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Aspectual Systems of Trukese and Ponapean

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This study surveys the aspectual systems of three Micronesian languages, namely, Trukese, Woleaian and Ponapean, in an attempt to determine the degree of closeness of Ponapean to the Trukic languages. It first provides a detailed description of the Trukese aspectual system, which comprises of preverbal aspect markers, verb reduplication and directional suffixes, and then compares it with the corresponding systems in Woleaian and Ponapean.

Among the major findings are: 1) Some far-reaching changes in the grammatical design of Trukese have been effected by its unique stative marker *meyi*. 2) Productive reduplication on Trukese verbs indicates not durative or progressive aspect as has been presumed by scholars but "recurrence of a state or event." 3) The Ponapean aspectual system does not share some of the important features commonly found in the systems of the other two Trukic languages. 4) However, recognition of the presence of the "stative marker" *me* in Ponapean opens a new prospect as to possible close relationships among the languages spoken in Truk, the Mortlocks and Ponape.

Keywords: grammar, aspect, Ponapean, Trukese, Woleaian.

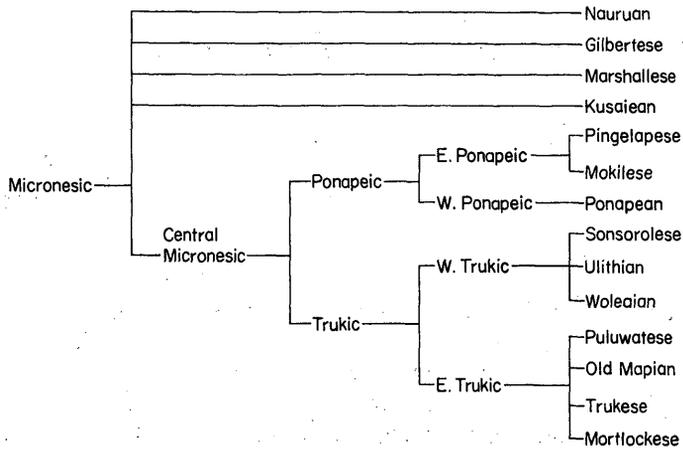
INTRODUCTION

Similarities between the Trukic and the Ponapeic groups of languages in Micronesia have long been noticed by scholars and native speakers. But it was only recently that a close genealogical relationship between the two groups was explicitly indicated in academic writings.

Goodenough and Sugita [1980: xii] proposed the following classification for Micronesian languages and suggested a very close tie between the Trukic and the Ponapeic groups:

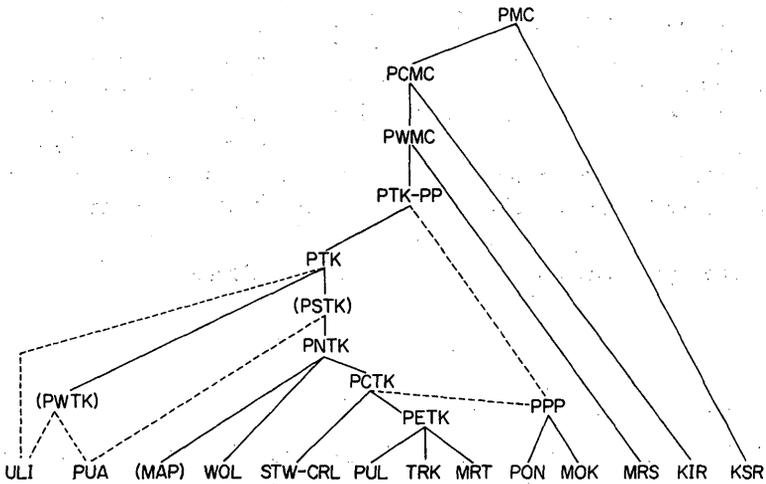
I wish to express my gratitude to Kenneth T. Kuroiwa for reading an earlier version of this paper and providing valuable comments and information on some critical facts in Satawalese, Ulithian and Woleaian. Some Mortlockese data used here were obtained through my 1984 fieldwork on Lukunor which was supported financially by a Grant-in-Aid for Overseas Scientific Surveys from the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, Japan.

[1]



Jackson [1983: 433] proposed the following family tree:

[2]



where:

- | | | | |
|--------|---------------------------|---------|-------------------------|
| PMC | Proto-Micronesian | ULI | Ulithian |
| PCMC | Proto-Central Micronesian | PUA | Pulo Anna |
| PWMC | Proto-Western Micronesian | MAP | Mapian |
| PTK-PP | Proto-Trukic-Ponapeic | WOL | Woleaian |
| PTK | Proto-Trukic | STW-CRL | Satawalese & Carolinian |
| PSTK | Proto-Sonsorol-Trukic | PUL | Puluwatese |
| PNTK | Proto-Nuclear Trukic | TRK | Trukese |
| PCTK | Proto-Central Trukic | MRT | Mortlockese |
| PWTK | Proto-Western Trukic | PON | Ponapean |
| PPP | Proto-Ponapeic | MOK | Mokilese |
| PETK | Proto-Eastern Trukic | MRS | Marshallese |
| | | KIR | Gilbertese |
| | | KSR | Kusaian |

(Dotted lines show uncertain relationships.)

It is interesting to note that after detailed examination of phonological, morphological and lexical evidence, Jackson still could not decide whether to recognize Proto-Ponapeic as a "sister" of Proto-Trukic or to admit it as a more recent subgroup developing out of Proto-Central Trukic. He writes:

Although the group [=Ponapeic languages] appears quite firmly established, it is not clear whether PP [=Ponapeic] languages subgroup with TK [=Trukic] languages, or as a part of the TK group... [JACKSON 1983: 437].

The indeterminacy here is mainly caused by extremely similar distribution of the *s* and \emptyset [zero] reflexes of Proto-Micronesian **t* in both the Ponapeic and the Central Trukic groups as is shown in the following table (abbreviated from Jackson [1983: 423-425]):

[3]		Reflexes of <i>*t</i>						
		TRK	PUL	CRL	WOL	ULI	PON	MOK
before <i>*a</i>	<i>*tama</i> 'father'	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>j</i>
before <i>*i</i>	<i>*tina</i> 'mother'	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	\emptyset	\emptyset
before <i>*u</i>	<i>*tup'u</i> 'be born'	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	\emptyset	\emptyset
before <i>*e</i>	<i>*mate</i> 'die'	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	\emptyset	\emptyset
before <i>*o</i>	<i>*ato</i> 'thatch'	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>j</i>

As far as the distribution of the reflexes of **t* is concerned, Woleaian and Ulithian clearly stand out from the rest of the languages, and Trukese and Ponapean show striking similarities. Thus, consideration of the reflexes of **t* inclines us to suspect that the Ponapeic languages hold a much closer relationship to the Eastern Trukic languages than to the Western Trukic languages. On the other hand, however, comparisons based on morphology, lexicon and syntax generally seem to suggest that the Ponapeic languages be recognized as a group separate from any of the subgroups of the Trukic languages.¹⁾ Travelling through Micronesia and working with language informants, one cannot easily dismiss a feeling that the Trukic languages form a language or dialect "chain" or "continuum" [QUACKENBUSH 1968] and that the "chain" does not quite extend to the languages spoken in Ponape.

With these unclear and conflicting views of the position of the Ponapeic languages in the background, the present study attempts to make a syntactic and semantic comparison between Trukese and Ponapean in the areas of the temporal and aspectual systems. It is hoped that the study will provide a measure of grammatical "distance" between the two languages which might be utilized in future attempts to determine the genealogical affiliation of the Ponapeic languages. I shall first describe the Trukese system, and then compare it with those of Woleaian, a Western member of Jackson's Nuclear Trukic languages, and Ponapean.

