

Palauan Reference Grammar

PALI LANGUAGE TEXTS: MICRONESIA

Social Sciences and Linguistics Institute
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Palauan Reference Grammar

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To my father
And to Palau for the Palauans

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Contents

Preface	xvii
1 Sounds and Spelling of Palauan	1
1.1. Sound System of Palauan	1
1.2. Significant Sounds (Phonemes) of Palauan	2
1.3. The Consonants of Palauan	3
1.3.1. Stops	4
1.3.2. Fricative	11
1.3.3. Nasals	11
1.3.4. Liquids	14
1.3.4.1. The Sequences <i>ll</i> and <i>rr</i>	15
1.3.5. Syllabic Consonants	16
1.4. The Vowels of Palauan	16
1.4.1. High Vowels <i>i</i> and <i>u</i>	17
1.4.2. Mid Vowels <i>e</i> , <i>ɛ</i> , and <i>o</i>	18
1.4.3. Low Vowel <i>a</i>	20
1.4.4. The Vowel <i>ɛ</i> and the Process of Vowel Reduction	20
1.4.5. Other Occurrences of Schwa	22
1.4.6. Long Vowels	23
1.4.7. Vowel Clusters	24
1.5. Further Rules of Palauan Spelling	26
1.6. Suggestions for Further Study	33
2 Palauan Nouns	34
2.1. Grammatical System of Palauan	34
2.2. Identification of Palauan Nouns	35
2.3. Distribution of Palauan Nouns	36
2.4. Pronouns	40

2.5. Plurals	42
2.6. The Palauan Word <i>a</i>	44
2.7. Specific vs. Non-specific Object Nouns	46
3 Noun Possession	52
3.1. Possessor Suffixes and Possessed Nouns	52
3.2. Person and Number	53
3.3. Four Sets of Possessor Suffixes	54
3.4. Vowel Reduction	56
3.4.1. Vowel Deletion	58
3.4.2. Shortening of Long Vowels	59
3.4.3. Shortening of Vowel Clusters	59
3.4.3.1. Technical Discussion of Vowel Cluster Shortening	61
3.4.4. Possessed Nouns With <i>-ng-</i>	62
3.4.5. Alternation Between <i>-ng</i> and <i>-l-</i>	63
3.5. Obligatory Possessed Nouns	63
3.6. Palauan Noun Phrases	65
3.7. Noun Phrases of Possession vs. Noun Phrases of Characterization	68
3.8. Unpossessible Nouns	69
3.9. Noun Phrases of Characterization: Further Examples	71
3.10. Appositional Structures	73
3.11. Some Special Possessed Nouns	74
3.12. Summary of Palauan Noun Phrases	75
4 Palauan Pronouns	78
4.1. Independent Pronouns and Affix Pronouns	78
4.2. Non-emphatic vs. Emphatic Subjects	79
4.3. Use of Emphatic Pronouns Following <i>er</i>	84
4.4. Emphatic Pronouns in Coordinate Noun Phrases	85
4.5. Emphatic Pronouns Preceded by <i>di</i>	87
4.6. Other Uses of Emphatic Pronouns	87
4.7. Non-emphatic Pronouns as Pronominal Traces	88
4.8. Pronominalization	92
4.9. Object Pronouns and Perfective Verbs	94
4.9.1. The Zero (Ø) Object Pronoun	96
4.9.2. Further Examples of Perfective Verb Forms	97
4.9.3. Verbs with Limited Perfective Forms	99
4.9.4. Variant Forms of the Object Pronouns	100
4.10. Hypothetical Pronouns	103
4.10.1. Hypothetical Pronouns with Imperfective Verbs	103

4.10.2. Hypothetical Pronouns as Agents	105
4.10.3. Hypothetical Pronouns with the Past Tense	105
4.10.4. Reduced Variants of the Hypothetical Pronouns	106
4.10.5. Distribution of the Reduced Variants	107
4.10.6. Hypothetical Forms of Complex Verb Phrases	109
4.10.7. Imperative Verb Forms	110
4.10.8. Propositive Verb Forms	111
4.10.9. Summary of Hypothetical Pronouns	111
5 Palauan Verbs	112
5.1. Identification of Palauan Verbs	112
5.1.1. Action Verbs: Transitive and Intransitive	112
5.1.2. State Verbs	115
5.1.3. Further Differences Between Action Verbs and State Verbs	117
5.2. Distribution of Palauan Verbs	119
5.3. Tense	123
5.3.1. Present Tense	123
5.3.2. Past Tense	124
5.3.2.1. The Auxiliary <i>m̄la</i>	129
5.3.3. Future Tense	130
5.4. The Verb Marker and Ergative Verb Forms	131
5.5. Imperfective vs. Perfective Verb Forms	136
5.6. Active and Passive Sentences	141
5.7. Further Types of Verbs	143
5.8. Summary of Palauan Verbs	144
6 The Verb Marker and Perfective Verb Forms	146
6.1. The Verb Marker Prefixes	146
6.1.1. The Prefix <i>ou-</i>	148
6.2. The Infix Verb Marker and Metathesis	149
6.2.1. Absence of the Verb Marker in Hypothetical Verb Forms	152
6.3. Selected List of Perfective Verb Forms	154
6.3.1. Metathesis in Perfective Verb Forms	156
6.3.2. The Metathesized Verb Marker and Vowel Blending	159
6.3.3. Deletion of the Metathesized Verb Marker	162
6.4. Vowel Reduction and Vowel Deletion in Perfective Verb Forms	164
6.5. Additional Remarks on Perfective Verb Forms	165

6.6. Perfective Forms of Transitive Verbs in <i>o-</i>	167
6.7. Hypothetical Forms of Perfective Verbs	168
7 State Verbs	170
7.1. Internal Structure of State Verbs	170
7.2. State Verbs with Plural Subjects	172
7.3. Verbs with <i>mle</i> and <i>-il-</i> in the Past	174
7.4. Transitive State Verbs	175
7.5. State Verbs with <i>bē-</i>	176
7.6. The Prefixes <i>bēkē-</i> and <i>sēkē-</i>	177
7.6.1. State Verbs with <i>bēkē-</i> Denoting Smells	179
7.7. Resulting State Verbs	180
7.8. Anticipating State Verbs	181
7.8.1. The Anticipating State Suffix <i>-all</i>	185
7.8.2. Resulting and Anticipating State Verbs as Nouns	185
7.9. Transitive Verbs Derived from State Verbs	186
8 Noun Derivation	187
8.1. Internal Structure of Palauan Nouns	187
8.2. State Verbs Functioning as Nouns	188
8.3. Nouns Derived with <i>-(ē)l-</i> from Intransitive Verbs	190
8.4. Nouns Derived from Reciprocal Verbs	192
8.5. Abstract Nouns Derived with <i>kl(ē)-</i>	193
8.6. Instrument and Action Nouns with <i>o-</i>	195
8.7. Nouns Derived with <i>ul(ē)-</i>	197
9 Causative Verbs	200
9.1. Meaning and Use of Causative Verbs	200
9.2. Forms of the Causative Prefix	202
9.2.1. The Prefix <i>ome(k)-</i>	202
9.2.1.1. Technical Discussion of the Prefix <i>ome(k)-</i>	204
9.2.1.2. Additional Types of Causative Verbs with <i>ome(k)-</i>	206
9.2.1.3. Sample Sentences with <i>ome(k)-</i> Causatives	208
9.2.2. The Prefix <i>ol(ē)-</i>	208
9.2.2.1. Technical Discussion of the Prefix <i>ol(ē)-</i>	210
9.2.2.2. Additional Types of Causative Verbs with <i>ol(ē)-</i>	211
9.2.2.3. Sample Sentences with <i>ol(ē)-</i> Causatives	212

9.3. Verb Stems Allowing Two Causatives	212
9.4. Perfective Forms of Causative Verbs	213
9.5. Ergative Forms of Causative Verbs	217
9.6. Hypothetical Forms of Causative Verbs	217
10 Reciprocal Verbs	219
10.1. Meaning and Use of Reciprocal Verbs	219
10.2. Forms of the Reciprocal Prefix	221
10.2.1. Reciprocal Verbs Related to Causative Verbs	221
10.2.2. Reciprocal Verbs Related to Verbs in <i>ou-</i>	222
10.2.3. Reciprocal Verbs Derived from Transitive Verb Stems	224
10.2.4. The Reciprocal Prefix <i>cha-</i>	225
10.3. Sample Sentences with Reciprocal Verbs	226
10.4. Extended Functions of the Reciprocal Prefix	227
11 Reduplication and Further Verb Affixation	230
11.1. Types of Verb Derivation	230
11.1.1. Previous Examples of Reduplication	230
11.2. Reduplication of Simple State Verbs	231
11.2.1. Reduplication of Possessed Nouns	232
11.3. Reduplication of State Verbs in <i>mē-</i>	233
11.4. Reduplication of Derived State Verbs	234
11.5. Complex Patterns of Reduplication	234
11.6. Reduplication of Intransitive Action Verbs	236
11.7. Reduplication of Transitive Action Verbs	237
11.8. Reduplication of Verbs in <i>ou-</i> and <i>o-</i>	241
11.9. Reduplication of Causative Verbs	242
11.10. Reduplication of Reciprocal Verbs	243
11.11. "Fossilized" Reduplication	244
11.12. The Predictive and Inchoative Suffixes	245
11.12.1. Predictive and Inchoative Forms of Intransitive Action Verbs	245
11.12.2. Predictive and Inchoative Forms of Ergative Verbs	247
11.12.3. Predictive and Inchoative Forms of Imperfective Verbs	248
11.12.4. Inchoative Forms of State Verbs	249
11.12.5. Predictive and Inchoative Forms of <i>mo</i>	250
11.12.6. The Predictive Word <i>ku</i>	251
12 Imperfective vs. Perfective Verbs	253

12.1. Meaning of Imperfective vs. Perfective Verb Forms	253
12.2. Imperfective vs. Perfective Verb Forms in Various Tenses	255
12.3. Further Examples of Contrast Between Imperfective and Perfective Verb Forms	258
12.4. Imperfective vs. Perfective Verb Forms and Specific Objects	260
12.5. Contextual Restrictions on the Use of Imperfective vs. Perfective Verb Forms	261
12.6. The Transitive Verb <i>omes</i>	263
12.7. The Transitive Verb <i>orrengeş</i>	264
13 Directional Verbs	266
13.1. The Three Directional Verbs of Palauan	266
13.2. Meaning and Use of the Directional Verbs	266
13.3. Directional Verbs Followed by Action Verbs	269
13.4. The Directional Verbs and Future Time	270
13.5. The Directional Verb <i>mo</i> and Change of State	272
13.5.1. Change of State Expressions with Noun Phrases	274
13.6. Special Verbal Expressions with <i>mo</i>	274
14 Relational Phrases	276
14.1. Distribution and Function of Relational Phrases	276
14.2. Locational Phrases	278
14.2.1. Locational Phrases with Nouns Describing Spatial Relationships	280
14.2.2. Additional Examples of Nouns Describing Spatial Relationships	283
14.3. Directional Phrases	284
14.3.1. Further Types of Directional Phrases	287
14.4. Source Phrases	288
14.4.1. Further Types of Source Phrases	288
14.5. Cause Phrases	289
14.6. Temporal Phrases	290
14.7. Sentences with More than One Relational Phrase	294
14.8. Relational Phrases Used to Express Comparison	296
14.9. Further Types of Palauan Relational Phrases	296
15 Dependent Clauses	299
15.1. Characteristics of Dependent Clauses	299

15.2. Purpose Clauses	301
15.2.1. Purpose Clauses Containing Directional Verbs	302
15.2.2. Purpose Clauses Following Nouns	303
15.3. Instrument Clauses	304
15.4. Purpose and Instrument Clauses with Past Tense Verb Forms	306
15.5. Means of Transportation Clauses	307
15.6. Accompaniment Clauses	308
15.7. Specifying Clauses	310
15.7.1. Specifying Clauses Containing Directional Verbs	312
15.7.2. Specifying Clauses Following <i>Imuut</i>	314
15.7.3. Specifying Clauses Following <i>dmak</i>	314
15.7.4. Specifying Clauses Containing the Perfective Forms of <i>męrkui</i>	316
15.7.4.1. Regional Variation in the Use of <i>ęl rokir</i> and <i>ęl rokui</i>	319
15.7.5. Specifying Clauses Designating Periods of Time	319
15.7.6. Specifying Clauses in Sentences Designating Manner	320
15.7.7. Specifying Clauses Following Special Verbs	321
16 Object Clauses	324
16.1. Structure and Function of Object Clauses	324
16.2. Object Clauses Following <i>omuchęl</i> and <i>mo męrek</i>	326
16.3. Object Clauses Following Transitive State Verbs	329
16.4. Further Examples of Object Clauses	330
16.5. Sentences with Two Objects	331
17 Processes of Sentence Formation: Subject Shifting and Preposing of Possessor	333
17.1. Four Special Possessed Nouns	333
17.2. Subject Shifting	335
17.3. Preposing of Possessor	338
17.4. Subject Shifting and Preposing of Possessor with Expressions Containing <i>reng</i>	342
17.5. Preposing in Reciprocal Sentences	344
17.6. Summary of Processes Affecting Palauan Word Order	346
17.7. Dependent Clauses Resulting from Subject Shifting	348

17.8. Subject Shifting and Derived Action Nouns	351
17.8.1. Possessed Forms of Derived Action Nouns	354
17.9. <i>Soal</i> and <i>chētil</i> Followed by Hypothetical Verb Forms	355
17.10. Further Discussion of the Four Special Possessed Nouns	357
18 Negation	362
18.1. Affirmative vs. Negative Sentences	362
18.2. Affirmative vs. Negative Expressions of Existence	363
18.2.1. Subject Shifting in Affirmative and Negative Expressions of Existence	367
18.3. The Negative Verb <i>diak</i>	369
18.4. Hypothetical Verb Forms Following <i>diak</i>	372
18.5. Further Examples of Negative Sentences	375
18.6. Equational Sentences: Affirmative and Negative	377
18.7. The Negative Expression <i>di kea</i>	379
18.8. Negative Verbs as Answers to Questions	380
19 Uses of Hypothetical Verb Forms	383
19.1. Conditional Sentences	383
19.1.1. Conditions in the Present or Future	384
19.1.2. Conditions in the Past	385
19.1.3. Conditional Clauses Containing <i>diak</i>	385
19.2. Permutation of Conditional and Consequential Clauses	386
19.3. Further Types of Conditional Clauses	387
19.4. Additional Examples of Conditional Clauses	391
19.5. Imperative Verb Forms	393
19.6. Propositional Verb Forms	399
19.7. Passive Sentences	400
19.7.1. Further Examples of Passive Sentences	404
19.7.2. Passive Sentences Containing Complex Verb Phrases	405
19.7.3. Passive Sentences and Relational Phrases	406
19.7.4. Negative and Conditional Passive Sentences	407
20 Questions	408
20.1. Yes-No Questions	408
20.2. The Question Word <i>tēcha</i>	412
20.2.1. Further Types of Questions with <i>tēcha</i>	415

20.3. The Question Word <i>ngara</i>	417
20.3.1. Further Types of Questions with <i>ngara</i>	420
20.4. The Question Word <i>tela</i>	422
20.5. The Question Word <i>ker</i>	424
20.6. The Question Word <i>oingara</i>	425
20.7. The Special Question Word <i>mēkēra</i>	426
20.8. Sentences with Two Question Words	426
21 Direct and Indirect Quotation	428
21.1. Direct vs. Indirect Quotation	428
21.2. Indirect Quotation and Verbs of Communication and Mental Activity	430
21.3. Direct and Indirect Quotation of Commands	432
21.4. Direct and Indirect Quotation of Questions	433
21.5. The Expressions <i>ēl kmo</i> and <i>ēl ua se</i>	436
21.6. Indirect Quotation Following Nouns of Communication	436
22 Reason Clauses, Result Clauses, and Time Clauses	438
22.1. Reason and Result Clauses	438
22.1.1. Special Types of Result Clauses	440
22.2. Time Clauses	444
22.2.1. Before and After	447
22.2.2. Movement of Time Clauses and Time Words	448
23 Relative Clauses	450
23.1. Function of Relative Clauses	450
23.2. Derivation of Relative Clauses	451
23.3. Passive Sentences as Relative Clauses	453
23.4. Equational Sentences as Relative Clauses	456
23.5. Relative Clauses Containing State Verbs	458
23.6. Relative Clauses Following <i>chad</i> and <i>klalo</i>	459
24 Modifiers	461
24.1. State Verbs as Modifiers	461
24.2. Other Verbs and Nouns as Modifiers	464
24.3. Demonstratives	465
24.4. Numbers	470
24.4.1. Numbers Above 20	474
24.4.2. Minor Number Sets	475
24.4.3. Use of Number Words in Sentences	476
24.4.4. Ordinal Numbers	477

24.4.4.1. Ordinal Numbers Followed by Specifying Clauses	479
24.5. Expressions with Two or More Modifiers	480
24.6. Qualifying Words	480
25 The Connecting Words <i>Me</i> and <i>E</i>	482
25.1. Review of Complex Sentences with <i>me</i> and <i>e</i>	482
25.2. Further Uses of the Connecting Word <i>me</i>	484
25.2.1. The Expression <i>me a lechub</i>	485
25.3. Further Uses of the Connecting Word <i>e</i>	486
25.3.1. The Expression <i>e ng di</i>	490
25.4. Coordinate Noun Phrases	490
25.4.1. Coordinate Noun Phrases with <i>me a lechub</i>	494
Notes	495
Appendix: Guide to Phonetic Symbols Used in This Textbook	525
Glossary of Terms	527
Bibliography	547
Index	549

Preface

The main purpose of this book is to offer a comprehensive description of the Palauan language which will be of use to speakers of Palauan and to linguists alike. I have attempted to make my explanations as simple and clear as possible, in spite of the fact that the data to be analyzed are often discouragingly complex. To achieve this, I have taken special pains to define difficult concepts at length, and to illustrate these concepts with copious examples. I have presented the material in such a way that there is a gradual build-up in complexity, with later analyses depending on, or assuming an understanding of, earlier ones. If the general reader masters the material as he goes along, he should have little difficulty in grasping some of the later, more difficult analyses. Such analyses are, unfortunately, necessary because the structures to be explained are themselves so complex; in many cases, if I had chosen to present an oversimplified, watered-down description of the data, I would not have been able to capture some of the essential phonological and grammatical principles that uniquely characterize the Palauan language.

After an introduction to the sounds and spelling of Palauan in chapter 1, I go on to describe some of the basic Palauan parts of speech (nouns and verbs) in chapters 2–5. In chapters 6–11, I describe the salient features of Palauan morphology (i.e., word formation) and explain the many complex rules which interact with each other when verbs and nouns are derived. Finally, in chapters 12–25, I talk about the major syntactic constructions and grammatical processes of Palauan. Although the great majority of discussions are intended for the general reader, in a few places I have included discussions or remarks of a highly technical nature which are meant for readers with some degree of linguistic training. When these discussions appear as a section of the text or

as a note, the number introducing the section or the note has been preceded with an asterisk (*). General readers can disregard such materials without losing the train of the discussion. As they proceed through the text, all readers will find the extensive cross-referencing of considerable assistance; as further aids in using the book, a list of phonetic and orthographic symbols, a glossary of linguistic terms, a brief bibliography, and an index have also been appended.

I am grateful to Dr. Helen Wilson, who offered me invaluable assistance in conducting interviews and writing preliminary versions of some of the chapters. If it had not been for the unflagging interest of my two principal informants, Masa-aki Emesiochel and Masaharu Tmodrang, in this research and for their strong determination to make a description of the Palauan language available to the Palauan people, this book would never have been possible. I thank them profoundly for their patience and cooperation. I am also indebted to the many people in Palau, in particular to the teachers and administrators of the Palau High School, who helped me in numerous ways to bring this research to completion. Finally, I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to Dr. Donald Topping, Director of the Social Sciences and Linguistics Institute of the University of Hawaii, who provided the crucial initial inspiration for this volume and who painstakingly reviewed the manuscripts, offering innumerable suggestions for improving organization, style, and content; and to Dawn Reid, who gave so much of her time typing the original drafts.

1 Sounds and Spelling of Palauan

SOUND SYSTEM OF PALAUAN

- 1.1. When a linguist attempts to present a description of a language, he usually finds it desirable to treat the **sound system** of the language separately from the **grammatical system**. Even though this division may seem arbitrary or artificial (for how can we have the words, phrases, and sentences of a language without sound, and vice versa?), we are nevertheless going to examine the sound system of Palauan before proceeding to a description of the grammatical system.

Every language of the world uses its own particular set of sounds to construct words. No two languages have precisely the same set of sounds or the same number of sounds. Even though the human vocal apparatus is capable of producing an extremely large number and variety of sounds, speakers of different languages actually use only a relatively small number of such possible sounds when communicating in speech. The Hawaiian language, for example, uses only thirteen distinctive sounds, perhaps the smallest number among world languages; closer to the average are Chamorro, with twenty-five distinctive sounds, and English, with approximately thirty. When a human being learns his native language, he becomes so used to the particular sounds of it that he may have great difficulty in pronouncing the sounds of some other language correctly. As a result of such imperfect pronunciation, he is said to speak the second language with a "foreign accent."

In addition to having a limited number of sounds, every language organizes its sounds into a system which is unique to that language. This systematic organization involves such things as the positions and combinations in which the various sounds can occur, the frequency with which certain sounds occur, the variations of pronunciation which particular sounds undergo, and so

forth. In this chapter we will take up some of the more outstanding features of the sound system of Palauan.

SIGNIFICANT SOUNDS (PHONEMES) OF PALAUAN

- 1.2. When a linguist studies the sound system of a language, his primary concern is to discover the **significant sounds**, or **phonemes**. In order to determine what the significant sounds of the language are, the linguist tries to find cases in which the substitution of one sound for another results in a different word and, consequently, a change of meaning. For example, if we take the Palauan word *tub* 'spit' and substitute a *d* for the first sound *t*, we will get *dub*, which is a completely different word meaning 'dynamite'. On the basis of this pair of words—*tub* 'spit' and *dub* 'dynamite'—we can conclude that *t* and *d* are significant sounds, or phonemes, of Palauan. To use another term common among linguists, we can say that *t* and *d* are **contrastive sounds** in Palauan because they contrast with each other (or are in opposition to each other) in otherwise identical **environments**. Linguists use the term 'environment' in a technical sense to refer to the sound or sounds which are adjacent to or close to some other sound. For the pair of words under discussion, both *t* and *d* contrast in the same environment, because both of them are followed by *ub*.

The pair of words *tub* 'spit' and *dub* 'dynamite' can be called a **minimal pair** because the difference between them is minimal—i.e., determined by the substitution of a single sound. Some other minimal pairs in Palauan include

- | | | | | | |
|-----|------|------------|---|------|------------|
| (1) | blai | 'house' | — | mlai | 'canoe' |
| | chad | 'person' | — | char | 'price' |
| | kar | 'medicine' | — | ker | 'question' |
| | tet | 'purse' | — | tut | 'breast' |

What are the contrastive sounds in each of the above minimal pairs? Why don't the pairs of words *brer* 'raft'—*brak* 'taro' or *daob* 'ocean'—*taod* 'fork' qualify as minimal pairs?

There are also differences in the individual sounds of a language which are **non-contrastive**. Even though the linguist can identify and describe such differences, the speakers of the language are often unaware of them because they are automatic or predictable varieties of the same sound. For example, in Palauan the letter *d* is used to represent four phonetically different sounds, as in the following words. (Note that the phonetic transcription of

the words is given in square brackets []; the unfamiliar phonetic symbols will be explained below in the discussions of *d* and other consonants).

(2) Palauan Spelling Phonetic Transcription English Gloss

dub	[dup, ɔ̃up]	'dynamite'
dmak	[tmak ^h]	'together'
dngod	[θŋoð]	'tattoo needle'

To most native speakers of Palauan, the sounds represented by the letter *d* in the above three words probably all sound alike. To the linguist-phonetician, however, they are very different sounds: that is why the linguist uses four different phonetic symbols [d, t, θ, ɔ̃] to represent what speakers of Palauan think of as only one sound and what is spelled with the letter *d*. The differences among [d, t, θ, ɔ̃] which the linguist-phonetician hears are non-contrastive or non-significant; such non-contrastive sounds are called **allophones** of a particular sound (or phoneme). By studying the distribution of sounds in a language (i.e., where the sounds do and do not occur), the linguist can predict which allophones of a particular phoneme will occur in a given environment. While contrastive sounds (or phonemes) provide us with minimal pairs, as in the case of *tub* 'spit'—*dub* 'dynamite' mentioned above, non-contrastive sounds (or allophones of a particular phoneme) never give us minimal pairs, as will be illustrated below.

In the following discussion of the sound system of Palauan, we will examine the significant sounds (phonemes) of the language, as well as some of the non-significant variations (allophones) of these sounds. In addition, some discussion of the distribution of these sounds will be given. In the discussion it will be necessary to introduce some technical linguistic terms and concepts which are essential to our understanding of how the Palauan sound system works.

THE CONSONANTS OF PALAUAN

- 1.3. The **consonants** of Palauan can be seen at a glance in the following chart. Notice that the chart includes labels arranged horizontally across the top and vertically along the left side. It will be worthwhile to learn these new terms and to associate them with the facial diagram (Fig. 1) which shows the important **articulators** and **points of articulation** which are used in making the sounds of Palauan. The sounds of speech are produced when a particular

articulator—e.g., the tip, blade, or back of the tongue—moves and touches some point of articulation—e.g., the teeth. In the production of certain sounds, pairs of speech organs serve simultaneously as articulator and point of articulation; this happens, for example, when the lips are brought together or when the vocal cords are closed against each other. A thorough understanding of how the sounds are produced and their relationships to each other will help in understanding the many complex changes that Palauan sounds undergo when different words or parts of words come together during conversation.

CHART OF PALAUAN CONSONANTS

		Points of Articulation				
Manner of articulation		bilabial	dental	alveolar	velar	glottal
Stops	voiceless		t		k	ch
	voiced	b	d			
Fricative				s		
Nasals		m			ng	
Liquids				r, l		

In the above chart, the five terms along the top—**bilabial**, **dental**, **alveolar**, **velar**, and **glottal**—represent the different points of articulation at which consonants are pronounced, while the four terms at the left—**stops (voiceless or voiced)**, **fricative**, **nasals**, and **liquids**—describe different manners (or ways) of articulation.

STOPS

- 1.3.1. The largest subtype of Palauan consonants consists of the **stops** *b*, *t*, *d*, *k*, and *ch*. These sounds are called stops because in their production the outward flow of air which originated in the lungs is completely stopped at some point in its passage through the throat or mouth; this stoppage is achieved by placing some articulator against some point of articulation. Two Palauan stops, *b* and *d*, are labelled **voiced**, because when either of them occurs at the beginning of a word before a vowel (i.e., before *a*, *i*, *e*, *o*, or *u*—see 1.4 below), they are pronounced with a simultaneous vibration of the vocal cords. This vibration is caused by air passing through the vocal cords, thus producing a “buzzing” sound called **voicing**. The term **voiceless** is used to describe the stops *t*, *k*, and *ch*; in the production of such sounds, the vocal cords do not vibrate but remain at rest, and the air is allowed to pass quietly between them. (In

DIAGRAM OF THE HUMAN SPEECH ORGANS

Drawing by Vanna Condax

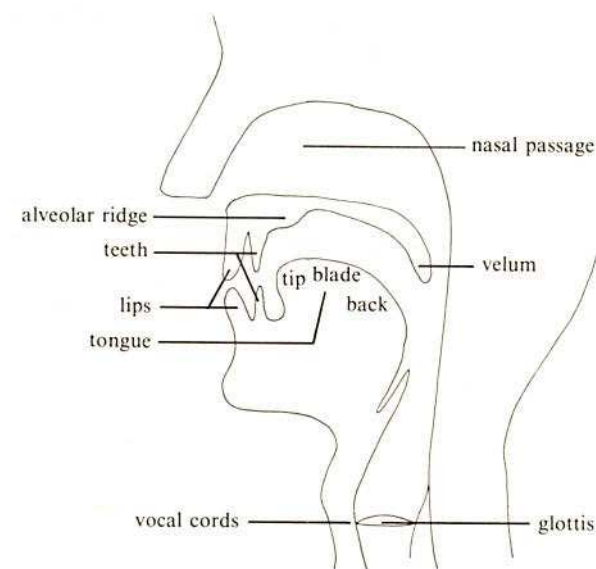


Figure 1

addition to the three voiceless stops *t*, *k*, and *ch*, Palauan has one other voiceless sound—*s*, which will be examined in some detail below.)

Bilabial Stop b. The consonant represented by the letter *b* is called a **bilabial stop** because the outward air flow is stopped completely by closing the two lips. When it occurs at the beginning of a word before an *l* or a vowel, it is voiced (phonetic symbol [b]), as in the following examples:

(3) Palauan Spelling	Phonetic Transcription	English Gloss
blai	[blay]	'house'
bloes	[bloes]	'shot'
bai	[bay]	'community house'
bung	[bug]	'flower'
beot	[beoth]	'easy'
bilis	[bilis]	'dog'

When the consonant *b* occurs in certain environments, its pronunciation changes. For example, *b* is pronounced without voicing when it immediately precedes or follows another conso-

nant (except *l*) in the same word. In other words, in such environments, *b* becomes a **voiceless** bilabial stop, which is represented by the phonetic symbol [p]. The different pronunciations of the consonant *b* as voiced [b] or voiceless [p] are non-significant; they are predictable from the kind of environment in which *b* appears. We can therefore say that the different pronunciations of *b* as [b] and [p] are allophones of *b*. As we mentioned at the end of 1.2 above, non-contrastive sounds (or allophones of a given phoneme) never provide us with minimal pairs. Since [b] and [p] are non-contrastive sounds, we never find Palauan minimal pairs like **pung—bung*. (The asterisk mark * is used to identify items which do not occur in the Palauan language.) Some examples showing the voiceless allophone of *b* preceding or following another consonant are given here:

(4) btuch	[ptuʔ]	'star'
bsibs	[psipsə]	'drill'
bngak	[pŋak ^h]	'my flower'
brer	[prer]	'raft'
tbak	[tpak ^h]	'my spit'
kbokb	[kpokpə]	'wall'

We can conclude that the Palauan consonant *b* is a phoneme which has two allophones—[b] and [p]. The voiced allophone [b] occurs at the beginning of words (i.e., **word-initially**) before vowels and the consonant *l*, and between two vowels, as in *oba* [oba] 'have, carry' and *rubak* [rubak^h] 'old man'. On the other hand, the voiceless allophone [p] occurs before or after consonants other than *l* and at the end of words (i.e., **word-finally**), as in *tub* [tup] 'spit' and *bab* [bap] 'above'.

Dental Stops t and d. The consonants *t* and *d* are voiceless and voiced, respectively. Like the consonant *b*, they are stops, because they involve complete stoppage of the outward air flow. But while the closure for *b* is bilabial, the closure for *t* and *d* is **dental**. This dental closure is produced by placing the tongue tip (the articulator) against the back of the upper teeth (the point of articulation). In comparing *b* on the one hand with *t* and *d* on the other, we can say that the three sounds are the same with respect to **manner of articulation**, since they are all stops; but *b* differs from *t* and *d* in **point of articulation**, since the former is produced at the lips, while the latter are articulated in back of the teeth. Recall how this is shown in the chart of Palauan consonants given in 1.3,

where the terms across the top represent the five points of articulation at which consonants are found, while the terms listed at the left describe the four possible manners of articulation. Note further that *t* and *d* are identical in both point of articulation and manner of articulation—i.e., they are both **dental stops**; what differentiates them is the presence or absence of voicing.

Both *t* and *d* have allophones which are determined by the environment in which each of them occurs. The consonant *t* has two different pronunciations. When *t* occurs at the end of a word it is released quite strongly with an audible puff of air. This type of articulation is known as **aspiration**; the phonetic symbol for such an **aspirated** *t* is [t^h]. The aspiration (or puff of air) that accompanies a word-final *t* in Palauan can be heard in the following words:

(5) liluut	[liluwt ^h]	'returned'
dakt	[ðakt ^h]	'fear'
cheɭat ¹	[ʔəlat ^h]	'smoked (fish)'

The other pronunciation of *t* involves no aspiration; this **unaspirated** *t* is represented by the phonetic symbol [t]. This allophone of *t* occurs at the beginning of words (when either a consonant or vowel follows) and within words (or **word-internally**) when it is preceded by another consonant and followed by a vowel. The following examples illustrate these environments:

(6) tbak	[tpak ^h]	'my spit'
tmuu	[tmuw]	'enter'
tkul	[tkul]	'its edge'
tɕruich	[təruyʔə]	'ten'
tuu	[tuw]	'banana'
tɕchang	[təʔaŋ]	'who?'
rɕktel	[rəktel]	'his sickness'

We can therefore say that the Palauan phoneme *t* has two allophones whose distribution is predictable as specified below:

- [t^h] (aspirated)—word-finally
- [t] (unaspirated)—elsewhere (i.e., word-initially and word-internally).

The consonant *d* has four possible pronunciations, depending on the environment in which it occurs. To illustrate these different pronunciations, it will be necessary to introduce two new phonetic symbols. They are [θ], which sounds like the first sound of the

English word *thin*, and [ð], which sounds like the first sound of the English word *then*. Both of these sounds are pronounced by putting the tongue tip against the back of the upper teeth without complete closure; thus, they are not stops, but **fricatives**. Fricatives involve **partial closure** or **constriction** between the articulator and point of articulation; their characteristic quality is one of audible friction. While both [θ] and [ð] are therefore **dental fricatives**, the former is voiceless while the latter is voiced. They are not listed in the chart in 1.3 because they are not separate phonemes, but merely allophones of the phoneme *d*.

The distribution of the four possible pronunciations of *d* may be summarized as follows:

a. Word-initially before a vowel, the pronunciation of *d* ranges from [d] to [ð]; in this environment, [d] tends to appear in rapid, casual speech, while [ð] is heard in more careful, controlled speech. Words which show this alternate pronunciation include

- | | | |
|---------|--------------|------------|
| (7) dub | [dup, ðup] | 'dynamite' |
| deed | [deyl, ðeyl] | 'nail' |

b. Word-initially before a consonant, the pronunciation of *d* varies between [t] and [θ]. The allophone [t] tends to appear before *b* and *m* and in rapid speech in general, while [θ] occurs before *k* and *ng* and in careful pronunciation. Some words illustrating these allophones are listed below:

- | | | |
|----------|----------------------|-----------------|
| (8) dmak | [tmak ^h] | 'together' |
| dbak | [tpak ^h] | 'my dynamite' |
| dngod | [θŋoð] | 'tattoo needle' |

You may have noticed that *tbak* 'my spit' (cf. 6 above) and *dbak* 'my dynamite' are pronounced in the same way, even though they are spelled differently. This identical pronunciation is reflected in identical phonetic transcriptions—namely, [tpak^h] for both words—and is due to the fact that *t* has the voiceless allophone [t] word-initially (before any consonant) and *d* also has the voiceless allophone [t] word-initially before a *b*. If we heard the word [tpak^h] spoken in isolation, we would therefore be unable to tell whether the utterance meant 'my spit' or 'my dynamite'; however, looking at the written forms poses no difficulty, since *tbak* 'my spit' is spelled with the same word-initial consonant as *tub* [tup] 'spit', while *dbak* 'my dynamite' is spelled with the same initial consonant as *dub* [dup, ðup] 'dynamite'.

c. When the consonant *d* occurs between vowels or at the end of a word, it is pronounced with the allophone [ð], as in the following examples:

- | | | |
|-----------|---------|------------|
| (9) mēdal | [mæðal] | 'his face' |
| kēdeb | [kæðep] | 'short' |
| chēdil | [ʔæðil] | 'mother' |
| bad | [bað] | 'stone' |
| kid | [kið] | 'we' |
| eangēd | [yaŋæð] | 'sky' |

Velar Stop k. The consonant represented by the letter *k* is called a **velar stop** because it is articulated by raising the back of the tongue (the articulator) against the **velum** (the point of articulation) to form a complete closure. This consonant has three principal allophones, whose distribution is described below:

a. When *k* occurs word-finally, it is pronounced with aspiration; the phonetic symbol for this aspirated allophone of *k* is [k^h]. Observe the words below:

- | | | |
|----------------------|------------------------|-------------|
| (10) brak | [prak ^h] | 'taro' |
| chērmek ² | [ʔærmek ^h] | 'my animal' |
| dērumk | [ðærumk ^h] | 'thunder' |

What other Palauan consonant which we have studied thus far has an aspirated allophone with the same kind of distribution?

b. Word-initially (before a consonant or vowel), *k* is pronounced with the unaspirated allophone [k], as the following examples show:

- | | | |
|-----------|----------|------------|
| (11) klou | [klow] | 'big' |
| kmarēd | [kmaræð] | 'light' |
| kid | [kið] | 'we' |
| ker | [ker] | 'question' |

This allophone also appears word-internally when *k* is next to any consonant except *l*, as in *lotkii* [lotkiy] 'remembers it', *skuul* [skuwl] 'school', and *kbokb* [kpokpə] 'wall'.

c. Between vowels, *k* is pronounced with the voiced allophone [g], as in the words below:

- | | | |
|--------------|------------|------------|
| (12) olēkiis | [olēgiys] | 'wake up' |
| mēkeald | [mægealðə] | 'warm' |
| rēkas | [rēgas] | 'mosquito' |

Do you recall any other Palauan consonant which has a voiced allophone between vowels?

Glottal Stop *ch*. The consonant *ch* is formed by closing the vocal cords tightly against each other to impede the outward flow of air. Since the space between the vocal cords is called the **glottis**, the stop sound described here is known as a **glottal stop** (phonetic symbol [ʔ]). Although a sequence of two letters—*ch*—is used in the Palauan spelling system to write the glottal stop, it is just a single consonant sound like *b*, *t*, *d*, or *k*. The English sound system does not have a glottal stop phoneme, but speakers of American English frequently use [ʔ] in certain words. For example, the negative expression *uh uh* is normally pronounced with a glottal stop at the beginning of each of its syllables.

The Palauan glottal stop phoneme shows no allophonic variation, and is pronounced as [ʔ] in all environments. A sampling of words containing this sound is given here:

(13) charm	[ʔarm]	'animal'
chisel	[ʔisel]	'news of him'
męched	[męʔeð]	'shallow'
dęngchokl	[ðęŋʔoklə]	'sit'
taoch	[taoʔ]	'channel'
tęruich	[tęruyʔə]	'ten'

Some special comment needs to be made about when and when not to spell words with an initial *ch*. There are some Palauan words which are pronounced with an initial glottal stop under all circumstances—that is, regardless of whether they are spoken in isolation or spoken following another word within a sentence. For example, words like *chad* 'person' or *chull* 'rain' are pronounced as [ʔað] and [ʔul:ə], respectively, both when spoken alone and when preceded by another word in simple sentences like

- (14) a. Ng chad ęr a Siabal. [ŋʔaðęrasıabal]³
'He's Japanese.'
b. Ng chull. [ŋʔul:ə]
'It's raining.'

On the other hand, there are some words which have an initial glottal stop when spoken in isolation, but lose this glottal stop when preceded by another word. For example, words like *oles* 'knife' and *omes* 'see' are [ʔoles] and [ʔomes], respectively, when uttered in isolation. Note, however, that the initial [ʔ] disappears in simple sentences like

- (15) a. Ng oles. [ŋoles]
'It's a knife.'
b. Ak mla omes ęr ngii. [akmlaomesęrŋii]
'I've seen him.'

As the Palauan spelling of the words under discussion indicates, a word is always spelled with initial *ch* if the [ʔ] pronunciation is maintained within sentences; on the other hand, if no initial [ʔ] is pronounced when a word appears in a sentence, then no initial *ch* is ever included in the spelling. When you are in doubt about whether or not to spell a word with an initial *ch*, you can easily test it by using it in sentences like 14–15.

FRICATIVE

1.3.2. We have seen in 1.3.1. above that the stop consonants of Palauan are characterized by complete stoppage or interruption of the outward air flow; this is achieved by placing some articulator tightly against some point of articulation. It is also possible to produce consonants by forming a **partial closure** or **constriction** between articulator and point of articulation. When the outward flow of air is forced through such a narrow passage, audible friction is heard. For this reason, such sounds are called **fricatives**. Palauan has only one fricative, the phoneme *s*. This sound, which can be identified by a strong "hissing" quality, is produced by touching the sides of the blade of the tongue against the teeth and part of the **alveolar ridge**, which is the bony protrusion above the teeth. Because the alveolar ridge is involved in its pronunciation, *s* is classified as an **alveolar fricative** in the chart in 1.3. Palauan *s* is always voiceless and usually sounds as if it is somewhere between English *sh* (as in *she*) and *s* (as in *see*). It does not show any allophonic variation and is pronounced as [s] in all positions. Some words containing *s* are now given:

(16) sils	[sils]	'sun'
sers	[sęrs]	'garden'
męsilęk	[męsilęk ^h]	'wash'
męngiis	[męŋiys]	'dig'

NASALS

1.3.3. In Fig. 1 you will notice that the outward air flow from the lungs can escape either through the mouth or the nasal passage. In most languages, either one or the other of these "escape routes" is

closed off during the production of consonant sounds. All of the Palauan stops and the fricative *s*, for example, involve air passing through the mouth only; during the pronunciation of these sounds, air is prevented from entering the nasal passage by raising the **velum** against the back wall of the throat (see Fig.1). On the other hand, Palauan **nasal sounds** are made by forming a closure somewhere in the mouth and leaving the velum at rest so that the air flow can pass freely through the nasal passage.

Bilabial nasal m. The nasal sound *m* is produced simply by holding the lips tightly closed and letting the air escape through the nose. Because the two lips are used to make the closure, this nasal is identified as **bilabial**. (What is the other bilabial consonant of Palauan?) The bilabial nasal *m* has no allophonic variants and is pronounced [m] in all of its occurrences:

(17) mad	[mað]	'die'
omoēs	[omoēs]	'shoot'
blim	[blim]	'your house'

Velar nasal ng. In articulating the nasal sound *ng*, the speaker blocks off the passage of air through the mouth with a closure between the back of the tongue (articulator) and the velum (point of articulation), while leaving the nasal passage open. Since the air is prevented from entering the mouth at the velum, this nasal is classified as **velar**. (What is the other velar consonant of Palauan?)

Though represented in Palauan spelling with a sequence of two letters, the velar nasal *ng* is one single sound. It has two principal allophones, whose distribution is specified as follows:

a. Before *t*, *d*, *s*, and *r*, *ng* is pronounced as a **dental nasal** (phonetic symbol [ɲ]). Because this allophone is a nasal, the outward air flow passes through the nose, but the closure in the mouth is made by placing the tongue tip against the back of the upper teeth (cf. the articulation of *t* and *d*). Some examples containing the [ɲ] allophone of *ng* are now given:

(18) iungs	[yuns]	'island'
męrangd	[məranðə]	'(a kind of) coral'
sęngsongd	[sənsənðə]	'stick'
ngduul	[ɲduwl]	'clam'
ngril	[ɲriyl]	'place near beach'
ng til	[ɲtil]	'it's her purse'

The dot in the phonetic representation [ɲ] means that the dental nasal allophone of *ng* is pronounced as a separate syllable—see 1.3.5. below.

b. In all environments distinct from those described in the preceding paragraph, the consonant *ng* is pronounced as a velar nasal (the phonetic symbol for this sound, which is found at the end of English words like *sing*, is [ŋ]). In other words, the allophone [ŋ] appears before vowels, in word-final position, and before consonants other than *t*, *d*, *s*, and *r*. Some examples are listed below:

(19) ngau	[ŋaw]	'fire'
ngor	[ŋor]	'mouth'
reng	[reŋ]	'heart, spirit'
bung	[buŋ]	'flower'
ngklem	[ŋkleŋ]	'your name'
nglim	[ŋlim]	'drunk (up)'
ng chętik	[ŋʔətikh]	'I don't like it.'

Is there any good explanation we can give for the distribution of the allophones of *ng*? Notice that the dental nasal allophone [ɲ] occurs only before sounds which are dental or alveolar; in other words, this allophone precedes sounds whose point of articulation (dental or alveolar) is close to its own. On the other hand, the velar nasal allophone [ŋ] has a less restricted distribution, since it occurs before all vowels, in word-final position, and before consonants such as *k*, *ch*, and *l*. If we assume that because of this less restricted distribution the allophone [ŋ] is somehow more "basic" than [ɲ], we can say that [ŋ] changes to [ɲ] before *t*, *d*, *s*, and *r* because speakers move the point of articulation of the nasal forward (from a velar to a dental position) in anticipation of the pronunciation of the following consonant. This process, which is very common in languages, is called **assimilation**. In the case under discussion, we say that [ŋ] has **assimilated** to (or has become similar in pronunciation to) a following *t*, *d*, *s*, or *r*, thereby becoming [ɲ].

The only exceptions to the above-mentioned distribution of the allophones of *ng* are found among words which have been borrowed into Palauan from Japanese and English. In such words the allophone [ɲ] appears in environments other than before *t*, *d*, *s*, and *r*. Some examples are *nas* [nas] 'eggplant', *niziu* [niʃu] 'twenty (used often when counting change)', *John* [jan], etc. In

spelling these words, Palauans use the single letter *n* rather than the letter sequence *ng*. Note, further, that in spelling a word of Japanese origin such as *sensei* 'teacher' the single letter *n* is used instead of *ng*, even before the dental consonant *s*.

Special mention needs to be made about when and when not to spell *ng* at the end of one and the same word. Quite a few Palauan words end in *a*, *o*, or *u* when pronounced within a sentence, but they have a word-final *ng* when spoken in isolation or at the end of a sentence. This common rule of Palauan pronunciation is illustrated in the sentences below, where the words *menga* 'eat' and *mo* 'go' are spelled in two different ways:

- (20) a. Ak mo *mengang*.
'I'm going to eat (it).'
b. Ak mo *menga* ɛr a ngikɛl.
'I'm going to eat the fish.'
- (21) a. Ng *mong*.
'He's going.'
b. Ng mo ɛr a skuul.
'He's going to school.'

The rule for spelling words of this kind is simple to remember: if word-final *ng* is pronounced and heard, as in 20a and 21a above, we also spell *ng*; if, however, no *ng* is pronounced or heard, as in 20b and 21b, it is omitted from the spelling. When words like *menga* 'eat' and *mo* 'go' are cited for discussion in this text, they will be cited in the shorter form.

In addition to the above, there are many Palauan words which are always pronounced with a final *ng*, even within sentences. Words of this type, which of course are always spelled with word-final *ng*, include native Palauan words like *bung* 'flower', *bang* 'goatfish', *ding* 'ear', *reng* 'heart', and *chedeng* 'shark', and borrowed words like *hong* 'book' and *blatong* 'plate'.

LIQUIDS

- 1.3.4. The Palauan consonants which we have already discussed exhibit three different types of articulation. The **non-nasal consonants** involve either complete closure (the stops *b*, *t*, *d*, *k*, and *ch*) or narrowing (the fricative *s*) of the speech tract. The **nasal consonants** *m* and *ŋ* are characterized by closure in one part of the speech tract (i.e., the mouth) and free passage in the other (i.e., the nose). In this section we will examine a fourth type of Palauan

consonant—the **liquids** *l* and *r*. Both of these consonants are articulated by making a partial closure in the mouth.

Liquid l. The consonant *l* is made by touching the upper surface of the blade of the tongue against the top teeth and alveolar ridge and by allowing some air to escape over the sides of the tongue. It has no significant allophonic variations and appears as [l] in all environments. The following are some examples containing *l*:

- | | | |
|-----------|---------|-----------|
| (22) lius | [lius] | 'coconut' |
| luut | [luwtʰ] | 'return' |
| mɛlai | [mɛlay] | 'take' |
| rael | [rael] | 'road' |

Liquid r. The consonant *r* is called a **tapped r** because it is made with a quick tapping movement of the tongue tip against the alveolar ridge above the upper teeth. Though there is a special phonetic symbol for this tapped *r*, it will be adequate for our purposes to use [r]. This sound appears in all environments, as in the words below:

- | | | |
|-----------|---------|------------|
| (23) rakt | [raktʰ] | 'sickness' |
| rɛkas | [rɛgas] | 'mosquito' |
| bɛras | [bɛras] | 'rice' |
| kar | [kar] | 'medicine' |

The Sequences *ll* and *rr*

- 1.3.4.1. In some Palauan words, two identical liquid consonants occur next to each other. The sequence *ll* differs from *l* in that it is held about twice as long as the single consonant. The phonetic representation for this **long l** is [l:], where the colon [:] indicates the extra length. The sequence *rr* differs from *r* in that it is pronounced as a **trilled r** rather than a tapped *r*. A trilled *r* (phonetic symbol [r̄]) is composed of two or three tapped *r*'s pronounced in rapid succession. The words below illustrate the Palauan sequences *ll* and *rr* in various positions:

- | | | |
|--------------------|------------|--------------|
| (24) llel | [l:ɛl] | 'its leaf' |
| kall | [kal:ə] | 'food' |
| rrom | [r̄om] | 'liquor' |
| kɛrrɛkar | [kɛr̄ɛgar] | 'tree' |
| rruul ⁴ | [r̄uwl] | 'made, done' |

SYLLABIC CONSONANTS

- 1.3.5. The words of Palauan can consist of different numbers of **syllables**, or pulses of air. It is fairly easy to count syllables: for example, *kar* 'medicine' has one, *elii* 'yesterday' has two, *mē-dengelṭerir* 'knows them' has five, and so on. When any consonant occurs before a vowel, it is pronounced along with that vowel as part of the same syllable. In *bilek* 'my clothing', for instance, *b* is part of the first syllable and *l* is part of the second. When certain types of consonants—specifically, nasals and liquids—occur before other consonants in word-initial position, they become **syllabic**—that is, they are pronounced as separate syllables. To indicate this syllabic quality in the phonetic transcription, a dot is placed under the regular phonetic symbol for the nasal or liquid—i.e., [m], [ŋ], [l], and [r]. These syllabic consonants appear in cases like the following:

(25) ng boes	[ŋboes] ⁵	'it's a gun'
mchiṭlak	[mʔiyəlak ^h]	'wait for me!'
Ngchesar	[ŋʔesar]	(village name)
nglim	[ŋlim]	'drunk (up)'
ngduul	[ŋduwl]	'clam'
lmangəl	[lmaŋəl]	'cry'
ltel	[ltel]	'his return'
rsəchek	[rsəʔek ^h]	'my blood'
rtangəl	[rtangəl]	'is to be pounded'

Syllabic *r* ([r̥]) is pronounced as a trilled *r* by some speakers and with considerable friction by others. The only exception to the analysis given above concerns the sequence *ml*, as in *mlai* [mlay] 'canoe'. Here, the *m* is not syllabic but is pronounced along with the other sounds in the word as a single syllable.

THE VOWELS OF PALAUAN

- 1.4. The vowels of Palauan are summarized in the following chart:

CHART OF PALAUAN VOWELS

Tongue height	Tongue advancement		
	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e	ɛ	o
low		a	

Along the left side of the chart, three levels of **tongue height** are shown, while along the top, three degrees of **tongue advancement** are indicated. These terms will be explained in detail below. Unlike consonants, which involve closure or narrowing of the speech tract, vowels allow relatively free, unrestricted passage of the outward air flow. The different vowel sounds (or **vowel qualities**) are produced by changing the shape of the mouth cavity; this is accomplished by holding the tongue in various positions, each of which can be described in terms of tongue height and tongue advancement. All Palauan vowels are automatically voiced (i.e., the vocal cords vibrate during their production) and are pronounced with the velum raised to shut off the nasal passage (i.e., they do not have a "nasal" quality).

Palauan vowels distinguish three degrees of tongue height—**high**, **mid**, and **low**. **High vowels** are pronounced with the tongue raised high in the mouth and very close to the palate; **low vowels** are articulated with the tongue low in the mouth, relatively distant from the palate; and **mid vowels** are pronounced somewhere in between. To get some idea of the "distance" between high vowels and low vowels (which are at the "extreme" ends of the series), simply watch what happens to your mouth during the pronunciation of pairs of vowels like *i-a* and *u-a*. When you move from the high vowels *i* and *u* to the low vowel *a*, your mouth opens widely; here, the jaw is lowered in order to get the tongue into a low position. Now try to pronounce the vowel sequence *i-e-a*; you should be able to recognize three different positions of vowel height as your jaw moves progressively lower. For further practice, move in the opposite direction from low to high—i.e., *a-e-i*.

HIGH VOWELS *i* AND *u*

- 1.4.1. Differences in tongue height are not sufficient to distinguish all of the Palauan vowels from each other. For example, the chart in 1.4 above shows that Palauan has two high vowels—*i* and *u*. While both of these vowels are articulated with the tongue in a relatively high position, they differ from each other with respect to tongue advancement. In pronouncing *i*, the blade (or front) of the tongue is **advanced** and raised towards the alveolar ridge and the front portion of the palate. In pronouncing *u*, however, the tongue is **retracted** and the back of the tongue is raised towards the back portion of the palate and the velum. Because the tongue is ad-

vanced towards the **front** of the mouth for *i*, this vowel is identified as a **high front vowel**; and because *u* involves a retraction of the tongue towards the **back** of the mouth, it is labelled as a **high back vowel**. It is not all that easy to observe or feel the difference in tongue advancement between *i* and *u*. However, if you try to repeat these vowels in succession (*i-u*, *i-u*, etc.) you may be able to feel the tongue retract as you move from *i* to *u*. One further difference between these two vowels is easier to recognize. Notice that when you pronounce *u*, your lips become **rounded** as if you are going to whistle; this **rounding** is absent for *i*, where your lips remain spread apart, as if you are beginning to smile. Thus, we say that *u* is a **rounded vowel** while *i* is an **unrounded vowel**.

Although vowels, like consonants, can have allophones, the vowels of Palauan in general show little allophonic variation. Therefore, as the words below illustrate, *i* is pronounced [i] (similar to the vowel sound in English *heat*) and *u* is pronounced [u] (similar to the *u* in English *rude*) under all circumstances:

(26) sils	[sils]	'sun'
kim	[kim]	'large clam'
chisel	[ʔisɛl]	'news of him'
mɛtik	[mɛtik ^h]	'find'
btuch	[ptuʔ]	'star'
bung	[buŋ]	'flower'
kɛruk	[kɛruk ^h]	'my medicine'
subɛlek	[subɛlek ^h]	'my homework'

MID VOWELS *e*, *ɛ*, AND *o*

- 1.4.2. While the high vowels show two degrees of tongue advancement, the mid vowels show three. In addition to the **mid front vowel** *e* and the **mid back vowel** *o*, we have the **mid central vowel** *ɛ*. In the pronunciation of this vowel, the tongue is neither advanced (as for *e*) nor retracted (as for *o*); rather, the tongue remains flat and at rest. The mid central vowel *ɛ* and the mid front vowel *e* are quite different in pronunciation: *ɛ* sounds something like the weak vowel "uh" in English words like "about" and "again", while *e* sounds like the vowel in English "bed." The phonetic symbol for the mid central vowel *ɛ* is [ə] (commonly referred to as **schwa**), and that for the mid front vowel *e* is [ɛ]. As you know, the Palauan spelling system uses only one letter—namely, *e*—to spell both of the sounds [ɛ] and [ə]. Although speakers of Palauan will not find this confusing, non-native speakers may have trouble

deciding when to pronounce the letter *e* as [ɛ] and when to pronounce it as [ə]. To assist non-native speakers, in this text we shall use the special symbol *ɛ* (*e* with a comma under it) to represent [ə]. As you will see later, it will be handy to have the two symbols *e* and *ɛ* in order to make certain discussions clear.

In the list below, you will find some common Palauan words containing the mid vowels *e* and *o*. (Further discussion of *ɛ* will continue below.)

(27) sers	[sɛrs]	'garden'
ngklel	[ŋklel]	'his name'
elii	[ɛlii]	'yesterday'
ngor	[ŋor]	'mouth'
oles	[olɛs]	'knife'
mɛlɛchɔlb	[mɛlɛʔɔlbə]	'bathe'

There is one important difference between the pronunciations of *e* and *o* which we have not yet mentioned: *o* is a rounded vowel, while *e* is not. Recall that among the high vowels, *u* is rounded, while *i* is not. What similarity of pattern can you identify?

The Palauan vowel *ɛ* has a very restricted distribution, since it occurs only in **unstressed syllables**. Every Palauan word of two or more syllables has just one **stressed syllable**, with the remaining syllables unstressed. It is usually not too difficult to identify the stressed syllable in such words, since this syllable tends to be louder and stronger than the nearby syllables. For practice, compare the stressed syllable with the unstressed syllables in words like *klúkuk* 'tomorrow', *mɛŋɛlébɛd* 'hit', *ngklém* 'your name', and *chillebɛdák* 'hit me'. To identify the stressed syllable, a **stress mark** (') has been placed over the vowel which is found in it; this stress mark, however, is not used in the Palauan spelling system. Until now, we have not identified the stressed syllables in our phonetic transcriptions of Palauan multisyllabic words, although a completely specified phonetic transcription would have to take account of them.

The list below contains words of two or more syllables which have already appeared in this chapter. The stressed syllable has been identified with a stress mark. Notice that every *ɛ* (schwa = [ə]) which occurs is found in an unstressed syllable.

(28) chɛlat	[ʔɛlát ^h]	'smoked (fish)'
tɛchang	[tɛʔáŋ]	'who?'
rɛktel	[rɛktél]	'his sickness'
eangɛd	[yáŋəð]	'sky'

kmarəð	[kmárəð]	'light'
oləkiis	[oləgiys]	'wake up'
məsilək	[məsílək ^h]	'wash'
lmangəl	[!máŋəl]	'cry'
məŋgələbəð	[məŋələbəð]	'hit'

Note further that since the great majority of Palauan one-syllable words are stressed, there are almost no Palauan one-syllable words containing ϵ .⁶

LOW VOWEL *a*

- 1.4.3. The only low vowel in Palauan is *a* (phonetic symbol [a]), which is classified as a **low central vowel**. There is no contrast between front and back low vowels in Palauan. Several words containing this vowel are listed below:

(29) chad	[ʔað]	'person'
məlat	[məlát ^h]	'tear, rip'
ngak	[ŋak ^h]	'I, me'

THE VOWEL ϵ AND THE PROCESS OF VOWEL REDUCTION

- 1.4.4. The six vowels listed in the chart in 1.4 above are among the significant sounds (or phonemes) of Palauan. It is possible to find minimal pairs which show how the various vowels contrast with each other in otherwise identical environments. Note, for example, the minimal pairs *kar* 'medicine'—*ker* 'question', *char* 'price'—*chur* 'laughter', *kid* 'we'—*ked* 'hill', and *delék* 'my nail'—*dələk* 'my abdomen'. In the last minimal pair cited, the vowels *e* and ϵ contrast in an unstressed syllable. Since ϵ occurs only in unstressed syllables, it is extremely difficult to find minimal pairs which show ϵ to be contrastive with other vowels. For this and another reason to be explained below, many linguists would not recognize the mid central vowel ϵ as a separate phoneme of Palauan, but would consider it an allophone of some other vowel phoneme or phonemes.

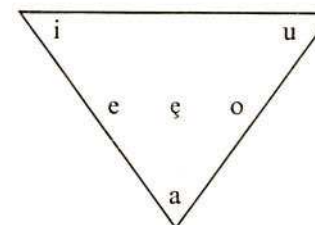
When we compare related forms of certain words, we can see a close relationship between ϵ and various other vowels. In the list below, the left column gives the simple form of a word, while the right column gives one of its "possessed" forms:

(30) Simple form	Possessed form
bsibs 'drill'	bsəbsék 'my drill'
chur 'laughter'	chərik 'my laughter'

sers	'garden'	sərsék	'my garden'
ngor	'mouth'	ngərék	'my mouth'
kar	'medicine'	kəruk	'my medicine'

The words in the left column contain instances of the vowels *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*, and *a*. In each of the corresponding possessed forms, the mid central vowel ϵ appears where we would expect the vowels *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*, or *a*. The possessed forms have two syllables (you will notice that one of the endings *-ek*, *-ik*, or *-uk* has been added to each of them), of which the first is unstressed and second is stressed. Since the vowel ϵ appears in an unstressed syllable where we would expect some other vowel, it seems as if *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*, and *a* have changed to ϵ in this environment. This kind of process, which is called **vowel reduction**, is observed in many languages of the world: commonly, certain **full** vowels **reduce** to the "weaker" or more "neutral" mid central vowel schwa under certain conditions. We shall now explain this statement further.

If we rewrite the chart of vowels given in 1.4 as a kind of "vowel triangle"—namely,



—we can see that ϵ is more or less in the middle while the other vowels are at the edges or extremes. From the point of view of tongue height and tongue advancement, the mid central vowel ϵ is least extreme or deviant in its articulation: it is neither high nor low, nor is it front or back. For this reason, the mid central vowel ϵ may be described as a **neutral vowel**, while *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*, and *a* are referred to as **full** vowels. In Palauan, then, as in many languages, the full vowels lose their basic qualities (i.e., no longer sound like [i], [u], etc.) and reduce to a neutral vowel (i.e., ϵ [ə]) in unstressed syllables. Because ϵ therefore results from (or is derived from) any of the full vowels, some linguists would argue that it is not a separate phoneme but merely one of the allophones of each of the full vowels. The process of vowel reduction introduced by the examples of 30 above will be presented in greater detail in 3.4.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF SCHWA

- 1.4.5. You may have noticed that our phonetic transcriptions for certain words show word-final schwas which are not reflected in the Palauan spelling. A few of these words are repeated, along with new examples, in the list below:

(31) bsibs	[psipsə]	'drill'
kbokb	[kpókɸə]	'wall'
m̄keald	[m̄kɛálðə]	'warm'
d̄ngchokl	[ð̄ŋʔóklə]	'sit'
m̄rangd	[m̄ránðə]	'(a kind of) coral'
m̄l̄echolb	[m̄ləʔólbə]	'bathe'
ralm	[rálmə]	'water'
diall	[ðiál:ə]	'ship'

The appearance of word-final [ə] in the examples of 31 illustrates a very general rule of Palauan pronunciation: whenever a word ends in a sequence of two consonants, this **cluster** of consonants is followed by a **schwa release** (which is of course unstressed). Because the schwa release is predictable and speakers always pronounce it automatically, it does not need to be indicated in the spelling.

In some instances, a word-final *u* preceded by a consonant also results in a schwa release; here, too, the schwa is not reflected in the spelling. Some words which fall into this category include the following:

(32) Palauan spelling ⁷	Phonetic transcription	English gloss
omdasu	[omðáswə]	'think'
ochadu	[oʔáðwə]	'something to cut with, tongs'
kuoku	[kwókwə]	'skin which is shed'

Sometimes a schwa is predictably added to break up a particular cluster of consonants. For example, sequences of the form *dental consonant + l* (i.e., *tl*, *dl*, and *sl*) never occur in Palauan. It is also impossible for *ch* to be directly preceded or followed by another consonant. When such "impossible" combinations result from certain types of word formation, a schwa must be inserted to separate the consonants. The words below, for example, are formed by inserting an *l* after the first consonant; the resulting consonant cluster must be broken up with an intervening schwa, which is also indicated in the Palauan spelling.

(33) Palauan spelling ⁸	Phonetic transcription	English gloss
t̄lub	[təlúb]	'spat'
d̄lanḡb	[ð̄lááb]	'covered'
s̄les̄b	[sələsəb]	'burned'
ch̄lat	[ʔəlát ^h]	'smoked'

Schwa often occurs next to or between vowels which are not stressed. In such cases, it is indicated in the spelling, as the following examples illustrate:

(34) Palauan spelling ⁹	Phonetic transcription	English gloss
chuīeuii	[ʔuyəwíy]	'reads it'
kiīesii	[kiyəsíy]	'digs it'
kiūetii	[kiwətíy]	'cuts it'
siūesii	[siwəsíy]	'cures it'

LONG VOWELS

- 1.4.6. All the full vowels of Palauan except *a* can occur long. These **long vowels** are spelled simply by doubling the letter—i.e., *ii*, *uu*, *ee*, and *oo*. Phonetically, Palauan long vowels are indeed greater in length (i.e., time it takes to say them) than the corresponding short vowels, but they also have some additional features. All of the long vowels contain a **gliding** articulation. The front vowels *i* and *e* are followed by a **y-glide** when long, while the back vowels *u* and *o* are followed by a **w-glide**. The glide sounds *y* and *w* involve movement of the tongue towards a high front or a high back position, respectively. In forming *ee*, for example, the tongue makes a smooth transition from the mid front position of *e* to a high front position; similarly, in articulating *oo*, the tongue begins at the mid back position for *o* and then moves towards a high back position. In this text, long vowels are indicated in the phonetic transcriptions as sequences of *vowel + glide*, and we will use the phonetic symbols [y] and [w] to stand for these glides. The list below contains words with long vowels:

(35) diil	[ðiyl]	'abdomen'
ngii	[ŋiy]	'he, she, it'
buuch	[buwʔə]	'betel nut'
ngduul	[ŋduwl]	'clam'
deel	[dəyl]	'nail'
kmeed	[kmeyð]	'near'
d̄kool	[d̄əgowl]	'cigarette'
s̄kool	[s̄əgowl]	'playful'

The difference between short vowels and long vowels in Palauan is **phonemic** because it can serve to distinguish between otherwise identical words. This phonemic difference means that we can find minimal pairs in which a short vowel contrasts with a long vowel in exactly the same environment—e.g., *buch* ‘spouse’—*buuch* ‘betel nut’ and *chis* ‘depression in the sea floor’—*chiis* ‘escape’.

VOWEL CLUSTERS

- 1.4.7. As many of the words in this chapter illustrate, Palauan consonants can occur in different combinations or clusters; such clusters are found in words like *mlai* ‘canoe’, *tkul* ‘its edge’, *brer* ‘raft’, and *rakt* ‘sickness’. It is also possible for the full vowels of Palauan to appear in various kinds of clusters. Of the two adjacent vowels, one or the other may be stressed, or—less frequently—neither may be stressed. Given only the Palauan spelling of words containing vowel clusters, it is very difficult to predict the correct pronunciation. This is because some of the (spelled) vowels are pronounced in different ways, depending on whether or not they are stressed and whether they precede or follow the adjacent vowel. Before formulating some of these very complicated rules of pronunciation, let us list a representative number of Palauan words which contain vowel clusters. Stress marks are indicated in the Palauan spellings and in the phonetic transcriptions because we will need to refer to stress in the rules of pronunciation.

(36) 1.	eánged	[yáŋəð]	‘sky’
2.	eólt	[yóltə]	‘wind’
3.	iédəl	[yéðəl]	‘mango’
4.	iúngs	[yúns]	‘island’
5.	eungél	[eun̩él]	‘under it’
6.	oách	[wáʔ]	‘leg’
7.	uél	[wél]	‘turtle’
8.	uíngəl	[wiŋəl]	‘tooth’
9.	soál	[soál]	‘his wish’
10.	cháus	[ʔáws]	‘lime’
11.	ngáu	[ŋáw]	‘fire’
12.	kléu	[kléw]	‘young coconut’
13.	udóud	[uðówð]	‘money’
14.	klóu	[klów]	‘big’
15.	suéləb	[swéləb]	‘noon’
16.	suóbəl	[swóbəl]	‘study, homework’

17.	báil	[báy]	‘clothing’
18.	róis	[róys]	‘mountain’
19.	búil	[búy]	‘moon’
20.	chúi	[ʔúy]	‘hair’
21.	blái	[bláy]	‘house’
22.	təkói	[təgói]	‘word’
23.	səchəlái	[səʔələy]	‘friend’
24.	diak	[ðiakʰ]	‘isn’t’
25.	lius	[líus]	‘coconut’
26.	diáll	[ðiál:ə]	‘ship’
27.	ráel	[ráel]	‘road’
28.	bóes	[bóes]	‘gun’
29.	táoch	[táoʔ]	‘channel’
30.	diong	[ðioŋ]	‘bathing place’

In order to account for the phonetic transcriptions of 36, we need to formulate rules of pronunciation like the following:

a. Word-initially before any stressed vowel, the unstressed front vowels *e* and *i* are pronounced as the glide [y] (see items 1–4 in the list above). If word-initial unstressed *e* precedes another unstressed vowel, however, as in item 5, it is pronounced [ɛ].

b. Word-initially before any stressed vowel, the unstressed back vowels *o* and *u* are pronounced as the glide [w] (see items 6–8). Word-internally before a stressed vowel, however, unstressed *o* is pronounced [o], as in item 9.

c. Word-internal or word-final unstressed *u*’s are pronounced as the glide [w], regardless of whether a stressed vowel precedes them (as in items 10–14) or follows them (as in items 15–16).

d. Following a stressed vowel word-internally and word-finally, *i* is pronounced as the glide [y] (see items 17–23). Preceding a vowel word-internally, however, *i* is pronounced [i], whether it is stressed (as in items 24–25) or unstressed (as in item 26).

e. Word-internally following stressed vowels, *e* is pronounced [ɛ], as in items 27–28, and *o* is pronounced [o], as in items 29–30.

We must give special attention to the problem of when and when not to spell a word with a final vowel cluster *ei*. A good number of Palauan words which end in *e* when pronounced within a sentence take a word-final *i* when spoken in isolation or at the end of a sentence. The sentences below, which contain *me* ‘come’

and *che* 'fishing', illustrate this variation in pronunciation:

- (37) a. A Droteo a mei.
'Droteo is coming.'
b. A Droteo a me ɛr a blik.
'Droteo is coming to my house.'
- (38) a. Ng mo ɛr a chei.
'He is going fishing.'
b. Ng mo ɛr a che ɛr a klukuk.
'He is going fishing tomorrow.'

The rule of spelling involved here is similar to that observed for word-final *ng* at the end of 1.3.3 above: in other words, if word-final *i* is pronounced and heard, as in 37a and 38a, it is also spelled; if, on the other hand, no *i* is pronounced or heard, as in 37b and 38b, it is not included in the spelling. When cited for discussion in this text, words like *me* 'come' and *che* 'fishing' will be cited in the shorter form.

FURTHER RULES OF PALAUAN SPELLING

- 1.5. In this section we will list various spelling rules of Palauan which have not been covered in the sections above. Most of the rules below concern the proper spelling of individual words and phrases. Often, the decision to spell something as a separate word is based on a grammatical analysis of the item in question. Such analysis allows us to identify or isolate one and the same word as it appears in different, though related, constructions. Our understanding of many aspects of Palauan grammatical structure will be facilitated if we spell a particular word in the same way in all of its occurrences, even though there might be some differences in pronunciation from one occurrence to another. In the discussion which follows, we will try to keep references to grammatical terms and concepts at a minimum; however, any terms or concepts which do need to be introduced for purposes of identification will be given thorough treatment elsewhere in the text.

a. The **relational word** *ɛr*, which has a wide range of English equivalents such as 'in, at, to, from, out of, of, because of', etc., is always spelled as a separate word. Furthermore, the word *a*, which precedes all **verbs** and **nouns** (but not **pronouns** or **demonstratives**), should be spelled as a separate word. Observe the following examples:

- (39) a. Ak mo ɛr a skuul.
'I'm going to school.'
b. Ke mo ɛr ker?
'Where are you going?'
c. Ak meɣsuub a tekoɪ ɛr a Merikel.
'I am studying English.'
d. Ak milsuub ɛr a blik.
'I was studying at home.'
e. Ak meɣrael ɛr a klukuk.
'I am leaving tomorrow.'
f. Ng hong¹⁰ ɛr a Droteo.
'It's Droteo's book.'
g. Ng hong ɛr ngii.
'It's his book.'
h. A Droteo a milil ɛr tiang.
'Droteo is playing here.'

The word *ɛr* is not pronounced identically in all the examples of 39. If the preceding word is vowel-final, as in 39a–c, the *ɛ* of *ɛr* is dropped; thus, for example, the three words *mo ɛr a* of 39a are pronounced [mora]. On the other hand, if the preceding word is consonant-final, as in 39d–h, the vowel of *ɛr* is retained, giving [ər].

In certain cases, we know from the grammatical structure that we have a sequence of the form *ɛr + a + noun*, even though the *a* is not pronounced. The following expressions fall into this category:

- | | | |
|----------------|------------|---------------|
| (40) er a elii | [eɾɛliɪ] | 'yesterday' |
| er a elɛchang | [eɾɛlɔʔaŋ] | 'now, today' |
| er a Belau | [eɾbɛlaw] | 'in/of Palau' |

In the examples of 40, the vowel of *ɛr* is usually not reduced and is therefore pronounced as [ɛ].

The word *ɛr* is spelled as a separate word in the following special expressions:

- | | | |
|-------------------|------------|------------------------|
| (41) ngar ɛr ngii | [ŋaɾŋiɪ] | 'there is' |
| mɪa ɛr ngii | [mɪlaɾŋiɪ] | 'there was' |
| mo ɛr ngii | [moɾŋiɪ] | 'there will be' |
| mochu ɛr ngii | [moʔuɾŋiɪ] | 'there is about to be' |

In the first two expressions of 41, we find the very common Palauan verbs *ngar* 'is (located)' and *mɪa* 'was (located)'. These verbs also appear in sentences like the following:

- (42) a. A Droteo a ngar ɛr a stoang.
'Droteo is at the store.'
b. A John a mla ɛr a Guam.
'John was in Guam.'
c. A Droteo ng ngar ɛr ker?
'Where is Droteo?'
d. A Toki ng mla ɛr ker?
'Where was Toki?'

b. In order to show that a noun refers to more than one human being, we attach *rɛ* to the beginning of that noun. For example, while *chad* 'person' refers to one human being, *rɛchad* 'people' refers to two or more. Other examples of this contrast include *ngalɛk* 'child'—*rɛngalɛk* 'children', *sensei* 'teacher'—*rɛsensei* 'teachers', *sɛchɛlik* 'my friend'—*rɛsɛchɛlik* 'my friends', and *ekɛbil* 'girl'—*rekebil* 'girls'. As the last example shows, if the word in question begins with a vowel, then we simply attach *r* instead of *rɛ*. Some sentences containing **plural** words like *rɛchad* 'people' are now given:

- (43) a. Ak ulɛmes ɛr a rɛngalɛk.
'I was watching the children.'
b. Ng delmɛrab ɛr a rɛsensei.
'It's the teachers' room.'
c. A rɛlluich ɛl chad a mlad.
'Twenty people died.'
d. Ak milstɛrir a rua Toki.
'I saw Toki and her friends.'

c. The word *ɛl* is used in many kinds of constructions to relate one word to another. Some of the most common usages are illustrated below.

1. With **demonstratives**, which are used to point out people, animals, or things:

- (44) tia ɛl klalo 'this thing' se ɛl hong 'that book'
tirka ɛl chad 'these people' aika ɛl charm 'these animals'

In all of the examples of 44, we do not pronounce the *ɛ* of *ɛl* because a vowel-final word precedes. Where have we seen a similar rule of pronunciation?

2. With **numbers**, which occur in many different series, depending on what is being counted:

- | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| (45) ta ɛl chad | 'one person' |
| chimo ɛl kluk | 'one dollar' |
| eru ɛl klok | 'two o'clock' |
| tɛluo ɛl oluchɛs | 'one pencil' |
| tɛruich mɛ a ta ɛl chad | 'eleven people' |
| dart ɛl kluk | 'one hundred dollars' |
| euid ɛl klok | 'seven o'clock' |
| tɛruich ɛl oluchɛs | 'ten pencils' |

In some of the examples of 45, the *ɛ* of *ɛl* is not pronounced, while in others it is. What factors determine this rule of pronunciation?

3. With various kinds of **modifiers**, which describe or qualify some other word:

- | | |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| (46) elɛcha ɛl sils | 'today's weather' |
| mɛkɛɪkolt ɛl ralm | 'cold water' |
| bek ɛl tutau | 'every morning' |
| mɛkngit ɛl chad | 'bad person' |
| ungil ɛl chad | 'good person' |

In the expressions of 46, the modifying or qualifying word precedes the modified word. As we might expect, the *ɛ* of *ɛl* is not pronounced when it follows a vowel-final word; the *ɛ* is pronounced, however, after a consonant-final word. If the word preceding *ɛl* ends in an *l*, as in the case of *ungil ɛl chad* 'good person', then *ɛl* is completely omitted from the pronunciation: [unɪlʔaɔ̃].

In addition to the expressions of 46, it is possible to have expressions in which the modifying or qualifying word follows the word modified, as in

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------------|
| (47) chad ɛl mɛngitakl | 'person who sings' |
| soal ɛl mo ɛr a chei | 'his desire to go fishing' |
| sensei ɛl ungil | 'teacher who is good' |
| Droteo ɛl sensei | 'Droteo, who is a teacher' |

You should have no difficulty predicting how the word *ɛl* is pronounced in the examples of 47.

4. With various types of complex constructions:

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| (48) dirrek ɛl sensei | 'is also a teacher' |
| di tɛlkib ɛl kukau | 'only a little taro' |
| mo mɛrek ɛl mɛsuub | 'finish studying' |

oməŋgʊr ɛl oba a taod	'eat with a fork'
bləʃchoel ɛl məsuub	'always studies'
mo ɛl ngar ɛr a mlai	'go in a car'
omuchɛl ɛl məsuub	'begin studying'
mo ɛl obəŋkel a Toki	'go with Toki'

Again, the correct pronunciation of *ɛl* in the examples of 48 can be easily predicted.

d. Palauan has several sets of **pronouns**, which are short words referring to various persons such as 'I', 'you', 'he', 'they', etc. Some Palauan pronouns are spelled as separate words, while others are not. A brief summary is given below.

1. The **non-emphatic subject pronouns** *ak* 'I', *ng* 'he/she/it', *kə* 'you', etc., are spelled as separate words, as in

- (49) a. Kə mo ɛr ker?
'Where are you going?'
b. Ak məŋguu ɛr a hong.
'I'm reading the book.'
c. Tə di mililil.
'They just fooled around.'
d. Ng kmal ungil.
'It's very good.'

2. The pronouns *ngak* 'I', *ngii* 'he/she/it', *kau* 'you', etc., which are used after the **relational word** *ɛr* or as **emphatic subjects**, are also spelled as separate words, as in

- (50) a. Ng hong ɛr ngii.
'It's his book.'
b. Ak uləmes ɛr kau.
'I saw you.'
c. Ngak a sensei.
'I'm a teacher.'
d. Ngii a liləʃchəsii a babier.
'He wrote the letter.'

3. The **object pronouns** *-ak* 'I', *-ii* 'him/her/it', *-au* 'you', etc., are written as part of the **action verb** which accompanies them. The hyphen in our notations *-ak*, *-ii*, *-au*, etc. indicates that these pronouns are not independent words but must be attached to the end of other words.

Some examples containing these pronouns (italicized) are given below:

(51) chilləbədak	'hit me'
chilləbədii	'hit him/her/it'
chilləbədau	'hit you'
sosəbii	'burns it'
milstərir	'saw them'

4. The **possessor pronouns** are added to nouns to indicate the owner or possessor of something. These possessor pronouns have many forms, even for the same person, of which only a few are illustrated below. As you can see, these pronouns (italicized) are always attached to the word indicating the thing possessed.

(52) bilek	'my clothing'
blik	'my house'
ngərem	'your mouth'
mlirir	'their car(s)'
səbəchel	'his ability'
soam	'your desire'

5. The **hypothetical pronouns** *ku-* 'I', *lo-* 'he/she/it', *chomo-* 'you', etc., are attached to the beginning of verbs in a large variety of complicated constructions. A few sample sentences containing these hypothetical pronouns (italicized) are given below:

- (53) a. Ng diak kusuub.
'I'm not studying.'
b. A John a diak lolilil.
'John isn't playing'.
c. A hong a longui ɛr ngii a John.
'The book is being read by John.'
d. Kə məkəra a chomoruul a mlai?
'What do you do to make a canoe?'
e. Ng chətik a Droteo a lolaməch.
'I don't like Droteo to chew (betel nut).'
f. Ng soal a kbo kusuub.
'He wants me to study.'

e. Palauan has many word sequences which function to express a single meaning or idea and which often have single English words as their equivalents. Even though we might want to spell these sequences as single words, detailed grammatical analysis leads us to conclude that they actually involve more than one word and should therefore be spelled as in the examples below:

(54) e le ak	[elek ^h]	'because I...'
e le ng	[eleŋ]	'because he...'
mę a	[ma]	'and'
mę ak	[mak ^h]	'so I...'
mę ng	[męŋ]	'so he...'
e ng di	[endi, ɔndi]	'but'
er se ę r a	[ersera, ɔrsera]	'when'
el kmo	[elkmo, ɔlkmo]	'[say] that...'
el ua se	[elwase, ɔlwase]	'[say] that...'
ng diak	[ndiak ^h]	'isn't'
ng di kea	[ndigea]	'no longer is'
di mle ngii	[dimleŋiy]	'by himself'
ko ę r a	[kora]	'kind of, like'
a lęko (ak)	[alęgo(k)]	'(I) intended to...'
a lsękum	[alsęgum]	'if, when'

f. Numerous exceptions to all of the Palauan spelling rules explained above can be found in two classes of words, personal names and words of foreign origin. First of all, many Palauan personal names—e.g. *Francisco*, *Polycarp*, *Hermana*, etc.—are borrowed from other languages and therefore contain certain sounds which are not native to Palauan. In order to spell these sounds, it is necessary to use non-Palauan letters such as *p*, *f*, *j*, *y*, and *w*. Furthermore, the spelling of many native Palauan names, including personal names like *Yaoch*, *Polloi*, etc. as well as place names like *Peleliu*, *Kayangel*, etc., does not conform exactly to the rules presented above. We should not be surprised or disturbed that Palauan personal names in particular show so much deviation from the “standard” rules of Palauan spelling. This is perhaps as it should be, since names are very individual things.

Second, words of foreign origin—especially technical terms—often appear in Palauan speech. Since these words contain sounds which are not native to Palauan, it becomes necessary in some cases to use non-Palauan letters. If the word is borrowed from Japanese and contains no sounds strange to Palauan, it should be possible to spell this word only with Palauan letters, as in *basio* ‘place’ and *iasai* ‘vegetables’. If, however, the Japanese word contains sounds which do not occur in Palauan, then it is necessary to use non-Palauan letters such as *z* and *h*.¹¹ Words of this type include *daiziob* ‘all right’, *skoziob* ‘airport’, *benzio* ‘toilet’, *hutsu* ‘common, usual’, *kohi* ‘coffee’, and *keizai* ‘economics’. If the borrowed word comes from English—e.g. *government*, *post office*,

party, etc.—it is usually spelled as in English, unless a native Palauan spelling has become commonplace, as in the case of *skuul* ‘school’.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

- 1.6. Although we have examined the most important features of the Palauan sound system, there are many details which we have had to omit. Furthermore, our descriptions of the articulation of Palauan sounds and our phonetic transcriptions of Palauan words have been rather rough and oversimplified. For these reasons, this chapter should not be thought of as a guide to learning the correct pronunciation of Palauan. Such a goal can only be achieved with the assistance of a native speaker. If you are interested in looking at the sound system of Palauan in greater detail, you can consult such technical works as Carlson 1968, Flora 1969, and Wilson 1972, which are mentioned in the bibliography.

2 Palauan Nouns

GRAMMATICAL SYSTEM OF PALAUAN

- 2.1. In the preceding chapter we described the sound system of Palauan in terms of its significant sounds (phonemes) and their variants (allophones). In our analysis, we grouped these phonemes into various classes—e.g., stop consonants, nasal consonants, high vowels, mid vowels, etc.—whose members share common features of pronunciation and show similarities in **distribution**, which refers to the way in which sounds combine with each other in the formation of words. For example, the class of nasal consonants *m* and *ng* is distinguished from the other types of Palauan consonants by having a nasal articulation, in which the outward air flow escapes through the nose, but not the mouth; furthermore, the nasals *m* and *ng* share the distributional feature of appearing as syllabic consonants ([m̩] and [ŋ̩] or [ŋ̩]—cf. 1.3.5) before other consonants in word-initial position. To take another example, the liquid consonants *l* and *r* are distinguished phonetically from the other groups of consonants because they alone are produced with a partial closure in the mouth; moreover, *l* and *r* have the unique distributional feature of appearing as “double” consonants *ll* and *rr*, which no other consonants can do.

We have seen, then, that in order to describe the sound system of Palauan, we grouped the sounds into classes and specified the distributional characteristics of these classes. In describing the **grammatical system** of Palauan, our approach will be very similar, though in this case the “building blocks” of our analysis will be **words** rather than sounds. Thus, in order to get a clear picture of the grammatical system of Palauan, we will classify the words of the language into various groups called **parts of speech** and describe the distributional characteristics common to the members of each group. Just as there are restrictions in all languages on the

way sounds can combine with each other—for example, a word beginning with *sr* would be unthinkable in Palauan, as it would be in English—so are there restrictions on the way words can combine with each other. For example, the order of words in a simple expression like *chad er a omenged* ‘fisherman’ is rigidly fixed, and any other combination of these words—e.g. **omenged er a chad*, **chad omenged er a*,¹ etc.—is impossible and meaningless.

IDENTIFICATION OF PALAUAN NOUNS

- 2.2. **Nouns** constitute one of the most important parts of speech in Palauan. As a very rough preliminary definition, let us say that nouns **name** or **make reference** to many different types of things or living beings. Nouns are like identification labels which point to the various persons and things which we deal with in daily life and talk about in everyday conversation. We can divide nouns into several subgroups, depending on what the noun refers to.

The easiest nouns to identify are those whose referents can be perceived by one or more of our five senses. Nouns of this type, which identify things we can see, hear, touch, taste, or smell, are called **concrete** nouns. It is convenient to divide the concrete nouns of Palauan into two categories—**human** and **nonhuman**. Why this division is basic will be explained below. As you might expect, **human** nouns make reference to human beings; some examples of human nouns are given in the list below:

Human nouns

(1) chad	‘person’	sensei	‘teacher’
sęchęlei	‘friend’	ngalęk	‘child’
buch	‘spouse’	buik	‘boy’
chędil	‘mother’	Droteo	‘Droteo’
dęmal	‘his father’	Toki	‘Toki’

By contrast, **non-human** nouns refer to anything which is not human, such as **animals** and **living or non-living things**. In the list below, the words in the left column are non-human nouns designating animals, while those in the right columns are non-human nouns referring to living or non-living things.

Non-human nouns

Animals		Living or non-living things			
(2) bilis	‘dog’	kęrrękar	‘tree’	blai	‘house’
ngikęl	‘fish’	bung	‘flower’	babier	‘paper, letter’

malk	'chicken'	daob	'ocean'	mlik	'my car'
babii	'pig'	omoachel	'river'	kall	'food'

Given the above distinctions, how would you classify the following words: *mlai* 'canoe', *btuch* 'star', *tbak* 'my spit', *kerēbou* 'cow', *tuu* 'banana', *rēdil* 'woman', *iis* 'nose', *sers* 'garden', *tolēchoi* 'baby', *ngduul* 'clam', and *subelek* 'my homework'?

As opposed to concrete nouns, **abstract nouns** have referents which cannot be perceived by any of the five senses. This is because abstract nouns refer to many different kinds of concepts, ideas, or emotions which can "exist" only in our minds but not in the everyday world where we can see them, touch them, etc. The abstract nouns listed below, then, refer to things over which we can have only **conceptual** (i.e., mental), but not **perceptual** control:

Abstract nouns

(3) reng	'heart, spirit'	blēkeu	'bravery'
dakt	'fear'	klēchad	'human life'
soal	'his desire'	klēmēra	'truth'
kirek	'my obligation'	klēngit	'sin'
sēbēchem	'your ability'	klausechēlei	'friendship'

The distinction between concrete vs. abstract nouns is not always as clear-cut as we have implied above. It is often very difficult to decide how to classify a particular noun in terms of this distinction. How would you deal, for example, with the following nouns: *tēkoi* 'word, language', *char* 'price', *chais* 'news', *ker* 'question', and *ngakl* 'name'?

DISTRIBUTION OF PALAUAN NOUNS

- 2.3. Now that we have identified the major classes of Palauan nouns and seen the range of meanings which they can cover, let us see how we can identify nouns in terms of their distribution—that is, in terms of how they combine with other words in the formation of sentences. We shall first discuss nouns in their function as **sentence subject** and **sentence object**.

Observe the following sentences:

- (4) a. A ngalēk a mēnga a ngikēl.
'The child is eating fish.'
b. A Droteo a chillēbēdii a bilis.
'Droteo hit the dog.'

What both of these examples have in common is that they describe

the occurrence of an **action**: in 4a, the action of eating, represented by the word *mēnga* 'eat', is taking place at the **present** time (i.e., at the time someone is saying the sentence), and in 4b, the action of hitting, designated by the word *chillēbēdii* 'hit', occurred at some time in the **past**. In both 4a and 4b, the action words *mēnga* and *chillēbēdii* serve to relate two nouns—the one **doing** the action and the one **affected by** the action. In 4b, for instance, the noun *Droteo* tells us who performed the action of hitting, while the noun *bilis* 'dog' identifies what received the effect of this action. See if you are able to interpret 4a in a parallel way.

Nouns like *ngalēk* 'child' and *Droteo* of 4a–b, which refer to the person who performs, carries out, or causes the action of the sentence, function as **sentence subjects** and are called **subject nouns**. On the other hand, nouns like *ngikēl* 'fish' and *bilis* 'dog' of 4a–b, which tell us what is affected by the action of the sentence, function as **sentence objects** and are termed **object nouns**. Our definitions of these terms now need to be expanded.

In defining subject noun, we implied falsely that the subject of an action sentence must always be human. Although in fact most subjects in action sentences usually are human, occasionally we can find a non-human subject. In 5a below, for example, the subject noun is an animal, and in 5b, it is something non-living (an act of nature):

- (5) a. A malk a killii a bēras.
'The chicken ate up the rice.'
b. A dērumk a ulēkēngii a ngalēk.
'The thunder woke up the child.'

What words designate the actions in 5a–b above, and what nouns identify the objects?

Furthermore, in defining object noun, we did not make it clear that any type of noun can function as sentence object. In 5b above, for instance, the object noun *ngalēk* 'child' refers to a human being, and in the following example, the object noun designates an abstract concept:

- (6) A John a rirēllii a klēngit.
'John committed a sin.'

The examples in 4–6 above allow us to describe some of the distributional features of Palauan nouns. To summarize what we have discovered so far, we can say that in action sentences, nouns can appear either before the action word (in which case we speak of **subject nouns**), or after the action word (in which case we speak

of **object nouns**). In other words, Palauan action sentences show the basic pattern *subject noun + action word + object noun*; in such sentences, the position of the noun (preceding or following the action word) tells us whether we interpret it as sentence subject or sentence object. You may have noticed that so far we have chosen to omit discussion of the word *a*, which appears before every noun and action word in 4–6 above. An explanation of this word will be provided in 2.6 below.

Unlike the examples of 4–6 above, there are many Palauan action sentences which have only a subject noun, but no object noun. Observe the following examples:

- (7) a. A Droteo a mililil.
'Droteo was playing.'
b. A ngelkek a remurt.
'My child is running.'

Clearly, the words *mililil* 'was playing' and *remurt* 'is running' refer to actions. But these actions are of quite a different nature from the actions of eating, hitting, etc. seen in the examples of 4–6. While eating, hitting etc., are types of actions which naturally have an effect on something else (i.e., we eat **something**, we hit **someone**, etc.), playing and running are not actions which we direct at someone or something else, but actions in which the doer involves only himself. For this reason, the sentences of 7 contain no object nouns.

One more type of Palauan sentence has only a subject noun, but no object noun. Rather than designating an action (as in 4–7 above), this type of sentence **describes** the subject noun in some way. Most commonly, this description involves a **state** or **condition** which the subject noun is in, as the following examples illustrate:

- (8) a. A bechik a smecheṛ.
'My wife is sick.'
b. A ralm a meṛelkolt.
'The water is cold.'
c. A John a meṛongakl.
'John is tall.'
d. A mubi a ungil.
'The movie is good.'

In 3a–b, the states involved are temporary (that is, they will eventually change), while in 8c–d the states are relatively permanent (that is, unchanging).

Another sentence type involving description of the subject noun is one which identifies the subject noun in terms of some profession, nationality, or other feature. Observe the sentences below:

- (9) a. A Droteo a sensei.
'Droteo is a teacher.'
b. A seṇṇelik a chad ṛ a Siabal.
'My friend is Japanese.'
c. A Francisco a rubak.
'Francisco is an old man.'

Yet another sentence type characterized by description of the subject noun specifies the location of the subject noun, as in the examples below:

- (10) a. A reṅgalṛk a ngar ṛ a sers.
'The children are in the garden.'
b. A oluchṛ a ngar ṛ a cheṣel a skidas.
'The pencil is inside the drawer.'

In the examples of 10, the word *ngar* 'be (located)' introduces the word sequences *ṛ a sers* 'in the garden' and *ṛ a cheṣel a skidas* 'inside the drawer', which tell us where the subject nouns are located. Word sequences of this kind, which are called **locational phrases**, are described in detail in 14.2.

In studying the distribution of Palauan nouns, we have so far focused our attention on the occurrence of nouns as sentence subject and sentence object. Let us briefly examine one more "environment" or position in which nouns are observed to occur. In example 10a above, we looked at the word sequence *ṛ a sers* 'in the garden', which designates a place or a location. This sequence of words consists of *ṛ*, corresponding to English 'in', and the noun *sers* 'garden' (which is preceded by the word *a*). Because the word *ṛ* in 10a **relates** the subject noun *reṅgalṛk* 'children' to the noun *sers* 'garden' by telling where the children are located, we call *ṛ a* a **relational word** (see chap. 14). The relational word *ṛ*, which can designate many types of relationships such as 'in, at, on, to, from, out of, because of', etc., is always followed by a noun. Some of these uses of *ṛ* are illustrated in the sentences below:

- (11) a. A John a mo ṛ a stoang.
'John is going to the store.'
b. A beab a tilobṛ ṛ a blsibs.
'The mouse came out of the hole.'
c. A Toki a smecheṛ ṛ a teṛeteṛ.
'Toki is sick with a cold.'

We can see, then, that another distributional feature of Palauan nouns is that they appear following the relational word *er*.

PRONOUNS

- 2.4. In the sentences of 3–11 above, it is possible to replace the subject nouns with shorter words which refer to the same person or thing. For example, with 4a, repeated here as 12, compare sentence 13:

(12) A ngalek a męnga a ngikęl.
'The child is eating fish.'

(13) Ng męnga a ngikęl.
'He/she is eating fish.'

In 13, the word *ng* has substituted for *ngalek* 'child' of 12 as the sentence subject; such substitute words are called **pronouns**. A sentence with a pronoun subject like 13 can only be spoken if it is clear to whom the pronoun refers. In other words, 13 would make little sense as the very first sentence in a conversation, but it is perfectly acceptable in the following dialog:

(14) A: A ngalek ng męnga a ngarang?
'What is the child eating?'

B: Ng męnga a ngikęl.
'He/she is eating fish.'

In the above dialog, 13 can appear as B's response to A's question because it is clear that the pronoun *ng* refers to *ngalek* 'child', which was introduced into the conversation by A.

Now compare 10a, repeated here as 15, with sentence 16:

(15) A ręngalek a ngar ęr a sers.
'The children are in the garden.'

(16) Tę ngar ęr a sers.
'They are in the garden.'

As you can see, the pronoun which substitutes for *ręngalek* 'children' is *tę* 'they', but not *ng* 'he, she'. Which pronoun is chosen depends on whether the replaced word is **singular** (*ngalek* 'child') or **plural** (*ręngalek* 'children'). Whereas Palauan **singular nouns** refer to one single person, **plural nouns** refer to two or more persons. In 2.5 below, we will discuss the formation of Palauan plural words in greater detail.

The pronouns *ng* 'he, she' and *tę* 'they' introduced in 13 and 16 above refer to someone other than the speaker of the sentence or the person spoken to. That is, they refer to some third party

whom the speaker is interested in talking about. Because pronouns like *ng* 'he, she' and *tę* 'they' make reference to some third party, it is not surprising that they are called **third person pronouns**. Now, as you might imagine, it is also possible to have pronoun subjects which refer to the speaker (or **first person**) of a sentence and the person spoken to (or **second person**). These two possibilities are seen in the following sentences:

(17) Ak mo ęr a stoang.
'I'm going to the store.'

(18) Kę męruul a ngarang?
'What are you making?'

Here we observe the **first person singular pronoun** *ak* 'I' and the **second person singular pronoun** *kę* 'you'.

When we look at how the third person subject pronouns of Palauan are used, we can see why the distinction between **human** and **non-human** is so important. The pronouns *ng* and *tę* are the only pronouns available in Palauan to make reference to some third party. While the majority of speakers can use *tę* only to refer to two or more **human beings** (as in 16 above), *ng* has a much wider range of use, since it can refer not only to anything singular (whether human beings, animals, or living or non-living things) but also to plural things, as long as they are not human. For this reason, *ng* can be translated as 'he', 'she', or 'it' when singular and as 'they' when non-human plural, as in 13 above and examples like the following:

(19) A: A bilis ng ngar ęr ker?
'Where {is the dog } ?'
'{are the dogs } ?'

B: Ng męchiuau ęr a eungel a tebel.²
'{It is } sleeping under the table.'
'{They are } '

(20) A: A bęlocheł ng silebęk ęr ker?
'Where did the {pigeon } fly out from?'
'{pigeons } '

B: Ng silebęk ęr a kęrrękar.
'{It } flew out of the tree.'
'{They } '

(21) A: A oluchęs ng ngar ęr ker?
'Where {is the pencil } ?'
'{are the pencils } '

B: Ng ngar ęr a chełsel a skidas.
'{It is } inside the drawer.'
'{They are } '

When reference is being made to something plural, we see that *tɛ* is confined to human beings, while *ng* can substitute for animals (as in 19 and 20) or things (as in 21). In other words, we can describe how the pronouns *tɛ* and *ng* refer to plurals in terms of the basic distinction **human noun** vs. **non-human noun**: *tɛ* substitutes for the former and *ng* for the latter.³

Before leaving our discussion of pronouns (which we will take up in greater detail in chap. 4), we need to make the point that in terms of distribution, pronouns are really a subtype of nouns, since they can occur in all of the environments in which nouns are observed to occur. So far we have seen that pronouns, like nouns, can function as sentence subjects. Now, let us confirm that pronouns, like nouns, can also function as sentence objects and can appear after the relational word *ɛr*. Observe the following pairs of sentences:

- (22) a. A John a mɛluchɟs ɛr a babier.
'John is writing the letter.'
b. A John a mɛluchɟs ɛr ngii.
'John is writing it.'
- (23) a. A beab a tilobɛd ɛr a blsibs.
'The mouse came out of the hole.'
b. A beab a tilobɛd ɛr ngii.
'The mouse came out of it.'

In 22a, the sentence object is the noun *babier* 'letter' (for the function of *ɛr* before *a babier*, see 2.7 below), which is replaced in 22b by the pronoun *ngii* 'it'. And in 23a, the noun *blsibs* 'hole' appears after the relational word *ɛr* 'out of'; it likewise is replaced by *ngii* 'it' in 23b.

PLURALS

- 2.5. As we have seen before, in order to form a **plural noun** in Palauan, we simply attach *rɛ-* to the beginning of the noun. (If the noun begins with a vowel, then *rɛ-* will be shortened to *r-*.) Because *rɛ-* precedes the noun to which it is attached, it is called a **prefix**; the hyphen in our notation *rɛ-* indicates that something must follow the prefix to form a whole word. We have also noted that *rɛ-* can only be added to **human** nouns: in other words, it is only in the category of human nouns that Palauan speakers make a distinction between singular (referring to just one person) and plural (referring to two or more persons). This fact is another justification for making the basic distinction **human** vs. **non-human**

in Palauan, since this distinction explains the distribution of the prefix *rɛ-*. Thus, we can have singular-plural pairs like *sɛchɛlik* 'my friend'—*rɛsɛchɛlik* 'my friends', *chad* 'person'—*rɛchad* 'people', and *kangkodang* 'tourist'—*rɛkangkodang* 'tourists', but never pairs like *bilis* 'dog'—**rɛbilis* 'dogs' or *babier* 'letter'—**rɛbabier* 'letters'. Here are some sentences containing plural human nouns:

- (24) a. Ak milstɛrir a rɛsɛchɛlim ɛr a party.
'I saw your friends at the party.'
b. A rɛchad ɛr a Merikel a mɛkɛkɛmangɟt.
'Americans are tall.'
c. Ng delmɛrab ɛr a rɛsensei.
'It's the teachers' room.'
d. Tɛ di rɛngalɛk ɛr a skuul.
'They're just students.'

The plural prefix *rɛ-* can also attach to **number words** (see 24.4) when they refer to human beings. In such cases, however, the presence of *rɛ-* is **optional**—that is, *rɛ-* may or may not be attached, with no apparent difference in meaning. To indicate the optionality of *rɛ-* before number words, we enclose *rɛ-* in parentheses, as in the examples below:

- (25) a. A (rɛ)tɛlɔlɛm ɛl chad a mle ɛr a party.
'Six people came to the party.'
b. A (rɛ)tɛruich ɛl ngalɛk a mlad.
'Ten children died.'
c. A (rɛ)dart ɛl chad a mle sengkio.
'One hundred persons voted.'
d. Ak milstɛrir a (rɛ)tɛde ɛl sensei.
'I saw three teachers.'
e. Tɛ milkodɛtɛrir a (rɛ)lluich mɛ a teua ɛl chad.
'They killed twenty-four people.'

We have the option of omitting the plural prefix *rɛ-* from the examples of 25 because *rɛ-* does not seem to add anything to the meaning: in each case, the presence of the number word (*tɛlɔlɛm* 'six (people)', *tɛruich* 'ten', etc.) makes it clear that two or more human beings are being talked about.

The plural prefix *rɛ-* can also attach to certain other words—e.g., *ua* 'like, as' and *bek* 'each, every'—when these words are associated with a human noun. Observe the following examples:

- (26) a. Tirke ɛl teru ɛl chad tɛ rua tɛchang?
'Who are those two people (i.e., what are their names)?'

- b. Ak milsterir a rua Toki er a stoang.
'I saw Toki and her friends at the store.'
- c. A rebeke el ngalek a kirir el mo er a skuul.
'Every child must attend school.'
- d. Ak milsterir a rebeke el chad a present.
'I gave each person a present.'

In 26a, the word *ua* appears before *techang* 'who?', which is a **question word** referring to human beings, while in 26b, *ua* precedes the name of a person (*Toki*). In 26c-d, *bek* 'each, every' is linked to the following human noun by the word *el*.

The plural prefix *re-* also can attach to certain words which name states or conditions (or, less frequently, actions) to form (or **derive**) a noun referring to the group of people characterized by the particular state or condition. For example, from *meteet* 'rich', we can form *remeteet* 'those whose are rich, rich people', or from *męsaik* 'lazy', we can form *remęsaik* 'those who are lazy, lazy people.' **Derived plural nouns** of this type are illustrated in the sentences below. Note that their distribution is the same as that of any other noun.

- (27) a. A irechar, e a remeteet a ulęęseu er a remechębuul.
'In earlier times, the rich helped the poor.'
- b. A redęgerengęer a mo er a bęluu er a ngau, e a remękędu a mo er a bęluadęs.
'Those who are poorly-behaved will go to hell, while those who are well-behaved will go to heaven.'
- c. A remęsaik a blęchoel el diak a kęlir.
'Those who are lazy (and don't work) often don't have food.'
- d. A remękekeędeb a mo er a uchei, e a remękekeęmanęet a mo er a uriul.
'(Let's have) the short ones go to the front and the tall ones go to the back.'
- e. A remęruul a kall a chędal a rędil, e a remęngoit a udoud a sęchal.
'Those who prepare the food are the relatives of the woman, and those who contribute the money are the relatives of the man.'⁴

As we will see in chaps. 5 and 7, the words to which *re-* attaches in 27a-d are called **state verbs**, while those to which *re-* attaches in 27e are called **action verbs**.

THE PALAUAN WORD *a*

2.6. In the sentences of 4-27 above, we have seen many instances of the

Palauan word *a*. Although we can describe the distribution of this word fairly accurately, we will have trouble saying exactly what it means. It seems that the major function of *a* is simply to "introduce" certain Palauan parts of speech when they occur in a sentence: for example, sentences 4-27 show that every Palauan noun (unless it is a **pronoun**) must be directly preceded by *a*, regardless of whether the noun functions as sentence subject or object, or follows the relational word *er*. Furthermore, *a* always introduces the **verb** of the sentence, which directly follows the subject noun and names an action (as in 4-7) or a state or condition (as in 8). Though we will define the term 'verb' with much greater care in chap. 5, we will nevertheless begin to use it now, since we will need to make reference to verbs in many of our discussions. A few of the **action verbs** and **state verbs** which have appeared in the sentences above are listed here:

(28) Action verbs		State verbs	
męnga	'eat'	smechęer	'sick'
killii	'ate it up'	mękęlekolt	'cold'
męruul	'make, do'	ungil	'good'
mililil	'was playing'	ngar	'be (located)'
ręmurt	'is running'		
tilobęd	'came out of'		

As sentences like 13, 16, 17, 22b, and 23b show, Palauan **pronouns** are never introduced by the word *a*, whether they function as sentence subject (as in 29a-b below) or object (as in 29c-d), or follow the relational word *er* (as in 29e):

- (29) a. Ak męluchęs a babier.
'I'm writing a letter.'
- b. Tę mo er a skuul.
'They're going to school.'
- c. A John a męruul er ngii.
'John is making it.'
- d. A Toki a ulęmes er ngak.
'Toki saw me.'
- e. A beab a tilobęd er ngii.
'The mouse came out of it.'

Examples 29a-b require us to qualify the general statement made above that the verb of a sentence is always introduced by *a*, since *a* does **not** precede the verb when the sentence subject is a pronoun.

There is another group of Palauan words which are not

usually introduced by *a*. This group includes words like *tia* 'this thing, this place/here', *se* 'that thing, that place/there', *ngika* 'this person', *ngike* 'that person', etc., which are called **demonstratives** (see 24.3) because they point out persons or things or specify where someone or something is located. Some typical examples including demonstratives are now given:

- (30) a. *Tia a oluchēs.*
'This is a pencil.'
b. *A Toki a milil ər sei.*
'Toki is playing there.'
c. *Ngka⁵ əl chad a sensei.*
'This person is a teacher.'
d. *Ngke⁵ əl chad ng məkərang?*
'What's that person doing?'

Though the above explanation of the distribution of *a* is incomplete and very oversimplified, it should serve as a necessary introduction to a word which will turn up in almost every Palauan sentence we examine. Until we read some of the other chapters in this book, we will not have enough knowledge of Palauan grammar to understand why the above treatment of *a* is inadequate. We will see later, for example, that *a* does not actually introduce single nouns or verbs, but rather certain groups of associated words called **noun phrases** and **verb phrases** (see 3.6 and 5.2). We will also see that there are a few further Palauan words which, like pronouns and demonstratives, are never introduced by *a*, and that there are other conditions under which *a* does not appear when it would otherwise be expected.

SPECIFIC VS. NON-SPECIFIC OBJECT NOUNS

2.7. In this section, we will examine an important contrast which is found only among nouns functioning as sentence objects. In order to get a clear grasp of this contrast, we will at first deal only with sentences whose object nouns are non-human. Observe the following pairs of examples:

- (31) a. *A ngeḷkek a mēdakt a dərūmk.*
'My child is afraid of thunder.'
b. *A ngeḷkek a mēdakt ər a dərūmk.*
'My child is afraid of the thunder.'
(32) a. *Ng soak əl mēnga a ngikəl.*
'I like to eat fish.'

- b. *Ng soak əl mēnga ər a ngikəl.*
'I want/would like to eat the fish.'
(33) a. *Ak ousbech a biskang əl mo ər a chei.*
'I use a spear to go fishing with.'
b. *Ak ousbech ər a biskang əl mo ər a chei.*
'I'm using the spear to go fishing with.'

You will notice that the only difference in form between the a- and b- sentences of each pair is that the latter contain the word *ər* (italicized) before the object nouns *dərūmk* 'thunder', *ngikəl* 'fish', and *biskang* 'spear' (which are of course preceded by *a*). As the English translations indicate, the meanings of the a- and b- sentences of each pair are very different from each other. Since the only difference in form (or **formal difference**) between the members of each pair is the presence of *ər* in the b- sentences, we can conclude that *ər* contributes to the meaning difference in a very important way.

How can we characterize the meaning difference observed in the sentence pairs above? In each of the a- sentences, the speaker is making a **general statement** about something: in other words, he is saying that in general, or on many different occasions, such and such is the case. In the b- sentences, on the other hand, the speaker is making a **specific statement** about some particular single occasion.

In 31a, for example,

- (31a) *A ngeḷkek a mēdakt a dərūmk.*
'My child is afraid of thunder.'

the speaker asserts that his child has a fear of thunder which is observed on many different occasions, whenever there is thunder, while in 31b

- (31b) *A ngeḷkek a mēdakt ər a dərūmk.*
'My child is afraid of the thunder.'

the speaker is saying that his child is afraid of the particular rumblings of thunder which can be heard at the present moment. Thus, *a dərūmk* of 31a refers to thunder in general, whereas *ər a dərūmk* of 31b refers to a specific instance of thunder. Because of this distinction, a speaker can use 31b only when it is actually thundering, while 31a could be uttered at any time whatsoever. Example 31b might appear, for instance, in a conversation like the following, where it is B's response to A's question:

- (34) A: Ngara mę a ngęlekem a lmangęl?
'Why is your child crying?'

B: Ng mgdakt ęr a ęrumk.
'He's afraid of the thunder.'

The function of *ęr* in a sentence like 31b, therefore, is to indicate that the object noun is **specific**; if *ęr* is absent, as in 31a, the sequence *a* plus following noun is interpreted in a **general** (i.e., **non-specific**) sense. We shall call a word sequence like *ęr a ęrumk* 'the thunder' of 31b a **specific object**, while labelling *a ęrumk* 'thunder' of 31a a **non-specific object**. We can now explain the pairs of sentences in 32 and 33 in greater detail.

Since the object noun following *męnga* 'eat' of 32a

- (32a) Ng soak ęl męnga a ngikęl.
'I like to eat fish.'

is not preceded by *ęr*, it is non-specific, and the whole sentence is therefore interpreted as a general statement expressing the speaker's liking for fish. By contrast, since the object noun of 32b

- (32b) Ng soak ęl męnga ęr a ngikęl.
'I want/would like to eat the fish.'

is specific, this sentence would be uttered on a single occasion when some particular fish is involved. For example, 32b might occur in the following conversation, where it appears as B's answer to A's question:

- (35) A: Ngara a soam ęl męnga ęr ngii?
'What would you like to eat?
Ng ngar ęr ngii a babii mę a ngikęl mę a ęęmang.
'There's pork, fish, and crab.'

B: Ng soak ęl męnga ęr a ngikęl.
'I'd like to eat the fish.'

In B's response, *ęr a ngikęl* 'the fish' makes specific reference to the fish which A has prepared on a particular occasion and which A is offering to B as part of a choice of foods.

In example 33a,

- (33a) Ak ousbech a biskang ęl mo ęr a chei.
'I use a spear to go fishing with.'

the object noun *biskang* 'spear' is not preceded by *ęr* and is therefore non-specific. As expected, the sequence *a biskang* does not designate some specific spear but simply refers to the idea of

'spear' in general. For this reason, 33a is a general statement expressing a habit: the speaker says that he uses a spear whenever he goes fishing. On the other hand, the sequence *ęr a biskang* of 33b

- (33b) Ak ousbech ęr a biskang ęl mo ęr a chei.
'I'm using the spear to go fishing with.'

refers to a particular spear which the speaker is using on some given occasion.

In 2.5 above, we saw that the prefix *re-* serves to identify or mark plurality with human nouns only. Since *re-* is restricted to occurrence with human nouns, how is the difference between singular and plural indicated for non-human nouns? It is difficult to give a good answer to this question because the linguistic facts are very complicated. First of all, it is impossible to distinguish between singular and plural for non-human sentence subjects; therefore, the following examples have two possible meanings, as indicated (cf. 19A, 20A, and 21A):

- (36) a. A bilis a męchiuau ęr sei.
'The {dog is } sleeping there.'
b. A oluchęs a ngar ęr a bebul a tebęl.⁶
'The {pencil is } on the table.'

With non-human sentence objects, the presence or absence of the "specifying" word *ęr* results in a partial distinction between singular and plural. Observe the examples below:

- (37) a. Ak ousbech ęr a bilas ęr a klukuk.
'I need the boat tomorrow.'
b. Ak ousbech a bilas ęr a klukuk.
'I need {a boat } tomorrow.'
(38) a. Ak ousbech ęr a mlim ęl mo ęr a ochęraol.
'I need your car to go to the money-raising party.'
b. Ak ousbech a mlim ęl mo ęr a ochęraol.
'I need your cars to go to the money-raising party.'

When *ęr* precedes the non-human object noun, as in 37a and 38a above, it invariably refers to a **specific singular** object. If *ęr* is omitted, however, as in 37b and 38b, the sequence *a* plus following noun can sometimes be interpreted in more than one way: for example, *a bilas* of 37b can refer to a **non-specific singular** object

('a boat') or to a **specific plural** object ('the boats'). As we can see, then, the presence or absence of *er* does not result in an absolutely clear-cut distinction between singular and plural, since some object nouns which are not preceded by *er* (e.g. *a bilas* of 37b) can also be interpreted as singular.

As we have seen above, non-human object nouns may or may not be preceded by the specifying word *er*, with a significant difference in meaning. With human object nouns, however, the use of *er* seems to be required (or **obligatory**): that is, human object nouns, whether singular or plural, must be interpreted as specific. Note the following examples:

- (39) a. Ak ul̄mes er a Toki er a party.
'I saw Toki at the party.'
b. Lak monḡlebed er a ngal̄k!
'Don't hit the child!'
c. Ak ul̄mes er a r̄s̄ēch̄lim er a party.
'I saw your friends at the party.'
d. A Droteo a mil̄engelebed er a r̄ngal̄k.
'Droteo was hitting the children.'

All names of people, such as *Toki* of 39a, refer uniquely to particular persons and are therefore automatically specific.

Everything we have said above about the occurrence of *er* before an object noun will be valid only when the verb of the sentence is of a particular type—namely, **imperfective**. The difference in meaning between **imperfective** and **perfective** verb forms is not very easy to explain and will be postponed until chap. 12. For our present purposes, it will be sufficient to know how to distinguish imperfective and perfective verb forms in terms of an obvious formal difference. Perfective verb forms always have a special pronoun ending which identifies the object, whereas imperfective verb forms do not. Compare the imperfective and perfective forms for a few Palauan verbs:

(40) <i>Imperfective</i>		<i>Perfective</i>	
m̄ngelebed	'hit'	chol̄gedak	'hits me'
m̄nga	'eat'	kolii	'eats it'
m̄gruul	'make, do'	rullii	'makes it'
omes	'see'	m̄sa	'sees him/her/it'

In the list above, the italicized portions of the perfective verbs refer to the object: *-ak* 'me', *-ii* (or, rarely *-a*) 'him/her/it', etc. In this chapter, perfective verbs have occurred in sentences such as 4b, 5a–b, 6, 24a, and 25d–e.

When third person object nouns follow **perfective** verb forms, they can never be preceded by the specifying word *er*. In other words, while 41a and 42a below are correct, 41b and 42b are not:

- (41) a. A Toki a chill̄bedii a ngal̄k. 'Toki hit the child.'
b. *A Toki a chill̄bedii er a ngal̄k.
(42) a. A d̄rumk a ul̄k̄erngii a bilis. 'The thunder woke up the dog.'
b. *A d̄rumk a ul̄k̄erngii er a bilis.

Why should it be that the specifying word *er* never occurs before an object noun if the preceding verb is perfective? An answer can be given if we carefully analyze the structure of perfective verb forms: as we will see in 4.9, all perfective verb forms include pronoun endings which refer to specific objects. The endings *-ii* and *-ngii* in 41 and 42 are objects of this kind. Because perfective verb forms always imply a specific object, there is no further need to indicate specificity with a word like *er*. In other words, use of *er* after perfective verb forms would be **redundant** (i.e., add nothing to the meaning) and therefore unnecessary.

As you can see, the specifying word *er* discussed in this section is responsible for some very important meaning distinctions among nouns which are used as sentence objects. The function of *er* observed here—to identify sentence objects as specific—should be carefully distinguished from that of the relational word *er*, which is best considered as a different word. This latter word expresses various types of relationships (primarily **spatial** and **temporal**) and corresponds to English 'to, at, in, out of, because, etc.'

3 Noun Possession

POSSESSOR SUFFIXES AND POSSESSED NOUNS

- 3.1. In chap. 2, we learned how to identify nouns in terms of their meaning and distribution. We did not pay much attention, however, to the **internal structure** of nouns—that is, to the way certain parts or units are put together to form words which function as nouns. Most of the nouns cited in chap. 2 consist of only one **meaning-bearing unit** (or **morpheme**); in other words, nouns like *ngalek* ‘child’, *ngikel* ‘fish’, *bilis* ‘dog’, *sers* ‘garden’, *chad* ‘person’, etc. cannot be broken down into two or more parts which individually have meaning. On the other hand, the plural words discussed in 2.5 do consist of more than one meaning-bearing unit: for example, the single word *rengalek* is formed from the prefix *re-*, which means or designates ‘plural’, and the **noun stem** *ngalek* ‘child’. We use the term **stem** to refer to a noun when it appears in combination with something else—in this case, the plural prefix *re-*. Can you identify the noun stems in the words *resensei* ‘teachers’, *re Chad* ‘people’, and *re kangkodang* ‘tourists’?

Nouns also function as stems in words like *sersek* ‘my garden’ and *chimal* ‘his hand’. In these words the nouns *sers* ‘garden’ and *chim* ‘hand’ are followed by *-ek* and *-al*, which identify the person who owns or possesses the noun in question. The endings *-ek* and *-al*, and many others to be discussed below, are called **suffixes** because they follow the noun stem. How do suffixes differ from prefixes?

Before classifying the suffixes which attach to Palauan nouns, we should have a clear idea of their function. Basically, they serve to express a relationship of **possession** between the noun stem (**the thing possessed**) and the person or thing to which the suffix refers (**the possessor**). This relationship of possession can be of several different types. It may involve actual ownership of some-

thing—e.g., *mlik* ‘my car’, *bilsengel* ‘his boat’, *blim* ‘your house’. Or it may express a **whole-part** relationship: that is, the noun stem is something which is an inherent part of the person or thing referred to by the suffix, as in *chimak* ‘my hand’, *ngerel* ‘his mouth’, *chelset* ‘its inside’, or *tkul* ‘its edge’. In addition, it may involve bonds of kinship, marriage, or friendship, as in *demak* ‘my father’, *bechim* ‘your spouse’, or *sechēlil* ‘his friend’, or other kinds of association, as in *beluak* ‘my country’, *dechal* ‘his ability’, etc. Besides their primary function of expressing possession, the suffixes under discussion here have the secondary function of expressing **characterization**; this latter function will be explained in detail in 3.7 below.

In the discussion to follow, we will call endings like *-ek* ‘my’, *-al* ‘his’, etc. **possessor suffixes**, since they follow the noun stem and designate the possessor.¹ Any noun which consists of a noun stem followed by a possessor suffix will be called a **possessed noun**. Further terms will be introduced as needed.

PERSON AND NUMBER

- 3.2. The possessor suffixes of Palauan can be classified into several sets.² Each set contains seven different suffixes which correspond to the seven pronouns of Palauan (see chap. 4) and which can be distinguished from each other in terms of various combinations of **person** and **number**. As we saw in 2.4, a **first person** pronoun is one which refers to the speaker, a **second person** pronoun is one which refers to the person addressed, and a **third person** pronoun has to do with some third party who is being talked about. **Number** involves a distinction between singular and plural: the former applies to one person or thing, while the latter applies to two or more persons or things. The chart below gives the seven possessor suffixes which make up the most commonly-occurring set; the corresponding (**emphatic subject**) pronouns are also given for purposes of reference:

(1)	Singular		Plural	
	Possessor suffix	Corresponding pronoun	Possessor suffix	Corresponding pronoun
1st pers.	-ek ‘my’	ngak ‘I’	-ed ‘our (incl.)’ -am ‘our (excl.)’	kid ‘we (incl.)’ kēmam ‘we (excl.)’
2nd pers.	-em ‘your’	kau ‘you’	-iu ‘your’	kēmīu ‘you’

3rd pers.	-el 'his, her, its'	ngii 'he, she, it'	-ir 'their'	tir 'they'
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In the first person plural, there is a distinction between **inclusive** and **exclusive** possessor suffixes. The **first person plural inclusive** suffix *-ed* not only makes reference to the speaker but also **includes** reference to the person spoken to; in addition, any number of other persons associated with the speaker or hearer may be included. On the other hand, the **first person plural exclusive** suffix *-am* **excludes** reference to the hearer and involves only the speaker and at least one other person associated with him. Thus, the possessed noun *ududed* means 'our money—belonging to me (or us) and you', while *ududam* means 'our money—belonging only to us, but not you'.

Although *-el* and *-ir* are listed as third person singular and plural possessor suffixes, respectively, this classification does not correspond exactly to their use. Because *-ir* can refer only to **human** plural possessors, *-el* must be used if the plural possessor is **non-human**. Therefore, *-el* not only can mean 'his', 'her', or 'its' but also can be equivalent to 'their' if the possessors are animals or things (cf. the discussion of *tɛ* 'they (human)' and *ng* 'he, she, it, they (non-human)' in 2.4). Note, further, that Palauan differs from English in using one and the same possessor ending *-el* regardless of whether the third person singular possessor is male ('his') or female ('her'), or designates an animal or thing ('its'). Another difference between Palauan and English can be seen among the second person pronouns and possessor suffixes: while English has the same forms (*you, your*) for both singular and plural, the Palauan forms are distinct (*kau, -em* for singular and *kəmiu, -iu* for plural).

FOUR SETS OF POSSESSOR SUFFIXES

3.3. The possessor suffixes of Palauan can be grouped into four major sets, depending on the vowel which appears in all the singular suffixes and in the first person plural inclusive suffix. The most common set of suffixes has already been presented in 1 above; this is called the *e* set because all the singular suffixes (*-ek, -em, -el*) and the first person plural inclusive suffix (*-ed*) have the vowel *e*. A typical noun which takes the *e* set of possessor suffixes is *charm* 'animal', whose possessed forms are given below:

(2) <i>chərmek</i> 'my animal'	<i>chərmed</i> 'our (incl.) animal'
	<i>chərmam</i> 'our (excl.) animal'

<i>chərmem</i> 'your (sg.) animal'	<i>chərmiu</i> 'your (pl.) animal'
<i>chərmel</i> 'his animal', etc.	<i>chərmir</i> 'their animal'

You will notice that *charm* 'animal' has the **full** vowel *a* in its independent (or **unpossessed**) form, but shows the **neutral** vowel *ɛ* (**schwa**) in all of its possessed forms. In other words, the morpheme *charm* is pronounced differently (as *chərm-*) when it functions as the **stem** of a possessed noun. This difference in pronunciation, you will recall, is always reflected in the Palauan spelling. The alternation between *charm* and *chərmek*, etc. can be explained in terms of the process of **vowel reduction** (cf. 1.4.4), which is very common in Palauan: full vowels usually reduce to the neutral vowel *ɛ* in **unstressed syllables**. Because all of the Palauan possessor suffixes are **stressed**, the full vowels of independent forms like *charm* wind up in unstressed syllables in possessed forms like *chərmək, chərmém*, etc., thereby reducing to *ɛ*. This process of vowel reduction will be illustrated in considerable detail in 3.4 below. If you need to refresh your memory on such terms as **neutral vowel, vowel reduction, stressed vs. unstressed syllable**, etc., refer back to 1.4.2 and 1.4.4, or see the glossary.

In addition to the *e* set of possessor suffixes, we also have the *u* set, the *i* set, and the *a* set.³ Each of these sets, which occur less frequently than the *e* set, is illustrated below:

(3) Possessor suffix	<i>u</i> set: <i>reng</i> 'heart, spirit'	<i>i</i> set: <i>buch</i> 'spouse'	<i>a</i> set: <i>char</i> 'price'
1st pers. sg.	<i>rəngúk</i>	<i>bəchík</i>	<i>chərák</i>
2nd pers. sg.	<i>rəngúm</i>	<i>bəchím</i>	<i>chərám</i>
3rd pers. sg.	<i>rəngúl</i>	<i>bəchíl</i>	<i>chərál</i>
1st pers. pl. incl.	<i>rəngúd</i>	<i>bəchíd</i>	<i>chərád</i>
1st pers. pl. excl.	<i>rəngmám</i>	<i>bəchəmám</i>	<i>chəremám</i>
2nd pers. pl.	<i>rəngmíu</i>	<i>bəchəmiu</i>	<i>chəremíu</i>
3rd pers. pl.	<i>rəngrír</i>	<i>bəchərír</i>	<i>chərrír</i>

Notice, again, that although the unpossessed forms of the nouns in 3 have the full (stressed) vowels *e, u, and a*, all of these reduce to *ɛ* in the possessed forms because they occur in unstressed syllables. In addition to the obvious difference in the vowel of the suffix—*u, i, or a* vs. *e*—the three sets of possessor suffixes given above are different from the *e* set in the following way: for certain suffixes

which are **vowel-initial** in the *e* set, the other sets have **consonant-initial** suffixes. These differences are shown in the chart below:

(4) *Possessor suffix e set u set, i set, a set*

1st pers. pl. excl.	-am	-(e)mam
2nd pers. pl.	-iu	-(e)miu
3rd pers. pl.	-ir	-(e)rir

The parenthesized *e* indicated with the suffixes for the *u* set, *i* set, and *a* set is predictable and appears in order to break up an otherwise unpronounceable cluster of consonants (cf. 1.4.5.) The *e* is required, for example, between *ch* and a following consonant in forms like *bəchēmam* 'our (excl.) spouse' and *bəchērir* 'their spouse'.⁴ However, it is not needed between *ng* and a following consonant in *rēngmam* 'our (excl.) hearts' or *rēngrir* 'their hearts'.

VOWEL REDUCTION

- 3.4. In 3.3 above, we saw that the process of **vowel reduction** accounts for the fact that many Palauan nouns show an alternation between a stressed full vowel in the independent form and an unstressed neutral vowel *e* in the possessed forms. Before talking about further types of vowel reduction, we shall present some additional examples in which each of the five full vowels of Palauan reduces to *e* in the possessed forms of the noun. For each noun, only the **third person singular** possessed form will be cited, since all the other possessed forms can be predicted from it: this is because the vowel of the third person singular possessor suffix (*e*, *u*, *i*, or *a*) appears in the other singular forms and in the first person plural inclusive, and because the remaining plural suffixes will contain the extra consonants *m* or *r* (cf. 3.3 above) if the vowel of the possessor suffix is *u*, *i*, or *a*. Observe the following:

(5) *Independent Noun Possessed Form:*
'his/her/its—'

a reduces

to <i>e</i> :	kar 'medicine'	kērul
	bad 'stone'	bēdul
	bar 'blanket'	bērul
	malk 'chicken'	mēlkel
	ngalək 'child'	ngēlkel
	kall 'food'	kēlel ⁵

e reduces

to <i>e</i> :	ker 'question'	kēril
	sers 'garden'	sērsel
	reng 'heart, spirit'	rēngul
	sechər 'sickness'	sēchērel

i reduces

to <i>e</i> :	bsibs 'drill'	bsēbsel
	kadikm 'right hand'	kadēkmel
	chēdil 'mother'	dēlal ⁶

o reduces

to <i>e</i> :	ngor 'mouth'	ngērel
	kbokb 'wall'	kbēkbel
	sēngsongd 'stick'	sēngsēngdel
	bēlochēl 'pigeon'	bēlēchēlel
	sēlokēl 'laundry'	sēlēkēlel

u reduces

to <i>e</i> :	bēdul 'head'	bdēlul
	chur 'laughter'	chēril
	duch 'ability'	dēchal

As the examples of 5 show, it is impossible to predict from the independent form of the noun whether the possessor suffixes will belong to the *e* set, the *u* set, the *i* set, or the *a* set. For example, though the nouns *bēdul* 'head', *chur* 'laughter', and *duch* 'ability' all have the full vowel *u* in their independent forms, each one takes a different set of possessor suffixes. Furthermore, we find a few cases in which different words are pronounced the same (i.e., are **homonyms**) in their independent forms but have possessed forms with different suffixes: with *chur* 'laughter'—*chēril*, for instance, compare *chur* 'tongue'—*chural* and *chur* 'rib of coconut frond'—*churul*.⁷ Because of this unpredictability, the learner of Palauan has no alternative but to memorize the possessed forms of a noun, together with the corresponding independent form.

There are a few words in which a full vowel remains intact and does not reduce to *e* when a possessor suffix is added. Most examples of this kind, which are to be considered as **exceptional** or **irregular**, involve the vowel *i*, and/or refer to body parts, as in the list below:

(6) *Independent Noun Possessed Form*

chim 'hand, arm'	chimal
chikl 'neck'	chiklel

ding 'ear'	dingal
biskang 'spear'	biskəŋgel ⁸
chur 'tongue'	chural

VOWEL DELETION

- 3.4.1. In the possessed forms of certain Palauan nouns, an "extreme" form of vowel reduction takes place. This extreme form of vowel reduction is actually **vowel deletion**, or complete loss of the vowel. Full vowels following *ng*, *l*, or (less frequently) *r* in the independent form of a noun are often deleted in the possessed forms, where the stress is shifted to the possessor suffixes. In the possessed forms of such words, any word-initial *ng*, *l*, or *r* becomes syllabic—i.e., is pronounced as a whole syllable (cf. 1.3.5). Some typical examples are listed below:

(7) Independent Noun	Possessed Form
ngakl 'name'	ngklel [ŋklél]
ngikəl 'fish'	ngkəlél [ŋkəlél]
rasəch 'blood'	rsəchel [rsəʔél]
lusəch 'luck'	lsəchel [lsəʔél]
ralm 'water'	lme ⁹ [lmél]
kləngit 'sin'	kngtil ¹⁰ [kŋtíl]
chorus 'horn'	chorsul [ʔorsúl]
bilas 'boat'	bilsəngel ¹¹ [bilsəŋél]

In some nouns, a vowel *u* of the independent form is deleted in the possessed forms, even when it follows consonants other than *ng*, *l*, or *r*, as in the following:

(8) Independent Noun	Possessed Form
kud 'louse'	kdul
bung 'flower'	bngal
busəch 'feather, body hair'	bsəchel
tub 'spit'	tbal
dub 'dynamite'	dbal

When the independent form of a noun consists of two identical consonants with a vowel in between, the vowel and the second consonant are usually dropped in all the singular possessed forms and in the first person plural inclusive possessed form. As a result, the possessed forms appear to be quite different from the independent form, as in the examples below:

(9) Independent Noun	Possessed Form
tet 'handbag'	til ¹²
tut 'breast'	tul ¹²
bub 'fishtrap'	bngel

An exception to the pattern observed in 9 is *bab* 'space above/on top of', whose possessed form is *bebul*, etc.

SHORTENING OF LONG VOWELS

- 3.4.2. So far we have seen how the **single** vowels *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*, and *a* observed in the independent forms of nouns either reduce to *ə* or delete completely in the various possessed forms. In this and the following section, we will examine what happens to **sequences** of vowels under similar circumstances. Let us first take up the possessed forms of nouns whose independent forms have long vowels (cf. 1.4.6). As the examples below illustrate, the long vowels *ii*, *uu*, *ee*, and *oo* shorten to the corresponding single vowel in the possessed forms of nouns, where they come to appear in unstressed syllables:

(10) Independent Noun	Possessed Form
oriik 'broom'	orikel
biich 'sieve'	bichel
buuch 'betel nut'	buchel
tuu 'banana'	tual
beluu 'country'	belual
luuk 'nest'	lukel
deel 'nail'	delel
dəkool 'cigarette'	dəkolel

There are a few exceptions which do not follow the pattern of 10: these include *diil* 'abdomen'—*dəlel*, in which a long vowel reduces to *ə*, and *luut* 'return'—*ltel* [ltél], in which a long vowel disappears completely.

SHORTENING OF VOWEL CLUSTERS

- 3.4.3. In 1.4.7 we illustrated the many types of vowel clusters which can be found in Palauan words. If a particular noun has such a cluster in its independent form, this cluster always reduces or shortens in the possessed forms of the noun. Recall that, in any given vowel cluster, either the first or the second vowel may be stressed.

In the list below, which shows the major pattern of vowel cluster shortening, it is always the stressed vowel of the original cluster which is deleted in the possessed forms:

(11) Independent Noun	Possessed Form
oák 'anchor'	okúl
oách 'leg'	ochíl
eólt 'wind'	eltél
iúngs 'island'	ingsél
uingel 'tooth'	ungélél
diáll 'ship'	dillél
suóbél 'study, homework'	subélél
cháis 'news'	chisé
udóud 'money'	ududél
táem 'time'	temél
uláol 'floor'	ulolél
klungíal 'benefit, goodness'	klungiolél
ngáu 'fire'	nguíl
táut 'aim'	tutél
búil 'moon, month'	bilél
təkói 'word, speech'	təkíngél
chúi 'hair'	chiúl

The pattern of vowel cluster shortening seen in 11 above does not apply to certain nouns. In the exceptional cases below, for example, the pattern is exactly opposite from that observed in 11, since it is the unstressed rather than the stressed vowel of the original cluster which is deleted in the possessed forms:

(12) Independent Noun	Possessed Form
líus 'coconut'	lisél
bóes 'gun'	bosél
kléu 'young coconut'	klengél
téu 'width'	tengél
buík 'boy'	bikél

In a few instances, the vowel cluster of the independent form of a noun shortens in the possessed forms to *ɛ* or to a completely new vowel, as in the cases below:

(13) Independent Noun	Possessed Form
láok 'fat'	lɛkél
dáob 'ocean'	dɛbél

chokdɛmáol 'maternal uncle'	chokdɛmɛlél
ráel 'road'	rolél
dɛledáes 'free time'	dɛledɛsél

A few nouns whose independent forms end in vowel clusters take only the consonant of the possessor suffix in the singular possessed forms and in the first person plural inclusive possessed form. In the examples below, the general vowel cluster shortening rule illustrated in 11 above is also applicable: in the possessed forms, the stressed vowel of the independent form deletes.

(14) Independent Noun	Possessed Form
mlái 'canoe, car'	mlíl
blái 'house'	blíl
báu 'smell'	búl
sɛchɛléi 'friend'	sɛchɛlíl

Technical Discussion of Vowel Cluster Shortening

*3.4.3.1. The patterns of vowel cluster shortening described in 3.4.3 above can be explained in a more unified manner if we allow the glides *y* and *w* to appear in the underlying forms of Palauan words.¹³ Under this analysis, the independent nouns listed in 11 would have underlying forms like *wák* 'anchor', *yólt* 'wind', *cháys* 'news', *udówd* 'money', etc., where *y* and *w* represent those vowels which are unstressed in the original cluster and which are retained in the possessed forms. Since *y* and *w* are consonants rather than vowels, we would expect them to behave phonologically in certain well-defined ways: first of all, they could never carry stress, and second, they could not reduce or delete. If the independent nouns of 11 have underlying forms with *y* and *w* as proposed, then our overall analysis is simplified considerably, since the examples of 11 (like those of 7 and 8) would merely involve the deletion of a single vowel. For example, from *buyl* 'moon', we would derive the possessed form *bilel* in approximately the following manner. The underlying possessed form **buyl-el* would first become **byl-el* by deletion of the only vowel of the noun stem—namely, *u*. Then, the interconsonantal *y* would vocalize to *i*, giving the correct surface form *bilel*. By exactly the same process we would have **swobɛl-el* 'his homework' → **swbɛl-el* (by vowel deletion) → *subɛlel* (by vocalization of *w*).

If we consider the above analysis to be correct in principle, we no longer need to view the examples of 12 as exceptional. The

alternations illustrated in 12 could easily be explained if the independent nouns indeed had underlying forms containing true vowel clusters—e.g. *lius* ‘coconut’, *teu* ‘width’, etc.—rather than sequences of a vowel and a glide. The rule of reduction would simply be as follows: if the independent form of a noun has a true vowel cluster of the form $\acute{V}V$ or $V\acute{V}$, the unstressed vowel of the cluster deletes in the possessed forms. In addition, the words of 14 would have underlying forms with a word-final glide—e.g. *mlay* ‘canoe, car’, *baw* ‘smell’, etc.; for nouns of this type, only the consonants of the possessor suffixes would be required for the singular possessors and for the first person plural inclusive possessor.

POSSESSED NOUNS WITH -ng-

- 3.4.4. Certain Palauan nouns require an -ng- as a “buffer” between the noun stem and the possessor suffix.¹⁴ This -ng- has no meaning, and its appearance is not predictable. As the following examples show, this -ng- is always followed by the *e* set of possessor suffixes. Often, a *ɛ* appears between the *ng* and the preceding consonant.

(15) Independent Noun	Possessed Form
a. bas ‘charcoal’	bɛsɛngɛl
b. kɛrrɛkɛr ‘earnings of money’	kɛrrɛkɛrɛngɛl
c. billum ‘wrapped tapioca’	billɛmɛngɛl
d. bɛɕhos ‘thumb’	bɛɕɛsɛngɛl
e. btuch ‘star, starfish’	btɛɕɛngɛl
f. bilas ‘boat’	bilsɛngɛl
g. dɛleb ‘ghost’	dɛlbɛngɛl
h. btuu ‘ball’	btungɛl
i. katuu ‘cat’	katungɛl ¹⁵
j. uum ‘kitchen’	umɛngɛl
k. teu ‘width’	tengɛl

Looking at the words of 15, we should have no difficulty in identifying the various patterns of reduction which affect single vowels and vowel sequences. In 15a–e, full vowels reduce to *ɛ* in unstressed syllables, while in 15f–g full vowels disappear completely. And in 15h–j the long vowel *uu* shortens to a single *u*, while in 15k the vowel cluster *eu* is shortened. All of these patterns are manifestations or indications of a very general tendency in the sound system of Palauan, which can be summarized as follows: **Palauan**

vowels, whether single or in sequence, undergo various types of reduction in unstressed syllables.

ALTERNATION BETWEEN -ng AND -l-

- 3.4.5. A very small number of Palauan nouns exhibit an alternation between word-final -ng in the independent form and -l- in the possessed forms—e.g. *olɛkang* ‘pot’—*olɛkolel*. Some of these also add -ng- before the possessor suffixes, as in *diokang* ‘tapioca’—*diokɛlɛngɛl* and *biskang* ‘spear’—*biskɛlɛngɛl*.

