

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)	<i>Abstract Noun</i>	<i>Related State Verb</i> (Verb Marker + Bound Stem)
	klengit 'sin'	mekngit 'bad'
	klisiich 'strength'	mesisiich 'strong'
	klengaked 'thinness'	mesengaked 'thin'
	kleald 'heat'	mekeald 'hot'
	kerrasem 'cold, chills'	mekerasem '(person) cold, chilly'
	kerreos 'hoarding'	mekreos 'hoarded, valuable'
	cheliuaiu 'sleep'	mechiuaiu '(be) asleep'
	chelsea '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<br>a kldung.                          | 'In earlier times there were many<br>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<br>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<br>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)	<i>Abstract Noun</i>	<i>Related Reciprocal Verb</i>
	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'
	klaubetikerrang 'mutual concern/ affection'	kaubetikerrang '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 abstract reciprocal nouns are *unpossessible*:

- |         |  |   |
|---------|--|---|
| (16) a. | Tia el klasoes er kid a di me<br>er a elechang, e merkong. | 'Our relationship has reached<br>this point and is now over.'             |
| b.      | Ng kmal ungil a klaingeseu<br>er a rechad er se el beluu.  | 'The mutual assistance among the<br>people of that village is very nice.' |
| c.      | Ng kmal mle ungil a klaubuch<br>er tir.                    | 'They had an excellent marriage.'   |
| d.      | A klaubetikerrang er a Yosko<br>me a Toki a kmal ungil.    | 'The mutual concern between Yosko<br>and Toki is wonderful.'              |
| e.      | A kesus e ng mla er ngii a<br>klaload er a medal a skuul.  | 'Last night there was a fight in front<br>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)	<i>Abstract Noun</i>	<i>Related Simple State Verb</i>
	klekekerei 'smallness'	kekerei 'small'
	klungiaol 'goodness, benefit'	ungil 'good'
	klengeasek 'youth'	ngeasek 'young'
	kldachelbai 'skill'	dachelbai 'skillful'
	ksengerenger 'hunger'	songerenger 'hungry'
	kldiull 'pregnancy'	dioll 'pregnant'
	klengtengat '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., *klemarang* '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)	<i>Abstract Noun</i>	<i>Related Noun</i>
	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      'Studying Japanese will be to your  
a mo klungiolem.      benefit.'
- b. Ng ua ngara a klemedenge er      'How is your knowledge of math?'  
kau er a ochur?
- c. A klengeltengetek, e ng mlo      'I had the good fortune to be able  
sebechek el mo er a Siabal.      to go to Japan.'
- d. Elecha el taem e ng kmal      'These days life is very difficult.'  
meringel a klechad.
- e. A kltoktang a diak lekirem      'Being a doctor is not a job suited  
el ureor.      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)	<i>Instrument Noun</i>	<i>Related Transitive Action Verb</i> (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)	<i>Instrument Noun</i>	<i>Related Transitive Action Verb</i> (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)	<i>Action Noun</i> (“action of...”)	<i>Related Transitive Action Verb</i> (Imperfective Form)
	omeluches ‘writing’	meluches ‘to write’
	omelim ‘drinking’	melim ‘to drink’
	omenga ‘eating’	menga ‘to eat’
	omesuub ‘studying’	mesuub ‘to study’

(23)	<i>Action Noun</i> ("action of...")	<i>Related Intransitive Action Verb</i> (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 *infix* 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<br>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<br>er a Merikel?        | 'Was your trip to America good?'                |
|      | d. Ng kmal chetimam a omelim<br>el rrom.                 | 'We (excl.) really dislike drinking<br>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) baeb*: *rael* 'road, way', *baeb* '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:

<b>PALAUAN COMPLEX NOUNS</b>	
<i>Type</i>	<i>Examples</i>
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 <i>kl(e)-</i>	
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	kaiuiiul