1) Jackson [1983] cites some lexical facts which may be interpretable as partial evidence for including the Ponapeic languages into the Trukic group.

<u>indeterminate</u>	- <i>pwaapw</i> (modal future) 'may'	- <i>te</i> (modal negative) 'may not'
<u>neutral</u>	-Ø [zero] (aorist [past/present]) '(no gloss)'	
<u>stative</u>	<i>meyi</i> (stative) 'state'	

The forms with prefixed hyphens can only occur in combination with subject pronouns as in *wúpwe* 'I will' and *kepwaapw* 'you may'. When the perfective *-a* combines with certain subject pronouns, the following changes and insertions occur both phonetically and orthographically:

[6]

<i>wú+a</i> → <i>wúwa</i> 'I-perf'	<i>si+a</i> → <i>siya</i> 'we-perf'
<i>éwú+a</i> → <i>éwúwa</i> 'we-perf'	<i>ke+a</i> → <i>kaa</i> 'you-perf'
<i>owu+a</i> → <i>owwva</i> 'you-perf'	<i>e+a</i> → <i>aa</i> 'he-perf'
	<i>re+a</i> → <i>raa</i> 'they-perf'

The perfective marker *-a* indicates that a certain "change" has taken place, and thus it expresses such aspectual concepts as "completion," "inception" and "progress" as results of a change. The following sentence is open to many interpretations depending on different linguistic and extralinguistic contexts:

[7] *Ermes a-a kkechiw.*

(Ermes he-perf cry)	'Ermes has started crying.'
	'Ermes had started crying.'
	'Ermes is crying.'
	'Ermes was crying.' etc.

-a is also used in a subordinate clause, such as the following:

- [8] *Ika Ermes a-a war, wú-pwe pwan niwin-nó nee-yimw.*
(if Ermes he-perf arrive, I-will also return-away at-home)
'When Ermes comes, I will go home.'

When combined with *si* 'we (inclusive)' or *ke* 'you (singular)', *-a* may express "hortative" or "imperative" sense:

- [9] a. *Si-ya nó attaw!*
(we-perf go fish) 'Let's go fishing!'
b. *Ka-a nó, ka-a nó!*
(you-perf go, you-perf go) 'Go (away), go (away)!'

In the above examples, the change from "absence of action" to "presence of action"

has presumably occurred already in the mind of the speaker. Use of past tense or perfective aspect forms of verbs with hortative or imperative sense is not altogether unfamiliar:

- [10] a. *Poshli!* [Russian, past plural form of *poidti* 'go']
(went) 'Go now!'
b. *Kaet-ta, kaet-ta!* [Japanese]
(return-perf, return-perf) 'Go home, go home!'

The future marker *-pwe* signifies "positive prospect" or "intent" regardless of time:

- [11] a. *Wú-pwe too-wu níkú-n eey iimw.*
(I-will reach-out out-of this house)
'I will go out of this house.'
b. *Amwo itá wú-pwe too-wu níkú-n eey iimw nánew.*
(oh-that vainly I-will reach-out out-of this house yesterday)
'I should have gone out of this house yesterday.'

The modal future marker *-pwaapw* basically signifies "uncertain prospect." A comparison of the two examples below will illustrate a difference between *-pwe* and *-pwaapw*:

- [12] a. *Si-pwe chu-ffengen neesor.*
(we-will meet-together tomorrow)
'We are going to meet tomorrow.'
b. *Si-pwaapw chu-ffengen.*
(we-may)
'We may see each other sometime in the future.'

-pwaapw also expresses a concept of "future viewed from the future":

- [13] *Mwiri-n áá-n Ermes e-pwe niwit-to, wú-pwaapw pwan niwit-to.*
(after-of poss-of Ermes he-will return-hither, I-may also return-hither)
'I will (perhaps) come back after Ermes comes back.'

The negative marker *-se* and the future negative marker *-sapw* are the negative counterparts of *-a* and *-pwe*, respectively:

- [14] a. *Ermes e-se kkechiw.*
(Ermes he-not cry) 'Ermes did not cry.'
'Ermes was not crying.'
'Ermes is not crying,' etc.
b. *Ermes e-sapw kkechiw.*
(he-won't) 'Ermes will not cry.'

-sapw is also employed to negate "equational sentences" of the form TOPIC-COMMENT as in the following:

- [15] a. *Ngaang e-mén sense.*
 (I one-animate teacher) 'I am a teacher.'
 b. *(E-)sapw ngaang e-mén sense.*
 ((it-)won't) 'I am not a teacher.'

In this usage, *-sapw* is used alone in the Western dialects, but it is used with the third person singular subject pronoun *e-* in the Eastern dialects. The pronoun, however, is always *e-* regardless of the number and person of the subject.

The modal negative marker *-te* expresses "mild negative command" in independent sentences and "possible negative consequence" in subordinate clauses introduced by *pwe* 'that':

- [16] a. *Ke-te kkechiw.*
 (you-wouldn't cry) 'Don't cry.' [Oh, you don't have to cry.]
 b. *Ke-sapw attapa enaan nengngin pwe sema-n we e-te soong.*
 (you-won't touch-her that girl that father-her the he-wouldn't angry)
 'You shouldn't touch that girl so that her father wouldn't get angry.'

The future negative *-sapw*, on the other hand, expresses "strong negative command" when used with imperative intonation:

- [17] *Ke-sapw kkechiw!*
 (you-won't cry) 'Don't cry!'

The neutral aspect marker is, if it ever is a "marker," zero in form. An example is given below:

- [18] *Ermes e kkechiw nánew.*
 (Ermes he cry yesterday) 'Ermes cried yesterday.'
 'Ermes happened to cry yesterday.'
 'Ermes was crying yesterday.'

The neutral aspect, marked by a lack of any overt aspect marker, indicates the existence or occurrence of an event at one point on a time axis. It simply tells that something is or was taking place at a certain point of time, and does not make any claim or implication about whether the event or situation in question was not present previously or disappeared afterwards. A comparison of [18] with [19] below will show this point clearly:

- [19] *Ermes a-a kkechiw nánew.*
 (he-perf) 'Ermes began to cry yesterday.'
 'Ermes was crying yesterday.'
 'Ermes finally cried yesterday.'

By using the perfective marker *-a* in [19], the speaker may imply something like the following, among other things:

“Ermes had not cried for some time, but it had somehow been expected that he would cry any day. And, oh, yesterday he finally cried! He was crying when I saw him.”

[18], on the other hand, just states that Ermes’s crying took place on the previous day. It may as well have been the case that Ermes had cried every day for three weeks up to “yesterday.”

The stative marker *meyi* is a very special aspect marker in that it is never used with a subject pronoun. Compare:

- [20] a. *Ermes a-a samwaaw.*
(Ermes he-perf sick) ‘Ermes has become sick.’
- b. *Ermes e-pwe samwaaw.*
(he-will) ‘Ermes will be sick.’
- c. **Ermes e-meyi samwaaw.*
(he-state)
- d. *Ermes meyi samwaaw.*
(state) ‘Ermes is sick.’
- e. *Meyi samwaaw.*
(state sick) ‘He (she/it) is sick.’

The primary function of the stative marker is to “assert” the reality of a state or event, and it can be used with any verb or adjective, whether stative or nonstative. The example below will show a contrast between the change-indicating *-a* and the fact-asserting *meyi*:

- [21] a. *Ermes a-a samwaaw nánew.*
(Ermes he-perf sick yesterday) ‘Ermes became sick yesterday.’
- b. *Ermes meyi samwaaw nánew.*
(state) ‘Ermes was sick yesterday.’
- c. *Ermes a-a kkechiw nánew.*
(he-perf cry)
‘Ermes cried (was crying/started crying) yesterday.’
- d. *Ermes meyi kkechiw nánew.*
(state)
‘Ermes did cry (was indeed crying) yesterday.’
- f. *A-a wor e-ché taropwe wóó-n eey cheepen.*
(it-perf exist one-flat paper on-of this table)
‘There is now a sheet of paper on this table [though there was no paper there before].’
- g. *Meyi wor e-ché taropwe wóó-n eey cheepen.*
(state)
‘There is a sheet of paper on this table.’

