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## Notes on the Phonology of the Palau Language

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*Notes on the Phonology of the Palau Language.* — By  
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1. *Geography.*—The group of twenty-six small islands known as Palau (Palao, Pelew, or Bälau)<sup>1</sup> lies to the West of the Carolines in the western Pacific at longitude 135 degrees East, and latitude five degrees North. About five hundred miles due West of the Palau group lies Mindanao, of the Philippine archipelago, and about 350 miles to the South the “head” of New Guinea. In 1899 Germany purchased the islands from Spain and since that time they have been considered a part of the Carolines. The population of the Palaus is, according to Fritz<sup>2</sup>, about four thousand.

2. *Bibliography.*—Keate, George. *An Account of the Pelew Islands.... Composed from the Journal and communications of Captain Henry Wilson and some of his officers who, in August 1783, were there shipwrecked in the “Antelope”*. London 1788. (The work concludes with a brief “Vocabulary of the Pelew Language” in which the native words are spelled according to English rules of orthography, *e. g.*, *too* [Walleser *tu*] ‘banana’, *aeem* [Wall. *oím*] ‘five’. It was published in an anonymous French translation, *Relation des Iles Pelew*, in two volumes, 8vo, by Maradan, Paris, 1793, and in Spanish translation, *Relación de las islas Pelew*, by the bookseller Gómez Fuentenebro, Madrid, 1805).

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<sup>1</sup> Of these different spellings, Palau is the new (German) form, Palao the Spanish orthography, Pelew the form used by Keate, following Captain Henry Wilson, and still printed on English and American maps, while Bälau is the native pronunciation of the name according to Walleser (*Wörterb.*, part II, p. 82).

<sup>2</sup> Georg Fritz, *Die Zentralkarolinische Sprache* (being No. 29 of the *Lehrbücher des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*), Berlin 1911, p. 6.

<sup>1</sup> JAOS 35.

Walleser, Bishop Salvator, Apost. Vicar of the Caroline and Marianne Islands. *Grammatik der Palausprache*, in *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, Jahrg. XIV, Abt. 1, 1911, pp. 121-231.

Walleser, Bishop Salvator. *Palau Wörterbuch* in two parts: 1. *Palau-Deutsch*, 165 pp., and 2. *Deutsch-Palau*, 79 pp., with an appendix (pp. 81-98) of German-Palau conversational exercises. Hongkong, Typis Societatis Missionum ad Exteros, 1913.

Gabelentz, Georg von der, and Meyer, Adolf Bernhard. *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Melanesischen, Mikronesischen und Papuanischen Sprachen*, Leipzig 1882.

The Palau words in this study are taken, except as otherwise indicated, from Walleser.

3. *Palau sounds*.—According to Walleser (*Gram.*, p. 122) the sounds of Palau may be represented by the following characters:

Vowels: a, ä, e, i, o, ö, u, ü.

Consonants: b, ch, d, g, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, t.

These signs have their German sounds, except as indicated in a subjoined list of *Abweichungen* which I here summarize:

(a) *eu* is not a diphthong, the two vowels being distinctly pronounced, *e. g.*, *pegéu* 'courageous'.

(b) *óa* is nearly equivalent to *a* in Eng. *all*, *e. g.*, *togóal* 'tobacco'. In *oá* the vowels are pronounced separately, *soók*, 'my will'.

(c) Vocalic doubling indicates lengthening only, as in Ger. *Saal*, *e. g.*, *diil* 'abdomen'.

(d) *ch* as in Ger. *suchen*, *e. g.*, *chútem* 'land' (*k* or *c* in Keate).

(e) *d* final and preceding or following a consonant is a spirant similar to Eng. *th*, *e. g.*, *mad* 'to die', *dmak* 'together', and has a tendency to become this spirant in all positions. Keate wrote *th* everywhere, *e. g.*, *catheil* (Wall. *chadil*) 'mother', *thingaringer* (Wall. *dengerénger*) 'malicious, mischievous', *math* 'to die'. But it does not appear from either of these sources whether the spirant is surd, as in Eng. *thing* (Goth. *þ*), or sonant, as in Eng. *this* (Mod. Greek *ð*). Walleser says the Palau children often mispronounce it as *d* in positions where it should sound *th*. This would seem to point to the sonant spirant *ð*, as in *this*. On the other hand the *th* of Palau words

