

HANDBOOK OF PALAUAN GRAMMAR

VOLUME I

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Volume I

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Handbook of Palauan Grammar

VOLUME I

Lewis S. Josephs

Bureau of Curriculum & Instruction
Ministry of Education
Republic of Palau

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To Hilary, Holly, Casey, and Toby
In Fondest Memory of John Hinds

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PREFACE

This *Handbook of Palauan Grammar* has developed out of the desire to provide high school students in Palau with a textbook that would enable them to study and appreciate the internal structure of their native language, much in the same way that students in Japan study their mother tongue (*kokugo*) over a period of years. Up until now, the author's 1975 *Palauan Reference Grammar* (University Press of Hawaii) has served as the only major reference work on Palauan grammar, but for many reasons it has not been appropriate for use by students as a tool for studying their native language.

Although the current *Handbook of Palauan Grammar* is based generally on the content of the earlier *Palauan Reference Grammar*, it has been tailored to its intended audience in several ways. Complicated linguistic terminology has either been eliminated or simplified, and complex theoretical discussions have been replaced by more practical ones. Certain material has been omitted, while new information has been added in other areas (e.g., the impact of foreign borrowings on Palauan). Study questions and exercises have been included so that students can check their knowledge of the material and do hands-on practice with actual sets of Palauan data.

The current *Handbook of Palauan Grammar* also reflects the positive results of recent research conducted on Palauan, in particular the conclusions of the French linguist Alain Lemaréchal. Many aspects of Lemaréchal's study of Palauan grammar (most notably his analysis of "subject" and "topic") have enabled this author to present the language in a more natural light—i.e., on its own structural terms as a member of the Austronesian group. For more details on Lemaréchal's work, see his 1991 *Problèmes de sémantique et de syntaxe en Palau* ("Problems of Semantics and Syntax in Palauan") (Paris: Edition du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique) or the author's 1994 review of that monograph (*Oceanic Linguistics*, Vol. 33, no. 1: pp. 231–256).

The *Handbook of Palauan Grammar* is presented in two volumes. Volume I (Lessons 1–12) is intended for use in Grades 9–10, while Volume II (Lessons 13–24) should be completed in Grades 11–12. The *Handbook* is accompanied by a loose-leaf Teacher's Manual, which summarizes each lesson, pinpoints specific issues for discussion, presents a key to the study questions and exercises, and suggests additional activities to motivate student interest in the study of Palauan.

The successful completion of this project would not have been possible without the unflagging support and assistance of Masa-aki N. Emesiochl, Director of the Bureau of Curriculum and Instruction, Ministry of Education, Republic of Palau, who first approached me with the idea of creating a grammar handbook for high school students in Palau, and who obtained funding for the compilation and publication of these volumes. In addition, I would like to thank all the members of the Bureau of Curriculum and Instruction and all the teachers in Palau who have

shown their interest in and lent their support to this project. My gratitude also goes to Susan Hirano, who has assisted me over several years in the editing, word-processing, and camera-ready preparation of these materials.

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HOW TO SPELL PALAUAN

SOUND SYSTEM

FOREIGN ACCENT

1.1. Palauan, like every other language in the world, has a unique and distinctive pronunciation. This is because Palauan uses (1) its own particular group of sounds and (2) its own special rules of how to combine these sounds into Palauan words. The group of sounds which a language uses, together with the rules for combining these sounds into words, is called the language's **sound system**. No two languages have precisely the same sound system. While human beings are capable of producing an extremely large number and variety of sounds (by using such organs as the tongue, lips, vocal cords, etc.), the speakers of any given language only use a very limited number of these in their own sound system. The Hawaiian language, for example, uses only thirteen sounds, Palauan uses about twenty, and English uses almost thirty.

When a human being learns his or her own native language in early childhood, he or she becomes so used to its particular sounds that mastering the sound system of another language may often be impossible, especially when attempted later in life. As a result of such imperfect pronunciation, someone is said to speak another language with a "foreign accent." Though quite a few foreigners speak Palauan fluently and with correct grammar, you can almost always sense something about their pronunciation that sounds foreign or unnatural to you as a native speaker.

SPELLING SYSTEM

ALPHABET, CONSONANTS, VOWELS

The **spelling system** of Palauan, like that of many other languages, was developed so that the language can be written down and read in an efficient way. Palauan writing makes use of an **alphabet** consisting of ten main **consonant** symbols (letters) and five main **vowel** symbols (letters).

SECTION A: CONSONANTS

1.2. The **consonants** of Palauan are explained with examples in the sections below.

CONSONANT B
Word-Initial, Word-Internal, Word-Final

1.2.1. The letter B is pronounced like English "b" or "p"depending on the situation. The rules for pronouncing the letter B correctly are given here:

a. At the beginning of a word (**word-initially**) before an L or any vowel, B is like English "b":

blai	'house'
blekeradel	'condition, behavior'
bloes	'injury from being shot'
bai	'community house'
Belau	'Palau'
beot	'easy'
bilis	'dog'
bosech	'famine'
bung	'flower'

b. Inside a word (**word-internally**) between two vowels, B is also just like English "b":

oba	'to have, carry'
rubak	'old man'
kebelung	'stupid, foolish'

c. If B is right next to another consonant (except L) anywhere in the word, it is pronounced like English "p":

btar	**sounds like**	"ptar"	'swing'
bsibs		"psips"	'drill'
bngak		"pngak"	'my flower'
brer		"prer"	'raft'
tbak		"tpak"	'my saliva'
kbokb		"kpokp"	'wall'

d. If B occurs at the very end of a word (**word-finally**) after a vowel, it is also pronounced like English "p":

tub	**sounds like**	"tup"	'saliva'
bab		"bap"	'top, surface'
omeob		"omeop"	'to shape, create'

B as "b"or "p" According to Position

Note 1: One and the same letter B is used in spelling all of the Palauan words given above, even though the pronunciation is actually "b"in some cases and "p"in others. The one letter B is sufficient because the rules (a–d) above always allow us to *predict* how that B will be pronounced from its **position**—i.e., it is "b"word-initially before L or a vowel, "p" word-finally, etc.

Palauan vs. English Sound Systems
Consonant Clusters

Note 2: Even from the small number of examples given above, you can begin to see some similarities and differences between the sound systems of Palauan and English—for example:

Similarities: Both languages have the combination (or **cluster**) of consonants BL- word-initially: Pal. *blai*, Eng. *blue*.

Differences: Palauan has some consonant clusters word-initially that English does not allow in this position: Pal. BT-, BS-, BNG-, TB-, and KB-. All of these would be very "alien" to any speaker of English, and many English speakers would struggle to pronounce these correctly at the beginning of a Palauan word or syllable!

CONSONANT T

1.2.2. The letter T is pronounced almost like an English "t". It can occur word-initially, word-internally, or word-finally.

a. Word-initially, T can occur before a vowel or a consonant:

teruich	'ten'
tuu	'banana'
tabek	'patch'
tbak	'my saliva'
tkul	'its edge'
tmuu	'to enter'
tngakl	'peace offering'

Note 3: The last four examples show that Palauan T combines with certain other consonants to form some interesting word-initial consonant clusters. Can any of these clusters be found word-initially in English?

b. Palauan T is also found word-internally:

chetik	'I don't like it'
otaor	'driftwood'
ketom	'(knife) dull'
katrul	'his left hand'

c. Palauan T can also occur word-finally, after a vowel or a consonant:

lmuut	'to return'
chat	'smoke, steam'
mengoit	'to throw away'
dakt	'fear'
mengilt	'to put oil on'
omart	'to hide'

Strong T Pronunciation

Note 4: If you pay very close attention to the pronunciation, you may notice that at the end of a word, Palauan T is pronounced with a strong puff of air—almost as if you are making a spitting sound! This difference in pronunciation is due to the word-final position of the T. Go through the words in the list above and see if you can hear this slightly "explosive" "t". Notice that the "t" at the beginning of Palauan words—see (a) above—is much weaker. (Interestingly enough, the English "t" pronunciation is just the opposite! English has a strong "spitting" "t" word-initially—*take, tell, time, tube*—but a much weaker "t" word-finally—*bat, eat, might, must.*)

CONSONANT D

1.2.3. The letter D has several different pronunciations, depending on its position in the word.

a. Word-initially before a vowel, word-internally, and word-finally, Palauan D is pronounced like the English "th" of words like *the, then,* and *that*. Here are examples for the three different positions:

(1) Word-initially before a vowel:

daob	'ocean'
deel	'nail'
diall	'ship'
dolech	'tide'
dub	'poison, dynamite'

Variation in D

Note 5: When D occurs in word-initial position before a vowel, as in examples above, many Palauans pronounce it almost like English "d" as in *day, do, dog,* etc. This variation makes no difference and is quite common when people speak more rapidly.

(2) Word-internally:

medal	'his/her face'
kedeb	'short'
chedil	'mother'

(3) Word-finally:

bad	'stone'
kid	'we'
meched	'shallow'

b. Word-initially before a consonant—that is, as part of certain consonant clusters—Palauan D is pronounced either like the English "th" of words like *thin, thought,* and *thrill*, or just like a weak "t". Listen carefully to your own pronunciation of the words given in the list below:

dmak	'together'
dbak	'my dynamite'
dkois	'slanted'
dngod	'tattoo'

T vs. D in Palauan Spelling

Note 6: It is very important to distinguish between T and D in Palauan spelling because it is the only way to identify certain different words. Notice the following pairs of contrasting words (differentiated only by T vs. D in the spelling):

T		D	
tub	'saliva'	dub	'poison, dynamite'
techall	'opportunity'	dechall	'(amount) is to be raised'
teleu	'opened wide'	deleu	'folded'
metal	'shark'	medal	'his/her face'
ketilech	'to throw each other down'	kedilech	'to dip (hands) into water together'
chat	'smoke, steam'	chad	'person'
merat	'sea bass'	merad	'to pick (flowers, etc.)'

Note 6 continued next page

Note 6 continued

If we are careful about using the Palauan letters T and D correctly, we can properly separate certain groups of related words. For example, we have the two Palauan words:

tmak 'to get aboard' dmak 'to be together'

Because of the pronunciation rules of Palauan, these two words sound almost the same. By spelling them differently, however, we can easily see how they relate to certain derived forms:

(1) *tmak* 'to get aboard' is related to *tilak* (past tense) 'got aboard' and to *oltak*, which means 'to carry/put (someone, something) aboard'

(2) *dmak* 'to be together' is related to *dilak* (past tense) 'was/were together' and to *oldak*, which means 'to put together'

To take one more example, note that the "possessed" forms *tbak* 'my saliva' and *dbak* 'my dynamite' sound almost the same. However, *tbak* with a T is clearly related to *tub* 'saliva', while *dbak* with a D is related to *dub* 'dynamite'. In the basic words *tub* and *dub*, the difference in pronunciation between word-initial T vs. word-initial D is especially clear.

CONSONANT K

1.2.4. The letter K has two different pronunciations, depending on its position in the word.

a. Word-initially and word-finally, the pronunciation of Palauan K is very much like English "k":

(1) Word-initially:

klou	'big'
kmared	'light'
ksous	'rayfish'
kar	'medicine'
kiei	'to live'
ker	'question'

(2) Word-finally:

brak	'taro'
chermek	'my animal'
derumk	'thunder'
melik	'to strike with fist'

Strong K Pronunciation

> ***Note 7***: If you listen carefully to the words in list (2) above, you will notice that at the end of a word, Palauan K is actually pronounced with a strong puff of air. Compare *Note 4* above: the very same "explosive" pronunciation is heard for Palauan T in exactly the same position (word-finally).

b. Between vowels within a word, K is pronounced like English "g", as in these examples:

olekiis	'to wake (someone) up'
mekeald	'hot'
rekas	'mosquito'

c. Within a word next to another consonant, K is usually pronounced like English "k":

lotkii	'he remembers it'
skuul	'school'
milkolk	'dark'

CONSONANT CH

1.2.5. The letters CH are used as a single unit to spell a rather special Palauan consonant sound. This sound is produced by closing the vocal cords (two sensitive membranes in the throat) against each other for a split second and then releasing them. When the vocal cords are released, we hear a light explosion of air in the throat. The consonant CH is not as easy to hear as the others we have so far studied (B, T, D, and K), but it is nevertheless an essential sound of Palauan. In the *New Palauan-English Dictionary* there are 34 pages of Palauan words beginning with CH! By contrast, some languages such as English do not have any sound similar to the CH sound of Palauan.

a. The pronunciation of Palauan CH does not vary at all, no matter where it occurs in the word:

(1) Word-initially:

charm	'animal'
chisel	'news about him/her'
chesebreng	'brokenheartedness'

(2) Word-internally:

rachel	'branch'
meched	'shallow'
dengchokl	'sitting'

(3) Word-finally:

taoch	'mangrove channel'
teruich	'ten'
mesisiich	'strong, healthy'

Test for CH

b. If you are in doubt about whether or not to spell CH at the beginning of a Palauan word, there is a simple test you can apply. Take the word to be tested, and put it after *ng* 'he, she, it' to make a short sentence. Here are two examples:

(1) Ng chull. 'It's raining.'
(2) Ng chad. 'He's a human being.'

If the word in question really begins with the consonant CH, as do *chull* 'rain' and *chad* 'person', it will cause the preceding *ng* to be pronounced as a totally separate **syllable**. Listen carefully as you pronounce the two sentences above and you will be able to hear clearly that *ng* is a separate syllable in NG-CHULL and NG-CHAD. Therefore, both *chull* and *chad* are spelled with word-initial CH.

By contrast, let us take some words which, as it turns out, are **not** spelled with word-initial CH but start simply with a vowel. Take a look at the examples below:

(3) Ng oles. 'It's a knife.'
(4) Ng omes... 'He/she sees...'
(5) Ng ulemes... 'He/she saw...'

If the word to be tested has no initial CH, then the preceding *ng* will **not** be pronounced as a separate syllable. Instead the *ng* will form a single syllable with the following vowel, as in NGO-LES, NGO-MES and NGU-LE-MES.

No CH- with Causative Verbs
No CH- with many Common Verbs

Note 8: Palauan has a type of verb called a **causative verb**. With causative verbs, the subject of the sentence *causes* something to happen or *forces* someone to do something. Causative verbs begin with *omek-, ol-, ole-*, and *or-*. If you apply the Test for CH described above, you will find that all Palauan causative verbs simply start with the vowel O and are **not** to be spelled with a word-initial CH. Here are a few examples for you to verify:

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Note 8 continued

omekbeches	'to make (something) new, renovate'
omekoad	'to make (someone) dead, kill'
omekdakt	'to frighten'
ollangel	'to make (someone) cry'
olsebek	'to make (something) fly'
olechiis	'to chase away'
orrebet	'to make (something) fall, drop'

In addition, there are many common (non-causative) verbs in Palauan that have word-initial O- in the present tense and ULE- in the past tense. The Test for CH described above will show that these verbs, too, are never to be spelled with word-initial CH. Here are a few examples for you to check:

omes/ulemes	'to see'
omart/ulemart	'to hide'
omdasu/ulemdasu	'to think'
omech/ulemech	'to connect'
omritel/ulemritel	'to shake'
orrenges/ulerrenges	'to hear'

CONSONANT S

1.2.6. The letter S is rather similar to English "s" and occurs in all positions within the word:

a. Word-initially:

sechelei	'friend'
Siabal	'Japan'
smiich	'enthusiastic'

b. Word-internally:

mesuub	'to study'
desomel	'outrigger'
rsel	'its end'

c. Word-finally:

mengiis	'to dig'
belils	'(noise) high, piercing'
dibus	'absent'

TS in Borrowed Words from Japanese and English

Note 9: Palauan has borrowed many words from Japanese and English. If the original Japanese or English word contains the "ch" sound of *church* or *child*, the corresponding Palauan word usually has the consonant cluster TS. This consonant cluster is special because it is not native to Palauan but only occurs in borrowed words as a reflection of Japanese or English "ch". Here are a few examples of the Palauan consonant cluster TS:

Pal. tsios	'condition'	from	Jp. chooshi
Pal. tsiui	'to watch out'	from	Jp. chuui
Pal. kimots	'feeling'	from	Jp. kimochi
Pal. tsesa	'chaser'	from	Eng. chaser
Pal. tsuingam	'chewing gum'	from	Eng. chewing gum

In a few cases, Palauan TS comes from a Japanese word that also has a "ts" pronunciation in the same position:

Pal. kats	'to win'	from	Jp. katsu
Pal. kingatsku	'to notice'	from	Jp. ki ga tsuku

CONSONANT M

1.2.7. The letter M is identical to English "m" and occurs in all positions within the word:

a. Word-initially:

mad	'eye, face'
mur	'banquet'

b. Word-internally:

omechar	'to buy'
smecher	'sick'

c. Word-finally:

blim	'your house'
kedam	'frigatebird'

CONSONANT NG

1.2.8. The letters NG are used as a single unit to spell a Palauan consonant that is often pronounced like the "ng" at the end of English words such as *sing* and *long*.

a. The Palauan consonant NG always has the distinctive "ng" pronunciation before a vowel or word-finally:

(1) Word-initially:

ngau	'fire'
ngor	'mouth'
nguis	'tree snake'

(2) Word-internally:

ongos	'east'
mengat	'to smoke (fish)'
ungil	'good'

(3) Word-finally:

meleng	'to borrow'
chang	'jetty, dock'
rekung	'land crab'

"N" Pronunciation of NG

b. Before a certain group of consonants—namely, T, D, S, and R—Palauan NG is actually pronounced like an "n" (as in English *nice*). Here are examples for each of these cases:

ng til	**sounds like**	"ntil"	'it's her purse'
ngduul		"nduul"	'mangrove clam'
ng diak		"ndiak"	'no'
iungs		"iuns"	'island'
mengsous		"mensous"	'to file '
ongraol		"onraol"	'starchy food'
ng rubak		"nrubak"	'he's an old man'

"N" as a Separate Syllable
NG before B

Note 10: Some of the examples above show that Palauan NG is also pronounced as "n" even when it is the independent word *ng* 'he, she, it' occurring before *another* word that starts with the letters T, D, S, or R. Thus, we have the common expression *ng diak* 'no (it is non-existent)' pronounced as N-DIAK. Note also that the "n" of N-DIAK is pronounced as a *separate syllable* (see 1.2.5.b above and 1.2.11 below).

Now, what happens if the word following *ng* 'he, she, it' starts with the letter B? In other words, how do we pronounce NG in the case of *ng boes* 'it's a gun'? In this situation, NG will be pronounced like "m" (in order to sound more similar to the B that follows), and the result is M-BOES (with the "m", again, pronounced as a separate syllable).

c. If NG is followed by any consonant other than T, D, S, or R (as explained in the section above), it has the more usual "ng" pronunciation. In the examples below, we see NG occurring before the remaining consonants K, L, CH, and M:

ngklem	'your name'
Ngkeklau	(hamlet in Ngerard)
nglatech	cleaned'
nglaos	'house foundation'
ng chetik	'I don't like it'
Ngchesar	(village in E. Babeldaob)
ngmasech	'to rise, climb'
ngmui	'type of tree'

Note 11: In all of the words above, word-initial NG before another consonant is pronounced as a separate syllable. You can verify this by pronouncing each word in the list carefully. A more complete analysis of NG, L, and R as full syllables will be found in 1.2.11 below.

d. As we have seen already (for example, in *Note 9* above), Palauan has borrowed many words from English and Japanese. In such words of foreign origin, we often notice some unusual, non-Palauan pronunciation and spelling patterns. Some of these involve the use of N as an independent letter in Palauan spelling.

N in Borrowed Words From Japanese and English

(1) First of all, many Palauan words taken from Japanese and English begin with the sound "n" (rather than "ng") and therefore exactly imitate the pronunciation of the original language. In such cases, it is correct to spell the Palauan word with just an N (rather than NG):

namari	(Jp.)	'lead weight for fishnet'
nas	(Jp.)	'eggplant'
nebtai	(Eng.)	'necktie'
nori	(Jp.)	'glue, starch'
nurs	(Eng.)	'nurse'

As a matter of fact, the spelling difference between N and NG is essential because how would we otherwise distinguish between such a pair of words as *nas* 'eggplant' (borrowed from Japanese) and *ngas* 'type of pine tree' (a native Palauan word)?

(2) Certain Palauan words adopted from Japanese and English have an "n" pronunciation before consonants like T, D, and S (just like the native Palauan words described in 1.2.8.b above). In these borrowed words, it is also acceptable to spell with N only (rather than NG):

sensei	(Jp.)	'teacher'
kansok	(Jp.)	'weather survey'
hantai	(Jp.)	'opposite, disagreeing'
honto	(Jp.)	'Babeldaob'
bando	(Jp.)	'belt'
kiande	(Eng.)	'candy'

Note 12: There is at least one unusual case of NN in Palauan (pronounced like a long "n") in a borrowed word from Japanese: *manneng* 'fountain pen'.

NG in Borrowed Words From Japanese and English

(3) If a Palauan word borrowed from Japanese or English has an "ng" pronunciation (corresponding to "n" or "ng" in the original language), it should be spelled with NG to reflect the actual Palauan pronunciation:

(a) This occurs when "ng" is at the end of a word or within a word before a vowel:

baiking	(Jp.)	'disease'
hong	(Jp.)	'book'
skeng	(Jp.)	'test'
homrang	(Eng.)	'home run'
manguro	(Jp.)	'type of tuna'

(b) This also occurs when "ng" is within a word before the consonant K or another NG:

kangkei	Jp.)	'relationship'
kangngob	(Jp.)	'nurse'
bangngo	(Jp.)	'identification number'
bangk	(Eng.)	'bank'
bangkeik	(Eng.)	'pancake'

When to Spell or Omit Word-Final NG

e. When using the Palauan spelling system, we must decide when and when not to spell NG at the end of one and the same word. Quite a few Palauan words end in the vowel sounds "a", "o", or "u" when pronounced *within* a sentence, but they have a word-final "ng" sound when spoken in isolation or at the end of a sentence. This common pattern of Palauan pronunciation is shown in the sentences below, where the words *menga(ng)* 'to eat' and *mo(ng)* 'to go' are spelled in two different ways:

(1) Ng di menga el di mengang. 'He just keeps eating.'

(2) a. Ng mong. 'He's going.'
b. Ng mo er a skuul. 'He's going to school.'

The rule for spelling words of this type is very straightforward:

- If word-final "ng" is pronounced (and heard), spell with NG;
- if no word-final "ng" is pronounced (or heard), omit NG from the spelling.

In contrast to words like *menga(ng)* and *mo(ng)*, there are many Palauan words which are *always* pronounced with word-final "ng", even within sentences. These words are of course always spelled with NG, regardless of where they occur. Both native words (e.g., *bung* 'flower', *bang* 'goatfish', *ding* 'ear', *reng* 'heart, spirit', *chedeng* 'shark') and borrowed words (e.g., *hong* 'book', *belatong* 'plate') are found in this group. To take a typical example, notice how *hong* keeps its word-final "ng" pronunciation within the sentence:

(3) Ng hong er a sensei. 'It's the teacher's book.'

CONSONANT L

1.2.9. The Palauan letter L is very close to English "l" and occurs in all positions within the word:

a. Word-initially:

lius 'coconut'
laok 'fat'

b. Word-internally:

melai 'to take'
melkors 'to walk with a cane'

c. Word-finally:

rael 'road'
mengol 'to carry away'

Double L

1.2.9.1. The letter L is spelled double in some Palauan words where the "l" pronunciation is in fact held longer. The LL spelling reflects this long "l" pronunciation and can be found in all positions within the word:

a. Word-initially:

llel	'its leaf'
llach	'law, rule'

b. Word-internally:

mellemau	'blue, green'
kelloi	'funeral chant'

c. Word-finally:

kall	'food'
techall	'opportunity'

Note 13: The distinction between single L vs. double LL is very important in Palauan because it reflects a difference in pronunciation that can result in totally separate words. A very clear example is found in the two different verbs *melib* 'to plan, decide' vs. *mellib* 'to wash, rinse'. Another good example is *olik* 'Palau fruit bat' vs. *ollik* '(bucket, etc.) is filled to capacity'.

Note 14: In word-final position, the long "l" sound is usually followed by a short, weak "uh" sound. See if you can hear this extra sound at the end of words like *kall* and *techall*. Since the extra "uh" sound is always predictable in this situation, it is not necessary to show it in the spelling.

CONSONANT R

1.2.10. The letter R represents a Palauan consonant sound that is rather similar to the "tapping" "r" of Japanese (as in Jp. *arai*—Pal. *charai* 'strict'). There is also a tapping "r" sound in American English, but it is not usually spelled *r*: it is represented instead by the double *t* or double *d* spelling in words like *matter* and *ladder*. Palauan R occurs in all positions in the word:

a. Word-initially:

rakt	'sickness'
rekas	'mosquito'

b. Word-internally:

beras	'rice'
charm	'animal'

c. Word-finally:

kar	'medicine'
ngor	'mouth'

Double R

1.2.10.1. The letter R is spelled double in some Palauan words to reflect a special long "r" sound that has a trilled or buzzing quality. This sound is definitely held longer than the single tapping "r" sound. It is somewhat similar to the trilled "r" in languages such as Spanish and Italian. In Palauan, the long "r" pronunciation and corresponding RR spelling can occur at the beginning of words or within words:

a. Word-initially:

rrom	'liquor'
rruul	'made, done'

b. Word-internally:

kerrekar	'tree'
terriid	'banded rail (bird)'

Note 15: Just as in the case of L vs. LL explained in *Note 13* above, the single R vs. double RR spelling can reflect two totally different words. For example, *keruk* (related to *kar*) means 'my medicine', while *kerruk* means 'chicken'. As another example, look at the related forms *terob* vs. *terrob*. The first form *terob* is a noun meaning 'action of stopping, control (over)', while *terrob* is a verb form used to describe something which is 'stopped or controlled'.

SYLLABIC CONSONANTS: Syllabic NG

1.2.11. As we saw in *Notes 9* and *10* above, Palauan NG is pronounced as an entirely separate syllable when it occurs word-initially before another consonant. In such a case, we say that NG functions as a **syllabic consonant**. Here are a few examples repeated from the list in 1.2.8.c above:

ngklem	(NG-KLEM)	'your name'
nglatech	(NG-LA-TECH)	'cleaned'
ngmai	(NG-MAI)	'type of tree'

You will recall that the idea of *syllabic consonant* is very important in testing whether a given word is to be spelled with or without a word-initial CH (see 1.2.5.b). To test such a word, we put it after *ng* 'he, she, it' to make a small sentence. If in fact the tested word should be spelled with word-initial CH, as in

(1) Ng chull. 'It's raining.'
(2) Ng chad. 'He's/she's a human being.'

we know this because *ng* in the test sentences is pronounced as a syllabic consonant: NG-CHULL, NG-CHAD. If, however, the test word does not begin with CH, as in

(3) Ng oles. 'It's a knife.'

then the *ng* of the test sentence will **not** be syllabic. In other words, in (3) *ng* is not a totally independent syllable but in fact *part* of the first syllable of the sequence: NGO-LES.

Syllabic L, Syllabic R

a. Now, in addition to NG, the Palauan consonants L and R can occur word-initially as syllabic consonants, as shown below:

(1) L as syllabic consonant:

lmangel	(L-MA-NGEL)	'to cry'
ltel	(L-TEL)	'his return'
lkes	(L-KES)	'sandbar'

(2) R as syllabic consonant:

rdiil	(R-DIIL)	'(flowers) are to be picked'
rsechek	(R-SE-CHEK)	'my blood'
rtangel	(R-TA̱-NGEL)	'is to be pounded'

Syllabic M

b. The letter M can also be syllabic word-initially, before quite a few consonants:

(3) M as syllabic consonant:

mchibii	(M-CHI-BII)	'he lifts it'	(cf. *omechiib* 'to lift')
mdelmii	(M-DEL-MII)	'he aims it'	(cf. *omdalem* 'to aim at')
mkisii	(M-KI-SII)	'he opens it'	(cf. *omkais* 'to open')
mngeklii	(M-NGE-KLII)	'he names it'	(cf. *omngakl* 'to name')
mrechii	(M-RE-CHII)	'he spears it'	(cf. *omurech* 'to spear')
msebsii	(M-SEB-SII)	'he drills it'	(cf. *omsibs* 'to drill')
mtechir	(M-TE-CHIR)	'he replaces it'	(cf. *omtechei* 'to replace')

Note 16: One exceptional case in which word-initial M will **not** be pronounced as a syllabic consonant is observed when M precedes L. In the examples below, M is never syllabic, but ML is pronounced within the same syllable as a single consonant cluster:

mlai	(MLAI)	'canoe'
mle	(MLE)	'was, were'
mlemlil	(MLE-MLIL)	'edible part of sea cucumber'
mlechii	(MLE-CHII)	'he mixes it' (cf. *omulech* 'to mix')

Note 17: Recall that in one special case, a word-initial syllabic "m" pronunciation may actually be a reflection of the word *ng* 'he, she, it'. For example, in *Note 10* we saw sentences like the following, where *ng* is pronounced as syllabic M before a word beginning with B:

Ng boes.	(M-BOES)	'It's a gun.'
Ng blak a rengul.	(M-BLAK)	'He's hard-working.'

SUMMARY CHART OF CONSONANTS

1.2.12. Here is a chart summarizing the ten major consonant letters in the Palauan spelling system:

Palauan Consonants

LETTER	PRONUNCIATION
B	Eng. "b" or "p"
T	Eng. "t"
D	Eng. "d" or "th" as in both *then* and *thin*
K	Eng. "k" or "g"
CH	light explosion of air in throat caused by releasing vocal cords
S	Eng. "s"
M	Eng. "m"
NG	Eng. "ng" as in *sing*; Eng. "n"; rarely, "m"
L	Eng. "l"
R	Jp. tapped "r" as in *arai*; Eng. tapped "r" spelled *tt* or *dd* in *matter*, *ladder*

Here are two other brief charts that may be useful:

Palauan Syllabic Consonants

M NG L R

Palauan Double Consonants

LL RR

F, H, N, P, AND Z IN BORROWED WORDS

1.2.13. As we have already seen in *Note 9* and in 1.2.8.d above, Palauan has borrowed many words from foreign languages, especially Japanese and English. Though in many cases the pronunciation of such words has been completely "Palauanized" (made to conform to the native sound system of Palauan), in other cases the word of foreign origin keeps some unusual "non-Palauan" elements. For example, we saw in *Note 9* that Palauan developed the consonant cluster TS (which had never been part of the native sound system) to represent the Japanese or English "ch" sound or the "ts" sound of Japanese. A few examples are repeated here:

tsios	'condition'	from Jp. chooshi
tsesa	'chaṣer'	from Eng. chaser
kats	'to win'	from Jp. katsu

We also saw in 1.2.8.d that we can use the letter N alone (rather than NG) to spell an "n" sound that occurs in a word borrowed from Japanese or English:

nas	'eggplant'	from Jp. nasu
nebtai	'necktie'	from Eng. necktie
sensei	'teacher'	from Jp. sensei

Although the ten consonants listed in the chart of 1.2.12 are the basic ones essential for spelling all native Palauan words (as well as foreign words that have been totally "Palauanized"), you will need to use a few extra consonant letters to cover certain sounds that Palauan has adopted from Japanese or English. These extra "minor" letters are listed below:

a. F is used in a few words, although sometimes the letter H can be substituted:

fenda	'fender'	from Eng. fender
Furans	'France'	from Eng. France
Hurans	'France'	from Jp. Huransu

b. H is used alone, usually at the beginning of a word, to reflect the original "h" sound of Japanese, English, or Spanish:

haibio	'tuberculosis'	from Jp. haibyoo
harau	'to pay'	from Jp. harau
Hesus	'Jesus'	from Sp. Jesus
hoter	'hotel'	from Eng. hotel

c. N is used alone in quite a few cases, as seen above.

d. P is seen on a few occasions, single or double:

Papa	'the Pope'	from Sp. Papa
nappa	'cabbage'	from Jp. nappa

e. Z is used in Palauan spelling to reflect an original "z" or "j" sound in English or Japanese. Here are a few examples:

daiziob	'all right'	from Jp. daijoobu
ziu	'gun'	from Jp. juu
zori	'rubber thongs'	from Jp. zoori
miuzium	'museum'	from Eng. museum

The information above can be summarized as follows:

Minor Palauan Consonants
(For Borrowed Words Only)

F H N P Z

LIST OF TERMS

1.2.14. Here is a list of important terms that we have learned in connection with **Palauan consonants**:

- Sound System
- Foreign Accent
- Spelling System
- Alphabet
- Word-Initial
- Word-Internal
- Word-Final
- Consonant Cluster
- Borrowed Word
- Syllabic Consonant
- Double Consonant

1.2.15. PALAUAN CONSONANTS: STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Make sure that you understand all of the **terms** listed above in 1.2.14. Check your understanding by writing a clear, accurate **definition** of each term and giving an **illustration** or **example**.

   Sample Answer: Syllabic Consonant

   a. Definition: A consonant pronounced as a totally separate, independent syllable. Palauan M, NG, L, and R are normally syllabic when occurring before other consonants word-initially.

   b. Illustration: *Ngchesar* (NG-CHE-SAR)

2. How are the consonant systems of Palauan and English different from each other? Consider the following questions as you try to formulate your answer:

   a. Do both languages have exactly the same number of consonants? Are there some Palauan consonant sounds that English does not have? Which consonant sounds of English are not found at all in Palauan?

   b. What kinds of *consonant clusters* does each language have? Do both languages have certain consonant clusters in common? Which consonant clusters of Palauan are totally impossible in English? And what about consonant clusters that are fine in English but unacceptable in Palauan? Try to answer these questions with respect to (1) word-initial position and (2) word-final position. Find as many examples as you can to support your points.

   c. Does English have any *syllabic consonants* such as Palauan M, NG, L, and R?

   d. Does English have any *double consonants* such as Palauan LL or Palauan RR? (Hint: English has certain consonants that are *spelled* double, but are these *pronounced* long or double?)

3. Is the Palauan letter B always pronounced in the same way no matter where it occurs in a word? Explain.

4. Review *Note 6* and find at least six more word pairs like *tub* vs. *dub*, where T vs. D is the ONLY difference in spelling (and pronunciation) between two Palauan words. Find two examples each for word-initial, word-internal, and word-final positions.

5. Is the Palauan letter K always pronounced the same regardless of its position in the word? Explain.

6. What is special about the CH spelling and its pronunciation in Palauan?

7. You will notice that many Palauan personal names do not conform to the standard rules of Palauan spelling presented in this lesson. One reason for this is that quite a few Palauan first names and last names originally came from foreign languages such as Spanish and Japanese. Thus, in names like Francisco, Hermana, and Polycarp we see non-native letters such as F, C, P, H, and Y. A second reason is that many families decided a long time ago how to spell their names and would not want to change this unique way of identifying themselves. Therefore, we should not attempt to change the spelling of names like Yaoch or Polloi, even though they contain the non-native letters Y and P.

   Now, make your own survey of the way Palauan personal names are spelled. Prepare a list of 25 to 30 first and last names. Check carefully with the people involved to see how they normally (or legally!) spell their names. Then analyze the spelling of these names and identify any unusual "non-Palauan" elements (letters normally not used in Palauan spelling, non-native consonant clusters, etc.).

8. Under what circumstances is the Palauan consonant NG pronounced like an "n"? Give examples. In what other circumstances does an "n" sound occur in Palauan? Give examples also.

9. In 1.2.11.a, we saw that L can occur in word-initial position as a *syllabic* consonant, as in *lmangel* (L-MA-NGEL) 'to cry'. In fact, it is possible for L (and even NG) to be syllabic under slightly more complicated conditions. Observe the words below, pronounce them carefully, and try to explain those conditions:

klsib	(KL-SIB)	'sweat'
klteket	(KL-TE-KET)	'delayed'
klsakl	(KL-SAKL)	'(something) wrong'
kngtil	(KNG-TIL)	'his/her sin'

1.2.16. PALAUAN CONSONANTS: EXERCISES

1. Here are some English words containing consonant clusters in either word-initial or word-final position. In each example, underline the letters representing the consonant cluster, and pronounce the word carefully. Determine whether the particular consonant cluster is also found in Palauan, and if so, find some examples. ***Note***: In some of the English words below, there are consonant clusters involving *three* letters (sounds)!

bring	smell	hard	split
drink	shrimp	twirl	bags
true	slept	carved	flaps
crow	church	stuffed	elect
spring	threw	next*	squeezed**

**Note*: The English letter *x* sounds like "ks".
***Note*: The English letters *qu* always sound like "kw".

2. Make a list of all the possible consonant clusters than can occur in Palauan in (1) word-initial and (2) word-final position. Indicate whether such clusters can occur in English.

   Caution: Remember that a consonant cluster *cannot* contain a syllabic consonant. Therefore, *mkisii* (M-KI-SII) 'he opens it' does *not* have a word-initial consonant cluster because the M and the K are in different syllables. By contrast, *mlai* 'canoe' is a single syllable starting with the consonant cluster ML (where M is *not* syllabic).

   Hint: The consonant clusters occurring word-finally in Palauan are much more complicated than you may think. For example, try to find words that end in MK, TK, KB, LB, BL, KT, ML, NGCH, SK, and others.

3. How many Palauan words can you find that *rhyme* with each of the words given below? For example, to find what words rhyme with *dai*, try replacing the *word-initial* consonant D with other consonants or consonant clusters. Following this procedure, we get the Palauan words *bai, chai, kai, lai, ngai, blai,* and *mlai*. Now, try the same for the examples below:

bad	bung	ker
tut	chab	ngau

   For each word you find, give its English equivalent.

4. In the list below, all the words are spelled as if they start with CH, but in fact some of them should NOT be spelled with word-initial CH. Determine which words should have CH (and which should not) by carefully applying the "Test for CH" described in 1.2.5.b.

chusem	'beard'	chebud	'grasshopper'
chedeng	'shark'	chidokel	'dirty'
cheuid	'seven'	chebakl	'chopper'
cheball	'gray-haired'	chilumel	'drink'
chamatter	'plenty'	chaibibiob	'OK'
chorrenges	'to hear'	chekong	'to go'
chituuk	'diligent'	cholebedii	'he hits him'
chocheraol	'money-raising party'	chulechouch	'roasted coconut meat'
chudoud	'money'	Chacheroid	'far from each other'

5. Here are some words used in Palauan that have come from Japanese or English. Pronounce each word carefully and take a good look at how it is spelled. Consult the ***New Palauan-English Dictionary*** for the meaning if you cannot identify the word. For each word, comment on anything that is unusual ("non-Palauan") about how it is pronounced or spelled.

chatter	chazi	bussonge
chauanai	chazinomoto	bumpo
iudoraibu	bengngos	ianangi
chamonia	chanzang	chuts(i)us
dainamait	Hu(i)ribing	hangkats
mitsumata	nezimauas	chaikodetsiu

6. In the list below, all the words are spelled as if they end in NG in all circumstances. Some of these words, however, actually lose the final "ng" pronunciation when they are spoken *within* a sentence. Carefully review this issue as it was described in 1.2.8.e. Then, test each word below by placing it within a short sentence and note carefully whether the pronunciation of its final "ng" is maintained or lost. Assign each word either to Group A (always maintains word-final NG) or to Group B (loses word-final NG within the sentence).

stoang	'store'	rekung	'land crab'
bengong	'deaf mute'	ding	'ear'
bung	'flower'	hambung	'simple-minded'
kangkodang	'tourist'	sobekung	'about to fly'
obang	'he/she has'	socherang	'getting sick'
meleng	'to borrow'	ngarang	'what?'
hong	'book'	telang	'how much/many?'
tang	'one'	diokang	'tapioca'
mechesang	'busy'	erung	'two'
chang	'road leading to dock'		

7. Here are a few cases where spelling (and pronouncing) a single vs. double L or R results in different (though often related) words. For each pair below, explain clearly how the meaning of Word A differs from that of Word B:

A	B
lechet	llechet
lechidel	llechidel
lechotel	llechotel
lechukl	llechukl
ledes	lledes
oluut	olluut
rael	rrael
raud	rraud
redall	rredall
redomel	rredomel
rodech	rrodech
rot	rrot
ruikl	rruikl
ruul	rruul

8. Pronounce each of the following words carefully and decide whether the word-initial consonant is *syllabic* or not:

ngmanget	mkebkii	Ngcheangel
ngodech	nglosech	ngebard
mdalem	mlechii	mrechorech
lkou	lmuk	dmak
rtimel	rsechek	bngaol

9. Prepare for one or more **spelling quizzes**. Pay special attention to spelling the consonants and consonant clusters correctly. The teacher will dictate 20 to 25 Palauan words to you, which you should write down accurately according to the standard rules of Palauan spelling.

SECTION B: VOWELS

1.3. The **vowels** of Palauan are explained with examples in the sections below.

VOWEL A

1.3.1. The letter A represents the vowel sound "a" as in English *car*. Several words containing Palauan A are listed below:

chad	'person'
melat	'to tear, rip'
ngak	'I, me'

VOWEL E

1.3.2. The letter E represents two possible vowel sounds in Palauan—either the **full** vowel "e" as in English *red* or the **weak** vowel "uh" which is heard when an English word like *the* is pronounced quickly before a noun (as in *the book*).

Full E vs. Weak E

a. The pronunciation of the letter E as a **full E** or a **weak E** is determined by the following rule:

(1) If E occurs in a one-syllable word, or in the **stressed syllable** of a *multisyllabic* word (i.e., a word having two or more syllables), it is almost always pronounced as a **full E** (as in English *red*).

(2) If E occurs in an **unstressed syllable** of a multisyllabic word, it is normally pronounced as a **weak E** (as in English *the*), although there are some cases when it keeps its pronunciation as a full vowel (**full E**).

Stressed vs. Unstressed Syllable

b. The rule above depends on understanding the difference between a **stressed** and an **unstressed** syllable. In any Palauan multisyllabic word, only **one** syllable will be stressed, while all the others will be unstressed. The stressed syllable of a word is not difficult to identify, because when the word is pronounced, that syllable will clearly be louder and stronger than the nearby syllables. Go through the examples below to verify which syllable is the stressed one (indicated here in **capital letters**):

katur	ka-TUR	'left hand'
langel	LA-ngel	'crying'
oucharm	ou-CHARM	'to keep a pet'
omekbeches	o-mek-be-CHES	'to make new'
mengedecheduch	me-nge-de-che-DUCH	'to discuss'
cholebedak	cho-le-be-DAK	'(someone) hits me'
omeksengerenger	o-mek-se-nge-RE-nger	'to make (someone) go hungry'

Stress Mark

Note 18: In the *New Palauan-English Dictionary*, the stressed syllable of any multisyllabic word is indicated by a ***stress mark*** (´) over the vowel of that syllable. This stress mark is not part of the standard Palauan spelling system but is used in the dictionary to clarify a word's pronunciation (especially for foreigners!). This is necessary because in many cases it is impossible to predict which syllable of a given Palauan word will be the stressed one.

Full E in One-Syllable Words

c. Here are some examples of Palauan E in one-syllable words. As Rule a(1) above indicates, E is almost always pronounced as a *full* vowel in these cases:

Full E	sers	'garden'
	ched	'low tide'
	dech	'type of fish'
	ker	'question'
	reng	'heart, spirit'

Exceptions to Rule a(1)

Note 19: There are a few exceptions to Rule a(1)—namely, short words with the vowel E that for grammatical reasons are *always unstressed.* These words include the *relational word er* 'in, at, of', the *connecting word me* 'and', the *conjunction el* 'which, who', and the pronouns *ke* 'you (singular)' and *te* 'they'. In these unstressed words, the E is always pronounced as a **weak E**.

Full E in Stressed Syllables

d. We have already seen two examples of *multisyllabic* words in which the vowel of the *stressed* syllable is E—i.e., *o-mek-be-CHES* and *o-mek-se-nge-RE-nger*. As Rule a(1) indicates, the stressed E in these words is always pronounced as a **full E**. Additional examples are listed below:

Full E	meleng	me-LENG	'to borrow'
	chermek	cher-MEK	'my animal'
	belebel	be-LE-bel	'cord for winding'
	dempo	DEM-po	'telegram' (Jp.)
	elechang	E-le-chang	'now, today'
	mengeched	me-NGE-ched	'(to) husk (coconut)'
	olteremed	ol-te-RE-med	'to press, crush'

Weak E in Unstressed Syllables

e. Many of the examples already given have included the letter E in *unstressed* syllables. For example, in *me-nge-de-che-DUCH* 'to discuss', the first four syllables are all unstressed and in each of them we have a **weak E**. As Rule a(2) states, E is normally pronounced as a weak vowel in unstressed syllables. Additional examples from some really long Palauan words are given below:

Weak E		
bekecheremrum	be-ke-che-rem-RUM	'smell of sea cucumber'
bekoderengesakl	be-ko-de-re-nge-SAKL	'having sharp hearing'
chelsmekemek	chels-me-KE-mek	'closed up'
chetechetil	che-te-che-TIL	'his wound'
ullecheduchel	ul-le-che-DU-chel	'remains after patching'

Full E in Unstressed Syllables

f. While E in unstressed syllables is normally pronounced as a **weak E**, there are some interesting cases in which the E remains **full**, *even when unstressed.* Since you are a native speaker of Palauan, you instinctively know when to pronounce such unstressed E's as **full E**. However, this is a big problem for foreigners, who (1) often do not know which syllable of a Palauan word should be stressed, and (2) cannot easily predict when an *unstressed* E might still keep a **full E** pronunciation.

The cases in which an unstressed E keeps a **full E** pronunciation fall into the categories described below:

Full E in the Possessed Forms of Nouns

(1) If a noun in its basic form has a *double E* pronunciation (see 1.3.6 below) or a *vowel cluster* (*diphthong*) containing E (see 1.3.7 below), a **full E** pronunciation is often kept in the noun's *possessed form*. For example, the noun *deel* 'nail' is spelled with a double E (and pronounced with a long "e"). However, when we look at the noun's possessed forms—*delek* 'my nail', *delel* 'his/her nail', *delem* 'your nail', etc.—we see that the double E has *shortened* to a single E. In such words, the endings indicating who possesses the nail (*-ek*, *-el*, *-em*) are always *stressed* (*de-LEK*, *de-LEL*, *de-LEM*), while the first syllable is of course *unstressed*. Nevertheless, the single E in the unstressed syllable still keeps a **full E** pronunciation.

Another example is the noun *taem* 'time, occasion', which contains the vowel cluster AE in its basic form. The possessed forms of *taem* are *te-MEK*, *te-MEL*, *te-MEM*, and so on. Even though the first syllable of these possessed forms is *unstressed*, the single E which "survives" there (after the diphthong AE has been shortened) still keeps a **full E** pronunciation. You will also find the same pattern in *iebed* 'lasso' and its possessed forms *e-be-DEK*, *e-be-DEL*, *e-be-DEM*, etc. (where the first E is full), and in *eolt* 'wind' and its possessed forms *el-TEK*, *el-TEL*, *el-TEM*, etc. (where the first E is also full). Pronounce all of the possessed forms of *deel*, *taem*, *iebed*, and *eolt* given in this and the preceding paragraph. As a native speaker of Palauan, you should easily be able to verify that the E in the first (unstressed) syllable of each possessed form is pronounced as a **full E** (rather than weak E).

Full E in Number Words

(2) In all the Palauan *number words* from two to nine, a word-initial *unstressed* E is nevertheless given a **full E** pronunciation. These number words are listed below:

Full E		
erung	e-RUNG	'two'
edei	e-DEI	'three'
euang	e-UANG	'four'
eim	e-IM	'five'
elolem	e-LO-lem	'six'
euid	e-UID	'seven'
eai	e-AI	'eight'
etiu	e-TIU	'nine'

Miscellaneous Words Beginning With Full E

(3) Quite a few other Palauan words with word-initial *unstressed* E also show a **full E** pronunciation:

Full E		
ebakl	e-BAKL	'chopper'
ekebil	e-ke-BIL	'girl'
ekil	e-KIL	'thick braided rope'
ekong	e-KONG	'to go (towards you)'
eliseb	e-LI-seb	'yesterday'
emel	e-MEL	'interior'
emull	e-MULL	'weeds'
engelakl	e-nge-LAKL	'to pass by'
esemel	e-se-MEL	'act of trying out'

Full E in Words Showing Reduplication

(4) There is a special process of word formation in Palauan in which all or part of the original word (in most cases, a verb) is *repeated.* This process, called **reduplication**, is very widespread and involves many changes of form and meaning. In fact, later in this textbook we will devote an entire lesson to reduplication. Reduplication is important to our discussion here because in many reduplicated words, the repeated syllable contains an *unstressed* E. Look at the following list, in which the stressed syllable of each word has been written in capital letters:

Original Word		**Reduplicated Form**	
buBONG	'senile'	bebuBONG	'somewhat senile'
chuARM	'suffer'	chechuARM	'suffer somewhat'
SMEcher	'sick'	seSMEcher	'somewhat sick'
metiTUR	'to not know'	metetiTUR	'to be rather unfamiliar with'

In all of the examples above, the very same syllable that is stressed in the original word keeps its stress in the reduplicated form. This means that the added (or repeated) syllables *be*, *che*, *se*, and *te* will automatically be *unstressed.* Even though the vowel E in these added syllables is *unstressed*, it still maintains its **full E** pronunciation.

Full E in Words of Foreign Origin

(5) A final group of words in which *unstressed* E is given a **full E** pronunciation includes words borrowed into Palauan from Japanese or English. In the examples below (where the stressed syllable has been written in capital letters), the *unstressed* E is pronounced as a **full E**:

Full E	nebTAI	(Eng.)	'necktie'
	RAKket	(Eng.)	'(tennis) racquet'
	nezimaUAS	(Jp.)	'screwdriver'
	sarmeTSIR	(Jp.)	'liniment'
	seinenDANG	(Jp.)	'young people's club'
	SKArister	(Jp.)	'(person) serious'
	skeMOno	(Jp.)	'pickles'

Why Not Two Palauan Letters for "E"?

Note 20: Looking at all the details of 1.3.2.a-f above, you might ask why the spelling system of Palauan does not have two different letters to distinguish between **full E** and **weak E.** Such a distinction would be especially helpful in writing the words referred to in Rule a(2), since it would then be immediately clear from the spelling whether an *unstressed* E would be pronounced as full or weak. Using two different letters would also help foreign learners of Palauan to pronounce unstressed E properly. In fact, because the 1975 ***Palauan Reference Grammar*** was going to be used by so many foreigners, it was decided to spell every weak E in that book with a special symbol (*e* with a comma underneath).

The standard spelling system used in this textbook and currently proposed for general use throughout Palau does not really require two separate letter symbols for full E vs. weak E, and therefore the letter E alone is sufficient. The main reason for this is that the spelling system of Palauan is of course designed for the convenience of Palauans, and not of foreigners (although, ideally, it should be relatively easy for outsiders to learn also). As Palauans, you have used Palauan pronunciation patterns naturally and instinctively since childhood, even though you may not be consciously aware of those patterns. That is one reason why we have given so many details of spelling and pronunciation in this lesson—to make you more aware of how your language really works and of what a neat and "well-run" system it is.

Note 20 continued next page

Note 20 continued

At any rate, because Palauan is your native language, you automatically "know" how a word should be pronounced as soon as you see it spelled. Therefore, whenever you see the letter E, you can quickly and easily assign it the proper pronunciation—full E or weak E. Even in the most difficult cases, the meaning that you intend to give or the context (i.e., the surrounding words) will let you make the correct choice. For example, when faced with a form such as *delel* (*de-LEL*: first syllable unstressed, second syllable stressed), you will know from the meaning and/or context which of two possible pronunciations to provide:

(1) Pronounce the first E of *deLEL* as a **full E** if *delel* is the possessed form of *deel* 'nail'; or

(2) Pronounce the first E of *deLEL* as a **weak E** if *delel* is the possessed form of *diil* 'abdomen, womb'.

Word-Final Weak E

g. Whenever a Palauan word ends in two consonants (a consonant cluster), it is usually pronounced with a short, weak E at the end. Notice the following examples:

mekeald	**sounds like** "megealde"	'warm'
dengchokl	"dengchokle"	'to sit'
merangd	"merande"	'coral'
melecholb	"melecholbe"	'to bathe'
ralm	"ralme"	'water'
bsibs	"psipse"	'drill'
kbokb	"kbokbe"	'wall'

Because the word-final weak E pronunciation is totally predictable after the consonant cluster, it is **not** necessary to use a word-final E in the spelling of these words.

The extra word-final weak E also turns up in two other situations. First, we hear it after a word-final *double L*, so that *diall* 'ship' sounds like "dialle." In addition, it is heard in words that end in a consonant followed by a word-final U: thus, *omdasu* 'to think' sounds like "omdaswe", and *ochadu* 'tongs' sounds like "ochadwe". In these two words, you will notice that the word-final U takes on a "gliding" pronunciation like English "w" before the weak E sound is added (see 1.3.7.b below for more information about gliding).

Vowel I

1.3.3. The Palauan letter I represents the vowel sound found in such English words as *see* and *team* or in such Japanese words as *himitsu* 'secret' and *kakine* 'fence'. Here are some Palauan words containing the vowel I:

sils	'sun'
kim	'large clam'
ititiumd	'ancient times'
milil	'to play'

Vowel O

1.3.4. The Palauan letter O represents the vowel sound "o" as in English *home*. Several words containing Palauan O are given below:

ngor	'mouth'
oles	'knife'
omosech	'to postpone'
omechero	'to turn (something) face up'

Vowel U

1.3.5. The Palauan letter U stands for the vowel sound "u" found in English *tube*. Here are some examples of Palauan U:

btuch	'star'
bung	'flower'
keruk	'my medicine'
ulul	'chest (of human being)'

Double Vowels

1.3.6. All the full vowels of Palauan except A can occur *double*. In other words, the **double vowels** of Palauan are EE, II, OO, and UU. All of the double vowels have a pronunciation which is *longer* than that of the corresponding single vowels. See if you can verify this by pronouncing out loud the following pairs, in which the difference between the single vs. double vowel actually results in two different words:

Single Vowel		Double Vowel	
dil	'woman'	diil	'abdomen, womb'
buch	'husband, wife'	buuch	'betel nut'
meluk	'to cut, amputate'	meluuk	'rotting'
chis	'depression in sea floor'	chiis	'escape' (noun)

Some additional Palauan words containing double vowels are provided in the list below:

EE:	kmeed	'near'
	deel	'nail'
II:	ngii	'he, she, it'
	iis	'nose'
OO:	dekool	'cigarette'
	sekool	'playful'
UU:	ngduul	'mangrove clam'
	uuked	'fish or mosquito net'

Gliding Pronunciation of Double Vowels

Note 21: In addition to being longer, the double vowels of Palauan sometimes have a *gliding* pronunciation, involving sounds like English "y" and "w". This is heard especially at the beginning of a word: for example, *iis* 'nose' sounds like "yis", and *uuked* 'fish net' sounds like "wuked". Even though we hear the gliding pronunciation, the Palauan spelling system does **not** use the letters Y and W (except in a few personal names such as *Yaoch*, as explained already in Study Question No. 7 of 1.2.15 above).

Vowel Clusters

1.3.7. Many of the examples we have already seen show that Palauan vowels (like Palauan consonants) can occur in various combinations or *clusters*. Such **vowel clusters** (or **diphthongs**) consist of any of the full vowels A, E, I, O, or U occurring next to each other within the same syllable. Here is a representative list of Palauan words containing vowel clusters:

AE	rael	'road'
AI	blai	'house'
AO	taoch	'mangrove channel'
AU	ngau	'fire'
EA	eanged	'sky'
EI	sechelei	'friend'
EO	eolt	'wind'
EU	kleu	'young coconut'
IA	diall	'ship'
IE	iedel	'mango'
IO	diong	'bathing place'
IU	lius	'coconut'
OA	oach	'leg, foot'
OE	boes	'gun'
OI	tekoi	'word'
OU	klou	'big'
UA	uades	'rank'
UE	uel	'turtle'
UI	uingel	'tooth'
UO	suobel	'study, homework'

a. The list above shows how rich the system of Palauan vowel clusters actually is: we were able to find an example for every possible combination of two Palauan vowels!

Gliding, "Y" and "W"

b. When two Palauan vowels occur next to each other as a cluster within the same syllable, we usually find that one of the vowels keeps its full pronunciation, while the other is somewhat weakened by **gliding**. Although it is too difficult to explain gliding from the technical point of view, it is fairly easy to hear a "glided" vowel. Glided vowels are shorter than the adjacent vowel and sound either like "y" of English *young* or "w" of English *work*. Note the actual pronunciation of certain examples from above:

blai	**sounds like**	"blay"	'house'
ngau		"ngaw"	'fire'
iedel		"yedel"	'mango'
oach		"wach"	'leg, foot'

As we stated in *Note 21* above, the letters Y and W (reflecting the gliding sounds "y" and "w" of English) are not part of the standard Palauan alphabet.

c. The rules determining which of the two vowels within a cluster will receive a gliding pronunciation are very complex, and only a few general points will be made here. Whatever the details of these rules may be, as native speakers of Palauan you will automatically be able to pronounce any vowel clusters correctly because you already "know" these rules and can apply them instinctively. In any case, the following points are important:

(1)
- The vowels E and I, when glided, sound like "y".
- The vowels O and U, when glided, sound like "w".
- The vowel A never glides.

(2) If a vowel cluster contains two glidable vowels, one or the other may become a glide, depending on the circumstances. For example, the vowel cluster UI can result in two different pronunciations:

(a) In *chui* 'hair', the I is glided and the word is pronounced like "chuy".

(b) In *uingel* 'tooth', the U is glided and the word is pronounced like "wingel".

The reason for the difference is that in (a) the UI cluster occurs in *word-final* position,while in (b) this same cluster occurs in *word-initial* position.

(3) Even though both E and I sound like "y" when glided, it is very important to choose one letter or the other in spelling a particular word. For example, while the basic word *eanged* 'sky' sounds like "yanged", it should be spelled with a word-initial E because this very E occurs (as a *full* E) in the possessed form *engedel*. In the same way, the basic word *iungs* 'island' sounds like "yuns", and spelling it with a word-initial I allows us to explain its possessed form *ingsel*.

(4) In some Palauan words, we occasionally find sequences of three or more vowels. In these cases, the glides "y" (from E and I) and "w" (from O and U) usually become the borders between adjacent syllables of the word:

chuieuii	**sounds like**	"chu-ye-WIY"	'reads it completely'
mechiuaiu		"me-chi-WAY-we"	'to sleep'

In both of the examples above (where the stressed syllable has been indicated in capital letters), the last two syllables begin with a gliding sound. In *mechiuaiu*, a predictable word-final *weak* E is pronounced (but not spelled) as part of the final syllable (see 1.3.2.g above).

When to Spell or Omit Word-Final I

d. In using the Palauan spelling system, we have to decide when and when not to spell a word with a final vowel cluster EI. A certain number of Palauan words that end in E when pronounced within a sentence take a word-final I (pronounced as the glide "y") at the end of a sentence or when spoken in isolation (for example, when we are reading a list). Some examples are given below:

(1) a. A buik a mei. 'The boy is coming.'
b. A buik a me er a blik. 'The boy is coming to my house.'

(2) a. Te mo er a chei. 'They're going fishing.'
b. Te mo er a che er a klukuk. 'They're going fishing tomorrow.'

The rule of spelling illustrated here is similar to the rule for word-final NG discussed in 1.2.8.e above:

- If word-final "i" is pronounced (and heard) after "e", spell as EI;
- if no word-final "i" is pronounced (or heard) after "e", omit I from the spelling.

SUMMARY CHART OF VOWELS

1.3.8. Here is a chart summarizing the five vowel letters in the Palauan spelling system:

Palauan Vowels

LETTER	PRONUNCIATION	
A		Eng. "a" as in *car*
E	Full E:	Eng. "e" as in *red*
	Weak E:	Eng. "e" as in *the*
I		Eng. "ee" as in *see*
		Jp. "i" as in *himitsu*
O		Eng. "o" as in *home*
U		Eng. "u" as in *tube*

Here are two other brief charts that may be useful:

Palauan Double Vowels			
EE	II	OO	UU

Palauan Vowel Clusters (Diphthongs)				
AE	EA	IA	OA	UA
AI	EI	IE	OE	UE
AO	EO	IO	OI	UI
AU	EU	IU	OU	UO

Reminder: In the Palauan diphthongs above, one of the vowels is often *glided*: E and I become "y" as in Eng. *young*, and O and U become "w" as in English *work*.

FURTHER SPELLING RULES OF PALAUAN

1.3.9. In this section we will list certain Palauan spelling rules not covered in the sections above. Most of these remaining rules concern the proper spelling of individual words and phrases. The decision to spell something as a separate word is often based on a careful *grammatical* study of the item in question. As we will see in later lessons, it will be easier to understand many points of Palauan grammatical structure if we decide to spell a particular word in the same way whenever it occurs, even though there might be some differences in pronunciation from one occurrence to another. In the discussions below, we will introduce a few necessary grammatical terms for purposes of identification only. These terms will all be explained in greater detail later in the textbook.

Relational Word ER

a. The **relational word** *ER*, which has a wide range of English equivalents such as "in, on, at, to, from, out of, because of," etc., is always spelled as a separate word. In addition, the word *A*, which precedes *nouns* and *verbs* in many circumstances (but not *pronouns* or *demonstratives*), should always be written as a separate word. Here are some examples in the form of short sentences:

(1)	a.	Ke mo er ker?	'Where are you going?'
	b.	Ak mo er a skuul.	'I'm going to school.'
	c.	Ak mesuub a tekoi er a Merikel.	'I'm studying English.'
	d.	Ak milsuub er a blik.	'I was studying at home.'
	e.	Ak merael er a klukuk.	'I'm leaving tomorrow.'
	f.	Ng hong er a sensei.	'It's the teacher's book.'
	g.	Ng hong er ngii.	'It's his/her book.'
	h.	A buik a milil er tiang.	'The boy is playing here.'

By reading the above sentences out loud, you will find that the word spelled ER is not pronounced identically in all cases. If the word preceding ER ends in a vowel, as in (a–c) above, the E of ER is dropped: therefore, the three words MO ER A in (b) sound like "mora". However, if the preceding word ends in a consonant, as in (d–h), the E of ER is kept (but pronounced as a **weak E** because ER is always *unstressed*—see *Note 19* above). By spelling ER as a separate word in all the examples above, we can clearly identify it as the **relational word** *ER*, which in every example occurs in either of two patterns:

relational word + *A* + noun, or **relational word + pronoun/demonstrative**.

A Spelled But Not Pronounced

In certain cases, we know from the grammatical structure that we have a pattern of the form **relational word + *A* + noun**, even though the *A* is not pronounced! This can be observed in a number of common expressions:

(2)	a.	er a elii	**sounds like** "erelii"	'yesterday'
	b.	er a elechang	"erelechang"	'now, today'
	c.	er a Belau	"erbelaw"	'in/of Palau'
	d.	er a Babeldaob	"erbabeldaop"	'in/of Babeldaob'

While it is preferable to spell (2a–d) with the separate word *A* to show the grammatical structure, you may choose to omit the *A* in these very common expressions, especially in *er (a) Belau*.

ER in Expressions of Existence

The relational word *er* occurs in *expressions of existence* such as *ngar er ngii* 'there is, there are'. Such expressions state that someone or something exists in a particular location, as in the sentence below:

(3) Ng ngar er ngii a hong er a chelsel a skidas. 'There's a book inside the drawer.'

In sentence (3), you will notice that *ngar er ngii* is pronounced "ngarngii"—the pronunciation of *er* is totally lost! We know, however, that *er* is really part of this expression because we at least hear *part* of it when we change the tense:

(4) a. mla er ngii **sounds like** "mlarngii" 'there was/were'
b. mo er ngii "morngii" 'there will be'
c. mochu er ngii "mochurngii" 'there is about to be'

In (4a–c) the E of *er* is lost because the preceding word ends in a vowel (compare examples 1a–c above). Because all Palauan expressions of existence have the structure **existence verb** + *ER* + *NGII*, we really should spell *ngar er ngii* with the *er*. Some Palauans, however, may still wish to omit *er* from the spelling of this very common expression. If this choice is made, it would be preferable to keep the remaining two words separate: i.e., spell as *ngar ngii*, but not *ngarngii*.

Plural Prefix RE-

b. Palauan nouns that refer to human beings can be made **plural** (i.e., referring to two or more persons) by attaching *re-* to the beginning of the noun. Because *re-* is attached *before* the noun stem, it is called a **prefix**. Some examples of plural nouns in Palauan are given below:

Singular		Plural	
chad	'person'	rechad	'people'
ngalek	'child'	rengalek	'children'
sensei	'teacher'	resensei	'teachers'
sechelik	'my friend'	resechelik	'my friends'
ekebil	'girl'	rekebil	'girls'

As the last example shows, if the noun begins with a vowel, then we simply attach *r-* instead of *re-*.

It is important to spell plural words correctly, especially when they are part of more complicated phrases containing *er*. Here are some sentence examples:

(1) Ak ulemes er a rengalek. 'I was watching the children.'
(2) Ng delmerab er a resensei. 'It's the teachers' room.'
(3) A relluich el chad a mlad. 'Twenty people died.'
(4) Ak milsterir a rua Toki. 'I saw Toki and her friends.'

By spelling *ER*, *A*, and *RE-* separately in sentences (1–2) above, we make the grammatical structure of those sentences absolutely clear: each one contains a phrase of the form **relational word** *ER* + *A* + **plural noun**. (In old-fashioned Palauan spelling, people might have written *er a rengalek* something like *rar ngalek*, which may fit the pronunciation but totally hides the grammatical structure.)

Conjunction EL

c. The conjunction EL is used in many different situations to join one word or phrase to another. In all of its usages, *el* links a *modifying* word or phrase to the noun (or verb) modified. Even though the pronunciation of *el* may be reduced (or even totally lost), it is always spelled as an independent word. Some of the most common usages of *el* are illustrated below.

Demonstratives

(1) With *demonstratives*, which point out persons, animals, or things:

(a)	tia el klalo	'this thing'
	se el hong	'that book'
	tirka el chad	'these people'
	aike el charm	'those animals'

In all of the examples of (a), we do not pronounce the E of *el* because a vowel-final word precedes. Where have we recently seen a similar rule of pronunciation?

Numbers

(2) With *numbers*, which occur in many different series and show different forms depending on what is being counted:

(b)	ta el chad	'one person'
	chimo el kluk	'one dollar'
	eru el klok	'two o'clock'
	teluo el oluches	'one pencil'
	dart el kluk	'one hundred dollars'
	euid el klok	'seven o'clock'
	teruich el oluches	'ten pencils'

In some of the examples above, the E of *el* is not pronounced, while in others it is heard as a weak E. What factor determines this rule of pronunciation?

Modifiers

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

(c)	elecha el sils	'today'
	mekelekolt el ralm	'cold water'
	bek el tutau	'every morning'
	mekngit el chad	'bad person'
	ungil el chad	'good person'

In the examples of (c), the modifying or qualifying word *precedes* the modified word. As we might expect, the E of *el* is lost after a vowel-final word, but is pronounced as a weak E after a consonant-final word. If the word preceding *el* ends in an L, as in the case of *ungil el chad* 'good person', then *el* is omitted totally from the pronunciation (sounds like "ungilchad"). In addition, if *el* precedes a word beginning with R, as in *mekelekolt el ralm* 'cold water', then the L of *el* and the following R blend into a *double R* (sounds like "megelegolterralm").

Besides the expressions of (c), Palauan has expressions in which the modifying or qualifying word *follows* the word modified:

(d)	chad el mengitakl	'person who sings'
	soal el mo er a chei	'his desire to go fishing'
	sensei el ungil	'teacher who is good'
	John el sensei	'John, who is a teacher'

You should have no problem predicting how the word *el* is actually pronounced in the examples of (d).

Complex Constructions

(4) With a large variety of *complex constructions*:

(e)	dirrek el sensei	'is also a teacher'
	di telkib el kukau	'only a little piece of taro'
	mo merek el mesuub	'(will) finish studying'
	omengur el oba a taod	'to eat with a fork'
	blechoel el mesuub	'always studies'
	mo el ngar er a mlai	'to go in a car'
	omuchel el mengitakl	'to begin singing'
	mo el obengkel a sensei	'to go with the teacher'

Once again, you should have no difficulty predicting the correct pronunciation of *el* in the examples of (e).

Pronouns

d. Palauan has several sets of **pronouns**, which are short words (or parts of words) referring to various persons such as 'I', 'you', 'he', 'she', 'they', etc. Some Palauan pronouns are spelled as independent words, while others are spelled as parts of larger words. A brief rundown is given below:

Non-Emphatic Pronouns

(1) The *non-emphatic pronouns ak* 'I', *ng* 'he, she, it', *ke* 'you', etc., are used as subjects of the sentence. They are always spelled as separate words:

(a)	Ke mo er ker?	'Where are you going?'
	Ak menguiu er a hong.	'I'm reading the book.'
	Te di milil.	'They just play around.'
	Ng kmal ungil.	'It's very good.'

Emphatic Pronouns

(2) The *emphatic pronouns ngak* 'I', *ngii* 'he, she, it', *kau* 'you', etc., can be used either as (emphatic) subjects or after the word *er*. They are also spelled as separate words:

(b)	Ngak a sensei.	'*I'm* the teacher.'
	Ng hong er ngii.	'It's his book.'
	Ak ulemes er tir.	'I saw them.'

Object Pronouns

(3) The *object pronouns -ak* 'me', *-ii* 'him, her, it', *-au* 'you', etc., are not independent words but are attached as *suffixes* to the end of the verb. Note that hyphens are used in our notations of *-ak*, *-ii*, *-au*, etc., to show the non-independent, "bound" status of these pronouns. Some verb forms containing suffixed object pronouns are given below (with the pronoun part written in capital letters):

(c)	chillebedAK	'hit me' (past tense)
	sosebII	'burns it'
	cholebedAU	'hits you' (present tense)
	milsTERIR	'saw them'

Possessor Pronouns

(4) The *possessor pronouns* are attached as suffixes to nouns to indicate the owner or possessor of something. Possessor pronouns have many different forms (to be looked at in detail in Lesson 3), so only a few typical examples are given below:

(d)	bilEK	'my clothing'
	bliK	'my house'
	ngerEM	'your mouth'
	mliRIR	'their car(s)'
	sebechEL	'his/her ability'
	soAM	'your desire'

Prefix Pronouns

(5) The *prefix pronouns ku-* 'I', *lo-* 'he, she, it, they', *chomo-* 'you', etc., are attached as prefixes to the beginning of the verb (note, again, the hyphens in our notation). The prefix pronouns are used in a wide variety of complicated grammatical constructions, only a few of which are chosen below:

(e) 1.	Ng diak KUsuub.	'I'm not studying.'
2.	A John a diak LOilil.	'John isn't playing.'
3.	A hong a LOnguiu er ngii a John.	'The book is being read by John.'
4.	Ke mekera a CHOMOruul a mlai?	'What do you do to make a canoe?'
5.	Ng chetik a ngelekek a LOlamech a buuch.	'I don't like my child to chew betel nut.'
6.	Ng soal a Kbo KUsuub.	'He wants me to study.'

Word Sequences

e. Palauan has many word sequences that serve to express some abstract meaning or idea and often have single English words as their equivalents. Although some Palauans may still prefer to spell these sequences as single words, a careful grammatical analysis of Palauan shows that they really contain from two to four independent units. By spelling these word sequences as indicated below, you can reflect the real Palauan grammatical structure more clearly:

Word Sequence	Pronunciation	English Equivalent
e le ak	"elek"	'because I...'
e le ng	"eleng"	'because he/she...'
me a (+noun)	"ma"	'and'
me ak	"mak"	'so I...'
me ng	"meng"	'so he/she...'
e ng di	"endi"	'but'
er se er a	"ersera"	'when (in the past)'
el kmo	"elkmo"	'[say] that...'
el ua se	"elwase"	'[say] that...'
ng diak	"ndiak"	'isn't, aren't'
ng di kea	"ndigea"	'no longer is...'
di mle ngii	"dimlengii"	'by himself/herself'
ko er a	"kora"	'kind of, like'
a leko (ak)	"alego(k)"	'(I) intended to...'
a lsekum	"alsegum"	'if, when'

If you look at the pronunciation column in the list above, you will notice many cases in which a vowel has been dropped, especially E.

List of Terms

1.3.10. Here is a list of important terms that we have learned in connection with **Palauan vowels**:

- **Stressed Syllable**
- **Unstressed Syllable**
- **Multisyllabic**
- **Full E**
- **Weak E**
- **Reduplication**
- **Double Vowel**
- **Vowel Cluster**
- **Diphthong**
- **Gliding Pronunciation**

1.3.11. PALAUAN VOWELS: STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Be sure that you understand all of the **terms** listed above in 1.3.10. For each term, write a clear, correct **definition** and give an **example** or **illustration**. Follow the sample answer format shown in Study Question 1, Section 1.2.15.

2. The list of terms in 1.3.10 has two very important pairs of contrasting terms:

   a. stressed vs. unstressed syllable

   b. full Ė vs. weak E

      (1) What is the difference between stressed and unstressed syllables in Palauan? Why is it important to make this distinction?

      (2) What is the difference in pronunciation between Palauan full E and weak E? Why is it important to distinguish between the two when talking about the spelling system of Palauan?

3. How are the vowel systems of Palauan and English different from each other? In answering this question, consider the following:

   a. Do both languages have exactly the same number of vowels? Are there any Palauan vowel sounds that English does not have? Which vowel sounds of English cannot be found in Palauan?

   b. What are the similarities and differences between the kinds of vowel clusters (diphthongs) found in Palauan and English? Be especially careful about certain problems caused by the English spelling system: for example, although *oa* is a vowel "cluster" in English spelling (*coat*, *moan*, etc.), in fact it is always a *single* vowel ("o") in the pronunciation.

   c. Does English have any double vowels like Palauan EE, II, OO, and UU? Be cautious again about English spelling!

4. As we have seen, Palauan has many *multisyllabic* words. Find 5 four-syllable words, 5 five-syllable words, and 5 six-syllable words. Can you find any seven-syllable words in Palauan? Spell each example correctly and give the English equivalent. *Hint*: Many Palauan words formed by *reduplication* (see 1.3.2.f.4) can become quite long.

5. What are the rules for determining whether the Palauan letter E will be pronounced as a **full E** or a **weak E**? Be sure to refer to the idea of stressed vs. unstressed syllable.

6. In what categories of Palauan words is the letter E pronounced as a **full E** even in an unstressed syllable?

7. What are some of the arguments in favor of having only one letter for E in the Palauan alphabet, even though E has both **full** and **weak** pronunciations?

8. Explain the situations in which Palauan vowel sounds can take on a *gliding* pronunciation (similar to English "y" and "w").

9. Why isn't it necessary to include the letters Y and W in the standard Palauan spelling system?

10. What is the rule for deciding when a word like *me(i)* 'to come' will be spelled with or without its final I?

11. In writing out the Palauan equivalent of English "The boy went to the store", Student A wrote *A buik a mlora stoang*, while Student B wrote *A buik a mlo er a stoang*. Which student do you think was correct, and why?

12. What is the meaning and function of the Palauan relational word *er*? Why is it preferable to spell *er* as a separate word?

13. How does the plural prefix *re-* work in Palauan? What are the rules for spelling it properly?

14. What are the different constructions in which the conjunction *el* is used? Under what circumstances is the E of *el* omitted in the pronunciation?

15. Which types of Palauan pronouns are spelled as independent words? Which types are not independent but must be attached to other words as prefixes or suffixes? Give two examples of each type.

16. What is your opinion about the proper way to spell the Palauan word sequences mentioned in 1.3.9.e? Which of the two sentences below would you choose, and why?

    (a) Ak mle smecher, me ak di ullengull er a blik.

    (b) Ak mle smecher, mak di ullengull er a blik.

    (The sentence, of course, means: "I was sick, so I just relaxed at home.")

1.3.12. PALAUAN VOWELS: EXERCISES

1. See how many Palauan words you can find by replacing the blanks in the "word frames" below with Palauan vowels (either single or double) or vowel clusters. For example, for the word frame D__L, we get *deel*, *dil*, *diil*, *duul*, *dial*, and *diul*. For each word you find, write down the English equivalent.

B__K	B__L	CH__S	CH__R	D__CH
D__B	K__R	L__K	M__D	NG__R
NG__S	R__L	S__K	S__S	T__CH

2. For each of the multisyllabic Palauan words below:

   a. Read and pronounce the word carefully.

   b. Divide the word into syllables and then indicate the *stressed* syllable by writing that entire syllable in capital letters.

   c. For each letter E, indicate whether it is pronounced as **full E** or a **weak E**.

   Sample Answers:
   - klemokem: kle-MO-kem. Both Es are weak.
   - melebodeb: me-le-BO-deb. All Es are weak.
   - eretiud: e-re-TIUD. Both Es are full.

eliseb	mesesengerenger	ocheraol
klauteketok	mirechorech	okedeldaol
engelakl	Ngerechelong	oleketmekimel
kosekodel	Ngeremetengel	olekekerkar
mekekerei	ngesengeso	raelkeobel
merredorem	oberreburs	secherecheriaol
metetongakl	ochebelii	tetengemud
melebecholloi	milengedecheduch	mechelaol

3. When deriving the *possessed forms* of a Palauan noun from the independent *basic form*, at least three things can happen to the original vowel or diphthong:

   a. The original full vowel (A, E, I, O, or U) is changed to a **weak E** pronunciation:

kar	'medicine'	→	keruk	'my medicine'
ker	'question'	→	kerik	'my question'
bsibs	'drill'	→	bsebsek	'my drill'
ngor	'mouth'	→	ngerek	'my mouth'
chur	'laughter'	→	cherik	'my laughter'

b. A double vowel gets shortened:

oriik	'broom'	→	orikek	'my broom'
beluu	'country'	→	beluak	'my country'

c. A vowel cluster (diphthong) is shortened by the loss of one of the vowels:

oak	'anchor'	→	okuk	'my anchor'
chais	'news'	→	chisek	'news about me'
taem	'time'	→	temek	'my time'

Now, for each of the Palauan nouns below (given in their basic form), provide the correct *possessed* form ('my _____', 'your _____', 'his/her/its _____', etc.). In each case, indicate also whether the original vowel or diphthong is changed according to Pattern (a), (b), or (c) above.

iungs	uingėl	eolt	biich
kall	duch	bar	buuch
kbokb	kadikm	ngalek	luuk
malk	deel	belochel	dekool
reng	secher	uulk	taoch
temall	usaker	chesols	iusech
koad	mechas	blaks	mlai

4. Below are various Palauan words containing two-vowel clusters (diphthongs). As mentioned in sections 1.3.7.b–c above, one of the members of a Palauan vowel cluster will often be given a gliding pronunciation (E and I may be glided to "y", and O and U may be glided to "w"). For each of the words below:

   a. Read and pronounce the word carefully.

   b. Determine which vowel of the cluster is stronger (stressed), and write this vowel in capital letters.

   c. Indicate whether or not the other vowel of the cluster gets pronounced as a glide.

   Sample Answers:
   - blai: blAi, sounds like "blay" (i becomes "y")
   - ngau: ngAu, sounds like "ngaw" (u becomes "w")
   - meas: meAs (no gliding)

eabed	eungel	klou	uel
oach	ears	iedel	udoud
omail	sueleb	rois	suobel
chui	buil	tekoi	medengei
diak	lius	choas	buik
merael	taem	ieleb	omoes
diong	ngloik	iaml	toachel
chaus	kleu	etiu	soak

5. For each of the following diphthongs, find five Palauan words that contain the diphthong indicated. Give the English meaning of each word.

AE	EO	OI
AO	IE	UE
EA	OE	UO

6. Here are some Palauan words which are spelled with sequences of three or more vowels (see 1.3.7.c.4 above). For each word:

   a. Read and pronounce carefully.

   b. Locate the stressed syllable and write the strongest vowel of this syllable in capital letters.

   c. Indicate which of the surrounding vowels has a gliding ("y" or "w") pronunciation.

   Sample answers: • chuieuii: chuieuIi, sounds like "chuyewiy"
   • ngoiong: ngoiOng, sounds like "ngoyong"

ochaieu	kaiuedingel	kaiuiuul	soaes
iaes	mechiechab	siiekii	meaiu
meau	meaech	mcheleuii	tauiir
iuochel	mengeuid	ouasi	uoi

7. Write five full sentences using the relational word *er* 'in, at, on, to, from, out of, because of', etc. (see 1.3.9.a). In each sentence, try to use *er* with a different meaning. Be careful to spell ER as a separate word and pay attention to the correct spelling of small words in sequence. Give the English equivalent of each sentence you write.

8. Give the *plural* form for each noun below, paying attention to the correct spelling:

buik	tolechoi	sechal
ekebil	dil	kangkodang
mechas	bulis	ngalek er a skuul

9. Give the *demonstrative* words meaning "this" (singular) and "these" (plural) that go with each of the nouns below. Write the entire expression and be careful to spell the conjunction EL as a separate word.

Sample answer: • klalo: tia el klalo 'this thing'
aika el klalo 'these things'

chad	hong	sensei
bilis	kerrekar	ekebil

10. Provide the *number* words indicated for each of the nouns below. Write the entire expression and pay close attention to spelling the conjunction EL as a separate word.

Sample answers:
- chad [1]: ta el chad
- kluk [1]: chimo el kluk
- buil [3]: ede el buil

Reminder: You have to use different number words in Palauan depending on what is being counted!

rak [4]	buik [7]	hong [2]
klok [8]	lius [5]	sechelei [10]
sensei [3]	malk [1]	kahol [20]
blai [100]	ngikel [6]	rubak [9]
oluches [2]	charm [12]	babii [11]

11. Write separate sentences in which each of the *non-emphatic pronouns (ak, ke, ng, kede, aki, kom, te)* is used as subject. Be sure to spell all of these pronouns as separate words.

12. Write separate sentences using each of the *emphatic pronouns (ngak, kau, ngii, kid, kemam, kemiu, tir)* after the word *er*. Be sure to spell all the emphatic pronouns as separate words.

13. In the verb form *chillebedak* '(someone) hit me' (past tense), the word ending (suffix) -AK indicates an *object pronoun*. We can substitute other object pronouns for -AK and get the verb forms *chillebedau, chillebedii, chillebedid, chillebedemam, chillebedemiu,* and *chillebedeterir*. Now, do the same thing for the following verb forms, making sure to spell every object pronoun as part of the word:

chimkemkak	'(someone) covers me'
chililak	'(someone) waited for me'
cholechelak	'(someone) warns me'
urretak	'(someone) made me run'
tordak	'(someone) annoys me'
mekrolak	'(someone) guides me'
osisecheklak	'(someone) teaches me'
silikak	'(someone) looked for me'

14. In the verb form *kusuub* 'I study', the prefix pronoun KU- is attached to the verb stem and is part of the entire word. If we change the prefix pronoun, we can get the verb forms *chomosuub, losuub, dosuub*, and *kimosuub*. Now, do the same thing in the examples below, making sure to spell every prefix pronoun as part of the verb:

ng diak kulim	'I don't drink'
ng diak kunguiu	'I don't read'
ng diak kumes	'I don't see'
ng diak kusiik	'I don't look for'
ng diak kulamech	'I don't smoke'

15. For each of the word sequences given in 1.3.9.e, write out a complete Palauan sentence. Pay attention to spelling all the words in your sentence correctly. Provide the English meaning for each sentence you write.

16. Prepare for one or more **spelling quizzes**. Pay special attention to spelling the vowels and diphthongs correctly. Your teacher will dictate 20 to 25 Palauan words to you, which you should write down correctly according to the standard rules of Palauan spelling.

17. Review carefully the discussion and examples of Palauan *word sequences* in 1.3.9.e, and prepare for a **spelling quiz** on these word sequences. The teacher will dictate 10 to 15 short Palauan sentences to you that contain such word sequences. Spell these sentences as accurately as possible, paying attention to all the independent words.

Note: Some typical examples might be:

a.	A ngalek a rullii a kall el di mle ngii.	'The child prepared the food all by himself.'
b.	A bechik a ko er a sesmecher.	'My wife is rather sick.'
c.	A rubak a mla er a chei.	'The old man went fishing.'

18. Read a selected text—for example, a legend—written entirely in Palauan. Your teacher will choose something appropriate.

    a. Make a survey of the spelling used in the text. Can you find any words that are spelled wrong? Make a list of the words that are misspelled and give a corrected spelling for each.

    b. Pay attention to *word sequences* in the text. Was the writer of the text careful about word sequences, and did he or she spell the necessary words independently? If you find errors, point them out and provide a corrected form for each.

    c. Prepare for a **spelling dictation** from the same text. Your teacher will read a group of connected sentences (one or two paragraphs) from this text two or three times. Prepare to spell these dictated sentences as accurately as possible, giving special attention to word sequences.

2

PALAUAN NOUNS

INTRODUCTION

2.1. In Lesson 1 we described the **sound system** of Palauan in terms of the different units (the consonant and vowel sounds) and how they combine with each other to form words. In discussing the way Palauan sounds combine with each other, we looked at the many types of consonant clusters, double consonants, vowel clusters (diphthongs), double vowels, and so on. All of these details gave us a fairly clear picture of the sound structure of Palauan words.

Grammatical System

In addition to a sound system, all languages have what is called a **grammatical system**. The grammatical system consists of all the words (or more properly, meaning-bearing units) of a language and the rules that allow them to be combined in various ways. For example, the rules of the English grammatical system allow us to determine that (1) is a perfect English sentence while (2) is totally unacceptable "word salad":

(1) The cat ran after the dog.

(2) After cat the dog the ran.

Parts of Speech: Noun, Verb
Distributional Features

To get the clearest picture of a language's grammatical system, we must first divide or classify the words into various groups called **parts of speech**. The parts of speech of a language are groups of words whose members share certain common characteristics. All of the members of a particular part of speech—for example, nouns—have the same **distributional features**. By distributional features, we mean the positions in a sentence (or phrase) in which the word in question can occur. Thus, all members of the part of speech **noun**—e.g., *buik* 'boy', *sensei* 'teacher', *bilis* 'dog', *ius* 'crocodile', etc.—

share the distributional feature of being able to occur as **subject** of a Palauan sentence. Because of this common distributional feature, all of these words will fit into the blank below:

(3) A _____ a killii a ngikel. 'The _____ ate the fish.'

In addition to the noun, the second major part of speech in Palauan is the **verb**. In (3) above, the verb is *killii* 'ate it'. If we now focus on the position of the verb and rewrite sentence (3) as follows,

(4) A buik a _____ a ngikel. 'The boy _____ the fish.'

we see that there are many words—e.g., *kirrelii* 'caught it', *ultirii* 'chased it', *silikii* 'looked for (and found) it', etc.—that could substitute for *killii* in the blank of sentence (4). Because *kirrelii*, *ultirii*, *silikii*, etc., can replace *killii* and therefore have the same distributional feature as *killii*, they are also members of the part of speech **verb**.

Internal Structure

The simple examples of (3) and (4) which use a substitution or "fill-in-the-blank" method show clearly that all members of a particular part of speech have common distributional features. In addition, a group of words like *killii, kirrelii, ultirii,* and *silikii* (all verbs) illustrates another important point about the members of a given part of speech: they often have a common **internal structure**. The internal structure of a word consists of the meaning-bearing units or parts of which it is composed. Many Palauan words have a complex internal structure, and quite a few lessons in this textbook will be devoted entirely to studying these structures.

In the present case, it is enough to see that a word like *silikii* 'looked for (and found) it' has an internal structure of *three* parts: the *-ii* ending refers to a (direct) *object* (looked for and found *it*—referring to the fish); the *-il-* refers to *past* tense (i.e., the event occurred *before* the present time); and the remaining parts *s-* + *-ik-* correspond to the idea of "look for" (cf. the verb *osiik* 'to look for'). Now, when we look at the other words *killii, kirrelii*, and *ultirii* (all members of the same part of speech **verb**), we see that they also have an internal structure that parallels *silikii* (although, of course, some of the details are different). Thus, *kirrelii* 'caught it' can also be broken down into three parts: the *-ii* ending for direct object (just as in *silikii*); the *-ir-* for past tense (equivalent to the *-il-* of *silikii*); and the remaining parts *k-* + *-rel-* representing the idea of "catch (fish) with a line" (cf. the verb *mengereel*). Now, look carefully at the other two verb forms *killii* and *ultirii*, and see if you can analyze their internal structure in the same way.

PALAUAN NOUNS

2.2. **Nouns** are one of the most important parts of speech in Palauan. We can generally define a noun as a word that *names* or *makes reference* to many different types of things or living beings. Nouns are like identification labels pointing to the various persons and things that we deal with and talk about in everyday communication. Nouns can be divided into several subgroups, depending on what the noun refers to.

Concrete Nouns: Human vs. Nonhuman Five Senses

2.2.1. Perhaps the easiest nouns to identify are those that refer to anything (or anyone) that we can perceive or come in contact with through one or more of our five natural **senses**. The five senses are *sight, hearing, touch, taste,* and *smell*, and any noun identifying something (or someone) that can be seen, heard, touched, tasted, or smelled is called a **concrete noun**. Palauan concrete nouns can further be divided into two subcategories—**human** and **nonhuman**. Why this distinction is helpful in understanding Palauan grammar will become clear in 2.4.2 below.