An important point that demands special attention is that in main clauses stative verbs, especially adjectives, cannot be used in neutral aspect unless some sense of “comparison” is involved:

- [22] a. *Ermes a-a tipáchchem.*
 (he-perf intelligent) ‘Ermes has become smart.’
 b. *Ermes meyi tipáchchem.*
 (state) ‘Ermes is smart.’
 c. **Ermes e tipáchchem.*
 (he) [neutral aspect]
 d. *Ermes e tipáchchem mwmwe-n Sotaro.*
 (he before-of Sotaro)
 ‘Ermes is smarter than Sotaro.’

A “dynamic” adjective, such as *samwaaw* ‘sick’, which denotes a temporary or variable state, can occur in neutral aspect in relative clauses in all dialects and even in main clauses in some dialects:

- [23] a. *Ewe feefin [meyí samwaaw nánew]_{Rel} a-a chikar ikenááy.*
 (the woman state sick yesterday she-perf recovered today)
 ‘The woman who was sick yesterday got better today.’
 b. *Ewe feefin [e samwaaw nánew]_{Rel} a-a chikar ikenááy.*
 (she)
 ‘The woman who happened to be sick yesterday got better today.’
 c. *Ewe feefin e samwaaw ikenááy.* [in some dialects only]
 (she sick today)
 ‘The woman happens to be sick today.’

As an aspect marker, *meyi* is a “particle” and may be followed by some other preverbal particles:

- [24] *Ermes meyi chchiwen pwan kúkkún.*
 (Ermes state still also small) ‘Ermes is still small.’

An adjective which is preceded by *meyi* may be placed in front of a noun to modify it as in [25b] below:

- [25] a. *Enaan feefin [meyí niyééch]_{Rel} e-se saani-yey.*
 (that woman state pretty she-not like-me)
 ‘That woman who is pretty does not like me.’
 b. *Enaan [meyí niyééchú-n]_{Modifier} feefin e-se saani-yey.*
 (that state pretty-of woman she-not like me)
 ‘That pretty woman does not like me.’

To be used as a pronominal modifier with *meyi*, an adjective has to be in its “construct” or “relational” form with the suffix *-n* ‘of’. Non-aspectual preverbal particles may be inserted between *meyi* and an adjective in constructions like [25b]:

The form *-saamwo* 'not yet' is observed in some dialects, but speakers generally believe it is an alternative form of *-se mwo* 'not yet'.

Reduplication

As far as its forms are concerned, reduplication in Trukese follows the general Trukic pattern described and inferred in Jackson [1983: 65-71]. But a more detailed examination of its functions may be necessary here.

Let us first distinguish initial syllable reduplication from total reduplication. The process of total reduplication, which is now nonproductive, is characterized by total doubling of underlyingly disyllabic verb, adjective or noun forms. If the original form has more than two underlying syllables, then the final two underlying syllables are repeated. Examples are given below:

- | | | | |
|---------|----------------------------------|---|---------------------|
| [30] a. | <i>par</i> (<* <i>para</i>) | → | <i>parapar</i> |
| | 'red' | | 'red all over' |
| b. | <i>pwech</i> (<* <i>pweche</i>) | → | <i>pwechepwech</i> |
| | 'white' | | 'white all over' |
| c. | <i>saram</i> (<* <i>sarama</i>) | → | <i>saramaram</i> |
| | 'bright' | | 'bright all over' |
| d. | <i>takir</i> (<* <i>takiri</i>) | → | <i>takirikir</i> |
| | 'laugh' | | 'laugh extensively' |
| e. | <i>iimw</i> (<* <i>imwa</i>) | → | <i>imweyimw</i> |
| | 'house' | | 'dwell temporarily' |

A verb or adjective derived by this type of reduplication has the general meaning of "diffusion" or "extension" of an action or state within a single event. Difference between *par* and *parapar*, for example, is not that of "intensity" but that of "extensiveness." The following examples are interesting:

- | | |
|---------|--|
| [31] a. | <i>Eey pwóór meyi par.</i> |
| | (this box state red) 'This box is red.' |
| b. | <i>Eey pwóór meyi papapar.</i> |
| | (red-all-over) 'This box is red all over.' |

Asked to explain the difference, some native speakers stated that although [31b] clearly says that all the sides of the box in question are red, [31a] does not. Difference between *par* and *parapar* may be more clearly illustrated in the pair of examples below:

- | | |
|---------|---|
| [32] a. | <i>A-a pare-nó.</i> |
| | (it-perf red-away) 'It became redder.' |
| b. | <i>A-a parapare-nó.</i> 'It gradually became redder.' |

As may be clear from the translations above, *parapar* with the directional suffix *-nó* signifies a gradual change or extension of a state, while *par* with the same suffix does not specifically indicate the speed or manner of the change.

The principles of initial syllable reduplication can be formulated as in [33]:

- [33] a. $(C_1) C_1 (V_1) V_1 C_2 V_2 \dots]_{Verb}$
 $\rightarrow C_1 V_1 C_1 (C_1) C_1 (V_1) V_1 C_2 V_2 \dots]_{Verb}$
 b. $C_1 C_1 C_1 \rightarrow C_1 C_1$

Daring oversimplification, initial syllable reduplication may be described as a process in which the first consonant-vowel sequence is copied and then the original initial consonant is doubled. Effects of initial syllable reduplication are shown in the following:

- [34] a. *fátán* → *fáffátán*
 'walk' 'walk repeatedly'
 b. *kkéén* → *kékkéén*
 'sing' 'sing repeatedly'

In some dialects, initial glides are treated in the same way as consonants, and therefore gemination of glides can be effected by initial syllable reduplication:

- [35] *war* → *wawwar*
 'arrive' 'arrive repeatedly'

But in a majority of Lagoon Trukese dialects, glide-initial and vowel-initial verbs undergo a suppletive process with the "infix" *-kk-*:

- [36] $(G) (V_1) V_1 \dots]_{Verb} \rightarrow (G) V_1 kk (V_1) V_1 \dots]_{Verb}$

This process effects derivations like the following:

- [37] a. *war* → *wakkar*
 'arrive' 'arrive repeatedly'
 b. *wúú-tá* → *wúkkúú-tá*
 'stand-up' 'stand repeatedly'
 c. *inetii-y* → *ikkinetii-y*
 'divide it' 'divide it repeatedly'

Scholars, such as Dyen (1965) and Benton (1967, 1968) state that this type of reduplication signifies "durative" or "progressive" aspect. In the following, however, I will show that "durative" or "progressive" aspect is not a primary concept expressed by initial syllable reduplication. When necessary, reduplicated verb forms in examples will be marked with the symbol 'rdp-' in their glosses, e.g., *fáffátán* (rdp-walk).

First, the "progressive" sense contained in the English sentence *What are you doing?* is expressed by [38a] with the unreduplicated form *fээр*, and not by [38b] with the reduplicated *fэфээр*:

- [38] a. *Meet(na) ke fээр?*
 (what (that) you do) 'What are you doing?'
 b. *Meet(na) ke фэфээр?*
 () '??What do you keep doing?'

And the answer to [38a] can be [39a], but not [39b]:

- [39] a. *Wú chék ánneyá pwpwuk.*
(I just read book) 'I am just reading a book.'
b. *Wú chék ákkánneyá pwpwuk.*
() '??I just keep reading a book.'