in Keate's vocabulary, collected 130 years ago, was probably understood by Captain Wilson and his officers as a voiceless spirant, at least when final, witness the spelling *cokeeth* (cf. *teeth*), and not *cokeethe* (cf. *teethe*); *outh* (cf. Eng. *uncouth*, *th* = *p*), and not *outhe* (cf. Eng. *soothe*, where *th* is sonant). Keate would have had no scruples in using final silent *e* to show the sonancy of *th* on the analogy of Eng. *teethe*, *soothe*, since he uses it elsewhere to assist in showing the pronunciation of a preceding consonant, e. g., in *yarse* 'sail' (Walleser *äars*) to show that the *s* is the surd sibilant, as in *sparse*, and not *z* as in Eng. *cars*, so *kouse* (Walleser *cháus*) 'lime'. The sound doubtless has changed somewhat since Wilson's discovery of the islands, and probably, as is true of the labial and palatal stops in Palau, is pronounced now as a surd, now as a sonant.

(f) *ng* = *ñ* (*ng* in Eng. *singer*, never as in Eng. *finger*)<sup>1</sup>.

(g) *s* as in German; but W. does not say whether it is the surd sibilant as in *es ist*, or the sonant *z* sound of *diese sind*, or whether it is sometimes the one and sometimes the other according to position, as in German. It is, however, presumably the surd. That is certainly the pronunciation of Wilson's Palau islanders, since Keate nowhere writes a *z* in his vocabulary, but frequently writes *ss* to show that the *s* has not the sonant sound, as in *oyless* 'knife'. When preceding or following *u* or following *ll*, *s* approaches the sound of *sh*, e. g., *ousesuáu* 'to whistle', *gedólls* 'corpulent', cf. Eng. *sure*, *sugar*.

(h) Doubling of a consonant indicates a long single consonant, as in Italian, e. g., *mellómes* 'bright' (cf. Ital. *bello*).

(i) Unaccented vowels are as a rule so indistinctly pronounced as to lose their distinctive character.

(j) It is often difficult to distinguish the sonants *b* and *g* from their corresponding surds *p* and *k*. This is at once seen by comparing the vocabularies of Walleser and Keate. For 'sleeping mat or cover' the former has *bar*, the latter *parr*, and conversely, Walleser gives the word for 'star' as a *pduch*, while Keate spells it *abbthduk*.

So great have been the changes in the phonological develop-

<sup>1</sup> In all non-Palau examples I write *ñ*, while leaving Walleser's *ng* unchanged. Had I changed his orthography in this case it would have been necessary to make other changes for the sake of consistency, e. g., *ī* for *ii*, *χ* for *ch*, and this, for various reasons, I have not considered advisable.

ment of the Palau language from the primitive Indonesian speech that the appearance of most Palau words gives no clue to their original forms. In the case of some half dozen words like Pal. *mad* (IN *matai*) 'die', and Pal. *kid* (IN *kita*) 'we' (inclusive), the relation is sufficiently apparent, but no one would at first sight suspect the IN origin of Pal. *gall* 'food', though it is identical with Tag. *kanin*, Bis. *kan'on*. So with Pal. *děi* (IN *tělu*) 'three', *chad* (IN *atai*) 'liver', *diil* (IN *tian*) 'abdomen', *ngau* (IN *api*, *api*) 'fire'.

4. *Erosion of unaccented vowels*.—In contrast with the erosion of consonants and preservation of vowels which is characteristic of the Polynesian languages, Palau, like many other Micronesian—and Melanesian—languages, suffers a weakening and loss of unaccented vowels, while it preserves *all* the consonants of the IN prototypes, though these have, of course, been changed in character as detailed below. In this latter respect the other Micronesian and the Melanesian languages differ from Palau in that they generally lose at least one of two or more consonants in a word. The whole matter may well be illustrated by IN *ikan* 'fish', as it develops in various Oceanic territories. In Hawaiian and Tahitian *ia* both consonants are lost. In Samoan *i'a* a trace of the *k* is left in the *hamza* or glottal stop. Fiji *ika* loses only the final *n*, while the latter half of the word is lost in Marshall *iek*, and Central Carolinian *ik*. Palau, on the other hand, preserves all the consonantal elements of *ikan* in the form *ngigel*, where IN *n* regularly becomes *l*. The *e* is a weak, colorless vowel serving as a glide between *g* and *l*. Another example is IN *manuk* 'bird, fowl', Palau *malk*, but Cent. Car. *mān*, Polyn. *manu*.