OBLIGATORILY POSSESSED NOUNS

- 3.5. There are quite a few Palauan nouns for which it is impossible to compare the possessed forms with an independent (or **unpossessed**) form simply because the word must always occur with one of the possessor suffixes. Such nouns are called **obligatorily possessed nouns**; they contrast with **optionally possessed nouns**, which have both independent and possessed forms. All of the nouns examined in the sections above were of the optionally possessed type. In the list below you will find some of the more commonly used obligatorily possessed nouns of Palauan. As you can see, these fall into several categories according to meaning. Since these nouns have no independent forms, they are listed with a third person singular possessor suffix.

(16)	Obligatorily Possessed Nouns	
a. <i>Parts of the body</i> (human or animal)	budel	‘his/her/its skin’
	ulul	‘his/her/its chest’
	kekul	‘his/her nail, its claw’
	ulkel	‘his/her/its back’
b. <i>Kinship relations:</i>	obɛkul	‘his older brother’
	chudɛlel	‘her older sister’
	ochɛdal	‘his sister, her brother’
c. <i>Relationship of part to whole:</i>	rsel	‘its end’
	tkul	‘its edge’
	bkul	‘its corner’
	uchul	‘its trunk (of a tree), its reason’
	llel	‘its leaf (of a tree)’

- d. *Other relationships:*
- | | |
|----------|-------------------------------------|
| ultil | 'its imprint' |
| bɛlkul | 'its meaning, his/her/its function' |
| ultutɕel | 'its meaning, his/her/its function' |
| ulɫel | 'behind him/her' |

Although the obligatorily possessed nouns of 16 are listed according to several broad categories of meaning such as 'parts of the body', 'kinship relations', etc., we must not misinterpret this list as implying, for example, that all nouns referring to parts of the body are necessarily of the obligatorily possessed type. This is of course not true, since there are many nouns referring to body parts which have both an independent form and possessed forms —e.g., *chim* 'hand, arm'—*chimal*, *ding* 'ear'—*dingal*, etc.

While the nouns listed in 16a and 16b can take any of the possessor suffixes (e.g., *budel* 'his/her skin', *budek* 'my skin', etc. or *ochɛdal* 'his sister', *ochɛdam* 'your sister', etc.), most of those listed in 16c and 16d normally occur with a third person singular possessor suffix. Furthermore, the obligatorily possessed nouns of 16c and 16d are usually followed by another noun that **specifies** or **identifies** the thing to which the third person singular possessor suffix refers. For example, the group of words *tkul a daob* 'edge of the ocean' consists of the obligatorily possessed noun *tkul* followed by the noun *daob* 'ocean', which indicates the "possessor" of *tkul*; like all nouns, *daob* is preceded by the word *a* (cf. 2.6). A sequence of words like *tkul a daob* is called a **noun phrase of possession**. This term will be explained in greater detail at the end of 3.6 below.

Some typical noun phrases of possession containing the obligatorily possessed nouns of 16c and 16d are given below:

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| (17) rsel a kɛrrɛkar | 'top of the tree' |
| rsel a kɛrreel | '(other) end of the string' |
| rsel a chɛldɛchɛduch | 'end of the meeting' |
| tkul a tebɛl | 'edge of the table' |
| tkul a chɛldukl | 'edge of the dock' |
| bkul a chim | 'elbow' (literally, 'corner of the arm') |
| bkul a oach | 'knee' (literally, 'corner of the leg') |
| uchul a kɛrrɛkar | 'trunk of the tree' |
| uchul a chɛldɛchɛduch | 'reason for the meeting' |
| lɫel a kɛrrɛkar | 'leaves of the tree' |
| ultil a oach | 'footprint' |
| bɛlkul a tɛkoi | 'meaning of the word' |

For some of the noun phrases of possession in 17, it is possible to have a possessor noun which is itself possessed: for example, in addition to *bkul a chim* 'elbow', we can also have *bkul a chimak* 'my elbow', etc., or in addition to *bkul a oach* 'knee', it is possible to have an expression like *bkul a ochɛrir* 'their knees', etc. Similar to these examples are the following, which involve an obligatorily possessed noun followed by *ngor* 'mouth' and *chim* 'hand':

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|
| (18) bɛrdel ¹⁶ a ngor | 'lips' |
| bɛrdel a ngɛrek | 'my lips' |
| kekul a chim | 'fingernail' |
| kekul a chimak | 'my fingernail' |

The obligatorily possessed noun *uchul* 'its trunk (of a tree), its reason' has apparently been reinterpreted as an independent noun which itself has possessed forms. The resulting form—*uchɛlel*—has a related, though different, meaning and corresponds to English 'beginning, origin, ancestors'. The possessed forms of *uchul* occur in noun phrases of possession like the following:

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| (19) uchɛlel a chɛldɛchɛduch | 'beginning of the meeting' ¹⁷ |
| uchɛlir a rɛchad ɛr a Belau | |
| • {origin
ancestors} | of the Palauan people' |

PALAUAN NOUN PHRASES

3.6. The distribution of Palauan possessed nouns is exactly the same as that of unpossessed nouns. In other words, possessed nouns and unpossessed nouns occur in identical environments and can function as sentence subject or object, or appear after the relational word *ɛr* (cf. 2.3). This identity of distribution is illustrated in the following pairs of sentences:

- | | | |
|---------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (20) a. | A blai a milsɛɕb. | 'The house burned down.' |
| b. | A blik a milsɛɕb. | 'My house burned down.' |
| (21) a. | A John a chilitii a oluchɛs. | 'John threw away the pencil.' |
| b. | A John a chilitii a olɛchɛsek. | 'John threw away my pencil.' |
| (22) a. | Ng tɛcha a dɛngchokl ɛr a mlai? | 'Who is sitting in the car?' |

- b. Ng tēcha a dēngchokl ər a mlim?
'Who is sitting in your car?'

In our discussion of obligatorily possessed nouns in 3.5 above, we mentioned expressions like *tkul a daob* 'edge of the ocean', *llei a kērrekar* 'leaf of the tree', etc. in which an obligatorily possessed noun with a third person possessor suffix is followed by another noun which identifies the possessor more specifically. There are many other Palauan expressions which conform to this general pattern, as in the following:

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| (23) kekul a katuu | 'cat's claw' |
| chimal a Toki | 'Toki's hand' |
| mēdal a oluchēs | 'pencil point' |
| bēkul a John | 'John's function' |
| blil a sēchēlik | 'my friend's house' |
| blirir a rēsēchēlik | 'my friends' house' |
| rēngrir a rēchad | 'the people's hearts/feelings' |
| bēchil a Droteo | 'Droteo's wife' |

As the examples above show, the possessed noun at the beginning of the expression may be of the obligatorily possessed or optionally possessed variety; the third person possessor may be singular or plural; and the noun identifying the possessor may be human or non-human. The distribution of the word sequences of 23 is identical to that of any single possessed or unpossessed noun: in other words, word sequences like those of 23 can also occur in the three different environments of 20–22 above. Thus, we can replace either of the subjects *blai* 'house' or *blik* 'my house' of 20a or 20b with *blil a Droteo* 'Droteo's house', to give

- (24) A blil a Droteo a milsesēb.
'Droteo's house burned down.'

Similarly, the objects in 21 could be replaced by an expression like *olēchēsēl a Toki* 'Toki's pencil', giving the sentence:

- (25) A John a chilitii a olēchēsēl a Toki.
'John threw away Toki's pencil.'

And, finally, the nouns following the relational word *ər* in 22 could be exchanged for an expression like *mlil a sēchēlim* 'your friend's car', resulting in

- (26) Ng tēcha a dēngchokl ər a mlil a sēchēlim?
'Who is sitting in your friend's car?'

In order to describe the grammar of Palauan adequately, we must take account of the fact that certain words and groups of words can substitute for each other in various positions. We have seen, for example, that *blai* 'house', *blik* 'my house', and *blil a Droteo* 'Droteo's house' can all occur as the subject of a sentence like 20. Though these expressions are different from each other in structure (*blai* is a single unpossessed noun, *blik* is a single possessed noun, and *blil a Droteo* consists of a possessed noun followed by a specific possessor), they do share identical features of distribution. In other words, they all can occur in exactly the same environments. In order to "capture" this fact in our grammatical description, we introduce the term **noun phrase** to refer to all those single words or groups of words which can appear in a particular environment and can substitute for each other in that environment. Thus, noun phrases in Palauan can occur as subject or object of the sentence, or can follow the relational word *ər*. Recall that in discussing the distribution of Palauan nouns in 2.3, we used the terms **subject noun** and **object noun**, and we said that the relational word *ər* is always followed by a noun. As we can now see, this earlier discussion was deliberately oversimplified. It is more correct to speak of **subject noun phrases** and **object noun phrases** and to say that the relational word *ər* is always followed by a **noun phrase** rather than a noun. In the same way, our discussion of the Palauan word *a* in 2.6 was much oversimplified: it should now be clear that what *a* actually introduces is a **noun phrase** rather than just a noun.

As we have seen, Palauan noun phrases include the following three types: single unpossessed nouns (e.g., *blai* 'house', *oluchēs* 'pencil'), single possessed nouns (e.g. *blik* 'my house', *olēchēsēl* 'his pencil'), and sequences consisting of a possessed noun followed by a specific possessor (e.g. *blil a Droteo* 'Droteo's house', *mlirir a rēsēchēlik* 'my friends' car'). It will be helpful to subclassify these types in the following way. The simplest of the three types is nothing more than the independent (or unpossessed) form of a noun and will be called a **simple noun phrase**. The other two types, however, involve possession and are more complicated in structure; these will be referred to as **noun phrases of possession**.

The three types of noun phrases we have just mentioned are not the only kinds of noun phrases found in Palauan. In the sentences below, the italicized word groups are also examples of noun phrases:

- (27) a. *A sidosia ɛr a Toki a klou.*
 'Toki's car is big.'
 b. *A ɕermek ɛl bilis a mlad er a elii.*
 'My dog died yesterday.'
 c. *A rɛlluich ɛl chad a mlei.*
 'Twenty people came.'
 d. *Ng soam a bɛches ɛl blik?*
 'Do you like my new house?'
 e. *A John a kie ɛr se ɛl blai.*
 'John lives in that house.'
 f. *A buik ɛl mɛngitakl a Droteo.*
 'The boy who is singing is Droteo.'

The types of noun phrases found in 27a and 27b will be discussed in 3.8 and 3.11 below, while those of 27c-f will be explained in subsequent chapters.

NOUN PHRASES OF POSSESSION VS. NOUN PHRASES OF CHARACTERIZATION

- 3.7. In Palauan we can find large numbers of noun phrases which are formally identical to the noun phrases of possession illustrated in 17 and 23 above but which are interpreted in a very different way. First of all, let us review how the noun phrases of possession in 17 and 23 are understood. In each case, there is a clear-cut relationship of **possession** (cf. 3.1 above) which involves actual ownership of something, a whole-part relationship, a tie of kinship, marriage, or friendship, or some other kind of close association. Thus, in *blil a sɛɕɛlik* 'my friend's house' of 23, my friend owns the house, which is his property; in *chimal a Toki* 'Toki's hand' of 23 and *uchul a kɛrɛkar* 'the trunk of the tree' of 17, the possessed items are actual parts of their (human or non-human) possessors; and in *bɛchil a Droteo* 'Droteo's wife' of 23 the possessed noun is related to the possessor by a marriage bond.

Now observe the following noun phrases and compare them with those of 17 and 23:

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| (28) <i>rɛktel a bilis</i> 'rabies' | <i>chisel a Toki</i> | 'news about Toki' |
| <i>blil a blɛngur</i> 'house
for eating in' | <i>kɛrul a sokɛl</i> | 'medicine for ring-
worm' |
| <i>blil a dongu</i> 'tool shed' | <i>uririr a</i> { <i>rɛdil</i>
<i>rɛsɛchal</i> } | 'work (meant)
for {women},
{men}' |

You will notice immediately that the noun phrases of 28, though identical in structure to those of 17 and 23, cannot at all be interpreted as noun phrases of possession. In *rɛktel a bilis* 'rabies', for example, we cannot sensibly say that we are talking about a disease possessed by some particular dog, nor can we say that the tools possess the shed in *blil a dongu* 'tool shed'. Furthermore, in *chisel a Toki* 'news about Toki', we are certainly not dealing with news which Toki has or possesses. How, then, can we describe the meaning relationship which is found between possessed noun and "possessor" in the examples of 28? It seems clear that the "possessor" noun in the examples of 28 serves to **characterize** the possessed noun in various ways—in other words, it gives some information about the possessed noun's **function, purpose, content**, etc. For example, *blɛngur* 'eating' in *blil a blɛngur* 'house for eating in' specifies the function of the house; *Toki* in *chisel a Toki* 'news about Toki' constitutes the content or subject matter of the news; and *sokɛl* 'ringworm' of *kɛrul a sokɛl* 'medicine for ringworm' focuses on the purpose of the medicine by telling what it is designed to treat. Since the examples of 28 involve characterization of one sort or another, we will call them **noun phrases of characterization** in order to distinguish them from the **noun phrases of possession** observed in 17 and 23. Since noun phrases of possession and noun phrases of characterization are structurally or formally identical, these two terms are introduced primarily to reflect the difference in meaning or interpretation described above.

UNPOSSESSIBLE NOUNS

- 3.8. In 3.5 above, we clarified the distinction between optionally possessed nouns and obligatorily possessed nouns. As opposed to these types of nouns, which either can or must take possessor suffixes, there are other Palauan nouns which cannot take possessor suffixes under any circumstances. Such **unpossessible nouns** primarily include words borrowed into Palauan from English, Japanese, and a few other foreign languages (e.g. *stoa* 'store', *sidosia* 'car', *hong* 'book', *rrat* 'bicycle', etc.) as well as native Palauan words which designate animals, plants, or parts of the natural environment (e.g. *lɔlb* 'wolf', *ngas* 'pine tree', *bang* 'goat-fish', *ɕɛlɛchol* 'beach', etc.). It is possible, however, for such nouns to be associated with a possessor by using a noun phrase of possession containing the relational word *ɛr*. Observe the following examples:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------|
| (29) <i>delmęrab ęr a sęchęlik</i> | 'my friend's room' |
| <i>sidosia ęr a Toki</i> | 'Toki's car' |
| <i>kombalii ęr a Droteo</i> | 'Droteo's company' |
| <i>restorangd ęr a John</i> | 'John's restaurant' |
| <i>hong ęr tir</i> | 'their book' |
| <i>mondai ęr kau</i> | 'your problem' |
| <i>sensei ęr ngak</i> | 'my teacher' |
| <i>office ęr ngii</i> | 'his/her office' |

In the examples of 29, the relational word *ęr* is used to link the thing (or person) possessed with the possessor. The term **relational word** is assigned to *ęr* precisely because *ęr* functions to express various kinds of relationships between words; in the case under discussion, the relationship which *ęr* designates is one of possession. Any sequence consisting of the relational word *ęr* followed by a noun (or pronoun) is called a **relational phrase**. Sequences like *ęr a sęchęlik*, *ęr a Toki*, *ęr tir*, etc. of 29 represent a special type of relational phrase which identifies the possessor of the immediately preceding noun; such phrases will be called **possessor phrases**.¹⁸ The examples in 29 are therefore noun phrases of possession which contain the subtype of relational phrase known as possessor phrase. Notice that the possessor following *ęr* is introduced by *a* if it is a noun, but is not preceded by *a* if it is a pronoun (cf. 2.6).

A few nouns of foreign origin have been so "assimilated" into Palauan that they have come to be used with possessor suffixes. These include *taem* 'time'—*temek*, *temel*, etc., *tebeł* 'table'—*tebełek*, *tebełel*, etc., *katuu* 'cat'—*katungek* 'my sweetheart', *katungel* 'his/her sweetheart', etc., and *babier* 'paper, letter'—*babelngek*, *babelngel*¹⁹ etc.

Now observe the following examples and compare them with those of 29:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| (30) <i>sidosia ęr a Siabal</i> | 'Japanese car' |
| <i>sensei ęr a ochur</i> | 'teacher of mathematics' |
| <i>hong ęr a iakiu</i> | 'book about baseball' |
| <i>delmęrab ęr a omęsuub</i> | 'room for studying' |

Since the examples of 30 consist of an unpossessible noun followed by a relational phrase, they are formally identical to those of 29. They are interpreted in a very different way, however. While the examples of 29 are noun phrases of possession, those of 30 are noun phrases of characterization (cf. the contrast between the examples of 17 and 23 vs. 28 discussed in 3.7 above). In other words, the noun following the relational word *ęr* in the examples

of 30 is not actually the possessor of the preceding noun, but instead characterizes this noun in some way. In *sidosia ęr a Siabal* 'Japanese car', for example, the country of Japan (*Siabal*) is not really the possessor or owner of the car; rather, the car is characterized by having been manufactured in Japan. Or, in *sensei ęr a ochur* 'teacher of mathematics', we cannot conceive of how a non-living, abstract thing like mathematics could possess a teacher; instead, *ochur* 'mathematics' characterizes or identifies the teacher by telling us what subject he teaches. Finally, in *hong ęr a iakiu* 'book about baseball', the noun following *ęr* characterizes *hong* 'book' by identifying its content, while in *delmęrab ęr a omęsuub* 'room for studying', the noun following *ęr* characterizes *delmęrab* 'room' by specifying its function or purpose. Just as we labelled the relational phrases in the examples of 29 **possessor phrases**, we shall call the relational phrases in the examples of 30 **characterizational phrases**. The examples of 30 are therefore noun phrases of characterization which contain the subtype of relational phrase known as characterizational phrase.

NOUN PHRASES OF CHARACTERIZATION: FURTHER EXAMPLES

3.9. It is possible for optionally possessed nouns to occur in noun phrases of characterization such as the following:

- | | |
|--|------------------------|
| (31) <i>mlai ęr a Siabal</i> | 'Japanese car' |
| <i>kall ęr a Sina</i> | 'Chinese food' |
| <i>tełkoi ęr a Belau</i> | 'Palauan (language)' |
| <i>tełkoi ęr a blai</i> | 'private matters' |
| <i>tełkoi ęr a rael</i> ²⁰ | 'public knowledge' |
| <i>techall ęr a ureor</i> | 'opportunity for work' |
| <i>chad ęr a omęnged</i> | 'fisherman' |
| <i>chad ęr a Merikel</i> | 'American (person)' |
| <i>ilumęł ęr a party</i> | 'party drinks' |
| <i>ngalek ęr a skuul</i> | 'student, pupil' |
| <i>beluu ęr a ngau</i> | 'hell' |
| <i>beluu ęr a eangęd</i> ²¹ | 'heaven' |

In each noun phrase of characterization above, the independent (or unpossessed) form of an optionally possessed noun is followed by a characterizational phrase introduced by *ęr*. Can you see clearly that the examples of 31 involve characterization rather than actual possession?

Optionally possessed nouns can of course also occur in noun phrases of possession such as *mlil a Droteo* 'Droteo's car', *kēlel a Toki* 'Toki's food', etc.; in such cases, the noun appears in its possessed form and is followed by another noun which identifies the possessor. We therefore have a contrast between a noun phrase of possession like *mlil a Droteo* 'Droteo's car' and a noun phrase of characterization like *mlai ɛr a Siabal* 'Japanese car'. Similar contrasts are given in the list below:

(32) <i>Noun Phrase of Possession</i>	<i>Noun Phrase of Characterization</i>
(Possessed Form + <i>a</i> + specific possessor)	(Independent Form + characterizational phrase introduced by <i>ɛr</i>)
<i>kēlel a Toki</i> 'Toki's food'	<i>kall ɛr a Siabal</i> 'Japanese food'
<i>tēkingel a Masaharu</i> 'Masaharu's words'	<i>tēkoi ɛr a Belau</i> 'Palauan (language)'
<i>techēlel a Droteo</i> 'Droteo's opportunity'	<i>techall ɛr a ureor</i> 'opportunity for work'
<i>imelel²² a John</i> 'John's drink'	<i>ilumel ɛr a party</i> 'party drinks'
<i>ngelēkel a sēchēlik</i> 'my friend's child'	<i>ngalēk ɛr a skuul</i> 'student, pupil'

Some noun phrases of characterization can be associated with specific possessors, as the following list illustrates:

(33) <i>Noun Phrase of Characterization</i>	<i>Noun Phrase of Characterization With Specific Possessor</i>
<i>bail ɛr a skuul</i> 'school clothes'	<i>bilel a Droteo ɛr a skuul</i> 'Droteo's school clothes'
<i>bilas ɛr a omēnged</i> 'fishing boat'	<i>bilsengek ɛr a omēnged</i> 'my fishing boat'
<i>mlai ɛr a omilil²³</i> 'car for leisure use'	<i>mlim ɛr a omilil</i> 'your car for leisure use'
<i>kall ɛr a mēkēmad²⁴</i> 'C rations'	<i>kēliu ɛr a mēkēmad</i> 'your C rations'
<i>diall ɛr a mēkēmad</i> 'warship'	<i>dillir a rēchad ɛr a Siabal ɛr a mēkēmad</i> 'warships of the Japanese'
<i>hong ɛr a ochur</i> 'mathematics book'	<i>hong ɛr a Droteo ɛr a ochur</i> 'Droteo's mathematics book'

As you can see, the characterizational phrases on the right are formed from those on the left simply by adding information about the possessor. If the first noun is possessible, as in the top five

examples, the appropriate possessor suffix is added to it; if the first noun is unpossessible, however, as in the last example, the possessor is indicated in a relational phrase introduced by *ɛr*.

APPOSITIONAL STRUCTURES

- 3.10. In order to specify the category of objects to which something belongs, Palauan makes use of special expressions having the structure *noun phrase of possession* + *ɛl* + *noun*. A typical example is *imelek ɛl biang* 'my (drink of) beer', in which the possessed noun *imelek* 'my drink' (from *ilumel* 'drink') specifies the **function** which is served by *biang* 'beer' on a particular occasion. While *biang* 'beer' names a specific kind of drink, *imelek* 'my drink' refers to a more general category, to any kind of beverage I might drink; therefore, we can also have expressions like *imelek ɛl ralm* 'my (drink of) water', *imelek ɛl kohl* 'my coffee', etc. In these expressions, the noun phrase of possession (which happens to be a single possessed noun—cf. 3.6 above) is linked with the following more specific noun by the word *ɛl*, which, as we will see in chap. 23, identifies a **relative clause** construction.²⁵ Structures like *imelek ɛl biang*, in which one thing is linked with or equated with another, are termed **appositional**; other appositional structures of Palauan, such as *John ɛl sensei* 'John the teacher', will be examined in 23.4.

Appositional structures like *imelek ɛl biang* refer primarily to categories of food and drink. The category word can take any of the possessor suffixes—e.g. *imelel ɛl biang* 'his/her (drink of) beer', *imelem ɛl biang* 'your (drink of) beer', etc.—and a third person possessor may be specified—e.g. *imelel a Droteo ɛl biang* 'Droteo's drink of beer'. All appositional structures can be classified as noun phrases on the basis of their distribution (cf. 3.6 above). In the list below, the most commonly used category words are presented in their independent forms, together with an example of their use in an appositional structure:

(34) <i>Independent Form of Category Word</i>	<i>Appositional Structure (with 1st person sg. possessor)</i>
<i>kall</i> 'food'	<i>kēlek ɛl udong</i> 'my noodles'
<i>chēled</i> 'fish or animal which has been caught but not cooked'	<i>chēldik ɛl ngikēl</i> 'my fish'
<i>odoim</i> 'meat or fish which is ready to eat'	<i>odimek ɛl babii</i> 'my pork'

ongraol 'starchy food'	ongulek ²⁶ ɛl kukau 'my taro'
kliou 'dessert'	kliungek ɛl tuu 'my banana (for dessert)' ²⁷
charm 'animal'	chɛrmek ɛl babii 'my pig'
chɛmachɛl 'something to chew'	chɛmɛlek ²⁸ ɛl buuch 'my betel nut'
udoud 'money'	ududek ɛl lluich ɛl kluk 'my twenty dollars'
dɛllomɛl 'something planted'	dɛllɛmɛlek ɛl diokang 'my tapioca plant'

As the contrasting appositional structures *odimek ɛl babii* 'my pork' and *chɛrmek ɛl babii* 'my pig' illustrate, it is possible for the same thing (in this case, *babii* 'pig') to be associated with different types of categories. Another example of this type of contrast is seen in the expressions *dɛllɛmɛlek ɛl tuu* vs. *kɛlek ɛl tuu*: while the former expression categorizes the bananas as something growing and is best translated as 'my banana plants', the latter expression views the bananas as ready-to-eat food and has the English equivalent 'my bananas (for eating)'.

SOME SPECIAL POSSESSED NOUNS

- 3.11. A small group of nouns referring to liking, disliking, ability, and obligation always occur with possessor suffixes. The possessed forms of these nouns are shown in the simple sentences below:

- (35) Ng soak a biang.
'I like beer.'
(36) Ng chɛtil a rrom.
'He dislikes liquor.'
(37) Ng sɛbɛchir ɛl mong?
'Can they go?'
(38) Ng kirem ɛl mong?
'Do you have to go?'

Though the English equivalents contain verbs or 'helping' words like *can* and *have (to)*, the Palauan sentences use possessed nouns to express the same concepts: 35, for example, contains the possessed noun *soak* 'my liking' and means, literally, 'My liking is beer'. For a complete analysis of sentences like 35–38, see 17.1 and 17.3.

SUMMARY OF PALAUAN NOUN PHRASES

- 3.12. The three major types of noun phrases discussed in this chapter are the following:

- a. simple noun phrases
- b. noun phrases of possession
- c. noun phrases of characterization

Simple noun phrases merely consist of a single noun **without a possessor suffix**: this single noun may be an **unpossessible noun** (e.g. *delmɛrab* 'room', *sensei* 'teacher') or the **unpossessed (or independent)** form of an **optionally possessed noun** (e.g. *blai* 'house', *charm* 'animal').

Noun phrases of possession include many different types, which are summarized in figure 2.

Noun phrases of characterization also have several subtypes, as indicated in figure 3.

PALAUAN NOUN PHRASES OF POSSESSION

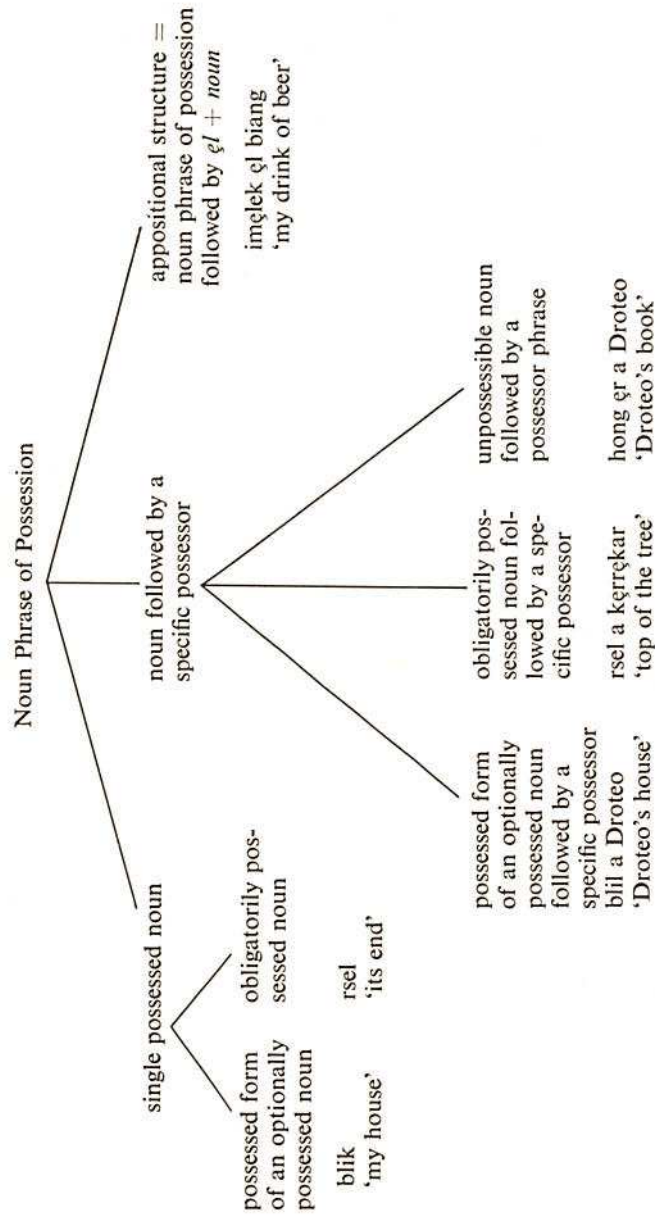


Figure 2

PALAUAN NOUN PHRASES OF CHARACTERIZATION

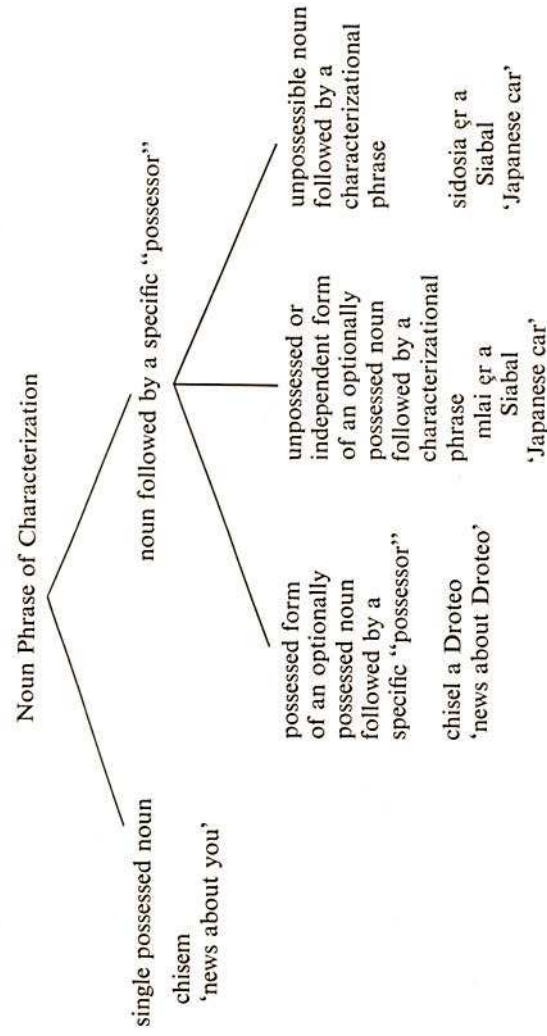


Figure 3

4 Palauan Pronouns

INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS AND AFFIX PRONOUNS

- 4.1. At various points in the preceding three chapters we have had occasion to mention something about the **pronouns** of Palauan. We found it necessary to introduce many different facts about Palauan pronouns simply because the use of pronouns is so closely tied up with problems of the spelling and the grammar. Thus, in 1.5.d we discussed how the different sets of Palauan pronouns are to be spelled; in 2.4 we examined some of the distributional characteristics which pronouns share with nouns, in addition to showing why the distinction human vs. non-human is important to pronoun usage; and, finally, in 3.2–3 we analyzed the possessor pronouns (or suffixes) extensively. There are still many facts about Palauan pronouns which we have not presented; this will be done in the present chapter.

As we saw in 1.5.d, some Palauan pronouns are spelled as separate words, while others are spelled as part of another word. We shall call the former type **independent pronouns**, whereas the latter type will be referred to as **affix pronouns**.¹ Affix pronouns never occur alone but must always be attached to the beginning or end of a word; in the former case they are **prefixes**, while in the latter case they are **suffixes**. These two terms have already appeared in the text and should be familiar to you: in 2.5, for example, we discussed the human plural prefix *rə-* (as in *rəngalək* 'children'), and in 3.3 we described the different sets of possessor suffixes (as in *bilek* 'my clothes', *kəruk* 'my medicine', etc.).

As we have already seen in the preceding chapters, pronouns have the same distributional features as nouns and refer to various persons like 'I, you, he, they, etc.' **First person pronouns** and **second person pronouns** make reference to the participants in a conversation and identify the speaker(s) ('I, we') and the hearer(s)

('you'), respectively. **Third person pronouns** do not refer to any of the participants in a conversation but identify the person(s) or thing(s) being talked about ('he, she, it, they'). First, second and third person pronouns can be either **singular** or **plural**, though the third person plural pronoun refers to **human** nouns only. In addition, there are two first person plural pronouns—**inclusive** and **exclusive** (cf. 3.2). The distinctions among Palauan pronouns can therefore be summarized as follows:

(1) 1st pers. sg.	1st pers. pl. incl.
	1st pers. pl. excl.
2nd pers. sg.	2nd pers. pl.
3rd pers. sg.	3rd pers. pl. (human only)

Though some special comments will be necessary in a few cases, we will be able to use the above seven categories to describe all of the pronoun sets of Palauan. To save space, we will also adopt the abbreviations given above.

NON-EMPHATIC VS. EMPHATIC SUBJECTS

- 4.2. There are two sets of independent pronouns which can occur in the position of sentence subject. One is called **non-emphatic** and the other **emphatic**. Before explaining the difference between these types, let us list the forms occurring in each:

(2)	Non-emphatic Pronouns	Emphatic Pronouns
1st pers sg	ak	ngak
2nd pers sg	kə	kau
3rd pers sg	ng	ngii
1st pers pl incl	kəde	kid
1st pers pl excl	aki	kəmam
2nd pers pl	kom	kəmiu
3rd pers pl	tə	tir

Though we can see some similarities (especially in the consonants) between corresponding non-emphatic and emphatic forms, there is no predictable way of deriving one set from the other. While the emphatic pronouns are always stressed (cf. 1.4.2) and are pronounced as they are spelled, the non-emphatic ones are never stressed and sometimes show a slight variation in pronunciation. For example, when *kə* 'you (sg.)', *kəde* 'we (incl.)', and *tə* 'they' appear before vowel-initial verbs, their final *ə* is lost in the pronunciation, as in *kə uləmes* [kuləmes] 'you saw', *kəde ousbech*

[kəðouspɛɹ] 'we need', and *tɛ omɛngur* [tomɛŋur] 'they are eating'. The unpronounced *ɛ* is always spelled, however. Furthermore, when *ak* 'I' and *aki* 'we (excl.)' follow words ending in a full vowel, the *a* is not pronounced, as in *e le ak* [ɛlek^h] 'because I...' and *a lɛko ak* [alɛgok^h] 'I intended to...'. If, however, the preceding word has a final *ɛ*, this schwa is deleted and the following *a* is pronounced, as in *mɛ ak* [mak^h] 'so I...'. Finally, we know from expressions like *kom osiik* [komosiɣk^h] 'you are looking for', *kom ua ngarang?* [komwaŋaraŋ] 'how are you?' and *kom smechɛr* [komsmeɣɛr] 'you are sick' that the correct form of the second person plural non-emphatic pronoun is *kom*; if the word following *kom* begins with an *m*, however, only a single *m* is actually pronounced, as in *kom mɛrredɛl* [komɛɾɛðɛl] 'you are the leaders'.

When they appear as sentence subject, the non-emphatic and emphatic pronouns are used in very different ways. Observe the following brief dialogs:

- (3) A: Kɛ mo ɛr ker?
'Where are you going?'
B: Ak mo ɛr a stoang.
'I'm going to the store.'
- (4) A: Ng tɛcha a mo ɛr a stoang?
'Who is going to the store?'
B: Ngak a mo ɛr a stoang.
'I'm going to the store.'

As we can see, A's questions in 3 and 4 above are very different and therefore elicit different types of responses from B. In 4, A assumes (or knows) that from among a certain group of people, one person is going to the store; his question to B asks for the identity of that one person. B uses the emphatic pronoun *ngak* 'I' in his answer to emphasize the fact that it is he himself (and not Droteo, or Toki, or anyone else who might be around) who is going to the store. In other words, the use of an emphatic pronoun as subject implies a **contrast** (or opposition) between the person who actually perform some activity and any other persons who might be available to perform it but who for some reason do not. This kind of **contrastive emphasis** is indicated in the pronunciation of the English equivalent of 4B by an especially strong stress on the subject pronoun (the accent mark is used to point this out). Another situation in which 4B would be appropriate is the following:

- (5) A: A Droteo ng mo ɛr a stoang?
'Is Droteo going to the store?'
B: Ng diak. Ngak a mo ɛr a stoang.
'No. I'm going to the store.'

In the dialog above, B uses the emphatic pronoun in his response in order to express an opposition between himself and Droteo as persons who might be available to go to the store.

It is also possible for B's response in 4 to be shortened to the emphatic pronoun itself or to a short sentence of the form *ng* + *emphatic pronoun*, meaning 'it's—'. Note the following dialog:

- (6) A: Ng tɛcha a mo ɛr a stoang?
'Who is going to the store?'
B: (Ng) ngak.
'(It's) me.'

B need not mention the activity of going to the store in his response, since this activity is clearly stated in A's question. Another similar dialog is the following:

- (7) A: A Toki a milɛnga a ngikɛl.
'Toki ate fish.'
B: E kau?
'And (how about) you?'

In the dialog above, B can ask A what A ate simply by using the emphatic pronoun *kau* 'you'; since A has already talked about someone eating something, it is clear that B is likewise referring to the activity of eating.

The third person emphatic pronouns *ngii* 'he, she' and *tir* 'they' can be used in B's responses in dialogs like 4–7 above if both A and B know whom the pronoun refers to. Observe the conversations below:

- (8) A: Ng tɛcha a silsɛbii a blai?
'Who burned down the house?'
B: (Ng) ngii.
'(It's) him.'
- (9) A: Tɛ rua tɛcha a silsɛbii a blai?
'Who burned down the house?'
B: (Ng) tir.
'(It's) them.'

Now that we have seen how the emphatic pronouns are used as sentence subject, let us return to a discussion of 3, which contains a non-emphatic pronoun as subject in B's response:

- (3) A: Kę mo ę r ker?
'Where are you going?'
B: Ak mo ę r a stoang.
'I'm going to the store.'

While the emphatic pronoun *ngak* 'I' of 4B involves contrastive emphasis, the non-emphatic pronoun *ak* 'I' of 3B does not. In 3, A is not asking B to single out the particular person who, from among a certain group of people, is performing some activity; therefore, B's answer does not provide this kind of information. Instead, A simply wants to know where B is going: automatically assuming that B is the only person involved in the activity, A concentrates on finding out the place B is going to. In his response, B uses the non-emphatic pronoun *ak* 'I' because he does not need to provide A with any new information about the subject of the sentence; *ak* 'I' is merely old information, and the new information of 3B is supplied by the relational phrase *ę r a stoang* 'to the store'.

We can therefore characterize the difference between non-emphatic vs. emphatic (subject) pronouns as follows. The information supplied by a non-emphatic pronoun is old—that is, both speaker and hearer know about it, and it is no longer of interest to them. On the other hand, the information provided by an emphatic pronoun is new—something previously unknown or unexpected.

Because non-emphatic pronouns express old information, they can only be used as sentence subjects in situations where their referents are clear. This is the case in the following short dialogs, where the non-emphatic pronouns under consideration have been italicized:

- (10) A: A Droteo a mlo ę r a Guam ę r a elii.
'Droteo went to Guam yesterday.'
B: Ng mo lmuut ę l me ę r oingarang?
'When is he coming back?'
(11) A: A John mę a Mary a me ę r a blik ę r a klukuk.
'John and Mary are coming to my house tomorrow.'
B: Tę chad ę r a Merikel?
'Are they Americans?'
(12) A: A Toki ng oureor ę r ker?
'Where does Toki work?'
B: Ng oureor ę r a bangk.
'She works at the bank.'

While the sentences spoken by B in 10–12 above are perfectly natural as part of a conversational exchange, they would sound very strange if spoken in isolation or "out of context".

As we noted in 2.6, all Palauan nouns (or, more properly, noun phrases—cf. 3.6) must be introduced by the word *a*, unless they consist of pronouns. Thus, the independent pronouns (non-emphatic or emphatic) discussed in this section are never preceded by *a*. We noted also in 2.6 that Palauan verbs (or, more properly, verb phrases—see 5.2) are always introduced by *a* unless the sentence subject is a pronoun. As the examples in this section show, we must now qualify this statement to read as follows: the verb phrase of a sentence is always preceded by *a* except when the sentence subject is a **non-emphatic** pronoun. If the sentence subject is an emphatic pronoun, however, as in 4B and 5B above, the verb phrase is indeed introduced by *a*. The occurrence or non-occurrence of *a* before the verb phrase of a sentence is summarized below:

(13) Sentence Type	Example
a. <i>non-pronominal</i> subject + verb phrase.	A sęchęlik a smečęr. 'My friend is sick.' A Satsko a smečęr. 'Satsko is sick.'
b. <i>emphatic pronoun</i> subject + verb phrase.	Ngak a smečęr. 'I'm sick.' Ngii a smečęr. 'Shę's sick.'
c. <i>non-emphatic pronoun</i> subject + verb phrase.	Ak smečęr. 'I'm sick.' Ng smečęr. 'She's sick.'

Notice that the emphatic pronouns illustrated in 13b behave like the independent nouns *ęchęlik* 'my friend' and *Satsko* of 13a in requiring that the following verb phrase be introduced by *a*. Because of this fact, many linguists would argue that the emphatic pronouns are truly independent words, while the non-emphatic pronouns of 13c are actually prefixes. If the non-emphatic pronouns were indeed prefixes, then the nonoccurrence of *a* before the verb phrases of 13c could be explained. Assuming that this analysis were correct, it would appear more proper to spell the non-emphatic pronouns as part of the following verb—e.g. *akmong* 'I'm going', *ngsmečęr* 'she's sick', *tęme* 'they are coming', etc. The 1972 Palauan Orthography Committee decided against spelling the non-emphatic pronouns as part of the following word,

however. The present system of spelling the non-emphatic pronouns as separate words nevertheless has some merits: in sentences like the following, for example, it is easy to analyze the structure and identify the morphemes because they are spelled as separate words:

- (14) a. Ak ko ɛr a sesmeɛɛr.
'I'm rather sick.'
b. Tɛ di mililil ɛr a Guam.
'They only fooled around in Guam.'
c. A John a dimlak lɛbo e le ng mle smeɛɛr.
'John didn't go because he was sick.'

USE OF EMPHATIC PRONOUNS FOLLOWING *ɛr*

- 4.3. In 4.2 above we saw how the emphatic pronouns of Palauan can function as sentence subjects. In this and the following sections we will describe further environments in which the emphatic pronouns are observed to occur. Perhaps the most common of these is after the word *ɛr*. Recall that in 2.7 we distinguished between the **specifying word** *ɛr*, which identifies a specific object, and the **relational word** *ɛr*, which expresses certain types of relationships (mostly spatial and temporal) and has a large range of English equivalents, including 'to, at, in, out of, because of, etc.' We find that the emphatic pronouns of Palauan can occur following both of these *ɛr*'s.

In the sentences below, an emphatic pronoun functions as sentence object and follows the specifying word *ɛr*:

- (15) a. Kɛ mɛlasɛm ɛr ngak?
'Are you challenging me?'
b. Ng tɛcha a milɛngelebeɛd ɛr kau?
'Who was hitting you?'
c. Ak ulɛmes ɛr $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{ngii} \\ \text{tir} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ ɛr a party.
'I saw $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{him/her} \\ \text{them} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ at the party.'
d. Ak dirk mɛluchɛs ɛr ngii.
'I'm still writing it.'

Since Palauan pronouns always refer to specific persons or things, it is not surprising that the specifying word *ɛr* should precede the object pronouns in the examples of 15. Note that the sentences of 15, especially those with third person emphatic pronouns

as objects, would sound very strange when uttered in isolation. It is not difficult, however, to find contexts in which they would be completely natural; 15d, for example, is appropriate as part of B's response in the dialog below:

- (16) A: Kɛ mla mo mɛrek ɛr a babier?
'Have you finished (writing) the letter?'
B: Ng diak. Ak dirk mɛluchɛs ɛr ngii.
'No. I'm still writing it.'

You may have noticed that although we have been speaking of the **emphatic** pronouns in object position, the specific pronoun objects of 15 (*ɛr ngak* 'me', *ɛr ngii* 'him/her/it', etc.) do not seem to have the implication of contrastive emphasis which we observed for emphatic pronouns in subject position (cf. 4.2 above). Unfortunately, we cannot explain why this should be the case. Even though the "emphatic" pronouns do not imply contrastive emphasis in all environments, we will continue to use the term as a convenient way of identifying the pronoun set *ngak* 'I', *kau* 'you', *ngii* 'he/she/it', etc.

In the following sentences, an emphatic pronoun follows the relational word *ɛr*:

- (17) a. A sensei ɛr ngak a me ɛr a party.
'My teacher is coming to the party.'
b. A delmɛrab ɛr tir a kmal kikiongɛl.
'Their room is very dirty.'
c. A beab a tilobɛd ɛr ngii.
'The mouse came out of it.'

In 17a-b, the sequences *ɛr ngak* 'my' and *ɛr tir* 'their' are **possessor phrases** (cf. 3.8), while in 17c the relational phrase *ɛr ngii* 'out of it' refers to the place (hole, box, etc.) from which the mouse emerged. Like the examples of 15, these sentences do not have any implication of contrastive emphasis.

EMPHATIC PRONOUNS IN COORDINATE NOUN PHRASES

- 4.4. Another environment in which the emphatic pronouns are used (but without any implication of contrastive emphasis) is in **coordinate noun phrases** (see 25.4). A coordinate noun phrase is one which consists of two (or more) nouns joined by the word *mɛ* 'and'. Coordinate noun phrases have the same distribution as other noun phrases and can therefore occur as sentence subject

or object, or can follow the relational word *er*. These three uses are illustrated in the sentences below, in which the coordinate noun phrases consist of sequences of human or non-human nouns joined by *mę* 'and':²

- (18) a. A Toki *mę* a Droteo a mlo *er* a stoang.
'Toki and Droteo went to the store.'
b. Tę *mę*nga a ngikęl *mę* a kukau *mę* a diokang.
'They eat fish and taro and tapioca.'
c. Ng sidosia *er* a Toki *mę* a Droteo.
'It's Toki and Droteo's car.'

Sentences with coordinate noun phrases represent a shortened or condensed way of expressing information: for example, Palauan speakers would use 18a rather than something like the following, in which *mlo er a stoang* 'went to the store' is repeated twice:

- (19) A Toki a mlo *er* a stoang, *mę* a Droteo a mlo *er* a stoang.
'Toki went to the store, and Droteo went to the store.'

The relationship between sentences like 18a and 19 will be explained more carefully in chap. 25, where a complete analysis of the word *mę* 'and' is given.

If a coordinate noun phrase contains one or more pronouns, the members of the emphatic pronoun set are always used. Observe the following sentences:

- (20) a. Ngak *mę* a Helen a kausęchęlei.
'Helen and I are friends.'
b. Tir *mę* a ręchad *er* a Merikel a blęchoel ęl kauchęraro.
'They and the Americans always treat each other as enemies.'
c. A Droteo a kautokętok ngii *mę* a Toki.
'Droteo and Toki are arguing.'
d. Kę mlo *er* a party kau *mę* a tęchang?³
'With whom did you go to the party?'

As the examples of 20 show, a coordinate noun phrase is not preceded by *a* if the first word in it is a pronoun. For an analysis of sentences 20c-d, which have coordinate noun phrases (*ngii mę a Toki* 'he and Toki', *kau mę a tęchang* 'you and who?') in sentence-final position, see 17.5. Note that the English equivalents given for 20c-d do not reflect the structure of the Palauan sentences, which, if translated literally, would correspond to 'Droteo is arguing—he and Toki' and 'You went to the party—you and who?'

EMPHATIC PRONOUNS PRECEDED BY *di*

- 4.5. The emphatic pronouns occur in special expressions of the form *di* + (*mle* +) *emphatic pronoun* to indicate that a given person is or was the **exclusive** participant in some activity. In other words, these expressions imply that one and only one individual is involved in the action in question; by excluding the possibility that other persons may be involved, these expressions produce a kind of contrastive emphasis. They are very similar in meaning to English expressions like '(by) myself, (by) himself, etc.' Note that *di* means 'only' or 'just' (see 24.6, ex. 46) and that *mle* 'was' precedes the emphatic pronoun if the action of the sentence took place at some time in the past. Some typical sentences containing these expressions (italicized) are given below:

- (21) a. A ngeękek a sębęchel ęl mo *er* a che ęl *di ngii*.
'My child is able to go fishing (all) by himself/on his own.'
b. A John a *di mle ngii* ęl męsuub ęl oukita.
'John studied the guitar by himself.'
c. Ng *di mle ngak* ęl męruul *er* a blik.
'I built my house (all) by myself.'
d. A ta *er* tir a *di mle ngii* ęl mękodor ęl oba a dub.
'One of them killed himself with a grenade.'

The grammatical structures found in the examples of 21 are rather complicated and will not be explained until chap. 15.

OTHER USES OF EMPHATIC PRONOUNS

- 4.6. In this section we will look at yet further ways in which Palauan emphatic pronouns can be used. Since the grammatical structures involved are very complex, we will postpone detailed discussion of them until later chapters. Observe, for example, the following sentences, in which the emphatic pronouns have been italicized:

- (22) a. Ng dimlak *lęngak* a silsębii a blai.
'It wasn't me who burned down the house.'
b. Ng dimlak *ltir* a milkodor a bilis.
'It wasn't them who killed the dog.'
c. *Ngii* di ęl chad a sębęchel ęl mo *er* a skuul.
'Any person has the right to go to school.'
d. A hong a longuiu *er ngii* a Droteo.
'The book is being read by Droteo.'

Examples 22a and 22b are emphatic sentences which deny that

some person or persons were connected with a particular event; both of these sentences contain *dimlak* 'wasn't, weren't', which is the past form of the **negative verb** *diak* 'isn't' (see chap. 18). In sentence 22c, the subject noun phrase *ngii di el chad* is used to refer to people in general and has English equivalents like 'any person, anybody, anyone (at all), etc.' Finally, in 22d, *er ngii* is a special type of phrase which adds nothing to the meaning but which is required when the subject of a **passive sentence** (see 19.7) is singular.

NON-EMPHATIC PRONOUNS AS PRONOMINAL TRACES

- 4.7. There are several situations in which Palauan third person non-emphatic pronouns appear in sentences as a result of certain grammatical processes. Observe, for example, the following pairs of sentences:

- (23) a. A Droteo a mla mei. 'Droteo has come.'
 b. Ng mla me a Droteo.
 (24) a. A ralm a mekḷekḷolt. 'The water is cold.'
 b. Ng mekḷekḷolt a ralm.

While the a-sentences have their subjects at the beginning (as we would expect), in the b-sentences the subjects have been shifted to the right of the verb phrases (*mla me* 'has come' in 23 and *mekḷekḷolt* 'cold' in 24). If we consider the a-sentences to be basic, we can simply say that the b-sentences are derived from them by a process of **subject shifting**. When a sentence subject is shifted in this way, a **trace** of it remains in its original position in the form of a non-emphatic pronoun. In the b-sentences above, the sentence-initial third person singular non-emphatic pronoun *ng* stands for the singular subjects *Droteo* and *ralm* 'water', which have been shifted out of their original position. If the shifted subject is human plural, then the third person plural non-emphatic pronoun *te* 'they' appears as a trace of it in sentence-initial position. This is illustrated in the following pair of examples:

- (25) a. A rṣeḷḷim a mla mei. 'Your friends have come.'
 b. Te mla me a rṣeḷḷim.

When the non-emphatic pronouns *ng* and *te* appear as the result of subject shifting, we will refer to them as **pronominal traces**. In the b-sentences of 23–25 above, the verb phrase is not introduced

by *a* precisely because it is preceded by a nonemphatic pronoun (cf. the discussion at the end of 4.2 above).

It is very difficult to describe the meaning difference between the a- and b-sentences of 23–25. Often, the members of pairs like 23–25 seem to be interchangeable, but sometimes the following subtle distinction is observed. While the a-sentence conveys totally new and unexpected information, the b-sentence merely confirms that something expected has happened. Thus, for example, both members of 23 say that Droteo has arrived, but their implications are different: in 23a, the speaker had no idea that Droteo would come, while in 23b he was waiting for or expecting Droteo's arrival.

The sentences below are also formed by the process of subject shifting and therefore show a pronominal trace in initial position:

- (26) a. Ng meṛingḷ a chimal a Droteo.
 'Droteo's hand hurts.'
 b. Ng klou a ultuteḷel a babier.
 'The letter is (very) important.'
 c. Ng lluch me a etiu a rḷkil a Toki.
 'Toki is twenty-nine years old.'
 d. Ng sueḷek a reṅgul a Droteo.⁴
 'Droteo is worried.'
 e. Ng ngar er ngii a party er a blil a Toki.
 'There's a party at Toki's house.'
 f. Ng diak a urerek er a eleḷchang.
 'I don't have any work now.'
 g. Ng soak a Toki.
 'I like Toki.'
 h. Ng cheṭil a koki.
 'He dislikes coffee.'

In sentences 26a–d the shifted subjects *chimal a Droteo* 'Droteo's hand', *ultuteḷel a babier* 'importance of the letter', *rḷkil a Toki* 'Toki's age', and *reṅgul a Droteo* 'Droteo's heart' are all noun phrases of possession which designate a specific third person possessor (cf. 3.6). For 26a–c, the corresponding sentences with (non-shifted) sentence-initial subjects are also correct and acceptable, though some speakers seem to prefer using sentences with shifted subjects. Thus, with 26a, for example, compare the following, which is identical in meaning:

- (27) A chimal a Droteo a meṛingḷ.
 'Droteo's hand hurts.'

Can you supply the sentences with (non-shifted) sentence-initial subjects from which 26b–c are derived?

Another very common Palauan sentence type is derived from sentences like 26a–d. With 26d, for example, compare the following, which has the same meaning:

- (28) A Droteo a suebək a rēngul.
'Droteo is worried.'

This sentence has been derived from 26d by taking the specific possessor *Droteo*, which was originally shifted to the right of the verb phrase as part of the shifted subject *rēngul a Droteo* 'Droteo's heart', and moving it back to sentence-initial position, where it replaces the pronominal trace *ng*. This process, which we will call **preposing of possessor**, is widespread in Palauan and will be dealt with fully in 17.3.

For sentences 26d–h, which have the shifted subjects *rēngul a Droteo* 'Droteo's heart', *party, urerek* 'my work', *Toki*, and *kohi* 'coffee', Palauan speakers do not regularly use the corresponding sentences with (non-shifted) sentence-initial subjects. In other words, subject shifting seems to be required (or obligatory) in certain types of sentences: these include sentences like 26d, which contain special expressions with *reng* 'heart', sentences like 26e–f, which have the affirmative and negative expressions of existence *ngar ər ngii* 'there is/are' and *diak* 'there isn't/aren't' (see 18.2–2.1), and sentences like 26g–h, which contain possessed forms of the nouns of liking—*soak*, *soal*, etc.—and disliking—*chetik*, *chetil*, etc. (cf. 3.11 and see 17.1). In 26e–f, notice that the shifted subjects are followed by the relational phrases *ər a blil a Toki* 'at Toki's house' and *ər a elēchang* 'now'. These sentences show that we were correct in stating that the sentence subject is shifted to the right of the verb phrase rather than to the very end of the sentence. It just so happens that in sentences like 23b, 24b, 25b, 26a–d, and 26g–h, shifting the sentence subject to the right of the verb phrase also placed it in sentence-final position, since these sentences have no relational phrases.

The process of subject shifting is also used to form certain types of Palauan questions. In the pairs of examples below, the a-sentence is a statement of fact, while the b-sentence is a **yes-no question**. Yes-no questions ask whether such-and-such is the case and can be answered by 'yes' or 'no'.

- (29) a. A Droteo a mla mei.
'Droteo has come.'

- b. Ng mla me a Droteo?
'Has Droteo come?'
(30) a. A rēṣēḥelim a mla mei.
'Your friends have come.'
b. Tē mla me a rēṣēḥelim?
'Have your friends come?'

As you can see, the yes-no questions of 29b and 30b have been derived from the corresponding statements of 29a and 30a by shifting the subject to the right of the verb phrase; this process leaves a pronominal trace in sentence-initial position. You will notice that although the **order** of words in 29b and 30b is exactly the same as that in 23b and 25b, respectively, the over-all pronunciation of these sentences shows an important difference: in the yes-no questions of 29b and 30b, the **pitch** (or intonation) of the voice rises sharply at the end of the sentence, while in the statements of 23b and 25b, no such rise in pitch is heard, but rather a slight lowering. The following yes-no questions are similar in structure to 29b and 30b:

- (31) a. Ng klēbokəl a bēchil a Droteo?
'Is Droteo's wife pretty?'
b. Ng lmuut ēl me a Cisco ər a klukuk?
'Is Cisco returning tomorrow?'
c. Ng mlo dēkimēs a ears?
'Did the sail get wet?'

What are the statement sentences which correspond to the yes-no questions of 31?

In addition to the yes-no questions of 29b, 30b, and 31, there are also yes-no questions of the following type in Palauan:

- (32) A Droteo ng mla mei?
'Has Droteo come?'
(33) A rēṣēḥelim tē mla mei?
'Have your friends come?'
(34) A bēchil a Droteo ng klēbokəl?
'Is Droteo's wife pretty?'

Although 32, 33, and 34 do not differ in meaning from 29b, 30b, and 31a, respectively, they do show a difference in the order of words. If we consider the latter sentences as basic, it seems as if the questions of 32–34 are derived by moving the shifted subject back to sentence-initial position, but preceding the pronominal trace *ng* or *tē*. This and other processes of question formation will be examined in much greater detail in chap. 20.

PRONOMINALIZATION

- 4.8. As we have seen in 4.7 above, the third person non-emphatic pronouns *ng* 'he, she, it' and *te* 'they' can appear as pronominal traces for subjects which have been shifted from their original position. In this section, we will examine another way in which these non-emphatic pronouns can come to appear in sentences. Observe the examples below:

- (35) a. A Droteo a mlo ɛr a hospital e le ng smecheɽ.
'Droteo went to the hospital because he's sick.'
b. A ɽeŋeɽelik a mlo ɛr a hospital e le te smecheɽ.
'My friends went to the hospital because they're sick.'

The sentences of 35 each contain two parts (or **clauses**—see chap. 22): in the first clause the speaker describes an event which occurred, and in the second clause (introduced by *e le* 'because'), he gives the reason for the event. Each of the two clauses in 35a and 35b has its own subject and verb phrase: for example, in the first clause of 35a, the subject *Droteo* is followed by the verb phrase *mlo* 'went', while in the second clause, the subject *ng* 'he' is followed by the verb phrase *smecheɽ* 'sick'. The third person singular non-emphatic pronoun *ng* 'he' of the second clause can only refer to *Droteo*, the subject of the first clause. Example 35b is identical in structure, except that the third person plural non-emphatic pronoun *te* 'they' of the second clause refers to the plural subject *ɽeŋeɽelik* 'my friends' of the first clause.

In the examples of 35, a pronominal subject is used in the second clause in order to avoid having to repeat the full subject of the first clause. With 35a, for instance, compare the following example, in which *Droteo* is repeated as subject of the second clause:

- (36) A Droteo a mlo ɛr a hospital e le a Droteo a smecheɽ.
'Droteo went to the hospital because Droteo is sick.'

Most Palauans would never use a sentence like 36 because repetition of *Droteo* as subject of the second clause would seem clumsy or awkward, or even childish. The English equivalent of 36 would not be used for similar reasons. We can see, then, that if a Palauan sentence has two adjacent clauses whose subjects refer to exactly the same person (or thing), then the subject of the second clause must be a pronoun. If we assume a sentence like 36 to be basic because the full subject is specified in the second clause, we can say that 35a is derived from it simply by **pronominalizing** the

second occurrence of *Droteo*. In other words, 35a is formed by the process of **pronominalization**, which replaces the second occurrence of some fully-specified subject by the appropriate third person non-emphatic pronoun. When we say "appropriate", we mean that the non-emphatic pronoun must **agree** in number with the fully-specified subject which it replaces: thus, *ng* 'he' of 35a replaces the singular subject *Droteo*, while *te* 'they' of 35b substitutes for the plural subject *ɽeŋeɽelik* 'my friends'.

Some other sentences in which the second occurrence of a subject has been pronominalized are given below:

- (37) a. A John a mlo smecheɽ me ng mlo ɛr a hospital.
'John got sick, so he went to the hospital.'
b. A Toki a dilu ɛl kmo ng mong.⁵
'Toki said she is going.'
c. A lseɽum a Droteo a me e ng me kie ɛr a blik.
'If Droteo comes, he will stay at my house.'
d. A lak losuub a ɽeŋeɽelik e te mo fail ɛr a test.
'If my friends don't study, they will fail the test.'

The various grammatical structures found in the examples of 37 are beyond the scope of our present discussion and will be dealt with in later chapters. Before leaving these examples, however, we should note that pronominalization can only apply to the second (or rightmost) occurrence of the subject, but not to the first (or leftmost) occurrence. If we try to apply pronominalization "leftwards" rather than "rightwards", we do not get a correct sentence with the intended meaning. With 37a, for example, compare the following:

- (38) Ng mlo smecheɽ me a John a mlo ɛr a hospital.
'He got sick, so John went to the hospital [to get him some medicine, etc.]'

Example 38 is different in meaning from 37a and can only make sense if *ng* 'he' of the first clause and *John* of the second clause are interpreted as referring to different persons; also, 38 would only be acceptable if both speaker and hearer knew whom the pronominal subject *ng* referred to.

So far we have only seen sentences in which pronominalization applies to the **subject** of the second clause. It is also possible for pronominalization to apply to an **object** or to a **possessor** following *ɛr*, as in the following examples:

- (39) a. Ak lilɽeŋesii a babier e a Droteo a mlo send ɛr ngii.
'I wrote the letter and Droteo mailed it.'

- b. A lşekum a Droteo a mo ęr a party, e ak mo omes ęr ngii.
'If Droteo goes to the party, then I'll be seeing him (there).'
- c. A lşekum ak meşsa a Droteo ęr a klukuk, e ak longir a hong ęr ngii.
'If I see Droteo tomorrow, I'll borrow his book.'

As these sentences show, an emphatic pronoun (rather than a non-emphatic pronoun) appears after the specifying word *ęr* or the relational word *ęr* when an object or a possessor is pronominalized. Similar to the above sentences is the dialog of 16, which we repeat here for convenience as 40:

- (40) A: Kę mla mo męrek ęr a babier?
'Have you finished (writing) the letter?'
B: Ng diak. Ak dirk męluchęs ęr ngii.
'No. I'm still writing it.'

In the above dialog, we can say that the *ngii* in B's response results from applying pronominalization to a second occurrence of *babier* 'letter'; the first occurrence of *babier* is to be found, of course, in A's question. Thus we can see that pronominalization can apply between two separate sentences, as in the dialog of 40, or between clauses of one and the same sentence, as in 35, 37, and 39 above.

OBJECT PRONOUNS AND PERFECTIVE VERBS

- 4.9. In the remaining sections of this chapter we will examine two types of Palauan affix pronouns in detail. A third type—the possessor suffixes—was discussed extensively in 3.1–3 and needs no further consideration.

Palauan has a set of affix pronouns which appear as suffixes on verbs. Since these pronouns always identify the **object** of the verb—i.e., the person or thing affected by the action which the verb designates—they will be called **object pronouns**. As we might expect, the object pronouns show person-number distinctions identical to those found among the independent pronouns. In the list below, the most frequently-occurring form of each object pronoun is given; the emphatic pronouns (cf. 4.2 above) are also listed for purposes of comparison:

(41)	Object Pronouns	Emphatic Pronouns
1st pers sg	-ak	ngak
2nd pers sg	-au	kau
3rd pers sg	-ii	ngii

1st pers pl incl	-id	kid
1st pers pl excl	-ęmam	kęmam
2nd pers pl	-ęmiu	kęmiu
3rd pers pl	-ęęrir	tir

As you can see, the object pronouns and the emphatic pronouns are very closely related in form: except for the third person (human) plural, all of the object pronouns can be derived from the corresponding emphatic pronoun simply by removing the initial consonant (*ng* or *k*) from the latter. Further similarities in form will be noted below.

For purposes of identification, we will use the term **perfective verb** to refer to any verb form which contains a suffixed object pronoun. The term "perfective" reflects the meaning of such forms, since any verb form with a suffixed object pronoun designates an action which is brought to **completion** or **perfection**. In this section, we will not be particularly concerned with the meaning of perfective verbs, nor with the contrast between **perfective** and **imperfective** verbs; these topics will be taken up in chap. 12. Rather, we will focus most of our attention on the way in which object pronouns attach to **verb stems** to form perfective verbs.

In the list below the perfective forms of the Palauan verb *męngelebed* 'hit' are given. Each perfective form consists of the verb stem *cholębed-* followed by one of the object pronouns listed in 41. The object pronouns are always stressed (cf. 1.4.2).

(42) cholębedák	'hits me'
cholębedáu	'hits you (sg.)'
cholębedii	'hits him/her/it'
cholębedid	'hits us (incl.)'
cholębedęmám	'hits us (excl.)'
cholębedęmiu	'hits you (pl.)'
cholębedęęrir	'hits them'

You will notice that the verb stem *cholębed-* which occurs in the perfective forms of 42 is phonetically quite different from the related (imperfective) verb *męngelebed* 'hit'. Some of the phonetic changes observed between these two forms—for example, the appearance of the vowel *o* in the first syllable of the perfective verbs, or the alternation between the consonants *ch* and *ng*—require lengthy explanation and will not be discussed until 5.5 and 6.3.1–2. Other changes, however, should not be difficult to understand because they involve the **principle of vowel reduction** explained in 3.4.

Recall that all of the full vowels of Palauan can reduce to ϵ ([ə]=schwa) in unstressed syllables. This is precisely what happens to the vowel between *l* and *b* in the forms under discussion: in *məŋgələbəd* [məŋələbəð], we have the stressed full vowel *e* [ɛ], but in *cholebədii* [ʔələbəði] this very same vowel has reduced to ϵ [ə] because it is no longer in a stressed syllable. The only remaining phonetic detail in the forms of 42 which we need to mention is the extra ϵ between the verb stem and the third person plural object pronoun *-tərir*: this ϵ is added to break up an unpronounceable sequence of consonants (cf. 1.4.5).

THE ZERO (Ø) OBJECT PRONOUN

- 4.9.1. The perfective verb forms listed in 42 are used in sentences like the following:

- (43) a. A sensei a cholebədau! '(Watch out!) The teacher is going to hit you (by accident)!/ 'The teacher will hit you (if you misbehave).'
- b. A John a cholebədii a Toki! 'John is going to hit Toki!/'John will hit Toki (if she misbehaves).'
- c. A Droteo a cholebədə-
tərir a rəŋgələk! 'Droteo is going to hit the children!/'Droteo will hit the children (if they misbehave).'

As 43b and 43c show, perfective verbs with a third person object pronoun suffix can be followed by a noun phrase which specifically identifies the object. A principle of "agreement" is involved, since *-ii* must be followed by a specific object which is singular (e.g. *Toki*), while *-tərir* requires a specific object which is plural (e.g. *rəŋgələk* 'children'). Thus, in 43b and 43c the object of the sentence is indicated in two places—as a suffix on the perfective verb and as a noun phrase following the perfective verb.

Now, with 43b and 43c, compare the following sentence, which is similar in pattern:

- (44) A ngələk a cholebəd a bilis!
'The child is going to hit the dogs!'

The form *cholebəd* in 44 is also a perfective verb form, but one which does not seem to have any object pronoun suffix. For this reason, we did not list this form in 42. In this form, the **absence** of

any object pronoun suffix results in a particular meaning: *cholebə* can only be used if the object is **non-human** plural, as in 44. Because the form *cholebəd* forms a set (or **paradigm**) with the other perfective verb forms listed in 42, many linguists would attempt to assign *cholebəd* a structure similar to that of the other perfective forms, which consist of *verb stem* + *object pronoun*. If *cholebəd* is to have this very same structure, it will be necessary to propose a kind of "phantom" object pronoun for non-human plural objects, an object pronoun which is not realized as any actual sounds but which nevertheless has "structural significance" because it contrasts with the other object pronouns. Using this analysis, linguists would say that there is a **zero** (symbol: Ø) object pronoun which is suffixed to perfective verbs when the object is non-human plural. Thus, all the perfective forms of a given verb would be identical in pattern, as indicated in the abbreviated list below:

- (45) *Verb stem* + *Object pronoun*
- | | | | |
|----------|---|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| cholebəd | + | ak | 'hits me' |
| cholebəd | + | Ø ⁶ | 'hits them (e.g., the dogs)' |
| cholebəd | + | ϵ + tərir | 'hits them (e.g., the people)' |

From the above discussion, we can see that the third person object pronouns work somewhat differently from the third person pronouns of other pronoun sets. In 2.4, we observed that there is only a two-way distinction among third person **non-emphatic pronouns**: *tə* 'they' refers exclusively to human plural, while *ng* 'he, she, it, they' refers to all singulars as well as to non-human plural. By contrast, the third person object pronouns under consideration in this section show a three-way distinction: *-tərir* is used exclusively for human plural objects, *-Ø* is used for non-human plural objects, and *-ii* is used for all singular objects. Note that both the object pronouns and the non-emphatic pronouns highlight the significance of the distinction **human** vs. **non-human**, since in each set different pronouns are used for human vs. non-human plural (*tə* vs. *ng* and *-tərir* vs. *-Ø*).

FURTHER EXAMPLES OF PERFECTIVE VERB FORMS

- 4.9.2. As we will see in 5.3, all Palauan verbs show three major distinctions of **tense**. Verbs in the **present tense** usually describe something that is going on at the time the speaker utters the sentence, but certain present tense verb forms can also refer to an **imminent** event, one which is just about to happen. Verbs in the **past tense**

describe something which took place in the past, at a point in time which precedes that of the utterance. Finally, verbs in the **future tense** refer to something which will occur in the future, at some point in time which follows that of the utterance.

Perfective verb forms of course show the above-mentioned distinctions of tense. The forms *choiḡbḡdak* 'hits me', *choliḡbḡdau* 'hits you', etc. listed in 42 and illustrated in the sentences of 43 and 44 are all in the present tense. As the English equivalents of 43 and 44 indicate, Palauan perfective verbs in the present tense express events which are imminent or which appear likely to occur; for this reason, the examples in 43 and 44 are interpreted as **warnings** or as **precautionary suggestions**. The past tense forms of the perfective verbs of 42 are *chilleḡbḡdak* 'hit me', *chilleḡbḡdau* 'hit you', etc. These simply refer to past events and have no connotation of warning or precaution, as in the examples below:

- (46) a. A sensei a chilleḡbḡdak.
'The teacher hit me.'
b. A ngalḡk a chilleḡbḡd a bilis.
'The child hit the dogs.'

There are many Palauan verbs whose perfective forms end in the object pronouns listed in 41. As a further example, let us observe the (future) perfective forms of *olḡkiiis* 'wake up someone/something (naturally or intentionally)',⁷ which are illustrated in the set of sentences below:

- (47) a. A Droteo a mo okisák.
'Droteo will wake me up.'
b. A Droteo a mo okisáu.
'Droteo will wake you (sg.) up.'
c. A Droteo a mo okisii a Toki.
'Droteo will wake up Toki.'
d. A Droteo a mo okisíd.
'Droteo will wake us (incl.) up.'
e. A Droteo a mo okisḡmám.
'Droteo will wake us (excl.) up.'
f. A Droteo a mo okisḡmíu.
'Droteo will wake you (pl.) up.'
g. A Droteo a mo okisḡḡrir a ḡngalḡk.
'Droteo will wake up the children.'
h. A Droteo a mo okiis a bilis.
'Droteo will wake up the dogs.'

The future perfective forms of *olḡkiiis* given above consist of the future "marker" *mo* (which is actually the Palauan verb meaning 'go') followed by the present perfective forms *okisak*, *okisau*, etc. Notice that the verb stem *oki(i)s-* appearing in the perfective forms of 47 is phonetically quite different from the related (imperfective) verb *olḡkiiis* 'wake up someone/something (naturally or intentionally)'. In all the perfective forms, the sequence *-lḡ-* of *olḡkiiis* has disappeared; furthermore, we recognize an alternation between *ii* and *i*. This alternation can be explained by the very same principle of **vowel reduction** which we cited in 3.4.2 to account for the alternation between long and short vowels in nouns and their possessed forms such as *oriik* 'broom' and *orikék* 'my broom'. In other words, the long vowel *ii* appears in stressed syllables in *olḡkiiis* (the imperfective verb) and *okiis* (the perfective form for third person plural non-human objects), but reduces to short *i* when it appears in unstressed syllables in *okisák*, *okisáu*, etc.

In the discussion above we have seen how the object pronouns of 41 appear as suffixes in the perfective forms of verbs such as *mḡngeleḡd* 'hit' (see 42) and *olḡkiiis* 'wake up' (see 47). Several other verbs whose perfective forms end in the object pronouns of 41 are *mḡseḡḡk* 'kick' (perfective forms: *sobḡkak* 'kicks me', *sobḡkau* 'kicks you', *silḡḡḡkii* 'kicked him/her/it', *silḡḡḡkḡḡrir* 'kicked them', etc.), *mḡngimd* 'cut (someone's hair)' (perfective forms: *kimdak* 'cuts my hair', *kimdau* 'cuts your hair', *kilḡmdii* 'cut his/her hair', *kilḡmdḡḡrir* 'cut their hair', etc.), and *olḡchiis* 'chase' (perfective forms: *ochisak* 'chases me', *ochisau* 'chases you', *ulḡchisii* 'chased him/her/it', *ulḡchisḡḡrir* 'chased them', etc.).

VERBS WITH LIMITED PERFECTIVE FORMS

- 4.9.3. There are many Palauan verbs whose meaning determines that they can take only **inanimate** objects—i.e., ones that are **non-human** and **non-living**. For example, the actions described by verbs like *mḡluchḡs* 'write', *mḡngitakl* 'sing', *mḡlasḡḡh* 'carve', *mḡngiis* 'dig', *mḡnguii* 'read', etc. can only be directed at **things**: in other words, human beings (and animals) cannot be 'written', 'sung', 'carved', 'dug', or 'read'. For this reason, the perfective forms which such verbs can have are limited to those with the third person singular object pronoun *-ii* (in which case reference is made to an inanimate singular object) and to those with the third person plural non-human object pronoun *-Ø* (in which case reference is made to an inanimate plural object). Thus, the only

possible (past) perfective forms for *mēluchēs* 'write' and *mēngitakl* 'sing' are illustrated in the sentences below:

- (48) a. A Droteo a lilēchēsii a babier.
'Droteo wrote the letter.'
b. A Droteo a liluchēs a babier.
'Droteo wrote the letters.'
- (49) a. A Droteo a chilēteklii a chēlitakl.
'Droteo sang the song.'
b. A Droteo a chilitakl a chēlitakl.
'Droteo sang the songs.'

Forms like **lilēchēsak* ('wrote me'), **chilēteklaui* ('sang you'), etc. do not occur because they do not make any sense.

Some verbs which ordinarily take inanimate objects are occasionally observed to occur with human objects. For example, the (past) perfective forms of *mēleng* 'borrow' are usually limited to those illustrated in the examples below:

- (50) a. Ak lilēngir⁸ a mlil a Cisco.
'I borrowed Cisco's car.'
b. Ak lileng a mlil a Cisco.
'I borrowed Cisco's cars.'

But we sometimes see perfective forms of *mēleng* 'borrow' with a suffixed third person plural human object pronoun, as in the following:

- (51) Ng sēbēchek ēl longēterir a bebil ēr a rēchēdam?
'Could I borrow (the services of) a few of your men?'

VARIANT FORMS OF THE OBJECT PRONOUNS

- 4.9.4. In the perfective forms of certain verbs we observe object pronoun suffixes which differ from those listed in 41. These variant forms, which occur much less frequently than those of 41, are best regarded as exceptional or irregular since there is no apparent way of predicting which verb stems they will attach to. For this reason, the foreigner learning Palauan has no choice but to memorize the correct distribution of these variant forms.

The perfective forms of a few verbs take the object pronouns given in 41, except that a consonant—*ng* or *k*—is inserted between the verb stem and the object pronoun suffixes. Note, for example, the (past) perfective forms of *olēkar* 'wake up someone/something (by creating a disturbance)⁹:

- (52) ulēkērngāk 'woke me up'
ulēkērngāu 'woke you (sg.) up'
ulēkērngii 'woke him/her/it up'
ulēkērngid 'woke us (incl.) up'
ulēkērngēmām 'woke us (excl.) up'
ulēkērngēmui 'woke you (pl.) up'
ulēkērngēterir 'woke them (hum.) up'
ulēkār 'woke them (non-hum.) up'

Can you explain why *olēkar* (the imperfective form) and *ulēkar* (the past perfective form for third person plural non-human object) have the full vowel *a* between *k* and *r*, while all the other perfective forms show *ē* in this position? Another verb whose perfective forms have an *ng* inserted between the verb stem and an object pronoun suffix is *mēles* 'slice'. Because this verb requires non-human objects, the only occurring (present) perfective forms are *dosēngii* 'slices it' and *dmes* 'slices them'.

The perfective forms of *omes* 'see', *mēdēnge* 'know', *oba* 'carry, take', and *mēlai* 'bring, take' have a *k* between the verb stem and most of the object pronouns. In the list below, the perfective forms of these verbs are given in the present tense:

- (53) *Person and Number of Object Pronoun*
- | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| | <i>omes</i> 'see' | <i>mēdēnge</i> 'know' |
| 1st pers sg | mēsēkak | mēdēngēlkak |
| 2nd pers sg | mēsēkau | mēdēngēlkau |
| 3rd pers sg | mēsa | mēdēngēlii |
| 1st pers pl incl | mēsēkid | mēdēngēlkid |
| 1st pers pl excl | mēsēkēmām | mēdēngēlkēmām |
| 2nd pers pl | mēsēkēmui | mēdēngēlkēmui |
| 3rd pers pl hum | mēs(ē)terir | mēdēngēlterir |
| 3rd pers pl non-hum | mes | mēdēnge |
| | <i>oba</i> 'carry, take' | <i>mēlai</i> 'bring, take' |
| 1st pers sg | obēkak | ngoikak |
| 2nd pers sg | obēkau | ngoikau |
| 3rd pers sg | oba | nguu |
| 1st pers pl incl | obēkid | ngoikid |
| 1st pers pl excl | obēkēmām | ngoikēmām |
| 2nd pers pl | obēkēmui | ngoikēmui |
| 3rd pers pl hum | obē(ti)terir | ngoititerir |
| 3rd pers pl non-hum | olab | ngmai |

The above paradigms for *omes* 'see', *mędęnge* 'know', *oba* 'carry, take', and *męlai* 'bring, take' exhibit the following unusual features:

- (a) In all paradigms, no *k* is found in those perfective forms having a suffixed third person object pronoun.
- (b) In the paradigm of *omes* 'see', a *ę* sound is inserted between the final *s* of the verb stem and the initial *k* of the object pronoun. Insertion of this *ę* is optional before *-tęrir*.¹⁰
- (c) The third person singular perfective forms *męsa* 'sees him/her/it' and *oba* 'carries him/her/it' appear to have a pronoun suffix of the form *-a*. This form is extremely rare and is found only in these two verbs and in *msa* 'give' (cf. note 10).
- (d) All of the perfective forms of *mędęnge* 'know' have a final *l* added to the verb stem.¹¹
- (e) The third person singular perfective form *nguu* 'brings/takes it' is difficult to analyze in terms of verb stem and suffixed object pronoun.
- (f) The third person plural human perfective forms *obe(ti)-tęrir* 'carries/takes them' and *ngoititęrir* 'brings/takes them', have the extra syllable *-ti*.¹² This extra syllable is optional in the former word, but obligatory in the latter.

The perfective forms of certain verbs have third person singular object pronouns with the structure *vowel + r*. Some commonly-used verbs which take this type of suffix are given in the list below:

(54) <i>Verb in Imperfective Form</i>	<i>Perfective Form (in Present Tense) with Third Person Singular Object Pronoun</i>
męleng 'borrow'	longir 'borrows it'
męrkui 'finish completely'	rokir 'finishes it completely'
olęngęseu 'help'	ngosuir 'helps him/her'
oker 'ask'	korir 'asks him/her'
omękoad 'kill'	mękodir 'kills him/her/it'
omech 'connect'	męchir 'connects it'
męluk 'cut into pieces'	tukur 'cuts it into pieces'
męngam 'break (long object)'	chumur 'breaks it'
męngęsa 'occupy, make busy'	chosęngur 'makes him busy'
męlul 'burn, barbeque'	durur 'barbeques it'

omękdęchor 'build'	mękdęchęrir 'builds it'
męsuk 'put in'	sukur 'puts it in'
męsib 'plow'	sibur 'plows it'
męngut 'wear out, make old'	chutur 'wears it out'
męchar 'pay for, buy'	męchęrar 'pays for it'

HYPOTHETICAL PRONOUNS

- 4.10. Palauan has a special set of pronouns which appear as prefixes on verbs in a large variety of complicated grammatical constructions. Because many of these constructions express **hypothetical** events or situations—i.e., ones which are not real, but which are supposed, assumed, or imagined—the term **hypothetical** has come to be used as an identifying label for the pronoun prefixes as well as the verb forms to which they are attached. Observe the examples below:

- (55) a. A *kusuub* e ak mo pass ęr a test.
'If I study, I'll pass the test.'
- b. A *losuub* e ng mo pass ęr a test.
'If he studies, he'll pass the test.'
- c. A *dosuub* e kędę mo pass ęr a test.
'If we (incl.) study, we'll pass the test.'

The sentences of 55 do not describe facts or real happenings but instead mention hypothetical or imagined situations. In other words, rather than claiming that anyone is actually studying now (or that anyone will definitely study in the future), these sentences propose that *if* someone studied, *then* he would be able to pass the test. In the examples of 55, the italicized words *kusuub* '(if) I study', *losuub* '(if) he/she studies', and *dosuub* '(if) we (incl.) study' are all **hypothetical verb forms**; they consist of a prefixed **hypothetical pronoun** (*ku-* 'I', *lo-* 'he/she', and *do-* 'we (incl.)') followed by the verb stem (*-suub* 'study').

Each of the hypothetical pronouns has several variant forms whose distribution depends on the type of verb to which they are prefixed. The main purpose of the following sections will be to summarize these variant forms and describe their distribution; the task of analyzing the many constructions in which they occur will be postponed until later chapters.

HYPOTHETICAL PRONOUNS WITH IMPERFECTIVE VERBS

- 4.10.1. In the list below, the present tense hypothetical forms of the verb

mɛlim 'drink' are given. The series of hypothetical pronouns (italicized) occurring in these forms is regularly attached to imperfective verbs.

(56) Person and Number of Hypothetical Pronoun	Hypothetical Form of <i>mɛlim</i> 'drink'	
1st pers sg	<i>kulim</i>	'(if) I drink'
2nd pers sg/pl	<i>chomolim</i>	'(if) you drink'
3rd pers sg/pl	<i>lolim</i>	'(if) he/she/it/they drink(s)'
1st pers pl incl	<i>dolim</i>	'(if) we (incl.) drink'
1st pers pl excl	<i>kimolim</i>	'(if) we (excl.) drink'

As you can immediately see, the hypothetical pronouns show fewer person-number distinctions than any of the other pronoun sets. The most striking feature is that there is no singular vs. plural distinction for the second and third person pronouns: *chomo-* 'you' can refer to one person or several persons, and *lo-* 'he/she/it/they' serves for any third person whatsoever, whether singular or plural, human or non-human.

The hypothetical forms of *mɛlim* 'drink' given in 56 above are derived simply by replacing the verb marker prefix *mɛ-* (see 5.4 and chap. 6) by various hypothetical pronouns. In exactly the same way we can derive the hypothetical forms of any imperfective verb which begins with *mɛ-*. Note, for example, the following partial list:

(57) Imperfective Verb in <i>mɛ-</i>	Hypothetical Forms	
<i>mɛsilɛk</i> 'wash'	<i>kusilɛk</i> , <i>chomosilɛk</i> , <i>losilɛk</i> , etc.	
<i>mɛnguui</i> 'read'	<i>kungui</i> , <i>chomongui</i> , <i>longui</i> , etc.	
<i>mɛluchɛs</i> 'write'	<i>kuluchɛs</i> , <i>chomoluchɛs</i> , <i>loluchɛs</i> , etc.	
<i>mɛngiis</i> 'dig'	<i>kungiis</i> , <i>chomongiis</i> , <i>longiis</i> , etc.	

For those imperfective verbs which begin with *o-* (which is actually a variant of the verb marker *mɛ-* —see 6.1), the initial *o-* is dropped before adding the hypothetical pronouns of 56. The hypothetical forms of such verbs are illustrated in the partial list below:

(58) Imperfective Verb in <i>o-</i>	Hypothetical Forms	
<i>omes</i> 'see'	<i>kumes</i> , <i>chomomes</i> , <i>lomes</i> , etc.	
<i>orrenɛs</i> 'hear'	<i>kurrenɛs</i> , <i>chomorrenɛs</i> , <i>lorrenɛs</i> , etc.	
<i>osiik</i> 'look for'	<i>kusiik</i> , <i>chomosiik</i> , <i>losiik</i> , etc.	

HYPOTHETICAL PRONOUNS AS AGENTS

4.10.2. In all hypothetical verb forms, the prefixed hypothetical pronoun designates the **doer** (or **agent**) of some action (or, as we will see in 4.10.5 below, the person or thing characterized by a particular state or condition). Observe the use of the hypothetical verb forms in the examples below:

- (59) a. Ng soak a *ngelekek* a *losuub*.
'I want my child to study.'
b. Ng chɛtik a *chomolamɛch* a *dɛkool*.
'I don't like you to smoke cigarettes.'
c. A Toki a *longelebed* ɛr ngii a *Droteo*.
'Toki is being hit by Droteo.'
d. A babier a *kuluchɛs* ɛr ngii.
'The letter is being written by me.'

In all of the sentences of 59, the italicized hypothetical pronouns either refer to or identify the agent. In 59a, the prefix *lo-* of *losuub* tells us that it is some third person who is expected to study, and the specific noun *ngelekek* 'my child' establishes this person's identity. And in 59b, the prefix *chomo-* of *chomolamɛch* makes it clear that it is the person being spoken to who is getting scolded for smoking. Sentences 59c and 59d are **passive sentences** (see 5.6 and 19.7) in which the person or thing being affected by the action (*Toki* in 59c and *babier* 'letter' in 59d) appears in sentence-initial position and is followed by a hypothetical verb form which refers to or identifies the agent. In other words, in 59c *lo-* of *longelebed* tells us that it is some third person who is hitting Toki, and the specific noun *Droteo* gives the person's exact identity. And in 59d, *ku-* of *kuluchɛs* makes it clear that it is the speaker who is engaging in the activity of writing the letter.

HYPOTHETICAL PRONOUNS WITH THE PAST TENSE

4.10.3. The hypothetical forms of *mɛlim* 'drink' listed in 56 are in the present tense. If we compare the past tense hypothetical forms of this verb, we notice some changes in the prefixed hypothetical pronouns:

(60) 1st pers sg	<i>kullim</i>	'was drunk by me'
2nd pers sg/pl	(<i>cho</i>) <i>mullim</i>	'was drunk by you'
3rd pers sg/pl	<i>lullim</i>	'was drunk by him/her/it'
1st pers pl incl	<i>dullim</i>	'was drunk by us (incl.)'
1st pers pl excl	<i>kimullim</i>	'was drunk by us (excl.)'

The hypothetical verb forms in 60 consist of a prefixed hypothetical pronoun, followed by the **past tense marker** *-l-* (see 5.3.2), followed by the verb stem *-lim*.¹³ Notice that the hypothetical pronouns which are *o-* final in 56 are *u-* final in 60.¹⁴ In addition, the first syllable of the second person hypothetical pronoun *chomu-* is often dropped, resulting in *mu-*. A similar shortening of *chomo-* of 56 to *mo-* is found among many speakers, especially if particular constructions are involved. Thus, while most speakers use the "full" form *chomo-* if the hypothetical verb form is in a question such as

- (61) Ngara el təkoi a *chomosuub* er a eləchang?
'What language are you studying now?'

many of these same speakers prefer the shortened form *mo-* if the hypothetical verb form is part of a **relative clause** (see chap. 23):

- (62) a. A babier el *moluchəs* er ngii a mo er a Droteo.¹⁵
'The letter you're writing goes to Droteo.'
b. A blai el *moruul* er ngii a kmal klou.
'The house you're building is very large.'

REDUCED VARIANTS OF THE HYPOTHETICAL PRONOUNS

4.10.4. The hypothetical forms of *mo* 'go' and *me* 'come' exhibit yet another set of hypothetical pronoun prefixes, as in the following:

(63)	<i>mo</i> 'go'	<i>me</i> 'come'
1st pers sg	<i>kbo</i>	<i>kəme</i>
2nd pers sg/pl	<i>chobo</i>	<i>chome</i>
3rd pers sg/pl	<i>ləbo</i>	<i>ləme</i>
1st pers pl incl	<i>dəbo</i>	<i>dəme</i>
1st pers pl excl	<i>kibo</i>	<i>kime</i>

Notice that the *m* of *mo* 'go' changes to *b* in all of the hypothetical forms.¹⁶ A similar change is observed in the hypothetical forms of certain perfective verbs such as *msa* 'give' (*kbsa* '(if) I give (it to) him/her', *ləbəskak* '(if) he gives (it to) me', etc.) and *mosii* 'shoot him/her/it' (*kbosii* '(if) I shoot him/her/it', *ləbosii* '(if) he shoots him/her/it', etc.). The italicized hypothetical pronouns of 63 appear to be **reduced** forms of those listed in 56. In other words, the full vowels in *ku-*, *lo-* and *do-* of 56 have reduced to the neutral vowel *ə* (schwa) to give *kə-*, *lə-*, and *də-* of 63; and in *kbo* '(if) I go', the prefix *kə-* has further reduced to *k-* before the verb stem

bo 'go'. In addition, the second syllable in *chomo-* and *kimo-* of 56 has been lost to give *cho-* and *ki-* of 63.

Several sentences containing the hypothetical forms of *mo* 'go' and *me* 'come' are now given (the hypothetical pronouns are italicized):

- (64) a. A kbo er a Guam, e ak mo kie er a blil a Toki.
'If I go to Guam, I'll stay at Toki's house.'
b. A *ləme* a Droteo, e ng me kie er a blik.
'If Droteo comes, he'll stay at my house.'
c. Ng diak *ləbo* er a party.
'He's not going to the party.'
d. Ng diak *chome* er a blik?
'Aren't you coming to my house?'

In the pronunciation of 64d, the initial *ch* of *cho-* 'you' is usually deleted following the final *k* of *diak* 'isn't', which is then pronounced as [g] because of its **intervocalic** position (cf. 1.3.1). Therefore, *diak chome* is pronounced as [ōdiagome].

DISTRIBUTION OF THE REDUCED VARIANTS

4.10.5. The reduced variants of the hypothetical pronouns given in 63 above have a very wide distribution. In the paragraphs below, we will discuss and illustrate the different environments in which they are observed to occur.

As opposed to the hypothetical forms of **imperfective** verbs, which take the longer variants of the hypothetical pronouns listed in 56 and 60, the hypothetical forms of **perfective** verbs (cf. 4.9 and 4.9.2 above) usually contain the reduced variants observed in 63. In the examples which follow, the italicized hypothetical pronouns are prefixed to perfective verb forms:

- (65) a. A hong a *kbilsa* a səçəlik.
'The book was given by me to my friend.'
b. Ng dimlak *kbosii* a bilis.
'I didn't shoot the dog.'
c. A blai el *ləsiləbii* a buik a blil a Toki.
'The house which was burned down by the boy is Toki's house.'
d. A Droteo a dimlak *ləngai* a iluməl.
'Droteo didn't bring the drinks.'
e. A present a *ləbilskak* a Droteo.
'The present was given to me by Droteo.'

- f. A Satsko a dimlak *lengesuir* a Toki *el remuul* a sub^{le}el.
'Satsko didn't help Toki do her homework.'
- g. A kall *el lekila* a Droteo a mle *beder^{ch}chuis*.
'The food which Droteo ate was spoiled.'
- h. A hong a *chobilskak*.
'The book was given to me by you.'
- i. Ng tela *el biang* a *chomengilim*?
'How many beers did you drink?'
- j. Ng tela *el ngikel* a *chomekilang*?
'How many fish did you eat?'

In all of the above sentences except 65i and 65j, the italicized pronouns are reduced variants with which we are already familiar. In 65i and 65j we encounter still another variant of the second person hypothetical pronoun: in these examples, *chome-* appears to be derived from *chomo-* by reduction of the full vowel *o* to *e*.

So far we have only looked at the hypothetical forms of verbs like *mesuub* 'study', *melim* 'drink', *m^{el}luch^s* 'write', *msa* 'give', *mo* 'go', *me* 'come', etc., all of which designate actions or activities. Verbs which describe states or conditions rather than actions also have hypothetical forms, as the examples below illustrate:

- (66) a. Ng diak *ksech^r*.
'I'm not sick.'
- b. A mlik a diak *lek^llou*.
'My car isn't that big/big enough.'
- c. A mubi a dimlak *lem^{ek}ngit*.
'The movie wasn't bad.'
- d. A *lengar* *er ngii* a *ududek*, e ak mo *er* a Guam.
'If I had the money, I'd go to Guam.'

We can see from the above examples that the reduced variants of the hypothetical pronouns are used if the verb describes a state or condition. The italicized hypothetical pronouns in 66 either identify or refer to the person or thing characterized by the particular state or condition. In 66a, for instance, the prefix *k-* makes it clear that it is the speaker of the sentence who is sick; and in 66c, the prefix *le-* refers to the third person inanimate subject *mubi* 'movie.'

It is even possible for nouns to take prefixed hypothetical pronouns in certain constructions. As the following examples show, the reduced variants are used in such cases:

- (67) a. Ng diak *ksensei*.
'I'm not a teacher.'

- b. Ak mo *olengull* se *el kbo krubak*.
'I'm going to take things easy when I get to be an old man.'
- c. Te me *er* a blik a *{letutau } {lesueleb}*.
'They come to my house in the {morning } {afternoon}'.

In 67a and 67b, the hypothetical pronoun *k-* is prefixed to the nouns *sensei* 'teacher' and *rubak* 'old man', which identify categories or types of persons. And in 67c, the hypothetical pronoun *le-* precedes the time words *tutau* 'morning' and *sueleb* 'afternoon'. The grammatical constructions found in the sentences of 67 will be dealt with elsewhere in the text.

HYPOTHETICAL FORMS OF COMPLEX VERB PHRASES

4.10.6. As we will see in 5.3.2.1, 5.3.3, and 19.7.2, Palauan has several types of **complex verb phrases** which consist of two, or possibly three, separate words. Some typical examples of such verb phrases include *mo omes* 'go see, will see', *mo ungil* 'get better', *me menget-mokl* 'come (in order to) clean', *m^{la} mo m^{er}ek* 'has finished', etc. When a complex verb phrase occurs in a construction which requires a hypothetical verb form, a hypothetical pronoun is often prefixed to each of its parts. Observe the following sentences:

- (68) a. A mubi *el kbo kumes* *er ngii* a mubi *er* a Dois.
'The movie which I am going to see is a German movie.'
- b. Ngara *el mubi* a *chobo (cho)momes* *er ngii*?
'What kind of movie are you going to see?'
- c. Ng dirkak *kbo km^{er}ek* *er* a sub^{le}ek.
'I haven't finished my homework yet.'
- d. A ng^{le}kek a dirkak *lebo lungil¹⁷* *el sme^{ch}er*.
'My child hasn't gotten well yet.'
- e. A *lebo lsech^r18* a Droteo, e ng diak *lebo* *er* a skuul.
'If Droteo gets sick, he won't go to school.'
- f. A babier *el lebla lebo lem^{er}ek* *er ngii* a Droteo a mo *er* a Toki.
'The letter which Droteo has just finished (writing) goes to Toki.'

A similar case of multiple occurrence of hypothetical pronouns is found in 67b, where both the verb *bo* 'become' and the following noun (*rubak* 'old man') are prefixed with *k-*.

In the hypothetical forms of complex verb phrases such as those illustrated in 68 above, Palauan speakers often omit the

first occurrence of the hypothetical pronoun. This occurs most often in rapid, casual speech and when the third person hypothetical pronoun is involved. Thus, the following sentence is perfectly acceptable:

- (69) A babier a bo *loluchēs* ər ngii a Satsko.
'The letter will be written by Satsko.'

Can you speculate why it would make no difference to omit the prefix *lē-* from *bo* in the example above?

IMPERATIVE VERB FORMS

- 4.10.7. As we will see in 19.5, **imperative** verb forms are used to express orders or commands. Since commands are always directed at the person or persons being spoken to, they necessarily entail second person pronouns. Therefore, it should not be surprising that Palauan imperative verb forms are nothing more than hypothetical verb forms which have a prefixed second person hypothetical pronoun.

In 4.10.3 above, we saw that the second person hypothetical pronoun *chomo-* is shortened to *mo-* in certain constructions. This shortened form *mo-* also appears in the hypothetical forms of **imperfective** verbs when they are used as imperatives. Observe the following sentences:

- (70) a. *Mosilek* ər a bilem!
'Wash your clothes!'
b. *Monga* ər a ngike!
'Eat the fish!'
c. *Mongui* ər a hong!
'Read the book!'

In the examples of 70, the prefixed hypothetical pronoun *mo-* identifies the agent—i.e., the person who is expected to carry out the action in question.

If the imperative verb form is **perfective**, the second person hypothetical pronoun appears as *m-*, as in the examples below:

- (71) a. *Mngilmii* a imēm!
'Finish up your drink!'
b. *Mlēchesii* a babier!
'Write the letter!'
c. *Mkētmokl* a delmērab!
'Straighten up the rooms!'

- d. *Mtēchelbēterir* a rēngalēk!
'Bathe the children!'
e. *Mchelebēd* a bilis!
'Hit the dogs!'

In all of the imperative verb forms of 71, the prefixed second person hypothetical pronoun is pronounced as a separate syllable—i.e., as [m] (cf. 1.3.5).

PROPOSITIVE VERB FORMS

- 4.10.8. As we will see in 19.6, **propositive** verb forms are used when the speaker **proposes** or **suggests** that he and the person spoken to do some action together. As the examples below illustrate, Palauan propositive verb forms are nothing more than hypothetical verb forms with first person plural inclusive hypothetical pronouns:

- (72) a. *Doraēl*!
'Let's go!'
b. *Domēngur* ər tiang!
'Let's eat here!'
c. *Dēbo dolim* a biang!
'Let's go drink a beer!'
d. *Dēkiiēsii* a kliokl e *dolēngull* kung.
'Let's dig the hole (now) and rest later.'

Can you explain the distribution of *do-* vs. *dē-* in the sentences of 72?

SUMMARY OF HYPOTHETICAL PRONOUNS

- 4.10.9. The list below summarizes the many variant forms of the hypothetical pronouns which we have had occasion to mention in the sections above:

(73) Person and Number of Hypothetical Pronoun	Variant Forms
1st pers sg	ku-, kē-, k-
2nd pers sg/pl	chomo-, mo-, chomu-, mu-, cho-, chomē-, m-
3rd pers sg/pl	lo-, lu-, lē-, l-
1st pers pl incl	do-, du-, dē-
1st pers pl excl	kimo-, kimu-, ki-

5 Palauan Verbs

IDENTIFICATION OF PALAUAN VERBS

- 5.1. In 2.2–3 we began the task of identifying the parts of speech of Palauan by defining nouns in terms of their meaning and distribution. We observed, among other things, that Palauan nouns name or make reference to a great variety of persons, animals, or things and share certain characteristics of distribution such as occurrence in sentence subject and sentence object positions. In chap.3 we learned more about nouns by examining the ways in which nouns combine with possessor suffixes to form possessed nouns. In this chapter we will attempt to define another part of speech—**verbs**—in a similar manner: that is, first we will characterize verbs in terms of their meaning and distribution, and then we will look at the many ways in which verbs can be formed through the combination of **verb stems** and various **affixes**. The latter type of study, in which we describe how different morphemes (or meaning-bearing units) combine with each other in the formation of particular classes of words, is known as **morphology**. Because the morphology of Palauan verbs is extremely complicated, we cannot possibly provide a complete picture of it in the present chapter; some of the topics touched upon below will therefore be given fuller treatment later in the text.

ACTION VERBS: TRANSITIVE AND INTRANSITIVE

- 5.1.1. Whereas nouns make reference to human beings, concrete things, abstract ideas, and the like, verbs name **actions** or **states** which involve nouns in various ways. **Action** verbs describe actions, activities, or events and can be **transitive** or **intransitive**. **Transitive action verbs** name actions which characteristically have a **doer** and a **receiver**. As we saw in 2.3, the doer (or person who performs,

carries out, or causes the action of the sentence) appears before the verb as **sentence subject**, while the receiver (the person, animal, or thing affected by the action of the sentence) follows the verb as **sentence object**. Because the action is “transferred”, so to speak, from doer to receiver, the term ‘transitive’ (derived from a Latin word meaning ‘cross over’) has come to be used. The italicized verbs in the sentences below are typical transitive action verbs:

- (1) a. A ngalek a *menga* er a ngikel.
‘The child is eating the fish.’
b. A John a *milengelebēd* er a katuu.
‘John was hitting the cat.’
c. A Toki a *mengenmōkl* er a delmērab.
‘Toki is straightening up the room.’
d. A chad er a Merikel a *milkodir* a mēchas.
‘An American killed the old lady.’
e. Ak *rirēngēsii* a chisel a Toki.
‘I heard the news about Toki.’
f. Tē *chilsbreber* a blai.
‘They painted the houses.’
g. A Droteo a *milēngimd* er ngak.
‘Droteo was cutting my hair.’

Can you identify the nouns (or pronouns) which function as sentence subject and sentence object in the examples above?

As the examples in 1 show, any action verb is transitive if it names an action which is **done to** or **directed at** some person, animal, or thing. Some additional Palauan transitive action verbs are cited (in the imperfective form) in the list below:

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| (2) mēlim ‘drink’ | mēlasēch ‘carve’ |
| mēngitakl ‘sing’ | mēruul ‘make, repair’ |
| mēlamēch ‘smoke, chew’ | mēlēng ‘borrow’ |
| mēluchēs ‘write’ | mēnguui ‘read’ |
| mēngiis ‘dig’ | mēlēseb ‘burn’ |
| omes ‘see’ | orlēngēs ‘hear’ |
| osiik ‘look for’ | orrebēt ‘drop’ |

As opposed to transitive action verbs, **intransitive action verbs** involve only a doer, but no receiver. In other words, these verbs do not describe actions which can be directed at someone or something else, but rather actions in which only a doer participates. For this reason, sentences with intransitive verbs like the following never contain object nouns:

- (3) a. A ngalëk a *milil* er a sers.
'The child is playing in the garden.'
b. A Droteo a *milengedub* er a diong.
'Droteo was swimming in the stream.'
c. A demak a *oureor* er a bangk.
'My father works at the bank.'
d. A Toki a *mo* er a skuul.
'Toki is going to school.'
e. A sêchëlik a *me* er a blik.
'My friend is coming to my house.'

Though the italicized verbs in the examples of 3 obviously refer to actions or activities, it is not difficult to see that they are basically very different from those illustrated in the examples of 1. To repeat what we have said above, transitive action verbs take an object (i.e., we eat **something**, we hit **someone**, we hear **someone** or **something**, etc.), but intransitive action verbs do not. Thus, we cannot conceive of "swimming **someone** or **something**", "going **someone** or **something**", and so forth. Notice that the nouns which follow the intransitive action verbs of 3 (i.e., *sers* 'garden', *diong* 'stream', etc.) are not objects, but instead identify the **location** of an activity (as in 3a-c) or the **goal** of some movement (as in 3d-e). In either case we have a relational phrase (cf. 3.8 and see chap.14) in which the relational word *er* 'in, at, to' is followed by a noun designating a place or location.

Whereas intransitive action verbs never take objects, we will often see sentences containing transitive action verbs in which the object has been omitted (or deleted). Observe the pairs of sentences below:

- (4) a. Ak milsuub a təkoi er a Siabal.
'I was studying Japanese.'
b. Ak milsuub.
'I was studying.'
(5) a. A John a mēngitakl a chēlitakl er a Ruk.
'John is singing a Trukese song.'
b. A John a mēngitakl.
'John is singing.'

In 4a and 5a above, the presence of the sentence objects *təkoi er a Siabal* 'Japanese (language)' and *chēlitakl er a Ruk* 'Trukese song' shows that *mēsuub* 'study' and *mēngitakl* 'sing' are transitive action verbs. In 4b and 5b, however, these verbs are not followed by an object; rather, it is merely understood that the subject of the

sentence was studying **something** or singing **something**. Apparently, sentences like 4b and 5b are acceptable because verbs like *mēsuub* 'study' and *mēngitakl* 'sing' designate activities whose possible objects can usually be predicted (at least in a general way) even if the object noun is absent. In other words, the object of *mēsuub* 'study' must be something which can be studied or learned, and the object of *mēngitakl* 'sing' must be something which can be sung. By contrast, if a verb designates an activity which can take a large number of objects, then the object of the sentence cannot be omitted. This is true for verbs like *mēleng* 'borrow' and *mēruul* 'make, prepare', as in the examples below:

- (6) a. Ak mo mēleng er a mlil a Cisco.
'I'm going to borrow Cisco's car.'
b. *Ak mo mēleng.
(? 'I'm going to borrow.')
(7) a. A Maria a mēruul a kall.
'Maria is making the food.'
b. *A Maria a mēruul.
(? 'Maria is making.')

To Palauan speakers, 6b and 7b above are unacceptable because they sound incomplete—that is, they do not allow us to predict anything about the omitted object.

STATE VERBS

5.1.2. Whereas action verbs describe actions, activities, or events, **state** verbs specify states, conditions, or qualities which temporarily or permanently characterize persons, animals, or things. In the great majority of cases, state verbs describe the sentence subject in some way. Because only a sentence subject is involved, these state verbs are to be classified as intransitive. Observe the sentences below, in which the **intransitive state verbs** are italicized:

- (8) a. A ngēlēkek a *smecher*.
'My child is sick.'
b. A eangēd a *mēkngit*.
'The weather is poor.'
c. Tia ēl delmērab a *mēkeald*.
'This room is warm.'
d. A rēchad er a Merikel a *mētongakl*.
'Americans are tall.'
e. A blil a Toki a *klou*.
'Toki's house is big.'

In 8a–c, the states which describe the sentence subjects are temporary and therefore subject to change, while those in 8d–e are relatively permanent or unchanging.

Some additional Palauan state verbs are given in the list below. See if you can decide whether the state involved is temporary or permanent.

- | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|
| (9) ungil 'good' | kl̥bok̥l̥ 'pretty' |
| song̥reng̥ 'hungry' | kek̥deb 'short' |
| kikiong̥l̥ 'dirty' | met̥et̥ 'rich' |
| m̥saul̥ 'tired' | milkolk̥ 'dark' |
| bibrur̥k̥ 'yellow' | b̥ches̥ 'new' |
| b̥cheleleu 'white' | b̥k̥t̥k̥koi 'talkative' |
| ngar 'be (located)' | m̥la 'was (located)' |

The verbs *ngar* 'be (located)' and *m̥la* 'was (located)' are special state verbs which assert, respectively, the **present** or **past existence** of the subject in a particular location. As the following sentences illustrate, these intransitive state verbs must be followed by a relational phrase which identifies the location of the subject:

- (10) a. A Toki a ngar ɛr a bab.
'Toki is upstairs.'
- b. A udoud a ngar ɛr a ch̥lsel a skidas.
'The money is inside the drawer.'
- c. Ak m̥la ɛr a M-Dock.
'I was/have been at M-Dock.'

The **existential state verbs** *ngar* 'be (located)' and *m̥la* 'was (located)' will be examined in detail in 18.2.

As we mentioned above, most Palauan state verbs are intransitive. There is a very small class of state verbs, however, which do take objects and must therefore be classified as transitive. Such **transitive state verbs** refer to certain types of mental states or abilities and include items like *m̥d̥enge* 'know', *m̥d̥uch* 'know how (to), be skilled at', *m̥t̥itur* 'not know how (to), not be capable of', and *m̥d̥akt* 'be afraid of, fear'. Can you identify the subjects and objects of the (italicized) transitive state verbs in the sentences below?

- (11) a. A Droteo a *m̥d̥enge* a t̥koi ɛr a Sina.
'Droteo knows Chinese.'
- b. A ng̥l̥kek a *m̥d̥akt* ɛr a sensei.
'My child is afraid of the teacher.'
- c. Ak *m̥d̥uch* ɛr a ochur.
'I know (how to do) math.'

FURTHER DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ACTION VERBS AND STATE VERBS

- 5.1.3. In 5.1.1–2 above we attempted to define action verbs and state verbs in terms of a fundamental meaning difference. Thus, we said that while action verbs designate actions, activities, or events, state verbs specify states, conditions, or qualities. In addition, we saw that both action verbs and state verbs can be transitive or intransitive, resulting in the following four possibilities:

- (12) *Transitive action verb*: *m̥nga* 'eat', *m̥ngeleb̥d* 'hit', etc.

Intransitive action verb: *milil* 'play', *oureor* 'work', *mo* 'go', etc.

Transitive state verb: *m̥d̥enge* 'know', *m̥d̥akt* 'be afraid of, fear', etc.

Intransitive state verb: *ungil* 'good', *smech̥r* 'sick', *ngar* 'is (located)', etc.

When we look at some of the grammatical properties of action verbs and state verbs, we find further support (or evidence) for distinguishing the two types. Action verbs and state verbs "behave" differently in at least two important ways. First of all, the **past tense** forms of action verbs and state verbs are derived differently. The past tense forms of action verbs involve the addition of an **affix** of some kind. In 4.1 we saw that affixes are morphemes which cannot occur as independent words but which must always be attached to some other word. The two types of affixes we mentioned were **prefixes** and **suffixes**, which are added to the beginning or end of a word, respectively. In discussing the past tense forms of action verbs, we need to speak of a third type of affix—namely, **infixes**. Infixes are morphemes which are inserted into a word. Thus, for any transitive or intransitive action verb which begins with the **verb marker prefix** *m̥-* or *m-* (see 5.4 below and chap. 6), the past tense is derived by infixing the **past tense marker** *-il-* or *-l-* after the *m* of the verb marker. In the past tense forms given below, the infixed past tense marker has been italicized:

- | (13) <i>Action Verb—Present Tense</i> | <i>Past Tense Form</i> |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>m̥nga</i> 'eat' | <i>mil̥nga</i> 'ate' |
| <i>m̥ngeleb̥d</i> 'hit' | <i>mil̥ngeleb̥d</i> 'hit' |
| <i>m̥lim</i> 'drink' | <i>millim</i> 'drank' |
| <i>m̥luch̥s</i> 'write' | <i>milluch̥s</i> 'wrote' |
| <i>milil</i> 'play' | <i>mil̥ilil</i> 'played' |
| <i>m̥ng̥d̥ub</i> 'swim' | <i>mil̥ng̥d̥ub</i> 'swam' |

mo 'go'	mlo 'went'
me 'come'	mle 'came'

While action verbs which begin with the verb marker prefix *mē-* or *m-* take the infix *-il-* or *-l-* for the past tense, those which begin with the verb marker prefix *o-* derive the past tense by replacing this initial *o-* with *ul-* or *ulē-*. Thus, we have pairs like *omes* 'see'—*ulēmes* 'saw', *osiik* 'look for'—*ulsiik* 'looked for', *oker* 'ask'—*ulēker* 'asked', *oureor* 'work'—*ulureor* 'worked', etc.

As we have seen above, the past tense forms of action verbs are derived by using an infix or a prefix. By contrast, the past tense forms of state verbs (whether transitive or intransitive) are derived with the **auxiliary** (or "helping") word *mle* 'was, were'.¹ This auxiliary word is simply placed directly before the state verb, as in the following:

(14) State Verb	Past Tense Form
mēkngit 'bad'	mle mēkngit 'was/were bad'
mētongakl 'tall'	mle mētongakl 'was/were tall'
bēches 'new'	mle bēches 'was/were new'
mēdēnge 'know'	mle mēdēnge 'knew'
mēdakt 'be afraid of, fear'	mle mēdakt 'was/were afraid of, feared'

As the examples of 13 and 14 show, a major difference in the way past tenses of verbs are formed can be explained according to the basic distinction between action verbs and state verbs. In other words, the validity of this distinction is upheld because from it we can predict a grammatical phenomenon which would otherwise be inexplicable—namely, the fact that certain verbs have infixed *-il-* or *-l-* for the past tense while others must be preceded by the auxiliary word *mle* 'was, were'.

A second way in which action verbs and state verbs behave differently is with respect to the use of *mo* 'go' as an auxiliary. Both types of verbs can be preceded by *mo* 'go' (or its past tense form *mlo* 'went'), but the resulting meanings are totally different. In 15 below, *mo* 'go' precedes action verbs, while in 16, it precedes state verbs:

- (15) a. Aki mlo milil ɛr a blil a Toki.
'We went to play at Toki's house.'
- b. A Toki a mlo mēngētmokl ɛr a blik.
'Toki went to clean my house.'
- c. Ak mo mēsuub ɛr a klukuk.
'I'm going to study tomorrow.'

- (16) a. A Toki a mlo smeçɛr.
'Toki got sick.'
- b. A delmērab a mlo kikiongēl.
'The room got dirty.'
- c. A John a mla mo mēduch ɛr a ochur.
'John has gotten proficient in math.'

As we will see in chap. 13, *mo* can be used with action verbs to express two types of meanings: in 15a–b, the sequences *mlo milil* 'went to play' and *mlo mēngētmokl* 'went to clean' simply express the fact that the subject went somewhere to perform a particular activity, while in 15c, *mo mēsuub* 'will study' describes a **future** event. On the other hand, when *mo* is used with state verbs, neither of the two abovementioned meanings applies; instead, the resulting sequences describe a **change of state**. Thus, *mlo smeçɛr* 'got sick' and *mlo kikiongēl* 'got dirty' of 16a–b describe states or conditions which developed or came into existence and which represent a change from the previous circumstances (i.e., Toki's being in good health, and the room's being clean). And in 16c *mla mo mēduch* 'has become skilled at' refers to a recent change of state and implies a contrast between the present state (John's being good at math) and some earlier, opposing state (John's being poor in math).

Though we will examine sentences like 15–16 more carefully in later chapters, we can understand enough about them to see that, in this case, too, the distinction between action verbs and state verbs is essential to our description of Palauan grammar. In other words, it is only on the basis of this distinction that we can predict the different meanings given to the auxiliary word *mo* in the examples of 15 vs. 16.

DISTRIBUTION OF PALAUAN VERBS

- 5.2. In a preliminary and much oversimplified discussion of the Palauan word *a* in 2.6, we observed that the major function of this word is merely to "introduce" (i.e., precede) certain Palauan parts of speech—specifically, nouns and verbs. Later (cf. 3.6), we modified our analysis of *a* by showing that this word actually introduces **noun phrases**, which can consist of single nouns as well as groups of associated words such as *blil a Toki* 'Toki's house', *John ɛl sensei* 'John the teacher', etc. In this section, we will take a similar approach in modifying our analysis of *a* as it relates to verbs: in other words, we will claim that *a* does not really in-

introduce single verbs, but rather certain groups of associated words called **verb phrases**.

Although verb phrases can consist of single verb forms such as *menga* 'eat', *mililil* 'played', etc., they often involve a sequence of words such as *mle ungil* 'was good', *mlo smeçer* 'got sick', *mo meruul* 'will make/prepare', *mlo mo merək* 'has finished', etc. In these examples, various kinds of auxiliary words (cf. 5.1.3 above)—*mle*, *mlo*, *mo*, *mlo mo*—precede state verbs or action verbs and provide, among other things, information about the **tense** (see 5.3 below). Other types of verb phrases consist of a **qualifying word** (see 24.6) followed by a verb form, as in *kmal ungil* 'very good', *di mililil* 'just played', *dirk smeçer* 'is still sick', etc.

The sentences of Palauan, like those of all other languages, are not just "strings" of single words that have been tacked on to each other in random fashion. Rather, they consist of certain groups of associated words (i.e., **phrases**) which are related to each other in well-defined ways. The three major types of phrases in Palauan have already been introduced: they include **noun phrases**, **verb phrases**, and **relational phrases**. These three kinds of phrases combine in various ways to give the main **sentence types** of Palauan. For example, any Palauan sentence containing a **transitive verb** (cf. 5.1.1 above) followed by an object has the structure **subject noun phrase + verb phrase + object noun phrase**, as in the following:

(17)	Subject Noun Phrase	Verb Phrase	Object Noun Phrase
a.	A ngalək	a silsəbii	a blai. 'The child burned down the house.'
b.	A ngələkel a Toki	a mla sosəbii	a blil a 'Toki's child has Droteo. burned down Droteo's house.'

As 17a shows, noun phrases and verb phrases may consist of single nouns (*ngalək* 'child', *blai* 'house') or single verbs (*silsəbii* 'burned it down'), respectively. But they may also consist of sequences of closely associated words, as in 17b: here, *ngələkel a Toki* 'Toki's child' and *blil a Droteo* 'Droteo's house' are **noun phrases of possession** (cf. 3.6), and *mlo sosəbii* 'has burned it down' is a verb phrase consisting of the auxiliary word *mlo* (which designates a recent past event—see 5.3.2.1 below) followed by the

perfective verb form *sosəbii* 'burn it down'. Notice that the subject noun phrase, the verb phrase, and the object noun phrase in 17a–b are all introduced by the word *a*.

The sentences of 17 illustrate an important fact about the distribution of Palauan verbs—or, more properly, verb phrases. These sentences show that verb phrases containing a transitive verb follow the subject noun phrase and precede the object noun phrase (if there is one—cf. the discussion of examples 4–7 in 5.1.1 above). If the verb phrase contains an intransitive verb (whether an action verb or a state verb), it takes a subject noun phrase but no object noun phrase, as in the sentences below:

- (18) a. A buik a rəmurt.
'The boy is running.'
b. A sensei a mei.
'The teacher is coming.'
c. A bəçhil a Droteo a smeçer.
'Droteo's wife is sick.'

The sentences of 18 can be expanded by placing various kinds of relational phrases in sentence-final position following the verb phrase. Compare the following examples:

- (19) a. A buik a rəmurt *er a sersel a Droteo*.
'The boy is running in Droteo's garden.'
b. A sensei a me *er a eləchang*.
'The teacher is coming now.'
c. A bəçhil a Droteo a smeçer *er a tərətər*.
'Droteo's wife is sick with a cold.'

In the sentences of 19, the italicized relational phrases consist of the relational word *er* followed by a noun phrase. As we will see in chap. 14, relational phrases serve many different functions: in 19a *er a sersel a Droteo* 'in Droteo's garden' tells us the **location** of the activity; in 19b *er a eləchang* 'now, today' specifies the **time** of the event; and in 19c *er a tərətər* 'with/because of a cold' identifies the **cause** of the subject's ill health.

Relational phrases can also be added to sentences like 17a–b, in which a verb phrase containing a transitive verb is followed by an object noun phrase; in such cases, the relational phrase is placed in sentence-final position, after the object noun phrase. Thus, with 17a, compare the following sentences:

- (20) a. A ngalək a silsəbii a blai *er a elii*.
'The child burned down the house yesterday.'

- b. A Toki a męruul a kall *ęr a uum*.
'Toki is making the food in the kitchen.'
- c. Ak milleng a udoud *ęr a sęchęlik*.
'I borrowed some money from my friend.'

In the sentences of 20, the italicized relational phrases identify the **location**, the **source**, or the **time**. Can you tell which type of relational phrase appears in each sentence?

We can summarize the distributional features of Palauan verb phrases in terms of the following "formulas" for sentence types:

- A. *subject noun phrase + transitive verb phrase (+ object noun phrase) (+ relational phrase)*.

Here, parentheses are used to indicate those elements whose appearance is **optional**. Using this formula, we can derive varieties of sentences in which (i) neither of the optional elements appears, as in 4b and 5b, (ii) both of the optional elements appear, as in 20a-c, or (iii) one or the other of the optional elements appears, as in 1a-g and the following:

- (21) A John a męsuub er a eļęchang.
'John is studying now.'

- B. *subject noun phrase + intransitive verb phrase (+ relational phrase)*.

If the optional relational phrase is chosen, we have sentences like 3a-e or 19a-c, but if it is omitted, we simply get sentences like 8a-e or 18a-c.

In some Palauan sentences we find that the distribution of the verb phrase with respect to the surrounding noun phrases does not correspond to that given in the two formulas above. As we mentioned in 4.7, many Palauan sentences are formed by a process of **subject shifting**, in which the subject noun phrase is moved to the right of the verb phrase; as a result of this process, a **pronominal trace** is left in the original subject position in the form of a non-emphatic pronoun. Therefore, in sentences like those below, the verb phrase is **followed** by the (shifted) subject noun phrase (italicized) and **preceded** by a pronominal trace:

- (22) a. Tę mla me a *ręsęchęlim*.
'Your friends have come.'
- b. Ng męringęl a *chimal a Toki*.
'Toki's hand hurts.'

If a sentence like 22b is further modified by **preposing the possessor** (cf. 4.7, ex. 28 and see 17.3), then we have a sentence like the following:

- (23) A Toki a męringęl a chimal.
'Toki's hand hurts.'

Here, the verb phrase *męringęl* 'hurts' is preceded by a noun phrase indicating the **possessor** (*Toki*) and followed by a noun phrase indicating the **thing possessed** (*chimal* 'her hand').

TENSE

- 5.3. As we have seen in many of the examples above, Palauan verb forms show differences of **tense**. The tense of a verb specifies the **time** of the action or state which the verb designates. There are three major distinctions of tense in Palauan—**present**, **past**, and **future**. Each of these will be taken up separately below.

PRESENT TENSE

- 5.3.1. The major function of **present tense** verb forms is to describe actions or states which are in progress at the time the sentence is uttered. Often, sentences of this kind will contain a **temporal phrase** (see 14.6) like *er a eļęchang* 'now', which designates the present moment. Observe the sentences below:

- (24) a. A Toki a męsuub er a eļęchang.
'Toki is studying now.'
- b. A nęęlek a męchiuaiu.
'My child is sleeping.'
- c. A sensei ęr ngak a smecheę.
'My teacher is sick.'
- d. A toļęchoi a mędakt ęr a cheęrodeęh.
'The baby is afraid of the noise.'

You will notice that the action verbs and state verbs of 24a-d do not contain any special affixes except the verb marker, which appears as a prefix *mę-* in *męsuub* 'study', *męchiuaiu* 'sleep', and *mędakt* 'afraid of' and as an infix *-m-* in *smecheę* 'sick' (see 5.4 below and chap. 6). In other words, Palauan has no special affix to mark the present tense; rather, it is the **absence** of such a marker which identifies present tense verb forms. Thus, Palauan present tense verb forms are **unmarked**, while the other tense forms are

marked with various affixes or auxiliary words, as we shall see below.

Present tense verb forms are also used in **general statements**, which express broad generalizations or commonly-accepted facts about the subject, and in **habitual statements**, which express habits or repeated actions which the subject engages in. A few typical examples are given below:

- (25) a. A rēchad ɛr a Sina a mēnga a bēras.
'The Chinese eat rice.'
b. A rēchad ɛr a Merikel a mētongakl.
'Americans are tall.'
c. A Toki a mo ɛr a skuul ɛl ngar ɛr a mlai.
'Toki goes to school in a car.'
d. A Satsko a mēngētmokl ɛr a blik ɛr a bek ɛl tutau.
'Satsko cleans up my house every morning.'

As we saw in 4.9.1–2, Palauan perfective verb forms in the present tense have a special connotation of **warning** or **precaution**. Additional examples illustrating this point will be given in 12.2. A similar connotation is observed among the present tense forms of **ergative verbs**, which will be discussed in 5.4 below.

PAST TENSE

5.3.2. Palauan **past tense** verb forms always describe an event or state which was in progress in the past, at some point in time preceding the time of the utterance. As we saw in 5.1.3 above, the past tense forms of action verbs and state verbs are derived in an entirely different manner. State verbs in the past tense are simply preceded by the auxiliary word *mle* 'was, were', as in the following sentences:

- (26) a. Ak mle smečɛr ɛr a elii.
'I was sick yesterday.'
b. A eolt a kmal mle mēses ɛr a kēsus.
'The wind was very strong last night.'
c. A kall a mle bēdēɛrčhuis.
'The food was spoiled.'
d. Ak mle mēdēngēlii a Toki ɛr se ɛr a lēngalēk.
'I knew Toki when she was a child.'
e. Aki mle kaudēnge ɛr a Guam.
'We knew each other in Guam.'

As sentences like 26a–b show, verbs in the past tense are often accompanied by **temporal phrases** (see 14.6) like *er a elii* 'yesterday', *ɛr a kēsus* 'last night', etc. which designate some time point or time period in the past.

The auxiliary word *mle* is also used with certain action verbs which have been borrowed into Palauan from foreign languages such as Japanese or English. Observe the sentences below:

- (27) a. A dart ɛl chad a mle sengkio.
'One hundred people voted.'
b. A sensei a mle harau a blals.
'The teacher paid the fine.'
c. A bilsēngek a mle kosio.
'My boat went out of order.'
d. A Kiyosi a mle $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{fail} \\ \text{otsir} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ ɛr a test.
'Kiyosi failed the test.'

Since borrowed action verbs like *sengkio* 'vote', *fail*, etc. are totally different in structure from native Palauan action verbs like *mēnga* 'eat', *mēsūub* 'study', etc., it is not at all surprising that the former do not follow the pattern of the latter (i.e., infixing *-il-* or *-l-*) in deriving the past tense forms (see below).

As we saw in 5.1.3 above, we derive the past tense forms of transitive and intransitive action verbs by infixing the **past tense marker** *-il-* or *-l-* after the *m-* of the verb marker. For most action verbs, we have two past tense forms, one containing *-il-* and the other containing *-l-*, as in the following:

(28) Action Verb— Present Tense	Past Tense Forms
mēnga 'eat'	milēnga, mlēnga 'ate'
mēsūub 'study'	mil/suub, ml/suub 'studied'
mēchiuaiu 'sleep'	milēchiuaiu, mlēchiuaiu 'slept'
mēkēra 'do what?'	milēkēra, mlēkēra 'did what?'

It is very difficult to determine the exact difference between the two past tense forms shown for each verb in 28, since many speakers seem to use the two forms interchangeably. For those speakers who do use the two forms differently, there is a fairly subtle distinction in meaning, which we will now attempt to explain.

Past tense forms with *-il-* focus on a past action while it was in progress; often, the particular action is portrayed as going on or

continuing at the moment when some other action or event occurred. Note the following sentences:

- (29) a. Ak mlsuub er se ɛr a lɛmad a dengki.
'I was studying when the electricity went out'.
b. A Toki a mlɛchiuau er se ɛr a lɛme a Droteo.
'Toki was sleeping when Droteo came.'
c. A Droteo a mlɛngɛdub er se ɛr a kbong.
'Droteo was swimming when I arrived.'

In the sentences of 29, the activities of studying, sleeping, and swimming were going on when some other (possibly interrupting) event took place; this latter event is introduced by *er se* (*ɛr a*) 'when' (which is followed by a hypothetical verb form—see 22.2).

By contrast, past tense forms with *-l-* do not focus on an event as it was in progress; rather, they seem to view a completed action or event as something which more or less fully occupied a particular period of time. For example, if someone asked

- (30) Kɛ mlɛkɛra er a elii?
'What did you do yesterday?'

it would be appropriate to give answers like the following:

- (31) a. Ak mlsuub.
'I studied.'
b. Ak mlɛchiuau e le ak mle smeɛɛr.
'I stayed in bed because I was sick.'

In 31a–b, the past tense forms with *-l-* imply that studying or staying in bed was essentially all that the subject (*ak* 'I') did during the particular period of time designated by *er a elii* 'yesterday'.

Because *-il-* and *-l-* look at past events from different viewpoints, they cannot substitute for each other in certain environments. Thus, the sentences of 29 sound extremely strange if we replace *mlsuub* 'was studying' by *mlsuub* 'studied', etc. In other words, a sentence like the following (cf. 29a):

- (32) *Ak mlsuub er se ɛr a lɛmad a dengki.
(? 'I studied when the electricity went out.')

makes no sense because it would be impossible for the subject (*ak* 'I') to have spent a lot of time studying (which is what *mlsuub* implies) at the very moment the electricity went out!

So far, we have only looked at the past tense forms of state verbs and of action verbs which contain the verb marker prefix

mɛ-. There are, of course, many other classes of verbs, and most of these have past tense forms, as described in the paragraphs below.

a. As we saw in 5.1.3 above, some Palauan action verbs begin with *o-*, which is one form of the verb marker prefix (see 5.4 below and chap. 6). For such verbs, the past tense forms are derived simply by replacing the initial *o-* with *ul(ɛ)-*, as in the examples below:

(33) Action Verb—Present Tense	Past Tense Form
osiik 'look for'	ulsiik 'looked for'
oker 'ask'	ulɛker 'asked'
omes 'see'	ulɛmes 'saw'
orrenɛs 'hear'	ulɛrrenɛs 'heard'
omuchɛl 'begin'	ulɛmuchɛl 'began'
okiu 'go by way of'	ulɛkiu 'went by way of'
obes 'forget'	ulɛbes 'forgot'
ousbeɛh 'need'	ulusbeɛh 'needed'
oureor 'work'	ulureor 'worked'

Causative verbs (see chap. 9) also begin with *o-*, but this *o-* is part of the **causative prefixes** *omɛ(k)-*, *ol(ɛ)-* and *or-*.³ As in the examples of 33, the past tense forms of causative verbs are derived by replacing the initial *o-* with *ul(ɛ)-*:

(34) Causative Verb (in imperfective form)	Past Tense Form
omɛkdɛɛɛɛ 'make...stand'	ulɛmɛkdɛɛɛɛ 'made...stand'
omɛngamɛɛɛ 'make...smoke'	ulɛmɛngamɛɛɛ 'made...smoke'
omɛngim 'give drink to'	ulɛmɛngim 'gave drink to'
olɛkar 'wake up'	ulɛkar 'woke up'
olɛchiis 'chase'	ulɛchiis 'chased'
ollanɛl 'make...cry'	ulɛllanɛl 'made...cry'
orreɛɛt 'drop'	ulɛrreɛɛt 'dropped'

In addition to the present and past **imperfective** forms given in 34, causative verbs also have present and past **perfective** forms. Because the structure of these forms is very complicated, we will postpone further discussion until 9.4.

b. As we will see in 6.2, there are many Palauan intransitive action verbs which do not begin with the verb marker *mɛ-* but instead contain an infixed verb marker of the form *-(ɛ)m-* or *-u-*.

To derive the past tense forms of such verbs, we simply replace the infixed verb marker (italicized in the examples below) with the past tense marker *-il-* or *-ir-*:

(35) *Intransitive Action Verb—*

<i>Present Tense</i>	<i>Past Tense Form</i>
<i>Imuut</i> 'return'	<i>liluut</i> 'returned'
<i>suebək</i> 'fly'	<i>silebək</i> 'flew'
<i>tuobəd</i> 'come out'	<i>tilobəd</i> 'came out'
<i>chəmiis</i> 'escape'	<i>chiliis</i> 'escaped'
<i>ruebət</i> 'fall'	<i>rirebət</i> 'fell'
<i>rəmurt</i> 'run'	<i>rirurt</i> 'ran'
<i>rəmos</i> 'drown'	<i>riros</i> 'drowned'

In the last three examples of 35, the past tense marker appears as *-ir-* instead of *-il-*. If we consider *-il-* to be the basic form of the past tense marker, we can explain the change of *l* to *r* as an instance of **complete assimilation**: in other words, the *l* of *-il-* assimilates completely to (i.e., becomes identical with) the preceding word-initial *r*.

In discussing the past tense forms of transitive action verbs, we have so far only considered the **imperfective** forms. Now we will look briefly at the **perfective** forms of such verbs, which can also appear in the past tense. Observe the following examples:

(36) *Transitive Action Verb—*

<i>Perfective Form, Present Tense</i>	<i>Past Tense Form</i>
<i>sosəbii</i> 'burn it'	<i>silsəbii</i> 'burned it'
<i>suesəb</i> 'burn them'	<i>silesəb</i> 'burned them'
<i>kolii</i> 'eat it up'	<i>killii</i> 'ate it up'
<i>kma</i> 'eat them up'	<i>kila</i> 'ate them up'
<i>rullii</i> 'make it'	<i>riřllii</i> 'made it'
<i>rəmuul</i> 'make them'	<i>riruul</i> 'made them'

As you can see, the examples of 36 involve exactly the same processes which we observed in 35 above. Thus, in the past tense forms, the past tense marker *-il-* or *-ir-* has replaced the (italicized) infixed verb marker of the present tense forms. Furthermore, the appearance of *-ir-* in the last two forms is the result of assimilation. Because the morphology of Palauan perfective verb forms is extremely complex, we cannot pursue it further at this point. A more detailed discussion will be given in 6.3, 6.3.1–3, and 6.4–7.

The above-mentioned assimilation of *l* to *r* is also observed

in the past tense forms of action verbs in which the verb marker prefix *mə-* is followed by a **verb stem** (see 5.4 below) which begins with *r*. Thus, we have forms like *məruul* 'make'—*mirruul* 'made', *mərasm* 'sew'—*mirrasm* 'sewed', and *mərael* 'leave'—*mirrael* 'left'.

c. The past tense forms of **ergative** verbs (see 5.4 below) are derived by infixing the past tense markers *-il-* or *-l-* after the *m* of the verb marker, as in the following:

(37) *Ergative Verb Form—*

<i>Present Tense</i>	<i>Past Tense Form</i>
<i>məchuiu</i> 'get read'	<i>miləchuiu</i> , <i>młəchuiu</i> 'got read'
<i>məchaməç</i> 'get chewed up'	<i>miləchaməç</i> , <i>młəchaməç</i> 'got chewed up'
<i>məngim</i> 'get drunk up'	<i>miləngim</i> , <i>młəngim</i> 'got drunk up'

Unlike the examples of 28, the two past tense forms given for the ergative verbs of 37 show no differences in meaning or use and are completely interchangeable.

d. As we saw in 4.10.3, the past tense hypothetical forms of imperfective verbs consist of a prefixed hypothetical pronoun which ends in *u* (e.g., *lu-* 'he, she, it', *du-* 'we (incl.)' etc.), followed by the past tense marker *-l-* and the verb stem.⁴ Forms of this kind are given below in the right-hand column:

(38) *Hypothetical Verb Form—*

<i>Present Tense</i>	<i>Past Tense Form</i>
<i>lolim</i> 'is drunk by him/her/it'	<i>lullim</i> 'was drunk by him/her/it'
<i>dosilek</i> 'is washed by us (incl.)'	<i>dulsilek</i> 'was washed by us (incl.)'
<i>monglēbəd</i> 'is hit by you'	<i>mulənglēbəd</i> 'was hit by you'

The Auxiliary *m̄la*.

5.3.2.1. Verb phrases which consist of the auxiliary word *m̄la*⁵ followed by the present tense form of any action verb are used to express two special types of past time. First, in the sentences below, *m̄la* + *action verb* refers to an event which happened in the **recent** past—that is, at a time point which is not too distant from that of the utterance itself:

- (39) a. A John a mla męsuub.
'John has studied/been studying.'
b. A Droteo a mla mei.
'Droteo has come.'
c. Ng tęcha a mla kolii a kall?
'Who has eaten up the food?'
d. Ak mla mo męrek ęr a subęlek.
'I've finished my homework.'
e. A chęmęlek a mla męchamęch.
'My betel nut has (all) been chewed up.'

If we replace the instances of *mla* + *action verb* in 39 with the corresponding past tense verb forms containing infix *-il-* or *-l-* (i.e., *milsuub*/ *mlsuub* 'studied', *mlei* 'came', *killii* 'ate it up', *mlo męrek* 'finished', and *mleęchamęch*/ *mleęchamęch* 'got chewed'), we get sentences which designate relatively **remote** past time.

Second, *mla* + *action verb* can also refer to **past experience**; in such cases, it is used most commonly in questions which ask whether someone has ever had the experience of doing something. The following examples are typical:

- (40) a. Kę mla mo ęr a chelebachęb?
'Have you ever gone to the rock islands?'
b. Kę mla męsuub a tękoi ęr a Siabal?
'Have you ever studied Japanese?'
c. Kę mla męlasęm ęl męnga a sasimi?
'Have you ever tried eating sashimi?'

FUTURE TENSE

- 5.3.3. The function of the **future tense** is to designate an action or a state which will take place in the future, at some point in time following the time of the utterance. In order to express the future tense, we use the verb *mo* 'go' as an auxiliary word preceding any present tense verb form. Verb phrases of the form *mo* + *verb* differ in meaning depending on whether the verb following *mo* is an action verb or a state verb. Sequences of the form *mo* + *action verb* simply designate actions or events which are expected to take place in the future, as in the sentences below:

- (41) a. Ak mo omes ęr a John ęr a klukuk.
'I'm going to see John tomorrow.'
b. A Toki a mo męsuub ęr a Merikel er tia ęl me ęl rak.
'Toki will study in America next year.'

- c. Aki mo milil ęr a blil a Droteo.
'We're going to play at Droteo's house.'

As sentences like 41a-b show, verb phrases designating the future tense often are accompanied by **temporal phrases** (see 14.6) such as *ęr a klukuk* 'tomorrow' or *er tia ęl me ęl rak* 'next year', which refer to some time point or time period in the future.

Sequences of the form *mo* + *state verb* have a future meaning but also imply a **change of state** (cf. our discussion of the examples of 16 in 5.1.3 above). Note, therefore, the following examples:

- (42) a. Ng mo mękngit a eangęd ęr a klukuk.
'The weather will get worse tomorrow.'
b. A toktang a dilu ęl kmo a nęęlekek a mo ungil ęr a klukuk.
'The doctor said my child will get better tomorrow.'
c. A tangk a mo mui ęr a kębęsęngei.
'The tank will get full (by) this evening.'

THE VERB MARKER AND ERGATIVE VERB FORMS

- 5.4. In the sections above we have already had occasion to refer to the Palauan **verb marker**, which can be found in one form or another in the great majority of Palauan verbs. It is very difficult to define or specify the meaning of the verb marker; rather, the best we can do is to say that the verb marker simply functions to mark or identify a particular word as a verb.

