in the reef, west of Daekae.
kaepih Nahna $n$. A place name in the reef, northeast of Pingelap.
kaepih Saekai $n$. A place name in the reef, northwest of Daekae.
kaepin $n$. South, bottom, end, behind. [Note: va "kapin"]
kaepin moangae $n$. Back of the head.
kaepin ne $n$. Heel.
kaepin pae $n$. Elbow.
kaepin woar $n$. Throat.
kaepin woarae $n$. Back of the neck.
kaepina $n$. Plant sp., sugar-cane variety, possibly brought by a German governor.
kaehpinaeir $n$. Yam sp.
kaepinwar vi, -ae vt. To give money and gifts to a person about to travel. Aeraemas pwi kaepinwarkin pwokoupwi. Aeraemas pwi kaepinwarae lihmaen.
kaehpinwael $n$. Yam sp.
kaepinga $v t$. To congratulate.
kaepoak vi. To be pitiful. E kaepoak. He is pitiful. [Note: John lost his father. I feel sorry for him. He is pitiful. -> E kaepoak.]
kaehpwal $n$. Adventure, difficulty. [Note: [lt. ka (caus.) + aepwal (hard)]]
kaepwar in wah sapw $n$. Agricutural fair.
kaepwas $v i, n$. To be dressed up, a suit. Serepeinmaen e kaepwas rahnin saeraewi. The girl dressed up on Sunday.
kaepwae $n$. Things, tools, crops.
kaepwaehpwae vi. To be rich. [Note: va "kepwehpwe"]
kaehpwupw adj. To be rare, to be undercooked. Sasimi e kaehpwupw.
kaer $v i$. To drip. Pilkis en kaeraela.
kaerak $v i, n$. To crawl, a baby in the crawling stage.
kaerang vt. To burn or heat. Soaun kaerangaerang pwihk pwi daekah serih pwi mwadaemwadoahkin aeih saewaeh kila ih.
kaerang vt. To heat.
kaerap $v i$. To be rough, to be tough.
kaeras vi. To describe something using examples. Ngaei kaerasaeng iah mwaemwaen Pingelap. I describe how Pingelap looks like using some examples.
kaerasae vt. To compare.
kaerasaeras $n$. Example, analogy. Soaupaedahkmaen e wiahda kaerasaeras eu.
kaeraeda vi. To climb, high language.
kaeraehdae vi, vt. To skin off pandanus leaf.
kaeraekaerae $n$. Eaves, end of the roof.
kaeraekaeraep vi. To sneak. John e kaeraekaeraep nah ohpis. John sneaked into the munincipal office.
kaeraekaeraepi vt. To sneak to. John e kaeraekaeraepi ohpis. John sneaked to the munincipal office (still outside of the office).
kaeraen vi, -i $v t$. To be close by, soon.
kaeraenaeng $a d v$. Almost. En kaeraenaeng nah saewas. It is almost afternoon.
kaeraendoa $v i$, $v$. To be nearby to the speaker, soon.
kaeraeniaeng $a d v$. Soon, almost, nearly, nearby.
kaeraep vi. To make one's way very slowly.
kaehrikirik $n$. Scaffolding.
kaerir $n$, vi. Boyfriend, girlfriend. Irah kaerir eu. Irah kaerirda.
kaeriwa $v t$. Push someone to hurry up. Ngaei kaeriwa pwisak maen. I push the boy to hurry.
kaerkaeraep $v i$, $-i$ vt. Night-crawling of people, night time sneak into a girl's house without her vpermission. Mike en kaerkaeraepihdi Judi.
kaeruaru vi. To be hurry.
kaeruwai vt. To hurry up.
kaeruwaru vi. To hurry up. Ngaeh uhdahn kaeruwaru. John en kaeruwarula.
kaesairoang $_{1}$ vi, -i $v t$. To be noisy. Kedae kaesairoang. Do not be noisy.
kaesalae $v t$. To show off. Pwisakmaen e kaesalae aeh suhs kapw eu. The boy showed off his new shoes.
kaesamwae $v$. To welcome.
kaesamwaesamw vi. To be like to welcome people.
kaesap $n$. Bird sp. frigate bird, black body, white chest, and big wing, looks like a duck, fly very high.
kaesap $n$. Ketchup. From: e.
kaesar vi,-ae vt. To chase.
kaesahsalpae $n$. Sign, mark.
kaesauli $v t$. To make someone drown.
kaesaehk $v i$. To move a short distance with a hurried movement, to jump.
kaehsaek n. Lock.
kaesaehkae vi. To rush.
kaesaekaes vi. To be numb.
kaesaehlapae $v$. To elaborate, to make it wider. Ngaei kaesaehlapaehla iroapeu. I made the map bigger.
kaesaehlaepae $v$. To make it wide, to explain more.
kaesaeman $n$. A celebration, a birthday party.
kaesaeman $v t$. To remind.
kaesaeman $v t$. To try to recall.
kaesaemwpwal $_{1}$ vi. To treat with affection, to cherish, to protect. Lihmaen en kaesaemwpwalkihla naeh serihmaen.
kaesaemwpwal $_{2}$ vi. To be important. John en kaesaempwalla nah Congress.
kaesaemwpwal $_{3} v i$, $v t$. To appreciate something done out of respect.
kaesaepal $n$. Fish sp., Mojarra, silver body and big eyes.
kaesaepahlae ihaeng vt. To return. Pwisakaemaen en kaesaepahl ihaeng
naeh pehn pas. The boy returned his pen.
kaesaepwar $n$. Plant sp., fruit bearing tree, the tree is used for canoe-making, and the fruits is used as a medicine for black eye, it cools down the black eye part part.
kaesaepwil vi, vt. To graduate. John en kaesaepwilla COM. John en kaesaepwilisang COM.
kaesaes $_{1}$ vi. To stutter. Pwisakmaen e kaesaesla.
kaesaes $_{2}$ vi. To be pulled, to feel a pull or shake, in fishing.
kaesaeu $_{1} n$. Rain. John ke paeraen kin keseu pah kaesaeu. John likes to run under the rain. [Note: This word forms a near-minimal pair with "keseu" (run).]
$\mathbf{k a e s a e}_{2}$ vi. To rain.
kaesaeu $_{2}$ vi. To have been x-rayed or physically examined. Pwisakaemaen en kaesaeula nah pwaelahn. The boys got x-rayed his chest.
kaesaeu $_{3} n$. The part to support a "paerap" (platform), positioned between the hull and the "paerap".
kaesaeu maesul vi. To be heavy rain. E kah kaesaeu maesulla.
kaesaeula ${ }_{1}$ vi. To be delayed (not necesalily because of the rain). Seppas en kaesaeula. Shio was delayed.
kaesaew vi. To figure out. Irah riarih Simwinamwin pwi kilikila dae saewaeh kakaen kaesaewiaehda pwa dahmae irahsi wihwia. Rainbow siblings were seeing that but could not figure out what they were doing.
Kaesaewa $n$. The title for Dohkaesa's wife.
kaehsekdi $v i$. To get stuck.
kaesik $v i,-i v t$. To shoot.
kaesikidi $v i$. To get shoot. E saek pwili kaesikidi. She also got shot.
kaesikihdi vt. To shoot. He shoot the woman. 3s: shoot. [Note: kaesikidi and kaesikihdi are different in the meanings.]
kaesin dal $n$. Coconut husks charcoal.
kaesihpas vi. To stretch. Lihmaen en kaesihpasla.
kaesipaeraepaer $n$. Food, grated main food such as green banana or taro with coconut milk.
kaesihuo $n$, vi. Naugty or bully child, to be naughty or to be bully.
kaesiwaraewar $n$. A rolled-up leaf of the pandanus tree, children played with this by rolling it.
kaesiwaraewarae vt. To roll. [Note: va. "kaesiwaraewari"]
kaesihwo $v i$. To be naughty. Serihmaen en kaesihwohla.
kaesihwo $v i$. To be naughty.
kaewaraek $v i$. To copulate to have sexual intercourse.
kaewas $v i$, $-a e ~ v t$. To annoy, to irritate, annoying. Kaedae kaewasae ngaehi. Wisol e uhdahn kaewasla. Do not annoy me.
kaewahuwi vt. To observe an occasion, to feast for.
kaewahwae vt. To make use of something so it doesn't go to waste. Serihpwi e kaewahwaehla mwaengaehpwi.
kaewae pronoun. You, 2nd sg pronoun, casual.
kaewaepaid/kaewaepais You and who else. Kaewaepaid? You and who else?
kaewiniwei $n$. A big hook used in deep-sea fishing and in trawling.
ke conjunction. Or.
kehdal $n$. A beam in a house.
kedar $v t$. To send someone.
kedarewei $v t$, $v i$. To send. Ngaeh kedarewei nah kisihlikou. I'll send it by mail.
$\mathbf{k e i}_{1} \quad n$, vi. Darkness.
keikei $n$. Slope in the land.
keipweni $n$. Fish sp., Blackjack, black and big, seen sometimes in the area where bottom fish resides and sometimes in the reef.
keipweni $_{2} n$. Forgiveness. [Note: High language]
kehke $v i$. To be weary.
keleipwek vi. To kneel. Aeraemas pwi keleipwekdi mwoh Doahkaesa. People kneeled in front of the highest chief.
kehmwaesi vt. To give a gift to an opposite sex.
kehmwes $_{1}$ vi, -i $v$. To offer something from affectional feeling. Pwisakmaen e kehmwesihla naeh send eu reh serepeinmaen. The boy offered the money to the girl.
ken $_{3}$ preverb. Almost. John aen ken laeldoa. John en ken laeldoa. John is almost arriving. John was almost arriving (but he needed to change his plans and could not reach here).
kengkang $n$. Porch. porch From: j.
kerdain $n$. Curtain. From: e.
kehre vi. To bow deeply. From: j.
keri $n$. Plant sp., weed seen in Taro patch, white flower of this plant is used to cure pimpo, smash it on your palm and rub your face.
kehsek n. A small stick at the top of pilaed (a breadfruit picking stick).
kesekeseu in mwoamw $n$. Fish school. Irah kilahda kesekeseu in mwoamwpwi.
kesekeseu in sidohsa $n$. Traffic.
kesekeseu in aeraemas $n$. Traffic of people.
keseu $_{1}$ vi. To run.
keseu $_{2} v i$. To swim, of sea animal.
kessoh $v i$. To run or swim the final lap in a race.
kehw $n$. Fish sp., red snapper, big and orange, seen on the deeper side of reef.
ki- vi. To give.
kia $_{1} n$. Long, straight two poles across the hull of the canoe and the mwaes (frame that attaches the outrigger to the canoe).
$\mathbf{k i a}_{2} v i$, , $v t$. To refuse, to not want to.
kiaiek $v i$. To be unpopular.
kiam $n$. A big food basket.
kiaed $v i$. To dig to search.
kiaeki $v i$, $v$. To search by digging.
kiaekihda $v i$. To be made messy because of pigs' dig-search yam.
kiaengpaehn vi. To convince someone to vote for someone. From: e.
$\mathbf{k i d}_{1} \quad n$. Garbage, trash, litter.
kid $_{2}$ num. A thousand.
kida $n$. Guiter.
kidahk $n$. Plant sp., big tree.
kideidei vi. To be dirty, unwashed (of human).
kideu $n$. Plant sp., small plant usually seen near by pwe, medicine for pain reliever.
kidi n. Dog. [Note: When "kidi" is suffixed, vowel lengthning happenes and "kidi" becomes "kidih." There are no dogs on Pingelap atoll. When Noahnoa Mihkelihna's youngest son got bit on his face by a dog on Pingelap, high chief at that time decided to kill all dogs on Pingelap atoll. Eating dogs is custom of Pohnpeian not of Pingelapese.]
kidih $n$. Dog. Iah kidih maen? Iah kidih maen? [Note: When "kidi" is suffixed, vowel lengthning happenes and "kidi" becomes "kidih." There are no dogs on Pingelap atoll. When Noahnoa Mihkelihna's youngest son got bit on his face by a dog on Pingelap, high chief at that time decided to kill all dogs on Pingelap atoll. Eating dogs is custom of Pohnpeian not of Pingelapese.]
kihdi vt. To put something down. [Note: peididi <- to drop something]
kidikid $_{1} \quad$ vi. To wrap. [Note: cf. vt "kidim"]
kidikid $_{2} \quad$ n. Package.
kidim vt. To wrap. [Note: cf. vi. "kidikid"]
kidiroap vi. To roll up in a mat.
kiekpaenae vi, vt. To gather (vi, vt), to be gathered (vi).
kiepw $n$. Plant sp., bulbous plant with lily like flowers.
kik $n$. Finger (of hand or foot). Kik pas mae mae. This is a finiger. [Note: Pohnpeian people use kik to refer to nail. For Pohnpeian, sandin is a word for finger.]
kiki vt. To kick. From: e.
kiki lapaelap $n$. Thumb. [Note: There is no word for "the third finger" or "the ring finger." Other fingers have names.]
kiki nahpwung The middle finger.
kiki saeraewi $n$. The index finger.
kiki sikisik $n$. The little finger.
kil $n$. Skin.
kila $v t$. To see.
kilahda $v$ t. Found, saw.
kilapae vi. To wait giving own's hand untill he sees other peoples hands in the game of paper, stone, and scissors.
kilahs $n$. Mirror, eyeglasses.
kilaeiniap $n$. Lizard sp., bigger and green or brown.
kilek $n$. A food basket for rather heavier things, with handhelds.
kilel vi. To draw, to take photo, to write.
kileli vt. To draw, to take photo, to write.
kilikil $v i$. To be dotty.
kilin au $n$. Lip.
kilinkihs $n$. A disease of taro, causing discoloration of the plant.
kilinwai $n$. A disease of the skin, causing continual peeling. [Note: different from kilinwahkal]
kilinwahkal $v i, n$. To have a rash. Serihmaen e kilinwahkal. The kid has a rash.
kilisaeu vi. To be naked.
kilisop $n$. Disease, small pox.
kilsaeraewi $n$. A disease of the skin, characterized by a light discoloration of the skin, usually on the trunk of the body.
kimeme $n$. Plant sp., weed seen in Taro patch.
-kin verb.suff. At, with.
kinae vt. To make up, to start a rumor. [Note: we can use this for making up food too.]
kini vt. To pinch, to tear by finger.
kinikin vi. To pull weed. Koamwah kinikin. You guys pull out the grass.
kihng $n$. Rooster. From: e.
kioak $n$. Fish sp., gold-spotted rabbittfish and Spotted knifejaw, grayish body with speckles (the spine is poisonous but the meat is edible and tasty) (This fish is wider
in the middle, like angelfish).
kip $\quad v i$. To fall. Saeraek eu ae kipaeng rehn dae ae kaen serekesang pwoh waraepas dae kipidi nah sed. The sail fell towards him and he dodged it and fell into the water.
kipar $n$. Plant sp., pandanus tree, pandanus fruit.
kipar arawahn $n$. Plant sp., pandanus sp.
kipar esies $n$. Plant sp., pandanus sp.
kipar in Mwahsael $n$. Plant sp., pandanus sp.
kipar luwahramwa $n$. Plant sp., pandanus.sp. , from Marshal island.
kipar mwisikel $n$. Plant sp., pandanus sp., male pandanus, this will not bear fruit but bear white flowers that look like leaves, the flowers have some powders on it, and smell great, Pingelapese people use those to make a head piece.
kipar soapwoahdin n. Plant sp., pandanus sp.
kihpaenae $v t$. To gather things together.
kihpaenae vi. To gather things together.
kihpaesaeng $_{1}$ vi. Open mouth, open eye, open palm, of body part. Ke kihpaesaeng. You open your mouth/eye/palm.
kihpaesaeng $_{2}$ vt. To open.
kipidi $v i$. To fall down. [Note: kipila $=$ to fall vi]
kipila vi. To fall.
kipwael $v t$, aek $v i$. vt To warp or bend, of something rigid, vi to be warped or bent, of something rigid.
kipwaelaek vi. To be bent, of something rigid.
kipwek $n$. Sap wood.
kihr $_{1}$ vi. To go down/set (of sun, star, moon). Saeu eu en kihrila.
$\mathbf{k i h r}_{2} \quad n$. Fish sp., Squirrel fish, small reef fish with red body and silver stripe.
kirahka $n$. Candy.
kirando $n$. Playing field.
kirae $v t$. To skin or peel. [Note: When it comes to fruit, only soft kind can become object. Yellow banana can be the object but green banana cannot be. Mangroob tree can be the object.]
kiraekir $v i$. To be peeled off.
kiraehla $v t$. To peel, take off. Maenlau kiraehla nehi. Please take off the things attaching to my leg.
kiraer $n$, vi. To burp. Pwohpwo e kiraer. *E kiraer Pwohpwo.
kiried vi. To be not clear, to be not transparent. Oah pilaeu e kirieda.
$\mathbf{k i r i p w}_{1} n$. The smallest coconut.
kiripw $_{2}$ vi. To be single, unmarried.
kirihrir $n$. Bird sp., white and black stripe on
body, smaller than kolehs, form a group and seen on the beach.
kiris $v i$. To slip or slide.
kirihs n. Grease. From: e.
kiroapw $n$. Baseball glove.
kis vi. To be small or young. [Note: check the usage]
kihs $n$. Octopus.
$\mathbf{k i h s}_{2} n$. A factory made fake bait.
kisakis $n$. Gift.
kisahsi pron. 1st person plural inclusive (we including the addressee), usually for more than two but could be used for less than three to be polite.
kisaeng $v t$. To face hardship. Sae kisaeng kaehpwal.
kisengeseng $v i$. To lose the will to do things. Lihmaen e kisengesengin mwaengae. The woman lost her appetite.
kisesik $n$. Mouse.
kisesikinihsed Fish sp., whitemargin unicornfish, big fish with a long unicorn horn. [Note: [rat-in-ocean], this fish does not jump to the bait and eat it, he stops in front of the bait, and sniff (or examine). It looks like how a rat approaches his food.]
kisikis $n$. Preserved rice, wraped with a small breadfruit leaf and baked in a stone oven.
kisihlikoau $n$. Letter.
kisiwel $n$. Plant sp., half scandent shrub found in moist areas.
kohd n. A name for group of sand fishes, skiny and long, dark color.
kodon n. A giant that eats people. [Note: Some older people say this word is Pohnpeian.]
kokohp vi. To prophesize. [Note: cf. vt "kohpeda"]
kol $v t$. To catch, to hold.
kolaemaedaekaeng $v t$. To bear, to stand with.
kolaepae vi. To hold hands. Kisah karoas kopepaehla. Let's hold hands.
kolehs $n$. Bird sp., small gray bird, forms a group.
kolokolin $n$. a handle of a handbag or basket.
koluk vi. To be bad.
kohm n. Comb. From: e.
komis $n$. Shell variety, gold-mouth turban shell.
komis laengaelaeng $n$. Shell sp., tapestry turban shell.
komwad vi. To be brave, to be tough.
kohp $v i$, -ae vt. To prophesize. [Note: cf. vi "kokohp"]
kohpra $n$. Dried coconut meat before the
extraction of the oil.
kohpwa $_{1} n$. Fish sp., Boxfish and trunkfish. [Note: va. "kaepaei"]
$\mathbf{k o h p w a}_{2} n$. Chest-box.
kohpwahn $n$. Coffin.
kopwou in sens $n$. Wallet.
korios $n$. Handcraft.
kororinda $n$. Whistle.
kohsi $n$. Goods, items. From: e goods.
kosouak $n$. Bird sp. similar to kolehs but bigger than kolehs, unlike kolehs this bird has a curvy beak.
kohwa vi. To possess.
kohwahki vt. To possess.
koa vi, vt. To grate. Komwah koa. Komwah koa mweiang. You guys grate. You guys grate mweiang.
koa $v$ t. To shave. Angela koahla pwohpadin. Angela shaved her eyeblow.
$\mathbf{k o a d}_{1} n$. Spear for fishing.
koad $_{2}$ vi. To husk of coconut. Ngaei koad.
$\boldsymbol{k o a d}_{3} v i$. To be in need.
$\mathbf{k o a d}_{4}$ vi. To not concern.
koahda mwaeniap $n$. A ritual which occured after the first catch of flying fish season wherein a representative of each canoe presented the paramount chief with a string of fish.
koahdahdoa vi. To come towards ilik-direction.
koahdahla vi. To go towards ilik-dirrection from around Yasio's house.
koadin kaenae $v i$. To beg a food.
koadoakoad vi. To be husked.
koadoam $v t$. To husk.
koadoangaedoang $v i$, -i $v$. To tease.
koaehng vi. To be good, better, favorable.
koail $n$. Fish sp., all of sweetlips, vary in looks can grow big.
koak $n$. Water-stopper (used to plug a hole in a boat).
koakehk vi. To crow of a rooster. Kihn eu e koakehk.
koakeles $n$. Ant.
koal $n$. Grass skirt. [Note: Deep oa]
koahl vi. Of banana, local breadfruit, papaya, to be still green but edible.
koahlau n. Fish sp., Convict surgeonfish, white body and many thin black stripes.
koalae $n$. Seed, testicle.
$\mathbf{k o a l i}_{3} v$ v. To twist fibers and make a string.
koaloal $n$. Shell variety, orange olive shell.
koaloang $v i$, $v t$. To wear. Orange lel sohmwahu in hart attack, pwa ae uhdahn
mesikida diaedah pwi aeraemah pwi koalkoaloang.
koamal vi. To relax.
koampoak $n$. Friend.
koamwi pronoun. 2nd person polite (you).
koamwoakoamw vi. To smile.
koan $n$. A blowgun. [Note: This does not use a arrow. Use seeds as a bullet.]
koanaehng vi. Should, to be appropriate to, to fit.
koanaengaen mas $n$. The brown and black part in eye ball.
koanoak kaingae $n$. A place name in the reef, south of Pingelap.
koansoap vi, -i vt. To be angry.
koahng-mwaeimweia $n$. Fish sp., spotted sweetlips.
koahpal $v i$, $-i v t$. Of a stone oven, to be at the stage where food has been placed in it.
koahpi n. Coffee. From: e.
koapoahsae $_{1} \quad v t$. To cut foliage to kill the tree.
koapoahsae $_{2}$ vi. To be cut foliage to kill the tree.
koapw vi. To cough. Kaedae koapw. Do not cough. [Note: just one koapw?]
koahpwal $v t$. To cover.
koapwaraepwoar vi. To hope, to believe. Ngaei koapwaraepwoar-kin kaewae.
koarae $v t$. To scratch, roughly. [Note: This is not the way people do when they are ichy. This is more like an attacking scratch. When they are ichy, they do karipwud.]
koaroahroa $v i$. To be white.
koaroas quant. All.
koas $n$. Tuba, the liquid gathered from the unbloomed coconut flower, could be consumed as juice or alcohol, or to be made into sugar jello.
koahs n. God. From: e.
koasa $n$. Plant sp., shore tree like a mangrove tree (ak) but this one has round-shape leaf and the tree is not as hard as mangrove tree, the root is not curvy and stays under the water.
koasae vt. To cut, to trim. Pwisakmaen ae koasaehla moangae. The boy cut his hair.
koasae $v t$. To cross.
koasaekoas vi. To be haircutted. Pwisakmaen ae koasaekoas. The boy got a haircut.
koasondi $n$. Schedule, plan.
koasoa $n$. Pig.
koasoakoas $n$. Hair-cut.
koasoamwpal vi. To be important. Koawae mae koasoamwpal.
koasoamwpalkin vt. To consider someone important. Ngaei koasoamwpalkin kaewae. You are important to me.
koasoanae vt. To settle, to make up one's mind, to set plans.
koasoanae $v$. To arrange. Kihs koasoanae pukpwi.
koasoanaeiek vi. To arrange, to make plans.
$\mathbf{k o a u}_{1} v t$. To build a house.
$\mathbf{k o a u}_{2} n$. Fishing hook.
koau ih rerehk $n$. A bigger size fishing hook.
koau in limwilimw $n$. A smallest size fishing hook.
koau in pang $n$. A middle size fishing hook, used in pang fishing.
koau in peilik $n$. A largest fishing hook, used in peilik fishing.
koauihmw vi. To build a house.
koaukoau $n$. Fish sp., a family of aroang, but darker color.
koaul vi. To sing.
koausan $v t$. To live. Ngaei naemaen koausan mae.
koausapw $n$. Village where people live.
koausuhkae $n$. A ceremony that takes right after Doahkaesae got into an accident, Pingelapese people shout and bring their biggest Taro with leaf.
koawa $n$. Late in history, recent. ini koawa
Kuam n. Guam. [Note: about 500 Pingelapese in Guam]
kuapa $n$. Guava.
kuk $_{1}$ vi. To cook. From: e. [Note: cf. vt "kuki"]
$\mathbf{k u k}_{2}$ vi. To call (said of chicken). Ngaei kuhkuhkin malaek pwi.
kuki vt. To cook. From: e. [Note: cf. vi "kuk"]
kulap $n$. Bird.sp., herone, either white body or black body.
kuloak n. Clock, time.
kulul n. Cockroach.
kum vi, -ivt. To stomp with noise.
kumus $n$. Edge or end of some body parts.
kumusin pae $n$. The distance between the tip of your longest finger to your wrist.
kumwukumw $n$. A thudding noise.
kumwusin pae Wrist.
$\mathbf{k u n}_{1}$ vi. To get down by itself (of fire). Aei eu e kun. *Aei eu kun. Fire gets down.
$\mathbf{k u n}_{2}$ vi. To be off. Dohdai e kunla (kuhla).
kupwur $n, v i$. Feeling to agree, to agree.
kupwur $_{2} n$. Bird sp., Booby, similar to kaesap, but white body and small black dots.
kupwurmahk n. Apology.
kuruma $n$. Transportation mean with two tires, this is not a motor cycle, people push or pull this, carry things or people, but this is not a riahka.
kurup $n$. Ground bait, meat without a hook, just to attract fishes.
kurus vi, vt. To clean, to scrub. Koamwah kurusda peloh eu. You guys scrub the floor.
$\mathbf{k u s}_{1}$ vi. To flow. Pileu en kusida. The water overflowed.
$\mathbf{k u s}_{2} \quad n$. Sperm.
kus $_{3} n$. Orgasm.
$\mathbf{k u s}_{4} \quad n$. Mast, of a canoe.
kus $_{5} n$. Funnel.
kuhs $n$. Goat.
kus in $n$. Funnel.
kusoahr $n$. Eye ball (black + white).
kusukus $n$. Spit.
kusuned n. Law. 3s: kusunedin.
kusup $_{1}$ vi, -i $v$. To flow. [Note: this can be used for the spout from a whale]
kusup $_{2} \quad$ vi. To spit.
kuwaid $n$, vi, -ae-ivt. A hum, to hum a tune.

## L-1

-la verb. suff. Away, complete.
lahd $n$. Fish.sp., Leatherback, silver body, middle to big size fish.
laid vi, $n$. To fish, fishing or hunting.
laidirik $n$. Floater, used in the fishing.
lal $v i$. To talk.
lalaekaeng vi. To be clever or to be intelligent.
laloid vi. To be lonely.
laload $n$. Fish sp., number four growth stage of trevally.
lam n. A lagoon. 3s: lamin.
lamaelam n. Plant sp., a bush. Used as "letter paper".
lamelam $n$. Heart-feelings, plan, Christianity.
lamp $n$. Lamp.
langae $v i$, $v$. To be announced, to announce.

