

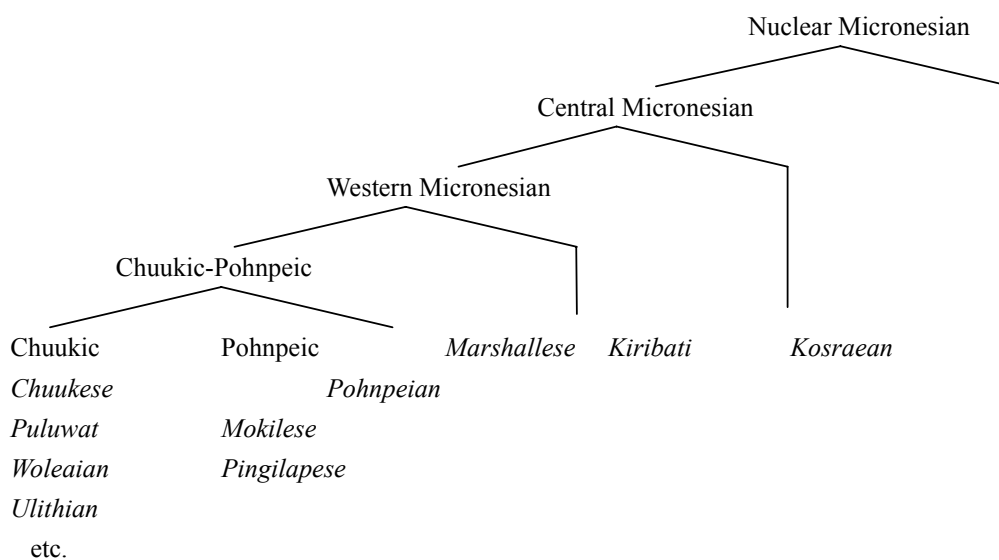
**Pingilapese particles *e* and *ae*:**  
**Their grammatical categories and functional differences**

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**1. Introduction**

**A brief sketch of Pingilapese**

FIGURE 1. Membership and subgrouping of Micronesian languages (Jackson 1983)



- Nominative-accusative case system.
- SVO word order.
- Head-initial language.
- Tense is not marked morphosyntactically.
- Phonemic difference between *e* and *ε*. *e* is spelled as *e*. *ε* is spelled as *ae*.

- (1) a. *Dep* 'To stumble and fall'  
b. *Daep* 'To hook a fish, ear ornament'

## 1.2. Research Questions

- (2)        *Soahn*        { *e* }        *kaukauruhr*.  
                               { *ae* }  
               John        ???        laughing  
               ‘John is laughing.’

Question 1 What are the grammatical categories of *e* and *ae*?

Question 2 Is there any syntactical or functional difference between *e* and *ae*?

## 1.3. Background information of language consultant

TABLE 1. Hattori’s (2002) consultant

Elicitation period:	Fall 2002
Languages:	Pingilapese, Pohnpeian, and English
Age at the period of elicitation:	21 years old
Gender:	Female
Place of Birth:	The Pingilapese community on the high island of Pohnpei
Place of residence while growing up:	The same as the above
Note:	Daughter of the co-author of Good and Welley (1989)

## 2. What are the grammatical categories of *e* and *ae*?

### 2.1. The part-of-subject NP hypothesis

A subject marker occurs after the subject noun phrase in a sentence. It has not yet been determined whether subject markers are a part of the verb phrase or the subject noun phrase.

Good and Welley (1989; 24)

### (3) Preposition

*Ware-pas en minae pah sed.*  
 Canoe-one ??? exist under sea  
 ‘The canoe is already under the sea.’

TABLE 2. Good and Welley’s (1989) subject marker

<i>ae/e</i>	present and not-too-distant past
<i>en</i>	completive
<i>aen</i>	positive intentive
<i>ae</i>	negative intentive

(Good and Welley 1989: 25)

(4) *minae* construction with a postposed subject

*Mahs mahs, minae pwoapwoaud -eu.*  
Before before exist couple -one  
“Once upon time, the couple existed.”

(5) *minae* construction with *e* before a verb and a postposed subject

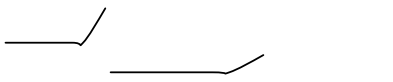
*Mahs mahs, e minae pwoapwoaud -eu.*  
Before before SM exist couple -one  
“Once upon time, the couple existed.”

(6) *minae* construction with a postposed subject and *e* after the postposed subject

\**Mahs mahs, minae pwoapwoaud -eu e.*  
Before before exist couple -one SM  
“Once upon time, the couple existed.”

(7) Intonation boundary between a subject noun and *ae*

*Soahn ae ke kaelap saeiloek.*  
John SM will frequently travel  
“John will frequently travel”

  
*Soahn ae ke kaelap saeiloek.*

## 2.2. The affix on verb hypothesis

(8) Negative word between the marker and a verb.

*Soahn ae kaksikaeh wei-mwaeiang-aela.*  
John ??? not-yet dig-taro-compl.  
“John has not yet dug taro.”

(9) Adverb between the marker and a verb.

*Soahn ae peinaeh saeisaeiloak.*  
John ??? still traveling  
“John is still traveling.”

(10) Modal preverbal between an element in question and a verb.

*Eh perian -aemaen aen kah ahdoa.*  
His friend -one ??? will come  
“His friend will come.”

(11) Adverbial preverbal between the marker and a verb.