Though we will examine the verb marker in greater detail in the next chapter, let us briefly review some of its variant forms and their distribution. By far, the verb marker appears most commonly as a prefix *mę-* (sometimes reduced to *m-*); this prefix is found on all types of verbs, as shown in the list below:

- (43) *Transitive action verb*: męnga 'eat', męlim 'drink', męsilęk 'wash', męles 'cut', etc.
Intransitive action verb: męrael 'walk, travel', męngędub 'swim', milil 'play', etc.
Transitive state verb: mędęnge 'know', męduch 'know how to', mętitur 'not know how to', etc.
Intransitive state verb: mękngit 'bad', męsisiich 'strong', męsaul 'tired', męsaik 'lazy', etc.

Less frequently, the verb marker takes the form of a prefix *o-*, as in verbs like *osiik* 'look for', *oker* 'ask', *oklukl* 'cough', and *okiu* 'go by way of'

In certain classes of verb forms, the verb marker appears as

an infixed element of the form *-(ə)m-*, *-u-*, or *-o-*. Many intransitive verbs are of this type: these may be action verbs, as in 35 above, or state verbs like *smecher* 'sick', *dmak* 'together', or *kmeed* 'near'. In addition, the present tense perfective forms of most transitive action verbs have an infixed verb marker; some typical examples were given in 36 above.

The simplest Palauan verbs are those which consist of just a single morpheme or meaning-bearing unit; these include a relatively small number of state verbs such as *klou* 'big', *dengchokl* 'sitting', *ungil* 'good', *cheisəch* 'stained', and *ngar* 'is (located)'. The overwhelming majority of Palauan verbs, however, are more complex in structure than the state verbs we just mentioned and contain anywhere from two to four morphemes. In this and the following sections we will survey the structure of verb forms containing two or more morphemes, beginning with the easier types and moving on to the more complex ones.

We will first examine a group of verb forms which consist only of the verb marker prefix and a following **verb stem**. A verb stem is a morpheme to which one or more affixes are added in the process of forming a verb. In the examples below, the verb stem which follows the verb marker prefix *mə-* or *o-* is actually a **noun** which can occur as an independent word:

(44) *Derived Verb*

məchat 'be/get smoked (of fish)
məchəlebəd 'be/get hit'
məchəsimər 'be/get closed'
məchəsbreber 'be/get painted'
məchas 'be/get burned'
mədub 'be/get poisoned, bombed'
mədangəb 'be/get covered'
mətəkoi 'be/get talked to'
oboes 'be/get shot'
obail 'be/get clothed'
obəkall 'be/get driven'

Related Noun

chat 'smoke'
chəlebəd 'spanking, whip'
chəsimər 'door'
chəsbreber 'paint'
chas 'soot'
dub 'dynamite, poison'
dangəb 'lid'
təkoi 'language, word'
boes 'gun'
bail 'article of clothing'
bəkall 'sail, driving'

The following verbs also consist of the verb marker prefix followed by a verb stem, but unlike the examples of 44, the verb stem cannot appear as a separate word:

(45) *məchuiu* 'be/get read' *mədobəch* 'be/get cut'
məka 'be/get eaten' *məluchəs* 'be/get written'
məchitakl 'be/get sung' *məsebəčk* 'be/get kicked'

Verb stems like *-chuiu* 'read', *-ka* 'eat', *-luchəs* 'write', etc. are called **bound forms** because they never occur alone as independent words but must always be connected to some other morpheme (usually an affix of some kind). All affixes, too, are necessarily bound forms; thus, we will never find affixes like *mə-* or *o-* (verb markers) or *-ek* 'my' or *-em* 'your' (possessor suffixes) occurring as separate words.

Before discussing the meaning and use of the verb forms in 44 and 45, we need to introduce some other verb forms for comparison. As we will see in 5.5 below, all of the verbs in 44 and 45 have corresponding **imperfective** forms, which in most cases can be easily identified because they show a characteristic change in the verb-stem-initial consonant. A few examples are given below:

(46) *Verb of 44 or 45**Imperfective Form*

<i>məchat</i> 'be/get smoked (of fish)'	<i>məngat</i> 'smoke (fish)'
<i>məchuiu</i> 'be/get read'	<i>mənguiu</i> 'read'
<i>məka</i> 'be/get eaten'	<i>mənga</i> 'eat'
<i>mədobəch</i> 'be/get cut'	<i>məlobəch</i> 'cut'
<i>mətəkoi</i> 'be/get talked to'	<i>mələkoi</i> 'talk, speak'
<i>oboes</i> 'be/get shot'	<i>omoes</i> 'shoot'
<i>məluchəs</i> 'be/get written'	<i>mələuchəs</i> 'write'

All of the imperfective verb forms in 46 are **transitive** verbs—that is, they take object noun phrases (cf. 5.1.1 above). By contrast, the corresponding verb forms of 44 and 45 are not transitive, but instead have a rather unique function: they take as their **subject** what would be the **object** of the related transitive verb. Observe the following examples:

- (47) a. A Droteo a mla *məngat* a *ngikəl*.
 'Droteo has smoked the fish.'
 b. A *ngikəl* a mla *məchat*.
 'The fish has been smoked.'
 (48) a. A Toki a mla *mənga* a *kall*.
 'Toki has eaten the food.'
 b. A *kall* a mla *məkang*.
 'The food has been eaten.'

In comparing the a- and b-sentences of 47 and 48 above, you can see that the object noun phrases (italicized) of the transitive a-sentences have become the subject noun phrases of the b-sentences. Furthermore, the subjects of the b-sentences are viewed as having undergone the effect of the actions designated by *mla*

męchat 'has been smoked' and *mła mękanğ* 'has been eaten'. Linguists use the technical term **ergative verb** to identify the verb forms listed in 44 and 45 and illustrated in 47b and 48b. As we have seen above, ergative verb forms differ from the corresponding imperfective verb forms in meaning and use and—in most cases—pronunciation.

In English, too, we have pairs of sentences similar to those of 47 and 48, as the following example illustrates:

- (49) a. This key opens *my office door*.
b. *My office door* opens with this key.

While 49a is a transitive sentence in which *my office door* is the object of the verb *open*, in 49b *my office door* appears as the subject of *open* and designates the thing which undergoes the action of opening. Thus, 49b appears to be rather similar to the Palauan ergative sentences given in 47b and 48b. Note, however, that while the same verb form—*opens*—is found in both of the English sentences, the Palauan sentences in 47 and 48 show different but related verb forms—i.e., ergative *męchat* 'be/get smoked' vs. imperfective (transitive) *męnat* 'smoke', etc. Though sentences like 49b are not very common in English, Palauan sentences like 47b and 48b are found quite frequently.

Ergative verb forms in the present tense have a special interpretation: they are used as **warnings** or as suggestions to take **precautions** against some expected future event. (Do you recall any other Palauan verb forms which are used in the same way?). Note, therefore, the following sentences, in which the present tense ergative forms have been italicized:

- (50) a. Alii, a chimam a $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} mędobęch \\ oburęch \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$!
'Watch out, your arm will get $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{cut} \\ \text{speared} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$!'
b. Alii, kędę *mędul* ę a ngau!
'Watch out, we'll get burned by the fire!'
c. Bart a chęmęlek e ng mo ęl *męchamęch*.
'Hide my betel nut, or else it'll get chewed.'
d. Bart a kęlek e ng mo ęl *męka* ę a bilis.
'Hide my food, or else it'll get eaten by the dog.'

While 50 a-b imply imminent danger, 50 c-d are less urgent in tone and suggest that precautions be taken to forestall some future event which is thought likely to occur. In warning or precaution sentences like 50 a-d (and in ergative sentences in general,

as we will see below), Palauan speakers often omit the relational phrase which designates the **cause** or **agent** responsible for the particular event; and some Palauan speakers even find that the presence of relational phrases like *ę a ngau* 'by the fire' in 50b and *ę a bilis* 'by the dog' in 50d results in rather awkward sentences.

The above-mentioned facts point to one of the major features which distinguish **ergative sentences** from **passive sentences** (see 5.6 below): while the agent responsible for the event is normally expressed in passive sentences, most ergative sentences do not mention the cause or agent. For this reason, ergative sentences are used in cases where the cause or agent is thought to be irrelevant or unimportant. This point is illustrated clearly in the dialogs below, in which B's responses to A's questions contain ergative verbs in various past tenses:

- (51) A: Ng dirk ngar ę ngii a biang?
'Is there any beer left?'
B: Ng diak. Ng mįęngim er a elii.
'No. It got drunk up yesterday.'
(52) A: Ng dirk ngar ę ngii a kall?
'Is there any food left?'
B: Ng diak. Ng mła mękanğ.
'No. It's been eaten up.'
(53) A: Ng dirk ngar ę ngii a hong ęl kirel ęl donguii?
'Are there still some books we have to read?'
B: Ng diak. Ng mła męchuii ęl rokui.
'No. They've all been read.'
(54) A: Kę mo męnęęsbreber ę a mlim er oingarang?
'When are you going to paint your canoe?'
B: Ng diak.⁶ Ng mła męchęsbreber.
'(I don't need to.) It's already been painted.'

In the dialogs above, B's responses do not contain any relational phrases which identify the cause or agent of the action. Such phrases are unnecessary because the main purpose of B's responses is simply to focus on the past event as it affects the present situation: in 52, for example, what is important is the fact that the food was eaten and there is none left now; **who** ate the food does not matter. In some cases—e.g., 53—it is clear from A's question who the agent of the action is; therefore, there is no need for B to supply this information in his answer. Notice, further, that while the present tense ergative verb forms in 50 have a con-

notation of warning or precaution, the various past tense ergative forms in 51–54 lack this connotation.

As the sentences below illustrate, ergative verbs can be preceded by the auxiliary *mo* to indicate future tense:

- (55) a. A stoa er a Droteo a mo mengai a chesmerel er a euid el klok.
'Droteo's store will open at seven.'
b. A delmerab er ngak a mo mechesbreber er a klukuk.
'My room is going to be painted tomorrow.'
c. A bilek a mo mesilek er a suelab.
'My clothes will get washed this afternoon.'

Unlike the examples of 50, the sentences of 55 (though still ergative) do not have any sense of warning or precaution. These sentences simply express a future event with emphasis on the event itself rather than on the person responsible for the event: in 55b, for example, our attention is drawn to the fact that the room will get painted, but it is not important to know by whom. Because of this difference of emphasis, we cannot at all say that 55a-c and the following "corresponding" transitive sentences are equivalent in meaning or function:

- (56) a. A Droteo a mo melai er a chesmerel a stoa er ngii er a euid el klok.
'Droteo is going to open his store at seven.'
b. A sechelik a mo mengesbreber er a delmerab er ngak er a klukuk.
'A friend of mine is going to paint my room tomorrow.'
c. A Toki a mo mesilek a bilek er a suelab.
'Toki is going to wash my clothes this afternoon.'

IMPERFECTIVE VS. PERFECTIVE VERB FORMS

5.5. In 5.4 above, we remarked that every Palauan ergative verb has a corresponding **imperfective** form, which can usually be identified by a characteristic change in the verb-stem-initial consonant. As we will see below, a detailed analysis of the structure of imperfective verb forms will require us to modify this statement considerably. In the following paragraphs we will explain the structure of both imperfective and perfective verb forms in some detail; then we will sketch briefly how these two verb types differ from each other in meaning and use.

All Palauan imperfective verb forms consist of three mor-

phemes and have the structure *verb marker* + *imperfective marker* + *verb stem*. As you can see, this structure is more complex than that of ergative verb forms, which consist of the two-morpheme sequence *verb marker* + *verb stem*. Ergative verb forms are more "basic" than imperfective verb forms in the sense that the latter can be derived from the former simply by putting the **imperfective marker** between the verb marker and the verb stem (see the example below). The imperfective marker has several variants—i.e., *l*, *ng*, or *m*—depending on the initial consonant of the following verb stem. Furthermore, once the correct variant of the imperfective marker has been determined, the initial consonant of the following verb stem is deleted. To take a simple example, we have the ergative verb form *mechuiu* 'be/get read', which consists of the verb marker *me-* and the (bound) verb stem *-chuiu* 'read'. To derive the corresponding imperfective verb form, we need to "fill in" the formula *me* + *imperfective marker* + *chuiu* with the appropriate form of the imperfective marker. As we will see below, the imperfective marker appears as *ng* if the following verb-stem-initial consonant is *ch*. Thus, we get the sequence *me* + *ng* + *chuiu*, which, after deletion of the verb-stem-initial consonant gives us the correct imperfective form *menguiu* 'read'.⁷

In the light of the above discussion, we can see that it was incorrect to say that a given ergative verb form and its corresponding imperfective verb form differ with respect to the verb-stem-initial consonant. In other words, imperfective *menguiu* 'read' is not really derived from ergative *mechuiu* 'be/get read' simply by replacing *ch* with *ng*; what actually happens is that *ng* (a variant of the imperfective marker) is added before the verb stem, whose initial consonant is then deleted. Thus, in *menguiu* 'read', the *ng* is not part of the verb stem; rather, it is a separate morpheme—namely, the imperfective marker.

Let us now examine the distribution of the three variants of the imperfective marker:

a. The imperfective marker appears as *-l-* before verb stems which begin with the dental stops *t* or *d*, the alveolar fricative *s*, the liquid *l*, or the velar nasal *ng*. Some imperfective verb forms containing this variant of the imperfective marker are derived as follows:

- (57) Verb + Imperfective + Verb Delete Verb- Imperfective Form
Marker Marker Stem Stem-Initial
Consonant →
me + l + tiud 'way of cutting' → meliud 'cut (round object)'

mę +	1 +	tękoi 'word, language'	→	męlekoi 'talk, speak'
mę +	1 +	dasęch 'carving'	→	męlasęch 'carve'
mę +	1 +	deel 'nail'	→	męleel 'nail'
mę +	1 +	sesęb 'fire'	→	męlesęb 'burn'
mę +	1 +	sękosęk	→	męlekosęk 'cut (meat)'
mę +	1 +	leng	→	męleng 'borrow'
mę +	1 +	luchęs	→	męluchęs 'write'
mę +	1 +	ngatęch 'way of cleaning'	→	męlatęch 'clean'
mę +	1 +	ngim	→	męlim 'drink'
mę +	1 +	ngukęd 'fine'	→	męlukęd 'pay a fine'

While most of the verb stems in 57 can be used independently as nouns, as the English glosses indicate, some stems are bound—e.g. *-sękosęk*, *-leng*, etc. Can you describe the meaning relationship between pairs of words such as *tękoi* 'word, language'—*męlekoi* 'talk, speak', *ngukęd* 'fine'—*męlukęd* 'pay a fine', etc.?

Because of the deletion of the verb-stem-initial consonant, most of the imperfective verb forms of 57 are different from the corresponding ergative forms—thus, we have *męliud* 'cut' vs. *mętiud* 'be/get cut', *męlesęb* 'burn' vs. *męsesęb* 'be/get burned', etc. If the verb-stem-initial consonant is *l*, however, as in the case of *męleng* 'borrow' and *męluchęs* 'write', then the corresponding ergative form is identical. Can you explain why this is so?

There are a few *s*-initial verb stems in which the *s* is not deleted following the imperfective marker *-l-*; instead, *-l-* is deleted and *s* remains. This small group of exceptions includes *męsilek* 'wash', *męsebek* 'kick', and *męsuub* 'study'. Can you see why for these verbs, too, the imperfective and ergative forms are identical?

b. The imperfective marker occurs as *-ng-* before verb stems which begin with the velar stop *k* or the glottal stop *ch*. Some imperfective verb forms containing this variant of the imperfective marker are now derived as in 57 above:

Verb Marker	Imperfective Marker	Verb Stem	Delete Verb- Stem-Initial Consonant	Imperfective Form
mę +	ng +	ka	→	męnga 'eat'
mę +	ng +	kęreel 'line for fishing'	→	męngęreel 'catch fish (with a line)'

mę +	ng +	kiis	→	męngiis 'dig'
mę +	ng +	chat 'smoke'	→	męngat 'smoke (fish)'
mę +	ng +	chęsimęr 'door'	→	męngęsimęr 'close'
mę +	ng +	chitakl	→	męngitakl 'sing'
mę +	ng +	chas 'soot, ash'	→	męngas 'paint (someone) with ashes'
mę +	ng +	chaus 'lime'	→	męngaus 'put lime on (betel nut)'

c. The imperfective marker appears as *-m-* before verb stems which begin with the bilabial stop *b*. With verb stems of this type, the verb marker prefix takes the form *o-*, as indicated in the derivations below:

Verb Marker	Imperfective Marker	Verb Stem	Delete Verb- Stem-Initial Consonant	Imperfective Form
o +	m +	boes 'gun'	→	omoes 'shoot'
o +	m +	bail 'article of clothing'	→	omail 'clothe'
o +	m +	btar 'swing'	→	omtar 'swing'
o +	m +	buręch '(action of) spearing'	→	omuręch 'spear'

d. Following 54 above, we listed some exceptional cases in which the imperfective marker is deleted before certain *s*-initial verb stems. This same phenomenon is found among two further groups of verbs. First, we do not find any trace of the imperfective marker in imperfective verb forms if the verb stem is *r*-initial, as in *męruul* 'make, prepare' and *męrasm* 'sew'. Second, the imperfective marker appears to have been deleted in the imperfective forms of verbs like *oker* 'ask', in which the verb marker is *o-* and the verb stem (*ker* 'question') is an independently-occurring noun.

Practically all Palauan imperfective verb forms have corresponding **perfective** verb forms, which differ in several important respects. Let us compare the structures of the two verb types by using the following formulas:

- (60) a. *imperfective verb form*: verb marker + imperfective marker + verb stem
- b. *perfective verb form*: verb marker + verb stem + object pronoun

Since the imperfective marker simply functions to identify a verb form as being **imperfective**, it is only natural that this marker would not be part of the structure of **perfective** verb forms. In addition, as we observed in 4.9 and 4.9.1–4, perfective verb forms always take an **object pronoun** suffix, whereas imperfective verb forms do not. A third difference between the two types of verbs is that although both contain the verb marker (indicated as the first element in the formulas above), in perfective verb forms this verb marker always shifts to a position following the initial consonant of the verb stem. As a result, most perfective verb forms show an infixed verb marker of the form *-(e)m-*, *-u-*, or *-o-*.

The following examples illustrate some of the differences discussed above:

(61) Imperfective Verb Form	Perfective Verb Form (with 3rd pers. sg. Object pronoun suffix)
męlaşęch 'carve'	dosęchii 'carve it'
męleel 'nail'	dmelii 'nail it'
męleşęb 'burn'	sosębii 'burn it'
męlatęch 'clean'	ngotęchii 'clean it'
męnga 'eat'	kolii 'eat it'

Whereas the imperfective verb forms all have the prefixed verb marker *mę-*, the corresponding perfective verb forms show the verb marker (italicized) following the verb-stem-initial consonant. Like the **ergative** verb forms given in 44 and 45 above, the perfective verb forms of 61 preserve the verb-stem-initial consonant (*d*, *s*, *ng*, *k*, etc.), while the imperfective verb forms do not. This is due to the presence or absence of the imperfective marker, which, as we have seen, causes (or **conditions**) the loss of a following verb-stem-initial consonant. Thus, in imperfective verb forms, which contain this marker, the verb-stem-initial consonant is dropped; in ergative and perfective verb forms, however, where this marker is absent, the consonant in question is retained. For this reason, we should look at ergative verb forms or perfective verb forms if we wish to determine the initial consonant of a verb stem.

The formation of Palauan perfective verbs involves a great many complexities and will not be pursued further until the next chapter. Equally complex is the difference in meaning and use between perfective verbs and imperfective verbs. Though we will deal with this topic extensively in chap. 12, we will make a few preliminary observations here. The distinction between perfec-

tive vs. imperfective, which is found only among **transitive** verbs, is essentially the following: whereas perfective verb forms designate a totally completed (or "perfected") action, imperfective verb forms do not indicate completion but rather focus on the action as it is (or was) in progress. This difference can be observed in the pairs of sentences below:

- (62) a. A Droteo a milęnguui ęr a hong er a elii.
'Droteo was reading the book yesterday.'
- b. A Droteo a chiliuii a hong er a elii.
'Droteo read the book yesterday.'
- (63) a. Ak milęngiis ęr a kliokl.
'I was digging the hole.'
- b. Ak kilisii a kliokl.
'I (completely) dug the hole.'

In 62a and 63a above, the imperfective verb forms *milęnguui* 'was reading' and *milęngiis* 'was digging' describe an action which went on for a period of time but was not completed: in other words, 62a is understood to mean that Droteo still has some of the book to read, and 63a implies that the subject must still do some digging. On the other hand, the perfective verb forms *chiliuii* '(completely) read' and *kilisii* '(completely) dug' in 62b and 63b designate an action which was brought to completion: thus, in 62b Droteo finished reading the book, and in 63b the subject finished digging the hole. As we saw in 2.7, and as 62 and 63 above illustrate, any **specific** singular object following an imperfective verb form must be introduced by the **specifying word** *ęr*; occurrence of *ęr* is impossible, however, after all perfective verb forms.

ACTIVE AND PASSIVE SENTENCES

5.6. All Palauan transitive verbs, whether imperfective or perfective, can occur in **active** or **passive** sentences. The transitive verbs we have looked at so far have all appeared in **active** sentences such as the following:

- (64) a. A ngalęk a męnga ęr a ngikęl.
'The child is eating the fish.'
- b. A John a milęngęlebed ęr a katuu.
'John was hitting the cat.'
- c. A ngalęk a silsębii a blai.
'The child burned down the house.'

In active sentences, the subject noun phrase corresponds to the **agent**—i.e., to the person who carries out or performs the action designated by the transitive verb. Can you identify the object noun phrases in 64a-c?

Now, with 64a-c above, compare the following passive sentences:

- (65) a. A ngikēl a longa ər ngii a ngalēk.
'The fish is being eaten by the child.'
b. A katuu a lulēngelebēd ər ngii a John.
'The cat was being hit by John.'
c. A blai a lēsilsēbii a ngalēk.
'The house was burned down by the child.'

If we think of the sentences of 65 as being derived from those of 64, we can see that in the passive sentences of 65, the object noun phrases of 64 have come to appear in sentence subject position; furthermore, in 65, the agent, which was the subject noun phrase in 64, has moved to sentence-final position. Two further significant changes can be observed in the passive sentences: first, the transitive verb appears in the **hypothetical** form (cf. 4.10 and 4.10.1-9); and second, if the verb is imperfective, as in 65 a-b, *ər ngii* is added after it if the object is singular.

An explanation of the above phenomena is beyond the scope of our present discussion and will be postponed until 19.7. Nevertheless, we can see that passive sentences are characterized by the fact that the noun phrase found in subject position actually refers to the object of the sentence—i.e., the person, animal, or thing affected by the action designated by the transitive verb. As the English translations for 64 and 65 indicate, active and passive sentences do not differ in meaning from the point of view of what information they convey. For example, 64c and 65c provide us with exactly the same information—namely, that an act of burning occurred at some time in the past, that the agent (or person responsible) was a child, and that the thing affected was a house. The only difference between these two sentences—and between active and passive sentences in general—is a matter of **focus** or **viewpoint**: the active sentence 64c would be used when the speaker is focusing his attention on the agent (*ngalēk* 'child') and the agent's activities (or behavior, etc.), while the passive sentence 65c would be used in a situation where the speaker is more interested in the object (*blai* 'house') than in the agent.

In discussing **ergative** sentences in 5.4, we noted that while

ergative sentences containing an agent tend to be avoided by certain Palauan speakers, passive sentences containing an agent are perfectly acceptable. This is because passive sentences are used when the speaker feels it necessary to mention both agent and object, although, as mentioned above, he is focusing his attention on the latter. On the other hand, ergative sentences are used when identification of the agent is considered to be irrelevant or unimportant (cf. 51-55 above). Thus, with 65c, for example, compare the corresponding ergative sentence below:

- (66) A blai a milsēsēb.
'The house (was) burned down.'

FURTHER TYPES OF VERBS

5.7. In the sections above, we have tried to gain an understanding of Palauan verbs by examining such major distinctions as transitive vs. intransitive, active vs. passive vs. ergative, and the like. However, there still remain many features of Palauan verbs which need to be explained but which are of such a scope that they will require separate chapters. These remaining topics are summarized below:

a. In 4.10 and 4.10.1-9, we looked at **hypothetical verb forms** from the point of view of the prefixed **hypothetical pronouns**, which designate the agent. Hypothetical verb forms have the structure *hypothetical pronoun + imperfective marker + verb stem* (note the lack of the verb marker in these forms) and are used in a large variety of grammatical constructions. Such constructions will be discussed extensively in chaps. 18 and 19.

b. There are several distinct classes of Palauan **state verbs** which require special attention. As we will see in chap. 7, it is possible to form **resulting state verbs** and **anticipating state verbs**, as well as state verbs with the prefixes *bēkē-*, *sēkē-*, and *bē-*. And in chap. 10, we will consider **reciprocal verbs**, a subtype of state verbs which have the reciprocal prefixes *kai-*, *ka-*, *cha-*, etc. and which designate actions which two persons do to each other mutually.

c. As we saw in 5.3.2 above, **causative verbs** are formed with the causative prefixes *omē(k)-*, *ol(e)-*, etc. They are transitive verbs and involve actions in which one person **causes** or **forces** someone else to do something or be in a particular state. Causative verbs will be dealt with extensively in chap. 9.

d. Palauan verbs can be modified in form and meaning by a large number of **reduplicative** processes. Special meanings can also be obtained by adding the **predictive** or **inchoative** suffixes. See 11.12 and 11.12.1–5 for further details.

SUMMARY OF PALAUAN VERBS

- 5.8. The many types of Palauan verbs introduced in this chapter are summarized in the rather rough diagram below (fig. 4). Note that this diagram does not take account of hypothetical verb forms, certain subvarieties of state verbs, and the different verb forms occurring in active vs. passive sentences (cf. 5.6 above).

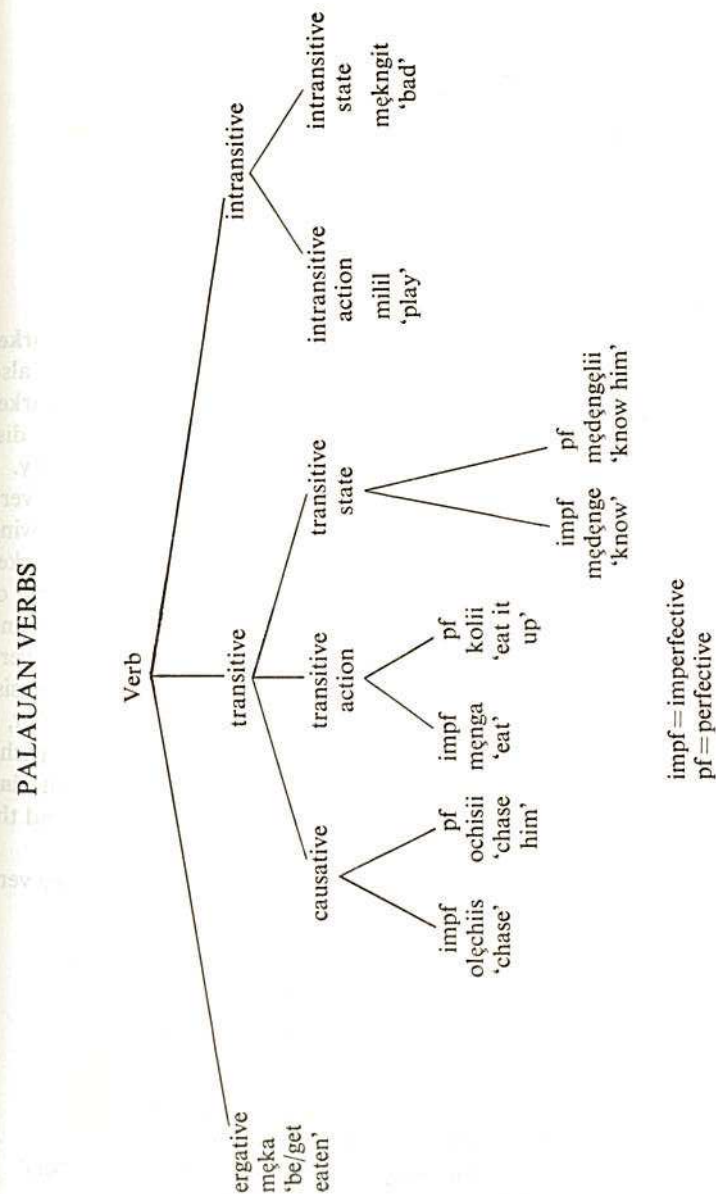


Figure 4

a mid back **rounded** vowel (cf. 1.4.2). A similar process of dissimilation accounts for some of the infixed variants of the verb marker, as we will see in 6.2–3 below.

As we have just seen, the verb marker regularly appears as *o-* if it precedes a bilabial consonant. There is a small number of verbs, however, in which the verb marker is *o-* even though no bilabial consonant follows. Such exceptional verbs include the following:

(3) <i>Verb (Transitive or Intransitive)</i>		<i>Related Noun (if any)</i>	
oker	'ask'	ker	'question'
oklukl	'cough'	klukl	'cough'
okoad	'fight'	koad	'technique of fighting'
osus	'greet'	sus	'act of greeting'
ochərçhur ¹	'laugh'	chur	'laughter'
osiik	'look for'	siik	'search'
okor	'refuse'	---	
okiu	'go by way of'	---	

You may recall that some of the verbs of 3 are irregular in another respect: as we noted in 5.5, the **imperfective** forms of transitive verbs like *oker* 'ask', *osus* 'greet', *osiik* 'look for', etc. do not seem to contain the **imperfective marker** at all.

THE PREFIX *ou-*

- 6.1.1. There are many Palauan verbs which are formed by adding the prefix *ou-* to some other word, usually a noun. This prefix appears to be a combination of the verb marker *o-* and some other element, but its structure is not clear. Verbs formed with *ou-* often designate ownership of or control over whatever the stem noun refers to, as in the following examples:

(4) <i>Derived Verb in ou-</i>	<i>Related Noun (= Verb Stem)</i>
oublai 'own a house'	blai 'house'
oustoa 'own/run a store'	stoa 'store'
ousidosia 'own a car'	sidosia 'car'
oucharm 'keep a pet'	charm 'animal'
ousers 'have a garden, farm'	sers 'garden'

As you can see, the prefix *ou-* attaches to native Palauan nouns as well as to nouns of foreign origin. Can you tell which is which in the examples above?

In other cases, the derived verb in *ou-* refers to some kind of

activity or relationship which would normally be associated with the meaning of the stem noun. As the examples below show, it is difficult to predict exactly what the derived verb will mean:

(5) <i>Derived Verb in ou-</i>	<i>Related Noun (= Verb Stem)</i>
ousibai 'enslave, make a slave of'	sibai 'slave'
ouskuul 'teach, tutor'	skuul 'school'
oukita 'play the guitar'	kita 'guitar'
oureng 'wish for, hope for'	reng 'heart, spirit'
ouchais 'tell (someone) news (about something)'	chais 'news'
ousəçəlei 'be friends with'	səçəlei 'friend'

Much less frequently, the stem from which a verb in *ou-* is derived is a state verb, as in *oumərə* 'believe'—*mərə* 'true', or a bound element, as in *ousbech* 'need'. The use of some of these derived verbs is illustrated in the sentences below:

- (6) a. A Droteo a oublai ər se əl blai.
'Droteo owns that house.'
- b. Kə oustoa ər a Belau?
'Do you run a store in Palau?'
- c. A rəçhad ər a Belau a oucharm a bilis.
'Palauans keep dogs.'
- d. A Droteo a ousers ər a ked.
'Droteo is farming the hillside.'
- e. Ak ouskuul ər ngii ər a ochur.
'I'm tutoring him in math.'
- f. Ng səbəchem əl oukita?
'Can you play the guitar?'
- g. Ak ousbech ər a bilsəngem.
'I need your boat.'

In 5.1.3 we saw that the past tense forms of verbs containing the verb marker prefix *o-* are derived simply by replacing this *o-* with *ul(ə)-*. The past tense forms of verbs beginning in *ou-* are derived in exactly the same way: thus, we have *ouskuul* 'teach'—*uluskuul* 'taught', *ousbech* 'need'—*ulusbech* 'needed', etc.

THE INFIXED VERB MARKER AND METATHESIS

- 6.2. In 5.4 we noted that many intransitive (action or state) verbs contain the verb marker in the form of an infix which appears

after the initial consonant of the verb stem. This infix has the three variants $-(\epsilon)m-$, $-u-$, and $-o-$. In the examples below, the $-(\epsilon)m-$ variant occurs; notice that the ϵ is inserted if the initial consonant of the stem is r or ch :

(7) Intransitive Verb		Related Noun (if any)	
smech ϵ r	'sick'	sech ϵ r	'sickness'
kmeed	'near'	---	---
lmuut	'return, come back'	luut	'return'
lmang ϵ l	'cry'	lang ϵ l	'crying'
ch ϵ miis	'escape, run away'	chiis	'escape'
r ϵ murt	'run'	rurt	'ruuning, race'
r ϵ mos	'drown'	---	---
r ϵ me	'go/come home'	---	---
tmor ϵ ch	'slip, slide'	tor ϵ ch	'action of slipping'
ngmas ϵ ch	'climb, rise (sun)'	ngas ϵ ch	'rising, ceremony for mother and new-born child'
ngmelt	'sink (in soft ground), set (sun)'	ngelt	'setting'

If we look at pairs like *smech ϵ r* 'sick' and *sech ϵ r* 'sickness', we can easily see that the intransitive verb is derived by placing the verb marker inside the stem (which then appears in two pieces, $s-$ and $-ech ϵ r$); for this reason we have been speaking of the **infix** verb marker.

The infix verb marker has the form $-u-$ or, rarely, $-o-$ in certain intransitive verbs such as *sueb ϵ k* 'fly', *rueb ϵ t* 'fall', *chuarm* 'suffer', *tuob ϵ d* 'come out', and *sois ϵ b* 'go into'. Since all of these verbs have the bilabial consonants b or m in their stems, the appearance of the verb marker as $-u-$ or $-o-$ rather than $-(\epsilon)m-$ seems to be due to a process of **dissimilation** which is identical to that described in 6.1 above.² Thus, if we assume that $-(\epsilon)m-$ is the basic form of the infix verb marker, then we can say that the infix variants $-u-$ and $-o-$ are due to dissimilation of $-(\epsilon)m-$ from a following b or m . Note that the resulting vowels u and o are both rounded; thus, they preserve a distinguishing feature (namely, use of the two lips) of the m from which they are derived.

Because the Palauan verb marker can either be a prefix or an infix, the statement of its distribution will be rather complicated. In an attempt to make a more general statement about the distribution of the Palauan verb marker, many linguists would

propose an analysis in which the verb marker always basically occurred as a prefix. Thus, the intransitive verbs listed in both 1 and 7 above would all have the basic structure *verb marker* + *verb stem*, as follows:

(8)	Verb Marker	+	Verb Stem
a. Verbs of (1):	m ϵ	+	rael 'walk, travel'
	m ϵ	+	kngit 'bad'
	m ϵ	+	ched 'shallow'
b. Verbs of (7):	m ϵ	+	sech ϵ r 'sick'
	m ϵ	+	lang ϵ l 'cry'
	m ϵ	+	ros 'drown'

In order to derive the correct forms of the verbs of 7, we would need a special rule in which the verb marker and the initial consonant of the verb stem exchange positions. In other words, a sequence like $m\epsilon + sech ϵ r$ would become $s + m\epsilon + ech ϵ r$, and then the ϵ of the verb marker would be deleted before the following vowel, giving the correct form *smech ϵ r*. The technical term **metathesis** (from a Greek word meaning 'transpose') is used to refer to the process of sound-switching observed here; as a result of such metathesis, the verb marker appears to have been infixes into the verb stem.

Metathesis is a fairly widespread phenomenon in Palauan. As we will see in 6.3 below, the verb marker **metathesizes** with the initial consonant of the verb stem in all Palauan **perfective** verb forms. And as we have seen above, many intransitive verbs require this metathesis "rule" to be applied; we cannot predict, however, which intransitive verbs will be of this type and which will not. Once the verb marker has metathesized, dissimilation will occur if the verb stem has a bilabial consonant; thus, a verb like *sueb ϵ k* 'fly' is derived by the following steps:

- (9) $m\epsilon + seb\epsilon k$ (basic form) \rightarrow
 $s + m\epsilon + eb\epsilon k$ (by metathesis) \rightarrow
 $s + m + eb\epsilon k$ (by deletion of ϵ) \rightarrow
 $s + u + eb\epsilon k$ (by dissimilation)

Notice that we begin with the **basic form** $m\epsilon + seb\epsilon k$ and successively apply rules of metathesis, deletion, and dissimilation to derive the correct form *sueb ϵ k* 'fly'.

In 5.3.2 we said that the past tense forms of intransitive action verbs like *lmuut* 'return', *r ϵ murt* 'run', *sueb ϵ k* 'fly', etc. are derived

by replacing the (metathesized) verb marker by the past tense markers *-il-* or *-ir-*. Thus, in past tense forms like *liluut* 'returned', *rirurt* 'ran', and *silebək* 'flew', we cannot find any trace whatsoever of the verb marker. The disappearance of the verb marker in these forms seems to be due to a complex series of phonetic rules whose end result is that the metathesized verb marker is deleted before the vowel *i* in an **unstressed** syllable. These conditions are met in forms like *lilúut* 'returned', *rirúrt* 'ran', and *silébək* 'flew', where the verb marker is metathesized to a position before the *i* of the infixed past tense markers *-il-* or *-ir-*, which are never stressed. A similar situation will be discussed in greater detail in 6.3.3 below.

ABSENCE OF THE VERB MARKER IN HYPOTHETICAL VERB FORMS

6.2.1. In 5.7.a we noted that Palauan **hypothetical** verb forms characteristically lack the verb marker. Thus, while any imperfective verb has the basic structure *verb marker + imperfective marker + verb stem* (e.g., *məlim* 'drink'), its hypothetical forms have the structure *hypothetical pronoun + imperfective marker + verb stem* (e.g., *kulim* '(if) I drink', *lolim* '(if) he drinks', etc.). Intransitive verbs with the metathesized verb markers *-(ə)m-*, *-u-*, or *-o-* likewise have hypothetical forms which lack the verb marker, as indicated below:

(10) <i>Intransitive Verb</i>	<i>Hypothetical Form (with 3rd pers. hypothetical pronoun)</i>
smechər 'sick'	lsechər '(if) he's sick'
rəme 'go/come home'	ləre '(if) he goes/comes home'
lmangəl 'cry'	llangəl '(if) he cries'
suebək 'fly'	lsebək '(if) it flies'
ruebət 'fall'	lərebət '(if) he falls'

Following the analysis given in 8b above, the non-hypothetical forms in the lefthand column have the basic structure *verb marker + verb stem*; metathesis of the verb marker must occur, of course, to yield the correct forms. By contrast, the hypothetical forms in the righthand column have the basic structure *hypothetical pronoun + verb stem*. None of the verb forms in 10 contains the imperfective marker, since the distinction between imperfective vs. perfective verb forms only applies to transitive verbs.

Now let us observe the hypothetical forms of two commonly-occurring Palauan intransitive verbs:

(11) *Intransitive Verb*

Hypothetical Form (with 3rd pers. hypothetical pronoun)

mo	'go'	ləbo	'(if) he goes'
me	'come'	ləbe ³	'(if) he comes'

If we analyze the verbs of 11 in exactly the same manner as we analyzed those of 10, we come to the following conclusions. Since the hypothetical forms in 11 have the basic structure *hypothetical pronoun + verb stem*, then the verb stems under discussion are *bo* 'go' and *be* 'come'. These verb stems also occur in the non-hypothetical forms, which have the basic structure *verb marker + verb stem*—namely, *mə* + *bo* and *mə* + *be*. In order to account for the actually-occurring forms *mo* 'go' and *me* 'come', the verb marker must metathesize with the initial consonant of the verb stem, just as in the examples of 8b. But an additional phonetic rule applies: since the Palauan sound system does not allow the consonant cluster *bm*, the *b* of the verb stem, which comes to appear before the *m* of the metathesized verb marker, must be deleted. Thus, even though *mo* 'go' and *me* 'come' would appear to be very simple verb forms, they are in fact derived from more complex basic structures by several steps, as in the following:

- (12) *mə* + *bo* (basic form) →
b + *mə* + *o* (by metathesis) →
b + *m* + *o* (by deletion of *ə*) →
m + *o* (by deletion of *b* before *m*)

There are a few other Palauan intransitive verbs which, like the verbs of 11, show an alternation between *m* in the nonhypothetical form and *b* in the hypothetical forms. These can be explained in terms of the analysis presented above and include verbs like *məkiiis* 'wake up'—*ləbəkiiis* '(if) he wakes up' and *m̄la* 'was (located)'—*ləbla* '(if) he was (located)'.⁴

At the beginning of this section we made the claim that Palauan hypothetical verb forms characteristically lack the verb marker. While this statement is true for many classes of verbs, we do find some notable exceptions. For example, **intransitive state verbs** which have the prefixed verb marker *mə-* (see 1 above) retain this verb marker in their hypothetical forms, as in *məkngit* 'bad'—*ləməkngit* '(if) it's bad', *məched* 'shallow'—*ləməched* '(if) it's shallow', etc. Furthermore, while the great majority of **intransitive action verbs** beginning with *mə-* lose this verb marker in their hypothetical forms (*mərael* 'walk'—*loraēl* '(if) he walks', *məngədub* 'swim'—*longədub* '(if) he swims', etc.), a very small number retain

it, as in *męchiuau* 'sleep'—*lęmęchiuau* '(if) he sleeps'. Finally, the hypothetical forms of **ergative** verbs (cf. 5.4) retain the verb marker, as in *męngim* 'be/get drunk'—*lęmęngim* '(if) it is/gets drunk', *męchuiu* 'be/get read'—*lęmęchuiu* '(if) it is/gets read', etc.

SELECTED LIST OF PERFECTIVE VERB FORMS

- 6.3. In previous chapters we have already had occasion to discuss some of the major structural features of Palauan perfective verb forms. Thus, in 4.9 and 4.9.1–4 we considered the form and distribution of the **object pronouns** which are suffixed to perfective verbs. Then, in 5.5 we wrote "formulas" for the contrasting structures of perfective vs. imperfective verb forms and noted that in the former type, the verb marker always appears as an **infix**. Not surprisingly, the infixed verb marker in perfective verb forms results from the very same process of **metathesis** described in 6.2 above to account for intransitive verbs such as *smecher* 'sick', *ruebet* 'fall', etc. In perfective verb forms, however, the metathesized verb marker is affected by additional phonetic processes which are very complex. Before clarifying these processes, we need to be familiar with the many phonetic variations observed in the perfective verb forms themselves. Therefore, we will provide a large number of these forms below.

The four major perfective forms of a representative sample of Palauan transitive verbs will now be listed according to the following format. First, the transitive verb will be given in its imperfective form, along with an English gloss; then, the four perfective forms will be given in the following order:

(13)	Present tense, 3rd pers. sg. object	Past tense, 3rd pers. sg. object
	Present tense, 3rd pers. pl. non-human object	Past tense, 3rd pers. pl. non-human object

It will not be necessary to provide English glosses for the perfective forms since their meanings can easily be determined from the chart in 13; thus, the perfective forms of *męlalęm* 'plant', for example, would be translated as follows:

(14)	'plant it'	'planted it'
	'plant them'	'planted them'

Observe the perfective forms below:

- | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------------|----------|--------|---------|----------|-----------|---------|----------|-----------|------------|----------|-----------|--------|---------|-------|--------|--------|----------|-------|--------|----------|-----------|------|-------|----------|----------|--------|----------|----------|------------|---------|----------|-------|--------|-----|------|---------|----------|--------|---------|-------------|--------------|------------|-------------|--|--------|----------|-------|--------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|----------|-----------|-----------|------------|---------|----------|-----------|-------------|---------|-----------|----------|------------|---------|-----------|---------|----------|---------------|---------|--------|---------|-------|--------|-------|--------|------|-------|------------|-------------|----------|-----------|-----------|------------|---------|----------|----------|------------|-------|--------|
| <p>(15) a. <i>męlalęm</i> 'plant':</p> <table border="0"> <tr><td>dolęmii</td><td>dillęmii</td></tr> <tr><td>dualęm</td><td>dilalęm</td></tr> </table> <p>c. <i>męlasęch</i> 'carve (canoe)':</p> <table border="0"> <tr><td>dosęchii</td><td>dilsęchii</td></tr> <tr><td>dmasęch</td><td>dilasęch</td></tr> </table> <p>e. <i>męlatęch</i> 'clean':</p> <table border="0"> <tr><td>ngotęchii</td><td>ngiltęchii</td></tr> <tr><td>ngmatęch</td><td>ngilatęch</td></tr> </table> <p>g. <i>męleel</i> 'nail':</p> <table border="0"> <tr><td>dmelii</td><td>dilelii</td></tr> <tr><td>dmeel</td><td>dileel</td></tr> </table> <p>i. <i>męlęng</i> 'borrow':</p> <table border="0"> <tr><td>longir</td><td>lilęngir</td></tr> <tr><td>lmeng</td><td>lileng</td></tr> </table> <p>k. <i>męles</i> 'slice (fish, meat)':</p> <table border="0"> <tr><td>dosęngii</td><td>dilsęngii</td></tr> <tr><td>dmes</td><td>diles</td></tr> </table> <p>m. <i>męliich</i> 'remove meat
(from a coconut)':</p> <table border="0"> <tr><td>liięchii</td><td>lilichii</td></tr> <tr><td>lmiich</td><td>liliiich</td></tr> </table> <p>o. <i>męluchęs</i> 'write':</p> <table border="0"> <tr><td>luchęsii</td><td>lilęchęsii</td></tr> <tr><td>lmuchęs</td><td>liluchęs</td></tr> </table> <p>q. <i>męnga</i> 'eat':</p> <table border="0"> <tr><td>kolii</td><td>killii</td></tr> <tr><td>kma</td><td>kila</td></tr> </table> <p>s. <i>męngereel</i> 'catch fish
(with a line)':</p> <table border="0"> <tr><td>korelii</td><td>kirrelii</td></tr> <tr><td>koreel</td><td>kirreel</td></tr> </table> <p>u. <i>męngęsbreber</i> 'paint':</p> <table border="0"> <tr><td>chosęrbęrii</td><td>chilsęrbęrii</td></tr> <tr><td>chosbreber</td><td>chilsbreber</td></tr> </table> | dolęmii | dillęmii | dualęm | dilalęm | dosęchii | dilsęchii | dmasęch | dilasęch | ngotęchii | ngiltęchii | ngmatęch | ngilatęch | dmelii | dilelii | dmeel | dileel | longir | lilęngir | lmeng | lileng | dosęngii | dilsęngii | dmes | diles | liięchii | lilichii | lmiich | liliiich | luchęsii | lilęchęsii | lmuchęs | liluchęs | kolii | killii | kma | kila | korelii | kirrelii | koreel | kirreel | chosęrbęrii | chilsęrbęrii | chosbreber | chilsbreber | <p>b. <i>męlamk</i> 'shave, scrape':</p> <table border="0"> <tr><td>tomkii</td><td>tilęmkii</td></tr> <tr><td>tuamk</td><td>tilamk</td></tr> </table> <p>d. <i>męlamęch</i> 'smoke, chew':</p> <table border="0"> <tr><td>chomęchii</td><td>chilmęchii</td></tr> <tr><td>chuamęch/</td><td>chilamęch/</td></tr> <tr><td>nguamęch</td><td>ngilamęch</td></tr> </table> <p>f. <i>męlecholb</i> 'bathe, baptize':</p> <table border="0"> <tr><td>tochęlbii</td><td>tilchęlbii</td></tr> <tr><td>tocholb</td><td>tilcholb</td></tr> </table> <p>h. <i>męlekosek</i> 'cut (meat)':</p> <table border="0"> <tr><td>sokęsekii</td><td>silękęsekii</td></tr> <tr><td>sokosek</td><td>silękosek</td></tr> </table> <p>j. <i>męlęngoes</i> 'cook (in water)
(fish, rice, meat)':</p> <table border="0"> <tr><td>songosii</td><td>silęngosii</td></tr> <tr><td>songoes</td><td>silęngoes</td></tr> </table> <p>l. <i>męlesęb</i> 'burn':</p> <table border="0"> <tr><td>sosębii</td><td>silsębii</td></tr> <tr><td>suesęb/smesęb</td><td>silesęb</td></tr> </table> <p>n. <i>męliud</i> 'cut (round object)':</p> <table border="0"> <tr><td>tiudii</td><td>tiludii</td></tr> <tr><td>tmiud</td><td>tiliud</td></tr> </table> <p>p. <i>męlul</i> 'burn, barbeque':</p> <table border="0"> <tr><td>durur</td><td>durrur</td></tr> <tr><td>dmul</td><td>dilul</td></tr> </table> <p>r. <i>męngęlebed</i> 'hit, spank':</p> <table border="0"> <tr><td>cholębedii</td><td>chillebedii</td></tr> <tr><td>cholebed</td><td>chillebed</td></tr> </table> <p>t. <i>męngętmokl</i> 'clean, straighten up':</p> <table border="0"> <tr><td>kutmęklii</td><td>kiltmęklii</td></tr> <tr><td>kutmokl</td><td>kiltmokl</td></tr> </table> <p>v. <i>męngib</i> 'pick (fruit)':</p> <table border="0"> <tr><td>chibngii</td><td>chilębngii</td></tr> <tr><td>chuib</td><td>chilib</td></tr> </table> | tomkii | tilęmkii | tuamk | tilamk | chomęchii | chilmęchii | chuamęch/ | chilamęch/ | nguamęch | ngilamęch | tochęlbii | tilchęlbii | tocholb | tilcholb | sokęsekii | silękęsekii | sokosek | silękosek | songosii | silęngosii | songoes | silęngoes | sosębii | silsębii | suesęb/smesęb | silesęb | tiudii | tiludii | tmiud | tiliud | durur | durrur | dmul | dilul | cholębedii | chillebedii | cholebed | chillebed | kutmęklii | kiltmęklii | kutmokl | kiltmokl | chibngii | chilębngii | chuib | chilib |
| dolęmii | dillęmii | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| dualęm | dilalęm | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| dosęchii | dilsęchii | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| dmasęch | dilasęch | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ngotęchii | ngiltęchii | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ngmatęch | ngilatęch | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| dmelii | dilelii | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| dmeel | dileel | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| longir | lilęngir | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| lmeng | lileng | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| dosęngii | dilsęngii | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| dmes | diles | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| liięchii | lilichii | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| lmiich | liliiich | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| luchęsii | lilęchęsii | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| lmuchęs | liluchęs | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| kolii | killii | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| kma | kila | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| korelii | kirrelii | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| koreel | kirreel | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| chosęrbęrii | chilsęrbęrii | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| chosbreber | chilsbreber | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| tomkii | tilęmkii | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| tuamk | tilamk | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| chomęchii | chilmęchii | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| chuamęch/ | chilamęch/ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| nguamęch | ngilamęch | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| tochęlbii | tilchęlbii | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| tocholb | tilcholb | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| sokęsekii | silękęsekii | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| sokosek | silękosek | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| songosii | silęngosii | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| songoes | silęngoes | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| sosębii | silsębii | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| suesęb/smesęb | silesęb | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| tiudii | tiludii | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| tmiud | tiliud | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| durur | durrur | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| dmul | dilul | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| cholębedii | chillebedii | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| cholebed | chillebed | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| kutmęklii | kiltmęklii | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| kutmokl | kiltmokl | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| chibngii | chilębngii | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| chuib | chilib | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

w. <i>mengiis</i> 'dig':		x. <i>mengiis</i> 'open':	
kiisii	kilisii	kiisii	kilisii
kmiis	kiliis	kmiis	kiliis
y. <i>mengimd</i> 'cut (hair), trim':		z. <i>mengitakl</i> 'sing':	
kimdii	kilemdii	chiteklai	chileteklai
kuimd	kilimd	choitakl	chilitakl
aa. <i>meruul</i> 'make, prepare':		bb. <i>menguui</i> 'read':	
rullii	rirellii	chuiquii	chiliuii
remuul	riruul	chemuii	chiluii

METATHESIS IN PERFECTIVE VERB FORMS

- 6.3.1. When we look at the perfective verb forms of 15, we notice quite a few familiar things. First of all, we should have no trouble identifying the object pronoun suffixes: as we saw in 4.9 and 4.9.1-4, the third person singular object pronoun is *-ii*, or less frequently, *-ngii* or *vowel + r* (*ir*, *ur*, etc.), while the third person plural non-human object pronoun is *-Ø*. The phonetic effect of these two object pronoun suffixes is quite different and of great importance to a correct analysis of the phonetic alternations in perfective verb forms. Since the third person singular object pronoun is always **stressed**, all of the syllables of the verb stem are invariably **unstressed** in perfective forms like *dolemii* 'plant it', *longir* 'borrow it', etc. On the other hand, since the third person plural non-human object pronoun *Ø* has no "phonetic content", it of course can never be stressed; therefore, in perfective forms like *dualem* 'plant them', *lmeng* 'borrow them', etc., the stress falls on one of the syllables of the verb stem. The consequences of this difference in the placement of stress will become obvious below.

In 5.5 we formulated the basic structures of imperfective vs. perfective verb forms as follows:

(16) *Imperfective verb form*: verb marker + imperfective marker
+ verb stem

Perfective verb form: verb marker + verb stem + object
pronoun

Recall that in imperfective verb forms, the initial consonant of the verb stem usually gets deleted following the imperfective marker (*-l-*, *-ng-*, or *-m-*). On the other hand, the initial consonant of the verb stem is preserved in perfective verb forms, since there is no preceding imperfective marker. For this reason, the imperfec-

tive and perfective forms of one and the same verb often look rather different: for example, in the imperfective forms *mēlalem* 'plant' and *mēngimd* 'cut (hair)', there is no trace of the verb-stem-initial consonants *d* and *k* found, respectively, in the perfective forms *dolemii* 'plant it' and *kimdii* 'cut his hair'. The verb-stem-initial consonant found in perfective forms also appears in **ergative** forms (cf. 5.4). Since these forms lack the imperfective marker and simply have the structure *verb marker + verb stem*, the verb-stem-initial consonant is not deleted. Thus, for the verbs under discussion, we have the ergative forms *mēdalem* 'be/get planted' (cf. *dolemii* 'plant it') and *mēkimd* 'get one's hair cut' (cf. *kimdii* 'cut his hair').

Whereas the basic structures of both imperfective and perfective verb forms contain the verb marker as their first element (cf. 16 above and the discussion in 5.5), perfective verb forms are characterized by the fact that the verb marker must metathesize with the initial consonant of the following verb stem in order to produce the form which is actually spoken. In some cases the metathesized verb marker appears as *-m-*, while in others it changes to *-u-* or *-o-*, or even disappears completely. We will now examine the phonetic factors which account for the various forms of the metathesized verb marker.

As we saw in 6.2 above, the appearance of the metathesized verb marker as *-u-* or, rarely, *-o-* in certain **intransitive** verbs seems to be the result of **dissimilation**: in other words, in intransitive verbs like *suébeḱ* 'fly', *chuárm* 'suffer', etc., the metathesized verb marker changes from the bilabial consonant *m* to the vowel *u* (or *o*) if another bilabial consonant (*b* or *m*) occurs in the verb stem and if the adjacent vowel is stressed. The very same principle of dissimilation will account for a good number of the 3rd pers. pl. non-human object present perfective forms found in 15. Thus, in the words below, the metathesized verb marker (italicized) appears as *-u-* because there is a bilabial consonant in the stem and the adjacent vowel is stressed:

(17) <i>duálem</i>	'plant them'
<i>tuámk</i>	'shave them'
<i>chuámēch</i>	
<i>nguámēch</i>	'smoke them'
<i>suésēb⁵</i>	'burn them'
<i>chuíb</i>	'pick them'
<i>kuímd</i>	'cut them'

In the forms of 17, the ϵ of the metathesized verb marker is of course deleted before the following vowel. Thus, a form like *duálem* 'plant them' is derived by the following steps:

- (18) $m\epsilon + d\acute{a}l\epsilon m + \emptyset^6$ (basic form) \rightarrow
 $d + m\epsilon + \acute{a}l\epsilon m + \emptyset$ (by metathesis) \rightarrow
 $d + m + \acute{a}l\epsilon m + \emptyset$ (by deletion of ϵ) \rightarrow
 $d + u + \acute{a}l\epsilon m + \emptyset$ (by dissimilation) \rightarrow
 $d + u + \acute{a}l\epsilon m$ (by deletion of \emptyset object pronoun)

Now let us examine the 3rd pers. pl. non-human object present perfective forms of verbs whose stems do not contain a bilabial consonant. Since the conditions which cause dissimilation of the metathesized verb marker are absent in such cases, the verb marker simply appears as *-m-*, as we would expect. Note, therefore, the following forms from 15, in which the verb marker has been italicized:

- | | | | |
|---------------------|------------------------------|----------------|--------------|
| (19) <i>dmásęch</i> | 'carve them' | <i>lmúchęs</i> | 'write them' |
| <i>ngmátęch</i> | 'clean them' | <i>dmúl</i> | 'burn them' |
| <i>dméel</i> | 'nail them' | <i>kmá</i> | 'eat them' |
| <i>lméng</i> | 'borrow them' | <i>kmiis</i> | 'dig them' |
| <i>dmés</i> | 'slice them' | <i>kmiis</i> | 'open them' |
| <i>lmiich</i> | 'remove meat
(from them)' | <i>ręmúul</i> | 'make them' |
| <i>tmíud</i> | 'cut them' | <i>chęmúiu</i> | 'read them' |

Just as in the forms of 17, the ϵ of the metathesized verb marker is deleted in the examples of 19 before a following vowel. Thus, to derive a form like *dmásęch* 'carve them', we have the following steps:

- (20) $m\epsilon + d\acute{a}s\epsilon ch + \emptyset$ (basic form) \rightarrow
 $d + m\epsilon + \acute{a}s\epsilon ch + \emptyset$ (by metathesis) \rightarrow
 $d + m + \acute{a}s\epsilon ch + \emptyset$ (by deletion of ϵ) \rightarrow
 $d + m + \acute{a}s\epsilon ch$ (by deletion of \emptyset object pronoun)

All of the forms of 19 are derived in a similar manner except that in *ręmuul* 'make them' and *chęmuui* 'read them', an ϵ is inserted to break up the otherwise unpronounceable consonant clusters *rm* and *chm* (cf. 1.4.5).

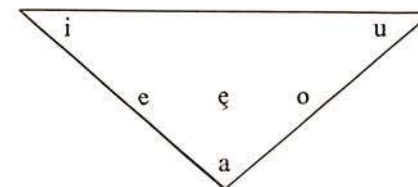
The remaining 3rd pers. pl. non-human object present perfective forms—i.e., those not listed in 17 or 19—all contain *-o-* or, much more rarely, *-u-* as the metathesized verb marker. Since these variants of the verb marker actually result from a "blending"

of two vowels, they will be explained (in the next section) together with those 3rd pers. sg. object present perfective forms which show a similar pattern.

THE METATHESIZED VERB MARKER AND VOWEL BLENDING

- 6.3.2. In all 3rd pers. sg. object present perfective forms, the metathesized verb marker comes to appear before a vowel in an **unstressed** syllable. In such an environment, the metathesized verb marker undergoes several phonetic changes, including one—**vowel blending**—which we have not yet described. In order to understand these phonetic changes, we shall look in detail at the derivation of the 3rd pers. sg. object present perfective form of *męlatęch* 'clean'—namely, *ngotęchii* 'clean it'—whose basic form is represented as $m\epsilon + ngatęch + ii$ (i.e., *verb marker + verb stem + object pronoun*).

First, the verb marker metathesizes and the ϵ of the verb marker is deleted before the following vowel, giving $ng + m + atęch + ii$. Then, the *m* of the verb marker changes to *u*, giving $ng + u + atęch + ii$. This change of the verb marker to *u* is not due to dissimilation (as in the examples of 17 above) but to an entirely different set of circumstances: here, the verb marker becomes *u* before another vowel in an **unstressed** syllable. In $ng + u + atęch + ii$, the two adjacent unstressed vowels *u* and *a* **blend** together into a single vowel *o*, giving the correct perfective form *ngotęchii*. We use the term **vowel blending** to describe this process because the resulting **mid** vowel *o* is a kind of "compromise" between the **high** vowel *u* and the **low** vowel *a*. This "in-between" quality of the resulting *o* can be easily seen from the following **vowel triangle** (cf. 1.4.2):



The steps in the above-mentioned derivation of *ngotęchii* 'clean it' are summarized below:

- (21) $m\epsilon + ngatęch + ii$ (basic form) \rightarrow
 $ng + m\epsilon + atęch + ii$ (by metathesis) \rightarrow
 $ng + m + atęch + ii$ (by deletion of ϵ) \rightarrow

- ng + u + atəch + ii (by change of verb marker to *u* in unstressed syllable) →
 ng + otəch + ii (by vowel blending)

By applying the phonetic rules of 21 in the order shown, we can correctly derive the 3rd pers. sg. object present perfective forms of all verbs in 15 whose stems have *a* as the first vowel. Thus, we can account for *doləmii* 'plant it' (stem: *dələm*), *tomkii* 'shave it' (stem: *tamk*), *dosəchii* 'carve it' (stem: *dasəch*), *chomechii* 'smoke it' (stem: *chamech*), and *kolii* 'eat it' (stem: *kal*).

We have seen above that the phonetic process of vowel blending accounts for the derivation of *o* from *u* + *a* in certain 3rd pers. sg. object present perfective forms. Other occurrences of *o* in such forms are also due to vowel blending, but a different combination of vowels is involved. For example, in the following derivation of *sosəbii* 'burn it' (stem: *səsəb*), the vowels *u* and *e* blend to give *o* in an unstressed syllable:

- (22) mē + sesəb + ii (basic form) →
 s + mē + esəb + ii (by metathesis) →
 s + m + esəb + ii (by deletion of *ɛ*) →
 s + u + esəb + ii (by change of verb marker to *u* in unstressed syllable) →
 s + osəb + ii (by vowel blending)

Notice that the above derivation uses the same phonetic rules as 21 and applies them in the same order. The only difference between 21 and 22 is that the vowel blending rule affects *u* + *a* in 21, while it applies to *u* + *e* in 22.

If we look again at the vowel triangle above, we can see that the *o* which results from the blending of *u* and *e* preserves one major phonetic feature from each of its two "source" vowels: in other words, the **mid back** vowel *o* retains the "midness" of the **mid front** vowel *e* and the "backness" of the **high back** vowel *u*. Exactly parallel to the above derivation of *sosəbii* are the derivations for the 3rd pers. sg. object present perfective forms *longir* 'borrow it' (stem: *leng*) and *dosəngii* 'cut it' (stem: *des*), whose stems have *e* as the first vowel. Note that the phonetic changes under discussion do not apply in *dmelii* 'nail it', apparently because the verb stem (*deel*) has a long vowel *ee*.

The appearance of *o* in certain perfective forms results from the blending of yet another combination of vowels—namely, *u* + *ɛ*. This phonetic change affects the perfective forms of those verbs of 15 whose stems have *ɛ* as the first vowel;⁷ furthermore, it

applies regardless of whether the object pronoun suffix is singular or plural. Thus, the perfective forms *choləbədii* 'hit him' and *cholebəd* 'hit them' (stem: *chələbəd*) are derived as follows:

- (23) Derivation of *choləbədii*, 3rd pers. sg. object present perfective form of *məngələbəd* 'hit':

- mē + chələbəd + ii (basic form) →
 ch + mē + ələbəd + ii (by metathesis) →
 ch + m + ələbəd + ii (by deletion of *ɛ*) →
 ch + u + ələbəd + ii (by change of verb marker to *u* in unstressed syllable) →
 ch + olebəd + ii (by vowel blending) →
 ch + oləbəd + ii (by reduction of *e* to *ɛ* in unstressed syllable⁸)

- (24) Derivation of *cholebəd*, 3rd pers. pl. non-human object present perfective form of *məngələbəd* 'hit':

- mē + chələbəd + Ø (basic form) →
 ch + mē + ələbəd + Ø (by metathesis) →
 ch + m + ələbəd + Ø (by deletion of *ɛ*) →
 ch + u + ələbəd + Ø (by change of verb marker to *u* in unstressed syllable) →
 ch + oləbəd + Ø (by vowel blending) →
 ch + oləbəd (by deletion of Ø object pronoun)

In both of the derivations above, the metathesized verb marker changes to *u*, and the vowels *u* + *ɛ* blend into *o* in an **unstressed** syllable. Again, the change of *u* + *ɛ* to *o* is an example of vowel blending because the **mid back** vowel *o* keeps the "midness" of the **mid central** vowel *ɛ* and the "backness" of the **high back** vowel *u*. By using derivations like 23 and 24, we can account for nearly all the present perfective forms of 15 whose verb stems have *ɛ* as their first vowel—i.e., *tochəlbi* 'bathe him'/'*tocholb* 'bathe them' (stem: *təchəlb*), *sokəşəkii* 'cut it'/'*sokəşək* 'cut them' (stem: *səkəşək*), *songosii* 'cook it'/'*songoes* 'cook them' (stem: *səŋgoes*), *korelii* 'catch it'/'*koreel* 'catch them' (stem: *kərəel*), and *chosəbrəbərii* 'paint it'/'*chosəbrəbər* 'paint them' (stem: *chəşbrəbər*).

One striking exception to the above pattern is found in the perfective forms *kutməklüi* 'clean it'/'*kutmokl* 'clean them', which contain *u* instead of the expected *o*. Even though the stem *kətmokl* has *ɛ* as its first vowel, for some unknown reason vowel blending of the metathesized verb marker *-u-* and the following *ɛ* does not seem to apply, and the *ɛ* is deleted instead.

To summarize what we have presented above, we can see that the principle of vowel blending will account for the correct pronunciation of many of the perfective verb forms listed in 15. In all cases of vowel blending, the metathesized verb marker *-u-* combines with some other vowel (*a*, *e*, or *ɛ*) in an unstressed syllable to give *o*. This resulting *o* can be viewed as a compromise or halfway point between *u* + *a*, *u* + *e*, or *u* + *ɛ*, which are its three possible sources.

DELETION OF THE METATHESIZED VERB MARKER

6.3.3. As we have seen in the section above, the metathesized verb marker *-u-* blends with a **low** or **mid** vowel (*a*, *e*, or *ɛ*) in an unstressed syllable to give *o*. If a **high** vowel (*i* or *u*) follows the metathesized verb marker in an unstressed syllable, however, vowel blending does not occur, and instead the metathesized verb marker is deleted. This simple phonetic rule will account for all of the 3rd pers. sg. object present perfective forms in 15 whose verb stems have *i* or *u* as their first vowel. Observe, for example, the following derivations:

(25) Derivation of *kimdii*, 3rd pers. sg. object present perfective form of *məngimd* 'cut (hair)':

- mɛ + kimd + ii* (basic form) →
- k + mɛ + imd + ii* (by metathesis) →
- k + m + imd + ii* (by deletion of *ɛ*) →
- k + u + imd + ii* (by change of verb marker to *u* in unstressed syllable) →
- k + imd + ii* (by deletion of verb marker)

(26) Derivation of *luchəsii*, 3rd pers. sg. object present perfective form of *məɫuchəs* 'write':

- mɛ + luchəs + ii* (basic form) →
- l + mɛ + uchəs + ii* (by metathesis) →
- l + m + uchəs + ii* (by deletion of *ɛ*) →
- l + u + uchəs + ii* (by change of verb marker to *u* in unstressed syllable) →
- l + uchəs + ii* (by deletion of verb marker)

Derivations identical to 25 and 26 will explain the following 3rd pers. sg. object present perfective forms of 15, which show no trace whatsoever of the verb marker: *liɛchii* 'remove meat (from it)', *tiudii* 'cut it', *chibngii* 'pick it', *küɛsii* 'dig it', *küisii* 'open it',

chiteklîi 'sing it', *durur* 'burn it', *rullii* 'make it', and *chuiquii* 'read it'. In each case, the first vowel of the verb stem is *i* or *u*.

Just as in the examples above, no trace of the metathesized verb marker can be found in any of the **past** perfective forms listed in 15. This absence is due to the fact that in these forms the verb marker metathesizes to a position directly preceding the **past tense marker** *-il-* or *-ir-*, which is never stressed. Because the past tense marker begins with *i*, deletion of the verb marker takes place according to the rule mentioned above. The following derivation is typical:

(27) Derivation of *liləngir*, 3rd pers. sg. object past perfective form of *məɫəng* 'borrow':

- mɛ + l + il + eng + ir* (basic form, including infixed past tense marker *-il-*) →
- l + mɛ + il + eng + ir* (by metathesis) →
- l + m + il + eng + ir* (by deletion of *ɛ*) →
- l + u + il + eng + ir* (by change of verb marker to *u* in unstressed syllable) →
- l + il + eng + ir* (by deletion of verb marker) →
- l + il + ɛng + ir* (by reduction of *e* to *ɛ* in unstressed syllable)

The only exception to the rule under discussion is the 3rd pers. pl. non-human object present perfective form *choitakl* 'sing them'. Here, the metathesized verb marker has not been deleted before *i* in an unstressed syllable, but instead remains as *-o-*.

In 6.2 above, we considered a small group of intransitive verbs like *suebək* 'fly', *ruebət* 'fall', etc. in which the metathesized verb marker appears as *-u-* because the verb stem contains a bilabial consonant. We noted that in the past tense forms of these verbs—e.g. *silébək* 'flew', *rirébət* 'fell', etc.—the verb marker disappears. We can now see that the loss of the verb marker in these cases is due to the very same phonetic rule which accounts for derivations like 25–27 above. In other words, in a past tense form like *silébək* 'flew', the metathesized verb marker *-u-* is deleted because it appears before *i* (the *i* of the past tense marker *-il-*) in an unstressed syllable.

In a very general sense, there is an important similarity between the phonetic process of vowel blending examined in 6.3.2 above and the process of verb marker deletion discussed in this section. Both processes convert a **vowel cluster** in the basic form of a verb into a **single vowel** in the actually-spoken form. Thus,

vowel blending and verb marker deletion supply forms which satisfy a nearly exceptionless principle of the Palauan sound system—namely, that **vowel clusters do not occur in unstressed syllables**. The same principle was illustrated in 1.4.7 and 3.4.2–3, where the shortening or reduction of vowel clusters in the possessed forms of nouns was analyzed in detail.

VOWEL REDUCTION AND VOWEL DELETION IN PERFECTIVE VERB FORMS

6.4. In 3.4 and 3.4.1–3 we accounted for many of the phonetic differences between independent nouns and their possessed forms in terms of phonetic rules which **reduce** or **delete** single consonants or consonant clusters in **unstressed syllables**. The very same phonetic rules can account for all of the vowel alternations observed in the perfective verb forms of 15 above, as we will now see.

In the examples below, a full vowel which is stressed in the imperfective form and in the 3rd pers. pl. non-human object perfective forms reduces to *ɛ* when unstressed in certain 3rd pers. sg. object perfective forms:

(28) Imperfective Form Containing Stressed Full Vowel		3rd pers. sg. Object Past Perfective Form Containing Reduced Vowel (<i>ɛ</i>)	
mɛlámk	'shave, scrape'	tilɛmkíi	'shaved it'
mɛlɛchólb	'bathe'	tilɛchɛbíi	'bathed him'
mɛlɛkósɛk	'cut (meat)'	silɛkɛsɛkíi	'cut it'
mɛlúchɛs	'write'	lilɛchɛsíi	'wrote it'
mɛngɛlébɛd	'hit'	chilɛbɛdíi	'hit it'
mɛngitákl	'sing'	chilɛtɛklíi	'sang it'
mɛngɛtmókl	'clean'	kiltmɛklíi	'cleaned it'
mɛlɛng	'borrow'	lilɛngír	'borrowed it'
mɛngíb	'pick (fruit)'	chilɛngíi	'picked it'

In other cases, a full vowel which is stressed in certain forms of a verb is deleted altogether when unstressed, as in the following examples:

(29) Imperfective Form Containing Stressed Full Vowel		3rd pers. sg. Object Past Perfective Form (Note Loss of Vowel)	
mɛlálɛm	'plant'	dillɛmíi	'planted it'
mɛlátɛch	'clean'	ngiltɛchíi	'cleaned it'

mɛlásɛch	'carve'	dilsɛchíi	'carved it'
mɛlés	'slice'	dilsɛngíi	'sliced it'
mɛlésɛb	'burn'	silsɛbíi	'burned it'

Long vowels or vowel clusters which are stressed in certain forms of a verb are usually reduced to a single vowel when unstressed, as the examples below indicate:

(30) Imperfective Form Containing Stressed Long Vowel or Vowel Cluster		3rd pers. sg. Object Past Perfective Form (Note Reduction of Long Vowel or Vowel Cluster)	
mɛléel	'nail'	dilelíi	'nailed it'
mɛlíich	'remove meat (from a coconut)'	lilichíi	'removed meat (from it)'
mɛngɛréel	'catch fish (with a line)'	kirrelíi	'caught it (with a line)'
mɛngíis	'dig'	kilísíi	'dug it'
mɛlɛngóes	'cook'	silɛngosíi	'cooked it'
mɛlíud	'cut (round object)'	tiludíi	'cut it'
mɛngúiu	'read'	chiliuíi	'read it'

In rare cases, a stressed long vowel reduces to *ɛ* when unstressed, as in *mɛrúul* 'make'—*rirɛllíi* 'made it'.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS ON PERFECTIVE VERB FORMS

*6.5. Some of the perfective verb forms in 15 exhibit certain unusual or exceptional features which we have not yet discussed. We will point these out in the paragraphs below.

a. Though the verb *mɛlul* 'burn, barbeque' has the stem *dul*, the 3rd pers. sg. object perfective forms are *durur* and *dirrur*. The final *l* of the stem *dul* assimilates to the *r* of the object pronoun suffix *-ur* in the present perfective form, which is derived as follows:

(31) mɛ + dul + úr	(basic form) →
d + mɛ + ul + úr	(by metathesis) →
d + m + ul + úr	(by deletion of <i>ɛ</i>) →
d + u + ul + úr	(by change of verb marker to <i>u</i> in unstressed syllable) →

d + ul + úr (by deletion of verb marker) →
 d + ur + úr (by assimilation of *l* to *r*)

The past perfective form *dirrur* is apparently derived by the following steps:

- (32) mē + d + il + ul + úr (basic form, including infixed past tense marker *-il-*) →
 d + mē + il + ul + úr (by metathesis) →
 d + m + il + ul + úr (by deletion of *ē*) →
 d + u + il + ul + úr (by change of verb marker to *u* in unstressed syllable) →
 d + il + ul + úr (by deletion of verb marker) →
 d + il + l + úr (by deletion of unstressed *u*—cf. 6.4 above) →
 d + il + r + úr (by assimilation of *l* to *r*) →
 d + ir + r + úr (by assimilation of *l* to *r*)

b. The 3rd pers. sg. object perfective forms of *mēnga* 'eat' are *kolii* and *killii*. The appearance of *l* in these forms indicates that the basic form of the verb stem is *kal*. It seems as if the *l* of the verb stem must be deleted in word-final position after the vowel *a*, as in *mēnga* 'eat', *kma* 'eat them', and *kila* 'ate them'. The stem-final *l* is also retained in *kall* 'food', where it is followed by the **anticipating state suffix** *-l* (see 7.8).

c. *Mēngiis* 'dig' (a native Palauan verb) and *mēngiis* 'open' (a verb formed from the verb marker *mē* + the imperfective marker *ng* + the English word *keys*) have identical forms for many speakers. As indicated in 15, however, some speakers distinguish the 3rd pers. sg. object present perfective forms of these verbs. For *mēngiis* 'dig', we have *kiiēsii*, with an extra *ē* pronounced between the long vowel *ii* and the following consonant; this extra *ē* turns up under similar circumstances in other native verb forms such as *liēchii* 'remove meat (from a coconut)' and *chuiēuii* 'read it'. By contrast, *mēngiis* 'open' has *kiiisii*, with no extra *ē* appearing between the long vowel and the following consonant; this irregularity is undoubtedly due to the non-native origin of this verb.

d. For the verb *mēlamech* 'smoke, chew', most speakers use perfective forms which begin with *ch-*, but there is some variation observed for the 3rd pers. pl. non-human object perfective forms, which for certain speakers begin with *ng-*. A verb-stem-initial *ng* is also seen in the related causative verb *omēngamech* 'make (someone) chew/smoke' (see 9.2.1.2). The ergative form of this

verb, however, shows verb-stem-initial *ch*: *mēchamech* 'be/get chewed/smoked'. Because of this alternation between verb-stem-initial *ng* and *ch*, it is difficult to decide which consonant appears in the basic form of the verb stem. The choice of *ng* seems preferable, however: if the verb stem in question is *ngamech*, then we can correctly predict the imperfective form *mēlmaech* from *mē* + *l* + *ngamech*, where *l* is chosen as the imperfective marker because of the following verb-stem-initial *ng*. We might speculate that those verb forms showing a *ch*-initial verb stem—i.e., perfective forms such as *chomechii* 'chew/smoke it' or *chuamech* 'chew/smoke them' and the ergative form *mēchamech* 'be/get chewed/smoked'—are the result of an **assimilation** rule: that is, the initial *ng* of *ngamech* completely assimilates to (i.e., becomes identical with) the *ch* at the end of the verb stem.

e. The 3rd pers. sg. perfective forms of *mēruul* 'make, prepare' show a doubling of the *l*—i.e., we have *rullii* 'make it' and *rirēllii* 'made it'. It is possible that the stem for this verb is *ruull* and that the *ll* shortens in word-final position, while remaining intact before a suffix. Further evidence for this analysis may be found by comparing the derived noun *rruul* 'something which is made' (which is actually a **resulting state verb** in form—see 8.2) with its possessed forms *rrēllek* 'the thing I have made', *rrēllem* 'the thing you have made', etc.

PERFECTIVE FORMS OF TRANSITIVE VERBS IN *o-*

6.6. In 6.1 above we listed a small number of transitive verbs whose imperfective forms have the prefix *o-* as the verb marker. The perfective forms of a few of these verbs are listed below according to the same format presented in 15 (q.v.):

- (33) a. *oker* 'ask':
 korir kirrir
 kmer kiler
 c. *omoēs* 'shoot':
 mosii milosii
 moēs miloēs
 b. *omail* 'clothe':
 milli mililii
 mail milail
 d. *osiik* 'look for, find':
 siiekii silikii
 smiik siliik

All of the perfective forms given above can be explained in terms of phonetic rules with which we are already familiar. A form like *korir* 'ask him', for example, results from vowel blending and other rules, as in the following derivation:

- (34) *mę* + *ker* + *ir* (basic form) →
k + *mę* + *er* + *ir* (by metathesis) →
k + *m* + *er* + *ir* (by deletion of *ę*) →
k + *u* + *er* + *ir* (by change of verb marker to *u* in unstressed syllable) →
k + *or* + *ir* (by vowel blending)

The *m*-initial perfective forms of *omail* 'clothe' and *omoes* 'shoot' all involve the phonetic rule deleting *b* before *m* which we introduced in 6.2.1 above (cf. the derivation of *mo* 'go' in 12). Thus, a form like *milii* 'clothe him' is derived by the following steps:

- (35) *mę* + *bail* + *ii* (basic form) →
b + *mę* + *ail* + *ii* (by metathesis) →
b + *m* + *ail* + *ii* (by deletion of *ę*) →
m + *ail* + *ii* (by deletion of *b* before *m*) →
m + *il* + *ii* (by vowel cluster reduction)

In the derivation above, the metathesized verb marker does not change to *u*, even though it occurs in an unstressed syllable; this is probably due to the fact that, after the deletion of *b*, the *m* of the (metathesized) verb marker once again comes to appear in word-initial position. Note, further, that the stressed vowel cluster *ai* found in the imperfective form *omail* 'clothe' and in the 3rd pers. pl. non-human object perfective forms *máil* 'clothe them' and *miláil* 'clothed them' is reduced to *i* when unstressed in the 3rd pers. sg. object perfective forms *milii* 'clothe him' and *mililii* 'clothed him'. The same kind of vowel cluster reduction is observed in *omóes* 'shoot' vs. *mosii* 'shoot him', etc., and the long vowel *ii* of *osíik* 'look for' shortens to *i* when unstressed in *silikii* 'found him'.

In past perfective forms like *kirrir* 'asked him', *silikii* 'found him', etc., there is no trace of the metathesized verb marker, which, as expected, is deleted before the high vowel *i* of the past tense infix *-il-* or *-ir-*. Furthermore, in *kirrir* 'asked him', the past tense marker appears as *-ir-* due to assimilation with the following *r* of the verb stem *ker*.

HYPOTHETICAL FORMS OF PERFECTIVE VERBS

6.7. In 6.2.1 above we noted that most hypothetical verb forms char-

acteristically lack the verb marker. This statement applies to the hypothetical forms of perfective verbs as well. Observe the following examples:

(36) <i>Perfective Verb</i>		<i>Hypothetical Form (with 3rd pers. hypothetical pronoun)</i>	
<i>ngotęchii</i>	'clean it'	<i>lęngętęchii</i>	'(if) he cleans it'
<i>ngmatęch</i>	'clean them'	<i>lęngatęch</i>	'(if) he cleans them'
<i>longir</i>	'borrow it'	<i>llęngir</i>	'(if) he borrows it'
<i>lmeng</i>	'borrow them'	<i>lleng</i>	'(if) he borrows them'
<i>ręmuul</i>	'make them'	<i>lęruul</i>	'(if) he makes them'

While the perfective verb forms on the left all contain the metathesized verb marker (italicized), their corresponding hypothetical forms on the right do not. As we saw in 6.3.1 above, the perfective verb forms given in 36 have the basic structure *verb marker* + *verb stem* + *object pronoun*; by contrast, their corresponding hypothetical forms have the basic structure *hypothetical pronoun* + *verb stem* + *object pronoun*. As we might expect, the prefixed hypothetical pronoun has different forms depending on the initial sound of the following verb stem (cf. 4.10.9): for example, in the hypothetical forms of 36 above, the 3rd pers. hypothetical pronoun appears as *l-* before an *l*-initial verb stem (as in *llęngir* and *lleng*), but is pronounced as *lę-* otherwise. Some hypothetical forms of perfective verbs which contain first or second person hypothetical pronouns include *kngętęchii* '(if) I clean it', *kruul* '(if) I make them', *chomlęngir* '(if) you borrow it', etc.

For those perfective verb forms in which the metathesized verb marker has been deleted before a high vowel in an unstressed syllable, the corresponding hypothetical form is derived simply by prefixing the appropriate hypothetical pronoun. Thus, we have pairs of forms like *silsębii* 'burned it'—*lęsilsębii* '(if) he burned it', *silesęb* 'burned them'—*ksilesęb* '(if) I burned them', *chiliuii* 'read it'—*chomchiliuii* '(if) you read it', *rullii* 'make it'—*kręllii* '(if) I make it', etc.

The verb stems for *omail* 'clothe' and *omoes* 'shoot' of 33 are *bail* 'article of clothing' and *boes* 'gun', respectively. Since the basic structure for hypothetical perfective forms is *hypothetical pronoun* + *verb stem* + *object pronoun*, as we have seen above, a verb like *omoes* 'shoot' has the hypothetical perfective forms *lębosii* '(if) he shoots him', *lęboes* '(if) he shoots them', *lębilosii* '(if) he shot him', *lębiloes* '(if) he shot them', etc.

7 State Verbs

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF STATE VERBS

7.1. In previous chapters we have already provided much information about the meaning and use of Palauan **state verbs**. Thus, in 5.1.1–3 we emphasized the opposition between state verbs, which describe states, qualities, or conditions that temporarily or permanently characterize someone or something, and **action verbs**, which designate actions, activities, or events in which someone (the **doer** or **agent**) participates. We also saw that both state verbs and action verbs can be either **transitive** or **intransitive**, although the class of transitive state verbs is rather small. Finally, we noted that the two types of verbs can be distinguished from each other according to the way in which their **past** tense forms are derived: while state verbs use the auxiliary word *mle* 'was, were', action verbs infix the past tense marker *-il-* or *-l-*.

Whereas we have a fairly clear picture of the meaning and use of Palauan state verbs, we have not yet paid much attention to their **internal structure**. In other words, we still need to examine the various ways in which morphemes—**verb stems** and **affixes**—combine with each other in the formation of state verbs. So far, we have only dealt with **simple state verbs** and with state verbs containing the **verb marker** and a **verb stem** (cf. 6.1). After reviewing these two types briefly, we will look at various classes of state verbs whose internal structure is more complex.

Simple state verbs are those which consist of a single morpheme, or meaning-bearing unit, as in the following examples:

(1) ungil	'good'	songɽrenger	'hungry'
klɛbokɽl	'beautiful'	chɛtngaɽd	'thin'
dɛchudɛch	'dirty'	cheisɛch	'stained'
dibus	'away, absent'	chɛrodɛch	'noisy'

sɛkool	'playful'	ngodɛch	'strange, different'
chuodɽl	'old'	ngeiasɛk	'young'

State verbs consisting of the verb marker and a verb stem can be classified into two types, depending on whether the verb stem is **bound** or whether it occurs independently as a noun. In the examples below, all the verb stems are bound—i.e., they cannot be used as separate words:

(2) mɛkngit	'bad'	mɛkeald	'warm'
mɛrur	'ashamed, shy'	kmeed	'near'
mɛdai	'poor'	chuarm	'suffer'
mɛrau	'rich'	dmak	'together'
mɛkreous	'precious'	dmik	'move out, be thrown out'

By contrast, the verb stems in the following examples are not bound, but can occur independently as nouns. By prefixing *mɛ-* to each of the nouns below, we derive a state verb which designates a state or condition characterized by the presence of whatever the corresponding noun refers to.

(3) <i>State Verb</i>			<i>Related Noun</i>
məched	'shallow'	ched	'low tide'
milkolk	'dark'	ilkolk	'darkness'
mədakt	'afraid of, fear'	dakt	'fear'
məses	'industrious, strong'	ses	'industriousness'
məsaul ¹	'tired'	saul	'tiredness'
məchuu	'shady'	chuu	'shadow'
məkərior	'unfortunate'	kərior	'misfortune'
məduch	'able to, skilled at'	duch	'ability'
smechər	'sick'	sechər	'sickness'
smau	'comfortable with, used to'	sau	'liking'

In the state verbs of 2 and 3 above, the verb marker appears in several different forms (cf. 6.1–2). In most cases, it is a prefix (*mɛ-* or *m-*); but with certain verb stems it **metathesizes** to a position following the initial consonant of the stem and appears as *-(ɛ)m-* or *-u-*.

The state verbs of 1 through 3 can be used in sentences such as the following:

- (4) a. A mubi a ungil.
'The movie is good.'
- b. A sensei a mle dibus.
'The teacher was out.'
- c. Ak kmal mle $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{songɣrenger} \\ \text{mɛsaul} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$.
'I was very $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{hungry} \\ \text{tired} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$.'
- d. A bilek a mla mo cheisɣch.
'My clothes have gotten stained.'
- e. A bɛchik a smeɣer ɛr a tɛrɛtɛr.
'My wife is sick with a cold.'
- f. A Toki a chuarm ɛr a dɛlɛŋɣɛkɛklel.
'Toki is suffering because of her living conditions.'

While 4a, 4e, and 4f describe **present** states or conditions, 4b and 4c, which contain the past tense auxiliary *mle* 'was, were', describe **past** states or conditions. In 4d, the use of *mo* 'go' before the state verb designates a **change of state** (cf. 5.1.3). In 4e and 4f, the state verbs are accompanied by the **relational phrases** *ɛr a tɛrɛtɛr* 'because of a cold' and *ɛr a dɛlɛŋɣɛkɛklel* 'because of her living conditions', which explain the **cause** of the state (see 14.5).

STATE VERBS WITH PLURAL SUBJECTS

- 7.2. Several simple state verbs which refer to **size** or **dimension** must take the prefix *mɛ-* if their subject is **plural**. This *mɛ-* is probably an instance of the **verb marker prefix**, but one which has the unique function of indicating the plurality of the subject. Observe the following pairs of sentences:

- (5) a. A mlai a klou.
'The canoe is big.'
- b. A mlai a mɛklou.
'The canoes are big.'
- (6) a. Tia ɛl oluchɛs a ɕɛtŋgaid.
'This pencil is thin.'
- b. Aika ɛl oluchɛs a mɛɕɛtŋgaid.
'These pencils are thin.'

In 5a and 6a above, the (unprefixed) simple state verbs *klou* 'big' and *ɕɛtŋgaid* 'thin' are associated with singular subjects, while in 5b and 6b the state verbs with *mɛ-* are associated with plural subjects. A state verb referring to size or dimension must

take the prefix *mɛ-* if its subject is **overtly** plural, but must remain unprefixed if its subject is overtly singular. The subject of 6a—*tia ɛl oluchɛs* 'this pencil'—is overtly singular because it contains the **demonstrative** (or pointing) word *tia* 'this', which automatically refers to one single thing. By contrast, the subject of 6b—*aika ɛl oluchɛs* 'these pencils'—is overtly plural because the demonstrative word *aika* 'these' always refers to two or more things. Thus, in 6a the singular state verb *ɕɛtŋgaid* '(is) thin' agrees (or corresponds) with the singular subject *tia ɛl oluchɛs* 'this pencil', while in 6b the plural state verb *mɛɕɛtŋgaid* '(are) thin' agrees with the plural subject *aika ɛl oluchɛs* 'these pencils'. In 5a-b, the situation is somewhat different, since the subject *mlai* 'canoe' contains no demonstrative words and is therefore neither overtly singular nor overtly plural. In such cases, the speaker must add *mɛ-* to the state verb if he is talking about a plural subject; thus, in 5a-b, the difference in meaning is determined solely by the presence or absence of *mɛ-*.

Other state verbs which must take *mɛ-* to identify a plural subject are illustrated in the following sentences:

- (7) a. A rɛɕad ɛr a Merikel a mɛ(ke)kɛmanɣɛt.
'Americans are tall.'
- b. A chiul a Toki a mɛ(ke)kɛmanɣɛt.
'Toki's hair is long.'
- c. A kall ɛr a uum a kmal mɛkɛkɛrei.
'The quantities of food at the cafeteria are very small.'

The state verbs given in 7 are *(ke)kɛmanɣɛt* 'tall, long' and *kɛkɛrei* 'small'. In both of these verbs, the initial syllable *ke-* results from repeating (or **reduplicating**—see chap. 11) part of the verb stem. This repeated initial syllable is required in *kɛkɛrei* 'small', but is optional in *(ke)kɛmanɣɛt* 'tall, long' (hence, our use of parentheses). The alternate forms *kɛmanɣɛt* and *kekɛmanɣɛt* do not show any difference in meaning.² In the sentences above, *mɛ-* is prefixed to the state verb either because the subject is overtly plural or because the speaker is referring to something plural. In 7a, the subject noun phrase *rɛɕad ɛr a Merikel* 'Americans' is overtly plural because it contains the plural noun *rɛɕad* 'people', which consists of the plural prefix *rɛ-* (cf. 2.5) and the human noun *ɕad* 'man'. And in 7b and 7c, the speaker is talking about plural subjects: *chiul a Toki* 'Toki's hair' does not refer to just one strand or piece of hair, but to many; and *kall* 'food' refers to the different kinds of food available at the cafeteria.

Though it does not refer to size or dimension, the state verb *kikiongəl* 'dirty' (which also appears to contain a repeated portion *ki-*) is sometimes observed to take *mə-* if a plural subject is intended. Thus, with 5a-b, for example, compare the following pair of sentences:

- (8) a. A blatingel a Toki a kikiongəl.
'Toki's plate is dirty.'
b. A blatingel a Toki a məkikiongəl.
'Toki's plates are dirty.'

VERBS WITH *mle* AND *-il-* IN THE PAST

- 7.3. A small number of Palauan verbs have two past tense forms, one with the auxiliary word *mle* 'was, were' and the other with the infix past tense marker *-il-*. Since these two different ways of deriving the past tense characterize **state** verbs vs. **action** verbs, respectively (cf. 5.1.3), we must conclude that the verbs in question can function as either type. In some cases, use of one or the other of the past tense forms results in a very clear-cut difference in meaning, as in the examples below:

- (9) a. A ngalək a mle məkar.
'The child was awake.'
b. A ngalək a milkar ər a çərrodəch.
'The child woke up from the noise.'
(10) a. A Droteo a mle dmik ər a blil a Toki.
'Droteo was living away from Toki's house.'
b. A Droteo a dilik ər a blil a Toki.
'Droteo moved out of/got thrown out of Toki's house.'

In 9a and 10a above, the auxiliary *mle* 'was, were' makes it clear that the verbs *məkar* 'be awake, wake up', and *dmik* 'live away from, move out of' are being used as state verbs: therefore, *mle məkar* 'was awake' and *mle dmik* 'was living away from' describe past states. By contrast, the infix past tense marker *-il-* in 9b and 10b tells us that *məkar* and *dmik* are functioning as action verbs: here, *milkar* 'woke up' and *dilik* 'moved out of' denote actions or events rather than states.

There are several other Palauan verbs which have two past tense forms, but unlike the cases above, the use of one or the other form usually has no effect on the meaning. Thus, most speakers use the sentences in each of the following pairs interchangeably:

- (11) a. A John a mle məchiuaiu ər a ulaol.
'John was sleeping on the floor.'
b. A John a miləchiuaiu ər a ulaol.
(12) a. A Hermana a mle dēngchokl ər tiang.
'Hermana was sitting here.'³
b. A Hermana a dilēngchokl ər tiang.
(13) a. A Droteo a mle kie ər a Guam.
'Droteo was living/lived in Guam.'
b. A Droteo a kilie ər a Guam.

TRANSITIVE STATE VERBS

- 7.4. As we saw in 5.1.2, the class of Palauan **transitive state verbs** is quite small. Transitive state verbs can be identified by the following two features: first, they take **objects** because they are transitive; and second, their past tense forms are derived with *mle* because they are state verbs. Both of these identifying features are observed in the sentences below:

- (14) a. A John a mle mədēnge a təkoi ər a Siabal.
'John used to know Japanese.'
b. A Satsko a kmal mle mədudch ər a ochur.
'Satsko really used to know (how to do) math.'
c. Ak mle mətitur a təkoi ər a Merikel ər se ər a taem ər a məkəmad.
'I didn't know English during the war.'
d. A Droteo a mle mərur ər a səçəḷil.
'Droteo was ashamed of his friend.'
e. A səçəḷik a mle mədakt a bişəbusəch.
'My friend used to be afraid of lightning.'

All of the transitive state verbs given above—*mədēnge* 'know', *mədudch* 'know how (to), be skilled at', *mətitur* 'not know how (to), not be capable of', *mərur* 'ashamed of', and *mədakt* 'afraid of'—involve mental states (knowledge of something, fear of something, etc.) or abilities.

The transitive state verb *mədēnge* 'know' has a full set of **perfective** forms—i.e., *mədēngəlkek* 'know me', *mədēngəlkau* 'know you', *mədēngəlil* 'know him/her/it', etc. (cf. 4.9.4, ex. 53). The use of these perfective forms is illustrated in the sentences below:

- (15) a. Ak mle meḍengelii a Toki er se ɛr a nkar ɛr a Guam.
'I knew Toki when I was in Guam.'
- b. Ak mle meḍengelɛrir a rɛsɛɛɛlil a Droteo er se ɛr a nkar ɛr a Hawaii.
'I knew Droteo's friends when I was in Hawaii.'

As 15a-b and 14a above show, the object noun phrase following *meḍenge* 'know' can be either human (e.g. *Toki* in 15a) or inanimate (e.g. *tɛkoi ɛr a Siabal* 'Japanese (language)' in 14a).⁴

STATE VERBS WITH *bɛ-*

- 7.5. A few state verbs can be formed by adding the prefix *bɛ-* to a verb stem. In most cases, the verb stem can be used as an independent noun, as in the following examples:

(16) State Verb		Related Noun	
bɛchachas	'sooty'	chas	'soot, ash'
bɛchochod	'fragrant'	chochod	(type of tree from which incense is made)
bɛralm	'watery, flat-tasting' ⁵	ralm	'water'
bɛsokɛl	'infected with ringworm'	sokɛl	'ringworm'

As you can see, the derived state verbs in 16 describe states or conditions characterized by the presence of whatever the corresponding noun refers to (cf. the state verbs of 3 above): for instance, *bɛralm* 'watery, flat-tasting' describes a condition resulting from the presence of too much *ralm* 'water' in food, etc. Notice that the noun *chas* 'soot, ash' has to be partially repeated (or **reduplicated**—see chap. 11) before the prefix *bɛ-* can be added.

Certain state verbs in *bɛ-* are derived from other state verbs, but unlike the examples in 16 above, the meaning of the derived state verb cannot be predicted in any consistent way. Note the following examples:

(17) State Verb		Related State Verb	
bɛcheleleu	'white'	cheleleu	'pale'
bɛchachau	'empty' ⁶	chachau	'stunted, empty (of nuts)'

A few state verbs in *bɛ-* do not seem to be related to any noun or to any other state verb. Therefore, *bɛ-* is followed by

bound verb stems in words like *bɛtimɛl* 'slow' and *bɛlils* 'high, piercing'.

THE PREFIXES *bɛkɛ-* AND *sɛkɛ-*

- 7.6. Although Palauan has a fairly large number of state verbs derived with the prefixes *bɛkɛ-* and *sɛkɛ-*, the use of such words appears to be declining, especially among younger speakers. These prefixes may be related to each other (note that they share the syllable *-kɛ-*), but their development is not clear; furthermore, *bɛkɛ-* may contain the prefix *bɛ-* discussed in 7.5 above. State verbs formed with *bɛkɛ-* and *sɛkɛ-* are very difficult to analyze because many Palauan speakers have different opinions about their acceptability and their meaning.

In some cases, both *bɛkɛ-* and *sɛkɛ-* can be prefixed to the same verb stem, resulting in state verbs which are distinct from each other in meaning. Observe, for example, the sentences below, which contain state verbs derived from the stem *rurt* 'running, race':⁷

- (18) a. A ngalɛk a bɛkɛrurt.
'The child is a good runner.'
- b. A ngalɛk a sɛkɛrurt.
'The child runs a lot.'

In 18a, the prefix *bɛkɛ-* derives a state verb which expresses the subject's **ability** or **skill** in doing the activity referred to by the verb stem: thus, *bɛkɛrurt* means 'good at running'. In 18b, however, the prefix *sɛkɛ-* derives a state verb with quite a different meaning: here, *sɛkɛ-* implies that the activity designated by the verb stem is something which the subject **does often** or **likes to do**—hence, the English equivalent 'run a lot'. A parallel distinction is found in the following pair of sentences, which have state verbs derived from the bound stem *tungɛl*⁸:

- (19) a. A Toki a bɛkɛtungɛl.
'Toki has a keen sense of smell.'
- b. A Toki a sɛkɛtungɛl.
'Toki likes to smell things.'

Examples of contrast between *bɛkɛ-* and *sɛkɛ-* such as those given in 18 and 19 above are relatively uncommon. More often, we find that either one or the other of these prefixes occurs with a particular verb stem. In the majority of such cases, the derived

state verb refers to the subject's frequent pursuit of an activity ('do...a lot') rather than his skill in doing it. In the list below, some of the most commonly-used state verbs with *bəkə-* and *səkə-* are given, together with the related verb stem; if the verb stem occurs independently as a noun, it is provided with an English gloss.

(20) State Verb		Related Stem
bəkətəkoi	'talkative, talk a lot'	təkoi 'word, language'
bəkəsūs	'swear a lot, talk vividly'	sūs 'swearing'
səkərael	'travel a lot, go from place to place, can't settle down'	rael 'road'
bəkureor ⁹	'work a lot, hard-working'	ureor 'work'
bəkətaut	'good at shooting'	taut 'aim'
bəkəsəçəlei	'have many friends, friendly'	səçəlei 'friend'
səkəboes	'go shooting a lot'	boes 'gun'
səkəbuachəl	'boast a lot about having a girlfriend or boyfriend'	buachəl
səkəngim	'drink a lot (of liquor)'	ngim
səchiuaiu ¹⁰	'sleep a lot, sleep late'	chiuaiu

Since the derived state verbs of 18–20 simply have the structure *bəkə/səkə* + *verb stem*, they automatically preserve the initial consonant of the verb stem. For example, the *t* of *təkoi* 'word, language' is retained in *bəkətəkoi* 'talkative', but deleted in *mələkoi* 'talk', the corresponding imperfective verb. This verb has the basic structure *mə* + *l* + *təkoi*—i.e., *verb marker* + *imperfective marker* + *verb stem*. As we saw in 5.5, the imperfective marker appears as *l* before verb stems like *təkoi* 'word, language', which begin with *t*; once the correct form of the imperfective marker has been chosen, the initial consonant of the verb stem is deleted. Therefore, the imperfective verb *mələkoi* 'talk' shows no trace of the initial consonant *t* of the verb stem *təkoi*. For similar reasons, the initial consonants of verb stems like *boes* 'gun' and *ngim* (a bound stem meaning 'drink') are preserved in derived state verbs like *səkəboes* 'go shooting a lot' and *səkəngim* 'drink a

lot (of liquor)', but are lost in the corresponding imperfective verbs *omoēs* 'shoot' and *məlim* 'drink'.

In a small number of cases, state verbs with *bəkə-* and *səkə-* can only be derived if all or part of the verb stem is repeated (or **reduplicated**—see chap. 11). Observe the following examples:

(21) State Verb		Related Stem
bəkəlilangel	'cry a lot'	langəl 'crying'
bəkəsechəsechər	'get sick a lot'	sechər 'sickness'
bəkəbəšbes	'forgetful'	bes 'forgetfulness'
səkərker ¹¹	'ask questions a lot'	ker 'question'

As a native speaker of Palauan, you have undoubtedly found that some of the derived state verbs listed above are unacceptable to you, or that the meanings provided by the English glosses do not match your own interpretations. This is because the use of the prefixes *bəkə-* and *səkə-* is gradually dying out—or, as linguists say, becoming less **productive**. For this reason, many speakers are no longer sure of the correct form and meaning of state verbs derived with these prefixes.

STATE VERBS WITH *bəkə-* DENOTING SMELLS

7.6.1. The prefix *bəkə-* has another function unrelated to that described in 7.6 above. This prefix can also be added to nouns to derive state verbs which refer to various kinds of **smells** which are considered to be unpleasant or disagreeable. Some examples, together with the related nouns, are given below:

(22) State Verb		Related Stem
bəkəbau	'smell of rotten meat or fish'	bau 'smell'
bəkəriaməl	'smell of football fruit (i.e., sweaty)'	riaməl 'football fruit'
bəkəkətuu	'smell of a cat'	katuu 'cat'
bəkəuel	'smell of turtle (after eating turtle)'	uel 'turtle'
bəkəçəluch	'smell of coconut oil'	çəluch 'coconut oil'
bəkəngikəl	'smell of fish'	ngikəl 'fish'

In addition to the above, a small number of state verbs denoting smell contain bound stems; a typical example is *bəkəsəngorəç* 'smell of a male pig'.

RESULTING STATE VERBS

- 7.7. In the sections above we have examined certain classes of Palauan state verbs which are derived with the **prefixes** *mə-*, *bə-*, *bəkə-*, and *səkə-*. In this section we will discuss **resulting state verbs**, which involve the **infix** *-(ə)l-*. The meaning of Palauan resulting state verbs will be easy to understand if we compare the following sentences:

- (23) a. A Toki a məlatəch ər a ulaol.
'Toki is cleaning the floor.'
b. A ulaol a nglatəch.
'The floor is clean(ed).'

While 23a describes an **action** (*məlatəch* 'clean') which is directed at an **object** (*ulaol* 'floor'), 23b describes the **state** which the object is in as a **result** of this very same action. In other words, *nglatəch* 'cleaned' of 23b tells us that the floor has undergone the action of cleaning and is now clean. Because forms like *nglatəch* 'cleaned' focus on the state resulting from some completed action, they are called **resulting state verbs**.

Before discussing how resulting state verbs are derived, let us look at some further pairs of sentences which parallel 23a-b above:

- (24) a. A Droteo a məluchəs ər a babier.
'Droteo is writing the letter.'
b. A babier a lluchəs.
'The letter is written.'
(25) a. A John a məngat a ngikəl.
'John is smoking the fish.'
b. A ngikəl a chəlat.
'The fish are smoked.'
(26) a. A Droteo a uləmoes a bəlochəl.
'Droteo was shooting pigeons.'
b. A bəlochəl a mle bloes.
'The pigeons were (injured from being) shot.'

As 23-26 show, resulting state verbs can only be formed from **transitive action verbs** (cf. 5.1.1) like *məlatəch* 'clean', *məluchəs* 'write', *məngat* 'smoke (fish)', *omoes* 'shoot', etc. Furthermore, while the transitive a-sentences have the **agent** (or doer) as subject, no mention of the agent can be made in the b-sentences, which contain resulting state verbs. This is simply due to the fact that the b-sentences focus our attention solely on the resulting state; the person who brought about this state is irrelevant and need not be mentioned.

Resulting state verbs are derived simply by infixing *-(ə)l-* after the initial consonant of the verb stem. The *ə* must be included if the preceding consonant is *ch*, *s*, *t*, or *d*; otherwise, an unpronounceable consonant cluster would result (cf. 1.4.5). In the list below, a representative sample of resulting state verbs is given; for purposes of comparison, the related transitive action verb (in the imperfective form) is also provided.

(27) <i>Resulting State Verb</i>		<i>Related Transitive Verb (in imperfective form)</i>	
<i>klimd</i>	'cut'	<i>məngimd</i>	'cut (hair)'
<i>chəlsbrebər</i>	'painted'	<i>məngəsbrebər</i>	'paint'
<i>lleng</i>	'borrowed'	<i>mələng</i>	'borrow'
<i>səlesəb</i>	'burned'	<i>məlesəb</i>	'burn'
<i>təlub</i>	'spat'	<i>məlub</i>	'spit'
<i>dəles</i>	'sliced'	<i>məles</i>	'slice'
<i>rruul</i>	'made, done, fixed'	<i>məruul</i>	'make, do, fix'
<i>b/urəch</i>	'speared'	<i>omurəch</i>	'spear'

Since the resulting state verbs in 27 consist only of the **resulting state infix** (italicized) and the **verb stem**, they preserve the stem-initial consonants *k*, *ch*, *s*, *t*, *b*, etc. These stem-initial consonants disappear, however, in the corresponding imperfective verbs because they are deleted after the **imperfective marker** (cf. the discussion following ex. 20 in 7.6 above). In *rruul* 'made, done, fixed' the resulting state infix appears as *r* due to **assimilation** with the preceding verb-stem-initial *r*.

ANTICIPATING STATE VERBS

- 7.8. Another type of state verb which can only be formed from **transitive action verbs** is the **anticipating state verb**. Anticipating state verbs are derived by adding a **suffix** of the form *-(ə)l* or *long vowel + l* to the verb stem; in addition, they involve some complicated phonetic changes, as we will see below. In order to understand the meaning of anticipating state verbs, let us compare the following two sentences:

- (28) a. A Toki a məlatəch ər a ulaol.
'Toki is cleaning the floor.'
b. A ulaol a ngətachəl.
'The floor is to be cleaned.'

Sentence 28a (which we discussed above as 23a) describes an action (*məlatəch* 'clean') which is being directed at an object (*ulaol* 'floor'). By contrast, 28b does not describe an action which is actually being performed at the present moment, but instead focuses on the object as something which is **expected** to undergo (or should undergo) the action at some future time. In other words, *ngətachəl* 'is to be cleaned' of 28b tells us that the floor needs cleaning or should be cleaned—i.e., that it is "waiting" to undergo the effect of the action of cleaning. Because forms like *ngətachəl* 'is to be cleaned' refer to states which the speaker **expects** or **anticipates**, we will call them **anticipating state verbs**.

The use of Palauan anticipating state verbs is illustrated further in the sentences below:

- (29) a. A mlik a tɛləmall mə ng kirel ɛl ruoll.
'My car isn't working, so it needs to be fixed.'
- b. A blim ng ruoll ɛr ker?
'Where is your house to be built?'
- c. Aika ɛl bilek a kirel ɛl mo səlokɛl.
'These clothes of mine need to be washed.'
- d. A chiuk a mle kmudɛl.
'My hair was to be cut.'
- e. Ngika a beakl ɛl babii.
'This is the pig which is to be shot.'

As the sentences of 29 show, the italicized anticipating state verbs are more or less equivalent to English expressions with 'need to be...' or 'is to be...' Since these sentences are used primarily to focus our attention on the fact that something needs to (or should) undergo the effect of some action, knowledge of the agent is considered irrelevant. Therefore, sentences with anticipating state verbs, like those with resulting state verbs (cf. 7.7 above), cannot include any mention of the agent.

As we mentioned above, anticipating state verbs are derived by suffixing *-(ɛ)l* or *long vowel + l* to the verb stem. In the list below, some typical anticipating state verbs are given; for purposes of comparison, the related transitive action verb (in the imperfective form) is also provided. Stressed syllables are marked because they will be of importance in the subsequent discussion.

(30) <i>Anticipating State Verb</i>	<i>Related Transitive Verb</i> (in imperfective form)
kmudɛl 'is to be cut'	məngimɔ 'cut (hair)'
lɛngiil 'is to be borrowed'	mɛləng 'borrow'

səlókɛl 'is to be washed'	mɛsílɛk 'wash'
səsóbɛl 'is to be burned'	mɛləsɛb 'burn'
chɛtúul 'is to be smoked'	mɛngát 'smoke (fish)'
lɛchúkl 'is to be written'	mɛlúchɛs 'write'
ruól 'is to be made, done, fixed'	mɛrúul 'make, do, fix'
beákl 'is to be shot'	omóes 'shoot'
brúchɛl 'is to be speared'	omúrɛch 'spear'

Because the anticipating state verbs in 30 have the basic structure *verb stem + anticipating state suffix*, they of course preserve the stem-initial consonants *k*, *ch*, *s*, *b*, etc. Can you explain why these stem-initial consonants have disappeared in the corresponding imperfective verbs?

There is no way of predicting whether the anticipating state suffix (italicized in 30) will occur as *-(ɛ)l* or as a long vowel (e.g. *ii* or *uu*) followed by *l*.¹² If the suffix appears as *-(ɛ)l*, it is never stressed; therefore, in anticipating state forms like *kmudɛl* 'is to be cut', *səlókɛl* 'is to be washed', *səsóbɛl* 'is to be burned', etc., the stress falls on the vowel in the syllable **preceding** the anticipating state suffix *-(ɛ)l*. If we compare forms like *səlókɛl* 'is to be washed' and *mɛsílɛk* 'wash', we notice two cases of vowel alternation. First, in the anticipating state form, the full **stressed** vowel *o* appears between *l* and *k*, while in the imperfective form, a *ɛ* appears between these same consonants in an **unstressed** syllable. Second, in the imperfective form, the full **stressed** vowel *i* is found between *s* and *l*, while in the anticipating state form, a *ɛ* appears between these two consonants in an **unstressed** syllable.

We can explain the above vowel alternations if we propose that the verb stem for 'wash' has the **basic stem** *silok*. The basic stem *silok* does not occur in actual pronunciation or writing but represents a kind of "abstraction" or "phonetic formula" from which we can predict those full vowels which will appear in stressed syllables in the related forms of a verb.¹³ In the example under consideration, the imperfective form *mɛsílɛk* is stressed on the next-to-the-last syllable. Here, the *i* of the basic stem *silok* appears as the **full** vowel *i* in the actual pronunciation because it occurs in the stressed syllable; on the other hand, the *o* of the basic stem *silok* appears as the **reduced** vowel *ɛ* because it is found in an unstressed syllable. In the anticipating state form *səlókɛl*, however, the situation is exactly the reverse. In this word, it is the *o* of the basic stem *silok* which appears in the stressed syllable and therefore gets pronounced as the full vowel *o*, while the *i* of *silok* is reduced to *ɛ* in an unstressed syllable.

As the above discussion shows, we can explain the complicated vowel alternations in forms such as *məsilek* 'wash' and *səlókəl* 'is to be washed' in terms of the process of **vowel reduction** (cf. 1.4.4 and 3.4), which is perhaps the most important phonetic process in Palauan. Just as we set up the abstract basic stem *silok* to explain the vowel alternations in *məsilek* and *səlókəl*, so can we set up abstract basic stems to account for the other pairs of words listed in 30. A few examples are given below:

(31) Basic Stem	Anticipating State Verb	Imperfective Verb
sesob	səsóbəl 'is to be burned'	məléšəb 'burn'
luchus	ləchúkl 'is to be written'	məlúchəs 'write'
kimud	kmúdəl 'is to be cut'	məngímd 'cut (hair)'

The basic stems *sesob* and *luchus* given above are just like *silok* in their behavior: in the anticipating state verb, the second vowel of the basic stem appears as a full vowel under stress, while the first vowel of the basic stem reduces to *ə* in an unstressed syllable; and in the imperfective verb, exactly the opposite situation occurs. The basic stem *kimud* given above behaves somewhat differently, since one or the other of its vowels disappears completely when unstressed, rather than reducing to *ə*. Thus, in the anticipating state verb *kmúdəl* 'is to be cut', the *i* of the basic stem *kimud* is deleted when unstressed; and in the imperfective verb *məngímd* 'cut (hair)', the *u* of the basic stem is similarly deleted. Since vowel deletion can be considered an "extreme" form of vowel reduction (cf. 3.4.1), the behavior of *kimud* is not really very unusual.

There are several other phonetic changes which occur in the anticipating state verbs of 30 that should be mentioned. If we compare the forms *məlúchəs* 'write'—*ləchúkl* 'is to be written' and *omóes* 'shoot'—*beákl* 'is to be shot', we observe an alternation between a final *s* in the imperfective forms and a *k* in the anticipating state forms. This alternation is due to a rather unusual phonetic rule of Palauan which changes *s* to *k* before *l*. Thus, a form like *ləchúkl* is derived by the following steps:

- (32) *luchús* + 1 (basic form = basic stem + anticipating state suffix) →
ləchús + 1 (vowel reduction) →
ləchúk + 1 (change of *s* to *k* before *l*).

This same phonetic change is observed between the noun *síls* 'day' and its possessed form *klšel* 'his holiday': in the possessed

form, the vowel *i* is deleted, resulting in the consonant cluster *sl*, which then changes to *kl*.

In some of the anticipating state verbs of 30, we observe vowel clusters whose origin is difficult to explain. Such clusters are found in *ruóll* 'is to be made, done, fixed' and *beákl* 'is to be shot'.

THE ANTICIPATING STATE SUFFIX -all

- 7.8.1. The anticipating state verbs derived with *-(ə)l* or *long vowel* + *l* which we discussed above are still commonly heard, although another pattern of formation has come into fairly wide use, especially among younger speakers. This pattern involves adding the suffix *-all* to the verb stem; since this suffix is always stressed, anticipating state verbs which are derived with it always show *ə* for the full vowels of a basic verb stem, since these come to appear in unstressed syllables. In the list below, some commonly used anticipating state verbs in *-all* are given; for purposes of comparison the alternate anticipating state verb is also provided.

(33) Anticipating State Verb in -all	Anticipating State Verb in -(ə)l
səsəbáll	səsóbəl 'is to be burned'
ləchəsáll	ləchúkl 'is to be written'
ngətəcháll	ngətáchəl 'is to be cleaned'
kəmədáll	kmúdəl 'is to be cut'
ləchətáll	ləchótəl 'is to be tied'

For some verbs, the only existing anticipating state form is the one in *-all*. Some examples include *bridáll* 'is to be scattered' (cf. imperfective *omriid* 'scatter') and *didáll* 'is to be followed' (cf. imperfective *omdid* 'follow').

RESULTING AND ANTICIPATING STATE VERBS AS NOUNS

- 7.8.2. Many of the resulting and anticipating state verbs discussed above can function as nouns—e.g. *chelat* 'smoked fish' (cf. *məngat* 'smoke (fish)'), *iluməl* 'beverage' (cf. *məlim* 'drink'), *kall* 'food' (cf. *mənga* 'eat'). In addition, certain state verbs can be formed by adding both the resulting state infix *-(ə)l-* and the anticipating state suffix *-(ə)l* to a stem simultaneously. State verbs derived in this way appear to be identical in meaning to the corresponding resulting state verb: for example, *ngeltachəl* 'cleaned' means the

same as *nglatech*, *kleṃudēl* 'cut (of hair)' means the same as *klimd*, *cheṭtuul* 'smoked (of fish)' means the same as *cheṭlat*, and so on. Many of these state verbs have come to be used as nouns with special meanings. The use of resulting and anticipating state verbs as nouns will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

TRANSITIVE VERBS DERIVED FROM STATE VERBS

- 7.9. A rather large number of Palauan transitive verbs are derived from **simple** state verbs merely by adding the **verb marker** and the **imperfective marker**. Such derived verbs usually have a **causative** meaning: that is, they describe actions in which the subject of the sentence **causes** someone or something to be in the particular state designated by the related state verb. The following derived transitive verbs are used commonly:

(34) <i>Transitive Verb</i> (in imperfective form)		<i>Related Simple State Verb</i>	
mēngikiongēl	'make dirty'	kikiongēl	'dirty'
mēḷechudēch	'make muddy'	dēchudēch	'muddy'
mēḷekimēs	'make wet'	dēkimēs	'wet'
mēngeisēch	'make stained'	cheisēch	'stained'
mēngētōm	'make (a knife, etc.) blunt'	kētōm	'blunt'
mēngēdeb	'shorten'	kēdeb	'short'
mēngēmangēt	'lengthen'	kēmangēt	'long'
mēḷodēch	'change'	ngodēch	'different, strange'
mēngēdidai	'make higher, pile up'	kēdidai	'high'

In a few cases, verb stems which combine with the verb marker to form state verbs (cf. 2–3 above) also can combine with the verb marker and the imperfective marker to form transitive verbs. Observe the examples below:

(35) <i>Transitive Verb</i> (in imperfective form)		<i>Related State Verb</i>	
mēngeald	'make warm, heat up'	mēkeald	'warm'
mēngēḷkolt	'make cold, cool down'	mēḷēḷkolt	'cold'
mēngēsa	'make busy, occupy'	mēḷēsa	'busy'

8 Noun Derivation

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF PALAUAN NOUNS

- 8.1. In chaps. 5–7 we examined the **internal structure** of various kinds of Palauan verbs by showing how **verb stems** can combine with many different **affixes** such as the verb marker prefix, the resulting state infix, the anticipating state suffix, etc. We also observed that while the internal structure of certain Palauan verbs is quite simple, that of others is extremely complex. Thus, in 7.1 we discussed **simple** state verbs such as *klou* 'big', *ungil* 'good', etc., which consist of just a single morpheme, or meaning-bearing unit. Most of our time, however, was spent in explaining the internal structure of numerous types of **complex** verb forms, which contain two or more morphemes. For example, in 5.4–5 we saw that ergative verb forms such as *mēchuiu* 'be/get read' are made up of two morphemes—the verb marker (*mē-*) and the verb stem (*-chuiu* 'read')—while imperfective verb forms like *mēnguui* 'read' have a basic structure which involves three morphemes—the verb marker (*mē-*), the imperfective marker (*-ng-*), and the verb stem (*-chuiu* 'read').

The internal structure of Palauan nouns, like that of Palauan verbs, can be simple or complex. As we might expect, **simple nouns** consist of just a single morpheme or meaning-bearing unit and include words such as the following:

(1) mlai	'canoe, car'	babier	'paper, letter'
ngau	'fire'	elēcha	'now, today'
chad	'man, person'	ngikēl	'fish'
daob	'ocean'	dērumk	'thunder'
malk	'chicken'	kērrekar	'tree'

In contrast with the simple nouns listed above, **complex nouns** are derived by adding certain types of affixes to verb stems or to other nouns. Their internal structure therefore involves at least

two (and sometimes more than two) morphemes. In the sections below, we will examine the main groups of Palauan complex nouns; some of these are derived with affixes that are already familiar to us, while others involve entirely new affixes.

STATE VERBS FUNCTIONING AS NOUNS

8.2. In 7.8.2 we mentioned that many Palauan **resulting state verbs** and **anticipating state verbs** can function as nouns. Thus, the nouns listed below actually have the form of **anticipating state verbs**, which, as we saw in 7.8, are derived by adding the **anticipating state suffix** *-(e)l* (or *long vowel + l*) to the verb stems of **transitive action verbs**. For purposes of comparison, the related transitive action verb (in its imperfective form) is also given:

(2) <i>Derived Noun</i>		<i>Related Transitive Action Verb</i> (in imperfective form)	
kall	'food'	męnga	'eat'
ilumęl	'drink, beverage'	męlim	'drink'
sęlokęl	'laundry'	męsilęk	'wash'
suobęl	'homework, study'	męsuub	'study'

Whereas words like *kall* 'food', *ilumęl* 'drink, beverage', and *suobęl* 'homework, study' have come to be used exclusively as nouns (that is, they are no longer used as anticipating state verbs), *sęlokęl* can function either as an anticipating state verb meaning 'is/needs to be washed' or as a noun meaning 'laundry'. If we assume that all of the derived nouns in 2 in fact functioned as anticipating state verbs during some earlier stage of the Palauan language, we can explain their present-day (obligatory or optional) use as nouns in terms of a shift in meaning. In other words, a noun like *kall* 'food' was originally an anticipating state verb meaning 'is/needs to be eaten'; and as such, it was undoubtedly used to describe something that was expected to undergo (or had to undergo) the action of eating. For some unknown reason, however, this usage gradually died out, and instead *kall* came to stand for the **thing** which is to be eaten—namely, food. In the case of *sęlokęl*, the older usage as an anticipating state verb meaning 'is/needs to be washed' survived even after *sęlokęl* began to be used as a noun referring to the thing which is to be washed—namely, laundry.¹

Since the words in 2 function as nouns, they can take any of the **possessor suffixes** (cf. 3.1). Therefore, we have forms like *kall*

'food'—*kęlek*² 'my food', *ilumęl* 'drink, beverage'—*imelem*³ 'your drink', *sęlokęl* 'laundry'—*sęlekęlel* 'his/her laundry', *suobęl* 'homework, study'—*subęlir* 'their homework', etc. Words like *kęlek* 'my food', *imelem* 'your drink', etc. are necessarily complex nouns because they contain at least two morphemes—the **noun stem** and the **possessor suffix**; this is also true, of course, for all of the possessed nouns given in chap.3.

The nouns listed below are formally identical with **resulting state verbs**, which, as we saw in 7.7, are derived by placing the **resulting state infix** *-(e)l-* after the initial consonant of verb stems of **transitive action verbs**. The words in 3a are used exclusively as nouns, while those in 3b can function either as nouns or as **resulting state verbs**. The related transitive action verb (in its imperfective form) is also provided.

(3) <i>Derived Noun</i>		<i>Related Transitive Action Verb</i> (in imperfective form)	
a.	klębkab 'chain'	męngębkab 'chain'	
	chęlitakl 'song'	męngitakl 'sing'	
	klęngoes ⁴ 'meat or fish stew'	męlęngoes 'cook (meat or fish)'	
b.	bloes 'injury from being shot'	omoes 'shoot'	
	dęlobęch 'injury from being cut'	męlobęch 'cut (with a knife, etc.)'	
	blalęch 'wound from a slingshot'	omalęch 'hit (with a slingshot)'	
	bletęch 'injury from a stone'	ometęch 'throw (a stone, etc.)'	
	bluręch 'wound from a spear'	omuręch 'spear'	
	chęlat 'thing which is smoked, smoked fish'	męngat 'smoke (fish)'	
	sęlesęb 'thing/place which is burnt'	męlesęb 'burn'	
	rruul ⁵ 'thing which is made/done'	męruul 'make, do'	

Rather than describing the particular state resulting from actions such as cooking, shooting, burning, etc., words like *klęngoes*, *bloes*, *sęlesęb*, etc. have (obligatorily or optionally) come to stand for the thing (or place) which is cooked, shot, burnt, etc. This latter usage is illustrated in the sentences below:

- (4) a. Ng ngar ɛr ker a $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{bloes} \\ \text{blalɛch} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ ɛr kau?
 'Where is $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{the place you're shot} \\ \text{your slingshot wound} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$?'
 b. Ng soak ɛl mɛnga a chɛlat.
 'I want to eat some smoked fish.'
 c. Se ɛl sɛlesɛb ng sɛrsel a tɛchang?
 'That burned area there—whose garden is it?'
 d. Ng kmal ungil a rrɛllem.⁶
 'The thing you've made is very nice.'

A small number of nouns with specialized meanings can be derived from verb stems by **simultaneously** adding both the resulting state infix and the anticipating state suffix. In the nouns below, the resulting state infix is italicized and the anticipating state suffix is in bold type; and for purposes of comparison, the related transitive action verb (in its imperfective form) is also given.

(5) <i>Derived Noun</i>		<i>Related Transitive Action Verb</i> (in imperfective form)
chɛ/tuul	'smoked fish'	mɛngat 'smoke (fish)'
lɛchukl ⁷	'handwriting, drawing'	mɛluchɛs 'write, draw'
kliokl ⁷	'hole'	mɛngiis 'dig'
bliull	'wrapped tapioca'	omail 'clothe, wrap'

NOUNS DERIVED WITH *-(ɛ)l-* FROM INTRANSITIVE VERBS

- 8.3. In 3 above, we listed some Palauan nouns which are derived by combining the resulting state infix *-(ɛ)l-* with the verb stems of transitive action verbs. As we will see in this section, it is also possible to derive nouns by combining the infix *-(ɛ)l-* with the stems of **intransitive** verbs (mostly **state** verbs). These cases probably represent an expansion in the use of the resulting state infix, but since the derived nouns designate **abstract** qualities (cf. 2.2) and give no indication of the original resulting state meaning, it will be easier if we simply consider the *-(ɛ)l-* in question to be a "grammatical device" for deriving abstract nouns from intransitive verb stems.

In the examples below, an abstract noun is derived by infixing *-(ɛ)l-* after the initial consonant of the verb stem, which occurs independently as a **simple** state verb:

(6) <i>Derived Noun</i>	<i>Related Simple State Verb</i>
blɛkeu 'bravery'	bɛkeu 'brave'
kldung 'good behavior'	kɛdung 'well-behaved'
dɛlɛngɛrɛngɛr 'poor behavior'	dɛngɛrɛngɛr 'naughty'
dɛlɛngchokl 'way of life, living conditions'	dɛngchokl 'sitting, seated'
chɛdɛlɛkelɛk 'blackness'	chɛdɛlɛkelɛk 'black'
klɛkool ⁸ 'game'	sɛkool 'playful'
blulak 'lie'	bulak 'deceitful, lying'
chɛrrodɛch ⁹ 'noise'	chɛrodɛch 'noisy'

The following abstract nouns are also formed by infixing *-(ɛ)l-* after the initial consonant of the verb stem, which must be preceded by the verb marker *mɛ-* in the corresponding state verb (cf. 6.1 and 7.1):

(7) <i>Derived Noun</i>	<i>Related State Verb</i>
klɛngit 'sin'	mɛkngit 'bad'
klisiich ⁸ 'strength'	mɛsisiich 'strong'
klɛngakɛd ⁸ 'thinness'	mɛsɛngakɛd 'thin'
kleald 'heat'	mɛkeald 'warm, hot'
chɛliuiau 'sleep'	mɛchiuiau ¹⁰ 'sleep, be asleep'
chɛlsa 'business, matter'	mɛchɛsa 'busy'

The use of some of the derived nouns in 6 and 7 is illustrated in the sentences below:

- (8) a. Ng kmal mle klou a $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{blɛkeu} \\ \text{kldung} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ ɛr a irɛchar.
 'In earlier times a great many $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{brave} \\ \text{good} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ deeds were done.'
 b. A dɛlɛngchokl ɛr a ɛlɛcha ɛl taem a kmal mɛringɛl.
 'Life these days is very difficult.'
 c. Ng dirk ngar ɛr ngii a klisichel a Droteo.
 'Droteo is still strong.'
 d. Ng kmal klou a klɛngakɛd ɛr a chɛlsel a Sina.
 'There are a lot of poorly-nourished people in China.'¹¹

There are quite a few Palauan state verbs referring to size or dimension which begin with *k*. This initial *k-* might have been some kind of meaning-bearing prefix at an earlier stage of the Palauan language, but now it no longer has any identifiable

function. At any rate, state verbs referring to size or dimension can also be made into abstract nouns by infixing *-(e)l-* after the initial *k-*, as in the following:

(9) <i>Derived Noun</i> ¹²		<i>Related State Verb</i>	
klou	'size, thickness'	klou	'big'
kldeb	'shortness'	kędeb	'short'
kldidai	'height'	kędidai	'high'
klęmanęet	'length, height'	kęmanęet	'long, tall'

The sentences below illustrate the use of some of the derived nouns in 9:

- (10) a. Ng tela a klungel¹³ a kęrrękar?
'How thick is the tree?'
b. Ng tela a klęmanętem?
'How tall are you?'
c. Ng tela a klęmanętel a kęrrękar?
'How long is the board?'
d. Ng ua ngara a kldidiul¹⁴ a kęrrękar?
'How high is the tree?'

NOUNS DERIVED FROM RECIPROCAL VERBS

- 8.4. As we will see in chap. 10, there is a special class of Palauan verbs known as **reciprocal verbs**. These verbs, which are formed with the **reciprocal prefixes** *kai-*, *ka-*, or *kau-*, designate actions which two or more people direct at **each other** simultaneously. It is possible to derive nouns from reciprocal verbs merely by infixing *-l-* after the initial *k-* of the reciprocal prefix. This *-l-* is undoubtedly the shorter variant of the infix *-(e)l-* discussed in 8.3 above: in other words, it is just a grammatical device for deriving abstract nouns from reciprocal verbs. Some typical derived nouns, together with the corresponding reciprocal verb, are given below:

(11) <i>Derived Noun</i>		<i>Related Reciprocal Verb</i>	
klasoes	'seeing/being with each other, relationship'	kasoes	'see each other'
klaingęseu	'helping each other'	kaingęseu	'help each other'
klakoad	'fighting, battle'	kakoad	'fight with each other'
klaodęnge	'mutual knowledge'	kaodęnge	'know each other'

klaidęsachęl	'race, competition'	kaidęsachęl	'race, compete'
klausęchęlei	'friendship'	kausęchęlei	'be friends'
klaubuch	'marriage'	kaubuch	'be married'
klauchad	'blood relationship'	kauchad	'be related'
klaungalęk	'parent and child relationship'	kaungalęk	'be related as parent and child'

The examples below show how some of the derived "reciprocal" nouns of 11 can be used in sentences:

- (12) a. Tia ęl klasoes ęr kid a di me er a eļęchang e męrkong.
'Our relationship is now over (having reached this point).'
b. Ng kmal ungil a klaingęseu ęr a ręchad ęr a Modękngai.
'The way people in Modekngai help each other is really nice.'
c. Ng mla ęr ngii a klakoad ęr a Peleliu Club ęr a kęsus.
'There was a fight at the Peleliu Club last night.'
d. A klaodęnge ęr a Toki mę a Droteo a kmal ungil.
'Toki and Droteo know a lot about each other.'
e. Ng kmal ungil a klaubuch ęr tir.
'They have a very good marriage.'

As expressions like *klasoes ęr kid* 'our relationship', *klaubuch ęr tir* 'their marriage', etc. show, derived reciprocal nouns are **un-possessible**—that is, they cannot take **possessor suffixes** (cf. 3.8). Therefore, if a possessor is to be mentioned, it must be introduced with a **noun phrase of possession** containing the relational word *ęr* (e.g. *ęr kid* 'of us', *ęr tir* 'of them', etc.).

ABSTRACT NOUNS DERIVED WITH *kl(e)-*

- 8.5. The word-initial consonant cluster *kl-* observed in all of the derived nouns of 9 and 11 and in some of the derived nouns of 6 and 7 should be distinguished from what is clearly a separate prefix *kl(e)-*, which is also used to form abstract nouns from state verbs. The prefix *kl(e)-* may originally have consisted of two parts (an initial element *k-* and the resulting state infix *-l-*), but now it functions as a single unit. Some abstract nouns derived with *kl(e)-*, together with the corresponding state verb, are listed below:

(13) <i>Derived Noun</i>		<i>Related State Verb</i>	
klękekeęre	'smallness'	kekeęre	'small'

kləkəkərou 'difference'	kakərou 'different'
klungiaol ¹⁵ 'benefit, goodness'	ungil 'good'
kldachəlbai 'skill'	dachəlbai 'skillful'
kləmçənge 'knowledge (from study, etc.)'	məçənge 'know'
kldiull ¹⁶ 'pregnancy'	dioll 'pregnant'
kləmçəra 'truth'	məçəra 'true'
kləngəltəngat 'good fortune'	ngəltəngat 'fortunate'
kləngar 'existence'	ngar 'exist, be (located)'

As the examples in 13 illustrate, *kl(e)-* is usually attached to **simple** state verbs, but in a few cases it is prefixed to **complex** state verbs like *məçənge* 'know' and *məçəra* 'true', which consist of the verb marker prefix *mə-* and a bound verb stem.

The derived nouns listed in 13 are typically used in sentences like the following:

- (14) a. A oməsuub əl təkoi ər a Merikel a klungiolek.
'Studying English is to my benefit.'
b. Ng ua ngara a kləmçənge¹⁷ ər kau ər a təkoi ər a Siabal?
'How much Japanese do you know?'
c. A kləngəltəngət a Droteo, e ng mlo səbəchel əl mo ər a Guam.
'Droteo has had the good fortune of becoming able to go to Guam.'

The prefix *kl(e)-* can also be added to certain nouns (usually human) to form another noun with a more abstract meaning, as in the examples below:

(15) <i>Derived Noun</i>	<i>Related Noun</i>
kləchəlid 'religion'	chəlid 'god'
kləçəchal 'manhood'	səçchal 'man'
kləçhad 'human life, way of life'	chad 'person'
kləngalək 'childhood'	ngalək 'child'
kləsensei 'being a teacher'	sensei 'teacher'
klətoktang 'being a doctor'	toktang 'doctor'
kləbak ¹⁸ 'chiefs of a community'	rubak 'old man'

klodam 'relationship between male relatives'	odam 'brothers'
klodos 'relationship between female relatives'	odos 'sisters'

Some sample sentences containing the nouns of 15 are given below:

- (16) a. A kləçhad ər a ələcha əl taem a diak lua ngar ər a mong.
'Life these days isn't like what it was a few years ago.'
b. A kləsensei a diak ləkirek əl ureor.
'Being a teacher isn't meant for me.'/'I'm not suited to being a teacher.'

INSTRUMENT AND ACTION NOUNS WITH *o-*

- 8.6. The prefix *o-* can be attached to verbs in two different ways, thus deriving two classes of nouns, one concrete in meaning and the other abstract (cf. 2.2). The *o-* to be discussed in this section should not be confused with another prefix *o-*, which, as we saw in 5.4 and chap. 6, is a variant of the **verb marker**. Even though the two prefixes *o-* are **homonymous**—i.e., identical in sound (or form)—they are distinct in function, since one (the verb marker) derives verbs and the other derives nouns.

Palauan **instrument nouns** are derived from the **imperfective** forms of **transitive** verbs simply by replacing the verb marker prefix *mə-* by the prefix *o-*. Instrument nouns are concrete nouns which designate the tool, implement, or utensil used in performing a particular action. For example, from the imperfective verb *məles* 'cut, slice', we derive the noun *oles* 'knife', which is an instrument used for cutting. Some commonly-used Palauan instrument nouns, together with the corresponding imperfective verb form, are provided below:

(17) <i>Derived Instrument Noun</i>	<i>Related Transitive Verb (in imperfective form)</i>
olaml 'grass cutter, machete'	məlaml 'cut (grass)'
oluchəs 'pencil'	məluchəs 'write'
oriik 'broom'	məriik 'sweep'
olamk 'razor'	məlamk 'shave'
onges 'grater'	mənges 'scrape'

ongimd	'something to cut with'	məngimd	'cut (hair)'
olasəch	'axe, adze'	məlasəch	'chop, carve'
osib	'plow'	məsib	'plow'
osongd	'comb'	məsongd	'comb'
osaur	'something to tie with'	məsaur	'tie'

Since the instrument nouns above are derived from the imperfective forms of transitive verbs¹⁹ by replacing the verb marker *mə-* with *o-*, they have the basic structure (prefix) *o-* + imperfective marker + verb stem.

Palauan **action nouns** are derived simply by adding the prefix *o-* to transitive or intransitive action verbs. These nouns designate actions or activities as abstract concepts and are used in certain grammatical constructions where nouns are required. In 18 below, the action nouns are derived from transitive action verbs, while those in 19 are derived from intransitive action verbs:

(18) <i>Derived Action Noun</i>		<i>Related Transitive Verb</i> <i>(in imperfective form)</i>	
oməluchəs	'writing'	məluchəs	'write'
oməlim	'drinking'	məlim	'drink'
omənga	'eating'	mənga	'eat'
oməsuub	'studying'	məsuub	'study'

(19) <i>Derived Action Noun</i>		<i>Related Intransitive Verb</i>	
omilil	'playing'	milil	'play'
omərael	'travelling, trip'	mərael	'walk, travel'
oməngədub	'swimming'	məngədub	'swim'

In 19, the prefix *o-* has been added to intransitive action verbs which have the verb marker prefix *mə-* (or *m-*). If an intransitive verb contains the **metathesized** verb marker *-(ə)m-* or *-o-* (cf. 6.2), it cannot be used to derive an action noun with *o-*. Thus, from *rəmurt* 'run' or *rəmos* 'drown', we cannot derive nouns such as **orəmurt* 'running' or **orəmos* 'drowning', etc.

The derived action nouns of 18 and 19 are used in sentences like the following:

- (20) a. A oməluchəs əl təkoi ər a Siabal a kmal meringəl.
'Writing Japanese is very difficult.'

- b. Ng soam a oməlim əl rrom?
'Do you like to drink liquor?'
c. Tia a delmərab ər a oməsuub.
'This is a room for studying.'
d. A omərolek əl mo ər a Siabal a kmal mle ungil.
'My trip to Japan was great.'

In 20a, 20b, and 20d, the derived action nouns *oməluchəs* 'writing', *oməlim* 'drinking', and *omərolek* 'my trip' (a possessed form of *omərael* 'trip') are part of the **subject noun phrases** *oməluchəs əl təkoi ər a Siabal* 'writing Japanese', *oməlim əl rrom* 'drinking liquor', and *omərolek əl mo ər a Siabal* 'my trip to Japan'. For more information about sentences like 20b, where the subject noun phrase has been **shifted** to the end of the sentence, consult 17.8. In 20c, the action noun *oməsuub* 'studying' is part of the **characterizational phrase** *ər a oməsuub* 'of studying' (cf. 3.8–9), which is a kind of **relational phrase** that characterizes the preceding noun (*delmərab* 'room') by describing its function.