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

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## 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) <i>Causative Verb</i>	<i>Related State Verb</i>
omekdechör 'to make...stand, build'	dechör '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., *dechör*, *beches*), the causative prefix is merely attached to it (e.g., *omekdechör*, *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 "omekkmard", 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) <i>Causative Verb</i>	<i>Related State Verb</i>
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) <i>Causative Verb</i>	<i>Related Intransitive Action Verb</i>
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'
olèchiis '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 infix 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 ( <i>klengoes</i> )'	daob 'salt water, ocean'
omdai 'to pull in (rope, fishing line, etc.)'	dai 'tightness or pull of rope'
omdoim 'to add <i>odoim</i> to ( <i>ongraol</i> )'	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 rekrankodang a mla omekikiongell er a beluu. ‘The tourists have gotten the area dirty.’  
 c. Ng sebecchem 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 ulemekdechur 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 lsebecchem 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 *ulemekdech* (from *omekdech*) in (10c), *ullekeed* (from *olekeed*) in (10h), and *ulerrebet* (from *orrebet*) in (10i). Finally, to express the *recent past tense*, we use the auxiliary *m̄la* 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      ‘Droteo is guiding his child towards  
el mo er a ungil el klechad.                  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 *infix 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 *mengemehii*, *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 *mia* is added (e.g., *mia 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*

<i>Present Tense</i>		<i>Past Tense</i>	
<i>sg.</i>	<i>nonhum. pl.</i>	<i>sg.</i>	<i>nonhum. pl.</i>
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*

<i>Present Tense</i>		<i>Past Tense</i>	
<i>sg.</i>	<i>nonhum. pl.</i>	<i>sg.</i>	<i>nonhum. pl.</i>
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) <i>Resulting State Verb</i>	<i>Causative Verb</i> (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*: *-(ε)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) <i>Expected State Verb</i>	<i>Causative Verb</i> (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’	omrachim ‘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)	<i>Complex Noun</i> (=Expected State Verb)	<i>Causative Verb</i> (in Imperfective Form)
	ukiill ‘anything that must be avoided’	omekiaia ‘to abstain from, avoid’
	ocheraol ‘money-raising party’	omechar ‘to buy’
(20)	<i>Complex Noun</i> (=Resulting State Verb)	<i>Causative Verb</i> (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)	<i>Imperfective</i>	<i>Perfective</i>
	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 urterertii, 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, *orrenge*s 'to hear, listen to' has perfective forms of the regular (i.e., noncausative) type, with the infix verb marker *-o-* or *-em-* (i.e., *rongsii*, *remenges*). Similarly, *olengeseu* 'to help' also has the infix 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 renglekek 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)	<i>Causative Verb</i>	<i>Basic Form</i>
	omekdakt 'to frighten'	mukdakt 'get frightened'
	omekdechur 'to make...stand'	mukdechur '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)	<i>Causative Verb</i>	<i>Basic Form</i>
	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 lomestikiongel er a kederang. | ‘My friends were not messing up the beach.’  |
| b.      | Ng diak kumengamech er a rengelekek er a dekol.     | ‘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
<i>omek-</i>	omekdakt, omekdechok, omekkeches
<i>ome-</i>	omekard, omekikiongel, omeka
<i>om-</i>	omdaob, omcheled, omngakl
<i>ole-</i>	olengesenges, olekeed, olekiis
<i>ol-</i>	oldak, oltohed, olseked
<i>or-</i>	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,
- indicate which variant of the expected state suffix occurs;
  - 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:
- basic form (see 9.9);
  - resulting state form;
  - expected state form;
  - perfective forms with third person singular and third person nonhuman plural objects, in both the present and past tenses;
  - 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, 'Satsko is helping Toki,  
me a Toki a olengeseu er a Satsko. 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) <i>Reciprocal Verb</i>	<i>Related Causative Verb</i>
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'	orrengeles '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*

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (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<br>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 infix verb marker *-u-*).

**Note 2:** In addition to the reciprocal verb *herenges* '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)	<i>Reciprocal Verb</i>	<i>Related Causative Verb</i>
	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*, *lethem*, *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)	<i>Reciprocal Verb</i>	<i>Related Verb in ou-</i>	<i>Related Noun</i>
	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'