News kis e langaeda. Ngaei langaeda news kis.
langaeda aeni $n$. Pain of the woman's period.
langoas $n$. Shell sp., a barnacle.
lap $v i$. To be big.
lapaelap $v i$, $a d j$. Honorable. Ngaei mae uhdahn lapaelap. I am honorable.
lapu $v i$. To be high tide.
$\mathbf{l a u}_{1} \quad n$. Tongue. $3 s$ : loawae.
$\mathbf{l a u}_{2} \quad$ vi. To lie.
lahu vi. To choke. Ngaei lauhkihda rice.
lae n. Coconut oil.
laeba $n$. Liver disease.
laed $v i$, vt. To sniff, to smell. kaedae laed. Ngaei laed rohs eu. Do not sniff. I sniff flower.
laedae ngoas $v i$. To kiss by rubbing noses. [Note: [laed (sniff)+ngoas]]
laeiang $n$. Shell with spike-like protrusions.
laeihang $n$. Clam sp., clam seen on the coral area, with colors inside.
$\mathbf{l a e k}_{1} v i$. To be cut.
$\mathbf{l a e k}_{2} n$. Adult male pig with balls.
laeka $v t$. To cut up any fish.
laekahpali $a d v$. Someday, sometime later.
laekapw $n$. Tomorrow.
laekae $v t, n$. To castrate, the male pig after being castrated. [Note: "laek maen" is an adult male pig with balls. "laekaemaen" is an adult male pig without balls.]
laeki $v i$. To be lucky. From: e.
lael $v i$. To increase. Se lel kaeraenla ini kahpis eu, dae pwohn ae laelaeda. We got close to the dump and the smell increased.
laemae vi, vt. To think. [Note: cf. vt "laemaelaemae"]
laemaei $_{1}$ vi. To be cruel. Kaedae laemaei. Kaedae laemaei i serepein maen. Do not be cruel. Do not be cruel to the girl.
laemaelam mwahu $v i$. To be submissive, modest, self-effacing.
laemaelaemae vi, vt. To think. [Note: cf. vi "laemae"]
laemaelaemaehkihda $v t$. To suspect.
laemisoahr $n$. West.
laemw vi. To be afraid. Ngaei laemwkin pahpa.
laeng $n$. Sky.
laeng $_{1} n$. Sky, horizon.
laengas $n$. Coconut, older than a green coconut.
laengaelaeng $v i$. To be bright because it is shining or it is reflecting a light from something.
laengaelaeng $n$. A general term for traditional title.
laengaeroas vi. To be humid.
laep $n$. A piece of taro or breafruit cut crosswise.
laep $n$. Side, direction.
laep in Dimoahsa n. Opposite or incorrect
way of wearing slippers, shoes, or socks, from the lady's name (Dimoahsa) who used to live on Pingelap and loved to wear unpaired slippers.
laep koahioak $n$. Right side.
laep saekoahioak $n$. Left side.
laepaedahla $n$. North or inland (taro patch and ilik area).
laepaedoakae $a d v$. Next to, but near speaker.
laepaeir $n$. South side.
laepaela $n$. Behind.
laepaelakae $n$. Next to, but away from speaker.
laepaelaepaela $a d v$. Late in time (night time / timing late).
laehpaeng $n$. Windward, north. [Note: [lit. laehp (side) + aeng (wind)] ]
laepeui vt. To carry or lift something that can be lightly suspended with one's hand or sholder.
laepi vt. To carry or lift something that can be lightly suspended with one's hand or sholder.
laepidihla $n$. South or toward the sea.
laepin koahs $n$. Right side.
laepin lokaeia $n$. Word.
laepin sehdaen $n$. Left side.
laepihrahn vi. To have a half-day schedule.
laepwad $v t$. To untie or open. Ngaei laepwadla naei suhs eu. I untied my shoe.
laes $v i$. To crash, hit. Irahsi en laespaenae. They've crashed into each other.
laehs $n$. A sinker for bottom fishing.
laesaise $n$. Fish sp., Bandcheek wrasse, white or reddish body and straight or curvy stripes on its.
laesapwil $n$. Fish sp., little bonito, similar to tuna but this fish has stripe on the sides.
laeu vi. To be cool in a good way. [Note: Some older people say that "laeu' is baby word and "loau" is correct way to pronounce.]
laewaed $v$ t. To lick. Ngaeh laewaed sukareperep.
le $n$. Bigger wet hole.
led $v t$. To smell.
leikoad $n$. Fish sp., Orange-striped triggerfish, yellow body fish with yellow lines for female and orange lines for male.
lehk $_{1} \quad$ vi. To be famine, to lack. E lehkin mwaengae. E lehkaela. E lehkin kasoalin.
lehk $_{2} \quad v i$. To be stingy. Woalaemaen e lehk.
$\mathbf{l e l}_{1} \quad v t$. To arrive, to reach.
lel $_{2} \quad v i$. To be beautiful, to be pretty.
lelesais $v i$. To be middle-sized.
leleu $n$. Tidepool.
lemelemehk vi. To be suspicious. $\mathbf{E}$ lemelemehkaeng pwa kaewae. (cannot delete pwa.) He is suspicious about you.
lehp $n$, vi. Marching dance without tools, to do this dance. From: e. left.
lepin ngap $n$. The half distance of the ngap.
lepin sipangaen pae $n$. The distance between the joint of your thumb and the joint of your baby finger, when you do not wide open your hand.
lepous $n$. Inland (not ilik) side.
lehpwel $n$. Taro patch. [Note: [le (sunken place)+pwel (ground, dirt)]]
les excr. What goes around comes around.
leseneke $n$. Fish sp., large growth stage of the topsoil drummer woman.
leski $v i$, vt. To be surprised very much. Ngaei leskihla. Ngaei lesikihla kaewae. I am surprised. I am surprised about you.
leu $v i$. To be cooked. Rais eu en leu. Rice was cooked and ready.
$\mathbf{l i}_{1} \quad n$. Woman.
$\mathbf{l i}_{2} \quad n$. Canoe line connected to the sail, used to get the direction using the sail. [Note: there are three lines for the sail, 1 . up or lower the sail, 2. get the direction using the sail, 3 . open or close the sail. This is the 2.]
$\mathbf{l i}_{3} \quad n$. Fish sp., Blue-spotted hind.
liaksoahroahr vi. To discrimiate, to separate from those who are different.
liap $v i$. To lie. Kaedae liap. Do not lie.
liawed $v i$. To be talkative. Lihmaen e liawed. She is talkative.
liaekadaek $n$. Insect sp., water skater.
Liaen alim $n$. Women's Friday service.
liaep $n$. A cord looped around one's ankle and used for climbing.
liaes $n$. A giant ghost that eats people.
lidalede $n$. Bird sp., black body, white spot in the middle of forehead, black legs, this belongs to Paraes. [Note: Under "paraes", there are two birds, "raehn" and "lidalede"]
lidaen pwaraes $n$. Fish sp., Butterfly fish.
lidenpwaraes $n$. Fish sp., Butterflyfish~angelfish, beautiful and tasty reef fish.
lidip $n$. Trap.
lidoap $n$. Adult female animal, usually during pregnancy or after.
lidoar $v i$. To be irritated.
liekehu $n$. Fish sp., Bigger twin spot snapper.
lielu $n$. Fish sp., Lighter color triggerfish, reef big fish, has strong teeth and is believed to give children strong teeth.
liem $n$. Fish sp., Barred filefish, graybody fish, Pingelapese people uses its skin as a sand paper.
lieu raehraei $n$, vi. Speech while sleeping, to speak while sleaping.
lik $n$. Outside.
likakiris $v i$. To be slippery. Maeh mae likakiris. This place is slippery.
likamw $n$, $v i$, $-i v t$. A lie, to lie.
likahs $n$. Swing, hammock.
likaedaepw $n$. Baby lobster.
likaemwarere $n$, vi. Mold on food, to be moldy.
likaendinkaep $n$. Sting ray (rhat does not jump).
likaeraekaeran ${ }_{1}$ vi. To be naughty.
likaeraekaeran ${ }_{2}$ vi. To be ichy. Paehi e likaeraekaeran.
likaeraekaeran $_{3} \mathrm{vi}$. To be hyper, to prefer to be restless. Nohno su e likaeraekaeran.
likaeu $n$. Cloth. likaeun li. women's dress.
liki $\quad$ v. To trust. Ngaei liki kaewae. I trust you.
liki $_{2}$ vt. To memorize. Ngaehi en likihla maehioh mwoa. I memorized that thing.
likid $v i$, $-i v t$. To throw. John likidi saekai eu. John throws the stone.
likid $_{1}$ vt. To throw with strength. John likid saekaei eu.
likid $_{2}$ vt. To develop film.
$\operatorname{likid}_{3}$ vt, vi. To filter out, to screen, to strain. Ngaei likid laeh eu.
likidi $v t$. To screan, to develop film.
likilik $_{1} \quad$ vi, -i $v$. To strain. Ngaei likilik. Ngaei likilikihla mareu.
likimohng vi, n. Asthma.
likimwei $v i$. To speed or go fast.
likin Besides, other than. Ngaei mwahukin Pingelap likin amwise.
likin Maediap $n$. A place name in the reef, northeast of Daekae.
likin Pahrau $n$. A place name in the reef, shore of Pahrau, east of Pingelap.
likinkaesa $n$. One of the sides of the canoe hull, facing the side where there is no outrigger.
likipia vi. To be pregnant, of fish.
likirikiries $n$. Fish sp., Surge wrasse, colorful fish.
likoap $n$. Waist, of body part.
likoau, likaeu ${ }_{1} n$. Clothes.
likoau, likaeu ${ }_{2}$ vi, $n$. To wear.
likoau raehraei $n$. Dress.
lihlieu raehraei vi. To speak while sleeping.
lihlipwudoang $n$. Anemone.
lihlihsed $n$. Coral reef.
$\lim _{1} \quad v i$. To bail out water.
$\lim _{2} \quad n$. Pail.
limak vt. To splash water on someone or something.
limanokonok $v i, n$. To be forgetful, a person who tends to forget. Pahpa e limanokonok.
limau num. Five, general counting system.
limaedun num. Ten (commonly of fish, of birds, of crabs, sometimes 5 bunches of breadfruits, with two fruits in a bunch).
limaeimaeirpwong $n$. Plant sp., grass variety, the leaf of this plant closes when you touch it., open daytime close night time.
limeisaek num. Fifty, general counting system.
limepwiki num. Five hundreds, general counting system.
limisoarae $v t$. To rock, to swing back and forth.
$\operatorname{limpaenae}_{3}$ vt. To alter, to fold up, to roll up. Ngaei limpaenae pihpa eu.
$\operatorname{limpoak}_{1} n$, vi, -ae vt. Love, to cherish. Ngaehi limpoak wei rehmw. I feel friendly to you.
$\lim _{1}$ vt, vi. To wipe.
$\boldsymbol{\operatorname { l i m }} \mathbf{w}_{2} n$. Seaweed, moss.
limwilimw $n$. Fish sp., Younger rudderfish, younger stage of lesenke.
limwpaenae $v t$. To fold.
ling $v i$. To be beautiful, with color.
ling $v i$. To appear on the horizon (from the view point of the land? or only for a moving object?). Seppas e lingida. E lingida seppas. *Pohnpei e lingida. *E lingida Pohnpei. [Note: A big size moving object (such as a ship) can be a subject of "ling". Non-moving things (such as island) cannot be a subject of "ling". Subject of "kalingi" should be a moving object or people on the moving object. No restriction on the object noun of "kalingi".]
lingaeraengaer $v i$. To be angry.
lioal $v i, n$. Lightning of weather.
lipahnaed $v i$, $-i v t$. To speak ill of.
lipahnaed ${ }_{1}$ vi, -ae $v t$, - $i \quad v t$. To criticize. Koamwahdae lipahnaed. You guys do not criticise.
lipahnaed ${ }_{2} \quad v i$, -ae $v t, n$. To gossip.
lipahroak $n$. A person who spies.
lipahroang $n$. Fish sp., manta ray.
lipaeipaei $n$. Sea urchin sp., starfish shaped sea urchin, poisoned, you have to use a poison shot to kill this, cutting into piece is not
enough since it will simply help them to populated, a short name of this is paeipaei.
lipaerpaeraelik $n$. Fish sp., White-spotted surgeonfish, many small white spots from its stomach to but.
Lipidahn n. A clan name.
$\operatorname{lipw}_{1} \quad n$. Hole. $3 s$ : lipwin.
$\operatorname{lipw}_{2} \quad n$. Mark-left.
lipwaen neh aeraemas $n$. Footprint.
lipwaesaepwaes $v i, n$. To be always willing to engage in sexual intercourse of a woman, or a woman who is always willing to engage in sexual intercourse.
lipwei $n$. Shell variety.
lihpwiki vi. To be cloudy.
lipwoar $v t$. To scold.
lis $\quad v i$. To be surprised a lot.
lisar $n$. Sea urchin sp., similar to anemone but hard, with many purple projection, washed up on beach, the purple projections make nice sharp sounds.
lisaroap n. Hat. [Note: Deep oa]
lisaengaesaeng $v i$. To be a wimp, of animal subject.
lisaepw vi. To be under influence of alcohol.
liseian $v i$. To be pregnant.
liseuseu $n$. Mosquito larvae.
liseuseu in pad $n$. Any small insects live in the water.
lisok $n$. Hen.
lisokosok $n$. Female god.
$\mathbf{l o i}_{\text {vi, h vt }}$ To arrive at a specific location. John loih sikuhl. John loisang siluhl. John arrived at the school. John arrived at school but he did not go inside and he walked beside the school and went somewhere else.
lok $v i$. To be tired, to be fed up, (really physically tired or sick of).
lokaeia vi. To talk.
lokolok vi. To curl up. E lokolok. It curled up.
lokoloko vi. To be suffered. Serihmaen e lokoloko kin soaumwahnin wai.
lokom $v i, n$. To be short, a short person.
lol $n$. Fish sp., Silver mouth (onaga~okapaka).
lohlaei vi. To be scared.
lohlei $v i$. To be frightened, afraid, or nervous.
lohlei ${ }_{1} n$. Fear, nervousness.
lohmwoi $n$. A disease of infants, attributed to the mother's becoming pregnat while a child is still nursing.
lop $v i$. To be partial.
$\operatorname{lop}_{1} \quad$ vi. To be cut.
$\operatorname{lop}_{2} \quad n$. Cutted piece. Sam paelae ngidaeh lopin seu eu pah saeu. Sam cuts his sugercane
under the sun.
lopidi $n$. One of the eight geologiucally-defined sections that are not significant in public administration, but significant in culture and community activities, two "lopidi" compose one "pwaekil".
lopin poak $n$. A stick to kill the caught fish on a boat.
lopolopin vi. To be striped, either vertical or horizontal.
lopuk $v t$. To cut into pieces, to cut a fallen tree into logs, to cut cross wise???
lohpwu n. Cross. Irah wiahda lohpwuh eu. They made a cross.
loulap $v i$. To be single, unmarried, or a widow.
loa $n$. The bords where people sit on, positioned above the hull, the frontest and last loa are positioned at the higher level and others are positioned at the level of kapwidipwid (projection around the hull), there maybe less loa in the front side than the back side.
loakaeia vi. To speak.
loakaeia kaesaes vi. To stutter. Pwisakmae e loakeia kaesaes.
loakaeiah Wai $n$. English language.
Loakaeiah Wahu n. High language.
loal $v i$. To be soaked.
loalae $n$. Inside of it. Kisah ahla laid mas loalae. Kihdoa nah loalaeh pwokoheu. We go fish inside of the reef. Give me in the bag. [Note: loal+ae(3sg)]
loalaepwoan $v i$. To be crazy.
loalaepwoang $v i$. To do an expression used sniffing.
loallap $n, v i$, $-i v t$. A master, to master cultural things. Woalaemaen en loallap nah siahk.
loahloa $n$. Pole ( 2 poles in a standard shape house) that cross to the loangs (pole used on the top of the side wall), placed in the front side and back side of house.
loamw vi. To be cowardly, to be timid.
Loamwpwaei $n$. A traditional title.
$\operatorname{loang}_{1} n$. Fly (insect).
$\operatorname{loang}_{2} n$. The last beam on all four walls of a house, usually four per one square building.
$\operatorname{loang}_{3} n$. Anythings used to support a canoe hull and the outriger on the beach.
loahng $v t$. To baby-sit.
loangae $v t$. To place one thing across another thing.
loapw vi. To clap.
loapwoaloapw vi. To wash clothes. [Note: cf. vt "loapwoar"]
loapwoar $v t$. To wash clothes, to clap for someone. [Note: cf. vi. "lowapwoaloapw"]
loahseri vi. To baby-sit.
loau vi. To be cool in good way, not sicky cool.
loaulap $n$, vi. A person who lost a spouse, to loose a spouse, to lose one's spouse.
luak vi, -ae vt. To be jealous.
luae $_{1} n$. The remainder or rest of something. Ngaei saewaeh naemaen kang luae. Kihdoa luwae rehi.
luae $_{2}$ To be left, to be remained. Mwoaengae e luaehla.
luaen $n$. Substruction, change of. Iah luaen send eu? Where is the change money?
ludu vi, $n$. Slave. Souanpeipwi luduhkin aeraemas. Woalaemaen mae ludu.
lukae $v t$. To invite. Ngaei lukae kaewae.
lukaepae $n$. Half.
lukaepaen $n$. Middle of. Ahla nah lukaepaen ihmw eu. Go to the middle of the house.
lukaepaenaepwong $n$. Midnight.
lukoap $n$. Middle part. Ngaei wa nag lukopaeh ihmwin saeraewi daekah imwin skuhl.
lukuhku vi. To be a wimp, of animal subject.
luhluae $v i$. To be left (behind).
lup $v i$. To cut crosswise.
lus $v i$. To jump.
luhs vi, vt. To lose. From: e.
lusisael $n$. A game, jump over a rubber rope, usually played by girls.
lusulusiniak $n$. Fish sp., Blenny, half-fish half-land animal, can stay in the sea, can stay in the land, gecko-like animal lives in the ocean near shore, $4-5 \mathrm{~cm}$, black and white in one body, 4 legs and a tail, loccaly considered to belong to the fish category. [Note: (OR SANDPERCH?) [jumpjump-in-mangrove]]
luwak vi, ae-vt. To be jealous. John e luwakae Mike.
$\mathbf{m a}_{1}$ conj. If.
$\mathbf{m a}_{2} v t$, $n$. To kiss or use nose for greeting. Mahihdi.
$\mathbf{m a}_{3}$ To be aged, of people.
ma peiaeng If.
mad $n$, vi. To be low tide or shallow.
madip $v i$. To be dirty.
madipw $v i$. To be dirty as not having a bath for many days. Pwisakmaen ae madipw. The boy is dirty.
madoa $v i$. To be old of age.
mai vi, -h vt taking a noun or verb complement. To be good at.
maing $n$. Person (high language).
maionihs $\quad n$. Mayonaise. From: e.
mahk $n$. Forgiveness.
makae $n$. An only child.
makaerael $n$. Fish sp., Mackerel. From: e.
makaesoakaesoak $n$. Pandanus sp.
mahl $_{1}$ vi. To be unhealthy, of baby. From: e, malnuturitious.
mahl $_{2} n$. Excessive brightness.
mahl eh saeu $n$. Eye sickness from too much of salt and sunlight.
Mahlahl $n$. The first star in the evening.
malahsaehsae $n$. Local alcohol.
malaek $_{1} \quad n$. Chicken.
malaek $_{2} \quad$ vi. To be shy.
malaemal $v i$. To be slow in motion.
mahlaen vi. To draw. [Note: common in Pohnpei but not in Pingelap]
mahliok vi. To be dawn or dusk. Ene mahliokla. It turned into dawn or dusk.
mahlioak $n$. Dawn and dusk.
maluhdi $v i$. To calm down.
malun $_{1} v i, n$. To be cloudless or calm, of weather or ocean.
malunaehdi ${ }_{2}$ vt. vi. To postopone. Kihs malunaehdi piknik eu. Piknik eu en malunaehdi. We potoponed piknik. Piknik is postoponed.
malus $n$. The clay like black powder in a chalk liner.
mamma n. Baby food (this is very young child's word, adults say "maehmae").
man $v i$. To be approved.
mahn $_{1} \quad$ vi. To be sour taste.
mahn $_{2} \quad v i$. To have a pain in one's eye, because of smoke or soap. [Note: similar to "smart" in English and "shimiru" in Japanese, difefrent from "maedaek"]
mahn $_{3} \quad v i$. To be chilly, to be spicy hot.
manaeman $v i$, $n$. Magic, power, To magic. Ngaei kakaen wiahda manaeman. Ngaei
kakaen manaeman. Ngaei mesikida manaeman eu.
manid $v i$. To be tamed. Pwihkimaen e manid. The pig is tamed.
manokonok $v i, n$. To be forgetful, a person who tends to forget. Pahpa e manokonok.
manoakae $v$ t. To forget. Ngaei manoakaehla kaewae.
manus $n$. Shell variety, royal conch shell.
mahng $n$. Mat made from dried green pandanus leaves that are cut in strips.
mar n. Fish sp., Blue-banded surgeonfish, blue-yellow lines from its head to but.
mar $_{1}$ vi, vt. To preserve breadfruits, to be preserved. Irah maraehdi kaenaehrah maei eu. Maei pwi aen mar.
$\operatorname{mar}_{2} n$. Preserved breadfruit. Ngae naemaen kang mar.
mahr n. Any kind of dead leaves. Den saeh mahr orange
maraep vi. To blink.
marep $v i$. To wink or blink.
marer vi. To hiccup.
mareu $v i$. To be thirsty.
mahrior vi. To have blurred vision, to go blind.
marmahn $n$. Preserved breadfruit soaked in salt water prior to placing it in the pit.
mas $_{3}$ vi. To ripe. Wis eu en masaeda.
mas $_{4} n$. Face, eye, surface. $3 s$ : maesae.
$\boldsymbol{m a s}_{5} n$. Acne.
$\operatorname{mas}_{5} n$. Place where the two things connected meet.
Mahs $_{2}$ n. March.
mahs $_{1} a d v$. Before, long ago.
$\mathbf{m a h s}_{2}$ Plant sp., big tree, the tree part is used as uhr and the leaf is used as a food for pig or fertilizer, people also eat the leaves.
mas koadoangaedoang vi, -i vt. To look at things as if he is laughing at (chouchou suru youni).
mas koansoapi $v t$. To look at something with an angry face.
mas lingaeraengaeri $v$. To look at things with an angry face.
mas pwelepwel $n$. Fish sp., giant trevally.
masaemas $n$. Fish sp., Small big-eye emperor, gray-body and white belts.
masaemae par $n$. The first season among the three seasons. [Note: [lit. front year]]
masaemwahu vi. To be goodlooking, pretty, handsome. Serepeinmaen e masaemwahula.
masaepaehk vi. To be afraid.
masaepwaehk $n$. Fear.
masaepwaehk vi. To be scared, cowardly. Pwisakkis e masaepwaehk. [Note: pwaehk "bat"]
masaeraek $v i$. To be lucky in fishing.
masi pwukapwuk $n$. Oriental-eyelid.
maskaesa $v i$. To be unbalanced.
maskoro $n$. Fish sp., One spot snapper, silver body and tellow fins, and a small black spot on its side stomach.
mahspwihwa $a d v$. Sometimes before.
masu $n$. Fish sp., a big green reef fish.
masued $v i$. To be ugly, of animate objects. Kasaemaen e masued.
masukun vi. To be blind.
mahu $n$. Fish sp., parrotfish.
mahu pwur $n$. Fish sp., redlip parrotfish.
maud $n$. Fish sp., seven-banded grouper.
maudaer $n$. Harmonica. From: nauru.
maulik $n$. Fish sp., Blue bullethead parrotfish, middle size fish with blue body.
maun $a d j$. Left. E daedoahngkin pali maun. She uses left hand. (pali=side)
mahusik n. Fish sp., Tan-faced parrotfish, middle size fish, gray color body.
mahwin $_{1}$ vi. To fight. [Note: cf. vt "mahwini"]
mahwin $_{2} n$. War.
mahwini $v t$. To fight. [Note: cf. vi "mahwin"]
$\mathbf{m a e}_{1}$ dem. Here, now.
$\mathbf{m a e}_{2}$ dem.mod. This, by speaker.
$\mathbf{m a e}_{3}$ dem.pron. This, by speaker.
$\mathbf{m a e}_{4}$ rm. Who, what, that.
maeh rmmood. That will, those will, who will.
maeh inapaenap $n$. A sheet to put something on, such as a banana leaf to put food on.
maeh kasaeman $n$. Memorial item.
maeh soau $n$. Fire woods or coconut husk for a stone oven.
maedau $_{1} n$. The part of the ocean beyond the reef.
maedaek vi. To hurt.
maedael $n$. Half. Kihdoa rehi maedaelin koanoamw. Give me half of your food.
maedaendael vi. To be smooth. Simaend eu e maedaendael. Cement is smooth.
maedaendaen $v i$. To be very smooth (feeling from touching).
maedaehsaekae vi. To be just like.
maedaeu $_{2} \quad n$. Fish sp., Colorful soldier fish.
maedaewe vt. To think, high language. Pahpa madoa maedaewe pwa aen kaesaeu. Grandpa thinks that it will rain.
maedi $n$. Fish sp., Japanese large-eye beam, whitebody with tiny black dots.
Maediap n. Place name, central part of one of
the islet, called Daekae.
maei $n$. Breadfruit.
Maei pa n. Breadfruit sp., with seeds, taste sweater, fruit size is smaller, the tree is big and strong, ideal for a canoe-making.
Maei sapwaeraek n. Breadfruit sp., without seeds, taste sweater, the fruit has a long shape, the tree is big and strong, ideal for a canoe-making.
Maei si n. Breadfruit sp., with seeds, taste sweeter, fruit size is smaller, the tree is big and strong, ideal for a canoe-making.
Maei uhpw $n$. Breadfruit sp., no seeds, not very sweet, fruit is round and big.
maeidaehd $n$. Cooked ripe breadfruit, spread over banana leaves and topped with coconut milk.
maeik $n$. Phase from new moon to full moon.
maein $n$. Resident of, to be followed by a place name. John e maein Kahkalia. *E dir maein? [Note: Some older people say that "meh" is corerct word]
Maein Mwoakiloa n. Breadfruit sp., no seeds, not very sweet, fruit is round and big.
Maein Wae $n$. Breadfruit sp., no seeds, not very sweet, fruit is round and big.
maeir vi. To sleep.
maeir kaesaekaes $\quad v i+v i$. To sleep deeply.
maeiroang $n$. Offering.
maeirpaenae $v i$. To close one's own eye. [Note: not only for sleeping]
maeka $n$. One of the major named sections of the main taro patch on Pingelap, separated from each other by open spaces of mud.
maehkis $n$. Something, specific singular object. [Note: va. maehkoas <- Ans. NO]
maehkoas $n$. Some vague things, such as plural object or activity. [Note: [lit. maeh + koaroas]]
maehla $_{1} \quad$ vi. To die or be dead.
maehla $_{2} \quad n$. Funeral. Ngaei ahla in maehlaeu.
maelah saehsae $n$. Tuba-jello, sugar-jello like object that is produced from the liquid from the unbloomed coconut flower. Kisah wia melah saehsae.
maehlakaen vi, to be followed by a verb wiawi. To continue on.
maelas vi. Weak in health or in a fight. Pwisakmaen uhdahn maelas. The boy is really weak.
maelau excl. Please. [Note: va. maenlau]
maelahu $n$. Fish sp., a type of Forktail rabbit fish, but this one changes the body color to the sand color, this belongs to "kioak" group
so that its spine is poisonous and its meat is edible and tasty.
maehlael $a d j$. True, honest. Woalaemaen e maehlael. The man is honest.
maehmae $_{1}$ vi. To chew food in mouth but not try to swallow.
maehmae $_{2} n$. Baby food.
maehmaen $n$. Anyone.
maen $n$. Animal.
maen classifier. Classifier, generally, for animate noun.
maen $_{1}$ dem.pron. That, near the listener.
maen $_{2}$ dem.mod. That, near the listener.
$\boldsymbol{m a e n}_{3}$ dem. There, near the listener.
maen in suhkae $n$. Termite.
maen kaeraep $_{4} \quad n$. General term for lizard species.
maenae $v t$. To wait.
maenae $n$. Power of prayer of medicine.
maendaeh $a d v$. More like.
maenip vi. To be thin. Lihmaen e maenipinip.
maenlau $_{1}$ interjection. Please, thanks.
maensaeng $n$. Morning.
maensoak $n$. General term for birds. Ngaei kila maensoak maen. I saw a bird.
maeng $v i$. To be wilted of plants. Rohs eu en maengaela.
maengaei $v i$. To be easy.
maengaer $n$. Fish sp., adult collared sea bream.
maengin paei $n$. A spot for landing your stick (sihr) in stick throwing game.
maehpwi $n$. Things.
maehr $v i$. To be stained.
maerain $_{1} n$. Light (of sun, moon, star, flash light, lamp, torch).
maerain $_{2} v i$. To shine brightly, to be intelligent.
maeraihn $_{3}$ vi. To be intelligent.
maeram $n$. Moon.
maeramaer vi. To be light color.
maerahra $_{1} \quad$ vi. To be light in weight. Padirih eu mae maerahra. The battery is light.
maerahra $_{2}$ vi. To be soft (said of someone's voice).
maeraer n. Fish sp., Humphead wrasse, this fish grows very big.
maerir $n$. Secret.
maesak $n$. Sponge like object.
maesaraer $n$. Fish sp., pearly soldier fish gindal.
maesae $n$. His face, his eyes. $3 s$ : maesae.
Maesaeh Sapw n. A place name outside the reef, west of the opening to the out sea, facing to the village.
maesaeiroang $n$. Capital place, in front of the