Secondly, native speakers agree that "progressive" sense is expressed in the following context by the unreduplicated *kkechiw* rather than the reduplicated *kekkechiw*:

- [40] a. *Wú-pwe nó a-pwaapwaa-y enaan áát pwún iiy meyi kkechiw.*
(I-will go cause-happy-him that boy because he state cry)
'I will go and amuse that boy because he is crying.'
b. *Wú-pwe nó a-pwaapwaa-y enaan áát pwún iiy meyi kekkechiw.*
'I will go and amuse that boy because he cries.' [i.e., because he is a crybaby]

Assisted by *meyi*, the reduplication on *kekkechiw* here expresses "habitualness," "capability" or "potentiality." The boy referred to in [40b] is not actually crying, but he is capable of crying at any moment because he is a crybaby.

Thirdly, in a context like the one below, initial syllable reduplication expresses "persistent continuation," and not simple "progress":

- [41] a. *Ngaang meyi ánneyá ewe pwpwuk nnó-n wúkuúku-n ruwuuw awa.*
(I state read the book in-of extent-of two hour)
nge wú-se toongeni mwochen annut.
(but I-not can-it want sleep)
'I read the book for two hours, but I couldn't get myself to sleep.'
b. *Ngaang meyi ákkánneyá ewe pwpwuk mmo-n wúkuúku-n ruwuuw awa.*
nge wú-se toongeni mwochen annut.
'I kept reading the book for two hours, but I couldn't get myself to sleep.'

Fourthly, the so-called "habitual" aspect is properly expressed by initial syllable reduplication:

- [42] a. *Machchang meyi ákkáás.*
(bird state rdp-fly) 'Birds fly.'
b. **Machchang meyi áás.*
() (fly)
[43] a. *Ermes meyi wúkkún suupwa.*
(state rdp-drink tobacco) 'Ermes smokes.'
b. *Ermes meyi wún suupwa.*
(drink) 'Ermes is smoking.'

Notice in [42] that only the reduplicated form can be used to talk of the typical habit of the "class" of birds expressed by the unquantified, unspecified "generic" noun *machchang*. Generic reference of the subject is more obvious in the following example where *konaak* 'dog' is followed by the third person plural subject pronoun *re* 'they':

- [44] *Konaak re-se ákkáás.*
(dog they-not rdp-fly) 'Dogs do not fly.'

The stative marker *meyi* is not absolutely necessary for expressing a habitual aspect:

- [45] *Ermes e kan wúkkún suupwa iteyiten ráán.*
(he always rdp-drink tobacco every day)
'Ermes smokes every day.'

In general, *meyi* followed by a reduplicated verb expresses a "permanent" or "innate" habit, while a combination of *kan*+reduplicated verb expresses a less permanent, often "transient" habit. An additional example is given below:

- [46] *Mwmwe-n áá-y wú-pwe kan tees, ngaang wú kan nónnó nóómw.*
(before-of thing-my I-will always test, I I always rdp-go stay
nnó-n imwe-n ngasa-nó.
(in-of house-of breathe-away)
'Before I take tests I always go to the restroom.'

Verbs like *ánneyá* 'read' and *dás* 'fly' denote actions which are inherently durative, that is, which are naturally performed over a certain period of time. Initial syllable reduplication on such verbs usually signifies "persistent continuation" besides "habitualness" as we have already seen in [41b] above. With verbs that denote "instantaneous transition," such as *nniyy* 'kill' and *war* 'arrive', initial syllable reduplication expresses "recurrence" of such transitions:

- [47] *Ermes e wakkar nee-pwine-we.*
(he rdp-arrive at-night-the) 'Ermes kept arriving last night.'
[i.e., Ermes arrived at his destination once, left it, returned to it, left it, ...for a number of times.]

Reduplicated forms of verbs which denote both transitions and resultant states also express "recurrence":

- [48] a. *Ermes e mámmá.*
(he rdp-die) 'Ermes died repeatedly.'
[i.e., Ermes died (or was thought to be dead), revived, died, revived, ...repeatedly.]
b. *Eey asam e sussuuk.*
(this door it rdp-open) 'This door opened many times.'

It should be obvious from the examples above that reduplicated verbs can occur in neutral aspect without the help of *kan* 'always'.

Examples with *sussuuk* reveal something very interesting:

- [49] a. *Eey asam e sussuuk.*
(this door it rdp-open)
'This door opened (or has been opening) repeatedly.'
- b. *Eey asam e kan sussuuk.*
(always) 'This door always (or usually) opens.'
- c. *Eey asam meyi sussuuk.*
(state) 'This door opens.'
[i.e., This door has permanent capability of being opened.]
- d. *Eey asam meyi ssuuk.*
(open)
'This door is open.' or 'This door really opened.'

As [49d] shows, the situation expressed by the nonreduplicated *ssuuk* 'open' is an "event." Then, the reduplicated *sussuuk* may be interpreted as expressing a succession of "repeated events." The particle *kan* emphasizes regularity of the repetitions of an event. Hence [49b] is translated as '...always (or usually) opens....' The stative marker *meyi* asserts that repetitive occurrence of the event in question is of permanent nature, and assigns it to the subject of the sentence as its "property." The "door" in [49c] is asserted to be the kind that opens as opposed to some other doors which never open. This assignment of a property is observed very clearly in [50b] below:

- [50] a. *Eey naam meyi par.*
(this lamp state red) 'This lamp is red.'
- b. *Eey naam meyi pappar.*
(rdp-red) 'This lamp is capable of being red.'

The lamp referred to in [50b] may not be red at the time of the utterance, but the speaker asserts that it has permanent capability of becoming red at any moment. For example, the lamp may have a hidden, inside coating of red color which "shows" whenever it is lit.

Finally, negation of reduplicated transitional or stative verbs is especially interesting, since it seems to emphasize absolute nonoccurrence of designated events or states:

- [51] a. *E-se mámmáá⁴⁾ mwo e-mén ekkewe aramas.*
(he-not rdp-die even one-animate those person)
'None of those people died.'
- b. *E-se pwipwppwich mwo ena kkónik.*
(it-not rdp-hot even that water)
'That water doesn't get warm at all [though it has been heated].'

4) The final vowel of a vowel-ending verb is lengthened when it is followed by a monosyllabic adverbial particle.

The "absolute nonoccurrence" in cases like these may be reinterpretable as "repeated nonoccurrence."

Observation of the facts above leads me to conclude that the primary function of initial syllable reduplication is not to express "durative" or "progressive" aspect, but that it is to express "recurrence of a state or event." "Habitualness" can be interpreted as a case of "regular recurrence." "Potentiality" and "capability" of being in a state is also based on the concept of recurrence. "Persistent continuation" of an action which is inherently "durative" may also be interpreted as a case of "successive recurrence of an event." Truly "progressive" interpretation of an expression with reduplicated verb forms has not been obtained. Whenever "progressive" interpretation is suspected, we always find elements of "persistence," "intentional repetition," or "indulgence." Thus, I conclude that "durativeness" or "progressiveness" is not a marked aspectual category in Trukese. An unmarked verb like *kkechiw* 'cry' has an inherently durative characteristic as was shown in [40] above, while a transitional verb like *war* 'arrive' does not.