*Soahn daekah Mehri ae kakaen kohpeda melimel.*  
John and Mary ??? can predict typhoon  
“John and Mary can predict the typhoon.”

(12) Affix is expressed in the second clause (English)

*His friend fished and cooked.*

(13) Affix is dropped in the second clause (English)

\* *His friend fished and cook.*

(14) The marker is expressed in the second clause

\* *Eh perian -pwi ae laid daekah ae kuk.*  
His friend -pl. ??? fish and ??? cook  
“His friends fish and cook.”

(15) The marker is dropped in the second clause

*Eh perian -pwi ae laid daekah kuk.*  
His friend -pl. ??? fish and cook  
“His friends fish and cook.”

### 2.3. The third person singular pronoun hypothesis

(16) non-singular non-third person subject and the marker

*Kaewae daekah i e laid.*  
You and he ??? fish  
‘You and he fish’

### 2.4. The auxiliary hypothesis

(17) Category order in English

Subject auxiliary (negative word) (adverb) verb

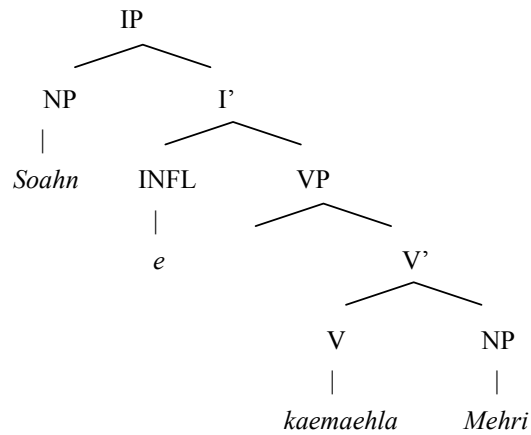
(18) Category order in Pingilapese

Subject *e* or *ae* (negative word) (adverb) verb

(19) *Soahn e kaemaehla Mehri.*

John AUX kill Mary  
“John kills Mary.”

FIGURE 2. Tree structure.



**3. Is there any syntactical or functional difference between *e* and *ae*?**

- (20) *Soahn e laid.*  
 John AUX fish  
 “(Definitely) John fishes/is fishing.”
- (21) *Soahn ae laid.*  
 John AUX fish  
 “(Probably) John fishes/is fishing.”
- (22) *Ngaei kila pwa Soahn e laid.*  
 I see that John AUX fish  
 “I saw that John was fishing.”
- (23) ? *Ngaei kila pwa Soahn ae laid.*  
 I see that John AUX fish  
 “I saw that John was fishing.”
- (24) ? *Ngaei rong pwa Soahn e laid.*  
 I heard that John AUX fish  
 “I heard that John was fishing.”
- (25) *Ngaei rong pwa Soahn ae laid.*  
 I heard that John AUX fish  
 “I heard that John was fishing.”
- (26) ? *Soahn e laid ?*  
 John AUX fish  
 “Does John fish? / Is John fishing?”

(27) *Soahn ae laid ?*  
 John AUX fish  
 “Does John fish? / Is John fishing?”

(28) *E minae ngaei.*  
 AUX exist I  
 “I exist.”

(29) *? Ae minae ngaei.*  
 AUX exist I  
 “I exist.”

(30) *Soahn en ahla laid.*  
 John AUX go fish  
 “John has already gone fishing”

(31) *Soahn aen ahla laid.*  
 John AUX go fish  
 “John may go fishing”

TABLE 4. Hattori’s (2004) Auxiliary

<i>e</i>	high evidential (high realis)
<i>ae</i>	low evidential (low realis)
<i>en (~eh)</i>	high evidential completive
<i>aen (~aeh)</i>	low evidential completive

**4. The paradigm of auxiliary verbs: *en (~eh)* and *aen (~aeh)***

(32) Completive with *en*

*Soahn en ahla laid daeri.*  
 John AUX go fish already  
 “John has already gone fish.”

(33) Completive with *eh*

*Soahn eh ahla laid daeri.*  
 John AUX go fish already  
 “John has already gone fish.”

(34) “auxiliary in positive intentive context”

(a) With “positive intentive form” (*aen*)

*Soahn aen daedoahk laekapw.*

John AUX work tomorrow

“John will work tomorrow.”

(b) With “negative intentive form” (*aeh*)

*Soahn aeh daedoahk laekapw.*

John AUX work tomorrow

“John will work tomorrow.”

(35) “auxiliary in negative intentive context”

(a) With “positive intentive form” (*aen*)

*Soahn aen soah daedoahk laekapw.*

John AUX not work tomorrow

“John won’t work tomorrow.”

(b) With “negative intentive form” (*aeh*)

*Soahn aeh soah daedoahk laekapw.*

John AUX not work tomorrow

“John won’t work tom

## 5. Conclusion

In conclusion, while *e* and *ae* in Pingilapese have been called subject markers and are considered to be in free variation (Good and Welly 1989), in this paper, it is argued that the two forms are in fact auxiliaries, and encode evidential distinctions: the speaker’s relative certainty about the truth of the proposition expressed. *E* encodes a high degree of evidentiality: the speaker is more certain that the information in her speech is true. *Ae* encodes a low degree of evidentiality; the speaker is less certain that the information in her speech is true. I also argued that *en* and *aen* have interchangeable allomorphs, *eh* and *aeh* respectively.

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