Doahkaesa's house.
maesaehli $n, v i,-h i$ vt. A magic to get someone's love.
maesaen dihdi $n$. Nipple.
maesaen pereu $v i$. To fish the reef from canoe. Ngaei maesaen pereu.
maesaen war ${ }_{1} n$. Paddler who sits in the bow of a canoe.
maesaen war ${ }_{2}$ vi, $-i v t$. To paddle from the bow of a canoe.
maehsaeng $n$. Morning. [Note: va "maensaeng"]
maesoal $n$. Fish sp., all of anemonefish~demoiselle.
maesoar $_{1} \quad v i$. To use a lotion or cream to hold one's hair in place.
maesoar $_{2} \quad v i$, $-i v t$. To have put a lot of oil on one's body. Ngaei naemaen maesoarla. Noahnoa maesoarihla ngaehi.
maesoahr $n$. Shore facing towards the outside of the reef (the break of the reef), where the village is in Pingelap.
maesul $v i$. To be thick. Pisaen moangae en maesulla.
maesul $_{2}$ vi. To pour (describes rain). Kaesaeu eu e maesul. (need eu)
meh $n$. One of, member of, thing of. Irahsi meh Pingelap. They are Pingelapese.
meh idihd $n$. Grater.
meh Pingelap $n$. Pingelap person or people.
meh rop $n$. Handle, of a vehicle.
meh wai $n$. Foreigner, American.
med $v i$. To be full in stomach.
mehda interjection. What for.
mede $n$, vi. Overriped breadfruit, to be overripe of bread fruit. [Note: we do not eat]
medekahn vi. To discuss, to talk about.
medekahni vt. To discuss, to talk about.
Mei n. May.
meidawahl $v i$, $i v t$. To contemplate.
meidaehd $n$. A food made with bread fruits and coconut milk.
mel $v i$. To be expanded or get worse of the damage or cut. Ngaei mel. Aei woahlaeu en meleda.
meleilei $v i$. To be slow, to be quiet, to be calm. Maenlau meleilei. Please be slow. Please be quiet.
meleileidi $v i$. To calm down.
mehlikilik $n$. A strainer, screener.
melimel $n$. Typhoon. 3s: melimelin. [Note: Some people commented that melimel sounds like Pohnpeian. "-kai" (big)? "Melimel-eu, melimel-riau, melimel-silu, ...,
melimel-eisek" are wrong. "Melimel-kaieu, melimel-kairiau, melimel-kaisilu, ...., melimel-kaisek" are correct.]
mendahki vi. To not care.
mehnewarda $n$, vi. Blister, to get a blister. Naeh aen kah mehnewarda.
mehnia int. Which.
meniok vi. To be happy or joyful, high language.
menseiraen vi. To hide negative thoughts.
mehnwar $n$. A pus filled infection.
mer $v i$. To rust.
meriales $n$. Fish sp., Checked snapper.
mering $v i$. To be old and damaged of non-living thing. Puk eu en meringla. The book is now old.
mesal vi. To start to open.
mesal paesaeng ${ }_{1}$ vi. To open, of flower.
mesal paesaeng ${ }_{2}$ vi. To start of the early morning. $\mathbf{E}$ mesal paesaeng maesaeh rahn.
mesehni $_{\mathrm{vi}, \mathrm{n}}$ maen. To be the fist-born child, the first-born child. Pwisakmaen mae mesehni. The boy is the first-born child. [Note: only boy?]
mesehni aen kaeinaek $n$. Oldest living male in each kaeinaek. [Note: only male? or can be either sex?]
mesik $v i,-i v t$. To be afraid.
mesik $_{2}$ vi. To kiss.
mesihn $n$. Machine. machine From: e.
mihk vi, vt. To inhale, to suck. [Note: cf. vi "mihkek"]
mihkek $_{1}$ vi. To inhale, to suck. [Note: cf. vt "mihk"]
mihkek $_{2} n$. Red spots on the skin caused by sucking.
milik $n$. Milk.
minae vi. To exist or be.
miraer vi. To be scared. Ngaei miraer.
mohmohng ih sapw vi. To breath in an agitated manner.
mon $n$. Butt (SLANG).
monomon $n$. Fish sp., Bignose unicornfish, this
fish does not have a unicorn horn but it has a bumphead, white or black body with blue dots, yellowish face, seen on deep reef, , and the skin is hard without scales.
mohng vi, $n$. To breathe, breath.
mohngaela $v i$. To breath a sign of relief.
mohngiong $n$. Heart (as an organ), of other than fishes, or heart disease.
mohngraeiraei $v i$. To inhale to breathe in deeply, to absorb.
mor $n$. Edible parts of food.
moul $n$. A gift of land from grandparent to grandchild.
$\mathbf{m o a}_{1} \quad n$. Grass, used as fertilizer.
moahaerak $n$. Plant sp., grass that grows on the ground and very long, lying down on the ground always.
moahdi $_{2}$ vi. To heal. Woahla eu en moahdi.
moaik $v i$. To be quiet. Eneh moaikila waesahkis.
moak $n$. Fish sp., Blackstreak surgeonfish, light gray body.
moakoau $n$. Coconut flower.
moahnaemae $n$. Pingelap term for rows of taro patch which comprise individual ownership divisions.
moang $n$. Head, top place in a game. $3 s$ : moangae.
moangaemoangae $v i$. To be ahead.
moangaemwahu $v i$. To be clever. [Note: [lit. 'head good']]
$\operatorname{moap}_{1} n$. A cleaning mop.
$\operatorname{moap}_{2} n$. A map.
moarae $n$. Middle. John mae kangaela moaraeh keiki eu.
moaresed $n$. Plant sp., vine with small yellow flower, medicine for toothache.
moaroapw n. Plant sp., banana like fruit tree, the fruit is really like banana and edible.
moahs $n$. Field, open ground.
moasaerae $n$. Bedding.
moaur $v i$. To be alive.
muhieu $n$. Warning.

## Mw - mw

-mw noun.suff. Your. sg.
mwa $n$. Sibling in law.
mwad $n$. A catepillar usually found in the taro patch. [Note: moahdi -> moa]
mwadoang vi. To exercise.
mwakaelaekael vi. To clean. Ihmw eu e mwakaelaekael. The house is clean.
Mwakereker $n$. The particular constellation.
Mwakereker lap $n$. The group of the bright stars concentrating in a place in Mwakereker.
Mwakereker sik $n$. The group of the smaller stars concentrating in a place in Mwakereker.
mwakohko $n$. Famine, serious lack of food.
mwahl $_{1}$ vi. To be a waste. Wispwi e mwahl. Those banana are wasted.
mwahliel $_{1} \quad n$. Brain.
mwahliel ${ }_{2}$ vi. To be dizzy. mwahliel kaehlail
mwahlkin ${ }_{1}$ vt. To treat things as waste (not important). John mwahlkin Mike. John does not respect Mike.
mwahnae $n$. Guy, fellow.
mwanginingin $v i$. To wisper. [Note: one word]
mwar $n$. Title.
mwaraekaela $n$. Fish sp., clyretail grouper, coral fish with many color, smaller stage of this is called "poros".
mwaraemwar $n$. Head piece.
mwarkaela $n$. Fish sp., Big lyretail grouper.
mwaroang $n$, vi. Noise, to make a noise.
mwas $n$. Worm, bacteria.
mwahsael $n$. The Marshall Islands. From: e.
mwahseik $n$. Fish sp., bigger reef fish, blue on top and stripe on the side and white on the bottom, a little bit thin and long, rainbow runner or king amber-jack.
mwasoak $n$. Lizard sp., black body usually found on the coconut tree. [Note: sasoak is another kind of lizard]
mwasoar $v i$. To be disabled.
mwahu $v i$. To be good.
mwahu vi. To like.
mwahu kin aemaen soahroahr $v i$,
ikin $v$ t. To love someone but the person is not interested in him/her.
mwahuda $v i$. To heal. Ngaehi en mwahuda. I got better.
mwahukin vi. To like.
mwahupaen $n$. The good point of being
together. Mwahupaen daedoahk eu pwah saewas paenae.
mwahupaenae vi. To like each other. John daekah Mary, irah mwahupaenae.
mwaed vi. To rot, to decay. Suhkaehpas en mwaedaela.
mwaedang vi. To hurry.
mwaedael $n$. Fish sp., yellowish~orangish~reddish goatfish, large growth stage of the gold-striped goat-fish.
mwaedaela $v i$. To rot. Wenihmw eu en waedaela.
mwaei $n$. Mole, black spot on the skin.
mwaeiang $n$. Swamp taro.
mwaeiang saekaesaek $n$. Plant sp., Taro variety.
mwaeiang aen Ngatik $n$. Plant sp., Taro variety.
mwaeiang aepoahn $n$. Plant sp., Taro variety from Marshall.
mwaeiang naein pwaekilaemaen $n$. Plant sp., Taro variety.
mwaeiang naein silingdae $n$. Plant sp., Taro variety.
mwaeiang naein Esera n. Plant sp., Taro variety, from the name of the person "Esera" who brought this to Pingelap. [Note: Pahpa Ipraim's father brought this]
mwaeiang naein Seria n. Plant sp., Taro variety.
mwaeiang soal $n$. Plant sp., Taro variety.
mwaeid $v t$. To allow.
mwaeik vi. To move.
mwaeimwaei vi. To be spotted.
mwaeipaesaeng vi. To divorce, to be separated.
mwaeisol $n$. Mongolian mark on the hip.
mwaekas $_{1}$ vi. To speak, high language. [Note: high language]
mwaekas $_{2} n$. Proverb, maxim.
mwaekaemwaek n. Plant sp., root plant, edible root from which Pingelapese people make starch, can be used as a burn relief medicine, always male and female together, male has seeds femal has leaves, the root corm's skin makes people dizzy so Pingelapese people do not use the skin, the inside of the corm is white and used to make for starch, the starch is used for baby's food, to make food connected or soup
sticky, or to make the cloth tidy in ironing, from this starch of this plant Pingelapese makes food called "pihlohlo". [Note: similar to a plant called "Katakuri" in Japanese?]
mwaekaer $v i$. To be mad, to be angry, to debate.
mwaekid vi. To leave, move.
mwaekihda $v i$. To run.
mwaemwaeis vi. To visit, to walk around without purpose.
Mwaeniap $n$. One of section on Pingelap, section three. [Note: The theme color if this section is yellow. Nohno Yasio's house is in this section.]
Mwaenik $n$. The smallest portion, high word.
mwaengas $n$. Coconut fruit part after it is brown.
mwaengae $_{1} \quad$ vi. To eat. [Note: cf. vt "kang"]
mwaengae $_{2} \quad n$. Food.
mwaengki $\quad n$. Monkey, ape, gorilla, a person who does not behave. From: e.
mwaengki ${ }_{2}$ vi. To be crazy. From: e.
mwaer vi. To fall off.
mwaerai $n$. Fish sp., Coral grouper.
mwaeraek vi. To be flexible, be not fixed.
mwaeraek $_{2}$ To be wrinkled.
mwaersued vi. To do something bad.
mwaes $_{1} n$, vi. Garden, farm.
mwaes $_{2} n$. Female animal in heat.
mwaes $_{3} n$. The entire connection (apid, ere, kia, daroawa, pwekiaen kia) between the hull and the outrigger.
mwaesahl $n$. Liver sickness, intestines.
mwaesahn $v i$. To watch. [Note: cf. vi "mwaesahni"]
mwaesahni vi. To watch.
mwaesaeda vi. To be in heat, to be ready for breeding, of animals.
mwaesael $v i, v t$. To eat or drink, high language.
mwaesaewael n. Garden, farm. [Note: [lit. mwaes (farden, farm) + wel (bush)]]
mwaesihdi $v i$. To put the mwaes to the canoe hull.
mwedihlik $n$. Kidney.
mwedin $n$. Clan.
Mwedinkas $n$. Traditional assembly.
Mwedinkas Paeida n. Upper traditional assembly.
Mwedinkas Paeidi $n$. Lower traditional assembly.
$\mathbf{m w e i}_{2} v i$, -di $v t, n$. To be ripped of textile or string, a rip on a textile or string. likoau eu en mwei. Pwohpwo en mweidila likoau eu.
mweid vi. To let go, to break a binding on a
person. [Note: cf. vt "mweid"]
mweimwei $n$. Authorization, permission. Ngaei alae mweimwei. I get a permision
mweimwei $v i$. To be allowed.
mweimweiaeng $v i$. To acquire permission.
mweling vi. To be ugly, to be rotten of food. Pwisakmaen ae mweling. The boy is ugly.
mwen $n$. Fish sp., bronze soldier fish.
mwehu $v i$, $n$. To be wild. Pwihkimaen e mwehu.
mwir $_{1}$ vi, -i vt. To do magic. [Note: cf. vt "mwiridi"]
$\mathbf{m w i r}_{2} n$. Magic.
mwiri vt. To do magic. [Note: cf. vi "mwir",]
mwirin conj, prep. After.
mwirin soauwas $n$. Afternoon.
mwis $_{1}$ vi. To vomit.
mwis $_{2}$ vi. To be scattered of non-animate objects. Ene mwisidi. It got scattered.
mwisamwis $n$. Pandanus sp.
mwisi vi. To be severed, cut short.
mwisiloa n. Fish sp., Palenose parrotfish, middle size fish.
mwoh prep. Before, of timing.
mwohdi vi. To sit down.
mwodohdo $_{1}$ vi. To be round, circle-shape. Opwoh eu e mwodohdo.
mwodohdo $_{2} n$. A round object, circle.
mwoimwoi vi. To be seasick, to be dizzy on the ship and possibly feel like to vomit. Ngaei mwoimwoi.
mwokomwok vi. To gargle.
mwon limpoak $n$. Lover.
mwonikiraek $n$. Fish sp., large growth stage of the blunt-nosed soldier fish.
mwopw $n$. Asthma. Woalaemaen e ahnikin mwopw. The man has asthma.
mwopw vi. To have a difficulty in breathing. Mike e keseula dae mwopwda. Mike run and has a difficulty in breathing.
mwowae $n$. In front of.
mwoa $_{1}$ conj, prep. Before, in front of, of location. [Note: va "mwoh", "mwoae", some says that mwoh is for before (timing), mwoa is front (location), and mwoae is in front of. Need more study on this entry.]
mwoa $_{2}$ demonstrative. There, away from both the speaker and the listener.
mwoa $_{3}$ dem.mod. That, away from both the speaker and the listener.
mwoa $_{4}$ dem.pron. That, away from both the speaker and the listener.
mwoak vi. To rot, to decay.
mwoakoahlau $n$. The food brought to a feast.
mwoal n. Sacred place, altar, throne, a stage in a church.
mwoalae $v i$. To be calm, of weather.
mwoalen $n$. Chamber (court and traditional).
Mwoalen Wahu n. Council of High Chiefs in bicameral legislature of the state of Pohnpei.
mwoaloau vi. To be fertile in farming, not for animate objects. Suhkaehpas e mwoaloau.Lehpwel eu en mwoaloaula. Taro patch.
mwoaloau $_{2}$ vi. To be dark color.
mwoamw $n$. Fish.
mwoamw sued $v i$. Ugly. Pwisakmaen e mwoamw sued.
mwoamwae $n$. Manner. Ngaei saehsae wia mwoamwaen koas. I don't know how to make coconut alcohol.
mwoamwaehda vi. To pretend.
mwoamwaen vi. To look like, appear that way, pretend.
mwoamwaen vt. To pretend, to look like, to appear like.
mwoamwene $n$. Fish sp., Forktail blue rabbitfish, belongs to "kioak" group (poisoness spine and tasty meat).
mwoamwoadisoau $n$. Religion. Ngehi saewaeh wia saewaen mwomwodisou. I
am not religious.
mwoang maedaek $n$. Head ache.
mwoang pwia $v i, n$. To be all gray hair, or a person with all gray hair.
mwoaroauroau $v i$. To be fat.
mwoaroauroau $v i$. To be fat.
mwul vi, vt. vi: To be sticky, vt: to stick with, to stick to.
mwuloal $n$, vi. To be deep (ocean, in the forest), deep place. E ahla nah mwuloal. Pwuhngal eu e mwuloal. I go to the deep place.
mwumw n. Bird sp., seagull.
mwungae $_{2}$ vi. To reap, to harvest from ocean and from land.
mwungomwung $_{1} n$. Special occasion, feast when the first breadfruit is ready to be used. It is prepared by the women and the men go fishing ("aulaid"). the breadfruit will be taken to a chief. [Note: This is different from "soangmar"]
mwur $n$, vi, -i vt. A magic to make someone injured, to use the magic.
$\mathbf{m w u h r}_{1} a d v$. Later, in the future.
mwuhr $_{2}$ vi. To be the last.
mwurilik $n$. A feast that occurs at a funeral before the burial.
nah prep. In, during.
Nah Kaepaedau n. Place name, harbor of Daekae facing the lagoon.
nah kil $n$. Inside the body. Ngaei ekis nah kil sued. Nah kilmw e sued. I am not feeling well. You are sick.
nah kisiniaei $n$. Hell.
nah lam prep.n. In the lagoon.
Nah madolo n. Place name, the channel between Pingelap and Daekae.
Nah Maedau n. A traditional title on Pingelap.
Nah Nihd $n$. A traditional title on Pingelap.
nah pae $n$. Palm of the hand.
nah waehwae prepphrase? In the air. Sepesoakpas e soakoasoakoasoak nah waehwae.
nahdam $n$. One of the side of the canoe hull, facing to the "dam" (outrigger).
nainikin $v t$. own, have, beget. [Note: Clarify
meanings here; need one or more sample of comments.]
naip n. Knife. From: e.
nahk $n$. Storage.
nahk ${ }_{1} n$. Large hand net with a straight handle used for fishing on the reef.
nahk $\mathbf{k}_{2} n$. Name of the fishing method in which a nahk is employed. [Note: Is this the correct description of a "nahk"? Can "nahk" also be used as a verb? Ans. NO]
nahk $\mathbf{k}_{3} v i$. To store, to save for later. Linda ae minae aeh waesahn nahk. Linda nahkihdi iripeu.
nahkadoakae $p p$. Highest point of something, summit. E minae nah kadoakae.
Nakulahi $n$. The title for the wife of "Nahlaimw", the other name for this title is "Nakul".
Nahlaimw n. A traditional title.

Nahleio $n$. The title for "Nahnaewa"'s wife.
Nahlik $n$. A traditional title.
Nahlikiei $n$. The title for "Nahlik"'s wife.
nahmon $n$. Ass hole.
nampa $n$. Number.
Nahmwariki $i_{1} n$. A general term for the highest chief on Pingilap.
Nahmwariki $i_{2}$ vi. Rule as a "Nahmwariki". From: Pohnpeian. [Note: Need to investigate the Pingilapese title system. Is chief the right word here? Can this be used for Western leadership roles as well?]
nan $n$, vi. Pus. E minae nan nah woahla. Nan e ahsang nah woahla. Woahla eu aen nan.
nahna $n$. Pile of earth material, such as pile of sand, stones, cotals.
nahna pik $n$. Sandy place inside the barrier reef, but no beach.
Nahnapaspei $n$. The title for "Nahnaepas"'s wife, the other name for this title is "Pasepei".
nahnaekoas $n$. Strand of coconut sennit.
nanaemaskin $v$. To like, to be fond of. $\mathbf{E}$ nanaemaskin likoau eu. She likes the clothes.
Nahnaepas $n$. A traditional title.
nahnaeri $n$. Their delivery place.
Nahnaewa $n$. Second highest title on Pingilap. [Note: Can this word also used as a verb, as for Nahmwariki? Note that Pingilap was misspelled in the original entry. Need to check all spellings of this word for consistency.]
Nahneken $n$. A traditional title.
Nahniek n. A clan name.
Nankenei $n$. The title for "Naneken"'s wife, the other name for this title is "Nankeniei".
Nahno $n$. A traditional title.
Nahnopei $n$. The title for "Nahno"'s wife.
Nahnpaei $n$. A traditional title on Pingelap.
Nahnsahwinsed $n$. A ghost of the sea, said to cause illness or accident in the sea.
nansiaeng $v i$, $v t$. To give one's best effort. Ngaei nansiaeng. Ngaei nansihaeng aei skuhl.
Nang Kiraeu n. A traditional title on Pingelap.
nap $v i$. To be enough. From: e.
nahpwungae prep-n. In between.
nahraek prep.n. In the breadfruit season.
naroak vi. To be greedy (not necessarily for food). Pwisakmaen e naroak. The boy is greedy.
nahsipw $n$. A bend in the reef, break in the reef, where the village is facing. [Note:

Definition is unclear; not certain how to gloss this word--as reef or bend. Could it refer to a break in the reef (c.f. Pnp tipw)?]
nahsoauwas $n$. Noon. [Note: [lt. nah+sou+was], What is the best way of handling the literal field? In Ping. or English or both? If as above, need to make sure that all 3 morphemes are in the dictionary. It may be best to use this very sparingly, since, to be consistent, one would have to do a morphological analysis of every word.]
naeh possesive pronoun. Her or his.
naeh madoa $n$. Grand child.
naei pron. My.
naei $v i$. To be neat.
naei aepwal $n$. My step child.
naein aikem $n$. Plant sp., Taro variety.
naeirahsi pronou. Their.
naeiri possesive pronoun. Their.
naeihs pron. Ours, dual exclusive.
naeihsa pron. Ours, dual inclusive.
naeihsahsi pron. Ours, plural.
naeisik vi. To deliver.
naek $n$, vi. Rolled dried pandanus leaves before they are made into strips for weaving. [Note: Does this refer to the roll or to the leaves? Can this be used as a vi? Note the next entry.]
naekae vt. To roll dried green pandanus leaves.
Naemahl $n$. One of section on Pingelap, section one. [Note: Blue P. Ipraim]
naemae $n$. Taste. Ngaei ioukin naemaen sukareperep. Ngaei saewaeh mwahukin naemaen kuhleid.
naemaedaeh vi. To be like, to be similar to. [Note: Good notes that this is 'original form of "aemaedaeh". But many Pingelapese reported that they do not say "aemaedaeh". So, I list "naemaedaeh" only.]
naemaedaeh mae vi. Like this.
naemaedaeh pwa $v$ t. To look like. John e naemaedaeh pwa kaewae. John looks like you.
naemaen $v t$, shoud be followed by $a v p$. To want.
naempil $v i$. To be tastless, to be watery.
naehnaeh madoa $n$. Grate child.
naenaek vi, -ae vt. To commit adultery.
naenaekaehsak $n$. Pandanus sp.
naehnaehla ${ }_{1}$ vi. To become quiet. Koamwah naehnaehla.
naehnaen vi. To be quiet, to still.
naehnaen likamw vi. To lie behind the nice
behaver.
naes $v i$. To shop. Ngaei naesla nah Kolonia. Ngaei naeski wis. I shopped in Kolonia. I bought a banana.
naesaenaes $n$. vi. Selling merchandise, to sell.
naeski $v i$, $v$. To sell. Ngaei naeskihla. Ngaei naeskihla wis nah Kolonia.
ne $n$. Leg. $3 s$ : nehn. [Note: Decide how to handle entries like this. Is it necessary to include the construct suffix for Pingelapese? Need to have a better understanding of noun inflection and patterns of possession.]
Nein Mwoamwoahdsou $n$. A church title.
nehk $a d v$. Reall, very.
nekenek vi. To keep or store. [Note: Can store be used as an intransitive verb? Does it mean 'be stored'?]
nekenekidi $v i$. To be buried.
nehki $v$ t. To distribute. Lihmaen en nehkihdi mwoampwi.
nehki ${ }_{2}$ vt. To divide. Maenlau nehkihdi mwoamwpwi.
nekid $v i$. To save and be responsible for it oneself.
nekidai $n$. Necktie. From: e.
nekidi $v t$. To bury, to put in a safe place.
nemenek vi. To be popular. Pwisakmaen e nemenek.
neu $n$. Fish sp., Scorpion fish or stone fish, poison reef fish that coud grow big, big eyes, big nose, big mouth, and big front fin.
ni n. Coconut.
nih maho n. Plant sp., a variety of coconut, somewhat between orange and green.
Nialim n. Friday.
Niari $n$. Tuesday.
Niaehd $n$. Monday.
Niaepoang $n$. Thursday.
nihd $v t$, $-i v t$. To pull a long object that is laying.
nihdek $v i$. To pull a long object that is laying.
nidoi $v i$. To be shy. Serepeinmaen en nidoila. The girl is very shy.
nidoi $_{2} n$. Fish sp., Roundhead parrotfish (shy
fish, always hide behind the rock, and change the body color to the rock color), can glow to mid size.
Niesil $n$. Wednesday.
nikai $n$. Two-story building. From: j.
nihkusa $n$. Coconut sp., short.
nihl $n$. Nail in carpenter work.
$\operatorname{nim}_{1} v t$. To drink.
$\operatorname{nim}_{2} n$. Drinking object.
nihmadoa $n$. Fish sp., White longface emperor, big reef fish, older stage of "maedi".
nimae $n$. My drink.
nihmaelidoap $n$. Plant sp., vine, medicine for the woman after childbirth.
nin $n$. Tree sp., small, no flower, seen in land, its skin is very strong and used to tie things. [Note: medicine for something but my informant does not know]
nihsoal $n$. Coconut sp., with green fruit.
nihweisahsa $n$. Coconut sp., orange fruit.
nohkin $a d v$, to be followed by a verb. Very much, too much.
nohn vi. To be much.
nohrahrah $n$. Toy variety, a tiny canoe made from a cocont leaf, children liked to play with this in a windy day.
noriai $n$. The small canoe for children. From: maybe j .
noahd $n$. A notebook.
noak $n$. Secondary rib of the cocont leaf.
noakoanoak $v i$. To make angry face.
noamw pronoun. Your.
noahnoa $n$. Mother, female caregiver.
noahnoa madoa $n$. Grandmother.
Noahpaempae $n$. November.
noaroak vi. To be greedy for.
noaroakae $v t$. To be greedy for.
Noahs n. A traditional title on Pingelap.
nu $v i$. To be shocked.
nuhd $n$. Squid.
nudunud $v i$. To be fatty.
nuhs $n$. News.