<i>Reciprocal Verb</i>	<i>Related Verb in ou-</i>	<i>Related Noun</i>
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)	<i>Reciprocal Verb</i>	<i>Related Transitive Action Verb</i> (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)	<i>Reciprocal Verb</i> (Reduplicated)	<i>Related Transitive</i> <i>Action Verb</i>
	kaSU <u>S</u> uub ‘to imitate e.o.’	mesuub ‘to study, imitate’
	kaSI <u>S</u> iik ‘to look for e.o.’	osiik ‘to look for’
	kaBE <u>B</u> oes ‘to shoot at e.o.’	omoes ‘to shoot’
	kaKER <u>K</u> er ‘to ask e.o.’	oker ‘to ask’
	kaDER <u>D</u> urech ‘to tell e.o. what to do’	oldurech ‘to tell (someone) what to do’
	kaiTI <u>T</u> ekangel, kauTI <u>T</u> ekangel ‘to argue with e.o.’	outekangel ‘to argue’
	kaiBER <u>B</u> Ebart ‘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)	<i>Reciprocal Verb</i>	<i>Related State Verb</i>
	kasiich 'to strengthen e.o.'	mesiiich '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 *mesiiich*, 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 *kadekdakt*, an extra syllable *-dek-* (based on the original stem *dakt*) has been added, while in *chachechei*, *kasiich*, 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 *chachededuch* 'to converse with each other' (cf. *chelcheduch* '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) <i>Complex Noun</i>	<i>Related Reciprocal Verb</i>
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<br>el mondai.                         | ‘We’ve got to talk with each other<br>about that problem.’            |
| b. A teru el chad a millim a rrom<br>e mlo chachelebed.                    | ‘The two men were drinking liquor<br>and started hitting each other.’ |
| c. A rengalek er a skuul me a beches<br>el sensei a mle kasoer er a kesus. | ‘The pupils and the new teacher<br>met each other last night.’        |
| d. Te mle kaodenge er se er a taem<br>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<br>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<br>a <i>babier</i> .   | ‘Kiosi and Hirosi are writing each other letters.’          |
| b. A rengelekek a blechoel el kerenges<br>a <i>tekingir</i> . | ‘My children always listen to/take advice from each other.’ |
| c. Aki mle kasoos a <i>chungam</i> .                          | ‘We saw each other’s shadows.’                              |
| d. A rechad er a beluu a keka a <i>kelir</i> .                | ‘The people of the village eat each other’s food.’          |
| e. A Toki me a Satsko a chachuiu<br>a <i>hong er tir</i> .    | ‘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 *mechiuau* ‘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 *mechiuau*, *remurt*, and *reborb*:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (21) a. Aki mle chachiuau er a chelsel<br>a blai.  | ‘We were all asleep inside the house.’                      |
| b. A rengalek a kaiderurt er a medal<br>a skuul.   | ‘The children are running together in front of the school.’ |
| c. A rubak a mle kadereborb er<br>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): *chachiuiu* ‘to sleep with each other (in the same room, etc.)’, *kaiderrurt* ‘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 *kaiderrurt* and *kadereborb*, we find an unusual “buffer” syllable *-de-* inserted between the reciprocal prefix and the stem. We also have the additional forms *kaididerrurt* (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. Kamonguiiu er tia el hong, e 'Read this book and let's see whether  
 desekau el kmo ke mo pass er or not you pass the test.'  
 a test ng diak.  
 b. Kalebo lemechiuaiu a Toki, e 'Let's have Toki go to bed and we'll  
 desa el kmo ng mo ungil el see whether or not she gets better.'  
 smecher ng diak.  
 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, chachededuch, 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**
- **Reduplication**
- **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 *hakeald* 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:
- two people are performing the same activity upon each other and affecting each other *directly*;
  - two people are performing the same kind of activity upon an external object but affecting each other only *indirectly*;
  - 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

