A GRAMMAR OF WOLEAIAN

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Abstract

Woleaian [ISO 639-3 woe], endonymically *Kapetale Faliuwesh* (lit. 'language of our [is]land') or *Kapetale Wolea* (lit. 'language of Woleai'), is a nuclear Chuukic (Micronesian-Austronesian) language mainly spoken on the six atolls of Woleai *(Wolea)*, Eauripik *(Yaurepig)*, Ifaluk *(Ifaliug)*, Faraulap *(Fatialap)*, Elato and Lamotrek *(Lamocheg)*, located in Yap state of the Federated States of Micronesia. The current speaker community is estimates to be between 3,000 and 4,000 speakers, with at least a quarter of those now residing outside of these atolls. This dissertation gives a grammatical description of Woleaian naturalistic speech, mainly focused on the Eauripik variety. The data used for the linguistic analysis comes from a community-based and -oriented language documentation project with over 35 hours of naturalistic speech data. As such, all analysis is essentially data-driven, being led by the corpus rather than pre-conceived linguistic categorizations. Since naturalistic speech is the focal point of data analysis, it also means that elicitation was not used as an analytical tool outside of the phonetics and phonology. Instead, elicitation served to support analysis of grammatical structures from the naturalistic speech corpus in a few rare instances. Because of this methodological approach, it is necessarily non-exhaustive, and leaves many open ends for further research avenues. However, I hope that this dissertation forms the start of an accurate linguistic analysis of how the Woleaian language is spoken by its community.

The dissertation covers phonetics and phonology (Chapter 2), the word classes (Chapter 3), nouns and noun phrases (Chapter 4), verbs, verbal morphology and the verb phrase (Chapter 5), minor word classes and particles (Chapter 6), simple clauses (Chapter 7), complex clauses and clause combining (Chapter 8), and finally focus, argument structure and discourse organization (Chapter 9).

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Woleaian [ISO 639-3 woe], endonymically *Kapetale Faliuwesh* (lit. 'language of our [is]land') or *Kapetale Wolea* (lit. 'language of Woleai'), is a language originally spoken on a number of atolls in Yap state, Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), in addition to a relatively large diaspora population. These atolls are Woleai *(Wolea)*, Eauripik (*Yaurepig*), Ifaluk (*Ifaliug*), Faraulap (*Fatialap*), Elato,[1] and Lamotrek (*Lamocheg*), together henceforth referred to as the Outer Islands. The sizable diaspora communities are located on Yap Main Island as well as in Guam, Hawai'i, and the continental United States. The table below shows the residents for each island according to the Yap State census of 2000.[2] The total number of speakers is estimated at less than 4,000 people based on a count of 3,151 speakers within Yap state (Michael Levin, pers. comm.) plus an estimation of several hundred diaspora members.

Name	**Population**
Woleai	1,106
Eauripik	158
Ifalik	589
Faraulap	192
Elato	124
Lamotrek	371
Total	**3,151**

Table 1.1: Woleaian speakers on the Woleaian-speaking islands, based on a 2010 count (Michael Levin, pers. comm.)

The atolls form individual governmental districts within Yap State. All of the atolls are ge-

1. The small atoll of Elato is considered to be part of larger Lamotrek by the Woleaian-speaking community, but is separated in Yap State administrative delineations.

2. A newer census took place in Yap state in early 2023. However, the report for this has not yet been released.

ographically part of the Carolinian islands archipelago and are located between 146°22' E and 143°02' E east to west and 8°35' N to 6°41' N north to south. Inter-island travel using small-engine boats, the freighter and (historically) canoes is not uncommon, with exogamy being the norm especially for the smaller islands, but travel on small boats occurs more frequently between the more closely located islands, such as between Woleai and Eauripik, Elato and Lamotrek, etc. Figure 1.1 shows the Outer Islands of Yap, which include the non-Woleaian-speaking atolls and islands of Ulithi and Fais, and Satawal, where Ulithian and Satawalese are spoken, respectively.

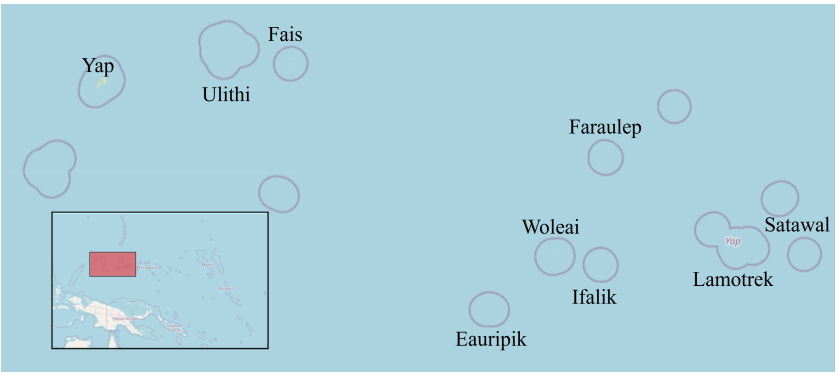

Figure 1.1: The Outer Islands of Yap.

For some of the Outer Islands, the population that lives elsewhere is greater than that currently residing on the island. For example, Eauripik has a population of 70-90, but there are over 100 Eauripiki living in Gargey village on Yap proper alone. I estimate that the villages of Gargey, Deboche, Maki, and Dinai form the largest communities of Woleaian speakers outside of the atolls, with an estimate of several hundred inhabitants each. Fieldwork for this project was carried out in three locations: Yap proper, Eauripik, and Honolulu Hawai'i, with some informal work also done on Woleai (discussed in more detail in Section 1.7 below).

1.1 History, Culture, Environment

Woleaian is spoken on coral atolls along a number of the Carolinian islands (see Figure 1.1). General geography consists of low-lying sandy islands encircling deep lagoons. The climate is warm and humid with comfortable trade winds year-round, and historically distinct wet and dry seasons. Anecdotally, however, it has been noted that, due to the changing climate, these two seasons are shifting and becoming less distinct, with there now being regular showers year-round. It is unclear how exactly rising sea levels are affecting the islands, but due to their location on or near the Eauripik-New Guinea Rise (Den et al. 1971), they may be less affected than other low-lying islands throughout the Pacific. However, the islands may not be rising fast enough to counteract all of the rising sea levels, and some of the islands have lost some land due to sea level rise since the early 1970s (community members, pers. comm.; Michael Levin, pers. comm.). Additionally,

aberrant weather patterns are occurring more frequently and with increasing intensity, leading to loss of land and other geological morphology. For example, an aberrant summer storm in September 2024 washed away the sandy Western edge of Eauripik island, Mesoch.

The islands feature relatively narrow beaches crested by a coral reef at the sandy shores, with dense vegetation beginning soon after. Vegetation consists of a diversity of palms, trees, bushes, creepers, roots, ferns, and grasses, a considerable number of which are endemic to Micronesia –though few have been explicitly studied and classified. Many of these plants are used for a host of purposes, such as for house and canoe building, as tools, medicine, decoration and subsistence. Small gardens are also kept with useful plants such as bananas, flowers, and turmeric and other medicinal plants. Each inhabited island has one or more large taro patches, located in large pits that were either dug by hand or were repurposed bomb craters left over from WWII. Staple meals consist of taro (probably *Cyrtosperma merkusii*), breadfruit (*Artocarpus altilis*), rice (imported), and fish and other seafood. Pig and turtle meat are reserved for special occasions due to the effort in raising and catching them, respectively. The table below gives a summarized overview of a number of the most common plants on Eauripik, their English common or Scientific names, and their uses.

Name	**English**	**Main uses**
bulage	taro	food
liu	coconut palm	food, building and instrument material, fishing bait
gabwi	betel leaf	medicinal
leeli	noni	several medicinal uses
wareongiu	holy basil	lei, spice, tea, perfume
rishe	Ti leaf	food preparation, lei
shishi	*Microsorum sp.*	spice, medicinal, lei
pwu	areca nut palm	betel chewing
chele	velvetleaf soldierbush	instrument material, several medicinal uses
gemarage	false staghorn fern	decoration, medicinal
soomu	seaweed	medicinal
yaaro	bastard guelder	lei, medicinal

Table 1.2: Common plants on Eauripik and their uses

Plants are generally divided into one of four categories: *Gachiu* (lit. ‘good’), *Gapite* (lit. ‘property’), *Gefaniye* (lit. ‘to take care of’), and *Tatiuwegile* (lit. ‘any’) depending on level of human interaction:

Category	Meaning	Examples
Gachiu	wild plants	*chele*, *shishi*
Gapite	cultivated plants	*bulage*, *wareongiu*
Gefaniye	stewarded wild plants	*leeli*, *yaaro*
Tatiuwegile	other	*gemarage*, *soomu*

Table 1.3: Woleaian plant categories

As plants are a very important part of everyday life, they feature prominently in oral tradition and everyday conversation, and were a prominent topic of discussion during documentation carried out so far. Further work on Woleaian botany is being carried out by researchers at the University of Hawai'i (Emma Breslow, pers. comm.).

Woleaian is said to be one of the few Oceanic languages that developed an indigenous script. This script, of which there are two sub-types, is a syllabary and was represented on structures, household items and in tattoos into the mid-20th century (Riesenberg and Kaneshiro 1960). Its range appears to have extended from Eauripik in the west to Poluwat (modern-day Chuuk state) in the east, although this range could easily be the result of a research bias. The exact origins of the script are unknown, with hypotheses ranging from Indian and/or Semitic influences to a Latin-based origin, possibly from a shipwrecked missionary in Poluwat (Riesenberg and Kaneshiro 1960, 273–277). All of these are distinctly realistic possibilities, as extensive travel as far north as Saipan and as far west as the Philippines is attested in the oral tradition, thus facilitating contact and cultural transmission of, among other things, writing systems. However, even if it was a full-fledged writing system, nowadays the Woleaian script has been fully replaced by the languages' respective Latin-based alphabets and it is no longer used even in decorative or ceremonial ways. I am unsure if there are currently any Woleaians who have knowledge of the script's symbols, but the younger generations are either not aware of its existence or do know any of the actual characters (Lenny Saumar, pers. comm.). Since the script seems never to have been used in everyday life, and seemed to not be known by a majority of the communities, it is no surprise that knowledge of it has faded relatively quickly. Lastly, it has been mentioned to me that there is a type of logographic script in use on Faraulap, although peripherally. It is unclear whether this script stems from the older script, or was developed (semi-)independently more recently. I have not seen any examples of this script being used, but it is described as a Chinese-style script where the logographs either correspond one-to-one to a lexical item or have a phonological reading. For example, the logograph for *imwe* 'house' is a logographic depiction of a house, but the orthographic representation for *Uwapei*, the local god in Faraulep, consists of the logographs *uu* 'fishtrap', *waa* 'canoe', and *pei* 'coral rock brick', each with their phonological readings (Lenny Saumar, pers. comm.). Although I have not yet been to Faraulep and spoken to the community there about it, it seems that knowledge and use of this script was peripheral at best, and nowadays may only be used as decorational patterns.

1.2 Settlement, Colonial History, and Language Contact

The proposed history of migration patterns and settlement of Micronesia, especially Central Micronesia (i.e., the area between Kosrae and Fais), has not been without controversy in the academic community, as theories based on linguistic-cultural evidence did not line up with archaeological evidence for several decades of study (see e.g., Intoh 1997). Nowadays, however, the consensus is that the above described region, which includes all Woleaian-speaking islands, were settled between 2,000 to 1,800 years ago from Kiribati-Nauru in eastern Micronesia, all the way to the present-day country of Palau in the west (Blust 2013b, 113). This rapid spread was made possible when sea level decrease and subsequent stabilization made the the low-lying coral islands inhabitable (Carson 2013). The settlement of eastern and central Micronesia forms a distinct migration from the one that led to the settlement of Yap proper, which was long thought to have been settled much earlier than central Micronesia (Intoh 1997), but nowadays is thought of as having occurred roughly around the same time, although with a separate origin (Carson 2013, 36–37), possibly the Admiralty Islands just north of New Guinea (Blust 2013b, 113). Linguistically, this is reflected in the close genealogical affiliation of the languages spoken in Central Micronesia (and, by extension, eastern Micronesia) on the one hand and Yapese on the other, although a Melanesian (Oceanic) origin is likely for both.

A culture and population boom occurred starting from around 1,000 years ago in Central Micronesia, especially Pohnpei and Kosrae, with large stonework complexes indicating an increase in social complexity and technical innovations (Seikel 2011). However, this 'boom' seems to not have had a major impact on the more westerly coral islands, most likely since these small, low-lying islands did not have the resources to support this. Nevertheless, there is a long history of inter-island contact in all of Micronesia, from frequent contact and intermarriage between more geographically close islands, to less frequent but regular travel between Guam, Chuuk, and beyond.

After being contacted by the Spanish through the 16th century, the Woleaian-speaking islands and all other Caroline Islands were claimed as part of the Spanish East Indies in 1686. However, the Spanish empire focused its colonial efforts more on the Philippines and Guam and made no concerted efforts to occupy or govern the Carolines (Rafael 1973). The main influence from Spanish contact came much later in the late 19th century, when evangelical work was carried out by Spanish Capuchin missionaries to reinforce the Spanish claim over the area (Hezel 2010). This was most likely the first prolonged contact between the Outer Islanders and Europeans, and is reflected linguistically mainly in loanwords stemming from Roman Catholicism, such as *Deus~Teus* 'God' (< Latin *Deus*), *gelesia* 'church' (< Esp. *iglesia*), *rosario* 'rosary' (< Esp. *rosario*) and *sebaato* 'Saturday' (< Spanish *Sabato*), but also other words such as *adios* 'goodbye' (< Spanish *adios*) and *falorase* 'flower' (< Spanish *flores* 'flowers'). Overall, Spanish contact was culturally highly influential with the introduction of Christianity, but, with only a handful of loanwords has left only relatively minor linguistic traces.

The second period of European contact occurred after Spain withdrew from the Pacific follow-

ing the Spanish-American war of 1898, which allowed Germany to expand colonial influence over Micronesia for a brief period (O'Neill and Spennemann 2001, 46). Germany had previously been increasing its activity in Micronesia and the greater pacific in the prior decades (Rafael 1973, i–ii), but could only officially colonize the Caroline Islands after Spain relinquished its claim following the loss of war. The German colonial period was very brief, lasting only until the Japanese annexed Micronesia from Germany in the period between 1914 and 1918 (O'Neill and Spennemann 2001). Therefore, the cultural and linguistic influence from German contact on Woleaian is minimal; I have so far only detected only a single loanword *Toichi* 'German/Germany/Europe' (< German *Deutsch* 'German'), although younger speakers seem to not recognize or use this word. Sohn and Tawerilmang (1976) gives a number of proposed German loanwords, but these have nowadays been superseded by English loans or by reintroductions of Woleaian terms such as *kaantiin*[3] 'store, shop, booth' (< German *Kantine* 'canteen', superseded by *setowa* < *store*) and *Moontag* 'Monday' (< German *Montag*, superseded by *gachitage*, literally 'first up') or words that have generally fallen out of use such as *kaiser* 'emperor' (< German *Kaiser*).

A much greater linguistic and cultural influence came from the period of Japanese occupation between 1918 and 1945. Besides taking a much more active colonial approach to its two predecessors, the Japanese introduced a large number of novel technologies, meaning that the vast majority of loanwords can be found in the area of technology, but also in words such as *sensei* 'teacher' (< Japanese *sensei*), as well as food-related terms such as *utonge* 'noodle' (< Japanese *udon*) and *tempura* 'fried (food)' (< Japanese *tempura*). The table below gives a short list of technologies introduced by the Japanese and their corresponding loanwords:

3. When directly quoting other works on Woleaian, the orthography of the work is used when there are no instances of the word in the corpus using the revised orthography. See section 2.5 for more on orthographic standards.

Woleaian	Japanese	English
tenchi	denchi	battery
sitosa	jidousha	car
sikoki	hikōki	airplane
*tengewa**	denwa	phone
utonge	udon	noodles
tempura	tempura	frying/fried food
*bokongo**	bōkūgō	air-raid shelter
lakasan	rakkasan	parachute
chichibaneto	chichi 'breast' + bando 'band'	bra
fitonge	futon	mattress
*kachito**	katsudō	movie
*koori**	kōri	ice/snow
soiyu	shōyu	soy sauce
miyaari	miyari 'to gaze'	binoculars
*niimpu**	ninpu 'laborer'	slave
*kuruma**	kuruma 'car, wheel'	wheelbarrow

Table 1.4: Japanese-introduced technologies and concepts, and their loanwords in Woleaian. Words marked with an asterisk have fallen or are falling out of use or have been replaced by English loans

As with German, a large number of Japanese loanwords are either being superseded by English, such as *Kolia~Korea* (< Eng. *Korea*) over *Chooseeng* (< Jap. Chōsen), fell into disuse in favor of (previous) Woleaian terms, such as *maliuge* 'chicken' over *niwatori* (< Jap. *niwatori*), or are no longer relevant after the end of the Japanese colonial period, such as *kinupakutang* 'atomic bomb' (probably > Jap. *gen(shi)* 'atom' + *bakudan* 'bomb'; Sohn and Tawerilmang 1976, 184) or *girakena* 'hiragana' (> Jap. *hiragana*; Sohn and Tawerilmang 1976, 149). The question also remains to what degree the large amount of apparent Japanese loans Sohn and Tawerilmang (1976) provide were actually in daily use, rather than being a prestige variant or simply used to facilitate communication with Japanese speakers.

The current period of cultural and linguistic influence on Micronesia, and Woleaian specifically, is that of the United States. First through the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands established in 1947 after Japan relinquished its occupied territories after its loss in the Pacific theater of the Second World War, and continuing to this day. After the independence of the Federated States of Micronesia in 1986, US influences have continued through the Compact of Free Association (which also includes the Marshall Islands and Palau), which allows FSM citizens to travel freely to the US and enlist in the US military service, as well as a number of economic and military provisions made by the US to the FSM. Since its independence, the official language of the FSM has been English and it is thus widely spoken throughout the FSM, especially by male and by younger

speakers that have received English-medium education. The influence of English is less pervasive on the Outer Island than on Yap proper, where all education is English-medium, especially on the islands other than Woleai. This is because the one high school on the outer islands is located on Woleai, meaning that a larger proportion of its residents are able to attend it. Middle-aged and older women, who have not received such schooling, are often mostly monolingual in Woleaian, but even these speakers seem to have at least some basic knowledge of English, especially those living on Yap proper.

English loanwords, similar to Japanese, are mainly found in domains where newer technology was brought in from an English-speaking context. Different from Japanese, however, is that these loanwords are not integrated orthographically, and, especially for younger speakers, phonologically, into Woleaian. Besides the incorporation of phonemes not present in Woleaian, one example of this lack of phonological incorporation is word-initial vowels in loanwords from English: Occurrence of word-initial vowels are highly restricted in Woleaian, and the initial [ɛ] in the English name 'Eric' would normally require the glide [j] to be prepended. However, in many instances this does not occur, resulting in a free variation between [ɛɹɪk]~[jɛɹɪk]. This example also showcases the use of foreign phoneme [ɹ], as well as the quite rare utterance-final consonant. At this point, the influence of English phonology seems to be restricted to individual lexemes as well as certain restrictions, however, as other novel words are incorporated, such as my nickname Clé [kle], which was generally pronounced [kə̆le]~[kĭle].[4] Note, however, that there is a number of words that seem to be more incorporated into Woleaian, and have as such undergone some phonological modification from the source language.

Because of this, and the increased English proficiency among Woleaian speakers, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether an instance of an English-origin word is a loanword, or a code-switch into English. Additionally, because of widespread bilingualism, the line between the two is relatively blurry regardless. Nonetheless, the table below provides a short, very much non-exhaustive list of frequently-heard words that are clearly of an English source:

4. [ɾ] is sometimes also produced, but [l] was more common. [l] to [ɾ] is an ongoing phonological development, seemingly starting some three or four generations ago.

	Woleaian	English
Loans		
	spitale	hospital
	skuule	school
	biya	beer
	bola[5]	ball
	boti	boat
	filowa	(< flour) bread
	maliken	American/white person
	spune	spoon
	kape	cup/glass
	sante	Sunday
	spakeeti	spaghetti
	fone	phone
	baibaaye	bye-bye
	need	to need
(Possible) code-switches		
	icebox	cooler
	ice cream	
	front desk	
	VHF	

Table 1.5: English words used in Woleaian, whether as loanword or as code-switch.

Earlier Japanese loans that have been fully incorporated into the language do not seem to be easily superseded by English, and continue to be firmly in use in favor of re-loaning words from English. Additionally, because of the lack of an institution that governs spelling and incorporation/introduction of new words, it may simply be a question of time before the words now found under code-switches in table 1.5 are incorporated phonologically and eventually also orthographically into Woleaian.

Thus, to summarize, there have been four periods of colonial contact with the Woleaian-speaking islands since their settlement around 2,000-1,800 years ago: The Spanish period, which is marked by a long period of relative inactivity, but ending in the large impact left by Christianization. The German period, which was a short period and seems to have left few traces on the Woleaian language and culture. The Japanese period, which is marked by the introduction of a large number of technologies and their corresponding loanwords. Finally, there is the current United States period, which is likely to have the biggest continuing effect on the language and culture due to the official status of English and the increased intercontinental travel, which has

5. This could also be an older Spanish loan, although the lack of continued presence of the Spanish in the area makes this somewhat less likely.

also resulted in a growing Woleaian diaspora in Hawai'i and the continental United States, with an estimated 100 and 500 Woleaians in these areas, respectively (Lenny Saumar, pers. comm.). While linguistic transmission of Woleaian has stayed secure so far, it is unclear whether this will continue with the continued influence from English, both from within Yap State as well as from the United States and globalization at large, especially as the number of monolingual Woleaian speakers reduces.

1.3 Classification

Woleaian is classified as a Nuclear Chuukic (formerly Trukic) language (Jackson 1983), which is part of the Micronesian branch of Oceanic languages. In its current classification Woleaian is the only Nuclear Chuukic language that does not form part of another branch, with the most closely related languages being the Eastern Chuukic languages Chuukese, Mortlockese, Pollapese and Puluwatese, the Satawalese-Carolinian languages Carolinian, Pááfang, Tanapag, Namonuito and Satawalese, and the Western Chuukic languages Sonsorol, Tobian and Ulithian. The degree of mutual intelligibility between Woleaian and these languages has not been formally tested, but multiple Woleaian, Ulithian and Satawalese speakers have stated that speakers of all three of these languages can communicate between Woleaian, Ulithian, Satawalese, and Chuukese to some degree, although this is paired with knowledge and accommodation of language differences. The Chuukic family tree as established by Jackson (1983) has been brought into question in Mayer (2024), as well as in Blumenfeld (2024a) for the Micronesian family as a whole. Both argue that a tree-structure classification may not be as fruitful as alternatives, such as wave-based models/linkages. However, a detailed argumentation of potential reorganization of the Chuukic and/or Micronesian family structure is yet to be proposed.

Micronesian languages are distinct in several ways, most notably their relatively innovative phonology. These include a relatively large number of vowels, vowel alternation and, most characteristically, lenition and reduction of utterance-final consonants and vowels (Blust 2013b, 115). This status as being innovative in their phonology is based on comparison with Proto-Austronesian and Proto-Oceanic forms, as well as typological synchronic comparison to other Austronesian languages (see Blust 2013b, 115–117). In this grammar, the forms for Proto-Austronesian and Proto-Oceanic are taken from Blust and Trussel (2016). However, it must be noted that Micronesian languages have only somewhat peripherally been included in the historical linguistic study of Austronesian languages, including Proto-Austronesian reconstructions: There are, as far as I am aware, two sets of reconstructed Proto-Micronesian forms, Bender et al. (2003b) and Bender et al. (2003a), with smaller sets of forms found in other (Bender and Wang 1985; Rehg 1993), and more recent (Blumenfeld 2024b, e.g.,) work. Thus, while I use Proto-Austronesian, Proto-Oceanic and Proto-Micronesian forms where relevant throughout this grammar, it must be noted that the latter forms are less well-established.

The reduction of utterance-final consonants and vowels in Micronesian languages, especially the loss of utterance-final consonants has taken place both historically, and is in some cases still ongoing. For example, Chuukese has lost its utterance-final vowels (Dyen 1965), as can be seen in *iim*^{w} 'house' (< Proto-Austronesian *Rumaq 'house'; Goodenough and Sugita 1990), whereas in Woleaian it is reduced to a voiceless vowel utterance-finally, e.g., *imwe* [iːmʷe̥]. In both cases this reduced vowel surfaces once it is no longer utterance-final, e.g., Chuukese *im*^{w}*a-n* and Woleaian *imwe-l* (< PAn *Rumaq-na 'his/her house'). Final vowels in the sub-family are explored in more detail in Mayer (2024).

Generally, Woleaian adheres both the typological profile and the proposed shared innovations from Proto-Oceanic as given in Lynch, Ross, and Crowley (2011, 117–119) and Blust (2013b, 113–117). This, in tandem with the continuing mutual intelligibility with its neighboring languages, means Woleaian can firmly and uncontroversially be classified as Western Micronesian.

Additionally, however, Woleaian is part of a historically and synchronically socioculturally closely connected area that includes Woleaian, Satawalese and Ulithian, which are a little more distantly classified than Woleaian's Nuclear Chuukic (Central Chukic and Western Chuukic, respectively), as well as the very distantly related Yapese and peripherally Palauan. While this linguistic area, here meaning that languages have shared features that are not necessarily genetically inherited but spread through contact, has not been formally established in the literature, the historical connectivity as well as the sociocultural interchange have been well-documented (e.g., Lessa 1950a; Morgan 1994; Descantes 1998; Sudo 2006), notably in the somewhat controversial Lessa (1950b) and its answer in Petersen (2000). This notwithstanding, I strongly suspect that a Linguistic Area that at the least includes Ulithian, Woleaian and Satawalese-speaking areas could quite easily be established.

As mentioned above, there is a large degree of mutual intelligibility between these three (especially Woleaian and Ulithian), and speakers from all three languages indicate a degree of linguistic and cultural unity between them as well. When speakers are asked to list the languages that are closest to Woleaian, Satawalese and Ulithian are firmly ranked above Chuukese, even though linguistic classification may suggest otherwise. Additionally, some speakers have even doubted whether Satawalese and Woleaian should be considered two separate languages, or should be considered as variants of one language. The idea of closeness between Woleaian, Satawalese and Ulithian seems to also be shared by speakers of Satawalese and Ulithian. This ranking has only been done informally so far, however, and more evidence may come to light to prove or disprove the classification given above.

While it is not unlikely that this has been intensified by their relatively recent incorporation into Yap State in 1979, the Outer Islands have long been in the Yapese sphere of influence, with increased intra-region contact as opposed to contact with islands forming part of modern-day Chuuk state to the east (with the possible exception of Satawal due to its proximity thereto). Rehg (1995, 315–316) proposed the "Trukic Continuum", and Jackson (1983, 150) showed that there

is a higher percentage of lexical cognates between Ulithian and Woleaian (80.3%) than between Woleaian and Chuukese (75%), most likely due to historically frequent contact, but this is unlikely to be statistically significant and requires further assessment. Jackson (1983, 130–132) also shows that the Yapese trade network sphere of influence was channeled from Yap through Ulithi towards the Outer Islands, explaining the relatively small amounts of Yapese linguistic contact influences on the Outer Island languages compared to Ulithian. While the Euler diagram of linguistic areas of Yap and the Outer Islands, Yap and Palau, and the Outer Islands and Chuuk have all been more or less established, there has so far been no systematic study of their linguistic mutual influences as far as I am aware, so some of the languages' patterns may yet find their explanation in historical and/or synchronic contact situations.

1.4 Multilingualism and Language Ecology and Vitality

Although the number of speakers is relatively small, I would hesitate to describe the language as endangered at this point. This is because there has been no rapid decline in speaker numbers, and speaker population has been stable (even somewhat increasing) since the start of the Yap Census records in 1920 (Yap Branch Statistics Office 2002, 4). Language transmission is strong, especially on the outer islands, with all children learning Woleaian as their first language, and it serves as the primary language of communication in all domains except high school and higher education. Additionally, there is a considerable number of monolingual speakers, mostly consisting of middle-aged and older women. All speakers around thirty and younger have at least some fluency in English, the official language of higher education and government in Yap state, but, depending on schooling and work history may have some fluency in other languages of the FSM as well, such as Chuukese, Pohnpeian, and, more rarely, Yapese. In the Outer Islands, where English is not a frequently used language of communication, fluency varies wildly. In the 2000 Yap State census, all Woleaian-speaking islands reported 100% use of Woleaian[6] in the home, with the exception of Ifalik, which reported 99.4% (Yap Branch Statistics Office 2002, 57).

There is considerable pride in heritage, and people travel back to their homeland when possible as well as cultural traditions from the homeland are followed as much as is possible when living elsewhere. Exogamy is still the norm in the Outer Islands, but this is generally restricted to other Woleaian-speaking groups, meaning that the vast majority of children grow up with both parents sharing the same first language, although possibly different varieties thereof.

Schooling on the Outer Islands is conducted in Woleaian until 8th grade (FSM follows the US school system), and also includes a class on Woleaian cultural practices that goes from the 1st to the 12th grade. After the 8th grade all education throughout the FSM is English-medium. There are numerous elementary schools throughout the Outer Islands, but there is only one high

6. The Yap State census only gives 'Outer Island' and does not distinguish between Ulithian, Woleaian, and Satawalese. However, it can be assumed that the 'Outer Island' language spoken on the Woleaian-speaking atolls is Woleaian.

school, which is located in Woleai. Some children may also attend high school on Yap proper or elsewhere in the FSM, and some additionally attend secondary education either in Yap proper, the FSM, the United States, or a combination thereof. All higher education is conducted in English.

That being said, it could be possible that Woleaian is at a turning point in its vitality status: Once the current generations of monolingual or mostly monolingual speakers pass, and all future generations continue to learn English, it might turn the Woleaian-speaking communities into fully bilingual speaker communities. The 2000 Yap State Census reports 39.2% of people over the age of 5 spoke English in the Outer Islands (this includes Fais, Ulithi and Satawal), but it likely that the number two decades later is much higher. This, with added economic, and possibly social, pressures to learn and speak English, may result in a significant deterioration in the vitality of Woleaian. However, because the Outer Islands are relatively isolated, and the fact that there is significant cultural and linguistic pride, these effects on vitality may be felt much more obviously in the diasporic communities than on the original Woleaian-speaking islands.

1.5 Language Varieties

Each of the atolls where Woleaian is spoken has its own variety, meaning that there is a total of 6 varieties of Woleaian. Dialectal differences are stated to be marginal, mostly consisting of a handful of phonetic, prosodic and lexical differences. Examples that have been collected from casually asking speakers to list differences are all phonological, such as Eauripik *i=* 1SG vs. Lamotrek *ya=* 'id.', and Eauripik *giuregage* 'black noddy' vs. Faraulap *kiurekake* 'id.', which seems to hint at a more systematic *g*-*k* correspondence. Overall, the majority of differences between varieties lies in the realization of the vowels and intonation/prosody, but further research may shed light on further differences between varieties. A detailed study of linguistic variation in the Outer Islands of Yap is currently has been proposed by myself and a number of colleagues.

As could be expected, the islands that are geographically closer to each other have a higher degree of similarity, for example there is only a small number of differences between the Woleaian spoken on Woleai and that of Eauripik, between Ifaluk and Faraulap, and especially between Elato and Faraulep. All islands are seen has having their own variety, regardless of relative proximity to other island's varieties, and they are seen as a marker of heritage, albeit a minor one.

Additionally, long-standing practices of exogamy between the Outer Islands, especially within the Woleaian-speaking islands, and even more so between islands close to each other, has most likely led to a considerable amount of admixture, hence keeping all the varieties relatively similar and dampening major diversion.

This being said, this grammar describes the variety at is spoken on Eauripik and/or by the Eauripiki community.

1.6 Previous Literature

There are two main works published on Woleaian linguistics: Sohn (1975), a grammar, and Sohn and Tawerilmang (1976), a Woleaian-English dictionary. These two were based on fieldwork carried out by Sohn in collaboration with language expert Tony Tawerilmang between 1971 and 1975 (Sohn and Tawerilmang 1976, vii). Especially the grammar has been cited quite extensively since its publication, and all linguistic works since the publication of the dictionary in 1976 that reference Woleaian (e.g., Jackson 1983; Croft 2003; Blust 2013b) are based on this data. Additionally, there is a lack of documentary corpora, for Woleaian itself, and for Micronesian languages more broadly. To my knowledge, there is currently no archived body of Woleaian recordings, although a number of recordings made by students, including myself, for a field methods class on Woleaian are being prepared to be archived in the University of Hawai'i's Kaipuleohone archive.

This dissertation will build on the two works mentioned above to give a good representation of Woleaian as it is spoken today, as well as create the first publicly available documentation recordings of Woleaian. The dissertation will also describe the linguistic features of Woleaian using present-day conventions, making the language more accessible to research in linguistic typology.

The number of linguistic works based on first-hand data on Woleaian is relatively small, but there is a larger body of anthropological and ethnographic work published on the Woleaian-speaking people. Examples of this are Burrows and Spiro (1953), Levin (1976), Alkire (1965, 1970), and Betzig and Wichimai (1991), which cover topics from population structure to measurement systems to warfare and source their information from a number of different Woleaian-speaking islands. Most of these do include some Woleaian terminology where relevant, and other researchers, such as Alkire (1965), note that they were able to conduct interviews in Woleaian, learning the language during their extensive stays, but none of these provide any detailed linguistic analysis with the exception of Alkire (1970) which provides tables and some analysis on numerals, numeral classifiers, and word lists.

Besides scientific materials, there is also a small number of pedagogical materials that has been developed by the Yap State Department of Education (DOE), as well as by University of Hawai'i's Pacific and Asian Linguistics Institute (PALI). These materials consist of pedagogical standards and learning plans (Yap Department of Education 2015), a reader, and a handful of children's books. All pedagogical materials for the Outer Islands languages (Ulithian, Woleaian, Satawalese) have been developed by the DOE together with the respective language experts that were employed by the DOE. However, all of these language experts have retired within the last decade, and the DOE was not granted funding by the state government to hire their replacements (Sandy Keiji [inter-rim director DOE], pers.comm.). Thus there has been no language expert hired on Woleaian since the previous one retired, from which follows that the pedagogical materials for Woleaian have not been revised in almost a decade. Additionally, the materials themselves are scarce, with usually only one copy or even no copies present at the DOE, and most are not available digitally either. During future fieldwork trips I plan to survey the status of availability

of pedagogical materials at the schools on Woleai and Eauripik. The pedagogical standards and learning plans, named 'Vernacular Language Arts Standards' is a document intended for language teachers to use when developing their Woleaian language curriculum, and includes standards for speaking, listening, reading, and writing in Woleaian and was released in 2015 in collaboration with Pacific Resources for Education and Learning (PREL). The reader is the learner-facing aspect of this curriculum. I was able to view the previous version of the reader, which was published in the early 2000s, but there was no copy available of the most recent version at the DOE. The children's books mainly consist of sets of two books, one in Woleaian and one in English, and contain things such as stories (e.g., *Geeshe me Woonge* 'Rat and Turtle'), instructional/education narratives (e.g., *Gatuule* 'Cooking Fish in Coconut Milk'), or simply lists with example sentences (e.g., *Maliu Ka Re Kekatewasi Waliuweniu Lani Milaai* 'Garden Pests'). Most of these are written using the updated orthography (although there are some spelling inconsistencies) and generally seem to be a good reflection of Woleaian. There are some instances, however, where the creation of children's books using an English-language framework has resulted in some ad-hoc (loan)word usage that is not recognized by speakers. One example is the book *Yaashe Baabiyoroli Ttiule* 'Book of our colors', which features colors either not distinguished in Woleaian, such as 'green' and 'blue', which are both covered by *garawerawe* (spelled as '*gaarawerawe*' in the book), or using English loans for colors for which Woleaian does not have a word, such as *peorpolo* for 'purple' and *braauno* for 'brown'. When shown to adult speakers, especially the latter two were received with much laughter, and it was clearly stated that these were not words used in Woleaian whatsoever: If anything, they would use direct loans from English, without incorporation into Woleaian phonology/orthography as was attempted in the book. Developing pedagogical materials is not one of the goals of this dissertation project, but assessment of the availability and currency of them forms a part of assessing the language's vitality status.

1.6.1 Works on other Chuukic languages

On paper, the Chuukic languages might seem relatively well described: Out of the 13[7] languages, 10 of them have either a grammar, a dictionary, or both. It is no longer seen as best practice to 'check off' a language as documented once a grammar and a dictionary have been produced, but it is still used as some indication about their status of documentation.

When looking at the situation in more detail, however, one can see that the majority of these publications come from the boom of interest in Micronesian languages in the 1970s.

After the boom of interest in Micronesian languages, publications have slowed down considerably, reduced to a handful of minor publications and a small number of major publications such as grammars per decade: Only Odango (2015), Ellis (2012), Roddy (2007), Sauchomal et al. (2018), and parts of Bender, Capelle, and Pagotto (2016) are based on first-hand data collected within the last three decades, representing under 30% of the sources listed in table 1.6. Similarly to Woleaian, many of these sources, some over half a century old, are quite often cited in typological and

7. Note that, although Sonsorol and Tobian are now classified as two separate languages, they have been treated as one language in the publications on them.

Language	(Sketch) Grammar	Dictionary
Chuukese	Dyen (1965)	Goodenough and Sugita (1990)
Mortlockese	Odango (2015)	–
Pollapese	–	–
Puluwatese	Elbert (1974)	Elbert (1972)
Carolinian	Ellis (2012)	Jackson and Marck (1991)
Paáfang	–	–
Tanapag	–	–
Namonuito	–	–
Satawalese	Roddy (2007)	Sauchomal et al. (2018)
Mapia	–	–
Woleaian	Sohn (1975)	Sohn and Tawerilmang (1976)
Sonsorol-Tobian	Oda (1977), Capell (1969)	Capell (1969)
Tobian	Capell (1969)	Capell (1969)
Ulithian	Sohn and Bender (1973)	Mellen and Hancock (2010)
Marshallese	Zewen (1977), Bender et al. (2016)	Abo, Bender, and Capelle (1976)

Table 1.6: Grammars and dictionaries published on Chuukic languages.

descriptive publications.

Additionally, and more pertinently, is that language documentation in the sense of Himmelmann (1998) or Woodbury (2003) is utterly lacking: the older language descriptions are generally based in very small parts on naturalistic language data, give relatively little reference to the language as it is used by speakers, and there are almost no corpora of naturalistic (or any kind, for that matter) speech data available. There are almost no archived documentary recordings on any languages in the region. For example, in the Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR), which is one of the more extensive language documentation archives, there is only one language of the region represented: A short documentation project on Pingelapese (*Pingelapese language data* 2007).

Clearly, if the Woleaian case is representative of the other works on Chuukic languages, it means that a majority of them still require proper documentation, both in light of language change as well as modernized documentation and linguistic analysis practices. There seems to be a burgeoning revival of interest in Micronesian languages, mainly stemming from the University of Hawai‘i, and it is my hope that this interest will lead to a number of up-to-date linguistic works that take into account all of these practices, such as community-based documentation, sociolinguistic representation, and combined revitalization efforts.

1.7 Methodology and Data

This grammatical description deviates somewhat from 'standard' grammars that rely heavily on elicited data to arrive at analyses, which are then secondarily supported by naturalistic speech: Outside of some elicitation for the phonological analysis, the entirety of the analysis of this grammar is based on naturalistic speech data. The foremost reasoning for this is that, when reviewing the previous grammar (Sohn 1975), speakers frequently noted that, while it was grammatically correct to use a certain sentence/construction shown in the grammar, nobody would actually utter a sentence of that kind in real life. Thus, I wanted to make the beginnings of a description of the Woleaian language that is a relatively accurate reflection of how the language is actually being used.

Thus, it is essentially a data-driven approach that uses naturalistic speech data as its foundations for linguistic analysis, supplemented by conversations with speakers and my personal observations in language use. This approach ties into the community-oriented nature of the language documentation, and is firmly planted in the theoretical underpinning of studying naturalistic speech (i.e., representing language use), rather than focusing on exploring the theoretical limits of the language.

All data used to support claims in the dissertation will be primary linguistic recordings, amounting to circa 35 hours of naturalistic speech data. That is to say, all linguistic claims made will be supported by audio-visual recordings to which I will have direct access, although metalinguistic information and cultural opinions from speakers in a casual setting may not always be recorded. The majority of these will stem from recordings made during fieldwork trips to the Yap Outer Islands and Yap proper by myself and Liam Archbold, as well as recordings made ex-situ in Hawaiʻi. Some data recorded by graduate students during the field methods courses taught at the University of Hawaiʻi between the Fall 2022 and Spring 2023 semesters, but these will form minor supplemental pieces of data. Additionally, care will be taken to confirm analyses made by the aforementioned graduate students with Woleaian speakers in order to ensure accuracy. No data will be used from secondary sources such as Sohn (1975) and Sohn and Tawerilmang (1976) except when they form the basis for an elicitation session plan, meaning that all analyses and lexemes given in those two sources will be independently verified with Woleaian speakers.

There were three main locations where first-hand data will be collected: 1. Yap Outer Islands, 2. Yap proper, and 3. Hawaiʻi. In the Outer Islands data collection took place mainly in Eauripik, as I have a connection with the speaker community there through fellow researcher Lenny Saumar, who is from Eauripik. On Yap proper the main data collection site is Gargey village, where a large community of Woleaian speakers lives. The majority of data collection took place mainly with speakers from Eauripik, again through the familial connections of Lenny Saumar. Minor data collection took place in other places around the Yap main island, such as Colonia. The final location is Hawaiʻi, more specifically Honolulu, Oʻahu. The reason for this, besides it

being my place of residence, is that there is a sizeable group (ca. 75-100) Woleaian speakers that live there. Additionally, Lenny Saumar, my foremost colleague in transcription and translation of Woleaian recordings, lives here as well, and we worked closely on many aspects of Woleaian language and culture documentation and revitalization.

All speakers who are the main focus of a recording were required to give explicit consent, as approved by University of Hawai'i at Mānoa IRB protocol 2022-00928, and are compensated according to wages of the recording location. When there are multiple main speakers being recorded, such as when doing chants, each speaker is compensated individually for their time. Additionally, speakers are asked to state their names at the beginning of each recording, including individual segments within one session in order to keep accurate track of who is to be credited for each piece of data.

Each session is both audio- and video-recorded. Audio recording so far was done using a Zoom H4n Pro recorder, with either a Shure SM34 XLR headset microphone or an Audio-Technica AT8022 shotgun microphone, at a sampling rate of 44.1 kHz. Video recording so far was done using a Zoom Q8 video recorder in HD 720p resolution. While the models of the equipment may change, and microphone types may be expanded, the sampling rates and video resolutions will remain the same. Post-processing, e.g., syncing and/or linking audio and video files will take place in DaVinci Resolve. To the extent possible or relevant, time-aligned transcriptions and translations will then be produced in ELAN. The vast majority of the transcriptions were carried out independently by Lenny Saumar, for which he is compensated according to representative wages in Hawa'i, at $16 an hour. Translations were mainly done by Dominic Taruwemai Jr. and Lenny Saumar and myself, with assistance from a few others such as Tom Anthony Hiemal and Carter Mangir. Transcribed and translated recordings were transferred to FieldWorks Language Explorer (FLEx) for interlinear glossing, importing lexical items into the database, and linguistic analysis. Audio and video files, as well as the time-aligned transcriptions and glosses where applicable, are hosted at the Kaipuleohone Language Archive, barring those with sensitive content and/or when the featured speaker does not wish for the recording to be publicly available.

As noted, it was my aim to produce a grammar that reflects Woleaian as it is used by its speech community. This means that there was a focus on collecting data that represents different speech styles (e.g., story-telling, informal conversation, chanting, formal speech, etc.) and different speakers (e.g., age, sex, multilingualism, location, social status, etc.). This also means that elicitation data such as word-lists will only be used in very specific instances as supplemental data, and will furthermore be clearly marked as such. On the other hand, English or Woleaian-based conversations where a speaker gives their thoughts about a certain word, semantic topic, or phonological or grammatical phenomenon, will be used as valid data at face value, and will be attributed to the respective speaker.[8]

8. Unless these statements are contradicted by another speaker or naturalistic speech data, in which case further

Minor data will also come from experimental stimuli or 'language games' that are designed to stimulate or simulate conversations on specific topics. An example of this is the Man and Tree task, which is a director-matcher task in which two speakers must arrive at the same order of a number of pictures that depict an array of toy characters such as a men, trees, and pigs, in different configurations, without them being able to see each others stack of pictures. This game is designed to stimulate expressions of spatial relations, a complex phenomenon in Woleaian, and has shown to be effective for Woleaian in a pilot study (Mayer, in prep.). Since data stemming from these experiments lies somewhere between naturalistic and experimental language use, the use and analysis of the data will focus more on the specific semantic and/or grammatical structures that are used, rather than as a representation of fully naturalistic speech.

1.7.1 Data Archiving

As much of the fieldwork for this dissertation was funded through the University of Hawai'i, all eligible data is deposited in the Kaipuleohone Language Archive, hosted at the department of linguistics. Bundles of data contain video and audio recordings, time-aligned transcription and translation (ELAN files), and glossed texts (FLEx files), where completed.[9]

All speakers that have contributed so far have explicitly given permission to deposit their data to Kaipuleohone as well as have their data be freely accessible to researchers.

Lastly, extra care has been taken to make the raw data files as well as the processed data as available as possible to the Woleaian-speaking community, and especially to those speakers that contributed. This was done through firstly making sure the community is aware of the Kaipuleohone project, and secondly through making files available through physical hard-drives and other technologies.[10] As the community should ultimately have agency over the data they have produced and contributed, I will continue to work closely with them to ensure their data access and agency needs are met adequately.

1.8 Conventions and positionality statement

While I intend to remain as theory-neutral as possible in analysing and describing Woleaian, I drew on the basic functional and descriptive categories generally accepted in descriptive work, as laid out in widely used reference works such as Payne (1997) and Robert M. W. Dixon (2009). Additional, more specific topics relevant to Austronesian and, even more specifically, Micronesian languages will be grounded in previous work done on languages from these groups. Lastly, some topics will be drawn from Sohn (1975)'s grammar, although a number of the specific topics found therein must be updated to adhere to current and/or generally accepted descriptive terminology

research will be done to synthesize a valid analysis.

9. The data is accessible at: https://hdl.handle.net/10125/110562

10. For example, I have developed a miniature mobile archive where all data can be accessed via a smartphone without the need for an internet connection, which is not always stable or available in the Yap Outer Islands. A test run of the archive was done in 2024, and full implementation is planned for the next fieldwork trip.

and practices. In cases where there is any deviation from general topics, or perhaps non-standard terminology, it will be clearly mentioned which author and work are used to support this decision.

Following the recently established best practices for citing language examples in the text (Berez-Kroeker et al. 2018), the examples throughout the dissertation will be cited in a way that makes them easily retrievable from the corpus. Additionally, where sociolinguistic factors are of increased relevance and sociolinguistic information is available and given permission to publicize, individual speakers will be cited in the examples sourced from their contributions. Exceptions to this are circumstances where a concise format suffices, such as word lists or in-text language examples. The general format of an example sentence or phrase is in the following interlinear format:

(1.1) *Standard orthography*
Segmented words
Morphemic glosses
'Free translation.' (literal translation)[11]
[(contributor), source text, line number/time stamp]

To emphasize certain words or phrases in an example, bold typeface of the segmented word and the morphemic gloss will be used. A concrete example of the full interlinear format is as follows:

(1.2) *Gosa rongeronge melewe fiyangole maliuge me pache?*
go=sa rongeronge mele-we fiyango-le **maliuge** me pache
2SG=PFV hear ANA-DEF story-3SG.POSS **chicken** CONJ thunder
'Have you heard the story of Chicken and Thunder?'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-030-03, 1]

1.8.1 Positionality

I am a White Dutch-German male raised in the Netherlands, and a second generation university student. As a person of this heritage living and working in Hawai'i and Micronesia, I acknowledge my position as an outsider in all of these aspects. I was raised with a closeness to the natural world perhaps atypical for someone growing up in the Netherlands. This included not only practical skills of gardening, farming, basketry, weaving, etc., but also knowledge that has been peripheralized in Western contexts, such as herbal medicine and land and plant stewardship. Since 2021, I have become a practitioner of several aspects of Hawaiian cultural practices, notably *uhau humu pōhaku*, or Hawaiian drystack masonry,[12] and *ulana lau hala*, or Pandanus leaf weaving.[13] These practices are done in a culturally informed context, meaning they include protocol such as *oli*,

11. Footnotes will be used to give additionally relevant (cultural) information where necessary.
12. Under Kumu Kimeona Kane.
13. Under Kumu Ipolani Vaughan.

chanting, *kapu kai/pikai*, purification, and observation of certain *kapu*, taboos. They also include the building of essential skills in practice, notably *kilo*, observation, and *piko*, intention-reflection. I am keenly aware that I carry these skills and lessons with me in my work, and recognize the ways in which their partial overlap with aspects of Woleaian communities' ways of life have aided in both the building of relationships and the success of this project.

My relationship with the Woleaian-speaking community began in a field methods class at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa in 2021, where Lenny Saumar serves as the language consultant. Since then, and several projects later, I have continued working with Lenny Saumar, as well as a number of other Eauripiki men who live in Honolulu. In the three fieldwork trips in 2023 and 2024, I met, build relationships with, and worked with dozens of other people, whose general kindness, warmth, and enthusiasm for (sharing) their language and culture greatly inspired me personally and professionally. I always aimed to be an active participant in the communities I was staying – it is advised to anthropologists to perform 'deep hanging out', but more truthfully it is because I am interested in learning skills and knowledge first-hand when they is accessible to me. Although I remain ultimately an outsider, I still aim to learn, participate, and potentially contribute to the communities I spend my time. From a research perspective, participation in daily activities such as fishing, hunting, thatching roofs, pandanus and coconut leaf weaving, and palm wine tapping (and drinking) greatly improved my ability to discuss culturally important topics, which in turn lead to their documentation. For example, my previous knowledge of herbal medicine, supplemented by Pacific-specific knowledge gained in Hawai'i, facilitated the discussion about (potential) healing properties of certain plants, which in turn resulted in the documentation of over a dozen medicinal recipes. These recordings, where given permission, could then be used to study and analyze naturalistic language use generally, and to study patterns specific to the genre of instructional narratives. I emphasize here that none of the knowledge I had when arriving in the communities, nor any aspects of my personality would have mattered if the Woleaian-speaking communities were not so warm, receptive, and enthusiastic in teach and sharing their ways of life as they are.

In the years since 2021, the Woleaian language has fascinated me, and the Woleaian-speaking communities have shown a degree of kindness no matter if I meet them in Honolulu, Guam, Colonia, or Eauripik. The work presented in this grammar is in a sense a show of commitment to my relationship with these communities, but forms only the very beginning of the work. I see that there is much work ahead, and I commit myself to continually strive to work with and support these communities, both academically and non-academically, and both professionally and personally.

Lastly, I acknowledge that, while it is my responsibility to advocate for the communities I live and work in, it is also my responsibility to not speak for these communities. It is my sincere hope that these values are reflected in all of my work.

1.9 Typological Profile of Woleaian

Woleaian is part of the Chuukic subfamily of the Micronesian branch of Austronesian. It displays typical features of Austronesian languages, such as relatively little morphology and a relatively simple vowel system, as well as typical Micronesian features, such as its set of verbal particles, flexible word order and utterance-final vowel reduction.

Woleaian has 17 consonants, plus 9 marginal geminate consonants, and 8 vowel phonemes (see Tables 1.7 and 1.8), which is a relatively standard phonemic inventory size for an Oceanic language. However, there are certain phonemic qualities that are less common. In the vowels space, the vowels /œ/ <eo>, /ʉ/ <iu> and /ɒ/ <oa> are relatively uncommon, but in the consonant space there are some rarities: The apical post-alveolar tap /ɾ̠/ <r> (previously described as a retroflex), fricative /ʃ/ <sh> and affricate /t͡ʃ/ <ch> are rare to a degree that they have not been attested in any other (Austronesian) language to my knowledge.

Both vowels and consonants undergo several reductionary processes, such as intervocalic voicing of /x/, and reduction of unstressed vowels. Additionally, there are six permissible non-phonemic diphthongs, all of which are rising diphthongs: /ai/, /aʉ/, /au/, /ei/, /œʉ/, and /ou/.

	Bilabial		Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Stop	p (pː)	b	t			k (kː)
Affricate				t͡ʃ <ch>		
Tap			ɾ <l> (ɾː)	ɾ̠ <r>		
Fricative	f (fː)		s	ʃ <sh> (ʃː)		x <g>
Nasal	m (mː)	mʷ <mw> (mʷː)	n (nː)			ŋ <ng>
Approx.	w (wː)				j <y>	

Table 1.7: Consonant Inventory.

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i	ʉ <iu>	u
Close-mid	e		o
Open-mid	œ <eo>		
Open	a		ɒ <oa>

Table 1.8: Vowel Inventory.

The permissible syllable structures are V, CV, CVV, CVC, CCV and CCVC. CVC occurs lexically but is infrequent, while CCV and CCVC occur as a result of morphological operations (reduplication). Additionally, only the vowels /i/ and /u/ can occur in word-initial position.

	Phonetic	Underlying	Orthography	Gloss
V	[iː]	/i/	*ie*	3SG.EMPH
	[ifa]	/ifa/	*ifa*	'which, where'
CV	[ɾʉː]	/ɾʉ/	*liu*	'coconut (palm)'
	[ɾoxe̞]	/ɾoxe/	*loge*	'stay, reside, exist'
CVV	[faʉ]	/faʉ/	*faiu*	'rock'
	[touɾɛpe̞]	/touɾape/	*toulape*	'many, much'
CVC	/bʷɛʃ/	/beʃ/	*besh*	'hot, white'
Morph. Complex				
CCV	[tːɛt̪e̞]	/t-tat̪e/	*ttale*	'(to) throw (continuously)'
	[fːaxo̞]	/f-fago/	*ffago*	'(to) love (continuously)'
CCVC	[kːɛt̪]	/k-kel/	*kkel*	'(to) dig (continuously)'

Table 1.9: Syllable types.

The minimal phonological word constraint in Woleaian dictates that each word must contain at least two morae. Syllable codas and voiceless vowels do not count as morae in Woleaian, meaning that the minimal phonological word thus must consist of two voiced vowel 'lengths', which can consist two adjacent or non-adjacent vowels. If a word underlyingly does not adhere to the minimal phonological word constraint, the single vowel is lengthened to accommodate. Primary stress in Woleaian is regularly penultimate, with a small number of exceptions: words that are realized with a voiced vowel (see below) utterance-finally always have ultimate stress.

	Phonetic	Underlying	Orthography	Gloss
$\mathbf{V_1CV_2}$	[mɛɾʉxe̞]	/maɾʉxe/	*maliuge*	'chicken'
Diphthong	[sou̯mʷe̞]	/soumɯe/	*soumwe*	'(one) bunch of fruit'
Vː	[faˤːʃe̞]	/faʃe/	*faashe*	'pandanus, pineapple'

Table 1.10: Minimal phonological word constraint strategies.

A notable feature of Woleaian phonology is the devoicing of utterance-final vowels. While the reduction of utterance-final vowels is universal in Micronesian languages, in the vast majority of cases this has led to full deletion either in this context or in the underlying forms. Woleaian, however, retains these vowels as devoiced or silent (i.e., articulated without air egression) vowels.

I argue that Woleaian has two main word classes: the open word class and the closed word class, both with a number of subclasses. These subclasses, especially those within the open word class, are based on prototypes of semantic and syntactic properties. Thus, 'noun' in this grammar refers to a prototypical word that semantically has a referential function, and syntactically occurs in a noun phrase (often as the head) and can take modifications (mostly) exclusive to the noun phrase such as possession, numerals and demonstratives. On the other hand, the prototype

'verb' refers to a word with the semantic function of modification or predication, and syntactically occurs within the verb phrase, being able to take the pronominal clitics, verbal particles, and directionals.

Pronouns consist of a set of verbal clitics for both subject and object arguments, as well as a set of optional emphatic pronouns. The first person plural pronouns have a distinction between inclusive and exclusive. There is no clitic for third person singular object, which is the default or implied person-number for unmarked verbs. Subject clitics are placed at the left edge of the verb phrase. This means that if there are no other words present in the verb phrase, the pronominal clitics attach directly to the verb, but if there are any interfering words, such as a negator or the highly frequent verbal particles, they attach to this element instead. This left-edge position also served as the main diagnostic disambiguating them as proclitics rather than prefixes.

	Emphatic	**Subject**	**Object**	**Possessive**
1SG	*gaangi*	*i=*	*=yai*	*-i*
2SG	*geele*	*go=*	*=go*	*-mwe*
3SG	*ie~iye*	*ye=*	–	*-le*
1PL.INCL	*gishe*	*si=*	*=gishe*	*-she*
1PL.EXCL	*gamem*	*gai=*	*=gamem*	*-mem*
2PL	*gami*	*gai=*	*=gami*	*-mi*
3PL	*ire*	*re=*	*=re*	*-re*

Table 1.11: Pronominal clitics, independent pronouns, and possessor suffixes.

Noun phrases are organized as follows: preposition - numeral/quantifier - noun(s) - demonstrative. All of the elements except the noun (or pronoun) are non-obligatory. Number is not expressed on nouns, but can be optionally expressed through the plural marker in the demonstrative paradigm, *ka-*, which must always co-occur with a demonstrative base. The demonstrative paradigm consists of the aforementioned plural marker, the definite demonstrative *we*, and the four deictic demonstratives *yeele, la, laale, and mu*, which indicate proximal, medial and distal from the speaker, and proximal to the listener, respectively. Lastly, there is the focus marker *mene*, which occupies the same position as the demonstratives (and is thus mutually exclusive). The demonstratives interact intimately with the two anaphora *i-* and *mel-*, which are frequently used as both cataphora and anaphora, as well as having a function in discourse organization.

Reduplication and compounding is possible in the nominal domain, but is less frequent than in the verbal domain.

Possession is expressed through a set of possessive suffixes that index person and number. These suffixes can either attach directly to the word, or can attach to a possessive classifier (see

Table 1.12) that is placed in the noun phrase. Like most other Austronesian languages, Woleaian has a set of obligatorily possessed words. These words must always be directly suffixed. For non-obligatorily possessed words the suffix can either attach directly to the word or can be attached to a classifier. The possessive classifiers range from the generic classifier *yaa-*, to very specific uses such as *iuliuma-* for potable water.

Classifier	Gloss	Used for	Etymology
yaa-	POSS.CLF:GEN	generic	
bera-	POSS.CLF:WOMENS.TATTOO	women's tattoos	?
fale-	POSS.CLF:MENS.HOUSE	men's houses	*faale* 'men's house'
faliuwe-	POSS.CLF:ISLAND	islands	*faliuwe* 'island'
gapite-	POSS.CLF:OIL	oils, unguents, etc.	*gapite* '(to) oil skin'
gela-	POSS.CLF:ALIM	food items (excluding drink)	*gela* 'food'
giliye-	POSS.CLF:MAT	mats	*giliye* 'mat'
gola-	POSS.CLF:CAUGHT	catch	*gola* '(to) reach'
imwe-	POSS.CLF:SHELTER	shelters	*iimwe* 'house'
iuliuma-	POSS.CLF:POTABLE	potable water	*iule* '(to) drink'
paa-	POSS.CLF:BAIT	fishing bait	*paa* 'bait'
lega-	POSS.CLF:BRACELET	bracelets	?
laiu-	POSS.CLF:CARED.FOR	cared for	*laiu* 'child'
maata-	POSS.CLF:GARDEN	gardens	*maate* 'garden'
maka-	POSS.CLF:TATTOO	tattoos	*make* 'tattoo'
shaliu	POSS.CLF:WELL	wells, catchments, reservoirs, etc.	*shaaliu* 'fresh water'
shiuwe-	POSS.CLF:PIERCING	body piercings	?*shiu* 'bone'
waa-	POSS.CLF:VEHICLE	vehicles	*waa* 'canoe'

Table 1.12: Possessive classifiers.

In addition to possessive classifiers, Woleaian also uses a large number of numeral classifiers. These are divided into sortal classifiers (Table 1.14), and mensural classifiers (Table 1.15). Classifiers are suffixed to numeral bases for 1-9 (Table 1.13). For values of 10 or higher, a generic base-ten numeral system is used.

Value	Numeral	
1	*se-*	*seewe*
2	*riu-*	*ruwou*
3	*sili-*	*siluwe*
4	*faa-*	*faau*
5	*limo-*	*limou*
6	*wolo-*	*wolou*
7	*fisu-*	*fisuwe*
8	*walu-*	*waluwe*
9	*tiwo-*	*tiwou*

Table 1.13: Numerals 1-9.

Classifier	Gloss	Used for	Example
-bong	CLF:NIGHT	nights	*sebonge bonge* 'one night'
-faiu	CLF:ROUND	round objects	*seoliufeoiu wiishe* 'three bananas'
-fasho	CLF:LONG.RIGID	long, rigid	*sefashe sitosa* 'one car'
-gatiu	CLF:FINGER	finger-like objects	*segatiu gatiu* 'one finger'
-maliu	CLF:ANIM	animates	*semaliu shobute* 'one woman'
-mate	CLF:OTHER	discourse referents	*semate mene* 'the other one'
-pa	CLF:LEI	leis	*sepa mwaremwar* 'one lei'
-peo	CLF:EDGED	edged objects	*sepeo sariu* 'one knife'
-rane	CLF:DAY	days	*serane* 'one day'
-sheo	CLF:FLAT	flat objects	*sesheo yaaso* 'one roof'
-taare	CLF:GENERATION	generations	*setaare taare* 'one generation'
-we	CLF:GEN	generic	*seewe faliuwe* 'one island'
-yale	CLF:LEAF	leaf-like objects	*fayale sheele* 'four leaves'

Table 1.14: Sortal numeral classifiers.

Classifier	Gloss	Used for	Example
-bulog	CLF:PORTION	portions of food	
-faat	CLF:STRINGER	stringers	*sefaat faaliyap* 'one string of apples'
-fi	CLF:HANDFUL	handfuls	
-fo	CLF:QUARTER	quarters	*sefo iige* 'quarter of a fish'
-gofet	CLF:BROKEN.OFF.PIECE	broken/torn off pieces	*segofet tabole* 'one broken-off piece of table'
-is	CLF:BUNCH.OF.BANANAS	bunches of bananas	*seis wishe* 'one bunch of bananas'
-matip	CLF:SMALL.PIECE	small pieces	*sematip babiyore* 'one small piece of paper'
-moiu	CLF:ANIM.GROUP	groups of animates	*mwale kawe semoiu* 'the group of men'
-ngaul	CLF:BUNDLE	bundles	
-paliy	CLF:SIDE	sides	
-pate	CLF:UTTERANCE.PART	parts of utterances	*sepate kepate* 'one piece of talk'
-peige	CLF:HALF	halves	*sepeige liu* 'halves of objects'
-shimw	CLF:BUNDLE	bundles	*seshimwe galogal* 'one bundle of sennit'
-tabo	CLF:HALF.LONGWISE	longwise halves	*setabo kaape* 'one half of a cup'
-tale	CLF:LAYER	layers, lines, rows	*setale fituge* 'one layer of meat'
-tip	CLF:CUT.OFF.PIECE	cut off pieces	*setip maai* 'one piece of breadfruit
-umwe	CLF:FRUIT.CLUSTER	fruit clusters	*soumwu yafuushu* 'a bunch of Garlic Pears'[14]

Table 1.15: Mensural numeral classifiers.

Besides numerals, I have also identified a small number of quantifiers, which take the same prenominal position as numerals, and are in complementary distribution with them.

Woleaian	Gloss
sekiute	*'few'*
toulape	*'many'*
chole	*'most'*
panga-	*'all'*

Table 1.16: Quantifiers.

Question words are the set of words that can be used to form content questions. They take the position of the nominal or verbal phrase the question is about. They can occur in-situ in standard word order, but more frequently are fronted in a focalization construction. Note that question words are not obligatory in the formation of (content) questions, as a gap combined with question intonation also suffices.

14. *Crateva Religiosa.*

Woleaian	Gloss
fasengale	'which kind'
feita	'doing what'
fita	'how many'
ifa	'which, where'
ifasengale	'how'
ikefa	'which (plural)'
ileete	'when'
iteoiu	'who'
iya	'where'
metta	'what'
metta faale	'why' (lit. 'under what')

Table 1.17: Question words.

Prepositions in Woleaian are divided into two categories: independent and bound prepositions. Bound prepositions require a possessive suffix (chiefly third person singular *-le*), whereas independent prepositions can occur by themselves. Prepositional phrases function to introduce oblique arguments, which express locations, destinations, directions, benefactees, recipients, or causes. One preposition, *ni=* behaves unlike all others in that it cliticizes directly onto the noun.

Woleaian	Gloss
Independent Prepositions	
fei	adjacent
lani	inside of
long	in, inwards
me	from (a location), with
metaro	in front of
mo	towards
ngali	to
tangi	from (someone/something)
wei	out, outwards
Bound Prepositions	
woa-	on
faa-	under
re-	for, by
tapi-	like
yaro-	near
ni=	in

Table 1.18: Prepositions.

Verbs, or rather the verbal syntactic position, in Woleaian are not lexically specified for valency, i.e., the amount of arguments they can take. However, verbal constructions can be divided into two main categories: active and stative verb constructions. Stative constructions have a verb-subject standard word order, whereas as active constructions are subject-verb-object in standard word order. Active constructions can be intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive, determined by the number of arguments the verb takes. There is no obligatory morphological indication of transitivity, but the valency-increasing morpheme *=i* TRR requires the verb to take at least two arguments. Arguments beyond subject and object, i.e., oblique arguments, must be introduced through a prepositional phrase. While there is no obligatory verbalization marker, the marker *(ye)gili* VBLZR serves to either emphasize affectedness, transitivity, or duration-iteration. This marker is obligatory for borrowed words that are verbs in the source language (chiefly English), personal names used as predicates, and a small subset of words which are most likely historically determined. Some words can occur either with or without the verbalizer, showing its additional pragmatic function.

Besides *=i* TRR, there are only two morphemes that directly attach to verbs: the causative *ga-* and the negative *ta-*. Another morphological process found relatively frequently in the verbal domain is partial or full reduplication. Partial reduplication, where the first syllable of the word is reduplicated, indicates progressiveness of the action. Word-initial /x/ <g> and /b/ dissimilate by devoicing in the lexical root if partial reduplication takes place. Partial reduplication of the final syllable of a stative verb creates a comparative construction. Full reduplication indicates iterativity and/or emphasizes the action.

Verbal compounding is relatively frequent compared to nominal compounding. Verbs are most frequently combined with a directional (see below), but can be compounded with other words as well. Words often have a frequent collocate to indicate motion or posture, such as *siu* '(to) stand' most frequently co-occurring with *sape* '(to) face'. Besides indicating posture, this also (semantically) allows the verbal construction to take an object argument.

Where Woleaian lacks verbal morphology, it makes up for it in the set of verbal particles. The verbal particles are divided into two main categories based on their position relative to the verb: pre-verbal and post-verbal particles. By far the most frequent verbal particles are the perfective *sa* PFV, the incompletive *be~bwe* INC, the inceptive *bele* INCEP, and the habitual *gale* HAB. The pre-verbal particles are placed directly before the verb, meaning that, if present, the subject clitics attach to these particles rather than the verb itself.

Word	Meaning	Gloss
Pre-verbal		
sa	perfective	PFV
be	incompletive	INC
bele	inceptive	INCEP
gale	habitual	HAB
bale	'also'	
shiule	'still'	
saro	'somewhat'	
nepale	'manner'	-
tapunge	'suddenly'	
gaisee	'until'	
Post-verbal		
yegili	verbalizer	VBLZR
shagiu	'just, only'	
gemase	emphatic	EMPH
fetale	'around'	
sekiut	'a little'	
fengani	reciprocal	RECIP
Either		
fare	mirative	MIR
mwo	'momentarily'	

Table 1.19: Verbal particles.

The verbal particles run the gamut of tense-aspect-mood-evidentiality, as can be seen in Table 1.19, and are not easily categorizable according to their functions.

As noted above, the verbs are often accompanied by one of the directionals. The five directionals that (can) operate directly in the verbal domain are *wei* 'out', *long* 'in', *tiwe* 'down (vertically), down-coast, southeast', *tage* 'up (vertically), up-coast, northwest', and *toge* 'towards speaker'. The directionals attach directly to the verb phonologically, which is often but not obligatorily reflected in the orthography. The directionals cannot occur by themselves.

Besides the directionals, Woleaian possesses several more paradigms expressing spatial relationships. Woleaian speakers use intrinsic, relative, and absolute frames of reference, depending on the context and scale. The most commonly used terms in spatial relations are given in Table 6.1:

	Woleaian	Gloss
Absolute		
	gotu	'east'
	iletou	'west'
	iyefang	'north'
	iyeoiure	'south'
	tiwe	'up (vertically), up-coast, northwest'
	tage	'down (vertically), down-coast, southeast'
Intrinsic		
	paiu	'arm'
	peige	'side'
	tagiure	'back'
	tagune	'face, (to) turn'
	mwirile	'behind, back, (to) follow'
	mmwale	'in front (of)'
	liugiule	'outside (of)'
Relative		
	shobute	'left, woman'
	mwale	'right, man'
	tafile	'left, incorrect'
	file	'right, correct'

Table 1.20: Terms used in frames of reference.

As noted above, words are not grammatically specified for the number of arguments they must minimally or can maximally take. Rather, transitivity is determined simply by the number of arguments present in a clause. Naturally, of course, lexemes are more likely to take one or two arguments based on their semantics, but I could not identify any grammatical and/or syntactic diagnostic to determine these tendencies. As mentioned, the standard word order for stative constructions is verb-subject, whereas the standard word order for active verb constructions is subject-verb(-object). Oblique arguments are placed after the object argument if present, or after the verb phrase if not.

Clauses are subdivided into declarative and non-declarative clauses. Declarative clauses include clause types motivated by speech act, such as unmarked/perfective and incompletive clauses, and performative speech acts, as well as formally-motivated clause types, such as existential clauses, predicative possession, equatives, comparatives, zero-intransitives, and reflexives and reciprocals. Non-declarative clauses form a smaller category, consisting of imperative and interrogative clauses.

Negation in Woleaian is achieved through a number of historically related morphemes. All

negators have clausal scope, with the exception of *ta-* which takes scope only over the verb. Formally, the negators take the position of the pre-verbal particles, meaning they are placed to the left of the verb and take the pronominal clitics, with the exception of the prefix *ta-*, which attaches directly to the verb.

Form	gloss	function
ta-	NEG	narrow scope negation
tai	NEG	clausal negation
taai	NEG.DUR	durative negation
tewai	NEG.INC	negative incompletive
teite	NEG.INCEP	negative inceptive

Table 1.21: Negators.

Serial verb constructions (SVCs), whether symmetrical or asymmetrical are present but generally not too common in Woleaian. The one exception to this is SVCs with the directional verb *bu* '(to) go', which is by far the most common collocate in an SVC.

Clausal coordination can be broadly categorized as consisting of clause-level conjunction and subordination. The former is achieved through the use of one of three conjunctions: *nge*, *ye*, and *yee*, each of which deviate slightly in the semantic relationship between the two clauses. There are three ways to form subordinate clauses: Through direct juxtaposition of the phrase, through the use of the third person possessive marker *-le*, or through introduction with the relative clause marker *bwe*.

The standard word order for active verb constructions, subject-verb-object,[15] can be modified in order to focalize any of these constituents. For subject and object focus, the argument either takes the focus marker *mene*, is fronted, or both. Additionally, these arguments can be further emphasized through a juxtaposition of and emphatic pronoun and the focalized noun phrase. Actions can be focalized either through occurring as a (possessed) noun phrase, or through the fronting of the verb phrase itself without any other (cross-categorical) modifications. As alluded to, there are several focus constructions that consist of multiple clauses. In addition to the previously mentioned juxtaposition of an emphatic pronoun and the focalized noun phrase, an anaphor can be used in the same manner. Lastly, a possessive classifier can be added as well, creating additional emphasis and resulting in a tri-clausal focus construction.

Discourse organization, both in the sense of clause chaining and linking and argument tracking as well as discourse structure more broadly is highly reliant on the use of pronominal indexing, as well as a set of discourse particles. The vast majority of these elements stem from and/or are

15. for a definition of how subject and object are used in this grammar, see Chapter 7.

used in different parts of the grammar with similar but separate functions.

While there is no grammatical markers expressing evidentiality, a speaker's commitment to the truth value of a statement can be expressed through a number of more or less lexicalized ways.

Lastly, Woleaian quotative speech is marked by a highly specific and uncommon intonation pattern, where direct quotative speech is marked by a steep rise in pitch, often reaching a falsetto register, that continues with steep downdrift over the entire duration of the quoted speech. A notable feature of this is that the rise in pitch is not dependent on any features of the quoted person, and is thus not imitative.

As a broad summary, Woleaian unsurprisingly possesses a large number of features typical of either Micronesian languages and/or Austronesian languages more broadly. However, as can be expected with many languages from a relatively understudied group (in this case Micronesian, or more specifically Nuclear Chuukic), Woleaian deviates from some of the expected patterns in smaller or larger ways. Especially notable is the phonology and phonotactics of Woleaian, which include devoiced vowels and consonants, and cross-linguistically rare phonemes such as the apical post-alveolars /ɻ̥/, /ʃ/ and /t̠ʃ/. While this dissertation does explore these phenomena to a degree, a close phonological analysis is left up to further research.

1.9.1 Summary and Woleaian as a language in (typological) context

This subsection serves to give a brief overview of some of the findings in this grammar, complementing the short typological overview above, and to situate these findings in their regional and/or typological context(s).

Culturally and linguistically, the Woleaian-speaking communities firmly belong to the Chuukic group. However, as one of the furthest West Chuukic communities (only Ulithian being further West), it has been politically and culturally influenced by the Yapese to a degree. While it has not been formally established yet, I strongly suspect that Yapese-Ulithian-Woleaian-Satawalese (and potential more) form at the very least a distinguishable linguistic area both due to historical relationships as well as modern-day political affiliation through the State of Yap. Suspected features of the area are a set of shared lexical items regarding shared cultural aspects, e.g., *pwu* 'betel', as well as the names of navigational routes. Additionally, I have observed similar prosodical features between Yapese, Ulithian, and Woleaian, such as similar intonation for declarative and question sentences. Historically and synchronically, contact with its closest neighbors, Ulithian and Satawalese, as well as with its more distant neighbor Yapese, was more common than with neighbors further to the East (e.g., Puluwatese, Chuukese, etc.), which is reflected in a degree of cultural cohesion. Nonetheless, community members are generally quite aware of their historical ties to the Eastern communities, and do express a certain degree of kinship with them.

Focusing in on the language specifically, Woleaian exhibits many 'typical' Micronesian fea-

tures, such as the innovative phonology including an enlarged vowel phoneme inventory and utterance-final vowel reduction. Additionally, it (unsurprisingly) shares a high degree of cognates with its (geographically) closest relatives, and speakers note a degree of mutual intelligibility – with communication further facilitated by inter-speaker 'language bending' through knowledge of key (historical-phonological) differences between the languages (see Ellis 2007).

Woleaian stands out from its Chuukic relatives, and indeed from other languages more generally, for its utterance-final vowels: Whereas utterance-final (and in some cases all word-final) vowels have been lost in almost all other Chuukic languages (see Mayer 2024), Woleaian retains them in a reduced form. Their realization, which requires further study, ranges from slightly voiced to silent, and exhibits a relatively large degree of inter- and intra-speaker variation. Silent vowels are cross-linguistically extremely rare (Gick et al. 2012; Watson et al. 2025), and the firm establishment of them as a feature in Woleaian would be, as far as I am aware, the only attestation of such a phenomenon in an Austronesian language. Utterance-final vowels are discussed in Section 2.3.3.

Regarding Woleaian consonants, they again stand out through the series of apical post-alveolars, namely the tap /ɾ̠/, the fricative /ʃ/, and the affricate /t͡ʃ/. These consonants are cross-linguistically very rare, although possibly present in Satawalese (Roddy 2007, 25), and thus further research is required to establish their exact articulatory and phonetic qualities. Even more rare, however, is the contrast between two rhotic taps: the alveolar tap /ɾ/ <l> and the previously mentioned post-alveolar apical tap /ɾ̠/ <r>. The historical consonant **l* has either been retained as /l/, such as in Ulithian and Saipan Carolinian, or has developed into /n/, such as in Satawalese and Chuukic. Similarly, **r* is inherited as an alveolar tap or trill in Ulithian and Saipan Carolinian, and has developed into a retroflex in Satawalese. Woleaian seems to be the only language in the subfamily in which **l* developed into /ɾ/, though traces of its origin can be seen through the process of /ɾ(V)ɾ/ > [n] as well as marginal realization of [l] by older speakers. The development of **l* into /ɾ/ in combination with the shift of **r* to /ɾ̠/ presents a typological rarity, further emphasizing the need for a detailed study of Woleaian phonetics. The two taps, and the other consonants are discussed further in Section 2.1.1.

Chapter 3, which discusses my categorization of word classes in Woleaian, establishes two major word classes: the open word class and the closed word class. It also established that the definition for nouns and verbs is based on a prototype model, with prototypical nouns and verbs exhibiting certain syntactic and semantic features. Since lexical words are not pre-specified as being either a noun or a verb (or something else, for that matter), this means that any given word has properties that are more noun-like or verb-like, but are not inherently constrained to either category. This analysis broadly falls in line with Croft (2001)'s prototype model for parts of speech, and was mainly used to avert entering Woleaian on the ongoing discussions surrounding the fuzziness (or indeed lack of existence) of word class boundaries in Austronesian languages in general. That being said, the syntactic properties of nouns are that they can be possessed, take

nominal modifiers such as demonstratives, numerals, and quantifiers, and the prototypical preverbal and post-verbal position as the subject and object argument, respectively. The semantic property of nouns is that they serve a referential function – they refer to some person, object, place, concept, etc. The syntactic properties of verbs are that they can be indexed for arguments, modified by particles, and typically occur after the subject argument but before the object argument in transitive constructions. Nouns and verbs are discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, respectively.

The closed word class consists of a variety of closed word classes, including pronouns, directionals, demonstratives, numerals, quantifiers, spatial language, question words, and interjections. These word classes operate in the nominal domain, the verbal domain, or both or neither domains. Besides being closed classes of words, they main distinction from lexical words is that they prototypically do not directly refer to anything in the real world (referents, states, actions, etc.), but instead modify and enhance discourse. As a simple example, the quantifier *toulape* 'many' by itself does not have any referent, and its function is to modify the referent(s) expressed by a noun. Similarly, the interjection *yei* 'oh! hey!' does not refer to anything n the real world, but instead is used to achieve pragmatic goals such as calling the attention of a person.

It must be noted that directionals and spatial language form a sort of hybrid between the open and closed classes: They are a closed class of words, and show many conventionalized non-referential functions, but simultaneously may have a real-world referent (e.g., *gotu* 'east' but also *peige* 'arm'), corresponding to the open word class. The minor word classes are discussed in turn in Chapter 6.

In a cross-linguistic context, the analysis of Woleaian lexical words not being specified for a noun class and a verb class may contribute to ongoing discussions about word classes in Austronesian languages (see e.g., Hengeveld 1992; Kaufman 2009; Gil 2000). It may also contribute to the discussion surrounding the possibility of comparing word classes across languages (Rijkhoff 2007; Haspelmath 2012b), or indeed the questions surrounding universality of part of speech classes in general (Croft 2000, 2001; Chung 2012; Haspelmath 2012a).

Regarding word order, I analyze Woleaian as being an SVO-dominant language. This matches the most widely distributed pattern both in Oceanic languages and in the languages of Micronesia in general (notably excepting Yapese, which is VSO; Lynch, Ross, and Crowley 2011, 49). However, in intransitive constructions, there is a bipartite split in word order: prototypical active intransitive constructions follow the broader pattern of SV, whereas prototypical stative intransitive constructions are verb-initial, i.e., VS. Note that in either construction the argument is still marked using the subject proclitics. Word order is discussed in detail in Section 7.2.

The pattern of focalization in Woleaian matches the general pattern of allowed constituent movement in Oceanic languages broadly (Lynch, Ross, and Crowley 2011, 50). The addition of oblique (i.e., non-subject/object) arguments through the use of prepositions also aligns to the patterns generally found in Oceanic languages (Lynch, Ross, and Crowley 2011, 51). Oblique arguments are discussed in Section 8.2.

Moving on from word order, Section 7.5 describes the declarative clause types, including a general description of declarative clauses, incompletive and inceptive clauses, existential clauses, predicative possession, equative, comparative, and superlative constructions, as well as zero-intransitive clauses, reflexives and reciprocals, finishing off with involuntary action constructions and performative speech acts. Sections 7.6 and 7.7 cover non-declarative clauses and negation, respectively. Woleaian clauses of all types are categorized by the near-universal presence of subject indexation on the verb phrase, but conversely a relative rarity of object indexation. Additionally, virtually every clause in naturalistic speech includes at least one of the pre-verbal particles, especially the perfective *sa*, incompletive *be* and inceptive *bele* (see Section 5.3). These frequent particles straddle the line between being phonologically independent and bound forms, such as *sa* and *be* not adhering to the phonological minimal word constraint by themselves (see Section 2.3.2). This is, however, obfuscated by the fact that the subject clitics attach to the first element of the verb phrase (rather than directly to the verb itself), which, if present, is one of the pre-verbal particles. Subsequently, the combination of the pronominal clitic plus particle then may form a phonological word by itself. While there is currently no evidence that these clitic-particle combinations are grammaticalizing into discrete units, this is a potential pathway for development, and the fusion of a pronominal marker and a particle has been attested in Austronesian languages, e.g., Central Tagbanwa (Blust 2013b, 487). The combination of pronominal marker and verbal particle has also been attested in other Micronesian languages, including Chuukese (Goodenough and Sugita 1990, xlvii), Marshallese (Bender, Capelle, and Pagotto 2016, 151), and Mortlockese (Odango 2015, 127). Thus they seem to remain relatively stable and not at risk of impending fusion.

The last two chapters of this grammar discuss complex clauses and clause combining, and focus, argument structure and discourse organization, respectively. The descriptions and analyses of these features of Woleaian are necessarily cursory. Necessarily because a detailed study of these features requires a size of corpus, as well as a level of intimacy with the language not feasible for the current endeavor. Therefore, the descriptions are, though relatively exhaustive from the corpus, still somewhat impressionistic and require much further study.

If anything, the mission of this grammar, which is to describe Woleaian as it is used by speakers today, has revealed many avenues for further research. In some cases this research could confirm or deny a number of claims about the language in this grammar, such as the cross-linguistically rare apical post-alveolar consonant series, the alveolar-apical post-alveolar tap distinction, and the presence of silent vowels. All three of these phenomena can be studied with articulatory phonetic approaches, which are scantly applied to globally marginalized languages. In other cases, the avenues for further research are simply because this grammar, by necessity, is in no way exhaustive and further data and precise study of said data can lead to analyses and description more firmly grounded in data. Lastly, this grammar, again due to its scope, does not cover variation between Woleaian-speaking communities, or more broadly only peripherally

places the linguistic descriptions in the real-world context in which it is spoken. The methods and approaches to these topics are manyfold, though I persist in seeing the value of using naturalistic speech data to accurately represent the language – I aim to pursue at least some of these avenues of research, but I call to any interested researcher to take it up on themselves to study this wonderfully interesting language.

Chapter 2

Phonetics and Phonology

This chapter gives an overview of the phonemes, the phonological processes, the word and syllable structure, the stress, and intonation system in Woleaian. The first part of this chapter gives the Woleaian phoneme inventory in Section 2.1, their minimal pairs, some phonetic variation in realizations, and a comparative discussion of the historical development of Woleaian phonemes in Section 2.2.

The second part of this chapter is dedicated to the phonotactics of Woleaian, including syllable structure (Section 2.3.1), the phonological word (Section 2.3.2), devoicing (Section 2.3.3), the phonotactics of reduplication (Section 2.3.4), and loanwords (Section 2.3.5). Finally, it covers some features of stress and intonation in Section 2.4 and a few notes on the orthography used in this dissertation (Section 2.5).

Lastly, I give a brief overview of how the previous analysis in Sohn (1975) differs from the one used here, and how they differ (Section 2.6).

2.1 Phonemes

With 17 consonant (plus nine marginal geminate phonemes) and 8 vowel phonemes, Woleaian has a relatively standard phonemic inventory size for an Oceanic language. As a comparison, Proto-Oceanic (POc) has 16 consonant and 5 vowel phonemes (Ross 1988, 29).

Notable are the extended vowel inventory, which features the vowels [œ], [ʉ], and [ɒ] in addition to the expected Proto-Oceanic [a, o, i, e, u, (ə)]. These vowels are quite typical of a Micronesian language, especially one of the Chuukic subfamily (see e.g., Jackson 1983), and the three additional vowels are more than likely historical developments from vowel sequences (see Section 2.2). Where Woleaian deviates from its close relatives, though, are some of the consonants:

Woleaian has a set of typologically uncommon apical post-alveolar consonants which appear as a tap /ɾ̺/, a fricative /ʃ̺/, and an affricate /t͡ʃ̺/.[1] They are formed through apical postalveolar contact, meaning that the tip of the tongue points up, and makes contact with the area just behind the alveolar ridge. While they have been shown to be acoustically distinct from regular postalveolars, 'true' (sub-apical palatal) retroflexes, and palatals, both through spectrogrammic analysis and discussions with speakers on articulatory formation, I do note that more detailed study of their acoustics and articulation are required.

In PHOIBLE (Moran and Daniel 2019), out of 3020 languages, the apical post-alveolar tap /ɾ̺/ appears in 12 inventories, the fricative /ʃ̺/ appears in 4, and the affricate does not seem to appear at all. However, it must be noted that it is probably likely that a number of consonants given as retroflex may be realized as apical. The apical post-alveolar consonants are to my knowledge not found in any other Micronesian language, except possibly Satawalese (described as the sub-apical retroflex /ɻ/ in Roddy 2007, 25), and they are reflected as 'regular' postalveolars in most closely related languages.

Additionally, Woleaian stands out for its two liquids being rhotic taps, the alveolar tap <l> /ɾ/, and the apical post-alveolar tap <r> /ɾ̺/.

Historically, the alveolar tap /ɾ/ seems to have arisen relatively recently, in the past four generations or so, and corresponds to /l/ or /n/ in the closely related languages. The apical post-alveolar tap /ɾ̺/ is part of the larger 'backwards migration' that also includes the apical post-alveolar fricative and affricate described above, and corresponds to /r/ in the closely related languages.

Within the Micronesian language group, Woleaian stands out for largely retaining its utterance-final vowels. Utterance-final vowel deletion, where the final vowel of most words in isolation or utterance-final position is deleted, is common in Micronesian languages, and, historically, in Oceanic languages in general (Blust 2013b, 263).[2] Woleaian, however, devoices these vowels in most cases rather than fully deleting them. Utterance-final vowel deletion is covered in more detail in Section 2.3.3.

Geminate consonants, discussed in more detail in Section 2.1.1.6, are included here as marginal phonemes. Although they are infrequent, and in the majority of instances they occur as a result of morphological processes, they do also occur unpredictably in simplex forms. Additionally, they are recognized and analyzed as being different from their non-geminate counterparts by speakers both in simplex and complex forms, which I interpret as geminates forming a significantly distinct

1. The apical post-alveolar consonants are transcribed using the apical marker, ̺ ', to distinguish them from sub-apical 'true' retroflexes here and throughout this grammar. This convention follows the transcription used for similarly described consonants in PHOIBLE (Moran and Daniel 2019), such as /ɾ̺/ in Ingush (Nichols 2011, 46) and /ʃ̺/ in some Basque dialects (Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina 2014).

2. In other work on Micronesian, this phenomenon is usually described as 'phrase-final' vowel deletion. However, this phenomenon occurs at the right edge of utterance, which may contain multiple phrases, and is thus more accurately described as such.

series of consonants in the Woleaian phonemic system, albeit marginal. Due to their marginal nature, they are represented in parentheses in Table 2.1. The geminates /wː/, /ɾː/, and /ʃː/ are not represented in the orthography.

	Bilabial		Alveolar	Postalveolar	Palatal	Velar
Stop	p (pː <pp>)	b	t			k (kː <kk>)
Affricate				t͡ʃ <ch>		
Tap			ɾ <l> (ɾː)	ɾ̠ <r>		
Fricative	f (fː <ff>)		s	ʃ <sh> (ʃː)		x <g>
Nasal	m (mː <mm>)	mʷ <mw> (mʷː <mmw>)	n (nː <nn>)			ŋ <ng>
Approx.	w (wː)				j <y>	

Table 2.1: Consonant Inventory.

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i	ʉ <iu>	u
Close-mid	e		o
Open-mid	œ <eo>		
Open	a		ɒ <oa>

Table 2.2: Vowel Inventory.

Woleaian speakers also use a number of loaned phonemes, or loanemes, from English such as /ɹ/ and /ɪ/, as in [ˈjɛ.ɹɪk] *Eric* as well as some loaned phonotactics, such as certain consonant clusters, e.g., [sp] in [spiˑˈtaˤː.t̪ʰe̞] *spitale* 'hospital', and vowel-initial words, as in [ais(ə)k(e̞)ɹiːm(e̞)] *ice cream*, although the incorporation of these features in most cases depends on the speaker and their English proficiency.

2.1.1 Consonants

This subsection describes the consonants in Woleaian, categorized by articulatory features such as stops, nasals, taps, etc. Each section will give the relevant phonemes, minimal pairs, describe their phonetic quality and give allophonic variation per relevant consonant. A number of consonants have allophonic variants based on their position in the phrase and their environment – most often taking the shape of voicing or lenition. Another set occurs in a restricted position in the phrase. An example is given in (2.1):

(2.1) /x/

a. #_ → [x]

b. else → [x~ɣ]

2.1.1.1 Stops and the Affricate

There are four non-nasal stops in Woleaian, /p, b, t, k/, and one affricate, the voiceless apical post-alveolar sibilant affricate <ch> [t͡ʃ]. Only the bilabial stops have a voiceless-voiced contrast, whereas the other places of articulation only have voiceless variants.

Phonemes	Phonetic	Orthography	Gloss
/p/~/t/	[ˈtaːˌpe̞]	*taape*	‘cheek’
	[taːtiˌ]	*taati*	‘sea’
/p/~/f/	[piː]	*piye*	‘sand’
	[fiː]	*fiye*	‘handful’
/p/~/b/	[ˈpʷəˌʃe̞]	*peshe*	‘splint’
	[bʷə͡ʃ]	*besh*	‘hot, white’
/b/~/f/	[ˈbʷaːˌɾe̞]	*bale*	‘also’
	[ˈfaːˌɾe̞]	*fale*	‘to look’
/b/~/w/	[bʷə]	*be*	INC
	[wə]	*we*	DEF
/t/~/s/	[ˈtaːˌpe̞]	*tape*	‘small piece (of s.th.)’
	[ˈsaːˌpe̞]	*sape*	‘(to) face’
/t/~/ɾ̠/	[ˈtaːˌŋe̞]	*tange*	‘his/her inner thigh’
	[ˈɾ̠aːˌŋe̞]	*range*	‘fairy circle’
/t/~/ɾ/	[tœ]	*teo*	‘climb’
	[ɾœ]	*leo*	‘drinking container’
/t/~/k/	[ˈtaːˌŋe̞]	*tange̞*	‘his/her inner thigh’
	[ˈkaːˌŋe̞]	*kange*	‘sharp’
/k/~/x/	[ˈkaːˌŋe̞]	*kange*	‘sharp’
	[ˈxaːˌŋiˌ]	*gaangi*	1SG.EMPH
/t͡ʃ/~/t/	[ˈpaˌt͡ʃe̞]	*pache*	‘thunder’
	[ˈpaˌte̞]	*pate*	‘(to) wash up (to shore)’
/t͡ʃ/~/k/	[ˈt͡ʃəˌɾe̞]	*chele*	‘Velvetleaf Soldierbush (*Heliotropium arboreum*)’
	[kːəɾ]	*kkel*	‘(to) dig (repeatedly)’

Table 2.3: (Near-) minimal pairs showing phoneme status of stops.