NOUNS DERIVED WITH *ul(ə)-*

- 8.7. The prefix *ul(ə)-*, which might be related to the past tense prefix *ul(ə)-* discussed in 5.3.2, is used to derive nouns that refer to what is left over from the activity specified by the related verb, generally waste products of some kind. Derived nouns of this type also require the imperfective marker *and*—for some unknown reason—the anticipating state suffix *-(ə)l* (or *long vowel + l*); furthermore, they involve several kinds of complex phonetic changes. As the examples below indicate, these nouns can only be derived from transitive verb stems:

(21) <i>Derived Noun</i>		<i>Related Transitive Verb (in imperfective form)</i>
uləngmúdəl	'hair that is cut off'	məngimd 'cut (hair)'
ulləmáchəl	'what is left over from chewing'	məlaməch 'chew'
uləllúməl	'disposable con- tainer after contents have been drunk'	məlim 'drink'
ulləšóngəl	'bones, etc. left over from fish or meat'	məles 'slice'

ulənguótəl 'debris from clearing ground'	məŋgiut 'clear (ground)'
ulləbəkəl 'wood shavings'	mələbək 'smooth (wood)'
uləngáll 'inedible parts of food'	məŋga 'eat'
urrədiiil 'remaining stalk'	mərad 'pick (flowers)'

All of the derived nouns in 21 are stressed on the syllable preceding the anticipating state suffix. As we saw in 7.8, certain full vowels found in the **basic stem** of a verb characteristically turn up in anticipating state verbs, where they come to appear in stressed syllables. Exactly the same phenomenon is observed in the forms above: thus, if we propose a basic stem like *kimud* (cf. 7.8, ex.31) for 'cut', we can explain forms like *uləngmúdəl* 'hair that is cut off' vs. *məŋgimd* 'cut (hair)' in the following way. In *uləngmúdəl*, the *i* of the basic stem *kimud* is deleted in an unstressed syllable, while the *u* is maintained in a stressed syllable. In other words, *uləngmúdəl* is derived by the following steps:

- (22) ulə + ng + kimúd + əl (basic form = prefix *ul(ə)-* + imperfective marker *ng* + verb stem *kimud* + anticipating state suffix *-(ə)l*) →
- ulə + ng + imúd + əl (by deletion of verb-stem-initial consonant following imperfective marker) →
- ulə + ng + múd + əl (by deletion of *i* in unstressed syllable)

By contrast, (imperfective) *məŋgimd* 'cut (hair)' involves exactly the reverse situation: in this word, the *i* of the basic stem *kimud* is retained because it is stressed, while the *u* is lost completely in an unstressed syllable. The derivation of *məŋgimd* is shown below:

- (23) mə + ng + kimud (basic form = verb marker prefix *mə-* + imperfective marker *ng* + verb stem *kimud*) →
- mə + ng + imud (by deletion of verb-stem-initial consonant following imperfective marker) →
- mə + ng + imd (by deletion of *u* in unstressed syllable).

Some of the other phonetic changes observed in the forms of 2.1 should also be familiar to us: for example, the full vowel *e* of the verb stem *des* 'cut' is reduced to *ə* (schwa) when unstressed in a form like *ulləsongəl* 'leftover bones'. Or, in *urrədiiil* 'remaining

stalk', the consonant cluster *rr* is due to assimilation. There are, however, certain phonetic alternations in 21 which we cannot explain and which seem to be irregularities: thus, the appearance of the full vowel *o* in *ulləsongəl* 'leftover bones' is quite unexpected, since the related verb stem *des* 'cut' has no final vowel; and the alternation between the vowel clusters *uo* and *iu* in *ulənguótəl* 'debris from clearing ground' vs. *məŋgiút* 'clear (ground)' is very unusual.

9 Causative Verbs

MEANING AND USE OF CAUSATIVE VERBS

- 9.1. As we saw in 5.1.1, all Palauan **action verbs** are either **transitive** or **intransitive**. Transitive action verbs name actions which are done to or directed at someone or something; the person who performs or brings about the action appears as the sentence subject, while the person, animal, or thing which receives the effect of the action appears as the sentence object. By way of review, observe the following sentences with transitive action verbs; you should have no difficulty identifying the sentence subject and sentence object:

- (1) a. A Toki a mirruul a kall.
'Toki prepared the food.'
b. A sensei a chilleḃedii a bilis.
'The teacher hit the dog.'
c. Ak mo omes ḃr a Tony.
'I'm going to see Tony.'

Intransitive action verbs, by contrast, involve just a doer, but no receiver; in other words, they describe actions which by their very nature cannot be directed at someone or something, but which only the doer himself can pursue. Therefore, the following sentences with intransitive action verbs contain subjects, but no objects:

- (2) a. A ngaleḃ a lilangel.
'The child was crying.'
b. Ak mo oureor ḃr a klukuk.
'I'm going to work tomorrow.'

There is a special class of transitive action verbs known as **causative verbs**. As we will see below, these verbs can be identified by the presence of the **causative prefix**, which has quite a few

different forms (*ome(k)-*, *ol(e)-*, etc.). These verbs are called causative because they involve actions in which the doer (or subject) **causes** or **forces** someone or something to perform a particular action or be in a particular state. In order to understand this characteristic meaning of causative verbs, compare the following two sentences:

- (3) a. A bilis a chemiis.
'The dog is running away.'
b. A Droteo a olḃchiis ḃr a bilis.
'Droteo is $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{chasing the dog away.} \\ \text{making the dog run away.} \end{array} \right\}$.'

Example 3a is a simple intransitive sentence containing the intransitive action verb *chemiis* 'run away, escape'; this verb contains the **metathesized verb marker** *-(e)m-* (cf. 6.2), which is infixed after the initial consonant (*ch*) of the verb stem *chiis* 'escape'. Example 3b, on the other hand, is a transitive sentence containing the (transitive) causative verb *olḃchiis*, which consists of the causative prefix *olḃ-* followed by the verb stem *chiis*. The intransitive sentence 3a has a subject only (*bilis* 'dog'), while the transitive sentence 3b has both a subject (*Droteo*) and an object (*bilis* 'dog'). Notice that the subject of the intransitive sentence has become the object of the transitive sentence. Common to the meaning of both 3a and 3b is the information that the dog is running away, but distinguishing the two sentences from each other is the extra information given in 3b: here, the presence of the causative verb *olḃchiis* tells us that some person (*Droteo*) is **making** the dog run away, or **causing** him to run away.

The following pair of sentences can be analyzed in exactly the same way:

- (4) a. A ngaleḃ a meḃkar.
'The child is awake.'
b. A reḃdil a olḃkar ḃr a ngaleḃ.
'The woman is waking up the child.'

Example 4a is a simple intransitive sentence containing the (intransitive) state verb *meḃkar* 'be awake'; the subject of the sentence (*ngaleḃ* 'child') is described as being in the particular state designated by the verb. Example 4b, however, is a transitive sentence which names an action: this action is denoted by *olḃkar* 'wake up (someone), cause (someone) to be awake', which is a causative verb formed from the causative prefix *ol(e)-* and the verb stem

kar. In this sentence, the subject of *olekar* (*redil* 'woman') is doing something to the object (*ngalek* 'child') in order to make him wake up—that is, she is causing the child to be in the particular state designated by the corresponding state verb *mekar* 'be awake'. Again, the subject of the intransitive sentence 4a has become the object of the transitive sentence 4b.

FORMS OF THE CAUSATIVE PREFIX

9.2. Since causative verbs are a subtype of transitive action verbs, they exhibit the same kinds of distinctions observed among transitive action verbs. In other words, causative verbs have both **imperfective** and **perfective** forms (cf. 5.5 and see 9.4 below), as well as **ergative** forms (cf. 5.4 and see 9.5 below) and **hypothetical** forms (cf. 4.10 and 4.10.1–9 and see 9.6 below). In discussing the variants of the Palauan causative prefix, we will first concentrate on the **imperfective** forms of causative verbs.

In order to derive the imperfective forms of causative verbs, one of the two causative prefixes *ome(k)-* or *ol(e)-* is added to a verb stem. These prefixes are added primarily to the stems of **intransitive verbs** according to the following general rule: *ome(k)-* is prefixed to the stems of intransitive **state verbs**, while *ol(e)-* is prefixed to the stems of intransitive **action verbs**. In addition, the prefix *ome(k)-* can occur with the stems of a few **transitive action verbs** (see 9.2.1.2 below). Regardless of whether the verb stem following the causative prefix is transitive or intransitive, the derived causative verb in *ome(k)-* or *ol(e)-* is always transitive. Further, as we will see in 9.3 below, a small number of rather exceptional verb stems can occur with both prefixes, sometimes resulting in a slight difference in meaning.

THE PREFIX *ome(k)-*

9.2.1. In the list below we can see some typical causative verbs whose imperfective forms are derived by prefixing *ome(k)-* to the stems of **intransitive state verbs**. In the right hand column, the related state verb is given for purposes of comparison:

(5) Causative Verb in <i>ome(k)-</i>		Related State Verb
<i>omekdęchor</i> ¹	'make...stand'	<i>dęchor</i> 'stand, standing'
<i>omekungal</i>	'heal, make...better'	<i>ungal</i> 'good'

<i>omekbęches</i>	'renovate, repair, make...new'	<i>bęches</i> 'new'
<i>omekdękimes</i>	'make...wet'	<i>dękimes</i> 'wet'
<i>omekęsiu</i> ²	'compare, imitate'	<i>osiu</i> 'joining'
<i>omekoad</i> ³	'kill'	<i>mad</i> 'dead'
<i>omekikiongęl</i>	'make...dirty'	<i>kikiongęl</i> 'dirty'
<i>omekaręd</i>	'light, turn on'	<i>kmaręd</i> 'lighted, on fire'
<i>omekdakt</i>	'frighten'	<i>mędakt</i> 'afraid'
<i>omekdirt</i>	'dry out'	<i>mędirt</i> 'dry'
<i>omekdingęs</i>	'satisfy, make...full'	<i>mędingęs</i> 'full'
<i>omekringęl</i>	'hurt, make...difficult'	<i>męringęl</i> 'painful, difficult'

As causative verbs like *omekikiongęl* 'make...dirty' and *omekaręd* 'light, turn on' show, the *k* of the causative prefix *ome(k)-* is deleted if it is followed by a *k*-initial verb stem. As we will see in some later examples, the *k* of *ome(k)-* is also lost if the following verb stem begins with *ng*. Thus, we can formulate the following general phonetic rule: the **velar stop** *k* (cf. 1.3.1) of the causative prefix is automatically deleted before another **velar** consonant (*k* or *ng*).

You will notice that the related state verbs given in 5 above are of several different types. Verbs like *dęchor* 'stand, standing', *ungal* 'good', etc. are **simple** state verbs which do not exhibit the verb marker (cf. 7.1). Verbs like *mędakt* 'afraid', *mędirt* 'dry', and *kmaręd* 'lighted, on fire', however, are more complex in structure, since they consist of the verb stem and the verb marker, which appears as a prefix *mę-* or as a metathesized element *-(ę)m-* (cf. 6.2).

Interestingly enough, the verb markers *mę-* and *-(ę)m-* found in state verbs like *mędakt*, *mędirt*, and *kmaręd* do not appear in this form in the corresponding causative verbs *omekdakt*, *omekdirt*, and *omekaręd*: in other words, causative verb forms like **omekmędakt*, **omekmędirt*, and **omekmaređ* are impossible. The nonexistence of such forms is probably due to the fact that *ome(k)-*, which we have been treating as a single unitary prefix, is actually a combination of several prefixes. More specifically, if the *o-* of *ome(k)-* is really one of the variants of the verb marker,⁴ as suggested in 9.2.1.1 below, then forms like **omekmędakt*, **omekmaređ*, etc. would be prevented because they would contain a second unnecessary instance of the verb marker.

Technical Discussion of the Prefix *ome(k)-*

- *9.2.1.1. Although we have been dealing with the causative prefix *ome(k)-* as a single unit (or morpheme), there are several facts which lead us to believe that it is really a combination of three elements. Before discussing these facts, we first need to examine the basic structure of *ome(k)-*, which is represented by the following formula:

(6) *Verb marker + imperfective marker + causative marker*

o + m + bek

As you can see, the basic structure of *ome(k)-* consists of two elements with which we are already familiar—the **verb marker** and the **imperfective marker**—and one element which is new to us—the **causative marker** *bek*. As discussed in 5.5, the imperfective marker has several variants—*l*, *ng*, or *m*—depending on the initial consonant of the following **verb stem**. Even though the causative marker *bek* is not a verb stem, its initial consonant *b* nevertheless determines the correct variant of the directly preceding imperfective marker, which is therefore represented as *m* in 6 above. The verb marker which is part of the structure of 6 appears as *o-* (rather than *me-*) as a result of **dissimilation** (cf. 6.1); here, the dissimilation is caused by the presence of the bilabial consonant *b* in the following causative marker. The actually-pronounced form *ome(k)-* is derived from the basic structure *o + m + bek* by deletion of the initial consonant *b* of the causative marker: this is exactly the same phenomenon which we observed in the derivation of imperfective verb forms (cf. 5.5), where the initial consonant of a verb stem is characteristically deleted following the imperfective marker (e.g. *me + l + dasəch* → *məlasəch* 'carve', *me + ng + chuiu* → *mənguuiu* 'read', etc.).

There are several facts which we can bring up as evidence that the formula given in 6 correctly represents the basic structure of *ome(k)-*. First, we have already mentioned above that the non-occurrence of causative forms like **omekmədakt* or **omekmarəd* (instead of *omekdakt* 'frighten' and *omekarəd* 'light, turn on', respectively) could be easily explained if *ome(k)-* itself already contained the verb marker, as in 6: in other words, the non-occurrent causative forms would be incorrect because they would contain two instances of the verb marker—i.e., word-initial *o-* and word-internal *-me-* or *-m-*.

Second, the formula in 6 allows us to account for certain

ergative causative verb forms in a regular and consistent way. As we will see in 9.5 below, Palauan causative verbs in *ome(k)-* derive their ergative forms according to two different patterns. One of these patterns, which is close to becoming **archaic** (i.e., has nearly disappeared from standard use), results in ergative forms which begin with *obe(k)-*. For example, imperfective *omekdakt* 'frighten' has ergative *obekdakt* 'be/get frightened', imperfective *omekarəd* 'light, turn on' has ergative *obekarəd* 'be/get lighted/turned on', etc. As discussed in 5.4, one defining feature of Palauan ergative verb forms is that they lack the imperfective marker and consist merely of the verb marker followed by the verb stem (e.g. *me + dasəch* 'be/get carved', *me + chuiu* 'be/get read', etc.). We should therefore expect that the ergative forms of causative verbs would also lack the imperfective marker, and this is precisely the case: in other words, the *obe(k)-* of *obekdakt* 'be/get frightened', etc. consists of the following simple sequence:

(7) *Verb marker + causative marker*

o + bek

As the formulas in 6 and 7 clearly show, the only difference between the imperfective and ergative forms of causative verbs is that the former contain the imperfective marker, while the latter do not.

Third, as we will see in 9.4 below, the **perfective** forms of causative verbs in *ome(k)-* normally do not show an initial *o-*. For example, the 3rd pers. sg. object present perfective form (cf. 6.3) of *omekdakt* 'frighten' is *məkdektii* 'frighten him/her/it'. The derivation of this perfective form can be explained in a plausible way if we assign it a basic form whose elements are consistent with those given in 6 and 7. Recall (cf. 5.5) that Palauan **perfective** verb forms of course do not contain the imperfective marker; therefore, a perfective form like *sosəbii* 'burn it' has the basic structure *verb marker + verb stem + object pronoun*. The basic structure of the perfective forms of causative verbs is similar, except that the causative marker is added following the verb marker. Thus, the basic form of *məkdektii* 'frighten him/her/it' is represented as follows:

(8) *Verb marker + causative marker + verb stem + object pronoun*

o + bek + dakt + ii

By applying a sequence of phonetic rules to the basic form *o + bək + dakt + ii*, we can derive the actually-spoken form *mək-dəkti*, as explained below.

In 6.3.1 we noted that Palauan perfective verb forms are characterized by the fact that the verb marker **metathesizes** to a position following the initial consonant of the verb stem. It seems reasonable to assume that such metathesis also occurs in the perfective forms of causative verbs. In the example under discussion, application of verb marker metathesis to the basic form given in 8 will yield something like *b + m + ək + dakt + ii*; here, the metathesized verb marker has been moved to a position following the initial consonant *b* of the causative marker, and for reasons which will become clear when we discuss the next phonetic rule, we assume that the metathesized verb marker appears as *-m-*. Next, we apply a rule which we have already encountered in 6.2.1: the *b* of the causative marker, which has come to appear before the *m* of the metathesized verb marker, must be deleted, resulting in *m + ək + dakt + ii*. After one more rule is applied—namely, the rule reducing unstressed *a* to *ə* (cf. 6.4)—the actually-spoken form *mək-dəkti* is produced. The phonetic changes described above are summarized in the following step-by-step derivation:

- (9) *o + bək + dakt + ii* (basic form = verb marker + causative marker + verb stem + object pronoun)→
b + m + ək + dakt + ii (by metathesis of verb marker)→
m + ək + dakt + ii (by deletion of *b* before *m*)→
m + ək + dəkt + ii (by reduction of *a* to *ə* in unstressed syllable)

Additional Types of Causative Verbs with *omə(k)*-

9.2.1.2. In 9.2.1 above, we listed a large number of causative verbs which are derived by prefixing *omə(k)*- to the stems of **intransitive state verbs**. In this section, we will look at two further patterns of derivation for causative verbs in *omə(k)*-.

A small number of causative verbs can be derived by prefixing *omə(k)*- to the stems of **transitive action verbs**. The most common examples are listed below, together with the related transitive verb:

(10) Causative Verb

Related Transitive Verb (in imperfective form)

<i>oməka</i> 'feed, make...eat'	<i>mənga</i> 'eat'
<i>oməngim</i> 'make...drink'	<i>məlim</i> 'drink'
<i>oməngaməçh</i> ⁵ 'make...chew, make...smoke'	<i>məlaməçh</i> 'chew, smoke'

In each of the causative verbs of 10, the **velar stop** *k* of *omə(k)*- is deleted because the following verb stem (*kal*⁶ 'eat', *ngim* 'drink', and *ngaməçh* 'chew, smoke') begins with another **velar** consonant (*k* or *ng*).

Since a sentence with a transitive verb has both a subject noun phrase and an object noun phrase, a sentence with the corresponding causative verb will contain, in addition to these noun phrases, a third noun phrase which identifies the person who is causing the action to occur. In the following transitive sentence, for example,

- (11) *A rəngalək a mənga ər a kukau.*
 'The children are eating the taro.'

rəngalək 'children' and *kukau* 'taro' are the subject and object, respectively, of the transitive verb *mənga* 'eat'. Now observe what happens to these noun phrases in the corresponding causative sentence:

- (12) *A Romana a oməka ər a rəngalək ər a kukau.*
 'Romana is feeding the children the taro.'

Here, both *rəngalək* 'children' and *kukau* 'taro' have come to appear as objects following the causative verb *oməka* 'feed'; and the new subject is *Romana*, the person who is doing the feeding. It is also possible to have sentences like 12 in which the second object is not mentioned—namely,

- (13) *A Romana a oməka ər a rəngalək.*
 'Romana is feeding the children.'

This sentence says that Romana is giving the children something to eat, but it does not specify what it is they are eating.

A few causative verbs can also be derived from **nouns** by prefixing *omə(k)*-. The resulting causative verb, which is of course transitive, designates some action or activity which involves the related noun. For example, from *bar* 'blanket', we can derive causative *oməkbar* 'cover...with a blanket', and from *buch* 'spouse', we can form causative *oməkbusch* 'marry (i.e., join as husband and wife), marry off, mate (animals)'.

Sample Sentences with *ome(k)*- Causatives

9.2.1.3. Although we have already presented some sentences in 9.1 above to illustrate the meaning and use of causative verbs, perhaps some further examples are desirable. Thus, the sentences below illustrate the use of some of the causative verbs in *ome(k)*- listed in 5:

- (14) a. A Toki a omekdechchor er a ngalek er a bebul a tebel.
'Toki is making the child stand on the table.'
b. A rchad a mo omekoad a ngikel.
'People are going to kill the fish.'
c. A Toki a blechoel el mukdakt⁷ er a derumk.
'Toki always gets frightened by thunder.'
d. A toktang a mo omekungil er kau.
'The doctor will get you better.'
e. A rekangkodang a omekikionggl er a kedarang.
'The tourists are messing up the beach.'
f. A Droteo a omekarad er a olbidel.
'Droteo is lighting the lamp.'
g. A kall a mo omekdinges er kau.
'The food will fill you up.'

THE PREFIX *ol(e)*-

9.2.2. In the list below we find some representative causative verbs whose imperfective forms are derived by prefixing *ol(e)*- to the stems of **intransitive action verbs**. In the column at the right, the related action verb is provided for purposes of comparison:

(15) Causative Verb in <i>ol(e)</i> -	Related Action Verb
ollangel 'make...cry'	lmangel 'cry'
olluut 'give back, make... return'	lmuut 'return, come back'
oltobed 'take out'	tuobed 'go out, emerge'
oltengel 'take down (from above)'	mctengel 'land, come down'
oltuu 'put into, make... enter'	tmuu 'enter'
olsiseb 'put into, make... enter' ⁸	soiseb 'enter'
olsebek 'make...fly'	suebek 'fly'

olsobel 'save, take care of'	suobel 'survive, be saved'
oldik 'banish'	dmik 'go into exile'
oliul 'transfer'	imuul 'go from one location to another'
olechiis 'chase, make...run away'	chemiis 'run away, escape'
olekered 'unload, let off'	kmered 'get off, get out'
olengelt '(make...) sink (in soft ground)'	ngmelt 'sink (in soft ground), set (sun)'
olengasech 'raise, lift up'	ngmasch 'climb, rise (sun)'
orrebet 'drop'	ruebet 'fall'
orros '(make...) drown'	remos 'drown'
orrurt 'make...run'	remurt 'run'
orrchorech '(make...) sink (in water)'	ruchorech 'sink (in water)'

As causative verbs like *olechiis* 'chase, make...run away', *olekered* 'unload, let off', and *olengasech* 'raise, lift up' show, the causative prefix must include *e* if the following verb stem begins with a **velar** consonant (*k*, *ng*) or a **glottal** consonant (*ch*). Otherwise, the causative prefix appears as *ol-*, except in forms like *orrebet* 'drop', *orros* '(make...) drown', etc., where the *l* of the prefix completely assimilates to (i.e., becomes identical with) the initial *r* of the following stem.

As we noted in 6.2, many Palauan intransitive verbs contain the **metathesized verb marker**, which appears as an **infix** of the form *-(e)m-*, *-u-*, or *-o-*. All of the intransitive action verbs listed in 15 above, with the exception of *mctengel* 'land, come down', exhibit the metathesized verb marker. The variants of the metathesized verb marker found in intransitive action verbs such as *dmik* 'go into exile', *suebek* 'fly', and *soiseb* 'enter' do not occur as such in the corresponding causative verbs *oldik* 'banish', *olsebek* 'make...fly', and *olsiseb* 'put into, make...enter': that is, it is impossible to have causative verb forms like **oldmik*, **olsuebek*, or **olsoiseb*. The phenomenon being described here, you will recall, is exactly the same as that discussed in 9.2.1 above with reference to the intransitive state verbs of 5 and their corresponding causative verbs. Our explanation for the nonexistence of causative verb forms like **oldmik*, **olsuebek*, and **olsoiseb* will also parallel that given in 9.2.1: we propose that *ol(e)*-, which we

have so far assumed to be a single, unitary prefix, is really a combination of two prefixes, one of which is the verb marker. Therefore, the nonexistent causative verb forms under discussion are precluded because they would contain an extra, unnecessary occurrence of the verb marker.

Technical Discussion of the Prefix *ol(ə)-*

- *9.2.2.1. Though we have been treating the causative prefix *ol(ə)-* as a single morpheme, in reality it is probably a combination of two elements. Some question exists, however, as to which elements are actually involved, and several different analyses could be proposed, each presenting its own difficulties and irregularities. Therefore, the explanations of *ol(ə)-* given below are very tentative and reflect our inadequate knowledge of the structure of this prefix.

In order to explain the non-occurrence of causative verb forms like **oldmik*, etc., we suggested at the end of 9.2.2 above that *ol(ə)-* actually contains the verb marker. Thus, *ol(ə)-* appears to consist of the variant *o-* of the verb marker and the variant *-l-* of the imperfective marker. Some evidence that *-l-* is the imperfective marker is found in the fact that this consonant is missing in those verb forms whose basic structure characteristically lacks the imperfective marker. For example, the **perfective** forms of causative verbs in *ol(ə)-* would not be expected to contain the imperfective marker, and in fact such forms do not show *-l-*: thus, we have perfective *ochisii* 'chase him/her/it' from *oləchiis* 'chase', perfective *osebəkii* 'make it fly' from *olsebək* 'make...fly', and so forth. In addition, the **ergative** forms of causative verbs in *ol(ə)-* would not contain the imperfective marker, and these, too, lack *-l-*: thus, *motuu* 'be made to enter' is the ergative form of *oltuu* 'put into, make...enter', etc.

If we assume that *ol(ə)-* consists of the verb marker *o-* and the imperfective marker *-l-*, as described above, we run into certain problems that cannot be explained. First, we have seen in 6.1 and in 9.2.1.1 above that the verb marker appears as *o-* only when a *b* appears in the following verb stem or causative marker. In many of the causative verbs listed in 15, there is no *b* at all, yet the verb marker invariably appears as *o-*. Why this should be so remains a mystery. Second, we noted in 5.5.a that the imperfective marker takes the variant *-l-* only when it precedes verb stems which begin with the consonants *t*, *d*, *s*, *l*, or *ng*. This rule does

not hold for causative forms, however, since *-l-* can precede *k*-initial or *ch*-initial verb stems in words like *oləkerəd* 'unload, let off' and *oləchiis* 'chase'. Even more strikingly, the verb-stem-initial consonant is not deleted after the imperfective marker in causative verb forms; such deletion would be expected, since, as we saw in 5.5, it is one of the general phonetic rules which accounts for the correct form of imperfective verbs.⁹

From the discussion above, we can see that the two elements which make up the prefix *ol(ə)-* involve certain hard-to-explain irregularities. Perhaps the most puzzling feature of *ol(ə)-*, however, is its very structure: even though *ol(ə)-* contains no special causative morpheme like the *bək* of *omək-* (cf. 9.2.1.1 above), but seems to consist merely of the sequence *verb marker* + *imperfective marker*, it nevertheless has a causative meaning. There is no way of accounting for this unusual fact unless we modify our analysis of *ol(ə)-* in a significant way, as suggested briefly below.

It might also be claimed that the structure of *ol(ə)-* involves a **causative marker** *o-* followed by the imperfective marker *-l-*.¹⁰ Under such an analysis, causative verbs in *ol(ə)-* would, rather surprisingly, not contain any verb marker at all. In addition, we would have difficulty understanding why the Palauan language would have two phonetically divergent causative markers (*o-* and *-bək-*). This analysis has a few advantages, however. First of all, if the *o-* of *ol(ə)-* were a causative morpheme, then we could explain the fact that *ol(ə)-* has a causative meaning. Second, we would have a plausible way of explaining why initial *o-* remains in perfective causative forms such as *ochisii* 'chase him/her/it' (from *oləchiis* 'chase'), etc. If the *o-* of *ol(ə)-* were the verb marker, then we would expect it to metathesize in perfective verb forms (cf. 6.3.1); but, as forms like *ochisii* (as opposed to, say, **choisii*) show, it obviously does not. This difficulty would be avoided if the *o-* of *ol(ə)-* were indeed not the verb marker, but a causative marker, as suggested here. Third, if the *o-* of *ol(ə)-* were the verb marker, ergative causative forms like *motuu* 'be made to enter' (from *oltuu* 'put into, make...enter') would have the odd feature of containing two instances of the verb marker (*m-* and *o-*). The structure of such forms would be more plausible, however, if we analyzed the *o-* as a causative marker.

Additional Types of Causative Verbs with *ol(ə)-*

- 9.2.2.2. In 9.2.2 above, we saw that most causative verbs in *ol(ə)-* are

derived from the stems of **intransitive action verbs**. A small number of causative verbs can be derived, however, by prefixing *ol(ə)-* to the stems of **intransitive state verbs**. A couple of examples of this type include *oləkeed* 'bring...near' from *kmeed* 'near' and *oldak* 'put together, unify' from *dmak* 'together'.

A few verbs are formed with the prefix *ol(ə)-* even though they do not appear to have a causative meaning. Originally, they were probably derived by combining the causative prefix *ol(ə)-* with a following verb stem, but over a long period of time their meanings have evolved so as to obscure their causative origin. Some commonly-used verbs in this category include *orrengeş* 'hear, listen to', *oldingel* 'visit', *oltair* 'chase', *oləker* 'call', and *olengeşeu* 'help'.

Sample Sentences with *ol(ə)-* Causatives

9.2.2.3. In this section we will list several sentences illustrating the use of some of the causative verbs in *ol(ə)-* given in 15 or mentioned in 9.2.2.2:

- (16) a. A rəngalək a olsebek a kədam.
'The children are flying kites.'
b. Ak mo olluut ər a Droteo mə ng diak ləbo ər a chei.
'I'm going to make Droteo come back from going fishing.'
c. A ngalək a orrebət a blatong.
'The child is dropping plates.'
d. A Cisco a oləkeed ər a bilas.
'Cisco is bringing the boat near.'

VERB STEMS ALLOWING TWO CAUSATIVES

9.3. A small number of intransitive verb stems allow the formation of two different causative verbs, one in *ome(k)-* and the other in *ol(ə)-*. The resulting causative verbs have slightly different meanings, at least for some Palauan speakers. Because there is much variation from person to person with regard to the meaning, or even acceptability, of such causative verbs, the discussion below may not apply to all speakers.

The contrast between *ol(ə)-* and *ome(k)-* often involves whether or not the act of **causation** is **intentional**. In other words, it is a question of whether or not the subject of the causative verb **means** or **intends** the action or state to come about. Note the use

of the causative forms of *suebek a rəngul* 'worried'¹¹ in the following sentences:

- (17) a. A sensei a olsebek ər a rəngul a Droteo.
'The teacher is worrying Droteo (without meaning to).'
b. A sensei a oməksebek ər a rəngul a Droteo.
'The teacher is worrying Droteo (deliberately).'

As the parenthesized parts of the English equivalents show, *ol(ə)-* implies **non-intentional causation**, while *ome(k)-* involves **intentional causation**.

A similar distinction in meaning is found between the two causative verbs derived from *songərenger* 'hungry', as illustrated in the examples below:

- (18) a. Ak olsəngərenger ər a Toki e le ng dimlak a temek el məruul a kall.
'I'm letting Toki go hungry because I didn't have time to prepare any food.'
b. Ak oməksəngərenger ər a Toki e le ng dəngərenger.
'I'm making Toki go hungry because she's naughty.'

In 18a, the causative verb formed with *ol(ə)-* has a meaning of non-intentional causation: here, the subject (*ak* 'I') is not purposefully making Toki go without food; rather, there is no food available, and this situation is beyond the subject's control. By contrast, the causative verb formed with *ome(k)-* in 18b has a meaning of intentional causation and implies that the subject is deliberately withholding food from Toki as a punishment.

The causative verbs *orrael* and *oməkrael*, derived from the stem *rael* 'road' (cf. intransitive *mərael* 'walk, travel'), show a somewhat different kind of meaning distinction, as illustrated in the sentences below:

- (19) a. A Droteo a orrael ər a kərebu.
'Droteo is leading the water buffalo.'
b. A Droteo a oməkrael ər a ngelekel el mo ər a ungil el kləchad.
'Droteo is guiding his child towards a good way of life.'

Though some speakers can use the two causatives interchangeably in sentences like 19a-b, the majority use *orrael* for 'lead (an animal), drive (a boat, etc.)' and *oməkrael* for 'guide'.

PERFECTIVE FORMS OF CAUSATIVE VERBS

9.4. In 9.2.1.1 and 9.2.2.1 above, we have already had occasion to

mention the perfective forms of causative verbs, although we did not give a complete discussion of how they are derived. In this section, therefore, we will provide the perfective forms of a representative sample of causative verbs and explain the phonetic processes which account for their derivation. Our format will follow that which we adopted in 6.3 and 6.3.1–3 for presenting the perfective forms of “regular” (i.e., non-causative) transitive verbs. Thus, in lists 22 and 24 below, the causative verb is first given in its imperfective form, together with an English gloss; then, four representative perfective forms will be listed in the following order:

(20)

Present tense, 3rd pers. sg. object	Past tense, 3rd pers. sg. object
Present tense, 3rd pers. pl. non- human object	Past tense, 3rd pers. pl. non- human object

We will not provide English glosses for each perfective form, since their meanings can easily be determined from the chart in 20; thus, the perfective forms of *oməkɔdakt* ‘frighten’, for instance, would have the following English equivalents:

(21)

‘frighten him/her/it’	‘frightened him/her/it’
‘frighten them’	‘frightened them’

In the list below, we observe the perfective forms of causative verbs in *omə(k)-*:

- (22)
- | | |
|--|---|
| a. <i>oməka</i> ‘feed’:
məkəlii məkəlii ¹²
məka məkə | b. <i>oməkcharm</i> ‘make...suffer’:
məkçərmii məkçərmii
məkcharm məkcharm |
| c. <i>oməkɔdakt</i> ‘frighten’:
məkɔdaktii məkɔdaktii
məkɔdakt məkɔdakt | d. <i>oməkɔdəchor</i> ‘make...stand’:
məkɔdəçəçur məkɔdəçəçur
məkɔdəchor məkɔdəchor |
| e. <i>oməkikiongel</i> ‘make...dirty’:
məkikingəlii məkikingəlii
məkikiongel məkikiongel | f. <i>oməkoad</i> ‘kill’:
məkodir məkodir
məkoad məkoad |
| g. <i>oməngaməçh</i> ‘make...chew/
smoke’: | h. <i>oməngim</i> ‘give drink to’: |

məngəməçhii məkəngəməçhii	məkəngəlii məkəngəlii ¹³
məngaməçh məkəngaməçh	məkəngim məkəngim

You will notice that all of the perfective forms in 22 appear to have lost the initial *o-* of *omə(k)-*. For practical purposes, we can simply say that this *o-* must be deleted as part of the correct derivation of the perfective forms under discussion; a more technical analysis such as that given in 9.2.1.1 above, however, more accurately reflects the complicated phonetic processes which are at work here. Much less complicated is the derivation of the **past** perfective forms of 22: we merely infix the **past tense marker** *-il-* (cf. 5.3.2) after the initial *m-* of the perfective verb form. We should also mention in passing how the past tense forms of **imperfective** causative verbs in *omə(k)-* are derived: as shown in 5.3.2.a, we replace word-initial *o-* with *ul(ə)-*. Thus, we have, for example, *oməka* ‘feed’—*uləməka* ‘fed’, *oməkɔdakt* ‘frighten’—*uləməkɔdakt* ‘frightened’, etc.

The perfective forms in 22 show the effects of **vowel reduction** or **vowel cluster reduction** (cf. 1.4.4 and 6.4). Full vowels or vowel clusters which appear in **stressed** syllables in the imperfective causative verb are reduced, respectively, to the **neutral vowel** *ə* (*schwa*) or to a single vowel when they come to appear in **unstressed** syllables in certain perfective causative forms. In the list below, compare the imperfective causative forms in the left column with the corresponding 3rd pers. sg. object present perfective forms in the right column; in the latter forms the stress always appears on the **object pronoun suffix** (cf. 4.9, 4.9.1–4, and 6.3.1), which has the form *-ii* ‘him/her/it’ or, less frequently, *vowel + r* (e.g. *-ir*, *-úr*, etc.):

(23) *Imperfective Form of Causative Verb*

<i>Imperfective Form of Causative Verb</i>	<i>3rd pers. sg. object Present Perfective Form</i>
<i>oməká</i> ‘feed’	məkəlii ‘feed him/her/it’
<i>oməkchár</i> ‘make...suffer’	məkçərmii ‘make him/her/it suffer’
<i>oməkɔdəçór</i> ‘make...stand’	məkɔdəçəçúr ‘make him/her/it stand’
<i>oməkikióngəl</i> ‘make...dirty’	məkikingəlii ‘make it dirty’
<i>oməkoad</i> ‘kill’	məkodir ‘kill him/her/it’

By looking at the italicized vowels or vowel clusters in each of the above pairs of verb forms, we can clearly see the processes of reduction and how they are related to the position of the stress in

the word. In contrast to the perfective forms of 23, full vowels and vowel clusters remain unchanged in the 3rd pers. pl. object perfective forms given in 22. This is due to the fact that in such forms, the object pronoun suffix is **zero** (*Ø*) (cf. 4.9.1) and therefore the full vowels or vowel clusters in question remain stressed (e.g. *məká* + *Ø* 'feed them', *məkchärm* + *Ø* 'make them suffer', etc.).

In the list below, we observe the perfective forms of causative verbs in *ol(ə)*:-

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| (24) a. <i>oləchiis</i> 'chase': | b. <i>oləkiis</i> 'wake up': |
| ochisii uləchisii | okisii uləkisii |
| ochiis uləchiis | okiis uləkiis |
| c. <i>ollangəl</i> 'make...cry': | d. <i>olluut</i> 'give back, make...return': |
| oləngəlīi ulləngəlīi | olutii ullutii |
| olangəl ullangəl | oluut ulluut |
| e. <i>olsebek</i> 'make...fly': | f. <i>orrebət</i> 'drop': |
| osəbəkii ulsəbəkii | orəbətii urrəbətii |
| osebek ulsebek | orebət urrebət |

In all of the perfective forms of 24, the *-l-* of *ol(ə)*- has been lost; as discussed in 9.2.2.1 above, this is undoubtedly due to the fact that this *-l-* is the imperfective marker, which of course does not occur in perfective verb forms. In order to derive the **past** perfective forms of causative verbs in *ol(ə)*-, we simply replace word-initial *o-* with *ul(ə)*- (cf. 5.3.2.a).¹⁴ The past tense forms of **imperfective** causative verbs in *ol(ə)*- are also derived in this way: thus we have, for example, *oləchiis* 'chase'—*ulləchiis* 'chased', *ollangəl* 'make...cry'—*uləllangəl* 'made...cry', *olsebek* 'make...fly'—*uləlsebek* 'made...fly', etc. If the verb stem begins with *r*, any immediately preceding *l* assimilates to the *r*, as in *orrebət* 'drop', *urrəbətii* 'dropped it', etc.

The perfective forms of 24, like those of 22, show various types of vowel and vowel cluster reduction. Can you identify the types of reduction involved in the pairs of verbs below?

- | | |
|--|--|
| (25) Imperfective Form of Causative Verb | 3rd pers. sg. object Present Perfective Form |
| oləchisii 'chase' | ochisii 'chase him/her/it' |
| olluut 'give back, make...return' | olutii 'give it back' |

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| olləngəl 'make...cry' | oləngəlīi 'make him/her/it cry' |
| orrəbət 'drop' | orəbətii 'drop it' |

ERGATIVE FORMS OF CAUSATIVE VERBS

- 9.5. Though the **ergative** forms (cf. 5.4) of causative verbs are not used very frequently, they are nevertheless derived according to regular patterns. Causative verbs in *omə(k)*- show two different types of ergative forms. In one type, the causative prefix *omə(k)*- is replaced by *muk-*, as in the following examples:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| (26) Ergative Form | Corresponding Causative Verb in <i>omə(k)</i> - |
| mukdakt 'get frightened' | omək dakt 'frighten' |
| mukdəchor 'be made to stand' | omək dəchor 'make...stand' |
| mukringəl 'be/get hurt/harmed' | omək ringəl 'hurt, make...difficult' |

In another type of ergative formation, the causative prefix *omə(k)*- is changed to *obə(k)*-; a detailed analysis of this phenomenon was given in 9.2.1.1 above. Ergative forms in *obə(k)*-, however, have almost totally fallen out of use in present-day Palauan; in other words, they have become **archaic**.

Causative verbs in *ol(ə)*- have ergative forms with initial *mo-*, as in the following:

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| (27) Ergative Form | Corresponding Causative Verb in <i>ol(ə)</i> - |
| mokiis 'be/get awakened' | oləkiis 'wake up' |
| motuu 'be made to enter' | oltuu 'put into, make...enter' |
| modik 'be banished' | oldik 'banish' |

Some discussion of the structure of *mo-* was presented in 9.2.2.1 above.

HYPOTHETICAL FORMS OF CAUSATIVE VERBS

- 9.6. In order to derive the **hypothetical** forms of causative verbs, we prefix the various **hypothetical pronouns** (cf. 4.10 and 4.10.1–9). If the causative verb is imperfective, we derive the hypothetical forms by replacing the *o-* of the causative prefix with a hypothetical pronoun: thus, the hypothetical forms of *oməka* 'feed' are *kuməka* '(if) I feed', *loməka* '(if) he/she feeds', etc. If the causative

verb is perfective, however, the hypothetical form is derived by substituting a hypothetical pronoun for the word-initial *mə-* or *o-*: thus, corresponding to *məkəlii* 'feed him/her/it', we have *kukəlii* '(if) I feed him/her/it', *lokəlii* '(if) he/she feeds him/her/it', etc.

10 Reciprocal Verbs

MEANING AND USE OF RECIPROCAL VERBS

- 10.1. There is a special class of Palauan verbs which are used to express **reciprocal** actions or states. Such **reciprocal verbs** describe situations in which two or more persons or things are **affecting each other** in some way. They may be doing the same **action** to each other (e.g., hitting each other, washing each other, talking to each other, etc.), or they may be in the same **state** with reference to each other (e.g., afraid of each other, close to each other, etc.).¹ Because reciprocal actions or states cannot occur unless at least two persons or things are involved, the subject of a reciprocal verb must always be **plural**.

The following is a typical sentence containing a reciprocal verb:

- (1) A Droteo mə a Toki a kaingəseu.
'Droteo and Toki are helping each other.'

Here, the reciprocal verb *kaingəseu* 'help each other', which is formed by adding the **reciprocal prefix** *kai-* (see 10.2 below) to the verb stem *ngəseu* 'help', implies that the two persons mentioned in the subject noun phrase—namely, *Droteo* and *Toki*—are performing the action of helping with a **reciprocal** or **mutual effect**. In other words, Droteo is doing something to help Toki, and in turn Toki is doing something to help Droteo.

In example 1, the two nouns *Droteo* and *Toki* (each preceded by the word *a*—cf. 2.6) are joined by the **connecting word** *mə* 'and' (see 25.4) to form a plural subject. Not all subject noun phrases, however, need to have this form in order to be plural. Consider, for example, the (italicized) subject noun phrases in the reciprocal sentences below:

- (2) a. A *rəngələk* a kachəlebed.
'The children are hitting each other.'

- b. *A rēchad ər a Modēkngēi a kaingēseu.*
'The people in Modēkngēi are helping each other.'
- c. *Tē kaiuētōir ər a sers.*
'They are chasing each other in the garden.'

In each of the sentences above, we have no trouble understanding that the subject noun phrase is plural: in 2a–b, the **plural prefix** *rē-* (cf. 2.5) has been added to the human nouns *ngalēk* 'child' and *chad* 'person', and in 2c the **3rd pers. pl. human pronoun** *tē* 'they' (cf. 4.2) automatically refers to two or more persons.

Now, with example 1 above, repeated here for convenience,

- (1) *A Droteo mē a Toki a kaingēseu.*
'Droteo and Toki are helping each other.'

compare the following sentences:

- (3) a. *A Droteo a olēngēseu ər a Toki.*
'Droteo is helping Toki.'
- b. *A Toki a olēngēseu ər a Droteo.*
'Toki is helping Droteo.'

Examples 3a–b are the **non-reciprocal** sentences corresponding to 1; they are normal transitive sentences in which a transitive verb—the **causative verb** *olēngēseu* 'help' (cf. 9.2.2.2)—is preceded by a subject noun phrase and followed by an object noun phrase. While *Droteo* and *Toki* are connected by *mē* 'and' to form the "joint" subject of *kaingēseu* 'help each other' in 1, in 3a–b these two nouns have changed their function, since one occurs as the subject of *olēngēseu* 'help' and the other as object. The non-reciprocal sentences 3a–b and the reciprocal sentence 1 are of course interpreted differently: in 3a, for example, the action of helping only goes in one direction—Droteo is helping Toki, but not vice versa—while in 1, this action is performed in both directions, with a mutual effect on Droteo and Toki.

Reciprocal verbs behave like **state** verbs in that their **past tense** forms are derived simply by placing the auxiliary word *mle* 'was, were' (cf. 5.1.3 and 5.3.2) before the verb. Thus, sentences 1 and 2a above have the following past tense equivalents:

- (4) a. *A Droteo mē a Toki a mle kaingēseu.*
'Droteo and Toki were helping each other.'
- b. *A rēngalēk a mle kachēlēbēd.*
'The children were hitting each other.'

FORMS OF THE RECIPROCAL PREFIX

- 10.2. Reciprocal verbs can be identified by the presence of the **reciprocal prefix**, which has quite a few different forms: *kai-*, *kau-*, *kaiuē-*, *kē-*, *ka-*, and *cha-*. It is very difficult to formulate general rules to predict which of these six variants will be used in deriving a particular reciprocal verb, although, as we will see in 10.2.4 below, a phonetic rule can account for the occurrence of *cha-*, and some of the other variants tend to be used frequently with certain types of verb stems. The variants of the reciprocal prefix are attached primarily to the stems of **transitive action verbs**, but in a few cases they can be added to the stems of **transitive** or **intransitive state verbs**. Reciprocal verbs do not contain the verb marker (cf. chap.6) or the imperfective marker (cf. 5.5) and simply have the structure *reciprocal prefix + verb stem*.

RECIPROCAL VERBS RELATED TO CAUSATIVE VERBS

- 10.2.1. Many verb stems which allow the formation of **causative verbs** (cf. chap.9) also permit the derivation of reciprocal verbs. If the causative verb is derived with the **causative prefix** *ol(ē)-* (cf. 9.2.2), then the corresponding reciprocal verb usually takes *kai-*, *kaiuē-*, or *kau-*, as in the following list:

(5) <i>Reciprocal Verb</i>	<i>Related Causative Verb</i>
<i>kaingēseu</i> 'help each other'	<i>olēngēseu</i> 'help'
<i>kaisiuekl</i> 'meet each other'	<i>olsiuekl</i> 'meet'
<i>kaiuētōir</i> 'chase each other'	<i>oltoir</i> 'chase'
<i>kaiuēdingēl</i> 'visit each other'	<i>oldingēl</i> 'visit'
<i>kaudurokl</i> 'send (something) to each other'	<i>oldurokl</i> 'send'

All of the causative verbs in *ol(ē)-* given above are somewhat special because, as their English glosses indicate, they do not seem to have much of a causative meaning. As mentioned in 9.2.2.2, verbs of this kind probably had a causative meaning at some earlier stage of the Palauan language, but over a long period of time the meaning changed and their causative origin became obscured. Except for *ngēseu*, which can occur as an independent noun meaning 'help, assistance', the verb stems observed in the examples of 5 are all **bound**: that is, the verb stems *siuekl*, *toir*, *dingēl*, and *durokl* do not occur as separate words.²

If a causative verb is derived with the **causative prefix** *omə(k)-* (cf. 9.2.1), then the corresponding reciprocal verb is formed by replacing *omə-* with the reciprocal prefix *kau-*. Interestingly enough, the *k* of *omə(k)-* remains in the reciprocal verb, which therefore seems to have been prefixed with *kauk-*. Note the following examples:

(6) Reciprocal Verb		Related Causative Verb
kauklatk	'remind each other'	oməklatk 'remind'
kaukdakt	'frighten each other'	oməkdakt 'frighten'
kaukrael	'guide/advise each other'	oməkrael 'guide, advise'
kaukərreu	'take care of each other'	oməkərreu 'take care of'

Some of the verb stems in the examples of 6 occur independently as nouns—e.g. *dakt* 'fear' and *rael* 'road'—while others are bound—*latk* and *kərreu*.

The examples below illustrate how some of the reciprocal verbs of 5 and 6 are used in sentences:

- (7) a. A mlai a mle kaisiuekl.
'The cars crashed.'³
- b. A rəngalək er a Belau a sorir əl kaukdakt a ləkłəbəsei.
'Palauan children like to frighten each other at night.'
- c. Aki kmal kaukərreu.
'We take good care of each other.'

RECIPROCAL VERBS RELATED TO VERBS IN *ou-*

10.2.2. In 6.1.1 we saw that many Palauan verbs can be derived by prefixing *ou-* to a noun or, much less commonly, to a bound verb stem. Such verbs in *ou-*—e.g. *oublai* 'own a house' (from *blai* 'house'), *ouskuul* 'teach, tutor' (from *skuul* 'school'), etc.—either designate ownership or control of something or refer to some kind of activity associated with the noun from which they are derived. Many verbs in *ou-* are transitive and are normally followed by **object noun phrases**. Observe, for example, the sentences below, in which the objects of verbs in *ou-* have been italicized:

- (8) a. Ak ousəchəlei ər a Droteo.
'I'm a friend of Droteo's.'

- b. Ak oungelək ər a səchal.
'I have/am the parent of a boy.'
- c. A rəchad ər a Siabal a uluməkəmad⁴ ər a rəchad ər a Merikel.
'The Japanese made war on the Americans.'
- d. A Droteo a oungeləkəl ər a bəchil.
'Droteo is joking with his wife.'
- e. Ak ouchad ər kəmiu e ak mo chəbuul.
'Having you as my relatives will reduce me to poverty.'

Verbs in *ou-* which can be used transitively, such as those illustrated in 8 above, have related reciprocal verbs derived with the prefix *kau-*. Some typical pairs of such verbs are listed below; the related noun, if any, is also provided:

(9) Reciprocal Verb	Related Verb in <i>ou-</i>	Related Noun
kaubuch 'be married to each other'	oubuch 'be married to (someone)'	buch 'spouse'
kausəchəlei 'be friends with each other'	ousəchəlei 'be a friend of (someone)'	səchəlei 'friend'
kaungalək 'be related as parent and child'	oungelək 'have (as) a child'	ngalək 'child'
kauchad 'be related to each other'	ouchad 'have (as) a relative'	chad 'person'
kaureng 'long for each other'	oureng 'wish for'	reng 'heart, spirit'
kauməkəmad 'fight with each other (in a war)'	ouməkəmad 'make war on'	məkəmad 'war'
kauchais 'tell each other news'	ouchais 'tell (someone) news'	chais 'news'
kausisbech ⁵ 'need/help each other'	ousbech 'need'	-----
kaungeləkəl 'joke with each other'	oungeləkəl 'joke with'	ngəlləkəl ⁶ 'joke'

The derived reciprocal verbs of 9 above, which describe mutual relationships between people or denote activities which people direct at each other, are used in sentences like the following:

- (10) a. Ngak me a Droteo a $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{kausechelei?} \\ \text{kauchad} \end{Bmatrix}$.
 'Droteo and I are $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{friends} \\ \text{relatives} \end{Bmatrix}$.'
- b. A Toki me a Droteo te mo kaubuch er oingarang?
 'When are Toki and Droteo getting married?'
- c. Aki mle kausisbech el mēruul a sublam.
 'We helped each other do our homework.'
- d. Aki kauchais a chisel a belumam.
 'We're exchanging news about our home villages.'

RECIPROCAL VERBS DERIVED FROM TRANSITIVE VERB STEMS

- 10.2.3. The stems of many **transitive action verbs** can combine with the prefixes *ka-* or *kē-* to derive reciprocal verbs. In the list below, some commonly-used reciprocal verbs of this type are given, together with the related transitive verb in its imperfective form:

(11) <i>Reciprocal Verb</i>	<i>Related Transitive Verb</i> (in Imperfective Form)
katēkoi 'speak to each other'	mēlēkoi 'speak'
kakimd 'cut each other's hair'	mēngimd 'cut (hair)'
kachelebēd ⁸ 'hit each other'	mēngelebēd 'hit'
kakeald 'keep each other warm'	mēngeald 'heat, warm up'
kēluchēs 'write to each other'	mēluchēs 'write'
kēlatk 'remember each other'	mēlatk 'remember'
kētub 'spit on each other'	mēlub 'spit'
kēsilek 'wash each other's clothes'	mēsilek 'wash'

Because they do not contain the imperfective marker, the reciprocal verbs above show stem-initial consonants which have been deleted after the imperfective marker in the related imperfective transitive verbs. As we saw in 5.5, the stem of a verb like *mēlēkoi* 'speak' is the independently-occurring noun *tēkoi* 'word, language'. In the derivation of imperfective *mēlēkoi* from the sequence *me* (verb marker) + *l* (imperfective marker) + *tēkoi* (verb stem), the initial consonant *t* of *tēkoi* is deleted. This *t* remains intact, however, in those verb forms which lack the imperfective marker. Thus, the *t* is preserved in reciprocal *katēkoi* 'speak to each other', as well as in **ergative** *mētēkoi* 'be/get talked to' (cf. 5.4). To take another example, imperfective *mēngeald*

'heat, warm up' is derived from the sequence *me* (verb marker) + *ng* (imperfective marker) + *keald* (verb stem) simply by dropping the initial *k* of the (bound) verb stem *keald*. The *k* of *keald* is preserved, however, in the reciprocal verb *kakeald* 'keep each other warm', in the **intransitive state verb** *mēkeald* 'warm', and in the **derived noun** *kleald* 'heat' (cf. 8.3, ex.7), all of which do not contain the imperfective marker.

In some cases, the stem of a transitive action verb is partially or completely repeated (or **reduplicated**—see chap. 11) when the reciprocal prefix *ka-* is added. For some verb stems, this process is obligatory, while for others it is optional, with considerable variation from speaker to speaker. Some typical examples are given below; in the reciprocal verbs, the **reduplicated syllable** has been italicized:

(12) <i>Reciprocal Verb</i>	<i>Related Transitive Verb</i> (in Imperfective Form)
kabeboes 'shoot each other'	omoēs 'shoot'
kakērker 'ask each other'	oker 'ask'
kasoes 'see/meet each other'	omes 'see'
kasusuub 'imitate each other'	mēsusuub 'study, imitate'

As mentioned above, the process of reduplication is merely optional for some of the reciprocal verbs in 12. Thus, *kēsusuub* means the same as *kasusuub* 'imitate each other', and *kaker* may be used instead of *kakērker* 'ask each other'.

Very rarely, the stem of a **transitive state verb** can be combined with a reciprocal prefix to form a reciprocal verb. A couple of examples include *kaodēnge*⁹ 'know each other' (cf. *mēdēnge* 'know') and *kēdakt* 'afraid of each other' (cf. *mēdakt* 'afraid').

We should also note in passing that the stems of a few **intransitive state verbs** can also be used to form reciprocal verbs. Such verbs designate relationships of **distance** (near vs. far) or **similarity** (similar vs. different) and include *kakeed/kaiuēkeed* 'near each other' (cf. *kmeed* 'near'), *chacheroid*¹⁰ 'far from each other' (cf. *cheroid* 'far'), *kaisisiu* 'similar to/the same as each other' (cf. *osisiu* 'similar, the same'), *kakngodech*¹¹ 'different from each other' (cf. *ngodech* 'different, strange'), etc.

THE RECIPROCAL PREFIX *cha-*

- 10.2.4. The reciprocal prefix has the variant *cha-* when the following verb stem begins with *ch*. It is clear that the initial consonant of this

prefix has totally **assimilated** to—i.e., become identical with—the *ch* of the following verb stem. Thus, we can claim that the variant *cha-* is really derived from *ka-* by a phonetic rule of **assimilation**. If this is true, then we have simplified our description of the reciprocal prefixes somewhat, since we can now say that they all basically begin with *k*. Some reciprocal verbs pronounced with initial *cha-* are given below, together with the related imperfective transitive verb or the related state verb:

(13) Reciprocal Verb	Related Transitive Verb (in Imperfective Form) or Related State Verb
chachelebēd 'hit each other'	mēngelebēd 'hit'
chachuiu 'look closely at each other'	mēnguuiu 'read, look closely at'
chachēdēchēdūch 'converse with each other'	mēngēdēchēdūch 'converse'
chacheroid 'far from each other'	chēroid 'far'
chacheche 'jealous of each other'	mēcheche 'jealous'

For some Palauan speakers, such as those living in the north of Babeldaob, the assimilation rule resulting in *cha-* is not applied, and therefore *ka-* is used as the reciprocal prefix in the verbs of 13.

SAMPLE SENTENCES WITH RECIPROCAL VERBS

10.3. In this section we will look at a few more examples of how Palauan reciprocal verbs are used in sentences. Most of the reciprocal verbs are taken from the lists or discussions in 10.2.3–4 above.

- (14) a. Aki mle katēkoi ēr se ēl mondai er a elii.
'We talked with each other about that problem yesterday.'
- b. A Droteo mē a Hiroi a millim a rrom e mlo {chachelebēd / kachelebēd}.
'Droteo and Hiroi drank (a lot of) liquor and started hitting each other.'
- c. A Satsko mē a Toki a kēsilek a bilir.
'Satsko and Toki are washing each other's clothes.'
- d. A Droteo mē a Helen a mle kasoēs ēr a kēsus.
'Droteo and Helen saw/met each other last night.'
- e. Tē mle kaodēnge er se ēr a taem ēr a mēkēmad.
'They knew each other during the war.'

In 14c above, we have a reciprocal sentence which has been made **transitive** by the addition of the **object noun phrase** *bilir* 'their clothes'. This object noun phrase is a **possessed noun** (cf. 3.1) in which the **3rd pers. pl. human possessor suffix** *-ir* refers to the same persons as the subject of the sentence (*Satsko mē a Toki* 'Satsko and Toki'). Transitive reciprocal sentences like 14c are interpreted rather differently from "simple" (nontransitive) reciprocal sentences like 1, which we repeat here for convenience:

- (1) A Droteo mē a Toki a kaingēseu.
'Droteo and Toki are helping each other.'

In 1, both persons are affected **directly** by the reciprocal action of helping: Droteo is being helped by Toki and Toki is being helped by Droteo. In 14c, however, the effect of the reciprocal action is **indirect**. In this sentence Satsko is not being washed by Toki, nor vice versa; rather, both persons are receiving the beneficial effect of similar actions which are directed at something external—namely, each other's clothing (*bilir*).

Other transitive reciprocal sentences whose structure and interpretation are similar to 14c are given below. For ease of reference, the object noun phrase has been italicized:

- (15) a. A Tony mē a Cisco a chachuiu a *hong ēr tir*.¹²
'Tony and Cisco are reading each other's books.'
- b. A Kiosi mē a Droteo a kēluchēs a *babier*.
'Kiosi and Droteo are writing each other letters.'
- c. A Toki mē a Droteo a blēchoel ēl kērengēs¹³ a *tēkingir*.
'Toki and Droteo always listen to/take advice from each other.'
- d. Aki mle kasoēs a *chuungam*.
'We could see each other's shadows.'
- e. Tē kēka a *kēlir*.
'They're eating each other's food.'

In 15c–e, the possessor suffix on the object noun agrees with the subject of the sentence. Thus, the *-am* of *chuungam* 'our shadows' agrees with the 1st pers. pl. excl. pronoun *aki* 'we (excl.)', and *-ir* of *tēkingir* 'their voices' and *kēlir* 'their food' agrees with the 3rd pers. pl. human subjects *Toki mē a Droteo* 'Toki and Droteo' and *tē* 'they'.

EXTENDED FUNCTIONS OF THE RECIPROCAL PREFIX

10.4. In the sections above, we have seen that the primary function of

the Palauan reciprocal prefix is to derive verbs denoting actions or states which have a **direct or indirect mutual effect** on two or more persons. In this section, we will examine two interesting cases in which the abovementioned primary function of the reciprocal prefix seems to have been extended or modified.

A rather natural extension of the use of the reciprocal prefix is found in the derivation of reciprocal verbs from the stems of **intransitive action verbs**. Since intransitive action verbs do not take an object, but rather denote activities in which only the subject himself can be involved, reciprocal verbs related to them cannot possibly imply mutual effect. Instead, reciprocal verbs of this type denote activities which two or more persons do together or in a group. Observe the sentences below:

- (16) a. Aki mle chachiuaiu.
'We were all asleep.'
b. A rengalek a kaiderrurt.
'The children are running together.'
c. A rubak a mle kaderrorb er a chersel a bai.
'The old men were sitting together inside the men's house.'

The reciprocal verbs in 16a-c are related to the stems of intransitive action verbs as follows: *chachiuaiu* 'sleep with each other (in the same room, etc.)'—*metchiuaiu* 'sleep', *kaiderrurt*¹⁴ 'run with each other'—*remurt* 'run', and *kaderrorb*¹⁴ 'sit together'—*rerorb* 'sit'. These verbs all imply that the subjects are doing some activity jointly—e.g. sleeping in the same place, sitting in the same place, etc.—although no reciprocity is involved. However, some Palauan speakers feel that sentences like 16a-c have a special connotation of "group spirit" or "togetherness". For example, *kaderrorb* 'sit together' of 16c seems to include the idea of some special comradeship existing between the men who were sitting together.

Another extended function of the reciprocal prefix is to weaken certain commands or suggestions, or make them more polite. In this usage, the reciprocal prefix *ka-* is added directly to the **hypothetical** forms of verbs (cf. 4.10 and 4.10.1-9). Its presence suggests that the speaker and the person addressed are somehow mutually involved in the decision at hand; often there is a strong sense of the speaker's concern or sympathy. Note the contrast between the following pairs of sentences:

- (17) a. Kurael el mo er a blik.
'I'd better go home.'

- b. Kakurael el mo er a blik.
'Why don't I go home.'
(18) a. Molim a kerum!
'Take your medicine!'
b. Kamolim a kerum.
'Let's take your medicine.'
(19) a. Domoes a belochel.
'We're to shoot pigeons.'
b. Kadomoes a belochel.
'Let's shoot pigeons.'

In the a- sentences of each pair, there is a strong **imperative** connotation—that is, the action is something which the speaker feels must be done (either by himself or someone else). The addition of *ka-* in the b- sentences, however, changes these imperative sentences into mild or polite suggestions. The only hypothetical form which does not permit *ka-* is the 1st pers. pl. **exclusive**; in other words, we do not have forms like **kakimora* or **kaki-molim*. This is because the function of *ka-* under discussion here is to involve the person spoken to in the decision, whereas the use of 1st pers. pl. exclusive forms automatically excludes that person.

Some additional examples of this use of *ka-* are given in the sentences below:

- (20) a. Kamonguiu er tia el hong, e desekau el kmo ke mo pass er a test ng diak.
'Read this book and let's see whether or not you pass the test.'
b. Kalabo lemetchiuaiu a Toki, e desa el kmo ng mo ungil ng diak.
'Let's have Toki go to bed and we'll see if she gets better.'
c. Kabeskak tilcha el oluches.
'How about giving me that pencil?'

11 Reduplication and Further Verb Affixation

TYPES OF VERB DERIVATION

- 11.1. In several of the preceding chapters we have attempted to describe in detail how the many different types of Palauan verbs are derived. Thus, in chaps. 5 and 6, we showed how certain important grammatical **affixes** such as the **verb marker**, the **imperfective marker**, the **past tense marker**, **hypothetical pronouns**, **object pronouns**, etc. combine with **verb stems** to derive **action verbs**, **state verbs**, **imperfective** and **perfective verb forms**, **ergative verb forms**, **hypothetical verb forms**, and the like. In chap. 7, we specifically treated the many subclasses of **derived state verbs**, and in chaps. 9 and 10 we examined the derivational patterns for **causative verbs** and **reciprocal verbs**.

Although we have already covered many aspects of Palauan verb derivation, as summarized above, our discussion of it is not yet complete. Therefore, in this chapter we will concentrate on the three major derivational processes which remain to be described. We will focus most of our attention on the process of **reduplication**, which involves **repeating** or **reduplicating** part (or, less frequently, all) of a verb stem. The patterns of reduplication are complex and often highly irregular, and we will therefore examine only the most commonly used (or **productive**) processes, together with the different types of meaning change which result from reduplication. In this chapter we will also discuss two **suffixes** which are important in verb derivation—the **predictive suffix** *-u*, which expresses the speaker's **prediction** that the action of the verb is about to happen, and the **inchoative suffix** *-a*, which denotes an action or state which has just come about—i.e., which is new or unexpected.

PREVIOUS EXAMPLES OF REDUPLICATION

- 11.1.1. At several points in the text we have already made passing re-

ference to reduplicated verb forms, though we did not analyze them in detail. In 7.2, for instance, we noted that certain state verbs referring to **size** or **dimension** show a reduplicated part. Thus, *kekere* 'small' obligatorily contains the reduplicated initial syllable *ke-*, while the addition of this same syllable is optional in *(ke)kemanget* 'tall, long' and *(ke)kēdeb* 'short'.¹ Further, in 7.5–6 we saw that some verbs derived with the prefixes *bē-* and *bēkē-* require the verb stem to be partially reduplicated, as in *bēchachas* 'sooty' (from *chas* 'soot, ash'), *bēkēlilangel* 'cry a lot' (from *langel* 'crying'), *bēkēsechesecher* 'get sick often' (from *secher* 'sickness'), etc. Finally, in 10.2.3 we observed reciprocal verbs like *kakerker* 'ask each other' (from *ker* 'question') and *kasusuub* 'imitate each other' (cf. *mēsuub* 'study, imitate'), where all or part of the verb stem is (optionally) reduplicated before adding the **reciprocal prefix** *ka-*.

In the examples given above, it seems that the reduplication of all or part of a verb stem has no particular meaning or function; rather, this reduplication is a kind of "grammatical device"² which is applied—quite unpredictably—when we derive state verbs, reciprocal verbs, and the like from certain verb stems. In the majority of instances, however, the reduplication of a verb stem does result in a significant change of meaning. Practically all types of verbs can undergo the process of reduplication, and speakers often do not agree with each other on the correct form or meaning. Therefore, some of the reduplicated forms discussed in the sections below may not be part of your own "active" speech, although you may understand them and hear other speakers use them.

REDUPLICATION OF SIMPLE STATE VERBS

- 11.2. **Simple state verbs** (i.e., those consisting of a single morpheme or meaning-bearing unit—cf. 7.1) are normally reduplicated by taking the initial consonant of the stem, adding the vowel *e* (pronounced as the full vowel [e]), and prefixing this extra syllable to the whole verb stem. If we represent the stem-initial consonant as *C*₁ (where *C* stands for "consonant" and the subscript numeral 1 identifies the first or initial consonant of the stem), then we can say that the reduplicated forms of simple state verbs are derived by prefixing the sequence *C*₁*e* to the verb stem. Observe the examples below:

(1) Reduplicated Form	Related Simple State Verb
bebeot 'fairly easy/cheap'	beot 'easy/cheap'
dedəkimes 'kind of wet'	dəkimes 'wet'
sesəkool 'rather playful'	səkool 'playful'
kekədung 'fairly well-behaved'	kədung 'well-behaved'
bebubong 'somewhat senile'	bubong 'senile'
sesongərenger 'kind of hungry'	songərenger 'hungry'

As the English equivalents for the reduplicated forms of 1 show, the function of reduplication with state verbs is to **qualify** or **weaken** the meaning of the verb or give it a **more tentative** or **less definite** quality. Therefore, the English translations usually contain qualifying words such as 'kind of', 'somewhat', 'fairly', 'rather', etc. The use of the reduplicated state verbs of 1 is illustrated in the sentences below. Very often, the expression *ko ər a* 'kind of, somewhat' precedes the reduplicated verb and gives an added connotation of tentativeness:

- (2) a. Ng ko ər a bebeot a chəral a klok ər a Hong Kong.³
'The prices for watches are pretty low in Hong Kong.'
- b. Ng dedəkimes a bilek e le ak killii a chull.⁴
'My clothes are kind of wet because I got caught in the rain.'
- c. Ak ko ər a sesongərenger e ng di chətik əl oməngur.
'I'm kind of hungry but I don't want to eat.'

REDUPLICATION OF POSSESSED NOUNS

- 11.2.1. The possessed nouns *soak* 'my liking', *soal* 'his liking', etc. and *chətik* 'my disliking', *chətil* 'his disliking' etc. (see 17.1) can be reduplicated with a similar weakening of meaning. While *chətik—chechətik* follows the pattern for simple state verbs observed in 11.2 above, *soak—sosoak* involves a repetition of the first syllable of the possessed noun. The use of these words is illustrated in the following sentences:⁵

- (3) a. A Droteo a ko ər a sosoal əl mo ər a chei.
'Droteo would sort of like to go fishing.'
- b. Ng chechətik əl mərael.
'I don't feel much like leaving.'

Even though words like *soak* 'my liking', *chətik* 'my disliking', etc. are nouns, they permit the process of reduplication, which is

otherwise restricted to verbs. This unusual phenomenon may be due to the fact that these nouns are rather like state verbs in meaning—that is, liking or disliking something is a kind of "state of mind". Interestingly enough, the possessed nouns under discussion translate into English most naturally as verbs—i.e., *soak* 'I like...', *chətil* 'he dislikes...', etc.

REDUPLICATION OF STATE VERBS IN *mə-*

- 11.3. State verbs consisting of the **verb marker** *mə-* and a **verb stem** (cf. 7.1) are normally reduplicated by adding a syllable of the form *C₁e*. This involves the same pattern as that observed in 11.2 above, except that the verb marker prefix remains at the beginning of the word. A weakening of meaning is also involved, as in the following examples:

(4) Reduplicated Form	Related State Verb in <i>mə-</i>
mətetongakl 'fairly tall'	mətungakl 'tall'
məkekekad 'kind of itchy'	məkekad 'itchy'
məchechəsa 'kind of busy'	məchəsa 'busy'
məsesulaul 'kind of sleepy'	məsulaul 'sleepy'
məchechuu 'fairly shady'	məchuu 'shady'
məleliliut 'fairly thin'	məliliut 'thin'
mədedənge 'be somewhat familiar with'	mədənge 'know'
mətetitür 'be rather unfamiliar with'	mətitür 'not know how (to), not be capable of'

A few intransitive state or action verbs which contain the **metathesized verb marker** after the initial consonant of the stem (cf. 6.2) follow the same rule of adding a reduplicated syllable of the form *C₁e*. In these cases, however, the metathesized verb marker remains within the stem, as in the examples below:

(5) Reduplicated Form	Related State Verb With Metathesized Verb Marker
sesmechər 'kind of sick'	smechər 'sick'
sesmau 'sort of used to'	smau 'used to'
chechuarm 'sort of suffer'	chuarm 'suffer'

The sentences below illustrate the use of the reduplicated forms of 4 and 5:

- (6) a. A Droteo a ko ɛr a mɛchechɛsa mɛ ng diak lɛɛbɛchel ɛl mong.
'Droteo is rather busy, so he can't go.'
b. Ak ko ɛr a mɛsesulaul mɛ ak mochu⁶ mɛchiuau.
'I'm kind of sleepy, so I'll be going to bed.'
c. A dɛlal a di sesmechɛr mɛ ng diak loureor ɛr a sers.
'His mother is kind of sick, so she's not working in the garden.'

REDUPLICATION OF DERIVED STATE VERBS

- 11.4. Some derived state verbs containing both the **resulting state infix** *-(ɛ)l-* and the **anticipating state suffix** *-(ɛ)l* (cf. 7.8.2) may be reduplicated, although the resulting forms are not particularly common. Again, a reduplicated syllable of the form C_1e is prefixed to the derived state verb, as in the following:

(7) Reduplicated Form	Related Derived State Verb ⁷
ngengeltachɛl 'not well cleaned'	ngɛltachɛl 'cleaned'
ngenglɛmodɛl 'not well mopped'	nglɛmodɛl 'mopped'
ngenglɛmull 'not well cut'	nglɛmull 'cut (grass)'

As the English equivalents show, the reduplicated forms of 7 exhibit a rather unusual change of meaning: they describe states resulting from the **incomplete** or **inadequate** performance of some task.

Some state verbs derived with the prefix *bɛkɛ-* (cf. 7.6 and 7.6.1) are reduplicated by inserting the syllable *ke* between the two syllables of *bɛkɛ-*. The reduplicated forms exhibit a weakening of meaning, as in the following:

(8) Reduplicated Form	Related State Verb in <i>bɛkɛ-</i>
bɛkekeɛsius 'rather vulgar in speech'	bɛkɛsius 'vulgar in speech'
bɛkekeɛtɛkoi 'rather talkative'	bɛkɛtɛkoi 'talkative'
bɛkekeɛsɛngoreɛch 'smell rather like a pig's house'	bɛkɛsɛngoreɛch 'smell like a pig's house'

COMPLEX PATTERNS OF REDUPLICATION

- 11.5. As we have seen in the sections above, the relatively simple reduplicative pattern C_1e accounts for the reduplicated forms of quite a few Palauan state verbs. There are some state verbs, however, whose reduplicated forms follow a much more complicated pattern, which can be symbolized as $C_1eC_1V(C_2)$. This

formula indicates that the reduplicated sequence is composed of two syllables: the first syllable— C_1e —is equal to the simpler pattern of reduplication with which we are already familiar, while the second syllable— $C_1V(C_2)$ —represents a new element. The second syllable consists of the initial consonant of the verb stem (C_1), followed by some vowel (hence, our use of the cover symbol *V* for "vowel"), followed optionally by the second consonant of the verb stem (C_2). The vowel of $C_1V(C_2)$ appears as *ɛ* (schwa) if the verb stem has a single full vowel; if the verb stem has a vowel cluster, however, the vowel of $C_1V(C_2)$ will normally be one of the vowels found in this cluster. Thus, the reduplicated syllable $C_1V(C_2)$ shows the effects of **vowel reduction** (cf. 1.4.4 and 3.4) and **vowel cluster reduction** (cf. 3.4.3).

The examples below, which are the reduplicated forms of some state verbs in *mɛ-*, follow this complex but quite productive pattern. Note that the reduplicated sequence is placed after the verb marker and before the full verb stem:

(9) Reduplicated Form	Related State Verb in <i>mɛ-</i>
mɛsesusaul 'kind of tired'	mɛsaul 'tired'
mɛdedɛkdakt 'kind of afraid'	mɛdakt 'afraid'
mɛsesisaik 'kind of lazy'	mɛsaik 'lazy'
mɛrerɛngɛringɛl 'kind of difficult'	mɛringɛl 'difficult'
mɛkekeɛrkar 'half awake' ⁸	mɛkar 'awake'

Let us now isolate the second syllable— $C_1V(C_2)$ —of the reduplicated sequence and compare it with the verb stem:

(10) $C_1V(C_2)$	Verb Stem ⁹
-su-	saul 'tiredness'
-dɛk-	dakt 'fear'
-si-	saik 'laziness'
-rɛng-	ringɛl 'pain, difficulty'
-kɛr-	kar '(state of) being awake'

We can see clearly that a single full vowel in the verb stem is reduced to *ɛ* in $C_1V(C_2)$, while a vowel cluster in the verb stem is reduced to a single full vowel in $C_1V(C_2)$.

The reduplicated forms of 9, which exhibit a weakening of meaning, are used in sentences like the following:

- (11) a. Ak ko ɛr a mɛsesusaul mɛ ak mochu rɛmei.
'I'm rather tired, so (I guess) I'll be going home.'

- b. A ngeleşkek a mēdedēkdakt a dērumk.
'My child is rather afraid of thunder.'

REDUPLICATION OF INTRANSITIVE ACTION VERBS

- 11.6. Some **intransitive action verbs** have reduplicated forms which follow the patterns C_1e or $C_1eC_1V(C_2)$ observed for state verbs in 11.2–5 above. If the intransitive action verb happens to have the metathesized verb marker (cf. 6.2), then its reduplicated form shows this marker as a prefix *mē-*. Observe the following examples:

(12) Reduplicated Form	Related Intransitive Action Verb
mēchechiis 'keep avoiding/sneaking out'	chēmiis 'run away'
mērerēbērebēt 'fall one by one'	ruebēt 'fall'
mēlululuut 'keep returning'	lmuut 'return'
mērerorael ¹⁰ 'walk aimlessly'	mērael 'walk'
mēsesilil ¹¹ 'fool around'	milil 'play'

While *mēchechiis* 'keep avoiding/sneaking out' is reduplicated with C_1e , the other forms above are reduplicated with C_1eC_1V (C_2). In *mērerēbērebēt* 'fall one by one', the second syllable of the reduplicated sequence shows C_2 as *b*, and for purposes of pronunciation a *ē* is inserted between this *b* and the *r* of the following verb stem.

As the English equivalents for the reduplicated forms of 12 show, the function of reduplication with intransitive action verbs is different from what we have already encountered for state verbs. In general, reduplicated intransitive action verbs involve actions which are **continued** or **repeated** without conscious intention in a habitual, absent-minded, or even compulsive way. It is very difficult to find suitable English translations for reduplicated intransitive action verbs when they are used in sentences; therefore, the translations given for the sentences below are rather free:

- (13) a. A rdēchel a lius a mērerēbērebēt.
'The coconuts are falling one by one.'
b. A Moses a di blēchoel ēl mērerorael a lēklēbēsei.
'Moses is always wandering around at night.'
c. Ak mērael e ko ēr a di mēlululuut a rēnguk.
'I'm leaving but I don't know if I really want to (lit., my mind keeps returning).'

- d. A Toki a di mēsesilil e a blai a di diak lēkēltmokl.
'Toki just fools around and the house doesn't get cleaned.'

In 7.3 we saw that a few intransitive verbs like *mēkar* 'be awake, wake up', *dēngchokl* 'sit, sitting', etc. can function both as **state verbs** and **action verbs** since they have past tense forms with the auxiliary *mle* or with the infix *-il-*, respectively. Further evidence for the dual role of such intransitive verbs can be found in the fact that some of them exhibit one reduplicated form with the qualifying or weakening meaning characteristic of **reduplicated state verbs** and another reduplicated form with the repetitive or habitual interpretation characteristic of **reduplicated intransitive action verbs**. A typical example is the intransitive verb *mēkar* 'be awake, wake up', which has the reduplicated form *mēkekerkar* 'half awake' (listed in 9 above), as well as the reduplicated form *mēkerkar* 'keep waking up', which contains only $C_1V(C_2)$ as the reduplicated syllable. Some intransitive verbs have only a single reduplicated form, but one which can be interpreted in two ways. For example, *rēborb* 'sit (like a man)' has the reduplicated form *mēdedērēborb*¹², which can mean either 'squat (i.e., sit more or less the way men do)' or 'sit around'.

REDUPLICATION OF TRANSITIVE ACTION VERBS

- 11.7. So far, we have examined the various forms and meanings which result from reduplicating the stems of (intransitive) state verbs and intransitive action verbs. In this section, we will look at the reduplicative patterns relevant to **transitive action verbs**, dealing first with their **ergative** forms and later with their **imperfective** forms.

The **ergative** forms of transitive verbs (cf. 5.4) can be reduplicated according to three different patterns: the first two— C_1e and $C_1eC_1V(C_2)$ —are familiar to us from above, while the third— $C_1V(C_2)$ —is merely the second pattern minus the first syllable. It is impossible to predict which of these three reduplicative patterns will apply to a particular verb stem, and there is some disagreement among speakers as to the correctness of forms. The reduplicated forms of ergative verbs all have the special meaning 'easy to...'. In the examples below, the reduplicated syllable has the form C_1e :

(14) Reduplicated Form	Related Ergative Verb Form
mēchechēsimer 'easy to close'	mēchēsimer 'be/get closed'

męchechęlebęd 'easy to hit'	męchęlebęd 'be/get hit'
mętetękoi 'easy to talk to'	mętękoi 'be/get talked to'
męsesesęb 'flammable'	męsesęb 'be/get burned'

In the following examples, the reduplicated form is derived with the pattern $C_1eC_1V(C_2)$:

(15) Reduplicated Form	Related Ergative Verb Form
mędedęngędangęb 'easy to cover'	mędangęb 'be/get covered'
obebibuid 'easy to glue'	obuid 'be/get glued'
mękekikiut 'easy to clear'	mękiut 'be/get cleared'
męlelęchęluchęs ¹³ 'easy to write on'	męluchęs 'be/get written'
męlelęchęlechęt 'easy to tie'	męlechęt 'be/get tied'

Notice that, for pronunciation purposes, an extra *ę* must be added between C_2 of the reduplicated sequence and the following verb-stem-initial consonant in words like *mędedęngędangęb* 'easy to cover', *męlelęchęlechęt* 'easy to tie', etc.

The examples below show ergative verb forms reduplicated with $C_1V(C_2)$:

(16) Reduplicated Form	Related Ergative Verb Form
męngingiokl 'easy to cook'	męngiokl 'be/get cooked (starch)'
męsusuub 'easy to study'	męsuub 'be/get studied'
męchichuiu 'easy to read'	męchuiu 'be/get read'
męręmram 'easy to mix'	męram 'be/get mixed'
obęlębalęch 'easy to shoot with a slingshot'	obalęch ¹⁴ 'be/get shot with a slingshot'
obebeu 'breakable'	obeu 'be/get broken'

The reduplicated ergative verb forms listed in 14–16 above are used in sentences such as the following:

- (17) a. Ng kmal męchechęlebęd a otęchel a Droteo.
'Droteo's pitches/throws of the ball are easy to hit.'
b. Tia ęl sers a mękekikiut e le ng mla ęr ngii a chull.
'This garden is easy to clear because there's been some rain.'
c. A kiuid a obęlębalęch.
'Blackbirds are easy to shoot with a slingshot.'
d. Alii. Tilęcha ęl butilia a obebeu!
'Watch out—that bottle is breakable!'

The three patterns of reduplication observed above can also be applied to the **imperfective** forms of transitive verbs, but the resulting forms exhibit much variation from speaker to speaker. The meaning of reduplicated imperfective verbs is similar to that observed in 11.6 above for intransitive action verbs: the action is repeated or continued absent-mindedly or without any conscious intent.

Many imperfective verbs, when reduplicated, essentially follow the $C_1V(C_2)$ pattern, except that the **imperfective marker** (cf. 5.5) appears as *-l-*, *-ng-*, or *-m-* directly before the reduplicated sequence. Thus, in the reduplicated forms below, the imperfective marker is found preceding the reduplicated syllable but not preceding the full verb stem:

(18) Reduplicated Form	Related Imperfective Verb Form
męlębtub 'keep spitting'	męlub 'spit'
męngęmkimd 'keep trimming'	męngimd 'cut (hair), trim'
męngikiis 'keep digging'	męngiis 'dig'
męngęlka ¹⁵ 'keep eating'	męnga 'eat'
omeboes 'shoot indiscriminately'	omoes 'shoot'
omebeu 'keep breaking'	omeu 'break'
omęlębalęch 'play around with a slingshot'	omalęch 'shoot with a slingshot'

Whereas an imperfective verb form like *męlub* 'spit' has the basic structure

- (19) verb marker + imperfective marker + verb stem
mę + l + tub

the corresponding reduplicated form *męlębtub* 'keep spitting' has approximately the following basic structure:

- (20) verb marker + imperfective marker + C_1VC_2 + verb stem
mę + l + tęb + tub

In 19, the initial consonant *t* of the verb stem *tub* 'spit' is deleted following the imperfective marker, giving *męlub*. In 20, however, the imperfective marker appears directly before the reduplicated sequence C_1VC_2 and not the verb stem, and therefore it is the initial consonant *t* of the reduplicated sequence *tęb* which gets deleted, while that of the verb stem remains intact. The different

position of the imperfective marker therefore accounts for the phonetic form of *mələbtub* 'keep spitting'. The other reduplicated forms of 18 can be explained in exactly the same way.

Some verbs in which the imperfective marker appears as *-l-* have reduplicated forms derived according to the $C_1eC_1V(C_2)$ pattern, except that the imperfective marker *-l-* is taken as C_1 . The reduplicated forms of such verbs will therefore contain three occurrences of the consonant *l*, as in the examples below:

(21) Reduplicated Form	Related Imperfective Verb Form
mələləmələməch 'chew constantly'	mələməch 'chew'
mələləmələmēt 'keep bailing'	mələmēt 'bail'
mələlətələtəch ¹⁶ 'clean compulsively'	mələtəch 'clean'
mələləbələbəch 'keep chopping'	mələbəch 'chop'

In the reduplicated forms of 21, *l* appears first in the syllable C_1e , then in the syllable $C_1V(C_2)$, and finally before the verb stem itself (whose initial consonant has been deleted).

Another pattern used for deriving the reduplicated forms of imperfective verbs essentially involves adding a syllable of the form C_1e . As in the examples of 18, the imperfective marker is removed from its position before the full verb stem and shifted to a position directly preceding the reduplicated syllable. Unlike the examples of 18, however, the initial consonant of the reduplicated syllable is not deleted, even though the imperfective marker precedes. This rather unexpected phenomenon is observed in the examples below:

(22) Reduplicated Form	Related Imperfective Verb Form
məngchechəlebəd 'keep hitting'	məngəlebəd 'hit'
məngchechuiu 'keep reading, read a lot'	mənguiu 'read'
ombebəkall 'sail/drive around'	oməkall 'sail, drive'
ombibtar ¹⁷ 'keep swinging'	omtar 'swing'

While an imperfective verb form like *məngəlebəd* 'hit' has the basic structure

(23) verb marker + imperfective marker + verb stem
mə + ng + chəlebəd

the corresponding reduplicated form *məngchechəlebəd* 'keep hitting' is structured as follows:

(24) verb marker + imperfective marker + C_1e + verb stem
mə + ng + che + chəlebəd

In 23, the verb-stem-initial consonant *ch* is deleted following the imperfective marker, giving *məngəlebəd* 'hit'. In 24, however, this deletion rule for some reason does not apply to the initial consonant *ch* of the reduplicated syllable, and we simply get *məngchechəlebəd* 'keep hitting'.

The reduplicated forms of some imperfective verbs are derived like those of 22 above, except that the reduplicated syllable $C_1V(C_2)$ is also added. A couple of examples, including an alternate reduplicated form of *mənguiu* 'read', are given below:

(25) Reduplicated Form	Related Imperfective Verb Form
məngchechichuiu 'keep reading, read a lot'	mənguiu 'read'
məngkekikiut 'keep clearing'	məngiut 'clear'
ombebibail 'wrap, clothe'	omail 'clothe'

The reduplicated imperfective verbs listed in 18, 21, 22, and 25 above can be used in sentences like the following:

- (26) a. A Hermana a mərəçərəçəd a rəngul mə ng di mələbtub.
'Hermana feels rather nauseous, so she keeps spitting.'
- b. Ng diak a blatong e le a Toki a di omebeu ər a bek əl sils.
'There aren't any plates because Toki keeps breaking them every day.'
- c. Ng di soal əl mələləmələməch e diak loureor.
'He just likes to chew (betel nut) and doesn't do any work.'
- d. Ngara mə kə di məngchechəlebəd ər a rəngələk?
'Why are you always hitting the children?'

REDUPLICATION OF VERBS IN *ou-* AND *o-*

- 11.8. Verbs which contain the prefix *ou-* (cf. 6.1.1) and verbs derived with the verb marker *o-* which irregularly lack the imperfective marker (cf. 6.1, ex. 3) have reduplicated forms, but a large variety of patterns is observed. Note, for example, the forms below:

(27) Reduplicated Form	Related Verb in <i>ou-</i> or <i>o-</i>
ousesəçəlei 'be sort of friends with'	ousesəçəlei 'be friends with'

oungengeroel 'keep scolding (mildly)'	oungeroel 'scold'
ourureng 'miss, be nostalgic for'	ourenge 'wish for'
okiklukl 'keep coughing'	oklukl 'cough'
okərker 'ask around'	oker 'ask'
osisiu 'same'	osiu 'joined'

Whatever the form of the reduplicated syllable in the examples of 27, it is always placed after the prefix *ou-* or *o-*. In *ousesəchəlei* 'be sort of friends with' and *oungengeroel* 'keep scolding (mildly)', the reduplicated syllable is *C₁e*. In *ourureng* 'miss, be nostalgic for' and *okiklukl* 'keep coughing', however, the reduplicated syllables *ru* and *ki* contain totally unexpected vowels (cf. note 17 above). Finally, *okərker* 'ask around' and *osisiu* 'same' involve the *C₁V(C₂)* pattern of reduplication.

The meanings of the reduplicated forms of 27 are rather difficult to predict. While *ousesəchəlei* 'be sort of friends with' shows the weakening of meaning observed for state verbs (cf. 11.2–5 above), *oungengeroel* 'keep scolding (mildly)', *ourureng* 'miss, be nostalgic for', *okiklukl* 'keep coughing', and *okərker* 'ask around' involve the connotation of continued or repeated action observed for action verbs (cf. 11.6–7 above). Note, further, that the meaning of reduplicated *osisiu* 'same' is not easily predictable from that of non-reduplicated *osiu* 'joined'.

The following sentences illustrate the use of the verbs of 27:

- (28) a. Ak okiklukl e le ak smechər ər a tərətər.
'I keep coughing because I'm sick with a cold.'
b. Ng di ousesəchəlei ər a Toki mę ng səbəchel əl kie ər a blil.
'He's sort of close to Toki, so he can stay at her house.'
c. Ak di ourureng ər a taem ər a Siabal.
'I feel nostalgic about the Japanese times.'

REDUPLICATION OF CAUSATIVE VERBS

- 11.9. Causative verbs (cf. chap. 9) can also undergo reduplication. Those causative verbs derived with the prefix *omə(k)-* (cf. 9.2.1) show an unusual pattern of reduplication: an extra syllable—*ke* or *ki*—is inserted between the *ə* (which may then be deleted) and the *k* of the prefix. A few examples are given below:

(29) Reduplicated Form	Related Causative Verb in <i>omə(k)-</i>
oməkəkəşiu 'roughly copy'	oməkəşiu 'compare, copy'

oməkikdakt 'frighten... a little'	oməkəkt 'frighten'
omkiksau 'sort of make... used to'	oməkəsau 'make... used to'

Causative verbs derived with the prefix *ol(ə)-* (cf. 9.2.2) have reduplicated forms which follow the familiar patterns *C₁e* or *C₁eC₁V(C₂)*. The reduplicated portion is added after the causative prefix, as in the following examples:

(30) Reduplicated Form	Related Causative Verb in <i>ol(ə)-</i>
oltetərau 'sell a little at a time'	oltərau 'sell'
oltetəbətoḃəd 'keep taking out'	oltəḃəd 'take out'
oləkəkərkar 'keep trying to wake up (gently)'	oləkər 'wake up'
oltetəmətom 'keep poking out'	oltom 'poke out'

As the English equivalents for the reduplicated forms in 29 and 30 show, the function of reduplication seems to differ according to whether the related causative verb is prefixed with *omə(k)-* or *ol(ə)-*. In the former case, the reduplicated form involves a weaker or more tentative connotation, while in the latter case, the reduplicated form involves a repetitive meaning. The following sentences illustrate the use of the above reduplicated causative verbs:

- (31) a. A Toki a oməkəkəşiu ər a biləl ər a biləl a Hermana.
'Toki is making her dress roughly like Hermana's.'
b. Ak di oltetərau a iasai e męchərər a mlík.
'I'm just selling vegetables a little at a time and then I'll (be able to) buy my car.'
c. A ngikəl a oltetəmətom ər a mēdal ər a bad.
'The fish keeps poking his head out of the coral.'

REDUPLICATION OF RECIPROCAL VERBS

- 11.10. As we saw in 10.2.3, ex. 12, some reciprocal verbs exhibit an optional reduplicated syllable. The majority of speakers cannot recognize any difference in meaning between the reduplicated and non-reduplicated forms of reciprocal verbs; therefore, only a single English gloss is provided for the examples below:

(32) Reduplicated Form	Related Reciprocal Verb
kadək dakt	kədakt 'fear each other'
kasusuub	kəsuub 'imitate each other'
kasisiik	kəsiik 'look for each other'
karuruul	kəruul 'make...for each other, protect each other'
kakərker	kəkər, kaker 'ask each other'

In the examples of 32, the reduplicated syllable $C_1V(C_2)$ is added after the reciprocal prefix *ka-*.

"FOSSILIZED" REDUPLICATION

- 11.11. There are many Palauan words—mostly state verbs—whose phonetic form leads us to suspect that they were once derived by processes of reduplication. At earlier stages of the Palauan language, reduplication was probably even more widespread than it is today. Over a long period of time, many words which had originally been derived by reduplication gradually changed in form and meaning. As a result, we have quite a few words today which contain "fossilized" remains of reduplication which many Palauan speakers do not even recognize.

Among simple state verbs, the following seem to contain fossilized reduplicated portions, which we have italicized:

(33) <i>kikiongəl</i> 'dirty'	<i>kədidaɪ</i> 'high'
<i>cheleleu</i> 'pale'	<i>dəchudəch</i> 'muddy'
<i>chachau</i> 'stunted, empty (of nuts)'	

A couple of state verbs in *mə-* whose stems probably have reduplicated portions include the following:

(34) <i>məsisiih</i> 'strong'
<i>məkələkolt</i> 'cold'
<i>məṛəcherəchəd</i> 'nauseous'

In 4.9.4 we mentioned some of the variant forms of the Palauan **object pronouns**. We saw that the 3rd pers. pl. human object pronoun, which is usually *-tərir*, turns up as *-titerir* obligatorily in *ngoititerir* 'take them' and optionally in *obe(ti)tərir* 'carry them'. The most plausible explanation for the additional syllable *ti* is that it is a fossilized trace of reduplication.

THE PREDICTIVE AND INCHOATIVE SUFFIXES

- 11.12. In this and the following sections, we will examine two different suffixes which when added to verb stems bring about important changes in meaning. The **predictive suffix** *-u* is used to designate an action which is about to happen—i.e., one which the speaker judges to be imminent. The **inchoative suffix** *-a* makes reference to a new or unexpected action or state, one which has just begun or is in its beginning stages.¹⁸ Both of these suffixes are always stressed, with the result that various kinds of **vowel reduction** (cf. 1.4.4, 3.4, 3.4.1–3, and 6.4) and **vowel blending** (cf. 6.3.2) are observed in the verb forms to which they are attached. Further, both suffixes require an additional *-ng* when they occur in sentence-final position (cf. 1.3.3). The predictive suffix *-u* can attach only to **intransitive action verbs** and to the **ergative** and **imperfective** forms of some **transitive action verbs**, while the inchoative suffix *-a* can attach to these verb types and to **state verbs** as well. Therefore, any verb form which takes *-u* can take *-a*, but not necessarily vice versa.

PREDICTIVE AND INCHOATIVE FORMS OF INTRANSITIVE ACTION VERBS

- 11.12.1 **Intransitive action verbs** can take both the predictive and inchoative suffixes, as in the examples below:

(35) Predictive Form	Inchoative Form	Related Intransitive Action Verb
sobəku 'about to fly'	sobəka 'starting to fly'	suebək 'fly'
rurtu 'about to run'	rurta 'starting to run'	rəmurt 'run'
mərolu 'about to leave'	mərola 'starting to leave'	mərael 'leave'
robətu 'about to fall'	robəta 'starting to fall'	ruebət 'fall'
tobədu 'about to go out'	tobəda 'starting to go out'	tuobəd 'go out'
longəlu 'about to cry'	longəla 'starting to cry'	lmangel 'cry'

In *suébək* 'fly' and *ruébət* 'fall', we observe the **metathesized verb marker** *-u-* (cf. 6.2) adjacent to *e* in a stressed syllable. In the predictive and inchoative forms *sobəkú* 'about to fly' and *sobəká*

'starting to fly', however, the vowel cluster *ue* comes to appear in an unstressed syllable. Here, just as in the case of the 3rd pers. sg. object present perfective forms cited in 6.3.2, the metathesized verb marker *-u-* blends with the following *e* in an unstressed syllable to give the vowel *o*. (Recall that the vowel triangle shows *o* to be phonetically halfway between *u* and *e*). The same phenomenon accounts for the predictive and inchoative forms of *lmangəl* 'cry', except that the metathesized verb marker *-m-* first changes to *-u-* in an unstressed syllable (cf. 6.3.2). Thus, we have the following derivation for *longəlú* 'about to cry':

- (36) *mə* + *langəl* + *ú* (basic form = verb marker + verb stem + predictive suffix) →
l + *mə* + *angəl* + *ú* (by metathesis of verb marker) →
l + *m* + *angəl* + *ú* (by deletion of *ə*) →
l + *u* + *angəl* + *ú* (by change of verb marker to *u* in unstressed syllable) →
l + *ongəl* + *ú* (by vowel blending)

The remaining predictive and inchoative forms of 35 above show no unfamiliar phonetic changes. In *tobədú* and *tobədə*, for example, the vowel cluster *uo* of *tuóbəd* 'go out' has reduced to a single vowel in an unstressed syllable. And in *rurtú* and *rurtá*, the metathesized verb marker has been deleted before the high back vowel *u* (cf. 6.3.3); thus, we have the following derivation for *rurtú* 'about to run':

- (37) *mə* + *rurt* + *ú* (basic form = verb marker + verb stem + predictive suffix) →
r + *mə* + *urt* + *ú* (by metathesis of verb marker) →
r + *m* + *urt* + *ú* (by deletion of *ə*) →
r + *u* + *urt* + *ú* (by change of verb marker to *u* in unstressed syllable) →
r + *urt* + *ú* (by deletion of verb marker)

Finally, in *mərolú* and *mərolá*, we notice that the *ae* of the stem *ráel* 'road' has reduced to the single vowel *o* in an unstressed syllable (cf. note 10 above).

In the pairs of sentences below, we illustrate how the predictive and inchoative forms of 35 are used. Recall that these forms are spelled and pronounced with a final *-ng* when they occur at the end of a sentence.

- (38) a. A skoki a sobəkung.
 'The plane is about to take off.'
 b. A skoki a sobəkang.
 'The plane is taking off/starting to fly.'
- (39) a. Ak mərolu er a eļəchang.
 'I'm about to leave now.'
 b. A Toki a mərolang.
 'Toki is beginning to leave/is just leaving.'
- (40) a. A ngələk a longəlung.
 'The child is about to cry.'
 b. A Droteo a miləkekui a ngələk mə ng longəlang.
 'Droteo teased the child, so he's begun to cry.'

PREDICTIVE AND INCHOATIVE FORMS OF ERGATIVE VERBS

11.12.2. When the predictive and inchoative suffixes are added to the **ergative** forms of transitive verbs, the resulting words have the expected interpretations 'about to be/get...' and 'has begun to be/get...', respectively, as in the examples below:

(41) Predictive Form	Inchoative Form	Related Ergative Verb
obosu 'about to be/get shot'	obosa 'has begun to be/get shot'	oboes 'be/get shot'
məchələbədu 'about to be/get hit'	məchələbəda 'has begun to be/get hit'	məchələbəd 'be/get hit'
mərəsmu 'about to be/get sewn'	mərəsma 'has begun to be/get sewn'	mərəasm 'be/get sewn'
məteməllu 'about to break down'	məteməlla 'has begun to break down'	məteməll 'break down'

You should have no difficulty identifying the kinds of vowel reduction and vowel cluster reduction which have taken place in the predictive and inchoative forms of 41.

The following pairs of sentences show the use of the predictive and inchoative forms given in 41:

- (42) a. A bələchəl a obosu ər a Droteo.
 'The pigeons are about to be/get shot by Droteo.'
 b. A bələchəl a obosa ər a Droteo.
 'The pigeons have begun to be/get shot by Droteo.'
- (43) a. Ng məchələbədu a ngələk ər a dəmal.
 'The child is about to get hit by his father.'

- b. Ng męchęłębęda a ngalęk ę a dęmal.
'The child has begun to be/get hit by his father.'

PREDICTIVE AND INCHOATIVE FORMS OF IMPERFECTIVE VERBS

11.12.3. Imperfective verbs which take both predictive *-u* and inchoative *-a* include the following:

(44) Predictive Form	Inchoative Form	Related Imperfective Verb
męłękingu ¹⁹ 'about to talk'	męłękinga ¹⁹ 'starting to talk'	męłękoi 'talk'
omękęllu 'about to drive/sail'	omękęlla 'starting to drive/sail'	omękall 'drive, sail'
męngęsmęru 'about to shut'	męngęsmęra 'starting to shut'	męngęsimęr 'shut'
omręchu 'about to spear'	omręcha 'starting to spear'	omuręch 'spear'
męłęchęłbu 'about to wash'	męłęchęłba 'starting to wash'	męłęcholb 'wash'

In addition to rules of vowel reduction and vowel cluster reduction, a rule of **vowel deletion** (cf. 3.4.1) affects the predictive and inchoative forms in 44. Can you tell which rule applies where?

Some sentence pairs containing the predictive and inchoative forms of 44 are given below:

- (45) a. A Droteo a męłękingu ę a dęmal a Toki ęł kirel a chębęchiięłir.
'Droteo is about to talk to Toki's father about their marriage.'
b. A Droteo a męłękinga ę a dęmal a Toki ęł kirel a chębęchiięłir.
'Droteo has started talking to Toki's father about their marriage.'
- (46) a. A Toki a męłęchęłbu ę a ręngalęk.
'Toki is about to bathe the children.'
b. A Toki a męłęchęłba ę a ręngalęk.
'Toki has begun to bathe the children.'

The sentences below contain further examples of the inchoative forms of imperfective verbs. The addition of *ko ęl*²⁰ 'just' reinforces the connotation that a new or unexpected action has taken place in the very recent past.

- (47) a. Ak ko ęł męsuba e le ng mla męrael a Droteo.
'I've finally gotten to study because Droteo has left.'
b. Ak ko ęł rongęsa a chais.
'I've just heard the news.'
c. A Droteo a ko ęł omęchęła ęł męsuub.
'Droteo has just begun to study.'

INCHOATIVE FORMS OF STATE VERBS

11.12.4. **State verbs** can generally take the inchoative suffix *-a*, although they cannot take the predictive suffix *-u*. The function of *-a* with state verbs is to show that a **change of state** is in progress; in most cases, the state in question is unwanted and therefore unexpected. Observe the following examples:

(48) Inchoative Form	Related State Verb
mękęłękęłta 'getting cold'	mękęłękolt 'cold'
mękelda 'getting warm'	mękeald 'warm'
songęręngęra 'getting hungry'	songęręngęr 'hungry'
kikęngęła 'getting dirty'	kikiongęł 'dirty'
męręngęła 'getting sore'	męringęł 'sore'
męchęręchęra 'getting salty'	męchęrochęr 'salty'
sochęra 'getting sick'	smechęr 'sick'
bęręłma 'getting watery/flat-tasting'	bęralm 'watery, flat-tasting'
mędękta 'becoming frightened'	mędakt 'afraid'
męrka 'getting ripe'	maręk 'ripe'
mękęręnga ²¹ 'waking up'	mękar 'awake'
klunga ²² 'getting big'	klou 'big'
ungia ²³ 'becoming good, improving'	ungil 'good'
chęlla 'getting rainy'	chull 'rainy'

Some state verbs take *-o* or *-e* as an inchoative suffix instead of *-a*. This appears to be an unpredictable property of verbs such as the following:²⁴

(49) Inchoative Form	Related State Verb
męde 'starting to die'	mad 'dead'
dęchęro 'standing up (process)'	dęchor 'stand'
męchęde 'getting shallow'	męched 'shallow'
doknge 'getting together'	dmak 'together'
mękngte 'getting bad, worsening'	mękngit 'bad'

The following sentences illustrate the use of the inchoative verbs listed in 48 and 49:

- (50) a. Tia ɛl delmɛrab a kmal mɛkeldang.
'This room is getting very warm.'
- b. A chimak a kikɛngɛla mɛ ng kirek ɛl mo mɛləbal.
'My hands are getting dirty, so I've got to wash them.'
- c. A ngalɛk a mɛkɛrɛnga ɛr a ɛɛrrodɛch.
'The child is waking up because of the noise.'
- d. A bdɛluk a mɛrɛngɛlang.
'I'm getting a headache.'
- e. A kall a $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} mɛɛhɛrɛɛrang \\ bɛrɛlmang \end{array} \right\}$.
'The food's getting (too) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{salty} \\ \text{flat} \end{array} \right\}$.'
- f. A ɛangɛd a ungia mɛ doraɛl.
'The weather's improving, so let's go.'
- g. Ng mɛdɛ a ngau.
'The fire is (just) dying out.'
- h. A rɛngalɛk a dokngɛ a rɛngrir.
'The children are starting to get along with each other.'
- i. Ng ɛhɛlla mɛ lak doraɛl.
'It's getting rainy, so let's not go.'

PREDICTIVE AND INCHOATIVE FORMS OF *mo*

- 11.12.5. The verb *mo* 'go' has *mochu* as its predictive form and *mocha* as its inchoative form; the appearance of *-ch-* before the suffixes *-u* and *-a* is unpredictable.²⁵ Some sentences containing these forms are given below:

- (51) a. Ak mochu ɛr a mubi.
'I'm about to go to the movie.'
- b. Ng mochu ɛr ngii a chull.
'It's about to rain.'
- c. A tangk a mochu mui.
'The tank is about to get full.'
- d. Ak mochu mɛrɛk ɛl mɛsuub.
'I'm about to finish studying.'
- e. A Toki a mochu omɛngur.
'Toki is about to eat.'
- f. A Droteo a ko ɛl mocha ɛr a Guam.
'Droteo should just be arriving in Guam.'

- g. A Droteo a ulɛrrimɛl ɛr a Helen mɛ ng ko ɛl mocha mɛlasɛm ɛl mɛnga a ngikɛl.
'Droteo persuaded Helen to finally try to eat fish.'

Reciprocal verbs, causative verbs, and verbs formed with the prefix *ou-* do not take either the predictive suffix *-u* or the inchoative suffix *-a*. To express predictive or inchoative meanings with these types of verbs, *mochu* and *mocha*, respectively, are required as auxiliaries or "helping" words. Observe the following examples:

- (52) a. A rɛngalɛk a mochu kaiuɛkako.
'The children are about to start teasing each other.'
- b. A Toki a mochu omɛka ɛr a rɛngalɛk.
'Toki is about to feed the children.'
- c. A Romana a mocha oureor.
'Romana is starting to work.'
- d. Tɛ mocha kaingɛseu.
'They're starting to help each other.'

THE PREDICTIVE WORD *ku*

- 11.12.6. Identical in function to the predictive suffix *-u* is the independent predictive word *ku* (*kung* when in sentence-final position), which can immediately follow any type of verb. Since *ku* does not cause any kind of vowel reduction or deletion in the verb stem which precedes it, we analyze it as a separate word rather than as a suffix. The use of *ku* is illustrated in the sentences below; like the predictive suffix *-u*, its closest English equivalent is 'about to'.

- (53) a. Ak mɛnguui ku ɛr a hong.
'I'm about to read the book.'
- b. A Toki a olɛkar ku ɛr a rɛngalɛk.
'Toki is about to wake up the children.'
- c. Ak mɛlim ku e le ng mɛɛhɛdɛ a rɛnguk.
'I'll have something to drink (now) because I'm getting thirsty.'
- d. Kɛ mɛkɛra kung?
'What are you about to do?'
- e. Alii. A stoa a mɛɛhɛsimɛr kung.
'Hey! The store's about to close.'
- f. Ak mɛsuub ku e le ng ngar ɛr ngii a skeng ɛr a klukuk.
'I'll be studying now because there's a test tomorrow.'
- g. Ak mɛrolu kung.
'I'm just about to leave.'

- h. A Toki a mochu omngur kung.
'Toki is about to eat.'

As examples like 53g-h show, it is possible to have both the predictive suffix *-u* and the independent predictive word *ku* in the same sentence. Note further that 53h and 51e are identical in meaning.

12 Imperfective vs. Perfective Verbs

MEANING OF IMPERFECTIVE VS. PERFECTIVE VERB FORMS

- 12.1. In previous chapters we have already given extensive consideration to the **internal structure** of imperfective and perfective verb forms. Thus, in 5.5 we saw that these two types of verbs have different basic structures, as given below:

- (1) a. imperfective verb forms: *verb marker* + *imperfective marker*
+ *verb stem*
b. perfective verb forms: *verb marker* + *verb stem* + *object*
pronoun

We also discussed in detail each of the elements found in the basic structures of 1: in chap. 6 we examined the **verb marker** and showed how it **metathesizes** in perfective verb forms; in 5.5 we saw how the variants of the **imperfective marker** can be determined from the following **verb stem**; and in 4.9 and 4.9.4 we classified the **object pronouns** which are characteristically suffixed to perfective verb forms.

The abovementioned discussions, together with the many lists and step-by-step derivations presented in chaps. 5 and 6, have shown us how to distinguish between imperfective and perfective verbs from a **formal** point of view. In this chapter, then, we will examine how the two types of verbs contrast with each other in terms of **meaning** and **use**. As native speakers of Palauan, you may find the basic distinctions to be described below rather difficult to grasp. This is because you have learned to make them so automatically (or unconsciously) that you do not think in terms of analyzing them. The same is true, of course, for the native speakers of any language; thus, without any assistance from a linguist or teacher, most English speakers, for example, would be totally unaware of the extremely complex way in which they use the English tense system.

The distinction between imperfective vs. perfective verb forms is found only among **transitive verbs** (cf. 5.1.1); with one or two exceptions, these are all **transitive action verbs**. As their names imply, **perfective** verb forms describe actions which the speaker views as **completed** (or **perfected**), while **imperfective** verb forms do not. Instead, imperfective verb forms denote actions which the speaker considers as **incomplete**—i.e., actions which are still **in progress**¹ and have not yet reached their point of completion or termination. A particular action can be viewed as complete or incomplete regardless of when it actually occurs; therefore, we will find that both perfective and imperfective verbs can occur in all tenses—past, present, and future.

By way of introduction, let us review the following two sentences, which we already presented in 5.5 (examples 59a–b):

- (2) a. A Droteo a milenguui ər a hong ər a elii.
'Droteo was reading the book yesterday.'
b. A Droteo a chiliuii a hong ər a elii.
'Droteo read the book yesterday.'

In the sentences above, we observe the **past imperfective** form *milenguui* and the **past perfective** form *chiliuii*. Because both *milenguui* and *chiliuii* are past tense forms, they necessarily have a common element of meaning: that is, they both indicate that the subject (*Droteo*) performed the action of reading at some time point in the past (*elii* 'yesterday'). But the similarity ends here, since the two verb forms involve a very basic difference in the speaker's viewpoint. Thus, in 2a the speaker uses imperfective *milenguui* 'was reading' to focus on the past action as it was going on or in progress. The action is described as having continued for some period of time, but no claim is made that it was completed. In other words, it is entirely possible that Droteo still has some of the book to read. By contrast, the speaker's use of perfective *chiliuii* 'read (completely)' in 2b views Droteo's reading of the book as a completely finished past action. It is implied that Droteo has no more of the book to read.

Some further pairs of contrasting sentences are given below:

- (3) a. A ngalək a milənga a ngikəl.
'The child was eating the fish.'
b. A ngalək a killii a ngikəl.
'The child ate up the fish.'
(4) a. A Cisco a millim a rom.
'Cisco was drinking liquor.'

- b. A Cisco a ngiləlmii a rom.
'Cisco drank up the liquor.'

Notice that the **past imperfective** forms in the a-sentences are best translated with English **past progressive** forms (*was/were...-ing*), while the **past perfective** forms in the b-sentences have English equivalents like *ate up* and *drank up*, in which a word like *up* (called a **particle** or **intensifier** by English grammarians) imparts a special connotation of completion to the actions *eat* and *drink*. In the a-sentences, use of an imperfective verb implies that the action in question did not totally exhaust or consume the object: in other words, in 3a, the speaker assumes that there was still some fish left after the child was eating, and in 4a, the subject (*Cisco*) did not drink all of the liquor. By contrast, use of a perfective verb in the b-sentences implies that the objects (*ngikəl* 'fish' and *rom* 'liquor') were totally used up.

IMPERFECTIVE VS. PERFECTIVE VERB FORMS IN VARIOUS TENSES

12.2. As we have seen in examples 2–4 above, the use of imperfective vs. perfective forms in the **past tense** results in a very clear contrast in meaning. Similar, or related, contrasts in meaning are found when we observe imperfective and perfective forms in other tenses. For example, in the pair of sentences below, the **auxiliary word** *mə* (cf. 5.3.2.1) precedes the imperfective and perfective forms of the action verb *məngiis* 'dig' and refers to an event or activity in the very **recent past**:

- (5) a. Ak mə məngiis ər a kliokl.
'I've been digging the hole.'
b. Ak mə kiəsi a kliokl.
'I've (completely) dug the hole.'

In 5a, the speaker's use of imperfective *məngiis* implies that although he has been engaged in the activity of digging the hole, the task is not yet complete; on the other hand, use of perfective *kiəsi* in 5b is a clear assertion that the job of digging the hole has been completely finished. A similar distinction of meaning is found in the sentences below, which contain the imperfective and perfective forms of the **causative verb** *oməkikiongəl* 'make...dirty' (cf. 9.2.1.3 and 9.4, ex. 22e):

- (6) a. A rəngangkodang a mə oməkikiongəl ər a kədərang.
'The tourists have been making the beach dirty.'

- b. A rëkangkodang a mla mëkikingëlîi a këdërang.
'The tourists have (totally) messed up the beach.'

Example 6b, with perfective *mëkikingëlîi*, has a much stronger connotation of "finality" than 6a, where imperfective *omëkikiongël* leaves open the possibility that the process of dirtying up the beach might not reach its ultimate (unpleasant or irreversible) conclusion.

As we saw in 5.3.2.1, the auxiliary *mla* can also be used to express **past experience**—i.e., to make a statement or ask a question about whether someone has had the experience of doing something. With transitive verbs, this connotation of past experience is conveyed by using the **imperfective** form after *mla*, as in the a-sentences below. These sentences contrast, of course, with the b-sentences, which contain a **perfective** form following *mla*:

- (7) a. Kë mla mërui a kall ër a Sina?
'Have you ever made Chinese food?'
b. Kë mla rullîi a kall ër a Sina?
'Have you finished making the Chinese food?'
(8) a. Kë mla mënguîu ër tia ël hong?
'Have you ever read this book?'
b. Kë mla chuiquîi tia ël hong?
'Have you finished reading this book?'

While the a-sentences above are interpreted as **general** questions about one's past experience, the b-sentences are questions about whether some activity was completed on a **single, specific** occasion.

Imperfective and perfective verb forms can be preceded by the auxiliary *mo* to designate actions in the **future** (cf. 5.3.3). There is nothing unusual about the meaning difference between *mo* + *imperfective verb* and *mo* + *perfective verb*, as the following pair of sentences shows:

- (9) a. Ak mo mëngîis ër a kliokl ër a klukuk.
'I'll be digging the hole tomorrow.'
b. Ak mo kîiësiî a kliokl ër a klukuk.
'I'll (completely) dig the hole tomorrow.'

In 9a, *mo* + imperfective *mëngîis* implies that the activity of digging will be going on tomorrow, but nothing is said about whether or not the task will be completed. By contrast, in 9b *mo* + perfective *kîiësiî* expresses the speaker's conviction that the job can be finished tomorrow. Another pair of sentences similar to 9a–b is the following:

- (10) a. Aki mo mënga a kall ël ngar ër a icebox.
'We'll eat some of the food in the icebox.'
b. Aki mo kma a kall ël ngar ër a icebox.
'We'll eat up the food in the icebox.'

While *mo* + imperfective *mënga* in 10a implies that only some of the food will be eaten—i.e., the object *kall* 'food' will not be totally consumed by the action of eating—the sequence *mo* + perfective *kma* in 10b makes it clear that the object will be completely used up (cf. our discussion of examples 3–4 above).

The **present tense** forms of imperfective and perfective verbs also show an important contrast in meaning. Imperfective verb forms in the present tense, as we have seen in 5.3.1, have two possible functions. Their primary function is to designate an action which is going on or in progress at the present moment—i.e., at the time when the speaker utters the sentence. This function is observed in the following sentences:

- (11) a. A John a mënësbreber ër a blik.
'John is painting my house.'
b. Ak mëlasëch ër a mlik er a elëchang.
'I'm carving my canoe now.'

A secondary function of imperfective verb forms in the present tense is to express **general statements** or **habitual statements**, as in the examples below:

- (12) a. A John a mënësbreber a blai.
'John paints houses (as a profession).'
b. Ak mëlasëch a mlai.
'I carve canoes (as a profession).'

Unlike the sentences of 11, which refer to **specific** occasions, the examples of 12 look at certain actions in a **general** way. Thus, while 11a would only be true if the subject (*John*) were actually painting the speaker's house at the moment of the speaker's utterance, 12a could be uttered at any time because it is simply a statement about what the subject does **habitually** (as a profession, etc.). Notice, further, that the **specific** occasions designated in 11a–b require **specific** objects; therefore, the **possessed nouns** *blik* 'my house' of 11a and *mlik* 'my canoe' of 11b must be preceded by the **specifying word** *ër* (cf. 2.7). By contrast, the **general** statements expressed in 12 can only involve objects of the most **general** type. Here, the **unpossessed nouns** *blai* 'house' and *mlai* 'canoe' are not introduced by the specifying word *ër* and merely

refer to houses or canoes in general—i.e., ‘any house at all’, ‘any canoe at all’, etc.

As opposed to the above, Palauan perfective verb forms in the present tense have a very different, and rather special, function. To repeat what we said in 4.9.2, perfective verb forms in the present tense are used to denote actions or events which the speaker considers **imminent**—i.e., actions or events which are just about to occur or which are likely to occur in the very near future. Compare, for example, the following two sentences:

- (13) a. Ak mēluchēs ęr a babier er a eļchang.
‘I’m writing the letter now.’
b. Ak luchēsii a babier er a eļchang (mę kę męsang).
‘I’ll write the letter right now (so you can see me do it).’

In 13a, imperfective *mēluchēs* simply denotes that the action of writing is taking place (i.e., in progress) at the present moment, while in 13b perfective *luchēsii* implies that the speaker is just about to start writing the letter.

Because present perfective verb forms have the above-mentioned connotation of imminency, they are often found in sentences which are used as **warnings** or **precautionary suggestions**. A few typical examples are given below:

- (14) a. Alii. A ngalęk a chubēlii a milk!
‘Watch out! The child’s about to spill the milk!’
b. Alii. A malk a kolii a bęras!
‘Hey! The chicken’s about to eat the rice!’
c. Alii. A sensei a cholębędau!
‘Watch out! The teacher is going to hit you (by accident)!’/
‘The teacher will hit you (if you misbehave).’

FURTHER EXAMPLES OF CONTRAST BETWEEN IMPERFECTIVE AND PERFECTIVE VERB FORMS

12.3. In this section we will look at additional pairs of sentences that involve constructions in which the use of imperfective vs. perfective forms results in a significant difference in meaning. Observe, for example, the sentences below:

- (15) a. Ng sębęchem ęl męnga a ngikęl?
‘Are you able to eat fish?’
b. Ng sębęchem ęl kolii a ngikęl?
‘Can you eat up the fish?’

In the sentences of 15, the possessed noun *sębęchem* ‘your ability’ is followed by a group of words (*męnga a ngikęl* or *kolii a ngikęl*) which gives us specific information about the type of ability involved. This group of words is preceded by *ęl*, which, as we will see in 17.7, **relates** it to the possessed noun *sębęchem*. While the use of imperfective *męnga* in 15a results in a **general question**, the use of perfective *kolii* in 15b makes reference to a **specific instance** or occasion. In other words, in 15a, some person X asks another person Y whether or not Y is an eater of fish: perhaps X is concerned that Y might not be used to eating fish regularly, or perhaps X is just inquiring in a polite way whether or not Y likes fish. In 15b, on the other hand, X is asking Y whether Y can eat up some particular fish. While 15b can only be uttered on some particular occasion when the fish is actually there on the table, etc., 15a is of course not restricted in this way. The following sentences show the same type of contrast:

- (16) a. Ng sębęchem ęl męlim a biang?
‘Are you able to drink beer?’
b. Ng sębęchem ęl ngilmii a imęlem ęl biang?
‘Can you drink up all your beer?’

Note that the object in 16a is **general** (*biang* ‘beer’), while that in 16b is very **specific** (*imęlem ęl biang* ‘your (drink of) beer’).

In the sentences below, we observe the possessed nouns *soak* ‘my liking’ and *kirek* ‘my obligation’, which are in the same class as *sębęchem* ‘your ability’ of 15 and 16 above (see chap. 17). These possessed nouns are related by the word *ęl* to groups of words which provide specific information about one’s liking or one’s obligation:

- (17) a. Ng soak ęl męnguui ęr a hong.
‘I want to read (some of) the book.’
b. Ng soak ęl chuięuii a hong.
‘I want to (completely) read the book.’
(18) a. Ng kirek ęl męngiis ęr a kliokl.
‘I’ve got to be digging the hole.’
b. Ng kirek ęl kiięsii a kliokl.
‘I’ve got to (completely) dig the hole.’

The meaning contrast found in the sentence pairs of 17–18 should already be familiar to us from examples 3–6 above. Thus, in 17a and 18a the action is viewed as being in progress, but not necessarily completed, while in 17b and 18b it is seen as being completed.

IMPERFECTIVE VS. PERFECTIVE VERB FORMS AND SPECIFIC OBJECTS

- 12.4. In 2.7 we noted that the **specifying word** *er* must always precede **specific singular** objects. The presence or absence of the specifying word *er* results in an important difference in meaning, as the sentences below illustrate:

- (19) a. Ak ousbech *er* a bilas *er* a klukuk.
'I need the boat tomorrow.'
b. Ak ousbech a bilas *er* a klukuk.
'I need {a boat / the boats} tomorrow.'

While objects marked with *er* (e.g. *er* a bilas 'the boat' of 19a) are automatically interpreted as **specific singular** objects, those not marked with *er* (e.g. a bilas 'a boat, the boats' of 19b) allow for a wider range of interpretation, as indicated.

The use of the specifying word *er* is restricted in two interesting ways. First, it never occurs with sentence subjects, but only with sentence objects; and second, it can only precede the objects of **imperfective** verbs. With the objects of **perfective** verbs, use of the specifying word *er* is prevented, as the ungrammaticality of 20b shows:

- (20) a. Ak chillëbedii a bilis.
'I hit the dog.'
b. *Ak chillëbedii *er* a bilis.

If we review all of the example sentences so far given in this chapter, we will see that they meet the abovementioned restrictions on the distribution of the specifying word *er*.

It is possible to speculate on the reasons why the specifying word *er* cannot precede the objects of perfective verbs. Every perfective verb form, you will recall, contains an **object pronoun** suffix. Since all Palauan pronouns refer to specific persons ('I, me', 'he, him', etc.), it seems as if perfective verb forms, which include a pronoun in the form of a suffix, focus on the completion of an action **with reference to some specific object**. In other words, Palauan perfective verb forms in and of themselves imply a specific object, and use of *er* to further indicate the specificity of the object would be redundant and therefore unnecessary. Thus, *er* would be prevented in a sentence like 20b since it would add nothing new to the meaning which was not already supplied by the perfective verb form itself.

CONTEXTUAL RESTRICTIONS ON THE USE OF IMPERFECTIVE VS. PERFECTIVE VERB FORMS

- 12.5. As we have seen in the sections above, imperfective and perfective verb forms contrast with each other in terms of certain fundamental differences of function and meaning. Our analysis of the nature of these differences is confirmed when we look at the **contextual** (or **environmental**) **restrictions** on the occurrence of the two types of forms. In other words, we can find or construct contexts in which one type of verb form (imperfective or perfective) is completely natural while the other is strange or contradictory. The differences of acceptability are undoubtedly due to the compatibility—or lack of compatibility—between the meaning of the imperfective or perfective form in question and the meaning of the other elements in the context.

To take our first example, observe that there is nothing at all unusual about 21a below, but 21b seems to make no sense:

- (21) a. Ak mla mēnguui *er* a hong e ng di dirkak kbo kmerek.
'I have been reading the book, but I haven't finished it yet.'
b. ??Ak mla chuiquii a hong e ng di dirkak kbo kmerek.

The key to the difference in acceptability between 21a and 21b lies, of course, in the fact that 21a has an imperfective verb form while 21b has a perfective verb form. In the sentences above, each of these verb forms has been placed in the context of the expression *e ng di dirkak kbo kmerek* 'but I haven't finished yet', which clearly states that the subject (*ak* 'I') has not yet completed reading the particular book. Because imperfective *mla mēnguui* of 21a implies that the subject has so far read some of the book, but not all of it, *e ng di dirkak kbo kmerek* is "logical" and makes sense. By contrast, since perfective *mla chuiquii* of 21b explicitly states that the subject has finished reading the book, it is contradictory, and therefore unacceptable, to add *e ng di dirkak kbo kmerek*, which implies exactly the opposite.²

The very same phenomenon accounts for the following examples, in which the imperfective and perfective forms of *mēngiis* 'dig' occur in the future tense and the content of the expression introduced by *e ng di* 'but' is somewhat different:

- (22) a. Ak mo mēngiis *er* a kliokl *er* a klukuk e ng di diak kudenge
el kmo ng sēbēchek el rokir ng diak.
'I'll be digging the hole tomorrow, but I don't know whether or not I can finish it.'

- b. ??Ak mo kiēsii a kliokl ər a klukuk e ng di diak kudenge əl kmo ng sēbēchek əl rokir ng diak.

Example 22a makes perfect sense, but 22b involves a contradiction and is therefore unacceptable. The contradiction in 22b can be explained as follows: on the one hand, *mo kiēsii* implies the speaker's intention to complete the task of digging the hole at some future date (*klukuk* 'tomorrow'), while on the other hand, the content of the expression *e ng di diak kudenge əl kmo ng sēbēchek əl rokir ng diak* 'but I don't know whether or not I can finish it' expresses the speaker's doubt about finishing this very same task.

If the context mentions a **span of time** with a specific beginning point and end point, only sentences containing imperfective verb forms are acceptable, as the following example shows:

- (23) a. A Droteo a milēngiis ər a kliokl ər a euid əl klok əl mo eai əl klok ər a tutau.
'Droteo was digging the hole from 7 o'clock to 8 o'clock this morning.'
- b. ??A Droteo a kilisii a kliokl ər a euid əl klok əl mo eai əl klok ər a tutau.

In the sentences of 23 we have the time span expression *ər a euid əl klok əl mo eai əl klok* 'from seven o'clock to eight o'clock'.³ Since this expression designates a one-hour stretch of time, it can occur together with imperfective *milēngiis* in 23a, which views the activity of digging as it was **in progress**—i.e., as having a **duration**. By contrast, this same time span expression cannot occur together with perfective *kilisii* in 23b without sounding strange. This is because *kilisii* focuses our attention on the very moment when the activity of digging was completed, and therefore a sentence like 23b would seem to imply that the moment of completion lasted a whole hour, which is of course impossible.

Not all contexts are like those of 21–23 above in restricting the use of imperfective and perfective verb forms. In the sentences below, for example, which contain a **time clause** introduced by *er se ər a* 'when' (see 22.2), both the imperfective and perfective forms of *mēnguui* 'read' can occur, with a difference in interpretation:

- (24) a. Ak milēnguui ər a hong er se ər a lēma a Toki.
'I was reading the book when Toki arrived.'
- b. Ak chiliuii a hong er se ər a lēma a Toki.
'I had finished reading the book when Toki arrived.'

In 24a, the speaker was in the process of reading the book (but had not completed reading it) when Toki arrived, while in 24b the speaker had already completed reading the book by the time of Toki's arrival.

THE TRANSITIVE VERB *omes*

- 12.6. The Palauan verb *omes* 'see' needs special consideration because the meanings of its imperfective and perfective forms differ from each other in a way which is not entirely predictable from our discussion above. Before examining this difference in meaning, let us review a few of the representative perfective forms of *omes*:⁴

(25) <i>Person and Number of Object Pronoun</i>	<i>Present Tense</i>	<i>Past Tense</i>
1st pers sg	mēṣəkak 'see me'	milṣəkak 'saw me'
3rd pers sg	mēṣa 'see him/her/it'	milṣa 'saw him/her/it'
3rd pers pl hum	mēṣ(ē)ṭṛir 'see them'	milṣṭṛir 'saw them'
3rd pers pl non-hum	mes 'see them'	miles 'saw them'

The imperfective vs. perfective forms of *omes* convey the following differences of meaning. Use of imperfective *omes* (past: *ulēmes*) generally implies **purposeful** or **intentional** seeing on the part of the subject. Therefore, the most appropriate English equivalents are words or expressions like 'meet', 'get together with', 'visit', 'meet and talk to', 'look at', 'watch', etc. By contrast, use of the perfective forms of *omes* connotes **unintentional**, **unplanned**, or **casual** seeing by the subject. The best English equivalents in this case would perhaps be expressions like 'happen to see' or 'get a glimpse of'.

The difference under discussion here is not really incompatible with our previous analysis of the difference between imperfective and perfective verb forms (cf. 12.1–2 above). Thus, it does not seem unusual that the imperfective forms of *omes* should be used to describe "serious" actions of seeing whose **durational** or **progressive** quality the speaker would be likely to focus upon. Similarly, we would expect the perfective forms of *omes* to be chosen for describing casual or chance actions of seeing which are brief in duration and which the speaker would be likely to view as quickly completed. In the following sentence pairs, the

rather free English equivalents are designed to make the above-mentioned distinction clear; in each pair, the a-sentence contains an imperfective form of *omes*, while the b-sentence contains a perfective form:

- (26) a. Ak uləmes ər a John er a elii.
'I met and talked to John yesterday.'
b. Ak mīlsa a John er a elii.
'I happened to see John yesterday.'
- (27) a. Ng soak əl omes ər a Droteo.
'I want to see (and talk to) Droteo.'
b. Ng soak əl mēsa a Droteo.
'I want to get a look at Droteo.'
- (28) a. Ak mlo ər a kədəra er a elii əl mo omes a bilas əl mle
kaidəsachəl.
'Yesterday I went to the beach in order to watch the boats racing.'
b. Ak mlo ər a kədəra er a elii e miles a bətok əl bilas əl mle
kaidəsachəl.
'Yesterday I went to the beach and happened to see a lot of boats racing.'

The sentences below further illustrate the use of the imperfective vs. perfective forms of *omes* 'see'.

- (29) a. Ng dimlak a techəllek əl omes ər a rəşəchəlik.
'I didn't have an opportunity to get together with my friends.'
b. Ak mle əl me omes ər a John.
'I came in order to see John.'
c. Ng dimlak a techəllek əl mes a charm.
'I didn't have a chance to get a look at any animals.'
d. Ak miles a bətok əl mətongakl əl blai ər a Hawaii.
'I saw a lot of tall buildings in Hawaii.'

THE TRANSITIVE VERB *orrengeş*

- 12.7. The imperfective vs. perfective forms of the verb *orrengeş* 'hear' often exhibit a distinction of meaning similar to that described for *omes* in 12.6 above. Before discussing this distinction, we shall list some of the perfective forms of *orrengeş*:

- (30) *Person and Number of Object Pronoun* *Present Tense* *Past Tense*
- 1st pers sg rongəsak 'hear me' rirəngəsak 'heard me'

3rd pers sg	rongəsii 'hear him/her/it'	rirəngəsii 'heard him/her/it'
3rd pers pl hum	rongəştərir 'hear them'	rirəngəştərir 'heard them'
3rd pers pl non-hum	rəməngəs 'hear them'	rirəngəs 'heard them'

Use of imperfective *orrengeş* (past: *ulərrengeş*) implies **intentional** hearing by the subject over a relatively long duration of time: therefore, the most suitable English equivalent is 'listen to'. By contrast, use of the perfective forms of *orrengeş* connotes **unexpected** or **casual** hearing by the subject which is completed in a comparatively short duration of time: the best English equivalent is '(happen to) hear'. This distinction in meaning is found in the pair of sentences below:

- (31) a. Ak ulərrengeş ər a Toki əl oukita.
'I was listening to Toki play the guitar.'
b. Ak rirəngəsii a Toki əl oukita.
'I heard/happened to hear Toki play the guitar.'

The sentences below further illustrate the use of imperfective vs. perfective forms of *orrengeş* 'hear':

- (32) a. Kə ulərrengeş a radio er a elii?
'Did you listen to the radio yesterday?'
b. Ak rongəştərir a rəchad əl mənğərodəch.
'I (can) hear the people making noise.'
c. Ng soak əl rongəsii a chisel a Toki er se ər a ləbo ər a Merikel.
'I want to hear about what Toki did when she went to America.'
d. Kə rirəngəsii a dərunk ər a kəşus?
'Did you (happen to) hear the thunder last night?'

13 Directional Verbs

THE THREE DIRECTIONAL VERBS OF PALAUAN

- 13.1. In this chapter we will examine a special subgroup of Palauan **intransitive action verbs**—namely, the **directional verbs** *mo* ‘go’, *eko* ‘go’, and *me* ‘come’. As we saw in 5.1.1, Palauan intransitive action verbs denote actions which involve only a **doer**, but no **receiver**. In other words, intransitive action verbs do not take **objects** because they name actions in which only the doer can participate rather than describing actions which are directed at someone or something else. The intransitive action verbs *mo* ‘go’, *eko* ‘go’, and *me* ‘come’ are called **directional verbs** because they all indicate movement in a particular direction. This common element of meaning undoubtedly accounts for some of the grammatical features which they share. Before examining these grammatical features in detail, let us first discuss how the three directional verbs differ from each other in meaning.

MEANING AND USE OF THE DIRECTIONAL VERBS

- 13.2. The directional verb *me* corresponds to English ‘come’ and refers to movement **towards** the place where the speaker is, was, or will be. This verb contrasts with both *mo* and *eko*, which refer to movement **away from** the place where the speaker is, was, or will be and therefore correspond most closely to English ‘go’. The difference in meaning between *mo* and *eko* depends in an important way on the location of the person addressed or spoken to (i.e., the hearer). The directional verb *eko* has the very specific function of designating movement by the speaker or some third party **towards** the **supposed** or **real** present, past, or future location of the person addressed. By contrast, the directional verb *mo* is much broader in scope, since it describes movement by anyone—

speaker, hearer, or some third party—**away from** the locations of the speaker and hearer.

In order to illustrate the above-mentioned differences, let us observe how the (italicized) directional verbs are used in the dialogs below:

- (1) A: Ng sɛbɛchem ɛl *me* ɛr a blik ɛr a klukuk?
‘Can you come to my house tomorrow?’
B: Chochoi. Ng sɛbɛchek ɛl *eko* ɛr a blim ɛr a klukuk.
‘Yes, I can come to your house tomorrow.’
(2) A: Ng sɛbɛchem ɛl *mo* ɛr a blik ɛr a klukuk?
‘Can you come/go to my house tomorrow?’
B: Chochoi. Ng sɛbɛchek ɛl *mo* ɛr a blim ɛr a klukuk.
‘Yes, I can come/go to your house tomorrow.’

Note, first of all, that the sentences in the dialogs 1 and 2 involve some **future** event, since they contain the **temporal phrase** *ɛr a klukuk* ‘tomorrow’ (see 14.6). Though the English equivalents for the sentences of 1 and 2 do not reflect it very clearly, most Palauan speakers feel that the two dialogs describe very different situations. In dialog 1, A’s use of *me* ‘come’ implies his **intention** to be at home at the time of B’s (hoped-for) arrival, and B’s use of *eko* ‘go’ indicates B’s belief or conviction that A will indeed be there to greet him. In dialog 2, however, A’s use of *mo* ‘go’ clearly implies that he does not intend to be home at the time of B’s arrival: it is possible, for example, that A is requesting B to go to his (A’s) house on some type of business or errand, even though A himself will not be there. B’s use of *mo* in his response to A reaffirms the implication that A will not be or is not expected to be present.¹

When *eko* ‘go’ is used, the past, present, or future location of the person addressed is usually his own house, as in 1B, but it is also possible for some other location to be involved, as the following sentences illustrate:

- (3) a. Bo ɛr a bita e a Droteo a ekong.
‘Go next door, and Droteo will be along (soon).’
b. Bo ɛr a blil a Toki e ak ekong.
‘Go to Toki’s house, and I’ll be along (soon).’
c. Ak eko mɛ mchiɪɫak.
‘I’ll be there, so wait for me.’

Note, further, that sentences like the following

- (4) a. Ng sɛbɛchek ɛl eko ɛr a party ɛr a klukuk.
'I can come to your party tomorrow.'
- b. A Droteo a dilu ɛl kmo ng sɛbɛchel ɛl eko ɛr a party ɛr a klukuk.
'Droteo said that he can come to your party tomorrow.'

imply nothing more than that the person addressed will be (or is expected to be) at the party; though the party might indeed be held at his house, other locations are certainly possible—in other words, the person addressed may be hosting a party at the community hall, etc.

The past tense forms of the directional verbs are provided below:

(5) Present Tense	Past Tense
me 'come'	mle ² 'came'
eko 'go'	ilɛko 'went'
mo 'go'	mlo 'went'

The past tense forms of *me* 'come' and *mo* 'go' are derived simply by **infixing** the past tense marker *-l-* (cf. 5.3.2) after word-initial *m*, which is the verb marker.³ The past tense form of *eko* shows the past tense marker *il*; though this morpheme is normally **infix**ed after the initial consonant of a verb form, it is **prefixed** in the case of *eko*, which begins with a vowel. Note, further, that the initial vowel *e* of *eko* is reduced to a *ɛ* in the past tense form *ilɛko*.

The basic distinctions of meaning among the three directional verbs are of course retained in the past tense forms as well. Observe, therefore, the following pairs of contrasting sentences:

- (6) a. A Droteo a mle er a Belau.
'Droteo came to Palau.'
- b. A Droteo a mlo er a Belau.
'Droteo went to Palau.'
- (7) a. Ak ilɛko ɛr a blim er a elii e kɛ mle⁴ dibus.
'I went to your house (to see you) yesterday and (discovered) you were out.'
- b. Ak mlo ɛr a blim er a elii e kɛ mle dibus.
'I happened to go to your house yesterday and (discovered) you were out.'

The meaning difference between 6a and 6b is rather straightforward and needs little comment: *mle* 'came' designates movement

towards the speaker's location (*Belau* 'Palau'), while *mlo* 'went' implies movement **away from** the speaker's location. The distinction between 7a and 7b, however, is more subtle. In 7a, with *ilɛko*, the speaker **expected** the person addressed to be home yesterday, but discovered he wasn't, while in 7b, with *mlo*, the speaker merely happened to drop by at the house of the person addressed, not necessarily assuming that he would be there.

The sentences below further illustrate the use of *me*, *mo*, and *eko*. In each sentence, we have italicized the **directional phrase** (see 14.3), which is a type of **relational phrase** that designates the **goal** or **termination point** of the movement involved. As you can see, a directional phrase consists of the relational word *ɛr* (in this case, more or less equivalent to English 'to') followed by a noun phrase naming the place (or event such as party, etc.) which serves as goal or termination point.