Ng - ng

Ngahd interr. When? in a question sentence. ngaingai $v i$. To laugh, slang. ngang $_{2} \quad v i$. To be dry.
ngang saeu $v i$. To be sunny.
ngangae saeu $v i$. To have drought.
ngap $_{1} n$. The distance between tip of your left hand to right hand when you outstreached your arms.
$\operatorname{ngap}_{2}$ vi, -ae $v t$. To drow one's arm as if to strike a blow (this is what you do when a pitcher throws a ball).
ngaeh pron. I'll, 1st person singular pronoun for future.
ngaei pron. I, 1st person singular subject.
ngaehi pron. Me , 1st person singular non-subject.
ngaen $n$. Spirit.
Ngaensaeraewi $n$. Holy Gohst.
ngaensuwed $n$. Devil.
ngaepae $v t$. To measure with outstreached arms.
ngaes $v t, n$. To pant, a mild case of asthma.
ngenengen $n$. Bird sp., a kind of sand piper, similar to "kolehs" but this one does not form a group.
ngenengen ${ }_{1} n$. Shadow. $3 s$ : ngenengenin.
ngenengen ${ }_{2}$ vi. To be seen through.
ngi ${ }_{1} n$. Claw of a crab or lobster, tentacle. $3 s$ : ngihn.
$\operatorname{ngi}_{2} \quad n$. Teeth. 3s: ngiae.
ngi $_{3} n$. Fish sp., Blue-barred parrotfish, can glow to rather big, blue-ish body.
ngih kapakal $n$. A grinder tooth.
ngih lopuk $n$. Front teeth, cutting teeth.
ngih maedaek $n$. Toothache.
ngih pwoar n. A cavity in a tooth.
ngih sehridi $n$. A canine tooth, tearing tooth.
ngiangi $v i$. To be diligent.
ngid ${ }_{1}$ vt. To chew sugar cane, coconut or pandanus.
ngid $_{2} \quad n$. Chewing object.
ngidila $v i$. To be chewed.
ngidingid $v i$. To be adherent, cohensive, sticky.
ngil $n$. Voice, sound. $3 s$ : ngilae.
ngilikaeng vi. To be derisive.
ngiliwas $v i$. To use an offensive tone in voice.
ngilmaerahra $n$. A soft voice.
ngilsoausoau $n$. Deep voice.
ngioal $n$. Fish sp., Bird wrasse, smaller fish with long mouth.
ngihpis $n, v i$. Any teeth that is out of place or out of how it should be, to have this kind of teeth.
ngihpwar $r_{1} n$. A pig with its tooth out of the mouth, the oldest stage of a pig's life.
ngihpwar ${ }_{2}$ vi. Of a pig, to have its tooth out of the mouth, to be at this oldest stage of a pig's life. [Note: [ngih+par (of paraeda)]]
ngis $v i$. To shout.
ngihsahsa $n$. Fish sp., Gray bullethead parrotfish, middle size gray body.
ngihsehse $v i$. To be strenuous, to be diligent.
ngolungol $v$. Lung.
ngoang $v i$. To be concerned, to be anxious, to be eager.
ngoar $_{1} \quad n$. Very low tide.
ngoar $_{2}$ vi. To snore.
ngoar $_{3} n$. Dialectal accent.
ngoaroangoar $v t$. To crunch.
ngoaroar $v t$. To crush.
ngoas $n$. Nose. $3 s$ : ngoasae.
ngoas $_{2} \quad$ vi. To decay. Maeheu mae ngoasaela.
ngud $v i$. To whisper.
oh interj, intensifier. Oh!, really.
ohdai $n$. Bandage. From: j.
odepai $n$. Motorcycle.
ohiaia $n$. Ditch or bank, beside a road or taro patch.
ok $n$. Fish sp., Crocodile needle fish, very big dangerous fish.
oko $n$. An old game in which laughter must be controlled and rocks are thrown at the one who can't control his laughter, has not been practiced in these days.
ohled $v i,-v t$. To hold in a card game.
onaenae $v t$. To prepare.
ohnek quant. All. Kisahsi ohnek loapwoaloapw. We all clap.
ohpes $n$. Office.
opwo n. Ball.
opwuhna $n$. Fish sp., Biggest stage of blue fin travelly.
ohroas quant. All. [Note: Can this also be used as a verb? Ans. NO]
osime $n$. Diaper. From: j.
ouraeman $v i, n$. To dream.

## Oa - oa

oaekaeda vi. To be burned, to be heated by a fire, to be angry. Sidohp eu en oaekaeda. Ihmw eu en oaekaeda.
oaeraema $n$. Blood vein.
oak $v i$. To be burned. Ihmw eu en oakaeda.
Kandil kis e oak. The house got burned.
Oakdoahpae n. October.
Oahkes n. August.
oal vi. To cut. Ae oalaehsang saeh nih eu. He cut off the coconut leafs.
oalae $v i$. To beckon, to wave like inviting.
oalaehsang vt. To get things aside by a waving motion. I get the coconut tree leaf aside by a waving motion. [Note: from oaloahl (beckon)]
oaloahl $v i,-i v t$. To beckon.
oamw pronoun. Your.
oahn $v i$. To have a hangover. John ae nimila saekau eu ahioa dae e oahn rahn eu. John aen kah oahn. John drank beer yesterday and he has hangover today. John will have a hangover.
oan saekau vi. To have a hangover.
oanioan n. Onion. From: e.
oanoap $v i,-i v t$. To prepare; vt to study.
oang $_{1}$ prep. For.
$\boldsymbol{o a n g}_{2} n$. Plant sp., turmeric with yellow color.
Den oang ginger color $=$ yellow
oangele $n$. Fish sp., small reef fish, younger stage of ikem (Blacktail snapper).
oangoahng vi. To be yellow. Saeh eu en oangoahngaela.
oapoahn $n$. Metal spearhead used for catching turtles or whales.
oapup n. Coconut crab.
oaraelap $n$. Topic.
oaraema n. Plant sp., big tree without flower, without fruit, medicine for making hair thick, the bark is used for fishing line. When the bark of this plant is burned, it melts and sticks to each other like plastic.
oaroang $n$. Fish sp., reef fish with blue on upside of its body and silver on down side.
oaroahr $n$. Shore, beach. $3 s$ : oaraeoarin, or or oaroahrin. [Note: va "oaroahr"]
$\boldsymbol{0 a s}_{1} n$. Brown and fallen pandanus leaves used for thatched roof.
$\mathbf{0 a s}_{2} \quad n$. A thatched roof.
$\mathbf{0 a s}_{3}$ vi. To make a thatched roof.
$\mathbf{o a s}_{4} n$. Sago.
oahs $n$, $v i$. Hose, to flow.
Oauwa n. A traditional title on Pingelap, the Pingelap original name for paramount chief.
oauwa $n$. The original term for the paramout cief on Pingelap, this person is commonly called as doahkaesa (from Kosraean language), or nahmwariki (from Pohnpeian language). This term, oauwa is known to limited people today.

## P - $\mathbf{p}$

$\mathbf{p a}_{1} \quad$ vt. To weave. [Note: cf. vi "pei"]
$\mathbf{p a}_{2} \quad$ prep. Under, down. [Note: va "pah"]
$\mathbf{p a}_{3} \quad$ vi. To be cool. Koamwah uhdahn pa. Kae pa. You two are cool. You are cool.
pah pae $n$. Armpit.
$\operatorname{pad}_{1} v i$, -ae $v t$. To be late. Kae padaela saeraewi. Ngaei padaewei saeraewi.
$\mathbf{p a d}_{2} n$. Pond on the ground after rain. Alpas e paden pilla.
pada $n$. Glasshopper.
padik $_{1} \quad v t$, $-i$ v. To squeeze, to push. Kae padik oamw aering. Ke padiki padin eu.
padik $_{2} \quad$ vi. To hold. in a card game.
pahdikae prep. Under. Ngaei kilahda kidihmaen pahdikae warpas. [Note: pahdikae is "right under", more specific than pah]
pahdikae pwaela $n$. Sexual organ for both sexes.
padil $n$. Paddle.
padin n. Button.
padiri $n$. Battery.
padlikoap $v i$. To do akimbo.
padoak vt. To plant. [Note: cf. vi "road",]
pai vi. Fortunate. Ngaei pai rahn eu. I am lucky today.
paikaer $n$. Gutter.
paikaer $n$. A tool to channel liquid into a container, such as gutter.
paiking $n$, $v i$. Infection, to be infected. From: j.
paimwahu vi. To be fortunate. Ngaei naemaen paimwahu.
paioaled adj. Purple, color purple. From: e "violet".
paip n. Pipe. [Note: local one is made out of a coconut leaf]
paipoang $v i$. To have runny nose.
pais expression. Who elese?
pahisaek num. Forty, general counting system.
paiskehl $n$. Bicycle. From: e.
paisued $v i$. To be unlucky, unsuccessful.
$\mathbf{p a k}_{1} n$, vi. Fat nose, or flattened thing, to be flat. Ngoasaei en pakaela.
$\mathbf{p a k}_{2} n$. Times in mathmatics, time as a numbers of occasion. [Note: "pah" in fast speech]
pahk $n$. Red mark left after beating.
pahk $v i$. To wipe, to sweep.
pakaelaeki $v i$. Act in a purposeful manner while attributing the outcome to luck.
pahkidi $v i$. To be beaten and left red mark on.
pakir vi, -i vt. To punch.
pakoa $n$. Shark.
pal $v t$. To chop.
pal $_{2} n$, vi. Tatoo, tatoo.
pahl n. File. From: e.
pal ih nah sapw $v i$. To do the first stage of the canoe making, work in the bush, cutting down the tree $\sim$ do the primary shaping, before bring it to canoe house for the second stage.
palapal $n$. Fish sp., Coral rabbit fish, pencil-streakod rabit fish, belongs to kioak group (poisoness pain and tasty meat), lives in a reef.
palae $v t$, -hng $v t$. To give tatoo.
pahlae ${ }_{2} n$. The primary rib of the coconut leaf.
palaek $v i$. To be good at climbing.
pahlaeng prep $n$. Lower region of the sky, usually below the cloud.
palaepal $_{1} \quad$ vi. To be chopped.
palaepal $_{2} \quad n$, vi. Tatoo, to be tatooed.
palaewar $v i$. To build canoes.
palaewaesa $v i,-h n$. To be lanky.
palede $n$. Fish sp., Brown/silver sweeper and (two-fin/one-fin) Flashlight fish.
pali $_{1} n$. Day after tomorrow.
pali $_{2} n$. Government branch.
pahli $v t$. To file. From: e.
pali koikoi n. A food, grated green banana put back in the inner skin and cooked.
pali maun $n$. Left side.
pali maeing $n$. Right side.
paliaeir $n$. South. [Note: [lit. 'side south']]
paliaeng $n$. North. [Note: [lit. 'side north']]
palikapi $n$. West.
palimaesae $n$. East. [Note: [lit. 'side east further away of'] ]
palihpwoahl $n$. Volleyball. From: e.
paliwar $n$. Body.
pampaer $n$. Diaper. From: e.
pahn $n$. Bait. E wahda eh pahn eu dae ahla laid.
pang $v i$. To fish with a rod.
pang pwasol $n$. A game in which one attempts to pick up a bottle with a nail tied to a line which is attached to a stick.
pangae $v t$. To fish with a rod.
pangid $v i$. To blow the nose. From: PNP.
pangin $_{1} v t$. To call.
pangin $_{2} v t$. To awaken someone up.
pahngoak $n$. Declaration made by the highest chief.
pap $n$. Board.
pahpa $n$. Male in care giver status. Pahpa Ilander Father Ilander, Uncle Ilander [Note: Pingelapese use "pahpa' to male who are not their father too. They use "pahpa" to father and uncles in family relationship and to not-genetically related uncle-aged male too. Mwoakilese do not. They use "pahpa" only to their father. Casual Pingelapese children use "Pah" sometimes.]
pahpa madoa $n$. Grandfather.
pahpahnaeir $n$. Fish sp., Slender grouper.
papilaer $v i, n$. To be popular.
par $_{1} n$. Old sprouting coconut.
$\boldsymbol{p a r}_{2} n$. Year.
$\operatorname{par}_{3}$ vi. To be intoxicated, to be drunken.
$\mathbf{p a r}_{4} \quad v$. To evaporate.
$\operatorname{par}_{5} n$. The spongy substance found in a sprouting coconut in its early stage of development. [Note: this is the one in "ais par"]
pahraek vi. To be equal, to be the same.
paraekapw $n$. New year.
pahraeng $n$. Metal.
paraes $n$. Bird sp., noddy, black with white hat and dark legs.
parla vi. To be very drunken.
pahro n, vi. Pomade, using pomade.
pahrohro $n$. Dragonfly, butterfly.
paroak $v t$. To grab, to catch with hands.
pas $v t$. To cut the skin off. Kaen pasaela oamw mwaeiang.
pas $n$. The game of tag.
pas $v i$. To arrive by sea.
$\mathbf{p a s}_{1}$ vi. To do a prayer visit.
$\mathbf{p a s}_{2}$ vi. To play tag.
pas $_{3}$ vi. To arrive at a destination. Warpas e pasaedoa.
pahs $n$. A space where fishing items are put, positioned just between the paerap (plat form above a canoe hull) and the mwaes (the connection between the hull and outriger).
pasae vt. To tag.
pasaekapw vi. To do something first time. Ngaei pasaekapwla laid.
pasaehn vt. To plus.
pasaehng $v t$. To participate, to be part of.
pasaepas $_{1} \quad$ vi. To be flat and big, usually said of land.
pahsaeu $v i$. To be discouraged, depressed appearance. Ngaei pahsaeula. Kae pahsaeu.
pases $_{1}$ vi. To travel. Iah waen pwaeinaen pases in ahla Pingelap? How much is it to go to Pingelap?
pases $_{2} n$. Traveller.
pahsked n. Basket ball. From: e.
pasoa vi. To be very hungry. Ngaei uhdahn pasoa. I am very very hungry.
pahsoan $n$. Vagina.
pahsu $n$. Killer clam, which is round and found in sand.
pahu num. Four, general counting system.
pauni $v t$. To check the weight of something.
$\mathbf{p a e}_{1} n$. Ray species, first growth stage of trevally.
$\mathbf{p a e}_{2}$ n. Hand, arm.
paeh malaek n. Secondary roof. [Note: [hand+chicken]]
paed $_{1} n$. Blister.
paed $_{2}$ v. Show up. Ene paedaela.
paehd $v i$. To be awake night time.
paehd vi. Not to be able to sleep. Ngaei paehpaehd ini pwong.
paedahk ${ }_{1} \quad v i$. To show, to teach.
paedahk $2 \quad n$. Teaching.
paedahki vt. To teach.
paedahkiaeng $v t$. To show.
paedar $_{1} \quad$ vi. To paint following a line.
paedarae ${ }_{2}$ vt. To be close by, the near side. Wispas e paedaeaeda maeipas. John e paedarae(?) Mike nah keseu.
paedaed $v i$. To fall.
paehdaenpwong $v i$. To be not be able to sleep. Blue pwaisaek sohmwahukihda aeh
paehdaenpwong.
paeden ihsahla vi. To have an blood blister under the nail.
paedihdi $n$. Fish sp., first growth stage of trevally.
paedinaekaeu $n$. Fish sp., Hawkfish.
paedlukoap $n$. Fish sp., Blue-lined squirrel fish (not blue, red body and two white belts, one on belly and one on waist).
paedoar $n$, vi. Wrestle, to wrestle.
paehdpaesaeng $v i$. To open one's eye or mouth. Ngaei paehdpaesaeng. Maesaen John e paedpaesaeng.
paei vi. To weave. [Note: cf. vt "pa"]
paei $_{1}$ vi. To play the game paeisihr.
paehi $_{2}$ vt. To weave.
paeid $v i$. To throw down, to put or drop in. [Note: cf. vt "paeidi"]
paeid $v t$. To throw. Ngaei peidila suhkaehpas.
paeida $_{1} n$. A higher elevation, upstairs.
paeidakaemw $n$. Your face, high langugae.
paeidi $n$. A lower elevation, downstairs.
paeik vi. To obey.
paeikaesal vi. To not know what to do. Ngaei paeikaesal.
paeikupw $n$. Fish sp., sergeant, white body and black belts.
paeiliaensapw $n$. Individual land-owning strips of land areas.
paeilik $n$, vi. Fishing method in outside reef with a fishing line, to do this kind of fishing.
paein ref noun. Self.
paeipaei $_{3} n$. Sea urchin sp., a short name of lipaeipaei.
paeipaesaeng $v i$. To be confused or undecided.
paeis $_{1} n$. A kind of nickname from old-days person based on the similarity in the characteristics between the old-days person and today's person. [Note: If the today's person is good at fishing like "Laeisen" who was famous for his fishing skill long time ago, we call the today's person "Laeisen". This is "paeis". "Paeis" is not calling Ryoko as Ryo-chan or Beatrich as Bika.]
paeis $_{2}$ vt. To call someone with a name of old-days person because the two people have a similarity in the characteristics. [Note: If the today's person is good at fishing like Laeisen who was famous for his fishing skill long time ago, we call the today's person Laeisen. This is paeis. Not calling Ryoko as Ryo-chan or Beatrich as

Bika.]
paeisihr n. A game played by throwing sticks, allowed to do only before breadfruit season starts.
paek vi. To defecate.
paehk $n$. A bag. Ngaei kakaen wahda eu paehk in rice maenlau? Can I get a bag of rice, please?
paeka $v i, n$. To be lazy. Pwisakmaen e paeka. E paekahmaen. The boy is lazy. He is a lazy person.
paekaia vi. To uproot plants to clear the land for some purpose.
paekair vi, -kin vt. To announce.
paekal $v i$. To be soft or watery.
paekaloang vi. To be insane.
paekas $n$. Fish sp., Roundspot Surgeon, ringtail surgeonfish, Eyestripe surgeonfish, middle size fish.
paekaeiak vi. To cut grass.
paekaemwahl $v i$, $n$. To be careless about where one defecated.
paekaen maen in suhkae $n$. Termite's doodoo, rather fresh ones are black, dried old ones are white and slightly bigger than the fresh ones.
paekaen pahraeng $n$. Rust.
paekaen saeu $n$. Plant sp., jelly-looking plants on the land.
paeki $v t$. To ask or beg.
paehkiaek $v i, \quad-i \quad v t$. To summon. Soulik paehkiaek.
paekihdihdi $a d j$. Youngest.
paekimahk vi. To apologize or ask forgiveness.
pael $_{2} v i$. To be in a taboo relationship.
paehl n. Bell.
paelang $v i$. To be dried by the sun.
paelang vt. To dry. [Note: cf. vt "paelang"]
paelangek vi. To dry things.
paelangk $n$. Porch.
paelas $n$. A large marble.
paelae $_{1} \quad v t$. To cut. Sam paelae ngidaeh lopin seu eu pah saeu. Sam cuts his sugercane under the sun.
paelae ${ }_{2} v t$. To make canoes.
paelae $_{3} n$. Depth of underwater. Paelae ae daepae? How deep was it?
paelaek $n$. Matured coconut husk.
paeliali $v i$. To connenct two things straight in line.
paelian $v t$. To be against. Ngaei paelipaelian kaewae.
paelianla $v t$. To follow.
paeliau $n$. Fish sp., Sixfeeler threadfin, this fish runs very fast.
paeliae $n$. Partner.
paeliaenaenmwar $n$. Dowry, property that an woman brings along with her marrige.
paelo ${ }_{1} n$. Cement floor.
paelo $_{2} n$. Group of living things. Paeloh serihpwi en ahdoa.
paehm $v t$. To feel.
paehm vi. To wake up.
paehmae vi. To be awake.
paena $n$. Fish sp., Barred halfbeak and lutke's halfbeak, a kind of needlfish with a short upper lip and long lower lip.
paenae $n$. Plant sp., seen in shore line, nearby mangrove, the tree has flower and bead-like fruit, with pilability, used in ere in canoe-making.
paenaeinaei $n$. Family.
Paenaesik $n$. A place name outside the reef, east of Pingelap.
paenaeu $n, ~ v i,-i v t$. Advice, To advise, to discipline. Ngaei paenaeui kaewae.
paenaeui $v t$. To advise, to correct by giving advice. [Note: cf. vi "paenaeu"]
paenaeui $v t$. To persuade, to convince.
paeni To dig. Ngaei paenihda mwaeiang eu.
-paenoh verb.suff. Habitual marker. John e wiapaenoh maeimaeir. John kaein kiahpaenoh daedohak.
paengi vt. To flirt, to approach sexually.
paenging ${ }_{1}$ vi. To have a red face from drinking alcohol. Pwisakmaen en paengingila.
paenging $_{2}$ vi. To have a red spot, as from being beaten or hit. John e poakihdi Mike dae Mike e paengingila. John beat Mike and then Mike got red and red-color blue.
paehpae $n$, vi. Flower of the breadfruit tree, to bloom of breadfruit flower.
paehpaehm vi3. To be awake.
Paepaewaerae n. February.
paepoahs $v i$, $v t$. To search blindly. Woalaemaen paepohs lihmaen.
paerai $v t$. To fry.
paerap $n$. The platform where a person stand on, positioned above the hull in the slightly front side than middle of the canoe.
paerar $n$. Starfish.
paerar $_{2} n$. A toy pinwheel.
paerae $_{1} n$. Room.
paerae $_{2}$ vt. To hide, to block from view, to protect. Ae oalaehsang saeh nih eu pwa aehsoh paerae aeh daedoahk. He cut off the coconut leafs so that it will not bother
his work.
paerae $_{3} v t$. To block or bother someone's move.
paeraeisaed $n$. A tilted stick or timber to support the connection of a vertical pole and a horizontal pole.
paeraeki $v t$. To roll out. Ngaei paeraekihdi iroapeu.
paeraen vi. To be happy.
paeraepaer $n$. Fish sp., Flatfish ~ flounder, stay in the bottom of the ocean and its body color is similar to the bottom of the ocean.
paeroahs ${ }_{1} n$. Protestant in religion.
paeroahs $_{2} n$, vi, vt, -i $v t$. Blush, to blush.
paehs $n$. Ashes, powder. Serih pwi ene suk pehs eu aeh dae ene paehsaela. The kids pounded the border stone until it became powder.
paesai $v t$. To cut grass.
paesahu $n$. Shell variety, bear paw shell.
paehsae vi. To be acquainted.
paesaen $n$. Plenty of. E minae paesaen serepeinpwi mwoa.
-paesaeng verb.suff. Apart.
ped n. Local-hand-drill, not come with a motor.
pehd $n$. Bed.
pedela $n$, vi. Blister, to show up, to appear.
pedehu $n$, vi. A meal with only one kind of food (ex. taro only, fish only), to have this kind of meal.
pei $v i$. To fight.
pei $_{1} \quad$ vi. To float. Suhkaepas e peils. The tree drifted away.
peiai vi. Balanced, divided equally, same. Irah karoas peiai. They are same.
peidaek $n$. Question.
peidi vt. To throw down, to put or drop in. [Note: cf. vi. "peid"]
peidi vi. To arrive, by means of transportation.
peikiri n. Oven. From: e.
peila vi. To cast away.
peilik vi. To out fish using a line and a sinker.
pein $n$. Woman.
peinaeh $_{1} a d v$. Only. Ngaei laemaelaemae peinaeh kaewae.
peinaeh $_{2} a d v$. Except. Ohnek nah ihmw pworda peinaeh Pwohpwo Ann. Everybody in the house wake up expect baby-Ann.
peinaeh $_{3} a d v$. Still. Ngaei peinae awiawi kaewae.
peipaelaengaelaeng $n$. Fish sp., half-banded ocean snake eel, small and colorful in many different colors
peirin ${ }_{1} \quad$ vi. To compete. Kaedae peirin.
peirin $_{3}$ vi. To be jealous. Ngaei peirinaen John. I, John's GF, is jealous about John.
pekehdil $n$. Lice eggs.
peleid $n$. Plate. From: e.
pelenges $n$. Gray reef shark, small shark that comes to shore.
pelenges $n$. Fish sp., reef whitelip shark.
peliki $v$ t. To twist.
pelikipae $v i$. To hold one's hand behind one's back. Ngaeh pelikipaehmw.
$\operatorname{pen}_{2} n$. Green drinking coconut.
pendo $n$. A take-out meal or snack. From: j.
peni vi. To dig a large plot of land. [Note: cf. vi "pen"]
penik $n$. Group of the traditional title holders.
penik $n$. A shell variety.
penikae $n$. Local vinegar, made of coconut milk and lime juice and salt, put it for over night, then ready to use, used to eat flying fish.
perar $n$, vi. Thunder.
pereised $n$. Brace, trousers with bibs or suspenders.
perenges $v i$. To be disabled.
pereu $n$. Reef. $3 s$ : perewin.
pehri $n$. Bamboo.
perian $n$. Friend.
pehridi $v i$. To loose in a game, fight. Ngaei saewaeh naemaen pehridi. I do not want to loose.
peruhmw $n$. Broom. From: e.
peruhmw $2_{2} n$, vi. A fishing method where a number of men drive fish toward a net held by two men.
pes $_{1} n$. Left over of pudunus fruit, after chewing.
pes $_{2}$ vi. To be empty.
pehs $n$. Border stone, base.
pehs $n$ ? Calling words for pigs.
pesereid vi. To pass each other.
pesin $v i$. To be empty.
pesinpen $n$. Milky-jelly pert in side of drinking coconut.
pehskulap $n$. Plant sp., small tree with purple or white flower, hard black seed.
peuk $v t$. To flow or act blown by the wind, or blow, smoke, high language version of uhk. Woalaemaen naemaen peuk sikahkis. [Note: cf. vi "peukek"]
peukek vi. To flow or act blown by the wind, to blow (said of the wind), high language version of uhk. Aei lisaroap eu e peukela.
piahia $n$. Coconut cream.
piae $n$. Vagina.
pid $_{1}$ vi. To regard, to be about. Pwuk eu e
pidida Pingelap.
$\mathbf{p i d}_{2}$ vt. To twine.
pihd $n$. Feet (a measure of length).
pid ne $v+n$. Sit cross-legged. Pidla nehmw. Sit cross-legged.
pid saekai $n$. A stone (as a sinker) and meat (as a bait) used in bottom fish.
pidaehdae $n$. Sweet potatoes.
pidaek vi. To go around, to marathon. [Note: cf. vt "pidaeki"]
pidaeki $v$. To surround or be around something. [Note: cf. vi "pidaek"]
pidikoahki vi. To show great joy with singing and dancing.
pidpidpaenae vi. To be intertwined.
pik $n$. Sand.
pikinik vi. To picnic.
pikisang $v t$. To release, to let go.
pikiser $_{1}$ vt. To take a picture.
pikiser $_{2} n$. Camera, photo.
pikoas vi. To have messy hair.
pil $_{1} \quad n$. Stream, water.
$\mathbf{p i l}_{2} \quad v i,-i v t$. To choose.
pila $n$. Pillow.
pilaikih sepahn $n$. Fish sp., Achiles tang, black body and an big orange spot near to tail also a red line in tail. [Note: [flag in Japan]]
pilahn n. Plan.
pilahnae $v$ t. To plan, to make plans. Kih pilaehnae piknik eu. From: e.
pihlap $n$. River.
pilahwa $n$. Flower.
pilae $v$. To go the first ride after the canoe-making. Woalpwi pikaehla warpas ihsousik.
pilaed $n$. Pole used for picking breadfruit.
pilaein $n$. Tool to make surface of wooden items smooth, Japanese smoother.
pilaeini $v$. To make the surface of wooden items smooth.
pilaemaei vi. To pick breadfruit using a pole.
pilaehn $n$. Fish species, bristle-toothed surgeon fish.
pilaen au $n$. Saliva.
pilaen aw kaeraekaer $n$. The salaiva coming out from the mouth.
pilaen aering ${ }_{2} n$. Coconut milk.
pilaen mas To tear.
pile vi. To say, to tell. [Note: high language]
pilei ke siwihp $n$. A card game.
pilehng vt. To say, high language.
pileu $n$. Testicle.
pilipil $n$. Choice.
pilisdaer n. Blister. From: e.
pilismaehn $n$. Policeman.
pihlohlo $n$. Food made out of the starch (not seeds!) of mwaekaemwaek, banana, coconut milk, and sugar.
pilpaesaeng $v i$. To be melted, to be dissolved.
piluk vi. To dive. Pwisakpwi aen ahla piluk. The boys is going to dive.
pihn vi. To paint. [Note: cf. vt "pihni"]
pina $v t$. To block or stop.
pihnad pwaeda n. Peanut butter. From: e.
pinahdi aewae vi. To gag, to stop someone to talk.
pinapin vi. To be blocked or stopped.
pihni $v t$. To paint.
pinikaer $n$. Vinegar. From: e.
piniweised $n$. Whirl in the water.
pinsael $n$. Pencil.
ping $_{1} \quad n$. Mess.
ping $_{2}$ vi. To be confused, To be disorderly situation. Kihs uhdahn ping.
ping $_{3} n$. Rumor, news.
Pingelap $n$. Pingelap atoll, the home of Pingelapese people.
pingiping $n$. Plant. sp., tall strong tree, with good amount of pilability, seen in land, has flower and fruit, it seed is used in craft work, the tree is used for canoe-hull or paddle.
pihpihs vi. To urinate.
pir vi. To have an urge.
$\mathbf{p i r}_{2} \quad$ vi. To have a convulsive fit on a body.
$\mathbf{p i r}_{3} v i$, -i $v t$. vi To be turned, vt to turn.
pihr vi. To fly. [Note: Some sayd that this is a Pohnpeian word.]
pirap vi. To steal. [Note: cf. vt "pirapae"]
pirap loalae To sneak into.
pirapae vt. To steal. [Note: cf. vi "pirap"]
pirapir vi. To become engaged before marrige.
pirapir in aeni $n$. Knot, hitoe no katamusubi.
pirapir in saeraek $n$. Knot in a way easy to untie.
pirapir in waelu $n$. Knot in a way easy to untie but strong to pull things up or down, the weight of the things tight up the knot, usually employed to carry up pigs or heavy objects to the ship.
pirae vt. To tie. Ae iahkaela aeh liaep eu sangin saeh nih eu dae piraeh paenae. He made his liaep from the coconut leaf and tied it.)
piraek adj. To be crooked.
pirek vi, -i vt. vi To be woven, vt to weave.
pirikin vi. To desire food.
pirin vi. To desire food.
$\operatorname{pirir}_{1} n$, vi. Sparkle, reflection on the water.
pirir $_{2} \quad v i$. To be burning. Aei eu en pirirda. Fire started to burn.
piris $n$. Bridge.
piriwoak vi. To cheat in exam.
$\mathbf{p i s}_{1} v i, n$, $-i v t$. To fool, to trick, to lie, a lier. [Note: cf. vt pisi]
$\mathbf{p i s}_{2} \quad n$. Brown and fallen pandanus leaves used for mats.
$\mathbf{p i s}_{3} \quad n$. Hair.
pihs $n$. Necklace. From: e.
pisaek vi. To be free.
pisaenmoang $n$. Hair of one's head. $3 s$ : pisaenmoangae.
pisep n. Plant sp., a largest Taro variety.
pisi vt. To fool. [Note: cf. vi "pis"]
pisidi vi. To be cheated, to be tricked.
pisik $v t$. To flick.
pisipis vi. To be fast.
pisipisidi vi. To be smart, to be painful like smarting. [Note: This one is from "pisik".]
pisnes $_{1} \quad n$. Business.
pispohra $n$. A game like jacks, played with rocks and a ball. [Note: [lt. pis (go from one to another) + poah (on) + ra (branch)], $]$
po- ${ }^{-1}$ vi. To leave. Kihs pohla.
$\mathbf{p O}_{2} \quad$ vi. To be hung (burasagaru). Likoaukis e pohla.
$\mathrm{po}_{-3} \quad$ vi. To fade, oc color. Likoaukis e pohla.
pok $v i$. To be resembling to someone. [Note: vt. poki]
pokien madau $n$. Any big shark.
pohking $n$. Shelter. From: j.
pol n. Fish sp., Gray unicornfish and blacktongue unicornfish and slender unicornfish, no horn with these fishes unlike their English nickname.
pohla $v i$. To be left.
pohlpaeraen $v i$. To be pround of.
ponae $n$. Whole.
pohnaeng $n$. Above. Paraesaemaen e minae pohnaeng in suhkaepas. Pares bird is above the tree.
pohnaeng in prep noun. Above of.
pohnaesae vi. To recognize, to acknowledge. Ngaei pohnaesaehkin kaewae.
pohnial $n$. Sanday school march.
pohnkahke vi, $n$. To be lazy, to be slugish. From: pon.
pohnmwahso vi. To be ashamed of. Ngaei pohnmwahsohkin kaewae.
ponopoko $n$. A place name outside the reef, south of Pingelap.
pohnsaehsae vt. To overlook. E pohnsaehsae ngaehi.
$\operatorname{pohpohn}_{1} n$. The side to-be-flat-top of the canoe.
$\operatorname{pohpohn}_{2} n$. The process to find the side to-be-flat-top of the canoe.
porok $n$. Chick.
poros $n$. Fish sp., small lyretail grouper, many colorful coral fish, bigger stage of this is called "mwaraekaela".
poros $n$. Fish sp., Wrasse.
poruhm $n$. Broom.
posi Inside part pf th eturtle shell, after peeling off the outside skin of turtle shell, used for accesory making.
poukdahdoa $v i$. To be washed up from the sea. Suhkaehpas e pohkdahdoa. The tree was washed up to the beach where we are now from the sea.
poukdahla $v i$. To float on the sea and pass by the island. Suhlaehpas e pohkdahla. The tree flooted by (passed by) and went.
pous $v i$, $v$. To be continued. Siain keseu eu aen kah pousla laekapw.
powae prep. On. E minae paraesmaen powae suhkaepas. There is a pares bird on the tree.
poad vi. To plant. [Note: cf. vt "padok"]
poad $n$. Bird's nest.
poadaekaehp vi. To plant yams.
Poadaepoad n. History.
poadaepoad $n$. History or old story that people try to believe.
poadoa $n$. A biggest basket, round.
$\mathbf{p o a k}_{1}$ vi. To hit. [Note: Deep oa]
poak $_{2}$ vi, vt. To look for lice in hair.
$\operatorname{poak}_{3} n$, vi. A hole in a conrainer, canoe, or roof, to have this kind of hole in this kind of object. Kap eu e poak.
poahk $v t,-i \quad v t$. To brush something off someonw else's back, or to scratch someone's back, to pat affectionately. [Note: cf. vi "pohkek"]
poakae vt. To love (animate objects, except for non-relatives).
poahkek vi. To brush something off someone else's back, or to scratch someone's back. [Note: cf. vt "pohk"]
poaki vt. To hit. [Note: Deep oa]
poakihla vi. To catch a lot of fish.
poakoan vi. To gather together.
poakoahr $n$. Plant sp., a soft taro variety.
poakud vi. To look for lice in hair, doing poak???
poan vi. To be blocked.
$\operatorname{poan}_{2} n$. Whole.
poanaemwahu vi. To be middle height and build. [Note: [whole+good]]
poang $n$. Smaller wet hole with taro.
poap $v i$. To swim, of non-sea-animal and turtle.
poapaeng $v t$. To swim to.
poahpoahn $n$. Shape.
poahr $_{1}$ vi, -i vt. To slap.
poahsak vi. To be stalwart (owns strong body),
strong in stature. Woalaemaen e pohsak. The man is in a strong position.
poasoapoas $a d v$. Everlasting, continuously.
poau vi. To feel cold in sicky way, body-feeling cold.
proahs $n$. Brush.
pud $v t$. To rinse mar. Ngaedi pudin mar. Ngaei pud mar.
puk n. Book. From: e.