In addition to being the only voicing contrast, the voiced bilabial stop is the only consonant that has allophonic variants with both devoiced and labialized allophones. /b/ is variably real-

ized as [b~f~ɸ], [bʷ], [p~ɸ], and [pʷ~ɸʷ], depending on word position. Additionally, although all speakers show the allophonic variation, the degree to which it is realized and its exact phonetic quality vary between speakers:

(2.2) a. /ʃobute/ → [ʃɔˈbu.tɐ̟] ‘woman’
b. /buxeɐ̟e/ → [b~f~ɸu.ˈɣœ.ɾɐ̟] ‘grass’
c. /be/ → [bʷə] INC
d. /tabu/ → [ˈtaː.pu̟] ‘taboo’
e. /buetei/ → [pʷ~ɸʷeˈtei] ‘fat’

As illustrated in (2.2), /b/ surfaces as [b] before high back vowel /u/, with [b~f~ɸ] in free variation word-initially (although [b] is much more common); it surfaces as [bʷ] or [pʷ] before all other vowels, although the labialization is less pronounced before /ʉ/. It is currently somewhat unclear what determines whether the surfacing consonant is [bʷ] or [pʷ], but [bʷ] tends to mostly show up in highly frequent grammaticalized forms such as *bwe* INC, *bele* INCEP, and *bu-/bi-* ‘to go’. The exact cause and/or origin of this alternation, as well as the spread across the varieties of Woleaian will be studied in future research. /b/ surfaces as [p~ɸ] before a devoiced vowel, meaning that it is in the final syllable. The allophony takes place before the attachment of prefixes, that is to say, the complex form *gabweshe* ‘to heat’, which consists of the causative prefix *ga-* CAUS and the stative verb *bweshe* ‘(be) hot, (be) white’, surfaces as [ga.ˈpʷə.ʃɐ̟]. This is interesting because we see similar word-medial devoicing in partially reduplicated forms, e.g., *butoge* [bu.ˈto.xɐ̟] ‘come (lit. go-here)’ versus *buputoge* [ˌbu.pu.ˈto.xɐ̟] ‘come.PROG’. This shows that this may be a morphophonological process that also occurs outside of reduplication. The morphophonological process of reduplication is discussed further in section 2.3.4. The devoiced allophone of /b/, [p], occurs mostly word-finally, and is due to the regular process of utterance-final non-nasal consonant devoicing caused by the devoicing of the utterance-final vowel, which is discussed in more detail in Section 2.3.3 below.

The last two sets of realizations in example (2.2) are in free variation for some speakers, but represent only a small number in the collected data. Of the two speakers that have this variation with some frequently, one speaker, a younger male, very frequently lenited the stops, whereas the other, an older female speaker, only lenited infrequently. Other speakers from both age and gender cohorts do not show any or any consistent lenition for these consonants.

/b/ is equivalent to /pʷ/ or /bʷ/ in the other Chuukic languages, and is a reflex from proto-Chuukic *pʷ (Bender et al. 2003a, 4). This change, *pʷ > /b/, is one of the most major changes in consonant phoneme quality between proto-Chuukic and Woleaian, which may explain why there is a much larger number of allophones compared to other consonants.

As mentioned above, the other stops in Woleaian do not show any allophony and invariably surface as their underlying counterparts. Only the voiceless stops, /p, t, k/, may doubled as part of the morphophonological process that creates progressive verb forms, e.g., [ˈpːɛ.ɻ̥ɐ̥] /pːaɾe/ *ppale* ‘(to be) drying’, [ˈtːɛ.ɻ̥ɐ̥] /tːaɻ̥e/ *ttare* ‘(to be) throwing’, and [kːɛɻ̥] /kːeɾ/ *kkel* ‘(to be) digging’, respectively. This morphophonological operation is discussed further in Section 2.1.1.6 below.

2.1.1.2 Nasals

There are four nasal phonemes: /m, mʷ, n, ŋ/. /mʷ/ is the only phonemically labialized consonant, which is not surprising as this is a direct inheritance of proto-Chuukic *mw (Jackson 1983, 30).

Phonemes	Phonetic	Orthography	Gloss
/m/~/mʷ/	[ˈma.ʃ̥ɐ̥]	*mashe*	‘fourteenth moon’
	[ˈmʷa.ʃ̥ɐ̥]	*mwashe*	‘just’
/m/~/ŋ/	[ˈmæ.ɾi]	*mali*	‘maybe’
	[ˈŋa.ɾi]	*ngali*	‘to/for’
/m/~/n/	[ˈna.x̟e]	*nage*	‘(to) appear’
	[ˈma.x̟i]	*magi*	‘(to) go together’
/n/~/mʷ/	[ˈɾæ.n̟i]	*lani*	‘in’
	[ˈɾa.mʷ̟u]	*laamwu*	‘mosquito’
/n/~/ŋ/	[ˈna.x̟e]	*nage*	‘(to) appear’
	[ˈŋa.x̟e]	*ngage*	‘(to) view’
/ŋ/~/mʷ/	[ˈŋa.ʃ̥ɐ̥]	*ngashe*	‘edge’
	[ˈmʷa.ʃ̥ɐ̥]	*mwashe*	‘just’

Table 2.4: (Near-) minimal pairs of nasals.

The nasals do not exhibit any allophony and can occur word-initially, medially, and, uncommonly for Woleaian consonants, some of them can occur word-finally as well. Of the nasals, /m, mʷ, n/ may also appear as geminates, which is further discussed in Section 2.1.1.6 below.

2.1.1.3 Taps

The two taps in Woleaian are the alveolar tap /ɾ/, and the apical post-alveolar tap /ɻ̟/. Both are quite frequent, making up roughly 10% and 8% of consonants in the corpus of lemmas, respectively. Typologically, it is quite rare for the two liquids in a language to be rhotics (under 2.5% in Maddieson (1984)), and extremely rare for both of them to be taps distinguished by place of articulation rather than by manner, voicing, or secondary articulation. Indeed in Maddieson (1984), the Woleaian system of having two rhotic liquids, both of which are taps and are distinguished by place of articulation, is not represented in the sample at all. While beyond the scope of the current work, this means that the study of the Woleaian in particular warrants additional scrutiny and

study in order to establish the exact nature of this system and whether or not it does represent a typological rarity.

Phonemes	Phonetic	Orthography	Gloss
/ɾ/~/ɾ̲/	[ˈjʉ.ɾ̥ɐ̯]	*iule*	‘(to) drink’
	[ˈjʉ.ɾ̲ɐ̯]	*iure*	‘fifteenth moon’
/ɾ/ ~/t/	[ˈɾo.xɐ̯]	*loge*	‘(to) stay, reside, exist’
	[ˈto.xɐ̯]	*toge*	‘come’
/ɾ̲/~/t/	[ɾ̲ə.ˈmaˠː.xɐ̯]	*remage*	‘Beach naupaka (*Scaevola taccada*)’
	[tə.ˈmaˠː.xo̯]	*temaago*	‘tobacco, cigarette’

Table 2.5: (Near-) minimal pairs of taps.

Both taps generally only have one realization, with the tongue tip tapping the alveolar ridge and just behind the alveolar ridge, for /ɾ/ and /ɾ̲/, respectively, except when they occur before a devoiced vowel or utterance-finally, in which case they are devoiced, e.g., in the realizations of *iule* ‘to drink’ and *iure* ‘fifteenth month’ in Table 2.5. Additionally, preliminary study of the taps before a devoiced vowel or in utterance-final position has shown large variation both between and within speakers, from spirantization to trilling (Liam Archbold, pers. comm.). However, substantial further study of these consonants both in final and non-final position remains necessary to gain a more detailed sense of their articulation and acoustics.

(2.3) _(V)# → [ɾ̥]/[ɾ̲̊]

Additionally, /ɾ/, when underlyingly followed by another /ɾ/, surfaces as [n]:

(2.4) a. ɾɾ → [n]
b. ɾVɾ → [n]

This process is blind to stem-final vowels. In fact, when a form is underlyingly /ɾVɾ/, the vowel is deleted and the entire sequence surfaces as [n]. It is most commonly seen in possessive forms, as the third person singular possessive is /-ɾe/ *-le*, as seen in the example in (2.5):

(2.5) /ʃaɾʉ-ɾe/ → [ˈʃæ.nɐ̯] ‘his/her/its water’

This is a common process in Chuukic languages, and has been phonologized (*l > n) at least in Chuukese (Goodenough and Sugita 1990).

As mentioned above, the apical post-alveolar tap is relatively rare typologically, and has previously been treated as a sub-apical, ‘true’ retroflex (e.g., Sohn 1975; Sohn and Tawerilmang 1976; Blust 2013b; Ross 1988; Bender et al. 2003a). However, ongoing closer acoustic analysis as well as

ultrasound testing and speakers' identification of articulator position are showing that it is acoustically and articulatorily distinct from a sub-apical retroflex.[3] Regardless of whether it is treated as an apical or post-alveolar consonant, this tap is an anomaly relative to its geographically and linguistically closest neighbors. For example Satawalese (Roddy 2007, 18), Ulithian (Sohn and Bender 1973, 17), Puluwatese (Elbert 1974, 7), and Mortlockese have the trill /r/ that corresponds to Woleaian /ɾ̲/. Yapese, a much more distantly related language, does have one (reportedly) sub-apical retroflex consonant, but this is the voiceless sub-apical retroflex affricate /t͡ʂ̺/ (Jensen et al. 1977). Similarly, the Woleaian tap /ɾ/ corresponds to the lateral approximant /l/ in all of the previously mentioned closely related languages. The change from */l/ to Woleaian /ɾ/ is a relatively recent one. This is shown by the fact that the oldest speakers still frequently use [l], which moves towards free variation between [l] and [ɾ] in middle-aged speakers, and finally (almost) exclusively [ɾ] in speakers younger than middle-aged. Further analysis of both the acoustics and the development of /ɾ/ and /ɾ̲/ is currently being undertaken using ultrasound measurements by a number of researchers including myself.

Lastly, a loaneme from recent English introductions is in use by speakers from most age cohorts, corresponding to American English /r/. It is currently not completely clear whether the postalveolar approximant [ɹ] or the retroflex approximant [ɻ] is being used, but the handful of words are transcribed here with the postalveolar approximant. Examples include [ˈjɛ.ɹɪk] *Eric* and [ais(ə)k(ə)ɹiːm(e̞)] *ice cream*. When American English /r/ occurs in a coda position, it is deleted when borrowed into Woleaian, such as in [ˈtœ.pa.wɛː] *tupperware* 'large plastic storage box' (< English *Tupperware*). Older, more phonologically incorporated loanwords do not have this loaneme, such as [mɛ.ɾi.ˈkɛn] /maɾikan/ *maliken* 'White person' (< English *American*).

3. Research ongoing as part of a collaboration of the author and the DLPHI project, NSF #2421485, PIs Bradley McDonnell, Gary Holton, Andrew Cheng, Shelece Easterday, Leah Pappas

2.1.1.4 Fricatives

Woleaian has four fricatives, voiceless bilabial <f> /f/, voiceless alveolar <s> /s/, voiceless apical post-alveolar <sh> /ʃ/ and voiceless velar <g> /x/.

Phonemes	Phonetic	Orthography	Gloss
/f/~/p/	[fiː]	*fiye*	'handful'
	[piː]	*piye*	'sand'
/f/~/x/	[fe.ˈɾa]	*fela*	'Needlefish (*Belonidae sp.*)'
	[xə.ˈɾa]	*gela-*	POSS.CLF:ALIM
/f/~/s/	[ˈfiː.ɻ̩ę̞]	*file*	'correct, right (side)'
	[ˈsiː.ɻ̩ę̞]	*siile*	'mother'
/s/~/t/	[ˈjaˤː.sǫ̞]	*yaaso*	'roof'
	[ˈjaˤː.tǫ̞]	*yaato*	'day, time'
/s/~/ʃ/	[ˈsaˤː.pę̞]	*sape*	'to face (s.th.)'
	[ˈʃaˤː.pę̞]	*shape*	'to tumble'
/s/~/t͡ʃ/	[ˈsiː.ɻ̩ę̞]	*siile*	'mother'
	[ˈt͡ʃiː.ɻ̩ę̞]	*chiile*	'small'
/ʃ/~/t͡ʃ/	[ˈpaˤː.ʃ̩ę̞]	*pashe*	'to stick (to s.th.)'
	[ˈpaˤː.t͡ʃ̩ę̞]	*pache*	'thunder'
/x/~/k/	[ˈxaˤː.ŋ̟i̟]	*gaangi*	1SG.EMPH
	[ˈkaˤː.ŋ̟ę̞]	*kange*	'sharp'

Table 2.6: (Near-) minimal pairs of fricatives and the affricate.

/f/ occurs geminated, whereas /s/ and /ʃ/ do not. /x/ occurs geminated in the orthography, such as in *ggape* 'chick', but research by DeFalco (2022) showed that there does not seem to be phonetic gemination occurring in these words, requiring further study. Geminate /f/ occurs in simplex word forms in my corpus, such as [ˈfːɛ.tę̞] /fːate/ *ffate* 'bird's nest', rather than being restricted only to predictable occurrences as part of reduplicative morphology. The occurrence of geminates in simplex forms is discussed in Section 2.1.1.6 below.

2.1.1.5 Approximants

There are two approximants in Woleaian, velar /j/ and labial-velar /w/. /j/ and /w/ are distinguishable from their vocalic counterparts /i/ and /u/ as well as their prothetic equivalents (see Section 2.3) by their distribution. Most importantly, they occur in positions where a vowel could not occur, such as word-initially, as in [ˌjau.ɻ̩ə.ˈpɪ.xę̞] /jau̯ɻ̩epixe/ *Yaurepige* 'Eauripik'. In this example, [j] is followed by two vowels [a] and [u]. Since Woleaian does not have triphthongs or vowel sequences of more than two vowels, but does allow the syllable form of CVV, it must be a consonant here. Similarly, there is a host of examples where a word starts with [j]/[w] followed by a single vowel, e.g., [jo.ˈɾɒ.xę̞] /joɾɒxe/ *yoloage* '(to) sneak', and [ˈwɛ.sụ̟] /wasʉ/ *wasiu* 'injury';

again, Woleaian does not have a VV syllable type so a consonant may be assumed. Additionally, in these two examples, [j] occurs before a back vowel, and [w] occurs before a front vowel, whereas prothetic [j] and [w] only occur before front and back vowels, respectively.

Phonemes	Phonetic	Orthography	Gloss
/j/~/w/	[ˈjaˤːŋ̟ˌ]	*yaange*	‘wind’
	[ˈwaˤːŋ̟ˌ]	*wang*	‘penis’

Table 2.7: (Near-) minimal pairs of fricatives and the affricate.

2.1.1.6 Gemination

Nine of the Woleaian consonants can be geminated: /p, m, mʷ, n, f, ɾ, k, w, ʃ/, although they are relatively rare throughout the language. Geminates occur as the result of a morphological operation, namely initial reduplication indicating progressiveness, as well as synchronically unpredictably in simplex forms. Geminates are unevenly distributed in word position: All but one, /ɾ/, occur word-initially in my data, but less than half occur word-medially. Thus, with the exception of /ɾ/, all geminates that occur word-medially also occur word-initially. Word-medial geminates are even more rare in words featuring non-predictable geminates, occurring only for /ɾ, k, w/, and /ʃ/ only occurs as predictably, i.e., as a result of reduplication.

	Word-initial	Word-medial
/p/	[paɾ] ‘dry’ [pːaɾ] ‘lightweight’	–
/m/	[ˈmɛ.tˌ̟] ‘eye, face’ [ˈmːɛ.tˌ̟] ‘to, awaken’	–
/mʷ/	[ˈmʷa.ɾˌ̟] ‘almost’ [ˈmʷːa.ɾˌ̟] ‘front’	–
/n/	[nəx] ‘muscular’ [nːəx] ‘rabbitfish’	–
/f/	[fːɛ.ˈtɯw] ‘nieces/nephews’	–
/ɾ/	–	[ˈkiˌ̟ːˌ̟] ‘cherry’
/k/	[kəɾ] ‘(to be) glad’ [kːəɾ] ‘(to) dig’	[ɾiˈkːo] ‘baby’
/w/	[wəɾ] ‘different’ [wːəˌ̟] ‘light, flash’	[uˈwːaɾ] ‘(to be) bright’

Table 2.8: Lexically geminated consonants adapted from DeFalco (2022, 5).

Geminates that are synchronically unpredictable are most likely the result of historically two initial identical syllables, whether through reduplication or not, with subsequent loss of the first

syllable's vowel. This is indicated by Blust (2007) to be a relatively frequent pattern in Austronesian languages.

Geminates also occur (word-medially) in initial partially reduplicated forms where the reduplication retains its regular form. For example, there is the tripartite distinction in the initial /f/ in the word *fage* '(to) cough': [fax] '(to) cough', [fəˈfːax] '(to be) coughing', and [fːax] 'a cough' (DeFalco 2022, 6; see Table 2.9 below). Table 2.8 shows that there are some singleton-geminate minimal pairs that are not all easily semantically connected. This means that, if they arose historically through reduplication, the connection has been obscured by other phonological developments, the derivation was based on a semantic connection not obvious to me, or the reduplicated form continues to exist while the singleton form has ceased to remain in use.

Morphophonological gemination most frequently appears in regular initial partial reduplication, which creates a progressive-iterative form from a verb stem (see Section 5.5). It also occasionally occurs in the much rarer idiosyncratically initially reduplicated forms, which creates a stative verb form the stem by simply geminating the initial consonant.[4]

	/p/	**/f/**	**/ʃ/**	**/ɾ/**
Stem	[puˈxa] '(to) boil'	[fax] '(to) cough'	[ʃɛˈŋa.xe̥] '(to) hang'	[ɾaˈxo.mi] '(to) hold (s.th.)'
Red. 1	[puˈpːu.xa]	[fəˈfːax]	[ˌʧɛ.ʧːɛˈŋa.xe̥]	[ɾeɾːaxomi]
Red. 2	[pːux]	[fːax]	[ʧːɛˈŋa.xe̥]	[rːaˈxo]

Table 2.9: Morphologically geminated consonants, adapted from DeFalco (2022, 6).[5]

As shown in Table 2.9, /ʃ/ is the only consonant that changes quality when geminated, to the affricate /ʧ/.

In a pilot study by DeFalco (2022) with two male speakers, she found that for lexical geminates, voiced stops and fricatives have increased duration, whereas the voiceless stops do not. For geminates stemming from morphological processes, she found that stops had a larger duration across the board, but fricatives did not differ. Nonetheless, anecdotally, geminates are salient to speakers in both production and perception, meaning that further study is required to determine the exact acoustic correlate(s) of geminates.

From my observations, realization of the geminates seems to vary across speakers, with some speakers realizing the geminates less frequently or to a smaller degree than others. DeFalco (2022, 30) also notes this, even with a very small number of speakers. The realization of geminates seems to be a complex topic, and will be further explored from variationist and historical perspectives

4. This is called detransitivization in DeFalco (2022), but I analyze this as a stative form of the verb since, as discussed in Section 5.1, Woleaian verbs are not lexically specified for the number of arguments they take.

5. Red. 1 = Regular initial partial reduplication, Red. 2 = Idiosyncratic initial partial reduplication.

in the future.

An additional observation in DeFalco (2022, 31) is that initial gemination can be lost when a word is suffixed, such as in [kːʉ] 'fingernail' vs. [kʉɾe̯] 'his/her/its fingernail'. There are several possible hypotheses for the cause of degemination in suffixed forms, such as reduction of complexity, but as this phenomenon is marginal within the already marginal group of geminates, further detailed study is required for any substantial conclusions about degemination in Woleaian.

It thus seems that geminates in Woleaian form an intermediate phonological relationship (Hall 2013): many geminates are predictable through morphology but some are not, and they are contrastive to their singleton counterparts although they do not all seem to share the same acoustic correlates. The area of intermediate phonological relationship remains underexplored in the world's languages, and thus more acoustic and phonological study of geminates in Woleaian is required.

Geminate consonants are represented in every closely related language in the western Micronesian area, and, as far as is described, pattern relatively similar to Woleaian: Only a subsection of consonants has a geminate counterpart, with Woleaian seemingly being the only language with geminate /w/ (Ellis 2012, 140). Additionally, geminates generally do not occur in coda or phrase final position, or are degeminated in the case of Puluwatese (Elbert 1974, 2), with the exception of Satawalese (Roddy 2007, 26–8) which has word-final geminates. Lastly, where described, geminates occur both as the result of morphological processes and in lexical items as they do in Woleaian. Within the area, the Yapese dictionary provides a small number geminate forms (Jensen 1977), but recent research seems to show that there may not actually be geminates in Yapese (Jillian Breithaupt, pers. comm.). Additionally, Marshallese is described to also not feature any geminates, instead having a distinction between 'light' and 'heavy' consonants (Bender, Capelle, and Pagotto 2016), which may well be historically linked. The prevalence of similarly patterning geminates in closely related languages seems to indicate that the position of geminates as marginal but definitely present is relatively stable and could be described as a trait of Chuukic languages.

2.1.2 Vowels

Woleaian has eight contrastive vowel phonemes. Its qualities are relatively similar compared to other Micronesian languages, both in quantity[6] and quality. The only difference quality-wise is that most Micronesian languages are analyzed as having phonemic central vowels, either /ə/ or /ɵ/, whereas in Woleaian [ə] only surfaces as the result of a reduced or inserted vowel (discussed further below). Only the vowels /i/ and /u/ can occur word-initially; see Section 2.3.2.

6. For example Pohnpeian has a vowel inventory of 6 (Goodman 1995, 9, excluding phonemic vowel length), Mokilese has 7 (Harrison and Albert 1976, 12), Ulithian has 8 (Sohn and Bender 1973, 17), and Mortlockese, Puluwatese and Satawalese have 9 (Odango 2015, 100; Elbert 1974, 1; Roddy 2007, 29, respectively).

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i	ʉ <iu>	u
Close-mid	e		o
Open-mid	œ <eo>		
Open	a		ɒ <oa>

Table 2.10: Vowel Inventory (repeated from Table 2.2 above).

The table below gives an overview of (near-)minimal pairs of vowel contrasts:

Phonemes	Phonetic	Orthography	Gloss
/i̯/~/ʉ/	[ˈi.wə]	*iwe*	‘so, okay then’ (lit. ANA-DEF)
	[ˈʉ.wɐ̯]	*iuwe*	‘neck’
/i̯/~/e/	[ˈtiː.bʷɐ̯]	*tibwe*	‘rod’
	[ˈtaː.pʷɐ̯]	*tabe*	‘(to) join together (s.th.)’
/e/~/œ/	[meˈɾ̪a]	*mera*	‘(to be) fast’
	[ˈmœ.ɾ̪ʊ̯]	*meoriu*	‘testicle’
/œ/~/a/	[pœː]	*peo*	CLF:EDGED
	[paˠː]	*pa*	CLF:LEI
/a/~/ɒ/	[ˈtaˠː.ɾ̪ɐ̯]	*taare*	‘generation’
	[ˈtɑː.ɾ̪ɐ̯]	*toare*	NEG.EXIST
/ɑ/~/o/	[ˈtoː.ɾ̪ɐ̯]	*tore*	‘(to) fall’
/o/~/u/	[ˈtoː.xɐ̯]	*toge*	‘clam’
	[ˈtuː.xɐ̯]	*tuge*	‘basket’
/u/~/ʉ/	[ˈɾu.xʊ̯]	*lugu*	‘side’
	[ˈɾʉ.xʊ̯]	*liugiu*	‘outside’

Table 2.11: (Near-) minimal pairs of vowels.

Vowels show a range of allophonic variation, with most vowels having at least one reduced/rapid speech variant and a lengthened counterpart. The reduced variants are generally more central than their underlying counterpart, e.g., /i/ → [ə], but also include raising, e.g., /a/ → [ɛ], lowering, e.g., /o/ → [ɔ], and fronting or backing, e.g., /ʉ/ → [i, u]. /u/ is the only vowel that does not show any reduced variants, always surfacing as [u]. Avoidance of overlap in vowel quality cannot explain this, since other vowels reduce to identical qualities or even to qualities of underlying vowels, e.g., /ʉ/ reducing to [u]. However, a quantitative acoustic study of vowel realizations could shed light on the area each vowel phoneme occupies.

Orthographic	Underlying	Regular	Reduced/Rapid speech	Lengthened
<i>	/i/	[i]	[ɪ, ə]	[iː]
<e>	/e/	[e]	[æ, ə]	[eː]
<eo>	/œ/	[œ]	[e, ə, ɛ]	[œː]
<a>	/a/	[a]	[æ, ɛ, e, ə]	[aˤː]
<iu>	/ʉ/	[ʉ]	[ə, i, u]	[ʉː]
<u>	/u/	[u]	–	[uː]
<o>	/o/	[o]	[ɔ]	[oː]
<oa>	/ɒ/	[ɒ]	[ɔ, (ɐ)]	[ɒː]

Table 2.12: Vowels and their surface forms.

Reduced variants generally occur in unstressed positions or when part of a vowel sequence in regular speech, as in (2.6). A change of quality in rapid speech is a common process cross-linguistically (Ernestus and Warner 2011), especially towards a more central vowel position (Crosswhite 2004, 192), and it is thus no surprise that unstressed vowels in Woleaian undergo a similar process.

(2.6) a. /se.ˈmoʉ/ → [sə.ˈmʷəi] ‘some’

b. /xaiŋi/ → [ˈxaɪ̯.ŋi] ‘bantigue’ (*Pemphis acidula)*

In cases where a speaker was asked to repeat a word or sentence slowly, the unreduced forms almost always surfaced in stressed position, i.e., [sə.ˈmʷoʉ] and [ˈxai.ŋi]. Some dependent words such as prefixes and clitics, for example *se-* ‘one’, are always unstressed and thus generally do not occur in any form other than the reduced. Conversely, there are some dependent (monosyllabic) words that attract stress, and thus never occur in a reduced form. A notable example is the perfective marker *sa* PFV, which never occurs as an independent phonological word, but attracts (secondary) stress to itself in whatever phonological word it does occur, for example [ɾ̪ə.ˈsa] /ɾ̪e=sa 3PL=PFV and [ˈsa.mæ.tę] /sa=mate/ PFV=full.

What determines the exact quality of the reduced vowels has not been formally tested, but from the data and my observations it seems that there is both inter- and intra-speaker variation in reduced vowel quality.

In regular speech and in certain positions, mostly non-word-initial, it is much more common for some vowels, especially /e, a, i/, to occur as their reduced variant than the underlying one, and only surface with their underlying quality in these positions in slow and careful speech. The vowel /u/ never occurs in a reduced form quality-wise in the data.

The Woleaian vowel that shows the most regular allophony based on environment is /a/, which raises in specific environments: As noted by Sohn (1975, 31–33), /a/ regularly surfaces with

a different vowel quality when occurring between syllables with a high vowel (/i, ʉ/) or before a syllable with low vowel (/a, ɒ/). This rule ignores consonants and crosses lexical word boundaries (but not phonological word boundaries), and does not occur when /a/ is the only voiced vowel in a word and thus lengthened. Sohn describes the surfacing vowel as strictly [e], whereas my data shows a predominance of [ɛ], with only a few instances of [e], seemingly in free variation.[7]

(2.7) a. /V_{high}_V_{high}/ /a/ → [ɛ]
b. /_V_{low}/ /a/ → [e]

More generally, /a/ has a high tendency to surface as [ɛ~æ] unless it occurs as the first (or only) vowel of a lexical word, or voiced word-finally, in which case it surfaces as [a].

(2.8) /jaɾemate/ → [ja.ɾə.ˈmæ.tę] 'person'

For example in (2.8), the first /a/ surfaces as [a], but the second surfaces as [ɛ]. Note that this is, however, only a tendency, and there is inter- and intra-speaker variation as well as some lexical items where /a/ is unexpectedly not reduced, as in (2.9).

(2.9) /uwaɾe waɾʉweɾʉ/ → [u.wa.ɾə.ˌwa.ɾʉ.ˈwə.ɾ̥ə̥~uwaːɾəwaɾʉwəɾ̥ę] 'fruit'

Additionally, /a/ is the only vowel that has a change in quality besides length in its lengthened form. In almost all tokens of lengthened /a/, there is a degree of pharyngealization:

(2.10) /jafe/ → [ˈjaˤːfę] 'fire'

The degree of pharyngealization varies somewhat between tokens, but I could quite easily detect them in a casual setting. Besides in words in isolation, the pharyngealization occasionally occurs on words in context, most audibly on utterance-final words (which quite frequently happen to be one of the two demonstratives with /a/, *la* MED and *laale* DIST). Additionally, speakers invariably corrected my pronunciation of a lengthened /a/ *without* pharyngealization, showing that it is not just conditioned by production and that the feature is perceptually salient in lengthened /a/. A precise (acoustic) analysis of the quality of /a/ and other vowels in different contexts is currently left up to future research.

Finally, the stem-final vowels /e/ and /a/ have a tendency to surface as [o] when followed by the second person singular possessive suffix *-mwe*. Here exemplified using the second person singular possessive suffix *-mwe*:

(2.11) a. /ite-mʷe/ → [i.ˈto.mʷę] 'your (sg.) name'
b. /taɾiŋa-mʷe/ → [tæ.ɾi.ˈŋo.mʷę] 'your (sg.) ear'

7. Additionally, it must be noted that Sohn (1975, 31) identifies some forms as examples of this alternation that either do not correspond to their pronunciation in my data, for example [itashę] <itash> 'our name', which corresponds to [i.ˈtɛ.ʃę] in my data.

While Woleaian only has a small number of suffixes, which consists almost wholly of the possessive paradigm, the vowel backing only occurs for two of these: the second person singular, as mentioned above, and the third person singular. The stem-final vowel change for the third person singular is less straight-forward, and in some cases idiosyncratic, but due to vowel reduction (as discussed above) the final surfacing vowel quality is most commonly [ə]. The other possessive suffixes (see Section 4.1.3) do not trigger vowel backing.

Since there are so few suffixes in Woleaian, and neither clitics nor complex clauses (i.e., when a modifier follows the word with the target final vowel) seem to trigger this process, it is unclear whether the process of final vowel lowering is a quirk of the two above suffixes, or if it is a regular process that only has a few chances to surface. The interaction of stem-final vowels and suffixes/clitics seems to align with general morphophonemic alternation, but detailed acoustic analyses of this phenomenon is currently left up to future research.

2.1.2.1 Diphthongs

Woleaian has six diphthongs. All diphthongs are rising, in that the first segment is a low or mid vowel and the second segment is a high vowel. The second vowel segment is usually shorter than the first vowel segment (as in 2.12). If the diphthong occurs at the end of a word, both vowel segments remain voiced (see Section 2.3.3).

(2.12) /touɾape/ → [ˈtou̯.ɾɛ.pe̯~ˈtou.ɾɛ.pe̯] ‘many’

Diphthong	Phonetic	Underlying	Gloss
/ai/	[teɪ̯]	/tai/	*tai* NEG
/aʉ/	[feʉ̯]	/faʉ/	*faiu* ‘stone’
/au/	[ˌjau̯.ɾ̪ə.ˈpi.xe̯]	/jauɾ̪epixe/	*Yaurepige* ‘Eauripik’
/ei/	[weɪ̯]	/wei/	*wei* ‘outwards’ ‘(to) resemble’
/œʉ/	[fœʉ̯]	/fœʉ/	*feoiu* ‘(to be) cold’
/ou/	[xo.ˈʃou̯]	/xoʃou/	*goshou* ‘rain’

Table 2.13: Diphthongs.

Diphthongs must agree somewhat in front- or backness: If the first segment is a front vowel, the second segment must be a front or central vowel, and, likewise, if the first segment is a back vowel, the second segment must be a back or central vowel. However, the distribution of diphthongs is uneven, as there is only one back vowel-initial diphthong, [ou], and *[ɒo] and *[ɒu] are not attested in the corpus. In underlying or apparent vowel sequences that are not the diphthongs given in Table 2.13, an epenthetic [j] or [w] appears between the two vowel segments, as in [ˈiː.jə] /ie/ *ie* 3SG.EMPH for an underlying vowel sequence, or [ˈjei.ja] /jeia/ *yeia* ‘alright, okay’ for vowel sequences across syllable boundaries.

2.2 Historical development of Woleaian phonemes

As is common in Austronesian historical linguistics, the main focus has been on the consonant correspondences in work on reconstructing proto-Micronesian. For example, both Jackson (1983, 30) and Bender et al. (2003a, 4–5) give comprehensive overviews of the consonant correspondences is Micronesian languages. The following table gives an overview of Woleaian consonant correspondences to proto-Micronesian, and proto-Oceanic:

	PMc	**POc**
/p/	*p	*mp
/b/	*p^{w}	*mp, ŋp
/f/	*f	*p
/m/	*m	*m
/m^{w}/	*m^{w}	*m, ŋm
/x/ /k/	*k	*k
/ŋ/	*ŋ	*ŋ
/j/	*y	*y
/w/	*w	*w
/t/	*t *s *S	*t *s, nj *ns, j
/s/	*t *T *c	*t *nt, nd
/ʃ/	*c	*nt, nd
/t͡ʃ/	*c	*nt, nd
/n/	*l *n	*l *n
/ɾ/	*l *n *ɲ	*l *n *ɲ
/r̲/	*r	*r
∅	*x	*ŋk
∅	*Z	*j

Table 2.14: Woleaian consonant correspondences to proto-Micronesian and proto-Oceanic. Adapted from Bender et al. (2003a, 4–5). PMc = proto-Micronesian; POc = proto-Oceanic.[8]

8. This table omits conditioning environments for ease of reading.

Most of the consonant developments from proto-Oceanic to proto-Micronesian, and from there to Woleaian are relatively straightforward: They mostly consist of merges of two consonants in the proto-language(s) into a single consonant in the descendant's, for example PAn *s and *nj merging into PMc *s, and PMc *l, *n, and *ñ merging into /ɾ/ in Woleaian. Additionally, a number of consonants are directly inherited from POc into PMc, as well as from PMc into Woleaian. For a more detailed discussion of the phonological development of Micronesian consonants, refer to Jackson (1983).

Although there is a relatively robust reconstructed proto-language for a language family that has generally not seen that much attention from (historical) linguists, to my knowledge there is no explicit reconstruction for the proto-Micronesian or proto-Chuukic vowel inventory.[9] Usually vowel systems in Austronesian languages are relatively simple, evident from the four simplex vowels and four diphthongs reconstructed for proto-Austronesian (Blust 2013b, 561), and relatively stable, reflected in five reconstructed vowels with very similar qualities for proto-Oceanic (Lynch, Ross, and Crowley 2011, 65). However, the Micronesian languages are somewhat distinct in having larger vowel phoneme inventories (as mentioned above in Section 2.1.2):

WOE	PON	ULI	CHK	PUW	MRL	STW	GIL
/i/	/i/	/i/	/i/	/i/	/i/	/i/	/i/
/e/	/e/	/e/	/e/	/e/	/ɛ/	/ɛ/	/e/
/œ/	–	/æ/	/æ/	/æ/	/æ/	/æ/	/æ/
/a/	/a/	/a/	/a/	/a/	/a/	/a/	/a/
/ʉ/	–	–	/ʉ/	/ʉ/	/ʉ/	/ʉ/	–
/u/	/u/	/u/	/u/	/u/	/u/	/u/	/u/
/o/	/o/	/o/	/o/	/o/	/o/	/o/	/o/
/ɒ/	/ɔ/	/ɔ/	/ɔ/	/ɔ/	/ɔ/	/ɒ/	/ɔ/
–	–	/ə/	/ə/	/ə/	/ɘ/	/ɘ/	–

Table 2.15: Vowel and diphthong inventories in a small sample of Micronesian languages.[10]

While a full-fledged analysis of historical vowel phoneme development is beyond the scope of this grammar, a brief overview is in order.

This small sample has languages from a number of sub-families within Central Micronesian: Central Chuukic (Chuukese, Mortlockese, Puluwatese, Satawalese), Nuclear Chuukic (Woleaian), Western Chuukic (Ulithian), Pohnpeic (Pohnpeian), and Kiribati is an individual branch from Central Micronesian subgroup. All of these languages show a remarkable overlap in vowel phonemes, and all apparent eccentricities are easily explained by sub-grouping: Pohnpeian and Kiribati are

9. Do note that an inventory is implicitly reconstructed in Bender et al. (2003a) and Bender et al. (2003a)

10. Sources are as follows: Pohnpeian (PON; Goodman 1995); Ulithian (ULI; Sohn and Bender 1973) and author's field notes; Chuukese (CHK; Jackson 1983); Puluwatese (PUW; Elbert 1974); Mortlockese (MRL; Odango 2015); Satawalese (STW; Roddy 2007); Kiribati (GIL; Groves, Groves, and Jacobs 1985).

the only languages in the sample that do not have /ʉ/ in their inventory, and they are also the only two languages that are not part of the Chuukic sub-group, which shows that the arising of /ʉ/ is likely a Chuukic development.[11] Additionally, most of the languages that have a phonemic mid-central vowel (/ə, ɵ/) belong to the Central Chuukic group, with the exception of Ulithian. This shows that phonemicization of the central vowel is possibly a development within that group (also note that all the languages in the group have [ə] as a reduced variant of one or more vowels). It could have been a separate development in Ulithian, as non-phonemic central vowels are common throughout the Chuukic languages. The fact that Satawalese and Ulithian, but not Woleaian, have a phonemic central vowel, might make its establishment of being an areal feature more difficult if one accepts the hypothesis of East-to-West settlement of Micronesia starting approximately in the Marshall Islands and ending in Ulithi (Intoh 1997).[12] There are two main ways to approach this problem: One is that it is a Chuukic feature that did not apply, was counteracted and/or did not phonemicize in Woleaian, and the other is that it is a Central Chuukic development that also occurred independently in Ulithian. Since, as mentioned, several vowels phonotactically reduce to a central vowel in both Woleaian (see Section 2.1.2) and Ulithian (based on a wordlist recording) in unstressed positions, it is not too strange to see a generalization and phonemicization of this vowel quality.

The mid-central vowels (/ə,ɵ/) correspond to /e/ in the other languages, for example Mortlockese /mɵ/ 'and', /pɵ/ FUT, and /wɵɵr/ '(to) see' vs. Woleaian /me/ 'and', /be/ INC, and /we̱i/ '(to) see', although /e/ (or /ɛ/) is also still present in the Eastern Chuukic languages. A development in either direction could be argued from this data, but given the lack of phonemic mid-central vowels in Pohnpeian and Kiribati, I lean towards hypothesizing the development of *e > /ə, ɵ(, e)/ for Central Chuukic. This gives us the following vowels reconstructed for Proto-Chuukic (PCk):

	Front	Central	Back
Close	*i	*ʉ	*u
Close-mid	*e		*o
Open-mid	*æ		
Open	*a		*ɔ

Table 2.16: Proposed proto-Chuukic vowel phoneme inventory.

11. /ʉ/ seems to have formed from the vowel sequence */iu/, as well as through (environmentally-conditioned) vowel raising, such as /n_#/ (e.g., PMc *manu > PCk *manʉ), although not all exact environments have been determined yet.

12. Note that I have heard accounts from Woleaian and Saipan Carolinian community members that the dispersal of human populations was not even throughout the western Carolines, and that some areas were (re)settled much after the initial human disperal in the area.

This reconstruction is exemplified in the small cognate set given in Table 2.17:

PCk	WOE	ULI	CHK	PUW	MRL	STW	Gloss
*i	*iige*	*ig*	*iik*	*iik*	*iik*	*ig*	'fish'
*e	*geele*	*gel*	*een*	*yeen*	*een*	*een*	2SG
*æ	*gemarage*	*hamarag*	*ámááre*	*yámááre*	*amáárá*	*amaerei*	'unipinnate fern'[13]
*a	*waluwe*	*walu*	*wanuuw*	*waal*	*wali*	*wanuw*	'eight'
*ʉ	*maliuge*	*malege*	***pwisika***	*malúk*	*mélúk*	*maniug*	'chicken'
*u	*bulage*	*bulog*	*pwuno*	*pwula*	*pwula*	*pwuna*	'taro'
*o	*woonge*	*wol*	*woong*	*woong*	*woon*	*woong*	'turtle'
*ɔ	*woale*	*uwol*	*wóó-*	*wóón*	*óón*	*woai*	'on top (of)'

Table 2.17: Cognates for proposed PCk vowels. [14]

In this table we already see some forms that are aberrant in some way: Woleaian *gemarage*, where a form like **gemeoreoge* would be expected, and Ulithian *malege* where **maluge*[15] would be expected. These forms cannot be easily explained without a more detailed study of vowels in Chuukic specifically and Micronesian as a whole, which is beyond the scope of this grammar. It does, however, show that, although the phoneme inventories largely overlap, there is not a one-to-one vowel quality correspondence in cognate sets, meaning that Micronesian vowels may not be as stable as has possibly been assumed.

2.3 Phonotactics

This section discusses the phonotactics of phonological words in Woleaian. I distinguish the *phonological* word from the *lexical* word as follows: In this grammar, lexical word means any word that can occur independently and has an individual semantic value, and a phonological word consists of an independent phonological unit that may or may not consist of several lexical words and/or morphemes. This means that lexical words can also be phonological words, but dependent words such as the pronominal clitics (see Section 4.2) and bound morphemes can only ever be part of a phonological word and are not lexical words. Examples of lexical words are *yoloage* '(to)

13. Refers to a variety of morphologically similar ferns, generally resembling or part of genus *Nephrolepsis* (sword ferns).

14. Underlined = vowel quality unexpectedly different; **bold** = non-cognate. Some forms were adapted from Bender et al. (2003b) and Bender et al. (2003a) with confirmation from independent sources where possible. Specific language sources are as follows: Pohnpeian (PON; Goodman 1995); Ulithian (ULI; Sohn and Bender 1973), Aloyz Fong (pers. comm.) and author's field notes; Chuukese (CHK; Goodenough and Sugita 1990); Puluwatese (PUW; Elbert 1974); Mortlockese (MRL; Odango 2015); Satawalese (STW; Roddy 2007).

15. NB: Although the orthography used in Sohn and Bender (1973, 18ff.) distinguishes /æ/ and /a/ (<å> and <a>, respectively), as well as /ʉ/ and /u/ (<û> and <u>, respectively), I have not seen this used by Ulithian speakers writing their language. Instead, they use <a> and <u> to represent both /æ/ and /a/ and /ʉ/ and /u/, respectively. The orthography for Ulithian in this grammar follows the community's preferences.

sneak', *kere* '(to be) happy, satisfied' and *karebau* 'cow'; some examples of phonological words are *faliuweshe* 'our (is)land', which consists of the lexical word *faliuwe* 'island' and the dependent pronominal form *-she* 1PL.INCL.POSS, and *yesiyale* 'she/it is pregnant', consisting of the dependent *ye=* 3SG and the independent lexical word *siyale* '(to be) pregnant'. To reiterate, the lexical words given above can also be phonological words by themselves, depending on how they occur in context. The distinction between lexical and phonological words is made because the rules on word formation apply to phonological words rather than lexical words alone. Dependent elements, such as the incompletive marker *bwe~be*, do not adhere to the minimal phonological word constraint (see Section 2.3.2 below), and thus cannot occur by themselves as a phonological word. An interesting instance of this can be found in the pronouns: the pronominal element *ye=* 3SG has the surface phonological form [jə], and thus does not adhere to the minimal word constraint and remains a dependent form. The emphatic counterpart to the third person singular pronoun, *ie* 3SG.EMPH is an independent word, and thus must adhere to the word constraint, surfacing as [ijə].

Another interesting feature that is most likely the result of this minimal word constraint, is that two dependent forms can occur as a phonological word together as long as they adhere to the minimal word constraint. The prime example of this is the highly frequent *yesa* which consists of the dependent elements *ye=* 3SG and *sa* PFV, but may also occur with two pronominal elements, as in *rei* which consists of *re-* 'for' and *-i* 1SG.POSS.[16] Most of the deictic elements in Woleaian are formed in this manner (see Section 4.3).

Lastly, the vast majority of words are consonant-initial, since only /i/ and /u/ allowed in word-initial position (likely due to their similar characteristics to /j/ and /w/, respectively). Due to the relatively low frequency of vowel-initial words (36 out of approximately 1300 lemmas in the corpus, or less than 3%), there is no evidence of conditioned sound change to permissible vowels, but rather that these two vowels form the exception to the historically prevalent, although not exclusively, CV(C) syllable structure of proto-Austronesian (Blust 2013a, 135). In most instances of /i/-initial words where a reconstruction could be located, the form features a now-lost initial consonant or a reconstructed initial vowel in the highest reconstruction, as shown in (2.13).[17] However, the loss of the consonant in many cases occurred at least in proto-Oceanic, or often in the proto-Micronesian form, showing that the changes in canonical Austronesian syllable shape occurred (much) earlier. Additionally, there are some forms in (2.13) where the /i/ seems to have been added after Proto-Micronesian, meaning that it is a relatively recent change or addition. On the other hand, /u/-initial forms are reconstructed with an initial *w as late as proto-Chuukic,

16. Even though *sa* is a dependent word, it is written here and throughout without any overt markers (i.e., -, =) to indicate this. The reason for this is that other dependent elements usually (but not always) attach to *sa*, rather than it attaching to other elements. When *sa* does attach to other elements, it is always in the same manner as a verbal compound (Section 5.6), as in *sabitiwe* sa-bi-tiwe PFV-go-down, cf. *siusape* siu-sape stand-face.

17. Source for Proto-Micronesian and Proto-Chuukic forms are from Bender et al. (2003a) and Bender et al. (2003b), and all other proto-forms are from Blust and Trussel (2016). Abbreviations are as follows: PAn = Proto-Austronesian, PMP = Proto-Malayo-Polynesian, POc = Proto-Oceanic PMc = Proto-Micronesian, PWMc = Proto-Western-Micronesian, PPC = Proto-Pohnpeic-Chuukic, and PCk = Proto-Chuukic.

showing that this is a much more recent development.

(2.13)	a.	PAn *Sikan	→ PMc *ika, ika-na-	→ [ˈiː.xe̞] ‘fish’
	b.	PAn *i-aku	→ PMc *i	→ [iː] 1SG
	c.	PAn *Rumaq	→ PMc *imʷa	→ [ˈiː.mʷe̞] ‘house’
	d.	PAn ??	→ PMc *afaŋi	→ [i.jə.ˈfaŋe̞] ‘North’
	e.	PMP *sai	→ PMc *tau	→ [iː.ˈtœʉ] ‘who’
	f.	PAn ??	→ PMc *aúrú	→ [iː.ˈjœʉ.ɾe̞] ‘south’
	g.	PAn ??	→ PCk *irae	→ [iː.ˈɾa] ‘stick’
	h.	POc *isa	→ PMc *iSa, aSa	→ [ˈiː.ɾe̞] 3PL.EMPH
	i.	POc *buRu (?)	→ PMc *wuku	→ [ˈuː.xu̞] ‘(to) blow’
	j.	PAn *qumwaŋ	→ PMc *wumʷa	→ [uːˈmʷa.ne̞] ‘hermit crab’
	k.	PAn ??	→ PPC *wuru	→ [ˈuː.ɾe̞] ‘(to) play’
	l.	POc *puaq (?)	→ PMc *wuaa	→ [uːˈwa.ɾe̞] ‘fruit, flower’
	m.	POc *wane wane	→ PCk *wene	→ [uːˈwe.ɾe̞] ‘straight’
	n.	PAn ??	→ PWMc *wiy[ae]	→ [uːˈwi] ‘(to be) fat’

Thus, while Woleaian (and other Chuukic languages) word-initial vowels are more restricted than in other Oceanic groups such as Polynesian languages (Blust 2013b), it is not unusual within the (sub-)family to have at least a number of permissible word-initial vowels. However, word-initial /w/ in Woleaian seems to be a more recent development, making it stand out amongst its peers.

2.3.1 Syllable structure

Woleaian has six syllable types: V, CV, CVV and the infrequent CVC, as well as the consonant-initial syllables CCV and CCVC that are the result of morphological operations. In the V and CV syllable type the vowel can be either short or long, but there is no phonemic distinction between the two, and long vowels only occur as a result of the minimal word constraint (discussed below). A syllable containing a diphthong is analyzed as being of the CVV type. CVC syllables only occur utterance-finally in the few instances where words do not end in a devoiced utterance-final vowel. As mentioned above, only a few consonants, /mʷ, ŋ, ʃ, t͡ʃ/, may occur in coda position, and in turn coda positions only occur word-finally. Additionally, if the coda consonant is not utterance-final an echo vowel, primarily schwa [ə], is inserted, and the coda consonant is resyllabified to be in the onset of the echo vowel syllable (see Section 2.3.3 below for a discussion of utterance-final phonotactics). The CCV and CCVC syllable types occur only for geminates (discussed in Section 2.1.1.6) and primarily occur in word-initial position. Geminates exclusively occur in onsets, and word-medial geminates are not resyllabified. Underlying /ɾ(V)ɾV/ is realized as [nV] with the deletion of the first vowel if present. There are no instances of CCVV syllables in the data.

	Phonetic	Underlying	Orthography	Gloss
V	[iː]	/i/	*ie*	3SG.EMPH
	[iˈfa]	/ifa/	*ifa*	‘which, where’
CV	[ɾʉː]	/ɾʉ/	*liu*	‘coconut (palm)’
	[ˈɾo.xe̯]	/ɾoxe/	*loge*	‘stay, reside, exist’
	[ˈʃa.ne̯]	/ʃaɾʉ-ɾe/	*shane*	‘water of’
CVV	[faʉ]	/faʉ/	*faiu*	‘rock’
	[ˈtou.ɾɛ.pe̯]	/touɾape/	*toulape*	‘many, much’
CVC	[bʷɛːʃ]	/beʃ/	*besh*	‘hot, white’
CCV	[ˈtːæ.e̯]	/t-taɾe/	*ttale*	‘(to) throw (continuously)’
	[ˈfːa.xo̯]	/f-fago/	*ffago*	‘(to) love (continuously)’
	[ˈkːʉ]	/kːʉ/	*kkiu*	‘fingernail’
	[ˈɾi.kːɔ]	/ɾikːɔ/	*likkoa~likoa*	‘baby’
CCVC	[kːɛʂ]	/k-kel/	*kkel*	‘(to) dig (continuously)’

Table 2.18: Syllable types.

Woleaian does not allow any non-identical consonant clusters, neither phonologically nor phonetically. Loanwords with clusters are integrated with intervening vowels breaking up the clusters (chiefly /e/). However, with recent increase in English bilingualism, some newer loans are produced with clusters intact by younger speakers. This does not seem to affect older, more integrated loanwords from English, although I have not carried any formal experimentation on this phenomenon.

2.3.2 Phonological word formation

Woleaian has a minimal phonological word constraint where each word must contain at least two morae. Syllable codae and devoiced vowels (see Section 2.3.3) do not count as morae in Woleaian, which in other words means that the minimal phonological word in Woleaian requires at least two voiced vowel ‘lengths’. These can consist of two adjacent or non-adjacent vowels, a diphthong, or a lengthened vowel. As there is no phonemic vowel length, the latter strategy is employed when a word in isolation underlyingly does not adhere to the minimal word constraint. Note that these lengthened vowels only occur in words in isolation, and the corresponding vowel is realized with regular length when the word is uttered in context (e.g., a possessive form or within a clause/sentence).

(2.14) a. **V_1CV_2** /maɾʉxe/ → [mæ.ˈɾʉ.xe̯] ‘chicken’
b. **Diphthong** /soumʷe/ → [ˈsoʊ̯.mʷe̯] ‘(one) bunch of fruit’
c. **V:** /faʃe/ → [ˈfaˤː.ʃe̯] ‘pandanus’

A second constraint on word formation is word-initial phonemes: Whereas all consonants can occur word-initially, only the vowels /i, u/ can occur in this position. The one exception in

the data to this is [eija] *eiya*, which is an affirmative interjection (see Section 6.5), and its atypical status as a one-word sentence makes it less surprising that it does not adhere to word formation constraints. As mentioned in Section 2.1.1.5 above, this constraint is still mostly productive, with [j] or [w] prothesis taking place for borrowed words starting with a disallowed front or back vowel, respectively. In my impressionistic observations, the presence of the prothetic approximants in loanwords seems to decline as a speaker is more fluent in English, resulting in a continuum of free variation, as shown in (2.15).

(2.15) /ɛɹik/ → [ˈjɛ.ɹɪk]~[ˈɛ.ɹɪk] 'Eric'

In some loans, however, words seem to be invariably realized without prothetic approximants, such as in (2.16)

(2.16) /aisbok͡s/ → [ais(ə)bok͡s(ə̰)] 'icebox'

As can be seen, these words generally disregard Woleaian word formation restrictions and introduce novel phonemes. On the other hand, however, prothesis still takes place in some cases even in highly proficient English speakers, e.g., (2.17).

(2.17) /ɛɹpoɹt/ → [ˈjɛɹ.poɹt] 'airport'

Many lexical words in Woleaian are di- and trisyllabic, typical of Austronesian languages (Blust 2013b, 233). However, Woleaian also has a sizeable number of larger words. Some synchronically monolexemic words are hexasyllabic, but there is also a number of lexicalized compounds, reduplicated forms, or noun phrases that are penta- or even hexasyllabic. These word forms also appear in what may be considered the basic lexicon. The vast majority of these words are nouns, although they occur in the verbal domain as well.[18] Table 2.19 below gives some examples of these words, the elements they consist of, and their semantically corresponding proto-Micronesian forms.

Many of the words with a high number of syllables are still analyzable as their component parts by speakers, but not all. Additionally, the semantics of these words are not always predictable and they are not viewed as compounds but as monolexemic forms by speakers, showing that these have been lexicalized for some time. As shown in Table 2.19, some of these longer forms are also interjections that stem from lexicalized phrases – e.g., *faalepeshemwe* 'please (lit. under your feet)' and *gashigeshige* 'thank [you] (lit. [you] have tired [yourself])'. Additionally, there are

18. Note that the boundary between nouns and verb is fuzzy in Woleaian. For the definition of 'noun' and 'verb' used in this grammar, see Chapter 3.

19. Exact meaning unknown, although it does show up in other semantically related words, such as *iulelyaawe* 'beard' (with *yaawe* 'mouth'), and *iuliufile* 'pluck'.

20. This form has no synchronic meaning by itself.

21. Bender et al. (2003a, 51) gives the definition 'living creature of land or air', which corresponds to Woleaian 'maaliu' 'animal', and do not give a form for 'bird' as a category by itself. This shows that this categorization is generally Micronesian, and emphasizes that generalized categories of (natural) environment are not universal.

22. Probably Conspicuous sea cucumber*Opheodesoma Spectabilis*.

Phon. form	Gloss	Elements	Proto-Micronesian
[ˌjʉ.ɾə.ɾi.ˈmɛ.ɾ̰ų]	*iulelimaaliu* ‘feather’	*iulel(i)* ?[19] *maaliu* ‘animal’	*una ‘feather’
[xa.ˌɾa.wə.ˈɾa.wę̰]	*garawerawe* ‘blue, green’	*ga-* CAUS *rawe*[20]	*ma-rawa ‘green, blue’
[ˌfa.ɾə.pə.ˈʃæ.mʷę̰]	*faalepeshemwe* ‘please’	*faa-* ‘bottom’ *-le* 3SG.POSS *peshe-* ‘leg, foot’ *-mw* 2SG.POSS	?
[xa.ˌsu.bə.ˈɾa.ɾa]	*gasuberara* ‘spider’	*gasub* ‘creator’ *rara* ‘web’	*[sS]aa(-i-) ‘(to) weave a net’
[xa.ˌʃi.ɣə.ˈʃi.xę̰]	*gashigeshige* ‘thank [you]’	*ga-* CAUS *shige* ‘(to be) tired	?
[mɯ̈.ɾʉ.ˌja.ɾi.ˈjeː.ɾ̰ę̰]	*maliuyaliyele* ‘bird’	*maaliu* ‘animal’ *yaaliu* ‘(to) fly’ (?) *yeele* PROX	*manu ‘animal’[21]
[ɾi.ˌmɛ.te.ɾ̲i.jə.ˈnai]	*limateriyanai* ‘anemone’	*li=* ‘in’ *materiyanai* ?	?
[ta.ni.ˌwa.ɾə.ˈjo.ɾ̰ę̰]	*taniwaaleyoole* ‘sea cucumber (sp.)’[22]	*taale* ‘rope’ *-le* 3SG.POSS *waa* ‘canoe’ *-le* 3SG.POSS *Yoole* ‘mythical figure’	*tali ‘rope’ *waxa ‘canoe’
[ta.ɾ̲ə.ˌbʷœ.ɾʉ.ˈbʷœ.ɾ̰ų]	*tarebeoliubeoliu* ‘dirty’	*tare* ‘completely’ *beoliu* ‘dirt’	*pʷelu ‘dirt, soil’

Table 2.19: Examples of words with a syllable size larger than three. Proto-Micronesian forms from Bender et al. (2003a).

words that are rooted in oral tradition and environmental observations, such as *taniwaaleyoole* ‘Conspicuous Sea Cucumber (lit. Yoole’s canoe rope)’ and *sini yangiletowe* ‘jellyfish (lit. Mother of the western wind)’. The former refers to the story where the mythical figure Yoole cut up the ropes of his canoe into pieces, which each piece of rope turning into a sea cucumber. The latter refers to the fact that jellyfish show up in large numbers when the wind blows from the west.

2.3.3 Utterance-final devoicing

Woleaian is as far as is currently known the only Micronesian language that has kept its word-final vowels at the end of utterances. Following well-established conventions on naturalistic discourse units (e.g., Chafe 1987, 1993; Croft 2007) utterances are defined here as intonation units bordered on either sides by pauses, which may or may not form complete grammatical structures, thus also

including single words said in isolation. For further details on the definition of utterances, see Chapter 9.2. The vowels that are targeted by this process, i.e., all unstressed vowels at the right edge of an utterance with a few conditioned exceptions, are referred to as 'devoicible' here to distinguish them from vowels in other positions.

Since unstressed vowels in Woleaian, and more generally, are more prone to general reduction (Rietveld and Koopmans-van Beinum 1987, 218), it is not surprising that the utterance-final devoicing, here also taken as a reduction process (cf. Vogel 2022), targets unstressed vowels. I will return to the interaction of utterance-final devoicing and stress below.

While I refer to it as devoicing here and throughout this grammar, the actual realization of the vowels varies between voiceless and silent, i.e., produced with air flow egression or phonologically soundless articulation where the articulators are put in their respective positions but no air flow takes place (Gick et al. 2012). The latter produces no acoustic output while the active and passive articulators are in contact (Watson et al. 2025), and is thus only visible due to the shape of the lips.[23] One speaker who served as a language consultant even produced a minimal amount of voicing of some of the vowels while doing a word list. The only vowel that never occurs devoiced is /a/, which always surfaces as [a]. The exact phonetic analysis of these vowels is beyond the scope of this grammar and is currently left up to future research.

Woleaian utterance-final vowels can thus be realized as 1. voiced, 2. partially voiced, 3. voiceless, and 4. silent. The first realization is conditioned by phonological factors such as the presence of a diphthong, reduplicated monosyllables or rare exceptions (see below) and are therefore not devoicible. The other three realizations represent the acoustic variation found within the devoicible vowels.

(2.18) $\mathrm{V} \rightarrow \underset{\circ}{\mathrm{V}}$ / _#$_{\text{utterance}}$

While vowel devoicing and voiceless vowels are not uncommon in the world's languages (Vogel 2022, 1–2), silent vowels are exceedingly rare, only having been reported for a handful of languages worldwide (Watson et al. 2025, 477–8) and to my knowledge have not yet been reported for any Austronesian language.

That being said, the vast majority of Woleaian words end in a vowel. This vowel surfaces as its regular form (including reduced forms) when utterance-medial, i.e., when there is a word that follows this vowel. When a vowel-final word is followed by a vowel-initial word, the final vowel is generally highly reduced and sometimes fully omitted when the following word begins in a vowel, as in (2.19).

23. As mentioned above, this is currently being studied using ultrasound by the DLPHI research team and myself.

(2.19) a. /ixe mase/ → [i.ɣə.ˈmɛ.sɐ̯] ‘dead fish’
b. /je mase ixe ɾaɾe/ → [je.ˌmɛ.si.ɣə.ˈɾa.ɾɐ̯] ‘that fish is dead’

When a word ends in a diphthong both vowels remain voiced, with the second vowel being shortened, as is regular in Woleaian diphthongs, e.g., [xa.ˈpeɪ̯.peɪ̯] /xapeipei/ *gapeipei* ‘large piece of driftwood’. If a word is a fully reduplicated monosyllable, whether lexicalized or not, the final vowel also remains voiced (2.20).

(2.20) a. /fifi/ → [ˈfi.fi] ‘(to) squeeze’
b. /xoxo/ → [ˈxo.ɣo] ‘(to) use, make’

If the reduplicated form is more than one syllable, the final vowel is regularly devoicible. Lastly, if a word consists only of a single V or CV syllable, this vowel is not devoicible and surfaces (as well as lengthens) to adhere to the minimal phonological word constraint (see Section 2.3.2).

If a devoicible vowel is realized as silent, it is only distinguishable visually by listeners through the shape of the mouth: back and central vowels are distinguished from front vowels by roundedness, as the former are all rounded and the latter unrounded. Furthermore, [i̥] is distinguishable from the other front vowels via the raising of the corners of the mouth. Lastly, the devoiced vowels often (and virtually always for front vowels) surface as [ə] when in context. Considering this, phonetic transcription will use [i̥], [u̥] and [ɐ̯] to represent the utterance-final devoiced vowels, based on realization (i.e., mouth shape).

A very preliminary study (22 words with 66 tokens total) shows that the devoicible vowels are highly centralized, and that the pre-final (i.e., the last voiced vowel) does not significantly influence the quality of the final devoiced vowel. At least the former impression seems to hold up statistically as well at least in a similar dataset (Liotta 2023). While a large-scale quantitative investigation of the exact quality of utterance-final devoicible vowels is beyond the scope of this dissertation, I take at least a degree of neutralization into account here. However, in order to signal at least the visual difference between the vowels, I continue to use the tripartite transcription. A project studying the devoiced vowels phonetically, including using ultrasound imaging, has started as a collaboration between the DLPHI project (NSF #2421485, PIs Bradley McDonnell, Gary Holton, Andrew Cheng, Shelece Easterday, Leah Pappas) and myself, and will provide more detailed insights into the phonetic and articulatory nature of the utterance-final devoiced vowels.

As mentioned above, there are some words that end in a fully voiced vowel that cannot be targeted by devoicing. These are most likely the results of historical quirks, such as that words that have a surfacing word-final vowel are the result of a historical or underlying (unknown) subsequent vowel. Additionally, these could be older loanwords from mostly unidentified (probably Austronesian) sources, as they also often exhibit atypical stress (see Section 2.4. I will return to both of these points below. Also note that there are some forms that may seem likely they are

	Phonetic	Underlying	Gloss
Devoiced			
	[ˈʉːˌɾe̥]	/ʉɾe/	*iule* ‘(to) drink’
	[iˈjœʉˌɾe̥]	/ijœʉɾe/	*iyeoiure* ‘south’
	[ˌxʉˌɾəˈɣaˌxe̥]	/xʉɾexaxe/	*giuregage* ‘black noddy’ (*Anous Minutus*)
Diphthong			
	[ɾuˈwou̯]	/ɾuwou/	*ruwou* ‘two’
	[paʉ̯]	/paʉ/	*paiu* ‘arm, hand’
	[feɪ̯]	/fai/	*faai* ‘manta ray’ (*Mobula sp.*)
Reduplicated			
	[ˈʃiˌʃi]	/ʃiʃi/	*shishi* ‘fern sp.’ (*Microsorum sp.*)
	[ˈkœˌkœ]	/kœkœ/	*keokeo* ‘(to) crow’ (onomatopoeic)
	[ˈxoˌɣo]	/xoxo/	*gogo* ‘(to) use [s.th.]’
	[ˌɾaˌɣəˈɾaˌxe̥]	/ɾaxeɾaxe/	*lagelage* ‘bracelet’
	[ˌbʷɛˌʃəˈbʷɛʃ]	/beʃbeʃ/	*beshebesh* ‘white’
V/CV Monosyllable			
	[iː]	/i/	*ie* 3SG.EMPH
	[waː]	/wa/	*waa* ‘canoe’
	[ɾʉː]	/ɾʉ/	*liu* ‘coconut (fruit, tree)’
Irregularly voiced			
	[fiˈta]	/fita/	*fita* ‘to fish’
	[ˈsiːˌɾo]	/siɾo/	*siilo* ‘pig’

Table 2.20: Word-final vowels.

irregularly voiced, which are the result of (historical) morphological complexity. For example the form [fiˈti] *fiti* ‘spouse’ stems from the verb *fiti* ‘(to) accompany, (to) marry’ plus transitivizer *=i* TRR. The term has subsequently lexified into its current meaning, existing alongside the original verb.

(2.21) a. /siɾo/ → [ˈsiːˌɾo] ‘pig’
b. /siɾe/ → [ˈsiːˌɾe] ‘mother’
c. /weri/ → [ˈweˌɾi] ‘(to) see (s.th.)’
d. /were/ → [ˈweˌɾe̥] ‘(to be) shiny, bright’

The vast majority of words that have a non-devoicible vowel have stress placed on this vowel, e.g., [fiˈta] /fita/ *fita* ‘(to) fish’. It may seem that that stress for utterance-final words is actually placed on the right-most voiced vowel for these words, but stress does not shift and remains on the ultimate syllable outside of this utterance-final context. Therefore, it is more likely that the utterance-final devoicing cannot target stressed vowels, which I will return to below.

Additionally, I have found two words that have both a voiced vowel utterance-finally as well as penultimate stress (*weri* ‘(to) see’ and *siilo* ‘pig’ in 2.19). These seem to be exceptions that are possibly the result of either fossilized morphology (for example the valency-increasing morpheme *=i* TRR), or potential loanwords. This does mean that stress is lexically determined, albeit with an overwhelmingly penultimate, at least for words that occur with voiced vowels utterance-finally (see Section 2.4).

Another analysis for the occurrence of utterance-final voiced vowels could be that these voiced vowels are part of a word-final vowel sequence, i.e., a CV syllable followed by a V syllable. Following the regular rules of utterance-final devoicing, this hypothetical second vowel should surface when the word is placed in context. However, we find that there is no surfacing of vowels or change in vowel quality when a word with a final voiced vowel is placed into context. Additionally, evidence from diphthongs suggests that it could be more likely for both vowels to surface if this were the case, although the difference in status of a diphthong and a vowel sequence cannot rule out a phonotactic difference. It could be the case that there was a vowel sequence historically, but that the second vowel, or even an entire syllable, was truly deleted, resulting in these atypical forms.

An additional hypothesis is that, for words with a non-devoicible final vowel as well as ultimate stress, the stress is what makes the vowel resist devoicing. Both syllable and prosodic stress have been widely shown to be inversely correlated to reduction (e.g., Rietveld and Koopmans-van Beinum 1987; Van Son and Santen 1997, and references therein), as well as devoicing specifically (Vogel 2022, 71)

Some evidence for this lies in the small number of reconstructed Proto-Micronesian forms for the words that end in a voiced vowel (Table 2.21).

Phonetic	**Gloss**	**Proto-Micronesian**
[iˈfa]	*ifa* ‘which’	*-faa
[xʉˈɾa]	*giula* ‘(to) know’	*kila, kila-a, kila-i
[mɛˈta]	*meta* ‘what’	*-Saa, mee-Saa
[ˈmɔ.ŋo]	*mongo* ‘(to) eat’	*mʷaŋau
[ˈsa.ɾi]	*sari* ‘child’	*tari
[u.ˈɣuː]	*uguu* ‘(to) blow’	*wuku, wuuku

Table 2.21: Woleaian words that end in a word-final vowel and their corresponding proto-Micronesian forms. Proto-Micronesian forms are from Bender et al. (2003a).

With this small list of proto-Micronesian reconstructions, the hypothesis that word-final voiced vowels may be the result of the historical deletion of a vowel, as well as the hypothesis that stressed vowels resist devoicing gain more ground. In fact, the cases that have synchronically stressed final vowels, this is the result of historical processes of vowel sequence reduction,

leading to ultimate stress on these forms. The resulting final (stressed) vowel is subsequently not targetable by utterance-final reduction. However, there are still some forms that cannot be explained by these processes: *sari* in Table (2.21 has penultimate stress and is not reconstructed with a word-final vowel sequence, but still has a word-final voiced vowel that is (thus) not targetable by utterance-final devoicing, and is therefore not explained by the hyptoheses laid out above.

If more proto-Micronesian forms are reconstructed, an extended pattern may be detected, leading to a more full-fledged analysis. At this time, it seems most likely that the Woleaian words that end in a voiced final vowel are the result of a combination of factors: Historical development, (partly) lexical stress, and simply unpredictable linguistic quirks.

On the other end of the spectrum of word-final sounds are the consonants. While the overwhelming majority of Woleaian words end in a vowel, whether voiced or devoiced, a number of words have been identified that do actually end in a consonant. This is detectable by closure of the mouth at the word-end, meaning that the usual markers of a (devoiced) word-final vowel, i.e., lip movement and air egression, are not present. Words that are consonant-final are in some cases written as such, but in others are written with a <e>, the latter most likely to reflect the schwa [ə] being inserted when the word is uttered in context, or simply out of orthographic convention.

Phonetic	**Underlying**	**Gloss**
[mʷɔ.ʃə.ˈmoːʃ]	/moʃmoʃ/	*moshemooshe* ‘(to be) short’
[fa.ɻ̟ə.ˈmɔʃ]	/faɻ̟emoʃ/	*faremoshe* ‘(to be) long’
[mau.ˈwæʃ]	/mauweʃ/	*mauwesh* ‘dear, please’
[mæ.ɾʉ.ˈpæʃ]	/maɾʉpaʃ/	*Maliupesh* ‘name of trickster’
[mʷaʃ]	/mʷaʃ/	*mwash* ‘just’
[bʷæʃ]	/beʃ/	*besh* ‘(to be) hot, white’
[xaˠːŋ]	/xaŋ/	*gaangi* 1SG.EMPH
[siˑˈtiŋ]	/sitiŋ/	*Siting* ‘name of islet’
[ɾoŋ]	/ɾoŋ/	*long* ‘in, inwards’
[boŋ]	/boŋ/	*bong* ‘night’
[pʷʉŋ]	/pʉŋ/	*pwiung* ‘(to) fall’
[paːˑˈŋaʃ]	/paŋaʃ/	*pangashe* ‘all-1PL.INCL.POSS’
[xəːɻ̟]	/xeɾ/	*geele* 2SG.EMPH
[sɔˑˈɻ̟oɻ̟]	/soɻ̟oɾ/	*Sorol* ‘name of atoll’
[mʷaˠːɻ̟]	/mʷaɾ/	*mwaale* ‘male person’[24]
[məˑˈɻ̟am]	/meɻ̟am/	*meram* ‘moon, month’
[ˈxa.məm]	/xamam/	*gamem* 1PL.EXCL.EMPH
[iˑˈtɔmʷ]	/ite-mʷ/	*itomw* ‘name-2SG.POSS’
[mæ.ɾiˑˈkæn]	/maɾiken/	*maliken* ‘American, white person’

Table 2.22: Word-final consonants.

To emphasize the rarity of word-final consonant, Table 2.22 gives a relatively exhaustive overview of cases of words that invariably end in a consonant (utterance-finally) found in the data at the time of writing. This is based both on a corpus overview and close phonetic analysis of several word lists in Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2024). Note that utterance-medial consonant-final words will have have the vowel [ə] inserted in cases where the following word starts in a consonant, or if the form is reduplicated, as both of these instances result in a disallowed consonant sequence. Note also that orthography is not necessarily a straightforward diagnostic for detecting consonant-final words. Besides the large amount of variation in orthography between and within speakers, there are certain words that are consistently or most frequently written as consonant-final, that show a regular vowel release. For example, Figure 2.1 shows a spectrogram for the word *tamol* 'chief', which is usually spelled without a final vowel. Conversely, Figure 2.2 shows a spectrogram for *nifale* 'in the men's house', which is consistently spelled with final vowel <e>. Both spectrograms show a clear voiceless vowel release, although they are of differing qualities. I suspect that the difference in vowel quality may be caused by the preceding (voiced) vowel, i.e., that they are echo vowels (Lin 2014), but a structured study of this is beyond the current scope of this dissertation.

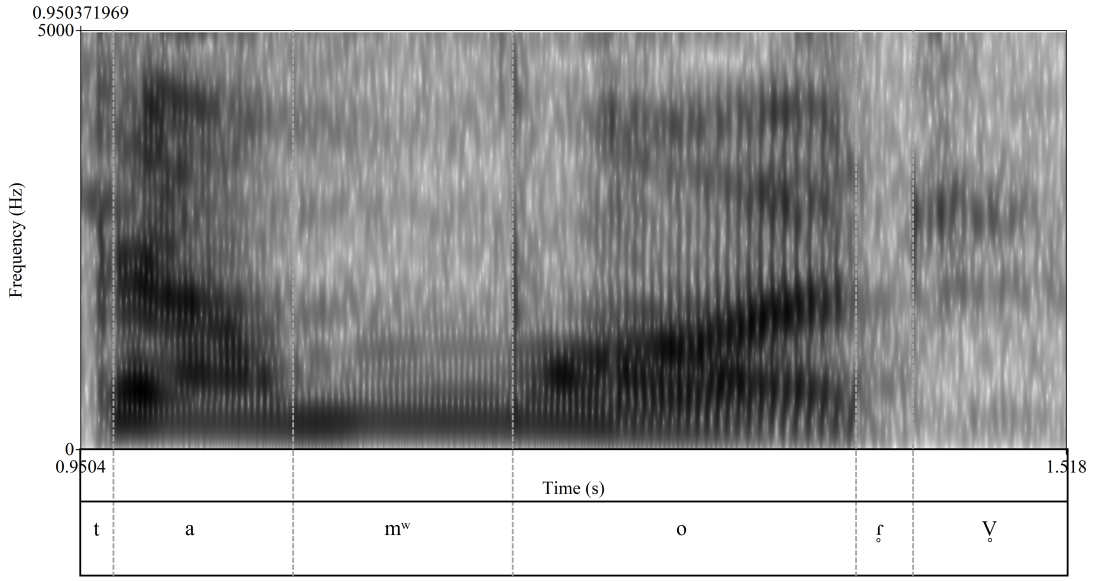

Figure 2.1: Spectrogram representation of *tamol* 'chief' (Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 89).

24. Also used as a pronoun in cases where gender needs to be specified.

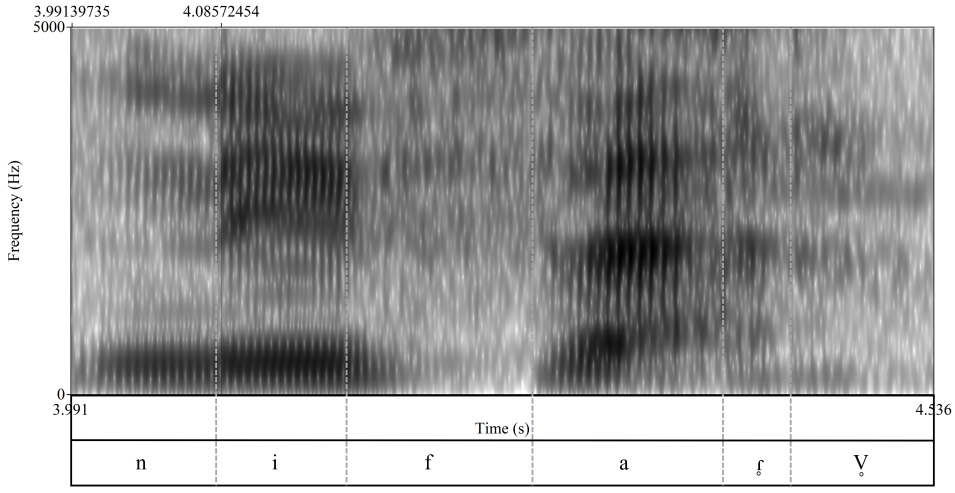

Figure 2.2: Spectrogram representation of *nifale* ‘in the men’s house’ (Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 51).

The opposite also occurs, shown by a number of forms in Table 2.22 that are written with final vowels, but consistently occur without a detectable vowel utterance-finally. Note that this vowel is invariably <e>, meaning that this may be a placeholder representation of the epenthetic vowel that is used when these forms occur in context.

Besides this, four observations about consonant-final words can be made: first, it seems that that only a subset of consonants, /m, mʷ, ŋ, ʃ, ɾ/, occur word-finally. A potential reasoning for this is that this is determined by the phonetic qualities of these consonants, i.e., sonorants/fricatives, but this does not explain why other consonants that share these qualities, e.g., /f, w, x/ and notably /n/ (with the exception of one loanword, *spuune* ‘spoon’) and /s/, do not occur as final consonants. An ultrasound analysis of these potential word-final consonants is planned to be carried out in 2025. Second, a vowel, [ə], is invariably inserted after the final consonant when it occurs in context. Thirdly, in some words it seems that presence or absence of a vowel is in free variation when occurring in isolation/utterance-finally. This variation occurs mostly between speakers, but also occurs for within a single speaker. Finally, /mʷ, ŋ, ʃ, t͡ʃ/ occur as their underlying form word-finally, but /ɾ/ and /ɾ̥/ surface devoiced, both word-finally (as well as before a devoiced vowel, see Section 2.1.1.3). The occurrences and distribution of vowel-final versus consonant-final word forms is beyond the scope of this dissertation and is left up to future research. Additionally, the actual realization of the utterance-final vowels is planned to be studied using ultrasound imaging by a number of researchers, including myself.

2.3.4 Reduplication

Reduplication is a common derivational strategy in Woleaian. Woleaian uses both partial and full reduplication: Partial reduplication only occurs in the verbal domain and has grammatical function of forming a progressive (including iterative and repetitive) or a comparative, whereas full reduplication occurs both in the verbal and nominal domain, and functions to indicate semantics that are closely related to the base form, but is either more specific, more broad, or laterally related. This section deals with the phonotactical aspects of reduplication; the non-phonological aspects of verbal reduplication are discussed in Section 5.5 and of nominal reduplication in Section 4.1.5.

Full reduplication is, as the term implies, the complete repetition of a base form. This includes all consonants and vowels, all of which retain the same structure in the reduplication. The reduplicated form is then usually treated phonologically as a single form, meaning that processes such as unstressed vowel reduction and the voicing of [x] occur regularly. Note that a number of forms that formally look like they are reduplicated do not have an unreduplicated counterpart. This can be the result of linguistic change, such as *garawerawe* ‘(to be) blue/green’ (< PMc *ma-rawe), or of other processes such as onomatopoeia, e.g., *keokeo* ‘(to) crow’.

Phonetic	Underlying	Gloss
[ˈɾo.ŋɐ̯]	/ɾoŋe/	*ronge* ‘(to be) knowledgeable’
[ˌɾɔ.ŋəˈɾo.ŋɐ̯]	/ɾoŋeɾoŋe/	*rongeronge* ‘(to) hear, listen’
[ˈwe.ɾɐ̯]	/weɾe/	*wele* ‘(to be) straight’
[ˌwe.ɾəˈwe.ɾɐ̯]	/weɾeweɾe/	*welewele* ‘(to be) perfectly straight’
[ˈwe.ɾɐ̯]	/weɾe/	*were* ‘(to) shine’
[ˌwe.ɾəˈwe.ɾɐ̯]	/weɾeweɾe/	*werewere* ‘lightning’
[bʷɛːʃ]	/bʷɛʃ/	*besh* ‘(to be) hot, white’
[ˌbʷɛ.ʃəˈbʷɛʃ]	/bʷɛʃbʷɛʃ/	*beshebesh* ‘(to be) white, a white object’

Table 2.23: Full reduplication.

If one of the relatively rare consonant-final words is reduplicated, an epenthetic schwa [ə] breaks up the resulting underlying cluster, following the regular phonological process for these situations. For example, the reduplicated form of [bʷɛʃ] /beʃ/ ‘hot, white’ surfaces as [ˌbʷɛ.ʃəˈbʷɛʃ].

The one exception to reduplicated forms following regular phonological rules, as noted in Section 2.3.3 above, is that if a monosyllabic CV form, which will always have a voiced vowel, is reduplicated, the final vowel remains voiced even though this is no longer necessary to adhere to the minimal phonological word constraint. The only way to differentiate full and partial reduplication of a monosyllabic CV form is whether the base form is verbal (in which case it will almost always be partial reduplication), and the semantics of the reduplicated form. Forms that look like they are reduplicated monosyllabic forms more frequently have no corresponding unreduplicated form than their polysyllabic counterparts.

Phonetic	Underlying	Gloss
[fiː]	/fi/	*fi* '(a) handful'
[ˈfi.fi]	/fifi/	*fifi* '(to) squeeze several times'[25]
[ʃ̟ʉː]	/ʃ̟ʉ/	*shiu* 'bone'
[ˈʃ̟ʉ.ʃ̟ʉ]	/ʃ̟ʉʃ̟ʉ/	*shiushiu* 'piercing, earring'
[ˈxœ.ɣ̞œ]	/xœxœ/	*geogeo* '(to) bind (in cooking)'
[ˈfɒ.fɒ]	/fɒfɒ/	*foafoa* 'large rainbow runner' (*Elagatis bipinnulata)*
[ˈmeɪ̯̂.meɪ̯̂]	/meimei/	*meimei* 'fruit fly' (*Drosophila sp.*)[26]

Table 2.24: Full reduplication of monosyllabic forms.

Partial reduplication means that only the first or last syllable of the base form is reduplicated. Reduplication of the first syllable creates a progressive form, and reduplication of the last syllable only occurs on stative verbs and creates a comparative form. As with full reduplication, the vowel in the reduplicated syllable is often in an unstressed position, and thus surfaces in a reduced form. This reduplication has been observed for CV and VC syllables, but not for V syllables in the data. Partial reduplication for CVC syllables has not been found, as this syllable type only occurs word-finally, and partial final reduplication is very rare. Reduplication can also occur on morphologically complex forms, such as verbs with the causative prefix *ga-*. When it occurs on these forms, it generally occurs on complex forms that are derivational or semantically (unpredictably) different from the simplex form (i.e., on their way to being lexicalized forms). Additionally, the reduplication process itself can be derivational: An initial partially reduplicated stative verb is turned into a (progressive) intransitive verb.

(2.22) a. /ta-taxe/ → [təˈta.xe̞] 'going up(wards)'
b. /ʉɾ̠e-ʉɾ̠e/ → [jʉˈjʉ.ɾ̠e̞] '(to be) dragging (s.th.)'
c. /ɾa-ɾaxo/ → [ɾaˈɾa.xo̞] '(to be) going'
d. /fa-faɾ̠imʷoʃ̟e/ → [fəˌfa.ɾ̠iˈmʷo.ʃ̟e̞] '(to be) growing'
e. /meɾ̠a-ɾ̠a/ → [məˈɾ̠a.ɾ̠a] '(to be) faster'

As shown in 2.22, if the consonant in the base form is voiceless or a glide, there are no changes in quality. However, if the consonant in the base form is voiced, a change in quality takes place: /b/ changes to [p], and /x/ changes to [k] (see 2.23). The consonant that is changed, however, is not the reduplicated consonant, but the consonant on the base form. It could be argued that the reduplicated syllable actually contains the consonant that is devoiced, and is subsequently infixed into the base form, but there is no other evidence that points to this. Thus, this analysis treats the partial reduplication as prefixal, as this process has only been observed for initial partial reduplication. This could be due to a gap in data since, as mentioned, final partial reduplication is

25. cf. *fiyengi* '(to) squeeze'.
26. Most likely *Drosophila melanogaster.*

very rare. In light of a lack of counterarguments the analysis of partial reduplication as prefixal rather than infixal remains relatively uncontroversial.

(2.23) a. /bu-bu-toxe/ → [bu.pu.ˈto.xe̯] ‘(to be) coming’

b. /xe-xebate/ → [xə.kə.ˈbʷa.te̯]‘(to be) shouting’

c. /xa-xa-tewasi/ → [xe.ka.te.ˈwa.sʲi̯](to be) destroying’

Another exception to regular phonotactics occurs with reduplication with word-initial /ɾ/, in which case both instances of the consonant surface as is. The regular rule is that /ɾVɾ/, where the vowel is unstressed and thus reduced, surfaces as [n] (see Section 2.1.1.3 above). This is most likely to distinguish the reduplicated form from the geminated form, the latter surfacing with an expected initial [n] (see Section 2.1.1.6 above). For example, the partially reduplicated form of [ˈɾa.xo̯] /ɾaxo/ *lago* ‘go’ would be expected to be *[naxo̯] if it followed the regular phonological process of /ɾVɾ/ > [n]. However, the partially reduplicated form is [ɾa.ˈɾa.xo̯] /ɾaɾaxo/ *lalago* ‘(to be) going’.[27]

2.3.5 Loanword phonology

As mentioned in Section 1.2 above, there is a number of loanwords from several sources. In order of frequency the loanwords stem from English, Japanese, and Spanish. It can be assumed that (historical) contact with Yapese has also resulted in some loans. However, potential loans are ubiquitous throughout the region. For example, Areca nut and betel leaf, *pwu* and *gabwi* and *buw* and *gabuuy* in Woleaian and Yapese, respectively, have been used (in quid chewing) by both communities for centuries, and thus the direction of borrowing is difficult to determine. Future research into language contact in the region, both between closely and more distantly related languages will shed more light on historical and current contact influences.

The following table gives a brief overview of phonological realizations of loanwords:

27. Although do note that the form [ˌna.xo.ˈra.go̯] /ɾ-ɾaxo ɾaxo/ *nago lago* ‘going (away)’ does occur, but this is the result of a double reduplication, which is discussed further in Section 5.5.

Phonetic	Source	Gloss
[sə.ˈpuːn]	Eng. *spoon*	‘spoon’
[kaːp]	Eng. *cup*	‘cup’
[ˈaɪs.k(ə)ɹiːm]	Eng. *ice cream*	‘ice cream’
[spi.ˈtaːɾ]	Eng. *hospital*	‘hospital’
[spə.ˈkɛːt(i)]	Eng. *spaghetti*	‘spaghetti’
[ˈsan.te]	Eng. *Sunday*	‘Sunday’
[sə.ˈkuːɻ̩]	Eng. *school*	‘school’[28]
[ˈ(j)æ.ɹɪk]	Eng. *Eric*	‘personal name’
[ˈlin.wuːt]	Eng. *Lynwood*[29]	‘personal name’
[ˈs(ə)koː.ki]	Jap. *hikˈōki*	‘airplane’
[ˈs(i)to.sa]	Jap. *jiˈdōsha*	‘car’
[ˈsæm.pai]	Jap *ˈsenpai*	‘teacher’
[ˈɾa.ka.san]	Jap. *rakkaˈsan*	‘parachute’
[ˈu.toŋ]	Jap. *ˈudon*	‘noodle’
[ʧi.ʧi.ˈban.to]	Jap. *chichi bando*[30]	‘bra’
[a.ˈti.jos]	Spa. *adiós*	‘goodbye’
[i.k(ə)ˈɾe.si.ja]	Spa. *iglesia*	‘church’
[ˈte.jus]	Lat. *Deus*	‘God’[31]

Table 2.25: Loanwords.

Loanwords are usually incorporated into Woleaian phonology, although with newer introductions and the rise of English bilingualism, the boundaries between loanwords and code-switching have become more fuzzy. Since stress is partly lexically determined, stress is usually copied from the source language (or most prominent syllable for Japanese pitch accent), but this is not always consistent. Consonant clusters are usually broken up with the insertion of a schwa [ə], but some apparently less problematic clusters have been kept, such as in *prostaan* ‘Bougainvillea’ (from English *Protestant*, as this plant was introduced by Protestant missionaries). The only loanemes that I have detected in the data are [l] and [ɻ] from American English, the former of which only seems to occur in personal names (discussed in Section 2.1.1.3 above). Another phonological feature that is taken from the source languages is word-initial vowels that are not /i/ or /u/, such as [o] or the diphthong [aɪ], which nonetheless remain relatively infrequent and are more likely to be incorporated into the phonology, i.e., realized with epenthetic [j] or [w] (as discussed in Section 2.1.2 above).

28. Also includes college, university, and vocational school (JayTea Tawerimaaliu, pers. comm.).

29. According to the person with this name, it comes from the town of the same name in California

30. Specifically from the Ogasawara dialect, chichi bando itself being a compound from Jap. *chichi* ‘breast’ and Eng. *band* (Naoyuki and Long 2005).

31. Via Spanish through Catholic missionaries

2.4 Stress and Intonation

This section first discusses the found patterns in word-level stress, and then discuss some common utterance-level intonation patterns.

Though it has been claimed in various sources that Woleaian and Micronesian languages more broadly, do not have (easily) detectable lexical stress (e.g., Sohn 1975; Rehg 1993; Himmelmann and Kaufman 2021), I argue that lexical stress in Woleaian is detectable. The main acoustic correlate of stress in Woleaian is pitch: Pitch is higher on the stressed syllable. Therefore, stress in Woleaian could alternatively be characterized as (pitch) accent.[32] Though a thorough quantitative study of the acoustic correlates of stress in Woleaian is beyond the scope of this dissertation, cursory exploration of other common correlates (intensity, F1 and F2, harmonics Sluijter and Van Heuven 1996; Gordon and Roettger 2017) in PRAAT (Boersma and Weenink 2024) seems to show that intensity and harmonics do not seem correlate, whereas F1 and F2 and duration may be correlates.

Additionally, frequent and invariable patterns of vowel reduction in unstressed syllables, described in Section 2.1.2 above, correlate to stress patterns as well, though this is a secondary, resultative, pattern of stress. Through the comparison of differently morphologically complex phonological words, regular stress patterns as well as the stress correlates can be highlighted. For example, by itself *faliuwe* 'island' is realized as [fæ.ˈɾʉ.u̯we], but with the definite marker *we* added, as in 'faliuwe we' 'the island', it is realized as [fæ.ɾʉ.ˈwe.u̯we]. If we subsequently have a form of the phonological that has additional syllables, such as *faliuwe kawe* 'the islands', the realization becomes [fæ.ɾʉ.wəˈka.u̯we], showcasing the retention of the stress position and the regularly reduced vowel in unstressed position (in this case /e/ as [ə]). Though a detailed study of the (possible) interactions between stress, intonation and prosody is beyond the scope of this study, I believe the above described regularly occurring phenomenon gives ample evidence to suppose lexical stress in Woleaian.

Primary stress in Woleaian is regularly penultimate, meaning that it usually falls on the syllable preceding the syllable containing the devoiced vowel.

Phonetic	Underlying	Gloss
[ˈʃaː.ɾu̥]	/ʃaɾʉ/	*shaaliu* 'water'
[ˈiː.te̥]	/ite/	*iite* 'name'
[fi.ˈja.ŋo̥]	/fijaŋo/	*fiyango* 'story'
[tə.ˈtɛ.ɻe̥]	/tetaɾe/	*tetale* '(to) lower, ground'

Table 2.26: Primary stress.