As you might expect, human nouns make reference to human beings, as the words below indicate:

(5) **Human Nouns (Concrete)**

chad	'person'	sensei	'teacher'
sechelei	'friend'	ngalek	'child'
buch	'spouse'	buik	'boy'
chedil	'mother'	rubak	'old man'
demak	'my father'	Cisco	'Cisco'

By contrast, nonhuman nouns refer to anything that is not human, such as *animals* and *living or nonliving things*. Some typical examples are given below:

(6) **Nonhuman Nouns (Concrete)**

ANIMALS

bilis	'dog'	malk	'chicken'
ius	'crocodile'	ngikel	'fish'
katuu	'cat'	babii	'pig'

LIVING THINGS

kerrekar	'tree'	bung	'flower'
chudel	'grass'	llel	'leaf'

NONLIVING THINGS

blai	'house'	babier	'paper, letter'
daob	'ocean'	omoachel	'river'
kall	'food'	mlik	'my car, my canoe'

Abstract Nouns

2.2.2. As opposed to concrete nouns, **abstract nouns** refer to things that cannot be perceived by any of the five senses. This is because abstract nouns refer to a wide range of *concepts, ideas,* or *emotions* that can exist only in our minds or thoughts but do not take the form of objects in the everyday world that we can see, hear, touch, etc. Some examples of abstract nouns are listed below:

(7) **Abstract Nouns**

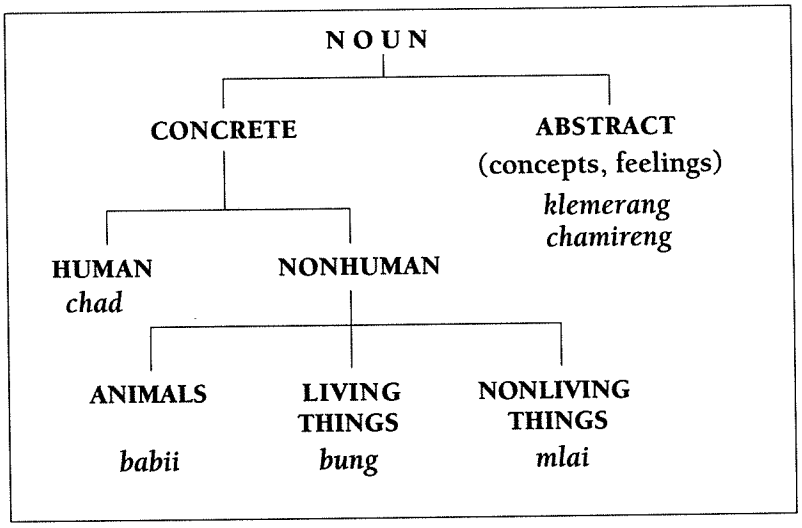
sebechek	'my ability'	reng	'heart, spirit'
soam	'your desire'	klemerang	'truth'
kirel	'his obligation'	klechad	'human life'
klengeasek	'youth'	blekeu	'bravery'
dakt	'fear'	klausechelei	'friendship'

A quick look at the examples above will reveal that there are some subgroups of abstract nouns that have a distinctive *internal structure.* For example, the words *klemerang* 'truth', *klengeasek* 'youth', and *klechad* 'human life' all have a common structure consisting of two parts: a (word-initial) prefix *kle-*, which in fact indicates that the noun is abstract; and a stem (or root) that can otherwise occur as a totally independent word (*merang* 'true', *ngeasek* 'young', and *chad* 'person').

The distinction between concrete vs. abstract nouns is not always as sharp and clear as we have implied above. It is sometimes quite difficult to decide how to classify a particular noun in terms of this distinction. For example, the word *char* 'price' at first seems rather abstract, especially if we define it as "the monetary value assigned to something for sale within a particular economic system". But doesn't *char* seem more concrete in a specific situation where we are looking at an actual price label and we say *A cheral a hong a kmal ungil* ("The price of the book is very good")? Similar problems exist with such words as *tekoi* 'language, word', *chais* 'news', *ker* 'question', *ngakl* 'name', and so on.

SUMMARY OF PALAUAN NOUN TYPES

2.2.3. The types of Palauan nouns discussed in the sections above can be summarized in this chart:



DISTRIBUTION OF PALAUAN NOUNS

2.3. Now that we have identified the major groups of Palauan nouns (concrete vs. abstract, human vs. nonhuman), we will examine the *distributional features* of nouns. We will first discuss the two major functions of nouns in Palauan sentences. Observe the examples below:

(8) A ngalek a menga er a ngikel. 'The child is eating the fish.'
(9) A buik a chillebedii a bilis. 'The boy hit the dog.'

What these sentences have in common is that they both describe the occurrence of an *action* or *event*. In (8), the action of eating, represented by the word *menga* 'eat', is taking place at the *present* time (that is, at the very moment when someone is observing the event and reporting it by this sentence). In (9), however, the event of hitting, represented by *chillebedii* 'hit', occurred at some time in the *past* (that is, before the moment when someone is actually speaking this sentence).

Regardless of the difference in tense (present vs. past), the action words *menga* and *chillebedii* in (8) and (9) each serve to relate two **nouns**—one which tells who is *doing* or *performing* the action and one which tells what is *affected* by the action. In (8), for instance, the (human) noun *ngalek* 'child' tells us who is doing the eating, while the noun *ngikel* 'fish' identifies what is being affected by the action of eating. Look now at sentence (9) and make sure that you can analyze it in a parallel way.

Sentence Subject, Sentence Object
Subject Noun, Object Noun

2.3.1. When a noun is used in a sentence to refer to the person (or animal or thing) that performs, carries out, or causes the action or event of the sentence, that noun is functioning as the **sentence subject**. Nouns used as sentence subjects—*ngalek* and *buik* in (8) and (9)—are often referred to as **subject nouns**. By contrast, when a noun is used to tell us what is affected by the action of the sentence, that noun is functioning as the **sentence object**. Nouns used as sentence objects—*ngikel* and *bilis* in (8) and (9)—are often called **object nouns**. It is important to remember that one and the same noun could be either a subject noun or an object noun depending on its function in a particular sentence. Thus, *ngalek* is a subject noun in (8), but we use it as an object noun in (10) below to identify the person affected by the action:

(10) A babii a ultirii a ngalek. 'The pig chased the child.'

While the subject nouns of most action sentences are human beings (8–9) or animals (10), occasionally we find a subject noun from another category (e.g., *derumk* 'thunder', a natural event, but nonliving):

(11) A derumk a ulekerngii a ngalek. 'The thunder woke up the child.'

Furthermore, almost any kind of noun (human, animal, abstract, etc.) can function as *sentence object*. For example, in (12) below the object noun is an *abstract concept* (*klengit* 'sin'):

(12) A sechelim a rirelii a klengit. 'Your friend committed a sin.'

Action Sentences:
SUBJECT NOUN + ACTION WORD + OBJECT NOUN

In all the Palauan action sentences studied so far (8–12 above), the distribution of nouns can be described by the pattern ***subject noun + action word (verb) + object noun***. In other words, Palauan subject nouns (preceded by *a*) normally occur at the beginning of a sentence directly before the action word (the verbs *menga, chillebedii, ultirii*, etc.), while Palauan object nouns (preceded by *a* or *er a*—see 2.6 and 2.7.2 below) always follow the action word immediately. In such sentences, the position of the noun (preceding or following the action word) allows us to interpret it as a sentence subject or sentence object.

Action Sentences:
SUBJECT NOUN + ACTION WORD ONLY

2.3.2. Unlike the examples already given, many Palauan action sentences only have a subject noun preceding the verb, but no object noun at all. Two typical examples are given below:

(13)	A buik a mililil.	'The boy was playing.'
(14)	A ngelekek a remurt.	'My child is running.'

The words *mililil* 'was playing' and *remurt* 'is running' certainly refer to actions, but these actions are rather different from the actions of eating, hitting, chasing, etc. seen in sentences (8–12). While eating, hitting, chasing, and so on are types of actions that naturally have an effect on something else (that is, we eat *something*, hit *someone* or *something*, chase *someone* or *something*, etc.), playing and running are not actions directed at another person or thing. Instead, these are "self-contained" actions in which the doer involves only himself or herself. For this reason, the sentences (13–14) do not contain any *object nouns*.

Transitive Verb vs. Intransitive Verb

Note 1: You may have noticed that the two patterns found in Palauan action sentences represent the contrast between **transitive** vs. **intransitive verb**, which is significant in both English and Palauan grammar. Thus, in the pattern ***subject noun + action word + object noun***, the action word will be a *transitive verb* like 'eat, hit, chase', etc., that involves the "transferral" of an action from a doer to a receiver. However, in the simpler pattern ***subject noun + action word***, the action word will be an *intransitive verb* like 'play, run, fall', etc., that involves only a doer and does not "transfer" any action to a receiver. As we will see later in Lesson 5, the distinction between transitive vs. intransitive verb will be very useful in classifying the many verb types of Palauan.

State or Condition
Temporary vs. Permanent
State Verbs vs. Action Verbs

2.3.3. There are several further types of Palauan sentences that have a subject noun but no object noun. Rather than designating an action or event, however, such sentences *describe* the subject noun in some way. This description most commonly occurs in the following major forms:

a. The description involves a **state** or **condition** which the subject noun is in, as the following examples show:

(15)	A bechik a smecher.	'My wife is sick.'
(16)	A ralm a mekelekolt.	'The water is cold.'
(17)	A mubi a ungil.	'The movie is good.'
(18)	A chad er a Merikel a metongakl.	'The American is tall.'

In (15–16), the states involved are **temporary** and will eventually change, while in (17–18) the states are relatively **permanent** (unchanging). As we will see later in Lesson 5, words like *smecher*, *mekelekolt*, etc., are in fact called **state verbs** because they indicate a (temporary or permanent) state or condition that describes or identifies the sentence subject in some way. By contrast, **action verbs** like *menga* 'eat', *remurt* 'run', etc., indicate actions or activities that at least involve a doer and often involve a receiver as well (see *Note 1* above).

Profession or Nationality

b. The description identifies the subject noun in terms of some **profession**, **nationality**, or other classifying feature:

(19)	A sechelik a sensei.	'My friend is a teacher.'
(20)	A Nobuo a chad er a Siabal.	'Nobuo is Japanese.'
(21)	A Cisco a rubak.	'Cisco is an old man.'

In sentence (19), we do not find any action or event, but simply a description of a state of affairs—namely, that my friend can be identified or characterized as a teacher. In (20–21) as well, there is no action, but just description; and such factors as nationality (e.g., being Japanese) or group membership (being a *rubak* 'old man') are used to identify the sentence subject.

Equational Sentence

The sentences (19–21) are also very interesting from the viewpoint of the distribution of Palauan nouns, since in fact they seem to have the simple structure **Noun #1 + Noun #2**. In this structure, the first noun is the *subject noun*, and the second noun is a

noun indicating profession, nationality, etc. Note further that (19–21) are perfect Palauan sentences in the *present tense* (e.g., my friend **is** a teacher), even though there is no verb whatsoever! If we change such sentences to the *past tense*, however, we see that a verb-like element *mle* 'was, were' appears:

(22) A sechelik a mle sensei. 'My friend was a teacher (but he isn't any longer).'

Because of the special nature of sentences with the pattern **Noun #1 + Noun #2**, they are assigned a separate term in Palauan grammar—namely, **equational sentence**. This term is used because in such sentences the subject noun is **equated with** (or *included in*) the particular profession, nationality, group, etc. More details will be given later in this textbook.

Locational Phrase

c. Still another Palauan sentence type involves describing the subject noun by telling its location, as seen in these examples:

(23) a. A ngalek a ngar er a sers. 'The child is in the garden.'

b. A beches el oluches a mla er a chelsel a skidas. 'The new pencil was inside the drawer.'

In the two sentences given, the word *ngar* 'be (located)' or its past tense form *mla* 'was/were located' introduces word sequences (phrases) like *er a sers* 'in the garden' or *er a chelsel a skidas* 'inside the drawer'. Such word sequences are called **locational phrases** because they indicate where something is located (or, as we will see below, where some action takes place).

Relational Phrase
Relational Word *Er*

2.3.4. In studying the distribution of Palauan nouns in 2.3.1–3 above, we focused our attention on the use of nouns as *sentence subject* and *sentence object*. We also noted at the end of 2.3.3.b that nouns can occur in *equational sentences* in the position of Noun #2. We will now examine one more position that is essential to fully describing the distribution of nouns in Palauan. In fact, we have already seen examples of this position in sentences (23a–b) above, where we introduced the idea of **locational phrase**. The *locational phrase* in (23a), for instance, is *er a sers* 'in the garden', which designates the place or location where the child is to be found.

The locational phrases found in (23a–b) are just one subtype of a large group of phrases in Palauan that we will call **relational phrases**. Every Palauan relational phrase has the structure ***relational word ER + noun*** (with *a* preceding the noun in most cases). Depending on the situation, a relational phrase may indicate the *location* of a state or action, the *direction* in which some movement proceeds, the *place from which* something moves, the *time* of a state or action, and even the *cause* of a particular state or action. For this reason, the relational word *er* itself can be translated into English in many ways: 'in, at, on, to, towards, from, out of, because of', and so on.

Directional Phrase, Source Phrase Temporal Phrase, Cause Phrase

Whatever the function of the relational phrase (i.e., to indicate location, direction, etc.), the most important point to remember now is that Palauan nouns can also occur *within* such relational phrases, after the relational word *er* (and preceded by *a*). The chart below illustrates the additional subtypes of Palauan relational phrases described in the preceding paragraph. In each example given, the relational phrase has been italicized.

(24) **Subtypes of Palauan Relational Phrases**

a. **Directional Phrase**—indicates the place to or towards which some movement is made:

A John a mo *er a stoang.* 'John is going to the store.'

b. **Source Phrase**—indicates the place from which or out of which some movement is made:

A beab a tilobed *er a blsibs.* 'The mouse came out of the hole.'

c. **Temporal Phrase**—indicates the time of an action, event, or state:

Te merael *er a klukuk.* 'They are leaving tomorrow.'

d. **Cause Phrase**—indicates the cause of, or reason for, an action, event, or state:

Ak smecher *er a tereter.* 'I'm sick with a cold.'

Summary of Palauan Noun Distribution

2.3.5. The distribution of Palauan nouns studied in the sections above can be summarized in terms of the sentence patterns given below. For each pattern, one or more sample sentences are also provided, with all the nouns italicized for ease of reference.

(25) **Distribution of Palauan Nouns**

a. **Subject Noun + Action Verb + Object Noun**

A *deleb* a milekdektii a *mechas*.	'The ghost frightened the old woman.'

b. **Subject Noun + Action Verb**

A *tolechoi* a lilangel.	'The baby was crying.'

c. **Subject Noun + State Verb**

A *redil* a kmal klebokel.	'The woman is very pretty.'

d. **Subject Noun + (MLE +) Noun #2 (Equational Sentence)**

A *Satsko* a *bengngos*.	'Satsko is a lawyer.'
A *Toki* a mle *sensei*.	'Toki was a teacher.'

e. **Subject Noun + Action or State Verb + Relational Phrase**

1. A *chudelek* a mechiuaiu er a *sers*.	'My older sister is sleeping in the garden.'
2. A *ekebil* a mlad er a *chesebreng*.	'The girl died from a broken heart.'
3. A *sechelik* a mla er a *chei*.	'My friend was at the ocean (= fishing).'

Note 2: To keep our discussion of Palauan noun distribution as simple as possible, we have not yet mentioned a second common type of sentence in which the subject noun appears in a position *following* the verb (rather than preceding it). Compare sentences (a) and (b) below:

a.	A Droteo a mla mei.	'Droteo has come.'
b.	Ng mla me a Droteo.	'Droteo has come.'

Note 2 continued next page

Note 2 continued

While (a) and (b) refer to the same event (Droteo's arrival) and in this sense have the same meaning, many Palauan speakers would in fact choose the one or the other depending on various situational factors too complicated to discuss here. It is clear, however, that the grammatical structure of (b) is quite different from that of (a): first, the subject noun *Droteo* is found to the right of the verb *mla mei*; and second, a third person singular (non-emphatic) *pronoun* (*ng* 'he') now occurs in sentence-initial position in addition to the sentence-final full subject *Droteo*. It is also interesting to note that (b), spoken with a rising intonation at the end, becomes a question:

c. Ng mla me a Droteo? 'Has Droteo come?'

Here is another pair of similar sentences:

d. A rengalek a mililil. 'The children were playing.'

e. Te mililil a rengalek. 'The children were playing.'

In (e), we find the full (*plural*) subject noun *rengalek* 'children' in a position after the verb *mililil*, and it is matched by the third person *plural* (non-emphatic) pronoun *te* 'they' in sentence-initial position. In later lessons, more attention will be given to such sentences in which the subject occurs in a position following the verb and a matching non-emphatic pronoun ("agreeing" as to singular vs. plural) accompanies it in sentence-initial position.

PRONOUNS

2.4. In all of the examples given in 2.3 above, it is possible to replace the subject nouns with shorter words that refer to the same person or thing. For example, compare the following two sentences:

(26) a. A ngalek a menga er a ngikel. 'The child is eating the fish.'

b. Ng menga er a ngikel. 'He/she is eating the fish.'

In (26b) the word *ng* has substituted for *ngalek* 'child' of (26a) as the sentence subject. Such substitute words are called **pronouns**. A sentence with a pronoun subject such as (26b) can only be used if it is clear whom the pronoun refers to. In other words, (26b) would not make much sense as the very first sentence in a conversation, but it is perfectly acceptable in the following dialog:

(27) A: A ngalek ng menga a ngarang? 'What is the child eating?'

B: Ng menga er a ngikel. 'He/she is eating the fish.'

In the dialog of (27), B's response does not need more than the pronoun *ng* as sentence subject because it is clear from A's question that *ng* must refer to *ngalek* 'child'.

Singular vs. Plural

Now take a look at another pair of sentences:

(28) A rengalek a ngar er a sers. 'The children are in the garden.'

(29) Te ngar er a sers. 'They are in the garden.'

As you can see, the pronoun that substitutes for *rengalek* 'children' is *te* 'they' rather than *ng* 'he, she'. Which pronoun is chosen depends on whether the replaced word is **singular** (referring to one person) or **plural** (referring to two or more persons). In 2.5 below, we will discuss the formation of Palauan plural words in greater detail.

First, Second, and Third Person Pronouns

2.4.1. When two or more people are having a conversation, each speaker needs a convenient way of referring to himself or herself and to the persons addressed. In English, for example, the person speaking will use the pronoun 'I' (singular) when referring to himself or herself only and the pronoun 'we' (plural) when talking about some group to which he or she belongs.

Pronouns such as 'I' and 'we' that refer to the speaker have been traditionally called **first person pronouns** in the grammar of English and other Western European languages. As you might expect, the term **second person pronoun** refers to the person(s) spoken to—in English, 'you' (singular or plural). Finally, **third person pronouns** always refer to someone (or something) *other than* the speaker or person spoken to. Thus, in English the third person pronouns 'he, she, it' (singular) and 'they' (plural) are available so that the speaker may refer to some third party that he or she is interested in talking about.

Though the system of Palauan pronouns is somewhat more complicated than that of English, it is still very helpful to use the same grammatical terminology. Thus, there are three *first person pronouns* in Palauan, one singular and two plural: *ak* 'I', *kede* 'we

(including you in our group)', and *aki* 'we (excluding you from our group)'. In addition, Palauan has two *second person pronouns: ke* 'you (singular)' and *kom* 'you (plural)'. Finally, as seen in (26b) and (29) above, Palauan has two *third person pronouns: ng* 'he, she, it, they (nonhuman)' and *te* 'they (human only)'.

Palauan Pronouns *Ng* vs. *Te*
Importance of Human vs. Nonhuman Distinction

2.4.2. As the English translations for *ng* and *te* imply, the Palauan third person pronouns are somewhat unusual. This is because the pronoun *te* is very specialized and can refer only to ***human* plural** subjects. Thus, a sentence like (29) above implies that we are talking about some human beings (but not dogs, trees, stones, etc.) that are in the garden. By contrast, *ng* has a much wider range of use, since it covers everything that *te* does not. In other words, *ng* can refer not only to *anything* singular (a human being, an animal, a living or nonliving thing) but also to plural things, *as long as they are* ***not*** *human*. Therefore, *ng* can even be translated as 'they' (**non-human**!), depending on the circumstances. Note, for example, the conversation below:

(30) A: Ke mla mechar a hong me a oluches? 'Have you bought a book and a pencil?'

B: Chochoi. Ng ngar er a chelsel a skidas. 'Yes. They are inside the drawer.'

Since A's question mentions two (nonliving) things (*hong* 'book' and *oluches* 'pencil'), it is clear that *ng* in B's answer refers to both of them and must therefore be plural. Here is another similar example, in which the pronoun *ng* in B's answer (and A's question) refers to two animals:

(31) A: A bilis me a katuu ng ngar er ker? 'Where are the dog and the cat?'

B: Ng mechiuaiu er a chemrungel. 'They are sleeping under the floor.'

Because of the unusual nature of the contrast between *ng* and *te*, it is obvious that the distinciton between **human vs. nonhuman** discussed in 2.2.1 is very important in presenting a true picture of Palauan pronouns. Without this distinction, we would have no way of describing the unique function of *te*—namely, to refer specifically to a sentence subject that is both **human** and **plural**.

Note 3: When referring to certain common household animals such as dogs, pigs, etc., some Palauan speakers in fact use *te*, perhaps because animals living with or near people are somehow thought to be more "human". Some Palauans think this "humanizing" tendency is due to the influence of Western cultures, where pets are often given special treatment. In any case, these speakers would accept a dialog like the following, where *te* refers to dogs:

A: A bilis te mekerang? 'What are the dogs doing?'

B: Te kaiuetoir er a sers. 'They're chasing each other in the garden.'

Non-Emphatic vs. Emphatic Pronouns

2.4.3. Some of the discussions of pronouns given above probably seem rather familiar to you because we have already taken a quick look at Palauan pronouns in Lesson 1. In 1.3.9.d we examined several groups of Palauan pronouns from the viewpoint of how to spell them, and we saw that some pronouns are spelled as *independent* words while others are attached as *prefixes* or *suffixes* to verb forms. For example, we noted in 1.3.9.d.1 that the Palauan *non-emphatic pronouns* occur as independent words and function as sentence subjects. These non-emphatic pronouns are precisely the ones we have so far focused on in this lesson—namely, *ak* 'I', *ke* 'you (sg.)', *ng* 'he, she, it, they (nonhuman)', etc.

As we saw in 1.3.9.d, however, there are many other types of pronouns in Palauan. For purposes of illustration, we will now take the *emphatic pronouns* (see 1.3.9.d.2) that also occur as independent words—*ngak* 'I', *kau* 'you', *ngii* 'he, she, it, they (nonhuman)', etc. One distributional feature of Palauan emphatic pronouns is that they must be used after the relational word *er* (see 2.3.4 above). In this position, they substitute for full nouns just as non-emphatic pronouns replace full nouns in subject position. This point is clear from the following short dialog:

(32) A: Tia ng hong er a sensei? 'Is this the teacher's book?'

B: Chochoi. Ng hong er ngii. 'Yes. It's his book.'

Note that in A's question, we have the phrase *hong er a sensei* 'teacher's book', where the noun *sensei* occurs after the relational word *er* (which, as this case shows, can also indicate a relationship of *possession*). In B's answer, however, it is not necessary to repeat the full noun *sensei* because it is already clear from A's question whose book is under discussion. Therefore, B simply uses the emphatic pronoun *ngii* (in this case, 'he') as a substitute for *sensei*. Emphatic *ngii* is required here instead of non-emphatic *ng* because the pronoun is occurring after the relational word *er* (and *not* in subject position).

We have introduced pronouns in this lesson on Palauan nouns because pronouns are really a *subtype* of noun. This is true because pronouns can occur in all of the positions (or "environments") in which nouns are observed to occur. Since pronouns can substitute for nouns in sentence subject position, after the relational word *er*, and in other situations, they share the same distributional features as nouns.

PLURAL NOUNS, PLURAL PREFIX RE-

2.5. As we have already seen in 1.3.9.b, we form a **plural noun** in Palauan by simply attaching ***re-*** to the beginning of the noun (e.g., *ngalek* 'child'—*rengalek* 'children', *sensei* 'teacher'—*resensei* 'teachers', etc.). If the noun begins with a vowel, then ***re-*** is shortened to ***r-*** (*ekebil* 'girl'—*rekebil* 'girls', etc.). Because *re-* precedes the noun stem to which it is attached, it is called a **prefix** (and the hyphen in our notation *re-* indicates that something must always follow the prefix to form a whole word).

We have also noted that *re-* can only be added to **human** nouns. This is another way in which the distinction **human vs. nonhuman** is important in Palauan grammar, since it is only for human nouns that Palauan speakers distinguish between a single individual (**singular**) and two or more individuals (**plural**). While any human noun can be pluralized with *re-* (or *r-*), nonhuman nouns cannot. Therefore, *bilis*, for example, could mean either 'dog' or 'dogs' (and there is no form *rebilis*!). Similarly, *babier* means 'letter' or 'letters' (and *rebabier* does not exist).

Here are a few sentences containing plural human nouns (all italicized):

(33)	a. Ak milsterir a *resechelim* er a party.	'I saw your friends at the party.'
	b. A *rechad* er a Merikel a metongakl.	'Americans are tall.'
	c. Ng delmerab er a *resensei*.	'It's the teachers' room.'
	d. Te di *rengalek* er a skuul.	'They're just students.'

You will notice that if the human noun is really a *phrase* (i.e., a group of words), the prefix *re-* attaches to the first word in that phrase (*chad er a Merikel* 'American'—*rechad er a Merikel* 'Americans', *ngalek er a skuul* 'student'—*rengalek er a skuul* 'students').

Plural Prefix With Number Words

2.5.1. In a similar way, the plural prefix *re-* can also attach to **number words** that refer to human beings and occur as the first word of a phrase. In such cases, however, attaching *re-* is *optional*—that is, it may either be attached or omitted, with no difference in

the meaning. To indicate the optionality of *re-* before number words, we enclose *re-* in parentheses, as shown in these examples:

(34) a. A *(re)telolem* el chad a mle er a party. 'Six people came to the party.'

b. A *(re)teruich* el ngalek a mlo er a chei. 'Ten children went fishing.'

c. A *(re)dart* el rubak a mle sengkio. 'One hundred old men voted.'

d. Ak milsterir a *(re)tede* el sensei. 'I saw three teachers.'

e. Te milkodeterir a *(re)lluich me a teua* el soldau. 'They killed twenty-four soldiers.'

The optional nature of *re-* in the examples of (34) may be due to the fact that the prefix does not add anything essential to the meaning. This is because in each case the presence of a number word (*telolem* 'six', *dart* 'one hundred', etc.) makes it clear that two or more persons are being talked about.

Plural Prefix With *Ua* and *Bek*

2.5.2. It is interesting to note that the plural prefix *re-* (or *r-*) can also attach to certain other words such as *ua* 'like, as' and *bek* 'each, every' when these are associated with human nouns. Some examples are shown below:

(35) a. Tirke el teru el chad te *rua* techang? 'Who are those two people (i.e., what are their names?)'

b. Ak milsterir a *rua* Satsko er a stoang. 'I saw Satsko and her friends at the store.'

c. A *rebek* el ngalek a kirel el mo er a skuul. 'Every child must attend school.'

d. Ak milsterir a *rebek* el chad a bresengt. 'I gave each person a present.'

In (35a), the plural form *rua* (with *r-* before the vowel) appears before *techang* 'who?', a question word referring to human beings, while in (35b) *rua* precedes the name of a person (*Satsko*). In both (35c) and (35d), *bek* 'each, every' is linked to the following human noun by the conjunction *el* (see 1.3.9.c). Therefore, in all of the examples above, *re-* is associated with human nouns.

Plural Prefix With State Verbs
Derived Plural Nouns

2.5.3. The plural prefix can also attach to certain words that indicate 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 the *state verb* (see 2.3.3 above) *meteet* 'rich', we can derive the human plural noun *remeteet* 'those who are rich, rich people'. Another example of such **derived plural nouns** is *remesaik* 'those who are lazy, lazy people', which comes from the state verb *mesaik* 'lazy'. As the sentences below illustrate, the distribution of derived plural nouns is the same as that of any other noun:

(36) a. A irechar, e a *remeteet* a ulengeseu er a *remechebuul*. 'In earlier times, the rich helped the poor.'

b. A *redengerenger* a mo er a beluu er a ngau, e a *remekedung* a mo er a babeluades. 'Those who are poorly-behaved will go to hell, while those who are well-behaved will go to heaven.'

c. A *remesaik* a blechoel el diak a kelir. 'Those who are lazy (and don't work) are always without food.'

d. A *remekekedeb* a mo er a uchei, e a *remetongakl* 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 *remeruul* a kall a chedal a redil, me a *remengoit* a udoud a chedal a sechal. 'Those who prepare food (at an *ocheraol* —money-raising party) are the relatives of the woman, and those who contribute money are the relatives of the man.'

In (36a-d), the words to which *re-* attaches are all *state verbs*, while in (36e) the plural prefix attaches to *action verbs*.

DISTRIBUTION AND FUNCTION OF PALAUAN *A*

2.6. In almost all of the example sentences given so far, we have seen instances of the Palauan word ***a***. Although we can describe the *distributional features* of this word and make a general statement about its function, we will have trouble assigning it a specific meaning (as there is no equivalent in English or most other languages).

The major function of Palauan *a* is simply to "introduce" certain *parts of speech* when they occur in a sentence. Most of the sentences already given show that every Palauan *noun* (unless it is a *pronoun*) must be introduced (i.e., directly preceded) by *a*, regardless of whether the noun functions as sentence subject or sentence object, or follows

the relational word *er*. Furthermore, *a* always introduces the *verb* of the sentence (except when there is a pronoun preceding), regardless of whether that verb is an action verb (e.g., *menga* 'to eat', *meruul* 'to make') or a state verb (e.g., *smecher* 'sick', *mekelekolt* 'cold').

In the sentences below, we see the Palauan word *a* functioning to introduce a noun or a verb:

(37) a. A daiksang a meruul a tebel. 'The carpenter makes tables.'

b. A ngalek a smecher er a tereter. 'The child is sick with a cold.'

In (37a-b), the nouns introduced by *a* function as sentence subject or sentence object, or follow the relational word *er*. Can you identify which function goes with which noun? In addition, the verbs of (37a-b) are also introduced by *a*. Which verb is an action verb and which verb is a state verb?

Absence of *A* With Pronouns

2.6.1. Contrasting with sentences (37a–b) are the following examples, in which the sentence subject is *pronoun*:

(38) a. Te mo er a skuul. 'They are going to school.'

b. Ak meluches a babier. 'I'm writing a letter.'

These sentences confirm that when the sentence subject is a pronoun, neither the pronoun itself nor the following verb is introduced by *a*. In addition, when we use a pronoun in object position or following the relational word *er*, we cannot use *a* to introduce that pronoun either:

(39) a. A mengkar a ulemes er ngak. 'The guard was watching me.'

b. A beab a tilobed er ngii. 'The mouse came out of it (e.g., the hole).'

Demonstratives

2.6.2. There is one further type of Palauan noun that is not introduced by *a*. This type of noun includes words such as *tia* 'this thing, this place, here', *se* 'that thing, that place, there', *ng(i)ka* 'this person', *ng(i)ke* 'that person', etc. Such nouns are called **demonstratives** because they are used to *point out* persons or things or specify where someone or something is located. Some typical sentences containing demonstratives are given below:

(40) a. Tia a oluches. 'This is a pencil.'
b. A ngalek a milil er sei. 'The child is playing there.'
c. Ngka el chad a sensei. 'This person is a teacher.'
d. Ngke el chad ng mekerang? 'What is that person doing?'

Summary of Palauan *A*, Phrase

2.6.3. In the sections above, we have seen that Palauan *a* has no meaning but simply functions as an "introducer" of nouns (except for pronouns and demonstratives) and verbs in Palauan sentences. Although this explanation of *a* is quite oversimplified, it should be enough to give you a general idea about what is perhaps the most frequently occurring word in Palauan. As you study Palauan grammar in greater depth, you will realize (see, for example, 5.4.3.b) that *a* does not actually introduce single nouns or verbs, but rather certain *groups* of associated words called **phrases** (*noun phrases* and *verb phrases*). You will also see that there are a few additional Palauan words that are never introduced by *a* and that there are certain conditions under which *a* does not appear when it would otherwise be expected.

GENERAL STATEMENT VS. SPECIFIC STATEMENT

2.7. In this section we will study an interesting contrast found only when Palauan nouns are used as *sentence objects*. We will first illustrate this contrast in the pair of sentences below, which contain a nonhuman noun (*derumk* 'thunder') as sentence object:

(41) a. A ngelekek a medakt a derumk. 'My child is afraid of thunder.'
b. A ngelekek a medakt er a derumk. 'My child is afraid of the thunder.'

The only difference in *form* between (41a) and (41b) is that the second sentence contains the word *er* before the object noun *derumk*. As the English translations indicate, however, the two sentences are quite different in *meaning*. This difference, which we will explain below, must be due to the presence or absence of *er*.

Meaning Difference

2.7.1. How can we characterize the difference in meaning between sentences (41a) and (41b)? In (41a), the speaker is making a **general statement** about her child's behavior—in other words, she is saying that in general, or on many different occasions, her child

shows fear of thunder. In (41b), however, she is making a **specific statement** about the current situation—it is thundering right now, and her child is afraid of it. The general statement (41a) can be spoken at any time at all (even on the sunniest day!), but the specific statement (41b) would sound very out of place unless there was actually thunder being heard.

The difference between a general statement and a specific statement will become clearer to you from the following dialogs:

(42)	A: Ng ua ngara a blekerdelel a ngelekem?	'What's your child's behavior like?'
	B: Ng kmal ungil e ng di ng ko er a medakt a derumk.	'It's very good, but she's somewhat afraid of thunder.'
(43)	A: Ngara me a ngelekem a lmangel?	'Why is your child crying?'
	B: Ng ko er a medakt er a derumk.	'She's somewhat afraid of the thunder.'

In Dialog (42), A is asking a general, "open" question about the behavior of B's child, and in fact B responds with a *general statement*. In dialog (43), however, A's question is closely tied to the current situation, since A wants to know why B's child is crying right now. In this case, B answers with a *specific statement* and says that the child is afraid of the thunder that can be heard right at the present moment.

Er for Specific Objects
Specifying Word *Er*

2.7.2. Based on our discussion above, we can conclude that in a sentence like (41b) the word *er* must function as a marker or indicator that the object noun is *specific*—i.e., *derumk* in (41b) and in B's response in Dialog (43) refers to the actual thunder that can be heard right now. If *er* is absent, as in (41a), the object noun is interpreted in a *general, nonspecific* way, and *derumk* refers to thunder in general or any thunder at all. Because *er* marks or identifies a sentence object as *specific* (and not general), we will call it the **specifying word *er***.

Here is another example of the contrast between *specific* and *nonspecific* objects:

(44)	a.	Ng soak el menga a ngikel.	'I like to eat fish.'
	b.	Ng soak el menga er a ngikel.	'I want/would like to eat the fish.'

Obviously, (44a) is a *general statement* about the speaker's food preferences, while (44b) is a *specific statement* about what the speaker would like to eat on a particular occasion. Sentence (44a) could be spoken at any time, even when there is no food around. Sentence (44b), however, would always be uttered on a single occasion when food is being offered (and when some particular fish is one of the choices).

The specific statement (44b) might occur naturally in a dialog such as the following:

(45)	A: Ngara a soam el menga er ngii? Ng ngar er ngii a babii me a ngikel me a chemang.	'What would you like to eat?' There's pork, fish, and crab.'
	B: Ng soak el menga er a ngikel.	'I'd like to eat the fish.'

In B's response, *er a ngikel* 'the fish' is a *specific* object noun that refers to the particular fish that A has prepared on that occasion and which A is offering as part of a choice of foods.

It is again clear that the very important difference in meaning between (44a) and (44b) must be related to the presence or absence of the *specifying word er*. The presence of *er* in (44b) also explains why that sentence is perfect as B's response in Dialog (45). While *er* is the only difference in form between the Palauan sentences of (44), the English equivalents show two formal differences: (1) *the* is used for a specific object (44b), while the absence of *the* indicates a nonspecific object (44a); (2) the verb 'like' is used for general statements (44a), while 'want' or 'would like' is more appropriate for specific occasions (44b).

Here is one more contrasting pair that you should be able to analyze on your own:

(46)	a. Ak ousbech a biskang el mo er a chei.	'I use a spear to go fishing with.'
	b. Ak ousbech er a biskang el mo er a chei.	'I'm using the spear to go fishing with.'

Which Palauan sentence is the general statement and which is the specific statement? How is the meaning difference reflected in the English equivalents?

Singular and Plural Human Nouns as Specific Sentence Objects

2.7.3. In 2.5 above we saw that human nouns are the only nouns in Palauan that show a difference between singular and plural. Thus, by attaching the plural prefix *re-* (or *r-*), we can distinguish between *ngalek* 'child' and *rengalek* 'children'. Because of this *formal* difference, we can always determine whether a human noun is singular or plural,

regardless of where it occurs in a sentence. In the examples below, a human noun is used as sentence object after the specifying word *er*, and there is no difficulty in interpreting between singular and plural:

(47) a. Ak mo mengemedaol er a sensei. 'I'm going to invite the teacher.'

b. Ak mo mengemedaol er a resensei. 'I'm going to invite the teachers.'

Nonhuman Nouns as Sentence Subjects

Since *re-* is restricted to *human* nouns, how is the difference between singular and plural indicated for *nonhuman* nouns? First of all, as we noted in our discussion at the beginning of 2.5, a nonhuman noun functioning as *sentence subject* can be interpreted as singular or plural, depending on the actual situation. Thus, the sentences below have at least two possible interpretations:

(48) A bilis a mechiuaiu er a sers.

a. 'The dog is sleeping in the garden.'

b. 'The dogs are sleeping in the garden.'

(49) A oluches a ngar er a bebul a tebel.

a. 'The pencil is on the table.'

b. 'The pencils are on the table.'

Nonhuman Nouns as Sentence Objects

Second, when a nonhuman noun is used as *sentence object*, the presence or absence of the specifying word *er* may create a distinction between singular and plural. Note the example below:

(50) a. Ak ousbech er a mlim el mo er a ocheraol. 'I need your car to go to the money-raising party.'

b. Ak ousbech a mlim el mo er a ocheraol. 'I need your cars to go to the money-raising party.'

In (50a), using *er* seems to focus on one single car, while in (50b) the absence of *er* is associated with the idea of two or more cars. This distinction seems to occur especially when the object noun is already quite specific or focused—e.g., *mlim* '**your** car', as opposed to (unpossessed) *mlai* 'car'.

Note 4: The interpretation of singular vs. plural with *nonhuman* sentence objects is quite a difficult area of Palauan grammar, and not all speakers will agree with our analysis of the sentences (50a-b). How about you?

Perfective Verb vs. Imperfective Verb

2.7.4. All that we have said in 2.7.2 and 2.7.3 above about using the specifying word *er* before an object noun is valid *only when the verb of the sentence is of a particular type*—namely, **imperfective**. Palauan verbs normally can appear in two forms—**perfective**, which indicates that the action of the verb is completed ("perfected"), and **imperfective**, which indicates that the action of the verb is not yet completed but still in progress. In terms of form, the two types of verb are also very different: perfective verb forms always have a special *pronoun suffix* that identifies the object (these are the *object pronouns* discussed in 1.3.9.d.3 and in 4.9 below), while imperfective verb forms do not. Let us examine some imperfective and perfective forms for a few Palauan verbs:

(51)

Imperfective		**Perfective**	
mengelebed	'to hit'	cholebedak	'hit me'
menga	'to eat'	kolii	'eat it (up)'
omes	'to see'	mesa	'see him'
meruul	'to make, do'	rullii	'make it (and finish it)'

In the list above, you will notice that the perfective forms have *suffixes* (endings) such as *-ak* 'me', *-ii* or *-a* 'him, her, it', and so on. These object pronouns (in suffix form) always indicate *specific* individuals, and therefore it is probably redundant (i.e., unnecessary from the viewpoint of meaning) to use the specifying word *er* after them. In other words, in the sentences below, it would be ungrammatical to insert the specifying word *er* between the perfective verb form and the following object noun:

(52) a. Ak mla kolii a ngikel. 'I've eaten up the fish.'

b. A Toki a mla rullii a kall. 'Toki has prepared the food.'

c. Ke mla mesa a buik? 'Have you seen the boy?'

Specifying Word *Er* and Relational Word *Er* As Homonyms

2.7.5. As we have seen above, the specifying word *er* is responsible for some very important meaning distinctions among nouns that are used as sentence objects. The major function of *er* is to distinguish *specific* objects from *nonspecific* (general) ones, and therefore the presence of *er* usually indicates a *specific statement* (as opposed to a *general statement*). In addition, *er* sometimes functions to bring out a distinction between *singular* and *plural* with *nonhuman* object nouns, as in (50a-b), where the presence of *er* marks a singular object.

The **specifying word *er*** studied in this lesson is best considered a different word from the **relational word *er*** seen briefly in 1.3.9.a and 2.3.4. Although the two words are **homonyms** (pronounced the same and spelled the same), their functions are very different. The specifying word *er* serves to mark sentence objects as specific (or, in some cases, as singular), while the relational word *er* expresses various types of relationships between nouns and other parts of the sentence that correspond to English 'to, at, on, in, out of, because of', and so on.

List of Terms

2.7.6. Many of the important terms introduced in this lesson are best learned in contrasting pairs or groups. Be sure that you are familiar with all of them:

- Noun vs. Verb
- Concrete Noun vs. Abstract Noun
- Human Noun vs. Nonhuman Noun
- Sentence Subject vs. Sentence Object
- Subject Noun vs. Object Noun
- Transitive Verb vs. Intransitive Verb
- Action Verb vs. State Verb
- Singular vs. Plural
- First Person vs. Second Person vs. Third Person
- Non-Emphatic Pronoun vs. Emphatic Pronoun
- Specific Statement vs. General Statement
- Specific Object vs. Nonspecific Object
- Specifying Word *Er* vs. Relational Word *Er*
- Perfective Verb vs. Imperfective Verb

In addition to the above, there are many other important terms to study in this lesson:

- Grammatical System
- Parts of Speech
- Distributional Features
- Internal Structure
- Five Senses
- Action Sentence
- Equational Sentence
- Phrase
- Relational Phrase
- Locational Phrase
- Directional Phrase
- Source Phrase
- Cause Phrase
- Temporal Phrase
- Pronoun
- Plural Noun
- Derived Plural Noun
- Plural Prefix
- Number Word
- Demonstrative
- Homonym

2.7.7. PALAUAN NOUNS: STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Be sure that you can write clear and accurate definitions for all of the terms in 2.7.6. Pay special attention to explaining the *contrasting* pairs of terms in the first group. Then give examples or illustrations of the terms you are defining. Try to follow the format below:

   Sample Definition: **Human Noun vs. Nonhuman Noun**

   > A **human noun** is one that refers to a human being (e.g., *ngalek* 'child', *sensei* 'teacher', etc.). By contrast, a **nonhuman noun** refers to anything that is not human, such as animals (e.g., *uel* 'turtle'), living things (e.g., bung 'flower'), or nonliving things (e.g., *mlai* 'canoe'). In addition, abstract nouns (e.g., *blekeradel* 'personality') are also nonhuman.

2. We have already had some exposure to the *sound system*, the *spelling system*, and the *grammatical system* of Palauan. How do we define the idea of **system** in general? What elements do the three systems so far studied have in common?

3. Why is the idea of *parts of speech* useful—or even essential— in studying the grammatical system of a language? How do we determine which words are members of a particular part of speech—in other words, how do we know that some words are *nouns*, others are *verbs*, and so on?

4. Why is the distinction between human vs. nonhuman nouns of such importance in Palauan grammar?

5. Describe in as much detail as you can the *distribution* of nouns in Palauan. For each of the positions where nouns can occur in Palauan sentences, give a clear example and underline the noun in question.

   Sample Answer: *Position*: Palauan nouns can occur as sentence subject

   Example: A *tolechoi* a lilangel. 'The baby was crying.'

6. What are the main characteristics of Palauan sentences that describe a person's profession, nationality, or membership in a group?

7. What is the function of the *relational word er* in the sentences of Palauan? What is a *relational phrase*, and how many different types are there?

8. What are pronouns and how are they used in sentences? Why is it reasonable to say that pronouns are a *subtype* of noun?

9. Explain carefully the difference between the pronouns in the following pairs:

   a. *ak* vs. *ke* b. *aki* vs. *kede*

   c. *ke* vs. *kom* d. *ng* vs. *te*

10. Why is the pronoun *te* very special within the system of Palauan pronouns? Can *te* substitute for *any* plural noun? Explain.

11. What are some of the differences between Palauan non-emphatic and emphatic pronouns? You may refer to 2.4.3 in this lesson and to 1.3.9.d.1–2 in Lesson One.

12. What are the main characterizing features of the Palauan plural prefix *re-* (*r-*)? Do we attach *re-* just to nouns? Explain with examples.

13. What is the distribution of the Palauan word *a*? Why is it very difficult to assign a specific meaning to this word?

14. What kinds of distinctions can we make in Palauan sentences by using the specifying word *er*?

15. Many Palauan speakers think there is an important difference in meaning between the following two sentences:

   (a) Ak ousbech er a bilas er a klukuk.

   (b) Ak ousbech a bilas er a klukuk.

   Discuss and explain this meaning difference in as much detail as possible.

16. What do we mean by the *perfective* forms of Palauan verbs? Give five examples. Does the specifying word *er* ever occur directly after a perfective verb? Why?

17. Why is it convenient to make a distinction in terms between the *relational word er* and the *specifying word er*? In your answer, be sure to explain clearly how each of these items functions in Palauan grammar.

2.7.8. PALAUAN NOUNS: EXERCISES

1. At the end of Section 2.1, we saw that one way of determining whether or not a particular word belongs to a certain part of speech is to see if its *internal structure* is the same as other members of that part of speech. Thus, a word like *kolii* 'eats it up' is a (perfective) verb because it shares the internal structure of other (perfective) verbs such as *ngomedii* 'washes it off', *toietii* 'hammers it', and *ngilmii* 'drinks it up', etc.

   a. Many nouns can have a *possessed form*—for example, *chermek* 'my animal' is formed from *charm* 'animal'. Find ten other words that match the pattern *charm/chermek* (in which the internal structure of *chermek* could be described as "simple noun stem" + "suffix for possessor") and would therefore also belong to the part of speech **noun**.

   b. Many Palauan (action) verbs are formed from a "simple noun stem" by adding a prefix *ou-*. For example, from *chais* 'news', we get the verb *ouchais* 'to inform, announce.' Find ten other words with the internal structure "prefix *ou-*" + "simple noun stem" that are therefore members of the part of speech **verb**. For each example, write down the original noun stem and its meaning.

   c. There is a group of Palauan nouns starting with *klau-* that convey the idea of some kind of mutual relationship. These are usually formed by prefixing *klau-* to another noun—e.g., from *buch* 'spouse', we get *klaubuch*, an abstract noun meaning '(relationship of) marriage.' See how many words you can find whose internal structure parallels *klaubuch* and which are therefore members of the part of speech **noun**. Then, for each example, write down the original noun stem and its meaning.

2. Give five examples for each of the noun types listed below. Use examples different from those already given in this lesson (and different from those in Exercise No. 3 below!).

   a. Human Noun
   b. Nonhuman Noun—animals
   c. Nonhuman Noun—living things
   d. Nonhuman Noun—nonliving things
   e. Abstract Noun

3. Below is a list of many different Palauan nouns. After reviewing the summary chart in 2.2.3, classify each noun as in Exercise No.2 above: (a) human, (b) nonhuman—animal, (c) nonhuman—living thing, (d) nonhuman—nonliving thing, or (e) abstract.

btuch	redil	kirek
kerebou	sers	Cisco
tbak	iis	budech
tuu	tolechoi	belochel
ngduul	subelek	chelakngikl
sebechek	soam	bulis
klukuk	bisebusech	seizi
blekeu	bkau	omenged
biskang	uades	kldols
sukal	kldidaierreng	cheldecheduch

4. In 2.3.1 we looked at Palauan action sentences of the form

subject noun + action word (verb) + object noun

and we gave an example like the following:

A babii a ultirii a ngalek. 'The pig chased the child.'

In *Note 1* at the end of 2.3.2, we mentioned that the action verb of such sentences can be called *transitive* because the action is "transferred" from a doer (the sentence subject) to a receiver (the sentence object). Find five *transitive verbs* in Palauan and write a sentence for each, following the pattern above. Be sure that each sentence contains an object noun. Translate each of these "transitive sentences" into English.

5. In 2.3.2 we studied Palauan action sentences of the form

subject noun + action word (verb)

and provided an example like the following:

A buik a milílil. 'The boy was playing.'

The distinguishing feature of these sentences is that although they describe an action, *there is no object noun*. In other words, the doer performs an action but it is *not* "transferred" to a receiver. For this reason, the action verb in sentences of this type is called *intransitive* (see *Note 1* again at the end of 2.3.2). Now, find five Palauan *intransitive verbs* and write a sentence for each. Make sure it is a verb that does *not* take an object noun. Translate these "intransitive sentences" into English.

6. Here are some simple Palauan sentences containing nouns. Locate each noun and underline it. Then identify its function from the following possibilities:

   (a) Sentence Subject (see 2.3)
   (b) Sentence Object (see 2.3)
   (c) Noun #2 in an Equational Sentence (see 2.3.3)
   (d) Noun following Relational Word ***Er*** (see 2.3.4)

   (1) A babii a rirurt er a sers.
   (2) A daiksang a rirelii a blai.
   (3) A chad er a Siabal a bengngos.
   (4) A rrellem a kmal ungil.
   (5) A sensei a diledesii a chaibebelau.
   (6) Ng kmal ungil a subelem.

7. Review the difference between *action verbs* and *state verbs* that was explained in 2.3.3. Then, for each of the verbs below,

   (a) Identify it as an action verb or state verb.

   (b) Write a correct Palauan sentence using the verb. Make sure you choose an appropriate *subject noun*, and do not forget to include an *object noun* if the action verb is *transitive*. Translate your sentences into English.

   Sample answers:

   (1) *smecher*—state verb.
   Sentence: A ngelekek a smecher er a elechang.
   'My child is sick today.'

   (2) *mengedechuul*—(transitive) action verb.
   Sentence: A toktang a mo mengedechuul er a rubak.
   'The doctor will save the old man.'

   Exercise:

   (1) meloik
   (2) mellomes
   (3) orriik
   (4) oureor
   (5) smiich
   (6) melibek
   (7) mengerekor
   (8) lmuut
   (9) mellemau
   (10) songerenger

8. In 2.3.4 we saw that the structure of Palauan *relational phrases* is **relational word *er* + noun** (with the noun usually preceded by *a*). While there are many types of relational phrase, we looked at examples of five types in this lesson:

   a. Locational Phrase (see end of 2.3.3)
   b. Directional Phrase (see 2.3.4)
   c. Source Phrase (see 2.3.4)
   d. Temporal Phrase (see 2.3.4)
   e. Cause Phrase (see 2.3.4)

   In the sentences below, there are various kinds of relational phrases. Underline the *entire* relational phrase (*er + a + noun*), and then identify it as one of the five types given above. Give a correct English translation for each sentence.

   (1) A rua Toki a mo merael er a klukuk.
   (2) A rekung a tilobed er a blsibs.
   (3) Ak kmal mesaul er a kledoraib.
   (4) Ak milsuub er a delmerab.
   (5) Ak milsa a sensei er a ideliseb.
   (6) Ak eko er a blim.
   (7) A katuu a miltengel er a kerrekar.
   (8) A rengalek a mililil er a kederang.
   (9) A bilek a mlo cheisech er a chemachel.
   (10) .Ng kirek el mo er a stoang.

9. Find all the pronouns in the sentences below. For each pronoun:

   a. Identify it as non-emphatic or emphatic (see 2.4.3).
   b. Identify it as first, second, or third person.
   c. Identify it as singular or plural.

   Note: In addition to being *third person* and *plural*, the pronouns *te* (non-emphatic) and *tir* (emphatic) are also marked as *human*.

(1) Kom mla menguiu er a hong er ngii?

(2) Ke techang? —Ak sensei er kemiu.

(3) Kede ulemes er tir er a kederang.

(4) Kemiu, kom mekerang? —Aki di mechiuaiu er tiang.

(5) Kau me ngak a mo er a chei.

10. In 2.7 we saw that the *specifying word er* will often designate a *specific object* within a *specific statement*, as in (a):

(a)	A ngelekek a medakt er a derumk.	'My child is afraid of the thunder (that is rumbling right now).'

By contrast, the absence of *er* usually indicates a *nonspecific object* in a *general statement*, as in (b):

(b)	A ngelekek a medakt a derumk.	'My child is afraid of thunder.'

Now, think of five possible situations and write down a pair of sentences for each that follows the model of (a–b) above. The first sentence should be a specific statement (with *er* used to introduce a specific object), while the second should be the corresponding general statement. For each sentence that you have written, give an accurate English translation.

11. In the sentences below, we have various occurrences of Palauan *er*. Study each sentence carefully and then decide whether we are dealing with the *specifying word er* or *the relational word er*:

(1) Ng kirek el mo mesilek er a bilek.

(2) A sensei er kid a chad er a ngebard.

(3) Ak milengiil er tir er a medal a stoang.

(4) A bechik a mle smecher er a tereter.

(5) Tia a delmerab er a resensei.

3

NOUN POSSESSION IN PALAUAN

INTRODUCTION

Internal Structure

3.1. In Lesson 2 we learned how to identify Palauan nouns in terms of their *meaning* (i.e., what they refer to) as well as their *distribution* in sentences (i.e., whether they occur as sentence subject, sentence object, etc.). We also noted that the members of a particular part of speech often have a characteristic **internal structure** which allows us to identify them readily. Although the examples we gave in 2.1 involved the internal structure of *verbs*, in Exercise 1a of Lesson 2 we took a preliminary look at the internal structure of *nouns*. We saw there that many Palauan words must be nouns because they follow the pattern *charm* 'animal'—*chermek* 'my animal', *blai* 'house'—*blik* 'my house', etc.

Possession, Possessor Suffixes
Noun Stem, Suffix, Possessed Forms

The pattern we are looking at is used in Palauan to express **possession**—i.e., the idea that someone owns or possesses something. In this pattern, we start with the basic noun, called the **noun stem**, and add a **suffix** (or ending) that indicates the person who owns or possesses the noun in question. For example, if we take the noun stem *chim* 'hand', we can add **possessor suffixes** like *-ak* ('my'—first person singular possessor), *-am* ('your'—second person singular possessor), etc., to get the **possessed forms** *chimak* 'my hand', *chimam* 'your hand', etc.

Meaning-Bearing Unit (Morpheme)
Suffix vs. Prefix

Nouns like *chimak*, *chimam*, etc., are interesting because they have an internal structure consisting of two (or more) **meaning-bearing units** (or **morphemes**). For example, the noun *chimak* 'my arm' can be broken down into (1) the morpheme *chim* 'arm' (a noun stem referring to something concrete—in this case, a part of the body) and (2) the morpheme *-ak* 'my' (a suffix indicating that the possessor is first person singular). Note that the Palauan noun stem *chim* (and thousands of others) can occur (1) as an *independent word* (in which case it is a single morpheme) or (2) in combination with a

possessor suffix (as in *chimak*, which contains two morphemes). From these examples we can see that a *suffix* is any meaning-bearing unit (morpheme) that is attached *following* a stem. Palauan is extremely rich in suffixes (as well as **prefixes**, which are attached *preceding* a stem). English, too has many suffixes that are added to noun stems—e.g., *-s* for plural (*cat—cats*), *-ful* to form adjectives (*hope—hopeful*), and so on.

You will recall that in 2.5 we showed how the *plural prefix re-* (or *r-*) can be attached to noun stems referring to human beings. Thus, from *ngalek* 'child' we get the plural noun form *rengalek* 'children'. It is now easy to see that Palauan plural nouns consist of two morphemes—first, the prefix *re-* (or *r-*) meaning "plural" and second, the noun stem itself. Thus, the internal structure of such words can be expressed by the pattern **plural prefix + noun stem**.

Function of Possessor Suffixes
Possessor and Thing Possessed

3.1.1. Before listing the Palauan possessor suffixes with all of their forms, we should get a clear idea of their function and meaning. Possessor suffixes such as *-ak*, *-am*, etc., basically serve to express a relationship of possession between the noun stem (the thing *possessed*) and the person (or thing) indicated by the suffix (the *possessor*). This relationship of possession can be of several different types. Most often it involves actual *ownership* or *physical possession* of something—e.g., *mlik* 'my car', *bilsengem* 'your boat'. In other cases, it may express a *part-whole* relationship—that is, the noun stem is an actual physical part of the possessor, as in *chimak* 'my hand', *ngerem* 'your mouth', *chelsel* 'its inside', *tkul* 'its edge', etc.

In addition, "possession" may involve certain *social relationships* such as kinship, marriage, or friendship—e.g., *demak* 'my father', *bechim* 'your spouse', *sechelil* 'his/her friend'—or even more abstract kinds of association such as *beluak* 'my country', *decham* 'your ability', *kirel* 'his/her obligation', etc. Besides this primary, though varied, function of expressing possession, the Palauan possessor suffixes also have a secondary function of *describing* or *characterizing*, which will be discussed at length in 3.5.3 below.

PERSON: FIRST, SECOND, AND THIRD
NUMBER: SINGULAR VS. PLURAL

3.2. The possessor suffixes of Palauan are similar to Palauan *pronouns* because they make the same distinctions of **person** and **number**. We have already seen in 2.4.1 that there are **first**, **second**, and **third person** pronouns. *First person* ('I, we') refers to the speaker(s), *second person* ('you') refers to the person(s) spoken to, and *third person* ('he, she, it, they') refers to the person(s) or thing(s) spoken about. A possessor suffix

such as *-ak* in *chimak* 'my hand' is first person because *chimak* always refers to the *speaker's* hand. Similarly, the possessor suffix *-am* of *chimam* 'your hand' is second person, and *-al* of *chimal* 'his/her hand' is third person.

We also saw in 2.4.1 and 2.4.2 that Palauan pronouns make a distinction of number—i.e., **singular** vs. **plural**. If we look at the second person pronouns, for example, we find a contrast between *singular ke* 'you', used when addressing only one person, and *plural kom* 'you', used when speaking to two or more persons. In the same way, the possessor suffix *-em* of *ududem* 'your money' indicates that the money is possessed by only one person, while the possessor suffix *-iu* of *ududiu* 'your money' means that the money is possessed by two or more people.

Possessor Suffixes: E-Set

3.2.1. The possessor suffixes of Palauan fall into four main groups (or *sets*) depending on the *vowel* of certain suffixes. The most commonly occurring group—the **E-Set**—is given below. Note that there are seven possessor suffixes in Palauan, which we classify according to differences of *person* and *number*:

(1) **Possessor Suffixes: E-Set**

	Singular	*Plural*
1st pers.	-ek 'my'	-ed 'our—**inclusive**' -am 'our—**exclusive**'
2nd pers.	-em 'your'	-iu 'your'
3rd pers.	-el 'his, her, its, their (**nonhuman**)'	-ir 'their—**human only**'

Possessed Forms of a Noun

When the possessor suffixes above are attached to a *noun stem* such as *charm* 'animal', we get the *possessed forms* indicated below:

(2) **Possessed Forms of *Charm* 'animal, pet'**

chermek 'my animal'	chermed 'our (incl.) animal' chermam 'our (excl.) animal'
chermem 'your (sg.) animal'	chermiu 'your (pl.) animal'
chermel 'his/her animal'	chermir 'their (hum.) animal'

Note 1: You will notice that while the noun stem *charm* has the *full* vowel A in its independent (i.e., unpossessed) form, all of the possessed forms show *cherm-*, in which the original A has been *weakened* (or "reduced") to a *weak* E (see 1.3.2). This process of vowel weakening (full A → weak E) will be discussed in greater detail in 3.3 below.

Now that we have listed the *E-Set* of possessor suffixes with a sampling of actual forms (*chermek*, *chermem*, etc.), we need to make a few important points:

a. The group of possessor suffixes in (1) is called the *E-Set* because all the singular suffixes (*-ek*, *-em*, *-el*) and the suffix for first person plural inclusive (*-ed*) have the (full) vowel E.

Inclusive vs. Exclusive

b. As seen briefly in 2.4.1, Palauan has two first person plural pronouns (corresponding to English 'we'). The pronoun *kede* is called **inclusive** because it is used when the speaker intends to include the person(s) addressed within his group ('you and I' or 'we including you'). By contrast, the pronoun *aki* is called **exclusive** because it is used when the speaker does not wish to include the person(s) addressed within his group ('we excluding you'). In the same way, Palauan has two corresponding *possessor suffixes*:

-ed 'our—**inclusive**' (i.e., possessed by us, including you within our group)

-am 'our—**exclusive**' (i.e., possessed by us, but excluding you from our group)

Because of this distinction, 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'.

c. As noted above, there are two second person possessor suffixes:

-em 'your—**singular**' (i.e., there is only one person being spoken to)

-iu 'your—**plural**' (i.e., there are two or more persons being spoken to)

Human vs. Nonhuman

d. As seen in 2.4.2, Palauan third person pronouns are unusual in that the plural pronoun *te* specifically refers to *human beings*. For this reason, the corresponding singular pronoun *ng* (usually, 'he, she, it') can even refer to *nonhuman plural* nouns ('they'—**nonhuman**) under certain circumstances. The very same distinction is found in the third person *possessor suffixes*:

-ir 'their—**human**' (i.e., always implies a human possessor)

-el 'his, her, its, their (**nonhuman**)' (i.e., refers to any singular possessor or to a group of nonhuman possessors)

Thus, the possessed form *ngerir* (from *ngor* 'mouth, voice, sound') can only refer to the sound made by a group of human beings (e.g., *ngerir a rengalek* 'the sound of the children'), while the possessed form *ngerel* indicates either a singular possessor ('his, her, its voice') or a nonhuman plural possessor (e.g., *ngerel a charm* 'the sound of the animals').

Common Features of Possessor Suffixes And Pronouns

e. There is a one-to-one correspondence between the categories of Palauan pronouns and the categories of possessor suffixes. This correspondence is shown in the chart below, where the E-Set is compared with the already-familiar Palauan *non-emphatic pronouns*:

(3) **Possessor Suffixes (E-Set) and Non-Emphatic Pronouns**

	Singular	*Plural*
1st pers.	ak 'I'/-ek 'my'	kede 'we'/-ed 'our' **(inclusive)** aki 'we'/-am 'our' **(exclusive)**
2nd pers.	ke 'you'/-em 'your'	kom 'you'/-iu 'your'
3rd pers.	ng 'he, etc.'/ -el 'his, etc.'	te 'they'/-ir 'their' (**human**)

If you study Charts 1 to 3 carefully and review all of the points in (a–e) above, you will get a good feeling for the way possessor suffixes work in Palauan. You will also understand that many of the same ideas (*first vs. second vs. third person, singular vs. plural, inclusive vs. exclusive, human vs. nonhuman*) apply both to *possessor suffixes* and to Palauan *pronouns* in general. For this reason, some linguists consider the possessor suffixes to be a subtype of *pronoun*, and in fact we introduced the possessor suffixes in this way in 1.3.9.d.4, where we first called them **possessor pronouns**.

Gender

Note 2: While Palauan pronouns and possessor suffixes make a few distinctions that English does not make, the opposite is also true. For example, there is a contrast among English third person *singular* pronouns involving **gender** (i.e., the sex of the individual being referred to). Thus, English *he* (masculine) refers to male human beings (or sometimes animals), while *she* (feminine) refers to female human beings (or animals). In addition, the third person singular pronoun *it* refers to anything nonhuman (e.g., house, flower, tiger, love) and even to human beings when the gender is not considered important or is not known (as when referring to a baby as "it").

Needless to say, the Palauan pronoun *ng* and the possessor suffix *-el* corresponding to it do not make any gender distinctions. Thus, *chimal* can mean either 'his hand', 'her hand', or 'its hand'. When translating such forms into English we often use "he" for convenience, but of course "she" (and sometimes "it") will also be appropriate.

Additional Sets of Possessor Suffixes: U-Set, I-Set, A-Set

3.2.2. As noted in 3.2.1 above, the possessor suffixes of Palauan can be grouped into four major sets, depending on the vowel that appears in all the singular suffixes and in the first person plural inclusive suffix. In lists (1) and (2) above, we have already illustrated the *E-Set*, which occurs most commonly. In addition to the *E-Set*, we also have the *U-Set*, the *I-Set*, and the *A-Set*. These are now illustrated below.

(4) **Possessor Suffixes: U-Set**

	Singular	*Plural*
1st Pers.	-uk 'my'	-ud 'our—**inclusive**' -(e)mam 'our—**exclusive**'
2nd Pers.	-um 'your'	-(e)miu 'your'
3rd Pers.	-ul 'his, her, its, their (**nonhuman**)'	-(e)rir 'their—**human only**'

(5) **Possessed Forms of *Reng* 'heart, spirit'**

renguk 'my spirit'	rengud 'our (incl.) spirits' rengmam 'our (excl.) spirits'
rengum 'your (sg.) spirit'	rengmiu 'your (pl.) spirits'
rengul 'his/her/its spirit'	rengrir 'their (hum.) spirits'

(6) **Possessor Suffixes: I-Set**

	Singular	*Plural*
1st Pers.	-ik 'my'	-id 'our—**inclusive**' -(e)mam 'our—**exclusive**'
2nd Pers.	-im 'your'	-(e)miu 'your'
3rd Pers.	-il 'his, her, its, their (**nonhuman**)'	-(e)rir 'their—**human only**'

(7) **Possessed Forms of *Buch* 'spouse'**

bechik 'my spouse'	rebechid 'our (incl.) spouses' rebechemam 'our (excl.) spouses'
bechim 'your (sg.) spouse'	rebechemiu 'your (pl.) spouses'
bechil 'his/her spouse'	rebecherir 'their (hum.) spouses'

(8) **Possessor Suffixes: A-Set**

	Singular	*Plural*
1st Pers.	-ak 'my'	-ad 'our—**inclusive**' -(e)mam 'our—**exclusive**'
2nd Pers.	-am 'your'	-(e)miu 'your'
3rd Pers.	-al 'his, her, its, their (**nonhuman**)'	-(e)rir 'their—**human only**'

(9) **Possessed Forms of *Duch* 'ability'**

dechak 'my ability'	dechad 'our (incl.) ability' dechemam 'our (excl.) ability'
decham 'your (sg.) ability'	dechemiu 'your (pl.) ability'
dechal 'his/her/its ability'	decherir 'their (hum.) ability'

Now that we have seen examples of all four sets of possessor suffixes, we can make the two important points below.

Unpredictability of Possessor Suffixes, Homonyms

a. When we see a Palauan noun stem (e.g., *charm, reng, buch, duch,* etc.), how do we know which particular set of possessor suffixes (E-Set, U-Set, I-Set, or A-Set) it will take? In fact, it is *impossible to predict* from the form of the noun stem what the set of possessor suffixes will be. The *vowel* of the noun stem, for example, will not allow us to predict anything, since we can have noun stems that are *homonyms* (see 2.7.5) but which take different possessor suffixes. The most striking case is *chur*, which can be three separate words:

chur 'laughter' — *cherIL* 'his laughter'

chur 'tongue' — *churAL* 'his tongue'

chur 'coconut frond rib' — *churUL* 'its coconut frond rib'

This unpredictability of possessor suffixes will not bother you as a native speaker of Palauan because over the years you have unconsciously learned all the correct forms. But imagine what a problem this is for a foreigner learning Palauan as a second language—he or she must make a conscious effort to memorize the correct possessor suffix for every single noun in the language!

Consonant-Initial Suffix vs. Vowel-Initial Suffix

b. In addition to the obvious difference in the vowel of the suffix (U, I, or A vs. E), the U-Set, I-Set, and A-Set of possessor suffixes are distinguished from the E-Set in a very important way. As the charts in (4), (6), and (8) show, these three sets have *consonant-initial* suffixes for certain plural forms (first person plural exclusive, second person plural, and third person human plural), while the E-Set has *vowel-initial* suffixes. These differences are shown in the chart below:

(10)

Possessor Suffix (plural)	**E-Set** (vowel-initial)	**U-Set, I-Set, A-Set** (consonant-initial)
1st Pers. Excl.	-am	-(e)mam
2nd Pers.	-iu	-(e)miu
3rd Pers. Human	-ir	-(e)rir

The optional (weak) E given in parentheses before the consonant-initial suffixes of the U-Set, I-Set, and A-Set appears when it is necessary to have a transition between certain consonants at the end of the preceding syllable and the initial *M* or *R* of the possessor

suffix. This weak E is required, for example, between *CH* and a following consonant in such forms as *rebechemam* 'our (excl.) spouses' and *decherir* 'their (hum.) ability', but it is not needed when the first consonant is *NG*, as in *rengmam* 'our (excl.) spirits' and *rengrir* 'their (hum.) spirits'. In a few exceptional cases, a *full vowel* rather than weak E is inserted before the consonant-initial suffixes of the U-Set, I-Set, or A-Set. The most obvious examples are for *chim* 'hand' (*chimomam, chimomiu, chimorir*) and for (obligatorily possessed) *chetil* 'his, her disliking' (*chetimam, chetimiu, chetirir*).

OCCURRENCE OF WEAK E IN POSSESSED FORMS

3.3. You may have already noticed that both the spelling and pronunciation of a noun stem can change when it is followed by a possessor suffix. Thus, in *Note 1* after Chart (2), we mentioned that the full vowel A of the noun stem *charm* 'animal, pet' becomes a *weak* E in the possessed forms *chermek, chermem, chermel*, etc. We observed the same thing happening in *buch* 'spouse' (*bechik, bechim, bechil*, etc.) and in *duch* 'ability' (*dechak, decham, dechal*, etc.), where the full vowel U of the noun stem also becomes weak E. If we pay careful attention to the pronunciation of *reng* 'heart, spirit' vs. *renguk, rengum, rengul*, etc., we will also find that an original *full* E (pronounced like the "e" in English *red*) has become a *weak* E (like the "uh" sound in English *the*) in all of the possessed forms.

Principles of Vowel Weakening

3.3.1. The vowel changes seen here are all examples of an important pattern of Palauan pronunciation called **vowel weakening** (or **vowel reduction**). Before going into further details, let us present the **principles of vowel weakening**:

PRINCIPLES OF VOWEL WEAKENING

(11) **All Palauan possessor suffixes are *stressed*.**

(12) **When a (stressed) possessor suffix is added to a Palauan noun stem, any originally stressed vowel in that noun stem becomes *unstressed*.**

(13) **When the *stressed* vowels A, (full) E, I, O, and U of a noun stem become *unstressed*, they are often *weakened* (reduced) to a *weak E*.**

Stressed vs. Unstressed Syllable

In order to understand how the Principles of Vowel Weakening work, we must first review the difference between **stressed** and **unstressed** syllables. As we saw earlier in 1.3.2.b, in any Palauan *multisyllabic* word, only one syllable will be stressed, while all the others will be unstressed (e.g., me-nge-LE-bed, de-CHU-dech, chel-de-che-DUCH, etc.). The stressed syllable of a word can be quickly identified because it is pronounced more *loudly* and *strongly* than the nearby syllables. *One-syllable* words of Palauan (except for pronouns and other short words like *er*, *el*, etc.) are automatically *stressed* (e.g., MAD, BUCH, KALL, etc.).

Distribution of Full E vs. Weak E

It will also be helpful to review the *distribution* of Palauan full E vs. weak E described at the beginning of 1.3.2. For our purposes here, the most important thing to remember is that while Palauan full E usually occurs in *stressed* syllables (and sometimes in unstressed syllables—see 1.3.2.f),

(14) **Palauan weak E *always* occurs in *unstressed* syllables.**

Thus, in examples like *me-nge-LE-bed*, *de-CHU-dech*, etc., all of the occurrences of weak E are in the unstressed syllables.

Process of Vowel Weakening

3.3.2. Having reviewed the concepts of *stressed* vs. *unstressed* and *full E* vs. *weak E*, we can now see how the Principles of Vowel Weakening operate. Let us take the already familiar example of *charm* 'animal, pet'. When *charm* occurs as an independent word, it is just one syllable and therefore automatically stressed. This means that the A of *charm* is pronounced as the full vowel A. If we add a possessor suffix, however, this suffix will be stressed (Principle 11), and the stress on the original full vowel A will be lost (Principle 12). When this A becomes unstressed, it changes to a weak E (Principle 13). This **process of vowel weakening** can be summarized in the following set of steps (where capital letters indicate stressed syllables):

(15) Step 1: CHARM (independent noun stem: one-syllable word is stressed, and vowel A is full)

Step 2: CHARM + EK (add possessor suffix, which is always stressed—Principle 11)

Step 3: charm + EK (*charm*, as well as the vowel A within it, becomes unstressed—Principle 12)

Step 4: cherm + EK (unstressed vowel A weakens to weak E—Principle 13)

Note 3: There are at least two further ways in which we might try to "explain" what is happening in the four-step process presented above:

a. Rather than saying that Palauan possessor suffixes are automatically stressed (Principle 11), we might say instead that all possessor suffixes have the feature of *attracting* the stress and "pulling it away" from the originally stressed syllable of the noun stem. In this analysis, Principles 11 and 12 would be modified and combined, while Principle 13 would remain the same.

b. In addition to claiming that Palauan possessor suffixes are stressed, we might explore the idea that their feature of stress is more "powerful" than the feature of stress found in noun stems. Thus, in Step 2, where we have two "competing" stressed syllables, the possessor suffix "wins out" because it is stronger to begin with. This analysis would also require modifying Principles 11 and 12 while leaving 13 unchanged.

Vowel Weakening

3.3.3. In Principle 13, we stated that *any* full vowel of a noun stem can weaken to a weak E when unstressed. Thus, each of the five main vowels of Palauan—A, (full) E, I, O, and U—can be reduced to a weak E in the possessed forms of a noun. In the lists below, we give examples of weakening for each full vowel. For purposes of illustration, only the third person singular possessed form is provided, since you can easily predict the other possessed forms from it.

(16) **Vowel Weakening: A → Weak E**

Noun Stem	*Possessed Form*: 'his, her, its'
kar 'medicine'	kerul
bad 'stone'	bedul
bar 'blanket'	berul
ngalek 'child'	ngelekel
malk 'chicken'	melkel
kall 'food'	kelel

Note 4: In *kall—kelel*, the double L of the stem is shortened in the possessed forms.

(17) **Vowel Weakening: Full E → Weak E**

ker	'question'	keril
sers	'garden'	sersel
reng	'heart, spirit'	rengul
secher	'sickness'	secherel

Pronounce these words carefully out loud to verify the change from full E to weak E.

(18) **Vowel Weakening: I → Weak E**

bsibs	'drill'	bsebsel
kadikm	'right hand'	kadekmel
chedil	'mother'	delal

> ***Note 5***: In the possessed form *delal*, the first syllable *che* of the noun stem is totally lost. The same thing occurs with *chedam* 'father'—*demal* 'his/her father'.

(19) **Vowel Weakening: O → Weak E**

ngor	'mouth'	ngerel
kbokb	'wall'	kbekbel
sengsongd	'stick'	sengsengdel
belochel	'pigeon'	belechelel
bodk	'operation'	bedkel

(20) **Vowel Weakening: U → Weak E**

chur	'laughter'	cheril
duch	'ability'	dechal
chutem	'earth'	chetemel

No Vowel Weakening

3.3.4. There are a few Palauan noun stems in which a full vowel remains intact and does not reduce to weak E when a possessor suffix is added. These rather exceptional (or irregular) stems usually contain the vowel I and/or refer to parts of the body:

(21)	chim	'hand, arm'	chïmal
	chikl	'neck'	chiklel
	ding	'ear'	dingal
	chilt	'oil'	chiltel
	chur	'tongue'	chural

Note 6: In an example like *biskang* 'spear'—*biskelengel*, the *i* of *biskang* seems particularly "resistant" to weakening. Not only is it a full I in the independent form (bis-KANG), where it is already in the unstressed syllable, but it also remains unaffected in the possessed form, where a stressed suffix has been added. See 3.3.9 below for further details on the internal structure of *biskelengel*.

Vowel Deletion, Syllabic Consonants

3.3.5. When we observe the possessed forms of certain Palauan nouns, we see that a rather extreme form of vowel weakening has taken place. In quite a few cases, a stressed full vowel of the noun stem is *deleted* (or omitted) entirely in the possessed form. This **vowel deletion** is often (though not exclusively) found in cases where the lost vowel is preceded by such consonants as NG, L, and R. You will recall from our discussion in 1.2.11 that these are precisely the consonants of Palauan that can be *syllabic* (i.e., can occur as separate syllables). In the examples below, these consonants in fact become syllabic in word-initial position once the vowel has been deleted:

(22) **Vowel Deletion**

Noun Stem	*Possessed Form*: 'his, her, its'
ngakl 'name'	ngklel (ng-KLEL)
ngikel 'fish'	ngkelel (ng-ke-LEL)
rasech 'blood'	rsechel (r-se-CHEL)
lusech 'luck'	lsechel (l-se-CHEL)

Pronounce the possessed forms of (22) above to verify (a) that the possessor suffix is stressed (as indicated in capital letters) and (b) that word-initial NG, L, and R are indeed syllabic (as shown by the hyphen separating them from the other syllables).

Word-Initial Consonant Clusters

In some nouns, the full vowel U (or sometimes A) of the stem is deleted in the possessed forms, regardless of what consonant precedes. As in the first six examples below, many possessed forms then turn out to have typical word-initial consonant clusters (see *Note 2* at the end of 1.2.1):

(23)			
	kud	'louse'	kdul
	bung	'flower'	bngal
	busech	'feather'	bsechel
	tub	'saliva'	tbal
	dub	'dynamite'	dbal
	subed	'announcement'	sbedel
	chorus	'horn'	chorsul
	bilas	'boat'	bilsengel
	cheraro	'enemy'	cherroël

Note 7: In *Note 6* at the end of 1.2.3 (Lesson 1) we first made reference to the possessed forms of *tub* 'saliva' and *dub* 'dynamite'. Since the original full vowel U is deleted in the possessed forms of both of these nouns, we end up with *tbal* 'his saliva' and *dbal* 'his dynamite'. While both of these possessed forms are almost identical in pronunciation, the difference in spelling (T vs. D) makes their origin completely clear.

Irregular Forms

Note 8: There are a few Palauan words that basically undergo a process of vowel deletion but involve further unusual deletions as well. The list below indicates some of the typical *irregularities* you may encounter:

a. *ralm* 'water'— *lmel*

After the deletion of A, we would get "rlmel", which has a cluster of three consonants that must be simplified. To simplify this cluster, word-initial R is deleted, resulting in *lmel*, where the first L becomes syllabic (l-MEL).

b. *klengit* 'sin' — *kngtil*

Note 8 continued next page

Note 8 continued

In addition to the deletion of I, the sequence *-le-* of the original noun stem has been lost completely. Then, the NG of the possessed forms becomes syllabic, even though it is preceded by another consonant (kng-TIL).

c. *tet* 'handbag' — *til*
tut 'breast' — *tul*
bub 'fishtrap' — *bngel*

When the noun stem consists of two identical consonants with a vowel in between, the vowel and the second consonant are usually dropped in the possessed forms. Notice the insertion of NG in the possessed forms of *bub* (see 3.3.9 below). One big exception to this pattern is *bab* 'space above'—*bebul*, where A of the noun stem is not weakened or deleted at all but changed to full E.

Shortening of Double Vowels

3.3.6. We have seen in 3.3.3 and 3.3.5 above that most *single* full vowels of Palauan noun stems are affected by weakening—i.e., are reduced to weak E or deleted altogether—when possessor suffixes are added. This process of weakening is even more widespread, since it also applies to *double vowels* (as well as vowel clusters, as we will show in 3.3.7 below). Look at 1.3.6 to refresh your memory on the double vowels of Palauan—EE, II, OO, and UU. Now observe the following examples, in which original stressed *double vowels* in the noun stem shorten to *single vowels* in the possessed forms. This shortening can be viewed as a type of weakening:

(24) **Shortening of Double Vowels**

Noun Stem	*Possessed Form*: 'his, her, its'
deel 'nail'	delel
kekeed 'long time'	kekedel
biich 'sieve'	bichel
oriik 'broom'	orikel
dekool 'cigarette'	dekolel
klekool 'game'	klekolel
buuch 'betel nut'	buchel
tuu 'banana'	tual
beluu 'country'	belual
luuk 'nest'	lukel

As we noted in 1.3.2.f.1, the double vowel EE shortens in the possessed forms to a single ***full*** E. Thus, when we derive *delel* 'his nail' from *deel*, the first E is pronounced as a full E, even though it is now *unstressed* (de-LEL).

Irregular Forms

Note 9: There are a few noun stems with double vowels which show some irregularities in their possessed forms:

a. *diil* 'abdomen' — *delel*

In this word, the original double vowel II reduces to a **weak** E. Thus, there is a contrast between the pronunciation of *de-LEL* (from *diil*, with ***weak*** E in the first syllable) and *de-LEL* (from *deel*, with ***full*** E in the first syllable), even though the spelling is identical.

b. *luut* 'return' — *ltel*

Here, the original double vowel UU is deleted entirely, and the remaining word-initial L becomes *syllabic* (l-TEL).

c. *rruul* 'something made' — *rrellel*

In this word, the original UU becomes ***weak*** E. Note also that the possessed form shows a double L.

Shortening of Vowel Clusters

3.3.7. In 1.3.7 we made a list of all the types of *vowel clusters (diphthongs)* that can be found in Palauan words. If a particular noun stem has a vowel cluster, then this cluster always undergoes some kind of weakening in the possessed forms. We will now discuss several patterns of vowel cluster weakening in Palauan.

a. When we introduced the idea of *gliding* in 1.3.7.b-c, we implied that within a given syllable, one of the two vowels of a vowel cluster will be stronger or more prominent than the other. For example, in *iungs* 'island' the U is stronger, while the I is weaker. The stronger vowel U remains unchanged, but the weaker vowel I becomes the glide Y, so that *iungs* sounds like "yuns". In the same way, in *uingel* 'tooth', the I is stronger, while the U is weaker. In this case, I does not change but U becomes the glide W, resulting in "wingel". We can now present a very common pattern of vowel cluster weakening in Palauan in terms of the following rules:

(25) a. In the original noun stem, determine which of the two vowels in a vowel cluster is the stronger (identify it with a *capital letter* or a *stress mark* ').

b. To derive the possessed forms, **delete** the stronger vowel entirely (and leave the weaker vowel unchanged).

The rules of (25) result in the **shortening of vowel clusters** through *deletion* of the originally stronger vowel. This process is illustrated in the examples below. We have chosen to indicate the originally stronger vowel of each noun stem with a capital letter. Moving from the lefthand column to the righthand column, you can easily focus on the total deletion (loss) of this vowel in the possessed forms:

(26) **Shortening of Vowel Clusters (Deletion of Stronger Vowel)**

	Noun Stem	*Possessed Form*: 'his, her, its'
a.	chAis 'news'	chisel
	udOud 'money'	ududel
	tAem 'time'	temel
	ulAol 'floor'	ulolel
	ngAu 'fire'	nguil
	tAut 'aim'	tutel
	bUil 'month'	bilel
	tekOi 'word'	tekingel
	chUi 'hair'	chiul
b.	oAk 'anchor'	okul
	oAch 'leg'	ochil
	eOlt 'wind'	eltel
	iUngs 'island'	ingsel
	uIngel 'tooth'	ungelel
	diAll 'ship'	dillel
	suObel 'homework'	subelel

It is interesting to note that the rules of (25) apply regardless of which vowel of the original vowel cluster is stronger—the first vowel as in (26a), or the second vowel as in (26b).

A few noun stems that end in vowel clusters take only the *consonant* of the possessor suffix in the first, second, and third person singular forms (*-k*, *-m*, *-l*) and in the first person plural inclusive form (*-d*). Otherwise, the rules of (25) apply regularly:

(27)

mlAi 'canoe, car'	mlil
blAi 'house'	blil
bAu 'smell'	bul
sechelEi 'friend'	sechelil
techEi 'substitute'	techil

b. There is a rather exceptional pattern of vowel cluster shortening that is exactly the *opposite* of what we saw in the rules of (25) above. In other words, the stronger vowel is *kept* rather than deleted, and it is the weaker vowel that is lost instead. This should be clear from the examples below (where the stronger vowel has been written in capital letters for easy reference):

(28) **Shortening of Vowel Clusters (Deletion of Weaker Vowel)**

lIus 'coconut'	lisel
bOes 'gun'	bosel
klEu 'young coconut'	klengel
tEu 'width'	tengel
buIk 'boy'	bikel

c. What the two patterns of vowel cluster shortening shown in (a) and (b) above have in common is that at least one of the original vowels survives unchanged in the possessed forms. In a small number of interesting cases, however, neither of the original vowels in the cluster remains as such. As the examples below show, the entire cluster is either reduced to a ***weak*** E, or an entirely new vowel appears:

(29) **Shortening of Vowel Clusters (Both Vowels Affected)**

laok 'fat'	lekel
daob 'ocean'	debel
deledaes 'free time'	deledesel
okdemaol 'maternal uncle'	okdemelel
rael 'road, way'	rolel

Pronounce all of the words above carefully to verify the phonetic changes that have taken place in the possessed forms.

Summary of Vowel & Vowel Cluster Weakening

3.3.8. In 3.3.1 to 3.3.7 above, we have seen many ways in which Palauan vowels and vowel clusters are weakened when they lose their stress in the possessed forms of nouns. In the chart below, we summarize all of the patterns observed, with an example for each:

(30) **Vowel and Vowel Cluster Weakening in Palauan**

Single Vowels:	
1. Reduce to **weak** E	kar — kerul
2. Delete	ngakl — ngklel
Double Vowels:	
1. Reduce to corresponding single vowel	oriik — orikel
2. Reduce to **weak** E or delete (uncommon)	diil — delel
Vowel Clusters:	
1. Stronger vowel deletes	oAk — okul
2. Weaker vowel deletes	bOes — bosel
3. Both vowels change to single **weak** E or to another vowel (uncommon)	rael — rolel

Predictability of Vowel and Vowel Cluster Weakening

You may recall that near the end of our discussion in 3.2.2 above we concluded that it is impossible to predict from the form of a noun stem whether its possessor suffixes will come from the E-Set, U-Set, I-Set, or A-Set. Now, what if we apply the issue of predictability to the processes of vowel and vowel cluster weakening summarized in the chart above? By simply looking at the original noun stem, can we predict what changes will occur in the possessed forms? Though there are obviously some exceptions and difficulties, we can basically say there is a fair amount of predictability:

(31) a. **Single Vowels** usually become weak E and sometimes delete (especially if the preceding consonant NG, L, or R would become syllabic). In a small number of exceptional cases, the vowel remains unaffected (*chim —chimal*).

b. **Double Vowels** usually become single vowels and in a few rare cases reduce to weak E or even delete.

c. **Vowel Clusters** are usually affected by the deletion of one of the vowels (more commonly, the originally stronger one). In a few unusual cases, both vowels are simultaneously affected (changing to a single weak E or even a totally different vowel).

The "rules" of predictability given in (31) above are helpful to foreigners learning Palauan because they allow for an "educated guess" about what happens to a particular stem when the possessed forms are derived. Although as native speakers of Palauan you already know all of the possessed forms of Palauan nouns, (31) should be helpful in making you consciously realize the complexity of their internal structure.

-NG- in Possessed Forms

3.3.9. Now that we have summarized the patterns of vowel and vowel cluster weakening in Palauan possessed nouns, we will take a look at one final change that occurs when possessor suffixes are added to noun stems. Certain Palauan nouns (and it is totally impossible to predict which ones) require -NG- as a kind of link or "buffer" between the noun stem and the possessor suffix. This -NG-, which has no meaning, is always followed by the E-Set of possessor suffixes. Often a weak E appears between the -NG- and the preceding consonant. Observe the following examples:

(32) **Possessed Forms of Nouns with -NG-**

Noun Stem	*Possessed Form*: 'his, her, its'
bas 'charcoal'	besengel
kerreker 'earnings of money'	kerrekerngel
billum 'wrapped tapioca'	billemengel
bechos 'thumb'	bechesengel
btuch 'star'	btechengel
bilas 'boat'	bilsengel
deleb 'ghost'	delbengel
bduu 'boil'	bdungel

katuu 'cat'	katungel 'sweetheart'
uum 'kitchen'	umengel
teu 'width'	tengel
bub 'fishtrap'	bngel
biskang 'spear'	biskelengel
diokang 'tapioca'	diokelengel

As a kind of review exercise, take each of the nouns in the list above and try to identify what kind of vowel or vowel cluster weakening has taken place in the possessed forms with -NG-. The last three examples are slightly more complicated—can you describe the unusual changes that have occurred in these?

IDENTIFYING THE POSSESSOR

3.4. When added to a noun stem, the possessor suffixes of Palauan allow us to make clear and specific reference to the *owner* or *possessor* of something. Thus, *ududek* is '**my** money', *ududem* is '**your** (sg.) money', *ududel* is '**his/her** money', etc. While third person possessed forms such as *ududel* tell us that the money belongs to some third party, they do not identify the possessor any more specifically. They do not tell us, for example, whether the money belongs to Droteo, Toki, the teacher, the next-door neighbor, and so on. In order to specify or identify the actual possessor with third person possessed forms, we need to use expressions such as *ududel a Droteo* 'Droteo's money', *ududel a Toki* 'Toki's money', *ududel a sensei* 'the teacher's money', etc. With plural possessors (human only), we will have expressions like *ududir a resechelik* 'my friends' money', *ududir a resensei* 'the teachers' money', and so on.

Noun Phrase of Possession

3.4.1. Any expression which has the structure

Noun #1 (in possessed form) + A + Noun #2

where the possessed form has a *third person singular* or *third person human plural* possessor suffix, is called a **noun phrase of possession**. A noun phrase of possession is a group of related words in which **Noun #2** specifically identifies who (or what) possesses **Noun #1**. Here are some additional noun phrases of possession using noun stems already introduced in this lesson:

(33) a. *With third person singular possessor:*

ngelekel a Maria	'Maria's child'
bechil a sechelim	'your friend's spouse'
subelel a Toki	'Toki's homework'
ngerel a bilis	'the dog's mouth'
keril a ngalek	'the child's question'

b. *With third person human plural possessor:*

cherrir a rengalek	'the children's laughter'
kelir a remechas	'the old women's food'
lsechir a remeteet	'the luck of the royalty'

Distribution of Palauan Nouns: Noun #2 in a Noun Phrase of Possession

3.4.2. When we look at *noun phrases of possession* of the general structure *Noun #1 (in possessed form) + a + Noun #2*, we see that there is yet another position in which Palauan nouns can occur within sentences. Thus, if we go back to our discussion of the *distribution of Palauan nouns* in 2.3 and to the summary in 2.3.5, we must add the following information:

Palauan nouns not only occur in the positions of *sentence subject*, *sentence object*, second noun in an *equational sentence*, and following the *relational word er*, **but they also occur as the second noun in *noun phrases of possession***. As such, they specify or identify the possessor.

Be sure to locate 2.3 and 2.3.5 in the previous lesson and make a notation in the margin to remind you of this new fact about the distribution of Palauan nouns.

OBLIGATORILY VS. OPTIONALLY POSSESSED NOUNS

3.5. All of the nouns we have studied in the sections above have two forms—first, a *noun stem* (e.g., *ngalek*) which can occur as a separate, *independent* word; and second, a group of *possessed forms* containing *possessor suffixes* (e.g., *ngelekek*, *ngelekem*, *ngelekel*, etc.). In addition to nouns of this type, Palauan has many nouns which have possessed forms but no independently occurring noun stem. In other words, we have forms like *budek* 'my skin', *budem* 'your skin', *budel* 'his/her skin', etc., but no word "*bud*" that ever occurs separately.

Nouns like *budek, budem, budel,* etc. are called **obligatorily possessed nouns** because they *must* occur in a possessed form with a possessor suffix. By contrast, nouns with both independently occurring noun stems as well as possessed forms (e.g., *ngalek—ngelekek, bilas—bilsengek*, etc.) will be called **optionally possessed nouns** because we have an *option* or *choice* of using either a noun stem alone or a possessed form.