Existence of forms like the following gives us an important hint as to the true functions of the two reduplication patterns in Trukese:

[52]		→	total reduplication
	↓		
initial syllable reduplication	<i>par</i> 'red' <i>pappar</i> 'be red repeatedly'		<i>parapar</i> 'red all over' <i>pappaparapar</i> 'be red all over repeatedly'

It will be safe to say that the now nonproductive total reduplication signifies "spatial distribution or diffusion of a property or action within a single event or state" and that the productive initial syllable reduplication signifies "temporal distribution or diffusion of recurrent events or states." An additional example of quadruplets is given below:

[53]		→	total reduplication
	↓		
initial syllable reduplication	<i>mwmwet</i> 'jump' <i>mwemwmwet</i> 'jump repeatedly'		<i>mwetemwet</i> 'jump in steps' <i>mwemwmwetemwet</i> 'jump in steps repeatedly'

Directional Suffixes

Micronesian languages generally have a set of enclitic or suffixal morphemes with directional meanings, such as 'up' and 'down'. In Trukese, such morphemes occur suffixed to verbs, and hence called directional suffixes. They are listed in the following:

[54]	- <i>tá</i>	'up'	- <i>tiw</i>	'down'
	- <i>nó</i>	'away'	- <i>to</i>	'hither'
	- <i>wu</i>	'out'	- <i>nong</i>	'in'
	- <i>wow</i>	'towards addressee'		

These suffixes, especially *-nó*, sometimes express aspect-like meanings:

- [55] a. *Satau a-a wúnúmó-ó-nó ewe kkofi.*
(Satau he-perf drink-it-away the coffee)
'Satau has drunk the coffee up.'
- b. *A-a wáttee-nó ewe fuuseng.*
(it-perf big-away the baloon)
'The baloon has been inflated.'
- c. *Fita a-a makkee-tiw meet Ermes e apasa.*
(Fita she-perf write-it-down what Ermes he say-it)
'Fita has written down what Ermes said.'

It may be inferred, from the examples above, that *-nó* and *-tiw* serve to express a sense of "completion." But examples like the following suggest that what is expressed by *-nó* is not exactly "completion" but that it is what we might loosely term "temporal development":

- [56] a. *Iwe, Satau a-a wúnúmó-ó-nó, wúnúmó-ó-nó, wúnúmó-ó-nó,*
(then Satau he-perf drin-it-away drink-it-away drink-it-away
ee...A-a it.
on-and-on...It-perf exhausted)
'Then, Satau drank it on and on and on..., and finally it was gone.'
- b. *A-a wáttee-nó, wáttee-nó, wáttee-nó, ee... A-a púng.*
(it-perf big-away big-away big away, on-and-on... It-perf-pop)
'It got bigger and bigger and bigger..., and finally popped.'

Furthermore, it is possible to interpret [55a] as saying 'Satau drank the coffee further.' Thus, it is not immediately clear whether or not the non-directional meaning expressed by *-nó* is truly "aspectual." Although more extensive study is needed, I am inclined to believe that Trukese directional suffixes express no more aspectual sense than English particles like *up*, *down* and *off* in such phrases as *swell up*, *settle down* and *kill off*.

THE WOLEAIAN SYSTEM

A comparison of the aspectual systems of Trukese and Woleaian will be made in this section. The Woleaian examples cited here are those which appear in Sohn [1975].

Aspect Markers

The following is a list of the aspect markers in Woleaian⁵⁾:

[57]

positive

<i>be</i>	'will'
<i>bel</i>	'will immediately'
<i>sa</i>	(completion, continuation, etc.)

negative

<i>ta</i>	'not'
<i>tai</i>	'not' (emphatic, specific, instantaneous)
<i>taai</i>	'no longer, not ever'
<i>teit</i>	'not yet'
<i>tewai</i>	'will not'
<i>tewaai</i>	'will no longer'
<i>tewait</i>	'will not yet'
<i>te</i>	'ought not, so that...not'

Ta and *tai* have very similar functions and show overlapping distributions. *-ai* in *taai* and *tewaai* seems to have the core meaning of '(no) longer'. *-it* in *teit* and *tewait* seems to carry the meaning of '(not) yet'. But unavailability of relevant data prevents any further analysis.

Though Sohn does not recognize it as an "aspect," Woleaian also has the "zero" marker for the neutral aspect. It does not, however, have any form or category that might correspond to the Trukese stative marker *meyi*.

The aspect markers in the two languages may be compared in the following table:

[58]

	Trukese	Woleaian
<u>perfective</u>		
positive	<i>-a</i>	<i>sa</i>
negative	<i>-se</i>	<i>ta, tai, taai, teit</i>
<u>prospective</u>		
positive	<i>-pwe</i>	<i>be, bel</i>
negative	<i>-sapw</i>	<i>tewai, tewaa, tewait</i>
<u>indeterminate</u>		
positive	<i>-pwaapw</i>	—
negative	<i>-te</i>	<i>te</i>
<u>neutral</u>	[zero]	[zero]
<u>stative</u>	<i>meyi</i>	—

5) The table here is prepared on the basis of Sohn's description of what he calls Woleaian "aspects" [SOHN 1975: 211-224]. The glosses are Sohn's. Where Sohn does not give representative glosses, his characterizations are cited in parentheses, e.g., *sa* (completion, continuation, etc.)

The items in boldfaced letters are those which are identified as cognates by Jackson [1983: 55–58, 233–235]. *Bel* in Woleaian apparently is cognate with Trukese *-pwe ne* ‘will immediately’. The members of each cognate pair share essentially the same range of meaning and usage. Since the meanings and the use of the Trukese aspect markers have already been extensively illustrated, I shall only cite some Woleaian examples below [SOHN 1975: 211–224]:

- [59] a. *Ye be mwongo.*
(he will eat) ‘He will eat.’
- b. *Metta go sa mwongo?*
(what you perf eat) ‘What have you eaten?’
- c. *Metta go mwongo?*
(you) ‘What did (or do) you eat?’
- d. *Ye tai weryei.*
(he not see-me) ‘He did not look at me.’
- e. *Go te yengaang!*
(you ought=not work)
‘You shouldn’t work’ or ‘You ought not to work.’
- f. *I tai lag be i te mas.*
(I not go so=that I ought=not die)
‘I didn’t go lest I should die.’

The most important difference between the Trukese and the Woleaian aspectual systems lies in their treatments of the concept of “stativeness.” Observe the following:

- [60] a. *Ye gach.* [Woleaian]
(it good) ‘It is good.’
- b. **E ééch.* [Trukese]
(it good)
- c. *Meyi ééch.* [Trukese]
(state good) ‘It is good.’

Ye and *e*, and *gach* and *ééch* are cognates, respectively. But, while the adjective *gach* may be used in the neutral aspect in Woleaian, *ééch* in Trukese needs the help of the stative marker *meyi*, unless it is used in a statement of comparison, such as [61] below:

- [61] *E ééch seni nowu-mw na.* [Trukese]
(it good from-it dear-your that)
‘It is better than yours.’

Among the Trukic languages, the “stative marker” was developed only in Trukese and Mortlockese. The source of the Trukese *meyi* and the Mortlockese *mii* is not clear, though it will be safe to assume that the latter reflects a newer stage than the former. In some Trukese dialects, variant forms *mmén* and *mén* are found for *meyi*. One speaker from the northeastern dialect area on Moen Island had *man*.

Thus, it may be hypothesized that the development of *meyi* has involved an earlier form, possibly **ma* or **mé* combined with the "construct suffix" **-ni* which seems to have a long history in Micronesian languages. In Satawalese, the surface reflex *-n* of the construct suffix regularly changes to *-y* in front of a noun which begins with an apically articulated consonant. Even in Trukese, a form like *wóóy sáát* 'on the sea' is occasionally heard in addition to the more usual *wóón* (*wóó*- 'on' + *-n* 'of') *sáát*. The word *Fááyichuk*, which refers to the western group of islands in the Truk lagoon, is obviously a variant form of *fáán* (*faa*- 'under' + *-n* 'of') *chuuk* 'mountain'. The change from **ma-ni* or **mé-ni* to *meyi* with the familiar raising and fronting of a non-high vowel preceding a high, front vowel is therefore not totally unthinkable. But this is sheer speculation. More data and extensive study are needed before any hypothesis can be proposed.