Indonesian final vowels and diphthongs, if unaccented in Palau, are regularly lost, e. g., IN *batu*: Pal. *bad* 'stone'; IN *mata* 'eye' and *matai* 'die' both become Pal. *mad*; IN *atai*: Pal. *chad* 'liver'; Bisaya *babau*: Pal. *bab* 'over, above'.

Unaccented vowels in final syllables ending in a consonant are either lost entirely or retained as a weak, colorless vowel like the Javanese *pepet*, e. g., IN *anak*: Pal. *ngalk* 'son, daughter'; IN *manuk*: Pal. *malk* 'bird, fowl'; Philip. *danum*: Pal. *ralm* 'water'; Tag., Bis. *dagum*: Pal. *rasm* 'needle'; Tag. *takut*: Pal. *dakt* 'fear'; IN *timur*, *timug*: Pal. *dims* 'east, south'; IN *ikan*: Pal. *ngigel* 'fish'; IN *bulan*: Pal. *büiel* 'moon'; IN *langit*: Pal. *eúnged* 'sky'. But an original *pepet* is regularly retained, e. g.,

Philip. *inumēn*: Pal. *ilūmel* 'drink' (subst.); IN *nīpēn*: Pal. *uīngel* 'tooth'; IN *tarēm*, *talēm*, *tadēm*: Pal. (*ke*)*dórem* 'sharp'; IN *dēngēr*, *dēngēg*, *dēngēh*: Pal. (*o*)*rēnges* 'hear'; IN *dēkēt*: Pal. *rēged* 'stick, cleave'. Likewise paroxytones ending in *a* + *hamza* retain the unaccented *a* of the ultima, e. g., Mal. *darah*: Pal. *rāsach* 'blood'; Mal. *nanah*: Pal. *lālach* 'pus'. For *hamza* in Pal. see 17.

5. *Accented vowels*.—Indonesian vowels that bear the accent in Palau regularly remain unchanged, e. g., IN *mata*: Pal. *mad*; IN *buña*: Pal. *bung* 'flower'; Tagalog *sínag*: Pal. *sils* 'rays of sun'; IN *dēkēt*: Pal. *rēged* 'stick, cleave'; IN *ikan*: Pal. *ngigel*; IN *bulan*: Pal. *búiel*; IN *nana*: Pal. *lālach* 'pus'.

6. *Extent of consonantal change in Palau*.—Only two primitive consonantal sounds have remained entirely unaffected in Palau. These are *m* and the velar nasal *ŋ*, e. g., IN *mata*, *timur* (*-g*, *-h*), *danum*: Pal. *mad*, *dims*, *ralm*; IN *nīpen*, *lanit*, *buña*: Pal. *uīngel* (with metath.), *eānged*, *bung*.

Few, if any, languages of the entire Austronesian speech territory present such sweeping consonantal changes as we find here. This phenomenon, together with the further fact that all the original consonants are retained in some form, gives the Palau language a unique appearance as compared with its Oceanic neighbors. A most striking effect of this retention of consonants together with the loss of unaccented vowels is the multiplication of consonant combinations that look decidedly out of place in an Austronesian language, e. g., *bdibd*, *bldukl*, *bltkill*, *gsóus*, *klmúdel*, *klsakl*, *kdgmal*, *lmatk*, *pduch*, *tknged*, *tngmutk*.

7. *Indonesian k*.—Original *k* is sounded in Palau now as *k*, e. g., IN *kita*: Pal. *kid* 'we'; IN *tēkēn*: Pal. *dékel* 'pole'; IN *manuk*: Pal. *malk* 'fowl'; and now as *g*, e. g., IN *kutu*: Pal. *gud* 'louse'; IN *dēkēt*: Pal. *rēged* 'stick, cleave'; IN *ikan*: Pal. *ngigel* 'fish'; IN *kayu*: Pal. *gar* 'tree, wood'. But the distinction between the surd and the sonant (*k* and *g*), as in the case of *p* and *b*, is vague and uncertain.

8. *Indonesian t*.—Original *t* becomes the sound written *d* by Wallaser. It often is a spirant, probably the *th* in *then* (see above 3e).