Categories of Obligatorily Possessed Nouns

3.5.1. The *obligatorily possessed nouns* of Palauan generally fall into several categories according to meaning. Since these nouns have no independently occurring noun stems, we list them below with a third person singular suffix:

(34) a. Parts of the body:

budel	'his/her/its skin'
ulul	'his/her chest'
kekul	'his/her nail, its claw'
omellel	'his/her chin'

b. Kinship (family) terms:

obekul	'his older brother'
chudelel	'her older sister'
ngusel	'her sister-in-law'

c. Part-whole relationship:

rsel	'its end/top'
tkul	'its edge'
bkul	'its corner'
chelsel	'its inside'
uchul	'(tree's) trunk, its reason'
llel	'its leaf'

d. Other relationships (often abstract):

belkul	'his/her/its function, its meaning'
ultutelel	'his/her/its function, its meaning'
bedengel	'his/her/its body, its type/color'
ullel	'in back of him/her/it'
ultil	'its imprint/track'

Although we have labeled the obligatorily possessed nouns of (34) according to certain broad areas of meaning such as "parts of the body", "kinship terms", etc., we cannot simply conclude that all nouns referring to parts of the body, for example, will belong to the obligatorily possessed type. This is clearly not true, because many nouns referring to parts of the body are in fact *optionally possessed*—i.e., have both an independent noun stem and possessed forms (*chim* 'hand, arm' —*chimak, ding* 'ear'—*dingak*, etc.). While obligatorily possessed nouns seem to fall into the meaning groups given in (34a–d) above, it is actually impossible to predict whether any given noun will be optionally or obligatorily possessed.

Noun Phrases of Possession Containing Obligatorily Possessed Nouns

3.5.2. The nouns listed in (34a–b) can take possessor suffixes for all three persons—e.g., *budek* (first person), *budem* (second person), and *budel* (third person). Of course, when we wish to indicate a more specific third person possessor, we can make use of a *noun phrase of possession* (see 3.4 above) such as *budel a chimak* 'the skin of my arm', *budel a ngais* 'eggshell', or even *budel a daob* 'surface of the ocean'. In the last two cases, you can see that the meaning of Noun #2 affects the meaning of the entire noun phrase of possession (i.e., with *ngais* 'egg', *budel* refers to the shell, and with *daob* 'ocean', *budel* refers to the water surface).

The nouns listed in (34c–d) usually take a *third person singular* possessor suffix and occur most often within a *noun phrase of possession*. Thus, the meaning of *rsel* 'top, end' differs depending on the specific meaning of Noun #2:

(35)		
	rsel a kerrekar	'end of (cut) tree trunk'
	rsel a chimak	'end of my arm'
	rsel a ureor	'end of the work'
	rsel a cheldecheduch	'end of the conversation/meeting'

With *kerrekar* 'tree' and *chimak* 'my arm', the meaning of *rsel* is *concrete* because it refers to a part of an actual physical object. With *ureor* 'work' and *cheldecheduch* 'conversation, meeting', however, the meaning of *rsel* is rather *abstract* since it refers to the final moments of some event.

Some typical *noun phrases of possession* containing *obligatorily possessed nouns* from (34c–d) are given below:

(36)		
	tkul a tebel	'edge of the table'
	tkul a cheldukl	'edge of the dock'
	bkul a chim	'elbow' ("corner of the arm")
	bkul a oach	'knee' ("corner of the leg")

uchul a kerrekar	'trunk/base of the tree'
uchul a cheldecheduch	'reason for the meeting'
uchul a eanged	'horizon' ("source of the sky")
llel a kerrekar	'leaf of the tree'
llel a babier	'sheet of paper'
ultil a oach	'footprint'
belkul a tekoi	'meaning of the word'
belkul a sensei	'a teacher's function'

Meaning of Noun Phrases of Possession

3.5.3. You will notice that many of the noun phrases of possession given above take on rather special meanings. For example, while *bkul* generally means "corner", it specifically refers to "elbow" when combined with *chim* 'arm' and to "knee" when combined with *oach* 'leg'. Furthermore, while *uchul* really means something like "source" or "origin", it refers to a physical part of a tree (i.e., the trunk) when combined with *kerrekar*, to an abstract idea (the reason) with *cheldecheduch*, and to an old belief or impression (that the sky actually begins at the horizon) with *eanged*. Finally, if you think carefully about the noun phrases of possession containing *llel* 'leaf' or *belkul* 'significance', you will see how these words also assume special meanings depending on the meaning of Noun #2.

In thinking about the meanings of the noun phrases of possession already given (see 33a–b, 35, and 36), you may have realized that Noun #2 is actually a *true possessor* or *owner* of Noun #1 only under certain circumstances. The idea of "pure" possession will always be present when Noun #2 is a human being and Noun #1 refers to something that can actually be owned (as in *mlil a Droteo* 'Droteo's car', *ududir a resechelik* 'my friends' money'). In most other cases, however, the relationship between Noun #1 and Noun #2 involves a different kind of connection, as seen in the summary given below:

(37)	*Noun #1 + Noun #2*	*Example*
a.	part of the body + person	chimal a Toki 'Toki's hand/arm'
b.	relative + person related	demal a sensei 'the teacher's father'
c.	physical part of an object + whole object	llel a kerrekar 'leaf of the tree'
d.	abstract idea + related idea	belkul a tekoi 'meaning of a word'
e.	object or place + purpose or function	blil a blengur 'house for eating in'
f.	type of communication + content	chisel a Toki 'news about Toki'
g.	object + characterizing description	urerir a resechal/redil 'work meant for men/women'

The types of connection shown between Noun #1 and Noun #2 in (37a–g) represent only some of the many possibilities in this very complicated area of meaning. Even though the examples of (37) do not involve true possession but various situations in which Noun #2 really *describes* or *characterizes* Noun #1 in some way, we will still use the convenient term *noun phrase of possession* to refer to all expressions of this type.

DISTRIBUTION OF POSSESSED FORMS AND NOUN PHRASES OF POSSESSION

3.6. The distribution of Palauan *possessed forms* as well as entire *noun phrases of possession* is exactly the same as that of independent noun stems. In other words, all of these items can occur as sentence subject, sentence object, following the relational word *er*, and so on. These common features of distribution are illustrated below for the positions of sentence subject and sentence object (italicized):

(38) **Sentence Subject**

a. A *blai* a milseseb.	'The house burned down.'
b. A *blid* a milseseb.	'Our (incl.) house burned down.'
c. A *blil a sensei* a milseseb.	'The teacher's house burned down.'

(39) **Sentence Object**

a. A John a chilitii a *oluchės*.	'John threw away the pencil.'
b. A John a chilitii a *olechesek*.	'John threw away my pencil.'
c. A John a chilitii a *olechesel a Satsko*.	'John threw away Satsko's pencil.'

Noun Phrase
Subject Noun Phrase, Object Noun Phrase

If we wish to describe the grammar of Palauan adequately, we must take into account the fact that certain *words* and *groups of words* have the same *distribution*—i.e., can substitute for each other in various positions (sentence subject, sentence object, etc.). For example, in (38) above, *blai* (a *noun stem* with no possessor suffix attached), *blid* (a *possessed form* of *blai*), and *blil a sensei* (a *noun phrase of possession*) can all occur as the subject of the sentence. Though these three items are different from each other in their internal structure, they nevertheless share identical features of distribution.

In order to highlight this fact in our presentation of Palauan grammar, we can use the general term **noun phrase** to refer to any single word or group of words that can substitute for each other in the positions of sentence subject, sentence object, and so on. Therefore, a *simple noun stem* with no possessor suffix (e.g., *blai*) is a type of *noun phrase*, a *possessed form* of a noun (e.g., *blid*) is also a type of *noun phrase*, and a *noun phrase of possession* (e.g., *blil a sensei*) is of course a *noun phrase*. Furthermore, though we talked earlier about *subject nouns* and *object nouns* (see 2.3.1), we now realize that it is more proper to use terms such as *subject noun phrase* and *object noun phrase*.

Note 10: The three types of noun phrases just mentioned above (simple noun stem, possessed form of the noun, and noun phrase of possession) are not the only kinds of noun phrases found in Palauan. In the sentences below, the italicized noun phrases are types that will be discussed either later in this lesson (a–b) or elsewhere in this textbook (c–f):

a.	A *sidosia er a John* a klou.	'John's car is big.'
b.	A *chermek el bilis* a mechiuaiu er a sers.	'My dog is sleeping in the garden.'
c.	A *relluich el chad* a mlei.	'Twenty people came.'
d.	Ng soam a *beches el blik*?	'Do you like my new house?'
e.	A sechelik a kie er *se el blai*.	'My friend lives in that house.'
f.	A *buik el mengitakl* a Tony.	'The boy who is singing is Tony.'

UNPOSSESSIBLE NOUNS

3.7. So far we have classified Palauan nouns into two contrasting types—*obligatorily possessed nouns* vs. *optionally possessed nouns* (see 3.5 above). While both of these types have *possessed forms*, the difference is that with obligatorily possessed nouns there is no independently occurring *noun stem*. We now look at a third and final possibility among Palauan nouns—namely, **unpossessible nouns**. As the term implies, *unpossessible nouns* only occur in the *noun stem* form and do not have any possessed forms (with possessor suffixes) at all. Most unpossessible nouns of Palauan fall into three major categories, as indicated below:

(40) **Palauan Unpossessible Nouns**

a. Nouns borrowed into Palauan from foreign languages such as Japanese and English: *sidosia* (Jp.) 'car', *hong* (Jp.) 'book', *sensei* (Jp.) 'teacher', *stoa(ng)* (Eng.) 'store', *bresengt* (Eng.) 'present', *rrat* (German) 'bicycle', *biblia* (Spanish) 'Bible'

b. Native Palauan nouns designating animals, plants, or parts of the natural environment: *ius* 'crocodile', *lbolb* 'wolf', *bang* 'goatfish', *ngas* 'ironwood tree', *bngaol* 'mangrove tree', *kederang* 'beach', *keburs* 'mangrove swamp'

c. Proper names of people and places: *Toki, Satsko, Polycarp, Belau, Babeldaob, Oreor, Siabal, Merikel, Ruk*

Although unpossessible nouns tend to fall into the categories above, it is impossible to predict whether any given noun stem of Palauan will actually be unpossessible. Even some borrowed words, for example, have broken the "unpossessible" barrier and become optionally possessed nouns—e.g., *taem* (Eng.) 'time' — *temek, tebel* (Eng.) 'table' — *tebelėk, skuul* (Eng.) 'school' — *skulek, babier* (Ger.) 'paper, letter' — *babilngek*, etc.

Noun Phrases of Possession With Unpossessible Nouns

3.7.1. What do we do in Palauan if we wish to indicate the idea of possession but the item to be possessed is in fact an *unpossessible noun*? In other words, how do we show possessiòn with nouns like *hong* 'book' and *rrat* 'bicycle'? The simple answer is this: we use a special type of *noun phrase of possession* which contains the *relational word er*. Here are a few examples:

(41) **Noun Phrases of Possession Containing Relational Word *Er***

a.	delmerab er a sechelik	'my friend's room'
	sidosia er a Yosko	'Yosko's car'
	kombalii er a Satsko	'Satsko's company'
	restorangd er a George	'George's restaurant'
b.	hong er tir	'their book(s)'
	mondai er kau	'your (sg.) problem(s)'
	sensei er kid	'our (incl.) teacher'
	rrat er ngak	'my bicycle'

Relational Phrase, Possessor Phrase

All of the noun phrases of possession in (41a) have the structure:

Noun #1 (Unpossessible) + Relational Word *Er* + A + Noun #2

If we compare this to the "formula" for noun phrases of possession given at the beginning of 3.4.1, we can summarize the main difference in the following principle:

(42) In a Noun Phrase of Possession, if Noun #1 is **unpossessible**, then it must be followed by a **relational phrase** of the form

***Er* + A + Noun #2.**

In other words, in the examples of (41a) we show possession by using a *relational phrase* (see 2.3.4) in which the *relational word er* relates or connects the *possessor* (Noun #2) with the *thing possessed* (Noun #1). Such relational phrases, in which *er* is close in meaning to English "of", will be called **possessor phrases**. Do you recall the other types of relational phrases that we have already studied in this textbook?

You will also notice that within the possessor phrases of (41), the word following *er* can either be a full noun, as in (41a), or a *pronoun*, as in (41b). If we do use a pronoun after *er*, it must come from the set of *emphatic pronouns* (*ngak, kau, ngii,* etc.—see 2.4.3). To account for the possessor phrases of (41b), we must of course modify our formula and the principle in (42) accordingly.

Characterization and Description

3.7.2. Here are some additional *noun phrases of possession* in which Noun #1 is *unpossessible*:

(43)	sidosia er a Siabal	'Japanese car'
	sensei er a ochur	'teacher of mathematics'
	hong er a iakiu	'book about baseball'
	delmerab er a omesuub	'room for studying'

Like many of the examples in (35–37) above, the noun phrases of possession in (43) do not really involve actual ownership ("true possession") of Noun #1 by Noun #2. Instead, Noun #2 *characterizes* or *describes* Noun #1 in some way. For example, while the noun phrase of possession *sidosia er a Yosko* 'Yosko's car' clearly involves true possession (i.e., Yosko is the owner of the car), in *sidosia er a Siabal* 'Japanese car', *Siabal* 'Japan' *describes* the car as being a Japanese product. In the same way, in *sensei er a ochur* 'teacher of mathematics', it would be absurd to say that a nonliving, abstract thing like mathematics in any way "possesses" the teacher. Instead, *ochur* in fact *characterizes* the teacher by indicating the subject he or she teaches. Finally, in *hong*

er a iakiu 'book about baseball', *iakiu* 'baseball' indicates the *content* of the book, while in *delmerab er a omesuub* 'room for studying', *omesuub* 'studying' specifies the *purpose* or *function* of the room.

MORE NOUN PHRASES OF POSSESSION

3.8. It is also possible to have noun phrases of possession in Palauan in which the first noun is an *optionally possessed noun* occurring in its *independent* form (i.e., without a possessor suffix). Thus, with *sidosia er a Siabal* 'Japanese car', compare the phrase *mlai er a Siabal* 'Japanese car'. The meaning of the second phrase is identical, and the only difference is that for the unpossessible noun *sidosia* we have substituted the optionally possessed noun *mlai*. You will notice that in *mlai er a Siabal*, *Siabal* 'Japan' is not the possessor or owner of the car, but rather its characterizing or defining feature. Additional noun phrases of possession similar to *mlai er a Siabal* are given below:

(44)	kall er a Sina	'Chinese food'
	tekoi er Belau	'Palauan language'
	tekoi er a blai	'private matters'
	tekoi er a rael	'public knowledge'
	techall er a ureor	'opportunity for work'
	chad er a omenged	'fisherman'
	chad er a Merikel	'American (person)'
	ilumel er a party	'party drinks'
	ngalek er a skuul	'student, pupil'
	beluu er a eanged	'heaven'
	beluu er a ngau	'hell'

The examples of (44) above allow us to make many interesting observations:

a. First of all, as you can easily verify, every Noun #1 in the phrases above is an *optionally possessed noun* (*kall—kelel*, *tekoi—tekingel*, etc.), although it in fact occurs here in the independent (noun stem) form with no possessor suffix.

b. The general structure of the noun phrases of possession in (44) is similar to the structure found in the examples of (41) and (43):

Noun #1 + *Er* + *A* + Noun #2

The *er* + *a* + *Noun* #2 part of this structure is a *possessor phrase* (see 3.7.1 above).

c. Just like the examples of (43), the possessor phrases in (44) actually *describe* or *characterize* Noun #1 rather than indicate real ownership by an actual possessor. A few more detailed explanations are given here:

(45) *kall er a Sina* 'Chinese food': *Sina* describes the type of food or its origin.

tekoi er Belau 'Palauan language': *Belau* identifies the particular language.

techall er a ureor 'opportunity for work': *ureor* 'work' describes the type of opportunity.

chad er a omenged 'fisherman': *omenged* 'fishing' identifies the person by his profession.

ilumel er a party 'party drinks': *party* identifies what the function of the drinks will be—i.e., that they will be used at the party.

d. Some of the noun phrases of possession in (44) have very special meanings depending on the meaning of Noun #2. For example, *tekoi er a blai* means, word-for-word, "matters of the home" and therefore comes to mean "private matters". Its opposite is *tekoi er a rael*, ("matters of the road"), which is used in the sense of "public knowledge". Two other interesting examples are *beluu er a eanged* and *beluu er a ngau* for "heaven" and "hell". Can you see how these ideas come from the word-for-word interpretation of these phrases?

Complex Noun Phrases of Possession

3.8.1. As we have seen at the beginning of 3.8 above, a noun phrase of possession like *bail er a skuul* 'school clothes' involves a *characterization* or *description* of *bail* 'clothes' by *skuul* 'school' rather than real possession or ownership. Since *bail*, however, is an optionally possessed noun, we can certainly have the phrase *bilel a John* 'John's clothes', where Noun #2 (*John*) is indeed the *true possessor* of Noun #1 (*bilel*). What happens, then, if we want to combine the two ideas of *bilel a John* and *bail er a skuul*? In other words, how can we express in Palauan the idea that clothes for school are also owned by John? To express this idea, we combine the two phrases into a "super" phrase called a ***complex* noun phrase of possession**—namely,

bilel a John er a skuul 'John's school clothes'

This *complex noun phrase of possession* has the general structure:

(46) **Noun #1 (in possessed form) + *A* + Noun #2 + Er + *A* + Noun #3**

Although the formula of (46) seems complicated, it is nothing more than a combination of elements we have already seen:

Noun #1 is the *possessed form* of a noun—e.g., *bilel.*

Noun #2 is the actual *owner* or *possessor* of Noun #1—e.g., *John.*

Noun #3 is part of a *relational phrase* of the form *er + a + noun*, and Noun #3 (e.g., *skuul*) *characterizes* or *describes* Noun #1.

Now that you are familiar with the structure of complex noun phrases of possession, here are some additional examples:

(47)	a.	bilsengel a rubak er a omenged	'the old man's fishing boat'
	b.	kelir a resoldau er a mekemad	'the soldiers' C-rations (army food)'
	c.	dillir a rechad er a Siabal er a mekemad	'warships of the Japanese'

In the examples above, you can easily see that the complex noun phrases of possession come from combining two phrases—i.e.,

(48)	a.	bilas er a omenged 'fishing boat'	+	bilsengel a rubak 'the old man's boat'
	b.	kall er a mekemad 'C-rations'	+	kelir a resoldau 'the soldiers' food'
	c.	diall er a mekemad 'warship'	+	dillir a rechad er a Siabal 'the boats of the Japanese'

Example (47c) is especially interesting because the actual owner (Noun #2) is itself a noun phrase of possession (*rechad er a Siabal* 'Japanese people') where the noun following *er* (*Siabal*) describes the preceding noun (*rechad*).

Additional Complex Noun Phrases of Possession

3.8.2. To give you some idea of how rich and complicated the noun phrase system of Palauan is, we still have not finished with all the possible structures! Before ending this discussion, we will mention two more types of examples:

a. In the complex noun phrases of possession given in (47) above, it is of course not necessary that the possessor be third person. In other words, in addition to *bilel a John er a skuul* 'John's school clothes', we can also have phrases like these:

(49) bilek er a skuul 'my school clothes'
bilem er a skuul 'your (sg.) school clothes'
biled er a skuul 'our (incl.) school clothes'

If the real possessor or owner of Noun #1 is first person or second person, then we do not need a specific noun in the position of Noun #2 in the formula of (46). In the same way, you should have no trouble interpreting phrases such as *bilsengek er a omenged, bilsengem er a omenged, bilsenged er a omenged*, etc.

b. If Noun #1 in a complex noun phrase of possession happens to be an *unpossessible noun*, then we will get phrases like these:

(50) hong er a ngelekek er a ochur 'my child's math book'
sensei er kid er a tekoi er a Merikel 'our (incl.) English teacher'

By now, you should have no difficulty analyzing the internal structure of these complex noun phrases of possession. Try to break them down into simpler phrases as was done in (48) above.

CONJUNCTION *EL*, CATEGORY NOUN

3.9. In order to specify the *category* or general group of objects to which something belongs, Palauan makes use of special noun phrases which have the following form:

Noun #1 (in possessed form) + Conjunction *el* + Noun #2

The linking word in this structure is the **conjunction *el*** (see 1.3.9.c for a brief introduction). In a typical example such as *imelek el biang* 'my (drink of) beer', Noun #1 (*imelek*, from *ilumel* 'drink') specifies the *function* that Noun #2 has on a given occasion. In other words, it is beer (Noun #2: *biang*) that serves or functions as my drink (Noun #1: *imelek*). Since other substances can also function as drinks, we naturally have expressions such as *imelek el ralm* 'my (drink of) water', *imelek el kohi* 'my coffee', and so on. In expressions of this type, Noun #1 is a *category noun* (most often indicating categories of food or drink), while Noun #2 names a *specific member* of that category.

Appositional Phrase

A noun phrase of the form *imelek el biang*, in which two nouns are next to each other and linked (or equated) by the conjunction *el*, is called an **appositional phrase** (where "appositional" means "positioned next to each other"). As we will see later in this textbook, the conjunction *el* also has a similar use in appositional phrases such as *John el sensei* 'John the teacher', where a specific person is associated with a general category (in this case, a profession). Some additional appositional phrases indicating that "Noun #2 functions as Noun #1" are given below:

(51)

Category Noun (independent form)	*Appositional Phrase* (with 1st pers. sg. possessor)
ilumel 'drink'	imelek el rrom 'my (drink of) liquor'
kall 'food'	kelek el udong 'my noodles'
cheled 'animal or fish (caught but not yet cooked)'.	cheldik el ngikel 'my fish'
odoim 'meat or fish (ready to eat)'	odimek el babii 'my pork'
ongraol 'starchy food'	ongulek el kukau 'my taro'
kliou 'dessert'	kliungek el tuu 'my banana (for dessert) (formal)'
charm 'animal, pet'	chermek el babii 'my pig (pet or farm animal)'
chemachel 'something to chew'	chemelek el buuch 'my betel nut (for chewing)'
udoud 'money'	ududek el lluich el kluk 'my twenty dollars'
dellomel 'something planted'	dellemelek el diokang 'my tapioca plant'
ngalek 'child'	ngelekek el sechal 'my boy, my son'
	ngelekek el redil 'my girl, my daughter'

As some of the above examples show, it is possible for one and the same thing (Noun #2) to be associated with different categories (Noun #1) depending on how it functions in a given situation. Thus, while *chermek el babii* indicates the living pig I am raising, in *odimek el babii* 'my pork', the poor pig is no longer in the same condition! To take one more example, *dellemelek el tuu* would refer to the living banana plants I am cultivating, while *kelek el tuu* categorizes the bananas as ready-to-eat food.

Needless to say, if we wish to express a specific third person possessor in examples such as (51), we wind up with more complex appositional phrases like these:

(52) imelel a Droteo el kohi 'Droteo's drink of coffee'

chermel a sechelik el bilis 'my friend's pet dog'

OBLIGATORILY POSSESSED NOUNS: LIKING, DISLIKING, ABILITY, AND OBLIGATION

3.10. A small group of obligatorily possessed nouns occur very commonly in Palauan to express ideas such as liking, disliking, ability, and obligation. These nouns are illustrated in the sentences below:

(53) a. *Liking:* Ng soak a biang. 'I like beer.'

b. *Disliking:* Ng chetil a rrom. 'He dislikes liquor.'

c. *Ability:* Ng sebechir el mong. 'They can go.'

d. *Obligation:* Ng kirem el kie er tiang. 'You must live/stay here.'

Though the English equivalents of these sentences contain verbs such as *like, dislike, can,* and *must,* it is clear that such ideas are expressed in Palauan by using the appropriate *obligatorily possessed noun.* Thus, the first example in (53) really means, word-for-word, "My liking is beer". Sentences like these will be analyzed further in the next lesson (see 4.6.2).

SUMMARY OF PALAUAN NOUN PHRASES

3.11. In this lesson we have looked at the structure of quite a few Palauan *noun phrases*. The various types are summarized below, with examples for each:

(54) ***Palauan Noun Phrases***

a. Simple (or Independent) Noun Stem (with no possessor suffix): *blai, tebel, hong, sechelei*

b. Possessed Form of Noun (with possessor suffix): *blik, tebelem, sechelid*

c. Noun Phrase of Possession:

(1) True possession indicated: *blil a Droteo* 'Droteo's house', *sechelir a remechas* 'the old women's friends'

(2) Description or Characterization indicated: *chisel a Toki* 'news about Toki', *mlai er a Merikel* 'American car', *sidosia er a Siabal* 'Japanese car'

d. Complex Noun Phrase of Possession: *sidosia er a Siabal er tir* 'their Japanese car', *bilel a Toki er a skuul* 'Toki's school clothes'

e. Appositional Phrase: *imelek el kohi* 'my coffee', *chermem el katuu* 'your (sg.) cat'

LIST OF TERMS

3.12. Be sure you are familiar with all the pairs or groups of contrasting terms found in this lesson. If these terms have already been introduced in earlier lessons, they are marked with an asterisk (*). Be sure you know why these terms are now important in Lesson 3:

***Suffix vs. Prefix**

• Possessor vs. Thing Possessed

***First vs. Second vs. Third Person**

***Singular vs. Plural**

• E-Set vs. U-Set vs. I-Set vs. A-Set (Possessor Suffixes)

***Inclusive vs. Exclusive**

***Human vs. Nonhuman**

***Stressed vs. Unstressed Syllable**

- ***Full E vs. Weak E**
- **Obligatorily Possessed vs. Optionally Possessed vs. Unpossessible (Nouns)**
- **Subject Noun Phrase vs. Object Noun Phrase**
- **"True" Possession vs. Characterization (or Description)**

The following individual terms are also important in our understanding of how Palauan noun possession works. Terms that have been introduced earlier are marked with an asterisk (*). Be sure you know how they apply to our discussion of noun possession in Lesson 3:

- * **Internal Structure**
- **Possession (in general)**
- **Noun Stem**
- **Possessor Suffix**
- * **Meaning-Bearing Unit (Morpheme)**
- **Possessed Forms of a Noun**
- **Gender**
- * **Homonym**
- **Vowel and Vowel Cluster Weakening**
- **Vowel Deletion**
- * **Syllabic Consonant**
- * **Consonant Cluster**
- **Noun Phrase (in general)**
- **Noun Phrase of Possession**
- **Complex Noun Phrase of Possession**
- * **Relational Phrase**
- **Possessor Phrase**
- * **Conjunction *El***
- **Category Noun**
- **Appositional Phrase**

3.13. NOUN POSSESSION: STUDY QUESTIONS

1. For each pair or group of contrasting terms given in the first list of 3.12, write a pair or group of contrasting definitions that clearly and accurately highlights how the particular terms differ from each other. Then, provide some clear examples that will illustrate the contrasting terms.

   Note: If the terms have already been introduced in Lesson 1 or Lesson 2 (i.e., those marked with an asterisk [*]), make sure that your definitions and examples apply to the topic of *noun possession* studied here in Lesson 3.

   ***Model Answer:* *Suffix vs. Prefix**

   Definition: A *prefix* is a meaning-bearing unit (morpheme) attached to the beginning of a word (before a noun stem or a verb stem), while a suffix is a morpheme attached at the end of a word (after a noun stem or a verb stem). The Palauan system of *noun possession* uses a set of seven *possessor suffixes* that are attached to noun stems and indicate the possessor.

   Examples: To the noun stem *chim* 'hand' we add the various *possessor suffixes -ak, -am, -al,* etc., to derive the *possessed forms chimak* 'my hand', *chimam* 'your hand', *chimal* 'his hand', etc. An example of a Palauan prefix would be the *plural prefix re-* attached to human nouns (*ngalek* 'child'—*rengalek* 'children'), etc.

2. For each of the individual terms given in the second list of 3.12, write a correct and full definition. Illustrate with an example where appropriate. For terms marked with an asterisk (*), be sure that you explain why the term is relevant to the topic of *noun possession* presented in this lesson. Separate your *Definition* and *Example* as in the model answer to Study Question 1 above.

3. What is the internal structure of the possessed forms of Palauan nouns? How many morphemes do such forms usually contain?

4. What different kinds of relationships can be expressed between the "possessor" and the "possessed" in Palauan? For example, in the possessed noun *bilek* 'my clothes', a person (the speaker = "I") is the actual ("true") possessor of a real object (the clothes). Now, for each of the examples below, describe the relationship between the "possessor" and the "possessed" in as much detail as possible:

ochik 'my foot'	mlik 'my canoe'
chisek 'news about me'	demak 'my father'
soak 'what I like'	belkuk 'my function'
kirek 'my obligation'	ullek 'behind me'
tekingek 'my voice'	sechelik 'my friend'

5. What are the various distinctions made among the seven possessor suffixes (and their corresponding pronouns) in Palauan? What are the similarities and differences between the English and Palauan pronoun systems?

6. Why is the distinction between *human* and *nonhuman* essential in giving a proper description of Palauan possessor suffixes?

7. Is it possible to predict whether a given noun stem will take a possessor suffix from the E-Set, U-Set, I-Set, or A-Set? Explain and illustrate your answer clearly.

8. How do the *principles of vowel weakening* operate to explain the change in a noun-stem vowel from *ngor* 'mouth' to *ngerel* or from *bar* 'blanket' to *berul*?

9. In what situations does *vowel deletion* tend to occur? Give some examples. How can we explain vowel deletion as a type of vowel weakening?

10. What kinds of weakening or reduction processes do Palauan *double vowels* or *vowel clusters* undergo? For each type, present several clear examples.

11. What do we mean by "irregular" forms of something? Give some good examples.

12. What would you say to a foreigner learning Palauan who asks you if he or she could predict what will happen to vowels (whether single, double, or clusters) in the possessed forms of a noun?

13. What possible forms can the internal structure of a *noun phrase of possession* take? Give specific examples.

14. Given the new information added in this lesson, describe the distribution of Palauan *noun (phrases)* as fully as possible. Write a list containing all the positions where noun (phrases) can occur, with an example for each.

15. Why is it useful to classify nouns into the three contrasting categories of *unpossessible* vs. *optionally possessed* vs. *obligatorily possessed*?

16. Do Palauan noun phrases of possession always indicate the idea of "pure" possession—i.e., actual possession or ownership of something by somebody (e.g., *mlil a Droteo* 'Droteo's car')? What kinds of relationship or connection can be found between Noun #2 (the "possessor") and Noun #1 (the "possessed") in such phrases?

17. Why is the term *noun* ***phrase*** now introduced into our study of Palauan grammar? What are the possible forms that Palauan noun phrases can take?

18. What are the three main groups that Palauan unpossessible nouns fall into? Give examples of each.

19. What kind of a grammatical structure do we use in Palauan to express possession if in fact Noun #1 is an unpossessible noun?

20. What are the similarities and differences between *possessor phrases* and the other types of Palauan *relational phrases*?

21. What kinds of ideas are simultaneously expressed when we use a Palauan ***complex noun phrase of possession***? Take two examples and explain each one fully (useful approaches are given in 46 to 48 of 3.8.1).

22. What are the structural and meaning characteristics of Palauan *appositional phrases*? Take two examples and explain each one clearly and fully.

3.14. NOUN POSSESSION: EXERCISES

1. Determine the possessed forms (if any) for each of the noun stems below. Then identify each noun stem according to the five classifications given:

   (1) unpossessible
   (2) E-Set of possessor suffixes
   (3) U-Set of possessor suffixes
   (4) I-Set of possessor suffixes
   (5) A-Set of possessor suffixes

bung	ched	Beliliou	chedeng
dolech	bosech	stoang	iis
mubi	chusem	bad	kangkodang
Babeldaob	benzio	deroech	ker
katur	bukitang	chut	deromukang
dongu	ding	chedil	kuoku
ngul	malk	ngimes	rechorech

2. All of the following words (some are nouns, and some are verbs) contain two or more meaning-bearing units (morphemes). Break down each word into its morphemes (using hyphens between the parts) and explain as much as you can about each form.

   Example: *rengelekek* → re-ngelek-ek

   (1) *re-* plural prefix
   (2) *-ngelek-* noun stem (from *ngalek*)
   (3) *-ek* possessor suffix (1st pers. sg.)

klechelid	kausechelei
resechelim	oudengua
remeteet	klemengetel
chillebedak	klaumekemad
rengud	omerael

3. Here is a list of nouns given in their third person singular possessed forms. Decide whether the corresponding noun stem is optionally possessed or obligatorily possessed. If it is of the optionally possessed type, provide the independently occurring noun stem.

chelechedal	b̈erngel	kedn̈gel
berdel	bdelul	bekellel
belechel	kekul	bekesel
chelmengel	kloklel	kelebsengel
bedengel	belengel	bul
duchel	desechel	dekedekel
rongel	sesengel	rekel

4. Here are some Palauan noun stems paired with their third person singular possessed forms. Examine each pair carefully and indicate what kind of weakening has taken place:

   (1) no vowel weakening
   (2) single full vowel reduced to **weak e**
   (3) single full vowel deleted entirely
   (4) double vowel shortened
   (5) vowel cluster reduced by loss of one vowel

uulk—ulkel	chubs—chebsel
taut—tutel	kadikm—kadekmel
chur—chural	kabs—kebsel
tuich—tichel	rasech—rsechel
lchades—chedesel	kob—kebengel
ngakl—ngklel	tinget—tngetel
chikl—chiklel	llach—llechul
llomes—llemesel	iikr—ikrel
miich—michel	ieleb—elebel
tech—techel	reng—rengul
kaeb—kebel	sikt—sektel
dui—diul	dauch—duchel

5. Quite a few Palauan noun stems are irregular in the sense that they show some unusual patterns of vowel or vowel cluster weakening. In some cases we even observe the loss or replacement of *consonants*, or the deletion of entire *syllables*. For each of the irregular noun stems below, give the third person singular possessed form and explain as accurately as you can how the original noun stem has been affected in deriving the possessed form.

   Example: *klengit* 'sin'—possessed form *kngtil*
   (see *Note 8* in 3.3.5 for an explanation)

klalo 'thing'	bobai 'papaya'
chelid 'god'	lild 'thin bamboo'
iaes 'fly'	ilumel 'drink'
chedil 'mother'	ongraol 'starchy food'
dereder 'power, authority'	chemachel 'betel nut for chewing'
soaes 'main struts of canoe'	siik 'search (for something lost)'

6. Write out the seven possessed forms, singular and plural, for the following noun stems:

tet 'handbag'	mad 'eye, face'	ker 'question'
oluches 'pencil'	char 'price'	

7. For each of the following third person singular possessed forms, make up a noun phrase of possession of the form:

   Noun #1 (in possessed form) + ***a*** + **Noun #2**

   Be sure to translate each noun phrase into good English.

   Examples: *berdel:* berdel a ngor 'lip'
   kekul: kekul a chim 'fingernail'

tkul	bedengel	rongel	chelsel
belkul	medal	rsel	debel
uchelel	berngel	ultutelel	ikrel
chisel	rengul	ngerel	dechil

8. In the sentences below you will find various kinds of relational phrases. Identify each relational phrase by underlining, and then indicate what type of relational phrase it is:

(1) locational phrase
(2) directional phrase
(3) source phrase
(4) temporal phrase
(5) cause phrase
(6) possessor phrase

a. A sensei er kid a mlo er a Guam.

b. Ak milsa a hong er a Siabal er a chelsel a skidas.

c. A chad er a Merikel a mle merur er a ngelekel.

d. A resechelid el chad er a Huribing a mo merael er a klukuk.

e. A ngelekek a tilobed er a skuul er tia el mlo merek el rak.

9. For each of the pairs of expressions given below, combine into a single complex noun phrase of possession. Give an accurate English translation for each complex noun phrase of possession.

Example: bail er a skuul + bilel a Maria =
bilel a Maria er a skuul 'Maria's school clothes'

a. techall er a ureor + techellel a sensei

b. mlai er a omilil + mlil a Yosko

c. bail er a ureor + bilel a daiksang

d. hong er a reksi + hong er a rengelekir

e. dictionary er a tekoi er a Merikel + dictionary er a Droteo

4

PALAUAN PRONOUNS

INTRODUCTION

PRONOUNS

4.1. In Lessons 2 and 3 we learned the basics about Palauan *nouns*—their distribution, their function, and their internal structure. In those discussions, and in some parts of Lesson 1, we have already had to make reference to Palauan **pronouns** as well. From what we have said so far about Palauan pronouns, we should have a pretty good idea of what they are and how to identify them. We know, for example, that pronouns are short words that refer to the *first person* (i.e., the speaker: *ak*, *kede*, *aki*), the *second person* (i.e., the person spoken to: *ke*, *kom*), or the *third person* (i.e., the person or thing spoken about: *ng*, *te*).

Pronouns as Substitutes
Distribution of Pronouns

We also know that pronouns can *substitute* for third person nouns in the proper context—i.e., when it is clear whom or what the pronoun is referring to. Thus, in the sample dialog below,

(1) A: Ke mla mesa a udoud? 'Have you seen the money?'
B: Ng ngar er a chelsel a skidas. 'It's in the drawer.'

we know that the pronoun *ng* 'it' in B's response definitely refers to *udoud* 'money' in A's question. In fact, B could answer A's question by saying "*A udoud* a ngar er a chelsel a skidas", but repeating the full noun *udoud* is really not necessary. Because pronouns can therefore substitute for nouns (see 25–9 in 2.4 for more examples), they are in many senses a *subtype* or *subclass* of nouns, and for this reason their *distribution* parallels that of nouns.

Non-Emphatic vs. Emphatic Pronouns

The similar distribution of both nouns and pronouns means, for example, that pronouns can occur in the positions of *sentence subject* and *sentence object*, as shown in the examples below:

(2) Te milil er a sers. 'They are playing in the garden.'

(3) Ak ulemes er tir er a sers. 'I watched them in the garden.'

We are also not surprised by the difference in form that we notice for the third person human plural pronouns above: in (2) we use a *non-emphatic pronoun* (*te*) because we are dealing with a normal *sentence subject*, while in (3) we require an *emphatic pronoun* (*tir*) to indicate the *sentence object* after the *specifying word er*.

Possessor Suffixes

We also learned in Lesson 3 (3.2.1.e) that the distinctions found among Palauan *possessor suffixes* correspond to those found in Palauan pronouns. Thus, there are seven distinctions made among possessor suffixes as well, and we must apply exactly the same concepts in analyzing them (*first vs. second vs. third person*, *singular vs. plural*, *inclusive vs. exclusive*, and *human vs. nonhuman*). If you need to review this point, take a quick look at Chart 3 in 3.2.1.

Because in Lessons 1–3 we brought up Palauan pronouns mainly to illustrate other issues, there are still many gaps in our knowledge of all the forms and structures that make up the total system of pronouns in the language. The purpose of this lesson is to fill in those gaps and provide as complete a picture of Palauan pronouns as possible.

INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS VS. BOUND PRONOUNS

4.2. As we saw in 1.3.9.d, some Palauan pronouns are spelled as separate words, while others are attached to noun or verb stems as prefixes or suffixes. As we will see below, *non-emphatic* and *emphatic pronouns* are **independent pronouns** that occur as separate words, while *object pronouns*, *possessor pronouns* (what we called *possessor suffixes* in Lesson 3), and *prefix pronouns* are **bound pronouns** that must always be attached to a noun or verb stem. In general, the five Palauan pronoun types mentioned here share the seven distinctions with which you are already familiar—namely,

(4)

1st person singular	1st person plural inclusive
	1st person plural exclusive
2nd person singular	2nd person plural
3rd person singular	3rd person plural (human only)

There will be a few special comments to make about this system when we give details about the *object pronouns* and *prefix pronouns* later in this lesson.

NON-EMPHATIC VS. EMPHATIC PRONOUNS SENTENCE SUBJECT

4.3. As we have already seen in 2.4.3, the Palauan *non-emphatic pronouns* listed below

(5) ***Non-Emphatic Pronouns***

ak	kede
	aki
ke	kom
ng	te

are independent pronouns that can occur only as *sentence subject*. Only two examples are necessary:

(6) a. Ak mlo er a skuul er a elii. 'I went to school yesterday.'

b. Ng oureor er a bangk. 'He/she works at the bank.'

When the non-emphatic pronoun in subject position is third person, as in (6b), it can only be used appropriately if its referent is clear. In other words, (6b) would only be proper in a context (for example, a dialog) where the referent of *ng* (e.g., *John*, *sechelim*, etc.) is specifically mentioned. See (25–7) at the beginning of 2.4 for some additional examples to illustrate this point.

Palauan *emphatic pronouns* are also independent pronouns. Since their distribution is more complex than that of non-emphatic pronouns, we will need to discuss them at length. First, take a look at their forms:

(7) ***Emphatic Pronouns***

ngak	kid
	kemam
kau	kemiu
ngii	tir

Pronunciation of Non-Emphatic Pronouns

Note 1: 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 phonetically. While the emphatic pronouns are always *stressed* and pronounced just as they are spelled, the non-emphatic pronouns are always *unstressed* and sometimes show slight variations in pronunciation. First of all, because the non-emphatic pronouns *ke*, *kede*, and *te* are always unstressed, the E's in them are always *weak E*. In addition, when these three forms occur before vowel-initial verbs, their final weak E is usually lost in the pronunciation (e.g., *ke ulemes* 'you were watching' sounds like "kulemes", *kede ousbech* 'we need' sounds like "kedousbech", and te omengur 'they are having dinner' sounds like "tomengur"). In spite of these pronunciation changes, the ***non-emphatic pronouns should always be spelled as separate words***.

When the vowel-initial non-emphatic pronouns *ak* and *aki* follow words ending in a full vowel, the A is deleted, as in *e le ak* 'because I...' (sounds like "elek") and *a leko ak* 'I intended to...' (sounds like "alekok"). If, however, the preceding word ends in weak E, then the weak E is deleted and the following A will be preserved, as in *me ak* 'and so I...' (sounds "mak"). Finally, we know from expressions like *kom osiik* 'you are looking for' and *kom smecher* 'you are sick' that the second person plural non-emphatic pronoun is *kom* (with a final M). However, if the word following *kom* itself begins with an M, then only a single M is pronounced (e.g., *kom merredel* 'you are the leaders', which sounds like "komerredel").

Note 2: As we have already mentioned before, the third person plural pronouns *te* (non-emphatic) and *tir* (emphatic) refer to human beings only. Therefore, when using pronouns as substitutes for *nonhuman* plural nouns, we must use the third person ***singular*** forms. Thus, it is possible for *ng* (non-emphatic) and *ngii* (emphatic) to mean 'they (nonhuman)' in the proper context. A similar situation was observed in 3.2.1.d for the *possessor suffixes* (possessor pronouns).

DISTRIBUTION OF EMPHATIC PRONOUNS RELATIONAL WORD ER, POSSESSOR PHRASE

4.4. The *emphatic pronouns* of Palauan have a rather complicated distribution, which we have already partially illustrated. Thus, in 2.4.3 we saw that when a pronoun occurs after the *relational word er*, it must be an emphatic pronoun. To repeat an earlier example,

(8) A: Tia ng hong er a sensei? 'Is this the teacher's book?'
B: Chochoi. Ng hong er ngii. 'Yes. It's his book.'

we see that the emphatic pronoun *ngii* occurs after *er* in B's response to A's question. You should easily recall that *er ngii* is a subtype of *relational phrase* called *possessor phrase* (see the discussion in 3.7.1 and the examples of 41b in that section). Here is a new example to consider:

(9) A: A rengelekem a kmal mle dengerenger er a elii. 'Your children were very poorly behaved yesterday.'
B: Chochoi. Ak kmal merur er tir. 'I know. I'm very ashamed of them.'

In B's response, we note that the emphatic pronoun *tir* (third person plural human) is used to refer back to *rengelekem* 'your children' of A's question. The phrase *er tir* in this example is a subtype of relational phrase called *source phrase* because it gives the source or reason for the speaker's feeling ashamed.

Specifying Word ER

4.4.1. Palauan *emphatic pronouns* must also be used after the *specifying word er*. As noted in 2.7.2, the specifying word *er* marks a specific *object noun (phrase)*, but only when the verb is *imperfective* (see 2.7.4). The occasion to use an emphatic pronoun after the specifying word *er* might arise in such a dialog as this:

(10) A: Ke mlo omes er a Toki? 'Did you go to see Toki?'
B: Ng diak. Ak mo omes er ngii er a klukuk. 'No. I'm going to see her tomorrow.'

In this conversation, B does not repeat Toki's name (already mentioned by A) but instead refers to her with a pronoun. Since the verb is imperfective (*omes*) and a specific object is required, the emphatic pronoun *ngii* is used after the specifying word *er*. Here is one more example that parallels (10) in every way:

(11) A: Ke mla mo merek er a babier? 'Have you finished (writing) the letter?'
B: Ng diak. Ak dirk meluches er ngii. 'No. I'm still writing it.'

Finally, here are some additional examples of single sentences in which an emphatic pronoun occurs as (specific) sentence object after the specifying word *er*:

(12) a. Ke melasem er ngak? 'Are you challenging me?'
b. Ng techa a milengelebed er kau? 'Who was hitting you?'
c. Kede dirk ousechelei er tir. 'We're still friends with them.'

Note 3: Another situation in which emphatic pronouns occur after the specifying word *er* is found in the sentence below:

(a) A hong a longuiu er ngii a sensei. 'The book (that we have been talking about)—the teacher is reading it.'

This example illustrates a fairly common type of Palauan sentence in which an original object noun (*hong* in this example) has been made into a kind of topic and moved into sentence-initial position. When the object noun is moved in this way, an emphatic pronoun (*ngii* in this case) is left behind in its place following the specifying word *er*. In addition, the verb of the sentence appears in a form with a *prefix pronoun*—i.e., *longuiu* instead of *menguiu* (see 4.10 below). The English equivalent indicated for (a) above is only approximate, and the appropriate "situational" meaning for such sentences will be explained in greater detail in a later lesson. At that time we will also explore the interrelationship between (a) and such sentences as the following, in which the object noun (*hong*) appears in its normal position directly after the verb:

(b) A sensei a menguiu er a hong. 'The teacher is reading the book.'

Emphatic Pronouns in Equational Sentences

4.4.2. In studying the distribution of Palauan noun (phrases) in section 2.3.3, we looked at *equational sentences* of the form

Noun #1 + (mle +) Noun #2

A typical example of this structure is the following,

(13) A sechelik a (mle) sensei. 'My friend is (was) a teacher.'

where the subject noun phrase (*sechelik*) is equated with or included in the category of Noun #2 (in this case, a profession—*sensei*). Equational sentences are interesting because they have no verb form at all in the present tense, while *mle* 'was, were' is used for the past tense.

There are situations in Palauan where we use short equational sentences in which an emphatic pronoun appears in the position of Noun #2. Look at the dialogs below:

(14) A: Ng techa a mo er a stoang? 'Who is going to the store?'
B: (Ng) ngak. '(It's) me.'

(15) A: Ng techa a mle merredeliu? 'Who was your (pl.) leader?'
B: Ng mle ngii. 'It was him.'

(16) A: Te rua techa a silsebii a blai? 'Who burned down the house?'
B: (Ng) tir. '(It's) them.'

New Information

In each of the dialogs shown above, A asks B for some **new information**—i.e., the identity of the person going to the store, the identity of the leader, and the identity of those who burned down the house. In his responses, B satisfies A's request for new information by giving a very *focused, emphatic* answer. In each case, B uses an *emphatic pronoun* in an *equational sentence* to tell A that it was precisely so-and-so (and not anyone else) who did such-and-such, etc. We get the same effect in English by putting a special stress or emphasis on the pronoun—e.g., 'It's **me**', 'It was **him**', etc.

In examples (15) and (16), where we have *third person* emphatic pronouns (*ngii, tir*), it must of course be clear from the situation or context who is being referred to. In these two examples, it is most likely that B is actually pointing to a person (*ngii*) or a group of people (*tir*) when making his response, so that the identity of the person(s) involved is immediately known. Even though B's responses in (14-16) are very short sentences, they are nevertheless quite forceful and effective. In fact, it is from the *emphatic* use of *ngak, ngii, tir*, etc. in sentences of this type that we have chosen the very term *emphatic pronoun*. Further reasons for using such a term will become clear in 4.4.3 below.

Note 4: As the parentheses around *ng* 'it' in (14) and (16) show, many Palauan speakers omit the sentence subject in cases like these. The situation is very similar in English, as we often use just a single stressed pronoun as a strong (informal) response:

A: Who's responsible for this?
B: HIM.

Here is another way of analyzing what is happening in Palauan. In situations where we want to use a pronoun and be emphatic, the word that we are focusing on will certainly be *stressed*. Since Palauan *emphatic pronouns* are always stressed (as opposed to *non-emphatic pronouns*, which are never stressed—see *Note 1* in 4.3 above), we have no choice but to use emphatic pronouns in the equational sentences that function as B's responses in (14-16) above.

Contrastive Emphasis

4.4.3. As we have seen in (14–16), Palauan emphatic pronouns put focus or emphasis on *new information* when they are used in short sentences of the equational type. We can now introduce situations in which emphatic pronouns occur as *sentence subjects*, where they also provide new information. Look at the following dialog:

(17) A: A Maria ng mo er a stoang? 'Is Maria going to the store?'
B: Ng diak. Ngak a mo er a stoang. 'No. I'M going to the store.'

When A asks his question, he is making the possible assumption that Maria might be the person going to the store. By answering the way she does, however, B implies that A's assumption is wrong, and at the same time B provides the *new information* that it is she herself (expressed, of course, by *ngak*, because she is the speaker) who is going to the store. Therefore, the function of the emphatic pronoun *ngak* in B's response is to focus on new information and emphasize that one particular person (the speaker herself) is doing the action, and no one else. Because the emphatic pronoun in B's response implies "only this person and not anyone else we might consider", we can also say that the emphatic pronoun functions to show **contrastive emphasis**. As the English equivalent for B's answer indicates, contrastive emphasis is made in English by pronouncing the contrasted item with stronger stress.

Principles for Using Emphatic and Non-Emphatic Pronouns
New Information vs. Old Information

Since Palauan *non-emphatic pronouns* also occur as *sentence subjects* (see 6 above), we must ask how they differ in meaning and function from *emphatic pronouns* occurring in the same position. We can understand this difference by comparing the following dialogs:

(18) A: Ng techa a mo er a stoang? 'Who is going to the store?'
B: Ngak a mo er a stoang. 'I'm going to the store.'

(19) A: Ke mo er ker? 'Where are you going?'
B: Ak mo er a stoang. 'I'm going to the store.'

The grammatical difference between (18B) and (19B) is that the first sentence has an *emphatic pronoun* (*ngak*) in subject position, while the second sentence has the corresponding *non-emphatic pronoun* (*ak*) in that position. The function of *ngak* in (18B) follows the principle below:

PRINCIPLE FOR USING EMPHATIC PRONOUNS

(20) Emphatic pronouns are used in subject position in order to refer to ***new information***, i.e., to represent the main focus of interest or attention in the sentence. In addition, emphatic pronouns in subject position imply ***contrastive emphasis***.

If we look at dialog (18) carefully, we can see that B's use of *ngak* in his (or her) reply to A's question follows Principle (20) very closely. Since A's question contains the question word *techa* 'who?', the *new information* that A is asking for involves the *identity* of the *person* going to the store. Speaker A already assumes (or knows) the destination (i.e., the store, which is *old information*), but wants to know *exactly who* is going there. In order to give A the new information being requested, B must provide the identity of the *sentence subject*, which in this case is B himself (or herself). Therefore, B uses the *emphatic pronoun ngak* to provide the *new information* A wants and to put that information into focus. In addition to providing new information, B's use of *ngak* in (18) implies *contrastive emphasis* (discussed above at the beginning of this section)—that is, B is saying "it's **me** (and not anyone else) who's going to the store".

In contrast with (18), the situation in (19) is quite different. Here, the *new information* wanted by A concerns the *destination*, and this is why A uses the question word *(er) ker* 'where (to)?' In fact, in this case A already assumes (or knows) the identity of the person who will be going—namely, speaker B—and therefore this fact is *old information*. In giving a suitable reply to A, B supplies the requested *new information* about the destination (*er a stoang* 'to the store') and uses the *non-emphatic pronoun ak* in subject position according to the principle below:

PRINCIPLE FOR USING NON-EMPHATIC PRONOUNS

(21) Non-emphatic pronouns are used in subject position in order to refer to ***old*** (assumed, known) ***information***—i.e., information that does **not** represent the main focus of interest or attention in the sentence.

According to Principle (21), because the focus of interest or attention in (19) is the identity of the *destination*, the identity of the sentence subject is therefore old information of lesser importance. When a sentence subject is *de-emphasized* and not focused in this way, we must use a *non-emphatic pronoun*.

Note 5: Another interesting situation of *contrastive emphasis* can be seen in the sentence below, where two groups of people are being contrasted with each other because they are doing contrasting activities:

Tirike a mo er a stoang,	'Those people over there are going to
e ng di kid a di kiei.	the store, but we are just staying (here).'

The two contrasting groups are obviously *tirike* 'those people over there' and *kid* 'we (inclusive)'. The use of *emphatic kid* in the second clause (after *e ng di* 'but') creates a strong sense of contrast or opposition between the two groups and their activities.

A rather similar situation is found in the dialog below:

A: Ke mo merael er a klukuk?	'Are you leaving tomorrow?'
B: Chochoi. E kau?	'Yes. And how about you?'

Speaker B uses emphatic *kau* when addressing A because he is implying a possible contrast between A's activities and his own.

Note 6: In 2.6.1 we discussed the distribution of Palauan *a* and stated that "when the sentence subject is a pronoun, neither the pronoun itself nor the (following) verb is introduced by *a*." From examples such as (18B) above, we can now see that this statement requires some modification. In fact, only if the subject pronoun is *non-emphatic* does this statement hold true; however, if it is *emphatic*, as in (18B), we must indeed use *a* to introduce the following verb.

Note 7: In 4.4 and 4.4.1 we saw how Palauan emphatic pronouns are used after both the *relational word er* and the *specifying word er*. It is interesting to note that the emphatic pronouns do not seem to have any implication of contrastive emphasis or new information when they occur in these positions.

Coordinate Noun Phrase

4.4.4. Palauan *emphatic pronouns* are also used in structures called **coordinate noun phrases**. As we will see later in this textbook, a coordinate noun phrase consists of two (or more) nouns or pronouns joined by the word *me* '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 functions are shown in the examples below, where sequences of human or nonhuman nouns are joined by *me* (which, together with a following *a*, is pronounced like "ma"):

(22)	a. A Toki me a Satsko a mlo er a skuul.	'Toki and Satsko went to school.'
	b. Te menga a ngikel me a kukau me a diokang.	'They eat fish and taro and tapioca.'
	c. Ng sidosia er a Toki me a Satsko.	'It's Toki and Satsko's car.'

If a coordinate noun phrase contains one or more pronouns, the members of the *emphatic pronoun* set are always used, as the examples below clearly illustrate:

(23)	a. Ngak me a Hermana a kausechelei.	'Hermana and I are friends with with each other.'
	b. Tir me a rechad er a Ruk a blechoel el kaucheraro.	'They and the Trukese always treat each other as enemies.'
	c. A sensei a kautoketok ngii me a Toki.	'The teacher is arguing with Toki.'
	d. Ke mlo er a party kau me techang?	'With whom did you go to the party?'

In all of the sentences above, the first element of the coordinate noun phrase is a pronoun in the emphatic form. You may have noticed that the sentence structure of (23c–d) is somewhat unusual because the coordinate noun phrases occur in *sentence-final* position. Therefore, the English equivalents for these sentences do not reflect the Palauan structure word-for-word. Sentence (23c), for example, would be literally translated as "The teacher is arguing—he and Toki." Such structures as (23c–d) will be studied thoroughly in a later lesson.

Note 8: As we will see later in this textbook, sentences with coordinate noun phrases are a shortened or condensed way of expressing information. Thus, (22a) is much more natural than the following sentence, which has two full clauses joined by *me*:

A Toki a mlo er a skuul,	'Toki went to school, and
me a Satsko a mlo er a skuul.	Satsko went to school.'

Just as in the English equivalent, if both clauses have the same *verb phrase* (here, *mlo er a skuul* 'went to school') but different subjects (*Toki* vs. *Satsko*), it is possible to create a condensed sentence like (22a) in which the two subjects have been joined into a *coordinate noun phrase* followed by a single occurrence of the common verb phrase.

Note 9: Because the first element of the coordinate noun phrases in (23a–d) is a pronoun, the entire noun phrase is of course not introduced by *a* (see 2.6 and *Note 6* above).

Emphatic Pronouns Preceded by DI

4.4.5. Palauan emphatic pronouns occur in special expressions of the form DI + (MLE +) **emphatic pronoun** to indicate that the subject of the sentence is or was the *only* participant in some activity. Thus, in the sentence below,

(24)	A ngelekek a di mle ngii el mesuub el oukita.	'My child learned to play the guitar (all) by himself.'

the expression *di mle ngii* implies that one and only one individual (namely, *ngelekek* 'my child') was involved in the activity in question. By excluding the possibility that anyone else helped or taught my child to play the guitar, *di mle ngii* produces a kind of *contrastive emphasis*. As the following additional examples show, expressions like *di mle ngii* (italicized) are similar in meaning to English '(by) myself, himself, herself, etc.' or 'on my, his, her own, etc.':

(25)	a.	A buik a sebechel el mo er a che el *di ngii*.	'The boy is able to go fishing (all) by himself/on his own.'
	b.	Ng *di mle ngak* el meruul er a blik.	'I built my house all by myself.'
	c.	A ta er tir a *di mle ngii* el mekodir el oba a dub.	'One of them killed himself with a grenade.'

In (24) and (25) *di* means 'only' or 'just' and *mle* 'was, were' precedes the emphatic pronoun if the action of the sentence took place in the past. Because of this structure, expressions of the form *di (mle) ngii* are probably related to *equational sentences* (see 4.4.2 above and examples 14–16).

Appositional Phrases

Note 10: Yet another use of *emphatic pronouns* is observed in the sentence below:

Ngii di el ngalek a sebechel el rullii tia el klalo.	'Any child can make this thing.'

An expression like *ngii di el ngalek* 'any child' is closely related in structure to the *appositional phrases* introduced in 3.9. The only differences are the addition of *di* 'only, just' and the substitution of an emphatic pronoun for **Noun #1**, resulting in the pattern

Emphatic Pronoun + di + Conjunction *el* + Noun #2

In *ngii di el ngalek*, the third person emphatic pronoun *ngii* is being used as a general *category* word ('anyone, any person at all'), while *ngalek* (Noun #2) names a specific member (or subgroup) of that category. Another similar, very commonly used expression is *ngii di el chad* 'anyone at all, any human being', as in

a. *Ngii di el chad* a soal el olengeseu er a ngalek el smecher.	'Any human being will want to help a sick child.'
b. *Ngii di el chad* a sebechel el mo er a skuul.	'Any person has the right to go to school.'

USE OF PRONOUNS IN COMPLEX SENTENCES
ANTECEDENT

4.5. As we have already mentioned in several places (e.g., 2.4), a Palauan third person pronoun is being used properly only when it is clear to whom or what it refers. Thus, in the dialog below,

(26)	A:	Ke mla mesterir a rengelekel a Satsko?	'Have you seen Satsko's children?'
	B:	Chochoi. Te di milil er se el blai.	'Yes. They're just playing in that house.'

the non-emphatic pronoun *te* 'they (human)' is completely acceptable in B's response because it clearly refers back to *rengelekel a Satsko* 'Satsko's children', which was already mentioned in A's question. For convenience of discussion, we will use the term **antecedent** to mean the noun (phrase) that a pronoun refers back to. In any given situation, a pronoun and its antecedent will refer to the *same* person or thing. An antecedent (note that *ante-* means 'before' or 'preceding' in English) will always *precede* the pronoun somewhere in a conversation or sentence.

We will now look at situations similar to the dialog of (26), except that each example contains only a single sentence. All of these cases involve **complex sentences** with at least two major parts (clauses) joined by conjunctions such as *me* 'and, and so', *e* 'and, and then', *e le* 'because', and so on. Observe the examples below:

(27) a. A bechik a mlo er a osbitar e le ng smecher. 'My husband went to the hospital because he's sick.'

b. A resechelik a mlo er a osbitar e le te smecher. 'My friends went to the hospital because they're sick.'

The sentences of (27) each contain two clauses joined by *e le* 'because': in the first clause, the speaker describes an event that occurred (someone went to the hospital), and in the second clause he gives the reason for the event (someone got sick). In the second clause (the "reason clause") of each sentence, the subject is expressed with a third person *non-emphatic* pronoun (*ng* or *te*) which has an *antecedent* in the first clause. Thus, the antecedent of singular *ng* in (27a) is (singular) *bechik*, while the antecedent of plural *te* in (27b) is (plural) *resechelik*.

The pronouns *ng* and *te* are used in the second clauses of (27a) and (27b) to avoid repeating the antecedent noun (phrase) in full. Thus, (27a) is always preferred over the following sentence, where the repetition of *bechik* makes it sound rather awkward:

(28) A bechik a mlo er a osbitar e le a bechik a smecher. 'My husband went to the hospital because my husband's sick.'

You will notice from the translations of (27-8) that exactly the same situation occurs in English: i.e., using a pronoun in the second clause is much preferred over awkward repetition of the antecedent.

Some additional examples similar to (27) are given below:

(29) a. A John a mlo smecher me ng mlo er a osbitar. 'John got sick so he went to the hospital.'

b. A Toki a dilu el kmo ng mong. 'Toki said that she is going.'

c. A lsekum a sensei a me e ng me kie er a blik. 'If the teacher comes, he will come stay at my house.'

d. A lak losuub a resechelik e te mo ruebet er a test. 'If my friends don't study, they'll fail the test.'

We will postpone discussion of the various grammatical structures in (29a-d) to later lessons. However, these examples are all useful in showing that in Palauan, the *antecedent* must always *precede* the pronoun that refers to it. Verify this by locating both the pronouns and their antecedents in the sentences above.

Note 11: The rule that the antecedent must precede the pronoun in Palauan has no exceptions. Therefore, if we tried to switch these two elements in a sentence like (29a), we would get an entirely different meaning:

Ng mlo smecher me a John a mlo er a osbitar. 'He got sick, so John went to the hospital (to get him some medicine, etc.).'

The only way we can make sense out of the sentence above is to interpret *ng* and *John* as referring to *two different persons*. In addition, since *ng* is in the first clause, it can only be used properly in that position if its antecedent is clear—i.e., if the person referred to as "he" has been named somewhere earlier in the conversation of which this sentence is a part.

Note 12: Example (29b) can have a second interpretation in which *ng* does *not* refer back to Toki but refers to an entirely different person—e.g., 'Toki said that he is going.' Just as was noted at the end of *Note 11*, this interpretation is possible only if *ng* 'he' has an antecedent that was already named earlier in a conversation of which (29b) is a part—for example,

A: A Droteo ng mo er a Guam? 'Is Droteo going to Guam?'

B: Chochoi. A Toki a dilu el kmo ng mong. 'Yes. Toki said that he is going.'

Emphatic Pronouns with Antecedents

4.5.1. We have so far looked at complex sentences containing a pronoun and its antecedent in which the pronoun functions as *sentence subject* in the second clause. It is also possible for a pronoun in the second clause to serve as *sentence object* or to occur after the *relational word er* in a *relational phrase* (usually, a *possessor phrase*). Here are some examples:

(30) a. Ak lilechesii a babier e a buik a mlo oldurokl er ngii. 'I wrote the letter and the boy mailed it.'

b. A lsekum a George a mo er a party e ak mo omes er ngii. 'If George goes to the party, then I'll see him (there).'

c. A lsekum ak mesa a Toki er a klukuk e ak mo longir a sidosia er ngii. 'If I see Toki tomorrow, then I'll borrow her car.'

As we might expect, the pronouns occurring as *sentence object* after the *specifying word er* in (30a–b) and the pronoun following the *relational word er* in (30c) are all *emphatic*. They are appropriately used in all three cases because there is a clear antecedent in the first clause of each sentence. Can you find the antecedent for *ngii* in each of the examples above?

Non-Emphatic Pronouns In Sentences with Post-Verbal Subjects

4.6. As we saw in *Note* 2 at the end of 2.3.5 (Lesson 2), there is a commonly used type of Palauan sentence in which the subject noun phrase appears in a **post-verbal** position—i.e., *following* the verb phrase. This type of sentence is represented by the second member in each pair below:

(31) a. A Droteo a mla mei. 'Droteo has come.'
b. Ng mla me a Droteo.

(32) a. A ralm a mekelekolt. 'The water is cold.'
b. Ng mekelekolt a ralm.

While (31a) and (32a) are similar to English sentences with the subject noun phrase in initial position, (31b) and (32b) are typically Palauan in that the subject noun phrases *Droteo* and *ralm* are found in the position following the verb phrase (*mla mei* or *mekelekolt*). When the subject occurs in such a *post-verbal* position, a *non-emphatic pronoun* (*ng* in both examples here) must simultaneously occur *pre-verbally* (i.e., before the verb) in sentence-initial position. The non-emphatic pronoun in pre-verbal position must also match or *agree* with the full subject noun phrase that occurs post-verbally. This principle becomes particularly clear when we look at the following pair of sentences:

(33) a. A resechelim a mla mei. 'Your friends have come.'
b. Te mla me a resechelim.

In (33b) we see the third person (human) *plural* non-emphatic pronoun *te* in pre-verbal position precisely because the post-verbal subject (*resechelim*) is third person (human) *plural*. In (31b) and (32b), the *singular* non-emphatic pronoun *ng* occurs, of course, because the post-verbal subjects are both *singular*.

Although the form of sentences like (31b), (32b), and (33b) is easy to describe, as we have done above, it is much more difficult to specify the difference of meaning or function between the (a) and (b) sentences of (31–3). While some speakers of Palauan seem to use the two types interchangeably, others distinguish the two depending on some very subtle differences in assumptions they have made in a particular situation. In fact, many speakers in this group feel that sentences with post-verbal subjects and matching pre-verbal non-emphatic pronouns are more natural and somehow more basic than their counterparts with a full subject noun phrase in sentence-initial position (as in English). These issues will be discussed in much greater detail in Lesson 15, where we will present a general survey of the major processes of sentence formation in Palauan.

Below we provide a further group of sentences with *post-verbal subjects* (italicized) and sentence-initial *non-emphatic pronouns*:

(34) a. Ng meringel a *chimal a ngelekek.* 'My child's hand hurts.'

b. Ng kmal klou a *ultutelel a llach.* 'The law is very important.'

c. Ng lluich me a etiu *a rekil a Toki.* 'Toki is 29 years old.'

In (34a–c) the post-verbal subjects all happen to be *noun phrases of possession* (i.e., possessed forms of a noun followed by a specific third person possessor). Interestingly enough, all of these sentences can also occur in the alternate form with a full noun phrase subject sentence-initially (as in English). Note, therefore, the sentences below:

(35) a. A chimal a ngelekek a meringel. 'My child's hand hurts.'

b. A ultutulel a llach a kmal klou. 'The law is very important.'

c. A rekil a Toki a lluich me a etiu. 'Toki is 29 years old.'

Sentences with Obligatory Post-Verbal Subjects

4.6.1. There seem to be certain types of Palauan sentences that occur almost always with their subjects in post-verbal position (which perhaps explains why many Palauans feel that this structure is more natural). Note the examples below (with post-verbal subjects italicized):

(36) a. Ng suebek a *rengul a mechas.* 'The old woman is worried.'
b. Ng mo er ngii a *party.* 'There will be a party.'
c. Ng diak a *urerek* er a elechang. 'I don't have any work today.'
d. Ng soak a *kledoraib.* 'I like driving around.'
e. Ng chetil a *kohi.* 'He dislikes coffee.'

As opposed to the examples of (34), Palauan speakers cannot convert the sentences of (36) into ones with a full noun phrase subject in pre-verbal position. In other words, sentences like the following are not acceptable:

(37) a. ?? A rengul a mechas a suebek.
b. ?? A party a mo er ngii.
c. ?? A kledoraib a soak.

Sentences like (36a-e) therefore seem to require what we will call *obligatory post-verbal subjects*. Although it is difficult to explain *why* post-verbal subjects are obligatory in these cases, we can at least *describe* the types of sentences where such obligatory positioning occurs. Sentences such as those in (36) will be discussed further in 4.6.2 and 4.6.3 below, and in later lessons of this textbook.

4.6.2. The main types of sentences where *obligatory post-verbal subjects* are used can be summarized in the paragraphs below:

Idiomatic Expressions

a. Sentences containing **idiomatic expressions** based on a possessed form of the abstract noun *reng* 'heart, spirit' require obligatory post-verbal subjects. If you consult the *New Palauan-English Dictionary* on pgs. 289–91, you will find an incredibly large number of Palauan expressions containing *reng*. Most of the expressions on those pages are *idiomatic*—i.e., the expression as a whole has a specialized meaning that is not necessarily derivable by putting together the meanings of its individual parts. Thus, *suebek a rengul* of (36a) means "to be worried", even though *suebek* independently means "to fly". The literal (word-for-word) meaning of *suebek a rengul* is

therefore something like "one's spirit is flying"—an idea that must have been connected with the emotion of worry a very long time ago in Palauan culture.

As our first example confirms, you will notice that most of the idiomatic expressions with *reng* are used to describe human emotions, feelings, or personality traits—e.g., *beralm a rengul* 'lazy' (from *beralm* 'watery'), *kesib a rengul* 'angry' (from *kesib* 'sweaty'), *klou a rengul* 'patient' (from *klou* 'big'), *smecher a rengul* 'homesick' (from *smecher* 'sick'), and so on. At any rate, idiomatic expressions with *reng* always occur in sentences with *obligatory post-verbal subjects*, as shown below:

(38) a. Ng kmal moalech a renguk e le ak rirebet er a test. 'I'm very disappointed because I failed the test.'

b. Ngke el chad a kmal ultebechel a rengul. 'That person is very honest/mature and responsible.'

c. Ngara uchul me ng ko er a doaoch a rengum? 'Why do you keep changing your mind?'

In the sentences above, how do the meanings of *moalech*, *ultebechel*, and *doaoch* relate to the overall meanings of the idiomatic expressions in which they occur?

Expressions of Existence: Affirmative vs. Negative

b. Sentences like (36b–c), which contain **expressions of existence** such as *ng ngar er ngii* 'there is/are' (future: *ng mo er ngii*, past: *ng mla er ngii*) and *ng diak* 'there isn't/aren't' (past: *ng dimlak*), always have *obligatory post-verbal subjects*. As the term itself implies, an *expression of existence* makes a statement about the existence (presence) of something in a particular place at a particular time. The expression of existence can be **affirmative** (something *is* there, something *does* exist) or **negative** (something is *not* there, something does *not* exist), and it can occur in various tenses (present, future, past). Palauan sentences that contain expressions of existence put focus or emphasis on the person or thing whose existence is being asserted (affirmative) or denied (negative). Because of this, they always supply the listener with *new information*, as in the examples below:

(39) a. Ng ngar er ngii a klok er a chelsel a skidas. 'There's a watch inside the drawer.'

b. Ng mla er ngii a desiu er a elii. 'There was an earthquake yesterday.'

c. Ng diak a chad er tiang. 'There's no one here.'

d. Ng dimlak a ududek er se el taem. 'I didn't have any money at that time.'

Obligatorily Possessed Nouns Of Liking, Disliking, Ability, and Obligation

c. Sentences such as (36d–e) that use items from the special group of *obligatorily possessed nouns soal* 'liking', *chetil* 'disliking', *sebechel* 'ability', and *kirel* 'obligation' (see 3.10) must always have the subject noun phrase in sentence-final position. Because the grammatical structures with *sebechel* and *kirel* are more complicated (and will be discussed later), we will only look at additional examples for the nouns *soal* and *chetil*:

(40) a. Ng kmal sorir a rrellem. 'They really like what you've made.'

b. Ng chetim a kelem? 'Don't you like your food?'

As mentioned in 3.10, the Palauan sentences (40a–b) actually contain (obligatorily possessed) *nouns*, even though the English equivalents require *verbs* ("like", "dislike/not like", etc.).

Yes-No Questions

4.6.3. Palauan sentences with *post-verbal subjects* are also used as **yes-no questions**. A *yes-no question* is simply one that is phrased so that the answer can be "yes" or "no". Therefore, typical yes-no questions would have the form "Is such and such the case?", "Did such and such happen?", etc. They do not use specific *question words* such as "who", "what", "when", "where", "why", and so on.

Rise in Intonation Question vs. Statement

Although yes-no questions with post-verbal subjects have exactly the same grammatical structure (word order) as the corresponding statements, they can be easily identified by a sharp *rise in intonation* towards the end of the sentence. In writing Palauan, we indicate yes-no questions and the rising "question intonation" with a *question mark* (?). With (36a–c), compare the following, which are now intended to be *yes-no questions*:

(41) a. Ng suebek a rengul a mechas? 'Is the old woman worried?'

b. Ng mo er ngii a party? 'Will there be a party?'

c. Ng diak a urerek er a elechang? 'Don't I have any work today?'

Here are a few more yes-no questions in Palauan:

(42) a. Ng klebokel a bechil a sensei? 'Is the teacher's wife pretty?'

b. Ng lmuut el me a John er a klukuk? 'Is John returning tomorrow?'

c. Ng dimlak a ilumel er a party? 'Weren't there any drinks at the party?'

Be sure to pronounce all of the examples of (41) and (42) carefully to verify the rise in intonation at the end of the *yes-no question*. Then go back and pronounce these same examples as *statements*—you should easily recognize that when you intend these sentences to be statements, the intonation *lowers* gradually as you approach the end of the sentence.

Additional Sentence Types

Note 13: As we have seen in 4.6–4.6.2, Palauan has two different sentence types—one with the subject noun phrase in (sentence-initial) *pre-verbal* position, and the other with the subject in *post-verbal* position (always with a matching pre-verbal non-emphatic pronoun). There is even one more sentence variety available when the subject of the sentence is a *noun phrase of possession*. Let us start with a familiar example like (35a) above in which a noun phrase of possession occurs as subject sentence-initially:

a. A chimal a ngelekek a meringel. 'My child's hand hurts.'

As we saw in (34a), we have a corresponding sentence with the full subject noun phrase (*chimal a ngelekek*) in post-verbal position (together with a matching pre-verbal non-emphatic pronoun *ng*):

b. Ng meringel a chimal a ngelekek. 'My child's hand hurts.'

Now, we can go one step further and create the following sentence:

c. A ngelekek a meringel a chimal. 'My child's hand hurts.'

Note 13 continued next page

Note 13 continued

Possessor in Sentence-Initial Position

If we think of deriving (c) above from (b), then we have applied a rule like this:

When the post-verbal subject of a sentence is a *noun phrase of possession* (as in *b* above), we can take the **possessor alone** (*ngelekek* in this case) and move it into *sentence-initial position*, where it then *replaces* the original non-emphatic pre-verbal pronoun (*ng* in this case).

As a result of these changes, the word-for-word structure of sentence (c) above is "my child—is painful—his hand".

If we apply this process to examples (34b–c), we also get the following perfectly acceptable Palauan sentences:

d. A llach a kmal klou a ultutelel. 'The law is very important.'

e. A Toki a lluich me a etiu a rekil. 'Toki is 29 years old.'

Even if a noun phrase of possession occurs in a sentence type that requires an *obligatory post-verbal subject* (see 36a-e in 4.6.1 above), the movement of the possessor to sentence-initial position is also possible. Note the pairs below:

f. (1) Ng suebek a rengul a mechas. 'The old woman is worried.'

(2) A mechas a suebek a rengul.

g. (1) Ng mla mo diak a ududel a Satsko. 'Satsko's money has run out.'

(2) A Satsko a mla mo diak a ududel.

Can you see how the second sentence is derived from the first in (f) and (g) above?

Finally, it is also possible for sentences with possessors that have been moved into sentence-initial position to function as *yes-no questions*. In this case, however, the *pre-verbal non-emphatic pronoun* will be *preserved*. A few sentences of this type are given below:

h. A mechas ng suebek a rengul? 'Is the old woman worried?'

i. A Satsko ng mla mo diak a ududel? 'Has Satsko's money run out?'

j. A llach ng klou a ultutelel? 'Is the law very important?'

SUMMARY CHART: EMPHATIC VS. NON-EMPHATIC PRONOUNS

4.7. Now that we have studied Palauan *emphatic* and *non-emphatic pronouns* in detail, the differences between them can be summarized in the chart below.

Emphatic vs. Non-Emphatic Pronouns

A. Emphatic Pronouns

1. *Sentence Subject*: provides *new information* (focus of interest or attention) and usually involves *contrastive emphasis*.

   Example: A: Te mo er a stoang? 'Are they going to the store?'

   B: Ng diak. **Kemam** a mo er a stoang. 'No. **WE** (excl.) are going to the store.'

2. *Specific Sentence Object*: (a) follows specifying word *er* (with *imperfective* verbs only); (b) *antecedent* must be clear from context or situation; (c) does not imply contrastive emphasis.

   Example: A: Ke lilechesii a babier? 'Did you write the letter?'

   B: Ng diak. Ak dirk meluches er **ngii**. 'No. I'm still writing it.'

3. Part of *Relational Phrase*: (a) follows relational word *er* (usually in possessor phrase); (b) *antecedent* must be clear from context or situation; (c) does not imply contrastive emphasis.

   Example: A: Tia a hong er a sensei? 'Is this the teacher's book?'

   B: Chochoi. Ng hong er **ngii**. 'Yes. It's his book.'

4. *Noun #2* in an *Equational Sentence*: involves a strong sense of *focus* and *contrastive emphasis*.

   Example: A: Ng techa a lilechesii tia el babier? 'Who wrote this letter?'

   B: (Ng) **ngak**. '(It was) **ME**.'

Summary Chart continued next page

Summary Chart continued

5. Part of *Coordinate Noun Phrase* (joined to another noun or pronoun with *me* 'and').

   Example: **Ngak** me a Toki a kausechelei. — 'Toki and I are friends with each other.'

6. Preceded by *di* 'only, just' for strong *contrastive emphasis*.

   Example: A Droteo a di mle **ngii** el meruul er a blai. — 'Droteo built the house all by himself.'

7. Followed by *di* 'only, just' in special *appositional phrases*.

   Example: **Ngii** di el chad er a Belau a medengelii tia el cheldecheduch. — 'Any Palauan knows this legend.'

8. In a *complex sentence*, as (specific) *object* of the second clause, or as part of a *relational phrase* within the second clause.

   Example: Ak lilechesii a babier er a elii, e mo oldurokl er **ngii** er a klukuk. — 'I wrote the letter yesterday, and I'll mail it tomorrow.'

B. Non-Emphatic Pronouns

1. *Sentence Subject*: (a) refers to *old information* (already known or assumed by speakers); (b) *antecedent* must be clear from context or situation.

   Example: A: Tia a rrellek. — 'This is what I've done.'

   B: **Ng** kmal klebokel. — 'It's very pretty.'

2. In a *complex sentence*, as *subject* of the second clause.

   Example: A ngalek a kmal skareter, me **ng** mo mechiuaiu. — 'The child is very tired, so he/she will go to sleep.'

3. Occurs in *sentence-initial*, *pre-verbal* position in a sentence with a *post-verbal* subject noun phrase: must agree in *number* (singular vs. plural) with post-verbal subject.

Summary Chart continued next page

Summary Chart continued

Examples: a. **Te** mla me a resechelim. 'Your friends have arrived.'

b. **Ng** kmal suebek a renguk. 'I'm very worried.'

4. Same as in (3) above, but entire sentence functions as a *yes-no question* (identified by a sharp *rise in intonation* towards the end).

Example: **Ng** suebek a rengul a mechas? 'Is the old woman worried?'

BOUND PRONOUNS

4.8. In the sections above, we have thoroughly studied the two types of Palauan *independent* pronouns—*emphatic* and *non-emphatic*. Now we must complete our survey of pronouns by studying the *bound pronouns*—those that do not occur as independent words but which must be attached to other words as *prefixes* or *suffixes*. In Lesson 3 we covered *possessor pronouns* (also known as *possessor suffixes*) in great detail, so that there are only two remaining types of bound pronouns to be studied in this lesson—*object pronouns* and *prefix pronouns*.

OBJECT PRONOUNS

4.9. In 1.3.9.d.3 we had a brief introduction to Palauan **object pronouns**, which appear as *suffixes* on verbs. These pronouns get their name from the fact that they always identify the *object* of the verb—i.e., the person or thing affected by the action of the verb. As expected, the object pronouns show the seven categories of *person* and *number* observed in the other pronoun types (and, as we will see in 4.9.4 below, there is an unusual eighth category). The list below shows the most commonly occurring phonetic forms of the object pronouns (other variants to be given later), according to the usual format:

(43) **OBJECT PRONOUNS**

	Singular	*Plural*
1st person	-ak	-id (incl.) -emam (excl.)
2nd person	-au	-emiu
3rd person	-ii	-(e)terir

If you recall the *emphatic pronouns* (*ngak*, *kau*, *ngii*, *kid*, *kemam*, *kemiu*, *tir*), you can see some close similarities in form with the object pronouns listed in (43). In fact, except for *tir* vs. *-(e)terir*, each object pronoun can be derived from the corresponding emphatic pronoun by removing the initial consonant (*ng* or *k*).

Perfective vs. Imperfective Verb Transitive Verb

4.9.1. One of the essential facts to remember about Palauan object pronouns is that when they combine with a *verb stem*, they form a special type of verb known as a **perfective verb** (whose internal structure is therefore **verb stem + object pronoun**). As we noted in 2.7.4, the term *perfective* reflects the meaning of such forms because they designate an action that is (or was) brought to *completion* (or *perfection*). By contrast, an **imperfective verb** indicates that an action is *not yet completed* and is *still in progress*. Imperfective verb forms (e.g., *mengelebed* 'to hit', *omes* 'to see', *meluches* 'to write'. etc.) are usually identifiable by such *prefixes* as *me-* or *o-* and by the fact that they have no object pronouns as suffixes. Perfective verb forms, however, have object pronoun suffixes and do not show initial *me-* or *o-* (compare, for example, imperfective *mengelebed* with perfective *cholebedak*, *cholebedau*, *cholebedii*, etc.).

Since perfective verb forms always include an object (in the form of an object pronoun suffix), they are necessarily **transitive**. As we saw in *Note 1* of 2.3.2 (Lesson 2), a *transitive verb* involves the "transferral" of some action from a *doer* to a *receiver* (e.g., someone *hits* someone/something, someone *eats* or *drinks* something, someone *writes* something, etc.).

Phonetic Differences Between Perfective and Imperfective Verbs

4.9.2. In Lesson 6 we will concentrate on the meaning and use of perfective vs. imperfective verbs. In this lesson, we will be concerned mostly with the form and spelling of *perfective verbs* and their suffixed *object pronouns*. To start off our discussion, we list below the perfective forms of *mengelebed* 'to hit'. Each perfective form consists of the verb stem *cholebed-* followed by one of the object pronouns listed in (43). Just like the Palauan *possessor pronouns* (which are suffixed to nouns), the Palauan object pronouns are always *stressed* (indicated below by capital letters):

(44) **Perfective Forms of *Mengelebed* 'to hit'—Present Tense**

cholebedAK	'hits me'	cholebedID	'hits us (incl.)'
		cholebedEMAM	'hits us (excl.)'
cholebedAU	'hits you (sg.)'	cholebedEMIU	'hits you (pl.)'
cholebedII	'hits him, her, it'	cholebedETERIR	'hits them (human)'

If we compare imperfective *mengelebed* with its perfective forms, we can make the following observations:

a. The verb stem *cholebed-* found in the perfective forms is phonetically quite different from imperfective *mengelebed.*

b. Of course, the imperfective verb has a prefix *me-*, while the perfective forms have suffixes (*-ak*, *-au*, *-ii*, etc.).

c. There is an alternation (change) between the consonant **ng** of the imperfective form and **ch** of all the perfective forms.

d. In all the perfective forms, a full vowel *-O-* turns up within the verb stem. This O (which is not really part of the verb stem, as we will realize later) is not found in the imperfective form, which actually has a *weak E* (unstressed) in this position (i.e., in the second syllable): me-*nge*-LE-bed.

e. In *me-nge-LE-bed*, the third syllable is stressed, and its vowel is therefore a *full E*. In the perfective forms, however, this syllable becomes *unstressed* because the object pronoun suffixes are automatically stressed. Therefore, in all the perfective forms, the syllable *le* is pronounced with a *weak E*.

Principles of Vowel Weakening For Perfective Verbs

4.9.3. The observations made in (a–d) above involve special phonetic rules that relate imperfective and perfective verb forms to each other. Since there are many details to these rules, some sections of Lessons 5 and 6 will be devoted to examining them. The observation made in (e) above, however, should already be familiar to you. If you review the *Principles of Vowel Weakening* in 3.3.1, you will see that they apply to the present situation. All you need to do is substitute the term "object pronoun suffix" for "possessor suffix" (and "verb stem" for "noun stem") in those statements:

PRINCIPLES OF VOWEL WEAKENING FOR PERFECTIVE VERBS

(45) **All Palauan object pronoun suffixes are *stressed*.**

(46) **When a (stressed) object pronoun suffix is added to a Palauan verb stem, any originally *stressed* vowel in that verb stem becomes *unstressed*.**

(47) **When the *stressed* vowels *A, (full) E, I, O,* and *U* within a verb stem become *unstressed*, they are often weakened (reduced) to a *weak E*.**

According to these principles, a perfective form such as *cholebedak* is derived as follows:

(48) Step 1: choLEbed- (verb stem for all perfective forms of *mengelebed*; syllable LE is stressed and has full E)

Step 2: choLEbed + AK (add object pronoun suffix *-ak*, which is always stressed: Principle 45)

Step 3: cholebed + AK (LE of the verb stem becomes unstressed and its vowel changes from full E to weak E: Principles 46 and 47)

Though the phonetic details of Palauan perfective verb forms seem quite overwhelming, the discussion above will help us realize that they are really a reflection of some very *general* phonetic principles such as *vowel weakening*. In other words, very similar principles of vowel weakening apply to different groups of Palauan words—the possessed forms of nouns, the perfective forms of verbs, and others to be examined later. We will also see in Lesson 6 that such processes as *vowel deletion* and *vowel cluster shortening* (see 3.3.5 and 3.3.7) apply to many perfective verb forms as well. All of this shows us what a consistent and "well-run" system the Palauan language is!

Perfective Forms with Third Person Objects Agreement

4.9.4. We have already seen in (44) that Palauan perfective verbs have two forms in the third person—e.g., *singular cholebedii* 'hits him/her/it' and *plural cholebeḍeterir* 'hits them (human)'. These forms are often used with a *noun phrase* that specifically indicates who or what the object is. Note the examples below:

(49) A John a cholebedii a Toki! 'John is going to hit Toki!'

(50) A John a cholebedeterir a rengalek! 'John is going to hit the children!'

Both of the sentences above contain perfective verb forms in the present tense used as warnings. In each case a *sentence object* has been added right after the verb to indicate specifically who is going to get hit. The perfective form *cholebedii*, with the third person *singular* object pronoun *-ii*, is followed by the *singular* noun *Toki*, while *cholebedeterir*, with the third person (human) *plural* object pronoun *-(e)terir*, is followed by the *plural* noun *rengalek* 'children'. Do you recall anywhere else in Palauan grammar where we have seen this kind of *agreement*?

Human vs. Nonhuman Plural Objects
Zero Suffix

Perhaps one of the most interesting and unusual features about Palauan perfective verb forms shows up in the following sentence. With (49–50) above, now compare (51):

(51) A John a cholebed a bilis! 'John is going to hit the dogs!'

Notice that in this example the sentence object *bilis* 'dogs' is **nonhuman** plural and that, furthermore, the perfective verb is in a form (i.e., *cholebed*) that has not turned up so far and was not included in the list of (44). What this means is that Palauan perfective verb forms are special because they make a distinction between *human* vs. *nonhuman* objects in the third person plural—e.g., *cholebedeterir* 'hits them (human)' vs. *cholebed* 'hits them (nonhuman)'.

Since *cholebed* (pronounced *cho-LE-bed*) is a legitimate Palauan perfective verb form that contrasts with all the others, it should share the structure ***verb stem + object pronoun*** that the other perfective verb forms have. When we look at *cholebed*, however, it seems to contain the verb stem alone, *with no object pronoun suffix at all*. Nevertheless, the very *absence* of any object pronoun suffix clearly identifies the form *cholebed* as designating a third person plural *nonhuman* object. In order to fit *cholebed* into the pattern of the other seven perfective verb forms (i.e., *verb stem + object pronoun*), it is convenient to say that this form has a **zero suffix** (i.e., a suffix characterized by the *absence* of any phonetic form or substance).

Three-Way Distinction Among Palauan Third Person Object Pronouns

To summarize what we are saying here, it is clear that Palauan object pronouns are unique in that they make *eight* distinctions rather than the usual seven. We noted earlier that in Palauan *emphatic* and *non-emphatic pronouns*, as well as in the *possessor pronouns* (suffixes), there is only a *two-way contrast* in the third person: i.e., forms like *tir*, *te*, *-ir*, etc. indicate third person plural **human only**, while *ngii*, *ng*, *-el*, etc., indicate all singulars as well as third person plural **nonhuman** (see, for example, 3.2.1, point d). With *object pronouns*, however, there is a *three-way contrast* in the third person—namely,

-ii for third person singular object (any type—human or nonhuman)

-(e)terir for third person plural object (**human**)

-zero for third person plural object (**nonhuman**)

> ***Note 14***: Since the zero suffix on *cholebed* has no phonetic form, it obviously cannot be stressed. For this reason, the stress remains unchanged in the original verb stem, which is pronounced *cho-LE-bed* (with a *full E* in the stressed syllable LE).

Additional Examples

4.9.5. The fact that Palauan verbs have eight different perfective forms is clearly illustrated in the additional examples below:

(52) A. **Perfective forms of *melilech*** 'to dip into water'—**present tense**

dilechak	dilechid dilechemam
dilechau	dilechemiu
dilechii	dilecheterir dmilech

Note the appearance of **-M-** in *dmilech*, the special eighth form for third person plural nonhuman objects. Also, there is an alternation between the first L of imperfective *melilech* and the initial D of all the perfective forms.

B. **Perfective forms of *mengimd*** 'to cut (someone's) hair'—**present tense**

kimdak	kimdid
	kimdemam
kimdau	kimdemiu
kimdii	kimdeterir
	kuimd

Note the appearance of *-U-* in *kuimd*, the eighth form. Also, there is an alternation between NG of the imperfective form and the initial K of the perfective forms. The perfective forms of *mengimd* mean 'cut *my* hair', 'cut *your* hair', 'cut *his/her/its* hair', etc.