## Pw - pw

$\mathbf{p w a} \mathbf{a}_{1}$ vi. To say.
$\mathbf{p w a}_{2}$ comp. That, complementizer.
pwa 3 complimentizer. Because.
$\mathbf{p w a h d}_{2}$ vi. Spicy.
pwahd ${ }_{3}$ vi. To drip and fall when running or walking, to have a poor landing. John e pwahdela. John lusdi dae pwahdela. John fell down when he was running. John jumped and had a poor landing. [Note: This does not have any implication of push]
pwahd $_{3}$ vi. To be pushed (not necesarily by foot) and fell down.
pwada $a d v$. Why. Pwada aen kae ahla. Pwada? Why is he going to leave? Why
pwadin $n$. Lumber wood usually made for corner or side decolation cover, does not need to be strong.
pwai $n$. Oyster.
pwahi interjection. Having a flush into one's mind, a bulb above the head. Pwahi! Ngaei laemaelaemaehdae pwah pwahi.
pwain- $v t$. To buy. -da to buy, -di to pay. [Note: cf. vi "pwei"]
pwaihs $n$. Duty or responsiblities. Minae aeih pwaihs nah mwoamwoahdsoau. I have a responsiblity in church.
pwaisaek $a d v$. Also.
pwaisun $n$, vi, $-i v t$. Poison.
pwak vi. To be damaged and can't be used, of food. Maeih eu mwoa en pwakela.
pwakidi vi. To have sexual intercourse for the first time, of a female.
pwal $1_{1}$ vi. To be split, to be broken, to have an operation. kaep eu en pwal. The cup is broken.
$\mathbf{p w a l}_{2} n$. A wound by a cut.
pwahlahl $n$. Fish sp., adult growth stage of the
scarlet sea perch.
pwalaeng $v t$. To cut in big scale.
pwalik vi. To step. [Note: step in usual walking]
pwalik $n$. The distance between the heal and the toe of your feet.
pwalisiki vt. To cut into small pieces.
pwaloas ${ }_{\mathrm{n}}$ Pocket.
pwahno $a d v$. The expression to mark the change of the situation.
pwahnoh vi. To think.
pwahng $v i$. To order or command.
pwangpaesaen $v i$. Of flower, to open.
pwar vi. To appear, to rise. E pwaraeda. Saeu en pwaraeda. Maesaeh rahn en pwar. Sun rose. Sun rised. Sun rose.
$\mathbf{p w a r}_{2}$ vi. To go through.
pwaraek vi, vt. To go through.
pwaraekae vt. To go through.
pwaraer $n$. Well.
pwarikil expression. When someone ignore what you say (like migi kara hidari or kikoena-i), you say "pwarikil". [Note: [pwar(go through)+kil(skinn)]]
pwarohsa $n$. The meat in the center of fish. John aen pahnikin pwarohsa pas. John will use the center area meat of a fish for pole fishing.
pwaroas vi, vt. To grab.
pwas $n$. A small food basket made out of a coconut leaf.
pwahsiaes vi. To be strong. John kae pwahsiaes nah aeh daedoahk.
pwahsies vi. To be active. Serihpwi e uhdan pwahsies.
pwasol n. Bottle.
pwae $n$. Foam. E kusupila pwae. He stipped
foam.
pwaed n. Person. John e pwaed noaroakaemaen.
pwaedi n, vi. Glue or cement usually made to cover leaks and small holes. Ngaei pwaedihla deng eu.
pwaei vi. To be successfull. E pwaeida nah sukuhl. He was successfull in a school
pwaei vi. To buy. [Note: cf. vt "pwain"]
pwaeiaek vi. To move backwords.
pwaeilap vi. To be expensive. E pwaeilapla. It got expensive.
pwaein $n$. Price. Iah waen pwaeinaen pases in ahla Pingelap? How much is it to go to Pingelap?
pwaeinae ${ }_{1}$ n. Cost, salary.
pwaeiniapaer $n$. Pineapple. From: e.
pwaeiniae vt. To cover. Ngaei pwainiaehdi aeinipwoahdeu. I covered my cooking pot.
pwaeipei $n$. A title for Loamwpwaei's wife.
pwaeipwanid $v i$. To charge (request money). Ngaei pwaeipwanid rehmw. I charge you.
pwaeipwaei $n$. Fish sp., Tuna.
pwaek $n$. Twin.
pwaehk $n$. Bat.
pwaekae vt. To carry, to pick up. Soulik pwaekaeda naip pas. Soulik took a knife.
pwaekaewar vi. To take the canoe after its completion to the beach.
pwaeki vt. To chase.
pwaekil $n$. One of the four geographically-defined divisions, that are significant modern public adiministration, of the village of Pingelap, each pwaekil is composed of two lopidi (subsections). E minae pwaekil pahu pwoh Pingelap.
pwael vi. To be completed (from piece or partial to full). Ngaei kapwaelaehla naeih home work eu. Naeih home work eu en pwael. E pwaelaela warpas. Warpas is completed.
pwaehl n. The string used in mwas in canoe building or in building traditional house, that made out of coconut fiber.
pwaela $n$. Chest. $3 s$ : nahpwaelahn.
pwaelang vt. To split a coconut.
pwaelangaek vi. To split a coconut.
pwaelangpaesaeng vt. To cut. Ngaei pwaelangpaesaeng aering eu.
pwaelaek $n$. Feet. $3 s$ : pwaelaekae.
pwaelael $n$. Newborn baby, both gender.
pwaelaeng $n$. Ceiling.
pwaelaepwael $v i$. To be dirty.
pwaelekaen ne $n$. The instep of the foot.
pwaelidae $v t$. To cover something so it fits.
pwaelpar n. Dust.
pwaeng $v i$. To be tired.
pwaengi $v t$. To flirt. Woalaemaen en pwaengihda lihmaen.
pwaengkin $n$. Plant sp., pumpkin.
pwaepwaengi vi. Hard to get? John e pwaepwaengi. John is
pwaerisaek vi. Hard worker. Pwisakmaen en pwaerisakla.
pwaes vi. To have sexual intercourse.
pwe n. Plant sp., sida shokubutu, tip of this leaf is used as a medicine for fever relief or to put a wound.
pwed n. Dummy or stupid person.
pwedin vi. To be drifted.
pweipwei vi. To be stupid, to be crazy.
pweipwei in kehu $n$. Fish sp., Smaller twin spot snapper.
pweipwei in maeir vi. To be half sleeping and cannot function well.
pweir $n$. Fish sp., flat bottom sea fish, flat, skinny, long, and black.
pwekemwar ${ }_{1} n$. Coronation, a feast held to bestow a title. [Note: [lit 'take title']]
pwekemwar ${ }_{2}$ vi. To have a feast to bestow a title.
pwekepwek vi. A general term for title. Woalaemaen ae kolidi aeh pwekepwek eu.
pwekesapw vi, -i vt. To curse (say something bad). Kaedae pwekesapw. E pwekesapwihla lihmaen.
pwekesapwaeng vt. To curse to.
pwekiaen kia $n$. The stick-like part in the mwaes, paralell to the ere, positioned between ere and daroawa, below the kia above the apid.
pwel $_{1} n$. Guts.
pwel $_{2}$ vi. To be dirty with dirt. Ngaei pwella.
pwel $_{3} n$. Ground, dirt.
pwehlap $v i$. To be aged, of an animate subject.
pwelaedak $n$, $v i$. To be native, a native.
pweledak $n$. Resident.
pwelekaelaekael $n$. One of the numerous markers of paeliaensapw (individual land-owning strips ) boundaries which are composed of long piles of coconut palm fronds, husks, and near the village, various garbage.
pwelemaesak $n$. Mud.
pwelepar $n$, vi. Ashes from a rock, to be dusty. En pwelparla.
pwelepwel $v i$. To be dirty.
pwelepwel vt. To makes something dirty with
dirt. Ngaei pwelpwehla urohs.
pwelik vi. To take by tearing it off or breaking. Ngaei pwelik sang doakadoakis nah paehi. I took a thorn in my hand.
pwelihs $n$. Police.
pwelkaelaekael $n$. Partitions separating plots of land.
pwen vi. To be light in color. E pwenla.
pwenah vi. To take it for granted. John en pwaenah kisakisaehla kaenaeh mwaengaeh pwi. John took his food for granted and just gave it away to other people.
pweni $v t$. To reserve. Ngaei pwenihdi dewiaeih pwoh first floor. I reserved the place in the first floore.
pwerawoas $n$. A roof top, a tin covering the top section of the roof.
pwesepwes $v i$. To be very hot, of things. Pot eu uhdahn pwesepwes. Aen pwesepwesla.
pwehu n. Fish sp., Half-barred snapper, white body and many half black belts from the back toward stomach, big black spot on its tail.
pwi noun. suff. Plural.
pwi vi. To be leaky, of roof. Ihmw eu en pwila.
pwia $n$. Gray hair.
pwideng vi, -i vt. To get skin burned, to give a skin burn.
pwik $v i$, $-i$ vt. To burst, to flick. E pwuhsaeng eu en pwik.
pwihk $n$. Pig. From: e.
pwikaer $n$. Coral that is dead, washed up on the beach and bleached by the sun. $3 s$ : pwikaerin.
pwikaeraehkin $v i, v t$. To be spread around, to spread around. Saekai pwi mae pwah mgaeh pwikaeraehkin mae.
pwikel $v i$. To be muscular. Woalaemaen en pwikela.
pwikel $v i, n$. To be muscular, a muscular person.
pwikelekel $v i$. To be muscular.
pwiki n. Knee.
pwikiaeraek $n$. A place name outside the reef, northeast of Pingelap.
Pwikiesik n. A place name outside the reef, west of Daekae and Sukoru.
Pwikiesik pa n. A place name outside the reef, off shore of Pwikiesik.
pwikin vi. To be sharp.
pwil $n$. Some sticky-liquid like things that grow inside of one's nose or ear.
pwilak $n$. Fish sp., brown unicorn fish.
pwilahk one word expresion. Harry up! (strong and angru expression).
pwilak maei $n$. Fish sp., gray and bigger than pwilak soal.
pwilak soal $n$. Fish sp., orangespine unicornfish,, another name of this fish is pwulangkin.
pwilakmaei $n$. Fish sp., Humpback unicornfish, without a horn, and Bluespine unicornfish, without a horn.
pwilangkin $n$. Fish sp., orangespine unicornfish, Orangespine unicornfish, black body, yellow spot on the forehead and at the border between but and tail, yellow also at the belly, and the two edge of the tail is very long, another name of this fish is pwilak soal.
pwile $v i$, -ki vt. To have something in the eye. Ngaei pwilehla. Ngaei pwilekila pwaelpar. I have something in my eye. I have dust in my eye.
pwilein ngoas $n$, $v i$. Snot, to have runny nose. Ngaei pwileingoasla. [Note: Not pilein ngoas.]
pwili $i_{1} n$. Partner, accompany.
$\mathbf{p w i l i}_{2}$ vt. To join.
pwilihki vi. To join, "also", used between noun and noun. Mary wahdoa naeih puk eu dae pwilihkihla naeih pencil pas.
pwilipwil $v i$. To copy, to mimick, to emulate. Serihpwi pwilipwil sang ngaehi.
pwilsang vt. To get permission from. Ngaei pwilsang Pahpa.
pwihn n. Group.
Pwihn mehlel $n$. A church title.
Pwihn oanoap $n$. A church title.
pwinan $_{1} \quad n$. Disease, pink eye.
pwinan $2 n$. Sleep, the one that comes out of one's eye when he is sleeping, MEYANI in japanese.
pwinihk $n$. Piglet.
pwioak $v i$, -ae vt. To splash. Ngaei pwioak.
pwihpwi vi. To work in group.
pwir $n$. Intestines.
pwiraer $n$. Foam.
pwiraes $n$. An instrument used for lining in making a canoe or other things, made of used small battery and the mercury powder or charcoal.
pwiraesi vt. To draw a chalk line using a pwiraes.
pwiri n. Pith, center of a fruit or a tree.
pwiri $n$. Intenstines.
pwiriamwei $v i$. To be surprised, to be shocked.

Ngaei pwuriamwei.
pwirio $n$, vi. A bully, to be bully.
pwiripwir vi. To struggle.
pwisak $n$. Boy.
pwisas $_{1}$ vi. To be sore when salt gets in a wound. Euhdahn pwisas nah aei woahlah eu.
pwisas $_{2}$ vi. To be iritated, to have a rather weak but continuous pain.
pwise n. Excrement.
pwisiraek vi. To be rough (said of someone's voice).
$\mathbf{p w o}_{2} n$. Smell. Pwoheu e mwahu. This smell is good.
pwoh ${ }_{1}$ prep. On, on top of.
pwoh 3 vi. To smell. Ngaei laed pwohmwahu. Ngaei pwohmwahula. I smell something good smell. I smelled something good.
pwoh lehpwel $n$. Bank of a taro patch. [Note: sipwaen inipwel, pwoh lehpwel, no switch like *sipwaen lehpwel or *pwoh inipwel]
pwoh maria $n$. Plant sp., pulumelia.
pwoh maesaemw $n$. Your facial expression.
pwohd n. Boat.
pwohdok ${ }_{1}$ prep. Behind.
pwohdok $_{2} n$. Back.
pwok- $_{1}$ vi. To enter, to appear.
pwokeda $n$. A group of small fish.
pwokil vi. To break through. Ngaei en pwokilla waelikis. I break thorough the bush.
pwokou n. Basket, either a fishing bag or a hand bag. [Note: "kopwou" is Pohnpeian]
pwohkoamwoakoamw vi. To giggle.
pwohl n. Bowl.
pwole n. Roof.
pwohlikilik preposition phrase. On the shallow reef. Serihpwi mwadoang pwohlikilik. Children played on the reef.
pwohmwahu vi. To smell something that has a good smell.
pwohn $n$. Smell of.
pwong $n$. Night.
pwohngahng vi. To have a smell like feces, slang. E pwohngahng. It smells like feces.
pwongidi vi. To become night.
pwohpik $n$. Beach, shore. 3 s : pwohpikin.
pwohpwo $n$. Female baby.
pwopwokaen kas $n$. The distance between the wrist of one side arm and the tip of the finger of the other side, when you open the arms.
pwopwos vi, -ki vt. To be bored. John uhdahn pwopwoskihda Mary. John uhdahn pwopwosda nah skuhl.
pwohred vi. To get up from a lying or sitting
position.
pwohreda vi. To get up.
pwos vi. To be terminated. Siain keseu e pwosaela.
pwohsik vi. To smell good. Rohs eu e pwohsik. The flower smells good.
pwoson n, vi. Faith, religious. Ngaei ahnikin pwoson nah aeih moaumoaur sampa. Ngaei pwoson Sihsaes Krais. I have a faith in the living world.
pwohsuwed vi. To smell that has a bad smell.
pwohwoas vi. To fish around the sunken reefs in the lagoon.
pwoadoa $n$. Big circle basket made form coconut leaves.
pwoail $v i, \quad-i \quad v t$. To boil. Ngaei pwoaili mwaeiang.
pwoaipwoail $v i$. To be boiling, also said of someone who is really angry.
pwoais $n$. The part connect the apid (the boom from the canoe hull) to the dam (outrigger).
pwoahk $_{1} n$. Fork.
pwoahk 2 vt. To sweep away.
pwoaks $n$. Address, P.O.Box.
pwoalae $v t$. To hug. Serihmaen en pwoalaehdi Pahpa.
pwoaloa ${ }_{1} n$. Fish sp., Reddish grouper, orange colour bottom fish.
pwoan All. Kihs pwoan ahla laid.
$\mathbf{p w o a p w}_{1} n$. Blister.
$\mathbf{p w o a p w}_{2}$ vi. To be blister, have a blister.
$\mathbf{p w o a p w}_{3} n$, vi. A bump, made by a blow, to develop a bump.
pwoapwoak $n$. A joint.
pwoapwoahk vi. To sweep away.
pwoapwoakaen pae $n$. Wrist.
pwoapwoaud vi. To be married.
pwoapwoaud $n$. Married couple.
pwoar $_{1} n$. Hole.
pwoar 2 n. Lower-stomack (surface, not an organ). $3 s$ : pwoarae.
pwoar $_{3}$ To drill a hole.
pwoahr vi. To be spoiled, to be dirty. Ngaei pwoahraeda. I got dirty.
pwoaraen mas $n$. The pupil of the eye.
pwoaroasu $n$. The center of the roof.
pwoaroau vi. To be loose. Aeh raused eu en pwoaroaula. His pant is now loose.
pwoaroauroau vi. To have diarrhea. Serihmaen e pwoaroauroau.
pwoaroaus $n$. The center hat on a roof.
pwoau n. Fishing pole.
pwoaud n. Spouse.
pwoaudkihda $v t$. To marry.
pwu n. Betel nut.
pwud vi. To be not sharp, to be dull. Naipas uhdahn pwud.
pwudipwud vi. To copulate, to have sexual intercourse.
pwudoa $v i$. To be sweat. Kae pwudoahda.
pwudoang $v i$. To feel itchy, to be itchy. Amwise kaeidi ngaehi dae ngaei pwudoang. Kaeikaei in Amwise e pwudoang.
pwudungi $v t$. To step on.
pwuka vi. To be responsible.
pwukae ${ }_{1} n$. A handy cap person.
pwukae $2 v t$. To make a knot. Ngaei pwukaehla saelaepas.
pwukae $_{3} \quad v t$. To tie up one's hair.
pwuhkel $n$. An instrument used for carving out inside of the canoe hull, used only in canoe making.
pwukiae $n$. His knee. $3 s$ : pwukiae.
pwukopwuk $n$. Chignon bun, of hair style.
pwukoapwuk $n$. Upsweep, of hair.
$\mathbf{p w u l}_{1}$ vi. To be young.
pwul ${ }_{2}$ Gum, glue.
pwulopwul vi, $n$. To be young, a young person.
pwuloak $n$. Plant sp., big tree usually used for making paddles, green flower and seeds inside the flower.
pwulul $n$. Bubble.
pwun $n$. Shell sp, Cowry shell.
pwuhn $n$. Fish sp., Spadefish vertically wide.
pwunod $v i$. To be worried. Kaesae pwunod.
pwunoan $n$. Heart of fish.
pwunsoal $n$. Shell variety, reticulated olive shell, humpback cowry shell.
pwung $_{1} n$. Spear for fishing.
pwung $_{2}$ vi. To be correct.
pwuhngal $n$. Deep sea, where the sea is blue.
pwungae $_{3} n$. Between. Ngaei minae nah pwungae Noahnoa daekah Pahpa.
pwungi vt. To adore.
pwungkin $v t$. To want or like, to agree to.
pwungul $v t$. To lean on.
pwungulek vi. To lean.
pwupw n. Fish sp., Triggerfish with
trying-to-kiss face, lives inside lagoon, small to middle size fish with hard skin, live inside of lagoon.
pwupw koaroahroa $n$. Fish sp., Starry triggerfish, white body and blue fins on the back, stomach, and tail, lives outside of lagoon.
pwupw soal $n$. Fish sp., Dark color triggerfish, lives outside of lagoon.
pwupwusang vi. To be dead drunk.
$\mathbf{p w u r}_{1}$ vi. To turn, to come back or return.
$\mathbf{p w u r}_{2}$ vi. To rush, to harry.
pwurang vi. To be curly. Pisaen moangaeh serepeinkis ae pwurang.
pwuraehng vt, can occor before a verb. To return. Ngaeh pwuraehng suaeng kaewae. Ngaei naemaen pwuraehng kaewae.
pwuriamwei ${ }_{1}$ vi. To be suprised, to be curious, to be interested in. Ngaei pwuriamwei.
pwuriamwei ${ }_{2}$ vi. To have reservations about accepting a gift. Ngaei pwiriamwei in koldi aei kisakis eu. I agreed/arranged to receive a gift for me.
pwuropwur vi. To be spined. Aeng kae saek pwuropwur.
pwuropwur $n$. Hair whirl on the head.
pwuroa n. Two of fruits. John kilahda pwuroa apple eu.
pwuroak vt. To turn.
pwuroapw vi. At the same time.
pwuroapw vi. To return of more than one person at once.
pwurur ${ }_{1}$ vi. To be in rush.
pwurur $_{1}$ vi. To be un-decided, to be haphazard.
pwurur $_{2}$ vi. To be colaps with making noise.
pwuhs $n$. Cat (child language).
pwuhs vt. To push. Ngaei pwuhsdi kaewae.
pwusae n. Navel.
pwuhsaeng n. Balloon. From: j.
pwusohro vi. To be superstitious. Meh mahs kae pwusohro kin kas aeh saeng inipwong. People in old days believed that cat meow night time (is a bad sign like someone will die).
ra n. Branch. $3 s$ s: rah. radun $v i$. To be rough. rais $n$. Rice.
ramwine $n$. Marble. From: j.
$\operatorname{rahn}_{1} n$. Day.
$\operatorname{rahn}_{2} \quad n$. Vulva. [Note: ladies use this word??]
rahn eu $n$. Today.
Rahn in kahnoap n. Saturday.
Rahn in saeraewi $n$. Sunday.
rahnihdi $v i$. To become day. Kihs lailaid aeh dae rahnihdi. We kept fishing and it became a day (sun rose).
rahnin ipwidi $n$. Birthday.
Rahnin Sapwaed n. Sunday.
raning $n$. Sleeveless shirt.
rahnke $n$. Copra grater.
rap $n$. Fish sp., White moray eel.
$\mathbf{r a p}_{3}$ vi. To be rough. From: e.
rahp $n$. Raft.
rapwisek $n$. A type of fishing hook with two or more hooks in one in opposite sides.
$\boldsymbol{r a r}_{1}$ vi. To roar.
$\boldsymbol{r a r}_{2} n$. General term for coral. $3 s$ s: rapin.
$\mathbf{r a r}_{3}$ vi. $n$. To have a hole or crack that results in a leak, as in a canoe, but nor for reef; this kind of hole. Kaepwaehpwi en raraeda.
$\mathbf{r a r}_{4}$ vi. To hatch, of eggs.
$\operatorname{rar}_{5}$ vi. To make a cracking, ctunching, or static-like noise.
rahrahu vi. To be noisy. [Note: Mokilese??]
ras vi. For two people come first at the same time.
rasaeras $n$. Hand-saw.
raused $n$. Pants.
raused raei $n$. Long pants.
rae pronoun. They.
$\mathbf{r a e}_{2} n$. Weed. plant sp., weed
raeda $n$. Rudder. From: e.
raei $v i$. To be long, to be tall.
raeipi vt. To rape. From: e.
raek $n$. Breadfruit season, middle season of the three seasons.
raemaek $n$. Plant sp., shore big tree, white flower, small white fruit, the fruit can be used as medicine for pink eye or eye cleaning.
raehn $n$. Bird sp., black body, white spot in the middle of forehead, reddish legs, this belongs to Paraes. [Note: Under Paraes, there are two birds, raehn and lidalede]
raenae possesive pronoun. Their.
raengaeraeng $v i$. To have a pale-looking.
raengela $v i$. To bent. Suhkaehpas aen madoa, kahrehda aen raengela.
raepahki $v t$. To keep find, to search.
raepaen $v t$. To find, to investigate. E soah raepaen wiawi oang keis eu mae. Ngaeh kah raepaen laekapw.
raepohd $v t$. To report.
raer $v i$. To shake, to be nervous.
raerahni $n$. Sea urchin, very small star shape.
raehs $n$. The other name of raehn.
raesaraes $n$. Hand saw.
raesae vt. To cut using a hand saw.
raewan $v t$. To chase away using a hand or thing such as a hand fan. [Note: the subject of raewan does not run to chase object. Juts OIHARAU.]
reh prep. With.
reirei vi. To be dizzy.
reisahsi adj. To be joyful.
rek vi. To bent, to bow. Ngaei soh mwahu, kahrehda ngaei rek. Ngaeh rek mwoh Nanmwarki.
rekerek vi. To bend something. Ngaei rekerekela.
rekrohpaer $n$. A game, two teams try to grow each population by getting those from the other team. The one called by the other team run to the team and try to break their hand. If he could not break it, he has to stay in the enemy team. If he breaks it, he can go back to his team with one from the enemy team.
rehl $n$. The girth of the canoe hull other than sohs (the front and the end area).
rensed $n$. Salt or sea water.
reping $v t$. To cut, to break. John en reping siwipas. John en reping saekai eu.
repsiwi vi. To cut firewood. [Note: Object incorporation]
res $v i$. To stop suddenly.
rehsa $v i$, $-i$ vt. To razor. From: e.
rehsa prep.pron. To us.
resiael $n$. Plat sp., small tree with red flowers.
riahka n. Cart. From: j.
riari $n$. Siblings.
riau num. Two, general counting system.
rie $n$. A sibling.
rieisaek num. Twenty, general counting system.
riepwiki num. Two hundreds, general counting system.
rik $v t$. To pick, to pick up, to collect.
rikaehkae $v i$. To be hungry.
rikid vi. To wash own eggs, of crab.
$\mathbf{r i r}_{1} \quad n$. Floating debris.
$\operatorname{rir}_{2} \quad n$. Shade. Ngaei kilahda kidihmaen nah rir.
$\operatorname{rir}_{3}$ vi. To be a secret. Ngaei naemaen pwahn aei mae rir reh Mary.
ririn mas $n$. Eye lashes. $3 s$ : ririn maesae.
risi- vi. -da to be opened/ -di to be closed door. Waenihmw eu en risida.
risingi $v t$. -da to open/-di to close door.
risiris vi. To be overcast. Ngaei uhdahn risirisila rahn eu. I am very unhappy feeling today.
rok vi. To bow. Ngaei rokidi pwaekaeda pen eu.
rok $_{2}$ vi. To hang one's head (koube wo tareru).
rop $v i$. To turn in walking.
ropi $v t$. To drive, to steer. Ngaei ropi sidohsapas.
roporopi $v t$. To investigate, to research.
rorong $v i$. To be asleep, high language. Noahnoa Mi en rorongaela.
rohs $n$. Flower.
roson vi. To be healthy. Ngaei rosonla.
roakoasae vt. To investigate and correct. Kihs roakoasae sapwung pwi mae kihs diaerda.
roakumw $n$. Land crab.
roang $n$. Rumor.
$\operatorname{roang}_{1} \quad v t$. To hear.
roang $_{2} \quad$ vi. To be overcooked. [Note: Deep oa] roangaemwahu $n$. Evangelical outreach.
roapwae $n$. Upper and lower skin of the roosters head.
roahroa $n$. Beard, mustache. [Note: Deep oa]
roahroa $_{2} n$, vi, -kin vt. Chant, To chant. Kihs roahroahkin Liaemwaeimwaei.
roas $_{1} \quad n$, vi. To be dark. [Note: Deep oa]
roas $_{2} n$. Sea mammal, whale, dolphin.
roasaeh soauas $n$, $v i,-i v t$. A magic to make someone's task difficult, to use the magic.
roahsaekai $n$. Plant sp., grass sp., the bottom parts leaves are thin and small, the stem grows over the bottom leaves is used to clean's one ear, there is green-leefy-flower kind on the top of the stem.
roahsik $n$. Phase from full moon to new moon.
roasoan $n$. Health.
ruaesae $v t$. To give a comments to someone. Woalaemaen e ruaesae aeh pwoud.
rukaruk $v i$. To be smashed, to be broken.
rukae $v t$. To crash into pieces. Ngaei rukaedi naeih pihpah pwi.
ruki $v t$. To hide and wait.
ruhruhmaedau $v i$. To be unconscious.
ruhruhmaedau $n$. Unconsciousness.
rusae $v t$. To do cloth washing usually when squeezing and wrapping with your hand. Ngaei rusaehla urohs eu.
sadehr n. Fish sp., Yellow-striped snapper, yellow body with blue-white lines from the head to but.
sahdu n. Fish sp., juvenile growth stage of the scarlet sea perch.
saida n. Soda.
saike $n$. A game, paper-scissors-stone. [Note: [va. saikenpwo]]
saikenpwo n. A game, paper-scissors-stone. [Note: [va. saike]]
Saim vi, -ivt. To sharpen a tool or weapon.
saimek $v i$. To be sharpen. Naipas e saimekda. The nife was sharped.
saimi $v t$. To sharpen. Maenlau saimida naipas. Please sharpen the nife.
sainoroail $n$. Plant sp., similar to sapasap, but this one has good smell, sometimes Pingelapese put it in water and drink the water, no flower with this plant.
saipoad $n$. Legend at least some parts or all are considered to be a fantasy.
saipwoadroahroahla $v i$. To reach the end of
the story.
Sais $n$. Size, weight.
sak $v i$. To catch a lot of fish. Woalaemaen e sak. The man cought a lot of fish.
sakaer $n$. Game, soccer. $3 s$ : soccer.
sakoan $v t$. To bother.
saksawa $n$. The contest for determing the largest corm of sawa or Colocasia marks the reopening of th etaro patch about the end of August, the contest will take a year round, after the beggining of the contest is announced, the board members will check around each Taro patch to make sure no one plant those Taros earlier than the starting date, when all the Taros are brough to the contest place, the board member will come check the Taro patch to make sure all the applicants Taro are from the patch they planted at the beggining.
sakura n. A card game, from Japan, hanafuda.
sal $v i$. To be brave and not regard the possibility of one's own physical harm.
salaeda $v i$. To be found. Ngaei salaeda nh room eu. I was found in the room.
salaengwalaek $n$. Plant sp., Taro variety.
sali n. Meat of land animal or meat of fish.
Sahliel $_{1}$ vi. To be mentally disabled, mentally challenged, to be insane. $\mathbf{E}$ sahliella. Wolaemaen e sahliel in saekau. He is mentally challenged. The man is drunken and insane because of it.
sahliel $_{2}$ vi. To be nauseous. E uhdahn sahliel.
salo $v i$. To be embarrassed. Pwisakaemaen en salohda.
salodok $n$. Ax to cut things strainght down, difefrent shape from silae, similar to Japanese Kuwa.
saloang $v t$. To lose something. John en saloangla naeh pukeu. John lost his book.
saloangaela vi. To have disappeared or be lost.
sahm $n$. Father. $3 s$ : saemae.
samin vi. To be dirty, unsanitary. Ihmueu en saminla.
sampa $n$. World.
samwa quant. About, approximately.
samwae vt. To lick.
samwaedoa vi. To come, high language. Sippas en sawamedoa. The ship came.
samwaela vi. To go, high language.
samwei $n$. Fish sp., Most of emperor and bream, reef fish.
samwei koaroahroa $n$. Fish sp., Blue-lined large-eye bream, silver body fish.
samwei mwaei soal $n$. Fish sp., Black spot emperor, white body and some grayish fuzzy spot on its side stomach.
samwei rar $n$. Fish sp., yellowstripe emperor.
samwisi $n$. Big spoon to serve rice on the plate.
sahmwo $n$. Local soup.
samwoaroau $n$. Traditional title, priest. [Note: va "samwer"]
San $_{1} n$. A fishing tool, small loop. John piraehng waeraeh waraepas oang in san eu. John tied his canoe to the loop.
$\mathbf{S a n}_{2} v i$, -ae $v t$. To be bound with a rope, to bind with a rope. Malaekaemaen e sandi.
sand $n$. Fingernail. Ngaei en loapwoakidi sandin paei. I cut my fingernail [Note: Sand is "finger" in Pohnpeian. Kik is "nail" in Pohnpeian.]
Sandaes skuhl n. Sunday school.
sansal vi. To be clear, to be easy to see. Suhkaepas e sansal mwoa.
sang $_{1}$ preposition. From, than. Sang ia? From where?
Sang $_{2} \quad$ vi. To be unballanced.
-sang verb.suff. From.
sang in Whereas. Irah kihsang wiseu sang in wisipas. They took banana from banana tree.
sangkaenae $v i$. To arrive or depart early in the morning.
sahp vi. To move and incline.
sapasap $n$. Plant sp., grass with out trunk, the leaves look like sugar cane leaves, and the edge of the leaves are sharp and will cut people's hand, the root is strong and difficult to pull, green flower but no perfume from this plant.
sapae vt. To support with ones hands, put one's hand aside something. John sapaeda maesae pwa aeh rikaehkaehla. John support his face with his hands because he is hungry.
sapaeng $_{1} v t$. To answer.
$\operatorname{sapaeng}_{2}$ vi, -i vt. To give a call, like Japanese kakegoe.
Sapaeng $_{3}$ vi, -i vt. To start singing.
sapaesap $n$. Machete.
sapdaer $n$. Chapter. From: e.
Sapin $n$. A stump, base of the tree.
sapw $n$. Land.
sapwaed $n$. Sabbath.
sapwaela vi. To become land.
Sapweino $n$. Place name, south tip of the main island.
sapweningi $n$. Place name, West tip of Daekae, the second biggest islet, facing to Sukoru the smallest islet.
sahpwiki $n$. Fish sp., Smaller Humpback snapper.
sapwung vi, $n$. To be incorrect, mistake. E sapwungla. Aeh sapwung eu e uhdahn koluk.
sapwung vi. To disagree. John e sawungkin irahsi.
Sar $_{1}$ vi. To sober. Ngaehi uhdahn saekau aepwaekan, apwah daim eu mae ngaehi en saraela.
$\boldsymbol{S a r}_{2} \quad v i$. To look up.
sahr $n$. A rather bigger knife.
saresepeda $v i$. To be uprooted. Wisipas en saresepeda.
saresepi $v t$. To uproot. John aen saresepihda suhkaehpas.
saripw $v$. To dig up. Pwihkaemaen e saripw kehp eu.
saripwidi vt. To bury. Irah saripwidi pwihkimaen. They buried the pig.
saro vi. To be shamed. Ngaehi uhdahn sarohdi.