	<i>Indonesian</i>	<i>Palau</i>	<i>Meaning in Palau</i>
Mal.	timur 'East'	dims	'South'
Bisaya	túlug 'to sleep'	durs	'sleep' (subst.)
Bisaya	tá'i	dach	'excrement'
Phil.	tian	diil	'abdomen'
Bis.	talúm, tarúm	(ke)dórem	'sharp'
	těkěn	dékel	'pole'
	talína	ding	'ear'
	tělu	(o)déi	'three'
	takut	dakt	'fear'
	atěp	chádou	'roof, thatched covering'
	batu	bad	'stone'
	pitu	uid	'seven'
	kutu	gud	'louse'
	kita	kid	'we' (inclusive)
	mata	mad	'eye'
	matai	mad	'die'
	atai	chad	'liver'
	lañit	eanged	'sky'
	děkět	réged	'stick, cleave'
	urat, ugat, uhat	ngurd	'vein, sinew'
Mal.	pahit, Tag. pa'it	(me)chuáched	'bitter'

Note: The original final *t* in Pal. *dakt* (IN *takut*) is preserved by surd assimilation to the preceding *k* (see below 19a).

9. *Indonesian p*.—Original *p* becomes *u*, which is blended with a following accented *u*.

	<i>Indonesian</i>	<i>Palau</i>	<i>Meaning in Palau</i>
	pa'a, Mal. paha	uách	'leg'
	pitu	uid	'seven'
	pa'it, Mal. pahit	(me)chuáched	'bitter'
Bis.	puhun	uchúl	'trunk, beginning, origin'
	puki	ukí(k)	'vulva'
	pukět	úked	'long sea-net'
	pusěr (-d)	údes	'navel'
	ěpat	oáng	'four'
	'apur (-g, -h)	cháus	'lime'
	apui	ngau	'fire'
	'atěp	chádou	'roof'
	nipěn	uíngel	'tooth'

The *ch* in the words of the table represents an older *hamza* (see below 17).

*Cháus* and *ngau* do not exemplify a blending of *u* (<*p*) with the original *u* of *apur* and *apui*, but a loss of the (in Palau) unaccented vowel (see above 4) and the regular development of *p* to *u*. The same is true of the unaccented initial *u* of *uchúl* (<*pu'un*, Bis. *puhun*) and *ukí(k)* (<*puki*).

In *oáng* (<*épat*) and *chádou* (<*atép*) the obscure *pepet* has been partially assimilated to the following *u* (<*p*), which itself is reduced to a semivowel or mere glide in *oáng* and hence does not appear in the orthography.

In *uínge* (<*nipén*) we have manifestly a case of metathesis for \**ngiuel*, but not in *údes* (<*pusér*, *puséd*), where IN *s* regularly becomes *t* in Pal. (see below 13) and then tends to become the sonant *d*, while the final *s* goes back to a special type of the RLD consonant (see below 16b).

10. *Indonesian b*.—Original *b* wavers in Palau between *b* and *p*. Walleser gives *b* in many words where Keate and (particularly) Gabelentz and Meyer, quoting Semper<sup>1</sup>, write *p*, e. g., IN *batu*: Pal. (Wall.) *bad* (Semper) *pad* 'stone'; IN *bulan*: Pal. (Wall.) *búiel* (Keate) *pooyeer* 'moon'. Less commonly the reverse is the case, e. g., IN *bitu(ěn)*: Pal. (Wall.) *a pduch* (Keate) *a-bbthduk* 'star'.

	<i>Indonesian</i>	<i>Palau</i>	<i>Meaning in Palau</i>
	<i>babui</i>	<i>bábi</i>	'swine'
Bis.	<i>ibabau</i>	<i>bab</i>	'over, above'
	<i>běnua</i> 'country'	<i>belú</i>	'village'
	<i>batu</i>	<i>bad</i>	'stone'
	<i>balai</i>	<i>blai</i>	'house'
	<i>bau, bahu</i>	<i>bau</i>	'odor'
	<i>bara, бага, baha</i>	<i>bas</i>	'charcoal'
	<i>bulan</i>	<i>búiel</i>	'moon'
Bis.	<i>bukid, Mal. bukit</i>	<i>búkel</i>	'hill, mountain'
	<i>buña</i>	<i>bung</i>	'flower'
	<i>běras, bėgas, bėhas</i>	<i>bras (borr.?)</i>	'rice'
	<i>rěba', gěba', hěba'</i>	<i>sibech</i>	'tear down'
	<i>'uban</i>	<i>chebál</i>	'gray hair'
Phil.	<i>ibėg</i>	<i>nguibes</i>	'desire'
	<i>abarat, -g-, -h-</i>	<i>ngobárd</i>	'West'
	<i>těbu</i>	<i>teb (dep Semper)</i>	'sugarcane'

<sup>1</sup> C. Semper, "Über die Palausprache" in *Korrespondenzblatt der deutschen Gesellschaft f. Anthr., Ethnol. u. Urgesch.* 1871, pp. 63-66.