Reduplication

Sohn [1975: 109] categorically states that the main function of "reduplication of the initial part...of all kinds of action verbs" is expression of the "progressive" action. The following are typical examples:

- [62] a. *Ye sa mwommwongo.*
 (he perf rdp-eat) 'He has been eating.'
 b. *Metta go sa foffoor?*
 (what you perf rdp-do) 'What are you doing?'

Sohn is very consistent on this point, and one can hardly challenge his conclusion. We have already seen above that in Trukese, initial syllable reduplication does not primarily indicate "progressive action." If Woleaian initial syllable reduplication really expresses the "progressive" aspect, then we must conclude that the two languages widely differ in this area.

Remember that one of the most common functions of initial syllable reduplication in Trukese is expression of "habitualness." However, the situation is not the same in Woleaian. Describing the use of Woleaian *gal* 'usually, habitually', which is cognate with Trukese *kan*, Sohn writes:

Lack of *gal* implies one action, whereas its presence indicates a continuous, repeated or habitual action [SOHN 1975: 226]."

Then he cites the following pair of examples:

- [63] a. *Go mwongo iga?*
 (you eat here) 'Did you eat here?' (one action)
 b. *Go gal mwongo iga?*
 (usually) 'Do you eat here?' (habitually)

Gal appears with the nonreduplicated *mwongo* in [63b] above. In Trukese, on the

other hand, [64c] with the reduplicated form is preferred to [64b] with the simple form as an expression of "habitualness":

- [64] a. *Ke mwéngé ikeey?*
 (you eat here)
 'Did you eat here?' or 'Are you eating here?'
 (implying "I thought you would be eating somewhere else.")
- b. *Ke kan mwéngé ikeey?*
 (always) 'Do you usually eat here?'
- c. *Ke kan mwémwéngé ikeey?*
 (rdp-eat) 'Do you always eat here?'

Woleaian and Trukese differ also on this point.

Directionals

Though Woleaian "directionals" are somewhat more independent than Trukese directional suffixes, they share basically the same morphological and syntactic designs and semantic contents with their Trukese counterparts. The Woleaian directionals are listed in the following together with the corresponding Trukese forms:

[65]	Woleaian	Trukese
'up'	<i>tag</i>	<i>-ta</i>
'down'	<i>tiw</i>	<i>-tiw</i>
'away'	<i>lag</i>	<i>-lo</i>
'hither'	<i>tog</i>	<i>-to</i>
'out'	<i>waiu</i>	<i>-wu</i>

Cognacy between the corresponding forms should be obvious.

Sohn says that a directional "may indicate either spatial or mental direction, depending on the kind of verb it modifies," and among many shades of meaning which directionals express, he mentions what he translates as "completely" [SOHN 1975: 234]. Two of his examples follow:

- [66] a. *I ta giula faa-l mele ye tti lag getam we iyang.*
 (I not know-it under-of which it closed away door the there)
 'I don't know the reason why the door is closed completely.'
- b. *Sar kawé re libeli lag maliug we faa-l bbél.*
 (child those they cover-it away chicken the under-of earth)
 'The children covered the chicken completely with earth.'

Sohn simply writes, "The commonest mental meaning of *lag* is 'completely'." and does not discuss any "aspectual" interpretation of the use of *lag* [SOHN 1975: 237]. The use of the directionals in Woleaian does not seem to be very different from that of the directional suffixes in Trukese.

THE PONAPEAN SYSTEM

In this section, both the Trukese and the Woleaian aspectual systems will be compared with the Ponapean system. The source of the Ponapean examples here is Rehg (1981).

Aspect Markers

Rehg [1981: 267–275] cites the following Ponapean aspect markers:

[67]	<u>unrealized</u>	<i>pahn</i>	'will'
	<u>habitual</u>	<i>kin</i>	(no specific gloss)
	<u>durative</u>	reduplication or <i>wie</i> when the verb is inherently reduplicated	
	<u>perfective</u>	<i>-ehr</i>	'have already'

"Negators" are not considered aspect markers by Rehg, but they are listed below for the purpose of comparison with the other languages [REHG 1981: 325]. The parenthesized items are the alternative forms:

[68]	<i>kaidehn</i>	(<i>kaidehkin, kaidehk, kaidehnte</i>)	[used to negate equational sentences]
	<i>sohte</i>		'not' [the most com- mon]
	<i>solahr</i>	(<i>sohla</i>)	'no longer'
	<i>soher</i>		'no longer' [used only with <i>pahn</i>]
	<i>saikinte</i>	(<i>saik, kaikinte, kaik</i>)	'not yet'
	<i>sou</i>		[only in yes/no ques- tion]
	<i>dehr</i>	(<i>deh</i>)	[only in commands]
	<i>dehpa</i>		'not ever' [only in commands]

Kaidehn is used sentence-initially to negate equational sentences:

- [69] *Kaidehn ih sounpadahk e-men.*
(not he teacher one-animate) 'He is not a teacher.'

The other negators occur in front of a predicate in non-equational or "verbal" sentences. Some examples follow:

- [70] a. *Soulik sohte kilang Marce.*
(Soulik not see Marce) 'Soulik didn't see Marce.'

- b. *I sohte pahn mwadong.*
(I not will play) 'I will not play.'
- c. *I solahr soumwahu.*
(I no-longer sick) 'I am no longer sick.'
- d. *Seri-o sou menmwenge?*
(child-that not hungry) 'Isn't that child hungry?'

As [70b] shows, a Ponapean negator can be used in combination with the aspect marker *pahn*. This point makes Ponapean very different from Trukese or Woleaian where aspect markers, affirmative or negative, vie with one another for a single "slot."

Ponapean has two more interesting morphemes which demand our attention. The word *de* 'lest', which Rehg calls a "conjunctive adverb" [REHG 1981: 339], is obviously related to the Trukese modal negative *-te*:

- [71] a. *Kanaieng pwe ke de pwupwidi!* [Ponapean]
(take-care so-that you lest fall)
'Be careful lest you fall!'
- b. *Tumwunuu-w pwe ke-te turu-tiw.* [Trukese]
(take-care-of-it so-that you-wouldn't fall-down)
'Be careful lest you fall.'

Rehg thinks it probable that "the negative *dehr*...is from *de* plus the completive suffix *-ehr* [REHG 1981: 339]," and cites the following example where *dehr* has replaced the *de* in [71a]:

- [72] *Kanaieng pwe ke dehr pwupwidi!*
(not [in command])
'Be careful you don't fall down (again)!'

The second of these interesting morphemes is the "negative prefix" *sa-* found in words like the following:

- [73] a. *sa-kadek* 'unkind' (kadek 'kind')
- b. *sa-wehwe* 'not understand' (wehwe 'understand')
- c. *sa-pwung* 'incorrect' (pwung 'correct')

This *sa-* is clearly related to the prefixes *ta(i)-* 'not' in Woleaian and *se-* 'not' in Trukese:

- [74] [Trukese]
- a. *se-mwmmwuch* 'everlasting' (mwmmwuch 'end')
- b. *se-miriit* 'child' (miriit 'understand')
- [Woleaian]
- c. *tai-keil* 'weak' (kail 'strong')
- d. *ta-mmwel* 'incorrect, wrong' (mmwel 'possible, good')

It is probable that the prefix *sa-*, the element *sa-* in *saikinte* and the element *so-* in *sohte*, *soher*, etc. in Ponapean, the prefix *se-* and the negative marker *-se* in Trukese, and the prefix *ta(i)-* and the elements *ta-* and *te-* in the negative aspect markers *ta*, *tai*, *taai* and *teit* in Woleaian have descended from the same source. But, immediate comparison may only be possible among Ponapean *sai-* in *saikinte*, Trukese *-se* and Woleaian *tai*, because development of the vowel *e* from an earlier **ai* is well attested. Though one is tempted to propose **ta* as an earlier negation marker for the three languages, Trukese does not directly show the expected reflexes **-sa* or **sa-*.