- Write a grammatically correct Palauan sentence using the given reciprocal verb in the indicated tense. Then, translate each sentence into appropriate English:
  - kasmesumech* (past)
  - kaukedong* (recent past)
  - kaumekemad* (present)
  - chacherakl* (future)
  - kaiuiuid* (past)
- 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
- 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) <i>Original Word</i>	<i>Reduplicated Form</i>
bubong 'senile'	bebubong 'somewhat senile'
chuarm 'suffering'	chechuarm 'sort of suffering'
smecher 'sick'	sesmecher 'rather sick'
metitür 'not know'	metetitür '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) <i>Reduplicated State Verb</i>	<i>Related Action Verb</i>
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)	<i>Reciprocal Verb</i> (Reduplicated)	<i>Related Transitive Action Verb</i> (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)	<i>Reduplicated Form</i>	<i>Related Simple State Verb</i>
	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 سوالo. '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 <i>me-</i>
mekekekad 'kind of itchy'	mekekad 'itchy'
mesesulaul 'kind of sleepy'	mesulaul 'sleepy'
meteterkagl 'rather careless'	meterkagl 'careless'
mechechesang 'kind of busy'	mechesang 'busy'
mechecherocher 'rather salty'	mecherocher 'salty'
melililiut 'fairly thin'	meliliut 'thin'
mererur 'rather ashamed'	merur 'ashamed'
mededenge 'somewhat familiar with'	medenge 'to know'
metetitir 'rather unfamiliar with'	metitir '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)	<i>Reduplicated Form</i>	<i>Related State Verb in me-</i>
	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)	<i>Reduplicated Form</i>	<i>Related State Verb With Infixes Verb Marker</i>
	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 infix 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<br>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<br>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<br>e le ng mla mo diak a techellir a<br>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<br>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<br>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<br>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)	<i>Reduplicated Form</i>	<i>Related Derived State Verb</i>
	ngengtachel 'not well cleaned'	ngeltachel 'cleaned' (cf. imperfective <i>melatech</i> )
	ngenglemodel 'not well mopped'	nglemodel 'mopped' (cf. imperfective <i>melemed</i> )
	ngenglemull '(grass) not well cut'	nglemull '(grass) cut' (cf. imperfective <i>melaml</i> )

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)	<i>State Verb in beke-/seke-</i>	<i>Related Action or State Verb</i>
	bekesessel '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)	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Reduplicated Form</i></p> <p>bekekesius 'rather vulgar in speech'</p> <p>bekeketekoi 'rather talkative'</p> <p>bekekesengorech 'smell rather like a pig's house'</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Related State Verb in beke-</i></p> <p>bekesius 'vulgar in speech'</p> <p>beketekoi 'talkative'</p> <p>bekesengorech 'smell like a pig's house'</p>
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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)	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Reduplicated Form</i></p> <p>mekekerkar 'half awake'</p> <p>mededengedinges 'rather full'</p> <p>mererengerigel 'somewhat hard'</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Related State Verb in me-</i></p> <p>mekar 'awake'</p> <p>medinges 'full'</p> <p>meringel 'hard, difficult'</p>
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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 <i>me-</i>
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<br>mochu remei. | 'I'm rather tired, so (I guess) I'll be<br>going home.' |
| b. A ngelekek a mededekdakt a<br>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 *infix* verb marker, this marker reappears as the *prefix me-* in the corresponding reduplicated forms. Here is a representative list of reduplicated intransitive action verbs:

(16)	<i>Reduplicated Form</i>	<i>Intransitive Action Verb</i>
	mechechiis, mechichiis 'to keep avoiding, sneaking out'	chemiis 'to run away'
	meleluluut 'to keep returning'	lmuut 'to return'
	mererorael 'to walk aimlessly'	merael 'to walk'
	mesesilil 'to fool around'	milil 'to play'
	mererebebet '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 *meleluluut* and *mererorael*.

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 *mererebebet*, *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<br>mererebebet.            | ‘The coconuts keep falling./The<br>coconuts are falling one by one.’                                   |
| b. A rubak a di blechoel el<br>mererorael a leklebesei.  | ‘The old man is always wandering<br>around (aimlessly) at night.’                                      |
| c. A bechil a di mesesilil e a blai<br>a diak lekltmokl. | ‘His wife just fools around and the<br>house doesn’t get cleaned up.’                                  |
| d. Ak merael e ko er a di meleluluut<br>a renguk.        | ‘I’m leaving, but I really don’t feel like<br>leaving (i.e., my mind/spirit just<br>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*

mechechelebed 'easy to hit'  
mechechesimer 'easy to close'  
metetekoi 'easy to talk to'  
meseseseb 'easy to burn, flammable'  
metetemall 'easily broken'

*Related Basic Form*  
(of Transitive Action Verb)

mechelebed 'get hit'  
mechesimer 'get closed'  
metekoi 'get talked to'  
meseseb 'get burned'  
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'
melelechelechetchet 'easy to tie'	melechetchet 'get tied'

Some speakers omit  $C_2e$  in the third example, resulting in the form *meleleluches*.