<i>Indonesian</i>	<i>Palau</i>	<i>Meaning in Palau</i>
buku	puk	'knuckle'
bitu(ĕn)	pduch	'star'
bulu	pŭi	'hair (pubic)'

11. *Indonesian n.*—Original *n* becomes *l* regularly in Palau.

	<i>Indonesian</i>	<i>Palau</i>	<i>Meaning in Palau</i>
	nana'	lálach	'pus'
	nara, naga, naha	las	'nara' (a redwood tree)
	niur, niug, niuh	lius	'coconut'
	minum	melím	'to drink'
	inumĕn, Bis. imnun	ilúmel	'drink' (subst.)
	minatai	mlad	'dead'
	anak	ngalk	'son, daughter'
	manuk	malk	'fowl'
	danum, r-, l-,	ralm	'water'
Tag.	sinag	sils	'sun'
	tanĕm	dálem	'to plant'
	tina'i	delách	'intestines'
	bĕnua	beíú	'village'
	anai	ngal	'white ant'
	kanĕn	gall	'food'
	ina, Fiji tina	chadil	'mother'
	ĕnĕm	malóng	'six'
	bulan	búiel	'moon'
	tian	diil (pr. díl)	'abdomen'
	ikan	ngígel	'fish'
	daían, ralan, lalan	ráel	'way'
Mal.	huján, Bis. ulan	chull (<churl)	'rain'
	tĕkĕn	dékel	'pole, pike'
	pu'un, Bis. puhun	uchúl	'trunk (tree), origin'
Mal.	dahan	ráchel	'branch'
Mal.	huban	chebál	'gray hair'
	-na	-(e)l	'his, her, its'

12. *Indonesian l.*—Original *l* (not to be confused with the *l* of the RLD series) becomes *i* (*e*), with a tendency to weaken to the semivowel *y* before vowels. It is absorbed by a following original *i*, if this is accented in Palau.

	Indonesian	Palau	Meaning in Palau
	lanit	eánged (yangeth S.)	'sky'
	layar, -g, -h	eárs (yarse K.)	'sail'
Maloh	lalas	eáes	'house fly'
	lima	im <*iim	'five'
	dalan, ralan	ráel	'way'
	bulan	búiel	'moon'
Phil.	ulěg	ngúüs <*ngúis	'snake'
	taliña	díng <*diing	'ear'
	bulu	púi	'hair (pubic)'
	tělu	déi	'three'
	walu	iái	'eight'
Tag.	labi	bei	'more'

In the last example *lābi* > *bāli* > *bal* > *bai* > *bei*.

13. *Indonesian s*.—Original *s* regularly appears in Palau as *t*.

	Indonesian	Palau	Meaning in Palau
	ěsa, sa	tang	'one'
	sakai	tak	'to load on vehicle'
	p-in-ěsa	ulét	'prest out'
Phil.	asu	chat	'smoke'
	susu	tut	'uber'
	siu	tiu	'nine'
Tag. Bis.	sila (l < RLD)	tir	'they'

In *IN pinesa* the unaccented vowels *i* and *a* are lost, *p* becoming *u* and *n* becoming *l*, giving *ulét* by regular process.

14. *Indonesian y*.—Original *y* becomes *r*.

	Indonesian	Palau	Meaning in Palau
	'ayam	cháram	'animal'
	layar, layag	eárs	'sail'
	kayu	gerregár	'wood, tree'

*Gerregár* is from the reduplicated *kayukáyu* and is written *garagar* by Keate and *kirkar* by Semper. Keate gives the simple *gar* as meaning 'fire', cf. Bis. *kalayu* 'fire'.

15. *Indonesian RGH Consonant*.—The RGH consonant is regularly represented in Palau by *s*.

<i>Indonesian</i>	<i>Palau</i>	<i>Meaning in Palau</i>
Phil. gākēt	sakt	'to tie'
Phil. gēba	síbech	'tear down'
Tag. gónot 'black oakum'	suld	'oakum'
Bis. bága 'ember'	bas	'coal'
Mal. darah	rásach	'blood'
Bis. dágum	rasm	'needle'
Bis. nága	las	'nara (tree)'
Bik. dúgi	rus	'spine, thorn'
Phil. apug	cháus	'quicklime'
Phil. niug	lius	'coconut'
layar, layag, layah	eárs	'sail'
Bis. tulug, turug	durs	'sleep'
Mal. timur, Bis. timug 'East'	dims	'South'
Mal. deñar, Tag. dinig	rénges	'hear'
Tag. sínag	sils	'sun'
Phil. ulěg	ngúüs	'snake'
Phil. iběg	nguibes	'desire'

16. *Indonesian RLD Consonant*.—The RLD consonant regularly appears as *r*, except in the type represented by Jav. *pari*: Tag. *pálai*: Mal. *padi*: Toba Bat. *page*, Pangasinan *pagéi* 'unhulled rice', which we may for convenience call the *g*-type, where Palau, like certain other languages of Austronesia, *e. g.*, Manggara and Samoan, has *s*.

(a) *RLD, except g-type.*

<i>Indonesian</i>	<i>Palau</i>	<i>Meaning in Palau</i>
Phil. danum, ranum	ralm	'water'
Phil. dalan, ralan	ráel	'way'
Bis. dagum	rasm	'needle'
Mal. darah	rásach	'blood'
Mal. dahan	ráchel	'branch'
dua, rua, lua	o-rúng	'two'
Mal. duri, Bkl. dúgi	rus	'spine, thorn'
Phil. děkět	réged	'stick, cleave'
Phil. děňěg	rénges	'hear'
Bis. túlug, túrug, Mal. tidor	durs	'sleep'
Phil. sira, sila, sida	tir	'they'
tarěm, talěm, taděm	dórem	'sharp'

(b) *RLD, g-type.*

Indonesian	Palau	Meaning in Palau
Jav. iruñ, Tag. iluñ, Čam iduñ, Karo, } Toba, Ibanak, iguñ, Iloko agoñ	isng-ék	'nose'
Bulu apěru, Mal. hampědu, Toba pogu	choás	'gall'
Jav. pusěr, Formosan pusol, Tag. pusod, } Pangas., Iloko puseg	údes	'navel'

In Palau *isngék*, the final syllable is the possessive 'my'. Without suffix, the velar nasal *ñ* (*ng*) is lost, giving *is*. With *isngék* compare the *s* of Manggara and Samoan *isu* 'nose'.

17. *The Glottal Stop or Hamza.*—The glottal stop appears as *χ* (*ch* in Walleser) in all positions, initial, medial, and final.

Indonesian	Palau	Meaning in Palau
Mal. ayam 'fowl'	cháram	'animal'
Mal. hapur	chaus	'lime'
Mal. hati, Magindanao hatai	chad	'liver'
Mal. huban, uban	chebál	'gray hair'
Mal. hujan, Tag. ulan	chull	'rain'
Mal. dahan	ráchel	'branch'
Mal. paha, Bis. pa'a	uách	'thigh'
Mal. tahi, Bis. ta'i	dach	'excrement'
Phil. mapa'it	mechuáched	'bitter'
Bis. puhun	uchúl	'trunk, origin'
Mal. darah	rásach	'blood'
Mhl. nanah	lálach	'pus'
Mal. rebah	sibech	'tear down'
Phil. bitu'(ěn)	pduch	'star'

18. *Excrescent initial ñ (ng).*—As a rule words which in Indonesian begin with a vowel, not preceded by initial *hamza*, prefix an inorganic *ñ* (*ng*) in Palau. Where initial vowels appear in Palau these are, in most cases, from original *l* (>*i* or *e*) or *p* (>*u* or *o*), e. g., IN *lañit*: Pal. *eáñged*; IN *pu'un*: Pal. *uchúl*.

Indonesian	Palau	Meaning in Palau
anai	ngal	'white ant'
apui	ngau	'fire'
anak	ngalk	'son, daughter'
Phil. abagat 'South, Southwest'	ngobárd	'West'

Indonesian	Palau	Meaning in Palau
ikan	ngigel	'fish'
Phil. ibĕg	nguibes	'desire'
urat, ugat, uhat	ngurd	'vein, sinew'
Phil. ulĕg	ngütüs	'snake'
aku	ngak	'I'
ia	ngi	'he, she, it'

This inorganic *n* appears, but with less regularity, in several other Oceanic languages. It is often prefixed to the first personal pronoun, as in Ponape *nai* 'I', where IN *aku* is reduced to *ai* by loss of *u* and weakening of *k*.