- (8) a. Kɛ me ɛr a Merikel er oingarang?
'When are you coming to America?'
- b. A Droteo a soal ɛl eko ɛr a ɔchɛraol.
'Droteo wants to come to your money-raising party.'
- c. A sɛchɛlim ng mlo ɛr a skuul er a elɛchang?
'Did your friend go to school today?'
- d. Kɛ mo ɛr a che⁵ ɛr a klukuk?
'Are you going fishing tomorrow?'

DIRECTIONAL VERBS FOLLOWED BY ACTION VERBS

- 13.3. The directional verbs *me*, *mo*, and *eko* frequently occur directly followed by a transitive or intransitive action verb in expressions like *me mɛnɛɛtmokl* 'come and clean', *mo mɛnɛɛdub* 'go and swim, go swimming', and the like. Expressions of this kind simply mean that at some present, past, or future time, someone comes or goes to a particular place and performs the designated activity there. The distinctive meanings of the three directional verbs are of course preserved in such expressions, whose structure we can summarize with the formula *directional verb + action verb*. Observe the following examples:

- (9) a. A Toki a mle mɛnɛɛtmokl ɛr a blik ɛr a tutau.
'Toki came and cleaned my house this morning.'
- b. Ng sɛbɛchem ɛl me mɛnɛɛdub ɛr a blik?
'Can you come (and) swim at my house?'

- c. A Toki ng ilęko męruul a kall er a elii?
'Did Toki come to your place and prepare food yesterday?'
- d. A ręsęchal a mlo męlasęch a mlai er a elęchang.
'The men went making canoes today.'
- e. Ak mo męngędub ęr a diong.
'I'm going swimming at the stream.'

If a past action is involved, as in 9a, 9c, and 9d, then only the directional verb, but not the directly following action verb, is marked for the past tense. We will postpone further discussion of this phenomenon until 15.1, where we will observe similar restrictions against the occurrence of the past tense in various types of Palauan **dependent clauses**.

THE DIRECTIONAL VERBS AND FUTURE TIME

- 13.4. The **present tense** forms of the directional verbs *me*, *mo*, and *eko* can often be interpreted as referring to **future** time, especially when they are accompanied by **temporal phrases** (cf. 14.6) denoting future time such as *ęr a klukuk* 'tomorrow', *er tia ęl me ęl rak* 'next year', etc. Compare, for example, the following two sentences:

- (10) a. A sęchęlik a me er a elęchang.
'My friend is coming now.'
- b. A sęchęlik a me ęr a klukuk.
'My friend is coming/will come tomorrow.'

In 10a the present tense form *me* 'come' indeed refers to an action which is happening at the present moment (i.e., at the time when the speaker utters the sentence); this is made clear by the accompanying temporal phrase *er a elęchang* 'now'. In 10b, however, the very same present tense form *me* 'come' is used to refer to an action which is expected to happen in the future, at the time point designated by the temporal phrase *ęr a klukuk* 'tomorrow'. Like 10b, the sentences below involve a future action or event, except that they contain the directional verbs *mo* and *eko*:

- (11) a. A Droteo a mo ęr a Guam er tia ęl me ęl rak.
'Droteo is going/will go to Guam next year.'
- b. Ak eko ęr a blim ęr a kębęsęngei.
'I am coming/will come to your house tonight.'

As the translations for 10b, 11a, and 11b show, the English direc-

tional verbs *come* and *go* resemble Palauan directional verbs in an important way since their **present progressive** forms—e.g., *am/is/are coming*, *am/is/are going*, etc.—are commonly used to convey a **future** meaning.

Since the present tense forms of the directional verbs *me*, *mo*, and *eko* can be used to designate future time, as we have just seen above, it is not surprising to observe a similar function for sequences consisting of the present tense form of a directional verb followed by an action verb (cf. 13.3 above). Thus, in the examples below, *me/mo/eko* + *action verb* refers to an action in the future:

- (12) a. A Toki a me milil ęr a klukuk.
'Toki will come play tomorrow.'
- b. Ak eko męsuub ęr a klukuk.
'I'll come study at your place tomorrow.'
- c. A Toki ng eko męngętmokl ęr a blim ęr a tela ęl klok?
'At what time will Toki come clean your house?'
- d. Kę mo męsuub ęr a Merikel er tia ęl me ęl rak?
'Are you going to study in America next year?'
- e. Ak mo omes ęr a John ęr a kębęsęngei.
'I'm going to see John this evening.'
- f. Kę mo chuiquii a hong ęr a klukuk?
'Are you going to (completely) read the book tomorrow?'

In the sentences above, the three directional verbs are used as **auxiliary** (or "helping") words because they provide important information about the tense of the immediately following action verb. Other auxiliary words which we have seen so far include *mle* 'was, were', which is used to indicate the past tense of **state verbs** (cf. 5.1.3), and *mle*, which indicates a **recent past event** or **past experience** (cf. 5.3.2.1).

How can we explain the fact that the **present tense** forms of Palauan directional verbs can function to express **future** actions or events? It appears as if the basic meaning of these verbs, which is to describe movement across **physical space** from one location to another, has been extended to cover "movement across time" from one "location in time" to another—namely, from **present** to **future**. This kind of meaning change, in which directional verbs shift their reference from **space** to **time**, is found quite commonly in the languages of the world. Thus, in English, the directional verb *go* indicates future time in sentences like *I'm going to study tomorrow*.

THE DIRECTIONAL VERB *mo* AND CHANGE OF STATE

13.5. In 13.4 above we saw that the present tense form of the directional verb *mo* 'go' can be used with a following **action verb** to describe a **future** action or event. In this section, we will examine how *mo* (in any tense) can be used together with a **state verb** (cf. 5.1.2–3 and chap.7) to designate a **change of state**. Palauan **change of state expressions** have the structure *mo* + *state verb* and usually correspond to English expressions such as 'become...', 'get...', etc. The change of state can occur at different points in time, as the following sentences illustrate:

- (13) a. A lsequm ak omengur er a uum, e ak mo smecheṛ.
'Whenever I eat at the cafeteria, I get sick.'
b. A eanged a soal el mo meṅngit.
'It's likely the weather will get/take a turn for the worse.'
c. A ngelṅkem ng mo ungil el smecheṛ er oingarang?
'When will your child get better (from his sickness)?'
d. Aki mlo kaodenge er a Guam.
'We got acquainted with each other in Guam.'
e. A beṅchik a mlo smecheṛ er a elii.
'My wife got sick yesterday.'
f. A odoim a mla mo beṅebau.
'The food has become smelly (spoiled).'
g. A ududek a mla mo diak.
'My money has run out.'

In 13a, the change of state is happening repeatedly, while in 13b–c it will take place in the future; thus, the present tense of *mo* followed by a state verb can designate either a recurrent change of state or a future change of state. In 13d–g, the change of state occurred at some time point in the past, with *mlo* + *state verb* in 13d–e and *mla mo* + *state verb* in 13f–g distinguishing relatively **remote** vs. relatively **recent** past time points, respectively.⁶

All of the sentences of 13 draw our attention to a **resulting state**—that is, to a state which has come about as the result of some process of change. This resulting state is **explicitly** (or **overtly**) expressed by the particular state verb which follows *mo*. By contrast, the **initial state**—i.e., the state which existed when the process of change began—is not overtly expressed, but merely **implied** in the sentences of 13. For example, in 13f, the state verb *beṅebau* 'smelly' describes the present state of the food (resulting, say, from the food's having been left in a warm place) and is

contrasted with an implied initial (or earlier) state in which the opposite was the case (namely, the food was fresh and edible). In the same way, *mla mo diak* 'lit.) has become nonexistent' of 13g describes the present unfortunate state of the speaker's finances; this state represents the end result of a process of change which began with the opposite state—namely, one in which the speaker had adequate financial resources.

As the above discussion shows, Palauan change of state expressions of the form *mo* + *state verb* necessarily involve two time points—one is the time point of the implied initial (or earlier) state and the other is the time point of the overtly-expressed resulting (or later) state. Here, too, we can see how the original function of the directional verb *mo*, which is to describe movement across **physical space** from one place to another, has been expanded to include "movement across time" from one "location in time" (the initial or earlier state) to another (the resulting or later state) (cf. our discussion at the end of 13.4 above).

In order to describe a change of state which is in the process of happening at the present moment (i.e., at the time the speaker utters the sentence) we use the noun *omeṛael* 'process' in one of its **possessed forms** (e.g., *omeṛolek*, *omeṛolel*, etc.), followed by *el* and a change of state expression. The word *omeṛael*, which also means 'trip', is an **action noun** derived by prefixing *o-* to the intransitive action verb *meṛael* 'walk, travel' (cf. 8.6). This verb is in turn derived by prefixing the verb marker *me-* to the verb stem *rael*, an independently-occurring noun meaning 'road' (cf. 6.1). In the sentences below, we illustrate the use of *omeṛael* to describe a change of state which is occurring at the present moment:

- (14) a. Ak omeṛolek el mo ungil el smecheṛ er a teṛeteṛ.
'I'm in the process of getting better from my cold.'
b. A beṅluu er a Hawaii a omeṛolel el mo kikiongṅel.
'The land in Hawaii is getting dirty/polluted.'
c. A skuul a omeṛolel el mo meṅseṅed.
'The school is getting (more and more) crowded.'
d. A tangk a omeṛolel el mo mui.
'The tank is getting filled.'
e. A sils a omeṛolel el mo meṅringṅel.
'The sun is getting hotter (and hotter).'

In the examples of 14, the possessed forms of *omeṛael* 'process' must agree with the sentence subject. Thus, in 14a, the 1st pers. sg.

subject *ak* requires *omeṛolek*, while in 14b–e the various 3rd pers. sg. subjects require *omeṛolel*. For a detailed discussion of *el*, which links the possessed forms of *omeṛael* with the following change of state expression, see chap. 15.

The abovementioned use of *omeṛael* 'process' followed by a change of state expression does not represent the only way of describing a current change of state. As we saw in 11.12.4, the **inchoative** forms of state verbs—e.g. *mekēlēkēlta* 'getting cold' (cf. *mekēlēkolt* 'cold'), *mekngte* 'getting bad, worsening' (cf. *mekngit* 'bad'), etc.—are also used in this way in sentences like the following:

- (15) a. Tia el delmērab a kmal mekēlēkēltang.
'This room is getting very cold.'
b. A eangēd a mekngte me lak doraēl.
'The weather's getting worse, so let's not go.'

CHANGE OF STATE EXPRESSIONS WITH NOUN PHRASES

- 13.5.1. It is also possible to have change of state expressions in which the directional verb *mo* 'go' is followed by a **noun phrase** that identifies a **profession** or **nationality**, or classifies individuals or things into a particular category. Some typical change of state expressions of this type are observed in the sentences below:

- (16) a. A Masaharu a soal el mo $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{sensei} \\ \text{toktang} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$.
'Masaharu wants to become a $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{teacher} \\ \text{doctor} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$.'
b. A Toki a mla mo chad er a Merikel.
'Toki has become an American citizen.'
c. A Oreor a mla mo matsi er a Belau.
'Koror has become the capital of Palau.'

SPECIAL VERBAL EXPRESSIONS WITH *mo*

- 13.6. There are a few Palauan words which must always occur preceded by a directional verb. The resulting expressions, of which *mo mērek* 'finish' and *mo/me rēme* 'go/come home' are perhaps the most common, function as verbs. Observe, for example, the following sentences, which contain instances of *mo mērek* 'finish':

- (17) a. Kē mo mērek er a subēlem er oingarang?
'When are you going to finish your homework?'

- b. Ak mlo mērek er a urerek er a elii.
'I finished my work yesterday.'

In the sentences above, *mo mērek* is used as an **imperfective transitive verb**: in other words, it is followed by a **specific object** which is marked with the **specifying word** *er* (cf. 2.7). The word *mērek*, which is in some way related to the imperfective transitive verb *mērkui* 'finish', never changes its form. Therefore, in order to indicate the past tense with *mo mērek*, it is the directional verb *mo* which must take the past tense marker *-l-*, as in 17b.

The use of *mo/me rēme* 'go/come home' is illustrated in the sentences below:

- (18) a. Ak mo rēme er a beluak.
'I'm going to return to my country.'
b. Ak ulēmengur e me rēmei.
'I ate dinner and came back home.'
c. A Droteo a mlo rēmei.
'Droteo went home.'
d. Bo mrei!
'Go home!'
e. Be mrei!
'Come home!'

The expressions *mo/me rēme* are used in the examples of 18 as **intransitive action verbs**. The word *rēme*, even though it cannot occur independently as a verb, nevertheless has one of the important characteristics of Palauan intransitive action verbs, since it appears to contain the **metathesized verb marker** *-(e)m-* (cf. 6.2). As 18c shows, the form of *rēme* does not change in the past tense, but instead the past tense marker *-l-* is infixed into the directional verb *mo*. In 18d–e, we observe the **imperative** (or command) forms of *mo/me rēme*; the structure of these forms will be explained in 19.5.

14 Relational Phrases

DISTRIBUTION AND FUNCTION OF RELATIONAL PHRASES

- 14.1. The speaker of Palauan, like the speaker of any other language, always has a choice as to how much information he will convey in the sentences which he produces. For example, in answer to a question like 'What were you doing yesterday?', a Palauan speaker might simply say

- (1) Ak milsuub.
'I was studying.'

But if the speaker wanted to provide more information about what he did than is expressed in 1, he might give an answer like

- (2) Ak milsuub *er a skuul*.
'I was studying at school.'

In 2, the addition of the sequence *er a skuul* 'at school' gives the hearer a more detailed picture of the activity involved by indicating the **place** (or location) where the studying was done. In a similar way, 3b below supplies more information than 3a because it contains *er a elii* 'yesterday', which specifies the **time** when the subject (*Droteo*) read the book:

- (3) a. A Droteo a chiliuii a hong.
'Droteo (completely) read the book.'
b. A Droteo a chiliuii a hong *er a elii*.
'Droteo (completely) read the book yesterday.'

Although the expressions *er a skuul* 'at school' and *er a elii* 'yesterday' of 2 and 3b provide the hearer with different pieces of information (**place where** vs. **time when**, respectively), they nevertheless have the common characteristic of putting some action (such as studying, reading a book, etc.) into perspective by **relating** it to a place (e.g. *skuul* 'school') or time (e.g. *elii* 'yester-

day') of occurrence. For this reason, expressions like *er a skuul* and *er a elii* are called **relational phrases**. All relational phrases consist of the **relational word** *er* followed by the appropriate words—a single noun or a noun phrase—to indicate such pieces of information as place where, time when, and the like.

Because relational phrases occur so commonly in Palauan, we have already made mention of them at various points in the text, and even analyzed them to some extent. In 5.2, for example, we saw that two of the main sentence types of Palauan can be summarized according to the following formulas:

- (4) a. subject noun phrase + transitive verb phrase (+ object noun phrase) (+ relational phrase)
b. subject noun phrase + intransitive verb phrase (+ relational phrase)

In the formulas above, which show the relative order of the major parts of Palauan sentences, we have placed the term "relational phrase" in parentheses because the occurrence of this element is **optional**. In other words, Palauan sentences do not necessarily have to contain a relational phrase in order to be complete; rather, as we mentioned at the beginning of this section, relational phrases can be added freely to sentences depending on how much extra information the speaker wishes to supply. Since more than one relational phrase can occur in a given sentence, as we will see in 14.7 below, the formulas we presented in 4 will require some modification.

In discussing examples 2 and 3b above, we said that the relational phrases found in those sentences serve to put some **action** into perspective by relating it to a particular place of occurrence, time of occurrence, or the like. As it turns out, our analysis was purposefully oversimplified, since relational phrases can also put **states** into perspective by providing certain types of information. Thus, in the sentences below, we observe relational phrases occurring together with different types of state verbs:

- (5) a. A sechḷik a mle dibus *er a elii*.
'My friend was out/away from home yesterday.'
b. A Droteo a ngar *er a sers*.
'Droteo is in the garden.'
c. A sensei a smecher *er a tereṭer*.
'The teacher is sick with a cold.'

In the sentences above, the italicized relational phrases provide us

with different types of information about the several states involved. In 5a *er a elii* 'yesterday' tells us **when** the past state *mle dibus* 'was out/away from home' occurred, in 5b *er a sers* 'in the garden' describes **where** the subject is located (for further discussion of the **existential verb** *ngar* 'exist, be (located)' see 18.2), and in 5c *er a terefer* 'with/because of a cold' gives the **cause** of the state designated by *smecher* 'sick'.

The italicized expressions in the examples of 5 represent only three out of many types of relational phrases found in Palauan. In the sections below, we will classify Palauan relational phrases according to the many different kinds of information they convey. As our discussion proceeds, we will see that the single Palauan relational word *er* corresponds to a large variety of English relational words, including 'in', 'at', 'on', 'to', 'from', 'of', 'out of', 'because of', 'for', etc.; and sometimes—as in the case of *er a elii* 'yesterday'—the English equivalent contains no relational word at all.

LOCATIONAL PHRASES

14.2. Any relational phrase which indicates the **location** of some action or state is a **locational phrase**. In each of the sentences below, the italicized locational phrase narrows down the scope of an action or activity by indicating its place of occurrence:

- (6) a. A Toki a oureor *er a bangk*.
'Toki is working at the bank.'
- b. A rēngalēk a mililil *er a kurangd*.
'The children were playing at the playground.'
- c. A Toki a mēsilek a bilel *er a daob*.
'Toki is washing her clothes in the ocean.'
- d. Ng sēbēchem ēl okērdak *er tiang?*
'Can you let me off here?'
- e. A John a mlad *er a Merikel*.
'John died in America.'

In the relational phrases of 6, the noun following the relational word *er* is introduced by the word *a*, unless it is a **demonstrative word** like *tia* 'this place, here' of 6d (cf. 2.6 and see 24.3) or a pronoun.

The following sentences contain locational phrases (italicized) which supply us with further information about particular states:

- (7) a. A John a mle smecher *er a Hawaii*.
'John was sick in Hawaii.'
- b. A ngalēk a mle mēchiuaiu *er a delmerab*.
'The child was sleeping in the room.'
- c. A Droteo a mle dēngchokl *er a kingall*.
'Droteo was sitting on the chair.'
- d. Ak mla *er a blil a Toki* er a elii.
'I was at Toki's house yesterday.'
- e. A taod a kirel ēl ngar *er a katur*, mē a oliich a kirel ēl ngar *er a kadikm*.
'The fork must be on the left, and the spoon must be on the right.'
- f. A sensei a ngar *er a uum*.
'The teacher is in the kitchen.'

Sentences 7d-f contain the existential verb *ngar* 'exist, be (located)' (past tense: *mle* 'existed, was (located)'), which is almost always followed by a locational phrase.¹ In more complex sentences, the sequence *ngar* + *locational phrase*, when preceded by *ēl*, specifies the **means of transportation** used to move from one place to another. This is observed in sentences like the following, which we will examine more carefully in 15.5:

- (8) Ak mlo *er a stoa ēl ngar er a sidosia*.
'I went to the store by car.'

In order to ask a **question** about the location of some action or state, we use the locational phrase *er ker*, which consists of the relational word *er* followed by the **question word** *ker* 'where?'.² Thus, examples 6a, 6c, 7d, and 7f above would be possible answers to the following questions containing *er ker* 'where?':

- (6a') A Toki ng oureor *er ker?*
'Where does Toki work?'
- (6c') A Toki ng mēsilek a bilel *er ker?*
'Where is Toki washing her clothes?'
- (7d') Kē mla *er ker* er a elii?
'Where were you yesterday?'
- (7f') A sensei ng ngar *er ker?*
'Where is the teacher?'

The structure of the above question sentences will be explained in detail in 20.5.

LOCATIONAL PHRASES WITH NOUNS DESCRIBING SPATIAL RELATIONSHIPS.

- 14.2.1. Palauan has a fairly large class of nouns which are used to describe **spatial relationships** such as *above/on top of* vs. *below/under*, *in front of* vs. *in back of*, and the like. Two nouns of this type are used in the sentences below:

(9) a. A Droteo a ngar *er* a $\begin{Bmatrix} bab \\ eou \end{Bmatrix}$.
 'Droteo is $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{up there} \\ \text{down there} \end{Bmatrix}$.'

b. A Droteo a kie *er* a $\begin{Bmatrix} bab \\ eou \end{Bmatrix}$.
 'Droteo lives $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{upstairs} \\ \text{downstairs} \end{Bmatrix}$.'

In the italicized locational phrases of 9a-b we find the nouns *bab* 'area/space above' and *eou* 'area/space below'. These nouns do not name a specific place (such as *skuul* 'school' or *blik* 'my house') but instead designate an **area of space** which is "defined" in relation to something else. Thus, in 9a-b, *bab* and *eou* refer to areas of space above and below the spot where the speaker of the sentence is located.³

Now, with 9a-b above, let us compare sentences like the following:

- (10) a. A katuu a mechiuaiu *er* a *bebul* a *tebel*.
 'The cat is sleeping on (top of) the table.'
 b. A bilis a mechiuaiu *er* a *eungel* a *tebel*.
 'The dog is sleeping under(neath) the table.'

The italicized parts of 10a-b are also locational phrases, but ones in which the nouns *bab* 'area/space above' and *eou* 'area/space below' occur in their **possessed forms** (cf. chap. 3). In other words, the possessed nouns *bebul* and *eungel* have a 3rd pers. sg. possessor suffix (-*ul* or -*el*) which agrees with the following "possessor" *tebel* 'table'. Therefore, the expressions *bebul* a *tebel* and *eungel* a *tebel* mean, respectively, 'the top of the table'⁴ and 'the space underneath the table'. It is important to recognize that although expressions like *eungel* a *tebel* 'under(neath) the table' and *chimal* a *Droteo* 'Droteo's hand' are identical in structure (i.e., they both consist of a possessed noun followed by another noun), their meanings are actually quite different. As we saw in 3.6-7, an expression like *chimal* a *Droteo* is a **noun phrase of possession** in

which *Droteo* is the actual possessor of something (*chimal* 'his hand') which is an inseparable part of him. In the case of *eungel* a *tebel*, however, *eungel* 'the space underneath it' is obviously not a part of the table but merely an area of space defined in relation to the table.

In the following sentences, we observe locational phrases in which the relational word *er* is followed by *bebuk* 'space above me' and *eungek* 'space below me', which have the 1st pers. sg. possessor suffixes -*uk* and -*ek*, or by *bebmam* 'space above us' and *eungam* 'space below us', which have the 1st pers. pl. excl. possessor suffixes -*mam* and -*am*:

- (11) a. A klok a ngar *er* a *bebuk*.
 'The clock is up there above me.'
 b. A katuu a mechiuaiu *er* a *eungek*.
 'The cat is sleeping underneath me (i.e., under my chair).'
 c. A Satsko a kie *er* a $\begin{Bmatrix} bebmam \\ eungam \end{Bmatrix}$.
 'Satsko lives $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{upstairs} \\ \text{downstairs} \end{Bmatrix}$ from us.'

In order to express the relationships *in front of* vs. *in back of*, Palauan makes use of several different words, including *mad* 'front' (which is probably an extended use of *mad* 'eye, face') and *rebai* 'area/space in back of (a building)' (which seems to be related to the nouns *blai* 'house, building' and *bai* 'community house'). These words are used in sentences like the following, in which the locational phrases have been italicized:

- (12) a. Ng ngar *er* ngii a *kerrek* *er* a *medal* a *blik*.
 'There are trees (right) in front of my house.'
 b. A mlim a ngar *er* a *rebai* *er* a *blik*.
 'Your car is in back of my house.'

Like *bab* (*bebuk*, *bebul*, etc.) and *eou* (*eungek*, *eungel*, etc.) above, *mad* 'front' can take **possessor suffixes**: thus, in 12a we have the possessed noun *medal* 'its front'⁵ followed by the "possessor" *blik* 'my house'. By contrast, the noun *rebai* 'area/space in back of (a building)' cannot take any possessor suffixes—i.e., it is **unpossessible** (cf. 3.8). In order to express a "possessor" with *rebai*, it is therefore necessary to use a relational phrase introduced by *er* such as *er* a *blik* of 12b.

With 12a above, contrast the following sentence:

- (13) Ng ngar *er* ngii a *kerrek* *er* a *ngelo* *er* a *blik*.
 'There are trees (in the general area) in front of my house.'

It is difficult to find suitable English translations to express the difference in meaning between 12a and 13. While use of *mədal* in 12a implies that the trees are very close to the house (possibly providing it with shade), *ngəlo* of 13 implies that the trees are relatively far away (perhaps across the road). Note further that *ngəlo* 'area/space in front of (a building) (relatively far away)', like *rəbai* 'area/space in back of (a building)', is an unpossessible noun.

In the following pairs of sentences, we notice a contrast in meaning similar to that observed between 12a and 13 above:

- (14) a. A Toki a mirraēl *ər a mədal a Droteo*.
'Toki was walking right in front of Droteo.'
b. A Toki a mirraēl *ər a uche ər a Droteo*.
'Toki was walking somewhere in front of Droteo.'
- (15) a. A Toki a dīlēngchokl *ər a ullel⁶ a Droteo*.
'Toki sat right in back of Droteo.'
b. A Toki a dīlēngchokl *ər a uriul ər a Droteo*.
'Toki sat somewhere behind Droteo.'

In the a-sentences above, *mədal* and *ullel* designate locations directly in front of or in back of Droteo, while in the b-sentences the (unpossessible) nouns *uche* and *uriul* are less precise and refer, in a more general way, to locations anywhere ahead of or behind Droteo. Thus, it is possible for 14b, for example, to refer to a situation in which Toki was walking along a trail ahead of Droteo, but far enough away to be out of his sight. Another common use of *uche* and *uriul* is observed in the following example:

- (16) A Droteo a mēlēchob *ər a* $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} uche \\ uriul \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ *ər a omoachēl*.
'Droteo is bathing $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{upstream} \\ \text{downstream} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$.'⁷

In addition to describing the **spatial** relationships *in front of* vs. *in back of*, the nouns *uche* and *uriul* have also come to be used in a **temporal** sense to express the ideas of *before* vs. *after*, respectively. This extension of meaning is observed in the following simple sentences:

- (17) a. Ak mo *ər a uchei*.
'I'll go first (i.e., *before* anyone else).'
- b. Ak mo omēngur *ər a uriul*.
'I'll eat later (i.e., *after* doing some other things).'

Since the italicized relational phrases of 17a–b refer to points in time, they are technically **temporal phrases** (see 14.6 below).

Because *uche* and *uriul* can be used in a **temporal** as well as a **spatial** sense, the sentences of 14b and 15b above are actually **ambiguous**—that is, they can be interpreted in two different ways. Thus, 14b can also mean 'Toki left before Droteo did', and 15b has the additional interpretation 'Toki sat down after Droteo did.' For further discussion of the temporal uses of *uche* and *uriul*, see 22.2.1.⁸

In the sentences below, the italicized locational phrases contain the Palauan nouns *chēlsel* 'inside' and *ikrel* 'outside':

- (18) a. Ng ngar ər ngii a oluchēs *ər a chēlsel a skidas*.
'There is a pencil inside the drawer.'
- b. Ng ngar ər ngii a rēkung *ər a chēlsel a blsibs*.
'There is a crab inside the hole.'
- c. A bilas a ngar *ər a chēlsel a* $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{taoch.} \\ \text{omoachēl} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$.⁹
'The boat is in the $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{channel} \\ \text{river} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$.'
- d. Ng ngar ər ngii a restorangd *ər a chēlsel a ii*.
'There is a restaurant inside the cave.'
- e. A ngikēl a rēmurt *ər a chēlsel a bad*.
'The fish are swimming in the coral.'
- f. Ng ngar ər ngii a chēdib *ər a chēlsel a kall*.
'There are black ants in the food.'
- g. A Toki a dēngchokl *ər a ikrel a blil*.
'Toki is sitting outside her house.'

While *ikrel* of 18g is a possessed form of the independently-occurring noun *iikr* 'area/space outside',¹⁰ *chēlsel* 'inside' of 18a–f is an **obligatorily possessed noun** (cf. 3.5).

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES OF NOUNS DESCRIBING SPATIAL RELATIONSHIPS

14.2.2. The italicized locational phrases in the sentences below illustrate a few more Palauan nouns which describe spatial relationships:

- (19) a. A blik a ngar *ər a bita ər a skuul*.
'My house is $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{next door to} \\ \text{across the street from} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ ¹¹ the school.'
- b. A Toki a mle dēngchokl *ər a bita ər a dēmal*.
'Toki was sitting next to her father.'
- c. A blik a ngar *ər a dēlongēlel¹² a blil a Toki mē a Droteo*.
'My house is between Toki's house and Droteo's house.'

- d. A Babeldaob a ngar *er a diluchēs*¹³ *er a Oreor*.
'Babeldaob is north of Koror.'
- e. Ng ngar er ngii a kērrekar *er a bēngel*¹⁴ *a sērsek*.
'There is a tree in the middle of my garden.'
- f. A Toki a mle dēngchokl *er a bēngel a blai*.
'Toki was sitting in the middle of the house.'
- g. Ng ngar er ngii a bilas *er a bēngel a omoachēl*.
'There is a boat in the middle of the river.'
- h. Ak milēngēdub *er a tkul*¹⁵ *a daob*.
'I was swimming at the ocean's edge.'
- i. Ng ngar er ngii a bētok ēl komi *er a tkul a rael*.
'There's a lot of trash at the edge/side of the road.'
- j. A skuul a dēchor *er a mobēdul*¹⁶ *a kēdgrang*.
'The school is situated in the general direction of the beach.'

In the examples of 10, 12–16, and 18–19 above, we have seen how expressions like *bebul a tebel* 'top of the table', *rēbai er a blik* 'area/space in back of my house', and the like are used in locational phrases to give specific information about various kinds of spatial relationships. Since they are noun phrases, it is not surprising that the expressions under discussion can also be used as **sentence subjects** or **objects**. A few examples are given below:

- (20) a. A *bebul a tebel* a mla mo dēkimēs.
'The top of the table has gotten wet.'
- b. A *chēlsel a skidas* a kirel ēl mo ngetachēl.
'The inside of the drawer must be cleaned.'
- c. A *dēlongēlel a blil a Toki mē a Droteo* a kikiongēl.
'The area between Toki's house and Droteo's house is dirty.'
- d. A bilas a ulēkiu a *eungel a did*.
'The boat passed under the bridge.'
- e. A bilas a ulēkiu a *dēlongēlel a chelēbachēb*.
'The boat passed between the Rock Islands.'

In 20a–c, the italicized noun phrases are sentence subjects, while those in 20d–e are sentence objects.

DIRECTIONAL PHRASES

- 14.3. Any relational phrase which indicates the **goal** or **termination point** of some action involving movement is called a **directional phrase**. Directional phrases commonly follow the **directional verbs** *me* 'come', *mo* 'go', and *eko* 'go' (cf. chap. 13) and simply identify

the place to which a person comes or goes. Directional phrases can also occur with other verbs or expressions involving movement such as *tmuu* 'enter', *soisēb* 'enter', *mērael ēl mo* . . . 'walk to', *rēmurt ēl mo* . . . 'run to', and the like.¹⁷ Because both locational phrases and directional phrases identify places, all of the locational phrases discussed in 14.2 and 14.2.1–2 above have the potential of being used as directional phrases, given the proper context.

In the sentences below, the italicized relational phrases function as directional phrases because they tell us the goal or termination point of movement:

- (21) a. A Toki a mle *er a blik* er a elii.
'Toki came to my house yesterday.'
- b. A John a mo *er a Guam* er a klukuk.
'John is going to Guam tomorrow.'
- c. A beab a {*tiluu*
silisēb}¹⁸ *er a blsibs*.
'The mouse went into the hole.'
- d. A Toki a {*rirurt*
mirrael} ēl mo *er a blil a Droteo*.
'Toki {*ran*
walked} to Droteo's house.'
- e. Ak mo *er a* {*bebul*
eungel} *a rois*.
'I'm going to the {*top*
foot} of the mountain.'
- f. Bo mtuu *er a chēlsel a blai*.
'Go inside the house.'
- g. A rēkung a tiluu *er a dēlongēlel a bad*.
'The crab went between the stones.'
- h. A Droteo a rirēdēkekl *er a daob*.
'Droteo jumped into the water.'
- i. A Toki a ngilelt *er a mēsei*.
'Toki sank down into the taro patch.'

In 21e–g, the directional phrases contain some of the nouns describing spatial relationships which we examined in 14.2.1–2 above.

In the examples of 21, the verbs or expressions of movement which precede the italicized directional phrases are **intransitive** because they do not involve any **objects**. It is also possible to have sentences in which directional phrases occur with **transitive** verbs or expressions of movement—i.e., ones which take objects. Usually, verbs or expressions of this kind involve putting something

somewhere, or transferring something from one place to another. Some common examples include *mələcha* 'put', *oməche* 'leave',¹⁹ the **causative verbs** *oltuu* 'put into' and *olsisəb* 'put into' (cf. 9.2.2), and expressions like *olab a iluməl ɛl mo. . .* 'bring drinks to', *nguu a bəchik ɛl mo. . .* 'take my wife to', etc.²⁰

In the examples below, the directional phrases are italicized, and the objects of the transitive verbs are in bold type:

- (22) a. A Toki a lilia a **komibako** *ɛr a eungel a tebəl.*
'Toki put the wastebasket under the table.'
b. Lak moləcha a **omotsia** *ɛr a bebul a tebəl.*
'Don't put the toys on the table.'
c. A rəngalək a miləche a **bətok ɛl komi** *ɛr a sers.*
'The children left lots of trash in the garden.'
d. A John a miləchire a **hong** *ɛr a chəlsel a skidas.*
'John left the book in the drawer.'
e. Aki {ultungii} ²¹ a **John** *ɛr a chəlsel a mlai.*
{ulsisəbii}
'We pushed John into the car.'
f. A ngalək a uləngelt a **chimal** *ɛr a merikengko.*
'The child sank his hands into the flour.'

In the following examples, directional phrases follow more complex expressions whose structure we will not explain until 15.7.1; again, the directional phrase has been italicized and the object has been printed in bold type:

- (23) a. Ak olab a **iluməl ɛl mo** *ɛr a party.*
'I'm bringing drinks to the party.'
b. A John a nguu a **bəchil ɛl mo** *ɛr a ocherəol.*
'John is taking his wife to the money-raising party.'

In order to ask a question about the goal or termination point associated with some verb or expression involving movement, we use the directional phrase *ɛr ker* 'where? (=to what place?)', which is identical in structure to the locational phrase *ɛr ker* 'where? (= in/at what place?)' mentioned at the end of 14.2 above. Thus, examples 21b, 21d, 22a, and 23b would be possible answers to the following questions containing *ɛr ker* 'where? (= to what place?)':

- (21b') A John ng mo *ɛr ker ɛr a klukuk?*
'Where is John going tomorrow?'
(21d') A Toki ng {rirurt} ²¹ *ɛl mo ɛr ker?*
{mirrael}

'Where did Toki {run} ²¹ *to?*
{walk}

- (22a') A Toki ng lilia a **komibako** *ɛr ker?*
'Where did Toki put the waste basket?'
(23b') A John ng nguu a **bəchil ɛl mo** *ɛr ker?*
'Where is John taking his wife (to)?'

FURTHER TYPES OF DIRECTIONAL PHRASES

14.3.1. All of the examples given in 14.3 above contain directional phrases which follow (transitive or intransitive) verbs or expressions which designate **movement** in a particular direction. There appears to be a special subtype of directional phrase that occurs after verbs which, rather than designating movement, name certain kinds of actions or states which are characteristically directed at some particular **goal**. Often, the goal itself seems to be the reason for the action or state. Directional phrases of this kind, which point out the goal (or, possibly, reason), are italicized in the sentences below:

- (24) a. A ngalək a lmangəl *ɛr a {dəmal}.*
{kiande}
'The child is crying for {his father} ²¹ *for* {candy}.'
b. Ak mēdēues *ɛr a ngikəl.*
'I have an appetite/taste for fish.'
c. A John a uləchərchur *ɛr a oltobədēchur.*
'John laughed at the joke.'

In 24a the child is crying in order to get something he wants—in other words, the **goal** of his crying is to obtain the presence of his father, or candy. In 24b the subject's appetite is directed towards a particular desired object or goal—namely, fish—and in 24c the subject's laughter was directed at (and caused by) the joke. Several other examples containing the special subtype of directional phrase under discussion are given below. Notice that the English equivalents usually include 'for', 'at', or 'about':

- (25) a. A rəchad a mle məkngit a rəngrir *ɛr a katsudo.*
'The people were sad about the movie.'
b. A rəchad a mle kakoad *ɛr a kall.*
'The people were fighting with each other over/for food.'
c. Aki mle chachədēchēdud *ɛr a bətok ɛl mondai.*
'We talked about lots of problems.'

SOURCE PHRASES

- 14.4. Any relational phrase which indicates the **point of origin** of some action involving movement is a **source phrase**. Source phrases, like locational and directional phrases, identify places; therefore, most of the locational and directional phrases treated in the sections above can also function as source phrases, provided there is a suitable context. Such contexts are usually provided by intransitive action verbs like *tuobed* 'come out', *suebek* 'fly (out)', *ruebek* 'fall (from)', and the like, which focus our attention on the point of origin or source (rather than termination point) of the action. Observe the sentences below, in which the italicized source phrases follow various intransitive action verbs:

- (26) a. A rukung a tilobed *er a blsibs*.
'The crab came out of the hole.'
b. A belochel a mla suebek *er a kerrekar*.
'The pigeon has flown out of the tree.'
c. A Toki a rirebet *er a cheldukl*.
'Toki fell off the dock.'
d. A ngalek a miltengal *er a kerrekar*.
'The child climbed down from the tree.'
e. A katuu a rirdekkel *er a cheduel a blik el mo er a kerrekar*.
'The cat jumped from the roof of my house into the tree.'
f. A John a rirurt *er a kedrang el mo er a stoang*.²²
'John ran from the beach to the store.'

In the sentences below, the italicized relational phrases are also source phrases, except that the preceding verb is transitive. The object of the transitive verb is given in bold type:

- (27) a. Aki ultebedi²³ a **John** *er a chelsel a mlai*.
'We pulled John out of the car.'
b. Ak milengaus *er ngak er a til a Toki*.
'I got myself some betel nut out of Toki's purse.'

FURTHER TYPES OF SOURCE PHRASES

- 14.4.1. There is a subtype of source phrase where the noun phrase following the relational word *er* refers to a **human being**. Source phrases of this kind identify the person from whom something is received, the person from whom some information is heard, the person from whom some skill is learned, etc. Observe, for example, the italicized source phrases in the sentences below:

- (28) a. Ak milleng a udoud *er a Droteo*.
'I borrowed some money from Droteo.'
b. Ak rirenges a chisel a Toki *er a sechelik*.
'I heard the news about Toki from my friend.'
c. Ak milsuub a omeluches el tekoi *er a Siabal er a chad er a Siabal*.
'I learned Japanese writing from a Japanese person.'
d. Ak milsuub a omeruul el mlai *er a demak*.
'I learned canoe-making from my father.'

In order to ask a question about the source, we use a source phrase consisting of the relational word *er* followed by the question word *ker* 'where?' (or sometimes *ngara* 'what?') if the source is a place, or *techa* 'who?' if the source is a human being. Thus, examples 26a and 28b above would be possible answers to the following questions:

- (26a') A rukung ng tilobed *er {ker a ngarang}*?
'Where did the crab emerge from?'
(28b') Ke rirenges a chisel a Toki *er techang*?
'From whom did you hear the news about Toki?'

CAUSE PHRASES

- 14.5. Relational phrases are often used to indicate the **cause** of some state or condition (or, less frequently, action). Such **cause phrases** consist of the relational word *er* followed by a word or expression which could be an appropriate cause for the particular state or condition. As the following sentences show, many Palauan cause phrases correspond to English phrases introduced by 'with' or 'from':

- (29) a. Ak smecher *er a tereter*.
'I'm sick with a cold/I've got a cold.'
b. A demal a Droteo a mlad *er a kiubio*.
'Droteo's father died of a heart attack.'
c. Ak {mesaul skareter} *er a kladoraib*.
'I'm tired from (so much) driving around.'
d. Ng kekere a renguk *er a kleald*.
'I'm very uncomfortable from the heat.'
e. A bilek a mlo cheisech *er a {chemachel tuu}*.

- 'My clothes got stained with {betel nut (juice)}
{banana juice}'.
- f. A ochik a mēkekad *er a udēl*.
'My foot is itchy from the grass.'
- g. A Toki a chuarm *er a dēlēngchēklel*.
'Toki is suffering because of her living conditions.'
- h. A bilsēgek a rirēchorēch *er a eolt*.
'My boat sank in the storm.'
- i. A bilek a mla mo kikiongēl *er a {dēchudēch}*²⁴
{rasēch}.
'My clothes have gotten soiled with {mud}
{blood}'.
- j. A Droteo a mēchēsa *er a subēlel*.
'Droteo is busy with his studies.'
- k. A ngalēk a milkar *er a chērrōdēch*.
'The child woke up from the noise.'

Since cause phrases name things rather than places or persons, questions about the cause of some state or condition are formed by using the question word *ngara* 'what?' following the relational word *er*. Sentences 29c and 29j, for example, would be possible responses to questions like the following:

- (29c') Kē mēsaul *er a ngarang?*
'What are you tired from?'
- (29j') A Droteo ng mēchēsa *er a ngarang?*
'What is Droteo busy with?'

TEMPORAL PHRASES

- 14.6. Relational phrases which name the time of an action or state are called **temporal phrases**. In temporal phrases, the noun phrase following the relational word *er* can be a single word, as in *er a klukuk* 'tomorrow', *er a elii* 'yesterday', etc., or a group of words, as in *er tia ēl me ēl rak* 'next year', *er a ta ēl klok* 'at one o'clock', etc. As we saw in 5.3 and 5.3.1–3, Palauan temporal phrases can refer to specific time points in the **present**, **past**, or **future**. In the sentences below, for example, the italicized temporal phrases designate time points in the future:

- (30) a. A John a mo mērael *er a klukuk*.
'John is going to leave tomorrow.'
- b. Ng mo *er ngii* a party *er a kēbēsēngei*.
'There will be a party this evening.'

- c. A sēchēlik a mo *er a Merikel er tia ēl me ēl rak*.
'My friend is going to America next year.'

In 30a–b, the future time points represented by the italicized temporal phrases are relatively close to the present moment (i.e., the moment when the speaker utters the sentence), while the future time point in 30c is relatively distant or remote.

The sentences below have temporal phrases denoting past time points:

- (31) a. A ngēlēkek a chilitii a skuul *er a elii*.
'My child skipped school yesterday.'
- b. A bēchik a mle smechēr *er a kēsus*.
'My wife was sick last night.'
- c. A Tadasi a mlo bēchiil *er tia ēl mlo mērek ēl rak*.
'Tadasi got married last year.'

The past time points in 31a–b are relatively recent (i.e., close to the present moment), while the past time point in 31c is in the relatively distant past.

The temporal phrase *er a elēcha* 'now, today' can refer to the present moment or to the "general" present in sentences like the following:

- (32) a. A Toki a mēchiuau *er a elēchang*.
'Toki is sleeping now.'
- b. Tē ngar *er ngii* a rēbētok ēl chad *er a Siabal ēl me er a Belau er a elēchang*.
'There are a lot of Japanese coming to Palau now/these days.'

This temporal phrase can also designate time points before and after the moment when the sentence is uttered, but on the same day. Note, therefore, the examples below:

- (33) a. A sēchēlim a mla me *er a elēchang*.
'Your friend has come just now.'
- b. Ak mīlsa a sensei *er a elēchang*.
'I saw the teacher today.'
- c. Kē mo *er a che er a elēchang?*
'Are you going fishing today?'

Below is a partial listing of some of the more common Palauan temporal phrases which are used to identify various points in time:

- (34) a. *today and its parts:*
er a elēcha 'now, today'

- er a (elēcha ēl) tutau 'this morning'
 ər a suelēb 'this noon, this afternoon'
 ər a kēbēsenge 'this evening'
 ər a klēbēse 'tonight'
- b. *time points in the past:*
- er a elii 'yesterday'
 ər a kēsus 'last night'
 ər a tutau er a elii 'yesterday morning'
 ər a idēlisēb 'the day before yesterday'
 ər a idēlsēbel²⁵ 'three days ago'
 ər a uche ər a idēlsēbel²⁶ 'four or more days ago'
 ər tia ēl mlo mērek ēl sande/buil/rak²⁷ 'last week/month/year'
 ər se ēl mlo mērek ēl sande/buil/rak²⁸ 'the week/month/year before last'
 ər se ər a (taem ər a) mēkēmad 'during the war'
 ər se ər a taem ər a Siabal²⁹ 'during the Japanese times'
 ər a irēchar 'in earlier times (at least ten years ago)'
 ər a ititiumd 'in ancient times'
- c. *time points in the future:*
- ər a klukuk 'tomorrow'
 ər a tutau ər a klukuk 'tomorrow morning'
 ər a kēbēsenge ər a klukuk³⁰ 'tomorrow evening'
 ər a ngiaos 'the day after tomorrow'
 ər a ngiosel³¹ 'three days from now'
 ər a ikrel ngiosel³² 'four or more days from now'
 ər tia ēl me ēl sande/buil/rak³³ 'next week/month/year'
 ər se ēl me ēl sande/buil/rak³⁴ 'the week/month/year after next'
- d. *hours of the day:*
- ər a ta ēl klok 'at one o'clock'
 ər a eru ēl klok 'at two o'clock'
 ər a ede ēl klok mē a tēdobēch 'at three-thirty'

- ər a tēruich ēl klok ər a tutau/klēbēse 'at ten o'clock in the morning/evening'
 ər a suelēb 'at noon'
 ər a suelēb ər a klēbēse 'at midnight'
 ər a tēruich mē a eru ēl klok ər a klēbēse 'at twelve midnight'
- e. *days of the week:*
- ər a kot ēl ureor 'on Monday'
 ər a ongeru ēl ureor³⁵ 'on Tuesday'
 ər a sabado 'on Saturday'
 ər a sande 'on Sunday'
- f. *months of the year:*
- ər a kot ēl buil 'in January'
 ər a ongeru ēl buil 'in February'
 ər a ongede ēl buil 'in March'
- g. *days of the month:*
- ər a euid ēl kēbēsengil (a ongeuid ēl buil)³⁶ 'on the seventh (of July)'
 ər a tēruich mē a eua ēl kēbēsengil (a kot ēl buil) 'on the fourteenth (of January)'
 ər a lluich mē a elolēm ēl kēbēsengil (a elēcha ēl buil) 'on the twenty-sixth (of this month)'
- h. *frequency of occurrence:*
- ər a bek ēl tutau 'every morning'
 ər a bek ēl sils 'every day, daily'
 ər a bek ēl buil 'every month, monthly'
 ər a rokui ēl taem 'all the time'
 ər a bebil ər a taem 'sometimes'
- Several sentences containing the temporal phrases of 34h, which designate how frequently a particular action occurs, are presented below:³⁷
- (35) a. A Toki a me mēngētmokl ər a blik ər a bek ēl tutau.
 'Toki comes and cleans my house every morning.'
 b. Ak mo ər a Guam ər a bek ēl buil.
 'I go to Guam every month.'
 c. Ak mo ər a katsudo ər a bebil ər a taem.
 'I sometimes go to the movies.'

Temporal phrases designating specific time points such as hours of the day, days of the month, months of the year, etc. can be used to indicate the beginning point of some limited period or span of time during which a given activity is pursued. In such cases, the temporal phrase is always complemented by an expression of the form *el mo* + *temporal phrase*, which corresponds to English 'until. . .' and indicates the time point at which the activity ends. Observe the following examples:

- (36) a. A Toki a məngetmoki er a blai er a eai el klok el mo (er a)
etiu el klok.
'Toki cleans the house from eight o'clock until nine o'clock.'
b. Ak mo kie er a Siabal er a ongeim el buil el mo (er a)
ongeuil el buil.
'I'll be living in Japan from May until July.'

In 36a-b, the expressions *el mo (er a) etiu el klok* 'until nine o'clock' and *el mo (er a) ongeim el buil* 'until July' are **dependent clauses** (see 15.7) which specify the end-points of the activities involved. The presence of *er a* after *mo* 'go' is optional, as indicated by the parentheses.

In order to ask a question about the time of an action or state, we use a temporal phrase consisting of the relational word *er* followed by the question word *oingara* 'when?'³⁸ Thus, examples 30c, 31c, and 33b above would be possible answers to the following questions:

- (30c') A secheim ng mo er a Merikel er oingarang?
'When is your friend going to America?'
(31c') A Tadasi ng mlo bechiil er oingarang?
'When did Tadasi get married?'
(33b') Ke mlsa a sensei er oingarang?
'When did you see the teacher?'

SENTENCES WITH MORE THAN ONE RELATIONAL PHRASE

- 14.7. As you may have noticed in examples like 7d, 21a, 21b, and 30c above, many Palauan sentences contain two (or possibly even more than two) relational phrases, depending on how much information the speaker wishes to supply. Thus, in 7d,

- (7d) Ak mla er a blil a Toki er a elii.
'I was at Toki's house yesterday.'

the first relational phrase is a **locational phrase**, while the second is a **temporal phrase**. Similarly, in 21b

- (21b) A John a mo er a Guam er a klukuk.
'John is going to Guam tomorrow.'

we observe a **directional phrase** followed by a **temporal phrase**.

Examples 7d and 21b above show that if a temporal phrase and some other kind of relational phrase occur together in the same sentence, the temporal phrase always comes second. This principle is further illustrated in the examples below, where a temporal phrase (in *italics*) is preceded by some other kind of relational phrase (in **bold type**):

- (37) a. *directional phrase designating characteristic goal + temporal phrase* (cf.25b):
A rehad a mle kako ad **er a kall** er se er a taem er a meke-mad.
'People fought over food during the war.'
b. *source phrase indicating place + temporal phrase* (cf.26c):
A Toki a rirebet **er a cheidukl** er a kesus e riros.
'Toki fell off of the dock last night and drowned.'
c. *source phrase indicating human being + temporal phrase* (cf.28a):
Ak milleng a udoud **er a Droteo** er a elii.
'I borrowed some money from Droteo yesterday.'
d. *cause phrase + temporal phrase*:
A rengelkek a mlo smeche er a **rektir a rehad** er a Dois er a elii.
'My children came down with the German measles yesterday.'

It is also possible for two kinds of temporal phrases to appear in the same sentence. In such cases, speakers prefer to place the temporal phrase indicating the frequency of occurrence, or the greater time span, in final position. Observe the examples below:

- (38) a. A rubak a me er a blik er a etiu el klok er a bek el tutau.
'The old man comes to my house at nine o'clock every morning.'
b. A John a mle er a euid el klok er a kesus.
'John arrived at seven o'clock last evening.'

Since Palauan sentences can contain more than one relational phrase, as we have just seen, the formulas for Palauan sentence types presented in 4 above must be modified, since they incorrectly imply that at most, only one relational phrase can appear in a given Palauan sentence. Thus, we will need to replace the formulas of 4 with something like the following:

- (39) a. subject noun phrase + transitive verb phrase (+ object noun phrase) (+ relational phrase)ⁿ

- f. A tede *er tir* a chiliis.
'Three of them escaped.'
- g. Ng chetik a omelmil a Droteo *er a rrom*.
'I dislike Droteo's drinking of liquor./I dislike the way Droteo drinks (so much) liquor.'
- h. Ng chetik a omengelir a rengalek *er a kiande*.⁴⁰
'I dislike the way the children are eating (so much) candy.'
- i. A tekoi *er* a Merikel a kmal $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{meringel} \\ \text{beot} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ *er a Droteo*.
'English is very $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{difficult} \\ \text{easy} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ for Droteo.'
- j. Tia el blai a $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{ungil} \\ \text{mekngit} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ *er ngak e le ng cheroid er a rechad*.
'This house is $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{good} \\ \text{bad} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ for me because it's far from people.'
- k. Ng ngar *er a mong*.
'It's further over there.'
- l. Ng ngar *er a mei*.
'It's closer this way.'
- m. Ng ngar *er a me mong*.
'It's further in back of me.'

The sentences above show the following further uses of relational phrases introduced by the relational word *er*: **means of communication** (43a), **price** (43b), **medium or material** (43c-d), **relationship of distance** (43e), **relationship of whole to part** (43f), **object** (43g-h), and **person affected** (43i-j). Examples 43k-m appear to contain locational phrases, but they are extremely unusual in that verb forms (the directional verbs *mo* or *me*—cf. chap. 13) follow *er* instead of the expected noun phrases.

15 Dependent Clauses

CHARACTERISTICS OF DEPENDENT CLAUSES

15.1. Palauan, like every other language, has many different grammatical patterns for combining relatively simple sentences into more complex ones. Such patterns of complex sentence formation allow speakers to express various types of relationships between what would otherwise be isolated or disconnected thoughts. Notice, for example, that the simple sentences of 1 and 2 below can be combined in two possible ways to yield the more complex sentences 3a and 3b:

- (1) A Droteo a ulëba a oluchës.
'Droteo had/was using a pencil.'
- (2) A Droteo a milluchës a babier.
'Droteo was writing a letter.'
- (3) a. A Droteo a ulëba a oluchës el meluchës a babier.
'Droteo was using a pencil to write a letter.'
- b. A Droteo a milluchës a babier el oba a oluchës.
'Droteo was writing a letter with a pencil.'

The formal difference between 3a and 3b results, of course, from combining the simple sentences 1 and 2 in opposite orders. This formal difference in turn accounts for an important difference in meaning, which we will briefly explain here (more discussion will be given below). In 3a, the second part of the sentence—namely, *el meluchës a babier* '(in order) to write a letter'—explains the **purpose** for which the subject (*Droteo*) used a pencil, which is the activity described in the first part of the sentence—*a Droteo a ulëba a oluchës* 'Droteo was using a pencil'. For this reason, the sequence *el meluchës a babier* of 3a will be called a **purpose clause**. In 3b, however, the second part of the sentence—namely, *el oba a oluchës* 'using a pencil, with a pencil'—does not explain the pur-

pose of the activity mentioned in the first part of the sentence. Instead, *el oba a oluchēs* specifies the **instrument** (*oluchēs* 'pencil') used in carrying out the activity expressed by *a Droteo a milluchēs a babier* 'Droteo was writing a letter'. For this reason, we will call sequences like *el oba a oluchēs* of 3b **instrument clauses**.

Although we will discuss and illustrate Palauan purpose clauses and instrument clauses in greater detail below, we now know enough about sentences 3a–b above to make the following observations. Even though 3a and 3b differ from each other in that the former contains a purpose clause and the latter contains an instrument clause, the two sentences nevertheless share some important features. First, the word *el* appears between the two parts of each sentence. Next, in the second part of each sentence—i.e., in both the purpose clause and the instrument clause—there is no overtly-expressed subject: that is, *el* is followed immediately by a verb form.¹ And, finally, the verb following *el* appears in the **present tense** (*mēluchēs* 'write' or *oba* 'use, have'), even though sentences 3a and 3b describe **past** actions.

In spite of the fact that the purpose and instrument clauses of 3a–b lack subjects as well as any marker for the past tense, the speaker of Palauan nevertheless knows exactly how to interpret the meaning of these sentences. In interpreting a sentence like 3b, for example, the speaker of Palauan automatically understands the subject of the instrument clause *el oba a oluchēs* 'using a pencil, with a pencil' to be identical to that of the first part of the sentence—namely, *Droteo*. In other words, it goes without saying that in 3b one and the same person—*Droteo*—was the writer of the letter and the user of the pencil.² Furthermore, the speaker knows that the time when the instrument (*oluchēs* 'pencil') was used is identical to that of the verb *milluchēs* 'wrote' in the first part of the sentence—namely, **past**.

To summarize our discussion in the paragraph above, we can see that even though the purpose and instrument clauses in 3a–b have no subject and no past tense marker, speakers nevertheless understand them as if they indeed did contain these two elements. This phenomenon is due to the fact that the speaker's correct interpretation of the purpose or instrument clause **depends on** (or is derived from) information found elsewhere in the sentence—i.e., in the preceding clause. In other words, the first part of the sentence tells the speaker what the (understood) subject and tense of the purpose or instrument clause should be. Because the correct interpretation of purpose and instrument clauses

therefore depends on information found in another part of the sentence, purpose and instrument clauses will be classified under the general term **dependent clause**. The word *el*, which appears at the beginning of every dependent clause, will be called a **dependent clause introducer**.

Examples 1–3 above therefore show that two simple Palauan sentences like 1 and 2 can be combined in such a way as to form more complex sentences like 3a–b. In the formation of complex sentences of this kind, one of the simple sentences 1 or 2 becomes a **dependent clause**, while the other becomes an **independent (or main) clause**. In sentences like 3a–b, the independent clause comes first and the dependent clause follows. The term "independent" is appropriate for the first clause in 3a–b since this clause, which contains a subject and a verb fully specified for tense, could occur alone—or independently—as a separate sentence of Palauan, as examples 1–2 prove. By contrast, dependent clauses cannot occur alone as separate sentences because they are incomplete or deficient, as we have seen above. Purpose clauses and instrument clauses are only two of many different types of Palauan dependent clauses, as we will see in the sections below.

PURPOSE CLAUSES

- 15.2. Any dependent clause which explains the **purpose** for which some action is performed is a **purpose clause**. In the (italicized) purpose clauses of the sentences below, there is no overtly-expressed subject, and the verb appears in the present tense even when the sentence designates a past activity or event:

- (4) a. A Droteo a $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ulēba} \\ \text{ulusbech} \end{array} \right\}$ a biskang *el omurēch ēr a ngikēl*.
 'Droteo $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{was using} \\ \text{needed} \end{array} \right\}$ a spear to spear the fish.'
- b. Ak ousbech a udoud *el mo mēchar a bail*.
 'I need money to (go) buy clothes.'
- c. Ak ulusbech ēr a Droteo *el mēruul ēr a sublēk*.
 'I needed Droteo to (help me) do my homework.'
- d. A Droteo a ngiluu a mlai *el mo mēchar a biang*.
 'Droteo took the car in order to go buy beer.'
- e. Kē okiu ker *el mo ēr a kēḍerang?*
 'What route do you take to get to the beach?'
- f. Ng ngar ēr ngii a bilem *el mo ēr a party?*
 'Do you have clothes to go to the party with?'

- g. Ng ngar ɛr ngii a bento ɛr kau *ɛl mo ɛr a chei*?
'Do you have your lunch for when you go fishing?'

In the sentences above, it is not difficult to understand why we classify the italicized dependent clauses as purpose clauses. In 4b, for instance, the dependent clause *ɛl mo mɛchar a bail* '(in order) to (go) buy clothes' explains the purpose for which the subject (*ak* 'I') needs the money. And in 4d, *ɛl mo mɛchar a biang* '(in order) to go buy beer' expresses the subject's purpose in using the car. Sentences 4f–g ask questions about the existence or availability of things which will serve a particular purpose or function: in 4f, the speaker wants to know if the hearer has proper clothes for the party, and in 4g, he wants to know if the hearer has brought along a lunch which he can eat while fishing.

PURPOSE CLAUSES CONTAINING DIRECTIONAL VERBS

- 15.2.1. Palauan sentences with purpose clauses often exhibit the following pattern: the independent clause contains one of the three directional verbs *me* 'come', *mo* 'go', or *eko* 'go' (cf. chap. 13), and the (dependent) purpose clause contains an expression of the form *directional verb + action verb* (cf. 13.3) in which the directional verb matches that of the independent clause. In the following sentences, which explain the subject's purpose in coming or going to a particular place, the two occurrences of a given directional verb have been italicized:

- (5) a. A sɛchɛlik a *me* ɛr a blik *ɛl me* mɛsuub.
'My friend is coming over to my house to study.'
b. Ng sɛbɛchek *ɛl eko* ɛr a blim *ɛl eko* rɛmuul a kall.
'I can come to your house to prepare the food.'
c. Ak *mlo* ɛr a kɛdɛra *ɛl mo* mɛngɛdub.
'I went to the beach in order to go swimming.'
d. A Droteo a *mlo* ɛr a stoa *ɛl mo* omɛchar a kall.
'Droteo went to the store to buy food.'
e. Ak *mo* ɛr a Siabal *ɛl mo* mɛsuub a tɛkoi ɛr a Siabal.
'I'm going to Japan in order to study Japanese.'

Even though the second occurrence of a given directional verb does not seem to add anything to the meaning of the purpose clauses in 5, it is nevertheless required if the sentence is to be grammatical. Thus, in sentences with the structure *independent clause + purpose clause*, any directional verb occurring in the independent clause must be repeated in the purpose clause. The

repeated directional verb found in the purpose clause appears in the present tense form, regardless of the time of the event which the sentence designates.

In view of the above discussion and material presented in 13.4, we can easily explain the difference in meaning between the following contrasting sentences:

- (6) a. Ak mo mɛruul a kall.
'I'm going to prepare the food.'
b. Ak mo (ɛr a blil a Toki) *ɛl mo* mɛruul a kall.
'I'm going (to Toki's house) in order to prepare the food.'

Since the directional verb *mo* 'go' is being used in 6a to designate **future** time, 6a is merely an assertion by the speaker that he plans (or intends) to prepare food in the relatively near future. In 6b, however, the activity of preparing the food is expressed in the **purpose clause** *ɛl mo mɛruul a kall* '(in order) to prepare the food'; therefore, 6b is a sentence in which the speaker explains his **purpose** in going somewhere (e.g. Toki's house). Because of this meaning difference, 6a might be an answer to a question like 'What are you going to do now?' whereas 6b would be a possible response to the question 'Why are you going (to Toki's house)?'

PURPOSE CLAUSES FOLLOWING NOUNS

- 15.2.2. As the sentences in 4–5 above show, Palauan purpose clauses normally occur in complex sentences following an independent clause. It is also possible for purpose clauses to appear following **noun phrases of possession** (cf. 3.7) containing the **possessed forms** of the nouns *techall* 'opportunity, chance' and *taem* 'time'. The sentences below contain possessed nouns like *techɛllek* 'my opportunity', *techɛllem* 'your opportunity', *temek* 'my time', *temel* 'his/her time', etc.; here, the **possessor suffixes** *-ek*, *-el*, *-em*, etc. identify the person who has the time or opportunity to do something:

- (7) a. Ng ngar ɛr ngii a temem *ɛl mo* milil ɛr a kɛbɛsɛngei?
'Do you have time to play this evening?'
b. Ng diak a temek *ɛl mo* ɛr a party.
'I don't have time to go to the party.'
c. Ng mo ɛr ngii a techɛllem *ɛl mo* ɛr a Siabal?
'Will you have a chance to go to Japan?'
d. Ng dimlak a techɛllel a Droteo *ɛl omes* ɛr a rɛsɛchɛlil.
'Droteo didn't get an opportunity to get together with his friends.'

- e. Ng di kea a techellek *el mo er a skuul*.
'I no longer have the opportunity to go to school.'

In the examples above, we interpret the italicized portions as purpose clauses because they explain the purpose to which some period of time is to be directed or devoted. Thus, in 7b, for instance, the speaker says he has no time which he can devote to going to the party; and in 7e, the speaker claims to have no opportunity (or free time) which he can direct towards the activity of going to school. As expected, the purpose clauses in 7 above always contain present tense verb forms, and they do not have any expressed subjects. Here, the understood subject of the purpose clause is interpreted as being identical to the person referred to by the particular possessor suffix attached to the nouns *techall* or *taem*. For example, in 7e, the person who no longer has the opportunity to go to school—namely, the speaker of the sentence ('I')—is the same as the person identified by the 1st pers. sg. possessor suffix *-ek* in the possessed noun *techellek* 'my opportunity/chance'.³

INSTRUMENT CLAUSES

- 15.3. Any dependent clause which identifies the **instrument** used to carry out a particular action or activity is called an **instrument clause**. Instrument clauses always contain the verb *oba* 'use/have/hold it'⁴ followed by a noun phrase object which names the instrument used. Thus, in 3b above, repeated here for convenience,

- (3b) A Droteo a milluchēs a babier *el oba a oluchēs*.
'Droteo was writing a letter with a pencil.'

the independent clause *a Droteo a milluchēs a babier* 'Droteo was writing a letter' is followed by the (dependent) instrument clause *el oba a oluchēs* 'using a pencil, with a pencil', in which *oba* 'use/have/hold it' happens to take the **instrument noun** *oluchēs* 'pencil' (cf. 8.6) as its object. Because the independent clause and the instrument clause in 3b both have their own verbs (*milluchēs* 'was writing' and *oba* 'use/have/hold it', respectively), the word-for-word equivalent for a sentence like 3b would be something like 'Droteo was writing a letter using/holding a pencil'. The most suitable English translation, however, uses a phrase introduced by (the **preposition**) *with*.

Recall that we have already used the term "instrument" in our discussion of a particular type of Palauan **noun derivation**:

thus, in 8.6 we saw that Palauan **instrument nouns** are derived by replacing the verb marker of an imperfective verb form with the prefix *o-*, as in *mēluchēs* 'write'—*oluchēs* 'pencil', *mēles* 'cut'—*oles* 'knife', etc. In our present discussion, we are using the term "instrument" in a somewhat less technical sense, since Palauan instrument clauses do not necessarily have to contain an instrument noun in *o-* as does the instrument clause in 3b. Thus, in the sentences below, the italicized instrument clauses contain words like *taod* 'fork', *biskang* 'spear', etc., which are not instrument nouns in the technical sense defined above but which nevertheless identify the "instrument" (tool, utensil, etc.) with which a particular activity or task is performed:

- (8) a. A Droteo a mēnga a ngikēl *el oba a* $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \textit{taod} \\ \textit{chimal} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$.
'Droteo is eating the fish with $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{a fork} \\ \text{his hand} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$.'
- b. Ak $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{milkodir} \\ \text{ulēmurech} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ a ngikēl *el oba a biskang*.
'I $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{killed} \\ \text{spearred} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ a fish with a spear.'
- c. Ak milēngiis er a kliokl *el oba a sebel*.
'I was digging the hole with a shovel.'
- d. A Droteo a chillebed a bilis *el oba a kērrekar*.
'Droteo hit the dogs with a stick.'
- e. A Droteo ng millēkosēk er a tech *el oba a ngarang?*
'What was Droteo cutting the meat with?'
- f. A rēchad er a Sina a omēngur *el olab a hasi*.
'The Chinese eat with chopsticks.'
- g. A rēngalēk er a skuul a mēruul a subēlir *el olab a manneng*.
'The students do their homework with fountain pens.'

As the above examples show, the instrument involved is normally something inanimate (i.e., non-living) such as a spear, a shovel, etc.; but once in a while, some part of the body such as the hand (*chimal* of 8a) can function as the instrument. Example 8e is a question about what instrument the subject (*Droteo*) was using to cut the meat—hence, the occurrence of the question word *ngara* 'what?' as object of *oba* in the instrument clause. The instrument clauses of 8 of course show the two major defining characteristics of Palauan dependent clauses: first, they have no overtly-expressed subject; and second, they have present tense verb forms, even when the sentence describes a past action or activity, as in 8b–e.

PURPOSE AND INSTRUMENT CLAUSES WITH PAST TENSE VERB FORMS

15.4. In the sections above, we emphasized the fact that Palauan purpose and instrument clauses normally have present tense verb forms, even when the verb of the preceding independent clause is in the past tense and therefore indicates a past event. A considerable number of Palauan speakers, however, can use sentences in which the verb of both the independent clause and the following purpose or instrument clause appears in the past tense. As a typical example, observe the pair of sentences below, which have a purpose clause:

- (9) a. Ak ulęba a sebęl ęl męngiis ęr a kliokl.
'I was using a shovel to dig the hole.'
b. Ak ulęba a sebęl ęl milęngiis ęr a kliokl.
'I used a shovel to dig the hole.'

The only formal difference between 9a and 9b above is that the tense of the verb in the dependent clause is **present** vs. **past**, respectively. While some speakers think that 9a and 9b are identical in meaning, others feel there is a rather subtle difference between them, which we will attempt to explain below.

In a sentence like 9a, the speaker uses the present tense form of *męngiis* 'dig' in the purpose clause if he considers the action involved to have been in progress when some other past event occurred. In 9a, this interrupting or coinciding past event is merely implied, but not expressed; if we wish to express such an event, we can put 9a in the context of a **time clause** (see 22.2) like *er se ęr a lęme a Droteo* 'when Droteo came', as in the following:

- (9a') Ak ulęba a sebęl ęl męngiis ęr a kliokl er se ęr a lęme a Droteo.
'I was using a shovel to dig the hole when Droteo came by.'

As opposed to 9a, example 9b contains the past tense form of *męngiis* 'dig' in the purpose clause. Here, the speaker views the action involved as a total, completed experience, and no reference is made to some other event which may have interrupted it or coincided with it. Thus, while 9a would be an answer to a question like 'What were you using to dig the hole when Droteo saw you yesterday?' 9b is simply an answer to the question 'What did you use to dig the hole yesterday?' Furthermore, since 9b seems to focus on a total, completed event, it would be strange to place it in the context of a time clause like *er se ęr a lęme a Droteo* 'when Droteo came', which draws our attention to a past action as it was

in progress. Thus, while 9a' above is a natural sentence, the following is contradictory and unacceptable (hence, no English equivalent is given):⁵

- (9b') ??Ak ulęba a sebęl ęl milęngiis ęr a kliokl er se ęr a lęme a Droteo.

MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION CLAUSES

15.5. Any dependent clause which specifies the **means of transportation** used to move from one location to another can be called a **means of transportation clause**. Dependent clauses of this type always contain the **existential verb** *ngar* 'exist, be (located)' (see 18.2), followed by a **locational phrase** (cf. 14.2). The locational phrase after *ngar* consists of the relational word *ęr* followed by a noun phrase which names any kind of vehicle—e.g., car, train, boat, etc. The following sentences contain typical means of transportation clauses:

- (10) a. Ak mlo ęr a Siabal ęl ngar ęr a skoki.
'I went to Japan by plane.'
b. A Droteo a blęchoel ęl mo ęr a skuul ęl ngar ęr a sidosia.
'Droteo always goes to school by car.'
c. A Masaharu a mlo ęr a Merikel ęl ngar ęr a diall.
'Masaharu went/has gone to America by ship.'

Because the independent clause and the means of transportation clause in the sentences above both have their own verbs, a sentence like 10a would have a word-for-word equivalent something like 'I went to Japan being in a plane.' Such a sentence is of course unacceptable in English, which must use a phrase introduced with (the preposition) *by* to express the means of transportation.

Notice that the order of clauses can be reversed in the sentences of 10 above. Thus, in addition to 10a, we can have the following sentence, which is identical in meaning:

- (11) Ak mla ęr a skoki ęl mo ęr a Siabal.
'(lit.) I was in a plane going to Japan.' = 'I went to Japan by plane.'

The dependent clause *ęl mo ęr a Siabal* 'going to Japan' in 11 is best classified as a **specifying clause** (see 15.7 below).

Like the purpose and instrument clauses discussed in 15.2–3 above, the means of transportation clauses in 10 have no overtly-expressed subject. As expected, the subject of the means of trans-

portation clause is understood to be identical to that of the preceding independent clause. Furthermore, the existential verb *ngar* 'exist, be (located)' appears in the present tense in examples like 10a and 10c, even though the event in question occurred in the past. Some Palauan speakers can also use means of transportation clauses containing the past tense form of the existential verb *ngar*; thus, with 10c, compare the following sentence:

- (12) A Masaharu a mlo er a Merikel el mla er a diall.
'Masaharu went to America by ship.'

For those speakers who feel there is a meaning distinction between 10c and 12, the difference in interpretation resembles that mentioned in 15.4 above with reference to purpose and instrument clauses. Thus, in 10c, use of the present tense form *ngar* 'exist, be (located)' in the dependent clause refers to some state which is still in progress and not yet finished. Therefore, 10c implies that the subject (*Masaharu*) is still on the ship traveling to America. In 12, however, the past tense form *mla* 'existed, was (located)' indicates that the speaker views the state of being on the ship as a total, completed experience. For this reason, 12 implies that *Masaharu* is no longer on the ship, but has already reached his destination.

The following sentence asks a question about the means of transportation used; therefore, the question word *ngara* 'what?' appears in the locational phrase following *ngar*:

- (13) Ng mlo er a skuul el ngar er a ngarang?
'How did he go to school?'

ACCOMPANIMENT CLAUSES

- 15.6. Any dependent clause which identifies the person with whom some action or activity is being done is termed an **accompaniment clause**. Palauan accompaniment clauses always contain the very special word *obengkel* 'be together with', which expresses the idea of accompaniment. The term "accompaniment" refers to a relationship between human beings (or, sometimes, animals) such that the individuals involved are doing something together—i.e., in the same place and at the same time. The word *obengkel* is unique in Palauan in that it has the characteristics of both a **verb** and a **noun**. Just like any verb in *o-*, *obengkel* has a past tense form in *ul(ə)-*—namely, *uləbengkel* 'was together with' (cf. 5.3.2); furthermore, its distribution is like that of verbs, since it directly follows

the subject of the sentence (see 14 below). At the same time, however, *obengkel* behaves like an **obligatorily possessed noun** (cf. 3.5) because it must always contain a **possessor suffix**; this possessor suffix agrees in person and number with the person who is accompanying the subject in the pursuit of a particular activity. The characteristics of *obengkel* described above are illustrated in the following simple sentences:

- (14) a. Ak uləbengkel a Toki er a elii.
'I was with Toki yesterday.'
b. Ak uləbengktərir⁶ a rəşəchəlik er a elii.
'I was with my friends yesterday.'

In both 14a and 14b, the "accompaniment" word *obengkel* appears in its past tense form. In each sentence, however, the possessor suffix on *obengkel* is different because it must agree in person and number with whoever accompanied the subject (*ak* 'I') in performing the activity. Thus, in 14a, the possessor suffix *-el* agrees with the 3rd pers. sg. noun *Toki*, while in 14b, the possessor suffix *-tərir* agrees with the 3rd pers. human pl. noun *rəşəchəlik* 'my friends'. Except for the fact that the *o-* of *obengkel* changes to *ul(ə)-* in the past tense, phrases like *uləbengkel a Toki* 'together with Toki, in Toki's presence' and *uləbengktərir a rəşəchəlik* 'together with my friends, in my friends' presence' of 14 seem to be no different from the **noun phrases of characterization** discussed in 3.7.

In the sentences below, the special word *obengkel* occurs in the italicized accompaniment clause introduced by *el*:

- (15) a. Ak mlo er a kədəra el *obengkel a Droteo*.
'I went to the beach with Droteo.'
b. Ng səbəchem el mo el *obengkel*?
'Can you go with me?'
c. Ak mililil el *obengktərir a rəşəchəlik*.
'I was playing with my friends.'
d. Ng soak el mo mənəgdub el *obengkem*.
'I want to go swimming with you.'

The order of clauses can be switched in the examples of 15 above. Thus, in addition to 15a, we can have the following sentence, which has the same meaning:

- (16) Ak uləbengkel a Droteo el mo er a kədərang.
'(lit.) I was together with Droteo going to the beach.' = 'I went to the beach with Droteo.'

As we will see in 15.7 below, the dependent clause in 16 is a type of **specifying clause**.

Like the other kinds of dependent clauses described in the sections above, accompaniment clauses never have an overtly-expressed subject. In addition, the accompaniment word *obəngkel* can appear in the present tense, even when the whole sentence involves a past action or event, as in 15a and 15c above. For some speakers, there is a contrast between the use of the present vs. past tense form of *obəngkel* in the dependent clause. Thus, with 15c, for instance, compare the sentence below:

- (17) Ak mililil ɛl uləbəngktərir a rəşəçhəlik.
'I played with my friends.'

The difference in meaning between 15c and 17 should now be familiar to us: while 15c implies that the subject (*ak* 'I') was playing with his friends when some other interrupting or coinciding event occurred, 17 describes a past event as a totality without reference to any other intervening event. For this reason, 15c could be an answer to a question like 'What were you doing when Droteo came?' and could occur in the following context:

- (15c) Ak mililil ɛl obəngktərir a rəşəçhəlik er se ɛr a ləme a Droteo.
'I was playing with my friends when Droteo came.'

By contrast, 17 would be an answer to a question like 'What did you do (yesterday)?'. Therefore, putting it in the context supplied by 15c' would result in an "illogical" sentence:

- (17) ?? Ak mililil ɛl uləbəngktərir a rəşəçhəlik er se ɛr a ləme a Droteo.

In order to ask a question about who accompanied someone in doing something, we use an accompaniment clause containing the question word *təcha* 'who?', as in the following:

- (18) Kə mlo ɛr a party ɛl obəngkel təchang?
'Whom did you go to the party with?'

SPECIFYING CLAUSES

15.7. So far we have classified Palauan dependent clauses into four types (purpose, instrument, means of transportation, and accompaniment) on the basis of the particular kinds of meanings they convey. This convenient classification should not prevent us from recognizing that the four types of clauses are basically very

similar in function. All of them have the common function of **specifying, qualifying, or giving further information** about the action, activity, or event of the preceding independent clause. Thus, in 8b, for example, the instrument clause *ɛl oba a biskang* 'using a spear, with a spear' provides us with further information about the subject's killing of the fish by telling us what he killed it with; and in 15a the accompaniment clause *ɛl obəngkel a Droteo* 'together with Droteo' specifies or narrows down the scope of the action of the independent clause—the subject's going to the beach—by telling us who accompanied the subject to the beach. Thus, the four types of dependent clauses discussed in the sections above could all be identified by the broader "cover" term **specifying clause**. We will restrict our use of this term, however, to any dependent clause which, while fulfilling the rather general function of specifying or narrowing down the scope of the action or state of the preceding independent clause, nevertheless cannot be conveniently assigned to any of the four categories of dependent clauses described above. The use of such specifying clauses is illustrated in the following examples:

- (19) a. A Droteo a ulureor ɛl mənəşbrebər a blai.
'Droteo was working/used to work painting houses.'
b. A səçhəlik a mla ɛr a diall ɛl me ɛr a Belau.
'(lit.) My friend was in a ship coming to Palau.' = 'My friend came to Palau by ship.'
c. A Toki a uləbəngkel a Droteo ɛl mo ɛr a party.
'(lit.) Toki was together with Droteo going to the party.'
= 'Toki went to the party with Droteo.'
d. A Toki a mle dənəchokl ɛl kmeed ɛr a Droteo.
'Toki was seated near Droteo.'

In 19a, the italicized specifying clause **narrows down or limits** the scope of the action of working expressed in the independent clause: in other words, *ɛl mənəşbrebər a blai* 'painting houses' describes the particular kind of work involved. In 19b-d, the specifying clauses all serve to narrow down the scope of various **states** described by the independent clauses. Thus, in 19b, *ɛl me ɛr a Belau* 'coming to Palau' explains the circumstances under which the subject (*səçhəlik* 'my friend') was on the ship, while in 19c *ɛl mo ɛr a party* 'going to the party' clarifies the circumstances under which the subject (*Toki*) was with Droteo. Finally, in 19d, *ɛl kmeed ɛr a Droteo* 'near Droteo' gives us specific information about where the subject (*Toki*) was seated.

The grammatical characteristics of the specifying clauses in 19 above are identical to those of the other dependent clauses so far examined; in addition, some speakers can use specifying clauses containing past tense verb forms, with the expected difference in meaning. Since we have mentioned these phenomena so many times in the sections above, no further discussion will be necessary here.⁷

SPECIFYING CLAUSES CONTAINING DIRECTIONAL VERBS

- 15.7.1. There are many Palauan sentences in which an independent clause containing a verb indicating **movement** is followed by a specifying clause containing one of the three **directional verbs** *me* 'come', *mo* 'go', or *eko* 'go' (cf. chap. 13). In such sentences, the specifying clause narrows down the scope of the action designated in the preceding independent clause by indicating the **direction of movement**. As we saw in 14.3, verbs involving movement are of two types: **intransitive** movement verbs like *məraəl* 'walk, travel', *remurt* 'run', etc. simply describe how someone or something moves from one location to another, while **transitive** movement verbs like *oba* 'carry, bring, take' and *məlai* 'bring, take'⁸ describe how some person or thing is transferred from one location to another.

In the examples below, the specifying clauses containing directional verbs follow independent clauses which have intransitive movement verbs:

- (20) a. Ak mirraəl ɛl mo ɛr a Belau.
'I travelled to Palau.'
b. A Droteo a məraəl ɛl mo ɛr a stoang.
'Droteo is walking to the store.'
c. A Toki a rirurt ɛl me ɛr a blik.
'Toki ran to my house.'
d. Ng səbəchem ɛl riðekəl ɛl mo ɛr a bitang?
'Can you jump to the other side?'

The sentences below are similar to those of 20 except that they also contain a **source phrase** (cf. 14.4), which tells us the place where the movement began or originated:

- (21) a. A katuu a rirəðekəl ɛr a çəðəuəl a blik ɛl mo ɛr a kərrekar.
'The cat jumped from the roof of my house into the tree.'
b. Ak mirraəl ɛr a katsudokang ɛl mo ɛr a kəðərang.
'I walked from the theater to the beach.'

Since the examples of 20–21 contain two clauses and therefore two verbs, their word-for-word translations are rather different from the English equivalents given. Thus, a sentence like 20c means, literally, 'Toki ran coming to my house'. In the English equivalent, the directional verb *me* 'come' of the specifying clause is not translated, and the (prepositional) phrase *to my house* suffices to convey the meaning. Note, further, that the specifying clause structure is essential to the meaning of the sentences in 20. Thus, if we remove *ɛl me* from 20c, we get the following sentence, which is quite different in meaning:

- (22) A Toki a rirurt ɛr a blik. 'Toki was running at my house.'

Here, the relational phrase *ɛr a blik* 'at my house' tells where the action of running took place and therefore should be classified as a **locational phrase** (cf. our discussion in chap. 14, note 22).

The following sentences resemble those of 20 except that the independent clause contains a transitive movement verb. For ease of reference, the object of the transitive movement verb has been italicized:

- (23) a. Ak ullab a *iluməl* ɛl mo ɛr a party.
'I brought drinks to the party (as my share/contribution).'
b. Ng tɛcha a ulɛba a *John* ɛl eko ɛr a blim?
'Who took John to your house?'
c. A Droteo a ngilai a *iluməl* ɛl me ɛr a party.
'Droteo brought/carried the drinks to the party.'
d. Ak nguu a *bəçhik* ɛl mo ɛr a oçəraol.
'I'm taking my wife to the money-raising party.'
e. Ak ngoititərir a *rəşəçhəlik* ɛl mo ɛr a oçəraol.
'I'm taking my friends to the money-raising party.'
f. Ng soak ɛl oldurokl ɛr a *ngələkek* ɛl mo ɛr a Merikel.
'I want to send my child to America.'
g. A sensei a ulduruklii a *dempo* ɛl mo ɛr a Saibal.
'The teacher sent the telegram to Saipan.'

As the above examples show, the transitive movement verbs *oba* 'carry, bring, take', *məlai* 'bring, take', and *oldurokl* 'send' can take either human or non-human objects. The specifying clause structure is required in the sentences of 23 to express the desired meaning of transferring someone or something from one location to another. Thus, if we attempt to remove *ɛl me* from a sentence like 23c, we get the following, whose meaning is very different:

- (24) A Droteo a ngilai a *iluməl ər a party*.
'Droteo brought party-drinks.'

Here, the object of *ngilai* 'brought' is the **noun phrase of characterization** *iluməl ər a party* 'party-drinks', which consists of the noun *iluməl* 'drink' followed by the **characterizational phrase** *ər a party* 'for the party' (cf. 3.7–9).

SPECIFYING CLAUSES FOLLOWING *Imuut*

- 15.7.2. A common Palauan sentence type involves a specifying clause preceded by an independent clause containing the intransitive action verb *Imuut* 'return'. In the sentences below, the specifying clause has a directional verb:

- (25) a. A Droteo a *Imuut əl mo ər a Belau ər a klukuk*.
'Droteo is going back to Palau tomorrow.'
b. A John a *liluut əl me ər a Hawaii ər a elii*.
'John came back to Hawaii yesterday.'

In the examples of 25, the specifying clause simply clarifies whether the place to which the subject is returning is in a direction away from (as in 25a) or towards (as in 25b) the speaker's location.

It is also possible to have examples like 25 above in which any action verb at all occurs in the specifying clause. In such cases, the verb *Imuut* conveys the more general meaning 'do (something) again/a second time'. Some typical sentences are now given:

- (26) a. Ak *liluut əl mēnguui ər a hong*.
'I reread the book.'
b. A *delmērab ər ngak a kikiongəl mē a Toki a Imuut əl me mēngētmokl ər ngii*.
'My room's dirty, so Toki will come clean it up again.'
c. Ak *liluut əl dmu ər a Droteo əl ua se ng diak lšēbēchek əl mong*.
'I repeated to Droteo that I cannot go.'

SPECIFYING CLAUSES FOLLOWING *dmak*

- 15.7.3. In 15.6 above, we examined sentences like the following, which express accompaniment:

- (27) A Toki a *mlo ər a kēdēra əl obēngkel a Droteo*.
'Toki went to the beach with Droteo.'

Recall that the italicized **accompaniment clause** in 27 contains the

unusual word *obēngkel* 'be together with'. Now, with 27, compare the following sentence, which is quite similar in meaning:

- (28) A Toki mē a Droteo a *dilak əl mo ər a kēdērang*.
'Toki and Droteo went to the beach together.'

In 28, the italicized specifying clause is preceded by an independent clause containing the intransitive verb *dmak* 'be together' (past: *dilak*). Both 27 and 28 imply that two persons (*Toki* and *Droteo*) carried out the same activity (going to the beach) in each other's company—i.e., at the same time and in the same place. The only difference between the two sentences involves where the speaker's attention or interest is focused. Thus, in 27, the speaker is interested mainly in Toki's activities—that is, in what happened from Toki's point of view; in 28, however, the speaker is focusing more or less equal attention on the two individuals involved. The sentences below are similar in structure and interpretation to 28; the italicized specifying clause tells us what activity the subjects did in each other's company:

- (29) a. A Toki mē a Droteo a *dmak əl mēsuub ər a library*.
'Toki and Droteo are studying together at the library.'
b. A *rēšēchēlik a dilak əl mēngiis ər a kliokl*.
'My friends were digging the hole together.'

As the sentences of 28 and 29 show, the subject of *dmak* 'be together' must always be **plural**: thus, in 28 and 29a, the two nouns *Toki* and *Droteo* are joined by the **connecting word** *mē* 'and' (see 25.4) to form a plural subject, and in 29b, the plural prefix *rē-* (cf. 2.5) in *rēšēchēlik* 'my friends' indicates that this word refers to two (or more) individuals. A similar restriction concerning the subjects of **reciprocal verbs** was observed in 10.1.

Different in meaning from 29a above is the following sentence:

- (30) A Toki mē a Droteo a *mēsuub ər a library əl terung*.
'Toki and Droteo are both studying at the library.'

While 29 implies that Toki and Droteo are studying at the library in each other's company (sitting side-by-side, etc.), 30 simply states that both persons are at the library studying, not necessarily in each other's company. In 30, the implication that both Toki and Droteo are studying at the library **individually** is supplied by the specifying clause *əl teru* '(lit.) as two (people)', in which the **number word** *teru* refers to two human beings (see 24.4, ex. 27).

The contrast in meaning between 29a and 30 is observed in the following pairs of sentences as well:

- (31) a. A reŋgaŋek a dilak el reŋmurt.
'The children were running together.'
b. A reŋgaŋek a rirurt el terung.
'The children were both running.'
- (32) a. Aki dmak el meŋekoi a teŋkoi er a Merikel.
'We speak English simultaneously/all together (during a language drill, etc.).'
b. Ng seŋbeŋham el meŋekoi a teŋkoi er a Merikel el tedei.
'The three of us can speak English.'

While 31a means that the children were running together (side-by-side), 31b simply says that each of the two children was running (possibly in different directions). Similarly, while 32a implies that the several persons represented by the subject *aki* 'we' repeat words or sentences of English in unison (as part of a language drill, etc.), 32b has no connotation of simultaneous performance of the same action and merely says that the three persons are able to speak English.

The following sentences further illustrate the use of specifying clauses containing number words referring to human beings:

- (33) a. A Toki meŋ a Droteo a smeŋer el terung.
'Both Toki and Droteo are sick.'
b. Ak mlo er a keŋera el di ngak el tang.
'I went to the beach alone.'

In 33a, the specifying clause *el teru* '(lit.) as two (people)' simply states that each of the subjects (*Toki* and *Droteo*) is sick. And in 33b, the succession of specifying clauses *el di ngak* '(lit.) as only myself' and *el ta* '(lit.) as one (person)' implies the participation of only one person—namely, *ak* 'I'—in the activity of going to the beach.⁹

SPECIFYING CLAUSES CONTAINING THE PERFECTIVE FORMS OF *meŋkui*

15.7.4. In 4.9 and 4.9.1–2 we saw that Palauan perfective verb forms show different **object pronoun** suffixes depending on the person and number of the object. Observe, therefore, the contrasting (past) perfective forms of *meŋlim* 'drink' in the following sentences:

- (34) a. Ak ngilɛlmii a biang.
'I drank up the bottle of beer.'

- b. Ak ngilim a biang.
'I drank up the bottles of beer.'

Since both 34a and 34b contain perfective verb forms, they designate a completed past event involving the total consumption of the object *biang* 'beer' (cf. 12.1). What differentiates them is whether the object is interpreted as **singular** or **plural**: thus, in 34a, the object pronoun suffix *-ii* on *ngilɛlmii* 'drank it up' refers to a singular object ('bottle of beer'), while in 34b, the \emptyset (zero) object pronoun suffix on *ngilim* 'drank them up' implies a plural object ('bottles of beer').

Now, with 34a-b compare the following sentences:

- (35) a. Ak ngilɛlmii a biang el rokir.
'I drank up the whole bottle of beer.'
b. Ak ngilim a biang el rokui.
'I drank up all the bottles of beer.'

In 35a-b, the addition of the specifying clauses *el rokir* and *el rokui* places special emphasis on the fact that the action of drinking the beer expressed in the independent clause was performed in an exhaustive manner—that is, in a manner resulting in the total consumption of all the beer (one bottle or several bottles) that was available. Most Palauan speakers feel there is no difference in meaning, except for emphasis, between 34a and 35a, and between 34b and 35b.

As the pair of examples in 35 shows, the specifying clause *el rokir* must be used when a **singular** object is involved, while *el rokui* is required with a **plural** object. Therefore, *el rokir* always follows independent clauses containing 3rd pers. sg. object perfective verb forms (e.g. *ngilɛlmii* 'drank it up' of 35a), while *el rokui* follows independent clauses with 3rd pers. pl. (non-human) object perfective verb forms (e.g. *ngilim* 'drank them up' of 35b). Further pairs like 35a-b are listed below:

- (36) a. Keŋ mla chuiɛuii a hong er kau el rokir?
'Have you read all your book?'
b. Keŋ mla cheŋmiiu a hong er kau el rokui?
'Have you read all your books?'
- (37) a. A Droteo a lilɛheŋsii a babier el rokir.
'Droteo wrote the letter completely.'
b. A Droteo a lilucheŋ a babier el rokui.
'Droteo wrote all the letters completely.'

In examples 35–37 above, the specifying clauses *el rokir*

- (47) a. A Droteo a mlo ɟr a Guam ɛl $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ede ɛl klɛbɛsei} \\ \text{ta ɛl buil} \end{array} \right\}$.
 'Droteo went to Guam for $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{three days} \\ \text{one month} \end{array} \right\}$.
 b. A Toki a mla ɟr a Merikel ɛl ta ɛl rak.
 'Toki was in America for one year.'
 c. Ak mlsuub ɟr a Siabal ɛl eru ɛl buil.
 'I studied in Japan for two months.'

- d. A Toki a milęchiuaiu el ta el sils.
'Toki slept the whole day.'

If a period of time is expressed in terms of a beginning point and an end (or termination) point, we use a **temporal phrase** to indicate the former (cf. 14.6) and a specifying clause of the form *el + mo + temporal phrase* 'until' to indicate the latter. Observe the sentences below:

- (48) a. Ak mla er a beluak er a kot el ureor el mo (er a) sabadong.
'I was in my village from Monday until Saturday.'
b. A Toki a męęętmokl er a blik er a etiu el klok el mo (er a) teruich el klok.
'Toki cleans my house from nine o'clock until ten o'clock.'

In the sentences above, the italicized temporal phrases designate the "source" in time—i.e., the time point when some activity or state begins. In the directly following specifying clause, the directional verb *mo* 'go' is used to indicate "movement across time" from an earlier time point to a later one (cf. our discussion at the end of 13.4), and the *er a* portion of the temporal phrase can be optionally deleted.

When the speaker is interested only in the termination point of some activity or state, he can simply use a specifying clause of the form *el + mo + temporal phrase* 'until', as in the sentences below:

- (49) a. Ak mo kie er tia el mo (er a) sabadong.
'I'll be (living) here until Saturday.'
b. Ke milękar el mo (er a) tela el klok er a kęsus?
'Until what time were you up last night?'
c. Kau a chęrręuek el mo er a kodall.
'You're my enemy until death.'

SPECIFYING CLAUSES IN SENTENCES DESIGNATING MANNER

- 15.7.6. Specifying clauses are also frequently used in sentences which describe the **manner** or way in which some activity is done. Usually, the independent clause contains a state verb designating a particular quality, and the following specifying clause identifies the action or activity which is characterized by this quality. Observe the following examples:

- (50) a. A Santos a dachęlbai el męlasęch a mlai.
'Santos is skilled in carving canoes.'

- b. A Droteo a $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{bękerurt} \\ \text{bękętimęl} \end{smallmatrix} \right\} \text{el męęikai.}$
'Droteo is a $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{fast} \\ \text{slow} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ swimmer.'
c. A Droteo a mle $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{męrechęd} \\ \text{meoud} \end{smallmatrix} \right\} \text{el mo er a blil a Toki.}$
'Droteo arrived $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{early} \\ \text{late} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ at Toki's house.'
d. A Droteo a mle $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{klou} \\ \text{kekęre} \end{smallmatrix} \right\} \text{a nęęrel el męęitakl.}$
'Droteo was singing $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{loudly} \\ \text{softly} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$.'
e. A Toki a kmal mle męringęl el oureor.
'Toki was working very hard.'
f. A Toki a mle ungil el ngotęchii a mlai.
'Toki did a good job cleaning the car.'

In 50a, the state verb *dachęlbai* 'skilled' names a quality of the subject (*Santos*), and the following italicized specifying clause designates the activity to which that quality applies. Similarly, in 50d, the expressions *mle klou a nęęrel* '(lit.) his voice was big' and *mle kekęre a nęęrel* '(lit.) his voice was small' describe qualities which characterize the action of singing denoted by the specifying clause. All of the remaining examples of 50 can be explained in a parallel way.

Often, speakers can switch the order of clauses in sentences like those of 50, giving the following, whose meanings are essentially the same:

- (50c') A Droteo a milęęitakl el (mle) $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{klou} \\ \text{kekęre} \end{smallmatrix} \right\} \text{a nęęrel.}$
'Droteo was singing $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{loudly} \\ \text{softly} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$.'
(50d') A Toki a ulureor el kmal (mle) męringęl.
'Toki was working very hard.'

Notice the optionality of the past tense auxiliary word *mle* preceding the state verb of the specifying clause.

SPECIFYING CLAUSES FOLLOWING SPECIAL VERBS

- 15.7.7. There are a small number of special verbs in Palauan which always must be followed by a specifying clause. These verbs are unusual in that they denote rather abstract concepts which we would not ordinarily expect to be expressed by verb forms. Observe, for example, the sentence below:

- (51) Ak bləchoel ɛl mɛruul a kɛlɛl a Droteo.
'I always prepare Droteo's food.'

Even though it translates as English 'always', the word *bləchoel* of 51 seems to be a verb because it is preceded by a subject (*ak* 'I') and followed by a specifying clause.¹¹ This specifying clause (italicized) identifies the activity which the subject is always pursuing. Further evidence that *bləchoel* is a verb—more specifically, a **state verb**—is seen in the fact that it takes the auxiliary word *mle* in the past tense (cf. 5.1.3), as the following examples show:

- (52) a. Ak mle bləchoel ɛl mo ɛr a che ɛl obɛŋkel a dɛmak.
'I always used to go fishing with my father.'
b. A Droteo a mle bləchoel ɛl mɛlɛŋ a udoud.
'Droteo always used to borrow money.'

Some further sentences containing *bləchoel* are given below:

- (53) a. Ng bləchoel ɛl ngmasɛɕ a rɛŋgum.
'You're always getting angry.'
b. A Droteo mɛ a Toki a bləchoel ɛl kaungɛroel.
'Droteo and Toki are always quarreling with each other.'
c. A rɛmɛsaik a bləchoel ɛl diak a kɛlir.
'Those who are lazy are always running out of food.'
d. A John a bləchoel ɛl diak losuub.
'John never studies.'

In the examples below, we illustrate the use of several other unusual verbs which resemble *bləchoel* 'always':

- (54) (*dɪ*) tɛlkib '(only) a little':
a. Ak dɪ tɛlkib ɛl sɛbɛɕhek ɛl mɛŋgɛdɛɕɛdɛuch.
'I can only talk a little.'
b. Ak mle tɛlkib ɛl smɛɕɛr ɛr a elii.
'I was a bit sick yesterday.'
- (55) *dirrek* 'also':
a. Ak dirrek ɛl mɛsuub a tɛkoi ɛr a Siabal.
'I'm also studying Japanese.'
b. A Droteo a dirrek ɛl sensei.
'Droteo is also a teacher.'
c. A Toki ng dirrek ɛl mong?
'Is Toki going too?'

- (56) *ko* 'just':
a. A Toki a ko ɛl rɔŋɛsa a chais.
'Toki has just heard the news.'
b. Ak ko ɛl mɛsubang.
'I've just gotten (a chance) to study.'

In 56a–b, the specifying clause following *ko* 'just' contains an **inchoative** verb form (cf. 11.12.3).

16 Object Clauses

STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF OBJECT CLAUSES

16.1. In 5.1.1 we pointed out that Palauan **transitive verbs** name actions which involve a **doer** and a **receiver**. The receiver—the person, animal, or thing affected by the action in question—appears as the **sentence object** following the transitive verb. You should have no trouble identifying the noun phrases which function as sentence objects in the examples below:

- (1) a. Ak milsa a Droteo er a party.
'I saw Droteo at the party.'
- b. A buik a mo omeka er a bilis.
'The boy will feed the dog.'
- c. Ak lilengir a mlil a Droteo.
'I borrowed Droteo's car.'
- d. A John a milengitakl a chlitakl er a Siabal.
'John was singing Japanese songs.'

The transitive verbs in 1 can only take **concrete** nouns as objects; thus, all of the objects in the examples above can be easily perceived by one or more of our five senses (sight, hearing, touch, taste, and smell).

There is an important class of Palauan transitive verbs which can take both concrete objects and objects describing actions or activities. Compare the a- and b-sentences in the examples below:

- (2) a. Ak mla mo merék er a subelek.
'I have finished my homework.'
- b. Ak mla mo merék *el meruul a kall*.
'I have finished preparing the food.'
- (3) a. A Droteo a milsuub a tekoi er a Merikel.
'Droteo was studying English.'
- b. A Droteo a milsuub *el meruul a mlai* er a demal.
'Droteo learned how to make canoes from his father.'

While the objects of *mo merék* 'finish, stop' and *meksuub* 'study, learn' in the a-sentences above are concrete (*subelek* 'my homework' and *tekoi er a Merikel* 'English'), the objects of these same verbs in the b-sentences designate certain actions or activities—preparing food, making canoes—rather than things. In the a-sentences, the objects of *mo merék* 'finish, stop' and *meksuub* 'study, learn' are simply **noun phrases**, preceded by the word *a* (cf. 2.6), and, if appropriate, by the **specifying word** *er* (cf. 2.7). By contrast, the italicized objects in the b-sentences have the structure of **dependent clauses**, as we will see below.

In discussing the grammatical characteristics of Palauan dependent clauses, we mentioned in 15.1 that dependent clauses are incomplete or deficient in two important respects. First of all, dependent clauses never contain an overtly-expressed subject; and second, the verb of the dependent clause can be in the present tense, even when the verb of the preceding independent clause is in some past tense and the whole sentence therefore designates a past action or event. Both of these features are observed in the italicized portions of 2b and 3b above: there is no subject following *el* where we would expect one, and the verb directly following *el* is in the present tense, even though both sentences describe past activities. In spite of the fact that the italicized portions of 2b and 3b therefore lack subjects and marking for the past tense, speakers of Palauan nevertheless have no difficulty interpreting them. Thus, just as in the case of the various dependent clauses described in chap.15, Palauan speakers automatically know that the understood subject of *meruul* 'make, prepare' in the italicized portions of 2b and 3b is identical to that of the preceding clause. In 2b, for example, it goes without saying that the person who prepared the food (i.e., the understood subject of *meruul a kall* 'prepare the food') is the same person who recently **finished** that very same activity—namely, the subject of the first clause *ak* 'I'. Furthermore, speakers know that the activities described by the **present** tense forms of *meruul* 'make, prepare' in the italicized portions of 2b and 3b really took place in the **past**, at time points identical to those of *mla mo merék* 'has finished' and *milsuub* 'learned'.

From the discussion above, we can see that the italicized portions of 2b and 3b should be analyzed as **dependent clauses** since their complete interpretation **depends on** information about the subject and the tense which is found in the preceding independent clause. In order to distinguish them from the many other

types of dependent clauses examined in chap. 15, we will identify the dependent clauses of 2b and 3b as **object clauses**. An object clause is therefore a subtype of dependent clause which is used in "object position" immediately following certain transitive verbs like *mo m̄rek* 'finish, stop' and *m̄suub* 'study, learn'. If we compare the a- and b-sentences of 2–3 above, we can see that an object clause designating an action or activity can substitute for or replace a "simple" noun phrase object denoting something concrete.

One further grammatical characteristic of object clauses should be mentioned here. As we saw in chap. 15, many Palauan speakers can use past tense verb forms in purpose clauses, instrument clauses, and the like. By contrast, object clauses cannot contain past tense verb forms under any circumstances. Therefore, a sentence like the following is impossible (cf. 2b):

(4) *Ak mla mo m̄rek ɛl mirruul a kall.

OBJECT CLAUSES FOLLOWING *omuch̄el* AND *mo m̄rek*

16.2. In this and the following sections, we will examine some of the most commonly used verbs which can be followed by object clauses. Most of these verbs also take concrete objects naming persons or things. In this section we will show how object clauses are used following the transitive verbs *omuch̄el* 'begin' and *mo m̄rek* 'finish, stop'. Sentences containing the sequence *omuch̄el*/*mo m̄rek* + *object clause* simply tell us that the subject begins or finishes a particular activity; the activity which is begun or finished is of course expressed by the words of the object clause.

In the examples below, the object clause following *omuch̄el* 'begin' has been italicized:

- (5) a. Ak mo omuch̄el ɛl m̄ngiis ɛr a kliokl ɛr a klukuk.
'I'm going to begin digging the hole tomorrow.'
b. A Droteo a ul̄much̄el ɛl m̄suub a t̄koi ɛr a Merikel er se ɛr a m̄k̄mad.
'Droteo began to study English during the war.'

As the examples above show, an object clause can be followed by a relational phrase: thus, the **temporal phrases** *ɛr a klukuk* 'tomorrow' and *er se ɛr a m̄k̄mad* 'during the war' (cf. 14.6) designate the time at which some activity will begin or did begin.

The transitive verb *omuch̄el* 'begin' can also have a concrete noun phrase as object, as in the sentences below:

- (6) a. K̄d̄g mo omuch̄el ɛr a blai ɛr a klukuk.
'We'll begin (to build) the house tomorrow.'
b. K̄g mo omuch̄el ɛr a urerem ɛr oingarang?
'When are you going to begin your work?'

When *omuch̄el* is used as a **transitive** verb, as in the examples of 5 and 6 above, its subject must always be **animate** (or living)—usually a human being. It is also possible for *omuch̄el* to be used as an **intransitive** verb, in which case its subject will be **inanimate** (or non-living). The intransitive use of *omuch̄el* is observed in the sentences below:

- (7) a. A meeting a mo omuch̄el ɛr a euid ɛl klok.
'The meeting will begin at seven o'clock.'
b. A k̄r̄r̄k̄riil ɛr a Droteo a ul̄much̄el er a elii.
'Droteo's trial began yesterday.'

Since *omuch̄el* is an intransitive verb in the sentences of 7, these sentences of course do not contain any object noun phrases.

As we saw in 13.6, the special verbal expression *mo m̄rek* 'finish, stop' consists of the directional verb *mo* 'go' and *m̄rek*, a difficult-to-analyze form of the verb *m̄rkui* 'finish.' The sequence *mo m̄rek* always appears as a unit, and it functions as a transitive verb. In the sentences below, *mo m̄rek* 'finish, stop' is followed by an object clause, which has been italicized:

- (8) a. Ak mlo m̄rek ɛl r̄murt ɛr a cai ɛl klok.
'I stopped running at eight o'clock.'
b. Ak mlo m̄rek ɛl m̄suub a t̄koi ɛr a Merikel ɛr tia ɛl mlo m̄rek ɛl rak.¹
'I finished studying English last year.'
c. Ak mla mo m̄rek ɛl m̄ruul ɛr a blai.
'I've finished working on the house (for today).'
d. A Droteo a mla mo m̄rek ɛl b̄chiil.
'Droteo is no longer married.'²
e. K̄g mla mo m̄rek ɛl om̄ngur?
'Have you finished eating?'
f. K̄g mla mo m̄rek ɛl m̄lam̄ch a d̄kool?
'Have you finished smoking your cigarette?'
g. A Droteo a mo m̄rek ɛl m̄ngiis ɛr a kliokl ɛr a klukuk.
'Droteo will finish digging the hole tomorrow.'

The examples in 8 show us many interesting facts about the form and meaning of *mo m̄rek* 'finish, stop'. As we saw in 13.6, the form of *m̄rek* does not change when this verbal expression

is put in the past tense. Instead, the past tense marker *-l-* is infixed into the directional verb *mo* to give *mlo mrek*, as observed in 8a–b. Examples 8c–f show that the **auxiliary word** *mle* (cf. 5.3.2.1) is simply placed before *mo mrek* to indicate **recent past** time; and in 8g we see that *mo mrek*, which contains the present tense form of the directional verb *mo*, can be used to denote a **future** event (cf. 13.4), as evidenced by the accompanying temporal phrase *er a klukuk* ‘tomorrow’.

As the English equivalents for the sentences of 8 indicate, the sequence *mo mrek* + *object clause* always refers to the stopping or finishing of something on a **particular instance or occasion**. In 8f, for example, the speaker is asking someone on a particular occasion (say, before a class is to begin) whether or not he has finished smoking. Such a question is quite different in meaning from the following:

- (9) Kẹ mle choitii a omẹlamẹch ẹl dekol?
‘Have you quit/given up smoking cigarettes?’

As opposed to 8f, 9 asks the person addressed whether he has quit or stopped the **habitual** action of smoking. In 9, the object of *mle choitii* ‘has quit’ (cf. imperfective *mengoit* ‘quit, throw away’) is a noun phrase containing the **derived action noun** *omẹlamẹch* ‘(action of) smoking’ (cf. 8.6); the structure of sentences like 9 will be examined further in 17.8.³

The verbal expression *mo mrek* ‘finish, stop’ need not be followed by an object clause as in the examples of 8 above; thus, as the examples below illustrate, *mo mrek* can also take a concrete object (cf. 2a above):

- (10) a. Kẹ mle mo mrek a kall?
‘Have you finished (preparing) the food?’
b. Kẹ mle mo mrek ẹr a skuul?
‘Have you finished your schooling?’
c. Ak mle mo mrek ẹr a urerek.
‘I’ve finished my work/job (for the day).’

When *mo mrek* is used as a **transitive** verb, as in 8 and 10 above, its subject must be animate (usually human). But when *mo mrek* is used intransitively, as in the following sentences, its subject will be inanimate:

- (11) a. A meeting a mo mrek ẹr a etiu ẹl klok.
‘The meeting will end at nine o’clock.’

- b. A chull a mle mo mrek.
‘The rainy season has ended.’

OBJECT CLAUSES FOLLOWING TRANSITIVE STATE VERBS

16.3. In 7.4 we noted that the small class of Palauan **transitive state verbs** can be identified by the following two features: first, like all other transitive verbs, they can take objects; and second, like all other state verbs, they have past tense forms derived with the auxiliary *mle* ‘was, were’. Two transitive state verbs—*mẹdutch* ‘know how (to), be skilled at’ and *mẹtitur* ‘not know how (to), not be capable of’—can be followed by concrete objects as well as object clauses. In the sentences below, these verbs appear followed by concrete objects:

- (12) a. Ak mẹdutch ẹr a ochur.
‘I’m good at math.’
b. Ak mẹtitur ẹr a misil ẹr a sidosia.
‘I don’t know anything about (fixing) car motors.’

When *mẹdutch* ‘know how (to), be skilled at’ and *mẹtitur* ‘not know how (to), not be capable of’ take object clauses, they express the subject’s ability or lack of ability, respectively, to do some activity or task. The following sentences illustrate these verbs in both the present tense and past tense followed by object clauses:

- (13) a. Ak mẹdutch ẹl omẹkall a sidosia.
‘I know how to drive a car.’
b. A Droteo a mle mẹdutch ẹl mẹlẹkoi a tẹkoi ẹr a Siabal e ng di ng mle obes.
‘Droteo used to know how to speak Japanese, but he has forgotten.’
(14) a. A John a mẹtitur ẹl mẹngikai.
‘John doesn’t know how to swim.’
b. Ak mle mẹtitur ẹl mẹlẹkoi a tẹkoi ẹr a Siabal er se ẹr a taem ẹr a mẹkẹmad.
‘I didn’t know how to speak Japanese at the time of the war.’

In 13.5 we saw that the directional verb *mo* ‘go’ can be used as an auxiliary word preceding state verbs to designate a **change of state**. Since *mẹdutch* ‘know how (to), be skilled at’ and *mẹtitur* ‘not know how (to), not be capable of’ are state verbs, they can also occur with *mo* to denote a change of state. Note the following examples:

- (15) a. Ak mle mētitur ēl mēngikai e ng di ak *mle mo mēduch*.
'I used to be unable to swim, but (now) I've learned how.'
b. A rubak a mle mēduch ēl mēlēkoi a tēkoi ēr a Ruk e ng di ng *mle mo mētitur*.
'The old man used to know how to speak Trukese, but (now) he's no longer able to.'

FURTHER EXAMPLES OF OBJECT CLAUSES

16.4. In this section, we will look at two more verbs which allow concrete objects as well as object clauses. Since there is nothing unusual about the grammatical behavior of these verbs, we will simply list examples without comment.

In 16 below, the transitive verb *mēlasēm* 'try' is followed by a concrete object, while in 17 it takes an object clause:

- (16) a. Kē mle mēlasēm ēr a sasimi?
'Have you tried out/tasted the sashimi?'
b. Kē mēlasēm ēr ngak?
'Are you challenging me?'
c. Kē mle mēlasēm ēr a Droteo?
'Have you tried (to ask/consult) Droteo?'
d. Kē mle chesēmii⁴ a mlim?
'Have you tried out/checked your car?'
(17) a. Ak millasēm ēl mēnga ēr a ngikēl.
'I tried to eat the fish.'
b. Kē mle mēlasēm ēl omēkall a sidosia?
'Have you ever tried driving a car?'
c. Ak mle mēlasēm ēl mēruul ēr a subēlek, e ng di ng kmal mēringēl.
'I've tried to do my homework, but it's very difficult.'
d. Kē mle mēlasēm ēl mēlēkoi ēr a John?
'Have you tried talking to John?'

The transitive verb *mēsuub* 'study, learn' is used with a concrete object in 18 below, and with an object clause in 19 (cf. 3a vs. 3b above):

- (18) a. Ak mo mēsuub ēr a reksi er a Belau.
'I'm going to study Palauan history.'
b. A Satsko ng milsuub a ngarang?
'What was Satsko studying?'

- (19) a. Ak milsuub ēl mēluchēs a tēkoi ēr a Siabal er se ēr a mēkēmad.
'I learned how to write Japanese during the war.'
b. Kē milsuub ēl omēkall a sidosia er oingarang?
'When did you learn to drive a car?'

SENTENCES WITH TWO OBJECTS

16.5. So far we have only seen object clauses whose unexpressed subject is understood to be identical to that of preceding transitive verbs such as *omuchēl* 'begin', *mo mērek* 'finish, stop', *mēduch* 'know how (to), be skilled at', *mētitur* 'not know how (to), not be capable of', *mēlasēm* 'try', and *mēsuub* 'study, learn'. There are some cases, however, in which the unexpressed subject of the object clause is understood differently, as in the example below:

- (20) A Toki a milēngētakl ēr a Helen ēl mo ēr a bulis.
'Toki persuaded Helen to go to the police with her.'

In 20, the subject (*Toki*) influenced some other person (*Helen*) to do a particular action (i.e., go to the police). In other words, the action of going to the police was carried out by the person persuaded (*Helen*) rather than the person doing the persuading (*Toki*). Therefore, the unexpressed subject of the object clause *ēl mo ēr a bulis* 'go to the police' is not identical to *Toki*, the subject of *milēngētakl* 'persuaded', but rather to *Helen*, the noun immediately following *milēngētakl*. The verb *milēngētakl* in 20 thus appears to be followed by a succession of two objects, the first one naming the person influenced or affected by the persuasion and the second one—an object clause—describing the action pursued as a result of the persuasion.

In the sentences below, we observe an over-all structure identical to that of 20 above. This "two object" structure is typical with the verbs *olēngēsēu* 'help', *olisēchakl* 'teach', and *oldurēch* 'tell, ask'. In other words, these verbs not only involve a person who is helped, taught, or asked (the first object), but also some kind of an activity which the person is helped, taught, or asked to do (the second object). For purposes of clarity, we have italicized the first object in the examples below; the person referred to by this object is, of course, the understood subject of the following object clause. Note, in addition, that the first object will be expressed by an **object pronoun suffix** (cf. 4.9) if a **perfective** form of *olēngēsēu*, *olisēchakl*, or *oldurēch* is used:

- (21) a. Ak ullngẽseu ẽr a Toki ẽl mẽruul a subẽlel.
'I helped Toki do her homework.'
- b. Ng sẽbẽchem ẽl ngosukak⁵ ẽl mo chosbẽrbẽrii a blik?
'Can you help me paint my house?'
- c. Ak ngilsutẽrir a rẽsẽchẽlik ẽl mẽnẽtmokl ẽr a blai.
'I helped my friends clean the house.'
- d. A rubak a ullisẽchakl ẽr a Droteo ẽl mẽlasẽch a mlai.
'The old man taught Droteo how to carve canoes.'
- e. A rẽchad ẽr a Arabia a uldẽrchẽtẽrir⁶ a rẽchad ẽr a Siabal ẽl
mẽkodẽtẽrir a rẽchad ẽr a skojo.
'The Arabs told the Japanese to kill the people at the
airport.'
- f. Ak uldẽrchii a John ẽl mẽkodik a Toki.
'I told John to kill Toki.'
- g. A sensei a uldẽrchak ẽl mo ẽr a Guam.
'The teacher told me to go to Guam.'

17 Processes of Sentence Formation: Subject Shifting and Preposing of Possessor

FOUR SPECIAL POSSESSED NOUNS

- 17.1. We have already had occasion to mention a special group of **obligatorily possessed nouns** (cf. 3.5) which refer to certain basic ideas such as liking, disliking, ability, and obligation. These nouns are used in sentences like the following, which we repeat from 3.11:

- (1) a. Ng soak a biang.
'I like beer.'
- b. Ng chẽtil a rrom.
'He dislikes liquor.'
- c. Ng sẽbẽchir ẽl mong?
'Can they go?'
- d. Ng kirem ẽl mong?
'Do you have to go?'

Even though the English equivalents for the above examples contain verbs (*like*, *dislike*) or verbal expressions (*can go*, *have to go*), we should not be misled into thinking that the corresponding Palauan sentences necessarily contain verbs to express the same ideas. For example, sentences 1a and 1b do not contain any verbs at all, but instead have the possessed nouns *soak* 'my liking' and *chẽtil* 'his disliking' followed by concrete nouns such as *biang* 'beer' and *rrom* 'liquor'. Thus, these sentences seem to mean something like 'My liking is beer' and 'His disliking is liquor', respectively.¹

We know that words like *soak* 'my liking', *chẽtil* 'his disliking', *sẽbẽchir* 'their ability', and *kirem* 'your obligation' of 1 above must be nouns because their form varies according to whose liking, disliking, ability, or obligation is involved. These four words are to be classified as **obligatorily possessed nouns** because

they each must take one of the sets of **possessor suffixes** described in 3.3. Since these words occur so frequently in Palauan sentences, we shall list their possessed forms below:

(2) Possessor Suffix	Noun of Liking	Noun of Disliking
1st pers sg	soak	chëtik
2nd pers sg	soam	chëtim
3rd pers sg	soal	chëtil
1st pers pl incl	soad	chëtid
1st pers pl excl	somam	chëtimam
2nd pers pl	somiu	chëtimiu
3rd pers (hum) pl	sorir	chëtirir
	Noun of Ability	Noun of Obligation
1st pers sg	sëbëchek	kirek
2nd pers sg	sëbëchem	kirem
3rd pers sg	sëbëchel	kirel
1st pers pl incl	sëbëched	kired
1st pers pl excl	sëbëcham	kiram
2nd pers pl	sëbëchiu	kiriu
3rd pers (hum) pl	sëbëchir	kirir

The forms given above show that the noun of ability and the noun of obligation have possessor suffixes belonging to the *e*-set, while the noun of liking and the noun of disliking take possessor suffixes belonging to the *a*-set and the *i*-set, respectively. The only irregularity we observe is in certain forms of the noun of disliking: in the "plural possessor" forms *chëtimam*, *chëtimiu*, and *chëtirir*, we note the unexpected insertion of *i* before the consonant-initial suffixes *-mam*, *-miu* and *-rir* (cf. 3.3, ex. 4).

Before we can adequately explain the grammatical structure of the sentences in 1, we must take a preliminary look at an important Palauan sentence type—namely, the **equational sentence**. As we will see in 18.6, an equational sentence is one in which two noun phrases are **equated** with each other. In the present tense, Palauan equational sentences contain no verb at all, but merely consist of a subject noun phrase followed by another noun phrase. Note the examples below:

- (3) a. Ak ngalëk ër a skuul.
'I'm a student.'

- b. A Droteo a sensei.
'Droteo's a teacher.'

The sentences of 3 simply make a statement of the form "A is B": in other words, in 3a the subject noun phrase *ak* 'I' is asserted to belong to the class of individuals designated by the second noun phrase *ngalëk ër a skuul*² 'student', and in 3b the subject noun phrase *Droteo* is said to belong to the class of individuals referred to by the second noun phrase *sensei* 'teacher'. In the past tense, Palauan equational sentences contain the auxiliary word *mle* 'was, were', which joins the two noun phrases. Thus, with 3a–b, compare the following examples:

- (4) a. Ak mle ngalëk ër a skuul.
'I was/used to be a student.'
b. A Droteo a mle sensei.
'Droteo was/used to be a teacher.'

SUBJECT SHIFTING

- 17.2. In order to understand the structure of sentences 1a–b above, we shall first propose that they are basically **equational sentences**. In other words, sentences 1a–b are derived by a certain grammatical process from sentences like the following:

- (1') a. A biang a soak.
'Beer is what I like.'
b. A rrom a chëtil.
'Liquor is what he dislikes.'

The sentences in 1' are equational sentences containing two noun phrases; in each case, the subject noun phrase (*biang* 'beer' or *rrom* 'liquor') is being equated with one of the special possessed nouns discussed in 17.1 above. Therefore, the interpretation of 1'a–b follows the "A is B" pattern, and the two sentences literally mean something like 'Beer is my liking' and 'Liquor is his disliking' (which of course are not good English sentences).

Now, the equational sentences in 1' are used relatively rarely by Palauan speakers. Such sentences would only be uttered if the speaker wishes to emphasize or single out a particular thing as the thing he likes or dislikes. Thus, 1'a implies, for example, that it is beer and only beer (out of a choice of several different beverages) that the speaker has developed a taste for. For some reason, the equational sentences in 1' must usually undergo a modification in

- | (9) Source Sentence | | Resulting Sentence |
|---|---|---|
| a. A <i>biang</i> a <i>soak</i> . | → | Ng <i>soak</i> a <i>biang</i> .
'I like beer.' |
| b. A <i>Droteo</i> a <i>m̄la mēi</i> . | → | Ng <i>m̄la mēi</i> a <i>Droteo</i> .
'Droteo has come.' |

The processes of change in 9a and 9b are identical in that the subject of the source sentence is shifted and a pronominal trace is left in its place. What differentiates the two examples, however, is the following. First, in 9a, which is an equational sentence, the subject is shifted to the right of the second **noun phrase**, while in 9b, which is an intransitive sentence, the subject is moved to the right of the **verb phrase**. Second, in 9a, subject shifting is nearly **obligatory**, since the source sentence is used only rarely, while the resulting sentence (with shifted subject) is the usual way of expressing the idea involved. By contrast, in 9b, both the source sentence and the resulting sentence are common and acceptable; therefore, the application of subject shifting is just **optional**. Why subject shifting is nearly obligatory in 9a but optional in 9b seems to be a matter of style which we cannot predict or explain. Rather, all we can do is describe the situation by saying that equational sentences containing possessed nouns like *soak* 'my liking' and *ch̄etil* 'his disliking' must usually undergo the process of subject shifting. This accounts for the fact that such sentences nearly always have *ng* (a pronominal trace) in initial position and another noun (the shifted subject) following the possessed noun. As we will see below and in later chapters, there are other Palauan sentence types which resemble sentences containing *soak*, *ch̄etil*, etc. in that subject shifting is either obligatory or, at least, preferred.

PREPOSING OF POSSESSOR

- 17.3. In the examples below, we observe some further instances of subject shifting. In each case, the shifted subject (italicized) happens to be a **noun phrase of possession** (cf. 3.7) with a specifically-mentioned third person possessor:

- | (10) Source Sentence | | Resulting Sentence |
|---|---|--|
| a. A <i>chimal</i> a <i>Droteo</i> a <i>m̄rinḡel</i> . | → | Ng <i>m̄rinḡel</i> a <i>chimal</i> a <i>Droteo</i> .
'Droteo's hand hurts.' |
| b. A <i>ochil</i> a <i>mlik</i> a <i>t̄el̄mall</i> . | → | Ng <i>t̄el̄mall</i> a <i>ochil</i> a <i>mlik</i> .
'The wheel of my car is broken.' |

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| c. A <i>r̄kil</i> a <i>Toki</i> a <i>lluich m̄ē</i> a <i>etiu</i> . | → | Ng <i>lluich m̄ē</i> a <i>etiu</i> a <i>r̄kil</i> a <i>Toki</i> .
'Toki's age is 29.'/'Toki is 29 years old.' |
| d. A <i>ultut̄el̄el</i> a <i>babier</i> a <i>k̄lou</i> . | → | Ng <i>k̄lou</i> a <i>ultut̄el̄el</i> a <i>babier</i> .
'The letter is (very) important.' |

Since both the source sentences and the resulting sentences of 10 are natural and acceptable, the process of subject shifting is optional in the examples above. Some speakers, however, tend to prefer the sentences with shifted subjects.

Now, with the resulting sentences of 10, compare the following sentences, which are identical in meaning:

- (11) a. A *Droteo* a *m̄rinḡel* a *chimal*.
'Droteo's hand hurts.'
b. A *mlik* a *t̄el̄mall* a *ochil*.
'The wheel of my car is broken.'
c. A *Toki* a *lluich m̄ē* a *etiu* a *rekil*.
'Toki's age is 29.'
d. A *babier* a *k̄lou* a *ultut̄el̄el*.
'The letter is (very) important.'

The examples of 11 represent a very common sentence type in Palauan whose structure is best understood if we assume that the examples of 11 are derived from the resulting sentences of 10 by a special grammatical process called **preposing of possessor**. In comparing the two sets of sentences, we see that the specific possessors *Droteo*, *mlik* 'my car', *Toki*, and *babier* 'letter', which were originally shifted to the right in 10 as part of the italicized shifted subjects *chimal* a *Droteo* 'Droteo's hand', *ochil* a *mlik* 'wheel of my car', etc., are optionally **moved back** to sentence-initial position in 11, where they substitute for the pronominal trace *ng*; at the same time, the possessed nouns *chimal* 'his hand', *ochil* 'its wheel', etc. come to appear in sentence-final position. This process is called "preposing of possessor" because a specific possessor is removed from the (shifted) noun phrase of possession of which it is a part and **preposed** (or moved forward) to the beginning of the sentence. The type of preposing under discussion here is only possible if the preposed noun phrase is a **possessor**. Thus, if we try to prepose a noun phrase which is not a possessor, as in the example below, we get a completely ungrammatical sentence:

- (12) A John a chillëbëdii a bilis.
 'John hit the dog.'→
 *A bilis a John a chillëbëdii.

If we accept the validity of the grammatical processes of **subject shifting** and **preposing of possessor**, we can easily explain the unusual order of words in the sentences of 11, as well as the fact that the preposed noun phrases (which at first glance look like subjects) are actually interpreted as the possessors of the various possessed nouns found in sentence-final position. Thus, a sentence like 11a is ultimately derived from the **source sentence** of 10a by the following steps:

- (11a') A *chimal* a Droteo a meringel. (source sentence)→
 Ng meringel a *chimal* a Droteo. (by subject shifting)→
 A Droteo a meringel a chimal. (by preposing of possessor)

In derivations such as 11a', it is very important that the subject shifting and preposing of possessor rules be applied in the order indicated: in other words, the possessor is preposed **after** it has been moved to the right (together with the rest of the noun phrase of possession of which it is a part) by the subject shifting rule.

In the additional examples below, the order of words in the first (or independent) clause is due to the application of the subject shifting and preposing of possessor rules. The preposed possessor has been italicized, and the possessed noun which has been left "isolated" at the end of the clause has been given in bold type. The second clause, which is introduced by *mę* 'and so' (see chap. 25), is added to make the sentences sound more complete; this clause describes some action or state which **results from** (or is a consequence of) the action or state of the preceding clause:

- (13) a. A *Droteo* a mlo ęr a Guam a **bęchil** mę ak mo męruul a kęlr.
 'Droteo's wife went to Guam, so I'm going to prepare their (i.e., the family's) food.'
 b. A *sęchęlik* a smęchęr a **dęmal** mę ak mo omes ęr tir.
 'My friend's father is sick, so I'm going to visit them.'
 c. A *Toki* a milseseb a **blil**, mę ng kie ęr a blik.
 'Toki's house burned down, so she's staying at my place.'
 d. A *Satsko* a mlo ęr a skuul a **ręngęlekęl** mę ng diak a chad ęr a blil.
 'Satsko's children have gone to school, so there's no one at home.'

- e. A *ngęlekęk* a tęlęmall a **rrat** ęr ngii mę ng kirel ęl di męrael ęl mo ęr a skuul.
 'My child's bicycle is broken, so he's got to walk to school.'

In 13e, the original noun phrase of possession is *rrat ęr a ngęlekęk* 'my child's bicycle', in which the possessor is expressed in a **possessor phrase** introduced by the **relational word** *ęr* because the noun *rrat* 'bicycle' is **unpossessible** (cf. 3.8). When the possessor is preposed in such cases, a trace of it must be left in the form of a pronoun following the relational word *ęr*. Since the relational word *ęr* can only be followed by **emphatic** pronouns (cf. 4.3), the pronominal trace in 13e must be the 3rd pers. sg. emphatic pronoun *ngii*.

Let us now return to some sentences containing the possessed nouns *soal* 'his/her liking' and *chętil* 'his/her disliking'. If a specific third person possessor is mentioned, we get sentences like the following:

- (14) a. Ng soal a Droteo a biang. 'Droteo likes beer.'
 b. A Droteo a soal a biang.
 (15) a. Ng chętil a Toki a sasimi. 'Toki dislikes sashimi.'
 b. A Toki a chętil a sasimi.

The sentences above can be easily explained in terms of the rules of subject shifting and preposing of possessor. Thus, the derivation of 14a and 15a follows the pattern given in 5 above, since these sentences show the shifted subjects *biang* 'beer' and *sasimi* 'sashimi'. In other words, 14a and 15a are derived by subject shifting from equational sentences in which the first noun phrase is *biang* or *sasimi* and the second noun phrase contains *soal* or *chętil* followed by a specific possessor. These equational sentences are the **source sentences** in the scheme below:

- | (16) Source Sentence | Resulting Sentence |
|-------------------------------|--|
| a. A biang a soal a Droteo.→ | Ng soal a Droteo a biang.
'Droteo likes beer.' |
| b. A sasimi a chętil a Toki.→ | Ng chętil a Toki a sasimi.
'Toki dislikes sashimi.' |

Just as in the examples of 5, the application of the subject shifting rule to the source sentences of 16 is nearly obligatory, since the occurrence of these source sentences is quite rare.

The b-sentences of 14–15 are derived from the a-sentences by preposing the possessor, but the conditions under which this rule applies are somewhat different from what we described

earlier. Thus, in deriving 14b from 14a, for example, we note that the possessor *Droteo* can be preposed even though it was never moved to the right as part of a shifted subject. In order to account for the correct ordering of words in 14b, however, we must still assume that the preposing of possessor rule applies after the subject shifting rule. The step-by-step derivation of 14b is therefore as follows:

- (17) A *biang* a *soal* a *Droteo*. (source sentence) →
 Ng soal a *Droteo* a *biang*. (by subject shifting) →
 A *Droteo* a *soal* a *biang*. (by preposing of possessor)

SUBJECT SHIFTING AND PREPOSING OF POSSESSOR WITH EXPRESSIONS CONTAINING *reng*

- 17.4. In this section we will examine another common Palauan sentence type in which the processes of subject shifting and preposing of possessor play an important role. Palauan has a very large number of expressions consisting of a possessed form of the abstract noun *reng* 'heart, spirit' followed by an intransitive verb—usually a state verb. These expressions are used to express emotional states, feelings, personality traits, and the like. Often, it is difficult or impossible to predict the exact meaning of these expressions from the meaning of the independently-occurring intransitive verb, as the following examples indicate:

- (18) a. *Ng ungil* a *renguk*.
 'I'm happy.'
 b. *Ng klou* a *rengul* a *sensei*.
 'The teacher is patient.'
 c. *Ng smecher* a *rengmam*.
 'We're homesick.'

In the sentences above, we can see the connection between the two meanings of *ungil* 'good'—'happy', *klou* 'big'—'patient', and *smecher* 'sick'—'homesick', but we have no consistent way of predicting how the meaning will change when the particular intransitive (state) verb is associated with the abstract noun *reng* 'heart, spirit'.

Before discussing the grammatical structure of the sentences of 18, we shall list some of the most commonly-used expressions with *reng*. The gloss given in parentheses is the meaning which the intransitive verb has when it occurs independently (i.e., without *reng*):

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| (19) <i>ngmasch</i> a <i>rengul</i> | 'angry' | ('rise') |
| <i>keshib</i> a <i>rengul</i> | 'angry' | ('perspiring') |
| <i>mched</i> a <i>rengul</i> | 'thirsty' | ('shallow') |
| <i>mekngit</i> a <i>rengul</i> | 'be in a bad/sad mood' | ('bad') |
| <i>beot</i> a <i>rengul</i> | 'easygoing, nonchalant, unmotivated' | ('easy') |
| <i>mesisiich</i> a <i>rengul</i> | 'hardworking, well-motivated' | ('strong') |
| <i>bermal</i> a <i>rengul</i> | 'lazy, unmotivated' | ('watery') |
| <i>mchitetchut</i> a <i>rengul</i> | 'easily discouraged' | ('weak') |
| <i>kekched</i> a <i>rengul</i> | 'short-tempered' | ('short') |
| <i>kekere</i> a <i>rengul</i> | 'uncomfortable' | ('small') |
| <i>mesaul</i> a <i>rengul</i> | 'not feel like' | ('tired') |
| <i>suebek</i> a <i>rengul</i> | 'worried' | ('fly') |
| <i>songrenger</i> a <i>rengul</i> | 'have a strong desire for' | ('hungry') |
| <i>diak</i> a <i>rengul</i> | 'inconsiderate, impolite' | ('isn't, doesn't exist') |

It is easy to see that the examples of 18 are derived by the process of subject shifting. In other words, we propose that 18a–c have the following source sentences:

- (18') a. A *renguk* a *ungil*.
 ('I'm happy.')
 b. A *rengul* a *sensei* a *klou*.
 ('The teacher is patient.')
 c. A *rengmam* a *smecher*.
 ('We're homesick.')

The sentences in 18' are not acceptable to any speakers, however, and we must therefore conclude that subject shifting is **obligatory** if the sentence contains a special expression with *reng* 'heart, spirit'. If we follow the subject shifting analysis proposed here, we can easily explain what would otherwise be two rather unusual facts about sentences like 18. First of all, such sentences always end in a noun phrase of possession which contains a possessed form of *reng*; this is of course due to the fact that the sentence subject is always obligatorily shifted. Second, sentences of this kind always begin with *ng*; this *ng* is the pronominal trace which appears in the spot originally occupied by the shifted 3rd pers. sg. noun phrase subject.

If we compare a sentence like 18b with the following, which is identical in meaning,

- (20) A sensei a klou a rəngul.
'The teacher is patient.'

we see immediately that the process of **preposing of possessor** (cf. 17.3 above) also applies to sentences containing noun phrases of possession with *reng*. Since both 18b and 20 are perfectly acceptable sentences, the rule which preposes the possessor is of course **optional** rather than obligatory. A couple of examples parallel to 18b and 20 are given below; the preposed possessor has been italicized:

- (21) a. Ng suebək a rəngul a Droteo. 'Droteo is worried.'
b. A *Droteo* a suebək a rəngul.
(22) a. Ng məched a rəngrir a 'My friends are thirsty.'
rəşəçhəlik.
b. A *rəşəçhəlik* a məched a
rəngrir.

PREPOSING IN RECIPROCAL SENTENCES

17.5. In 10.1 we noted that **reciprocal verbs** must always have **plural** subject noun phrases. One type of plural subject consists of two single nouns or two noun phrases joined by the **connecting word** *mə* 'and' (cf. 25.4), as shown in the examples below:

- (23) a. A Droteo mə a Toki a kausəçhəlei.
'Droteo and Toki are friends.'
b. A təkoi ər a Ruk mə a təkoi ər a Belau a kakərous.
'Trukese and Palauan are different.'
c. A rəçhad ər a Merikel mə a rəçhad ər a Sina a mle kauchə-
raro.
'The Americans and the Chinese used to be enemies.'

Just like any other subject noun phrase, the plural subject noun phrases in 23 can be moved to the right of the verb by the process of subject shifting explained in 17.2 above. Thus, when we apply subject shifting to 23a–c, we get the following sentences, which are equivalent in meaning:

- (24) a. Tə kausəçhəlei a Droteo mə a Toki.
'Droteo and Toki are friends.'
b. Ng kakərous a təkoi ər a Ruk mə a təkoi ər a Belau.
'Trukese and Palauan are different.'
c. Tə mle kauchərarō a rəçhad ər a Merikel mə a rəçhad ər a
Sina.
'The Americans and the Chinese used to be enemies.'

Because the shifted subjects in 24a and 24c designate human beings, the 3rd pers. human pl. non-emphatic pronoun *tə* is used as a pronominal trace. In 24b, however, the pronominal trace is *ng* because this pronoun substitutes for the **non-human** plural noun phrase *təkoi ər a Ruk mə a təkoi ər a Belau* 'Trukese and Palauan' (cf. 2.4).³

The sentences of 24 can be further changed (or transformed) by a process of preposing, but one which differs somewhat from that already discussed in the sections above. Before explaining what is involved, let us compare the sentences below with those of 24:

- (25) a. A Droteo a kausəçhəlei ngii mə a Toki.
'Droteo is friends with Toki.'
b. A təkoi ər a Ruk a kakərous ngii mə a təkoi ər a Belau.
'Trukese is different from Palauan.'
c. A rəçhad ər a Merikel a mle kauchərarō tir mə a rəçhad ər
a Sina.
'The Americans used to be enemies of the Chinese.'

In the sentences of 25 we note that the first noun or noun phrase of the shifted subjects of 24 has been moved back to sentence-initial position, where it replaces the pronominal traces *ng* or *tə*. This type of preposing is different from the process of **preposing of possessor** in two important respects. First, the preposed noun or noun phrase is, of course, not a possessor, but rather the first member of a plural noun phrase of the form *A mə B*. Second, when the first member of (shifted) *A mə B* is preposed, a trace of it must remain in the form of an **emphatic** pronoun. This accounts for the occurrence of *ngii* in 25a–b, where the preposed noun phrase is singular, and for the occurrence of *tir* in 25c, where the preposed noun phrase is plural.

To summarize what we have said above, the sentences of 24 are derived from those of 23 by subject shifting, while those of 25 are in turn derived from those of 24 by the special process of preposing just described. Note the sample derivation below, which relates 23a, 24a, and 25a:

- (26) A *Droteo mə a Toki* a kausəçhəlei. (source sentence) →
Tə kausəçhəlei a *Droteo mə a Toki*. (by subject shifting) →
A *Droteo* a kausəçhəlei *ngii mə a Toki*. (by preposing of first
member of *A mə B*)

As the English equivalents for 25 show, the sentences with pre-

posed subjects involve a change of viewpoint. Thus, in 23a and 24a, for example, the speaker is paying more-or-less equal attention to both members of the plural subject (*Droteo* and *Toki*), while in 25a the speaker's attention is focused more on the person designated by the preposed noun (*Droteo*).

In some reciprocal sentences, the plural subject is a noun phrase of possession in which the possessor is a sequence of the form *A mę B*. Thus, in the sentence below,

- (27) *A blękerdęlır a Droteo mę a Toki a kakngodęch.*
'The personalities of Droteo and Toki are different from each other.'

the possessed noun *blękerdęlır* 'their personalities' has the 3rd pers. human pl. possessor suffix *-ir*, which agrees with the following plural possessor *Droteo mę a Toki* 'Droteo and Toki'. Now, the italicized subject noun phrase of 27 can be moved to the right of the verb by the process of subject shifting, resulting in the sentence below:

- (28) *Ng kakngodęch a blękerdęlır a Droteo mę a Toki.*
'The personalities of Droteo and Toki are different from each other.'

Since the sequence *Droteo mę a Toki* of 28 is a possessor, it can be moved back to sentence-initial position by the process of preposing of possessor which we described in 17.3 above. We therefore obtain the following sentence:

- (29) *A Droteo mę a Toki a kakngodęch a blękerdęlır.*
'Droteo and Toki are different in personality.'