- 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)	<i>Reduplicated Form</i>	<i>Related Imperfective Verb</i>
	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)	<i>Imperfective Form</i>	<i>Basic Form</i>
	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)	<i>Reduplicated Form</i>	<i>Related Imperfective Verb</i>
	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)	<i>Reduplicated Form</i>	<i>Related Imperfective Verb</i>
	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'
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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)	<i>Reduplicated Form</i>	<i>Related Imperfective Verb</i>
	mengchechelebed 'keep hitting'	mengelebed 'to hit'
	mengchechuiiu 'keep reading, read a lot'	menguiiu '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 *mengchechuiiu* of (29), we get an acceptable variant form, as indicated by the first item in the list below:

(30)	<i>Reduplicated Form</i>	<i>Related Imperfective Verb</i>
	mengchechichuiu 'keep reading, read a lot'	menguiiu '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)	<i>Reduplicated Form</i>	<i>Related Verb in ou- or o-</i>
	ousesechelei 'be sort of friends with'	ousechelei 'be friends with'
	oungengeroel 'keep scolding (mildly)'	oungeroel 'to scold'
	ourureng 'to be nostalgic for, miss'	ourenng 'to wish for'
	outetingaoel 'to lie continually'	outingaoel '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)'
	okiklukul 'keep coughing'	oklukul 'to cough'
	osisngos 'keep sneezing'	osisngos 'to sneeze'
	okerker 'to ask around'	oker 'to ask'
	osisiu 'same'	osisiu 'blocked/clogged (by something that has joined together)'
	osisiik 'to look around for'	osisiik '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*, *outetingaoel*, *ousesekool*, *okiklukul*, 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 *ourureng* '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 okiklukul e le ak smecher<br>er a tereter.               | 'I keep coughing because I'm sick<br>with a cold.'                 |
| b. Ng di ousesechelei er a Toki me<br>ng sebechel el kie er a blil. | 'He's sort of friendly with Toki,<br>so he can stay at her house.' |
| c. A rubak a di ourureng er a taem<br>er a Siabal.                  | 'The old man feels nostalgic for<br>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)	<i>Reduplicated Form</i>	<i>Related Causative Verb in omek-</i>
	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)	<i>Reduplicated Form</i>	<i>Related Causative Verb in ol(e)-</i>
	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 *kausesechelai* 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) | kikiongell ‘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:

<i>Derived State Verb in be-</i>	<i>Related State Verb With Fossilized Reduplication</i>
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:* **bebubong**, **sesmecher**, **metetekoi**, **ngengtachel**, **mengchechelebed**  
(with extra consonant after verb marker), **olteterau**

b.  $C_1V$  (V can be I, O, or U; often vowel weakening processes are involved)

*Examples:* **kasusuub**, **sosoal**, **kiklou**, **mesisaik**, **bekelilangel**, **mengikiis** (with consonant alternation applied to  $C_1$ ), **ourureng**, **omekikdakt**

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:* **bekeselsel**, **bekesechesecher**, **meremram**, **melebtub** (with consonant alternation applied to  $C_1$ ), **obelebalech**, **okerker**, **kadekdakt**

d.  $C_1e + C_1V$

*Examples:* **mesesisaik**, **melelolaok**, **mererorael**, **mekekikiut**,  
**mengchechichuiu** (with extra consonant after verb marker)

e.  $C_1e + C_1VC_2(e)$

*Examples:* **mededekdakt**, **mekekerkar**, **mererengeringel**, **melelecheluches**,  
**melelemelamech**, **oltetebetobed**