19. *Special treatment in sandhi*.—(a) *Retention of original t*. IN *t*, which regularly becomes *d* (*th*) in Palau (see 8), remains unchanged when immediately preceded by *k* after Palau loss of the unaccented vowel that originally intervened, e. g., the final *t* of IN *takut*: Palau *dakt* 'fear'; Phil. *gakĕt*: Palau *sakt* 'tie, bind, string for binding'.

(b) *Retention of original l*. IN *l*, which regularly becomes *i* (*e*), in Palau (see 12), is retained when brought into contact with a preceding *b* by loss of an unaccented intervening vowel, e. g., Palau *blai* (IN *balai*) 'house'.

(c) *RGH consonant appears as r*. The RGH consonant regularly appears as *s* (see 15). But when immediately following initial *b*, (*p*), or immediately preceding final (Palau) *d* or *t*, it appears as *r*, e. g., Phil. *bĕgat*: Pal. *praud* (Semper), *berräod* (Wall.); IN *urat, ugat, uhat*: Pal. *ngurd* 'vein, sinew'; Bis. *habagat* 'Southwest': Pal. *ngobárd* 'West'; IN *ratus, gatus*: Pal. *dart* 'hundred' from the metathesized *\*tarus, \*tagus*, where the initial *t* > *d* and the final *s* > *t* by regular process. Metathesis in this word is not infrequent in other languages, e. g., Iloko and Kankanai *gasut*, Bontok *lasot*, Ginaan, Tingyan *kasut*.

(d) *Assimilation of liquids*. Palau *rl* and *lr* always suffer assimilation, becoming either *ll*, as in Pal. *chull* < *\*churl* (IN *'uran, 'ulan, 'udan*) 'rain, or *rr*, as in Pal. *merráder* < *\*melrader*, pret. of the verb *meráder* 'accompany' formed by the infix *l* (IN *in*), cf. Pal. *mlad* (IN *m-in-atai*) 'dead'. This assimilation of *l* to an adjacent *r* in the verb is pointed out by Walleser<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Grammatik*, p. 138.

20. *Recapitulation*.—(a) Final vowels and diphthongs, if unaccented in Palau, are lost: IN *mata* 'eye' and *matai* 'die': Pal. *mad* (4).

(b) The vowel of a final syllable ending in a consonant, if unaccented in Palau, is either lost: IN *manuk*: Pal. *mall*, or weakened to a colorless vowel (pepet): IN *bulan*: Pal. *búiel* (4).

(c) Original vowels which bear the accent in Palau remain unchanged: IN *bulan*: Pal. *búiel* (5).

(d) Original *k* remains or becomes *g*: IN *kita*: Pal. *kid*, IN *kutu*: Pal. *gud* (7).

(e) Original *t* becomes *d* (sometimes spirant): IN *mata*: Pal. *mad* (8), or remains unchanged: IN *takut*: Pal. *dakt* (19a).

(f) Original *p* becomes *u*: IN *pitu*: Pal. *uid* (9).

(g) Original *b* remains unchanged: IN *batu*: Pal. *bad*, or becomes *p*: IN *bulu*: Pal. *púi* (10).

(h) Original *n* becomes *l*: Mal. *nanah*: Pal. *lálach* (11).

(i) Original *l* becomes *i* (e): IN *bulu*: Pal. *púi* (12), or remains unchanged (after *b*, 19b), or becomes *r* by assimilation (19d).

(j) Original *s* becomes *t*: IN *susu*: Pal. *tut* (13).

(k) Original *y* becomes *r*: IN *layar*, *layag*: Pal. *ears* (14).

(l) The RGH consonant becomes *s*: Phil. *gakět*: Pal. *sakt* (15), or *r* before final (Palau) *d* or *t*: IN *urat*, *ugat*, *what*: Pal. *ngurd* (19c).

(m) The RLD consonant becomes *r*: Phil. *danum*: Pal. *ralm* (16a), or *s*: Jav. *iruñ*, Čam *iduñ*: Pal. *isng-ék* (16b), or *l* by assimilation (19d).

(n) The *hamza* becomes *ch* (i. e.,  $\chi$ ): Mal. *hati*: Pal. *chad* (17).

(o) Words beginning with a vowel prefix the velar nasal *ñ*: IN *anak*: Pal. *ngalk* (18).