32. Note that intonational patterns supersede stressed syllable pitch differences.

The words that deviate from the regular penultimate stress pattern are those that end in a voiced vowel. In words that end in a word-final voiced vowel, stress is usually placed on this vowel, i.e., the final syllable, e.g., [fi.ˈta] /fita/ *fita* '(to) fish'. However, there are some words with a final voiced vowel where stress does fall on the penultimate syllable, as in [ˈsiː.ɾo] /siɾo/ *silo* 'pig'. I could not find a predictive environment that determines on whether stress falls on the ultimate or penultimate syllable in case of a voiced final vowel in the data. The fact that these voiced vowels are stressed might lend support to a historical presence of a subsequent vowel (or even a syllable) that has since been deleted. Interestingly, none of the forms with word-final voiced vowels and ultimate stress that I examined had cognate reconstructed forms in proto-Micronesian or proto-Oceanic, e.g., *siilo* 'pig' is reconstructed as *boRok in proto-Oceanic. This might be due to the small sample size, as non-reduplicated polysyllabic words with a voiced final single vowel are very rare overall, but it might very well be the case that these words are loans from some other language(s). As stress or accent is generally retained in Woleaian loanwords (see Section 2.3.5 above), this could lead to aberrant stress patterns. In the instance of *siilo* this is even more likely, as many of Woleaian's neighbouring and contact languages have cognate forms that are easily linked to their proto-forms (or loan languages) and seem wholly unrelated to *siilo*, e.g., Yapese *baebiy* (Jensen et al. 1977, 43), Palauan *babíi* (Josephs 1975, 40), Ulithian *pabi* (Aloyz Fong, pers. comm.), Chamorro *babuen* (Topping, Ogo, and Dungca 1975), Pohnpeian *pwihk* (Rehg and Sohl 1979, 85), Mortlockese *piik* (Odango 2015, 142), though note Puluwatese *siilo* (Elbert 1972, 168) and Satawalese *siino* (Sauchomal et al. 2018, 218). A possible candidate for source of *siilo* may be Spanish *cerdo*, but this may be somewhat far-fetched. The investigation of the origin of the voiced final vowel words and their stress patterns may be a fruitful avenue of research towards finding some hitherto unknown language contact situation that have resulted in these forms.
All of this notwithstanding, I have found no instances in which stress is contrastive, i.e., different words that are only distinguished in their stress pattern, which is to be expected for a non-Phillippines Austronesian language (Himmelmann and Kaufman 2021, 372). This pattern of non-lexical stress has been reconstructed for at least proto-Micronesian (Rehg 1993) and has been shown to be a prevalent pattern for Austronesian languages in general (Zanten, Stoel, and Remijsen 2010).

As noted in Section 2.3 above, nominal and verbal compounds, reduplicated forms, and nouns/verbs and their added morphology are treated as a single phonological word, and thus follow the stress patterns described above. These forms, and the handful of monolexemic forms with more than three syllables, additionally have secondary stress. Secondary stress is regularly placed on the first CV syllable of the phonological word.

Phonetic	Underlying	Gloss
[ˌti.pəˈnœ.xu̟]	/tipenœxʉ/	*tipeneogiu* ‘(to be) aware’
[ˌfa.ɾi.ˈjɛ.pe̞]	/faɾijape/	*faaliyape* ‘apple’
[ˌmʷa.ʃə.ŋa.ˈte.tɨ]	/mʷaʃeŋateti/	*mwashengateti* ‘seashore’
[i.ˈfa.sə.ˈŋa.ɾe̞]	/ifaseŋaɾe/	*ifasengale* ‘how’

Table 2.27: Secondary stress.

2.4.1 Utterance-level intonation patterns

While a detailed phonological study of prosody and intonation is beyond the scope of this dissertation, I give a preliminary overview of the intonation patterns found in Woleaian here. The patterns here cover utterance-level intonation patterns, which happen to match up relatively neatly to (grammatically) complete clauses.

An exploratory analysis of utterance prosody was done using the Contour Clustering R package (Kaland 2023), which is a tool for automatized data-driven description of intonation patterns. For a more extensive explanation of the methodology and its applications for understudied languages see Hakim (2024, 2025). Note, however, that I use naturalistic speech data from the corpus for this analysis, rather than collecting standardized experimental data.

For monologous discourse, I base my analysis on a sample of 845 utterances: 427 from male speaker JaeTea Tawerimaaliu and 418 from female speaker Christina Laiurelgar. The utterances were grouped into 4 and 6 contour clusters, respectively (see Figures 2.3 and 2.4), based on the lowest weight as given by the evaluation performed by the Contour Clustering tool.

As can be seen in both figures, the vast majority of utterance-level intonation contours are relatively flat with either a lowering contour at the end or a general downdrift in pitch. This contour represents a standard utterance. The intonation contours that have an initial peak (cluster 4 in Figure 2.3; clusters 5 and 6 in Figure 2.4) generally correspond to utterances that contain multiple clauses. Specifically, the initial clause is a short, often single-word, clause containing/consisting of a discourse organizing particle (2.24a), a time clause (2.24b), a demonstrative (2.24c), or an interjection (2.24d). The latter example is in quotative speech, which has a relatively uncommon intonation pattern discussed in more detail in Section 9.2.3.4 below. While this covers a majority of these peak-initial utterance contours, it does not cover all of them: I leave a detailed study of the correlate(s) and/or function(s) of these intonation contours up to future research.

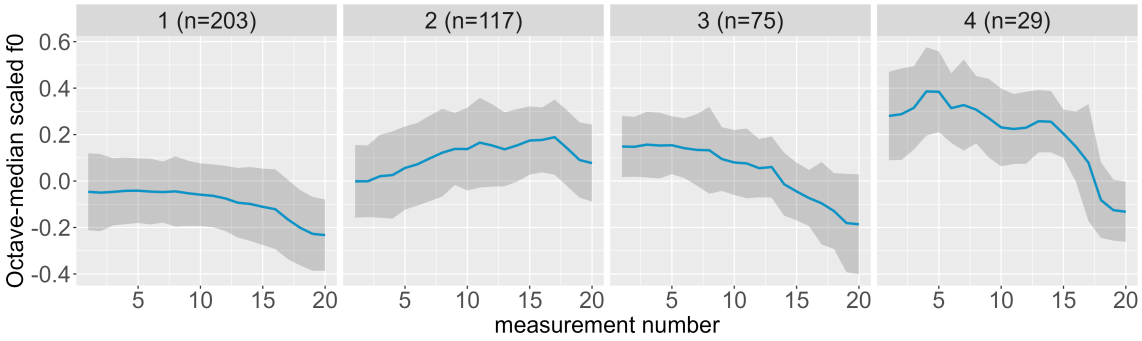

Figure 2.3: Intonation contour clusters for JaeTea Tawerimaaliu.

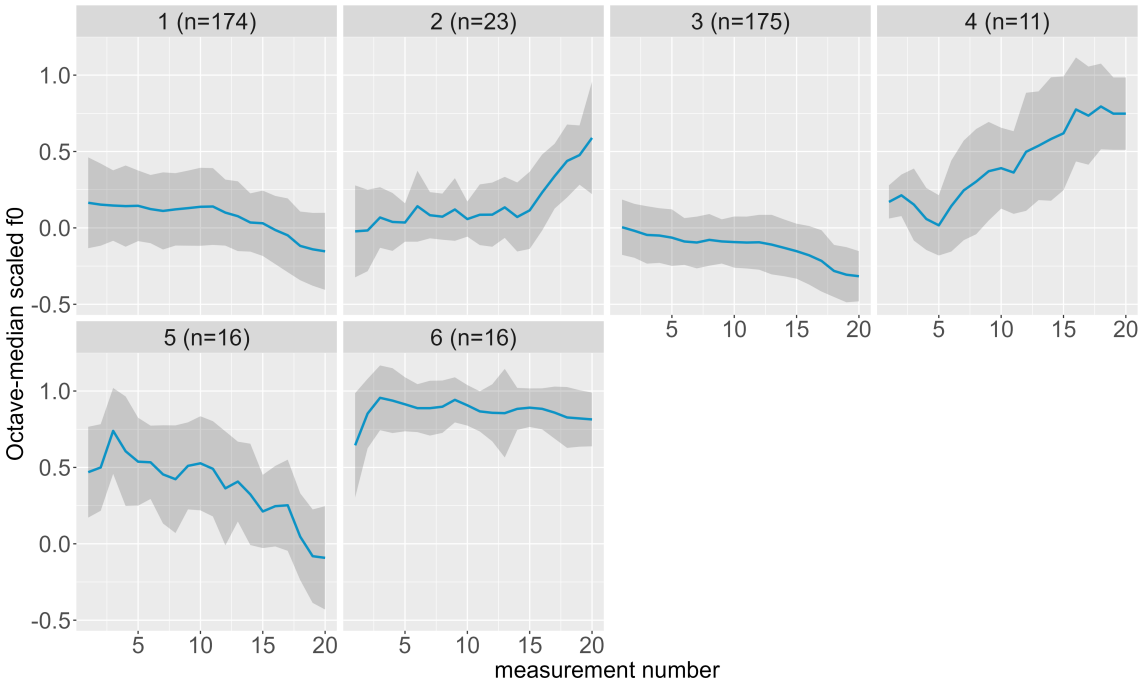

Figure 2.4: Intonation contour clusters for Christina Laiurelgar.

(2.24) a. *Yei ilaale!*
yei i-laale
INJ ANA-DIST
'Hey, there it is!'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 91]

b. *Igela, nge gai loge peigetiwele Weewe.*
igela nge gai=loge peige-tiwe-le Weewe
now CONJ 1PL.EXCL=stay side-down-3SG.POSS Weewe
'Now, we're on the down side of Weewe.'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-240824-01, 7]

c. *Ilaale ie faiu la, seewe faiu mwatera kawe.*
i-laale ie faiu la see-we faiu mwatera ka-we
ANA-DIST 3SG.EMPH rock MED one-DEF rock rice.coral PL-DEF
'Over there is a rock, [they're] rice coral.'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-240824-04, 20]

d. *Yei go giula bwe Maruwa yesa lago lii melewe laiushe?*
yei go=giula bwe Maruwa ye=sa lago lii mele-we laiu-she
INJ 2SG=know SUB.CONN Maruwa 3SG=PFV go kill ANA-DEF child-3SG.POSS
"'Hey, did you know that Maruwa has killed our child?"'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 74]

Figures 2.5 and 2.6 give the spectrogram and the pitch contours for the utterances in (2.24c) and (2.24d), respectively:

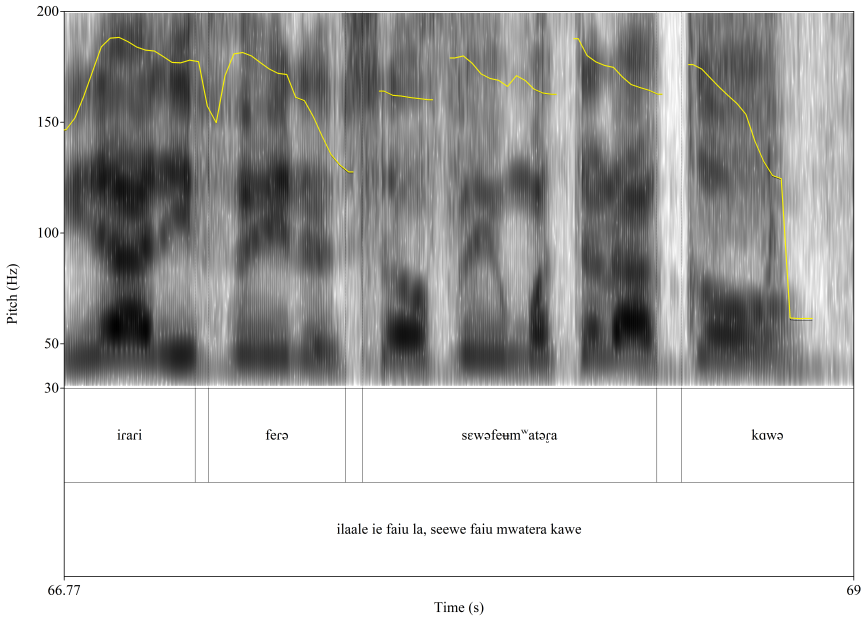

Figure 2.5: Spectrogram and pitch contour for the utterance in (2.24c).

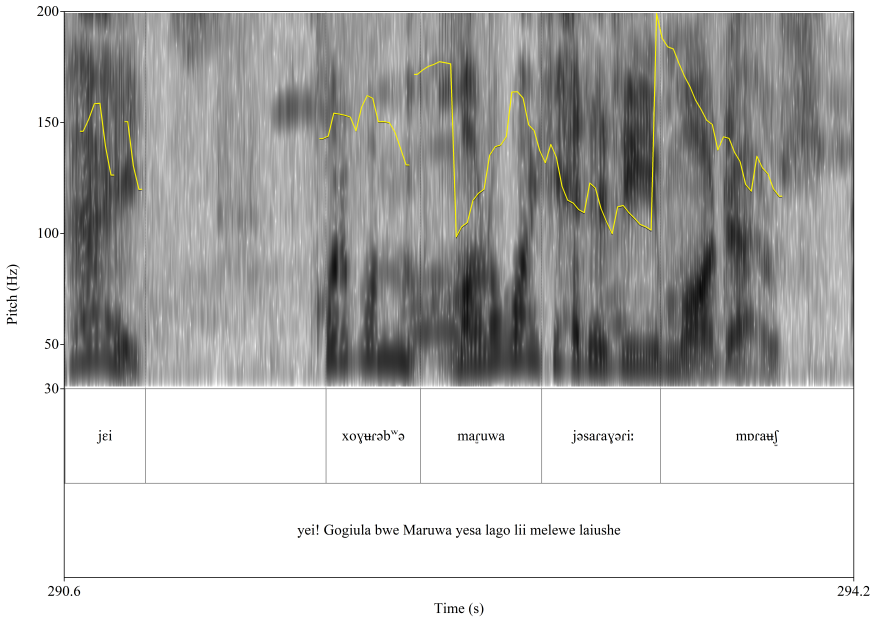

Figure 2.6: Spectrogram and pitch contour for the utterance in (2.24c).

The second most frequent intonation contour after the end-falling standard declarative utterance contour is the end-rising contour, either with a peak just before the utterance edge (contour 2 in Figure 2.3 and contour 4 in 2.4) or fully rising (contour 2 in Figure 2.4). This intonation is used for two types of clauses: the first indicates that a supplementary utterance will follow, which can explicitly linked with a conjunction (2.25), a discourse organizing particle (2.26), or simply juxtaposed. The second is used for a clause mainly used in monologues, in which the intonation falls on a discourse particle *yee*, which indicates a continued action or event (2.27).

(2.25) a. *Tai bale loge ie melewe bugiuwaole bwe yesa bale siu*
tai bale loge ie mele-we bugiuwe-le bwe ye=sa bale siu
NEG also stay 3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF knee-3SG.POSS SUB.CONN 3SG=PFV also stand
'His knee was gone because he was standing again.'

b. *Nge ire regasi shagiu ie siume kawe.*
nge ire re=gasi shagiu ie siume ka-we
CONJ 3PL.EMPH 3PL=took repeat 3SG.EMPH k.o.clam PL-DEF
'And [so] they just took the clams.'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 147-8]

(2.26) a. *Buleoiu gale sibwale gale fitale metale woshe iyange*
buleoiu gale si=bwale gale fita-le meta-le woshe iyange
place HAB 1PL.INCL=also HAB fish-3SG.POSS eye-3SG.POSS reef there
'This is a place where we do drive fishing.'

b. *Ila, sigale…*
ila si=gale
so 1PL.INCL=HAB
'So, we would…[followed by an explanation of fishing technique]'

[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-240824-01, 20-1]

(2.27) *Yesa butoge loge yee*
ye=sa butoge loge yee
3SG=PFV come stay and.so
'He came and stayed…and…'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-2, 60]

For utterance-level intonation patterns in conversational data, I analyzed the data from two speakers in a Man and Tree task (Lenny Saumar and Ignatius Maluchelmar) using the same methodology as above. Since this task consists of fewer and shorter recordings, the total number of utterances is less than the above, 179 utterances from Lenny, and 137 from Ignatius for a total of 316 utterances. The contours for Ignatius and Lenny are given in Figures 2.7 and 2.8, respectively.

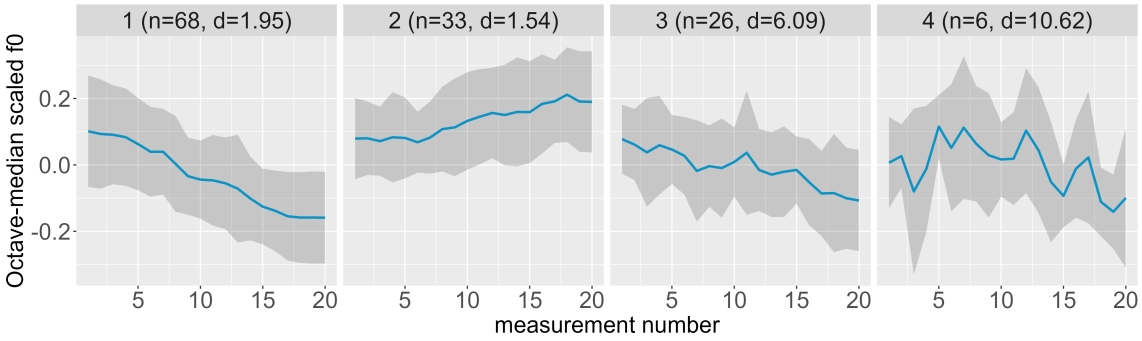

Figure 2.7: Intonation contour clusters for Ignatius Maluchelmar.

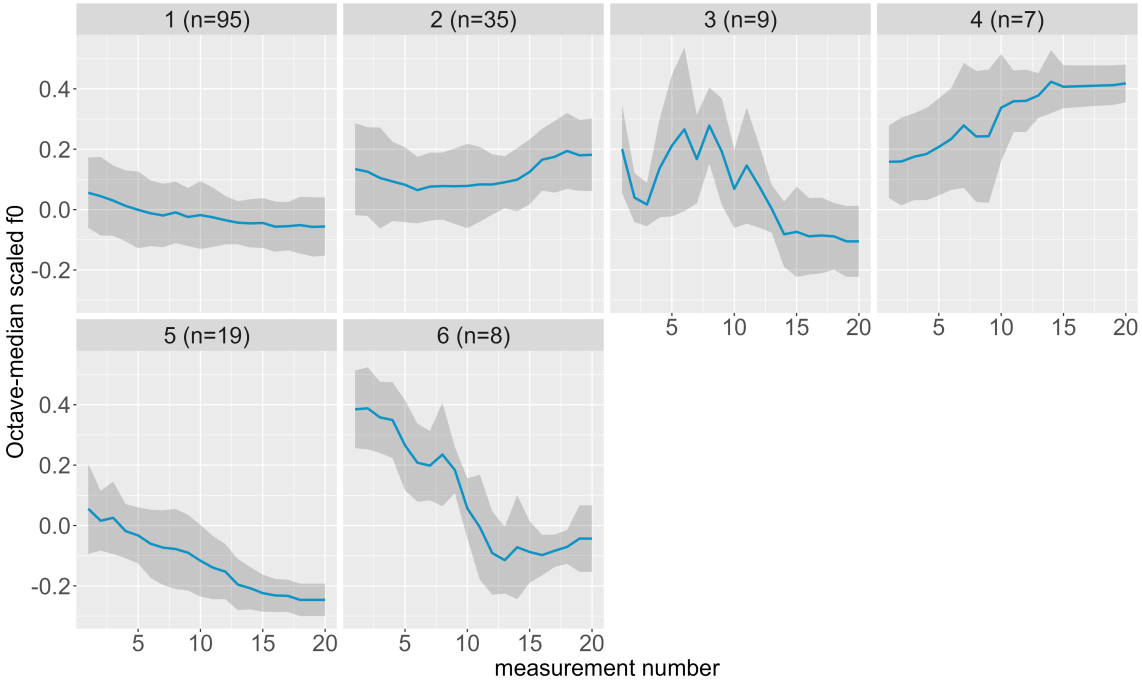

Figure 2.8: Intonation contour clusters for Lenny Saumar.

As can be seen, the end-falling intonation contour is the most frequent in the conversational data, but the final rising-flat contour (contour 2 in both Figures) is the second-most frequent. All utterances with this contour correspond to question sentences (such as in 2.28ab), showing that this is the standard intonation contour for interrogative constructions. Note however, that there are also some question utterances that follow the standard, declarative, intonation contour. All of these are longer utterances that contain explicit question markers, indicating at least some amount between length of utterance, presence of interrogative markers, and intonation contour. I could not detect a noticeable difference in intonation contour between types of interrogative constructions (e.g., content question, question word question, polar question), but this could easily be the result of the small dataset.

(2.28) a. *Nge retagiure fengani eh?*
nge re=tagiure fengani eh
CONJ 3PL=back RECIP Q
'And they're back to back, right?'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-4, 45]

b. *Resiusape lago iya?*
re=siu-sape lago iya
3PL=stand-faco go where
'Where are they facing?'
[Ignatius Maluchelmar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-3, 63]

Figures 2.9 and 2.10 give two examples of the question sentences in (2.28a) and (2.28b), respectively:

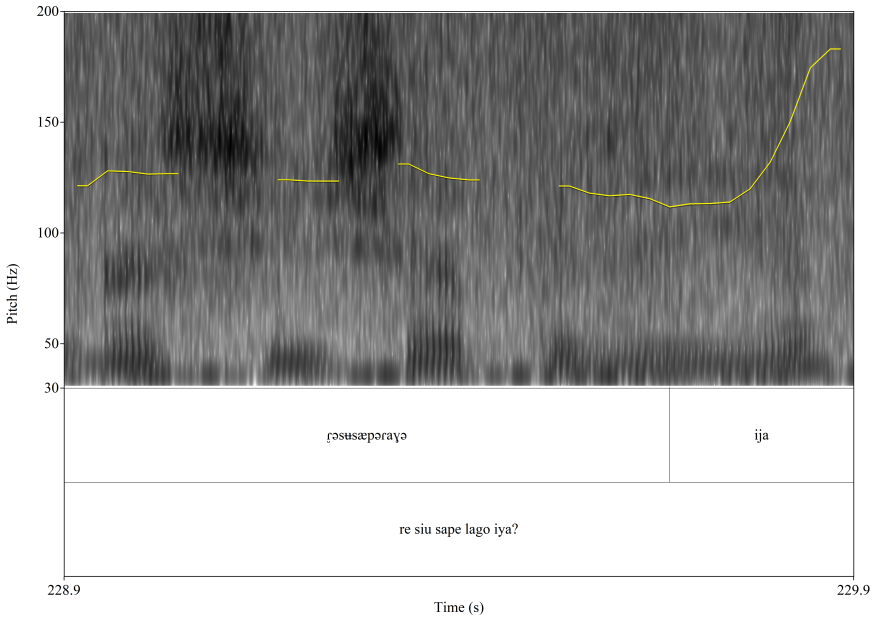

Figure 2.9: Spectrogram and pitch contour for the question utterance in (2.28a).

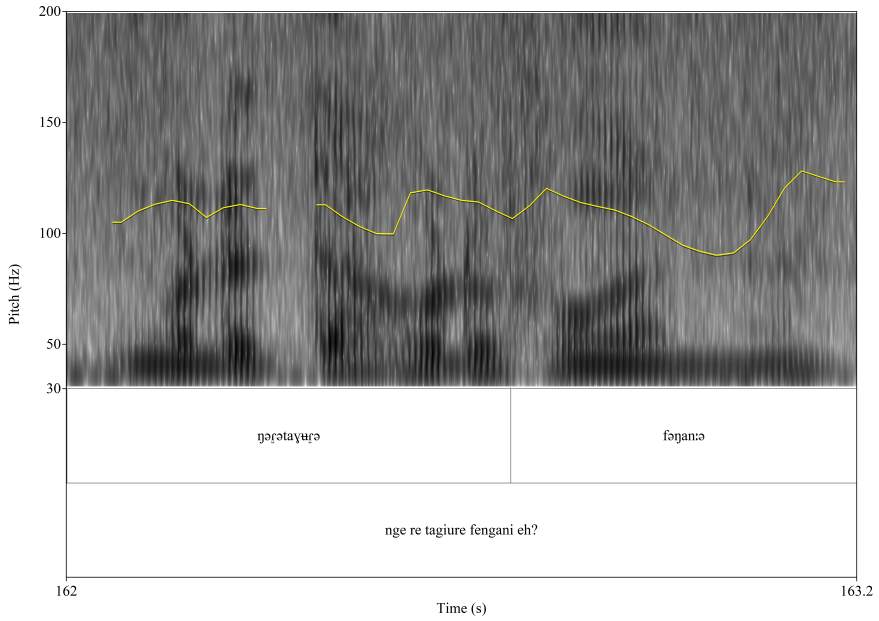

Figure 2.10: Spectrogram and pitch contour for the question utterance in (2.28b).

2.5 Orthography

The orthography used in this grammar is based mainly on the orthographical preferences of speakers in the 20-40 age range, and made consistent in collaboration with Lenny Saumar. Devoiced vowels are written, as are geminated consonants. In the case of geminated /mʷ/, the orthographical result is <mmw> for legibility. Contrary to some other orthographical conventions (in addition to writing voiceless vowels; see below), the orthography used here does not regularly write double vowels outside of words in isolation, as both Lenny stated that they are unnecessary in most cases and Woleaian does not have any vowel length distinction in my analysis. There are some instances where words are written with double vowels to indicate (unexpected) stress on this syllable, such as in (2.29). Note that this does not necessarily mean that the vowel is realized as long.

(2.29) a. /ʃaɾʉ we/ → [ˈʃa.ɾʉ.wə] *shaaliu we* 'the water'
b. /sire we/ → [ˈsi.ɾə.wə] *siile we* 'the mother'

These were deemed necessary as a help in pronunciation, as these words generally do not occur with a reduced vowel. Words such as these form a minority in the orthography used here, and should be taken as exceptions mostly based on historically informed conventions. The graphemes used in this grammar are laid out in Table 2.28.

As mentioned in Section 1.1 above, an indigenous syllabary for Woleaian was apparently developed some time before the mid-20th century, but it seems that this script was reserved for decoration and ritual uses, rather than for daily use. Some people in the community are aware of this script and a few have stated that a reduced variant of it is still in use on Lamotrek. However, only a few examples could be given, these being oral rather than written as nobody I asked about this was familiar with the characters themselves. I have not yet seen it used for any purpose, and its used was peripheral at most in the past, and has moved through being esoteric to largely forgotten since.

A Latin-based orthography was first partly standardized in 1972-1973 by the Yap Outer Islands Orthography Committee (Sohn 1984, 46).[33] Since then, the standard orthography underwent a major revision in the 1990s. Older speakers will use a mixture of the older orthography, which they were taught in school, and the revision. However, the orthography seems to be in constant flux, as community members have found it difficult to agree with certain conventions and spellings of words within this revision (Sandra Keiji, pers. comm.). The orthography was originally apparently created with the intention of creating one working orthography for the three outer islands languages in Yap State (Ulithian, Woleaian, Satawalese), and further revisions were made by the language liaison at the DOE for the respective languages.

33. The original report, Kuroiwa (1973), is no longer available so the exact details of the conventions remain unknown.

Phoneme	Grapheme
Consonants	
/p/	<p>
/b/	<b>
/t/	<t>
/k/	<k>
/t͡ʃ/	<ch>
/ɾ/	<l>
/r̝/	<r>
/f/	<f>
/s/	<s>
/ʃ/	<sh>
/x/	<g>
/m/	<m>
/mʷ/	<mw>
/n/	<n>
/ŋ/	<n>
/w/	<w>
/j/	<y>
Vowels	
/i/	<i>
/ʉ/	<iu>
/u/	<u>
/e/	<e>
/o/	<o>
/œ/	<eo>
/a/	<a>
/ɒ/	<oa>

Table 2.28: Graphemes used in this grammar.

This position (and the positions for Ulithian and Satawalese) has now been defunct for at least a decade, however, since the retirement of the last holder, Anthony Tawerilmang.

As an informal test of the acceptance of the official DOE orthography, I showed several of the Deparment of Education's (DOE) booklets to small groups of speakers and asked them to evaluate the spelling. Several speakers stated beforehand that they already knew the DOE's spelling of Woleaian was incorrect in their opinion. Some examples of orthographical disagreement that came up with virtually every speaker were first and foremost the inclusion of orthographic double vowels, such as in <*gaarawerawe*> 'blue, green', where the speakers much preferred the single vowel, <*garawerawe*>, and some cases of complete revisions of spellings such as <*sheeo*> 'leaf', where the spelling <*shee~sheele*> is much preferred. Regardless, the government continues to use the DOE's spelling in the small amount of notices and pamphlets written in Woleaian,[34] and with a lack of current language liaisons to the DOE, it is unlikely that this orthography will be updated to reflect the speakers' preferences soon.

As there is a very small amount of writing that is not informally created by speakers (through e.g., texting, social media), and only a few years of Woleaian-medium schooling, most people decide on the spelling of words on an ad-hoc basis, creating their own preferences and conventions. This, however, does not hamper intelligibility between speakers when communicating via text (Lenny Saumar, pers. comm.).

Sohn (1975) and Sohn and Tawerilmang (1976) use an orthography based on the original 1972 standard, but note that the 1972-1973 conventions were not detailed enough for full standardization and thus makes a number of modifications and additions to that standard (Sohn 1975, 47). Additionally, Sohn (1984) made an official proposal for a fully standardized Woleaian orthography, but this was not incorporated by the community. Several speakers expressed having trouble reading Sohn's orthography, most likely due to its unfamiliarity and lack of official implementation.

The main difference between the original orthography and the revised editions is the writing of (contrastive) word-final devoiced vowels: The original orthography does not write these, instead relying on context to disambiguate homographs, whereas the revisions do include these word-final vowels (cf. *gach* 'good/tickle/fishy smell' versus *gachiu* 'good', *gacho* 'tickle, *gache* 'fishy smell'). Other modifications, comparing Sohn's standard to the current as this is the largest body of written work available in the language, are the less frequent use of double consonants and vowels[35] (e.g., *pesheel* -> *peshale* 'leg of') and the orthographic compounding of the subject clitics to the verbs or verbal modifiers (e.g., *ye sa foori* -> *yesa foori* 's/he made [it]'). Both of these changes seem to be highly preferred by speakers, and are also used by those who were taught the

34. Additionally, it must be noted that these pamphlets are generally quite inconsistent in orthography, even varying spellings of certain words within a single document.

35. It is unclear whether this is a result of language development, inaccurate analysis, or spelling preferences.

earlier version of the orthography.

2.6 Sohn's phonology and the phonology in this grammar

Sohn (1975, 7–43) gives a somewhat comprehensive overview of his analysis of the Woleaian phonemes and phonology. While there is quite a lot of overlap between Sohn's analysis and the one here, the consonant inventory proposed here, Sohn (1975, 15) identifies eleven phonemic geminates, the 'double consonants' *pp, tt, ch, k, bb, ff, ss, mm, mmw, n* and *nng*, whereas I identify 9 geminate consonants and include them only as marginal phonemes in the inventory.

When excluding differences in analysis of geminates, the two analyses have the same number of consonant phonemes, seventeen, and overlap in fourteen out of seventeen phonemes in phonetic quality. The following gives an overview of consonants in the two analyses (excluding the geminate consonants):

Orthography	**Sohn (1975)**[36]	**This grammar**
<p>	/p/	/p/
<b>	/ɸ/	/b/
<m>	/m/	/m/
<mw>	/m^{w}/	/m^{w}/
<f>	/f/	/f/
<t>	/t/	/t/
<s>	/s/	/s/
<n>	/n/	/n/
<l>	/ɾ/	/ɾ/
<r>	/ɽ/	/ɻ/
<ch>	/cː/	/t͡ʃ/
<sh>	/ʂ/	/ʃ/
<k>	/k/	/k/
<g>	/x/	/x/
<ng>	/ŋ/	/ŋ/
<j>	/j/	/j/
<w>	/w/	/w/

Table 2.29: Correspondences of consonant phonemes between Sohn (1975) and this grammar.

Although not phonemic, there are some additional differences in the phonetic qualities ascribed to the consonant phonemes in Sohn's work and the analysis in this grammar: <b> is ana-

36. Note that Sohn (1975) does not give any representations of phonemes in IPA, so the IPA symbols used below are based on the textual description given

lyzed by Sohn as a voiceless bilabial fricative /ɸ/,[37] whereas I analyze it as a voiced bilabial stop /b/; Sohn analyzes <r> as a voiced sub-apical retroflex fricative /z̢/, whereas I analyze it as an apical post-alveolar tap /ɾ̺/; <sh> is analyzed as the voiceless retroflex fricative /ʂ/, but is a voiceless apical post-alveolar fricative /ʃ̺/ in my analysis; and finally <ch> is analyzed as a phonemically geminate palatal stop /c/ but I analyze it as a voiceless postalveolar affricate /t͡ʃ̺/. It must be noted that Sohn (1975, 9) most likely detected the above consonants' distinction from sub-apical retroflex consonants, as he calls them 'somewhat retroflexed'. Hence, it is probable that our analyses describe more or less similar articulations. Nonetheless, as they are given as sub-apical retroflexes throughout the grammar, they are treated as such in subsequent typological work (e.g., Blust 2013b, 210).

Regarding the vowel inventory, Sohn (1975, 17) analyzes 6 'simple' vowels and 8 'double' vowels. The double vowels are lengthened variants of the simple vowels with the addition of <eo> and <oa> (which he states do not have simple counterparts). However, the analysis here does not recognize vowel length as phonemic, but rather as a result of phonological word constraints (although vowel length may have been phonemic, or at least played a larger role in the past; see Sections 2.3.2 and 2.3.3). Sohn (1975, 19) mentions that <eo> and <oa>, since they are the historical result of a vowel sequence, do not have a short counterpart. However, I have not found any differences in length between the above two and other vowels in similar environments. Thus, when the long vowels are disregarded and the two sets of vowels (Sohn 1975, 17–18) are merged, the number and quality of vowel phonemes in both analyses' inventories match up exactly with eight qualitatively distinct vowel phonemes.

Disregarding the implications of the phonemic geminate consonants and long vowels, the analyses of regular allophony and phonotactics between Sohn (1975) and this grammar are remarkably similar. While I agree with Sohn (1975, 37) that stress ('intensity' is used in Sohn's work) is not contrastive in Woleaian ("…not particularly significant…" in Sohn's words), I diverge from the analysis that "…all vowels are pronounced with equal intensity" (Sohn 1975, 37). I argue in Section 2.4 that Woleaian does have regularly detectable penultimate stress on the phonological word level, with regularly patterned ultimate stress based on vowel voicing. This does not mean that there are no problematic cases of stress, of course, but that I analyze stress to be ascribed on the level of the phonological word. Additionally, while in my observations there are only few instances where stressing a different syllable in a word causes intelligibility issues, speakers are insistent and unanimous on placing stress on the correct syllable – deeming differently stressed words as incorrectly pronounced.

37. Note that [ɸ] does occur as a free variant of /p/ when followed by /u/ or /w/ in some, but not all, speakers.

Chapter 3

Word Classes

This chapter will give overviews of the different word classes found in Woleaian. However, defining word classes in Woleaian is not an easy task. There has been a long-standing discussion about word classes, mostly focusing on the distinction of nouns and verbs, in Austronesian as a whole for some time now (e.g., Gil 2009; Kaufman 2007; 2009, and references therein). These debates have mostly focused on examples from Western Malayo-Polynesian and Formosan languages, but are extrapolated to account for all Austronesian languages. Regardless of whether one falls on the nominalist (Kaufman 2009), verbalist (Hengeveld 1992), sententialist (Gil 2000), or a different place on the spectrum of analysis, it is clear that word class boundaries in Woleaian are not as easily definable as in other languages. This dissertation steers clear of claiming whether one of the above hypotheses about categorizing words is more valid than the other for Woleaian, or for Austronesian as a whole for that matter. Additionally, although it does not necessarily subscribe to any particular theory of (language universal) part of speech analysis, the analysis presented here draws from and has major overlaps with Croft (2001) and his Radical Construction Grammar in that it uses a prototype model of parts of speech that cross-cuts semantic class and propositional act. Lastly, I note here and elsewhere that the descriptive labels used for word categories, such as *noun* and *verb*, are descriptive labels used for prototypical functions of words as described, and do not necessarily imply the (syntactic) definitions implied by their word class label.

In this dissertation, I analyze Woleaian as having two major word classes: an open word class and a closed word class, although both have several subclasses. Syntactically, the open word class contains the words that serve propositional functions such as reference, modification, and predication (see Croft 2001, 88ff), and the closed word class contains the words whose functions are grammatical and thus fall outside the aforementioned three functions.

From a semantic perspective, this means that words that fall into the open word class include words that refer to objects, places and concepts, as well as words that refer to actions, experiences, and states. Thus, here following Croft (2001, 89), the combination of syntactic and semantic func-

tions is what defines a word's sub-categorization into noun, verb, and (peripherally) adjective.

This does not imply, however, that noun phrases and verb phrases behave identically. Instead, the syntactic position determines the syntactic properties a word takes on. For example, a word in position as the head of a noun phrase (i.e., with referential function) can take possession, numerals, and demonstratives, but not pronominal indexing, verbal particles, or directionals. Conversely, a word in position as the head of a verb phrase (i.e., with predicational or modificational function) can take pronominal indexing, verbal particles and directionals, but not possession, numerals, and demonstratives. Therefore, the description of nouns and verbs in this grammar relies on the intersection of lexical semantics and syntactic function (in situ), rather than predefined word class boundaries, although the syntactic properties are more easily predictable and are thus weighed more heavily.

That being said, a large portion of words show clear tendencies of occurrence in either nominal or verbal position due to their semantics. For example, the word *mato* '(to) sit' predominantly occurs in the verbal position (3.1). It can also occur, however, in a nominal position (3.2), determined in this case by it being possessed, without the need of any additional derivational morphology. Because *mato* occurs much more frequently in a verbal syntactic position, and is thus more "verby", it would be treated under the category of verbs.

(3.1) *Maliupash yesa iuriure fetale yesa buwei **mato** lago weni Weewe.*
Maliupash ye=sa iur-iure feta-le ye=sa bu-wei **mato** lago
Maliupash 3SG=PFV RED-drag around-3SG.POSS 3SG=PFV go-out **sit** go
wel-li Weewe
front.part-3SG.POSS Weewe
'Maliupash collected [those birds] and went out to the shore of Weewe and sat there.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-033_Maliupash-Story, 10.2]

(3.2) *Yesiusape tapile yashe **mato**.*
ye=siu-sape tapile yaa-she **mato**
3SG=stand-face like POSS.CFL:GEN-1PL.INCL.POSS **sit**
'He is facing the same way as we are sitting (lit. he is facing like our sitting).'
[Ignatius Maluchelmar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-2, 17]

Some words, such as *mongo* '(to) eat, food' are not as skewed towards a certain position as *mato*, but are more evenly distributed across verbal and nominal positions. These words may be discussed under both the nominal and verbal categories, depending on the position they occur in.

These examples show that the use of prototypical semantic and syntactic patterns are the most fruitful to use for a description of Woleaian word classes, since, as described in Croft (2005), rigorous distributional analysis will ultimately result in every word forming its own word class.

Therefore, what I describe for the semantic but especially the syntactic properties of words are prototypes – any given word in Woleaian will adhere to a larger or smaller degree to any of these prototypes and accordingly can or cannot be grouped together with other similarly patterning words.

All of this above also means that this dissertation steers clear of an analysis of (zero-)derivation[1] when a word appears in a syntactic position uncommon (or unexpected) for this word, as a deviation from its expected, prototypical, behavior does not imply a crossing of categories in this analysis. To reiterate, I define an expected or unexpected syntactic position for a specific word not based on semantics, but rather on relative frequency of that word's occurrence in such a position, i.e., prototypical behavior. It must be noted that there are grammatical operations such as certain prefixes and reduplication that will always result in a word of a certain class. For example, the causative prefix *ga-* CAUS will *always* result in a verb that requires an active intransitive or transitive construction (see Section 7.2). However, the application of this prefix is not dependent on a supposed word class to which it applies, but rather the (resulting) semantics.

Now that I have established the broad analytical approach taken to word class analysis in this grammar, I will give a brief overview of how each word class is defined and some of the diagnostic tools to determine them. Each section will then dive deeper into the classes' syntactic properties, and give examples of their forms and functions.

The syntactic properties of nouns are that they can be possessed, take modifiers such as demonstratives and quantifiers, and their position in the sentence: Nouns (and their modifiers) occur before the verb when they occur as the subject argument, and after the verb when they are the object argument. Nouns also follow prepositions and locationals. The semantic property of nouns is that they serve a referential function. That is to say, their syntactic position as an argument is 'filled in' by the referential (semantic) function. Note that nouns share many of these diagnostics with pronouns, but these cannot be possessed or take modifiers and form a closed rather than an open class of words.

Verbs prototypically serve a predicational or modificational function. The easiest way to spot a verb in a sentence is that the vast majority of verbs are grammatically indexed for the arguments they take. This is most commonly one of the subject proclitics, but can additionally be a pronominal object suffix. In addition, there is a set of verbal particles, some adverbs, and a number of semantically bleached verb-like words that modify either the aspect or mood (verbal particles) or the semantics of the main verb. When explicit non-clitic and/or non-suffix arguments are present

1. Though Evans and Osada (2005, 365ff.) categorization based on predictability of semantics may argue that Woleaian falls somewhere between a precategorical and a rampant zero conversion language based on their perceived lack of predictability in semantics. However, I argue that positing universality in semantic predictability is problematic and should instead be studied in depth for an individual language. Instead, the analysis here is closer, but not identical, to Mosel (2017)'s analysis of lexeme multifunctionality.

in a sentence, these surround the verb phrase. In essence, this is the negative image of finding nouns in a sentence as described above. In intransitive constructions, verbs occur in two major patterns: stative and active constructions. The basic distinction is verb initial and non-verb initial, which will be discussed in more detail in Sections 5.1.1 and 7.2.

While the directional particles and demonstratives are grouped together, they operate in separate domains. The directional particles follow verbs and indicate the direction in which an action takes place, either literally or conceptually. Directional particles are restricted to active intransitive or transitive constructions (see Section 7.2). Demonstratives either follow a noun to indicate location relative to the speech act participants (SAPs) or the givenness in the discourse of the noun that precedes. A subset of the demonstratives can also occur by themselves as the grammatical subject of a sentence, where they act as anaphora to previously established referents in the discourse.

Both the particles and the demonstratives are closed classes, but that does not mean that they are all monolexemic. For example, the demonstrative *melekawe* 'those visible things previously established' itself consists of the demonstrative *mele* PROX and the plural definite marker *kawe* DEF.PL. *kawe*, furthermore, consists of the plural marker *ka-* and the definite marker *we* DEF. Thus, while the directional particles and demonstratives could technically be placed into this category, their distinguishable function, internal cohesion, as well as their relatively large paradigms have led me to put them into a separate category.

Finally, the particles and minor word classes are a group of word classes that are not easily placed into the other major word classes. This does not mean, however, that all groups of particles or minor word classes do not have a specified domain in which they operate. For example, the numerals and quantifiers operate within the nominal domain, and sets of ideophones operate within the verbal domain. Rather than being a grab-bag of leftover words, the particles and minor word classes are identified by their restrictions and/or peripheral usage. In other words, these words have highly specific functions, and do not occur outside of these positions and/or sentence types. This also means that these words are generally highly grammaticalized, even if they are lexical in origin.

3.1 The open word class

As noted above, the open word class in Woleaian consists of the words that denote an (animate or inanimate) object, place, concept, referent, action, and/or state. These are the words that provide any utterance with the information that it requires. Broadly, these are divisible into two categories, nouns and verbs. To reiterate, 'noun' and 'verb' in this grammar describes the properties given to a word by its syntactic position, as Woleaian lexemes are not specified for word class.

3.1.1 Nouns

Nouns, as described above, are the grammatical arguments that a verb takes, as well as occurring in (potentially) peripheral elements in the sentence such as the location. There is relatively little morphology in the nominal domain, the only affixes being the possessive and object suffixes. Besides the possessive suffixes nouns can also undergo reduplication, but this is not a feature exclusive to the nominal domain. Additionally, nouns take numeral and possessive classifiers. Thus, the main diagnostics for nouns are 1. their position within the sentence, and 2. the ability to take possessive morphology, and 3. the ability to take classifiers.

Nouns and noun phrases that are the subject of a sentence occur in the position before the verb, which is usually the first in the sentence (3.3a). When a noun (phrase) occurs with a verb in a stative pattern (see Section 7.2), it will be the only argument present, but will occur after the verb (3.3b). Lastly, in equative sentences, two noun phrases occur without a verb (3.3c). Nouns in object position, which may take the semantic roles of patient, benefactee, or instrument, occur after the verb (3.3a). Since some verbs can take more than one object argument, there may be multiple object arguments in a sequence. Lastly, peripheral arguments such as location or oblique arguments occur after the verb, and after all other core arguments, and are preceded by a preposition or a particle (3.3d). The hierarchical ordering of object arguments is as follows from closest to the verb to furthest: patient/undergoer/benefactee > instrument > location/oblique.

(3.3) a. ***Semaliu mwale*** *yekemwashiu* ***ira.***
se-maliu **mwale** ye=kemwashiu **ira**
one-CLF:ANIM man 3SG=hold **stick**
'One man holds a stick.'
[Ignatius Maluchelmar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-2, 2]

b. *Yesiyale* ***Remage.***
ye=siyale **Remage**
3SG=pregnant **Remage**
'Remage is pregnant.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-030-02-RemageNarrative, 10]

c. ***Maliupash*** *iwe semaliu mwale chiile.*
Maliupash i-we se-maliu mwale chiile
Maliupash ANA-DEF one-CLF:ANIM man small
'Maliupash is a small man.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-033-MaliupashStory, 1.2]

d. ***Sheele waliuweoliu laale*** *yeppale reli yaalo.*
sheele waliuweoliu laale ye=ppale re-li yaalo
leaf plant DIST 3SG=dry to-3SG.POSS sun
'That leaf is dry from the sun.'

[Lenny Saumar, ELICITED]

Arguments and their syntactic positions are further discussed in Chapter 7 and Chapter 8 below.

The second and third diagnostics, possessive suffixes and classifiers, are closely linked, as the possessive suffixes can attach either to the noun itself or to the possessive classifiers. Both are discussed in more detail in Section 4.1.3. The possessive suffixes are as follows:

Gloss	Woleaian
1SG	*-i*
2SG	*-mwe*
3SG	*-le*
1PL.INCL	*-she*
1PL.EXCL	*-mem*
2PL	*-mi*
3PL	*-re*

Table 3.1: Possessive suffixes.

Woleaian also has a relatively large inventory of possessive classifiers (see Section 4.1.3), which always precede the possessed noun, e.g., *laiu phone* POSS.CLF:CARED.FOR-1SG.POSS phone 'my phone', shown in Table 3.2.

Lastly, nouns may also function as an oblique argument in a prepositional phrase. The preposition always precedes the noun, and these phrases typically occur at the end of a sentence, although they can in some cases be placed elsewhere due to the relatively free word order in Woleaian. The most commonly used preposition is *bwe*, which I translate at 'for', 'from' or 'as' depending on context, but it generally functions as a preposition underspecified for exact semantics. The full list of prepositions is given in Table 3.3.

Classifier	Gloss	Used for	Etymology
yaa-	POSS.CLF:GEN	generic	
bera-	POSS.CLF:WOMENS.TATTOO	women's tattoos	?
fale-	POSS.CLF:MENS.HOUSE	men's houses	*faale* 'men's house'
faliuwe-	POSS.CLF:ISLAND	islands	*faliuwe* 'island'
gapite-	POSS.CLF:OIL	oils, unguents, etc.	*gapite* '(to) oil skin'
gela-	POSS.CLF:ALIM	food items (excluding drink)	*gela* 'food'
giliye-	POSS.CLF:MAT	mats	*giliye* 'mat'
gola-	POSS.CLF:CAUGHT	catch	*gola* '(to) reach'
imwe-	POSS.CLF:SHELTER	shelters	*iimwe* 'house'
iuliuma-	POSS.CLF:POTABLE	potable water	*iule* '(to) drink'
paa-	POSS.CLF:BAIT	fishing bait	*paa* 'bait'
lega-	POSS.CLF:BRACELET	bracelets	?
laiu-	POSS.CLF:CARED.FOR	cared for	*laiu* 'child'
maata-	POSS.CLF:GARDEN	gardens	*maate* 'garden'
maka-	POSS.CLF:TATTOO	tattoos	*make* 'tattoo'
shaliu-	POSS.CLF:WELL	wells, catchments, reservoirs, etc.	*shaaliu* 'fresh water'
shiuwe-	POSS.CLF:PIERCING	body piercings	?*shiu* 'bone'
waa-	POSS.CLF:VEHICLE	vehicles	*waa* 'canoe'

Table 3.2: Possessive classifiers.

Woleaian	Gloss
Independent Prepositions	
lani	inside of
long	in, inwards
me	from (a location)
metaro	in front of
mo	towards
ngali	to
tangi	from (someone/something)
wei	out, outwards
Bound Prepositions	
faa-	under
ni=	in
re-	for, by
tapi-	like
yaro-	near

Table 3.3: Preposition.

3.1.2 Pronouns

Pronouns grammatically and syntactically operate within the nominal domain, but are distinct from them in that they do not carry any lexical meaning. Rather, they serve to index referents present in the discourse. This means either previously established referents, when using the third person pronouns, or referents universally present in discourse, i.e., speech act participants, when using the first or second person pronouns. The two subsections that make up the pronouns in Woleaian are the pronominal verbal clitics (as discussed in Section 3.1.3 above), and the independent pronouns both given in Table 3.4 below.

Woleaian	Gloss
Pronominal clitics	
i=	1SG
go=	2SG
ye=	3SG
si=	1PL.INCL
gai=	1PL.EXCL
gai=	2PL
re=	3PL
=yai	1SG
=go	2SG
=ye	3SG
=i	TRR, 3SG
=gishe	1PL.INCL
=gamem	1PL.EXCL
=gami	2PL
=re	3PL
Independent Pronouns	
gaangi	1SG.EMPH
geele	2SG.EMPH
ie	3SG.EMPH
gishe	1PL.INCL.EMPH
gamem	1PL.EXCL.EMPH
gami	2PL.EMPH
ire	3PL.EMPH

Table 3.4: Pronominal enclitics and independent pronouns.

The independent pronouns, pronominal clitics and are not mutually exclusive, meaning that one, two or all of them may appear in the sentence (3.4). However, if they agree in person, number and syntactic status (subject/object), they must also refer to the same referent.

(3.4) ***Ie garige*** *we sa gangali bwe* ***geele go****bwele ile me liteti nge* ***gaangi i****bwele rige me welipiye.*
ie **garige** we sa gangali bwe **geele** **go**=bwele i-le me
3SG.EMPH **beach.crab** DEF PFV CAUS-to COORD **2SG.EMPH** **2SG**=INCEP ANA-3SG.POSS from
li=teti nge **gaangi** **i**=bwele rige me welipiye
in=sea and **1SG.EMPH** **1SG**=INCEP run from beach
'The beach crab[2] said: "You will swim in the sea and I will run on the beach".'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-032-02-NeedlefishCrab, 22-23]

Whereas either or both the independent pronouns and the pronominal clitics can serve to indicate the relevant referent, the independent pronoun series is relatively much less frequently used than the pronominal clitics. This is because the main function of independent pronoun is to emphasize the relevancy of the respective referent (3.5), their presence thus having pragmatic implications rather than being grammatically required. Thus, I refer to the independent pronouns in my analysis and this grammar throughout as the emphatic pronouns.

(3.5) ***Gaangi*** *sa kere bwe Clé yesa fori maangiu we yaai.*
gaangi sa kere bwe Clé ye=sa fori maangiu we
1SG.EMPH PFV be.satisfied COORD PN 3SG=PFV make pandanus.strip DEF
yaa-i
POSS.CLF:GEN-1SG.POSS
'*I* am happy because Clé made *maangiu* for me'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, field notes 01-26-2023]

3.1.3 Verbs

Verbs are the words that have a predicational or modificational function. In other words, they are the words that prototypically semantically indicate an action, event, experience or state, and syntactically form the head of a verb phrase, which implies a number of syntactic features and possible operations. The easiest way to identify a verb is that it may take verbal morphology. In Woleaian, verbs are the most morphologically complex, featuring proclitics, two prefixes, enclitics and several types of reduplication. Table 3.5 shows the full catalog of verbal morphology.

2. *Ocypodinae sp.*

Woleaian	Gloss
Proclitics	
i=	1SG
go=	2SG
ye=	3SG
si=	1PL.INCL
gai=	1PL.EXCL
gai=	2PL
re=	3PL
Prefix	
ga-	CAUS
ta-	NEG
Enclitics	
=yai	1SG
=go	2SG
=ye	3SG
=i	TRR
=gishe	1PL.INCL
=gamam	1PL.EXCL
=gami	2PL
=re	3PL
Reduplication	
Full	varied semantic changes
CV-	PROG/ITER
-CV(C)	COMP

Table 3.5: Verbal morphology.

As explicit arguments are optional in Woleaian once a referent has been introduced, verbs may be the only word from the open class in a sentence, as in (3.6). This sets them apart from nouns, which may only occur as the only word from the open class in a sentence in specific circumstances, such as in questions or answers to content questions.

(3.6) *Yerige ye yetore shape tewa lago iye melewe segale.*
ye=rige ye ye=tore shape tewa lago iye mele-we sega-le
3SG=run CONJ 3SG=fall overturn crack.open go 3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF cut.belly-3SG.POSS
'She [Remage] ran, then she tripped and her stomach popped'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-030-02-RemageNarrative, 16]

Pronominal indexation to verbs is also optional 1) in imperative sentences (3.7a), 2) when the argument is explicit and precedes the verb (3.7b), or 3) when the argument is highly salient, such as in a tight sequence of events (3.7c).

(3.7) a. ***Gasi*** *fayale sheele.*
gasi fa-yale shee-le
grab four-CLF:LEAFLIKE leaf-3SG.POSS
'Grab four [leeli][3] leaves.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-077-LandscapeDesc-01-leeli, 8]

b. *Serane Pache bitiwe…*
se-rane Pache **bi-tiwe**
one-CLF:DAY thunder **go-down**
'One day, Thunder came down…'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-030-03-ChickenThunder, 5]

c. *…**bitiwe gasiya** gare yebwe mwele rebwe liuweli mwo mwaliyere.*
bi-tiwe **gasiya** gare ye=bwe mwele re=bwe liuweli mwo mwaliye-re
go-down **ask** if 3SG=INC able 3PL=INC exchange momentarily voice-3PL.POSS
'…came down and asked him [Rooster] if they could exchange their voices for a while.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-030-03-ChickenThunder, 5]

All words denoting color in Woleaian occur as verbs, and thus function in the verbal domain, though note that some are polysemous and also occur as nouns with different meanings. For example *cha* occurs as a verb to denote '(to be) red', but in nominal position it means 'blood'. Similarly, *rangerange* in verbal position means '(to be) orange', and in nominal position means 'turmeric' (although the latter also occurs as *range* 'turmeric', thus indicating a semantic extension into the color term).

3. *Morinda citrifolia*

3.2 The closed word class

The closed word class in Woleaian consists of the words that perform grammatical, syntactic, discourse organizational and/or information structural functions. Essentially, these are words that either cannot serve as the head of a phrase, do not carry any lexical semantics, or both. This group consists of three categories: pronouns, directionals and demonstratives, and a rest category that consists of a number of smaller groups of minor word classes.

Pronouns live somewhere in between the open and closed word class, as they can be the head of a noun phrase (though not a verb phrase) but do not carry semantics beyond the discourse referential function. All other words in the closed word class are relatively clear cut in their syntactic capabilities and do not exhibit any features from the open word class.

3.2.1 Directionals and Demonstratives

Functionally, the directionals and the demonstratives operate within the conceptual domain of space. When looking closely, their specific functions are also linked closely to their grammatical domains: the directionals, operating in the verbal domain, indicate in which direction an action takes place, and the demonstratives, operating in the nominal domain, give information about the location of a noun.

The directionals consist of four absolute (cardinal) directions, and four relative directions. The cardinal directions are much less frequently used, and most commonly occur in the nominal domain. On the other hand, the relative directionals (*wei, long, tiwe* and *tage*) are very frequent, and operate in the verbal domain in most instances. The most frequent collocate of the relative directionals is the generic movement verb *bu* '(to) go', which always occurs with a directional.

Woleaian	**Gloss**
gotu	'east'
iletou	'west'
iyefang	'north'
iyeoiure	'south'
wei	'out'
long	'in'
tiwe	'up (vertically), up-coast, northwest'
tage	'down (vertically), down-coast, southeast'

Table 3.6: Directionals.

As table 3.7 shows, although the demonstratives form a closed class, many of them with more complex meanings consist of other demonstratives. Although speakers are aware of their modu-

larity, novel combinations are not accepted as grammatical. This could either be the result of the combination of demonstratives being a no longer productive historical development, or it could be that all the conceptually required demonstratives have already been created, and any novel combinations are incoherent with conceptualization of space and demonstratives.

The anaphoric demonstratives *i-* and *mel-* can never occur independently, and must always attach to another demonstrative base. Additionally, there are two forms including *i-*, that have been grammatically bleached into interjections and no longer have demonstrative or direct anaphoric functions: *iwe* and *ila*. *iwe* is used as an affirmative response to a question or a statement, and in discourse also can carry the meanings of 'so' or 'then'. *Ila* is also used as an affirmative or a mirative when used as an interjection, usually translated with 'that's it(!)'.

Woleaian	Gloss
i-	ANA
mel-	ANA
we	DEF
yeele	PROX
la	MED
laale	DIST
mu	ADDR
ka	PL
kawe	PL-DEF
mekawe	ANA-PL-DEF
melekawe	ANA-PL-DEF
mene	FOC

Table 3.7: Demonstratives.

iwe and *ila* are discussed in more detail in Section 6.5, as well as Section 9.2, and all the other demonstratives are discussed in Section 3.2.1.

3.2.2 Minor word classes

The minor word classes are groups of words that are internally consistent in their function and syntactic behavior, but fall outside of the more expansive classes of the closed word class described above. The minor word classes operate in the nominal domain (numerals, quantifiers), in both the verbal and nominal domains (spatial language, question words), or operate outside of either domain (interjections).

As mentioned, word classes are internally cohesive groups that operate identically. This also means that they are (internally) in mutually exclusive distribution to one another. The only exception to this is spatial language, as this co-opts words from the open as well as the closed word

classes, and in some cases straddles the line between the two, as well as being more internally combinable. This section will give a brief overview of the minor word classes, which are discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. In order, the minor word classes, and their detailed analysis, are as follows: Spatial language (§6.1), question words (§6.2), Numerals (§6.3), Quantifiers (§6.4), and Interjections (§6.5).

Spatial language consists of directionals and the expression of spatial relations, i.e., frames of reference. Directionals operate mainly in the domain of the verb, and indicate the direction in which an action takes place. There are five directionals, given in Table 3.8.

The directionals always follow another lexeme, and occur most frequently in verb phrases, although they can occasionally occur in noun phrases as well. A number of lexemes, such as *bu* '(to) go' and *terage* '(to) sail' obligatorily require a directional, but this seems to be a relatively restricted class. Besides its main function to apply motion semantics to a verb phrase, there are a number of more lexicalized collocates as well, such as *mwalili* '(to) speak' and *loge* '(to) stay', in which the directional either serves a metaphorical function, or they fill the slot of a (previously) obligatory directional. Additionally, the directionals *tage* and *toge*, besides being the most polysemous directionals, have semantically extended uses in the realm of tense-aspect-mood-evidentiality. These uses are explored further in Section 6.1.1.

Woleaian	**Gloss**
wei	'out'
long	'in'
tiwe	'down (vertically), down-coast, southeast'
tage	'up (vertically), up-coast, northwest'
toge	'come (towards speaker)'

Table 3.8: Directionals.

Directionals all operate on the micro, meso, and macro scale, meaning that they can be applied to actions and events around the speaker, in their general environment, and on a global scale.

Woleaian uses all three established frames of reference: relative, intrinsic, and absolute (see Levinson 2003). However, the relative frame of reference is currently developing from the more well-established intrinsic frame of reference, meaning that there is considerable (word-level) overlap between the two, and the intended frame of reference is disambiguated by context or by providing the explicit anchor. The terms used in each frame of reference are given in Table 3.9.

The frames of reference also partially interact with specific realms of cultural knowledge, such as wayfinding and general (small and large scale) voyaging.

	Woleaian	Gloss
Absolute		
	gotu	'east'
	iletou	'west'
	iyefang	'north'
	iyeoiure	'south'
	tiwe	'up (vertically), up-coast, northwest'
	tage	'down (vertically), down-coast, southeast'
Intrinsic		
	liugiule	'outside (of)'
	tagune	'face, (to) turn'
Intrinsic & Relative		
	paiu	'arm'
	peige	'side'
	tagiure	'back'
	mwirile	'behind, back, (to) follow'
	mmwale	'in front (of)'
Relative		
	shobute	'left, woman'
	mwale	'right, man'
	tafile	'left, incorrect'
	file	'right, correct'

Table 3.9: Terms used in frames of reference.

Question words are the words used in content question sentences, wherein they are slotted into the syntactic slot of the information the speaker is requesting from the hearer. There are eleven question words in Woleaian, given in Table 3.10.

Some question words are simplex, whereas others are (fossilized) compounds of other question words, and/or combined with the anaphor *i-* ANA (see Section 4.3.3). Historically, half of the question words are created from a question word base **fa*, although this word does not synchronically show up in the language. Question words can occur both in-situ, or can be fronted. The syntax of content question sentences is described further in Section 7.6.2.1. Question words may also be used as hedges.

Woleaian has a decimal numeral system with monolexemic numeral bases for up to 10^6 (one million; see Table 3.12). However, numerals above 10 are most frequently expressed using English loanwords. Additionally, arithmetic and ordinal counting is usually done in English, although

Woleaian	Gloss
fasengale	'which kind'
feita	'doing what'
fita	'how many'
ifa	'which, where'
ifasengale	'how'
ikefa	'which (plural)'
ileete	'when'
iteoiu	'who'
iya	'where'
metta	'what'
metta faale	'why' (lit. 'under what')

Table 3.10: Question words.

Woleaian ordinal numerals are generally known by speakers.

Values for 1-9 are expressed by the combination of a numeral base (see Table 3.11) and a numeral classifier (see Tables 3.13 and 3.14). Woleaian has a relatively large set of these classifiers whose application range from broad concepts, e.g., *-foashe* for long and rigid objects, to highly specific objects, e.g., *-bonge* for nights. Numeral classifiers are grouped into two categories: sortal and mensural classifiers. The former is used for whole numbers of objects and the classifier is chosen based on physical/conceptual properties of the counted objects, whereas the latter (predefined) parts or sets of objects, such as halves or bundles. The majority of numeral classifiers are etymologically derived from, probably prototypical, lexemes.

Ordinal numbers are formed by taking the numeral base, e.g., *sili-*, prefixing it with *ga-* (probably the causative marker), and suffixing it with the ordinal numeral marker *-waale~ale*, i.e., *gaseluwale* 'third'.

Woleaian only has a small number of quantifiers, which form a parallel with the numerals and numeral classifiers. In other words, they occupy the same syntactic position with numerals and are thus in complementary distribution.

sekiute	*'few, (a) little'*
toulape	*'many'*
chole	*'most'*
panga-	*'all'*

Table 3.15: Quantifiers.

Lastly, there are a number of interjections. Interjections are words that occur as one-word phrases that express a certain emotion or evaluation of or about an action or event, or are used

Value	Numeral	
1	*se-*	*seewe*
2	*riu-*	*ruwou*
3	*sili-*	*siluwe*
4	*faa-*	*faau*
5	*limo-*	*limou*
6	*wolo-*	*wolou*
7	*fisu-*	*fisuwe*
8	*walu-*	*waluwe*
9	*tiwo-*	*tiwou*

Table 3.11: Numerals 1-9.

Value	
10	*seige*
20	*riuweig*
30	*selige*
40	*faaige*
50	*limeige*
60	*woleige*
70	*fisige*
80	*walige*
90	*tiweige*
100	*-bugiu*
10^4	*-ngerase*
10^5	*-niu*
10^6	*-piye*
Infinity	*-ngerai*
1 Infinity	*sangeraiule*

Table 3.12: Multiples and powers of ten.

Classifier	Gloss	Used for
-bong	CLF:NIGHT	nights
-faiu	CLF:ROUND	round objects
-fasho	CLF:LONG.RIGID	long, rigid
-gatiu	CLF:FINGER	finger-like objects
-maliu	CLF:ANIM	animates
-mate	CLF:OTHER	discourse referents
-pa	CLF:LEI	flower garlands
-peo	CLF:EDGED	edged objects
-rane	CLF:DAY	days
-sheo	CLF:FLAT	flat objects
-taare	CLF:GENERATION	generations
-we	CLF:GEN	generic
-yale	CLF:LEAF	leaf-like objects

Table 3.13: Sortal numeral classifiers.

Classifier	Gloss	Used for
-bulog	CLF:PORTION	portions of food
-faat	CLF:STRINGER	stringers
-fi	CLF:HANDFUL	handfuls
-fo	CLF:QUARTER	quarters
-gofet	CLF:BROKEN.OFF.PIECE	broken/torn off pieces
-is	CLF:BUNCH.OF.BANANAS	bunches of bananas
-matip	CLF:SMALL.PIECE	small pieces
-moiu	CLF:ANIM.GROUP	groups of animates
-ngaul	CLF:BUNDLE	bundles
-paliy	CLF:SIDE	sides
-pate	CLF:UTTERANCE.PART	parts of utterances
-peige	CLF:HALF	halves
-shimw	CLF:BUNDLE	bundles
-tabo	CLF:HALF.LONGWISE	longwise halves
-tale	CLF:LAYER	layers, lines, rows
-tip	CLF:CUT.OFF.PIECE	cut off pieces
-umwe	CLF:FRUIT.CLUSTER	fruit clusters

Table 3.14: Mensural numeral classifiers.

as a pragmatic illocutionary device. The one exception to this is the phrasal clitic *=nga*, which attaches to the right edge of a full utterance in order to express emotionality of the statement. As shown in Table 3.16, there are also some words that have other functions besides being used as interjections, these functions are discussed in Section 8.3.1 for *nge*, and Sections 4.3.3 and 9.2 for *iwe* and *ila*.

Interjection only	
yeokiu	'oh, oops'
yaakiu	'no (emphatic)'
yaagiu	'ew'
yei	'oh!, hey!'
waioo	exclamation of emotion
=nga	emotional clitic
Multiple functions	
nge	conjunction, hedge
iwe	definite anaphor, hedge
ila	distal anaphor, hedge

Table 3.16: Interjections.

Chapter 4

Noun Phrases

This chapter discusses the nouns, or more specifically, the syntactic features and positions of the noun. That is to say, it discusses all the words that can be placed in those phrases that serve as arguments in a clause. A noun phrase minimally consists of a head, a lexeme or an (anaphoric-demonstrative) pronoun, that may be modified by a numeral or quantifier, demonstrative, or one of a small set of particles.

First, in Section 3.1.1, I reiterate what I analyze a 'noun' to be. Then, I describe the noun phrase in Section 4.1.1, adnominal possession and possessive classifiers in Section 4.1.3, pronouns in Section 4.2, the article and the demonstrative determiners in Section 4.3, and finally prepositions in Section 4.4.

4.1 Nouns

As described in Section 3, the noun-verb distinction is based on a set of prototypical features that contain both semantic and syntactic properties – and that any given word in the language will more or less adhere to any of these prototypes. The prototype of a noun is semantically that it has a referential function, and syntactically that it appears in a noun phrase (often, but not necessarily as the head), meaning that it can be modified by those word classes that only apply to noun phrases, and may be referenced in the verb phrase with pronominal indexing morphology (i.e., subject and object clitics): That being said, there are many words that behave relatively close to this prototype; virtually only occurring in this nominal position with a referential function. For example, words denoting objects, instruments, animals, plants, and persons, such as *faiu* 'stone', *saariu* 'knife', *maliuge* 'chicken', *liu* 'coconut (palm)', and *shobute* 'woman', almost always occur as nouns, and will be interpreted as such in isolation. However, certain words, such as *mato* '(to) sit, sitting', occur as nouns and verbs to a more equal degree.

4.1.1 The Noun Phrase

A noun phrase must always minimally include a noun, a personal pronoun (see Section 4.2.1) or anaphoric-demonstrative pronoun (see Section 4.3.3), and can additionally include a numeral or quantifier, a demonstrative, as well as a small number of particles such as *bale* 'also'. The ordering of elements in a noun phrase is as follows:

(preposition) (numeral/quantifier) noun(s)/pronoun (demonstrative)

(4.1) a. BARE NOUN
Imwe
imwe
house
'house.'

Below is a list of examples with different combinations of elements in the noun phrase:

b. COMPLEX NOUN
Imwel mongo.
imwe-le **mongo**
house-3SG.POSS food
'[It is] a food storage.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-053-EauripikPictureDescriptions, 24]

c. NOUN + DEMONSTRATIVE
Iteoiu ***mwale we***.
iteoiu **mwale we**
who **man** **DEF**
'Who's the man?'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-030-02-RemageNarrative, 5]

d. NUMERAL + NOUN
Maliupash iwe ***semaliu mwale*** *chiile.*
Maliupash i-we **se-maliu** **mwale** chiile
Maliupash ANA-DEF **one=CLF:ANIM man** small
'Maliupash is a small man.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-033-MaliupashStory, 1.2]

e. PREPOSITION + NOUN + DEMONSTRATIVE
*Nge yesa towai me **lani imwe we** imwale, yegale gekalipeo tiwe.*
nge ye=sa to wei me **lani imwe we** imwe-le ye=gale gekalipeo
and 3SG=PFV come out from **in house DEF** house-3SG.POSS 3SG=HAB signal
tiwe
down
'And he got out from the house that was his house, he was signaling down [to them].'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-2, 26]

f. PREPOSITION + NUMERAL + NOUN
*Ye yelago weri semaliu me **reli seewe imwe**.*
ye ye=lago weri se-maliu me **reli seewe imwe**
CONJ 3SG=go see one=CLF:ANIM from **by one house**
'And…he went and saw one [pregnant woman] from one house.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-2, 6]

g. NUMERAL + NOUN + DEMONSTRATIVE
*Saro wei **seewe ngeoliu kawe** yeloge piletale bone…*
saro wei **se=we ngeoliu ka=we** ye=loge pilate-le bone
somewhat resemble **one=DEF picture PL=DEF** 3SG=stay lid-3SG.POSS but
'[It is] somewhat like one of those pictures that has the lid on it but…'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-1, 36]

As will be discussed in more detail in Section 7.2 below, word order in Woleaian is relatively variable. For the noun phrase, the structure, however, is relatively set, with the exception of the adverbial particles, which seem to be able to go in any slot, depending on the intended function. Additionally, there are several combinations that do not or rarely occur in the corpus. For example, independent pronouns, which are always emphatic (see Section 3.1.2), do not co-occur with numerals or demonstratives, and the combination of preposition + numeral + noun + demonstrative is also not found in the corpus. This is most likely because of the corpus itself, and the probability that this phrase type is extremely rare is likely, as the frequency of types goes down as the number of elements goes up.

In discourse, it is somewhat difficult to predict the position in the sentence the noun phrase will appear due to frequent use of anaphora within the same sentence and the (resulting) relatively variable word order. The prototypical position of a noun phrase depends on its grammatical role in the sentence: Noun phrases containing subject arguments are prototypically placed sentence-initially, preceding the verb phrase, and noun phrases containing object arguments prototypically follow the verb phrase, and noun phrases containing oblique arguments such as in locational phrases are placed at the end of a sentence and require introduction by a preposition (see Section 4.4). Sentence-level word order is discussed in Section 7.2 below.

4.1.1.1 Conjunction in the noun phrase with *me*

Two phrases can be connected to form a single phrase using the conjunction *me* CONJ. The conjunction occurs between two noun phrases that both reference persons or objects. Clause-level conjunction is discussed in Section 8.3.1 above. *Me* is placed between the two phrases, which combines them into a single phrase. While it is possible to conjoin complex noun phrases (4.2a), they are restricted in their complexity: There are no examples in the corpus of a noun phrase with *me* where the first member has determiners in their standard (post-nominal) position. It is possible, however, to have an anaphor in the pre-nominal, i.e., focal, position (see Section 9), as is shown in (4.2b). When two noun phrases with singular referents are conjoined, the resulting noun phrase is plural, and is indexed as such (4.2b-c).

(4.2) a. *Gosa rongeronge melewe fiyangole maliuge **me** pache?*
go=sa rongeronge mele-we fiyango-le maliuge **me** pache
2SG=PVF hear ANA-DEF story-3SG.POSS chicken **CONJ** thunder
'Have you heard the story of Chicken and Thunder?'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-030-03-ChickenThunder, 1]

b. *Retai mate melewe siine **me** melewe temale, remasiure lago shagiu nge bale tefale ngali.*
re=tai mate mele-we siile-le **me** mele-we taame-le re=masiure
3PL=NEG wake ANA-DEF mother-3SG.POSS **CONJ** ANA-DEF father-3SG.POSS 3PL=sleep
lago shagiu nge bale tefale ngali
go just CONJ again return to
'They didn't wake up, the mother and father, they just kept sleeping and again [she sang].'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 30]

c. *...[B]we ie yebwe manole shagiu gasi lago mene gane Ilatugufai me Lishemwagiure nge yesa buwei **tabere**.*
bwe ie ye=bwe mano-le shagiu gasi lago mene
SUB.CONN 3SG.EMPH 3SG=INC finish-3SG.POSS just grab go FOC
gale-le ilatugufai me lishemwagiure nge ye=sa bu-wei **tabe=re**
POSS.CLF:ALIM-3SG.POSS ilatugufai and lishemwagiure CONJ 3SG=PVF go-out join=**3PL**
'So that when he finishes taking his food for Ilatugufai and Lishemwagiure, he'll go out with them.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 44-5]

Note that the conjunction *me* is homophonous and homographic from the preposition *me* 'from', but it can be distinguished from the conjunction due to its syntactic position, i.e., following a predicate and preceding a (locational) noun phrase.

(4.3) *…[T]oulape mekawe regasi **me** iyange.*
toulape mel-ka-we re=gasi **me** i-yange
many ANA-PL-DEF 3PL=take from ANA-there
'…many things they took **from** there.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 101]

4.1.2 Nominal Number

Woleaian does not have any grammatical marking for number on nouns. In other words, there are no regular processes in which a singular-plural distinction is marked on the word level in nouns. Plurality is instead expressed within the noun phrase through the demonstrative paradigm (see Section 4.3), and in verb phrases through the use of plural pronominal indexing. Nouns by themselves can thus refer to a singular or plural number of referents, but, if demonstratives are used, the grammatical number of the demonstrative must always agree with the physical amount of the noun it refers to.

mwale	man	'man/men'
mwale we	man DEF	'the man'
mwale kawe	man PL-DEF	'the men'

As mentioned, plurality of referents can be expressed via the verbal morphology by indexing the verb phrase with the third person plural pronominal clitics, *re=* and *=re*, which are used for subject and object arguments, respectively. In other words, the number of a noun that does not have a demonstrative to show this can be disambiguated by the choice in pronominal clitic.

(4.4) a. *Pangale rane yare bwe buwei **mwale rebwe** lago tiule giuregage…*
panga-le rane yaa-re bwe buwei **mwale re**=bwe lago tiule
all-3SG.POSS day POSS.CLF:GEN-3PL.POSS INC go out **man** **3PL**=go hunt
giuregage
black.noddy
'Every day, when all the men leave on their way to hunt the black noddies, …'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-033-MaliupashStory, 4.1]

b. *Sebongile nge melewe **laiule tamol** yesa shagei remage.*
se-bong-le nge mele-we lai-le tamol-le ye=sa shage-i
one night-3SG.POSS and ANA-DEF **child-3SG.POSS chief** 3SG=PFV
remage
chase-TRR naupaka
'One night, the son of the chief chased Remage.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-030-02-RemageNarrative, 14]

It is, however, relatively rare in discourse to have a sentence that contains an explicit noun that is not followed by a demonstrative. Specifically, arguments, especially subject arguments, are generally not repeated, and only if they are to introduce or re-introduce a referent to the discourse, in which case they almost always occur with a demonstrative. For a more detailed discussion of this, see Chapter 9.2.

Additionally, besides verbs that inherently imply plurality of the subject argument, such as *magi* '(to) go together (as a group)' or reciprocal constructions using *fengani* RECIP, there are nouns that are inherently plural, such as *moiu* 'a group (of animates)' and *umule* 'a bunch (of)'. These do not have any regular plural marking, but semantically refer to plural subjects. There are also some conventionalized and grammaticalized words that imply plurality where the third person plural pronominal marking *re*= 3PL is attached to a noun, such as *rewolea* 'people of Woleai', *refaliuwesh* 'people of our island', and *rebugetale* '(his/her) relatives' (lit. 'those of his place'). I have also found a single suppletive pair where the one word is unspecified for number, but the other is always plural: *shoabute* 'woman, women' vs. *faiufile* 'women'.

4.1.3 Adnominal Possession and Possessive Classifiers

Woleaian has two ways of expressing adnominal possession: One is where a possessor suffix directly attaches to the possessed noun, and in the other possessor suffixes attach to one of a set of possessive classifiers, which precedes the noun in the noun phrase. For predicative possession, see Section 7.5.3.2.

Both strategies use the same paradigm of possessor suffixes, which encode person and number and attach directly to either the possessed noun or the possessive classifier.

Gloss	Woleaian
1SG	-i
2SG	-mwe
3SG	-le
1PL.INCL	-she
1PL.EXCL	-mem
2PL	-mi
3PL	-re

Table 4.1: Possessor Suffixes.

As noted by Sohn (1975, 72), the use of direct suffixation or a possessive classifier can influence the meaning of a phrase. For example, *ngeoliu* 'picture' can be possessed either with a classifier, as in *yaai ngeoliu*, or with a suffix, as in *ngeoli*. In the former type, *yaai ngeoliu*, it means 'my picture (that I took)', whereas the latter type, *ngeoli*, it means 'a picture of me'.

This shows that direct, suffixal, possession indicates a tighter, inalienable or more permanent, possessive connection between the possessor and the possessed, whereas constructions with a possessive classifier indicate a less tight, alienable or less permanent, possessive connection.

4.1.3.1 Possessor Suffixes

As stated above, in adnominal possession the possessor suffix, which encodes person and number, attaches directly to the possessed noun. This type of possession can take scope over a single noun (4.5a) as well as a more complex noun phrase (4.5b):

(4.5) a. *Taloge lago melewe **laiushe**.*
ta-loge lago mele-we **laiu-she**
NEG-stay go ANA-DEF offspring-1PL.INCL.POSS
'Our daughter has disappeared.'

[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 75]

b. *Resiusape lago woale **peige shobutashe**.*
re=siu-sape lago woa-le **peige shobute-she**
3PL=stand-face go on-3SG.POSS **side woman-1PL.INCL.POSS**
'They are facing our left.'

[Lenny Saumar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-3, 13]

Of the possessor suffixes, the third person singular possessor suffix *-le* is very frequent throughout utterances, by far the most frequent of any possessor suffix. Since there are several word classes, notably prepositions, that require a possessor suffix and third person non-human referents/arguments are generally underspecified for number (see Section 5.1.2), the third person singular is the default choice. This also means that it occurs in other constructions that are not referentially related to possession, such as subordination. In its frequent usage, and perhaps because of it, the person-number semantics of *-le* are in many cases bleached, and the suffix only serves to fulfill the grammatical requirement of having a suffix present. The frequency and bleached semantics of the suffix are so pervasive that Sohn (1975, 114–6) posits a 'defective' suffix that is formally identical to the third person singular suffix, but can be either singular or plural and only occurs on common nouns and proper nouns in attributive possessive constructions such as *metale John* 'John's eyes'.

However, I analyze this as a single polyfunctional form, the third person singular, with a variety of functions, rather than two formally identical and functionally overlapping suffixes. Major support for this, besides general parsimony of analysis, comes from the fact that number in Woleaian in general is not as strictly delineated, as shown in the lack of nominal number, the general lack of number distinction outside of demonstratives and prononimals. Additionally, as discussed in Section 5.1.2, even in the pronominal realm singular affixes are not infrequently used to index semantically plural referents.

All that is to say is that, in this grammar, the third person singular possessor suffix *-le* is the default option for grammatically required and optional possessor suffixes, and is often underspecified for number, i.e., it can in some instances be used to index a (semantically) plural argument. This leads to the fact that *-le* in many instances takes the function of a linker, expressing some connection, grammatical or conceptual, between the word it attaches to and the element follows.

Due to the lack of an adjectives word class in Woleaian, and that there are thus no possibilities of noun phrases that are modified beyond a very limited set of modifiers, such as quantifiers. This modification is carried out by stative verbs, which, when possessed leads to a construction where the verb phrase that includes a description of some quality or state of the head noun is expressed, followed by a noun phrase in which that noun is repeated with its appropriate possessive marking. In other words, a possessor suffix cannot attach to anything other than the noun, but at the same time it cannot occur before a stative verb.

(4.6) a. *imwale.*
[imwe-le]
house-3SG.POSS
'his house.'
[Junior Taruwemai, ELICITED]

b. *imwe cha we imwale*
[[imwe cha we] [imwe-le]]
house red DEF house-3SG.POSS
'The red house, his house.'
[Junior Taruwemai, ELICITED]

c. *imwe cha faregite we imwale*
[[imwe cha faregite we] [imwe-le]]
house red big DEF house-3SG.POSS
'The big red house, his house.'
[Junior Taruwemai, ELICITED]

The article *we* used in (4.6b-c) can be substituted for any other plain demonstrative (see Section 4.3), depending on relevant context.

However, an obligatorily possessed noun (see Section 4.1.3.3) *can* occur with the possessive marking a regular subject (4.7a) or object (4.7b).

(4.7) a. *Fale ngali nge yesiu melewe bugiuwale nge yesa bwale maniunago waawe.*
fale ngali nge ye=siu mele-we bugiuwe-le nge ye=sa bwale maliu lago
look to CONJ 3SG=stand ANA-DEF **knee-3SG.POSS** CONJ 3SG=PFV also drift go
waa we
canoe DEF
'Look at it and his knee was standing, and the canoe was drifting away again.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 141]

b. *Gasiu tagei ie melewe bugiuwale.*
ga-siu tage=i ie mele-we bugiuwe-le
CAUS-stand up=TRR 3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF **knee-3SG.POSS**
'He raised up his knee.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 128]

4.1.3.2 Possessive Classifiers

The second strategy of nominal possession is through the use of possessive classifiers. In this strategy, a possessive classifier that is suffixed with a possessor suffix is placed before the possessed noun. In contexts where it is clear what object the possessive classifier is referring to, the noun may be elided as well.

Woleaian has a large and detailed, but closed inventory of possessive classifiers: With the exception of the generic possessive classifier *yaa*, which can be used for any noun, the classifiers are connected to specific objects or functions. These range from relatively general, for example the classifier for all food items *gela-*, to highly specific, for example the classifier for men's houses *fale-* and the one for women's tattoos *bera-*. I have identified a total of 18 possessive classifiers (see Table 4.2), but it seems that classifiers are relatively malleable as a closed class, as Sohn (1975) identifies some possessive classifiers which I have not found, *goshaa* 'raw food', and *laniye-* 'place to stay' , and does not identify some which I have, such as *bera-* POSS.CLF:WOMENS.TATTOO, and *maka-* POSS.CLF:TATTOO. This phenomenon runs parallel to the way in which numeral classifiers seem to develop and disappear relatively rapidly (see Section 6.3.1).

Classifier	Gloss	Used for	Etymology
yaa-	POSS.CLF:GEN	generic	
bera-	POSS.CLF:WOMENS.TATTOO	women's tattoos	?
fale-	POSS.CLF:MENS.HOUSE	men's houses	*faale* 'men's house'
faliuwe-	POSS.CLF:ISLAND	islands	*faliuwe* 'island'
gapite-	POSS.CLF:OIL	oils, unguents, etc.	*gapite* '(to) oil skin'
gela-	POSS.CLF:ALIM	food items (excluding drink)	*gela* 'food'
giliye-	POSS.CLF:MAT	mats	*giliye* 'mat'
gola-	POSS.CLF:CAUGHT	catch	*gola* '(to) reach'
imwe-	POSS.CLF:SHELTER	shelters	*iimwe* 'house'
iuliuma-	POSS.CLF:POTABLE	potable water	*iule* '(to) drink'
paa-	POSS.CLF:BAIT	fishing bait	*paa* 'bait'
lega-	POSS.CLF:BRACELET	bracelets	?
laiu-	POSS.CLF:CARED.FOR	cared for	*laiu* 'child'
maata-	POSS.CLF:GARDEN	gardens	*maate* 'garden'
maka-	POSS.CLF:TATTOO	tattoos	*make* 'tattoo'
shaliu-	POSS.CLF:WELL	wells, catchments, etc.	*shaaliu* 'fresh water'
shiuwe-	POSS.CLF:PIERCING	body piercings	?*shiu* 'bone'
waa-	POSS.CLF:VEHICLE	vehicles	*waa* 'canoe'

Table 4.2: Possessive classifiers.

As shown in the table, many of the possessive classifiers stem directly from words relevant to the category (or the category itself if highly specific). Even though quite a few of the possessive classifiers are formally identical to their source counterparts, they are functionally separate. When a noun is possessed using a non-generic possessive classifier (the uses of *yaa-* will be explained further below), the classifier must match the category of the possessed object. Since the word a classifier is sourced from always falls into that category, the result will inevitably look like a repetition of that word, for example *imwele imwe* 'his/her/its house' or *waai waa* 'my canoe'. Since these words can also be directly possessed using the possessor suffixes, as in *waale* 'his/her/its canoe/vehicle', it can seem quite confusing at first glance to differentiate which is the classifier and which is the word it stems from. The ambiguity is often only resolvable by context, as possessive classifiers may occur on their own when the context is clear (4.8). For example *waale* without context will most likely refer to a canoe, i.e., interpreted as a directly possessed noun, but where the discourse context is given, such as a discussion of driving, engines, or vehicle repairs, it can refer to a boat or car. The only potential thing that could disambiguate the two is the fact that possessive classifiers must always have a possessor suffix whereas the source nouns are not, and function as regular nouns, e.g., they can be modified and take demonstratives.

(4.8) a. *waale.*
waa-le
canoe-3SG.POSS OR POSS.CLF:VEHICLE-3SG.POSS
'his/her/its canoe OR his/her/its vehicle (specified by context)'

b. *Waale mele kawe yegale gake poliu…*
waa-le mele ka-we ye=gale gake poliu
POSS.CLF:VEHICLE-3SG.POSS FOC PL-DEF 3SG=HAB collect dirt
'It is a dump truck…'

[Lenny Saumar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-1, 10.1]

Additionally, possessive classifiers optionally occur in possessive constructions where the possessor is non-pronominal (i.e., a noun phrase). This construction thus requires two nouns, and the possessive relationship can be expressed either through direct suffixation of the first (i.e., possessed) noun, as in (4.9a), or by placing a suffixed possessive classifier in between the two nouns, as in (4.9b).

(4.9) a. *Ilale mene imwele mongo.*
i-la-le mene imwe-le mongo
ANA-MED-3SG.POSS FOC house-3SG.POSS food
'That is a food storage'

[Lenny Saumar, fm6-053-EauripikPictureDescriptions, 23-4]

b. *Sililonge yenange we yaale Lishemwagiure.*
sililong yengange we yaa-le Lishemwagiure
put.in work DEF POSS.CLF:GEN-3SG.POSS PN
'[They went out to] take in the work of Lishemwagiure'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-2, 65]

As also shown in (4.9b), the possessive classifier is placed after the demonstrative, which is the last possible element in a noun phrase. This shows that this is a biclausal construction where the possessed is expressed first in a separate noun phrase, and then its possessive relationship is expressed in a second noun phrase with the possessive classifier. There seems to be a heavy dispreference for having a noun phrase with possessive suffixation in addition to a demonstrative, but there are a handful of examples where this might be the case. In all of these cases, such as in (4.8b), the demonstrative consists, or partly consists, of *mel-*, or the (historically) complex forms *mene~mena*, which operates in the realm of demonstratives, but have also been extended into a focus marker (see Section 4.3.5). The fact that only this focus marker can occur in the same noun phrase as a possessed noun is further evidence of its cross-categorical functionality and development into a separated focus marker.

In this grammar, I disambiguate the possessive classifiers from the source words by writing them as dependent forms, e.g., *imwe-*, to indicate their requirement of a possessor suffix, as well as their glosses indicating POSS.CLF: if they are possessive classifiers.

Besides the expected nominal possession, it also possible to possess verbs or verb phrases, due to the fuzziness of the boundaries between verbs and nouns. Possession of verbs/verb occurs only with the generic possessive classifier *yaa-* in the corpus, but it is morphologically and syntactically identical to nominal possession. In these constructions, the verb phrase functions identically to a noun phrase, and can thus take nominal elements such as demonstratives (4.10b).

(4.10) a. *Yesiusape tapile yashe mato.*
ye=siu-sape tapile yaa-she mato
3SG=stand-face resemble POSS:GEN-1PL.INCL.POSS sit
'He is facing the same way like our sitting.'
[Ignatius Maluchelmar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-2, 17]

b. *Gemalemale yee yeshitage gakirimwe we yaare.*
gemalemale yee ye=shitage ga-kirimwe we yaa-re
prepare and.so 3SG=start CAUS-race DEF POSS.CLF:GEN-3PL.POSS
'[They were] preparing, and…they started their race.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-032-02-NeedlefishCrab, 25-26]

4.1.3.3 Obligatory and non-obligatory possession

Woleaian, like most other Austronesian languages (Blust 2013b, 490), has a distinction between obligatorily and non-obligatorily possessed nouns.

Woleaian does not make a morphological distinction between obligatory and non-obligatory possession. Rather, obligatorily possessed nouns must always occur with a directly attached possessor suffix. Following from this, this also means that these words do not occur with the possessive classifiers described above. For example, 'your leg' will always be produced as *peshemw* leg-2SG.POSS rather than **yamwu pesha* POSS.CLF:GEN-2SG.POSS leg. To clarify, while obligatorily possessed nouns always occur *only* with the possessor suffixes, alienable nouns can occur with either the possessor suffixes *or* the possessive classifiers. Sohn (1975, 71) states that possessor suffixes are reserved only for obligatorily possessed nouns, and the possessive classifiers only for non-obligatory ones, but possessor suffixes on alienable nouns are quite common in my data, so this is not or no longer the case.

Conceptually, non-obligatorily possessed nouns are those where the status of an object or notion is not permanent, whereas obligatory possession means that the possessor and possessed are inexorably linked. Basic examples of objects that are alienably possessed are food items, tools, or clothing, and basic examples of inalienable possession are body parts, names, and many kinship

terms. Table 4.3 gives a list of the currently identified obligatorily possessed words found in the corpus. However, this can be taken as a non-exhaustive list.

Body Parts	
paiu	'arm'
booti	'nose'
iuwe	'neck'
mata	'eye, face'
shiimwe	'head'
yefare	'shoulder'
yaawe	'mouth'
saage	'belly'
bugiuwe	'knee'
Kinship Terms	
laiu	'child'
siile	'mother'
taamwe	'father'
bise	'same sex sibling'
mwangeya	'cross sex sibling'
Other	
iite	'name'

Table 4.3: Obligatorily possessed nouns.

There is a small number of words that are obligatorily possessed in most contexts, but have specific, grammaticalized, context in which they can occur without possessive marking. For example, *paiu* 'arm', may occur without possession in grammaticalized constructions such as *paiu shobute* 'left' (lit. 'woman hand').

Lastly, it is possible to possess verbs, verb phrases, and lexicalized nominal phrases such as some directions (e.g., *peige shobute 'left' [lit. 'side woman']*), in certain contexts. These are always possessed using the suffixes.

To summarize, inalienable possession is obligatory for some words, optional for others, and impossible for yet others. Disambiguation of type of possession is not easy since one needs several instances of a word to be able to determine whether that word is obligatorily suffixally possessed.