C. **Perfective forms of *orrenges*** 'to hear, listen to, obey'—**present tense**

rongesak	rongesid
	rongesemam
rongesau	rongesemiu
rongesii	rongesterir
	remenges

Note the appearance of *-EM-* in *remenges*, the eighth form, and of *-O-* in all of the other perfective forms. There is also the loss of one R in the perfective forms.

D. **Perfective forms of *oltobed*** 'to take out'—**present tense**

otebedak	otebedid
	otebedemam
otebedau	otebedemiu
otebedii	otebedeterir
	otobed

Note the loss of *-L-* in all the perfective forms. In addition, the second full vowel O of the imperfective form *oltobed* is weakened to weak E in all but the eighth perfective form. (See Lesson 9 for *causative* verbs like *oltobed*.)

Sentences with Perfective Verb Forms

As one final example, let us illustrate how the perfective forms of a selected verb—*olekiis* 'to wake (someone, something) up'—are used within sentences. In the examples below, the use of *mo* before the perfective verb form indicates *future* tense:

(53)	a.	A sensei a mo okisak.	'The teacher will wake me up.'
	b.	A buik a mo okisau.	'The boy will wake you (sg.) up.'
	c.	Ak mo okisii a ngalek.	'I will wake up the child.'
	d.	Ng techa a mo okisid?	'Who will wake us (incl.) up?'
	e.	Ke mo okisemam?	'Will you wake us (excl.) up?'
	f.	Te mo okisemiu.	'They will wake you (pl.) up.'
	g.	A rubak a mo okisterir a rengalek.	'The old man will wake up the children.'
	h.	Ng mo okiis a bilis.	'He/she will wake up the dogs.'

Note the following points which relate to the form of the perfective verbs in (53a–h) above:

a. In (c), (g), and (h), the object pronoun (*-ii*, *-terir*, or **zero**) *agrees* with the following full noun phrase (singular. vs. human plural vs. nonhuman plural).

b. In all the perfective forms, the *-LE-* of imperfective *olekiis* is lost. (Compare the loss of *-L-* in the perfective forms of *oltobed* given in Example D above.)

c. In the first seven perfective forms, where the object pronoun suffix is *stressed*, the original double II found in the imperfective form *olekiis* has been shortened to a single I due to the loss of the stress. (Note the same process in the possessed forms of nouns: *oriik* vs. *orikek*—see 3.3.6.)

d. In terms of meaning and formation, *olekiis* is a *causative* verb (see Lesson 9).

Variant Forms of Object Pronouns

4.9.6. In the perfective forms of certain verbs we observe object pronoun suffixes that are different in form from those listed in (43) above. These *variant forms*, which occur much less frequently than those of (43), are best considered exceptional or irregular because there is no way of predicting which verb stems they will attach to. For this reason, a foreigner learning Palauan has no choice but to memorize the correct distribution of these variant object pronoun forms.

The perfective forms of a few verbs take the object pronouns of (43) except that a consonant—NG or K— is inserted between the verb stem and the suffix. A good example of this is the verb *olekar*, another (causative) verb meaning 'to wake (someone, something) up', whose perfective forms are given below:

(54) **Perfective forms of *olekar*** 'to wake up'**—present tense**

okerngak	okerngid okerngemam
okerngau	okerngemiu
okerngii	okerngeterir okar

Note, of course, that there is no NG added before the *zero* suffix of *okar*. What other changes can you notice between imperfective *olekar* and the first seven perfective forms?

The perfective forms of certain verbs take third person singular object pronoun suffixes of the form *Vowel + R* rather than *-ii*. Some commonly used verbs which do this are listed below (with only the third person singular perfective form):

(55)

Imperfective Verb		*Third Person Singular Perfective Form*
meleng	'to borrow'	longir
merkui	'to finish up'	rokir
olengeseu	'to help'	ngosuir
oker	'to ask'	korir
omekoad	'to kill'	mekodir
omech	'to connect'	mechir
melul	'to burn'	durur
omekdechor	'to build'	mekedecherur
mesuk	'to put in'	sukur
mesib	'to plow'	sibur
mengut	'to wear out'	chutur
omechar	'to buy, pay for'	mecherar
meluk	'to cut into pieces'	tukur
mengam	'to break (long object)'	chumur
mengesang	'to occupy, make busy'	chosengur

From the list above, we can therefore see that besides *-ii*, the third person singular object pronoun can take the form *-ir*, *-ur*, or rarely *-ar*. Can you describe some of the consonant and vowel changes that take place in the perfective forms listed above? Almost all of these follow patterns that should now be quite familiar to you.

Perfective Forms of Four Common Verbs: Irregularities

4.9.7. The perfective forms of four very commonly used Palauan verbs show some unpredictable irregularities. Each of these verbs is presented below, with comments following.

(56) **Perfective forms of *omes*** 'to see'**—present tense**

mesekak	mesekid
	mesekemam
mesekau	mesekemiu
mesa(ng)	mes(e)terir
	mes

Note that an extra **-K-** (see 4.9.6 above) appears before the object pronoun suffix in the first and second person forms. A *weak E* is also used as a buffer between this K and a preceding S of the verb stem. In *mesa(ng)*, we notice a very rare variant of the third person singular object pronoun—namely, *-a*. In *mes*, which is one syllable, the (stressed) E is pronounced as a *full E*, whereas the E's in all the other perfective forms are (unstressed) *weak E*.

(57) **Perfective forms of *oba(ng)*** 'to carry, take, hold'**—present tense**

obekak	obekid
	obekemam
obekau	obekemiu
oba(ng)	obe(ti)terir
	olab

There are two major similarities with *omes* above: (1) the extra **-K-** in the first and second person forms, and (2) the very rare variant *-a* of the third person singular object pronoun in *oba(ng)*. In addition, the third person plural forms are very unusual: (1) an optional syllable *-ti-* can occur in *obe(ti)terir*, and (2) the eighth form *olab* has an unusual *-la-* inserted.

(58) **Perfective forms of *medenge(i)*** 'to know'**—present tense**

medengelkak	medengelkid
	medengelkemam
medengelkau	medengelkemiu
medengelii	medengelterir
	medenge(i)

The first seven perfective forms of this verb have an **-L-** added to the stem (which also occurs, for example, in *menga(ng)* 'to eat'—*kolii* 'eat up'), and a **-K-** also appears in the first and second person forms. The third person nonhuman plural perfective form *medenge(i)* happens to be identical to the imperfective form *medenge(i)* 'to know'. Except for the final (stressed) *full E* of *medenge(i)*, the E's in all the other perfective forms are (unstressed) *weak E*.

(59) **Perfective forms of *melai*** 'to bring, take'

ngoikak	ngoikid ngoikemam
ngoikau	ngoikemiu
nguu	ngoititerir ngmai

Again, an extra **-K-** appears in the first and second person perfective forms. The third person human plural form *ngoititerir* has an extra syllable *-ti-*, which is *obligatory* (cf. *obe(ti)terir* in 57 above, where *-ti-* is *optional*). In addition, this verb shows several interesting features: (1) the **-L-** of imperfective *melai* alternates with initial **NG-** of all the perfective forms; (2) third person singular *nguu* is difficult to analyze, since the object pronoun suffix seems to have the very rare form *-u* (or *-uu*?); (3) the vowel cluster *ai* of *melai* becomes *oi* in most of the perfective forms; and (4) an **-M-** is inserted in *ngmai*, the eighth form.

Verbs with Limited Perfective Forms

4.9.8. There are many Palauan verbs that because of their meaning can only be followed by sentence objects which are *inanimate*—i.e., nonliving (and, of course, nonhuman). For example, the actions described by verbs like *mengitakl* 'to sing', *melasech* 'to carve', *mengiis* 'to dig', and *menguiu* 'to read' can only be directed at *things* and will never involve objects that are human beings or animals. Therefore, the perfective forms of such verbs are limited to those with (1) the third person singular object pronoun *-ii* (or its variants) for singular inanimate objects or (2) the third person *zero* object pronoun for plural inanimate objects. Thus, the only possible perfective forms for *melasech* 'to carve' are shown in the two sentences below:

(60) a. Te mo dosechii a mlai. 'They are going to carve the canoe.'

b. Te mo dmasech a mlai. 'They are going to carve the canoes.'

Because it is only possible to carve *things*, we do not have such forms as *dosechak*, *dosechau*, etc. You may find it interesting that the only *formal* difference between (60a) and (60b) above is found within the perfective verb itself, which allows us to decide

whether the sentence object (*mlai* 'canoe, car') should be interpreted as *singular* vs. *plural*. Since *dosechii* has the third person *singular* object pronoun *-ii* (as well as an *-o-* within the stem), *mlai* in (60a) will be understood as *singular*. However, the *zero* third person *plural* object pronoun in *dmasech* (in addition to the *-m-* within the stem) tells us without a doubt that *mlai* in (60b) must be understood as *plural*.

Note 15: Some verbs that ordinarily take inanimate objects are on a few occasions observed with human objects as well. For instance, the perfective forms of *meleng* 'to borrow' are usually limited to those with third person inanimate objects, as shown below:

(a) Ak mo longir a mlil a Tochi. 'I will borrow Tochi's car.'

(b) Ak mo lmeng a mlil a Tochi. 'I will borrow Tochi's cars.'

However, we sometimes see a perfective form of *meleng* used with reference to a human object—e.g.,

(c) Ng sebechek el longeterir a bebil er a rechedam? 'Could I borrow (the services of) a few of your men?'

Prefix Pronouns
Negative Expression, Negative Statement

4.10. To complete our study of Palauan bound pronouns, we must now examine the **prefix pronouns**. As we saw briefly in 1.3.9.d.5, the prefix pronouns are attached to the beginning of certain verb forms. The verb forms that contain prefix pronouns are used in many different kinds of grammatical constructions that we will be able to analyze only when our knowledge of Palauan grammar has become quite advanced. One fairly straightforward situation in which such forms are used, however, can be illustrated below. Note that in the sentences of (61), verbs with prefix pronouns are found following a *negative expression* such as *(ng)diak* 'it isn't the case that...' (past tense: *(ng)dimlak)*:

(61) a. A ngalek a diak losuub. 'The child doesn't study.'

b. A ngalek a dimlak losuub. 'The child didn't study.'

The verb form *losuub*, derived from (imperfective) *mesuub* 'to study', has the prefix pronoun *lo-* and refers to a third person subject (in this case, *ngalek* 'child'). Such verb forms with prefix pronouns *must* occur after the negative expressions *diak* and *dimlak*. Sentences like (61a–b) are in fact the most common way of making *negative statements* in Palauan. For further examples of sentences containing verbs with prefix pronouns, you may wish to go back to 1.3.9.d.5.

Imperfective Verb Forms with Prefix Pronouns
Five Distinctions Among Prefix Pronouns

4.10.1. In (61) above, we saw that *losuub* is one of the "prefix pronoun" forms of the imperfective verb *mesuub* 'to study'. We will now list the entire set of prefix pronoun forms for *mesuub* in terms of the seven pronoun distinctions already familiar to us:

(62) **"Prefix pronoun" forms of *mesuub*** 'to study'—**present tense**

	Singular	*Plural*
1st pers.	kusuub	dosuub (incl.) kimosuub (excl.)
2nd pers.	(cho)mosuub	(cho)mosuub
3rd pers.	losuub	losuub

As you can immediately see, the prefix pronouns show fewer person-number distinctions than any of the other pronoun types, with a total of only five different forms. Their most striking feature is that no distinction is made between singular and plural in both the second and third persons. This means that

(1) *(cho)mo-* is used for all second person pronouns:
'you—**singular**' or 'you—**plural**'

(2) *lo-* is used for all third person pronouns:
'he, she, it—**singular**' or
'they—**human** or **nonhuman plural**'

When prefix pronouns are added to imperfective verb forms such as *mesuub*, they simply replace the (verb marker) prefix *me-*. Here are further examples of this process:

(63)

Imperfective Verb		*Forms with Prefix Pronoun*
mesilek	'to wash'	kusilek, chomosilek, losilek, etc.
menguiu	'to read'	kunguiu, chomonguiu, longuiu, etc.
meluches	'to write'	kuluches, chomoluches, loluches, etc.
mengiis	'to dig'	kungiis, chomongiis, longiis, etc.

If the imperfective form of a verb begins with *o-* (which is another form of the verb marker prefix), then this *o-* is also replaced by the various prefix pronouns:

(64)

omes	'to see'	kumes, chomomes, lomes, etc.
orrebet	'to fall'	kurrebet, chomorrebet, lorrebet, etc.
osiik	'to look for'	kusiik, chomosiik, losiik, etc.

In all of the forms given above, the prefix pronouns indicate the *subject* of the verb to which they are attached. You may wish to verify this by putting the prefix pronoun forms of (62–64) into sentences such as (61a–b).

Prefix Pronouns: Present Tense vs. Past Tense

4.10.2. The prefix pronoun forms presented so far in (62–64) above are all derived from imperfective verbs in the *present tense*. Although we cannot go into a long explanation now, there are some grammatical constructions in which the prefix pronoun forms of imperfective verbs can also occur in the *past tense*. The contrast between *present tense* and *past tense* is illustrated in the sentence pair below (prefix pronoun forms italicized):

(65) a. A babier el *loluches* er ngii a Toki a kmal ungil. 'The letter that is being written by Toki is very good.'

b. A babier el *lulluches* er ngii a Toki a kmal mle ungil. 'The letter that was being written by Toki was very good.'

In *loluches*, which is present tense, we see the prefix pronoun *lo-*, as expected. In the past tense form *lulluches*, however, we can observe two changes: first, an extra *-l-* has been inserted to indicate past tense; and second, the prefix pronoun now appears in the phonetic form *lu-*.

Variant Forms of Prefix Pronouns

The entire group of prefix pronoun forms of imperfective *meluches* 'to write' in the *past tense* is *kulluches*, *(cho)mulluches*, *lulluches*, *dulluches*, and *kimulluches*. The corresponding forms for *mesuub* 'to study' (see 62 above) would be *kulsuub*, *(cho)mulsuub*, *lulsuub*, *dulsuub*, and *kimulsuub*. We can therefore conclude that most of the prefix pronouns have *variant* phonetic forms, as shown in the summary below:

(66) **Prefix Pronouns: Variant Forms**

1st pers. sg.:	ku-
2nd pers. sg./pl.:	(cho)mo-, (cho)mu-
3rd pers. sg./pl.:	lo-, lu-
1st pers. pl. incl.:	do-, du-
1st pers. pl. excl.:	kimo-, kimu-

Note 16: The first syllable CHO of the second person prefix pronoun *(cho)mo-/ (cho)mu-* is often dropped. There is considerable variation among speakers, with a tendency for the longer form to be used in certain constructions and the shorter form in others.

Additional Variant Forms of Prefix Pronouns: Reduced Variants

4.10.3. When we look at the prefix pronouns that are attached to the common verbs *mo* 'to go' and *me(i)* 'to come', we discover even further variant forms! These forms are illustrated in the chart below. Notice that the M of *mo* changes to B when prefix pronouns are attached. This also happens optionally with *me(i)*—i.e., we get such additional forms as *kbe(i)*, *lebe(i)*, etc., which occur in certain types of grammatical constructions.

(67) **Prefix Pronouns: Variant Forms with *mo* and *me(i)*.**

	mo 'to go'	***me(i)*** 'to come'	
1st pers. sg.:	kbo	keme(i)	k-, ke-
2nd pers. sg./pl.:	chobo	chome(i)	cho-
3rd pers. sg./pl.:	lebo	leme(i)	le-
1st pers. pl. incl.:	debo	deme(i)	de-
1st pers. pl. excl.:	kibo	kime(i)	ki-

Because of their phonetic form, the prefix pronouns shown in (67) appear to be **reduced** (or *weakened*) **variants**. Thus, we have *k-* (or *ke-*) instead of *ku-*, *ki-* instead of *kimo-* or *kimu-*, and *cho-* instead of *(cho)mo-* or *(cho)mu-*. Furthermore, several of these variants show a *weak E* (*ke-*, *le-*, and *de-*). To get a quick idea of how these forms are used in sentences, we will take a few examples involving the negative expressions *ng diak* or *ng dimlak* (see 61 above):

(68) a. Ng diak chome er a blik? 'Aren't you coming to my house?'

b. A rubak a dimlak lebo er a chei. 'The old man didn't go fishing.'

c. Ngara uchul me ng diak debo er a Guam? 'Why aren't we going to Guam?'

Prefix Pronouns Attached to Perfective Verb Forms

The *reduced variants* of the prefix pronouns listed in (67) are usually the ones that are attached to *perfective* verb forms (as opposed to the longer variants of 66, which occur with *imperfective* verb forms). A few examples—again with negative expressions—are presented below:

(69) a. Ng dimlak kbosii a bilis. 'I didn't shoot the dog.'

b. A ngelekek a dimlak lesesebii a blai. 'My child didn't burn down the house.'

c. Ngara uchul me a sechelim a dimlak lengai a ilumel? 'Why didn't your friend bring the drinks?'

d. A Satsko a diak lengesuir a sensei. 'Satsko doesn't help the teacher.'

e. Ngara uchul me ng dimlak mka a kall? 'Why didn't you eat the food?'

Note that each of the verb forms in (69a–e) contains a *prefix pronoun* as well as a (suffixed) *object pronoun*. For example, *kbosii* consists of the first person singular prefix pronoun *k-*, followed by *bos* (a form of the verb stem of *omoes* 'to shoot'), followed in turn by the third person singular object pronoun *-ii*. Can you identify the prefix pronouns (and the object pronouns) in the remaining verb forms of (69)? Note that in (69e), there is even another phonetic variant (*m-*) for the second person prefix pronoun.

Prefix Pronouns Attached to Nouns

4.10.4. It is even possible to attach prefix pronouns to *nouns* in certain grammatical constructions. For example, in 2.3.3 we studied Palauan *equational sentences* of the form **Noun #1 + (mle +) Noun #2**, as illustrated by the example below:

(70) A sechelik a sensei. 'My friend is a teacher.'

In order to give the *negative* equivalent of (70), we use *diak* and attach the *prefix pronoun l-* (an even further *reduced variant* of *le-*!) to **Noun #2**:

(71) A sechelik a diak lsensei. 'My friend isn't a teacher.'

Another example in which a prefix pronoun gets attached to a noun is the following:

(72) Ak mo olengull se el kbo krubak. 'I'm going to take things easy when I'm an old man.'

In a sentence such as (72), the conjunction *se el* 'when (in the future)' requires the verb form directly following it to take a prefix pronoun. In this case, however, the entire expression *mo rubak* 'to become an old man' is under the influence of *se el*, and both the *future* auxiliary *mo* and the following noun *rubak* must have the prefix pronoun *k-* (for first person singular subject) attached. More examples of this kind will be analyzed in greater detail later in this textbook.

Prefix Pronouns Attached to Emphatic Pronouns

There is even one case in which prefix pronouns can be added to *emphatic pronouns*. Recall that in 4.4.2 (examples 14–16) we examined short, emphatic equational sentences such as the one found in B's response below:

(73) A: Te rua techa a silsebii a blai? 'Who burned down the house?'

B: (Ng) tir. '(It's) them.'

Now, if B wanted to give a *negative* response (an emphatic denial), he could say the following:

(74) Ng dimlak ltir (a silsebii a blai). 'It wasn't them (who burned down the house).'

As you can see, in (74) the prefix pronoun *l-* has been attached to the emphatic pronoun *tir* (which is actually in the position of **Noun #2** in an equational sentence).

Prefix Pronouns in Complex Verb Phrases

4.10.5. As we will see in later lessons, Palauan has several types of **complex verb phrases** that consist of two, or possibly three, separate words. Some typical examples of such verb

phrases are *mo omes* 'go to see, will see', *mo ungil* 'get better', *me mengetmokl* 'come (in order) to clean', *mla mo merek* 'has finished', and so on. When a *complex verb phrase* occurs in a grammatical construction that requires prefix pronouns, different copies of the same pronoun must be attached to each of the phrase's parts (just as we saw in 72 above). Here are some examples in which complex verb phrases (italicized) follow the negative expression *ng dirkak* 'not yet':

(75) a. Ng dirkak *debo demerek* er a subeled. 'We haven't finished our homework yet.'

b. A ngelekek a dirkak *lebo lungil* el smecher. 'My child hasn't gotten better yet.'

In (75b), since *ungil* begins with a vowel, it is not surprising that the variant *l-* of the third person prefix pronoun occurs.

To take a final example, with (65a–b) now compare the following sentence:

(76) A babier el *lebla lebo lemerek* er ngii a Toki a kmal ungil. 'The letter which Toki has finished is very good.'

In the italicized complex verb phrase, copies of the third person prefix pronoun *le-* are found attached to all three parts. The basic form of this expression would be *mla mo merek*, with the M's of *mla* and *mo* changing to B when the prefixes are attached.

Imperative Verb Forms

4.10.6. As we will see in a later lesson, **imperative verb forms** are used in Palauan to express *orders* or *commands*. Since commands are always directed at the person(s) being spoken to, they necessarily involve second person pronouns. Therefore, it is not surprising that Palauan *imperative verbs* are nothing more than verb forms with the *second person prefix pronoun*.

We mentioned briefly in *Note 16* above that the second person prefix pronoun *(cho)mo-* is shortened to *mo-* in certain grammatical constructions. In fact, this shortened *mo-* appears as the prefix pronoun in the *imperative forms* of *imperfective verbs*. These forms are illustrated in the examples below:

(77) a. Mosilek a bilem! 'Wash your clothes!'

b. Monga er a ngikel! 'Eat the fish!'

c. Monguiu er tia el hong! 'Read this book!'

If the imperative verb form is *perfective*, then the prefix pronoun is further reduced to *m-* (pronounced as a *syllabic M*):

(78) a. Mngilmii a imelem! 'Drink up your drink!'

b. Mlechesii a babier! 'Write the letter!'

c. Mketmokl a delmerab! 'Straighten up the rooms!'

d. Mtechelbeterir a rengalek! 'Bathe the children!'

Propositive Verb Forms

4.10.7. As we will see later, **propositive verb forms** are used in Palauan when the speaker *proposes* or *suggests* that he and the person(s) being addressed do some action together. Because the speaker is involving (i.e., including) the person(s) spoken to, it is not surprising that propositive forms are simply verb forms with the *first person plural* ***inclusive*** *prefix pronoun*. The prefix pronoun *do-* is used with *imperfective* (and intransitive) verbs, while *de-* is attached to *perfective* verbs:

(79) a. Dorael! 'Let's go!'

b. Domengur er tiang! 'Let's eat here!'

c. Doluches a babier! 'Let's write the letters!'

d. Dekiiesii a kliokl! 'Let's dig out the hole!'

SUMMARY OF ALL PRONOUN VARIANTS

4.11. Even as a native speaker of Palauan, you will find that it is a big job keeping track of all the different pronoun forms. This is especially true for the three types of bound pronouns, which have so many variants. The chart below will be helpful in organizing all of the forms you have seen:

(80) **CHART OF PALAUAN PRONOUN FORMS**

1. Abbreviations for Pronoun Types (see Column Heads): E = Emphatic, N-E = Non-Emphatic, POS = Possessor, OBJ = Object, PFX = Prefix
2. The numeral under each Column Head indicates the number of person-number distinctions made in that particular group of pronouns.

	E	**N-E**	**POS**	**OBJ**	**PFX**
	7	7	7	8	5
1st sg.	ngak	ak	-ek, -uk -ik, -ak	-ak	ku-, ke- k-
2nd sg.	kau	ke	-em, -um -im, -am	-au	(cho)mo- (cho)mu- chome- cho-, m-
3rd sg.	ngii	ng	-el, -ul -il, -al	-ii -ir -ur -ar -a	lo-, lu- le-, l-
1st pl. incl.	kid	kede	-ed, -ud -id, -ad	-id	do-, du- de-
1st pl. excl.	kemam	aki	-am -(e)mam	-emam	kimo- kimu- ki-
2nd pl.	kemiu	kom	-iu -(e)miu	-emiu	**same as 2nd sg.**
3rd pl. hum.	tir	te	-ir -(e)rir	-(e)terir	**same as 3rd sg.**
3rd pl. nonhum.	**same as 3rd sg. forms**			**zero**	**same as 3rd sg.**

LIST OF TERMS

4.12. The important terms from this lesson are presented below:

a. *Contrasting Terms*

- **emphatic vs. non-emphatic pronoun**
- **independent vs. bound pronoun**
- **new information vs. old information**
- **perfective vs. imperfective verb**

b. *Single Terms*

- **pronoun** (in general)
- **possessor pronouns (suffixes)**
- **contrastive emphasis**
- **coordinate noun phrase**
- **antecedent**
- **complex sentence**
- **post-verbal subject**
- **pre-verbal position**
- **idiomatic expression**
- **expression of existence**
- **yes-no question**
- **object pronoun**
- **agreement**
- **zero suffix**
- **prefix pronoun**
- **negative expression**
- **reduced variant**
- **complex verb phrase**
- **imperative verb form**
- **propositive verb form**

4.13. PALAUAN PRONOUNS: STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Define all of the single terms and pairs of contrasting terms listed in 4.12 above. Each of your definitions should be clear and accurate, with an illustration or example if possible. Be sure that each definition you write shows how the term (or pair of contrasting terms) applies to Palauan pronouns.

2. Why does it make sense to claim that pronouns are a subtype of nouns?

3. What are the five types of Palauan pronouns? Which pronouns are independent and which are bound? What are the seven distinctions found in most types of pronouns?

4. Suppose you meet a friend on the road and the very first words he or she says to you are "Te mo er a Babeldaob." Would you find anything confusing or inappropriate about this sentence? Why?

5. What are the differences in distribution between the emphatic vs. non-emphatic pronouns?

6. What major differences in meaning and function do we observe between emphatic vs. non-emphatic pronouns in the following two sentences?

   a. Ak mo er a stoang.

   b. Ngak a mo er a stoang.

   Be sure that your answer (1) refers to the issue of new vs. old information and (2) makes it clear what kind of question (a) or (b) might be a reply to.

7. What kind of sentence do we get by putting an emphatic pronoun in the position of **Noun #2** in an equational sentence?

8. How do we express contrastive emphasis in Palauan sentences? How is this done in English?

9. How do we use pronouns in Palauan coordinate noun phrases?

10. Why is the concept of *antecedent* important in explaining the proper use of pronouns in (a) dialogs or (b) complex sentences?

11. What is the function of non-emphatic pronouns in sentences with post-verbal subjects?

12. Describe the formation of yes-no questions in Palauan.

13. What is the relationship between the following two sentences?

    a. Ng meringel a chimal a ngelekek.

    b. A ngelekek a meringel a chimal.

14. What are some of the structural (formal) differences between perfective and imperfective verbs?

15. Explain with at least one clear example how the principle of vowel weakening applies to perfective verb forms.

16. How does the concept of *agreement* apply to the proper use of (a) object pronouns and (b) possessor pronouns (suffixes)?

17. Why does the so-called *zero suffix* make the system of Palauan object pronouns unique?

18. In (56) of 4.9.7 we listed the perfective forms of the verb *omes* 'to see, look at'. It turns out that the perfective forms of *omsa(ng)* 'to give' are very similar. Write out the entire set of perfective forms of *omsa(ng)* (i.e., starting with *meskak* 'gives (something to) me', etc.), paying very close attention to the pronunciation. Compare these forms with the forms of *omes* given in (56).

19. What are the person and number distinctions made among Palauan prefix pronouns? How is this different from the other pronoun types?

20. Under what circumstances is it possible for prefix pronouns to attach to Palauan nouns or pronouns?

21. How do Palauan prefix pronouns operate when there is a complex verb phrase with two or more parts?

22. How do we give commands and make proposals in Palauan?

4.14. PALAUAN PRONOUNS: EXERCISES

1. Fill in the blanks in the sentences below with the proper pronouns. You may use pronouns from any of the five groups—*emphatic, non-emphatic, possessor, object,* or *prefix.* Look carefully at the meaning, context, and grammatical construction in order to make the correct choice. The final form of each sentence should match the English equivalent given.

a.	____ kmal klebokel a mli-____.	'Your (sg.) car is very pretty.'
	____ milecher-____ er ker?	'Where did you (sg.) buy it?'
b.	A: ____ mekerang?	'What are you (pl.) doing?'
	B: ____ mo er a ocherol-____ a Toki.	'We (excl.) are going to Toki's money-raising party.'
c.	A: ____ ngar er ker a Satsko?	'Where's Satsko?'
	B: Ngaukai. ____ dirkak ____-mei.	'I don't know. She hasn't arrived yet.'
d.	A rengelek-____ a sebech-____ el mo er a che el di ____.	'Their children can go fishing by themselves.'
e.	A: ____ mo oudengua el mo er ____?	'Are they going to phone him?
	B: ____ diak. ____ a mo oudengua el mo er ____.	'No. WE (excl.) are going to phone him.'
f.	A Toki a dilu el kmo ____ smecher me ____ diak ____-eko er a bli-____.	'Toki said she's sick, so she's not going to your (sg.) house.'
g.	____ di el chad a so-____ a budech.	'Any human being wants peace.'
h.	____ mla lmuches-____ a babier el rokui.	'We (incl.) have written all the letters.'
i.	A secheli-____ a mo er a Guam el mo kie er a bli-____ a bech-____.	'My friend is going to Guam to live in her husband's house.'
j.	A sensei ____ mo er a Beliliou ____ me techang?	'With whom is the teacher going to Peleliu?'
k.	A: Ngara uch-____ me a ngelek-____ a diak ____-oureor?	'Why isn't your (sg.) child working?'
	B: Ngaukai. ____ kmal mesaik. ____ kmal merur er ____.	'I don't know. He's very lazy. I'm very ashamed of him.'

l.	____ dirkak ____-bo ____-merek er a subel-____.	'I haven't finished my homework yet.'
m.	Lak ____-ngedecheduch! ____ kir-____ el mesuub er tiang!	'Don't talk! We (excl.) have to study here!'
n.	____-rael! ____ mengiil er ____.	'Let's go! They're waiting for us (incl.).'

2. Below are some questions in which the speaker is asking for new information. Think about each question carefully, pay attention to the question words, and then describe specifically what new information the speaker is requesting.

Example: A Droteo ng mo er ker?
Answer: Speaker wants information about Droteo's *destination* (question word is *(er) ker* 'where to?')

a. Ng techa a mlo er a ocheraol?
b. Te mesuub a ngara er a Hawaii?
c. Te tela a resechelim?
d. Ngara me ng mle kesib a rengum?
e. Ng mle tela a teng er kau?
f. Te lmuut el me er oingarang?
g. A rekung ng tilobed er ker?
h. Ng mlekera a buik e ruebet?
i. Ngara me a ngara a chomoruul el kirel a party?
j. Ng tela a cheral a beras?

3. The sentences below contain a wide variety of pronouns. Find all the *bound pronouns* and provide the following information:

(i) Type of bound pronoun: *possessor pronoun*, *object pronoun*, or *prefix pronoun.*

(ii) Identification of the pronoun by *person* and *number*—e.g., in *dingak*, *-ak* is first person singular; in *longuiu*, *lo-* is third person (singular or plural), etc.

a. A lak lebo a Toki, e ng diak kbong.
b. A leme a chull, e ke ngmai a selekelek.
c. A lebilskak a udoud a demak, e ak rirellii a party.
d. Ng kirek el mo tochelbeterir a rengelekek.
e. Lebo er a bitang a ngalek me lengai a kebui.

4. In the list below you will find some idiomatic expressions with *reng* 'heart, spirit'. For each expression, give (1) the word- for-word meaning and (2) the specialized (real, actual) meaning of the entire expression.

   Example: kesib a rengul
   1. word-for-word: 'spirit is sweaty'
   2. entire expression: 'angry'

   a. milkolk a rengul
   b. moded a rengul
   c. kikiongel a rengul
   d. kedidai a rengul
   e. dmolech a rengul
   f. olseked er a rengul
   g. olsarech er a rengul
   h. omak er a rengul
   i. tmuu er a rengul
   j. ngar er a eou a rengul

5. Change the following sentences into the negative by adding *(ng)diak* (for present or future tense) or *(ng)dimlak* (for past tense). Be sure to give the proper verb form with a *prefix pronoun*.

   Example: A ngalek a milil er sei. → A ngalek a diak **loilil** er sei.

   a. Aki melamech a dekool.
   b. A rechedam a kilisii a kliokl.
   c. A rubak a mle songerenger.
   d. Ak mo meruul a kall.
   e. Ak ullengeseu er a Toki el meruul a subelel.
   f. A ngelekem a ngar er a skuul.
   g. A rubak a mla er tiang.
   h. Kede mo ungil el smecher.
   i. Ngara me ke lilangel?
   j. Ak milosii a babii.

6. For each of the verbs given below, provide all of the perfective forms (in the present tense), paying special attention to adding the correct *object pronoun* suffixes. Because all of the verbs below can take human as well as nonhuman objects, you should be sure to provide eight forms for each, according to the format we gave in (52A–D) of 4.9.5 above—namely,

Perfective Forms of *mengimd* 'to cut (someone's) hair'

kimdak	kimdid kimdemam
kimdau	kimdemiu
kimdii	kimdeterir kuimd

Be sure to include the eighth form (for third person plural *nonhuman* object) with **zero** suffix!

a.	melutk	f.	melengerenger	k.	oldurokl
b.	mengabl	g.	merechorech	l.	olluut
c.	mengat	h.	merodech	m.	olsisechakl
d.	mengebangel	i.	mesmechokl	n.	omart
e.	meleleb	j.	oldermerem	o.	orrebet

7. Because of their meaning, all of the verbs below have *limited* perfective forms (see 4.9.8 above)—i.e., they can only take suffixes for *third person singular* objects and *third person plural nonhuman* objects. For each verb given, provide the two limited forms according to the following format:

Limited perfective forms of *melasech* 'to carve'

3rd pers. sg.: dosechii *3rd pers. pl. nonhuman*: dmasech

Be especially careful to provide the correct **zero** suffix form for third person nonhuman plural.

a.	melaod	f.	mengeched	k.	olechib
b.	melboid	g.	meredem	l.	oliuid
c.	melchesech	h.	meringet	m.	olsiich
d.	meledaes	i.	mesubech	n.	omachel
e.	mengaus	j.	oldirekorek	o.	orrumk

8. For each of the *imperfective* verbs listed below, provide the five forms with prefix pronouns (in the present tense). Follow the format below:

Prefix pronoun forms of *mesuub* 'to study'

1st pers. sg.: kusuub *1st pers. pl. incl.*: dosuub
1st pers. pl. excl.: kimosuub

2nd pers. sg./pl.: (cho)mosuub

3rd pers. sg./pl.: losuub

a. melib
b. mengoi
c. omechei
d. omed
e. orrebet

5

PALAUAN VERBS

INTRODUCTION

5.1. At the beginning of Lesson Two we saw that the *parts of speech* of a language are groups of words whose members have certain common characteristics. In 2.1 and 2.2 we then went on to define *nouns*—one of the major parts of speech in Palauan—in terms of their *meaning, distributional features*, and *internal structure*. Thus, we saw that nouns (1) make reference to persons, animals, things, ideas, etc., (2) occur in the positions of sentence subject and object, after the relational word *er*, etc., and (3) often have possessed forms and therefore an internal structure of the form *noun stem + possessor suffix*.

In this lesson we will take **verbs**—the second major part of speech in Palauan—and attempt to define them by the same approach that gave us a fairly clear picture of Palauan nouns. In other words, we will first look at verbs from the viewpoints of their meaning and distribution, and then we will examine the details of their internal structure. There are in fact many ways in which Palauan verb forms can be derived by combining *prefixes*, *suffixes*, and even *infixes* (see 5.3.1 below) with *verb stems*, so that the internal structure of Palauan verbs is considerably more complex than that of nouns. For this reason, we will present a rather general survey of Palauan verb structure in this lesson, and we will wait until later lessons to cover all the details of certain verb types such as causative verbs, reciprocal verbs, and so on.

ACTION VERB
TRANSITIVE VERB: DOER VS. RECEIVER

5.2. While nouns refer to human beings, concrete things, abstract ideas, and the like, verbs name actions or states that involve nouns in various ways. Palauan **action verbs** describe actions, activities, or events and can be **transitive** or **intransitive**. As we saw in *Note 1* of Lesson Two (see 2.3.2), **transitive action verbs** name actions that normally have both a **doer** and a **receiver**. The *doer* is the person who performs, carries out, or causes the action of the sentence, while the *receiver* is the person, animal, or thing affected by this action. Because the action is "transferred", so to speak, from doer to

receiver, the term "transitive" (from a Latin word meaning "to cross over") has come to be used for such verbs in describing the grammar of many languages. In Palauan sentences with transitive action verbs, the doer is the *sentence subject*, while the receiver follows the verb as the *sentence object*. Thus, as we saw earlier, sentences with transitive action verbs have the basic pattern:

subject noun + transitive action verb + object noun

In the sentences below, which illustrate the above pattern, the italicized verbs are typical *transitive action verbs*:

(1) a. A ngalek a *menga* er a ngikel. 'The child is eating the fish.'

b. A John a *milengelebed* er a katuu. 'John was hitting the cat.'

c. A Toki a *mengetmokl* er a delmerab. 'Toki is straightening up the room.'

d. A mechas a *milkodir* a ius. 'The old woman killed the crocodile.'

e. Ak *rirengesii* a chisel a Toki. 'I heard the news about Toki.'

f. Te *chilsbreber* a beches el blai. 'They painted the new houses.'

g. A delak a *milengimd* er ngak. 'My mother was cutting my hair.'

Can you identify the nouns (or pronouns) that function as sentence subject (doer) and sentence object (receiver) in the examples given above?

As the examples in (1) above show, any action verb will be transitive if it names an action that is *done to* or *directed at* some person, animal, or thing. Actions such as "eat", "hit", "straighten up", "kill", etc., clearly involve both a doer and a receiver. Some additional transitive action verbs of Palauan are provided below (in the imperfective form, present tense):

(2)

melim	'to drink'	melasech	'to carve'
mengitakl	'to sing'	meruul	'to make, repair'
meleng	'to borrow'	melamech	'to smoke, chew'
meluches	'to write'	menguiu	'to read'
mengiis	'to dig'	meleseb	'to burn'
osiik	'to look for'	omes	'to see, look at'
orrebet	'to drop'	orrenges	'to hear, listen to'

INTRANSITIVE VERB

As opposed to transitive action verbs, **intransitive action verbs** involve only a doer, but no receiver. These verbs do not describe actions which can be directed at (or "transferred" to) someone or something else, but rather actions in which only a doer can participate. For this reason, sentences with intransitive action verbs only have a subject (the doer), but no object, and they have the simple pattern:

subject noun + intransitive action verb

Here are some sentences with typical intransitive action verbs (italicized):

(3)	a. A ngalek a *milil* er a sers.	'The child is playing in the garden.'
	b. A mechas a *milengedub* er a diong.	'The old woman was swimming in the stream.'
	c. A demak a *oureor* er a bangk.	'My father works at the bank.'
	d. A Toki me a Satsko a *mo* er a skuul.	'Toki and Satsko are going to school.'
	e. A sechelik a *me* er a blik.	'My friend is coming to my house.'

Though the italicized verbs of (3) obviously refer to actions or activities, the nature of these activities—playing, swimming, working, etc.—is such that no receiver (sentence object) can be involved. The nouns following the verbs in the examples of (3) are therefore not sentence objects at all, but part of *relational phrases* indicating the *location* of the activity (as in 3a–c) or the *direction* of movement (as in 3d–e). If necessary, take a look back at 2.3.4 for a quick review of relational phrases in Palauan.

Transitive Verbs without Expressed Objects

Note 1: In the discussion above, we made the general assumption that transitive action verbs are always followed by object nouns, while intransitive actions verbs are not. We now need to modify that assumption based on certain Palauan sentences containing transitive action verbs in which the object noun has been omitted. Observe the pairs of sentences below:

(a)	1. Ak milsuub a tekoi er a Siabal.	'I was studying Japanese.'
	2. Ak milsuub.	'I was studying.'
(b)	1. A John a mengitakl a chelitakl er a Ruk.	'John is singing a Trukese song.'
	2. A John a mengitakl.	'John is singing.'

Note 1 continued next page

Note 1 continued

In (a-1) and (b-1) above, the presence of the sentence objects *tekoi er a Siabal* 'Japanese (language)' and *chelitakl er a Ruk* 'Trukese song' shows that *mesuub* 'to study' and *mengitakl* 'to sing' are transitive action verbs. In (a-2) and (b-2), however, there is no sentence object following these verbs; rather, it is merely understood that the subject of the sentence was studying *something* or is singing *something*. These sentences with omitted objects are acceptable because verbs like *mesuub* and *mengitakl* designate actions whose possible objects are within a limited range and therefore *predictable* in a general way even if not expressed. In other words, the object of *mesuub* 'to study' must be some kind of material or information that can be examined or learned, and the object of *mengitakl* 'to sing' must be a song or some other kind of musical composition.

By contrast, if a verb indicates an action that can take a very wide range of objects—e.g., *meleng* 'to borrow', *meruul* 'to make, repair'—then the sentence object cannot easily be omitted. Thus, with (a–b) above, compare the sentence pairs below:

(c)	1.	Ak mo meleng er a mlil a Toki.	'I'm going to borrow Toki's car.'
	2.	? Ak mo meleng.	? 'I'm going to borrow.'
(d)	1.	A Maria a meruul a kall.	'Maria is making the food.'
	2.	? A Maria a meruul.	? 'Maria is making.'

To Palauan speakers (and English speakers, too!) sentences (c-2) and (d-2) are unacceptable because they are incomplete—i.e., they do not allow us to predict anything about the omitted object.

STATE VERB
TEMPORARY VS. PERMANENT STATE

5.3. Whereas *action verbs* describe actions, activities, or events, Palauan **state verbs** specify *states*, *conditions*, or *qualities* that are temporarily or permanently associated with persons, places, or things. In the great majority of cases, Palauan state verbs describe or characterize the sentence subject in some way. Observe the sentences below, in which the state verbs have been italicized:

(4)	a.	A ngelekek a *smecher*.	'My child is sick.'
	b.	A eanged a *mekngit*.	'The weather is bad.'
	c.	Tia el delmerab a *mekeald*.	'This room is warm.'
	d.	A Siabal a kmal *cheroid*.	'Japan is very far.'
	e.	A blil a Toki a *klou*.	'Toki's house is large.'

In (4a–c) the states describing the sentence subject are *temporary* (and might change), while those in (4d–e) are relatively *permanent* (unchanging). In each of the sentences given, the state verb focuses our attention on a quality or condition of the sentence subject. There is no action or activity, nor is there any sentence object. For this reason, all of the state verbs given above are necessarily *intransitive*. Furthermore, the sentences of (4) all have the structure:

subject noun + intransitive state verb

Some additional Palauan (intransitive) state verbs are listed below. See if you can determine whether the state involved is temporary or permanent:

(5)	ungil	'good'	klebokel	'pretty'
	songerenger	'hungry'	kekedeb	'short'
	kikiongel	'dirty'	meteet	'rich'
	dibus	'absent'	kmeed	'near'
	mesaul	'tired'	milkolk	'dark'
	bibrurek	'yellow'	becheleleu	'white'
	beches	'new'	ngar	'is (located)'
	beketekoi	'talkative'	mla	'was (located)'

State Verbs of Existence

The verb *ngar* 'is/are (located)' and its past tense equivalent *mla* 'was/were (located)' are special **state verbs of existence** that indicate the *present* or *past existence* of the sentence subject in a particular location. As the following examples illustrate, *ngar* and *mla* must always be followed by a *locational phrase* (see 2.3.3):

(6)	a.	A Toki a ngar er a bab.	'Toki is upstairs.'
	b.	A udoud a ngar er a chelsel a skidas.	'The money is inside the drawer.'
	c.	Aki mla er a skuul.	'We've been to school.'

Do you recall the structure of locational phrases, and can you identify such a phrase in each of the sentences of (6) above?

The state verbs of existence *ngar* and *mla* occur commonly as part of the *expressions of existence ng ngar er ngii* 'there is/are' and *ng mla er ngii* 'there was/were', which are always found in the initial position of sentences with *post-verbal subjects* (see 4.6.2.b). These verbs will be examined in detail in a later lesson.

Transitive State Verbs

Note 2: As we mentioned above, almost all Palauan state verbs are *intransitive*. There is a very small group of state verbs, however, that do take object nouns and must therefore be considered *transitive*. Such *transitive state verbs* refer to certain types of mental states or abilities and include verbs like *medenge(i)* 'to know', *meduch* 'to know how (to), be skilled at', *metitur* 'to not know how (to), be incapable of', and *medakt* 'to be afraid of'. Can you identify the subjects and objects of the transitive state verbs (italicized) in the sentences below?

a. A Droteo a *medenge* a tekoi er a Sebangiol.
'Droteo knows (how to speak) Spanish.'

b. A ngelekek a kmal *medakt* er a beches el sensei.
'My child is really afraid of the new teacher.'

c. A rengalek er a skuul er a Siabal a kmal *meduch* er a ochur.
'Japanese school children really know how to do math.'

d. Ak mle *metitur* a tekoi er a Ruk er se er a taem er a mekemad.
'I didn't know (how to speak) Trukese during the war.'

A Major Grammatical Difference Between Action Verbs and State Verbs: Past Tense Formation

5.3.1. In the sections above we distinguished between action verbs and state verbs by explaining the basic difference in their meaning. Thus, we said that action verbs designate actions, activities, or events, while state verbs describe states, conditions, or qualities. In addition, we saw that action verbs can be either transitive (e.g., *menga* 'to eat', *mengelebed* 'to hit', *mengesbreber* 'to paint', etc.) or intransitive (e.g., *milil* 'to play', *me(i)* 'to come', etc.). As indicated further in *Note* 2, while almost all state verbs are intransitive, only a very small number of state verbs fall into the transitive category.

If we now look at the grammatical "behavior" of action verbs and state verbs, we find further reason for distinguishing between the two types. Action verbs and state verbs show very different patterns in the derivation of their **past tense** forms (which will be discussed in detail together with the other tenses starting in 5.5 below). As the examples below indicate, the past tense forms of Palauan *action verbs* (whether transitive or intransitive) are derived by putting the **past tense marker** *-il-* or *-l- within* the verb itself:

(7) **ACTION VERBS**

Present Tense		*Past Tense*	
menga	'to eat'	milenga	'ate'
mengelebed	'to hit'	milengelebed	'hit'
melim	'to drink'	millim	'drank'
meluches	'to write'	milluches	'wrote'
milil	'to play'	mililil	'played'
mengedub	'to swim'	milengedub	'swam'
mo	'to go'	mlo	'went'
mei	'to come'	mlei	'came'

Infixed Past Tense Marker with Action Verbs

In the examples listed in (7) above, the *past tense marker* (i.e., the indicator of the past tense) is a meaning-bearing unit (or morpheme) that has the form *-il-* or *-l-* and is placed after the initial *m-* of each of the action verbs. Since the past tense marker has been *inserted* into the verb form, it is called an **infix**. As such, it contrasts with *prefixes*, which are morphemes that are attached *preceding* a stem, and with *suffixes*, which are morphemes that are attached *following* a stem. We have already seen prefixes (e.g., plural *re-*, the prefix pronouns *ku-*, *lo-*, etc.) and suffixes (e.g., the possessor suffixes *-ek*, *-em*, *-el*, etc., the object pronouns *-ak*, *-au*, *-ii*, etc.) in Palauan, but the past tense marker *-il-* or *-l-* is our very first example of an *infix*.

Variant Forms of the Verb Marker

Note 3: All of the action verbs given in (7) begin with *me-* or *m-*, which are prefixed forms of the Palauan *verb marker*, a morpheme whose sole function is to indicate (or *mark*) a particular word as a *verb*. As the past tense forms of (7) show, the *past tense marker* is *infixed* in a position following the initial *m-* of the verb marker. If an action verb begins with a different form of the verb marker, however—e.g., *o-* as in *osiik* 'to look for'—then its past tense is derived by replacing the initial *o-* with the *prefix ule-* or *ul-*. Thus, we have forms like the following:

ACTION VERBS IN 0-

Present Tense		*Past Tense*	
osiik	'to look for'	ulsiik	'looked for'
omes	'to look at'	ulemes	'looked at'
oker	'to ask'	uleker	'asked'
oureor	'to work'	ulureor	'worked'

Auxiliary Verb MLE with State Verbs

In contrast with the *infixing* of *-il-* or *-l-* (or the *prefixing* of *ule-* or *ul-* as just described in *Note 3* above) for *action verbs*, the past tense forms of Palauan *state verbs* are derived simply by placing the independent word *mle* 'was, were' before the entire state verb. The addition of *mle* to a Palauan state verb to indicate a change to past tense is rather similar to the use of the **auxiliary** (or "helping") **verbs** *has/have*, *was/were*, etc., in English (as in ***has*** *studied*, ***was*** *studying*, etc.), and therefore it is useful to call *mle* an *auxiliary verb* in Palauan as well. Here are a few examples of the past tense forms of state verbs:

(8) **STATE VERBS**

Present Tense		*Past Tense*	
mekngit	'bad'	mle mekngit	'was/were bad'
dibus	'absent'	mle dibus	'was/were absent'
metongakl	'tall'	mle metongakl	'was/were tall'
kmeed	'near'	mle kmeed	'was/were near'
beches	'new'	mle beches	'was/were new'
medenge(i)	'to know'	mle medenge(i)	'knew'
medakt	'afraid of'	mle medakt	'was/were afraid of'

You will notice that the last two verbs in the list above—*medenge(i)* 'to know' and *medakt* 'to be afraid of'—are *transitive state verbs* (see *Note 2* above). They are transitive because they can be followed by object nouns (as in sentences *a–b* of *Note 2*), and they must also be analyzed as state verbs because they take the auxiliary *mle* in the past tense.

An Additional Meaning Difference Between Action Verbs and State Verbs

Note 4: A further way of distinguishing between action verbs and state verbs from the viewpoint of meaning is to observe how each type of verb is interpreted when preceded by the *auxiliary verb mo* (past tense: *mlo*). With action verbs, the auxiliary verb *mo* often keeps its basic (directional) meaning of "go", especially when it is used in the past tense—e.g.,

(a) Aki mlo milil er a blil a Toki. 'We went to play at Toki's house.'

Note 4 continued next page

Note 4 continued

In the example above, the past tense auxiliary verb *mlo* simply adds the idea that the subject of the sentence went somewhere in order to do something.

With state verbs, however, the auxiliary verb *mo* has the special function of indicating a *change of state* and therefore means something like "become" or "get"—e.g.,

(b) A toktang a dilu el kmo a ngelekek a mo ungil er a klukuk.
'The doctor said that my child will get better tomorrow.'

(c) A delmerab er kid a mla mo kikiongel.
'Our room has gotten/become dirty.'

In both (b) and (c) above, it is implied that one condition or state changes into another: in (b), my child, who is currently sick, will get better; and in (c), the room, which was previously clean, has become dirty. In other words, (b) describes an expected, predicted, or hoped for (future) change of state, while (c) refers to a (recent past) change of state that is accepted as a fact and may have some effect on present events (e.g., we must now clean the room again!).

DISTRIBUTION OF PALAUAN VERBS

5.4. Because the major units of Palauan sentences (just like those of other languages) are closely interrelated with each other, it is impossible to describe the distribution of one part of speech without reference to the other parts of speech or various sentence units that contain them. Thus, in discussing the distribution of Palauan *nouns* (or, more properly, *noun phrases*) in 2.3-2.3.5, we already found it necessary to refer to such concepts as *action verb* vs. *state verb*, *transitive verb* vs. *intransitive verb*, and *relational phrase*. In fact, when we developed "formulas" to show how nouns function within the major sentence patterns of Palauan (see 2.3.5), we could not avoid including information about the distribution of Palauan *verbs* (or, more properly, *verb phrases*) as well. We will now take those very same sentence pattern formulas and focus our attention on the distribution of verbs (verb phrases) within Palauan sentences. With a few small modifications, we arrive at the chart below, in which we illustrate each sentence pattern with one or more sample sentences (with the *verb* italicized for easy reference):

DISTRIBUTION OF PALAUAN VERBS

Major Sentence Patterns

subject noun + transitive action verb + object noun

A deleb a *milekdektii* a mechas.
'The ghost frightened the old woman.'

subject noun + intransitive action verb

A tolechoi a *lilangel.*
'The baby was crying.'

subject noun + intransitive state verb

A sechelim a kmal *klebokel.*
'Your friend is very pretty.'

subject noun + *mle* + Noun #2 (equational sentence)

A obekuk a *mle* bengngos.
'My older brother was a lawyer.'

subject noun + action or state verb + relational phrase

1. A chudelek a *mechiuaiu* er a sers.
   'My older sister is sleeping in the garden.'
2. A ekebil a *mlad* er a chesebreng.
   'The girl died from a broken heart.'
3. A resechelik a *mla* er a chei.
   'My friends were at the ocean (=fishing).'
4. A ngalek a *mle smecher* er a tereter.
   'The child was sick from a cold.'

Sentence Pattern with Transitive State Verbs

5.4.1. The chart above shows the major sentence patterns in which Palauan verbs occur and is almost identical in content to the chart presented in 2.3.5. In the chart above, however, we have made the following small modifications: (1) we have added the contrasting terms *transitive* and *intransitive* to our classification of Palauan verbs, and (2) we have only given equational sentences in the past tense (with *mle*), since equational sentences in the present tense show no verb at all (see 2.3.3). In ordèr to account for the small number of Palauan *transitive* state verbs like *medenge(i)*, *medakt*, etc. (see *Note* 2 above and the comment after the examples of 8), we must now add the following pattern to the chart above:

subject noun + transitive state verb + object noun

A ngelekek a *mle medenge* a tekoi er a Siabal.
'My child used to know Japanese.'

Note 5: The sentence patterns given in the chart of 5.4 above have been somewhat oversimplified so that our initial analysis of them could be as clear and focused as possible. The actual situation is, of course, more complicated. You may have noticed, for example, that *relational phrases* can in fact be added to most of the patterns where they have not been explicitly shown. Thus, the very first pattern given (for transitive sentences) could be expanded by putting an (optional) relational phrase in sentence-final position—namely,

subject noun + transitive action verb + object noun (+ relational phrase)

If the relational phrase is included, we get sentences like these:

a. A ngalek a silsebii a blai er a elii.
'The child burned down the house yesterday.'

b. A Toki a meruul a kall er a uum.
'Toki is making the food in the kitchen.'

c. Ak milleng a udoud er a sechelik.
'I borrowed some money from my friend.'

Can you identify the added relational phrase in each of the examples above and determine what type of relational phrase it is (locational phrase, temporal phrase, etc.)?

Additional Distributional Features of Verbs

5.4.2. In addition to the six basic sentence patterns described in 5.4 and 5.4.1 above, we have already studied several other sentence types in which the position of the verb requires special attention. Those sentence types are summarized below.

Verbs in Sentences with Post-Verbal Subjects

a. In 4.6-4.6.3, we examined Palauan sentences with *post-verbal subjects*. The general pattern for such sentences is given below:

non-emphatic pronoun + verb (+ relational phrase) + subject noun

Several examples of this sentence type are repeated here (with the verb italicized):

(9) a. Ng *mlo* er a che a Droteo. 'Droteo went fishing.'
b. Ng *mekelekolt* a ralm. 'The water is cold.'
c. Ng *suebek* a renguk. 'I'm worried.'
d. Ng *mle ungil* a eanged? 'Was the weather good?'

In looking at the examples of (9), you should recall that (1) the sentence-initial pre-verbal pronoun must be *non-emphatic*; (2) the verb of the sentence can be of any type (e.g., an *action* verb like *mlo* 'went' or a *state* verb like *mekelekolt* 'cold'); (3) in some cases, occurrence of the subject in post-verbal position is *optional*, as in (9a–b), while in others it is *obligatory*, as in (9c); and (4) a sentence with a post-verbal subject can also serve as a *yes-no question*, as in (9d).

Note 6: As indicated in *Note 13* of 4.6.3, we find a related type of sentence that can be derived by the following rule:

> When the post-verbal subject of a sentence is a *noun phrase of possession*, we can take the **possessor alone** and move it into *sentence-initial position*, where it then *replaces* the original non-emphatic pre-verbal pronoun.

In other words, this principle allows us to start with (a) below and derive (b) directly from it:

(a) Ng meringel a chimal a ngelekek. 'My child's hand hurts.'
(b) A ngelekek a meringel a chimal. 'My child's hand hurts.'

Can you write a reasonable "formula" for the sentence pattern found in sentence (b) above?

Verbs in Imperative and Propositive Sentences

b. In our study of *prefix pronouns* in Lesson 4, we saw that two types of verb forms containing prefix pronouns can be found in *sentence-initial* position. Thus, *imperative* verb forms (see 4.10.6) are used as orders or commands and always contain a *second person* prefix pronoun:

(10) a. Mosilek er a bilem! 'Wash your clothes!'
b. Mtechelbeterir a rengalek! 'Bathe the children!'

In addition, *propositive* verb forms (see 4.10.7) are used as proposals or suggestions and always contain a *first person plural inclusive* prefix pronoun:

(11) a. Dorael er a elechang! 'Let's leave now!'
b. Doluches a babier! 'Let's write the letters!'

The sentence pattern for imperative and propositive verb forms can be formulated as follows:

prefix pronoun verb form (+ object noun) (+ relational phrase)

Since all sentence elements except the verb form itself are optional (as indicated by the parentheses around the items), it is possible to have a verb form alone as the entire sentence—e.g., *Dorael*! 'Let's go!' (i.e., sentence 11a without the relational phrase). The verb in such sentences is always an action verb and, if transitive, can be either perfective or imperfective.

5.4.3. Before leaving the topic of Palauan verb distribution, it will be helpful to review a few general facts about Palauan verbs that we have already assumed or taken for granted. These will be summarized in the points below.

Verb Phrases

a. As we have already mentioned several times in this textbook, the grammar of Palauan can be best understood in terms of the internal structure and (external) distribution of entire *phrases* rather than of single, isolated words. Thus, in 3.6 we noted that it is really Palauan *noun phrases* (rather than single nouns) that function as sentence subject and sentence object or occur after the relational word *er*, etc. In addition, we saw that *noun phrases* cover a wide structural range from simple (unpossessed) nouns like *mlai* 'car' to complex noun phrases of possession like *mlil a Droteo er a Siabal* 'Droteo's Japanese car'.

In the same way, what we are really dealing with in this lesson is *verb* ***phrases*** rather than single, isolated verbs. Although we have stuck to the term "verb" in order to keep our discussions and sentence pattern formulas simple, it is easy to see that we are actually concerned with the internal structure and (external) distribution of entire *verb phrases*. Thus, verb phrases can in fact be single words like *meruul* 'to make', *smecher* 'sick', *medengelii* 'know him/her/it', etc., but they can also have more complex structures—e.g., *mle smecher* 'was sick', *mo meruul* 'will make', *mla mo merek* 'has finished', etc. (which we have referred to somewhat redundantly as "complex" verb phrases in 4.10.5). As we will see later in this textbook, it also makes sense to consider certain combinations of "qualifying words" and verbs as single units—i.e., we also have Palauan verb phrases such as *di mililil* 'just played', *kmal ungil* 'is very good', *dirk smecher* 'is still sick', and so on.

Distribution of Palauan *A*

b. In 2.6–2.6.3, we noted that the Palauan word *a* does not have any specific meaning but merely functions to introduce certain parts of speech when they occur in the sentence. We mentioned that mostly all nouns and verbs in Palauan sentences are introduced by *a*. Now that we recognize the major structural units of Palauan sentences to be *noun* ***phrases*** and *verb* ***phrases***, we can modify our earlier analysis of *a* to read as follows:

REVISED STATEMENT: DISTRIBUTION OF PALAUAN *A*

Palauan *a* introduces and precedes almost all *noun phrases* and *verb phrases* in the sentence. However, *a* is **omitted** in several important situations, as indicated and illustrated below:

(1) Before a *noun phrase* consisting of a *pronoun* (emphatic or non-emphatic):

Ngak a mo er a stoang.	'**I'm** going to the store.'
Te mo er a stoang.	'They're going to the store.'

(2) Before a *noun phrase* that has a *demonstrative* as its first element:

Ngka el chad a sensei.	'This person is a teacher.'

(3) Before a *verb phrase* if the *preceding* subject noun phrase is a *non-emphatic* pronoun (see *Note 6* at the end of 4.4.3):

Ng milil er tiang.	'He/she is playing here.'

(4) Before any *noun phrase* or *verb phrase* directly preceded by the conjunction *el* (see 3.9), as in the phrases below:

chermek el bilis	'my pet dog'
John el sensei	'John the teacher'
mekngit el chad	'bad person'
ngalek el mechiuaiu	'child who sleeps'

Perfective vs. Imperfective Verbs

c. As we have seen in 4.9.1–8, the distinction between *perfective* and *imperfective* verbs is essential in any description of the Palauan verb system. In fact, almost every Palauan *transitive action verb* (including *causative* verbs such as *olsebek* 'to make (something) fly', *omekdakt* 'to frighten', etc.) has perfective forms in addition to imperfective forms. We can even observe perfective forms for the transitive *state* verb *medenge(i)* 'to know' (see *Note* 2 above)—i.e., *medengelkak*, *medengelkau*, *medengelii*, *medengelterir*, etc.

Though we have already covered many details relating to Palauan perfective and imperfective verb forms, we still need to devote some time to a full analysis of their meaning and internal structure. This analysis, especially the question of the forms and positions of the Palauan *verb marker* (*me-*, *o-*, etc.), will be presented in the very next lesson (Lesson 6) of this textbook.

TENSE

5.5. As so many of our sentence examples show, Palauan verb forms are differentiated according to **tense**. The *tense* of a verb phrase specifies the *time* of the action or state that the verb phrase designates. The three major distinctions of tense in Palauan—**present**, **past**, and **future**—will be taken up separately in the sections below.

Present Tense: Actions or States in Progress

5.5.1. The major function of Palauan verb forms in the **present tense** is to describe actions or states that are in progress (or in effect) at the time the sentence is spoken. Often, sentences with present tense verb forms will contain a *temporal phrase* (see 24c in 2.3.4) like *er a elechang* 'now, at this time', which designates the present (or current) moment. Observe the sentences below:

(12)	a.	A Toki a mesuub er a elechang.	'Toki is studying now.'
	b.	A ngelekek a mechiuaiu.	'My child is sleeping.'
	c.	A sensei er kid a smecher.	'Our teacher is sick.'
	d.	A tolechoi a medakt er a cherrodech.	'The baby is afraid of the noise.'

You will notice that the action verbs and state verbs in (12) are not marked in any special way for the present tense—that is, they do not contain any morpheme (meaning-bearing unit) which specifically means "present tense". In fact, the verb forms in (12) simply contain the *verb marker* and a *verb stem*. The verb marker, which does nothing more than identify the word as a verb, takes various forms: it is a *prefix me-* in *mesuub* 'to study', *mechiuaiu* 'to sleep', and *medakt* 'to be afraid of', while it occurs as an *infix -m-* in *smecher* 'sick'. Because the very *absence* of a *tense-marking* morpheme actually identifies a Palauan verb form as being in the present tense, such forms are often called "unmarked". As we will see below, the other tense forms of Palauan verbs are all specifically marked (or identified) by certain prefixes, infixes, or auxiliary verbs.

Present Tense: General or Habitual Statements

Palauan present tense verb forms are frequently used in **general statements**, which express broad generalizations or commonly accepted facts about the sentence subject. Present tense verb forms are also very common in **habitual statements**, which express habits or repeated actions that the sentence subject engages in. Some typical examples are given below:

(13) a. A rechad er a Sina a menga a beras. 'The Chinese eat rice.'

b. A rechad er a Merikel a metongakl. 'Americans are tall.'

c. A Toki a mo er a skuul el ngar er a sidosia. 'Toki goes to school in a car.'

d. A Satsko a mengetmokl er a blik er a bek el tutau. 'Satsko cleans up my house every morning.'

While (13a–b) make general statements about an entire group of individuals, (13c–d) describe a repeated action carried out by the sentence subject.

Present Tense in Palauan vs. English

Note 7: You may have noticed from the examples of (12) and (13) above that English is more complicated than Palauan with respect to present tense verb forms. While Palauan uses one and the same form for actions in progress as well as general or habitual statements, English verb forms distinguish clearly between the two:

a. If we wish to describe an action currently in progress (i.e., going on at the present moment), we must use a special tense in English known as the "present progressive". English present progressive verb phrases consist of the appropriate form of the verb *to be* (e.g., *am*, *is*, *are*, etc.) followed by the "-ing" form of the verb stem, as in

(1) John is studying Palauan (right now).
(2) Who is cleaning your room (right now)?

b. If we wish to indicate a habitual or repeated action, however, we must use the "simple" (unmarked) present tense verb form, as in

(3) John studies Palauan (every day).
(4) Who cleans your room (every day)?

Note 7 continued next page

Note 7 continued

The unmarked present tense verb form can also be used in English for general statements:

(5) Fruit bats fly around in the evening.
(6) Chinese people eat a lot of rice.

Specialized Meanings of Certain Palauan Present Tense Verb Forms

Note 8: Certain types of Palauan verb forms in the present tense have developed some very specialized meanings. The two most important cases are explained below.

(1) As we will see in Lesson 6, Palauan *perfective* verb forms in the present tense have two possible interpretations:

a. They indicate an action or event that the speaker considers *imminent*—i.e., just about to occur or likely to occur in the very near future. Compare the two sentences below:

1. Ak meluches er a babier er a elechang.	'I'm writing the letter now.'
2. Ak luchesii a babier er a elechang (me ke mesang).	'I'll write the letter right now (so you can see me do it).'

In sentence (1), the *imperfective* present tense form *meluches* 'to write' simply indicates that the action of writing is taking place (in progress) at the present moment, which is a common usage for such verb forms (as we have discussed above). In sentence (2), however, the *perfective* present tense form *luchesii* implies that the speaker is just *about to start* writing the letter (perhaps because he is being pressured to do so). In addition to this sense of *imminency*, the perfective verb in example (2) also implies that the speaker intends to write the letter completely (i.e., bring the act of writing to "perfection").

b. Because perfective verb forms in the present tense basically convey the idea of some imminent action, as explained above, they are often used in sentences that serve as *warnings* or *suggestions* that someone avoid doing something. We have already seen two such examples in (49–50) of 4.9.4. Additional examples will be provided at the end of 6.9.4.

Note 7 continued next page

Note 8 continued

(2) As we will see in 5.6.1 below, all Palauan transitive action verbs have a *basic form* that consists of the structure *verb marker + verb stem*. This basic form always conveys the meaning that the subject of the sentence *undergoes the process* indicated by the verb. Examples of such basic ("processive") forms are *mechat* '(fish) gets smoked', *mechelebed* '(someone, something) gets hit', *medub* '(someone, something) gets poisoned/dynamited', etc. Such processive forms of Palauan verbs in the *present tense* are quite similar in function to the present tense perfective forms described just above in (1-b) because they are used to express warnings or suggestions to take precautions:

3. Alii, ng medobech a chimam! 'Watch out! Your arm will get cut!'
4. Alii, kede medul er a ngau! 'Let's be careful! We'll get burned by the fire!'

See 5.6.1 below for further discussion of the basic ("processive") forms of Palauan transitive verbs.

Past Tense with Palauan State Verbs

5.5.2. Palauan **past tense** verb forms always describe an event or state that took place or was in progress in the past, at some time preceding the moment when the sentence is spoken. We have already seen in 5.3.1 that the past tense forms of *action verbs* and *state verbs* are derived in an entirely different manner. The past tense forms of state verbs are verb phrases using the *auxiliary verb mle* 'was, were', as in the following:

(14) a. Ak mle smecher er a elii. 'I was sick yesterday.'

b. A eolt a kmal mle meses er a kesus. 'The wind was very strong last night.'

c. A kall er a party a mle bederechuis. 'The food at the party was spoiled.'

d. Ak mle medengelii a Toki er se er a lengalek. 'I knew Toki when she was a child.'

e. Aki mle kaodenge er a Guam. 'We knew each other in Guam.'

As (14a–b) show, verb phrases in the past tense are frequently accompanied by *temporal phrases* (see 24c in 2.3.4) like *er a elii* 'yesterday', *er a kesus* 'last night', etc., which indicate some time point or period of time in the past.

Past Tense with Action Verbs of Foreign Origin

5.5.2.1. Interestingly enough, the auxiliary verb *mle* is also used to indicate past tense with certain *action verbs* that have been borrowed into Palauan from *foreign languages* such as Japanese and English. Observe the sentences below:

(15) a. A dart el chad a mle sengkio er se el beluu. 'One hundred people voted in that village.'

b. A sensei a mle harau a blals. 'The teacher paid the fine.'

c. A dengua er ngak a mle kosio er a kesus. 'My telephone went out of order last night.'

d. A Kiyosi a mle otsir/fail er a test er a ochur. 'Kiyosi failed the math test.'

Since borrowed action verbs like *sengkio* 'to vote', *otsir* 'to fail', etc. are totally different in structure from native Palauan action verbs like *menga* 'to eat', *mesuub* 'to study', etc., it is not surprising that borrowed action verbs do not follow the pattern of the native verbs (which, as we will now see, derive their past tense forms by infixing *-il-* or *-l-*).

Past Tense with Native Palauan Action Verbs

5.5.2.2. In 5.3.1 we saw that the past tense forms of Palauan *action verbs*, whether transitive or intransitive, are derived by *infixing* the *past tense marker -il-* or *-l-* after the *m-* of the prefixed verb marker. Most action verbs therefore have two past tense forms, one with *-il-*, and the other with *-l-*, as in the examples below:

(16) **ACTION VERBS**

Present Tense		*Past Tense*	
menga	'to eat'	milenga, mlenga	'ate'
mesuub	'to study'	milsuub, mlsuub	'studied'
mechiuaiu	'to sleep'	milechiuaiu, mlechiuaiu	'slept'
mekera	'to do what?'	milekera, mlekera	'did what?'

It is difficult to determine the exact difference in meaning between the two past tense forms shown for each verb in (16), since many speakers of Palauan seem to use the two forms interchangeably. However, some speakers feel that there is a significant difference between the two, which we will now explain briefly.

For such speakers, past tense forms with *-il-* seem to focus on a past action while it was in progress, especially when that action is being viewed as interrupted or somehow affected by another past event. This is especially clear in the sentences below:

(17)	a. Ak milsuub er se er a lemad a dengki.	'I was studying when the electricity went out.'
	b. A Toki a milechiuaiu er se er a leme a Droteo.	'Toki was sleeping when Droteo came.'
	c. A mechas a milengedub er se er a kbong.	'The old woman was swimming when I arrived.'

In the examples of (17), the activities of studying, sleeping, and swimming were going on when some other (possibly interrupting) event took place. In each case, the interrupting event is shown in the clause introduced by *er se er a* 'when (in the past)', which requires a prefix pronoun on the immediately following verb form (see 4.10).

By contrast, past tense forms with *-l-* do not seem to focus on a past action as it was in progress but instead view the action in its entirety—i.e., as a completed event that fully occupied a particular period of time. Thus, if the teacher wanted to know what activity occupied most of your time yesterday, he might ask,

(18)	Ke mlekera er a elii?	'What did you do yesterday?'

An appropriate answer might be either of the following:

(19)	a. Ak mlsuub.	'I studied.'
	b. Ak mlechiuaiu e le ak mle smecher.	'I stayed in bed because I was sick.'

In (19a–b), the past tense forms with *-l-* imply that studying or staying in bed was basically all that the subject did during the particular time period *er a elii* 'yesterday'.

Past Tense Forms of Action Verbs in *o-*

5.5.2.3. In *Note* 3 of 5.3.1 above, we saw that quite a few Palauan action verbs begin with the variant *o-* of the verb marker (rather than *me-* or *m-*). With such verbs, the past tense forms are derived simply by replacing the initial *o-* with the prefix *ule-* or *ul-*. Some additional examples are given below:

(20) **ACTION VERBS (IMPERFECTIVE FORM)**

Present Tense		*Past Tense*	
orrenges	'to hear'	ulerrenges	'heard'
omuchel	'to begin'	ulemuchel	'began'
okiu	'to go by way of'	ulekiu	'went by way of'
obes	'to forget'	ulebes	'forgot'
ousbech	'to need'	ulusbech	'needed'
oureor	'to work'	ulureor	'worked'

Causative Verbs

Causative verbs, which have the general meaning '(someone) causes/forces (someone/something) to perform an action or be in a particular state', always begin with the *causative prefix*, whose variants are *omek-, ome-, om-, ole-, ol-*, and *or-*. With causative verbs, the past tense forms are also derived by replacing the *o-* of the causative prefix (regardless of variant) with *ule-* or *ul-*:

(21) **CAUSATIVE VERBS**

Present Tense		*Past Tense*	
omekdechor	'to make...stand'	ulemekdechor	'made...stand'
omengamech	'to make...smoke'	ulemengamech	'made...smoke'
omengim	'to make...drink'	ulemengim	'made...drink'
olekar	'to wake up'	ullekar	'woke up'
olechiis	'to chase'	ullechiis	'chased'
ollangel	'to make...cry'	ulellangel	'made...cry'
orrebet	'to drop'	ulerrebet	'dropped'

Past Tense Forms of Intransitive Action Verbs with *-(e)m-,-u-, or -o-*

5.5.2.4. As we will see in the next lesson, there are many Palauan *intransitive action verbs* that do not show the verb marker as a *prefix* of the form *me-* or *m-*, but instead contain an *infixed* variant of the verb marker which has the phonetic form *-em-, -m-, -u-*, or *-o*. To derive the past tense forms of such verbs, we simply replace the infixed verb marker (shown in bold type in the examples below) with an infixed past tense marker of the form *-il-* or *-ir-*:

(22) **INTRANSITIVE ACTION VERBS**

Present Tense		*Past Tense*	
l**m**uut	'to return'	liluut	'returned'
s**u**ebek	'to fly'	silebek	'flew'
t**u**obed	'to come out'	tilobed	'came out'
ch**em**iis	'to escape'	chiliis	'escaped'
s**o**iseb	'to enter'	siliseb	'entered'
r**u**ebet	'to fall'	rirebet	'fell'
r**em**urt	'to run'	rirurt	'ran'
r**em**os	'to drown'	riros	'drowned'

In the last three examples of (22), the infixed past tense marker appears as *-ir-* instead of *-il-*. Can you find a possible reason for the occurrence of this new phonetic variant?

Past Tense Forms of Perfective Verbs

5.5.2.5. When we studied Palauan object pronouns starting in 4.9, we had to introduce a large number of Palauan *perfective* verb forms and discuss the details of their internal structure. In 4.9.2 and 4.9.5 we looked at the entire set of *present tense* perfective verb forms for such verbs as *mengelebed* 'to hit', *melilech* 'to dip into water', *mengimd* 'to cut (someone's) hair', *orrenges* 'to hear', and so on. In our discussions relating to those forms, we made such observations as the following:

a. In all the perfective forms of *mengelebed* 'to hit', we find the full vowel *-o-* *within* the verb stem, after the initial consonant CH (which alternates with the NG of *mengelebed*):

cholebedak, cholebedau, cholebedii, etc.

The very same *-o-* is found in the first seven perfective forms of *orrenges*—i.e.,

rongesak, rongesau, rongesii, etc.

b. In the third person *nonhuman* plural perfective forms of most verbs, we find *-o-*, *-u-*, *-m-*, or *-em-* *within* the verb stem, after the initial consonant of the stem:

With *-o-*: cholebed (from *mengelebed* 'to hit')
With *-u-*: kuimd (from *mengimd* 'to cut hair')
With *-m-*: dmilech (from *melilech* 'to dip into water')
With *-em-*: remenges (from *orrenges* 'to hear')

It is most likely that the *infixed* vowels or consonants *-o-, -u-, -m-,* or *-em-* noted in the perfective forms of (a–b) above are variant forms of the Palauan *verb marker*. To derive the past tense forms of such perfective verbs, we use the same process observed for *intransitive action verbs* in (22)—that is, we just replace the infixed verb marker (shown in bold type in the examples below) with an infixed past tense marker of the form *-il-* or *-ir-*:

(23) **PERFECTIVE FORMS OF TRANSITIVE ACTION VERBS**

Present Tense		*Past Tense*	
s**o**sebii	'burn it'	silsebii	'burned it'
s**ue**seb	'burn them'	sileseb	'burned them'
k**o**lii	'eat it up'	killii	'ate it up'
k**m**a	'eat them up'	kila	'ate them up'
r**u**llii	'make it'	rirellii	'made it'
r**em**uul	'make them'	riruul	'made them'

In the last two examples of (23), the infixed past tense marker is *-ir-* rather than *-il-*. In what other past tense forms have you recently seen this *-ir-* variant?

Past Tense Forms of "Prefix Pronoun" Verbs

5.5.2.6. In our study of Palauan pronouns, we saw in 4.10 that the *prefix pronouns ku-, (cho)mo-, lo-,* etc. combine with verb stems to derive forms such as *kusuub, (cho)mosuub, losuub,* etc. (from imperfective *mesuub* 'to study'), which are used in a wide variety of grammatical constructions. We noted further in 4.10.2 that such "prefix pronoun" verbs also have past tense forms. Compare the present and past tense "prefix pronoun" forms of *mesuub* given in the chart below:

(24) **"PREFIX PRONOUN" FORMS OF *MESUUB***

	Present Tense	*Past Tense*
1st pers.sg.	kusuub	kulsuub
2nd pers.	(cho)mosuub	(cho)mulsuub
3rd pers.	losuub	lulsuub
1st pers.pl.incl.	dosuub	dulsuub
1st pers.pl.excl.	kimosuub	kimulsuub

To derive the past tense forms of (24) from the corresponding present tense forms, we infix the *past tense marker -l-* (nothing unusual) and then replace any prefix-final *o* with *u* (i.e., before the past tense marker, *lo-* becomes *lu-*, *kimo-* becomes *kimu-*, etc., while *ku-* remains unchanged).

Auxiliary Verb *MLA*
Recent Past Event

5.5.3. Verb phrases consisting of the auxiliary verb *mla* (most likely related to the *state verb of existence mla* 'was located, were located' discussed in 5.3 above) followed by the present tense form of any action verb are used to express two special types of past tense. First, in the sentences below, the verb phrase ***mla + (imperfective or perfective) action verb*** refers to an event that occurred in the **recent past**—that is, at a point in the past not too distant from the (present) moment when the sentence is actually spoken:

(25) a. A Toki a mla mesuub. 'Toki has studied/has been studying.'

b. Ng mla me a Droteo. 'Droteo has arrived.'

c. Ng techa a mla kolii a kall? 'Who has eaten up (all) the food?'

d. Ak mla mo merek er a urerek. 'I have finished my work.'

e. A chemelek a mla mechamech. 'My betel nut has (all) been chewed up.'

By contrast, "simple" past tense forms with infixed *-il-* or *-l-* (see 5.5.2.2 above) such as *milsuub* or *mlsuub* 'studied', *mlei* 'came', *killii* 'ate it up', etc., designate relatively *remote* past events (i.e., events not so close to the present moment).

Past Experience

Second, a verb phrase of the form ***mla + (imperfective) action verb*** can also refer to **past experience**. In such cases, it is commonly used in questions that ask whether someone has ever had the experience of doing something. The following examples are typical:

(26) a. Ke mla mo er a chelebacheb? 'Have you ever gone to the rock islands?'

b. Ke mla mesuub a tekoi er a Siabal? 'Have you ever studied Japanese?'

c. Ke mla melasem el menga a sasimi? 'Have you ever tried eating sashimi?'

In answering such questions affirmatively, the speaker is saying that on an least one occasion he or she has done the particular action. By a negative answer, which usually includes the negative expression *dirkak* 'not yet, never' followed by a "prefix pronoun" verb form (see the examples of 61 in 4.10), the speaker is denying ever having had the experience in question. Possible affirmative and negative answers to (26b) are given below:

(27) Chochoi. Ak mla mesuub a tekoi er a Siabal. 'Yes. I have studied Japanese.'

(28) Ng diak. Ng dirkak kusuub a tekoi er a Siabal. 'No. I haven't studied Japanese yet.'

Note 9: The uses of the so-called "present perfect" tense in English, which consists of the present tense of *have* followed by the past participle of the verb (e.g., *have/has travelled, have/has seen,* etc.) are almost identical to those of Palauan ***mla + action verb***. Thus, English ***have + past participle*** can either indicate recent past, as in (a), or past experience, as in (b):

(a) John has just arrived.

(b) Have you (ever) travelled to Palau?

Future Verb Phrases with Auxiliary Verb *Mo*

Mo + Action Verb

5.5.4. The purpose of the **future tense** is to designate an action or state that will take place or be in effect in the future, at a point in time following the moment when the sentence is actually spoken. In order to express the future tense, we use the verb *mo* 'to go' as an *auxiliary verb* followed by any present tense verb form. As we already pointed out in *Note 4* at the end of 5.3.1 above, verb phrases containing the auxiliary verb *mo* differ in meaning depending on whether the accompanying verb is an *action verb* or a *state verb*. Thus, verb phrases of the form ***mo + action verb*** simply designate actions or events expected to occur in the future, as in the examples below:

(29) a. Ak mo omes er a sensei er a klukuk. 'I'm going to see the teacher tomorrow.'

b. A Toki a mo mesuub er a Guam er tia el me el rak. 'Toki will study in Guam next year.'

c. Aki mo milil er a blirir. 'We're going to play at their house.'

In (29a–b), note the inclusion of *temporal phrases* such as *er a klukuk* 'tomorrow' and *er tia el me el rak* 'next year', which refer to a time point or time period in the future.

Mo + State Verb

In contrast with the above, verb phrases of the form ***mo + state verb*** imply a *change of state* that will ultimately result in a future situation different from the current one. Thus, in the example below,

(30) Ng mo mekngit a eanged er a klukuk. 'The weather will get worse tomorrow.'

we are not only predicting that the weather will turn out bad tomorrow, but we are also focusing on the process of change itself (i.e., from good weather now to poor weather later). Some further examples involving future change of state are given below:

(31) a. A toktang a dilu el kmo a ngelekek a mo ungil el smecher er a klukuk. 'The doctor said that my child will get better tomorrow.'

b. A tangk a mo mui er a kebesengei. 'The tank will get full (by) this evening.'

VERB MARKER: PREFIXES AND INFIXES

5.6. We have already had several occasions to mention the Palauan **verb marker**, which occurs in *prefix* and *infix* form and serves to identify particular words as verbs. Some verb groups where the verb marker is already familiar to us are given below:

a. The verb marker occurs as a *prefix me-* or *m-* with

1. *transitive action verbs* in the *imperfective* form: *mengelebed* 'to hit', *mengat* 'to smoke (fish)', *meruul* 'to make, prepare', etc.

2. *intransitive action verbs: merael* 'to walk, travel', *mengedub* 'to swim', *milil* 'to play', etc.

3. *state verbs: mesaul* 'tired', *mekeald* 'warm', *meched* 'shallow', *medakt* 'afraid of', etc.

b. The verb marker occurs as a *prefix o-* with

1. *transitive action verbs* in the (present tense) *imperfective* form: *omoes* 'to shoot', *omail* 'to clothe', *omes* 'to see', *osiik* 'to look for', *oker* 'to ask', etc.

2. *causative verbs*, where the verb marker *o-* is probably part of a more complex (causative) prefix such as *omek-, ol-, or-*, etc.: *omekbuch* 'to marry (two people to each other)', *ollangel* 'to make (someone) cry', *orrurt* 'to make (someone) run', etc.

c. The verb marker occurs as an *infix -em-, -m-, -o-*, or *-u-* with

1. *intransitive action verbs: lmuut* 'to return', *chemiis* 'to escape', *ruebet* 'to fall, fail (on a test)', *dmak* 'to be together', etc.

2. *transitive action verbs* in the (present tense) *perfective form* (especially with *zero* suffix for third person plural nonhuman object): *cholebedii* 'hits him/her/it', *sosebii* 'burns it down', *kma* 'eats them up', *remuul* 'makes them', *sueseb* 'burns them down', etc.

3. *state verbs: smecher* 'sick', *kmeed* 'near', *dmolech* 'deep', *songerenger* 'hungry', etc.

Transitive Action Verbs in Basic ("Processive") Form

5.6.1. It is within the area of Palauan *transitive action verbs* that the most interesting and complex processes of word formation can be observed. A typical example involves the numerous verb forms related to *mengelebed* 'to hit'. We will try to introduce these forms in a "logical" way, moving from the most basic to the most complex.

We cannot look at the various verb forms related to *mengelebed* without recognizing that they must have something to do with the **noun stem** *chelebed*, which is an independently occurring noun that means 'any object used to hit with (whip, bat, club, etc.)'. When we combine the **verb marker** *prefix me-* with the noun stem *chelebed*, we get a verb form *mechelebed*, which might be used in a sentence like the following:

(32) A ngelekek a mla mechelebed. 'My child has been beaten.'

The verb form *mechelebed* is the most basic form we can derive because it has the simple structure **verb marker + noun stem**. By prefixing *me-* to the noun *chelebed*, we derive an entirely new part of speech—namely, a *verb*. It is precisely because *me-* serves to *convert* a noun into a verb (of related meaning) that we have chosen to call it a *verb marker*. In other words, in the derived form *mechelebed*, the prefix *me- marks* (*labels*, or *identifies*) the item as a verb. It therefore has a very important grammatical *function* in Palauan (although we cannot very easily assign it a specific meaning).

Because a form like *mechelebed* has the basic, straightforward structure **verb marker + noun stem**, it is called the **basic form** of a *transitive action verb*. Even though the internal structure of *mechelebed* is simple, its meaning is somewhat more complex. As sentence (32) indicates, *mechelebed* is used when we want to indicate that the subject has *experienced* or *undergone the process* of the activity involved—i.e., in (32), my child has not done any hitting himself but in fact *has been hit* or beaten (by someone else). Here are two similar examples:

(33) a. A ngikel a mla mechat. 'The fish has been smoked.'

b. A kall a mla mekang. 'The food has been eaten.'

In both of the examples of (33) also, the sentence subject is described as having undergone some process and as having been affected by it—i.e., the fish got smoked, and the food got consumed. Because the basic forms of transitive action verbs (*mechelebed* 'get

hit/beaten', *mechat* 'get smoked', *meka(ng)* 'get eaten') always describe the subject as undergoing some process, they will also be called the **processive** forms of the verb when we wish to focus on their meaning. We have in fact already introduced some of these ideas in section (2) of *Note 8* at the end of 5.5.1 above. You will notice that Palauan sentences with processive verb forms translate into English as *passive* sentences (in which the person or thing affected by the action is expressed as the sentence subject). In fact, some linguists also apply the term "passive" to the corresponding Palauan sentences of (32-3) as well as to the processive (or basic) verb forms themselves.

Derivation of Perfective Forms of Transitive Action Verbs

5.6.2. Now that we have derived the *basic form mechelebed*, we can easily see how all of the *perfective* forms of this verb are derived. These forms were already given in 4.9.2–4.9.4, but let us repeat them here:

(34) **Perfective forms of *mengelebed* 'to hit'—Present tense**

cholebedak	'hits me'	cholebedid	'hits us (incl.)'
		cholebedemam	'hits us (excl.)'
cholebedau	'hits you (sg.)'	cholebedemiu	'hits you (pl.)'
cholebedii	'hits him, her, it'	cholebedeterir	'hits them (hum.)'
		cholebed	'hits them (nonhum.)'

Although we already began to analyze these forms in Lesson 4, we can look at them again here from a fresh point of view and make the following observations:

1. In the perfective forms of (34), the object pronouns (suffixes) are *-ak, -au, -ii,* etc., as indicated, and there is a special **zero** (non-phonetic) suffix for third person *nonhuman* plural.

2. The perfective forms of (34) are derived by suffixing the object pronouns to the stem *chelebed*, which is the identical *noun stem* that we used to derive the basic form *mechelebed* in 5.6.1 above. Therefore, the initial CH of *chelebed* is found not only in the basic form of this verb but also in all of its perfective forms.

Alternation Between Verb Marker As Prefix vs. Verb Marker as Infix

3. In addition to having an object pronoun suffix, all the perfective forms of (34) show one more striking change—namely, the vowel *-o-* occurs *infixed* within the stem *chelebed*, where it has *replaced* the vowel (weak E) that originally followed the initial CH of the stem. As we indicated in 5.6.c.2 above, it is most likely that

this *-o-* is a form of the *verb marker.* In other words, while the verb marker takes the form of a *prefix* (*me-*) in the basic form *mechelebed* (and in the imperfective form *mengelebed*, as we will see below), it occurs in the form of an *infix* (*-o-*) in the perfective forms. This **alternation** between the verb marker as *prefix* vs. the verb marker as *infix* is certainly a surprising feature, but we find it quite regularly in a large number of Palauan transitive action verbs. Additional examples will be provided below.

Derivation of Imperfective Forms of Transitive Action Verbs
Patterns of Consonant Alternation

5.6.3. As we already know, almost all Palauan transitive action verbs have *imperfective forms* in addition to the perfective forms examined above. In fact, we have gotten into the habit of using the imperfective form as a convenient *label* for any given transitive action verb under discussion. Thus, in the present case, we can say that we are making a survey of all the interrelated forms of the transitive action verb *mengelebed* 'to hit'.

How, in fact, is the imperfective form *mengelebed* derived? If we compare it with the basic form *mechelebed*, we notice one major change. While both forms have the verb marker prefix *me-*, in *mengelebed* the consonant CH of the basic form (and of the related noun stem *chelebed*) has changed to NG. It appears as though the imperfective form *mengelebed* is related to the basic form *mechelebed* by an **alternation** between the consonants CH and NG. If we go on to look at some additional transitive action verbs, a very interesting pattern emerges:

(35)	*Basic Form*	*Imperfective Form*
a. **CH** becomes **NG**:	me**ch**at '(fish) get smoked'	me**ng**at 'to smoke (fish)'
	me**ch**esimer '(door) get closed'	me**ng**esimer 'to close (door)'
b. **K** becomes **NG**:	me**k**ereel '(fish) get caught with line'	me**ng**ereel 'to catch (fish) with line'
	me**k**oi '(boat) run aground'	me**ng**oi 'to place (boat) on supports'
c. **T** becomes **L**:	me**t**ekoi 'get spoken'	me**l**ekoi 'to speak'
	me**t**ord 'get annoyed'	me**l**ord 'to annoy'

d. **D** becomes **L**:	me**d**eel 'get nailed'	me**l**eel 'to nail'
	me**d**asech 'get carved'	me**l**asech 'to carve'
e. **S** becomes **L**:	me**s**eseb 'get burned'	me**l**eseb 'to burn'
	me**s**ius 'get sworn at'	me**l**ius 'to swear at'
f. **NG** becomes **L**:	me**ng**atech 'get cleaned'	me**l**atech 'to clean'
	me**ng**uked '(fine) get paid'	me**l**uked 'to pay (fine)'

By comparing the basic forms with the imperfective forms in the chart above, we can see without a doubt that the imperfective forms are derived by replacing the stem-initial consonant of the basic form with a new consonant. There are two major types of alternation involved:

(36) 1. **CH** and **K** become **NG**

2. **T**, **D**, **S**, and **NG** become **L**

From the facts presented here, we can state the following principle for deriving many Palauan imperfective verb forms:

(37) **PRINCIPLE FOR DERIVING IMPERFECTIVE VERB FORMS**

From the *basic form* of a Palauan *transitive action verb* with the prefixed verb marker *me-*, we can derive the corresponding *imperfective* form by replacing the *stem-initial consonant* according to the *alternation* patterns of (36).