SUMMARY OF PROCESSES AFFECTING PALAUAN WORD ORDER

17.6. In 17.2–5 above, we have seen how two major grammatical processes—**subject shifting** and **preposing**—bring about striking changes in the **word order** of Palauan sentences. These processes are of wide applicability in Palauan and can account for many types of sentences other than those dealt with above. Thus, as we will see in later chapters, the processes of subject shifting and preposing not only play an important role in the formation of **questions** and **passive** sentences, but they also affect sentences containing **negative verbs**, **existential verbs**, and **time clauses**.

In addition to the major processes of subject shifting and preposing, there are a few relatively minor processes which

affect the word order of Palauan sentences. Perhaps the most obvious of these is found in sentences containing the verb *msa* 'give', which characteristically takes two objects.⁴ Thus, in the examples below, the first object—the **person** who receives what is given—is italicized, while the second object—the **thing** which is given—is printed in bold type:

- (30) a. *Ak mlsa a Helen a omiange.*
'I gave Helen a souvenir.'
b. *Ak milsterir a ręsęchęlik a hong.*
'I gave my friends a book.'
c. *Ak mo męskau a udoud.*
'I'm going to give you some money.'
d. *A Droteo a milskak a present.*
'Droteo gave me a present.'

As the examples above show, the verb *msa* 'give' is unusual in the following respects. First of all, this verb seems to have only **perfective** forms, but no **imperfective** forms. Second, the various object pronoun suffixes found in these perfective forms agree in person and number with the first object—namely, the **person** receiving what is given—rather than with the second object, which identifies the **thing** given. Thus, in 30a, the form *mlsa* 'gave (it to) him/her' has the 3rd pers. sg. object pronoun suffix *-a*,⁵ which agrees with the following specific 3rd pers. sg. object *Helen*. By contrast, *milsterir* 'gave (it to) them' of 30b has the 3rd pers. human pl. object pronoun suffix *-terir* because the following noun *ęsęchęlik* 'my friends' is human plural. Finally, the second object can never be preceded by the **specifying word** *ęr* (cf. 2.7); therefore, there is no overt way of marking this object as **specific** vs. **non-specific** or **singular** vs. **plural**. For this reason, the object *hong* in 30b could also be interpreted to mean '(some) books', 'the book', or 'the books'.

In the sentences of 30, the order of the two objects can be reversed. The process which brings about this change in word order is of relatively minor significance in that its application is limited to sentences containing the verb *msa* 'give'. If the first object is singular, as in 30a, reversing the order of the two objects usually results in a sentence which is identical in meaning and equal in acceptability—namely,

- (31) *Ak mlsa a omiange a Helen.*
'I gave a souvenir to Helen.'⁶

If, however, the first object is plural, as in 30b, interchanging the two objects results in a rather awkward sentence which some Palauan speakers accept but others reject—i.e.,

- (32) ?Ak milst̃erir a hong a r̃s̃eç̃elik.
'I gave a book to my friends.'

Perhaps 32 is of questionable acceptability because the 3rd pers. human pl. object pronoun suffix *-t̃erir* has come to appear next to a singular, non-human noun (*hong* 'book').⁷

DEPENDENT CLAUSES RESULTING FROM SUBJECT SHIFTING

- 17.7. As we have seen above, the process of subject shifting accounts for sentences in which the nouns of liking and disliking (*soal* and *chẽtil*) are directly followed by concrete nouns or noun phrases. Now, with a sentence like 1a, repeated here for convenience,

- (1a) Ng soak a biang.
'I like beer.'

compare the following:

- (33) Ng soak ̣l m̃elim a biang.
'I want to drink some beer.'

While *soak* is followed by the concrete noun *biang* 'beer' in 1a, the sequence following *soak* in 33 has some of the characteristics of **dependent clauses** mentioned in chap. 15. First of all, this sequence is introduced by *̣l*, and second, it does not contain any overtly-expressed subject. We nevertheless know that the understood subject of *m̃elim* 'drink' is the same as the person identified by the possessor suffix on *soak*—namely, the speaker (*ak* 'I'). If we put a sentence like 33 into the past tense, we have further evidence that the sequence introduced by *̣l* is a dependent clause. Thus, in the sentence below,

- (34) Ng mle soak ̣l m̃elim a biang.
'I wanted to drink some beer.'

the verb form *m̃elim* remains in the present tense even though the whole sentence designates a past situation.

Just as we derived example 1a by subject shifting according to the following scheme,

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|---|------------------------------------|
| (5a) <i>Source Sentence</i> | | <i>Resulting Sentence</i> |
| A biang a soak. | → | Ng soak a biang.
'I like beer.' |

we propose that subject shifting is also responsible for examples like 33, except that the structure of the source sentence is more complex. Observe, therefore, the following:

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|---|--|
| (35) <i>Source Sentence</i> | | <i>Resulting Sentence</i> |
| [Ak m̃elim a biang] a soak. | → | Ng soak ̣l m̃elim a biang.
'I want to drink some beer.' |

The source sentence of 35 is of course not spoken in Palauan, but must always be transformed into the resulting sentence. Let us now explain the process of derivation schematized in 35. While the source sentence of 5a has a single noun (*biang* 'beer') as its subject, we propose that the "real" subject of the source sentence of 35 is the **bracketed** sentence *ak m̃elim a biang* 'I drink beer.' In other words, the subject of *soak* does not necessarily have to be a concrete noun, as it is in 5a, but it can also be a **whole activity** which involves a subject (or doer) and a verb phrase. The bracketed **sentence** in subject position in 35 symbolizes the fact that in this example the subject of *soak* is the whole activity *ak m̃elim a biang* 'I drink beer.' Thus, the source sentences in both 5a and 35 are **equational sentences** in which the subject is being equated with the noun phrase *soak*; the only difference is that in 35 an (abstract) activity rather than a concrete thing is being asserted as the speaker's desire.

If we formulate the source sentence of 35 as described above, we can easily account for the resulting sentence of 35 in terms of processes and principles with which we are already familiar. Furthermore, we can see that the derivation of sentences like 1a and 33 (= the resulting sentences of 5a and 35) is really very similar in that the process of subject shifting is involved in both cases. Now, let us look at the derivation of 35 in detail. In this example, subject shifting applies to the **whole bracketed sentence** *ak m̃elim a biang*, since this sequence is the subject of *soak*. The application of subject shifting results in the following structure:

- (35') [Ak m̃elim a biang] a soak. → Ng soak [ak m̃elim a biang].

The resulting sentence of 35' is still not a spoken sentence of Palauan, but it is "halfway there" in the sense that it contains sentence-initial *ng*, which of course is a **pronominal trace** left behind by the shifted subject. Two further changes are necessary to transform the resulting sentence of 35' into a full-fledged grammatical sentence—namely, into 33 (= the resulting sentence of 35). These changes turn the shifted subject *ak m̃elim a biang* into a **dependent clause**—i.e.,

- (36) Ng soak [ak məlim a biang]. → Ng soak ɛl məlim a biang.
'I want to drink some beer.'

In 36, the subject *ak* 'I' of the shifted bracketed sentence is deleted because the possessor suffix on *soak* already makes it clear that the drinker of the beer will be the speaker. In other words, the subject *ak* 'I' of the bracketed sentence is deleted under **identity** with the pronominal possessor of the preceding possessed noun *soak*. In addition, the word *ɛl* is inserted to introduce the shifted sequence. The resulting sentence of 36 has therefore come to contain the dependent clause *ɛl məlim a biang*.

In the discussion above, we have seen that the process of subject shifting accounts for both of the sentences 1a and 33, repeated here as 37a–b:

- (37) a. Ng soak a biang.
'I like beer.'/'I'd like some beer.'
b. Ng soak ɛl məlim a biang.
'I want to drink some beer.'

What differentiates 37a from 37b is that in the former example, a concrete noun phrase has been shifted, while in the latter example, an (abstract) bracketed sentence has been shifted. This difference in shifted subject correlates with the following consistent difference in meaning. Example 37a, with a concrete noun phrase following *soak*, can be either a **general statement** ('I like beer.') or a statement of the speaker's desire on a **specific occasion** ('I'd like some beer.') By contrast, example 37b, with a dependent clause following *soak*, can only be a statement about a specific occasion. A similar contrast in interpretation is found in sentences containing the noun of disliking *chɛtil*. Thus, with 37a–b compare the following pair of sentences:

- (38) a. Ng chɛtirir a sasimi.
'They dislike sashimi.'/'They don't want any sashimi.'
b. Ng chɛtirir ɛl mɛnga a sasimi.
'They don't want to eat any sashimi.'

As we have seen above, the possessed forms of *soal* 'his/her liking' and *chɛtil* 'his/her disliking' can be followed by shifted subjects which are either concrete noun phrases or (abstract) bracketed sentences. In other words, *soal* and *chɛtil* occur in equational source sentences of the form *noun phrase + soal/chɛtil* or *[sentence] + soal/chɛtil*. As opposed to *soal* and *chɛtil*, the obligatorily possessed nouns *sɛbɛchel* 'his/her ability' and *kirel*

'his/her obligation' (cf. 17.1 above) cannot occur in an equational source sentence whose subject is a concrete noun phrase; therefore, source sentences containing these two special nouns can only be of the form *[sentence] + sɛbɛchel/kirel*.⁸ For this reason, the possessed forms of *sɛbɛchel* and *kirel* are always followed by shifted subjects which are (abstract) bracketed sentences that take the form of dependent clauses. This is the case in 1c–d above and in examples like the following:

- (39) a. Ng sɛbɛchek ɛl eko ɛr a blim ɛr a klukuk.
'I can come to your house tomorrow.'
b. A Droteo a sɛbɛchel ɛl ousbech ɛr a mlik.
'Droteo can use my car.'
c. Ng kirek ɛl mɛnguui ɛr tia ɛl hong.
'I have to read this book.'
d. A Toki a kirel ɛl mɛsuub er a elɛchang.
'Toki has to study today.'

In deriving 39b and 39d, the processes of subject shifting and preposing of possessor must both be applied. The step-by-step derivation of 39b is therefore as follows:

- (40) a. [A Droteo a ousbech ɛr a mlik] a sɛbɛchel a Droteo.
(source sentence) →
b. Ng sɛbɛchel a Droteo [a Droteo a ousbech ɛr a mlik].
(by subject shifting applied to bracketed sentence) →
c. Ng sɛbɛchel a Droteo ɛl ousbech ɛr a mlik.
(by dependent clause formation) →
d. A Droteo a sɛbɛchel ɛl ousbech ɛr a mlik.
(by preposing of possessor).

In step c, we use the term "dependent clause formation" to refer to the rules which introduce *ɛl* and delete the subject (*Droteo*) of the bracketed sentence under **identity** with the preceding occurrence of *Droteo* as possessor of *sɛbɛchel*. Since the sentence in 40c is an acceptable Palauan sentence, application of the preposing of possessor rule to derive 40d is merely optional.⁹

SUBJECT SHIFTING AND DERIVED ACTION NOUNS

- 17.8. At the end of the preceding section, we noted that the possessed forms of *soal* 'his/her liking' and *chɛtil* 'his/her disliking' can be followed by shifted subjects which are either concrete noun phrases or (abstract) bracketed sentences. In this section, we will

examine a third type of sequence which can follow the possessed forms of *soal* and *chëtil*—namely, abstract noun phrases containing **derived action nouns** in *o-*. These action nouns, as we saw in 8.6, are derived simply by prefixing *o-* to transitive or intransitive action verbs—e.g., we have *omëluchës* ‘writing’ from *mëluchës* ‘write’, *omilil* ‘playing’ from *milil* ‘play’, and so on. Derived action nouns designate actions or activities as **abstract** or **general** concepts and are used in examples like the following:

- (41) a. A *omëruul ël kall* a urerir a rëdil.
‘Preparing food is women’s work.’
b. A *omënguüu ël təkoi ër a Sina* a kmal mëringël.
‘Reading Chinese is very difficult.’
c. Ak chilitii a *omëlamech ël dëkool*.
‘I gave up/quit smoking cigarettes.’

In 41a–b, the action nouns *omëruul* ‘preparing’ and *omënguüu* ‘reading’ are part of the italicized **subject noun phrases**, while in 41c the action noun *omëlamech* ‘smoking’ is found in the italicized **object noun phrase**. Since *omëruul*, *omënguüu*, and *omëlamech* are derived from **transitive verbs** (*mëruul* ‘make, prepare’, *mënguüu* ‘read’ and *mëlamech* ‘smoke, chew’) they can be associated with objects. These objects are always introduced by *ël*, which therefore precedes *kall* ‘food’, *təkoi ër a Sina* ‘Chinese’, and *dëkool* ‘cigarettes’ in 41a–c above.¹⁰

In the examples below, possessed forms of *soal* and *chëtil* are followed by shifted subjects which contain derived action nouns in *o-*.

- (42) a. Ng soak a omëlim ël biang.
‘I like drinking beer.’
b. Ng soam a $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{omëngëdub} \\ \text{omësuub} \\ \text{omërael} \end{array} \right\} ?$
‘Do you like $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{swimming} \\ \text{studying} \\ \text{traveling} \end{array} \right\} ?$ ’
c. A Toki a chëtil a omëruul ël kall.
‘Toki dislikes preparing food.’
d. Ng chëtik a omëlamech ël buuch.
‘I dislike chewing betel nut.’
e. A sensei a chëtil a omënggrodëch ër a klas.
‘The teacher doesn’t like people making noise in class.’

As expected, the source sentences for 42a–e are equational sen-

tences in which the subject noun phrase contains a derived action noun. Thus, 42c, for example, is derived in the following manner:

- (43) a. A omëruul ël kall a chëtil a Toki.
(source sentence) →
b. Ng chëtil a Toki a omëruul ël kall.
(by subject shifting) →
c. A Toki a chëtil a omëruul ël kall.
(by preposing of possessor).

Because derived action nouns in *o-* designate actions or activities as **abstract** or **general** concepts, as mentioned above, it is no surprise that the examples of 42 are interpreted as **general** statements (or questions) rather than as statements (or questions) about **specific occasions**. Because 42a, for example, is a general statement, it contrasts in meaning with 33, which refers to a specific occasion. Both of these examples are now repeated here for purposes of comparison:

- (44) a. Ng soak a omëlim ël biang.
‘I like drinking beer.’
b. Ng soak ël mëlim a biang.
‘I want to drink some beer.’

As the English equivalents show, the sentences of 44 are quite different from each other in meaning. In 44b, which has a dependent clause following *soak*, the action of drinking beer refers to a specific occasion. Therefore, this sentence would be used by the speaker at the very moment when he has a desire to drink beer. By contrast, example 44a, which has a derived action noun following *soak*, views the action of drinking beer in a general (or perhaps, habitual) sense. For this reason, 44a could be spoken **at any time** as an expression of the speaker’s habit or preference, but would not be appropriate to express the speaker’s momentary desire to drink beer. In other words, 44b would be a suitable answer to the question ‘What would you like to drink?’, while 44a would not.

The contrast in meaning between 44a–b is paralleled in the pairs of sentences below, which contain possessed forms of *chëtil* ‘his/her disliking’ and *sëbëchel* ‘his/her ability’:

- (45) a. A Toki a chëtil a omëruul ël kall.
‘Toki dislikes preparing food.’
b. A Toki a chëtil ël mëruul a kall.
‘Toki doesn’t want to make the food.’

- (46) a. Ng sɛbɛchem a omɛlim ɛl rrom?
'Are you capable of drinking liquor?'
b. Ng sɛbɛchem ɛl mɛlim a rrom?
'Can you have a drink of liquor?'

Example 46a is a rather challenging question in which the hearer is being asked whether he has the ability—i.e., strength or maturity—to drink liquor. By contrast, 46b is simply an invitation to drink liquor and implies nothing about the hearer's "prowess" as a drinker.

POSSESSED FORMS OF DERIVED ACTION NOUNS

- 17.8.1. Just like any other nouns, the derived action nouns in *o-* discussed above can take the various **possessor suffixes**. The resulting possessed forms can be used in sentences with *soal* and *chɛtil*, as follows:

- (47) a. A sensei a soal a omɛsubek ɛr a tɛkoi ɛr a Merikel.
'The teacher likes the way I'm studying English.'
b. Ng soam a omɛlmɛchel a Droteo ɛr a dɛkool?
'Do you like Droteo's smoking (so many) cigarettes?'
c. A dɛmak a chɛtil a omɛrɛllek ɛr a party.¹¹
'My father dislikes my having (so many) parties.'
d. Ng chɛtik a omɛlmil a Cisco ɛr a rrom.
'I dislike the way Cisco drinks (so much) liquor.'
e. Ng chɛtik a omililel a Droteo ɛr a klɛbɛsei.
'I don't like Droteo's fooling around (so much) at night.'

In the possessed forms *omɛsubek* 'my studying' (cf. *mɛsuub* 'study'), *omɛlmɛchel* 'his smoking' (cf. *mɛlamɛch* 'smoke'), *omɛrɛllek* 'my preparing' (cf. *mɛruul* 'make, prepare'), and *omɛlmil* 'his drinking' (cf. *mɛlim* 'drink'), you should be able to recognize certain patterns of **vowel reduction** and **vowel deletion** (cf. 3.4 and 3.4.1–3). Note, further, that the objects following these possessed nouns must be expressed by a **relational phrase** (cf. 14.9). Thus, the objects *tɛkoi ɛr a Merikel* 'English' of 47a, *dɛkool* 'cigarettes' of 47b, *party* of 47c, and *rrom* 'liquor' of 47d are all preceded by the relational word *ɛr*.

As the English equivalents for the sentences in 47 are designed to show, the possessed forms of action nouns in *o-* always imply that the habitual action in question is a **fact**—i.e., that it is being pursued regularly by the person referred to by the posses-

sor suffix. Thus, in 47b, for instance, the speaker **assumes** (or **presupposes**) it is a fact that Droteo smokes a lot of cigarettes and then asks the hearer whether he approves of this fact. Similarly, in 47e the speaker recognizes the fact that Droteo does a lot of fooling around and then offers his (negative) opinion or judgment about this fact.

In 47b, 47d, and 47e, where a specific 3rd person possessor is mentioned, this possessor always identifies the **agent**—i.e., the person who is doing the action denoted by the possessed action noun in *o-*. Thus, in *omɛlmɛchel a Droteo* 'Droteo's smoking' of 47b, the "possessor" *Droteo* is the one who is pursuing the activity of smoking. Occasionally, we will observe expressions of the form *possessed action noun in o- + specific possessor* which are interpreted differently from those of 47b, 47d, and 47e. Thus, in the examples below, the italicized "possessors" actually designate the **objects** of the actions denoted by the possessed action nouns in *o-*:

- (48) a. A omɛrɛllel a *mlai* a kmal mɛringɛl.
'(The method of) making canoes is very difficult.'
b. Ak mla mɛlasɛm ɛr a omɛrɛllel a *kall ɛr a Sina*, e ng di ng diak lɛbɛchek.
'I've tried (the method of) preparing Chinese food, but I'm not good at it.'

Soal AND *Chɛtil* FOLLOWED BY HYPOTHETICAL VERB FORMS

- 17.9. The possessed forms of *soal* and *chɛtil* can be followed by **hypothetical verb forms** (cf. 4.10) to convey the idea "X wants/does not want Y to do something". Observe the following sentences:

- (49) a. A sensei a soal a *kusuub*.
'The teacher wants me to study.'
b. A dɛmak a chɛtil a *kuruul a party*.
'My father doesn't want me to have parties.'
c. Ng soak a *rɛngalɛk a lomɛngur*.
'I want the children to eat.'
d. Ng chɛtik a *ngelekek a lolamɛch a dɛkool*.
'I don't want my child smoking cigarettes.'
e. A rɛsɛchɛlik a sorir a *chobong*.
'My friends want you to go.'

In each of the sentences above, one person (or group of persons) *X* wants or doesn't want another person (or group of persons) *Y*

to do something. While X is identified by the possessor suffix on *soal* or *cheṭil*, Y is expressed by the **hypothetical pronoun** which is prefixed to the hypothetical verb form. Furthermore, if X or Y is a third person, then a specific noun may be mentioned. In 49a, for example, X—the person desiring something—is identified by the specific noun *sensei* ‘teacher’ and the 3rd pers. sg. possessor suffix on *soal*, while Y—the person who is expected to do something—is identified by the 1st pers. sg. hypothetical pronoun prefix *ku-* ‘I’ on *kusuub*. Similarly, in 49e, X is identified by the specific plural noun *reṣecheḷik* ‘my friends’ and the 3rd pers. human pl. possessor suffix on *sorir*, while Y corresponds to the 2nd pers. (sg. or pl.) hypothetical pronoun prefix *cho-* ‘you’ on *chobong*.

It appears that the italicized portions of 49a–e are actually instances of **conditional clauses**. As we will see in 19.1, Palauan conditional clauses express events as **possible occurrences** rather than as **real facts**; this important feature of their interpretation is observed in the following example:

- (50) *A kbo er a Guam, e ak mo omes er a Toki.*
 ‘If I go to Guam, then I’ll see Toki.’

In 50, the event “I go to Guam” is not a real occurrence but instead one which is **hypothesized** or put forth as a **possibility**. For this reason, the italicized conditional clause of 50 corresponds to English sequences introduced by ‘if’. As the examples of 49 and 50 show, Palauan conditional clauses contain **hypothetical verb forms** (which characteristically designate **unreal** or **hypothesized** events—hence, the term **hypothetical**) and are introduced by the **conditional clause marker** *a* ‘if’. If we are correct in assuming that the italicized portions of 49a–e are conditional clauses, then we should recognize that the English equivalents for these examples are rather free. For instance, we have translated 49a as ‘The teacher wants me to study’, but a word-for-word translation would be something like ‘The teacher would like it *if I studied*.’ Both the free translation and the more literal translation are really equivalent, however, since they both imply that the speaker has not been studying and that the teacher would like the situation to change.

Since the sentences of 49 contain conditional clauses and therefore express **possible** events, their meaning is quite different from the examples of 47, in which the possessed forms of action nouns in *o-* clearly refer to **real** events (i.e., **facts**). This contrast

is observed in the following pairs of sentences (= 47a vs. 49a and 47c vs. 49b):

- (51) a. A *sensei a soal a omṣubek.*
 ‘The teacher likes my studying (so hard).’
 b. A *sensei a soal a kusuub.*
 ‘The teacher wants me to study.’
 (52) a. A *ḍemak a cheṭil a omṣeḷlek er a party.*
 ‘My father dislikes my having (so many) parties.’
 b. A *ḍemak a cheṭil a kuruul a party.*
 ‘My father doesn’t want me to have parties.’

In the a-sentences above, the possessed forms *omṣubek* ‘my studying’ and *omṣeḷlek* ‘my making (a party)’ describe activities or events which are actual facts, and the possessed forms *soal* and *cheṭil* express some third person’s opinion about these facts. By contrast, the activities described by *kusuub* ‘(if) I study’ and *kuruul* ‘(if) I make (a party)’ in the b-sentences are not real facts at the present moment, but are events which some third party would react favorably or unfavorably to **if they occurred**.

FURTHER DISCUSSION OF THE FOUR SPECIAL POSSESSED NOUNS

- 17.10. In the sections above, we have examined the most important aspects of the meaning and use of the four possessed nouns *soal*, *cheṭil*, *seḃecheḷ*, and *kirel*. In this section we will mention some further details about each of these words.

a. *soal* and *cheṭil*.

As we have seen above, *soal* and *cheṭil* are opposite in meaning. Therefore, 53a below usually has 53b as its opposite:

- (53) a. Ng *soak ḷl mong.*
 ‘I want to go.’
 b. Ng *cheṭik ḷl mong.*
 ‘I don’t want to go.’

It is also possible to derive an opposite of 53a by adding the **negative verb** *diak* ‘isn’t, doesn’t exist’ (see chap. 18); thus, we have

- (54) Ng *diak Isoak¹² ḷl mong.*
 ‘I (really) don’t want to go.’

Though 53b and 54 are interchangeable in many contexts, some

speakers feel that 54 is more emphatic, blunter, or less polite than 53b.

The 3rd pers. sg. possessed form of *soal* can also be used in the meaning 'look as if', as shown in the examples below:

- (55) a. A eanged a soal ɛl mo ungil ɛr a klukuk.
'The weather looks as if it might be good tomorrow.'
b. A chull a soal ɛl mo ɛr ngii ɛr a kɛbsengei.
'It looks as if it's going to rain tonight.'
c. A ngais a soal ɛl ruebɛt mɛ bo mungil ɛl orrekɛd.
'The eggs look as if they'll fall out, so hold on to them carefully.'

In a related meaning, the 1st pers. sg. possessed form *soak* corresponds to 'feel as if', as in the following:

- (56) Ak kmal mɛdɪngɛs mɛ ng soak ɛl mo smeɛɛr.
'I'm very full, so I feel as if I'll be sick.'

The uses of *soal* and *soak* described here imply that the speaker has **evidence**—through observation or direct personal experience—that some event is going to take place. Thus, 55a–b, for example, are predictions based on the speaker's observation of some natural phenomenon—e.g., the condition of the sky.

b. *sɛbɛɛchel*.

In our discussion above, we referred to *sɛbɛɛchel* as a noun of "ability": in other words, *sɛbɛɛchel* expresses the fact that someone is **able** to do something because he has the time (or opportunity) to do it, or has the physical capacity to perform the task involved. In addition to this meaning, *sɛbɛɛchel* can also express the fact that someone has **permission** to do something: in this case, someone is **able** to do something in the sense that no one else is preventing or forbidding his doing it. Often, it is only the context or situation which tells us whether *sɛbɛɛchel* refers to **ability** or **permission**. Therefore, the following sentences are **ambiguous** when examined in isolation (the same is true for 1c, 39a–b, and 46b above):

- (57) a. Ng sɛbɛɛchek ɛl mo er a mubi ɛr a klukuk.
'I can go to the movies tomorrow.' (= 'I have time to go to the movies tomorrow.'/'I have permission to go to the movies tomorrow.')
b. Ng diak lsɛbɛɛchem ɛl mo ɛr a che er a elɛɛhang?
'Can't you go fishing now?' (= 'Aren't you able to go fishing now?'/ 'Aren't you allowed to go fishing now?')

As 57b shows, the possessed forms of *sɛbɛɛchel* remain ambiguous when they are preceded by the **negative verb** *diak* 'isn't, doesn't exist'. It is also interesting to note that the best English equivalent for *sɛbɛɛchel*—namely, *can*—is ambiguous in the same way.

c. *kirel*.

In the examples 39c–d above, we saw that the possessed forms of *kirel*, when followed by a dependent clause, convey the idea of **obligation** or **necessity**. The possessed forms of *kirel* can also be associated with **derived action nouns** in *o-*, in which case they imply that someone is **sued** to performing a particular activity. This usage is normally found in negative sentences like the following:

- (58) a. A omɛsuub ɛl ochur a diak lɛkirel a Droteo.
'Studying math is not something Droteo is suited for.'
b. A omɛlim ɛl biang a diak lɛkirir a rɛngalɛk ɛr a skuul.
'Drinking beer isn't meant for students.'

Instead of a derived action noun in *o-*, a derived abstract noun in *klɛ-* (cf. 8.5) may be associated with *kirel*, as in the example below:

- (59) A klsensei a diak lɛkirek ɛl ureor.
'Being a teacher isn't meant for me.'

When sentences like 39c–d are turned into negative sentences by adding *diak* 'isn't, doesn't exist', the resulting meaning is either 'must not' or 'doesn't have to'. Note the following examples:

- (60) a. Ng diak lɛkirek ɛl mɛlim a biang.
'I must not drink beer.'
b. Ng diak lɛkirem ɛl mo sensei. Ng kirem ɛl mo toktang.
'You must not become a teacher; you must become a doctor.'
c. Ng diak lɛkirir ɛl mong.
'They don't have to go.'

A noun phrase of possession containing a possessed form of *kirel* can be used as a kind of **specifying clause** (cf. 15.7) to identify the person who **benefits** from some activity or the thing which is the **cause** or **purpose** of some activity. Such specifying clauses are italicized in the sentences below:

- (61) a. Ak mɛngɛtmokl ɛr a blai ɛl kirel a Toki.
'I'm cleaning the house for Toki.'

- b. Ak mēruul aika ēl kiriu.
'I'm doing these things for you.'
- c. A rēngalēk ēr a skuul a mēsuub ēl kirel a test.
'The students are studying for the test.'
- d. Ak mo mēruul a kall ēl kirel a party.
'I'm going to make food for the party.'
- e. A Droteo a mle suebēk a rēngul ēl kirel a test.
'Droteo was worried about the test.'
- f. Aki milēngēt mokl ēr a bēluu ēl kirel a eisei.
'We were cleaning up our village for the sake of proper sanitation.'

d. *The Four Possessed Nouns and Various Tenses.*

As we saw in 4a–b above, Palauan equational sentences in the past tense contain the auxiliary word *mle* 'was, were'. This auxiliary is also used to indicate the past tense in sentences containing the possessed forms of *soal*, *chētil*, *sēbēchel*, and *kirel*, since such sentences are basically of the equational type (cf. our discussion in 17.2). Note, therefore, the examples below:

- (62) a. Ng *mle* soak ēl mo ēr a chei.
'I wanted to go fishing.'
- b. A Toki a *mle* chētil ēl mēruul a kall.
'Toki didn't want to prepare the food.'
- c. Ng *mle* sēbēchem ēl mo milil er a elii?
'Were you able/allowed to go out and play yesterday?'
- d. Ng *mle* kiram ēl mēsuub.
'We had to/were supposed to study.'
- e. A Droteo a *mle* kirel ēl oureor ēr a Guam, e ng di ng mlo ēr a Hawaii.
'Droteo was supposed to work in Guam, but he went to Hawaii (instead).'

In order to indicate the future tense in an equational sentence, we use the directional verb *mo* 'go' as an auxiliary. In such cases, use of *mo* not only designates a future event but also implies a **change of state** (cf. 13.5.1). Observe the following equational sentences in the future tense:

- (63) a. A ngēlēkek a *mo* sensei.
'My child is going to become a teacher.'
- b. A Toki ng *mo* chad ēr a Merikel er oingarang?
'When is Toki becoming an American citizen?'

Since sentences with *soal*, *chētil*, *sēbēchel*, and *kirel* are equational sentences, they too use *mo* 'go' as an auxiliary to indicate future tense. The following examples are typical:

- (64) a. Ng *mo* sēbēchem ēl me ēr a blik ēr a klukuk?
'Will you be able to come to my house tomorrow?'
- b. Ng *mo* soam ēl mēsuub ēr a klukuk?
'Will you be wanting to study tomorrow?'

To express a **past** change of state in equational sentences, we use *mlo* or *mlo mo* (for relatively remote vs. recent past, respectively), as in the sentences below:

- (65) a. Kē *mlo* sensei er oingarang?
'When did you become a teacher?'
- b. A ngēlēkel a Toki a *mlo mo* padre.
'Toki's child has become a priest.'

Equational sentences containing the four possessed nouns under discussion also use *mlo* and *mlo mo* to designate changes of state in the past, as illustrated below:

- (66) a. Ng *mlo* soak a sasimi er se ēr a kngar ēr a Siabal.
'I got to like sashimi when I was in Japan.'
- b. A Toki a *mlo mo* chētil ēl mēsuub a ochur.
'Toki has gotten to dislike studying math.'
- c. A Satsko a *mlo* sēbēchel ēl mo ēr a Guam.
'Satsko had the opportunity to go to Guam.'
- d. Ng *mlo mo* kirek ēl mo rēmei.
'It's gotten to the point where I have to go home.'

18 Negation

AFFIRMATIVE VS. NEGATIVE SENTENCES

- 18.1. The sentences of Palauan, like those of every language, can be classified into **affirmative** and **negative** types. While an affirmative sentence **asserts** (or **affirms**) the occurrence of some action, event, state, condition, etc., a negative sentence **denies** such occurrence. In other words, a negative sentence makes a statement of the sort 'someone is *not* doing something', 'such and such is *not* the case', 'X is *not* Y', 'there *isn't/aren't* any Z', etc. Mostly all Palauan negative sentences contain some form of the **negative verb** *diak* 'isn't, doesn't exist', which we will examine in detail in 18.3 below.

To familiarize ourselves with the idea of negation, let us compare a few affirmative sentences with their negative counterparts:

- (1) a. A Toki a mēguui ɛr a hong.
'Toki is reading the book.'
- b. A Toki a diak longuii ɛr a hong.
'Toki isn't reading the book.'
- (2) a. A ngēlēkek a smecheɾ.
'My child is sick.'
- b. A ngēlēkek a diak lsecheɾ.
'My child isn't sick.'
- (3) a. A Droteo a sensei.
'Droteo is a teacher.'
- b. A Droteo a diak lsensei.
'Droteo isn't a teacher.'

It is easy to see that the b-sentences above are the **denials** (or, in a sense, **opposites**) of the a-sentences. Thus, while 1a is a **transitive sentence** which asserts that a particular **agent** or **doer** (*Toki*) is performing a certain activity (reading the book), 1b denies that

the agent is engaged in that same activity. In a parallel way, 2a is an **intransitive sentence** in which the subject (*ngēlēkek* 'my child') is asserted to be in a particular state (*smecheɾ* 'sick'), while 2b denies that the subject is in this state. Finally, 3a is an **equational sentence** (see 18.6 below) which asserts a relationship of equivalency between two noun phrases (*Droteo* and *sensei* 'teacher'), while 3b denies this relationship.

In each of the b-sentences above, the verb or noun directly following the negative verb *diak* must be prefixed with a **hypothetical pronoun** (cf. 4.10) which **agrees** in person and number with the agent or doer (if the sentence is **transitive**, as in 1) or the subject (if the sentence is **intransitive** or **equational**, as in 2 and 3). Thus, in 1b and 2b we observe the **hypothetical verb forms** *longuii* and *lsecheɾ*; *longuii* is derived by replacing the verb marker *mē-* of the corresponding imperfective transitive verb *mēguui* 'read' with the 3rd pers. sg. hypothetical pronoun prefix *lo-*, and *lsecheɾ* is formed by prefixing the **reduced variant** *l-* of the 3rd pers. sg. hypothetical pronoun (cf. 4.10.4) to *secheɾ*, which is the stem of the intransitive state verb *smecheɾ* 'sick'. In 3b, the noun directly following *diak*—namely, *sensei* 'teacher'—also shows the reduced variant *l-* of the 3rd pers. sg. hypothetical pronoun. The appearance of the hypothetical pronouns after *diak* in the b-sentences above can be explained in a very straightforward way, as we will see in 18.4 below.

AFFIRMATIVE VS. NEGATIVE EXPRESSIONS OF EXISTENCE

- 18.2. When a speaker of Palauan wishes to introduce a piece of information into a conversation for the first time, he will often use sentences of the following kind:

- (4) a. Ng ngar ɛr ngii a *oles* ɛr a cheɭsel a skidas.
'There's a knife inside the drawer.'
- b. Ng ngar ɛr ngii a *mlik*.
'I have a car.'
- c. Ng mla ɛr ngii a *ududel* a Toki.
'Toki had money.'
- d. Ng mla ɛr ngii a *blai* ɛr tiang.
'There used to be a house here.'
- e. Ng mla ɛr ngii a *ilumēl* ɛr a party.
'There were drinks at the party.'

The sentences above are used when the speaker wants to assert

the existence of something which he believes represents **new information** for the hearer. In other words, the italicized noun phrases of 4 **introduce** the hearer for the first time to (the existence of) the items in question. Thus, if a speaker utters 4a, for example, his hearer is presumably finding out for the first time about the existence of a knife (*oles*) in the drawer. For this reason, 4a would appear naturally in a dialog such as the following:

(5) A: Ngara a ngar *er ngii* *er a ch̥sel a skidas*?
'What is there inside the drawer?'

B: Ng ngar *er ngii a oles* (*er a ch̥sel a skidas*).
'There's a knife (inside the drawer).'

A's question implies that he does not know what is inside the drawer; therefore, it is obvious that *oles* 'knife' in B's response constitutes a new piece of information. Because A's question has already specified the location involved, the parenthesized **locational phrase** *er a ch̥sel a skidas* 'inside the drawer' (cf. 14.2.1-2) may be omitted in B's response.

Now, sentence 4a should be distinguished from the following:

(6) A *oles a ngar er a ch̥sel a skidas*.
'The knife is inside the drawer.'

While *oles* 'knife' is new information for the hearer in 4a, in 6 this same noun represents old information to which the hearer has already been introduced. In other words, 6 can only be used when the identity of *oles* 'knife' is clear—i.e., when both speaker and hearer know what particular knife they are talking about. For this reason, 6 would be used in a dialog such as the following:

(7) A: A *oles ng ngar er ker*?
'Where is the knife?'

B: A *oles¹ a ngar er a ch̥sel a skidas*.
'The knife is inside the drawer.'

Since *oles* in 7B is old information, the new information which this sentence conveys must be represented by the locational phrase *er a ch̥sel a skidas* 'inside the drawer'. This is in fact the case, since 7A is a question asking for information about the location of the knife.

Sentences like 4a-e, which assert the existence of something or introduce something into a conversation as new information, are called **affirmative expressions of existence**. Such sentences al-

ways contain some form of the special sequence *ngar er ngii* 'there is/are'. As examples 4c-e show, *ngar er ngii* 'there is/are' changes to *m̥la er ngii* 'there was/were' in the past tense. These sequences are rather difficult to analyze because their meaning cannot be readily explained in terms of their form. They appear to be a combination of the **existential verb** *ngar* 'exist, be (located)' (past: *m̥la* 'existed, was (located)'²) and the **relational phrase** *er ngii*. As we will see below, this relational phrase, which consists of the relational word *er* followed by the 3rd pers. sg. emphatic pronoun *ngii*, is probably a kind of **locational phrase** (cf. 14.2). Therefore, the literal meaning of *ngar er ngii* and *m̥la er ngii* seems to be something like 'exists in it' and 'existed in it', respectively. Because of this difficulty of analysis, it is perhaps better to think of *ngar er ngii* and *m̥la er ngii* as single, indivisible units with the meaning 'there is/are' or 'there was/were'.³ A similar problem is observed for the future tense form of *ngar er ngii* 'there is/are', which is *mo er ngii* 'there will be'. Though best dealt with as a single unit, this sequence most likely consists of the future tense auxiliary *mo* 'go' and the relational phrase *er ngii*.

The **state verb** *ngar* which is found in the sequences *ngar er ngii* and *m̥la er ngii* is normally used as an **existential verb** which denotes the existence of someone or something in a particular location. As in 6 above, the existential verb *ngar* 'exist, be (located)' always occurs in sentences followed by a **locational phrase**, which simply tells us where someone or something is. This locational phrase has been italicized in the examples below:

- (8) a. A *mlik a ngar er a m̥dal a blai*.
'My car is in front of the house.'
- b. A *Ngchesar a ngar er a Babel̥daob*.
'Ngchesar is located on Babel̥daob.'
- c. A *Helen a m̥la er a bitang*.
'Helen was next door.'

Because *ngar* is always followed by a locational phrase,⁴ we tentatively proposed above that the relational phrase in *ngar er ngii* and *m̥la er ngii* is of the locational type. The existential verb *ngar* is unusual in that it has the irregular past tense form *m̥la* 'existed, was (located)'. This form is probably closely related to the **auxiliary word** *m̥la*, which is used to denote recent past time or past experience (cf. 5.3.2.1).

The following sentences are additional examples of affirmative expressions of existence:

- (9) a. Ng ngar ɛr ngii a $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{hong ɛr ngak} \\ \text{uldeʃuek} \end{array} \right\}$.
 'I have $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a book} \\ \text{an idea} \end{array} \right\}$.'
- b. Ng ngar ɛr ngii a kɛrim?
 'Do you have a question?'
- c. Ng mo ɛr ngii a oɕɛraol ɛr a klukuk.
 'There will be a money-raising party tomorrow.'
- d. Ng mo ɛr ngii a sukaɭ ɛr a imeɭem?
 'Will you take sugar in your drink?'
- e. Ng mochu ɛr ngii a chull.
 'It's about to rain.'
- f. Ng mla ɛr ngii a temel a Toki ɛɭ mo ɛr a party.
 'Toki had time to go to the party.'

In 9e, *mochu* is the **predictive** form of *mo* 'go' (cf. 11.12.5). Therefore, the sequence *mochu ɛr ngii* means something like 'there is about to be'.

As we might expect, all of the **affirmative expressions of existence** discussed above can be transformed into **negative expressions of existence** by using some form of the negative verb *diak* 'isn't, doesn't exist'. Like their affirmative counterparts, negative expressions of existence introduce something into a conversation as new information, but at the same time they **deny** the existence of this particular thing. In the list below, we give the negative expressions of existence which correspond to some of the sentences of 4 and 9 above:

- (4b') Ng diak a mlik.
 'I don't have a car.'
- (4c') Ng dimlak a ududel a Toki.
 'Toki didn't have any money.'
- (4d') Ng dimlak a blai ɛr tiang.
 'There wasn't any house here.'
- (4e') Ng dimlak a ilumɛɭ ɛr a party.
 'There weren't any drinks at the party.'
- (9b') Ng diak a kɛrim?
 'Don't you have any questions?'
- (9f') Ng dimlak a temel a Toki ɛɭ mo ɛr a party.
 'Toki didn't have any time to go to the party.'

As examples 4c', 4d', 4e', and 9f' show, the past tense form of

the negative verb *diak* is *dimlak* 'wasn't, didn't exist'. Before analyzing *dimlak* and other related forms of the negative verb, we will first concern ourselves with the grammatical structure of the various affirmative and negative expressions of existence observed in this section.

SUBJECT SHIFTING IN AFFIRMATIVE AND NEGATIVE EXPRESSIONS OF EXISTENCE

- 18.2.1. All of the affirmative and negative expressions of existence presented in 18.2 above are identical in over-all structure: first, all of these sentences begin with the 3rd pers. sg. nonemphatic pronoun *ng*; second, this *ng* is immediately followed by verb phrases containing *ngar* (*ɛr ngii*) or *diak*; and finally, the subject of the sentence—namely, the thing whose existence is being asserted or denied—appears directly after the verb phrase. These are precisely the three major features which identify sentences that have been derived by the process of **subject shifting** (cf. 17.2). Thus, we propose that all affirmative and negative expressions of existence are derived by subject shifting from **source sentences** of the form

- (10) subject noun phrase + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ngar ɛr ngii} \\ \text{diak} \end{array} \right\}$

Therefore, sentences 4b, 4c, 4b', and 9f' would be derived according to the following scheme:

- | (11) Source Sentence | Resulting Sentence |
|---|---|
| a. A <i>mlik</i> a ngar ɛr ngii. | → Ng ngar ɛr ngii a <i>mlik</i> .
'I have a car.' |
| b. A <i>ududel a Toki</i> a mla ɛr ngii. | → Ng mla ɛr ngii a <i>ududel a Toki</i> .
'Toki had money.' |
| c. A <i>mlik</i> a diak. | → Ng diak a <i>mlik</i> .
'I don't have a car.' |
| d. A <i>temel a Toki ɛɭ mo ɛr a party</i> a dimlak. | → Ng dimlak a <i>temel a Toki ɛɭ mo ɛr a party</i> .
'Toki didn't have any time to go to the party.' |

When the italicized (3rd person) subjects are moved to the right of the verb phrase by the subject shifting rule, the pronominal trace *ng* appears in their place. Because the source sentences of 11 are not acceptable (or, at best, very awkward) to Palauan speakers, we conclude that application of the subject shifting

rule is **obligatory**: in other words, the source sentences of 11 must be transformed into the resulting sentences of 11 in order to become acceptable utterances of Palauan.⁵

The resulting sentences of 11b and 11d can be further transformed by the **preposing of possessor** rule (cf. 17.3). Thus, the possessor *Toki* of both examples, which was moved to the right of the verb phrase as part of the shifted subjects *ududel a Toki* 'Toki's money' and *temel a Toki el mo er a party* 'Toki's time to go to the party', can be **preposed** to sentence-initial position, where it replaces the pronominal trace *ng*. We therefore get the following sentences, which are identical in meaning:

- (12) a. A Toki a mla er ngii a ududel.
'Toki had money.'
b. A Toki a dimlak a temel el mo er a party.
'Toki didn't have any time to go to the party.'

Unless we accept the validity of the subject shifting and preposing of possessor rules, we have no reasonable way of accounting for the order of words observed in sentences like 12a–b.

In our discussion above, we implied that any source sentence of the form *subject noun phrase + diak* must undergo **obligatory** application of the subject shifting rule. One notable exception to this claim is found among sentences containing *mo + diak*, in which the auxiliary *mo* designates a **change of state** (cf. 13.5). Observe the following examples, in which the source sentences and resulting sentences have the same meaning:

- | (13) Source Sentence | Resulting Sentence |
|--|---|
| a. A <i>ududek</i> a mla mo diak. | → Ng mla mo diak a <i>ududek</i> .
'My money has run out.' |
| b. A <i>chull</i> a mla mo diak. | → Ng mla mo diak a <i>chull</i> .
'The rain has stopped.' |
| c. A <i>urerel a rubak</i> a mlo diak. | → Ng mlo diak a <i>urerel a rubak</i> . ⁶
'The old man lost his job.' |

The sentences of 13 describe changes of state in which the italicized subject noun phrases *ududek* 'my money', *chull* 'rain', and *urerel* 'his work' became **non-existent**—i.e., stopped, disappeared, became used up, etc. Thus, in spite of their English equivalents, these examples really mean something like 'My money has become non-existent', 'The rain has become non-existent', and 'The old man's work became non-existent'.

Interestingly enough, the source sentences of 13 are perfectly acceptable to Palauan speakers, and therefore we must conclude that the subject shifting rule is only **optional** in cases like this. It is not very clear why subject shifting should be optional in 13 but obligatory in 11. However, we can speculate that subject shifting is obligatory only with affirmative and negative expressions of existence, as in 11. Therefore, one possible reason why this rule is not obligatory in 13 would be that the sentences of 13 somehow do not qualify as negative expressions of existence. Now, recall that negative expressions of existence introduce something into a conversation as **new information** and at the same time **deny** its existence. The sentences of 13, however, do not do this since in order to say that something has become non-existent (has run out, disappeared, etc.), it is necessary to assume that this very same thing existed in the first place. Therefore, the italicized subjects of 13 do not introduce new information, but designate things which were already presumed to be part of the hearer's knowledge. Instead, the new information in the sentences of 13 is actually conveyed by the change of state expressions themselves. Thus, in 13a, for example, the fact that the speaker has money (*ududek*) is not new information, but the fact that his money ran out (*mla mo diak*) is. In this way, then, the sentences of 13 probably do not qualify as negative expressions of existence, and therefore the subject shifting rule need not apply to them obligatorily.

THE NEGATIVE VERB *diak*

- 18.3. Now that we have seen how the negative verb *diak* is used in negative expressions of existence, let us examine the various forms which it can take. The negative verb *diak* is best classified as an **intransitive state verb**. Because it is a state verb, it can be used together with the auxiliary *mo* 'go' to denote a **change of state**, as we saw at the end of the preceding section.

The past tense form of *diak* 'isn't, doesn't exist' is *dimlak* 'wasn't, didn't exist'. At first glance, the form *dimlak* seems very difficult to explain, since it appears to contain an unusual **infix** variant of the past tense marker—namely, *-ml-*. But if we assume that *diak* is a state verb, at least some of the apparent irregularity is resolved. Now, since *diak* is a state verb, we would expect that its past tense would be formed like that of all other state verbs—i.e., by using the auxiliary *mle* 'was, were' (cf. 5.1.3). Thus, we

would expect the past of *diak* to be *mle diak*. Even though *mle diak* does not occur, it nevertheless seems to be a plausible **source** for *dimlak*: here, a special type of **metathesis** (cf. 6.2) takes place in which the whole word *mle* exchanges positions with the first syllable *di* of *diak*. The resulting sequence is *di-mle-ak*, which then becomes *dimlak* after deletion of the *e*. This appears to be the only possible way of accounting for the mysterious *-ml-* in *dimlak*.

There is further evidence that the negative verb *diak* combines with other words (or morphemes) in strange ways. Thus, we also observe the negative word *dirkak* 'not yet, not ever', which is used to express the fact that some action or event has so far not taken place. The following pair of sentences gives us a clue about the structure of *dirkak*:

- (14) a. Ak dirk mnguiu ɛr a hong.
'I'm still reading the book.'
b. Ng dirkak kunguiu ɛr a hong.
'I haven't read the book yet.'

In 14a, the **qualifying word** *dirk* 'still' (see 24.6) **affirms** that the subject (*ak* 'I') has been reading the book over some period of time and is continuing to read it at the present moment. In 14b, however, *dirkak* **denies** that the subject has ever read the book (and of course implies that he is not reading it now). In other words, *dirkak* describes a kind of state characterized by the fact that the subject has **still not** gotten around to reading the book. When viewed this way, 14b seems to be a **denial** (or opposite) of 14a and as such should contain the negative verb *diak*. We propose that 14b indeed does contain *diak*, but as part of the word *dirkak*. In other words, the source of *dirkak* in 14b seems to be the sequence *dirk* + *diak*, which phonetically becomes *dirkak* by deletion of the second occurrence of the syllable *di*. Notice that the negative verb *dirkak* 'not yet, not ever' in 14b is followed by the hypothetical verb form *kunguiu*, in which the 1st pers. sg. hypothetical pronoun prefix *ku-* (corresponding to the agent—i.e., the person reading the book) has replaced the verb marker *mɛ-* of imperfective *mɛnguiu* 'read'.

We should distinguish carefully between the meanings of *dimlak* 'wasn't, didn't exist' and *dirkak* 'not yet, not ever', which are contrasted in the pairs of sentences below:

- (15) a. Ng dimlak kbo ɛr a Guam.
'I didn't go to Guam.'

- b. Ng dirkak kbo ɛr a Guam.
'I haven't ever gone to Guam.'
- (16) a. A Toki a dimlak loruul a kall ɛr a Sina.
'Toki didn't make Chinese food.'
- b. A Toki a dirkak loruul a kall ɛr a Sina.
'Toki hasn't ever made Chinese food.'

In the a-sentences above, use of *dimlak*—the past tense form of *diak*—refers to something which did not happen on a **single, specific occasion**. By contrast, use of *dirkak* in the b-sentences implies that something failed to take place **repeatedly** or on **many occasions**. For this reason, the b-sentences are interpreted to mean that someone has never had the **experience** of doing something. Therefore, sentences like 15b and 16b are common answers to questions about **past experience**, which contain the auxiliary *mɛ* (cf. 5.3.2.1). Note the following dialogs:

- (17) A: Kɛ mɛ mo ɛr a Guam?
'Have you ever gone to Guam?'
B: Ng diak. Ng dirkak kbong.
'No, I haven't.'
- (18) A: A Toki ng mɛ mɛruul a kall ɛr a Sina?
'Has Toki ever made Chinese food?'
B: Ng diak. Ng dirkak loruul.
'No, she hasn't.'

As in 14b, the negative verb *dirkak* can also refer to some event which as of the present moment has not yet occurred. In such cases, *dirkak* corresponds to 'not yet', as in the sentences below:

- (19) a. A ngalɛk a dirkak lɛbo lɛmɛchiuiui.
'The child hasn't gone to sleep yet.'
- b. Ng dirkak kbo kmɛrek ɛr a subɛlek.
'I haven't finished my homework yet.'

As we will see in 19.1.3, the negative verb *diak* can itself have a hypothetical form—namely, *lak*. This form, too, exhibits the unusual phonetic nature of *diak*, since we have every reason to believe that *lak* has its source in *lɛ* + *diak*, which consists of the 3rd pers. sg. hypothetical pronoun *lɛ-* followed by the negative verb. In deriving *lak*, we delete the first syllable *di* of *diak*. A similar deletion is observed in the past tense hypothetical form *lɛmlak*, which is clearly derived from *lɛ* + *dimlak*.

diak denies the occurrence of something, any event or situation described in a sentence with *diak* would be **unreal** in the sense that it did not occur. For this reason, the appearance of hypothetical verb forms after *diak* seems rather natural and "logical".

Now let us return to the negative sentences of 20a–b, in which a specific noun phrase (*Toki* in 20a and *ngelëkek* 'my child' in 20b) is found in sentence-initial position. We propose that the source sentences for 20a–b are as follows:

- (25) a. [A *Toki* a mēguu ɛr a hong] a diak.
(‘Toki isn’t reading the book.’)
b. [A *ngelëkek* a smeçer] a diak.
(‘My child isn’t sick.’)

Applying the subject shifting rule to 25a–b, we get the following structures:

- (26) a. Ng diak [a *Toki* a mēguu ɛr a hong].
(‘Toki isn’t reading the book.’)
b. Ng diak [a *ngelëkek* a smeçer].
(‘My child isn’t sick.’)

Because the shifted bracketed sentences of 26a–b contain a specific 3rd pers. agent (*Toki* in 26a) or subject (*ngelëkek* 'my child' in 26b), they must be transformed by a special rule which is based on the principle that the specific 3rd pers. agent or subject cannot remain in the initial position of the bracketed sentence. In other words, the noun phrases *Toki* and *ngelëkek* must be either shifted to sentence-final position or preposed to sentence-initial position. At the same time, the verb form of the bracketed shifted sentence must become hypothetical; the resulting hypothetical verb form takes the 3rd pers. sg. hypothetical pronoun prefixes *lo-* or *l-*, which agree with the agent or subject of the bracketed sentence.

If the specific 3rd pers. agent or subject is shifted to sentence-final position, 26a–b will be transformed into the following sentences:

- (27) a. Ng diak longuiu ɛr a hong a *Toki*.
(‘Toki isn’t reading the book.’)
b. Ng diak lseçer a *ngelëkek*.
(‘My child isn’t sick.’)

Though grammatical, examples 27a–b are used less frequently than 20a–b above, in which the specific 3rd pers. agent or subject has been preposed to sentence-initial position, where it replaces

the pronominal trace *ng*. These examples are repeated as 28a–b below:

- (28) a. A *Toki* a diak longuiu ɛr a hong.
(‘Toki isn’t reading the book.’)
b. A *ngelëkek* a diak lseçer.
(‘My child isn’t sick.’)

FURTHER EXAMPLES OF NEGATIVE SENTENCES

18.5. In the negative sentences of 20 and 21 above, we observed two different types of hypothetical verb forms following *diak*. Thus, in 20a and 21a *longuiu* and *kunguiu* are hypothetical forms of the **imperfective (transitive) verb** *mēguu* 'read', while in 20b and 21b, *lseçer* and *kseçer* are hypothetical forms of the **(intransitive) state verb** *smeçer* 'sick'. Before looking at negative sentences containing other types of hypothetical verb forms, let us examine some further sentences containing the two types we have just mentioned:

(29) *diak* followed by hypothetical forms of **imperfective (transitive) verbs**:

- a. A Droteo a dimlak lolim a biang.
(‘Droteo didn’t drink any beer.’)
b. Ng diak molameç a dekol?
(‘Don’t you smoke cigarettes?’)
c. Ng dirkak kimoruul a kall ɛr a Siabal.
(‘We’ve never made Japanese food.’)
d. A reşçhlik a dimlak longiis ɛr a kliokl.
(‘My friends didn’t dig the hole.’)

(30) *diak* followed by hypothetical forms of **(intransitive) state verbs**:

- a. A *Toki* a diak lşengerenger.⁷
(‘Toki isn’t hungry.’)
b. A mlid a diak lşklou.
(‘Our car isn’t that big/big enough.’)
c. A mubi a dimlak lemşngit.⁸
(‘The movie wasn’t bad.’)
d. Ng dimlak lemşched a chei.
(‘The tide wasn’t low.’)

In the examples above, the **tense** of the whole sentence is determined by the form of the negative verb (*diak* vs. *dimlak* vs. *dirkak*). Therefore, the hypothetical verb form directly following

diak always appears in the present tense, even though the whole sentence may refer to past time (as in 29a, 29c–d, and 30c–d).

Since nearly all types of verbs can have hypothetical forms, Palauan negative sentences are by no means confined to the ones listed in 29–30 above. Thus, in the groups of examples below, we observe *diak* followed by further types of hypothetical verb forms:

(31) *diak* followed by hypothetical forms of **intransitive action verbs** (including **directional verbs**⁹):

- a. A reṅgalek a diak loilil er a sers.
'The children aren't playing in the garden.'
- b. Ngara meṅ ng dimlak mlangeḷ?
'Why didn't you cry?'
- c. Ng diak chome er a party?
'Aren't you coming to the party?'
- d. Ng dimlak kbo er a skuul er a elii.
'I didn't go to school yesterday.'
- e. Ng dirkak kibo er a Guam.
'We've never gone to Guam.'

(32) *diak* followed by hypothetical forms of **perfective (transitive) verbs**¹⁰:

- a. Ng dimlak kbosii a babii.
'I didn't shoot the pig.'
- b. A Tony a dimlak leṅgesuir a Satsko el meṅgetmokl er a blai.
'Tony didn't help Satsko clean the house.'
- c. A Droteo a dimlak lleng a hong.
'Droteo didn't borrow the books.'
- d. Ng dimlak kkērir a sensei er a teng er ngak.
'I didn't ask the teacher about my grade.'

(33) *diak* followed by hypothetical forms of the **existential state verb** *ngar*:

- a. A ngeḷekem a diak leṅgar er a skuul.
'Your child isn't at school.'
- b. A sensei a dimlak leṅgar er tiang.
'The teacher wasn't here.'

(34) *diak* followed by hypothetical forms of **ergative verbs**¹¹:

- a. A kall a dirkak lemeṅruul.
'The food hasn't been made yet.'
- b. A biang a dimlak lemeṅgim.
'The beer wasn't drunk up.'

(35) *diak* followed by hypothetical forms of **complex verb phrases**¹²:

- a. A Toki a dirkak lebo lemeṅrek er a urerel.
'Toki hasn't finished her work yet.'
- b. A ngeḷek a diak lebo lungil el smecheṅ.
'My child isn't getting any better.'
- c. Ng diak kbo kuruul a kall.
'I'm not going to make the food.'
- d. Ngara meṅ ng dimlak chobo mrei?
'Why didn't you go home?'

EQUATIONAL SENTENCES: AFFIRMATIVE AND NEGATIVE

18.6. The structure of Palauan **equational sentences** is relatively simple because they merely consist of a subject noun phrase followed by another noun phrase. The term **equational sentence** is used because the two noun phrases involved are always understood as being **equal** or **equivalent** to each other. In other words, if the two noun phrases in an equational sentence are A and B, the equational sentence simply asserts that "A is B": the subject noun phrase is equated with or included in the category of individuals or things designated by the second noun phrase. Observe the following equational sentences in the present tense:

- (36) a. Ak ngalek er a skuul.
'I'm a student.'
- b. Keḷe chad er a omengeḷ.
'We're fishermen.'
- c. A demak a sensei.
'My father's a teacher.'
- d. Tia a mlil a Toki.
'This is Toki's car.'
- e. Tilēcha a blai.
'That's a house.'
- f. Ng mlik.
'It's my car.'

In order to derive sentences which **deny** that "A is B", we simply apply the rules of subject shifting and preposing (cf. 18.4) to source sentences of the form [equational sentence] + *diak*. Thus, in deriving the negative counterpart of 36a, we begin with the following source sentence:

- (37) [Ak ngalek er a skuul] a diak.
'(I'm not a student.)'

The subject shifting rule applies to the whole bracketed sentence, which is moved to the right of *diak* to give

- (38) Ng diak [ak ngalək ər a skuul].
(‘I’m not a student.’)

To obtain a grammatical sentence, the subject *ak* ‘I’ of the shifted bracketed sentence must be changed into a hypothetical pronoun and prefixed to the following noun phrase. Thus, we have

- (39) Ng diak kngalək ər a skuul.
(‘I’m not a student.’)

If the subject of the shifted equational sentence is a specific third person noun phrase, then it cannot remain in the initial position of the equational sentence (cf. the discussion following 26a–b above). For example, when the source sentence for the negative counterpart of 36c—namely,

- (40) [A dəmak a sensei] a diak.
(‘My father’s not a teacher.’)

undergoes the subject shifting rule, we get the following structure:

- (41) Ng diak [a dəmak a sensei].
(‘My father’s not a teacher.’)

Now, the subject of the shifted bracketed sentence—*dəmak* ‘my father’—must either be moved to sentence-final position or preposed to sentence-initial position. Applying one or the other of these processes yields the following two grammatical sentences:

- (42) a. Ng diak lsensei a dəmak.
(‘My father isn’t a teacher.’)
b. A dəmak a diak lsensei.
(‘My father isn’t a teacher.’)

Most speakers prefer to use 42b, in which the noun phrase *dəmak* ‘my father’ has been preposed.

The negative counterparts of the other examples of 36 are derived according to the analysis presented above. Note, therefore, the following sentences:

- (43) a. Ng diak dəchad ər a omənged.
(‘We’re not fishermen.’)
b. Tia a diak ləmlil a Toki.
(‘This isn’t Toki’s car.’)
c. Tiləcha a diak ləblai.
(‘That’s not a house.’)

- d. Ng diak ləmlik.
(‘It’s not my car.’)

Notice that the **negative equational sentence** 43d is different in meaning and structure from the **negative expression of existence** 4b’, which we repeat here for convenience:

- (44) Ng diak a mlik.
(‘I don’t have a car.’)

While 44 has a source sentence of the following form (cf. 11c),

- (45) A mlik a diak.
(‘I don’t have a car.’)

the source sentence for 43d is different—namely,

- (46) [Ng mlik] a diak.
(‘It’s not my car.’)

Equational sentences in the past tense use *mle* ‘was, were’ between the two noun phrases, while those in the future tense use the auxiliary *mo*. The auxiliary *mo* can also designate a change of state in equational sentences. Several examples are given below:

- (47) a. A John a mle sensei.
(‘John was a teacher.’)
b. Ak mo toktang.
(‘I’m going to be a doctor.’)
c. A Toki a mlo chad ər a Merikel.
(‘Toki became an American citizen.’)

The negative counterparts of 47a–c are as follows:

- (48) a. A John a dimlak lsensei.
(‘John wasn’t a teacher.’)
b. Ng diak kbo ktoktang.
(‘I’m not going to be a doctor.’)
c. A Toki a dimlak ləbo ləchad ər a Merikel.
(‘Toki didn’t become an American citizen.’)

Notice that in 48b–c, a hypothetical pronoun is prefixed both to the auxiliary *mo* and to the noun phrase directly following it.

THE NEGATIVE EXPRESSION *di kea*

- 18.7. The negative expression *di kea*, which probably consists of the word *di* ‘only, just’ followed by *kea*, corresponds to the English

expression 'no longer'. In other words, *di kea* implies that something which was once the case is no longer the case. The following sentences with *di kea* are presented without explanation, since their derivation parallels that of the various negative sentences analyzed in 18.2.1 and 18.6 above:

- (49) a. A Toki a di kea $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{lengalek er a skuul} \\ \text{lëkatungek} \end{array} \right\}$.
 'Toki is no longer $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a student} \\ \text{my girlfriend} \end{array} \right\}$.'
- b. A John a di kea lëchad er a Merikel.
 'John is no longer an American citizen.'
- c. A blik a di kea lengar er sei.
 'My house is no longer located there.'
- d. Ng di kea a techellek el mo er a skuul.
 'I no longer have the opportunity to go to school.'
- e. Ng di kea a ngikël.
 'There's no more fish.'
- f. Ng di kea kureor er a bangk.
 'I'm no longer working at the bank.'

The negative expression *di kea* can also express the idea that some expected event failed to take place. In this usage, *di kea* corresponds to English 'not... after all', as in the examples below:

- (50) a. Ng di kea kbo er a Guam.
 '(It turns out that) I'm not going to Guam after all.'
- b. Ng di kea kbo kureor er a skuul.
 '(It turns out that) I'm not going to work at the school after all.'
- c. A Droteo a di mle kea lëbo er a mubi.
 '(It turned out that) Droteo didn't go to the movies after all.'

As example 50c shows, *di kea* becomes *di mle kea* in the past tense. The addition of *mle* seems to indicate that *kea* functions as a **state verb**, but this still does not give us any clues about the (original or current) meaning of *kea*.¹³

NEGATIVE VERBS AS ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

18.8. The Palauan negative verbs *diak*, *dimlak*, and *dirkak* are commonly used together with the 3rd pers. sg. non-emphatic pronoun *ng* as answers to questions. This phenomenon is observed in the dialogs below:

- (51) A: A Droteo ng mësueb a təkoi er a Merikel?
 'Is Droteo studying English?'
 B: Ng diak.
 'No. (He's not).'
- (52) A: Kë mlo er a party er a kesus?
 'Did you go to the party last night?'
 B: Ng dimlak.
 'No. (I didn't).'
- (53) A: Ng ngar er ngii a kërîm?
 'Do you have any questions?'
 B: Ng diak.
 'No. (I don't).'
- (54) A: Kë mla mēnga a kall er a Firiping?
 'Have you ever eaten Filipino food?'
 B: Ng dirkak.
 'No. (I haven't).'

The **negative responses** given by B in the dialogs above appear to be short sentences which mean something like 'it isn't the case' (for *ng diak*), 'it wasn't the case' (for *ng dimlak*), and 'it hasn't (yet) been the case' (for *ng dirkak*). They contrast, of course, with the word *chochoi* 'yes', which is used as an **affirmative response**.

Questions containing the negative verb *diak* are difficult to analyze because they can be interpreted in at least two different ways. Often, *diak* is simply used to add a degree of **politeness** to questions which function as offers or invitations, as in the examples below:

- (55) a. Ng diak monga a bobai?
 'Won't you eat some papaya?'
 b. Ng diak chome er a blik?
 'Won't you come to my house?'

Just like their English equivalents, the Palauan negative questions above are merely polite (or indirect) substitutes for the blunter questions 'Will you eat some papaya?' and 'Will you come to my house?' Because the examples of 55 are therefore equivalent in meaning to affirmative questions, speakers would respond to them as if they indeed were affirmative questions. Thus, 55a, for instance, might occur in dialogs like the following:

- (56) A: Ng diak monga a bobai?
 'Won't you eat some papaya?' =
 'Will you eat some papaya?'

B: Chochoi.
'Yes, I will.'

(57) A: Ng diak monga a bobai?
'Won't you eat some papaya?' =
'Will you eat some papaya?'

B: Ng diak. Ng chetik
'No (thanks). I don't like it.'

Now, it is also possible for an example like 55a to be interpreted as a **general question** rather than as an offer or an invitation. Under such circumstances, A is really asking B a question of the form 'Is it the case that you don't eat papayas?' Because this question is interpreted in this way, B's responses to it are different in meaning from those observed in 56–7 above, as the following dialogs illustrate:

(58) A: Ng diak monga a bobai?
'Don't you eat papayas?' =
'Is it the case that you don't eat papayas?'

B: Chochoi. (Ng diak kungang.)
'No, I don't. (I don't eat them.)'

(59) A: Ng diak monga a bobai?
'Don't you eat papayas?' =
'Is it the case that you don't eat papayas?'

B: Ng diak. (Ak męnga ęr a bebil ęr a taem.)
'Yes, I do. (I eat them from time to time.)'

If we think of A's question as really meaning 'Is it the case that you don't eat papayas?', as mentioned above, we can easily explain how B's responses are interpreted. Thus, when B answers *chochoi* in 58, he actually means 'Yes, it *is* the case that I don't eat papayas'. Similarly, B's use of *ng diak* in 59 corresponds to 'No, it is *not* the case that I don't eat papayas—i.e., I *do* eat them'. As the English equivalents show, the way of answering such negative questions in English is quite different.

19 Uses of Hypothetical Verb Forms

CONDITIONAL SENTENCES

19.1. As we saw in 18.4, Palauan hypothetical verb forms are required following the negative verb *diak* 'isn't, doesn't exist' in certain types of sentences. Hypothetical verb forms are not confined to sentences with *diak*, however, but appear in a large variety of grammatical constructions. Perhaps the most important of these is the **conditional sentence**, which we will describe in detail in this and the following sections.

Palauan conditional sentences consist basically of two parts—a **condition** and a **consequent**—and express the idea that **if** some event, action, state, etc., occurs, **then** something else will happen. The event, action, state, etc. whose occurrence is suggested or put forth as a possibility is the **condition**, while the event which it would bring about or which would result from it is called the **consequent**. The meaning of these two terms will become clear from the following example:

(1) A *lęgar ęr ngii a ududek*, e ak mo ęr a Guam.
'If I had money, (then) I'd go to Guam.'

In the above conditional sentence, the **condition** *a lęgar ęr ngii a ududek* 'if I had money' is followed by the **consequent** *e ak mo ęr a Guam* 'then I'd go to Guam'. The consequent designates an event (going to Guam) which could take place **only** if the preceding condition were met or "satisfied"—i.e., if the situation designated by *a lęgar ęr ngii a ududek* 'if I had money' were to become an **actual fact**. At the moment of utterance, however, this condition has not been satisfied, and the speaker is merely viewing the idea of having money as a **possibility** which will hopefully become true.

In example 1 above, both the condition and the consequent are expressed by **clauses** which contain their own subject and verb. In the **conditional clause** *a lęgar ęr ngii a ududek* 'if I had

money', which is introduced by the word *a* 'if',¹ the noun phrase *ududek* 'my money' is the subject of the hypothetical verb form *lęgar ęr ngii* 'if there existed'.² Following the conditional clause is the **consequential clause** *e ak mo ęr a Guam* 'then I'd go to Guam', where *ak* 'I' is the subject of the directional verb *mo* 'go'. This clause is introduced by the word *e* '(and) then' (see 25.1), and unlike the preceding conditional clause, its verb is not in the hypothetical form.

Since conditional clauses describe **hypothetical** or **possible** events or states—i.e., ones which are not real but which instead are supposed, imagined, hoped for, etc.—it is quite understandable why they should contain hypothetical verb forms, since such forms commonly designate **unreal** events or states. Thus, the reason for using hypothetical forms in conditional clauses is the same as that for using hypothetical forms in sentences containing the negative verb *diak* (cf. 18.4), since in the latter case, too, we are dealing with unreal—i.e., non-occurring—events or states.

CONDITIONS IN THE PRESENT OR FUTURE

19.1.1. If the hypothetical verb form in a conditional clause is in the present tense, then the events or states designated by the condition and the consequent are imagined as occurring either at the present moment or at some time point in the future. The verb of the consequential clause may be in the present or future tense, as the following examples show (cf. 1 above):

- (2) a. *A kudęge a tękoi ęr a Siabal, e ak męrael ęl mo ęr a Siabal.*
'If I knew Japanese, (then) I'd travel to Japan.'
- b. *A kbo ęr a Guam er tia ęl me ęl rak, e ak mo kie ęr a blil a sęęelik.*
'If I go to Guam next year, (then) I'll stay at my friend's house.'
- c. *A kisa a John ęr a klukuk, e ak dmu ęr ngii.*
'If I see John tomorrow, (then) I'll tell him.'
- d. *A lęme a Droteo ęr a klukuk, e ng me kie ęr a blik.*
'If Droteo comes tomorrow, (then) he'll stay at my house.'
- e. *A lębo lseęęer a nęęlekek, e ng diak lębo ęr a skuul.*
'If my child gets sick, (then) he won't go to school.'
- f. *A lęme a chull, e kę ngmai a sęęlekek.*
'If it rains, (then) please bring in my laundry.'
- g. *A lębęskak a udoud a dęmak, e ak rullii a party.*
'If my father gave me money, (then) I'd have a party.'

If the subject (or agent) in a conditional clause is a specific third person noun phrase, as in 2d–g, then it must occur to the right of the (hypothetical) verb phrase. Thus, the position of the specific third person noun phrases *Droteo*, *nęęlekek* 'my child', *chull* 'rain', and *dęmak* 'my father' in 2d–g is due to a rule which is rather similar to the **subject shifting rule** discussed in 17.2. In the case of conditional clauses, the subject (or agent) must be shifted obligatorily, since a sentence like the following (cf. 2f) is ungrammatical:

(2f) **A chull a lęme, e kę ngmai a sęęlekek.*

CONDITIONS IN THE PAST

19.1.2. If the hypothetical verb form of the conditional clause and the (non-hypothetical) verb form of the consequential clause are both in the past tense, then the condition and the consequent are imagined as having occurred at some time point in the past. Thus, with 1, 2a, and 2g above, compare the following sentences:

- (3) a. *A lębla ęr ngii a ududek, e ak mlo ęr a Guam.*
'If I had had money, (then) I would have gone to Guam.'
- b. *A kble kudęge a tękoi ęr a Siabal, e ak mirrael ęl mo ęr a Siabal.*
'If I had known Japanese, (then) I would have travelled to Japan.'
- c. *A lębilskak a udoud a dęmak, e ak riręllii a party.*
'If my father had given me money, (then) I would have had a party.'

In 3a we see that *mlo*—the past tense form of the existential verb *ngar* (cf. 18.2)—appears as *bla* when a hypothetical pronoun is prefixed; and in 3b the auxiliary *mle* (which functions to mark the past tense with a state verb like *mędęge* 'know'—cf. 5.1.2) has likewise changed to *ble* before the addition of the hypothetical pronoun. The alternation between *m* and *b* observed here was discussed at length in 6.2.1.

CONDITIONAL CLAUSES CONTAINING *diak*

19.1.3. When the negative verb *diak* is used in a conditional clause, the resulting sentence will mean something like 'if such-and-such is not/had not been the case, then...' Observe the examples below, in which a present or future condition is involved:

- (4) a. *A lak lębo a Droteo, e ng diak kbo.*
'If Droteo doesn't go, (then) I won't go.'

- b. A lak losuub a Toki, e ng mo otsir er a test.
'If Toki doesn't study, (then) she'll fail the test.'
- c. A lak a ududem, e ng diak chobo er a mubi.³
'If you don't have any money, (then) you won't go to the movies.'

Since the verb following a 'if' in a conditional clause must always be in the hypothetical form, we can conclude that *lak* is the hypothetical form of the negative verb *diak*. It is likely that *lak* is a shortened (or contracted) version of *le + diak*, which would be the expected hypothetical form (i.e., *hypothetical pronoun + verb stem*) in the present tense. Can you explain why *lak* is itself followed by hypothetical verb forms in examples 4a and 4b?

Now consider the sentences below, which designate a past condition:

- (5) a. A lemlak a ududel a Droteo, e ng dimlak lebo er a Guam.
'If Droteo hadn't had the money, (then) he wouldn't have gone to Guam.'
- b. A lemlak lebo er a bita me llangir a oles a Toki, e ng dimlak lsebehek el remuul a ngikel.
'If Toki hadn't gone next door and borrowed a knife, (then) I wouldn't have been able to prepare the fish.'

In the conditional clauses of 5 we would expect the hypothetical verb form to consist of the 3rd pers. sg. hypothetical pronoun *le* followed by *dimlak*, the past tense form of the negative verb. But instead of *le + dimlak*, we observe the hypothetical form *lemlak*. We conclude that in this case, too, a shortening or contraction has occurred, or—stated differently—the syllable *di* of *diak* has been deleted.

PERMUTATION OF CONDITIONAL AND CONSEQUENTIAL CLAUSES

- 19.2. Although the order *conditional clause + consequential clause* is much preferred in the conditional sentences given above, Palauan speakers sometimes **permute** the two clauses—i.e., they put the consequential clause first and the conditional clause last. Thus, with 4c and 5a above, compare the following examples, whose meaning is identical:

- (4c') Ng diak chobo er a mubi a lak a ududem.
'You won't go to the movies if you don't have any money.'
- (5a') A Droteo a dimlak lebo er a Guam a lemlak a ududel.

- 'Droteo wouldn't have gone to Guam if he hadn't had the money.'

As the examples above show, a consequential clause which has been moved to sentence-initial position is no longer introduced by *e* '(and) then'.

There are certain types of conditional sentences in which permutation of the conditional and consequential clauses is preferred, or even required. Observe, for example, the sentences below, which are **general questions** about the way of doing something:

- (6) a. A rēchad er a Belau tē mēkēra a loruul a bēkai?
'How do Palauans make pottery?'
- b. Kē mēkēra a chomoruul a ilaot?
'What do you do to make coconut syrup?'

General questions like 6a–b are usually phrased in the following way: a consequential clause containing the special question word *mēkēra* 'do what?' (see 20.7) precedes a conditional clause which describes a particular activity. Thus, 6a–b actually mean something like 'What do Palauans do if they make pottery?' and 'What do you do if you make coconut syrup?'⁴ Other types of sentences in which permutation of the conditional and consequential clauses takes place will be discussed in 19.3–4 below.

FURTHER TYPES OF CONDITIONAL CLAUSES

- 19.3. The Palauan conditional clauses we have so far examined are characterized by the following features: (i) the verb following a 'if' must be in the hypothetical form, and (ii) a specific third person subject must be shifted to the right of the verb phrase. In this section, we will discuss three types of clauses which, though conditional in meaning, do not exhibit the abovementioned features.

In order to express a future condition, it is possible to use a conditional clause introduced by a *lsekum* 'if'. Observe, for example, the sentences below:

- (7) a. A lsekum ak mo er a Guam, e ak mo kie er a blil a Tony.
'If I go to Guam, (then) I'll stay at Tony's house.'
- b. A lsekum a Droteo a mo er a skuul er a klukuk, e ng mo omes er a sensei.
'If Droteo goes to school tomorrow, (then) he'll see the teacher.'

- c. A lse̤kum ng diak a ududem, e ng diak lse̤b̤chem el mo er a mubi.
'If you don't have money, (then) you can't go to the movies.'
- d. A lse̤kum ng ungil a che, e te̤ mo er a chei.
'If the tide is good, (then) they'll go fishing.'

In the conditional clauses introduced by *a lse̤kum* 'if', the verb occurs in its "normal" (i.e., non-hypothetical) form. Furthermore, a specific third person subject need not be shifted to the right of the verb phrase, as the position of *Droteo* in 7b illustrates. Although it is very difficult to analyze conditional clauses with *a lse̤kum* 'if', we can speculate that the sequence *a lse̤kum* is itself a combination of *a* 'if' and a "fossilized" hypothetical verb form *lse̤kum* (in which the *l-* appears to be the 3rd pers. sg. hypothetical pronoun prefix). If *lse̤kum* is indeed a hypothetical verb form, then this might explain why no further hypothetical verb forms are required in the conditional clause.

For some speakers, conditional clauses with *a lse̤kum* are interchangeable with those that contain *a* 'if' followed by a hypothetical verb form (and a shifted third person subject, if any). For others, however, the two types involve a rather fine difference in meaning, which we will illustrate with the pairs below:

- (8) a. A kisa a John er a klukuk, e ak sub̤dii.
'If/when I see John tomorrow, I'll tell him.'
- b. A lse̤kum ak me̤sa a John er a klukuk, e ak sub̤dii.
'If I should possibly see John tomorrow, (then) I'll tell him.'
- (9) a. A le̤me a Droteo, e ng me kie er a blik.
'If/when Droteo comes, he'll stay at my house.'
- b. A lse̤kum a Droteo a me, e ng me kie er a blik.
'If Droteo should possibly come, (then) he'll stay at my house.'

Though perhaps somewhat exaggerated, the English equivalents in 8-9 above are designed to reflect the following difference in meaning between the a- and b-sentences. In the b-sentences with *a lse̤kum*, the speaker is rather doubtful that the condition and its consequent will become actual facts, while in the a-sentences with *a* 'if' and a hypothetical verb form, the speaker feels somewhat more confident that the condition and its consequent will become true. For this reason, the a-sentences can sometimes be translated with English 'when', which implies that the future event is expected to occur.

Just like conditional clauses with *a* 'if' and a hypothetical

verb form, conditional clauses containing *a lse̤kum* can be permuted with a following consequential clause. Thus, the sentence below is equivalent to 7d:

- (10) Te̤ mo er a che a lse̤kum ng ungil a chei.
'They'll go fishing if the tide is good.'

In order to express a present (or, sometimes, future) condition, Palauan speakers also make use of conditional clauses introduced by *ule̤kum* 'if (only)'. This word, which is probably related in some way to the *lse̤kum* of *a lse̤kum*, is used when the speaker wishes to emphasize how strongly he desires a particular condition and its consequent to become true. When *ule̤kum* is used with this connotation, the consequential clause following it is introduced by *me̤* '(and) so' (see 25.1):

- (11) a. Ule̤kum a sensei er kemam a mo er a Guam, me̤ ng mo diak a klas.
'If only our teacher would go to Guam, then we wouldn't have any class.'
- b. Ule̤kum ng ngar er ngii a ududek, me̤ ng mo se̤b̤chek el mo er a Merikel.
'If only I had some money, then I could go to America.'

As we can see, conditional clauses with *ule̤kum* are not introduced by *a*. Furthermore, the verb form in such clauses is not hypothetical, nor is the subject shifted. Most Palauan speakers can use *e* instead of *me̤* in the sentences of 11; for some, no difference in meaning results, while for others the connotation of strong desire is lost. For the latter group of speakers, the sentences of 11 with *ule̤kum*...*e* would be equivalent to sentences with *a lse̤kum*...*e*.

Another commonly-used sentence type with *ule̤kum* is illustrated below:

- (12) a. Ule̤kum ak kau, e ak mo er a Merikel.
'If only I were you, then I'd go to America.'
- b. Ule̤kum ak sensei, e ak olis̤chakl er a ochur.
'If I could only be a teacher, then I'd teach math.'

In the conditional clauses of 12, *ule̤kum* is followed by the sequences *ak kau* 'I—you' and *ak sensei* 'I—teacher', which are actually **equational sentences** (cf. 18.6).

Palauan has yet another type of conditional clause which in certain cases contrasts in meaning with the conditional clauses already described. In the sentences below, we observe conditional clauses introduced by *a kmu* 'if'; again, the verb in this clause is

not hypothetical, nor is the subject shifted. Clauses with *a kmu* can refer to present, past, or future conditions:

- (13) a. A *kmu* ak⁶ meḍenge a ṭekoi ɛr a Siabal, e ak meṛael ɛl mo ɛr a Siabal.
'If I knew Japanese, (then) I'd travel to Japan.'
- b. A *kmu* ng ngar ɛr ngii a ududek, e ak meḥɛrar a beḥɛs ɛl mlai.
'If I had money, (then) I'd buy a new car.'
- c. A *kmu* a Droteo a mo ɛr a Guam ɛr a klukuk, e ng nguu a Toki.
'If Droteo were to go to Guam tomorrow, (then) he'd take Toki.'
- d. A *kmu* ak mle meḍenge a ṭekoi ɛr a Siabal, e ak mirrael ɛl mo ɛr a Siabal.
'If I had known Japanese (at that time), I would have travelled to Japan.'
- e. A *kmu* ak mle kau, e ak mlong.
'If I had been you, I would have gone.'

In 13a–c above, which designate present or future conditions, the conditional clause with *a kmu* expresses a strong belief or conviction on the speaker's part that the condition and its consequent will not become true. Thus, in 13c, for example, *a kmu a Droteo a mo ɛr a Guam* 'if Droteo were to go to Guam' implies that Droteo is not really expected to go to Guam, but nevertheless the speaker is speculating what would happen if he did. Because of this implication, conditional clauses with *a kmu* differ subtly in meaning from conditional clauses with *a lseḡum* or *a* followed by a hypothetical verb form. Let us therefore repeat 9a–b above as 14a–b and compare them with 14c:

- (14) a. A lɛme a Droteo, e ng me kie ɛr a blik.
'If/when Droteo comes, he'll stay at my house.'
- b. A lseḡum a Droteo a me, e ng me kie ɛr a blik.
'If Droteo should possibly come, (then) he'll stay at my house.'
- c. A *kmu* a Droteo a me, e ng me kie ɛr a blik.
'If Droteo were to come, he'd stay at my house.'

In the examples of 14, the speaker shows successively increasing **doubt** about whether the condition and its consequent have any chance of becoming true. Thus, the speaker uses *a* followed by a hypothetical verb form (14a) if he believes there is some reasonable possibility that Droteo will come. If he thinks the possibility

of Droteo's coming is relatively small, however, he will use *a lseḡum* (14b). And if he thinks it is very unlikely that Droteo will come, he will choose *a kmu* (14c), as mentioned above.

In sentences designating past conditions, conditional clauses with *a kmu* vs. those with *a* followed by a hypothetical verb form result in different implications. Thus, compare 3b and 13d, which are both repeated below:

- (15) a. A kble kudenge a ṭekoi ɛr a Siabal, e ak mirrael ɛl mo ɛr a Siabal.
'If I had known Japanese, (then) I would have travelled to Japan.'
- b. A *kmu* ak mle meḍenge a ṭekoi ɛr a Siabal, e ak mirrael ɛl mo ɛr a Siabal.
'If I had known Japanese (at that time), I would have travelled to Japan.'

According to some speakers, 15b implies that the present situation is different from that described in the past conditional clause, while this is not necessarily the case in 15a. In other words, 15b implies that the speaker in fact knows how to speak Japanese now, whereas in 15a it is possible that the speaker still does not know how to speak Japanese.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES OF CONDITIONAL CLAUSES

- 19.4. A few types of Palauan conditional sentences require special mention because their English equivalents lack words like 'if... then' and therefore tend to obscure the fact that the corresponding Palauan sentences are really conditional. As we will see below, this problem arises with certain conditional clauses consisting of *a* and a following hypothetical form.

In 17.9 we observed that the possessed forms of *soal* 'his liking' and *cheṭil* 'his disliking' can be followed by hypothetical verb forms to convey the idea 'X wants/does not want Y to do something'. In such sentences, X is expressed by the possessor suffix on *soal* or *cheṭil* and Y is identified by the pronominal prefix on the hypothetical verb form. In addition, a specific noun phrase may be mentioned if X or Y is a third person. Sentences of this type are illustrated by the following:

- (16) a. Ng soak *a Droteo a longṭmokl ɛr a delmeṛab*.
'I want Droteo to straighten up the room.'
- b. Ng somam *a chobo mrei*.
'We want you to go home.'

- c. Ng soam *a kungesbreber er a kbokb?*
'Do you want me to paint the wall?'
- d. A Toki a chetil *a rengalek a lolil er a uum.*
'Toki doesn't want the children to play in the kitchen.'
- e. Ng chetik *a chobo er a party.*
'I don't want you to go to the party.'

In spite of their English equivalents, the Palauan sentences in 16 are most likely conditional sentences in which the (italicized) conditional clause has been permuted with the consequential clause. Since conditional clauses express **unreal** actions, events, states, etc. rather than actual facts, we can see why their use is appropriate in the examples above. Thus, in sentences with *soal*, the conditional clause designates an action or event which is desired or hoped for but which is **not yet real**. In 16a, for instance, the event of the conditional clause—namely, Droteo's straightening up the room—has not yet happened; therefore, the speaker is viewing Droteo's straightening up of the room as a **possible** event and saying that he would be pleased if this possibility became an actual fact. Sentences with *chetil* involve exactly the opposite, since the conditional clause designates an action or event which is **not** desired or hoped for—i.e., one which hopefully will **not** become an actual fact. Thus, in 16d, the event of the conditional clause—namely, the children's playing in the kitchen—has presented itself as a possibility, but Toki does not want it to become an actual fact (because it might inconvenience her, etc.).

Because the examples of 16 are really conditional sentences, their word-for-word translation would be something like 'We would like it *if* you go home' (for 16b) or 'I won't like it *if* you go to the party' (for 16e). The only unusual feature about the italicized conditional clauses of 16 is that a specific third person subject does not need to be shifted. Thus, in 16a and 16d *Droteo* and *rengalek* 'children' appear at the beginning of the conditional clause, directly following *a* 'if'.⁷

The transitive state verb *medakt* 'be afraid (of)' can be used with a conditional clause to express the idea 'X is afraid that Y will. . .'. Observe the examples below:

- (17) a. A Droteo a medakt er a Toki a lebo lsecher.
'Droteo is afraid that Toki will get sick.'
- b. Ak kmal mle medakt a kbo kotsir er a test.
'I was very much afraid that I would fail the test.'
- c. A toktang a medakt er a John a lemad.
'The doctor is afraid John will die.'

- d. Ak medakt a lebo lak⁸ a ududek el mo er a Merikel.
'I'm afraid I won't have any money to go to America.'

Again, the examples of 17 are conditional sentences in which the conditional clause containing *a* 'if' followed by a hypothetical verb form has been permuted with the consequential clause containing *medakt* 'be afraid (of)'. If a specific third person noun phrase is mentioned—*Toki* of 17a or *John* of 17c—then it must appear as the **object** of *medakt*. If we try to translate the sentences of 17 literally, we would get very awkward and unacceptable English sentences such as (for 17a) 'Droteo has fears about Toki, (wondering) if she will get sick.'

Time words like *tutau* 'morning', *suelb* 'afternoon', etc., can be used in conditional clauses to express the **frequent** or **habitual** occurrence of a particular action. Consider the examples below:

- (18) a. A bechik a oureor er a sers *a letutau.*
'My wife works in the garden in the morning.'
- b. A Satsko a soal el mesuub *a lesuelb.*
'Satsko likes to study in the afternoon.'
- c. Ak meruul a kall *a leklebesei.*
'I prepare food in the evening.'

The italicized conditional clauses of 18 consist of *a* 'if' followed by time words to which the 3rd pers. sg. hypothetical pronoun *le-* has been prefixed. Since *le-* is the hypothetical pronoun corresponding to *ng*, we can conclude that the conditional clauses of 18 really consist of *a* followed by an **equational sentence** (cf. 18.6). Therefore, these conditional clauses literally mean something like 'if it is morning', 'if it is afternoon', etc. By using a conditional clause like *a letutau* 'in the morning', the speaker states that a particular event **usually** or **normally** occurs at a designated time. The routine involved, however, is not as regular or fixed as that implied by sentences exhibiting a **temporal phrase** containing *bek* 'each, every' (cf. 14.6, ex. 34h). Thus, 18a is different in meaning from the example below:

- (19) A bechik a oureor er a sers er a bek el tutau.
'My wife works in the garden every morning.'

For further examples containing temporal phrases with *bek* 'each, every', cf. 14.6, ex. 35.

IMPERATIVE VERB FORMS

19.5. Palauan **imperative verb forms** are used to express **orders** or

commands. Because commands are ordinarily directed at the person addressed—the “you” of the conversation—it is not surprising that imperative verb forms involve **second person pronouns**. As we will see below, Palauan imperative verb forms are actually nothing more than hypothetical verb forms prefixed with the *mo-* or *m-* variants of the second person hypothetical pronoun. We will use the separate term “imperative”, however, as a convenient way of distinguishing the special usage under discussion here.

Both the **imperfective** and **perfective** forms of **transitive action verbs** can occur in commands. To derive the imperative forms of imperfective verbs, we simply substitute the second person hypothetical pronoun prefix *mo-* for the verb marker *mə-* of the corresponding imperfective verb. A few such forms are illustrated in the sentences below, which function as orders or commands:

- (20) a. Molim a kərum!
‘Drink your medicine!’
b. Mosilek ər a bilem!
‘Wash your clothes!’
c. Mongiis ər a kliokl!
‘Dig the hole!’
d. Monguii ər tia əl hong!
‘Read this book!’

Because there is no distinction between singular and plural for the second person hypothetical pronoun (cf. 4.10.1), the examples of 20 are ambiguous in that the speaker may be directing the order either to just one person or to a group of two or more persons.

The imperative forms of perfective verbs are derived with the variant *m-* of the second person hypothetical pronoun. This *m-* is always pronounced as a separate syllable—namely, [m] (cf. 1.3.5). All imperative forms of perfective verbs have the structure *hypothetical pronoun m- + verb stem + object pronoun*. Some typical examples are given in 21 below; in the lefthand column, a **3rd pers. sg. object pronoun** (*-ii*, *-ir*, etc.) has been suffixed to the imperative verb form, while in the righthand column the imperative verb form has the **3rd pers. pl. non-hum. object pronoun** (*Ø*):

- (21) 3rd pers. sg. non-hum. object 3rd pers. pl. non-hum. object
a. Mngilmii a iməlem!
‘Have your drink!’ Mngim a iməlem!
‘Have your drinks!’

- | | |
|---|---|
| b. Msilekii a bail!
‘Wash the (piece of)
clothing!’ | Msilek a bail!
‘Wash the clothes!’ |
| c. Mkiiisii a kliokl!
‘Dig the hole
(completely)!’ | Mkiiis a kliokl!
‘Dig the holes
(completely)!’ |
| d. Mchiuii a hong!
‘Read the book
(completely)!’ | Mchuii a hong!
‘Read the books
(completely)!’ |
| e. Mləchəsii a babier!
‘Write the letter
(completely)!’ | Mləchəs a babier!
‘Write the letters
(completely)!’ |
| f. Mkelii a ngikəl!
‘Eat up the fish!’ | Mka a ngikəl!
‘Eat up (all) the fish!’ |
| g. Mngətəchii a mlai!
‘Clean up the car!’ | Mngatəch a mlai!
‘Clean up the cars!’ |
| h. Mləngir a sebə!
‘Borrow the shovel!’ | Mləng a sebə!
‘Borrow the shovels!’ |
| i. Mdərur a ngikəl!
‘Barbeque the fish!’ | Mdul a ngikəl!
‘Barbeque (all) the fish!’ |

The examples below are similar, except that the object pronoun suffixes refer to human beings:

- (22) 1st or 3rd pers. sg. hum. 3rd pers. pl. hum. object
object
- | | |
|--|--|
| a. Mchələbədii a ngalək!
‘Hit the child!’ | Mchələbədətər a ɾəngalək!
‘Hit the children!’ |
| b. Mkimdak!
‘Cut my hair!’ | Mkimdətər a ɾəngalək!
‘Cut the children’s hair!’ |
| c. Mteçhəlbii a Toki!
‘Bathe Toki!’ | Mteçhəlbətər a ɾəngalək!
‘Bathe the children!’ |
| d. Msiiəkii a Satsko!
‘Look for Satsko!’ | Msiiəkətər a ɾəseçhəlim!
‘Look for your friends!’ |

Because the perfective imperative forms illustrated in 21–22 above are hypothetical verb forms, they of course do not contain the **verb marker** in any of its several variants (cf. 6.2.1). In this respect, they contrast with the (non-hypothetical) perfective forms listed in 6.3, in which the **metathesized** verb marker turns up as *-(ə)m-*, *-o-*, or *-u-*. A few of these contrasting forms are pointed out in the list below:

(23) <i>Perfective Imperative Form of</i> 21–22 (= <i>hypothetical pro-</i> <i>noun m-</i> + <i>verb stem</i> + <i>object pronoun</i>)	<i>Corresponding Non-Hypotheti-</i> <i>cal Perfective Form (with</i> <i>metathesized verb marker</i> <i>italicized)</i>
mchiqiii 'Read it (completely)!'	chiiqiii 'reads it (completely)'
mchuiiu 'Read them (completely)!'	chēmuiiu 'reads them (completely)'
mkēlii 'Eat it up!'	kolii 'eats it up'
mka 'Eat them up!'	kma 'eats them up'
mləngir 'Borrow it!'	longir 'borrows it'
mleng 'Borrow them!'	lmeng 'borrows them'
mchələbəddii 'Hit him!'	choləbəddii 'hits him'

In order to express commands with **intransitive action verbs**, a sequence of the form *directional verb mo* 'go' + *intransitive action verb* is frequently used. Observe the examples below:

- (24) a. Bo moməngur!
'Have your meal!'
b. Bo mdəngchok!
'Sit down!'
c. Bo mdəchor!
'Stand/get up!'
d. Bo mre!
'Go home/get out!'
e. Bo məchiuau!
'Go to sleep!'
f. Bo mngasəch ər a bilas!
'Get in the boat!'
g. Bo mkerd ər tiang⁹!
'Get out here!'
h. Bo mtobəd ər tiang!
'Get out of here!'

Interestingly enough, the imperative form of *mo* 'go' is simply the **verb stem** *bo* (cf. 6.2.1, exs. 11–12) rather than the expected

**mbo*—i.e., *hypothetical pronoun* + *verb stem*. The basic form of imperative *bo* 'go!' may indeed be *m* + *bo*, but a phonetic rule deletes the initial *m* before a following *b*.¹⁰ A similar phenomenon is found among the imperative forms of various transitive and intransitive verbs whose stems are *b-* initial, as the following examples illustrate:

- (25) a. Bosii a bəloçəl!
'Shoot the pigeon!'
b. Bilii a ngələk!
'Dress the child!'
c. Bəçhii a ngikəl!
'Spear the fish!'
d. Bəskak a ududem!
'Give me your money!'
e. Bəkiis!
'Get up/wake up!'

The perfective imperative forms of 25a–c are related to the imperfective (transitive) verbs *omoes* 'shoot', *omail* 'dress, wrap', and *omurəch* 'spear', while *bəskak* 'give (it to) me' of 25d is related to perfective *msa* 'give'. The non-hypothetical form for *bəkiis* 'get up/wake up!' of 25e is intransitive *məkiis* 'get up/wake up'.

Hypothetical verb forms with first or third person prefixes are sometimes used with an imperative connotation when the speaker feels something must be done by himself or someone else. This connotation is observed in examples like the following:

- (26) a. Kurael əl mo ər a blik.
'I'd better go home.'
b. Bilii a ngələk e lora.
'Dress the child and have/let him go.'
c. Ləbo ər a bita a Droteo mə ləngai a kəbui.
'Have Droteo go next door and get some leaves for betel nut chewing.'
d. Doməngur ər tiang.
'Let's eat here.'

Examples like 26d, in which the 1st pers. pl. inclusive hypothetical pronoun *do-* (or *də-*) is prefixed to a verb form, are commonly used to express the idea 'let's (do something)'. Further examples will be provided in 19.6 below.

Palauan **negative** commands are formed simply by using *lak*, the hypothetical form of *diak* (cf. 18.3), followed itself by a hypo-

thetical verb form with a prefixed second person hypothetical pronoun (*mo-*). The following examples are typical:

- (27) a. Lak molim a biang!
'Don't drink beer!'
b. Lak monga a kall!
'Don't eat the food!'
c. Lak mongerodech!
'Stop making noise!'
d. Lak molekar er a ngalek!
'Don't wake up the child!'
e. Lak mobes el subedii a Droteo!
'Don't forget to tell Droteo!'

It is interesting to note that in negative commands such as those above, any transitive verb following *lak* can only appear in its **imperfective**, but not **perfective**, form. In other words, a sentence like the following is ungrammatical (cf. 27b):

- (28) *Lak mkellii a kall!
(‘Don't eat the food!’)

The reason why perfective forms are prevented after *lak* in sentences like 27a–e seems to be the following: since a negative command orders someone not to **begin** or **continue** a particular activity, it would be redundant and unnecessary to mention **finishing** that same activity, which is what a perfective verb form would imply.

Another way of expressing a negative command is to use a **statement** introduced by *ng diak*, as in the examples below:

- (29) a. Ng diak mongerodech!
'Don't make noise!'
b. Ng diak molekar er a ngalek!
'Don't wake up the child!'

For some speakers, the examples of 29 differ in meaning from the corresponding commands with *lak*. Thus, 27c might be a command directed at children who have already begun to be noisy, while 29a is a kind of warning which would be uttered even before any noise has started. Similarly, 27d would be directed at someone who has already begun to wake up the child, whereas 29b would be a “precautionary” command spoken while the child is still fully asleep.

If we recall that hypothetical verb forms are characteristically

used to refer to **unreal** actions, events, etc., we can immediately see why they are appropriate in imperative sentences. Thus, when an order or command is given that something be done, the action or event in question **has not yet occurred** and is therefore **unreal**; indeed, the order or command is given precisely so that the particular action or event will become an actual fact. We can therefore see that the use of hypothetical verb forms as imperatives has much in common with the use of hypothetical verb forms in conditional sentences (cf. 19.1 above) and in negative sentences (cf. chap. 18).

PROPOSITIVE VERB FORMS

- 19.6. Palauan **propositive verb forms** are used when the speaker wishes to **propose** or **suggest** that he and the hearer(s) perform some action or activity together. Propositive verb forms are actually hypothetical verb forms prefixed with the 1st pers. pl. **inclusive** hypothetical pronoun *do-* or *de-*. This pronoun is used because the proposed or suggested action **includes** both speaker and hearer(s). Palauan propositive verb forms have English equivalents of the form ‘let’s (do something)’, as the examples below illustrate:

- (30) a. Dorael!
'Let's go!'
b. Doilil er tiang!
'Let's play here!'
c. Debo dolim a biang!
'Let's go drink a beer!'
d. Doluchesh!
'Let's write it!'
e. Delecheshii!
'Let's write it (completely)!'

If the verb in the propositive sentence is transitive, as in 30c–e, the hypothetical (propositive) form can be imperfective (as in 30c–d) or perfective (as in 30e). Propositive sentences can also be **negative**, in which case they include *lak*:

- (31) a. Lak dongerodech.
'Let's not make noise.'
b. Lak dosuub er a elchang.
'Let's not study now.'
c. Mërkong. Lak doilil.
'Let's not play any more.'

Because propositive sentences involve actions which are proposed or suggested but have not yet taken place, it is not surprising that they contain hypothetical verb forms. In other words, at the moment when a speaker utters a propositive sentence, the action in question is still **unreal** (though it may occur in the very immediate future); therefore, the use of hypothetical verb forms is appropriate.

PASSIVE SENTENCES

19.7. As we mentioned in 5.1.1, all Palauan **transitive** sentences involve a **doer** (or **agent**) and a **receiver** (or **object**). While the **agent** is the person who performs or carries out a particular action, the **object** is the person, animal, or thing which receives the effect of that action. In Palauan transitive sentences, the agent is normally expressed by the **subject noun phrase**, which **precedes** the transitive verb, while the object is expressed by the **object noun phrase**, which **follows** the transitive verb. This is shown in the sentences below, which contain both imperfective and perfective forms of transitive verbs:

- (32) a. A ngalek a menga er a ngikel.
'The child is eating the fish.'
- b. A sensei a mengelebed er a rengalek.
'The teacher is hitting the children.'
- c. A John a milenglebed a bilis.
'John was hitting the dogs.'
- d. A sechelek a silsebbii a blai.
'My friend burned down the house.'
- e. A Toki a chiloit a babier.
'Toki threw away the letters.'

In any Palauan sentence, it is the subject noun phrase which is the speaker's focus of interest or attention. In other words, the speaker will try to structure a sentence in such a way that its subject position will be occupied by the noun phrase which he wishes to emphasize or from whose viewpoint he is regarding a particular action or event. In the great majority of cases, the speaker tends to describe an action or event from the viewpoint of the doer or agent, as in the examples of 32. Such sentences, in which the subject noun phrase identifies the agent, are called **active sentences** because they focus upon the agent as **actively** pursuing an activity which is directed at a particular object.

In some cases, however, the speaker wishes to describe a situation from the viewpoint of a particular noun phrase which does not function as agent. Thus, in the examples below it is the **object**—i.e., the thing which **receives** the effect of the action—which appears in sentence subject position and is therefore focused upon:

- (33) a. A ngikel a longa er ngii a ngalek.
'The fish is being eaten by the child.'
- b. A rengalek a longelebed er tir a sensei.
'The children are being hit by the teacher.'
- c. A bilis a lulenglebed a John.
'The dogs were being hit by John.'
- d. A blai a lesilsebbii a sechelek.
'The house was burned down by my friend.'
- e. A babier a lechiloit a Toki.
'The letters were thrown away by Toki.'

The sentences of 33, in which the subject noun phrase identifies the object or receiver, are called **passive sentences** because they focus upon the object as **passively** undergoing the action designated by the verb phrase (and performed by the agent).

The active and passive sentences of 32 and 33 convey exactly the same amount of information, except that—as mentioned above—there is a difference in emphasis or point of view. Thus, both 32a and 33a tell us that an act of eating is going on at the present moment, and that the agent and object are a child (*ngalek*) and a fish (*ngikel*), respectively. All that is different is the point of view: thus, the speaker would use 32a if he were mainly interested in the child and what the child was doing, while he would use 33a if for some reason he was particularly concerned about the fish and what was happening to it.¹¹

If we compare the passive sentences of 33 with the corresponding active sentences of 32, we observe the following differences. Roughly speaking, the noun phrases in subject and object positions have switched places: thus, the object noun phrases of 32 have come to appear in subject position in the passive sentences of 33, while the subject noun phrases of 32 (which designate the agent) have moved to sentence-final position in 33. At the same time, the non-hypothetical verb forms of the active sentences have been replaced by hypothetical verb forms in the passive sentences. In addition, the sequences *er ngii* and *er tir* appear in the passive sentences 33a–b.

We shall now examine in greater detail the complex combination of changes which relate the active and passive sentences of 32–33. Our explanation will be simpler if we assume that the passive sentences, which are more complicated in structure, are derived from the corresponding active sentences. The “exchange” of object and agent mentioned above actually involves two processes: the agent (= subject noun phrase) of 32 is shifted to sentence-final position in 33, while the object (= object noun phrase) of 32 is **preposed** to sentence-initial position in 33. When the object noun phrase is preposed, a **pronominal trace** of it must remain in its original position. This phenomenon only occurs, however, when the object noun phrase of the active sentence is marked with the **specifying word** *er* (cf. 2.7). Recall that *er* can mark a noun phrase as specific only when the preceding transitive verb is **imperfective** and when the object noun phrase is of a particular type. Thus, *er* can be used to mark all **sinuglar** noun phrases (whether human or non-human) and any **plural** noun phrase which is **human**; if, however, a **non-human** noun phrase is interpreted as plural, then it cannot be preceded by *er*. Now, in the active sentences 32a–c, we can explain the occurrence or non-occurrence of the specifying word *er* according to the above principle. Thus, in 32a–b, *er* appears before the singular noun phrase *ngikɛl* ‘fish’ or the human plural noun phrase *rɛngalɛk* ‘children’, but it cannot occur before non-human *bilis* ‘dogs’ of 32c if this noun phrase is to be interpreted as plural. Because the specifying word *er* therefore occurs only in 32a–b, it is in these sentences that a pronominal trace must remain when the object noun phrase is preposed. Thus, in the passive sentences 33a–b, we observe the pronominal traces *ngii* and *tir* following the specifying word *er*. These **emphatic pronouns** (cf. 4.3) agree with the preposed noun phrase which they replace: in 33a, the 3rd pers. sg. emphatic pronoun *ngii* refers to *ngikɛl* ‘fish’, and in 33b, the 3rd pers. human pl. emphatic pronoun *tir* refers to *rɛngalɛk* ‘children’. In the passive sentences 33d–e, we do not see any occurrence of *specifying word er* + *emphatic pronoun* at all, simply because the specifying word *er* is prevented following the **perfective** verb forms of the corresponding active sentences 32d–e.

The presence vs. absence of *er ngii* in otherwise identical passive sentences results in an important difference of meaning. Observe, therefore, the following pairs of sentences:

- (34) a. A Droteo a mɛnguui ɛr a hong.
‘Droteo is reading the book.’
b. A Droteo a mɛnguui a hong.
‘Droteo is reading the books.’
(35) a. A hong a longuii ɛr ngii a Droteo.
‘The book is being read by Droteo.’
b. A hong a longuii a Droteo.
‘The books are being read by Droteo.’

As we saw in 2.7, exs. 37–38, the presence vs. absence of *er* in the active sentences of 34 signals whether the object (*hong* ‘book’) is (specific) **singular** or **plural**, respectively. Because the passive sentences of 35 are derived from the corresponding active sentences, the presence vs. absence of *er ngii* tells us in exactly the same way whether the subject (*hong* ‘book’) is interpreted as singular or plural. Thus, when *er ngii* follows the verb, we know that *hong* is singular, but if no sequence of *specifying word er* + *emphatic pronoun* is found in the sentence, then *hong* is interpreted as plural.

In all of the passive sentences given so far (33 and 35), the hypothetical verb form is prefixed with some variant of the 3rd pers. (sg.) hypothetical pronoun (*lo-*, *lu-*, *lɛ-*, etc.). This is because the prefixed pronoun in hypothetical verb forms always refers to the **agent** (cf. 4.10.2), and up to now we have only examined passive sentences with third person agents (*ngalɛk* ‘child’ in 33a, *sensei* ‘teacher’ in 33b, etc.). It is of course also possible to have first and second person agents in passive sentences, and these will be indicated by the appropriate pronoun prefixes on the hypothetical verb forms. Thus, with 35b, compare the sentences below:

- (36) a. A hong a kunguii.
‘The books are being read by me.’
b. A hong a donguii.
‘The books are being read by us (incl.).’
c. A hong a monguii.
‘The books are being read by you.’

If the agent is a first or second person, as in 36, it is “marked” only in the hypothetical verb form—that is, no specific noun phrase designating the agent occurs in sentence-final position. However, if the agent is a third person, then a specific noun phrase designating the agent occurs **optionally**, as in the passive

sentences of 33 and 35. In other words, a specific noun phrase identifying the agent need not be included if the speaker and hearer know who the agent is. Thus, with 35b, compare the following sentence:

- (37) A hong a longuiu.
'The books are being read by him/them.'

Given our previous discussions of the general function of hypothetical verb forms—namely, to express **unreal** rather than **actual** events, states, etc.—it is indeed very difficult to understand why hypothetical verb forms should be required in passive sentences. The only speculation we are able to make is that, in some sense, passive sentences are “less real” than active sentences because they view a given event or situation in a less-than-usual way. As we mentioned at the beginning of this section, the speaker usually describes a given action or event from the viewpoint of the **agent**. Therefore, **active sentences** are highly favored because in them, the agent appears in sentence subject position, which is reserved for the noun phrase being given special attention or “prominence”. Now, when a speaker uses a passive sentence, he is choosing to describe an action or situation from a somewhat less common or normal viewpoint—namely, that of the **object** or **receiver**, which therefore appears in the subject position of **passive sentences**. If we agree that the less common viewpoint of passive sentences is somehow “less real” than the normal viewpoint of active sentences, then perhaps we can understand why passive sentences require hypothetical verb forms.

FURTHER EXAMPLES OF PASSIVE SENTENCES

- 19.7.1. In the present section we will look at a large variety of Palauan passive sentences. Since we have already analyzed the form and meaning of such sentences, very little additional discussion will be necessary.

In the passive sentences below, we observe the hypothetical forms of imperfective transitive verbs (cf. 33a–c) and in one case the hypothetical form of a transitive state verb (*mēdakt* ‘be afraid of’ in 38g):

- (38) a. A bēlocheḷ a lulēmes ḡr ngii a buik.
'The pigeon was being watched by the boy.'
b. A oles a lousbech ḡr ngii a Droteo.
'The knife is being used by Droteo.'

- c. A Toki a blēchoel ḡl lolēngēseu ḡr ngii a Droteo ḡl mēruul a subēlel.
'Toki is always being helped by Droteo to do her homework.'
d. Tia ḡl chēlitakl a blēchoel ḡl dongitakl ḡr ngii ḡr a Christmas.
'This song is always sung (by us) at Christmas.'
e. A babier a kulluchēs.
'The letters were being written by me.'
f. A bilis a lomēkcharm a Droteo.
'The dogs are being hurt by Droteo.'
g. A dērumk a lēmēdakt ḡr ngii a ngalēk.
'(lit.) The thunder is being feared by the child.' = 'The child is afraid of the thunder.'

The passive sentences below illustrate how the hypothetical forms of perfective transitive verbs are used (cf. 33d–e):

- (39) a. A buik a lulsa a Tony.
'The boy was seen by Tony.'
b. A ngalēk a ksilēbēkii.
'The child was kicked by me.'
c. A tolēchoi a lulēkērngii a chērrōdēch.
'The baby was awakened by the noise.'
d. A ngikēl a lēkila a bilis.
'The fish were eaten up by the dog.'
e. Ngak a lulēkērngak a Toki.
'I was awakened by Toki.'
f. A kliokl a lēkilisii a rēḡchēlik.
'The hole was (completely) dug by my friends.'
g. A present a lēbilskak a Droteo.
'A present was given to me by Droteo.'
h. A hong a kbilstērir a rēḡchēlik.
'A book was given by me to my friends.'
i. A bēras a lēkēlii a malk.
'The rice is going to get eaten up by the chicken!'
j. A chēmēlem a lēchēmēchii a ngalēk.
'Your betel nut is going to get chewed up by the child!'

In 39i–j, the present perfective (passive) forms *lēkēlii* and *lēchēmēchii* are used to express **warnings** (cf. 12.2, ex. 14).

PASSIVE SENTENCES CONTAINING COMPLEX VERB PHRASES

- 19.7.2. If the verb phrase of a passive sentence is complex—i.e., if it

includes auxiliary words like *mo* 'go, become', *m̄la* (marker for recent past tense), etc.—then the appropriate hypothetical pronoun is normally prefixed to each of its parts. A few typical examples are given below:

- (40) a. A ureor a l̄b̄la l̄bo l̄m̄r̄ek ɛr ngii a Droteo.
'The work has been finished by Droteo.'
- b. A mubi a l̄bo lomes ɛr ngii a r̄ngal̄k̄.
'The movie is going to be seen by the children.'
- c. Tia ɛl babier a kbo kuluch̄s ɛr ngii.
'This letter will be written by me.'

As we saw in 4.10.6, Palauan speakers often omit the first occurrence of the hypothetical pronoun with complex verb phrases. This happens most frequently in rapid, informal speech and when the third person hypothetical pronoun is involved. Thus, with 40a–b compare the following acceptable sentences:

- (41) a. A ureor a bla l̄bo l̄m̄r̄ek ɛr ngii a Droteo.
'The work has been finished by Droteo.'
- b. A mubi a bo lomes ɛr ngii a r̄ngal̄k̄.
'The movie is going to be seen by the children.'

The first occurrence of the hypothetical pronoun can be omitted in examples like 41a–b because it is **redundant**: in other words, the very same information is supplied by the (identical) hypothetical pronouns which are attached to the other parts of the complex verb phrase.

PASSIVE SENTENCES AND RELATIONAL PHRASES

- 19.7.3. The processes by which Palauan passive sentences are formed apply more broadly than we indicated in 19.7 above, where we only examined passive sentences in which the subject noun phrase corresponds to the **object** (or receiver) of the related active sentence. As we will see below, Palauan has passive sentences in which the subject corresponds to a noun phrase which follows the **relational word** *ɛr* in the associated active sentence. In the following pairs of examples, a noun phrase appearing in a **relational phrase** of the active sentence has become the subject of the passive sentence:

- (42) a. A Droteo a oureor ɛr a stoang.
'Droteo works at the store.'

- b. A stoa a loureor ɛr ngii a Droteo.
'(lit.) The store is worked at by Droteo.'
- (43) a. A Toki a riros ɛr tia ɛl diong.
'Toki drowned in this river.'
- b. Tia ɛl diong a l̄riros ɛr ngii a Toki.
'(lit.) This river was drowned in by Toki.'
- (44) a. A n̄ḡl̄k̄ek a smeç̄er ɛr a t̄er̄et̄er.
'My child is sick with a cold.'
- b. A t̄er̄et̄er a l̄seç̄er ɛr ngii a n̄ḡl̄k̄ek.
'It's a cold that my child is sick with.'
- (45) a. A b̄loç̄el a sileb̄k̄ ɛr a k̄er̄r̄kar.
'The pigeon flew out of the tree.'
- b. A k̄er̄r̄kar a l̄sileb̄k̄ ɛr ngii a b̄loç̄el.
'(lit.) The tree was flown out of by the pigeon.'

In the examples above, we note that the subject noun phrases of the passive sentences have several different functions in the relational phrases of the corresponding active sentences. Thus, in 42 and 43 *stoa* 'store' and *tia ɛl diong* 'this river' identify the **location**, in 44 *t̄er̄et̄er* 'cold' designates the **cause**, and in 45 *k̄er̄r̄kar* 'tree' refers to the **source**. The passive sentences of 42–45 are unusual in that they all contain **intransitive** rather than transitive verbs; furthermore, the pronominal trace *ngii* appears after the **relational word** *ɛr* rather than the **specifying word** *ɛr*.

NEGATIVE AND CONDITIONAL PASSIVE SENTENCES

- 19.7.4. When passive sentences, which contain hypothetical verb forms, appear with constructions which themselves require hypothetical verb forms, only a single hypothetical verb form is used. Thus, in examples 46a–c we observe **negative passive** sentences with *diak*, and in 46d we have a **conditional passive** sentence:

- (46) a. A t̄koi er a Belau a diak losuub ɛr ngii a John.
'Palauan isn't being studied by John.'
- b. A Droteo a dimlak lonḡleb̄d ɛr ngii a Tony.
'Droteo wasn't hit by Tony.'
- c. A k̄eð̄ra a dimlak l̄mad ɛr ngii a Toki.
'The beach wasn't where Toki died.'
- d. A biang a lak lolim ɛr ngii a s̄ç̄el̄im, e m̄nḡuu e loia ɛr a icebox.
'If the beer isn't drunk by your friend, then take it and put it in the icebox.'

20 Questions

YES-NO QUESTIONS

- 20.1. In every language of the world, there is a distinction between sentences which make **statements** and sentences which ask **questions**. While statements **provide** or **supply** information by describing events, actions, states, etc., questions **ask for** or **demand** information of one type or another. There are many different ways of asking questions in Palauan, and these will be taken up in detail below. In general, our study of the structure of Palauan questions should pose few difficulties, since we are already familiar with most of the grammatical processes involved.

All languages have a basic distinction between **yes-no questions** vs. questions which ask for the **specific identity** of a person, place, thing, etc. When the speaker uses a yes-no question, he simply wants to know whether or not such-and-such is the case; he expects the hearer to answer with 'yes' (*chochoi*) or 'no' (*ng diak*, *ng dimlak*, or *ng dirkak*—cf. 18.8). The following is a typical yes-no question:

- (1) A Droteo ng mlo ɛr a skuul?
'Did Droteo go to school?'

If the speaker, however, wishes to know the specific identity of someone or something involved in a particular event, state, etc., he will use a question containing a specific **question word** like *tɛcha* 'who?' or *ker* 'where?'. Thus, with 1, contrast the following questions:

- (2) a. Ng tɛcha a mlo ɛr a skuul?
'Who went to school?'
b. A Droteo ng mlo ɛr ker?
'Where did Droteo go?'

Before examining questions which contain question words, we will first analyze questions of the yes-no type.

If the subject of a yes-no question is a **non-emphatic pronoun** (cf. 4.2), then the word order of the yes-no question is identical to that of the corresponding statement. The question, however, is distinguished from the statement by the **intonation** (or **pitch**) of the voice: while the statement is uttered with a fairly low, even pitch, falling slightly at the end, the question is spoken with a steadily rising intonation, which remains high at the end. Observe the pairs of sentences below:

- (3) a. Kɛ mle smeɛɛɛr.
'You were sick.'
b. Kɛ mle smeɛɛr?
'Were you sick?'
- (4) a. Ng milil ɛr a sers.
'He/she is playing in the garden.'
b. Ng milil ɛr a sers?
'Is he/she playing in the garden?'
- (5) a. Tɛ mlo ɛr a che er a elɛɛɛɛɛ.
'They went fishing today.'
b. Tɛ mlo ɛr a che er a elɛɛɛɛɛ?
'Did they go fishing today?'
- (6) a. Tɛ chad ɛr a Siabal.
'They're Japanese.'
b. Tɛ chad ɛr a Siabal?
'Are they Japanese?'

In the cases below, too, the word order of the question sentence and the corresponding statement sentence is identical:

- (7) a. Ng soal a biang.
'He wants some beer.'
b. Ng soal a biang?
'Does he want any beer?'
- (8) a. Ng suebɛk a rɛngrir.
'They're worried.'
b. Ng suebɛk a rɛngrir?
'Are they worried?'
- (9) a. Ng ngar ɛr ngii a kɛlem.
'There's food for you.'
b. Ng ngar ɛr ngii a kɛlem?
'Is there any food for you?'
- (10) a. Ng diak a chisel a Toki.
'There isn't any news about Toki.'

- b. Ng diak a chisel a Toki?
'Isn't there any news about Toki?'

- (11) a. Ng dimlak longuiu ɛr a hong.
'He didn't read the book.'

- b. Ng dimlak longuiu ɛr a hong?
'Didn't he read the book?'

In the examples of 7–11, the *ng* in subject position is a **pronominal trace** of a subject which has been shifted to the right of the verb phrase during the normal derivation of the statement sentence (cf. 17.2 and 17.7). Again, the intonation pattern is the only factor which differentiates the questions from the statements in these examples.

If the subject of a yes-no question is a specific noun phrase rather than a non-emphatic pronoun, then the question can be expressed in two ways. First, observe the pairs of examples below:

- (12) a. A Droteo a mla mei.
'Droteo has arrived.'

- b. Ng mla me a Droteo?
'Has Droteo arrived?'

- (13) a. A rɛsɛɕɕɛlim a mlo milil ɛr a kɛɖɛrang.
'Your friends went to play at the beach.'

- b. Tɛ mlo milil a rɛsɛɕɕɛlim ɛr a kɛɖɛrang?
'Did your friends go to play at the beach?'

Comparison of the yes-no questions of the b-sentences with the corresponding statements of the a-sentences leads us to the simple conclusion that the yes-no questions are derived from the statements by the process of **subject shifting** (cf. 17.2). Since the shifted subject *Droteo* of 12b is **singular**, the 3rd pers. **sg.** non-emphatic pronoun *ng* appears as a pronominal trace. In 13b, however, the shifted **plural** subject *rɛsɛɕɕɛlim* 'your friends' leaves the 3rd pers. (human) **pl.** pronominal trace *tɛ*. As expected, the yes-no questions of 12b and 13b are spoken with a rising intonation; this feature of their pronunciation differentiates them from **statement** sentences involving subject shifting, which are pronounced with a low, even pitch. Thus, 12b, for example, contrasts with the following:

- (12b') Ng mla me a Droteo.
'Droteo has arrived.'

Now, with the yes-no questions of 12b and 13b, repeated here for convenience, contrast the c-sentences, which are identical in meaning:

- (12) b. Ng mla me a Droteo?
'Has Droteo arrived?'

- c. A Droteo ng mla mei?

- (13) b. Tɛ mlo milil a rɛsɛɕɕɛlim ɛr a kɛɖɛrang?
'Did your friends go to play at the beach?'

- c. A rɛsɛɕɕɛlim tɛ mlo milil ɛr a kɛɖɛrang?

The c-sentences are derived from the b-sentences by optionally **preposing** the shifted subject (*Droteo* in 12 and *rɛsɛɕɕɛlim* 'your friends' in 13) to sentence-initial position. Unlike the instances of preposing observed in chaps. 17 and 18, however, the preposed subject in 12c and 13c simply **precedes**, but **does not replace**, the pronominal traces *ng* and *tɛ*. The examples below exactly parallel those of 12a–c and 13a–c: the a-sentence is a **statement**, the b-sentence is a yes-no question derived from the a-sentence by **subject shifting**, and the c-sentence is another yes-no question derived by **preposing** the shifted subject of the b-sentence:

- (14) a. A dort a mɛɖuch¹ ɛl kɛrɾɛkar. 'Ironwood is a strong tree.'

- b. Ng mɛɖuch ɛl kɛrɾɛkar a dort? 'Is ironwood a strong tree?'

- c. A dort ng mɛɖuch ɛl kɛrɾɛkar?

- (15) a. A ears a mlo dɛkimɛs. 'The sail got wet.'

- b. Ng mlo dɛkimɛs a ears? 'Did the sail get wet?'

- c. A ears ng mlo dɛkimɛs?

If the subject of a statement sentence is a **noun phrase of possession**, then three acceptable yes-no questions can be formed from it. Thus, in the pair of sentences below,

- (16) a. A bɛɕil a Droteo a klɛbokɛl.
'Droteo's wife is pretty.'

- b. Ng klɛbokɛl a bɛɕil a Droteo?
'Is Droteo's wife pretty?'

the yes-no question of 16b is derived from the statement of 16a by shifting the subject *bɛɕil a Droteo* 'Droteo's wife', which is a

noun phrase of possession. Now, from 16b, we can form either of the following yes-no questions, which have the same meaning:

- (16) c. A bęchil a Droteo ng klębokęł? 'Is Droteo's wife pretty?'
 d. A Droteo ng klębokęł a bęchil?

The difference between the derivations of 16c-d is as follows: in 16c, the **whole** shifted subject *bęchil a Droteo* 'Droteo's wife' is preposed, while in 16d only the possessor *Droteo* is preposed, leaving the possessed noun *bęchil* 'his wife' in sentence-final position (cf. our discussion of **preposing of possessor** in 17.3).

Another example parallel to 16a-d is given below:

- (17) a. A chęral a bęras a męringęł. 'The price of rice is high./
 'Rice is expensive.'
 b. Ng męringęł a chęral a bęras? 'Is rice expensive?'
 c. A chęral a bęras ng męringęł?
 d. A bęras ng męringęł a chęral?

THE QUESTION WORD *tęcha*

20.2. The question word *tęcha* 'who?' is used when the speaker wishes to know the identity of one or more persons involved in a particular event, state, etc. Observe the examples below:

- (18) a. Ng tęcha a sensei ęr kau? 'Who is your teacher?'
 b. Ng tęcha a lilęchęsii tia ęł babier? 'Who wrote this letter?'
 c. Ng tęcha a mlo ęr a party? 'Who went to the party?'
 d. Ng tęcha a milosii a bęlochęł? 'Who shot the pigeon?'

If we try to explain the sentences of 18 in a superficial, non-technical way, we might say that *tęcha* 'who?' must be preceded by *ng* in sentence-initial position when a question is being asked about the identity of the sentence subject. Though this simple explanation will allow us to form question sentences like 18a-d correctly, it nevertheless does not reflect the actual derivation of 18a-d, which we will now examine in detail.

The examples of 18 are derived by the process of subject

shifting from **equational** source sentences of the form *subject noun phrase + tęcha* 'who?'. The derivation of 18a is therefore represented according to the following scheme:

- (19) *Source Sentence* *Resulting Sentence*
 A sensei ęr kau a tęchang. → Ng tęcha a sensei ęr kau?
 'Who is your teacher?'

The equational source sentence of 19 must undergo the process of subject shifting in order to become grammatical. As a consequence of this process, the subject noun phrase *sensei ęr kau* 'your teacher' has come to appear in final position in the resulting sentence of 19, and the pronominal trace *ng* occupies the original subject position. The remaining question sentences of 18 are derived in exactly the same way, except that their source sentences have subjects of a rather special kind, as we will see below.

An important subtype of Palauan equational sentence is illustrated by the examples below:

- (20) a. A mlad a Droteo.
 'The one who died is Droteo.'
 b. A chillębędii a Toki a John.
 'The person who hit Toki is John.'
 c. A olisęchakl a tękoi ęr a Merikel a Masaharu.
 'The one who teaches English is Masaharu.'
 d. A mle ęr a blik er a elii a Cisco.
 'The person who came to my house yesterday is Cisco.'
 e. A soal ęł mo ęr a Siabal a Maria.
 'The one who wants to go to Japan is Maria.'

As the English equivalents indicate, the examples of 20 are used when the speaker wishes to **exhaustively** identify a particular person as the one who is characterized by a particular event, action, state, etc. Thus, 20b emphasizes that it was John and only John (from among the possible persons involved) who hit Toki, and 20e singles out Maria as the person who wants to go to Japan. Because the examples of 20 have the abovementioned connotation of exhaustiveness, they differ in meaning from non-equational sentences containing a subject noun phrase and a verb phrase. Thus, compare 20b with the following:

- (21) A John a chillębędii a Toki.
 'John hit Mary.'

While 21 simply tells us what John did—namely, hit Mary—and leaves open the possibility that other persons might have done

the same thing, 20b asserts that John alone was the one who performed this action.

In the equational sentences of 20, the italicized subject noun phrases do not contain any noun corresponding to English 'one' or 'person'. In other words, these sentences show that Palauan **verb phrases** (together with any object noun phrase or relational phrase associated with them) can actually function as **noun phrases** with the meaning 'the one who...' or 'the person who...'. Since the second noun phrase of 20a-e (*Droteo, John*, etc.) refers to a human being, and since the sentences are equational, it is clear that the italicized subject noun phrases must also refer to human beings.² The phenomenon under discussion here is fairly widespread in Palauan; thus, in 2.5 we saw that **verb phrases** consisting of state verbs (or, occasionally, action verbs) can be prefixed with the plural marker *re-* to function as **noun phrases** with the meaning 'anyone who is...', 'those who are...'. One example of this type is repeated here:

- (22) A iręchar, e a ręmeteet a ulęngęseu ęr a ręmechębuul.
'In earlier times, the rich helped the poor.'

In addition, we saw in 8.2 that many state verbs derived with the **resulting** or **anticipating state affixes** have come to be used as nouns meaning '(some)thing which is...', as in the examples below:

- (23) a. Ng soak ęl męnga a chęlat.
'I'd like to eat a smoked one (= fish).'
b. Ng mle bętok a {*sęleseb*
 tęlemall} er se ęr a taem ęr a mękęmad.
'There were lots of things {burned
 destroyed} during the war.'

Returning to the question sentences of 18b-d, we can now see that they are derived by subject shifting from equational source sentences whose subjects, like those of 20, are actually verb phrases being used as noun phrases. Therefore, the derivation of 18b-d is schematized as follows:

- | (24) Source Sentence | Resulting Sentence |
|--|--|
| a. A <i>lilechęsii tia ęl babier</i>
a tęchang. | Ng tęcha a <i>lilechęsii tia ęl babier</i> ?
'Who wrote this letter?' |
| b. A <i>mlo ęr a party a</i>
tęchang. | Ng tęcha a <i>mlo ęr a party</i> ?
'Who went to the party?' |

- c. A *milosii a bęlochęl a* Ng tęcha a *milosii a bęlochęl*?
tęchang. → 'Who shot the pigeon?'

In the examples of 24, the italicized subject of the source sentence is obligatorily shifted to the right of *tęcha* 'who?' in the resulting sentence, and *ng* remains before *tęcha* as a pronominal trace.

When we think more carefully about the meaning of questions like 24a-c, we find further evidence in support of the claim that they are derived from equational source sentences which have a connotation of **exhaustiveness** (cf. our discussion following 20 above). In other words, since a question containing *tęcha* 'who?' asks for the exhaustive identity of the person or persons involved in a particular event, action, etc., then it is only natural that it should be derived from a source sentence which has this very connotation. Thus, given the structure of their source sentences, the questions of 24a-c should really be given English equivalents such as (for 24a) 'Who is the one who wrote this letter?', etc.³

FURTHER TYPES OF QUESTIONS WITH *tęcha*

- 20.2.1. The question sentences of 18a-d, which are derived by subject shifting, can be further transformed by a rule which once again preposes the shifted subject to sentence-initial position (cf. 12-15 above). Thus, with 18a, repeated below for convenience as 25a, compare 25b:

- (25) a. Ng tęcha a sensei ęr kau? 'Who is your teacher?'
b. A sensei ęr kau ng tęchang?

In 25b, which is identical in meaning, the shifted subject *sensei ęr kau* 'your teacher' of 25a has been moved back to sentence-initial position, where it precedes the pronominal trace *ng*. The very same process can apply to shifted subjects which are actually verb phrases functioning as noun phrases (cf. our discussion of 20a-e above). Thus, with 18c, repeated below as 26a, compare 26b:

- (26) a. Ng tęcha a mlo ęr a party? 'Who went to the party?'
b. A mlo ęr a party ng tęchang?

So far, we have only examined question sentences with *tęcha* 'who?' in which the speaker wishes to know the identity of the agent or subject (in the non-technical sense mentioned following 18). If the speaker wants to know the identity of the **object**—i.e.,

of the person receiving the effect of a particular action—then he can formulate questions with *tęcha* according to two different grammatical patterns. The simpler of the two patterns is illustrated below; here, the question word *tęcha* ‘who?’ merely occupies the position normally occupied by sentence objects (i.e., following the transitive verb phrase):

- (27) a. Kę milsa a tęcha ę a party?
‘Whom did you see at the party?’
b. Kę męngiil ę tęchang?⁴
‘Whom are you waiting for?’
c. A Droteo ng ulęba a tęcha ęl mo ę a ochęraol?
‘Whom did Droteo take to the money-raising party?’

Because *tęcha* ‘who?’ asks for the identity of a **specific** person, it must always be preceded by the specifying word *ę* (cf. 2.7) when the transitive verb is **imperfective**, as in 27b.

The second pattern used for asking questions about the identity of a human object is shown in the examples below:

- (28) a. Ng tęcha a chomilsa ę a party?
‘Whom did you see at the party?’
b. Ng tęcha a lulękodor a rubak?
‘Whom did the old man kill?’

The questions of 28, like those of 24, are derived by shifting subjects which are actually verb phrases being used as noun phrases; the only difference is that the verb phrase contains a **passive** verb form (cf. 19.7). Thus, the questions of 28 are derived as follows:

(29) Source Sentence	Resulting Sentence
a. A <i>chomilsa ę a party</i> a tęchang.	→ Ng tęcha a <i>chomilsa ę a party</i> ? ‘Whom did you see at the party?’
b. A <i>lulękodor a rubak</i> a tęchang.	→ Ng tęcha a <i>lulękodor a rubak</i> ? ‘Whom did the old man kill?’

Because the italicized subjects of the source sentences of 29 contain passive verb forms, the resulting sentences really mean something like ‘Who is the person who was seen by you at the party?’ and ‘Who is the person who was killed by the old man?’

In addition to its use in questions which ask for the identity of the sentence subject or object, the question word *tęcha* ‘who?’ can function in other environments where noun phrases normally occur. For example, in the sentences below, *tęcha* follows the relational word *ę*:

- (30) a. Kę milluchęs ę a babier ęl mo ę tęchang?
‘To whom were you writing the letter?’
b. Kę oba a hong ę tęchang?⁵
‘Whose book do you have?’

And in the following questions, *tęcha* appears as the possessor in a noun phrase of possession:

- (31) a. Se ng mlil tęchang?⁶
‘Whose car is that?’
b. Tia ng kęlel tęchang?
‘Whose food is this?’

Some question sentences showing additional uses of *tęcha* ‘who?’ are provided below:

- (32) a. Kę mlo ę a party kau mę tęchang?
‘With whom did you go the party?’
b. Kę tęchang?
‘Who are you?’
c. Ngka ng tęchang?
‘Who is this person?’
d. Ng tęcha a ngklel a sęchęlim?⁷
‘What’s your friend’s name?’
e. Tia ęl babier ng tęcha a milluchęs ę ngii?⁸
‘Who was writing this letter?’/ ‘This letter—who was writing it?’
f. A blai ng tęcha a silsębii?
‘Who burned down the house?’/ ‘The house—who burned it down?’

THE QUESTION WORD *ngara*

20.3. The question word *ngara* ‘what?’ is used when the speaker wants to know the identity of a particular thing (whether concrete or abstract). Question sentences with *ngara* ‘what?’ exhibit many different patterns, and the derivation of some of them is quite complex. It will be easiest, of course, to begin with the simplest pattern, which is illustrated in the examples below:

- (33) a. Kę milęchęrar a ngara ę a stoang?
‘What did you buy at the store?’
b. Tę męsuub a ngarang?
‘What are they studying?’
c. Ng mo oba a ngarang?
‘What is he going to bring?’

- c. Ngara kẹ mirruul er a elii?
'What did you do yesterday?'

It is also possible for *ngara* 'what?' to appear as the subject of a **passive sentence** (cf. 19.7), as in the examples below:

- (42) a. Ngara a chomulẹchẹrar ẹr a stoang?
'What did you buy at the store?'
b. Ngara a lurrul ẹr ngii a Droteo?
'What did Droteo do/make?'

The passive sentences of 42 are related to **active sentences** such as the following (= 33a and 34a):

- (43) a. Kẹ milẹchẹrar a ngara ẹr a stoang?
'What did you buy at the store?'
b. A Droteo ng mirruul a ngarang?
'What did Droteo do/make?'

When we compare the passive sentences of 42 with the active sentences of 43, we see that the agent and the object have exchanged positions. This accounts for the fact that *ngara* 'what?' has come to appear in subject position in the passive sentences of 42, even though it really designates the **object** of the actions involved. The following characteristics of passive sentences are also observed in 42a-b: the verb form following *ngara* is hypothetical (the prefixes *chomu-* and *lu-* identify the person and number of the agent), and *ẹr ngii* follows the verb if the subject of the passive sentence is singular (as in 42b).

FURTHER TYPES OF QUESTIONS WITH *ngara*

20.3.1. Though *ngara* 'what?' is used most frequently as a sentence object, as illustrated by the examples in 20.3 above, it can also fulfil other functions. Thus, the questions below are **equational sentences** in which the subject noun phrase or the second noun phrase is *ngara*:

- (44) a. Ngara a soam?¹¹
'What do you want?'/ 'What would you like?'
b. Ngara a ngklel a 'rrat' ẹl tẹkoi ẹr a Siabal?
'What is the word for "bicycle" in Japanese?'
c. Tia a ngarang?
'What's this?'
d. Se a ngarang?
'What's that?'

In the sentences below, the question word *ngara* appears in a relational phrase:

- (45) a. A blim ng rruul ẹr a ngarang?
'What's your house made out of?'
b. A rẹchad tẹ mle kakoad ẹr a ngarang?
'What were the people fighting over?'
c. A beab ng tilobẹd ẹr a ngarang?
'What (place) did the mouse emerge from?'
d. Ng mlad ẹr a ngarang?
'What did he die from?'

Can you distinguish among the several types of relational phrases represented in 45a-d?

The question word *ngara* can be linked to a following noun by the word *ẹl*, as in the examples below:

- (46) a. *Ngara ẹl tẹkoi* a chomосуub er a elẹchang?
'What language are you studying now?'
b. *Ngara ẹl mubi* a chobo momes ẹr ngii?¹²
'What kind of movie are you going to see?'
c. A bẹlochẹl ng silebẹk ẹr a *ngara ẹl kẹrẹkar*?
'Which tree did the pigeon fly out of?'
d. Ng mo *ngara ẹl blai* a blim?
'What kind of house will yours be? (i.e., what will it be made out of?)'

When *ngara* **modifies** a following noun in this way (see 24.2, ex. 12) the resulting meaning is 'which/what/what kind of ____?'

In one interesting case, the question word *ngara* can be used to refer to people. Note the contrast in meaning between the following sentences:

- (47) a. Tirke ẹl teru ẹl chad tẹ ngarang?
'What are those two people? (i.e., what is their profession?)'
b. Tirke ẹl teru ẹl chad tẹ rua tẹchang?
'Who are those two people?'

In 47a, *ngara* 'what?' asks for information about the **profession** of the two people, while in 47b *tẹcha* 'who?' is a request to have them identified by name.

When followed by the **connecting word** *mẹ* 'and (so)' (see 22.1), *ngara* asks a question about the **reason** for something and therefore corresponds closely to English 'why?' Observe the examples below, in which the clause introduced by *mẹ* designates the action or state for whose occurrence a reason is sought:

- (48) a. Ngara mę a Droteo a dimlak lępass ęr a test?
'Why didn't Droteo pass the test?'
b. Ngara mę kę mlo ęr a Saibal?
'Why did you go to Saipan?'
c. Ngara mę ng mle kęsib a ręngum?
'Why were you angry?'
d. Ngara mę a ręsęchęlim a silesęb a blai?
'Why did your friends burn down the houses?'

If the clause introduced by *mę* has a specific third person subject, then this subject can be preposed to sentence-initial position, leaving behind a pronominal trace. Thus, with 48d, compare the sentence below, whose meaning is the same:

- (49) A ręsęchęlim ngara mę tę silesęb a blai?
'Why did your friends burn down the houses?'

Another way of asking 'why?' in Palauan is to use *ngara* followed by the obligatorily possessed noun *uchul* 'its reason' (cf. chap. 3, note 17), which is in turn followed by a clause introduced by *mę*. Questions with *ngara uchul mę*... tend to be more serious than those with *ngara mę*...—that is, they ask for a detailed explanation of the real reason behind something. Note the sentences below:

- (50) a. Ngara uchul mę kę męrmang?
'What's the (real) reason you're coming?'
b. Ngara uchul mę ng mlo soam ęl męrael?
'Why have you decided to leave?'

THE QUESTION WORD *tela*

- 20.4. In order to ask a question about the quantity or size of something, we use the question word *tela* 'how much, how many?' The derivation of questions containing *tela* involves the very same processes of subject shifting and preposing discussed in connection with *tęcha* 'who?' and *ngara* 'what?' above. Observe the following examples:

- (51) a. Ng tela a klęmęngętem? 'How tall are you?'
b. A klęmęngętem ng telang?
(52) a. Ng tela a chęrmem ęl bilis? 'How many dogs do you have?'
b. A chęrmem ęl bilis ng telang?

- (53) a. Tę tela a ręsęchęlim? 'How many friends do you have?'
b. A ręsęchęlim tę telang?

It is easy to see that the a-sentences above are derived by subject shifting from **equational** source sentences of the form *subject noun phrase + tela* 'how much, how many?' The b-sentences are in turn derived from the a-sentences by optionally preposing the shifted subject. The step-by-step derivation of 53, for instance, is as follows:

- (54) A ręsęchęlim a telang. (source sentence) →
Tę tela a ręsęchęlim? (by subject shifting) →
A ręsęchęlim tę telang? (by preposing of shifted subject).

Since the source sentence of 54 is not grammatical as it stands, subject shifting must be applied to it obligatorily. The resulting sentence, in which the shifted subject *ręsęchęlim* 'your friends' leaves the pronominal trace *tę*, is perfectly acceptable. Therefore, application of the preposing rule in the last step of 54 is merely optional.

If the shifted subject in sentences with *tela* is a noun phrase of possession, then the process of preposing can apply either to the entire shifted subject or to the possessor alone (cf. 16c–d above). Consider the examples below:

- (55) a. Ng tela a chęral a bęras? 'How much does the rice cost?'
b. A chęral a bęras ng telang?
c. A bęras ng tela a chęral?
(56) a. Ng mle tela a rękil a ngalęk? 'How old was the child?'
b. A rękil a ngalęk ng mle telang?
c. A ngalęk ng mle tela a rękil?
(57) a. Ng mle tela a teng ęr a Toki? 'What was Toki's grade?'
b. A teng ęr a Toki ng mle telang?
c. A Toki ng mle tela a teng ęr ngii?

The b-sentences above are derived by preposing the entire shifted subject (italicized) of the a-sentence, while the c-sentences are formed by preposing only the possessor. In 57c, a pronominal trace of the preposed possessor *Toki* remains in the form of an emphatic pronoun (*ngii*) following the relational word *ęr*.

Just like *ngara* 'what?', the question word *tela* 'how much,

how many?' can be linked to a following noun by the word *əl*. The examples below are typical:

- (58) a. Ng tela *əl klok* er a eļchang?
'What time is it now?'
b. Kę me ęr a tela *əl klok* ęr a klukuk?
'At what time are you coming tomorrow?'
c. Ng tela *əl ududem* a ngar ęr a bangk?
'How much of your money do you have in the bank?'
d. Tę mle tela *əl chad* a iļęko ęr a party?
'How many people went to your party?'
e. Kę ngilim a tela *əl biang*?
'How much (of the) beer did you drink?'
f. Ng tela *əl ngikęl* a chomękilang?
'How many fish did you eat?'

THE QUESTION WORD *ker*

- 20.5. The question word *ker* 'where?' is used when the speaker wants to find out the **location** of some action or state, or the **goal** or **source** of an action involving movement. This question word, which cannot be introduced by *a*, always appears in a **relational phrase** in sentence-final position. Observe the examples below, which have non-emphatic pronouns as subjects:

- (59) a. Kę milsa a Satsko ęr ker?
'Where did you see Satsko?'
b. Ng męruul ęr ngii ęr ker?
'Where is he making it?'
c. Tę mlo ęr ker er a elii?
'Where did they go yesterday?'

In 59a–b, *ęr ker* 'where? = at what place?' is being used as a **locational phrase** (cf. 14.2), while in 59c *ęr ker* 'where? = to what place?' functions as a **directional phrase** (cf. 14.3).

If a question sentence with *ker* has a specific third person subject, then two patterns are possible, as the following examples show:

- (60) a. Ng ngar ęr ker a tik? 'Where's my purse?'
b. A tik ng ngar ęr ker?
(61) a. Tę mla ęr ker a ręngalęk? 'Where were the children?'
b. A ręngalęk tę mla ęr ker?

The a-sentences above are derived by the obligatory application of subject shifting to source sentences of the form

- (60a') A tik a ngar ęr ker.
'(Where's my purse?)'
(61a') A ręngalęk a mla ęr ker.
'(Where were the children?)'

From the a-sentences we can in turn derive the b-sentences by optionally preposing the shifted subject. Several pairs of question sentences similar to 60–61 are now given:

- (62) a. Ng chad ęr ker a John? 'Where is John from?'
b. A John ng chad ęr ker?
(63) a. Ng ruoll ęr ker a blim? 'Where is your house to be built?'
b. A blim ng ruoll ęr ker?
(64) a. Ng tilobęd ęr ker a rękung? 'Where did the crab emerge from?'
b. A rękung ng tilobęd ęr ker?

In sentence-final position, and following short verb forms like *mo* 'go', *mla* 'was/were (located)', etc., the relational phrase *ęr ker* is often contracted and pronounced as if it were a single *r* at the end of the preceding word. This phenomenon is observed in the sentences below:

- (65) a. Kę ulęmęngur e mo ęr ker? [kulәмәnguremor]
'Where did you go after eating?'
b. Kę mla ęr ker? [kөmlar]
'Where have you been?'

THE QUESTION WORD *oingara*

- 20.6. The question word *oingara* 'when?', which is never introduced by *a*, is used to ask questions about the **time** of an event, action, state, etc. This question word usually appears in sentence-final position as part of the relational phrase *er oingara* 'when?', which is classified as a **temporal phrase** (cf. 14.6). In the examples below, the sentence subject is a non-emphatic pronoun:

- (66) a. Kę me er oingarang?
'When are you coming?'
b. Tę mo ęr a Guam er oingarang?
'When are they going to Guam?'

- c. Kẹ milsa a sẹchẹlik er oingarang?
'When did you see my friend?'

If a question sentence with *oingara* has a specific third person subject, we get sentences such as the following:

- (67) a. A Helen ng mirrael er oingarang?
'When did Helen leave?'
b. A rẹsẹchẹlim tẹ me mẹngetmokl ẹr a blik er oingarang?
'When are your friends coming to clean my house?'

Can you explain how the question sentences of 67 have been derived?

THE SPECIAL QUESTION WORD *mẹkẹra*

20.7. Palauan has a special verb *mẹkẹra* 'do what?' which can only be used in question sentences. Since *mẹkẹra* is a verb, it can occur in various tenses: thus, we have *milẹkẹra* or *mẹkẹra* in the past tense (cf. 5.3.2) and *mo mẹkẹra* in the future tense. Some typical sentences containing *mẹkẹra* 'do what?' are given below:

- (68) a. Kẹdẹ mẹkẹrang?
'What shall we do (now)?'
b. Kẹ mẹkẹrang?
'What are you doing?'
c. Kẹ milẹkẹra er se ẹr a lẹme a Toki?
'What were you doing when Toki came?'
d. Kẹ mẹkẹra er a elii?
'What did you do yesterday?'
e. Kẹ mẹkẹra kung¹³?
'What are you about to do?'
f. Ng milẹkẹra a buik e ruebẹt?
'How did the boy fall?'
g. Kẹ mẹkẹra mẹ ke mle otsir ẹr a test?
'How did you fail the test?'
h. Kẹ mo ẹr a Hawaii ẹl mo mẹkẹrang?
'What are you going to go to Hawaii for?'
i. A rẹchad er a Belau tẹ mẹkẹra a loruul a bẹkai?¹⁴
'What do the Palauans do in making pottery?'

SENTENCES WITH TWO QUESTION WORDS

20.8. When the speaker wishes to know the identity of two or more

persons, things, places, etc., he can formulate a question in which two occurrences of the same question word are joined by the **connecting word** *mẹ* (see. 25.4). Some questions of this type are listed below:

- (69) a. Kẹ milsa a tẹcha mẹ a tẹcha ẹr a party?
'Who (pl.) did you see at the party?'
b. Ng tẹcha mẹ a tẹcha a ulẹbẹngkem ẹl mo ẹr a chelebachẹb?
'Who (pl.) went with you to the Rock Islands?'
c. Ngara mẹ a ngara a chomoruul ẹl kirel a party?
'What things are you making for the party?'
d. A Droteo ng mlo ẹr ker mẹ ker?
'What places did Droteo go to?'
e. Kẹ mlo ẹr a Siabal er oingara mẹ oingarang?
'On what occasions/at what times did you go to Japan?'

21 Direct and Indirect Quotation

DIRECT VS. INDIRECT QUOTATION

- 21.1. During the course of a conversation, the speaker often wishes to report the statements or assertions of some third party. In so doing, he can make a choice between **direct quotation** and **indirect quotation**. When using **direct** quotation, the speaker repeats someone else's statement or assertion **word for word**—i.e., exactly as the other person stated or asserted it. When using **indirect** quotation, however, the speaker does not repeat someone else's statement in its original form but instead summarizes or rephrases this statement **from his own point of view**. The pair of sentences below will give us a preliminary idea of the difference between the two types of quotation:

- (1) a. A Droteo a dilu ɛr ngak ɛl kmo "Ng soak ɛl eko ɛr a blim."
'Droteo said to me, "I want to come to your house."'
b. A Droteo a dilu ɛr ngak ɛl kmo ng soal ɛl me ɛr a blik.
'Droteo told me that he wants to come to my house.'

In example 1a, which involves direct quotation, the speaker—who for ease of discussion we shall call *John*—is repeating exactly what Droteo said to him; here, Droteo's word-for-word statement is set off by double quotation marks ("..."). In 1b, however, John does not quote Droteo directly but instead reports from his own viewpoint on Droteo's statement. This difference in viewpoint becomes obvious when we compare the words following *ɛl kmo* in 1a vs. 1b. Since the words set off by double quotation marks in 1a represent a sentence which Droteo actually addressed to John, this sentence of course exhibits *Droteo's* point of view. Thus, in talking to John, Droteo naturally used *soak* 'my desire' to refer to his own wish, *blim* 'your house' to refer to John's house, and *eko* 'go' to refer to his own action of going to

John's house (recall that the **directional verb** *eko* is specifically used to indicate movement towards the location of the **person addressed**). The three words under discussion must change in 1b, however, because in this sentence the statement which Droteo made to John (the speaker) is now regarded from *John's* point of view. For this reason, John must use *soal* 'his desire' to refer to Droteo's wish, *blik* 'my house' to refer to his own house, and *me* 'come' to refer to Droteo's action (recall that the directional verb *me* indicates movement towards the location of the **speaker**).

As 1a–b show, the sequence *ɛl kmo* is used to introduce direct as well as indirect quotation. This sequence characteristically follows verbs of saying like *dmu* 'say' of 1 and—as we will see below—a large variety of verbs involving thinking, belief, and the like. It is perhaps easiest to consider *ɛl kmo* as a single unit which serves to introduce clauses that describe someone's statement, thought, belief, etc. From a more technical viewpoint, however, *ɛl kmo* and whatever follows it seem to constitute a type of **specifying clause** (cf. 15.7). Thus, in 1a–b, the sequences introduced by *ɛl kmo* give further information about the verb *dilu* 'said' of the preceding independent clause by **specifying** (through direct or indirect quotation) the content of the statement made. While the *ɛl* of *ɛl kmo* is the **dependent clause introducer** (cf. 15.1), the exact status of *kmo* is unclear; this word appears to be a special verb which is directly followed by a clause that has the structure of a full sentence and describes someone's statement, thought, belief, etc.¹

In order to simplify our analysis of direct vs. indirect quotation, we implied above that this distinction is relevant only when the speaker wishes to report what some **third party** has said. As the examples below show, the abovementioned restriction is not at all necessary, since it is also possible for a speaker to report on some statement which he himself (or even the hearer) made at some earlier time:

- (2) a. Ak dilu ɛr a Droteo ɛl kmo "Ng soak ɛl eko ɛr a blim."²
'I said to Droteo, "I want to come to your house."'
b. Ak dilu ɛr a Droteo ɛl kmo ng soak ɛl mo ɛr a blil.
'I told Droteo that I wanted to go to his house.'
(3) a. Kau a dilu ɛr ngak ɛl kmo "Ng soak a biang."
'You said to me, "I want some beer."'
b. Kau a dilu ɛr ngak ɛl kmo ng soam a biang.
'You told me you wanted some beer.'

In comparing the direct quotation of 2a with the indirect quotation of 2b, can you explain why *eko* must change to *mo* and *blim* must change to *blil*? Can you also explain why *soak* of 3a becomes *soam* in 3b?

INDIRECT QUOTATION AND VERBS OF COMMUNICATION AND MENTAL ACTIVITY

21.2. Two major groups of Palauan verbs are commonly followed by indirect quotations introduced by *el kmo*. The first group involves verbs of **communication**—i.e., verbs which denote the **transmission** or **reception** of information. Some typical examples include *dmu* 'say, tell' (cf. note 1 above), *męsubęd* 'notify, tell', *omuachęl* 'tell a tale, boast', *omulak* 'deceive, lie', *outingaol* 'lie', and *orrenęes* 'hear'. These verbs are used in sentences like the following (cf. the b-sentences of 1–3 above), where the clause following *el kmo* represents the speaker's summary or rephrasing of what was said, heard, etc.:

- (4) a. A Droteo a dilu ęr ngak ęl kmo a Toki a ungil ęl sensei.
'Droteo told me that Toki is a good teacher.'
- b. A chad ęr a kansok a dilu ęl kmo ng diak lębo ęr ngii a chull ęr a klukuk.
'The weatherman said that it won't rain tomorrow.'
- c. A Droteo a silębędak ęl kmo a dęmal a mla mad.
'Droteo informed me that his father died.'
- d. Ng tęcha a silębędau ęl kmo a Toki a mlo ęr a Merikel?
'Who told you that Toki went to America?'
- e. A Toki a omuachęl ęl kmo a Droteo a sęchęlil.
'Toki's telling us some story about Droteo being her boyfriend.'
- f. A Satsko a ulumulak ęr a Toki ęl kmo a John a ngar ęr ngii a bętok ęl ududel.
'Satsko told Toki a lie (saying) that John has lots of money.'
- g. A ngalęk a ulutingaol ęr a Toki ęl kmo a sęchęlil a Toki a mlad.
'The child lied to Toki (saying) that her friend had died.'
- h. Ak rirengęes ęl kmo a Cisco a mo ęr a Bulabe.
'I heard that Cisco is going to Ponape.'

The second group of Palauan verbs which can be followed by *el kmo* and an indirect quotation includes verbs describing certain types of **mental activity** such as thinking, believing, knowing, and the like. The most common verbs in this class are *omdasu* 'think, believe', *oumęra* 'believe', *męlębędebeęk* 'think', *obes*

'forget', and *mędęnge* 'know'. Their use is illustrated in the examples below:

- (5) a. Ak omdasu ęl kmo a Toki a mo ęr a Guam ęr a klukuk.
'I think/believe that Toki is going to Guam tomorrow.'
- b. A sęchęlik a omdasu ęl kmo a Droteo a ungil ęl sensei ęr a Tony.
'My friend thinks that Droteo is a better teacher than Tony.'
- c. Ak ulęmdasu ęl kmo ak ngoikau.
'I was thinking I'd take you.'
- d. A John a oumęra ęl kmo a sensei a milkodir a męchas.
'John believes that the teacher killed the old woman.'
- e. A dęmal a Laurentino a dimlak loumęra ęl kmo ng chilitii a skuul.
'Laurentino's father didn't believe that he skipped school.'
- f. A Toki a diak loumęra ęl kmo a Satsko a oumlai.
'Toki doesn't believe that Satsko owns a car.'
- g. Ak millębędebeęk³ ęl kmo a Toki a me ęr a klas e ng di dimlak lęmei.
'I was thinking/expecting that Toki would come to class, but she didn't come.'
- h. Kę mla obes ęl kmo a Droteo a me ęr a party?
'Have you forgotten that Droteo is coming to the party?'
- i. Kę {mędęnge⁴
{mla mo mędęnge} ęl kmo a Ibędul a kmal smecheęr?
{Do you know
{Have you found out} that Ibedul is very ill?'
- j. Ng dimlak kudęnge ęl kmo a ngęlękek a mle otsir ęr a skeng.
'I didn't know that my child had failed the test.'
- k. Ak mle mędęnge ęl kmo a Droteo a chilitii a Maria.
'I knew that Droteo had divorced Maria.'

Sentences containing verbs of communication or mental activity followed by *el kmo* and an indirect quotation can sometimes be transformed by moving the **subject** of the clause after *el kmo* into the position of **object** of the verb of communication or mental activity. When the subject after *el kmo* is moved in this way, it must leave behind a **pronominal trace**. Thus, with 4e and 5b above, compare the following sentences, which are essentially equivalent in meaning:

- (4e') A Toki a omuachęl ęr a Droteo ęl kmo ng sęchęlil.
'Toki's telling us some story about Droteo being her boyfriend.'

- (5b') A sęchęlik a omdasu ę a Droteo ęl kmo ng ungil ęl sensei ę a Tony.
'My friend thinks/considers Droteo to be a better teacher than Tony.'

DIRECT AND INDIRECT QUOTATION OF COMMANDS

- 21.3. In 19.5 we saw that Palauan **imperative verb forms** are used to express **orders** or **commands**. Since commands are normally directed at the person addressed, it is not surprising that imperative verb forms are really hypothetical verb forms with a prefixed second person hypothetical pronoun. Sentence 6a below is an example of an **affirmative command**, while 6b is a **negative command**:

- (6) a. Bo moilil!
'Go play!'
b. Lak mongerodęch!
'Don't make noise!'

If the speaker wishes to report on an order or command given by himself or someone else, he can use either direct or indirect quotation. If he chooses direct quotation, he repeats the particular command word for word, exactly as it was uttered. Sentences involving the direct quotation of a command simply contain *ęl kmo* followed by an imperative verb form. Thus, observe how the imperative verb forms of 6a–b are used as direct quotations in the examples below:

- (7) a. A rubak a dilu ę a ręgalęk ęl kmo "Bo moilil!"
'The old man said to the children, "Go play!"'
b. A sensei a dilu ę tir ęl kmo "Lak mongerodęch!"
'The teacher said to them, "Don't make noise!"'

If the subject of the sentence is the speaker himself (i.e., *ak* 'I'), and the verb of communication (usually, *dmu* 'say') is in the present tense, then the sentence takes on an especially threatening tone, as in the following:

- (8) Ak dmu ę kau ęl kmo "Bo mrei!"
'I'm telling you (again), "Go home!"'

Sentence 8 has the connotation of a threat because it would be used by the speaker to reiterate or repeat an order which he gave at least once before. This original order would simply consist of the affirmative command below:

- (9) Bo mrei!
'Go home!'

If the speaker chooses indirect quotation to report on a command given by himself or someone else, he merely summarizes the content of the command rather than supplying the exact words spoken. The structure of sentences involving the indirect quotation of a command will be rather new to us: instead of *ęl kmo*, we have *mę* '(and) so' followed by a clause describing the content of the command. As we will see in 22.1, the word *mę* '(and) so' is used to introduce an action or event which takes place as a **result** of some other action, state, etc. In the examples below, use of *mę* is appropriate because the clause following it describes the action, event, or situation which occurred (or was expected to occur) as a **result** of the command's being given:

- (10) a. Ng tęcha a dilu ę kau mę kę me ę tiang?
'Who told you to come here?'
b. A sęchęlim a dilu ę ngak mę ak mei.
'Your friend told me to come.'
c. A sensei a dilu ę kęmam mę aki męsuub a tękoi ę a Merikel.
'The teacher told us to study English.'
d. Ak dilu ę a ręgalęk mę ng diak loilil ę a sers.
'I told the children not to play in the garden.'
e. Ak dilu ę a Droteo mę ng diak longerodęch.
'I told Droteo not to make noise.'

DIRECT AND INDIRECT QUOTATION OF QUESTIONS

- 21.4. Just as a speaker can use either direct or indirect quotation to report on a **statement** or a **command** uttered by himself or some other party, so can he choose between these two types of quotation when reporting on a **question** which he or someone else asks. As expected, sentences involving the direct quotation of a question contain *ęl kmo* followed by any question that could occur as an independent sentence (cf. chap. 20). The examples below are typical:

- (11) a. A sensei a ulęker ę a ręgalęk ęl kmo "Kom mla ręmuul a subęliu?"
'The teacher asked the children, "Have you finished doing your homework?"'
b. A Droteo a ulęker ę ngak ęl kmo "Ng soam a biang?"⁵
'Droteo asked me, "Would you like some beer?"'

- c. A sensei a ulêker er ngak el kmo "Kê mo məkərang?"
'The teacher asked me, "What are you going to do?"'
- d. A Droteo a ulêker er ngak el kmo "Ng tela a klēməngetem?"
'Droteo asked me, "How tall are you?"'

As the examples above show, sentences involving the direct quotation of a question use the verb *oker* 'ask' (past: *ulêker*). The directly-quoted questions of 11a–b are of the **yes-no** type (cf. 20.1), while those of 11c–d contain the **question words** *məkəra* 'do what?' (cf. 20.7) and *tela* 'how much, how many?' (cf. 20.4).

In sentences involving the indirect quotation of a question, the question is summarized or re-expressed from the speaker's point of view. Thus, with the directly-quoted questions of 11b–d, compare the following indirectly-quoted questions, in which the (independent or affix) pronouns have changed:

- (12) a. A Droteo a ulêker er ngak el kmo ng soak a biang.
'Droteo asked me if I wanted a beer.'
- b. A sensei a ulêker er ngak el kmo ak mo məkərang.
'The teacher asked me what I was going to do.'
- c. A Droteo a ulêker er ngak el kmo ng tela a klēməngetek.
'Droteo asked me how tall I am.'

In the examples below, we observe further cases of indirectly-quoted questions of the **yes-no** type. With indirectly-quoted yes-no questions, the negative expression *ng diak* is often added in sentence-final position; the resulting sequence corresponds closely to English 'if/whether... or not':

- (13) a. Ak ulêker er ngii el kmo ng sêbêchel el me er a klas ng diak.
'I asked him whether or not he could come to class.'
- b. A John a ulêker el kmo a Mary ng mlo bêchiil ng diak.
'John asked whether Mary got married or not.'
- c. Ng soak el mo mēdēnge el kmo a Droteo ng mlo er a skuul er a elii ng diak.
'I'd like to know whether Droteo went to school yesterday or not.'
- d. Kê mēdēnge el kmo a Toki ng mla mo ungil el smeçer ng diak?
'Do you know whether or not Toki has gotten better?'
- e. Ng diak kudēnge el kmo a Hermana ng mēduch el omēkall a sidosa ng diak.
'I don't know whether or not Hermana knows how to drive a car.'
- f. Kê mla mēlasēm el mēlekoi er a Droteo el kmo ng sêbêchel el mēskau a udoud ng diak?

'Have you tried talking to Droteo to see if he can lend you some money or not?'

As the examples of 13 show, the structure of the indirectly-quoted question introduced by *el kmo* is identical to that of any independently-occurring yes-no question. Thus, when the yes-no question has a specific third person subject, as in 13b–e, this subject normally occurs in question-initial position before the appropriate pronominal trace, which is *ng* in all of the examples under consideration here. Note, further, that the indirectly-quoted questions of 13 can be preceded by a verb of asking like *oker* 'ask' or by sequences like *ng soak el mo mēdēnge* 'I'd like to know (if...)', *ng diak kudēnge* 'I don't know (if...)', etc.

Occasionally, the **subject** of an indirectly-quoted yes-no question is moved to the left of *el kmo*, where it comes to function as the **object** of the preceding verb. Two examples illustrating this variety of sentence are given below:

- (14) a. Bo er a bita mē mēsa a Droteo el kmo ng mla me ng diak.
'Go next door and see whether Droteo has arrived or not.'
- b. Ak omdasu⁶ er a Toki el kmo ng mo er a Guam ng diak.
'I wonder whether Toki is going to Guam or not.'

In the sentences below, we observe further instances of indirectly-quoted questions which contain **question words** of various types (cf. 12b–c). With indirectly-quoted questions of this kind, we cannot add *ng diak* to sentence-final position as we did in the examples of 13 and 14. For convenience, the question word in each sentence has been italicized.

- (15) a. Ng soak el mo mēdēnge el kmo ng *tela* a dengua er kau.
'I'd like to know what your phone number is.'
- b. Ak ulêker er a chad er a stoa el kmo $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ng tela a çheral a bēras} \\ \text{a çheral a bēras ng} \\ \text{telang} \\ \text{a bēras ng tela a çheral} \end{array} \right\}$
'I asked the clerk how much the rice cost.'
- c. Ng dimlak lsbēdak el kmo ng *tēcha* a mlo er a party.
'He didn't tell me who went to the party.'
- d. Ak ulêker er a Toki el kmo a Droteo ng me er *oingarang*.
'I asked Toki when Droteo was coming.'
- e. A sēçelik a soal el mo mēdēnge el kmo *ngara* kê mīlçherar.
'My friend wants to know what you bought.'
- f. A Toki a ulêker er tir el kmo $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ng mla er ker a Satsko} \\ \text{a Satsko ng mla er ker} \end{array} \right\}$
'Toki asked them where Satsko was.'

- g. Kẹ meḍenge ẹl kmo ngara uchul me a Toki a chillẹbẹdii a ngalẹk?
'Do you know why Toki hit the child?'

THE EXPRESSIONS ẹl kmo AND ẹl ua se

- 21.5. With few exceptions, all of the occurrences of ẹl kmo found in the examples of 21.1–4 above can be replaced by ẹl ua se. This expression consists of the dependent clause introducer ẹl followed by ua 'like, as' and se 'that'. Thus, in a sentence like the following

- (16) A Droteo a dilu ẹl ua se ng smecher.
'Droteo said that he was sick.'

the **specifying clause** introduced by ẹl ua se gives us further information about the verb dilu 'said' by describing the content of the statement made.

For many Palauan speakers, ẹl kmo and ẹl ua se can be used with complete interchangeability, regardless of whether direct or indirect quotation is involved. Certain speakers, however, seem to use ẹl ua se primarily for direct quotation. For other speakers, the use of ẹl kmo vs. ẹl ua se involves a difference of implication, as illustrated by the following two examples of indirect quotation:

- (17) a. Ak rirengẹs ẹl kmo a sensei a mlad er a elii.
'I heard (about the fact) that the teacher died yesterday.'
b. Ak rirengẹs ẹl ua se a sensei a mlad er a elii.
'I heard (something to the effect) that the teacher died yesterday (but is it true?)'

As the rather free English equivalents are designed to show, ẹl kmo of 17a implies that the speaker is fairly sure about the factuality of what he has heard, while ẹl ua se of 17b implies that the speaker has doubts about the truth of the event designated by the indirect quotation. Because Palauan speakers show so much variation in the way they use ẹl kmo and ẹl ua se, it is difficult to formulate any general principles; therefore, no further discussion will be pursued here.

INDIRECT QUOTATION FOLLOWING NOUNS OF COMMUNICATION

- 21.6. Certain nouns of communication such as chais 'news', ẹkoi 'word, story', and subẹd 'news, notice' can be followed by indirect quotations introduced by ẹl kmo or ẹl ua se. The indirect quotation

supplies the content of the news or story, as in the examples below:

- (18) a. Ak rirengẹs a chais ẹl ua se a sensei a mlad e ng di diak kumẹrang.
'I've heard some news (to the effect) that the teacher died, but I don't believe it.'
b. Kẹ rirengẹsii a subẹd ẹl kmo ng mla ẹr ngii a tsunami?
'Have you heard the news that there's been a tidal wave?'
c. Ng mẹra ẹl ẹkoi ẹl kmo a Maria a mlo bẹchiil?
'Is it a true story that Maria got married?'

22 Reason Clauses, Result Clauses, and Time Clauses

REASON AND RESULT CLAUSES

22.1. In 15.1 we mentioned that Palauan has many different grammatical patterns for combining simple sentences into more complex ones. More specifically, we saw how two simple sentences like the following

- (1) a. A Droteo a ulęba a oluchęs.
'Droteo had/was using a pencil.'
- b. A Droteo a milluchęs a babier.
'Droteo was writing a letter.'

can be combined into a single longer sentence in which either 1a or 1b is used as a **dependent clause**. Thus, by combining 1a and 1b in different orders, we derive the following two sentences:

- (2) a. A Droteo a ulęba a oluchęs *el męluchęs a babier*.
'Droteo was using a pencil to write a letter.'
- b. A Droteo a milluchęs a babier *el oba a oluchęs*.
'Droteo was writing a letter with a pencil.'

In the complex sentences of 2, the italicized portions are types of **dependent clauses**: in 2a, we have a **purpose clause** (cf. 15.2), and in 2b we find an **instrument clause** (cf. 15.3). The dependent clauses of 2, you will recall, have the following characteristics: (i) they are introduced by *el*; (ii) they do not have any overtly-expressed subject; and (iii) they normally have a verb in the **present tense**, even when the sentence as a whole designates a **past action or event**.

Now, combining two simple sentences into a single complex sentence containing a dependent clause is not the only way of deriving complex sentences in Palauan. Another way of forming complex sentences is to join two simple sentences by words like

e le 'because' and *mę* '(and) so', which express a particular kind of relationship between two actions, events, states, etc. Thus, the two simple sentences below

- (3) a. Ng dimlak kbo ęr a skuul.
'I didn't go to school.'
- b. Ak mle smečęr.
'I was sick.'

can be combined in two different orders, giving the following complex sentences:

- (4) a. Ng dimlak kbo ęr a skuul *e le* ak mle smečęr.
'I didn't go to school because I was sick.'
- b. Ak mle smečęr *mę* ng dimlak kbo ęr a skuul.
'I was sick, so I didn't go to school.'

In the examples of 4, the two simple sentences of 3 have been combined in such a way that they are related in terms of **cause** and **effect**. Thus, in 4a, *e le* 'because' introduces a clause which explains the **cause** or **reason** for the event or situation described in the preceding clause, while in 4b *mę* '(and) so' introduces a clause which explains what happened as a **result** (or consequence) of the state described in the preceding clause. The **reason clause** introduced by *e le* in 4a and the **result clause** introduced by *mę* in 4b are rather different from the dependent clauses (e.g. purpose clauses, instrument clauses, etc.) which we reviewed above. As 4a–b show—and as we will see below—reason and result clauses always have overtly-expressed subjects, and there are no restrictions on the tense of the verb which they contain.

Since Palauan reason clauses are not difficult to understand, we will simply give a few additional examples here:

- (5) a. Ng diak lębęchek ęl mo ęr a party *e le* ak kmal męchęsang.
'I can't go to the party because I'm very busy.'
- b. A ngęlķek a diak lębęchel ęl mo milil er a eļęcha *e le* ng kirel ęl omęngur.
'My child can't go play now because he has to have dinner.'
- c. A ręchad ęr a omęnged a dimlak lębo ęr a che *e le* ng kmal mle męses a eolt.
'The fishermen didn't go fishing because the wind was very strong.'

Though *e le* 'because' probably consists of the **connecting word** *e* (see 25.1) and some other element *le*, it will be easiest to consider *e le* as a single unit. Note that when the vowel-initial pronoun *ak*

follows *e le*, as in 5a, the *a* of *ak* is lost; thus, *e le ak* 'because I...' is pronounced [elek^h] (cf. 1.5.d.5, ex. 54).

Before examining several special types of result clauses, we shall first familiarize ourselves with a few relatively straightforward examples:

- (6) a. Ak di mililil mē ak mle otsir ər a test.
'I just fooled around, so I failed the test.'
- b. A Droteo a smeçer mē a dēmal a mo omēkēdo ər a toktang.
'Droteo's sick, so his father's going to call the doctor.'
- c. Ng mēkngit a eangēd mē a rēşēçhēlik a diak lēbo ər a cheleşbachēb.
'The weather's poor, so my friends aren't going to go to the Rock Islands.'
- d. A rēngalēk a diak a subēlir ər a elēcha mē tē mo milil ər a kēdērang.
'The children don't have any homework now, so they're going to the beach to play.'
- e. Ak kmal songērengēr mē ng soak ēl omēngur.
'I'm very hungry, so I'd like to eat.'
- f. Ak mlo ungil ēl smeçer ər a tēretēr mē ng mle sēbēçhek ēl mo ər a party.
'I got better from my cold, so I was able to go to the party.'
- g. Ng ngar ər ngii a bētok ēl subēlam mē ng di kea a techēllam ēl mo milil ēl obēngkem.
'We have so much work that we no longer have any chance to go out with you.'

If *mē* is followed by the vowel *a*, as in 6a–c, then the *ē* of *mē* is deleted. Thus, *mē ak* '(and) so I...' is pronounced [mak^h], and *mē a* (i.e., *mē* followed by *a*, which precedes noun phrases) is pronounced [ma] (cf. 1.5.d.5, ex. 54). Otherwise, the *ē* of *mē* is retained, as in *mē ng* '(and) so he/she/it...' [mōŋ] and *mē tē* '(and) so they...' [mōtə].

SPECIAL TYPES OF RESULT CLAUSES

- 22.1.1. The use of *mē* '(and) so...' to introduce result clauses is quite widespread in Palauan. In this section we will single out several instances of result clauses which might be difficult to recognize as such because their English equivalents are not of the form 'X, so Y'. For example, we have already seen in 20.3.1 that the question word *ngara* 'what?' (or the sequence *ngara uchul* 'what is the reason that...?') is followed by a clause introduced by *mē*

'(and) so' to ask a question about the cause or reason (i.e. 'why?'). Note the examples below:

- (7) a. Ngara mē a Droteo a mle otsir ər a test?
'Why did Droteo fail the test?'
- b. Ngara uchul mē kē mlo ər a Guam?
'For what reason did you go to Guam?'

In 7a–b the clause introduced by *mē* is really a **result clause** because it is viewed as designating an event that took place as the result of something else. Indeed, the speaker's purpose in asking the question is precisely to find out what that "something else" is—i.e., to find out the cause or reason for the event of the result clause. In 7a, for example, the speaker assumes that the event of Droteo's failing the test resulted from something else which Droteo did or did not do, and it is this "something else"—the cause—which he wishes to know.

The question word *mēkēra* 'do what?' (cf. 20.7) can also be followed by result clauses, as the sentences below illustrate:

- (8) a. Kē mlēkēra mē kē mle otsir ər a test?
'How/why did you fail the test?'
- b. Ng mlēkēra a buik mē ng $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{rirebet} \\ \text{riros} \end{array} \right\}$?
'How did the boy $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{fall} \\ \text{drown} \end{array} \right\}$?'

The examples of 8, like those of 7, are really questions about the cause or reason for the event designated in the **result clause** introduced by *mē*. The connotation of result can be readily seen if we give 8a–b literal translations such as 'What did you do so that/with the result that you failed the test?' and 'What did the boy do so that/with the result that he fell/drowned?'

The word *klsakl*, which appears to be a **resulting state verb** (cf. 7.7) related to *mēkēsakl* 'go wrong', is used in simple questions like the following:

- (9) a. Kē klsakl?
'What's wrong with you?'
- b. Ng klsakl a chimam?
'What's wrong with your hand?'

Speakers use *klsakl* followed by a result clause to ask about the cause or reason for an **unfavorable** or **undesirable** event. This connotation is clear in the sentences below:

- (10) a. Kē klsakl mē ng diak momēngur?
'Why aren't you eating?'

- b. Kẹ mle klsakl mẹ ng dimlak chobo ẹr a party?
'Why didn't you go to the party?'

Translated literally, the examples of 10 mean something like 'What's wrong with you so that/with the result that you're not eating?' and 'What was wrong with you so that/with the result that you didn't go to the party?'

In 21.3 we observed that the **indirect quotation of a command** involves a clause introduced by *mẹ* '(and) so', as in the examples below:

- (11) a. A sensei a dilu ẹr ngak mẹ ak mo ẹr a Guam.
'The teacher told me to go to Guam.'
b. Ak dilu ẹr tir mẹ ng diak lomẹkikiongẹl ẹr a delmẹrab.
'I told them not to get the room dirty.'

Because the clause introduced by *mẹ* in 11a-b describes an event or situation which took place (or was expected to take place) as a direct result of the command's being uttered, it is to be analyzed as a result clause.

Similar in structure to the examples of 11 are sentences containing the verb of permission *konge* 'permit, allow'. Observe the sentences below:

- (12) a. A Droteo a kilẹnge ẹr a Toki mẹ ng mo mẹngedub.
'Droteo allowed Toki to go swimming.'
b. A dẹmal a Satsko a kilẹnge mẹ a Satsko a mo ẹr a Hawaii ẹl mo ẹr a skuul.
'Satsko's father gave her permission to go to Hawaii in order to study.'

The verb of permission *konge* is followed by a result clause in 12a-b because the sequence introduced by *mẹ* describes an event which occurred (or whose occurrence was facilitated) as a result of the permission being granted.

When the verb of permission *konge* 'permit, allow' is negated, we get sentences involving the denial of permission. In the sentences below, the verb *konge* appears in a hypothetical form following the negative verb *diak* 'isn't, doesn't exist', and the verb of the result clause is also hypothetical:

- (13) a. A dẹlal a Toki a dimlak lẹkẹnge ẹr a Toki mẹ lousbech ẹr a mlai.
'Toki's mother didn't permit her to use the car.'
b. A sensei a dimlak lẹkẹnge ẹr a rẹngalẹk mẹ loilil ẹr a obis.
'The teacher forbade the children to play in the office.'

- c. Ng diak kẹnge ẹr a ngẹlẹkek mẹ lolim a meringẹl.
'I don't let my child drink hard liquor.'

We can understand why the verb of the result clause must be hypothetical in the examples of 13 if we recall (cf. 18.4) that hypothetical verb forms are characteristically used to designate **unreal** (or non-occurring) events. In other words, the events of the result clauses in 13 are clearly unreal in the sense that their occurrence was (or is) **prevented** or **precluded** by the act of forbidding represented by the negative form of *konge* in the first clause. The negative form of *dmu* 'say, tell' is sometimes used in a similar way, as the following example illustrates:

- (14) A Droteo a dimlak lẹdu ẹr a ngalẹk mẹ lẹbo loilil ẹr a sers.
'Droteo didn't give the child permission to play in the garden.'

Similar in structure to the examples of 11 and 12 are the following sentences, which contain further verbs which are commonly followed by result clauses:

- (15) a. A Droteo a ulẹrrimẹl ẹr a Maria mẹ ng ko ẹl mocha ẹr a party.
'Droteo forcefully persuaded Maria to finally go to the party.'
b. Ak urrẹmẹlii a Toki mẹ ng mẹngetmoki ẹr a blai.
'I forced Toki to straighten up the house.'
c. Kẹ mo tsiui ẹr kau mẹ ng diak di molius.
'Watch yourself so you don't swear.'
d. Kẹ mo kẹrẹkikl mẹ ng diak chomrebẹt.
'Be careful not to fall.'

Sentences like 15c-d, which contain expressions of **precaution** (*kẹ mo tsiui* 'watch out' or *kẹ mo kẹrẹkikl* 'be careful') followed by a result clause with a negative verb, are used as rather mild, indirect commands.

The **imperative perfective** forms (cf. 19.5) of the verb *omẹche* 'leave, let (someone) (do something)' (cf. chap. 14, note 19) are commonly followed by a result clause containing a hypothetical verb form. Observe the sentences below, which are requests that someone be permitted to do something:

- (16) a. Bẹchire a ngalẹk mẹ lẹbo loilil.
'Let the child go play.'
b. Bẹchikak mẹ kbo kmẹchiuaiu.
'Let me go to sleep.'
c. Bẹchititẹrir mẹ lẹbo lousbech ẹr a sidosia.
'Let them use the car.'

The use of hypothetical verb forms in the result clauses of 16 is not difficult to understand when we realize that the events described in the result clauses are as yet unreal at the time when the speaker utters the request. In 16a, for instance, the child has not yet begun to play at the moment when the speaker asks someone else to allow the child to do so; indeed, the speaker's very purpose in uttering such a sentence is to make the event of the result clause become an **actual fact**.

The **imperative** (or **propositive**) **perfective** forms (cf. 19.5–6) of the verb *mengiil* 'wait (for)' occur with the rather unusual combination of *mę* '(and) so' + *conditional clause* (cf. 19.1). Observe the examples below:

- (17) a. Bo ę a blil a Toki e mchiięlii a Droteo mę a lękong, e bo ę a stoang.
'Go to Toki's house and wait for Droteo to come; then go to the store (with him).'
- b. Mchiięlii a Droteo mę a lębo lęmęrek ę a urerel, e mdak ę l męrael.
'Wait for Droteo to finish his work, and then leave together.'
- c. Dęchiięlii a Satsko mę a lomękędo, e dębong.
'Let's wait for Satsko to call, and then let's go.'
- d. Bo ę a bita e mchiięlak mę a kekong.
'Go next door and wait for me to come there.'

If the subject of the conditional clause after *mę* is a specific third person noun phrase, as in 17a–c, it must be removed from the conditional clause and placed in object position following the perfective form of *mengiil*. It is not clear why *mengiil* 'wait (for)' should require the unusual construction observed here.

As we have seen in this and the preceding section, the Palauan word *mę* '(and) so' serves to introduce result clauses. The word *mę* also has other functions, such as joining two or more noun phrases (e.g. *Toki mę a Droteo* 'Toki and Droteo') and connecting two sentences which are parallel in structure. These functions will be explained in detail when we examine the **connecting word** *mę* in chap. 25.

TIME CLAUSES

- 22.2. Palauan has a variety of **time clauses** which are used to express a **temporal relationship** between two events, actions, states, etc. Since we have already seen many examples of time clauses in-

troduced by *er se ę a* 'when', we will consider this type first. In their most common usage, time clauses with *er se ę a* 'when' designate a single **past** event (or, sometimes, state) which took place while some other action or state was in progress. Often, the event of the time clause is interpreted as having interrupted (or intruded upon) this action or state, which is described in the preceding **independent** (or **main**) **clause** (cf. 15.1). This is true in the examples below:

- (18) a. Ak milsuub er a elii er se ę a lęme a Droteo.
'I was studying yesterday when Droteo arrived.'
- b. Ak mle dibus er se ę a lęmad a dengki.
'I was away from home when the electricity went out.'
- c. A Toki a milęnętmokl ę a blai er se ę a kbong.
'Toki was cleaning the house when I arrived.'

Though it is easiest to think of *er se ę a* 'when' as a single unit which introduces a type of time clause, clearly its structure is much more complex. We speculate that *er se ę a* consists of a relational phrase *er se* 'there, at that time' followed by another rather unusual relational phrase in which the relational word *ę* is followed by a sequence having the structure of a **conditional clause** (cf. 19.1). Though similar in structure to conditional clauses—note that the specific third person subjects *Droteo* and *dengki* 'electricity' of 18a–b appear obligatorily in **clause-final position**—the sequences following *er se ę a* in 18 are indeed difficult to classify. From a practical (rather than technical) viewpoint, we can say that *er se ę a* 'when' requires a following clause which contains a hypothetical verb form. The reason for this phenomenon is obscure: since hypothetical verb forms normally designate **unreal** events, as we have seen in so many previous cases, it is totally mysterious why they should be required in time clauses introduced by *er se ę a* 'when', which refer to **actual** (or **real**) events in the past. As we will see below, all types of Palauan time clauses must—for some unknown reason—contain hypothetical verb forms.

Time clauses introduced by *er se ę a* 'when' involve other types of temporal relationships than that illustrated in 18. In the examples below, *er se ę a* introduces a past event or situation which designates the broad framework within which some other event occurred. Observe the sentences below:

- (19) a. Ak milęchęrar a hong er se ę a kbo ę a stoang.
'I bought a book when I went to the store.'

- b. A Toki a mlo suebək a rəngul er se ər a lak ləmə a Droteo.
'Toki got worried when Droteo didn't come.'
- c. A Satsko a chiliis er se ər a lesa a dəleb.
'Satsko ran away when she saw the ghost.'

In 19a, the event of going to the store described in the time clause with *er se ər a* represents the framework or "context" for the action of buying the book mentioned in the preceding clause. And in both 19b–c, the time clause denotes a "background" event which prompted or caused the event or state described in the clause which precedes.

In yet another usage, time clauses with *er se ər a* designate an event or state which is **simultaneous with**—i.e., occurs more or less during the same period of time as—another event or state. This meaning is illustrated in the sentences below:

- (20) a. Ak mle mədəngəlīi a John er se ər a kngar ər a New York.
'I knew John when I was in New York.'
- b. Ak millaməç a dəkool er se ər a kuruul a kall.
'I was smoking cigarettes while/when I was preparing the food.'
- c. Ak milənguīu ər a simbung er se ər a longətmokl ər a blai a Toki.
'I was reading the newspaper while/when Toki was cleaning the house.'

Recall that the expression *er se ər a* can be followed by certain noun phrases to form **temporal phrases** (cf. 14.6, ex. 34b) designating time points in the past. A few temporal phrases of this kind include *er se ər a sabado* 'last Saturday', *er se ər a (taem ər a) məkəmad* 'during the war', and *er se ər a taem ər a Siabal* 'during the Japanese times'.

Palauan time clauses introduced by *se əl* designate an event or state in the **future** which will coincide with some other event or state, as the examples below illustrate:

- (21) a. Ak mo oləngull se əl kbo kməçhas.
'I'm going to take time off (from work) when I'm an old woman.'
- b. A Droteo a diak ləbo loureor se əl ləbo ləchuodəl.
'Droteo's not going to work when he gets old.'

Time clauses introduced by *se əl* can also denote an event which **habitually** or **regularly** coincides with another event, as in the following sentences:

- (22) a. A eangəd a bləchoel əl mo məkngit se əl ləbo əl ngəbarəd a eolt.
'The weather always gets bad when(ever) the wind becomes westerly.'
- b. A Droteo a məlaməç a dəkool se əl losuub.
'Droteo smokes cigarettes when(ever) he studies.'

It is easiest to consider *se əl* of 21–22 as a single unit meaning 'when' or 'whenever', even though it probably has a more complicated structure consisting of *se* 'there, at that time' followed by *əl*, whose function is not clear. In the clause following *se əl*, hypothetical verb forms are required, and any specific third person subject (*eolt* 'wind' of 22a) must be moved to clause-final position.

BEFORE AND AFTER

22.2.1. In order to indicate that a particular action or event occurred **before** or **after** some other action or event, we use time clauses introduced by *ər a uche ər a* 'before' and *ər a uriul ər a* 'after', respectively. For practical purposes, we can think of these as single units which must be followed by clauses whose structure resembles that of conditional clauses (cf. our discussion of *er se ər a* 'when' in 22.2 above). It is clear that they are more complex, however: they consist of the relational phrases *ər a uche* and *ər a uriul*, in which the nouns of **spatial relationship** *uche* 'in front of' and *uriul* 'in back of' (cf. 14.2.1) are used in a **temporal** sense, followed by a rather unusual type of relational phrase in which the relational word *ər* introduces a clause rather than a noun phrase.

In 23 below, we illustrate the use of time clauses with *ər a uche ər a* 'before', while in 24 we give examples of time clauses with *ər a uriul ər a* 'after':

- (23) a. Ak uləmuchəl əl məsuub ər a uche ər a kuməngur.
'I began to study before (I had) dinner.'
- b. A səçəlik a mirrael ər a uche ər a kbo kmərek ər a urerek.
'My friend left before I finished my work.'
- c. A skoki a rirəbət ər a uche ər a ləbo ləmətəngəl ər a skojio.
'The plane crashed before landing at the airport.'
- d. Ng ngar ər ngii a bətok əl təkoi əl kirek əl məruul ər a uche ər a kbo ər a katsudo.
'There are lots of things I've got to do before I go to the movies.'

- e. Kę mętik a kęrrękar ę a uche ę a chobo ę a blik.
'You'll find a tree on the way to/before arriving at my house.'
- (24) a. Ak mlo męchiuau ę a uriul ę a lorael a Toki.
'I went to sleep after Toki left.'
- b. Ak ulęmuchęł ę męsuub ę a uriul ę a kbo kmeręk ęł omęngur.
'I began to study after I finished having dinner.'
- c. A skoki a rirebę e męsesęb ę a uriul ę a ltobęd ę a skojo.
'The plane crashed and burned after leaving the airport.'
- d. A daob a mlo męringęł ę a uriul ę a lębo ęł ngębaręd a eolt.
'The ocean got rough after the wind became westerly.'

Similar in usage to the "before" and "after" time clauses of 23–4 are **temporal phrases** (cf. 14.6) in which *ę a uche* and *ę a uriul* are followed by a noun phrase designating an event. A typical example is given below:

- (25) Aki mlsaod a tękoi er a Belau ę a {*uche*
uriul} ę a chęldęchęduch¹
ę kęmam.
'We discussed the Palauan language {before
after} our meeting.'

MOVEMENT OF TIME CLAUSES AND TIME WORDS

22.2.2. All of the time clauses discussed above can exchange positions with the preceding independent (or main) clause. As a result of this process, the time clause comes to appear in sentence-initial position, as in the examples below:

- (26) a. Se ę a kbo ę a Guam e ak kilie ę a blil a Tony.
'When I went to Guam, I lived at Tony's place.'
- b. Se ę a kisa a John, e ak dilu ę ngii.
'When I saw John, I told him.'
- c. Se ęł lębękiis, e tę mo ę a chei.
'When they get up, they go fishing.'
- d. Se ęł losuub a Droteo, e ng męlamęch a dękool.
'Whenever Droteo studies, he smokes cigarettes.'
- e. A uche ę a kbo kmęrek ę a subęlek, e a Droteo a mirrael ęł mo ę a blil.
'Before I finished my homework, Droteo went home.'
- f. A uriul ę a loureor ę a sers a Toki, e ng tilęllib a chimal.
'After Toki worked in the garden, she washed her hands.'

As the above sentences show, two structural changes take place

when the time clause and the independent clause exchange positions. First, if the relational word *ę* is the first word of the time clause introducer (as in *er se ę a* 'when', *ę a uche ę a* 'before', and *ę a uriul ę a* 'after'), then it is deleted when the time clause is moved to sentence-initial position. Second, the shifted independent clause must be introduced by the connecting word *e* 'and (then)' (see 25.1). The exchange of time clause and independent clause discussed here is, of course, optional, and has no effect on the meaning.

Time words (or expressions) such as *klukuk* 'tomorrow', *iręchar* 'earlier times', *tęruich ęł klok* 'ten o'clock', etc., which normally occur in **temporal phrases** introduced by *ę*, can also be moved to sentence-initial position. Just as in the case of time clauses, the relational word *ę* is deleted when a time word (or expression) is moved to the beginning of the sentence, and the following clause must be introduced by *e*. Some typical examples are now given:

- (27) a. A klukuk e ak mo ę a chei.
'Tomorrow I'm going fishing.'
- b. A iręchar e a ręmeteet a ulęngęseu ę a ręmechębuul.
'In earlier times, the rich helped the poor.'
- c. Tia ęł mlo męrek ęł rak, e ak mlo ę a Guam.
'Last year I went to Guam.'
- d. A tęruich ęł klok e tę mirrael.
'At ten o'clock they departed.'
- e. A ongeru ęł ureor, e tę mle ę a blik.
'On Tuesday they came to my house.'

The examples above seem to put special emphasis on the time of a particular action or event.

23 Relative Clauses

FUNCTION OF RELATIVE CLAUSES

23.1. In Palauan, as in all other languages, the speaker always has a choice as to how much information he will supply in the sentences which he utters. One of the most common ways of incorporating information into a sentence is to expand a **noun phrase** (cf. 3.6) by adding to it a sequence called a **relative clause**. Before discussing the grammatical characteristics of relative clauses, we will first examine their function by comparing the sentences in the pairs below:

- (1) a. A *rēdil* a mlo ɛr a kēlēbus.
'The woman went to jail.'
b. A *rēdil ɛl silsēbii a blai* a mlo ɛr a kēlēbus.
'The woman who burned down the house went to jail.'
- (2) a. Kē mēdēngēlii a *ngalēk*?
'Do you know the child?'
b. Kē mēdēngēlii a *ngalēk ɛl dēngchokl ɛr a bita ɛr a Toki*?
'Do you know the child who is sitting next to Toki?'
- (3) a. Kē mla chuiḡuii a *hong*?
'Have you read the book?'
b. Kē mla chuiḡuii a *hong ɛl ngar ɛr a bebul a tebel*?
'Have you read the book which is on the table?'

In the a-sentences above, the italicized **subject** or **object noun phrase** (cf. 2.3 and 3.6) consists of a **single** noun, while in the b-sentences this noun phrase has been expanded by placing a **relative clause** (in bold type) right after the noun. The parts of the b-sentences in bold type are properly termed "relative clauses" because they **relate** a particular piece of information to the preceding noun. Thus, in 1b, for example,

- (1b) A *rēdil ɛl silsēbii a blai* a mlo ɛr a kēlēbus.
'The woman who burned down the house went to jail.'

the relative clause expresses a fact or event—namely, *silsēbii a blai* 'burned down the house'—which is being **related to** or **associated with** the preceding noun *rēdil* 'woman'. By relating the fact 'burned down the house' to the noun 'woman', the relative clause of 1b serves to **modify, specify, or narrow down the identity** of this noun. In other words, the subject noun phrase *rēdil* 'woman' of 1a is much vaguer (or less exact) in its reference than the subject noun phrase *rēdil ɛl silsēbii a blai* 'the woman who burned down the house' of 1b, where the relative clause introduced by *ɛl* gives detailed information about what the woman did and thereby narrows down her identity. In the b-sentences of 2–3, the relative clauses which are part of the object noun phrases likewise narrow down the identity of the preceding nouns by describing specific **states** which are associated with them.

In the b-sentences of 1–3, the relative clauses have the structure of ordinary sentences except that they are introduced by *ɛl* and do not contain any overtly-expressed subject noun phrases. Furthermore, the missing subject noun phrase of the relative clause is understood as being identical to the noun phrase which precedes (or **heads**) the relative clause. In these respects, relative clauses closely resemble the various types of **dependent clauses** which we classified in chap. 15. Two important features distinguish relative clauses from dependent clauses, however. First, relative clauses must always be preceded by a **noun** (called the **head noun**), while dependent clauses are typically preceded by another **clause** (the **independent** or **main** clause—cf. 15.1). Second, there are no restrictions on the tense of verbs in relative clauses, whereas the verbs of dependent clauses tend to be in the **present** tense, even when the sentence as a whole designates an event or state in the **past**.

To summarize what we have said in this section, Palauan has "expanded" noun phrases with the structure *head noun + relative clause*. The **distribution**¹ of such noun phrases is of course identical to that of simpler noun phrases: thus, in 1 the sequence *rēdil ɛl silsēbii a blai* 'the woman who burned down the house' can substitute for the single noun *rēdil* 'woman' as **subject noun phrase**, and in 2 the sequence *ngalēk ɛl dēngchokl ɛr a bita ɛr a Toki* 'the child who is sitting next to Toki' can replace the single noun *ngalēk* 'child' as **object noun phrase**.

DERIVATION OF RELATIVE CLAUSES

23.2. In order to account correctly for the structure and meaning of

Palauan relative clauses, we propose that “expanded” noun phrases with the structure *head noun + relative clause* are simply derived from sequences in which the head noun is immediately followed by a **whole sentence**. In other words, the (subject) noun phrase *rēdil ēl silsēbii a blai* ‘the woman who burned down the house’ of 1b has its source in the following structure:

- (4) *rēdil [a rēdil a silsēbii a blai]*
 (‘the woman who burned down the house’)

In order to change 4 into the actually-spoken sequence *rēdil ēl silsēbii a blai*, we delete the subject *rēdil* ‘woman’ of the **bracketed sentence**² because it is **identical** to the preceding head noun, and we insert *ēl* as the **relative clause introducer**.³ A sequence of the form *head noun + bracketed sentence* such as that in 4 cannot be transformed into a grammatical noun phrase of the form *head noun + relative clause* unless the subject noun phrase of the bracketed sentence is identical to the preceding head noun. If this “identity condition” is not satisfied, then it is impossible to correctly derive a noun phrase of the form *head noun + relative clause*. Thus, a source sequence like the following (cf. 4)

- (4') **rēdil [a ngalēk a silsēbii a blai]*
 (*‘the woman who the child burned down the house’)

can never be transformed into a grammatical Palauan structure because the subject (*ngalēk* ‘child’) of the bracketed sentence is different from the preceding head noun (*rēdil* ‘woman’). A similar condition holds in English, as the ungrammatical English “equivalent” indicates.

In the sentences below we observe further examples of Palauan relative clauses (italicized):

- (5) a. *A buik ēl mle ēr a blik er a elii a Droteo.*
 ‘The boy who came to my house yesterday was Droteo.’
 b. *A rēsēchal ēl millatēch ēr a mlai a mēsaui.*
 ‘The men who were cleaning the canoe are tired.’
 c. *Ngke ēl ngalēk ēl mēnguui ēr a simbung ng tēchang?*
 ‘Who’s that child who’s reading the newspaper?’
 d. *Ak rirēngēsii a ngalēk ēl lmangēl.*
 ‘I heard a child (who was) crying.’
 e. *Ak mildēchēmii a buik ēl mēlesēb ēr a blai.*
 ‘I caught a boy (who was) setting fire to the house.’
 f. *Ng mēkngit a rēnguk ēr a sēchēlik ēl mlad.*
 ‘I’m sad about my friend who died.’⁴

In 5a–c the sequence *head noun + relative clause* functions as **subject noun phrase**, in 5d–e this same sequence functions as **object noun phrase**, and in 5f it appears in a **cause phrase** (cf. 14.5) introduced by the relational word *ēr*. The relative clauses in 5 can all be derived according to the analysis given above: because the deleted subject of the relative clause would have been identical to the preceding head noun in the source structures of 5a–f, the italicized relative clauses of 5 are automatically understood as having subjects identical to this head noun.

PASSIVE SENTENCES AS RELATIVE CLAUSES

- 23.3. In all of the examples given so far, the head noun preceding a relative clause identifies the **doer** or **agent** of the relative clause if the latter is derived from a **transitive** sentence. Thus, in 1b, for instance,

- (1b) *A rēdil ēl silsēbii a blai a mlo ēr a kēlēbus.*
 ‘The woman who burned down the house went to jail.’

the head noun *rēdil* ‘woman’ corresponds to what would be the agent in the transitive sentence from which the relative clause is derived—namely,

- (6) *A rēdil a silsēbii a blai.*
 ‘The woman burned down the house.’

In 6 the agent *rēdil* ‘woman’ appears as the **subject** of the transitive verb *silsēbii* ‘burned it down’, while the thing receiving the effect of the action—namely, *blai* ‘house’—appears as the **object** of *silsēbii*. As we saw in 19.7, a transitive sentence like 6 can be transformed in such a way that the agent and the object **exchange** positions. In the resulting **passive sentence**,

- (7) *A blai a lēsilsēbii a rēdil.*
 ‘The house was burned down by the woman.’

the object of 6—*blai* ‘house’—has come to appear in subject position, and the agent—*rēdil* ‘woman’—has been moved to the end of the sentence. Furthermore, the verb of the sentence has become **hypothetical**.

Now, it is possible to derive relative clauses that are preceded by head nouns which identify the **object** of the relative clause rather than the agent. All we need to do is make sure that the relative clause of the sequence *head noun + relative clause* corresponds to a **passive sentence** and that the abovementioned

identity condition is met. Indeed, it is precisely because of this identity condition that head nouns referring to the object of a relative clause must be followed by relative clauses derived from passive sentences. In other words, only in a passive sentence like 7 would the subject noun phrase (which must be identical to the preceding head noun in order to form a grammatical relative clause) actually refer to the person or thing receiving the effect of the action—i.e., the object of the corresponding active sentence 6. Observe, therefore, the sentence below, in which the head noun *blai* 'house' refers to the object of the relative clause:

- (8) A *blai* *əl* *leşilsəbii* a *ředil* a *blil* a Toki.
'The house which the woman burned down/which was burned down by the woman was Toki's house.'

The sequence *head noun* + *relative clause* of 8 is derived just like that of 4, except that the bracketed sentence is **passive** in form (=7):

- (9) *blai* [*a blai a leşilsəbii a rədil*]
(the house which the woman burned down/which was burned down by the woman')

Just as in the case of 4, the subject *blai* 'house' of the bracketed sentence is deleted because it is identical to the preceding head noun, and *əl* is inserted as the relative clause introducer.

The sentences below illustrate additional instances of relative clauses that are derived from passive sentences:

- (10) a. A *blai* *əl* *lurruul* *ər ngii* a Droteo a *mle klou*.
'The house which Droteo built was big.'
b. A *buik* *əl kulsa* *er a elii* a Tony.
'The boy whom I saw yesterday was Tony.'
c. A *babier* *əl moluchəs* *ər ngii* a *mo* *ər a sensei*.
'The letter you're writing goes to the teacher.'
d. A *biang* *əl ləngilim* a Droteo a *mle bətok*.
'The amount of beer which Droteo drank was considerable.'
e. A *kall* *əl mriřėllii* *ng ngar* *ər ker?*
'Where's the food you made?'
f. *Ng ngar* *ər ngii* a *chisel* a Toki *əl kudengei*.
'I've got some news to tell you about Toki.'⁵
g. A *subėlek* *əl kbla kbo kmėrek* *ər ngii* a *kmal mle meringėl*.
'The homework which I've just finished was very difficult.'
h. A *tėkoi* *əl lėbo losuub* *ər ngii* a *řengalek* a *tėkoi* *ər a Sina*.
'The language that the children are going to study is Chinese.'

In 19.7.3 we saw that Palauan passive sentences can also be derived by moving into subject position a noun phrase which follows the relational word *ər* in the corresponding active sentence. Thus, the subject of the following passive sentence

- (11) A *delmėrab* a *losuub* *ər ngii* a Droteo.
'(lit.) The room is (being) studied in by Droteo.'

appears in a **locational phrase** following *ər* in the corresponding active sentence

- (12) A Droteo a *mėsuub* *ər a delmėrab*.
'Droteo studies/is studying in the room.'

As we might expect, it is also possible to have sequences of the form *head noun* + *relative clause* in which the relative clause is derived from a passive sentence like 11 and the head noun therefore identifies the **location**, **source**, etc., of the action or event designated by the relative clause. This phenomenon is observed in the sentences below:

- (13) a. *Tia* a *delmėrab* *əl losuub* *ər ngii* a Droteo.
'This is the room that Droteo studies/is studying in.'
b. *Tia* a *basio* *əl lėbilosii* a *bėlocheł* *ər ngii* a Moses.
'This is the place where Moses shot the pigeon.'
c. *Tia* a *kėđera* *əl lėmlad* *ər ngii* a John *er se* *ər a mėkėmad*.
'This is the beach where John died during the war.'
d. A *blai* *əl lėkie* *ər ngii* a *řechad* *ər a Sina* *ng ngar* *ər ker?*
'Where's the house that the Chinese live in?'
e. *Tia kid* a *blsibs* *əl lėtilobėd* *ər ngii* a *beab*.
'Here's the hole that the mouse came out of.'

A further type of passive sentence can be formed by moving to sentence-initial position a noun phrase which is part of a **dependent clause** (cf. chap. 15), an **object clause** (cf. chap. 16), or the like. Thus, an active sentence like the following,

- (14) A Droteo a *millasəm* *əl męnga* *ər a ngikėl*.
'Droteo tried to eat the fish.'

which contains an **object clause** following *millasəm* 'tried' (cf. 16.4) can be transformed into the passive sentence below:

- (15) A *ngikėl* a *lullasəm* *əl męnga* *ər ngii* a Droteo.
'(lit.) The fish was tried to be eaten by Droteo.' = 'Droteo tried to eat the fish.'

The **subject** of 15—*ngikėl* 'fish'—was originally an **object** in 14,

where it follows the (imperfective) transitive verb *menga* 'eat' in the object clause introduced by *el*. When a singular noun phrase object in a dependent clause or object clause is passivized in this way, it must leave behind a **pronominal trace** (cf. 19.7), as the presence of *er ngii* in 15 indicates. Notice that a sentence like 15 has no acceptable word-for-word equivalent in English.

Now, a passive sentence like 15 can be used as a relative clause following the head noun *ngikel* 'fish' in a source sentence such as the following:

- (16) A ngikel [a ngikel a lullasem el menga er ngii a Droteo] a mle bekebau.
(‘The fish which Droteo tried to eat was spoiled.’)

By “processing” the relative clause of 16, we get the following grammatical Palauan sentence:

- (17) A ngikel el lullasem el menga er ngii a Droteo a mle bekebau.
(‘The fish which Droteo tried to eat was spoiled.’)

Relative clauses whose derivation follows the pattern of 16–17 are given in the additional examples below:

- (18) a. A tekoi el kmeduch el melekoi er ngii a tekoi er a Siabal.
(‘The language which I know how to speak is Japanese.’)
b. Ng kmal soak el mo omes er a hong el Droteo a dilu el kmo a Toki a milenguui er ngii.
(‘I’d really like to see the book which Droteo said Toki was reading.’)
c. Ng ngar er ngii a ududem el sebecnem el meskak?
(‘Do you have any money you can give me?’)

EQUATIONAL SENTENCES AS RELATIVE CLAUSES

- 23.4. As we saw in 18.6, an **equational sentence** is one which has the basic structure *noun phrase + noun phrase*. In such sentences, the subject noun phrase is **equated with** or **included in** the category of individuals or things designated by the second noun phrase. Equational sentences can serve as relative clauses, as the following types of expressions indicate:

- (19) John el sensei
(‘John the teacher’)
JAL el kombalii er a Siabal
(‘JAL, a Japanese company’)
New Delhi el kingall er a government er a India
(‘New Delhi, the seat of government of India’)

- blik el {smengt }
 {kerrëkar }
(‘my house, which is (made of) {cement }
 {wood }’)
bilsengek el chert
(‘my boat, which is an outboard’)
ngelekek el {redil }
 {sëchal }
(‘my {daughter }
 {son }’, (lit. ‘my child who is a {girl }
 {boy }’))

The expressions of 19 are all derived from sequences of the form *head noun + relative clause*, where the relative clause is an equational sentence. Thus, *John el sensei* ‘John the teacher’ has its source in

- (20) John [a John a sensei]
(‘John the teacher’)

The bracketed equational sentence *A John a sensei* ‘John is a teacher’ of 20 is transformed into a relative clause by deleting the subject *John* under identity with the preceding head noun and inserting the relative clause introducer *el*. For convenience of discussion, we will apply the term **appositional structure** to a sequence like *John el sensei* ‘John the teacher’, in which one noun phrase is **linked** to another by the word *el* (the relative clause introducer).

By far, the most commonly-used type of appositional structure in Palauan consists of a **noun phrase of possession** (usually a single possessed noun) followed by *el* and another noun (cf. 3.10). Such appositional structures are used to specify the function which something serves on a particular occasion and refer primarily to categories of food and drink. Several examples, similar to those given in 3.10, are listed below:

- (21) imelek el biang
(‘my (drink of) beer’)
kelem el udong
(‘your noodles’)
odimel el babii
(‘his pork’)
onguled el kukau
(‘our taro’)
chermek el bilis
(‘my dog’)

The appositional structures of 21 are derived exactly like those of

19. Thus, *imlek el biang* 'my (drink of) beer' has a source of the form *head noun + relative clause*—namely,

- (22) *imlek [a imlek a biang]*
(‘my (drink of) beer’)

The bracketed equational sentence *A imlek a biang* ‘My drink is beer’ of 22 is transformed into a relative clause by processes which are already familiar to us.

RELATIVE CLAUSES CONTAINING STATE VERBS

23.5. In the examples below, the relative clauses introduced by *el* contain various types of **state verbs** (cf. chap. 7):

- (23) a. A Toki a silsēbii a blil a Droteo *el* bēches.
‘Toki burned down Droteo’s house, which was new.’
b. Ak milēngētakl *er* a bilsēngel a Hiroso *el* tēlēmāll.
‘I towed Hiroso’s boat, which was broken.’
c. A Toki a milēngētmokl *er* a delmērab *er* a Droteo *el* kikiong-
el.
‘Toki was straightening up Droteo’s room, which was dirty.’

There is nothing unusual about the derivation of the sequences *head noun + relative clause* of 23 from structures of the form *head noun + bracketed sentence*.

Contrasting in structure with 23a–c above are sentences in which a state verb (or an expression containing a state verb) **precedes** a particular noun and is linked to it by *el*. Sequences of the form *state verb + el* will be considered a type of **modifier** because they **describe, modify, or give further information about** the immediately **following** noun; other types of modifiers will be discussed in detail in chap. 24. For many Palauan speakers, there is no difference in meaning between sequences of the form *state verb + el + noun* vs. those of the form *head noun + el + state verb* (i.e., relative clauses). For some speakers, however, the sequence *state verb + el + noun* has a different interpretation, as indicated in the examples below (cf. 23a–c):

- (24) a. A Toki a silsēbii a bēches *el* blil a Droteo.
‘Toki burned down Droteo’s new house (not his old one).’
b. Ak milēngētakl *er* a tēlēmāll *el* bilsēngel a Hiroso.
‘I towed the boat of Hiroso’s that was broken.’

- c. A Toki a milēngētmokl *er* a kikiongēl *el* delmērab *er* a Droteo.
‘Toki was straightening up the room of Droteo’s that was dirty.’

While the relative clauses of 23 simply provide additional, non-essential information about the head nouns which they follow, the modifiers of 24 supply essential identifying information to distinguish the modified noun from other items with which it is implied to be in contrast. Thus, comparing 23a and 24a, we see that the relative clause *el bēches* of 23a provides us with a certain piece of information about Droteo’s house almost as an **after-thought** (i.e., the house which Toki burned down just **happened** to be new), while the modifier *bēches el* of 24a identifies or singles out Droteo’s *new* house (as opposed to any other houses he may own) as the one which Toki burned down. In a similar way, the modifier *tēlēmāll el* of 24b makes it clear that it was Hiroso’s *broken* boat that the speaker was towing, and not some other boat of Hiroso’s; and in 24c *kikiongēl el* implies that Toki was cleaning the particular room of Droteo’s that was dirty, but not any other of his rooms.

RELATIVE CLAUSES FOLLOWING *chad* AND *klalo*

23.6. Since Palauan has no series of “indefinite” words corresponding to English *someone/anyone, something/anything*, etc., it simply makes use of the nouns *chad* ‘person, man’ and *klalo* ‘thing’ to express these concepts. Thus, in the examples below, *chad* and *klalo* are used to refer to a person or thing whose identity is not known:

- (25) a. Ng ngar *er* ngii a chad *er* tiang.
‘Somebody’s here.’
b. Ng mlo *er* a stoa *el* mo omēchar a klalo.
‘He went to the store to buy something.’

The nouns *chad* and *klalo* are commonly followed by relative clauses, in which case we have expressions corresponding to ‘someone/anyone who...’ and ‘something/anything which...’ Observe the examples below:

- (26) a. Ng ngar *er* ngii a chad *el* osiik *er* kau.
‘There’s someone (who’s) looking for you.’
b. Ak rirēngēsii a chad *el* mēngitakl.
‘I heard someone singing.’

- c. A chad el diak lemeduch el mengikai a mo remos.
'Anyone who doesn't know how to swim will drown.'
- d. Ng ngar er ngii a klalo el dibus.
'There's something missing.'
- e. Ng mla er ngii a klalo el mla merchorech?
'Was there something stolen?'

When the third person singular emphatic pronoun *ngii* is followed by *di* 'only, just' and a relative clause, we get a rather forceful expression corresponding to 'any...at all'. The following examples are typical:

- (27) a. Ngii di el chad a sebecel el rullii tia el ureor.
'Anybody at all could do this work.'
- b. Ngii di el chad er a Belau a sebecel el me er tia el klab.
'Any Palauan at all can come to this club.'

24 Modifiers

STATE VERBS AS MODIFIERS

- 24.1. In 23.1 we observed that **relative clauses** serve to **modify, specify, or provide identifying information** about the **head nouns** which they follow. Since relative clauses are ultimately derived from **whole sentences** (cf. our discussion in 23.2), they reflect major Palauan sentence types such as **transitive sentence, intransitive sentence, passive sentence**, and the like. For instance, in the following sequence of the form *head noun + relative clause*

- (1) buik *el milkodir a bilis*
'the boy who killed the dog'

the italicized relative clause has been derived from the **transitive sentence**

- (2) A buik a milkodir a bilis.
'The boy killed the dog.'

The sequence *head noun + relative clause* of 1 of course has its source in the structure below, where the transitive sentence 2 appears as a **bracketed sentence**¹ following the **head noun** *buik* 'boy':

- (3) buik [a buik a milkodir a bilis]
'(the boy who killed the dog)'

Can you explain how the abstract structure of 3 is transformed into the actually-spoken sequence of 1?

Just as a relative clause can have its source in a **transitive sentence**, as 1-3 above illustrate, so can a relative clause be derived from an **intransitive sentence** containing a **state verb**. Thus, as we saw in 23.5, we can have sequences like the following:

- (4) a. delmerab *el kikiong el*
'room which is dirty'

- b. blai *əl bəches*
'house which is new'
- c. chad *əl smeçer ər a tereṭer*
'person who is sick with a cold'
- d. sensei *əl meringəl a təkinglel*
'teacher who is strict'

Since the italicized relative clauses of 4 contain intransitive state verbs, the bracketed sentences from which they are derived must necessarily be intransitive sentences containing these very same state verbs. Thus, 4c, for example, is derived from the source structure

- (4c') chad [a chad a smeçer ər a tereṭer]
(person who is sick with a cold')

by deleting the identical subject noun phrase *chad* 'person' of the bracketed sentence and inserting the **relative clause introducer** *əl*.

Now, in addition to the relative clause structure of 4, Palauan has sequences in which a state verb (or an expression containing a state verb) **precedes** a given noun and is **linked** to it by *əl*. Thus, with 4a–b, which have the structure *noun + əl + state verb*, compare 5a–b, in which the word order has been switched to *state verb + əl + noun*:

- (4) a. delmṛab *əl kikiongəl*
'room which is dirty'
- b. blai *əl bəches*
'house which is new'
- (5) a. kikiongəl *əl delmṛab*
'dirty room'
- b. bəches *əl blai*
'new house'

Though some Palauan speakers feel that the opposing word orders of 4–5 result in a significant meaning difference,² many others think that the two word orders merely represent a difference in style which has no effect on the meaning.

We will introduce the term **modifier** to distinguish the sequences of *state verb + əl* in 5 from the **relative clauses** (*əl + state verb*) in 4. As we will see throughout this chapter, it will be convenient to have a separate term such as **modifier** to refer to a number of grammatical constructions in which a word or group of words is linked by *əl* to a **following** noun. The term "modifier" is used because the constructions in question function to **modify**,

specify, or give further information about the noun which they precede. Although **relative clauses** perform the same function of modifying or specifying a noun (cf. 23.1), we will not classify them as modifiers because they **follow** rather than **precede** the modified noun. In other words, we are using **modifier** primarily as a cover term for any construction which **precedes** a noun and is linked to it by *əl*. So far, we have seen how the word *əl* joins or relates **dependent clauses** (cf. chap. 15), **object clauses** (cf. chap. 16), and **relative clauses** (cf. chap. 23) to a **preceding independent clause** or **head noun**. Now, as we examine Palauan modifiers, we will see that *əl* can also be used to relate a word or group of words to a **following** noun (also called a **head noun**).

The type of modifier shown in 5a–b—namely, a single intransitive state verb followed by *əl*—is very common in Palauan. Some further examples are listed below:

- (6) ungil *əl eanged*
'good weather'
- mṛngit *əl təkoi*
'bad/dirty word'
- klou *əl bilas*
'big boat'
- ngodeçh *əl chad*³
'strange person'
- bṛṛsius *əl chad*
'person who swears a lot'
- mṛduch *əl kṛṛkar*
'strong tree/wood'
- kekṛe *əl blai*
'small house; (slang) toilet'
- kekṛmangṛ *əl mlai*
'long canoe'
- mṛses *əl buik*
'diligent boy'

Certain common expressions (i.e., groups of words) containing intransitive state verbs can also be used as modifiers. Note, for example, how the italicized expressions in the sentences below

- (7) a. A sensei a $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} mṛringəl \\ beot \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ a tṛkingel.
'The teacher is $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} strict \\ easy-going \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$.'

- b. A ngalek a *beralm a rengul*.
'The child is lazy.'

are used as modifiers in the following examples:

- (8) a. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{meringel} \\ \text{beot} \end{array} \right\}$ a *tekingel el* sensei
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{strict} \\ \text{easy-going} \end{array} \right\}$ teacher'
b. *beralm a rengul el* ngalek
 'lazy child'

OTHER VERBS AND NOUNS AS MODIFIERS

24.2. As we saw in 24.1 above, many Palauan modifiers consist of a state verb, or an expression containing a state verb, followed by the "linking" word *el*. Not all modifiers containing verbs require **state verbs**, however. For example, a few **intransitive action verbs** such as *me* 'come' and *mo merek* 'end, stop' are commonly used as modifiers (italicized) in cases like the following:

- (9) *tia el me el* rak
 'next year'
 tia el mlo merek el buil
 'last month'

The sequences in 9, you will recall, are used with the **relational word** *er* to form **temporal phrases** (cf. 14.6). In addition, we occasionally find Palauan speakers using sequences like the following,

- (10) *mengitakl el* chad
 'man who is singing'
 mlęchęlebeđ el buik
 'boy who was hit/beaten'

in which a **transitive action verb** in its **imperfective form** (*mengitakl* 'sing') or **ergative form** (*mlęchęlebeđ* 'was/got hit/beaten') is part of the modifier construction.

In 24.3–4 below, we will examine two major types of nouns—**demonstratives** and **number words**—which are regularly used as modifiers. In addition to these two types, certain other relatively minor groups of nouns can appear in modifier constructions. Thus, in the sequences below, a word or expression designating a **quantity** is used to modify the following head noun:

- (11) *bętok el* kall
 'lots of food'
 bętok el chad
 'many people'
 kęsai el malk
 'a bit of chicken'
 di tęlkib el kall
 'a little food'
 rokui el taem
 'all the time'

And in the examples below, the **question words** *ngara* 'what (kind of)?' (cf. 20.3.1, ex. 46) and *tela* 'how much/many?' (cf. 20.4, ex. 58) function as modifiers:

- (12) *ngara el* tękoi
 'what language?'
 ngara el hong
 'what kind of book?'
 tela el klok
 'what time?'
 tela el udoud
 'how much money?'

All of the sequences given in 5–6 and 8–12 above are "expanded" noun phrases with the structure *modifier + head noun* (cf. our discussion of *head noun + relative clause* sequences at the end of 23.1). Because they are noun phrases, sequences of the form *modifier + head noun* have distributional features identical to those of simpler noun phrases: that is, they occur as **sentence subject** or **object**, or following *er* in **relational phrases**. The sentences below illustrate these three distributional "slots":

- (13) a. A ngodęch el chad a dęngchokl *er* a bita *er* a Toki.
 'A strange person is sitting next to Toki.'
 b. A Satsko a mirruul a bętok el kall el kirel a party.
 'Satsko was preparing lots of food for the party.'
 c. Kę mo *er* a che *er* a tela el klok?
 'At what time are you going fishing?'

DEMONSTRATIVES

24.3. Palauan has a special group of words which speakers use when

they wish to **point out** or **draw attention** to a particular person, animal, or thing. Such **demonstrative words** (or **demonstratives** for short) are used in simple (equational) sentences like the following:

- (14) a. Tia a olęchęsek.
'This is my pencil.'
b. Se a blil a Droteo.
'That is Droteo's house.'
c. Tirke tę rua tęchang?
'Who are those people?'
d. Tia kid a hong.
'Here is a book.'
e. Ngka kid a Droteo.⁴
'Here is Droteo.'

As the examples of 14 show, Palauan demonstratives (e.g. *tia* 'this', *se* 'that', *ngka* 'this person', *tirke* 'those people') are never preceded by the word *a*, which introduces most other Palauan nouns and noun phrases (cf. 2.6).

In order to use demonstratives correctly, the Palauan speaker must take three factors into account. First, he must choose a different set of demonstratives depending on whether what he is referring to (i.e., the **referent**) is a **person**, **animal**, or **thing**. Second, he must use different forms for **singular** vs. **plural** referents. And, finally, he must consider the **relative distance** of the referent from himself and the hearer.

When making reference to **non-living things**, the Palauan speaker uses the set of demonstrative words given below. In considering the relative distance of the referent from himself and the hearer, the speaker must make a three-way distinction. Thus, different demonstratives must be used to designate (i) something near both the speaker and hearer, (ii) something near the hearer but not the speaker, and (iii) something far from both the speaker and hearer. These three categories of distance are listed across the top of the chart below:⁵

(15) *Demonstratives Referring to Things*

<i>Location of referent:</i>	near speaker and hearer	near hearer but far from speaker	far from speaker and hearer
<i>singular</i>	tia 'this'	tilęcha 'that'	se 'that (over there)'
<i>plural</i>	aika 'these'	ailęcha 'those'	aike 'those (over there)'

Demonstrative words referring to **human beings** can be classified in a parallel way, as the following chart shows:

(16) *Demonstratives Referring to Human Beings*

<i>Location of referent:</i>	near speaker and hearer	near hearer but far from speaker	far from speaker and hearer
<i>singular</i>	ng(i)ka 'this person'	ngilęcha 'that person'	ng(i)ke 'that person (over there)'
<i>plural</i>	tirka 'these people'	tirilęcha 'those people'	tirke 'those people (over there)'

If we compare the demonstratives of 15–16 with each other, we immediately notice some significant structural patterns. Most of these words are composed of two morphemes (or meaning-bearing units), the first one specifying the type of referent (person or thing, singular or plural), and the second specifying the relative distance of the referent from the speaker and hearer. Looking at the demonstratives found in the second column—namely,

- (17) tilęcha
'that (thing)'
ailęcha
'those (things)'
ngilęcha
'that person'
tirilęcha
'those people'

—we may conclude that the shared part *-lęcha* (or perhaps *-ilęcha*) is a distinct morpheme which conveys the meaning 'located near hearer but far from speaker' common to these four words. The difference in meaning among the demonstratives of 17 must therefore be due to the fact that different morphemes (*ti-*, *ai-*, *ngi-*, and *tiri-*) are **prefixed** to the shared morpheme *-lęcha*. These four morphemes have distinct meanings, as follows:

- (18) ti- 'non-living thing—singular'
ai- 'non-living things—plural'
ngi- 'human being—singular'
tiri- 'human beings—plural'

The different morphemes of 18 combine with the morpheme *-lęcha* to form the contrasting demonstrative words of 17.

The fact that Palauan demonstrative words are organized according to a "logical" system becomes clear to us when we see that the four morphemes of 18 (which specify whether the referent is a person or thing, singular or plural) recur just where we would expect them. While *ti-* 'non-living thing—singular' is somewhat exceptional (see below), the three remaining morphemes occur consistently as follows:

- a. *ai-* is found in all demonstrative words referring to plural nonliving things—i.e., *aika* 'these (things)', *ailęcha* 'those (things)', and *aike* 'those (things) (over there)',
- b. *ngi-* is found in all demonstrative words referring to a singular human being—i.e., *ng(i)ka* 'this person', *ngilęcha* 'that person', and *ng(i)ke* 'that person (over there)'.⁶
- c. *tiri-* is found in all demonstrative words referring to plural human beings—i.e., *tirka* 'these people', *tirilęcha* 'those people', and *tirke* 'those people (over there)'.⁷

We can now see that in addition to the morpheme *-lęcha* 'located near hearer but far from speaker', Palauan demonstrative words also contain the distinct morphemes *-ka* 'located near speaker and hearer' and *-ke* 'located far from speaker and hearer'.

The morpheme *ti-* 'non-living thing—singular' is associated with some irregularities. Thus, where we would expect the demonstrative word **tika* for 'this (thing)', we instead have *tia*, in which the *k* of *-ka* 'located near speaker and hearer' has been lost. In addition, we do not have any demonstrative word like **tike* for 'that (thing) (over there)', but the totally unrelated word *se*, which consists of one morpheme only. The three demonstratives referring to singular non-living things are distinguished from other demonstratives in that they commonly appear in locational phrases (cf. 14.2) with *ęr*, as illustrated below:

- (19) *ęr tia*
'here, in this place'
ęr tilęcha
'there, in that place'
ęr se
'over there, in that place (over there)'

Although Palauan demonstrative words referring to **animals** do not involve any new morphemes or morpheme combinations, they represent an unusual (and unexplainable) mixture of terms from the two sets already given (15 and 16). The demonstrative words referring to animals are listed below:

(20) *Demonstratives Referring to Animals*

Location of referent:	near speaker and hearer	near hearer but far from speaker	far from speaker and hearer
singular	ng(i)ka 'this animal'	ngilęcha 'that animal'	ng(i)ke 'that animal (over there)'
plural	aika 'these animals'	ailęcha 'those animals'	aike 'those animals (over there)'

As the chart in 20 shows, demonstratives referring to singular **human beings** (see 16) are also used to refer to singular **animals**, while demonstratives denoting plural **things** (see 15) also serve to denote plural **animals**.

One of the most commonly-occurring **modifier** constructions (cf. 24.2 above) in Palauan consists of a **demonstrative word** linked by *ęl* to a following **head noun**. Sequences of this kind are used when the speaker wishes to identify a person, animal, or thing in terms of where it is located with relation to himself and the hearer. The following examples are typical:

- (21) *tia ęl hong*
'this book'
se ęl kęrrękar
'that tree (over there)'
aika ęl kahol
'these boxes'
ng(i)ke ęl ngalęk
'that child (over there)'
*tirilęcha ęl sensei*⁸
'those teachers'
aika ęl charm
'these animals'

Can you explain why *tia* (but not *ng(i)ka*) is required before the head noun *hong* 'book', why *ng(i)ke* (but not *se*) is required before the head noun *ngalęk* 'child', and so on?

Because the sequences of 21 are "expanded" noun phrases with the structure *modifier* + *head noun*, they have the distributional features common to all noun phrases. Thus, in the sentences below, the sequences of 21 are used as sentence subject or object or as part of a relational phrase with *ęr*:

- (22) a. *Aika ęl charm a babii.*
'These animals are pigs.'

- b. Ng(i)ke ɛl ngalek a milosii a malk.
'That child (over there) shot the chicken.'
- c. Ng tɛcha a lilɛchɛsii tia ɛl hong?
'Who wrote this book?'
- d. A bɛlochɛl a silebɛk ɛr se ɛl kɛrɛkar.
'The pigeon flew out of that tree.'

NUMBERS

24.4. Palauan numbers are used, of course, to count or specify the number of persons, things, etc. being considered. They are much more complicated than English numbers because different sets must be chosen according to the type of thing being counted. In this respect, Palauan numbers resemble Palauan **demonstratives**, which—as we saw in 24.3 above—occur in three sets depending on whether the referent is a person, animal, or thing.

The numbers of Palauan are found in three **major** sets, which most speakers use frequently and in a uniform manner, and several relatively **minor** sets, which show considerable variation from one speaker to another and which certain speakers (especially younger ones) no longer even use. Like the demonstratives examined above, Palauan numbers by and large form a system in which various morphemes consistently recur. As we will see below, most number words contain a morpheme specifying a number plus another morpheme (a **prefix** or **suffix**) identifying the **class** or **category** of what is being counted.

One major set of Palauan numbers is used for counting various **units of time** such as hours of the clock, days, years, and the like. The numbers in this set (which we will identify as Set I) are listed below:

(23) Set I	
1 ta	11 tɛruich mɛ a ta
2 eru	12 tɛruich mɛ a eru
3 ede	13 tɛruich mɛ a ede
4 eua	14 tɛruich mɛ a eua
5 eim	15 tɛruich mɛ a eim
6 elolɛm	16 tɛruich mɛ a elolɛm
7 euid	17 tɛruich mɛ a euid
8 eai	18 tɛruich mɛ a eai
9 etiu	19 tɛruich mɛ a etiu
10 tɛruich	20 lluich

Looking at the numbers from 1 to 10 in Set I, we see that except for *ta* 'one' and *tɛruich* 'ten', which appear to be single morphemes, all of the numbers consist of the **prefix** *e-* followed by some other morpheme. The prefix *e-* is a separate morpheme which specifically identifies the **category** of things being counted—namely, units of time. This prefix combines with the various **number morphemes**—i.e.,

(24) -ru	'two'	-lolɛm	'six'
-de	'three'	-uid	'seven'
-ua	'four'	-ai	'eight'
-im	'five'	-tiu	'nine'

—to form number words referring to units of time.

The number words between 11 and 20 in Set I are not particularly difficult to analyze. Though *lluich* 'twenty' is best analyzed as a single morpheme, it may in some way be related to *tɛruich* 'ten' (note the common sequence *-uich*). The numbers between 11 and 19 are merely expressions of the form 'ten and one', 'ten and two', etc., in which *tɛruich* 'ten' is connected by *mɛ* 'and' (see 25.4) to the following smaller number.⁹

Palauan number words are commonly used as **modifiers** (cf. 24.1 above). Thus, in the "expanded" noun phrases below, a number word from Set I is linked by *ɛl* to a following **head noun**. Since the number words of Set I are used to count units of time, the head nouns in the sequences below are **time words** such as *sils* 'day', *rak* 'year', etc.:

- (25) ta ɛl sikang 'one hour'
eru ɛl sils 'two days'
ede ɛl klɛbɛse 'three nights'
eua ɛl kɛbɛsɛngil¹⁰ 'the fourth (of some month)'
eim ɛl buil 'five months'
elolɛm ɛl rak 'six years'
euid ɛl klok 'seven o'clock'
tɛruich mɛ a ta ɛl klok¹¹ 'eleven o'clock'

Whereas all Palauan speakers use the number words of Set I for counting **units of time**, only certain speakers (mostly of the older generation) use these same words for counting **flat, square** objects such as sheets of paper, books, etc. Such speakers will therefore use noun phrases like the following:

- (26) eru ɛl babier 'two letters/sheets of paper'
ede ɛl hong 'three books'
eua ɛl siasing 'four photos'

For counting flat, square objects the majority of Palauan speakers prefer the number words *chimo* 'one', *tɛblo* 'two', *klde* 'three', etc., which can refer to a wide range of non-living things (see Set III in 29 below).

A second major set of Palauan number words is used exclusively for counting **human beings**. Thus, with Set I compare the following, which we will designate as Set II:

(27) Set II	
1 ta	11 tɛruich mɛ a ta
2 teru	12 tɛruich mɛ a teru
3 tede	13 tɛruich mɛ a tede
4 teua	14 tɛruich mɛ a teua
5 teim	15 tɛruich mɛ a teim
6 telolɛm	16 tɛruich mɛ a telolɛm
7 teuid	17 tɛruich mɛ a teuid
8 teai	18 tɛruich mɛ a teai
9 tetiu	19 tɛruich mɛ a tetiu
10 tɛruich	20 lluich

When we compare the number words of Set I and Set II, we can make the following observations:

- In both sets, the number words for 'one' (*ta*), 'ten' (*tɛruich*), and 'twenty' (*lluich*) are identical.
- In both sets, the number words from 2 to 9 consist of two morphemes—a **prefix** identifying the **class** or **category** of what is being counted plus a **number morpheme**. In Set I, the prefix is *e-*, while in Set II it is *te-*. Both of these prefixes combine regularly with the number morphemes of 24 to form the various number words. While the prefix *e-* refers primarily to units of time, the prefix *te-* designates human beings.
- In both sets, the number words from 11 to 19 are merely expressions of the form 'ten and one', 'ten and two', etc., where *tɛruich* 'ten' is connected to another number by *mɛ* 'and'. Thus, for example, *tɛruich mɛ a ede* 'thirteen (days, months, etc.)' and *tɛruich mɛ a tede* 'thirteen people' are exactly parallel in structure.

Because the number words of Set II refer exclusively to human beings, they can only occur preceding **human head nouns**, as in the following:

- (28) teru ɛl chad 'two people'
teim ɛl sensei 'five teachers'
tetiu ɛl buik 'nine boys'
tɛruich mɛ a tede ɛl chad¹² 'thirteen people'

A third major set of Palauan number words is used in counting animals and a large variety of non-living things. Observe the words below, which constitute Set III:

(29) Set III	
1 chimo	11 tachɛr mɛ a chimo
2 tɛblo	12 tachɛr mɛ a tɛblo
3 klde	13 tachɛr mɛ a klde
4 kloa	14 tachɛr mɛ a kloa
5 kleim	15 tachɛr mɛ a kleim
6 kllolɛm	16 tachɛr mɛ a kllolɛm
7 klɛuid	17 tachɛr mɛ a klɛuid
8 kleai	18 tachɛr mɛ a kleai
9 kltiu	19 tachɛr mɛ a kltiu
10 tachɛr	20 lluich

Comparing the number words of Set III with those of Sets I and II (cf. 23 and 27 above), we can make the following statements:

- The number words *chimo* 'one', *tɛblo* 'two', and *tachɛr* 'ten' in Set III are completely different from the comparable number words in the other two sets. The word *lluich* 'twenty', however, is the same.
- The number words from 3 to 9 in Set III consist of the already familiar structure *prefix + number morpheme*. Here, the prefix *kl-* (lengthened in several cases by the vowel *e* or *ɛ*) is added to the various number morphemes shown in 24. The number morpheme *-ua* 'four' irregularly changes to *-oa* when *kl-* is prefixed.
- The number words from 11 to 19 in Set III resemble those of Sets I and II in that they follow the pattern 'ten and one', 'ten and two', etc.

Since the Set III number words refer to animals as well as

non-living things, they typically occur as **modifiers** in “expanded” noun phrases like the following:

- (30) chimo ɛl malk ‘one chicken’
 tɛblo ɛl blai ‘two houses’
 klde ɛl hong ‘three books’
 kloa ɛl ringo ‘four apples’
 kleim ɛl kluk ‘five dollars’
 kllolɛm ɛl lius ‘six coconuts’
 klɛuid ɛl kahol ‘seven boxes’
 tachɛr ɛl uel ‘ten turtles’

NUMBERS ABOVE 20

- 24.4.1. So far we have only discussed Palauan numbers between 1 and 20. The numbers above 20 follow familiar patterns and are therefore not difficult to analyze. First we shall examine those numbers which are **multiples of 10**—namely,

- (31) 30 okede 70 okeuid
 40 okoua 80 okai
 50 okeim 90 oketiu
 60 okolɛm 100 dart

Except for *dart* ‘one hundred’, which is a single morpheme, the number words listed above consist of two morphemes—the **prefix** *ok-* (lengthened in most cases by *e* or *o*) and one of the **number morphemes** listed in 24. In *okolɛm* ‘sixty’ the first *l* of the number morpheme *-lolɛm* ‘six’ is lost when *ok-* is prefixed. Like *lluich* ‘twenty’, the number words in *ok-* (and *dart* ‘one hundred’ as well) are used in all three major number sets (cf. 23, 27, and 29 above). The prefix *ok-* indicates that the accompanying number (morpheme) is to be multiplied by 10.

Just as the numbers between 11 and 19 have the structure ‘ten and one’, ‘ten and two’, etc., the numbers between 21 and 29, 31 and 39, etc. take the form ‘twenty and one’, ‘thirty and one’, and so on. Such numbers are used as modifiers in the examples below:

- (32) a. *lluich mɛ a teru ɛl chad*
 ‘twenty-two people’
lluich mɛ a tɛblo ɛl blai
 ‘twenty-two buildings’
 b. *okede mɛ a eim ɛl sils*
 ‘thirty-five days’

okede mɛ a teim ɛl sensei
 ‘thirty-five teachers’

- c. *okeuid mɛ a etiu ɛl rak*
 ‘seventy-nine years’

okeuid mɛ a kltiu ɛl kluk
 ‘seventy-nine dollars’

Can you explain why the number 22 must have the form *lluich mɛ a teru* before the head noun *chad* ‘person’, but takes the form *lluich mɛ a tɛblo* before the head noun *blai* ‘house’? Does the same principle hold for the other pairs?

Numbers which are **multiples of 100** are formed by using a number word from Set I as a modifier of *dart* ‘one hundred’. Thus, we have *eru ɛl dart* ‘two hundred’, *ede ɛl dart* ‘three hundred’, *eua ɛl dart* ‘four hundred’, etc. The number 1000 and its multiples are formed in a similar way—i.e., *ta ɛl telael* ‘one thousand’, *eru ɛl telael* ‘two thousand’, *ede ɛl telael* ‘three thousand’, and so on.

MINOR NUMBER SETS

- 24.4.2. In this section we will list several Palauan number sets that are of relatively minor importance because their use is infrequent or restricted in some way. Our comments on these number sets will accordingly be very brief.

When counting off one number after another—i.e., when saying “one—two—three” etc. in sequence—Palauan speakers use the group of number words below (Set IV):

- (33) *Set IV*
- | | | | |
|---|------|----|-----------------------|
| 1 | ta | 7 | uid |
| 2 | oru | 8 | iai |
| 3 | ode | 9 | itiu |
| 4 | oua | 10 | machod |
| 5 | oim | 11 | machod mɛ a ta |
| 6 | malo | 12 | machod mɛ a oru, etc. |

While *ta* ‘one’, *malo* ‘six’, and *machod* ‘ten’ are single morphemes, the number words from 2 to 5 and from 7 to 9 in Set IV consist of a prefix (*o-*, *u-*, or *i-*) followed by a number morpheme (cf. 24). Set IV number words higher than 10 (i.e., *machod mɛ a ta* ‘eleven’, *machod mɛ a oru* ‘twelve’, etc.) are very infrequently used.

In order to count long things such as pencils, fish, canoes, bananas, and the like, most Palauan speakers use the number

words in Set III. However, certain speakers (mostly in the older generation) use the following special number words (Set V) for counting between one and five long objects:

(34) *Set V*

- 1 teluo
- 2 eruo
- 3 edeuo
- 4 euaiuo
- 5 eimuo

The number words of Set V all contain the suffix *-uo*. In the numbers from 2 to 5 this suffix is added to the corresponding number words of Set I, with minor phonetic changes. Thus, the final *u* of *eru* 'two' is deleted when *-uo* is suffixed to form *eruo* 'two (long objects)'; and an extra *i* is inserted when *eua* 'four' combines with *-uo* to give *euaiuo* 'four (long objects)'. The number *teluo* 'one (long object)' is formed by adding *-uo* to what appears to be a special number morpheme *tel-* 'one'.

Another number set which involves a suffix (rather than a prefix) is the following (Set VI), which is used occasionally to count bunches of bananas:

(35) *Set VI*

- | | |
|----------|-------------------|
| 1 teliud | 6 elolęmiud |
| 2 ereiud | 7 euidiud |
| 3 edeiud | 8 eaiud |
| 4 euaiud | 9 etiuiud |
| 5 eimiud | 10 tęruich ęl iud |

The number words of Set VI show a general pattern already familiar to us. Thus, in the numbers from 2 to 9 a suffix of the form *-iud* is added to the corresponding number word of Set I, with certain small phonetic changes. (Can you identify these changes in the number words *ereiud* 'two bunches' and *eaiud* 'eight bunches'?) In *teliud* 'one bunch', the suffix *-iud* has been added to a special number morpheme *tel-* (cf. the *tel-* of *teluo* 'one (long object)' in Set V).¹³ Finally, in *ęruich ęl iud* 'ten bunches' *iud* is used as a separate word—i.e., as a **head noun** preceded by the modifier *ęruich* 'ten'.

USE OF NUMBER WORDS IN SENTENCES

24.4.3. In 25, 26, 28, 30, and 32 above we gave many examples of how

number words can be used as modifiers of a following head noun. Such sequences, which have the structure *number word* + *ęl* + *head noun*, function as **noun phrases** and therefore occur regularly as sentence subject or object, or as part of a relational phrase introduced by *ęr*. A few sentences showing the distribution of these "expanded" noun phrases (italicized) are given below:

- (36) a. A Droteo a mlo ęr a che ęr a *euid ęl klok*.
'Droteo went fishing at seven o'clock.'
- b. A *dart ęl chad* a mle ęr a ochęraol.
'One hundred people came to the money-raising party.'
- c. A ręgalęk a milkoad a *tachęr ęl uel*.
'The children killed ten turtles.'
- d. Ng tęcha a milskau a *kleim ęl kluk*?
'Who gave you five dollars?'

As the examples of 36 illustrate, "expanded" noun phrases containing number words as modifiers must always be introduced by the word *a* (cf. 2.6).

ORDINAL NUMBERS

24.4.4. Palauan **ordinal** numbers, which correspond to English 'first', 'second', 'third', etc., are used to indicate the **order** or **rank** of something. The ordinal numbers from 1 to 10 are listed below:

- (37) kot 'first'
ongeru 'second'
ongede 'third'
ongęua 'fourth'
ongęim 'fifth'
ongelolęm 'sixth'
ongeuud 'seventh'
ongęai 'eighth'
ongetiu 'ninth'
ongetęruich 'tenth'

Except for the special word *kot* 'first', which is a single morpheme, the ordinal numbers of 37 all consist of at least two morphemes. It is difficult to decide between the following two analyses: either a prefix *ong-* is added to the number words of Set I, or a prefix *ongę-* combines with the number morphemes of 24.

We have already seen how ordinal numbers are used in certain types of time expressions. Thus, in 14.6, ex. 34e we examined

temporal phrases containing the following expressions for the first five days of the week:

- (38) kot *əl* ureor 'Monday'
 ongeru *əl* ureor 'Tuesday'
 ongede *əl* ureor 'Wednesday'
 ongeua *əl* ureor 'Thursday'
 ongeim *əl* ureor 'Friday'

The expressions of 38 are "expanded" noun phrases in which an ordinal number serves as a modifier of the head noun *ureor* 'work'. Therefore, the literal meaning of *kot əl ureor*, *ongeru əl ureor*, etc. is something like 'the first (day of) work', 'the second (day of) work', etc.

We also saw in 14.6, ex. 34f that the **months of the year** are expressed in Palauan as follows:

- (39) kot *əl* buil 'January'
 ongeru *əl* buil 'February'
 ongede *əl* buil 'March'
 ongeua *əl* buil 'April'
 ongeim *əl* buil 'May'
 ongeloləm *əl* buil 'June'
 ongeuid *əl* buil 'July'
 ongeai *əl* buil 'August'
 ongetiu *əl* buil 'September'
 ongetəruich *əl* buil 'October'
 ongetəruich mə a ta *əl* buil 'November'
 ongetəruich mə a ongeru *əl* buil 'December'

As 39 shows, all of the expressions for the months of the year contain an ordinal number serving as a modifier of the head noun *buil* 'month'. These expressions therefore have the literal meanings 'the first month', 'the second month', and so on.

The expressions below further illustrate the use of ordinal numbers as modifiers:

- (40) kot *əl* chad 'first man'
 ongeru *əl* sils 'second day'
 ongede *əl* babii 'third pig'
 ongetəruich *əl* ngalək 'tenth child'

Ordinal Numbers Followed by Specifying Clauses

24.4.4.1. As we saw in 15.7.7, Palauan has a small number of special verbs which must always be followed by a **specifying clause** (cf. 15.7) introduced by *əl*. Such verbs—e.g. *bləchoel* 'always (=invariably do)', *dirrek* 'also', and *ko* 'just'—are somewhat difficult to understand because their closest English equivalents do not happen to be verbs. These special verbs (italicized) are used in sentences like the following:

- (41) a. Ak *bləchoel* *əl* məruul a kəlir.
 'I always prepare their food.'
 b. A səcħəlik a *dirrek* *əl* mong.
 'My friend is also going.'
 c. A Droteo a *ko* *əl* məsubang.
 'Droteo's just gotten (a chance) to study.'

Like *bləchoel* 'always', *dirrek* 'also', and *ko* 'just' of 41, the ordinal number *kot* 'first' can be followed by a specifying clause. Thus, in the sentences below, *kot* corresponds to 'do first' or 'do (something) before/ahead of someone else', and the specifying clause introduced by *əl* designates the activity involved:

- (42) a. Kə kot *əl* mo oməngur.
 'You go ahead and eat first.'
 b. Kə ma¹⁴ kot *əl* mo ər a skuul, e ngak ekong.
 'You go on ahead to school, and then I'll follow.'
 c. Ak kot *əl* rəmurt.¹⁵
 'I'll run first (in the race, etc.).'

When *kot* 'first' is followed by a specifying clause containing a **state verb**, the resulting meaning corresponds to English *-est* in words like *biggest*, *fastest*, etc. In other words, *kot* + *əl* + *state verb* indicates that someone or something possesses a certain quality in a higher degree than anyone or anything else being considered. The following examples are typical:

- (43) a. A John a kot *əl* kebəlu *əl* ngalək ər a skuul.
 'John is the stupidest student.'
 b. Ng təcħa a kot *əl* bəkərurt?
 'Who runs the fastest?'
 c. A Oreor a kot *əl* klou *əl* beluu ər a Belau.
 'Koror is the biggest town in Palau.'

EXPRESSIONS WITH TWO OR MORE MODIFIERS

- 24.5. In the sections above we have seen that Palauan demonstratives, numbers, state verbs, and even action verbs can be used as modifiers. For purposes of simplicity, we only gave examples in which a particular head noun is preceded by a single modifier (e.g. *tia el hong* 'this book', *klou el mlai* 'large car', etc.). As the following examples indicate, however, it is often the case that a head noun is preceded by a sequence of two (or more) modifiers:

- (44) *tia el me el buil*
'next month'
*tia el mlo mrek el rak*¹⁶
'last year'
tirka el teru el chad
'these two men'
tirke el tede el ungil el sensei
'those three good teachers'
ngka el kekere el babii
'this small pig'
aike el kloa el charm
'those four animals'
klde el mchetchngaid el oluches
'three thin pencils'

Observing a three-modifier expression like *tirke el tede el ungil el sensei* 'those three good teachers', we find that the normal order of modifiers is *demonstratives—numbers—state (or action) verbs*.

QUALIFYING WORDS

- 24.6. So far we have examined a large number of expressions with the structure *modifier + el + head noun*, in which a modifier (a demonstrative, number, state verb, etc.) modifies or narrows down the identity of the head noun to which it is linked by *el*. In this section we will briefly look at another kind of modification—one in which a **qualifying word** like *kmal* 'very', *di* 'only', etc. **qualifies** or **limits** the meaning of a **directly-following verb**. Thus, in the examples below, we list the commonest qualifying words, together with examples showing how they are used in "expanded" verb phrases of the form *qualifying word + verb*:

- (45) *kmal* 'very, often'
a. *Ng kmal ungil a rrelem.*
'What you've made is very good.'

- b. *Ng kmal mle mknngit a eanged.*
'The weather was very poor.'
c. *A Droteo a kmal diak losuub.*
'Droteo hardly ever studies.'
- (46) *di* 'only, just'¹⁷
a. *A dengua a di osisiu.*
'The phone (number) is just the same (as before).'
b. *A sçhçlik a mlo er a Guam el di mo milil.*
'My friend went to Guam just to fool around.'
c. *A ngelçkek a di diak losuub.*
'My child just doesn't ever study.'
d. *Ak di milsuub a tçkoi er a Merikel er a elii.*
'All I did was study English yesterday.'
e. *Ng di ngar er kau.*
'It's up to you.'
- (47) *dirk* 'still'
a. *Ng dirk ngar er ngii a kall?*
'Is there still any food left?'
b. *A ngelçkem a dirk mçchiuau.*
'Your child is still sleeping.'
- (48) *locha* 'perhaps'
a. *Ak locha mo er a skuul er a klukuk.*
'Perhaps I'll go to school tomorrow.'
b. *Tç locha mla mo smecher.*
'Perhaps they've gotten sick.'
- (49) *kilo* 'almost, nearly, what if...?'¹⁸
a. *A ngelçkek a kilo* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mad} \\ \text{remos} \end{array} \right\}$.
'My child almost $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{died} \\ \text{drowned} \end{array} \right\}$.'
b. *A bilsengek a kilo mo er a uche er a klaidçsachel.*
'My boat almost won the race.'
c. *Kilo mo a Droteo?*
'What if Droteo went?'

25 The Connecting Words *me* and *e*

REVIEW OF COMPLEX SENTENCES WITH *me* AND *e*

25.1. In preceding chapters we have observed numerous examples of complex sentences which are formed by joining two simpler sentences with the words *me* 'and (so)' or *e* 'and (then)'. These words are called **connecting words** because they **connect** two simple sentences into one and relate the ideas which they represent. Thus, in 22.1 we saw that two simple sentences such as those in 1a–b below can be joined by the connecting word *me* 'and (so)' to form the more complicated sentence of 2:

- (1) a. A bechik a mle smecheṛ.
'My wife was sick.'
- b. Ng dimlak kbo ḡ a party.
'I didn't go to the party.'
- (2) A bechik a mle smecheṛ me ng dimlak kbo ḡ a party.
'My wife was sick, so I didn't go to the party.'

When the two independently-occurring sentences 1a–b are joined by the connecting word *me* 'and (so)' to form the more complex sentence 2, they become **clauses** of this more complex sentence. In other words, 1a has become the **independent** (or **main**) **clause** of 2, while 1b has become a **result clause**. The connecting word *me* 'and (so)' not only serves to join both clauses of 2 but also functions to **introduce** the result clause, which explains what happened as a result (or consequence) of the state described in the preceding independent clause.

The following are additional examples of complex sentences in which *me* 'and (so)' connects an independent clause with a following result clause:

- (3) a. Ng mla mo meṅngit a eageḡ me ng diak Isoak ḡl mo ḡ a Peleliu.
'The weather's become bad, so I don't want to go to Peleliu.'

- b. Ke mleḡera me ke rirebet ḡ a cheḡdukl?
'How did you fall off the dock?'
- c. A sensei a dilu ḡ ngak me ak olṅḡseu ḡ a Toki.
'The teacher told me to help Toki.'

As we saw in 22.1, the simple sentences 1a–b can also be combined to form a complex sentence of the following type:

- (4) Ng dimlak kbo ḡ a party e le a bechik a mle smecheṛ.
'I didn't go to the party because my wife was sick.'

In 4, the independently-occurring sentences of 1 have been combined in the opposite order from that observed in 2, and they have been joined instead by the connecting word *e* (followed by *le*). In other words, 1b has become the **independent clause** of 4, while 1a has become a **reason clause**. The connecting word *e* and the element *le* are best considered as a single unit which joins the two clauses of 4 and at the same time introduces the reason clause, which explains the cause or reason for the event or situation described in the preceding independent clause.

Use of the connecting word *e* 'and (then)' is of course not confined to the expression *e le* 'because'. Thus, as discussed in 19.1 and 19.3, *e* is characteristically used in Palauan **conditional sentences** to join the **conditional clause** and the **consequential clause**. Observe, therefore, the conditional sentences below:

- (5) a. A leṅgar ḡ ngii a ududek, e ak mo ḡ a Guam.
'If I had money, (then) I'd go to Guam.'
- b. A lseḡum ng unḡil a eageḡ, e te mo ḡ a chei.
'If the weather's good, (then) they'll go fishing.'

In 5a–b, *e* serves to introduce a consequential clause, which describes an event (or state) which can take place **only if** the event (or state) of the preceding conditional clause becomes an **actual fact**. In 5a, for example, the consequential clause *e ak mo ḡ a Guam* '(then) I'd go to Guam' describes an event which would **result from** or **be a consequent of** the realization of the event of the conditional clause *a leṅgar ḡ ngii a ududek* 'if I had money'.

When a **time clause** (cf. 22.2 and 22.2.2) exchanges positions with an independent clause and thereby comes to appear at the beginning of a sentence, the following independent clause must be introduced by the connecting word *e* 'and (then)'. Thus, compare the a-sentences with the b-sentences in the pairs below:

- (6) a. Ak kilie ḡ a blil a Tony er se ḡ a kbo ḡ a Guam.
'I lived at Tony's place when I went to Guam.'

- b. Se ɛr a kbo ɛr a Guam, e ak kilie ɛr a blil a Tony.
'When I went to Guam, I lived at Tony's place.'
- (7) a. A Droteo a mɛlamɛch a dɛkool se ɛl losuub.
'Droteo smokes cigarettes whenever he studies.'
- b. Se ɛl losuub a Droteo, e ng mɛlamɛch a dɛkool.
'Whenever Droteo studies, he smokes cigarettes.'

Whereas the a-sentences of 6–7 have an independent clause followed by a time clause, the b-sentences have a structure in which a time clause in sentence-initial position is joined to the following independent clause by the connecting word *e*. The connecting word *e* must also be inserted when a **time word** (or expression) such as *klukuk* 'tomorrow' or *eim ɛl klok* 'five o'clock' has been (optionally) shifted to sentence-initial position, as in the following:

- (8) a. A klukuk e ng me ɛr a blik.
'Tomorrow he's coming to my house.'
- b. A eim ɛl klok e a rɛsɛɛɛlim a mirrael.
'At five o'clock your friends departed.'

FURTHER USES OF THE CONNECTING WORD *mɛ*

25.2. We have already seen that the connecting word *mɛ* is used to relate a **result clause** to a preceding **independent clause** and that in such cases *mɛ* corresponds to English 'so' or 'and so'. The connecting word *mɛ* can also be used to join two independent clauses which are parallel in structure and which present information of more-or-less equal significance. In such cases, *mɛ* simply establishes a rather loose connection between the events, states, etc. designated by the independent clauses and therefore corresponds to English 'and' rather than 'so' or 'and so'. Observe the examples below:

- (9) a. A Merikel a klou ɛl beluu, mɛ a Belau a kekɛrɛ ɛl beluu.
'America is a big country, and Palau is a small country.'
- b. A bilek a bɛcheleliu, mɛ a bilel a Droteo a bɛkɛrɛkarɛd.
'My shirt is white, and Droteo's shirt is red.'
- c. A Droteo a ngalɛk ɛr a skuul, mɛ a Toki a sɛnsɛi.
'Droteo is a student, and Toki is a teacher.'
- d. A Toki a mo ɛr a sers, mɛ a Droteo a mo ɛr a chei.
'Toki is going to (work in) the garden, and Droteo is going fishing.'
- e. Ak mɛriik ɛr a mɛkɛsokɛs, mɛ a Toki a mɛlɛmɛd ɛr a ulaol.
'I'm sweeping the yard, and Toki's mopping the floor.'

It is not difficult to recognize that the independent clauses connected by *mɛ* 'and' in the examples above are parallel in structure and convey parallel kinds of information. The two independent clauses of 9b, for instance, consist of a **subject noun phrase** (*bilek* 'my shirt' and *bilel a Droteo* 'Droteo's shirt') followed by an **intransitive state verb** (*bɛcheleliu* 'white' and *bɛkɛrɛkarɛd* 'red'), and both of them describe the color of someone's clothes. In a similar way, the independent clauses of 9e each contain a **subject noun phrase** (*ak* 'I' and *Toki*), a **transitive action verb** (*mɛriik* 'sweep' and *mɛlɛmɛd* 'mop'), and an **object noun phrase** (*mɛkɛsokɛs* 'yard' and *ulaol* 'floor'), and both of them describe household activities which their respective subjects are pursuing. Can you see that 9a, 9c, and 9d also contain clauses which are parallel in structure?

The connecting word *mɛ* 'and' also occurs in **imperative sentences**, which are used to give orders or commands (cf. 19.5). In the examples below, each of the clauses connected by *mɛ* contains an imperative verb form:

- (10) a. Bo ɛr a bita mɛ mlɛngir a oles.
'Go next door and borrow a knife.'
- b. Bo ɛr a blil a Toki mɛ mɛɛtɛklɛi a ngalɛk.
'Go to Toki's house and carry the child back.'
- c. Bo ɛr a blim mɛ bo bad.²
'Go home and go to sleep.'

THE EXPRESSION *mɛ a lɛchub*

25.2.1. The connecting word *mɛ* occurs with the words *a lɛchub* to form *mɛ a lɛchub*, an expression corresponding to English 'or'. Because the origin of *a lɛchub* is obscure, it is easiest to consider *mɛ a lɛchub* as a single unit. When *mɛ a lɛchub* joins two clauses, the second clause is often introduced by the connecting word *e*.³ Note the following examples:

- (11) a. A rɛsɛɛal a mo ɛr a che mɛ a lɛchub e tɛ mo mɛliich a lius.
'The men (either) go fishing, or they go make copra.'
- b. Kɛ mo ɛr a katsudo mɛ a lɛchub e kɛ mo ɛr a party?
'Are you going to the movies, or are you going to the party?'
- c. Kɛ mɛrael mɛ a lɛchub e kɛ di kiei?
'Are you leaving, or will you stay?'

As the above examples show, *mɛ a lɛchub* is used to connect two

alternative courses of action which the speaker is describing or asking about. In the question sentences 11b–c the connecting word *mē* can be omitted, resulting in a slight change of meaning for certain Palauan speakers. Whereas 11b–c with *mē* seem to imply that the person asking the question prefers the second of the two alternatives mentioned, this connotation is lost when *mē* is omitted. Thus, someone uttering 11c would really prefer the person addressed to stay rather than go; example 11c without *mē*, however, would imply that the speaker has no particular preference about which of the two alternatives the hearer should choose.

FURTHER USES OF THE CONNECTING WORD *e*.

- 25.3. As reviewed in 25.1 above, the connecting word *e* is used in **conditional sentences** to introduce the **consequential clause**. Because the consequential clause names an event, state, etc. which can come about **only if** the event, state, etc. of the preceding **conditional clause** has become a reality, the consequential clause necessarily **follows** the conditional clause in time. For this reason, the connecting word *e* which introduces consequential clauses takes on a **temporal** meaning and corresponds closely to English 'and then'.

The abovementioned temporal meaning of *e* 'and then' is reflected in the complex sentences below, where the second clause (introduced by *e*) names an event, state, etc. which follows (or is expected to follow) that of the first clause:

- (12) a. A Toki a me e mēngētmokl ər a blai.
'Toki comes and (then) cleans the house.'
b. Tē mēruul ər a kall e mērael.
'They make the food and then (they) leave.'
c. Ak luchešii a babier e mo send ər ngii.
'I'll write the letter and then send it off.'

Although there is no overtly-expressed subject in the second clause of each of the examples above, speakers automatically interpret this clause as having a subject identical to that of the preceding clause. Thus, it seems as if a sentence like 12b has its source in the following:

- (12b') Tē mēruul ər a kall e tē mērael.
'They make the food, and then they leave.'

Most Palauan speakers would transform the rather awkward

sentence of 12b' into 12b by deleting the subject *tē* 'they' of the second clause. Such deletion is possible, of course, only because the subject *tē* 'they' of the second clause is identical to that of the first clause. Thus, in sentences like 12a–c a single subject (that of the first clause) is sufficient for the proper interpretation.

In the sentences below, which involve past time, the event of the second clause (introduced by *e*) is asserted to have followed that of the first clause:

- (13) a. Ak milles ər a ngikēl e milēngat ər ngii.
'I cut the fish and (then) smoked it.'
b. Ak dilsechii a mlai e chilsberberii.
'I carved the canoe and (then) painted it.'
c. A Toki a ulēmēngur e mirrael.
'Toki ate and (then) left.'
d. Ng mirrael a Droteo e ak mlo mēchiuaiu.
'Droteo left, and (then) I went to sleep.'

In 13a–c the subject of the second clause has been deleted because it is identical with that of the first. However, in 13d each clause has a different subject (*Droteo* in the first clause⁴ and *ak* 'I' in the second), and therefore the subject of the second clause cannot be deleted.

In the examples of 13, each of the clauses connected by *e* contains a verb in the **past** tense. It is also possible to have sentences such as the following, where the verb of the first clause is in the **past** tense, but the verb of the clause introduced by *e* is in the **present** tense:

- (14) a. Ak milles ər a ngikēl e mēngat ər ngii.
'I cut the fish and (then) smoked it.'
b. Ak dilsechii a mlai e chosberberii.
'I carved the canoe and (then) painted it.'
c. A Toki a ulēmēngur e mērael.
'Toki ate and (then) left.'
d. Ng mirrael a Droteo, e ak mo mēchiuaiu.
'Droteo left, and (then) I went to sleep.'

The difference between the sentences of 13 vs. 14 is very difficult to pinpoint because the opinions of speakers vary so widely. Some speakers feel that use of the past vs. present tense in the second clause has no effect whatsoever on the meaning; for these speakers, the past tense morpheme (*-il-* or *-l-*) can presumably be omitted from the verb of the second clause in 14a–d because the past

tense verb form in the first clause already provides enough information about the time of the events or actions in question.

Other speakers feel that the sentences of 13 differ from those of 14 in terms of whether the speaker is emphasizing or focusing on the event of the first clause or that of the second clause. Thus, the tense sequence *past—past* of 13 seems to emphasize the importance of the action in the second clause, while the tense sequence *past—present* of 14 puts focus on the action in the first clause. For this reason, 13b and 14b would be responses to different questions, as the following dialogs illustrate:

- (15) A: Kę chilsberberii a mlai?
'Did you paint the canoe?'
B: (cf. 13b) Chochoi. Ak dilsęchii (a mlai) e chilsberberii.
'Yes. I carved it and (then) painted it.'
- (16) A: Kę dilsęchii a mlai?
'Did you carve the canoe?'
B: (cf. 14b) Chochoi. Ak dilsęchii (a mlai) e chosberberii.
'Yes. I carved it and (then) painted it.'

In 15, A's question to B shows that A is interested in whether or not B painted the canoe; therefore, it is appropriate for B to use the tense sequence *past—past* in his response, since this sequence places emphasis on the event which A is interested in. The situation in 16 is just the opposite: here, A wants to know whether or not B carved the canoe, and the tense sequence *past—present* in B's response focuses more attention on this event than on the event of painting the canoe.

Certain Palauan speakers distinguish between the sentences of 13 and 14 in yet another way. For these speakers, the tense sequence *past—past* of 13 involves a succession of two completed events in the past, while the tense sequence *past—present* of 14 involves a completed past event followed by an incomplete (or ongoing) present event. Thus, the meanings of 13b vs. 14b, repeated here for convenience, would differ as indicated in the English translations:

- (13b) Ak dilsęchii a mlai e chilsberberii.
'I carved the canoe and (then) painted it.'
- (14b) Ak dilsęchii a mlai e chosberberii.
'I carved the canoe and now I'm painting it.'

In 12–14 above, we gave sentences in which the connecting word *e* 'and then' establishes a **sequential** time relationship

between the two clauses which it joins. Thus, in all of those sentences, the clause following *e* designates an event, state, etc. which takes place (or took place) **after** the event, state, etc. of the clause preceding *e*. As we shall now see, the connecting word *e* is not restricted to such cases of sequential time relationship. For example, we observe that *e* establishes a **simultaneous** time relationship in the sentences below: here, the two clauses joined by *e* designate events, states, etc. which are happening **at the same time**. In such cases, *e* corresponds to English 'while' rather than 'and then':

- (17) a. A Droteo a milęguui a hong, e a Toki a milęchiuaiu ę a ulaol.
'Droteo was reading books { and } Toki was sleeping on the floor.'
b. Ak milluchę a babier, e a sęchęlik a mirruul a kall.
'I was writing letters { and } my friend was preparing food.'
- c. Ak milęguui ę a simbung e omęngur.
'I was reading the newspaper while eating.'
- d. Ngara mę kę di dęchor e omęngur?
'Why are you standing up while eating?'
- e. Kę omęngur e męngędęchęduch?
'(Why) are you eating and talking at the same time?'
- f. A Droteo a chad ę a omęnged e chad ę a sers.
'Droteo is both a fisherman and a farmer.'
- g. Ng kmal smečę e mętkung.
'He's very sick and about to die.'

In 17a–b the clauses joined by *e* have different (overtly-expressed) subjects, while in 17c–g the subject of the second clause has been deleted because it is identical to that of the first clause.

The connecting word *e* can also be used to join two clauses which are put into relatively strong **contrast** with each other. A few typical examples are given below:

- (18) a. A malk a beot a chęral, e a ngais a męringęl a chęral.
'Chickens are cheap, but eggs are expensive.'
- b. A Droteo a mętongakl, e a Toki a kekędeb.
'Droteo is tall, but Toki is short.'
- c. A sils a ngmasęch ę a chongos, e mo ngmelt ę a ngębard.
'The sun rises in the east { and } sets in the west.'

The sentences of 18 are similar to those of 9 above in that the clauses joined by the connecting word are parallel in structure.

THE EXPRESSION *e ng di*

- 25.3.1. The connecting word *e* occurs with the words *ng di* to form *e ng di*, an expression corresponding to English 'but'. Though written as three words and having a literal meaning something like 'and (then) it's just that. . .', the expression *e ng di* is best considered a single unit which functions to connect two clauses which are in contrast or opposition with each other. The use of this expression is illustrated in sentences like the following:

- (19) a. A Toki a mle soal ɛl mo ɛr a Guam, e ng di ng mla mo diak a ududel.
'Toki wanted to go to Guam, but her money ran out.'
b. Ak mlo ɛr a party e ng di a Droteo a dimlak lşəbɛchel ɛl mong.
'I went to the party, but Droteo couldn't go.'
c. Ak ilɛko ɛr a blim e ng di kɛ mle dibus.
'I came to your house, but you were out.'

COORDINATE NOUN PHRASES

- 25.4. When two or more nouns (or noun phrases) are joined by the connecting word *mɛ*, we have a **coordinate noun phrase**. Since **coordinate** means 'equal in status or rank', it is appropriate as an identifying term for the type of noun phrase under discussion, simply because each of the nouns (or noun phrases) in a coordinate noun phrase functions equally in the sentence. Thus, in the sentence below, where the coordinate noun phrase *Droteo mɛ a Toki* 'Droteo and Toki' occurs in sentence subject position, both of the nouns joined by *mɛ* (*Droteo* and *Toki*) serve equally as subjects of the verb *mirruul* 'prepared':

- (20) A Droteo mɛ a Toki a mirruul a kall.
'Droteo and Toki prepared the food.'

Because both *Droteo* and *Toki* are interpreted equally as subjects of *mirruul* 'prepared' in 20, a good number of linguists would propose that 20 is derived from a source sentence containing two **parallel** clauses joined by *mɛ* (cf. 25.2 above), one clause having *Droteo* as the subject of *mirruul* and the other having *Toki* as the subject of *mirruul*. This source sentence is given below:

- (21) A Droteo a mirruul a kall, mɛ a Toki a mirruul a kall.
'Droteo prepared the food, and Toki prepared the food.'

Although grammatical, the source sentence 21 is somewhat awkward because each of the clauses repeats the sequence *mirruul a kall* 'prepared the food'. For this reason, Palauan speakers normally transform 21 into the shortened or condensed version 20. When this transformation takes place, the subjects *Droteo* and *Toki*, which are the only dissimilar elements in the clauses of 21, are combined into a coordinate noun phrase (*Droteo mɛ a Toki*) functioning as sentence subject. In addition, only a single occurrence of the sequence *mirruul a kall* 'prepared the food', which is common to both clauses of 21, appears after the coordinate noun phrase subject of 20.

Because coordinate noun phrases are a type of noun phrase, they of course have the same distributional characteristics as other noun phrases. Thus, in the example below, we observe a coordinate noun phrase functioning as **sentence object** (rather than **sentence subject**, as in 20):

- (22) A Toki a ousbech a babier mɛ a oluchɛs.
'Toki needs some paper and a pencil.'

In this example, each member (*babier* 'paper' and *oluchɛs* 'pencil') of the coordinate noun phrase *babier mɛ a oluchɛs* 'paper and pencil' functions as the object of *ousbech* 'need'. Thus, it is likely that 22 is derived from a source sentence containing two **parallel** clauses connected by *mɛ*, one clause having *babier* 'paper' as the object of *ousbech* and the other having *oluchɛs* 'pencil' as the object of this same verb. This source sentence is represented below:

- (23) A Toki a ousbech a babier, mɛ a Toki a ousbech a oluchɛs.
'Toki needs some paper, and Toki needs a pencil.'

The source sentence 23 is extremely awkward to say, and therefore all Palauan speakers would automatically transform it into 22. By this process of transformation, the objects *babier* 'paper' and *oluchɛs* 'pencil', which are the only different elements in the clauses of 23, are condensed into a coordinate noun phrase (*babier mɛ a oluchɛs* 'paper and pencil') serving as sentence object. Since the same subject-verb sequence (*a Toki a ousbech* 'Toki needs') occurs in each clause of 23, it appears only once in the shortened sentence 22.

The examples below further illustrate the use of coordinate noun phrases (italicized) as **sentence subject**:

- (24) a. *A rēngalēk ɛr a skuul mē a rēsensei ɛr tir a mlo ɛr a Guam.*
'The students and their teachers went to Guam.'
- b. *A blil a Toki mē a blil a Satsko a milseseɣb.*
'Toki's house and Satsko's house burned down.'
- c. *Kau mē ngak a mo ɛr a stoang.*
'You and I will go to the store.'
- d. *A Droteo mē ngak a mlo ɛr a party.*
'Droteo and I went to the party.'
- e. *Ng tēcha mē a tēcha a ulēbēngkem ɛl mo ɛr a Hawaii?*
'Who (pl.) went with you to Hawaii?'
- f. *Ngara mē a ngara a chomoruul ɛl kirel a party?*
'What things are you making for the party?'

In 24c–d the coordinate noun phrase contains one or two **emphatic pronouns** (cf. 4.4), and in 24e–f two occurrences of the same **question word** (*tēcha* 'who?' or *ngara* 'what?') are joined by *mē* to form a coordinate noun phrase (cf. 20.8).

In the sentences below, we further illustrate the use of coordinate noun phrases (italicized) as **sentence object**:

- (25) a. *Ak mla mēnga a diokang mē a ngikēl mē a chemang.*
'I've eaten tapioca, fish, and crab.'
- b. *Ak milsa a Droteo mē a Toki mē a Helen er a elii.*
'I saw Droteo, Toki, and Helen yesterday.'
- c. *Ak milstērir a rēngalēk ɛr a skuul mē a rēsensei ɛr tir.*
'I saw the students and their teachers.'

Even though the coordinate noun phrase objects of 25b–c both involve groups of individuals and are therefore **plural**, the form of the preceding **perfective verb** (*milsa* vs. *milstērir*) is determined by whether the **directly following** noun phrase (i.e., the first member of the coordinate noun phrase object) is itself **singular** or **plural**. Thus, *milsa* 'saw him/her/it' is required in 25b because the immediately following noun phrase (*Droteo*) is singular, whereas *milstērir* 'saw them' must occur in 25c because it directly precedes the plural noun phrase *rēngalēk ɛr a skuul* 'students'.

The sentences below show how coordinate noun phrases (italicized) can occur in further distributional "slots" commonly filled by noun phrases:

- (26) a. *Tia a delmērab ɛr a Droteo mē a Toki.*
'This is Droteo and Toki's room.'
- b. *Ak mlo shopping ɛr a Ala Moana mē a Waikiki.*
'I went shopping at Ala Moana and Waikiki.'

- c. *Kē mlo ɛr ker mē ker?*
'What places did you go to?'
- d. *Ng mlo ɛr a Merikel er oingara mē oingarang?*
'On what occasions did he go to America?'

In all of the examples above, a coordinate noun phrase is part of a **relational phrase** introduced by *ɛr* (cf. chap. 14). Can you identify the type of relational phrase involved in each of the sentences of 26?

In 17.2 we saw that the subject noun phrase of any Palauan sentence can be **shifted** to the right of the verb phrase, leaving the appropriate **pronominal trace** in the original subject position. Coordinate noun phrases in sentence subject position can also be shifted in this manner, as the following pairs illustrate:

- (27) a. *A Droteo mē a Toki a kausēchēlei.* 'Droteo and Toki are friends.'
- b. *Tē kausēchēlei a Droteo mē a Toki.*
- (28) a. *A Helen mē a sēchēlil a mlo ɛr a mubi.* 'Helen and her friend went to the movies.'
- b. *Tē mlo ɛr a mubi a Helen mē a sēchēlil.*

In 27b and 28b above, which involve subject shifting, the 3rd pers. (human) pl. **non-emphatic pronoun** *tē* 'they' remains as a pronominal trace because the shifted coordinate noun phrase subjects are (human) plural.

Now, sentences 27b and 28b can be further transformed by taking the first member of the shifted coordinate noun phrase and moving it back to sentence-initial position, where it replaces the pronominal trace *tē*. When this process of **preposing** takes place (cf. 17.5), a pronominal trace of the preposed noun phrase—this time in the form of an **emphatic pronoun**—must appear in the position of the first member of the shifted coordinate noun phrase. These changes are seen clearly in the following sentences, which are derived from 27b and 28b, respectively:

- (27) c. *A Droteo a kausēchēlei ngii mē a Toki.*
'Droteo is friends with Toki.'
- (28) c. *A Helen a mlo ɛr a mubi ngii mē a sēchēlil.*
'Helen went to the movies with her friend.'

Because the preposed subjects of 27c and 28c (*Droteo* and *Helen*)

are singular, the 3rd pers. sg. emphatic pronoun *ngii* 'he, she, it' appears in the position from which these subjects have been removed.

COORDINATE NOUN PHRASES WITH *mę a lęchub*

25.4.1. In 25.2.1 above we saw that the expression *mę a lęchub* 'or' can be used to connect two clauses. This expression can also join two nouns (or noun phrases), resulting in a coordinate noun phrase of the form *A mę a lęchub B* 'A or B'. Observe the examples below:

- (29) a. A Cisco *mę a lęchub* a Tony a *me ęr* a party.
'Either Cisco or Tony is coming to the party.'
b. Ng *tęcha* a ungil *ęl* sensei? Ng Toki *mę a lęchub* a Droteo?
'Who's a better teacher—(is it) Toki or Droteo?'

Notes

CHAPTER 1

1. The symbol *ę* is used in this text to identify one of the ways in which the Palauan letter *e* is pronounced. See 1.4.2. below for a complete discussion.
- *2. Some speakers pronounce final *k* as a voiceless velar fricative [x] if a vowel precedes and if the syllable is stressed—e.g. *chermek* [ęərméx] 'my animal'. This phenomenon appears to be more common among younger speakers.
3. The phonetic symbol [ŋ] represents a velar nasal pronounced as a separate syllable. See 1.3.5 below.
- *4. In this word, the second *r* actually comes from the infix *-l-*, which forms **resulting state verbs** (see 7.7 for a complete explanation). The form *rruul* 'made, done' is derived from *r-l-uul* by a process of **total assimilation**: when *l* follows *r*, it changes to *r*, resulting in the sequence *rr* [r̄]. Resulting state verbs in which the infix *-l-* does not change include *kla* 'eaten' and *nglim* 'drunk (up)'.
5. In this example, which is actually a two-word sentence, the pronunciation of the word *ng* 'it' changes to (syllabic) [m̩]: in other words, the pronunciation of *ng* 'it' **assimilates** to that of the initial bilabial consonant *b* [b] of the following word (cf. *ng bilis* [mbilis] 'it's a dog'). Another case in which the pronunciation of *ng* 'it' assimilates to that of the initial consonant of the following word was observed in 18—namely, *ng til* [ntil] 'it's her purse'.
6. A few one-syllable words which always or nearly always occur unstressed are found to contain *ę*—e.g., *tę* 'they', and *ęr* 'of, to, at, in'.
- *7. If we were to spell the words under discussion as *omdasw*, *ochadw*, and *kwokw*, it would no longer be necessary to treat them as a special category, since they would be similar to the items of 31 in having a word-final **consonant cluster**. Thus, the appearance of the schwa release would be regular rather than exceptional. Because the Palauan spelling system uses only *u* and *i* (but not *w* or *y*), it tends to obscure the generality of certain phonological processes. Another case in point is *tęruich* 'ten', which is pronounced with a schwa release: [təruy̯ə]. If this word were spelled with a final consonant cluster—*tęruych*—then the appearance of the schwa release would make more sense. The author agrees with Wilson 1972 that in a generative-

phonological analysis of Palauan it is necessary to set up underlying forms containing *w* and *y* and that, ideally, the orthography should reflect these forms.

- *8. The words under discussion are **resulting state verbs** (see 7.7 and cf. note 4 above). They are formed by infixing *-l-* after the first consonant of (verb) stems like *tub* 'spit', *dangeb* 'cover', *seseb* 'burn', and *chat* 'smoke'. While the resulting state verbs given in 33 require a schwa to intervene between the *t*, *d*, *s*, or *ch* of the stem and the following *l*, this is not necessary in other resulting state forms like *kla* 'eaten', *nglim* 'drunk (up)', and *bloes* 'shot'.
- *9. The actual pronunciation of these examples could be explained more clearly if the Palauan spelling system used *w* and *y* in addition to *u* and *i*. These words would then be spelled as follows: *chuywi* 'reads it', *kiysiy* 'digs it', *kiwtiy* 'cuts it', and *siwsiy* 'cures it'. The appearance of [ə] would be due to the fact that consonant clusters like *yw* or *y/w + C* could not occur and would have to be broken up by an intervening schwa (cf. the nonoccurrence of *tl*, *dl*, *sl*, etc. illustrated in 33). To take a further example, note how the current Palauan spelling of *mechiuau* 'sleep' gives us little clue to the actual pronunciation of the word—namely, [mə'iwáyəwə]. This pronunciation could easily be predicted if the spelling were *mechiwayw*: the final schwa release would be due to the (underlying) final cluster *-yw*, while the schwa between *y* and *w* would serve to break up a non-permissible consonant cluster.
10. The letter *h*, as in *hong* 'book', is found almost exclusively in words borrowed from Japanese or English (see 1.5.f below and note 11).
11. The letter *h* is used only very rarely in the spelling of native Palauan words. The most obvious examples are found in the unusual pair of words *hngong* (exclamation to draw attention to a pleasant smell) and *hngob* (exclamation to draw attention to an unpleasant smell). Another possible example is *hal* 'stop!', but this word might be borrowed from German *Halt* 'stop, halt'.

CHAPTER 2

- Recall that the asterisk mark * is used in this text to identify any words, expressions, or sentences which cannot or do not appear in the Palauan language.
- When referring to certain common household animals such as dogs, pigs, etc., some Palauan speakers can use the plural pronoun *tē*, which, as mentioned above, normally implies a human plural subject. Thus, these speakers accept a dialog like the following, in which *tē* refers to two or more dogs:

A: A bilis tē mēkērang?	'What are the dogs doing?'
B: Tē kaiuetoir ēr a sers.	'They're chasing each other in the garden.'
- In another group of pronouns, too, we can see the importance of the distinction between human and non-human. As we will see in 4.9, there is a set of **object pronouns** which appear as endings on action words (**verbs**). The various pronouns in this set have many

different forms, of which several are illustrated in bold type in the words *chillebēdak* 'hit me', *chillebēdau* 'hit you', *mēdēngēlii* 'knows him/her/it', and *milstērir* 'saw them'. Among this set of object pronouns, the ending *tērir* is used only if the object referred to is **human plural**; for **non-human plural** (i.e., animals and living or non-living things), no ending is added to the verb. Observe, therefore, the following sentences, in which we have forms of *omes* 'see':

- Ak milstērir a rēṣēḥelim. 'I saw your friends.'
- Ak miles a bētok ēl ius. 'I saw lots of crocodiles.'
- Ak miles a bētok ēl bilas. 'I saw lots of boats.'

The use of *tērir* vs. no ending when referring to something plural is exactly parallel to the above-mentioned use of the subject pronouns *tē* and *ng*.

- This sentence describes the distribution of duties for a Palauan money-raising party (*ochēraol*).
- As these forms show, the words *ngika* 'this person' and *ngike* 'that person' are often shortened by omitting the vowel *i*.
- Actually, these sentences can be interpreted in yet other ways, since the distinction between specific vs. non-specific is also not found among subject nouns. The translations given for 36a–b involve specific noun subjects, but we can also interpret these sentences as having non-specific noun subjects. Thus, 36a, for example, can also mean 'A dog is sleeping there.' or 'Some dogs are sleeping there.'

CHAPTER 3

- In 1.5.d.4 we simply referred to these suffixes as **possessor pronouns** in order to keep the presentation relatively uncomplicated.
- Much of the information in this and the following sections is given in Mancill and Woods 1969:35–46, where many useful lists of words and forms are provided.
- Wilson 1972, §§ 3.3–4 suggests that the *u*, *i*, and *a* of these suffixes are really part of the underlying forms of noun stems. In other words, there are underlying **vowel-final** noun stems like *rengu*, *buchi*, and *chara*, which simply add *-k*, *-m*, etc. as possessor suffixes and in which the final underlying vowel deletes in the independent forms. Contrasting with this type are underlying **consonant-final** noun stems like *charm* 'animal', *udoud* 'money', etc., which add *-ek*, *-em*, etc. as possessor suffixes.
- As the English equivalents imply, the forms *bēḥēmam* and *bēḥērir* refer to one single spouse who has two or more husbands (or wives). By contrast, the words *rēbēḥēmam* 'our (excl.) spouses' and *rēbēḥērir* 'their spouses', which have the plural prefix *rē-*, make reference to more than one spouse.
- Note the loss of one of the *l*'s in the possessed forms of *kall* 'food'.
- Note the complete loss of the syllable *chē-* in the possessed form of this word. The same phenomenon is observed in *chēdam* 'father'—*dēmal* 'his father'.
- Another example of this type is *dui* 'title'—*dial* vs. *dui* 'coconut frond (for burning)'—*diul*.

8. See 3.4.4 below for a discussion of the phonetic changes observed in *biskelengel*.
- *9. The possessed form of *ralm* 'water' is derived approximately as follows. The underlying form is **ralm + el*; first, the *a* following *r* is deleted in unstressed syllable, giving **rlm + el*; then, the initial cluster of three consonants is simplified to give the surface form *lmel*.
10. In the possessed form of *klengit* 'sin', the sequence *-lɛ-* has been lost completely. Furthermore, the *ng* of the possessed form becomes syllabic between two consonants, giving [kɛŋɪl].
11. See 3.4.4 below for a discussion of the *ng* which appears in the possessed forms of *bilas* 'boat'. Some of the possessed nouns given in subsequent word lists will also show this *ng*.
12. Oddly enough, both *tet* 'handbag' and *tut* 'breast' have identical irregular forms for the first person plural exclusive, second person plural, and third person plural. These are *dɛtmam*, *dɛtmiu*, and *dɛtɛrir*, respectively. Note the unpredictable alternation between initial *t* and *d*.
13. This discussion is based on Wilson 1972, §§ 2.4.3.3 and 3.6, where a much more detailed analysis is provided.
14. The hyphens on both sides of the consonant in the notation *-ng-* imply that other parts of the word must follow and precede.
15. The possessed forms of *katuu* 'cat' have a special meaning—*katungel* 'his/her sweetheart', etc.
16. This word also appears in an expression like *bɛrdel a kim*, where it refers to the inside surface of a clam shell.
17. Note that this expression contrasts in meaning with *uchul a chɛldɛchɛduch* 'reason for the meeting'.
18. Many other kinds of Palauan relational phrases exist. These will be discussed in detail in chap. 14.
19. This noun is not as fully assimilated as the others, since we can also hear *babier ɛr ngak* 'my letter', *babier ɛr ngii* 'his letter', etc. Note also the rather unusual alternation between *r* of the independent form and *l* of the possessed forms.
20. If we were to translate this and the above expression literally (i.e., word-for-word), we would have 'matters/things of the house' for *tɛkoi ɛr a blai*, and 'matters/things of the road' for *tɛkoi ɛr a rael*.
21. This and the above expression are used primarily in a religious context and mean, literally, 'country of fire' and 'country of the sky'. In normal conversation, the word *babɛluadɛs* is used for 'heaven'.
22. This possessed form is very irregular, since the *-lu-* of the independent form *ilumɛl* 'drink' is lost completely.
23. A word-for-word translation of this expression would be something like 'car for playing'.
24. This expression means, literally, 'food of war'.
- *25. Expressions like *imelek ɛl biang* consist of a head noun (*imelek*) followed by a relative clause (*ɛl biang*) whose source is an equational sentence (*A imelek a biang*. 'My drink is (a) beer.') The literal translation of *imelek ɛl biang* is therefore 'my drink which is (a) beer'. See 23.4 for justification and explanation of this analysis.

26. Notice the unusual phonetic changes in the possessed forms of *ongraol*: *r* is deleted and the vowel cluster *ao* changes to *u*.
27. This expression seems to be used only on formal occasions; it is more common to say *kɛlek ɛl tuu*.
28. Notice the loss of *-chɛ-* in the possessed form of *chemachɛl*.

CHAPTER 4

1. These two terms are taken from Mancill and Woods 1969:46.
2. Recall that *mɛ* and a following *a* are pronounced [ma].
3. Many speakers pronounce the coordinate noun phrase in this sentence with [mɔ] between the two nouns. In other words, it appears as if the question noun *tɛcha* 'who?' is optionally preceded by *a* in this construction. A similar phenomenon is found in noun phrases of possession containing *tɛcha*, as illustrated in the following sentence:
Tia a mlil (a) tɛchang? 'Whose car is this?'
4. When the possessed form of *reng* 'heart' is used with the verb *suebɛk* 'fly', we obtain the special meaning '(someone) is worried'. For a discussion of other special expressions with *reng*, see 17.4.
5. In this sentence, *ng* could refer to someone other than Toki if that person's identity were clear from the context. Therefore, 37b might also mean 'Toki said that he is going.'
6. Because there is a *Ø*-suffix in *cholɛbɛd* [ɔlɛbɛð], the stress remains on the second syllable; therefore, the vowel *e* [ɛ] of this syllable does not reduce to *ɛ* [ə].
7. *Olɛkiiis* is a **causative verb** related to the **intransitive action verb** *mɛkiiis* 'get up, wake up (naturally); stand up'. See 5.1.1 and 9.2.2 for further details.
8. Notice that the third person singular object pronoun appears as *-ir* in this perfective form. See 4.9.4 below for more details.
- *9. *Olɛkar* is a **causative verb** related to the **intransitive action or state verb** *mɛkar* 'wake up, be awake'. See 7.3 and 9.2.2 for further details.
10. The inserted *ɛ* under discussion here is the only sound which differentiates certain perfective forms of *omes* 'see' from those of *omes* 'give'. The perfective forms of the latter verb are *mɛskak* 'gives (it to) me', *mɛskau* 'gives (it to) you', *msa* 'gives (it to) him/her', *mɛstɛrir* 'gives (it to) them', etc.
11. Another verb in which *l* appears in the perfective forms is *mɛnga* 'eat'—*kolii* 'eats it'.
12. This added syllable seems to be a kind of **reduplication** (see 11.11).
- *13. Strictly speaking, *-lim* is not a verb stem but rather a sequence consisting of the *-l-* allomorph of the **imperfective marker** (see 5.5) and a reduced form of the verb stem *ɲim* 'drink'.
- *14. For a possible explanation of this change from *o* to *u*, see chap. 5, note 4.
15. For certain speakers, replacing *mo-* by *chomo-* in a sentence like this results in a kind of contrastive emphasis (cf. 4.2 above). Thus, we also have the following:
A babier ɛl *chomoluchɛs* ɛr ngii a mo ɛr a Droteo.
'The letter you're writing goes to Droteo.'

16. For a technical explanation of this alternation between *m* and *b*, see 6.2.1. Note, further, that Palauan speakers also change *m* to *b* in the hypothetical forms of *me* 'come' when certain types of grammatical constructions are involved. In the sentences below, for example, we have **relative clauses** (see chap. 23):

- a. A kall el *kbe* kuruul ng 'For whom is the food which I'm
kēlel a tēchang? coming to prepare?'
b. A blai el *lēbe* longēt- 'The house which Toki is coming to
mokl er ngii a Toki a clean is Droteo's house.'
blil a Droteo.

In the sentences above, the verbs following *kbe* and *lēbe* are also hypothetical verb forms. Further examples of this kind, in which two adjacent verbs each have prefixed hypothetical pronouns, will be considered in 4.10.6 below.

17. Notice that the third person hypothetical pronoun *lē-* further reduces to *l-* before the vowel-initial (state) verb *ungil* 'good'
18. Reduction of *lē-* to *l-* is also observed in this word.

CHAPTER 5

1. Although use of *mle* 'was, were' as an auxiliary word with state verbs probably developed from *mle* 'came', the past tense form of the intransitive action verb *me* 'come', it will be preferable to regard these items as separate words.
- *2. The surface form *ul(ē)-* is probably derived from underlying *o-il-* (i.e., the verb marker prefix *o-* followed by the past tense marker *-il-*). The mid back vowel *o* and the high front vowel *i* assimilate to each other to yield the single high back vowel *u*.
3. Though difficult to prove, it is possible that the causative prefixes listed here actually consist of the verb marker prefix *o-* followed by some other (causative) morpheme. See 9.2.1.1 and 9.2.2.1 for further discussion.
- *4. The surface forms of hypothetical pronouns like *lu-*, *du-*, etc. are probably derived from underlying sequences of the form *lo-il-*, *do-il-*, etc., which consist of the basic forms of the hypothetical pronoun prefixes followed by the past tense marker *-il-*. The *u* in *lu-*, *du-*, etc. is derived by "mutual" assimilation of the mid back vowel *o* and the high front vowel *i*, resulting in the single high back vowel *u*. Recall that the same process may account for the derivation of the surface form *ul(ē)-* from underlying *o-il-* (cf. note 2 above).
5. Though possibly related, the auxiliary word *mle* and the existential state verb *mle* 'was/were (located)' (see chap. 18) are best considered as separate words.
6. The use of *ng diak* 'no' in B's response is quite interesting. Notice that, as in the case of 51–53, *ng diak* is normally the negative response to **yes-no questions** (see 20.1). In 54, however, B's use of *ng diak* serves to tell A that the assumption of A's question—namely, that B has yet to paint his canoe—is not correct.
7. Much of the analysis presented here and in subsequent paragraphs is based on Wilson 1972: 120–128.

CHAPTER 6

1. Note that the verb stem *chur* 'laughter' must be repeated (or **reduplicated**—see chap. 11) in order to form the intransitive verb *ocherchur* 'laugh'.
2. The basis for this observation is found in Wilson 1972:107.
3. The hypothetical form of *me* 'come' also appears as *lēme*. Cf. chap. 4, note 16.
4. Notice that the **auxiliary word** *mle* (cf. 5.3.2.1), which is probably related to *mle* 'was (located)', also has hypothetical forms with *b*—e.g. *kbla*, *lēbla*, etc.
5. Rather exceptionally, some speakers use *smēsēb* instead of *suēsēb*—in other words, these speakers fail to apply the rule which normally changes the metathesized verb marker to *-u-* if there is a bilabial consonant in the stem.
6. Even though the \emptyset object pronoun suffix has no phonetic content (i.e., does not correspond to any actual sounds), we include it in 18 and similar derivations in order to show that the **basic structure** of perfective forms like *duālem* is identical to that of all other perfective forms—namely, *verb marker + verb stem + object pronoun*. In the final step of 18, which results in the actually-pronounced form, the \emptyset object pronoun is deleted.
- *7. The *ē* in question is always found in an unstressed syllable and therefore appears to be the reduced form of one of the full vowels (cf. 1.4.4). Which full vowel is actually the source of the *ē* cannot be determined, however. See Wilson 1972:24–29 for further discussion.
8. For further discussion of this type of phonetic rule, see 6.4 below.

CHAPTER 7

1. The state verb *mēsaul* 'tired' is found in the commonly-used expression *kē kmal mēsaul*. This sequence, which literally means 'You are very tired', is used as an equivalent of English 'Thank you'.
2. The same is true for *kēdeb* and *kekēdeb*, both of which mean 'short'.
3. Some speakers feel that 12a and 12b differ in meaning as follows. In 12a, *mle dēngchokl* denotes a **completed past state**: in other words, it is implied that the subject (*Hermana*) was sitting here at some time in the past but is no longer sitting here at the present moment. By contrast, *dilēngchokl* designates a past action whose effect is still continuing: that is, the subject sat down here and is still sitting here. For some speakers, the following two sentences differ in a parallel way:

a. Ak mle smeçer.	'I was sick (but no longer am).'
b. Ak sileçer.	'I've been sick (and still am).'
4. For further information on the grammatical properties of certain Palauan transitive state verbs, see 16.3 (*mēduch* and *mētutur* followed by **object clauses**) and 21.2 (*mēdēnge* followed by various structures).
5. When associated with the word *reng* 'heart, spirit', the state verb *beralm* describes someone's personality, as in the sentence
Ng beralm a rengul a sēçēlim.
'Your friend is lazy/unmotivated.'

See 17.4 for more details.

6. When applied to a person, the state verb *bəchachau* can mean 'stupid', as in the sentence
Ng bəchachau a bələl a John. 'John is stupid/empty-headed.'
7. The related **intransitive action** verb is *remurt* 'run', in which the verb marker has metathesized and appears as the infix *-əm-* (cf. 6.2).
8. The related transitive verb, in its imperfective form, is *məlungəl* 'smell'.
9. The second *ə* of *bəkə-* is deleted before the initial vowel *u* of the stem *ureor* 'work'.
10. In this word, *səkə-* has unexpectedly shortened to *sə-*.
11. If we consider the basic form of this word to be *səkə* + *kər* + *ker*, where the stem *ker* 'question' has been totally repeated, then the actually-pronounced form *səkərker* is derived by dropping one of the two identical sequences *-kə-*.
- *12. Wilson 1972: 89–90 proposes that in cases such as *lengiil* 'is to be borrowed' and *čətuul* 'is to be smoked' the basic forms of the verb stems are **vowel-final**—i.e. *lengi* and *chatu*. In forms which do not contain a suffix, such as the imperfective verbs *məlung* 'borrow' and *məngat* 'smoke (fish)', the stem-final vowel is deleted. If there is a suffix, however, as in the anticipating state forms, the stem-final vowel remains and becomes long.
- *13. This analysis is based on Dyen 1971:248, where the concept of "morphophonemic formula" is introduced.

CHAPTER 8

1. The two uses of *səlokəl* are illustrated in the sentences below. In sentence a, *səlokəl* is an anticipating state verb meaning 'is/needs to be washed', while in b, a **possessed form** of *səlokəl* is used as a noun meaning 'your laundry'.
a. A bilek a kirel əl səlokəl. 'My clothes need to be washed.'
b. Ng bətok a sələkəlem? 'Do you have a lot of laundry?'
2. In the possessed forms of *kall* 'food'—i.e., *kəlek*, *kələl*, *kəlem*, etc.—the sequence *ll* is shortened to a single *l*.
3. In the possessed forms of *iluməl* 'drink'—i.e., *iməlek*, *imələl*, *iməlem*, etc.—the whole syllable *-lu-* has been dropped. Such deletion of a complete syllable is very rare.
4. As perfective forms like *songosii* 'cook it' (cf. 6.3.j) show, the stem of this verb has an initial *s*—i.e., *səngoes*. The *k* in *kləngoes* 'meat or fish stew' is due to a rather unusual phonetic rule which changes *s* to *k* before *l* (cf. 7.8, ex.32).
5. Recall (cf. 7.7) that the second *r* in *rruul* is due to assimilation of the resulting state infix *l* to the preceding verb-stem-initial *r*.
6. In the possessed forms of *rruul* 'thing which is made/done'—i.e., *rrələk*, *rrələl*, *rrələm*, etc.—the long *uu* has rather exceptionally reduced to a *ə* (cf. the examples at the end of 3.4.2). In addition, the *l* has doubled (cf. 6.5.e).
7. Notice that the verb-stem-final *s* observed in *məlučəs* 'write, draw' and *məngiis* 'dig' has changed to *k* before the *l* of the anticipating

state suffix. Cf. 7.8, ex.32 and note 4 above.

8. Another instance of the rule changing *s* to *k* before *l* is observed in this word. Cf. notes 4 and 7 above.
9. The *rr* in this word is due to assimilation. Cf. note 5 above.
10. Recall that *məčhiuau* can be either a state verb or an action verb (cf. 7.3).
11. This sentence means, literally, 'The thinness (from poverty) in China is very great.'
12. Some of the derived nouns listed here and in 6 and 7 above are due to Mancill and Woods 1969:33–4.
13. In *klungel* and the other possessed forms of *klou* 'size, thickness', one of the *l*'s is lost, the vowel cluster *ou* reduces to *u*, and *ng* is inserted before the possessor suffix (cf. 3.4.4).
14. While *kləmənget* 'length, height' can refer to human beings (as in 10b) or to things (as in 10c), *kldidai* 'height' is restricted to things.
15. Notice the unusual insertion of the vowel cluster *-ao-* into this derived noun.
16. Notice that the *o* of the state verb changes to *u* in the derived noun.
17. While *kləmədənge* refers to someone's knowledge of things (e.g., language), *klaodenge* of 12d has to do with two (or more) persons' knowledge of each other.
18. It is not very clear whether *klobak* and *rubak* are actually related words.
19. A rare case in which *o-* substitutes for the verb marker in an **intransitive** verb to derive an instrument noun is observed in *osebək* 'wing'—*suebək* 'fly'. In this example, the **metathesized** verb marker *-u-* of *suebək* (cf. 6.2) is missing in the derived instrument noun because it has been replaced by the prefix *o-*.

CHAPTER 9

1. Many speakers also use this form to express the related meaning 'build'. Some speakers, however, distinguish between *oməkədəchor* 'make...stand' and *oməkədəchor* 'build'. The source and function of the additional *ə* in the latter form is a mystery.
2. The full vowel *o* of *osiu* 'joining' reduces to *ə* in the causative verb *oməkəsui* 'compare, imitate'.
3. The initial *m* of *mad* 'dead' changes to *o* when the prefix *omək-* is added. This change of *m* to *o* may be due to a phonetic rule of **dissimilation** similar to that observed in 6.1 and 6.2. In other words, the *m* of *mad* dissimilates from the *m* in the causative prefix *omək-* and becomes *o*.
4. In order to avoid possible confusion in the discussion to follow, we should point out here that the sequence *-mə-* found in *omək(k)-* is not the same as the *mə-* which we have dealt with extensively as the major variant of the **verb marker** (cf. 6.1). The *-mə-* of *omək(k)-* does not represent a single unit or morpheme which has structural significance; as we will see in 9.2.1.1, it actually consists of one morpheme (the **imperfective marker** *-m-*) and part of another (the *-ək* of the **causative marker** *bək*).

5. Some speakers delete the *ɛ* of the prefix between the consonants *m* and *ng*. Thus, we sometimes have *omngim* 'make...drink' and *omngamech* 'make...chew, make...smoke'.
6. For a discussion of the *l* in this verb stem, cf. 6.5.b.
7. *Mukdakt* is one of the **ergative** forms of causative *omekdakt* 'frighten'. See 9.5 below.
8. Though translated identically, *oltuu* and *olsiseb* are somewhat different in meaning; this meaning difference is parallel to that found between *tmuu* and *soiseb*, the action verbs to which they are related. While *soiseb* implies difficulty in entering (perhaps because the entrance is too narrow, etc.), *tmuu* is more neutral in connotation. Therefore, *olsiseb* means 'make (someone) enter with difficulty, force/push into', while *oltuu* lacks the connotation of force and simply means 'put into, make...enter'.
9. Most of the observations in this paragraph are due to Jo Ann Flora (personal communication). See also Wilson 1972:153.
10. This is essentially the position taken in Wilson 1972:150–155.
11. *Suebek a rengul*, which means, literally, 'his heart flies', is one of many expressions consisting of an intransitive (action or state) verb and a possessed form of *reng* 'heart, spirit'. Expressions of this kind are used commonly in Palauan to denote feelings, emotions, or character traits. See 17.4 for more details.
12. In the perfective forms *mekeli* and *milekeli*, we note the presence of the final *l* of the verb stem *kal* 'eat'. For further discussion, cf. 6.5.b.
13. The appearance of *-l-* in the perfective forms *mengelimi* and *milengelmi* indicates that the verb stem for 'drink' contains an *l*. This *l* also turns up in the related noun *ilumel* 'drink, beverage'.
- *14. The sequence *ul(ɛ)-* is probably derived from *o-* (the verb marker prefix) followed by *-il-* (the past tense marker). Cf. chap.5, note 2.

CHAPTER 10

- *1. Our explanation of "reciprocity" here is quite oversimplified. For a discussion of the logical properties of Palauan reciprocal sentences, see Wilson 1972:180–200.
2. The independently-occurring noun *ngeseu* 'help, assistance' is used in sentences like the following:
 - a. Ak ulengit a ngeseu ɛr a chim. 'I need a helping hand.'
 - b. Ak ulengit a ngeseu ɛr a udoud. 'I need some financial help.'
 The bound verb stems *toir* and *dingel* can be prefixed with *o-* to derive the nouns *otoir* '(action of) chasing' and *odingel* 'visit'. The exact identity of this *o-* prefix is not clear, though it is probably related to the *o-* which is used to derive **instrument** and **action nouns** (cf. 8.6). The derived nouns *otoir* and *odingel* are shown in the following sentences, where they are used in a **possessed form** (cf. chap.3):
 - c. A otirel a babii a meringel ɛl tɛkoi. 'Catching a pig is a difficult task.'
 - d. A odngel a Surech ɛl me er a Belau a bek ɛl buil. 'Surech's visits to Palau take place every month.'

3. This sentence means, literally, 'The cars met each other.'
4. This is the past tense form of *oumekemad* 'make war on'. Recall (cf. 6.1.1) that the past tense forms of verbs in *ou-* are derived by replacing the *o* of *ou-* with *ul-*.
5. The (bound) verb stem *sbech* needs to be partially repeated (note the extra syllable *-si-*) before the reciprocal prefix *kau-* can be added. For further discussion of this and other types of **reduplication**, see chap. 11.
6. The form of this noun indicates that it is derived by simultaneously adding the **resulting state infix** *-(ɛ)l-* and the **anticipating state suffix** *-(ɛ)l* to a verb stem (cf. 8.2, ex. 5). Notice that the *-ll-* of *ngellakel* 'joke' is shortened to a single *l* in the derived verbs *oungelakel* 'joke with' and *kaungelakel* 'joke with each other'.
7. It is also possible to have the reciprocal verb *kausesechlei*, in which the extra syllable *-se-* represents a **reduplicated** portion of the stem *sechlei* 'friend' (see chap. 11 and cf. note 5 above). The word *kausesechlei* implies a weaker, more casual friendship than *kausechlei*, as the English equivalent for the following indicates:
Ngak me a Droteo a kausesechlei. 'Droteo and I are sort of friends.'
8. The reciprocal verb *chachelebɛd* 'hit each other' is also possible. See 10.2.4. below.
9. The *-o-* in this verb appears to be a reduced variant of the verb marker *me-* of *medenge* 'know' (cf. 6.1).
10. This verb is also discussed in 10.2.4 below.
11. The additional *k* following the reciprocal prefix in *kakngodech* is unpredictable. Some speakers also pronounce this word with a *ɛ* between the *k* and the *ng*—i.e., *kakengodech*.
12. Here, the possessor of *hong* 'book' is expressed with a **possessor phrase** consisting of the **relational word** *ɛr* and the pronoun *tir* 'they'. A possessor phrase of this kind is required because *hong* 'book' is an **unpossessible noun** (cf. 3.8).
13. This reciprocal verb is related to the causative verb *orrengech* 'hear'. For some speakers there is a contrast between *kerengech* 'listen to/take advice from each other' and *kaiuerengech* 'hear each other'.
14. Note the unusual appearance of the extra syllable *-de-* in this reciprocal verb.

CHAPTER 11

1. In other words, for 'tall, long' we have either *kekemanget* or *kemanget*, and for 'short' we have either *kekadeb* or *kadeb*. Addition of the reduplicated initial syllable does not change the meaning in any way.
2. We used the term "grammatical device" in a similar way in 8.3 with reference to the function of the **resulting state infix** *-(ɛ)l-* in deriving nouns from intransitive verbs.
3. In the sentence below, the reduplicated form of *beot* 'easy' occurs with a possessed form of *reng* 'heart, spirit' (see 17.4) to yield an expression meaning 'be undecided (about something), not take (something) seriously':

- Ng ko ɛr a bebeot a rɛngul a
Droteo ɛr a omɛraɛl ɛl mo ɛr a
Hawaii.
4. The special expression *mɛnga ɛr a chull* '(lit.) eat the rain' corresponds to English 'get caught in the rain'. Its use is illustrated in the following additional sentences:
- | | |
|---|---|
| a. Lak monga ɛr a chull e kɛ
mo smeɛɛɛr. | 'Don't get caught in the rain
or you'll get sick.' |
| b. Ak killii a chull mɛ ak mlo
smeɛɛɛr. | 'I got caught in the rain, so
I got sick.' |
5. Some speakers also use reduplicated forms of the possessed nouns *kirek/kirel* 'my/his obligation', etc. and *sɛbɛɛɛk/sɛbɛɛɛl* 'my/his ability', etc. These reduplicated forms are illustrated in sentences like the following:
- | | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| a. Ng kekirek ɛl mong. | 'I sort of have to go.' |
| b. Ng sesɛbɛɛɛk ɛl mɛɛkɛkɛ a
tɛkɛkɛ ɛr a Siabal. | 'I can sort of speak Japanese.' |
6. For a discussion of *mochu* 'about to go', see 11.12.5 below.
7. The related imperfective transitive forms for these verbs are *mɛlatɛɛɛh* 'clean', *mɛɛɛɛɛd* 'mop', and *mɛɛɛɛɛl* 'cut (grass)'.
8. Some of these verbs have additional reduplicated forms lacking the first syllable of $C_1eC_1V(C_2)$. For example, the forms *mɛsisaik*, *mɛɛɛɛɛngɛɛɛɛɛl*, and *mɛkɛɛɛɛkar* are all acceptable, though *mɛkɛɛɛɛkar* has a very different meaning, as we shall see in 11.6 below.
9. All of these verb stems can occur independently as nouns.
10. The *o* in the $C_1V(C_2)$ syllable of *mɛrɛrɛraɛl* also occurs in the possessed forms of *raɛl* 'road'—e.g. *rolek* 'my road', *rolel* 'his road', etc. Note also *omɛraɛl* 'trip'—*omɛrolek* 'my trip', etc.
11. The reduplicated form *mɛsesilil* is unpredictable: possibly the *s* was part of the verb stem at some earlier stage of the language. Compare *mɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛh* 'calm (sea)' and its reduplicated form *mɛsesiɛɛɛɛɛh* 'rather calm'.
12. Evidence from this form and from the **reciprocal verb** related to *rɛɛɛɛɛɛɛh*—namely, *kadɛɛɛɛɛɛɛh* 'sit with each other' (cf. chap.10, note 14) seems to indicate that the verb stem in question is *dɛɛɛɛɛɛɛh* and that, for unknown reasons, the initial syllable *dɛ-* drops in the simple intransitive form.
13. Some speakers omit C_2 when producing this form, giving *mɛɛɛɛɛɛɛh*.
14. Some speakers reduplicate this ergative verb form according to the $C_1eC_1V(C_2)$ pattern, giving *obeɛɛɛɛɛɛɛh*.
15. Notice the appearance of *l* as C_2 in the reduplicated syllable. This is further evidence that the basic stem for 'eat' is indeed *kal* (cf. 6.5.b).
16. The pattern of reduplication is slightly different here, since the *a* of *mɛlatɛɛɛh* 'clean' has been deleted in *mɛɛɛɛɛlatɛɛɛh* 'clean compulsively'. The *a* in question is deleted in other forms of this verb as well—note, for example, the derived state verb *ngɛɛɛɛɛɛɛh* 'cleaned' (cf. 7.8.2).
17. In *ombibɛɛɛɛɛh* 'keep swinging', the reduplicated syllable has the form C_1i instead of C_1e . This represents a much less common pattern.

18. The technical term **inchoative** is ultimately derived from a Latin verb meaning 'begin'.
19. The *-ng-* inserted before the predictive and inchoative suffixes also turns up in *tɛkingek* 'my words', *tɛkingel* 'his words', etc., which are the possessed forms of the related verb stem *tɛkɛkɛ* 'word, language' (cf. 3.4.4).
20. For further discussion of this construction, see 15.7.7.
21. The extra *-ng-* in *mɛkɛɛɛɛɛɛɛh* 'waking up' is unpredictable.
22. The *-ng-* occurring before the inchoative suffix in *klunga* 'getting big' also appears in *klungek* 'my size'/'*klungel* 'his size', etc., which are the possessed forms of *kllou* 'size', a noun derived from *klou* 'big' (cf. chap.8, note 13).
23. Note the unusual loss of the *l* of *ungil* 'good' before the inchoative suffix.
24. A small number of action verbs also take *-o* or *-e* for the inchoative instead of *-a*. Among them are (*mo*) *mɛɛɛɛɛk* 'finish'—*mɛɛɛɛɛko* 'is just finishing', *omɛngur* 'eat (a meal)'—*omɛngro* 'starting to eat', and *omes* 'see'—*mɛsɛngɛ* 'has just seen'.
- *25. It is possible that the *-ch-* is inserted between *mo* and the following suffixes *-u* and *-a* to prevent vowel blending or vowel cluster reduction, which would obscure the identity of the suffix. This possibility was suggested to me by Donald Topping.

CHAPTER 12

1. Focusing on this aspect of the meaning of imperfective verbs, Wilson 1972:120–128 uses the term **progressive** instead of **imperfective**. Similarly, she uses the term **progressive affix** for what we have been calling the **imperfective marker**.
2. Any possible English equivalent for 21b would likewise be contradictory and unacceptable—e.g., *'I've read the book completely, but I haven't finished it yet.'
3. This time span expression is a special type of **temporal phrase**. See 14.6 for further details.
4. For a more complete list, see 4.9.4, ex. 53.

CHAPTER 13

- *1. Notice the English equivalents for the sentences in 1 and 2. In 1B, the speaker uses *come* because he expects A (the person addressed) to be awaiting his arrival: B seems to be looking at the situation from A's viewpoint. In dialog 2, the use of either *come* or *go* appears possible to describe a situation in which A does not intend to be at home upon B's arrival, but note the following difference surrounding the circumstances of the dialog itself. If A is now at home (say, talking to B on the telephone) but does not intend to be at home tomorrow, he can say the following to B:

Can you come to my house tomorrow (to feed the dogs)?
But if A is not at home now (say, talking to B on the street) and furthermore does not intend to be at home tomorrow, he can say the following to B:

- Can you go to my house tomorrow (to feed the dogs)?
- For clarity of presentation, we regard this *mle* (the past tense form of *me* 'come') as a different word from homonymous *mle* 'was, were', which is used as an **auxiliary word** to indicate the past tense with **state verbs**. Ultimately, however, these two words are probably one and the same element. Cf. chap. 5, note 1.
 - The **basic form** of *me* is actually *mē* (verb marker) + *be* (verb stem), and that of *mo* is *mē* (verb marker) + *bo* (verb stem). The phonetic rules which apply to these basic forms to give the actually-pronounced forms are explained in 6.2.1, ex.12.
 - This *mle* is the auxiliary word *mle* used with **state verbs**. Cf. 5.1.3 and note 2 above.
 - This directional phrase, which literally means 'to the sea', is used together with the directional verb *mo* to mean 'go fishing'.
 - Note that the change of state expression in 13d consists of *mlo* and the **reciprocal verb** *kaodenge* 'know each other'. The fact that a verb like *kaodenge* can appear following *mo* in a change of state expression is further evidence that reciprocal verbs are really a subtype of **state verbs** (for additional discussion of this point, cf. 10.1, ex. 4). In 13g, the change of state expression consists of *mlo mo* and the **negative verb** *diak* 'isn't, doesn't exist' (see 18.3); here, too, we have evidence that *diak* is actually a state verb.
 - For further discussion of the **perfective forms** of *mērkui* 'finish' and of how they are used in **specifying clauses**, see 15.7.4.

CHAPTER 14

- When *mlo* 'existed, was (located)' is followed by a locational phrase containing a **specific place name**, the result is an expression indicating what country or place the subject is from, or what place the subject has come or gone from. Note the following:
 - Ak *mlo* ɛr a Ngchesar. 'I'm from Ngchesar.'
 - Ak *mlo* ɛr a Merikel ɛl mei. 'I've come from America.'
 - A Toki a *mlo* ɛr a New York 'Toki went from New York ɛl mo ɛr a Paris. to Paris.'
 In b and c the sequences *ɛl mei* and *ɛl mo ɛr a Paris* are types of **specifying clauses** (see 15.7).
- The question word *ker* 'where?' is never preceded (or introduced) by *a* (cf. 2.6).
- The nouns *bab* and *eou* can also be used to indicate **rank**, as in the following example:

A Droteo a ngar ɛr a $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{bab} \\ \text{eou} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ ɛl chad.

'Droteo is $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{higher} \\ \text{lower} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ in rank.'

They also occur in the expressions *bab ɛl daob* '(lit.) upper sea' and *eou ɛl daob* '(lit.) lower sea'. The former is the name of Babeldaob (often spelled *Babelthuap* on maps), the large island in the northern part of the Palau group, while the latter refers to the islands south of Babeldaob, including Koror.

- Observe the following sentence, in which the best English equivalent for *bebul* is 'surface':

Ng ngar ɛr ngii a bɛtok ɛl 'There's a lot of trash on the
komi ɛr a bebul a daob. surface of the ocean.'
- Mɛdal* can also mean 'his eye' or 'his face'. In addition, it can refer to the point or edge of something, as in *mɛdal a oluchɛs* 'pencil point' and *mɛdal a oles* 'cutting edge of a knife (including the point)'.
- Unlike *bab* (*bebuk*, *bebul*, etc.), *mad* (*mɛdak*, *mɛdal*, etc.), and other nouns discussed above, *ullel* must always occur with a possessor suffix (*ullek*, *ullel*, etc.). In other words, *ullel* is an **obligatorily possessed noun** (cf. 3.5).
- A more literal English translation for this example might be something like

'Droteo is bathing in the $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{upper} \\ \text{lower} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ part of the river.'
- In some cases, it is very difficult to tell whether *uche* is being used to refer exclusively to space or to time. In the following sentence, for example,

A bilsɛngel a Droteo a mlo ɛr a uche ɛr a klaidɛsachɛl.

 'Droteo's boat $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{came in first in} \\ \text{won} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ the race.'
 the expression *mlo ɛr a uche* 'won' (lit. 'went to the front of') (pronounced as if spelled *mloruche*) seems to blend the concepts of being first in space and being first in time.
- Chɛlsɛl* 'inside' is used in cases like this because *taoch* 'channel (in a mangrove swamp)' and *omoachɛl* 'river' are viewed as enclosed spaces into which the boat has entered by means of some opening or passageway.
- The noun *iikr* 'area/space outside' is used in a locational phrase in the sentence below:

A rɛngalɛk a milil ɛr a iikr.

 'The children are playing outside.'
- The unpossessible noun *bita* expresses any relationship of **proximity** (i.e., nearness) between two objects—hence, the two possible English equivalents. This word also refers to one half of a coconut (after being split).
- Dɛlongɛl* is a possessed form of *dɛleongɛl* 'area/space between', which can also refer to relationships between two individuals or groups of individuals. This meaning is observed in the sentences below:
 - A dɛlongɛl a Droteo mɛ a Toki a kmal ungil.
'Droteo and Toki are on very good terms.'
 - A dɛlongɛlir a rɛsensei mɛ a rɛngalɛk ɛr a skuul a mɛkngit.
'The teachers and students don't get along well with each other.'
 - A dɛlongɛl a John mɛ a Mary a ko ɛr a klsakl.
'Something is wrong between John and Mary.'
 - A Korea a mlo dokurits ɛr a uriul ɛr a mɛkɛmad ɛr a dɛlongɛl a Merikel mɛ a Siabal.
'Korea became independent after the war between America and Japan.'

13. The other points of the compass are *dimēs* 'south', *chongos* 'east', and *ngebard* 'west'. The four nouns designating points of the compass are all unpossessible.
14. The word *bēlngel* 'middle' is an obligatorily possessed noun.
15. The obligatorily possessed noun *tkul* refers to the (outside) edge or corner of anything, as in *tkul a blai* 'corner of the house', *tkul a tebel* 'edge of the table', *tkul a chēldukl* 'edge of the dock', *tkul a mēkēsokēs* 'corner of the yard', etc.
16. The obligatorily possessed noun *mobēdul* 'general location/direction' is related to *bēdul* 'direction, area/space facing onto'. In the sentences below, expressions like *bēdul a skuul*, etc. are used as **specifying clauses** (see 15.7) following other verbs:
- A Droteo a millutk ēl bēdul a kbokb.
'Droteo pointed at the wall.'
 - A Toki a rirurt ēl bēdul a skuul.
'Toki ran in the direction of the school.'
 - A skuul a dēchor ēl bēdul a M-dock.
'The school faces in the direction of M-dock.'
 - A Toki a mle dēngchokl ēl bēdul a chēlēchol.
'Toki was sitting facing the beach.'
- Bēdul* can also mean 'upstream', as in
- A Droteo a mēlēcholb ēr a bēdul.
'Droteo is bathing upstream.'
- With e compare example 16 above.
17. The grammatical structure of sequences such as *mērael ēl mo...* 'walk to' and *rēmurt ēl mo...* 'run to' will be clarified in 15.7.1.
18. Most speakers feel there is a subtle difference in meaning between *tiluu* (cf. present tense *tmui*) and *silisēb* (cf. present tense *soisēb*), both of which we have translated as 'went into'. While *silisēb* implies that there was some difficulty in entering (perhaps the hole was too narrow for the mouse), *tiluu* has a more neutral connotation. Cf. chap.9, note 8.
19. The perfective forms of these verbs, which are rather irregular, are listed below according to the usual format:
- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| a. <i>mēlēcha</i> 'put': | b. <i>omēche</i> 'leave': |
| loia lilia | mēchire mīlēchire |
| locha lilēcha | mēche mīlēche |
- The verb *omēche* 'leave' is used in the very common expression *Bēchire mē a uriul* 'Leave it till later.' The **imperative perfective forms** of *omēche* 'leave' (see 19.5), when suffixed with the appropriate **object pronoun**, can be followed by the word *mē* '(lit.) so that' and a **hypothetical verb form** to result in expressions corresponding to English 'let (someone) (do something)'. Observe the examples below, which will be explained further in 22.1.1:
- Bēchire a ngalēk mē lēbo loilil. 'Let the child go play.'
 - Bēchikak mē kbo kusuub. 'Let me study.'
 - Bēchititērir mē lēbo longēdub. 'Let them go swimming.'
20. Expressions of this kind will be analyzed in 15.7.1.
21. The words *ultungii* and *ulsisēbii* are the 3rd pers. sg. **object past perfective** forms of the **causative verbs** *oltuu* 'put/push in' and *olsisēb*

- 'put/push in' (cf. 9.4, ex.24). The meaning difference between these two causative verbs parallels that found between *tmui* and *soisēb*, the intransitive action verbs to which they are related (cf. chap. 9, note 8, and note 18 above).
22. In this sentence, *ēr a kēderang* 'from the beach' is interpreted as a source phrase out of contrast with (*ēl mo*) *ēr a stoang* '(going) to the store', which expresses the termination point of the movement. However, if *ēl mo ēr a stoang* is omitted, the resulting sentence
- A John a rirurt ēr a kēderang. 'John ran at the beach.'
- only makes sense if *ēr a kēderang* is interpreted as a **locational phrase** meaning 'at the beach' (cf. 14.2 above). Further analysis of the **dependent clause** *ēl mo ēr a stoang* 'going to the store' will be given in 15.7.1.
23. The word *ultēbēdii* 'pulled him out' is the 3rd pers. sg. **object past perfective** form of the **causative verb** *oltobēd* 'pull out', which is related to the intransitive action verb *tuobēd* 'come out' (cf. 9.4, ex. 24).
24. While *cheisēch* 'stained' of 29e refers to a permanent unwashable stain due to such substances as betel nut juice, etc., *kikiongēl* 'dirty, soiled' refers to a temporary state of dirtiness due to such washable substances as mud, blood, soot, etc.
25. *Idēlsēbel* is the possessed form of *idēlisēb* 'the day before yesterday'.
26. This expression, containing *uche* 'before', means, literally, 'before/previous to three days ago'.
27. Since these expressions contain *tia* 'this' and *mlo mērek* 'finished', they mean, literally, 'this finished week', etc. Note that the word for *week*—*sande*—is borrowed from English *Sunday*.
28. Since these expressions contain *se* 'that' and *mlo mērek* 'finished', they mean, literally, 'that finished week', etc.
29. See 22.2 for a discussion of temporal **clauses** introduced by *ēr se ēr a* 'when', as in the following:
- Ak mīlsa a John ēr se ēr a kngar ēr a Hawaii.
'I saw John when I was in Hawaii.'
30. For this and the previous expression, some speakers reverse the order of the parts, giving *ēr a klukuk ēr a tutau* 'tomorrow morning' and *ēr a klukuk ēr a kēbēsenge* 'tomorrow evening'. This reversed order, however, is less preferred.
31. *Ngiosel* is the possessed form of *ngiaos* 'the day after tomorrow'. Note the similar pattern for past time—cf. note 25 above.
32. This expression, containing *ikrel* (the possessed form of *iikr* 'area/space outside'—cf. example 18g and note 10 above), means, literally, 'outside of/beyond three days from now'.
33. Since these expressions contain *tia* 'this' and *me* 'come', they mean, literally, 'this coming week', etc., which also represents acceptable English.
34. Since these expressions contain *se* 'that' and *me* 'come', their literal meaning is 'that coming week', etc.
35. These expressions, containing the **ordinal numbers** *kot* 'first', *ongeru* 'second', etc. (see 24.4.4), mean, literally, 'the first (day of) work', etc.
36. Since *kēbēsengil* is the possessed form of *kēbēsenge* 'evening', the literal translation of this expression is something like 'on the seventh

evening (of July)'.
 37. There are other ways of expressing frequency of occurrence in Palauan. Note, for example, the italicized portions of the sentences below:

- a. A Toki a me mēngētmokl ɛr a blik *a lētutau*.
 'Toki comes and cleans my house in the morning.'
- b. A rēṣchal a mo mēlasēch a mlai *a lēsuelēb*.
 'The men go making canoes in the afternoon.'

The italicized expressions in a-b are actually **conditional clauses** meaning something like 'if it is morning', etc.; further details on these and other conditional clauses will be given in 19.4. If we compare example a above with 35a, we note the following difference of meaning. Since 35a contains *bek* 'each, every', it implies that Toki comes and cleans morning after morning, on a very regular basis. Sentence a above, however, merely asserts that Toki usually comes and cleans in the morning (as opposed to the afternoon, for example); furthermore, the routine may not be as regular as that implied in 35a.

38. The question word *oingara* 'when?' is never preceded (or introduced) by *a* (cf. 2.6)

39. Contrast the following sentences:

- a. Kē milēngēsbreḃer ɛr a blai ɛl oba a ngarang?
 'What (instrument) did you paint the house with?'
- b. Kē milēngēsbreḃer ɛr a blai ɛr a ngarang?
 'What color did you paint the house?'

While sentence a contains the **instrument clause** *ɛl oba a ngarang* '(lit.) using what?' and therefore asks the person addressed to name the **instrument** (e.g. brush, roller, etc.) used in painting the house (see. 15.3), b is similar to 43c and asks a question about the **medium** (or **material**) used in painting the house.

40. See. 17.8.1 for further discussion of the constructions containing *omēlmil* and *omēngelir* of 43g and 43h. These constructions contain the possessed forms of the **derived action nouns** *omēlim* 'drinking' and *omēnga* 'eating' (cf. 8.6).

CHAPTER 15

1. Note, in addition, that the verb form directly following *ɛl* is not preceded (or introduced) by the word *a*. As we saw in 2.6, every Palauan verb form is introduced by *a* unless the preceding subject is a pronoun. In 3a-b, the absence of *a* before the verb forms following *ɛl* is probably due to the fact that these verb forms have no overtly-expressed subjects.

*2. In other words, there is a deep structure constraint which requires identity between the subject of the main clause and the subject of the purpose clause introduced by *ɛl*. The latter is deleted by an Equi-NP Deletion transformation during the process of derivation.

3. The noun *techall* can also refer to an opening in **physical space**, as the following sentences indicate:

- a. Ng diak a techellek ɛl mo ɛr a bitang.
 'I don't have any space/room to get to the other side.'

- b. Ng diak a techellek ɛl soisēb ɛr a bas.
 'I don't have any room to get into the bus.'

c. A rēkangkodang a mlo diak a techellir ɛl tuobēd ɛr a bas ɛl milsesēb.

'The tourists didn't have any room/way to get out of the bus which was burning.'

The **concrete** meaning of *techall* found in a-c above was probably extended to include the more **abstract** idea of an "opening" or "space" in time, thus resulting in the meaning 'opportunity, chance' observed for *techall* in 7c-e above.

4. The Palauan verb *oba* is unusual in that it has only **perfective**, but no **imperfective** forms. The present perfective forms of *oba* are listed in 4.9.4, ex. 53; the past perfective forms are derived simply by replacing word-initial *o-* by *ul(e)-* (e.g. *oba* 'use it'—*ulēba* 'used it', *olab* 'use them'—*ullab* 'used them', etc.) The verb *oba* also means 'carry' or 'take', as in the sentences below:

- a. Ak oba a ngalēk. 'I'm carrying the child.'
- b. Ak ullab a ilumēl ɛl mo
 ɛr a party. 'I took drinks to the party.'

5. Recall that we used a similar "contextual" approach in 12.5 to confirm our analysis of the basic difference in meaning between **imperfective** vs. **perfective** verb forms.

6. The *k* of this word is not pronounced because it is preceded and followed by another consonant. Hence, the phonetic transcription for this word is [uləbəntərir]. Can you explain why the *ng* is pronounced as [n] rather than as [ŋ]?

7. In the following sentences, the italicized specifying clauses contain past tense verb forms; therefore, the sentence describes a totally completed past event. The independent clauses contain **change of state expressions** consisting of the directional verb *mo* 'go' followed by the state verbs *ngeltēngat* 'lucky' and *mēkērior* 'unlucky' (cf. 13.5).

- a. Ak mlo ngeltēngat ɛl miltik a dart ɛl kluk ɛr a rael.
 'I was lucky to find \$100 in the road.'
- b. Ak mlo mēkērior ɛl ririid a dart ɛl kluk ɛl ududek.
 'I had the misfortune of losing \$100 of my money.'

8. The perfective forms of this verb—*nguui* 'bring/ take it', *ngmai* 'bring/ take them (non-hum.)', etc.—are listed in 4.9.4, ex. 53.

9. If we omit the second specifying clause of 33b, we get the following sentence, which, although grammatical, differs in meaning from 33b: Ak mlo ɛr a kēḃra ɛl di ngak. 'I went to the beach on my own.' The sentence above has the special implication that the subject was able to get to the beach or find his way to the beach without any assistance.

10. Because the expression *klde ɛl hong* 'three books' necessarily designates a plural object, it is impossible to have a sentence like the following:

*Ak mla rokir a klde ɛl hong.

This sentence is ungrammatical because the perfective form *rokir* implies a singular object, and therefore occurrence before *klde ɛl hong* is contradictory.

11. For this reason, a more appropriate English equivalent for *blêchoel* might be 'do habitually' or 'invariably do'.

CHAPTER 16

1. Notice that the **temporal phrase** *er tia el mlo mrek el rak* 'last year' happens to contain an occurrence of the past tense form of *mo mrek*. Cf. chap. 14, note 27.
2. In 8d, the object clause following *mlo mo mrek* contains the **state verb** *bêchiil* 'married' (cf. *buch* 'spouse'). Therefore, a word-for-word translation of this sentence would be something like 'Droteo has finished being married.'
3. The transitive verb *mengoit* 'quit, throw away' has the following perfective forms:

	Present	Past
3rd pers. sg. object	choitii	chilitii
3rd pers. pl. (non-hum) object	chêmoit	chiloit

Some simple sentences containing the imperfective and perfective forms of *mengoit* followed by a concrete object include the following:

- a. Ak mo mengoit er a komi. 'I'm going to throw away the trash.'
 - b. A Toki a chilitii a Droteo. 'Toki divorced Droteo.'
 - c. Ak chilitii a skuul er a elii. 'I skipped school yesterday.'
4. This is the 3rd pers. sg. object present perfective form of *mêlasem* 'try'. The appearance of the full vowel *e* ([ɛ]) in the first syllable is quite unusual (cf. 6.3.1-2).
5. Some of the present and past perfective forms of *olêngeseu* 'help' (past: *ullêngeseu*) are listed below:

Person and Number of Object	Present	Past
1st pers.sg.	ngosukak	ngilsukak
2nd pers.sg.	ngosukau	ngilsukau
3rd pers.sg.	ngosuir	ngilsuir
3rd pers. (hum) pl.	ngosutêrir	ngilsutêrir

The set of **object pronoun suffixes** observed in the above perfective forms is identical to that illustrated in 4.9.4, ex. 53, except that the 3rd pers. sg. obj. suffix is *-ir* (cf. 4.9.4, ex. 54).

6. Some of the present and past perfective forms of *oldurêch* 'tell, ask' (past: *ulêldurêch*) are given below:

Person and Number of Object	Present	Past
1st pers.sg.	odêrchak	ulderchak
2nd pers.sg.	odêrchau	ulderchau
3rd pers.sg.	odêrchii	ulderchii
3rd pers. (hum) pl.	odêrchêterir	ulderchêterir

Since *oldurêch* is a **causative verb** in form, its perfective forms follow the patterns for causative verbs described in 9.4.

CHAPTER 17

1. The noun following words like *soak* and *chêtil* does not necessarily have to be inanimate (i.e., non-living) as it is in examples 1a-b. Thus in the sentences below, *soak* and *chêtil* are followed by **human nouns**:

- a. Ng soak a sensei. 'I like the teacher.'
 - b. Ng chêtîl a Satsko. 'He dislikes Satsko.'
2. This is a **noun phrase of characterization**—cf. 3.7 and 3.9, ex. 31.
 3. Observe the sentences below, which are equivalent to each other in meaning:
 - a. Ngak mę a Helen a kausêchêlei. 'Helen and I are friends.'
 - b. Aki kausêchêlei ngak mę a Helen.
 Here, the shifted plural subject contains the **emphatic pronoun** *ngak* 'I', which refers to the speaker, and the noun *Helen*. Since the speaker is part of the shifted subject, the pronominal trace in b appears as *aki*, the 1st pers. pl. excl. non-emphatic pronoun.
 4. Cf. the discussion in 16.5, where other sentences containing two objects are analyzed.
 5. The 3rd pers. sg. object pronoun suffix *-a* is extremely rare. Cf. 4.9.4.c and chap. 4, note 10.
 6. As the English equivalents for 30a and 31 show, the grammar of English also contains a rule which can interchange the two objects of *give*.
 7. Another verb which takes two objects is *olisêchakl* 'teach'. The order of these objects can be reversed, as the following sentences show:
 - a. A Toki a olisêchakl er a rêngalêk a têkoi er a Merikel. 'Toki is teaching the pupils English.'
 - b. A Toki a olisêchakl a têkoi er a Merikel er a rêngalêk. 'Toki is teaching English to the pupils.'
 8. For ease of understanding, this discussion has been somewhat oversimplified. See 17.8.c below.
 9. In all of the examples presented in this section, the dependent clause following the possessed forms of *soal*, *chêtîl*, *sêbêchel*, and *kirel* contains an **action verb**. Occasionally, such clauses contain **state verbs**, as in the example below:

A Droteo a chêtîl el smeçer. 'Droteo dislikes being sick.'
 10. Any adequate explanation of the occurrence of *el* before the object of *omêruul*, *omênguui*, and *omêlamêch* in 41a-c would require a complex, lengthy analysis which would be beyond the scope of the current discussion. Though far oversimplified, it is sufficient to say that the object of a transitive verb must be "marked" with *el* when this transitive verb is changed into an action noun by the prefixing of *o-*.
 11. This sentence can also be interpreted as 'My father dislikes the things I do at parties.'
 12. After the negative verb *diak*, all nouns must be prefixed with the 3rd pers. sg. hypothetical pronoun—hence, *lsoak*. Further discussion of this phenomenon will be provided in chap. 18.

CHAPTER 18

1. In the most natural dialog, this occurrence of *oles* would be **pronominalized** to *ng* 'it' (cf. 4.8).
2. Though *mlo* is used as the past tense of *ngar*, it is not really clear whether these words are related to each other.
3. Indeed, the widespread practice of spelling these sequences as single

words—*ngarngii* and *mlarngii*—shows that most Palauans “feel” them to be indivisible units. The spelling used in this text, which was also approved by the 1972 Palau Orthography Committee, is based on the assumption that *ngar er ngii* and *mla er ngii* each consist of three words which are otherwise always spelled separately. The same discussion applies to *mo er ngii* ‘there will be’ and *mochu er ngii* ‘there is about to be’, which have been spelled as *morngii* and *mo-churngii*.

4. The only situation in which *ngar* need not be followed by a locational phrase is illustrated in the sentence below, where this word occurs in the related meaning ‘alive’:

A rubak a dirk ngar. ‘The old man is still alive.’

5. Recall that subject shifting must also be applied obligatorily in certain other types of sentences. Thus, in 17.2, we proposed that obligatory subject shifting is the only plausible way to account for sentences containing the special possessed nouns *soal* ‘his liking’ and *chëttil* ‘his disliking’—e.g.,

Ng soal a biang. ‘He likes beer.’

Ng chëttil a rrom. ‘I dislike liquor.’

6. This sentence can be further transformed by the preposing of possessor rule to give

A rubak a mlo diak a urerel. ‘The old man lost his job.’

7. As we saw in 6.2.1, hypothetical verb forms normally lack the verb marker. Thus, if we compare hypothetical *lsengerenger* with its non-hypothetical counterpart *songerenger* ‘hungry’, we conclude that the -o- in the latter form is due to presence of the verb marker. We therefore assume that *songerenger* is derived in the following way:

mē + sengerenger (basic form = verb marker + verb stem) →

s + mē + ɛngerenger (by metathesis of verb marker) →

s + m + ɛngerenger (by deletion of e) →

s + u + ɛngerenger (by change of verb marker to u in unstressed syllable) →

songerenger (by vowel blending)

The step-by-step derivation above exactly parallels that for certain 3rd pers.sg.obj.present perfective forms (cf. 6.3.2, especially ex. 23).

8. Though the verb marker is absent in most hypothetical verb forms (cf. 6.2.1), a notable exception is found among intransitive state verbs which have the prefixed verb marker *mē-* in their pronounced forms. Thus, in the hypothetical forms of *mēkngit* ‘bad’, *mēched* ‘shallow’, etc., *mē-* is not deleted, and we get *lēmēkngit* and *lēmēched*.
9. For a complete listing and discussion of the hypothetical forms of the directional verbs *mo* ‘go’ and *me* ‘come’, see 4.10.
10. Recall (cf. 6.7) that the basic structure of hypothetical perfective forms is *hypothetical pronoun + verb stem + object pronoun*.
11. Since ergative verbs (cf. 5.4) simply consist of the sequence *verb marker + verb stem*, their hypothetical forms have the structure *hypothetical pronoun + verb marker + verb stem*. Note that while most hypothetical verb forms lack the verb marker, the hypothetical forms of ergative verbs retain it (cf. 6.2.1).
12. As we saw in 4.10.6, complex verb phrases include sequences like

mo mēruul ‘will make’, *me mēngētmokl* ‘come and clean’, *mo mērek* ‘finish’, *mo/me rēme* ‘come/go back’, *mo ungil* ‘get better’, etc. In the hypothetical forms of such expressions a hypothetical pronoun is often prefixed to each of the parts.

13. We can also speculate that *di kea* might contain a contracted form of *diak* followed by *e* ‘and (then)’. Under this approach, suggested to me by Robert Gibson (personal communication), we can at least explain why *di kea* has a negative meaning.

CHAPTER 19

1. It is not clear whether the *a* which introduces Palauan conditional clauses is really a different word from the *a* which introduces all noun phrases and verb phrases (cf. 2.6). For purposes of simplicity, however, we will refer to the *a* of conditional clauses as a separate word meaning ‘if’.

2. The sequence *ngar er ngii* ‘there is/are’, which is used in **affirmative expressions of existence**, is explained in detail in 18.2.

3. With 4c compare the following sentence, which is somewhat different in structure:

A lak a ududem, e lak chobo er a mubi.

‘If you don’t have any money, (then) don’t go to the movies.’

In this conditional sentence, the consequential clause is expressed as an **order** or **command** (see 19.5 below).

4. With the **general questions** of 6, compare the following **general statements**:

a. A dēbo er a che, e ng kired ēl ousbech a chēlais.

‘To go fishing, we need a basket.’

b. A dolasēch a mlai, e ng mēringēl.

‘Carving canoes is difficult.’

Though interpreted as general statements, a and b above are actually **conditional sentences** which mean something like ‘If we go fishing, (then) we need a basket’ and ‘If we carve a canoe, (then) it’s difficult.’ The conditional and consequential clauses of these examples can be permuted, resulting in the following sentences:

a’. Ng kired ēl ousbech a chēlais a dēbo er a chei.

‘We need a basket to go fishing with.’

b’. Ng mēringēl a dolasēch a mlai.

‘It’s difficult carving canoes.’

5. It is not clear how to analyze the word *kmu*. There is some possibility that it is related to the *kmo* of *ēl kmo*, which is used to introduce **quotations** (see 21.1), or that it is an unusual form of the verb *dmu* ‘say’.

6. Following *kmu*, the *a* of *ak* ‘I’ is deleted. As a result, *a kmu ak* ‘if I...’ is pronounced [akmuk].

7. The following conditional sentence, which exhibits the pattern of 16a-e, contains *lak* in the conditional clause:

A dēmal a Droteo a soal a Droteo a lak lolim a biang.

‘Droteo’s father wants him not to drink beer.’

Since the italicized conditional clause requires a hypothetical verb

form, and since this clause is negative, we would expect to find *lēdiak*. This form is not acceptable, however, and we therefore conclude that *lak* is derived from *lē + diak* by a phonetic rule of contraction (cf. 18.3 and exs. 4–5 above).

8. The sequence *lēbo lak* is the hypothetical form of *mo diak* 'will not be, will become non-existent'. Here, too, we have evidence that the hypothetical form *lak* is derived from *lē + diak* by contraction. Cf. note 7 above and 18.3.
9. While *er tiang* 'here, at this place' functions as a **locational phrase** in this sentence, *er tiang* 'here, from this place' functions as a **source phrase** in 24h. Cf. 14.2 and 14.4.
- *10. In 6.2.1, exs. 11–12, we observed just the opposite phenomenon—namely, an initial *b* is deleted before a following *m*. This is found in the derivation of *mo* 'go' from basic *mē + bo* (i.e., *verb marker + verb stem*), where metathesis of the verb marker and deletion of *ē* result in the sequence *b + m + o*, which becomes *mo* 'go' when the initial *b* is deleted before *m*. The phonetic processes under discussion suggest the following principle: when two bilabial consonants appear (or come to appear) in word-initial position, the first one is always deleted.
11. For a discussion of how Palauan passive sentences differ from **ergative** sentences, see the concluding remarks in 5.6.

CHAPTER 20

1. The state verb *mēduch*, translated here as 'strong', is also used as a (transitive) state verb meaning 'know how (to), be skilled at' (cf. 16.3).
2. The examples of 20 can also be expressed with subjects containing *chad* 'man, person' followed by a **relative clause** (see chap. 23) which describes or modifies *chad*. Thus, with 20a–b, for example, compare the following equational sentences, which are identical in meaning:
 - a. *A chad ēl mlad a Droteo.*
'The one who died is Droteo.'
 - b. *A chad ēl chillebēdii a Toki a John.*
'The person who hit Toki is John.'

Some linguists would propose that the italicized subjects of 20a–b are derived from those of a and b above by deleting the noun *chad* (which is redundant given the context) and the **relative clause introducer** *ēl*.

- *3. In 4.6, ex. 22a–b, we listed negative sentences like the following, which emphatically deny that some person or persons were connected with a particular event:
 - a. *Ng dimlak lēngak a silsēbii a blai.*
'It wasn't me who burned down the house.'
 - b. *Ng dimlak ltir a milkodir a bilis.*
'It wasn't them who killed the dog.'
 The derivation of a–b, though complicated, should now be clear. Thus the source sentence of a, for example, is the following:
 - c. [*A silsēbii a blai a ngak*] a dimlak.

As we saw in chap. 18, the subject of the negative verb *diak* (past: *dimlak*) can be a whole (bracketed) sentence, as in c. In c this bracketed sentence is of the **equational** type, and furthermore its subject (italicized) contains a **verb phrase being used as a noun phrase** (cf. 20 and 24 above). The source sentence c is transformed as follows:

First, the entire bracketed sentence is moved to the right of *dimlak* by the subject shifting rule, leaving the pronominal trace *ng*:

d. *Ng dimlak [a silsēbii a blai a ngak].*

Next, since the subject of a shifted **equational** sentence cannot remain in initial position (cf. 18.6), *d* must be changed into the following:

e. *Ng dimlak [a ngak a silsēbii a blai].*

At the same time, the hypothetical pronoun *lē-* must be prefixed to the noun immediately following *dimlak*, thus deriving sentence a.

4. When preceded by the specifying word *er* or the relational word *er*, the question word *tēcha* 'who?' cannot be introduced by *a*. The reason for this restriction is unclear.
5. A more complicated way of expressing this question is the following, which uses a passive verb:

Ng tēcha a chomoba a hong er ngii?
'Whose book do you have?'
6. When used as a possessor following a possessed noun, *tēcha* is normally not introduced by *a*. Cf. note 4 above and chap. 4, note 3.
7. As this example indicates, the common way of asking someone's name in Palauan is to use *tēcha* 'who?' together with the appropriate possessed form of *ngakl* 'name'. Therefore, the literal translation for 32e would be 'Who is your friend's name?' (which is of course unacceptable in English).
8. In this and the following sentence, the objects *tia ēl babier* 'this letter' and *blai* 'house' of the transitive verbs *milluchēs* 'was writing' and *silsēbii* 'burned it down' have been **preposed**. Questions of this type seem to be used when the things referred to by the objects represent **old** information for the speaker and hearer—i.e., when they have already been introduced into the conversation as a topic of discussion.
9. It is interesting to note that when *ngara* is preposed in this way, it is not introduced by the word *a*.
10. The sequence introduced by *ēl* functions as a **purpose clause** (cf. 15.2).
11. By applying the rule of subject shifting to this sentence, we get *Ng soam a ngarang?* 'What do you want?'/ 'What would you like?'
12. This and the above example are **passive sentences** in which the subject noun phrase (*ngara ēl tēkoi* 'what language?' or *ngara ēl mubi* 'what kind of movie?') corresponds to the object of the related active sentence. As we saw in 19.7.3, the subject noun phrase of a passive sentence sometimes corresponds to a noun phrase which would occur in a **relational phrase** in the associated active sentence. This is true for the examples below:
 - a. *Ngara ēl kēdēra a dēbo dongēdub er ngii?*
'What beach are we going swimming at?'
 - b. *Ngara ēl delmērab a losuub er ngii a Droteo?*
'What room is Droteo studying in?'

CHAPTER 24

- For a review of how the concept of bracketed sentences is used in the derivation of relative clauses, cf. 23.2.
- Since this difference was described in detail in 23.5, it will not be repeated here.
- The sequence *ngodəch ɛl chad* can also mean 'someone/anyone else', as in the sentence below:
Ng dimlak a ngodəch ɛl chad ɛl mle ɛr a party?
'Wasn't there anyone else at the party?'
- The word *kid* is added to an equational sentence when the speaker wishes to emphatically point out the location of someone or something.
- Through sheer oversight, the author failed to include yet another set of Palauan demonstrative words representing a fourth category of distance. These omitted items designate persons or things near the speaker but relatively far from the hearer. Thus, the demonstrative words *tie* 'this' and *aile* 'these' should be added to the chart in 15, while the demonstrative words *ngile* 'this person' and *tirile* 'these people' need to be added to the chart in 16. The over-all analysis presented in 24.3 must also be modified accordingly.
- The *i* of *ngi-* is deleted optionally before the *k*-initial morphemes *-ka* 'located near speaker and hearer' and *-ke* 'located far from speaker and hearer'. When this *i* is dropped, the word-initial *ng* becomes *syllabic* (cf. 1.3.5)—i.e., we have *ngke* [ŋkey] and *ngka* [ŋkaŋ].
- The *i* of *tiri-* is obligatorily deleted before the *k*-initial morphemes *-ka* and *-ke*. Cf. note 6 above.
- Note that a human noun like *sensei* 'teacher' does not take the plural prefix *rɛ-* (cf. 2.5) in constructions of the form *demonstrative + ɛl + noun*. In such cases, the plural prefix *rɛ-* is unnecessary (or redundant) because the demonstrative word itself automatically designates singular vs. plural. Note, therefore, the contrast between the following:

ngiləcha ɛl sensei	'that teacher'
tiriləcha ɛl sensei	'those teachers'

Needless to say, it is also the demonstrative word alone which distinguishes between singular and plural in a pair like the following.

tia ɛl hong	'this book'
aika ɛl hong	'these books'

where the head noun is non-human and therefore could never be preceded by *rɛ-* anyway.

- As we will see in 24.4.3 below, Palauan number words are always preceded by *a* (cf. 2.6) when they are used in sentences or as part of expressions such as *təruich mə a ta* 'eleven' or *təruich mə a eru* 'twelve', etc. In *təruich mə a ta* 'eleven' the *ɛ* of *mə* is not pronounced, resulting in [təruyʔəmatəŋ] (cf. 1.5.e, ex. 54). And in *təruich mə a eru* 'twelve', etc. both the *ɛ* of *mə* and the *a* before vowel-initial *eru* 'two' are omitted, giving the pronunciation [təruyʔəməruŋ] (cf. 1.5.a, ex. 40).

- Further expressions of this type are given in 14.6, ex. 34g.
- Further expressions indicating hours of the day are found in 14.6, ex. 34d.
- Recall that the plural prefix *rɛ-* can be optionally attached to the number word in expressions like these. Thus, in addition to *teim ɛl sensei* 'five teachers' we can have *rɛteim ɛl sensei*, with no change in meaning. Cf. the discussion in 2.5, especially ex. 25.
- It is possible that *teluud* 'one bunch' is a contracted (or shortened) form of what was originally the sequence *ta ɛl iud*. This very same structure is actually found in *təruich ɛl iud* 'ten bunches'. It also seems plausible that *teluo* 'one (long object)' of Set V has developed by contraction from a sequence *ta ɛl uo*.
- The word *ma* (not to be confused with *mə a...* [ma] 'and...') also means 'first'. This word does not have to be used together with *kot*, as the following example (equivalent to 42b in meaning) shows:
Kɛ ma mo ɛr a skuul, e ngak ekong.
'You go on ahead to school, and then I'll follow.'
- In the sentence below, the ordinal number *ongeru* 'second' is used in exactly the same way:
Ak ongeru ɛl rəmurt. 'I'll run second (in the race, etc.).'
- Temporal phrases** containing this and the preceding expression are given in 14.6, exs. 34b-c.
- The qualifying word *di* 'only, just' can also precede nouns, as in the following sentences:
a. Aki di ngalɛk ɛr a skuul. 'We're just students.'
b. Ak mənə a di iasai. 'I eat vegetables only.'
- The qualifying word *kilo* 'almost, nearly' may be the **past tense** form of the special verb *ko* 'just' (cf. 15.7.7, ex. 56).

CHAPTER 25

- The Palauan sentences in 3b-c indeed contain result clauses introduced by *mə*, even though this is not directly reflected in the English translations. Detailed discussion of such cases is given in 22.1.1.
- The slang expression *mo bad* 'go to sleep' means, literally, 'become (like) a rock'.
- It is possible that *a ləchub* is some kind of **conditional** expression (cf. 19.1) in which *a* 'if' is followed by a "fossilized" hypothetical verb form containing the 3rd pers. sg. hypothetical pronoun *lɛ-*. The fact that the clause following *mə a ləchub* is introduced by *e* lends support to this speculation, since *e* introduces **consequential clauses** which follow **conditional clauses** (cf. 19.1 and 19.3).
- In the clause *ng mirrael a Droteo* 'Droteo left', the subject *Droteo* has been **shifted** to clause-final position, leaving the **pronominal trace** *ng* (cf. 17.2).

Appendix

Guide to Phonetic Symbols Used in This Textbook

<i>Phonetic Symbol</i>	<i>Corresponding Letter in Palauan Spelling</i>	<i>Sample Palauan Word</i>
[b]	b	blai [blay] 'house'
[p]	b	brer [prer] 'raft'
[t]	t	tkul [tkul] 'its edge'
	d	dmak [tmak ^h] 'together'
[t ^h]	t	chat [ʔat ^h] 'smoke'
[d]	d	dub [dup] 'dynamite'
[θ]	d	dn̄god [θ̄n̄oð̄] 'tattoo needle'
[ð]	d	mad [mað̄] 'eye'
[k]	k	ker [k̄er] 'question'
[k ^h]	k	brak [prak ^h] 'taro'
[g]	k	r̄ekas [r̄agás] 'mosquito'
[x]	k	ch̄ermek [ʔ̄ərméx] 'my animal' ¹
[ʔ]	ch	charm [ʔarm] 'animal'
[s]	s	sers [sers] 'garden'
[m]	m	mlim [mlim] 'your canoe'
[m̄]	m	mdak [m̄ðák ^h] 'be together!'
[ŋ]	ng	ngor [ŋor] 'mouth'
[ŋ̄]	ng	ngklem [ŋ̄klém] 'your name'
[n]	ng	iungs [yuns] 'island'
	n	nas [nas] 'eggplant'
[ŋ̄]	ng	ngduul [ŋ̄dúwl] 'clam'
[l]	l	rael [ráel] 'road'
[l̄]	l	lmuut [l̄múwt ^h] 'return'
[l:]	ll	kall [kál:] 'food'
[r]	r	reng [r̄eŋ] 'heart, spirit'
[r̄]	r	rsel [r̄sél] 'its end'
[r̄]	rr	rrom [r̄om] 'liquor'
[h]	h	hong [hoŋ] 'book'

1. See chap. 1, note 2.

Phonetic Symbol	Corresponding Letter in Palauan Spelling	Sample Palauan Word
[j]	j	daijiob [dayjyób] 'all right'
[z]	z	keizai [kéyzay] 'economics'
[i]	i	sils [sils] 'sun'
[u]	u	bung [buŋ] 'flower'
[e]	e	oles [olés] 'knife'
[ə]	ɛ	cheɭat [ʔəɭát ^h] 'smoked (fish)'
	(sometimes not spelled)	ralm [rálmə] 'water'
[o]	o	ngor [ŋor] 'mouth'
[a]	a	bad [bað] 'stone'
[y]	i	blai [blay] 'house'
	e	eolt [yóltə] 'wind'
[w]	u	uel [wəl] 'turtle'
	o	oach [waʔ] 'leg'
[i], [ú], etc. (stressed vowels)	i, u, etc.	cheɭil [ʔəɭil] 'doesn't like'

Glossary of Terms

abstract noun—a noun which identifies a concept, idea, quality, or emotion—i.e., something which lacks any discernible physical attributes and therefore cannot be perceived by any of the five senses.

accompaniment clause—a type of dependent clause which identifies the person(s) with whom the action or activity of the preceding independent clause is being performed.

action noun—a noun which designates an action or activity as an abstract concept. Action nouns are derived by prefixing *o-* to transitive or intransitive action verbs.

action verb—a verb which describes an action, activity, or event.

active sentence—a sentence type in which the agent appears as the subject of a transitive verb and the person, animal, or thing affected by the action of the transitive verb appears as its object. In active sentences, attention is focused on the agent and what the agent does.

affirmative command—an imperative sentence in which the speaker orders the hearer to do something.

affirmative expression of existence—a sentence which asserts the existence of something or introduces something into a conversation as new information.

affirmative sentence—a sentence which asserts or affirms the occurrence of some action, event, state, condition, etc.

affix—a morpheme which cannot occur as an independent word but which must be attached to, or inserted into, another word. The three types of affixes are prefixes, suffixes, and infixes.

affix pronoun—a pronoun which does not occur as a separate word but which must be attached to another word as a prefix or suffix.

agent—the doer of an action; the person who performs, carries out, or causes an action.

- allophones**—the non-contrastive predictable phonetic varieties of a particular phoneme. The allophones of a given phoneme never provide us with minimal pairs.
- alveolar**—a consonantal sound involving the alveolar ridge.
- alveolar ridge**—the hard ridge behind the upper teeth which serves as a point of articulation for the Palauan consonants *s*, *r*, and *l*.
- ambiguous**—having two (or more) different meanings; interpretable in more than one way.
- animate noun**—a noun referring to something which is alive and can move by itself—i.e., to a human being or animal.
- anticipating state suffix**—a suffix of the form *-(e)l*, *-all*, or *long vowel + l* which combines with verb stems to form anticipating state verbs.
- anticipating state verb**—a state verb formed with the suffixes *-(e)l*, *-all*, or *long vowel + l* which describes the state or condition that someone or something is expected to be in. Many anticipating state verbs function as nouns with special meanings.
- appositional structure**—a structure of the form *noun phrase of possession + el + noun* in which the two elements linked by *el* are equated with each other.
- archaic**—term used to describe a form or usage which has nearly disappeared from a language.
- articulator**—a speech organ (or part of a speech organ) which moves and touches some other speech organ during the production of a speech sound.
- aspiration**—an audible puff of air accompanying the pronunciation of certain Palauan stop consonants.
- assimilation**—a process by which the pronunciation of a given sound is changed so as to become similar or identical to that of an adjacent or neighboring sound.
- auxiliary word**—a helping word such as *mo* 'go' or *mle* 'was, were' which accompanies a verb and shows the tense of the verb or some other information.
- back vowel**—a vowel pronounced with the tongue retracted towards the back of the mouth.
- basic stem**—an abstract representation of a noun or verb stem which does not occur in actual pronunciation or writing but which allows us to predict the correct pronunciation of the various forms in which it occurs.

- basic structure**—a formula which shows all of the elements (morphemes) which compose a particular noun or verb form. The elements in the basic structure of a form must often be modified considerably in order to obtain the actually-spoken form.
- bilabial**—a consonantal sound produced with the two lips.
- bound form**—a morpheme which can never occur alone as an independent word but must always be connected (or bound) to some other morpheme(s). All affixes and some verb stems are bound forms.
- bracketed sentence**—a whole sentence which functions as a subject noun phrase in certain source sentences. Bracketed sentences must be moved by the process of subject shifting.
- causative marker** *bək*—a morpheme with causative meaning which is part of the causative prefix *omek-*.
- causative prefix**—a prefix of the form *ome(k)-* or *ol(e)-* which is added to a verb stem to derive a causative verb.
- causative verb**—a special type of transitive action verb formed with the causative prefix. Causative verbs describe actions in which the subject causes or forces someone or something to perform a particular action or be in a particular state.
- cause phrase**—a relational phrase which indicates the cause of, or reason for, some state, condition, or action.
- central vowel**—a vowel pronounced in the center of the mouth with the tongue in "neutral" position—i.e., neither advanced (as for front vowels) nor retracted (as for back vowels).
- change of state expression**—a sequence consisting of the auxiliary word *mo* 'go, become' and a state verb. Such expressions imply a change from an earlier state to a later, resulting state.
- characterizational phrase**—a type of relational phrase which characterizes the immediately preceding noun by describing its function, purpose, content, origin, etc.
- complex noun**—a noun which contains at least two morphemes and is formed by adding certain types of affixes to verb stems or to other nouns.
- complex verb form**—a verb form which is composed of two or more morphemes.
- complex verb phrase**—a verb phrase consisting of two or three separate words.
- concrete noun**—a noun which identifies something that has discernible

physical attributes and can therefore be perceived by one or more of the five senses—i.e., something we can see, hear, touch, taste, or smell.

condition—an event, action, state, etc. whose occurrence is suggested or put forth as a possibility; occurs together with the consequent to form a conditional sentence.

conditional clause—the clause of a conditional sentence which expresses the condition. Conditional clauses contain hypothetical verb forms and are introduced by the conditional clause marker *a* 'if'.

conditional clause marker a—the word, equivalent to English 'if', which introduces Palauan conditional clauses.

conditional sentence—a sentence type consisting basically of two parts—a condition and a consequent—and expressing the idea that *if* some event, action, state, etc. occurs, *then* something else will happen.

connecting words me and e—words which connect two simple sentences into one and relate the ideas which they represent.

consequent—an event, action, state, etc. which takes place as a result or consequence of some other event, action, or state; occurs together with the condition to form a conditional sentence.

consequential clause—the clause of a conditional sentence which expresses the consequent. Consequential clauses are introduced by *e* '(and) then' if they follow the conditional clause.

consonant—a sound produced by partial or complete interruption of the outward air flow.

consonant cluster—a series of two adjacent consonants in the same syllable.

consonant-final (word or stem)—a word or stem ending in a consonant.

consonant-initial (word, stem, or suffix)—a word, stem, or suffix beginning with a consonant.

context—the broad environment of a word, phrase, or sentence; the words or sentences which surround a particular word or sentence and have bearing on its meaning.

contextual restrictions—the restrictions imposed by the context or environment on the correct or acceptable occurrence of particular forms.

contrastive sounds—sounds which contrast with each other (= phonemes) in otherwise identical environments. The sounds represented by Palauan *t* and *d* are contrastive because they occur in the

environment *-ub* and therefore differentiate *tub* 'spit' from *dub* 'dynamite'. See also *phonemes*, *significant sounds*.

coordinate noun phrase—a noun phrase consisting of two or more nouns (or noun phrases) joined by the connecting word *me*.

demonstrative—a word which is used to point out or draw attention to a particular person, animal, or thing.

dental—a consonantal sound involving the teeth.

dependent clause—a clause without an overtly-expressed subject whose full interpretation depends on information found in the preceding (independent) clause.

dependent clause introducer el—a word which appears at the beginning of, and therefore introduces, dependent clauses.

derived action noun—see *action noun*.

derived plural noun—a plural noun formed (or derived) by prefixing the plural prefix *re-* to a state verb or action verb.

derived state verb—a state verb which is derived by adding one or more affixes to a verb stem or a noun stem.

directional phrase—a relational phrase which indicates the goal or termination point of some action involving movement or the characteristic goal of some action or state.

directional verb—a special type of intransitive action verb which indicates movement in a particular direction.

direct quotation—word for word repetition by the speaker of someone else's statement or assertion.

dissimilation—a process in which the pronunciation of a given sound is changed so as to become different from that of an adjacent or neighboring sound.

distribution (of a sound or word)—the positions (or environments) in which a given sound or word occurs relative to other sounds or words.

duration—the period of time over which an action or state takes place.

emphatic pronoun—a type of independent pronoun which, when used as sentence subject, makes exclusive reference to a person or persons and implies a contrast with other persons who might be (but are not) associated with the action or state in question. Emphatic pronouns also occur after the relational word *er* or the specifying word *er*, but without any sense of exclusive reference or contrast.

environment—the sound or sounds adjacent or close to some other sound; the word or words adjacent or close to some other word.

- equational sentence**—a sentence type in which two noun phrases are equated with each other.
- ergative sentence**—a sentence type containing an ergative verb. In ergative sentences, the subject of the ergative verb is viewed as having undergone the effect of some action, and the agent or cause of this action is de-emphasized.
- ergative verb**—a verb form consisting of the verb marker and a verb stem which takes as its subject what would be the object of the related transitive verb.
- existential (state) verb**—a verb which asserts the present or past existence of the subject in a particular location—i.e., *ngar* 'be (located)' and *m̄la* 'was (located)'.
- expanded noun phrase**—a noun phrase consisting of a head noun followed by a relative clause or of a head noun preceded by a modifier.
- explicit**—shown by an actual marker or form; overt.
- first person plural exclusive**—a pronoun or possessor suffix which refers solely to the speaker and at least one other person associated with him, but which excludes reference to the person(s) spoken to.
- first person plural inclusive**—a pronoun or possessor suffix which not only makes reference to the speaker (and anyone associated with him) but also includes reference to the person(s) spoken to.
- first person pronoun**—a pronoun ('I' or 'we') which refers to the speaker of the sentence or the group to which he belongs.
- formal**—referring to the actual form or structure of a word, grammatical construction, or sentence.
- fricative**—a consonantal sound involving partial closure or constriction between the articulator and point of articulation, resulting in audible friction.
- front vowel**—a vowel pronounced with the tongue advanced towards the front of the mouth.
- full vowels**—the non-neutral vowels *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*, and *a*, which are pronounced with full vowel quality or "color".
- future tense**—a tense used to describe an action or state which will occur in the future (i.e., at some point in time following that of the utterance). It is represented by the auxiliary *mo* 'go' followed by an action or state verb.
- general question**—a question about a habit or general truth rather than a specific event.

- general statement**—a sentence which expresses a broad generalization, habitual occurrence, or general truth rather than a specific event.
- glide sounds**—sounds characterized by a gliding movement of the tongue towards a high front position (*y*-glide) or high back position (*w*-glide).
- glottal**—a consonantal sound (usually a stop) involving the glottis (or vocal cords).
- glottis**—the space between the vocal cords.
- grammatical system of a language**—the contrasting units of meaning (morphemes or words) and their distribution.
- habitual statement**—a sentence which describes a habit or repeated action which the subject engages in.
- head noun**—the noun which precedes a relative clause or follows a modifier construction.
- high vowel**—a vowel pronounced with the tongue raised high in the mouth and close to the palate.
- homonyms**—words which are pronounced the same but have distinct meanings. Some nouns are homonyms in their independent forms but have distinct possessed forms.
- human noun**—a noun which refers to a human being.
- hypothetical pronoun**—a type of affix pronoun which is prefixed to verbs in a large variety of complex grammatical constructions which involve hypothetical (i.e., unreal) events or situations.
- hypothetical verb form**—a verb form containing a prefixed hypothetical pronoun and usually lacking the verb marker. Hypothetical verb forms designate unreal, supposed, or imagined events or states rather than real ones.
- imminent (action or event)**—an action or event which is just about to occur or is likely to occur in the very near future.
- imperative verb form**—a verb form used to express an order or command. Palauan imperative verb forms are actually hypothetical verb forms prefixed with the second person hypothetical pronoun.
- imperfective marker**—a morpheme with various forms (*-l-*, *-ng-*, and *-m-*) which functions to mark or identify a particular transitive verb as imperfective. The imperfective marker is placed between the verb marker and the verb stem and causes the initial consonant of the following verb stem to delete.
- imperfective verb**—a transitive verb form which consists of the verb marker, the imperfective marker, and a verb stem and which de-

signates an action which is in progress and has not been brought to completion or perfection.

implicit—not overtly expressed by some marker or form; implied.

inanimate noun—a noun referring to something which cannot move by itself—i.e., to something other than a human being or an animal.

inchoative suffix -a—a suffix added to verb stems which denotes an action or state that has just come about and is therefore new and unexpected.

independent clause—a clause which precedes a dependent clause or object clause in certain types of complex sentences and which can occur alone as a separate (or independent) sentence because it contains a fully specified subject and verb.

independent form of a noun—the unpossessed form of a noun—i.e., the noun stem without any prefix or suffix.

independent pronoun—a pronoun which occurs as a separate word rather than as a prefix or suffix.

indirect quotation—a summary or rephrasing by the speaker (i.e., from the speaker's point of view) of someone else's statement or assertion.

infix—any morpheme which is inserted into a word.

initial state—a state which existed before some process of change began.

instrument clause—a type of dependent clause which identifies the instrument used in performing the action or activity mentioned in the preceding independent clause.

instrument noun—a concrete noun which designates the tool, implement, or utensil used in performing a particular action.

intentional causation—a type of causation in which the subject of a causative verb means or intends to bring about the action or state in question.

internal structure (of a word)—the structure of a word in terms of the morphemes (stems and affixes) from which it is formed.

intervocalic—appearing between two vowels.

intonation—the rising or falling pitch of the voice, sometimes used to distinguish Palauan questions from statements.

intransitive action verb—a verb which names an action or activity that involves only a doer, but no receiver.

intransitive sentence—a sentence type consisting of a subject noun

phrase and an intransitive verb (followed optionally by a relational phrase).

intransitive state verb—a state verb which involves only a sentence subject, but no sentence object.

liquid—a consonant pronounced by making a partial closure in the mouth, but without any audible friction.

locational phrase—a relational phrase which indicates the location or place of some action or state.

long l—a pronunciation of *l* which is held about twice as long as that of the single consonant; spelled *ll* and transcribed phonetically as [l:].

long vowel—a vowel pronounced with greater length than the corresponding short (or regular) vowel. Palauan long vowels are also characterized by a gliding articulation.

low vowel—a vowel pronounced with the tongue low in the mouth, relatively distant from the palate.

main clause—another term for independent clause.

manner of articulation—the way in which a speech sound is produced; involves complete vs. partial stoppage of air flow, nasal vs. non-nasal articulation, etc.

marked forms—forms which are identified or marked by the overt presence of a particular morpheme (usually an affix). For example, Palauan past tense verb forms are easily identified because they always contain the past tense marker *-il-* or *-l-*.

means of transportation clause—a type of dependent clause which specifies the means of transportation used to move from one location to another.

metathesis—a phonetic process in which sounds or groups of sounds exchange positions. As a result of this process, the verb marker *me-* appears to have been infixes into verb stems as *-(e)m-*, *-u-*, or *-o-*.

mid vowel—a vowel pronounced with a tongue position somewhere between high (close to the palate) and low (relatively far from the palate).

minimal pair—a pair of words which differ from each other with respect to a single phoneme—e.g. *blai* 'house' vs. *mlai* 'canoe', *chad* 'person' vs. *chat* 'smoke', etc.

modifier—any grammatical construction in which a word or group of words is linked by *el* to a following (head) noun.

- morphemes**—meaning-bearing units which combine with each other in the formation of words; minimal units of meaning.
- morphology**—the study of how different morphemes combine with each other in the formation of words.
- nasal sound**—a consonant pronounced with air flowing freely through the nose but not the mouth.
- negative command**—an imperative sentence in which the speaker orders the hearer not to do something.
- negative expression of existence**—a sentence which introduces something into a conversation as new information but at the same time denies the existence of this particular thing.
- negative sentence**—a sentence which denies the occurrence of some action, event, state, condition, etc. Nearly all Palauan negative sentences contain some form of the negative verb *diak*.
- negative verb diak**—an intransitive state verb, equivalent to English 'isn't, doesn't exist,' which is found in nearly all Palauan negative sentences.
- neutral vowel**—the mid central vowel *schwa* (phonetically transcribed [ə]), so called because it is articulated in a position which is least extreme or deviant in terms of tongue height and tongue advancement.
- non-contrastive sounds**—slightly different pronunciations of a phoneme (= allophones) which are usually predictable and automatic and which do not result in minimal pairs.
- non-emphatic pronoun**—a type of independent pronoun which, when used as sentence subject, refers to a person or persons without any particular sense of emphasis or contrast.
- non-human noun**—a noun which refers to something which is not human—i.e. to an animal or thing.
- non-intentional causation**—a type of causation in which the subject of a causative verb does not consciously mean or intend to bring about the action or state in question.
- non-specific noun**—a noun which does not refer to any particular person, animal, or thing but instead refers to something in a general way.
- noun**—a word (or part of speech) which names or makes reference to various types of things and living beings.
- noun phrase**—any single word or group of words which can occur as sentence subject or object, or following the relational word *er*. All Palauan noun phrases must at least contain a noun.

- noun phrase of characterization**—a noun phrase consisting of either of the following:
- (i) a possessed noun with a 3rd pers. sg. or pl. possessor suffix followed by another noun (phrase) which characterizes the possessed noun by describing its function, purpose, content, origin, etc.
 - (ii) the independent form of an optionally possessed noun followed by a characterizational phrase.
- noun phrase of possession**—a noun phrase consisting of any of the following:
- (i) a single possessed noun.
 - (ii) a possessed noun with a 3rd pers. sg. or pl. possessor suffix followed by another noun (phrase) which specifies or identifies the possessor.
 - (iii) an unpossessible noun followed by a possessor phrase.
- noun stem**—way of referring to a noun when it appears in combination with a prefix or suffix.
- number morphemes**—morphemes designating numbers that combine with various prefixes to form number words for counting different categories of things.
- number word**—any word which designates a number. Most Palauan number words consist of a prefix identifying the category of thing being counted followed by a number morpheme.
- object clause**—a type of dependent clause which is used in sentence object position following certain transitive verbs.
- object pronoun**—a type of affix pronoun which is suffixed to perfective verb forms and which identifies the person or persons affected by the action of the verb.
- obligatorily possessed noun**—a noun which has no independent form and must therefore always occur with a possessor suffix.
- obligatory**—must occur, apply, etc.
- optional**—may or may not occur, apply, etc.
- optionally possessed noun**—a noun which may (but does not have to) occur in a possessed form—i.e., a noun which can appear independently as well as with possessor suffixes.
- ordinal number**—a number used to indicate the order or rank of something—i.e., first, second, etc.
- overt**—shown by an actual marker or form; explicit.
- paradigm**—a set or group of related forms.

- parts of speech**—classes or groups of words in a language whose members have common distributional characteristics.
- passive sentence**—a sentence type containing the hypothetical form of a transitive verb in which the person, animal, or thing affected by the action of the transitive verb appears in sentence subject position and the agent appears in sentence-final position. In passive sentences, attention is focused on the object and what happens to it.
- past tense**—a tense used to describe actions or states which occurred or were in progress in the past (i.e. at some point in time preceding the time of utterance).
- past tense marker** -il- or -l- —a morpheme indicating the past tense which is infixed after the initial consonant of a verb.
- perfective verb**—a transitive verb form which contains a suffixed object pronoun and which designates an action which is brought to completion or perfection.
- permutation**—exchange of position (as in the permutation of conditional and consequential clauses).
- phonemes of a language**—units of sound which contrast with each other and serve to differentiate words from each other. See also *contrastive sounds*, *significant sounds*.
- phonetic symbol**—a symbol written in square brackets and used to identify the actual pronunciation of a sound—e.g. [b], [ɔ̃], [a], etc. The phonetic symbol for a sound may not necessarily correspond to the letters used in Palauan spelling—e.g. [ʔ] for *ch*. See also *phonetic transcription*.
- phonetic transcription**—the system (or practice) of writing down the words of a language in phonetic symbols. Phonetic transcriptions of words are enclosed in square brackets—e.g. [maɔ̃] for *mad* 'eye'. See also *phonetic symbol*.
- phrase**—a group of associated words. Palauan has three major types of phrases—noun phrases, verb phrases, and relational phrases.
- plural**—referring to two or more persons, animals, or things.
- plural prefix**—a prefix (*re-* or *r-*) which can be added only to human nouns to form plurals.
- point of articulation**—the place where contact is made during the production of certain speech sounds.
- possessed noun**—any noun consisting of a noun stem followed by a possessor suffix.

- possession**—relationship between a noun stem and a possessor suffix such that the person or thing to which the suffix refers owns or possesses whatever is designated by the noun stem.
- possessor phrase**—a type of relational phrase which identifies the possessor of the immediately preceding (unpossessible) noun.
- possessor suffix**—a suffix which is added to a noun stem to designate the possessor.
- predictive suffix** -u— a suffix added to verb stems which expresses the speaker's prediction that the action of the verb is about to happen.
- prefix**—any bound morpheme which is attached to the beginning of a word or morpheme.
- preposing of possessor**—a grammatical process in which a noun phrase designating a possessor is preposed (or moved forward) to sentence-initial position, where it substitutes for a pronominal trace. The possessor to be preposed must already have been moved to the right of the verb phrase as part of a shifted subject.
- preposition**—term used in English grammar to refer to relating words such as *by*, *with*, *on*, *for*, etc.
- present tense**—a tense used to describe actions or states which are in progress at the present time (i.e. at the time when the sentence is uttered). The present tense is also used in general statements and habitual statements.
- productive**—term used to describe a pattern of word formation which is widely used by the speakers of a language in coining new words.
- progressive**—in progress; in the process of taking place.
- pronominalization**—a grammatical process by which a noun (or noun phrase) is replaced by a non-emphatic pronoun under certain circumstances.
- pronominal trace**—a 3rd pers. sg. or pl. non-emphatic pronoun which occurs in sentence-initial position as a result of the grammatical process of subject shifting.
- pronoun**—a short word referring to persons such as 'I', 'you', 'he', etc.; a word which substitutes for a noun or noun phrase in the proper context.
- propositive verb form**—a verb form used when the speaker wishes to propose or suggest that he and the hearer(s) perform some action or activity together. Palauan propositive verb forms are actually hypothetical verb forms prefixed with the first person plural inclusive hypothetical pronoun.

- purpose clause**—a type of dependent clause which explains the purpose of the action or activity mentioned in the preceding independent clause.
- qualifying word**—a word which qualifies or limits the meaning of a directly following verb.
- question**—any sentence which asks for or demands information of one kind or another.
- question word**—a word which occurs in question sentences and is used to ask about the specific identity of a person, place, thing, etc.
- reason clause**—a clause introduced by *e le* 'because' which explains the cause or reason for the event or state described in the preceding clause.
- recent past (tense)**—a tense which refers to an event that happened in the recent past (i.e., at a past time point not too distant from that of the utterance itself) or to past experience. It is represented by the auxiliary *m̄la* followed by an action verb.
- reciprocal**—affecting each other; having a mutual effect.
- reciprocal prefix**—a prefix with many variant forms (*kai-*, *kau-*, *kaiuq-*, *ke-*, *ka-*, and *cha-*) which is added to verb stems or nouns to derive reciprocal verbs.
- reciprocal verb**—a verb formed with the reciprocal prefix which describes a situation in which two or more persons or things are affecting each other in some way.
- reduced vowel**—the neutral vowel *ɛ* (schwa), often resulting from the reduction or weakening of the full vowels *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*, and *a* in unstressed syllables.
- redundant**—containing superfluous or unnecessary information.
- reduplicated syllable**—a syllable which has been formed by a process of reduplication.
- reduplication**—a phonetic process which involves repeating (or reduplicating) part or all of a verb stem or noun, usually resulting in a significant change of meaning. Palauan reduplication patterns are very complex and have many irregularities.
- relational phrase**—any sequence consisting of the relational word *ɛr* followed by a noun (phrase) or a pronoun. Relational phrases provide such information as the place or time of an action or state.
- relational word** *ɛr*—a widely-used Palauan word which functions to express various types of relationships such as location, time, possession, and the like. This word corresponds to English 'on', 'at', 'in', 'from', 'of', etc.

- relative clause**—a clause introduced by *ɛl* which relates a particular piece of information to the preceding (head) noun.
- relative clause introducer** *ɛl*—a word which appears at the beginning of, and therefore introduces, relative clauses.
- result clause**—a clause introduced by *m̄ɛ* '(and) so' which explains the result or consequence of the event or state described in the preceding clause.
- resulting sentence**—a sentence derived as a result of applying certain grammatical processes to a source sentence.
- resulting state**—a state which has come about as the result of some process of change.
- resulting state infix** *-(ɛ)l-*—an infix which is inserted after the initial consonant of a verb stem to form a resulting state verb.
- resulting state verb**—a state verb formed with the infix *-(ɛ)l-* which is used to describe the state or condition someone or something is in as a result of a particular action. Many resulting state verbs function as nouns with special meanings.
- rounded vowel**—a vowel pronounced with simultaneous rounding of the lips.
- schwa**—a mid central vowel occurring only in Palauan unstressed syllables; transcribed phonetically as [ə] and spelled as *ɛ* in this text.
- schwa release**—a predictable pronunciation of *schwa* following a consonant cluster in word-final position.
- second person pronoun**—a pronoun ('you') which refers to the person or persons addressed.
- sentence object**—the noun or noun phrase which follows a transitive verb and designates the person, animal, or thing affected by the action of the verb.
- sentence subject**—the noun or noun phrase which appears at the beginning of a sentence preceding the verb or verb phrase.
- sentence type**—a variety of sentence characterized by a particular sequence of elements. Palauan has sentence types such as transitive sentence, intransitive sentence, ergative sentence, etc.
- sequential time relationship**—relationship between two clauses joined by the connecting word *e* such that the clause introduced by *e* designates an event, state, etc. which takes place after the event, state, etc. of the preceding clause.
- shortening**—a phonetic process in which a sequence of two vowels

- (i.e., a long vowel or a vowel cluster) shortens to a single vowel.
- significant sounds of a language**—units of sound which contrast with each other and serve to differentiate words from each other. See also *contrastive sounds*, *phonemes*.
- simple noun**—a noun which consists of a single morpheme.
- simple noun phrase**—a noun phrase consisting of the independent (or unpossessed) form of a noun.
- simple state verb**—a state verb which consists of a single morpheme.
- simultaneous time relationship**—relationship between two clauses joined by the connecting word *e* such that the events, states, etc. of both clauses are happening at the same time.
- singular**—referring to just one person, animal, or thing.
- sound system of a language**—the contrasting units of sound (= phonemes) and their distribution.
- source phrase**—a relational phrase which indicates the point of origin of some action involving movement or the person from whom something is received, learned, etc.
- source sentence**—the sentence from which another sentence is derived by applying grammatical processes such as subject shifting, preposing of possessor, and the like. Some source sentences are themselves grammatical, while other source sentences must obligatorily undergo certain grammatical processes.
- spatial relationship**—a relationship between the locations of two or more persons or things. Spatial relationships involve such concepts as *on top of* vs. *under*, *in front of* vs. *in back of*, *between*, etc.
- specific noun**—a noun which refers to a particular person, animal, or thing; a noun which is associated with a particular occasion.
- specifying clause**—a possible cover term for purpose, instrument, means of transportation, and accompaniment clauses, all of which have the common function of specifying, qualifying, or giving further information about the action or activity of the preceding independent clause. Use of this term, however, is restricted to any dependent clause which fulfills the rather general function of specifying or narrowing down the scope of the action or state of the preceding independent clause, but which cannot be conveniently assigned to any of the four types of dependent clauses mentioned above.
- specifying word** *er*—a word which precedes certain types of sentence objects that refer to specific persons or things.

- statement**—any sentence which provides or supplies information by describing events, actions, states, etc.
- state verb**—a verb which describes a state, condition, or quality which temporarily or permanently characterizes a person, animal, or thing.
- stop**—a consonantal sound in which the outward air flow is completely stopped or interrupted at some point in the mouth or throat.
- stressed syllable**—the loudest or most prominent syllable in a word; sometimes identified in this text with a stress mark (').
- stress mark**—a mark (') used to identify the stressed (i.e., loudest and strongest) syllable of a word, placed over the (prominent) vowel of the stressed syllable.
- subject shifting**—a grammatical process in which the subject noun phrase of a sentence is shifted to the right of the verb phrase (or the second noun phrase, if the sentence is equational). When subject shifting occurs, a 3rd pers. sg. or pl. non-emphatic pronoun is left in the original subject position.
- suffix**—any bound morpheme which is attached to the end of a word or morpheme.
- syllabic consonant**—(nasal or liquid) consonant which is pronounced as a separate syllable.
- syllables**—the pulses of air with which a given word is pronounced.
- tapped r**—a pronunciation of *r* made with a quick tapping movement of the tongue tip against the alveolar ridge.
- temporal phrase**—a relational phrase which names the time of an action or state.
- tense**—the time of the action or state designated by a verb.
- third person pronoun**—a pronoun ('he', 'she', 'it', or 'they') which refers to someone or something the speaker is interested in talking about.
- time clause**—a clause which is used to express a temporal relationship between two events, actions, states, etc. Time clauses are introduced by such expressions as *er se er a* 'when', *er a uche er a* 'before', and *er a uriul er a* 'after'.
- time word (or expression)**—any word (or expression) which identifies a point or period of time in the present, past, or future.
- tongue advancement**—the relative degree of advancement or retraction (front, central, or back) of the tongue during the pronunciation of a given vowel.

- tongue height**—the relative height (high, mid, or low) of the tongue in the mouth during the pronunciation of a given vowel.
- transitive action verb**—a verb which names an action or activity that involves both a doer (or agent) and a receiver (or object); a verb identifying an action which is done to or directed at some person, animal, or thing.
- transitive sentence**—a sentence type consisting of a subject noun phrase, a transitive verb, and an object noun phrase (followed optionally by a relational phrase).
- transitive state verb**—a state verb (usually referring to a mental state or ability) which involves both a subject and an object.
- trilled r**—a series of two or three tapped *r*'s pronounced in rapid succession; spelled *rr* and transcribed phonetically as [r̥].
- unaspirated**—not involving aspiration—i.e., not accompanied by an audible puff of air.
- unmarked forms**—forms which convey a particular meaning in spite of the fact that they do not contain any overt morpheme (or marker) for that meaning. For example, Palauan present tense verb forms (e.g. *męsuub* 'study', *męnguui* 'read', etc.) are identified by the absence of any overt tense marker.
- unpossessible noun**—a noun which cannot take possessor suffixes.
- unrounded vowel**—a vowel pronounced without any simultaneous rounding of the lips.
- unstressed syllable**—any syllable in a word other than the loudest and strongest.
- utterance**—the act of saying (or uttering) a sentence.
- velar**—a consonantal sound involving the velum.
- velum**—the membrane behind the soft palate which serves as a point of articulation for the Palauan consonants *k* and *ng*.
- verb**—a word (or part of speech) which describes an action or state.
- verb marker**—a morpheme with various forms (*mę-*, *-m-*, *-u-*, *-o-*, etc.) which functions to mark or identify a particular word as a verb.
- verb of communication**—a verb which denotes the transmission or reception of information—i.e., a verb involving saying, telling, hearing, etc.
- verb of mental activity**—a verb which denotes such mental processes as thinking, believing, knowing, and the like.
- verb phrase**—any single word or group of words which follows the sen-

- tence subject and describes an action or state in which the sentence subject is involved.
- verb stem**—a morpheme (sometimes occurring as an independent noun) which combines with various affixes to form different types of verbs.
- vocal cords**—a set of elastic membranes in the larynx which can vibrate, producing voiced sounds.
- voiced sound**—a sound pronounced with a simultaneous vibration of the vocal cords.
- voiceless sound**—a sound pronounced without any simultaneous vibration of the vocal cords.
- voicing**—the "buzzing" sound produced when air passes between the vocal cords and causes them to vibrate.
- vowel**—a sound produced by holding the tongue in various positions in the mouth without any contact or friction.
- vowel blending**—a phonetic process in which two vowels in an unstressed syllable change or blend into a single vowel. The resulting vowel preserves phonetic features from each of the original vowels.
- vowel cluster**—a series of two adjacent vowels in the same syllable, as in *oách* 'leg' and *ngáu* 'fire'. Usually, one of the vowels in a vowel cluster is stressed.
- vowel cluster reduction**—a phonetic process in which a vowel cluster is reduced to a single vowel (or sometimes *ə*) in an unstressed syllable.
- vowel deletion**—the loss of a vowel under certain circumstances (usually in unstressed syllables).
- vowel-final (word or stem)**—a word or stem ending in a vowel.
- vowel-initial (word, stem, or suffix)**—a word, stem, or suffix beginning with a vowel.
- vowel qualities**—the different vowel sounds which are produced by changing the position of the tongue.
- vowel reduction**—a phonetic process, found in Palauan and many other languages, in which a full vowel (*i*, *u*, *e*, *o*, or *a*) reduces to the weaker, more neutral mid central vowel *schwa* under certain conditions.
- vowel triangle**—a triangular configuration which schematizes the relative positions of articulation of the vowels.
- word-final(ly)**—occurring at the end of a word.
- word-initial(ly)**—occurring at the beginning of a word.
- word-internal(ly)**—occurring within or inside a word.

- yes-no question**—a question which can be answered by 'yes' or 'no' and which asks whether or not such-and-such is the case.
- zero object pronoun**—an object pronoun which has no actual phonetic realization but which nevertheless is of structural significance because it contrasts with the other object pronouns. The zero object pronoun (symbolized as Ø) refers to non-human plural objects.

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Index

Note: Numbers in parentheses identify the chapter (in bold type) and note number.

- abstract noun, 36, 190, 191, 193f, 342f, 527
- accompaniment clause, 308f, 314f, 527
- action noun, 195f, 273, 328, 351f, 359, 504 (**10:2**), 512 (**14:40**), 515 (**17:10**), 527
- action verb, 30, 44, 45, 112f, 170, 174, 230, 237, 269f, 272, 277, 515 (**17:9**), 527. See also *intransitive action verb*, *transitive action verb*
- active sentence, 141f, 400f, 527
- affirmative command, 393f, 432, 527
- affirmative expression of existence, 90, 364f, 517 (**19:2**), 527
- affirmative sentence, 362f, 527
- affix, 78, 112, 117, 123, 133, 170, 187, 230, 527
- affix pronoun, 78f, 94, 527
- agent, 105, 110, 135, 142, 170, 180, 297, 355, 362, 363, 400f, 403, 453, 527
- allophone, 3, 6, 7, 18, 34, 528
- alveolar, 4, 528
- alveolar ridge, 11, 15, 528
- ambiguity, 283, 358f, 394, 520 (**21:2**), 528
- animate noun, 327, 328, 528
- anticipating state suffix, 166, 182f, 185f, 188f, 234, 414, 502 (**8:7**), 505 (**10:6**), 528
- anticipating state verb, 143, 182f, 188f, 502 (**7:12**), 502 (**8:1**), 528
- appositional structure, 73f, 457f, 528
- archaic, 205, 217, 528
- articulator, 3, 11, 528. See also *manner of articulation*, *point of articulation*
- aspiration, 7, 9, 528
- assimilation, 13, 128, 129, 147, 165, 166, 181, 199, 216, 226, 495 (**1:4**), 495 (**1:5**), 500 (**5:2**), 500 (**5:4**), 502 (**8:5**), 503 (**8:9**), 520 (**21:1**), 528
- auxiliary word, 118f, 124f, 129f, 136, 174, 220, 236, 255f, 271, 328, 329, 334, 360, 365, 368, 369, 379, 385, 500 (**5:1**), 500 (**5:5**), 501 (**6:4**), 508 (**13:2**), 508 (**13:4**), 528
- back vowel, 18, 160, 161, 500 (**5:2**), 528
- basic form (of complex verb), 151, 397, 508 (**13:3**)
- basic stem, 183f, 198, 528
- basic structure, 529
- bilabial, 4, 5f, 12, 139, 147, 150, 157, 204, 501 (**6:5**), 518 (**19:10**), 529
- bound form or stem, 133, 138, 147, 149, 171, 177, 194, 221, 222, 504 (**10:2**), 529
- bracketed sentence, 349f, 372f, 452f, 461f, 519 (**20:3**), 521 (**23:2**), 522 (**24:1**), 529
- causative marker, 204, 211, 503 (**9:4**), 529
- causative prefix, 127, 200, 202f, 221, 500 (**5:3**), 503 (**9:3**), 529
- causative verb, 127, 143, 200f, 220, 221f, 230, 242f, 251, 255, 286, 499 (**4:7**), 499 (**4:9**), 503 (**9:2**), 505 (**10:13**), 510 (**14:21**), 511 (**14:23**), 514 (**16:6**), 529
- cause phrase, 289f, 295, 453, 529
- central vowel, 18, 20, 161, 529
- change of state (expression), 119, 131,

172, 249, 272f, 329f, 360f, 368, 369, 508 (13:6), 513 (15:7), 529
 characterization, 53
 characterizational phrase, 71f, 197, 296f, 314, 529
 clause, 92, 299f, 383f, 438f, 451, 482.
 See also *accompaniment clause*, *conditional clause*, *consequential clause*, *dependent clause*, *independent clause*, *instrument clause*, *main clause*, *means of transportation clause*, *object clause*, *purpose clause*, *reason clause*, *relative clause*, *result clause*, *specifying clause*, *time clause*
 comparison, 296
 complex noun, 187f, 529
 complex state verb, 194
 complex verb form, 187, 529. See also *basic form (of complex verb)*
 complex verb phrase, 109f, 377, 405f, 517 (18:12), 529
 concrete noun, 35f, 324f, 529
 condition, 383f, 530
 conditional clause, 356, 383f, 444, 445, 447, 483, 486, 512 (14:37), 517 (19:1), 517 (19:4), 517 (19:7), 520 (20:14), 520 (21:1), 523 (25:3), 530
 conditional clause marker *a*, 356, 530
 conditional sentence, 383f, 407, 483, 486, 517 (19:3), 517 (19:4), 517 (19:7), 530
 connecting word *me*, 85f, 219, 315, 344, 421f, 427, 439, 444, 449, 482f, 530
 consequent, 383f, 530
 consequential clause, 384f, 483, 486, 517 (19:3), 517 (19:4), 523 (25:3), 530
 consonant, 3f, 530. See also *consonant cluster*, *long consonant*, *syllabic consonant*, *unaspirated consonant*
 consonant cluster, 22, 56, 96, 181, 185, 495 (1:7), 496 (1:9), 498 (3:9), 530
 consonant-final (word or stem), 497 (3:3), 530
 consonant-initial (word, stem, or suffix), 56, 334, 530
 constriction, 8, 11
 context, 83, 85, 306f, 446, 499 (4:5), 513 (15:5), 530. See also *contextual restrictions*
 contextual restrictions, 261f, 530

contrastive emphasis, 80f, 85, 87, 499 (4:15)
 contrastive sounds, 2, 530
 coordinate noun phrase, 85f, 490f, 494, 499 (4:3), 531
 days (of the week or month), 293
 demonstrative (word), 26, 28, 46, 173, 278, 464, 465f, 522 (24:5), 522 (24:8), 531
 dental, 4, 6f, 12, 22, 137, 531
 dependent clause, 270, 294, 299f, 325, 348f, 372f, 438, 451, 455, 463, 511 (14:22), 515 (17:9), 531
 dependent clause introducer *el*, 300f, 348, 429, 512 (23:3), 531
 derived plural noun, 44, 531
 derived state verb, 176f, 230, 234, 531
 directional phrase, 269, 284f, 288, 424, 508 (13:5), 520 (21:3), 531
 directional verb, 266f, 284, 302f, 312f, 360f, 384, 396, 429, 508 (13:5), 513 (15:7), 516 (18:9), 531
 direct quotation, 428f, 520 (21:2), 521 (21:5), 531
 dissimilation, 147f, 150, 157f, 204, 503 (9:3), 531
 distribution, 34, 36f, 44, 65, 66f, 73, 78, 85, 107f, 112, 119f, 137, 150f, 276f, 451, 465, 491f, 531
 doer, 112f, 266, 324, 362, 363, 400f, 453
 emphatic pronoun, 30, 53, 79f, 84f, 94, 95, 341, 345, 365, 402, 492, 493, 515 (17:3), 531
 emphatic subject, 79f.
 English, 1, 13, 32, 33, 35, 69, 74, 80, 92, 125, 134, 232, 255, 270f, 278, 304, 322, 333, 359, 382, 393, 496 (1:10), 507 (12:2), 507 (13:1), 515 (17:6)
 environment, 2, 39, 67, 84, 261, 531
 equational sentence, 334f, 349, 363, 377f, 389, 393, 412f, 420, 423, 456f, 498 (3:25), 519 (20:3), 522 (24:4), 532
 ergative sentence, 135, 142f, 518 (19:11), 532
 ergative verb, 124, 129, 131f, 137, 146, 147, 154, 157, 205, 210, 217f, 224, 230, 237f, 245, 247f, 297, 376, 464, 504 (9:7), 506 (11:14), 516 (18:11), 532

existential (state) verb, 116, 278, 279, 307f, 346, 365, 376, 385, 500 (5:5), 532
 expanded noun phrase, 451f, 465, 469, 474, 477, 478, 532
 expanded verb phrase, 480f
 first person plural exclusive, 54, 79, 229, 532
 first person plural inclusive, 54, 79, 111, 397, 399, 532
 first person pronoun, 41, 53, 78, 273, 274, 403, 532
 focus, 142
 formal (difference), 47, 532
 frequency (of occurrence), 293
 fricative, 4, 8, 11, 137, 495 (1:2), 532
 front vowel, 18, 160, 500 (5:2), 532
 full vowel, 21, 55, 96, 101, 164, 183f, 215, 235, 514 (16:4), 532
 future tense or time, 98, 119, 130f, 136, 256, 267, 270f, 290, 291, 292, 303, 328, 360f, 365, 384f, 387f, 390, 446, 532
 general question, 256, 259, 353, 382, 387, 517 (19:4), 532
 general statement, 47, 124, 257, 350, 353, 517 (19:4), 533
 glide, 23, 61f, 533. See also *w-glide*, *y-glide*
 glottal stop, 10f, 138, 209, 533
 glottis, 10, 533
 goal, 114, 269, 284f, 287f, 424, 520 (21:3)
 grammatical system, 1, 34f, 533
 habitual action or statement, 124, 257, 329, 446f, 533
 head noun, 451f, 461, 469, 471, 473, 476, 498 (3:25), 533
 high vowel, 17f, 159, 160, 161, 162f, 500 (5:2), 533
 homonym, 57, 195, 508 (13:2), 533
 hours (of the day), 292
 human (noun or pronoun), 35f, 41f, 49, 54, 79, 97, 99f, 104, 220, 288f, 337, 345, 402, 467, 473, 496 (2:3), 515 (17:1), 522 (24:8), 533
 hypothetical pronoun, 31, 103f, 106f, 129, 143, 217, 230, 356, 363, 370, 372f, 386, 388, 393, 403, 432, 500 (4:17), 500 (5:4), 517 (18:12), 519 (20:3), 533. See also *reduced variant (of hypothetical pronoun)*

hypothetical verb form, 103f, 129, 142, 143, 152f, 168f, 217f, 228, 230, 355f, 363, 371, 372f, 383f, 420, 442f, 453, 500 (4:16), 510 (14:19), 516 (18:7), 516 (18:8), 516 (18:10), 516 (18:11), 517 (18:12), 517 (19:7), 518 (19:8), 523 (25:3), 533
 identity (condition), 350f, 452f, 486f, 489, 512 (15:2)
 imminent action or event, 97, 98, 258, 533
 imperative, 110f, 229, 275, 393f, 432, 443, 444, 485, 510 (14:19), 533
 imperfective marker, 137f, 146, 148, 156f, 178f, 181, 186, 204f, 210, 221, 224f, 230, 239f, 253, 499 (4:13), 503 (9:4), 507 (12:1), 533
 imperfective verb, 50f, 95f, 103f, 107, 110, 126, 133, 136f, 146, 148, 178f, 195, 202f, 215, 216, 230, 239, 245, 248f, 253f, 275, 375, 394, 397, 398, 402, 416, 464, 502 (7:12), 513 (15:4), 513 (15:5), 533
 inanimate noun, 99, 305, 327, 328, 514 (17:1), 534
 inchoative suffix *-a* or inchoative verb, 144, 230, 245f, 274, 323, 507 (11:18), 507 (11:19), 507 (11:22), 507 (11:23), 507 (11:24), 534
 indefinite, 459f
 independent clause, 301f, 445, 451, 463, 482f, 534
 independent form (of a noun), 55, 57f, 63, 75, 534
 independent pronoun, 78f, 534
 indirect quotation, 428f, 442, 520 (21:2), 521 (21:5), 534
 infix, 117f, 127, 132, 140, 149f, 154, 180, 209, 268, 369, 495 (1:4), 496 (1:8), 534. See also *resulting state infix*, *verb marker (infix)*
 initial state, 272f, 534
 instrument clause, 300, 304f, 326, 438, 512 (14:39), 534
 instrument noun, 195f, 304f, 502 (8:19), 504 (10:2), 534
 intensifier, 255
 intentional causation, 212f, 534
 internal structure (of a word), 52, 170f, 187f, 253, 534
 intervocalic, 6, 9, 107, 534
 intonation, 90, 409f, 521 (21:5), 534
 intransitive action verb, 113f, 127,

- 146, 149f, 153, 196, 200, 202f, 208f, 212, 228, 233, 236f, 245, 266, 269f, 275, 285, 288, 327, 342f, 352, 376, 396, 407, 464, 499 (4:7), 499 (4:9), 502 (7:7), 503 (8:19), 511 (14:23), 534
- intransitive movement verb, 312
- intransitive sentence, 201f, 363, 461, 534
- intransitive state verb, 115f, 146, 149f, 153, 190f, 202f, 206, 212, 221, 225, 233, 342f, 369, 375, 407, 485, 499 (4:9), 516 (18:8), 535
- Japanese, 13, 32, 69, 125, 496 (1:10)
- liquid, 4, 14f, 16, 34, 137, 535
- locational phrase, 39, 278f, 285, 288, 294, 295, 307, 313, 364, 365, 424, 455, 468, 508 (14:1), 509 (14:10), 511 (14:22), 516 (18:4), 518 (19:9), 535
- long consonant, 15, 535
- long vowel, 23f, 59, 99, 164, 535
- low vowel, 17, 20, 159, 162, 535
- main clause, 301f, 445, 451, 482, 535
- manner, 320f
- manner of articulation, 4, 6, 535
- marked form, 124, 535
- meaning-bearing unit, 52, 112, 132, 187
- means of communication, 298
- means of transportation (clause), 279, 306f, 535
- metathesis, 149f, 154, 156f, 171, 196, 201, 206, 253, 370, 518 (19:10), 535
- mid vowel, 17, 18f, 159, 160, 161, 162, 500 (5:2), 535
- minimal pair, 2, 6, 20, 535
- modifier, 29, 421, 461f, 535
- months (of the year), 293
- morpheme, 52, 112, 132, 170, 187, 204, 210, 467f, 487, 503 (9:4), 536
- morphology, 112, 536
- nasal sound, 4, 11f, 14, 16, 34, 536
- negation, 362f
- negative command, 397f, 432, 536
- negative expression of existence, 90, 366f, 379, 536
- negative sentence, 362f, 407, 518 (20:3), 536
- negative verb, 88, 346, 357, 359, 362f, 369f, 383, 384, 385f, 397f, 442, 508 (13:6), 515 (17:12), 519 (20:3), 536
- neutral vowel, 21, 55, 106, 215, 536
- new information, 82, 89, 364, 369
- non-contrastive sounds, 2, 6, 536
- non-emphatic pronoun, 30, 79f, 88f, 97, 336f, 367, 409, 493, 515 (17:3), 520 (21:1), 536
- non-emphatic subject, 79f
- non-human noun or pronoun, 35f, 41f, 49, 54, 97, 104, 345, 394f, 402, 496 (2:3), 522 (24:8), 536
- non-intentional causation, 213, 536
- non-nasal sound, 14
- non-specific noun, 46f, 347, 497 (2:6), 536
- noun, 26, 34f, 52f, 108, 109, 112, 132, 185f, 188f, 207, 277, 297, 308, 344, 536. See also *abstract noun*, *action noun*, *animate noun*, *complex noun*, *concrete noun*, *derived plural noun*, *head noun*, *human noun*, *inanimate noun*, *independent form (of a noun)*, *instrument noun*, *non-human noun*, *non-specific noun*, *noun derivation*, *noun of communication*, *noun phrase*, *noun stem*, *object noun*, *obligatorily possessed noun*, *optionally possessed noun*, *possessed noun*, *simple noun*, *specific noun*, *un-possessible noun*
- noun derivation, 187f, 304, 305
- noun of communication, 436f
- noun phrase, 46, 65f, 67, 73, 75, 85f, 119, 120f, 274, 277, 307, 325, 334, 338, 344, 414, 450, 477, 491, 517 (19:1), 519 (20:3), 536. See also *coordinate noun phrase*, *expanded noun phrase*, *noun phrase of characterization*, *noun phrase of possession*, *object noun (phrase)*, *simple noun (phrase)*, *subject noun (phrase)*
- noun phrase of characterization, 68f, 309, 314, 515 (17:2), 537
- noun phrase of possession, 64f, 67, 68f, 89, 120, 193, 280f, 303f, 338f, 411, 417, 423, 457, 499 (4:3), 537
- noun stem, 52, 189, 537
- number, 53f, 94, 104, 309, 363
- number morpheme, 471f, 537
- number word, 28, 29, 43, 315, 464, 470f, 522 (24:9), 537. See also *ordinal number*

- object clause, 324f, 455, 463, 514 (16:2), 521 (23:3), 537
- object noun (phrase), 37, 67, 93, 133, 175, 207, 220, 222, 227, 266, 298, 318, 352, 400f, 450f, 485. See also *sentence object*
- object pronoun (suffix), 30, 94f, 100f, 140, 154, 156, 165, 215, 230, 244, 253, 260, 316f, 331, 348, 394f, 496 (2:3), 499 (4:8), 510 (14:19), 514 (16:5), 515 (17:5), 537. See also *zero object pronoun*
- obligatorily possessed noun, 63f, 66, 283, 309, 333f, 422, 509 (14:6), 510 (14:14), 510 (14:15), 510 (14:16), 537
- old information, 82, 364, 519 (20:8)
- optionally possessed noun, 63, 66, 72, 75, 537
- order (of words), 35, 91, 346f
- ordinal number, 477f, 511 (14:35), 523 (24:15), 537
- ownership, 148, 222
- paradigm, 97, 537
- particle, 255
- part of speech, 34, 538
- passive sentence or verb form, 88, 105, 135, 141f, 346, 400f, 416, 420, 453f, 461, 518 (19:11), 519 (20:5), 519 (20:12), 538
- past experience, 130, 256, 271, 371
- past tense (or time), 37, 87, 88, 98, 105f, 117f, 124f, 149, 151, 152, 163, 170, 172, 174f, 215, 216, 220, 236, 254f, 268, 270, 291, 292, 300, 306f, 309, 360, 369, 385, 390, 438, 445, 451, 487f, 505 (10:4), 508, (13:2), 513 (15:7), 538. See also *recent past (time)*, *remote past (time)*
- past tense marker, 106, 117f, 125f, 163, 215, 230, 236, 268, 328, 500 (5:2), 500 (5:4), 504 (9:14), 538
- perfective verb, 50f, 95f, 97f, 107f, 110, 111, 126, 128, 136f, 139f, 146f, 151, 154f, 164f, 175, 205f, 210, 213f, 230, 253f, 316f, 331, 347, 376, 394, 398, 402, 405, 443, 444, 492, 499 (4:10), 499 (4:11), 504 (9:12), 504 (9:13), 508 (13:7), 510 (14:19), 510 (14:21), 511 (14:23), 513 (15:4), 513 (15:5), 516 (18:10), 521 (21:4), 538
- permutation, 386f, 393, 538
- person, 53f, 94, 104, 309, 363. See also *first person plural exclusive*, *first person plural inclusive*, *second person*, *third person*
- personal names, 32
- phoneme, 2, 20, 24, 34, 538
- phonetic symbol, 3f, 538
- phonetic transcription, 2f, 538
- phrase, 120, 538. See also *cause phrase*, *characterizational phrase*, *directional phrase*, *locational phrase*, *possessor phrase*, *relational phrase*, *source phrase*, *temporal phrase*
- physical space, 271, 273
- pitch, 90, 409f
- place names, 32
- plural, 28, 40, 42f, 79, 88, 92, 96, 104, 172f, 218, 315, 317, 344f, 347, 402f, 410, 466, 492, 522 (24:8), 538. See also *derived plural noun*
- plural prefix, 28, 42f, 49, 52, 78, 220, 314, 394, 497 (3:4), 523 (24:12), 538
- point of articulation, 3, 4, 6, 11, 538
- possessed noun, 20, 21, 52f, 164, 227, 232f, 257, 259, 273, 280f, 303, 333f, 354f, 357f, 391, 502 (8:1), 506 (11:5), 516 (18:5), 519 (20:6), 538. See also *obligatorily possessed noun*, *optionally possessed noun*
- possession, 52f, 68, 539
- possessor phrase, 70f, 85, 296f, 341, 505 (10:12), 539
- possessor pronoun, 31, 497 (3:1)
- possessor suffix, 52f, 78, 188f, 193, 227, 280f, 303f, 309, 334, 346, 348, 354f, 391, 497 (3:3), 509 (14:6), 539
- precautionary suggestion, 98, 124, 134, 136, 258
- predictive suffix -u, 144, 230, 245f, 366, 507 (11:19), 539
- predictive word *ku*, 251f, 520 (20:13)
- prefix, 42, 78, 83, 103, 117, 176, 177f, 268, 467, 470f, 530. See also *causative prefix*, *plural prefix*, *reciprocal prefix*, *verb marker (prefix)*
- preposing of possessor, 90, 123, 339f, 368, 412, 516 (18:6), 539
- preposition, 304, 530
- present tense (or time), 37, 97, 98, 123f, 134, 172, 257, 270f, 291f, 300,

- 306f, 384f, 389f, 438, 451, 487f, 539
- productive, 179, 230, 235, 539
- progressive (suffix), 255, 270f, 507 (12:1), 539
- pronominalization, 92f, 515 (17:12), 539
- pronominal trace, 88f, 122, 336f, 349, 367f, 402, 410f, 431, 456, 493, 515 (17:3), 519 (20:3), 523 (25:4), 539
- pronoun, 26, 30f, 40f, 45, 78f, 278, 496 (2:3), 539. See also *affix pronoun*, *emphatic pronoun*, *first person pronoun*, *human (noun or) pronoun*, *hypothetical pronoun*, *independent pronoun*, *non-emphatic pronoun*, *non-human (noun or) pronoun*, *object pronoun (suffix)*, *possessor pronoun*, *pronominalization*, *pronominal trace*, *second person pronoun*, *third person pronoun*
- propositive verb form, 111, 399f, 444, 539
- purpose clause, 299, 301f, 326, 438, 519 (20:10), 540
- qualifying word, 120, 370, 480f, 523 (24:17), 523 (24:18), 540
- question, 90, 106, 279, 286, 289, 290, 294, 302, 305, 310, 346, 380f, 408f, 433f, 540. See also *general question*, *question word*, *yes-no question*
- question word, 44, 279, 289, 290, 294, 310, 408, 412f, 434f, 440f, 465, 492, 512 (14:38), 519 (20:4), 540
- reason clause, 439f, 483, 540
- receiver, 112f, 266, 324, 400f
- recent past (time), 129f, 255, 271, 272, 328, 540
- reciprocal prefix, 192, 219, 221f, 231, 505 (10:11), 540
- reciprocal verb, 143, 192, 219f, 230, 231, 243f, 251, 314, 344f, 505 (10:7), 505 (10:8), 505 (10:13), 506 (11:12), 508 (13:6), 540
- reduced variant (of hypothetical pronoun), 106f, 363
- redundant, 51, 260, 398, 406, 518 (20:2), 522 (24:8), 540
- reduplicated syllable, 173, 225, 231f, 540
- reduplication, 144, 173, 176, 179, 225, 230f, 499 (4:12), 501 (6:1), 505 (10:5), 505 (10:7), 540
- relational phrase, 70, 82, 85, 90, 114, 116, 120f, 135, 172, 197, 269, 276f, 313, 354, 365, 406f, 421, 424, 465, 469f, 477, 493, 519 (20:12), 540
- relational word *er*, 26f, 30, 39, 42, 65, 70, 84f, 94, 114, 193, 269, 277f, 307, 341, 365, 406f, 416f, 449, 453, 455, 464, 505 (10:12), 519 (20:4), 540
- relative clause, 73, 106, 450f, 461f, 463, 500 (4:16), 518 (20:2), 522 (24:1), 541
- relative clause introducer *el*, 29, 452f, 462, 498 (3:25), 518 (20:2), 541
- remote past (time), 130, 272
- result clause, 433, 439f, 482, 484, 523 (25:1), 541
- resulting sentence, 336f, 541
- resulting state, 272f, 541
- resulting state infix, 181, 189, 234, 414, 502 (8:5), 505 (10:6), 505 (11:2), 541
- resulting state verb, 143, 167, 180f, 188f, 441, 495 (1:4), 496 (1:8), 541
- rounded vowel, 18, 19, 148, 150, 541
- schwa, 18, 19, 20f, 55, 80, 96, 106, 215, 235, 496 (1:8), 496 (1:9), 541
- schwa release, 22, 495 (1:7), 496 (1:9), 541
- second person pronoun, 41, 53, 78, 104, 110, 394, 402, 541
- sentence object, 36f, 65, 84f, 86, 113, 200f, 284, 324, 415f, 419, 465, 469f, 477, 491, 541
- sentence subject, 36f, 65, 79f, 85, 113, 200f, 284, 363, 465, 469f, 477, 490f, 541
- sentence type, 120, 277, 295f, 541. See also *active sentence*, *affirmative sentence*, *conditional sentence*, *equational sentence*, *ergative sentence*, *intransitive sentence*, *negative sentence*, *passive sentence*, *transitive sentence*
- sequential time relationship, 488f, 541
- shortening, 59f, 99, 541
- significant sounds, 2, 20, 34, 542
- simple noun, 187, 542
- simple noun phrase, 67, 75, 542
- simple state verb, 170f, 186, 187, 190, 191, 194, 203, 231f, 244, 542

- simultaneous time relationship, 489, 542
- singular, 40, 79, 88, 92, 96, 104, 260, 317, 347, 394, 402f, 410, 420, 466, 492, 522 (24:8), 542
- sound system, 1, 34, 542
- source phrase, 288f, 295, 312, 511 (14:22), 518 (19:9), 542
- source sentence, 336f, 367f, 412f, 519 (20:3), 521 (23:2), 542
- spatial relationship, 51, 280f, 285, 447, 542
- specific noun, 46f, 141, 257, 259, 260, 275, 347, 497 (2:6), 542
- specific statement, 47, 350
- specifying clause, 307, 310f, 359f, 429, 436, 479f, 508 (13:7), 508 (14:1), 510 (14:16), 513 (15:7), 542
- specifying word *er*, 46f, 49, 51, 84, 94, 141, 257, 260, 275, 325, 347, 402, 407, 416, 519 (20:4), 542
- statement, 408, 543. See also *general statement*, *habitual (action or) statement*, *specific statement*
- state verb, 44, 45, 108, 115f, 149, 170f, 174, 188f, 220, 230, 233f, 237, 244, 245, 249f, 271, 272f, 277f, 320, 322, 380, 458f, 461f, 479, 508 (13:2), 508 (13:4), 508 (13:6), 513 (15:7), 514 (16:2), 515 (17:9), 543. See also *anticipating state verb*, *complex state verb*, *derived state verb*, *existential (state) verb*, *intransitive state verb*, *resulting state verb*, *simple state verb*, *transitive state verb*
- stop, 4f, 543. See also *glottal stop*
- stressed syllable, 19, 24, 25, 55, 79, 95, 156, 183f, 198, 215f, 245, 495 (1:2), 543
- stress mark, 19, 543
- subject noun (phrase), 37f, 67, 93, 133, 197, 207, 219f, 300f, 318, 334, 336f, 352, 400f, 450f, 462, 485, 497 (2:6), 519 (20:12). See also *emphatic subject*, *non-emphatic subject*, *sentence subject*, *subject shifting*
- subject shifting, 88f, 122, 197, 335f, 367f, 372f, 385, 388, 392, 410f, 493, 515 (17:3), 516 (18:5), 519 (20:3), 519 (20:11), 523 (25:4), 543
- suffix, 52, 78, 117, 181, 230, 470, 476, 502 (7:12), 543. See also *anticipat-*
- ing state suffix*, *inchoative suffix*, *object pronoun (suffix)*, *possessor suffix*, *predictive suffix*
- syllabic consonant, 16, 58, 111, 394, 495 (1:5), 498 (3:10), 522 (24:6), 543
- syllable, 13, 16, 19, 543. See also *reduplicated syllable*, *stressed syllable*, *unstressed syllable*.
- tapped *r*, 15, 543
- temporal phrase, 123, 125, 131, 267, 270, 282, 290f, 294f, 320, 326, 393, 425f, 446, 448, 449, 464, 478, 507 (12:3), 514 (16:1), 521 (22:1), 523 (24:16), 543
- temporal relationship (or sense), 51, 282f, 444
- tense, 97, 120, 123f, 254, 360f, 375f, 439, 451, 543. See also *future tense*, *past experience*, *past tense*, *present tense*, *recent past (time)*, *remote past (time)*
- third person pronoun, 41, 53, 79, 104, 274, 403, 543
- time clause, 262, 306, 346, 444f, 483f, 511 (14:29), 543
- time word, 109, 393, 448f, 471, 484, 543
- tongue advancement, 16f, 543
- tongue height, 16f, 544
- transitive action verb, 112f, 180, 181, 188, 189, 196, 200, 202, 206f, 221, 224, 237f, 245, 254, 269f, 275, 285f, 288, 324f, 352, 394, 464, 485, 544
- transitive movement verb, 312f
- transitive sentence, 201f, 227, 362, 400f, 453, 461, 544
- transitive state verb, 116, 170, 175f, 221, 225, 329f, 392f, 404, 518 (20:1), 521 (21:4), 544
- trilled *r*, 15, 544
- unaspirated consonant, 7, 9, 544
- unmarked form, 123, 544
- unpossessible noun, 69f, 75, 193, 281, 341, 505 (10:12), 509 (14:11), 544
- unrounded vowel, 18, 19, 544
- unstressed syllable, 19, 55, 96, 152, 156, 159, 161, 164, 183f, 198, 215f, 498 (3:9), 544
- velar, 4, 9, 12, 13, 137, 138, 203, 207, 209, 520 (21:1), 544

velum, 9, 12, 17, 544
 verb, 26, 44, 112f, 308, 544. See also
action verb, causative verb, complex verb form, directional verb, ergative verb, existential (state) verb, hypothetical verb form, imperfective verb, inchoative verb, intransitive action verb, intransitive movement verb, intransitive state verb, negative verb, passive (sentence or) verb form, perfective verb, propositive verb form, reciprocal verb, state verb, transitive action verb, transitive movement verb, transitive state verb, verb of communication, verb of mental activity, verb phrase, verb stem
 verb marker (infix), 127f, 150f, 162f, 201, 203, 209, 233, 236, 245f, 275, 395, 501 (6:5), 502 (7:7), 503 (8:19), 518 (19:10)
 verb marker (prefix), 104, 117f, 123, 127, 131f, 137f, 146f, 170f, 186, 194, 195, 203, 204, 210, 221, 230, 233, 241, 253, 268, 363, 394, 395, 500 (5:2), 500 (5:3), 503 (9:4), 504 (9:14), 505 (10:9), 516 (18:7), 516 (18:8), 516 (18:11), 544
 verb of communication, 430f, 544
 verb of mental activity, 430f, 544
 verb phrase, 46, 83, 120f, 338, 414, 517 (19:1), 519 (20:3), 544. See also *complex verb phrase, expanded verb phrase*
 verb stem, 95, 112, 129, 132f, 137f, 146, 170, 181, 187, 204, 230, 233, 253, 396, 499 (4:13), 505 (10:6), 506 (11:12), 544
 voiced sound, 4, 9, 17, 545
 voiceless sound, 4, 6, 545
 voicing, 4, 545. See also *voiced sound, voiceless sound*
 vowel, 16f, 545. See also *back vowel,*

central vowel, front vowel, full vowel, high vowel, long vowel, low vowel, mid vowel, neutral vowel, rounded vowel, unrounded vowel, vowel blending, vowel cluster, vowel deletion, vowel quality, vowel reduction, vowel triangle
 vowel blending, 158f, 245f, 507 (11:25), 545
 vowel cluster, 24f, 59f, 163f, 199, 235, 499 (3:26), 503 (8:13), 503 (8:15), 545. See also *vowel cluster reduction*
 vowel cluster reduction, 215f, 235, 507 (11:25), 545
 vowel deletion, 58f, 164f, 184, 198, 248, 354, 545
 vowel-final (word or stem), 497 (3:3), 502 (7:12), 545
 vowel-initial (word, stem, or suffix), 56, 79, 500 (4:17), 545
 vowel quality, 17, 545
 vowel reduction, 20f, 55, 56f, 62, 95, 96, 99, 106, 108, 164f, 184, 198, 215f, 235, 245, 268, 354, 499 (4:6), 501 (6:7), 502 (8:6), 545
 vowel triangle, 21, 159, 160, 246, 545
 warning, 98, 124, 134, 136, 258
 w-glide, 23, 25
 whole-part relationship, 53
 word, 34
 word-final, 6, 166, 167, 545
 word-initial, 6, 128, 518 (19:10), 545
 word-internal, 7, 545
 yes-no question, 90f, 408f, 434f, 500 (5:6), 546
 y-glide, 23, 25
 zero object pronoun (suffix), 96f, 156, 216, 317, 499 (4:6), 501 (6:6), 546

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