4.1.4 Nominal Compounding

A nominal compound is a word that is formed from two or more different words (Payne 1997, 92), the resulting form of which functions as a noun. Nominal compounding in Woleaian is very infre-

quent when compared to verbal compounding, but nonetheless has several diagnostic features. Compounding can be analyzed from two perspectives (see e.g., Payne 1997): The grammatical perspective, in which you expect a compound to be morphologically tight-knit, in the sense that there is no interfering morphology between the compounded elements, and the semantic perspective, wherein the two combined words lead to semantics that are more determined towards objects or concepts than a simply modified noun, i.e., the sum of the compound is greater than the meaning of its two nominal parts. Often, the syntactic distinction from other multi-word constructions that may be morphologically complex is given as the only (e.g., Bisetto and Scalise 2005, 326) or at least the most important diagnostic (e.g., Payne 1997, 92–4; Bauer 2001, 695).

From both perspectives there are few instances of compounding. Grammatically, there are only a handful of instances in the corpus of nominal compounds, i.e., a noun and at least one other element that results in a noun. When multiple elements are combined within the noun phrase, it is most frequently done using possessive constructions, with the third person singular possessive *-le* functioning as the baseline marker when possessor is underspecified for person and number. The function of *-le* as a general marker for connection between two or more nouns was described in Section 4.1.3.

That being said, there are still some instances of compounds to be found, shown in Table 4.4.

Woleaian	**Gloss**	**Elements**
waa faliuwe	'large boat, freighter'	< *waa* 'canoe, vehicle' + *faliuwe* 'island, land'
welele yaalo	'noon'	< *welewele* '(to be) straight' + *yaalo* 'sun'
ngashelamwo	'lagoon edge'	< *ngashe* 'edge' + *laamwo* 'lagoon'
mwashengateti	'seashore'	< *mwashenga* 'boundary' + *taate* 'sea'
waterage	'sailing canoe'	< *waa* 'canoe, vehicle' + *terage* '(to) sail'
fashe cha	'pineapple'	< *faashe* 'pandanus' + *cha* 'blood, (to be), red'
tagiuriumasowe	'beetle'	< *tagiure* 'back' + *masowe* '(to be) strong, hard'
paiusheoiu	'bat'	< *paiu* 'hand, arm' + *sheoiu* 'everywhere'
gasuberara	'spider'	< *gasub* 'creator, (to) create' + *rara* 'web'
taguwperas	'medium-sized Yellowfin Tuna'	< *taguwe* 'small tuna' + ?*perase* 'rice'
tagiulepai	'lizard'	< ?*ta-* NEG + *giula* '(to) know' + *paiu* 'hand'

Table 4.4: Compounds.

As can be seen in the table, nominal compounds take elements from both the nominal and verbal domain.

It is difficult to ascertain whether or not a compound is fully lexicalized/conventionalized, as these compounds are treated as a single (complex) noun. In some cases the orthography can potentially show that a compound is lexicalized, i.e., if the compound is written as one word, but for

some cases there is variation in this, even within one speaker, for example *waa faliuwe~wafaliuwe*.

Semantically, there are some instances where a group of nouns refer to an entity that doesn't necessarily follow from simply summing up the meanings of the combined nouns. However, two points must be made here: First, these potential compounds often occur in animal names or proper nouns, which are generally linked to their origin. Secondly, we must be careful in assuming conceptualization of complex noun phrases that correspond to simplex nouns in other languages. To illustrate the first point, the word for 'Conspicuous Sea Cucumber' (*Opheodesoma spectabilis [ssp.?])*, *taniwaleyoole*, which can be glossed as *taali-le-waa-le-yoole* 'rope-3SG.POSS-vehicle-3SG.POSS-Yoole', with the literal meaning of 'rope of Yoole's canoe', refers to the origin of the animal. Words such as *taniwaleyoole* form a closed class in the language, and are closely linked to the oral tradition, worldview and way of life. Analytically, it makes little sense to classify these types of words as semantic compounds rather than fossilized noun phrases, even when disregarding the continued presence of the interfering morphology.

By cautioning against the assumption of conceptualization I mean that, if there happens to be a translation equivalent of a certain phrase that corresponds to a simplex noun or entity, this does not mean that this conceptualization can be patterned onto the noun phrase in the source language, even when a set of nouns is frequently collocated. To give a simple example, the Woleaian noun phrase *sheoliyawe~sheoli yawe* corresponds to the English concept 'tongue', but its constituent elements are *sheeo-le yawe* 'leaf-3SG.POSS mouth'. Although this is not an infrequently used word, and in its general usage has a specific meaning relating to a relatively basic body part, we cannot assume that *sheoliyawe* is conceptualized specifically as 'tongue' rather than 'leaf of the mouth'. Speakers are always aware of the constituent parts of these types of words, the forms generally do not correspond to forms in the proto-language(s), and the morphology always remains intact. Similar examples of this phenomenon are *woshe mwatera* 'Rice Coral (*Montipora capitata*)', literally 'coral, *woale yefare* 'upper lip' and *faale yefare* 'lower lip', literally 'on/under lip/shoulder', respectively,

To summarize, according to the parameters of 1. tight-boundedness and 2. semantic meaning/conceptualization, as laid out in the section above, there is little proper evidence for the existence, productive or not, of compounds that are grammatically and semantically similar to the compounding found in the verbal domain (see Section 5.6).

4.1.5 Reduplication in the nominal domain

As with compounding, reduplication in the nominal domain is less frequent than in the verbal domain. I have found no productive processes where nouns are reduplicated. Thus, all of the instances of nominal reduplication in the corpus are lexicalized. The function of nominal reduplication is creating the semantics of 'related to X' in some form, or it is onomatopoeic/ideophonic. In practice, this could mean either relating to a specific, emblematic, aspect of the original noun,

or relating to a generic, overarching concept under which the original noun falls.

Several of the Woleaian color terms are fossilized reduplications of the first category. For example, *rangerange* 'orange', *yeloyelo* 'yellow', *beshebeshe* 'white' and *chechoale* 'black' are all full or partial reduplications, stemming from *range* 'turmeric', *yaalo* 'sun', *besh* 'slaked lime' and *shoale* '(to be) dark', respectively. Other examples are *faafaa* 'footboard (of a loom)' (< *faa* 'bottom'), *matemeta* 'variety' (< *mate* 'full'), *pelipel* 'sea cucumber' (< *peli* 'coconut meat'), *shiushiu* 'piercing' (< *shiu* 'bone'), and *werewere* 'lightning' (< *were* '(to) shine').

If the source word of the reduplication is (still) present, speakers are often aware of it and can explain why the two are semantically linked. Ideophonic/onomatopoeic reduplication is found in words such as *guagua* 'White-breasted Waterhen (*Amaurornis phoenicurus)*' and *nganga* 'waterfowl'.

Many words, especially those referring to plants or animals, occur only in their reduplicated form, with no unreduplicated source to be found. These are often onomatopoeic or ideophonic (as noted above), but some do not point to a specific origin. Examples include *meimei* 'fruit fly', *tiutiu* 'breast', *tiugetiuge* 'wrapper', *chebiibii* 'white ginger flower (*Hedychium coronarium)*', *foafoa* 'larger Rainbow Runner (*Elagatis bipinnulata*)', and *galogale* 'sennit'.

Reduplication of a word that generally occurs in nominal position to be used as a verb is more common, and will be discussed in Section 5.5 below.

4.2 Pronouns

Pronouns and the pronominal clitics function to anaphorically (and sometimes cataphorically) refer to arguments in the discourse. For third person pronouns, this means that they serve as a substitute for a noun phrase or object that is established either by being a previously mentioned topic, by context, or through topics naturally established in the discourse through physical presence. For first and second person, pronouns do not act as substitutes, but rather refer to participants in the discourse. Pronouns function in both the verbal and nominal domain; independent pronouns serve as heads of noun phrases, possessor suffixes attach to (or result in) nouns, and subject and object clitics attach to the verb phrase.

As shown in the noun phrase structure, the pronoun takes the same position as the noun. However, pronouns cannot take any of the modifiers with the exception of the focus marker *mene*.

(preposition) (numeral/quantifier) noun(s)/pronoun (demonstrative)

In addition to the pronouns I will be discussing below, Sohn (1975, 77) mentions two "defective

pronouns", *i-* and *mel-*. Although he classifies them as pronouns, since '[t]hey do not name concrete objects…', his analysis shows that he found that these are functioning as anaphora. I also analyze *-i* and *mel-* at least synchronically as anaphora, which function closely together with the demonstratives. Thus, I will be discussing these under the section discussing demonstratives (Section4.3), rather than under pronouns.

4.2.1 Personal pronouns

There are four paradigms of pronominal elements: Subject proclitics, object enclitics, independent (emphatic) pronouns, and possessor suffixes. While given in Table 4.5 below, the function of possessor suffixes has been discussed in Section 4.1.3.1 above.

	Emphatic	**Subject**	**Object**	**Possessive**
1SG	*gaangi*	*i=*	*=yai*	*-i*
2SG	*geele*	*go=*	*=go*	*-mwe*
3SG	*ie~iye*	*ye=*	–	*-le*
1PL.INCL	*gishe*	*si=*	*=gishe*	*-she*
1PL.EXCL	*gamem*	*gai=*	*=gamem*	*-mem*
2PL	*gami*	*gai=*	*=gami*	*-mi*
3PL	*ire*	*re=*	*=re*	*-re*

Table 4.5: Pronominal clitics, independent pronouns, and possessor suffixes.

The subject and object clitics are the most commonly used elements to refer to referents in discourse. However, except for the possessor suffixes, none of the pronominal markers in Table 4.5 are grammatically obligatory. That is to say that, although it does commonly occur, the subject/object clitics are not obligatory when it is clear from the discourse context which referent is implied, such as in a multiclausal sequence of events, or when the referent is explicitly given in the sentence. However, they are optionally allowed in every construction; I have not found any verbal construction type (with the exception of existential constructions with *yoore*, which never takes indexing) where the subject/object and/or the emphatic pronouns are not optionally allowed.

The four sets of pronominal elements given in Table 4.5 are very clearly closely related. This is especially pronounced in the plural section, where the emphatic pronouns and object enclitics are almost identical, the possessor suffixes consist of the final syllable.

In the case of the object enclitics, disambiguation between use of independent pronoun or pronominal enclitic is done through prosody, as the emphatic pronoun is not phonologically integrated with the preceding verb, and is usually prosodically emphasized. Additionally, emphatic pronouns, due to their function and interaction with word order, often appear in specific constructions that make them easy to detect as such (see Section 4.2.1.1).

4.2.1.1 Emphatic Pronouns

The emphatic pronouns, which are much less frequent, are optionally included to emphasize a certain referent. They can co-occur both with the pronominal clitics and their explicit referent within the same sentence, but usually occur in a prominent position (i.e., at the front of the sentence; see Section 9.1). The emphatic pronoun is used in constructions where the referent of the pronoun is highlighted as an important element of the clause. Thus it is used in constructions such as equative sentences (4.11a; see Section 7.5.5), corrections (4.11b), and resuming to/foregrounding a previous discourse topic (4.11c).

(4.11) a. ***Gange*** *isa mate.*
gange i=sa mate
1SG.EMPH 1SG=PFV full
'I am full.'

[Field notes, 230127]

b. *Iwe* ***geele*** *mene gobele tamole, yebwe tai* ***gange*** *bwe* ***gange*** *semaliu maliu gefago.*
i-we **geele** mene go=bele tamol-le ye=bwe tai **gange**
ANA-DEF **2SG.EMPH** FOC 2SG=FUT.IMM chief-3SG.POSS 3SG=INC NEG **1SG.EMPH**
bwe **gange** se-maliu maliu gefago
SUB.CONN **1SG.EMPH** one=CLF:ANIM CLF.ANIM poor
'"Then you are going to be the chief." "No, not me, because I'm a poor person!"'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-2, 89]

c. *Yesa toulap lago* ***ie*** *mekawe rebugetale* ***ie*** *Maruwa.*
ye=sa toulape lago **ie** mel-ka-we rebugeta-le **ie** Maruwa
3SG=PFV many go **3SG.EMPH** ANA-PL-DEF relative-3SG.POSS **3SG.EMPH** Maruwa
'There were a lot of relatives of Maruwa.'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 166]

As shown in (4.11c), the emphatic pronoun often functions as a cataphor when reintroducing a discourse topic, with the explicit referent placed at the end of the clause, with the emphatic pronoun optionally repeated.

In the corpus the (re)introduction and/or foregrounding in discourse is the most common function of the emphatic pronouns. In these instances, the emphatic pronoun is placed sentence-initially (though see below for other positions) followed by a noun phrase containing the explicit referent.

(4.12) *Iye garige we sa gangali bwe…*
iye garige we sa gangali bwe
3SG.EMPH beach.crab DEF PFV tell SUB.CONN
'The beach crab said that…'

[Lenny Saumar, fm6-032-02-NeedlefishCrab, 22]

When the emphatic pronouns do occur as the subject argument in a sentence that contains only a verb, the verb is usually co-indexed with the subject proclitic (4.13a), but this is not obligatory (4.13b). Argument indexing preferences and strategies are discussed in further detail in Section 5.1.2.

(4.13) a. *Yesa mase **ie** melewe fitiyale.*
ye=sa mase **ie** mele-we fiti-yaa-le
3SG=PFV die **3SG.EMPH** ANA-DEF spouse-POSS.CLF:GEN-3SG.POSS
'The husband was dead.'

[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230125-1, 142]

b. *Mase lago **ie** yaliuse we.*
mase lago **ie** yaliuse we
die go **3SG.EMPH** spirit DEF
'The ghost died.'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-2, 85]

Additionally, the emphatic pronouns often function as a cataphor in the (re)introduction of discourse referents. In this construction, which is relatively common, the emphatic pronoun is placed after the verb, usually followed by an anaphoric demonstrative, and then followed by a full noun phrase of the referent by itself.

(4.14) a. *Nge resa butog libwili lago **ie** shobut we fitiyale.*
nge re=sa butoge libwili lago **ie** shobute we fiti-yaa-le
CONJ 3PL=PFV come bury go **3SG.EMPH** woman DEF spouse-POSS.CLF:GEN

3SG.POSS
'They came and buried the wife.'

Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230125-1, 87]

b. *Resa ligitatiwe **ie** Maliupashe bwe yebwe gamwele **ie** waawe waare.*
re=sa ligita-tiwe **ie** Maliupash bwe ye=bwe ga-mwele **ie**
3PL=PFV leave-down **3SG.EMPH** Maliupash SUB.CONN 3SG=INC CAUS-good **3SG.EMPH**
waa we waa-re
canoe DEF POSS.CLF:VEHICLE-3PL.POSS
'They left Maliupash to take care of their canoe.'

[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230125-1, 39]

This is not restricted to object arguments. In fact, it is more commonly used for subject arguments, in constructions where the verb phrase is focalized. However, in these constructions the position of the emphatic pronoun remains the same, regardless of whether the subject or object is emphasized. In cases of monovalent constructions (4.15a) there is no ambiguity, but in bivalent constructions, disambiguation is done through the clitics (4.15b) or context (4.15c).

(4.15) a. *Sebale bulong **ie** ure we.*
sa bale bu-long **ie** ure we
PFV-also go-in **3SG.EMPH** dance DEF
'And the dancing started.'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 47]

b. *Nge **ie regale** gangali bwe yetaloge…*
nge **ie** **re**=gale gangali bwe ye=ta-loge
CONJ **3SG.EMPH** **3PL**=HAB tell SUB.CONN 3SG=NEG-stay
'And they told her that he wasn't there…'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-2, 14]

c. *Yei tapunge tage shagiu yesa bitage gopiye **ie** melewe.*
yei tapunge tage shagiu ye=sa bi tage gopii-iye **ie** mele-we
INJ suddenly up repeat 3SG=PFV go up cut-TRR **3SG.EMPH** ANA-DEF
'Oh! All of a sudden he got up and cut it [the tree].'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 105]

This construction is also used for involuntary actions, such as in (4.16). This construction type is discussed in more detail in Section 7.5.10.

(4.16) a. *More lago **iye** melewe yewale.*
more lago **iye** mele-we yewa-le
remove go **3SG.EMPH** ANA-DEF mouth-3SG.POSS
'His mouth fell off.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-032-02-NeedlefishCrab, 49]

b. *Mase lage **ie** yaliuse we.*
mase lage **ie** yaliuse we
die go **3SG.EMPH** ghost DEF
'The ghost died.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-2, 85]

Lastly, the emphatic pronouns can also be combined with demonstratives directly (i.e., without anaphors), including the focus marker *mene*. This can occur for both subject arguments (4.17a-b), and object arguments (4.17c). In the corpus, the combination of emphatic pronoun and a (non-anaphoric) demonstrative only occurs with the emphatic pronoun in-situ

(4.17) a. *Nge ie we yesa butoge pipiye fetalei.*
nge **ie** **we** ye=sa butoge pipiye fetale=i
CONJ **3SG.EMPH DEF** 3SG=PFV come watch around=TRR
'And he came and looked around for him.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-2, 78]

b. *Yei **geele mene** gobwele tamole.*
yei **geele** **mene** go=bwele tamol-le
INJ **2SG.EMPH FOC** 2SG=INCEP chief-3SG.POSS
'"Hey, you will be chief."'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 71]

c. *Iwe isa gasi toge **ie mene** laiumi gare gaibwe mwelele gangi.*
i-we i=sa gasi togo **ie** **mene** lai-mi gare gai
ANA-DEF 1SG=PFV grab come **3SG.EMPH FOC** offspring-2PL.POSS if 2PL=INC
bwe mwele-le gangi
SUB.CONN able-3SG.POSS eat
'So, I brought your son if you can eat him.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 78]

4.2.1.2 Pronominal clitics

The subject and object clitics are bound elements that attach to the edges of verb phrases. The subject proclitic attaches to the left edge of the verb phrase, and, conversely, the object enclitic attaches to the right edge. In simple verbal phrases this can mean that both the subject and object clitic attach to a single verb (4.18a), but in more complex clauses the subject proclitic will attach to any element that precedes the verb, such as negator, a verbal particle, or verbal prefix. Conversely, subject enclitic attaches to the last element of the verb phrase, such as the last verb in a serial verb construction (see 8.1.2, a post-verbal particle (see Section 5.3).

(4.18) a. *Ikaururemi shagiu.*
i=kaurure=mi shagiu
1SG=spectate=2PL just
'I'm just watching you (perform).'
[field notes, 240824]

b. *Iwe yafe fetale isa gale gekebwate lago reere…*
i-we yaafe fetale i=sa gale RED-gebwate lago re=re
ANA-DEF swim around 1SG=PFV HAB PROG-shout go for=3PL
'I was swimming around and started to shout to them…'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 16]

Synchronically, there is no third person singular object enclitic (although see Section 7.4 for a possible former one). In most cases the lack of object marking is enough to imply third person singular, but in ambiguous cases the emphatic pronoun can be used. Do note that there is a morpheme, *-i* that I argue was historically the third person singular object morpheme that has since developed into a valency increasing morpheme (see Section 5.2.3).

Generic referents are referenced using the pronouns as well, using the first person plural inclusive, or the second person singular pronominal elements. I use generic referent here to mean a referent that is not tied to a referential lexeme or physical object. Thus, even though the first or second person pronouns are used, they do not in fact refer to those speech act participants.

(4.19) a. *Nangileng urule welipiye, katilemoalemoale sigale bulong yeope liuweoniu waliuweoliu.*
nangileng uru-le welipiye katilemoalemoale si=gale bu-long yeope
beach.game game-3SG.POSS beach manhunt 1PL.INCL=HAB go-in hide
liuweoliu waliuweoliu
among plant
'Nangileng is a beach game, [for] manhunt one goes and hides in the woods.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-077-LandscapeDesc-04-welipiye, 11]

b. *Gosa gabeshi yebe besh, gosa sililong lani mwengagu bwe yete besh galongoamu.*
go=sa ga-besh-i ye=be besh go=sa sililong lani mwengagu bwe
2SG=PFV CAUS-hot-3SG 3SG=INC hot 2SG=PFV put.in in cloth SUB.CONN
ye=te besh galongoa-mu
3SG=NEG.INC hot body-2SG.POSS
'Heat it until it's hot, and put it in a cloth so it won't burn your skin.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-077-LandscapeDesc-01-leeli, 10]

c. *Yoore semeoiu waliuweoniu falilalo, gaigale seoriu bwe gani woonge.*
yoore se-meoiu waliuweoliu-le falilalo gai=gale seoriu bwe
EXIST one-CLF:ANIM.GROUP plant-3SG.POSS sea.grape 1PL.EXCL=HAB say SUB.CONN
gale-le woonge
food-3SG.POSS sea.turtle
'There are some plants, we call it turtle food.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-077-LandscapeDesc-03-wooshe, 6]

The indexing of generic referents using the second person singular pronouns is mainly used in explanatory narratives (e.g., recipes, instructions), whereas the first person plural inclusive is used for any other occasion. This is differentiated from the first person exclusive plural that is used in explanations on language and culture given to an outsider (see Section 9.2.3.1).

4.3 The Article and demonstrative determiners

Woleaian features a relatively complex system of demonstratives that is highly frequent and pervasive throughout discourse. Woleaian has a set of nominal demonstratives,[1] two anaphora/cataphora, a definite article, and a focus marker.

The demonstratives operate within the realm of the noun phrase, being added as modifiers to the head noun (nominal demonstratives) or occurring as the head noun (anaphora/cataphora). The demonstratives are often combined with one another. In fact, the two anaphora stems cannot occur on their own, and must be combined with one of the nominal demonstratives.

(preposition) (numeral/quantifier) **noun(s)/pronoun** **(demonstrative)**

Besides the use of the demonstratives to indicate objects in physical relation to the speech-act participants, the demonstratives play a major role in discourse organization. The deictic demonstratives are used to refer both to physically visible objects as well as objects 'visible' within the discourse, i.e., topics. Additionally, the anaphora are combined with the deictic demonstratives to retrieve and refer to referents throughout the discourse. As such, there are fine-grained distinctions in semantics between all the different combinations of demonstrative elements.

Table 4.6 gives an overview of the demonstratives in Woleaian. Section 4.3.2 will cover the deictic demonstratives, the plural demonstrative *ka*, and including the article *we*. Section 4.3.3 will go over the anaphora/cataphora, and Section 4.3.5 will discuss the focus marker *mene*, which is a lexicalized nominal demonstrative.

Woleaian	Gloss
Deictic Demonstratives	
yeele	PROX
la	MED
laale	DIST
mu	ADDR
Anaphora	
i-	ANA
mel-	ANA
Other	
mene	FOC
we	DEF
ka	PL

Table 4.6: Demonstratives, partially repeated from Table 3.7 above.

1. Following the terminology as set out in R. M. W. Dixon (2003, 62–3)

4.3.1 Definite article *we*

The semantically most simple, and most frequent, demonstrative is the definite article *we*. Although all demonstratives mark definiteness since they point to some referent, *we* does not have any deictic function. Instead, *we* only indicates that a certain referent has been previously introduced in the discourse, without any references to its physical distance to the speaker or listener, or its distance within the discourse.

(4.20) a. *Iteoiu mwale **we**.*
iteoiu mwale **we**
who man DEF
'Who's the man?'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-030-02-RemageNarrative, 5]

b. *Lago reli ie imwe **we**.*
lago reli **ie** imwe **we**
go for-3SG 3SG.EMPH house **DEF**
'[They] went to the house.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 120]

c. *Resa foti metale ie somu **kawe**.*
re=sa foti meta-le **ie** soomu **ka=we**
3PL=PFV tie.together inside-3SG.POSS 3SG.EMPH seaweed **PL=DEF**
'They tied up [their canoe] in front of the seaweed.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 14]

In addition to occurring frequently without any other demonstratives (4.20a-b), *we* additionally occurs frequently in combination with the plural marker (4.20c), as well as either of the anaphora (4.21a-b).

(4.21) a. *Nge maliupashe **iwe** yeloge tabowe setabo bwe.*
nge Maliupash **i-we** ye=loge tabowe se-tabo bwe
CONJ Maliupash **ANA-DEF** 3SG=stay connect one-CLF:HALF.OF.LONG SUB.CONN
'And Maliupashe, it was him that stayed on the other side because…'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 5]

b. *Nge ie yesa gatafe tiwe **melewe** gane yee.*
nge **ie** ye=sa gaatafe tiwe **mele-we** gane-le yee
CONJ 3SG.EMPH 3SG=PFV rod.fish down **ANA-DEF** PCLF:ALIM-3SG.POSS CONJ
'And he was dragging the line down [for] that food of his and…'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-2, 7]

Especially frequent is the form *melewe* ANA-DEF, which has both its literal use as an anaphor (see Section 4.3.3), but is also used as a hedge, either as a filler word or in discourse organization.

(4.22) a. *Buwei yange longe lani yewale ie.*
bu wei yange longe lani yewa-le ie
go out there in in mouth-3SG.POSS 3SG.EMPH
'[She] went out and reached into the mouth of…'

b. *Melewe.*
mele-we
ANA-DEF
'Uhh…'

c. *Ngifatale.*
Ngifatale
Ngifatale
'Ngifatale.'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 66-8]

These different meanings of *melewe* are distinguished in the prosody, where the actual anaphoric use is phonologically integrated into the sentence, and the placeholder and hedge uses are usually surrounded by pauses. Its functions within discourse organization are discussed in Section 9.2 below.

4.3.2 Deictic Demonstratives

As stated in Section 4.1.2, the nominal demonstratives are one of the very few ways to indicate number of a non-pronominal referent in the domain of the noun phrase (with number additionally being expressed through the pronominal subject-object paradigms in the verb phrase).

In the nominal demonstrative paradigm, there is a three-way basic deictic distinction between proximal, medial, and distal, *yeele*, *la* and *laale*, respectively. Additionally, there are *mu*, which indicates that a referent is close(r) to the listener (than the speaker), and *we*, which indicates definiteness with no deictic information.

proximal	medial	distal
←		→
yeele	*la*	*laale*
	mu	

The deictic demonstratives are placed at the end of the noun phrase they modify. In cases where one of the anaphora is used (see Section 4.3.3), they attach to it, forming a full noun phrase.

(4.23) a. *Lani ngeoliu **yeele** nge wei bwe…*
lani ngeoliu **yeele** nge wei bwe
in picture **PROX** CONJ resemble SUB.CONN
'In this picture it looks like…'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-3, 11]

b. *Imwe **la** ye nage longe me liugiutagiuriule imwe yeele*
imwe **la** ye=nage longe me liugiu tagiure-le imwe **yeele**
house **MED** 3SG=show in CONJ outside back-3SG.POSS house **PROX**
'The house that is shown behind this house.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-053-EauripikPictureDescriptions, 62]

c. *Yore tage imwe woale tagiyate **lale**.*
yoore tage imwe woale tagiyate **laale**
EXIST up house on elevation **DIST**
'There are more houses on that hill.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-030-04-Directionals, 14]

d. *Gaibitage reli faliuwe **mu** peige tagemem.*
gai=bi-tage reli faliuwe **mu** peige tage-mem
2PL=go-up for island **ADDR** side up-1PL.EXCL.POSS
'You all go up to those islands above us.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 154]

When referring to physical objects, the use of these bare demonstratives is restricted to objects that are visible. For non-visible objects, they must be first established (with a locational phrase), and can subsequently be referred to by using one of the anaphora combined with one of the three demonstratives given above, and typically an emphatic pronoun. The choice of distance demonstrative is complex and based on conceptualization of the referred object both in discourse and physical distance, and requires further study for a detailed analysis.

(4.24) a. *Liu **yeele** nge…iseoriu nge sefasho gashi mene.*
liu **yeele** nge i=seoriu nge se-fasho gashi mene
coconut **PROX** CONJ 1SG=say CONJ one-CLF:LONG.RIGID tuba.tree FOC
'This coconut palm…I think it's a tuba palm [a coconut palm used for making tuba].'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-053-02-EauripikPictureDescriptions, 20-21]

b. *Toulape waliuweoliu ka yeloge wei welipiye,* ***ikela****, waliuweoliu* ***kela*** *regogo reli tafeyale wasiule liteeti.*
toulape waliuweoliu ka ye=loge wei welipiye **i-ke-la** waliuweoliu **ke-la**
many plant PL 3SG=stay out beach **ANA-PL-MED** plant **PL-MED**
re=gogo reli tafeya-le wasiu-le li=teeti
3PL=use for medicine-3SG.POSS lesion-3SG.POSS in=sea
‘ There are many trees on the beach, there, those trees they use for medicine for lacerations from the sea.’
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-077-LandscapeDesc-04-welipiye, 12]

c. *Seewe liugiutagiuriule, waliuweoliu* ***laale*** *yeloga liugiutagiuriule.*
se-we liugiu-tagiure-le waliuweoliu **laale** ye=loge liugiu-tagiure-le
one-CLF:GEN outside-back-3SG.POSS plant **DIST** 3SG=stay outside-back-3SG.POSS
‘One is behind him, that tree is behind him.’
[Ignatius Maluchelmar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-2, 9]

The deictic demonstratives by themselves always apply to singular referents. If a plural referent is present, the demonstratives must be combined with the plural marker *ka-* (see Section 4.3.4).

4.3.3 Anaphora *i-* and *mel-*

There are two anaphora in Woleaian, *i-* and *mel-*. Anaphora may occur virtually all positions in the sentence, depending on the information structure presented by the speaker. They function to reintroduce, emphasize, or (syntactically) focus topics and arguments in discourse. Although more systematic study is required, it seems that the difference between the two anaphora lies in definiteness, with *i-* being used to refer to more definite referents, and *mel-* for less definite referents. However, the functions of the two anaphora are very similar, and, in conversation with speakers it seems that they can be substituted for one another in most instances except for certain lexicalized or conventionalized uses such as the focus marker *mene* or the discourse organizational functions of *ila, iwe,* and *melewe* (see Sections 9 and 9.2, respectively).

(4.25) a. *Melewe... bongile we seewe bale* ***iwe*** *shagiu.*
mele-we bongile we se-we bale **i-we** shagiu
ANA-DEF night DEF one-DEF also **ANA-DEF** repeat
‘Uhh...the other night, the same thing happened.’
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-033-MaliupashStory, 5.4]

b. *Iye seewe nge tapile shagiu **melewe** mmwale.*
iye se-we nge tapile shagiu **mele-we** mmwa-le
3SG.EMPH one-DEF CONJ resemble repeat **ANA-DEF** precede-3SG.POSS
'This other one is same as the very first one.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-1, 44]

c. *Yesa **ila** sengale shagiu, pangali bongile nge yegale bitiwe.*
ye=sa **i-la** senga-le shagiu panga-le bongile nge ye=gale
3SG=PFV **ANA-MED** manner-3SG.POSS repeat all-3SG.POSS night CONJ 3SG=HAB
bi-tiwe
go-down
'So it was like that, every night she went down.'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 41]

In addition to anaphoric usage where arguments previously established in the discourse are foregrounded (4.26a), the demonstratives can also be used cataphorically, referring to the argument before it has been established. In the cataphoric usage, the demonstrative is placed in the syntactic position of the argument it refers to, with the argument itself occurring obliquely at the end of the sentence (4.26b).

(4.26) a. *Iye fela sa gangali bwe gare **ila** mene gotipeli **iwe**.*
iye fela sa gangali bwe gare **i-la** mene go=tipeli **i-we**
3SG.EMPH needlefish PFV tell SUB.CONN if **ANA-MED** FOC 2SG=want **ANA-DEF**
'Needlefish told him if **that**'s what he wants to do then they will do **it**.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-032-02-NeedlefishCrab, 14]

b. *Taloge lago **melewe** laiushe.*
ta-loge lago **mele-we** laiu-she
NEG-stay go **ANA-DEF** offspring-1PL.INCL.POSS
'She has disappeared, our daughter.'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 75]

c. *Nge **meka** uwaali, ika yesa masou meka yemash gobe gangi, nge yegachiu ngali galongoamwe gachiu ngali pangali yauteni galongoamwe.*
nge **me-ka** uwaa-li i-ka ye=sa masou me-ka ye=mash go=be gangi
CONJ **ANA-PL** fruit-3SG.POSS ANA-PL 3SG=PFV mature ANA-.PL 3SG=ripe 2SG-INC eat
nge ye=gachiu ngali galonge-mwe gachiu ngali panga-le yauteni galonge-mwe
CONJ 3SG=good PREP body-2SG.POSS good PREP all-3SG.POSS inside body-2SG.POSS
'And those fruits, those that are mature, the ripe ones, when you eat them they are good for your body and everything inside your body.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-077-LandscapeDesc-01-leeli, 14]

The repetition of the foregrounded argument with anaphora is also possible, but not gram-

matically required (4.26c). A more common strategy with using anaphora to focus arguments, especially in discourse where there is a lot of potential overlap between arguments, is to create a focus phrase using an emphatic pronoun plus a demonstrative, and then to repeat the overt argument in its expected argument position (4.27).

(4.27) ***Ie melewe temale*** *yesa gale seoriu rebe gopii lago nge* ***ie melewe siine*** *yesa gale fitege ngali bwe, mele, yetewai gopiye.*
ie mele-we tema-le ye=sa gale seoriue re=be gopi-i lago nge
3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF father-3SG.POSS 3SG=PFV HAB say 3PL=INC cut-TRR go CONJ
ie mele-we siile-le ye=sa gale fitege ngali bwe mele
3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF mother-3SG.POSS 3SG=PFV HAB fight to SUB.CONN FOC
ye=tewai gopi-iye
3SG=NEG.INCEP cut-3SG
'**He**, **her father**, said that they should cut it down, but **she**, **her mother**, scolded him, uhh, not to cut it.'

[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 90]

Melewe and the plural form *melekawe* also have a reduced forms: *mele* and *mekawe*, respectively. *Mele* is a relatively infrequent variant of *melewe*, but seems to carry the same semantics. Conversely, *mekawe* is the more common form, and carries the semantic meaning of its unreduced constituent parts, ANA-PL-DEF. *melekawe* is the emphatic form that gives additional emphasis or focus to the referent or topic it refers to.

(4.28) a. ***Mekawe*** *shapile yeyamwe lago woale peige mwaleshe.*
mel-ka-we shapi-le ye=yamwe lago woa-le peige mwale=gishe
ANA-PL-DEF stem-3SG.POSS 3SG=point go on-3SG.POSS side man-1PL.INCL.POSS
'The stems [of the bananas] are pointing to the right. (lit. Those, its stem points on our man side)'

[Lenny Saumar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-3, 53]

b. *Yetai mate bwe sho ie* ***melekawe*** *yesilitage woale bwaliubeoniu metale…*
ye=tai mate bwe sho ie **mel-ka-we** ye=sili-tage woale
3SG=NEG awake SUB.CONN copra 3SG.EMPH **ANA-PL-DEF** 3SG=put-up on
bwaliubeoliu-le mata-le
cover-3SG.POSS eye-3SG.POSS
'He wasn't awake because it was the copra pieces that she put on his eyelids.'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-2, 29]

The two relatively simple and frequent demonstratives *iwe* and *ila*, ANA-DEF and ANA-MED, have also developed additional uses, although the additional uses take place outside of the realm of demonstratives, as they are frequently used as discourse-organizing interjections. *iwe* as an

interjection is used to connect two parts of the discourse (4.29a), with meanings such as 'so' or 'then'. *ila* has the opposite function of ending a piece of discourse, usually translated as 'that's it' (4.29b). Lastly, the two are combined as an emphasized meaning of *ila*, as well as a casual form of saying goodbye, the latter often occurring with the emotional suffix *-nga* (see Section 6.5) as *iweilanga* 'Bye!'.

(4.29) a. *Shobute we laiule yesa seoriu bwe yebe bitiwe mo Yaurepige.* ***Iwe*** *yesa bitiwe.*
shobute we laiu-le ye=sa seoriu bwe ye=be bi-tiwe mo
woman DEF offspring-3SG.POSS 3SG=PFV say SUB.CONN 3SG=INC go-down to
yaurepige **i-we** ye=sa bi-tiwe
Eauripik **ANA-DEF** 3SG=PFV go-down
'The daughter said that she was going down to Eauripik. **And so** she went down.'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 9]

b. ***Ila*** *faale mene igela nge maliuge yesa gale keokeo pache yemwariuriu.*
i-la faa-le mene igela nge maliuge ye=sa gale keokeo pache
ANA-MED under-3SG.POSS FOC now CONJ chicken 3SG=PFV HAB crow thunder
ye=mwariuriu
3SG=rumble
'That is why these days chickens crow and thunder rumbles.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-030-ChickenThunder, 13]

4.3.4 Plural *ka*

As stated, all demonstratives obligatorily agree in number with their referent. All demonstratives, including the deictic demonstratives, definite *we*, and the anaphora, are inherently singular. To express plurality on the demonstrative, they must be combined with the plural marker *ka*.

(4.30) a. *Toulap imwe biuleoiu* ***kelale****.*
toulape imwe biuleoiu **ke-laale**.
many house place **PL-DIST**
'There are a lot of houses at those places.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-030-04-Directionals, 13]

b. *Mwale we ye siu liugiule tagiuriure silo* ***kawe****.*
mwale we ye=siu liugiu-le tagiure-re silo **ka=we**
man DEF 3SG=stand outside-3SG.POSS back-3PL.POSS pig **PL=DEF**
'The man is standing behind the pigs.'
[Ignatius Maluchelmar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-2, 57]

c. *Yefeita ie wiishe **kela**.*
ye=feita ie wiishe **ke-la**
3SG=doing.what 3SG.EMPH banana **PL-MED**
'What are those bananas doing?'
[Ignatius Maluchelmar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-3, 52]

Although relatively infrequent, *ka* can occur by itself, in which case its purpose is to indicate/emphasize the plurality of the referent, and not entailing any deictic information. However, *ka* differs from the other demonstratives in that it does not entail definiteness if it occurs by itself.

(4.31) a. *Me ige ka yegale loge fetale mwashengateti.*
me ige ka ye=gale loge fetale mwashengateti
and fish PL 3SG=HAB stay around seashore
'And [other] fish that live around the shallows.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-077-LandscapeDesc-02, 7]

b. *Waliuweoliu ka yegale faso welipiye nge remage, kille, chele nge bale gale yore liu.*
waliuweoliu ka ye=gale faso welipiye nge remage kille chele nge
plant PL 3SG=HAB grow beach CONJ naupaka cherry velvet.soldierbush and
bale gale yoore liu
also HAB EXIST coconut
'Plants that grow on the beach are beach naupaka, *kille*,[2] velvetleaf soldierbush, and there is also coconut.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-077-LandscapeDesc-04-welipiye, 4]

c. *Ikela semeoiu tafei ka yetai bale ifa giula yei re-li tafeila.*
i-ke-la se-moiu tafei ka ye=tai bale ifa giula=yai
ANA-PL-MED one-CLF:ANIM.GROUP medicine PL 3SG=NEG also which know=1SG
reli tafei-la
for-3SG.POSS medicine-MED
'Those are the medicines that I don't really know.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-077-LandscapeDesc-02, 10]

Most frequently, *ka* occurs in combination with other demonstratives. In those instances, attaches to the front of the deictic demonstratives, and after the anaphora. Just as the anaphora can combine with the deictic demonstratives (see Section 4.3.3), all three can be combined together in the following configurations:

2. I have not been able to find a non-Woleaian name for this plant. It is a medium-sized shrub with clusters of edible olive-like red fruits, which grows on Weewe and Siting

Anaphor	**Plural**	**Deixis**
i-	*ka*	*we*
mel-		*yeele*
		la
		laale
		mu

Table 4.7: Combinations of anaphora, plural, and the deictic demonstratives.

The use of *ka* continues throughout discourse whenever referring to that plural referent, regardless of high topicality/prominence in the discourse. In other words, if the plural marker was used to introduce an explicit nominal referent, or if the referent was introduced as plural (e.g., when using a numeral as in 4.32a), it will continually be used in repetitions, even when the explicit referent is replaced by one of the anaphora *i-* or *mel-* or when the deixis changes. For example, if the referent is introduced as *imwe kela* 'those houses', subsequent reference to them will always be *ikela* ANA-PL-MED or *ikelaale* ANA-PL-DIST and not *ila* ANA-MED or *ilaale* ANA-DIST, respectively.

(4.32) a. *Toulape waliuweoliu ka yeloge wei welipiye,* ***ikela****, waliuweoliu* ***kela*** *regogo reli tafeyale wasiule liteeti.*
toulape waliuweoliu ka ye=loge wei welipiye i-ke-la waliuweoliu **ke-la**
many plant PL 3SG=stay out beach **ANA-PL-MED** plant **PL-MED**
re=gogo reli tafeya-le wasiu-le li=teeti
3PL=use for-3SG medicine lesion-3SG.POSS in=sea
'There are many trees on the beach, those, those trees they use for medicine for the sea lacerations.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-077-LandscapeDesc-04-Welipiye, 12]

b. *Mwale we, riufasho waliuweoliu* ***riumaliu*** *silo, silo* ***kelale*** *rerige longe nipetale waliuweoliu kelale.*
mwale we riu=fasho waliuweoliu riu-maliu siilo siilo ke-laale
man DEF TWO=CLF:LONG.RIGID plant two-CLF.ANIM pig pig **PL-DIST**
re=rige longe nipeta waliuweoliu ke-laale
3PL=run in between plant PL-DIST
'The man, two trees and two pigs, the pigs are chasing in between the trees.'
[Ignatius Maluchelmar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-2, 55]

4.3.5 Focus marker *mene*

The focus marker *mene* FOC functions to foreground and/or emphasize an argument in the discourse. As with the other demonstratives, *mene* can only occur in the noun phrase, thus is restricted to (nominal) arguments.

Etymologically, *mene* stems from the anaphor *mel-* ANA plus the third person singular possessive *-le* 3SG.POSS, which, following the regular (productive) phonological rule of /l/ + /l/ -> [n] (see Section 2.3) has resulted in its current form. However, speakers generally view *mene* as a simplex form, showing that it has lexicalized as such.

(4.33) a. *Yei geele **mene** gobwele tamole.*
yei geele **mene** go=bwele tamol-le
INJ 2SG.EMPH **FOC** 2SG=INCEP chief-3SG.POSS
'Hey, you will be chief.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 71]

b. *Ruwou talingale **mene** nge, ye nage ngaluge.*
ru=wou talinga-le **mene** nge ye=nage ngalu=go
two=**clf:gen** ear-3SG.POSS **FOC** CONN 3SG=show show-2SG
'There are two handles on it. Is it showing?'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-1, 7.1]

c. *Semate mene yeloge rei.*
se-mate mene ye=loge re=i
one-CLF:OTHER FOC 3SG=stay for-**1sg.poss**
'I have a different one.' (lit. '*one other*, he stays to me')
[Ignatius Maluchelmar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-1, 58]

Mene can occur either before or after the referent it's relevant to. In the case that it occurs after the referent, it is part of that noun phrase in the typical way a nominal demonstrative is. However, if it occurs before the referent it functions in the typical way of one of the anaphora – forming its own noun phrase that directly precedes the noun phrase

The focus marker has extended functions and syntactic position beyond the other nominal demonstratives and the anaphora: *mene* is the only element in the demonstrative paradigms that can also modify the other demonstratives (e.g., 4.34b).

(4.34) a. *Ibe gangaluge nge geele gosa fagili mene ibe seoriu.*
i=be ga-ngalu=ge nge geele go=sa fagili mene i=be seoriu
1SG=INC CAUS-show=2SG CONJ 2SG.EMPH 2SG=PFV search FOC 1SG=INC say
'I will describe [it], and you will find **what** I say.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-01, 2]

b. *Ila* ***mene*** *laniyale yaare ure saari.*
i-la **mene** laniya-le yaa-re ure saari
ANA-MED **FOC** site-3SG.POSS POSS.CLF:GEN-3PL.POSS play child
'**That** is a place for kids to play.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-077-LandscapeDesc-04-welipiye, 2]

Although it may initially seem that *mene* is modifying the verb *fagili* 'search' in (4.34a), it is actually occurring independently as an anaphor. The difference between the use of only the focus marker in (4.34a) versus the anaphor *ila* ANA-MED plus the focus marker in (4.34b) lies in that the nominal argument has not yet been introduced in the former, whereas in the latter it has been, thus requiring a repetition of the demonstrative configuration. Additionally, *mene* in (4.34a) is part of the verbal referent *mene ibe seoriu* 'this [that] I will say', forming the nominal constituent within this nominalized verb phrase. The function of verb phrases as arguments is discussed further in Section 8 below.

The use of the focus marker as the sole member of a noun phrase requires very high prominence in the discourse, direct physical presence, or adequate verbal hedging (as is the case in 4.34a).

4.4 Prepositions

Prepositions in Woleaian function to introduce oblique arguments, which are always a noun phrase. Prepositions introduce the oblique phrase, and are thus always placed at the very left edge of the phrase, preceding any other elements of the noun phrase. The prepositions in Woleaian can be divided into two categories: Independent and bound prepositions. The former occur unbound and introduce an oblique phrase, whereas the latter must occur with a possessor suffix, or, in the case of *ni=* directly attach to the noun it precedes. While independent prepositions always introduce a syntactically oblique phrase, the bound prepositions attach directly to the object argument without the need of any additional syntactic operation such as the addition of an oblique phrase.

Prepositions, as mentioned, generally introduce locational phrases. This locational phrase can either be an object argument, or an oblique phrase. By an oblique phrase I mean adding an additional argument to a sentence that is not an subject or (direct) object argument. Oblique phrases can add all manner of thematic relations, such as instrument (typically *ngali* 'to'), goal (*longe* 'in'), and source (*tangi* 'from (someone/something)', *re-* 'for, by' or *me* 'from'). As can be seen in Table 4.8, the prepositions all include some information about location in their basic semantics, and I analyze the non-locational uses as extensions of these semantics. The prepositional phrase in syntactic context is discussed in more detail in Section 8.2.

Woleaian	Gloss
Independent Prepositions	
fei	adjacent
lani	inside of
long	in, inwards
me	from (a location), with
metaro	in front of
mo	towards
ngali	to
tangi	from (someone/something)
wei	out, outwards
Bound Prepositions	
woa-	on
faa-	under
re-	for, by
tapi-	like
yaro-	near
ni=	in

Table 4.8: Prepositions, repeated from Table 3.3 above.

(4.35) a. *Yee mate sape **ngali** bwe rebwe gili mele kawe uwaale…*
yee mate sape **ngali** bwe re=bwe gili mele ka=we uwaa-le…
and.so sit face **to** that 3PL=INC pick FOC PL=DEF flower
'They were sitting [by the mountain apple tree] about to pick the fruits…'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 100]

b. *Yesa taiuwate, bitage faso fengani **woare**, yeei.*
ye=sa taiuwate bi=tage faso fengani **woa=re** yeei
3SG=PFV daytime go-up call.smn REFL **on=3PL** INJ
'It was daytime, they started calling out to each other: "Hey,"'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 74]

c. *Nge mwauwesh we yesa tefale **ngali** yale fasiungiu melewe siine me melewe temale.*
nge mwauwesh we ye=sa tefale **ngali** yaa-le fasiungiu mele-we
CONJ dear DEF 3SG=PFV repeat **to** POSS.CLF:GEN-3SG.POSS call.smn ANA-DEF
siile-le me mele-we tema-le
mother-3SG.POSS AND ANA-DEF father-3SG.POSS
'And then the dear [she] started calling her mother and father again.' (lit. '…she repeated [to] her calling of her mother and father')
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 60]

The prepositions can indicate either a static (e.g., *lani* 'inside of' and *faa-* 'under') or a dynamic (e.g., *wei* 'out, outwards' and *mo* 'towards') relation to the location. While the translations given in Table 4.8 show a degree of overlap, the Woleaian uses are generally not interchangeable. For example, the three prepositions that have semantics along the lines of 'in(side)', *lani*, *long* and *ni=*, all have clear-cut uses: *lani* 'inside' is used to indicate an object being inside, but not fulling enveloped or covered (whether physically or metaphorically), *long* generally indicates movement or dynamicity either into or within an object, and *ni=* indicates that something is fully enveloped inside something else, as well as used in indicating times of day.[3]

(4.36) a. *Lippirafe yegale gangii sheooli waliuweniu **lani** maate.*
lippirafe ye=gale gangi-i sheeo-li waliuweoliu-le **lani** mate
grasshopper 3SG=HAB eat-3SG leaf-3SG.POSS plant-3SG.POSS **in** garden
'Grasshoppers also chew holes in plant leaves in our gardens.'
[Maliu Ka Re Kekatewasi Waliuwniu Lani Milaai [booklet], 7]

b. *...silo kelaale rerige **long** nipetale waliuweoliu kelaale.*
silo ke-laale re=rige **long** nipeta-le waliuweoliu ke-laale
pig PL-DIST 3PL=run **in** between plant PL-DIST
'...the pigs are chasing [each other] in between the trees.'
[Ignatius Maluchelmar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-4, 55]

c. *Iwe yesa tetage sabitage mato lago **niperafenge**...*
i-we ye=sa te-tage sa-bi-tage mato lago **ni=perafenge**
ANA-DEF 3SG=PFV RED-up PFV-go-up sit go **in=canoe.platform**
'And then he came out [of the hole in the lashing] and sat in the side of the canoe.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-033-MaliupashStory, 6.3]

d. *Resa masiure lani bongile we yee **nisore** rela towai.*
re=sa masiure lani bongile we yee ni=sore re=la to-wei
3PL=PFV sleep in night DEF and.so **in=morning** 3PL=PFV2 go-out
'They slept that night and...in the morning they went outside.'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 83]

3. Although do note that the use of *ni=* is for indicating times of day in a static manner. *lani* is used with e.g., *bongile* 'night' or *soore* 'morning' in order to indicate that the action takes place during that part of the day.

(4.37) *Lani ngeoliu yeele nge wei bwe, gobwe fale **ngalire** nge semaliu yesiutoge welimwale nge semaliu yesiu me peige la sepeige.*
lani ngeoliu yeele nge wei bwe go=bwe fale **ngali=re** nge se-maliu
in picture PROX CONJ resemble SUB.CONN 2SG=INC look to=3PL CONJ one-CLF:ANIM
ye=siu-toge weli=gomwu-le nge se-maliu ye=siu me peige la
3SG=stand-come on-front-3SG.POSS CONJ one-CLF:ANIM 3SG=stand from side MED
se-peige
one-CLF:HALF
'In this picture it looks like it appears that one is standing in front, and the other one stands on the other side. (lit. in this picture, it resembles that you will see **them** and one is standing in front and one is standing on the other side)'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-3, 11]

4.4.1 Sohn's (1975) analysis of prepositions

Sohn (1975, 103–6) gives an analysis that in many cases overlaps witht the analysis presented here, with differences laying in obligatoriness of marking, and classification of words as prepositions. Sohn (1975, 102–3) distinguishes a set of two 'particle prepositions' from three 'inflectional prepositions', the latter being differentiated through the requirement of an obligatory object clitic, meaning that they function much like verbs. Sohn (1975, 104) identifies *ngali* 'to, with, for', *tangi* 'away from', and *yagili~agili* 'with, for' as the category of inflectional prepositions. However, in the corpus, I have found that *ngali* and *tangi* function as independent prepositions, and I analyze *yagili~agili* as a word that does not function within the nominal realm at all, but rather as a verbalizer (see Section 5.4). I have not encountered the function of this word to denote *'with, for'*, as this is usually expressed through the use of the preposition *me*.

While it is the case that in the bound prepositions I have given above, *woa-*, *faa-*, *re-*, *tapi-*, and *yaro-*, the most commonly added morphology is pronominal, the marking present is in fact possessive rather than object. The most frequently added marker is the third person singular possessive suffix *-le* 3SG.POSS, which does not formally overlap with the object enclitic and thus could not be confused. Additionally, these bound prepositions also see variation in the added morphology due to person and number agreement. Therefore, I see no adequate reason to suppose that bound prepositions require an object enclitic, either for the list of bound prepositions given in Sohn, or in this grammar. Most of the remaining prepositions given here are classified as locational nouns in Sohn's work (Sohn 1975, 69–71). While there are some nouns, such as *mwiri* 'back' and *peige* 'side' that are used in a way to express relative location of an object, e.g., 'behind' and 'beside' for *mwiri* and *peige*, respectively, it is important to disentangle these polysemous nouns from words that have a purely prepositional-locational function. Additionally, it's important to note that if nouns that in some contexts are translated as prepositions in English, it does not mean that they also carry this function in Woleaian. That is to say, the function or word class in the (free) translation equivalent does not equate to that same function or word class in the original language.

Lastly, Sohn (1975, 104) includes *'be'*, the equivalent of *bwe* in this grammar, under his section discussing prepositions, noting that it can be "...used both as a preposition and as a conjuction[.]" However, in this grammar *bwe* is analyzed as a subordinating coordinating particle without prepositional functions. Subordinate clauses have a wide variety of forms, some of which, notably those where certain arguments and morphology that are clear from context are omitted, look identical to prepositional phrases on the surface. However, all of these forms can clearly be explained by the different strategies to create subordinate clauses so it is unnecessary to suppose a prepositional function for *bwe*. The forms of subordinate clauses and the forms and functions of *bwe* are discussed in detail in Section 8.3.4.

4.4.2 Independent Prepositions

The independent prepositions, meaning that they occur without any required morphology and are phonologically independent words, are the larger and more frequent group of prepositions. As noted above, they are used to express location of either an object argument or an oblique phrase that denotes a static or a dynamic locational relationship to the main phrase.

Woleaian	Gloss
lani	inside of
long	in, inwards
me	from (a location)
metaro	in front of
mo	towards
ngali	to
tangi	from (someone/something)
wei	out, outwards

Table 4.9: Independent prepositions.

(4.38) a. *Iwe shagiu yebe **fanonge** nge garige we fei **ngali** shagiu.*
i-we shagiu ye=be fale-**longe** nge garige we fei **ngali** shagiu
ANA-DEF again 3SG=INC look-**in** CONJ beach.crab DEF adjacent **to** again
'He would look in and the crab is still even [with him].'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-032-02-NeedlefishCrab, 46]

b. *Ie piunge **longe** shagiu isa **bulonge** gekaseoseo yee mano…*
ie piunge **longe** shagiu i=sa bu **longe** RED-ka-RED-seo yee
1SG.EMPH fall **in** again 1SG=PFV go **in** PROG-CAUS-PROG-rested and.so
mano
finish
'I fell in [the water] again and I went in to rest, and finished…'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 26]

c. *Bale farage **ngali** bale lago gemwaremwera tiwe.*
bale farage **ngali** bale lago ga-mwaremware tiwe
also walk **to** also go CAUS-lei down
'[He] also walked to [Goose's knee] and also put down a lei [on it].'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 137]

d. *…Gaisa terage tiwe **reli** wafaliuwe bwe yetawe **tangi** mela faliuwemam.*
gai=sa teragi tiwe reli wafaliuwe bwe ye=tawe **tangi** mel-la
1PL.EXCL=PFV sail down **for-3SG** ship because 3SG=far **from** ANA-MED
faliuwe-mam
island-1PL.EXCL.POSS
'…We went down to the ship because it was far from our island.'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 12]

Further analysis is required to disentangle all of the specific semantics of the independent prepositions, seeing as they are usually semantically mutually exclusive and, from casual observations and conversations, speakers have strong and overlapping intuitions on which prepositions are appropriate for each situation.

4.4.3 Bound Prepositions

Bound prepositions are those that cannot occur independently and need to co-occur with some other affix or lexeme. For all bound prepositions, with the exception of *ni=* 'in' and partially *woa-* (see below), must take a possessive suffix. In the vast majority of instances this is the third person singular possessive suffix *-le*.

Woleaian	Gloss
woa-	on
faa-	under
re-	for, by
tapi-	like
yaro-	near
ni=	in

Table 4.10: Bound prepositions.

(4.39) a. *Nge yesa farage wei **reli** Gatemerate.*
nge ye=sa farage wei **re-li** Gatemerate
CONJ 3SG=PFV walk out **for-3SG.POSS** Gatemerate
'And she walked [to him] at Gatemerate.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-2, 11]

b. *Siusape lago woale paiu shobute nge me **reshe**.*
siu-sape lago woa-le paiu shobute nge me **re-she**
stand-face go on-3SG.POSS arm woman SUB.CONN from **for-1PL.INCL.POSS**
'[He] is facing on our left hand side.'
[Ignatius Maluchelmar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-2, 11]

c. *Yesa iseise tage gatikele sho **woale** metale.*
ye=sa RED-ise tage gatike-le sho **woa-le** meta-le
3SG=PFV PROG-put.on up cut.piece-3SG.POSS copra **on-3SG.POSS** eye-3SG.POSS
'He was putting up pieces of copra meat on his eyes.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-2, 24-25]

d. *Semou yesa gale iyye tage shishi me gemarage me iuliuniuge **woare**.*
semoiu ye=sa gale iyye tage shishi me gemarage me iuliuniuge **woa=re**
some 3SG=PFV HAB put up fern.sp and fern.sp and iuliuniuge **on=3PL**
'Some started putting on shishi and gemarage and iuliuniuge on themselves.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 68]

The high frequency of *-le* in combination with the general lack of strictness in number agreement makes forms with *-le* the standard form. For *tapi-* 'like', it seems that the form *tapile* has

even been grammaticalized, or at least is in the latter stages of doing so. This can be seen in the fact that the form *tapile* can be used as a verb meaning '(to) resemble', and other potential forms such as *tapire* 'like-3PL.POSS' cannot be used in this manner.

The prepositions *woa-* 'on', also often occurs in the reduced form *weli=*. In some cases this tight boundedness of the prepositions has reached near-grammaticality, such as for the words *welippiye* 'beach' (lit. on=sand) or *welimmwomwu* 'welcome (sg)' (lit. on=precede-2SG.POSS. The other bound prepositions do not have any reduced form equivalent to *weli=*, although they do of course adhere to the regular phonological processes that occur throughout the language.

Chapter 5

Verbal morphology and verb phrases

This chapter discusses the Woleaian verb and all elements that function within the verbal domain such as argument indexes, morphemes, particles, reduplication, and verbal compounding. As stated several times throughout this grammar, I analyze Woleaian words to be grammatically unspecified for word class, and thus there is no lexical distinction between verbs and nouns. This means that what is discussed in this chapter is the *verbal syntactic position*, and how this position, and the words that are placed in it, function. That being said, over half of words in the open word class with action or event-like semantics rarely or never (in the corpus) appear in non-verbal positions. Examples of these are highly functional lexemes that are moving towards grammaticalization, such as *bu* '(to) go', *lago* '(to) go', *siu* '(to) stand', *tefale* '(to) return, respond, repeat', and *loge* '(to) stay, exist, reside', but also non-grammaticalizing lexemes, such as *seoriu* '(to) say' (cf. *kepate* '[to] speak, speech, language'), *gangi* '(to) eat' (cf. *mongo* '[to] eat, food'), and *gasi* '(to) grab, gather, take'. Additionally, these lexemes show properties that can be categorized according to their semantics and their (functional) behavior. This is further expanded upon in Section 3.1.3.

Thus, when referring to verbs in this grammar, I am referring to words that occupy the syntactic verbal position in a sentence. Regardless of whether a word can also occur in a nominal position, the properties applied to a word when it occurs in the verbal position are shared across the board. In other words, the category of 'verbs' is a *syntactic* category rather than a word class, and all lexemes that can occur in this syntactic position will share certain properties when in that position.

5.1 Verbs

Verb is used to describe the *prototype* of a word in verbal syntactic position (i.e, as a predicate), prototypically having a predicational or modificational function. To reiterate, this does not mean that words that typically occur as nouns cannot occur as a predicate: It is merely a feature of a *prototypical* verb that is not shared by a *prototypical* noun. Nouns can occur as predicates and

verbs can occur as arguments (thus behaving non-prototypically). This position contains certain syntactic properties that are shared by all such words that occur in it, as well as syntactic and semantic properties that are less prototypical (i.e., not shared by all words in this position). To reiterate, I argue that the verb-noun distinction in Woleaian is based on a set of prototypical features based on an intersection of semantic and syntactic properties, and that any given word will more or less adhere to these prototypes.

That being said, there are many words which behave relatively prototypically, meaning they occur (almost) exclusively in the verbal position within the corpus. These words are most frequently those that have revolve around prototypical actions, events, or states (see Table 5.1), although this is not an exhaustive diagnostic. For example, there are two semantically similar words, *gangi* '(to) eat (s.th.)' and *mongo* '(to) eat, food'[1], where one, *gangi* only occurs as a verb, and the other *mongo* occurs roughly equally as a verb and a noun. Some of the most frequent words that occur exclusively as verbs are given in Table 5.1.

Woleaian	**Gloss**
lago	'(to) go, completely'
bu	'(to) go'
loge	'(to) stay, exist, reside'
weri	'(to) see'
seoriu	'(to) say'
siu	'(to) stand'
farage	'(to) walk'
fale	'(to) look (for s.th.)
beshe	'(to be) hot, white'
gachiu	'(to be) good'
mwele	'(to be) able, good'
mase	'(to) die, finish'
mate	'(to) wake up, (to be) awake'
gasi	'(to) grab, gather, take'
masou	'(to be) mature, ripe, strong'

Table 5.1: Frequent lexemes that only occur as verbs.

Verbs in general can be diagnosed by the fact that they take one or two nominal arguments. While verbs are not lexically determined for the amount of arguments, certain constructions determine the maximum amount of arguments. For example, a stative intransitive construction can maximally take one argument. This is discussed further in Section 7.2.

1. The main semantic difference between these two words is that *gangi*, which always takes an object argument, must be used when the thing eaten is definite, whereas *mongo*, which optionally takes an object argument, is used when the thing eaten is general/indefinite.

5.1.1 Valency

Verbs optionally take subject pronominal proclitics. However, as noted in Section 4.2, both subject and object pronominal clitics are grammatically non-obligatory. Especially object clitics are relatively rare in the corpus. Thus, the object clitics are a decisive diagnostic for certain constructions types (e.g., active constructions, see below) when they are present, but cannot be used across the board due to their relative rarity. Instead, the aforementioned dual diagnostics of presence of an object argument and the semantics of the lexeme must be used when there is no object morphology present, which is frequently the case. Additionally, it must be emphasized that an object argument, whether pronominal, explicit, or implicit is *not* a decisive diagnostic for active constructions, as there are verbs that typically occur in active constructions, but can only appear in intransitive constructions, i.e., they cannot take an object argument (due to their semantics), such as *riige* '(to) run', *farage* '(to) walk', and *maaliu* '(to) drift'.

Additionally, there is a common difference between the word order between active and stative intransitive constructions, stative constructions are prototypically verb initial, or VS, whereas active constructions are prototypically non-verb initial, or SV(O). This is discussed in more detail in Section 7.2.

There are a number of, mainly semantically determined, words that typically, or exclusively, will only occur in active or stative intransitive constructions. The former group is more broad, whereas the latter category is generally populated by verbs that denote a quality or state. Table 5.2 gives a list of examples of verbs that occur either exclusively in active or in stative constructions, listed in order of frequency in the corpus. Note that active constructions can be either intransitive or transitive, whereas stative constructions are exclusively intransitive.

Woleaian	**Gloss**
Active	
lago	'(to) go'
bu	'(to) go'
loge	'(to) stay, exist, reside (somewhere)'
mongo	'(to) eat'
weri	'(to) see'
seoriu	'(to) say'
farage	'(to) walk (somewhere)'
gangali	'(to) tell'
fale	'(to) look (for s.th.)'
tefale	'(to) return, respond, repeat'
siu	'(to) face'
mase	'(to) die, finish'
Stative	
beshe	'(to be) hot, white'
gachiu	'(to be) good'
masou	'(to be) mature, ripe, strong'
chiile	'(to be) small'
mwalo	'(to be) hidden'
chechoale	'(to be) black'
file	'(to be) correct, right'
bune	'(to be) snapped'
mera	'(to be) fast'
kaile	'(to be) strong'
cha	'(to be) red'
pashige	'(to be) small, narrow'
sige	'(to be) angry'

Table 5.2: Examples of verbs that occur exclusively in either active or stative constructions.

While discussed further in Sections 5.1.1 and 7.2 below, I give a brief overview of the (diagnostic) differences in active and stative constructions relevant to the discussion of verbs in general. Stative constructions are distinguished from active constructions through three main diagnostics, two syntactic and one semantic. Syntactically, they 1. cannot take more than a single (subject) argument, 2. have a prototypical verb-initial word order. Semantically, they prototypically describe a state or quality of the subject argument.

The examples below show the three diagnostics in order: (5.1a) features object morphology, (5.1b) does not have object morphology but does feature an explicit object argument, and (5.1c) has neither object morphology, nor an explicit object argument, but has a verb that denotes an action.

(5.1) ACTIVE

a. *Rebele gochayei.*
re=bele gocha=yei
3PL=INCEP haunt=1SG
'They will haunt me.'

[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 29]

b. *Semaliu mwale yekemwashiu iira.*
se-maliu mwale ye=kemwashiu iira
one-CLF:ANIM man 3SG=hold stick
'[There is] one man holding a stick.'

[Ignatius Maluchelmar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-2, 2]

c. *Yerige yee…*
ye=riige yee
3SG=run and.then
'She ran and…'

[Lenny Saumar, fm6-030-02-RemageNarrative, 15]

For the examples in (5.2a-c), they all do not feature object morphology, do not have any explicit or implicit object argument, and denote a state (rather than an event or action). Additionally, (5.2a-b) both follow the VS word order, whereas (5.2c) has SV word order, although all three are stative verb constructions.

(5.2) STATIVE

a. *Nibong, yekaile loa, yange nge yegoshou.*
ni=bong ye=kaile loa yange nge ye=goshou
in=night 3SG=strong wave wind CONJ 3SG=rain
'In the night, the waves and wind were strong and it was raining.'

[Jaetea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 8]

b. *Pangale nge yechechoale.*
panga-le nge ye=chechoale
all-3SG.POSS SUB.CONN 3SG=black
'All of them are black.'
[Ignatius Maluchelmar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-2, 62]

c. *Geeshi yesa kere.*
geeshi ye=sa kere
rat 3SG=PFV satisfied
'Rat was very happy.'
[Geeshe me Woonge, [booklet], 4.3]

Valency, i.e., the required [minimal] number of arguments to a verb, is not a grammatical property of Woleaian verbs. That is to say, there is neither a subcategory of verbs, nor a property of the verbal syntactic slot in verb constructions that is defined as requiring a fixed number of arguments. Nonetheless, there is of course a number of words that semantically require a certain number of arguments. Additionally, there are certain morphological operations that result in words that require a certain number of arguments, such as the causative prefix *ga-* (see Section 5.2.1) and/or the valency-increasing clausal enclitic *=i* TRR (see Section 5.2.3), which both require an (implicit) object argument. For example, (5.3a) shows the verb *ngiunge* '(to be) sounded (for horns)', which typically occurs in stative constructions, with the causative marker *ga-* taking the object argument *tawii* 'conch shell'. (5.3b) shows the use of the transitivizer with an implicit argument (given in the sentence directly preceding it). Finally, (5.3c) shows the presence of both the causative *ga-* and the transitivizer *=i* TRR.

(5.3) a. *…yesa bitage* ***gangiunge*** *tawii…*
ye=sa bi-tage **ga-ngiunge** tawii
3SG=PFV go-up CAUS-sound.horn conch.shell
'…He went up to sound the conch shell horn…'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-1, 67]

b. *Nge ie yesa bulong* ***yengagi***
nge ie ye=sa bu long **ye=ngage=i**
CONJ 3SG.EMPH 3SG=PFV go in **3SG=view=TRR**
'And she went in and she watched [the dancing].'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 48]

c. ***Gasiu tagei*** *ie melewe bugiuwale.*
ga-siu **tage=i** ie mel-we bugiuwe-le
CAUS-stand up=TRR 3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF knee-3SG.POSS
'He raised up his knee.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 128]

Thus, when a verb without *=i* or *ga-* is used, and due to the relative infrequency of morphological object marking, the difference between a monovalent and a bivalent construction is often the inclusion or exclusion of an object argument, with no other morphological or syntactic differences between the two, as shown for the verb *teo*[2] in (5.4a-b).

(5.4) a. *Yesa bale teotage.*
ye=sa bale teo tage
3SG=PFV also climb up
'He also climbed up.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 32]

b. *Nge ie mwale we semaliu yesa bale teotage shiule mai...*
nge ie mwale we se-maliu ye=sa bale teo tage shiu-le
CONJ 3SG.EMPH man DEF one-CLF:ANIM 3SG=PFV also climb up top-3SG.POSS
maai
breadfruit
'And the other man also climbed to the top of the breadfruit tree.'
[Christina Laiurelgar,WOL-230125-1, 48]

Besides core arguments, i.e., subject and object arguments, many verbs with either inherent transitive or intransitive semantic properties can take a non-direct, oblique argument. Oblique arguments are arguments that are not directly part of the predicate, but rather are additional arguments introduced by a preposition. The preposition used to introduce an oblique phrase is based on the semantics of the verb, but the most commonly used preposition is *ngali* 'to'. Oblique phrases are unsurprisingly non-obligatory, and multiple oblique phrase can be present. For example, (5.5a) shows the intransitive verb *fiyango* '(to) tell a story', which typically occurs in active constructions, with an oblique argument introduced by *ngali* 'to'. (5.5b) shows another intransitive verb *loge* '(to) stay, reside', but features two oblique phrases, introduced by the prepositions *reli* 'for' and *me* 'from', respectively. Finally (5.5c) shows the verb *mwalo* '(to be) hidden', which typically occurs in stative constructions, with an oblique phrase introduced with the preposition *tangi* 'from'.

(5.5) a. *Serane nge garige yesa buwei buwei fiyango **ngali** fela.*
se-rane nge garige ye=sa bu-wei bu-wei fiyango **ngali** fela
one-day CONJ beach.crab 3SG=PFV go-out go-out tell.story **to** needlefish
'One day, beach crab goes out to tell a story to needlefish.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-032-NeedleFishCrab, 5.2]

2. Verbs such as *teo* '(to) climb', *farage* '(to) walk' and *bu* '(to) go' almost exclusively occur with a directional such as *tiwe* 'down' or *tage* 'up' and do not influence the argument structure of the verb and the construction. Directionals are discussed in Section 6.1.1.

b. *Sabuwei loge **reli** seewe imwe **me** meseoliuge*
sa=bu-wei loge **reli** seewe imwe **me** meseoliuge
PFV=go-out stay **for** one house **from** west.end.of.island
'[He] went out and stayed in [another] house on the western end of the island.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 115]

c. *Yemwalo **tangi** yaliuselape…*
ye=mwalo **tangi** yaliuselape
3SG=hidden **from** big.ghost
'He was hidden from the big ghost…'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-2, 68]

All this goes to show that valency in Woleaian, is not obligatorily marked in the morphology, but rather that it is, like many aspects of the language, more so based on information structure and pragmatics.

If it is semantically plausible, words that occur primarily as nouns can be used as predicates, including proper nouns. These constructions are very rare, and are dependent on highly specific context, such as well-known typical behavior of a person or object or the name of a specific song or chant. In these constructions, where a word that is almost always used as a noun (generally because of its inherent semantics) occurs as a verb, the word does take the verbal proclitics (which indicates that it is part of the verb complex), but it is additionally often, but not necessarily (cf. 5.6b-c), collocated with the verbalizer *yegili* VBLZR or its reduced form *=gi*. *Yegili* is discussed further in Section 5.4.

(5.6) a. *Resa bale butoge Welifomwar long reli.*
re=sa bale bu-toge Welifomwar long re-li
3PL=PFV also go-come Welifomwar in for-3SG.POSS
'They came [singing] Welifomwar to him.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 122]

b. *Lenny yefaliyape yegili.*
Lenny ye=faliyape yegili
PN 3SG=apple VBLZR
'Lenny apples (acts like an apple).'
[Junior Taruwemai, ELICITED]

c. *Lenny **uregi** seewe ure.*
Lenny **ure-yegili** se-we ure
PN **perform-VBLZR** one-DEF perform
'Lenny sings a song.'
[Junior Taruwemai, ELICITED]

d. *Ibele lago yengage ure, bwe ila rebwe ure, gapule yaafe.*
i=bele lago ye=ngage **ure** bwe i-la re=bwe ure
1SG=INCEP go 3SG=view **perform** SUB.CONN ANA-MED 3PL=INC **perform**
gapule yaafe
drink.alcohol fire
'[the daughter said:] I'm going to go and watch the dancing, because they will be dancing and having a drinking party.'

[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 15.2]

To summarize, verbs in Woleaian are those words that are used in the verbal position in a sentence. The constructions in which they appear can be broadly grouped into two: Those denoting actions or events (active constructions) and those denoting a state or quality (stative constructions). The distinction between these two constructions can be determined in several ways: 1. Presence of object morphology, 2. presence of an (explicit or implicit) object argument, 3. word order, 4. inherent semantics of a verb, and 5. presence of morphology such as *ga-* CAUS and *=i* TRR. There are many words that (almost) exclusively occur in the verbal position, but more prototypically noun-like words, such as proper nouns, can also occur as a verb in the correct context. The following sections will discuss the other elements that operate in the verbal domain; argument indexing, verbal affixation, the frequently occurring verbal particles or auxiliary verbs, verbal negation and verbal reduplication. The end of this chapter will also discuss grammatically required verbal compounding.

5.1.2 Argument Indexing on the Verb

Verbs may index core arguments via pronominal clitics indexing the subject and object argument (see Section 4.2.1.2; for the definition of subjects and objects used in this grammar, see Chapter 7), although this is not obligatorily. However, subject indexing occurs on the vast majority of verb phrases, although it is not repeated for sequences of actions or events with the same argument(s) within an utterance. Note that, with the exception of contexts where the subject is abundantly clear, pronominal object marking does not occur without subject marking being present as well.

Example (5.7a) shows subject marking with no object marking, (5.7b) shows both subject and object marking, and (5.7c) shows object marking with no subject marking, since in this instance the subject referent is highly salient in the discourse as the recording is from a personal narrative.

(5.7) a. *…Yebele gake paniu gake fetale meka yebe gale pwule.*
ye=bele gake paniu gake fetale meka yebe gale pwule
3SG=INCEP take.PL palm.frond take.PL around ANA-DEM.PL 3SG=INC HAB lit
'…He will collect the coconut frond and anything that can keep the fire lit.'

[Lenny Saumar, fm6-033-MaliupashStory, 13.1]

b. *Serane nge yesa lago gasire yaliusiule peiginengile iyeoiure.*
se-rane nge ye=sa lago gasi=re yaliusiu-le peige-nenge-le iyeoiure
one-day CONJ 3SG=PFV go take=3PL ghost-3SG.POSS side-sky-3SG.POSS south
'One day, she went and gathered ghosts from the southern sky.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 89]

c. *Tabwere, gaisa lago reli boti la waamem bwe…*
tabwe=re gai=sa lago re-li boti la waa-mem
join=3PL 1PL.EXC=PFV go for-3SG.POSS boat MED POSS.CLF:VEHICLE-1PL.EXCL.POSS
bwe
SUB.CONN
'[I] joined them, we went to our boat because…'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 29]

The clitics always attach to the edge of a verb phrase, rather than the verb specifically. In simple verb phrases that only contain a single verb, this means that the enclitics end up attaching directly to the verb (5.8a-c). As shown in (5.8c), verbs may be directly doubly indexed with both a proclitic and enclitic of the same person and number to create a type of reflexive construction. However, utterances with both subject and object clitics directly on the verb are relatively very rare and do not occur in the corpus. This is most likely due the highly frequent use of at least one verbal particle, unless it is in a sequence of actions, in which case arguments are generally not morphologically marked, and overall low frequency of object argument indexing. Also note that this is only one of the reflexive/reciprocal constructions, and those using the reflexive particle *fengani* (see Section 8) are more common.

(5.8) a. *Yei **rengiushe rengiushe** yeei.*
yei **re=ngiushe re=ngiushe** yei
INJ **3PL=bored 3PL=bored** INJ
'Hey they're bored, they're bored hey.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 98]

b. *Serane nge yesa lago **gasire** yaliusiule peiginengile iyeoiure.*
se-rane nge ye=sa lago **gasi=re** yaliusiu-le peige-nenge-le iyeoiure
one-day CONJ 3SG=PFV go **take=3PL** ghost-3SG.POSS side-sky-3SG.POSS south
'One day, she went and gathered ghosts from the southern sky.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 89]

c. *Gofanige!*
go=fani=go
2SG=watch.out=2SG
'Watch yourself!'
[Field Notes, 2023-2-22]

However, if there are any other verbal elements present, such as verbal particles (5.9a-b; see Section 5.3) or in verbal compounds/directionals (5.9c; see Section 5.6) or serial verb constructions (5.9d; see Section 8.1.2), the clitics will attach to the first and last element for subject and object indexing, respectively.

(5.9) a. *Iwe **yegale** gekatafe tiwe gane cheppe.*
i-we **ye**=gale RED-gaatafe tiwe gela-le cheppe
ANA-DEF **3SG**=HAB PROG-rod.fish down POSS.CLF:ALIM-3SG.POSS bigeye.trevally
'So he was rod fishing [for] his bigeye trevally.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-2, 2]

b. ***Yesa** fagili **fetaleyei**.*
ye=sa fage=gili fetale=**yai**
3SG=PFV search=VBLZR around=**1SG**
'He searched around for me.'
[Lenny Saumar, Facebook Messenger, 2024-09-20]

c. ***Yesiusape** lago iya?*
ye=siu sape lago iya
3SG=stand face go where
'Which way is he facing?'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-2, 16]

d. *...**ibwe** gale bitage shagiu pwa*
i=bwe gale bi tage shagiu pwa
1SG=INC HAB go up repeat surface
'...I would go up and surface repeatedly'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 21]

Only one subject or object argument can be indexed per verb phrase, meaning that maximally one subject or object clitic can be present in the entire verb phrase. From this follows that there is no repetition in verb indexing in a verb phrase containing multiple verbs.

(5.10) a. *...Yebele gake paniu gake fetale meka yebe gale pwule.*
ye=bele gake paniu gake fetale meka yebe gale pwule
3SG=INCEP take.PL palm.frond take.PL around ANA-DEM.PL 3SG=INC HAB lit
'...He will collect the coconut frond and anything that can keep the fire lit.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-033-MaliupashStory, 13.1]

b. *...Nge **gosa gaturuge** bwe...*
nge **go**=sa ga-turu=**go** bwe
CONJ **2SG**=PFV CAUS-hurry=**2SG** SUB.CONN
'...and you have to hurry [back] because...'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 20

c. *Tabwere, gaisa lago reli boti la waamem bwe...*
tabwe=re gai=sa lago re-li boti la waa-mem
join=3PL 1PL.EXC=PFV go for-3SG.POSS boat MED POSS.CLF:VEHICLE-1PL.EXCL.POSS
bwe
SUB.CONN
'[I] joined them, we went to our boat because...'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 29]

Below is a table showing the full list of verbal pronominal clitics. For a full discussion of the pronouns and pronominal elements, see Section 3.1.2.

Woleaian	Gloss
Proclitics (Subject)	
i=	1SG
go=	2SG
ye=	3SG
si=	1PL.INCL
gai=	1PL.EXCL
gai=	2PL
re=	3PL
Enclitics (Object)	
=yai	1SG
=go	2SG
=ye	3SG
=gishe	1PL.INCL
=gamem	1PL.EXCL
=gami	2PL
=re	3PL

Table 5.3: Verbal pronominal elements.

5.2 Verbal Morphemes

There are only two verbal affixes in Woleaian, both of which are prefixes: The causative *ga-* and the negative *ta-*, both discussed in this section below. *Ta-* is one of the negation strategies (see Section 7.7), but is discussed here as part of the verbal morphology paradigm. Additionally, there is one verbal enclitic, the transitivizer *=i*, which will be discussed in this section as well.

5.2.1 Causative *ga-*

The causative *ga-* is a derivational prefix that indicates that the subject performs an action that affects the object. For active constructions this means that the action takes place onto the object, and for stative-like constructions this means that the subject causes the object to come into a certain state or causes a certain quality onto the object. The causative prefix can attach to both semantically transitive and intransitive verbs, but the resulting verb will always take a subject and an object argument (i.e., be transitive) regardless of the amount of arguments the source verb takes. Example (5.11a) shows *ga-* attaching to an intransitive verb that prototypically occurs in stative constructions, in (5.11b) it attaches to an intransitive verb that prototypically occurs in active constructions, and in (5.11c) it attaches to a transitive verb. Additionally, *ga-* can attach to words that more frequently appear in nominal position to create a predicate, without the need of the verbalizer *yegili* (see Section 5.4), as shown in (5.11d). For these instances, the resulting verb is not always bivalent, but can be monovalent as well (see Table 5.4).

(5.11) a. ***Gapweshe*** *fetale gelare yee resa mongo.*
GA-beshe fetale gela=re yee re=sa mongo
caus-hot around food-3PL.POSS CONJ 3PL=PFV eat
'[He] grilled their food, and they ate.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-2, 52]

b. ***Gaparesaresa*** *lago bwe gobwe weri pangale.*
ga-paresaresa lago bwe go=bwe weri panga-le
CAUS-scatter go SUB.CONN 2SG=INC see all-3SG.POSS
'[You] spread them so you'll see them all.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-3, 4]

c. *...Bwe rebwe* ***gekashe*** *lago taali...*
bwe re=bwe ga-kashe lago taali
SUB.CONN 3PL=INC **CAUS-throw** go rope
'...So that they would throw a rope.'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 16]

d. *Bulong ie ure we nge ie yesa bulong, bulong...aa...****gamwaremwera*** *semaliu me woale ie ure we.*
bu-long ie ure we nge ie ye=sa bu-long bu-long aa
go-in 3SG.EMPH dance DEF CONJ 3SG.EMPH 3SG=PFV go-in go-in uh
ga-mwaremwar se-maliu me woa-le ie ure we
CAUS-lei one-CLF:ANIM from on-3SG.POSS 3SG.EMPH dance DEF
'The dance started and she went in, went in to, uhh, put lei on someone in the dance.'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 52]

The meaning of a verb plus the causative is not always predictable, especially when the bare

verb already has transitive semantics. Table 5.4 gives a small overview of some of the predictable and unpredictable results of the causative:

Base verb		**Causativized**	
Predictable			
siu	(to) stand	*gasiu*	(to) make stand
woolo	(to) lie down	*gawolo*	(to) lay (s.th.) down
mwalili	(to) speak	*gamwali*	(to) say (s.th.)
turu	(to) hurry	*gaturu*	(to) hurry (s.th.)
paresaresa	(to) scatter	*gaparesaresa*	(to) scatter (s.th.)
ngiunge	(to be) sounding	*gangiunge*	(to) sound (s.th.)
chorong	(to be) bothered	*gachorong*	(to) annoy (s.th.)
tewasi	(to be) destroyed	*gatewasi*	(to) destroy (s.th.)
pale	(to be) dry	*gapela*	(to) dry (s.th.)
wasiu	lesion	*gawasiu*	(to) cause lesions, hurt (s.th.)
welimw-	welcome	*gawelimwa*	(to) greet
kirimwe	race	*gakirimwe*	(to) race
mwariuriu	rumble	*gamwariuriu*	(to) rumble
mwaremwar	lei	*gamwaremwera*	(to) put lei (on s.th.)
Unpredictable			
weri	(to) see	*gaweri*	(to) shine (s.th.)
fani	(to) watch out	*gefani*	(to) notice (s.th.)
ttare	(to) throw (s.th.)	*gatoro*	(to) drop (s.th.)
beshe	(to be) hot, white	*gapweshe*	(to) grill (s.th.)[3]
mwele	(to be) good	*gamwele*	(to) take care (of s.th.)
pashige	(to be) narrow	*gapashige*	to make (s.th.) into pieces

Table 5.4: Predictable and unpredictable causativized verb semantics.

5.2.2 Negative *ta-*

The negative prefix *ta-* is the other prefix found in the verbal domain, and functions to create the negated version of the verb it attaches to. In other words, the scope of the negative prefix is only the verb it directly attaches to, rather than the verb phrase, predicate or sentence. The latter is expressed using one of the clausal negators (see Section 7.7) such as *tai* NEG, though in some cases the difference may be subtle, e.g., *yetapashe* 'it is incorrect' vs. *yetai pashe* 'it is not correct'. Verbal negation is one of several ways to express negation. The position of the negative element determines the scope, and, as such, the negative prefix *ta-* takes the smallest scope, only taking

3. cf. *gabeshebeshe* '(to) (re-)heat (s.th.)'

the verb. For other strategies of negation, see Section 7.7.

As said, *ta-* is added to the verb, it takes scope of only that verb. For example, if *ta-* is attached to the verb *giula* 'to know', it results in *tagiula* 'to not know', as in (5.12).

(5.12) *Umule wiishe laale nge **retagiule** buleoiuga yelago iyange melewe.*
umule wiishe laale nge **re=ta-giula** buleoiuga ye=lago iyange mele-we
bunch banana DEM.DIST CONJ **3PL=NEG-KNOW** place 3SG=GO ANA ANA-DEF
'That bunch of bananas, they don't know where it went.'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 94]

In other words, negation of the verb creates the semantic inverse of the positive form. This means that it is restricted to contexts and appropriate verbs. However, it emphasizes the negative semantics, and is such often, though not exclusively (as seen in 5.12), used in contexts where the positive action was expected, such as in (5.13) and (5.14).

(5.13) a. *ʃT yesa butoge relimwe?*
JT ye=sa bu-toge reli-mwe
JT 3SG=PFV go-come for-2SG.POSS
'Did JT come with you?'

b. *ʃT **yetalago**.*
JT **ye=ta-lago**
JT **3SG=NEG-go**
'JT didn't go.'
[Field notes, 01-30-2023]

(5.14) *Yatowe yegale iuriure fetale nge yegale rongi melewe iye "weri seewe nge **itaweri** seewe."*
yatowe ye=gale iur-iuriu feta-le nge ye=gale rongi mele-we iye weri
when 3SG=HAB RED-drag around-3SG.POSS CONJ 3SG=HAB sing ANA-DEF 3SG.EMPH see
se-we nge **i=ta-weri** se-we
ONE-DEF CONJ **1SG=NEG-see** one-DEF
'As he (Maliupash) was collecting [black noddies] he sang "I see one, but I don't see another."
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-033-MaliupashStory, 8.2]

As *ta-* takes scope only over a single action rather than a (complex) event, it does not carry any temporal-aspectual semantics. As such, it does not occur together with any of the aspectual particles (see Section 5.3.4) in the corpus. In these instances, the broad scope negator *tai* NEG is used, discussed further in Section 7.7.

5.2.3 The valency-increasing morpheme =i

The valency increasing morpheme *=i*, here cautiously labeled 'transitivizer', is quite different from all other grammatical morphemes. This difference is two-fold: First, it is the only non-pronominal morpheme (besides some rare forms of reduplication) that attaches to the end of a phrase, rather than precedes it. In other words, the only things that attach to the end of a word or phrase are the pronominal possessive suffixes in the case of nouns and possessive classifiers, and object argument indexes in the case of verbs. This is most likely due to its pronominal origin, as mentioned in Section 4.2 above. Second, it is a derivational morpheme that changes aspects of the argument structure and in some cases the semantics of a verb, but rather than attaching to the verb itself, as is the case for the other derivational morphemes, such as causative *ga-*, it usually attaches to the verb complex, as shown in (5.15):

(5.15) *Resa rige wei buwei **pipiye fetalei** me welipiye melewe laiure yetaloge.*
re=sa rige wei bu-wei **pipiye fetale=i** me welipiye mele-we lai-re
3PL=PFV run out go-out **watch around**=TRR from beach ANA-DEF offspring-3PL.POSS
ye=ta-loge
3SG=NEG-stay
'They went out checking for her on the beach, but their child wasn't there.'
[Christina Laurelgar, WOL-230121-1, 76]

Since, as discussed in the introduction section to this chapter and elsewhere, changes valency in Woleaian are most often determined by the addition or subtraction of arguments, *=i* is not necessary in all instances to increase valency. However, there are some lexemes that obligatorily or frequently require *=i* in a bivalent construction. Thus, it seems that *=i* serves either to emphasize the transitive properties of an action, or is lexically determined obligatory.

For example, *tabe* '(to) join, follow' always occurs with *=i* unless it is followed by a non-third person singular emphatic pronoun (5.16).

(5.16) a. *Bitiw, resa loge yee nisore, nge resa lago gooshe, nge resa butog **tabei** ie waawe.*
bu-tiwe re=sa loge yee ni=sore nge re=sa lago gooshe nge re=sa
go-down 3PL=PFV stay and.so in=morning CONJ 3PL=PFV go tap.tuba CONJ 3PL=PFV
butoge **tabe=i** ie waa-we
come **join=TRR** 3SG.EMPH canoe-DEF
'Went down, they stayed until morning and they went tapping tuba, and they came back and went with the canoe.'
[Christina, WOL-230125-1, 11]

b. *Yei sibele tefale bwe, ngawe bwe maliupashe **yetabe** gishe.*
yei si=bele tefale bwe ngawe bwe Maliupash **ye=tabe**
INJ 1PL.INCL=INCEP return SUB.CONN bad SUB.CONN Maliupash **3SG=join**
gishe
1PL.INCL.EMPH
'Hey, we're going back, because Maliupash followed us.'
[Christina, WOL-230125-1, 23]

On the other hand, stereotypically bivalent verbs like *gogo* '(to) use' don't occur with *=i* in the corpus. Yet other verbs fall somewhere in the middle, with some tokens occurring with *=i* and some without (5.17). In conversations with speakers it seems that, for cases where =i is optional, inclusion of the morpheme functions to emphasize the transitivity of an action. However, further structured research is required to find the exact (pragmatic) use of the morpheme in these instances.

(5.17) a. *Ibele lago **yengage** ure, bwe ila rebwe ure, gapule yaafe.*
i=bele lago **ye=ngage** ure bwe i-la re=bwe ure gapule yaafe
1SG=INCEP go **3SG**=view dance that ANA-MED 3PL=INC dance drink.alcohol fire
'[The daughter said:] "I'm going to watch the dance, because they will be dancing and drinking."'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-1, 15.2]

b. *Yesa bitiwe **yengagi** lani bongile we yee yelago.*
ye=sa bitiwe **ye=ngage=i** lani bongile we yee ye=lago
3SG=PFV go-down **3SG=view=TRR** in night DEF and.so 3SG=go
'She went down to watch in the night and [then] she left.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-1, 24]

c. *Nge ie yesa bulong **yengagi**.*
nge ie ye=sa bu-long **ye=ngage=i**
CONJ 3SG.EMPH 3SG=PFV go-in **3SG=view=TRR**
'And then she went in to watch.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-1, 48]

Some observations can be made about the occurrence of *=i*: First, there is a relatively large number of semantically transitive verbs that end in /i/ (over 20% in the corpus). This, of course, obscures the potential use of the morpheme *=i*, but it could also very well be possible that these are instances of lexicalization of the morpheme. Additionally, for the verbs that may take *=i* but not semi-obligatorily (such as *tabe* above), there is a pattern of interaction between the presence of *=i* and a relatively larger discourse or syntactic distances between the verb and the object argument, as shown in (5.17b-c). However, this is not always the case, as there are instances where *=i* is directly followed by an emphatic pronoun, an anaphor, and/or an explicit noun phrase:

(5.18) a. *Nge semaliu sari laiure iwe yebale **tabei** ie melewe fitiyale.*
nge se-maliu saari laiu-re i-we ye=bale **tabe=i** ie
CONJ one-CLF.ANIM juvenile offspring-3PL.POSS ANA-DEF 3SG=also **join=TRR** 3SG.EMPH
mele-we fiti-yaa-le
ANA-DEF spouse-POSS.CLF:GEN-3SG.POSS
'And then one kid, their kid, that was there was going with the wife.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-2, 20]

b. *Sebongile nge melewe laiule tamole yesa **shagei** remage.*
se-bong-le nge mele-we laiu-le tamol-le ye=sa
one-night-3SG.POSS CONJ ANA-DEF offspring-3SG.POSS chief-3SG.POSS 3SG=PFV
shage=i remage
chase=TRR remage
'One night, the son of the chief chased Remage.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-030-02-RemageNarrative, 14]

As mentioned in Section 4.2, *=i* is probably historically related to, if not directly stemming from, the third person singular object marker. Additional evidence from a pronominal origin is that, as shown in examples (5.16a-b), *=i* does not show up when the verb is followed by an independent (i.e., emphatic) pronoun, unless this is the third person singular pronoun. The grammaticalization of an object pronoun/pronominal marker into a valency-changing marker has been shown to occur in some languages, such as Tok Pisin (as well as Bislama Wurm and Mühlhäusler 1987, 93). Additionally, Sohn (1975, 117) makes similar observations about the presence of this marker (described as *-y/-w*), but analyzes it as a peripheral object marker – showing its similarities to such a marker and/or giving an insight into the historical development of the marker in the past 50 years. Note that while, **-i* is given as a transitive suffix (notably not a clitic) for proto-Oceanic in Pawley (1973, 118ff), Bender et al. (2003a, 2003b) do not give any reflexes of this form, and give **-a* as the third person object marker (Bender et al. 2003b, 342). Whatever the marker's origin may be, there is relatively clear cut evidence that it does not or no longer carries a pronominal function, and the above complementary distribution only holds for the independent emphatic pronouns. The major piece of evidence is that *=i* can co-occur with object morphology, as for example in the series *kabong* '(to) learn', *kabongi* '(to) teach', *kabongiyei* '(to) teach me'. The base form *kabong* is a verb that regularly already takes both subject and object arguments. However, the addition of *=i* here changes the semantics to an applicative-like meaning where the subject argument is changed from thematic patient to thematic agent, and the object argument is changed from stimulus/source to thematic undergoer.[4] Important for the current discussion, however, is that *=i* is followed by the first person singular object marker and that the first person singular is always the object.