Because the stem-initial consonant of the *imperfective* form is therefore different from that of the verb's *basic form*, it will also be different from the initial consonant of all the *perfective* forms—e.g., the NG of *mengelebed* contrasts with the CH of both *mechelebed* and *cholebedak*, *cholebedau*, *cholebedii*, etc.

Note 10: There are certain verbs in which the various patterns of alternation illustrated in (35) show some modification. Observe the following verbs, where a consonant of the basic form alternates with an R in the imperfective form (rather than L as in 35c–f above):

	Basic Form		*Imperfective Form*	
g. **T** becomes **R**:	me**t**irem	'get hit'	me**r**irem	'to hit against'
h. **D** becomes **R**:	me**d**orem	'get sharpened'	me**r**orem	'to sharpen'
i. **S** becomes **R**:	me**s**ers	'get enclosed'	me**r**ers	'to enclose'
j. **NG** becomes **R**:	me**ng**erd	'get hoisted up'	me**r**erd	'to hoist up'

If we observe the phonetic forms of these verbs carefully, we can see a likely reason why the imperfective form contains R rather than the expected L. In each one of the verbs involved, there is another R somewhere in the stem! It seems as if the presence of this R in the stem has affected the expected L so strongly that it has actually caused this L to change to an R. Where else in the derivation of Palauan verbs have you seen an L replaced by an R in similar circumstances?

Note 11: If we examine transitive action verbs which are derived from noun stems starting with B (e.g., *bail* 'clothing', *boes* 'gun', *bekall* 'sail, driving'), we find two interesting facts:

(1) The *verb marker prefix* has the form *o-* rather than *me-* (see 5.6).

(2) A new consonant alternation is observed between the basic form and the imperfective form—namely, B becomes M.

Some examples of this additional alternation pattern are now given:

	Basic Form		*Imperfective Form*	
k. **B** becomes **M**:	o**b**ail	'get clothed'	o**m**ail	'to clothe'
	o**b**oes	'get shot'	o**m**oes	'to shoot'
	o**b**ekall	'get driven'	o**m**ekall	'to drive'

Imperfective Forms Without Consonant Alternation

5.6.3.1. While the patterns of consonant alternation seen in (35) above (and in *Notes 10–11*) account for the imperfective forms of many Palauan transitive action verbs, there are some cases where there is no alternation at all. Observe the examples below:

	Basic Form		*Imperfective Form*	
a. stem-initial **L**:	**l**echet	'get tied'	**l**echet	'to tie'
	luches	'get written'	**l**uches	'to write'
b. stem-initial **R**:	**r**inget	'get chewed, crushed'	**r**inget	'to chew, crush'
	rasm	'get sewn'	**r**asm	'to sew'
c. stem-initial **S**:	**s**aod	'get explained'	**s**aod	'to explain'
	sebel	'get shoveled'	**s**ebel	'to shovel'

The examples of (38) show that stems beginning with L and R are in a special class because these consonants do not change from the basic form to the imperfective form. Stems beginning with S fall partially into this class as well, although some stem-initial S's become L (as in 35e above). It is impossible to predict which S's will become L and which S's will remain unchanged, although the great majority of stem-initial S's in fact follow the second pattern.

Because the basic forms and the imperfective forms of the verbs in (38) are obviously identical, we can only determine which form (and meaning!) is intended by carefully examining the entire sentence in which it occurs. Thus, compare the two examples below:

(39) a. Ak mla meluches a babier. 'I've been writing the letters.'
b. A babier a mla meluches. 'The letters have been written.'

In (39a), *(mla) meluches* is an *imperfective* verb which indicates that the subject (*ak* 'I') has been performing an action (writing) that affects the object (*babier* 'letters'). In (39b), however, the very same sequence *(mla) meluches* is the *basic* form of the verb with a *processive* meaning—i.e., the subject (*babier* 'letters') has undergone the *process* of getting written. Notice, again, that the best English equivalent for (39b) is a *passive* sentence.

ADDITIONAL BASIC FORMS OF TRANSITIVE ACTION VERBS

5.7. In 5.6.1–5.6.3 we focused on a single transitive action verb—*mengelebed* 'to hit'—and saw how various morphemes combine with each other to give us a large array of related forms. In deriving these forms, we began with the *basic form mechelebed,* which has the internal structure indicated below:

verb marker + noun stem
me + chelébed

In *mechelebed*, the verb marker prefix *me-* has been attached to the stem *chelebed*, which is an *independent* noun meaning 'whip, bat, club, etc. (i.e., anything to hit with)'. The resulting basic form *mechelebed* functions as a verb with a *processive* meaning 'get hit'. We will now look at the basic forms of a wide variety of additional transitive action verbs.

Basic Forms Derived From Independent Noun Stems

5.7.1. There is a large number of Palauan transitive action verbs whose basic form consists of the verb marker *me-* or *o-* followed by a noun stem that can otherwise occur independently—i.e., as a separate word. Some typical examples (parallel to *mechelebed* above) are given here, together with the related independent noun:

(40)

Basic Form		*Independent Noun*	
mechat	'(fish) get smoked'	chat	'smoke'
mechesimer	'get closed'	chesimer	'door'
mechesbreber	'get painted'	chesbreber	'paint'
mekereel	'(fish) get caught with line'	kereel	'fishing line'
mekoi	'(boat) run aground'	koi	'log used as support for boat'
mekiis	'get opened'	kiis	'key'
metekoi	'get spoken'	tekoi	'language, word'
metord	'get annoyed'	tord	'irritation'
metoched	'get pricked'	toched	'thorn'
medeel	'get nailed'	deel	'nail'
medangeb	'get covered'	dangeb	'cover'
medauch	'(tree) get cut with notches for steps'	dauch	'step, cut portion'
meseseb	'get burned'	seseb	'fire'
mesius	'get sworn at'	sius	'swear word'

mesebel	'get shoveled'	sebel	'shovel'
menguked	'(fine) get paid'	nguked	'fine'
mesers	'get enclosed'	sers	'fence'
mengerd	'get hoisted up'	ngerd	'rope for hoisting sail'
obail	'get clothed'	bail	'clothing'
oboes	'get shot'	boes	'gun'

Basic Forms with Bound Stems

5.7.2. In the previous section we looked at a large variety of Palauan transitive action verbs whose basic form is derived by prefixing the verb marker *me-* (or *o-*) to an *independently-occurring* noun stem. There are many transitive action verbs, however, in which *me-* is prefixed to a stem which *cannot* occur independently. Thus, in the basic form *mechuiu* 'get read' (cf. imperfective *menguiu* 'to read'), we have the stem *-chuiu*, which is never used as a separate word but must always be attached to some prefix or suffix. In a similar way, the basic form *medasech* 'get chopped, carved' (cf. *melasech* 'to chop, carve') contains the stem *-dasech*, which must always occur as part of *desechel,* an *obligatorily possessed noun* (see 3.5), or connected to a prefix or suffix. Stems such as *-chuiu* and *-dasech* are called **bound** because they are never independent words themselves but must always be attached to some other morphemes (meaning-bearing units) in order to produce an acceptable word. You will recall that we have already dealt with similar ideas in 4.2, where we made the distinction between *independent* vs. *bound pronouns.*

In spite of the fact that verb stems such as *-chuiu* and *-dasech* are bound, all the processes of word formation discussed above nevertheless apply regularly. Thus, for the two examples given, we have the following forms:

(41) a. **Basic form**: *mechuiu*

b. **Perfective forms**: 3rd pers. sg. *chuieuii*
3rd pers. (nonhuman) pl. *chemuiu*

(Note: there are only two perfective forms because this verb is limited to *nonhuman* objects—see 4.9.8)

c. **Imperfective form**: *menguiu* (CH changes to NG)

(42) a. **Basic form**: *medasech*

b. **Perfective forms**: 3rd pers. sg. *dosechii*
3rd pers. (nonhuman) pl. *dmasech*

(Note: only two forms for same reason as above)

c. **Imperfective form**: *melasech* (D changes to L)

Additional Examples of Transitive Action Verbs With Bound Stems

5.7.2.1. In the list below, we give further examples of Palauan transitive action verbs which have *bound* stems. If the particular stem is associated with an *obligatorily possessed noun*, that form is also given:

(43)

Basic Form	*Bound Stem*
mechitakl 'get sung'	-chitakl-
mechem 'get pried up, lifted'	-chem-
mecheseb 'get cut, broken'	-cheseb-, chesebel
meka 'get eaten'	-ka-
mekard 'get nibbled, bitten'	-kard-
meked 'get put down'	-ked-, kedngel
metamk 'get shaved'	-tamk-
metamet 'get straightened'	-tamet-, temetel
metabd 'get skinned'	-tabd-, tebdel
medakl 'get buried'	-dakl-
medangch 'get separated'	-dangch-
medul 'get broiled, roasted'	-dul-
mesekosek 'get carved, sliced'	-sekosek-
mesibas 'get tripped, stumble'	-sibas-
mesikes '(boat) get poled'	-sikes-
mengatech 'get cleaned'	-ngatech-, ngetechel
mengiokl 'get boiled'	-ngiokl-, ngiklel
mengubet 'get removed, freed'	-ngubet-, ngbetel
metirem 'get hit'	-tirem-
medorem 'get sharpened'	-dorem-
meleng 'get borrowed'	-leng-
melatk 'get remembered'	-latk-, letkel
merot 'get pounded, smashed'	-rot-, retengel
mesauch 'get broken off'	-sauch-
mesumech 'get spread out, sent'	-sumech-, smechel

Note 12: As we observed in (36) above, four different stem-initial consonants (T, D, S, and NG) are all changed to L in the imperfective forms of transitive action verbs. Because both T and NG become L, the imperfective forms for each of the verbs below therefore become identical:

Note 12 continued next page

Note 12 continued

(1) a. *basic form:* *mengabek* 'get ironed, scraped' (*bound stem: -ngabek-, ngebekel*)

b. *perfective forms:* *ngobekii, nguabek*

c. *imperfective form:* *melabek* 'to iron (clothes), scrape (papaya), etc.'

(2) a. *basic form:* *metabek* 'get patched, (fine) get paid' (*independent stem: tabek*)

b. *perfective forms:* *tobekii, tuabek*

c. *imperfective form:* *melabek* 'to patch, pay (fine)'

Imperfective *melabek* in (1c) and imperfective *melabek* in (2c) are called *homonyms* (see 2.7.5)—i.e., though identical in spelling and pronunciation, they are really separate words with distinct meanings and derivations.

Another similar case of imperfective verb forms that are *homonyms* is given below. Here, the homonyms occur because stem-initial D and T both become L:

(3) a. *basic form:* *medilech* 'get dipped, dunked' (*bound stem: -dilech-*)

b. *perfective forms:* *dilechak, dilechau, dilechii, dilechid, dilechemam, dilechemiu, dilecheterir, dmilech*

c. *imperfective form:* *melilech* 'to dip, dunk (person, thing) into water'

(4) a. *basic form:* *metilech* 'get thrown down, smashed open'

b. *perfective forms:* *tilechak, tilechau, tilechii, tilechid, tilechemam, tilechemiu, tilecheterir, tmilech*

c. *imperfective form:* *melilech* 'to throw (person) down (in wrestling, etc.), smash open (young coconut)'

ADDITIONAL TYPES OF PALAUAN VERBS

5.8. In the sections above we have looked at the "core" of the Palauan verb system by examining such major distinctions as *action vs. state verb, transitive vs. intransitive verb,* and *perfective vs. imperfective verb.* In addition, we focused on *transitive action verbs* and saw how the *basic form,* the *imperfective form,* and all the *perfective forms* are interrelated. We also made a general survey of how the *tense* system of Palauan

operates. Although we now have a very good idea of the basics of Palauan verbs, there are still many features of the Palauan verb system that need to be explained. The remaining topics involve so many details that we must really deal with them in separate lessons. Therefore, the following topics related to Palauan verbs will be covered later in this textbook:

a. *Prefix pronoun* verb forms (e.g., *kunguiu, monguiu, longuiu,* etc., from *menguiu* 'to read') were introduced in 4.10 to 4.10.5. We still must study the many grammatical constructions in which these verb forms occur.

b. The differences in meaning and use between *perfective vs. imperfective* verb forms (see 5.6.2, 5.6.3, etc., above) need to be clarified and illustrated. This will be done in Lesson 6.

c. There are several distinct types of Palauan *state verbs* that require special attention. As we will see in Lesson 7, it is possible to form state verbs indicating the *resulting state* (e.g., *seleseb* 'burned' from *meleseb* 'to burn') or the *expected* (or required) *state* (e.g., *sesobel* or *seseball* 'is to be burned'). In addition, there are state verbs of various meanings derived with prefixes such as *beke-, seke-,* and *be-*.

d. We have already looked briefly at *causative verbs* (for example, in 5.5.2.3 and 5.6.b.2 above), which are a subtype of transitive action verb in which the subject causes or forces someone else to do something or to be in a particular state. Causative verbs have a wide range of forms and are derived with prefixes such as *omek-, ole-, om-,* etc. Causative verbs will be analyzed fully in Lesson 9.

e. *Reciprocal verbs* are used to indicate actions carried out by two or more subjects upon each other (e.g, *chachelebed* 'to hit each other' from *mengelebed* 'to hit'). They are derived with prefixes such as *kai-, ka-, cha-,* and others. Reciprocal verbs will be covered completely in Lesson 10.

f. Many types of Palauan verbs can be modified in form and meaning by a variety of *reduplicative processes,* in which certain parts of the word are repeated according to several recurrent phonetic patterns. Thus, we saw in 1.3.2.f.4 such forms as *sesmecher* 'rather sick' (from *smecher* 'sick'). Palauan verb reduplication will be analyzed thoroughly in Lesson 11.

g. Special meanings can be obtained from different types of verbs by adding the suffix *-ung* 'about to...' (e.g., *sobekung* 'is about to fly' from *suebek* 'to fly') or the suffix *-ang* 'starting to...' (e.g., *sobekang* 'is starting to fly'). These topics will be covered in Lesson 12.

LIST OF TERMS

5.9. The important terms introduced in this lesson are presented in the two lists below:

A. *Contrasting Terms*

- **Action Verb vs. State Verb**
- **Transitive Verb vs. Intransitive Verb**
- **Doer vs. Receiver**
- **Temporary vs. Permanent**
- **Prefix vs. Suffix vs. Infix**
- **Present vs. Past vs. Future (Tense)**
- **Perfective Form vs. Imperfective Form**
- **Independent Noun vs. Bound (Noun) Stem**

B. *Single Terms*

- **State Verb of Existense**
- **Expression of Existence**
- **Past Tense Marker**
- **Auxiliary Verb**
- **Verb Phrase**
- **Verb Marker**
- **Verb Stem**
- **General Statement**
- **Habitual Statement**
- **Basic Form of a Verb**
- **Processive Form of a Verb**
- **Recent Past**
- **Past Experience**
- **Alternation**
- **Homonym**

5.10. PALAUAN VERBS: STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Define all the single terms and pairs of contrasting terms listed in 5.9 above. Each definition should be clear and accurate, with an illustration or example if possible. Be sure that your definition shows how the term (or pair of contrasting terms) applies to Palauan verbs.

2. How do we go about trying to define the major parts of speech in Palauan—i.e., nouns and verbs?

3. What are the basic sentence patterns that Palauan transitive and intransitive action verbs can occur in? What about Palauan state verbs?

4. What is the major grammatical difference that allows us to distinguish between action verbs and state verbs? Illustrate with clear examples.

5. In what two types of Palauan sentences does the verb occur exactly in sentence-initial position? Give examples.

6. Give several reasons why it is more proper (and useful) to describe Palauan grammar in terms of noun *phrases* and verb *phrases* rather than in terms of single nouns or verbs. Would the same reasons apply to our use of the term *relational phrase* as well?

7. Using the terms *noun phrase* and *verb phrase* for major sentence units, give a general description of the distribution of the Palauan word *a*.

8. What are the major distinctions of *tense* that are made in Palauan?

9. What are the two types of meaning that are conveyed by Palauan imperfective verbs in the *present* tense? Illustrate with full sentences and translate these sentences correctly into English.

10. What is unusual about the way of forming the past tense for Palauan verbs of foreign origin (e.g., *sengkio* 'to vote')?

11. How many different phonetic forms does the Palauan *past tense marker* have? Be sure to cover the past tense forms of all the following verb types: imperfective verbs, perfective verbs, action verbs in *o-* (e.g., *omail* 'to clothe'), causative verbs (e.g., *omekdakt* 'to frighten'), intransitive action verbs (e.g., *chemiis* 'to escape'), and "prefix pronoun" verbs (e.g., *longelebed* 'he/she hits'). Give clear examples for each type.

12. If we have an action verb (transitive or intransitive) in which the verb marker *me-* is followed by an *r*-initial stem, then the past tense marker has the form *-ir-* instead of *-il-*. Some typical examples are *meruul* 'to make'—*mirruul*, *merasm* 'to sew' —

mirrasm, and *merael* 'to leave, travel'—*mirrael.* Compare these examples to the last three examples of (22) in 5.5.2.4 and to the last two examples of (23) in 5.5.2.5. Based on all of the data you have seen, write a phonetic principle or rule that predicts when the Palauan infixed past tense marker will occur as *-ir-* rather than the more common *-il-*.

13. What are the two types of meaning conveyed by Palauan verb phrases that contain the auxiliary verb *mla*? Illustrate with full sentences and translate these sentences accurately into English.

14. What are the differences in meaning and interpretation that result when the auxiliary verb *mo* is used with action verbs as opposed to state verbs? Illustrate with full sentences and translate these sentences accurately into English.

15. What is the function of the Palauan *verb marker*? What different phonetic forms does it take in (1) transitive action verbs, (2) intransitive action verbs, (3) state verbs, (4) causative verbs, and (5) perfective verbs? Give several clear examples of each type.

16. The verb form *mechelebed* 'get hit' can be called the *basic form* or the *processive form* of the transitive action verb *mengelebed* 'to hit', depending on our focus of interest. Explain both of these terms and why they are useful in analyzing a verb form such as *mechelebed.*

17. What are the main phonetic features of Palauan *perfective* verb forms, and how are perfective verb forms related to the *basic form* of a Palauan verb? Take one transitive action verb (other than *mengelebed* 'to hit') to illustrate your answer.

18. What are the various patterns of consonant alternation that let us derive the imperfective form of a verb from its basic form? In which cases is there no consonant alternation? Give several examples for each type.

19. In what parts of Palauan grammar have we already observed *bound* morphemes? How does the distinction between *independent stem* vs. *bound stem* apply to the derivation of Palauan transitive action verbs?

20. How do we know that there are two different verbs *melabek* that happen to be homonyms in their imperfective form?

21. Look carefully at the verbs in *Note 11* (at the end of 5.6.3). For each verb, provide the (present tense) perfective forms in the third person singular and third person nonhuman plural only. Then compare these perfective forms with the basic forms and imperfective forms given. In what way is the relationship between the basic form and the perfective forms truly exceptional?

5.11. PALAUAN VERBS: EXERCISES

1. Below are five sentences with transitive action verbs. For each sentence, do the following:

   (1) identify and translate the verb phrase (watch out for tense)
   (2) identify the doer
   (3) identify the receiver

   a. A redil a mo melengoes er a odoim.
   b. Ng techa a mla dosengii a ngikel?
   c. A chad er a ngebard a rirecherechii a bechil a sechelik.
   d. Ngara uchul me a bulis a meriik er a rubak?
   e. Ak millamech a buuch er se er a taem er a mekemad.

2. The sentences below have different kinds of verbs. Identify and translate each verb phrase, and then indicate which type of verb is involved:

   (1) transitive action verb
   (2) intransitive action verb
   (3) state verb

   a. Ng sebechem el mo mengelim er ngak el mo er a Guam? (two verb phrases)
   b. A bilas a me tuab e merolung. (two verb phrases)
   c. Ak eko er a blim er a klukuk.
   d. Ng kmal mle meses a eolt er a elii.
   e. Ngara uchul me ng di omdaol a ngerem?

3. Here is a varied group of state verbs in Palauan. For each verb,(1) translate into English, and (2) indicate whether the state, quality, or condition is temporary or permanent. It may not be easy to decide in some cases!

a. doall	f. bekngiuk	k. bekerurau
b. bechiil	g. keritbetbechel	l. beches
c. mellemau	h. dengerenger	m. telechib
d. mechut	i. keroker	n. beralm
e. cheduakl	j. meiko	o. kladikm

4. Change the following sentences into the past tense:

   a. A merredel a mo kodur a mekemad.
   b. Ngke el ngalek a mo otsir er a test.
   c. A rubak a metitur a tekoi er a Merikel.
   d. A rechad er se el beluu a kmal mellomes.
   e. Ngara me ke ko er a ouchedeng er kau?

5. Look at the list of verbs in (35) of section 5.6.3. In this list, each verb is presented in its *basic form* and *imperfective form*. Now provide the (present tense) *perfective forms* for each verb, giving only the third person singular and third person *nonhuman* plural forms. Verify that the very same stem-initial consonant occurs in both the basic form (given) and the perfective forms which you provide.

   Example: **basic form**: mechat; **imperfective form**: mengat

   perfective forms: 3rd pers. sg.: chotur
   3rd pers. (nonhum) pl.: chemat

   The stem-initial consonant CH occurs in both the basic form *me**ch**at* and in the perfective forms ***ch**otur* and ***ch**emat*.

6. Look at the list of verbs in (38) of 5.6.3.1. For each verb, provide the (present tense) *perfective forms* in the third person singular and the third person *nonhuman* plural only. Then, supply the corresponding forms in the *past tense.*

   Example: **basic form** and **imperfective form**: melechet

   perfective forms (Present Tense):
   3rd pers. sg.: lochetii
   3rd pers. (nonhum) pl.: lmechet

   perfective forms (Past Tense):
   3rd pers. sg.: lilechetii
   3rd pers. (nonhum) pl.: lilechet

7. In the verbs of (38) in 5.6.3.1, there is no alternation of the consonants L, R, or S when the imperfective form is derived from the basic form. In other words, for these verbs the basic form and the imperfective form are identical. Find and write down additional Palauan verbs that follow this pattern—three with L, three with R, and three with S.

8. Look at the list of verbs given in (g–j) of *Note 10* (at the end of 5.6.3). These are all verbs in which R occurs rather than L. Analyze these verbs by doing the following:

(a) Provide the (present tense) perfective forms for each verb, giving only third person singular and third person nonhuman plural forms.

(b) Verify that the same stem-initial consonant occurs in both the basic form (given) and the perfective forms that you provide.

(c) Give the corresponding forms in the past tense.

Follow the answer format given in Exercises 5 and 6 above.

9. In (40) of 5.7.1 there is a long list of Palauan verbs whose basic form is derived from an independent noun stem (as in *mechesimer* 'get closed' from *chesimer* 'door'). For each of the verbs in (40),

(a) Provide the imperfective form and indicate the pattern of consonant alternation that is found between the basic form and the imperfective form.

(b) Provide the *present* and *past* perfective forms in the third person singular and third person nonhuman plural only.

Example: **basic form**: mechesimer; **imperfective form**: mengesimer

pattern of consonant alternation: CH becomes NG

perfective forms	(Present Tense): 3rd pers. sg.: chosmerii 3rd pers. (nonhum) pl.: chosimer
perfective forms	(Past Tense): 3rd pers. sg.: chilsmerii 3rd pers. (nonhum) pl.: chilsimer

10. In (43) of 5.7.2.1 there is a long list of Palauan verbs whose basic form is derived from a bound stem (e.g., *mechitakl* 'get sung' from *-chitakl-*). For each bound stem given, find at least one other related verb form (other than the imperfective or perfective forms) or a related noun form in which the bound stem occurs. You may wish to consult the *NPED* when doing this exercise.

Examples: a. **bound stem**: -chitakl-
related word: chelitakl 'song' (noun)

b. **bound stem**: -kard-
related word: klard 'nibbled, bitten' ("resulting" state verb)

c. **bound stem**: -latk-
related word: omeklatk 'to remind' (causative verb)

11. In (40), (43), etc., we have seen numerous examples of verbs in their basic form (e.g., *mechelebed* 'get hit', *mechesimer* 'get closed', etc.). These verbs, of course, also have *past tense* forms, which are derived by infixing the past tense marker in either of its two phonetic forms *-il-* or *-l-*. Thus, for a basic form such as *mechelebed,* we can derive the two past tense forms *milechelebed* or *mlechelebed* 'got hit'. Here is a selected group of Palauan verbs in their basic form. Supply the two past tense forms for each:

    a. mecheseb 'get cut, broken'
    b. meka 'get eaten'
    c. mekard 'get nibbled, bitten'
    d. metamk 'get shaved'
    e. medul 'get broiled'
    f. mesibas 'get tripped'
    g. mengiokl 'get boiled'
    h. medorem 'get sharpened'
    i. mesauch 'get broken off'
    j. merot 'get pounded'

The last example (j) is a little different. Where have you seen this pattern before?

6

PALAUAN VERB MARKER & RELATED VERB FORMS

INTRODUCTION

6.1. In Lesson Five we presented a wide-ranging survey of Palauan verbs and learned a lot about their distribution and internal structure. In examining the internal structure of many Palauan verbs, we noted that a particular unit—the **verb marker**—turns up in different phonetic forms and in different positions within the word. We also mentioned that this unit—as its name implies—has the sole function of identifying words (or classes of words) as *verbs*.

VERB MARKER PREFIX *ME-*

6.2. If you would like a quick overall picture of the Palauan verb marker—its forms and distribution as encountered so far—go back and review the chart in (a–c) of 5.6. In this lesson, we will again look in detail at each variant form of the verb marker and indicate the types of verbs in which it occurs.

Intransitive Action Verbs, State Verbs

By far, the most commonly occurring variant of the Palauan verb marker is the *prefix me-* (which is further reduced to *m-* if the following verb stem begins with a vowel). Many *intransitive action verbs* and *state verbs* are marked with the prefix *me-*:

(1)

Intransitive Action Verbs	*State Verbs*
merael 'to walk, travel'	mekngit 'bad'
mengedub 'to swim'	mesaul 'tired'
melecho 'to bathe'	mesisiich 'strong'
mechiuaiu 'to sleep'	mekeald 'warm'
mengedecheduch 'to converse'	mekelekolt 'cold'
metengel 'to come down, land'	mekesai 'few (in number)'
merdekekl 'to jump'	meched 'shallow'
mekiis 'to wake up, get up'	meiusech 'calm'
meliod 'to drip'	meterkakl 'careless'
milil 'to play'	mereched 'early, fast'

Though most of the stems in the verbs above are *bound* (i.e., can never occur alone but must be attached to a prefix, etc.), some of them are *independent* (i.e., can also occur as a separate word—usually a noun). In the list above, verbs containing independent stems include *merael* 'to walk, travel' from the noun *rael* 'road', *mesaul* 'tired' from *saul* 'tiredness, trouble', *mekesai* 'few (in number)' from *kesai* 'insufficient quantity', and *meched* 'shallow' from *ched* 'low tide'. We will refer to the distinction between bound and independent stems again below. If you wish to review these ideas further, they were presented quite thoroughly in 5.7.1 and 5.7.2.

Transitive Action Verbs

6.2.1. As we have seen in 5.6.1 and 5.6.3, the great majority of Palauan *transitive action verbs* are marked with the prefix *me-*. Every Palauan transitive action verb exhibits a wide network of interrelated forms that involve several complex processes of derivation. In 5.6.1 we went through these processes of derivation in great detail, so only the highlights will be summarized here.

Basic Form

Every Palauan transitive action verb has two forms that show the verb marker prefix *me-*: the *basic form* and the *imperfective form*. The *basic form* has the structure **verb marker *me-* + (noun) stem**, where the stem may be either independent or bound. A good example is *mechelebed*, which comes from verb marker *me-* and the independent stem *chelebed*, a noun meaning 'any object used to hit with (whip, bat, club, etc.)'. The verb form *mechelebed* means '(someone) gets hit'—i.e., it is used to indicate that the subject of the sentence *experiences* or *undergoes the process* of getting hit. For this reason, we can also call *mechelebed* the *processive form* of the verb, especially when we wish to focus on its meaning or function. The use of *mechelebed* as a processive form is illustrated in the sentence below:

(2) Ke mo tsiui er a blekerdelem, e ke mo mechelebed!
'Watch out for your behavior, or else you'll get hit (as a punishment)!'

As noted earlier, and as the English translation indicates, the processive form of a transitive action verb functions very much like a *passive* verb form in English.

Imperfective Form

In addition to its basic form, every Palauan transitive action verb has an *imperfective form*. The imperfective form also exhibits the structure **verb marker *me-* + (noun) stem**, but with one very important difference: in most cases, the *stem-initial consonant* has been modified according to a rule of *consonant alternation*. Thus, to change the basic form *mechelebed* into the imperfective form, we simply apply the rule of consonant

alternation CH → NG and derive imperfective *mengelebed* 'to hit, beat'. If you review (36-7) of 5.6.3, you will see that there are two major types of consonant alternation—namely,

(3) 1. CH and K become NG
2. T, D, S, and NG become L

In the list below, we look at the basic form and corresponding imperfective form for a few typical transitive action verbs already given in (35) of 5.6.3. The type of consonant alternation used to derive the imperfective form is given at the left:

(4)

	Basic Form	*Imperfective Form*
CH → NG	mechat '(fish) get smoked'	mengat 'to smoke (fish)'
K → NG	mekereel '(fish) get caught with line'	mengereel 'to catch (fish) with a line'
T → L	metord 'get annoyed'	melord 'to annoy'
D → L	medeel 'get nailed'	meleel 'to nail'
S → L	meseseb 'get burned'	meleseb 'to burn'
NG → L	mengatech 'get cleaned'	melatech 'to clean'

Note 1: Recall that in some cases, we do not observe any consonant alternation at all between the basic form and the imperfective form of a verb. Thus, we saw in 5.6.3.1 that the basic and imperfective forms are often identical for transitive action verbs whose stems start with L, R, or S (e.g., *melechet* 'get tied' or 'to tie', *meringet* 'get chewed' or 'to chew', *mesaod* 'get explained' or 'to explain'). In addition, there are some cases when T, D, S, and NG become R instead of L. These are all illustrated in *Note 10* at the end of 5.6.3.

As noted above, the *basic form mechelebed* 'get hit' has a *processive* meaning and indicates (like the English passive) that the sentence subject is on the "receiving end" of the action of hitting. By contrast, the *imperfective form mengelebed* 'to hit' is used when the sentence subject is on the "giving end"—i.e., is the person actually doing the hitting. In addition, imperfective *mengelebed* (past tense: *milengelebed* or *mlengelebed*) views the action of hitting as *ongoing* or *in progress* ('is hitting, was hitting'). It therefore contrasts with *perfective forms* like *cholebedak* (past tense: *chillebedak*), which indicate a totally *finished* or *completed* action. See 6.9 below for a detailed discussion of the meaning differences between the imperfective and perfective forms of Palauan transitive action verbs.

VERB MARKER PREFIX *O-*
Transitive Action Verbs with B-Stems

6.3. The verb marker occurs as a prefix *o-* with all transitive action verbs derived from *b*-initial stems. To take a typical example, when the verb marker prefix is added to the independent noun *bail* 'clothing', we get the *basic form obail,* which has the expected processive meaning 'get clothed'. In order to derive the *imperfective form* for this verb, we follow a rule of *consonant alternation* similar to those given in (3) above. The only difference is that we are dealing with a new phonetic change—namely, B (of the basic form) becomes M (in the imperfective form). Thus, we derive the imperfective form *omail* 'to clothe, wrap'. Examples of other transitive action verbs similar to *obail—omail* are listed below:

(5)

Basic Form	*Imperfective Form*	*Related (Noun) Stem*
oboes 'get shot'	omoes 'to shoot'	boes 'gun'
obekall 'get driven'	omekall 'to drive'	bekall 'sail'
obangch 'get bitten'	omangch 'to bite'	bangch 'bite'
obedikl 'get trapped'	omedikl 'to trap'	bedikl 'trap'
obelau 'get deceived'	omelau 'to deceive'	Belau 'Palau'
oberober 'get grabbed'	omerober 'to grab'	berober 'narrow part of limb'
obiich 'get sifted'	omiich 'to sift'	biich 'sieve'
obesebes 'get tied'	omesebes 'to tie'	besebes 'rope, cord'
obalech 'get hit with slingshot'	omalech 'to hit with slingshot'	balech 'slingshot'
obangl 'get stuck, interrupted'	omangl 'to interrupt'	bangl-, benglel 'interruption'
obar 'get slapped'	omar 'to slap'	bar-, berngel 'slap in face'
obii 'get divided'	omii 'to divide'	bii-, bingel 'act of dividing'

In the great majority of examples above, the noun stems from which the transitive action verbs are derived are *independent* forms. In the last three examples, however, these stems are *bound* (and as nouns must always be *obligatorily possessed*—see 3.5).

Transitive Action Verbs with U-Stems or O-Stems

Note 2: There is another group of Palauan transitive action verbs whose imperfective forms are derived with the verb marker prefix *o-*. A good example is the very common verb *omes* 'to see', which has the related noun stem *ues* 'vision, sight'. In addition to the prefix *o-*, you will notice that the imperfective form *omes* shows a further modification: the stem-initial *vowel* U has changed to M. This interesting pattern of *vowel-consonant alternation* (as opposed to the *consonant-consonant alternation* seen earlier) is found in several other cases where the stem begins with the vowel U or O. Thus, we have *ometech* 'to throw at' (from *uetech* 'any object thrown'), *omades* 'to arrange' (from *uades* 'rank'), *omaol* 'to attract (with bait)' (from *uaol* 'bait'), *omuked* 'to catch (fish) by casting a net' (from *uuked* 'fish net'), and *omak* 'to anchor, tie up' (from *oak* 'anchor chain or rope').

Transitive Action Verbs with no Consonant Alternation

Note 3: There is an exceptional group of Palauan transitive action verbs whose imperfective forms have the verb marker *o-* but show no further changes. In other words, there is no *consonant alternation* in the derivation of *okoad* 'to fight' (from *koad* 'technique of fighting'), *oker* 'to ask' (from *ker* 'question'), *osiik* 'to look for' (from *siik* 'search'), *osus* 'to greet' (from *sus* 'greeting'), and *oked* 'to command' (from *obligatorily possessed ked-, kedul* 'command in war').

Intransitive Action Verbs with B-Stems

6.3.1. The verb marker *o-* is also found prefixed to certain *intransitive* action verbs. All of these are derived from *b*-initial noun stems. Interestingly enough, all of these verbs show the consonant alternation B → M when the intransitive form is derived from the related stem. Here are some typical examples:

(6)

Intransitive Action Verb	*Related (Noun) Stem*
omais 'to wander'	bais 'action of wandering'
omakes 'to walk'	bakes 'step (in walking)'
omaoch 'to flow'	baoch '(flowing) water in ditch'
omasech 'to move in zigzag fashion'	basech 'direction against wind'
omeriokl 'to overflow, boil over'	beriokl '(overflowing) water'
omachediil 'to have diarrhea'	bachediil 'diarrhea'
omadek 'to bring mat to home of deceased'	badek 'mat brought to home of deceased'

Note 4: There are a few exceptional intransitive action verbs that have the verb marker *o-* but are otherwise derived from the related noun stem with no consonant alternation (just like the verbs in *Note 3* above). Two examples are *oklukl* 'to cough' (from *klukl* 'cough') and *osngos* 'to sneeze' (from *sngos* 'sneeze').

Causative Verbs

6.3.2. As we have mentioned briefly on a few previous occasions (see, for example, 5.5.2.3), Palauan has an important group of verbs known as *causative verbs*. These verbs indicate that someone *causes* or *forces* another person to do something, or to be in a particular state. Causative verbs can also have animals or things as their objects. Thus, we have causative verbs like *omekdakt* 'to frighten, make (someone) scared' (related to the noun stem *dakt* 'fear') and *ollangel* 'to make (someone) cry' (related to the noun stem *langel* 'crying'). All causative verbs can be identified by the presence of the *causative prefix*, which has quite a few variant forms, as indicated below:

(7)

Causative Prefix: Variant	*Examples*
omek-	omekdakt 'to frighten' omekdekimes 'to make...wet'
ome-	omengim 'to make...drink' omeka 'to make...eat, feed'
om-	omcholo 'to make...angry' omdach 'to make...work hard'
ole-	olechiis 'to chase' olengasech 'to raise, lift up'
ol-	ollangel 'to make...cry' oltobed 'to take out'
or-	orrebet 'to make...fall, drop' orrurt 'to make...run'

While it is likely that the variant forms of the causative prefix are internally complex (i.e., contain more than one morpheme or structural unit), it is enough for our purposes to note that all causative prefixes start off with the verb marker *o-*.

Prefix OU-

6.3.3. There are many Palauan verbs that are formed by adding the prefix *ou-* to an independent stem, 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 noun stem refers to, as in the examples below:

(8)

Derived Verb in ***ou-***	*Related Independent Noun*
oublai 'to own a house'	blai 'house'
oustoa 'to own/run a store'	stoa 'store'
ousidosia 'to own a car'	sidosia 'car'
oucharm 'to keep a pet'	charm 'animal'
ousers 'to have a garden/farm'	sers 'garden'

As you can see, the prefix *ou-* attaches to native Palauan nouns as well as nouns of foreign origin. Can you tell which is which in the list above?

In addition, verbs derived with *ou-* can refer to an activity or relationship normally associated with the meaning of the given noun stem. As the examples below indicate, it is not easy to predict exactly what the derived verb in *ou-* will mean:

(9)

Derived Verb in ***ou-***	*Related Independent Noun*
ouskuul 'to teach, tutor'	skuul 'school'
oukita 'to play the guitar'	kita 'guitar'
oureng 'to wish/hope for'	reng 'heart, spirit'
ousechele 'to be friends with'	sechele 'friend'
ouchais 'to tell (someone) news (about something)'	chais 'news'
ousibai 'to make a slave of'	sibai 'slave'

Much less often, a derived verb in *ou-* may be related to a state verb (e.g., *oumera* 'to believe' from *mera* 'true') or to a bound stem (e.g., *ousbech* 'to need, use', which is related to the obligatorily possessed noun *usbechel* 'purpose, use, function'). The use of some of these derived verbs in *ou-* is illustrated in the sentences below:

(10)

a.	A Droteo a oublai er se el blai	'Droteo owns that house.'
b.	Ke oustoa er a Belau?	'Do you run a store in Palau?'
c.	A rechad er a Merikel a oucharm a bilis.	'Americans keep dogs (as pets).'
d.	A Tochi a ousers er a ked.	'Tochi is farming the hillside.'
e.	Ak ouskuul er a ngelekel er a ochur.	'I am tutoring his child in math.'
f.	Ng sebechem el oukita?	'Can you play the guitar?'
g.	Ak ousbech er a bilsengem.	'I need your boat.'

In the examples above, can you determine which verbs in *ou-* are transitive and which are intransitive?

VERB MARKER INFIXES
Intransitive Action Verbs

6.4. The Palauan verb marker also occurs as an *infix* in several types of verbs. As we have already seen, an *infix* is a grammatical unit (a morpheme or meaning-bearing unit) that occurs *within* another word or stem. The infixed verb marker of Palauan has the four phonetic variants *-em-, -m-, -o-,* or *-u-* and is always placed in a position following the *initial consonant* of a stem. Quite a few *intransitive action verbs* exhibit the infixed verb marker. In the list below, all the intransitive action verbs are derived from *independent* noun stems:

(11)

Intransitive Action Verb	*Related Independent Noun*
lmuut 'to return'	luut 'return'
lmangel 'to cry'	lmangel 'crying'
chemiis 'to escape'	chiis 'escape'
remurt 'to run'	rurt 'running, race'
ngmasech 'to climb, (sun) rise'	ngasech 'rising, ceremony for mother and newborn child'
ruebet 'to fall'	rebet '(action of) falling'

In addition to the above, some intransitive action verbs with an infixed verb marker are related to *bound* (obligatorily possessed) noun stems—e.g., *ngmelt* 'to sink, (sun) set' (cf. *ngeltel* 'setting of sun') and *tuobed* 'to come out' (cf. *tebedel* 'beginning, outbreak'). Certain other intransitive action verbs clearly contain an infixed verb marker but are derived from a stem occurring in a related *causative verb* rather than a noun. Thus, we have *tmorech* 'to slip, slide' (stem *torech* found in causative verb *oltorech* 'to make (someone) slip'), *remos* 'to drown' (stem *ros* found in causative *orros* 'to make (someone) drown'), *suebek* 'to fly' (stem *sebek* found in causative *olsebek* 'to make/let (something) fly'), *chuarm* 'to suffer' (stem *charm* found in causative *omekcharm* 'to make (someone) suffer'), and *soiseb* 'to enter' (stem *siseb* found in causative *olsiseb* 'to put/push into').

State Verbs with Verb Marker Infixes

Note 5: In a very small number of cases, the infixed verb marker is found within Palauan *state verbs,* which are derived from a related noun stem (independent or bound) in a pattern that resembles the examples of (11) above. The most common state verbs of this type are *smecher* 'sick' (cf. *secher* 'sickness'), *dmolech* 'deep' (cf. *dolech* '(high) tide, depth'), *kmeed* 'near' (cf. obligatorily possessed *kedel* 'nearness'), and *smau* 'comfortable with' (cf. obligatorily possessed *soal* 'his/her liking').

Perfective Forms of Transitive Action Verbs

6.4.1. The infixed verb marker also occurs regularly in the *perfective* forms of Palauan transitive action verbs. In 6.2 above we have already noted that every transitive action verb has a *basic form* (e.g., *mechelebed*) with the structure *Verb Marker Prefix ME- + Noun Stem* as well as an *imperfective form* (e.g., *mengelebed*) which shows a similar structure but usually exhibits *consonant alternation* (in this case CH → NG). In addition to the basic form and the imperfective form, Palauan transitive action verbs have a set of *perfective forms* (e.g., *cholebedak, cholebedau,* etc.), which we have already examined in some detail. Let us now review the important facts about perfective verb forms that we introduced in 4.9.1-4 and 5.6.2:

a. The internal structure of perfective verb forms consists of the stem followed by an *object pronoun* (suffix). These object pronouns (suffixes) are repeated here:

(12) **Object Pronouns**

	Singular	*Plural*
1st person	-ak	-id (incl.) -emam (excl.)
2nd person	-au	-emiu
3rd person	-ii	-(e)terir

In addition to the forms above, we noted in 4.9.4 that there is a special eighth pronoun distinction among object pronouns—namely, the *zero suffix* for 3rd person plural *nonhuman* objects only. Therefore, besides *cholebedak* 'hits me', *cholebedau* 'hits you (sg.)', *cholebedii* 'hits him/her/it', etc., we have the perfective form *cholebed* 'hits them (*nonhuman*)', which contrasts with *cholebedeterir* 'hits them (*human*)'.

b. The perfective forms of transitive action verbs can be derived directly from the verb's *basic form* by (1) replacing the verb marker *prefix me-* with a verb marker *infix* of the form *-em-, -m-, -o-,* or *-u-,* (2) inserting this infix into the stem after the *stem-initial consonant,* and (3) adding an object pronoun suffix. Thus, from the basic form *mechelebed* 'get hit' we take the stem ***chelebed***, insert the verb marker *-o-* to get ***cholebed-*** (note that the O replaces an original weak E of the stem), and then add an object pronoun suffix (e.g., ***cholebedak*** 'hits me'). Because perfective forms are related most directly to the basic form, they will always share the same *stem-initial consonant*—e.g., both *mechelebed* and *cholebedak* have CH, both *medasech* and *dosechii* have D, and so on.

c. Because the object pronouns are always *stressed,* a full vowel in the stem often gets reduced or weakened to weak E in the perfective forms. Thus, while we have *full E* in the *stressed syllable* of the basic form *me-che-LE-bed* (and in the imperfective form *me-nge-LE-bed* as well), this same E is reduced to *weak E* in the perfective

forms, where the stress shifts to the object pronoun suffix (e.g., *cho-le-be-DAK, cho-le-be-DII,* etc.). The only perfective form in which the full E pronunciation is maintained is *cho-LE-bed.* Can you explain why this is so? If you need to review any of these points, see the *Principles of Vowel Weakening for Perfective Verbs* in 4.9.3.

Infixes -EM-, -M-, -O-, and -U- In Perfective Verb Forms

6.4.2. We can summarize the material presented above by saying that one of the most interesting features of Palauan transitive action verbs is the *alternation* between the verb marker as a *prefix* (*me-*) in certain forms and as an *infix* (*-em-, -m-, -o-, -u-*) in others. While the prefix appears in both the basic form (*mechelebed*) and imperfective form (*mengelebed*), the infix is found in all the perfective forms (*cholebedak, cholebedau,* etc.). In the list of (present tense) perfective forms below, we can observe the four variant forms of the verb marker infix. The related imperfective form is given in parentheses:

(13) a. ***infix*** *-em-*: remuul (meruul), remenges (orrenges), remot (merot), chemais (mengais), chemaus (mengaus), chemuiu (menguiu)

b. ***infix*** *-m-*: dmilech (melilech), dmachel (melachel), dmort (merort), kmaiu (mengaiu), kmedii/kmed (menged), kmider (mengider), ngmai (melai), ngmatech (melatech), ngmuked (meluked), smodii/smaod (mesaod), smarech (mesarech), smaur (mesaur), tminget (melinget), tmuich (meluich), tmutk (melutk)

c. ***infix*** *-o-*: rongesak/rongesau/rongesii, etc., (orrenges), longir (meleng), ngosuir (olengeseu), chosengur (mengesang), dolemii (melalem), dosengii (meles), korelii (mengereel), chosberberii/chosbreber (mengesbreber), tomkii (melamk), tochelbii/tocholb/tochelbeterir (melecholb), sokesekii/sokosek (melekosek), sosebii (meleseb), choitakl (mengitakl)

d. ***infix*** *-u-*: dualem (melalem), tuamk (melamk), chuamech (melamech), sueseb (meleseb), chuib (mengib), kuimd (mengimd), chueseb (mengeseb)

Distribution of Verb Marker Infixes

6.4.3. Although there are some unpredictable exceptions, the examples in (13a–d) above allow us to make some general statements about how the four variants of the verb marker infix are distributed. Here are the major patterns:

a. The infix *-em-* seems to occur exclusively in perfective forms that have the *zero suffix* for third person plural *nonhuman* objects. The *e* of *-em-* is probably inserted for phonetic reasons after R and CH to avoid the impossible word-initial consonant clusters RM and CHM that would otherwise result.

b. The infix *-m-* is also found almost exclusively in perfective forms with the *zero suffix* for third person plural nonhuman objects. Occasionally, this *-m-* is found in the other perfective forms as well (e.g., third person singular *kmedii, smodii*). Together with the preceding consonant, this *-m-* forms the word-initial consonant clusters DM, KM, SM, and TM. Word-initial NGM involves *syllabic* NG (e.g., *ng-mai*).

c. The infix *-o-* usually occurs in all the perfective forms of a verb except that with a *zero suffix* for third person plural nonhuman objects. In a small number of cases, the *-o-* also occurs in the zero-suffix form as well (e.g., in addition to *tochelbii* we have *tocholb*, and in addition to *chosberberii* we have *chosbreber*).

d. The infix *-u-* is perhaps the most interesting because it only occurs in verb stems that contain a B or an M. It is almost as if such stems will not "tolerate" the infix *-m-* (because phonetically it is identical to the M or similar to the B already in the stem) and therefore require the *-u-* instead. In any case, this *-u-* occurs primarily in perfective forms with the zero suffix for third person plural nonhuman objects.

VERB MARKER: SUMMARY

6.5. Based on all of the information given above, the distribution of the Palauan verb marker is summarized in the following chart. For each type of verb in which the verb marker occurs, a familiar example is also given.

(14)

Variant Form of Verb Marker	***Type of Verb***	***Example***
1. Prefix *ME-* (or *M-*)	a. Intransitive action	*merael*
	b. State	*mesaul*
	c. Transitive action:	
	1. Basic form	*mechelebed*
	2. Imperfective form	*mengelebed*
2. Prefix *O-*	a. Intransitive action	*omais*
	b. Transitive action:	
	1. Basic form	*oboes*
	2. Imperfective form	*omoes*
	c. Causative	*olengasech*
	d. Verbs with Prefix *ou-*	*oublai*
3. Infixes *-EM-*, *-E-*, *-O-*, *-U-*	a. Intransitive action	*lmuut*
	b. Transitive action in Perfective form	*cholebedii*
	c. State	*smecher*

THE VERB MARKER IN PAST TENSE VERB FORMS

6.6. As we saw in 5.5.2.2-6, most Palauan verbs (except state verbs) contain the infixed *past tense marker -il-* or *-l-* in their past tense forms. The past tense marker combines with the prefixed verb marker in different ways, depending on the type of verb. The appearance of the verb marker together with the past tense marker is summarized below:

a. *Transitive action verbs*

1. To form the past tense of the *basic form* and the *imperfective form*, simply place the infixed past tense marker *-il-* or *-l-* after the initial *m-* of the verb marker *me-*. Thus, we get the past tense forms *milechelebed* or *mlechelebed* from the basic form *mechelebed*, and the past tense forms *milengelebed* or *mlengelebed* from the imperfective form *mengelebed*.

2. To form the past tense of *perfective forms*, the past tense marker *-il-* is infixed after the first consonant of the stem. Thus, compare present tense *dosechii* with past *dilsechii*, present tense *cholebedii* with past *chillebedii*, etc. It appears as if the past tense marker entirely *replaces* the verb marker (seen here as an infixed *-o-* in the present tense) in such cases. In other words, there is no trace whatsoever of the verb marker in the past tense forms of perfective verbs! Other examples are *killii, silsebii, chilsberberii, lilengir, tiludii, kiltmeklii,* and *chiliuii*.

3. If the transitive action verb begins with the prefixed verb marker *o-*, then addition of the past tense marker results in a new prefix *ule-* or *ul-*. Typical examples are past *ulemes* from *omes, ulerrenges* from *orrenges, ulureor* from *oureor,* and *ulemoes* from *omoes*. In the prefixes *ule-* or *ul-*, it appears as if the original verb marker prefix *o-* has "blended" with the vowel *i* of the infixed past tense marker *-il-* to form the new word-initial vowel *u-*.

4. *Causative verbs* (actually a subtype of transitive action verb) operate just like the *o*-initial verbs mentioned in the above paragraph. In the past tense, the initial *o-* of the causative prefixes *omek-, ome-, ol-*, etc., also changes to *ule-* or *ul-*. Some typical examples are past *ulemekdakt* from *omekdakt, ulellangel* from *ollangel, ulerrebet* from *orrebet,* etc.

b. *Intransitive action verbs*

1. If the intransitive action verb has the *prefixed* verb marker *me-* (or *m-*), then the past tense marker is simply infixed after the initial *m-*, as in past *milengedub* from *mengedub, mililil* from *milil,* and so on.

2. If the intransitive action verb has the *infixed* verb marker *-em-, -m-, -o-,* or *-u-*, then the past tense marker is infixed after the stem-initial consonant and replaces the verb marker entirely (cf. a-2 above). Therefore, there is no sign of the verb marker in such forms as past *liluut* from *lmuut, chiliis* from *chemiis, rirebet* from *ruebet,* and *siliseb* from *soiseb*.

c. *Prefix pronoun verbs*

As noted in 5.5.2.6, prefix pronoun verbs in the past tense show the prefixes *kul-*, *(cho)mul-*, *lul-*, *dul-*, and *kimul-*. While the *-l-* clearly is the past tense marker, there seems to be no trace of the verb marker in such forms (*kulsuub, lulsuub,* etc.).

PALAUAN VERB FORMS WITHOUT THE VERB MARKER

6.7. Though the verb marker plays a very important role in marking or identifying certain types of Palauan verbs, it is interesting to note that there are several groups of verbs in which the verb marker does not seem to occur at all. In most cases, the members of these groups can be identified as verbs on the basis of some other factor—usually, another prefix that is always associated with verb derivation.

State Verbs

6.7.1. As we will see in Lesson 7, some groups of *state verbs* lack the verb marker altogether:

a. Some common state verbs without the verb marker are *klebokel* 'pretty', *dibus* 'absent', *chetngaid* 'thin', and *ngeiasek* 'young'.

b. State verbs derived with the prefix *be-* show no sign of the verb marker: *beralm* 'watery', *becheleleu* 'white', etc.

c. State verbs derived with the prefixes *beke-* and *seke-* similarly show no sign of the verb marker: *beketekoi* 'talkative', *sekengim* 'prone to drinking a lot (of liquor)', etc.

d. *Resulting state verbs* have no obvious verb marker: *nglatech* 'cleaned' (cf. basic form *mengatech,* imperfective *melatech,* with the verb marker prefix *me-*), *bloes* 'shot' (cf. basic form *oboes,* imperfective *omoes,* with the verb marker prefix *o-*), etc.

e. *Expected state verbs* have no verb marker either: *ngetachel* 'is to be cleaned', *beakl* 'is to be shot', etc.

Reciprocal Verbs

6.7.2. *Reciprocal verbs* (see Lesson 10), which indicate that two or more people do the same thing to *each other,* are formed with the reciprocal prefixes *kai-*, *kau-*, *kaiue-*, *ke-*, *ka-*, and *cha-*. Even though the variants *kau-* and *kaiue-* contain *-u-*, there is little evidence that this vowel is related to the verb marker. Therefore, the verb marker is not found at all in such reciprocal verbs as *kaingeseu* 'to help each other', *kauklatk* 'to remind each other', *kaiuetoir* 'to chase each other', *keluches* 'to write to each other', *katekoi* 'to speak to each other', and *chachelebed* 'to hit each other'.

Verbs with Prefix Pronouns

6.7.3. In 4.10 we saw that the *prefix pronouns ku-* 'I', *lo-* 'he, she, it, they', etc., can occur in such verb forms as *kunguiu* 'I read', *longuiu* 'he reads', etc., which themselves are found in a wide variety of complicated grammatical constructions. When we note that *kunguiu* and the other prefix pronoun verbs are derived from the corresponding *imperfective* form *menguiu* 'to read' by *replacing* the verb marker *me-* with a prefix pronoun, then we realize that such verb forms are actually characterized by the very *absence* of the verb marker. Another example is *ksecher, lsecher,* etc., in which the prefix pronoun forms lack the (infixed) verb marker *-m-* found in the corresponding (state) verb *smecher.* See also 6.6.c above.

Note 6: There are some exceptions to the general implication of 6.7.3 above that the verb marker is always missing in prefix pronoun verb forms. In fact, *state verbs* that have the verb marker prefix *me-* (see the list in 6.2 above) retain it even when a prefix pronoun is added—e.g., *lemekngit* from *mekngit, lemeched* from *meched,* etc. Furthermore, if a prefix pronoun is added to the *basic form* of a transitive action verb, the *me-* is also preserved—e.g., *lemechuiu* (cf. basic *mechuiu,* imperfective *menguiu*) and *lemengim* (cf. basic *mengim,* imperfective *melim*).

No Verb Marker Before *I* In Various Perfective Verb Forms

Note 7: In certain transitive action verbs whose stem contains the vowel *I,* there is no evidence of the verb marker in seven out of eight present tense perfective forms. Note, for example, the perfective forms of *mengimd* 'to cut (someone's) hair' (basic form: *mekimd*):

kimdak 'cuts my hair'	kimdid 'cuts our (incl.) hair' kimdemam 'cuts our (excl.) hair'
kimdau 'cuts your (sg.) hair'	kimdemiu 'cuts your (pl.) hair'
kimdii 'cuts his/her hair'	kimdeterir 'cuts their (hum.) hair' kuimd 'cuts their (nonhum.) hair'

In the first seven forms, there is no trace of an infixed verb marker, while in *kuimd* (the third person *nonhuman* plural form, with *zero suffix*) we in fact see *-u-*. How can we explain why the infixed verb marker appears as *-u-* in this form only? It is possible that the answer lies in the placement of the *stress*—i.e., in the first seven forms, the word-initial syllable *kim-* is unstressed because the object pronouns themselves are always stressed: *kim-DAK, kim-DAU,* etc. In the last form, however,

Note 7 continued next page

Note 7 continued

the entire word is stressed —*KUIMD*—because the zero suffix (for third person nonhuman plural) has no phonetic content and therefore cannot "attract" the stress. It is possible to speculate that the infixed verb marker would have appeared in the first seven perfective forms except for a very specific phonetic rule—namely, that the verb marker infix gets deleted automatically before the vowel *I* in an *unstressed* syllable.

This rule would also explain why all the past tense forms of perfective verbs never show the verb marker either (see 6.6.a.2 above). In other words, in forms like *sil-se-BII, chils-ber-be-RII, li-le-NGIR, ti-lu-DII,* etc., any verb marker preceding the vowel *I* (which is part of the past tense marker *-il-*) would have been deleted because the word-initial syllable containing it will always be *unstressed.*

REVIEW OF VOWEL WEAKENING

6.8. In Lesson 3 (Sections 3.3 and 3.3.1–3.3.8) we first saw that Palauan *vowels* and *vowel clusters* are usually affected by a general process of *weakening* when they occur in the *unstressed* syllables of Palauan *possessed nouns*. If you review the summary in 3.3.8, you will find the following types of weakening:

(15)	***TYPE OF VOWEL WEAKENING***	*Example*
a.	**Single Vowels:**	
	1. Reduce to weak E	kar: ker-UL
	2. Delete	ngakl: ng-KLEL
b.	**Double Vowels:**	
	1. Reduce to same single vowel	oriik: o-ri-KEL
	2. Reduce to weak E	diil: de-LEL
c.	**Vowel Clusters:**	
	1. One or the other vowel deletes	oak: o-KUL
	2. Both vowels change to weak E or another vowel	rael: ro-LEL

Vowel Weakening In Perfective Verb Forms

Then, in 4.9.3 of Lesson 4 we observed the very same types of vowel weakening in the *perfective* forms of transitive action verbs. In these forms, too, vowels and vowel clusters within a verb stem are often weakened when they occur in *unstressed* syllables.

This happens because the *object pronoun suffixes* (from *-ak* to *-terir* in the first seven perfective verb forms) are always *stressed,* leaving all the other syllables in the word unstressed. By contrast, vowel and vowel cluster weakening never occur in the eighth perfective verb form (third person plural *nonhuman* object) because the *zero suffix* has no phonetic content and can therefore never be stressed. If you need to review the Palauan zero suffix, read 4.9.4 again now.

To take a typical example, let us observe the eight perfective forms of the verb *melecholb* 'to bathe' (basic form *metecholb* 'get bathed') in the present tense. The stressed syllable of each word has been written in capital letters:

(16)

tochelBAK 'bathes me'	tochelBID 'bathes us (incl.)'
	tochelbeMAM 'bathes us (excl.)'
tochelBAU 'bathes you (sg.)'	tochelbeMIU 'bathes you (pl.)'
tochelBII 'bathes him/her/it'	tochelbeteRIR 'bathes them (hum.)'
	toCHOLB 'bathes them (nonhum.)'

Let us now focus on the vowel O which occurs between the CH and L of the imperfective and basic forms. When we look at the list of perfective forms in (16), we notice that this full vowel O is preserved in only one case—namely, in *to-CHOLB,* the form for third person plural *nonhuman* objects. This is precisely the form that has the zero suffix, and therefore the syllable CHOLB remains stressed (just as in imperfective *me-le-CHOLB* and basic *me-te-CHOLB*) and the full vowel O remains unchanged. In all the other forms, however, the object pronoun suffix is *stressed* (*-AK, -AU,* etc.), and for this reason all preceding syllables of the word must be *unstressed.* In all of these cases, the original full vowel O has been reduced to a *weak E* because it now occurs in an unstressed syllable. In all verbs showing this pattern of single vowel weakening (i.e., any *full vowel* A, (full) E, I, O, or U becomes *weak E*), the full vowel will always be found in (1) the *basic form,* (2) the *imperfective form,* and (3) the eighth *perfective form* (i.e., for third person plural *nonhuman* object), while the weak E will be found in the remaining (i.e., the first seven) perfective forms.

Single Vowel Weakening: Reduction to Weak E

6.8.1. Here are some additional examples where a single full vowel is reduced to weak E in the perfective forms of certain verbs. Only the (present tense) third person singular and third person plural *nonhuman* forms are given (together with the corresponding imperfective form). For ease of reference, the vowel which reduces is italicized:

(17)

Imperfective Form [Full Vowel]	*Perfective Forms:* *3rd sg. obj.* [Weak E]	*3rd pl. nonhum. obj.* [Full Vowel]
A → Weak E		
mengit*a*kl 'to sing'	chit*e*klii	choit*a*kl
menges*a*ng 'to occupy'	chos*e*ngur	chos*a*ng
Full E → Weak E		
mengel*e*bed 'to hit'	chol*e*bedii	chol*e*bed
om*e*s 'to see'	m*e*sang	m*e*s
I → Weak E (I usually does not reduce to WEAK E—see 3.3.4)		
O → Weak E		
melek*o*sek 'to cut'	sok*e*sekii	sok*o*sek
mengetm*o*kl 'to clean'	kutm*e*klii	kutm*o*kl
U → Weak E		
melech*u*dech 'to soil'	duch*e*dechii	duch*u*dech
menges*u*ches 'to stick into'	chus*e*chesii	chus*u*ches

Pronounce all of the forms above carefully to verify that the full vowel occurs when it is in the stressed syllable, while it sounds like weak E when unstressed (in the third person singular object perfective forms).

Single Vowel Weakening: Deletion

6.8.2. Another type of single vowel weakening involves total vowel *deletion*. Although this is much less common, it is found in some cases, as shown below:

(18)

Imperfective Form [Full Vowel]	*Perfective Forms:* *3rd sg. obj.* [Vowel Deleted]	*3rd pl. nonhum. obj.* [Full Vowel]
I Deleted:		
menged*i*b 'to hit, kick'	kidbengii	kid*i*b
mengel*i*m 'to accompany'	cholmengii	(no form due to meaning)
menges*i*mer 'to close'	chosmerii	chos*i*mer
U Deleted:		
melebus*e*ch 'to blow (shell)'	debsechii	debus*e*ch
mengelebu*s* 'to put in jail'	kulebsengii	(no form due to meaning)
mengim*u*t 'to throw down'	k(o)imtengii	k(o)im*u*t

It is interesting to note that although the full vowel I never seems to reduce to a weak E, as noted in (17) above, there are at least three cases shown here in which a full I is deleted entirely.

Double Vowel Shortening

6.8.3. As part of the general process of vowel weakening, the Palauan double vowels EE, II, OO, and UU are usually shortened to a single full vowel E, I, O, or U. Here are some typical examples of this change:

(19)

	Imperfective Form	*Perfective Forms:*	
		3rd sg. obj.	*3rd pl. nonhum. obj.*
	[Double Vowel]	[Single Full Vowel]	[Double Vowel]
EE→E	mele*e*l 'to nail'	dmelii	dme*e*l
	menger*e*el 'to catch fish' (with line)'	korelii	kore*e*l
II→I	omi*i*ch 'to sift'	michii	mi*i*ch
	meli*i*m 'to spray'	dimii	du*i*im
OO→O	melo*o*ch 'to feed with prechewed food'	tmochii	tmo*o*ch
UU→U	melengu*u*l 'to ridicule'	dongulii	dongu*u*l
	mengitu*u*k 'to repair'	chitukii	chitu*u*k

There are a few exceptions to the pattern of double vowel shortening seen above. In some cases, II does not shorten at all in an unstressed syllable—indeed, it may even lengthen by adding an extra weak E! The resulting vowel cluster IIE has a gliding pronunciation, as in the following examples:

(20)

II→IIE	meli*i*ch 'to remove meat (from coconut)'	li*i*echii	lmi*i*ch
	mengi*i*s 'to dig'	ki*i*esii	kmi*i*s

Thus, *liiechii* sounds like "liyechiy" and *kiiesii* sounds like "kiyesiy".

Vowel Cluster Shortening

6.8.4. Another subtype of vowel weakening involves vowel cluster shortening (or reduction), in which one vowel of the cluster is lost in an unstressed syllable, while the other remains intact as a full vowel. Selected examples are given in the list below:

(21)

	Perfective Forms:	
Imperfective Form [Vowel Cluster]	*3rd sg. obj.* [Single Full Vowel]	*3rd pl. nonhum, obj.* [Vowel Cluster]
AI: mengik*ai* 'to swim (across a distance)'	koikiur	koik*ai*
EO: mengr*eos* 'to hoard'	kiresii	kir*eos*
EU: olengese*u* 'to help'	ngosuir	ngese*u*
IO: omekiki*o*ngel 'to make dirty'	mekikingelii	mekiki*o*ngel
IU: mengeti*ut* 'to put on (headwear)'	chitutii	chiti*ut*
OA: omek*oad* 'to kill'	mekodir	mek*oad*
OE: melengo*es* 'to boil (*odoim*)'	songosii	s(m)ongo*es*
OI: mengis*ois* 'to pile up'	choisisii	chis*ois*
OU: mengl*ou* 'to enlarge'	kilungii	kil*ou*

In a few unusual cases, a vowel cluster will be shortened to a single vowel which is different from either of the two original vowels. Thus, for *omekrael* 'to guide, lead' we have the third person singular perfective form *mekrolii*, in which the original vowel cluster AE has changed to O. As expected, the AE is maintained in the third person nonhuman plural perfective form *mekrael*. Note, further, that the very same vowel cluster shortening (AE → O) occurs in the related noun stem *rael* 'road' and its possessed forms *rolek, rolel,* etc.

PERFECTIVE VS. IMPERFECTIVE VERBS: MEANING DIFFERENCES

6.9. Now that we have finished examining the internal structure of Palauan perfective and imperfective forms, we will go on to discuss the differences in *meaning* that these two types of verb display. The essential difference in meaning can be summarized as follows:

(22) a. As their name implies, **perfective** verb forms describe actions that the speaker views as "perfected"—i.e., as *finished* or *completed.* The person or thing represented by the direct object of a perfective verb form is always specific and is totally or entirely affected by the action denoted by the verb.

b. By contrast, **imperfective** verb forms denote actions that the speaker considers as *incomplete* (not brought to "perfection")—i.e., actions that are *in progress* (or *continuing*) but have not yet reached their point of completion or termination. The person or thing represented by the direct object of an imperfective verb form, if specific (and also introduced by the *specifying word er* when singular), is only partially affected by the action denoted by the verb.

It is important to remember that a particular action can be viewed as complete or incomplete regardless of the time when it actually occurs. For this reason, we will find that both perfective and imperfective verb forms can occur in all tenses—past, present, and future.

Perfective vs. Imperfective Verbs In the Past Tense

6.9.1. As a first example, observe the following pair of sentences:

(23)	a. A Droteo a chiliuii a hong er a elii.	'Droteo read the book yesterday.'
	b. A Droteo a milenguiu er a hong er a elii.	'Droteo was reading the book yesterday.'

While both sentences above are involved with actions in the *past tense* (note the temporal phrase *er a elii* 'yesterday'), use of perfective *chiliuii* in (23a) vs. imperfective *milenguiu* in (23b) implies a very basic difference in the speaker's way of looking at the past event. In (23a) the speaker uses perfective *chiliuii* to indicate a completed past event in which the doer (Droteo) read the entire book—i.e., the past event was "played out" (from start to finish) until a final point of completion, and Droteo has no more of that particular book to read.

By contrast, in (23b) the speaker uses imperfective *milenguiu* to focus on the event of Droteo's reading the book as it was going on or in progress in the past. This sentence simply implies that Droteo's reading of the book continued for some time, but no claim is made that the reading was finished in its entirety. In other words, Droteo still has part of the book to read. This difference in meaning has its parallels in English, as the translations in (23) imply: Palauan perfective is similar to English *simple past* (*read*), while Palauan imperfective is similar to English *past progressive* (*was reading*).

Here are some additional pairs of sentences that show the very same difference of meaning:

(24) a. A ngalek a milcholo a ngikel. 'The child scaled (finished scaling) the fish (pl.).'

b. A ngalek a ulemcholo a ngikel. 'The child was scaling the fish (pl.).'

(25) a. Ng techa a ngilelmii a rrom? 'Who drank up the liquor?'

b. Ng techa a millim a rrom? 'Who was drinking the liquor?'

In (24a) and (25a), with perfective *milcholo* (for third person plural *nonhuman* object) or *ngilelmii* (for third person singular object), it is implied that the actions of scaling (fish) or drinking (liquor) applied to the total amount of fish or liquor involved—in other words, those actions were completed to the point that they affected *all* the fish or consumed *all* the liquor. In (24b) and (25b), however, this is not the case: here, imperfective *ulemcholo* and *millim* simply state that the actions were going on at some time point in the past, but they do not imply that all the fish were scaled or all the liquor drunk up. In other words, the actions of scaling (fish) and drinking (liquor) were not completed and did not totally affect their respective objects.

Note 8: Although English does not have a clear separation of verb forms into perfective vs. imperfective, as does Palauan, it does have one very interesting way of indicating that an action is carried out to completion. This method involves the addition of an "intensifier" like *up* (which is also an adverb or preposition in English) after certain verbs. Thus, in (25a) above the best English equivalent of perfective *ngilelmii* is "drank **up**", which indicates that the object was totally consumed (used **up**!). Other examples include *eat up, look up, write up, clean up, mess up,* etc.

Perfective vs. Imperfective Verbs After the Auxiliary Word *mla* for Recent Past

6.9.2. As we have seen in (23-5) above, the use of perfective vs. imperfective forms in the *past tense* results in a very clear contrast in meaning. Similar, or related, contrasts in meaning are found in the other tenses as well. Observe, for example, the pairs of sentences below, where the verbs are preceded by the auxiliary word *mla* to indicate a *recent past* event:

(26) a. Aki mla kiiesii a kliokl. 'We've (completely) dug the hole.'

b. Aki mla mengiis er a kliokl. 'We've been digging the hole.'

Perfective (*mla*) *kiiesii* in (26a) clearly asserts that the job of digging the hole has been completed, while imperfective (*mla*) *mengiis* of (26b) does not. In (26b), although we have recently been engaged in the activity of digging the hole, we have not yet finished the task. Here is one more parallel example:

(27) a. A rekangkodang a mla mekikingelii a kederang. 'The tourists have (totally) messed up the beach.'

b. A rekangkodang a mla omekikiongel er a kederang. 'The tourists have been making the beach dirty.'

As the English translations indicate, perfective (*mla*) *mekikingelii* of (27a) has a much stronger implication of finality, seriousness, or even irreversibility than imperfective (*mla*) *omekikiongel* of (27b). (Note that *omekikiongel* 'to make (something) dirty' is a *causative* verb formed by adding the causative prefix *ome-* to the stem of the state verb *kikiongel* 'dirty'.)

Past Experience

As noted in 5.5.3, the auxiliary word *mla* can also be used to express the idea of *past experience*—i.e., to make a statement or ask a question about whether or not someone has had the experience of doing something. If the verb following *mla* is a *transitive action verb,* it must be in the *imperfective* form in order to convey the idea of past experience, as in the examples below:

(28) a. Ke mla meruul a kall er a Sina? 'Have you ever made Chinese food(s)?'

b. Ke mla menguiu er tia el simbung? 'Have you ever read this newspaper?'

While (28a–b) are interpreted as general questions about one's past (or previous) experience, they take on quite a different meaning if the verb is changed from the imperfective to the *perfective:*

(29) a. Ke mla remuul a kall er a Sina? 'Have you finished making the Chinese food(s)?'

b. Ke mla chuieuii tia el simbung? 'Have you finished reading this newspaper?'

As expected, the perfective forms in (29a–b) merely ask whether the activity in question was *completed* on a *single, specific* occasion.

Perfective vs. Imperfective Verbs After the Auxiliary Word *mo*

6.9.3. Both perfective and imperfective verb forms can be preceded by the auxiliary word *mo* to designate actions in the *future.* As the following pair of sentences shows, there is nothing unusual about the meaning difference between the sequences *mo + perfective verb* vs. *mo + imperfective verb*:

(30) a. Aki mo kiiesii a kliokl er a klukuk. 'We'll (competely) dig the hole tomorrow.'

b. Aki mo mengiis er a kliokl er a klukuk. 'We'll be digging the hole tomorrow.'

With perfective *kiiesii* in (30a), we are making a prediction that the entire task of digging the hole can be completed tomorrow. In (30b), however, imperfective *mengiis* implies that the activity of digging will be going on tomorrow, but we do not say anything about whether or not the task will be completed.

Another pair of sentences similar to (30a–b) is the following:

(31) a. Te mo nguim a ilumel. 'They'll drink up the beverages.'

b. Te mo melim a ilumel. 'They'll drink some of the beverages.'

While *mo* + perfective *nguim* in (31a) makes it clear that the object (*ilumel* 'beverages') will be completely consumed, *mo* + imperfective *melim* in (31b) implies that only some—not all—of the beverages will be drunk.

Perfective vs. Imperfective Verbs In the Present Tense

6.9.4. The *present* tense forms of imperfective and perfective verbs in Palauan also show an important contrast in meaning. First of all, *imperfective* forms in the present tense, which are much more common than perfective forms, have two possible functions. As we saw in 5.5.1, their primary function is to indicate an action that 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:

(32) a. A John a mengesbreber er a blik. 'John is painting my house.'

b. Ak melasech er a mlik er a elechang. 'I'm carving my canoe now.'

A secondary function of imperfective verb forms in the present tense is to express *general* or *habitual statements,* as in the examples below:

(33) a. A John a mengesbreber a blai. 'John paints houses (as a profession, side job, etc.).'

b. Ak melasech a mlai. 'I carve canoes (as a profession, side job, etc.).'

Unlike the sentences of (32), which refer to single *specific* occasions, the examples of (33) view the indicated actions in a more *general* way. For example, while (32a) could only be uttered if John were actually in the process of painting my house at the present moment, (33a) could be spoken at any time because it is a broader statement about what John does *habitually* (as a profession, etc.). In addition, the specific occasions designated in (32a–b) naturally involve actions directed at specific, particular objects, and for this reason the possessed nouns *blik* 'my house' and *mlik* 'my canoe' are marked by the *specifying word er* (see 2.7.2).

By contrast, the general statements expressed in (33a–b) do not focus on individual objects but instead merely name a general category of objects. Therefore, in these sentences the unpossessed nouns *blai* 'house(s)' and *mlai* 'canoe(s)' are *not* introduced by the specifying word *er* and simply refer to houses or canoes in general (i.e., 'any house at all', 'any canoe at all'). Indeed, the relationship between imperfective verb and nonspecific object in (33a–b) is such that we can really translate the sentences into English as "John is a house-painter" and "I am a canoe-carver" (in which the action and its object are somehow blended into a single concept).

As opposed to the above, *perfective* forms in the present tense have a very different and quite specialized function. As we saw in 4.9.4 (examples 49–50) and *Note 8* (Section 1) at the end of 5.5.1, such forms are used to denote actions or events which the speaker considers *imminent*—i.e., just about to occur. For this reason, sentences containing perfective forms in the present tense are usually interpreted as *warnings* or as *suggestions* to take some precautions:

(34) a. Alii. A ngalek a chubelii a milk! 'Watch out! The child's about to spill the milk!'

b. Alii. A malk a kolii a beras! 'Watch out! The chicken's about to eat the rice!'

c. Alii. A sensei a cholebedau! 'Watch out! The teacher's going to hit you (either on purpose or by accident)!'

It is interesting to note that warnings or suggestions to take precautions can also be expressed by using the *basic* (also called *processive*) form of a Palauan transitive action verb in the present tense. See *Note 8* (Section 2) at the end of 5.5.1 for examples.

Note 9: As the examples of (32–33) show, Palauan imperfective verb forms can take specific objects marked with the specifying word *er* or general (nonspecific) objects without *er*. However, with perfective verb forms, the object pronoun suffix and any following full noun will always be interpreted as specific, and therefore it is redundant (and ungrammatical) to place the specifying word *er* after any perfective verb form. This point was originally brought up in 2.7.4.

The Transitive Action Verb *Omes*

6.9.5. The Palauan transitive action verb *omes* 'to see' requires a little extra consideration because the meanings of its imperfective vs. perfective forms have become rather specialized. Let us first review the perfective forms of *omes*:

(35) **PERFECTIVE FORMS OF *OMES***

	Present Tense	*Past Tense*
1st pers. sg.	mesekak	milsekak
2nd pers. sg.	mesekau	milsekau
3rd pers. sg.	mesa	milsa
1st pers. pl. incl.	mesekid	milsekid
1st pers. pl. excl.	mesekemam	milsekemam
2nd pers. pl.	mesekemiu	milsekemiu
3rd pers. pl. hum.	mes(e)terir	milsterir
3rd pers. pl. nonhum.	mes	miles

Use of imperfective *omes* (past: *ulemes*) usually implies that the sentence subject is carrying out the action purposefully, intentionally, or consciously. For this reason, the best English equivalents would be 'look at, watch, meet (and talk to), examine', and so on. By contrast, use of the perfective forms *mesekak, mesa,* etc. connotes unintentional, unplanned, or casual seeing by the sentence subject, closer to English '(happen to) see, get a glimpse of', etc. Imperfective *omes* therefore tends to indicate an activity of some duration (which is typical of imperfective verbs), while the perfective forms *mesekak, mesa,* etc. usually describe a quickly completed event of short duration (typical of perfective verbs). These differences are illustrated in the pairs of sentences below, in which the rather free English translations are designed to give the true "flavor" of the Palauan verb form:

(36) a. Ak ulemes er a Satsko er a elii. 'I met and talked to Satsko yesterday.'

b. Ak milsa a Satsko er a elii. 'I happened to see Satsko yesterday.'

(37) a. Ng dimlak a techellek el omes er a merredel. 'I didn't have an opportunity to get together with the leader.'

b. Ng dimlak a techellek el mesa a merredel. 'I didn't have an opportunity to get a look at the leader.'

The Transitive Action Verb *Orrenges*

6.9.6. The imperfective vs. perfective forms of the transitive action verb *orrenges* 'to hear' often show a distinction in meaning similar to what we described for *omes* in 6.9.5 above. Let us first review the perfective forms of *orrenges:*

(38) **PERFECTIVE FORMS OF *ORRENGES***

	Present Tense	*Past Tense*
1st pers. sg.	rongesak	rirengesak
2nd pers. sg.	rongesau	rirengesau
3rd pers. sg.	rongesii	rirengesii
1st pers. pl. incl.	rongesid	rirengesid
1st pers. pl. excl.	rongesemam	rirengesemam
2nd pers. pl.	rongesemiu	rirengesemiu
3rd pers. pl. hum.	rongesterir	rirengesterir
3rd pers. pl. nonhum.	remenges	rirenges

Imperfective *orrenges* (past: *ulerrenges*) usually implies intentional, purposeful hearing by the sentence subject over a certain period of time, quite like English 'listen to'. By contrast, perfective forms such as *rongesak, rongesii,* etc. connote unexpected or casual hearing that is completed in a short amount of time, as in English '(happen to) hear'. This distinction is found clearly in the pairs of sentences below:

(39) a. Ak ulerrenges er a Toki el oukita. 'I listened/was listening to Toki play the guitar.'

b. Ak rirengesii a Toki el oukita. 'I heard/happened to hear Toki playing the guitar.'

LIST OF TERMS

6.10. This lesson is unique because it does not introduce any totally new terms relating to Palauan sounds, word structure, or grammar. Various terms are merely brought up again from earlier lessons as part of our expanded discussion of the Palauan verb marker and related Palauan verb forms. Although all of the terms below should already be familiar to you, review them again and make sure you know why they are important in describing the structure or meaning of Palauan verbs:

- **Verb Marker (prefix or infix)**
- **Transitive Action Verb: Basic Form**
- **Transitive Action Verb: Imperfective Form**
- **Transitive Action Verb: Perfective Forms**
- **Independent vs. Bound Stem**
- **Consonant Alternation**
- **Causative Verb**
- **Zero Suffix**
- **Stressed vs. Unstressed Syllable**
- **Full E vs. Weak E**
- **Vowel Weakening**
- **Prefix Pronoun Verb**
- **Reciprocal Verb**
- **Recent Past vs. Past Experience**
- **General or Habitual Statement**

6.11. THE PALAUAN VERB MARKER: STUDY QUESTIONS

1. All of the terms in 6.10 should be familiar to you because they were introduced in previous lessons. For each term listed, give a brief but clear definition and an example or illustration.

2. What are the different phonetic forms of the Palauan verb marker and the different positions in which it can occur?

3. Explain the interrelationship between a transitive action verb's basic form, imperfective form, and perfective forms. Illustrate by using a transitive action verb like *mengelebed* or *melasech*.

4. What is the internal structure of a verb form like *mechelebed* or *medasech?* Why have we chosen to refer to such forms as either the *basic form* or the *processive form?*

5. What phonetic characteristic differentiates most imperfective forms from their corresponding basic form?

6. In the pair of sentences below, we have (a) the basic form of a transitive action verb and (b) its corresponding imperfective form. Examine the two sentences carefully and explain how they differ in meaning and point of view.

   a. A ilumel er a party a mla mengim.
   b. Ng techa a mla melim a ilumel er a party?

7. What are the different forms of the causative prefix in Palauan? Give examples for each. Does the causative prefix contain the verb marker?

8. What are the phonetic variants of the *infixed* verb marker, and in what types of verbs does this infix occur? Give examples for each.

9. What is the relationship between the members of such word pairs as *chiis—chemiis, luut—lmuut, rebet—ruebet, and ngeltel—ngmelt?*

10. Why do we have a *full E* between the consonants L and B in the forms *mengelebed, mechelebed,* and *cholebed,* but a *weak E* in the same position in *cholebedak, cholebedau, cholebedii,* etc.?

11. Is there any way of predicting which of the four variants of the infixed verb marker (*-em-, -m-, -o-,* or *-u-*) will occur in a given perfective verb form? Give specific examples that will illustrate your answer.

12. Can the verb marker always be found in the past tense forms of Palauan verbs? Explain and give appropriate examples.

13. In what groups of Palauan state verbs is there no indication of the verb marker whatsoever? Give examples.

14. How is the contrast between stressed vs. unstressed syllable essential to understanding the processes of vowel weakening in Palauan?

15. When a process of vowel weakening applies, what usually happens to a Palauan single vowel? What happens to double vowels and to vowel clusters? Give specific examples of each.

16. Why do processes of vowel weakening normally occur in the first seven perfective verb forms, but never in the eighth form (for third person plural nonhuman object)?

17. Explain in general terms the meaning difference between Palauan perfective vs. imperfective verb forms. What would the closest equivalent forms be within the English verb system?

18. Here are two sentences, one with an imperfective form (*menga*), and the other with a perfective form (*kolii*):

    a. Ng sebechem el menga a ngikel?
    b. Ng sebechem el kolii a ngikel?

    Do you agree with most Palauans that there is a very important meaning difference between (a) and (b)? If so, explain this difference as clearly as you can. Be sure you make clear the different circumstances in which each sentence might be spoken.

19. Here are two Palauan questions containing the auxiliary word *mla:*

    a. Ke mla melamech a dekool?
    b. Ke mla chomechii a chemelem el dekool?

    Which sentence refers to past experience, and which refers to a single event in the recent past? Which of the sentences has a general object and which has a more specific object? How do these differences correspond to the usage of the imperfective form *melamech* vs. the perfective form *chomechii?*

20. What special implication or connotation is associated with the use of perfective verb forms in the present tense?

21. Think carefully about the difference in meaning between Palauan imperfective and perfective verbs. Because imperfective verbs do not imply completion of an action, the following sentence contains no contradiction:

    a. Ak mla menguiu er a hong e ng di dirkak kbo kmerek.
    'I've been reading the book, but I haven't finished it yet.'

    But if we change the verb to perfective *chuieuii*, the sentence becomes quite strange and illogical:

    b. ?? Ak mla chuieuii a hong e ng di dirkak kbo kmerek.

    Explain as clearly as you can why sentence (b) makes no sense.

22. By referring to the meaning difference between imperfective and perfective verbs, explain why (a) below makes good sense while (b) sounds strange and illogical:

    a. A Droteo a milengiis er a kliokl er a euid el klok el mo etiu el klok er a tutau.
    'Droteo was digging the hole from seven o'clock until nine o'clock this morning.'
    b. ?? A Droteo a kilisii a kliokl er a euid el klok el mo etiu el klok er a tutau.

23. Both of the sentences below, one with imperfective *milenguiu* and the other with perfective *chiliuii*, are grammatical and acceptable. Can you explain the difference in meaning between the two and provide accurate English equivalents? *Note*: in both sentences, the second clause *er se er a leme a Toki* means 'when Toki arrived'.

    a. Ak milenguiu er a hong er se er a leme a Toki.
    b. Ak chiliuii a hong er se er a leme a Toki.

24. Is there any significant difference in meaning between the two sentences below?

    a. Ng soak el omes er a badre.
    b. Ng soak el mesa a badre.

Explain any difference clearly and provide English equivalents for each sentence.

25. Read 6.9.5 and 6.9.6 again carefully to see how the perfective vs. imperfective forms of *omes* and *orrenges* are interpreted differently and therefore translated differently into English. Then provide an accurate, idiomatic English equivalent for each of the sentences below:

    a. Ak mle er tia el me omes er a demam.
    b. Ng dimlak a techellek el mes a charm.
    c. Ke rirengesii a derumk er a kesus?
    d. Ke ulerrenges er a radio er elii?
    e. Ng soam el rongesii a chisel a Toki er se er a lebo er a Siabal?

6.12. THE PALAUAN VERB MARKER: EXERCISES

1. Here is a list of *intransitive action verbs* or *state verbs* that contain the verb marker. For each item, indicate the following:

   (a) whether the verb is an intransitive action verb or a state verb (verify by checking how the *past tense* is formed: i.e., infix *-il-* vs. auxiliary word *mle*);

   (b) what phonetic form the verb marker has and whether it is a prefix or an infix;

   (c) if the stem is independent or bound (you may wish to consult the *NPED*).

   Sample answer: mesaul: (a) state verb (because past tense is *mle mesaul*);
   (b) verb marker is the prefix *me-;*
   (c) *saul* is an independent noun meaning 'tiredness, trouble'

remiid	mechitechut	omaoch	omakes
outet	ngobeet	reme	smiich
melechesokl	remurt	ngmelt	tuubokl
tuab	smingd	remouk	mekeald
mebeabed	otekiok	outekangel	okelekel
otikereker	ruabs	mead	suebek
dmiich	tmurk	meseked	metermokl

2. Below you will find a list of Palauan *transitive action verbs* in the *imperfective* form. For each verb given, provide the details below:

   (a) the corresponding basic form;

   (b) the corresponding perfective forms in the third person singular and third person plural nonhuman only;

   (c) the type of consonant alternation that takes place, if any.

   Sample answer: melasech: (a) *medasech;*
   (b) *dosechii, dmasech;*
   (c) D → L

melechemakl	mengiseksikt	mengiut	melebedebek
mengism	meleb	melecheb	mengisb
melechosech	melemed	meleseb	meringet
meluches	mesam	merus	melemiakl
omedikl	omangch	omachel	omart

3. Below are various words (nouns or state verbs) from which verbs can be formed with the prefix *ou-* (see 6.3.3). For each item given, indicate whether it is a noun or state verb and provide its English equivalent. Then, indicate the derived verb in *ou-*, together with its English equivalent.

Sample answer: blai: noun, 'house'
oublai: 'to own a (particular) house'

babii	bail	bakutsi	beketekoi	bekeu
bilas	buch	chad	chais	charm
chisb	dekedek	dengerenger	dengua	dersesei
kabitei	kaua	kebelung	kedung	klalo
mead	mechas	merang	merikl	merredel
mlai	mondai	muiko	odoim	olai
rael	rais	rakt	reng	rubak
sechelei	sekool	skarister	skuul	takai

4. Below is a large selection of Palauan perfective verb forms. For each form given,
   (a) indicate whether the form is for third person singular object or third person plural nonhuman object;
   (b) indicate what form the verb marker takes, if any;
   (c) provide the corresponding imperfective form, together with its English equivalent;
   (d) note what consonant alternation, if any, occurs between the perfective and imperfective form.

Sample answer: choridii: (a) third person singular object;
(b) verb marker is infix *-o-*;
(c) *mengeroid* 'to move (something) to a distance';
(d) CH → NG

choremeklii	chosekl	kolii
tungdii	kikingelii	chosir
chualb	kosadel	tmochii
suchedii	ngukedii	ngmai
kuudem	totechii	kmaiu
lmuches	dmuis	ngomlii
tikuii	tmark	ruebek
mechedii	malech	mertii
remech	dmesii	duiim
doidab	dobengii	sueseb
smodii	souchii	soisii

5. For each of the perfective verb forms listed in Exercise 4 above, provide the correct past tense form. What happens to the verb marker when the past tense form is derived?

6. In each of the pairs below, we have the imperfective form of a verb followed by the corresponding perfective form for third person singular object. Examine each pair of forms carefully, and indicate specifically what type of weakening process takes place. As we saw in (15) of 6.8, you may find (a) single vowel reduction to weak E (or even total deletion of a single vowel), (b) double vowel shortening to the corresponding single vowel, or (c) vowel cluster reduction by deletion of either original vowel.

   Sample answer: mengitakl—chiteklii: Type (a): full vowel A reduces to weak E

   1. mengetikaik—choitikikii
   2. mengelebus—kulebsengii
   3. melauch—duchii
   4. mengelechel—cholechelii
   5. mengetelaol—chotelolii
   6. mengerumet—churemetii
   7. mengeech—chechii
   8. melekoi—tokingii
   9. meleomel—domelii
   10. melebeakl—dobeklii
   11. mengellakl—cholleklii
   12. melooch—tmochii
   13. mengelim—cholmengii
   14. mengemuu—kimungii
   15. mengertochet—chortechetii
   16. mengoi—kmongii
   17. meliim—dimii
   18. mengesoim—chosimii
   19. melbaet—dobetii
   20. mengituuk—chitukii

7

PALAUAN STATE VERBS

INTRODUCTION

7.1. In the previous two lessons we have already learned quite a few important facts about the meaning and form of Palauan **state verbs**. These facts are summarized below:

a. *Meaning:*

1. *State verbs* describe *states, conditions,* or *qualities* that may be temporarily or permanently associated with a person, place, or thing (often, the sentence subject). As such, they are opposed to *action verbs,* which describe actions, activities, or events that involve at least a *doer* (and, when *transitive,* a *recipient* also). See 5.3 to review any details.