The “unrealized aspect” marker *pahn* in Ponapean has the same general content and function as the future-marking *-pwe* in Trukese and *be* in Woleaian. But it cannot be readily recognized as their cognate, since Trukese *pw* and Woleaian *b* very regularly correspond to Ponapean *pw*, and not to *p*. The source of *pahn* is not immediately clear.

The Ponapean “habitual” aspect marker *kin* may be cognate with Trukese *kan* and Woleaian *gal*. But, as is the case with the latter two, *kin* can occur in combination with other aspect markers:

- [75] a. *Soulik kin piri-da kuloak isuh.*
 (Soulik habitually get-up hour seven)
 ‘Soulik gets up at seven o’clock.’
- b. *Sang ansow-et koh-la, i pahn kin kang rais.*
 (from time-this go-away, I will habitually eat rice)
 ‘From now on, I will eat rice.’
- c. *I pahn kin wie doadoahk ansou koaros.*
 (I will habitually durative rdp-work time all)
 ‘I will (habitually) be working all the time.’

Thus, *kin* is not an aspect marker on the same level as *pahn*.

The suffix *-ehr*, the marker of “perfective aspect,” is used with verbs “to indicate that an action, event, or condition has reached or is on its way toward reaching some kind of conclusion or state of completion.” [REHG 1981: 273]. Some of Rehg’s examples are cited below. Depending upon its morphophonemic environments, the suffix has several alternant forms:

- [76] a. *I kang-ehr rais.*
 (I eat-perf rice) ‘I have eaten rice.’
- b. *Soulik wa-do-hr nou-mw pwuhk-o.*
 (carry-hither-perf dear-your book-the)
 ‘Soulik has brought your book.’
- c. *Ekadeka-la-hr.*
 (he kind-away-perf)
 ‘He has become kind.’

-ehr is very similar in meaning and usage to the perfective markers *-a* in Trukese and *sa* in Woleaian. But, no cognacy can be established for it.

Although Rehg does not include it in the category of aspect markers, the Ponapean "stative marker" *me* has a function similar to that of the Trukese stative marker *meyi*:

- [77] a. *E kehlail.* [Ponapean]
 (he strong) 'he is strong.'
- b. *E me kehlail.* [Ponapean]
 (state) 'He is strong!'
- c. *E mwahu.* [Ponapean]
 (good) 'He is good.'
- d. *E me mwahu.* [Ponapean]
 (state) 'He is good!'
- e. *liy meyi péchékkún.* [Trukese]
 (he state strong) 'He is strong.'

Rehg writes:

The difference in meaning between a sentence using *me* and one not using *me* is primarily one of emphasis....This emphasis, though, is not one of intensity, but rther one of factuality. Therefore, a sentence like *E me kehlail* is perhaps best translated 'He is strong, no doubt about it' as opposed to 'He is really strong' [REHG 1981: 199].

Remember that I have stated earlier in this study that the primary function of the Trukese stative marker is to "assert" the reality of a state or event. Ponapean *me* also seems to fit this description. However, similarity between *meyi* and *me* does not extend far beyond this.

First, Ponapean *me* can be used only with adjectives, while Trukese *meyi* is used with verbs as well as adjectives:

- [78] a. **E me mwenge.* [Ponapean]
 (he state eat)
- b. **E me mi mwo.* [Ponapean]
 (it state exist that)
- c. *E mi mwo.* 'It exists there.' [Ponapean]
- d. *liy meyi mwéngé.* [Trukese]
 (he state eat)
 'He did eat.', 'He is eating.' or 'He was eating.'
- e. *Meyi wor eew pwpwuk ikenaan.* [Trukese]
 (state exist one book there)
 'There is a book there.'

Secondly, while *meyi* is necessary in Trukese when an adjective is used in a statement

as is illustrated below, *me* in Ponapean is not, as is shown in [77a] and [77b] above:

- [79] a. *Iiy meyi péchékkún.* [Trukese]
 (he state strong) 'He is strong.'
 b. **E péchékkún.* [Trukese]
 (he strong)

Thirdly, Trukese *meyi* can never follow a nonemphatic, "subject pronoun," while Ponapean *me* can:

- [80] a. **E meyi péchékkún.* [Trukese]
 (he state strong)
 b. *E me kehlail.* [Ponapean]
 (he state strong) 'He is strong!'

Fourthly, Trukese *meyi* can be used without any preceding subject, whereas Ponapean *me* cannot be used in such a manner:

- [81] a. *Meyi péchékkún.* [Trukese]
 (state strong) 'He is strong.'
 b. **Me kehlail.* [Ponapean]
 (state strong)

In Ponapean, a morpheme pronounced *me* actually occurs immediately after an emphatic, "independent" or "absolute" pronoun, such as *ih* 'he':

- [82] *Ih me kehlail.* [Ponapean]
 (he one strong)
 'He is the strong one.' or 'He is the one who is strong.'

According to Rehg, this *me* is what he calls the "replacive pronoun." It is somewhat similar to English *one* as in *the strong one*, and Rehg cautions that it should not be confused with the stative *me* [REHG 1981: 199]. Unlike the stative *me*, the "replacive" *me* may be used with a nonstative verb:

- [83] *Ih me mwenge.*
 (he replacive eat) 'He is the one who ate.'

Furthermore, *me* in this sense and function cannot occur in combination with a subject pronoun, such as *e* 'he', even when an adjective follows:

- [84] **E me kehlail.* [unacceptable as 'He is the one who is strong.']

Notice that [82] and [83] above are remarkably similar to the Trukese sentences [85a] and [85b] below, respectively:

- [85] a. *Iiy meyi péchékkún.*
 (he state strong) 'He is strong.'
 b. *Iiy meyi mwéngé.*
 (He state eat) 'He did eat.'

However, these Trukese sentences are simple statements, or at best "assertions," of facts, and they do not involve any "focussing" or "singling out." For this latter purpose. Trukese uses an entirely different device:

- [86] *Iiy ewe meyi péchékkún.*
(he the state strong) 'He is the one who is strong.'

In terms of occurrence restrictions, Trukese *meyi* appears to share an interesting characteristic of the replacive *me* in Ponapean. But, on the other hand, *meyi* is more or less functionally analogous to the stative *me* in Ponapean. Whether Trukese *meyi* is historically related to either or both of the *me*'s in Ponapean is a question which will only be answered after more extensive research. It will be interesting to note, however, that the Mortlockese stative marker *mii* can be used with or without subject pronouns and that in this respect, it is similar to both Trukese *meyi* and the Ponapean "stative" *me*:

- [87] a. *Iiy mii péshakkél.* [Mortlockese]
(he state strong) 'He is strong.'
b. *Iiy e mii péshakkél.*
(he he) 'He is strong.'
c. *E mii péshakkél.*
(he) 'He is strong.'
d. *Mii péshakkél.* 'He is strong.'

Let us now compare the aspect-marking morphemes of all the three languages in question:

[88]	Trukese	Woleaian	Ponapean
perfective			
positive	-a	sa	(-ehr)
negative	-se	ta, tai, etc.	(sohte, saikinte, etc.)
prospective			
positive	-pwe	be	pahn
negative	-sapw	tewai, etc.	—
indeterminate			
positive	-pwaapw	—	—
negative	-te	te	de
neutral	[zero]	[zero]	[zero]
stative	meyi	—	(me)

The boldfaced forms are cognates, and the parenthesized items are those which do not show the same grammatical behavior as their corresponding morphemes in the other languages.