4. Interestingly, the expected causative construction **gakabong* is ungrammatical. This could be due to the semantics of causative versus *=i* constructions, such as voluntariness, or it could be due to the form of the verb root in combination with the causative appearing as a reduplication. Further research on both topics is required.

Since morphemes outside of pronominal indexing are relatively rare in Woleaian, having multiple stacking morphemes is even more rare. This is true both for combinations of morphemes that directly affix to a word and those that attach to phrases, as well as multiples of the same morpheme type. Outside of reduplication (see Sections 5.5 and 4.1.5), given that reduplication is counted as a morpheme, the transitivizer *=i* plus a pronominal suffix are the only other instances where multiple morphemes occur sequentially in the corpus. This furthers the case that *=i* is in an atypical position, in addition to it being a derivational clitic rather than affix, most likely caused by its pronominal origins. Further studies about the function of *=i*, especially as it relates to the causative *ga-* and valency are required. Both to shed more light on its function(s) within argument structure, but also its pragmatic uses.

5.3 Verbal Particles

There are several particles that operate in the verbal domain. The most frequent three are the pre-verbal perfective (Section 5.3.1), incompletive (Section 5.3.2), and inceptive (Section 5.3.3) particles. Additionally, there are a number verbal particles that occur either pre-verbally, post-verbally, or either. All verbal particles are shown in table 5.5, although not all are discussed in detail due to their low frequency in the corpus.

The perfective, incompletive and inceptive, which all have aspectual functions, are extremely frequent, with at least one of them occurring in almost every verbal clause in naturalistic speech. The others, which span aspectual, modal, evidential and adverbial functions each occur less frequently, but are nonetheless quite frequent as a group. With the exception of the mirative *fare*, all verbal particles can be categorized as either pre- or post-verbal, depending on whether they occur before or after the verb in the phrase. Lastly, there is the verbalizer *yegili* and the reciprocal *fengani*, which formally group with the post-verbal particles, but have different, somewhat marginal in the case of *yegili*, functions within the language.

Additionally, there are also a few words that revolve around time that seem to be grammaticalizing from nominal expressions into modal particles. All of these words are a combination of the word *yaato* ‘day, time’ plus a demonstrative element, such as *yatowe* ‘now’(*we* DEF), *yatola* ‘then, at that time’ (*la* DEM.DIST). Speakers still analyze these forms as complex, but the position they generally occur in implies that they may be in the process of grammaticalization towards particles. The use of these time indicators is discussed in Chapter 8.3.5.

The verbal particles are mutually exclusive within their subcategory, but multiple particles of different subcategories can occur. In other words, the perfective, incompletive, and inceptive particles are mutually exclusive with each other, but can co-occur with a pre-verbal or post-verbal particle. Similarly, a pre-verbal particle can co-occur with a post-verbal particle, but not with another pre-verbal particle.

Word	Meaning	Gloss	Reference
Pre-verbal			
sa	perfective	PFV	§5.3.1
be	incompletive	INC	§5.3.2
bele	inceptive	INCEP	§5.3.3
gale	habitual	HAB	§5.3.4.1
bale	'also'		§5.3.4.3
shiule	'still'		§5.3.4.4
saro	'somewhat'		§5.3.4.5
nepale	'manner'		–
tapunge	'suddenly'		–
gaisee	'until'		–
Post-verbal			
yegili	verbalizer	VBLZR	§5.4
shagiu	'just, only'		§5.3.4.2
gemase	emphatic	EMPH	§5.3.4.7
fetale	'around'		§5.3.4.8
sekiut	'a little'		§5.3.4.9
fengani	reciprocal	RECIP	§5.3.4.10
Either			
fare	mirative	MIR	§5.3.4.6
mwo	'momentarily'		–

Table 5.5: Verbal particles.

5.3.1 Perfective *sa*

The perfective marker, *sa*, is the most common of the three main particles. In fact, in the corpus, *sa* is the most frequent element after the third person singular subject and possessive markers. While the statistics might be somewhat biased because of the large number of stories in the corpus, it is my impression that this marker remains frequent in general everyday conversation as well. The most basic function of *sa* is to indicate that an action or event has been completed, but also includes indicating that the start of an event has taken place, in addition to an array of complex peripheral functions. *sa* is always the first non-pronominal element in the verb phrase, and, since the subject proclitics always attach to the first-most element in the verb phrase, always takes the pronominal indexing if present. As described in Section 2.3.2, *sa* requires to be phonologically integrated with other elements since it does not adhere to the minimal phonological word constraint by itself. Therefore, if there is no subject proclitic, it is phonologically integrated with the following verb(s), as in (5.19c) The phonological form of *sa* remains consistent with all subject proclitics, with the exception of the first person inclusive plural *si=*, in which case it surfaces as *ya*, as in (5.19d).

(5.19) a. ***Resa*** *rige lago ire shokawe bwe yesa butoge ie yaliuse we.*
re=sa rige lago ire shoka-we bwe ye=sa bu-toge ie yaliuse
3PL=PFV run go 3PL.EMPH people-DEF because 3SG=PFV go-come 3SG.EMPH ghost
we
DEF
'The people ran away, because the ghost came.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 50]

b. ***Gosa*** *rongeronge melewe fiyangole maliuge me pache?*
g**o=sa** rongeronge mel-we fiyangole maliuge me pache?
2SG=PFV hear ANA-DEF story-3SG.POSS chicken CONJ thunder
'Have you heard the story of Chicken and Thunder?'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-030-03-ChickenThunder, 1]

c. ***Sabuwei*** *loge reli seewe imwe me Meseoliuge.*
sa-bu-wei loge re-li seewe imwe me meseoliuge
PFV-go-out stay for-3SG.POSS one house from Meseoliuge
'He went out and stayed in another house on Meseoliuge.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 115]

d. ***Siya*** *lago milemile woale ie Welifomwar.*
si=sa lago mile-mile woa-le ie welifomwar
1PL.INCL=PFV go RED-live on-3SG.POSS 3SG.EMPH Welifomwar
'Once upon a time, [a story] on Welifomwar.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 77]

In active constructions, it typically indicates the completion of an action or event, whereas for stative constructions it indicates either a durative state, or that the argument of the verb has completed coming into the described quality, e.g., *yesa cha* 3SG=PFV red indicates that the argument has finished becoming red. From this, it also shows that *sa* in stative constructions indicates a temporary state of being, rather than expressing an intrinsic quality of the argument. For example, in (5.20), the speaker is indicating a temporary state of feeling cold, rather than expressing having the intrinsic quality of being cold.

(5.20) *Yegale seoriu bwe "Yeoiu, isa feoiu!"*
ye=gale seoriu bwe yeoiu i=sa feoiu
3SG=HAB say SUB.CONN INJ 1SG=PFV cold
'[The voice] was saying "Hey, I'm cold!"'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-033-MaliupashStory, 4.2]

As stated to above, *sa* has a number of more complex functions. One of the more frequent functions of this is the continuative aspect, i.e., indicating not the completion of the entire event,

but indicating the completion of the *start* of an event. In other words, it indicates that an event has started at some point, but has not (necessarily) finished yet.

(5.21) a. *Galewe maliuge sa mwareli fasiungiu shagiu.*
gale=we maliuge sa mwareli fasiungiu shagiu
HAB-DEF chicken PFV keep.on call.smn just
'The chicken just keeps calling him.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-030-03-ChickenThunder, 11]

b. *Yatowe resa shitage sa nagolago iye…*
yatowe re=sa shitage sa RED-RED-lago iye
when 3PL=PFV start PFV PROG-PROG-go 3SG.EMPH
'When they started going the..'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-032-02-NeedlefishCrab, 36]

Relevant to this is the combination of *sa* with the incompletive *be* in a single construction. In these instances, the construction can entail a future perfective reading, i.e., expressing that an event will be completed in the future, but also the future completion of the start of an event, as in (5.22).

(5.22) *Mwirile iga sibe mano mongo nge siya lago fita*
mwiri-le iga si=be mano mongo nge si=ya lago fita
behind-3SG.POSS when 1PL.INCL=INC finish eat CONJ 1PL.INCL=PFV go fish
'After we finish eating, we'll go fishing.'
[Lenny Saumar, ELICITED]

Lastly, if *sa* has been used at the beginning of a sequence of events, it is not required to repeat it to retain the perfective reading.

(5.23) a. *Bwe semaliu yaliuse yebale loge, ie mene **yesa** butoge, butoge gopiiye lago ie melewe.*
bwe se-maliu yaliuse ye=bale loge ie mene **ye=sa** butoge butoge
that one=CLF:ANIM spirit 3SG=also stay 3SG.EMPH FOC **3SG=PFV** come come
gopii-iye lago ie mel-we
cut=3SG go 3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF
'One ghost was also there, it was the one that came and cut uh…'

b. *Umule ie wiishe we, mwauwesh kawe **resa** butoge fagi fetale taloge lago.*
umule ie wiishe we mwauwesh ka-we **re=sa** butoge fage=i
bunch 3SG.EMPH banana DEF dear DEM.PL=DEF **3PL=PFV** come search=TRR
fetale ta-loge lago
around NEG-stay go
'…the banana bunch, the dears were looking for it, but it was gone.'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 95-6]

As shown in 5.23, once the sequence is completed and/or other referents are used, *sa* is used again in the first clause that (re-)introduces these referents.

5.3.2 Incompletive *be*

The second main particle, the incompletive *be~bwe*, indicates that an action or event has not been started or taken place yet. Like the other auxiliaries, it occurs before the verb and, because of this, takes the subject proclitics. *bwe* has a range of related functions, most frequently indicating future events (5.24a), as well as hypotheticals (5.24b) and exhortatives (5.24c).

(5.24) a. *Rebwe gochayei!*
re=bwe gocha-yei
3PL=INC haunt-1SG
'They [the ghosts] are going to haunt me!'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 58]

b. *Iwe mene isa gale fori tapiwe ibwe gale bitage shagiu pwa*
i-we mene i=sa gale fori tapi-we i=bwe gale bi-tage shagiu pwa
ANA-DEF FOC 1SG=PFV HAB make like-DEF 1SG=INC HAB go-up just surface
'So what I did I would just go up and surface [from the water].'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 21]

c. *Gachiule iga gobwe lago.*
gachiu-le iga go=bwe lago
good-3SG.POSS if 2SG=INC go
'You should go now'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-049, 15 [ELICITED]

Future events here means that an event or action will occur in the future within the context of the discourse. This means that in narratives retelling past events or speech, *be* can still be used, both in quotative speech as in (5.25a) and in regular sentences, as in (5.25b).

(5.25) a. *Resa gale gasiya: "Gobe lago iya?"*
re=sa gale gasiya go=be lago iya
3PL=PFV HAB ask 2SG=INC go where
'They were asking her: "where are you going?"'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-2, 13.1]

b. *Yee mate sape ngali bwe rebwe gili mele kawe uwaale…*
yee mate sape ngali bwe re=bwe gili mele ka-we uwaa-le
and.then sit face to SUB.CONN 3PL=INC pick FOC DEM.PL-DEF fruit-3SG.POSS
'They were sitting facing [the mountain apple], and were about to pick the fruits…'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 100]

The incompletive can be optionally combined with negation in multiple ways: It can be directly combined into one particle, or occur separately. Historically, the incompletive has been combined with the small scope negation marker *ta-* NEG, resulting in the negative incompletive *te*, as in (5.26). This is the only instance in which *ta-* is attached to anything other than a verb.

Negative incompletive indicates a negative hypothetical state. It frequently co-occurs with, but is fundamentally different from, the negative inceptive marker *tewai* NEG.INC, despite its apparent shared etymology. *Tewai*, however, operates within the domain of unmarked/perfective rather than incompletive.

(5.26) *Reseoriu fengane bwe retewai gachorong bwe yaliuse we **yete** rongeronge.*
re=seoriu fengane bwe re=tewai ga-chorong bwe yaliuse we
3PL=say REFL SUB.CONN 3PL.A-NEG.INC CAUS-bothered SUB.CONN ghost DEF
ye=te rongeronge
3SG=NEG.INC hear
'The men told each other that they wouldn't make loud noises, so that the ghost(s) wouldn't hear [them].'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-033-MaliupashStory, 7.2]

The second combination of the incompletive with negation is where they occur separately, meaning that they each take scope over their individual element, rather than combining forces and both taking scope over the same element:

(5.27) *Iwe geele mene gobele tamole, yebwe tai gange bwe gange semaliu maliu gefago.*
i-we geele mene go=bele tamol-le ye=be tai gange bwe gange
ANA-DEF 2SG.EMPH FOC 2SG=INCEP chief-3SG.POSS 3SG=INC NEG 1sg.emph that 1sg.emph
se-maliu maliu gefago
one-CLF.ANIM ANIM poor
'"Then you are going to be the chief." "No, not me, because I'm a poor person!"'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-2, 71-72]

In (5.27), *yebe tai gange*, *be* indicates the incompletive state of the third person, whereas *tai* negates the equation of this third person with the first person, i.e., 'he will not be me'. This shows that *be* and *tai* each takes scope over a different element: *tai* taking scope over the noun phrase *gange*, and *be* taking scope over the entire non-verbal equative phrase.

Note that cognates of *be* in other languages are analyzed as future (e.g., Mortlockese *pɞ*, Odango 2015, 127) or future-exhortative (e.g., Puluwatese *p^{w}e*, Elbert 1974, 84). While it is true that *be* is used in semantically future constructions, classifying it as a future (tense) marker unnecessarily restricts its expected functionality. Especially the aspectual functions of *be*, which I argue are its main functions, expand notably beyond the realm of tense (see Section 5.3.2). Notably, *be* also occurs in constructions that are semantically non-future, such as hypotheticals (including

questions). The incompletive clause types, i.e., clauses containing *be*, are further analyzed in Section 7.5.2 below. For these reasons, I analyze *be* in Woleaian to be an incompletive rather than a tense marker.

Additionally, note that the incompletive is homophonous and often homographous with the subordinating connective *bwe* (discussed in Section 8.3.1), but is easily distinguished from it by its syntactic position and, due to this, and the fact that the incompletive can take the subject proclitics.

5.3.3 Inceptive *bele*

The third main particle, the inceptive marker *bele*, is much less common in the corpus. However, from my observations, it is quite frequent in everyday speech. *Bele* indicates that an action or event will start or occur imminently. The semantics of *bele* do not specify whether the action or event will be completed or be continuous; it only specifies the *start* of the event.

(5.28) a. *Resa gale gasiya: "Gobe lago iya?"*
re=sa gale gasiya go=be lago iya
3PL=PFV HAB ask 2SG=INC go where
'They were asking her: "where are you going?"'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-2, 13.1]

b. *Ibele lago yengage ure, bwe ila rebwe ure, gapule yaafe.*
i=bele lago ye=ngage ure bwe i-la re=bwe ure gapule
1SG=INCEP go 3SG=view perform SUB.CONN ANA-MED 3PL=INC perform drink.alcohol
yaafe
fire
'[the daughter said:] I'm going to go and watch the dance, because they will be dancing and having a drinking party.'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 15.2]

Similar to the incompletive, the inceptive can be used to specify hypotheticals or events that are going to or are about to begin from the perspective of the discourse, even if these events have already occurred in the present. In other words, the inceptive is not bound by the factual temporality of an event.

(5.29) a. *Resa lago bwe rebele shitage.*
re=sa lago bwe re=bele shitage
3PL=PFV go SUB.CONN 3PL=INCEP start
'They were about to start.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-030-02-NeedlefishCrab, 21]

b. *Iwe resa seoriu fengani ire mwale kawe bwe bisore nge **rebele** lago gooshe, bwe **rebele** lago, bitiwe tiibwe ggape me waole Weewe.*
i=we re=sa seoriu fengani ire mwale ka-we bwe bi-sore
ANA-DEF 3PL=PFV say REFL 3PL.EMPH man DEM.PL-DEF SUB.CONN go-morning
nge **re=bele** lago gooshe bwe **re=bele** lago bi-tiwe tiibwe ggape
CONJ **3PL=INCEP** go tap.tuba SUB.CONN **3PL=INCEP** go go-down poke baby.bird
me woa-le weewe
from on-3SG.POSS Weewe
'So the men said to each other that in the morning they would tap tuba so that they could go down and hunt baby birds on Weewe.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 7-8]

5.3.4 Other verbal particles

The particles discussed in this section are not necessarily less frequent than the ones discussed above. Rather, they are a larger group of particles with a variety of functions. They can be roughly grouped into pre-verbal and post-verbal particles, depending on its position within the verb phrase. Particles falling under this category generally have modal and/or aspectual semantics, but have a wider range of functions and meaning than the particles discussed above. In this section I will first describe the two groups of particles, and then describe some of the more frequent and/or functionally complex particles in more detail.

As noted above, pre-verbal particles are not mutually exclusive with the three main particles (perfective, incompletive, inceptive). If a pre-verbal particle is the only particle in the clause, they behave similarly to the two auxiliary verbs, being placed before the verb and thus taking the subject proclitics. However, if *sa*, *bwe* or *bele* are present, they are placed before the particles and form an independent phonological word with the pronominal clitics. On the other hand, there are no instances in the corpus where there are multiple pre-verbal particles, meaning that they are most likely mutually exclusive with each other. This also means that there is no internal ordering hierarchy that can be established.

A list of currently identified pre-verbal particles is given in Table 5.6. With the exception of the habitual *gale*, which has an aspectual function, the pre-verbal particles all have adverbial functions. Due to similar modal-aspectual functions being achieved through a number of other strategies such as other verbs (e.g., *mwai* '[to be] a long time' or *tafile* '[to be] incorrect') or prepositions (e.g., *litabole* < *litabo* 'behind' + *-le* 3SG.POSS), and there being no formal coherence between these particles besides the widely-used pre-verbal position, the list given in Table 5.6 can be seen as non-exhaustive. The detailed analysis of forms, functions and origins of this group of particles is left to future research.

Woleaian	Gloss
gale	habitual
nepale	'manner'
shiule	'still'
tapunge	'suddenly'
gaisee	'until'
fare	mirative
bale	'also'
mali	'maybe'
mwash	'just'
mware	'almost'
saro	'somewhat'

Table 5.6: Pre-verbal particles.

This group of particles often takes scope over a verb phrase, but it is possible for them to take scope over an entire sentence. If the particle takes scope over the verb phrase, it is placed inside of that verb phrase. Conversely, if a particle takes sentential scope, it is placed sentence-initially outside of the main verb phrase (5.30a), or sentence-initially outside of the verb phrase all together (5.30b). This is detected by whether the particle appears before or after the pronominal marking if present. If there is no pronominal marking present, it is either disambiguated by the context or remains ambiguous whether phrasal or sentential scope is meant. The sentential scope of these particles is discussed in Chapter 8.

(5.30) a. *Yei tapunge tage shagiu yesa bitage gopiye ie melewe.*
yei tapunge tage shagiu ye=sa bi tage gopii-iye ie mele-we
INJ suddenly up repeat 3SG=PFV go up cut-TRR 3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF
'Oh! All of a sudden he got up and cut it.'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 105]

b. *Mali ye ngawe yamem misile…*
mali ye=ngawe yaa-mem misile
maybe 3SG=bad POSS.CLF:GEN-1PL.EXCL.POSS engine
'Maybe our engine was broken…'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 14]

The post-verbal particles are placed directly after the verb within the verb phrase, which means that if an explicit (non-pronominal) object argument is present, the particle is placed between the verb and the object, as in (5.31). The post-verbal particles all have modal semantics, indicating the degree to which an action or an event is taking or has taken place.

(5.31) a. *Yesa fagili fetaleyei.*
ye=sa fagili fetale=yei
3SG=PFV search around=1SG
'He/she/it is searching around for you.'

b. *Yesa ppipiye fetalere.*
Ye=sa ppipiye fetale=re
3SG=PFV look around=3PL
'He/she/it is looking around for them.'

[Lenny Saumar, ELICITED Facebook Messenger 2024-08-20]

As with the pre-verbal particles, the list given in Table 5.7 can be seen as non-exhaustive, and more post-verbal particles may be identified as documentation and descriptive work continues.

Woleaian	**Gloss**
mwo	'momentarily'
sekiut	'some, a little bit'
gemase	emphatic
fetale	'around'
fengani	reciprocal
shagiu	'repeat, only, again'

Table 5.7: Post-verbal particles.

5.3.4.1 Habitual *gale*

The most frequent pre-verbal particle, the habitual *gale*, indicates that a certain action, or less frequently an event, habitually takes place over some time span. Habitually here means that there are several consecutive or repetitive instances of the action/event, rather than a single action over a period of time (progressive) or several instances of the event in a sequence (iterative), the latter two being covered by other elements of the grammar.[5]

5. Both progressive and iterative constructions are achieved through verbal reduplication, discussed in Section 5.5. For a particle that indicates frequentative-like actions, see *fetale* discussed in Section 5.3.4.8.

(5.32) a. *Yee sibe seoriu bwe igawe nge pache **yegale** keokeo nge maliuge **yegale** mwariuriu mwaliyale.*
ye si=be seoriu bwe igawe nge pache **ye=gale** keokeo nge
and.then 1PL.INCLA.=INC say SUB.CONN like CONJ thunder **3SG=HAB** crow CONJ
maliuge **ye=gale** mwariuriu mwaliya-le
chicken **3SG=HAB** rumble voice-3SG.POSS
'So we would say that [in the past] the thunder crowed and the chicken thundered.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-030-03-ChickenThunder, 3]

b. *Iwe yafe fetale isa **gale** gekebwate lago reere bwe rebwe gekashe lago taali nge mali retarongerone, bwe resa tire gemase yare maniunago.*
i-we yaafe feta-le i=sa **gale** ge-gebwate lago re=re bwe
ANA-DEF swim around-3SG.POSS 1SG=PFV **hab** RED-shout go for=3PL SUB.CONN
re=bwe ga-kashe lago taali nge mali re=ta-rongeronge bwe re=sa tire
3PL=INC CAUS-throw go rope CONJ maybe 3PL=NEG-hear SUB.CONN 3PL=PFV fast
gemase yaa-re maaliu-lago
very POSS.CLF:GEN-3PL.POSS drift-go
'[I was] swimming around and started shouting to them so they would throw a rope [to me], maybe they didn't hear [me] because they floated away so quickly.'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-2302402-2 16]

For stative constructions, it indicates a temporary state somewhat similar to the use of *sa* but indicating the temporary continuity of a state or quality, rather than temporarily having come into a state.

(5.33) *Galewe yesa kagiu tage yafiwe, geele Maliupash yesa gale gangali yaliuse we bwe yebele gake paniu gake fetale meka yebe gale pwule.*
gale-we ye=sa kagiu tage yafi-we ?? Maliupash ye=sa gale gangali yaliuse
HAB-DEF 3SG=PFV prepare.fire up fire-DEF ?? Maliupash 3SG=PFV HAB tell ghost
we bwe ye=bele gake paaliu-le gake feta-le mel-ka
DEF SUB.CONN 3SG=INCEP collect frond-3SG.POSS collect around-3SG.POSS ANA-DEM.PL
ye=be gale pwule
3SG=INC HAB be.lit
'He put up the fire and Maliupash told the ghost that he should collect coconut fronds and anything that can keep the fire lit..'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-033-MaliupashStory, 13.1]

The other pre-verbal verbal particles are a mix of modal and aspectual semantics. They show less semantic distinction between their functions between active and stative constructions, and often have more specific (lexical) meanings than *gale*. Of these particles, *bale* 'also' is the most frequent, and is used to indicate that the subject in the sentence is performing the same action as

someone or something else, that the subject is performing an action in addition to another action, or that the subject is performing an action simultaneously with another action or during another event.

(5.34) a. *Nge semaliu sari laiure iwe **yebale** tabei ie melewe fitiyale.*
nge se-maliu sari laiu-re i-we **ye=bale** tabe=i ie
CONN one-CLF:ANIM child offpsring-3SG.POSS ANA-DEF **3SG=also** join=TRR 3SG.EMPH
mel-we fiti-yaa-le
ANA-DEF spouse-POSS.CLF:GEN-3SG.POSS
'And one of their kids joined the wife [to go to Iuliuwase].'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-2, 20]

b. ***Bale** lago melewe yaale gamwali, retai **bale** mate shagiu.*
bale lago mele-we yaa-le ga-mwali re=tai **bale** mate shagiu
also go ANA-DEF POSS.CLF:GEN-3SG.POSS CAUS-speak 3PL=NEG **also** wake repeat
'[She] started saying it again, [but] they still didn't wake up.'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 69-70]

5.3.4.2 ***shagiu*** 'just, only, again'

shagiu is a relatively very frequent particle in the corpus. It has two functions: one is indicating non-iterative consecutive repetition (5.35a), and the other is exclusion of an action or state (5.35b).

(5.35) a. *Ie piunge longe shagiu isa bulonge gekaseoseo yee mano, mano nge isa.*
ie piunge longe shagiu i=sa bu-longe CV-ka-seo seo yee
3SG.EMPH fall in repeat 1SG=PFV go-in PROG-CAUS-RED-rested and.so finish
mano mano nge i=sa
finish CONJ 1SG=PFV
'I fell in again and I went in to rest, and finished.'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2,]

b. *Torofi shagiu ie giuriugage kawe, nge resa buwei nifale.*
torofi shagiu ie giuregage ka-we nge re=sa bu-wei
catch just 3SG.EMPH black.noddy DEM.PL=DEF CONJ 3PL.A=PFV go-out
ni=fale
in=mens.house
'Just snatched the noddy's and went out into the men's house.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 51]

shagiu in its basic occurrence is a post-verbal particle. However, it has a relatively wide array of syntactic occurrences, with seemingly functioning somewhat as a focus marker:

(5.36) *Mena **shagiu** shimwale misil la yamem mene yeloge fetale weli peigi ila mene igale yeyefagili lago.*
mel-la **shagiu** shiimwe-le misil la yaa-mem mene ye=loge
ANA-MED **just** head-3SG.POSS engine MED POSS.CLF:GEN-1PL.EXCL.POSS FOC 3SG=stay
fetale weli=peigi i-la mene i=gale CV-yefagili lago
around on CLF:HALF ANA-MED FOC 1SG=HAB PROG-hold.on go
'It was just the head of the engine that was around me, that's what I was holding on to.'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 18]

Although it is classified as a verbal particle, *shagiu* may also occur in verbless existential sentences. This usually occurs in discourse situations where there is a high degree of context, such as a conversation based on visual stimuli:

(5.37) *Bale ie mwale kawe **shagiu**.*
bale ie mwale ka-we **shagiu**
also 3SG.EMPH man DEM.PL=DEF again
'[This picture] also has the men.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-4, 11]

Similarly, there are a handful of instances where *shagiu* seems to occur as a verb by itself, indicating repetition of a previous action:

(5.38) *Ila sengale **shagiu** melewe gasile bongile.*
i-la senga-le **shagiu** mele-we gasile bongile
ANA-MED situation-3SG.POSS **repeat** ANA-DEF third night
'The same thing happened again on the third night.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-033-MaliupashStory, 5.3]

There are several possible explanations for this: first, it may be possible that the examples of *shagiu* seemingly occurring as a verb are instances of sentences where the verb is simply left out due to it being retrievable from context/discourse, meaning that *shagiu* still functions as a particle but with an implicit verb. Second, it could be that actually *sengale* 'his/her/its situation' is functioning as the verb here. Third, it could be possible that *shagiu* is evolving from the open word class (lexical) domain into the closed word class (functional) domain, or vice versa. The expected direction would be from lexical to lexical and functional into strictly functional, and the fact that the apparent verbal usage is much less frequent than its particle usage indicates either that *shagiu* is at a late stage in this development, or that it is an aberrant evolution facilitated by Woleaian's fuzzy word class boundaries.

5.3.4.3 *bale* 'also'

bale 'also' is another relatively frequent verb particle after *gale*, and is used to indicate that the subject in the sentence is performing the same action as someone or something else (5.39a), that the subject is performing an action in addition to another action (5.39b), or that the subject is performing an action simultaneously with another action or during another event (5.39c).

(5.39) a. *Nge semaliu sari laiure iwe **yebale** tabei ie melewe fitiyale.*
nge se-maliu sari laiu-re i-we **ye=bale** tabe=i ie
CONN one-CLF:ANIM child offpsring-3SG.POSS ANA-DEF **3SG=also** join=TRR 3SG.EMPH
mel-we fiti-yaa-le
ANA-DEF spouse-POSS.CLF:GEN-3SG.POSS
'And one of their kids joined the wife [to go to Iuliuwase].'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-2, 20]

b. ***Bale** lago melewe yaale gamwali, retai **bale** mate shagiu.*
bale lago mele-we yaa-le ga-mwali re=tai **bale** mate shagiu
also go ANA-DEF POSS.CLF:GEN-3SG.POSS CAUS-speak 3PL.A=NEG **also** wake repeat
'[She] started saying it again, [but] they still didn't wake up.'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 69-70]

It can also be used to indicate that an action or event is repeated or, in case of movement, reversed (5.40b). However, for this the event(s) and/or action(s) must be established in the discourse and must be non-consecutive. If the latter isn't the case, *shagiu* 'repeat, again, only' is used instead. However, the exact disentanglement of *bale* versus *shagiu* and the resulting semantics requires further research.

(5.40) a. *...Yesa **bale** lago mwalili wei Maliupash me lani ngetali tamale waawe.*
ye=sa **bale** lago mwalili wei Maliupash me lani ngeta-le
3SG=PFV **again** go speak out Maliupash from in hole-3SG.POSS
tame-le waa-we
outrigger.float-3SG.POSS the.canoe-DEF
'...Maliupash is speaking from the same hole in the canoe lashing again.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-033-MaliupashStory, 6.1]

b. ***Yebale** meletiwe shagiu nge bale gatabotabo ngali yaale ile.*
ye=bale mele-tiwe shagiu nge bale ga-tabotabo-ngali yaa-le
3SG=ALSO move-down only CONJ also CAUSincrease.speed POSS.CLF:GEN-3SG.POSS
i-le
ANA-3SG.POSS
'It just went back down and kept swimming.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-032-02-NeedlefishCrab, 41-43]

5.3.4.4 ***shiule*** 'still'

The pre-verbal particle *shiule* indicates that an action or event is ongoing. In this, it has an inherent durative function. In an active construction, it implies that a certain action is still in the process of being performed as in (5.41a), and in stative constructions it implies that there has been no change in state, as in (5.41b-c).

(5.41) a. *Yarof yeshiule mongo ige.*
yarof ye=shiule mongo iige
Yarof 3SG=**still** eat fish
'Yarof is still eating fish (i.e., has not finished eating yet).'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-045, 2 [ELICITED]]

b. *Yeshiule on Starlink we?*
ye=shiule on starlink we
3SG=**still** on Starlink DEF
'Is the Starlink still on?'
[field notes, 2024-08-09]

c. *Iseoriu nge **shiule** loge mai laale.*
i=seoriu nge **shiule** loge mai laale
1SG=say CONJ still stay breadfruit DEM.DIST
'I think that breadfruit tree is still there [now].'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-053-EauripikPictureDescriptions, 69]

Like *bale*, *shiule* can also occur with the existential verb *yoore*. In these constructions, *shiule* modifies the existential semantics in adding the implication that there is an expected end to the existence of existential's referent. This is showcased in (5.42a-b): in (5.42a), the question is whether betelnut grows on Eauripik, whereas (5.42b) asks whether there still is betelnut available (for chewing). Note that the question in (5.42b) refers to general availability, and similar semantics for possessed existentials is achieved by other means (see Section 7.5.3).

(5.42) a. *Yoore pwu [woale Yaurepige]?*
yoore pwu woale yaurepige
EXIST betelnut on Eauripik
'Is there betelnut on Eauripik? (i.e., does betelnut grow on Eauripik?)'

b. ***Shiule** yoore pwu?*
shiule yoore pwu
still EXIST betelnut
'Is there still betelnut? (i.e., do we still have betelnut to chew?)'
[field notes, 2024-08-17]

Shiule can also occur in a sentence such as (5.43), where a (temporal) word that more frequently occurs as a noun take the verbal position. This indicates an ongoing state during which the events in the discourse take place (until an end to this state is indicated).

(5.43) *Gaibuwei me, gaibuwei nge **shiule nifegafe**, gaisa terage tiwe reli wafaliuwe bwe yetawe tangi mena faliuwemam.*
gai=bu-wei me gai=bu-wei nge **shiule** nifegafe gai=sa terage
1PL.EXCL.A=go-out from 1PL.EXCL.A=go-out CONJ **still** night 1PL.EXCL=PFV sail
tiwe re-li wafaliuwe bwe ye=tawe tangi mel-la faliuwe-mam
down for-3SG freighter SUB.CONN 3SG=far from ANA-MED island-1PL.EXCL.POSS
'We went out, went out and it was still evening, we sailed down to the ship because it was far from our island.'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204, 12]

5.3.4.5 *saro* 'somewhat'

The pre-verbal particle *saro* indicates that an action or state is only partly achieved. More precisely, in active constructions it implies that an action is completed (or being completed) to a reduced degree, and in stative constructions it implies that the referent of the state only has partially achieved this state:

(5.44) a. *Seewe gapeyase **saro** wei uluniule teapot.*
see-we gapeyase **saro** wei uluniu-le teapot
one-DEF basket **somewhat** resemble appearance-3SG.POSS teapot
'One basket kind of looks like a teapot.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-3, 36]

b. ***Yesaro** sugege lago mena piletale.*
ye=saro sugege lago mel-la pilate-le
3G.A=somewhat opened go ANA-MED lid-3SG.POSS
'The cover has a little opening (lit. 'the lid goes somewhat opened').'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-3 , 19]

This particle occurs less frequently in the corpus, so it is difficult at this time to do a detailed analysis of its occurrence and functions. Nonetheless, there are a few observations that can be made: Similar to *shagiu*, *saro* can occur in verbless clauses, either in equative constructions (5.45a), which are always verbless, or in sentences where it is unclear whether *saro* is acting as a verb, or that a lexeme that usually occurs as a noun is occurring as a verb and being modified by *saro* (see Section 5.3.4.2 above for another discussion of this). Due to its relatively low frequency, it cannot at this point be stated if *saro* is on a similar evolutionary path as *shagiu*.

(5.45) a. *Iyeele nge yefiife nge yetai, yesaro mele tangi yetai pashe gachiu ngali.*
i-yeele nge ye=fiife nge ye=tai ye=saro mele tangi ye=tai pashe gachiu
ANA PROX CONJ 3SG=coil CONJ 3SG=NEG 3SG somewhat FOC from 3SG=NEG
ngali
stick good to
'This one wasn't piled that tightly to the rock.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-1, 42]

b. *Peile imwe tagiyate lago mena yesaro tagiyate tage.*
peile imwe tagiyate lago mel-la ye=saro tagiyate tage
brick house elevation go ANA-MED 3SG=SOMEWHAT elevation up
'The stones of the house that go high up.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-053-EauripikPictureDescriptions, 41]

5.3.4.6 Mirative *fare*

The particle *fare* expresses mirativity, meaning that the event it takes scope over happened unexpectedly and/or is a surprise.

(5.46) *Checki fetalei boti la waamem fare, fare weri tengekile isa.*
checki fetale=i boti la waa-mem fare fare weri
check around=TRR boat MED POSS.CLF:VEHICLE-1PL.EXCL.POSS MIR MIR see
tangeki-le i=sa
light-3SG.POSS 1SG=PFV
'Checking for our boat, I actually saw its light.'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 25]

It also has an evidential function, in that the speaker can use it to express a state or cause of events that they do not have first-hand evidence for, as in (5.47).

(5.47) *Garepa tage faliuwe nge boti yesa fare bitiwe bwe mali resa **fare** giula.*
garepa tage faliuwe nge boti ye=sa fare bi-tiwe bwe mali re=sa **fare**
approach up island CONJ boat 3SG=PFV MIR go-down because maybe 3PL.A=PFV **MIR**
giula
know
'Closing in on the island and a boat was coming down because maybe they somehow already knew.'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 33]

In these types of situations, i.e., where the speaker is making assumptions about the reasoning of others, the particle is repeated frequently, as it only takes scope over a single verb:

(5.48) *Gaisa bulonge, yeremate mali resa seogiu bwe resa gaweri fetale yaremate, nge resa fare seoriu longe bwe isa fare nage, nge ila yatola resa fare butoge gawelimwa gemam.*
gai=sa bu-longe yaremate mali re=sa seogiu bwe re=sa ga-weri
1PL.EXCL=PFV go-in people maybe 3PL.A=PFV gathered because 3PL=PFV CAUS-see
fetale yaremate nge re=sa fare seoriu longe bwe i=sa fare nage nge
around people CONJ 3PL.A=PFV MIR say in that 1SG=PFV MIR appear CONJ
i-la yatola re=sa fare butoge ga-welimwa gemam
ANA-MED time-MED 3PL=PFV MIR come CAUS-greet 1PL.EXCL
'We went in, people maybe they were there because people were flashing lights, and then they called in to the people that I was actually found, and that's the time that they came and greeted us.'

[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 35]

Because of the personal and evidential semantics of this particle, it is distributed unevenly in the corpus, mostly showing up in personal narratives and very infrequently in stories.

5.3.4.7 Emphatic *gemase*

The post-verbal particle *gemase* is used to emphasize the degree of a state or action. Although it is not very frequent in the corpus, it most often occurs in stative constructions (5.49a-b), but may also occur in active ones (5.48c).

(5.49) a. *Resa gale seoriu ire reyaurepige bwe seewe boo iye yesa gamwatiti **gemase**.*
re=sa gale seoriu ire re=yaurepige bwe se-we boo iye ye=sa
3PL.A=PFV HAB say 3PL 3PL.A=EAURIPIK that one-DEF smell 3SG.EMPH 3SG=PFV
gamwatiti **gemase**
excellent **very**
'And the Eauripiki were saying that there was a scent that was very delicious.'

[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 49]

b. *Yaafe lago yee, tamwel ibwe pwa bwe kaile **gemase** loa, niune.*
yaafe lago yee ta-mwele i=bwe pwa bwe kaile **gemase** loa niune
swim go AND.SO NEG-able 1SG=INC surface because strong **very** wave bent
'I swam, I couldn't surface because the waves were very strong and barreling.'

[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 20]

c. *Fetale bwe Yaremate resa gale Songe lago shagiu woale maliuge yatoye yegale gachoronge **gemase** mwaliyale.*
fetale bwe yaremate re=sa gale songe lago shagiu woa-le maliuge yatoye
around INC person 3PL.A=PFV HAB angry go again on-3SG.POSS chicken now
ye=gale ga-choronge **gemase** mwaliyale-le
3SG=HAB CAUS-bothered **very** voice-3SG.POSS
'People were getting mad at the rooster because of his bothering sound.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-030-03-ChickenThunder, 4]

It is one of the few particles in this section that may also modify non-verbal elements. In the case of *gemase*, it sometimes occurs modifying quantifiers:

(5.50) *Yesa fato sefasho faliyape woale pei we toulape gemase uwaale.*
ye=sa fato se-fasho faliyape woa-le pei we toulape gemase
3SG=PFV plant one-CLF:LONG.RIGID apple on-3SG.POSS grave DEF many very
uwaa-le
flower-3SG.POSS
'A mountain apple tree had grown on the grave, and had a lot of fruits.'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 98]

Although not occurring in the corpus, *gemase* also occurs in the semi-lexified phrase expressing emphatic thanks, *gosa gashigeshige gemase* 'thank you very much', although this phrase also, and more frequently, occurs without *gemase*.

5.3.4.8 ***fetale* 'around'**

The particle *fetale* 'around' indicates that an action takes place multiple times around the same area. As such, it implies a repeated action contained to a single event. Consequently, it occurs only in active constructions in the corpus. It is not, however, restricted to bivalent constructions, as shown in (5.51b). Because of the semantics of repeated action within a single event, it differs from other morphological processes that imply duration, iteration, and/or distribution, such as *gale* HAB (see Section 5.3.4.1) or verbal reduplication (see Section 5.5).

(5.51) a. *Resa rige wei buwei **pipiye fetalei** me welipiye melwe laiure yetaloge.*
re=sa riige we bu-wei **pipiye fetale=i** me welipiye mele-we lai-re
3PL=PFV run out go-out **watch around-TRR** CONJ beach ANA-DEF child-3PL.POSS
ye=ta-loge
3SG=NEG-stay
'They ran out to look for her on the beach, but she wasn't there.'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 76]

b. *Mwale kawe semoiu resa teotage shiule mai kawe nge Maliupash* ***loge fetale*** *faale gale iuriure.*
mwale ka-we se-moiu re=sa teo-tage shiu-le mai ka-we
man PL-DEF one-CLF:ANIM.GROUP 3PL=PFV climb-up top-3SG.POSS breadfruit PL-DEF
nge Maliupash **loge fetale** faa-le gale iur-iure
CONJ Maliupash **stay around** bottom-3SG.POSS HAB RED-drag
'The other men climbed up the breadfruit trees, and Maliupash stayed on the ground and collecting [the black noddies].'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-033-MaliupashStory, 7.3]

Formally, it may look like the underlying form of *fetale* is *feta* plus the third person singular possessive *-le* 3SG.POSS, as there are other functional elements that obligatorily take a possessive suffix, such as *re-* 'for'. While this may have been the case historically, nowadays the form must be analyzed as simplex. The main evidence, besides it only occurring as *fetale* in the corpus, comes from the valency-increasing morpheme *=i* (discussed in Section 5.2.3): If pronominal marking and *=i* are present on the verb, the pronominal enclitic always follows *=i*, such as in *kabongiyei* kabong=i=yei learn=TRR=1SG 'teach me'. However, as shown in (5.51a), *=i* attaches to the very end of *fetale*, resulting in *fetalei* rather than the expected **fetaile* if it were a complex form. Additionally, although it does not occur in the corpus, *fetale* is able to take actual pronominal marking (without the need of *=i*), as in *fetaleyei* 'around=1SG' and *fetalere* 'around=3PL (Lenny Saumar, pers. comm.). Thus, synchronically, *fetale* must be analyzed as a simplex form, although it may be historically similar to some other prepositions and preposition-like elements that take pronominal marking.

5.3.4.9 *sekiut* 'a little bit'

Sekiut is a post-verbal particle that functions to indicate diminutiveness, partial completion of an action, or partial achievement of a state.

(5.52) *…yesa gekarepe wei sekiute yaliuse we mwetangitengi wei totoge wei.*
ye=sa gekarepe wei sekiut yaliuse we mwetangitengi wei RED-toge wei
3SG=PFV close.in out some spirit DEF rattle out PROG-come out
'… [T]he ghost started closing in a little, making the rattling noise and coming closer.'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 67]

Sekiut can also form an utterance by itself as an answer to a question, as in (5.52):

(5.53) a. A: *Gomwel kepate kapetale faliuweshe?*
go=mwel kepate kepate-le faliuwe=she
2SG=able speak language-3SG.POSS island=1PL.POSS
'Can you speak our language?'

b. B: *[Imwel kepate]* ***sekiut****.*
i=mwel kepate **sekiut**
1SG=able speak **some**
'[I can speak] a little.'

[field notes, 2024-08-14]

Additionally, *sekiut* also occurs in the phrase *sekiut me sekiut* 'little by little', which indicates the completion of an action in small increments, e.g., *gomwel iule sekiut me sekiut* 'you can drink [it] little by little' (field notes, 08-09-2024).

5.3.4.10 Reciprocal *fengani*

The last particle discussed in this section, *fengani*, deviates somewhat from the others. As seems to have been to be the journey of a number of other particles, this is likely because it is arising from some complex element. While its function is to indicate reciprocity, *fengani* consists of, and is still analyzed by speakers as, *fe-* RECIP, *ngali* 'to' and *-le* 3SG.POSS.

(5.54) a. *Iwe resa seoriu* ***fengani*** *ire mwale kawe bwe bisore nge rebele lago gooshe.*
i-we re=sa seoriu **fengani** ire mwale ka-we bwe
ANA-DEF 3PL.A=PFV say **RECIP** 3PL.EMPH man DEM.PL-DEF SUB.CONN
bi-sore nge re=bele lago gooshe
go-morning CONN 3PL.A=INCEP go tap.tuba
'So the men said to each other that in the morning they had to go tap tuba.'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 7]

b. *Meli reweri, resa rongeronge tigi resa fefarage toge yee gaifare butoge piunge* ***fengani*** *gaisa.*
meli re=weri re=sa rongeronge tigi-i re=sa fe-farage toge
maybe 3PL.A=see 3PL.A=PFV hear voice-1SG.POSS 3PL.A=PFV RED-walk come
yee gai=fare bu-toge piunge **fengani** gai=sa
and.so 1PL.EXCL=MIR go-come fall **RECIP** 1PL.EXCL=PFV
'Maybe they saw [me], they heard my voice, started walking towards me and then we met.'

[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 28]

As seen throughout this grammar, *ngali* and *-le* are both highly frequent elements that perform a variety of grammatical functions. *Fe-*, however does not appear to have any other meaning

in addition to indicating reciprocity, it does not occur outside of this specific compound. Additionally, the form of *fengani* does not change based on person and number of the argument it applies to (cf. 5.54a vs. b), showing that it is no longer sensitive to those factors and is fossilizing into a particle. Syntactically, it also shows grammaticalization: it seems to grammatically categorized as a post-verbal particle, occurring in mutual distribution with the other post-verbal particles. Note that *fengani* only indicates reciprocity, as reflexivity is encoded by indexing the same argument as subject and object on the verb (see Section 8).

5.4 The verbalizer *yegili*

The verbalizer *yegili* is in an interesting position in Woleaian. It is relatively marginal in the language itself, but becomes much more frequent when loanwords are taken into account. *Yegili* occurs in constructions for some native words commonly used as either a verb or a noun, and in those instances it carries a purely grammatical function. The exact delineation of native verbs that require *yegili* is somewhat unclear and requires more systematic research.

(5.55) a. ***Geshagili** shagiu ie waawe nge retefale.*
gashe-yegili shagiu ie waa-we nge re=tefale
tack-VBLZR repeat 3SG.EMPH the.canoe CONJ 3PL=return
'Tacking their canoe, they went back.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 21]

b. *…yesa shengagili tage wenenge…*
ye=sa shengage-yegili tage wenenge
3SG=PFV hang-VBLZR up high
'…he hung it up…'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-2300125-2, 15]

For loanwords, however, the function is much clearer, however. All recent, unintegrated, loanwords that are verbs in the donor language (exclusively English at this time) require *yegili* in order to be used grammatically.

(5.56) *…nge gosa call **yagili** Agriculture reel tengwaa 350-2183 gare Quarantine reel tengwaa 350-2116.*
nge go=sa call **yegili** Agriculture re-li tengwaa 350-2183 gare Quarantine
CONJ 2SG=PFV call **VBLZR** agriculture for-3SG.POSS phone 350-2183 or quarantine
re-li tengwaa 350-2116
for-3SG.POSS phone 350-2116
'…then call Agriculture at 350-2183 or Quarantine at 350-2116.'
[Yap Department of Agriculture, Coconot Rhinoceros Beetle Pamphlet]

The fact that this type of loan requires a verbalizer lends additional support to the analysis that Woleaian lexemes are grammatically unspecified for lexical category in general, and without exception in loanwords. There are a few loanwords that stem from English verbs that don't or no longer require *yegili*, such as *checki* 'to check, look at/for'. The timeline of integration and (lack of) necessity of the verbalizer is currently unclear…

Yegili also has a durative-repetitive-iterative counterpart, *yegini*. I suspect that this is underlyingly *yegili* + *-le* 3SG.POSS, which can attach to all verbs, nominalizing them and giving an identical or similar reading, though most frequently durative. Though this form does not occur in the corpus, it was immediately prompted when asking a speaker (Tom Hiemal) about *yegili*, giving the distinction between *call yegili* '(to) call (s.mn.)' versus *call yegini* '(to) call around' (field notes, 2024-08-21).

5.5 Reduplication in the verbal domain

Reduplication of the verb is an important and frequent part of Woleaian grammar. There are three ways of reduplicating: full reduplication, reduplication of the initial CV of the verb, and reduplication of the final syllable. The full reduplication occurs in both active and stative constructions, but the initial syllable reduplication and final syllable reduplication are exclusive to active and stative constructions, respectively. As partial reduplication is functionally more straight-forward than full reduplication, I will discuss these first.

5.5.1 Partial Reduplication

The reduplication of the initial syllable of a verb in an active construction adds aspectual semantics that indicate progressiveness. Speakers have noted that it is not possible to partially reduplicate those verbs that occur prototypically in stative constructions, and there are no instances of this occurring in the corpus. As noted in Section 2.3.4, if the initial consonant of the verb is /x/ (<g>) or /b/, this consonant on the verb root is realized as [k] or [p], respectively, once partial reduplication has taken place. The dissimilation is most likely due a dispreference of having identical sequential syllables, which generally do not occur across the language. Additionally, the vowel in the reduplicated syllable generally surfaces as one of its reduced forms. Although this is often reflected in writing, the surfacing of a reduced form can also be explained from regular occurrence of reduced vowels in unstressed positions (see Section 2.1.2). Whether the reduplicated verb is interpreted as progressive or iterative is dependent on the context and the verb itself. That is to say, a formal distinction between progressive and iterative cannot be made, rather, partial initial reduplication always carries progressive-iterative meaning, and the precise conceptualization of the action depends on the verb and the linguistic and real-world context. This separates it semantically from full reduplication, which always carries an iterative-emphatic meaning.

(5.57) a. *…gaisa **gekarepa** tage faliuwe bwe galongoale gaitawe tiwe.*
gai=sa **ge-garepa** tage faliuwe bwe galongoale gai=tawe tiwe
1PL.EXCL=PFV **RED-approach** up island SUB.CONN truth 1PL.EXCL=far down
'We were closing in on the island because we were really far out.'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 32]

b. *Ila melewe yesa ganei, **gekanei** yee mano…*
i-la mele-we ye=sa gane=i, **ge-gane=i** yee mano
ANA-MED ANA-DEF 3SG=PFV give=TRR **RED-give-TRR** and.then finish
'That [fatty meats] was what he gave him, he kept giving it to him and then it was finished.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 61]

In some cases the reduplication does not surface, but only a change in the initial consonant can be detected, as in (5.58).

(5.58) *Nge isa gale **kangali** bwe, yeokiu, yesa bitage yee.*
nge i=sa gale **ge-gangali** bwe yeokiu ye=sa bi-tage yee
CONJ 1SG=PFV HAB **RED-tell** SUB.CONN oops 3SG=PFV go-up and.then
'And I [he] started telling her…Oops! And she went up and…'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-2, 20]

I presume that *kangali* goes through an intermediate stage **gekangali~gakangali*, whence the first syllable is dropped. It's quite possible that this is another strategy to avoid having a sequence of similar syllables, as the intermediate stage has a series of three syllables consisting of a velar consonant + /a/. When asking speakers about *kangali*, they note that it is a reduplicated form, and note the intermediate form as an explanation for the initial consonant. I leave a more detailed study of Woleaian dissimilation in general and partial initial reduplication specifically up to further research.

Additionally, in verb roots that start with /ɾ/ (represented with <l> in the orthography), the partial initial reduplication will surface simply as [n] <n>. For example, *lago* '(to) stay' is partially reduplicated as *nago* '(to) be staying'. It is interesting to see that the morphophonological interaction of two /ɾ/-consonants is not just blind to intervening vowels, but, in the case of partial reduplication, removes the vowel entirely.

5.5.2 Full Reduplication

Full reduplication is where the entire verb root is reduplicated. Full reduplication occurs both in active and stative constructions. In active constructions, it is functionally quite similar to partial initial reduplication in indicating iteration of an action, but full reduplication places additional

emphasis on the repetitiveness. Therefore, I call the function of full reduplication in active constructions 'emphatic iterativity'. For stative constructions, the function is more complex as it influences the semantics of the quality itself of the verb root. The exact semantics of a fully reduplicated verb in a stative construction are unpredictable, and many verbs that prototypically occur in stative constructions are not regularly reduplicated, but the general rule of thumb is that the meaning is either hyponymic or hypernymic to the verb root. For example, *beshe* '(to be) white' is reduplicated as *beshebeshe* '(to be) very white', and *peshe* '(to be) hot' is reduplicated as *peshepeshe* '(to be) white-hot'. As reduplication of verbs that prototypically occur in stative constructions, as mentioned, is relatively rare outside of lexicalized forms, I leave the study of the exact semantic patterns of these forms up to further research.

(5.59) *Siyala* ***milemile*** *woale ie Mesapali.*
si=sa-la **mile-mile** woa-le ie mesapali
1PL.INCL=PFV-MED **RED-live** on-3SG.POSS 3SG.EMPH Mesapali
'Once upon a time, [a story] on Mesapali. (lit. 'We were living, on Mesapali)'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-2, 2]

Similar to partial reduplication, root-initial /x/ and /b/ surface as [k] and [p], respectively on the verb root in full reduplication. Additionally, geminate consonant-initial verb roots surface without a geminate in either the root or the reduplication:

(5.60) *Rebe* ***taliteli*** *lago welipiye bwe yebe seoriu bwe iye shagiu mene yerige.*
re=be **ttali-ttali** lago welipiye bwe ye=be seoriu bwe iye shagiu
3PL=INC **RED-line.up** go beach SUB.CONN 3SG=INC say SUB.CONN 3SG.EMPH repeat
mene ye=rige
FOC 3SG=run
'[He told his friends that] They would come line up on the beach so that Needlefish will think that Crab is always ahead.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-032-02-NeedlefishCrab, 54]

For monosyllabic verb roots, such as *bu* '(to) go', it is, of course, impossible to detect whether partial of full reduplication has taken place. For certain other disyllabic verb roots, such as vowel-initial roots, it is also difficult to tell whether partial or full reduplication has taken place, as root-final vowels have a tendency to be deleted pre-vocalically. For example, *iure* '(to) drink/smoke' is only found as *iuriure*, which could be both partial reduplication or full reduplication with a deleted vowel. However, since partial and full reduplication are functionally quite similar, it leads to no problems in parsing according to the speakers I consulted.

(5.61) *Iwe, yegale **bwipitiwe** Yaurepige bwitiwe pipi fetale yaremate.*
i-we ye=gale **bi-bi-tiwe** Yaurepige bi-tiwe pipi feta-le yaremate
ANA-DEF 3SG=HAB **RED-go-down** Eauripik go-down watch around-3SG.POSS people
'So, he's going down to Eauripik, going down to check on the people.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 4]

Additionally, as seen with partial reduplication, fully reduplicated verb roots that have /ɾ/ as their initial consonant, will have the first consonant (i.e., the consonant in the reduplication) surface as [n]. This is peculiar, as the two /ɾ/ consonants are not adjacent and may in fact even have an intervening syllable, as in (5.62). However, this is a completely regular process that occurs without exceptions in reduplicated forms, and the same initial /ɾ/ occurs as [n] when compounded with another verb ending in the same consonant.

(5.62) *Yatowe resa shitage sa **nagolago** iye gaito we yaare*
yatowe re=sa shitage sa **lago-lago** iye gaito we yaare
SUB.CONN 3PL=PFV start PFV **RED-go** 3SG.EMPH race DEF POSS.CF:GEN-3SG.POSS
'Then they started their race.'
[Fela me Garige, BOOKLET, 15]

To summarize, reduplication in the verbal domain consists of partial initial and final reduplication, which occurs only in active constructions, and full reduplication, which occurs in both active and stative constructions, although with different functions for each. Full reduplication in active constructions indicates emphatic iterativity, whereas full reduplication in stative constructions unpredictably influences the semantics of the quality described by the verb root.

5.6 Verbal Compounding

A not insignificant group of verbs occurs almost exclusively in combination with other elements, verbs, directionals, and prepositions. These verbs, such as *siu* '(to) stand' or *bu* 'go',[6] need a specification of how the action occurs, being semantically underspecified themselves. In the case of *bu* 'go', the specification is in which direction the action takes place. Thus, these verbs are usually found in compound forms. It seems that the secondary element must be a motion, posture, or directional verb, as this is how all verbal compounds occur in the corpus. However, further research is required to test the options of the secondary element. *bu* does not occur without a collocated verb or directional, but others, such as *siu*, can occur independently. For *siu* the manner of standing can be specified, either with another verb, such as *welewele* '(to be) straight' or the frequently collocated *sape* '(to) face', or with a preposition, such as *woale* 'on', or *tangi* 'from'.

6. NB: This verb occurs as *bu* before *to(ge)* 'come' and *wei* 'out' and *bi* before other collocates in the Eauripiki and Woleai varieties only. This morphophonological alternation is collapsed into *bi* without alternation in the varieties further east.

These compounds are thus distinct from Serial Verb Constructions (SVCs), as in the latter both elements in the construction can also occur independently as a verbal predicate, whereas in the compounds this is not the case. Serial verb constructions are discussed in more detail in Section 8.1.2.

(5.63) a. *Gaisa **bitiwe**, terage tiwe, yekaile loa, gaitage loa tiwe yee…*
gai=sa **bi-tiwe** terage tiwe ye=kaile loa gai=tage loa tiwe
1PL.EXCL=PFV **go-down** sail down 3SG=strong wave 1PL.EXCL=up wave down
yee
and.so
'We went down, sailing down, the waves were strong, we rode on the waves and…'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204, 13]

b. *Yesa **butoge** gasi ie iuwe we yaare yesa gasi longe nifale.*
ye=sa **bu-toge** gasi ie iuwe we yaa-re ye=sa gasi long
3SG=PFV go-come grab 3SG.EMPH sail DEF POSS.CLF:GEN-3PL.POSS 3SG=PFV grab in
ni=fale
in=mens.house
'He came and grabbed their sail and took it into the men's house.'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230125-1, 40]

c. ***Siusape** lago woale paiu shobute nge me reshe.*
siu-sape lago woa-le paiu shobute nge me re-she
stand-face go on-3SG.POSS arm woman SUB.CONN from for-1PL.INCL.POSS
'[He] is facing our left-hand side.
[Ignatius Maluchelmar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-2, 11]

d. *Mwale we **yesiu lugalepare**.*
mwale we **ye=siu** **luga-le-pare**
man DEF **3SG=stand** **middle**-3sg.poss-**??**
'The man is standing in the middle.'
[Ignatius Maluchelmar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-4, 67]

Verbal collocations other than those that serve to specify the manner or direction semantics are also frequent, as serial verb constructions (see Section 8.1.2) are relatively common in naturalistic speech. These types of collocations are distinguished from verbal compounds by being semantically, syntactically and morphophonologically less tightly bound than the compounds described above.

An example of this is *lago* 'go'. *lago* is frequently used as both the first and the second member of a sequence of verbs. When *lago* is used as a verb, it is a semantically underspecified verb that generally indicates the continuation of an action (5.64a), or to express movement that is not specified for direction (5.64a). It frequently co-occurs with other verbs, where it similarly

either indicates movement preceding an action or event or the continuation of this action or event (5.64b).

(5.64) a. *Mwale retai mweshale bwe shebule me sari bwe rebe **lago**.*
mwale re=tai mweshale bwe shebule me sari bwe re=be **lago**
man 3PL=NEG allow SUB.CONN woman CONJ juvenile SUB.CONN 3PL=INC **go**
'Men do not allow women and children to go [to the island].'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-033-MaliupashStory, 2.3]

b. *Mwale retai mweshale bwe shebule me sari bwe rebe **lago**.*
mwale re=tai mweshale bwe shebule me sari bwe re=be **lago**
man 3PL=NEG allow SUB.CONN women CONJ juvenile SUB.CONN 3PL=INC **go**
'Men do not allow women and children to go [to the island].'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-033-MaliupashStory, 2.3]

c. *Nge nibong nge mwale regale yoloage resa **lago** tiule giuregage.*
nge ni=bong nge mwale re=gale yoloage re=sa **lago** tiule giuregage
CONN in=night CONN man 3PL=HAB sneak 3PL=PFV **go** torch.hunt black.noddy
'Then, at night, men sneak [to the island] and go hunt black noddys with torches.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-033-MaliupashStory, 3.1]

Lago may be an example of a serial verb construction that is grammaticalizing into a verbal compound, as it is semantically bleached, but is still morphophonologically independent and has variability in its position.

Chapter 6

Minor Word Classes

6.1 Spatial Language

This section will give an overview of the complex system of spatial language in Woleaian. By spatial language, I mean the ways in which spatial relationships are expressed. More specifically, this includes spatial frames of reference, directions, and, by extension, directionals. Spatial language in Woleaian occurs in locative phrases (i.e., nouns), in verb phrases, and in prepositions/locative phrases.

There are three main parts of spatial language in Woleaian: The directionals (Section 6.1.1), which mainly consist of four words from the closed word class that occur after verbs and express the direction in which an action takes place. Secondly, there are the words that function within the frames of reference (Section 6.1.2), which consist of a group of nouns and verbs that are either dedicated, such as *gotu* 'east' and *iletou* 'west', or are conventionally semantically extended words, such as *paiu* 'arm' and *shobute* 'woman, left'. Third are a set of prepositions that introduce oblique locational phrases, giving additional information about the space or direction of an event, action, or state.

6.1.1 Directionals

The directionals operate mainly in the domain of the verb, and in the conceptual domain of space. Directionals indicate in which direction an action takes place. This can be either relative to the perspective of the speaker, relative to the relevant arguments in the discourse, or relative to the deictic center (implied) in the discourse. The five directionals all operate in the verbal domain, and only occur in active verbal constructions (i.e., not in stative verb constructions).

Woleaian	Gloss
wei	'out'
long	'in'
tiwe	'down (vertically), down-coast, southeast'
tage	'up (vertically), up-coast, northwest'
toge	'come (towards speaker)'

Table 6.1: Directionals.

The directionals always co-occur with another lexeme. They mainly occur in verb phrases, but can occur in noun phrases as well, for example in *peigewei* 'outside' (< *peige* 'side' + *wei* 'out'). The resulting syntactic position matches that of the head word, e.g., *peigewei* is a noun phrase. When they occur in a verb phrase, they most often co-occur with a verb that has motion semantics, but seem to be able to grammatically occur with any verb as long as context permits. The most frequent collocate with the directionals is the general motion verb *bu* '(to) go', as this verb grammatically requires a directional. Examples of verbs with motion semantics that co-occur with directionals from the corpus are *bu* '(to) go', *gerage* '(to) crawl', *gekarepe* '(to) close in (on s.th.)', *riige* '(to) run', *toge~to* '(to) come', *maaliu* '(to) drift', *iuriu* '(to) drag', *niutiu* '(to) jump', *magi* '(to) go together', and *terage* '(to) sail'. Examples of verbs with no obvious motion semantics are *loge* '(to) stay, reside', *mwetangitengi* '(to) rattle', *mwalili* '(to) speak', *pou* '(to) spill', and *gasi* '(to) grab'. In many of these cases, such as *mwalili* '(to) speak', it seems that the use of the directional is lexicalized at least to a degree. For others, the context does imply a degree of movement, for example with *gasi* '(to) grab' where the directional usually implies the direction of movement of the subject after grabbing the object. There are no examples in the corpus of directionals occurring with stative verbs.

Some of the directionals, mainly *tiwe* 'down' and *tage* 'up', seem to have semantically extended functionality in the realm of tense-aspect-mood-evidentiality (TAME), but this section will focus on their more literal uses, as a detailed description of the extended uses is beyond the scope of this project.

(6.1) a. *…nge regana rongeronge yaare yamate* ***mwaliliwei*** *me lani ngetale tame we yaare.*
nge re=gale-lago rongeronge yaa-re yaremate **mwalili-wei** me lani
CONJ 3PL=HAB-go hear POSS.CLF:GEN-3PL.POSS people **speak-out** from in
ngeta-le tame we yaa-re
hole-3SG.POSS outrigger.float DEF POSS.CLF:GEN-3PL.POSS
'…and they hear people talking out from inside the holes in their outrigger.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-033-MaliupashStory, 4.1]

b. *Nge toare yee **yebuwei** nge yesa **mwetangitengi wei** ie yaliuse we yesa **gekarepe wei**.*
nge toare yee **ye=bu-wei** nge ye=sa **mwetangitengi wei** ie
CONJ NEG.EXIST and.then 3SG-go-out CONJ 3SG=PFV **rattle** **out** 3SG.EMPH
yaliuse we ye=sa **gekarepe wei**
ghost DEF 3SG=PFV **close.in** **out**
'And nobody came out [of the house], and then the ghost appeared with rattling noises, and closed in [on the girl].'

[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 59]

As shown by *gekarepe wei* in (6.1b), the direction remains linked to the perspective of the subject rather than that of the object: Even though *gekarepe* '(to) close in (on)' has inherently object-focused semantics, *wei*, which indicates outward movement from the house, is chosen over *long*, which would indicate movement towards the girl. The use of the relative position of the subject argument remains if the arguments in discourse are at a different location than the speaker, even if these arguments are present at the time of speaking. For example, if a person is telling a story about themselves, the directionals they used are usually relative to where they were at the time of the events happening, rather than relative to where they are at the time of speaking. For example, the recording in (6.2) took place on Yap (Main Island), but the speaker still uses *tiwe* to indicate the direction of travel as one would use when standing on Eauripik, rather than *long* or *tage*.

(6.2) *Mano me high school isa bitiwe woale Yap isa school me college.*
mano me high school i=sa bi-tiwe woa-le yap i=sa school me
finish from high school 1SG=PFV go-down on-3SG.POSS Yap 1SG=PFV attend.school from college
college
'I finished high school, [then] I went down to Yap and attended college.'

[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 4]

However, the speaker can choose where to place the deictic center, and the center can move throughout the course of discourse. For example, in a travel narrative, the deictic center tends to snap to each of the places of destination on the route.

While *toge* is included here, it is grammatically somewhat different from the other directionals: It most frequently occurs in the same way as the other directionals, but in some instances can also occur by itself as a verb. In fact, in some instances *toge* can take directionals itself (as in 6.3). It is not unlikely that the other directionals have their origins in verbs as well, and that *toge* is in a transitional stage between verb and directional.

(6.3) *Yesa gekarepe wei sekiute yaliuse we mwetangitengi wei* ***totoge*** *wei.*
ye=sa gekarepe wei sekiut yaliuse we mwetangitengi wei **to-toge** wei
3SG=PFV close.in out some ghost DEF rattle out **RED-come** out
'The ghost closed in a little, rattling and coming [towards her].'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 67]

6.1.1.1 *wei* 'out' and *long* 'in'

The general meaning of *wei* and *long* is 'out of' and 'into', respectively. When on the shoreline, this aligns with a seaward-landward axis: The directionals were accompanied with gestures that indicated their axis. When describing *wei*, the speaker gestured towards the water with an outward flick of his downward-facing hand, and when describing *long* the speaker pointed directly behind him (inland) rather than reversing the gesture of *wei*.

However, in the context of Eauripik Atoll, the speaker stated that movement into the lagoon is described with *long*, meaning that 'land' here is not based on solid ground, but rather as "not ocean". When used in the context of a single island, travel towards the center is *long*, and movement towards the shore is *wei*. This means that, when starting on the northern shore of Eauripik Island, movement due south and due north can both be described as *long*, depending on whether the island or lagoon is chosen as most relevant context. This shows that the axis of direction is conceptualized around the contextually most salient anchor point – in this instance, the speech-act participants: Even though a traveller coming towards the speaker from the reef will be travelling *wei*, the prototypical direction of *wei* for the speaker at that point will be inland. In other words, the deictic center for *wei* and *long* is prototypically attached to the speaker and/or speech-act participants, but will be moved if there is a contextually highly salient element to which it can anchor, or if the context requires the selection of a specific scale.

wei and *long* are used on all scales (micro, meso, macro), although most commonly on the meso scale. On the micro scale, specifically for (partially) enclosed spaces, movement is expressed by compounding with *to-*[1] 'enter/exit' instead of *bu* 'go', i.e. *towei* 'exit enclosed space' and *tolong* 'enter enclosed space'. Figure 6.1 gives an example of how they are used on the meso scale, i.e., on an island and its immediate environs.

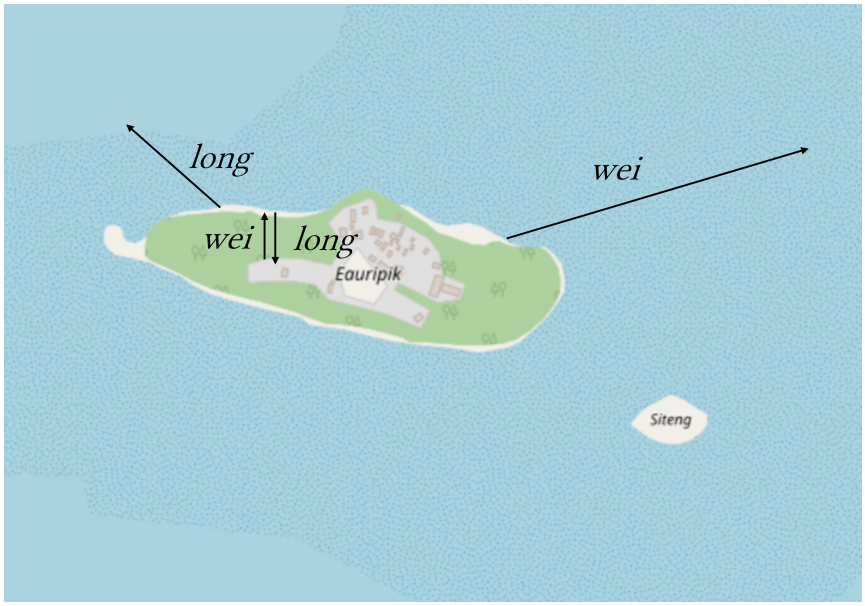

Figure 6.1: Applications of *wei* and *long* (basemap from OpenStreetMap, 2024)

6.1.2 Frames of Reference

Broadly speaking, a frame of reference is a way to express the position of one object to another object, or the movement of one object or agent towards or away from another. Frames of reference can be divided into three types: relative, intrinsic, and absolute (Levinson 2003). Woleaian uses all three frames of reference, but not with equal frequency across the three. This is because the relative frame of reference in Woleaian is currently at least partly developing out of the intrinsic frame of reference, leading to a number of homophonous terms and overlap. Levinson (2003) has noted this to be a common diachronic pathway across languages, and it can be seen that Woleaian's relative system is quite far along its development, since it is not only extending uses of the intrinsic frame but also has co-opted words from elsewhere in the lexicon. Thus, while the absolute terms are relatively confined (though not that *tiwe* 'up' and *tage* 'down' have multiple functions as shown in Section 6.1.1), the intrinsic and relative terms have considerable overlap

1. It is unknown whether this term can appear independently. I have therefore tentatively marked it as bound for now, as represented in the data

in their uses. Table 6.2 gives an overview of the lexical items used in the different frames of reference.

	Woleaian	Gloss
Absolute		
	gotu	'east'
	iletou	'west'
	iyefang	'north'
	iyeoiure	'south'
	tiwe	'up (vertically), up-coast, northwest'
	tage	'down (vertically), down-coast, southeast'
Intrinsic		
	liugiule	'outside (of)'
	tagune	'face, (to) turn'
Intrinsic & Relative		
	paiu	'arm'
	peige	'side'
	tagiure	'back'
	mwirile	'behind, back, (to) follow'
	mmwale	'in front (of)'
Relative		
	shobute	'left, woman'
	mwale	'right, man'
	tafile	'left, incorrect'
	file	'right, correct'

Table 6.2: Terms used in frames of reference.

6.1.2.1 Intrinsic frame of reference

In an intrinsic frame of reference, the intrinsic features of an object are used as the anchor points to indicate the relative position of another object to it. Importantly, the intrinsic frame means that there is no variance under rotation of the viewer and/or the whole frame.

(6.4) *Igela sibwele lago ngali peigile teragile waa, shiu-le waterage.*
igela si=bwele lago ngali peige-le teragi-le waa shiule
now 1PL.INCL=INCEP go to side-3SG.POSS sail-3SG.POSS canoe top-3SG.POSS
waterage
sailing.canoe
'Now we're going to the side of the sail of the canoe, [on] top of the sailing canoe.'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-240824-02, 1]

(6.5) *Ie piunge lago me shiule boti liugiule mena faliuwei.*
ie piunge lago me shiu-le boti liugiu-le mel-la faliuwe-i
1SG.EMPH fall go from top-3SG.POSS boat outside-3SG.POSS ANA-MED island-1SG.POSS
'I fell off a boat outside of my island.'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 7]

In Woleaian, the terms used stem from objects, including body parts, but also from actions, e.g., *mmwale* 'in front of' (< *mmwa* '(to) precede' + *-le* 3SG.POSS), and *tagune* '(to) face, (to) turn'. Note that, if movement semantics are potentially present in the word, such as with *mwirile* 'behind, back (to) follow', these do not apply when used in the context of frame of reference. Table 6.2 shows the terms that have been confirmed to be used as the anchor. Unlike some other languages that use an intrinsic frame of reference (e.g., Tzeltal Brown 2006), body parts are generally not mapped onto inanimate referents in the context of spatial orientation (although it occurs sporadically outside of this realm, such as *talinga* 'ear' for the handle of a mug). Instead, any salient feature of an object can be used as the anchor for the intrinsic frame of reference. The exception to this is *peige* 'side', which seems to be a more general term for a side of something that is also applied to the body, rather than being a specifically named body part. If the object has no discernible sides, such as *waliuweoliu* 'plant/tree', *peige* 'side', or a derivation such as *welipeigile* (< *woale* 'on' + *peige* 'side' + *-le* 3SG.POSS) 'on the side of' can still be used, but is generally vague as it could denote any part of the rounded object.[2]

(6.6) *Terage terage yebitiwe reli seewe faiu peige tagele Weewe.*
terage terage ye=bi-tiwe re-li se-we faiu peige tage-le Weewe
sail sail 3SG=go-down for-3SG.POSS one-DEF stone side up-3SG.POSS Weewe
'[They were] sailing and sailing, and they went down to a rock by Weewe.'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230125-1, 16]

6.1.2.2 Relative frame of reference

A relative frame of reference means that the speaker is used as the anchor point, meaning that all things are expressed as being relative to the speaker. The majority of words that are used in the intrinsic frame of reference, can also be used for the relative frame of reference. This means that, as context is established, if no explicit, intrinsic, anchor is given, the speaker is assumed to be the anchor, leading to a relative frame of reference. Therefore, as mentioned, the majority of words used in the intrinsic frame of reference is also used for the relative frame of reference (though note that there is not a full overlap). These words can also be combined with the four terms that I have exclusively found to be used in the relative frame: *shobute/tafile* for left and *mwale/file* for right. In those instances, they are incorporated into the relative frame of reference, as the relevant intrinsic feature is now dependent on the orientation of the speaker/listener. Another

2. Additionally, in discussion, several speakers noted that it would be strange to use *peige* in relation to *waliuweoliu*, although this does occur relatively frequently in naturalistic speech.

collocation is with more absolute directions such as *tage* 'up' as in (6.6), in which case the frame of reference used remains intrinsic. This shows the close connection between the intrinsic and the relative frames of reference, and show how the latter is developing from the former. As shown in 6.7, when the usage of the relative frame of reference is introduced, the term is marked with a pronoun (most commonly *-she* 1PL.INCL.POSS; 6.7a) or a locational construction (6.7b) indicating the orientation of the relative frame . If another use of the relative frame occurs within the same utterance, or in close proximity, the pronominal marking does not need to re-occur, showing that the pronominal marking is there to establish context and point of reference, rather than being a grammatically required element of the relative frame of reference.

(6.7) a. *Nge retagune fengani semaliu yesiu me peige **mwaleshe** nge semaliu me peige **shobute** nge refale fengani.*
nge retagune fengani se-maliu ye=siu me peige **mwale-she**
CONN 3PL=turn REFL one-CLF:ANIM 3SG=stand from side **right-1PL.INCL.EMPH**
nge se-maliu me peige **shobute** nge re=fale fengani
CONN one-CLF:ANIM from side **left** CONN 3PL=look REFL
'They are facing each other, one is on the right and the other one is on the left, and they look to each other.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-4, 13]

b. *Siusape lago woale paiu shobute nge me reshe.*
siu-sape lago woale paiu shobute nge me re-she
stand-face go on arm woman CONJ from for-1PL.INCL.POSS
'[He] is facing our left hand side.'
[Ignatius Maluchelmar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-2, 11]

The need for creating the point of view for the relative frame of reference shows that it is still a burgeoning frame of reference, which is also evident from the way that extra information is sometimes provided in order to clarify any ambiguity that might arise from its usage, as shown in the interaction in (6.8):

(6.8) a. *Yeloge peige mwale me reshe nge lani tiligi yeele nge yeloge me peige shobute.*
ye=loge peige mwale me re-she nge lani tiligi yeele nge ye=loge
3SG=stay side right from for-1PL.INCL.POSS CONN in paper PROX CONN 3SG=stay
me peige shobute
from side left
'[The tree] is on the right of us but in the paper it is on the left [of the man].'

b. *Mwale we?*
mwale we
man DEF
'The man?'

c. *Waliuweoliu we yeloge peige shobutele mwale we.*
waliuweoliu we ye=loge peige shobute-le mwale we
tree DEF 3SG=stay side left-3SG.POSS man DEF
'The tree is on the left side of the man.'

d. *Isa weri.*
i=sa weri
1SG=PFV see
'I see [it].'

[Ignatius Maluchelmar and Lenny Saumar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-2, 49-51]

6.1.2.3 Absolute frame of reference

In the absolute frame of reference, the referent that is used to indicate relative position of an object is the world. In other words, the position of an object relative to another is expressed using unchanging, culturally and/or linguistically determined axes. While there is a variety of such axes (see Mawyer and Feinberg 2014, for examples of Oceanic languages), the most salient axis for the reader may be the cardinal directions (North-East-South-West).

Woleaian	Gloss
gotu	'east'
iletou	'west'
iyefang	'north'
iyeoiure	'south'
tiwe	'up (vertically), up-coast, northwest'
tage	'down (vertically), down-coast, southeast'

Table 6.3: Absolute frame of reference terms.

6.1.2.3.1 Cardinal Directions

Woleaian has a set of absolute axes that roughly correspond to Indo-European cardinal directions, historically based on the most prevalent direction of the trade winds. Thus, *gotu* 'east' is more accurately east-north-east as this corresponds to the direction the trade winds come from (Australian Bureau of Meteorology and Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Association (CSIRO) 2014) most of the year, and *iletou* 'west' is west-south-west as its opposite. This origin has since fossilized, and the meaning of the terms is synchronically invariable rather than dependent on the actual direction of the winds at any given time. Additionally, it seems that, due to influence of the European-style cardinal system, the terms are being more and more collocated with those directions, although all speakers I spoke to on this topic were still aware of the mismatch in directions. I have also heard several instances of speakers using the cardinal directions from English, though as far as I have noticed it, it was always in the context when an

actual compass was being used or discussed. Thus, there is some variance in the actual (absolute) direction meant when using the Woleaian cardinal directional terms. However, these terms are usually reserved for when relatively broad swathes of space or direction are being used. Specific, especially large scale, directions would be given using directions that correspond to stars and constellations, which is obviously confined to a relatively specific area of daily life.

(6.9) a. *Serane nge yesa lago gasire yaliusiule peiginengile iyeoiure. Gotu, peiginengile gotu, iyefang, iletou.*
se-rane nge ye=sa lago gasi=re yaliusiu-le peige nenge-le iyeoiure
ONE-CLF:DAY CONJ 3SG=PFV go grab=3PL spirit-3SG.POSS side sky-3SG.POSS south
gotu peige nenge-le gotu iyefang ileotou
east side sky-3SG.POSS east north west
'One day she went and gathered ghosts from the southern sky. East, eastern sky, north, west.'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 89-90]

b. *Igela nge sisiusape lago iseoriu nge ilale mene gotu.*
igela nge si=siu sape lago i=seoriu nge i-laale mene gotu
now CONJ 1PL.INCL=stand face go 1SG=say CONJ ANA-DIST FOC east
'Now, I think we are facing east. (lit. 'now, we are facing to what I would say that this [is] east')

[Lenny Saumar, fm6-030-04-Directionals, 1]

Additionally, it is possible to combine the cardinal terms to create more specific directions, such as *gotuwafange* 'northeast' (< *gotu* 'east' + *iyefang* 'north').

(6.10) *Yange yebutoge me gotuwafange.*
yaange ye=bu toge me gotuwafange
wind 3SG=go come from northeast
'The wind is coming from the northeast.'

[Lenny Saumar, fm6-030-04-Directionals, 11]

From my observations, these terms, as well as the combined forms, are used in daily life on both the broad scale (e.g., inter-island travel) as well as the smaller scale (e.g., when telling someone which side of the boat to climb up on). The small-scale use indicates that the system is salient enough for all speakers to be continuously aware of the cardinal directions at least to a broad degree – but I have seen that the use of cardinal directions is reserved for instances where potential ambiguity is relatively low (e.g., relatively large objects or areas of space), and that other frames of reference are used for more refined distinctions.

6.1.2.3.2 *tiwe* ‘up’ and *tage* ‘down’

In addition to the cardinal directions, there is also the *tiwe-tage* axis. The semantics and usage of this axis is relatively complex. *Tiwe* and *tage* are opposite ends of an axis and have three meanings each, depending on the context. These are, respectively, up (vertically), up-coast and northwest, and down (vertically), down-coast, and southeast. Speakers have noted that the vertical up-down axis is the basic translation, but it is unknown whether this is original meaning from which the others developed secondarily or whether this is simply the most salient meaning in daily use. This combination of a vertical axis and cardinal directions is not uncommon in Oceanic languages (François 2004, 9), although it is uncommon that the cardinal direction matches up with the prevailing monsoon winds rather than the general trade winds. It must also be noted that the cardinal meanings of *tiwe* and *tage* form a semicircular axis, meaning that, rather than pointing into a single direction, they cover half of a circle divided by a line going from the southeast to the northwest – similar to the use of the broad cardinal terms (e.g., East, West) in the European system.

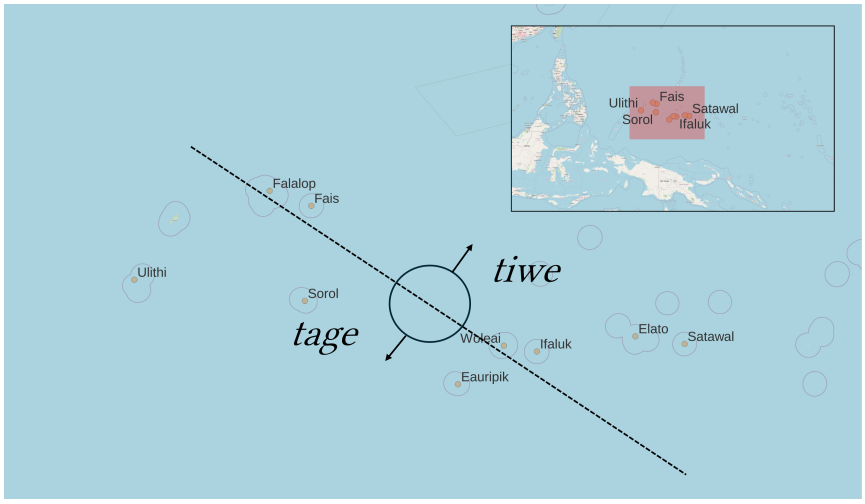

Figure 6.2: Semicircular axis of *tiwe* and *tage* (OpenStreetMap, 2024)

The third meaning of *tiwe* and *tage*, up-coast and down-coast, respectively, is used for when describing travel around the perimeter of an island. Although it is unclear if it specifically reserved only for travel, i.e., movement by walking/running, it is used for very small distances of only several meters. When the direction of the coastline closely matches up with the cardinal *tiwe-tage* axis, their coastal meaning aligns as well. However, when this is not the case, *tage* is used when travelling in a northerly direction, while *tiwe* is used for a southerly direction. This means that, when following the coastline, the term used to describe the direction can change while continuing to follow the same route. While the island depicted in Figure 6.3 is Eauripik, this has been confirmed by speakers to be applicable to any coastline. However, they noted that

better knowledge of the coastline and shape of an island will make the use of terminology more accurate, and that these directions become somewhat less well-defined when the island is of a relatively uniform, i.e., round, shape.

Figure 6.3: Island level uses of *tiwe* and *tage* (OpenStreetMap, 2024).

Note that Figure 6.3 shows the arrows only on the Eastern side of Eauripik, but that this change in term use also applies to the Western side. The exact switch from *tiwe* to *tage* or vice versa is not specifically defined, but will occur around the point where the full coastline becomes (in)visible. Additionally, each side of the island is noticeably morphologically different, meaning that the boundaries of each 'side' of the island are quite easy to observe.

It must be noted that this is only a relatively brief overview of the major functions of the absolute frame of reference, as they are, from my anecdotal observations, highly multifunctional and the choice of frame of reference and specific lexeme is based on a complex understanding of the space around Woleaian speakers.

6.2 Question words

There are 10 question words in Woleaian. Question words are used to create content questions, i.e., questions that require some content as an answer as opposed to yes or no. While a number of them are monolexemic, most are complex but created using (other) question words and anaphora as their base.

Woleaian	**Gloss**
fasengale	'which kind'
feita	'doing what'
fita	'how many'
ifa	'which, where'
ifasengale	'how'
ikefa	'which (plural)'
ileete	'when'
iteoiu	'who'
iya	'where'
metta	'what'
metta faale	'why' (lit. 'under what')

Table 6.4: Question words.

Metta is the only clearly monolexemic question word in Table 6.4, but I could not find corresponding lexemes for the forms *feita* 'doing what', *fita* 'how many', *iya* 'where' and *ileete* 'when'. This is notable because the latter three do show elements corresponding to the other complex forms, for example the anaphor *i-* ANA. This could mean either that they are fossilized and/or grammaticalized forms that are no longer easily connected to their original components, or that they have developed from monolexemes to match the forms of the other question words.

The most basic question element in the question words seems to be **fa*, found in half of the question words in the table, in addition to the generally ubiquitous *i-* ANA. From either one or both of those elements, half of the question words are created:

i- ANA	*fa* Q			*ifa* ‘which, where’
i- ANA	*ke* PL	*fa* Q		*ikefa* ‘which (plural)’
	fa Q	*senga* manner	*-le* 3SG.POSS	*fasengale* ‘which kind’
i- ANA	*fa* Q	*senga* manner	*-le* 3SG.POSS	*ifasengale* ‘how’
i- ANA	*teoiu* group			*iteoiu* ‘who’

Table 6.5: Elements of complex question words.

Question words can occur both in-situ, meaning that they occur in the place of the element the question sentence is about, or at the beginning of the sentence. In the corpus, however, they occur in-situ much more frequently than in a fronted position.

(6.11) a. *Resa butoge gasi fengani gare yeloge **iya** mena.*
re=sa bu-toge gasi fengani gare ye=loge **iya** mena
3PL=PFV go-come gather REFL if 3SG=stay **where** FOC
‘They started asking each other where it [the banana bunch] was.’
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 93]

b. *Fasengale yaare siu yatowe?*
fasengale yaa-re siu yatowe
how POSS.CLF:GEN-3PL.POSS stand when
‘How are they standing again?’
[Ignatius Maluchelmar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-3, 12]

Iya ‘where’ and *ifa* ‘which, where’ have an overlap in their meaning of asking about a location. The difference between them is that *ifa* is used for static locations (6.12), whereas *iya* is used for destinations, or more accurately, the location towards which an action takes place (6.11). As such, *iya* most frequently occurs with *lago* ‘(to) go’. Additionally, *iya* does not occur in a fronted position in the corpus, always occurring as the final phrase in the sentence (but do note that it can be focalized, as in 6.11a).

(6.12) a. *Ifa yeleo we?*
ifa ye=leo we
where 3SG=bottle DEF
'Where is the bottle?'

[Field notes 01-30-2023]

b. *Resa gale gasiya "Gobe lago iya?"*
re=sa gale gasiya go=be lago iya
3PL=PFV HAB ask 2SG=INC go where
'They were asking her "Where are you going?"

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-2, 13.1]

Question words are also used as hedges, for example when trying to think of something:

(6.13) *Yee yelago...feita menale...*
yee ye=lago feita mena-le
and.then 3SG=go doing.what FOC-3SG.POSS
'And then she went...what's that...'

[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 71]

Note that question words do not need to necessarily occur in question sentences, and that questions can be formed by intonation alone. The forms and functions of question sentences are discussed in more detail in Section 7.6.2.

6.3 Numerals

Woleaian has a decimal numeral system with noun-specific numeral classifiers for numbers 1-9 and non-specific numerals for higher numbers. Monolexemic numerals in current use go as high as 10^6 or one million, but more frequently any values above 10 are expressed using English numerals. The exception to this is older women who are more frequently monolingual, but even those often have knowledge of frequently-used English numerals (i.e., values up to the hundreds). Additionally, enumeration and arithmetic is virtually always done using English numerals, even for lower values. This is probably the result of mathematics in school being taught using English numerals. Digital enumeration, i.e., counting with fingers, starts with an open hand, and bending each finger down starting with the thumb, the latter four closing over the thumb.

Both a decimal system and numeral classifiers for lower numbers is relatively common in Austronesian languages (Blust 2013b, 278–300), but the existence of monolexemic forms for large numbers has been noted as a specifically Micronesian feature (Harrison and Jackson 1984). Woleaian makes a distinction between sortal and mensural classifiers: sortal classifiers are used to count whole numbers of objects and the selection of the classifier is based on physical or conceptual form

of the counted object, such as *fasho* CLF:LONG.RIGID or *bonge* CLF:NIGHT. Mensural classifiers are used to count predefined parts or sets of objects such as *fi* CLF:HANDFUL or *peige* CLF:HALF.

6.3.1 Numeral Classifiers

As noted above, the numerals for values 1-9 must be expressed together with a numeral classifier. As such, they cannot occur by themselves. The numeral classifiers, much like the possessive classifiers, generally stem from nouns for objects that adhere to, or are seen as prototypical of, the (physical) features of the category. For example, the numeral classifier for round objects, *-faiu* CLF:ROUND, stems from the noun *faaiu* 'stone' (which occurs as *faiu* in context). Thus, when the noun that served as the origin of the numeral classifier is counted, the phonological form occurs twice, although with different purposes, e.g., *sefaiu faiu* 'one stone'. To disambiguate the numeral classifiers from the source nouns, the classifiers are written with a preceding dash to indicate their bound status. When a generic numeral needs to be expressed the numeral classifier *-we* CLF:GEN is used, which stems from the definite marker *we* DEF. Table 6.6 shows the stems of the numerals for values 1-9 as well as examples of functional numerals with the generic classifier *we*.