I'm very shamed.
sahroaloak $n$. Shell variety, tiger cowry shell. saroangoaroang $_{\mathrm{vi}}$ To not listen. Irah saroangoaroang.
saroap $v i$. To roll down. John saroap sang pwoh keikei eu.
Sas $_{1} \quad n$. Floor.
$\mathbf{S a S}_{2} \quad n$. Fish sp., Black spot snapper.
sahsa vi. To be carried on someone's back. Pwohpwo e sahsa.
sahsai vt. To carry on one's back. [Note: vi sahsa]
sahsal vi. To be announced, to be shown, to be made clear, to be intelligible. En sahsal pwa soaunpihr laekapw. Soaunpihr in laekapw en sahsal. It is announced that there will be a flight tomorrow. Tomorrow's flight was announced.
sasaengaesaeng vi. To make diarrhea. Serihmaen en sasaengsaengda.
sasimi $n$. A raw sea food, with shoyu or lime juice.
sasingane $n$. Measuring instrument made of metal, composed of two rulers connected vertically.
sasoak $n$. Gecko, white body, usually seen around a house.
sauli vi. To sink. E saulila sip luhpas. The five ships sank.
saun $v t$. To add more woods for fire. Kae saunda oamw uhmw.
sawa $n$. True taro (Colocasia), sweet taro.
sawah alahe $n$. Plant sp., a soft taro variety, stripe on the stem.
sawah Pingelap $n$. Plant sp., a soft taro variety.
sawah saipan $n$. Plant sp., a soft taro variety.
sawah soal $n$. Plant sp., a soft taro variety.
sawah weisahsa n. Plant sp., a soft taro variety.
sawi n. Fish sp., Squaretail coral grouper $\sim$ Giant grouper.
sawihda ${ }_{1}$ vi, vt. To build an uhmw. Irahsi en sawihda. Ngaei naemaen sawihda uhmweu.
sawoahla vi. To sleep deeply.
$\mathbf{s a e}_{1} \quad n$. Leaf. 3s: saeh.
$\mathbf{S a e}_{2}$ pron. We.
saeht $n$. Shirt. From: e.
saehd $n$. Button down shirt. From: e.
saedahr vi. Slow in running.
saehdraeipae $n$. Sleeves.
saei $_{1} n$. Fish sp., burrfish, balloon fish, porcupine fish, these are spiny but no poison.
$\mathbf{S a e i}_{2} v i,-h v t$. vi to paddle, vt to paddle to PLACE. Kisah saeih Daekae.
saei $_{3} n$. Fruit sp., sour sap.
saeilokolok $n$. A form of trolling for fish where the line is dragged deeper in the water than is the case of ilahraek.
saeiloak $v i, \quad n$. To travel to, trip. Ngaei naemaen saeiloakla Ruk. Aeh saeiloak eu e kapaeraen.
saeipid vi. To be few.
saeipidipwi $n$. Just a few.
saeipil $n$. A watery type of breadfruit.
saeipwok $n$. Food, breadfruit, bananas, or taro boiled and then recooked in coconut cream and molasses.
saeisaei vi. To sharpen.
saek $a d v$. Also.
saek $_{2} \quad n$. The poles on roof, that are paralell to the roof center.
saekai $n$. Stone.
saekai in woar $n$. Limph ball, noticed on both side of gills when a person has a cold.
saekai mwahu $n$. Skin disease, impetigo.
Saekaraekapw $n$. One of section on Pingelap, section four. [Note: The theme color of this section is red. Pahpa Ok's house is in this section.]
saekau $_{1} n$. Kava, and any kind of alcohol.
saekau $_{2}$ vi. To be drunken. Woalaemaen e saekaula. Woalaemaen e saekaukin beer.
saekaen $n$. Ceremony which marks the beggining (twice a year) of pandanus seasons.
saekaerae vi. To inform. Ngaei saekaeraehkin kaewae mihding eu. [Note: always occur with suffix -kin, -oang]
saekaesaek $_{1} n$. vi. Thorn, thorny. Saeh kiparaepas e saekaesaek. $\mathbf{E}$ minae saekaesaek in saeh kiparaepas. Pandanus leef is thorny.
saekaesaek $_{2} v i$, -ae -i $v t$. To make a click sound, as a signe of no good or feeling sorry.
saekaesaek $_{3}$ vi. To cry or make sounds, of lizard.
saeked n. Jacket.
saehkoia $n$. Fish sp., small stage of keipwini.
saekoahioak vi. Not to be able to support self, because of the young age. $\mathbf{E}$ peinaeh saekoahioak.
sael $_{1} n$. String or rope.
sael $_{2}$ vi. To be detained. Aeraemaespwi e sael nah kalipwuhs. People are detained in the jail.
saehl $n$. Fish sp., Rockmover wrasse (when you
chase this, it moves sand and hides in the sand).
saehlap $v i$. To be broad, to be wide.
saelaedaek vi. To escape.
saelaeki $v i$. To be unhappy. John ae saelaeki. John is unlucky.
saelih mohsis $n$. Sea cucumber sp., thumb size thickness and long, stripe of black and white.
saehlik $n$. Plant sp., short plant seen inland usually rather wet area, kisei shokubutu, used as a cover on uhmw or to wrap food.
saelin moaur $n$. A lifeline used in breadfruit picking.
saelin pwus $n$. Umbilical cord.
saelkihdi $v i$. To be judged to be guilty. Woalaemaen e saelkihdi aeh pirap. The man is guilty for his stealing.
saehloahl $n$. Fish sp., Red ribbon wrasse, smaller colorful fish.
saehloang vi. To do bottom fishing, using a sinker of lead. Pwisakpwi en saehloang.
saehmahk vi, -in vt. To be embarrassed.
saeman $v$ t. To recall. Ngaei saeman kaewae. I remember you.
saemaen $n$, vi. To be an expert, to be a professional. John uhdahn saemaenla nah lepin wiahda ihmw. Aeminae saemaen maen ahsang Wein Pohnpei. John is an expert of house making.
saemaer $v t$. To beat one stick against a bundle of sticks in a stick game, to cut the stick used in the game to the right size.
saemaeraeda $v t$. To throw something to get wind it up. Ngaei saemaeraeda sihrpas.
saemaesaeman $v t$. To remember.
saempoak vi. To be unloving. Irah uhdahn saempoak. They are not lovely at all.
saemw $n$. Forehead. 3s: saemwaen.
saemwaehmwae vi. To be poor.
Saemwaenien $n$. Place name, northern tip of one of the islets, called Daekae.
$\operatorname{saen}_{1} n$. A piece of sand or rice.
$\mathbf{s a e n}_{2} n$. A measuring and cutting instrument with equally spaced teeth, for making the strips of pandanus lead used in weaving mats.
saen $_{3} n$. A strip of pandanus leaf, or coconut fiber.
saen $_{4}$ pron. We'll, 2nd person plural exclusive future.
saen $_{5} n$. Skin disease caused by a fungus, characterised by black and white color on skin.
saenaek vi. To hang. [Note: vt saenaeki]
saenaeki $v$. To hang. Irah saenaekihda likoaupwi. They hanged clothes.
saehni $n$. Coconut fronds.
saenidinid $n$. Fish sp., brown-barred parrotfish.
saeninkal $n$. Spider or spider web. Saeninkal maen e wiwia saeninkal eu. A spider is making a spider web.
saehnpas $n$. Main house.
saeng $_{1} v i$. To be tight (of rope).
$\mathbf{s a e n g}_{2}$ vi. To cry.
saengas $v i$. To be bored. Ngaei uhdahn saengas rahn eu. I am bored today.
saengeu $v i$, -i vt. To be seduced. John e saengeuwei Linda. John is seduced to Linda.
saep $n$. Fish sp., Giant treavally, a big flat deep fish, biggest in trevaly family. two kinds of fish belongs to this group; saepihrahn and saepihnpwong.
saepak vi, -i vt. To cut into pieces.
saepal vi. To walk a rather long distance from one place to another place. Lihpwi en saepalla.
saepahlaen $v i$, to be followed by $a v p$. To repeat high language. $\mathbf{E}$ saepahlaen pwurla reh Mary.
saepae $n$. Cheek.
saepaeik vi. To disobey.
saepaekaenkoa vi. To be thankful.
saepaelakaen $v i$. To be huge.
saepaeng $n$. Plant sp., shore big tree.
saepeik vi. Not to listen to advise. Serihmaen en saepeikla.
saepihnpwong $n$. Fish sp., Giant treavelly of dark color.
saepihrahn $n$. Fish sp., Giant treavelly of light color.
saepis $v i, n$. Spear for fishing, to spear fish.
saepoahr $n$. Fish sp., that can be caught in trolling, white meat fish.
saepwahdin $n$. Pandanus sp. [Note: or saepwahdin?]
saepwoahdin $n$. Pandanus sp.
saer vi. To run aground.
saehr n. Chair. From: e.
saera $_{1} n$. Fish sp., Saber squirrel fish, scarlet fin soldier fish with yellow spots on edge of fins.
saera $_{2}$ vi. To open own mouth. Kae saera.
saera $_{3}$ vi. To yawn. Serihmaen e naemaen mair dae saerahla.
saerau n. Fish sp., Black spot barracuda, Dangerous fish, like suhre but with a black
stop at the side.
saerae $v t$. To open (something like a can).
saeraek vi. To sail.
saeraek $_{2} \quad n$. Sail.
saehraek vi. To be torn, with sound.
saeraekae mwahn $n$. One of the two poles of a sail, close to the mast.
saeraekae pein $n$. One of the two poles of a sail, far from the mast.
saehraeki vt. To tear with sound. Ngaei saehraeki likoukis.
saeraekin iroap n. Sail made from a mat made of whole brown pandanus leaves.
saeraekin mahng $n$. Sail made from strips of dried green pandanus leaves.
saeraemaeda $n$. Panty or brief for both genders.
saeraemaeia $n$. Disease, mumps.
saeraewi vi. To be holy or superstitious.
saeridi vi. To be burried. Woalaemaen ae saeridi.
saesamw n. Fish sp., Barred-chin blenny-shrimpgoby, Looks like lusulusiniak, but this one is skinnier and stays only in water, lives in a hall.
saehsae $v t$. To not know.
saehsaeloakaeia $v i, n$. To be mute, a mute.
saehsaehpwong $n$. Big glow seen in the ocean, some say they saw this in the graveyard.
saehsaer vi. To be buried. Pwikimaen en saehsaerdi. The pig was buried.
saehsik vi. To be narrow. Alaepas e saehsik. The road is narrow.
saeu $_{1} n$. Sun. Kilala saeueu. Look at the sun. [Note: this word could "sunny." This word forms a minimal pari with "seu" (suger cane).]
$\mathbf{S a e u}_{1} n$. Womb, uterus. [Note: check]
$\mathbf{S a e u}_{2} n$. Kind of fishing done with nets and forcing fish through a channel into the nets, now extinct on Pingelap.
$\mathbf{S a e u}_{3} \quad$ vi. To be sunny. E saeu rahneu. It's sunny today. [Note: this word could be "sun." This forms a minimal pair with "seu" (suger cane).]
$\mathbf{s a e u}_{4} \quad n$. Placenta, afterbirth (baby's food inside mom's stomach). Lihmaen e kihla saeu eu mwirin serihmaen. The woman get her afterbirth out after the baby/
saeui $n$. A shell used for a trumpet; the kind of shell.
saeuwas $_{2}$ vi. To help.
saewas $_{1} n$. Noon. [Note: Many says that "soauwas" is more corect pronounciation
than "saewas"]
saewae n. Resident.
saewaeh neg. Not.
saewaen $n$. Religion. Ngehi saewaeh wia saewaen mwomwodisou. I am not religious.
saewaen kaudiahl $n$. Audience.
saewaesae vt. To help. Maenlau saewaesae ngaehi.
saewi $n$. Shell sp., conch.
saehwoad $n$. Fish sp., blue-lined squirrelfish.
saehwoad woahu $n$. Fish sp., blue-lined squirrelfish (lines go straight from, head to tail).
sdohwa $n$. Store. From: w.
sdoahp n. Stove. From: e.
$\mathbf{s e}_{1} \quad n$. Fish sp., yellowfin goatfish, this fish change the body color depend on their growth stage, white body and a yellow line from head to tail or reddish body and a yellow line from head to tail.
$\mathbf{s e}_{2} \quad$ vi. To shout. Pwisakaemaen en sehla.
sed $n$. Sea. $3 s$ : sedin.
sei $n$. Sheet.
seihlae $v i$. To be lower.
sein amwise $n$. Mosquito net.
sein upuhp $n$. Sleeping sheet (put on your body).
seinahk $n$. Mat of coconut leaves. [Note: va. "deinahk"]
seir $_{1} n$. Sheet, tent.
$\boldsymbol{\operatorname { s e i r }}_{2} n$. Flower sp., small green flower. Koamwah rikipaenae seiripwi dae kiaeng nag saeir eu. You guys pick up the flowers and put them in the tarp.
sek $n$. Butt.
sehla $n$. Sailor.
sele $n$. Pepper.
sele $n$. Plant sp., chilli.
sehm $n$. Plant sp., Taro variety.
sehmahk $v i$. To be shy. Serepeinmaen e sehmahk.
semweileng $n$. Fish sp., Pacific steep head parrot fish, can glow big.
semwuloal vi. To be shallow. Nah sed e semwuloal. It is shallow in the ocean.
Senaewaerae $n$. January.
seni $n$. Plant.sp., sugar-cane variety, brought by a lady of that name.
sehni $n$. Coconut fiber used to squeeze coconut milk from grated coconut, made from mwaengas.
sens $n$. Cents, money.
sens rikirikida $n$. Revenue.
sensu $n$. Athlete.
sengeu vi. To be horny (sexual).
$\boldsymbol{s e p}_{1} \quad n$. Ship.
$\boldsymbol{s e p}_{2} \quad n$. A beginning or start.
sep- vt, vi. To start. [Note: va "sap-"]
Sepahn n. Japan.
Septaempae $n$. September.
sepeiai $v i$. To be unbalanced, unequal. $\mathbf{E}$ sepeiai. It is unequal.
sehpel $n$. Table, desk.
sepesoak $n$. Airplane.
sepinwoar $n$. Throat.
sepoakae $n$. Ocean turtle sp., bigger and stronger shell, the shell of this turtle is used for making accesories, such as combs.
sepoakoles adj. To be clumsy.
sehr vi, -i vt. To tear, usually food.
serehd $n$. Parrot. Serehdmaen maen uhdahn lel. A parrot is very beautiful.
serek vi. To escape. Saeraek eu ae kipaeng rehn dae ae kaen serekesang pwoh waraepas dae kipidi nah sed. The sail fell towards him and he dodged it and fell into the water.
serepein $n$. Girl.
seri $n$. Child.
seri skuhl ${ }_{1}$ vi. To be student.
seri skuhl ${ }_{2} n$. Student.
serihpwaelael $n$. Baby.
sesen $n$. Plant sp., seen in shore line, not so big, grow curvy and used for apid.
seu $_{2} \quad n$. Sugar cane.
seu iehsehng $n$. Plant sp., sugarcane variety.
seu Palau $n$. Plant sp., sugarcaqne variety.
seu parmosa $n$. Plant sp., sugarcane variety.
seu soal $n$. Plant sp., sugarcane variety.
seuihsino vi. To not care.
seukanaengaema $v i$. To be impatient. Irah uhdahn seukanaengaema. They are really impatient. [Note: mad?]
seula vi. No longer, would not. [Note: seu-la]
seulipilip $1 n$. Any one, either one, a choice of one, whichever.
seulipilip $_{2} \quad v t$. To choose.
seulipilip in ansoau Anytime. Maenlau ahdoa seulipilip in ansoau.
seuweisahsa $n$. Plant sp., sugarcane variety.
si $\quad v i$. To be skinny. Lihmaen en sihla.
$\mathbf{s i}_{1} \quad n$. Bone.
$\mathbf{S i}_{2} \quad v t$. To measure. John sihla uwaen aeh Mary rehi. John measured the amount of Mary's hight.
siai $n$. Competition, contest.
siahk $_{1} n$. Behavior.
$\operatorname{siahk}_{2}$ vi. To behave. Serihmaen e siahk mwahu. The child behaves well.
sian $v i$. To wear an ear ornament.
siasi $v i$. To wear an ear ornament.
siae $_{1}$ n. Deer. From: e. [Note: no deer on Pingelap but in Pohnpei]
$\boldsymbol{s i a e}_{2} \quad n$. Ear.
siaeh daep ${ }_{3}$ vi. To wear the ear ornament.
siaenaeni $n$. Mushroom. [Note: [lt. siaen (ear) + aeni (ghost)]]
siaepoan vi, $n$. To be deaf, a deaf. [Note: [siae(ear)-poan(blokked)]]
siaehsaehraek $n$. Fish sp., dark-shoulderes snake eel, black belt between head and hand fins, Pingelapese people call the hand fins siea(ear), since those look like ears. [Note: [siae (ear) -saehraek (sail)]]
sihda $v t$. To wear. John sihda raused eu. John wears pants.
sidakin $n$. Socks.
sidahs $n$. Starch. From: e.
sidaudau $n$. Fish sp., Striped mackerel, middle size fish with silverbody, gray lines from the neck to base of tail. [Note: kawakawa?]
sihdaek $n$. Roof gables, each house has only two of sihdaek.
sidohsa n. Car. [Note: What is kuruma??]
sidohwa $n$. Store, shop. From: e.
sidoahp $n$. Stove. From: e.
sierihng $n$. Earring.
sik $_{1} \quad v i$. To be crowded.
$\boldsymbol{s i k}_{2} \quad n$. Bird sp., a white color bird with a long tail.
sikahkak $n$. Raybeam from sun or stars.
sikalewi $n$. Tuba jello, sugar jello made out of the liquid from the unbloomed coconut flower.
sikeng $v i,-i v t, n$. To take a test, to test. Soaunpaedahk maen e sikengi serihpwi. The teacher tested the children.
sikida vi. Of human being, to grow up over the length of time. [Note: one-word]
sikirihn $n$. Mosquito screen. From: e.
sikisik $v i$. To be small.
sikoahsoa n. Airport.
silais n. A slice of bread or fish. From: e.
silasil adj. Being protected or immune.
silae $_{1} \quad n$. Ax.
silae $_{2} \quad n$. Elongate clam, sticking to coral.
silae $_{3} v t$. To guard.
silae $_{4} \quad v i$. To patrol. Pilisimaen en silaehdi nah skuhleu.
silaeu $n$, vi. A sty, to have a sty.
silingidaen $n$. Taro sp.
silipwiki num. Three hundreds, general counting system.
silihsaek num. Thirty, general counting system.
sihlong $n$. The highest saek (the pole paralet to the center of the roof), nearest to pwoaroaus (the center hat on the roof), stronger than other saeks.
siloangaeloang $n$. Fish sp., Giant moray eel, black and big.
silu num. Three, general counting system.
siluk $n$. Fish sp., Smallest stage of blue fin travelly. [Note: grows like this: siluk->aroang->opwuhna]
sihmaehmae $v i$. To work or act devotedly. [Note: [lit. 'bone crushed']]
simaend n. Concrete, cement. From: e. $3 s$ : simaendin.
simihden $n$. Taro sp.
simwinamwin $n$. Rainbow. [Note: Mwalok youth use "reimpwo" (from English) for this.]
simwoak $v i$. To agree, to say yes.
sinakoake $n$. Elder in church or prayer house.
sinaekae $v t$. To push. Ngaeh sinaekae kaewae.
sineik $n$. Snake. From: e. [Note: no snake on Pingelap, in Pohnpei]
Sihniaer Pahsdaer $n$. A church title, Senior pastor.
Sinoakoakae $n$. A church title.
sinsil $n$. Fish sp., Barred flagtail, silver body and black and white stripe in tail.
sing $v i$. To firt. Seihmaen en singihdi.
singiled $n$. T-shirt. From: e.
singk $n$. Sink in kichen.
sipangaen pae $n$. The distance between the tip of your thumb and the most away finger tip, when you open your hand widely.
sipaud $n$. Gutter.
sipae $v i$. To cause. Sipaehdah mae koahmwah peikin. John e kauruhr pwa pwihk maen mae sipae. The reason is you had a fight. John's laughing is what the pig caused.
sipenaepen $n$. Sea cucumber sp., black and middle size.
siper $n$. Zipper.
sipid $v i,-i v t$. To flick or kick to speed up. From: e.
sipik $v$. To cut something into parts. Maenlau sipikidi mwoamwpwi.
sipol vi. To be unkept. Serepeinkis en sipolda. The girl was not receiving the good care for her hair or clothes.
$\boldsymbol{s i p w}_{1} \quad n$. One side of a corner.
$\operatorname{sipw}_{2} \quad v i$. To be broken, of any long object.
$\boldsymbol{\operatorname { s i p }}_{3} \quad n$. Pair of sticks, used to pick up hot coral piece from a coral oven.
sipwal interjection. You did it (hit/throw)!, That happened! Surprise or shock expression.
sipwalaepwal $v i$. To be easy to break. Likaeuin seinamwise e sipwalaepwal. The material of mosquito net is easy to break.
sipwang $v t$. To break or rip.
sipwangek vi. To break or rip.
sipwasipw vi. To be broken in pieces.
sipwae $v i$. To be at the end. John mae sipwae nah iraekaepas. John is at the end of the line. [Note: Not "to end".]
sipwaen inipwel $n$. Bank of a taro patch.
sipwaen pae $n$. Inside of elbow. [Note: [lit. 'inside of corner arm]]
sipwaensed $n$. A place name in the reef, north of Daekae. [Note: [at the end of the ocean]]
sihr $n$. Stick used in playing the game paeisihr.
sirangaenpwaehpwae $v i$. To strike a bait while moving in the opposite direction to a trawling line. From: marhsallese.
sirop $v i$. To burn. PICS e siropeda. [Note: cf. vt "siropi", sisirop burning]
siropi vt. To burn. [Note: cf. vi "sirop"]
siropihda $v t$. To burn (partially). Koamwah dae siropihda pihpahpwi.
siropihla $v t$. To burn (completely). Irah en siropihla pihpahpwi.
sis n. Fish sp., larger growth stage of flying fish.
sihs $n$. Cheese.
sisael $n$. Chisel.
sisaeli $v t$. To cut using a chisel.
sisaeraehna n. Marmaid (human top and fish bottom).
sisaes $n$. Scissors.
sisaesda $v i$. To be cut with scissors.
sisaesi $v t$. To cut with scissors.
sihsaewae $n$. Muscle on the upper part of the back.
Sihses $n$. Jesus.
sihsi vi. To be thin.
sisipando $n$. Bra.
sihsoau $n$. Backbone of the 4 legged animals.
$\boldsymbol{s i w i}_{1} n$. Woods for fire.
$\operatorname{siwi}_{2}$ vt. To flatter. Ngaei siwihla woalmaen. I flattered to the man.
$\boldsymbol{\operatorname { s i w i h }}_{3} v t$. To admire. Ngaei siwihla kaewae.
siwih perian $n$. Food materials (uncooked), usually a ping and odd numbers of Taro, provided by the inner circle of the relatives in derak, this food will be divided among
the derak participants. [Note: see "kanaengaen uhmw"]
sihwo $v i$. To be demanding.
skuhli $v$ t. To teach. Ngaei skuhli pwohpwo. Ngaei skuhli wah suhkae. Ngaei skuhli wah suhkae reh pwohpwo. I teach to the baby girl. I teach math.
skwas $n$. Squash.
soikila $v$. To disregard an obligation [old].
sok vi. To be short.
sokidi $v t$. To stop and never continue.
sokin raused $n$. Ahort pants.
sokihni $n$. Fish sp., Big big-eye emperor, silver body.
sokinkoad $n$. Coconut husker.
sokihraused $n$. Short pants.
soko interjection. To be good or nice. Soko kaewae. You good.
sompihr $n$. Airplane.
sohmwahu in paliwar $v i$. To be physical disabled. Pwisakaemaen en sohmwahu in paliwarla.
sohmwahu in li $v i$. Menstration. Lihmaen en sohmwahu in lihla.
sohmwahu in wai $v i$. To have a flu. John en sohmwahu in waida.
sohmwahu in wai $n$. Flu.
sohn $n$. Heartwood.
sohng $v i$. To snore. John e sohsohngaela.
soyo n. Soy sauce.
sopidi vi. To be steep.
sohpiraed $n$. Bread.
sohpisaek $v i$. To be busy. John en sohpisaekla.
soposopdihla $v i$. To go straight down.
soposopidi $n$. Cliff.
sopwuk $n$. Plant sp., big tree grows around 8 m , leaves smell good and usedc to make food smell good, or used in uhmw to make the food crispy, and young seed is green and matured seed is black, the seed is used as a bullet of a whistle-gun, general pain reliever medicine, boil the leaf and use the water in bath.
sohri $n$. Sandals. From: j.
SorO $_{1} \quad n$. Mashed taro.
$\mathbf{S O r O}_{2} \quad n$. Zero.
sohs $n$. The area in the front and end edge of the outriger canoe hull.
stohsa n. Car, vehicle. From: j.
sohso vi. To be inherited, to inherit. Sapw eu mae e sohsohsang reh pahpa madoa. Ngaei sohso kin sapw eu mae. This land is inherited from grandpa. I inherit this land.
sosohngaeng $v t$. To put.
souaunwinahni $n$. Bad madicine man.
soukida $v t$. To catch fish with a net.
soukinaehneken $n$. Fish sp., dash-and-dot goatfish, family of aepil but dark violet on the back.
Soulaeng n. Christian.
soulipilip $n$ ? Anykind things.
soumur $n$. Canoe line connected to the sail, used to higher or lower the sial. [Note: there are three lines for the sail, 1 . up or lower the sail, 2. get the direction using the sail, 3 . open or close the sail. This is the 1.]
soumwahu $v i$. To be sick.
sounpwong waenaeu $n$. Taro sp.
Sousou vi. To catch fishes or insects with a net.
soa neg. Future negative.
soah $_{1}$ sent.adv. No.
Soah $_{2}$ sent.adv. To not exist.
soahiahia vi. Heartburn. John en soahiahiala.
soaiahl vi. To wave hand like bye-bye.
soaing $v i$. To blow the nose.
soahipwehpw n. Pandanus sp.
soak vi. To fly. [Note: Deep oa]
soaka vt. To mix non-liquid with liquid. [Note: Deep oa]
soahkoa $n$. A hole among the rocks used as a place to defecate, this kind ob toilet is not used anymore.
$\boldsymbol{S o a k o a n}_{2} n$. Tailbone.
soakoahn $n$. Cane.
Soakoan mon $n$. Lower back, tail bone area.
soakoapa $n$. Fish sp., flute-mouth.
soakoahr $n$. Fish sp., Coral hind.
soal vi. To be black.
Soal $n$. Plant sp., shore tree like a mangrove tree (ak) but this one has longer skinny oval leaf, the root is not curvy and stays under the water.
soahl n. Salt.
soalehkihdi sed vi. To be dark color vskin from the ocean experience.
soaloakaenaioa $n$. Day before tomorrow.
soahm vt. To swallow.
soahmwanih sentential adverb. Not to exsit. Soahmwanih pwa aeraemaes pwi. E kaein soahmwanih pwa aeraemaes mae.
Soan vi. To be still, to not move around, to be quiet. Komwah soandi.
$\operatorname{soan}_{1} v i$. To be fit. Ngaei uhdahn soankin urohs eu mae. I feel very comfortable in this skirt.
$\operatorname{Soan}_{2} \quad v i$. To be neat, t be straingh.
soahn $n$. Member of.
soahn (soaun) n. Guy. Soahn kaerangaerang pwihk pwi daekah serih pwi mwadaemwadoahkin aeih saewaeh kila ih.
soanaemwahu vi. To be confortable.
soahndi $v i$. To bury oneself, of crabs. Rokumweu e soahndi.
soankihdi vi. To be confident. John e soankihdi eh sohmwahu eu. John is confident that he is sick.
Soankohwa n. A church title.
soahnmeneia $n$. Pandanus sp.
soang $n$. Type, kind.
soang $_{1} \quad v t$. To try.
Soang $_{4} v t$. To taste.
soang dir $n$. Many of things.
soangaen $v t$. To try. Ngaei naemaen soangaen• saepis. I want to try to spear fish.
soangaesoang $n$. Fish sp., keeledneedlefish, silver body.
Soangemar $n$. The feast of preserved breadfruit, taken place at the end of the breadfruit season.
soahp n. Soap. From: e.
soapaeidi $n$. All the title, from the highest to the lowest.
soapoahr $n$. Fish sp., mahimahi, dolphinfish.
soapw $n$. Sprout. soapwaen maei bread fruit sprout
soar vi. To use lightning tool, such as flash light, lamp, or torch.
soahr $_{\mathrm{vt}}$ To isolate.
soarae vt. To light up something with a lighting tool, such as flash light, lamp, torch.
soahrek $v i$. To be moved around. Saekai pwi en soahrek wei nah sapw oamw. The stones were moved to your land.
soahroahr $_{1}$ vi. To be different. Eh minae aepas al soahroahr in lella mwoa? Is there another way to get there?
soahroahr $_{2}$ vi. To be isolated.
soau $n$. Materlineal clan.
$\mathbf{S o a u}_{2} \quad v i$, $-i v t$. To start fire in a stone oven.
Soau Kawad n. A clan name.
Soau Kipar $n$. A clan name.
Soau Ledek n. A clan name.
Soau Lipwidahn $n$. A clan name.
Soau Saeraewi n. A clan name.
Soauel n. A traditional title.
soaukoahp $n$. Prophet.
soaukuhk $n$. Fish sp., Striped bristletooth, purple body and yellow lines from head to but.
soaulap $n$. Parent-in-law. [Note: maybe high language]
soaumas en koausapw $n$. Chief.
soaun kadip n. Prosecutor.
soaun kawaeid $n$. Advisor.
soaun kawaehwae $n$. Translator, interpreter.
soaun koasae moang $n$. Barber.
soaun naesaenaes $n$. Storekeeper.
soaun palaewar $n, v i$. To be an expert in canoe building.
soaun paedoandoar $n$. Defender.
soaun soawas en kusuned n. Lawyer, legal advisor.
soaun winani $n$. Medicine man.
soaundaedoahk $n$. Worker.
soaundaeu $n$. Inspector.
soaunilaek $n$. Errand boy.
soaunkapwung kaeriau $n$. Associate justice.
soaunkapwung kaeieu $n$. Chief justice.
soaunkapwung $n$. Judge, lawyer.
soaunkaweid n. Advisor.
soaunkaenaeisik $n$. Midwife.
soaunlaid $n$. Fisherman.
soaunlaeng $n$. Angel.
soaunmwaesaewael $n$. Farmer.
soaunnaes nah sdowa $n$. Storekeeper.
soaunpal $v i$, $n$. To be an expart in canoe-making.
soaunpar $n$. Year.
soaunpaedahk $n$. Teacher.
soaunpaedahk in saeraewi $n$. Preacher.
soaunpei $n$. Soldier. [Note: japanese word?]
soaunpei $n$. Soldier.
soaunpwong $n$. Moon, month.
soaunwini $n$. Good medicine man.
soausik $n$. Late afternoon to evening.
Soausoau $_{1}$ vi. To be heavy.
soausoau $_{2} n$. Grave.
soauwas $n$. Noon.
soawae vt. To add.
soawaenihmw $n$. Homemaker.
soawaesae vt. To help. Maenlau soawaesae ngaehi. Please help me.
spaik $n$. Metal-nail looking tool, to put the nail deep inside, after nail went deep, spaik will be taken off.
spaud $n$. The tool to channel liquid into a container, such as gutter.
su vi. To meet.
suanaewan vi, $n$. To be beautiful, a beautiful person or thing.
suangke $n$. Sugery water.
suaeng $v t$. To meet to.
sued $v i$. To be bad. En suedla.
suei vi. To show off.
suk $v t$. To pound.
suka $_{1} n$. Suger, diabetes. Woalaemaen e soumwahuin suka.
sukaliwid $n$. Jello like object produced from farmation. Kisah wia sukahluid kin [things before farmation].
suhkae $n$. Tree, stick.
suhkae in nah sed $n$. Colorful coral tree from deep ocean.
suhkaeh maeng $n$. A dead but still standing tree.
sukiaki $n$. A type of food, pork soup with shoyu and sugar.
Sukoru n. Place name, smallest, 3rd island of Pingelap.
sukuhl $n$. School.
sukumaei vi. To pound breadfruit. Lihmaen en sukumaei.
sukumaei ${ }_{2}$ vi. To masterbate.
sukur $n$. A maddy space which transects the main taro patch and which serve to separate maeka.
Suhlahi n. July.
Suluk $n$. Fish sp., number two growth stage of trevally.