2. Because state verbs normally *describe* someone or something rather than indicate an effect on someone or something, they are almost always *intransitive* (i.e., they have only a subject, but no object). However, as indicated in *Note* 2 at the end of 5.3, there is a very small number of state verbs that do take objects and are therefore to be considered *transitive.* All of these transitive state verbs indicate *mental states* or *abilities* and are limited to the four common verbs below:

medenge(i)	'to know'
medakt	'to be afraid of'
meduch	'to know how (to), to be skilled at'
metitur	'to not know how (to), to be incapable of'

See *Note* 2 in 5.3 and 7.10 below for further examples.

3. The idea of existence in a particular location is conveyed in Palauan by the very common *state verb of existence ngar* 'is/are (located)', whose past tense is *mla* 'was/were (located)'. See the discussion and examples in 5.3.

4. As mentioned in *Note* 4 at the end of 5.3.1 and in 5.5.4, use of the auxiliary word *mo* (past tense: *mlo*) with a state verb usually indicates a future (or past) *change of state* or situation.

b. *Form:*

1. As explained in 5.3.1 and 5.5.2, Palauan state verbs can always be identified by the way in which they form the *past tense*. With state verbs, the past tense is indicated by placing the *auxiliary word mle* 'was, were' directly before the verb—e.g., *mle smecher* 'was/were sick', *mle ungil* 'was/were good', *mle dengerenger* 'was/were poorly behaved'. By contrast, Palauan *action verbs* form the past tense by *infixing* the *past tense marker -il-* or *-l-*, as in *mengelebed—milengelebed*, or by means of other phonetic changes (e.g., *o-* changes to *ule-*, as in *omes—ulemes*).

2. The examples given in 5.6 and 6.5 show that quite a few state verbs contain the Palauan *verb marker*. The verb marker usually occurs in the form of the *prefix me-* (e.g., *medakt* 'to be afraid of', *mechuu* 'shady', etc.) and sometimes in the form of an infix such as *-m-* (e.g., *smecher* 'sick'). More examples will be given in 7.3 below.

3. In addition, many subgroups of Palauan state verbs are easily identified because they contain certain prefixes, infixes, or suffixes. For example, words formed with the prefixes *beke-* and *seke-* will always be state verbs, and forms such as *nglatech* 'cleaned' (with infixed *-l-*) indicate a special type of state. All of these subgroups will be covered in the sections below, but you may wish to take a look at 5.8.c and 6.7.1 for a quick review.

SIMPLE STATE VERBS

7.2. As we saw in 6.7.1.a, there are some Palauan state verbs that do not contain the *verb marker* and therefore consist of a *single* meaning-bearing unit (or morpheme). Such **simple state verbs** are illustrated below:

(1)

klebokel 'pretty'	dibus 'absent'
dachelbai 'skilled'	beot 'easy, cheap'
ungil 'good, nice'	cheroid 'far, distant'
tab 'new, appearing'	chetngaid 'thin'
ngeiasek 'young'	kebelung 'stupid'
kekerei 'small'	sekool 'playful'
bibrurek 'yellow'	klou 'big, large'
kemanget 'long'	dechudech 'dirty'
cherodech 'noisy'	cheisech 'stained'
titmekl 'shrunken'	dengerenger 'poorly behaved'

STATE VERBS WITH THE VERB MARKER

7.3. Most Palauan state verbs, however, are more complex in their structure and consist of two (or more) meaning-bearing units. There will always be a *stem* (or root) accompanied by at least one *prefix, infix,* or *suffix.* In 5.6 and 6.5 we have already seen that many state verbs contain the *verb marker,* either as a *prefix* (*me-* or *m-*) or as an *infix* (*-m-, -em-, -o-,* or *-u-*).

The verb marker *prefix* may be attached to either *bound* or *independent* stems. In the list below, *me-* or *m-* occurs with a *bound* stem (one that does not occur as an independent word):

(2)

mekngit 'bad'	medai 'poor'
merau 'rich, wealthy'	meteet 'rich, wealthy'
mesengaked '(person) thin'	mekeald 'warm'
mekull 'forbidden'	metang '(road) forked'
mekekad 'itchy'	mekreos 'precious, dear'
medirt 'dry'	mimokl 'loose-fitting'

By contrast, the following state verbs are all derived by prefixing the verb marker to an *independent* stem (almost always a noun):

(3)

State Verb	*Related Independent Stem (Noun)*
meched 'shallow'	ched 'low tide'
meseked 'crowded'	seked 'crowd'
medakt 'afraid of'	dakt 'fear'
mesel 'out of breath'	sel 'shortness of breath'
mekerior 'unfortunate'	kerior 'misfortune'
mesaul 'tired'	saul 'tiredness'
mechuu 'shady'	chuu 'shadow'
merur 'ashamed, shy'	rur 'shame, timidity'
milkolk 'dark'	ilkolk 'darkness'
meduch 'able to, skilled at'	duch 'ability'
meses 'industrious, strong'	ses 'industriousness'

In the same way, state verbs formed with the verb marker *infix* may involve either bound or independent stems. In the examples below, *-m-, -em-, -o-,* or *-u-* is infixed within a *bound* stem:

(4)

kmeed 'near'	dmak 'together'
chuodel 'old'	chuarm 'suffering'
chemolt 'well known'	songerenger 'hungry'
smau 'used to'	chemars 'leaky'
ngodech 'different, strange'	dmik 'living away from (someone's house)'

In a few cases, however, the infixed verb marker has been inserted into an *independent* (noun) stem:

(5)

State Verb	*Related Independent Stem (Noun)*
smecher 'sick'	secher 'sickness'
smiich 'enthusiastic'	siich 'success'
chemis '(container) empty'	chis 'depression in sea floor'

STATE VERBS AND PLURAL

7.4. There are two important ways, one already familiar to us and another new, in which Palauan state verbs can be associated with the concept of *plural*. Thus, we have already seen in 2.5.3 that *derived plural nouns* can be formed by attaching the *plural prefix re-* to Palauan state verbs (as well as action verbs). The resulting forms always refer to a group of *human beings* characterized by the particular state or condition. Thus, from *mesaik* 'lazy' we get *remesaik* 'those who are lazy, lazy people', from *dengerenger* 'poorly behaved' we derive *redengerenger* 'those who are poorly behaved, poorly-behaved people', and so on. If you would like to review how these derived plural nouns are used in sentences, see (36) in 2.5.3.

In addition, we now find that certain simple state verbs that indicate *size* or *dimension* must take the prefix *me-* if their subject is *plural*. We may view this *me-* as a very special usage of the *verb marker prefix*—namely, to indicate the plurality of the sentence subject. Note the pair of sentences below:

(6) a. Tia el oluches a chetngaid. 'This pencil is thin.'
b. Aika el oluches a mechetngaid. 'These pencils are thin.'

In (6a), the sentence subject is clearly *singular* because the demonstrative *tia* 'this' is singular, while in (6b), the sentence subject is definitely *plural* because of the plural demonstrative *aika* 'these'. Since the subject in (6b) is overtly plural, the state verb must "agree" and take the plural prefix *me-*, resulting in *mechetngaid*. Note, incidentally, that unlike the plural prefix *re-*, which can only be attached to words relating to human beings, the plural prefix *me-* under discussion here is not limited in this way (referring, for example, in 6b to pencils).

In some sentences, the subject noun phrase itself may not be clearly marked as singular or plural, as in the pair below:

(7) a. A blai a klou. 'The house is big.'
b. A blai a meklou. 'The houses are big.'

In both sentences above, the subject *blai* contains no demonstrative and is therefore "unmarked" for singular vs. plural. However, it is clear that the absence of *me-* in (7a) indicates a singular subject, while the presence of *me-* in (7b) leaves no doubt that the subject should be interpreted as plural.

Two additional examples of state verbs with *me-* for plural are given below:

(8) a. A chiul a Satsko a me(ke)kemanget. 'Satsko's hair is long.'
b. A kall er a uum a kmal mekekerei. 'The quantities of cafeteria food are very small.'

Note that both of the state verbs illustrated have a *repeated* (or reduplicated) syllable *ke,* which is optional in *(ke)kemanget* but obligatory in *kekerei.* The prefix *me-* is added to the state verb in (8a) because the subject *chiul* is considered plural (referring to the many strands of Satsko's hair). In (8b), *me-* is appropriate because the speaker is using *kall* to refer to the many different types of food served in the cafeteria.

Note 1: Though not referring to size or dimension, the state verb *kikiongel* 'dirty' (with repeated syllable *ki*) sometimes takes *me-* to indicate a plural subject, as in this example:

A blai er se el beluu a kmal mekikiongel. 'The houses in that village are very dirty.'

THE PREFIXES *BEKE-* AND *SEKE-*

7.5. There are two prefixes that are frequently used in Palauan to form state verbs—namely, *beke-* and *seke-*. In a few interesting cases, as we will see in *Note 5* below, both of these prefixes can be attached to the same stem, resulting in a pair of state verbs that contrast in meaning. In most instances, however, either one or the other of these prefixes will occur with a particular stem. As expected, the accompanying stem may be either independent or bound. While the two prefixes *beke-* and *seke-* share some phonetic features (and, furthermore, *beke-* may contain the prefix *be-* studied in 7.6 below), it is difficult to determine if they are ultimately related to each other.

Habit, Tendency, or Frequent Pursuit

7.5.1. In the great majority of cases, prefixing *beke-* or *seke-* to a (noun) stem will result in a state verb that describes a *habit, tendency,* or *frequent pursuit* of the sentence subject (usually, human). Thus, when we add *beke-* to the independent noun stem *tekoi* 'word, language', we get a state verb *beketekoi,* which means that someone is 'talkative' or 'prone to talking' or 'talks a lot'. Here is a list of similar examples, all related to *independent* stems:

(9)

State Verb	*Related Independent Stem (Noun)*
bekesius 'swearing a lot'	sius 'swear word, obscenity'
bekeblengur 'prone to eating too much, overeating'	blengur 'meal'
bekebul 'placing too many restrictions on things'	bul 'regulation'
bekechais 'boastful, prone to exaggerating'	chais 'news, story'
bekecheroll '(woman) having many children'	cheroll 'birth'
bekemongk 'often complaining'	mongk 'complaint'
bekesechelei 'having many friends, friendly'	sechelei 'friend'
bekebet 'prone to lying around a lot in bed'	bet 'bed'
sekeboes 'go shooting a lot'	boes 'gun'
sekediu 'prone to yelling out in pain'	diu 'shout, yell'
sekerechorech 'prone to taking things, stealing'	rechorech 'theft, robbery'
sekerael 'travelling around a lot, unable to settle down'	rael 'road'

Note 2: There are some interesting variants that we have omitted from the list above. First of all, a few stems allow both *beke-* and *seke-* as "free" variants, with no change in the meaning at all. Thus, in addition to *bekesius* 'swearing a lot', certain Palauan speakers use *sekesius*. Second, the prefix *seke-* occurs in a phonetically changed form *seko-* in some cases. For example, *sekediu* 'prone to yelling out in pain' has the alternate form *sekodiu*. In addition, the prefix *seko-* occurs as the only variant in

Note 2 continued next page

Note 2 continued

such words as *sekokako* 'prone to teasing' (cf. *omekako* 'to tease'), *sekokoad* 'prone to fighting' (cf. *okoad* 'to fight'), etc. In some of these cases, *beko-* (instead of *beke-*) is also observed—e.g., *bekokoad* 'prone to fighting' in addition to *sekokoad*. Finally, *beke-* shortens to *bek-* in a few examples such as *bekureor* 'hard-working, working a lot' (cf. *ureor* 'work'), and *seke-* shortens to *se-* to avoid two identical adjacent syllables *ke* in *sekelmolm* 'always ticklish' (cf. *kelmolm* 'act of tickling').

In the list below, we provide some similar examples, except that the related stem is *bound*. In addition to the derived state verb in *beke-* or *seke-*, we provide the bound stem (in quotation marks) and two related words in which that stem actually occurs:

(10) bekeasem 'prone to imitating, be a copy-cat'

"easem": melasem 'to imitate, try'
esemel 'action of trying out'

bekedengmes 'always respectful'

"dengmes": melengmes 'to respect'
kadengmes 'to respect each other'

bekekreos 'always selfish'

"kreos": mekreos 'precious, dear'
mengreos 'to hoard'

bekesuul 'always lying or misrepresenting'

"suul": mengesuul 'to lie about'
klsuul 'lie, falsehood'

sekedenguul 'constantly ridiculing'

"denguul": melenguul 'to ridicule'
dongulii 'ridicules him/her/it/'

sekebuachel 'boasting a lot about having a girlfriend or boyfriend'

"buachel": omuachel 'to brag, boast'
beluachel 'boasting'

sekengim 'prone to drinking (liquor)'

"ngim": melim 'to drink'
nglim 'drunk up'

sechiuaiu 'prone to sleeping a lot, prone to sleeping late'

"chiuaiu": mechiuiau 'to sleep'
cheliuaiu '(action) of sleeping'

Note 3: In *sechiuaiu*, the prefix *seke-* has shortened to *se-*, probably to avoid the consonants K and CH in adjacent syllables. Compare the last example (*sekelmolm*) in *Note 2* above.

Note 4: Since all of the state verbs being studied here have the structure *beke-/seke- + stem*, they always preserve the same *stem-initial consonant* that is found in the *basic form* of a related transitive action verb. Thus, the D of the bound stem "dengmes" is found in the basic form *medengmes* 'to be respected' (and in other forms such as reciprocal *kadengmes* 'to respect each other'), but it is absent in the *imperfective* form *melengmes* 'to respect', where the rule of *consonant alternation* D → L has applied. Review 5.6.3 for additional details.

Ability or Skill

7.5.2. In addition to describing habit, tendency, or frequent pursuit, state verbs prefixed with *beke-* and *seke-* (or their phonetic variants) sometimes indicate that a person can do a particular activity with *ability* or *skill*. A few examples, with either independent or bound stems, are given below:

(11)	*State Verb*	*Related Stem or Word*
	beketaut 'good at shooting'	taut 'aim'
	bekerurt 'good at running'	rurt 'running, race'
	bekelatk 'having a sharp memory'	melatk 'to remember'
	bekerdekekl 'good at jumping'	merdekekl 'to jump'
	bekebed 'skilled at catching (ball), etc.'	omed 'to catch, grab'
	beketbotb 'eloquent, able to explain in detail'	melbotb 'to divide/split into small pieces'
	sekoes 'perceptive, sharp-minded'	ues 'vision, sight, view'
	sekesuub 'capable of learning easily'	mesuub 'to study'

Reduplication With *BEKE-* and *SEKE-*

7.5.3. In a small number of interesting cases, state verbs with *beke-* or *seke-* can be derived only if all or part of the related stem is *reduplicated* (repeated). It should not be difficult for you to identify the reduplicated syllable (see 11.5 for additional discussion) in the examples below:

(12)

State Verb	*Related Stem or Word*
bekelilangel 'prone to crying'	langel '(action) of crying'
bekesechesecher 'tending to get sick a lot'	secher 'sickness'
bekeselsel 'always short of breath'	sel 'shortness of breath'
bekesisaik 'constantly lazy'	saik 'laziness'
bekebesbes, sekebesbes 'forgetful'	bes 'forgetfulness'
sekerker 'asking questions a lot, inquisitive'	ker 'question'
sekesusuub 'prone to imitation'	mesuub 'to study, imitate'

Note 5: We have seen in the discussions above that under normal circumstances, either *beke-* or *seke-*, but not both, can be prefixed to a given independent or bound stem. In *Note 2* we also mentioned that if there are two forms—for example, *bekesius* and *sekesius*—there is no observable difference in meaning. One interesting exception to this observation is that some Palauan speakers use *beke-* and *seke-* with the very same stem, but with a clear distinction in meaning. For those speakers, there is a contrast between one form that indicates habit or tendency (see 7.5.1) and another that indicates ability or skill (see 7.5.2). Because this is an area where the Palauan language seems to be changing, you may not necessarily use these contrasts in your own speech: *bekerurt* 'good at running' (skill) vs. *sekerurt* 'prone to running, run a lot' (habit); *beketungel* 'having a keen sense of smell' (skill) vs. *seketungel* 'prone to smelling things, like to smell things' (habit); and *bekeasem* 'prone to imitation, be a copy-cat' (habit) vs. *sekeasem* 'good at imitating' (skill). In addition, you may have some different opinions concerning the meaning and acceptability of certain forms given in the lists of (9–12).

BEKE- Denoting Smells

7.5.4. The prefix *beke-* also serves to derive state verbs with a very specialized meaning—namely, state verbs that refer to various kinds of *smells* that are usually considered to be unpleasant or disagreeable. Here are some typical examples, together with the related independent stem:

(13)

State Verb	*Related Independent Stem (Noun)*
bekebau 'smelling of rotten meat or fish'	bau 'smell, odor'
bekechat 'smelling of smoke'	chat 'smoke'

(13)	*State Verb*	*Related Independent Stem (Noun)*
	bekeriamel 'smelling like football fruit, sweaty'	riamel 'football fruit'
	bekekim 'smelling of clams'	kim 'clam'
	bekekatuu 'having a cat's odor'	katuu 'cat'
	bekekosui 'smelling of perfume'	kosui 'perfume'
	bekeuel 'smelling of turtle (after eating turtle)'	uel 'turtle'
	bekemechas 'smelling like an old woman'	mechas 'old woman'
	bekecheluch 'smelling of coconut oil'	cheluch 'coconut oil'
	beketurech 'smelling of urine'	turech 'urine'
	bekengikel 'smelling of fish'	ngikel 'fish'

In addition to the above, there are some state verbs denoting smell that contain bound stems —e.g., *bekesengorech* 'smelling of a male pig', *bekelngol* 'smelling of a decomposing body', and *bekemiom* 'smelling of sweat', etc.

STATE VERBS WITH *BE-*

7.6. A small group of Palauan state verbs can be formed by adding the prefix *be-* to a stem, usually an independent noun. As the examples below indicate, state verbs in *be-* describe states or conditions characterized by the presence (often in excess) of what the associated noun refers to:

(14)	*State Verb*	*Related Independent Stem (Noun)*
	beralm 'watery, flat-tasting'	ralm 'water'
	besokel 'infected with ringworm'	sokel 'ringworm'
	bechachas 'black, sooty'	chas 'soot'
	bechochod 'fragrant, aromatic'	chochod 'aromatic tree'

Because the idea of excess is involved, we could say that *beralm* basically means something like "full of water", *besokel* means "full of ringworm", and so on.

In addition to the above, there are some state verbs prefixed with *be-* that are attached to bound stems—e.g., *betimel* 'slow', *berusech* 'smelling of the ocean (especially at low tide)', *berech* 'smelling of raw fish', and *belils* '(sound) high, piercing'. Finally, we note a few state verbs in *be-* that are in fact derived from other state verbs—e.g.., *becheleleu* 'white' from *cheleleu* 'pale', and *bechachau* 'empty' from *chachau* '(nuts) stunted' (note the *reduplicated* syllables in the original stems).

RESULTING STATE VERBS

7.7. In this section we will examine a type of state verb that is associated only with Palauan *transitive action verbs*. This type of state verb is derived by taking the *verb stem* (found, of course, in the *basic form* of the transitive action verb) and inserting the *infix -l-* or *-el-* after the stem-initial consonant. For example, from the basic form *mengatech* 'get cleaned' (cf. imperfective *melatech* 'to clean', with the consonant alternation NG → L), we take the (bound) stem *-ngatech* and simply insert *-l-* to derive *nglatech* (in which the initial NG becomes *syllabic*—see 1.2.11).

The meaning and use of a form such as *nglatech* will become clear from the following pair of sentences:

(15) a. A rengalek a melatech er a mlai. 'The children are cleaning the car.'
b. A mlai a nglatech. 'The car is clean(ed).'

Because (15a) contains a transitive action verb in its (present tense) imperfective form, this sentence says that the subject or doer (*rengalek* 'children') is directing the action of cleaning at the object or recipient (*mlai* 'car'). While (15a) mentions both a doer and a recipient of the action (as all transitive sentences do), (15b) is quite different because it focuses on the recipient only and the *state* that the recipient is in *after* the action of cleaning has been performed. In other words, *nglatech* '(having been) cleaned' in (15b) describes *mlai* in terms of a state or condition that *results* from the children's having done the cleaning. For this reason, *nglatech* and similar state verbs are called **resulting state verbs.**

Before talking further about the derivation of resulting state verbs, here are a few more examples parallel to (15a–b) above:

(16) a. A rubak a mengat a ngikel. 'The old man is smoking the fish (pl.)'.
b. A ngikel a chelat. 'The fish are smoked.'

(17) a. A sensei a meluches er a babier. 'The teacher is writing the letter.'
b. A babier a lluches. 'The letter is written.'

(18) a. A Hermana a ulemoes a belochel. 'Hermana was shooting pigeons.'
b. A belochel a mle bloes. 'The pigeons were (injured from being) shot.'

In the sentences above, the transitive action verbs are *mechat* 'get smoked' (basic form)—*mengat* 'to smoke (fish)' (imperfective form), *meluches* 'get written' or 'to write' (basic form and imperfective form), and *oboes* 'get shot' (basic form)—*omoes* 'to shoot' (imperfective form). All of the (a)-sentences are typical transitive sentences in which a doer does something that affects a recipient. By contrast, the (b)-sentences focus on the resulting state of the recipient and do not mention the doer at all. Note also that resulting state verbs can occur in the *past tense* with the auxiliary word *mle*, as in (18b).

Phonetic Features of Resulting State Verbs

7.7.1. The derivation of resulting state verbs does not involve any particularly difficult phonetic processes. We normally insert the *resulting state infix -l-* or *-el-* after the initial consonant of the stem, which is not affected in any other way (in particular, the stressed syllable of the stem remains stressed). The resulting state infix takes the form *-el-* (with an unstressed weak E) if the preceding consonant is CH, S, T, or D; otherwise, *-l-* occurs. Here are some further examples of Palauan resulting state verbs:

(19)

Resulting State Verb	*Related Transitive Action Verb*	
	Basic Form	*Imperfective Form*
klimd '(hair) cut'	mekimd	mengimd 'to cut (hair)'
chelsbreber 'painted'	mechesbreber	mengesbreber 'to paint'
seleseb 'burned'	meseseb	meleseb 'to burn'
teluk 'cut off'	metuk	meluk 'to cut off'
delasech 'carved'	medasech	melasech 'to carve'
nglimet 'bailed out'	mengimet	melimet 'to bail out'
lleng 'borrowed'	meleng	meleng 'to borrow'
rruul 'made, done, fixed'	meruul	meruul 'to make, do, fix'
blurech 'speared'	oburech	omurech 'to spear'
blodk 'operated on'	obodk	omodk 'to operate on'

Looking at the forms of (19), we can make the following observations:

a. The initial consonant of any resulting state verb (e.g., the K of *klimd*) will always be identical to the initial consonant of the *verb stem* that is found within the corresponding *basic form* (e.g., the K of *mekimd*).

b. When the resulting state infix *-l-* is inserted after a stem-initial NG, that NG becomes *syllabic* (e.g., NG-LI-MET).

c. When the resulting state infix *-l-* is inserted after a stem-initial L, the result is a *double consonant* LL (e.g., *lleng*).

d. When the resulting state infix *-l-* is inserted after a stem-initial R, it becomes identical to the preceding R and forms a *double consonant* RR (e.g., *rruul*).

e. Resulting state verbs can be derived from the stems of transitive action verbs regardless of whether the related basic and imperfective forms use the verb marker prefix *me-* (as in the first eight examples) or the verb marker prefix *o-* (as in the last two).

Note 6: Observe the following forms, which are presented according to the format of (19):

berrotech 'clapped'	obrotech	omrotech 'to clap (hands)'
berrober 'grabbed'	oberober	omerober 'to grab'

You will notice that in *berrotech* and *berrober* the resulting state infix takes the form *-er-*. This is because the L of the infix has become identical to the following R of the stem, and then an extra (weak) E must be inserted between word-initial B and the resulting double consonant RR.

Resulting State Forms of Causative Verbs

7.7.2. In 5.5.2.3, 5.6.b.2, and 6.3.2 we have already taken a look at *causative verbs*, which can be identified by various forms of the *causative prefix: omek-, ome-, ol-, or-*, and so on. Since causative verbs are really a subclass of transitive action verbs, it is not surprising that they, too, have *resulting state* forms. However, the resulting state forms of Palauan causative verbs are derived quite differently from those of other verbs, as the following examples will show:

(20)

Resulting State Verb	*Corresponding Causative Verb (Imperfective Form)*
ulekbeot 'made easy/cheap'	omekbeot 'to make easy/cheap'
ultechakl 'intimated, implied'	omtechakl 'to intimate, imply'
ulengasech 'raised'	olengasech 'to raise'
uldars 'lifted up'	oldars 'to lift up'
urreked 'grasped, caught'	orreked 'to grasp, catch'

The resulting state verbs above do not appear to be derived by infixing. Instead, the first vowel and consonant of the causative prefix are simply replaced by *ul-* (or *ur-* if another R immediately follows).

EXPECTED STATE VERBS

7.8. Another type of Palauan state verb that can only be derived from the stems of *transitive action verbs* is called the *expected* (or *required*) *state verb*. Such a name is given to forms like *ngetachel* 'is to be cleaned' (related to *basic form mengatech* 'get cleaned' and *imperfective melatech* 'to clean') because these forms describe the sentence subject in terms of an action or process that it is *expected* (or *required*) to undergo in the near future. Note the example below:

(21) A mlai a ngetachel. 'The car is to be cleaned.'

A sentence like (21) is used when the speaker thinks that the state or condiiton of the sentence subject must undergo some change—in this case, the car (*mlai*) is dirty and needs to be cleaned. In other words, the speaker of (21) *expects, anticipates,* or even *requires* that someone (not necessarily specified) carry out the action of cleaning the car. As English equivalents such as 'must, should, ought to, needs to, is supposed to', etc. would indicate, Palauan expected state verbs often carry an implication of *necessity* or *obligation.*

Here are a few more sentences containing expected state verbs (italicized):

(22) a. Aika el bilem a kirel el mo *selokel.* 'These clothes of yours need to be washed.'

b. A beches el blim ng *ruoll* er ker? 'Where is your new house to be built?'

c. Tia a hong el *chiuall.* 'This is the book that should be read.'

d. A chiul a ngelekek a mle *kmudel.* 'My child's hair was to be cut.'

e. A rubak me a mechas a *dengmesioll.* 'The old man and woman must be respected.'

As the examples above show, expected state verbs can occur with the *future* auxiliary *mo* (22a) and with the *past* auxiliary *mle* (22d).

Phonetic Features of Expected State Suffixes

7.8.1. A quick look at the forms of the expected state verbs in (22a–e) indicates that there are fairly complicated phonetic processes at work in their derivation. First of all, there are three phonetically distinct types of *suffixes* that can be used to derive the expected state forms. It is impossible to predict which of the three types described below will actually appear with any particular stem:

(23) **Expected State Suffixes**

a. *-(e)l:* The *e,* which occurs as a "buffer" between the *l* and various preceding consonants such as B, CH, D, etc., is always an *unstressed weak E.* When the suffix takes the form *-el,* the *immediately preceding* syllable will always be *stressed.*

Examples: *lechukl* 'is to be written'
sesobel 'is to be burned'
ngetachel 'is to be cleaned'

b. *-iil* or *-uul:* These suffixes, which are always *stressed,* have the pattern *double vowel + l.* Only II and UU are involved.

Examples: *lengiil* 'is to be borrowed'
chetuul 'is to be smoked'

c. *-all, -oll,* or *-ill:* These suffixes, which are always *stressed,* show the pattern *vowel + double L.*

Examples: *seseball* 'is to be burned'
deoll 'is to be nailed'
chesill 'is to be blackened'

While (a) and (b) seem to be older patterns, (c) is a newer, more "innovating" pattern that has come into use especially among younger speakers of Palauan. For this reason, there are some transitive action verbs that have two "competing" expected state forms, one from pattern (a) and the other showing *-all* from pattern (c). A selection of verbs which have two such forms is provided in the list below:

(24)

Pattern (a)	*Pattern (c)*	*Related Verb in Imperfective Form*
sesobel	seseball	meleseb 'to burn'
lechukl	lechesall	meluches 'to write'
ngetachel	ngetechall	melatech 'to clean'
kmudel	kemedall	mengimd 'to cut (hair)'
lechotel	lechetall	melechet 'to tie'
derebakel	deribekall	merrubek 'to thrust spear at'
chechutel	chechetall	menguchet 'to chew on'

Processes of Vowel Weakening In Expected State Verbs

7.8.2. If we look at the expected state verbs of both pattern (a) and pattern (c) already given in (24) above, we notice two rather interesting phonetic changes, one familiar to us and the other new. The familiar change has to do with the various processes of *vowel weakening,* which we have already looked at extensively in sections 3.3, 3.3.1-8, 4.9.3, and 6.8. If you wish to make a quick review of these processes, the list at the beginning of 6.8 will be the most convenient to consult.

The application of vowel weakening becomes immediately obvious if we compare various expected state forms with the corresponding basic form of the transitive action verb. For example, in the basic form *mengatech* 'get cleaned', we observe the full vowel A between the consonants NG and T—in fact, this A is in the *stressed* syllable of the word (me-NGA-tech). In the two expected state forms *ngetachel* and *ngetechall,* however, the syllable containing this A has become *unstressed,* and the A in fact *reduces* to a weak E.

As we noted in (23a), if *-el* is suffixed to form an expected state verb, the *syllable immediately preceding -el* automatically will be stressed. Thus, the form for pattern (a) is *ngetachel* (nge-TA-chel), where the syllable TA is stressed and the original A

between NG and T has become a weak E. (*Note:* You may of course be wondering about the unexpected vowel A in the stressed syllable TA of *ngetachel*—this is precisely the new phonetic change we have referred to and which we will discuss in 7.8.3 below.) Similarly, if *-all* is used as the expected state suffix, it will always be stressed, as noted in (23c). Therefore, the form for pattern (c) is *ngetechall* (nge-te-CHALL), where the final syllable containing the suffix *-all* is stressed and the original A between NG and T has reduced to weak E.

Single Vowel Weakening: Reduction to Weak E

7.8.2.1. Here are some further examples of vowel weakening in which a single full vowel found in the stem (and the basic form) gets reduced to weak E in an unstressed syllable of the expected state form. The vowel in question has been italicized for easy reference:

(25)

	Verb in Basic Form **(Full Vowel)**	*Expected State Form(s)* **(Weak E)**
A→E	mechit*a*kl 'get sung'	chit*e*kill
Full E→Weak E	mechel*e*bed 'get hit'	chel*e*bodel
I→E	mes*i*lek 'get washed'	s*e*lokel
O→E	mesek*o*sek 'get cut'	sek*e*sakel, sek*e*sokel
U→E	medech*u*dech 'get patched'	dech*e*duchel, dech*e*dechall

Single Vowel Weakening: Deletion

7.8.2.2. You will recall that another form of vowel weakening involves the total deletion of a single vowel in an unstressed syllable. An example of this already seen in (24) is *kmudel* '(hair) is to be cut', where the original vowel I between K and M (cf. basic form *mekimd*) has been deleted. Further examples of single vowel deletion are given below:

(26)

	Verb in Basic Form **(Full Vowel)**	*Expected State Form(s)* **(Vowel Deleted)**
I Deleted:	mechel*i*m 'get escorted'	chelmongel
	meches*i*mer 'get closed'	chesmerall
U Deleted:	mekim*u*t 'get thrown down'	kimtengall
	medeb*u*sech '(horn) get blown'	debsechall
	ob*u*rech 'get speared'	bruchel, brechall

Double Vowel Shortening

7.8.2.3. Another type of vowel weakening occurs when Palauan double vowels shorten to the corresponding single vowel in an unstressed syllable. Here are some examples of this process:

(27)

	Verb in Basic Form **(Double Vowel)**	*Expected State Form* **(Single Full Vowel)**
EE:	med*ee*l 'get nailed'	d*e*oll
II:	med*ii*m 'get sprayed'	d*i*mall
OO:	met*oo*ch 'get fed (with prechewed food)'	t*o*chall
UU:	mechit*uu*k 'get repaired'	ch*i*tukall

In some cases, a double vowel is shortened, but an additional vowel appears to form a new vowel cluster. Thus, *obiich* 'get filtered' has the expected state form *biochel* (with new vowel cluster IO) as well as the alternative form *bichall*. Similarly, *meliich* '(coconut) has meat removed' has the expected state forms *liochel* and *lichall*.

Vowel Cluster Shortening

7.8.2.4. The final type of vowel weakening involves the shortening of a vowel cluster (diphthong). In this process, one vowel of the original cluster is deleted in an unstressed syllable, while the other remains as a full vowel. This type of weakening is observed in the examples below:

(28)

	Verb in Basic Form **(Vowel Cluster)**	*Expected State Form* **(Single Full Vowel)**
EO:	mekr*eo*s 'get hoarded'	ker*e*sall
OE:	mesengoes 'get cooked'	songosall
OI:	mechis*oi*s 'get piled up'	chis*i*sall
OU:	mekl*ou* 'get enlarged'	kil*u*ngall
UI:	mechu*iu* 'get read'	ch*i*uall

Additional Examples of Vowel Weakening

7.8.2.5. So far we have not looked in detail at expected state verbs derived by pattern (23b)—i.e., by suffixing *-iil* or *-uul*. In fact, the principles of vowel weakening apply to these forms as well. In the list below, we present a few typical examples of single vowel reduction to weak E:

(29)

	Verb in Basic Form **(Full Vowel)**	*Expected State Form* **(Weak E)**
A → E	mech*a*t 'get smoked'	ch*e*tuul
	mer*a*m 'get mixed'	r*e*muul
Full E → Weak E	mel*e*ng 'get borrowed'	l*e*ngiil
	mer*e*ch 'get put in order'	r*e*chuul

In these forms, too, an original single vowel may get deleted entirely—e.g., *merad* '(flowers) get picked'—*rdiil* (or, as an alternative form, *rdall*).

Alternation Between S and K

Note 7: One rather unusual phonetic change occurs in the expected state forms of verbs whose stem ends in S. Observe the examples below:

Verb in Basic Form	*Expected State Form*
meluches 'get written'	lechu*k*l
mekiis 'get opened'	kio*k*l
mesengoes 'get cooked'	sengea*k*l
oboes 'get shot'	bea*k*l

All of the forms above seem to reflect a special phonetic rule that a final S of the basic form is changed to a K before the suffix *-l* of the expected state form. In addition to the usual types of vowel weakening, the last two forms show a really unexpected change in the vowel cluster from OE to EA. A similar change of S to K can be found in the noun *sils* 'day' and its possessed form *klsel* 'his/her holiday'. After the vowel *i* is deleted, the resulting consonant cluster SL must change to KL.

Expected State Verbs in *-el*: Appearance of Stressed Full Vowels

7.8.3. In this section we will observe a very interesting phonetic pattern that takes place in expected state verbs formed with the suffix *-el*. As we noted in (23a), while the suffix *-el* itself is always *unstressed,* the syllable directly *preceding* it is always *stressed.* In addition, it turns out that the stressed syllable preceding *-el* in these forms usually shows an unexpected *full vowel* that is either reduced to weak E or even totally absent in other forms of the verb. Thus, we saw in (24) that the form *sesobel* 'is to be burned' has an O in its stressed syllable (*se-SO-bel*) that is otherwise a weak E when unstressed—i.e., in forms like *me-SE-seb* (basic), *me-LE-seb* (imperfective), *se-LE-seb* (resulting state), and *se-se-BALL* (expected state—alternative form).

In a similar way, the form *kmudel* '(hair) is to be cut' shows a U in its stressed syllable (*KMU-del*) that is either totally absent when it is unstressed—e.g., *me-KIMD* (basic), *me-NGIMD* (imperfective), *KLIMD* (resulting state)—or reduced to a weak E, as in *ke-me-DALL* (expected state—alternative form). Other examples of this *alternation* between a stressed full vowel (in the *-el* form) vs. a weak E or no vowel at all (in various other forms) can be found in (24) above. At first glance, the vowel that appears in the stressed syllable preceding *-el* would seem to be unpredictable, although there is a principle of linguistic theory that could explain it (see *Note 8* below).

Underlying (or Abstract) Stems

Note 8: The principle of linguistic theory that might explain the alternations described above involves assigning to each verb a so-called "underlying" (or abstract) stem that includes *all the full vowels* that ever turn up in any of the verb's various forms. Thus, the underlying form for 'to burn' would be "sesob" (with full E and full O). The actual pronunciation of any verb form containing this stem would then be predictable in terms of the general rules of *vowel weakening*. In the expected state form, for example, the underlying stem "sesob" would be suffixed with *-el*, and the stress would be placed on the proper syllable—namely, the syllable directly preceding *-el*. The correct pronunciation would therefore be *se-SO-bel*, in which

(a) the first "e" is weak because the full E of the underlying stem "sesob" is reduced to weak E when *unstressed*; and

(b) the second vowel "o" remains full because it is in the *stressed* syllable of this verb form.

By contrast, a form like *meseseb* (basic) contains the verb marker *me-* prefixed to the underlying stem "sesob", with the stress on the *first syllable of the stem*—i.e., *me-SE-seb*. In this form,

(a) the first "e" of the stem is full because the full E of the underlying stem "sesob" remains intact when *stressed*; and

(b) the second vowel "o" of the stem (between S and B) is reduced to weak E because it is now *unstressed*.

Finally, in *seseball* (expected state), the underlying stem "sesob" is suffixed with *-all* to form *se-se-BALL*, in which the final syllable is *stressed*. Because the remaining syllables are *unstressed*, the original full vowels (full E and full O) of the underlying stem "sesob" are both reduced to weak E.

The same analysis can be used to explain forms like *kmudel* (expected state) vs. *mekimd* (basic). If we propose that the underlying stem is "kimud", then

Note 8 continued next page

Note 8 continued

(a) in *kmudel* (*KMU-del*), which is actually derived from the form "kimudel", the "u" of the underlying stem "kimud" is preserved because it is in a *stressed* syllable, while the "i" of the underlying stem has been deleted because it would have been in an *unstressed* syllable; and

(b) in *mekimd* (*me-KIMD*), which is actually derived from the form "mekimud", just the opposite occurs—namely, the "i" of the underlying stem is preserved when *stressed,* while the "u" of the underlying stem has been deleted when *unstressed.*

Because of the vowel deletions that occur when the forms "kimudel" and "mekimud" are "phonetically processed" as described above, we get forms with a word-initial consonant cluster KM (*kmudel*) or a word-final consonant cluster MD (*mekimd*).

Resulting and Expected State Forms Used as Nouns

Note 9: As we will see in the next lesson, many of the *resulting state verbs* and *expected state verbs* discussed above can also be used as *nouns*. Thus, the resulting state verb *rruul* 'made, done, fixed' (cf. basic and imperfective *meruul*) also functions as a noun meaning 'something made or done' and as such even has the *possessed forms rrellek, rrellem,* etc. In a similar way, from the transitive action verb *meliokl* (imperfective) 'to cook or boil *ongraol* (starchy food) in water', we have the resulting state verb *ngeliokl* '(*ongraol*) cooked or boiled in water', which can also be used as a noun referring to the *ongraol* itself.

In addition, some Palauan state verbs can be derived by adding both the *resulting state infix -(e)l-* and the *expected state suffix -el* (or *-uul,* etc.) to a stem *at the same time*. While state verbs derived in this way are very often identical in meaning to the corresponding *resulting state verb* in *-(e)l-* (e.g., *ngeltachel* and *nglatech* 'cleaned', *klemudel* and *klimd* '(hair) cut', *cheltuul* and *chelat* '(fish, etc.) smoked', etc.), quite a few of them have taken on the function of nouns with specialized meanings. The meaning and use of such words will be covered thoroughly in Lesson 8.

Expected State Forms of Causative Verbs

Note 10: Because Palauan *causative verbs* are a type of *transitive action verb,* they also have expected state forms derived with the suffixes of (23). For causative verbs prefixed with *omek-*, the expected state form usually shows a new prefix *uk-* (e.g., *omekbeches* 'to repair, make new'—*ukbechesall, omekdengchokl* 'to make (someone) sit down'—*ukdengchekill,* etc.). In causative verbs prefixed with *ol(e)-*, the prefix is normally reduced to *o-* (e.g., *olekeed* 'to bring near'—*okeodel* or *okedall, olsebek* 'to make (something) fly'—*osebekall,* etc.). Furthermore, the expected state forms of causative verbs undergo the various processes of *vowel weakening* discussed in 7.8.2–7.8.2.5, and the suffixes often show some unusual vowel changes. These forms will be examined further in Lesson 9, which is devoted entirely to causative verbs.

VERBS TAKING BOTH *MLE* AND *-IL-* IN THE PAST

7.9. A small number of Palauan verbs can form their past tense in two ways—either by using the auxiliary word *mle* 'was, were' or by infixing the past tense marker *-il-*. As we saw in 5.3.1, use of *mle* in the past tense identifies *state verbs,* while infixing *-il-* marks *action verbs.* With some verbs in this group, the difference in past tense formation corresponds to a clear difference in meaning, as in the following examples:

(30)	a.	A tolechoi a mle mekar.	'The baby was awake.'
	b.	A tolechoi a milkar er a cherrodech.	'The baby woke up from the noise.'
(31)	a.	A sensei a mle dmik er a blil a bechil.	'The teacher was living away from his wife's house.'
	b.	A sensei a dilik er a blil a bechil.	'The teacher moved out of (got thrown out of) his wife's house.'

In (30a) and (31a), use of *mle* makes it clear that the verbs *mekar* and *dmik* refer to (past) *states* or *conditions*—i.e., *mle mekar* means 'was awake' and *mle dmik* means 'was living away from (a particular place)'. By contrast, the infixed forms *milkar* and *dilik* of (30b) and (31b) refer to (past) *actions* or *events*—i.e., *milkar* means 'woke up' and *dmik* means something like 'moved out of, got thrown out or banished, etc.'

In other cases, certain Palauan verbs allow either type of past tense formation, but the resulting forms usually show no difference in meaning and are used interchangeably by most speakers. Such verbs include *mechiuaiu* 'to sleep' (*mle mechiuaiu* or *milechiuaiu*), *dengchokl* 'to sit, be seated' (*mle dengchokl* or *dilengchokl*), *kiei* 'to live, stay' (*mle kiei* or *kiliei*), and *chuarm* 'to suffer' (*mle chuarm* or *chilarm*).

TRANSITIVE STATE VERBS

7.10. As indicated in *Note* 2 at the end of 5.3, the group of Palauan *transitive state verbs* is very small. Such verbs can be identified by two characteristics: first, because they are transitive, they are followed by object nouns; and, second, because they are state verbs, their past tense forms use the auxiliary word *mle*. The most common transitive state verbs, which involve *mental states* (knowledge, fear, etc.) or *abilities*, are illustrated in the sentences below:

(32) a. A Toki a mle medakt a bersoech. 'Toki was afraid of snakes.'

b. Ak kmal mle merur er a ngelekek. 'I was very ashamed of my child.'

c. A rubak a mle medenge a tekoi er a Merikel. 'The old man used to know English.'

d. Ng kmal mle meduch er a ochur. 'She really used to know (how to do) math.'

e. Te mle metitur a tekoi er a Siabal er se er a taem er a mekemad. 'They didn't know Japanese during the war.'

The transitive state verb *medenge(i)* 'to know (someone or something)' has a full set of *perfective* forms: *medengelkak* 'knows me', *medengelkau* 'knows you (sg.)', *medengelii* 'knows him/her/it', etc.—see (58) in 4.9.7. The perfective form for third person plural human object is illustrated in the example below:

(33) Ak mle medengelterir a rua Toki er se er a kngar er a Hawaii. 'I knew Toki and her friends when I was in Hawaii.'

TRANSITIVE VERBS DERIVED FROM STATE VERBS

7.11. Quite a few Palauan *transitive action verbs* are directly related to the stems of *simple* state verbs (see 7.2 above). The *imperfective* forms of such verbs are derived by prefixing the verb marker *me-* and modifying the stem-initial consonant according to the appropriate rule of *consonant alternation* (see 5.6.3 and 6.2.1). Verbs in this category usually have a *causative* meaning—i.e., they describe situations in which the doer *causes* someone or something to be in the particular state. Some of the most common examples are given below:

(34)

Transitive Action Verb (Imperfective Form)	*Related Simple State Verb*
mengikiongel 'to make dirty'	kikiongel 'dirty'
melechudech 'to make muddy'	dechudech 'muddy'
melekimes 'to make wet'	dekimes 'wet'
mengeisech 'to make stained'	cheisech 'stained'
mengetom 'to make (knife, etc.) blunt'	ketom 'blunt'
mengedeb 'to shorten'	kedeb 'short'
mengemanget 'to lengthen'	kemanget 'long'
mengedidai 'to make higher, pile up'	kedidai 'high'

Be sure you can identify all of the consonant alternations found in the examples of (34) above.

Because they are transitive action verbs, almost all the verbs in (34) also have a full range of *perfective* forms. A few examples are given below, with the (present tense) perfective forms for third person singular object and third person plural nonhuman object:

(35)
a. *mengikiongel:* kikingelii, kikiongel
b. *melechudech:* duchedechii, duchudech
c. *melekimes:* dikmesii, dikimes
d. *mengeisech:* choisechii, choisech

Can you identify the verb marker and point out any processes of vowel weakening in the perfective forms of (35a–d) above?

In a few instances, we can derive transitive action verbs from state verbs that already have the prefixed verb marker *me-* (see the examples in 2–3 of 7.3). Since the verb marker is already prefixed, we simply carry out the proper consonant alternation, as shown in the examples below:

(36)

Transitive Action Verb (Imperfective Form)	*Related State Verb in ME-*
mengeald 'to make warm, heat up'	mekeald 'warm'
mengelekolt 'to make cold, cool down'	mekelekolt 'cold'
mengesa(ng) 'to make busy, occupy'	mechesa(ng) 'busy'

The verbs of (36) also have perfective forms—e.g.,

(37) *mengeald:* koeldii/kmeldii, koeald/kmeald
mengelekolt: kolekeltii, kolekolt
mengesa(ng): chosengur, chosang

Again, can you analyze the perfective forms of (37a–c) in terms of the verb marker and any processes of vowel weakening?

STATE VERBS WITH PREFIX PRONOUNS

7.12. In 4.10 we noted that Palauan *prefix pronouns* (*ku-* 'I', *mo-* 'you', *lo-* 'he, she, it, they', etc.) must be attached to the beginning of certain verb forms in a wide variety of grammatical constructions. We saw further in 4.10.3 that the prefix pronouns have quite a few *phonetic variants*. In this section, we will take a brief look at what happens when prefix pronouns are attached to Palauan *state verbs*.

With *simple* state verbs (7.2) or state verbs formed with the *infixed* verb marker *-m-* or *-em-* (see 4-5 of 7.3), a reduced variant of the prefix pronoun is attached. Furthermore, the infixed verb marker is deleted in the presence of the prefix pronoun. Thus, we have *klou—kklou, leklou, ngar—kngar, lengar,* etc., but *smecher—ksecher, lsecher, kmeed—kkeed, lkeed,* and so on. If, however, the state verb is formed with the *prefixed* verb marker *me-*, the prefix pronoun is attached *without* causing the verb marker to delete—i.e., we get forms such as *mekngit—lemekngit, mëched—lemeched,* and so on.

A few sentences using state verbs with prefix pronouns are given below:

(38) a. Ng diak ksecher. 'I'm not sick.'
b. A rrellel a dimlak lemekngit. 'What he made wasn't bad.'
c. A lengar er ngii a ududek, e ak mo mecherar a mlai. 'If I had money, then I'd buy a car.'
d. A blik a diak leklou. 'My house isn't big (enough).'

SUMMARY OF PALAUAN STATE VERBS

7.13. The different types of Palauan state verbs we have studied in this lesson are summarized below, with examples for each:

(39) **PALAUAN STATE VERBS**

a. Simple State Verb (does not contain verb marker): *klebokel, ngeiasek, dibus*

b. Complex State Verb:	
1. with *prefixed* verb marker *me-* or *m-*:	*mekngit, meched, mimokl*
2. with *infixed* verb marker *-m-, -em-, -o-*, or *-u-*:	*kmeed, chemolt, ngodech, chuodel*
c. State Verb with *beke-*:	*bekesius, bekechat*
d. State Verb with *seke-*:	*sekebuachel, sekedui*
e. State Verb with *be-*:	*beralm, betimel*
f. Resulting State Verb (with infix *-l-* or *-el-*):	*nglatech, chelat*
g. Expected State Verb (with suffix *-(e)l, -iil, -all*, etc.):	*ngetachel, lengiil, seseball*
h. Transitive State Verb:	*medakt, meduch, medengei*

LIST OF TERMS

7.14. The most important terms relating to Palauan state verbs are provided in the list below. Almost all of these terms have already been introduced in earlier lessons.

- **State Verb (vs. Action Verb)**
- **Transitive State Verb**
- **State Verb of Existence**
- **Simple State Verb vs. Complex State Verb**
- **Independent vs. Bound Stem**
- **Reduplicated (Stem)**
- **Resulting State Verb**
- **Resulting State Infix**
- **Expected (or Required) State Verb**
- **Expected State Suffix**
- **Vowel Weakening**
- **Underlying (or Abstract) Stem**
- **Consonant Alternation**
- **Prefix Pronoun**

7.15. PALAUAN STATE VERBS: STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Be sure that you can define all of the terms listed in 7.14 and show clearly how they are relevant to the study of Palauan state verbs.

2. In general, how does the meaning of Palauan state verbs differ from that of action verbs?

3. Does the distinction between transitive and intransitive apply to state verbs? If so, give examples.

4. In what major way can state verbs be differentiated from action verbs?

5. What do we mean by a simple state verb? Give examples.

6. Give five examples each of Palauan state verbs in which the verb marker prefix is attached (a) to a bound stem and (b) to an independent stem.

7. What are the four phonetic forms that the verb marker infix can take? Choose a state verb to illustrate each phonetic form.

8. How does the concept of plural relate to Palauan state verbs? Can all Palauan state verbs be "marked" for plural?

9. What different types of meaning are expressed by state verbs derived with the prefixes *beke-* and *seke-*? Give several examples of each.

10. Are state verbs derived with *beke-* and *seke-* usually associated with bound or independent stems?

11. What normally characterizes the meaning of state verbs derived with the prefix *be-*?

12. In general, what do resulting state verbs mean, and how are they used in sentences?

13. What is the difference in our focus of attention in the two sentences below:

    (a) A sensei a meluches er a babier. 'The teacher is writing the letter.'

    (b) A babier a lluches. 'The letter is written.'

14. What phonetic forms can the resulting state infix take, and how is a resulting state verb related to the basic form of a transitive action verb?

15. How do we derive the resulting state forms of Palauan causative verbs?

16. In general, what do expected state verbs mean, and how are they used in sentences?

17. What is the range of phonetic forms that the expected state suffix can take?

18. How do the various vowel weakening processes apply to expected state verbs in Palauan? Give specific examples to show the following types of vowel weakening:

    (a) single full vowel reduced to weak E

    (b) single full vowel deleted

    (c) double vowel shortened to corresponding single vowel

    (d) vowel cluster shortened to single full vowel

19. How could we go about explaining why certain unexpected vowels appear in the stressed syllables of expected state forms such as *ngetachel* (nge-TA-chel) and *sesobel* (se-SO-bel)?

20. Give several examples of Palauan resulting state verbs used as nouns.

21. How do we analyze a verb such as *mekar,* which can form its past tense with either the infix *-il-* (*milkar*) or the auxiliary word *mle* (*mle mekar*)?

22. How are an action verb like *mengikiongel* and a state verb like *kikiongel* related to each other?

23. What are the different rules for attaching the prefix pronouns to Palauan state verbs?

7.16. PALAUAN STATE VERBS: EXERCISES

1. Below is a list of various Palauan state verbs. Identify each verb according to the following types:

   (a) simple state verb
   (b) complex state verb with prefixed or infixed verb marker
   (c) resulting state verb
   (d) expected state verb

   For types (b–d), identify all the meaning-bearing units found in the word (i.e., stem and prefix, infix, or suffix).

   Examples: *ngeiasek:* Type (a)—simple state verb
   nglatech: Type (c)—resulting state verb. Resulting state infix *-l-* is inserted into the stem *ngatech* (cf. basic form *mengatech* and imperfective form *melatech*)

klebokel	kiter	tekeok
desachel	melusech	kiei
dengerenger	dekimes	moded
ngelmors	delebongel	mekelmolm
mereched	cheroid	smau
silil	skareter	kikanai
meluuk	mimokl	ngedechall
delibech	cheleblad	delebes
bulak	chull	dmak
cheldereder	kedall	ngelem
smiich	chuarm	rrukem

2. Use each of the following state verbs correctly in a meaningful Palauan sentence:

a. ngar	f. teloadel
b. metitur	g. smechekill
c. mekekerei	h. klemudel
d. bekelilangel	i. rekemall
e. bekengikel	j. sekerker

3. Find five state verbs with *beke-* and five with *seke-* that have not already been given in this lesson. For each verb, provide the English equivalent.

4. For each of the state verbs given in 7.5.3, indicate the form of the reduplicated syllable. Give five new examples of state verbs with *beke-* or *seke-* that must be attached to reduplicated stems.

5. For each transitive action verb below (given in its imperfective form), provide the correct resulting state form, indicating the English equivalent as well:

mengoir	melibek	melilt
meremech	mengituuk	mengesekes
mesibech	mengoi	mesuud
mengisois	melecholech	mengibiob
meloched	melubs	melim
meloes	melkakl	meluich
melas	melemed	melobech
omechakl	merukem	omalech
omekdakt	orrirech	olseked
merakl	mengas	merad

6. Provide the expected state form for each of the verbs presented in Exercise 5 above, and indicate the English equivalent also. If a given verb has more than one expected state form, be sure to provide all the alternants. *Note*: it is possible that some of the verbs shown in Exercise 5 do not have regularly occurring expected state forms—e.g., *mengoi*.

7. In the list below, we present (1) the basic form of a transitive action verb and (2) the expected state form. Carefully compare the expected state form with the corresponding basic form, and then specify which type of vowel weakening has occurred—i.e.,

   (a) single full vowel reduced to weak E
   (b) single full vowel deleted
   (c) double vowel shortened to corresponding single vowel
   (d) vowel cluster shortened to single full vowel

Verb in Basic Form	*Expected State Form*
meleng	lengiil
mechedermaot	chedermotall
merech	rechuul
mecharm	chermall
oburech	brechall
metooch	tochall

Verb in Basic Form	*Expected State Form*
mesubed	sbedall
mekedoked	kedekadel
mengai	ngiuul
metuk	tkael
mecheduib	chediball
mecham	chemuul
mechedaol	chedongall

8. Derive a transitive action verb from each of the following state verbs. Give the English equivalent for the derived transitive action verb and use it properly in a sentence, which you should translate also.

   Example: *kikiongel* (state verb) → *mengikiongel* (transitive action verb)
   'to make (something) dirty'

   Sample Sentence: Ng techa a mla kikengelii a delmerab?
   'Who's gotten the room dirty?'

mekelekolt	kedidai
kemanget	kedung
mekelmolm	chedelekelek
klou	chebuul
kedols	chuodel

9. Provide the expected state form for each transitive action verb below (given in the imperfective form). In each case, there is an unusual phonetic change involving a vowel cluster or a long vowel. Specify this change according to the following format:

   Example: *meruul → ruoll:* double vowel UU changes to vowel cluster UO.

omoes	mengiis	melenguul
mengereel	meleel	mengetiut
melengoes	olengeseu	omiich

10. Look at the lists of verbs given in (34) and (36) of 7.11. For each transitive action verb, indicate the type of consonant alternation that has occurred in deriving it from the related state verb.

11. Look carefully at the perfective forms given for the verbs of (35a–d) and (37a–c) of 7.11. For each perfective form, identify the verb marker (if any), and indicate any processes of vowel weakening that have taken place.

8

COMPLEX NOUNS IN PALAUAN

INTRODUCTION

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF NOUNS AND VERBS: SIMPLE VS. COMPLEX

8.1. In earlier lessons we have already seen that it is impossible to talk about the major Palauan parts of speech—nouns and verbs—without looking at the details of their *internal structure*. Thus, in analyzing many subtypes of nouns and verbs, we have made use of such concepts as *morpheme* (or *meaning-bearing unit*), (noun or verb) *stem*, *prefix* vs. *infix* vs. *suffix*, and so on. We have recognized that while some noun or verb forms are *simple* (i.e., contain only one morpheme, as in *reng* 'heart, spirit'or *kiei* 'to live'), many more are *complex* and contain two or more morphemes, of which one is a stem and the others are added as prefixes, infixes, or suffixes.

Lessons 5–7 were devoted to the many different types of Palauan verbs and the details of their internal structure. In those lessons we looked, for example, at Palauan transitive action verbs and pointed out the morphemes that combine with each other to derive the basic form (*mechelebed*), the imperfective form (*mengelebed*), the perfective forms (*cholebedak, cholebedau, cholebedii*, etc.), the resulting state form (*chellebed*), and the expected state form (*chelebedall*). We also looked at various groups of state verbs derived with such morphemes as the verb marker (prefix *me-* in *meched* or infix *-m-* in *smecher*) or the special prefixes *be-, beke-, seke-*, etc.

In Lessons 2–3 we had the chance to look at Palauan nouns and to study the details of noun possession. Those lessons illustrated clearly that various types of Palauan nouns also have a complex internal structure. Thus, we saw in 2.5 that the plural prefix *re-* (or *r-*) can be added to human nouns to form plural nouns such as *rengalek* 'children', *resensei* 'teachers', etc., which contain two morphemes each (plural prefix + noun stem). In addition, many sections of Lesson 3 were devoted to classifying the various groups of Palauan possessor suffixes, which are added to noun stems to derive possessed forms such as *chimak* 'my arm', *chimam* 'your (sg.) arm', *chimal* 'his/her/its arm', etc.

To summarize what we have learned thus far, we see that the internal structure of Palauan nouns (and of verbs as well) can be either *simple* (i.e., containing a single morpheme) or *complex* (i.e., containing two or more morphemes). Some typical examples of *simple nouns* are listed below:

(1)

mlai 'canoe, car'	ngau 'fire'
ngikel 'fish'	chad 'man, person'
malk 'chicken'	babier 'paper, letter'
daob 'ocean'	elecha(ng) 'now, today'
derumk 'thunder'	kerrekar 'tree'

Contrasting with the simple nouns of (1), *complex nouns* are formed (or derived) by combining two or more morphemes—i.e., by adding at least one prefix, infix, or suffix to a *noun stem*. According to this definition, the *plural nouns* and *possessed nouns* studied in Lessons 2–3 are all types of complex nouns because a prefix (e.g., *re-* for plural) or a suffix (e.g., *-ak, -am, -al,* etc., for the various possessors) is attached to a stem when deriving them. Interestingly enough, Palauan has quite a few additional types of complex nouns, and the main purpose of this lesson is to examine their derivation and internal structure in detail. As we will see, some of these new types of complex nouns are derived with prefixes, infixes, or suffixes already familiar to us, while others introduce morphemes that are entirely new.

STATE VERBS USED AS NOUNS

8.2. In the preceding lesson we spent a lot of time looking at two types of state verbs that are associated with Palauan *transitive action verbs*. Thus, in 7.7 we saw that *resulting state verbs* such as *nglatech* 'cleaned' are formed by inserting the infix *-l-* or *-el-* after the initial consonant of the stem (cf. basic form *mengatech*). As their name implies, resulting state verbs describe the state or condition that someone or something is in as a *result* of the action having been performed. In addition, we found in 7.8 and 7.8.1. that *expected state verbs* such as *ngetachel* or *ngetechall* 'is/needs to be cleaned' are derived by adding the suffixes *-(e)l, -iil, -uul, -all,* etc., to the stem and making various phonetic changes (see 23a–c in 7.8.1). As their name implies, expected state verbs indicate that someone or something is in a current state or condition such that they are *expected* (or *required*) to undergo a particular action or process in the near future.

Finally, we mentioned in *Note 9* at the end of 7.8.3 that many Palauan resulting state verbs and expected state verbs can also be used as nouns. Such nouns are necessarily complex because they contain at least two morphemes. Thus, the words in (2) below can function as nouns and have noun-like meanings, even though their *form* is identical to that of an *expected state verb*. For purposes of comparison, the related transitive action verb is provided in its imperfective form:

(2)

Complex Noun (=Expected State Verb)	*Related Transitive Action Verb* (Imperfective Form)
kall 'food'	menga 'to eat'
ilumel 'drink, beverage'	melim 'to drink'
ngmatel 'water to be bailed out'	melimet 'to bail'
selokel 'laundry'	mesilek 'to wash'
delaol 'fish for roasting'	melul 'to roast'
suobel 'homework, study'	mesuub 'to study'
chederedall 'inferior person, person under another's authority'	mengedereder 'to rule'

In the list above, words like *kall, ilumel,* and *ngmatel* have come to be used exclusively as nouns—i.e., they are no longer used as expected state verbs. By contrast, words like *selokel, delaol, suobel,* and *chederedall* have a dual function and can be used either as nouns or as expected state verbs. Note the following pairs of sentences:

(3) a. Ng selokel a bilek el kikiongel. 'My dirty clothes need to be washed.'
b. A selekelek a ngar er a bebul a tebel. 'My laundry is on the table.'

(4) a. Ng suobel tia el beches el llach. 'This new law needs to be studied.'
b. Ke mla rullii a subelem? 'Have you (sg.) done your homework?'

In sentences (3a) and (4a), *selokel* and *suobel* are used as *expected state verbs* describing their subjects as needing to undergo the actions or processes involved: thus, in (3a) my dirty clothes (*bilek el kikiongel*) are in a state requiring washing (and *selokel* means 'needs to be washed'), and in (4a) the new law (*beches el llach*) requires study or examination (and *suobel* means 'needs to be studied'). By contrast, *selokel* and *suobel* are used in (3b) and (4b) as *nouns*, and as such they have *possessed forms* (*selokel: selekelek, selekelem*, etc.; *suobel: subelek, subelem*, etc.). Furthermore, they occur in the typical sentence positions that nouns fill: thus, *selekelek* 'my laundry' is a *sentence subject* in (3b), while *subelem* 'your homework' is a *sentence object* in (4b).

Meaning Shift: Expected State Verb to Noun

8.2.1. It is not difficult to see how a Palauan expected state verb like *selokel* 'needs to be washed, must be washed' has also come to function as a complex noun meaning 'laundry'. In the speakers' minds, there must have been a shift of focus from the state itself ("needs to be washed") to the very *item* or *thing* that had to undergo the action or process in question. Thus, *selokel* developed the meaning "*something/anything* that has

to be washed", which perhaps then became somewhat more specific—i.e., "(dirty) laundry". In the same way, we can see that as a noun *suobel* means "*something/anything* to be studied"—i.e., more specifically, "homework". In the case of *kall* 'food' (i.e., something to be eaten), *ilumel* 'drink, beverage' (i.e., something to be drunk), and *ngmatel* 'water to be bailed out', the shift in meaning from expected state verb to noun was for some reason very powerful, so that these words are currently used in Palauan solely as nouns, but not as expected state verbs. They function as *optionally possessed nouns* and therefore have possessed forms such as *kall: kelek, kelem, kelel,* etc., *ilumel: imelek, imelem, imelel,* etc., and so on.

Meaning Shift: Resulting State Verb to Noun

8.2.2. The complex nouns given below are identical in *form* to *resulting state verbs* (which can be identified by the infix *-l-, -el-,* or *-r-* after the initial consonant of the verb stem). All of the words below can function either as nouns or as resulting state verbs. The related transitive action verb is also provided in its imperfective form:

(5)

Complex Noun (=Resulting State Verb)	*Related Transitive Action Verb* (Imperfective Form)
bloes 'injury from being shot'	omoes 'to shoot'
delobech 'injury from being cut'	melobech 'to cut (with knife, etc.)'
blalech 'wound from slingshot'	omalech 'to hit (with slingshot)'
bletech 'injury from stone, etc.'	ometech 'to throw (stone)'
blurech 'wound from spear'	omurech 'to spear'
chelebis 'mashed/crushed tapioca'	mengebis 'to mash/crush tapioca'
cheleuid 'mistake, error'	mengeuid 'to confuse'
ngeliokl 'boiled *ongraol*'	meliokl 'to cook/boil *ongraol* (starchy food)'
klengoes 'boiled meat or fish'	melengoes 'to cook/boil meat or fish'
rrodel 'adopted child'	merodel 'adopt (child)'
rruul 'thing done or made'	meruul 'to make, do'
seleseb 'thing/place that is burned'	meleseb 'to burn'
telechelokl 'clearing in forest'	melechelokl 'to clear way through (trees, etc.)'

We can understand quite easily how the meaning of each complex noun in (5) above may have developed from the meaning of the formally identical resulting state verb. Taking *delobech* as a typical example, we see that it can be used as a *resulting state verb* in the sentence below,

(6) Ng delobech a chimak. 'My hand is/has been cut.'

where it describes the *state* which my hand (*chimak*) is in as a *result* of an (accidental) act of cutting. When *delobech* is used as a *noun*, however, it no longer indicates the state itself but instead focuses on the actual *part of the body* which has been affected. Therefore, *delobech* comes to mean "part of the body which has been cut" or "*injury* from being cut". When functioning as a noun (with its own possessed forms *delebechek, delebechem,* etc.), *delobech* can be used in sentences like the following:

(7) Tia el delebechem a kmal mekngit. 'This cut (injury) of yours is very bad.'

The same kind of meaning "transfer" from (resulting) *state* to *body part* (or thing) *affected* is observed in *bloes, blalech, bletech,* and *blurech* of (5) above.

In the remaining examples of (5), the nouns usually refer to a *person* or *object* (thing) affected by the action in question. Thus, *chelebis* refers to the actual food product (mashed or crushed *tapioca*) that *results* from the action of mashing itself (*mengebis*), while *ngeliokl* 'boiled *ongraol* (starchy food)' and *klengoes* 'boiled meat or fish' have a similar origin. In the same way, *rrodel* indicates the adopted child himself or herself (cf. *merodel*), *rruul* refers to the thing made or produced (cf. *meruul*), and *seleseb* refers to the thing or place burned (cf. *meleseb*). Finally, when something has been confused (*mengeuid*), it becomes a mistake (*cheleuid*), and when an area of forest or jungle has been cleared (*melechelokl*), it becomes a clearing (*telechelokl*). Some of the nouns discussed here have possessed forms as well—can you discover which?

A few more examples in which the complex nouns of (5) are used in sentences can be seen below:

(8) a. Ng ngar er ker a bloes er kau? 'Where is the place you're shot?'

b. Tia el blalech er ngak a kmal meringel. 'This slingshot wound of mine is very painful.'

c. Se el seleseb ng sersel techang? 'That burned area there—whose garden is it?'

d. Ng kmal betok a cheleuid er a chelsel a babilngem. 'There are many errors in your letter.'

e. Ng kmal ungil a rrellem. 'What you've made is very nice.'

f. A Maria a rredelir a Toki me a Droteo. 'Maria is the adopted child of Toki and Droteo.'

Since the noun phrases of possession *bloes er kau* and *(tia el) blalech er ngak* of (8a–b) contain the *possessor phrases er kau* and *er ngak* (see 3.7.1), we can conclude that the complex nouns *bloes* and *blalech* are *unpossessible*. By contrast, the possessed forms *rrellem* (for *rruul*) and *rredelir* (for *rrodel*) in (8e–f) clearly indicate that these complex nouns belong to the *optionally possessed* type (see 3.5).

Expected and Resulting State Forms of Causative Verbs Used as Nouns

8.2.3. Because they are a subtype of transitive action verb, *causative verbs* will have both expected state and resulting state forms. As expected, some of these can also be used as nouns, often with somewhat specialized meanings. In the list below, we show several complex nouns which are identical in form to the *expected state form* of a causative verb (also given for purposes of comparison in its imperfective form):

(9) *Complex Noun* (=Expected State Verb)	*Related Causative Verb* (Imperfective Form)
ukiill 'anything that must be avoided'	omekiai 'to avoid, abstain from'
ocheraol 'money-raising party (to buy house, etc.)'	omechar 'to buy'
okesongel 'anything that must be tightened/closed'	olekes 'to tighten'
uketkall 'keepsake, memento'	omeklatk 'to remind'
ukeruul '(medical) treatment'	omkar 'to give medicine to'

Phonetically, the expected state forms given in (9) have been derived by reducing the original causative prefix *ome(k)-*, *om-*, or *ole-* to *o-* or *u-* and adding some variant of the *expected state suffix* (see 7.8.1). Occasionally, there are other phonetic changes—can you find one in *uketkall*?

The meaning shifts that have occurred in the complex nouns of (9) are rather predictable. Two cases, for instance, resemble the examples of (2) above. Thus, when the original expected state form *ukiill* 'is to be avoided, abstained from' shifts its function to that of a noun, it then refers to the *thing* itself that must be avoided. The meaning of the complex noun *okesongel* 'anything that must be tightened/closed' has developed in the same way from the phonetically identical state verb meaning 'is to be tightened/closed'. The form *uketkall*, however, is somewhat different because as an expected state verb it means that *someone* 'is to be reminded (of something)', while as a noun it refers to the *thing* to be kept or used as a reminder. Perhaps the most interesting example here is *ocheraol*, which as an expected state form simply means 'is to be bought' (cf. *omechar* 'to buy'). As a noun, however, *ocheraol* has taken on a very specialized meaning—i.e., it refers to the money-raising *party* where money is collected for some big item (house, car, boat, etc.) that a family member wishes to buy.

In the next list, let us examine some complex nouns which are identical in form to the *resulting state form* of a causative verb (also provided in its imperfective form):

(10)

Complex Noun (=Resulting State Verb)	*Related Causative Verb* (Imperfective Form)
ulkar 'salted, preserved fish'	omkar 'to salt (raw fish)'
ulitech 'old style woven hanging door'	omitech 'to make (something) lean to the side'
uleklatk 'reminder'	omeklatk 'to remind'
ulkako 'teasing'	omekako 'to tease'
uldars 'sacrifice, offering'	oldars 'to lift up'

As noted briefly in 7.7.2, the resulting state forms in (10) have been derived by replacing the first vowel and consonant of the original causative prefix *ome(k)-, om-*, or *ol-* with *ul-*. In some cases, the shift of meaning from resulting state form to noun is rather straightforward—e.g., as a resulting state verb, *ulkar* means 'salted' or 'preserved', while as a noun it refers to the salted or preserved product itself (fish). In other cases, the meaning change is quite unpredictable: for example, while *ulitech* as a resulting state verb means 'leaning or lying to the side', as a noun it has the very specialized meaning of a 'woven hanging door' (which presumably leans or hangs to one side). The complex noun *uldars* 'sacrifice, offering' is interesting because its meaning is derived from the action of lifting something up (cf. *oldars* 'to lift up'), as when a religious or ceremonial offering is made.

Additional Complex Nouns Derived From State Verbs

8.2.4. As we saw in *Note 9* of Lesson 7 (at the end of 7.8.3), some Palauan state verbs can be derived by *simultaneously* adding both the *resulting state infix -(e)l-* and the *expected state suffix -el* (*-uul, -all,* etc.) to a given verb stem. Such forms always have a *resulting state* meaning. They can even be used as nouns, with fairly predictable meanings:

(11)

Complex Noun (=Resulting State Verb)	*Related Transitive Action Verb* (Imperfective Form)
cheltuul 'smoked fish'	mengat 'to smoke (fish)'
llechukl 'letter of alphabet, handwriting'	meluches 'to write, draw'
telbiil 'plan, decision'	melib 'to plan, arrange, decide'
cheluatel 'breezy place'	mengeluut 'to cool'
kliokl 'hole'	mengiis 'to dig'
cheldukl 'jetty, stone wall or platform'	mengades 'to pave with stones'
bliull 'wrapped tapioca'	omail 'to clothe, wrap'

Can you analyze the internal structure of each of the complex nouns given in (11) above? Can you also explain how each noun has come to have the indicated meaning?

ABSTRACT NOUNS DERIVED FROM STATE VERBS

8.3. In (5) above we listed a large group of complex nouns whose form is identical to that of a resulting state verb derived with the *resulting state infix -el-, -l-,* or *-r-*. In all such cases, the complex noun (as well as the phonetically identical resulting state form) is related to a *transitive action verb*—e.g., *delobech—melobech* 'to cut', *blurech—omurech* 'to spear', etc. As we will see below, there are also quite a few complex nouns in Palauan that are derived by putting the infix *-el-, -l-,* or *-r-* inside the stem of an (intransitive) *state verb*. Any noun formed this way always represents an *abstract quality* corresponding to the related state verb. Thus, while the state verb *klou* means 'big' or 'large', the derived complex noun *kllou* means 'size' or 'thickness'. Although the infix *-el-, -l-,* or *-r-* used here is probably the *resulting state infix* already familiar to us, it seems to have developed a very specialized function—namely, *to form abstract nouns from state verbs*—and it no longer gives any indication of the original resulting state meaning. For this reason, it may be easier for us to consider the *-el-* (*-l-,* or *-r-*) in question simply as a derivational (or word-forming) "device" for creating abstract nouns from state verbs.

In the first group of examples below, an abstract noun is derived by inserting the infix *-el-*, etc., into a *simple* (i.e., single-morpheme) or possibly reduplicated state verb which can also occur as an *independent* word:

(12)

Abstract Noun	*Related Simple State Verb* (Independent Word)
blekeu 'bravery, courage'	bekeu 'brave'
kldung 'good behavior'	kedung 'well-behaved'
delengerenger 'poor behavior'	dengerenger 'naughty'
cheldelekelek 'blackness'	chedelekelek 'black'
blibrurek 'yellowness'	bibrurek 'yellow'
cheleblad 'deception, cheating'	cheblad 'deceptive, dishonest'
chelitechut 'weakness'	chitechut 'paralyzed'
cherrodech 'noise'	cherodech 'noisy'
cherroid 'distance'	cheroid 'far, distant'
klekool 'game'	sekool 'playful'
blulak 'lie, falsehood'	bulak 'deceitful, lying'
delengchokl 'way of life, living conditions'	dengchokl 'sitting, seated'
kllou 'size, thickness'	klou 'large, big'
kldeb 'shortness'	kedeb 'short'
kldidai 'height'	kedidai 'high'
klemanget 'height, length'	kemanget 'tall, long'

You should have no trouble identifying the infix *-el-* or its variants in the words above. In what cases does the variant *-r-* appear? Do you recall any other cases where we found an alternation between the consonants S and K as in *sekool—klekool?*

> ***Note 1***: As the last four examples of (12) indicate, we find quite a few Palauan state verbs designating size or dimension that begin with *ke-* (or *k-*). This *ke-* may have been a meaning-bearing prefix (i.e., a separate morpheme) at an earlier stage of the language, but now it is difficult to identify its function. Probably the same prefix is found in other state verbs such as *kedung* 'well-behaved', *kesib* 'sweaty', *kereomel* 'thrifty', *ketom* '(knife, etc.) blunt/dull', *keroker* 'finished for good', and so on.

In most of the examples of (12), it is possible to predict the meaning of the abstract noun directly from that of the related state verb. In a few cases, however, the meaning derivation is somewhat more complex. How would you characterize the meaning changes observed in the abstract nouns *klekool, blulak,* and *delengchokl*?

In the next group of examples, we observe *abstract nouns* formed by infixing *-el-*, etc., into a state verb stem that is always *bound.* In other words, verb stems such as *-kngit, -sisiich,* and so on, never occur independently but must contain the *verb marker* (most often the prefix *me-* but occasionally the infix *-u-*) to function as full-fledged state verbs (see the examples of 2 and 4 in 7.3):

(13)

Abstract Noun	*Related State Verb* (Verb Marker + Bound Stem)
klengit 'sin'	mekngit 'bad'
klisiich 'strength'	mesisiich 'strong'
klengaked 'thinness'	mesengaked 'thin'
klеald 'heat'	mekeald 'hot'
kerrasem 'cold, chills'	mekerasem '(person) cold, chilly'
kerreos 'hoarding'	mekreos 'hoarded, valuable'
cheliuaiu 'sleep'	mechiuaiu '(be) asleep'
chelsa 'matter, business'	mechesa 'busy, occupied'
klekad 'itch'	mekekad 'itchy'
cheluached 'bitterness'	mechuached 'bitter'
delecherecher 'hardness, toughness (of meat)'	medecherecher 'hard, (meat) tough'

In almost all of the examples above, the meaning shift from a *state* (indicated by the state verb) to an *abstract* idea (represented by the derived noun) is very straightforward and easy to grasp. From the phonetic point of view, the derived nouns of (13) do not

reveal many surprises either, but can you explain why the infix is *-(e)r-* in two cases and why the abstract nouns *klisiich* and *klengaked* have a word-initial K?

Abstract Nouns Used in Sentences

8.3.1. In the examples below, we show how some of the abstract nouns of (12) and (13) are used in full sentences:

(14)	a. A irechar e ng kmal mle klou a kldung.	'In earlier times there were many good deeds.'
	b. Ng mle klou a blekengel a rubak.	'The old man's bravery was great.'
	c. A delengchokl er se er a taem er a mekemad a kmal mle meringel.	'Life during the war was very difficult.'
	d. Ngii di el ngalek a soal a sekool.	'Any child likes games.'
	e. Ak kmal merur er a delengerengerem.	'I'm very ashamed of your bad behavior.'
	f. Ng dirk ngar er ngii a klisichel a mechas.	'The old woman is still strong.'
	g. Ng ua ngara a kldidiul a kerrekar?	'How high/tall is the tree?'
	h. Kede mla remuul a betok el klengit.	'We have committed many sins.'
	i. Ng tela a klemengetem?	'How tall are you?'
	j. Ng tela a klungel a kerrekar?	'How thick is the tree?'

ABSTRACT NOUNS DERIVED FROM RECIPROCAL VERBS

8.4. As we will see in detail in Lesson 10, Palauan *reciprocal verbs* are formed with various prefixes such as *kai-*, *ka-*, and *kau-*. Reciprocal verbs often designate *actions* that two or more people direct at *each other* simultaneously (e.g., *kasoes* 'to see each other', *kaungeroel* 'to scold/quarrel with each other'). They may also indicate *states* or *relationships* that two or more people share (e.g., *kausechelei* 'to be friends with each other', *kaubuch* 'to be married to each other').

By taking a reciprocal verb and infixing *-l-* after the word-initial K, we can derive an abstract noun with reciprocal meaning. Some typical abstract nouns of this type, together with the related reciprocal verb, are listed below:

(15)

Abstract Noun	*Related Reciprocal Verb*
klakoad 'fighting, battle'	kakoad 'to fight with each other'
klaodengei 'mutual knowledge (of each other)'	kaodengei 'to know each other'
klaingeseu 'mutual assistance'	kaingeseu 'to help each other'
klasoes 'seeing or being with each other, relationship'	kasoes 'to see each other'
klaubetikerreng 'mutual concern/ affection'	kaubetikerreng 'to show concern/ affection for each other'
klaidesachel 'competition, race'	kaidesachel 'to compete, race'
klausechelei 'friendship'	kausechelei 'to be friends with each other'
klaubuch 'marriage'	kaubuch 'to be married to each other'
klauchad 'blood relationship, kinship'	kauchad 'to be related to each other'
klaungalek 'parent-child relationship'	kaungalek 'to be related as parent and child'

The examples below illustrate how the abstract reciprocal nouns of (15) can be used in sentences. The presence of *possessor phrases* (e.g., *er kid, er tir,* etc.) in the first four examples clearly indicates that all abstrast reciprocal nouns are *unpossessible*:

(16)

a. Tia el klasoes er kid a di me er a elechang, e merkong.	'Our relationship has reached this point and is now over.'
b. Ng kmal ungil a klaingeseu er a rechad er se el beluu.	'The mutual assistance among the people of that village is very nice.'
c. Ng kmal mle ungil a klaubuch er tir.	'They had an excellent marriage.'
d. A klaubetikerreng er a Yosko me a Toki a kmal ungil.	'The mutual concern between Yosko and Toki is wonderful.'
e. A kesus e ng mla er ngii a klaload er a medal a skuul.	'Last night there was a fight in front of the school.'

ABSTRACT NOUNS DERIVED WITH *KL(E)-*

8.5. There is one more important pattern for deriving Palauan abstract nouns that we will examine in this section. This pattern merely involves attaching a *prefix kl(e)-* to either a *simple state verb* or another *noun*. The first type is illustrated in (17), while the second type is seen in (18):

(17)

Abstract Noun	*Related Simple State Verb*
klekekerei 'smallness'	kekerei 'small'
klungiaol 'goodness, benefit'	ungil 'good'
klengeasek 'youth'	ngeasek 'young'
kldachelbai 'skill'	dachelbai 'skillful'
klsengerenger 'hunger'	songerenger 'hungry'
kldiull 'pregnancy'	dioll 'pregnant'
klengeltengat 'good fortune'	ngeltengat 'fortunate'
klengar 'existence'	ngar 'be (located), exist'

Note 2: In two of the abstract nouns of (17) we can notice the appearance of unexpected *vowel clusters* in the final (stressed) syllable—can you identify which? Also, while most abstract nouns in *kl(e)-* are derived from *simple* state verbs, there are a few common examples where the prefix is added to a *complex* state verb that already has the *verb marker*—e.g., *klemerang* 'truth' from *merang* 'true' and *klemedengei* 'knowledge (from study, etc.)' from *medengei* 'to know'. Finally, we note that *kle-* can be prefixed to a *reciprocal verb* like *kakerous* 'to be different from each other' to derive the abstract noun *klekakerous* 'difference' (in addition to the form *klakerous*, which follows the pattern of 15 and has the same meaning).

(18)

Abstract Noun	*Related Noun*
klechelid 'religion'	chelid 'god'
klechad 'human life, way of life'	chad 'person'
klsechal 'manhood'	sechal 'man, male'
klsensei 'being a teacher'	sensei 'teacher'
kltoktang 'being a doctor'	toktang 'doctor'
klodam 'relationship between male relatives'	odam 'brothers'
klodos 'relationship between female relatives'	odos 'sisters'

As the examples of (18) indicate, *kl(e)-* is normally added to nouns that indicate human beings or professions.

To finish up this section, let us observe how some of the abstract nouns of (17) and (18) are used in sentences:

(19)

a.	A omesuub el tekoi er a Siabal a mo klungiolem.	'Studying Japanese will be to your benefit.'
b.	Ng ua ngara a klemedenge er kau er a ochur?	'How is your knowledge of math?'
c.	A klengeltengetek, e ng mlo sebechek el mo er a Siabal.	'I had the good fortune to be able to go to Japan.'
d.	Elecha el taem e ng kmal meringel a klechad.	'These days life is very difficult.'
e.	A kltoktang a diak lekirem el ureor.	'Being a doctor is not a job suited to you.'

INSTRUMENT NOUNS

8.6. Palauan *instrument nouns* are derived from the *imperfective* forms of *transitive action verbs* simply by replacing the word-initial *verb marker me-* with the prefix *o-*. In other words, from *meluches* 'to write' we get *oluches* 'pencil', from *meles* 'to cut, slice' we get *oles* 'knife', and so on. As these examples indicate, instrument nouns are *concrete* nouns that indicate the *instrument* (i.e., *tool, utensil, implement,* etc.) used in carrying out a particular action or activity. Thus, *oluches* 'pencil' is an implement for writing, *oles* 'knife' is a tool for cutting, and so on. The *o-* prefix observed in these instrument nouns should be kept distinct from the (word-initial) *o-* variant of the verb marker which we examined in 5.6 and which is found in such verbs as *omail* 'to clothe', *oker* 'to ask', etc. Some commonly used instrument nouns, together with the related imperfective verb form, are presented in the list below:

(20)

Instrument Noun	*Related Transitive Action Verb* (Imperfective Form)
oriik 'broom'	meriik 'to sweep'
orukem 'anything used for breaking'	merukem 'to break into pieces'
olaml 'grass cutter, machete, sickle'	melaml 'to cut (grass)'
olamk 'razor'	melamk 'to shave'
olad 'grindstone'	melad 'to sharpen (against a stone)'
onges 'coconut scraper'	menges 'to grate/scrape (taro, coconut)'
ongimd 'scissors, shears'	mengimd 'to cut (hair)'
ongetoem 'anything used for smearing'	mengetoem 'to spread, smear'
olasech 'axe, adze'	melasech 'to chop, carve'
olaod 'spear for catching sardines'	melaod 'to catch (sardines) with a spear'
osib 'plow, any tool used for breaking ground'	mesib 'to plow'
osongd 'comb'	mesongd 'to comb'

Though always concrete, some of the instrument nouns in (20) above have a rather *general,* flexible meaning. Depending on the particular situation, such an instrument noun could therefore refer to any of several objects within the relevant category. Thus, *olaml* really means 'any tool used to cut grass with' and could actually refer to a machete on one occasion or a sickle on another. In a similar way, the instrument noun *orukem* could be any object (a stone, a piece of brick, etc.) used for breaking something else (usually, glass) into pieces, and *olasech* might be any kind of tool (even if fairly crude) used for chopping or carving.

In a few interesting cases, instrument nouns have a rather *abstract* or specialized meaning. You should have no difficulty interpreting the examples below:

(21)

Instrument Noun	*Related Transitive Action Verb* (Imperfective Form)
osebechakl 'anything used as excuse to free oneself from blame'	mesebechakl 'to defend (oneself or someone else)'
ongiil 'place to wait for one's lover'	mengiil 'to wait for'
olangch 'sign, signal, distinguishing mark'	melangch 'to set aside, try to recognize or distinguish'
olai 'magic, instrument for removing something'	melai 'to take, take away, remove'

ACTION NOUNS

8.7. Another type of Palauan noun—the *action noun*—is derived by prefixing *o-* (probably the same morpheme found in the *instrument nouns* of 8.6 above) to any *action verb* that contains the verb marker prefix *me-* (or *m-*). The action verb may be *transitive* or *intransitive*, and the derived action noun indicates an *action* or *process* viewed rather abstractly. In (22) below, the action nouns are derived from *transitive* action verbs, while those in (23) come from *intransitive* action verbs:

(22)

Action Noun ("action of...")	*Related Transitive Action Verb* (Imperfective Form)
omeluches 'writing'	meluches 'to write'
omelim 'drinking'	melim 'to drink'
omenga 'eating'	menga 'to eat'
omesuub 'studying'	mesuub 'to study'

(23)

Action Noun ("action of...")	*Related Intransitive Action Verb* (Imperfective Form)
omilil 'playing'	milil 'to play'
omerael 'traveling, trip'	merael 'to travel, walk'
omengedub 'swimming'	mengedub 'to swim'

It is interesting to note that Palauan action nouns can only be derived from action verbs *prefixed* with the verb marker *me-* (or *m-*). If an (intransitive) action verb contains the *infixed* verb marker (*-m-, -em-,-u-,* etc.), it is impossible to derive an action noun from it (e.g., from *remos* 'to drown' we cannot get anything like "oremos" 'drowning').

The derived action nouns of (22–23) are typically used in certain types of grammatical constructions, as indicated below:

(24)

a. Ng kmal meringel a omeluches el tekoi er a Siabal.	'Writing Japanese is very difficult.'
b. Tia a mo delmerab er a omesuub.	'This will be a room for studying.'
c. Ng mle ungil a omerolem el mo er a Merikel?	'Was your trip to America good?'
d. Ng kmal chetimam a omelim el rrom.	'We (excl.) really dislike drinking liquor.'

As indicated in (24a) and (24d), the "object" of an action noun (i.e., the thing affected by the action or process) is introduced by the conjunction *el: omeluches EL tekoi er a Siabal* and *omelim EL rrom.* In addition, since they are nouns, action nouns can occur after the relational word *er*—for example, in a *possessor phrase* such as *er a omesuub* in (24b). Finally, in (24c) the (possessed) action noun *omerolem* 'your trip' is followed by a clause structure *el mo er a Merikel* 'going to America' which describes the specific content or nature of the trip. See 4.6.11 for more details on sentences like (24a–d).

RESIDUE NOUNS

8.8. The next type of complex noun that we will study in this lesson is quite unique both in form and meaning. Palauan *residue nouns* are formed from the *imperfective* forms of *transitive action verbs* by simultaneously adding two elements: (1) a prefix *ule-* (possibly related to the past tense prefix *ule-* discussed in 5.5.2.3) to replace the verb marker *me-*

and (2) a suffix *-el, -iil, -uul, -all,* etc., identical in form and phonetic characteristics to the *expected state suffixes* seen in 7.8.1. Thus, if *-el* is used as the suffix, the immediately preceding syllable is always *stressed,* and a new, unexpected vowel usually appears in this stressed syllable. To take one example in detail, if we start with imperfective *mengimd* 'to cut (hair)' and add the two suffixes indicated, we derive the *residue noun ulengmudel* (u-leng-MU-del) 'hair that is cut off', in which the full vowel U appears in the stressed syllable before the suffix *-el.* It is precisely this same vowel U that turns up in the *expected state form* of this verb—i.e., *kmudel* (KMU-del) '(hair) is to be cut'—because *kmudel* is also formed with *-el* (see 7.8.3). In addition, the residue noun *ulengmudel* (just like *kmudel*) shows evidence of *vowel weakening,* since the I of *mengimd* is *deleted* due to a shift of stress (see 7.8.2 and 7.8.2.1-5).

As the term implies, Palauan *residue nouns* refer to any material or substance that remains or is left over after the particular action or process of the related verb has been carried out. In other words, residue nouns are concrete nouns that indicate some type of remainder or waste product. It is interesting to note that although the suffix attached to residue nouns appears to be the *expected* state suffix (as mentioned above), the meaning of these nouns is so specialized that any idea of expected or future state or condition is totally absent. In fact, the focus of these nouns is just the opposite, since they designate what is left over after a process has been completed! In any case, in each of the examples below we first list the residue noun and then provide the related transitive action verb (in its imperfective form):

(25) *Residue Nouns and Related Transitive Action Verbs*

ullemachel 'leftover betel nut cud after chewing'
melamech 'to chew'

ulellumel 'disposable container after contents have been drunk'
melim 'to drink'

ullemikel 'leaves stripped off coconut rib'
melamk 'to scrape, shave'

ullesongel 'leftover bones, etc. after cutting fish, meat, etc.'
meles 'to slice'

urrekomel 'broken pieces, shards'
merukem 'to break into pieces'

ulenguotel 'garbage, trash, debris from clearing'
mengiut 'to clear (ground), cut (weeds, grass)'

ullebakel 'wood shavings from planing'
melabek 'to smooth (wood)'

ulengall 'inedible remains of food, garbage'
menga 'to eat'

urrediil 'remaining stalk (after flowers, etc., removed)'
merad 'to pick (flowers, etc.)'