## 21. *Origin of individual Palau sounds.*

Palau	Indonesian	Examples
a (accented)	a	mad < IN mata (4)
a (unaccented)	a	lálach: Mal. nanah (4)
e (accented)	ě	réged: Phil. děkět (5)
e (unaccented)	any vowel or l	búiel: bulan; eánged: IN lañit (4 and 12)

<i>Palau</i>	<i>Indonesian</i>	<i>Examples</i>
i (accented)	i	kid: IN kita (5)
i (unaccented)	l	púi: IN bulu (12)
u (accented)	u	púi: IN bulu (5)
u (unaccented)	p	uíd: IN pitu (9)
o	any vowel	(see below)
k	k	kid: IN kita (7)
g	k	gud: IN kutu (7)
t	s (t after k)	tut: IN susu (13); dakt: IN takut (19a)
d	t	mad: IN matai (8)
p	b	púi: IN bulu (10)
b	b	búiel: IN bulan (10)
ñ (ng)	ñ	bung: IN buña (6)
ñ (ng) <i>excrecent</i>		ngigel: IN ikan (18)
m	m	mad: IN matai (6)
r	RLD	ralm: danum, ranum (16)
	RGH (sandhi)	ngurd: IN urat, ugat, uhat (19c)
	n > l in Pal.	merráder < *melráder (19d)
l	n	lálach: IN nana' (11)
	RLD (Pal. r)	chull < *churl: Phil. ulan, uran (19d)
	l (after b)	blai: IN balai (19b)
s	RGH	sakt: Phil. gakět (15)
	RLD (g-type)	isngék: Jav. iruñ, Ibanak iguñ (16b)
	s (sporad.)	sils: Tag. sinag; bras: Mal. bēras
ch ( <i>i. e.</i> , χ)	hamza	chad: Mal. hati (17)

Pal. *o* is a secondary sound of varied origin. In unaccented syllables it may represent any IN vowel, like *e* (see 4), and assumes its quality under the influence of surrounding sounds, *e. g.*, Pal. *ngobárd*: IN *abarat*, *abagat*, *abahat*; Pal. *chádou*: IN *atěp*, where *ěp* > *eu* > *ou*, cf. for Indo-European the Lat. *ou* < *eu* in OLat. *douco* < \**deuco*, Goth. *tiuhan*; Pal. vbl. prefix *o*: IN *pa*, *e. g.*, Pal. *orénges*: Phil. *paděñg* 'hear, cause to hear', the stages of change being *pa* > *ue* > *uo* > *wo* > *o*. Here again the Latin has a parallel development in *soror* < \**sűesōr*, Skt. *svásar-*. Pal. *koád* < \**kapátai* (fr. IN *patai*) has its *o* from *ap* > *eu* > *ou* > *ow* > *o* with loss of the semivowel glide *w* (*u*) before the vowel *a*. This *koád* is stereotyped and treated as a

root in Pal. in the sense of 'kill', and takes all the prefixes, infixes, and suffixes that a simple root assumes, *e. g.*, *omekoád*, where the prefixed element is IN *pama* or *pěmě*. Were we permitted to reconstruct the word in its entirety it would give, then, the form *\*pamakapátai*. This analysis is instructive as showing the continued use of formative elements attached to petrified complexes whose original composition has been lost sight of by vocalic erosion and consonantal change.

Pal. *kodáll* 'death' is from the same *koád*, which loses its *a* when the accent is shifted to the following syllable. The whole word represents a hypothetical IN *\*kapatáyan* > *\*keuedárl* > *\*kowodárl* > *\*kodall*, where *y* regularly becomes Pal. *r* (14) and is then assimilated to the adjacent *l* (19d).

Pal. accented *o* may result, either from a rounding of original *a*<sup>1</sup>, as in *dórem* < IN *tarēm*, *talēm*, *tadēm* 'sharp', or from *pá* or *áp*, as in *reóngel* (= *reó-ng-el* with the poss. suffix *el* < IN *na* 'his, her, its' and the excrescent *ng* as connective), where *reó* is from IN *rěpa*, *lěpa*, *děpa* 'fathom', the development being *repá* > *reuá* > *reuó* > *reuwó* > *reó*.

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<sup>1</sup> For the independent rounding of original *a* in Indonesian languages, compare the final vowel of Jav. *limá* and Tirurai *limo*: IN *lima*, where the sound is close to that of Ger. *o* in *hoffen* or Fr. *o* in *école*. Cf. Conant, *Notes on the phonology of the Tirurai language*, JAOS, Vol. xxxiii (1913), p. 150.