Sumwoak vi. To nod own's head or move own eyeblow and jaw to show the agreement.
Suhn n. June.
suna $v t$. To make sands, stones, coral pieces neet and flat.
sunga vi. To draw. From: j. [Note: common on Pingelap atoll than "mahlen", some Mwalok youth do not know]
suhp $n$. Soup.
suhpaenae $v i$. To meet each other.
supoil vi, -i vt. To pammper, to spoil.
supwuhn $n$. Spoon.
sure vi. To sneeze. Lihmaen en surehla.
sure $v t$. To look for. John surehda Mary.
suhre $n$. Fish sp., Great barracuda and pickhandle barracuda, big fish with a silver long body.
Surowae $v i, n$. To be pregnant, of crabs; eggs of crab.
Suhs $_{1} \quad n$. Shoes. From: e.
Suhs $_{2} \quad n$. Juice. From: e.
suhsin $n$. A decoration on a handfan, named from the lady who started this decoration.
suwanaewan vi. To be very beautiful. Linda e suwanaewan.
suwaei vi. To boast, to brag. Kaedae suwaeikin oamw kaepwae. Do not boast your things.

employs small hand nets.
uhki $v t$. To inflate. Irah uhkida pwuhsaengpwi.
uhkinaeipwa $n$. Speaker of the council.
ukuhkdi vi. To be blowed. Kandelpas en ukuhkdi reh serihmaen.
ukulehle $n$. Ukulele.
ulaehlae $n$. Hard ear wax.
uhloal $n$, vi. High tide, to be high tide. $\mathbf{E}$ uhloalla. [Note: [lt. uhl (tide) + loal (deep)]]
uluhl $n$. Pillow.
umpwulapwul $n$, vi. Plant sp., a type of pink color plant, to be pink.
uhmw $n$. Stone oven.
uhmw $n$, $v i$. Blue-black mark on the skin after beating, to be beaten and left blue-black mark on.
Uhmw in Mesehni $n$. The first year birthday party for the first-born child.
umwun mesehni $n$. The birth-day party for the first born baby. [Note: only for first-born boy?]
undeng $v i$. To steer a car or moter boat. From: j.
undengi vt. To steer a car or motor boat. From: j.
uhp $v t$, -i vt. To cover with a sheet or mat.
uhpali vt. To show a favor for something over other things, to be partial toward.
upuhp $v i$. To be covered with a sheet or mat.
uhpw $n$. Coconut started have water inside but the shelll is not developped yet. [Note: Not used this nowadays but Pahpa Ilander's grand father and father used this word.]
uhpwul $n$. Plant sp., Noni, planted neqarby houses, medicine for diapidius, or wound, also good for general health, it is said that eating the fruit will protect you from old-age blindness.
upwuhpw vi. To goes high and low (rough), of wave. Ene upwuhpwda nah sed.
$\mathbf{u h r}_{1} n$. Pillar (stick used to support things).
$\mathbf{u h r}_{2} n$. House off the ground, where to store things.
uhrae $v$ t. To use a pole to support something. Irah uhraehda ihmw eu.
uruhr vi. To laugh, high language.
usiusi $n$. Election.
uhsoahr $v i$. To be an independent person. Lidia en uhsoahrla.
usu n. Star.
Usuh Rahn $n$. The last star in the morning.
usung vt. To support (another person) in election. John e usung Nakayama.
$\mathbf{u w a e}_{2} n$. Amount. Iah uwae ? Iah waen pwaeinaen pases in ahla Pingelap? How much? How much is it to go to Pingelap?

## W - w

wa vt. To carry. [Note: short subject pronouns cannot be used with this. It should be a long form. eg. Ih wah mae.]
Wah lihliaep $n$. Fish sp., Spotted eagle ray.
wah sapw $n$. Agricultural products.
wah sed $n$. Marine resources.
wad $v$. To be hold a great account. John wad nah madong eu.
wadaek $_{1} v t$. To admire.
wadaek $_{2}$ vt. To read.
wadere vi. To be really thirsty. Ngaei en waderehla. I got really thirsty.
wadilik $n$. Things to memorize. Kae aesae oamw wadilik eu? Do you know your assignment to memorize?
wadiliki $v$. To memorize. Ngaei uhdahn wadilikihla liamwaeimwaei.
wadin ne $n$. Calf.
wadin pae Upper arm.
wahdoarehn vi. To take to him/her.
wai $v i$. To be strange or foreign, often more specifically American.
waiaen $v t, n$. To be in charge of, a person who takes care of something. Ngaei waiaen sukuhl eu.
Waiaen Pingelap n. Mayor of Pingelap.
waiaen pwaekil $n$. Councilman.
waiaen sapw $n$. Legislative body.
wailel $_{1} \quad v i$. To fit, to look nice, used by younger people. Ngaei sihda singelet eu dae uhdahn wailel. I wear the shirt and it really fits.
wailel $_{2}$ vi. To be accurate.
wailel $l_{3} v i, n$. To be sharp shooter (in a shooting or spearing), or a sharp shooter.
waileli $v t$. To set a target and work hard for that. wailes $v$ t. To make a telephone call. Ngaei wailesla Pingelap.
wain $v i,-i v t$. To aim. Ngaei waini wis eu.
wahkal $v i$. To be foreign.
wahlarehn vi. To take to him/her.
wahlihliaep $n$. Manta ray.
wanded $n$. Prostitute.
Wanparoan $n$. A church title, pastor.
wahnsuhkae ${ }_{1} n$. Fruit.
wahnsuhkae ${ }_{2} n$. Mathematics. Ngaei aesae wahnsuhkae.
wahng $v i$, $-i v t$. vi: To peep, to cheat in card game by peeping other's cards, vt: To peep.
war $n$. Canoe. [Note: Pingelapese people use "war" as a basic word for vehicle. "War" can also reffer to a car. They will say "warmw!" (your canoe) when the taxi you called came for you.]
war pis $n$. A toy canoe made of pandanus leaf.
war pwilipwil $n$. A toy canoe, a model canoe.
waraen ilahraek $n$. The biggest sail canoe, used for trolling.
waraen kahlaek $n$. A bigger size out-rigger canoe, for 4 people, typically used in the fishing called kahlaek.
waraen paeilik $n$. A smaller size outrigger-canoe, for two to three people.
waraen saei $n$. A paddling canoe, thinner than canoes for work.
waraen saeraek $n$. A sailing canoe.
waraen weir $n$. A racing canoe, thinner than canoe for work.
waraewar $_{1} \quad n$. A bend in the land that creates a bay.
waraewar ${ }_{2} \quad n$. A ditch to get water go through.
was $v i$, -ae vt. vi to be annoyed, to be worried, vt to annoy, to irritate. Kaedae kaewasae ngaehi. Wisol e uhdahn kaewasla. Do not annoy me.
wasahi $n$. Title name used one time, said to be borrowed from Pohnpeian, today, "Nahnaewa" is considered to be the original Pingelap name for the position and revived to use.
waspehsin $n$. Basin.
waunkin $v t$. To respect. Ngaei waunkin soaunpaedahkaemaen. [Note: maybe "wau-kin" but no word "wau" in Pingelapese, so "waukin" should be the head word]
wahwahng $v i$, $v t$. To be half-caste, mixed blood. John e wahwahngin Pingelap daekah Mwoakilloa. John is a mix blood of Pingelap and Mwoakkiloa.
wahwi $n$. Fruit of the wi tree, resembles start fruit.
wahwihmaen $n$. Things made out of materials from someplace else, things foreign made, an uknown tree that floats in from the sea. use. This is also used as an expression to harsh people "ke wahwihmaen!"(""you are not one of us!").
waedaekae $_{1} n$. Lungs.
waedaekae ${ }_{2} n$. Styrofoam.
waedaekae $_{3} n$, vi. A type of fishing using a line tied to a piece of styrofoam, to do this kind of fishing. John en waedaekaela.
waedaekae $_{4} n$. Very light drift wood that does not grow on Pingelap. used for pillow or fishing float, sometimes people put a string and fishing hook with bite on the head of this arrohead-shaped piece of wood and put jelly from inside of a drinking coconut around the wood, the jellly attract fishes, then a fish will find the bait and eat it, the fish get hooked and try to go deep, but the wood is to light and float the fish up, then fisherman get the fish.
waehdi $v i$. Lie down. Ngaei waehdi mae.
waeheu vi, $n$. To be well-know, to be popular.
waeiahk $n$. Immature coconut tree before bearing fruits.
waeiaek vi. To go to the deep sea (said of with canoes).
waeida $v i$. To return from ocean. Irah ene waeida dae wei riau mae irah wahdoa. They've returned and they brought two turtles.
waeidihdoa $v i$. To come from "ilik" side to village side.
waeidu $v i$, $v t$. To go, to walk, from "ilik" side to village side. Ngaei waeidu ihmwarnae saeraewi. Ngaei waeidu pwohpik. Ngaei waeidu nah ihmwaenae saeraewi.
waeiduhla vi. To go from "ilik" side to village side.
waeiek vi. To go out (said of canoes).
waeil $v i$. To run aground.
waehk $v i$, $v t$, -ae $v t$. To reveal, to admit it. Ngaei waehkaedae aei maerir. Ngaei waehk aei maerir. I revealed my secret. I reveal my secret.
wael $_{1} n$. Bush, forest, jungle, or a tree in the jungle.
wael $_{2}$ vi. To change the leaves in the process of preserving breadfruit.
waelad $v t$. To open. Ngaeh waelad kakon eu.
waelahd $n$. Any seaweed. [Note: Pingelapese people do not count this so there is no classifier for this word. Mwalok children
call this "suhkae nah sed."]
waeladaepaesaeng $v t$. To open.
waelaeli $n$. Fish sp., bottom shark, big, black body and white on its back.
waeliae $n$. Successor, substitute.
waeliaepae $n$, vt. A successor, a substitute, to be a successor of.
waelu num. Eight, general counting system.
waenihmw $n$. Door.
waenihmw sok $n$. Window.
waenuhmw $n$. Cook house.
waeranikin vt. Own a transportation viehcle. John e waeranikin war ria pas.
waerawaer $v i$, $v t$. To own a canoe or a transportation vehicle. John e waerawaer. John e waerawaer war. *John e waerawaer war pas. (maybe object incorporation)
waerae $n$. Wood, log.
waeraei $v i$. To be a long time. En uhdahn waeraei aei awiawi kaewae. It has been long for me to wait you.
waeraein $n$. Length of time. Ngaei saehsae iah waeraein aei aen minae mae. I don't know how long I'll stay.
waeraengae $n$. Middle. $3 s$ : waeraengaen.
waeraengaen $_{1} \quad n$. Right in the middle of.
waeraengaen $_{2} a d v$. Completely.
waeraewaeraemwahl vi. To shout for nothing. [Note: If you do this on Pingelap, you will be taken to Doahkaesa and required to do "koausuhkae" alone. Since shouting is expected only when Doahkaesa gets into an accident. If you shout, you have to have a ceremony for that.]
waerek n. Wife. Aeh John wearek pwah Linda.
waesa $n$. Place, village.
waesan vi. To be hateful, to be odious. Ngaei pwa e waesan. I think he is odious.
waesanikin $v t$. To hate. Ngaei waesahkin ih.
waesae $v i$, $v t$. To eat raw fish. Ngaei waesae. Ngaei waesae mwoamwkis. *Ngaei waes.
waewae $v i$. To be not thick, of hair.
waehwae $_{1} n$. Air, atmosphere. $3 s$ : waehwaeh.
waehwae $_{2} n$. Small opening.
wed interjection. The expression to sign the change of the situation in a story telling. Irahsi maenaemaenae ih. Wed, en ahdoa. They had been waiting for him. Change of the situation. He came.
wedei vi. To be talkative, to be moving around too much.
wedik vi, -i vt. To fuck, SLANG. Irah wedikidi.