It is obvious from this table that in terms of aspect markers Trukese is much closer to Woleaian than to Ponapean. The lack of a reflex of the preverbal perfective

marker and the apparent non-cognacy of the future-marking *pahn* with either *pwe* or *be* make Ponapean look non-Trukic. On the other hand, the presence of the stative marker *me* in Ponapean makes it similar to Trukese. Truk and the Mortlocks are the easternmost island groups among the Carolinian islands where Trukic languages are spoken, and Ponape lies to the northeast of the Mortlocks. The fact that stative markers are found only in these three areas may be suggestive of something important. But available data are too limited to warrant any further pursuit of this problem.

Reduplication

Ponapean seems to have rather complicated reduplication patterns. Only some representative patterns are illustrated below (from REHG 1981: 73–82):

- [89] a. total reduplication
- | | | |
|-------------|---|-----------|
| <i>kang</i> | <i>kangkang</i> | 'eat' |
| <i>rer</i> | <i>rerrer</i> | 'tremble' |
| <i>pap</i> | <i>pampap</i> [<i>mp</i> < * <i>pp</i>] | 'swim' |
| <i>par</i> | <i>parapar</i> | 'cut' |
- b. initial syllable reduplication
- | | | |
|------------------|--------------------|---------|
| <i>duhp</i> | <i>duduhp</i> | 'dive' |
| <i>pei</i> | <i>pepei</i> | 'fight' |
| <i>luhmwuhmw</i> | <i>luluhmwuhmw</i> | 'sick' |
- c. repetition of the first three segments
- | | | |
|--------------|---|---------------|
| <i>rere</i> | <i>rerrere</i> | 'peel' |
| <i>dilip</i> | <i>dindilip</i> [<i>nd</i> < * <i>ld</i>] | 'mend thatch' |
| <i>sile</i> | <i>sinsile</i> [<i>ns</i> < * <i>ls</i>] | 'guard' |
- d. repetition of the first three segments with inserted vowels
- | | | |
|--------------|------------------|-------------|
| <i>siped</i> | <i>sipisiped</i> | 'shake out' |
| <i>taman</i> | <i>tamataman</i> | 'remember' |
| <i>tepek</i> | <i>tepetepek</i> | 'kick' |

It may be seen from the examples above that Ponapean does not have a Trukic-like initial syllable reduplication pattern formulated in [33] above. It does not, for example, have a pattern similar to the one that derives *fäffätán* and *papparapar* respectively from *fätán* 'walk' and *parapar* 'red all over' in Trukese. But, as Rehg [1981: 271] describes it, Ponapean verb reduplication has a function similar to that of Woleaian:

Durative aspect in Ponapean is signaled by reduplication or, if the verb is inherently reduplicated, by the use of *wie* [REHG 1981: 271].

He cites the following examples [REHG 1981: 271–275]:

- [90] a. *I kang rais.*
(I eat rice) 'I ate rice.'

- b. *I kangkang rais.*
(I rdp-eat) 'I am eating rice.'
- c. *I kangkang rais ansow-et.*
(time-this) 'I am eating rice now.'
- d. *I kangkang rais aio ansou me Soulik koh-doh.*
(yesterday time rel Soulik come-hither)
'I was eating rice yesterday when Soulik came.'
- e. *I pahn kin kangkang rais ansou me i pahn koh-la Sapahn.*
(I will habitually rdp-eat rice time rel I will go-away Japan)
'I will (habitually) be eating rice when I go to Japan.'
- f. *I pahn kin wie doadoahk ansou koaros.*
(rdp work time all)
'I will (habitually) be working all the time.'
- g. *E kadakadek.*
(he rdp-kind) 'He is being kind.'

Dadoahk 'work' in [90f] above is inherently reduplicated, and so *wie*, which suppletively performs a function of reduplication, is added.

Whether all the examples above show "durative aspect" may be a matter of interpretation. Rehg's description does not specify whether there is any functional difference among different patterns of reduplication, either. However, since I have no further data, I shall not attempt to go beyond his explanations.

If Sohn and Rehg are correct, the processes of productive reduplication in Woleaian and Ponapean signify "progressive" or "durative" aspect. But, Trukese contrasts with both of them in that its initial syllable reduplication basically signifies "recurrence of a state or event."

Directional Suffixes

The Ponapean "directional suffixes" are listed below with the corresponding morphemes in Trukese and Woleaian. [91] is an expanded version of [65]:

[91]	Woleaian	Trukese	Ponapean
'up'	<i>tag</i>	<i>-tá</i>	<i>-da</i>
'down'	<i>tiw</i>	<i>-tiw</i>	<i>-di</i>
'away'	<i>lag</i>	<i>-nó</i>	<i>-la</i>
'hither'	<i>tog</i>	<i>-to</i>	<i>-do</i>
'out'	<i>waiu</i>	<i>-wu</i>	<i>-iei</i>
'in'	<i>long</i>	<i>-nong</i>	<i>-long</i>
'by you'	—	<i>-wow</i>	<i>-wei</i>

Cognacy among the members of the corresponding sets should be obvious.

Rehg observes that with "motion verbs", Ponapean directional suffixes usually express "directional meanings" but that they express meanings other than the

directional one with non-motion verbs [REHG 1981: 232]. He cites the following examples:

- [92] a. *E pahn tanga-da.*
(he will run-up) 'He will run upwards.'
b. *E pahn lingeringa-da.*
(angry-up) 'He will get angry.'

Rehg explains that the *-da* in [92b] has an "inchoative" meaning, that is, that it indicates the "onset of a state [REHG 1981: 232]."

An examination of Rehg's examples with other directional suffixes shows that Ponapean is similar in its use of such suffixes to Woleaian and Trukese, though it apparently utilizes them very extensively. The following are some examples:

- [93] a. *I kukih-da rais-o.*
(I cook-up rice-that)
'I cooked up that rice (and it is ready to be eaten).'
- b. *E pwakih-di tieh-o.*
(he chase-down deer-that) 'He chased down that deer.'
- c. *Soulik mworourou-la.*
(Soulik fat-away) 'Soulik became fat.'

CONCLUSION

In the survey above, I have deliberately made an extensive explication of the aspectual system of Trukese, since no study in that area has yet been published. The study has revealed two important points.

1) Since Trukese has developed the stative marker *meyi* and has assigned to it a function of expressing a non-transient state and a mode of "assertion," use of neutral aspect in the language has become very limited. Adjectives and many stative verbs cannot be used as freely in neutral aspect as in other Trukic languages and Ponapean. Furthermore, although sufficient illustrations on this point have not been made in the above discussion, the current extensive use of *meyi* has all but eliminated direct modification of nouns by adnominal adjectives in a postnominal position. Introduction of *meyi* also has given rise to an obviously new syntactic framework of *meyi*+adjective+construct suffix as a device for prenominal modification.

2) Productive "initial syllable reduplication" in Trukese primarily expresses "recurrence of a state or event," and the "progressive" or "durative" aspect it appears to express is only an extension of this basic concept of "recurrence."

Those two points above serve to single out Trukese as an "innovator" of aspectual systems among the Trukic languages. But consideration of the forms and the use of aspect-marking morphemes leads us to conclude that Trukese is still very close to Woleaian. However, an examination of the overall designs of aspect-

marking systems in the three languages has shown us that grammatical distance between Trukese and Ponapean is not as great as it seems. That Ponapean has the stative marker *me* which bears some resemblance to *meyi* in Trukese and *mii* in Mortlockese makes one wonder about possible existence of "Eastern Carolinian Connection."

Though the present study is inconclusive as to whether Ponapean has evolved out of a first-order branch of Proto-Trukic-Ponapeic or it is a much closer cousin to Trukese within the Central Trukic language group, I am still inclined to believe, as some evidence discussed here seems to suggest, Ponapean lies outside the Trukic continuum, if by but a very short distance.

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Chapter II

Structural Flexibility in Matrilineal Societies



Satawalese Women