Just as we saw with some of the instrument nouns listed in (20), certain residue nouns have a rather general meaning, but depending on the situation could actually refer to a variety of substances within a particular category. Thus, *ulellumel* would designate any disposable container that remains after drinking something, so that in an actual situation *ulellumel* could be a beer or soft-drink can, a paper cup, or even a coconut shell. Similarly, the residue noun *ulenguotel* will refer to different materials depending on what type of area has been cleared of debris. All of the residue nouns given in (25) are of the unpossessible type.

As noted in the very first paragraph of this section, residue nouns ending in *-el* such as *ulengmudel* all have an unexpected vowel (or vowel cluster) appearing in the stressed syllable before *-el*. Looking at several more examples, we see that in *ullemikel* (ul-le-MI-kel), the full vowel I appears in the stressed syllable even though such a vowel is totally absent in the related imperfective form *melamk;* and in *ulenguotel,* the original vowel cluster IU of imperfective *mengiut* has changed to UO. Can you identify the other vowels that unexpectedly appear in the stressed syllables of the other residue nouns in *-el*? Can you explain why the prefix occurs as *ur-* (instead of *ul-*) in *urrekomel* and *urrediil*? Do you notice anything irregular about the phonetic form of *ulellumel*?

COMPOUND NOUNS

8.9. Quite a few nouns in Palauan are derived simply by combining two separate words, resulting in the derivation of a *compound noun* with very specialized meaning. The derived compound noun often names a particular species of animal (bird, fish, etc.) or plant, but many other categories of meaning are covered as well. While the second part of a compound noun is always itself a noun, the first part can be a state verb, an imperfective verb, a possessed noun, or some other element. Sometimes the two parts of a compound noun are joined by such words as the relational word *er* or the conjunction *el,* which may have a reduced phonetic form. Here are some typical compound nouns in Palauan, together with a breakdown into their original parts:

(26) *melimdelebdeb* 'Palau fantail' (bird)
melim (a) delebdeb: melim 'to drink'; delebdeb 'drink made out of coconut meat and juice'

malkureomel 'wild chicken, red jungle fowl'
malk (er a) ureomel: malk 'chicken', ureomel 'forest'

malkeblai 'domesticated chicken'
malk (er a) blai: malk 'chicken', blai 'house'

malkebedikl 'decoy chicken'
malk (er a) bedikl: malk 'chicken', bedikl 'trap, snare'

mengardechelucheb 'brown-banded rock cod' (fish)
mengard (a) chelucheb: mengard 'nibble', chelucheb 'type of coral'

melimralm 'type of fish found in area where river flows into sea'
melim (a) ralm: melim 'to drink', ralm 'water'

becheserrak 'poinsettia' (plant) (blooms at New Year's)
beches (el) rak: beches 'new', rak 'year'

bdelulechang 'end of jetty, landing place'
bdelul (a) chang: bdelul 'its head' (possessed form of *bedul*), chang 'jetty'

ducherreng 'perseverance'
duch (el) reng: duch 'ability, skill', reng 'heart, spirit'

raelbaeb 'beams at end and sides of house (on which rats often run)'
rael (el) beab: rael 'road, way', beab 'rat'

Beluul(e)chab 'Yap'
beluu (el) chab: beluu 'country', chab 'ashes'

ngiradart 'person who exaggerates'
ngii (er a) dart: ngii 'he, she' (emphatic pronoun), dart 'one hundred'

SUMMARY OF PALAUAN COMPLEX NOUNS

8.10. The various types of complex nouns studied in this lesson are summarized, with examples, in the chart below:

PALAUAN COMPLEX NOUNS

Type	*Examples*
1. Expected State Verb used as Noun	selokel 'laundry' suobel 'homework, study'
a. Related to Causative Verb	ukiill 'anything to be avoided'
2. Resulting State Verb used as Noun	blurech 'wound from slingshot' rruul 'thing done/made'
a. Related to Causative Verb	ulkar 'salted, preserved fish'
b. Contains both Expected State and Resulting State Suffixes	cheltuul 'smoked fish' telbiil 'plan, decision'
3. Abstract Noun derived from State Verb	kldung 'good behavior' kleald 'heat'
a. Derived from Reciprocal Verb	klaingeseu 'mutual help'
4. Abstract Noun derived with *kl(e)-*	
a. Derived from State Verb	kldachelbai 'skill' klemera 'truth'
b. Derived from Noun	klechelid 'religion' klsensei 'being a teacher'
5. Instrument Noun	oriik 'broom' osongd 'comb'
6. Action Noun	omeluches 'writing' omerael 'traveling, trip'
7. Residue Noun	ullemachel 'chewn betel nut cud' urrekomel 'broken pieces'
8. Compound Noun	malkureomel 'wild chicken' ducherreng 'perseverance'

LIST OF TERMS

8.11. A. Here is a list of the most important terms introduced in this lesson:

- **Simple Noun vs. Complex Noun**
- **Meaning Shift**
- **Resulting State Verb (and Infix)**
- **Expected State Verb (and Suffix)**
- **Causative Verb**
- **Reciprocal Verb**
- **Abstract vs. Concrete Noun**
- **Instrument Noun**
- **Action Noun**
- **Residue Noun**
- **Compound Noun**

B. In addition, you should know how the following terms (all introduced in earlier lessons) apply to the analysis of Palauan complex nouns:

- **Internal Structure**
- **Morpheme**
- **Noun Stem**
- **Prefix vs. Infix vs. Suffix**
- **Transitive Action Verb**
- **Independent vs. Bound Stem**

8.12. COMPLEX NOUNS IN PALAUAN: STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Give a precise definition of each of the terms in Group A of 8.11, and illustrate with a clear example. For each term found in Group B of 8.11, define briefly and then explain in what way the term applies to the study of Palauan complex nouns.

2. What general features of internal structure are shared by all Palauan complex nouns?

3. Explain why Palauan plural nouns and possessed nouns are types of complex nouns.

4. Explain what kind of meaning shift can occur when (a) expected state verbs and (b) resulting state verbs come to be used as nouns. Give several clear examples of each.

5. What are the main phonetic features of nouns derived from (a) expected state verbs and (b) resulting state verbs? Take two examples of each type and analyze them phonetically.

6. Write five examples each (different from those given in the text!) to show how nouns derived from (a) expected state verbs and (b) resulting state verbs are used in Palauan sentences. Give the English equivalent for each sentence that you write.

7. What are the main phonetic features of complex nouns that are derived from (a) expected state forms of causative verbs and (b) resulting state forms of causative verbs? Illustrate with clear examples.

8. Look at the complex nouns in (11), all of which are derived by simultaneously adding the resulting state infix and the expected state suffix to a stem. For each complex noun given,

   (a) analyze the internal structure, pointing out stem, infix, and suffix.

   (b) explain how the meaning of the noun might have developed from that of the related transitive verb.

9. Give five examples of how abstract nouns are formed by infixing *-el-* (or *-l-*, *-r-*) into (a) an independent state verb and (b) a state verb whose stem is bound.

10. Choose five abstract nouns from (12) and five from (13) and use each in a clear, well-constructed sentence (different from the sentences in 14!). Give the English equivalent for each of your sentences.

11. Except for *blibrurek* and *cheluodel*, all of the abstract nouns in (12) and (13) are optionally possessible. For each abstract noun that is possessible, provide the third person singular possessed form (e.g., *klengit—kngtil*).

12. Explain how we can derive abstract nouns from reciprocal verbs, and provide five new examples (with their English equivalents) similar to those in (15).

13. How do we derive abstract nouns with the prefix *kle-*? Take five nouns prefixed with *kle-* and use them in sentences similar to those of (19). Provide an English translation for each.

14. What are the similarities and differences in the formation of Palauan instrument and action nouns? What categories of meaning do these nouns designate?

15. What is unusual about the formation of Palauan residue nouns? What common feature of meaning do all Palauan residue nouns have?

8.13. COMPLEX NOUNS IN PALAUAN: EXERCISES

1. Here is a list of Palauan transitive action verbs which have *expected state forms* that can be used as nouns, as in (2). For each verb given, provide the expected state form that functions as a noun and give an accurate English translation. The meaning of the derived noun will sometimes be very specialized.

melikes	melouch	meluchel
mengabl	mengetuut	mengib
	mengiuetokl	

2. The transitive action verbs below have *resulting state forms* that can be used as nouns, as in (5). For each verb listed, give the resulting state form that can serve as a noun and translate correctly into English. Pay attention to any derived forms with very specialized meanings.

melachel	melbard	melengmes	melooch	mengerirs
melall	meleb	melenguul	melouch	mengesekl
melangch	melechelokl	melik	melsbai	mengesuches
melbaet	melekuau	melngisech	mengais	mengesuul

3. Review the complex nouns in (5), all of which are identical in form to *resulting state verbs*. For each complex noun listed, (1) determine if it is unpossessible or optionally possessed and (2) use it in a well-constructed Palauan sentence for which you also provide the English meaning.

4. Examine the complex nouns in (9) that are equivalent in form to the *expected state forms* of various *causative verbs*. For each complex noun given, (1) determine whether it is unpossessible or optionally possessed and (2) use it in a grammatically correct Palauan sentence for which you also provide the equivalent in English.

5. Follow the directions of Exercise 4 above and apply them to the *resulting state forms* of *causative verbs* given in (10).

6. Below we give a list of Palauan complex nouns that are formed by simultaneously adding both the *resulting state infix -el-* and the *expected state suffix -el* (*-uul, -all,* etc.) to a stem (see 8.2.4). For each example below, (1) provide the meaning of the complex noun and (2) indicate the related *transitive action verb* in its *imperfective* form. You may follow the format of the list given in (11).

delekull	delebachel
delebedabel	telechull
deluul	telkael
delbochel	cheleatel
cheliotel	blechidel

7. From each of the state verbs provided below, it is possible to derive an *abstract noun* by inserting the infix *-el-* (*-l-* or *-r-*) into the stem (see 8.3). The original state verb may be simple, as in (12), or it may contain the verb marker prefix *me-*, as in (13). For each state verb below, (1) write the derived abstract noun together with its meaning and (2) indicate whether the noun is unpossessible or optionally possessed.

chetngaid	medecherecher
cheterochel	mechechei
chituuk	mecherocher
kedols	mechuached
kesib	medemedemek

8. Take each of the abstract nouns that you derived in Exercise 7 and use it in a well-constructed Palauan sentence. Provide the English translation for each sentence you write.

9. Below is a list of reciprocal verbs from which abstract nouns can be derived by infixing *-l-* (see 8.4). For each reciprocal verb given, derive the related abstract noun and provide its English meaning. Then, use each abstract noun in a well-written Palauan sentence, which you should also translate into English.

kaukledem	kaiberober
kauteketok	kaiskurs
kaucheraro	kaititekangel
kaumerang	kakoad
kaoterau	kaiuiuul

10. For each of the abstract nouns prefixed with *kle-* in (17) and (18) of 8.5, write a Palauan sentence that is both interesting and grammatically correct. Be sure to translate each sentence that you write into idiomatic English. Use examples different from those given in (19).

11. Below is a long list of Palauan instrument nouns (see 8.6). For each instrument noun, provide the following: (1) the English equivalent, (2) the third person singular possessed form, if any, and (3) the related transitive action verb in the imperfective form (with its English equivalent).

olabek	olad	olangch
olangeb	olat	olatech
olau	olauch	olchesech
olechui	oleel	olekodek
olemed	olemelem	oleng
olengesakl	oleseb	olidel
oliich	olikes	olimet
olit	oliuch	olmesumech
oluches	oluis	oluk
olungd	olutk	oluus
ongaet	ongas	ongat
ongaus	ongeched	ongelebed
ongelil	ongeluut	ongemekl
ongerekor	ongertochet	ongerumet
ongesang	ongeseu	ongiis

12. Use each of the Palauan action nouns given in (22) and (23) in a well-constructed Palauan sentence. Give an idiomatic English translation for each sentence you write. Be sure your examples are different from those in (24).

13. Here is a list of Palauan transitive action verbs (given in the imperfective form). For each verb in the list, derive the related residue noun (see 8.8). Provide the English equivalent for each of the nouns that you derive.

meleketek	melemotem
melebal	melilt
melekodek	mesilek
melemed	melit
melemedem	meluk
merusech	mengeseb

14. Give a phonetic analysis of each of the residue nouns that you derived in Exercise 13 above. Compare each residue noun with the corresponding *expected state verb* and indicate what new vowel or vowel cluster, if any, turns up within the stressed syllable before *-el*. Then, compare each residue noun with the corresponding imperfective verb given in Exercise 13 and point out what processes of vowel weakening have occurred.

    Sample answer:

    (1) *ulleketokel* shows the new vowel O in the stressed syllable before *-el*. This same vowel appears in the related *expected state verb teketokel*.

    (2) *ulleketokel* shows weakening of a full vowel E. The vowel E is *full* in the stressed syllable of the imperfective verb form *me-le-KE-tek*, but in the residue noun it reduces to a *weak* E in an unstressed syllable—i.e., *ul-le-ke-TO-kel*. (Pronounce the forms carefully to verify this.)

15. Provide a phonetic analysis of the residue nouns given in (25) of 8.8. Supply the corresponding *expected state verb* for each example, and then follow the same directions as in Exercise 14 above.

16. Find ten more *complex nouns* similar to those given in (26). After giving the specialized meaning of the noun, analyze its parts according to the indicated format.

9

PALAUAN CAUSATIVE VERBS

INTRODUCTION

MEANING OF CAUSATIVE VERBS

9.1. Although we have only mentioned causative verbs on several brief occasions throughout the preceding lessons, we actually already know quite a lot about this interesting and important group of Palauan verbs. Thus, in 5.8.d and elsewhere, we gave a basic definition of *causative verb* as a "type of *transitive action verb* in which the subject *causes* or *forces* someone else to do something or to be in a particular state". As we will see below, causative verbs are usually closely related to (i.e., derived from) various action or state verbs. For example, from the *intransitive action verb chemiis* 'to run away, escape', we can derive the causative verb *olechiis*, which means 'to chase' or 'to drive away'. It is not difficult to see that the meaning of *olechiis* really comes from the idea that someone (the subject of the sentence) *causes*, *makes*, or *forces* another person (or even animal) to run away. In exactly the same way, from the state verb *medakt* 'afraid, scared', we can derive the causative verb *omekdakt* 'to frighten', which of course means 'to make (someone else) afraid' or 'to cause (someone else) to be in a state of fear'. Because verbs like *olechiis* and *omekdakt* always involve the idea of someone *causing* something to happen, we will identify them by the convenient and appropriate term **causative verb**.

As opposed to *intransitive* action verbs, which involve only a *doer* but no *receiver*, *transitive* action verbs always involve an action that a doer *directs at* a receiver (see 5.2 for further explanation). Normally, the person (or animal) performing or carrying out the action is the *sentence subject*, while the person, animal, or thing affected is the *sentence object*. This typical "transitive sentence pattern" is also found with causative verbs, as the following pair of sentences will show:

(1) a. A katuu a chiliis. 'The cat ran away.'

b. A buik a ulechisii a katuu. 'The boy chased the cat away.'

Sentence (1a) contains an intransitive action verb (*chemiis* 'to run away', past tense: *chiliis*) that involves only a doer (the sentence subject *katuu*). Sentence (1b), however, contains the corresponding causative verb *olechiis* (in the past tense perfective form *ulechisii*), which is a transitive action verb that necessarily involves both a doer (the

sentence subject *buik*) and a receiver (the sentence object *katuu*). In this sentence, of course, the doer *causes* (or brings about) the action, while the receiver is made or forced to do that same action (i.e., running away).

> ***Note 1***: Note further that the *subject* of the intransitive sentence (1a) has become the *object* of the transitive sentence (1b). Although both sentences present the information that the cat ran away, the distinguishing feature is that the *causative verb* of (1b) provides the extra information that someone *made*, *forced*, or *caused* the cat to run away.

In a similar way, we noted in 5.3 that most Palauan *state* verbs are *intransitive* in the sense that they involve only a subject, but no object. In other words, most Palauan state verbs involve just a single person, animal, or thing that is being characterized or described by the state verb itself. If a causative verb is derived from a state verb, however, it becomes transitive and both a doer and receiver must be expressed. Note how the pair of sentences below parallels (1a–b) very closely:

(2) a. A ngalek a mekar. 'The child is awake.'
b. A mechas a olekar er a ngalek. 'The old woman is waking up the child.'

In (2a) we have the (intransitive) state verb *mekar* 'awake', which simply describes the state that the sentence subject (*ngalek*) is in. In (2b), however, the causative verb *olekar* 'to wake up' creates a more complex situation, since it now involves both a *doer* (i.e., *mechas* 'old woman', the person *causing* something to happen) and a *receiver* (i.e., *ngalek* 'child', the person affected by this "causative" action).

FORMS OF THE CAUSATIVE PREFIX

9.2. As a subtype of transitive action verb, Palauan causative verbs exhibit the entire range of forms that all transitive action verbs have. Thus, causative verbs have *basic forms*, *imperfective forms*, and *perfective forms*. In addition, for most causative verbs we can also derive *resulting state forms* as well as *expected state forms*. We will first concentrate on the *imperfective* forms of causative verbs, since it is in these forms that the characteristic element of causative verbs—namely, the *causative prefix*—can be most easily identified.

All Palauan causative verbs consist of at least two morphemes—the *causative prefix* and the *stem*. To derive the imperfective forms of causative verbs, we attach a variant of the causative prefix (*omek-*, *ome-*, *om-*, *ole-*, *ol-*, *or-*) to the stem of a *state verb*, an *action verb*, or even a *noun*. In the sections below, we will try to describe the distribution of the causative prefixes in as much detail as possible.

Causative Verbs Formed from State Verbs

9.2.1. The list below illustrates some common causative verbs whose imperfective forms are derived by prefixing *omek-* or *ome-* to the stems of (intransitive) *state verbs*. In the right-hand column we provide the related state verb, which may be either an independent or bound stem:

(3)	*Causative Verb*	*Related State Verb*
	omekdechor 'to make...stand, build'	dechor 'stand, standing'
	omekungil 'to heal, make...better'	ungil 'good'
	omekbeches 'to make...new, repair, renovate'	beches 'new'
	omekdekimes 'to make...wet'	dekimes 'wet'
	omekesiu 'to compare, imitate'	osiu 'joining'
	omekikiongel 'to make...dirty'	kikiongel 'dirty'
	omekard 'to light, turn on'	kmard 'lighted, on fire'
	omekcharm 'to make...suffer'	chuarm 'suffer(ing)'
	omekdakt 'to frighten'	medakt 'afraid'
	omekdirt 'to dry out'	medirt 'dry'
	omekdinges 'satisfy, make...full'	medinges 'full'
	omekringel 'hurt, make...difficult'	meringel 'difficult, painful'

Based on the forms above, we can make the following observations:

a. As the causative verbs *omekikiongel* and *omekard* show, we use the variant *ome-* (instead of *omek-*) if the stem already begins with K.

b. If the related state verb is *simple* (e.g., *dechor, beches*), the causative prefix is merely attached to it (e.g., *omekdechor, omekbeches*). If, however, the related state verb contains the *verb marker* (as either a prefix in *medakt* or an infix in *kmard* or *chuarm*), this verb marker must be *deleted* before the causative prefix is attached (i.e., we get *omekdakt* but not "omekmedakt", *omekard* but not "omekmard", and so on).

c. In certain cases, we note some interesting phonetic changes. For example, the full vowel O of the state verb *osiu* is reduced to a weak E in the derived causative verb *omekesiu*.

While most causative verbs derived from state verbs use *omek-*, as in (3) above, a small group uses the variant *ole-* (or *ol-*) instead. Some of these are related to state verbs that have NG-initial stems, as in the examples below:

(4) *Causative Verb*	*Related State Verb*
olengesenges 'to obey, consent to'	ngesenges 'agreeable'
olengesonges 'to make insufficient, deplete'	ngesonges 'insufficient, not enough'
olengerir 'to move (eyes) sideways'	ngerir '(eyes) looking sideways'
olekeed 'to bring near'	kmeed 'near'
oldak 'to put together, unify'	dmak 'together'

Causative Verbs Formed from Intransitive Action Verbs

9.2.2. Causative verbs derived from *intransitive action verbs* almost always use the variants *ole-* or *ol-* of the causative prefix. In addition, as we might expect, the causative prefix will appear as *or-* if the related stem also begins with R. Take a look at the comprehensive list below:

(5) *Causative Verb*	*Related Intransitive Action Verb*
ollangel 'to make...cry'	lmangel 'to cry'
olluut 'to give back, make...return'	lmuut 'to return, come back'
oltobed 'to take out'	tuobed 'to emerge, go out'
oltengel 'to take down (from above)'	metengel 'to land, come down'
oltuu 'to put into, make...enter'	tmuu 'to enter'
olsiseb 'to put into, make...enter'	soiseb 'to enter'
olsebek 'to make...fly'	suebek 'to fly'
olengebeet 'to push under water'	ngobeet 'to submerge into water'
olsobel 'to save, take care of'	suobel 'to survive, be saved'
oldik 'to banish'	dmik 'to go into exile'
oliuul 'to transfer'	imuul 'to go from one location to another'
olechiis 'to chase, make...run away'	chemiis 'to run away, escape'
olekerd 'to unload, let off'	kmerd 'to get off/out'
olengelt 'to (make...) sink (in soft ground)'	ngmelt 'to sink (in soft ground), (sun) set'
olengasech 'to raise, lift up'	ngmasech 'to climb, (sun) rise'
omekoad 'to kill'	mad 'to die'
orrael 'to lead (animal), drive (vehicle)'	merael 'to leave, travel'
orrebet 'to drop, let...fall'	ruebet 'to fall'
orros '(make...) drown'	remos 'to drown'
orrurt 'make...run'	remurt 'to run'
orrechorech 'to (make...) sink (in water)'	ruchorech 'to sink (in water)'
orrumk 'to weigh down'	ruumk 'to get loaded or weighted down'

You will notice that all of the related intransitive action verbs in (5) contain the *verb marker*, which occurs as a prefix in *metengel, mad,* and *merael,* but in all other cases has the form of an *infix* (*-m-, -em-, -u-,* or *-o-*). The most interesting point to note is that when the corresponding causative verb is derived, the verb marker of the intransitive action verb is always *deleted* (with the exception of *omekoad,* where the unusual change of *m-* to *o* occurs). Thus, *oltobed* shows no trace of the original infixed verb marker *-u-* of *tuobed, orros* lacks the original *-em-* of *remos*, and so on.

Note 2: It is possible to speculate why the causative forms of (5) show no evidence of the original verb marker if we assume that the causative prefix *ole-* or *ol-* is itself complex and already contains the verb marker (as *o-*) and a "causative marker" *-l-* (see 5.6.b.2 and 6.3.2). If this is indeed the case, then causative forms like "oltuobed" or "orremos" would be prevented because they would contain a second, unnecessary use of the verb marker. We noted the same problem in point (b) of 9.2.1 above, where we saw that the causative forms of (3) also have lost the original verb marker of the related state verb. In these cases, we can speculate that the prefix *omek-* is also complex (with *o-* as the verb marker and a "causative marker" *-bek-* which becomes *-mek-* when imperfective, showing the expected B→M consonant alternation) and that forms like "omekmedakt" are similarly prevented to avoid the occurrence of two verb markers.

Causative Verbs Formed from Transitive Action Verbs

9.2.3. A small number of causative verbs can be derived from *transitive action verbs* by prefixing *om(e)-* to the verb stem. In such cases, the verb stem will begin with the consonant that is found in the verb's *basic form*. Note the examples below:

(6)

Causative Verb	*Related Transitive Action Verb*	
	Basic	*Imperfective*
omeka 'to feed, make...eat'	meka	menga 'to eat'
om(e)ngim 'to make...drink, give drink to'	mengim	melim 'to drink'
omengamech 'to make...chew/smoke'	mengamech	melamech 'to chew, smoke'

Because transitive action verbs like *menga, melim*, etc. always involve both a subject noun phrase (for the doer) and an object noun phrase (for the receiver), a sentence with the corresponding causative verb could contain a third noun phrase that indicates the person causing the entire event to happen. Thus, while (7a) just contains (non-causative) *menga* with its subject and object, (7b) introduces a third noun phrase as the subject of the causative verb *omeka*:

(7) a. A rengalek a menga er a beras. 'The children are eating the rice.'

b. A delak a omeka er a rengalek er a beras. 'My mother is feeding the children the rice.'

In (7b) there seem to be *two* (specific) object noun phrases following *omeka*—one indicating who is being made to eat (*rengalek*) and the other indicating what is being eaten (*beras*).

Finally, it is possible to have sentences with a causative verb like *omeka* in which the second object is not mentioned at all. Thus, in the example below,

(8) A delak a omeka er a rengalek. 'My mother is feeding the children.'

we are stating that my mother is giving the children something to eat, but we are not particularly interested in the specific type of food involved.

Causative Verbs Formed from Nouns

9.2.4. While the causative verbs we have observed so far are most conveniently associated with the stems of *verbs* (whether state verbs or action verbs), in this section we will examine a group of causative verbs that are derived directly from *noun* stems. In the great majority of cases, these causative verbs use the prefix *om-* (or *ome-*), though occasionally *omek-* is also found. Observe the large list below:

(9) *Causative Verb*	*Related Noun Stem*
omdaob 'to add salt water to *(klengoes)*'	daob 'salt water, ocean'
omdai 'to pull in (rope, fishing line, etc.)'	dai 'tightness or pull of rope'
omdoim 'to add *odoim* to *(ongraol)*'	odoim 'non-starchy food'
omdid 'to follow (trail, footsteps)'	did 'bridge, ladder'
omcheraches 'to wait for outgoing tide'	cheraches 'outgoing tide'
omcheled 'to give fish to (fellow fisherman whose catch was small)'	cheled 'any ocean product caught (but not yet cooked)'
omchim 'to gesture with hands while talking'	chim 'hand, arm'
omechar 'to buy'	char 'cost, price'
omkar 'to give medicine to'	kar 'medicine'
omsar 'to add salt to (food), preserve with salt'	sar 'salt'
omuus 'to order, import'	uus 'ordering of goods'
omngakl 'to give a name to'	ngakl 'name'
omtebechel 'to moor (boat), hold steady, control'	tebechel 'mooring pole'
omtechei 'to change, replace'	techei 'act of changing'
omekbuch 'to marry (people)'	buch 'spouse'
omekbar 'to cover with blanket'	bar 'blanket'

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the causative verbs given in (9) above is that some very specialized meanings are obtained when the causative verb is derived from the related noun stem. In quite a few cases, the causative verb means something like "give or add (the particular substance) to...", as seen in *omdaob, omdoim, omcheled, omkar, omsar,* and *omngakl*. In other cases, however, the derived meaning is quite unpredictable, though there is a reasonable connection with the meaning of the related noun stem—thus, for example, we can see how *omdid* 'to follow (a trail or someone's footsteps)' might be related to *did* 'bridge' because when we follow a trail we make a kind of bridge (abstractly!) from one place to another, one event to another, and so on.

CAUSATIVE VERBS USED IN SENTENCES

9.3. From the examples below, we can get a good idea about how some of the causative verbs given in (3–5) and (9) are used in Palauan sentences:

(10)	a. A toktang a mo omekungil er kau.	'The doctor will get you better.'
	b. A rekangkodang a mla omekikiongel er a beluu.	'The tourists have gotten the area dirty.'
	c. Ng sebechem el omekard er a olbidel?	'Can you turn on the lamp?'
	d. Tia el kall a mo omekdinges er kemiu.	'This food will fill you (pl.) up.'
	e. A mechas a ulemekdechor er a ngalek er a bebul a tebel.	'The old woman was making the child stand on the table.'
	f. Ngii di el ngalek a soal el olsebek a kedam.	'Any child likes to fly a kite.'
	g. Ng kired el olluut er tir me ng diak lebo er a Guam.	'We must make them come back from going to Guam.'
	h. A rubak a ullekeed er a bilsengel.	'The old man was bringing his boat near (to the dock).'
	i. A rengalek a ulerrebet a belatong.	'The children were dropping plates.'
	j. Ng kirek el mo omsar a ngikel.	'I've got to preserve the fish with salt.'
	k. Ng diak lsebechem el omtebechel er a ngelekem?	'Can't you control your child?'
	l. A badre a mo omekbuch er tir.	'The priest is going to marry them.'

CAUSATIVE VERBS AND TENSE

9.4. Just as we would expect, Palauan causative verbs can occur in various *tenses*. All of the causative verbs listed in (3–6) and (9) are given in their *present tense* imperfective form. Such verb forms can be used, of course, to describe habitual actions or actions in progress at the present moment. To form the *future tense* of causative verbs, we merely add the auxiliary *mo*, as in (10a), (10d), (10j), and (10l) above.

For the *past tense*, we replace the initial *o-* of the causative prefix by *ul(e)-* (see the examples of 21 in 5.5.2.3), as found in *ulemekdechor* (from *omekdechor*) in (10c̀), *ullekeed* (from *olekeed*) in (10h), and *ulerrebet* (from *orrebet*) in (10i). Finally, to express the *recent past tense*, we use the auxiliary *mla* directly before the causative verb, as in (10b). For the various tenses of causative verbs in their *perfective* form, see 9.5.1 below.

Verb Stems with Two Causative Forms

Note 3: There is a small number of Palauan intransitive verb stems from which we can derive two causative forms, one with the prefix *omek-* and the other with *ol-* (*or-*, etc.). The most obvious examples are *omeksengerenger* and *olsengerenger* (from the state verb *songerenger* 'hungry'), *omeksebek* and *olsebek* (from the intransitive action verb *suebek* 'to fly'), and *omekrael* and *orrael* (from the intransitive action verb *merael* 'to walk, travel'). While some Palauan speakers exclusively use one form or the other, there are certain speakers who use the two forms interchangeably, with no difference in meaning. There are even some speakers who accept both forms and make an important distinction of meaning between them, as shown in the sentences below:

a. A Droteo a omekrael er a ngelekel el mo er a ungil el klechad.	'Droteo is guiding his child towards a good life.'
b. A chad er a sers a orrael er a kerebou.	'The farmer is leading the water buffalo.'

As the English translations indicate, *orrael* means 'lead' in the sense of 'to make (an animal) walk'—note that *orrael* can also mean 'to drive (a boat, etc.)'—while *omekrael* has the more *abstract* sense of 'to guide, teach (morally)'.

PERFECTIVE FORMS OF CAUSATIVE VERBS

9.5. In various parts of Lessons 4 and 5 (e.g., 4.9.2–4.9.5, 5.6.2, etc.) we have already given a very complete picture of how the *perfective forms* of Palauan transitive action verbs are derived. Since *causative verbs* are a subtype of *transitive action verb*, they naturally have a full range of perfective forms. You will recall that one of the major characteristics

of perfective forms is that they must include an *object pronoun suffix* (see 4.9), which has the forms *-ak, -au, -ii,* etc., or even *zero* for third person plural *nonhuman* objects (see 4.9.4). Here are some typical sets of perfective forms for causative verbs that were already presented in 4.9.5 and 4.9.6:

(11) **Perfective Forms of *oltobed*** 'to take out'—**present tense**

otebedak	otebedid otebedemam
otebedau	otebedemiu
otebedii	otebedeterir otobed

(12) **Perfective Forms of *olekiis*** 'to wake (someone, something) up'—**present tense**

okisak	okisid okisemam
okisau	okisemiu
okisii	okisterir okiis

(13) **Perfective Forms of *olekar*** 'to wake (someone, something) up'—**present tense**

okerngak	okerngid okerngemam
okerngau	okerngemiu
okerngii	okerngeterir okar

Based on the forms in (11–13) above, we can make the following points about deriving the perfective forms of causative verbs prefixed with *ol-* or *ole-*:

a. Because all of the object pronoun suffixes (except *zero*, of course) are *stressed*, the first seven perfective forms will show all of the expected processes of *vowel weakening* (see 4.9.3). Thus, the full vowel O of the verb stem *-tobed* is reduced to a weak E when unstressed in the perfective forms *otebedak* (o-te-be-DAK), *otebedii* (o-te-be-DII), etc. Similarly, the double vowel II of the verb stem *-kiis* is shortened to a single vowel when unstressed in *okisak*, *okisii*, etc. Finally, the full vowel A of *olekar* is also reduced to a weak E in the forms *okerngak, okerngii,* etc. (which also show an -NG- between the verb stem and the suffix). By contrast, in the eighth form (for third person plural *nonhuman* objects), the *zero suffix* does not affect stress, and therefore the original full vowels (single or double) are observed in such forms as *otobed*, *okiis*, and *okar*.

b. While the perfective forms of most *noncausative verbs* contain an *infixed verb marker* of the form *-o-*, *-u-*, *-m-*, or *-em-* (see 5.6.c.2 and 6.4.2), the perfective forms of *causative verbs* do not. Even so, the perfective forms of (11–13) are easily distinguished from their corresponding imperfective forms by the following obvious change: the prefix *ol-* or *ole-* found in the imperfective form has been replaced by (or reduced to) *o-* when deriving the perfective form. Note, further, that with causative verbs, there is nothing like the pattern of consonant alternation that we observed between pairs of perfective and imperfective forms such as *cholebedii* and *mengelebed* (CH→NG), *sosebii* and *meleseb* (S→L), and so on (see 5.6.3).

c. If a causative verb is formed by prefixing *ol-* to an L-initial stem (as in *olluut* 'to give back, make (someone) return'), its perfective forms are derived regularly, although the L of the stem of course remains (e.g., *olutii, oluut,* etc.). When the causative prefix appears as *or-* before an R-initial stem, we observe exactly the same pattern (e.g., *orebetii, orebet,* etc., from *orrebet* 'to drop, let (something) fall').

A typical causative verb prefixed with *omek-* is *omekdakt,* whose perfective forms are given below:

(14) **Perfective forms of *omekdakt*** 'to frighten'—**present tense**

mekdektak	mekdektid mekdektemam
mekdektau	mekdektemiu
mekdektii	mekdekteterir mekdakt

As you can see, the initial *o-* of the prefix *omek-* has been *deleted* in all of the perfective forms. Can you also identify what type of vowel weakening has taken place in the first seven forms?

If a causative verb is prefixed with *ome-* or *om-*, then its perfective forms also show *deletion* of initial *o-*. Some typical examples are *mengemechii, mengamech,* etc., from *omengamech* 'to make (someone) chew/smoke', *mengelmii, mengim,* etc., from *omengim* 'to give drink to', *mdimii, mdoim,* etc., from *omdoim* 'to add *odoim* to (*ongraol*)', and *mkerur, mkar,* etc. from *omkar* 'to give medicine to'. For the last two verbs, you will notice that the word-initial *m-* of the perfective forms is *syllabic* (m-di-MII, m-DOIM, m-ke-RUR, m-KAR).

Perfective Forms of Causative Verbs in Various Tenses

9.5.1. All of the perfective forms of causative verbs discussed in 9.5 above were given in the *present tense.* To indicate the *future tense* with such forms, we simply use the auxiliary *mo* (e.g., *mo okisak* '(someone) will wake me up'), and for the *recent past tense,* the auxiliary *mla* is added (e.g., *mla okisak* '(someone) has woken me up').

To derive the *past tense* of perfective forms of causative verbs, we use different patterns depending on the original prefix involved. As we saw in (11–13), causative verbs prefixed with *ol-* or *ole-* have (present tense) perfective forms in which this prefix has been reduced to *o-*. In order to derive the past tense of such perfective verbs, we replace word-initial *o-* by *ul-* or *ule-*. In a similar way, causative verbs prefixed with *or-* also have (present tense) perfective forms in which the prefix has been reduced to *o-*. The past tense of these perfective verbs is formed, as expected, by replacing word-initial *o-* by *ur-*. Note the examples below, in which we provide selected perfective forms in the present and past tenses for third person singular vs. third person *nonhuman* plural objects:

(15) *Perfective Forms of Causative Verbs*

Present Tense		*Past Tense*	
sg.	*nonhum. pl.*	*sg.*	*nonhum. pl.*
otebedii	otobed	ultebedii	ultobed
okisii	okiis	ulekisii	ulekiis
olutii	oluut	ullutii	ulluut
orebetii	orebet	urrebetii	urrebet

The corresponding imperfective forms for the causative verbs above are, of course, *oltobed, olekiis, olluut,* and *orrebet.*

By contrast, causative verbs prefixed with *omek-, ome-*, or *om-* all show deletion of the initial *o-* in their (present tense) perfective forms, which will then begin with *m-*, as in (14) above. To derive the past tense forms of verbs in this group, we insert the *past tense infix -il-* directly after the word-initial *m-*. Here is a list of representative examples, in a format similar to (15):

(16) *Perfective Forms of Causative Verbs*

Present Tense		*Past Tense*	
sg.	*nonhum. pl.*	*sg.*	*nonhum. pl.*
mekdektii	mekdakt	milekdektii	milekdakt
mengemechii	mengamech	milengemechii	milengamech
mengelmii	mengim	milengelmii	milengim
mdimii	mdoim	mildimii	mildoim
mkerur	mkar	milkerur	milkar

The corresponding imperfective forms for the causative verbs above are *omekdakt, omengamech, omengim, omdoim,* and *omkar.* If you need to review further details about the Palauan past tense marker *-il-*, see the discussions in 5.3.1 and 5.5.2.2.

RESULTING STATE FORMS OF CAUSATIVE VERBS

9.6. We have already noted in 7.7.2 that as a subtype of transitive action verb, causative verbs also have *resulting state forms*. To derive such forms, we replace the first vowel and consonant of the original causative prefix (*omek-, ome-, om-, ole-, ol-*) by *ul-*. In addition, *or-* is of course replaced by *ur-* (which generally occurs if the following verb stem begins with R). Note the following examples, some of which are repeated from (20) of 7.7.2:

(17)

Resulting State Verb	*Causative Verb* (in Imperfective Form)
ulekdubech 'established, cultivated'	omekdubech 'to establish, cultivate'
ulekbeot 'made easy/cheap'	omekbeot 'to make easy/cheap'
ulekoad 'killed, dead'	omekoad 'to kill'
uldidm 'spied on'	omdidm 'to spy on'
ulengasech 'raised'	olengasech 'to raise'
ultut 'suckled, nursed'	omtut 'to suckle, nurse'
urreked 'grasped, caught'	orreked 'to grasp, catch'
urrachem 'mixed'	omrachem 'to mix together'

EXPECTED STATE FORMS OF CAUSATIVE VERBS

9.7. In *Note 10* at the end of 7.8.3, we mentioned that causative verbs also have *expected state forms*. The derivation of these is rather complicated phonetically, as indicated below:

a. If the original causative verb is prefixed with *omek-*, then this prefix is usually replaced by *uk-* in the expected state form.

b. If the original causative verb is prefixed with *ome-, om-, ole-*, or *ol-*, then this prefix is normally replaced by the single vowel *o-* or *u-*.

c. In addition to the changes in the prefix noted in (a–b) above, the expected state forms of causative verbs always exhibit some form of the *expected state suffix*: *-(ɛ)l* (unstressed, but with *stress* placed on the immediately preceding syllable) or *-iil, -uul, -all, -oll, -ill* (always stressed). See 7.8.1 to review the details.

d. Once the expected state suffix has been added, the processes of *vowel weakening* apply (see 7.8.2), and in the stressed syllable before *-el* an unexpected full vowel (or vowel cluster) usually appears (see 7.8.3).

The phonetic changes noted in (a–d) above can be observed in the following list of expected state forms derived from causative verbs:

(18)	*Expected State Verb*	*Causative Verb* (in Imperfective Form)
	ukbechesall 'is to be repaired'	omekbeches 'to repair'
	ukdebechall, ukedbechall 'is to be established'	omekdubech 'to establish, cultivate
	ukdengchekill 'is to be seated'	omekdengchokl 'to make (someone) sit down'
	okodall 'is to be killed'	omekoad 'to kill'
	okelall 'is to be fed'	omeka 'to feed'
	udedmall 'is to be spied on'	omdidm 'to spy on'
	okedall, okeodel 'is to be brought near'	olekeed 'to bring near'
	osebekall 'is to be made to fly'	olsebek 'to make (something) fly'
	ududall, uduudel 'is to be paid'	omdoud 'to pay'
	urechemall, urechomel 'is to be mixed'	omrachem 'to mix together'

In addition to the phonetic changes described in (a–d) above, do you notice any unusual vowels or consonants in the expected state forms of (18)?

Complex Nouns Equivalent to Expected and Resulting State Forms of Causative Verbs

9.7.1. In 8.2.3 we looked in detail at *complex nouns* which are formally identical to the expected or resulting state forms of causative verbs. We also discussed the kinds of meaning changes that occur when an expected or resulting state form comes to function as a noun. Rather than repeat any of the discussions of 8.2.3, which you may wish to review now if necessary, we will simply choose two typical examples of each type of complex noun:

(19)	*Complex Noun* (=Expected State Verb)	*Causative Verb* (in Imperfective Form)
	ukiill 'anything that must be avoided'	omekiai 'to abstain from,avoid'
	ocheraol 'money-raising party'	omechar 'to buy'

(20)	*Complex Noun* (=Resulting State Verb)	*Causative Verb* (in Imperfective Form)
	ulkar 'salted, preserved fish'	omkar 'to salt (raw fish)'
	uldars 'sacrifice, offering'	omdars 'to lift up'

VERBS WITH CAUSATIVE FORM BUT NO CAUSATIVE MEANING

9.8. If we browse through the Palauan-English dictionary, we will find quite a few verbs that look like causative verbs (because they have the prefix *ol-* or sometimes *omek-*) even though they do not seem to have a causative meaning. It is possible that at an earlier stage of the Palauan language, such items were regularly derived causative verbs with easily predictable causative meanings. Over a long period of time, however, their meanings gradually changed and became specialized so that their causative origin is now obscure. In terms of form, however, such verbs behave just like causative verbs, since their perfective forms follow the patterns described in 9.5 and 9.5.1 above. For each verb in the list below, we indicate (1) the imperfective form and (2) the perfective forms for third person singular and third person plural nonhuman objects, in both the present and past tenses:

(21)

Imperfective	*Perfective*
oldingel 'to visit'	odngelii, odingel uldngelii, uldingel
oltoir 'to chase'	otirii, otoir ultirii, ultoir
oldurokl 'to send'	odureklii, odurokl uldureklii, uldurokl
oltom 'to poke out'	otemengii, otom ultemengii, ultom
olterau 'to sell'	oterur, oterau ulterur, ulterau
olsiuekl 'to meet with, collide with'	osiuklii, osiuekl ulsiuklii, ulsiuekl
orreteret 'to suppress, push into ground'	ortertii, orteret urretertii, urreteret

Can you identify the processes of vowel or vowel cluster weakening that have occurred in the perfective forms of (21)?

In addition to the above, there are a few exceptional verbs prefixed with *ole-*, *or-*, etc., that may have originally been causative verbs, but whose perfective forms do not even follow the causative verb pattern. Thus, *orrenges* 'to hear, listen to' has perfective forms of the regular (i.e., noncausative) type, with the infixed verb marker *-o-* or *-em-* (i.e., *rongesii, remenges*). Similarly, *olengeseu* 'to help' also has the infixed verb marker *-o-* in its perfective forms (*ngosukak, ngosuir, ngosuterir*, etc.).

BASIC FORMS OF CAUSATIVE VERBS

9.9. We noted in 5.6.1 that all transitive action verbs have a *basic form* from which other forms of the verb (imperfective, perfective, etc.) can be derived by applying certain rules. Thus, for example, imperfective *mengelebed* 'to hit' and perfective *cholebedak* 'hit me', *cholebedau* 'hit you (sg.)', *cholebedii* 'hit him/her it', etc., are all derived by various rules from the basic form *mechelebed* 'get hit, beaten'. Recall that since a basic form like *mechelebed* is used when we wish to indicate that the subject *undergoes* or *experiences* the *process* involved, we have also chosen to call it a *processive form* from the viewpoint of meaning. Here is a typical example of how the basic or processive form *mechelebed* would be used in a sentence:

(22) A rengelekek a mla mechelebed! 'My children have been beaten!'

Because causative verbs are a subtype of transitive action verb, they also have basic forms. Such forms, however, are not particularly useful as the first step in deriving the other forms of causative verbs. Nevertheless, because they are occasionally used in Palauan speech, we will indicate the details of their internal structure here.

If a causative verb is formed with *omek-*, then its basic form shows *muk-* replacing *omek-*, as in the examples below:

(23)

Causative Verb	*Basic Form*
omekdakt 'to frighten'	mukdakt 'get frightened'
omekdechor 'to make...stand'	mukdechor 'be made to stand'
omekringel 'to hurt, harm'	mukringel 'get hurt/harmed'

It is also possible to replace *omek-* with *obek-*, resulting in forms such as *obekdakt*, etc. These forms, however, have become archaic (old-fashioned) and are hardly heard any more in present-day Palauan.

If a causative verb is formed with *ol(e)-* or *om(e)-*, then its basic form shows *mo-* replacing the original prefix. Here are a few examples:

(24)

Causative Verb	*Basic Form*
oldik 'to banish'	modik 'get banished'
oltuu 'to put into, make...enter'	motuu 'be made to enter'
olekiis 'to wake (someone) up'	mokiis 'get awakened'
omtechei 'to change, replace'	motechei 'get changed, replaced'

The basic forms of causative verbs are used in sentences like the following, where they have the expected processive meaning:

(25) a. Ng diak kbeot el mukdakt. 'I'm not easily frightened.'

b. Te mla mokiis er a derumk. 'They've been awakened by the thunder.'

CAUSATIVE VERBS WITH PREFIX PRONOUNS

9.10. In 4.10 we looked at the *prefix pronouns*, which are attached to the beginning of certain verb forms in many different types of grammatical constructions. As the lists in (66) of 4.10.2 and (67) of 4.10.3 indicate, the prefix pronouns have quite a few variants—e.g., *ku-, ke-,* or *k-* for first person singular 'I', *lo-, lu-, le-,* or *l-* for third person singular or plural 'he, she, it', they', and so on.

As shown in (63) of 4.10.1, when prefix pronouns are added to imperfective verb forms such as *mesilek* 'to wash', they simply replace the (verb marker) prefix *me-*. Thus, the prefix pronoun forms of *mesilek* are *kusilek, chomosilek, losilek, dosilek,* and *kimosilek*. Furthermore, if an imperfective form shows the verb marker *o-*, as in *omes* 'to see', then the prefix pronouns replace the *o-* as well, giving such forms as *kumes, chomomes, lomes, domes,* and *kimomes*.

Since the imperfective forms of all causative verbs begin with *o-* (which is part of the causative prefixes *omek-, om-, ol-,* etc.), it is not surprising that their prefix pronoun forms are derived just like those of *omes*. In other words, in the forms below, note how the prefix pronoun simply replaces the initial *o-* of the original causative verb:

(26)

Causative Verb	*Forms with Prefix Pronouns*
omekdakt 'to frighten'	kumekdakt, chomomekdakt, lomekdakt, domekdakt, kimomekdakt
oldak 'to put together'	kuldak, chomoldak, loldak, doldak, kimoldak
orrebet 'to drop'	kurrebet, chomorrebet, lorrebet, dorrebet, kimorrebet

Note 4: It is also possible to attach prefix pronouns to the *perfective* forms of causative verbs. Just as with the perfective forms of noncausative verbs, these forms are derived with the *reduced variants* of the prefix pronouns (see 4.10.3). A typical example would be perfective *mekdektii* (from *omekdakt* 'to frighten'): *kmekdektii, lemekdektii,* etc.

Here are two sentences illustrating how the prefix pronoun forms of Palauan causative verbs are used. We have chosen a grammatical construction involving the negative expressions *ng diak* or *ng dimlak,* as in the examples of (61) in 4.10.

(27) a. A resechelik a dimlak lomekikiongel er a kederang. 'My friends were not messing up the beach.'

b. Ng diak kumengamech er a rengelekek er a dekool. 'I don't make my children smoke cigarettes.'

SUMMARY OF PALAUAN CAUSATIVE VERBS

9.11. In the list below, we present a representative sample of Palauan causative verbs, organized according to the phonetic form of the causative prefix:

(28)

Causative Prefix	*Examples of Causative Verbs*
omek-	omekdakt, omekdechor, omekbeches
ome-	omekard, omekikiongel, omeka
om-	omdaob, omcheled, omngakl
ole-	olengesenges, olekeed, olekiis
ol-	oldak, oltobed, olseked
or-	orros, orrumk, orrebet

LIST OF TERMS

9.12. Here is a list of the terms that are important in studying Palauan causative verbs. Although most of these terms have been introduced previously, make sure that you know how they apply to causative verbs in particular.

- **Transitive Action Verb**
- **Causative Verb**
- **Doer and Receiver**
- **Causative Prefix**
- **State Verb**
- **Intransitive Action Verb**
- **Verb Marker**
- **Noun Stem**
- **Tense: Present, Past, etc.**
- **Imperfective vs. Perfective Forms**
- **Processes of Vowel Weakening**
- **Resulting State Form**
- **Expected State Form**
- **Complex Noun**
- **Basic Form**
- **Prefix Pronoun**

9.13. PALAUAN CAUSATIVE VERBS: STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Define each of the terms in 9.12 carefully, making sure that you show how that term applies specifically to causative verbs.

2. Why do we classify Palauan causative verbs as a subtype of transitive action verb?

3. What is the basic element of meaning that all causative verbs share?

4. What are the different phonetic forms in which the causative prefix can occur?

5. To what kinds of stems can the causative prefix be attached to derive causative verb forms?

6. What are the characteristics of sentences that contain causative verbs derived from the stems of transitive action verbs (e.g., *omeka, omengim,* etc.)?

7. How do we form causative verbs from noun stems?

8. Take five of the causative verbs given in (9) of 9.2.4 and for each one, discuss the meaning change which has occurred when we derive it from the corresponding noun.

9. How do we form the future, past, and recent past tenses of *imperfective* causative verbs?

10. What happens to the causative prefixes *omek-, ol-, om-, etc.,* when we derive the *perfective* forms of causative verbs?

11. Give several clear examples of how the familiar processes of vowel (and vowel cluster) weakening apply when deriving the *perfective* forms of causative verbs.

12. How do we form the future, past, and recent past tenses of *perfective* causative verbs?

13. The words *ullechiis* and *ulechiis* are both possible forms of the causative verb *olechiis* 'to chase'. Distinguish them as clearly as possible in terms of form and meaning.

14. How do we derive the resulting state forms of causative verbs?

15. Describe how the expected state forms of causative verbs are derived in terms of (a) changes to the causative prefix and (b) the addition of the expected state suffix. What kinds of familiar phonetic changes are observed in these expected state forms? (See 9.7.d)

16. Give several examples of how the resulting or expected state forms of causative verbs can be used as (complex) nouns.

17. Would you classify *oldingel* 'to visit', *olterau* 'to sell', etc., as causative verbs? Explain.

18. How do we derive the basic forms of Palauan causative verbs? Why do you think we postponed our discussion of these until so late in the lesson?

19. What happens to Palauan causative verbs in situations (such as the sentences of 27 in 9.10) that require the use of prefix pronouns?

9.14. PALAUAN CAUSATIVE VERBS: EXERCISES

1. Find ten causative verbs derived from *state verbs* different from those already given in (3) and (4). List them according to the format presented in (3) and (4), with the causative verb on the left and the related state verb on the right, accompanied by translations for all forms.

2. Find ten causative verbs derived from *intransitive action verbs* different from those already given in (5). Follow the format of (5) and give translations for all forms. In addition, indicate what form (prefix or infix) the verb marker has in the original intransitive action verb—e.g., prefix *me-* in *merael*, infix *-em-* in *remos*, etc.

3. Find ten causative verbs derived from *noun stems* different from those already listed in (9). Use the same two-column format that was given in (9). Translate each causative verb and noun stem, and indicate any specialized meanings obtained when particular causative verbs are derived from their corresponding noun stems.

4. Choose three causative verbs from each of the lists you supplied in Exercises 1-2-3 above. Then, for each verb you have chosen, write a clear, meaningful sentence similar to those seen in (10) of 9.3. Provide the English equivalent for each sentence.

5. Give the correct past tense form for each *imperfective* causative verb below:

omekbeches	olengesenges
olekeed	orrael
omekringel	omengamech
oltobed	olluut
olengebeet	olechiis

6. The following causative verbs have eight different *perfective forms* because they can take both human and nonhuman objects. For each verb, provide all eight (present tense) perfective forms. Present your information in the same format as examples (11–13) of 9.5. Note any processes of vowel or vowel cluster weakening that occur when the perfective forms are derived.

omekringel	omekdechor
ollangel	om(e)ngim
omeka	olluut
olsobel	orros
omkar	omekdinges

7. For each of the causative verbs below, provide *perfective* forms for both *third person singular* and *third person nonhuman plural* objects, in the *present* and *past* tense. Write four columns and follow the format of (15) and (16) in 9.5.1.

omengamech	omcholo
ollangel	olsebek
omekcharm	omekikiongel
omtechei	omsar
omekoad	olechiis

In addition, indicate any processes of vowel or vowel cluster weakening observed in these perfective forms.

8. Provide the resulting state form for each of the causative verbs below:

omekdechor	omuus
orrurt	omekbeches
olsobel	olengelt
omechar	omngakl
oltobed	olsiseb

9. Provide the expected state form for each of the causative verbs listed in Exercise 8 above. For each form,
   a. indicate which variant of the expected state suffix occurs;
   b. identify any processes of vowel or vowel cluster weakening that have taken place.

10. The verbs below were presented in (21) of 9.8 as verbs that are causative in form but not in meaning. For each verb given, provide the following forms:
    a. basic form (see 9.9);
    b. resulting state form;
    c. expected state form;
    d. perfective forms with third person singular and third person nonhuman plural objects, in both the present and past tenses;
    e. all five (imperfective) prefix pronoun forms (see 9.10).

oldingel	oltom
oltoir	olterau

10

RECIPROCAL VERBS IN PALAUAN

INTRODUCTION

MEANING OF RECIPROCAL VERBS

10.1. There are only a few types of Palauan verbs that we still need to study in order to complete our survey of the Palauan verb system. One such group is called **reciprocal verbs**, which are easy to identify in terms of form and meaning. As the term implies, *reciprocal verbs* are used to describe situations in which two or more persons (or other living things such as animals) are *affecting each other in the same way*. They may be doing the same *action* to each other (e.g., hitting each other, washing each other, talking to each other), or they may be in the same *state* (or condition) with respect to each other (e.g., afraid of each other, near each other, etc.). Whatever action or state may be involved, the relationship is *mutual*—i.e., A does something to B, while B does the same thing to A; or A is in a certain relationship with B, while B is in that same relationship with A. Because reciprocal actions or states cannot occur unless at least two individuals (persons, animals, or even things) are involved, the subject of a Palauan reciprocal verb must necessarily be *plural*.

Here is a typical Palauan sentence containing a reciprocal verb:

(1) A Satsko me a Toki a kaingeseu. 'Satsko and Toki are helping each other.'

In this sentence, the reciprocal verb *kaingeseu* 'to help each other' (formed by adding the *reciprocal prefix kai-* to the noun stem *ngeseu* 'help, assistance'—see 10.2 below) indicates that the two persons mentioned in the subject noun phrase—*Satsko* and *Toki*—are carrying out the action of helping with *reciprocal* or *mutual* effect. In other words, Satsko is doing something to help Toki, and at the same time Toki is doing something to help Satsko.

In our first example, the two nouns *Satsko* and *Toki* (each preceded by *a*) are joined by the *connecting word me* 'and' to form a *coordinate* subject noun phrase ("A" *and* "B") which is necessarily *plural*. While a coordinate (or compound) noun phrase represents one type of plural structure, it is also possible to express plurality in other ways. For example, in each of the sentences below, the subject is a *human* noun, and therefore the *plural prefix re-* (see 2.5) can be added to the noun, resulting in a plural subject noun phrase:

(2) a. A rengalek a blechoel el chachelebed. 'The children are always hitting each other.'

b. A rechad er a Modekngei a kaingeseu. 'The people in Modekngei help each other.'

c. A rebuik a kaiuetoir er a chelsel a blai. 'The boys are chasing each other around inside the house.'

In each of the sentences above, the nouns prefixed with *re-* clearly indicate (human) plural subjects. If you wished to replace the phrases *rengalek, rechad er a Modekngei,* and *rebuik* by the proper *non-emphatic* pronoun, which pronoun would you choose?

Returning to sentence (1) above, we find that we can express its meaning in a different way by writing the following sentence:

(3) A Satsko a olengeseu er a Toki, me a Toki a olengeseu er a Satsko. 'Satsko is helping Toki, and Toki is helping Satsko.'

This sentence is a more complex structure in which the two main parts (clauses) are joined by the connecting word *me* 'and'. Each part (clause) is in fact a separate sentence in which a *transitive* action verb—in this case, the *causative* verb *olengeseu* 'to help'—expresses an action which is performed by one person (the subject) and has an effect on another person (the object). Clearly, the transitive verb *olengeseu* and the reciprocal verb *kaingeseu* are closely related since both of them are derived from the same noun stem *ngeseu* 'help, assistance'. To form the (transitive) causative verb *olengeseu*, we add the causative prefix *ole-* (see 9.2, etc.), while to form the reciprocal verb *kaingeseu* we add the reciprocal prefix *kai-* (see below).

Whereas *kaingeseu* of (1) represents mutual or reciprocal action, *olengeseu* in either of the clauses of (3) would only represent "one-way" action—i.e., action going in only one "direction" from doer to receiver (subject to object). In other words, if we took either of the clauses of (3) as a separate, independent sentence—e.g.,

(4) A Satsko a olengeseu er a Toki. 'Satsko is helping Toki.'

it would not necessarily imply reciprocal action (mutual helping) at all. Thus, in (4), it is entirely possible that while Satsko is doing something to help Toki, Toki is not doing anything in return to help Satsko.

Reciprocal Verbs in Various Tenses

10.1.1. It is interesting to note that Palauan reciprocal verbs act like *state verbs* in that their *past tense* forms are derived merely by using the *auxiliary word mle* (see 5.3.1) before the verb (rather than infixing the past tense marker *-il-*). A few reciprocal verbs in the past tense are illustrated in the sentences below:

(5) a. Ngara uchul me a rengelekem a mle chachelebed? 'Why were your children hitting each other?'

b. Aki mle kaingeseu er se er a taem er a mekemad. 'We (excl.) helped each other during the war.'

c. A bilis me a katuu a mle kaiuetoir er a sers. 'The dogs and cats were chasing each other in the garden.'

In order to express the *future tense* with reciprocal verbs, we simply use the *auxiliary word mo*, as expected:

(6) Ng kiriu el mo kaingeseu se el lebo ldokurits a belumiu. 'You (pl.) will have to help each other when your country becomes independent.'

Finally, to express the *recent past tense* with reciprocal verbs, we use the *auxiliary word mla*, as shown below:

(7) Kom mla kauchais a chisel a belumiu? 'Have you (pl.) exchanged news about your home villages?'

Can you explain why all the forms in (6) and (7) that refer to the second person—i.e., *kiriu, belumiu, kom*—must be plural?

FORMS OF THE RECIPROCAL PREFIX

10.2. As mentioned already in the introductory section, all Palauan reciprocal verbs can be easily identified by the presence of the *reciprocal prefix*, which has a considerable number of variant forms: *kai-, kau-, kao-, kaiue-, ke-, ka-*, and *cha-*. Although it is difficult to formulate a set of rules that will accurately predict which variant of the reciprocal prefix will be attached to a stem in any particular case, we can nevertheless try to organize reciprocal verbs into subgroups according to the type of related verb. Thus, as we will see in the sections below, reciprocal verbs can be related to *transitive action verbs* (including *causative verbs*), *state verbs*, verbs prefixed with *ou-*, and so on. Reciprocal verbs have the basic structure *Reciprocal Prefix + Stem* and do not contain the verb marker or show any contrast between perfective vs. imperfective forms.

Reciprocal Verbs Related to Causative Verbs: Causative Verbs in *ol- (or-)*

10.2.1. As our familiar example *kaingeseu—olengeseu* indicates, many Palauan verb stems that allow the derivation of *causative verbs* also permit the formation of *reciprocal verbs*. If the causative verb is formed with the causative prefix *ol(e)-* (see 9.2), then the corresponding reciprocal verb takes any of the variants *kai-, kau-, kao-*, or *kaiue-*, as shown in the list below:

(8)

Reciprocal Verb	*Related Causative Verb*
kaisiuekl 'to meet each other'	olsiuekl 'to meet'
kaudurokl 'to send (something) to each other'	oldurokl 'to send'
kaudermerem 'to push each other under water'	oldermerem 'to push under water'
kaotekau 'to support each other'	oltekau 'to support, hold family together'
kaoterau 'to sell (things) to each other'	olterau 'to sell'
kaiuetoir 'to chase each other'	oltoir 'to chase'
kaiuesobel 'to save each other'	olsobel 'to save, rescue'
kaiuedingel 'to visit each other'	oldingel 'to visit'
kerenges 'to listen to/take advice from each other'	orrenges 'to hear, listen to, obey'

You may have noticed that all of the verbs in the righthand column of (8), though causative in *form* (note the causative prefix *ol-* or *or-*), no longer very directly express an obvious causative *meaning*. As explained in 9.8, verbs in this category most likely had a clear causative meaning at some earlier stage of the Palauan language, but over a long period of time, this meaning became rather specialized, and the original causative sense became obscure. Except for *ngeseu*, which can occur as an independent noun stem meaning 'help, assistance', all of the verb stems found in the reciprocal and causative forms of (8) are *bound*—i.e., we do not have "durokl", "siuekl", "toir", "dingel", "sobel", etc., occurring as separate words.

Note 1: The independently-occurring noun *ngeseu* 'help, assistance' (possessed forms: *ngesuik, ngesuim, ngesuil*, etc.) is used in sentences such as these:

(a) Ak ulengit a ngeseu er a udoud. 'I need some financial help.'

(b) Ke kmal mesula er a ngesuim. 'Many thanks for your help.'

Some bound stems such as *toir, dingel*, and *sobel* can take a prefix *o-* to derive nouns meaning something like 'the action or process of...' This *o-*, which is probably an instance of the *action noun* prefix already described in 8.7, is found in such derived nouns as *otoir-* 'action of chasing' (which is *obligatorily possessed* and must always occur as *otirek, otirem, otirel*, etc.), *odingel* 'action of visiting, visit' (possessed forms: *odngelek, odngelem, odngelel*, etc.), and *osobel* 'action of saving' (possessed forms: *osebelek, osebelem, osebelel*, etc.). Such derived nouns are used in sentences like the following:

Note 1 continued next page

Note 1 continued

(c) A otirel a babii a meringel el tekoi.	'Chasing (and catching) a pig is a difficult task.'
(d) A odngelel a nurs el me er Belau a bek el buil.	'The nurse's visits to Palau take place monthly.'

Note, in addition, that a bound stem such as *sobel* can also be used as the base for deriving an *intransitive action verb*—i.e., *suobel* 'to survive, be saved' (which contains the infixed verb marker *-u-*).

Note 2: In addition to the reciprocal verb *kerenges* 'to listen to/take advice from each other', some speakers can use the form *kaiuerenges*, which has a different meaning—namely, 'to hear each other'.

Causative Verbs in *omek-*

If we have a causative verb derived with the *causative prefix omek-*, then the corresponding reciprocal verb will be formed by replacing word-initial *ome-* by the reciprocal prefix *kau-*. Because the original K of *omek-* remains within the reciprocal verb, the total effect is as if we have prefixed *kauk-* to the verb stem. Here are some typical examples:

(9)

Reciprocal Verb	*Related Causative Verb*
kauklatk 'to remind each other'	omeklatk 'to remind'
kaukdakt 'to frighten each other'	omekdakt 'to frighten'
kaukrael 'to advise/guide e.o.'	omekrael 'to guide, advise'
kaukerreu 'to take care of e.o.'	omekerreu 'to take care of'
kauklusech 'to wish e.o. luck'	omeklusech 'to wish (someone) luck'

While three of the verb stems in (9) are in fact independently-occurring nouns (*dakt* 'fear', *rael* 'road', *lusech* 'luck'), the other two are bound (i.e., "kerreu" is never a separate word, and *latk-* only occurs as an *obligatorily possessed noun* whose possessed forms are *letkek, letkem, letkel,* etc.). The examples below show how some of the reciprocal verbs of (8) and (9) are used in full sentences:

(10) a. A mlai a mle kaisiuekl. 'The cars crashed (i.e., "met each other").'

b. A remechas a kaiuedingel er a bek el klebesei. 'The old women visit each other daily.'

c. A rengalek er Belau a sorir el kaukdakt a leklebesei. 'Palauan children enjoy frightening each other (as a game) at night.'

d. A rechad er tia el beluu a kmal kaukerreu. 'The people of this village take good care of each other.'

Reciprocal Verbs Related to Verbs Prefixed with *ou-*

10.2.2. In 6.3.3 we saw that one way of deriving Palauan verbs is to add the prefix *ou-* to an independent noun stem or, in a few rare cases, to a state verb or some other bound stem. A few typical verbs in this group are *oublai* 'to own a house' (noun stem: *blai* 'house'), *ouskuul* 'to teach, tutor' (noun stem: *skuul* 'school'), *oumerang* 'to believe' (state verb stem: *merang* 'true'), and *ousbech* 'to need, use' (bound stem: *-sbech*). Verbs derived with *ou-* (past tense: *ulu-*) usually indicate ownership or control of something or describe an activity normally associated with the noun which serves as their base. Many of these verbs are *transitive* and therefore take an *object noun phrase*. Here are some sample sentences in which a verb in *ou-* is used transitively:

(11) a. Aki oungalek er a sechal. 'We have/are the parents of a boy.'

b. A Droteo a oublai se el blai. 'Droteo owns that house.'

c. Ak ulusechelei er ngii er se el taem. 'I was a friend of his/hers at that time.'

d. A rechad er a Sebangiol a ulumekemad er a rechad er a Dois. 'The Spanish made war on the Germans.'

e. A Satsko a oungelakel er a bechil. 'Satsko is joking with her husband.'

f. Aki ouchad er kemiu e aki mo chebuul. 'Having you as relatives will make us poor.'

Many transitive verbs in *ou-* such as those given in (11a–f) above have related *reciprocal verbs*, all of which are derived with the reciprocal prefix *kau-*. Some typical examples are given in the following list, which also includes the related independent noun stem (if any):

(12)

Reciprocal Verb	*Related Verb in ou-*	*Related Noun*
kaubuch 'be married to e.o.'	oubuch 'be married to (someone)'	buch 'spouse'
kausechelei 'be friends with e.o.'	ousechelei 'be a friend of (someone)'	sechelei 'friend'

Reciprocal Verb	*Related Verb in ou-*	*Related Noun*
kaungalek 'be related as parent and child'	oungalek 'have (as) a child'	ngalek 'child'
kauchad 'be related to e.o.'	ouchad 'have (as) a relative'	chad 'person'
kaureng 'to long for e.o.'	oureng 'to wish for'	reng 'heart, spirit'
kaumekemad 'to fight with e.o. (in war)'	oumekemad 'to make war on'	mekemad 'war'
kauchais 'to tell e.o. news'	ouchais 'to tell (someone) news'	chais 'news'
kaungelakel 'to joke with e.o.'	oungelakel 'to joke with'	ngellakel 'joke'
kausisbech 'to need/help e.o.'	ousbech 'to need, use'	——

The last two items in the list above illustrate some interesting points. First of all, the bound stem *-sbech* of *ousbech* 'to need, use' must be partially repeated (i.e., *reduplicated*) before the reciprocal prefix *kau-* can be added (see 10.2.3.1 below for further examples of this pattern). Thus, we find the extra syllable *-si-* in the reciprocal form *kausisbech,* which also shows the extended meaning 'to help each other'. Second, the related noun stem that we have given for *oungelakel* and *kaungelakel* is *ngellakel* (note the LL), which from its form appears to be a *complex noun* derived by simultaneously adding the *resulting state infix -(e)l-* and the *expected state suffix -el* to a (bound) stem (see 8.2.4).

Mutual Relationships and Activities

The reciprocal verbs in *kau-* shown in (12) above either describe mutual relationships between people (spouse to spouse, friend to friend, parent to child/child to parent, etc.) or designate activities that people direct at each other (e.g., fighting with each other, joking with each other, etc.). The use of such reciprocal verbs is illustrated in the sentences below:

(13) a. Ngak me a Tony a kausechelei. 'Tony and I are friends.'

b. Te kauchad a Satsko me a Toki? 'Are Satsko and Toki relatives?'

c. Kom mo kaubuch er oingarang? 'When are you (two) going to get married?'

d. Te mle kauchais a chisel a belurir. 'They were exchanging news about their home villages.'

e. A rengalek er a skuul a mle kausisbech el meruul a subelir. 'The pupils helped each other prepare their homework.'

Note 3: In addition to *kaubuch* 'to get married, be married to each other', we have the reciprocal verb *kaubechiil* 'married to each other'. This is derived from the *state verb bechiil* 'married'. A simple example containing *kaubechiil* is given below:

A Toshi me a Haruko a kaubechiil. 'Toshi and Haruko are married to each other.'

Reciprocal Verbs Related to Transitive Action Verbs

10.2.3. The stems of many *transitive action verbs* can combine with the reciprocal prefixes *ka-* or *ke-* to derive reciprocal verbs. The reciprocal verb will always show the same stem-initial consonant that appears in the *basic form* of the verb (see 5.6.1–3, etc.). For example, the basic form of the verb meaning 'to cut (hair)' is *mekimd* '(hair) get cut', where *kimd* is a bound stem. In order to form the corresponding reciprocal verb, we simply prefix *ka-* to the stem to get *kakimd* 'to cut (each other's hair)'. You will recall, of course, that the *imperfective* form of this verb—namely, *mengimd* 'to cut (hair)'—shows a characteristic *consonant alternation* pattern in which the original stem-initial K of *kimd* has changed to NG (see 5.6.3 for further details). In the list below, we give the reciprocal verb prefixed with *ka-* or *ke-*, together with the *basic form* of the related transitive action verb:

(14)

Reciprocal Verb	*Related Transitive Action Verb* (Basic Form)
katekoi 'to speak to e.o.'	metekoi 'get spoken'
kachelebed 'to hit e.o.'	mechelebed 'get hit'
kadengmes 'to respect/honor e.o.'	medengmes 'get respected/honored'
kadibuk 'to be entangled/entwined with e.o.'	medibuk 'get tied/tangled'
keluches 'to write to e.o.'	meluches 'get written'
kelatk 'to remember e.o.'	melatk 'get remembered'
kedul 'to burn e.o.'	medul 'get burned'
ketub 'to spit on e.o.'	metub 'get spat on'
kesilek 'to wash e.o.'s clothes'	mesilek 'get washed'

Can you provide the corresponding *imperfective* form for each of the basic forms given in the right-hand column above? In addition, can you identify which of the verb stems occur as *independent* nouns (e.g., *tekoi* 'word, language') and which are *bound* (e.g., *dengmes*)?

Reciprocal Verbs Showing Reduplication

10.2.3.1. In quite a few cases, we observe that the stem of a transitive action verb is partially or totally repeated (or *reduplicated*) when the reciprocal prefixes *ka-*, *kai-*, or *kau-* are added. This process of reduplication seems to be optional for most stems (though it is obligatory in a few cases as well), and the acceptability of particular forms and meanings varies a lot from speaker to speaker. In the list below, we provide the reciprocal verb (with the repeated syllable written in capital letters) as well as the related transitive action verb (in its imperfective form):

(15)

Reciprocal Verb (Reduplicated)	*Related Transitive Action Verb*
kaSUsuub 'to imitate e.o.'	mesuub 'to study, imitate'
kaSIsiik 'to look for e.o.'	osiik 'to look for'
kaBEboes 'to shoot at e.o.'	omoes 'to shoot'
kaKERker 'to ask e.o.'	oker 'to ask'
kaDERdurech 'to tell e.o. what to do'	oldurech 'to tell (someone)what to do'
kaiTItekangel, kauTItekangel 'to argue with e.o.'	outekangel 'to argue'
kaiBEREbart 'to play game of hide and seek'	omart 'to hide'

As noted above, the process of reduplication is optional for most of the reciprocal verbs presented in (15). Thus, in addition to *kasusuub*, we have *kesuub* with the same meaning (as well as *kasisiik* and *kesiik*, *kakerker* and *kaker*). In a case such as the alternative forms *kaititekangel* and *kautitekangel*, only the reduplicated form is possible—i.e., we do not have reciprocal verbs of the form "kaitekangel" or "kautekangel". Furthermore, some of the reduplicated reciprocal verbs above have developed rather specialized meanings—e.g., *kaiberebart* specifically means to play a particular kind of child's game, while the two additional reciprocal forms *kebart* and (reduplicated) *kaberebart* have the more conventional meaning 'to hide (things) from each other'. In your vocabulary, do you have two reciprocal forms for *omoes*—i.e., (reduplicated) *kabeboes* and *keboes*? Is there any difference in meaning between these two forms?

Reciprocal Verbs Related to State Verbs

10.2.4. When the stems of certain Palauan *state verbs* combine with the reciprocal prefix, the resulting reciprocal verbs express a variety of mutual relationships, including the categories of distance (near to each other vs. far from each other) and similarity (the same as each other vs. different from each other), as well as some emotions (mutual fear, jealousy, etc.). Here is a list of typical examples:

(16)

Reciprocal Verb	*Related State Verb*
kasisiich 'to strengthen e.o.'	mesisiich 'strong, healthy'
kakeald 'to keep e.o. warm'	mekeald 'warm'
kachechei, chachechei 'jealous of e.o.'	mechechei 'jealous'
kaodengei 'to know e.o.'	medengei 'to know'
kedakt, kadekdakt 'afraid of e.o.'	medakt 'afraid'
kakeed, kaiuekeed 'near e.o.'	kmeed 'near'
chacheroid 'far from e.o.'	cheroid 'far'
kaisisiu 'the same as e.o.'	osisiu 'identical'
kengodech, kak(e)ngodech 'different from e.o.'	ngodech 'different'

Based on the forms above, we can make many interesting observations:

a. The original state verb may have a verb marker in the form of a *prefix* (e.g., *me-* in *mesisiich,* etc., or *o-* in *osisiu*) or an *infix* (e.g., *-m-* in *kmeed* and probably *-o-* in *ngodech*), but in some cases there may be no verb marker at all (e.g., *cheroid*).

b. While most of the state verbs are *intransitive,* two of those used to form reciprocal verbs are in fact *transitive*—i.e., *medakt* and *medengei.*

c. Almost all of the different variants of the reciprocal prefix are used to form the reciprocal verbs above—i.e., we observe *ka-, ke-, kai-, kao-,* and *kaiue-.* In addition, we find the variant *cha-,* which will be discussed in 10.2.5 below. Finally, we note the very unusual variant *kak(e)-,* which appears only with the verb stem *ngodech* to derive a reciprocal verb equivalent in meaning to the shorter form *kengodech.*

d. Certain reciprocal verbs show reduplication: in *kadekdekt,* an extra syllable *-dek-* (based on the original stem *dakt*) has been added, while in *chachechei, kasisiich,* and *kaisisiu* the reduplicated syllables (*-che-* and *-si-*) were already present in the related state verb.

e. In most cases, the meaning of the reciprocal verb (i.e., mutual relationship, mutual emotions, etc.) is predictable in a direct way from the related state verb.

f. Where alternative forms exist (e.g., *kakeed* and *kaiuekeed, kedakt* and *kadekdakt,* etc.), there is no difference in meaning, and Palauan speakers may differ in preferring to use one form over the other.

The Reciprocal Prefix *cha-*

10.2.5. In studying the reciprocal verbs so far presented, you may have noticed that a few of them display a reciprocal prefix of the form *cha-* (e.g., *chachelebed, chacheroid, chachechei*). The occurrence of this variant is very easy to predict phonetically: as you may have already realized, the reciprocal prefix takes the form *cha-* when the following verb stem also begins with CH. It appears as if a more basic prefix-initial consonant K (as seen in *ka-, ke-, kai-, kau-,* etc.) has been changed to a CH under the influence of another CH nearby in the word. Whereas most Palauans use reciprocal verbs in *cha-* when there is another CH in the word, some speakers in the northern part of Babeldaob do not apply this rule and use the prefix *ka-* instead.

In addition to the reciprocal verbs in *cha-* already mentioned, you will come across such forms as *chachedecheduch* 'to converse with each other' (cf. *cheldecheduch* 'conversation' and imperfective *mengedecheduch* 'to converse'), *chachuiu* 'to look closely at each other, to read (each other's books, etc.)' (cf. imperfective *menguiu* 'to read'), *chachesang* 'to make each other busy' (cf. *mechesang* 'busy'), *chachat* 'to praise each other' (cf. perfective *chotengii, chemat*), and so on.

COMPLEX NOUNS DERIVED FROM RECIPROCAL VERBS

10.3. In 8.4 we noted that various nouns with an abstract meaning can be derived by infixing *-l-* after the prefix-initial *k-* of reciprocal verbs. As expected, the complex nouns derived in this way describe mutual relationships or activities. If you review the list given in (15) of 8.4, you will get a good idea of the range of meanings conveyed by complex nouns derived from reciprocal verbs. A few typical examples are repeated here:

(17)

Complex Noun	*Related Reciprocal Verb*
klakoad 'fighting, battle'	kakoad 'to fight e.o.'
klaingeseu 'mutual assistance'	kaingeseu 'to help e.o.'
klaidesachel 'race, competition'	kaidesachel 'to race, compete'
klausechelei 'friendship'	kausechelei 'be friends with e.o.
klauchad 'blood relationship, kinship'	kauchad 'to be related to e.o.'

See (16) in 8.4 for examples of how these abstract reciprocal nouns are used in sentences.

ADDITIONAL SENTENCES WITH RECIPROCAL VERBS
TRANSITIVE RECIPROCAL SENTENCES

10.4. In this section we will look at some additional examples of how Palauan reciprocal verbs are used in sentences. The reciprocal verbs used are taken from the lists and discussions above. Note the following examples:

(18)	a. Ng kired el mo katekoi er se el mondai.	'We've got to talk with each other about that problem.'
	b. A teru el chad a millim a rrom e mlo chachelebed.	'The two men were drinking liquor and started hitting each other.'
	c. A rengalek er a skuul me a beches el sensei a mle kasoes er a kesus.	'The pupils and the new teacher met each other last night.'
	d. Te mle kaodenge er se er a taem er a mekemad.	'They knew each other during the war.'

In all of the sentences above, the reciprocal action (or state) expressed by the verb affects each of the persons involved *directly.* Thus, in (18a), if there are two people involved (as implied by *kired*), A will speak to B and B will speak to A; in (18b), A hit B and B hit A, and so on.

As opposed to the examples of (18a–d), there are some Palauan sentences with reciprocal verbs in which the action is directed at some *external object* and therefore the effect on each person involved is only *indirect.* What we are referring to will become clear from the example below:

(19) A Satsko me a Toki a kesilek a bilir.	'Satsko and Toki are washing each other's clothes.'

In (19) we have a reciprocal sentence that has been made *transitive* by the addition of the *object noun phrase bilir* 'their clothes'. This object noun phrase takes the form of a *possessed noun* in which the third person human plural possessor suffix *-ir* refers to the same persons as the sentence subject—namely, *Satsko* and *Toki*, which are joined by *me* 'and' in the coordinate (compound) noun phrase *Satsko me a Toki* 'Satsko and Toki'. Because this sentence contains the object noun phrase *bilir,* the action of washing carried out by both Satsko and Toki is obviously directed at this object—in other words, Satsko is washing Toki's clothes and Toki is washing Satsko's clothes. For this reason, the actual effect on Satsko and Toki themselves is only *indirect*—i.e., each girl receives the *benefit* of a similar action performed by the other on a (similar) external object.

Additional *transitive reciprocal sentences* whose structure and interpretation parallel (19) are given below, with the *object noun phrase* italicized for convenience:

(20) a.	A Kiosi me a Hirosi a keluches a *babier.*	'Kiosi and Hirosi are writing each other letters.'
b.	A rengelekek a blechoel el kerenges a *tekingir.*	'My children always listen to/take advice from each other.'
c.	Aki mle kasoes a *chungam.*	'We saw each other's shadows.'
d.	A rechad er a beluu a keka a *kelir.*	'The people of the village eat each other's food.'
e.	A Toki me a Satsko a chachuiu a *hong er tir.*	'Toki and Satsko are reading each other's books.'

In sentences (20b–e), can you explain how the object noun phrase of the sentence *agrees* with the subject of the reciprocal verb? What is different about the structure of the object noun phrase in (20e)?

ADDITIONAL FUNCTIONS OF THE RECIPROCAL PREFIX

10.5. In all of the examples given above, we have seen that the main function of the Palauan reciprocal prefix is to denote actions or states that have a direct (or sometimes indirect—see 10.4) *mutual effect* on two or more persons. If we continue to study the meaning and use of reciprocal verbs, we will find two interesting cases in which the primary function of reciprocal verbs to denote mutual effect has been extended or modified.

Activities Performed Jointly

A rather natural extension in meaning is found among reciprocal verbs that are related to the stems of *intransitive action verbs* such as *mechiuaiu* 'to sleep', *remurt* 'to run', and *reborb* 'to sit'. Since intransitive action verbs do not involve an object but simply describe activities in which only the subject himself or herself participates, reciprocal verbs derived from them cannot possibly imply any mutual effect. Instead, reciprocal verbs of this type serve to denote activities which are done *jointly*—i.e., which two or more persons do together or in a group. Observe the sentences below, in which we find the reciprocal verbs related to the intransitive action verbs *mechiuaiu, remurt,* and *reborb:*

(21) a.	Aki mle chachiuaiu er a chelsel a blai.	'We were all asleep inside the house.'
b.	A rengalek a kaiderurt er a medal a skuul.	'The children are running together in front of the school.'
c.	A rubak a mle kadereborb er a chelsel a bai.	'The old men were sitting together inside the men's house.'

As the English equivalents imply, the reciprocal verbs in (21a–c) all indicate activities that their subjects are doing jointly (without any mutual effect): *chachiuaiu* 'to sleep with each other (in the same room, etc.)', *kaiderurt* 'to run with each other', and *kadereborb* 'to sit together'. Some Palauan speakers feel that the reciprocal verbs in this group provide a special connotation of "group spirit" or "togetherness"—e.g., *kadereborb* of (21c) seems to imply some special comradeship or friendship existing between the old men who were sitting together.

Note 4: In both reciprocal verbs *kaiderurt* and *kadereborb*, we find an unusual "buffer" syllable *-de-* inserted between the reciprocal prefix and the stem. We also have the additional forms *kaididerurt* (reduplicated) and *kaidereborb*, with no difference in meaning.

Mild Commands and Suggestions

A very specialized extended function of the reciprocal prefix is to make certain commands or suggestions milder (or weaker), or sometimes more polite. In this usage, we add the reciprocal prefix (always the variant *ka-*) directly to the *prefix pronoun* forms of verbs (see 4.10–4.10.3). The prefixing of *ka-* suggests that the speaker(s) and the person(s) addressed are somehow *jointly* involved in the activity at hand, and we often feel a strong sense of the speaker's concern or sympathy. Note the contrast between the following pairs of sentences:

(22)	a. Molim a kerum!	'Drink your medicine!'
	b. Kamolim a kerum.	'(Now) let's take your medicine.'
(23)	a. Debo er a osbitar!	'Let's go to the hospital!'
	b. Kadebo er a osbitar.	'Let me take you to the hospital.'

First of all, you will recall that a form like *molim* in (22), with the second person prefix pronoun *mo-*, is an *imperative* verb form (see 4.10.6); and a form like *debo* in (23), with the first person plural *inclusive* prefix pronoun *de-*, is a *propositive* verb form (see 4.10.7). In each case, the prefixing of *ka-* to the imperative or propositive verb form results in a milder way of speaking. Thus, while (22a) is a normal, strong command, (22b) is milder and might be spoken, for example, to coax a child into drinking some unpleasant medicine. In the same way, (23a) is a rather blunt, direct proposal, while (23b) is designed to be sympathetic and comforting.

It is also possible to have proposals in which the speaker is almost "thinking out loud" about what he or she should do. In such cases, we use a verb form with a first person *singular* prefix pronoun (*ku-*). These forms can also take the additional *ka-*, as the pair below indicates:

(24) a. Kurael el mo er a blik. 'I'd better go home./I should go home.'

b. Kakurael el mo er a blik. 'Well, why don't I go home?'

Although the difference is perhaps a little less sharp than in the previous examples, the speaker would use (24a) when he wishes to state clearly and directly that he really has to leave, while (24b) would indicate that the speaker feels somewhat less strongly about the immediate necessity to leave and wishes perhaps to involve other persons in that decision.

There are many interesting Palauan sentences like (22b), (23b), and (24b), in which the reciprocal prefix *ka-* accompanies a prefix pronoun verb form. Here are three more examples:

(25) 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. Kalebo lemechiuaiu a Toki, e desa el kmo ng mo ungil el smecher ng diak. 'Let's have Toki go to bed and we'll see whether or not she gets better.'

c. Kabeskak tilecha el oluches. 'How about giving me that pencil?'

SUMMARY OF PALAUAN RECIPROCAL VERBS

10.6. In the list below, we give a representative sample of Palauan reciprocal verbs, organized according to the phonetic form of the reciprocal prefix:

(26)

kai-	kaisiuekl, kaisisiu, kaidesachel
kau-	kaudurokl, kauklusech, kauchais
kao-	kaotekau, kaoterau, kaodengei
kaiue-	kaiuesobel, kaiuedingel, kaiueturk
ke-	kerenges, keluches, kelatk
ka-	kadengmes, katekoi, kasisiik
cha-	chacheroid, chachedecheduch, chachesang
kak(e)-	kak(e)ngodech

LIST OF TERMS

10.7. Here is a list of the major grammatical terms found in this lesson. Since most of these have been introduced previously, it is important to focus on how they relate to the topic of reciprocal verbs.

- **Reciprocal Verb**
- **Coordinate Noun Phrase**
- **Causative Verb**
- **State Verb**
- **Reciprocal Prefix**
- **Derived Verb in *ou-***
- **Transitive Action Verb**
- **Redupliction**
- **Complex Noun**
- **Transitive Reciprocal Sentence**
- **Intransitive Action Verb**
- **Imperative Verb Form**
- **Propositive Verb Form**

10.8. RECIPROCAL VERBS IN PALAUAN: STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Define each of the terms in 10.7 above, making sure that you show how the particular term is important for the study of reciprocal verbs. Together with your definition, provide an example or illustration where appropriate.

2. How do we identify reciprocal verbs in terms of meaning and form?

3. What is the major difference in meaning between a causative verb like *olengeseu* and its related reciprocal verb *kaingeseu*?

4. In sentences with reciprocal verbs, what different forms can the subject take?

5. What is the evidence for claiming that Palauan reciprocal verbs are actually a subclass of state verbs?

6. How do we indicate the future, past, and recent past tenses for Palauan reciprocal verbs?

7. What are the different phonetic variants of the reciprocal prefix? Is it possible to predict which prefix will be used when deriving a given reciprocal verb?

8. Give five examples of Palauan verbs that are causative in form (but not meaning) and have related reciprocal verbs. In each case, indicate whether the verb stem is independent or bound.

9. How do we form reciprocal verbs from causative verbs prefixed with *omek-*?

10. What is the difference in meaning between a verb derived with the prefix *ou-* (*oungalek*) and the corresponding reciprocal verb (*kaungalek*)?

11. What is the grammatical relationship between a transitive action verb in the imperfective form (*mengimd*) and its corresponding reciprocal verb (*kakimd*)?

12. What is the process of reduplication and how is it reflected in certain reciprocal verb forms?

13. How is a state verb like *mekeald* related to the reciprocal verb *kakeald* in terms of form and meaning?

14. Do all speakers agree on the form and meaning of Palauan reciprocal verbs? Explain with several examples.

15. Explain the mechanism by which complex nouns are derived from reciprocal verbs.

16. Use clear examples (full sentences) to illustrate the following different situations:

    (a) two people are performing the same activity upon each other and affecting each other *directly*;

    (b) two people are performing the same kind of activity upon an external object but affecting each other only *indirectly*;

    (c) several people are performing a subject-oriented (or self-directed) activity (e.g., sitting, sleeping, etc.) but are doing it together with a sense of group identity.

17. How is the Palauan reciprocal prefix used to make commands or suggestions milder?

10.9. RECIPROCAL VERBS IN PALAUAN: EXERCISES

1. Write a grammatically correct Palauan sentence using the given reciprocal verb in the indicated tense. Then, translate each sentence into appropriate English:

    a. *kasmesumech* (past)
    b. *kaukedong* (recent past)
    c. *kaumekemad* (present)
    d. *chacherakl* (future)
    e. *kaiuiuid* (past)

2. Below is a list of causative verbs that have corresponding reciprocal verbs. For each causative verb (which may only be causative in form, but not in meaning—see 9.8), provide the related reciprocal verb and indicate its English equivalent:

oldekedek	omdidm	oldars	oldubech
olecholt	oldoseb	orresors	olechib
olechau	orrimel	olengaok	orrebet
omekerreu	oltamet	omekrael	olsisechakl
oldiu	oltobed	omcheracheb	oltelechakl

3. Below is a list of verbs derived with the prefix *ou-*. For each verb given, provide a related reciprocal verb, together with its English equivalent:

oubetikerreng	oureng
oucheraro	ouretakl
oungeroel	outkeu
outoketok	oungalek

4. For each of the reciprocal verbs you provided in (3) above, write a correct full sentence to illustrate how it is used. Give an idiomatic English translation for each sentence you write.

5. Here is a list of transitive action verbs (other than causative verbs) given in their *imperfective* form. For each verb given,

   (1) provide the corresponding reciprocal verb, together with its English meaning;

   (2) compare the reciprocal verb with the imperfective verb and indicate what consonant alternation (see 5.6.3), if any, has taken place;

   (3) determine whether the verb stem is independent or bound.

   Example: imperfective *mengimd:*

   (1) reciprocal: *kakimd* 'to cut each other's (hair)'

   (2) consonant alternation: K→NG

   (3) verb stem: *kimd* (bound)

mengesimer	meruul	melidiich
mengedib	melemolem	mengelmolm
melibas	omulak	melmesim
omusekl	mengerodech	mesab
mengoir	meliualech	

6. Here is a list of Palauan verbs that have a corresponding reciprocal verb involving *reduplication*. For each item given,

   (1) provide the correct (reduplicated) reciprocal verb, together with its English equivalent;

   (2) indicate the reduplicated syllable separately.

   Example: *mesuub:*

   (1) reciprocal verb: *kasusuub* 'to imitate e.o.'

   (2) reduplicated syllable: *-su-*

omitokl	ousiangel	osiik
omtechei	melubet	olturk
mesubed	olengasech	dechor
mesumech	tuobed	
melaod	oker	

7. For each of the reciprocal verbs given in (16) of 10.2.4, write an interesting, grammatically correct Palauan sentence. Provide an idiomatic English translation for each sentence you write.