John en wedikidi Linda. They fucked. John fucked Linda.
wedikidi ngih expression. To show one's teeth. Koamwah wedikidi ngihmwa. You guys show you teeth.
wehdip $v i$. To confess of $\sin$. Pwisakmaen uhdahn wehdipla.
wedipwidipw $v i$. To be rude, to be crazy. Koamwah uhdahn wedipwidipw. You guys are rude.
wediwil $v i$. To masturbate.
Wei n. A church title.
$\mathbf{w e i}_{1} \quad v t$. To dig.
$\mathbf{w e i}_{2} \quad n$. District.
wei $_{3} \quad n$. Turtle.
wei $_{4} a d v$ or suffix. There. Iah kaen ahla wei? Where are you going?
wei $_{5}$ interjection. The expression to mark the change of the situation in a story telling.
-wei verb.suff. Movement towards a third person or location.
weikaek vi. To be heartbroken. Ngaei en weikekkihla aei kahsaemaen. I am heartbroken with my boyfriend.
weilikilik vi, -i vi. To underestimate.
weipoakoan $n$. Public.
weir $_{2}$ vi. To compete. Irahsi weir nah siain keseu.
weirek vi. To be in excruciating or constant pain. Pahpa e weirek.
weirek $n$. To be suffered from long-time conituing pain.
weiri $_{1}$ vt. To dig. Serihpwi weirida wol lapaelap eu.. The kids dig a huge hole.
weisahsa vi. To be reddish.
weisoa $n$. Small lice.
weiweida $v i$. To be pulled out of the ground. Mwaeiang eu en weiweida.
wekedaek $_{1} \quad v i$. To turn something over.
wekedaek $_{2} \quad v i$. To change the angle of one's face. Serihmaen e wekedaekaeda. Serihmaen e wekedaekidi. The child faced up. The child faced down.
wekedaehk vi. To return from ocean. Woalaemaen en wekedaehkla sang laid.
wekedaekidi vi. To angle one's face down.
wekesahsa $v i$. To sway or roll from side to side because of defect.
wekid $_{1} \quad v t$. To turn over (top and bottom). Ngaei wekid pihpaeu.
wekid $_{2}$ vt. Amendment. Irah wekidla pihpahpwi.
wekid $_{3} n$. Amendment, change.
weliali vt. To exchange, to change. Irahsi
weliali mwoamwpwi.
welian $v t$. To take someone's place while they are gone, replace, change.
weliaepae $n$. Representative.
welienlis $n$. A feast that occurs for something unexpected. [Note: Many people do not know this word. One said he knows the word but does not know the meaning. Need more study on this word.]
welik vt. To uncover. Ngaei welik aeinpwoahd eu.
welihsaek num. Eighty, general counting system.
weliwelian $v i$. To represent. Ngaei weliwelian meh Pingelap.
wen vi. To dance cultural dance such as liohdoki, ohniohni, dihn, with tool.
weneisaek num. Sixty, general counting system.
weneu num. Six, general counting system.
wenikin $v t$. To dance.
wer $v t$. To scream.
wering $v t$. To call in a shouting voice.
wes $_{1}$ vi. To whistle.
wes $_{2}$ vi. To turn in walking.
wesekaelaekael $n$. A species of land crab, white or brown and rather big.
wesi $v t$. To beat or spank.
wesik $_{1}$ vi. To be loaded, to load. Pwohpwo e wesik. Pwohpwo is carried or Pwohpwo carries something.
wesik $_{2} n$. One of several ceremonies involving recognition of membersip, or food in this ceremony.
wesik $_{3}$ vi. To have the one of several ceremonies involving recognition of membersip.
wesik en soaulap $n$. The ritual to bring foods to the parents of the wife, every saturday, and eat together.
wehwe $_{1}$ vi. To understand.
wehwe $_{2}$ vi. To mean. Iah wehwehn mae? Lihmaen wehwekin woman. Ngaei wehwekin pwa kihs aen suhpaenae laekapw. What does this mean? Lihmaen means woman. I ment that we will meet tomorrow.
wewehkin $v t$. To understand, to mean.
wehwenpae $n$. Meaning.
wi $n$. Plant sp., shore big tree with white flowers and green seeds, seed mixed with ash are used as fish poison (put close to the under the rock, then the fishes hiding under the rock will get dizzy and die and float, the dead fish is not dangerous to people, Pingelapese people eat the fish, this fishing
method is banned on Pingelap since it kills too many not-targeted fishes).
wia $_{1} \quad v t$. To make.
wia $_{2}$ vt. To do.
wiahda vt. Made, did. [Note: Picnic morning, people talk about what they cooked for the picnic. "Dah mae kae wiahda?"]
wiahiaeng $v i$. To do something to other parson. Dahmae kae wiahiaeng reh serihmaen. What's happened to the child.
wiahla v. Did. [Note: Teacher ask children whether they did their assigment. "Koamwah wiahla home work?"]
wiawi vi. To be done. Dah mae aen wiawi laekap. What has to be done tomorrow?
wihdahdoa $v i$. To come toward "ilik" side from village side.
wihdahla $v i$. To go towards "ilik" side from village side.
widaek vi. To pour.
widaeki vt. To pour. Ngaeh widaeki kap eu.
widaen vt. To wash some part of one's body, but not teeth. Ngaei widaen maesaei.
widemwaeraemwaer $n$. Sprinkling rain. Ewidemwaeraemwaerin kaesaeu rahn eu. Ewidemwaeraemwaer kaesaeu rahn eu. It is sprinkling like rain today.
widemwaermwaer vi. To rain lightly, To shower.
widepahn $v i$. To wash dishes.
widihla vt. To go from "ilik" side to village side. Ngaei widila imwaen saeraewi.
widing ${ }_{1} v i$, $-i v t$. To be tricky, to fool someone.
widingek $v i$. To be tricky, to be crafty. John e widingek.
widingi $v t$. To deceive, to lie, to defraud.
widir $n$. Fish sp., Honeycomb grouper, yellow-spotted rock cod, reef fish, dark color body. [Note: Men and widows are allowed to fish this fish. Usually women are not allowed.]
widir kurukur $n$. Fish sp., black-spooted grouper.
widiwidaek vi. To be overflowing. Pileu en widiwidaekaela.
wihdoa $v i$. To come, no specific direction.
wiemwahl vi. To be inconsiderate. Pwisakpwi e wiemwahlkin serepeinpwi.
wiewia $_{1}$ vi. To behave. Aeh pwisakmaen wiewia uhdahn mwahu.
wiewia $_{2} n$. Reputition.
wik $_{1}$ vt. To change.
wik $_{2} \quad$ vi. To be different. Pwisakmaen e wiksang riaeh serepeinmaen. The boys is different
from his sister.
wihk $n$. Week.
wil $n$. Penis.
wihla $v i$. To go, no specific direction.
wilid $n$. Fish sp., all of filament-fin parrotfish, vary in color and size.
wilingaen waei $n$. Sea cucumber sp., big, some are brown and some are blue.
win $n$. Feather, body hair of any animal, a scale.
$\boldsymbol{w i n}_{2} n$. A hand made fake fishing bait.
wina $v t$. To pluck feathers, to scale a fish, to skin a pig.
winahdi interjection. "Pull it down!", angry expression never used in a regular sentence. This verb cannot take a subject. winahdi sang maen!
winahk $n$. Group of birds hovering over a school of fish and the school of fish. Pwaeipwaei keseu nah winahk. E minae kaeakae nah winahk.
winahni vt. To use a magic. Woalemaen e kakaen winahdi serepeinmaen.
winawin $v i$. To scale a fish. Ngaei winawin.
winaen mwoamw $n$. Scale.
wini $n$. Medecine.
wini en kaesahliel $n$. Illegal drugs.
wiraedaek vi. To cry and whirl around, to stagger when drunk.
wiraehna $n$. Lobster.
wiraehna $n$. Crayfish.
wires $n$. Bird sp., long-tailed New Zealand cuckoo, brown and white mized color on the body. [Note: This bird is a culturaly bird. The sound of this bird or the appearance of this bird sign that many fruits are comming.]
wis $_{1} \quad n$. Banana.
wis $_{2} \quad v t$. To pull towards a person.
Wis Amirikae n. Plant sp., Banana sp., from South America.
Wis Aro n. Plant sp., Banana sp.
Wis Daiwang n. Plant sp., Banana sp., long, thin banana, usually used while it is still green.
Wis Dukuru n. Plant sp., Banana sp.
Wis Esera n. Plant sp., Banana sp.
Wis iehmwahn $n$. Plant sp., Banana sp.
Wis Inek $n$. Plant sp., Banana sp.
Wis ladin $n$. Plant sp., Banana sp.
Wis Lakadahn n. Plant sp., Banana sp.
Wis Lokohe $n$. Plant sp., Banana sp.
Wis Manihla n. Plant sp., Banana sp.
Wis Pihsi n. Plant sp., Banana sp.
wisepei $n$. A floater.
wisi $_{2}$ vt. To uproot of plants. Ngaei naemaen wisi suhkaehpas.
wisi $_{3} v t$. To pull out. Ana wisida padin.
Wisiak $n$. Plant sp., Banana sp.
wisida $_{1} \quad v t$. To vote. Kihs wisida John.
wisili n. Plant sp., a soft taro variety from Ngatik.
wisimas $n$. Riped banana.
Wisinwai $n$. Plant sp., Banana sp.
wising $n$. The base of the stone oven, made of four or more primary ribs of coconut leave.
wisiwis $n$. Raffle, junk items.
Wiskaeras $n$. Plant sp., Banana sp.
wisol $n$. Male baby.
wol $n$. Hole, pit.
WOS $n$, vi, -i $v$. A hum, to hum a tune.
$\mathbf{w o a}_{1} n$. Fishing line, rope for fishing.
$\mathbf{w o a}_{2} n$. Inlet.
woa $_{3}$ vi. To have an argument. Irahsi woahda.
$\mathbf{w o a}_{4} n$. Vine.
woah kaehp $n$. Vine, of yam.
$\boldsymbol{w o a d}_{1} n$. Fish sp., Puffer and toby, reef fish similar to saei and has a dangerous razor teeth, no scale but has a hard skin, unlike saei this fish does not have spikes.
woad $_{2} n$. Taro sp., dry taro.
woad $_{3}$ vi. To get tired easily or to be weak. John e woad dae saewaeh kakaehn keseu dahr.
woadelehs $n$. Fish sp., Blackfin Squirrel fish.
woadihruk $n$. Plant sp., a soft taro variety from Chuuk.
woak vi, vt, -ae -i vt. To uncover a stone oven.
woak $_{2} v i, n$. To decay, get spongy, of the root vegetable, this kind of condition.
woakar $n$. Pubic hair.
woal $n$. Man, lad, male.
woal $_{2} n$. Fish gills. $3 s$ : woalae.
woahla $v i$. To be broken, to be injured.
woan vi. To lie (phisically).
woanae $v t$. To renovate. John woanaehda imwae.
woanpaenae $v i$. To lie together, without a special sexual connotation.
woar $_{1} n$. Neck.
woar $_{2}$ vi. To be gone forever. John en woarela.
$\boldsymbol{w o a r}_{3} n$. Cloth for the upper half of the female body.
woas $_{1} n$. Reef. Kisah ahla laid likin woas. We go to fish outside the reef.
WOAS $_{2}$ vi. To grow of non-animate things. Maeipas mwoa en woasaeda. E woasaeda ngihmw.
woahsa $_{3} \quad n$. Plant sp., vine similar to pumpkin, but this one does not have edible part.
woasawoas $n$. Taboo, boundary.
woasaen ngi $n$. Teeth with a gap and waiting for a new tooth to grow.
woasaenporokorok $n$. A coconut plant that started growing but no leaf yet. [Note: this is equal to "woasaenporok". Both used but woasaenporok maybe more comon and
maybe more basic.]
Woaulap $_{1} n$. A place name outside the reef, north of "Daekae"???
Woaulap $_{2} n$. A place name, biggest land part on the north of "Daekae".
wurohs $n$. Skirt.
wurohs in loalae $n$. Slip, under-skirt.

Total number of entries: 4340

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[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ See Jackson (1983) for a collection of different versions of cognate percentages for Micronesian languages, and especially for more detailed Chuukic language information.

[^1]:    ${ }^{2}$ Hurd and her collaborators recorded the story from a Pingelapese storyteller and transcribed it in the language. Then she translated it into English. In the English translation in chapter 2 of her MA thesis, she used the term 'Yap'. The original transcript, in the language the storyteller used, is in the appendix in her study. This original transcript also used the term 'Yap'. I noticed that the original transcript includes many Pohnpeian words that are not part of Pingelapese vocabulary, such as the Pohnpeian word kohsang 'to come' rather than Pingelapese ahsang 'to come' and Pohnpeian irail 'they' instead of Pingelapese irahsi. Rehg reviewed the transcript and reported to me that it is written in incomplete Pohnpeian and it even contains English words such as of, which is not even an English loan word in Pohnpeian. It seems that either the storyteller used Pohnpeian and English words when telling the story or a transcriber changed Pingelapese words into Pohnpeian and English words. Note that Hurd stayed in Mand, which is the Pingelapese community most influenced by Pohnpeian language. Either the storyteller or transcriber might have offered a version that would be easier for the researcher to understand. Thus, 'Yap' in the original text could be the friendly translation based on the interpretation by the storyteller or the transcriber. It would be interesting to learn what term is used in the Pingelapese language version. Pohnpeian legends mention katau peidi from where their ancestors came. Hanlon (1980) concluded that katau peidi means downwind or west.

[^2]:    ${ }^{3}$ This typhoon was not Lengkieki, discussed later.
    ${ }^{4}$ Note that samworo in Pohnpeian means 'a title of a high priest' (Rehg 1979:94).
    ${ }^{5}$ The theory of Kiribatese rulers is not certain. Some foreign rulers are described as "Delewan," from Delewa. Some interpret this Delewa as the Tarawa atoll in Kiribati. Thus, Delewan means Kiribatese. Some interpret it as 'foreign place' (dela 'to come and go' + wa 'canoe'). Thus, delewan simply means 'foreigners' (Damas 1994). The latter interpretation allows us to consider that those Delewan rulers were also Kosraean. Yet Rehg (pers. comm.) suggests another possibility: these Delewan rulers are from Sau Deleur in Madolenihmw municipality in eastern Pohnpei. The place name is related to the Saudeleurs who organized the first government uniting the people of the island of Pohnpei and built Nan Madol, the nowfamous ruin, which was a ceremonial and political center of the region. The first Saudeleurs are said to have originally come from outside of Pohnpei around A.D. 500. This hypothesis nicely fits with the fact that Pohnpeian features are widely seen in the Pingelapese language and culture, but not many Kosraean features are seen.

[^3]:    ${ }^{6}$ Rehg and Bender (1990) reported that Marshallese contact with Mokil is evident in the oral history and lexicon. A similar study is needed for Pingelapese and Kosraean.
    ${ }^{7}$ Pingelapese title holders are aware of the history of the title doahkesa. As of 2007, they were discussing the revival of nahmwariki.

[^4]:    ${ }^{8}$ Pingelapese who have a Pohnpeian mother or father often speak Pohnpeian as their first language, especially if they grow up in a Pohnpeian dominated area. And it is not common, but there are Pingelapese who speak English as their first language. They are from households that use English as the primary language, either in Pohnpei or in the U.S.

[^5]:    ${ }^{9}$ The Pohnpeian alphabet also underspecifies the same phoneme contrast in the northern dialect of Pohnpeian, which does not exist in the southern dialect (Rehg 1981:46, 2004).

[^6]:    ${ }^{10}$ However, an attitude of voluntary acceptance of Pohnpeian culture and languages exists in Mwalok. There was a debate in 2005 about introducing Pohnpeian languages in the Mwalok church, whose members are all Pingelapese. Some claimed that expanding the Pohnpeian language usage would help Pingelapese to become better Pohnpeian speakers. The Pohnpeian honorific system is highly structured and not many Pingelapese use it well when they speak Pohnpeian. For this reason, those Pingelapese who have a good command of English prefer to speak in English rather than in Pohnpeian to converse with Pohnpeians.

[^7]:    ${ }^{11}$ According to a former principal of Mand elementary school (whom I interviewed, and who wished to remain anonymous), Pohnpei government built one of the first elementary schools in Mand for children in the region, including Pohnpeian children. Because the school was in a Pingelapese neighborhood, Pohnpeian children started to learn Pingelapese. The principal reported that it was the most unexpected event during his tenure. Later, the Department of Education built another elementary school for Pohnpeian students in a different location to "protect" Pohnpeian children from Pingelapese influence. The original elementary school was left as a branch school for Pingelapese students in the lower grades. As the building is much too large for the number of students in Mand, part of the building is used as a community activity room.

[^8]:    ${ }^{1}$ For the sake of uniformity, I use a system of glossing that assumes the analysis that is to be developed in later chapters.

[^9]:    ${ }^{2}$ Kosraean possesses limited honorific expressions only in polite personal pronouns and humble personal pronouns (Lee 1975:105-106). Although some Kosraean people reported that they used to have more developed honorific speech in the past, there is no evidence of it today (K. Rehg, pers. comm., 2011).
    ${ }^{3}$ According to Poyer $(1991,1993)$ and Keating (2000), the Sapwahfik language (formerly called Ngatik, a dialect of Pohnpeian) also lost honorifics. Its social system was destroyed in 1837 when all adult men were

[^10]:    ${ }^{1}$ A similar word order change is observed in Hawai' i Creole English, as in (a) below.
    (a) Stupid that guy!

[^11]:    ${ }^{2}$ The suppression of the subject properties may be seen in the lack of subject agreement in such sentences. Although Marshallese has obligatory subject agreement, the dislocated subjects do not trigger subject agreement on the verb, as seen in an existential sentence below.

[^12]:    ${ }^{3}$ Radford (1997) explained this phenomenon from the point of view of the Uniform Theta-role Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH) (Baker 1988): the roles Agent and Theme are uniformly assigned to particular structural positions. The subject of an unaccusative verb is base-generated in postverbal position where the direct object usually receives the Theta role, and it moves up to the subject position in adults' grammar. However, in children's grammar, it does not move and is realized as the postverbal subject. A similar explanation could be applied to Pingelapese split intransitivity.

[^13]:    4 "One of the connections between information structure and syntax that is best known is the propensity for languages to order given, old, or topical information before new or focused information" (Erteschik-Shir 2007:7).

[^14]:    ${ }^{5}$ Pohnpeian, a closely related language, is different from Pingelapese in this respect. Pohnpeian employs two distinct verbs for the existential construction and the locative construction: mie for the existential construction with verb-initial word order and $m i$ for the locative construction with subject-initial word order, as shown in (a) and (b) below. The two forms are in complementary distribution.

[^15]:    ${ }^{1}$ Having suffixal case markers is not odd in head-initial languages. However, e/ae are not suffixes.

[^16]:    ${ }^{2}$ For example, the subject marker -ga in Japanese always appears right after the subject noun. It does not occur separate from the subject noun. It would not be stranded when the subject noun phrase is moved.

[^17]:    ${ }^{3}$ This corresponds to INFL position in the framework of Government and Binding theory. In this framework, aspectual elements are considered to be under INFL. Since $e$ and $a e$ show aspectual inflection, they are understood to be located under INFL. See Hale (1998) and Willson (2008) for a study of Marshallese in this framework.

[^18]:    ${ }^{4}$ The $h$ in aeh marks a long vowel in Pingelapese orthography.

[^19]:    ${ }^{5}$ Pagotto (1987) reported that the Marshallese auxiliary verb -j 'progressive' (later relabeled 'noncompletive' in her thesis) can occur in equational sentences.

[^20]:    (a) $\begin{array}{llllll}\text { Leen } & e-j & \text { juon } & \text { armej } & \text { e-rreo büruo-n. } \\ \text { that.male } & \text { 3s-prog } & \text { one } & \text { person } & \text { 3s-pure emotions-3s }\end{array}$
    'He's an honest man.'

[^21]:    ${ }^{1}$ K. Rehg (pers. comm., 2012) reported that although he never heard dehr 'don't' without a subject pronoun in spoken Pohnpeian, he once saw this usage on a Pohnpeian sign at a gas station in Pohnpei:

[^22]:    ${ }^{2}$ The structural positions of negators and preverbals require further investigation.

[^23]:    ${ }^{3}$ For sudden, striking, and surprising changes, Pingelapese employs wud, which seems to be an interjection.

[^24]:    ${ }^{4}$ The Pohnpeian word for 'to want' is maen and the Mokilese word is nimaen; both always take a verbal complement. If I were to try to analyze Pingelapese naemaen as having come from naem-aen, the Pohnpeian form maen would be a challenging piece of data to explain.
    ${ }^{5}$ Pohnpeian: pahn (unrealized aspect marker), kin (habitual aspect marker), nohn ('too much'), inenen ('very'), kehn ('easily'), sekehn ('not easily'), poaden ('incessantly, always'), men ('want to'), from Rehg (1979, 1981).

[^25]:    ${ }^{6}$ Mokilese: inenin ('very'), nohn ('too much'), kin ('usually', marker of habitual action), pirin ('will', marker of future of intention), nimen ('want to'), jehpirin ('will not'), ken ('then', 'just'), pwen ('just', 'only'), kanan (ken + speaker's impression), pwanah (pwen + speaker's impression), from Harrison (1976, 1977).

[^26]:    ${ }^{1}$ Word final consonants are extrametrical in these languages.

[^27]:    ${ }^{2}$ It is also possible that the base form is kisai and the underlying $i$ did not get deleted because, before the final vowel deletion rule applies, $i$ gets syllabified to the preceding vowel to form a single syllable. Pohnpeian seems to make a contrast between a non-syllabic vowel and a glide in pronunciation and reduplication (Rehg, in preparation). However, I do not know whether this Pohnpeian fact applies to Pingelapese, although the two languages are closely related to each other. For now, I posit that kisay is the base.

[^28]:    ${ }^{3}$ Lynch (2002:83) argued for this subject agreement and object agreement pattern for Proto-Oceanic.
    ${ }^{4}$ [ae] means that they are not sure whether the vowel in this position was /a/ or /e/. And /e/must be $/ \varepsilon /$. As already discussed, the Proto-Micronesian vowel system has $/ \varepsilon$ / but not /e/. In this dissertation, I spell this word as *pwae for the convenience of the reader.

[^29]:    ${ }^{5}$ Rehg (1993) reported final vowel lenition processes in Pulo Annian, Woleaian, Puluwatese, Pohnpeian, Marshallese, Kiribatese, and Kosraean. Details of the processes are different from language to language, as summarized below.

    | Language(s) | Short Vowels | Long Vowels |
    | :--- | :--- | :--- |
    | PUA | $\mathrm{V} \rightarrow[-\mathrm{vd}] / \mathrm{VC}_{1-} \\|$ | $\mathrm{V} \rightarrow[-\mathrm{vd}] / \mathrm{V} \_\\|$ |
    | WOL | $\mathrm{V} \rightarrow[-\mathrm{vd}] / \mathrm{VC}_{1} \\|$ | $\mathrm{V} \rightarrow 0 / \mathrm{V} \_\\|$ |
    | PUL, PON | $\mathrm{V} \rightarrow 0 / \mathrm{VC}_{1 \_} \#$ | $\mathrm{~V} \rightarrow 0 / \mathrm{V} \#$ |
    | MRS | $\mathrm{V} \rightarrow 0 / \mathrm{VC}_{1-} \#$ | $(\mathrm{~d} ?) \mathrm{V} \rightarrow 0 / \mathrm{V} \#$ |
    | KIR | $\mathrm{V}_{+ \text {hi }} \rightarrow 0 / \mathrm{VN}_{-} \\|$ | $(\mathrm{o}) \mathrm{V}_{\text {+hi }} \rightarrow 0 / \mathrm{NV} V_{-} \\|$ |
    | KSR | (d) $\mathrm{V} \rightarrow 0 / \mathrm{VC}_{1 \_} \#$ | $\mathrm{~V} \rightarrow 0 / \mathrm{V}_{-} \#$ |

[^30]:    ${ }^{6}$ Jackson (1983:57) reconstructed *-p'e 'future; intent'. Jackson considered that a POC *mpe is the source of widely attested cognates inside and outside of Micronesia (e.g., Nggela, Fijian, Kuanua ba 'perhaps', Rarotonga pa 'perhaps'). The other suggested cognates outside of Micronesia include Proto-New Ireland *ba 'future tense', Motu bai 'future', Kilivila bu 'irrealis', Nogugu pwa-nes 'when? (future)', and Seimat po 'future sign'. He suggests that the earlier *p'a(a)p'a 'later, indefinite future' attested in Chuukese, Puluwatese, Carolinian, and Woleaian, which possibly reflects a reduplication of the future tense morpheme and the raising of the vowel/a/ in POC *mpa to / $\varepsilon /$ in Proto-Chuukic *-p'e, may have occurred after the lexicalization of the reduplicated form.

[^31]:    ${ }^{1}$ Probably, the dual number marker is -ah underlyingly rather than $-a$, as it realizes as $-a h$ in (4c). It realizes as $-a$ in (4b) due to the application of the word final vowel deletion rule. In (4c), $-a h$ is suffixed by another morpheme, which blocks the application of the word final vowel deletion rule to -ah. The same explanation also applies to the plural number marker: it is -sih underlyingly, rather than -si.

[^32]:    ${ }^{2}$ Willson (2008) reports that when the Marshallese independent pronoun is a subject with numeral components, the third person singular agreement clitic $e$ - is used, as in (a).

[^33]:    (a) Kwe $\bar{n} a \quad$ im Mona, Kōj-jil e-naaj uṃụ̣ ñan bade eo. 2S.IND 1S.IND and Mona 1PL.IN.IND-three 3S.AGR-T(fut) bake.intrans for party the.S 'You, me and Mona, the three of us will bake for the party.'
    (Willson 2008:21)

[^34]:    ${ }^{3}$ According to Ariel (1999) and Barlow (1992), agreement inflections do not mark more distinctions than free pronouns, and sometimes less. Although I do not consider Pingelapese subject pronouns as agreement inflections, the cognates in Chuukic languages and Marshallese are considered to have this status.

[^35]:    ${ }^{4}$ One of the islands where Pingelapese people went to work is Enewetak in the Marshall Islands, as the speaker mentions in (25). Marshallese government officials and Pingelapese people reported that significant numbers of Pingelapese people still reside in Enewetak today, and they maintain the Pingelapese language.

[^36]:    ${ }^{5}$ The paradigm look of subject pronouns that came from Proto-Micronesian agreement markers is less complete in Pohnpeian, compared to Pingelapese, as shown in table 7.A.

[^37]:    ${ }^{6}$ The portmanteau subject pronouns that combine with the expression of mood/aspect categories of the verb (i.e., pronoun:aux) are often reported in Melanesian languages (Lynch et al. 2002:35). However, since each morpheme in the Pingelapese subject pronouns that occur in four forms carries a certain meaning, it is plausible to assign morpheme boundaries to them.
    ${ }^{7}$ In spoken Pohnpeian, the third person singular object suffix is marked by zero (Rehg 1981:161). The third person singular nominal object in (a) would be pronominalized as - $\varnothing$, as illustrated in (b).
    (a) Sohn wahdo Linda.
    (K. Rehg, pers. comm., 2011) John bring Linda 'John brought Linda.'

[^38]:    ${ }^{8}$ Harrison (1978) argued that there were no distinct plural object pronouns in Proto-Micronesian, but the plural independent pronouns functioned as objects.

[^39]:    ${ }^{9}$ As of 2005, Pingelapese title holders have been discussing the revival of the original word, nahnmwarki 'paramount chief' (cognate with Pohnpeian nahnmwarki).

[^40]:    ${ }^{10}$ A series of introduced diseases reduced the population of Pohnpei island from more than 10,000 persons in the 1820s to as few as 2,000 in the late 1850s (Gorenflo and Levin 1992:5).

[^41]:    ${ }^{11}$ Mokilese chieftainship died out after the death of August Juel in 1950 (Nagaoka and Hicks 2004). (In 1980, Sahn Johnson proclaimed himself as Nahmwarki 'high chief, king'. However, he did not receive support from the Mokilese community.) Even prior to the end of chieftainship, Weckler (1949) observed the presence of a democratic social system: monthly legislative public meetings and an elected ten-man council, which was established in 1946.
    ${ }^{12}$ Kosraean noble titles were reduced from eighteen to eight by 1869 , to five by 1880 , to three by 1910 , and to two by 1960, and the remaining titles have lost most of their original meaning (Gorenflo 1993:108). As early as 1874, Kosraeans began selecting their leaders by popular vote (Gorenflo 1993:109).
    ${ }^{13}$ Oda (1977:29) used the term "subject pronouns" to refer to these Pulo Annian morphemes, but she stated that she regards the subject pronoun as a pronominal copy of the subject NP. She treated object agreement in the same way: regarding the object suffix as a pronominal copy of the object NP (Oda 1977:62).

[^42]:    ${ }^{14}$ Agreement is almost always expressed by affixes, but in a very small number of languages agreement markers can be detached (clitic or particle) (Croft 1990:14; Siewierska and Bakker 1996:139). Croft (1990:14) cited the Woleaian sentence (a) as an example of subject agreement expressed by independent particles, detached from other words.

[^43]:    ${ }^{16}$ Expressing the subject pronoun after the topicalized noun phrase, as in (a), is grammatical.

[^44]:    ${ }^{18}$ Siewierska and Bakker (1996:147) take similar patterns in Fijian (Keenan 1978), Kapingaamarangi (Chung 1978), and other languages as support for the claim that unstressed object pronouns may be expected to be less susceptible to the pressure of pragmatic or processing factors than unstressed subject pronouns, because agreement markers evolve from unstressed pronouns and there is a closer semantic and syntactic bond between the object and verb than the subject and verb.

[^45]:    ${ }^{19}$ Subject agreement for other persons is also reported in Pulo Annian. In (a), the subject noun information is doubly expressed, in the independent pronoun in the sentence initial position and the preverbal subject agreement marker. The two agree in the second person.

[^46]:    ${ }^{1}$ Below (a) is a hypothetical reconstruction of a Proto-Micronesian equational sentence provided by Jackson (1986:205).

[^47]:    ${ }^{3}$ Pressure from Pohnpeian, outer islander identities, and self-conscious contrast with Pohnpeian are also reported in the Sapwuahfik people (Poyer 1988).