Value	Numeral	
1	*se-*	*seewe*
2	*riu-*	*ruwou*
3	*sili-*	*siluwe*
4	*faa-*	*faau*
5	*limo-*	*limou*
6	*wolo-*	*wolou*
7	*fisu-*	*fisuwe*
8	*walu-*	*waluwe*
9	*tiwo-*	*tiwou*

Table 6.6: Numerals 1-9.

The categorization of the sortal numeral classifiers is mostly based on shape, such as *peo* CLF:EDGED or *sheo* CLF:FLAT, but also includes more abstract concepts such as *rane* CLF:DAY or *taare* CLF:GENERATION. For the latter set, the number of nouns falling under each classifier is generally very low, and in many cases just one. The exception is *maliu* CLF:ANIM which is used for all animates, including humans. Table 6.7 shows the sortal classifiers found in Woleaian.

Classifier	Gloss	Used for	Example
-bong	CLF:NIGHT	nights	*sebonge bonge* 'one night'
-faiu	CLF:ROUND	round objects	*seoliufeoiu wiishe* 'three bananas'
-fasho	CLF:LONG.RIGID	long, rigid	*sefashe sitosa* 'one car'
-gatiu	CLF:FINGER	finger-like objects	*segatiu gatiu* 'one finger'
-maliu	CLF:ANIM	animates	*semaliu shobute* 'one woman'
-mate	CLF:OTHER	discourse referents	*semate mene* 'the other one'
-pa	CLF:LEI	leis[3]	*sepa mwaremwar* 'one lei'
-peo	CLF:EDGED	edged objects	*sepeo sariu* 'one knife'
-rane	CLF:DAY	days	*serane* 'one day'[4]
-sheo	CLF:FLAT	flat objects	*sesheo yaaso* 'one roof'
-taare	CLF:GENERATION	generations	*setaare taare* 'one generation'
-we	CLF:GEN	generic	*seewe faliuwe* 'one island'
-yale	CLF:LEAF	leaf-like objects	*fayale sheele* 'four leaves'

Table 6.7: Sortal numeral classifiers.

Note that for some words that are polysemous, the sortal classifiers can be used to disambiguate which meaning of the word is meant. For example, *liu* can mean either 'coconut' or 'coconut tree' depending on context; these meanings are disambiguated by using either the sortal classifier for round objects *-faiu*, *sefaiu liu* 'one coconut', or the sortal classifier for long and rigid objects *-fasho*, *sefasho liu* 'one coconut tree'.

The other type of numeral classifier, mensural classifiers, are used to indicate measurements and parts of objects. Thus, in opposition to the sortal classifiers, these are not based on physical/conceptual properties of the counted object(s), but on the amount counted. As such, mensural classifiers are not bound to specific objects grammatically, although they are restricted by the conceptual properties of the objects, such as divisibility and size. For example, *shaliu* 'water' is unlikely to occur with *peige* CLF:HALF, just as *liu* 'coconut (tree)' is unlikely to occur with *fi* CLF:HANDFUL. As with all other classifiers, the categories range from relatively broad, such as *matip* CLF:SMALL.PIECE and *fo* CLF:QUARTER, to very specific, such as *is* CLF:BUNCH.OF.BANANAS or *pate* CLF:UTTERANCE.PART. Additionally similar to other classifiers, a considerable group of the mensural classifiers stem from directly identifiable nouns, such as *peige* CLF:HALF < *peige* 'side' or *gofet* CLF:BROKEN.OFF.PIECE < *gofet* '(to be) broken off'. Table 6.8 gives the full list of mensural classifiers with examples:

3. the term *lei* (from Hawaiian) refers to flower garlands either worn around the neck or on the head, and will be used throughout this grammar to refer to such objects.

4. Used mainly in storytelling

Classifier	Gloss	Used for	Example
-bulog	CLF:PORTION	portions of food	
-faat	CLF:STRINGER	stringers	*sefaat faaliyap* 'one string of apples'
-fi	CLF:HANDFUL	handfuls	
-fo	CLF:QUARTER	quarters	*sefo iige* 'quarter of a fish'[5]
-gofet	CLF:BROKEN.OFF.PIECE	broken/torn off pieces	*segofet tabole* 'one broken-off piece of table'
-is	CLF:BUNCH.OF.BANANAS	bunches of bananas	*seis wishe* 'one bunch of bananas'
-matip	CLF:SMALL.PIECE	small pieces	*sematip babiyore* 'one small piece of paper'
-moiu	CLF:ANIM.GROUP	groups of animates	*mwale kawe semoiu* 'the group of men'
-ngaul	CLF:BUNDLE	bundles	
-paliy	CLF:SIDE	sides	
-pate	CLF:UTTERANCE.PART	parts of utterances	*sepate kepate* 'one piece of talk'
-peige	CLF:HALF	halves	*sepeige liu* 'half a coconut'
-shimw	CLF:BUNDLE	bundles	*seshimwe galogal* 'one bundle of sennit'
-tabo	CLF:HALF.LONGWISE	longwise halves	*setabo kaape* 'one half of a cup'
-tale	CLF:LAYER	layers, lines, rows	*setale fituge* 'one layer of meat'
-tip	CLF:CUT.OFF.PIECE	cut off pieces	*setip maai* 'one piece of breadfruit'
-umwe	CLF:FRUIT.CLUSTER	fruit clusters	*soumwu yafuushu* 'a bunch of Garlic Pears'[6]

Table 6.8: Mensural numeral classifiers.[7]

As mentioned, the sortal classifiers are only applied to numeral bases for values 1-9. Ten, and all further multiples and powers of ten are generic and do not take a classifier. Note, however,

5. This refers to a specific piece of fish that is the result of cutting the fish horizontally into pieces (i.e., along the spine), contrasted by *setiipe iige* 'cut piece of fish', which is the result of cutting it vertically. Both are hyponyms to *segofet iige* 'piece of fish' (lit. 'broken off piece of fish'), which refers to any piece of fish, regardless of cutting style.

6. *Crateva Religiosa.*

7. My thanks to Liam Archbold for providing this data.

that the 1-9 numerals still take a classifier even when in a complex numeral. Sohn (1975) reports that there are numeral bases for powers of ten up to 10^8 (100 million), giving *-ngit* for 'ten million' and *-ngerai* for 'one hundred million'. However, these numerals are at least no longer in use, and speakers gave the meaning of 'infinity' for *-ngerai*. A younger speaker, around 35 years old, said that there used to be a word for ten million, but that he couldn't remember it as nobody used it (anymore). The powers of ten bases work essentially the same as all the other classifiers: They occur in combination with one of the numerals from 1 to 9 to indicate the multiple of the base. For example the 'tens' base, *-ige*, can form multiples such as *seige* 'ten' (< *se-* 'one' + *ige* '-ty', *tiweige* 'ninety' (< *tiwo-* 'nine' + *ige* '-ty'), etc. Both the multiples and powers of ten are shown in Table 6.9.

Value	
10	*seige*
20	*riuweig*
30	*selige*
40	*faaige*
50	*limeige*
60	*woleige*
70	*fisige*
80	*walige*
90	*tiweige*
100	*-bugiu*
10^4	*-ngerase*
10^5	*-niu*
10^6	*-piye*
Infinity	*-ngerai*
1 Infinity	*sangeraiule*

Table 6.9: Multiples and powers of ten.

Complex numerals are formed as follows: *numeral base* + *-ige me* 'and' *numeral base* + *sortal classifier*, e.g., *seige me seoliufeoiu* 'thirteen round things' (*se-* 'one' + *-ige* '-ty' *me* 'and' *seoliu-* 'three' + *-faiu* CLF:ROUND). As stated above, speakers with some degree of English bilingualism generally use English numerals. Additionally, if they do use a Woleaian complex numeral, they generally use the generic sortal classifier *-we* for all of them.

6.3.2 Ordinal Numerals

Ordinal numbers, while present, seem relatively peripheral in Woleaian, with few occurrences, restricted usage, and a complicated formation strategy. Ordinal numbers are from from the numeral

base, e.g. *ruwou-* 'two', and attaching *ga-*[8] before the numeral, and *-waale~ale* after, resulting in forms such as *garuwouwale* 'second'. The exception to this formation strategy is for the first ordinal, which is expressed using *mmwale* '(to) precede (s.th.), (to be) before (s.th.)'. The only ordinal numbers I have encountered in the corpus so far are *garuwouwale* 'second', *gaseluwale* 'third', and *gafauwale* 'fourth'.

Ordinal numerals exist at least up to the number ten, and speakers (especially middle aged and older) are generally aware of their formation. However, in my conversations with speakers and observations, their use is very restricted. That is, they are only used when an object or person is described with an ordinal, and not for sequential ordinal counting. For this, exclusively English (cardinal) numerals are used. However, I have casually observed the switching back to Woleaian ordinals after the sequential counting in English was completed.

6.4 Quantifiers

There is a small set of quantifiers that form a parallel paradigm with the numerals and numeral classifiers. The quantifiers are in complementary distribution with the numerals, meaning that if a quantifier is present, a numeral cannot also be present, and vice versa. The quantifiers express less specific quantities of the nouns they modify, and form a much smaller group than the classifiers.

Woleaian	Gloss
sekiute	*'few, (a) little'*
toulape	*'many'*
chole	*'most'*
panga-	*'all'*

Table 6.10: Quantifiers.

In specific contexts quantifiers also occur as the only element in a noun phrase, most likely due to elision of a lexeme for generic objects, such as *fauremile* 'things' or *male* 'thing'.

(6.14) *Yegale **toulape** tapile tabotabole ira male pate toge male buwei me welifaliuwe.*
ye=gale **toulape** tapile tabotabo-le iira male pate toge male bu-wei me
3SG=HAB **many** resemble piece-3SG.POSS wood thing wash.up come thing go-out from
weli-faliuwe
on-island
'There are many [things] resembling pieces of wood that have washed up, coming from other islands.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-077-LandscapeDesc-04-welipiye, 8]

8. It is currently unclear whether this functions as the causative *ga-*, or that they are merely homophonous.

6.5 Interjections

Interjections in Woleaian can be divided into two groups: those that solely function as an interjection, i.e., conventionalized interjections, and those that can be used as interjections but have other functions as well, depending on its use and context. Interjections are generally divided into expressive, conative, and phatic interjections, which express emotions, are calls to action and/or seeking attention, and are interactional words, respectively (Ameka 1992). This section on interjection focuses on the expressive and conative interjections only, as the corpus is not currently suitable for an adequate analysis of phatic interjections. Interjections in Woleaian prototypically adhere to the two main well-established diagnostics for distinction: conventional utterancehood and monolexemicity, i.e., they constitute a full utterance by themselves, and consist of only a single lexeme (see Dingemanse 2023, , and references therein). Since almost all interjections are utterances by themselves, most thus adhere to the minimal phonological word constraint (see Section 2.3.2). However, there are some exceptions to this that are discussed below.

Examples of interjections that only function as interjections are *yeokiu* 'oh, oops', *yaakiu* 'no (emphatic)' and *yaagiu* 'ew'.

(6.15) *Remate lago, **yeokiu**, taiuwate lago nge ie yesa bwale lago gatafe gelare*
re=mate lago **yeokiu** taiuwate lago nge ie ye=sa bwale lago gatafe
3PL=wake go **INJ** daytime go CONJ 3SG.EMPH 3SG=PFV also go pole.fish
gela-re
POSS.CLF:ALIM-3PL.POSS
'They woke up…**oops!**…it was daytime and he went pole fishing for their food again.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-02, 33]

Another example of an interjection that has been fully conventionalized as such is *waio*, often realized with a heavily extended final vowel. This interjection is used as an exclamation of emotion, often when seeing (e.g., a photo) or hearing about something or someone that is missed by the speaker.

Examples of the group of words that are used as interjections but have functions elsewhere in the grammar are *nge*, *iwe* and peripherally *ila*. The non-interjection function of these are CONJ, *ana-def* and ANA-DIST, respectively, but they may also function as interjections between sentences to both signal that two sentences are related and that the speaker is holding the floor. These words can be sequentially stacked as well, although they will still form individual utterances. The sequence of *nge* and *iwe* is the most frequent of these.

(6.16) a. *Yebwele woromi lago nge yesa gekebwate nge yebale silitiwe*
ye=bwele woromi lago nge ye=sa ge-gebwate nge ye=bale sili-tiwe
3SG=INCEP swallow down CONJ 3SG=PFV RED-shout CONJ 3SG=also put-down
'He was about to swallow him, but then he started shouting and he put him back down.'

b. *iwe*
i-we
ANA-DEF
'and…'

c. *yesa loge yee…yesa bwipwitiwe, getafe tiwe gelare yee…*
ye=sa loge yee ye=sa bwi-bwi-tiwe getafe tiwe gela-re
3SG=PFV stay and.so 3SG=PFV RED-go-down pole.fish down POSS.CLF:ALIM-3PL.POSS
yee
and.so
'He stayed and…he was going down, fishing down their food and…'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-20230125-2, 16-19]

As can be noted, *nge* does not adhere to the minimal word constraint, but can appear as an individual utterance, flouting this constraint. However, *nge* can only appear by itself with the interjectional function rather than its grammatical function.

In addition to this linking function, *iwe* and *ila* can be used as interjections expressing confirmation to a statement or a question.

(6.17) a. LENNY: *Ibwe gangaluge nge geeele gosa fagili mene ibwe seoriu*
i=bwe ga-ngalu-go nge geele go=sa fagili mene i=bwe seoriu
1SG=INC CAUS-show=2SG CONJ 2SG.EMPH 2SG=PFV search FOC 1SG=INC say
'I will say it and you will find what I say.'

b. IGNATIUS: *Iwe.*
i-we
ANA-DEF
'Okay.'

[Lenny Saumar & Ignatius Maluchelmar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-1, 2-3]

In specific contexts, it is also possible to use them to pose a question, provided the question intonation is placed on the single-word phrase.

(6.18) a. LENNY: *Yetagiure toge?*
ye=tagiure toge
3SG=back come
'His back is facing us?'

b. IGNATIUS: *Ngo yetagiure ngali gish*
ngo ye=tagiure ngali gish
yes 3SG=back to 1PL.INCL.EMPH
'Yes, his back is to us.'

c. IGNATIUS: *Iwe?*
i-we
ANA-DEF
'done?'

d. LENNY: *mm*
'yeah.'

[Lenny Saumar & Ignatius Maluchelmar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-2, 21-24]

The anaphoric functions of these words are discussed in Section 4.3.3, and their discourse-organizational functions in Section 9.2.

Table 6.11 gives an overview of all the words with interjection functions found in the corpus:

Woleaian	**Gloss**
Interjection only	
yeokiu	'oh, oops'
yaakiu	'no (emphatic)'
yaagiu	'ew'
yei	'oh!, hey!'
waioo	exclamation of emotion
=nga	emotional clitic
Multiple functions	
nge	conjunction, hedge
iwe	definite anaphor, hedge
ila	distal anaphor, hedge

Table 6.11: Interjections.

One element, *=nga* EMO, behaves quite differently to all other interjections. In fact, it may actually form a category by itself and is only peripherally related to interjections. Nonetheless, I

currently classify it as an interjection for parsimony and ease of reading. *=nga* indicates heightened emotion of the speaker, and is attached to the final word of an utterance. The most frequent use of *=nga* is in expressing endearment or sadness towards the listener, as in *iweilanga* or *adiosenga* 'goodbye (emotional)', and *mauweshenga* 'my dear (emotional)'. Although, from my casual observations in the field, *=nga* occurs quite frequently in everyday speech, it does not currently occur in the corpus. The main supposed reason for this is that the expression and direction of emotion requires a conversational interlocutor, which is infrequent in single-speaker speech outside of quotative speech. Additionally, the use of *=nga* is generally restricted to specific interaction types, such as requests and parting formulae.

6.5.1 Ideophones

Following Dingemanse (2012, 655), I define ideophones as marked words that depict sensory imagery. Words here means that ideophones should be conventionalized both in form and function, rather than simply being (semi-)random speaker-individual sonic expressions. That being said, Woleaian has relatively very few ideophones found in the corpus. In discussing the concept of ideophones with a number of Woleaian speakers, only words describing a sensory experience came up, such as [ʃː] when feeling cold (field notes, 2024-08-21), but none of these function as lexical words. Sound symbolism, though not necessarily ideophonic, does occur in some words, notably onomatopoeia such as *pak* '(spear)gun' and *guakguak* 'White-Breasted Waterhen'. However, a more detailed analysis is required to detect patterns in sound symbolism, as well as identifying more ideophones both within and outside of the current corpus in order to study possible patterns.

Chapter 7

Simple Clauses

In this chapter, I will discuss the simple clauses in Woleaian. Simple clauses are clauses that consist at least of an (implied) subject and a simple or complex verb, and optional elements such as a (implied) object, tense-aspect-mood particle(s), prepositions and prepositional phrases, negation, etc. They do not, however, contain any dependent clauses, such as relative clauses (see Section 8.3.3), multi-clausal/multi-phrasal focus constructions (see Section 9), or phrasal linking (see Section 9.2.1). Other complex clauses are discussed in Section 8.

This section first covers valency, or the number of core arguments a verb can take (Section 5.1.1): I analyze valency to not be a grammatical feature of words, rather, the maximum number of arguments is determined by the type of verbal construction: stative verbal constructions, active intransitive verbal constructions, and active transitive/ditransitive constructions. The following section, Section 7.2, discusses word order. The standard word order in Woleaian for active constructions is subject-verb(-object), and verb-subject for stative constructions. However, word order is relatively flexible, influenced mainly by information structure, and more precisely, focalization.

Before we move any further, some terminological housekeeping is in order: In this grammar, I use the labels subject and object to refer to the arguments taken by the predicate. These descriptive labels were chosen as to conservatively neutralize semantic contrasts (see e.g., Van Valin 1999, 375) and thus only refer to the *syntactic* properties of the argument. The reasoning for this is that semantic roles are not always (though often) predictable from an argument's syntactic position: For example, as we will see below, there are two types of intransitive constructions, active and stative. In both of these the sole argument is marked on the verb using the same set of pronominal prefixes, even though the semantic role (broadly) for the argument in the active construction is more actor-like, and more undergoer-like in the stative construction. For this same reason, semantics-informed labels such as Actor and Undergoer do not neatly map onto the semantics of arguments in different Woleaian constructions. To emphasize, the labels *subject* and *object* here

are purely descriptive and are used to describe syntactic behaviors of arguments, and do thus not make any further implications as to the nature of Woleaian and/or its placement as a certain language type in typology.

Section 7.3 and Section 7.4 discuss monovalent and bi- and trivalent clauses, respectively.

The second part of this Section covers speech acts rather than argument structure, and covers the clause types that make up simple clauses: declarative clauses (Section 7.5), non-declarative clauses (Section 7.6), and negation (Section 7.7). Table 7.1 gives an overview of all the clause types and their respective sections:

Declarative		§7.5
	Perfective & Unmarked	§7.5.1
	Incompletive	§7.5.2
	Existential	§7.5.3
	Predicative possession	§7.5.4
	Equative	§7.5.5
	Comparative	§7.5.6
	Zero-intransitive	§7.5.7
	Reflexive & Reciprocal	§7.5.8
	Reciprocal	§7.5.9
	Involuntary action	§7.5.10
	Performative speech acts	§7.5.11
Non-declarative		§7.6
	Imperative	§7.6.1
	Interrogative	§7.6.2
	Attributive verbs	§7.6.3
Negation		§7.7
	Clausal negation	§7.7.1
	Durative negation	§7.7.2
	Negative incompletive	§7.7.3
	Negative inceptive	§7.7.4

Table 7.1: Simple clause types.

7.1 Valency

Valency is defined as the amount of (core) arguments a word can take. Words in Woleaian are not lexically specified for valency. Therefore, valency is a property of verbal constructions.

If a verbal construction includes one core argument (a subject argument) it is monovalent,

if it includes two arguments (a subject and an object argument) it is bivalent, and if it includes three arguments it is trivalent. Although Woleaian words are not lexically specified for valency, they can be (much) more likely to take a certain number of arguments depending on their inherent semantics. For example, the word *farage* '(to) walk' is much more likely to take a single direct argument in an active construction, whereas the word *gasi* '(to) grab' is a lot more likely to take two direct arguments in an active construction, and the word *cha* '(to be) red' is most likely going to occur with a single argument in a stative construction. Besides the semantics, the different types of verbal constructions follow certain patterns and rules: Stative verb constructions are always monovalent (7.1a), i.e., take one argument, and active constructions can be either monovalent (7.1b) or bivalent (7.1c). Additionally, stative and active constructions differ in their standard word order: stative constructions are most frequently verb-subject, whereas active constructions are most frequently subject-verb(-object). The latter patterns are discussed in more detail in Section 7.2 below.

(7.1) a. *Yegachiu meka irale…*
ye=gachiu mel-ka ira-le
3SG=good ANA-PL wood-3SG.POSS
'The branches are good…'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-077-LandscapeDesc-01-leeli]

b. *Resa bitage yee.*
re=sa bi-tage yee
3PL=PFV go-up CONJ
'They went [back] up and…'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 24]

c. *…[N]ge rebitage Yaurepig*
nge re=bi-tage Yaurepig
CONJ 3PL=go-up Eauripik
'…[A]nd they went up to Eauripik.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 54]

In many cases, the difference in valency for active constructions is the inclusion or exclusion of an object argument. Additionally, there are also words or elements that semantically always require both subject and object arguments in the construction, although these are not obligatorily explicit, and can be implied and/or retrieved from discourse as well (hence allowing them to be grammatically monovalent). These are the causative *ga-* CAUS, and the transitivizer *=i* TRR. Whereas the former has relatively clear and predictable semantics (although with exceptions), the latter appears more sporadically and is often used lexeme-specifically. The causative *ga-* has been discussed in Section 5.2.1 and *=i* has been discussed in 5.2.3.

In this grammar, I refer to the grammatical features by the number of core arguments in a verbal construction (monovalent, bivalent, trivalent), rather than by transitivity or lexical properties of the verb. This is because valency (and transitivity) are not lexically determined, but rather determined by, and patterning with types of constructions.

In other words, it is the (total) number of core arguments in a construction that determine the grammatical patterns, secondarily influence by verbal semantics, rather than that the patterns are determined by grammatical categories or other lexical specifications of verbs. This does not, however, preclude the use of (in)transitive as a descriptor of a construction, nor do I try to obfuscate that certain verbs have inherently transitive semantics that are (almost) always reflected in the constructions in which they occur. In this grammar, I use transitivity as a descriptor of the affectedness of the object argument in a verbal construction, while eschewing any grammatical implications of it.

7.2 Word Order

The word order in Woleaian naturalistic speech is relatively variable, with SVO[1], VSO, SOV, and OSV attested in simple clauses in the corpus. Both subject and object are considered core arguments, meaning that they are (optionally) indexed on a verb, do not require any other elements to be introduced, and can be focalized without the need of a restructuring of the argument structure. Oblique arguments, such as prepositional phrases are discussed in Section (8.2).

SVO is the dominant word order, accounting for close to 70% of the total word orders attested in a test sample of 100 complete utterances, whereas others, such as SOV and OSV are relatively rare, accounting for only 3% each. The flexibility in word order stems from that all lexical elements in a sentence can be ordered according to their prominence and focus, with or without explicit focus marking. This does mean that Woleaian is not a free word order language, as changes in word order always indicate a change in relative prominence.

Sentences are most likely to follow the SVO word order when the object argument, or both subject and object arguments, are pronominal. When both arguments are full noun phrases, the word order is determined by the (intended) information structure. Thus, I analyze Woleaian to be an SVO-dominant language with frequent variation in word order.

(7.2) a. SVO
Nge resa butoge libwili lago ie shobute we fitiyale.
nge re=sa butoge libwili lago ie shobute we fitiya-le
CONJ 3PL=PFV come bury go 3SG.EMPH woman DEF spouse-3SG.POSS
'And they came and buried his wife.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 87]

1. S = Subject, V = verb, O = Object

b. VSO
Mweire lago ire yaliuse kawe liugiule imwe.
mweire lago ire yaliuse ka-we liugiu-le imwe
shout go 3PL.EMPH ghost PL-DEF outside-3SG.POSS house
'The ghosts were shouting outside the house.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 131]

c. SOV
Nge ie iwe yesa butoge fagi fetale…
nge ie i-we ye=sa butoge fagi feta-le
CONJ 3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF 3SG=PFV come search around-3SG.POSS
'And he came and searched for him…'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-2, 42]

d. OSV
famwe mene yegale fage fetale.
famwe mene ye=gale fage feta-le
pregnant.woman FOC 3SG=HAB search around-3SG.POSS
'Pregnant women is what he is looking for.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-2, 5]

Additionally, there are detectable patterns in the overtness of subject/object arguments for the different word orders, with some having seemingly obligatory overt arguments and others having (highly) optional overt arguments. There seems to be no distinction in word order patterning, or any grammatical patterning between volitional/animate or non-volitional/inanimate referents. Word order does interact with focus, however, where subjects, verbs, and objects can change positions based on the intended focus structure. The interaction of focus and word order will be discussed in Section 9.1 below.

For monovalent clauses there is a similar pattern: Monovalent clauses in active constructions are SV-dominant, whereas those in a stative construction are VS-dominant, although both types of monovalent sentences can take either order.

(7.3) a. ACTIVE SV
Isa gale iile.
i=sa gale iile
1SG=PFV HAB swim.underwater
'I was swimming under water.'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 22]

b. STATIVE VS
Roshopiunge fetale peiginenge.
roshopounge fetale peige-nenge
very.dark around side-sky
'The sky was very dark [from clouds].'

[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 9]

c. ACTIVE VS
yesa mase ie melewe fitiyale.
ye=sa mase ie mele-we fitiya-le
3SG=PFV die 3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF spouse-3SG.POSS
'The husband had died.'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 142]

d. STATIVE SV
Yei! Isa feoiu!
yei i=sa feoiu
INJ 1SG=PFV cold
'Hey! I'm cold!'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 19]

As with bivalent clauses, there are no discernible patterning differences between volitional, active or animate and non-volitional, patientive or inanimate referents.

To summarize, Woleaian is a flexible word order SVO-dominant language, where word order is usually determined by a number of factors such as focus, verb type, and argument tracking/discourse organization. That being said, word order is flexible enough that not all of these patterns are strictly grammatically codified, and there remains some flexibility outside of them.

7.3 Simple Monovalent clauses

Simple monovalent clauses consist minimally of one subject argument and a verb. The argument referent can be retrieved from context and thus is optionally explicit as well as optionally indexed on the verb. Additional elements may be added such as the particles (see Sections 5.3 and 5.3.4), additional verbs, oblique phrases (see Section 8.2), and temporal words.

There are two types of simple monovalent clauses: stative constructions and active constructions. Stative constructions are always monovalent, whereas active constructions are not restricted by argument number. As noted in Section 7.2 above, stative constructions are prototypically verb-initial, i.e., have VS word order (7.4a), but can also occur in SV word order when the subject is focalized, either with a focus marker (7.4b), or without (7.4c).

(7.4) a. *Roshopiunge fetale peiginenge.*
roshopiunge fetale peige-nenge
very.dark around side-sky
'The sky was dark from the clouds.'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 9]

b. *Pangale nge ye chechoale.*
panga-le nge ye=chechoale
all-3SG.POSS SUB.CONN 3SG=black
'All of them are black.'
[Ignatius Maluchelmar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-2, 62]

c. *Menel yegachiu reli tafei, yegachiu reli mongo iga yebe mash.*
mene-le ye=gachiu reli tafei ye=gachiu re-li mongo iga ye=be
FOC-3SG.POSS 3SG=good for-3SG medicine 3SG=good for-3SG food when 3SG=INC
mash
ripe
'This one is good for medicine, and also good for eating when it's ripe.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-077-LandscapeDesc-01-leeli, 1]

The other type of simple monovalent clauses are those that feature a prototypically monovalent verb in an active construction. These are typically AV word order and are syntactically very similar to simple bivalent clauses, as well as being able to take directionals (7.5a) like in transitive active constructions. Note that monovalent clauses can still take prepositional phrases as these are oblique arguments, as shown in (7.5b).

(7.5) a. ***Maliuwei*** *ie melewe feraubutale nge bale ie melewe saniugiule.*
maaliu-wei ie mele-we feraubute-le nge bale ie mele-we
drift-out 3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF hibiscus.belt-3SG.POSS CONJ also 3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF
saniugiu-le
ko.lavalava-3SG.POSS
'Her hibiscus belt and also her breast-feeding lavalava floated out.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-2, 30]

b. *Gange JT ie* ***melawe*** *me woale Yaurepige.*
gange JT ie **melawe** me woa-le Yaurepige
1SG.EMPH JT 1SG.EMPH **born** from on-3SG.POSS Eauripik
'I'm JT; I was born on Eauripik.'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 1]

Monovalent verb constructions can also occur with verbal particles (see Section 5.3, as in (7.6a), and with directionals (see Section 6.1.1), as in (7.6b).

(7.6) a. *Nge ie Ngifatale yeloge shagiu reli Ilatugefai me Lishemwagiure.*
nge ie Ngifatale ye=loge shagiu re-li Ilatugefai me Lishemwagiure
CONJ 3SG.EMPH Ngifatale 3SG=stay repeat for-3SG Ilatugefai CONJ Lishemwagiure
'And Ngifatale stayed with Ilatugefai and Lishemwagiure.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 8]

b. *Nge yepouwei sekiute yauteni.*
nge ye=pou wei sekiute yauteni
CONJ 3SG=spill out some inside
'But some of the things inside spill out.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-1, 26]

7.4 Simple bivalent and trivalent clauses

Simple bivalent clauses are clauses that contain at least one verb and at least two core arguments. One of the arguments is the subject, which can semantically be the agent, experiencer and/or benefactor, one is the object, which can be the patient, recipient or stimulus, and the optional third one is the instrument/theme. As with the majority of Woleaian verbal constructions, explicit referents and verbal indexing is optional as long as the referents are retrieval from the discourse and/or common ground. Although grammatically possible, there is a general dispreference to have more than two arguments within one main clause, and generally additional arguments will be introduced through relative clauses and multi-clausal constructions. Locations can function as core arguments, but are often placed into (syntactically distinct) location phrases that syntactically function as oblique arguments. Locational phrases are thus discussed under complex clauses in Section 8.2 below.

(7.7) a. AGENT + PATIENT
Yaliuse we yesa wetigi faiule metale.
yaliuse we ye=sa wetigi faiu-le mata-le
spirit DEF 3SG=PFV scoop CLF:ROUND-3SG.POSS eye-3SG.POSS
'The ghost scooped out her eyes.'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 79]

b. EXPERIENCER + STIMULUS
Ye yelago werire, famwe mene yegale fage fetale.
ye ye=lago weri=re famwe mene ye=gale fage fetale
CONJ 3SG=go see=3PL pregnant.woman FOC 3SG=HAB search around
'And he saw them, the pregnant woman that he was looking around for.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-2, 5]

c. Benefactor + Recipient + Theme
Ila melewe yesa ganei, gekanei yee yemano nge....
i-la mele-we ye=sa gane=i red-gane=i yee ye=mano nge
ana-med ana-def 3sg=pfv give=trr prog-give=trr and.so 3sg=finish conj
'That [the fatty fish] was what he gave him, kept giving him, until it was finished, and...'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-2301251, 61]

As noted in Section 7.2 above, the most frequent word order is SVO, but constituent movement is commonly used to foreground or highlight a specific argument, as seen in (7.7c), where the theme, in this case an anaphor, is fronted. Fronted constructions as part of focus marking is discussed in Section 9.1 below.

Three-argument, or trivalent, constructions are formally very similar to bivalent constructions: the third argument is simply added in the relevant position, which is after the object argument in the standard word order, without any additional morphology such as indexing on the verb or role markers.

To emphasize a point made throughout this grammar, lexemes are generally not grammatically specified for the number of arguments they must take. However, there are of course many lexemes that are semantically required to have an (implied) number of arguments, i.e., those that denote transfer of an item, such as *gano* '(to) give' which requires three (implied) arguments, or *gasi* '(to) take', which requires at least two arguments, but can also include a location. In practice, however, as noted above, it is relatively rare to see three arguments in a single clause. Additionally, due to the pervasive use of anaphora throughout discourse (see Section 4.3.3), I do not have a single example in the corpus of naturalistic speech of a clause with three fully explicit nominal, non-anaphoric, arguments. This should, however, not be all too surprising when taking general discourse organization and argument tracking strategies into account. Some of these strategies are discussed in Section 9.2 below.

Now that we have seen the argument structure of clauses in Woleaian, we will move on to discussing the different speech acts, i.e., the simple clause types. For an overview of all the different clause type, refer to Table 7.1 above.

7.5 Declarative Clauses

A declarative clauses is any clause that expresses a (hypothetical) state of being, action, or event. In actuality, declarative clauses are negatively defined as those clauses or clause types that are not interrogative or imperative. This, unsurprisingly, includes the vast majority of clauses in Woleaian. Declarative clauses are grouped into unmarked and perfective clauses and marked clauses.

The unmarked clause is one that does not feature any of the verbal particles, and the perfective clause is marked with the perfective marker *sa* PFV. The (other) marked clauses are always marked with either *be~bwe* INC or *bele~bwele* INCEP. The perfective marker *sa* PFV is the most frequent marker, and is not mutually exclusive with the other verbal particles (which are in complementary distribution with each other). Constructions with *sa* thus align with unmarked clauses in its syntactic and epistemological behavior, hence the distinction between those two declarative clause types. All other verbal particles (see Section 5.3 fall outside of this categorization as they do not interact with the main verbal particles in the same manner.

(7.8) a. UNMARKED
Reloge woale Mwetange.
re=loge woale Mwetange
3PL=stay on Mwetange
'They lived on Mwetange.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 2]

b. PERFECTIVE

c. *Resa loge woale Mwetange.*
re=sa loge woale Mwetange
3PL=PFV stay on Mwetange
'They stayed on Mwetange.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 9]

d. INCOMPLETIVE WITH BE~BWE
Gasiya 'minale meta ie umwe la?' 'Ibwe umuligo.'
gasiya mina-le meta ie umwe la i=bwe umuli=go
ask for-3SG.POSS what 3SG.EMPH oven DIST 1SG=INC bake=2SG
'[Ngifatale asked:] "What is that oven for?" [Maruwa replied:] "I will bake you [in it]."'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 34-5]

e. INCEPTIVE WITH BELE
Gaibwele gamalemale bwe sibwele shiuwe me woale faliuwei.
gai=bwele ga-malemale bwe si=bwele shiuwe me woale faliuwe-i
2PL=INCEP CAUS-ready SUB.CONN 1PL=INCEP leave from on island-1SG.POSS
'You need to get ready because we're leaving this island.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 29]

7.5.1 Unmarked declarative clauses

Unmarked declarative clauses are those where there is no verbal particle marking a different clause type present. Thus, it is any declarative clause that includes either no verbal particle, or only the perfective particle *sa* PFV. It is thus essentially negatively defined as any clause that does

not include the clause type markers, such as *bele* INCEP or *bwe* INC.

Unmarked declarative clauses indicate that an event is taking place or has taken place, according to the knowledge of the speaker.[2] These clauses, whether unmarked or with perfective *sa*, form by far the majority in the corpus.

(7.9) *Fana sew nge fane tamwol, yegale lago teoiu farigit.*
faale-la se-we nge faale-le tamwol ye=gale lago teoiu farigit
mens.house-MED one-DEF CONJ mens.house-3SG.POSS chief 3SG=HAB go meet big
'The other men's house is for the chief, it's where they have big meetings.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-053-EauripikPictureDescriptions, 12]

As noted in Section 5.3.1 above, since there is no morphological temporal marking, *sa* is often, though not obligatorily, used to refer to events in the past. However, clauses without any verbal particles can also refer to events in the past, when the completion of the event is not relevant and/or not intended.

(7.10) *Ye lano shagiu rane we nge ye tore tiwe melewe umule wiishe we.*
ye=lano shagiu rane we nge ye=tore tiwe mel-we umule wiishe we
3SG=in repeat day DEF CONJ 3SG=fall down ANA-DEF bunch banana DEF
'On the same day the bunch of bananas fell down.'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 87]

7.5.2 Incompletive and inceptive Clauses

The incompletive and inceptive clauses refer to hypothetical events or actions that will happen, may happen, or may have happened. It is marked by the incompletive marker *bwe* INC, to indicate events that may happen or may have happened. Inceptive clauses are marked by *bwele* INCEP, and indicates that something will happen imminently.

(7.11) a. *Shobute we laiule yesa seoriu bwe yebe bitiwe mo Yaurepige.*
shobute we laiu-le ye=sa seoriu bwe ye=be bi-tiwe mo
woman DEF child-3SG.POSS 3SG=PVF say SUB.CONN 3SG=INC go-down to
Yaurepige
Eauripik
'The daughter said that she would be going to Eauripik.'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 8]

2. There is no grammatical marking of evidentiality in Woleaian, and for both unmarked/perfective and incompletive the standard reading is full commitment of the speaker to its (hypothetical) truth value. For ways to indicate lack of commitment see *seoriu bwe*-constructions (Section 9.2.3.1) and the discourse particle *mali* 'maybe' (Section 9.2.3.3).

b. *Yeei gang Juanita ibele fiyangowe seewe fiyango.*
yeei gang Juanita i=bele fiyangowe se-we fiyango
INJ 1SG.EMPH Juanita 1SG=INCEP tell.story one-DEF story
'Hey, I am Juanita, I am going to tell a story.'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 1]

As noted, incompletive clauses can also be used to refer to intended actions in past events:

(7.12) *Yebe lago iya? Nge yeseoriu, yebe lago pipi mena fitiyale.*
ye=be lago iya nge ye=seoriu ye=be lago pipi mel-la
3SG=INC go where CONJ 3SG=say 3SG=INC go watch ANA-MED
fiti-yaa-le
spouse-POSS.CLF:GEN-3SG.POSS
'[People in Halingtag asked her] "Where was she going?" and she said that she would go to check her husband.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-2, 15.1]

Additionally, incompletive clauses are often used to indicate potential, usually combine with *mwele* '(to be) able'.

(7.13) a. *Gobe mwele gobe gowolo tiwe nge, gaparesaresa lago bwe gobe weri pangale.*
go=be mwele go=be go-woolo tiwe nge ga-paresaresa lago bwe go=be
2SG=INC able 2SG=INC CAUS-lay down CONJ CAUS-scatter go SUB.CONN 2SG=INC
weri panga-le
see all-3SG.POSS
'You can put them down and spread them so you can see all.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-3, 3-4]

b. *Gobe mwel gobe yauteli long lani leo, nge gosa fatogi lago fali yalo gobe gale gapela yebe buwei shaniu, bale seewe tafei, bale minale shagiu niferare yaremate.*
go=be mwele go=be yaute-le=i long lani leo nge go=sa fatogi lago
2SG=INC able 2SG=INC fill-3SG.POSS=TRR in inside bottle and 2SG=PVF let.sit go
faa-li yalo go=be gale ga-pela ye=be bu-wei shaniu bale seewe
bottom-3SG.POSS sun 2SG=INC HAB CAUS-dry 3SG=INC go-out juice also one
tafei bale mine-le shagiu nifera-re yaremate
medicine also for-3SG.POSS repeat insides-3PL.POSS person
'You can put it in jars and let it sit under the sun until the juice comes out, and it is also a medicine for the body.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-077-LandscapeDesc-01-leeli, 15]

7.5.3 Existential Clauses

Existential clauses are those that express the existence of something or someone, either at a specific location or in general. Woleaian has two ways separate existential constructions: one by using the dedicated existential verb *yoore* EXIST, and one by using the more general verb *loge* 'be, stay, live'. Both constructions will be covered here.

(7.14) a. *Yoore metaro nge yoore liugiule.*
yoore metaro nge yoore liugiu-le
EXIST front CONJ EXIST outside-3sg.poss
'There is a front and outside [of the island].'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-077-LandscapeDesc-02, 2]

b. *Toulape waliuweoliu ka yeloge wei welipiye, ikela, waliuweoliu kela regogo reli tafeyale wasiule liteeti.*
toulape waliuweoliu ka ye=loge wei welipiye i-ke-la waliuweoliu ke-la
many plant PL 3SG=stay out beach ANA-PL-MED plant PL-MED
re=gogo reli tafeya-le wasiu-le li=teeti
3PL=use for-3SG.POSS medicine lesion-3SG.POSS in=sea
'There are many trees on the beach, those trees they use for medicine for the sea lacerations.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-077-LandscapeDesc-04-welipiye, 12]

The prototypical use of *yoore* is to express general existence, as in (7.15a), whereas the prototypical use of *loge* is to express relevant or immediate presence, as in (7.15b). However, depending on the context, both words can express either meaning.

(7.15) a. *Yoore semeoiu ila limateriyanai yebwe pashe ngaluge nge yegale beshikare.*
yoore se-moiu i-la limateriyanai ye=bwe pashe ngalu=go nge
EXIST one-CLF:ANIM.GROUP ANA-MED anemone 3SG=INC stick show=2SG CONJ
ye=gale beshi kare
3SG=HAB hot roast
'There's some anemones that when you touch them they stick to you and sting you.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-077-LandscapeDesc-03-wooshe, 11]

b. *Gai buwei bwe yoore wafaliuwe ye gake toge kagole.*
gai=bu-wei bwe yoore wafaliuwe ye=gake toge kagole
1PL.EXCL=go-out SUB.CONN EXIST ship 3SG=grab.pl come box
'We went out because there was a ship that brought boxes.'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 10]

loge syntactically is used as a verb in an active construction, whereas *yoore* occupies a syntactic position that is unlike verbs in that it always occupies the first lexical slot of a verb phrase. In

other words, it does not need to occur at the beginning of a sentence or utterance, but can occur in dependent clauses (following *bwe*), as in (7.15b), and conjoined clauses, as in (7.16). Additionally, verbal particles can precede *yoore*, also shown in (7.16).

(7.16) *Tapile shagiu nge tai bale yoore piletale nge yeseogiu shagiu yauteni.*
tapile shagiu nge tai bale yoore pilate-le nge ye=seogiu shagiu yauteni
resemble repeat CONJ NEG also EXIST lid-3SG.POSS CONJ 3SG=handful repeat inside
'Same picture and the bowl does not have a cover but the small things are still inside.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-1]

7.5.3.1 Negative Existential clauses

As also shown in (7.16), *yoore* can be negated. However, *yoore* can only be negated using the phrasal negator *tai* NEG (and the durative negator *taai* as discussed below). This means that in negative existential clauses, the scope of the negation is clausal, for example [*tai bale yoore piletale*] means '[it] also doesn't have a lid', rather than 'there is also no lid'. To express negative existence, the dedicated negative existential *toare* NEG.EXIST must be used. The form of this word is clearly from *ta- + yoore*, but it has been lexicalized to a point that the form **tayoore* is unlexical.

(7.17) *Liugiule faliuwe nge toare bwe iga yekaile loale.*
liugiu-le faliuwe nge toare bwe iga ye=kaile loa-le
outside-3SG.POSS island CONJ NEG.EXIST SUB.CONN because 3SG=strong wave-3SG.POSS
'On the outside of the island there isn't any [seaweed] because of strong waves.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-077-LandscapeDesc-02, 4]

toare is syntactically almost identical to *yoore*, in that it occupies the same position. Similar to *yoore*, *toare* can also either express a broad lack of existence, as well as a lack of immediate presence. The one difference I have observed is that it is possible to index *toare* for an argument, e.g., *yetoare* 'there is no(ne of) [him/her/it]' (field notes, 2024-08-28). This seems to occur relatively marginally, as I have no occurrences of it in the corpus, and I have not encountered any instances of an argument besides the third person singular *ye=*.

Since *loge* functions as any other verb, it can be negated following standard verbal patterns. However, negated *loge* does not yield a negative existential reading. Rather, it can only give the meaning of lack of immediate presence, as shown in (7.18).

(7.18) a. *Ifa ie Lenny?*
ifa ie Lenny
which 3SG.EMPH Lenny
'Where is Lenny?'

b. *Yetaloge.*
ye=ta-loge
3SG=NEG-stay
'He's not here.'

[Field Notes, 2024-08-13]

When negated using the durative negative *taai* NEG.DUR, *yoore* gains the meaning of something either no longer existing or being present (e.g., *taai yoore gelaash ige* 'there is no more fish (to eat)' [field notes, 2024-08-13]), whereas *loge* indicates that the person or thing has moved (e.g., *waa we yetaai loge welippiye* 'the canoe is no longer on the beach' [field notes, 2024-08-13]). Negative clauses are further discussed in Section 7.7 below.

7.5.3.2 Possession with existential *yoore*

Predicative possession in Woleaian can be expressed using the existential *yoore*. Other predicative possession constructions are discussed in Section 7.5.4 and possession in general is discussed in Section 4.1.3. In this construction, the existential occurs together with a possessive classifier to indicate (limited) existence of general or specific possessed elements. These constructions do not occur in the corpus, but are quite frequent in everyday speech. They can occur as both question and declarative sentences. To explain: (7.19a) declares general existence of a general items, i.e., ownership; (7.19b) asks for general existence of a specific item, i.e., relevant to the current situation; and (7.19c) declares for limited/finite existence of a general item.

(7.19) a. *Yoore gelashe.*
yoore gela-she
EXIST POSS.CLF:ALIM=1PL.POSS
'There's food (for us).'

b. *Yoore yaamw saariu?*
yoore yaa-mw saariu
EXIST POSS.CLF:GEN-2SG.POSS knife
'Do you have your knife (for me to use)?' (lit. 'is there your knife?')

c. *Yoore yaai pwu.*
yoore yaa-i pwu
EXIST POSS.CLF:GEN-1SG.POSS betel
'I (still) have betelnut.' (lit. 'there is my betelnut')

[Field Notes, 2024-08-11]

7.5.4 Predicative Possessive

Other than possession with existential *yoore*, there are two types of predicative possession constructions, i.e., possessive that functions on the clausal level. These are possessive-benefactive constructions, i.e., a construction where you express the intended possessor (recipient) of an object, and constructions where possession takes a clausal scope, i.e., a constructions where a full (verbal) clause is used as the possessed element.

The intended possession structure is formed using the following formula: noun (unsuffixed) - *bwe* SUB.CONN - possessive classifier - possessive suffix. Note that the possessive classifier is often the generic classifier *yaa-*, but it is not optional. While not ungrammatical, when an emphatic pronoun is used after *bwe* it unambiguously indicates that the referent is or will be equated to the intended possessed object, rather than expressing any possessive association. The (potential) semantic overlap of a possessive and a benefactive construction, as well as the development of a possessive construction to a benefactive construction are not uncommon in Oceanic languages (Margetts 2004), and dedicated (subordinate) possessive-benefactive constructions also appear in other languages in the family (Lichtenberk 2002).

(7.20) a. C: *Ibwele tefaale ngali Waab ni less than one month! Ibwe gasi chocolate bars be geele?*
i=bwele tefaale ngali waab ni less than one month i=bwe gasi chocolate bars
1SG=INCEP return to Yap in less than one month 1SG=INC take chocolate bars
bwe geele
so.that 2SG.EMPH
'I'm returning to Yap in less than one month! Should I bring chocolate bars so you'll be them [the chocolate bars]? (intended: Should I bring chocolate bars to you?)'

b. D: *Okay thanks mwauj. Ibwel gasi chocolates bars bwe geelam*
okay thanks mauwesh i=bwele gasi chocolate bars bwe gela=mw
okay thanks dear 1SG=INCEP take chocolate bars so.that POSS.CLF:ALIM=2SG.POSS
'Okay thanks my dear. "I will bring choclate bars for you"'

[Donesia Lemwaisou & Clemens Mayer, Facebook Messenger, 2024-06-5]

As shown in (7.20), the use of subordinating *bwe* plus an emphatic pronoun results in a resultative state construction, rather than a resultative possession construction. There is no other way in Woleaian to create an intended possessive construction, so this construction is quite frequent in everyday speech, such as when handing somebody food or drink. Additionally, although a *bwe* construction is literally hypothetical, culturally the possession is transferred to the intended possessor at the time of utterance (Lenny Saumar, pers. comm.) . In other words, once it is stated who the intended possessor of an object is, this is already case, whether or not the intended possessor is in physical possession of the object at that time, or even if the object exists yet.

The other possessive construction that occurs on the clausal level is possession of the verbal phrase. The function of this construction is to use the verbal phrase as a core argument of another verb.

(7.21) a. *Pangale rane yare bwe buwei mwale rebwe lago tiule giuregage…*
panga-le rane yaa-re bwe bu wei mwale re=
all-3SG.POSS day POSS.CLF:GEN=3PL.POSS INC go-out man 3PL=INC go
bwe lago tiule giuregage
hunt.with.torches black.noddy
'Every day, when all the men leave on their way to hunt the black noddies…'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-033-MaliupashStory, 4.1]

b. *Tabowe tiwe shagiu yale gatafe tiwe melewe gane.*
tabowe tiwe shagiu yaa-le gaatafe tiwe mele-we
connect down repeat POSS.CLF:GEN-3SG.POSS rod.fish down ANA-DEF
gane-le
POSS.CLF:ALIM-3SG.POSS
'Continued down fishing down [for] food.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-2, 10]

c. *Nge toare le ye ye meyafi yamwu butoge.*
nge toare-le ye ye= meyafi yaa-mwe butoge
CONJ NEG.EXIST-3SG.POSS CONJ 3SG feeling POSS.CLF:GEN=2SG.POSS come
'And nobody will know that you came.'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 21]

Since there is no categorical distinction between nouns and verbs, and explicit arguments and/or indexing is optional, it is sometimes difficult to disambiguate whether it is a possessed verb phrase construction, or whether a lexeme is simply occupying a nominal slot, thus making it simple possession. This ambiguity is shown in (7.22). Nonetheless, I have not encountered any occurrence in the data or in my casual observations where this has led to any semantic confusion.

(7.22) *Yesiusape tapile yashe mato.*
ye=siu sape tapile yaa-she mato
3SG=stand face like POSS.CLF:GEN-1PL.INCL.POSS sit
'He is facing the same way like our sitting.'
[Ignatius Maluchelmar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-2, 17]

7.5.5 Equative Constructions

Equative clauses are clauses that ascribe a feature, state, or quality to a person or object. Since Woleaian lacks a class of adjectives, this includes both semantically equative sentences, as well as 'adjectival' sentences, e.g., sentences describing a feature, state, or quality of something as a part of a person or object rather than presenting it as the only (relevant) feature.

Standard equative clauses minimally consist of an (implicit) referent, a numeral classifier (chiefly with *se-* 'one') and a noun, as in (7.23a). It can also contain a complex noun phrase, as in (7.23b).

(7.23) a. *Remage nge semaliu shobute.*
remage nge se-maliu shobute
naupaka CONJ one-CLF:ANIM woman
'Naupaka is a female.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-030-RemageNarrative, 4]

b. *Semweoiu laniyale poore minale gashi.*
se-mweoiu laniya-le poore mine-le gashi
one-CLF.ANIM.GROUP site-3SG.POSS copra.shell for-3SG.POSS tuba.palm
'They [the sticks] are a place for holding up tuba shells.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-053-EauripikDescriptions, 51]

The feature that the referent is equated to can also be a verbal phrase in itself complete with an explicit subject argument. This can occur in both stative constructions, as in (7.24a), and active constructions, as in (7.24b)

(7.24) a. *Maliupash iwe semaliu mwale chiile.*
Maliupash i-we se-maliu mwaale chiile
Maliupash ANA-DEF one-CLF:ANIM man small
'Maliupash is a small man.'

b. *Semaliu shokawe yegale kangiushengiushe.*
se-maliu shoka-we ye=gale kangiushengiushe
one-CLF:ANIM people-DEF 3SG=HAB annoying
'He is kind of annoying (lit. 'he [is] the person [that] annoys').'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-033-MaliupashStory, 1.2-3]

Due to the use of possessive classifiers for most lexemes (see Section 7.5.4 above), equative sentences that refer to a feature or possessed subject are structured in the following manner: possessor-verb-subject, as in (7.25). Note that this construction only occurs as stative.

(7.25) *Juanita ye gamwetiti yaale gasekuule.*
juanita ye=gamwetiti yaa-le gasekuule
Juanita 3SG=great POSS.CLF:GEN-3SG.POSS teach
'Juanita is a great teacher.'
[field notes, 2023-01-27]

Note that (7.25) uses the verbal phrase possession construction discussed in Section 7.5.4 above, but this is not a grammatical requirement.

7.5.6 Comparative and Superlative Constructions

There are several comparative constructions ranging from fully explicit to highly implicit. The fully explicit construction makes use of the preposition *tangi* 'from', and requires two explicit argument as well as a verb.

(7.26) *Yatowe nge fela yefare farimwoshe mena, yewale woale yefare farimoshe tangi mena faale.*
yato-we nge fela yefare farimwoshe mel-la yewa-le woale yefare
time-DEF CONJ needlefish lip long ANA-MED mouth-3SG.POSS on lip
farimoshe tangi mel-la faa-le
long from ANA-MED bottom-3SG.POSS
'At this time, the needlefish had long lips, his upper lip was longer than his bottom lip.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-032-02-Needlefish Crab, 15-16]

As shown in (7.26), the construction order is subject-verb-*tangi*-compared element. Note that this is an extension of the use of *tangi*, which in its less specific usage is used as a general preposition introducing a locative phrase and denoting non-marginal distance of the subject argument from the location.

On the other end of the spectrum is a construction that consists only of an indexed verb, such as *yechiile*, literally meaning 'it's small'. From context, however, it can mean 'it's too small' or 'it's smaller [than the other one]'. Additionally, the verb may also be fully reduplicated, to emphasize the comparison. In daily conversation, this construction is noted to be the standard way of expressing comparison and excess constructions (Lenny Saumar, pers. comm.).

Superlatives are explicitly expressed by placing the word *garetale* (lit. 'last') before the verb.

(7.27) *Iye mene garetale mera.*
iye mene garetale mera
3SG.EMPH FOC SUP fast
'He is the fastest.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-032-02-Needlefish Crab, 6]

However, as with comparatives, superlatives are often realized as a simple (stative) verbal construction, with the superlative meaning retrieved from context. This can be additionally emphasized through the use of *taare* 'completely', such as in *taare chogi~taarechogi* '(to be) soaked' (< *taare* 'completely' + *chogi* '(to be) wet'), although the use of this word is not frequent and is restricted with which lexemes it can be combined (Lenny Saumar, pers. comm.).

7.5.7 Zero-intransitive Clauses

Although being relatively marginal in the corpus, Woleaian does feature zero-intransitive clauses, i.e., clauses that lack a referent, also known as ambient clauses as they often discuss weather phenomena (Dryer 2007, 35–38).

The most frequent construction of this type I have observed is given in (7.28). This type of construction does require the third person singular subject proclitic *ye=*, which functions as the dummy argument. A more detailed analysis of this clause type requires further research, especially as I suspect that this type only occurs frequently in a subset of discourse types (namely, conversations with specific relevant topics).

(7.28) *Yebwe piung goshou.*
ye=bwe piung goshou
3SG=INC drop rain
'It will rain.'

[Field notes, 2023-01-30]

7.5.8 Reflexives

Reflexives are constructed by having agreeing pronominal subject and object marking on the same verb, as in (7.29). Reflexives can occur both with singular and plural referents.

(7.29) *Gofanigo!*
go=fani=go
2SG=watch.out=2SG
'Watch yourself!'

[Field notes, 2023-02-23]

Additionally, there are certain verbs that are semantically reflexive, such as *tiutiu* '(to) wash (oneself), (to) swim'. As such, these verbs do not require two pronominal markers, but just the subject proclitics. In order to be parsed as non-reflexive, these verbs require the causative marker, such as in *igatiutiu saari* 'I wash (the) child' (< i=ga-tiutiu saari 1SG=CAUS-wash child; Lenny Saumar ELICITED, 2022-11-30).

Reflexive constructions, i.e., explicitly grammatically marked by matching subject and object morphology rather than constructions with semantically reflexive actions, seem to be relatively rare, as they are extremely rare in the corpus.

7.5.9 Reciprocals

Reciprocals are constructed with the dedicated reciprocal marker *fengani* RECIP, which is placed after the relevant verb. In the corpus, there are only instances of reciprocal constructions with

plural arguments, but it is currently unknown whether this is a grammatical restriction or simply a tendency.

(7.30) a. *Bitiw sa bitiw resa fange fengani nge yesa lago.*
bi-tiwe sa bu tiwe re=sa fange fengani nge ye=sa lago
go-down PFV go down 3PL=PFV give RECIP and 3SG=PFV go
'[He] came down and they exchanged (their voices) and he left.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-030-03-ChickenThunder, 7]

b. *Nge ire resa gale fale fengani.*
nge ire re=sa gale fale fengani
and 3PL.EMPH 3PL=PFV HAB look RECIP
'And they started looking at each other.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 20]

c. *Nge re tagiure fengani eh?*
nge re=tagiure fengani eh
and 3PL=back REFL Q
'And they're back to back, right?'
[Ignatius Maluchelmar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-4, 45]

d. *Ngoa mwj sibwe maipil sibwe bwal werifengan mwawesh Clemens...*
ngo mauwesh si=bwe maipil si=bwe bwale weri fengani mauwesh
yes dear 1PL.INCL=INC pray 1PL.INCL=INC also see RECIP dear
Clemens
Clemens
'Yes dear, we will pray that we will see each other again dear Clemens'
[Lucy Lemaifeg, Facebook messenger 2025-03-09]

The reciprocal marker itself is discussed in more detail in Section 5.3.4.10 above.

7.5.10 Involuntary Action

Involuntary action constructions express that the subject argument performs an action or reaches a state without having control over doing so, and while not being an object argument. Syntactically, these constructions are created by placing the verb phrase at the front, followed by an emphatic pronoun, and subsequently followed by either an object argument (7.31a), or by a juxtaposed explicit subject argument (7.31b).

(7.31) a. *More lago **iye** melewe yewale.*
more lago **iye** mele-we yewa-le
remove go **3SG.EMPH** ANA-DEF mouth-3SG.POSS
'His mouth fell off.'

[Lenny Saumar, fm6-032-02-NeedlefishCrab, 49]

b. *Mase lage **ie** yaliuse we.*
mase lage **ie** yaliuse we
die go **3SG.EMPH** ghost DEF
'The ghost died.'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-2, 85]

Additionally, involuntary actions can be expressed simply through the context and the semantics of the verb used in the construction:

(7.32) *Mali ye ngawe yaamem misile, ye liute tage nge gange i=mate weli=peige-le boti i=sa piunge lago.*
mali ye=ngawe yaa-mem misile ye=liute tage nge gange i=mate
maybe 3SG=bad POSS.CLF:GEN-1PL.EXCL.POSS engine 3SG=jump up and 1SG 1SG=sit
weli=peige-le boti i=sa piunge lago
on side-3SG.POSS boat 1SG=PFV fall go
'Maybe our engine was broken, it came off [the boat] and I was on the side of the boat and I also fell off.'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230204-2, 14]]

7.5.11 Performative Speech Acts

Performative speech acts, meaning utterances that themselves perform an action, are expected to be relatively uncommon in any language (König and Siemund 2007). Similarly, in Woleaian, these acts are relatively rare as well, with one (potential) example in the corpus.

(7.33) *Yei gel mene gobwele tamol.*
yei gel mene go=bwele tamol
INJ 2SG.EMPH FOC 2SG=INCEP chief
'Hey, you will be chief.'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 71]

Declarative speech acts are formally indistinguishable from imperative utterances (see Section 7.6.1), as they both use the inceptive marker *bwele* (see Section 5.3.3).

7.6 Non-declarative Clauses

Non-declarative clauses, which are contained in non-declarative speech acts, are those whose goal is to manipulate the interlocutor in some way. Non-declarative speech acts are also known as 'directives' in speech act theory (e.g., Kissine 2013).

In Woleaian, there are two main types of non-declarative clauses, imperative clauses and interrogative clauses. These contain a number of subgroups such as prohibitive clauses and polar questions for imperative and interrogative clauses, respectively.

7.6.1 Imperative Clauses

Imperative clauses are those that are part of an utterance that has the goal to direct the listener to perform some sort of action. As alluded to in Section 7.5.11 above, imperative clauses are most commonly created using the inceptive marker *bele* together with the second person singular or plural subject proclitic.

(7.34) *Gaibwele gamalemale bwe sibwele shiuwe me woale faliuwei.*
gai=bwele ga=malemale bwe si=bwele shiuwe me *woa-le
2PL=INCEP CAUS-ready because 1PL.INCL=INCEP leave from on-3SG.POSS
faliuwe-i
island-1SG.POSS
'You need to get ready because we're leaving this island.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 11.2]

Secondarily, a non-immediate imperative is constructed using the incompletive marker *be*.

(7.35) *Gobwe teragi, nifiti wei shagiu seewe nge ire re bitage.*
go=bwe teragi nifiti wei shagiu seewe nge ire re=bi tage
2SG=INC flip throw out repeat one CONJ 3PL.EMPH 3PL go up
'You have to flip it, just throw one out and they just come up.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 132]

Another way of creating imperative clauses seems to be currently developing, using the English loanword *need*. *Need* is placed in the first verbal position (i.e., after the pre-verbal particle[s]), followed by another full verbal clause that contains the semantics of the action in the construction. The loanword *need* is also used in constructions expressing a want or need, and was given by several speakers to be the only manner of constructing a specific want/need-type constructions in Woleaian.[3] However, the use of this word is still relatively marginal, noted to be new and used

3. The other method to express a want or a need is by simply using the inceptive or incompletive, with disambiguation through context.

mainly by younger speakers, and does not show up in the naturalistic speech data in the corpus.

(7.36) a. *Yarof ye need yebe tire lago nimwe.*
Yarof ye=need ye=be tire lago ni=imwe
Yarof 3SG=need 3SG=INC fast go in=house
'Yarof needs to go into the house quickly.'
[Lenny Saumar, ELICITED fm6-046, 41]

b. *Ye need yebe mase.*
ye=need ye=be mase
3SG=need 3SG=INC die
'He must die.'
[Lenny Saumar, ELICITED fm6-049, 13]

Lastly, when it is clear from the context, a second person imperative clause can be used to indicate an imperative. This is relatively marginal, and I have only found two occurrences of this in the corpus.

(7.37) a. *Iwe nge yesa gale gangali bwe laiu nge **gosa** bitage rei Siting.*
i-we nge ye=sa gale gangali bwe laiu nge **go=sa** bi tage
ANA-DEF CONJ 3SG=PFV HAB tell that tomorrow CONJ **2SG=PFV** go up
re-i Siting
for-1SG.POSS Siting
'And he starts telling [her] "tomorrow you have to come up to me [in] Siting."'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-2, 7]

b. *Resa gangali bwe gobwe lago nge **gosa** gaturuge, bwe gote bitage nge gamem gaisa masiure lago.*
re=sa gangali bwe go=bwe lago nge **go=sa** ga-turu=ge bwe
3PL=PFV tell SUB.CONN 2SG=INC go CONJ **2SG=PFV** CAUS-hurry-2SG SUB.CONN
gote bi tage nge gamem gai=sa masiure lago
so.that go up CONJ 1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL=PFV sleep go
'They [the parents] told her "when you go you have to hurry [back], so when you come back we won't be sleeping [yet]."'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 20]

This also occurs in daily speech, where I have observed some idiomatic imperatives that are formally declarative clauses. For example, when spurring on a person who is stalling or late, the phrase *siya lago* 'we are already going/have (already) gone' is commonly used.

7.6.1.1 Prohibitive Clauses

Prohibitive clauses are a subcategory of imperative clauses. They convey that someone shouldn't perform a certain action, and/or is forbidden to do so.

Prohibitive clauses are constructed using the negative inceptive marker *tewai* (see Section 7.7.3). Prohibitives occur frequently with the second person subject pronominal clitics (7.38a), but may also occur with the third person, such as in indirect quotative speech (7.38b-c).

(7.38) a. *Yaab, gotowai iule, gobele mongo.*
yaab go=towai iule go=bele mongo
NEG 2SG=NEG.INC drink 2SG=INCEP eat
'No, you can't go drinking [palm wine], you're going to eat [first].'
[Lorenza Letarueram, field notes 2024-07-24]

b. *Yee mate sape ngali bwe rebwe gili mele kawe uwaale nge melewe fitiyale bale gangali bwe retewai giliye.*
yee mate sape ngali bwe re=bwe gili mele kawe uwaa-le nge
AND.SO sit face to SUB.CONN 3PL=INC pick FOC PL-DEF flower-3SG.POSS CONJ
mele-we fiti-yaa-le bale gangali bwe **re=tewai**
ANA-DEF spouse-POSS.CLF:GEN-3SG.POSS also tell SUB.CONN **3PL=NEG.INC**
gili-iye
pick=3SG
'They were sitting next to the apple about to pick the fruits, but [the wife] told [him] that they shouldn't pick [it].'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 100]

c. *ie melewe temale yesa gale seoriu rebe gopi lago nge ie melewe siine yesa gale fitege ngali bwe, mele,* ***yetewai*** *gopiye.*
ie mele-we tema-le ye=sa gale seoriu re=be gopi lago nge
3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF father-3SG.POSS 3SG=PFV HAB say 3PL=INC cut go CONJ
ie mele-we siile-le ye=sa gale fitege ngali bwe mele
3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF mother-3SG.POSS 3SG=PFV HAB fight to sub.conn FOC
ye=tewai gopi-i
3SG=NEG.INC cut-TRR
'And the father said that they will cut it [the bunch] but the mother scolded him…uh…not to cut [it].'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 90-91]

This construction is relatively rare in the corpus, but is relatively more frequent in daily speech from my observations.

7.6.2 Interrogative Clauses

Interrogative clauses are clauses that request some sort of information. The information requested can be content (Section 7.6.2.1), polar (Section 7.6.2.2), alternative (Section 7.6.2.3), or confirmation-seeking (Section 7.6.2.2).

In general, questions can be created by (a combination of) two elements: question words, and question intonation. While question words are not obligatory to questions in general (although they are obligatory in certain construction types), question intonation is obligatory to all questions. Thus, it is relatively frequent to see sentences that are syntactically identical to declarative clauses, but are marked as questions solely through their intonation.

7.6.2.1 Content Questions

Content questions are those that seek information that includes content. In other words, it seeks a response that contains some sort of information not included in the question itself. As noted in Section 6.2 above, question words can be used to create content questions. However, question words are not obligatory to form content questions. question words syntactically replace the noun or verb phrase that contains the requested information.

Woleaian	Gloss
fasengale	'which kind'
feita	'doing what'
fita	'how many'
ifa	'which, where'
ifasengale	'how'
ikefa	'which (plural)'
ileete	'when'
iteoiu	'who'
iya	'where'
metta	'what'
metta faale	'why' (lit. 'under what')

Table 7.2: Question words (repeated from Section 6.2 above).

Of the construction type that uses question words, there are two main variants: one where the question word appears at the start of the clause (7.39a-b), and one where the question word appears in situ (7.39c-d). Pragmatically, the former places more emphasis on the information that is requested by the question word, whereas the latter places more emphasis on any other other elements of the clause, such as the subject, object, or verb phrase other than the one replaced by the question word. Griffin (2024) syntactically analyzes the same constructions, and furthermore subdivides the movement constructions into focus movement and pseudoclefting constructions.

(7.39) a. *Fasengale yaare siu yatowe?*
fasengale yaa-re siu yatowe
how POSS.CLF:GEN-3PL.POSS stand when
'How are they standing again?'
[Ignatius Maluchelmar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-3, 12]

b. ***Yefeita** ie wiishe kela?*
ye=**feita** ie wiishe ke-la
3SG=**doing.what** 3SG.EMPH banana PL-MED
'What are those bananas doing?'
[Ignatius Maluchelmar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-3, 52]

c. *Resa gale gasiya, gobe lago **iya**?*
re=sa gale gasiya go=be lago **iya**
3PL=PFV HAB ask 2SG=INC go **where**
'They were asking her, "where are you going?"'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-2, 13.1]

d. *Resa butoge gasiya bwe **meta**?*
re=sa butoge gasiya bwe **meta**
3PL=PFV come ask that **what**
'They came and asked "what happened?"'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 69]

As noted above, it is also possible to create content questions without the use of question words. In these clauses, the syntactic slot of the requested information (i.e., the place where the question word would go) is left empty (cf. 7.40 and 7.39d). As with all questions, they have question intonation (marked by '?' in the orthography), although the empty syntactic slot serves to additionally disambiguate it from a declarative clause.

(7.40) *Yesa gasiya "bwe me?"*
ye=sa gasiya bwe me
3SG=PFV ask SUB.CONN from
'She [the mother] asked "why?"'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 15.1]

7.6.2.2 Polar Questions

Polar questions are those where either a 'yes' or a 'no' is expected as an answer. Polar questions are most frequently syntactically identical to declarative clauses, but are disambiguated with question intonation. As described in Section 2.4.1 above, the question intonation contour consists of a relatively monotone intonation with a short rise in pitch towards the end.

(7.41) a. *Gosa weri?*
go=sa weri
2SG=PFV see
'Do you see it?'
[Ignatius Maluchelmar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-2, 46]

b. *ƷT yesa butoge relimwe?*
JT ye=sa bu-toge reli-mwe
JT 3SG=PFV go-come for-2SG.POSS
'Did JT come with you?'
[Field notes, 2023-01-30]

The answer can consist of just one word, *ngo* 'yes' or *yaab* 'no', but in my observations it is more frequent to additionally include a declarative statement containing the (semantic) content of the polar question, as in (7.42).

(7.42) a. *Yetagiure toge?*
ye=tagiure toge
3SG=back come
'His back is facing us?'

b. *Ngo, yetagiure ngali gishe.*
ngo ye=tagiure ngali gishe
yes 3SG=back to 1PL.INCL.EMPH
'Yes, his back is facing us'
[Lenny Saumar & Ignatius Maluchelmar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-2, 21-2]

Due to their semantics and pragmatics, it is unsurprising that polar questions occur mainly in the conversational data in the corpus.

7.6.2.3 Alternative Questions

Alternative questions are questions where the speaker poses two alternatives to their interlocutor, and expects a choice of one as a response. I would assume that the questioned alternation can be either positive-negative, or two different alternatives, but the corpus only provides an example of positive-negative alternation (7.43).

(7.43) a. *Ibwe teragi gare itewai taragi.*
i=bwe teragi gare i=tewai taragi
1SG=INC flip if 1SG=NEG.INC flip
'Do I flip it or do I not flip it?'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 130]

b. *Gobwe teragi, nifiti wei shagiu seewe nge ire rebitage.*
go=bwe teragi nifiti wei shagiu seewe nge ire re=bi tage
2SG=INC flip throw out repeat one CONJ 3PL.EMPH 3PL go-up
'You have to flip it, just throw one out and they just come up.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 132]

7.6.2.4 Confirmation-seeking Questions

Confirmation-seeking questions are those that pose a certain state of affairs, and seek an affirmative answer from the listener.

(7.44) a. *Nge ye woale shape iye gapeyase laale?*
nge ye=woa-le shape iye gapeyase laale
CONJ 3SG=on-3SG.POSS overturn 3SG.EMPH basket that
'And the basket is upside down?'

b. *Ngo ye woale shape gapeyase laale.*
ngo ye=woa-le shape gapeyase laale
yes 3SG=on-3SG.POSS overturn basket that
'Yes, that basket is upside down.'
[Lenny Saumar & Ignatius Maluchelmar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-3, 44-5]

Optionally, the tag question marker *eh*[4] is included at the end of a sentence as well in a confirmation-seeking question:

(7.45) a. *Peige mwale eh?*
peige mwaale eh
side man Q
'Right side, right?'

b. *Yeokiu peige file.*
yeokiu peige file
inj side correct
'Oh right side.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-3, 65-6]

4. *eh* Q is not to be confused with the hedge word *ehh*, which is used as a filler hedge to hold the floor and/or to indicate thought and/or confusion.

(7.46) a. *Nge re tagiure fengani eh?*
nge re=tagiure fengani eh
and 3PL=back REFL Q
'And they're back to back, right?'

b. *Re tagiure fengani.*
re=tagiure fengani
3PL=back REFL
'They are back to back.'

[Ignatius Maluchelmar & Lenny Saumar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-4, 45-6]

7.6.3 Verbs as attributives

The verbs discussed in Section 7.6.2 above were in predicative function, i.e., function as the action, event or state around which the construction is built. However, there are also nominal clauses that incorporate verbs attributively, i.e., as a modifier to the noun. In these constructions, such as in (7.47), the word is incorporated into the noun phrase directly follows the noun (shown in 7.47 by the presence of the demonstrative *laale* DIST after *chiile* '(to be) small'. Note that (7.47) does not feature a predicate due to the presence of the possessive marker on *fori* '(to) make', but 7.48 shows that constructions with (attributive) verbs in addition to a verbal predicate are possible.

(7.47) ***Imwe chile laale*** *nge mwalumwe, nge bale laniyale forile mongo.*
imwe chiile laale nge mwalumwe nge bale laniya-le fori-le mongo
house small DIST CONJ cooking.house CONJ also site-3SG.POSS make-3SG.POSS food
'That small house, a kitchen, is also a place for making food.'

[Lenny Saumar, fm6-053-EauripikPictureDescriptions, 53-5]

(7.48) *...[N]ge male chechoale laale yeloge liugiutagiuriule.*
nge male chechoale laale ye=loge liugiu-tagiure-le
CONJ thing black DIST 3SG=stay outside-back-3SG.POSS
'...[A]nd that black one is in the back.'

[Ignatius Maluchelmar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-2, 32]

While less frequent, it is also possible to incorporate a verb, or even multiple verbs, into a noun phrase (7.49). However, it seems that this is restricted to verbs that prototypically take a single core argument, as I do not have any examples of such incorporation for verbs that normally take two core arguments. It is very well possible that this is due to the size of the corpus, as these constructions are exceedingly rare, but it may also be a grammatical restriction on this construction.

(7.49) *Peile imwe tagiyate lago mena yesaro tagiyate tage.*
peile imwe tagiyate lago mel-la ye=saro tagiyate tage
brick house elevate go ANA-MED 3SG=somewhat elevate go
'The high stones of that house go up pretty high.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-053-EauripikDescriptions, 41]

7.7 Negation

There are several types of clause-level negation, with each type having a different scope or additional modal semantics. They are constructions using the general negative marker *tai* NEG, the durative negative *taai* NEG.DUR, the negative incompletive marker *tewai* NEG.INC,[5] the negative inceptive *teite* 'not yet', or the negative existential *toare* NEG.EXIST. The verbal negation prefix, which does not act on the clause level, was already discussed in Section 5.2.2 above, and the negative existential, which forms an (existential) verb by itself, was discussed in Section 7.5.3.

It is clear that each of these negation elements are formally connected, and they are easily retraceable to at least Proto-Malayo-Polynesian **taq* (Blust and Trussel 2016), with at least one split into an independent marker and a prefix attested in Proto-Micronesian (PMc), with proposed forms such as PMc **tai, ta* 'not', PMc **tap^{w}u* and Proto-Central Micronesian (PCMc) **t[ou]wai* 'future negative', and Proto-Chuukic **ta-* 'not' (Bender et al. 2003a, 2003b). Additionally, all negating elements are in mutually exclusive distribution.

7.7.1 Clausal negator *tai*

The clausal negator *tai* occurs in predicates, typically being placed before the verb (7.50a). When other pre-verbal particles are present, it occurs to the right of the three main particles (i.e., *sa* PFV, *bwe* INC, and *bele* INCEP; 7.50b), and to the left of all other pre-verbal particles (7.50c).

(7.50) a. *Mali **yetai** pashe.*
mali ye=**tai** pashe
maybe 3SG=**NEG** correct
'Maybe it is not correct.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-1, 59]

b. *..."yebwe **tai** gange bwe gange semaliu maliu gefago."*
ye=bwe **tai** gange bwe gange se-maliu maliu gefago
3SG=inc **NEG** 1SG that 1SG one=CLF:ANIM CLF:ANIM poor
'...[He said] "No, it will not be me [to be chief], because I'm a poor person!"'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-2, 89]

5. Sohn (1975, 245) also gives *tewaai* for a durative negative incompletive, but I have not encountered this form.

c. ***Retai*** *gale log liuweoniure yaremate.*
re=**tai** gale log liuweoliu=re yaremate
3PL=**NEG** HAB stay among-3PL person
'They don't really socialize.'

[Lenny Saumar, fm6-030-02-RemageNarrative, 13]

The clausal negator thus negates verbal clauses. This is differentiated from the verbal negator *ta-* in that the latter only takes scope over the verb, whereas *tai* takes scope over the whole verb phrase. Semantically, this means that where a verb phrase containing *tai* expresses the negative inverse of an action, event, or state, a verb phrase containing a verb negated by *ta-* expresses the positive state of a negated verb. For example, whereas *yetai pashe* in (7.50a) means 'it is not correct', *yetapashe* means 'it is incorrect' (< *pashe* '(to be) correct'). Though these are semantically quite similar, the former, clausal scope negation, indicates a (temporary) state, whereas the latter, verbal scope negation, attributes the negated verb as a quality of the argument.
tai occurs in stative constructions (7.50a), intransitive active constructions (7.51a), and transitive active constructions (7.51b).

(7.51) a. ***Yetai*** *mate...*
ye=**tai** mate
3SG=**NEG** awake
'He wasn't awake...'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-2, 29]

b. *...**yetai** yoge gane.*
ye=**tai** yoge gela-le
3SG=**NEG** catch POSS.CLF:ALIM-3SG.POSS
'...he doesn't have anything to eat' (lit. 'he has not caught his food')

[Lenny Saumar, fm6-033-MaliupashStory, 14]

There are a few instances where *tai* occurs with a non-verbal predicate, i.e., a noun. In all of these occurrences in the corpus, the negator and the noun are the only things present in the predicate.

(7.52) a. *Retali lago nge semaliu mwale yesiu lugalepare, **tai** lugalepare...*
re=tali lago nge se-maliu mwale ye=siu lugalepare **tai** lugalepare
3PL=line.up go CONJ one-CLF:ANIM man 3SG=stand middle **NEG** middle
'They are lined up and a man is standing [in] the middle, not [in] the middle...'

[Lenny Saumar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-4, 22]

b. ***Tai*** *siulai nge yesa mwalili tiwe iye Mesapali.*
tai siulai nge ye=sa mwalili tiwe iye Mesapali
NEG long.time CONJ 3SG=PFV speak down 3SG.EMPH Mesapali
'It wasn't long before Mesapali was talking down [to them]'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-2, 25]

7.7.2 Durative negative *taai*

The durative negative *taai* indicates that an action, state or event continues to be negative over a period of time, or that something that was previously the case is no longer the case. *Taai* is relatively infrequent in the corpus.

(7.53) a. ***yetaai*** *loge.*
ye=**taai** loge
3SG=**NEG.DUR** stay
'He's no longer here.'
[field notes, 2023-02-14]

b. ***Taai*** *yoore yaremetale Mwetange bwe resa reotiu lago, yesa ire shagiu.*
taai yoore yaremate-le mwetange bwe re=sa reotiu lago ye=sa
NEG.DUR EXIST people-3SG.POSS mwetange SUB.CONN 3PL=PFV no.more go 3SG=PFV
ire shagiu
3PL.EMPH only
'There were no more people of Mwetange, because there were no more, it was only them.')
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 26]

As noted in Section 7.5.3.1 above, *taai* can combine with the existential *yoore* to form a durative negative existential clause, as in (7.53b).

7.7.3 Negative incompletive *tewai*

The negative incompletive expresses that something will not or is not able to be the case. This can mean that the speaker supposes a hypothetical failure of completion of certain action (7.54a), that a certain event is expected not to occur (7.54b), or that the subject does not have the capacity to complete an action (7.54c).

(7.54) a. *Isa bulonge bulonge yee, gange isa liuniuwanel bwe **itewai** gola faliuwe.*
i=sa bu-long bu-long yee gange i=sa RED-liuwane-l bwe
1SG=PVF go-in go-in AND.SO 1SG 1SG=PVF PROG-think-3SG.POSS that
i=**tewai** gola faliuwe
1SG=**NEG.INC** reach island
'I went in and in, and I was thinking that I would not reach the island.'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 23]

b. *Yee **sitewai** mwele reli yaliusiuteti ye Maliupash.*
yee si=**tewai** mwele reli yaliusiu teti ye= Maliupash
AND.SO 1PL.INCL=**NEG.INC** able for spirit sea 3SG Maliupash
'[The men said] "Nothing will happen with this stupid Maliupash."'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-033-MaliupashStory, 5.1]

c. *...Resa gangali bwe gamem iye ila yesa chau metamem nge ila **gaitewai** meyafi.*
re=sa gangali bwe gamem iye i-la ye=sa chau
3PL=PFV tell SUB.CONN 1PL.EXCL 3SG.EMPH ANA-MED 3SG=PFV sleepy
mata-mem nge i-la gai=**tewai** meyafi
eye-1PL.EXCL.POSS CONJ ANA-MED 1PL.EXCL=**NEG.INC** feeling
'...They told her "we are very sleepy and we won't be able to know."'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 42]

As noted in Section 7.6.1.1 above, *tewai* is also used to construct prohibitive clauses.

(7.55) *Yee nisore tage nge resa gangali bwe bongei nge **gotewai** lago.*
yee ni=soore tage nge re=sa gangali bwe bonge-i nge go=**tewai** lago
AND.SO in=morning up CONJ 3PL=PVF tell that night-3SG CONJ 2SG=**NEG.INC** go
'And...the next morning they told her "tonight you can't go back [to Eauripik].'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 37]

7.7.4 Negative inceptive *teite*

The negative inceptive indicates that an action has either not yet started, or has not yet been completed. In this function, it is the negative inverse of the inceptive *bele* (see Section 5.3.3).

(7.56) *Resa lago loge woale yee yetai melawe, reteite tefale nge melawe lago ie melewe fitiyale.*
re=sa lago loge woa-le yee ye=tai melawe re=teite tefale nge
3PL=PFV go stay on-3SG.POSS AND.SO 3SG=NEG birth 3PL=NEG.INCEP return CONJ
melawe lago ie mele-we fiti yaa-le
birth go 3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF spouse POSS.CLF:GEN-3SG.POSS
'They stayed [on the island], and she didn't give birth, they hadn't returned [to the island] yet but the wife gave birth.'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 85]

As shown in (7.56), much like the inceptive, the inceptive negative *teite* can also occur when talking about the past. As with *tewai* above, *teite* is relatively uncommon in the corpus, but from my observations occurs more frequently in daily conversation, such as the interactions given in (7.57), which I observed occurring frequently.

(7.57) a. *Gosa mane goshe/mongo?*
go=sa mane gooshe mongo
2SG=PFV finish cut.tuba eat
'Did you finish cutting palm wine? / Did you eat yet?'

b. *Ngo, sa mane/Yaab, teite mane.*
ngo sa mane yaab teite mane
yes PFV finish no NEG.INCEP finish
'Yes, [I] finished / No [I] did not yet finish.'

[field notes, 2024-08-15]

Chapter 8

Complex Clauses and Clause Combining

This chapter discusses complex clauses and strategies for combining multiple clauses. A complex clause refers to a clause that contains multiple verbs, or verb-like elements, multiple verb phrases or oblique phrases, or are morphologically or contextually tightly bound. This chapter first discusses the types of complex (verbal) predicates found (Section 8.1), next discusses the syntactic and semantic properties of oblique phrases, which are used to introduce additional (non-core) arguments to a clause (Section 8.2). The third part of this chapter (Section 8.3) discusses several types of clausal coordination, such as clause-level conjunction, relative clauses, subordination, conditional constructions, and time clauses. Most of these complex clause types contain multiple sub-types/constructions; The section on complex predicates includes repetitive and iterative constructions (§8.1.1), aspectual serialization (§8.1.2.2.1), 'until'-constructions (§8.1.2.2.2), serial verb constructions (8.1.2), and oblique phrases (§8.2). The second half of this chapter, which covers clausal coordination discusses conjunction (§8.3.1), disjunction (§8.3.2), relative clauses (§8.3.3), subordination (§8.3.4), conditional constructions (§8.3.4.1), and temporal clauses (§8.3.5).

8.1 Complex Predicates

Complex predicates are verbal predicates that consist multiple verbs and/or verb-like elements. They come in two main types: multiple verbs and/or verb-like elements within a single verb phrase, or a series of closely connected but semi-independent reduced verb phrases. The former include repetitive and iterative constructions (Section 8.1.1), and involuntary action constructions (Section 7.5.10). Complex predicates that have multiple verbal elements within a single verb phrase include and serial verb constructions (SVCs; Section 8.1.2. The latter category is further subdivided into symmetrical SVCs (Section 8.1.2.1 and asymmetrical SVCs (Section 8.1.2.2).

8.1.1 Repetitive and Iterative Constructions

Clausal repetitive and iterative constructions are made through the reduplication of verbs. Reduplication as a phonological process was covered in Section 2.3.4, and the reduplication of words

in verbal position was covered in Section 5.5. As such, this section focuses on the syntactic properties of the repetitive and iterative constructions.

In the corpus, there are only occurrences of this construction with a single reduplication of the verb, but I have observed upwards of three repetitions in daily language use.

(8.1) a. *Resa **loge loge** yee, rane we serane nge resa banago gooshe.*
re=sa **loge loge** yee rane we se-rane nge re=sa bale lago gooshe
3PL=PVF **stay stay** and.so day DEF one-CLF:DAY CONJ 3PL=PVF also go tap.tuba
'They stayed and stayed, and the next day they went tapping tuba.'
[Christian Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 26]

b. ***Terage terage** yee, bitiw reli seewe faiu peige tagel Weewe.*
terage terage yee bu-tiwe re=li seewe faiu peige tage-le Weewe
sail sail and.so go-down for-3SG.POSS one stone side up-3SG.POSS Weewe
'Sailing and sailing and they went down to one rock in front of Weewe.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 16]

The verb used in the repetitive-iterative construction is often established in the preceding context. This can be a preceding clause within the same utterance, or be part of the preceding utterance. This is a part of the general linking/chaining strategies found throughout discourse (see Section 9.2.1).

(8.2) a. *Resa **bitiwe**, fare **bitiwe bitiwe** gasi gemam…*
re=sa bi-tiwe fare **bi-tiwe bi-tiwe** gasi gemam
3PL=PVF go-down unexpectedly **go-down go-down** grab 1PL.EXCL
'They came down, came down and down, took us…'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 34]

b. *Resa gapweshe yee resa **mongo**.*
re=sa ga-beshe yee re=sa **mongo**
3PL=PVF CAUS-hot and.so 3PL=PVF **eat**
'They grilled and then they ate.'

c. ***Mongo mongo** yee, nge re bulong wonago.*
mongo mongo yee nge re=bu-long woole lago
eat eat and.so CONJ 3PL=go-in lie-go
'Ate and ate and then and they went in and laid [down].'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-2, 75-6]

Additionally, depending on the context, the relevant verb can also be established (marginally) further in the discourse, thus no longer being part of direct clause linking strategies:

(8.3) a. *Tabowe **tiwe** shagiu yale gatafe **tiwe** melewe gane.*
tabowe **tiwe** shagiu yaa-le gaatafe **tiwe** mele-we
connect **down** repeat POSS.CLF:GEN-3SG.POSS rod.fish **down** ANA-DEF
gela-le
POSS.CLF:ALIM-3SG.POSS
'Continued down fishing down [for] food.'

b. *Nge ie yaliuse we yesa tetabwei.*
nge ie yaliuse we ye=sa RED-tabe-i
CONJ 3SG.EMPH spirit DEF 3SG=PVF PROG-join-TRR
'And the ghost started following him.'

c. *Ye **bitiwe bitiwe** yee…*
ye=**bu-tiwe** **bu-tiwe** yee
3SG=**go-down** **go-down** and.so
'He went down, went down and…'

d. *Toge **tiwe** tabole faliuwe.*
togo **tiwe** tabo-le faliuwe
come down border-3SG.POSS island
'Reached down to the end of the island.'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-2, 10-13]

Optionally, but very frequently, the discourse marker *yee* 'and so/then' can be added (8.1ab; 8.2c; 8.3c; 8.4). When *yee* is present, the repetitive/iterative construction always takes a specific intonation, which consists of monotony on the repeated verbs, with rising intonation on *yee*, followed by a marked pause before the next clause (indicated with a comma if it is within the same clause, or by a line break if the pause is long enough to constitute a new utterance after).

(8.4) *Isa bulonge bulonge **yee**, gange isa liuniuwanel bwe itewai gola faliuwe.*
i=sa bu-longe bu-longe **yee** gaangi i=sa RED-liuwane-le bwe
1SG=PFV go-in go-in **and.so** 1SG.EMPH 1SG=PFV PROG-think-3SG.POSS that
i=tewai gola faliuwe
1SG=NEG.INC reach island
'I went in and in, and I was thinking that I would not reach the island.'

[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-1, 23]

8.1.2 Serial Verb Constructions

Serial verb constructions (SVCs) are constructions that feature multiple verbs within the same verbal predicate that do not form a compound (Payne 1997, 307). Importantly, SVCs consist of multiple independent verbs, are syntactically and phonologically tightly bound and can thus have no interfering non-derivational morphology or particles, and have at least one shared argument

(Foley 2010, 79). This means that it is possible to have verb-level derivational morphology, such as the causative *ga-* (see Section 5.2.1), the valency increasing morpheme *=i* (see Section 5.2.3), and verbal reduplication (see Section 5.5), but there can be no pronominal subject/object marking or particles between the two verbs in the predicate. The presence of pronominal morphology on or a particle preceding the second verb is taken as a strict exclusionary diagnostic for SVCs. The maximum number of verbs in an SVC in the corpus is two, with additional verbs being placed in a separate clause.

SVCs are subdivided into two categories, symmetrical and asymmetrical (following Aikhenvald and Dixon 2006, 21). For two-word SVCs, asymmetrical SVCs consist of one verb from an open class, and one verb from a much smaller closed class of verbs, with the former contributing the bulk of the semantics of the construction. In symmetrical SVCs, neither verbs have such a restriction. As such, both verbs are symmetrical in the constructions, with each verb contributing an equal amount to the resulting meaning.

(8.5) a. Symmetrical SVC
...[Y]esa butoge shagiu, ***butoge torofi gasi*** *longe lani iye purou we imwale.*
ye=sa bu-toge shagiu **bu-toge torofi gasi** longe lani iye purou we
3sg=pfv go-come repeat **go-come catch grab** into in 3sg.emph stone.arch def
imwe-le
house-3sg.poss
'...He just came and grabbed the wife, and took her inside his stone arch house.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-2, 28]

b. Asymmetrical SVC
Ie piunge ***lago*** *me shiule boti liugiule mena faliuwei.*
ie piunge **lago** me shiu-le boti liugiu-le mel-la
1sg.emph fall **go** from top-3sg.poss boat outside-3sg.poss ana-med
faliuwe-i
island-1sg.poss
'I fell off a boat outside of my island.'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 7]

Note, as mentioned, that there can be no intervening elements between the verbs in an SVC, which also means that the entire SVC will share the same directional, if present, which must be placed after the SVC (as in 8.6).

(8.6) *...[G]aisa* ***lago lugesi*** *tage ie boti la...*
gai=sa **lago lugesi** tage ie boti la
1pl.excl=pfv **go tow** up 3sg.emph boat med
'...[W]e towed that boat...'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 34]

8.1.2.1 Symmetrical SVCs

Symmetrical serial verb constructions are those where both verbs are from an open class and both contribute equally to the resulting semantics of the SVC. Like all other SVCs, the verbs must be different, rather than a repetition of the same verb (see Section 8.1.1). They are relatively less frequent than asymmetrical SVCs, but nonetheless still occur throughout discourse.

(8.7) a. *Yee litabole yalo yesa bale lago gatafe fetale gelare.*
yee litabole yalo ye=sa bale lago gaatafe fetale gela=re
and.so after sun 3SG=PFV also go rod.fish around food=3PL.POSS
'And in the afternoon she also went rod-fishing around for their food.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-2, 63]

b. *Butoge shagiu torofi sililong lani ie melewe yewale.*
bu-toge shagiu torofi sililong lani ie mele-we yewa-le
go-come again catch put.in in 3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF mouth-3SG.POSS
'He came again, caught him and put him in his mouth.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-2, 80]

8.1.2.1.1 Symmetrical SVCs with directional *bu* '(to) go'

A subtype of symmetrical SVCs, which apparently seems to flaunt the restrictions to SVCs are those in which *bu* '(to) go' is the first member of the SVC. It is possible for any SVC to be followed by a directional, as in (8.8a). However, as discussed in Section 6.1.1, *bu* is obligatorily followed by a directional and cannot occur by itself. *Bu* and the directional are phonologically incorporated (and thus generally written as a single word), but they are saliently identified as two individual elements. Thus, *bu* is clearly grammaticalizing into a directional morpheme, and it is synchronically somewhere in the transition between verb and bound morpheme. Therefore, it requires some additional attention in the analysis. When *bu* forms the first element of an SVC (8.8b-c), it occurs, as required, with a directional placed directly after *bu*, rather than after the entire SVC (which is the regular pattern).

(8.8) a. *Torofi shagiu ie giuriugage kawe nge resa bu wei ni=fale.*
torofi shagiu ie giuregage ka-we nge re=sa bu-wei ni=fale
catch only 3SG.EMPH black.noddy PL-DEF and 3PL=PFV go-out in=mens.house
'Just snatched the noddies and went out into the men's house.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 51]

b. *Gaisa butoge fori fetale misile la yamem yee ye tamwel gachiu lago.*
gai=sa bu-toge fori fetale misile la yaa-mem yee
1PL.EXCL=PFV go-come make around engine MED POSS.CLF:GEN-1PL.EXCL.POSS and.so

ye=ta-mwele gachiu lago
3SG=NEG-able good go
'We came and fixed around our engine, and it couldn't be fixed.'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 30]

c. *Yee resa buwei fagili fetalei yee gasi shagiu nge rebitage Yaurepig.*
yee re=sa bu-wei fage-yegili fetale=i yee gasi shagiu nge re=bi-tage
and.so 3PL=PFV go-out search-VBLZR around=TRR and.so grab repeat and 3PL=go-up
Yaurepig
Eauripik
'And they went out searching around for it, and…went up to Eauripik.'
[Christina Laiureglar, WOL-230125-1, 54]

This seems to indicate that the obligation for *bu* to occur with a directional is lexicalized to a degree that means it can interfere between two verbs in an SVC. This would mean that *bu* is either lexicalizing into parallel forms for all of the directionals, or broadly lexicalizing as *bu + directional*. This type of symmetrical SVC forms the bulk of symmetrical SVCs found in the corpus.

8.1.2.2 Asymmetrical SVCs

Asymmetrical SVCs consist of one verb from and open class of verbs, and one from a smaller closed class of verbs. The open-class verb contributes the bulk of the semantics, functions as the head of the predicate, and is always the first member of the SVC. The other verb comes from a much smaller class, mainly consisting of verbs expressing motion and posture, contributes secondary semantics to the construction, and is always the second element. The most frequent verb that used to express motion in this type of expression is *lago* '(to) go'. Note, however, that the other generic motion verb *bu* '(to) go' never occurs in this function, but is instead the prototypical verb used to express direction (as opposed to motion; see Section 6.1.1). The motion verbs I have been able to identify as being able to be used in this construction type are: *lago* '(to) go', *faarage* '(to) walk', *toge* '(to) come', and *terage* '(to) sail'. Identified posture verbs are so far only *siu* '(to) stand' and *mate* '(to) sit'.

Importantly, these SVCs are distinguished from other types of complex verbal predicates in that both the head verb and the secondary verb can be used independently (as opposed to, e.g., *bu* 'go' vs. *lago* 'go' [Section 5.6]). Asymmetrical SVCs in the corpus all consist of a head verb from an open class, together with one of a closed class of verbs that express motion or posture. Thus, the main function of asymmetrical SVCs in Woleaian is to express motion/posture.

Semantically, motion and posture SVCs require a verb that expresses an action or event, and a verb that expresses the motion (or [implied] direction) in which the action or event takes place, or its posture. Note that other directional constructions are covered in Section 6.1.1 above, while this section only covers motion and posture SVCs. Motion and posture SVCs are a semantic class

rather than morphologically-syntactically defined.

As a subtype of SVC, in motion and posture SVCs, the verb expressing the action and the element expressing motion/posture are placed as one unit within the same verb phrase, meaning that there is only (optional) pronominal subject marker, which is placed at the left edge of the verb phrase. Additional elements, such as verbal particles, may also be present and are placed in the their typical positions, however, nothing except verbal affixes can be placed between the two verbs. This construction is distinct from the multi-predicate construction where a verb expressing motion precedes the verb expressing an action/event, as these are grammatically and semantically two individual predicates. It is also distinct from predicates that include a directional, as directionals are not verbs and cannot occur independently, thus making those constructions simple (see Section 8.2.2).

(8.9) a. *Mano seo mwai shagiu nge isa **fefarage lago** reli boti la waamem…*
mano seo mwai shagiu nge i=sa RED-farage lago re-li boti la
finish rest while repeat CONJ 1SG=PFV **PROG-walk go** for-3SG.POSS boat MED
waa-mem
POSS.CLF:VEHICLE-1PL.EXCL.POSS
'[I] finished resting a little bit, then I walked to our boat…'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 27]

b. *Mwale laale **yesiusape** tangi waliuweoliu laale.*
mwale laale **ye=siu-sape** tangi waliuweoliu laale
man DIST **3SG=STAND-FACE** from plant DIST
'That man is facing away from that tree.'
[Ignatius Maluchelmar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-2, 7]

In particularly frequent combinations, such as *siusape* '(to) stand facing (s.th.)' in (8.9b), the two verbs are phonologically integrated, and straddle the line between a sequence of verbs and a verbal compound (see Section 5.6).

However, motion and posture constructions are not constrained to verbs that inherently have motional or postural semantics, but can be applied to any verb given appropriate context.

(8.10) a. *…[I]sa gashei lago shimwale misinale…*
i=sa gashe=i lago shimwa-le misile-laale
1SG=PFV throw=TRR go head-3SG.POSS engine-DIST
'…I threw away the head of the engine…'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 19]

b. *Taloge lago melewe laiushe!*
ta-loge lago mele-we laiu-she
NEG-stay go ANA-DEF offpsring-1PL.INCL.POSS
'Our daughter disappeared!'

[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 75]

In (8.10), the motion verb *lago* '(to) go', indicates that an action is taking place in an unspecified direction away from the semantic locus of the construction (i.e., the speaker or the place of the described event/action). Additionally, *lago* contributes completive semantics in some cases, mostly corresponding to perfective constructions such as (8.10a), and inceptive semantics in non-perfective constructions such as (8.10b). In (8.11a), the motion indicates movement towards the locus, and in (8.9c) and (8.11b) the posture verb indicates that the action takes place facing, but not moving away from/towards, the object argument.

(8.11) a. *Teoiu **toge** chole maliu resa butoge bwe shoal kaurure.*
teoiu **toge** chole maliu re=sa butoge bwe shoale kaurure
meet **come** most animal 3PL=PFV come SUB.CONN person spectate
'All the animals came to watch.'

[Lenny Saumar, Fela me Garige, 9.1]

b. *Yee mate **sape** ngali bwe rebwe gili mele kawe uwaale…*
yee mate **sape** ngali bwe re=bwe gili mele ka=we uwaa-le
and.so sit **face** to that 3PL=INC pick FOC PL=DEF flower
'They were facing the apple [tree] about to pick the fruits…'

[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 100]

There are also a few instances in the corpus where there are multiple motion/posture verbs in the predicate (8.12). This, however, seems to be restricted to a maximum of two, with *lago* '(to) go' always being the second verb.

(8.12) *Igela nge si siusape lago iseoriu nge ilale mene gotu.*
igela nge si=siu-sape lago i=seoriu nge i-lale mene gotu
now and 1PL.INCL=stand-face go 1SG=say and ANA-DIST FOC east
'Now we are facing east.'

[Lenny Saumar, fm6-030-04-Directionals, 1]

As the most frequent verb in these constructions, it's possible that *lago* is in the process of grammaticalizing into a more semantically bleached motion marker. However, at this point it can, and frequently does, still occur as the main verb of a predicate.

8.1.2.2.1 Aspectual serialization with *mano* '(to) finish'

The word *mano* '(to) finish' usually functions as a verb, in which it indicates that the subject has finished a specified or unspecified action (8.13).

(8.13) *Bwe ure nifegafe rebe **mano** shagiu nge rerige lago.*
bwe ure nifegafe re=be **mano** shagiu nge re=rige lago
INC dance evening 3PL=INC **finish** repeat CONJ 3PL=run go
'They would just dance in the evening and when they finished, they left right away.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-030-02-RemageNarrative, 12]

However, its functions are expanded in a construction that denotes (aspectual) serialization. In this construction, an event or action is expressed to be sequential to a previous event after this event has been completed. In other words, it puts the actual or hypothetical requirement for the previous event or action to have finished until the subsequent event or action can start. *mano*, the succeeding verb, and the optional preceding verb must share at least the same subject argument.

(8.14) a. ***Mano** me high school isa bitiwe woale Yap isa school me college.*
mano me high school i=sa bi tiwe woa-le Yap i=sa school me
finish from high school 1SG=PVF go down on-3SG.POSS Yap 1SG=PVF school from college
college
'When I finished high school, I went down to Yap and attended college.'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 4]

b. *Gatafe **yemano** nge ye butoge gaketoge gapweshe ie melekawe gelare…*
gaatafe ye=mano nge ye=bu-toge gake-toge ga-beshe ie mele=kawe
rod.fish 3SG=finish CONJ 3SG=go-come collect-come CAUS-hot 3SG.EMPH PROX
gela-re
food-3PL.POSS
'[He was] pole fishing, finished, then he came [and] brought [it] in, grilled their food…'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-2, 48]

c. *Mwirile iga sibe **mano** mongo nge siya lago fita.*
mwiri-le iga si=be **mano** mongo nge si=sa lago fita
behind-3SG.POSS when 1PL.INCL=INC **finish** eat then 1PL.INCL=PVF go fish
'After we finish eating, then we will go fishing.'
[Lenny Saumar, ELICITED, fm6-49, 20]

As shown in (8.14), the sequence can be conditional (8.14a), temporal (8.14b), or conditional-temporal (8.14c). Note that in all of these constructions, *mano* syntactically functions as a verb, but constructions such as in (8.14a) give a potential indication of it developing towards a more functional element, as it occurs sentence-initially as part of a phrase *mano me high school* '[when

I] finished high school', without any pronominal marking or verbal particles. This is a feature of the serializing feature of *mano*, i.e., *mano* cannot occur with verbal particles if it functions as a serializer, although (phrase-level) pronominal marking is still allowed. Additionally, I have not found any examples of negation on *mano* in its serializing function.

8.1.2.2.2 Sequential SVCs with *yee*

In addition to its general function in discourse organization (see Section 9.2), and the function in repetitive-iterative just described (see Section 8.1.1), *yee* is used in sequential SVCs. In short, these constructions indicate that a certain action or event persists until its finished or some other state is achieved. *Yee* is placed between the first and the second verb phrase, with no interfering clauses possible.

(8.15) a. *Resa loge yee yebonge.*
re=sa loge yee ye=bonge
3PL=PFV stay and.so 3SG=night
'They stayed until it was night.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-2, 36]

b. *Resa magitoge gangi yee toare lago.*
re=sa magi-toge gangi yee toare lago
3PL=PFV go.together-come eat and.so NEG.EXIST go
'They came and ate [him] until there was nothing left.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 140]

The formal difference between this construction and the repetitive-iterative construction is that the verb is not repeated. Additionally, *yee* directly connects the following verb phrase to the preceding one in the sequential SVC, whereas this is not the case in the repetitive-iterative construction. This is indicated by direct juxtaposition of the resulting state verb phrase after *yee* in the 'until'-construction, and a marked pause and (optional) interfering functional elements such as the conjunction *nge*.

8.1.2.2.3 Sequential SVCs with *gaisee* 'until'

A second, much less frequent, way to create an sequential SVC is by using the dedicated marker *gaisee* 'until'.

(8.16) *Bale gashei wei, gaisee reotiu wei ie gili kawe nge yela nage tage ie Welifomwar.*
bale gashe=i wei gaisee reotiu wei ie gili ka-we nge ye=la nage tage
also throw=TRR out until no.more out 3SG.EMPH pick PL=DEF AND 3SG=PFV2 show up

ie Welifomwar
3SG.EMPH Welifomwar
'She threw them out, until there were no more [mats] and then Welifomwar was there.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 137]

gaisee also occurs as an emphatic discourse marker that indicates (usually negative) mirativity (Lenny Saumar, pers. comm.). Due to either occurrences rarity, it is currently unclear whether these should be seen as two separate forms or one polysemous form.

8.2 Oblique phrases

Oblique phrases are those that are not included as core arguments to a verb. They consist of a preposition and a noun phrase or, less frequently, a verb phrase. Oblique phrases are placed at the end of a clause, meaning they are placed after the verb and/or object argument in standard word order. Prepositions themselves and their semantics were discussed in Section 4.4 above. They often express locations, destinations, or directions, but can also express benefactee, recipient, or cause, in ditransitive-like constructions.

(8.17) a. *Garige we sa gangali bwe rebe gaito **ngali** sefoashe liu ila.*
garige we sa gangali bwe re=be gaito **ngali** se-fasho
beach.crab DEF PFV tell SUB.CONN 3PL=INC race **to** one-CLF:LONG.RIGID
liu i-la
coconut ANA-MED
'The beach crab told him that they will race to a coconut tree there.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-032-02-NeedlefishCrab, 32]

b. *...[N]ge yoore semou wooshe, ila sigale seoriu bwe palange ye gachiu **reli** peile imwe.*
nge yoore semoiu wooshe i-la si=gale seoriu bwe palange
CONJ exist some reef ANA-MED 1PL.INCL=HAB say SUB.CONN coral.brick
ye=gachiu **re-li** peile imwe
3SG=good **for-3SG.POSS** brick house
'...[A]nd there's some coral that we call palange and it's good for bricks.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-077-LandscapeDesc-03-wooshe, 9]

c. *Semeoiu regale gogo soomu **reli** tafei...*
se-moiu re=gale gogo soomu **re-li** tafei
one-CLF:ANIM.GROUP 3PL=HAB use seaweed **for-3SG.POSS** medicine
'Some people use the seaweed for medicine...'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-077-LandscapeDesc-02, 8]

In contrast to subject and object arguments and the verb phrase, oblique phrases cannot be focalized either by fronting or through any marking. This is expected, as their status as oblique

arguments excludes them from focalization, and focalizing the referent in the oblique phrase should require promotion to core argument.

Besides the difference in bound and free prepositions, discussed in Section 4.4 above, the function of oblique phrases can be divided into two subcategories: *re-* 'for, by, in order to, so that' and everything else. The difference between the two groups is that for all the other prepositions their main, and often only, function is to express some sort of locational information relative to the argument(s) in the rest of the clause. On the other hand, the main function of *re-*, which obligatorily takes pronominal marking but most frequently surfaces as *reli* (< *re-* + *-le* 3SG.POSS), is to indicate a causal or resultative relationship.

8.2.1 Oblique phrases with *re-* 'for, by'

As noted, the preposition *re-* stands apart from the other elements that introduce oblique phrases, i.e., prepositions, because of its form and especially its function. Formally, it is part of the set of prepositions that obligatorily take a third person possessive suffix (and *ni=*, which is a proclitic). Like the other bound prepositions, the third person singular suffix *-le* 3SG.POSS is the standard, and the plural requires highly specific contexts. Formally, *re-* also stands out phonologically because it does not adhere to the phonological rule that vowels remain voiced in non-utterance-final position. That is to say, the most frequent form of *re-*, *reli*, is almost always realized as [ɾ̪ɛɾ(i̥)], rather than the expected [ɾ̪ɛɾi~ə]. This is especially interesting since, as a preposition, it cannot occur utterance-finally. Though I have observed some realizations with a (lightly) voiced final vowel, I have been explicitly told that the correct pronunciation is without a voiced vowel and pronunciation has been corrected when realizing a fully voiced vowel. Therefore, I assume that the presence of a voiced vowel word-finally for *reli* is an intrusive vowel as the result of articulatory transition to the following consonant.

As noted in Section 4.4 above, the overwhelming majority of instances of *re-* occur with the third person singular possessive suffix *-le*, surfacing as *reli*. This is not surprising since in the vast majority of instances it introduces a phrase that has either a singular referent or a referent unspecified for number. However, in specific enough contexts the third person plural possessive suffix *-re* is also possible, in which case it occurs as *reere*. I only have two of such instances in the corpus:

(8.18)

(8.19) *Yesa butoge, yegale lago nii yaremate nge yegake toge* ***reere*** *resa mongo.*
ye=sa butoge ye=gale lago RED-liiye yaremate nge ye=gake togo **re-re**
3SG=PFV come 3SG=HAB go PROG-kill person and 3SG=take.PL come **for-3PL.POSS**
re=sa mongo
3PL=PFV eat
'He came, he goes to kill people and bring them for them to eat.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 14]

(8.20) *Iwe yafe fetale isa gale gekebwate lago **reere** bwe rebwe gekashe lago taali…*
i-we yaafe fetale i=sa gale RED-gebwate lago **re-re** bwe re=bwe
ANA DEF swim around 1SG=PFV HAB PROG-shout go **for-3PL.POSS** so.that
ge-kashe lago taali…
3PL=INC CAUS-throw go rope
'I was swimming around and started to shout to them, so they would throw off a rope…'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 16]

Interestingly, I do have one instance in my field notes of *relimwe*, in the context in (8.21), which shows both the third person singular and the second person singular possessives on *re-*. Since having multiple possessives on one word generally does not occur, this may be an indication that the bound preposition is in the process of lexicalizing into the form *reli*. There are no instances of this additional second person, or any other possessive suffix, in the corpus.

(8.21) *JT yesa butoge relimwe?*
JT ye=sa butoge re-li-mwe
JT 3SG=PFV come for-3SG.POSS-2SG.POSS
'Did JT come with you?'
[field notes, 2023-01-30]

Like all other prepositions, *re-* is placed after the verb and/or object argument in standard word order, and introduces a phrase. This is usually an explicit noun phrase but given enough context it can remain implicit as well. Additionally, *re-* can also introduce the subordinating connective *bwe* SUB.CONN, which in turn introduces a subordinate clause.

(8.22) a. *Yee bale toge tiwe **reli** ie faiuwe, peoiuseogiure nge.*
yee bale togo tiwe **re-li** ie faiu we peoiuseogiure nge
and.so also come down **for-3sg** 3SG.EMPH stone DEF Poiusegiure CONJ
'And so they also came down to the rock, Poiusegiure, then…'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 31]

b. *Ye yelago weri semaliu me reli seewe imwe.*
ye ye=lago weri se-maliu me reli seewe imwe
CONJ 3SG=go see one-CLF.ANIM from **for-3SG** one house
'And…he went and saw one [pregnant woman] from one house.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-2, 6]

c. *Yee sitewai mwele reli yaliusiuteti ye Maliupash.*
yee si=tewai mwele reli yaliusiu-teti ye=Maliupash
and.so 1PL.INCL=NEG.INC able **for-3SG** ghost-sea 3SG=Maliupash
'[The men said] "Nothing will happen because of this stupid Maliupash."'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-033-MaliupashStory, 5.1]

The three main functions of *re-* are to indicate a goal (8.22a), a source (8.22b), or a reason (8.22c). It is possible for this to simultaneously be a location, as in (8.23), but this is not obligatory.

(8.23) *Nge ie Ngifatale yeloge shagiu **reli** Ilatugefai me Lishemwagiure.*
nge ie Ngifatale ye=loge shagiu **re-li** Ilatugefai me Lishemwagiure
CONJ 3SG.EMPH Ngifatale 3SG=stay repeat **for-3SG.POSS** Ilatugefai CONJ Lishemwagiure
'And Ngifatale stayed with Ilatugefai and Lishemwagiure.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 8]

8.2.2 Locational phrases

Locational phrases are the other type of oblique phrase. As noted above, they consist of a preposition (other than *re-* and *ni=*) and a phrase, which most commonly a noun phrase, placed after the verb or object argument at the right edge of the clause. Thus, they are formally identical to oblique phrases with *re-* 'for, by'.

Locational phrases express some sort of locational relationship to the main arguments, which can be a destination (8.24a), origin (8.24b), general direction (8.24c), focal or anchoring point (8.24d), or general area (8.24e). The different semantics of the individual prepositions (see Section 4.4) indicate the spatial relationship of the locational phrase to the main clause, but all locational phrases are formally identical.

(8.24) a. *Shobute we laiule yesa seoriu bwe yebe bitiwe **mo** Yaurepige.*
shobute we lai-le ye=sa seoriu bwe ye=be bi-tiwe **mo**
woman DEF offspring-3SG.POSS 3SG=PFV say SUB.CONN 3SG=INC go-down **to**
Yaurepige
Eauripik
'The daughter said that she would be going to Eauripik.'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 8]

b. *Sa lago lago ye yegarepe iye liu we nge ye niutiutage **me** liteti.*
sa lago lago ye ye=garepe iye liu we nge ye=niutiu tage **me**
PFV go go CONJ 3SG=approach 3SG.EMPH coconut DEF and 3SG=jump up **from**
li=teti
in=sea
'It went near the coconut tree, and he jumped up from the sea.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-032-02-NeedlefishCrab, 47]

c. *...[B]we mali refare gekaweri **ngali** wooshe ila mene isa gale tagari.*
bwe mali re=fare RED-ka-weri **ngali** wooshe i-la mene
SUB.CONN maybe 3PL=unexpectedly PROG-CAUS-see **to** reef ANA-DEM.MED FOC
i=sa gale tagari
1SG=PFV HAB follow
'...[B]ecause maybe they were flashing [the light] to the reef, and that's what I was following.'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 22]

d. *Iyeele nge ye fiife nge yetai, yesaro mele **tangi** yetai pashe gachiu ngali.*
i-yeele nge ye=fiife nge ye=tai ye=saro mene **tangi** ye=tai pashe
ANA-PROX and 3SG=coil and 3SG=NEG 3SG=somewhat FOC **from** 3SG=NEG correct
gachiu ngali
good to
'This one wasn't piled that close to [the rock].'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-1, 42]

e. *Geele gobele ile **me** liteti nge gang ibele rige **me** welipiye.*
geele go=bele i-le **me** li=teti nge gaangi i=bele rige **me**
2SG.EMPH 2SG=INCEP ANA-3SG.POSS **from** in=sea and 1SG 1SG=INCEP run **from**
welipiye
beach
'You will swim in the sea, and I will run on the beach.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-032-02-NeedlefishCrab, 23]

Note that oblique phrases are not the only way to express locations, as they are frequently incorporated as core arguments to the directional verbs (see Section 6.1.1), or locational relationship semantics are embedded in the verb (as in 8.24b).

As noted in Section 4.4 above, much work is still to be done on the exact semantics of the prepositions, which is currently left up to further research.

8.3 Clause combining

Clause combining is the expression of some sort of connection between two adjacent clauses. This can be coordination, or the conjunction of two equal clauses (Section 8.3.1), or subordination/relativization, expressing an unequal relationship between two clauses (Sections 8.3.4, 8.3.4.1 and 8.3.5). Formally, in most cases some sort of linking element is placed between the two clauses, but there are also constructions where coordination is achieved solely by juxtaposition (see Section 8.3.3.1 and Section 8.3.5).

8.3.1 Clause-level Conjunction

Conjunction here means that two clauses, or predicates, are conjoined while both retain an equal syntactic and information structural status. Phrase-level conjunction was discussed in Section 4.1.1.1.

Clause-level conjunction is expressed in several different ways depending on the degree of connectedness between the clauses. In descending order of connectedness the following conjunction are used: *nge*, *ye*, and *yee*. There are additional ways to express some sort of connection between events on a discourse level, but these do not syntactically link two clauses together (e.g., they almost always occur at utterance borders). As is briefly shown in this section, the clause-level conjunctions can also be used in this discourse organizational manner, which I analyze as an extension of its function. All utterance-level linking and chaining strategies are discussed in Section 9.2.1 below.

Nge is used when two clauses are closely connected. Often this is when the two clauses are either happening simultaneously or in close sequence (8.25a), but can also express that the one follows from the other sequentially (8.25b), or a disjunctive connection between the two (8.25c).

(8.25) a. *Bwe ure nifegafe rebe mano shagiu **nge** rerige lago.*
bwe ure nifegafe re=be mano shagiu **nge** re=rige lago
INC dance evening 3PL=INC finish repeat **CONJ** 3PL=run go
'[They] would just dance in the evening, when they finished, they left right away.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-030-02-RemageNarrative, 12]

b. *Mano **nge** isa, mano seo mwai shagiu **nge** isa fefarage lago reli boti la waamem mekela…*
mano **nge** i=sa mano seo mwai shagiu **nge** i=sa RED-farage lago
finish **CONJ** 1SG=PFV finish rested long.time repeat CONJ 1SG=PFV PROG-walk go
re-li boti la waa-mem mel-ke-la
for-3SG.POSS boat MED POSS.CLF:VEHICLE-1PL.EXCL.POSS ANA-PL-MED
'Finished, then I…finished resting a little bit, then I walked to our boat…'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 27]

c. *…[I]sa gale gekebwate lago reere bwe rebwe gekashe lago taali **nge** mali re tarongerong…*
i=sa gale RED-gebwate lago re=re bwe re=bwe ge-kashe lago taali
1SG=PFV HAB PROG-shout go for=3PL SUB.CONN 3PL=INC CAUS-throw go rope
nge mali re=ta-rongerong
CONJ maybe 3PL=NEG-hear
'I tarted to shout to them, so they would throw a rope, but maybe they didn't hear…'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 16]

Ye expresses that there is some sort of connection between the two clauses, but not as close of a connection as with *nge*. Though it is not very frequent in the corpus, it always functions to express that one event occurs after the other finishes, though not necessarily in direct sequence.

This implies that in most cases the completion of the event or action in the first clause makes the start of the action or event in the second clause possible.

(8.26) a. *Yatowe resa gemalemale **ye** yeshitage gakirimwe we yaare.*
yatowe re=sa gemalemale **ye** ye=shitage ga-kirimwe we yaa-re
when 3PL=PVF prepare **CONJ** 3SG=start CAUS-race DEF POSS.CLF:GEN-3PL.POSS
'Then they were prepared [in order] to start their race.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-032-02-NeedlefishCrab, 24-6]

b. *Yerige **ye** yetore shape tewa lago iye melewe segale.*
ye=rige **ye** ye=tore shape tewa lago iye mele-we
3SG=run CONJ 3SG=FALL overturn cracked.open go 3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF
sega-le
stomach-3SG.POSS
'She ran, then she tripped, and her stomach burst open.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-030-02-RemageNarrative, 15]

As we will see with *yee*, *ye* can also occur at utterance borders (8.27). However, because (8.26a-b) show that it can also occur within an utterance, I analyze these as two separate functions, with the discourse organizational function discussed in Section 9.2.1 below.

(8.27) a. *Iwe yegale bwipitiwe Yaurepig bwitiwe pipi fetale yaremat.*
i-we ye=gale RED-bi-tiwe Yaurepig bwi-tiwe pipi fetale yaremat
ANA-DEF 3SG=HAB PROG-go-down Eauripik go-down watch around people
'So, he goes down to Eauripik, down to check on the people.'

b. ***Ye** yelago werire, famwe mene yegale fage fetale.*
ye ye=lago weri=re famwe mene ye=gale fage fetale
CONJ 3SG=GO see=3PL pregnant.woman FOC 3SG=HAB search around
'And he saw them, the pregnant woman that he was looking around for.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-2, 4-5]

The third clause-level conjunction is *yee*. This conjunction also indicates that an action or event happens after the previous one is complete, but usually implies a significant passage of time either for the completion of the initial action or event, or until the second one starts. In this function the semantics of *yee* are related to its use in sequential SVCs (see Section 8.1.2.2.2), but notably differ in their temporality: where *yee* in sequential SVCs indicates a direct sequence, its function as a clausal conjunction indicates a larger passage of time. Additionally, it emphasizes a certain resulting state from the completion of an action or event (8.28c).

As such, it functions as the emphatic/extended variant of *ye*. *Yee* is the most frequent clause-level conjunction found in the corpus, although this statistic might be slightly biased because of the amount of stories in it.

(8.28) a. *Sari tage, **yee** sukuule **yee** mano.*
saari tage **yee** sukuule **yee** mano
juvenile up **CONJ** school **CONJ** finish
'[I] grew up [on Eauripik], attended school [there], and finished.'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 2]

b. *Resa fage fetale **yee** relago.*
re=sa fage fetale **yee** re=lage
3PL=PFV search around **CONJ** 3PL=go
'They were looking around and then they went.'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 77]

c. *Resa magitoge gangi **yee** toare lago.*
re=sa magi-toge gangi **yee** toare lago
3PL=PFV go.together-come eat **CONJ** NEG.EXIST go
'They came and ate [him] until there was nothing left.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 140]

Yee is also used to indicate arrival at a destination. When it is used in this function, the destination is placed after *yee* and consists only of the phrase that expresses the place of destination, i.e., it does not require any words expressing the action of reaching it, with an optional preposition (8.29c).

(8.29) a. *Yesa lago yee Gemagileo.*
ye=sa lago yee Gemagileo
3SG=PFV go CONJ Gemagileo
'And then she went to Gemagileo.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-2, 16]

b. *Resa bitage yee wetabole iuliuwase.*
re=sa bi-tage yee wetabo-le Iuliuwase
3PL=PFV go-up CONJ tip-3SG.POSS eastern.end.of.island
'They went up to the tip of the eastern end of the island.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-2, 21]

c. *Resa lago yee woale ie faliuwe we.*
re=sa lago yee woa-le ie faliuwe we
3PL=PFV go CONJ on-3SG.POSS 3SG.EMPH island DEF
'They went onto the island.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 84]

Like with *ye*, *yee* can also occur on utterance borders, and I analyze this as an additional function in discourse organization. For further details on these functions, as well as detailed definitions of utterances, see Section 9.2.

8.3.2 Disjunction

Disjunction between two clauses is expressed using the connective *gare* 'or, if'. *Gare* can function as a connective both on the phrase and the clause level, as shown in (8.30a) and (8.30b-c), respectively.

(8.30) a. *Ikelale meka taite gare shuuge.*
i-ke-laale mel-ka tait gare shuuge
ANA-PL-DIST ANA-PL mountain or hill
'Those are mountains or hills.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-030-04-Directionals, 12]

b. *Sefasho ye wei giyobu gare wei fashe.*
se-fasho ye=wei giyobu gare wei faashe
one-CLF:LONG.RIGID 3SG=resemble spider.lily or resemble pineapple
'One thing that looks like a spider lily or pineapple.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-1, 5]

c. *Ye garawerawe gare ye marawe.*
ye=garawerawe gare ye=maarawe
3SG=blue.green or 3SG=green
'It's blue-green or green.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-077-LandscapeDesc-03-wooshe, 7]

Disjunctive linking in discourse organization, which uses a number of other particles, is discussed in Section 9.2.1.1 below.

8.3.3 Relative clauses

There are two ways to create relative clauses in Woleaian: Juxtapositional relative clauses, where a full clause is placed directly directly after a noun phrase, and relative clauses with the third person singular possessive suffix *-le* introducing the relative clause. For the latter, a phrase, frequently a verb (phrase), is indexed with the possessive suffix that introduces a reduced clause. The notable difference in form between the juxtapositional relative clauses and relative clauses introduced with *-le* is that in the former the relative clause is syntactically identical to a main clause, whereas in the latter the relative clause is syntactically reduced.

Both have the function to give additional information about a referent or action/event/state. Table 8.1 gives an abbreviated overview of the two constructions' forms and functions.

Construction	Form
Plain juxtaposition	noun phrase – (full) rel. clause
Juxtaposition with *-le* 3SG.POSS	(verb) phrase-*le* – reduced rel. clause

Table 8.1: Form of relative clause construction types.

8.3.3.1 Juxtapositional relative clauses

In the plain juxtaposition subordinate construction, a full or reduced clause is placed directly after the phrase that more information is given about, with no additional morphology. The subordinate clauses in (8.31a-c) are indicated with square brackets.

(8.31) a. *Tai bwale yore buleoiuga yebwe bulong me iyang.*
tai bwale yoore buleoiuga [ye=bwe bu-long me iyang]
NEG also EXIST place 3SG=INC go-in from there
'Also there wasn't a place where it could go in from.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 118]

b. *Resa butoge tiuwe longe woale ie melewe yeloge Welifomwar iyang.*
re=sa bu-toge tiwe longe woa-le ie mele-we [ye=loge Welifomwar
3PL=PVF go-come down in on-3SG.POSS 3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF 3SG=stay Welifomwar
iyang]
there
'They came and beached up on where Welifomwar was.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 94]

c. *Metale woshe nge ila peige yepeige long lenamwo.*
meta-le woshe nge i-la peige [ye=peige long lani-laamwo]
inside-3SG.POSS reef CONJ ANA-MED side 3SG=side in inside-lagoon
'The inside of the reef is the side where the lagoon is.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-077-LandscapeDesc-03-wooshe]

Referents that are given additional information are either already established referents and thus definite, or are made definite by the act of giving additional information. Therefore, very frequently the noun phrase that the subordinate phrase is juxtaposed to is marked with a determiner (e.g., 8.31a-b), although this is not obligatory (e.g., 8.31c). In cases where the relevant main clause argument is an emphatic pronoun, either a separate clause with an anaphor is created to host the subordinate clause, or the pronoun is marked with the focus marker *mene* FOC. The former is shown in (8.31b), where the emphatic third person singular pronoun *ie* is directly followed by, but obligatorily in a separate clause, the anaphor *melewe*, which is then followed by the subordinate clause. The latter is shown in (8.32b) below.

Formally the subordinate clause is a full verbal clause with pronominal indexing, but without an explicit subject argument. The pronominal indexing in this construction functions to link the subordinate clause to the argument in the main clause it is juxtaposed to. Lack of pronominal indexing would make the construction ungrammatical.

This construction most commonly occurs with third person singular referents, but can also occur with other referents:

(8.32) a. *Resa bale bitage gangalire shokawe reseogiu Felalepale Weleya.*
re=sa bale bi-tage gangali=re shoka we [re=seogiu Felalepa-le Weleya]
3PL=PFV also go-up tell=3PL people DEF 3PL=gathered Falalop-3SG.POSS Woleai
'They went out to tell the people that were gathered [at] Falalop of Woleai.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-2, 90]

b. *Yei gel mene gobwele tamole.*
yei gel mene [go=bele tamole]
INJ 2SG.EMPH FOC 2SG=INCEP chief
'Hey, you are the one that will be chief.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 71]

8.3.3.2 Relative clauses with *-le*

Subordinate constructions with the third person singular possessive suffix *-le* give additional information about the referent to which the possessive is attached. The suffix is attached to the verb in the main clause, and the subordinate clause follows directly after it. The subordinate clause can be either a nominal clause (8.33a-b), or a verbal clause (8.33c).

(8.33) a. ***Igiulale** yaale fale yeele, yaale mena mwalenepai.*
i=giula-le yaa-le fale yele yaa-le
1SG=know-3SG.POSS POSS.CLF:GEN-3SG.POSS mens.house PROX POSS.CLF:GEN-3SG.POSS
mel-la mwalenapa-i
ANA-MED uncle.maternal-1SG.POSS
'I know whose men's house this is; it's my uncle's.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-061-AtollPhotoDescriptions]

b. *Nge retai mate bwe resa chau, **chaule** ie bongile we sebongile.*
nge re=tai mate bwe re=sa chau **chau-le** ie bongile we
and 3PL=NEG wake SUB.CONN 3PL=PFV sleepy **sleepy-3SG.POSS** 3SG.EMPH night DEF
se-bong-le
one-night-3SG.POSS
'But they [the parents] didn't wake up because they were sleepy from the other night.'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 65]

c. ***Gachiule*** *iga gobele lago.*
gachiu-le iga go=bele lago
good-3SG.POSS when 2SG=INCEP go
'You should go (now).'

[Lenny Saumar, [ELICITED] fm6-049, 15]

Note that the relative clauses can be multiply-nested, as shown in (8.34). There are no examples of anything more than double nesting for this construction, although note that (8.34) does include an additional nominal possessive phrase in the second relative clause

(8.34) ***Manele libwagiline*** *mine gapitegile ie waawe nge yesa lago bulong, ie Maliupashe.*
[**mane-le** [**libwagili-le** [mine gapitegi-le ie waa-we]]] nge
finish-3SG.POSS hide-3SG.POSS for property-3SG.POSS 3SG.EMPH canoe-DEF CONJ
ye=sa lago bu-long ie Maliupashe
3PL=PFV go go-in 3SG.EMPH Maliupashe
'[He] finished hiding the stuff for the canoe and he came in, Maliupashe [did].'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 45]

8.3.4 Subordination

Woleaian has a dedicated subordinating connective marker, *bwe* SUB.CONN, which functions to introduce subordinate clauses. As with other subordinate clauses, argument indexing is allowed, as well as some variability in word order. *bwe* is usually, but not obligatorily, preceded by a verb phrase, which may contain either a verb by itself, or a verb with additional verbal particles. However, it is also possible for a noun phrase to precede *bwe*, as in (8.35c). The subordinate clauses with *bwe* express several types of (semantic) connection to the main clause: reason (8.35a), goal (8.35b), or, marginally, additional information (8.35c).

(8.35) a. *Yaafe lago yee, tamwel ibwe pwa* ***bwe*** *kaile gemase loa, niune.*
yaafe lago yee ta-mwele i=bwe pwa **bwe** kaile gemase loa niune
swim go and.so NEG-ABLE 1SG=inc surface **SUB.CONN** strong very wave bent
'I swam, I couldn't surface because the waves were very strong and barreling.'

[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 20]

b. *Gaparesaresa lago bwe gobe weri pangale.*
ga-paresaresa lago **bwe** go=be weri panga-le
CAUS-scatter go **SUB.CONN** 2SG=inc see all-3SG.POSS
'Spread them so that you can see them all.'

[Lenny Saumar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-3, 4]

c. *Ye wei grape nge bone **bwe** ye pashigeshige.*
ye=wei grape nge bone **bwe** ye=pashige-shige
3SG=resemble grape CONJ but **SUB.CONN** 3SG=small-REDUP
'It looks like grapes but they're small(er).'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-077-LandscapeDecs-03-wooshe, 8]

Additionally, subordinate clauses with *bwe* are used to introduce direct or indirect quotative speech when following a speech verb. Notably the frequent (semi-lexicalized) collocation *seoriu bwe* '(to) say that, think'.

(8.36) a. *Ye buwei **gangali bwe** meta yefore woale faliuwe la yaremat retai gale buputoge iyange?*
ye=bu-wei **gangali bwe** meta ye=fore woa-le faliuwe la yaremat
3SG=go-out **tell** **SUB.CONN** what 3SG=do on-3SG.POSS island this people
re=tai gale RED-bu-toge iyange
3PL=neg HAB PROG-go-come ANA-THERE
'It came out and said to him 'what is he doing on this island where people never come to?"
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-033-MaliupashStory, 11.1]

b. *Yebwe **seoriu bwe** ye masiure tai gefani lago yebwe gosha.*
ye=bwe **seoriu bwe** ye=masiure tai ge-fani lago ye=bwe gosha
3SG=inc **say** **SUB.CONN** 3SG=sleep NEG CAUS-watch.out go 3SG=INC haunt
'He thought that he was sleeping and didn't notice him to eat him.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-2, 56]

Syntactically, these constructions are identical to regular subordinate clauses with *bwe*, but their semantics have developed into a specific function – in the case of *seoriu bwe* of expressing thought.

8.3.4.1 Conditional Constructions with *gare* 'if, or'

A conditional construction, which functions to indicate that a certain action, event, or state is conditional on another, is formed with the particle *gare*. *Gare* is placed at the beginning of the clause. In many instances, where the condition is emphasized, this means that it occurs utterance-initially.

(8.37) a. ***Gare** gobe buwei liteti nge gobe seoriu bwe buwei.*
gare go=be bu-wei li=teti nge go=be seoriu bwe bu-wei
if 2SG=INC go-out in=sea CONJ 2SG=INC say SUB.CONN go-out
'If you go out to sea, you would say "go out."'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-030-04-Directionals, 5]

b. *Regale gogo reli wasiule liteti **gare** iga gola fita nge go wasiu.*
re=gale gogo reli wasiu-le li=teti **gare** iga gola fita nge go=wasiu
3PL=HAB use for lesion-3SG.POSS in=sea **if** when reach fish and 2SG=lesion
'They use (it) for water cuts if you get it when you go fishing.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-077-LandscapeDesc-02, 9]

c. *Weti wetile shagiu yatola ibwe shaule lago iyange, **gare** fare yafelonge yee yai gale bulonge shagiu siuri wooshe.*
weti weti-le shagiu yato-la i=bwe shaule lago iyange **gare**
wait wait-3SG.POSS repeat time-MED 1SG=INC sink go ANA-THERE **if**
fare yaafe longe yee yai gale bu-longe shagiu siuri wooshe
unexpectedly swim in CONJ INJ HAB go-in repeat stand.on reef
'Waiting on the time that I would sink, I started to swim in until I was standing on the reef.'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 24]

When *gare* occurs in a context where there is no explicitly expressed action-condition contrast, the construction functions to implore whether an action or event is generally possible, or if it takes place at a certain location. This function seems to occur only in indirect speech containing a question:

(8.38) a. *Resa butoge gasi fengani **gare** yeloge iya mena.*
re=sa butoge gasi fengani **gare** ye=loge iya mel la
3PL=PFV come gather REFL **if** 3SG=STAY where ANA-MED
'They started asking each other where the banana was.'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 93]

b. *Nge ie melewe fitiyale yesa mwalili wei **gare** yebe lago iya.*
nge ie mele-we fiti yaa-le ye=sa mwalili wei **gare**
and 3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF spouse POSS.CLF:GEN-3SG.POSS 3SG.PFV speak out **if**
ye=be lago iya
3SG=INC go where
'And then her husband starts asking her where she was going.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-2, 17]

Gare is also used in constructions that express alternatives, which are syntactically identical to conditional constructions, and thus only semantically disambiguated.

(8.39) a. *Ikelale meka taite **gare** shuuge.*
i-ke-laale mel-ka taite **gare** shuuge
ANA-PL-DIST ANA-PL mountain **or** hill
'Those are mountains or hills.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-030-04-Directionals, 12]

b. *Sefasho ye wei giyobu **gare** wei fashe.*
se-fasho ye=wei giyobu **gare** wei fashe
one-CLF:LONG.RIGID 3SG=resemble spider.lily **or** resemble pineapple
'[and] one spider lily or pineapple kind.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-1, 5]

8.3.5 Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses are the clauses that express information about a temporal relationship between clauses, the general temporality of a clause in the discourse context, or to give additional information about the context. There are two constructions that are mainly dedicated to explicitly expressing time, although, as is shown below, temporal information can also be conveyed using standard predicates. The two constructions are using *yato* 'time' plus a determiner, and a juxtapositional clause using the numeral *se-* 'one'. Constructions with *yato* plus a determiner are short clauses, only consisting of these two words, that are placed at before an active verb construction (8.40a) and placed after a stative verbal construction (8.40b), following regular word order patterns in the language (see Section 7.2). The determiner chosen depends on the context of the discourse, but is by far most frequently *we* DEF.

(8.40) a. *...Ila yatola resa fare butoge gawelimwa gemam.*
i-la yato-la re=sa fare butoge ga-welimwa gemam
ANA-MED time-MED 3PL=PVF unexpectedly come CAUS-greet 1PL.EXCL
'...At that time they came and greeted us.'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 35]

b. *Yesa kere yatowe.*
ye=sa kere yatowe
3SG=PFV satisfied when
'He was happy at that time.'
[Lenny Saumar, [ELICITED] fm6-046, 11]

These time clauses can also be stacked, as shown in (8.41):

(8.41) *Yatowe welimwale yatowe rebe shitage nge.*
yatowe weli=gomwu-le yatowe re=be shitage nge
at.that.time on=front-3SG.POSS when 3PL=INC start CONJ
'At the time before they would start.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-032-02-NeedlefishCrab, 31]

Note that this construction is different from regular clauses that contain information about the temporality of the discourse. The latter constructions are formed using regular predicative clauses, and thus feature verbal morphology and can be syntactically conjoined to the following clause, i.e., conjoined using a conjunction, rather than only being juxtaposed.

(8.42) a. *Yebonge, Garepale bonge nge ye bitage.*
ye=bonge garepa-le bonge nge ye bi-tage
3SG=night almost-3SG.POSS night CONJ CONJ go-up
'[It was] nighttime, almost nighttime and [then] she went [back].'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 11]

b. *Bitiw, yebong nge yebulong mo gapweshe fetale.*
bi-tiwe ye=bong nge ye=bu-long mo ga-beshe fetale
go-down 3SG=night and 3SG=go-in to CAUS-hot around
'…[He went] down, it was nighttime and he went in to cook around.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-2]

c. *Yesa loge yee taiuwate lago.*
ye=sa loge yee taiuwate lago
3SG=PVF stay and.then daytime go
'He stayed and then it was daytime.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-2, 57]

d. *Yesa taiuwate, bitage faso fengani woare, yeei.*
ye=sa taiuwate bi-tage faso fengani woa=re yeei
3SG=PVF daytime go-up call.smn REFL on=3PL INJ
'It was daytime, they started calling out to each other: "Hey,"'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-, 74]

Lastly, the juxtapositional clause using *se-* 'one' expresses contextual juxtaposition of one section time to another. This can be either the subsequent section, or an unspecified section other than the one previously relevant. The construction is formed as follows: *noun we* DEF *se-* 'one' *noun*/*we* DEF, with both nouns always being identical. (8.43a-b) show forms of this construction using a repeated noun, and (8.43c-d) show examples of the construction using the definite marker after the numeral.

(8.43) a. *Yee resa loge yee* ***rane we serane*** *rela buwei.*
yee re=sa loge yee **rane we se-rane** re=la bu wei
and.so 3PL=PFV stay and.so **day DEF one-day** 3PL=PFV2 go out
'And…[again] they stayed and then the next day they went out.'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 102]

b. *Nge retai mate bwe resa chau, chaule ie bongile we sebongile.*
nge re=tai mate bwe re=sa chau chau-le ie bongile we
and 3PL=NEG wake that 3PL=PFV sleepy sleepy-3SG.POSS 3SG.EMPH night DEF
se-bongile
one night
'But they [the parents] didn't wake up because they were sleepy, sleepy from the other night.'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 45]

c. *Yee ie **bongile we seewe** nge resa gangali bwe…*
yee ie **bongile we** **se-we** nge re=sa gangali bwe
and.so 3SG.EMPH **night** **DEF** **one-DEF** CONJ 3PL=PFV tell SUB.CONN
'And the next night they [the parents] told [her] that…'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 42]

d. *Melewe…**bongile we seewe** bale iwe shagiu.*
mele-we **bongile we** **se-we** bale i-we shagiu
ANA-DEF **night** **DEF** **one-DEF** also ANA-DEF repeat
'Uhh…the other night, the same thing happened.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-033-MaliupashStory, 5.4]

This construction is useable for other contexts of juxtaposition as well, in which case it is also possible to use other demonstratives (8.44b). This shows that this construction is not exclusively dedicated to the expression of temporality. However, in the corpus the vast majority of instances of this construction is used to indicate temporality.

(8.44) a. ***Woale faliuwe we seewe** yaremate retai gale mweshale lago yange bwe yeloge semaliu yaliuse.*
woa-le **faliuwe we** **se-we** yaremate re=tai gale mweshale lago yange
on-3SG.POSS **island** **DEF** **one-DEF** people 3PL=NEG HAB willing go there
bwe ye=loge se-maliu yaliuse
because 3SG=STAY one-CLF.ANIM spirit
'On the other island, people are unwilling to go there because of a ghost.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-033-MaliupashStory, 2.2]

b. *…[S]emaliu ye siutoge welimwale nge semaliu ye=siu me **peige la sepeige**.*
se-maliu ye=siu togo weli=gomwu-le nge se-maliu ye=siu
one-CLF.ANIM 3SG=stand come on front-3SG.POSS and one-CLF.ANIM
me **peige la** **se-peige**
3SG stand from **side** **MED** **one-side**
'…[O]ne stands in front and the other one stands on the other side.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-3, 11]

Chapter 9

Focus, Argument Structure and Discourse Organization

This chapter describes a number of ways in which clauses and discourse are shaped to foreground, background, link, and track arguments and clauses. There exists a large body of literature on information structure including topic and focus marking, and there are many ongoing debates about both the fundamental and specific interpretations and analytical frameworks for these subjects (Lambrecht 1994; Zubizarreta 1998; Krifka and Musan 2012). In fact, the study of information and its frameworks has been problematized as a cross-linguistically stable category (Matić and Wedgwood 2013; Ozerov 2018). Therefore, in discussing focus here, I use broad (and thus necessarily imprecise) labels for the elements and operations used in the structuring and management of information in discourse. Following Robert M. W. Dixon (2010, 174) and Payne (and references therein 1997, 267), I define focus as a pragmatically marked clause level operation wherein a single element of the clause is given prominence. I thus home in on what is distinguished as *narrow* (Ladd 2008, 214–215) or *constituent* (Payne 1997, 268) focus. That being said, the description of focus operations in this grammar provides only an initial glance into its complexity, and constitutes a surface-level analysis of focus constructions. The corpus currently does not provide enough data for an even cursory description of contrastive focus, and this is therefore left up to future research.

Similarly, the second half of this chapter, which covers discourse organizational strategies, i.e., the management of information at the level above clauses (discourse), gives a surface level, somewhat impressionistic overview of some of the prominent strategies encountered in the corpus, and should thus in no way be seen as exhaustive.

First, in Section 9.1, I will describe the clause-level focalization strategies that were very briefly discussed in Section 7.2. Then, I will describe a number of discourse-organizational strategies, such as clause linking (Section 9.2.1), argument tracking (Section 9.2.2), and finish the chapter by describing a few general aspects of discourse structure, and a few notes on quotative speech in

discourse (Section 9.2.3.4).

9.1 Word order and Focus

As discussed in Section 7.2, the dominant word order in Woleaian is subject-verb-object, though it has flexible word order. The main instances of variation in word order is due to the interaction of word order and information structure: Arguments and verbs can be moved around in order to foreground and/or background other elements of the clause. The general rule is that the first element, whether subject or object argument, or the action itself, is the most prominent/foregrounded element in that utterance. This means that in standard constructions, the subject argument is the most prominent element. However, if (additional) operations are applied to the sentence to either emphasize the subject argument in situ, or to foreground a different element of the utterance, e.g., by placing it at the beginning and/or explicitly marking it as prominent, we speak of focalization. To reiterate, a focused argument or verb phrase is one that is explicitly marked, either by syntax or morphology, to be the most prominent, important, or otherwise foregrounded element in that point of the discourse.

In addition focalization through word order, there is also the focus marker *mene*, which was discussed in Section 4.3.5 above. While *mene* is an exclusive diagnostic for a focus construction, other focalization strategies can be determined through a variety of factors, such as the aforementioned non-standard word order, anaphoric/cataphoric pronoun use, and definiteness. The following examples give an overview of the focalization strategies that affect word order found in Woleaian. Additionally, (9.1c) shows an additional strategy where multiple clauses are used to focalize the argument. This latter strategy is discussed in Section 9.1.4. Note that any description of a focus construction applied to a specific argument type, e.g., focalization of the subject/object argument, are used to describe the aforementioned focalization strategies of foregrounding and/or emphasizing an argument, rather than expressing voice-type focus constructions found in Western Austronesian languages.

(9.1) a. UNMARKED WORD ORDER
Mwale laale *yesiusape tangi waliuweoliu laale.*
mwale laale ye=siu-sape tangi waliuweoliu laale
man DIST 3SG=stand-face from plant DIST
'That man is facing away from that tree.'
[Ignatius Maluchelmar, fm6-081-ManAndtree-2, 7]

b. IN-SITU FOCUS CONSTRUCTION WITH MENE
*Nge ie yesa gangali ngo, **gange mene** isa liiye.*
nge ie ye=sa gangali ngo **gange** **mene** i=sa liiye
and 3SG.EMPH 3SG=PFV tell yes **1SG.EMPH FOC** 1SG=PFV kill
'And he [Maruwa] said "yes, it is I who killed [him]."'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 75]

c. CATAPHORIC PRONOUN FOCUS CONSTRUCTION
*Yemwalo tangi yaliuselape, **ie yaliuse we** bwe yete bwale gosha.*
ye=mwalo tangi yaliuselape **ie** **yaliuse we** bwe ye=te bwale
3SG=hide from big.ghost **3SG.EMPH spirit** **DEF** SUB.CONN 3SG=must.not also
gosha
eat
'He was hidden from [the] big ghost, the [aforementioned] ghost, so that he won't eat [him].'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-2, 68]

d. FRONTING FOCUS CONSTRUCTION
*Ye yelago werire, **famwe mene** yegale fage fetale.*
ye yelago werire **famwe** **mene** ye=gale fage fetale
and 3SG=go see=3PL **pregnant.woman** **FOC** 3SG=HAB search around
'And…he saw them, the pregnant woman is what he is looking around for.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-2, 5]

e. VERB PHRASE FRONTING FOCUS CONSTRUCTION
***Resa gale seoriu** ire reyaurepige, bwe seewe boo iye, yesa gamwatiti gemase.*
re=sa **gale seoriu** ire re=yaurepige bwe se-we boo iye ye=sa
3PL=PFV HAB say 3PL 3PL=Eauripik, SUB.CONN one-DEF smell 3SG.EMPH, 3SG=PFV
gamwatiti gemase
excellent very
'And the Eauripiki were saying that there was a scent that was very delicious.'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 49]

Thus, focalization is done either by fronting the focalized element, using determiners, or using the focus marker *mene*, or both. However, since the latter is part of the demonstrative paradigm and is as such restricted to applications in the nominal domain, and thus cannot be used to focalize verb phrases.

Determiners are very frequent in speech, and the use of different determiners will naturally move the argument further up the givenness hierarchy (see Gundel, Hedberg, and Zacharski 1993). Therefore, an argument that has a determiner will always be more definite and thus in focus than an argument without any determiner or one that is explicitly marked with the indefi-

nite *se-* 'one' plus a classifier. However, I analyze these as being the natural result of information structure and language processing, rather than being explicit focalization strategies, the former of which is tangentially discussed in Section 9.2 below.

This section aims to give a relatively detailed overview and description of the different types of focalization found in Woleaian, as well as some of their grammatical and information-structural restrictions. However, a detailed analysis and comparison of the exact differences in function and occurrences is currently beyond the scope of this project and will require further research. Although there is considerable overlap in the strategies that can be applied for focalization of the different elements, not each strategy is available for each of them. Therefore, the following sections each describe the different focalization strategies available to each element (that can be focalized), i.e., subject and object arguments, and the verb phrase, rather than being divided per focalization strategy.

9.1.1 Focalization of the subject argument

The focalization of the subject argument is both one of the easiest and one of the most difficult focalization strategy to detect in the language. It is the most difficult since in the standard word order the subject argument is clause-initial, and fronting thus cannot apply, or if it does it is invisible. However, because of this, focalization of the subject argument must be emphasized either by the use of the focus marker, or through some multi-clausal construction with an emphatic pronoun, either a cleft construction or a more simple juxtaposition of the emphatic pronoun and the noun phrase. While the latter construction is not necessarily restricted to utterance-initial position, or focalization of the subject/object (see, for example 9.1c, where it is used as part of a verb phrase focus construction), if it is applied to the utterance's subject, then it will occur utterance-initially, making it easy to detect. Example (9.2a) shows a regular word order construction where both subject and object are definite and there are no explicit focalization strategies. Example (9.2b) shows subject focalization with the focus marker *mene*, as well as in this instance an emphatic pronoun. Finally, example (9.2c) shows the anaphoric use of an emphatic pronoun plus an optional determiner as a focus construction.

(9.2) a. ***Mwale we*** *yekemwashiu yaale ira.*
mwale we ye=kemwashiu yaa-le iira
man DEF 3SG=hold POSS.CLF:GEN-3SG.POSS stick
'The man is holding his stick.'
[Ignatius Maluchelmar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-2, 42]

b. *Iwe* ***geele mene*** *gobele tamole...*
i-we **geele** **mene** go=bele tamole
ANA-DEF **2SG.EMPH FOC** 2SG=INCEP chief
"'Then you are going to be the chief"...'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-2, 89]

c. *Nge **ie we** yesa butoge pipiye fetalei.*
nge **ie** **we** ye=sa butoge pipiye fetale=i
and 3SG.EMPH DEF 3SG=PFV come watch around=TRR
'And it was him [the ghost] that came and looked around [for Ngiringireyou].'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-2, 78]

Though I do not hypothesize that all standard word order are subject-focused, I do hypothesize that the subject argument will naturally be more prominent due to its position in the clause, given that both subject and object are equally given in the discourse.

9.1.2 Focalization of the object argument

As with focalization of the subject, there are in-situ and movement strategies to focalize the object argument. Contrary to the subject focalization, however, is that focalization by fronting the argument is always visible (or at least determinable from context), making this a viable focus strategy. Perhaps because of this, the use of the focus marker *mene* to focalize object arguments is much less frequent than for subject arguments. Additionally, the focalized argument is much more frequently an anaphor rather than a noun. This is most likely the result of the argument already being present in the discourse and foregrounded, rather than a feature of the fronting strategy itself. Additionally, although it is grammatically possible, there are no examples of an explicit object argument that is in situ and marked with the focus marker. Instead, either the argument is implicit or relativized, as in (9.3c), or the argument does not remain in situ.

(9.3) a. *Reloge Siting.*
re=loge Siting
3PL=stay Siting
'They lived on Siting.'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 5]

b. *Ibe gangaluge nge geele gosa fagili **mene** ibe seoriu.*
i=be ngalu=ge nge geele go=sa fage-yegili **mene** i=be seoriu
1SG=INC show=2SG CONJ 2SG.EMPH 2SG=PFV search-VBLZR **FOC** 1SG=INC say
'I will say it and you find what I will describe.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-1, 2]

c. *...[B]we mali refare gekaweri ngali wooshe,* ***ila mene*** *isa gale tagari.*
bwe mali re=fare RED-ka-weri ngali wooshe **i-la** **mene**
SUB.CONN maybe 3PL=unexpectedly PROG-CAUS-see to reef **ANA-MED FOC**
i=sa gale tagari
1SG=PFV HAB follow
'...[B]ecause maybe they were flashing [the light] to the reef, and that's what I was following.'

[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 22]

However, it is still possible to apply the *mene* even when the object argument is fronted (as noted above often as an anaphor), as shown in the following example:

(9.4) *...ila mene igale yeyefagili lago.*
i-la **mene** i=gale RED-yefagili lago
ANA-MED FOC 1SG=HAB RED-hold.on go
'...that's what I was holding on to.'

[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 18]

As with the subject, it is also possible to have multi-clausal focus constructions, which involve either an anaphor (9.5a), an emphatic pronoun (9.5b), or both (9.5c). In fact, this strategy seems to be the preferred in-situ focalization strategy for object arguments, and thus occurs relatively frequently.

(9.5) a. *Nge resa gashepa lago* ***ie waawe waare****.*
nge re=sa ga-shepa lago **ie** **waa=we**
CONJ 3PL=PFV CAUS-overturn go **3SG.EMPH** **canoe**=DEF
waa-re
POSS.CLF:VEHICLE-3PL.POSS
'And they flipped over their canoe.'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 92]

b. *Buwei yee torofi* ***melewe laiure*** *nge re gasi long.*
bu-wei yee torofi **mele-we** **lai-re** nge re=gasi long
go-out CONJ catch **ANA-DEF** **offspring-3PL.POSS** and 3PL=grab in
'[They] went out and...[they] hugged their daughter and brought [her] in.'

[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 35]

c. *...litabole yalo nge resa fori* ***ie melewe mwerale****...*
litabole yalo nge re=sa fori **ie** **mele-we** **mwera-le**
after sun CONJ 3PL=PFV make **3SG.EMPH** **ANA-DEF** **lei-3SG.POSS**
'...[In the] afternoon, the mom made her the lei...'

[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 18]

Thus, both the focalization of subject and object arguments mostly share the same set of strategies, there are differing preferences in how they are applied to the arguments: Single-clause fronting without a focus marker is not applied to subject arguments since they are most commonly placed as the first constituent already, but is possible for object constituents. However, even for object arguments this is the least frequently found focalization construction, with the exception of question constructions (see Section 7.6.2.1 as well as Griffin 2024) . The other two strategies, focus marking with *mene* and multi-clausal focalization using emphatic pronouns and/or anaphora, are used for both argument types, with multi-clausal focalization being the most prominent construction (discussed in Section 9.1.4 below).

9.1.3 Focalization of the Action

The third type of focalizable constituent is the verb phrase. Since this is a non-nominal constituent, it is no surprise that foregrounding and/or focalization of this constituent is at least somewhat different from focalization of nominal arguments. Of the focalization strategies described above, only the fronting is available to verbal constituents. The construction is created as follows: A pronominally indexed verb phrase is placed at the beginning of the sentence, followed by an emphatic pronoun, which is then followed by the subject argument noun phrase.

Since there is a general tendency for transitive sentences to have only a single explicit (nominal) argument, there are no examples of this construction in a bivalent construction with explicit subject and object arguments. This means that the simple disambiguation of the verb phrase focus construction and the (much more frequent) implicit subject argument construction is not applicable.

Besides disambiguation through context (such as in 9.6c), disambiguation can be done through the presence of additional phrase markers, such as a relative clause marker (shown in 9.1e above), or oblique arguments such as prepositional phrases (9.6d). Note that the latter two can of course also occur in intransitive clauses, but a combination of the explicit argument present and its placement, the discourse context, and the placement of relative clause marker *bwe* or the preposition together is enough for disambiguation of all instances of this construction in the corpus.

(9.6) a. *…[Y]esa wole ie melewe fitiyale bwe yesa mase.*

ye=sa wole ie mele-we fiti-yaa-le bwe ye=sa
3SG=PFV lie 3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF spouse-POSS.CLF:GEN-3SG.POSS because 3SG=PFV
mase
die
'…[T]he wife was laying down because she was dead.'

[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 106]

b. *Yesa mase lago ie shobute we.*
ye=sa mase lago ie shobute we
3SG=PFV die go 3SG.EMPH woman DEF
'The woman died.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 86]

c. *Tai siulai nge yesa mwalili tiwe iye Mesapali.*
tai siulai nge ye=sa mwalili tiwe iye Mesapali
NEG long.time CONJ 3SG=PFV speak down 3SG.EMPH Mesapali
'It wasn't long and Mesapali was talking down [to them].'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-2, 25]

d. *Nge yela teotage ie maliupashe we me lani ie sugesugule tame we nge yesa gale seoriu.*
nge ye=la teo-tage ie maliupash we me lani ie
and 3SG=PFV2 climb-up 3SG.EMPH Maliupash DEF from in 3SG.EMPH
sugesuge-le tame we nge ye=sa gale seoriu
sugesuge-3SG.POSS outrigger.float DEF CONJ 3SG=PFV HAB say
'And Maliupashe climbed out of the sugesugu of the outrigger, and he started saying:'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 18]

Of course, in cases where there is no explicit subject argument, the position of the verb phrase is sentence-initial, meaning that there is no way to apply fronting (or rather fronting would have no effect). Therefore, as implied above, this construction is restricted to sentences with an explicit subject argument.

9.1.3.1 Focalization of actions, states, and events as nominal arguments

An additional strategy available for words that usually appear in a verbal position is the use of the third person possessive suffix *-le*, meaning these words now appear as part of a noun phrase. This construction's primary purpose is to give additional information about an action, state, or event through subordination (see Section 8.3.3.2). I emphasize here that I do not analyze this as focalization of a verb phrase, since the presence of a possessive suffix precludes it from being such. Rather, I analyze these as nominal constructions that are applied to words that most frequently occur in verbal position, and thus presumably express an action, state, or event, whose primary function is to introduce a subordinate clause. This nominal clause, however, can be fronted as well to additionally focalize the constituent:

(9.7) a. ***Weti wetile*** *shagiu yatola ibwe shaule lago iyange, gare fare yafelonge yee yai gale bulonge shagiu siuri wooshe.*
weti weti-le shagiu yato-la i=bwe shaule lago iyange gare
wait wait-3SG.POSS repeat time-MED 1SG=INC sink go ANA-there if
fare yaafe-longe yee yai gale bu-longe shagiu siuri wooshe
unexpectedly swim-in and.so INJ HAB go-in repeat stand.on reef
'Waiting on the time that I would sink, I started to swim in until, oh!, I was standing on the reef.'

[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 24]

b. ***Manele libwagiline*** *mine gapitegile ie waawe nge yesa lago bulong, ie Maliupashe.*
mane-le libwagili-le mine gapitegi-le ie waa-we nge
finish-3SG.POSS hide-3SG.POSS for property-3SG.POSS 3SG.EMPH canoe-DEF CONJ
ye=sa lago bu-long ie Maliupashe
3PL=PFV go go-in 3SG.EMPH Maliupashe
'[He] finished hiding the stuff for the canoe and he came in, Maliupashe [did].'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 45]

As shown in (9.8a), this construction can be distinguished from a series of verbal clauses pronominally unindexed by the presence of pronominal indexing on the verb phrase immediately following the focalized phrase. Conversely, in a series of verbal clauses (without focalization), pronominal indexing would be expected either on the first verb phrase, or on none of them (see Section 9.2.1). Additionally, this focus construction is restricted to constituents that are directly possessed with *-le*, and excludes non-subordinating possession using the possessive classifier *yaa-* (see Section 7.5.4).

Since, as noted, in this construction the focalized constituent is not pronominally indexed, it is distinguishable from non-focalized construction with subordinating *-le*. This contrast is especially clear in situations where the non-focalized constituent appears sentence-initially, such as some of the examples discussed in Section 8.3.3.2 above (repeated in 9.8a-b).

(9.8) a. ***Igiulale*** *yaale fale yeele, yaale mena mwalenepai.*
i=giula-le yaa-le fale yele yaa-le
1SG=know-3SG.POSS POSS.CLF:GEN-3SG.POSS mens.house PROX POSS.CLF:GEN-3SG.POSS
mel-la mwalenapa-i
ANA-MED uncle.maternal-1SG.POSS
'I know whose men's house this is; it's my uncle's.'

[Lenny Saumar, fm6-061-AtollPhotoDescriptions]

b. *Nge retai mate bwe resa chau,* ***chaule*** *ie bongile we sebongile.*
nge re=tai mate bwe re=sa chau **chau-le** ie bongile we
and 3PL=NEG wake SUB.CONN 3PL=PFV sleepy **sleepy-3SG.POSS** 3SG.EMPH night DEF
se-bong-le
one-night-3SG.POSS
'But they [the parents] didn't wake up because they were sleepy from the other night.'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 65]

Since the presence of the possessive suffix *-le* indicates a nominal phrase, the fronting or focalization of these phrases functions essentially the same as other nominal arguments. The major difference, however, is that these phrases in-situ have the option to be pronominally indexed. This makes the distinction between a nominal and verbal phrase vaguer, especially considering the interactions between movement and permissibility of pronominal indexing. Thus, this serves as another example of the fuzzy boundary between the nominal and verbal domains in Woleaian.

9.1.4 Multi-clausal focus constructions

At this point, we have seen a number of examples of multi-clausal focus constructions, as they are strategies for focalizing subject and object arguments, as well as being part of the verb phrase focus construction.

The basic features of a multi-clausal focus construction are that it consists of at least two juxtaposed nominal clauses that refer to the same argument, the first clause contains an emphatic pronoun, and that these clauses are located in the expected position for said argument. The second clause contains an explicit nominal expression of the referent, optionally but often preceded by an anaphor linking the two clauses together. Since a focused argument is necessarily definite (see Gundel, Hedberg, and Zacharski 1993), the argument in the clause following the emphatic pronoun always requires some sort of indication of definiteness. This can be either marked directly on the noun (9.9a), or on the anaphor (9.9b). In the latter case, the anaphor is used to host the demonstrative since the noun already has a possessive marker. Due to the general dispreference of morphology stacking in Woleaian, the anaphor is thus placed before the noun phrase, creating a tri-phrasal construction. There are no instances in the corpus of this construction where an anaphor is present and the noun phrase remains bare.

(9.9) a. *...[Y]esa woawoa tage* ***ie tapegau kawe****.*
ye=sa woawoa tage **ie** **tapegau ka-we**
3SG=PFV stacked up **3SG.EMPH mat** **PL=DEF**
'...[T]he mats were stacked.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 129]

b. *Gapweshe gapweshe **ie mekawe gelare** yee…*
ga-beshe ga-beshe **ie** **mel-ka-we** **gela-re** yee
CAUS-hot CAUS-hot 3SG.EMPH **ANA-PL-DEF** **food-3PL.POSS** CONJ
'[He] grilled and grilled their food and…'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-2, 35]

An alternative strategy for including a possessed referent without the use of the anaphor is through the use of a clause containing a possessive classifier that follows the phrase containing the nominal argument and a demonstrative. This again results in a tri-phrasal construction:

(9.10) *Yesa butoge gasi **ie iuwe we yaare**, yesa gasi longe nifale.*
ye=sa butoge gasi **ie** **iuwe we** **yaa-re** ye=sa gasi longe
3SG=PFV come grab **3SG.EMPH sail** **DEF POSS.CLF:GEN-3PL.POSS** 3SG=PFV grab in
ni=fale
in=mens.house
'He came and grabbed their sail and took it into the men's house.'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 40]

9.2 Discourse Organization

This section describes a number of features that occur above the clausal level. That is to say, these are features relevant to the organization of clauses and the information they contain within discourse. Features discussed in this section include the linking and chaining of clauses (Section 9.2.1), the tracking of arguments through discourse (Section 9.2.2), and a few notes on general discourse structure and storytelling devices (Section 9.2.3).

The majority of the strategies discussed here concern utterance-level processes. Utterances here are defined as intonation units that correspond to intonation patterns (see Section 2.4 above) and are bordered by pauses on either side. These units have been shown to be a naturalistic unit in discourse (see e.g., Lieberman 1968; Chafe 1987; Schuetze-Coburn, Shapley, and Weber 1991; Chafe 1993; Vaissière 2005; Croft 2007; Fuchs and Rochet-Capellan 2021). The division of recordings into intonation units was made with Lenny Saumar when finding natural-feeling units in the segmentation process. All recordings of naturalistic speech in the corpus were segmented according to this unit size, and transcribers were trained and instructed to change segmentation borders to fit a natural-feeling unit in their language (which very rarely diverged from intonation units). As such, each individual line in an interlinear example throughout this grammar maximally represents one intonation unit.

9.2.1 Linking and chaining

This section discusses the linking and chaining on the discourse level, meaning the chaining of entire utterances rather than clauses. Coordination on the clause-level was discussed in Section 8.3 above. Utterances can be linked with anaphora, emphatic pronouns, possessive suffixes, the discourse organizing particles *iwe* and *ila*, and the conjunctions *ye*, *yee*, and *nge*. All of these elements also operate in some other part of the grammar, but have distinct functions in connecting utterances that are explained in this section. Another, more marginal, way to link utterances is through the use of recapitulative linkage, where the first word of the second utterance is the same as the last word of the first utterance.

Linkages can be split up into two groups: those where the linking element is in the first utterance, and those where the linking element is in the second utterance. In the former group, the linking element is placed at the right edge of the utterance, and, conversely, in the second group the linking element is placed at the left edge. Table 9.1 shows which linking element belongs to which group:

First utterance linkage	anaphora emphatic pronouns possessive suffixes conjunctions
Second utterance linkage	particles recapitulative linkage conjunctions

Table 9.1: Types of utterance linking strategies

The simplest way to link utterances in discourse is through one conjunctions *yee*, *ye*, and *nge*. The main function of these conjunctions is to link clauses (see Section 8.3.1), but they can also be used as organizational tools in discourse. The conjunction is most frequently placed at the end of an utterance, but can also be placed at the start.

(9.11) a. *Gaisa bitiwe, terage tiwe, ye kaile loa, gai tage loa tiwe **yee**.*
gai=sa bi-tiwe teragi tiwe ye=kaile loa gai=tage loa tiwe **yee**
1PL.EXCL=PFV go-down sail down 3SG=strong wave 1PL.EXCL=up wave down **CONJ**
'We went down, going down, the waves were strong, we rode on the waves, and'

b. *Mali yengawe yamem misil, yeliute tage…*
mali ye=ngawe yaa-mem misil ye=liute tage
maybe 3SG=bad POSS.CLF:GEN-1PL.EXCL.POSS engine 3SG=jump up
'Maybe our engine was broken, [because] it came off [the boat]…'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 13-4]

(9.12) a. *Iwe nge yesa gale gangali bwe laiu nge gosa bitage rei Siting.*
i-we nge ye=sa gale gangali bwe laiu nge go=sa bi-tage
ANA-DEF CONJ 3SG=PFV HAB tell that tomorrow CONJ 2SG.A=PFV go-up
re-i Siting
to-1SG.POSS Siting
'And he starts telling [her] "Tomorrow you have to come up to me [in] Siting."'

b. ***Ye** ie famwe we yesa gamwele fetale iwe rane we serane nge.*
ye ie famwe we ye=sa ga-mwele fetale i-we rane we
CONJ 3SG.EMPH pregnant.woman DEF 3SG=PFV CAUS-good around ANA-DEF day DEF
se-rane nge
one-CLF:DAY CONJ
'And so the pregnant woman starts preparing, and the next day…'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-2, 7-8]

(9.13) a. *Yesa butoge yariuwe lago **nge**.*
ye=sa butoge yariuwe lago **nge**
3SG=PFV come stir go **CONJ**
'He came, stirred it, and'

b. *Resa butoge fitege me ie Ngifatale.*
re=sa butoge fitege me ie Ngifatale
3PL=PFV come fight and 3SG.EMPH Ngifatale
'They came and fought with Ngifatale.'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 38-9]

A sequence of more than two utterances can be chained, as shown in (9.14). This is the only linking strategy where I have found more than two chained utterances.

(9.14) a. *Bitage yee Iuliti.*
bi-tage yee Iuliti
go-up and.so Ulithi
'They went up to Ulithi.'

b. ***Nge** bale siu fetale yaliuse lani toure **nge**.*
nge bale siu fetale yaliuse lani toure **nge**
CONJ also stand around spirit in channel **CONJ**
'And also a ghost was standing around in the channel and…'

c. *Yegale seoriu bwe toare tourale faliuwe we.*
ye=gale seoriu bwe toare toure-le faliuwe we
3SG=HAB say SUB.CONN NEG.EXIST channel-3SG.POSS island DEF
'He was saying that there is no channel of this island.'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 113-5]

Although related to argument tracking, I will discuss the use of anaphora, or more specifically, cataphora, and pronouns as clause linking devices separately here. In this strategy, the anaphor *mel-* is placed at the end of a clause, which refers to the explicit nominal argument that is placed at the start of the following utterance. The anaphor thus cataphorically links the following utterance.

(9.15) a. *Yei tapunge tage shagiu yesa bitage gopiye ie **melewe**.*
yei tapunge tage shagiu ye=sa bi-tage gopii-iye ie **mele-we**
INJ suddenly up repeat 3SG=PFV go-up cut-TRR 3SG.EMPH **ANA-DEF**
'Oh! All of a sudden he got up and cut it.'

b. ***Gurugure we**, gopi tiwe gopi tiwe yee…*
gurugure we gopii tiwe gopii tiwe yee
citrus **DEF** cut down cut down and.so
'The orange tree, cut down, cut down, and…'

[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 105-6]

(9.16) a. *Resa butoge gasi fengani gare yeloge iya **mena**.*
re=sa butoge gasi fengani gare ye=loge iya **mel-la**
3PL=PFV come gather REFL if 3SG=stay where **ANA-MED**
'They started asking each other where it was.'

b. ***Umule wiishe laale** nge retagiule buleoiuga yelago iyang melewe.*
umu-le **wiishe laale** nge re=ta-giule buleoiuga ye=lago i-yang
bunch-3SG.POSS banana DIST CONJ 3PL=NEG-know place 3SG=go ANA-there
mele-we
ANA-DEF
'That bunch of bananas, they don't know where it went.'

[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 93-4]

(9.17) a. *Yesa loge yee nge gaingali, yesa lago reli ie **mekawe**.*
ye=sa loge yee nge gangali ye=sa lago reli ie **mel-ka-we**
3SG=PFV stay and.so CONJ tell 3SG=PFV go for 3SG.EMPH **ANA-PL-DEF**
'He stayed and…said…he stayed and he went to them.'

b. ***Refamwa** bwe, rebwele magiwei shiule…*
re=famwa bwe re=bwele magi-wei shiule
3PL=adopter because 3PL=INCEP go.together-out still
'[To] the adopters, they would just go out…'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 42-3]

(9.18) a. *Gasire longe **mekawe**.*
gasi=re longe **mel-ka-we**
grab=3PL in **ANA-PL-DEF**
'Brought them in.'

b. ***Shoale ie waawe** resa bulong loge fetale.*
shoa-le **ie** **waa-we** re=sa bu long loge fetale
person-3SG.POSS **3SG.EMPH** canoe-DEF 3PL=PFV go-in stay around
'People on the canoe, they went in and stayed around.'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 162-3]

As (9.16) shows, it is not required for the determiner in the linked clause to exactly match the determiner in the noun phrase. However, the type of determiner must match, i.e., a definite marker must co-occur with another definite marker, and a demonstrative determiner must co-occur with another demonstrative. Additionally, as shown in (9.17), the linking element must always have a determiner even if the noun phrase does not have one. Lastly, the anaphor and the noun phrase must match in number, shown in (9.17) and (9.18). Novel referents in the discourse cannot be introduced this way, as the noun phrase must always be definite, either through the use of the determiners (9.15-9.16), or pronominal indexing (9.17).

A similar strategy to link utterances is through the use of the emphatic pronoun in the same utterance-final position as the anaphor in cataphoric linking. Since determiners cannot modify the emphatic pronoun, these are not required for the linking element in this construction.

(9.19) a. *Resa loge woale Siting yee ie rane we serane nge iye.*
re=sa loge woa-le Siting yee ie rane we se-rane nge
3PL=PFV stay on-3SG.POSS Siting and.so 3SG.EMPH day DEF one-CLF:DAY CONJ
iye
3SG.EMPH
'They stayed on Siting and the next day she…'

b. *Shobute we laiule yesa seoriu bwe yebe bitiwe mo Yaurepige.*
shobute we lai-le ye=sa seoriu bwe ye=be bi-tiwe mo Yaurepige
woman DEF child-3SG.POSS 3SG=PFV say that 3SG=INC go-down to Eauripik
'The daughter said that she would be going to Eauripik.'

[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 7-8]

(9.20) a. *Taai yore yaremetale Mwetange bwe resa reotiu lago, yesa **ire** shagiu.*
taai yoore yaremate-le Mwetange bwe re=sa reotiu lago ye=sa
NEG.DUR exist people-3SG.POSS Mwetange because 3PL=PFV no.more go 3SG=PFV
ire shagiu
3PL.EMPH repeat
'There were no more people on Mwetange, because they're no more, it was only them.'

b. *Ie Maruwa me mekawe refamwa…*
ie Maruwa me mel-ka-we re=famwa
3SG.EMPH Maruwa and ANA-DEM.PL-DEF 3PL=adopter
'Maruwa and his godparents…'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 26-7]

Recapitulative linkage is a relatively peripheral linking strategy in Woleaian, which only occurs for verb phrases. In this strategy, the first utterance must end with a verb phrase, and the second utterance must start with one. The verb in both phrases must be identical, thus creating the linkage. As shown in (9.22) and (9.23) it is also possible for the entire verb phrase to be copied, but this is not obligatory.

(9.21) a. *Nge mano, nge iye yesa gale gasiya.*
nge mano nge iye ye=sa gale gasiya
CONJ finish CONJ 3SG.EMPH 3SG=PFV HAB ask
'And he finished, and he (Ngifatale) asks [Maruwa].'

b. *Gasiya, minale meta ie umwe la.*
gasiya mine-le meta ie umwe la
ask for-3SG.POSS what 3SG.EMPH oven MED
'Asks, "what is the oven for?"'

Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 33-4]

(9.22) a. *…[I]sa tabei fangoshe isa gale yafe lago yee.*
i=sa tabe=i fangoshe i=sa gale yaafe lago yee
1SG=PFV join=TRR current 1SG=PFV HAB swim go and.so
'…I started drifting with the current, swimming.'

b. *Yaafe lago yee, tamwel ibwe pwa bwe kaile gemase loa, niune.*
yaafe lago yee ta-mwele i=bwe pwa bwe kaile gemase loa niune
swim go and.so NEG-able 1SG=INC surface because strong very wave bent
'I swam, I couldn't surface because the waves were very strong and barreling.'

[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 19-20]

(9.23) a. *Bwe bitage Fais.*
bwe bi-tage Fais
and.so go-up Fais
'And so they went up to Fais.'

b. *Bitage yee Fais nge tai bwale mwele bulong waawe bwe.*
bi-tage yee Fais nge tai bwale mwele bu long waa we bwe
go-up and.so Fais and NEG also able go in canoe DEF SUB.CONN
'Went up to Fais, and their canoe also couldn't go in.'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 116-7]

The most peripheral method of chaining is through the use of possessive markers on the initial word of the second utterance. Due to its relative rarity the exact syntactic properties of this strategy cannot be ascertained, and it could perhaps be subsumed under recapitulative linkage entirely.

(9.24) a. *Yeei gang Juanita ibele fiyangowe seewe fiyango.*
yeei gaangi Juanita i=bele fiyangowe se-we fiyango
hey 1SG.EMPH Juanita 1SG=INCEP tell.story one-DEF story
'Hey I am Juanita, I am going to tell a story.'

b. *Fiyangole Yaurepige.*
fiyango-le Yaurepige
story-3SG.POSS Eauripik
'A story of Eauripik.'

[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 1-2]

Linking utterances is quite common in discourse, although nowhere near obligatory. As an example, I took a subset of the corpus consisting of three recordings, and analyzed each utterance for evidence of linking. In total, these recordings consisted of of 307 utterances. In these utterances, 49% are verb phrases, and 12% are nominal phrases, 17% are conjunctions, 7% are anaphora, and all other elements account for just under 2%. The remaining 13% are one-word or one-phrase utterances and will be discounted here. We will now look at the noun phrase-initial utterances to demonstrate. Since it is unlikely for an (utterance-initial) indefinite and/or novel argument to be linked to a previous utterance, we can disregard them, a total of 7. Of our remaining sample of 26 utterances, only 3 represent recapitulative linkage. However, 18 of these noun-initial utterances have a direct reference linking the noun to the previous utterance. This linkage is most often an anaphor (9.15-9.18) or a pronoun (9.19-9.20), but there are also a few instances of possession functioning as the linking element (9.24). Of the remaining five, three are directly preceded by a conjunction or relative clause marker in the preceding utterance, or they are one of the core arguments of the closest preceding verbs in the preceding utterance. This means that there are only 2 instances of utterance-initial noun phrases featuring previously established arguments that cannot be directly linked to the preceding clause in this sample.

9.2.1.1 Disjunctive linking

In contrast to the type of utterance linking described thus far, disjunctive linking indicates that the content of the following utterance is *not* immediately linked in the sequence of actions/events that occurred in the previous utterance(s), or rather that it markedly distinguishes itself from that sequence. This can mean that the focus of the discourse shifts, for example to another person within the same context, or to indicate that the previous sequence of events has concluded, and that the following discourse now continues temporally (as the result or resolution of the previous actions/events or not). In other words, it marks the division of one sequence of actions/events to another that, although they may be related in the scope of the entire story, are not directly part of the same context.

The main disjunctive linking element used is *iwe*, which consists of the anaphor *i-* ANA and the definite determiner *we* DEF, but is treated as a single marker here (its functions as an anaphor are discussed in Section 4.3.3 above).

(9.25) a. *Maliupash iwe semaliu mwale chiile.*
Maliupash i-we se-maliu mwale chiile
Maliupash ANA-DEF one-CLF:ANIM man small
'Maliupash is a small man.'

b. *Semaliu shokawe yegale kangiushengiushe.*
se-maliu shoka we ye=gale kangiushengiushe
one-CLF:ANIM people DEF 3SG.A=HAB annoying
'A guy that annoys people.'

c. ***Iwe**, woale faliuwe itale Yaurepig yeloge sewe yaliutale itale Weewe.*
iwe woa-le faliuwe ita-le Yaurepig ye=loge se-we
so on-3SG.POSS land name-3SG.POSS Eauripik 3SG=stay one-CLF:GEN
yaliuta-le ita-le Weewe
uninhabited.island-3SG.POSS name-3SG.POSS Weewe
'So, there is an island named Eauripik, on the island there is an island named Weewe.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-033-MaliupashStory, 1.2-2.1]

(9.26) a. *Yaafe lago yee, tamwel ibwe pwa bwe kaile gemase loa, niune.*
yaafe lago yee ta- mwele i=bwe pwa bwe kaile gemase loa niune
swim go CONJ NEG-able 1SG=INC surface because strong very wave bent
'I swam, I couldn't surface because the waves were very strong and barreling.'

b. ***Iwe** mene isa gale fori tapiwe ibwe gale bitage shagiu pwa.*
iwe mene i=sa gale fori tapi-we i=bwe gale bi-tage shagiu pwa
so FOC 1SG=PFV HAB make kind-DEF 1SG=INC HAB go-up repeat surface
'So what I did was I would go up to surface.'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 20-1]

While *ila* by itself also functions in a similar realm, it seems that it indicates a more direct link to the previous story topic in that it indicates the direct conclusion of the previous set of actions/events, summarizes the previous section, or that it puts into focus a newly introduced topic.

(9.27) a. *Gai pipiye seewe male reshupiung ila, yebwe gashiyoa lago me lani langi nge gaisa seoriu bwe sibwe gashepa lago waa ye.*
gai pipiye seewe male reshupiung i-la ye=bwe gashiyoa lago me lani langi
2PL watch one thing dark ANA-MED 3SG=INC extend go and in typhoon
nge gai=sa seoriu bwe si=bwe ga-shepa lago waa ye
and 1PL.EXCL=PFV say SUB.CONN 1PL.INCL INC CAUS-overturn go vehicle

CONJ
"'You look for a dark [thing] that is going across the sky, and tell me so that we can flip the canoe, and"'

b. *Waashe.*
waa-she
canoe-1PL.INCL.POSS
'Our canoe.'

c. *Ila melewe resa pipiye tage yee nge re weri melewe ye gashiyoa lago lani langi.*
ila mele-we re=sa pipiye tage yee nge re=weri mele-we ye=gashiyoa lago lani
so ANA-DEF 3PL=PFV watch up and.so CONJ 3PL=see ANA-DEF 3SG=extend go in
langi
sky
'So they looked up and…they saw the thing across the sky.'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 88-90]

(9.28) a. *Nge ire yaremate resa mwalo bwe resa metagiu ie yaliuse we.*
nge ire yaremate re=sa mwalo bwe re=sa metagiu ie yaliuse
CONJ 3PL.EMPH person 3PL=PFV hide because 3PL=PFV fear 3SG.EMPH spirit
we
DEF
'The people started hiding because they were scared of the ghost.'

b. *Ila ie melewe resa butoge mela ie.*
ila ie mele-we re=sa butoge mela ie
so 3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF 3PL.A=PFV come do 3SG.EMPH
'So that's what they came and did.'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-1, 64-65]

(9.29) a. *Rebwe lago reli mena, rebwe butoge faliuwei.*
re=bwe lago reli mel-la re=bwe butoge faliuwe-i
3PL=INC go for ANA-MED 3PL=INC come POSS.CLF:ISLAND-1SG.POSS
'They're going to that, they're coming to this island.'

b. *Ila mene faliuwe.*
ila mene faliuwe
so FOC island
'So this island…'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 106-7]

Lastly, the combination of the two discussed in this section *iwe ila*, which occurs frequently as a discourse organizer in conversations, mainly to close conversations or a conversation topic (see Section 9.2.3.1), does not frequently occur in the corpus overall. This is probably due to the nature of the corpus, since the vast majority of instances occur in the conversational data. However, it does seem to perform similar functions in monological storytelling, as in (9.30). As context, the protagonists in this origin story have been trying and failing to find a new suitable island to live on, but Ifalik is finally found to be suitable. Thus, *iwe ila* here indicates both a conclusion of the previous actions and a (perhaps unexpected) shift in narrative focus.

(9.30) a. *Bitage Ifalug nge resa la bulong me woale.*
bi-tage Ifalug nge re=sa la bu-long me woa-le
go-up Ifalik CONJ 3PL=PFV MED go-in CONJ on-3SG.POSS
'Went up to Ifalik and they went in and on [it].'

b. *Iwe ila faliuwe ye rebwe mwele iyang.*
iwe ila faliuwe ye re=bwe mwele iyang
so thats.it island CONJ 3PL=INC able at
'So that was the island that they were able to go in.'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 157-8]

9.2.2 Argument Tracking

Argument tracking, or referent tracking, is the use of specific strategies to keep track of referents within (a section of) discourse. In this section, I give a descriptive overview of several of these strategies. For this, I follow the definitions of argument tracking as a function of prominence and givenness (see e.g., Haspelmath 2013; 2021; Leufkens and Van Lier 2024, and references therein). This means that argument tracking is any strategy that is used to retrieve or continue to index specific referents over stretches of several utterances in discourse, as well as strategies used to (re-)foreground and reintroduce referents.

Additionally, I refer to prominence in discourse based on well-established theories and patterns of definiteness, information structure/hierarchy, and discourse prominence (e.g., Chafe 1976, 1987; Gundel, Hedberg, and Zacharski 1993).

Note that, due to the size of the corpus, and the lack of standardization across corpus entries, the majority of these descriptions are more impressionistic rather than quantitative.

The main strategy of argument tracking in Woleaian discourse is through pronominal indexing on the verb. However, in Section 9.2.2.2 I argue that the use of emphatic pronouns and possessive classifiers have a supportive role in disambiguating, tracking and organizing referents in discourse as well. Of course, since the demonstratives naturally interact with the givenness hierarchy (Gundel, Hedberg, and Zacharski 1993, see also Section 3.2.1), they are closely involved in the referent and topic aspects of discourse, though they are not separately discussed in this section.

(9.31) a. *Ye mano nge, yesa masiure lago ye nisor nge bale mele.*
ye mano nge ye=sa masiure lago ye ni=sor nge bale mele
CONJ finish CONJ 3SG=PFV sleep go CONJ in=morning CONJ also FOC
'[He] finished and he slept until morning and, uh…'

b. *Tabowe tiwe shagiu yale gatafe tiwe melewe gane.*
tabowe tiwe shagiu yaa-le gaatafe tiwe mele-we
connect down repeat POSS.CLF:GEN-3SG.POSS rod.fish down ANA-DEF
gela-le
POSS.CLF:ALIM-3SG.POSS
'[He] continued down fishing down [for] food.'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-2, 9-10]

Note that tracking is not obligatory, as verb indexation is non-obligatory and a complete utterance can consist of a single verb. Thus, while argument tracking is extremely prevalent, it is not present in context in which there can be no ambiguity to who the implied subject is, such as a series of subsequent actions.

(9.32) a. *Resa loge woale Siting yee ie rane we serane nge iye*
re=sa loge woa-le Siting yee ie rane we se-rane nge
3PL=PFV stay on-3SG.POSS Siting and.then 3SG.EMPH day DEF one-CLF:DAY CONJ
iye
3SG.EMPH
'They stayed on Siting and the next day she…'

b. *Shobute we laiule yesa seoriu bwe yebe bitiwe mo Yaurepige.*
shobute we lai-le ye=sa seoriu bwe ye=be bi-tiwe mo
woman DEF child-3SG.POSS 3SG=PFV say SUB.CONN 3SG=INC go-down to
Yaurepige
Eauripik
'The daughter said that she would be going to Eauripik.'

c. *Iwe yesa bitiwe.*
i-we ye=sa bi-tiwe
ANA-DEF 3SG=PFV go-down
'Then she went.'

d. *Sabitiwe loge yee.*
sa-bi-tiwe loge yee
PFV-go-down stay and.so
'She stayed [there] until…'

e. *Yebonge, Garepale bonge nge ye bitage.*
ye=bonge garepa-le bonge nge ye=bi-tage
3SG=night near-3SG.POSS night CONJ 3SG=go-up
'[It was] nighttime, almost nighttime, and [then] she went [back].'

f. *Tefale ngali Siting.*
tefale ngali Siting
return to Siting
'Back to Siting.'

g. *Yesa bitage, bitage gangali ie melewe sine bwe.*
ye=sa bi-tage bi-tage gangali ie mele-we siile-le bwe
3SG=PFV go-up go-up tell 3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF mother-3SG.POSS SUB.CONN
'She went up, went up to tell her mom that…'

[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 7-13]

Example (9.32) shows how stretches of several utterances can occur without the repetition of nominal subject arguments, where the verbs are either continuously indexed to refer to the same referent (with the exception of the dummy subject indexing on time clauses, see Section 8.3.5), as in (9.32c, e, g), or without the need for indexing in close sequences of actions, as in (9.32d, f). Additionally, (9.32b) actually shows a repair or disambiguation where the nominal argument is re-introduced after starting with just an emphatic pronoun. In this case it is most likely since this is the first time in the discourse that this referent is performing any actions (though previously having been introduced). The rest of this section is dedicated to describing and analyzing the referent tracking strategies, though unindexed verb sequences are discussed in Section 5 above.

9.2.2.1 Tracking with verb indexing

Woleaian does not have any straightforward grammatical conditional verb indexing[1] with prominent categories such as definiteness, humanness, or animacy. However, there are certain patterns than can be observed in discourse. For example, as discussed in Section 4.2.1.2, pronominal indexing of the object argument on the verb is exceedingly rare, and occurs only with (plural) human referents. Note, however, that due to the lack of a third person singular pronominal clitic, and that the vast majority of object arguments are third person singular or unspecified for number, they cannot be indexed. Conversely, third person subject referent indexing on the verb is exceedingly common, occurring more than once per utterance (including single-word utterances) on average. Thus, the vast majority of instances of argument tracking through verb indexation is for subject arguments. First and second person argument are automatically highly prominent in discourse, and thus only occur as explicit argument in the form of emphatic pronouns in limited contexts (such as counterfactual or unexpected situations).

Though it is not grammatically obligatory, a large majority of verb phrases in Woleaian discourse are indexed for an subject argument. However, only a much smaller proportion of those phrases also feature an independent subject argument, and only a small proportion of these arguments are non-pronominal. From this, it can be inferred that referent tracking in discourse through verbal indexing is very prominent, and by far the most common strategy of referent tracking.

(9.33) a. *Yoore semeoiu waliuweoniu falilalo, gai gale seoriu bwe gani woonge.*
yoore se-moiu waliuweoliu-le falilalo gai=gale seoriu bwe
EXIST one-CLF:ANIM.GROUP plant-3SG.POSS sea.grape 1PL.EXCL=HAB say SUB.CONN
gani woonge
food sea.turtle
'There are some plants, we call it turtle's food.'

b. *Ye garawerawe gare ye marawe.*
ye=garawerawe gare ye=marawe
3SG=blue.green or 3SG=green
'It is blue green or also green.'

c. *Ye wei grape nge bone bwe ye pashigeshige.*
ye=wei grape nge bone bwe ye=pashige-RED
3SG=resemble grape CONJ but SUB.CONN 3SG=small-CMPR
'It looks like grapes but they're smaller.'

[Lenny Saumar, fm6-077-LandscapeDesc-03-wooshe, 8-11]

Tracking of referents in discourse is done through continued identical indexing over a period of several utterances without, or notably with, interfering explicit subject arguments. When there

1. For use of this term over Differential Argument Indexing, see Walker, Faghiri, and Van Lier (2024).

are no interfering subject arguments, the referent is unambiguous even over a stretch of many utterances. However, when there are interfering arguments, context has to be used to interpret the correct referent that is being indexed. While this is generally successful, it does require the listener to keep track of all of the referents and what actions they are likely to take, which in some cases does result in confusion.

(9.34) a. *Ye ie famwe we yesa gamwele fetale iwe rane we serane nge.*
ye ie famwe we ye=sa ga-mwele fetale i-we rane we
CONJ 3SG.EMPH pregnant.woman DEF 3SG=PFV CAUS-good around ANA-DEF day DEF
se-rane nge
one-CLF:DAY CONJ
'And so the pregnant woman starts preparing, and the next day…'

b. *Yesa lago tiutiu, gatega tage mena feraubutale.*
ye=sa lago tiutiu ga-tage tage mel-la feraubute-le
3SG=PFV go wash CAUS-up up ANA-MED hibiscus.belt-3SG.POSS
'She went and showered, put on her feraubutale.'

c. *Saniugiule nge yerange, yee mano gachiu lago nge ye lago.*
saniugiu-le nge ye=range yee mano gachiu lago nge ye=lago
ko.lavalava-3SG.POSS CONJ 3SG=turmeric CONJ finish good go CONJ 3SG=go
'Her nursing lavalava and put on turmeric, and then she was completely done and she left.'

d. *Nge yesa farage wei reli Gatemerate.*
nge ye=sa farage wei re-li Gatemerate
CONJ 3SG=PFV walk out for-3SG.POSS Gatemerate
'And she walked [to him] at Gatemerate.'

e. *Mano nge, mwale ikawe re seogiu nifale.*
mano nge mwale i-ka=we re=seogiu ni=fale
finish CONJ man ANA-PL=DEF 3PL=full in=mens.house
'Finished, the men were in the men's house.'

[Chirstina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-2, 8-12]

In (9.34), the subject argument, *famwe we*, which has already been (recently) introduced in the discourse, seen by the use of the definite marker, is established the subject in (9.34a) and then tracked through (9.34 b-e). Only when new arguments are introduced does the tracking switch (9.35), as indicated by the change in pronominal indexing, only to switch right back to the original referent, *famwe we*, in the next utterance – though in this instance she is tracked through the use of a first person marker due to the use of direct quotative speech (she is also referred to using the second person in 9.35a; see Section 9.2.3.4).

(9.35) a. *Resa gale gasiya, gobe lago iya?*
re=sa gale gasiya go=be lago iya
3PL=PFV HAB ask 2SG=INC go where
'They were asking her, "where are you going?"'

b. *Yei ibwe lago pipi ie melewe fitiyale.*
yei i=bwe lago pipi ie mele-we fiti yaa-le
INJ 1SG=INC go watch 3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF spouse POSS.CLF:GEN-3SG.POSS
'[She replied] "I'm going to check for my husband."'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-2, 13.1-13.2]

Note, however, that number agreement, and to a certain extent person agreement on the verb phrase indexing is not strict. That is to say, it is grammatically allowed to have a mismatch in number and/or person between the referent and the indexing element. In most cases the mismatch occurs in cases where the argument is anything other than the third person singular agent, as this proclitic occurs frequently in mismatch situations. This is most probably because the third person singular is the standard value for all types of grammatical marking, including subject, object, and possessive marking. These mismatches can also occur in a string of indexed verb phrases without any explicit arguments (as in 9.36).

(9.36) ***Ibele*** *lago* ***yengage*** *ure, bwe ila rebwe ure, gapule yaafe.*
i=bele lago **ye=ngage** ure bwe i-la re=bwe ure gapule
1SG=INCEP go **3SG=view** perform SUB.CONN ANA-MED 3PL=INC perform drink.alcohol
yaafe
fire
'[the daughter said:] I'm going to go and watch the dance, because they will be dancing and having a drinking party.'

[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 15.2]

In the case of (9.36), one would expect the bare verb *ngage* rather than *yengage*, since it is a series of consecutive verb phrases. Note that in this example, the verb phrase has explicitly been split into two, as the phrase *ibele lago ngage ure* is perfectly grammatical, showing that this is not an instance of a multiply indexed verb phrase. The difference between the two phrases lays in the tightness of sequentiality of the events: The single verb phrase indicates immediate sequentiality within one event, whereas the double verb phrase indicates two sequential, but separate, events. These types of constructions were discussed in Section 8.

9.2.2.2 Tracking and emphatic pronouns & classifiers

The main strategy of tracking referents in discourse is through the use of pronominal verbal indexing. However, the emphatic pronouns and possessive classifiers are also used as strategies to re-introduce and focalize referents in a narratival focus shift, or to disambiguate previously introduced referents. Therefore, they are supporting strategies for argument tracking and organizing discourse.

As noted above, first and second person are automatically fully activated, prominent and retrievable in discourse, meaning that those referents do not require any tracking. Therefore, this section only looks at the third person singular and plural emphatic pronouns in their role in reference tracking. As discussed in Section 9, the emphatic pronoun is often used in combination with a nominal argument to create focus constructions. However, the emphatic pronouns can also occur without nominal arguments in the clause or utterance, co-occurring with cross-referenced anaphora, or by themselves. As such, the verb is indexed for the pronoun rather than the nominal referent that is further up in the discourse, since the pronoun is the closest available argument for the verb to be indexed on. However, since it is also possible to not have any explicit nominal or pronominal arguments in a clause, the emphatic pronoun must also serve a purpose beyond serving as an indexation host. Besides the use of the emphatic pronouns to re-introduce highly present referent and/or switch perspective, I analyze the use of independent emphatic pronouns as a function of re-anchoring the reference of the verb indexation. In (9.37b), the last explicit subject argument was four utterances ago, with several shifts in perspective from plural to no marking (9.37a) to singular (9.37b) in between. It therefore seems reasonable to assume that one of the major functions of the pronoun here is to re-focus on one of the referents and re-anchor the verbal indexing to this referent

(9.37) a. *Nge sa siu lago.*
nge sa siu lago
and PFV stand go
'And then they stood there.'

b. *Nge yesa gale gangali bwe yetewai lago.*
nge ye=sa gale gangali bwe ye=tewai lago
and 3SG=PFV HAB tell SUB.CONN 3SG=NEG.INC go
'And [one] tells [the other] not to go.'

c. *Nge ie yetai gefani bwe yesige yebe bitage.*
nge ie ye=tai ge-fani bwe ye=sige ye=be bi-tage
and 3SG.EMPH 3SG=NEG CAUS-watch.out that 3SG=angry 3SG=INC go-up
'And she didn't care because she was passionate to go.'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-2, 22-24]

As another example, in (9.39) there is a shift in referent, seen in the change from the plural to the singular. A referent that is highly salient in the discourse, *Maruwa*, has not been explicitly

referred to in eight utterances. Interestingly, this reference is also in the form of an emphatic pronoun (9.38b).

(9.38) a. *Yei go giula bwe Maruwa yesa lago lii melewe laiushe.*
yei go=giula bwe Maruwa ye=sa lago liiye=i mele-we
INJ 2SG=know SUB.CONN Maruwa 3SG.PFV go kill=TRR ANA-DEF
laiu-she
offspring-1PL.INCL.POSS
"'Hey, you know that Maruwa has gone and killed our son?"'

b. *Nge ie yesa gangali ngo, gange mene isa liiye.*
nge ie ye=sa gangali ngo gange mene i=sa liiye
and 3SG.EMPH 3SG=PFV tell yes 1SG.EMPH FOC 1SG=PFV kill
'And he [Maruwa] said "yes, it is I who killed him."'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 74-5]]

(9.39) a. *Resa gangi.*
re=sa gangi
3PL=PFV eat
'They ate him.'

b. *Gangi gangi yee toare lago.*
gangi gangi yee toare lago
eat eat and.so NEG.EXIST go
'Ate him and ate him until he was gone.'

c. *Nge ie yesa lago reli mekawe rebugutale.*
nge ie ye=sa lago reli mel-ka-we rebuguta-le
and 3SG.EMPH 3sg=PFV go for-3SG ANA-PL-DEF relative-3SG.POSS
'And he went back to his relatives.'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 81-3]

Thus, rather than tracking a referent over a section of discourse, the emphatic pronouns serve to shift the narrative focus to a previously introduced, highly prominent, referent in the discourse. However, since the nominal reintroduction of the referent is not required[2], it does track the referent from potentially quite far back. In my discussions on translating with speakers, it came up that this is generally not a problem in spoken discourse, but in some cases during translation it became ambiguous or unclear which referent was meant by this. In most, but not all, cases, re-listening to a larger section of the discourse solved the ambiguities.

While I hesitate to directly associate possessive classifier constructions to referent tracking, they are used to disambiguate and refer to previously mentioned discourse topics. Since possession is generally not marked on a noun phrase that already contains a determiner, possession is

2. The combination of the emphatic pronoun plus the matching noun phrase is one of the focalization strategies for previously introduced referents, which interfaces with tracking. This construction is discussed in Section 9.1.4.

thus often expressed with a juxtaposed noun phrase containing the relevant classifier plus the possessive suffix (see Section 7.5.4). This means that the phrase containing the possessive classifier serves to retrieve, emphasize and/or re-introduce a specific referent from the discourse. In most cases, the referents referred to by possessive classifiers are object arguments. As shown in (9.40), the possessive classifier can be placed in a separate utterance, which I assume is added for disambiguation purposes.

(9.40) a. *…[N]ge gaisa seoriu bwe sibwe gashepa lago waa ye.*
nge gai=sa seoriu bwe si=bwe ga-shepa lago waa ye
CONJ 1PL.EXCL=PFV say SUB.CONN 1PL.INCL=INC CAUS-overturn go vehicle CONJ
"'…and you tell me so that we can flip the canoe."'

b. *Waashe.*
waa-she
canoe-1PL.INCL.POSS
'Our canoe.'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 88-9]

The juxtapositional construction of a noun phrase with a noun plus a determiner, and a phrase containing the possessive classifier can also be combined with the (focalization) construction where an emphatic pronoun is juxtaposed to a noun phrase. This results in the juxtaposition of three phrases for the purpose of re-introducing and/or retrieving a discourse referent with additional emphasis, shown in (9.41).

(9.41) *Nge resa gashepa lago ie waawe waare.*
nge re=sa ga-shepa lago ie waa we waa-re
CONJ 3PL=PFV CAUS-overturn go 3SG.EMPH canoe DEF POSS.CLF:VEHICLE-3PL.POSS
'And so they flipped over their canoe.'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 92]

9.2.3 Discourse structure

This section gives short overviews of a number of elements of discourse that extend beyond the syntactical and organization on an information structural level. This includes a discussion of idiomatic phrases, formulaic expressions and greetings (Section 9.2.3.1), polite speech (Section 9.2.3.2), the discourse particle *mali* 'maybe' (Section 9.2.3.3), and some of the syntactic and prosodic features of quotative speech (Section 9.2.3.4).

9.2.3.1 Idiomatic Phrases, formulaic expressions, and greetings

There are a number of frequent idiomatic uses of words and phrases. These include idioms, formulaic expressions, and ways to greet or say goodbye to someone. These range from relatively

straight-forward, almost interjection-like, one-word phrases to highly conventionalized formulae. Table 9.2 below gives an overview of the more conventionalized idiomatic language uses. Note that this is not an exhaustive overview, and I cover a number of additional idiomatic language uses in this section. Additionally, the use of idiomatic phrases interacts with factors of politeness, which itself is covered in Section 9.2.3.2 below.

Form	Lit. meaning	Function
Siyala milemile...	'It of our living' 2	Story opening
Seresere waale Moiu me yeiuge	'Moiu's canoe beaches and it ends'	Story closing
mase	'(to) die'	broken or empty things
seoriu bwe	'say that'	quotation, evidentiality
welimwomw	'on your front'	welcome
ibwele lago	'I'm going'	farewell
gobwele lago	'you're going'	farewell
iwe ila	'that's it'	farewell
adios	'goodbye' (< Esp.)	farewell
gaisa mile	'you (pl.) will stay'	farewell
sa bong	'it's night'	good night
mauwesh	'our dear'	address, request (casual)
melape	'dear'	address (respectful)
faale peshemw	'under your feet'	request (respectful)

Table 9.2: Examples of idiomatic language use

There is also a set of fully standardized phrases that are used to start and end a story. Their literal meaning, especially the closer of a story, is relatively esoteric, but in practice they are used as discourse organizing tools.

(9.42) a. STORY OPENING
Siyala milemile woale ie Mesapali.
si=ya-le RED-mile woa-le ie Mesapali
1PL.INCL=PFV-3SG.POSS ITER-live on-3SG.POSS 3SG.EMPH Mesapali
'Once upon a time, [a story] on Mesapali.' (lit. 'It of our living, on him Mesapali')
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-23021-2, 2]

b. STORY CLOSING
Seresere waale Moiu me ye iuge.
seresere waa-le Moiu me ye=iuge
beach POSS:VEHICLE-3SG Moiu and 3SG=end
'That's the end of the story.' (Lit. 'Moiu's canoe beaches and it ends.')
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-2, 37.2]

Regarding (9.42b), Moiu is a legendary character that appears in other stories. From talking

to younger speakers, they do not know where this phrase comes from, or why it is used, but all agree that this specific wording is a requirement of closing a story. The opening and closing formulae also have a typical rhythm and intonation, making them highly distinguishable from other discourse.

Other idioms include the semantic extension of certain words, such as using *mase* '(to) die, (to be) dead' when something is broken or empty. This verb is also used in a phrase specific to the men's circle,[3] as shown in (9.43).

(9.43) *Yesa mase melewe yaashe.*
ye=sa mase mele-we yaa-she
3SG=PFV die ANA-DEF POSS.CLF:GEN-1PL.INCL
'Our [palm wine] is done.' (lit. 'It is already dead, ours.')
[Lenny Saumar, pers. comm., 2024-10-23]

Another collocation of words, *seoriu bwe* 'say SUB.CONN', is used in constructions whose function varies from literal to highly idiomatic, depending on context. Constructions with *seoriu bwe* can have three readings. The first, most simple one simply indicates that some referent says something, i.e., preceding quotative speech. The second is the evidential reading, wherein the speaker supposes a certain action, event, or state, but does not commit to its truthfulness. This construction can be used both in third person and first person. The third is used as a construction when describing events, states, names or words in contexts where the listener may not be familiar with them, for example as a translation equivalent or to explain the setting of a story.

(9.44) a. *Nge ie yesa seoriu bwe ila.*
nge ie ye=sa seoriu bwe i-la
and 3SG.EMPH 3SG=PFV say SUB.CONN ANA-MED
'And then she said: "Okay."'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-23021-1, 22]

b. *Yebwe seoriu bwe ye masiure tai gefani lago yebwe gosha.*
ye=bwe seoriu bwe ye=masiure tai ge-fani lago ye=bwe gosha
3SG=INC say SUB.CONN 3SG=sleep NEG CAUS-watch go 3SG=INC haunt
'He thought that he was sleeping and didn't notice him to eat him.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-2, 56]

3. The men's circle is a nightly event where men gather to discuss relevant topics, plan for the next day and drink their *faluba* 'palm wine'.

c. *Ye sibe seoriu bwe igawe nge pache yegale keokeo nge maliuge yegale mwariuriu mwaliyale.*
yee si=be seoriu bwe igawe nge pache ye=gale keokeo nge
and.so 1PL.INCL=INC say SUB.CONN like and thunder 3SG=HAB crow and
maliuge ye=gale mwariuriu mwaliye-le
chicken 3SG=HAB rumble voice-3SG.POSS
'[In the past], we would say that Thunder crowed and Chicken thundered.'
[Lenny Saumar, fm6-030-03-ChickenThunder, 3]

Thus, constructions with *seoriu bwe* can interface with quotative speech, evidentiality, and epistemology, depending on the contexts.

Greetings, both of coming and going, consist of a set of relatively conventionalized sayings ranging from single words to conventionalized exchanges. There is no formalized way to greet a person you have recently seen, but to a person coming to one's residence, village, or island that one has not seen in some time, for example when they were travelling, the words *welimwomw* and *welimwemi* are used for singular and plural addressees, respectively. This word consists of *woale* 'on', *mwa* 'in front (of)' and either the second person singular or plural possessive markers *-mw* and *-mi*. These words are generally interpreted as words of welcome. Additionally, the phrases *(good) morning* and/or *gachiu nisoor* 'good morning' are used by many speakers upon seeing someone for the first time upon waking up. However, in my observations these two are used with much higher frequency towards foreigners (i.e., myself) than within the community. From this, I also believe that *gachiu nisoor* is a neologism calqued from English.

For greetings of farewell, there is a number of expressions that can be used, depending on the expected duration of not seeing each other. On one end of the spectrum, when one expects to see the other very soon (i.e., within the next few hours at most), is *ibwele lago* 'I'm going', usually countered with *gobwele lago* 'You're going', said either as a question or a statement. This specific construction has an atypical intonation, where the final syllable of *bwele* is heavily lengthened, being realized as [bʷəræː] as opposed to [bʷərə] in other circumstances. The last casual greeting is *iwe ila* 'that's it'. Either or both are used to indicate agreement with another speaker, but also can be used to indicate intention of leaving. The response to this phrase may be identical to it.

On the other end is *adios* 'goodbye, farewell', which is used when the speaker is expected to not see the listener for some time, up to and including not expecting to see them ever again.

Other expressions of farewell fall somewhere between those two, including the conventionalized interaction *gaisa mile* 'you all will stay', countered with *gaisa lago* 'you all will go'. Additionally, there is the loan from English *byebye*, which is used only by some. The farewells of *sa bong* 'it is (already) night' is used to say goodbye so a person or group of people either when going to bed or when leaving (in the afternoon at the earliest) and not expecting to see the listener(s) again before tomorrow. *Gachiu masiure* 'good sleep' is sometimes used directly before somebody

is going in to sleep, which is potentially also a neologism.

All of the above described greetings can be embellished by the use of *mauwesh* 'dear' or *melape*, a respectful form of endearment used depending on the kinship with the listener, as well as the emotional clitic *=nga* EMO (see Section 6.5).

When leaving on a journey that is expected to take a long time, or when saying farewell to someone undertaking such a journey, it is common for both men and women (although in my observations more frequently women) to emotionally express themselves in phrases such as *itouwai lago!* 'I won't go!' or *gotouwai lago!* 'Don't go!'. Lastly, when either greeting or saying farewell to a person that hasn't been seen in a longer time, or is leaving for a longer time, it is common for women, especially older women, to press their noses either on the cheek or the back of the hand of the traveler.

9.2.3.2 Polite speech

There are several aspects to polite speech in Woleaian: There are conventionalized phrases for actions such as requests, lexemes that indicate relationship and relative respect status within the social hierarchy, and idiomatic language use and lexical substitutions as part of taboo language.

A common way to politely express things, most frequently with requests, is to state the inverse of the actual or desired state, in order to elicit a correction from the listener, who will have correctly interpreted it as a request. In the frequently heard interaction in (9.45), the expected (or hoped for) response to (9.45a) is a correction (given in 9.45b), followed by the offering of the requested item.

(9.45) a. *Toare yaamw temaago?*
toare yaa-mw temaago
NEG.EXIST POSS.CLF:GEN-2SG.POSS tobacco
'Do you have a cigarette (for me)?' (lit. 'There is none of your tobacco?')

b. *Yoore, yoore.*
yoore yoore
EXIST EXIST
'I do, I do.' (lit. '[it] exists, [it] exists')

A less polite, but more appropriate depending on the situation, way of forming requests is replacing *toare* NEG.EXIST in (9.45a) with *yoore* EXIST. Further down yet in politeness, but appropriate in very casual contexts and/or when the speaker is older than the listener is replacing both *toare* with *yoore*, and replacing the second person singular possessive suffix *-mw* to the first person plural inclusive possessive suffix *-she*. This constitutes a very direct request, and is thus the one heard least frequently. For example, *yoore yaashe yaafe?* can be literally translated as 'Is

there our fire/lighter?', but is more pragmatically translated as 'pass me the lighter (if you have it)'. The only more direct way than the latter to create requests is by simply using the imperative *gasi toge* 'give me/bring here', which I have not seen used for the request of (some of) someone's personal possessions, but is used for shared items such as foodstuffs, tools, etc.

My corpus does not contain a detailed discussion of idiomatic speech as it pertains to politeness, but I have noted several instances where conventionalized phrases and lexemes are used as part of certain interactions, or in the relatively peripheral taboo speech of Woleaian. For conventionalized expressions, there are both those that pertain to taboo speech and to politeness. For the latter, for example, it is polite to not decline anything offered to a person directly. Thus, in the interaction given in (9.46), the person offered food (which is the primary interaction that takes place when walking past people around their homes) does not decline the food, but defers it in two main ways: stating that the person has already eaten (9.46b), or that requesting that they may eat the food later (9.46c).

(9.46) a. *Butoge mongo!*
bu-toge mongo
go-come eat
'Come eat!'

b. *Isa mmashe mane mongo.*
i=sa mmashe mane mongo
1SG=PFV just finish eat
'I just finished eating'

c. *Lago mo.*
lago mo
go to
'Keep it.' (lit. '[It] goes to [you]')

The few instances of taboo speech I have encountered include substitutional sentences, such as *butoge gamasou* (go-come CAUS-strong) 'come get strong' to mean 'come eat', as well as specific polite/taboo lexemes, such as *butoge liuliu* 'come eat (polite)'. Other examples of taboo language lexemes are body parts *gafangu* and *sabuoile*, which substitute *boot-* 'nose' and *mate-* 'eye, face', respectively. A detailed analysis of forms and functions of Woleaian taboo language is beyond the scope of dissertation, so I have not explored the exact contexts in which taboo language is used.

Regarding politeness and forms of address, there are two words that are used: *mauwesh* and *melape*. *Melape* is used to address older people, especially men, and those to which the speaker has a specific kinship, namely (paternal) uncles. *Mauwesh* is used in all other instances where the speaker and addressee do not have a specific relationship and/or the addressee is equal or younger in age. Besides being frequently added as a term of endearment, *mauwesh* is also used in certain request constructions other than the ones specified above, mainly requests for actions

rather than items. Since it is culturally not allowed to make direct requests from those who are addressed by *melape*, I have not seen this word used in such direct request constructions. If a request is made where the use of *mauwesh* would be inappropriate, or if it is a larger request, the more respectful phrase *faale peshemw* (lit. 'under your feet') is used.

9.2.3.3 Discourse particle *mali* 'maybe'

There are no grammatical markers dedicated to evidentiality. As such, unmarked declarative sentences, especially in unmarked/perfective constructions, are assumed to be truthful by the best knowledge of the speaker. However, in addition to the evidentiality-related meaning of *seoriu bwe*-constructions (see Section 9.2.3.1), there is one clause-level particle whose dedicated function is to indicate an evaluation of the speaker to their commitment of the truth value of a statement. *Mali* 'maybe' indicates that the speaker is putting forth a possible and/or hypothetical state of events or course of action, but does not fully commit to whether or not this is a true reflection of reality. It is used when supposing a person's thoughts as reflected in their actions, or when the speaker otherwise has no sensory evidence for actions, events, or their cause or origin.

Mali occurs at the beginning of the clause it has scope over, preceding pronominal marking, which shows that it does not function as a verbal particle, but rather takes scope over the entire clause.

(9.47) ***Mali** reweri, resa rongeronge tigi resa fefarage toge yee gai fare butoge piunge fengani gaisa.*
mali re=weri re=sa rongeronge tigi-i re=sa farage togo yee gai=fare
maybe 3PL=see 3PL=pfv hear voice-1SG.POSS 3PL=pfv walk come and.so 1PL.EXCL
bu-toge piunge fengani gai=sa
unexpectedly go-come fall REFL 1PL.EXCL=pfv
'Maybe they saw [me], they heard my voice, they started walking towards me and we met.'
[JaeTea Tawerimaaliu, WOL-230204-2, 28]

(9.48) a. *Semate mene yeloge rei.*
se-mate mene ye=loge re=i
one-CLF:OTHER FOC 3SG=stay 3PL-1SG.POSS
'I have a different one.'

b. ***Mali** yetai pashe.*
mali ye=tai pashe
maybe 3SG=neg correct
'Maybe it is not correct.'
[Ignatius Maluchelmar, fm6-081-ManAndTree-1, 58-9]

Thus, *mali* is formally similar to other extra-clausal 'phrases', such as the time clause (see Section 8.3.5), or discourse organizational particles (see Section 9.2.1). However, it distinguishes itself in that it is the only word that has no other lexical meaning (such as those in a time clause) or other function (such as the discourse linking particles): It is the only particle whose sole detectable function in the corpus is for discourse organization.

9.2.3.4 Quotative Speech

Woleaian discourse regularly features both indirect and direct quotative speech. The difference between indirect and direct quotative speech is that the direct quotative speech "*...evokes the original speech situation and conveys, or claims to convey, the exact words of the original speaker in direct discourse*", while indirect quotative speech "*...adapts the reported utterance to the speech situation of the the report in indirect discourse.*" (Coulmas 1986, 2). Thus, in direct speech second person pronominal marking is used for the addressee of the quoted speech (i.e., within the discourse, not the listener), and first person is used for the source of the quoted speech, whereas in indirect speech third person marking is used for both.

(9.49) a. *...ie melewe temale yesa gale seoriu rebe gopii lago nge...*
ie mele-we tema-le ye=sa gale seoriu re=be gopii lago nge
3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF father-3SG.POSS 3SG=PFV HAB say 3PL=INC cut go CONJ
'...[T]he father said that they will cut it [the bunch], but...'
[Juanita Ilemangtiw, WOL-230121-1, 90]

b. *Reseoriu bwe remwano gelare.*
re=seoriu bwe re=mwano gela-re
3PL=say SUB.CONN 3PL=crave food-3PL.POSS
'They said that they are craving their food.'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 23]

c. *Woale Yap nge yaliusiule Yap rebale seoriu bwe yetewai toge longe waa laale bwe.*
woa-le Yap nge yaliusiu-le Yap re=bale seoriu bwe ye=tewai
on-3SG.POSS Yap CONJ spirit-3SG.POSS Yap 3PL=also say SUB.CONN 3SG=NEG.INC
togo longe waa laale bwe
come in vehicle DIST SUB.CONN
'On Yap and the spirits of Yap, they said that they would not come in because...'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 109-110]

(9.50) a. *Resa gale gasiya: "gobe lago iya?"*
re=sa gale gasiya go=be lago iya
3PL=PFV HAB ask 2SG=INC go where
'They were asking her, "Where are you going?"'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230121-2, 13.1]

b. *"Yei go giula bwe Maruwa yesa lago lii melewe laiushe."*
yei go=giula bwe Maruwa ye=sa lago liiye-i mele-we lai-she
INJ 2SG=know SUB.CONN Maruwa 3SG=PFV go kill-TRR ANA-DEF child-1PL.INCL.POSS
"'Hey, you know that Maruwa has gone and killed our son?"'
[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 74]

Direct quotations always occurs in main clauses (9.50a-b), and can be introduced by a speech verb (9.50a) or occur by themselves (9.50b). While this is also possible for indirect quotations (9.49a), a quotation can be in a relative clause introduced by a speech verb plus the relativizer *bwe*, as in (9.49b).

A highly marked and distinctive feature of direct quotative speech is its noticeably unique intonation: The section of the discourse that is a direct quote of another person is expressed in a very high falsetto intonation (see figure 9.1). This high intonation occurs for both male and female speakers, is not dependent on the gender of the person quoted, and occurs in both questions and declarative statements. Additionally, it is not restricted to oral tradition or other forms of standardized storytelling, and occurs in casual contexts about recent events.

This element of discourse was pointed out to me by speakers to be typically Woleaian, and, although it regularly occurs in many conversations.

Figure 9.1 showcases the extreme rise in pitch in the quotative speech in (9.51), as compared to regular speech.

It shows that the speaker's regular speech pitch is around 150Hz to 200Hz, but almost doubles to just under 400Hz during quotative speech. It also shows the steep intonation contour at the ends of the quotative speech clauses. Thirdly, it shows a general increase in pitch variation during the quotative speech, although this may be a secondary effect rather than a feature of the intonation.

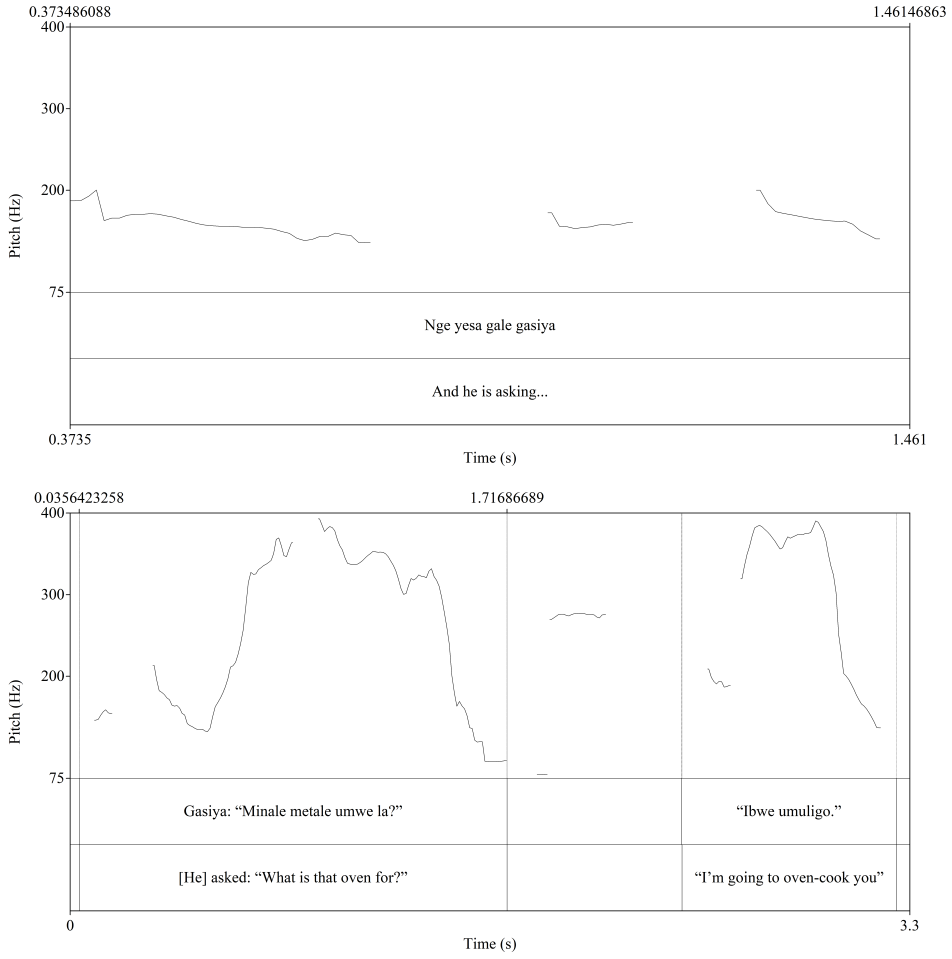

Figure 9.1: Regular intonation and quotative speech intonation pitch contours.

(9.51) a. *Nge mano, nge iye yesa gale gasiya.*
nge mano nge iye ye=sa gale gasiya
CONJ finish CONJ 3SG.EMPH 3SG=PFV HAB ask
'Done, and he (Ngifatale) asks [Maruwa].'

b. *Gasiya, minale meta ie umwe la.*
gasiya mine-le meta ie umwe la
ask for-3SG.POSS what 3SG.EMPH oven MED
'Asks, "what is the oven for?"'

c. *Ibwe umuligo.*
i=bwe umuli=go
1SG=INC oven.cook=2SG
'[Maruwa replied:] I'm going to oven-cook you.'

[Christina Laiurelgar, WOL-230125-3, 33-5]

Since there is no need for any interfering introduction to each (new) person's quoted speech, i.e., clauses of directly quoted conversation can follow each other directly without the need of any introductory speech verb, the high intonation is reactivated between different quoted persons, since there is no non-quotative speech to carry the regular intonation pitch. Notably, a degree of pitch rise occurs in all examples of direct quotative speech, regardless of quoted person's features. This indicates that it is not a feature of imitation or impersonation, but rather a feature of quotative speech itself. The degree of pitch increase varies between speakers, and seems to be correlated to the excitedness of the speaker. Additionally, over longer stretches of quoted discourse, there is a large amount of downdrift in pitch, returning (almost) to the regular speech pitch after a few clauses. This could possibly be explained by the effort it takes to maintain such a pitch. However, in casual observations where the speaker was highly excited, the high pitch was maintained over numerous utterances. It has also been reported that some speakers use this intonation style in direct quotative speech constructions when speaking in English (Josiah Murphy, pers. comm.).

Very little (quantitative) research on the prosody of (direct) quotative speech has been carried out in general (though see Coulmas 1986), and none of the grammars on Micronesian languages I consulted discuss the prosody of direct quotative speech; rarely even discussing indirect or direct quotative speech nor intonation and/or prosody whatsoever. Ellis (2012), among others, mention that Chuukic languages exhibit a wide variety of prosodical and intonational patterns, even if they are grammatically quite close, but there are no actual studies on these differences. Therefore, it is unclear whether the extremely high pitch in direct quotative speech is a Woleaian or variety of Woleaian-specific feature, an areal feature, or a familial feature.

Glosses & Abbreviations

Gloss	Meaning
1, 2, 3	First, second, third person
ADDR	addressee demonstrative
ALIM	alimentary (i.e., intended for food or drink)
ANA	anaphor
CLF	numeral classifier
CONJ	conjunction
CONN	connective
DEF	definite marker
DEM	demonstrative
DIST	distal
Eng.	English
EMO	emotive
EXCL	exclusive
EXIST	existential
FOC	focus marker
FSM	Federated States of Micronesia
HAB	habitual
INC	incompletive
INCEP	inceptive
INCL	inclusive
INJ	interjection
Jap.	Japanese
MED	medial
MIR	mirative
PAn	Proto-Austronesian
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PROX	proximal
REL	relativizer
SG	singular
SUB.CONN	subordinate coordinator

Appendix A

Interlinear Texts

A.1 Eauripik Origin Story

In this story, Christina Laiurelgar tells us of how the Eauripiki originally came to their island. It follows Maruwa, one of the sons of Lishemwagiure and Ilatugefai, who rebels against their cannibalistic tendencies by cooking and feeding them their other son, Ngifatale, and traveling through a series of western Micronesian islands (Palau, Yap, Ulithi, Fais) before landing and settling at Eauripik. The place Maruwa travels, Mwetange, from is traditionally established to be on or around Bougainville, Papua New Guinea (Tommy Hiemal, pers. comm.). The recording was made on January 25th, 2023 in Gargey, Yap, FSM. Segmentation was done based on intonation units by me, transcription by Lenny Saumar, and translation by Dominic Taruwemai Jr. in collaboration with myself.

(A.1) *Siya lago mile mile woale Lishemwagiure me Ilatugefai re fititiye.*
si=ya lago mile mile woa-le Lishemwagiure me Ilatugefai re=fititiye
1PL.INCL=PFV go live live on-3SG.POSS Lishemwagiure CONJ Ilatugefai 3PL=married
'Once upon a time, [a story] on Lishemwagiure and Ilatugefai, they're married.'

(A.2) *Reloge woale Mwetange.*
re=loge woa-le Mwetange
3PL=stay on-3SG.POSS Mwetange
'They lived on Mwetange.'

(A.3) *Laiuli tiwe semaliu tarimwale regale seoriu bwe Maruwa.*
lai-li tiwe se-maliu tari mwale re=gale seoriu bwe Maruwa
offspring-3SG.POSS down one-CLF:ANIM youth man 3PL=HAB say SUB.CONN Maruwa
'[They] had boys that they called Maruwa.'

(A.4) *me Ngifatale.*
me Ngifatale
CONJ Ngifatale
'and Ngifatale.'

(A.5) *resa loge yee.*
re=sa loge yee
3PL=PFV stay and.so
'they stayed and…'

(A.6) *re tugefai tiwe nge iwe.*
re=tugefai tiwe nge i-we
3PL=OLD down CONJ ANA-DEF
'they grew old and then.'

(A.7) *semoiu lago resa butoge gasi Maruwa bwe laiure.*
se-moiu lago re=sa butoge gasi Maruwa bwe lai-re
one-CLF:ANIM.GROUP go 3PL=PFV come grab Maruwa SUB.CONN offspring-3PL.POSS
'Other people came and took Maruwa as their [own] child.'

(A.8) *Nge ie Ngifatale yeloge shagiu reli Ilatugefai me Lishemwagiure.*
nge ie Ngifatale ye=loge shagiu re-li Ilatugefai me Lishemwagiure
CONJ 3SG.EMPH Ngifatale 3SG=stay repeat for-3SG.POSS Ilatugefai CONJ Lishemwagiure
'and Ngifatale stayed with Ilatugefai and Lishemwagiure.'

(A.9) *Resa loge woale Mwetange.*
re=sa loge woa-le Mwetange
3PL=PFV stay on-3SG.POSS Mwetange
'They stayed on Mwetange.'

(A.10) *Yee.*
yee
and.so
'And…'

(A.11) *Iwe yetai koshoashe ie.*
iwe ye=tai koshoashe ie
so 3SG=NEG eat.raw 3SG.EMPH
'And Maruwa didn't eat anybody.'

(A.12) *Maruwa, nge ie Ngifatale yesa gale lago gekake toge gelare ie me ie mekawe.*
Maruwa nge ie Ngifatale ye=sa gale lago RED-gake toge gela=re
Maruwa CONJ 3SG.EMPH Ngifatale 3SG=PFV HAB go PROG-take.PL come food=3PL
ie me ie mel-ka-we
3SG.EMPH CONJ 3SG.EMPH ANA-PL-DEF
'And Ngifatale goes to bring food for them…'

(A.13) *Ilatugefai me Lishemwagiure.*
Ilatugefai me Lishemwagiure
Ilatugefai CONJ Lishemwagiure
'Ilatugefai and Lishemwagiure.'

(A.14) *Yesa butoge, yegale lago nii yaremate nge yegake toge reere resa mongo.*
ye=sa butoge ye=gale lago RED-liiye yaremate nge ye=gake toge re=re
3SG=PFV come 3SG=HAB go PROG-kill person CONJ 3SG=take.PL come for-3PL.POSS
re=sa mongo
3PL=PFV eat
'He came, he goes to kill people and bring them for them to eat.'

(A.15) *Gaise resa gekau lago ire yaremetale Mwetange.*
gaise re=sa gekau lago ire yaremate-le Mwetange
and.then 3PL=PFV few go 3PL.EMPH people-3SG.POSS Mwetange
'The people of Mwetange were getting fewer.'

(A.16) *Resa gale fitemaliu lago.*
re=sa gale fitemaliu lago
3PL=PFV HAB few go
'They're getting fewer and fewer.'

(A.17) *Resa loge yee.*
re=sa loge yee
3PL=PFV stay and.so
'They stayed and…'

(A.18) *Ie melewe.*
ie mele-we
3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF
'He uh…'

(A.19) *Yesa gale sige ie Maruwa, yesa gale lago fitege ngalire Ilatugufai me Lishemwagiure.*
ye=sa gale sige ie Maruwa ye=sa gale lago fitege ngali=re
3SG=PFV HAB angry 3SG.EMPH Maruwa 3SG=PFV HAB go fight to=3PL Ilatugufai
Ilatugufai me Lishemwagiure
CONJ Lishemwagiure
'Maruwa gets angry, he goes and scolds Ilatugufai and Lishemwagiure.'

(A.20) *Meta mele gaitai…*
metta mele gai=tai
what FOC 2PL=NEG
"'Why are you guys not…"'

(A.21) *Mongo wei liteti nge mongo yaremate bwe mine meta.*
mongo wei li=teti nge mongo yaremate bwe mine metta
eat out in=sea CONJ eat person SUB.CONN for what
"'[not] Eating out of the ocean and eating people for what?"'

(A.22) *Nge ire iwe retai gefani.*
nge ire i-we re=tai ge-fani
CONJ 3PL.EMPH ANA-DEF 3PL=NEG CAUS-watch.out
'And they didn't mind him.'

(A.23) *Reseoriu bwe remwano gelare.*
re=seoriu bwe re=mwano gela=re
3PL=say SUB.CONN 3PL=crave POSS.CLF:ALIM-3PL.POSS
'They said that they are craving their food.'

(A.24) *Nge resa loge.*
nge re=sa loge
CONJ 3PL=PFV stay
'And they stayed.'

(A.25) *Gaise…*
gaise
and.then
'and then…'

(A.26) *Taai yore yaremetale Mwetange bwe resa reotiu lago, yesa ire shagiu.*
taai yoore yaremate-le Mwetange bwe re=sa reotiu lago ye=sa
NEG.DUR exist people-3SG.POSS Mwetange SUB.CONN 3PL=PFV no.more go 3SG=PFV
ire shagiu
3PL.EMPH repeat
'There were no more people on Mwetange, because they're no more, it was only them.'

(A.27) *Ie Maruwa me mekawe re famwa…*
ie Maruwa me mel-ka-we re=famwa
3SG.EMPH Maruwa CONJ ANA-PL-DEF 3PL=adopter
'Maruwa and his godparents…'

(A.28) *Serane nge yesa gangalire ie mekawe re famwa bwe…*
se-rane nge ye=sa gangali=re ie mel-ka-we re=famwa bwe
one-CLF:DAY CONJ 3SG=PFV tell=3PL 3SG.EMPH ANA-PL-DEF 3PL=adopter SUB.CONN
'One day they told their adopted children:'

(A.29) *Gaibwele gamalemale bwe sibwele shiuwe me woale faliuwei.*
gai=bwele ga-malemale bwe si=bwele shiuwe me woa-le
2PL=INCEP CAUS-ready SUB.CONN 1PL.INCL=INCEP leave from on-3SG.POSS
faliuwe-i
island-1SG.POSS
"'You need to get ready because we're leaving this island."'

(A.30) *Sibwele fagi lago buleoiuga sibwe lago iyange.*
si=bwele fage=i lago buleoiuga si=bwe lago iyange
1PL.INCL=INCEP search=TRR go place 1PL.INCL=INC go ANA-there
'We're going to look for a place that we're going to.'

(A.31) *Ila ie melewe resa loge.*
i-la ie mele-we re=sa loge
ANA-MED 3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF 3PL=PFV stay
'They stayed.'

(A.32) *Serane nge yesa butoge soali tage seewe umwe.*
se-rane nge ye=sa butoge soali tage seewe umwe
one-CLF:DAY CONJ 3SG=PFV come heat.rocks.in.pit up one oven
'One day he came and prepared an oven.'

(A.33) *Nge mano, nge iye yesa gale gasiya:*
nge mano nge iye ye=sa gale gasiya
CONJ finish CONJ 3SG.EMPH 3SG=PFV HAB ask
'Done, and he (Ngifatale) asks [Maruwa].'

(A.34) *gasiya: "Minale meta ie umwe la?"*
gasiya mine-le meta ie umwe la
ask for-3SG.POSS what 3SG.EMPH oven MED
'Asks, "what is the oven for?"'

(A.35) *"ibwe umuligo."*
i=bwe umuli=go
1SG=INC oven.cook=2SG
'[Maruwa replied:] "I'm going to oven cook you."'

(A.36) *resa butoge.*
re=sa butoge
3PL=PFV come
'They came.'

(A.37) *loge yee reshe lago ie umwe we yaale.*
loge yee re-she lago ie umwe we yaa-le
stay and.so for-1PL.INCL.POSS go 3SG.EMPH oven DEF POSS.CLF:GEN-3SG.POSS
'Stayed until his oven went out.'

(A.38) *Yesa butoge yariuwe lago nge…*
ye=sa butoge yariuwe lago nge
3SG=PFV come stir go CONJ
'He came stirred it and…'

(A.39) *Resa butoge fitege me ie Ngifatale.*
re=sa butoge fitege me ie Ngifatale
3PL=PFV come fight CONJ 3SG.EMPH Ngifatale
'They came and fought with Ngifatale.'

(A.40) *Ganifiti longe ie Ngifatale lani ie umwe we.*
ga-nifiti longe ie Ngifatale lani ie umwe we
CAUS-throw in 3SG.EMPH Ngifatale in 3SG.EMPH oven DEF
'They threw Ngifatale into the oven.'

(A.41) *Yesa gashepa lago.*
ye=sa ga-shepa lago
3SG=PFV CAUS-overturn go
'He flipped it over.'

(A.42) *Yesa loge yee nge gaingali, yesa lago reli ie mekawe.*
ye=sa loge yee nge gangali ye=sa lago reli ie mel-ka-we
3SG=PFV stay and.so CONJ tell 3SG=PFV go for-3SG 3SG.EMPH ANA-PL-DEF
'He stayed and…said…he stayed and he went to them.'

(A.43) *Refamwa bwe, rebwele magiwei shiule, resa iuriuwei seewe waa bwe waare liteti yesa gasire wei ie mekawe rebugetale shiule.*
re=famwa bwe re=bwele magi wei shiule re=sa iuriu wei seewe waa
3PL=adopter SUB.CONN 3PL=INCEP go.together out still 3PL=PFV drag out one vehicle
bwe waa-re li=teti ye=sa gasi=re wei ie mel-ka-we
SUB.CONN POSS.CLF:VEHICLE-3PL.POSS in=sea 3SG=PFV grab=3PL out 3SG.EMPH ANA-PL-DEF
rebugeta-le shiule
relative-3SG.POSS still
'[to] the adopters, they would go out on, they pulled out one canoe for them in the ocean, he took out his relatives on.'

(A.44) *Bwe ie yebwe manole shagiu gasi lago mene gane.*
bwe ie ye=bwe mano-le shagiu gasi lago mene
SUB.CONN 3SG.EMPH 3SG=INC finish-3SG.POSS repeat grab go FOC
gela-le
POSS.CLF:ALIM-3SG .POSS
'So that when he finishes taking this food for.'

(A.45) *Ilatugufai me Lishemwagiure nge yesa buwei tabere.*
Ilatugufai me Lishemwagiure nge ye=sa bu-wei tabe=re
Ilatugufai CONJ Lishemwagiure CONJ 3SG=PFV go-out join=3PL
'Ilatugufai and Lishemwagiure, and he'll go out with them.'

(A.46) *Ila melewe yesa lago.*
ila mele-we ye=sa lago
so 3SG=PFV go
'So he went.'

(A.47) *Yesa loge yee…*
ye=sa loge yee
3SG=PFV stay and.so
'He stayed and…'

(A.48) *Mele…*
mele
FOC
'uhh…'

(A.49) *Yesa butoge tepagi seewe paliu…mele…paniule woleferage.*
ye=sa butoge tepagi seewe [paliu] mele paniu-le woleferage
3SG=PFV come cut.leaf one [paliu] FOC palm.frond-3SG.POSS sprouted.coconut
'He came and cut one [paliu]…uh…leaf of a sprouted coconut.'

(A.50) *Yesa butoge faiuwe bwe yale shiuge.*
ye=sa butoge faiuwe bwe yaa-le shiuge
3SG=PFV come stone-DEF SUB.CONN POSS.CLF:GEN-3SG.POSS food.basket
'He came and wove for his food carrying basket.'

(A.51) *ye mano lago*
ye=mano lago
3SG=finish go
'He finished going.'

(A.52) *yesa*
ye=sa
3SG=PFV
'He…'

(A.53) *butoge bweei tage ie*
butoge bweei tage ie
come retrieve.from.oven up 3SG.EMPH
'Came and took him out of the oven.'

(A.54) *Ngifatale*
Ngifatale
Ngifatale
'Ngifatale.'

(A.55) *peolengiu longe lani*
peolengiu longe lani
roll in in
'Rolled him into [it].'

(A.56) *iwe gasi lago reli ie melewe imwale Ilatugufai me Lishemwagiure*
i-we gasi lago reli ie mele-we imwe-le Ilatugufai me
ANA-DEF grab go for-3SG 3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF house-3SG.POSS Ilatugufai CONJ
Lishemwagiure
Lishemwagiure
'Then he took [him] to the house of Ilatugufai and Lishemwagiure.'

(A.57) *Butoge shagiu yee iselitiwe metale getame*
butoge shagiu yee iseli tiwe meta-le getame
come repeat and.so put down inside3SG.POSS door
'Came in and…put [him] down at the threshold of the door.'

(A.58) *Iye gelami*
iye gela-mi
3SG.EMPH food-2PL.POSS
'"Here, your food."'

(A.59) *resa gasiya "meta ila" "Gelami."*
re=sa gasiya metta i-la gela-mi
3PL=PFV ask what ANA-MED food-2PL.POSS
'They asked [him], "what's that?" "your food."'

(A.60) *gaulotiwe ie melewe nge ie yesa lago mato wetabole geshoashoale ie imwe we imwere*
ga-wole-tiwe ie mele-we nge ie ye=sa lago mato wetabo-le
CAUS-lie-down 3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF CONJ 3SG.EMPH 3SG=PFV go sit tip-3SG.POSS
geshoashoa-le ie imwe we imwe-re
threshold-3SG.POSS 3SG.EMPH house DEF house-3PL.POSS
'[He] laid it down and he sat on the edge of the threshold of the house, their house.'

(A.61) *gatalinge melewe rebwe seoriu*
ga-talinga mele-we re=bwe seoriu
CAUS-ear ANA-DEF 3PL=INC say
'Listening to what they were saying.'

(A.62) *ie ye...*
ie ye=
3SG.EMPH 3SG=
'He...'

(A.63) *Ilatugufai yesa*
Ilatugufai ye=sa
Ilatugufai 3SG=PFV
'Ilatugufai, she...'

(A.64) *Lishemwagiure yesa gangali Ilatugufai, buwei*
Lishemwagiure ye=sa gangali Ilatugufai bu-wei
Lishemwagiure 3SG=PFV tell Ilatugufai go-out
'Lishemwagiure he said to Ilatugufai, go out.'

(A.65) *sililonge yengange we yaale Lishemwagiure*
sililong yengange we yaa-le Lishemwagiure
put.in work DEF POSS.CLF:GEN-3SG.POSS Lishemwagiure
'[to] Take in the work of Lishemwagiure [Maruwa?].'

(A.66) *Buwei yange longe lani yewale ie*
bu-wei yange longe lani yewa-le ie
go-out there in in mouth-3SG.POSS 3SG.EMPH
'[she] went out and reached into the mouth of…'

(A.67) *melewe*
mele-we
ANA-DEF
'uhh…'

(A.68) *Ngifatale*
Ngifatale
Ngifatale
'Ngifatale.'

(A.69) *Yesa pangipangi melewe ngiile yee setali*
ye=sa pangi pangi mele-we ngii-le yee se-tale
3SG=PFV count count ANA-DEF tooth-3SG.POSS and.so one-CLF:LAYER
'She counted his teeth and…there was one row.'

(A.70) *yesa pangi iwe seewe yee bwale setale*
ye=sa pangi i-we seewe yee bwale se-tale
3SG=PFV count ANA-DEF one and.so also one-CLF:LAYER
'She counted the other one, and then there was another row.'

(A.71) *bwale paangi bale seewe yee bale siliteli*
bwale pangi bale seewe yee bale sili-tale
also count also one and.so also three-CLF:LAYER
'Counted one again and again, there were three rows.'

(A.72) *melewe ngiile*
mele-we ngii-le
ANA-DEF tooth-3SG.POSS
'[it was] his teeth.'

(A.73) *pangi melewe garetale yesa faatale*
pangi mele-we garetale ye=sa faa-tale
count ANA-DEF last 3SG PFV four-CLF:LAYER
'Counted the last one and it was four rows.'

(A.74) *yei go giula bwe Maruwa yesa lago lii melewe laiushe*
yei go=giula bwe Maruwa ye=sa lago liiye=i mele-we laiu-she
INJ 2SG=know SUB.CONN Maruwa 3SG=PFV go kill=TRR ANA-DEF offspring-1PL.INCL.POSS
"'Hey, you know that Maruwa has gone and killed our son?"'

(A.75) *nge ie yesa gangali ngo, gange mene isa liiye*
nge ie ye=sa gangali ngo gange mene i=sa liiye
CONJ 3SG.EMPH 3SG=PFV tell yes 1SG FOC 1SG=PFV kill
'And he [Maruwa] said "yes, it is I who killed him."'

(A.76) *bwe igagila gare gaibwe mweshali gangi iga*
bwe i=gagila gare gai=bwe mweshali gangi iga
SUB.CONN 1SG=try if 2PL=INC agree eat when
"'Because I tried to see if you guys would want to eat him when…"'

(A.77) *gaitai mongo wei liteti nge gai keshoashe yaremate*
gai=tai mongo wei li=teti nge gai=keshoashe yaremate
2PL=NEG eat out in=sea CONJ 1PL.EXCL=eat.raw person
"'You don't eat out of the ocean and you are eating people."'

(A.78) *iwe isa gasi toge ie mene laiumi gare gaibwe mwelele gangi*
i-we i=sa gasi togo ie mene lai-mi gare gai bwe mwele-le
ANA-DEF 1SG PFV grab come 3SG.EMPH FOC offspring-2PL.POSS if 2PL INC
gangi
able-3SG.POSS eat
"'So, I brought your son if you can eat him."'

(A.79) *iwe resa tangi, tangeti melewe*
i-we re=sa tangi tangi-RED mele-we
ANA-DEF 3PL=PFV cry cry-PROG ANA-DEF
'So, they cry, cried on.'

(A.80) *laiure yee mano nge*
lai-re yee mano nge
offspring-3PL.POSS and.so finish CONJ
'Their child and…done and…'

(A.81) *resa gangi*
re=sa gangi
3PL=PFV eat
'They ate him.'

(A.82) *gangi gangi yee toare lago*
gangi gangi yee toare lago
eat eat and.so NEG.EXIST go
'Ate him and ate him until he was gone.'

(A.83) *nge ie yesa lago reli mekawe rebugutale*
nge ie ye=sa lago reli mel-ka-we rebuguta-le
CONJ 3SG.EMPH 3SG=PFV go for-3SG ANA-PL-DEF relative-3SG.POSS
'And he went back to his relatives.'

(A.84) *gangalire bwe yee gai butoge bwe sibwele lago*
gangali=re bwe yee gai=butoge bwe si=bwele lago
tell=3PL SUB.CONN and.so 1PL.EXCL=come SUB.CONN 1PL.INCL=INCEP go
'Told them that "Hey, [you] come because we are going."'

(A.85) *buwei iuriu tage melewe waare nge resa terage*
bu-wei iuriu tage mele-we waa-re nge re=sa teragi
go-out drag up ANA-DEF POSS.CLF:VEHICLE-3PL.POSS CONJ 3PL=PFV sail
'[They] went out and dragged up their canoe and they sailed.'

(A.86) *yesa gangalire, resa teterage lago nimetawe*
ye=sa gangali=re re=sa RED-terage lago ni=metawe
3SG=PFV tell=3PL 3PL=PFV PROG-sail go in=ocean
'He told them, they were sailing away into the open sea.'

(A.87) *yesa gangalire gaibe fefale tage weneng*
ye=sa gangali=re gai=be RED-fale tage weli=langi
3SG=PFV tell=3PL 1PL.EXCL=INC PROG-look up on=sky
'He told them: "look up to the sky."'

(A.88) *gai pipiye seewe male reshupiung ila yebwe gashiyoa lago me lani langi nge gaisa seoriu bwe sibwe gashepa lago waa ye*
gai=pipiye seewe male reshupiung i-la ye=bwe gashiyoa lago me lani langi nge
2PL=watch one thing dark ANA-MED 3SG=INC extend go CONJ in sky CONJ
gai=sa seoriu bwe si=bwe ga-shepa lago waa ye
2PL=PFV say SUB.CONN 1PL.INCL=INC CAUS-overturn go vehicle CONJ
"'You look for one dark [thing] that is going across the sky, and tell me so that we can flip the canoe."'

(A.89) *waashe*
waa-she
canoe-1PL.INCL.POSS
'Our canoe.'

(A.90) *ila melewe resa pipiye tage yee nge re weri melewe ye gashiyoa lago lani langi*
ila mele-we re=sa pipiye tage yee nge re=weri mele-we ye=gashiyoa lago lani
so ANA-DEF 3PL=PFV watch up and.so CONJ 3PL=see ANA-DEF 3SG=extend go in
langi
sky
'So they looked up and…they saw the thing across the sky.'

(A.91) *yei ilaale*
yei i-laale
INJ ANA-DIST
"'Hey, [it's] over there!"'

(A.92) *nge resa gashepa lago ie waawe waare*
nge re=sa ga-shepa lago ie waa we waa-re
CONJ 3PL PFV CAUS-overturn go 3SG.EMPH canoe DEF POSS.CLF:VEHICLE 3PL.POSS
'And so they flipped over their canoe.'

(A.93) *resa, malesiye seewe taali*
re=sa malesiye seewe taali
3PL=PFV tie.with.loop one rope
'They, loop-tied a rope.'

(A.94) *melatage me lani ie sugesugule ie waawe*
mela-tage me lani ie sugesuge-le ie waa-we
do-up from in 3SG.EMPH ko.canoe.part 3SG.POSS 3SG.EMPH canoe-DEF
'Did it up from the sugesuge of the canoe.'

(A.95) *nge ie yesa lago bitiwe yee*
nge ie ye=sa lago bi-tiwe yee
CONJ 3SG.EMPH 3SG PFV go go-down and.so
'And he went down and…'

(A.96) *bitiwe yamwe longe lani ie melewe, tale we nge ire re niuma lago ie melewe shapeliuwale*
bi-tiwe yamwe longe lani ie mele-we tale we nge ire re=niuma
go-down point in in 3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF line DEF CONJ 3PL.EMPH 3PL=tie.around
lago ie mele-we shape-le-iuwa-le
go 3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF stem-3SG.POSS-neck-3SG.POSS
'Went down and put his head in it, the rope, and then they tied [the rope] around his neck.'

(A.97) *mase lago*
mase lago
die go
'He died.'

(A.98) *iwe*
i-we
ANA-DEF
'So.'

(A.99) *resa bwale gebwai shagiu ie melewe waare nge resa terage*
re=sa bwale gebwai shagiu ie mele-we waa-re nge
3PL=PFV also flip.back repeat 3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF POSS.CLF:VEHICLE-3PL.POSS CONJ
re=sa teragi
3PL=PFV sail
'They also just flipped it back up, their canoe, and they sailed.'

(A.100) *terage terage yee Balau*
teragi teragi yee Balau
sail sail and.so Palau
'Sailed and sailed and…[to] Palau.'

(A.101) *resa bulong gake suumwe me gamwe me, toulape mekawe re gasi me iyange*
re=sa bu long gake suumwe me gamwe me toulape mel ka we re=gasi
3PL=PFV go in take.PL giant.clam CONJ clam.variety CONJ many ANA PL DEF 3PL=grab
me iyange
from ANA-there
'They went in and took giant clam and other clams and, many things they took from there.'

(A.102) *Resa…*
re=sa
3PL=PFV
'They…'

(A.103) *Terage yee*
teragi yee
sail and.so
'Sailed and…'

(A.104) *Ngeoliu*
ngeoliu
Nguluw
'[to] Ngulu'

(A.105) *Nge yaliusiule Ngeoliu yeseoriu bwe yetewai toge longe waala waare bwe toare toure.*
nge yaliusiu-le ngeoliu ye=seoriu bwe ye=tewai togo longe waa-la
CONJ spirit-3SG.POSS Nguluw 3SG=say SUB.CONN 3SG=NEG.FUT come in vehicle-MED
waa-re bwe toare toure
POSS.CLF:VEHICLE-3PL.POSS SUB.CONN NEG.EXIST channel
'And the spirit of Ngeoliuwe said that their canoe would not make it in because there's no channel.'

(A.106) *Rebwe lago reli mena, rebwe butoge faliuwei.*
re=bwe lago reli mel-la re=bwe butoge faliuwe-i
3PL=INC go for ANA-MED 3PL=INC come POSS.CLF:ISLAND-1SG.POSS
'They're going to that, they're coming to this island.'

(A.107) *ila mene faliuwe*
i-la mene faliuwe
ANA-MED FOC island
'So this island…'

(A.108) *rebulong yee faliuwei*
re=bu-long yee faliuwe-i
3PL=go-in and.so POSS.CLF:ISLAND-1SG.POSS
'They came to this island.'

(A.109) *woale Yap nge yaliusiule…*
woa-le Yap nge yaliusiu-le
on-3SG.POSS Yap CONJ spirit-3SG.POSS
'On Yap and the spirits of…'

(A.110) *Yap rebale seoriu bwe yetewai toge longe waa laale bwe.*
Yap re=bale seoriu bwe ye=tewai togo longe waa laale bwe
Yap 3PL=also say SUB.CONN 3SG=NEG.FUT come in vehicle DIST SUB.CONN
'Yap they said that they would not come in because'

(A.111) *Toare tiurale faliuwei.*
toare toure-le faliuwe-i
NEG.EXIST channel-3SG.POSS POSS.CLF:ISLAND-1SG.POSS
'There is no channel of this island.'

(A.112) *Gai bitage reli mena peige tage meme.*
gai=bi-tage re-li mel-la peige tage-mem
2PL=go-up for-3SG.POSS ANA-MED side up-1PL.EXCL.POSS
"'You go up to [the island] up our side."'

(A.113) *bitage yee Iuliti.*
bi-tage yee Iuliti
go-up and.so Ulithi
'They went up to Ulithi.'

(A.114) *Nge bale siu fetale yaliuse lani toure nge.*
nge bale siu fetale yaliuse lani toure nge
CONJ also stand around spirit in channel CONJ
'And also a ghost was standing around in the channel and'

(A.115) *Yegale seoriu bwe toare tourale faliuwe we.*
ye=gale seoriu bwe toare toure-le faliuwe we
3SG=HAB say SUB.CONN NEG.EXIST channel-3SG.POSS island DEF
'He was saying that there is no channel of this island.'

(A.116) *Bwe bitage Fais.*
bwe bi-tage Fais
SUB.CONN go-up Fais
'And they went up to Fais.'

(A.117) *Bitage yee Fais nge tai bwale mwele bulong waawe bwe.*
bi-tage yee Fais nge tai bale mwele bu long waa-we bwe
go-up and.so Fais CONJ NEG also able go in canoe-DEF SUB.CONN
'Went up to Fais and their canoe also couldn't go in because…'

(A.118) *Tai bwale yore buleoiuga yebwe bulong me iyang.*
tai bale yoore buleoiuga ye=bwe bu long me i-yang
NEG also EXIST place 3SG=INC go in CONJ ANA-there
'Also there wasn't a place where it could go in from.'

(A.119) *Yesa lago yee Sorol.*
ye=sa lago yee Sorol
3SG=PFV go and.so Sorol
'They went to Sorol.'

(A.120) *Taibwale toge longe bwe…*
tai=bale togo longe bwe
NEG=also come in SUB.CONN
'[They] also couldn't go in because…'

(A.121) *Toare toure.*
toare toure
NEG.EXIST channel
'There was no channel.'

(A.122) *Nge re bitage yee Yaurepig.*
nge re=bi-tage yee yaurepig
CONJ 3PL=go-up and.so Eauripik
'And they went up to Eauripik.'

(A.123) *Bulonge.*
bu-longe
go-in
'Went in.'

(A.124) *Bulonge me lani Tewale Iige.*
bu-longe me lani Tewale Iige
go-in CONJ in Tewale Iige
'Went in and into Tewale Iige (lit. 'channel of fish').'

(A.125) *Resa…*
re=sa
3PL=PFV
'They…'

(A.126) *gasilonge ie melewe we waare yee…*
gasi-longe ie mel-we we waa-re yee
grab-in 3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF DEF POSS.CLF:VEHICLE-3PL.POSS and.so
'Took in their canoe and….'

(A.127) *Bulonge nge ie melewe yaliusiule Yaurepige ye wole lani tewale iige, Goose.*
bu-longe nge ie mel-we yaliusiu-le Yaurepige ye=wole lani Tewale Iige
go-in CONJ 3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF spirit-3SG.POSS Eauripik 3SG=lie in Tewale Iige
Goose
Goose
'Went in and the ghost of Eauripik he was laying in Tewale Iige, Goose.'

(A.128) *Gasiu tagei ie melewe bugiuwale.*
ga-siu tage=i ie mel-we bugiuwe-le
CAUS-stand up=TRR 3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF knee-3SG.POSS
'He raised up his knee.'

(A.129) *Tetiwe ie kapile we yaare yesa lago.*
RED-tiwe ie kapile we yaa-re ye=sa lago
PROG-down 3SG.EMPH captain DEF POSS.CLF:GEN-3PL.POSS 3SG=PFV go
'Got down their captain, he went.'

(A.130) *Gasi melewe limitagile ie waawe yesa lago gamwaremwera ngali melewe bugiuwale.*
gasi mel-we limitagi-le ie waa-we ye=sa lago ga-mwaremwera
grab ANA-DEF tie.up.rope-3SG.POSS 3SG.EMPH canoe-DEF 3SG=PFV go CAUS-lei
ngali mel-we bugiuwe-le
to ANA-DEF knee-3SG.POSS
'Took the tying-up rope of the canoe, [and] went to lei [to] that knee (of his).'

(A.131) *Giuwale goose.*
bugiuwe-le Goose
knee-3SG.POSS Goose
'Knee of Goose.'

(A.132) *Nge ie ye farage tangi nge ie ye getefasho lago nge ye maniunago ie waawe.*
nge ie ye=farage tangi nge ie ye=ga-tefasho lago nge ye=maaliu
CONJ 3SG.EMPH 3SG=walk from CONJ 3SG.EMPH 3SG=CAUS-straight go CONJ 3SG=drift
lago ie waa-we
go 3SG.EMPH canoe-DEF
'And he walked away from [it] and he straightened [his knee] and the canoe drifted away.'

(A.133) *Nge mine rebele bulong welifaliuwe.*
nge mine re=bele bu long weli=faliuwe
CONJ for 3PL=INCEP go in on=island
'And they were about to go in onto the island.'

(A.134) *Ye wegitegi nge yesa bale siutage melewe bugiuwale Goose.*
ye=wegitege=i nge ye=sa bale siu tage mel-we bugiuwe-le Goose
3SG=turn.around=TRR CONJ 3SG=PFV also stand up ANA-DEF knee-3SG.POSS Goose
'He turned around and Goose's knee stood up again.'

(A.135) *Yesa…*
ye=sa
3SG=PFV
'He…'

(A.136) *Loge yee yela…*
loge yee ye=la
stay and.so 3SG=PFV2
'stayed and he…'

(A.137) *Bale farage ngali bale lago gemwaremwera tiwe.*
bale farage ngali bale lago ga-mwaremwera tiwe
also walk to also go CAUS-lei down
'[he] Also walked to [Goose's knee] and also put down a lei [on it].'

(A.138) *Farage lago.*
farage lago
walk go
'Walked away.'

(A.139) *Nge ie yebale gatefashowe lago.*
nge ie ye=bale ga-tefashe-we lago
CONJ 3SG.EMPH 3SG=also CAUS-straight-DEF go
'And he also straightened out [his knee].'

(A.140) *Nge…*
nge
CONJ
'And…'

(A.141) *Fale ngali nge yesiu melewe bugiuwale nge yesa bwale maaliu lago waawe.*
fale ngali nge ye=siu mel-we bugiuwe-le nge ye=sa bale maaliu lago
look to CONJ 3SG=stand ANA-DEF knee-3SG.POSS CONJ 3SG=PFV also drift go
waa-we
canoe-DEF
'From their canoe and hit it to his knee, and he stood up.'

(A.142) *Yesa bale lago gasi…*
ye=sa bale lago gasi
3SG=PFV also go grab
'He also went and took…'

(A.143) *Bale lago mela tiwe woale melewe bugiuwale*
bale lago mela tiwe woa-le mel-we bugiuwe-le
also go do down on-3SG.POSS ANA-DEF knee-3SG.POSS
'Also went and did the thing again on his knee.'

(A.144) *Nge ie*
nge ie
CONJ 3SG.EMPH
'And he…'

(A.145) *Bale gatefasho lago melewe.*
bale ga-tefasho lago mel-we
also CAUS-straight go ANA-DEF
'Again he straightened it.'

(A.146) *Yela wegitege*
ye=la wegitege
3SG=PFV2 turn.around
'He turned around.'

(A.147) *Tai bale loge ie melewe bugiuwaole bwe yesa bale siu.*
tai bale loge ie mel-we bugiuwe-le bwe ye=sa bale siu
NEG also stay 3SG.EMPH ANA-DEF knee-3SG.POSS SUB.CONN 3SG=PFV also stand
'His knee is gone because he is standing again.'

(A.148) *Nge ire re gasi shagiu ie siume kawe.*
nge ire re=gasi shagiu ie siume ka-we
CONJ 3PL 3PL=grab repeat 3SG.EMPH clam.variety PL-DEF
'And they just took the clams.'

(A.149) *Shiule ie waawe nifiti ngali melewe bugiuwale nge ie ye bitage siu lago.*
shiule ie waa-we nifiti ngali mel-we bugiuwe-le nge ie
still 3SG.EMPH canoe-DEF throw to ANA-DEF knee-3SG.POSS CONJ 3SG.EMPH
ye=bi-tage siu lago
3SG=go-up stand go
'From their canoe and hit it to his knee, and he stood up.'

(A.150) *Tetegaagiu lago.*
RED-tegaagiu lago
PROG-laugh go
'Laughing and laughing.'

(A.151) *Yei yetewai mwelele yami bulonge woale faliuwei bwe...*
yei ye=tewai mwele-le yaa-mi bu-longe woa-le
INJ 3SG=NEG.FUT able-3SG.POSS POSS.CLF:GEN-2PL.POSS go-in on-3SG.POSS
faliuwe-i bwe
POSS.CLF:ISLAND-1SG.POSS SUB.CONN
'Hey! Hey you guys cannot go onto this island because.'

(A.152) *...gaitewai mwele...*
gai=tewai mwele
1PL.EXCL=NEG.FUT able
'You all won't be able.'

(A.153) *Ye toare mongole.*
ye=toare mongo-le
3SG NEG.EXIST food-3SG.POSS
'There is no food of [the island].'

(A.154) *Gai bitage reli faliuwe mu peige tage meme*
gai=bi-tage reli faliuwe mu peige tage-mem
1PL.EXCL=go-up for island ADDR side up-1PL.EXCL.POSS
'You all go up to those islands above us.'

(A.155) *Nge resa bitage Woleya*
nge re=sa bi tage Wolea
CONJ 3PL=PFV go up Woleai
'And they went up to Woleai.'

(A.156) *Nge resa bale seoriu bwe retewai toge longe.*
nge re=sa bale seoriu bwe re=tewai togo longe
CONJ 3PL=PFV also say SUB.CONN 3PL=NEG.FUT come in
'And they said that they cannot go in.'

(A.157) *Bitage Ifalug nge resa la bulong me woale.*
bi-tage Ifalug nge re=sa la bu long me woa-le
go-up Ifalik CONJ 3PL=PFV MED go in CONJ on-3SG.POSS
'Went up to Ifalik and they went in and on.'

(A.158) *Iwe ila faliuwe ye rebwe mwele iyang.*
iwe i-la faliuwe ye=re=bwe mwele i-yang
so ANA-MED island and.so 3PL=INC able ANA-there
'So that was the island that they were able to go in.'

(A.159) *Iwe resa bulonge loge lago woale Ifalug.*
iwe re=sa bu-longe loge lago woa-le Ifalug
so 3PL=PFV go in stay go on-3SG.POSS Ifalik
'So they went in and stayed on Ifalik.'

(A.160) *Iwe resa…*
iwe re=sa
so 3PL=PFV
'So they…'

(A.161) *Loge yee…*
loge yee
stay and.so
'Stayed and…'

(A.162) *Gasire longe mekawe*
gasi=re longe mel-ka-we
grab=3PL in ANAPL-DEF
'Brought in those…'

(A.163) *Shoale ie waawe resa bulong loge fetale.*
shoa-le ie waa we re=sa bu-long loge fetale
person-3SG.POSS 3SG.EMPH canoe DEF 3PL=PFV go-in stay around
'People on the canoe, they went in and stayed around.'

(A.164) *Yesa loge lago yee yesa…*
ye=sa loge lago yee ye=sa
3SG=PFV stay go and.so 3SG=PFV
'He [Maruwa] stayed and…he.'

(A.165) *Bulong fititi lago.*
bu-long fititiye lago
go in married go
'Went in and got married.'

(A.166) *Yesa toulap lago ie mekawe rebugetale ie Maruwa.*
ye=sa toulape lago ie mel-ka-we rebugeta-le ie Maruwa
3SG=PFV many go 3SG.EMPH ANA-PL-DEF relative-3SG.POSS 3SG.EMPH Maruwa
'There were a lot of relatives of Maruwa.'

(A.167) *Yei seeresere waale moi ma iuge.*
yei seresere waa-le Moiu me iuge
INJ beach POSS.CLF:VEHICLE-3SG.POSS Moiu CONJ end
'Hey! This is the end of the story.'

(A.168) *Waale Moiu ma ye iuge.*
waa-le Moiu me ye=iuge
POSS.CLF:VEHICLE-3SG.POSS Moiu CONJ 3SG=end
'…end of the story.'

(A.169) *Iwe.*
iwe
so
'OK.'

A.2 Man and Tree Task

This recording represents one section of the man and tree task (Levinson et al. 1992) carried out by Lenny Saumar (speaker A) and Ignatius Maluchelmar (speaker B). The recording was made in Honolulu, Hawai'i on March 23rd 2022. Segmentation was done by me, and transcription and translation was done by Lenny Saumar.

(A.170) *Gosa ready?*
go=sa ready
2SG=PFV ready
'Are you ready, oh?'

(A.171) *Ibe gangaluge nge geele gosa fagili mene ibe seoriu.*
i=be ngalu=go nge geele go=sa fage-yegili mene i=be seoriu
1SG=INC show=2SG CONJ 2SG.EMPH 2SG=PFV search-VBLZR FOC 1SG=INC say
'I will say it, and you find what I will describe.'

(A.172) *Iwe.*
i-we
ANA-DEF
'Okay.'

(A.173) *Menele ila ngeoniu seewe, yesaro wei seewe teapot.*
mene-le i-la ngeoliu-le seewe ye=saro wei seewe teapot
PROX-3SG.POSS ANA-MED picture-3SG.POSS one 3SG=somewhat resemble one teapot
'This is a picture of a teapot look alike.'

(A.174) *Sefasho ye wei giyobu gare wei fashe.*
se-fasho ye=wei giyobu gare wei fashe
one-CLF:LONG.RIGID 3SG=resemble spider.lily or resemble pineapple
'And one spider lily or pineapple kind.'

(A.175) *Yarole meka, seluwe fauremile, yarole mekale nge semoiu male pashigeshige.*
yarole mel-ka selu we fauremile yarole mel-ka-le nge se-moiu
near ANA-PL three DEF things near ANA-PL-3SG.POSS CONJ one-CLF:GROUP.ANIM
male pashige-shige
thing small-RED
'Three things, near these things there are small things.'

(A.176) *Go weri?*
go=weri
2SG=see
'Can you see?'

(A.177) *Ruwou talingale mene nge, ye nage ngaluge.*
ru=wou talinga-le mene nge ye=nage ngalu=go
two=CLF:GEN ear-3SG.POSS FOC CONJ 3SG=show show=2SG
'There are two handles on it. Is it showing?'

(A.178) *Ngo.*
ngo
yes
'Yes.'

(A.179) *Ngo.*
ngo
yes
'Yes.'

(A.180) *Garuwouwale ngeoliu nge ngeoniu sefasho sitosa.*
garuwouwale ngeoliu nge ngeoliu-le se-fasho sitosa
second picture CONJ picture-3SG.POSS one-CLF:LONG.RIGID car
'Second picture is a picture of one car.'

(A.181) *Waale mele kawe yegale gake poliu yeloge semaliu karebau lani nge yeloge tapile shagiu waliuweoliu we reli melewe mmwale, welipeigile.*
waa-le mele-ka-we ye=gale gake poliu ye=loge se-maliu
POSS:VEHICLE-3SG.POSS ANA-PL-DEF 3SG=HAB take.PL dirt 3SG=stay one-CLF:ANIM
karebau lani nge ye=loge tapile shagiu waliuweoliu we reli mele-we
cow in CONJ 3SG=stay like repeat plant DEF for ANA-DEF
mmwa-le weli=peige-le
precede-3SG.POSS on=side-3SG.POSS
'It is a dump truck, and there is a cow inside it. There's the same tree from the previous picture near it.'

(A.182) *Nage ngaluge.*
nage ngalu=go
show show=2SG
'Can you see it?'

(A.183) *Uu.*
uu
uh-huh
'Yeah.'

(A.184) *Gaseluwale nge semaliu labute ye fiife woale sefaiu faiu.*
gaseluwale nge se-maliu labute ye=fiife woa-le se-faiu faiu
third CONJ one-CLF:ANIM snake 3SG=coil on-3SG.POSS one-CLF:ROUND stone
'Third, there is a pile of snake on a rock.'

(A.185) *Yebale loge ie waliuweoliu we.*
ye=bale loge ie waliuweoliu we
3SG=also stay 3SG.EMPH plant DEF
'And the tree is also there.'

(A.186) *Isa weri.*
i=sa weri
1SG=PFV see
'I see it.'

(A.187) *Go weri.*
go=weri
2SG=see
'You see it.'

(A.188) *Gefauwale yeloge waliuweoliu we nge yebale loge ie rawe we gare ie teapot we ruwou talingale.*
gafauwale ye=loge waliuweoliu we nge ye=bale loge ie raawe we gare
fourth 3SG=stay plant DEF CONJ 3SG=also stay 3SG.EMPH pot DEF or
ie teapot we ru=wou talinga-le
3SG.EMPH teapot DEF TWO=CLF:GEN ear-3SG.POSS
'Fourth, there is that tree and the pot or teapot with two handles.'

(A.189) *Bale seewe tapi ye seogiule ie mekawe ye pashigeshige.*
bale seewe tapi ye=seogiu-le ie mel-ka we ye=pashige-shige
also one bowl 3SG=full-3SG.POSS 3SG.EMPH ANA-PL DEF 3SG=small-RED
'Also, one bowl full of the small things.'

(A.190) *Ye saro sugege lago mena piletale.*
ye=saro sugege lago mel-la pilate-le
3SG=somewhat opened go ANA-MED lid-3SG.POSS
'The cover has a little opening.'

(A.191) *Isa weri.*
i=sa weri
1SG=PFV see
'I see it.'

(A.192) *Gosa weri?*
go=sa weri
2SG=PFV see
'You see it?'

(A.193) *Tefale ngali melewe.*
tefale ngali mele-we
return to ANA-DEF
'Do the thing again.'

(A.194) *Yeloge waliuweoliu we yeloge teapot we reli melewe mmwale nge sa seewe tapi yeloge piletale woale nge ye wei bwe ye faile ngali peigile.*
ye=loge waliuweoliu we ye=loge teapot we reli mele-we mmwa-le nge sa
3SG=stay plant DEF 3SG=stay teapot DEF for ANA-DEF precede-3SG.POSS CONJ PFV
seewe tapi ye=loge pilate-le woa-le nge ye=wei bwe
one bowl 3SG=stay lid-3SG.POSS on-3SG.POSS CONJ 3SG=resemble SUB.CONN
ye=faile ngali peige-le
3SG=near.closed to side-3SG.POSS
'There is the tree and also the teapot, but there's also a bowl with cover on, and it has a little opening.'

(A.195) *Isa weri.*
i=sa weri
1SG=PFV see
'I see it.'

(A.196) *Seewe tapile shagiu melewe nge bone bwe toare piletale.*
seewe tapile shagiu mele-we nge bone bwe toare pilate-le
one like repeat ANA-DEF CONJ but SUB.CONN NEG.EXIST lid-3SG.POSS
'This other one has the same things, but the bowl does not have any cover.'

(A.197) *Nge yepouwei sekiute yauteni.*
nge ye=pou wei sekiute yauteni
CONJ 3SG=spill out some inside
'But some of the things inside spill out.'

(A.198) *Isa weri.*
i=sa weri
1SG=PFV see
'I see it.'

(A.199) *Tapile shagiu nge tai bale yoore piletale nge ye seogiu shagiu yauteni.*
tapile shagiu nge tai bale yoore pilate-le nge ye=seogiu shagiu yauteni
like repeat CONJ NEG also EXIST lid-3SG.POSS CONJ 3SG=handful only inside
'Same picture, and the bowl does not have a cover, but the small things are still inside.'

(A.200) *Isa weri.*
i=sa weri
1SG=PFV see
'I see it.'

(A.201) *Nge seewe nge ngeoniu seewe, yesaro wei rosario kawe.*
nge seewe nge ngeoliu-le seewe ye=saro wei rosario ka-we
CONJ one CONJ picture-3SG.POSS one 3SG=somewhat resemble rosary PL-DEF
'This other one is a picture of a rosary kind.'

(A.202) *Ye wei bwe ye chechoale meka ye pashige nge ye beshebesh meka farigite me iyange.*
ye=wei bwe ye=chechoale mel-ka ye=pashige nge ye=beshe-besh mel-ka
3SG=resemble SUB.CONN 3SG=black ANA-PL 3SG=small CONJ 3SG=white-RED ANA-PL
faregite me i-yange
big from ANA-there
'The small beads are black, and the bigger ones are white.'

(A.203) *Isa weri.*
i=sa weri
1SG=PFV see
'I see it.'

(A.204) *Nge ie seewe nge bale tapiwe shagiu, teapot we, waliuweoliu we, me tapi-we.*
nge ie seewe nge bale tapi-we shagiu teapot we waliuweoliu we me
CONJ 3SG.EMPH one CONJ also bowl-DEF repeat teapot DEF plant DEF from
tapi-we
bowl-DEF
'This one has the same things: the teapot, the tree, and the bowl.'

(A.205) *Saro wei seewe ngeoliu kawe yeloge piletale bone bwe ye sugege gachiu lago.*
saro wei seewe ngeoliu ka-we ye=loge pilate-le bone bwe
somewhat resemble one picture PL-DEF 3SG=stay lid-3SG.POSS but SUB.CONN
ye=sugege gachiu lago
3SG=opened good go
'[It's the] same as one of the pictures that has the cover on, but [this one] is open all the way.'

(A.206) *Ye meletage woale peigile.*
ye=mele tage woa-le peige-le
3SG=move up on-3SG.POSS side-3SG.POSS
'It stands on the side.'

(A.207) *Isa weri.*
i=sa weri
1SG=PFV see
'I see it.'

(A.208) *Ngeoniu sitosa we karabau we waliuweoliu we, iyeele nge karabau we ye siu woale mmwale.*
ngeoliu-le sitosa we karebau we waliuweoliu we i-yeele nge karebau we
picture-3SG.POSS car DEF COW DEF plant DEF ANA-PROX CONJ COW DEF
ye=siu woa-le mmwa-le
3SG=stand on-3SG.POSS precede-3SG.POSS
'Picture of the car, the cow, and the tree; this one has the cow standing on the front [hood].'

(A.209) *Isa weri.*
i=sa weri
1SG=PFV see
'I see it.'

(A.210) *Iyeele labute, labute we ye fiife woale faiu.*
i-yeele labute labute we ye=fiife woa-le faiu
ANA-PROX snake snake DEF 3SG=coil on-3SG.POSS stone
'This one is snake. The snake is piled on a rock.'

(A.211) *Iyeele nge ye fiife nge yetai, yesaro mele tangi yetai pashe gachiu ngali.*
i-yeele nge ye=fiife nge ye=tai ye=saro mele tangi ye=tai pashe
ANA-PROX CONJ 3SG=coil CONJ 3SG=NEG 3SG=somewhat ANA from 3SG=NEG correct
gachiu ngali
good to
'This one wasn't piled that close to the rock.'

(A.212) *Isa weri.*
i=sa weri
1SG=PFV see
'I see it.'

(A.213) *Iye seewe nge tapile shagiu melewe mmwale.*
ie seewe nge tapile shagiu mele-we mmwa-le
3SG.EMPH one CONJ like repeat ANA-DEF precede-3SG.POSS
'This other one is the same as the very first one.'

(A.214) *Teapot we me waliuweoliu we nge toare tapi bwe mekawe shagiu meka ye woale fetale.*
teapot we me waliuweoliu we nge toare tapi bwe mel-ka we shagiu
teapot DEF from plant DEF CONJ NEG.EXIST bowl SUB.CONN ANA-PL DEF repeat
mel-ka ye=woa-le fetale
ANA-PL 3SG=on-3SG.POSS around
'The teapot and the tree, but the bowl wasn't, only the things inside, and they were on the ground.'

(A.215) *Iye seewe nge tapile rosario we nge semate fifile.*
ie seewe nge tapile rosario we nge se-mate fifi-le
3SG.EMPH one CONJ like rosary DEF CONJ one-CLF:OTHER coil-3SG.POSS
'This one is like the rosary but a different pile.'

(A.216) *Nage ngaluge.*
nage ngalu=go
show show=2SG
'Can you see?'

(A.217) *Fasengale yaale semate fifile.*
ifasengale yaa-le se-mate fifi-le
how POSS-3SG one-CLF:OTHER coil
'How is it a different pile?'

(A.218) *Eehh.*
ehh
ehh
'Eehh.'

(A.219) *Saila shagiu garetale.*
saila shagiu garetale
thats.it repeat last
'That's the last one.'

(A.220) *Ye semate wone tangi melewe seewe yetai gachiu yai seoriu.*
ye=se-mate wole-le tangi mele-we seewe ye=tai gachiu yaa-i
3SG=one-CLF:OTHER lie-3SG.POSS from ANA-DEF one 3SG=NEG good POSS-1SG.POSS

seoriu
say
'It has a different position than the other one; the other is in a perfect pile.'

(A.221) *Melewe seewe nge wei bwe ye gamwele wone.*
mele-we seewe nge wei bwe ye=ga-mwele wole-le
ANA-DEF one CONJ resemble SUB.CONN 3SG=CAUS-able lie-3SG.POSS
'The other one is like it lays in perfect order.'

(A.222) *Ngo.*
ngo
yes
'Yes.'

(A.223) *Iye seewe ye taroperope.*
ie seewe ye=taroperope
3SG.EMPH one 3SG=scattered
'This one is not in a perfect pile.'

(A.224) *Ila ye pashe.*
i-la ye=pashe
ANA-MED 3SG=correct
'It is correct.'

(A.225) *Semate mene yeloge rei.*
se-mate mene ye=loge re=i
one-CLF:OTHER FOC 3SG=stay 3PL=1SG.POSS
'I have a different one.'

(A.226) *Mali yetai pashe.*
mali ye=tai pashe
maybe 3SG=NEG correct
'Maybe it is not correct.'

(A.227) *Iwe.*
i-we
ANA-DEF
'Okay.'

(A.228) *Yebwe mwele ibwe gawolo tiwe menele.*
ye=bwe mwele i=bwe ga-woolo tiwe mene-le
3SG=INC able 1SG=INC CAUS-lay down PROX-3SG.POSS
'Can I put it down?'

Appendix B

Topics checklist

Below I provide a modified version of The Lingua Descriptive Studies Questionnaire, developed by Bernard Comrie and Norval Smith (1977).[1]

The checklist serves as an index for the topics discussed, as well as a list of linguistic structures explicitly not present in Woleaian, and aspects that the data used for this dissertation did not (adequately) reveal. Topics covered are marked in **bold** with their respective location(s) in this dissertation, those in regular typeface were not found or not relevant, and those marked in *italics* were marginally covered or found.

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1. Full version available at the following link: https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/tools-at-lingboard/questionnaire/lingua-descriptive_description.php

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