8. Here is a list of complex nouns that are each derived from a corresponding reciprocal verb. For each complex noun given, provide the related reciprocal verb (together with its meaning). Then use each noun in a correct Palauan sentence (accompanied by an accurate English translation).

   klaodengei, klasoes, klaucheraro, klaukledem, klaumerang

9. For each of the reciprocal verbs below, write a *transitive* reciprocal sentence on the model of (19) or (20a–e) in 10.4. Then, translate each sentence accurately into English.

   keleng, kengoid, kengatech, kaiuiuid, kaiuedoid

11

REDUPLICATION IN PALAUAN

INTRODUCTION

11.1. In several of the preceding lessons we focused on how Palauan prefixes, infixes, and suffixes combine with stems to derive the many varieties of verbs that make the Palauan verb system so rich and complex. We saw, for example, how the *verb marker* (as a prefix *me-* or an infix *-m-, -o-, -u-,* etc.) contributes to the formation of *transitive action verbs* (e.g., basic *mechelebed,* imperfective *mengelebed,* perfective *cholebedak, cholebedii,* etc.), *intransitive action verbs* (e.g., *lmuut, tuobed*), and *state verbs* (e.g., *mesaik, smecher*). In addition, we noted the many types of prefixes that are used to derive *causative verbs* (e.g., *omekdakt, ollangel*) and *reciprocal verbs* (e.g., *kautoketok, chachelebed*).

While the preceding lessons have covered the most important details of the Palauan verb system, there is still one large area that we need to explore. Therefore, this lesson will concentrate on the phonetic process of **reduplication**, which is very widespread in Palauan because it applies to almost all the major verb types. *Reduplication* essentially involves *repeating* part (or sometimes even all) of a given verb stem, often with a resulting change in meaning. For example, if we apply the process of reduplication to a simple state verb like *beot* 'easy, cheap', we derive the *reduplicated form bebeot* 'fairly easy, fairly cheap', in which the repeated (or reduplicated) syllable *be-* occurs word-initially. As the English translation shows, reduplication in this case creates a form indicating a *diminished* or *weakened* quality, expressed by such English qualifying words as "fairly", "rather", "somewhat", "quite", "sort of", "kind of", and so on.

Pronunciation of Reduplicated Syllables

11.1.1. At the beginning of 1.3.2, we stated in rule (a-2) that when the Palauan vowel E occurs in an *unstressed* syllable within a multisyllabic word, it is usually pronounced as a *weak* (or reduced) *E*, as in English "the". However, we soon went on to point out that there are several obvious exceptions to this statement—namely, cases in which an E maintains a *full E* ("eh" as in Eng. *red*) pronunciation *even though it appears within an unstressed syllable.* One of the major groups of words in which this exception holds true, as noted in 1.3.2.f(4), is the category of *reduplicated words.* Note, therefore, the following examples, in which the reduplicated syllable (italicized) has the form *consonant + E:*

(1)	*Original Word*	*Reduplicated Form*
	bubong 'senile'	*be*bubong 'somewhat senile'
	chuarm 'suffering'	*che*chuarm 'sort of suffering'
	smecher 'sick'	*se*smecher 'rather sick'
	metitur 'not know'	me*te*titur 'rather unfamiliar with'

Pronounce all of the above examples carefully to verify that the E of each reduplicated syllable is in fact a *full E*. Note, further, that in each case, the very same syllable that is stressed in the original word maintains its stress in the reduplicated form as well (e.g., *bu-BONG* and *be-bu-BONG*). This means, of course, that the added (i.e., reduplicated) syllables *be, che, se,* and *ti* in the examples of (1) will automatically be *unstressed.* Again, although unstressed, they are always pronounced with a *full E.* This full E pronunciation occurs only when the reduplicated syllable has the specific phonetic form *consonant + E.*

Earlier Examples of Reduplicated Forms

11.1.2. At several points earlier in this textbook, we have already made some reference to reduplicated verb forms. In addition to the discussion in 1.3.2.f(4) noted above, we also mentioned two cases in which reduplication is found among Palauan *state verbs.* First, we devoted the entire section 7.5.3 to reduplicated state verbs formed with the prefixes *beke-* and *seke-*. Some of those examples are repeated here:

(2)	*Reduplicated State Verb*	*Related Action Verb*
	bekelilangel 'prone to crying'	lmangel 'to cry'
	bekebesbes 'forgetful'	obes 'to forget'
	sekerker 'asking questions a lot'	oker 'to ask'
	sekesusuub 'prone to imitation'	mesuub 'to study, imitate'

You should have no difficulty identifying the reduplicated syllable in each of the examples above (note, of course, that the repeated vowel does not necessarily have to be E).

Second, in examples (8a–b) towards the end of 7.4, 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 *ke-* is merely optional in *(ke)kemanget* 'long'. The extra syllable in *(ke)kemanget* does not have any effect on the meaning, and the same is true for its opposite *(ke)kedeb* 'short'.

To take one final case, we noted in 10.2.3.1 that a good number of Palauan *reciprocal verbs* show reduplication. Thus, in the examples below, the stem of a *transitive action verb* is partially or completely repeated when the reciprocal prefix (*ka-, kai-, kau-*, etc.) is added:

(3)

Reciprocal Verb (Reduplicated)	*Related Transitive Action Verb* (Imperfective Form)
kasusuub 'to imitate e.o.'	mesuub 'to study, imitate'
kakerker 'to ask e.o.'	oker 'to ask'
kaititekangel, kautitekangel 'to argue with e.o.'	outekangel 'to argue'

In a case like *kasusuub*, the reduplication process is optional because we can also have a nonreduplicated form *kesuub* with the same meaning. With *kaititekangel* or *kautitekangel*, however, reduplication is obligatory—i.e., we must have the repeated syllable TI in the reciprocal form (since forms like "kaitekangel" or "kautekangel" are unacceptable). For further details about reduplicated verbs of this type, go back and review 10.2.3.1.

Note 1: In discussing the pronunciation of reduplicated syllables in 11.1 above, we made it clear that *unstressed* E's are pronounced as full E's only when the reduplicated syllable has the particular phonetic structure *consonant + E*. By contrast, if the reduplicated syllable is more complex in structure—e.g., *consonant + E + consonant*—then the unstressed E is in fact pronounced as the expected *weak E*. You may verify this by carefully pronouncing the following words from (2) and (3) above, all of which have *weak E* in the reduplicated syllable (italicized), which has the structure *consonant + E + consonant:* bekebesbes, sekerker, and kakerker.

In cases like *bekebesbes* 'forgetful', *kekemanget* 'long', *kasusuub* 'to imitate each other', and the other examples of (2) and (3), reduplicating part (or all) of a verb stem seems to have no particular meaning or function. In such examples, reduplication is therefore nothing more than a grammatical process or "device" that is applied optionally or obligatorily (though quite unpredictably) when we derive certain classes of verbs such as state verbs, reciprocal verbs, and so on. Such cases, however, seem to be the exception rather than the rule, because in the great majority of instances, reduplicating a verb stem does in fact result in a clear and important change of meaning. Thus, in the examples of (1), reduplication introduces the idea of a *weakened quality* or *state* (e.g., *smecher* 'sick' vs. *sesmecher* 'rather sick'). As we examine the different types of verbs to which reduplication applies in the sections below, we will be sure to explain in detail what effect reduplication has on the meaning.

Before starting our study of how reduplication applies to various types of verbs, we need to realize two very important points. First, because the patterns of reduplication in Palauan are not only complex but also quite irregular (unpredictable), we will only look at the most commonly used—i.e., most *productive*—processes. Second, in an area

of such complexity, we will often find that speakers do not agree with each other on the correct form or meaning. For this reason, some of the reduplicated forms discussed in the sections below may not be part of your own everyday, "active" speech, even though you may be able to interpret them when used by other speakers.

REDUPLICATION OF SIMPLE STATE VERBS

11.2. *Simple state verbs*, which as noted in 7.2 show no evidence of the *verb marker* but consist only of a *single* meaning-bearing unit (morpheme), are usually reduplicated by taking the initial consonant of the stem, adding the vowel E (which will be pronounced as full E), and prefixing this extra syllable to the entire verb stem. We can represent the prefixed reduplicated syllable by the general formula C_1e, where C stands for "consonant" (including CH and NG), the small, subscript numeral *1* specifically indicates that it is the *first* (or initial) consonant of the stem, and the *e* of course represents the full vowel E. This pattern of reduplication is observed in *bubong—bebubong* of (1) and in all the examples below:

(4)

Reduplicated Form	*Related Simple State Verb*
bebeot 'fairly easy/cheap'	beot 'easy, cheap'
chechebosech 'rather lean/ lacking in fat'	chebosech '(meat, fish) lean/ lacking in fat'
dedekimes 'kind of wet'	dekimes 'wet'
dedengerenger 'rather naughty/ mischievous'	dengerenger 'naughty, mischievous'
ngengeasek 'rather young, not yet of age'	ngeasek 'young'
sesekool 'rather playful'	sekool 'playful'
kekedung 'fairly well-behaved'	kedung 'well-behaved'
kekesib 'somewhat sweaty'	kesib 'sweaty'
tetedobech 'half crazy, somewhat irrational'	tedobech 'crazy, irrational'

As the English equivalents for the reduplicated forms in (4) indicate, the process of reduplication with state verbs serves to *weaken* or *qualify* the meaning of the original verb, giving it a less definite or more tentative quality (expressed by such English words as "quite", "rather", "somewhat", "fairly", "kind of", "sort of", and so on). Therefore, when such reduplicated forms are used in full sentences, they are often reinforced by the expression *ko er a* 'kind of, somewhat', as shown in the first two examples below:

(5) a. Ng ko er a bebeot a cheral a sidosia er a elechang. 'The prices of cars are fairly cheap right now.'

b. Ng ko er a bebeot a renguk er a omerael el mo er a Siabal. 'I'm rather undecided about traveling to Japan.'

c. Ng dedekimes a bilam e le aki killii a chull. 'Our clothes are rather wet because we got caught in the rain.'

Note 2: We can find many interesting phonetic features in certain reduplicated simple state verbs. For example, the reduplicated form of *klou* 'big' is *kiklou*, which not only has the prefix *ki-* instead of *ke-* but also shows a somewhat specialized meaning—i.e. "a little bigger", as in the sentence

Me ta er a kiklou el sualo. 'Give me a basket that's a little bigger.'

To take another example, the state verb *bibrurek* 'yellow' seems to be already reduplicated in its basic form (since there is no verb "brurek" for the meaning 'yellow', although there may be a related noun stem *burek* 'dye, a kind of dye plant'). In any case, when we apply reduplication to *bibrurek*, we get the form *bebibrurek* 'yellowish, kind of yellow', which shows the expected added syllable C_1e and the usual weakening of meaning.

REDUPLICATION OF OBLIGATORILY POSSESSED AND OTHER NOUNS

11.3. In 3.10 we examined a small but very important group of *obligatorily possessed nouns* that are used to express the ideas of *liking* (*soak, soam,* etc.), *disliking* (*chetik, chetim,* etc.), *ability* (*sebechek, sebechem,* etc.), and *obligation* (*kirek, kirem,* etc.). Even though all of these words are *nouns* (precisely because they take *possessor pronoun suffixes*), they nevertheless can undergo the process of reduplication, which is normally restricted to *verbs*. This may be due to the fact that *soak, chetik, sebechek,* and *kirek* actually resemble *state verbs* in meaning—i.e., liking or disliking something and being able or obligated to do something are states or conditions of the mind or body that we view abstractly rather than concretely. Interestingly enough, as we have already noted, the equivalent ideas are most appropriately expressed in English (and many other languages) as verbs—e.g., *like/want, dislike/not want, can/be able, must/have to,* and so on.

The reduplicating pattern C_1e (with full E) seen in 11.2 above applies to three out of four obligatorily possessed nouns—i.e., *chetik—chechetik, sebechek—sesebechek,* and *kirek—kekirek*. In the fourth noun, *soak—sosoak*, the repeated syllable shows the vowel O and is identical to the first syllable of the original word. The reduplicated forms of these obligatorily possessed nouns are used in sentences like the following:

(6)

a. A sechelik a ko er a sosoal el mo er a chei.	'My friend would sort of like to go fishing.'
b. Ng chechetik el merael.	'I don't feel much like leaving.'
c. A Toki a sesebechel el melekoi a tekoi er a Sina.	'Toki is somewhat able to speak Chinese.'
d. Ng kekirek el mo er a party er tir.	'I sort of have to go to their party.'

As all of the English translations indicate, the general effect of reduplication on these obligatorily possessed nouns is to weaken or diminish the original meaning.

The four obligatorily possessed nouns discussed here are by far the most common examples of reduplication applying to Palauan *nouns*. Only a few other such cases exist, often with specialized meanings. Thus, from *kesus* 'night', we get *kekesus* 'early evening', and from the bound stem *-tuk* (cf. basic form *metuk* 'get cut off', imperfective form *meluk* 'to cut off'), we derive the reduplicated noun *tetuk* 'broken or cut piece of wood'. We also occasionally find an obligatorily possessed noun like *tetechel* 'trace/sign/indication of (person, thing)' that shows reduplication in its structure but is not obviously related to any other (noun) stem in the language. A recently borrowed noun from English can even be reduplicated by some speakers: thus, from *rebolusen* 'revolution', we get the form *rerebolusen* 'small (or minor) revolution'!

REDUPLICATION OF STATE VERBS IN *ME-*

11.4. State verbs that are formed by prefixing the verb marker *me-* to a bound or independent stem (see 7.3) are usually reduplicated by the already familiar pattern of adding a syllable of the form C_1e. In this case, the reduplicated syllable C_1e appears between the verb marker (which remains in word-initial position) and the verb stem. You should have no difficulty identifying the extra syllable in the reduplicated forms given below. Be sure to pronounce each reduplicated form carefully to verify that the vowel of the added syllable C_1e is a full E:

(7)

Reduplicated Form	*Related State Verb in* ***me-***
mekekekad 'kind of itchy'	mekekad 'itchy'
mesesulaul 'kind of sleepy'	mesulaul 'sleepy'
meteterkakl 'rather careless'	meterkakl 'careless'
mechechesang 'kind of busy'	mechesang 'busy'
mechecherocher 'rather salty'	mecherocher 'salty'
melelíliut 'fairly thin'	meliliut 'thin'
mererur 'rather ashamed'	merur 'ashamed'
mededenge 'somewhat familiar with'	medenge 'to know'
metetitur 'rather unfamiliar with'	metitur 'not know how (to), not be capable of'

Just like the reduplicated forms of *simple* state verbs discussed in 11.2, the reduplicated forms of state verbs in *me-* listed in (7) show a weakened, more tentative meaning. The last two examples (*mededenge* and *metetitur*) are especially interesting because they show that reduplication can even apply to a very small class of words such as *transitive state verbs* (see *Note* 2 at the end of 5.3).

Note 3: In *Note* 2 above, we saw a rare case in which the vowel I was involved in the reduplication of a simple state verb like *klou* (reduplicated form: *kiklou*). The same pattern is also found for a few state verbs prefixed with *me-*. Thus, in all the examples below, the reduplicated syllable has the phonetic form C_1i:

(a)	*Reduplicated Form*	*Related State Verb in* ***me-***
	medidirt 'almost/nearly dry'	medirt 'dry'
	mekikngit 'rather bad'	mekngit 'bad'
	mesisaik 'rather lazy'	mesaik 'lazy'

For *mesaik*, some speakers can use an even more complex pattern of reduplication that basically involves adding two syllables (i.e., C_1e + C_1i), resulting in *mesesisaik* (see 11.6 below).

In addition, we notice a few state verbs in *me-* whose reduplicated forms have two added syllables with the phonetic structure C_1e + C_2e (where the E's are weak and C_2 represents the *second* consonant of the stem):

(b)	mesekeseked 'rather crowded, almost filled'	meseked 'crowded, filled'
	mekelekilt 'quite agile'	mekilt 'agile'
	merechereched 'quite fast, advancing'	mereched 'fast'

As we saw in examples (4–5) of 7.3, a few Palauan state verbs are formed by *infixing* the verb marker *-m-*, *-o-*, or *-u-* after the initial consonant of the stem. When reduplication is applied to these state verbs, a repeated syllable of the form C_1e is prefixed to the entire word, which also keeps the original infixed verb marker within the stem:

(8)	*Reduplicated Form*	*Related State Verb With Infixed Verb Marker*
	sesmecher 'kind of sick'	smecher 'sick'
	sesmau 'sort of used to'	smau 'used to'
	sesongerenger 'rather hungry'	songerenger 'hungry'
	chechuarm 'sort of suffer'	chuarm 'to suffer'

An unusual example related to this group is *ngodech* 'different, strange' (a state verb containing the infixed verb marker *-o-*), whose reduplicated form *ngeldengodech* 'various, miscellaneous' not only shows a rather specialized meaning but also has a complex reduplicated portion *ngelde-* that repeats C_1 and C_2 of the original stem and inserts an unexpected consonant L.

Reduplicated State Verbs Used in Sentences

11.4.1. The reduplicated state verbs presented in (7), (8), and *Note 3* above can be used in sentences like the ones below. Note how the English translations given are designed to show the effect of reduplication on the meaning—namely, to *weaken* the quality or condition described by the particular state verb (just as in the sentence examples of (5) above).

(9) a.	Ak ko er a mechechesa er a urerek me ng diak lsebechek el mong.	'I'm rather busy with work, so I won't be able to go.'
b.	Ak ko er a metetitur a tekoi er a Sina me ak mo oker er a sensei er kid.	'I'm rather unfamiliar with Chinese, so I'll ask our teacher.'
c.	Ng ko er a mekikngit a rengud e le ng mla mo diak a techellir a rengeleked el mo er a Merikel.	'We feel quite sorry/sad because our children have lost the opportunity to go to America.'
d.	Ak ko er a mesesulaul me ak mochu mechiuaiu.	'I'm kind of sleepy, so (I guess) I'll be going to bed.'
e.	A ngelekek a dmu el kmo ng ko er a sesongerenger e ng di chetil el omengur.	'My child says she feels a little hungry but (still) doesn't want to eat.'
f.	A delal a di sesmecher me ng diak loureor er a sers.	'His mother's a bit sick, so she's not working in the garden.'

REDUPLICATION OF COMPLEX STATE VERBS: VERBS WITH BOTH THE RESULTING STATE INFIX AND THE EXPECTED STATE SUFFIX

11.5. As we mentioned in *Note 9* at the end of 7.8.3, some complex state verbs can be derived by *simultaneously* adding the *resulting state infix -(e)l-* and the *expected state suffix -el* (*-uul, -ull,* etc.) to a given verb stem. State verbs derived in this way are normally identical in meaning to the corresponding *resulting state verb* formed only with the *resulting state infix -(e)l-*. For example, there is no difference in meaning between *ngeltachel* and *nglatech* (cf. imperfective *melatech* 'to clean'), both of which mean '(in the state of having been) cleaned'. Reduplication applies to a few derived state verbs like *ngeltachel*, as indicated in the list below:

(10)	*Reduplicated Form*	*Related Derived State Verb*
	ngengeltachel 'not well cleaned'	ngeltachel 'cleaned' (cf. imperfective *melatech*)
	ngenglemodel 'not well mopped'	nglemodel 'mopped' (cf. imperfective *melemed*)
	ngenglemull '(grass) not well cut'	nglemull '(grass) cut' (cf. imperfective *melaml*)

As the reduplicated forms of (10) indicate, the added syllable has the already familiar phonetic structure C_1e (in all cases, *nge* with full E). The meaning of the reduplicated forms is predictable as well—i.e., if something is only 'somewhat (or partially) cleaned', then we can conclude that it is 'not well cleaned', as the English translations indicate.

Reduplication of Verbs Prefixed with *beke-/seke-*

11.5.1. As we saw in 7.5.1–2, a large number of state verbs are derived in Palauan by prefixing *beke-* or *seke-* to a stem. In addition, as noted in 7.5.3, a certain subgroup of these *requires* that a process of reduplication be applied during their derivation. Observe the examples below:

(11)	*State Verb in* ***beke-/seke-***	*Related Action or State Verb*
	bekeselsel 'always short of breath'	mesel 'out of breath'
	bekebesbes, sekebesbes 'forgetful'	obes 'to forget'
	bekesechesecher 'tending to get sick a lot'	smecher 'sick'
	bekelilangel 'prone to crying'	lmangel 'to cry'
	bekesisaik 'constantly lazy'	mesaik 'lazy'
	sekesusuub 'prone to imitation'	mesuub 'to study, imitate'

The first three examples of (11) involve adding a sequence of the form $C_1eC_2(e)$ between *beke-* or *seke-* and the original stem (a process closely related to the pattern shown in (b) of *Note 3*). In this added sequence, C_1 is the first consonant of the stem, C_2 is the second consonant of the stem, and the vowel(s) will be weak E. By contrast, the last three examples of (11) show a simpler pattern in which the added syllable has the general form C_1 + V (vowel). The vowel of the reduplicated syllable is I in both *bekelilangel* and *bekesisaik,* but U in *sekesusuub.* As the English translations for the reduplicated state verbs of (11) indicate, reduplication in this group results in a new kind of meaning category, one in which the action or state is described as *tending to occur* ("prone to...") or *occurring with great frequency* ("always, constantly").

Another small group of state verbs prefixed with *beke-* shows an entirely different pattern of reduplication, as illustrated by the examples below:

(12)

Reduplicated Form	*Related State Verb in* ***beke-***
bekekesius 'rather vulgar in speech'	bekesius 'vulgar in speech'
bekeketekoi 'rather talkative'	beketekoi 'talkative'
bekekesengorech 'smell rather like a pig's house'	bekesengorech 'smell like a pig's house'

In these examples, reduplication applies to the prefix *beke-* itself rather than to the stem and involves inserting a *-ke-* (with full E) between the syllables of the original prefix. In terms of meaning, this group of reduplicated state verbs resembles most other state verbs and exhibits a weakening of meaning ("rather, quite", etc.).

ADDITIONAL PATTERNS OF REDUPLICATION

11.6. In the sections above we have already described several different phonetic patterns that Palauan reduplication takes. Thus, we have seen that reduplication often involves adding a single syllable of the form C_1e (with full E), as in *beot—bebeot,* or sometimes a similar syllable with a different vowel, as in *klou—kiklou.* Beyond this, we have also observed that reduplication can repeat two different consonants of a stem (i.e., C_1 and C_2) in a one-syllable pattern C_1eC_2 (with weak E), as in *bekebesbes* (cf. *obes*), or in a two-syllable pattern C_1eC_2e (again with weak E), as in *meseked—mesekeseked.*

You will probably not be surprised to find out that there are still additional patterns of Palauan reduplication to analyze! Though they appear more complicated than the others, they at least involve a combination of patterns already familiar to us. A typical example is the reduplicated form of the state verb *medakt* 'afraid of'—namely, *mededekdakt* 'somewhat afraid of'. The reduplicated form *mededekdakt* shows the two added syllables *de* (with the structure C_1e) and *dek* (with the structure C_1eC_2). Therefore, the structure of the entire reduplicated part of this word—i.e., *dedek*—can be represented by the pattern $C_1eC_1eC_2$ (where the first E is full and the second E is weak). Often, it is necessary to insert another weak E as a "buffer" between the final C_2 of the reduplicated part and the initial consonant of the original stem, so that the most general formula for our reduplicated structure is really $C_1eC_1eC_2(e)$. This pattern can be observed in the additional examples below:

(13)

Reduplicated Form	*Related State Verb in* ***me-***
mekekerkar 'half awake'	mekar 'awake'
mededengedinges 'rather full'	medinges 'full'
mererengeringel 'somewhat hard'	meringel 'hard, difficult'

With certain other state verbs, we find a reduplication pattern of two syllables—namely, $C_1e + C_1V$. The vowel of the first syllable is always full E, while the vowel of the second syllable may vary (though it is almost always one of the vowels of the original stem).

This pattern is illustrated by the following examples:

(14)

Reduplicated Form	*Related State Verb in* ***me-***
mesesusaul 'kind of tired'	mesaul 'tired'
mesesisaik 'rather lazy'	mesaik 'lazy'
melelolaok 'rather greasy'	melaok 'greasy'

As expected, all of the reduplicated state verbs above show a weakening of meaning. Two typical sentence examples are given below:

(15) a. Ak ko er a mesesusaul me ak mochu remei. 'I'm rather tired, so (I guess) I'll be going home.'

b. A ngelekek a mededekdakt a derumk. 'My child is rather afraid of thunder.'

Vowel Weakening in Reduplicated Forms

Note 4: Although we have been presenting Palauan reduplication in terms of different phonetic patterns such as $C_1eC_1eC_2(e)$, etc., it is important to realize that these patterns generally conform to the various *principles of vowel weakening* introduced in 3.3.1 and discussed on many subsequent occasions. If we compare *medakt* with its reduplicated form *mededekdakt,* we can make the following observations:

a. The reduplicated portion of *mededekdakt* contains two syllables (*de* + *dek*) and follows the pattern $C_1e + C_1eC_2$.

b. When we derive the reduplicated form of *medakt,* there is no change in the position of the stress—i.e., the final syllable *dakt* is stressed in both *me-DAKT* and *me-de-dek-DAKT*.

c. The first reduplicated syllable *de* (C_1e) is special because E is pronounced as a *full E,* even though it is in an *unstressed syllable* (see 11.1 above).

d. The second reduplicated syllable *dek* (C_1eC_2) is pronounced with a *weak E*. Since this weak E is in an unstressed syllable, it is likely that it is a *reduced* form of some other *full vowel*. In this case, it must be a reduced form of the full vowel A that occurs in the original stem DAKT.

e. We can conclude that in the reduplicated form *mededekdakt,* the pronunciation of the syllable *dek* (with weak E in an unstressed syllable) is determined by one of the principles of vowel weakening—namely, a full vowel (in this case, A) is reduced to a *weak E* when unstressed:

Note 4 continued next page

Note 4 continued

We can now see that reduction of a single full vowel to weak E occurs in the other reduplicated forms of (13): in *mekekerkar,* the weak E of *-ker-* has its source in the full vowel A of the stem KAR, while in *mededengedinges* and *mererengeringel,* the weak E's in the first syllables of *-denge-* and *-renge-* obviously come from the full vowel I of the stems DINGES and RINGEL.

In the same way, the reduplicated forms of (14) also conform to the principles of vowel weakening, but in these examples we are dealing with *vowel cluster reduction* (rather than reduction of a single vowel). Thus, if we compare *mesaul* with its reduplicated form *mesesusaul,* we notice the following:

a. The reduplicated part of *mesesusaul* contains two syllables (*se* + *su*) and follows the pattern $C_1e + C_1V$.

b. In deriving the reduplicated form of *mesaul,* we find no change in the position of the stress—i.e., the final syllable *saul* (sounds like "sawl") is stressed in both *me-SAUL* and *me-se-su-SAUL.*

c. The first reduplicated syllable *se* (C_1e) is special because E is pronounced as a *full E,* even though the syllable *se* is *unstressed.*

d. The second reduplicated syllable *su* (C_1V) shows the full vowel U in an unstressed syllable. If we compare this with the stem SAUL, it becomes clear that the U of *su* is what remains of the vowel cluster AU after the process of *vowel cluster shortening* (see 3.3.7) has occurred. In other words, the U of *su* results from shortening the original vowel cluster AU in an *unstressed* syllable.

e. We can now conclude that in the reduplicated form *mesesulaul,* the pronunciation of the syllable *su* is also determined by one of the principles of vowel weakening: in this case, a vowel cluster AU is shortened to U when unstressed.

A similar pattern of vowel cluster shortening is found in the other examples of (14): in *mesesisaik,* the I of SI comes from shortening the vowel cluster AI (of SAIK); and in *melelolaok,* the O of LO comes from shortening the vowel cluster AO (of LAOK).

Note 5: For some of the reduplicated forms given above, certain Palauan speakers can use shorter variants—e.g., instead of *mererengeringel* we may hear *merengeringel,* and instead of *mesesisaik* we may hear *mesisaik.*

Note 6: As noted in 7.9, the Palauan verb *mekar* can be used either as a *state verb* meaning '(be) awake' (past: *mle mekar* 'was awake') or as an *action verb* meaning 'to wake up' (past: *milkar* 'woke up'). The reduplicated form *mekekerkar* 'half awake' given in (13) is related to *mekar* in its use as a state verb. When *mekar* functions as an action verb, however, its reduplicated form is different—i.e., *mekerkar* (with only a single reduplicated syllable of the form C_1eC_2). The form *mekerkar* 'to keep waking up, wake up continually' has a meaning that is consistent with the idea of *frequent* or *continual* action found typically among reduplicated *intransitive action verbs*, as noted in Point (c) of 11.7 below.

REDUPLICATION OF INTRANSITIVE ACTION VERBS

11.7. The process of reduplication can also apply to Palauan *intransitive action verbs* (see 5.2), which contain the verb marker either as a prefix *me-* or *m-* or as an infix *-em-*, *-m-*, *-o-*, or *-u-* (see 6.4). It is interesting to note that even when an intransitive action verb contains an *infixed* verb marker, this marker reappears as the *prefix mè-* in the corresponding reduplicated forms. Here is a representative list of reduplicated intransitive action verbs:

(16)	*Reduplicated Form*	*Intransitive Action Verb*
	mechechiis, mechichiis 'to keep avoiding, sneaking out'	chemiis 'to run away'
	meleluluut 'to keep returning'	lmuut 'to return'
	merereorael 'to walk aimlessly'	merael 'to walk'
	mesesilil 'to fool around'	milil 'to play'
	merereberebet 'to fall one by one'	ruebet 'to fall'
	me(te)tebetobed 'to keep emerging'	tuobed 'to emerge'
	me(se)sebesebek 'to keep flying'	suebek 'to fly'

Based on the forms of (16) above, we can make the following observations:

a. The reduplicated portion (one or more syllables) is always added between the verb marker prefix *me-* and the original stem.

b. Several different reduplication patterns are represented—i.e.,

   (i) The added syllable has the form C_1e (or C_1i) in *mechechiis* and *mechichiis*.

   (ii) We have a sequence of two syllables $C_1e + C_1V$ in *melelulut* and *merereorael*.

As observed in *Note 4,* the vowel found in the second reduplicated syllable C_1V of *meleluluut* and *mererorael* is clearly the result of vowel weakening processes. Thus, in LU of *meleluluut,* the single vowel U (in an unstressed syllable) must be due to *shortening of the double vowel* UU of the stem LUUT (see 3.3.6). In addition, in RO of *mererorael,* the single vowel O (in an unstressed syllable) represents a special case of *vowel cluster shortening* in which both vowels of the original cluster AE of the stem RAEL are affected and change into an entirely new vowel O (see 3.3.7.c). Of course, the very same thing occurs in the possessed forms of *rael*—i.e., we have *rolek, rolem,* etc. Finally, in *mesesilil,* we have a pattern similar to $C_1e + C_1V$, except that the appearance of S as the consonant of the reduplicated form is totally unexpected.

(iii) In the final three items of (16) we can observe the most complicated pattern of reduplication—that is, a sequence of the form $C_1eC_1eC_2(e)$ (just like the examples in 13).

Pronounce *merereberebet, metetebetobed,* and *mesesebesebek* carefully to verify which E's are full and which are weak. Can you also find evidence of vowel weakening in these forms? Note, finally, that for *me(te)tebetobed* and *me(se)sebesebek* we can have shorter variants in which the first reduplicated syllable C_1e (indicated in parentheses) has been omitted.

c. As the English equivalents for the reduplicated forms of (16) show, reduplication of intransitive action verbs gives an entirely new category of meaning. In general, reduplicated intransitive action verbs describe actions that occur *continually, frequently,* or *repeatedly,* often with the implication that the subject (if human) has little aim, purpose, or conscious control. Because it is difficult to find precisely suitable English equivalents for these reduplicated intransitive action verbs, the sentences below are rather freely translated:

(17) a. A rdechel a lius a di merereberebet. 'The coconuts keep falling./The coconuts are falling one by one.'

b. A rubak a di blechoel el mererorael a leklebesei. 'The old man is always wandering around (aimlessly) at night.'

c. A bechil a di mesesilil e a blai a diak lekltmokl. 'His wife just fools around and the house doesn't get cleaned up.'

d. Ak merael e ko er a di meleluluut a renguk. 'I'm leaving, but I really don't feel like leaving (i.e., my mind/spirit just keeps returning).'

REDUPLICATION OF TRANSITIVE ACTION VERBS: BASIC FORMS

11.8. In the sections above we have studied the various forms and meanings which result from reduplicating the stems of state verbs and intransitive action verbs. We will now study the patterns of reduplication that apply to Palauan *transitive action verbs* such as *mechelebed* 'get hit'/*mengelebed* 'to hit', etc.

As discussed extensively in 5.6.1, all Palauan transitive action verbs have a *basic* (or "processive") form that consists of the verb marker followed by a stem (usually, an independently occurring noun). For example, the basic form *mechelebed* 'get hit' is derived simply by prefixing the verb marker *me-* to the stem *chelebed,* a noun meaning 'any object used to hit with (whip, bat, club, etc.).' The term "processive", you will recall, can also be applied to a form like *mechelebed* when we wish to focus on the meaning, since all basic forms indicate that the sentence subject *experiences* or *undergoes the process* designated by the verb. Thus, in a sentence like

A ngelekek a mla mechelebed. 'My child has gotten hit.'

the subject (*ngelekek* 'my child') has not done any hitting himself but in fact *has been hit* (by someone else).

The basic forms of transitive action verbs can be reduplicated according to five different phonetic patterns, all of which we have already encountered in this lesson. It is impossible to predict which of these five reduplication patterns will actually apply to a particular stem, and speakers sometimes disagree about the correctness of certain reduplicated forms. Regardless of the phonetic details, the reduplicated *basic forms* of transitive action verbs almost always have a very specialized meaning—namely, "(someone, something) is easy to..." (where the three dots indicate any transitive action verb).

a. In the first set of examples below, we see that the reduplicated syllable has the form C_1e (with full E) and that it is added between the verb marker *me-* and the stem:

(18)

Reduplicated Form	*Related Basic Form* (of Transitive Action Verb)
mechechelebed 'easy to hit'	mechelebed 'get hit'
mechechesimer 'easy to close'	mechesimer 'get closed'
metetekoi 'easy to talk to'	metekoi 'get talked to'
meseseseb 'easy to burn, flammable'	meseseb 'get burned'
metetemall 'easily broken'	metemall 'get injured/ hurt/broken'

b. In the next group of examples, we observe a reduplicated sequence of the form $C_1eC_1eC_2(e)$ (just like the examples of 13) added between the verb marker and the stem. This sequence involves at least two syllables, the first having the form C_1e (with full E), and the second having the form C_1eC_2 (with weak E); in addition, another weak E may be inserted as a buffer between C_2 and the initial consonant of the original stem. Note the examples below, which you should pronounce carefully to verify which E's are full and which are weak:

(19)

Reduplicated Form	*Related Basic Form* (of Transitive Action Verb)
mechechebechubel 'easy to spill, overflowing'	mechubel 'get spilled'
mededengedangeb 'easy to cover'	medangeb 'get covered'
melelecheluches 'easy to write on'	meluches 'get written'
melelechelechet 'easy to tie'	melechet 'get tied'

Some speakers omit C_2e in the third example, resulting in the form *melelеluches*.

c. In another group of examples, reduplication involves adding a two-syllable sequence of the form $C_1e + C_1V$ (just like the examples of 14) between the verb marker and the stem. The vowel of the first syllable is always full E, while the vowel of the second syllable may vary as I or U. Observe the following examples:

(20)

mekekikiut 'easy to clear'	mekiut 'get cleared'
mesesusuud 'easy to shred'	mesuud 'get shredded'
mesesusauch 'easy to break off'	mesauch 'get broken off'
obebibuid 'easy to glue'	obuid 'get glued'

In all these reduplicated forms, the second syllable C_1V (appearing as KI, SU, and BI) is ultimately derived by processes of vowel weakening applied to the vowel cluster or long vowel of the original stem (see the discussion of *mesesusaul* in (d) at the end of *Note 4*).

d. In the following group of examples, the reduplicated syllable takes the form C_1V, just like the second syllable in the forms of (20). The vowel of C_1V (I, U, or E) also follows the pattern of (20) in that it results from processes of vowel cluster or long vowel shortening that have been applied to the vowels of the original stem. The syllable C_1V is inserted in the expected position:

(21)

mengingiokl 'easy to cook'	mengiokl '(starch) get cooked'
mesusuub 'easy to study, imitate'	mesuub 'get studied, imitated'
mechichuiu 'easy to read'	mechuiu 'get read'
obebeu 'easily broken, brittle'	obeu 'get broken'

e. The fifth and final pattern of reduplication that applies to the basic forms of transitive action verbs inserts (in the expected position) a syllable of the form C_1eC_2, where E is weak and an extra weak E may also be added as a buffer between C_2 and the initial consonant of the original stem. This pattern (which we also saw in *mekerkar* from *mekar* in *Note 6* above) is illustrated in the examples below:

(22)	meremram 'easy to mix'	meram 'get mixed'
	mesengsongd 'easy to comb'	mesongd 'get combed'
	obelebalech 'easy to shoot (with a slingshot)'	obalech 'get shot (with a slingshot)'

Note that some speakers use the reduplicated form *obebelebalech* (with an extra C_1e) instead of, or in addition to, *obelebalech.*

Reduplicated Basic Verb Forms Used in Sentences

11.8.1. The various reduplicated forms discussed in (18–22) of 11.8 above are used in sentences such as the following:

(23)	a. Ng kmal mechechelebed a otechel a Droteo.	'Droteo's pitches/throws of the ball are easy to hit.'
	b. Tia el sers a mekekikiut e le ng mla er ngii a chull.	'This garden is easy to clear because it has rained.'
	c. A kiuid a obelebalech.	'Blackbirds are easy to shoot with a slingshot.'
	d. Alii. Tia el butilia a obebeu!	'Watch out—this bottle is easily broken!'

REDUPLICATION OF TRANSITIVE ACTION VERBS: IMPERFECTIVE FORMS

11.9. The different patterns of reduplication observed in (a-e) of 11.8 above can also be applied to the *imperfective* forms of Palauan transitive action verbs, although there are many differences of opinion from speaker to speaker as to the acceptability of particular forms. The meaning of reduplicated imperfective verbs is similar to what we observed in 11.7 for intransitive action verbs—that is, they indicate actions occurring *continually* or *repeatedly* and often imply that the sentence subject (usually a human being) is performing the action rather casually, absent-mindedly, or without much purpose or conscious control.

Recall that the imperfective forms of Palauan transitive action verbs differ from the basic forms in that they normally show some kind of *consonant alternation* (see 5.6.3). Thus, the CH of basic *mechat* '(fish) get smoked' changes to NG in imperfective *mengat* 'to smoke (fish)', the D of basic *medasech* 'get carved' becomes L in imperfective *melasech* 'to carve', and so on (see 35 in 5.6.3 for a complete list of these alternations). In a few interesting groups of transitive action verbs, there is no consonant alternation between the basic form and the imperfective form, which therefore are identical—e.g., *meluches* 'get written' or 'to write', *mesaod* 'get explained' or 'to explain', etc. (see 38 in 5.6.3.1 for more examples).

When the imperfective forms of certain transitive action verbs are reduplicated, the initial consonant of the reduplicated syllable will exhibit the applicable *consonant alternation,* while the initial consonant of the following syllable (part of the original stem) will reappear as the consonant of the *basic form.* To illustrate this pattern, let us take the transitive action verb *mengimd* (imperfective) 'to cut (someone's) hair, trim', whose basic form is *mekimd* 'get cut, trimmed'. By comparing *mekimd* with *mengimd,* we see that the applicable consonant alternation is K—NG. Now, let us apply reduplication to imperfective *mengimd* by inserting a syllable of the form C_1VC_2 after the word-initial verb marker *me-*. The resulting reduplicated form is *mengemkimd* 'keep cutting (hair), keep trimming', in which the reduplicated syllable NGEM shows the consonant NG of the *imperfective form* (as well as weak E), while the following syllable KIMD (the entire stem) shows the consonant K of the corresponding *basic form.* A few similar examples are given below:

(24)

Reduplicated Form	*Related Imperfective Verb*
melebtub 'keep spitting on'	melub 'to spit on'
melebdobs 'keep objecting to'	melobs 'to object to'
melekedoko 'keep blowing at, keep smoking'	meloko 'to blow at, smoke'
melengdangch 'keep looking at in order to identify'	melangch 'to try to recognize'
mengelka 'keep eating'	menga 'to eat'
omelebalech 'keep shooting with a slingshot'	omalech 'to shoot with a slingshot'

The examples of (24) allow us to make the following interesting observations:

a. If we look at the *basic form* of each verb listed, we can easily understand the phonetic structure of the corresponding reduplicated form. First of all, the basic form of each verb of (24) is supplied below (without translations):

(25)

Imperfective Form	*Basic Form*
melub	metub
melobs	medobs
meloko	medoko
melangch	medangch
menga	meka
omalech	obalech

By comparing each basic form with its corresponding imperfective form, we can identify the following consonant alternations: T—L, D—L, K—NG, and B—M. In the reduplicated forms of (24), the reduplicated syllable (appearing after the verb marker *me-* or *o-*) shows a syllable-initial consonant that results from applying the rules of *consonant alternation* and is therefore identical to the stem-initial consonant of the *imperfective form*—e.g., the L of *melebtub* matches the L of *melub*, the M of *omelebalech* matches the M of *omalech*, and so on. However, in the syllable that follows the reduplicated syllable, the initial consonant reappears as the consonant of the *basic form*. Thus, the T of *melebtub* matches the T of the basic form *metub*, the B of *omelebalech* matches the B of the basic form *obalech*, and so on.

b. The V of C_1VC_2 is always pronounced as a weak E and is most likely a reduced form (in an unstressed syllable) of a full vowel U, O, or A, etc. occurring in the original stem. Thus, the reduplicated form *melebtub* is probably derived from a more basic sequence *me* + *lub* + *tub* in which the U of LUB (C_1VC_2) repeats the *full vowel* U of the original stem but then gets reduced to weak E because it occurs in an unstressed syllable—i.e., *me-leb-TUB*.

c. In *melekedoko* and *omelebalech* we see the already familiar appearance of weak E as a buffer between the second consonant of C_1VC_2 and the initial consonant of the following stem.

d. Although the reduplicated form *mengelka* shows a repeated syllable NGEL that seems to conform to the pattern C_1VC_2, the L itself is not found stem-finally in *menga* (or *meka*). This "mysterious" L, however, is also found stem-finally in the perfective form *kolii* 'eat it up'.

A somewhat simpler pattern of reduplication applies to certain imperfective verbs that are reduplicated by adding a syllable of the form C_1V (i.e., without a second consonant C_2) after the word-initial verb marker (*me-* or *o-*). Just like the examples of (24), the reduplicated syllable shows a consonant that matches the *imperfective form* of the verb, while the initial consonant of the following syllable (part of the original stem) reappears as the consonant of the corresponding *basic form*. Here are several examples of this simpler pattern:

(26)

Reduplicated Form	*Related Imperfective Verb*
mengikiis 'keep digging'	mengiis 'to dig'
melituich 'keep shining light on'	meluich 'to shine light on'
omeboes 'keep shooting'	omoes 'to shoot'
omebeu 'keep breaking'	omeu 'to break'

Can you identify the three patterns of *consonant alternation* found in the examples above, and for each example can you provide the corresponding basic form? In addition, why is it reasonable to say that the vowel of C_1V (I or full E) has its origin in the processes of *vowel weakening*?

Exceptional Patterns In Reduplicated Imperfective Verbs

11.9.1. An interesting group of Palauan transitive action verbs is reduplicated by a pattern that basically adds a two-syllable sequence of the form $C_1e + C_1VC_2$. In C_1e the vowel is a *full E,* while in C_1VC_2 the vowel is a *weak E* (resulting from processes of vowel weakening). In addition, a weak E is usually inserted as a buffer between C_2 of the second reduplicated syllable and the initial consonant of the following syllable. Note the forms below, and verify their pronunciation carefully:

(27)

Reduplicated Form	*Related Imperfective Verb*
melelemelamech 'keep chewing'	melamech 'to chew'
melelemelimet 'keep bailing'	melimet 'to bail'
melelebelobech 'keep chopping'	melobech 'to chop'

What is surprising about the reduplicated forms of (27) is that, unlike those of (24) and (26), there is no appearance of the stem-initial consonant that participates in the various patterns of consonant alternation and turns up in the verb's corresponding *basic form.* In other words, the basic form of (imperfective) *melamech* is *mechamech,* but the stem-initial CH is not found at all in the reduplicated form (i.e., we do not have any form like "melelemechamech"). Similarly, the NG of basic form *mengimet* is absent in reduplicated *melelemelimet,* and the D of basic form *medobech* does not appear in *melelebelobech.* Instead, the consonant L of the related imperfective verb occurs three times (as you can see) in each reduplicated form.

An example similar to (27) is the following:

(28)

meleltelatech 'keep cleaning,clean compulsively'	melatech 'to clean'

In this case, the first reduplicated syllable LE has the structure C_1e (with full E), which is nothing unusual. However, the next reduplicated portion LT has the structure C_1C_2 instead of the expected C_1VC_2. It appears that the vowel of C_1VC_2 (originally the same full vowel A as in the stem *-ngatech*) has been deleted in an unstressed syllable in accordance with the expected vowel weakening process, resulting in the final pronunciation *me-lel-te-LA-tech* (which contains a weak E buffer as well). In this example, too, the consonant L of the related imperfective verb *melatech* appears three times in the corresponding reduplicated form, which contains no trace of the NG found in the basic form *mengatech.*

Another unusual pattern used for deriving the reduplicated forms of imperfective verbs essentially involves adding a syllable of the form C_1e (with full E), but with one very unexpected feature. While the consonant of C_1e matches the stem-initial consonant found in the verb's *basic form,* we find that it is preceded by an *extra* consonant which matches that of the *imperfective form!* In other words, the entire reduplicated portion shows *both* of the consonants involved in any of the standard consonant alternation patterns described in 5.6.3. Observe the examples below:

(29)

Reduplicated Form	*Related Imperfective Verb*
mengchechelebed 'keep hitting'	mengelebed 'to hit'
mengchechuiu 'keep reading, read a lot'	menguiu 'to read'
mengchechetakl 'walk casually holding hand of child, etc.'	mengetakl 'to hold/lead by the hand'
ombebekall 'keep sailing/driving around'	omekall 'to sail/drive'
ombibtar 'keep swinging'	omtar 'to swing'

In the first three examples above, we note the reduplicated portion NGCHE, where NG and CH represent the members of a common consonant alternation (e.g., NG of imperfective *mengelebed* vs. CH of basic *mechelebed*). Similarly, the last two examples show the reduplicated portion MB, in which M and B also represent the members of a typical consonant alternation (e.g., M of imperfective *omekall* vs. B of basic *obekall*). The very last example—*ombibtar*—is even more unusual because the reduplicated syllable has the form C_1i (instead of C_1e).

The reduplicated forms of a few imperfective verbs are derived like those of (29), except that we find a *second* reduplicated syllable of the form C_1V or C_1VC_2. In fact, when we add such an extra syllable to *mengchechuiu* of (29), we get an acceptable variant form, as indicated by the first item in the list below:

(30)	*Reduplicated Form*	*Related Imperfective Verb*
	mengchechichuiu 'keep reading, read a lot'	menguiu 'to read'
	mengkekikiut 'keep clearing'	mengiut 'to clear'
	ombeberebart 'keep hiding'	omart 'to hide'

In spite of their complicated structure, you should be able to analyze the reduplicated forms of (30) without too much difficulty. For each form, can you identify the verb marker, the reduplicated portion, and the applicable consonant alternation pattern? Can you also provide the corresponding basic form for each of the verbs involved? Is there any form where the now-familiar weak E "buffer" has been inserted?

Reduplicated Imperfective Verb Forms Used in Sentences

11.9.2. The reduplicated imperfective forms given in the lists of (24) and (26–9) can be used in sentences such as the following:

(31)	a. Ngara uchul me ke di melebtub?	'Why do you keep spitting?'
	b. Ng diak a belatong e le a rengalek a di omebeu er a bek el sils.	'There aren't any plates because the children keep breaking them every day.'
	c. A sechelim a di soal el melelemelamech e diak loureor.	'Your friend just likes to chew (betel nut) and doesn't do any work.'
	d. Ngara me ke di mengchechelebed er a rengalek?	'Why do you keep hitting the children?'
	e. Te di ombebekall el ngar er a beches el mlai e diak longeseu er ngak.	'They just drive around in the new car and don't give me any help.'

In the examples above, you will notice that the reduplicated verb is often preceded by *di* 'only, just', which helps to emphasize the idea of continual or repeated action.

REDUPLICATION OF VERBS IN *OU-* AND *O-*

11.10. Verbs that are derived by prefixing *ou-* (see 6.3.3) and verbs that use *o-* as the verb marker prefix (see 6.3) can also be modified by reduplication. A wide range of phonetic patterns is observed, as seen in the examples below:

(32)

Reduplicated Form	*Related Verb in* **ou-** *or* **o-**
ousesechelei 'be sort of friends with'	ousechelei 'be friends with'
oungengeroel 'keep scolding (mildly)'	oungeroel 'to scold'
oururеng 'to be nostalgic for, miss'	oureng 'to wish for'
outetingaol 'to lie continually'	outingaol 'to tell a lie'
ousesekool 'keep playing around'	ousekool 'to play around with, make fun of'
oumismisk 'keep making clucking sound (to show disapproval)'	oumisk 'to make clucking sound (to show disapproval)'
okiklukl 'keep coughing'	oklukl 'to cough'
osisngos 'keep sneezing'	osngos 'to sneeze'
okerker 'to ask around'	oker 'to ask'
osisiu 'same'	osiu 'blocked/clogged (by something that has joined together)'
osisiik 'to look around for'	osiik 'to look for'

Can you identify the phonetic form of the reduplicated syllable in each of the examples above? In what position of the word do we place the reduplicated syllable in all cases?

As the English equivalents for the reduplicated forms of (32) indicate, the meanings by and large follow patterns that we have already observed, although in some examples they are rather specialized. For example, *ousesechelei* shows the normal weakening of meaning typical of many state verbs, while *oungengeroel, outetingaol, ousesekool, okiklukl,* and others indicate the idea of continual or repeated action usually observed for action verbs. By contrast, the meanings of certain reduplicated forms such as *osisiu* 'same' and *oururеng* 'to be nostalgic for, miss' have become quite specialized and are difficult to predict from the meanings of the corresponding nonreduplicated forms.

The examples below illustrate how the reduplicated forms of (32) are used in sentences:

(33) a. Ak okiklukl e le ak smecher er a tereter.
'I keep coughing because I'm sick with a cold.'

b. Ng di ousesechelei er a Toki me ng sebechel el kie er a blil.
'He's sort of friendly with Toki, so he can stay at her house.'

c. A rubak a di oururеng er a taem er a Siabal.
'The old man feels nostalgic for the Japanese times.'

REDUPLICATION OF CAUSATIVE VERBS

11.11. Causative verbs, which we covered extensively in Les. 9, can also undergo reduplication. Causative verbs derived with the prefix *omek-* (see 9.2, 9.2.1, etc.) have a unique reduplication pattern: an extra syllable of the phonetic form KE (with full E) or KI is inserted between the (weak) E and the K of the prefix itself. The most common examples are given below:

(34)	*Reduplicated Form*	*Related Causative Verb in* ***omek-***
	omekekesiu 'to copy roughly'	omekesiu 'to compare, copy'
	omekikdakt 'to frighten a little'	omekdakt' to frighten'
	omkiksau 'to make (someone) somewhat used to'	omeksau 'to make (someone) used to'
	omkikrirech 'to try to see (when light is poor)'	omekrirech 'to open eyes wide, struggle to see'

Except for the last example, whose meaning is rather specialized, the reduplicated forms of (34) all indicate a weakened or more tentative meaning. You will notice also in *omkiksau* and *omkikrirech* that the (weak) E of the original prefix has been deleted, resulting in word-initial *omkik-*.

If a causative verb is derived with the prefix *ol-* or *ole-* (see 9.2, 9.2,1, etc.), then its reduplicated form will follow already familiar patterns. These include adding a single syllable of the form C_1e or a sequence of syllables C_1e + C_1eC_2 (where the second syllable has weak E and may be followed by another weak E as a buffer). As the examples below indicate, the reduplicated portion is always added between the causative prefix and the original stem:

(35)	*Reduplicated Form*	*Related Causative Verb in* ***ol(e)-***
	olteterau 'to sell a little at a time'	olterau 'to sell'
	oltetebetobed 'keep taking out'	oltobed 'to take out'
	olekekerkar 'keep trying to wake up (gently)'	olkar 'to wake up'
	oltetemetom 'keep poking out'	oltom 'to poke out'

As the English equivalents show, the reduplicated forms of (35) generally involve a meaning of continual or repeated action.

In the examples below, we see how reduplicated causative verbs are used in entire sentences:

(36) a. A Satsko a omekekesiu er tia el bail er a bilel a Hermana. 'Toki is making this dress roughly like Hermana's.'

b. Ak di olteterau a iasai e mecherar a mlik. 'I'm just selling vegetables a little at a time and then I'll (be able to) buy my car.'

c. A ngikel a oltetemetom er a medal er a bad. 'The fish keeps poking its head out of the coral.'

REDUPLICATION OF RECIPROCAL VERBS

11.12. We already mentioned reduplication of reciprocal verbs in 10.2.3.1 and at the end of 11.1.2 in this lesson. As mentioned in those sections, a reduplicated syllable is sometimes added (optionally or obligatorily) during the derivation of a reciprocal verb. In the great majority of cases, this is purely a grammatical process, and there is no effect on the meaning. Therefore, in the examples below, where reduplication is *optional,* most speakers consider each reduplicated form and its nonreduplicated partner to be equivalent in meaning (as indicated by the single English translation):

(37)

Reduplicated Form	*Related Reciprocal Verb (Nonreduplicated)*
kasusuub	kesuub 'to imitate each other'
kadekdakt	kedakt 'to fear each other'
kasisiik	kesiik 'to look for each other'
kakerker	kaker, keker 'to ask each other'
karuruul	keruul 'to make (something) for each other, protect each other'
kautoketok	kautok 'to quarrel with each other'

In one interesting case, we note that reduplication of a reciprocal verb indeed results in a change (weakening) of meaning: thus, while *kausechelei* means 'to be friends with each other', reduplicated *kausesechelei* has the meaning 'to be casual friends with each other'.

In a few rare cases, the only acceptable reciprocal form is one with a reduplicated syllable, and therefore we must conclude that the reduplication process is *obligatory.* To repeat the example mentioned earlier, we have the reciprocal verb *kaititekangel* (or *kautitekangel*) 'to argue with each other', which clearly contains a reduplicated syllable TI. Unlike the examples of (37), however, we have no corresponding *nonreduplicated* form such as "kaitekangel" or "kautekangel", and it is therefore necessary to insert a reduplicated syllable in order to derive an acceptable word. This example is really an illustration of the "fossilized" reduplication to be studied in the very next section below.

"FOSSILIZED" REDUPLICATION

11.13. There are many Palauan words, mostly state verbs and a few reciprocal verbs, whose phonetic form indicates the likelihood that they were once derived by processes of reduplication. It is quite possible that in earlier stages of Palauan, reduplication was even more active and widespread than it is today. Furthermore, as long periods of time went by, many words originally derived through reduplication gradually changed in phonetic form as well as in meaning. As a result of such changes, we find quite a few words in modern Palauan that contain "fossilized" traces of reduplication that many Palauan speakers are not even aware of.

In the following simple state verbs, you should have no trouble identifying the phonetic form of the fossilized reduplication:

(38)

kikiongel 'dirty'	chaibibiob 'round'
cheleleu 'pale'	kedidai 'high'
bekerkard 'red'	dechudech 'muddy'
bibrurek 'yellow'	debedebek 'having a good memory'
tetengemud 'very small, tiny'	chachau '(nuts) stunted, empty'

For further discussion of *bibrurek*, see *Note* 2 above.

In addition, a small number of state verbs prefixed with the verb marker *me-* also seem to contain reduplicated portions:

(39)

mesisiich 'strong'	merecherached 'nauseated'
mekelekolt 'cold'	metitur 'not know, not able to'

Note 7: There are some state verbs with fossilized reduplication, such as *cheleleu* and *chachau* of (38), that can be turned into another category of state verb with the prefix *be-* (see 7.6). Note the following examples, in particular the somewhat specialized meanings of the derived state verbs in *be-*, which usually involve *intensification* of the designated quality:

Derived State Verb in ***be-***	*Related State Verb With Fossilized Reduplication*
becheleleu 'white'	cheleleu 'pale'
bechachau 'empty'	chachau '(nuts) stunted, empty'
bechecherd (a rengul) 'irascible'	checherd (a rengul) 'impatient'
bechedechudel 'irritable'	chedechudel 'angry at'

Interestingly enough, all of these examples involve stems with CH.

In (57) and (59) of 4.9.7, we took note of the (irregular) perfective forms of the common verbs *oba(ng)* 'to carry, take, hold' and *melai* 'to bring, take'. We saw that the third person plural *human* object pronoun, which usually is *-terir,* is preceded optionally or obligatorily by an extra syllable TI in *obe(ti)terir* 'carries them' and *ngoititerir* 'takes them'. The most reasonable explanation for the additional, unexpected syllable would be that both of these perfective forms still show a trace of earlier reduplication processes—i.e., fossilized reduplication. In addition, the appearance of an extra syllable TI in a reciprocal verb such as *kaititekangel/kautitekangel* 'to argue with each other' can probably be explained in the same way.

SUMMARY OF PALAUAN REDUPLICATED FORMS

11.14. In the list below, we summarize the Palauan reduplicated forms studied in this lesson according to the phonetic pattern of the reduplication. We have taken the many individual patterns discussed separately in the sections above and condensed them into several major "formulas". For each pattern we present several examples in which the reduplicated syllables are highlighted in bold print.

(40) a. C_1e (with full E)

Examples: **be**bubong, **se**smecher, m**ete**tekoi, **nge**ngeltachel, meng**che**chelebed (with extra consonant after verb marker), ol**te**terau

b. C_1V (V can be I, O, or U; often vowel weakening processes are involved)

Examples: ka**su**suub, so**so**al, **ki**klou, me**si**saik, beke**li**langel, me**ngi**kiis (with consonant alternation applied to C_1), ou**ru**reng, ome**ki**kdakt

c. $C_1VC_2(e)$ (V is usually weak E, resulting from processes of vowel weakening; the parenthesized E, also weak, is added as a buffer between certain consonants)

Examples: beke**sel**sel, beke**seche**secher, me**rem**ram, me**leb**tub (with consonant alternation applied to C_1), o**bele**balech, o**ker**ker, ka**dek**dakt

d. $C_1e + C_1V$

Examples: me**sesi**saik, me**lelo**laok, me**rero**rael, me**keki**kiut, meng**chechi**chuiu(with extra consonant after verb marker)

e. $C_1e + C_1VC_2(e)$

Examples: me**dedek**dakt, me**keker**kar, me**rerenge**ringel, me**leleche**luches, me**lelem**elamech, ol**tetebe**tobed

In spite of the fact that Palauan reduplication patterns appear to be very complicated, we have nevertheless been able to condense them into three simple patterns (40a–c) and two complex patterns (40d–e).

Now, in the chart below, we will summarize Palauan reduplicated forms from a rather different viewpoint. Here, we will take each *verb type* (or, rarely, noun type) to which reduplication can apply and present several examples of each (again with the reduplicated syllables highlighted in bold print):

(41)	*Verb (or Noun) Type*	*Examples of Reduplicated Forms*
a.	Simple State Verb	**de**dekimes, **nge**ngeasek, **ke**kesib, **ki**klou, **ki**kiongel (fossilized)
b.	State Verb with Prefixed or Infixed Verb Marker	me**te**terkakl, me**si**saik, me**te**titur, me**re**rur, me**seke**seked, me**kele**kolt (fossilized), me**rerenge**ringel, me**lelo**laok, **se**smecher, **che**chuarm
c.	Resulting State Verb	**nge**ngeltachel, **nge**nglemodel
d.	State Verb Prefixed with *beke-* or *seke-*	beke**bes**bes, beke**si**saik, seke**su**suub, be**ke**ketekoi, beke**li**langel
e.	Intransitive Action Verb	me**che**chiis, me**rero**rael, me**sesebe**sebek
f.	Transitive Action Verb in Basic Form	me**se**seseb, me**te**temall, o**be**beu, me**dedenge**dangeb, me**sesu**sauch, me**rem**ram
g.	Transitive Action Verb in Imperfective Form	me**leke**doko, me**ngel**ka, me**li**tuich, o**mele**balech, o**me**beu, om**bi**btar, om**bebere**bart, me**leleme**limet, meng**che**chuiu
h.	Transitive Action Verb in Perfective Form	obe**ti**terir (fossilized), ngoi**ti**terir (fossilized)
i.	Verb Prefixed with *ou-* or (verb marker) *o-*	ou**se**sechelei, ou**mis**misk,o**si**sngos, o**si**siik
j.	Causative Verb	ome**ki**kdakt, om**ki**ksau, ole**keker**kar
k.	Reciprocal Verb	ka**si**siik, ka**ru**ruul, ka**dek**dakt, kai**ti**tekangel (fossilized)

Verb (or Noun) Type	*Examples of Reduplicated Forms*
l. Obligatorily Possessed Noun	**so**soak, **che**chetik, **se**sebechek, **ke**kirek
m. Other Nouns	**ke**kesus, **te**tuk

LIST OF TERMS

11.15.

A. NEW TERMS:

- **Reduplication (in general)**
- **Reduplicated Syllable C_1e**
- **Reduplicated Syllable C_1V**
- **Reduplicated Syllable C_1VC_2(e)**
- **"Fossilized" Reduplication**

B. OLD TERMS:

- **Principles of Vowel Weakening**
- **Unstressed Syllable**
- **State Verb**
- **Resulting State Verb**
- **Intransitive Action Verb**
- **Transitive Action Verb: Basic Form**
- **Transitive Action Verb: Imperfective Form**
- **Causative Verb**
- **Reciprocal Verb**
- **Obligatorily Possessed Noun**

11.16. REDUPLICATION IN PALAUAN: STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Define each of the new terms in 11.15A clearly and correctly, and illustrate with several examples. For each of the old terms in 11.15B, define briefly and then explain how the particular concept or word category applies to the study of reduplication. Give clear examples to illustrate your point.

2. What effect does reduplication have on the form and meaning of a given verb?

3. In what way are reduplicated forms like *bebeot* and *sesmecher* exceptions to the general rule that Palauan E is pronounced as a weak E in unstressed syllables?

4. How is reduplication reflected in Palauan state verbs indicating size or dimension? Give specific examples.

5. Explain, with several clear examples, how the general formula C_1e can be used to describe the reduplication of simple state verbs.

6. What kind of meaning change do we find in the reduplicated forms of simple state verbs? Give examples.

7. What group of *nouns* is unique in that reduplication processes can be applied to its members? Provide examples and explain what phonetic form the reduplication takes.

8. How does reduplication apply to state verbs prefixed with the verb marker *me-* (e.g., *mesulaul, medirt,* etc.)? In what position does the added syllable occur in the reduplicated form? Provide clear examples to illustrate.

9. What is unusual or special about a reduplicated form like *mesesisaik* (from *mesaik*)?

10. How would you characterize the reduplication process that has applied in a form like *mererechereched* (from *mereched*)?

11. How does reduplication apply to state verbs having an infixed verb marker (e.g., *smecher*)? Give several examples.

12. Why is the expression *ko er a* found so frequently in sentences with reduplicated state verbs, as in the examples of (5) and (9)?

13. What is a resulting state verb, and how can it be reduplicated?

14. What three phonetic patterns are used when reduplication is applied to state verbs prefixed with *beke-* (or *seke-*), and what effect does reduplication have on the meaning? Give a few examples to illustrate your answer.

15. How does the reduplication pattern in forms such as *mededekdakt* and *mededengedinges* represent a combination of two simpler reduplication patterns?

16. In what way can we say that the phonetic form of the various reduplicated syllables below (highlighted in bold print) is a reflection of the principles of *vowel (or vowel cluster) weakening*?

    mede**dek**dakt mese**su**saul meke**ki**kiut me**ngi**kiis

    For each example, explain specifically what type of weakening is involved.

17. What are the major patterns used for reduplicating *intransitive action verbs* (e.g., *merael, ruebet,* etc.), and what effect does reduplication have on the meaning of such verbs? Give specific examples.

18. What is the *basic form* of a transitive action verb, and what patterns of reduplication can apply? What very special meaning component do all reduplicated basic forms have? Provide three examples.

19. Why do we need to bring up the concept of *consonant alternation* in discussing how to reduplicate the *imperfective forms* of transitive action verbs? How are the patterns of consonant alternation reflected in reduplicated forms such as *melebtub, melengdangch,* and *omelebalech?*

20. Here are the reduplicated forms of several imperfective verbs (together with the related nonreduplicated form):

Reduplicated Imperfective Verb	*Related Nonreduplicated Form*
melektuk	meluk
melecheluches	meluches
omeboes	omoes
omebeu	omeu

    For each reduplicated form given,

    a. Isolate and indicate the reduplicated portion.

    b. After pronouncing carefully, state which E's in the reduplicated portions are full, and which are weak.

    c. Explain (according to the principles of vowel weakening) why certain E's in the reduplicated portions are full and others are weak.

d. Explain which rule of consonant alternation applies in each example.

e. Indicate the meaning of the reduplicated form.

21. What interesting features do you find in the phonetic pattern of the reduplicated imperfective verbs *mengchechichuiu* and *ombebekall?*

22. What type of meaning is common to the great majority of reduplicated imperfective verbs? Provide five examples with accurate translations that clearly reflect this common element of meaning.

23. Describe the phonetic characteristics of reduplication in the following reduplicated forms of verbs prefixed with *ou-* or *o-:*

oungengeroel oumismisk ourureng osisiu ousesekool osisiik

24. What different categories of meaning do we find among the reduplicated forms of verbs prefixed with *ou-* or *o-?* Illustrate with appropriate examples.

25. What are the patterns of reduplication observed for Palauan causative verbs? What different categories of meaning do the reduplicated forms of causative verbs exhibit? Illustrate with specific examples.

26. What is interesting or unusual about the reduplicated forms of reciprocal verbs?

27. Using one very clear example, explain what we mean by the term "fossilized" reduplication.

28. Name at least ten different verb types to which reduplication can apply, and give a clear example of each.

11.17. REDUPLICATION IN PALAUAN: EXERCISES

1. For each of the Palauan verbs below,

   (1) give the reduplicated form,

   (2) indicate the phonetic pattern of the reduplication according to the formulas given in (40a–e), and

   (3) provide an appropriate English equivalent.

   If a given verb has more than one reduplicated form, provide the requested information for each.

obes	chuarm	oker
bekesengorech	medakt	medinges
songerenger	ngeasek	mecherocher
ruebet	mechesimer	merael
klou	mesaik	nglemull
metemall	tuobed	obalech
melobs	obuid	omalech
melobech	melatech	mengiis
menguiu	oureng	oklukl
omekdakt	ousechelei	omekall
kesuub	keruul	olterau

2. Give the correct reduplicated form for each of the state verbs below, together with an appropriate English equivalent:

bedeng	metongakl	mechelaod
mechubs	betok	bubong
kedidai	medeomel	kedung
mekeald	bleob	bibrurek
bulis	kesai	silil
tedobech	mechuu	cheball
merekos	mechucheb	mellemau

3. Use each of the following reduplicated state verbs in a nicely written sentence, and provide an accurate English translation of the entire sentence:

dedengerenger	mededenge	ngeldengodech
kiklou	metetitur	medidirt
sesekool	mererur	sesmau
kekesib (a rengul)	mesesulaul	mesekeseked
kekesai	mekikngit	mekelekilt

4. Use each of the following reduplicated state verbs (all of which involve the prefix *beke-* or *seke-*) in a well-written sentence, for which you also provide an accurate English translation:

bekebesbes	bekekesengorech	sekedebedebek
bekelilangel	bekedechedechaol	bekekerkard
bekededengmes	bekekesius	beketertord
sekesusuub	sekerker	bekesbesebek (a rengul)

5. The reduplicated forms below show some very unusual phonetic patterns not specifically covered in the text. Compare each reduplicated form with the related nonreduplicated form, and then describe in as much detail as possible the phonetic features of the reduplicated form:

	Reduplicated Form	*Related Nonreduplicated Form*
a.	mesesiusech 'rather calm, peaceful'	meiusech 'calm, peaceful'
b.	mesesuuau 'rather foolish, crazy'	uau 'foolish, crazy'
c.	mededereborb 'sitting around'	reborb 'sitting (on floor)'

6. In the list below, we have the reduplicated forms of several transitive action verbs in their basic form. Use each example in an interesting sentence, and then translate each sentence into idiomatic English:

metetekoi	metetemall	obebibuid
mechichuiu	meremram	mesesodel

7. The words below are all reduplicated forms of transitive action verbs in the imperfective form. For each example given, write an interesting, grammatically correct sentence, and then translate each sentence into idiomatic English:

melebdobs	melengdangch	melituich	melelemelamech
mengchechetakl	ombibriid	ombibritel	ombeberebart

8. Below we find various noun or verb stems. For each stem, derive a *reduplicated* verb that also contains the prefix *ou-* or *o-*. For each reduplicated verb you give, (1) describe the phonetic form of the reduplicated part, and (2) translate the form accurately into English:

tingaol	'always lying'
reng	'heart, spirit'
sekool	'playful'
klukl	'cough' (noun)
siik	'search' (noun)

9. Below are given various nouns or verbs that contain the stems for deriving *reduplicated* reciprocal verbs. For each stem, give the corresponding reduplicated reciprocal verb and (1) describe the phonetic form of the reduplicated part and (2) translate the form correctly into English:

dakt	'fear' (noun)
meleng	'to borrow'
subed	'announcement, message'
siik	'search' (noun)
sumech-, smechel	'sending (of message)'
olturk	'to argue someone down'
ousbech	'to need, use'
tekangel	'obstinate, persistent'

10. Find five additional examples of fossilized reduplication that are different from any given in 11.13. For each word you find,

    (1) indicate the part of speech,

    (2) describe the phonetic form of the reduplicated part, and

    (3) translate the word properly into English.

12

ADDITIONAL TYPES OF VERB SUFFIXES IN PALAUAN

INTRODUCTION

12.1. In this rather short lesson, we will finally complete our study of the internal structure of Palauan verbs. To do this, we will examine two more suffixes—the **inceptive suffix** and the **predictive suffix**—that bring about important meaning changes when they are attached to particular groups of verb stems. The *inceptive suffix* *-a* and the *predictive suffix* *-u* each consist phonetically of a single full vowel that is always *stressed* (and followed by *-ng* when spoken in isolation or in sentence-final position—see 1.2.8.e). Because these suffixes are always stressed, we will find that the principles of *vowel weakening* (see 3.3.3, 3.3.8, etc.) apply quite generally within the verb forms that contain them.

THE INCEPTIVE SUFFIX -A

12.2. The *inceptive suffix* *-a* is used to indicate an action or state that is in its *beginning* —or *inceptive* —stage, often with the implication of something new or unexpected. Thus, the best English equivalent for Palauan inceptive verb forms is "starting to..." or "beginning to..." For example, from the intransitive action verb *remut* 'to run' (with infixed verb marker *-em-*), we derive the inceptive form *rurta(ng)* '(is) starting to run'. Similarly, from the state verb *songer* *enger* 'hungry', we derive the inceptive form *songer* *engera(ng)* '(is) starting to get hungry'.

THE PREDICTIVE SUFFIX -U

12.3. The *predictive suffix* *-u* is used to indicate an action or event that the speaker *predicts* will occur *momentarily* or *imminently* —i.e., in the very near future. For this reason, Palauan predictive verb forms are usually translated by the English phrase "(is) about to..." Thus, from *remut* 'to run', we derive the predictive form *rurtu(ng)* 'is about to run', and from *melekoi* 'to talk', we have the predictive form *melekingu(ng)* 'is about to talk'.

Summary of Verb Forms Relating to the Future

12.3.1. It may already have occurred to you that using the predictive form of a verb is not the only way of talking about the future in Palauan. In fact, there are quite a few grammatical forms found in Palauan that describe different kinds of future events or states. The most common of these, of course, is the "regular" *futur e tense* formed with the *futur e auxiliar y mo* (see 5.5.4), as in the example below:

(1) Ak mo merael er a klukuk. 'I will leave tomorrow.'

With this, we can contrast the *pr edictive for m* of *merael*, as found in the following commonly used sentence:

(2) Ak merolung. 'I'm about to leave./I'm just leaving.'

While sentences with a predictive verb form such as *mer olu(ng)* always indicate an imminent event—i.e., one that the speaker believes will occur within minutes (or even seconds) of the present moment—the regular future tense with *mo* is used for events that are expected to occur in the more "remote" future (e.g., tonight, tomorrow, next week, next month, next year, etc.). In addition, while *mo + action verb* simply indicates a future event, as in (1), *mo + state verb* introduces the idea of (future) *change of state*, as in the example below:

(3) Ng mo ungil a eanged er a klukuk. 'The weather will get better tomorrow.'

In *Note 8* of Lesson 5 (see 5.5.1), we mentioned that two types of Palauan *pr esent tense* verb forms have developed the specialized function of expressing an imminent event, often with the clear implication of a *warning*. Thus, we saw in that note (and also in 6.9.4) how a present tense *per fective* form can express an urgent warning in a sentence like the following:

(4) Alii. A ngalek a chubelii a milk! 'Watch out! The child's about to spill the milk!'

The perfective form (*chubelii* 'spills it completely' in this example) is especially effective in indicating that some (unwanted) event will be brought to completion in the very near future, and it is implied that precautions should be taken to prevent or deal with this event.

In addition, we saw in *Note 8* of Lesson 5 that sentences containing transitive action verbs in their *basic* (or *pr ocessive*) form also can serve as warnings that some event is imminent. In such sentences, the person (or thing) affected by the event is expressed as the sentence subject (as in English *passive* sentences):

(5) Alii. Kom medul er a ngau! 'Be careful! You'll get burned by the fire!'

A sentence like (5) serves as a warning to those (*kom* 'you (pl.)' in this example) who are about to suffer the unpleasant event. Note, further, that the cause (or source) of the suffering is expressed in the relational phrase *er a ngau* 'because of/by the fire' (although many Palauan speakers prefer to omit such a phrase when using a transitive action verb in its basic form).

Finally, we noted in 7.8 that another future-oriented concept can be expressed by using the *expected state* form of a transitive action verb (e.g., *ngetachel* or *ngetechall* 'is/needs to be cleaned', related to basic form *mengatech* 'get cleaned' and imperfective form *melatech* 'to clean'). Expected state verbs describe the sentence subject in terms of an action or process that it is *expected* or *requir ed* to undergo in the near future, as in the example below:

(6) A delmerab er tir a ngetachel. 'Their room must be cleaned.'

Sentences with expected state verbs often carry a strong sense of necessity or obligation—i.e., something absolutely *must* be cleaned, washed, painted, etc.—and therefore are compatible with the obligatorily possessed noun *kir el* 'its obligation', as shown below:

(7) Aike el bilem a kirel el mo selokel. 'These clothes of yours need to be washed.'

INCEPTIVE AND PREDICTIVE FORMS OF INTRANSITIVE ACTION VERBS

12.4. As we will see in this and the following sections, the inceptive and predictive suffixes can be applied to a fairly wide variety of Palauan verb forms, although there are a number of restrictions. Thus, the inceptive suffix *-a* can attach to intransitive action verbs, certain transitive action verbs (in both the basic and imperfective forms), and to state verbs, while the predictive suffix *-u* seems to be limited to intransitive and transitive action verbs only.

Intransitive action verbs can take both the inceptive and predictive suffixes, as indicated in the chart below:

(8)

IntransitiveActionV	*erb InceptiveFor m* "starting to..."	*Pr edictiveFor m* "about to..."
suebek 'to fly'	sobeka	sobeku
remurt 'to run'	rurta	rurtu
ruebet 'to fall'	robeta	robetu
tuobed 'to go out'	tobeda	tobedu
lmangel 'to cry'	longela	longelu
merael 'to leave'	merola	merolu

When we examine the inceptive and predictive forms of (8) from the phonetic point of view, we immediately see the results of *vowel weakening pr ocesses* . In particular, certain *vowel clusters* of the original verbs—UE of *suebek* and *ruebet* , UO of *tuobed* , and AE of *merael* —are reduced to a *single vowel* in both the inceptive and predictive forms, where the suffixes *-a(ng)* and *-u(ng)* are always *str essed* . Thus, in *tuobed—tobeda/tobedu* , the vowel cluster UO (with U the *infixed* verb marker and O part of the verb stem) is reduced to O when unstressed, while in the other examples the original vowel cluster is changed into an entirely new single vowel (compare the examples of 29 in 3.3.7.c). In *suebek—sobeka/ sobeku* and *ruebet—r obeta/r obetu* , we see UE reduced to O (again, with U the original infixed verb marker and E part of the verb stem), and in *merael—mer ola/mer olu* AE also gets reduced to O (but with both vowels part of the original stem *rael* 'road' and a similar change occurring between *rael* and its possessed form *rolel*).

Note, further, that when an intransitive action verb has an infixed verb marker of the form *-(e)m-* , as in *remur t* 'to run' and *lmangel* 'to cry', the *-m-* seems to lose its status as a consonant and also undergoes a kind of weakening process. Thus, in *r emur t—rur ta/r ur tu* , the *-(e)m-* is totally lost, while in *lmangel—longela/longelu* it seems to have "blended" with the following stem vowel A, resulting in a new vowel O in the unstressed syllable.

In the pairs of examples below, we see how the inceptive and predictive forms of intransitive action verbs are used in entire sentences. Recall that these forms are pronounced and spelled with a final NG when they occur in sentence-final position:

(9) a. Ng sobeka a skoki. 'The plane is starting to fly/is just taking off.'

b. Ng sobeku a skoki. 'The plane is about to take off.'

(10) a. A resechelik a merolang. 'My friends are beginning to leave/are just leaving.'

b. Ak merolu er a elechang. 'I'm about to leave now.'

(11) a. Ke milekekui a tolechoi me ng longelang. 'You teased the baby, so he's starting to cry.'

b. Ng longelu a ngalek. 'The child is about to cry.'

TRANSITIVE ACTION VERBS IN THE IMPERFECTIVE FORM WITH INCEPTIVE AND PREDICTIVE SUFFIXES

12.5. The *imper fective* forms of certain transitive action verbs can take both inceptive and predictive suffixes, as indicated in the chart below:

(12) *Transitive Action Verb (Imperfective Form)*	*Inceptive Form* "starting to..."	*Predictive Form* "about to..."
melekoi 'to talk'	melekinga	melekingu
omekall 'to drive/sail'	omekella	omekellu
mengesimer 'to close'	mengesmera	mengesmeru
omurech 'to spear'	omrecha	omrechu
melecholb 'to wash'	melechelba	melechelbu

In addition to rules of single vowel reduction and vowel cluster reduction, a rule of full vowel deletion affects the inceptive and predictive forms of (12). Can you determine which rule applies in each example? Note that in the inceptive and predictive forms of *melekoi*, we find an extra *-ng-* inserted before the suffix (which also turns up in the possessed forms of the independent noun stem *tekoi* 'word, language'—i.e., *tekingek, tekingel,* etc.).

Some sentence pairs containing the inceptive and predictive forms of (12) are given below:

(13) a. A Droteo a melekinga er a demal a Toki el kirel a chebechiielir. 'Droteo has started talking to Toki's father about their marriage.'

b. A Droteo a melekingu er a demal a Toki el kirel a chebechiielir. 'Droteo is about to talk to Toki's father about their marriage.'

(14) a. A Toki a melechelba er a rengalek. 'Toki has begun to bathe the children.'

b. A Toki a melechelbu er a rengalek. 'Toki is about to bathe the children.'

In the sentences below, we find further examples of the inceptive forms of imperfective verbs. Adding *ko el* 'just' before the inceptive verb form reinforces the connotation that a new or unexpected situation has just come about:

(15) a. Ak ko el olengella e le te mla merael a resechelik. 'I've finally just started to relax because my friends have left.'

b. Aki ko el rongesa a chais. 'We've just heard the news.'

c. A ngelekek a ko el omechela el mesuub. 'My child has just begun to study.'

Can you identify the original imperfective verbs from which the inceptive forms *olengella, rongesa,* and *omechela* have been derived?

Basic Forms of Transitive Action Verbs With Inceptive and Predictive Suffixes

12.5.1. When the inceptive and predictive suffixes are added to the *basic* forms of transitive action verbs, the resulting words have the expected interpretations "has begun to be/get..." (for the inceptive) and "is about to be/get..." (for the predictive). A few typical examples are given below:

(16)

Transitive Action Verb (Basic Form)	*Inceptive Form* "starting to..."	*Predictive Form* "about to..."
oboes 'be/get shot'	obosa	obosu
mechelebed 'be/get hit'	mechelebeda	mechelebedu
merasm 'be/get sewn'	meresma	meresmu
metemall 'get broken, break down'	metemella	metemellu

You should find it easy to identify the types of vowel weakening processes that apply in the inceptive and predictive forms of (16). Be sure to take into consideration the fact that in forms like *mechelebeda(ng)* or *metemella(ng)*, all of the unstressed E's are pronounced as (reduced) weak E's.

The following pairs of examples show how the inceptive and predictive forms of (16) can be used in full sentences:

(17) a. A belochel a obosa er a rua Tony. 'The pigeons have begun to be/get shot by Tony and his friends.'

b. A belochel a obosu er a rua Tony. 'The pigeons are about to be/get shot by Tony and his friends.'

(18) a. Ng mechelebeda a ngalek er a demal. 'The child has begun to be/get hit by his father.'

b. Ng mechelebedu a ngalek er a demal. 'The child is about to be/get hit by his father.'

INCEPTIVE FORMS OF STATE VERBS

12.6. A large number of Palauan state verbs can take the inceptive suffix *-a(ng)*, though not the predictive suffix *-u(ng)*. State verbs formed with the inceptive suffix indicate that a change of state (often unexpected or unwanted) is in progress. Therefore, they are usually translated into English as "(is) getting..." or "(is) beginning to get..." Note the examples below:

(19)

State V erb	*Inceptive Form* "(is) getting..."
mekelekolt 'cold'	mekelekelta
mekeald 'hot'	mekelda
songerenger 'hungry'	songerengera
kikiongel 'dirty'	kikengela
meringel 'sore, difficult'	merengela
mecherocher 'salty'	mecherechera
smecher 'sick'	sochera
beralm 'watery, flat-tasting'	berelma
medakt 'afraid'	medekta
marek 'ripe'	merka
mekar 'awake'	mekerenga 'waking up'
klou 'big'	klunga
ungil 'good'	ungia 'improving'
chull 'rainy'	chella
meduch 'skilled at'	medecha
mechubs 'healed'	mechebsa
kesib 'sweaty'	kesbenga

Can you identify the various types of vowel weakening that have taken place in the inceptive forms of (19)? Do you find anything unusual about the phonetic forms of *meker enga* (or *kesbenga* and *klunga*) and *ungia*?

Variant Forms of the Inceptive Suffix

12.6.1. A small subgroup of state verbs have inceptive forms that are derived by adding a phonetic variant *-e(i)* or *-o(ng)* of the inceptive suffix. It is impossible to predict why these variants occur in such forms as the following:

(20)

State V erb	*Inceptive For m*
mad 'dead'	mede 'starting to die'
dechor 'standing'	dechero 'in the process of standing up'
meched 'shallow'	mechede 'getting shallow'
dmak 'together'	doknge 'getting together'
mekngit 'bad'	mekngte 'worsening'

In the inceptive forms of (20), you will also notice that different types of vowel weakening processes have taken place (and in *dmak—doknge* we also find the appearance of an extra *-ng-*).

Note 1: A small number of (transitive or intransitive) action verbs also use the *-e(i)* or *-o(ng)* variant of the inceptive suffix. Several of these are listed below:

Action Verb	*Inceptive Form*
(mo) merek 'to finish'	merko 'is just finishing'
omengur 'to eat (a meal)'	omengro 'is starting to eat'
omes 'to look at'	mesenge 'is starting to look at, has just seen'
oker 'to ask'	okere 'is beginning to ask'

The examples below illustrate how the inceptive forms of state verbs are used in sentences:

(21) a. Tia el delmerab a kmal mekeldang. 'This room is getting very hot.'

b. Ng kikengela a chimak me ng kirek el mo melebal. 'My hands are getting dirty, so I've got to wash them.'

c. A ngalek a mekerenga er a cherrodech. 'The child is waking up because of the noise.'

d. A bdeluk a merengelang. 'I'm getting a headache.'

e. Ng mecherechera a kall. 'The food's getting (too) salty.'

f. A eanged a ungia me dorael. 'The weather's improving, so let's leave.'

g. Ng mede a ngau. 'The fire is (just) dying out.'

h. A rengalek a doknge a rengrir. 'The children are starting to get along with each other.'

i. Ng chella me lak dorael. 'It's getting rainy, so let's not go.'

INCEPTIVE AND PREDICTIVE FORMS OF MO

12.7. The commonly used intransitive action verb *mo* 'to go' has *mocha* as its inceptive form and *mochu* as its predictive form. In both of these words, we note the unexpected appearance of *-ch-* before the suffix. Some typical sentences containing these forms are presented below:

(22) a. A Droteo a ko el mocha er a Guam. 'Droteo should just be arriving in Guam.'

b. A Droteo a ulerrimel er a Toki me ng ko el mocha melasem el menga a sasimi. 'Droteo persuaded Toki to finally (start to) try eating sashimi.'

c. Ak mochu er a mubi.	'I'm about to go to the movie.'
d. Ng mochu er ngii a chull.	'It's about to rain.'
e. A tangk a mochu mui.	'The tank is about to get full.'
f. Ak mochu merek el mesuub.	'I'm about to finish studying.'
g. A resechelik a mochu omengur.	'My friends are about to have their meal.'

Causative verbs, reciprocal verbs, and verbs formed with the prefix *ou-* cannot take either the inceptive or predictive suffixes. In order to express inceptive or predictive meanings with these types of verbs, we simply use *mocha* and *mochu* as auxiliary verbs. Observe the examples below:

(23)	a. A Romana a mocha oureor.	'Romana is starting to work.'
	b. A rechad er a beluu a mocha kaingeseu.	'The people of the area are beginning to help each other.'
	c. A rengalek a mochu kaiuekako.	'The children are about to (start to) tease each other.'
	d. A Toki a mochu omeka er a rengalek.	'Toki is about to feed the children.'

THE PREDICTIVE WORD KU

12.8. Identical in function to the predictive suffix *-u(ng)* is the independently occurring *predictive word ku* (*kung* when in sentence-final position). The predictive word *ku(ng)*, which can immediately follow any type of verb, does not have any phonetic effect on the preceding verb stem—i.e., no processes of vowel weakening apply. In the sentences below, we illustrate the use of *ku(ng)*, which has the expected meaning "(is) about to...":

(24)	a. Ak menguiu ku er a hong.	'I'm about to read the book.'
	b. A Toki a olekar ku er a rengalek.	'Toki is about to wake up the children.'
	c. Ak melim ku e le ng mechede a renguk.	'I'm about to drink something because I'm getting thirsty.'
	d. Ke mekera kung?	'What are you about to do?'
	e. Alii. A stoa a mechesimer kung.	'Hey! The store's about to close.'
	f. Ak mesuub ku e le ng ngar er ngii a skeng er a klukuk.	'I'm about to study because there's a test tomorrow.'
	g. Ak merolu kung.	'I'm just about to leave.'
	h. A Satsko a mochu omengur kung.	'Satsko is about to eat.'

As the last two examples show, it is possible to have both the predictive suffix *-u(ng)* and the independent predictive word *ku(ng)* in the very same sentence.

LIST OF TERMS

12.9. In this short lesson, we have only introduced a small number of new terms:

- **Inceptive Suffix and Verb Form**
- **Predictive Suffix and Verb Form**
- **Predictive Word**

12.10. ADDITIONAL TYPES OF VERB SUFFIXES IN PALAUAN: STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Define the terms *inceptive suf fix* (or verb form) and *pr edictive suf fix* (or verb form).

2. What are the differences between the predictive suffix and the predictive word *ku(ng)* ?

3. What is the difference in meaning between a predictive verb form and a verb in the future tense (with the auxiliary word *mo*)?

4. What kind of future idea is conveyed when we use the following?

   (a) a perfective verb form in the present tense

   (b) a basic (processive) verb form in the present tense

5. What are the differences in form and meaning between predictive verb forms and expected state verbs?

6. What types of vowel weakening processes do we observe in the inceptive and predictive forms of action verbs (transitive or intransitive)? Give specific examples.

7. What special type of phonetic change occurs when we derive the inceptive form *longela(ng)* or the predictive form *longelu(ng)* from the intransitive action verb *lmangel?*

8. Is there anything unusual phonetically about inceptive and predictive forms derived from the basic forms of transitive action verbs?

9. What additional variants of the inceptive suffix do we find when deriving the inceptive forms of certain state verbs? Give several examples.

10. Is there any effect on the phonetic form of the preceding verb when we use the predictive word *ku(ng)* ?

11. Palauan has two expressions, one the inceptive verb form *mechikang* and the other the predictive verb form *mechikung* , both of which are used to say good-bye to someone. Describe the meaning difference between these two verb forms (which, interestingly enough, do not seem to be derived from any independently occurring verb stem).

12.11. ADDITIONAL TYPES OF VERB SUFFIXES IN PALAUAN: EXERCISES

1. Give a phonetic analysis of all the inceptive and predictive forms listed in (8) and (12) by indicating specifically what type of vowel weakening process applies during their derivation.

2. Provide the inceptive or predictive form (as indicated) for each of the verbs below and describe any phonetic change (i.e., process of vowel weakening) that occurs during its derivation. Note any unusual or irregular phonetic changes as well.

   (a) chuarm 'to suffer'—inceptive form only

   (b) mo(ng) 'to go'—both forms

   (c) me(i) 'to come'—inceptive form only

   (d) mededaes 'unoccupied, having free time'—inceptive form only

   (e) rubak 'having an old man's qualities'—inceptive form only

   (f) mechas 'having an old woman's qualities'—inceptive form only

   (g) mechechei 'jealous'—inceptive form only

   (h) ngodech 'different'—inceptive form only

   (i) ngobeet 'to submerge'—both forms

   (j) becheleleu 'white'—inceptive form only

3. Give a phonetic analysis of all the inceptive and predictive forms listed in (16), (19), and (20). Indicate specifically what type of vowel weakening process applies in each example.

4. Write three original sentences (different from those in 24) using the predictive word *ku(ng)* and translate each correctly into English.

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