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	<b>dedekimes</b> , <b>ngengeasek</b> , <b>kekesib</b> , <b>kiklou</b> , <b>kikiong</b> el (fossilized)
b. State Verb with Prefixed or Infix Verb Marker	<b>meteter</b> kakl, <b>mesisaik</b> , <b>metetit</b> ur, <b>merer</b> ur, <b>mesekese</b> ked, <b>mekele</b> kolt (fossilized), <b>merereng</b> eringel, <b>melelo</b> laok, <b>sesme</b> cher, <b>che</b> chuarm
c. Resulting State Verb	<b>ngeng</b> eltachel, <b>ngeng</b> lemodel
d. State Verb Prefixed with <i>beke-</i> or <i>seke-</i>	<b>bekebes</b> bes, <b>bekesisaik</b> , <b>sekesusu</b> ub, <b>bekeket</b> ekoi, <b>bekelil</b> angel
e. Intransitive Action Verb	<b>meche</b> chiis, <b>mererora</b> el, <b>meseseb</b> esebek
f. Transitive Action Verb in Basic Form	<b>mesese</b> seb, <b>metetem</b> all, <b>obe</b> beu, <b>mededeng</b> dangeb, <b>mesesusa</b> uch, <b>merem</b> ram
g. Transitive Action Verb in Imperfective Form	<b>meleked</b> oko, <b>mengel</b> ka, <b>melitu</b> ich, <b>omele</b> balech, <b>ome</b> beu, <b>ombib</b> taŋ, <b>ombebere</b> bart, <b>melele</b> melimet, <b>mengche</b> chuiu
h. Transitive Action Verb in Perfective Form	<b>obetit</b> erir (fossilized), <b>ngoitit</b> erir (fossilized)
i. Verb Prefixed with <i>ou-</i> or (verb marker) <i>o-</i>	<b>ouse</b> sechelei, <b>oumism</b> isk, <b>osisng</b> os, <b>osisi</b> ik
j. Causative Verb	<b>omekik</b> dakt, <b>omkik</b> sau, <b>olekeke</b> rkar
k. Reciprocal Verb	<b>kasisi</b> ik, <b>karuru</b> ul, <b>kadek</b> dakt, <b>kaitite</b> kangel (fossilized)

<i>Verb (or Noun) Type</i>	<i>Examples of Reduplicated Forms</i>
l. Obligatory Possessed Noun	sosoak, <b>che</b> chetik, <b>sese</b> bechek, <b>kek</b> irek
m. Other Nouns	<b>ke</b> kesus, <b>te</b> 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
- Obligatory 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 infix 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*?

meded**ek**dakt      meses**us**saul      meke**ki**kiut      meng**ki**iis

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):

<i>Reduplicated Imperfective Verb</i>	<i>Related Nonreduplicated Form</i>
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
menguui	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
mehubs	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:

<i>Reduplicated Form</i>	<i>Related Nonreduplicated Form</i>
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 *remur t* ‘to run’ (with infixed verb marker *-em-*), we derive the inceptive form *rur ta(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 *remur t* ‘to run’, we derive the predictive form *rur tu(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 auxiliary ymo* (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 form 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 *required* 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 bitem 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) <i>Intransitive Action V</i>	<i>erb InceptiveFor</i> "starting to..."	<i>m Pr edictiveFor m</i> "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 processes. 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 stressed. 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*—*robeta/robet*, we see UE reduced to O (again, with U the original infixed verb marker and E part of the verb stem), and in *merael*—*merola/merolu* 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 *remur t*—*rurta/rurtu*, 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<br>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 *imperfective* forms of certain transitive action verbs can take both inceptive and predictive suffixes, as indicated in the chart below:

(12) <i>TransitiveActionV</i>	<i>erb</i>	<i>InceptiveFor</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>Pr</i>	<i>edictiveFor</i>	<i>m</i>
( <i>Imper</i>	<i>fectiveFor</i>					
	<i>m</i> )					
		“starting to...”			“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 ‘Droteo has started talking to  
a Toki el kirel a chebechielir. Toki’s father about their marriage.’  
b. A Droteo a melekingu er a demal ‘Droteo is about to talk to Toki’s  
a Toki el kirel a chebechielir. 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 ‘I’ve finally just started to relax because  
merael a resechelik. my friends have left.’  
b. Aki ko el rongesa a chais. ‘We’ve just heard the news.’  
c. A ngelekek a ko el omechela ‘My child has just begun to study.’  
el mesuub.

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) <i>T</i> <i>transitiveActionV</i> ( <i>BasicForm</i> )	<i>erb</i>	<i>InceptiveFor</i> “starting to...”	<i>m Pr</i>	<i>edictiveFor</i> “about to...”
oboos ‘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<br>Tony.   | ‘The pigeons have begun to be/get shot by Tony and his friends.’ |
| b. A belochel a obosu er a rua<br>Tony.        | ‘The pigeons are about to be/get shot by Tony and his friends.’  |
| (18) a. Ng mechelebeda a ngalek<br>er a demal. | ‘The child has begun to be/get hit by his father.’               |
| b. Ng mechelebedu a ngalek<br>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: