Palauan Reference Grammar

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Palauan Reference Grammar

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Designed by Roger J. Eggers

To my father
And to Palau for the Palauans

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Preface

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

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

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

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

1 Sounds and Spelling of Palauan

SOUND SYSTEM OF PALAUAN

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

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

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

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

SIGNIFICANT SOUNDS (PHONEMES) OF PALAUAN

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

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

(1)

blai	'house'	—	mlai	'canoe'
chad	'person'	—	char	'price'
kar	'medicine'	—	ker	'question'
tet	'purse'	—	tut	'breast'

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

There are also differences in the individual sounds of a language which are **non-contrastive**. Even though the linguist can identify and describe such differences, the speakers of the language are often unaware of them because they are automatic or predictable varieties of the same sound. For example, in Palauan the letter *d* is used to represent four phonetically different sounds, as in the following words. (Note that the phonetic transcription of the words is given in square brackets [ ]; the unfamiliar phonetic symbols will be explained below in the discussions of *d* and other consonants).

(2)

Palauan Spelling	*Phonetic Transcription*	*English Gloss*
dub	[dup, ðup]	'dynamite'
dmak	[tmak^{h}]	'together'
dngod	[θŋoð]	'tattoo needle'

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

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

THE CONSONANTS OF PALAUAN

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

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

CHART OF PALAUAN CONSONANTS

Points of Articulation

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

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

STOPS

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

DIAGRAM OF THE HUMAN SPEECH ORGANS

Drawing by Vanna Condax

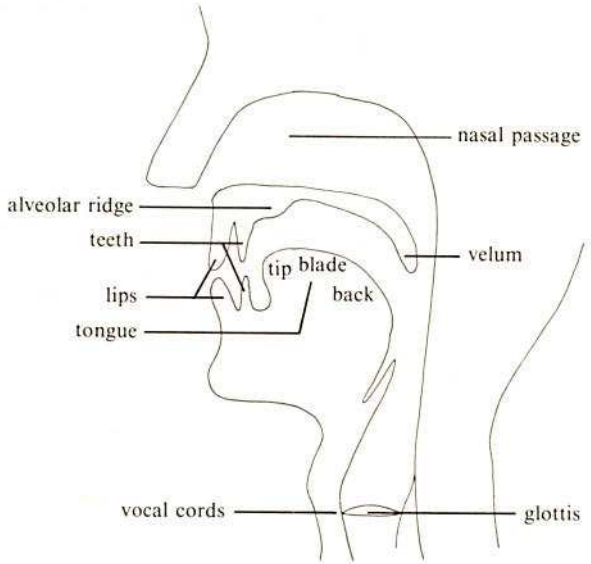


Figure 1

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

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

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

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

(4)	btuch	[ptuʔ]	'star'
	bsibs	[psipsə]	'drill'
	bngak	[pŋakʰ]	'my flower'
	brer	[prɛr]	'raft'
	tbak	[tpakʰ]	'my spit'
	kbokb	[kpokpə]	'wall'

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

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

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

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

(5)	liluut	[liluwtʰ]	'returned'
	dakt	[ðaktʰ]	'fear'
	chęlat[1]	[ʔəlatʰ]	'smoked (fish)'

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

(6)	tbak	[tpakʰ]	'my spit'
	tmuu	[tmuw]	'enter'
	tkul	[tkul]	'its edge'
	tęruich	[təruyʔə]	'ten'
	tuu	[tuw]	'banana'
	tęchang	[təʔaŋ]	'who?'
	rękel	[rəktɛl]	'his sickness'

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

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

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

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

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

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

(7)	dub	[dup, ðup]	'dynamite'
	deel	[dɛyl, ðɛyl]	'nail'

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

(8)	dmak	[tmakʰ]	'together'
	dbak	[tpakʰ]	'my dynamite'
	dngod	[θŋoð]	'tattoo needle'

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

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

(9)	mędal	[məðal]	'his face'
	kędeb	[kəðɛp]	'short'
	chędil	[ʔəðil]	'mother'
	bad	[bað]	'stone'
	kid	[kið]	'we'
	eangęd	[yaŋəð]	'sky'

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

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

(10)	brak	[prakʰ]	'taro'
	chęrmek²	[ʔərmɛkʰ]	'my animal'
	dęrumk	[ðərumkʰ]	'thunder'

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

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

(11)	klou	[klow]	'big'
	kmaręd	[kmarəð]	'light'
	kid	[kið]	'we'
	ker	[kɛr]	'question'

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

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

(12)	olękiis	[oləgiys]	'wake up'
	mękeald	[məgɛalðə]	'warm'
	rękas	[rəgas]	'mosquito'

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

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

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

(13)	charm	[ʔarm]	'animal'
	chisel	[ʔisɛl]	'news of him'
	męched	[məʔɛð]	'shallow'
	dęngchokl	[ðəŋʔoklə]	'sit'
	taoch	[taoʔ]	'channel'
	tęruich	[təruyʔə]	'ten'

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

(14) a. Ng chad ęr a Siabal. [ŋʔaðərasyabal][3]
'He's Japanese.'

b. Ng chull. [ŋʔul:ə]
'It's raining.'

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

(15) a. Ng oles. [ŋolɛs]
'It's a knife.'

b. Ak mla omes ęr ngii. [akmlaomɛsərŋiy]
'I've seen him.'

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

Fricative

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

(16)	sils	[sils]	'sun'
	sers	[sɛrs]	'garden'
	męsilęk	[məsiləkʰ]	'wash'
	męngiis	[məŋiys]	'dig'

Nasals

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(18)	iungs	[yuns]	'island'
	męrangd	[məranðə]	'(a kind of) coral'
	sęngsongd	[sənsonðə]	'stick'
	ngduul	[n̪duwl]	'clam'
	ngriil	[n̪riyl]	'place near beach'
	ng til	[n̪til]	'it's her purse'

The dot in the phonetic representation [n̪] means that the dental nasal allophone of *ng* is pronounced as a separate syllable—see **1**.3.5. below.

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

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

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

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

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

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

(20) a. Ak mo mẹnga*ng*.
'I'm going to eat (it).'

b. Ak mo mẹnga ẹr a ngikẹl.
'I'm going to eat the fish.'

(21) a. Ng mo*ng*.
'He's going.'

b. Ng mo ẹr a skuul.
'He's going to school.'

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

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

Liquids

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

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

(22)	lius	[lius]	'coconut'
	luut	[luwtʰ]	'return'
	mẹlai	[məlay]	'take'
	rael	[raɛl]	'road'

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

(23)	rakt	[raktʰ]	'sickness'
	rẹkas	[rəgas]	'mosquito'
	bẹras	[bəras]	'rice'
	kar	[kar]	'medicine'

The Sequences *ll* and *rr*

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

(24)	llel	[l:ɛl]	'its leaf'
	kall	[kal:ə]	'food'
	rrom	[r̃om]	'liquor'
	kẹrrẹkar	[kər̃əgar]	'tree'
	rruul[4]	[r̃uwl]	'made, done'

Syllabic Consonants

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

(25)	ng boes	[m̩boɛs][5]	'it's a gun'
	mchiięlak	[m̩ʔiyəlakʰ]	'wait for me!'
	Ngchesar	[ŋ̩ʔɛsar]	(village name)
	nglim	[ŋ̩lim]	'drunk (up)'
	ngduul	[n̩duwl]	'clam'
	lmangęl	[l̩maŋəl]	'cry'
	ltel	[l̩tɛl]	'his return'
	rsęchek	[r̩səʔɛkʰ]	'my blood'
	rtangęl	[r̩taŋəl]	'is to be pounded'

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

THE VOWELS OF PALAUAN

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

CHART OF PALAUAN VOWELS

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

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

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

High Vowels *i* and *u*

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

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

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

(26)	sils	[sils]	'sun'
	kim	[kim]	'large clam'
	chisel	[ʔisɛl]	'news of him'
	mętik	[mətikʰ]	'find'
	btuch	[ptuʔ]	'star'
	bung	[buŋ]	'flower'
	kęruk	[kərukʰ]	'my medicine'
	subęlek	[subəlɛkʰ]	'my homework'

MID VOWELS *e*, *ę*, AND *o*

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

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

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

(27)	sers	[sɛrs]	'garden'
	ngklel	[ŋklɛl]	'his name'
	elii	[ɛliy]	'yesterday'
	ngor	[ŋor]	'mouth'
	oles	[olɛs]	'knife'
	męlęcholb	[mələʔolbə]	'bathe'

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

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

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

(28)	chęlat	[ʔəlátʰ]	'smoked (fish)'
	tęchang	[təʔáŋ]	'who?'
	rękte l	[rəktél]	'his sickness'
	eangęd	[yáŋəð]	'sky'

kmaręd	[kmárəð]	'light'
olękiis	[oləgíys]	'wake up'
męsilęk	[məsíləkʰ]	'wash'
lmangęl	[l̥máŋəl]	'cry'
męngęlebęd	[məŋəlébəð]	'hit'

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

Low Vowel *a*

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

(29)

chad	[ʔað]	'person'
męlat	[məlátʰ]	'tear, rip'
ngak	[ŋakʰ]	'I, me'

The Vowel *ę* and the Process of Vowel Reduction

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

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

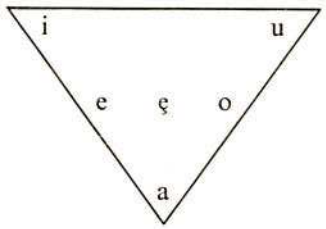
(30)

Simple form		*Possessed form*	
bsibs	'drill'	bsębsék	'my drill'
chur	'laughter'	chęrík	'my laughter'

sers	'garden'	sęrsék	'my garden'
ngor	'mouth'	ngęrék	'my mouth'
kar	'medicine'	kęrúk	'my medicine'

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

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



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

Other Occurrences of Schwa

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

(31)			
	bsibs	[psípsə]	'drill'
	kbokb	[kpókpə]	'wall'
	mękeald	[məkɛáldə]	'warm'
	dęngchokl	[ðəŋʔóklə]	'sit'
	męrangd	[mərándə]	'(a kind of) coral'
	męlęcholb	[mələʔólbə]	'bathe'
	ralm	[rálmə]	'water'
	diall	[ðiál:ə]	'ship'

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

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

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

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

(33)	*Palauan spelling*[8]	*Phonetic transcription*	*English gloss*
	tęlub	[təlúb]	'spat'
	dęlangęb	[ðəláəb]	'covered'
	sęleseb	[səlésəb]	'burned'
	chęlat	[ʔəlátʰ]	'smoked'

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

(34)	*Palauan spelling*[9]	*Phonetic transcription*	*English gloss*
	chuięuii	[ʔuyəwíy]	'reads it'
	kiięsii	[kiyəsíy]	'digs it'
	kiuętii	[kiwətíy]	'cuts it'
	siuęsii	[siwəsíy]	'cures it'

Long Vowels

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

(35)			
	diil	[ðiyl]	'abdomen'
	ngii	[ŋiy]	'he, she, it'
	buuch	[buwʔə]	'betel nut'
	ngduul	[ŋduwl]	'clam'
	deel	[dɛyl]	'nail'
	kmeed	[kmɛyð]	'near'
	dękool	[dəgowl]	'cigarette'
	sękool	[səgowl]	'playful'

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

Vowel Clusters

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

(36)

1. eángęd	[yáŋəð]	'sky'
2. eólt	[yóltə]	'wind'
3. iédęl	[yɛ́ðəl]	'mango'
4. iúngs	[yúns]	'island'
5. eungél	[ɛuŋɛ́l]	'under it'
6. oách	[wá?]	'leg'
7. uél	[wɛ́l]	'turtle'
8. uíngęl	[wíŋəl]	'tooth'
9. soál	[soál]	'his wish'
10. cháus	[?áws]	'lime'
11. ngáu	[ŋáw]	'fire'
12. kléu	[klɛ́w]	'young coconut'
13. udóud	[uðówð]	'money'
14. klóu	[klów]	'big'
15. suélęb	[swɛ́ləb]	'noon'
16. suóbęl	[swóbəl]	'study, homework'

17. báil	[báyl]	'clothing'
18. róis	[róys]	'mountain'
19. búil	[búyl]	'moon'
20. chúi	[?úy]	'hair'
21. blái	[bláy]	'house'
22. tękói	[təgóy]	'word'
23. sęchęléi	[sə?əléy]	'friend'
24. díak	[ðíakʰ]	'isn't'
25. líus	[líus]	'coconut'
26. diáll	[ðiál:ə]	'ship'
27. ráel	[ráɛl]	'road'
28. bóes	[bóɛs]	'gun'
29. táoch	[táo?]	'channel'
30. díong	[ðíoŋ]	'bathing place'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(37) a. A Droteo a mei.
'Droteo is coming.'

b. A Droteo a me ęr a blik.
'Droteo is coming to my house.'

(38) a. Ng mo ęr a chei.
'He is going fishing.'

b. Ng mo ęr a che ęr a klukuk.
'He is going fishing tomorrow.'

The rule of spelling involved here is similar to that observed for word-final *ng* at the end of **1**.3.3 above: in other words, if word-final *i* is pronounced and heard, as in 37a and 38a, it is also spelled; if, on the other hand, no *i* is pronounced or heard, as in 37b and 38b, it is not included in the spelling. When cited for discussion in this text, words like *me* 'come' and *che* 'fishing' will be cited in the shorter form.

FURTHER RULES OF PALAUAN SPELLING

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

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

(39) a. Ak mo ęr a skuul.
'I'm going to school.'

b. Kę mo ęr ker?
'Where are you going?'

c. Ak męsuub a tękoi ęr a Merikel.
'I am studying English.'

d. Ak milsuub ęr a blik.
'I was studying at home.'

e. Ak męrael ęr a klukuk.
'I am leaving tomorrow.'

f. Ng hong[10] ęr a Droteo.
'It's Droteo's book.'

g. Ng hong ęr ngii.
'It's his book.'

h. A Droteo a milil ęr tiang.
'Droteo is playing here.'

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

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

(40) er a elii	[ɛrɛ́liy]	'yesterday'
er a elęchang	[ɛrɛ́ləʔaŋ]	'now, today'
er a Belau	[ɛrbɛ́law]	'in/of Palau'

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

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

(41) ngar ęr ngii	[ŋarŋ́iy]	'there is'
mla ęr ngii	[mlarŋ́iy]	'there was'
mo ęr ngii	[morŋ́iy]	'there will be'
mochu ęr ngii	[moʔurŋ́iy]	'there is about to be'

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

(42) a. A Droteo a ngar ęr a stoang.
'Droteo is at the store.'

b. A John a mla ęr a Guam.
'John was in Guam.'

c. A Droteo ng ngar ęr ker?
'Where is Droteo?'

d. A Toki ng mla ęr ker?
'Where was Toki?'

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

(43) a. Ak ulęmes ęr a ręngalęk.
'I was watching the children.'

b. Ng delmęrab ęr a ręsensei.
'It's the teachers' room.'

c. A ręlluich ęl chad a mlad.
'Twenty people died.'

d. Ak milstęrir a rua Toki.
'I saw Toki and her friends.'

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

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

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

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

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

(45) ta ęl chad 'one person'
chimo ęl kluk 'one dollar'
eru ęl klok 'two o'clock'
tęluo ęl oluchęs 'one pencil'
tęruich mę a ta ęl chad 'eleven people'
dart ęl kluk 'one hundred dollars'
euid ęl klok 'seven o'clock'
tęruich ęl oluchęs 'ten pencils'

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

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

(46) elęcha ęl sils 'today's weather'
mękęiękolt ęl ralm 'cold water'
bek ęl tutau 'every morning'
męknggit ęl chad 'bad person'
ungil ęl chad 'good person'

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

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

(47) chad ęl męngitakl 'person who sings'
soal ęl mo ęr a chei 'his desire to go fishing'
sensei ęl ungil 'teacher who is good'
Droteo ęl sensei 'Droteo, who is a teacher'

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

4. With various types of complex constructions:

(48) dirrek ęl sensei 'is also a teacher'
di tęlkib ęl kukau 'only a little taro'
mo męrek ęl męsuub 'finish studying'

omęngur ęl oba a taod	'eat with a fork'
blęchoel ęl męsuub	'always studies'
mo ęl ngar ęr a mlai	'go in a car'
omuchęl ęl męsuub	'begin studying'
mo ęl obęngkel a Toki	'go with Toki'

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

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

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

(49) a. Kę mo ęr ker?
'Where are you going?'

b. Ak męnguiu ęr a hong.
'I'm reading the book.'

c. Tę di mililil.
'They just fooled around.'

d. Ng kmal ungil.
'It's very good.'

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

(50) a. Ng hong ęr ngii.
'It's his book.'

b. Ak ulęmes ęr kau.
'I saw you.'

c. Ngak a sensei.
'*I'm* a teacher.'

d. Ngii a lilęchęsii a babier.
'*He* wrote the letter.'

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

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

(51)	chillębęd*ak*	'hit me'
	chillębęd*ii*	'hit him/her/it'
	chillębęd*au*	'hit you'
	sosęb*ii*	'burns it'
	mils*tęrir*	'saw them'

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

(52)	bil*ek*	'my clothing'
	bl*ik*	'my house'
	ngęr*em*	'your mouth'
	mlir*ir*	'their car(s)'
	sębęch*el*	'his ability'
	so*am*	'your desire'

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

(53) a. Ng diak *ku*suub.
'I'm not studying.'

b. A John a diak *lo*lil.
'John isn't playing'.

c. A hong a *lo*nguiu ęr ngii a John.
'The book is being read by John.'

d. Kę mękęra a *chomo*ruul a mlai?
'What do you do to make a canoe?'

e. Ng chętik a Droteo a *lo*lamęch.
'I don't like Droteo to chew (betel nut).'

f. Ng soal a *k*bo *ku*suub.
'He wants me to study.'

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

(54)	e le ak	[ɛlɛkʰ]	'because I...'
	e le ng	[ɛlɛŋ]	'because he...'
	mę a	[ma]	'and'
	mę ak	[makʰ]	'so I...'
	mę ng	[məŋ]	'so he...'
	e ng di	[ɛndi, əndi]	'but'
	er se ęr a	[ɛrsɛra, ərsɛra]	'when'
	el kmo	[ɛlkmo, əlkmo]	'[say] that...'
	el ua se	[ɛlwasɛ, əlwasɛ]	'[say] that...'
	ng diak	[n̩diakʰ]	'isn't'
	ng di kea	[n̩digɛa]	'no longer is'
	di mle ngii	[dimlɛŋiy]	'by himself'
	ko ęr a	[kora]	'kind of, like'
	a lęko (ak)	[alɔgo(k)]	'(I) intended to...'
	a lsękum	[alsɔgum]	'if, when'

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

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

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

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

2 Palauan Nouns

GRAMMATICAL SYSTEM OF PALAUAN

2.1. In the preceding chapter we described the sound system of Palauan in terms of its significant sounds (phonemes) and their variants (allophones). In our analysis, we grouped these phonemes into various classes—e.g., stop consonants, nasal consonants, high vowels, mid vowels, etc.—whose members share common features of pronunciation and show similarities in **distribution**, which refers to the way in which sounds combine with each other in the formation of words. For example, the class of nasal consonants *m* and *ng* is distinguished from the other types of Palauan consonants by having a nasal articulation, in which the outward air flow escapes through the nose, but not the mouth; furthermore, the nasals *m* and *ng* share the distributional feature of appearing as syllabic consonants ([m̩] and [ŋ̩] or [ŋ]—cf. **1**.3.5) before other consonants in word-initial position. To take another example, the liquid consonants *l* and *r* are distinguished phonetically from the other groups of consonants because they alone are produced with a partial closure in the mouth; moreover, *l* and *r* have the unique distributional feature of appearing as "double" consonants *ll* and *rr*, which no other consonants can do.

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

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

IDENTIFICATION OF PALAUAN NOUNS

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

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

Human nouns

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

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

Non-human nouns

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

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

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

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

Abstract nouns

(3)

reng	'heart, spirit'	blękeu	'bravery'
dakt	'fear'	klęchad	'human life'
soal	'his desire'	klęmęra	'truth'
kirek	'my obligation'	klęngit	'sin'
sębęchem	'your ability'	klausęchęlei	'friendship'

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

DISTRIBUTION OF PALAUAN NOUNS

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

Observe the following sentences:

(4) a. A ngalęk a męnga a ngikęl.
'The child is eating fish.'

b. A Droteo a chillębędii a bilis.
'Droteo hit the dog.'

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

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

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

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

(5) a. A malk a killii a bęras.
'The chicken ate up the rice.'

b. A dęrumk a ulękęrngii a ngalęk.
'The thunder woke up the child.'

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

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

(6) A John a riręllii a klęngit.
'John committed a sin.'

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

of **object nouns**). In other words, Palauan action sentences show the basic pattern *subject noun + action word + object noun*; in such sentences, the position of the noun (preceding or following the action word) tells us whether we interpret it as sentence subject or sentence object. You may have noticed that so far we have chosen to omit discussion of the word *a*, which appears before every noun and action word in 4–6 above. An explanation of this word will be provided in **2**.6 below.

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

(7) a. A Droteo a mililil.
'Droteo was playing.'

b. A ngęlękek a ręmurt.
'My child is running.'

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

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

(8) a. A bęchik a smechęr.
'My wife is sick.'

b. A ralm a mękęlękolt.
'The water is cold.'

c. A John a mętongakl.
'John is tall.'

d. A mubi a ungil.
'The movie is good.'

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

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

(9) a. A Droteo a sensei.
'Droteo is a teacher.'

b. A sęchęlik a chad ęr a Siabal.
'My friend is Japanese.'

c. A Francisco a rubak.
'Francisco is an old man.'

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

(10) a. A ręngalęk a ngar ęr a sers.
'The children are in the garden.'

b. A oluchęs a ngar ęr a chęlsel a skidas.
'The pencil is inside the drawer.'

In the examples of 10, the word *ngar* 'be (located)' introduces the word sequences *ęr a sers* 'in the garden' and *ęr a chęlsel a skidas* 'inside the drawer', which tell us where the subject nouns are located. Word sequences of this kind, which are called **locational phrases**, are described in detail in **14**.2.

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

(11) a. A John a mo ęr a stoang.
'John is going to the store.'

b. A beab a tilobęd ęr a blsibs.
'The mouse came out of the hole.'

c. A Toki a smechęr ęr a tęretęr.
'Toki is sick with a cold.'

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

PRONOUNS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The pronouns *ng* 'he, she' and *tę* 'they' introduced in 13 and 16 above refer to someone other than the speaker of the sentence or the person spoken to. That is, they refer to some third party whom the speaker is interested in talking about. Because pronouns like *ng* 'he, she' and *tę* 'they' make reference to some third party, it is not surprising that they are called **third person pronouns**. Now, as you might imagine, it is also possible to have pronoun subjects which refer to the speaker (or **first person**) of a sentence and the person spoken to (or **second person**). These two possibilities are seen in the following sentences:

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

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

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

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

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

B: Ng męchiuaiu ęr a eungel a tebęl.[2]
'{It is / They are} sleeping under the table.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

(22) a. A John a męluchęs ęr a babier.
'John is writing the letter.'

b. A John a męluchęs ęr ngii.
'John is writing it.'

(23) a. A beab a tilobęd ęr a blsibs.
'The mouse came out of the hole.'

b. A beab a tilobęd ęr ngii.
'The mouse came out of it.'

In 22a, the sentence object is the noun *babier* 'letter' (for the function of *ęr* before *a babier*, see **2**.7 below), which is replaced in 22b by the pronoun *ngii* 'it'. And in 23a, the noun *blsibs* 'hole' appears after the relational word *ęr* 'out of'; it likewise is replaced by *ngii* 'it' in 23b.

PLURALS

2.5. As we have seen before, in order to form a **plural noun** in Palauan, we simply attach *rę-* to the beginning of the noun. (If the noun begins with a vowel, then *rę-* will be shortened to *r-*.) Because *rę-* precedes the noun to which it is attached, it is called a **prefix**; the hyphen in our notation *rę-* indicates that something must follow the prefix to form a whole word. We have also noted that *rę-* can only be added to **human** nouns: in other words, it is only in the category of human nouns that Palauan speakers make a distinction between singular (referring to just one person) and plural (referring to two or more persons). This fact is another justification for making the basic distinction **human** vs. **non-human** in Palauan, since this distinction explains the distribution of the prefix *rę-*. Thus, we can have singular-plural pairs like *sęchęlik* 'my friend'—*ręsęchęlik* 'my friends', *chad* 'person'—*ręchad* 'people', and *kangkodang* 'tourist'—*rękangkodang* 'tourists', but never pairs like *bilis* 'dog'—**rębilis* 'dogs' or *babier* 'letter'—**rębabier* 'letters'. Here are some sentences containing plural human nouns:

(24) a. Ak milstęrir a ręsęchęlim ęr a party.
'I saw your friends at the party.'

b. A ręchad ęr a Merikel a mękekęmangęt.
'Americans are tall.'

c. Ng delmęrab ęr a ręsensei.
'It's the teachers' room.'

d. Tę di ręngalęk ęr a skuul.
'They're just students.'

The plural prefix *rę-* can also attach to **number words** (see **24**.4) when they refer to human beings. In such cases, however, the presence of *rę-* is **optional**—that is, *rę-* may or may not be attached, with no apparent difference in meaning. To indicate the optionality of *rę-* before number words, we enclose *rę-* in parentheses, as in the examples below:

(25) a. A (rę)tęlolęm ęl chad a mle ęr a party.
'Six people came to the party.'

b. A (rę)tęruich ęl ngalęk a mlad.
'Ten children died.'

c. A (rę)dart ęl chad a mle sengkio.
'One hundred persons voted.'

d. Ak milstęrir a (rę)tęde ęl sensei.
'I saw three teachers.'

e. Tę milkodętęrir a (rę)lluich mę a teua ęl chad.
'They killed twenty-four people.'

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

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

(26) a. Tirke ęl teru ęl chad tę rua tęchang?
'Who are those two people (i.e., what are their names)?'

b. Ak milstęrir a rua Toki ęr a stoang.
'I saw Toki and her friends at the store.'

c. A rębek ęl ngalęk a kirir ęl mo ęr a skuul.
'Every child must attend school.'

d. Ak milstęrir a rębek ęl chad a present.
'I gave each person a present.'

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

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

(27) a. A iręchar, e a *ręmeteet* a ulęngęseu ęr a *ręmechębuul*.
'In earlier times, the rich helped the poor.'

b. A *rędęngęrengęr* a mo ęr a bęluu ęr a ngau, e a *ręmękędu* a mo ęr a babęluadęs.
'Those who are poorly-behaved will go to hell, while those who are well-behaved will go to heaven.'

c. A *ręmęsaik* a blęchoel ęl diak a kęlir.
'Those who are lazy (and don't work) often don't have food.'

d. A *ręmękekędeb* a mo ęr a uchei, e a *ręmękekęmangęt* a mo ęr a uriul.
'(Let's have) the short ones go to the front and the tall ones go to the back.'

e. A *ręmęruul* a kall a chędal a rędil, e a *ręmęngoit* a udoud a chędal a sęchal.
'Those who prepare the food are the relatives of the woman, and those who contribute the money are the relatives of the man.'[4]

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

THE PALAUAN WORD *a*

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

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

(28)

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

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

(29) a. Ak męluchęs a babier.
'I'm writing a letter.'

b. Tę mo ęr a skuul.
'They're going to school.'

c. A John a męruul ęr ngii.
'John is making it.'

d. A Toki a ulęmes ęr ngak.
'Toki saw me.'

e. A beab a tilobęd ęr ngii.
'The mouse came out of it.'

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

There is another group of Palauan words which are not

usually introduced by *a*. This group includes words like *tia* 'this thing, this place/here', *se* 'that thing, that place/there', *ngika* 'this person', *ngike* 'that person', etc., which are called **demonstratives** (see **24**.3) because they point out persons or things or specify where someone or something is located. Some typical examples including demonstratives are now given:

(30) a. Tia a oluchęs.
'This is a pencil.'

b. A Toki a milil ęr sei.
'Toki is playing there.'

c. Ngka[5] ęl chad a sensei.
'This person is a teacher.'

d. Ngke[5] ęl chad ng mękęrang?
'What's that person doing?'

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

SPECIFIC VS. NON-SPECIFIC OBJECT NOUNS

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

(31) a. A nęglękek a mędakt a dęrumk.
'My child is afraid of thunder.'

b. A ngęlękek a mędakt *ęr* a dęrumk.
'My child is afraid of the thunder.'

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

b. Ng soak ęl męnga *ęr* a ngikęl.
'I want/would like to eat the fish.'

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

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

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

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

In 31a, for example,

(31a) A ngęlękek a mędakt a dęrumk.
'My child is afraid of thunder.'

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

(31b) A ngęlękek a mędakt ęr a dęrumk.
'My child is afraid of the thunder.'

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

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

B: Ng mędakt ęr a dęrumk.
'He's afraid of the thunder.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

(35) A: Ngara a soam ęl męnga ęr ngii?
'What would you like to eat?

Ng ngar ęr ngii a babii mę a ngikęl mę a chęmang.
'There's pork, fish, and crab.'

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

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

In example 33a,

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

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

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

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

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

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

(36) a. A bilis a męchiuaiu ęr sei.
'The {dog is / dogs are} sleeping there.'

b. A oluchęs a ngar ęr a bebul a tebęl.[6]
'The {pencil is / pencils are} on the table.'

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

(37) a. Ak ousbech *ęr* a bilas ęr a klukuk.
'I need the boat tomorrow.'

b. Ak ousbech a bilas ęr a klukuk.
'I need {a boat / the boats} tomorrow.'

(38) a. Ak ousbech *ęr* a mlim ęl mo ęr a ochęraol.
'I need your car to go to the money-raising party.'

b. Ak ousbech a mlim ęl mo ęr a ochęraol.
'I need your cars to go to the money-raising party.'

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

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

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

(39) a. Ak ulęmes ęr a Toki ęr a party.
'I saw Toki at the party.'

b. Lak mongęlebęd ęr a ngalęk!
'Don't hit the child!'

c. Ak ulęmes ęr a ręsęchęlim ęr a party.
'I saw your friends at the party.'

d. A Droteo a milęngęlebęd ęr a ręngalęk.
'Droteo was hitting the children.'

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

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

(40)

Imperfective		*Perfective*	
męngęlebęd	'hit'	cholębęd*ak*	'hits me'
męnga	'eat'	kol*ii*	'eats it'
męruul	'make, do'	rull*ii*	'makes it'
omes	'see'	męs*a*	'sees him/her/it'

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

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

(41) a. A Toki a chillębędii a ngalęk. 'Toki hit the child.'
b. *A Toki a chillębędii ęr a ngalęk.

(42) a. A dęrumk a ulękęrngii a bilis. 'The thunder woke up the dog.'
b. *A dęrumk a ulękęrngii ęr a bilis.

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

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

3 Noun Possession

POSSESSOR SUFFIXES AND POSSESSED NOUNS

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

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

Before classifying the suffixes which attach to Palauan nouns, we should have a clear idea of their function. Basically, they serve to express a relationship of **possession** between the noun stem **(the thing possessed)** and the person or thing to which the suffix refers **(the possessor)**. This relationship of possession can be of several different types. It may involve actual ownership of something—e.g., *mlik* 'my car', *bilsengel* 'his boat', *blim* 'your house'. Or it may express a **whole-part** relationship: that is, the noun stem is something which is an inherent part of the person or thing referred to by the suffix, as in *chimak* 'my hand', *ngęrel* 'his mouth', *chęlsel* 'its inside', or *tkul* 'its edge'. In addition, it may involve bonds of kinship, marriage, or friendship, as in *dęmak* 'my father', *bęchim* 'your spouse', or *sęchęlil* 'his friend', or other kinds of association, as in *beluak* 'my country', *dęchal* 'his ability', etc. Besides their primary function of expressing possession, the suffixes under discussion here have the secondary function of expressing **characterization**; this latter function will be explained in detail in **3.7** below.

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

PERSON AND NUMBER

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

(1)

	Singular		*Plural*	
	Possessor suffix	*Corresponding pronoun*	*Possessor suffix*	*Corresponding pronoun*
1st pers.	-ek 'my'	ngak 'I'	-ed 'our (incl.)'	kid 'we (incl.)'
			-am 'our (excl.)'	kęmam 'we (excl.)'
2nd pers.	-em 'your'	kau 'you'	-iu 'your'	kęmiu 'you'

3rd pers.	-el 'his, her, its'	ngii 'he, she, it'	-ir 'their'	tir 'they'

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

Although *-el* and *-ir* are listed as third person singular and plural possessor suffixes, respectively, this classification does not correspond exactly to their use. Because *-ir* can refer only to **human** plural possessors, *-el* must be used if the plural possessor is **non-human**. Therefore, *-el* not only can mean 'his', 'her', or 'its' but also can be equivalent to 'their' if the possessors are animals or things (cf. the discussion of *tę* 'they (human)' and *ng* 'he, she, it, they (non-human)' in **2**.4). Note, further, that Palauan differs from English in using one and the same possessor ending *-el* regardless of whether the third person singular possessor is male ('his') or female ('her'), or designates an animal or thing ('its'). Another difference between Palauan and English can be seen among the second person pronouns and possessor suffixes: while English has the same forms (*you*, *your*) for both singular and plural, the Palauan forms are distinct (*kau*, *-em* for singular and *kęmiu*, *-iu* for plural).

FOUR SETS OF POSSESSOR SUFFIXES

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

(2) chęrmek 'my animal' chęrmed 'our (incl.) animal'
chęrmam 'our (excl.) animal'

chęrmem 'your (sg.) animal' chęrmiu 'your (pl.) animal'
chęrmel 'his animal', etc. chęrmir 'their animal'

You will notice that *charm* 'animal' has the **full** vowel *a* in its independent (or **unpossessed**) form, but shows the **neutral** vowel *ę* (**schwa**) in all of its possessed forms. In other words, the morpheme *charm* is pronounced differently (as *chęrm-*) when it functions as the **stem** of a possessed noun. This difference in pronunciation, you will recall, is always reflected in the Palauan spelling. The alternation between *charm* and *chęrmek*, etc. can be explained in terms of the process of **vowel reduction** (cf. **1**.4.4), which is very common in Palauan: full vowels usually reduce to the neutral vowel *ę* in **unstressed syllables**. Because all of the Palauan possessor suffixes are **stressed**, the full vowels of independent forms like *charm* wind up in unstressed syllables in possessed forms like *chęrmék*, *chęrmém*, etc., thereby reducing to *ę*. This process of vowel reduction will be illustrated in considerable detail in **3**.4 below. If you need to refresh your memory on such terms as **neutral vowel**, **vowel reduction**, **stressed** vs. **unstressed syllable**, etc., refer back to **1**.4.2 and **1**.4.4, or see the glossary.

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

(3)

Possessor suffix	*u* set: *reng* 'heart, spirit'	*i* set: *buch* 'spouse'	*a* set: *char* 'price'
1st pers. sg.	ręngúk	bęchík	chęrák
2nd pers. sg.	ręngúm	bęchím	chęrám
3rd pers. sg.	ręngúl	bęchíl	chęrál
1st pers. pl. incl.	ręngúd	bęchíd	chęrád
1st pers. pl. excl.	ręngmám	bęchęmám	chęręmám
2nd pers. pl.	ręngmíu	bęchęmíu	chęręmíu
3rd pers. pl.	ręngrír	bęchęrír	chęrrír

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

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

(4)

Possessor suffix	*e set*	*u set, i set, a set*
1st pers. pl. excl.	-am	-(ę)mam
2nd pers. pl.	-iu	-(ę)miu
3rd pers. pl.	-ir	-(ę)rir

The parenthesized *ę* indicated with the suffixes for the *u* set, *i* set, and *a* set is predictable and appears in order to break up an otherwise unpronounceable cluster of consonants (cf. **1**.4.5.) The *ę* is required, for example, between *ch* and a following consonant in forms like *bęchęmam* 'our (excl.) spouse' and *bęchęrir* 'their spouse'.[4] However, it is not needed between *ng* and a following consonant in *ręngmam* 'our (excl.) hearts' or *ręngrir* 'their hearts'.

VOWEL REDUCTION

3.4. In **3**.3 above, we saw that the process of **vowel reduction** accounts for the fact that many Palauan nouns show an alternation between a stressed full vowel in the independent form and an unstressed neutral vowel *ę* in the possessed forms. Before talking about further types of vowel reduction, we shall present some additional examples in which each of the five full vowels of Palauan reduces to *ę* in the possessed forms of the noun. For each noun, only the **third person singular** possessed form will be cited, since all the other possessed forms can be predicted from it: this is because the vowel of the third person singular possessor suffix (*e*, *u*, *i*, or *a*) appears in the other singular forms and in the first person plural inclusive, and because the remaining plural suffixes will contain the extra consonants *m* or *r* (cf. **3**.3 above) if the vowel of the possessor suffix is *u*, *i*, or *a*. Observe the following:

(5)

	Independent Noun	*Possessed Form*: 'his/her/its—'
a reduces to *ę*:	kar 'medicine'	kęrul
	bad 'stone'	będul
	bar 'blanket'	bęrul
	malk 'chicken'	męlkel
	ngalęk 'child'	ngęlękel
	kall 'food'	kęlel[5]

e reduces to *ę*:	ker 'question'	kęril
	sers 'garden'	sęrsel
	reng 'heart, spirit'	ręngul
	sechęr 'sickness'	sęchęrel
i reduces to *ę*:	bsibs 'drill'	bsębsel
	kadikm 'right hand'	kadękmel
	chędil 'mother'	dęlal[6]
o reduces to *ę*:	ngor 'mouth'	ngęrel
	kbokb 'wall'	kbękbel
	sęngsongd 'stick'	sęngsęngdel
	bęlochęl 'pigeon'	bęlęchęlel
	sęlokęl 'laundry'	sęlękęlel
u reduces to *ę*:	będul 'head'	bdęlul
	chur 'laughter'	chęril
	duch 'ability'	dęchal

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

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

(6)

Independent Noun	*Possessed Form*
chim 'hand, arm'	chimal
chikl 'neck'	chiklel

ding 'ear'	dingal
biskang 'spear'	biskęlęngel[8]
chur 'tongue'	chural

Vowel Deletion

3.4.1. In the possessed forms of certain Palauan nouns, an "extreme" form of vowel reduction takes place. This extreme form of vowel reduction is actually **vowel deletion**, or complete loss of the vowel. Full vowels following *ng*, *l*, or (less frequently) *r* in the independent form of a noun are often deleted in the possessed forms, where the stress is shifted to the possessor suffixes. In the possessed forms of such words, any word-initial *ng*, *l*, or *r* becomes syllabic—i.e., is pronounced as a whole syllable (cf. **1**.3.5). Some typical examples are listed below:

(7) *Independent Noun*	*Possessed Form*
ngakl 'name'	ngklel [ŋklél]
ngikęl 'fish'	ngkęlel [ŋkəlél]
rasęch 'blood'	rsęchel [ɾsəʔél]
lusęch 'luck'	lsęchel [l̩səʔél]
ralm 'water'	lmel[9] [l̩mél]
klęngit 'sin'	kngtil[10] [kŋtíl]
chorus 'horn'	chorsul [ʔorsúl]
bilas 'boat'	bilsęngel[11] [bilsəŋél]

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

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

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

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

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

Shortening of Long Vowels

3.4.2. So far we have seen how the **single** vowels *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*, and *a* observed in the independent forms of nouns either reduce to *ę* or delete completely in the various possessed forms. In this and the following section, we will examine what happens to **sequences** of vowels under similar circumstances. Let us first take up the possessed forms of nouns whose independent forms have long vowels (cf. **1**.4.6). As the examples below illustrate, the long vowels *ii*, *uu*, *ee*, and *oo* shorten to the corresponding single vowel in the possessed forms of nouns, where they come to appear in unstressed syllables:

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

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

Shortening of Vowel Clusters

3.4.3. In **1**.4.7 we illustrated the many types of vowel clusters which can be found in Palauan words. If a particular noun has such a cluster in its independent form, this cluster always reduces or shortens in the possessed forms of the noun. Recall that, in any given vowel cluster, either the first or the second vowel may be stressed.

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

(11) *Independent Noun*	*Possessed Form*
oák 'anchor'	okúl
oách 'leg'	ochíl
eólt 'wind'	eltél
iúngs 'island'	ingsél
uíngęl 'tooth'	ungęlél
diáll 'ship'	dillél
suóbęl 'study, homework'	subęlél
cháis 'news'	chisél
udóud 'money'	ududél
táem 'time'	temél
uláol 'floor'	ulolél
klungiáol 'benefit, goodness'	klungiolél
ngáu 'fire'	nguíl
táut 'aim'	tutél
búil 'moon, month'	bilél
tękói 'word, speech'	tękingél
chúi 'hair'	chiúl

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

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

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

(13) *Independent Noun*	*Possessed Form*
láok 'fat'	lękél
dáob 'ocean'	dębél

chokdęmáol 'maternal uncle'	chokdęmęlél
ráel 'road'	rolél
dęledáes 'free time'	dęledęsél

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

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

Technical Discussion of Vowel Cluster Shortening

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

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

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

POSSESSED NOUNS WITH *-ng-*.

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

(15)

Independent Noun	*Possessed Form*
a. bas 'charcoal'	bęsęngel
b. kęrrękęr 'earnings of money'	kęrrękęrngel
c. billum 'wrapped tapioca'	billęmęngel
d. bęchos 'thumb'	bęchęsęngel
e. btuch 'star, starfish'	btęchęngel
f. bilas 'boat'	bilsęngel
g. dęleb 'ghost'	dęlbęngel
h. btuu 'ball'	btungel
i. katuu 'cat'	katungel[15]
j. uum 'kitchen'	umęngel
k. teu 'width'	tengel

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

ALTERNATION BETWEEN *-ng* AND *-l-*

3.4.5. A very small number of Palauan nouns exhibit an alternation between word-final *-ng* in the independent form and *-l-* in the possessed forms—e.g. *olękang* 'pot'—*olękolel*. Some of these also add *-ng-* before the possessor suffixes, as in *diokang* 'tapioca'—*diokęlęngel* and *biskang* 'spear'—*biskęlęngel*.

OBLIGATORILY POSSESSED NOUNS

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

(16)

	Obligatorily Possessed Nouns	
a. *Parts of the body (human or animal)*	budel	'his/her/its skin'
	ulul	'his/her/its chest'
	kekul	'his/her nail, its claw'
	ulkel	'his/her/its back'
b. *Kinship relations:*	obękul	'his older brother'
	chudęlel	'her older sister'
	ochędal	'his sister, her brother'
c. *Relationship of part to whole:*	rsel	'its end'
	tkul	'its edge'
	bkul	'its corner'
	uchul	'its trunk (of a tree), its reason'
	llel	'its leaf (of a tree)'

d. *Other relationships:*	ultil	'its imprint'
	bęlkul	'its meaning, his/her/its function'
	ultutęlel	'its meaning, his/her/its function'
	ullel	'behind him/her'

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

While the nouns listed in 16a and 16b can take any of the possessor suffixes (e.g., *budel* 'his/her skin', *budek* 'my skin', etc. or *ochędal* 'his sister', *ochędam* 'your sister', etc.), most of those listed in 16c and 16d normally occur with a third person singular possessor suffix. Furthermore, the obligatorily possessed nouns of 16c and 16d are usually followed by another noun that **specifies** or **identifies** the thing to which the third person singular possessor suffix refers. For example, the group of words *tkul a daob* 'edge of the ocean' consists of the obligatorily possessed noun *tkul* followed by the noun *daob* 'ocean', which indicates the "possessor" of *tkul*; like all nouns, *daob* is preceded by the word *a* (cf. **2**.6). A sequence of words like *tkul a daob* is called a **noun phrase of possession**. This term will be explained in greater detail at the end of **3**.6 below.

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

(17)	rsel a kęrrękar	'top of the tree'
	rsel a kęrreel	'(other) end of the string'
	rsel a chęldęchęduch	'end of the meeting'
	tkul a tebęl	'edge of the table'
	tkul a chęldukl	'edge of the dock'
	bkul a chim	'elbow' (literally, 'corner of the arm')
	bkul a oach	'knee' (literally, 'corner of the leg')
	uchul a kęrrękar	'trunk of the tree'
	uchul a chęldęchęduch	'reason for the meeting'
	llel a kęrrękar	'leaves of the tree'
	ultil a oach	'footprint'
	bęlkul a tękoi	'meaning of the word'

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

(18)	bęrdel[16] a ngor	'lips'
	bęrdel a ngęrek	'my lips'
	kekul a chim	'fingernail'
	kekul a chimak	'my fingernail'

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

(19) uchęlel a chęldęchęduch
'beginning of the meeting'[17]

uchęlir a rękhad ęr a Belau
'{origin / ancestors} of the Palauan people'

PALAUAN NOUN PHRASES

3.6. The distribution of Palauan possessed nouns is exactly the same as that of unpossessed nouns. In other words, possessed nouns and unpossessed nouns occur in identical environments and can function as sentence subject or object, or appear after the relational word *ęr* (cf. **2**.3). This identity of distribution is illustrated in the following pairs of sentences:

(20) a. A blai a milseseb.
'The house burned down.'

b. A blik a milseseb.
'My house burned down.'

(21) a. A John a chilitii a oluchęs.
'John threw away the pencil.'

b. A John a chilitii a olęchęsek.
'John threw away my pencil.'

(22) a. Ng tęcha a dęngchokl ęr a mlai?
'Who is sitting in the car?'

b. Ng tęcha a dęngchokl ęr a mlim?
'Who is sitting in your car?'

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

(23) kekul a katuu	'cat's claw'
chimal a Toki	'Toki's hand'
mędal a oluchęs	'pencil point'
bęlkul a John	'John's function'
blil a sęchęlik	'my friend's house'
blirir a ręsęchęlik	'my friends' house'
ręngrir a ręchad	'the people's hearts/feelings'
bęchil a Droteo	'Droteo's wife'

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

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

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

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

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

(26) Ng tęcha a dęngchokl ęr a mlil a sęchęlim?
'Who is sitting in your friend's car?'

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

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

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

(27) a. A *sidosia ęr a Toki* a klou.
'Toki's car is big.'

b. A *chęrmek ęl bilis* a mlad er a elii.
'My dog died yesterday.'

c. A *ręlluich ęl chad* a mlei.
'Twenty people came.'

d. Ng soam a *bęches ęl blik*?
'Do you like my new house?'

e. A John a kie ęr *se ęl blai.*
'John lives in that house.'

f. A *buik ęl męngitakl* a Droteo.
'The boy who is singing is Droteo.'

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

NOUN PHRASES OF POSSESSION VS. NOUN PHRASES OF CHARACTERIZATION

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

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

(28) ręktel a bilis 'rabies'	chisel a Toki	'news about Toki'
blil a blęngur 'house for eating in'	kęrul a sokęl	'medicine for ringworm'
blil a dongu 'tool shed'	urerir a {rędil / ręsęchal}	'work (meant) for {women / men}',

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

UNPOSSESSIBLE NOUNS

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

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

In the examples of 29, the relational word *ęr* is used to link the thing (or person) possessed with the possessor. The term **relational word** is assigned to *ęr* precisely because *ęr* functions to express various kinds of relationships between words; in the case under discussion, the relationship which *ęr* designates is one of possession. Any sequence consisting of the relational word *ęr* followed by a noun (or pronoun) is called a **relational phrase**. Sequences like *ęr a sęchęlik*, *ęr a Toki*, *ęr tir*, etc. of 29 represent a special type of relational phrase which identifies the possessor of the immediately preceding noun; such phrases will be called **possessor phrases**.[18] The examples in 29 are therefore noun phrases of possession which contain the subtype of relational phrase known as possessor phrase. Notice that the possessor following *ęr* is introduced by *a* if it is a noun, but is not preceded by *a* if it is a pronoun (cf. **2**.6).

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

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

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

Since the examples of 30 consist of an unpossessible noun followed by a relational phrase, they are formally identical to those of 29. They are interpreted in a very different way, however. While the examples of 29 are noun phrases of possession, those of 30 are noun phrases of characterization (cf. the contrast between the examples of 17 and 23 vs. 28 discussed in **3**.7 above). In other words, the noun following the relational word *ęr* in the examples

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

NOUN PHRASES OF CHARACTERIZATION: FURTHER EXAMPLES

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

(31)	mlai ęr a Siabal	'Japanese car'
	kall ęr a Sina	'Chinese food'
	tękoi ęr a Belau	'Palauan (language)'
	tękoi ęr a blai	'private matters'
	tękoi ęr a rael[20]	'public knowledge'
	techall ęr a ureor	'opportunity for work'
	chad ęr a omęnged	'fisherman'
	chad ęr a Merikel	'American (person)'
	ilumęl ęr a party	'party drinks'
	ngalęk ęr a skuul	'student, pupil'
	beluu ęr a ngau	'hell'
	beluu ęr a eangęd[21]	'heaven'

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

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

(32) *Noun Phrase of Possession* (Possessed Form + *a* + specific possessor)	*Noun Phrase of Characterization* (Independent Form + characterizational phrase introduced by *ęr*)
kęlel a Toki 'Toki's food'	kall ęr a Siabal 'Japanese food'
tękingel a Masaharu 'Masaharu's words'	tękoi ęr a Belau 'Palauan (language)'
techęllel a Droteo 'Droteo's opportunity'	techall ęr a ureor 'opportunity for work'
imęlel[22] a John 'John's drink'	ilumęl ęr a party 'party drinks'
ngęlękel a sęchęlik 'my friend's child'	ngalęk ęr a skuul 'student, pupil'

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

(33) *Noun Phrase of Characterization*	*Noun Phrase of Characterization With Specific Possessor*
bail ęr a skuul 'school clothes'	bilel a Droteo ęr a skuul 'Droteo's school clothes'
bilas ęr a omęnged 'fishing boat'	bilsęngek ęr a omęnged 'my fishing boat'
mlai ęr a omilil[23] 'car for leisure use'	mlim ęr a omilil 'your car for leisure use'
kall ęr a mękęmad[24] 'C rations'	kęliu ęr a mękęmad 'your C rations'
diall ęr a mękęmad 'warship'	dillir a ręchad ęr a Siabal ęr a mękęmad 'warships of the Japanese'
hong ęr a ochur 'mathematics book'	hong ęr a Droteo ęr a ochur 'Droteo's mathematics book'

As you can see, the characterizational phrases on the right are formed from those on the left simply by adding information about the possessor. If the first noun is possessible, as in the top five examples, the appropriate possessor suffix is added to it; if the first noun is unpossessible, however, as in the last example, the possessor is indicated in a relational phrase introduced by *ęr*.

APPOSITIONAL STRUCTURES

3.10. In order to specify the category of objects to which something belongs, Palauan makes use of special expressions having the structure *noun phrase of possession* + *ęl* + *noun*. A typical example is *imęlek ęl biang* 'my (drink of) beer', in which the possessed noun *imęlek* 'my drink' (from *ilumęl* 'drink') specifies the **function** which is served by *biang* 'beer' on a particular occasion. While *biang* 'beer' names a specific kind of drink, *imęlek* 'my drink' refers to a more general category, to any kind of beverage I might drink; therefore, we can also have expressions like *imęlek ęl ralm* 'my (drink of) water', *imęlek ęl kohi* 'my coffee', etc. In these expressions, the noun phrase of possession (which happens to be a single possessed noun—cf. 3.6 above) is linked with the following more specific noun by the word *ęl*, which, as we will see in chap. 23, identifies a **relative clause** construction.[25] Structures like *imęlek ęl biang*, in which one thing is linked with or equated with another, are termed **appositional**; other appositional structures of Palauan, such as *John ęl sensei* 'John the teacher', will be examined in **23**.4.

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

(34) *Independent Form of Category Word*	*Appositional Structure (with 1st person sg. possessor)*
kall 'food'	kęlek ęl udong 'my noodles'
chęled 'fish or animal which has been caught but not cooked'	chęldik ęl ngikęl 'my fish'
odoim 'meat or fish which is ready to eat'	odimek ęl babii 'my pork'

ongraol 'starchy food'	ongulek[26] ęl kukau 'my taro'
kliou 'dessert'	kliungek ęl tuu 'my banana (for dessert)'[27]
charm 'animal'	chęrmek ęl babii 'my pig'
chęmachęl 'something to chew'	chęmęlek[28] ęl buuch 'my betel nut'
udoud 'money'	ududek ęl lluich ęl kluk 'my twenty dollars'
dęllomęl 'something planted'	dęllęmęlek ęl diokang 'my tapioca plant'

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

SOME SPECIAL POSSESSED NOUNS

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

(35) Ng soak a biang.
'I like beer.'

(36) Ng chętil a rrom.
'He dislikes liquor.'

(37) Ng sębęchir ęl mong?
'Can they go?'

(38) Ng kirem ęl mong?
'Do you have to go?'

Though the English equivalents contain verbs or 'helping' words like *can* and *have* (*to*), the Palauan sentences use possessed nouns to express the same concepts: 35, for example, contains the possesssed noun *soak* 'my liking' and means, literally, 'My liking is beer'. For a complete analysis of sentences like 35–38, see **17**.1 and **17**.3.

SUMMARY OF PALAUAN NOUN PHRASES

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

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

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

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

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

PALAUAN NOUN PHRASES OF POSSESSION

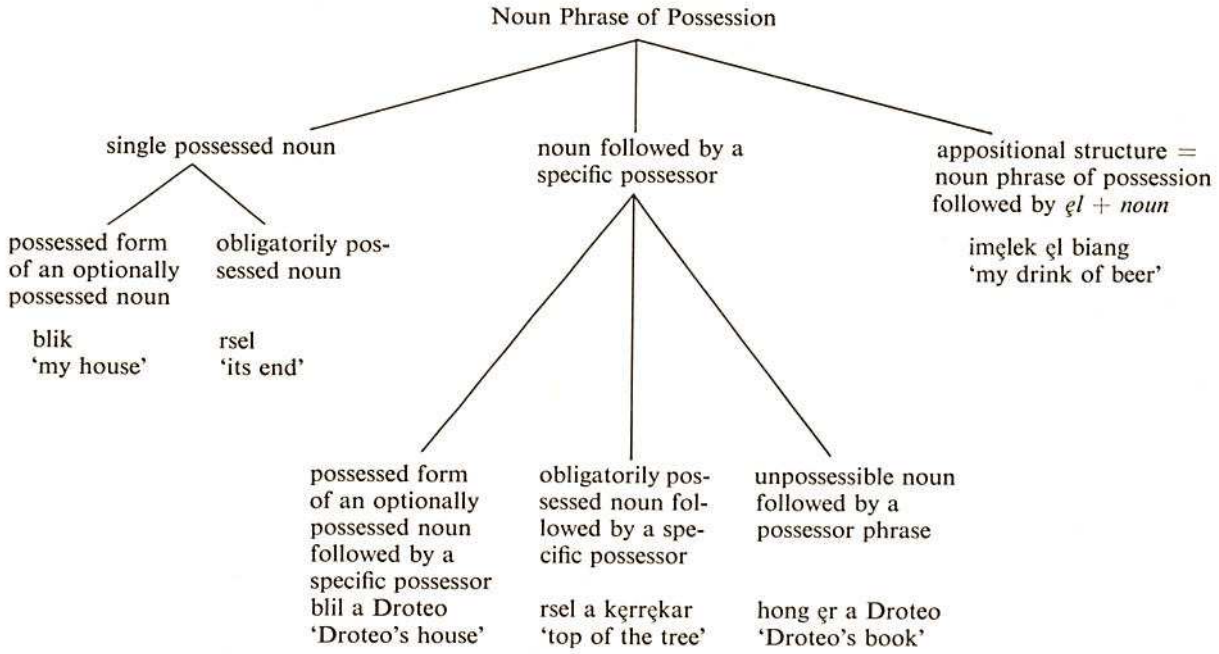


Figure 2

PALAUAN NOUN PHRASES OF CHARACTERIZATION

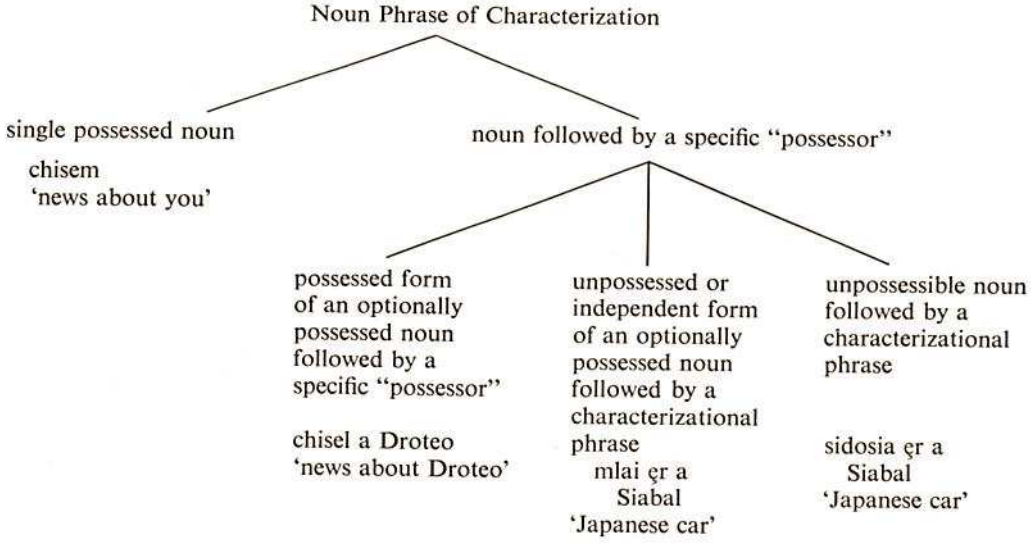


Figure 3

4 Palauan Pronouns

INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS AND AFFIX PRONOUNS

4.1. At various points in the preceding three chapters we have had occasion to mention something about the **pronouns** of Palauan. We found it necessary to introduce many different facts about Palauan pronouns simply because the use of pronouns is so closely tied up with problems of the spelling and the grammar. Thus, in **1**.5.d we discussed how the different sets of Palauan pronouns are to be spelled; in **2**.4 we examined some of the distributional characteristics which pronouns share with nouns, in addition to showing why the distinction human vs. non-human is important to pronoun usage; and, finally, in **3**.2–3 we analyzed the possessor pronouns (or suffixes) extensively. There are still many facts about Palauan pronouns which we have not presented; this will be done in the present chapter.

As we saw in **1**.5.d, some Palauan pronouns are spelled as separate words, while others are spelled as part of another word. We shall call the former type **independent pronouns**, whereas the latter type will be referred to as **affix pronouns**.[1] Affix pronouns never occur alone but must always be attached to the beginning or end of a word; in the former case they are **prefixes**, while in the latter case they are **suffixes**. These two terms have already appeared in the text and should be familiar to you: in **2**.5, for example, we discussed the human plural prefix *rę-* (as in *ręngalęk* 'children'), and in **3**.3 we described the different sets of possessor suffixes (as in *bilek* 'my clothes', *kęruk* 'my medicine', etc.).

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

('you'), respectively. **Third person pronouns** do not refer to any of the participants in a conversation but identify the person(s) or thing(s) being talked about ('he, she, it, they'). First, second and third person pronouns can be either **singular** or **plural**, though the third person plural pronoun refers to **human** nouns only. In addition, there are two first person plural pronouns—**inclusive** and **exclusive** (cf. **3**.2). The distinctions among Palauan pronouns can therefore be summarized as follows:

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

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

NON-EMPHATIC VS. EMPHATIC SUBJECTS

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

(2)	*Non-emphatic Pronouns*	*Emphatic Pronouns*
1st pers sg	ak	ngak
2nd pers sg	kę	kau
3rd pers sg	ng	ngii
1st pers pl incl	kędę	kid
1st pers pl excl	aki	kęmam
2nd pers pl	kom	kęmiu
3rd pers pl	tę	tir

Though we can see some similarities (especially in the consonants) between corresponding non-emphatic and emphatic forms, there is no predictable way of deriving one set from the other. While the emphatic pronouns are always stressed (cf. **1**.4.2) and are pronounced as they are spelled, the non-emphatic ones are never stressed and sometimes show a slight variation in pronunciation. For example, when *kę* 'you (sg.)', *kędę* 'we (incl.)', and *tę* 'they' appear before vowel-initial verbs, their final *ę* is lost in the pronunciation, as in *kę ulęmes* [kuləmɛs] 'you saw', *kędę ousbech*

[kəðouspɛʔ] 'we need', and *tę omęngur* [tomənŋur] 'they are eating'. The unpronounced *ę* is always spelled, however. Furthermore, when *ak* 'I' and *aki* 'we (excl.)' follow words ending in a full vowel, the *a* is not pronounced, as in *e le ak* [ɛlɛkʰ] 'because I...' and *a lęko ak* [aləgokʰ] 'I intended to...' If, however, the preceding word has a final *ę*, this schwa is deleted and the following *a* is pronounced, as in *mę ak* [makʰ] 'so I...'. Finally, we know from expressions like *kom osiik* [komosiykʰ] 'you are looking for', *kom ua ngarang*? [komwaŋaraŋ] 'how are you?' and *kom smechęr* [komsmɛʔər] 'you are sick' that the correct form of the second person plural non-emphatic pronoun is *kom*; if the word following *kom* begins with an *m*, however, only a single *m* is actually pronounced, as in *kom męrredęl* [komərɛðəl] 'you are the leaders'.

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

(3) A: Kę mo ęr ker?
'Where are you going?'

B: Ak mo ęr a stoang.
'I'm going to the store.'

(4) A: Ng tęcha a mo ęr a stoang?
'Who is going to the store?'

B: Ngak a mo ęr a stoang.
'I'm going to the store.'

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

(5) A: A Droteo ng mo ęr a stoang?
'Is Droteo going to the store?'

B: Ng diak. Ngak a mo ęr a stoang.
'No. I'm going to the store.'

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

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

(6) A: Ng tęcha a mo ęr a stoang?
'Who is going to the store?'

B: (Ng) ngak.
'(It's) me.'

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

(7) A: A Toki a milęnga a ngikęl.
'Toki ate fish.'

B: E kau?
'And (how about) you?'

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

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

(8) A: Ng tęcha a silsębii a blai?
'Who burned down the house?'

B: (Ng) ngii.
'(It's) him.'

(9) A: Tę rua tęcha a silsębii a blai?
'Who burned down the house?'

B: (Ng) tir.
'(It's) them.'

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

(3) A: Kę mo ęr ker?
'Where are you going?'

B: Ak mo ęr a stoang.
'I'm going to the store.'

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

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

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

(10) A: A Droteo a mlo ęr a Guam ęr a elii.
'Droteo went to Guam yesterday.'

B: *Ng* mo lmuut ęl me ęr oingarang?
'When is he coming back?'

(11) A: A John mę a Mary a me ęr a blik ęr a klukuk.
'John and Mary are coming to my house tomorrow.'

B: *Tę* chad ęr a Merikel?
'Are they Americans?'

(12) A: A Toki ng oureor ęr ker?
'Where does Toki work?'

B: *Ng* oureor ęr a bangk.
'She works at the bank.'

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

As we noted in **2**.6, all Palauan nouns (or, more properly, noun phrases—cf. **3**.6) must be introduced by the word *a*, unless they consist of pronouns. Thus, the independent pronouns (non-emphatic or emphatic) discussed in this section are never preceded by *a*. We noted also in **2**.6 that Palauan verbs (or, more properly, verb phrases—see **5**.2) are always introduced by *a* unless the sentence subject is a pronoun. As the examples in this section show, we must now qualify this statement to read as follows: the verb phrase of a sentence is always preceded by *a* except when the sentence subject is a **non-emphatic** pronoun. If the sentence subject is an emphatic pronoun, however, as in 4B and 5B above, the verb phrase is indeed introduced by *a*. The occurrence or non-occurrence of *a* before the verb phrase of a sentence is summarized below:

(13) *Sentence Type*	*Example*
a. *non-pronominal* subject + verb phrase.	A sęchęlik a smechęr. 'My friend is sick.' A Satsko a smechęr. 'Satsko is sick.'
b. *emphatic pronoun* subject + verb phrase.	Ngak a smechęr. 'I'm sick.' Ngii a smechęr. 'Shé's sick.'
c. *non-emphatic pronoun* subject + verb phrase.	Ak smechęr. 'I'm sick.' Ng smechęr. 'She's sick.'

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

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

(14) a. Ak ko ęr a sesmechęr.
'I'm rather sick.'

b. Tę di mililil ęr a Guam.
'They only fooled around in Guam.'

c. A John a dimlak lębo e le ng mle smechęr.
'John didn't go because he was sick.'

USE OF EMPHATIC PRONOUNS FOLLOWING *ęr*

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

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

(15) a. Kę męlasęm ęr ngak?
'Are you challenging me?'

b. Ng tęcha a milęngęlebęd ęr kau?
'Who was hitting you?'

c. Ak ulęmes ęr {ngii / tir} ęr a party.
'I saw {him/her / them} at the party.'

d. Ak dirk męluchęs ęr ngii.
'I'm still writing it.'

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

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

(16) A: Kę mla mo męrek ęr a babier?
'Have you finished (writing) the letter?'

B: Ng diak. Ak dirk męluchęs ęr ngii.
'No. I'm still writing it.'

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

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

(17) a. A sensei ęr ngak a me ęr a party.
'My teacher is coming to the party.'

b. A delmęrab ęr tir a kmal kikiongęl.
'Their room is very dirty.'

c. A beab a tilobęd ęr ngii.
'The mouse came out of it.'

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

EMPHATIC PRONOUNS IN COORDINATE NOUN PHRASES

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

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

(18) a. A Toki mę a Droteo a mlo ęr a stoang.
'Toki and Droteo went to the store.'

b. Tę męnga a ngikęl mę a kukau mę a diokang.
'They eat fish and taro and tapioca.'

c. Ng sidosia ęr a Toki mę a Droteo.
'It's Toki and Droteo's car.'

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

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

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

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

(20) a. Ngak mę a Helen a kauseçhęlei.
'Helen and I are friends.'

b. Tir mę a ręchad ęr a Merikel a blęchoel ęl kauchęraro.
'They and the Americans always treat each other as enemies.'

c. A Droteo a kautokętok ngii mę a Toki.
'Droteo and Toki are arguing.'

d. Kę mlo ęr a party kau mę a tęchang?[3]
'With whom did you go to the party?'

As the examples of 20 show, a coordinate noun phrase is not preceded by *a* if the first word in it is a pronoun. For an analysis of sentences 20c-d, which have coordinate noun phrases (*ngii mę a Toki* 'he and Toki', *kau mę a tęchang* 'you and who?') in sentence-final position, see **17**.5. Note that the English equivalents given for 20c-d do not reflect the structure of the Palauan sentences, which, if translated literally, would correspond to 'Droteo is arguing—he and Toki' and 'You went to the party—you and who?'

EMPHATIC PRONOUNS PRECEDED BY *di*

4.5. The emphatic pronouns occur in special expressions of the form *di* + (*mle* +) *emphatic pronoun* to indicate that a given person is or was the **exclusive** participant in some activity. In other words, these expressions imply that one and only one individual is involved in the action in question; by excluding the possibility that other persons may be involved, these expressions produce a kind of contrastive emphasis. They are very similar in meaning to English expressions like '(by) myself, (by) himself, etc.' Note that *di* means 'only' or 'just' (see **24**.6, ex. 46) and that *mle* 'was' precedes the emphatic pronoun if the action of the sentence took place at some time in the past. Some typical sentences containing these expressions (italicized) are given below:

(21) a. A ngęlękek a sębęchel ęl mo ęr a che ęl *di ngii*.
'My child is able to go fishing (all) by himself/on his own.'

b. A John a *di mle ngii* ęl męsuub ęl oukita.
'John studied the guitar by himself.'

c. Ng *di mle ngak* ęl męruul ęr a blik.
'I built my house (all) by myself.'

d. A ta ęr tir a *di mle ngii* ęl mękodir ęl oba a dub.
'One of them killed himself with a grenade.'

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

OTHER USES OF EMPHATIC PRONOUNS

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

(22) a. Ng dimlak lę*ngak* a silsębii a blai.
'It wasn't me who burned down the house.'

b. Ng dimlak l*tir* a milkodir a bilis.
'It wasn't them who killed the dog.'

c. *Ngii* di ęl chad a sębęchel ęl mo ęr a skuul.
'Any person has the right to go to school.'

d. A hong a longuiu ęr *ngii* a Droteo.
'The book is being read by Droteo.'

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

some person or persons were connected with a particular event; both of these sentences contain *dimlak* 'wasn't, weren't', which is the past form of the **negative verb** *diak* 'isn't' (see chap. 18). In sentence 22c, the subject noun phrase *ngii di ęl chad* is used to refer to people in general and has English equivalents like 'any person, anybody, anyone (at all), etc.' Finally, in 22d, *ęr ngii* is a special type of phrase which adds nothing to the meaning but which is required when the subject of a **passive sentence** (see **19**.7) is singular.

NON-EMPHATIC PRONOUNS AS PRONOMINAL TRACES

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

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

(24) a. A ralm a męķęlękolt. 'The water is cold.'
b. Ng męķęlękolt a ralm.

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

(25) a. A ręsęchęlim a mla mei. 'Your friends have come.'
b. Tę mla me a ręsęchęlim.

When the non-emphatic pronouns *ng* and *tę* appear as the result of subject shifting, we will refer to them as **pronominal traces**. In the b-sentences of 23–25 above, the verb phrase is not introduced by *a* precisely because it is preceded by a nonemphatic pronoun (cf. the discussion at the end of **4**.2 above).

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

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

(26) a. Ng męringęl a chimal a Droteo.
'Droteo's hand hurts.'
b. Ng klou a ulutęlel a babier.
'The letter is (very) important.'
c. Ng lluich mę a etiu a rękil a Toki.
'Toki is twenty-nine years old.'
d. Ng suebęk a ręngul a Droteo.[4]
'Droteo is worried.'
e. Ng ngar ęr ngii a party ęr a blil a Toki.
'There's a party at Toki's house.'
f. Ng diak a urerek ęr a elęchang.
'I don't have any work now.'
g. Ng soak a Toki.
'I like Toki.'
h. Ng chętil a kohi.
'He dislikes coffee.'

In sentences 26a–d the shifted subjects *chimal a Droteo* 'Droteo's hand', *ulutęlel a babier* 'importance of the letter', *rękil a Toki* 'Toki's age', and *ręngul a Droteo* 'Droteo's heart' are all noun phrases of possession which designate a specific third person possessor (cf. **3**.6). For 26a–c, the corresponding sentences with (non-shifted) sentence-initial subjects are also correct and acceptable, though some speakers seem to prefer using sentences with shifted subjects. Thus, with 26a, for example, compare the following, which is identical in meaning:

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

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

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

(28) A Droteo a suebęk a rengul.
'Droteo is worried.'

This sentence has been derived from 26d by taking the specific possessor *Droteo*, which was originally shifted to the right of the verb phrase as part of the shifted subject *rengul a Droteo* 'Droteo's heart', and moving it back to sentence-initial position, where it replaces the pronominal trace *ng*. This process, which we will call **preposing of possessor**, is widespread in Palauan and will be dealt with fully in **17**.3.

For sentences 26d–h, which have the shifted subjects *rengul a Droteo* 'Droteo's heart', *party*, *urerek* 'my work', *Toki*, and *kohi* 'coffee', Palauan speakers do not regularly use the corresponding sentences with (non-shifted) sentence-initial subjects. In other words, subject shifting seems to be required (or obligatory) in certain types of sentences: these include sentences like 26d, which contain special expressions with *reng* 'heart', sentences like 26e–f, which have the affirmative and negative expressions of existence *ngar er ngii* 'there is/are' and *diak* 'there isn't/aren't' (see **18**.2–2.1), and sentences like 26g–h, which contain possessed forms of the nouns of liking—*soak*, *soal*, etc.—and disliking—*chętik*, *chętil*, etc. (cf. **3**.11 and see **17**.1). In 26e–f, notice that the shifted subjects are followed by the relational phrases *er a blil a Toki* 'at Toki's house' and *er a elęchang* 'now'. These sentences show that we were correct in stating that the sentence subject is shifted to the right of the verb phrase rather than to the very end of the sentence. It just so happens that in sentences like 23b, 24b, 25b, 26a–d, and 26g–h, shifting the sentence subject to the right of the verb phrase also placed it in sentence-final position, since these sentences have no relational phrases.

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

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

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

(30) a. A reşęchęlim a mla mei.
'Your friends have come.'

b. Tę mla me a reşęchęlim?
'Have your friends come?'

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

(31) a. Ng klębokęl a bęchil a Droteo?
'Is Droteo's wife pretty?'

b. Ng lmuut ęl me a Cisco er a klukuk?
'Is Cisco returning tomorrow?'

c. Ng mlo dękimęs a ears?
'Did the sail get wet?'

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

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

(32) A Droteo ng mla mei?
'Has Droteo come?'

(33) A reşęchęlim tę mla mei?
'Have your friends come?'

(34) A bęchil a Droteo ng klębokęl?
'Is Droteo's wife pretty?'

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

PRONOMINALIZATION

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

(35) a. A Droteo a mlo ęr a hospital e le ng smechęr.
'Droteo went to the hospital because he's sick.'

b. A ręsęchęlik a mlo ęr a hospital e le tę smechęr.
'My friends went to the hospital because they're sick.'

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

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

(36) A Droteo a mlo ęr a hospital e le a Droteo a smechęr.
'Droteo went to the hospital because Droteo is sick.'

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

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

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

(37) a. A John a mlo smechęr mę ng mlo ęr a hospital.
'John got sick, so he went to the hospital.'

b. A Toki a dilu ęl kmo ng mong.[5]
'Toki said she is going.'

c. A lsękum a Droteo a me e ng me kie ęr a blik.
'If Droteo comes, he will stay at my house.'

d. A lak losuub a ręsęchęlik e tę mo fail ęr a test.
'If my friends don't study, they will fail the test.'

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

(38) Ng mlo smechęr mę a John a mlo ęr a hospital.
'He got sick, so John went to the hospital [to get him some medicine, etc.].'

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

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

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

b. A lsękum a Droteo a mo ęr a party, e ak mo omes ęr ngii.
'If Droteo goes to the party, then I'll be seeing him (there).'

c. A lsękum ak męsa a Droteo ęr a klukuk, e ak longir a hong ęr ngii.
'If I see Droteo tomorrow, I'll borrow his book.'

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

(40) A: Kę mla mo męrek ęr a babier?
'Have you finished (writing) the letter?'

B: Ng diak. Ak dirk męluchęs ęr ngii.
'No. I'm still writing it.'

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

OBJECT PRONOUNS AND PERFECTIVE VERBS

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

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

(41)

	Object Pronouns	*Emphatic Pronouns*
1st pers sg	-ak	ngak
2nd pers sg	-au	kau
3rd pers sg	-ii	ngii
1st pers pl incl	-id	kid
1st pers pl excl	-ęmam	kęmam
2nd pers pl	-ęmiu	kęmiu
3rd pers pl	-tęrir	tir

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

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

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

(42)

cholębędák	'hits me'
cholębędáu	'hits you (sg.)'
cholębędíi	'hits him/her/it'
cholębędíd	'hits us (incl.)'
cholębędęmám	'hits us (excl.)'
cholębędęmíu	'hits you (pl.)'
cholębędętęrír	'hits them'

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

Recall that all of the full vowels of Palauan can reduce to *ę* ([ə]=schwa) in unstressed syllables. This is precisely what happens to the vowel between *l* and *b* in the forms under discussion: in *męngęlébęd* [məŋəlébəð], we have the stressed full vowel *e* [ɛ], but in *cholębędii* [ʔoləbəðiy] this very same vowel has reduced to *ę* [ə] because it is no longer in a stressed syllable. The only remaining phonetic detail in the forms of 42 which we need to mention is the extra *ę* between the verb stem and the third person plural object pronoun *-tęrir*: this *ę* is added to break up an unpronounceable sequence of consonants (cf. **1**.4.5).

The Zero (Ø) Object Pronoun

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

(43) a. A sensei a cholębędau! '(Watch out!) The teacher is going to hit you (by accident)!'/ 'The teacher will hit you (if you misbehave).'

b. A John a cholębędii a Toki! 'John is going to hit Toki!'/ 'John will hit Toki (if she misbehaves).'

c. A Droteo a cholębędętęrir a ręngalęk! 'Droteo is going to hit the children!'/ 'Droteo will hit the children (if they misbehave).'

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

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

(44) A ngalęk a cholebęd a bilis!
'The child is going to hit the dogs!'

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

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

(45)

Verb stem	+		*Object pronoun*	
cholębęd	+		ak	'hits me'
cholebęd	+		Ø[6]	'hits them (e.g., the dogs)'
cholębęd	+	ę +	tęrir	'hits them (e.g., the people')'

From the above discussion, we can see that the third person object pronouns work somewhat differently from the third person pronouns of other pronoun sets. In **2**.4, we observed that there is only a two-way distinction among third person **non-emphatic pronouns**: *tę* 'they' refers exclusively to human plural, while *ng* 'he, she, it, they' refers to all singulars as well as to non-human plural. By contrast, the third person object pronouns under consideration in this section show a three-way distinction: *-tęrir* is used exclusively for human plural objects, *-Ø* is used for non-human plural objects, and *-ii* is used for all singular objects. Note that both the object pronouns and the non-emphatic pronouns highlight the significance of the distinction **human** vs. **non-human**, since in each set different pronouns are used for human vs. non-human plural (*tę* vs. *ng* and *-tęrir* vs. *-Ø*).

Further Examples of Perfective Verb Forms

4.9.2. As we will see in **5**.3, all Palauan verbs show three major distinctions of **tense**. Verbs in the **present tense** usually describe something that is going on at the time the speaker utters the sentence, but certain present tense verb forms can also refer to an **imminent** event, one which is just about to happen. Verbs in the **past tense**

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

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

(46) a. A sensei a chillębędak.
'The teacher hit me.'

b. A ngalęk a chillebęd a bilis.
'The child hit the dogs.'

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

(47) a. A Droteo a mo okisák.
'Droteo will wake me up.'

b. A Droteo a mo okisáu.
'Droteo will wake you (sg.) up.'

c. A Droteo a mo okisíi a Toki.
'Droteo will wake up Toki.'

d. A Droteo a mo okisíd.
'Droteo will wake us (incl.) up.'

e. A Droteo a mo okisęmám.
'Droteo will wake us (excl.) up.'

f. A Droteo a mo okisęmíu.
'Droteo will wake you (pl.) up.'

g. A Droteo a mo okistęrír a ręngalęk.
'Droteo will wake up the children.'

h. A Droteo a mo okíis a bilis.
'Droteo will wake up the dogs.'

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

In the discussion above we have seen how the object pronouns of 41 appear as suffixes in the perfective forms of verbs such as *męngęlebęd* 'hit' (see 42) and *olękiis* 'wake up' (see 47). Several other verbs whose perfective forms end in the object pronouns of 41 are *męsebęk* 'kick' (perfective forms: *sobękak* 'kicks me', *sobękau* 'kicks you', *silębękii* 'kicked him/her/it', *silębękętęrir* 'kicked them', etc.), *męngimd* 'cut (someone's hair)' (perfective forms: *kimdak* 'cuts my hair', *kimdau* 'cuts your hair', *kilęmdii* 'cut his/her hair', *kilęmdętęrir* 'cut their hair', etc.), and *olęchiis* 'chase' (perfective forms: *ochisak* 'chases me', *ochisau* 'chases you', *ulęchisii* 'chased him/her/it', *ulęchistęrir* 'chased them', etc.).

Verbs with Limited Perfective Forms

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

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

(48) a. A Droteo a lilęchęsii a babier.
'Droteo wrote the letter.'

b. A Droteo a liluchęs a babier.
'Droteo wrote the letters.'

(49) a. A Droteo a chilętęklii a chęlitakl.
'Droteo sang the song.'

b. A Droteo a chilitakl a chęlitakl.
'Droteo sang the songs.'

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

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

(50) a. Ak lilęngir[8] a mlil a Cisco.
'I borrowed Cisco's car.'

b. Ak lileng a mlil a Cisco.
'I borrowed Cisco's cars.'

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

(51) Ng sębęchek ęl longętęrir a bebil ęr a ręchędam?
'Could I borrow (the services of) a few of your men?'

Variant Forms of the Object Pronouns

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

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

(52) ulękęrngák 'woke me up'
ulękęrngáu 'woke you (sg.) up'
ulękęrngii 'woke him/her/it up'
ulękęrngíd 'woke us (incl.) up'
ulękęrngęmám 'woke us (excl.) up'
ulękęrngęmiu 'woke you (pl.) up'
ulękęrngętęrir 'woke them (hum.) up'
ulękár 'woke them (non-hum.) up'

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

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

(53)

Person and Number of Object Pronoun	*omes* 'see'	*mędęnge* 'know'
1st pers sg	męsękak	mędęngęlkak
2nd pers sg	męsękau	mędęngęlkau
3rd pers sg	męsa	mędęngęlii
1st pers pl incl	męsękid	mędęngęlkid
1st pers pl excl	męsękęmam	mędęngęlkęmam
2nd pers pl	męsękęmiu	mędęngęlkęmiu
3rd pers pl hum	męs(ę)tęrir	mędęngęltęrir
3rd pers pl non-hum	mes	mędęnge
	oba 'carry, take'	*męlai* 'bring, take'
1st pers sg	obękak	ngoikak
2nd pers sg	obękau	ngoikau
3rd pers sg	oba	nguu
1st pers pl incl	obękid	ngoikid
1st pers pl excl	obękęmam	ngoikęmam
2nd pers pl	obękęmiu	ngoikęmiu
3rd pers pl hum	obę(ti)tęrir	ngoititęrir
3rd pers pl non-hum	olab	ngmai

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

(a) In all paradigms, no *k* is found in those perfective forms having a suffixed third person object pronoun.

(b) In the paradigm of *omes* 'see', a *ę* sound is inserted between the final *s* of the verb stem and the initial *k* of the object pronoun. Insertion of this *ę* is optional before *-tęrir*.[10]

(c) The third person singular perfective forms *męsa* 'sees him/her/it' and *oba* 'carries him/her/it' appear to have a pronoun suffix of the form *-a*. This form is extremely rare and is found only in these two verbs and in *msa* 'give' (cf. note !0).

(d) All of the perfective forms of *męd̨enge* 'know' have a final *l* added to the verb stem.[11]

(e) The third person singular perfective form *nguu* 'brings/takes it' is difficult to analyze in terms of verb stem and suffixed object pronoun.

(f) The third person plural human perfective forms *obę(ti)-tęrir* 'carries/takes them' and *ngoititęrir* 'brings/takes them', have the extra syllable *-ti-*.[12] This extra syllable is optional in the former word, but obligatory in the latter.

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

(54)

Verb in Imperfective Form	*Perfective Form (in Present Tense) with Third Person Singular Object Pronoun*
męleng 'borrow'	longir 'borrows it'
mękui 'finish completely'	rokir 'finishes it completely'
olęngęseu 'help'	ngosuir 'helps him/her'
oker 'ask'	korir 'asks him/her'
omękoad 'kill'	mękodir 'kills him/her/it'
omech 'connect'	męchir 'connects it'
męluk 'cut into pieces'	tukur 'cuts it into pieces'
męngam 'break (long object)'	chumur 'breaks it'
męngęsa 'occupy, make busy'	chosęngur 'makes him busy'
męlul 'burn, barbeque'	durur 'barbeques it'
omękdęchor 'build'	mękędęchęrur 'builds it'
męsuk 'put in'	sukur 'puts it in'
męsib 'plow'	sibur 'plows it'
męngut 'wear out, make old'	chutur 'wears it out'
męchar 'pay for, buy'	męchęrar 'pays for it'

HYPOTHETICAL PRONOUNS

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

(55) a. A *kusuub* e ak mo pass ęr a test.
'If I study, I'll pass the test.'

b. A *losuub* e ng mo pass ęr a test.
'If he studies, he'll pass the test.'

c. A *dosuub* e kędę mo pass ęr a test.
'If we (incl.) study, we'll pass the test.'

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

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

Hypothetical Pronouns with Imperfective Verbs

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

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

(56)

Person and Number of Hypothetical Pronoun	*Hypothetical Form of* męlim *'drink'*	
1st pers sg	*ku*lim	'(if) I drink'
2nd pers sg/pl	*chomo*lim	'(if) you drink'
3rd pers sg/pl	*lo*lim	'(if) he/she/it/they drink(s)'
1st pers pl incl	*do*lim	'(if) we (incl.) drink'
1st pers pl excl	*kimo*lim	'(if) we (excl.) drink'

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

The hypothetical forms of *męlim* 'drink' given in 56 above are derived simply by replacing the **verb marker prefix** *mę-* (see **5**.4 and chap. 6) by various hypothetical pronouns. In exactly the same way we can derive the hypothetical forms of any imperfective verb which begins with *mę-*. Note, for example, the following partial list:

(57)

Imperfective Verb in mę-	*Hypothetical Forms*
męsilęk 'wash'	kusilęk, chomosilęk, losilęk, etc.
męnguiu 'read'	kunguiu, chomonguiu, longuiu, etc.
męluchęs 'write'	kuluchęs, chomoluchęs, loluchęs, etc.
męngiis 'dig'	kungiis, chomongiis, longiis, etc.

For those imperfective verbs which begin with *o-* (which is actually a variant of the verb marker *mę-* —see **6**.1), the initial *o-* is dropped before adding the hypothetical pronouns of 56. The hypothetical forms of such verbs are illustrated in the partial list below:

(58)

Imperfective Verb in o-	*Hypothetical Forms*
omes 'see'	kumes, chomomes, lomes, etc.
orrengęs 'hear'	kurrengęs, chomorrengęs, lorrengęs, etc.
osiik 'look for'	kusiik, chomosiik, losiik, etc.

Hypothetical Pronouns as Agents

4.10.2. In all hypothetical verb forms, the prefixed hypothetical pronoun designates the **doer** (or **agent**) of some action (or, as we will see in **4**.10.5 below, the person or thing characterized by a particular state or condition). Observe the use of the hypothetical verb forms in the examples below:

(59) a. Ng soak a ngęlękek a *lo*suub.
'I want my child to study.'

b. Ng chętik a *chomo*lamęch a dękool.
'I don't like you to smoke cigarettes.'

c. A Toki a *lo*ngęlebęd ęr ngii a Droteo.
'Toki is being hit by Droteo.'

d. A babier a *ku*luchęs ęr ngii.
'The letter is being written by me.'

In all of the sentences of 59, the italicized hypothetical pronouns either refer to or identify the agent. In 59a, the prefix *lo-* of *losuub* tells us that it is some third person who is expected to study, and the specific noun *ngęlękek* 'my child' establishes this person's identity. And in 59b, the prefix *chomo-* of *chomolamęch* makes it clear that it is the person being spoken to who is getting scolded for smoking. Sentences 59c and 59d are **passive sentences** (see **5**.6 and **19**.7) in which the person or thing being affected by the action (*Toki* in 59c and *babier* 'letter' in 59d) appears in sentence-initial position and is followed by a hypothetical verb form which refers to or identifies the agent. In other words, in 59c *lo-* of *longęlebęd* tells us that it is some third person who is hitting Toki, and the specific noun *Droteo* gives the person's exact identity. And in 59d, *ku-* of *kuluchęs* makes it clear that it is the speaker who is engaging in the activity of writing the letter.

Hypothetical Pronouns with the Past Tense

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

(60)

1st pers sg	*ku*llim	'was drunk by me'
2nd pers sg/pl	(*cho*)*mu*llim	'was drunk by you'
3rd pers sg/pl	*lu*llim	'was drunk by him/her/it'
1st pers pl incl	*du*llim	'was drunk by us (incl.)'
1st pers pl excl	*kimu*llim	'was drunk by us (excl.)'

The hypothetical verb forms in 60 consist of a prefixed hypothetical pronoun, followed by the **past tense marker** *-l-* (see **5**.3.2), followed by the verb stem *-lim*.[13] Notice that the hypothetical pronouns which are *o-* final in 56 are *u-* final in 60.[14] In addition, the first syllable of the second person hypothetical pronoun *chomu-* is often dropped, resulting in *mu-*. A similar shortening of *chomo-* of 56 to *mo-* is found among many speakers, especially if particular constructions are involved. Thus, while most speakers use the "full" form *chomo-* if the hypothetical verb form is in a question such as

(61) Ngara ęl tękoi a *chomo*suub ęr a elęchang?
'What language are you studying now?'

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

(62) a. A babier ęl *mo*luchęs ęr ngii a mo ęr a Droteo.[15]
'The letter you're writing goes to Droteo.'

b. A blai ęl *mo*ruul ęr ngii a kmal klou.
'The house you're building is very large.'

Reduced Variants of the Hypothetical Pronouns

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

(63)

	mo 'go'	*me* 'come'
1st pers sg	*k*bo	*kę*me
2nd pers sg/pl	*cho*bo	*cho*me
3rd pers sg/pl	*lę*bo	*lę*me
1st pers pl incl	*dę*bo	*dę*me
1st pers pl excl	*ki*bo	*ki*me

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

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

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

(64) a. A *k*bo ęr a Guam, e ak mo kie ęr a blil a Toki.
'If I go to Guam, I'll stay at Toki's house.'

b. A *lę*me a Droteo, e ng me kie ęr a blik.
'If Droteo comes, he'll stay at my house.'

c. Ng diak *lę*bo ęr a party.
'He's not going to the party.'

d. Ng diak *cho*me ęr a blik?
'Aren't you coming to my house?'

In the pronunciation of 64d, the initial *ch* of *cho-* 'you' is usually deleted following the final *k* of *diak* 'isn't', which is then pronounced as [g] because of its **intervocalic** position (cf. **1**.3.1). Therefore, *diak chome* is pronounced as [ðiagomɛ].

Distribution of the Reduced Variants

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

As opposed to the hypothetical forms of **imperfective** verbs, which take the longer variants of the hypothetical pronouns listed in 56 and 60, the hypothetical forms of **perfective** verbs (cf. **4**.9 and **4**.9.2 above) usually contain the reduced variants observed in 63. In the examples which follow, the italicized hypothetical pronouns are prefixed to perfective verb forms:

(65) a. A hong a *k*bilsa a sęchęlik.
'The book was given by me to my friend.'

b. Ng dimlak *k*bosii a bilis.
'I didn't shoot the dog'.

c. A blai ęl *lę*silsębii a buik a blil a Toki.
'The house which was burned down by the boy is Toki's house.'

d. A Droteo a dimlak *lę*ngai a ilumęl.
'Droteo didn't bring the drinks.'

e. A present a *lę*bilskak a Droteo.
'The present was given to me by Droteo.'

f. A Satsko a dimlak *l*ęngęsuir a Toki ęl ręmuul a subęlel.
'Satsko didn't help Toki do her homework.'

g. A kall ęl *l*ękila a Droteo a mle będęręchuis.
'The food which Droteo ate was spoiled.'

h. A hong a *cho*bilskak.
'The book was given to me by you.'

i. Ng tela ęl biang a *chomę*ngilim?
'How many beers did you drink?'

j. Ng tela ęl ngikęl a *chomę*kilang?
'How many fish did you eat?'

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

So far we have only looked at the hypothetical forms of verbs like *męsuub* 'study', *męlim* 'drink', *męluchęs* 'write', *msa* 'give', *mo* 'go', *me* 'come', etc., all of which designate actions or activities. Verbs which describe states or conditions rather than actions also have hypothetical forms, as the examples below illustrate:

(66) a. Ng diak *k*sechęr.
'I'm not sick.'

b. A mlik a diak *l*ęklou.
'My car isn't that big/big enough.'

c. A mubi a dimlak *l*ęmękngit.
'The movie wasn't bad.'

d. A *l*ęngar ęr ngii a ududek, e ak mo ęr a Guam.
'If I had the money, I'd go to Guam.'

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

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

(67) a. Ng diak *k*sensei.
'I'm not a teacher.'

b. Ak mo olęngull se ęl *k*bo *k*rubak.
'I'm going to take things easy when I get to be an old man.'

c. Tę me ęr a blik a {lętutau / lęsuelęb}.
'They come to my house in the {morning / afternoon}.'

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

Hypothetical Forms of Complex Verb Phrases

4.10.6. As we will see in **5**.3.2.1, **5**.3.3, and **19**.7.2, Palauan has several types of **complex verb phrases** which consist of two, or possibly three, separate words. Some typical examples of such verb phrases include *mo omes* 'go see, will see', *mo ungil* 'get better', *me męngęt-mokl* 'come (in order to) clean', *mla mo męrek* 'has finished', etc. When a complex verb phrase occurs in a construction which requires a hypothetical verb form, a hypothetical pronoun is often prefixed to each of its parts. Observe the following sentences:

(68) a. A mubi ęl *k*bo *ku*mes ęr ngii a mubi ęr a Dois.
'The movie which I am going to see is a German movie.'

b. Ngara ęl mubi a *cho*bo (*cho*)*mo*mes ęr ngii?
'What kind of movie are you going to see?'

c. Ng dirkak *k*bo *k*męrek ęr a subęlek.
'I haven't finished my homework yet.'

d. A ngęlękek a dirkak *l*ębo *l*ungil[17] ęl smechęr.
'My child hasn't gotten well yet.'

e. A *l*ębo *l*sechęr[18] a Droteo, e ng diak lębo ęr a skuul.
'If Droteo gets sick, he won't go to school.'

f. A babier ęl *le*bla *l*ębo *l*ęmęrek ęr ngii a Droteo a mo ęr a Toki.
'The letter which Droteo has just finished (writing) goes to Toki.'

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

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

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

(69) A babier a bo *lo*luchęs ęr ngii a Satsko.
'The letter will be written by Satsko.'

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

Imperative Verb Forms

4.10.7. As we will see in **19**.5, **imperative** verb forms are used to express orders or commands. Since commands are always directed at the person or persons being spoken to, they necessarily entail second person pronouns. Therefore, it should not be surprising that Palauan imperative verb forms are nothing more than hypothetical verb forms which have a prefixed second person hypothetical pronoun.

In **4**.10.3 above, we saw that the second person hypothetical pronoun *chomo-* is shortened to *mo-* in certain constructions. This shortened form *mo-* also appears in the hypothetical forms of **imperfective** verbs when they are used as imperatives. Observe the following sentences:

(70) a. *Mo*silęk ęr a bilem!
'Wash your clothes!'

b. *Mo*nga ęr a ngikęl!
'Eat the fish!'

c. *Mo*nguiu ęr a hong!
'Read the book!'

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

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

(71) a. *M*ngilmii a imęlem!
'Finish up your drink!'

b. *M*lęchęsii a babier!
'Write the letter!'

c. *M*kętmokl a delmęrab!
'Straighten up the rooms!'

d. *M*tęchęlbętęrir a rengalęk!
'Bathe the children!'

e. *M*chęlebęd a bilis!
'Hit the dogs!'

In all of the imperative verb forms of 71, the prefixed second person hypothetical pronoun is pronounced as a separate syllable—i.e., as [m̩] (cf. **1**.3.5).

Propositive Verb Forms

4.10.8. As we will see in **19**.6, **propositive** verb forms are used when the speaker **proposes** or **suggests** that he and the person spoken to do some action together. As the examples below illustrate, Palauan propositive verb forms are nothing more than hypothetical verb forms with first person plural inclusive hypothetical pronouns:

(72) a. *Do*rael!
'Let's go!'

b. *Do*męngur ęr tiang!
'Let's eat here!'

c. *Dę*bo *do*lim a biang!
'Let's go drink a beer!'

d. *Dę*kiięsii a kliokl e *do*lęngull kung.
'Let's dig the hole (now) and rest later.'

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

Summary of Hypothetical Pronouns

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

(73)

Person and Number of Hypothetical Pronoun	*Variant Forms*
1st pers sg	ku-, kę-, k-
2nd pers sg/pl	chomo-, mo-, chomu-, mu-, cho-, chomę-, m-
3rd pers sg/pl	lo-, lu-, lę-, l-
1st pers pl incl	do-, du-, dę-
1st pers pl excl	kimo-, kimu-, ki-

5 Palauan Verbs

IDENTIFICATION OF PALAUAN VERBS

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

Action Verbs: Transitive and Intransitive

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

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

(1) a. A ngalęk a *męnga* ęr a ngikęl.
'The child is eating the fish.'

b. A John a *milęngęlebęd* ęr a katuu.
'John was hitting the cat.'

c. A Toki a *męngętmokl* ęr a delmęrab.
'Toki is straightening up the room.'

d. A chad ęr a Merikel a *milkodir* a męchas.
'An American killed the old lady.'

e. Ak *riręngęsii* a chisel a Toki.
' I heard the news about Toki.'

f. Tę *chilsbrebęr* a blai.
'They painted the houses.'

g. A Droteo a *milęngimd* ęr ngak.
'Droteo was cutting my hair.'

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

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

(2)

męlim 'drink'	męlasęch 'carve'
męngitakl 'sing'	męruul 'make, repair'
męlamęch 'smoke, chew'	męleng 'borrow'
męluchęs 'write'	męnguiu 'read'
męngiis 'dig'	męleseb 'burn'
omes 'see'	orrengęs 'hear'
osiik 'look for'	orrebęt 'drop'

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

(3) a. A ngalęk a *milil* ęr a sers.
'The child is playing in the garden.'

b. A Droteo a *milęngędub* ęr a diong.
'Droteo was swimming in the stream.'

c. A dęmak a *oureor* ęr a bangk.
'My father works at the bank.'

d. A Toki a *mo* ęr a skuul.
'Toki is going to school.'

e. A sęchęlik a *me* ęr a blik.
'My friend is coming to my house.'

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

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

(4) a. Ak milsuub a tękoi ęr a Siabal.
'I was studying Japanese.'

b. Ak milsuub.
'I was studying.'

(5) a. A John a męngitakl a chęlitakl ęr a Ruk.
'John is singing a Trukese song.'

b. A John a męngitakl.
'John is singing.'

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

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

(6) a. Ak mo męleng ęr a mlil a Cisco.
'I'm going to borrow Cisco's car.'

b. *Ak mo męleng.
(? 'I'm going to borrow.')

(7) a. A Maria a męruul a kall.
'Maria is making the food.'

b. *A Maria a męruul.
(? 'Maria is making.')

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

State Verbs

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

(8) a. A ngęlękek a *smechęr*.
'My child is sick.'

b. A eangęd a *mękngit*.
'The weather is poor.'

c. Tia ęl delmęrab a *mękeald*.
'This room is warm.'

d. A ręchad ęr a Merikel a *męlongakl*.
'Americans are tall.'

e. A blil a Toki a *klou*.
'Toki's house is big.'

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

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

(9) ungil 'good'
songęrengęr 'hungry'
kikiongęl 'dirty'
męsaul 'tired'
bibruręk 'yellow'
bęcheleleu 'white'
ngar 'be (located)'
klębokęl 'pretty'
kekędeb 'short'
meteet 'rich'
milkolk 'dark'
bęches 'new'
bękętękoi 'talkative'
mla 'was (located)'

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

(10) a. A Toki a ngar ęr a bab.
'Toki is upstairs.'

b. A udoud a ngar ęr a chęlsel a skidas.
'The money is inside the drawer.'

c. Ak mla ęr a M-Dock.
'I was/have been at M-Dock.'

The **existential state verbs** *ngar* 'be (located)' and *mla* 'was (located)' will be examined in detail in **18**.2.

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

(11) a. A Droteo a *męduęnge* a tękoi ęr a Sina.
'Droteo knows Chinese.'

b. A ngęlękek a *mędakt* ęr a sensei.
'My child is afraid of the teacher.'

c. Ak *męduch* ęr a ochur.
'I know (how to do) math.'

FURTHER DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ACTION VERBS AND STATE VERBS

5.1.3. In **5**.1.1–2 above we attempted to define action verbs and state verbs in terms of a fundamental meaning difference. Thus, we said that while action verbs designate actions, activities, or events, state verbs specify states, conditions, or qualities. In addition, we saw that both action verbs and state verbs can be transitive or intransitive, resulting in the following four possibilities:

(12) *Transitive action verb:* męnga 'eat', męngęlebęd 'hit', etc.

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

Transitive state verb: męduęnge 'know', mędakt 'be afraid of, fear', etc.

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

When we look at some of the grammatical properties of action verbs and state verbs, we find further support (or evidence) for distinguishing the two types. Action verbs and state verbs "behave" differently in at least two important ways. First of all, the **past tense** forms of action verbs and state verbs are derived differently. The past tense forms of action verbs involve the addition of an **affix** of some kind. In **4**.1 we saw that affixes are morphemes which cannot occur as independent words but which must always be attached to some other word. The two types of affixes we mentioned were **prefixes** and **suffixes**, which are added to the beginning or end of a word, respectively. In discussing the past tense forms of action verbs, we need to speak of a third type of affix—namely, **infixes**. Infixes are morphemes which are inserted into a word. Thus, for any transitive or intransitive action verb which begins with the **verb marker prefix** *męˉ* or *mˉ* (see **5**.4 below and chap. 6), the past tense is derived by infixing the **past tense marker** *-il-* or *-l-* after the *m* of the verb marker. In the past tense forms given below, the infixed past tense marker has been italicized:

(13)

Action Verb—Present Tense	*Past Tense Form*
męnga 'eat'	m*il*ęnga 'ate'
męngęlebęd 'hit'	m*il*ęngęlebęd 'hit'
męlim 'drink'	m*il*lim 'drank'
męluchęs 'write'	m*il*luchęs 'wrote'
milil 'play'	m*il*ilil 'played'
męngędub 'swim'	m*il*ęngędub 'swam'

mo 'go'	m*l*o 'went'
me 'come'	m*l*e 'came'

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

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

(14)

State Verb	*Past Tense Form*
męknigit 'bad'	mle męknigit 'was/were bad'
mętongakl 'tall'	mle mętongakl 'was/were tall'
bęches 'new'	mle bęches 'was/were new'
mędęnge 'know'	mle mędęnge 'knew'
mędakt 'be afraid of, fear'	mle mędakt 'was/were afraid of, feared'

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

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

(15) a. Aki mlo milil ęr a blil a Toki.
'We went to play at Toki's house.'

b. A Toki a mlo męngętmokl ęr a blik.
'Toki went to clean my house.'

c. Ak mo męsuub ęr a klukuk.
'I'm going to study tomorrow.'

(16) a. A Toki a mlo smechęr.
'Toki got sick.'

b. A delmęrab a mlo kikiongęl.
'The room got dirty.'

c. A John a mla mo męduch ęr a ochur.
'John has gotten proficient in math.'

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

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

DISTRIBUTION OF PALAUAN VERBS

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

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

Although verb phrases can consist of single verb forms such as *męnga* 'eat', *mililil* 'played', etc., they often involve a sequence of words such as *mle ungil* 'was good', *mlo smechęr* 'got sick', *mo męruul* 'will make/prepare', *mla mo męrek* 'has finished', etc. In these examples, various kinds of auxiliary words (cf. **5**.1.3 above)—*mle*, *mlo*, *mo*, *mla mo*—precede state verbs or action verbs and provide, among other things, information about the **tense** (see **5**.3 below). Other types of verb phrases consist of a **qualifying word** (see **24**.6) followed by a verb form, as in *kmal ungil* 'very good', *di mililil* 'just played', *dirk smechęr* 'is still sick', etc.

The sentences of Palauan, like those of all other languages, are not just "strings" of single words that have been tacked on to each other in random fashion. Rather, they consist of certain groups of associated words (i.e., **phrases**) which are related to each other in well-defined ways. The three major types of phrases in Palauan have already been introduced: they include **noun phrases, verb phrases**, and **relational phrases**. These three kinds of phrases combine in various ways to give the main **sentence types** of Palauan. For example, any Palauan sentence containing a **transitive** verb (cf. **5**.1.1 above) followed by an object has the structure *subject noun phrase* + *verb phrase* + *object noun phrase*, as in the following:

(17)	*Subject Noun Phrase*	*Verb Phrase*	*Object Noun Phrase*	
a.	A ngalęk	a silsębii	a blai.	'The child burned down the house.'
b.	A ngęlękel a Toki	a mla sosębii	a blil a Droteo.	'Toki's child has burned down Droteo's house.'

As 17a shows, noun phrases and verb phrases may consist of single nouns (*ngalęk* 'child', *blai* 'house') or single verbs (*silsębii* 'burned it down'), respectively. But they may also consist of sequences of closely associated words, as in 17b: here, *ngęlękel a Toki* 'Toki's child' and *blil a Droteo* 'Droteo's house' are **noun phrases of possession** (cf. **3**.6), and *mla sosębii* 'has burned it down' is a verb phrase consisting of the auxiliary word *mla* (which designates a recent past event—see **5**.3.2.1 below) followed by the perfective verb form *sosębii* 'burn it down'. Notice that the subject noun phrase, the verb phrase, and the object noun phrase in 17a–b are all introduced by the word *a*.

The sentences of 17 illustrate an important fact about the distribution of Palauan verbs—or, more properly, verb phrases. These sentences show that verb phrases containing a transitive verb follow the subject noun phrase and precede the object noun phrase (if there is one—cf. the discussion of examples 4–7 in **5**.1.1 above). If the verb phrase contains an intransitive verb (whether an action verb or a state verb), it takes a subject noun phrase but no object noun phrase, as in the sentences below:

(18) a. A buik a ręmurt.
'The boy is running.'

b. A sensei a mei.
'The teacher is coming.'

c. A bęchil a Droteo a smechęr.
'Droteo's wife is sick.'

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

(19) a. A buik a ręmurt *ęr a sęrsel a Droteo.*
'The boy is running in Droteo's garden.'

b. A sensei a me *er a elęchang.*
'The teacher is coming now.'

c. A bęchil a Droteo a smechęr *ęr a tęretęr.*
'Droteo's wife is sick with a cold.'

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

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

(20) a. A ngalęk a silsębii a blai *er a elii.*
'The child burned down the house yesterday.'

b. A Toki a męruul a kall *ęr a uum.*
'Toki is making the food in the kitchen.'

c. Ak milleng a udoud *ęr a sęchęlik.*
'I borrowed some money from my friend.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In some Palauan sentences we find that the distribution of the verb phrase with respect to the surrounding noun phrases does not correspond to that given in the two formulas above. As we mentioned in **4**.7, many Palauan sentences are formed by a process of **subject shifting**, in which the subject noun phrase is moved to the right of the verb phrase; as a result of this process, a **pronominal trace** is left in the original subject position in the form of a non-emphatic pronoun. Therefore, in sentences like those below, the verb phrase is **followed** by the (shifted) subject noun phrase (italicized) and **preceded** by a pronominal trace:

(22) a. Tę mla me a *ręsęchęlim.*
'Your friends have come.'

b. Ng męringęl a *chimal a Toki.*
'Toki's hand hurts.'

If a sentence like 22b is further modified by **preposing the possessor** (cf. **4**.7, ex. 28 and see **17**.3), then we have a sentence like the following:

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

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

TENSE

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

PRESENT TENSE

5.3.1. The major function of **present tense** verb forms is to describe actions or states which are in progress at the time the sentence is uttered. Often, sentences of this kind will contain a **temporal phrase** (see **14**.6) like *er a elęchang* 'now', which designates the present moment. Observe the sentences below:

(24) a. A Toki a męsuub er a elęchang.
'Toki is studying now.'

b. A ngęlękek a męchiuaiu.
'My child is sleeping.'

c. A sensei ęr ngak a smechęr.
'My teacher is sick.'

d. A tolęchoi a mędakt ęr a chęrrodęch.
'The baby is afraid of the noise.'

You will notice that the action verbs and state verbs of 24a-d do not contain any special affixes except the verb marker, which appears as a prefix *mę-* in *męsuub* 'study', *męchiuaiu* 'sleep', and *mędakt* 'afraid of' and as an infix *-m-* in *smechęr* 'sick' (see **5**.4 below and chap. 6). In other words, Palauan has no special affix to mark the present tense; rather, it is the **absence** of such a marker which identifies present tense verb forms. Thus, Palauan present tense verb forms are **unmarked**, while the other tense forms are

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

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

(25) a. A ręchad ęr a Sina a męnga a bęras.
'The Chinese eat rice.'

b. A ręchad ęr a Merikel a mętongakl.
'Americans are tall.'

c. A Toki a mo ęr a skuul ęl ngar ęr a mlai.
'Toki goes to school in a car.'

d. A Satsko a męngętmokl ęr a blik ęr a bek ęl tutau.
'Satsko cleans up my house every morning.'

As we saw in **4**.9.1–2, Palauan perfective verb forms in the present tense have a special connotation of **warning** or **precaution.** Additional examples illustrating this point will be given in **12**.2. A similar connotation is observed among the present tense forms of **ergative verbs**, which will be discussed in **5**.4 below.

Past Tense

5.3.2. Palauan **past tense** verb forms always describe an event or state which was in progress in the past, at some point in time preceding the time of the utterance. As we saw in **5**.1.3 above, the past tense forms of action verbs and state verbs are derived in an entirely different manner. State verbs in the past tense are simply preceded by the auxiliary word *mle* 'was, were', as in the following sentences:

(26) a. Ak mle smechęr er a elii.
'I was sick yesterday.'

b. A eolt a kmal mle męses ęr a kęsus.
'The wind was very strong last night.'

c. A kall a mle będęręchuis.
'The food was spoiled.'

d. Ak mle męddęngęlii a Toki ęr se ęr a lęngalęk.
'I knew Toki when she was a child.'

e. Aki mle kaudęnge ęr a Guam.
'We knew each other in Guam.'

As sentences like 26a–b show, verbs in the past tense are often accompanied by **temporal phrases** (see **14**.6) like *er a elii* 'yesterday', *ęr a kęsus* 'last night', etc. which designate some time point or time period in the past.

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

(27) a. A dart ęl chad a mle sengkio.
'One hundred people voted.'

b. A sensei a mle harau a blals.
'The teacher paid the fine.'

c. A bilsęngek a mle kosio.
'My boat went out of order.'

d. A Kiyosi a mle {fail / otsir} ęr a test.
'Kiyosi failed the test.'

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

As we saw in **5**.1.3 above, we derive the past tense forms of transitive and intransitive action verbs by infixing the **past tense marker** *-il-* or *-l-* after the *m-* of the verb marker. For most action verbs, we have two past tense forms, one containing *-il-* and the other containing *-l-*, as in the following:

(28)

Action Verb— Present Tense	*Past Tense Forms*
męnga 'eat'	m*il*ęnga, m*l*ęnga 'ate'
męsuub 'study'	m*il*suub, m*l*suub 'studied'
męchiuaiu 'sleep'	m*il*ęchiuaiu, m*l*ęchiuaiu 'slept'
mękęra 'do what?'	m*il*ękęra, m*l*ękęra 'did what?'

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

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

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

(29) a. Ak milsuub er se ər a ləmad a dengki.
'I was studying when the electricity went out'.

b. A Toki a milǝchiuaiu er se ər a ləme a Droteo.
'Toki was sleeping when Droteo came.'

c. A Droteo a milǝngǝdub er se ər a kbong.
'Droteo was swimming when I arrived.'

In the sentences of 29, the activities of studying, sleeping, and swimming were going on when some other (possibly interrupting) event took place; this latter event is introduced by *er se* (*ər a*) 'when' (which is followed by a hypothetical verb form—see **22**.2).

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

(30) Kǝ mlǝkǝra er a elii?
'What did you do yesterday?'

it would be appropriate to give answers like the following:

(31) a. Ak mlsuub.
'I studied.'

b. Ak mlǝchiuaiu e le ak mle smechǝr.
'I stayed in bed because I was sick.'

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

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

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

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

So far, we have only looked at the past tense forms of state verbs and of action verbs which contain the verb marker prefix *mǝ-*. There are, of course, many other classes of verbs, and most of these have past tense forms, as described in the paragraphs below.

a. As we saw in **5**.1.3 above, some Palauan action verbs begin with *o-*, which is one form of the verb marker prefix (see **5**.4 below and chap. 6). For such verbs, the past tense forms are derived simply by replacing the initial *o-* with *ul(ǝ)-*[2], as in the examples below:

(33) *Action Verb—Present Tense*	*Past Tense Form*
osiik 'look for'	ulsiik 'looked for'
oker 'ask'	ulǝker 'asked'
omes 'see'	ulǝmes 'saw'
orrengǝs 'hear'	ulǝrrengǝs 'heard'
omuchǝl 'begin'	ulǝmuchǝl 'began'
okiu 'go by way of'	ulǝkiu 'went by way of'
obes 'forget'	ulǝbes 'forgot'
ousbech 'need'	ulusbech 'needed'
oureor 'work'	ulureor 'worked'

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

(34) *Causative Verb (in imperfective form)*	*Past Tense Form*
omǝkdǝchor 'make...stand'	ulǝmǝkdǝchor 'made...stand'
omǝngamǝch 'make...smoke'	ulǝmǝngamǝch 'made...smoke'
omǝngim 'give drink to'	ulǝmǝngim 'gave drink to'
olǝkar 'wake up'	ullǝkar 'woke up'
olǝchiis 'chase'	ullǝchiis 'chased'
ollangǝl 'make...cry'	ulǝllangǝl 'made...cry'
orrebǝt 'drop'	ulǝrrebǝt 'dropped'

In addition to the present and past **imperfective** forms given in 34, causative verbs also have present and past **perfective** forms. Because the structure of these forms is very complicated, we will postpone further discussion until **9**.4.

b. As we will see in **6**.2, there are many Palauan intransitive action verbs which do not begin with the verb marker *mǝ-* but instead contain an infixed verb marker of the form *-(ǝ)m-* or *-u-*.

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

(35) *Intransitive Action Verb—*

Present Tense		*Past Tense Form*	
l*m*uut	'return'	liluut	'returned'
s*u*ebęk	'fly'	silebęk	'flew'
t*u*obęd	'come out'	tilobęd	'came out'
chę*m*iis	'escape'	chiliis	'escaped'
r*u*ebęt	'fall'	rirebęt	'fell'
rę*m*urt	'run'	rirurt	'ran'
rę*m*os	'drown'	riros	'drowned'

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

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

(36) *Transitive Action Verb—*

Perfective Form, Present Tense		*Past Tense Form*	
s*o*sębii	'burn it'	silsębii	'burned it'
s*u*esęb	'burn them'	silesęb	'burned them'
k*o*lii	'eat it up'	killii	'ate it up'
k*ma*	'eat them up'	kila	'ate them up'
r*u*llii	'make it'	riręllii	'made it'
rę*m*uul	'make them'	riruul	'made them'

As you can see, the examples of 36 involve exactly the same processes which we observed in 35 above. Thus, in the past tense forms, the past tense marker *-il-* or *-ir-* has replaced the (italicized) infixed verb marker of the present tense forms. Furthermore, the appearance of *-ir-* in the last two forms is the result of assimilation. Because the morphology of Palauan perfective verb forms is extremely complex, we cannot pursue it further at this point. A more detailed discussion will be given in **6**.3, **6**.3.1–3, and **6**.4–7.

The above-mentioned assimilation of *l* to *r* is also observed in the past tense forms of action verbs in which the verb marker prefix *mę-* is followed by a **verb stem** (see **5**.4 below) which begins with *r*. Thus, we have forms like *męruul* 'make'—*mirruul* 'made', *męrasm* 'sew'—*mirrasm* 'sewed', and *męrael* 'leave'—*mirrael* 'left'.

c. The past tense forms of **ergative** verbs (see **5**.4 below) are derived by infixing the past tense markers *-il-* or *-l-* after the *m* of the verb marker, as in the following:

(37) *Ergative Verb Form—*

Present Tense	*Past Tense Form*
męchuiu 'get read'	m*il*ęchuiu, m*l*ęchuiu 'got read'
męchamęch 'get chewed up'	m*il*ęchamęch, m*l*ęchamęch 'got chewed up'
męngim 'get drunk up'	m*il*ęngim, m*l*ęngim 'got drunk up'

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

d. As we saw in **4**.10.3, the past tense hypothetical forms of imperfective verbs consist of a prefixed hypothetical pronoun which ends in *u* (e.g., *lu-* 'he, she, it', *du-* 'we (incl.)' etc.), followed by the past tense marker *-l-* and the verb stem.[4] Forms of this kind are given below in the right-hand column:

(38) *Hypothetical Verb Form—*

Present Tense	*Past Tense Form*
lolim 'is drunk by him/her/it'	lullim 'was drunk by him/her/it'
dosilęk 'is washed by us (incl.)'	dulsilęk 'was washed by us (incl.)'
mongęlebęd 'is hit by you'	mulęngęlebęd 'was hit by you'

The Auxiliary *mla*.

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

(39) a. A John a mla męsuub.
'John has studied/been studying.'

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

c. Ng tęcha a mla kolii a kall?
'Who has eaten up the food?'

d. Ak mla mo męrek ęr a subęlek.
'I've finished my homework.'

e. A chęmęlek a mla męchamęch.
'My betel nut has (all) been chewed up.'

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

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

(40) a. Kę mla mo ęr a chelębachęb?
'Have you ever gone to the rock islands?'

b. Kę mla męsuub a tękoi ęr a Siabal?
'Have you ever studied Japanese?'

c. Kę mla męlasęm ęl męnga a sasimi?
'Have you ever tried eating sashimi?

Future Tense

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

(41) a. Ak mo omes ęr a John ęr a klukuk.
'I'm going to see John tomorrow.'

b. A Toki a mo męsuub ęr a Merikel er tia ęl me ęl rak.
'Toki will study in America next year.'

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

As sentences like 41a-b show, verb phrases designating the future tense often are accompanied by **temporal phrases** (see **14**.6) such as *ęr a klukuk* 'tomorrow' or *er tia ęl me ęl rak* 'next year', which refer to some time point or time period in the future.

Sequences of the form *mo + state verb* have a future meaning but also imply a **change of state** (cf. our discussion of the examples of 16 in **5**.1.3 above). Note, therefore, the following examples:

(42) a. Ng mo mękngit a eangęd ęr a klukuk.
'The weather will get worse tomorrow.'

b. A toktang a dilu ęl kmo a ngęlękek a mo ungil ęr a klukuk.
'The doctor said my child will get better tomorrow.'

c. A tangk a mo mui ęr a kębęsęngei.
'The tank will get full (by) this evening.'

THE VERB MARKER AND ERGATIVE VERB FORMS

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

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

(43) *Transitive action verb*: męnga 'eat', męlim 'drink', męsilęk 'wash', męles 'cut', etc.

Intransitive action verb: męrael 'walk, travel', męngędub 'swim', milil 'play', etc.

Transitive state verb: mędęnge 'know', męduch 'know how to', mętitur 'not know how to', etc.

Intransitive state verb: mękngit 'bad', męsisiich 'strong', męsaul 'tired', męsaik 'lazy', etc.

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

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

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

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

We will first examine a group of verb forms which consist only of the verb marker prefix and a following **verb stem**. A verb stem is a morpheme to which one or more affixes are added in the process of forming a verb. In the examples below, the verb stem which follows the verb marker prefix *mę-* or *o-* is actually a **noun** which can occur as an independent word:

(44) *Derived Verb*	*Related Noun*
męchat 'be/get smoked (of fish)'	chat 'smoke'
męchęlebęd 'be/get hit'	chęlebęd 'spanking, whip'
męchęsimęr 'be/get closed'	chęsimęr 'door'
męchęsbrebęr 'be/get painted'	chęsbrebęr 'paint'
męchas 'be/get burned'	chas 'soot'
mędub 'be/get poisoned, bombed'	dub 'dynamite, poison'
mędangęb 'be/get covered'	dangęb 'lid'
męteękoi 'be/get talked to'	teękoi 'language, word'
oboes 'be/get shot'	boes 'gun'
obail 'be/get clothed'	bail 'article of clothing'
obękall 'be/get driven'	bękall 'sail, driving'

The following verbs also consist of the verb marker prefix followed by a verb stem, but unlike the examples of 44, the verb stem cannot appear as a separate word:

(45)	
męchuiu 'be/get read'	mędobęch 'be/get cut'
męka 'be/get eaten'	męluchęs 'be/get written'
męchitakl 'be/get sung'	męsebęk 'be/get kicked'

Verb stems like *-chuiu* 'read', *-ka* 'eat', *-luchęs* 'write', etc. are called **bound forms** because they never occur alone as independent words but must always be connected to some other morpheme (usually an affix of some kind). All affixes, too, are necessarily bound forms; thus, we will never find affixes like *mę-* or *o-* (verb markers) or *-ek* 'my' or *-em* 'your' (possessor suffixes) occurring as separate words.

Before discussing the meaning and use of the verb forms in 44 and 45, we need to introduce some other verb forms for comparison. As we will see in **5**.5 below, all of the verbs in 44 and 45 have corresponding **imperfective** forms, which in most cases can be easily identified because they show a characteristic change in the verb-stem-initial consonant. A few examples are given below:

(46) *Verb of 44 or 45*	*Imperfective Form*
męchat 'be/get smoked (of fish)'	męngat 'smoke (fish)'
męchuiu 'be/get read'	męnguiu 'read'
męka 'be/get eaten'	męnga 'eat'
mędobęch 'be/get cut'	męlobech 'cut'
męteękoi 'be/get talked to'	męlękoi 'talk, speak'
oboes 'be/get shot'	omoes 'shoot'
męluchęs 'be/get written'	męluchęs 'write'

All of the imperfective verb forms in 46 are **transitive** verbs —that is, they take object noun phrases (cf. **5**.1.1 above). By contrast, the corresponding verb forms of 44 and 45 are not transitive, but instead have a rather unique function: they take as their **subject** what would be the **object** of the related transitive verb. Observe the following examples:

(47) a. A Droteo a mla męngat a *ngikęl*.
'Droteo has smoked the fish.'

b. A *ngikęl* a mla męchat.
'The fish has been smoked.'

(48) a. A Toki a mla męnga a *kall*.
'Toki has eaten the food.'

b. A *kall* a mla mękang.
'The food has been eaten.'

In comparing the a- and b-sentences of 47 and 48 above, you can see that the object noun phrases (italicized) of the transitive a-sentences have become the subject noun phrases of the b-sentences. Furthermore, the subjects of the b- sentences are viewed as having undergone the effect of the actions designated by *mla*

męchat 'has been smoked' and *mla mękang* 'has been eaten'. Linguists use the technical term **ergative verb** to identify the verb forms listed in 44 and 45 and illustrated in 47b and 48b. As we have seen above, ergative verb forms differ from the corresponding imperfective verb forms in meaning and use and—in most cases—pronunciation.

In English, too, we have pairs of sentences similar to those of 47 and 48, as the following example illustrates:

(49) a. This key opens *my office door.*
b. *My office door* opens with this key.

While 49a is a transitive sentence in which *my office door* is the object of the verb *open*, in 49b *my office door* appears as the subject of *open* and designates the thing which undergoes the action of opening. Thus, 49b appears to be rather similar to the Palauan ergative sentences given in 47b and 48b. Note, however, that while the same verb form—*opens*—is found in both of the English sentences, the Palauan sentences in 47 and 48 show different but related verb forms—i.e., ergative *męchat* 'be/get smoked' vs. imperfective (transitive) *męngat* 'smoke', etc. Though sentences like 49b are not very common in English, Palauan sentences like 47b and 48b are found quite frequently.

Ergative verb forms in the present tense have a special interpretation: they are used as **warnings** or as suggestions to take **precautions** against some expected future event. (Do you recall any other Palauan verb forms which are used in the same way?). Note, therefore, the following sentences, in which the present tense ergative forms have been italicized:

(50) a. Alii, a chimam a {*mędobęch* / *oburęch*}!
'Watch out, your arm will get {cut / speared}!'
b. Alii, kędę *mędul* ęr a ngau!
'Watch out, we'll get burned by the fire!'
c. Bart a chęmęlek e ng mo ęl *męchamęch.*
'Hide my betel nut, or else it'll get chewed.'
d. Bart a kęlek e ng mo ęl *męka* ęr a bilis.
'Hide my food, or else it'll get eaten by the dog.'

While 50 a-b imply imminent danger, 50 c-d are less urgent in tone and suggest that precautions be taken to forestall some future event which is thought likely to occur. In warning or precaution sentences like 50 a-d (and in ergative sentences in general, as we will see below), Palauan speakers often omit the relational phrase which designates the **cause** or **agent** responsible for the particular event; and some Palauan speakers even find that the presence of relational phrases like *ęr a ngau* 'by the fire' in 50b and *ęr a bilis* 'by the dog' in 50d results in rather awkward sentences.

The above-mentioned facts point to one of the major features which distinguish **ergative sentences** from **passive sentences** (see 5.6 below): while the agent responsible for the event is normally expressed in passive sentences, most ergative sentences do not mention the cause or agent. For this reason, ergative sentences are used in cases where the cause or agent is thought to be irrelevant or unimportant. This point is illustrated clearly in the dialogs below, in which B's responses to A's questions contain ergative verbs in various past tenses:

(51) A: Ng dirk ngar ęr ngii a biang?
'Is there any beer left?'
B: Ng diak. Ng milęngim er a elii.
'No. It got drunk up yesterday.'

(52) A: Ng dirk ngar ęr ngii a kall?
'Is there any food left?'
B: Ng diak. Ng mla mękang.
'No. It's been eaten up.'

(53) A: Ng dirk ngar ęr ngii a hong ęl kirel ęl donguiu?
'Are there still some books we have to read?'
B: Ng diak. Ng mla męchuiu ęl rokui.
'No. They've all been read.'

(54) A: Kę mo męngęsbrebęr ęr a mlim er oingarang?
'When are you going to paint your canoe?'
B: Ng diak.[6] Ng mla męchęsbrebęr.
'(I don't need to.) It's already been painted.'

In the dialogs above, B's responses do not contain any relational phrases which identify the cause or agent of the action. Such phrases are unnecessary because the main purpose of B's responses is simply to focus on the past event as it affects the present situation: in 52, for example, what is important is the fact that the food was eaten and there is none left now; **who** ate the food does not matter. In some cases—e.g., 53—it is clear from A's question who the agent of the action is; therefore, there is no need for B to supply this information in his answer. Notice, further, that while the present tense ergative verb forms in 50 have a con-

notation of warning or precaution, the various past tense ergative forms in 51–54 lack this connotation.

As the sentences below illustrate, ergative verbs can be preceded by the auxiliary *mo* to indicate future tense:

(55) a. A stoa ęr a Droteo a mo męngai a chęsmęrel ęr a euid ęl klok.
'Droteo's store will open at seven.'

b. A delmęrab ęr ngak a mo męchęsbrebęr ęr a klukuk.
'My room is going to be painted tomorrow.'

c. A bilek a mo męsilęk ęr a suelęb.
'My clothes will get washed this afternoon.'

Unlike the examples of 50, the sentences of 55 (though still ergative) do not have any sense of warning or precaution. These sentences simply express a future event with emphasis on the event itself rather than on the person responsible for the event: in 55b, for example, our attention is drawn to the fact that the room will get painted, but it is not important to know by whom. Because of this difference of emphasis, we cannot at all say that 55a-c and the following "corresponding" transitive sentences are equivalent in meaning or function:

(56) a. A Droteo a mo męlai ęr a chęsmęrel a stoa ęr ngii ęr a euid ęl klok.
'Droteo is going to open his store at seven.'

b. A sęchęlik a mo męngęsbrebęr ęr a delmęrab ęr ngak ęr a klukuk.
'A friend of mine is going to paint my room tomorrow.'

c. A Toki a mo męsilęk a bilek ęr a suelęb.
'Toki is going to wash my clothes this afternoon.'

IMPERFECTIVE VS. PERFECTIVE VERB FORMS

5.5. In 5.4 above, we remarked that every Palauan ergative verb has a corresponding **imperfective** form, which can usually be identified by a characteristic change in the verb-stem-initial consonant. As we will see below, a detailed analysis of the structure of imperfective verb forms will require us to modify this statement considerably. In the following paragraphs we will explain the structure of both imperfective and perfective verb forms in some detail; then we will sketch briefly how these two verb types differ from each other in meaning and use.

All Palauan imperfective verb forms consist of three morphemes and have the structure *verb marker + imperfective marker + verb stem*. As you can see, this structure is more complex than that of ergative verb forms, which consist of the two-morpheme sequence *verb marker + verb stem*. Ergative verb forms are more "basic" than imperfective verb forms in the sense that the latter can be derived from the former simply by putting the **imperfective marker** between the verb marker and the verb stem (see the example below). The imperfective marker has several variants—i.e., *l*, *ng*, or *m*—depending on the initial consonant of the following verb stem. Furthermore, once the correct variant of the imperfective marker has been determined, the initial consonant of the following verb stem is deleted. To take a simple example, we have the ergative verb form *męchuiu* 'be/get read', which consists of the verb marker *mę-* and the (bound) verb stem *-chuiu* 'read'. To derive the corresponding imperfective verb form, we need to "fill in" the formula *mę + imperfective marker + chuiu* with the appropriate form of the imperfective marker. As we will see below, the imperfective marker appears as *ng* if the following verb-stem-initial consonant is *ch*. Thus, we get the sequence *mę + ng + chuiu*, which,after deletion of the verb-stem-initial consonant gives us the correct imperfective form *męnguiu* 'read'.[7]

In the light of the above discussion, we can see that it was incorrect to say that a given ergative verb form and its corresponding imperfective verb from differ with respect to the verb-stem-initial consonant. In other words, imperfective *męnguiu* 'read' is not really derived from ergative *męchuiu* 'be/get read' simply by replacing *ch* with *ng*; what actually happens is that *ng* (a variant of the imperfective marker) is added before the verb stem, whose initial consonant is then deleted. Thus, in *męnguiu* 'read', the *ng* is not part of the verb stem; rather, it is a separate morpheme—namely, the imperfective marker.

Let us now examine the distribution of the three variants of the imperfective marker:

a. The imperfective marker appears as *-l-* before verb stems which begin with the dental stops *t* or *d*, the alveolar fricative *s*, the liquid *l*, or the velar nasal *ng*. Some imperfective verb forms containing this variant of the imperfective marker are derived as follows:

(57) *Verb Marker*	+	*Imperfective Marker*	+	*Verb Stem*	*Delete Verb-Stem-Initial Consonant* →	*Imperfective Form*
mę	+	l	+	tiud 'way of cutting'	→	męliud 'cut (round object)'

mę +	1 +	tękoi 'word, language'	→	męlękoi 'talk, speak'
mę +	1 +	dasęch 'carving'	→	męlasęch 'carve'
mę +	1 +	deel 'nail'	→	męleel 'nail'
mę +	1 +	seseb 'fire'	→	męleseb 'burn'
mę +	1 +	sękosęk	→	męlękosęk 'cut (meat)'
mę +	1 +	leng	→	męleng 'borrow'
mę +	1 +	luchęs	→	męluchęs 'write'
mę +	1 +	ngatęch 'way of cleaning'	→	męlatęch 'clean'
mę +	1 +	ngim	→	męlim 'drink'
mę +	1 +	ngukęd 'fine'	→	męlukęd 'pay a fine'

While most of the verb stems in 57 can be used independently as nouns, as the English glosses indicate, some stems are bound—e.g. *-sękosęk*, *-leng*, etc. Can you describe the meaning relationship between pairs of words such as *tękoi* 'word, language'—*męlękoi* 'talk, speak', *ngukęd* 'fine'—*męlukęd* 'pay a fine', etc.?

Because of the deletion of the verb-stem-initial consonant, most of the imperfective verb forms of 57 are different from the corresponding ergative forms—thus, we have *męliud* 'cut' vs. *mętiud* 'be/get cut', *męleseb* 'burn' vs. *męseseb* 'be/get burned', etc. If the verb-stem-initial consonant is *l*, however, as in the case of *męleng* 'borrow' and *męluchęs* 'write', then the corresponding ergative form is identical. Can you explain why this is so?

There are a few *s*-initial verb stems in which the *s* is not deleted following the imperfective marker *-l-*; instead, *-l-* is deleted and *s* remains. This small group of exceptions includes *męsilęk* 'wash', *męsebęk* 'kick', and *męsuub* 'study'. Can you see why for these verbs, too, the imperfective and ergative forms are identical?

b. The imperfective marker occurs as *-ng-* before verb stems which begin with the velar stop *k* or the glottal stop *ch*. Some imperfective verb forms containing this variant of the imperfective marker are now derived as in 57 above:

(58)

Verb Marker	+	*Imperfective Marker*	+	*Verb Stem*	*Delete Verb-Stem-Initial Consonant* →	*Imperfective Form*
mę	+	ng	+	ka	→	męnga 'eat'
mę	+	ng	+	kęreel 'line for fishing'	→	męngęreel 'catch fish (with a line)'

mę	+	ng	+	kiis	→	męngiis 'dig'
mę	+	ng	+	chat 'smoke'	→	męngat 'smoke (fish)'
mę	+	ng	+	chęsimęr 'door'	→	męngęsimęr 'close'
mę	+	ng	+	chitakl	→	męngitakl 'sing'
mę	+	ng	+	chas 'soot, ash'	→	męngas 'paint (someone) with ashes'
mę	+	ng	+	chaus 'lime'	→	męngaus 'put lime on (betel nut)'

c. The imperfective marker appears as *-m-* before verb stems which begin with the bilabial stop *b*. With verb stems of this type, the verb marker prefix takes the form *o-*, as indicated in the derivations below:

(59)

Verb Marker	+	*Imperfective Marker*	+	*Verb Stem*	*Delete Verb-Stem-Initial Consonant* →	*Imperfective Form*
o	+	m	+	boes 'gun'	→	omoes 'shoot'
o	+	m	+	bail 'article of clothing'	→	omail 'clothe'
o	+	m	+	btar 'swing'	→	omtar 'swing'
o	+	m	+	buręch '(action of) spearing'	→	omuręch 'spear'

d. Following 54 above, we listed some exceptional cases in which the imperfective marker is deleted before certain *s*-initial verb stems. This same phenomenon is found among two further groups of verbs. First, we do not find any trace of the imperfective marker in imperfective verb forms if the verb stem is *r*-initial, as in *męruul* 'make, prepare' and *męrasm* 'sew'. Second, the imperfective marker appears to have been deleted in the imperfective forms of verbs like *oker* 'ask', in which the verb marker is *o-* and the verb stem (*ker* 'question') is an independently-occurring noun.

Practically all Palauan imperfective verb forms have corresponding **perfective** verb forms, which differ in several important respects. Let us compare the structures of the two verb types by using the following formulas:

(60) a. *imperfective verb form:* verb marker + imperfective marker + verb stem

b. *perfective verb form:* verb marker + verb stem + object pronoun

Since the imperfective marker simply functions to identify a verb form as being **imperfective**, it is only natural that this marker would not be part of the structure of **perfective** verb forms. In addition, as we observed in **4**.9 and **4**.9.1–4, perfective verb forms always take an **object pronoun** suffix, whereas imperfective verb forms do not. A third difference between the two types of verbs is that although both contain the verb marker (indicated as the first element in the formulas above), in perfective verb forms this verb marker always shifts to a position following the initial consonant of the verb stem. As a result, most perfective verb forms show an infixed verb marker of the form -(*ę*)*m*-, -*u*-, or -*o*-.

The following examples illustrate some of the differences discussed above:

(61)

Imperfective Verb Form	*Perfective Verb Form (with 3rd pers. sg. Object pronoun suffix)*
męlasęch 'carve'	do*m*ęchii 'carve it'
męleel 'nail'	d*m*elii 'nail it'
męleseb 'burn'	so*m*ębii 'burn it'
męlatęch 'clean'	ngo*m*ętęchii 'clean it'
męnga 'eat'	ko*m*ii 'eat it'

Whereas the imperfective verb forms all have the prefixed verb marker *mę*-, the corresponding perfective verb forms show the verb marker (italicized) following the verb-stem-initial consonant. Like the **ergative** verb forms given in 44 and 45 above, the perfective verb forms of 61 preserve the verb-stem-initial consonant (*d*, *s*, *ng*, *k*, etc.), while the imperfective verb forms do not. This is due to the presence or absence of the imperfective marker, which, as we have seen, causes (or **conditions**) the loss of a following verb-stem-initial consonant. Thus, in imperfective verb forms, which contain this marker, the verb-stem-initial consonant is dropped; in ergative and perfective verb forms, however, where this marker is absent, the consonant in question is retained. For this reason, we should look at ergative verb forms or perfective verb forms if we wish to determine the initial consonant of a verb stem.

The formation of Palauan perfective verbs involves a great many complexities and will not be pursued further until the next chapter. Equally complex is the difference in meaning and use between perfective verbs and imperfective verbs. Though we will deal with this topic extensively in chap. 12, we will make a few preliminary observations here. The distinction between perfective vs. imperfective, which is found only among **transitive** verbs, is essentially the following: whereas perfective verb forms designate a totally completed (or "perfected") action, imperfective verb forms do not indicate completion but rather focus on the action as it is (or was) in progress. This difference can be observed in the pairs of sentences below:

(62) a. A Droteo a milęnguiu ęr a hong er a elii.
'Droteo was reading the book yesterday.'

b. A Droteo a chiliuii a hong er a elii.
'Droteo read the book yesterday.'

(63) a. Ak milęngiis ęr a kliokl.
'I was digging the hole.'

b. Ak kilisii a kliokl.
'I (completely) dug the hole.'

In 62a and 63a above, the imperfective verb forms *milęnguiu* 'was reading' and *milęngiis* 'was digging' describe an action which went on for a period of time but was not completed: in other words, 62a is understood to mean that Droteo still has some of the book to read, and 63a implies that the subject must still do some digging. On the other hand, the perfective verb forms *chiliuii* '(completely) read' and *kilisii* '(completely) dug' in 62b and 63b designate an action which was brought to completion: thus, in 62b Droteo finished reading the book, and in 63b the subject finished digging the hole. As we saw in **2**.7, and as 62 and 63 above illustrate, any **specific** singular object following an imperfective verb form must be introduced by the **specifying word** *ęr*; occurrence of *ęr* is impossible, however, after all perfective verb forms.

ACTIVE AND PASSIVE SENTENCES

5.6. All Palauan transitive verbs, whether imperfective or perfective, can occur in **active** or **passive** sentences. The transitive verbs we have looked at so far have all appeared in **active** sentences such as the following:

(64) a. A ngalęk a męnga ęr a ngikęl.
'The child is eating the fish.'

b. A John a milęngęlebęd ęr a katuu.
'John was hitting the cat.'

c. A ngalęk a silsębii a blai.
'The child burned down the house.'

In active sentences, the subject noun phrase corresponds to the **agent**—i.e., to the person who carries out or performs the action designated by the transitive verb. Can you identify the object noun phrases in 64a-c?

Now, with 64a-c above, compare the following passive sentences:

(65) a. A ngikęl a longa ęr ngii a ngalęk.
'The fish is being eaten by the child.'

b. A katuu a lulęngęlebęd ęr ngii a John.
'The cat was being hit by John.'

c. A blai a lęsilsębii a ngalęk.
'The house was burned down by the child.'

If we think of the sentences of 65 as being derived from those of 64, we can see that in the passive sentences of 65, the object noun phrases of 64 have come to appear in sentence subject position; furthermore, in 65, the agent, which was the subject noun phrase in 64, has moved to sentence-final position. Two further significant changes can be observed in the passive sentences: first, the transitive verb appears in the **hypothetical** form (cf. **4**.10 and **4**.10.1–9); and second, if the verb is imperfective, as in 65 a-b, *ęr ngii* is added after it if the object is singular.

An explanation of the above phenomena is beyond the scope of our present discussion and will be postponed until **19**.7. Nevertheless, we can see that passive sentences are characterized by the fact that the noun phrase found in subject position actually refers to the object of the sentence—i.e., the person, animal, or thing affected by the action designated by the transitive verb. As the English translations for 64 and 65 indicate, active and passive sentences do not differ in meaning from the point of view of what information they convey. For example, 64c and 65c provide us with exactly the same information—namely, that an act of burning occurred at some time in the past, that the agent (or person responsible) was a child, and that the thing affected was a house. The only difference between these two sentences—and between active and passive sentences in general—is a matter of **focus** or **viewpoint**: the active sentence 64c would be used when the speaker is focusing his attention on the agent (*ngalęk* 'child') and the agent's activities (or behavior, etc.), while the passive sentence 65c would be used in a situation where the speaker is more interested in the object (*blai* 'house') than in the agent.

In discussing **ergative** sentences in **5**.4, we noted that while

ergative sentences containing an agent tend to be avoided by certain Palauan speakers, passive sentences containing an agent are perfectly acceptable. This is because passive sentences are used when the speaker feels it necessary to mention both agent and object, although, as mentioned above, he is focusing his attention on the latter. On the other hand, ergative sentences are used when identification of the agent is considered to be irrelevant or unimportant (cf. 51–55 above). Thus, with 65c, for example, compare the corresponding ergative sentence below:

(66) A blai a milseseb.
'The house (was) burned down.'

FURTHER TYPES OF VERBS

5.7. In the sections above, we have tried to gain an understanding of Palauan verbs by examining such major distinctions as transitive vs. intransitive, active vs. passive vs. ergative, and the like. However, there still remain many features of Palauan verbs which need to be explained but which are of such a scope that they will require separate chapters. These remaining topics are summarized below:

a. In **4**.10 and **4**.10.1–9, we looked at **hypothetical verb forms** from the point of view of the prefixed **hypothetical pronouns,** which designate the agent. Hypothetical verb forms have the structure *hypothetical pronoun* + *imperfective marker* + *verb stem* (note the lack of the verb marker in these forms) and are used in a large variety of grammatical constructions. Such constructions will be discussed extensively in chaps. 18 and 19.

b. There are several distinct classes of Palauan **state verbs** which require special attention. As we will see in chap. 7, it is possible to form **resulting state verbs** and **anticipating state verbs,** as well as state verbs with the prefixes *bękę-*, *sękę-*, and *bę-*. And in chap. 10, we will consider **reciprocal verbs**, a subtype of state verbs which have the reciprocal prefixes *kai-*, *ka-*, *cha-*, etc. and which designate actions which two persons do to each other mutually.

c. As we saw in **5**.3.2 above, **causative verbs** are formed with the causative prefixes *omę(k)-*, *ol(ę)-*, etc. They are transitive verbs and involve actions in which one person **causes** or **forces** someone else to do something or be in a particular state. Causative verbs will be dealt with extensively in chap. 9.

d. Palauan verbs can be modified in form and meaning by a large number of **reduplicative** processes. Special meanings can also be obtained by adding the **predictive** or **inchoative** suffixes. See **11**.12 and **11**.12.1–5 for further details.

SUMMARY OF PALAUAN VERBS

5.8. The many types of Palauan verbs introduced in this chapter are summarized in the rather rough diagram below (fig. 4). Note that this diagram does not take account of hypothetical verb forms, certain subvarieties of state verbs, and the different verb forms occurring in active vs. passive sentences (cf. **5**.6 above).

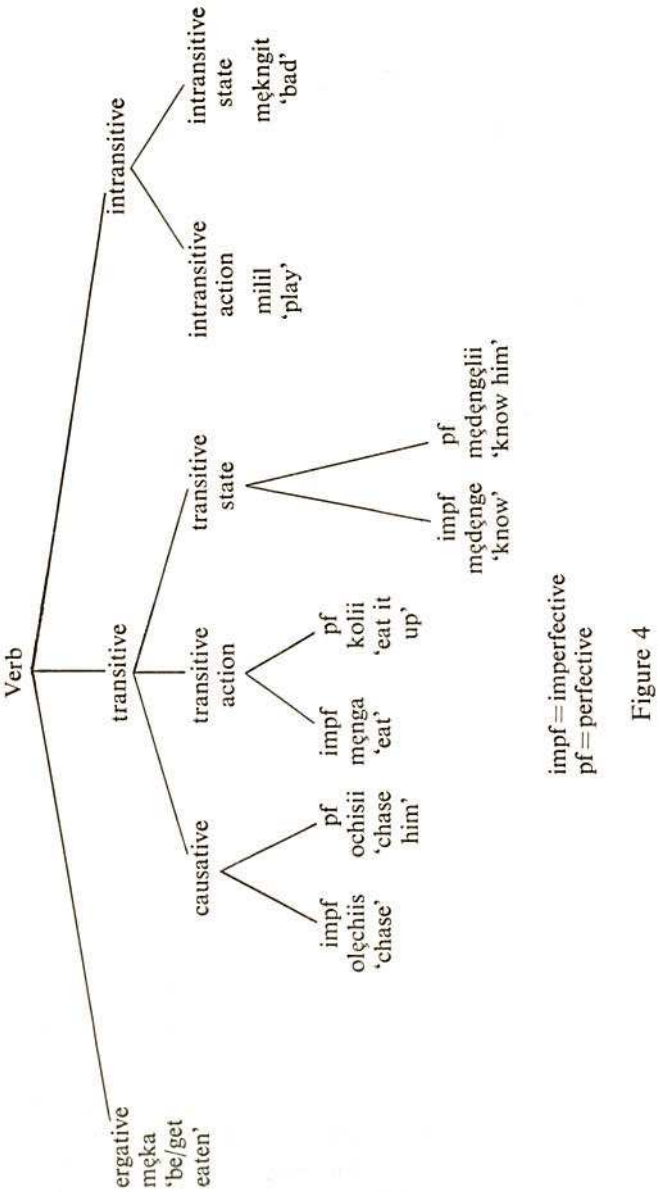


Figure 4

6 The Verb Marker and Perfective Verb Forms

THE VERB MARKER PREFIXES

6.1. In 5.4 we noted that the sole function of the Palauan **verb marker** is to identify certain words (or classes of words) as verbs. We also took a preliminary look at the different forms of the verb marker and described their distribution. We shall now examine the distributional characteristics of the verb marker more thoroughly.

By far, the most commonly-occurring variant of the verb marker is the prefix *mę-* (which is reduced to *m-* if the following verb stem begins with a vowel). Less frequently, the verb marker occurs as the prefix *o-*, which appears to be an alternate form of *mę-* (see below). The prefixed verb markers *mę-* and *o-* are found in many types of verbs, as we saw in 5.4. Thus, **ergative** verb forms like *męchat* 'be/get smoked' and *oboes* 'be/get shot' consist of the verb marker followed by the verb stem (e.g. *mę + chat*, *o + boes*), while **imperfective** verb forms like *męngat* 'smoke (fish)' and *omoes* 'shoot' are more complex in structure, since the **imperfective marker** (cf. 5.5) comes between the verb marker and the verb stem (e.g. *mę + ng + chat*, *o + m + boes*).

Many **intransitive** action and state verbs also contain the verb marker prefix *mę-*, as the lists below indicate:

(1) *Intransitive Action Verbs*	*Intransitive State Verbs*
męrael 'walk, travel'	męknǵit 'bad'
męngędub 'swim'	męsaul 'tired'
męlęcho 'bathe'	męsisiich 'strong'
męchiuaiu 'sleep'	mękeald 'warm'
męngędęchęduch 'talk, converse'	mękęlękolt 'cold'
mętengęl 'come down, land'	mękęsai 'few (in number)'
męrdękekl 'jump'	męched 'shallow'
milil 'play'	męiusęch 'calm'

mękiis 'wake up, get up'	mętęıkakl 'careless'
męliod 'drip'	męrechęd 'early, fast'

Though most of the verb stems in the examples above are bound (i.e., they never occur without a prefix), some of them can occur independently as nouns: thus, we have *męrael* 'walk, travel'—*rael* 'road', *męsaul* 'tired'—*saul* 'tiredness, trouble', *mękęsai* 'few (in number)'—*kęsai* 'insufficient quantity', and *męched* 'shallow'—*ched* 'low tide'.

The verb marker prefix always appears as *o-* if the following verb stem begins with *b*; this is true whether or not the imperfective marker comes between the prefix and the verb stem. Thus, verbs like the following take *o-* in both the ergative and imperfective forms:

(2) *Ergative Form*	*Imperfective Form*	*Related Noun (= Verb Stem)*
oboes 'be/get shot'	omoes 'shoot'	boes 'gun'
obail 'be/get clothed'	omail 'clothe'	bail 'article of clothing'
obękall 'be/get driven'	omękall 'drive, steer'	bekall 'sail'

The verb marker prefix *o-* observed in the examples of 2 may be a phonetically-altered form of *mę-* which results from a phonetic process called **dissimilation**. As we saw in 1.3.3, **assimilation** is a phonetic process in which one of two unlike sounds becomes **similar to** or **identical with** the other. **Dissimilation** involves exactly the opposite process: here, one of two similar or identical sounds becomes **different from** the other in some way. Now let us see how the process of dissimilation works in the examples of 2.

If we assume *mę-* to be the basic form of the verb marker (i.e., the form from which the other variants of the verb marker are derived), then we can represent the basic structure of a word like *oboes* 'be/get shot' as *mę + boes*. Notice that *mę + boes* contains two **bilabial** consonants—*m*, which is a **bilabial nasal**, and *b*, which is a **bilabial stop**. There seems to be a rule in the sound system of Palauan which prevents the *m* of the verb marker from being too close to another bilabial consonant; thus, in the basic structure *mę + boes*, the *m* **dissimilates** from the following consonant *b* and becomes the vowel *o* (note that the *ę* of the verb marker is also lost). Although it is a vowel, this resulting *o* retains one of the important phonetic features of the *m* from which it is derived: the use of both lips in pronouncing *m* is carried over to *o*, which is

a mid back **rounded** vowel (cf. **1**.4.2). A similar process of dissimilation accounts for some of the infixed variants of the verb marker, as we will see in **6**.2–3 below.

As we have just seen, the verb marker regularly appears as *o-* if it precedes a bilabial consonant. There is a small number of verbs, however, in which the verb marker is *o-* even though no bilabial consonant follows. Such exceptional verbs include the following:

(3) *Verb (Transitive or Intransitive)*		*Related Noun (if any)*	
oker	'ask'	ker	'question'
oklukl	'cough'	klukl	'cough'
okoad	'fight'	koad	'technique of fighting'
osus	'greet'	sus	'act of greeting'
ochęrchur[1]	'laugh'	chur	'laughter'
osiik	'look for'	siik	'search'
okor	'refuse'	---	
okiu	'go by way of'	---	

You may recall that some of the verbs of 3 are irregular in another respect: as we noted in **5**.5, the **imperfective** forms of transitive verbs like *oker* 'ask', *osus* 'greet', *osiik* 'look for', etc. do not seem to contain the **imperfective marker** at all.

The Prefix *ou-*

6.1.1. There are many Palauan verbs which are formed by adding the prefix *ou-* to some other word, usually a noun. This prefix appears to be a combination of the verb marker *o-* and some other element, but its structure is not clear. Verbs formed with *ou-* often designate ownership of or control over whatever the stem noun refers to, as in the following examples:

(4) *Derived Verb in* ou-	*Related Noun (= Verb Stem)*
oublai 'own a house'	blai 'house'
oustoa 'own/run a store'	stoa 'store'
ousidosia 'own a car'	sidosia 'car'
oucharm 'keep a pet'	charm 'animal'
ousers 'have a garden, farm'	sers 'garden'

As you can see, the prefix *ou-* attaches to native Palauan nouns as well as to nouns of foreign origin. Can you tell which is which in the examples above?

In other cases, the derived verb in *ou-* refers to some kind of activity or relationship which would normally be associated with the meaning of the stem noun. As the examples below show, it is difficult to predict exactly what the derived verb will mean:

(5) *Derived Verb in* ou-	*Related Noun (= Verb Stem)*
ousibai 'enslave, make a slave of'	sibai 'slave'
ouskuul 'teach, tutor'	skuul 'school'
oukita 'play the guitar'	kita 'guitar'
oureng 'wish for, hope for'	reng 'heart, spirit'
ouchais 'tell (someone) news (about something)'	chais 'news'
ouseçhęlei 'be friends with'	seçhęlei 'friend'

Much less frequently, the stem from which a verb in *ou-* is derived is a state verb, as in *oumęra* 'believe'—*męra* 'true', or a bound element, as in *ousbech* 'need'. The use of some of these derived verbs is illustrated in the sentences below:

(6) a. A Droteo a oublai ęr se ęl blai.
'Droteo owns that house.'

b. Kę oustoa er a Belau?
'Do you run a store in Palau?'

c. A ręchad er a Belau a oucharm a bilis.
'Palauans keep dogs.'

d. A Droteo a ousers ęr a ked.
'Droteo is farming the hillside.'

e. Ak ouskuul ęr ngii ęr a ochur.
'I'm tutoring him in math.'

f. Ng sębęchem ęl oukita?
'Can you play the guitar?'

g. Ak ousbech ęr a bilsęngem.
'I need your boat.'

In **5**.1.3 we saw that the past tense forms of verbs containing the verb marker prefix *o-* are derived simply by replacing this *o-* with *ul(ę)-*. The past tense forms of verbs beginning in *ou-* are derived in exactly the same way: thus, we have *ouskuul* 'teach'—*uluskuul* 'taught', *ousbech* 'need'—*ulusbech* 'needed', etc.

THE INFIXED VERB MARKER AND METATHESIS

6.2. In **5**.4 we noted that many intransitive (action or state) verbs contain the verb marker in the form of an infix which appears

after the initial consonant of the verb stem. This infix has the three variants -(ę)*m*-, -*u*-, and -*o*-. In the examples below, the -(ę)*m*- variant occurs; notice that the ę is inserted if the initial consonant of the stem is *r* or *ch*:

(7) *Intransitive Verb*		*Related Noun (if any)*	
smechęr	'sick'	sechęr	'sickness'
kmeed	'near'		- - -
lmuut	'return, come back'	luut	'return'
lmangęl	'cry'	langęl	'crying'
chęmiis	'escape, run away'	chiis	'escape'
ręmurt	'run'	rurt	'ruuning, race'
ręmos	'drown'		- - -
ręme	'go/come home'		- - -
tmoręch	'slip, slide'	toręch	'action of slipping'
ngmasęch	'climb, rise (sun)'	ngasęch	'rising, ceremony for mother and newborn child'
ngmelt	'sink (in soft ground), set (sun)'	ngelt	'setting'

If we look at pairs like *smechęr* 'sick' and *sechęr* 'sickness', we can easily see that the intransitive verb is derived by placing the verb marker inside the stem (which then appears in two pieces, *s*- and -*echęr*); for this reason we have been speaking of the **infixed** verb marker.

The infixed verb marker has the form -*u*- or, rarely, -*o*- in certain intransitive verbs such as *suebęk* 'fly', *ruebęt* 'fall', *chuarm* 'suffer', *tuobęd* 'come out', and *soisęb* 'go into'. Since all of these verbs have the bilabial consonants *b* or *m* in their stems, the appearance of the verb marker as -*u*- or -*o*- rather than -(ę)*m*- seems to be due to a process of **dissimilation** which is identical to that described in **6**.1 above.[2] Thus, if we assume that -(ę)*m*- is the basic form of the infixed verb marker, then we can say that the infixed variants -*u*- and -*o*- are due to dissimilation of -(ę)*m*- from a following *b* or *m*. Note that the resulting vowels *u* and *o* are both rounded; thus, they preserve a distinguishing feature (namely, use of the two lips) of the *m* from which they are derived.

Because the Palauan verb marker can either be a prefix or an infix, the statement of its distribution will be rather complicated. In an attempt to make a more general statement about the distribution of the Palauan verb marker, many linguists would

propose an analysis in which the verb marker always basically occurred as a prefix. Thus, the intransitive verbs listed in both 1 and 7 above would all have the basic structure *verb marker* + *verb stem*, as follows:

(8)	*Verb Marker*	+	*Verb Stem*	
a. Verbs of (1):	mę	+	rael	'walk, travel'
	mę	+	kngit	'bad'
	mę	+	ched	'shallow'
b. Verbs of (7):	mę	+	sechęr	'sick'
	mę	+	langęl	'cry'
	mę	+	ros	'drown'

In order to derive the correct forms of the verbs of 7, we would need a special rule in which the verb marker and the initial consonant of the verb stem exchange positions. In other words, a sequence like *mę* + *sechęr* would become *s* + *mę* + *echęr*, and then the ę of the verb marker would be deleted before the following vowel, giving the correct form *smechęr*. The technical term **metathesis** (from a Greek word meaning 'transpose') is used to refer to the process of sound-switching observed here; as a result of such metathesis, the verb marker appears to have been infixed into the verb stem.

Metathesis is a fairly widespread phenomenon in Palauan. As we will see in **6**.3 below, the verb marker **metathesizes** with the initial consonant of the verb stem in all Palauan **perfective** verb forms. And as we have seen above, many intransitive verbs require this metathesis "rule" to be applied; we cannot predict, however, which intransitive verbs will be of this type and which will not. Once the verb marker has metathesized, dissimilation will occur if the verb stem has a bilabial consonant; thus, a verb like *suebęk* 'fly' is derived by the following steps:

(9)		
mę + sebęk	(basic form)	→
s + mę + ebęk	(by metathesis)	→
s + m + ebęk	(by deletion of ę)	→
s + u + ebęk	(by dissimilation)	

Notice that we begin with the **basic form** *mę* + *sebęk* and successively apply rules of metathesis, deletion, and dissimilation to derive the correct form *suebęk* 'fly'.

In **5**.3.2 we said that the past tense forms of intransitive action verbs like *lmuut* 'return', *ręmurt* 'run', *suebęk* 'fly', etc. are derived

by replacing the (metathesized) verb marker by the past tense markers *-il-* or *-ir-*. Thus, in past tense forms like *liluut* 'returned', *rirurt* 'ran', and *silebęk* 'flew', we cannot find any trace whatsoever of the verb marker. The disappearance of the verb marker in these forms seems to be due to a complex series of phonetic rules whose end result is that the metathesized verb marker is deleted before the vowel *i* in an **unstressed** syllable. These conditions are met in forms like *lilúut* 'returned', *rirúrt* 'ran', and *silébęk* 'flew', where the verb marker is metathesized to a position before the *i* of the infixed past tense markers *-il-* or *-ir-*, which are never stressed. A similar situation will be discussed in greater detail in **6**.3.3 below.

Absence of the Verb Marker in Hypothetical Verb Forms

6.2.1. In **5**.7.a we noted that Palauan **hypothetical** verb forms characteristically lack the verb marker. Thus, while any imperfective verb has the basic structure *verb marker + imperfective marker + verb stem* (e.g., *męlim* 'drink'), its hypothetical forms have the structure *hypothetical pronoun + imperfective marker + verb stem* (e.g., *kulim* '(if) I drink', *lolim* '(if) he drinks', etc.). Intransitive verbs with the metathesized verb markers *-(ę)m-*, *-u-*, or *-o-* likewise have hypothetical forms which lack the verb marker, as indicated below:

(10) *Intransitive Verb*		*Hypothetical Form (with 3rd pers. hypothetical pronoun)*	
smechęr	'sick'	lsechęr	'(if) he's sick'
ręme	'go/come home'	lęre	'(if) he goes/comes home'
lmangęl	'cry'	llangęl	'(if) he cries'
suebęk	'fly'	lsebęk	'(if) it flies'
ruebęt	'fall'	lęrebęt	'(if) he falls'

Following the analysis given in 8b above, the non-hypothetical forms in the lefthand column have the basic structure *verb marker + verb stem*; metathesis of the verb marker must occur, of course, to yield the correct forms. By contrast, the hypothetical forms in the righthand column have the basic structure *hypothetical pronoun + verb stem*. None of the verb forms in 10 contains the imperfective marker, since the distinction between imperfective vs. perfective verb forms only applies to transitive verbs.

Now let us observe the hypothetical forms of two commonly-occurring Palauan intransitive verbs:

(11) *Intransitive Verb*		*Hypothetical Form (with 3rd pers. hypothetical pronoun)*	
mo	'go'	lębo	'(if) he goes'
me	'come'	lębe[3]	'(if) he comes'

If we analyze the verbs of 11 in exactly the same manner as we analyzed those of 10, we come to the following conclusions. Since the hypothetical forms in 11 have the basic structure *hypothetical pronoun + verb stem*, then the verb stems under discussion are *bo* 'go' and *be* 'come'. These verb stems also occur in the non-hypothetical forms, which have the basic structure *verb marker + verb stem*—namely, *mę + bo* and *mę + be*. In order to account for the actually-occurring forms *mo* 'go' and *me* 'come', the verb marker must metathesize with the initial consonant of the verb stem, just as in the examples of 8b. But an additional phonetic rule applies: since the Palauan sound system does not allow the consonant cluster *bm*, the *b* of the verb stem, which comes to appear before the *m* of the metathesized verb marker, must be deleted. Thus, even though *mo* 'go' and *me* 'come' would appear to be very simple verb forms, they are in fact derived from more complex basic structures by several steps, as in the following:

(12)	mę + bo	(basic form) →
	b + mę + o	(by metathesis) →
	b + m + o	(by deletion of *ę*) →
	m + o	(by deletion of *b* before *m*)

There are a few other Palauan intransitive verbs which, like the verbs of 11, show an alternation between *m* in the nonhypothetical form and *b* in the hypothetical forms. These can be explained in terms of the analysis presented above and include verbs like *mękiis* 'wake up'—*lębękiis* '(if) he wakes up' and *mla* 'was (located)'—*lębla* '(if) he was (located)'.[4]

At the beginning of this section we made the claim that Palauan hypothetical verb forms characteristically lack the verb marker. While this statement is true for many classes of verbs, we do find some notable exceptions. For example, **intransitive state verbs** which have the prefixed verb marker *mę-* (see 1 above) retain this verb marker in their hypothetical forms, as in *męknġit* 'bad'—*lęmęknġit* '(if) it's bad', *męched* 'shallow'—*lęmęched* '(if) it's shallow', etc. Furthermore, while the great majority of **intransitive action verbs** beginning with *mę-* lose this verb marker in their hypothetical forms (*męrael* 'walk'—*lorael* '(if) he walks', *męngędub* 'swim'—*longędub* '(if) he swims', etc.), a very small number retain

it, as in *męchiuaiu* 'sleep'—*lęmęchiuaiu* '(if) he sleeps'. Finally, the hypothetical forms of **ergative** verbs (cf. **5**.4) retain the verb marker, as in *męngim* 'be/get drunk'—*lęmęngim* '(if) it is/gets drunk', *męchuiu* 'be/get read'—*lęmęchuiu* '(if) it is/gets read', etc.

SELECTED LIST OF PERFECTIVE VERB FORMS

6.3. In previous chapters we have already had occasion to discuss some of the major structural features of Palauan perfective verb forms. Thus, in **4**.9 and **4**.9.1–4 we considered the form and distribution of the **object pronouns** which are suffixed to perfective verbs. Then, in **5**.5 we wrote "formulas" for the contrasting structures of perfective vs. imperfective verb forms and noted that in the former type, the verb marker always appears as an **infix**. Not surprisingly, the infixed verb marker in perfective verb forms results from the very same process of **metathesis** described in **6**.2 above to account for intransitive verbs such as *smechęr* 'sick', *ruebęt* 'fall', etc. In perfective verb forms, however, the metathesized verb marker is affected by additional phonetic processes which are very complex. Before clarifying these processes, we need to be familiar with the many phonetic variations observed in the perfective verb forms themselves. Therefore, we will provide a large number of these forms below.

The four major perfective forms of a representative sample of Palauan transitive verbs will now be listed according to the following format. First, the transitive verb will be given in its imperfective form, along with an English gloss; then, the four perfective forms will be given in the following order:

(13)

Present tense, 3rd pers. sg. object	Past tense, 3rd pers. sg. object
Present tense, 3rd pers. pl. non-human object	Past tense, 3rd pers. pl. non-human object

It will not be necessary to provide English glosses for the perfective forms since their meanings can easily be determined from the chart in 13; thus, the perfective forms of *męlalęm* 'plant', for example, would be translated as follows:

(14)

'plant it'	'planted it'
'plant them'	'planted them'

Observe the perfective forms below:

(15) a. *męlalęm* 'plant':

dolęmii	dillęmii
dualęm	dilalęm

b. *męlamk* 'shave, scrape':

tomkii	tilęmkii
tuamk	tilamk

c. *męlasęch* 'carve (canoe)':

dosęchii	dilsęchii
dmasęch	dilasęch

d. *męlamęch* 'smoke, chew':

chomęchii	chilmęchii
chuamęch/ nguamęch	chilamęch/ ngilamęch

e. *męlatęch* 'clean':

ngotęchii	ngiltęchii
ngmatęch	ngilatęch

f. *męlęcholb* 'bathe, baptize':

tochęlbii	tilchęlbii
tocholb	tilcholb

g. *męleel* 'nail':

dmelii	dilelii
dmeel	dileel

h. *męlękosęk* 'cut (meat)':

sokęsękii	silękęsękii
sokosęk	silękosęk

i. *męleng* 'borrow':

longir	lilęngir
lmeng	lileng

j. *męlęngoes* 'cook (in water) (fish, rice, meat)':

songosii	silęngosii
songoes	silęngoes

k. *męles* 'slice (fish, meat)':

dosęngii	dilsęngii
dmes	diles

l. *męleseb* 'burn':

sosębii	silsębii
suesęb/smesęb	sileseb

m. *męliich* 'remove meat (from a coconut)':

liięchii	lilichii
lmiich	liliich

n. *męliud* 'cut (round object)':

tiudii	tiludii
tmiud	tiliud

o. *męluchęs* 'write':

luchęsii	lilęchęsii
lmuchęs	liluchęs

p. *męlul* 'burn, barbeque':

durur	dirrur
dmul	dilul

q. *męnga* 'eat':

kolii	killii
kma	kila

r. *męngęlebęd* 'hit, spank':

cholębędii	chillębędii
cholebęd	chillebęd

s. *męngęreel* 'catch fish (with a line)':

korelii	kirrelii
koreel	kirreel

t. *męngętmokl* 'clean, straighten up':

kutmęklii	kiltmęklii
kutmokl	kiltmokl

u. *męngęsbrebęr* 'paint':

chosbęrbęrii	chilsbęrbęrii
chosbrebęr	chilsbrebęr

v. *męngib* 'pick (fruit)':

chibngii	chilębngii
chuib	chilib

w. *męngiis* 'dig':

kiięsii	kilisii
kmiis	kiliis

x. *męngiis* 'open':

kiisii	kilisii
kmiis	kiliis

y. *męngimd* 'cut (hair), trim':

kimdii	kilęmdii
kuimd	kilimd

z. *męngitakl* 'sing':

chitęklii	chilętęklii
choitakl	chilitakl

aa. *męruul* 'make, prepare':

rullii	riręllii
ręmuul	riruul

bb. *męnguiu* 'read':

chuięuii	chiliuii
chęmuiu	chiluiu

Metathesis in Perfective Verb Forms

6.3.1. When we look at the perfective verb forms of 15, we notice quite a few familiar things. First of all, we should have no trouble identifying the object pronoun suffixes: as we saw in **4**.9 and **4**.9.1–4, the third person singular object pronoun is *-ii*, or less frequently, *-ngii* or *vowel* + *r* (*ir*, *ur*, etc.), while the third person plural non-human object pronoun is *-Ø*. The phonetic effect of these two object pronoun suffixes is quite different and of great importance to a correct analysis of the phonetic alternations in perfective verb forms. Since the third person singular object pronoun is always **stressed**, all of the syllables of the verb stem are invariably **unstressed** in perfective forms like *dolęmíi* 'plant it', *longír* 'borrow it', etc. On the other hand, since the third person plural non-human object pronoun *Ø* has no "phonetic content", it of course can never be stressed; therefore, in perfective forms like *duálęm* 'plant them', *lméng* 'borrow them', etc., the stress falls on one of the syllables of the verb stem. The consequences of this difference in the placement of stress will become obvious below.

In **5**.5 we formulated the basic structures of imperfective vs. perfective verb forms as follows:

(16) *Imperfective verb form*: verb marker + imperfective marker + verb stem

Perfective verb form: verb marker + verb stem + object pronoun

Recall that in imperfective verb forms, the initial consonant of the verb stem usually gets deleted following the imperfective marker (*-l-*, *-ng-*, or *-m-*). On the other hand, the initial consonant of the verb stem is preserved in perfective verb forms, since there is no preceding imperfective marker. For this reason, the imperfective and perfective forms of one and the same verb often look rather different: for example, in the imperfective forms *męlalęm* 'plant' and *męngimd* 'cut (hair)', there is no trace of the verb-stem-initial consonants *d* and *k* found, respectively, in the perfective forms *dolęmii* 'plant it' and *kimdii* 'cut his hair'. The verb-stem-initial consonant found in perfective forms also appears in **ergative** forms (cf. **5**.4). Since these forms lack the imperfective marker and simply have the structure *verb marker* + *verb stem*, the verb-stem-initial consonant is not deleted. Thus, for the verbs under discussion, we have the ergative forms *mędalęm* 'be/get planted' (cf. *dolęmii* 'plant it') and *mękimd* 'get one's hair cut' (cf. *kimdii* 'cut his hair').

Whereas the basic structures of both imperfective and perfective verb forms contain the verb marker as their first element (cf. 16 above and the discussion in **5**.5), perfective verb forms are characterized by the fact that the verb marker must metathesize with the initial consonant of the following verb stem in order to produce the form which is actually spoken. In some cases the metathesized verb marker appears as *-m-*, while in others it changes to *-u-* or *-o-*, or even disappears completely. We will now examine the phonetic factors which account for the various forms of the metathesized verb marker.

As we saw in **6**.2 above, the appearance of the metathesized verb marker as *-u-* or, rarely, *-o-* in certain **intransitive** verbs seems to be the result of **dissimilation**: in other words, in intransitive verbs like *suébęk* 'fly', *chuárm* 'suffer', etc., the metathesized verb marker changes from the bilabial consonant *m* to the vowel *u* (or *o*) if another bilabial consonant (*b* or *m*) occurs in the verb stem and if the adjacent vowel is stressed. The very same principle of dissimilation will account for a good number of the 3rd pers. pl. non-human object present perfective forms found in 15. Thus, in the words below, the metathesized verb marker (italicized) appears as *-u-* because there is a bilabial consonant in the stem and the adjacent vowel is stressed:

(17) d*u*álęm 'plant them'
t*u*ámk 'shave them'
ch*u*ámęch/
ng*u*ámęch 'smoke them'
s*u*éséb[5] 'burn them'
ch*u*íb 'pick them'
k*u*imd 'cut them'

In the forms of 17, the *ę* of the metathesized verb marker is of course deleted before the following vowel. Thus, a form like *duálęm* 'plant them' is derived by the following steps:

(18) mę + dálęm + Ø[6] (basic form) →
d + mę + álęm + Ø (by metathesis) →
d + m + álęm + Ø (by deletion of *ę*) →
d + u + álęm + Ø (by dissimilation) →
d + u + álęm (by deletion of Ø object pronoun)

Now let us examine the 3rd pers. pl. non-human object present perfective forms of verbs whose stems do not contain a bilabial consonant. Since the conditions which cause dissimilation of the metathesized verb marker are absent in such cases, the verb marker simply appears as *-m-*, as we would expect. Note, therefore, the following forms from 15, in which the verb marker has been italicized:

(19)	d*m*ásęch	'carve them'	l*m*úchęs	'write them'
	ng*m*átęch	'clean them'	d*m*úl	'burn them'
	d*m*éel	'nail them'	k*m*á	'eat them'
	l*m*éng	'borrow them'	k*m*íis	'dig them'
	d*m*és	'slice them'	k*m*íis	'open them'
	l*m*iich	'remove meat (from them)'	rę*m*úul	'make them'
	t*m*íud	'cut them'	chę*m*úiu	'read them'

Just as in the forms of 17, the *ę* of the metathesized verb marker is deleted in the examples of 19 before a following vowel. Thus, to derive a form like *dmásęch* 'carve them', we have the following steps:

(20) mę + dásęch + Ø (basic form) →
d + mę + ásęch + Ø (by metathesis) →
d + m + ásęch + Ø (by deletion of *ę*) →
d + m + ásęch (by deletion of Ø object pronoun)

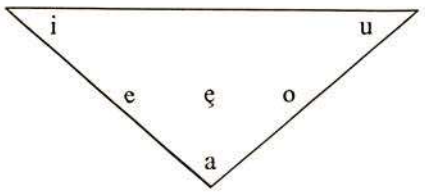
All of the forms of 19 are derived in a similar manner except that in *rę*muul 'make them' and *chę*muiu 'read them', an *ę* is inserted to break up the otherwise unpronounceable consonant clusters *rm* and *chm* (cf. **1**.4.5).

The remaining 3rd pers. pl. non-human object present perfective forms—i.e., those not listed in 17 or 19—all contain *-o-* or, much more rarely, *-u-* as the metathesized verb marker. Since these variants of the verb marker actually result from a "blending" of two vowels, they will be explained (in the next section) together with those 3rd pers. sg. object present perfective forms which show a similar pattern.

The Metathesized Verb Marker and Vowel Blending

6.3 2. In all 3rd pers. sg. object present perfective forms, the metathesized verb marker comes to appear before a vowel in an **unstressed** syllable. In such an environment, the metathesized verb marker undergoes several phonetic changes, including one—**vowel blending**—which we have not yet described. In order to understand these phonetic changes, we shall look in detail at the derivation of the 3rd pers. sg. object present perfective form of *męlatęch* 'clean'—namely, *ngotęchii* 'clean it'—whose basic form is represented as *mę + ngatęch + ii* (i.e., *verb marker + verb stem + object pronoun*).

First, the verb marker metathesizes and the *ę* of the verb marker is deleted before the following vowel, giving *ng + m + atęch + ii*. Then, the *m* of the verb marker changes to *u*, giving *ng + u + atęch + ii*. This change of the verb marker to *u* is not due to dissimilation (as in the examples of 17 above) but to an entirely different set of circumstances: here, the verb marker becomes *u* before another vowel in an **unstressed** syllable. In *ng + u + atęch + ii*, the two adjacent unstressed vowels *u* and *a* **blend** together into a single vowel *o*, giving the correct perfective form *ngotęchii*. We use the term **vowel blending** to describe this process because the resulting **mid** vowel *o* is a kind of "compromise" between the **high** vowel *u* and the **low** vowel *a*. This "in-between" quality of the resulting *o* can be easily seen from the following **vowel triangle** (cf. **1**.4.2):



The steps in the above-mentioned derivation of *ngotęchii* 'clean it' are summarized below:

(21) mę + ngatęch + ii (basic form) →
ng + mę + atęch + ii (by metathesis) →
ng + m + atęch + ii (by deletion of *ę*) →

ng + u + atęch + ii	(by change of verb marker to *u* in unstressed syllable) →
ng + otęch + ii	(by vowel blending)

By applying the phonetic rules of 21 in the order shown, we can correctly derive the 3rd pers. sg. object present perfective forms of all verbs in 15 whose stems have *a* as the first vowel. Thus, we can account for *dolęmii* 'plant it' (stem: *dalęm*), *tomkii* 'shave it' (stem: *tamk*), *dosęchii* 'carve it' (stem: *dasęch*), *chomęchii* 'smoke it' (stem: *chamęch*), and *kolii* 'eat it' (stem: *kal*).

We have seen above that the phonetic process of vowel blending accounts for the derivation of *o* from *u*+*a* in certain 3rd pers. sg. object present perfective forms. Other occurrences of *o* in such forms are also due to vowel blending, but a different combination of vowels is involved. For example, in the following derivation of *sosębii* 'burn it' (stem: *seseb*), the vowels *u* and *e* blend to give *o* in an unstressed syllable:

(22)

mę + seseb + ii	(basic form) →
s + mę + eseb + ii	(by metathesis) →
s + m + eseb + ii	(by deletion of *ę*) →
s + u + eseb + ii	(by change of verb marker to *u* in unstressed syllable) →
s + osęb + ii	(by vowel blending)

Notice that the above derivation uses the same phonetic rules as 21 and applies them in the same order. The only difference between 21 and 22 is that the vowel blending rule affects *u*+*a* in 21, while it applies to *u* + *e* in 22.

If we look again at the vowel triangle above, we can see that the *o* which results from the blending of *u* and *e* preserves one major phonetic feature from each of its two "source" vowels: in other words, the **mid back** vowel *o* retains the "midness" of the **mid front** vowel *e* and the "backness" of the **high back** vowel *u*. Exactly parallel to the above derivation of *sosębii* are the derivations for the 3rd pers. sg. object present perfective forms *longir* 'borrow it' (stem: *leng*) and *dosęngii* 'cut it' (stem: *des*), whose stems have *e* as the first vowel. Note that the phonetic changes under discussion do not apply in *dmelii* 'nail it', apparently because the verb stem (*deel*) has a long vowel *ee*.

The appearance of *o* in certain perfective forms results from the blending of yet another combination of vowels—namely, *u* + *ę*. This phonetic change affects the perfective forms of those verbs of 15 whose stems have *ę* as the first vowel;[7] furthermore, it

applies regardless of whether the object pronoun suffix is singular or plural. Thus, the perfective forms *cholębędii* 'hit him' and *cholebęd* 'hit them' (stem: *chęlebęd*) are derived as follows:

(23) Derivation of *cholębędii*, 3rd pers. sg. object present perfective form of *męngęlebęd* 'hit':

mę + chęlebęd + ii	(basic form) →
ch + mę + ęlebęd + ii	(by metathesis) →
ch + m + ęlebęd + ii	(by deletion of *ę*) →
ch + u + ęlebęd + ii	(by change of verb marker to *u* in unstressed syllable) →
ch + olebęd + ii	(by vowel blending) →
ch + olębęd + ii	(by reduction of *e* to *ę* in unstressed syllable[8])

(24) Derivation of *cholebęd*, 3rd pers. pl. non-human object present perfective form of *męngęlebęd* 'hit':

mę + chęlébęd + Ø	(basic form) →
ch + mę + ęlébęd + Ø	(by metathesis) →
ch + m + ęlébęd + Ø	(by deletion of *ę*) →
ch + u + ęlébęd + Ø	(by change of verb marker to *u* in unstressed syllable) →
ch + olébęd + Ø	(by vowel blending) →
ch + olébęd	(by deletion of Ø object pronoun)

In both of the derivations above, the metathesized verb marker changes to *u*, and the vowels *u* + *ę* blend into *o* in an **unstressed** syllable. Again, the change of *u* + *ę* to *o* is an example of vowel blending because the **mid back** vowel *o* keeps the "midness" of the **mid central** vowel *ę* and the "backness" of the **high back** vowel *u*. By using derivations like 23 and 24, we can account for nearly all the present perfective forms of 15 whose verb stems have *ę* as their first vowel—i.e., *tochęlbii* 'bathe him'/*tocholb* 'bathe them' (stem: *tęcholb*), *sokęsękii* 'cut it'/*sokosęk* 'cut them' (stem: *sękosęk*), *songosii* 'cook it'/*songoes* 'cook them' (stem: *sęngoes*), *korelii* 'catch it'/*koreel* 'catch them' (stem: *kęreel*), and *chosbęrbęrii* 'paint it'/ *chosbrebęr* 'paint them' (stem: *chęsbrebęr*).

One striking exception to the above pattern is found in the perfective forms *kutmęklii* 'clean it'/ *kutmokl* 'clean them', which contain *u* instead of the expected *o*. Even though the stem *kętmokl* has *ę* as its first vowel, for some unknown reason vowel blending of the metathesized verb marker *-u-* and the following *ę* does not seem to apply, and the *ę* is deleted instead.

To summarize what we have presented above, we can see that the principle of vowel blending will account for the correct pronunciation of many of the perfective verb forms listed in 15. In all cases of vowel blending, the metathesized verb marker *-u-* combines with some other vowel (*a*, *e*, or *ę*) in an unstressed syllable to give *o*. This resulting *o* can be viewed as a compromise or halfway point between *u* + *a*, *u* + *e*, or *u* + *ę*, which are its three possible sources.

Deletion of the Metathesized Verb Marker

6.3.3. As we have seen in the section above, the metathesized verb marker *-u-* blends with a **low** or **mid vowel** (*a*, *e*, or *ę*) in an unstressed syllable to give *o*. If a **high** vowel (*i* or *u*) follows the metathesized verb marker in an unstressed syllable, however, vowel blending does not occur, and instead the metathesized verb marker is deleted. This simple phonetic rule will account for all of the 3rd pers. sg. object present perfective forms in 15 whose verb stems have *i* or *u* as their first vowel. Observe, for example, the following derivations:

(25) Derivation of *kimdii*, 3rd pers. sg. object present perfective form of *męngimd* 'cut (hair)':

mę + kimd + íi	(basic form) →
k + mę + imd + íi	(by metathesis) →
k + m + imd + íi	(by deletion of *ę*) →
k + u + imd + íi	(by change of verb marker to *u* in unstressed syllable) →
k + imd + íi	(by deletion of verb marker)

(26) Derivation of *luchęsii*, 3rd pers. sg. object present perfective form of *męluchęs* 'write':

mę + luchęs + íi	(basic form) →
l + mę + uchęs + íi	(by metathesis) →
l + m + uchęs + íi	(by deletion of *ę*) →
l + u + uchęs + íi	(by change of verb marker to *u* in unstressed syllable) →
l + uchęs + íi	(by deletion of verb marker)

Derivations identical to 25 and 26 will explain the following 3rd pers. sg. object present perfective forms of 15, which show no trace whatsoever of the verb marker: *liięchii* 'remove meat (from it)', *tiudii* 'cut it', *chibngii* 'pick it', *kiięsii* 'dig it', *kiisii* 'open it',

chitęklii 'sing it', *durur* 'burn it', *rullii* 'make it', and *chɔ:ięuii* 'read it'. In each case, the first vowel of the verb stem is *i* or *u*.

Just as in the examples above, no trace of the metathesized verb marker can be found in any of the **past** perfective forms listed in 15. This absence is due to the fact that in these forms the verb marker metathesizes to a position directly preceding the **past tense marker** *-il-* or *-ir-*, which is never stressed. Because the past tense marker begins with *i*, deletion of the verb marker takes place according to the rule mentioned above. The following derivation is typical:

(27) Derivation of *lilęngir*, 3rd pers. sg. object past perfective form of *męleng* 'borrow':

mę + l + il + eng + ír	(basic form, including infixed past tense marker *-il-*) →
l + mę + il + eng + ír	(by metathesis) →
l + m + il + eng + ír	(by deletion of *ę*) →
l + u + il + eng + ír	(by change of verb marker to *u* in unstressed syllable) →
l + il + eng + ír	(by deletion of verb marker) →
l + il + ęng + ír	(by reduction of *e* to *ę* in unstressed syllable)

The only exception to the rule under discussion is the 3rd pers. pl. non-human object present perfective form *choitakl* 'sing them'. Here, the metathesized verb marker has not been deleted before *i* in an unstressed syllable, but instead remains as *-o-*.

In **6**.2 above, we considered a small group of intransitive verbs like *suebęk* 'fly', *ruebęt* 'fall', etc. in which the metathesized verb marker appears as *-u-* because the verb stem contains a bilabial consonant. We noted that in the past tense forms of these verbs—e.g. *silébęk* 'flew', *rirébęt* 'fell', etc.—the verb marker disappears. We can now see that the loss of the verb marker in these cases is due to the very same phonetic rule which accounts for derivations like 25–27 above. In other words, in a past tense form like *silébęk* 'flew', the metathesized verb marker *-u-* is deleted because it appears before *i* (the *i* of the past tense marker *-il-*) in an unstressed syllable.

In a very general sense, there is an important similarity between the phonetic process of vowel blending examined in **6**.3.2 above and the process of verb marker deletion discussed in this section. Both processes convert a **vowel cluster** in the basic form of a verb into a **single vowel** in the actually-spoken form. Thus,

vowel blending and verb marker deletion supply forms which satisfy a nearly exceptionless principle of the Palauan sound system—namely, that **vowel clusters do not occur in unstressed syllables**. The same principle was illustrated in **1**.4.7 and **3**.4.2–3, where the shortening or reduction of vowel clusters in the possessed forms of nouns was analyzed in detail.

VOWEL REDUCTION AND VOWEL DELETION IN PERFECTIVE VERB FORMS

6.4. In **3**.4 and **3**.4.1–3 we accounted for many of the phonetic differences between independent nouns and their possessed forms in terms of phonetic rules which **reduce** or **delete** single consonants or consonant clusters in **unstressed** syllables. The very same phonetic rules can account for all of the vowel alternations observed in the perfective verb forms of 15 above, as we will now see.

In the examples below, a full vowel which is stressed in the imperfective form and in the 3rd pers. pl. non-human object perfective forms reduces to *ę* when unstressed in certain 3rd pers. sg. object perfective forms:

(28)

Imperfective Form Containing Stressed Full Vowel		*3rd pers. sg. Object Past Perfective Form Containing Reduced Vowel (ę)*	
męlámk	'shave, scrape'	tilęmkíi	'shaved it'
męlęchólb	'bathe'	tilchęlbíi	'bathed him'
męlękósęk	'cut (meat)'	silękęsękíi	'cut it'
męlúchęs	'write'	lilęchęsíi	'wrote it'
męngęlébęd	'hit'	chillębędíi	'hit it'
męngitákl	'sing'	chilętęklíi	'sang it'
męngętmókl	'clean'	kiltmęklíi	'cleaned it'
męléng	'borrow'	lilęngir	'borrowed it'
męngíb	'pick (fruit)'	chilębngíi	'picked it'

In other cases, a full vowel which is stressed in certain forms of a verb is deleted altogether when unstressed, as in the following examples:

(29)

Imperfective Form Containing Stressed Full Vowel		*3rd pers. sg. Object Past Perfective Form (Note Loss of Vowel)*	
męlálęm	'plant'	dillęmíi	'planted it'
męlátęch	'clean'	ngiltęchíi	'cleaned it'

męlásęch	'carve'	dilsęchíi	'carved it'
męlés	'slice'	dilsęngíi	'sliced it'
męlésęb	'burn'	silsębíi	'burned it'

Long vowels or vowel clusters which are stressed in certain forms of a verb are usually reduced to a single vowel when unstressed, as the examples below indicate:

(30)

Imperfective Form Containing Stressed Long Vowel or Vowel Cluster		*3rd pers. sg. Object Past Perfective Form (Note Reduction of Long Vowel or Vowel Cluster)*	
męléel	'nail'	dilelíi	'nailed it'
męliich	'remove meat (from a coconut)'	lilichíi	'removed meat (from it)'
męngęréel	'catch fish (with a line)'	kirrelíi	'caught it (with a line)'
męngíis	'dig'	kilisíi	'dug it'
męlęngóes	'cook'	silęngosíi	'cooked it'
męlíud	'cut (round object)'	tiludíi	'cut it'
męngúiu	'read'	chiliuíi	'read it'

In rare cases, a stressed long vowel reduces to *ę* when unstressed, as in *męrúul* 'make'—*irięllíi* 'made it'.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS ON PERFECTIVE VERB FORMS

*6.5. Some of the perfective verb forms in 15 exhibit certain unusual or exceptional features which we have not yet discussed. We will point these out in the paragraphs below.

a. Though the verb *męlul* 'burn, barbeque' has the stem *dul*, the 3rd pers. sg. object perfective forms are *durur* and *dirrur*. The final *l* of the stem *dul* assimilates to the *r* of the object pronoun suffix *-ur* in the present perfective form, which is derived as follows:

(31)
mę + dul + úr (basic form) →
d + mę + ul + úr (by metathesis) →
d + m + ul + úr (by deletion of *ę*) →
d+ u +ul +úr (by change of verb marker to *u* in unstressed syllable) →

d + ul + úr (by deletion of verb marker) →
d + ur + úr (by assimilation of *l* to *r*)

The past perfective form *dirrur* is apparently derived by the following steps:

(32) mę + d + il + ul + úr (basic form, including infixed past tense marker *-il-*) →
d + mę + il + ul + úr (by metathesis) →
d + m + il + ul + úr (by deletion of *ę*) →
d + u + il + ul + úr (by change of verb marker to *u* in unstressed syllable) →
d + il + ul + úr (by deletion of verb marker) →
d + il + l + úr (by deletion of unstressed *u*—cf. 6.4 above) →
d + il + r + úr (by assimilation of *l* to *r*) →
d + ir + r + úr (by assimilation of *l* to *r*)

b. The 3rd pers. sg. object perfective forms of *męnga* 'eat' are *kolii* and *killii*. The appearance of *l* in these forms indicates that the basic form of the verb stem is *kal*. It seems as if the *l* of the verb stem must be deleted in word-final position after the vowel *a*, as in *męnga* 'eat', *kma* 'eat them', and *kila* 'ate them'. The stem-final *l* is also retained in *kall* 'food', where it is followed by the **anticipating state suffix** *-l* (see 7.8).

c. *Męngiis* 'dig' (a native Palauan verb) and *męngiis* 'open' (a verb formed from the verb marker *mę* + the imperfective marker *ng* + the English word *keys*) have identical forms for many speakers. As indicated in 15, however, some speakers distinguish the 3rd pers. sg. object present perfective forms of these verbs. For *męngiis* 'dig', we have *kiięsii*, with an extra *ę* pronounced between the long vowel *ii* and the following consonant; this extra *ę* turns up under similar circumstances in other native verb forms such as *liięchii* 'remove meat (from a coconut)' and *chuięuii* 'read it'. By contrast, *męngiis* 'open' has *kiisii*, with no extra *ę* appearing between the long vowel and the following consonant; this irregularity is undoubtedly due to the non-native origin of this verb.

d. For the verb *męlamęch* 'smoke, chew', most speakers use perfective forms which begin with *ch-*, but there is some variation observed for the 3rd pers. pl. non-human object perfective forms, which for certain speakers begin with *ng-*. A verb-stem-initial *ng* is also seen in the related causative verb *omęngamęch* 'make (someone) chew/smoke' (see 9.2.1.2). The ergative form of this verb, however, shows verb-stem-initial *ch*: *męchamęch* 'be/get chewed/smoked'. Because of this alternation between verb-stem-initial *ng* and *ch*, it is difficult to decide which consonant appears in the basic form of the verb stem. The choice of *ng* seems preferable, however: if the verb stem in question is *ngamęch*, then we can correctly predict the imperfective form *męlmaęch* from *mę* + *l* + *ngamęch*, where *l* is chosen as the imperfective marker because of the following verb-stem-initial *ng*. We might speculate that those verb forms showing a *ch*-initial verb stem—i.e., perfective forms such as *chomęchii* 'chew/smoke it' or *chuamęch* 'chew/smoke them' and the ergative form *męchamęch* 'be/get chewed/smoked'—are the result of an **assimilation** rule: that is, the initial *ng* of *ngamęch* completely assimilates to (i.e., becomes identical with) the *ch* at the end of the verb stem.

e. The 3rd pers. sg. perfective forms of *męruul* 'make, prepare' show a doubling of the *l*—i.e., we have *rullii* 'make it' and *riręllii* 'made it'. It is possible that the stem for this verb is *ruull* and that the *ll* shortens in word-final position, while remaining intact before a suffix. Further evidence for this analysis may be found by comparing the derived noun *rruul* 'something which is made' (which is actually a **resulting state verb** in form—see 8.2) with its possessed forms *rręllek* 'the thing I have made', *rręllem* 'the thing you have made', etc.

PERFECTIVE FORMS OF TRANSITIVE VERBS IN *o-*

6.6. In 6.1 above we listed a small number of transitive verbs whose imperfective forms have the prefix *o-* as the verb marker. The perfective forms of a few of these verbs are listed below according to the same format presented in 15 (q.v.):

(33) a. *oker* 'ask':

korir	kirrir
kmer	kiler

b. *omail* 'clothe':

milii	mililii
mail	milail

c. *omoes* 'shoot':

mosii	milosii
moes	miloes

d. *osiik* 'look for, find':

siiękii	silikii
smiik	siliik

All of the perfective forms given above can be explained in terms of phonetic rules with which we are already familiar. A form like *korir* 'ask him', for example, results from vowel blending and other rules, as in the following derivation:

(34) mę + ker + ír (basic form) →
k + mę + er + ír (by metathesis) →
k + m + er + ír (by deletion of *ę*) →
k + u + er + ír (by change of verb marker to *u* in unstressed syllable) →
k + or + ír (by vowel blending)

The *m*-initial perfective forms of *omail* 'clothe' and *omoes* 'shoot' all involve the phonetic rule deleting *b* before *m* which we introduced in **6**.2.1 above (cf. the derivation of *mo* 'go' in 12). Thus, a form like *milii* 'clothe him' is derived by the following steps:

(35) mę + bail + íi (basic form) →
b + mę + ail + íi (by metathesis) →
b + m + ail + íi (by deletion of *ę*) →
m + ail + íi (by deletion of *b* before *m*) →
m + il + íi (by vowel cluster reduction)

In the derivation above, the metathesized verb marker does not change to *u*, even though it occurs in an unstressed syllable; this is probably due to the fact that, after the deletion of *b*, the *m* of the (metathesized) verb marker once again comes to appear in word-initial position. Note, further, that the stressed vowel cluster *ai* found in the imperfective form *omáil* 'clothe' and in the 3rd pers. pl. non-human object perfective forms *máil* 'clothe them' and *miláil* 'clothed them' is reduced to *i* when unstressed in the 3rd pers. sg. object perfective forms *milíi* 'clothe him' and *mililíi* 'clothed him'. The same kind of vowel cluster reduction is observed in *omóes* 'shoot' vs. *mosíi* 'shoot him', etc., and the long vowel *ii* of *osiik* 'look for' shortens to *i* when unstressed in *silikíi* 'found him'.

In past perfective forms like *kirrir* 'asked him', *silikii* 'found him', etc., there is no trace of the metathesized verb marker, which, as expected, is deleted before the high vowel *i* of the past tense infix *-il-* or *-ir-*. Furthermore, in *kirrir* 'asked him', the past tense marker appears as *-ir-* due to assimilation with the following *r* of the verb stem *ker*.

HYPOTHETICAL FORMS OF PERFECTIVE VERBS

6.7. In **6**.2.1 above we noted that most hypothetical verb forms characteristically lack the verb marker. This statement applies to the hypothetical forms of perfective verbs as well. Observe the following examples:

(36)

Perfective Verb		*Hypothetical Form (with 3rd pers. hypothetical pronoun)*	
ngo*t*ęchii	'clean it'	lęngę*t*ęchii	'(if) he cleans it'
ng*m*atęch	'clean them'	lęngatęch	'(if) he cleans them'
l*o*ngir	'borrow it'	llęngir	'(if) he borrows it'
l*m*eng	'borrow them'	lleng	'(if) he borrows them'
rę*m*uul	'make them'	lęruul	'(if) he makes them'

While the perfective verb forms on the left all contain the metathesized verb marker (italicized), their corresponding hypothetical forms on the right do not. As we saw in **6**.3.1 above, the perfective verb forms given in 36 have the basic structure *verb marker + verb stem + object pronoun*; by contrast, their corresponding hypothetical forms have the basic structure *hypothetical pronoun + verb stem + object pronoun*. As we might expect, the prefixed hypothetical pronoun has different forms depending on the initial sound of the following verb stem (cf. **4**.10.9): for example, in the hypothetical forms of 36 above, the 3rd pers. hypothetical pronoun appears as *l-* before an *l*-initial verb stem (as in *llęngir* and *lleng*), but is pronounced as *lę-* otherwise. Some hypothetical forms of perfective verbs which contain first or second person hypothetical pronouns include *kngętęchii* '(if) I clean it', *kruul* '(if) I make them', *chomlęngir* '(if) you borrow it', etc.

For those perfective verb forms in which the metathesized verb marker has been deleted before a high vowel in an unstressed syllable, the corresponding hypothetical form is derived simply by prefixing the appropriate hypothetical pronoun. Thus, we have pairs of forms like *silsębii* 'burned it'—*lęsilsębii* '(if) he burned it', *sileseb* 'burned them'—*ksileseb* '(if) I burned them', *chiliuii* 'read it'—*chomchiliuii* '(if) you read it', *rullii* 'make it'—*kręllii* '(if) I make it', etc.

The verb stems for *omail* 'clothe' and *omoes* 'shoot' of 33 are *bail* 'article of clothing' and *boes* 'gun', respectively. Since the basic structure for hypothetical perfective forms is *hypothetical pronoun + verb stem + object pronoun*, as we have seen above, a verb like *omoes* 'shoot' has the hypothetical perfective forms *lębosii* '(if) he shoots him', *lęboes* '(if) he shoots them', *lębilosii* '(if) he shot him', *lębiloes* '(if) he shot them', etc.

7 State Verbs

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF STATE VERBS

7.1. In previous chapters we have already provided much information about the meaning and use of Palauan **state verbs**. Thus, in **5**.1.1–3 we emphasized the opposition between state verbs, which describe states, qualities, or conditions that temporarily or permanently characterize someone or something, and **action verbs**, which designate actions, activities, or events in which someone (the **doer** or **agent**) participates. We also saw that both state verbs and action verbs can be either **transitive** or **intransitive**, although the class of transitive state verbs is rather small. Finally, we noted that the two types of verbs can be distinguished from each other according to the way in which their **past** tense forms are derived: while state verbs use the auxiliary word *mle* 'was, were', action verbs infix the past tense marker *-il-* or *-l-*.

Whereas we have a fairly clear picture of the meaning and use of Palauan state verbs, we have not yet paid much attention to their **internal structure**. In other words, we still need to examine the various ways in which morphemes—**verb stems** and **affixes**—combine with each other in the formation of state verbs. So far, we have only dealt with **simple state verbs** and with state verbs containing the **verb marker** and a **verb stem** (cf. **6**.1). After reviewing these two types briefly, we will look at various classes of state verbs whose internal structure is more complex.

Simple state verbs are those which consist of a single morpheme, or meaning-bearing unit, as in the following examples:

(1)	ungil	'good'	songęrengęr	'hungry'
	klębokęl	'beautiful'	chętngaid	'thin'
	dęchudęch	'dirty'	cheisęch	'stained'
	dibus	'away, absent'	chęrodęch	'noisy'

sękool	'playful'	ngodęch	'strange, different'
chuodęl	'old'	ngeiasęk	'young'

State verbs consisting of the verb marker and a verb stem can be classified into two types, depending on whether the verb stem is **bound** or whether it occurs independently as a noun. In the examples below, all the verb stems are bound—i.e., they cannot be used as separate words:

(2)	mękngit	'bad'	mękeald	'warm'
	męrur	'ashamed, shy'	kmeed	'near'
	mędai	'poor'	chuarm	'suffer'
	męrau	'rich'	dmak	'together'
	mękreous	'precious'	dmik	'move out, be thrown out'

By contrast, the verb stems in the following examples are not bound, but can occur independently as nouns. By prefixing *mę-* to each of the nouns below, we derive a state verb which designates a state or condition characterized by the presence of whatever the corresponding noun refers to.

(3)	*State Verb*		*Related Noun*	
	męched	'shallow'	ched	'low tide'
	milkolk	'dark'	ilkolk	'darkness'
	mędakt	'afraid of, fear'	dakt	'fear'
	męses	'industrious, strong'	ses	'industriousness'
	męsaul[1]	'tired'	saul	'tiredness'
	męchuu	'shady'	chuu	'shadow'
	mękęrior	'unfortunate'	kęrior	'misfortune'
	męduch	'able to, skilled at'	duch	'ability'
	smechęr	'sick'	sechęr	'sickness'
	smau	'comfortable with, used to'	sau	'liking'

In the state verbs of 2 and 3 above, the verb marker appears in several different forms (cf. **6**.1–2). In most cases, it is a prefix (*mę-* or *m-*); but with certain verb stems it **metathesizes** to a position following the initial consonant of the stem and appears as *-(ę)m-* or *-u-*.

The state verbs of 1 through 3 can be used in sentences such as the following:

(4) a. A mubi a ungil.
'The movie is good.'

b. A sensei a mle dibus.
'The teacher was out.'

c. Ak kmal mle {songęrengęr / męsaul}.

'I was very {hungry / tired},'

d. A bilek a mla mo cheisęch.
'My clothes have gotten stained.'

e. A bęchik a smechęr ęr a tęretęr.
'My wife is sick with a cold.'

f. A Toki a chuarm ęr a dęlęngchęklel.
'Toki is suffering because of her living conditions.'

While 4a, 4e, and 4f describe **present** states or conditions, 4b and 4c, which contain the past tense auxiliary *mle* 'was, were', describe **past** states or conditions. In 4d, the use of *mo* 'go' before the state verb designates a **change of state** (cf. **5**.1.3). In 4e and 4f, the state verbs are accompanied by the **relational phrases** *ęr a tęretęr* 'because of a cold' and *ęr a dęlęngchęklel* 'because of her living conditions', which explain the **cause** of the state (see **14**.5).

STATE VERBS WITH PLURAL SUBJECTS

7.2. Several simple state verbs which refer to **size** or **dimension** must take the prefix *mę-* if their subject is **plural**. This *mę-* is probably an instance of the **verb marker prefix**, but one which has the unique function of indicating the plurality of the subject. Observe the following pairs of sentences:

(5) a. A mlai a klou.
'The canoe is big.'

b. A mlai a męklou.
'The canoes are big.'

(6) a. Tia ęl oluchęs a chętngaid.
'This pencil is thin.'

b. Aika ęl oluchęs a męchętngaid.
'These pencils are thin.'

In 5a and 6a above, the (unprefixed) simple state verbs *klou* 'big' and *chętngaid* 'thin' are associated with singular subjects, while in 5b and 6b the state verbs with *mę-* are associated with plural subjects. A state verb referring to size or dimension must take the prefix *mę-* if its subject is **overtly** plural, but must remain unprefixed if its subject is overtly singular. The subject of 6a—*tia ęl oluchęs* 'this pencil'—is overtly singular because it contains the **demonstrative** (or pointing) word *tia* 'this', which automatically refers to one single thing. By contrast, the subject of 6b—*aika ęl oluchęs* 'these pencils'—is overtly plural because the demonstrative word *aika* 'these' always refers to two or more things. Thus, in 6a the singular state verb *chętngaid* '(is) thin' agrees (or corresponds) with the singular subject *tia ęl oluchęs* 'this pencil', while in 6b the plural state verb *męchętngaid* '(are) thin' agrees with the plural subject *aika ęl oluchęs* 'these pencils'. In 5a-b, the situation is somewhat different, since the subject *mlai* 'canoe' contains no demonstrative words and is therefore neither overtly singular nor overtly plural. In such cases, the speaker must add *mę-* to the state verb if he is talking about a plural subject; thus, in 5a-b, the difference in meaning is determined solely by the presence or absence of *mę-*.

Other state verbs which must take *mę-* to identify a plural subject are illustrated in the following sentences:

(7) a. A ręchad ęr a Merikel a mę(ke)kęmangęt.
'Americans are tall.'

b. A chiul a Toki a mę(ke)kęmangęt.
'Toki's hair is long.'

c. A kall ęr a uum a kmal mękekęrei.
'The quantities of food at the cafeteria are very small.'

The state verbs given in 7 are *(ke)kęmangęt* 'tall, long' and *kekęre* 'small'. In both of these verbs, the initial syllable *ke-* results from repeating (or **reduplicating**—see chap. 11) part of the verb stem. This repeated initial syllable is required in *kekęre* 'small', but is optional in *(ke)kęmangęt* 'tall, long' (hence, our use of parentheses). The alternate forms *kęmangęt* and *kekęmangęt* do not show any difference in meaning.[2] In the sentences above, *mę-* is prefixed to the state verb either because the subject is overtly plural or because the speaker is referring to something plural. In 7a, the subject noun phrase *ręchad ęr a Merikel* 'Americans' is overtly plural because it contains the plural noun *ręchad* 'people', which consists of the plural prefix *rę-* (cf. **2**.5) and the human noun *chad* 'man'. And in 7b and 7c, the speaker is talking about plural subjects: *chiul a Toki* 'Toki's hair' does not refer to just one strand or piece of hair, but to many; and *kall* 'food' refers to the different kinds of food available at the cafeteria.

Though it does not refer to size or dimension, the state verb *kikiongęl* 'dirty' (which also appears to contain a repeated portion *ki-*) is sometimes observed to take *mę-* if a plural subject is intended. Thus, with 5a-b, for example, compare the following pair of sentences:

(8) a. A blatingel a Toki a kikiongęl.
'Toki's plate is dirty.'

b. A blatingel a Toki a mękikiongęl.
'Toki's plates are dirty.'

VERBS WITH *mle* AND *-il-* IN THE PAST

7.3. A small number of Palauan verbs have two past tense forms, one with the auxiliary word *mle* 'was, were' and the other with the infixed past tense marker *-il-*. Since these two different ways of deriving the past tense characterize **state** verbs vs. **action** verbs, respectively (cf. **5**.1.3), we must conclude that the verbs in question can function as either type. In some cases, use of one or the other of the past tense forms results in a very clear-cut difference in meaning, as in the examples below:

(9) a. A ngalęk a mle mękar.
'The child was awake.'

b. A ngalęk a milkar ęr a chęrrodęch.
'The child woke up from the noise.'

(10) a. A Droteo a mle dmik ęr a blil a Toki.
'Droteo was living away from Toki's house.'

b. A Droteo a dilik ęr a blil a Toki.
'Droteo moved out of/got thrown out of Toki's house.'

In 9a and 10a above, the auxiliary *mle* 'was, were' makes it clear that the verbs *mękar* 'be awake, wake up', and *dmik* 'live away from, move out of' are being used as state verbs: therefore, *mle mękar* 'was awake' and *mle dmik* 'was living away from' describe past states. By contrast, the infixed past tense marker *-il-* in 9b and 10b tells us that *mękar* and *dmik* are functioning as action verbs: here, *milkar* 'woke up' and *dilik* 'moved out of' denote actions or events rather than states.

There are several other Palauan verbs which have two past tense forms, but unlike the cases above, the use of one or the other form usually has no effect on the meaning. Thus, most speakers use the sentences in each of the following pairs interchangeably:

(11) a. A John a mle męchiuaiu ęr a ulaol. 'John was sleeping on the floor.'

b. A John a milęchiuaiu ęr a ulaol.

(12) a. A Hermana a mle dęngchokl er tiang. 'Hermana was sitting here.'[3]

b. A Hermana a dilęngchokl er tiang.

(13) a. A Droteo a mle kie ęr a Guam. 'Droteo was living/lived in Guam.'

b. A Droteo a kilie ęr a Guam.

TRANSITIVE STATE VERBS

7.4. As we saw in **5**.1.2, the class of Palauan **transitive state verbs** is quite small. Transitive state verbs can be identified by the following two features: first, they take **objects** because they are transitive; and second, their past tense forms are derived with *mle* because they are state verbs. Both of these identifying features are observed in the sentences below:

(14) a. A John a mle męddęnge a tękoi ęr a Siabal.
'John used to know Japanese.'

b. A Satsko a kmal mle męduch ęr a ochur.
'Satsko really used to know (how to do) math.'

c. Ak mle mętitur a tękoi ęr a Merikel er se ęr a taem ęr a męksęmad.
'I didn't know English during the war.'

d. A Droteo a mle męrur ęr a sęchęlil.
'Droteo was ashamed of his friend.'

e. A sęchęlik a mle mędakt a bisębusęch.
'My friend used to be afraid of lightning.'

All of the transitive state verbs given above—*męddęnge* 'know', *męduch* 'know how (to), be skilled at', *mętitur* 'not know how (to), not be capable of', *męrur* 'ashamed of', and *mędakt* 'afraid of'—involve mental states (knowledge of something, fear of something, etc.) or abilities.

The transitive state verb *męddęnge* 'know' has a full set of **perfective** forms—i.e., *męddęngęlkak* 'know me', *męddęngęlkau* 'know you', *męddęngęlii* 'know him/her/it', etc. (cf. **4**.9.4, ex. 53). The use of these perfective forms is illustrated in the sentences below:

(15) a. Ak mle mędęngęlii a Toki er se ęr a kngar ęr a Guam.
'I knew Toki when I was in Guam.'

b. Ak mle mędęngęltęrir a ręsęchęlil a Droteo er se ęr a kngar ęr a Hawaii.
'I knew Droteo's friends when I was in Hawaii.'

As 15a-b and 14a above show, the object noun phrase following *mędęnge* 'know' can be either human (e.g. *Toki* in 15a) or inanimate (e.g. *tękoi ęr a Siabal* 'Japanese (language)' in 14a).[4]

STATE VERBS WITH *bę-*

7.5. A few state verbs can be formed by adding the prefix *bę-* to a verb stem. In most cases, the verb stem can be used as an independent noun, as in the following examples:

(16) *State Verb*		*Related Noun*	
bęchachas	'sooty'	chas	'soot, ash'
bęchochod	'fragrant'	chochod	(type of tree from which incense is made)
bęralm	'watery, flat-tasting'[5]	ralm	'water'
bęsokęl	'infected with ringworm'	sokęl	'ringworm'

As you can see, the derived state verbs in 16 describe states or conditions characterized by the presence of whatever the corresponding noun refers to (cf. the state verbs of 3 above): for instance, *bęralm* 'watery, flat-tasting' describes a condition resulting from the presence of too much *ralm* 'water' in food, etc. Notice that the noun *chas* 'soot, ash' has to be partially repeated (or **reduplicated**—see chap. 11) before the prefix *bę-* can be added.

Certain state verbs in *bę-* are derived from other state verbs, but unlike the examples in 16 above, the meaning of the derived state verb cannot be predicted in any consistent way. Note the following examples:

(17) *State Verb*		*Related State Verb*	
bęcheleleu	'white'	cheleleu	'pale'
bęchachau	'empty'[6]	chachau	'stunted, empty (of nuts)'

A few state verbs in *bę-* do not seem to be related to any noun or to any other state verb. Therefore, *bę-* is followed by

bound verb stems in words like *bętimęl* 'slow' and *bęlils* 'high, piercing'.

THE PREFIXES *bękę-* AND *sękę-*

7.6. Although Palauan has a fairly large number of state verbs derived with the prefixes *bękę-* and *sękę-*, the use of such words appears to be declining, especially among younger speakers. These prefixes may be related to each other (note that they share the syllable *-kę-*), but their development is not clear; furthermore, *bękę-* may contain the prefix *bę-* discussed in 7.5 above. State verbs formed with *bękę-* and *sękę-* are very difficult to analyze because many Palauan speakers have different opinions about their acceptability and their meaning.

In some cases, both *bękę-* and *sękę-* can be prefixed to the same verb stem, resulting in state verbs which are distinct from each other in meaning. Observe, for example, the sentences below, which contain state verbs derived from the stem *rurt* 'running, race':[7]

(18) a. A ngalęk a bękęrurt.
'The child is a good runner.'

b. A ngalęk a sękęrurt.
'The child runs a lot.'

In 18a, the prefix *bękę-* derives a state verb which expresses the subject's **ability** or **skill** in doing the activity referred to by the verb stem: thus, *bękęrurt* means 'good at running'. In 18b, however, the prefix *sękę-* derives a state verb with quite a different meaning: here, *sękę-* implies that the activity designated by the verb stem is something which the subject **does often** or **likes to do**—hence, the English equivalent 'run a lot'. A parallel distinction is found in the following pair of sentences, which have state verbs derived from the bound stem *tungęl*[8]:

(19) a. A Toki a bękętungęl.
'Toki has a keen sense of smell.'

b. A Toki a sękętungęl.
'Toki likes to smell things.'

Examples of contrast between *bękę-* and *sękę-* such as those given in 18 and 19 above are relatively uncommon. More often, we find that either one or the other of these prefixes occurs with a particular verb stem. In the majority of such cases, the derived

state verb refers to the subject's frequent pursuit of an activity ('do...a lot') rather than his skill in doing it. In the list below, some of the most commonly-used state verbs with *bękę-* and *sękę-* are given, together with the related verb stem; if the verb stem occurs independently as a noun, it is provided with an English gloss.

(20) *State Verb*		*Related Stem*
bękętękoi	'talkative, talk a lot'	tękoi 'word, language'
bękęsius	'swear a lot, talk vividly'	sius 'swearing'
sękęrael	'travel a lot, go from place to place, can't settle down'	rael 'road'
bękureor[9]	'work a lot, hard-working'	ureor 'work'
bękętaut	'good at shooting'	taut 'aim'
bękęsęchęlei	'have many friends, friendly'	sęchęlei 'friend'
sękęboes	'go shooting a lot'	boes 'gun'
sękębuachęl	'boast a lot about having a girlfriend or boyfriend'	buachęl
sękęngim	'drink a lot (of liquor)'	ngim
sęchiuaiu[10]	'sleep a lot, sleep late'	chiuaiu

Since the derived state verbs of 18–20 simply have the structure *bękę/sękę + verb stem*, they automatically preserve the initial consonant of the verb stem. For example, the *t* of *tękoi* 'word, language' is retained in *bękętękoi* 'talkative', but deleted in *męlękoi* 'talk', the corresponding imperfective verb. This verb has the basic structure *mę + l + tękoi*—i.e., *verb marker + imperfective marker + verb stem*. As we saw in **5.5**, the imperfective marker appears as *l* before verb stems like *tękoi* 'word, language', which begin with *t*; once the correct form of the imperfective marker has been chosen, the initial consonant of the verb stem is deleted. Therefore, the imperfective verb *męlękoi* 'talk' shows no trace of the initial consonant *t* of the verb stem *tękoi*. For similar reasons, the initial consonants of verb stems like *boes* 'gun' and *ngim* (a bound stem meaning 'drink') are preserved in derived state verbs like *sękęboes* 'go shooting a lot' and *sękęngim* 'drink a lot (of liquor)', but are lost in the corresponding imperfective verbs *omoes* 'shoot' and *męlim* 'drink'.

In a small number of cases, state verbs with *bękę-* and *sękę-* can only be derived if all or part of the verb stem is repeated (or **reduplicated**—see chap. 11). Observe the following examples:

(21) *State Verb*		*Related Stem*	
bękęlilangęl	'cry a lot'	langęl	'crying'
bękęsechęsechęr	'get sick a lot'	sechęr	'sickness'
bękębęsbes	'forgetful'	bes	'forgetfulness'
sękęrker[11]	'ask questions a lot'	ker	'question'

As a native speaker of Palauan, you have undoubtedly found that some of the derived state verbs listed above are unacceptable to you, or that the meanings provided by the English glosses do not match your own interpretations. This is because the use of the prefixes *bękę-* and *sękę-* is gradually dying out—or, as linguists say, becoming less **productive**. For this reason, many speakers are no longer sure of the correct form and meaning of state verbs derived with these prefixes.

State Verbs with *bękę-* Denoting Smells

7.6.1. The prefix *bękę-* has another function unrelated to that described in **7.6** above. This prefix can also be added to nouns to derive state verbs which refer to various kinds of **smells** which are considered to be unpleasant or disagreeable. Some examples, together with the related nouns, are given below:

(22) *State Verb*		*Related Stem*	
bękębau	'smell of rotten meat or fish'	bau	'smell'
bękęriamęl	'smell of football fruit (i.e., sweaty)'	riamęl	'football fruit'
bękękatuu	'smell of a cat'	katuu	'cat'
bękęuel	'smell of turtle (after eating turtle)'	uel	'turtle'
bękęchęluch	'smell of coconut oil'	chęluch	'coconut oil'
bękęngikęl	'smell of fish'	ngikęl	'fish'

In addition to the above, a small number of state verbs denoting smell contain bound stems; a typical example is *bękęsęngoręch* 'smell of a male pig'.

RESULTING STATE VERBS

7.7. In the sections above we have examined certain classes of Palauan state verbs which are derived with the **prefixes** *mę-, bę-, bękę-,* and *sękę-*. In this section we will discuss **resulting state verbs**, which involve the **infix** *-(ę)l-*. The meaning of Palauan resulting state verbs will be easy to understand if we compare the following sentences:

(23) a. A Toki a męlatęch ęr a ulaol.
'Toki is cleaning the floor.'

b. A ulaol a nglatęch.
'The floor is clean(ed).'

While 23a describes an **action** (*męlatęch* 'clean') which is directed at an **object** (*ulaol* 'floor'), 23b describes the **state** which the object is in as a **result** of this very same action. In other words, *nglatęch* 'cleaned' of 23b tells us that the floor has undergone the action of cleaning and is now clean. Because forms like *nglatęch* 'cleaned' focus on the state resulting from some completed action, they are called **resulting state verbs.**

Before discussing how resulting state verbs are derived, let us look at some further pairs of sentences which parallel 23a–b above:

(24) a. A Droteo a męluchęs ęr a babier.
'Droteo is writing the letter.'

b. A babier a lluchęs.
'The letter is written.'

(25) a. A John a męngat a ngikęl.
'John is smoking the fish.'

b. A ngikęl a chęlat.
'The fish are smoked.'

(26) a. A Droteo a ulęmoes a bęlochęl.
'Droteo was shooting pigeons.'

b. A bęlochęl a mle bloes.
'The pigeons were (injured from being) shot.'

As 23–26 show, resulting state verbs can only be formed from **transitive action verbs** (cf. **5**.1.1) like *męlatęch* 'clean', *męluchęs* 'write', *męngat* 'smoke (fish)', *omoes* 'shoot', etc. Furthermore, while the transitive a-sentences have the **agent** (or doer) as subject, no mention of the agent can be made in the b-sentences, which contain resulting state verbs. This is simply due to the fact that the b-sentences focus our attention solely on the resulting state; the person who brought about this state is irrelevant and need not be mentioned.

Resulting state verbs are derived simply by infixing *-(ę)l-* after the initial consonant of the verb stem. The *ę* must be included if the preceding consonant is *ch*, *s*, *t*, or *d*; otherwise, an unpronounceable consonant cluster would result (cf. **1**.4.5). In the list below, a representative sample of resulting state verbs is given; for purposes of comparison, the related transitive action verb (in the imperfective form) is also provided.

(27)

Resulting State Verb		*Related Transitive Verb (in imperfective form)*	
k*l*imd	'cut'	męngimd	'cut (hair)'
chę*l*sbrebęr	'painted'	męngęsbrebęr	'paint'
l*l*eng	'borrowed'	męleng	'borrow'
sę*l*esęb	'burned'	męlesęb	'burn'
tę*l*ub	'spat'	męlub	'spit'
dę*l*es	'sliced'	męles	'slice'
rruul	'made, done, fixed'	męruul	'make, do, fix'
b*l*uręch	'speared'	omuręch	'spear'

Since the resulting state verbs in 27 consist only of the **resulting state infix** (italicized) and the **verb stem**, they preserve the stem-initial consonants *k*, *ch*, *s*, *t*, *b*, etc. These stem-initial consonants disappear, however, in the corresponding imperfective verbs because they are deleted after the **imperfective marker** (cf. the discussion following ex. 20 in 7.6 above). In *rruul* 'made, done, fixed' the resulting state infix appears as *r* due to **assimilation** with the preceding verb-stem-initial *r*.

ANTICIPATING STATE VERBS

7.8. Another type of state verb which can only be formed from **transitive action verbs** is the **anticipating state verb**. Anticipating state verbs are derived by adding a **suffix** of the form *-(ę)l* or *long vowel + l* to the verb stem; in addition, they involve some complicated phonetic changes, as we will see below. In order to understand the meaning of anticipating state verbs, let us compare the following two sentences:

(28) a. A Toki a męlatęch ęr a ulaol.
'Toki is cleaning the floor.'

b. A ulaol a ngętachęl.
'The floor is to be cleaned.'

Sentence 28a (which we discussed above as 23a) describes an action (*męlatęch* 'clean') which is being directed at an object (*ulaol* 'floor'). By contrast, 28b does not describe an action which is actually being performed at the present moment, but instead focuses on the object as something which is **expected** to undergo (or should undergo) the action at some future time. In other words, *ngętachęl* 'is to be cleaned' of 28b tells us that the floor needs cleaning or should be cleaned—i.e., that it is "waiting" to undergo the effect of the action of cleaning. Because forms like *ngętachęl* 'is to be cleaned' refer to states which the speaker **expects** or **anticipates**, we will call them **anticipating state verbs.**

The use of Palauan anticipating state verbs is illustrated further in the sentences below:

(29) a. A mlik a tęlęmall mę ng kirel ęl *ruoll.*
'My car isn't working, so it needs to be fixed.'

b. A blim ng *ruoll* ęr ker?
'Where is your house to be built?'

c. Aika ęl bilek a kirel ęl mo sęlokęl.
'These clothes of mine need to be washed.'

d. A chiuk a mle *kmudęl.*
'My hair was to be cut.'

e. Ngika a *beakl* ęl babii.
'This is the pig which is to be shot.'

As the sentences of 29 show, the italicized anticipating state verbs are more or less equivalent to English expressions with 'need to be...' or 'is to be...' Since these sentences are used primarily to focus our attention on the fact that something needs to (or should) undergo the effect of some action, knowledge of the agent is considered irrelevant. Therefore, sentences with anticipating state verbs, like those with resulting state verbs (cf. 7.7 above), cannot include any mention of the agent.

As we mentioned above, anticipating state verbs are derived by suffixing *-(ę)l* or *long vowel + l* to the verb stem. In the list below, some typical anticipating state verbs are given; for purposes of comparison, the related transitive action verb (in the imperfective form) is also provided. Stressed syllables are marked because they will be of importance in the subsequent discussion.

(30) *Anticipating State Verb*		*Related Transitive Verb (in imperfective form)*	
kmúdęl	'is to be cut'	męngímd	'cut (hair)'
lęngíil	'is to be borrowed'	męléng	'borrow'

sęlókęl	'is to be washed'	męsílęk	'wash'
sęsóbęl	'is to be burned'	męléseb	'burn'
chętúul	'is to be smoked'	męngát	'smoke (fish)'
lęchúkl	'is to be written'	męlúchęs	'write'
ruóll	'is to be made, done, fixed'	męrúul	'make, do, fix'
beákl	'is to be shot'	omóes	'shoot'
brúchęl	'is to be speared'	omúręch	'spear'

Because the anticipating state verbs in 30 have the basic structure *verb stem + anticipating state suffix*, they of course preserve the stem-initial consonants *k*, *ch*, *s*, *b*, etc. Can you explain why these stem-initial consonants have disappeared in the corresponding imperfective verbs?

There is no way of predicting whether the anticipating state suffix (italicized in 30) will occur as *-(ę)l* or as a long vowel (e.g. *ii* or *uu*) followed by *l*.[12] If the suffix appears as *-(ę)l*, it is never stressed; therefore, in anticipating state forms like *kmúdęl* 'is to be cut', *sęlókęl* 'is to be washed', *sęsóbęl* 'is to be burned', etc., the stress falls on the vowel in the syllable **preceding** the anticipating state suffix *-(ę)l*. If we compare forms like *sęlókęl* 'is to be washed' and *męsílęk* 'wash', we notice two cases of vowel alternation. First, in the anticipating state form, the full **stressed** vowel *o* appears between *l* and *k*, while in the imperfective form, a *ę* appears between these same consonants in an **unstressed** syllable. Second, in the imperfective form, the full **stressed** vowel *i* is found between *s* and *l*, while in the anticipating state form, a *ę* appears between these two consonants in an **unstressed** syllable.

We can explain the above vowel alternations if we propose that the verb stem for 'wash' has the **basic stem** *silok*. The basic stem *silok* does not occur in actual pronunciation or writing but represents a kind of "abstraction" or "phonetic formula" from which we can predict those full vowels which will appear in stressed syllables in the related forms of a verb.[13] In the example under consideration, the imperfective form *męsílęk* is stressed on the next-to-the-last syllable. Here, the *i* of the basic stem *silok* appears as the **full** vowel *i* in the actual pronunciation because it occurs in the stressed syllable; on the other hand, the *o* of the basic stem *silok* appears as the **reduced** vowel *ę* because it is found in an unstressed syllable. In the anticipating state form *sęlókęl*, however, the situation is exactly the reverse. In this word, it is the *o* of the basic stem *silok* which appears in the stressed syllable and therefore gets pronounced as the full vowel *o*, while the *i* of *silok* is reduced to *ę* in an unstressed syllable.

As the above discussion shows, we can explain the complicated vowel alternations in forms such as *męsílęk* 'wash' and *sęlókęl* 'is to be washed' in terms of the process of **vowel reduction** (cf. 1.4.4 and 3.4), which is perhaps the most important phonetic process in Palauan. Just as we set up the abstract basic stem *silok* to explain the vowel alternations in *męsílęk* and *sęlókęl*, so can we set up abstract basic stems to account for the other pairs of words listed in 30. A few examples are given below:

(31)

Basic Stem	*Anticipating State Verb*		*Imperfective Verb*	
sesob	sęsóbęl	'is to be burned'	męlésęb	'burn'
luchus	lęchúkl	'is to be written'	męlúchęs	'write'
kimud	kmúdęl	'is to be cut'	męngímd	'cut (hair)'

The basic stems *sesob* and *luchus* given above are just like *silok* in their behavior: in the anticipating state verb, the second vowel of the basic stem appears as a full vowel under stress, while the first vowel of the basic stem reduces to *ę* in an unstressed syllable; and in the imperfective verb, exactly the opposite situation occurs. The basic stem *kimud* given above behaves somewhat differently, since one or the other of its vowels disappears completely when unstressed, rather than reducing to *ę*. Thus, in the anticipating state verb *kmudęl* 'is to be cut', the *i* of the basic stem *kimud* is deleted when unstressed; and in the imperfective verb *męngímd* 'cut (hair)', the *u* of the basic stem is similarly deleted. Since vowel deletion can be considered an "extreme" form of vowel reduction (cf. 3.4.1), the behavior of *kimud* is not really very unusual.

There are several other phonetic changes which occur in the anticipating state verbs of 30 that should be mentioned. If we compare the forms *męlúchęs* 'write'—*lęchúkl* 'is to be written' and *omóes* 'shoot'—*beákl* 'is to be shot', we observe an alternation between a final *s* in the imperfective forms and a *k* in the anticipating state forms. This alternation is due to a rather unusual phonetic rule of Palauan which changes *s* to *k* before *l*. Thus, a form like *lęchúkl* is derived by the following steps:

(32) luchús + 1 (basic form = basic stem + anticipating state suffix) →

lęchús + 1 (vowel reduction) →

lęchúk + 1 (change of *s* to *k* before *l*).

This same phonetic change is observed between the noun *sils* 'day' and its possessed form *klsel* 'his holiday': in the possessed form, the vowel *i* is deleted, resulting in the consonant cluster *sl*, which then changes to *kl*.

In some of the anticipating state verbs of 30, we observe vowel clusters whose origin is difficult to explain. Such clusters are found in *ruóll* 'is to be made, done, fixed' and *béakl* 'is to be shot'.

The Anticipating State Suffix *-all*

7.8.1. The anticipating state verbs derived with *-(ę)l* or *long vowel + l* which we discussed above are still commonly heard, although another pattern of formation has come into fairly wide use, especially among younger speakers. This pattern involves adding the suffix *-all* to the verb stem; since this suffix is always stressed, anticipating state verbs which are derived with it always show *ę* for the full vowels of a basic verb stem, since these come to appear in unstressed syllables. In the list below, some commonly used anticipating state verbs in *-all* are given; for purposes of comparison the alternate anticipating state verb is also provided.

(33)

Anticipating State Verb in -all	*Anticipating State Verb in* -(ę)l	
sęsębáll	sęsóbęl	'is to be burned'
lęchęsáll	lęchúkl	'is to be written'
ngętęcháll	ngętáchęl	'is to be cleaned'
kęmędáll	kmúdęl	'is to be cut'
lęchętáll	lęchótęl	'is to be tied'

For some verbs, the only existing anticipating state form is the one in *-áll*. Some examples include *bridáll* 'is to be scattered' (cf. imperfective *omriid* 'scatter') and *didáll* 'is to be followed' (cf. imperfective *omdid* 'follow').

Resulting and Anticipating State Verbs as Nouns

7.8.2. Many of the resulting and anticipating state verbs discussed above can function as nouns—e.g. *chęlat* 'smoked fish' (cf. *męngat* 'smoke (fish)'), *ilumęl* 'beverage' (cf. *męlim* 'drink'), *kall* 'food' (cf. *męnga* 'eat'). In addition, certain state verbs can be formed by adding both the resulting state infix *-(ę)l-* and the anticipating state suffix *-(ę)l* to a stem simultaneously. State verbs derived in this way appear to be identical in meaning to the corresponding resulting state verb: for example, *ngęltachęl* 'cleaned' means the

same as *nglatęch*, *klęmudęl* 'cut (of hair)' means the same as *klimd*, *chęltuul* 'smoked (of fish)' means the same as *chęlat*, and so on. Many of these state verbs have come to be used as nouns with special meanings. The use of resulting and anticipating state verbs as nouns will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

TRANSITIVE VERBS DERIVED FROM STATE VERBS

7.9. A rather large number of Palauan transitive verbs are derived from **simple** state verbs merely by adding the **verb marker** and the **imperfective marker**. Such derived verbs usually have a **causative** meaning: that is, they describe actions in which the subject of the sentence **causes** someone or something to be in the particular state designated by the related state verb. The following derived transitive verbs are used commonly:

(34)

Transitive Verb (in imperfective form)		*Related Simple State Verb*	
męngikiongęl	'make dirty'	kikiongęl	'dirty'
męlęchudęch	'make muddy'	dęchudęch	'muddy'
męlękimęs	'make wet'	dękimęs	'wet'
męngeisęch	'make stained'	cheisęch	'stained'
męngętom	'make (a knife, etc.) blunt'	kętom	'blunt'
męngędeb	'shorten'	kędeb	'short'
męngęmangęt	'lengthen'	kęmangęt	'long'
męlodęch	'change'	ngodęch	'different, strange'
męngędidai	'make higher, pile up'	kędidai	'high'

In a few cases, verb stems which combine with the verb marker to form state verbs (cf. 2–3 above) also can combine with the verb marker and the imperfective marker to form transitive verbs. Observe the examples below:

(35)

Transitive Verb (in imperfective form)		*Related State Verb*	
męngeald	'make warm, heat up'	mękeald	'warm'
męngęlękolt	'make cold, cool down'	mękęlękolt	'cold'
męngęsa	'make busy, occupy'	męchęsa	'busy'

8 Noun Derivation

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF PALAUAN NOUNS

8.1. In chaps. 5–7 we examined the **internal structure** of various kinds of Palauan verbs by showing how **verb stems** can combine with many different **affixes** such as the verb marker prefix, the resulting state infix, the anticipating state suffix, etc. We also observed that while the internal structure of certain Palauan verbs is quite simple, that of others is extremely complex. Thus, in 7.1 we discussed **simple** state verbs such as *klou* 'big', *ungil* 'good', etc., which consist of just a single morpheme, or meaning-bearing unit. Most of our time, however, was spent in explaining the internal structure of numerous types of **complex** verb forms, which contain two or more morphemes. For example, in 5.4–5 we saw that ergative verb forms such as *męchuiu* 'be/get read' are made up of two morphemes—the verb marker (*mę-*) and the verb stem (*-chuiu* 'read')—while imperfective verb forms like *męnguiu* 'read' have a basic structure which involves three morphemes—the verb marker (*mę-*), the imperfective marker (*-ng-*), and the verb stem (*-chuiu* 'read').

The internal structure of Palauan nouns, like that of Palauan verbs, can be simple or complex. As we might expect, **simple nouns** consist of just a single morpheme or meaning-bearing unit and include words such as the following:

(1)

mlai	'canoe, car'	babier	'paper, letter'
ngau	'fire'	elęcha	'now, today'
chad	'man, person'	ngikęl	'fish'
daob	'ocean'	dęrumk	'thunder'
malk	'chicken'	kęrrękar	'tree'

In contrast with the simple nouns listed above, **complex nouns** are derived by adding certain types of affixes to verb stems or to other nouns. Their internal structure therefore involves at least

two (and sometimes more than two) morphemes. In the sections below, we will examine the main groups of Palauan complex nouns; some of these are derived with affixes that are already familiar to us, while others involve entirely new affixes.

STATE VERBS FUNCTIONING AS NOUNS

8.2. In 7.8.2 we mentioned that many Palauan **resulting state verbs** and **anticipating state verbs** can function as nouns. Thus, the nouns listed below actually have the form of **anticipating state verbs**, which, as we saw in 7.8, are derived by adding the **anticipating state suffix** *-(ę)l* (or *long vowel + l*) to the verb stems of **transitive action verbs**. For purposes of comparison, the related transitive action verb (in its imperfective form) is also given:

(2) *Derived Noun*		*Related Transitive Action Verb (in imperfective form)*	
kall	'food'	męnga	'eat'
ilumęl	'drink, beverage'	męlim	'drink'
sęlokęl	'laundry'	męsilęk	'wash'
suobęl	'homework, study'	męsuub	'study'

Whereas words like *kall* 'food', *ilumęl* 'drink, beverage', and *suobęl* 'homework, study' have come to be used exclusively as nouns (that is, they are no longer used as anticipating state verbs), *sęlokęl* can function either as an anticipating state verb meaning 'is/needs to be washed' or as a noun meaning 'laundry'. If we assume that all of the derived nouns in 2 in fact functioned as anticipating state verbs during some earlier stage of the Palauan language, we can explain their present-day (obligatory or optional) use as nouns in terms of a shift in meaning. In other words, a noun like *kall* 'food' was originally an anticipating state verb meaning 'is/needs to be eaten'; and as such, it was undoubtedly used to describe something that was expected to undergo (or had to undergo) the action of eating. For some unknown reason, however, this usage gradually died out, and instead *kall* came to stand for the **thing** which is to be eaten—namely, food. In the case of *sęlokęl*, the older usage as an anticipating state verb meaning 'is/needs to be washed' survived even after *sęlokęl* began to be used as a noun referring to the thing which is to be washed—namely, laundry.[1]

Since the words in 2 function as nouns, they can take any of the **possessor suffixes** (cf. 3.1). Therefore, we have forms like *kall* 'food'—*kęlek*[2] 'my food', *ilumęl* 'drink, beverage'—*imęlem*[3] 'your drink', *sęlokęl* 'laundry'—*sęlękęlel* 'his/her laundry', *suobęl* 'homework, study'—*subęlir* 'their homework', etc. Words like *kęlek* 'my food', *imęlem* 'your drink', etc. are necessarily complex nouns because they contain at least two morphemes—the **noun stem** and the **possessor suffix**; this is also true, of course, for all of the possessed nouns given in chap.3.

The nouns listed below are formally identical with **resulting state verbs**, which, as we saw in 7.7, are derived by placing the **resulting state infix** *-(ę)l-* after the initial consonant of verb stems of **transitive action verbs**. The words in 3a are used exclusively as nouns, while those in 3b can function either as nouns or as resulting state verbs. The related transitive action verb (in its imperfective form) is also provided.

(3) *Derived Noun*			*Related Transitive Action Verb (in imperfective form)*	
a.	klębkab	'chain'	męngębkab	'chain'
	chęlitakl	'song'	męngitakl	'sing'
	klęngoes[4]	'meat or fish stew'	męlęngoes	'cook (meat or fish)'
b.	bloes	'injury from being shot'	omoes	'shoot'
	dęlobęch	'injury from being cut'	męlobęch	'cut (with a knife, etc.)'
	blalęch	'wound from a slingshot'	omalęch	'hit (with a slingshot)'
	bletęch	'injury from a stone'	ometęch	'throw (a stone, etc.)'
	bluręch	'wound from a spear'	omuręch	'spear'
	chęlat	'thing which is smoked, smoked fish'	męngat	'smoke (fish)'
	sęleseb	'thing/place which is burnt'	męleseb	'burn'
	rruul[5]	'thing which is made/done'	męruul	'make, do'

Rather than describing the particular state resulting from actions such as cooking, shooting, burning, etc., words like *klęngoes, bloes, sęleseb*, etc. have (obligatorily or optionally) come to stand for the thing (or place) which is cooked, shot, burnt, etc. This latter usage is illustrated in the sentences below:

(4) a. Ng ngar ęr ker a {bloes / blalęch} ęr kau?

'Where is {the place you're shot / your slingshot wound} ?'

b. Ng soak ęl męnga a chęlat.
'I want to eat some smoked fish.'

c. Se ęl sęleseb ng sęrsel a tęchang?
'That burned area there—whose garden is it?'

d. Ng kmal ungil a rręllem.[6]
'The thing you've made is very nice.'

A small number of nouns with specialized meanings can be derived from verb stems by **simultaneously** adding both the resulting state infix and the anticipating state suffix. In the nouns below, the resulting state infix is italicized and the anticipating state suffix is in bold type; and for purposes of comparison, the related transitive action verb (in its imperfective form) is also given.

(5) *Derived Noun*		*Related Transitive Action Verb (in imperfective form)*	
ch*ęl*tu**ul**	'smoked fish'	męngat	'smoke (fish)'
l*l*ęchuk**l**[7]	'handwriting, drawing'	męluchęs	'write, draw'
k*l*iok**l**[7]	'hole'	męngiis	'dig'
b*l*iu**ll**	'wrapped tapioca'	omail	'clothe, wrap'

NOUNS DERIVED WITH -(ę)*l*- FROM INTRANSITIVE VERBS

8.3. In 3 above, we listed some Palauan nouns which are derived by combining the resulting state infix -(ę)*l*- with the verb stems of transitive action verbs. As we will see in this section, it is also possible to derive nouns by combining the infix -(ę)*l*- with the stems of **intransitive** verbs (mostly **state** verbs). These cases probably represent an expansion in the use of the resulting state infix, but since the derived nouns designate **abstract** qualities (cf. **2**.2) and give no indication of the original resulting state meaning, it will be easier if we simply consider the -(ę)*l*- in question to be a "grammatical device" for deriving abstract nouns from intransitive verb stems.

In the examples below, an abstract noun is derived by infixing -(ę)*l*- after the initial consonant of the verb stem, which occurs independently as a **simple** state verb:

(6) *Derived Noun*	*Related Simple State Verb*
blękeu 'bravery'	bękeu 'brave'
kldung 'good behavior'	kędung 'well-behaved'
dęlęngęrengęr 'poor behavior'	dęngęrengęr 'naughty'
dęlęngchokl 'way of life, living conditions'	dęngchokl 'sitting, seated'
chęldęlękelęk 'blackness'	chędęlękelęk 'black'
klękool[8] 'game'	sękool 'playful'
blulak 'lie'	bulak 'deceitful, lying'
chęrrodęch[9] 'noise'	chęrodęch 'noisy'

The following abstract nouns are also formed by infixing -(ę)*l*- after the initial consonant of the verb stem, which must be preceded by the verb marker *mę-* in the corresponding state verb (cf. **6**.1 and **7**.1):

(7) *Derived Noun*	*Related State Verb*
klęngit 'sin'	mękngit 'bad'
klisiich[8] 'strength'	męsisiich 'strong'
klęngakęd[8] 'thinness'	męsęngakęd 'thin'
kleald 'heat'	mękeald 'warm, hot'
chęliuaiu 'sleep'	męchiuaiu[10] 'sleep, be asleep'
chęlsa 'business, matter'	męchęsa 'busy'

The use of some of the derived nouns in 6 and 7 is illustrated in the sentences below:

(8) a. Ng kmal mle klou a {blękeu / kldung} ęr a iręchar.

'In earlier times a great many {brave / good} deeds were done.'

b. A dęlęngchokl ęr a elęcha ęl taem a kmal męringęl.
'Life these days is very difficult.'

c. Ng dirk ngar ęr ngii a klisichel a Droteo.
'Droteo is still strong.'

d. Ng kmal klou a klęngakęd ęr a chęlsel a Sina.
'There are a lot of poorly-nourished people in China.'[11]

There are quite a few Palauan state verbs referring to size or dimension which begin with *k*. This initial *k*- might have been some kind of meaning-bearing prefix at an earlier stage of the Palauan language, but now it no longer has any identifiable

function. At any rate, state verbs referring to size or dimension can also be made into abstract nouns by infixing *-(ę)l-* after the initial *k-*, as in the following:

(9) *Derived Noun*[12]		*Related State Verb*	
kllou	'size, thickness'	klou	'big'
kldeb	'shortness'	kędeb	'short'
kldidai	'height'	kędidai	'high'
klęmangęt	'length, height'	kęmangęt	'long, tall'

The sentences below illustrate the use of some of the derived nouns in 9:

(10) a. Ng tela a klungel[13] a kęrrękar?
'How thick is the tree?'

b. Ng tela a klęmęngętem?
'How tall are you?'

c. Ng tela a klęmęngętel a kęrrękar?
'How long is the board?'

d. Ng ua ngara a kldidiul[14] a kęrrękar?
'How high is the tree?'

NOUNS DERIVED FROM RECIPROCAL VERBS

8.4. As we will see in chap. 10, there is a special class of Palauan verbs known as **reciprocal verbs**. These verbs, which are formed with the **reciprocal prefixes** *kai-*, *ka-*, or *kau-*, designate actions which two or more people direct at **each other** simultaneously. It is possible to derive nouns from reciprocal verbs merely by infixing *-l-* after the initial *k-* of the reciprocal prefix. This *-l-* is undoubtedly the shorter variant of the infix *-(ę)l-* discussed in **8**.3 above: in other words, it is just a grammatical device for deriving abstract nouns from reciprocal verbs. Some typical derived nouns, together with the corresponding reciprocal verb, are given below:

(11) *Derived Noun*	*Related Reciprocal Verb*
klasoes 'seeing/being with each other, relationship'	kasoes 'see each other'
klaingęseu 'helping each other'	kaingęseu 'help each other'
klakoad 'fighting, battle'	kakoad 'fight with each other'
klaodęnge 'mutual knowledge'	kaodęnge 'know each other'

klaidęsachęl 'race, competition'	kaidęsachęl 'race, compete'
klausęchęlei 'friendship'	kausęchęlei 'be friends'
klaubuch 'marriage'	kaubuch 'be married'
klauchad 'blood relationship'	kauchad 'be related'
klaungalęk 'parent and child relationship'	kaungalęk 'be related as parent and child'

The examples below show how some of the derived "reciprocal" nouns of 11 can be used in sentences:

(12) a. Tia ęl klasoes ęr kid a di me er a elęchang e męrkong.
'Our relationship is now over (having reached this point).'

b. Ng kmal ungil a klaingęseu ęr a ręchad ęr a Modękngei.
'The way people in Modekngei help each other is really nice.'

c. Ng mla ęr ngii a klakoad ęr a Peleliu Club ęr a kęsus.
'There was a fight at the Peleliu Club last night.'

d. A klaodęnge ęr a Toki mę a Droteo a kmal ungil.
'Toki and Droteo know a lot about each other.'

e. Ng kmal ungil a klaubuch ęr tir.
'They have a very good marriage.'

As expressions like *klasoes ęr kid* 'our relationship', *klaubuch ęr tir* 'their marriage', etc. show, derived reciprocal nouns are **unpossessible**—that is, they cannot take **possessor suffixes** (cf. **3**.8). Therefore, if a possessor is to be mentioned, it must be introduced with a **noun phrase of possession** containing the relational word *ęr* (e.g. *ęr kid* 'of us', *ęr tir* 'of them', etc.).

ABSTRACT NOUNS DERIVED WITH *kl(ę)-*

8.5. The word-initial consonant cluster *kl-* observed in all of the derived nouns of 9 and 11 and in some of the derived nouns of 6 and 7 should be distinguished from what is clearly a separate prefix *kl(ę)-*, which is also used to form abstract nouns from state verbs. The prefix *kl(ę)-* may originally have consisted of two parts (an initial element *k-* and the resulting state infix *-l-*), but now it functions as a single unit. Some abstract nouns derived with *kl(ę)-*, together with the corresponding state verb, are listed below:

(13) *Derived Noun*	*Related State Verb*
klękekęre 'smallness'	kekęre 'small'

klękakęrous 'difference'	kakęrous 'different'
klungiaol[15] 'benefit, goodness'	ungil 'good'
kldachęlbai 'skill'	dachęlbai 'skillful'
klęmędęnge 'knowledge (from study, etc.)'	mędęnge 'know'
kldiull[16] 'pregnancy'	dioll 'pregnant'
klęmęra 'truth'	męra 'true'
klęngęltęngat 'good fortune'	ngęltęngat 'fortunate'
klęngar 'existence'	ngar 'exist, be (located)'

As the examples in 13 illustrate, *kl(ę)-* is usually attached to **simple** state verbs, but in a few cases it is prefixed to **complex** state verbs like *mędęnge* 'know' and *męra* 'true', which consist of the verb marker prefix *mę-* and a bound verb stem.

The derived nouns listed in 13 are typically used in sentences like the following:

(14) a. A omęsuub ęl tękoi ęr a Merikel a klungiolek.
'Studying English is to my benefit.'

b. Ng ua ngara a klęmędęnge[17] ęr kau ęr a tękoi ęr a Siabal?
'How much Japanese do you know?'

c. A klęngęltęngętel a Droteo, e ng mlo sębęchel ęl mo ęr a Guam.
'Droteo has had the good fortune of becoming able to go to Guam.'

The prefix *kl(ę)-* can also be added to certain nouns (usually human) to form another noun with a more abstract meaning, as in the examples below:

(15) *Derived Noun*	*Related Noun*
klęchęlid 'religion'	chęlid 'god'
klsęchal 'manhood'	sęchal 'man'
klęchad 'human life, way of life'	chad 'person'
klęngalęk 'childhood'	ngalęk 'child'
klsensei 'being a teacher'	sensei 'teacher'
kltoktang 'being a doctor'	toktang 'doctor'
klobak[18] 'chiefs of a community'	rubak 'old man'

klodam 'relationship between male relatives'	odam 'brothers'
klodos 'relationship between female relatives'	odos 'sisters'

Some sample sentences containing the nouns of 15 are given below:

(16) a. A klęchad er a elęcha ęl taem a diak lua ngar ęr a mong.
'Life these days isn't like what it was a few years ago.'

b. A klsensei a diak lękirek ęl ureor.
'Being a teacher isn't meant for me.'/'I'm not suited to being a teacher.'

INSTRUMENT AND ACTION NOUNS WITH *o-*

8.6. The prefix *o-* can be attached to verbs in two different ways, thus deriving two classes of nouns, one concrete in meaning and the other abstract (cf. **2**.2). The *o-* to be discussed in this section should not be confused with another prefix *o-*, which, as we saw in **5**.4 and chap. 6, is a variant of the **verb marker**. Even though the two prefixes *o-* are **homonymous**—i.e., identical in sound (or form)—they are distinct in function, since one (the verb marker) derives verbs and the other derives nouns.

Palauan **instrument nouns** are derived from the **imperfective** forms of **transitive** verbs simply by replacing the verb marker prefix *mę-* by the prefix *o-*. Instrument nouns are concrete nouns which designate the tool, implement, or utensil used in performing a particular action. For example, from the imperfective verb *męles* 'cut, slice', we derive the noun *oles* 'knife', which is an instrument used for cutting. Some commonly-used Palauan instrument nouns, together with the corresponding imperfective verb form, are provided below:

(17) *Derived Instrument Noun*		*Related Transitive Verb (in imperfective form)*	
olaml	'grass cutter, machete'	męlaml	'cut (grass)'
oluchęs	'pencil'	męluchęs	'write'
oriik	'broom'	męriik	'sweep'
olamk	'razor'	męlamk	'shave'
onges	'grater'	męnges	'scrape'

ongimd	'something to cut with'	mengimd	'cut (hair)'
olasech	'axe, adze'	melasech	'chop, carve'
osib	'plow'	mesib	'plow'
osongd	'comb'	mesongd	'comb'
osaur	'something to tie with'	mesaur	'tie'

Since the instrument nouns above are derived from the imperfective forms of transitive verbs[19] by replacing the verb marker *me-* with *o-*, they have the basic structure (*prefix*) *o-* + *imperfective marker* + *verb stem*.

Palauan **action nouns** are derived simply by adding the prefix *o-* to transitive or intransitive action verbs. These nouns designate actions or activities as abstract concepts and are used in certain grammatical constructions where nouns are required. In 18 below, the action nouns are derived from transitive action verbs, while those in 19 are derived from intransitive action verbs:

(18)

Derived Action Noun		*Related Transitive Verb (in imperfective form)*	
omeluches	'writing'	meluches	'write'
omelim	'drinking'	melim	'drink'
omenga	'eating'	menga	'eat'
omesuub	'studying'	mesuub	'study'

(19)

Derived Action Noun		*Related Intransitive Verb*	
omilil	'playing'	milil	'play'
omerael	'travelling, trip'	merael	'walk, travel'
omengedub	'swimming'	mengedub	'swim'

In 19, the prefix *o-* has been added to intransitive action verbs which have the verb marker prefix *me-* (or *m-*). If an intransitive verb contains the **metathesized** verb marker *-(e)m-* or *-o-* (cf. **6**.2), it cannot be used to derive an action noun with *o-*. Thus, from *remurt* 'run' or *remos* 'drown', we cannot derive nouns such as **oremurt* 'running' or **oremos* 'drowning', etc.

The derived action nouns of 18 and 19 are used in sentences like the following:

(20) a. A omeluches el tekoi er a Siabal a kmal meringel.
'Writing Japanese is very difficult.'

b. Ng soam a omelim el rrom?
'Do you like to drink liquor?'

c. Tia a delmerab er a omesuub.
'This is a room for studying.'

d. A omerolek el mo er a Siabal a kmal mle ungil.
'My trip to Japan was great.'

In 20a, 20b, and 20d, the derived action nouns *omeluches* 'writing', *omelim* 'drinking', and *omerolek* 'my trip' (a possessed form of *omerael* 'trip') are part of the **subject noun phrases** *omeluches el tekoi er a Siabal* 'writing Japanese', *omelim el rrom* 'drinking liquor', and *omerolek el mo er a Siabal* 'my trip to Japan'. For more information about sentences like 20b, where the subject noun phrase has been **shifted** to the end of the sentence, consult **17**.8. In 20c, the action noun *omesuub* 'studying' is part of the **characterizational phrase** *er a omesuub* 'of studying' (cf. **3**.8–9), which is a kind of **relational phrase** that characterizes the preceding noun (*delmerab* 'room') by describing its function.

NOUNS DERIVED WITH *ul(e)-*

8.7. The prefix *ul(e)-*, which might be related to the past tense prefix *ul(e)-* discussed in **5**.3.2, is used to derive nouns that refer to what is left over from the activity specified by the related verb, generally waste products of some kind. Derived nouns of this type also require the imperfective marker and—for some unknown reason—the anticipating state suffix *-(e)l* (or *long vowel* + *l*); furthermore, they involve several kinds of complex phonetic changes. As the examples below indicate, these nouns can only be derived from transitive verb stems:

(21)

Derived Noun		*Related Transitive Verb (in imperfective form)*	
ulengmudel	'hair that is cut off'	mengimd	'cut (hair)'
ullemachel	'what is left over from chewing'	melamech	'chew'
ulellumel	'disposable container after contents have been drunk'	melim	'drink'
ullesongel	'bones, etc. left over from fish or meat'	meles	'slice'

ulęnguótęl	'debris from clearing ground'	męngiut	'clear (ground)'
ullębákęl	'wood shavings'	męlabęk	'smooth (wood)'
ulęngáll	'inedible parts of food'	męnga	'eat'
urrędíil	'remaining stalk'	męrad	'pick (flowers)'

All of the derived nouns in 21 are stressed on the syllable preceding the anticipating state suffix. As we saw in 7.8, certain full vowels found in the **basic stem** of a verb characteristically turn up in anticipating state verbs, where they come to appear in stressed syllables. Exactly the same phenomenon is observed in the forms above: thus, if we propose a basic stem like *kimud* (cf. 7.8, ex.31) for 'cut', we can explain forms like *ulęngmúdęl* 'hair that is cut off' vs. *męngímd* 'cut (hair)' in the following way. In *ulęngmúdęl*, the *i* of the basic stem *kimud* is deleted in an unstressed syllable, while the *u* is maintained in a stressed syllable. In other words, *ulęngmúdęl* is derived by the following steps:

(22) ulę + ng + kimúd + ęl (basic form = prefix *ul(ę)-* + imperfective marker *ng* + verb stem *kimud* + anticipating state suffix *-(ę)l*) →

ulę + ng + imúd + ęl (by deletion of verb-stem-initial consonant following imperfective marker)→

ulę + ng + múd + ęl (by deletion of *i* in unstressed syllable)

By contrast, (imperfective) *męngímd* 'cut (hair)' involves exactly the reverse situation: in this word, the *i* of the basic stem *kimud* is retained because it is stressed, while the *u* is lost completely in an unstressed syllable. The derivation of *męngímd* is shown below:

(23) mę+ ng + kímud (basic form = verb marker prefix *mę-* + imperfective marker *ng* + verb stem *kimud*)→

mę + ng + ímud (by deletion of verb-stem-initial consonant following imperfective marker) →

mę + ng + ímd (by deletion of *u* in unstressed syllable).

Some of the other phonetic changes observed in the forms of 21 should also be familiar to us: for example, the full vowel *e* of the verb stem *des* 'cut' is reduced to *ę* (schwa) when unstressed in a form like *ullęsóngęl* 'leftover bones'. Or, in *urrędíil* 'remaining stalk', the consonant cluster *rr* is due to assimilation. There are, however, certain phonetic alternations in 21 which we cannot explain and which seem to be irregularities: thus, the appearance of the full vowel *o* in *ullęsóngęl* 'leftover bones' is quite unexpected, since the related verb stem *des* 'cut' has no final vowel; and the alternation between the vowel clusters *uo* and *iu* in *ulęnguótęl* 'debris from clearing ground' vs. *męngiút* 'clear (ground)' is very unusual.

9 Causative Verbs

MEANING AND USE OF CAUSATIVE VERBS

9.1. As we saw in **5**.1.1, all Palauan **action verbs** are either **transitive** or **intransitive.** Transitive action verbs name actions which are done to or directed at someone or something; the person who performs or brings about the action appears as the sentence subject, while the person, animal, or thing which receives the effect of the action appears as the sentence object. By way of review, observe the following sentences with transitive action verbs; you should have no difficulty identifying the sentence subject and sentence object:

(1) a. A Toki a mirruul a kall.
'Toki prepared the food.'

b. A sensei a chillębędii a bilis.
'The teacher hit the dog.'

c. Ak mo omes ęr a Tony.
'I'm going to see Tony.'

Intransitive action verbs, by contrast, involve just a doer, but no receiver; in other words, they describe actions which by their very nature cannot be directed at someone or something, but which only the doer himself can pursue. Therefore, the following sentences with intransitive action verbs contain subjects, but no objects:

(2) a. A ngalęk a lilangęl.
'The child was crying.'

b. Ak mo oureor ęr a klukuk.
'I'm going to work tomorrow.'

There is a special class of transitive action verbs known as **causative verbs**. As we will see below, these verbs can be identified by the presence of the **causative prefix**, which has quite a few

different forms (*omę(k)-*, *ol(ę)-*, etc.). These verbs are called causative because they involve actions in which the doer (or subject) **causes** or **forces** someone or something to perform a particular action or be in a particular state. In order to understand this characteristic meaning of causative verbs, compare the following two sentences:

(3) a. A bilis a chęmiis.
'The dog is running away.'

b. A Droteo a olęchiis ęr a bilis.
'Droteo is {chasing the dog away. / making the dog run away.},

Example 3a is a simple intransitive sentence containing the intransitive action verb *chęmiis* 'run away, escape'; this verb contains the **metathesized verb marker** *-(ę)m-* (cf. **6**.2), which is infixed after the initial consonant (*ch*) of the verb stem *chiis* 'escape'. Example 3b, on the other hand, is a transitive sentence containing the (transitive) causative verb *olęchiis*, which consists of the causative prefix *olę-* followed by the verb stem *chiis*. The intransitive sentence 3a has a subject only (*bilis* 'dog'), while the transitive sentence 3b has both a subject (*Droteo*) and an object (*bilis* 'dog'). Notice that the subject of the intransitive sentence has become the object of the transitive sentence. Common to the meaning of both 3a and 3b is the information that the dog is running away, but distinguishing the two sentences from each other is the extra information given in 3b: here, the presence of the causative verb *olęchiis* tells us that some person (*Droteo*) is **making** the dog run away, or **causing** him to run away.

The following pair of sentences can be analyzed in exactly the same way:

(4) a. A ngalęk a mękar.
'The child is awake.'

b. A rędil a olękar ęr a ngalęk.
'The woman is waking up the child.'

Example 4a is a simple intransitive sentence containing the (intransitive) state verb *mękar* 'be awake'; the subject of the sentence (*ngalęk* 'child') is described as being in the particular state designated by the verb. Example 4b, however, is a transitive sentence which names an action: this action is denoted by *olękar* 'wake up (someone), cause (someone) to be awake', which is a causative verb formed from the causative prefix *ol(ę)-* and the verb stem

kar. In this sentence, the subject of *olękar* (*rędil* 'woman') is doing something to the object (*ngalęk* 'child') in order to make him wake up—that is, she is causing the child to be in the particular state designated by the corresponding state verb *mękar* 'be awake'. Again, the subject of the intransitive sentence 4a has become the object of the transitive sentence 4b.

FORMS OF THE CAUSATIVE PREFIX

9.2. Since causative verbs are a subtype of transitive action verbs, they exhibit the same kinds of distinctions observed among transitive action verbs. In other words, causative verbs have both **imperfective** and **perfective** forms (cf. **5**.5 and see **9**.4 below), as well as **ergative** forms (cf. **5**.4 and see **9**.5 below) and **hypothetical** forms (cf. **4**.10 and **4**.10.1–9 and see **9**.6 below). In discussing the variants of the Palauan causative prefix, we will first concentrate on the **imperfective** forms of causative verbs.

In order to derive the imperfective forms of causative verbs, one of the two causative prefixes *omę(k)*- or *ol(ę)*- is added to a verb stem. These prefixes are added primarily to the stems of **intransitive verbs** according to the following general rule: *omę(k)*- is prefixed to the stems of intransitive **state verbs**, while *ol(ę)*- is prefixed to the stems of intransitive **action verbs**. In addition, the prefix *omę(k)*- can occur with the stems of a few **transitive action verbs** (see **9**.2.1.2 below). Regardless of whether the verb stem following the causative prefix is transitive or intransitive, the derived causative verb in *omę(k)*- or *ol(ę)*- is always transitive. Further, as we will see in **9**.3 below, a small number of rather exceptional verb stems can occur with both prefixes, sometimes resulting in a slight difference in meaning.

THE PREFIX *omę(k)*-

9.2.1. In the list below we can see some typical causative verbs whose imperfective forms are derived by prefixing *omę(k)*- to the stems of **intransitive state verbs**. In the right hand column, the related state verb is given for purposes of comparison:

(5) *Causative Verb in* omę(k)-		*Related State Verb*	
omękdęchor[1]	'make...stand'	dęchor	'stand, standing'
omękungil	'heal, make... better'	ungil	'good'

omękbęches	'renovate, repair, make...new'	bęches	'new'
omękdękimęs	'make...wet'	dękimęs	'wet'
omękęsiu[2]	'compare, imitate'	osiu	'joining'
omękoad[3]	'kill'	mad	'dead'
omękikiongęl	'make...dirty'	kikiongęl	'dirty'
omękareḍ	'light, turn on'	kmareḍ	'lighted, on fire'
omękdakt	'frighten'	mędakt	'afraid'
omękdirt	'dry out'	mędirt	'dry'
omękdingęs	'satisfy, make... full'	mędingęs	'full'
omękringęl	'hurt, make... difficult'	męringęl	'painful, difficult'

As causative verbs like *omękikiongęl* 'make...dirty' and *omękareḍ* 'light, turn on' show, the *k* of the causative prefix *omę(k)*- is deleted if it is followed by a *k*- initial verb stem. As we will see in some later examples, the *k* of *omę(k)*- is also lost if the following verb stem begins with *ng*. Thus, we can formulate the following general phonetic rule: the **velar stop** *k* (cf. **1**.3.1) of the causative prefix is automatically deleted before another **velar** consonant (*k* or *ng*).

You will notice that the related state verbs given in 5 above are of several different types. Verbs like *dęchor* 'stand, standing', *ungil* 'good', etc. are **simple** state verbs which do not exhibit the verb marker (cf. **7**.1). Verbs like *mędakt* 'afraid', *mędirt* 'dry', and *kmareḍ* 'lighted, on fire', however, are more complex in structure, since they consist of the verb stem and the verb marker, which appears as a prefix *mę*- or as a metathesized element -*(ę)m*- (cf. **6**.2).

Interestingly enough, the verb markers *mę*- and -*(ę)m*- found in state verbs like *mędakt*, *mędirt*, and *kmareḍ* do not appear in this form in the corresponding causative verbs *omękdakt*, *omękdirt*, and *omękareḍ*: in other words, causative verb forms like **omęk-mędakt*, **omękmędirt*, and **omękmareḍ* are impossible. The nonexistence of such forms is probably due to the fact that *omę(k)*-, which we have been treating as a single unitary prefix, is actually a combination of several prefixes. More specifically, if the *o*- of *omę(k)*- is really one of the variants of the verb marker,[4] as suggested in **9**.2.1.1 below, then forms like **omękmędakt*, **omękmareḍ*, etc. would be prevented because they would contain a second unnecessary instance of the verb marker.

Technical Discussion of the Prefix *omę(k)-*

*9.2.1.1. Although we have been dealing with the causative prefix *omę(k)-* as a single unit (or morpheme), there are several facts which lead us to believe that it is really a combination of three elements. Before discussing these facts, we first need to examine the basic structure of *omę(k)-*, which is represented by the following formula:

(6) *Verb marker* + *imperfective marker* + *causative marker*

o + m + bęk

As you can see, the basic structure of *omę(k)-* consists of two elements with which we are already familiar—the **verb marker** and the **imperfective marker**—and one element which is new to us—the **causative marker** *bęk*. As discussed in **5**.5, the imperfective marker has several variants—*l*, *ng*, or *m*—depending on the initial consonant of the following **verb stem**. Even though the causative marker *bęk* is not a verb stem, its initial consonant *b* nevertheless determines the correct variant of the directly preceding imperfective marker, which is therefore represented as *m* in 6 above. The verb marker which is part of the structure of 6 appears as *o-* (rather than *mę-*) as a result of **dissimilation** (cf. **6**.1); here, the dissimilation is caused by the presence of the bilabial consonant *b* in the following causative marker. The actually-pronounced form *omę(k)-* is derived from the basic structure *o* + *m* + *bęk* by deletion of the initial consonant *b* of the causative marker: this is exactly the same phenomenon which we observed in the derivation of imperfective verb forms (cf. **5**.5), where the initial consonant of a verb stem is characteristically deleted following the imperfective marker (e.g. *mę* + *l* + *dasęch* → *męlasęch* 'carve', *mę* + *ng* + *chuiu* → *męnguiu* 'read', etc).

There are several facts which we can bring up as evidence that the formula given in 6 correctly represents the basic structure of *omę(k)-*. First, we have already mentioned above that the non-occurrence of causative forms like **omękmędakt* or **omękmaręd* (instead of *omękdakt* 'frighten' and *omękaręd* 'light, turn on', respectively) could be easily explained if *omę(k)-* itself already contained the verb marker, as in 6: in other words, the non-occurrent causative forms would be incorrect because they would contain two instances of the verb marker—i.e., word-initial *o-* and word-internal *-mę-* or *-m-*.

Second, the formula in 6 allows us to account for certain

ergative causative verb forms in a regular and consistent way. As we will see in **9**.5 below, Palauan causative verbs in *omę(k)-* derive their ergative forms according to two different patterns. One of these patterns, which is close to becoming **archaic** (i.e., has nearly disappeared from standard use), results in ergative forms which begin with *obę(k)-*. For example, imperfective *omękdakt* 'frighten' has ergative *obękdakt* 'be/get frightened', imperfective *omękaręd* 'light, turn on' has ergative *obękaręd* 'be/get lighted/turned on', etc. As discussed in **5**.4, one defining feature of Palauan ergative verb forms is that they lack the imperfective marker and consist merely of the verb marker followed by the verb stem (e.g. *mę* + *dasęch* 'be/get carved', *mę* + *chuiu* 'be/get read', etc.). We should therefore expect that the ergative forms of causative verbs would also lack the imperfective marker, and this is precisely the case: in other words, the *obęk-* of *obękdakt* 'be/get frightened', etc. consists of the following simple sequence:

(7) *Verb marker* + *causative marker*

o + bęk

As the formulas in 6 and 7 clearly show, the only difference between the imperfective and ergative forms of causative verbs is that the former contain the imperfective marker, while the latter do not.

Third, as we will see in **9**.4 below, the **perfective** forms of causative verbs in *omę(k)-* normally do not show an initial *o-*. For example, the 3rd pers. sg. object present perfective form (cf. **6**.3) of *omękdakt* 'frighten' is *mękdęktii* 'frighten him/her/it'. The derivation of this perfective form can be explained in a plausible way if we assign it a basic form whose elements are consistent with those given in 6 and 7. Recall (cf. **5**.5) that Palauan **perfective** verb forms of course do not contain the imperfective marker; therefore, a perfective form like *sosębii* 'burn it' has the basic structure *verb marker* + *verb stem* + *object pronoun*. The basic structure of the perfective forms of causative verbs is similar, except that the causative marker is added following the verb marker. Thus, the basic form of *mękdęktii* 'frighten him/her/it' is represented as follows:

(8) *Verb marker* + *causative marker* + *verb stem* + *object pronoun*

o + bęk + dakt + ii

By applying a sequence of phonetic rules to the basic form *o + bęk + dakt + ii*, we can derive the actually-spoken form *męk-dęktii*, as explained below.

In **6.3.1** we noted that Palauan perfective verb forms are characterized by the fact that the verb marker **metathesizes** to a position following the initial consonant of the verb stem. It seems reasonable to assume that such metathesis also occurs in the perfective forms of causative verbs. In the example under discussion, application of verb marker metathesis to the basic form given in 8 will yield something like *b + m + ęk + dakt + ii*; here, the metathesized verb marker has been moved to a position following the initial consonant *b* of the causative marker, and for reasons which will become clear when we discuss the next phonetic rule, we assume that the metathesized verb marker appears as *-m-*. Next, we apply a rule which we have already encountered in **6.2.1**: the *b* of the causative marker, which has come to appear before the *m* of the metathesized verb marker, must be deleted, resulting in *m + ęk + dakt + ii*. After one more rule is applied—namely, the rule reducing unstressed *a* to *ę* (cf. **6.4**)—the actually-spoken form *męk-dęktii* is produced. The phonetic changes described above are summarized in the following step-by-step derivation:

(9) o + bęk + dakt + ii	(basic form = verb marker + causative marker + verb stem + object pronoun)→
b + m + ęk + dakt + ii	(by metathesis of verb marker)→
m + ęk + dakt + ii	(by deletion of *b* before *m*)→
m + ęk + dękt + ii	(by reduction of *a* to *ę* in unstressed syllable)

Additional Types of Causative Verbs with *omę(k)-*

9.2.1.2. In **9.2.1** above, we listed a large number of causative verbs which are derived by prefixing *omę(k)-* to the stems of **intransitive state verbs**. In this section, we will look at two further patterns of derivation for causative verbs in *omę(k)-*.

A small number of causative verbs can be derived by prefixing *omę(k)-* to the stems of **transitive action verbs**. The most common examples are listed below, together with the related transitive verb:

(10) *Causative Verb*	*Related Transitive Verb (in imperfective form)*
omęka 'feed, make...eat'	męnga 'eat'
omęngim 'make...drink'	męlim 'drink'
omęngamęch[5] 'make...chew, make... smoke'	męlamęch 'chew, smoke'

In each of the causative verbs of 10, the **velar stop** *k* of *omę(k)-* is deleted because the following verb stem (*kal*[6] 'eat', *ngim* 'drink', and *ngamęch* 'chew, smoke') begins with another **velar** consonant (*k* or *ng*).

Since a sentence with a transitive verb has both a subject noun phrase and an object noun phrase, a sentence with the corresponding causative verb will contain, in addition to these noun phrases, a third noun phrase which identifies the person who is causing the action to occur. In the following transitive sentence, for example,

(11) A ręngalęk a męnga ęr a kukau.
'The children are eating the taro.'

ręngalęk 'children' and *kukau* 'taro' are the subject and object, respectively, of the transitive verb *męnga* 'eat'. Now observe what happens to these noun phrases in the corresponding causative sentence:

(12) A Romana a omęka ęr a ręngalęk ęr a kukau.
'Romana is feeding the children the taro.'

Here, both *ręngalęk* 'children' and *kukau* 'taro' have come to appear as objects following the causative verb *omęka* 'feed'; and the new subject is *Romana*, the person who is doing the feeding. It is also possible to have sentences like 12 in which the second object is not mentioned—namely,

(13) A Romana a omęka ęr a ręngalęk.
'Romana is feeding the children.'

This sentence says that Romana is giving the children something to eat, but it does not specify what it is they are eating.

A few causative verbs can also be derived from **nouns** by prefixing *omę(k)-*. The resulting causative verb, which is of course transitive, designates some action or activity which involves the related noun. For example, from *bar* 'blanket', we can derive causative *omękbar* 'cover...with a blanket', and from *buch* 'spouse', we can form causative *omękbuch* 'marry (i.e., join as husband and wife), marry off, mate (animals)'.

Sample Sentences with *omę(k)*- Causatives

9.2.1.3. Although we have already presented some sentences in **9**.1 above to illustrate the meaning and use of causative verbs, perhaps some further examples are desirable. Thus, the sentences below illustrate the use of some of the causative verbs in *omę(k)*- listed in 5:

(14) a. A Toki a omękdęchor ęr a ngalęk ęr a bebul a tebęl.
'Toki is making the child stand on the table.'

b. A ręchad a mo omękoad a ngikęl.
'People are going to kill the fish.'

c. A Toki a blęchoel ęl mukdakt[7] ęr a dęrumk.
'Toki always gets frightened by thunder.'

d. A toktang a mo omękungil ęr kau.
'The doctor will get you better.'

e. A rękangkodang a omękikiongęl ęr a kędęrang.
'The tourists are messing up the beach.'

f. A Droteo a omękaręd ęr a olbidęl.
'Droteo is lighting the lamp.'

g. A kall a mo omękdingęs ęr kau.
'The food will fill you up.'

THE PREFIX *ol(ę)*-

9.2.2. In the list below we find some representative causative verbs whose imperfective forms are derived by prefixing *ol(ę)*- to the stems of **intransitive action verbs**. In the column at the right, the related action verb is provided for purposes of comparison:

(15) *Causative Verb in* ol(ę)-		*Related Action Verb*	
ollangęl	'make...cry'	lmangęl	'cry'
olluut	'give back, make... return'	lmuut	'return, come back'
oltobęd	'take out'	tuobęd	'go out, emerge'
oltengęl	'take down (from above)'	mętengęl	'land, come down'
oltuu	'put into, make... enter'	tmuu	'enter'
olsisęb	'put into, make... enter'[8]	soisęb	'enter'
olsebęk	'make...fly'	suebęk	'fly'
olsobęl	'save, take care of'	suobęl	'survive, be saved'
oldik	'banish'	dmik	'go into exile'
oliuul	'transfer'	imuul	'go from one location to another'
olęchiis	'chase, make...run away'	chęmiis	'run away, escape'
olękeređ	'unload, let off'	kmeređ	'get off, get out'
olęngelt	'(make...) sink (in soft ground)'	ngmelt	'sink (in soft ground), set (sun)'
olęngasęch	'raise, lift up'	ngmasęch	'climb, rise (sun)'
orrebęt	'drop'	ruebęt	'fall'
orros	'(make...) drown'	ręmos	'drown'
orrurt	'make...run'	ręmurt	'run'
orręchoręch	'(make...) sink (in water)'	ruchoręch	'sink (in water)'

As causative verbs like *olęchiis* 'chase, make...run away', *olękeređ* 'unload, let off', and *olęngasęch* 'raise, lift up' show, the causative prefix must include *ę* if the following verb stem begins with a **velar** consonant (*k*, *ng*) or a **glottal** consonant (*ch*). Otherwise, the causative prefix appears as *ol*-, except in forms like *orrebęt* 'drop', *orros* '(make...) drown', etc., where the *l* of the prefix completely assimilates to (i.e., becomes identical with) the initial *r* of the following stem.

As we noted in **6**.2, many Palauan intransitive verbs contain the **metathesized verb marker**, which appears as an **infix** of the form *-(ę)m-*, *-u-*, or *-o-*. All of the intransitive action verbs listed in 15 above, with the exception of *mętengęl* 'land, come down', exhibit the metathesized verb marker. The variants of the metathesized verb marker found in intransitive action verbs such as *dmik* 'go into exile', *suebęk* 'fly', and *soisęb* 'enter' do not occur as such in the corresponding causative verbs *oldik* 'banish', *olsebęk* 'make...fly', and *olsisęb* 'put into, make....enter': that is, it is impossible to have causative verb forms like **oldmik*, **olsuebęk*, or **olsoisęb*. The phenomenon being described here, you will recall, is exactly the same as that discussed in **9**.2.1 above with reference to the intransitive state verbs of 5 and their corresponding causative verbs. Our explanation for the nonexistence of causative verb forms like **oldmik*, **olsuebęk*, and **olsoisęb* will also parallel that given in **9**.2.1: we propose that *ol(ę)*-, which we

have so far assumed to be a single, unitary prefix, is really a combination of two prefixes, one of which is the verb marker. Therefore, the nonexistent causative verb forms under discussion are precluded because they would contain an extra, unnecessary occurrence of the verb marker.

Technical Discussion of the Prefix *ol(ę)-*

*9.2.2.1. Though we have been treating the causative prefix *ol(ę)-* as a single morpheme, in reality it is probably a combination of two elements. Some question exists, however, as to which elements are actually involved, and several different analyses could be proposed, each presenting its own difficulties and irregularities. Therefore, the explanations of *ol(ę)-* given below are very tentative and reflect our inadequate knowledge of the structure of this prefix.

In order to explain the non-occurrence of causative verb forms like **oldmik*, etc., we suggested at the end of **9**.2.2 above that *ol(ę)-* actually contains the verb marker. Thus, *ol(ę)-* appears to consist of the variant *o-* of the verb marker and the variant *-l-* of the imperfective marker. Some evidence that *-l-* is the imperfective marker is found in the fact that this consonant is missing in those verb forms whose basic structure characteristically lacks the imperfective marker. For example, the **perfective** forms of causative verbs in *ol(ę)-* would not be expected to contain the imperfective marker, and in fact such forms do not show *-l-*: thus, we have perfective *ochisii* 'chase him/her/it' from *olęchiis* 'chase', perfective *osębękii* 'make it fly' from *olsebęk* 'make. . .fly', and so forth. In addition, the **ergative** forms of causative verbs in *ol(ę)-* would not contain the imperfective marker, and these, too, lack *-l-*: thus, *motuu* 'be made to enter' is the ergative form of *oltuu* 'put into, make. . .enter', etc.

If we assume that *ol(ę)-* consists of the verb marker *o-* and the imperfective marker *-l-*, as described above, we run into certain problems that cannot be explained. First, we have seen in **6**.1 and in **9**.2.1.1 above that the verb marker appears as *o-* only when a *b* appears in the following verb stem or causative marker. In many of the causative verbs listed in 15, there is no *b* at all, yet the verb marker invariably appears as *o-*. Why this should be so remains a mystery. Second, we noted in **5**.5.a that the imperfective marker takes the variant *-l-* only when it precedes verb stems which begin with the consonants *t*, *d*, *s*, *l*, or *ng*. This rule does

not hold for causative forms, however, since *-l-* can precede *k*-initial or *ch*-initial verb stems in words like *olękereḍ* 'unload, let off' and *olęchiis* 'chase'. Even more strikingly, the verb-stem-initial consonant is not deleted after the imperfective marker in causative verb forms; such deletion would be expected, since, as we saw in **5**.5, it is one of the general phonetic rules which accounts for the correct form of imperfective verbs.[9]

From the discussion above, we can see that the two elements which make up the prefix *ol(ę)-* involve certain hard-to-explain irregularities. Perhaps the most puzzling feature of *ol(ę)-*, however, is its very structure: even though *ol(ę)-* contains no special causative morpheme like the *bęk* of *omęk-* (cf. **9**.2.1.1 above), but seems to consist merely of the sequence *verb marker + imperfective marker*, it nevertheless has a causative meaning. There is no way of accounting for this unusual fact unless we modify our analysis of *ol(ę)-* in a significant way, as suggested briefly below.

It might also be claimed that the structure of *ol(ę)-* involves a **causative marker** *o-* followed by the imperfective marker *-l-*.[10] Under such an analysis, causative verbs in *ol(ę)-* would, rather surprisingly, not contain any verb marker at all. In addition, we would have difficulty understanding why the Palauan language would have two phonetically divergent causative markers (*o-* and *-bęk-*). This analysis has a few advantages, however. First of all, if the *o-* of *ol(ę)-* were a causative morpheme, then we could explain the fact that *ol(ę)-* has a causative meaning. Second, we would have a plausible way of explaining why initial *o-* remains in perfective causative forms such as *ochisii* 'chase him/her/it' (from *olęchiis* 'chase'), etc. If the *o-* of *ol(ę)-* were the verb marker, then we would expect it to metathesize in perfective verb forms (cf. **6**.3.1); but, as forms like *ochisii* (as opposed to, say, **choisii*) show, it obviously does not. This difficulty would be avoided if the *o-* of *ol(ę)-* were indeed not the verb marker, but a causative marker, as suggested here. Third, if the *o-* of *ol(ę)-* were the verb marker, ergative causative forms like *motuu* 'be made to enter' (from *oltuu* 'put into, make. . .enter') would have the odd feature of containing two instances of the verb marker (*m-* and *-o-*). The structure of such forms would be more plausible, however, if we analyzed the *-o-* as a causative marker.

Additional Types of Causative Verbs with *ol(ę)-*

9.2.2.2. In **9**.2.2 above, we saw that most causative verbs in *ol(ę)-* are

derived from the stems of **intransitive action verbs.** A small number of causative verbs can be derived, however, by prefixing *ol(ę)-* to the stems of **intransitive state verbs**. A couple of examples of this type include *olękeed* 'bring...near' from *kmeed* 'near' and *oldak* 'put together, unify' from *dmak* 'together'.

A few verbs are formed with the prefix *ol(ę)-* even though they do not appear to have a causative meaning. Originally, they were probably derived by combining the causative prefix *ol(ę)-* with a following verb stem, but over a long period of time their meanings have evolved so as to obscure their causative origin. Some commonly-used verbs in this category include *orrengęs* 'hear, listen to', *oldingęl* 'visit', *oltoir* 'chase', *olęker* 'call', and *olęngęseu* 'help'.

Sample Sentences with *ol(ę)-* Causatives

9.2.2.3. In this section we will list several sentences illustrating the use of some of the causative verbs in *ol(ę)-* given in 15 or mentioned in 9.2.2.2:

(16) a. A rengalęk a olsebęk a kędam.
'The children are flying kites.'

b. Ak mo olluut ęr a Droteo mę ng diak lębo ęr a chei.
'I'm going to make Droteo come back from going fishing.'

c. A ngalęk a orrebęt a blatong.
'The child is dropping plates.'

d. A Cisco a olękeed ęr a bilas.
'Cisco is bringing the boat near.'

VERB STEMS ALLOWING TWO CAUSATIVES

9.3. A small number of intransitive verb stems allow the formation of two different causative verbs, one in *omę(k)-* and the other in *ol(ę)-*. The resulting causative verbs have slightly different meanings, at least for some Palauan speakers. Because there is much variation from person to person with regard to the meaning, or even acceptability, of such causative verbs, the discussion below may not apply to all speakers.

The contrast between *ol(ę)-* and *omę(k)-* often involves whether or not the act of **causation** is **intentional**. In other words, it is a question of whether or not the subject of the causative verb **means** or **intends** the action or state to come about. Note the use

of the causative forms of *suebęk a rengul* 'worried'[11] in the following sentences:

(17) a. A sensei a olsebęk ęr a rengul a Droteo.
'The teacher is worrying Droteo (without meaning to).'

b. A sensei a omęksebęk ęr a rengul a Droteo.
'The teacher is worrying Droteo (deliberately).'

As the parenthesized parts of the English equivalents show, *ol(ę)-* implies **non-intentional causation**, while *omę(k)-* involves **intentional causation**.

A similar distinction in meaning is found between the two causative verbs derived from *songęrengęr* 'hungry', as illustrated in the examples below:

(18) a. Ak olsęngęrengęr ęr a Toki e le ng dimlak a temek ęl męruul a kall.
'I'm letting Toki go hungry because I didn't have time to prepare any food.'

b. Ak omęksęngęrengęr ęr a Toki e le ng dęngęrengęr.
'I'm making Toki go hungry because she's naughty.'

In 18a, the causative verb formed with *ol(ę)-* has a meaning of non-intentional causation: here, the subject (*ak* 'I') is not purposefully making Toki go without food; rather, there is no food available, and this situation is beyond the subject's control. By contrast, the causative verb formed with *omę(k)-* in 18b has a meaning of intentional causation and implies that the subject is deliberately withholding food from Toki as a punishment.

The causative verbs *orrael* and *omękrael*, derived from the stem *rael* 'road' (cf. intransitive *męrael* 'walk, travel'), show a somewhat different kind of meaning distinction, as illustrated in the sentences below:

(19) a. A Droteo a orrael ęr a kęrębou.
'Droteo is leading the water buffalo.'

b. A Droteo a omękrael ęr a ngęlękel ęl mo ęr a ungil ęl klęchad.
'Droteo is guiding his child towards a good way of life.'

Though some speakers can use the two causatives interchangeably in sentences like 19a-b, the majority use *orrael* for 'lead (an animal), drive (a boat, etc.)' and *omękrael* for 'guide'.

PERFECTIVE FORMS OF CAUSATIVE VERBS

9.4. In 9.2.1.1 and 9.2.2.1 above, we have already had occasion to

mention the perfective forms of causative verbs, although we did not give a complete discussion of how they are derived. In this section, therefore, we will provide the perfective forms of a representative sample of causative verbs and explain the phonetic processes which account for their derivation. Our format will follow that which we adopted in **6**.3 and **6**.3.1–3 for presenting the perfective forms of "regular" (i.e., non-causative) transitive verbs. Thus, in lists 22 and 24 below, the causative verb is first given in its imperfective form, together with an English gloss; then, four representative perfective forms will be listed in the following order:

(20)

Present tense, 3rd pers. sg. object	Past tense, 3rd pers. sg. object
Present tense, 3rd pers. pl. non-human object	Past tense, 3rd pers. pl. non-human object

We will not provide English glosses for each perfective form, since their meanings can easily be determined from the chart in 20; thus, the perfective forms of *omękdakt* 'frighten', for instance, would have the following English equivalents:

(21)

'frighten him/her/it'	'frightened him/her/it'
'frighten them'	'frightened them'

In the list below, we observe the perfective forms of causative verbs in *omę(k)*-:

(22)

a. *omęka* 'feed':
mękęlii milękęlii[12]
męka milęka

b. *omękcharm* 'make...suffer':
mękchęrmii milękchęrmii
mękcharm milękcharm

c. *omękdakt* 'frighten':
mękdęktii milękdęktii
mękdakt milękdakt

d. *omękdęchor* 'make...stand':
mękędęchęrur milkędęchęrur
mękędęchor milkędęchor

e. *omękikiongęl* 'make...dirty':
mękikingęlii milkikingęlii
mękikiongęl milkikiongęl

f. *omękoad* 'kill':
mękodir milkodir
mękoad milkoad

g. *omęngamęch* 'make...chew/smoke':
męngęmęchii milęngęmęchii
mengamęch milęngamęch

h. *omęngim* 'give drink to':
męngęlmii milęngęlmii[13]
męngim milęngim

You will notice that all of the perfective forms in 22 appear to have lost the initial *o*- of *omę(k)*-. For practical purposes, we can simply say that this *o*- must be deleted as part of the correct derivation of the perfective forms under discussion; a more technical analysis such as that given in **9**.2.1.1 above, however, more accurately reflects the complicated phonetic processes which are at work here. Much less complicated is the derivation of the **past** perfective forms of 22: we merely infix the **past tense marker** *-il-* (cf. **5**.3.2) after the initial *m*- of the perfective verb form. We should also mention in passing how the past tense forms of **imperfective** causative verbs in *omę(k)*- are derived: as shown in **5**.3.2.a, we replace word-initial *o*- with *ul(ę)*-. Thus, we have, for example, *omęka* 'feed'—*ulęmęka* 'fed', *omękdakt* 'frighten'—*ulęmękdakt* 'frightened', etc.

The perfective forms in 22 show the effects of **vowel reduction** or **vowel cluster reduction** (cf. **1**.4.4 and **6**.4). Full vowels or vowel clusters which appear in **stressed** syllables in the imperfective causative verb are reduced, respectively, to the **neutral vowel** *ę* (**schwa**) or to a single vowel when they come to appear in **unstressed** syllables in certain perfective causative forms. In the list below, compare the imperfective causative forms in the left column with the corresponding 3rd pers. sg. object present perfective forms in the right column; in the latter forms the stress always appears on the **object pronoun suffix** (cf. **4**.9, **4**.9.1–4, and **6**.3.1), which has the form *-íi* 'him/her/it' or, less frequently, *vowel* + *r* (e.g. *-ír*, *-úr*, etc.):

(23)

Imperfective Form of Causative Verb	*3rd pers. sg. object Present Perfective Form*
omęk*á* 'feed'	męk*ę*líi 'feed him/her/it'
omękch*á*rm 'make...suffer'	mękchęrmíi 'make him/her/it suffer'
omękdęch*ó*r 'make...stand'	mękędęchęrúr 'make him/her/it stand'
omękik*ió*ngęl 'make...dirty'	męk*i*kingęlíi 'make it dirty'
omęk*oá*d 'kill'	męk*o*dír 'kill him/her/it'

By looking at the italicized vowels or vowel clusters in each of the above pairs of verb forms, we can clearly see the processes of reduction and how they are related to the position of the stress in

the word. In contrast to the perfective forms of 23, full vowels and vowel clusters remain unchanged in the 3rd pers. pl. object perfective forms given in 22. This is due to the fact that in such forms, the object pronoun suffix is **zero** (*Ø*) (cf. **4**.9.1) and therefore the full vowels or vowel clusters in question remain stressed (e.g. *mękᵃ́ +Ø* 'feed them', *mękchárm +Ø* 'make them suffer', etc.).

In the list below, we observe the perfective forms of causative verbs in *ol(ę)-*:

(24) a. *olęchiis* 'chase':
ochisii ulęchisii
ochiis ulęchiis

b. *olękiis* 'wake up':
okisii ulękisii
okiis ulękiis

c. *ollangęl* 'make..cry':
olęngęlii ullęngęlii
olangęl ullangęl

d. *olluut* 'give back, make.. return':
olutii ullutii
oluut ulluut

e. *olsebęk* 'make..fly':
osębękii ulsębękii
osebęk ulsebęk

f. *orrebęt* 'drop':
orębętii urrębętii
orebęt urrebęt

In all of the perfective forms of 24, the *-l-* of *ol(ę)-* has been lost; as discussed in **9**.2.2.1 above, this is undoubtedly due to the fact that this *-l-* is the imperfective marker, which of course does not occur in perfective verb forms. In order to derive the **past** perfective forms of causative verbs in *ol(ę)-*, we simply replace word-initial *o-* with *ul(ę)-* (cf. **5**.3.2.a).[14] The past tense forms of **imperfective** causative verbs in *ol(ę)-* are also derived in this way: thus we have, for example, *olęchiis* 'chase'—*ullęchiis* 'chased', *ollangęl* 'make..cry'—*ulęllangęl* 'made..cry', *olsebęk* 'make..fly'—*ulęlsebęk* 'made..fly', etc. If the verb stem begins with *r*, any immediately preceding *l* assimilates to the *r*, as in *orrebęt* 'drop', *urrębętii* 'dropped it', etc.

The perfective forms of 24, like those of 22, show various types of vowel and vowel cluster reduction. Can you identify the types of reduction involved in the pairs of verbs below?

(25) *Imperfective Form of Causative Verb*	*3rd pers. sg. object Present Perfective Form*
olęchíis 'chase'	ochísii 'chase him/her/it'
ollúut 'give back, make..return'	olutii 'give it back'

ollángęl 'make..cry'	olęngęlii 'make him/her/it cry'
orrébęt 'drop'	orębętii 'drop it'

ERGATIVE FORMS OF CAUSATIVE VERBS

9.5. Though the **ergative** forms (cf. **5**.4) of causative verbs are not used very frequently, they are nevertheless derived according to regular patterns. Causative verbs in *omę(k)-* show two different types of ergative forms. In one type, the causative prefix *omę(k)-* is replaced by *muk-*, as in the following examples:

(26) *Ergative Form*	*Corresponding Causative Verb in* omę(k)-
mukdakt 'get frightened'	omękdakt 'frighten'
mukdęchor 'be made to stand'	omękdęchor 'make... stand'
mukringęl 'be/get hurt/harmed'	omękringęl 'hurt, make.. difficult'

In another type of ergative formation, the causative prefix *omę(k)-* is changed to *obę(k)-*; a detailed analysis of this phenomenon was given in **9**.2.1.1 above. Ergative forms in *obę(k)-*, however, have almost totally fallen out of use in present-day Palauan; in other words, they have become **archaic**.

Causative verbs in *ol(ę)-* have ergative forms with initial *mo-*, as in the following:

(27) *Ergative Form*	*Corresponding Causative Verb in* ol(ę)-
mokiis 'be/get awakened'	olękiis 'wake up'
motuu 'be made to enter'	oltuu 'put into, make.. enter'
modik 'be banished'	oldik 'banish'

Some discussion of the structure of *mo-* was presented in **9**.2.2.1 above.

HYPOTHETICAL FORMS OF CAUSATIVE VERBS

9.6. In order to derive the **hypothetical** forms of causative verbs, we prefix the various **hypothetical pronouns** (cf. **4**.10 and **4**.10.1–9). If the causative verb is imperfective, we derive the hypothetical forms by replacing the *o-* of the causative prefix with a hypothetical pronoun: thus, the hypothetical forms of *omęka* 'feed' are *kumęka* '(if) I feed', *lomęka* '(if) he/she feeds', etc. If the causative

verb is perfective, however, the hypothetical form is derived by substituting a hypothetical pronoun for the word-initial *mę-* or *o-*: thus, corresponding to *mękęlii* 'feed him/her/it', we have *kukęlii* '(if) I feed him/her/it', *lokęlii* '(if) he/she feeds him/her/it', etc.

10 Reciprocal Verbs

MEANING AND USE OF RECIPROCAL VERBS

10.1. There is a special class of Palauan verbs which are used to express **reciprocal** actions or states. Such **reciprocal verbs** describe situations in which two or more persons or things are **affecting each other** in some way. They may be doing the same **action** to each other (e.g., hitting each other, washing each other, talking to each other, etc.), or they may be in the same **state** with reference to each other (e.g., afraid of each other, close to each other, etc.).[1] Because reciprocal actions or states cannot occur unless at least two persons or things are involved, the subject of a reciprocal verb must always be **plural**.

The following is a typical sentence containing a reciprocal verb:

(1) A Droteo mę a Toki a kaingęseu.
'Droteo and Toki are helping each other.'

Here, the reciprocal verb *kaingęseu* 'help each other', which is formed by adding the **reciprocal prefix** *kai-* (see **10**.2 below) to the verb stem *ngęseu* 'help', implies that the two persons mentioned in the subject noun phrase—namely, *Droteo* and *Toki*—are performing the action of helping with a **reciprocal** or **mutual effect**. In other words, Droteo is doing something to help Toki, and in turn Toki is doing something to help Droteo.

In example 1, the two nouns *Droteo* and *Toki* (each preceded by the word *a*—cf. **2**.6) are joined by the **connecting word** *mę* 'and' (see **25**.4) to form a plural subject. Not all subject noun phrases, however, need to have this form in order to be plural. Consider, for example, the (italicized) subject noun phrases in the reciprocal sentences below:

(2) a. A *rengalęk* a kachęlebęd.
'The children are hitting each other.'

b. A *ręchad ęr a Modękngei a kaingęseu.*
'The people in Modekngei are helping each other.'

c. *Tę* kaiuętoir ęr a sers.
'They are chasing each other in the garden.'

In each of the sentences above, we have no trouble understanding that the subject noun phrase is plural: in 2a–b, the **plural prefix** *rę-* (cf. **2**.5) has been added to the human nouns *ngalęk* 'child' and *chad* 'person', and in 2c the **3rd pers. pl. human pronoun** *tę* 'they' (cf. **4**.2) automatically refers to two or more persons.

Now, with example 1 above, repeated here for convenience,

(1) A Droteo mę a Toki a kaingęseu.
'Droteo and Toki are helping each other.'

compare the following sentences:

(3) a. A Droteo a olęngęseu ęr a Toki.
'Droteo is helping Toki.'

b. A Toki a olęngęseu ęr a Droteo.
'Toki is helping Droteo.'

Examples 3a-b are the **non-reciprocal** sentences corresponding to 1; they are normal transitive sentences in which a transitive verb—the **causative verb** *olęngęseu* 'help' (cf. **9**.2.2.2)—is preceded by a subject noun phrase and followed by an object noun phrase. While *Droteo* and *Toki* are connected by *mę* 'and' to form the "joint" subject of *kaingęseu* 'help each other' in 1, in 3a-b these two nouns have changed their function, since one occurs as the subject of *olęngęseu* 'help' and the other as object. The non-reciprocal sentences 3a-b and the reciprocal sentence 1 are of course interpreted differently: in 3a, for example, the action of helping only goes in one direction—Droteo is helping Toki, but not vice versa—while in 1, this action is performed in both directions, with a mutual effect on Droteo and Toki.

Reciprocal verbs behave like **state** verbs in that their **past tense** forms are derived simply by placing the auxiliary word *mle* 'was, were' (cf. **5**.1.3 and **5**.3.2) before the verb. Thus, sentences 1 and 2a above have the following past tense equivalents:

(4) a. A Droteo mę a Toki a mle kaingęseu.
'Droteo and Toki were helping each other.'

b. A ręngalęk a mle kachęlebęd.
'The children were hitting each other.'

FORMS OF THE RECIPROCAL PREFIX

10.2. Reciprocal verbs can be identified by the presence of the **reciprocal prefix**, which has quite a few different forms: *kai-*, *kau-*, *kaiuę-*, *kę-*, *ka-*, and *cha-*. It is very difficult to formulate general rules to predict which of these six variants will be used in deriving a particular reciprocal verb, although, as we will see in **10**.2.4 below, a phonetic rule can account for the occurrence of *cha-*, and some of the other variants tend to be used frequently with certain types of verb stems. The variants of the reciprocal prefix are attached primarily to the stems of **transitive action verbs**, but in a few cases they can be added to the stems of **transitive** or **intransitive state verbs**. Reciprocal verbs do not contain the verb marker (cf. chap.6) or the imperfective marker (cf. **5**.5) and simply have the structure *reciprocal prefix + verb stem.*

Reciprocal Verbs Related to Causative Verbs

10.2.1. Many verb stems which allow the formation of **causative verbs** (cf. chap.9) also permit the derivation of reciprocal verbs. If the causative verb is derived with the **causative prefix** *ol(ę)-* (cf. **9**.2.2), then the corresponding reciprocal verb usually takes *kai-*, *kaiuę-*, or *kau-*, as in the following list:

(5)

Reciprocal Verb		*Related Causative Verb*	
kaingęseu	'help each other'	olęngęseu	'help'
kaisiuekl	'meet each other'	olsiuekl	'meet'
kaiuętoir	'chase each other'	oltoir	'chase'
kaiuędingęl	'visit each other'	oldingęl	'visit'
kaudurokl	'send (something) to each other'	oldurokl	'send'

All of the causative verbs in *ol(ę)-* given above are somewhat special because, as their English glosses indicate, they do not seem to have much of a causative meaning. As mentioned in **9**.2.2.2, verbs of this kind probably had a causative meaning at some earlier stage of the Palauan language, but over a long period of time the meaning changed and their causative origin became obscured. Except for *ngęseu*, which can occur as an independent noun meaning 'help, assistance', the verb stems observed in the examples of 5 are all **bound**: that is, the verb stems *siuekl*, *toir*, *dingęl*, and *durokl* do not occur as separate words.[2]

If a causative verb is derived with the **causative prefix** *omę(k)*- (cf. **9**.2.1), then the corresponding reciprocal verb is formed by replacing *omę*- with the reciprocal prefix *kau*-. Interestingly enough, the *k* of *omę(k)*- remains in the reciprocal verb, which therefore seems to have been prefixed with *kauk*-. Note the following examples:

(6) *Reciprocal Verb*		*Related Causative Verb*	
kauklatk	'remind each other'	omęklatk	'remind'
kaukdakt	'frighten each other'	omękdakt	'frighten'
kaukrael	'guide/advise each other'	omękrael	'guide, advise'
kaukęrreu	'take care of each other'	omękęrreu	'take care of'

Some of the verb stems in the examples of 6 occur independently as nouns—e.g. *dakt* 'fear' and *rael* 'road'—while others are bound —*latk* and *kęrreu*.

The examples below illustrate how some of the reciprocal verbs of 5 and 6 are used in sentences:

(7) a. A mlai a mle kaisiuekl.
'The cars crashed.'[3]

b. A rengalęk er a Belau a sorir ęl kaukdakt a lęklębęsei.
'Palauan children like to frighten each other at night.'

c. Aki kmal kaukęrreu.
'We take good care of each other.'

Reciprocal Verbs Related to Verbs in *ou*-

10.2.2. In **6**.1.1 we saw that many Palauan verbs can be derived by prefixing *ou*- to a noun or, much less commonly, to a bound verb stem. Such verbs in *ou*- —e.g. *oublai* 'own a house' (from *blai* 'house'), *ouskuul* 'teach, tutor' (from *skuul* 'school'), etc.—either designate ownership or control of something or refer to some kind of activity associated with the noun from which they are derived. Many verbs in *ou*- are transitive and are normally followed by **object noun phrases**. Observe, for example, the sentences below, in which the objects of verbs in *ou*- have been italicized:

(8) a. Ak ouseęchęlei ęr a *Droteo*.
'I'm a friend of Droteo's.'

b. Ak oungalęk ęr a *sęchal*.
'I have/am the parent of a boy.'

c. A rechad ęr a Siabal a ulumękęmad[4] ęr a *rechad ęr a Merikel*.
'The Japanese made war on the Americans.'

d. A Droteo a oungęlakęl ęr a *bechil*.
'Droteo is joking with his wife.'

e. Ak ouchad ęr *kęmiu* e ak mo chębuul.
'Having you as my relatives will reduce me to poverty.'

Verbs in *ou*- which can be used transitively, such as those illustrated in 8 above, have related reciprocal verbs derived with the prefix *kau*-. Some typical pairs of such verbs are listed below; the related noun, if any, is also provided:

(9) *Reciprocal Verb*	*Related Verb in* ou-	*Related Noun*
kaubuch 'be married to each other'	oubuch 'be married to (someone)'	buch 'spouse'
kausęchęlei 'be friends with each other'	ouseęchęlei 'be a friend of (someone)'	sęchęlei 'friend'
kaungalęk 'be related as parent and child'	oungalęk 'have (as) a child'	ngalęk 'child'
kauchad 'be related to each other'	ouchad 'have (as) a relative'	chad 'person'
kaureng 'long for each other'	oureng 'wish for'	reng 'heart, spirit'
kaumękęmad 'fight with each other (in a war)'	oumękęmad 'make war on'	mękęmad 'war'
kauchais 'tell each other news'	ouchais 'tell (someone) news'	chais 'news'
kausisbech[5] 'need/help each other'	ousbech 'need'	-----
kaungęlakęl 'joke with each other'	oungęlakęl 'joke with'	ngęllakęl[6] 'joke'

The derived reciprocal verbs of 9 above, which describe mutual relationships between people or denote activities which people direct at each other, are used in sentences like the following:

(10) a. Ngak mę a Droteo a {kausęchęlei[7] / kauchad}.

'Droteo and I are {friends / relatives}.'

b. A Toki mę a Droteo tę mo kaubuch ęr oingarang?
'When are Toki and Droteo getting married?'

c. Aki mle kausisbech ęl męruul a subęlam.
'We helped each other do our homework.'

d. Aki kauchais a chisel a belumam.
'We're exchanging news about our home villages.'

Reciprocal Verbs Derived From Transitive Verb Stems

10.2.3. The stems of many **transitive action verbs** can combine with the prefixes *ka-* or *kę-* to derive reciprocal verbs. In the list below, some commonly-used reciprocal verbs of this type are given, together with the related transitive verb in its imperfective form:

(11) *Reciprocal Verb*	*Related Transitive Verb (in Imperfective Form)*
katękoi 'speak to each other'	męlękoi 'speak'
kakimd 'cut each other's hair'	męngimd 'cut (hair)'
kachęlebęd[8] 'hit each other'	męngęlebęd 'hit'
kakeald 'keep each other warm'	męngeald 'heat, warm up'
kęluchęs 'write to each other'	męluchęs 'write'
kęlatk 'remember each other'	męlatk 'remember'
kętub 'spit on each other'	męlub 'spit'
kęsilęk 'wash each other's clothes'	męsilęk 'wash'

Because they do not contain the imperfective marker, the reciprocal verbs above show stem-initial consonants which have been deleted after the imperfective marker in the related imperfective transitive verbs. As we saw in **5**.5, the stem of a verb like *męlękoi* 'speak' is the independently-occurring noun *tękoi* 'word, language'. In the derivation of imperfective *męlękoi* from the sequence *mę* (verb marker) + *l* (imperfective marker) + *tękoi* (verb stem), the initial consonant *t* of *tękoi* is deleted. This *t* remains intact, however, in those verb forms which lack the imperfective marker. Thus, the *t* is preserved in reciprocal *katękoi* 'speak to each other', as well as in **ergative** *mętękoi* 'be/get talked to' (cf. **5**.4). To take another example, imperfective *męngeald*

'heat, warm up' is derived from the sequence *mę* (verb marker) + *ng* (imperfective marker) + *keald* (verb stem) simply by dropping the initial *k* of the (bound) verb stem *keald*. The *k* of *keald* is preserved, however, in the reciprocal verb *kakeald* 'keep each other warm', in the **intransitive state verb** *mękeald* 'warm', and in the **derived noun** *kleald* 'heat' (cf. **8**.3, ex.7), all of which do not contain the imperfective marker.

In some cases, the stem of a transitive action verb is partially or completely repeated (or **reduplicated**—see chap. 11) when the reciprocal prefix *ka-* is added. For some verb stems, this process is obligatory, while for others it is optional, with considerable variation from speaker to speaker. Some typical examples are given below; in the reciprocal verbs, the **reduplicated syllable** has been italicized:

(12) *Reciprocal Verb*		*Related Transitive Verb (in Imperfective Form)*	
ka*be*boes	'shoot each other'	omoes	'shoot'
ka*kę*rker	'ask each other'	oker	'ask'
ka*so*es	'see/meet each other'	omes	'see'
ka*su*suub	'imitate each other'	męsuub	'study, imitate'

As mentioned above, the process of reduplication is merely optional for some of the reciprocal verbs in 12. Thus, *kęsuub* means the same as *kasusuub* 'imitate each other', and *kaker* may be used instead of *kakęrker* 'ask each other'.

Very rarely, the stem of a **transitive state verb** can be combined with a reciprocal prefix to form a reciprocal verb. A couple of examples include *kaodęnge*[9] 'know each other' (cf. *mędęnge* 'know') and *kędakt* 'afraid of each other' (cf. *mędakt* 'afraid').

We should also note in passing that the stems of a few **intransitive state verbs** can also be used to form reciprocal verbs. Such verbs designate relationships of **distance** (near vs. far) or **similarity** (similar vs. different) and include *kakeed/kaiuękeed* 'near each other' (cf. *kmeed* 'near'), *chachęroid*[10] 'far from each other' (cf. *chęroid* 'far'), *kaisisiu* 'similar to/the same as each other' (cf. *osisiu* 'similar, the same'), *kakngodęch*[11] 'different from each other' (cf. *ngodęch* 'different, strange'), etc.

The Reciprocal Prefix *cha-*

10.2.4. The reciprocal prefix has the variant *cha-* when the following verb stem begins with *ch*. It is clear that the initial consonant of this

prefix has totally **assimilated** to—i.e., become identical with—the *ch* of the following verb stem. Thus, we can claim that the variant *cha-* is really derived from *ka-* by a phonetic rule of **assimilation**. If this is true, then we have simplified our description of the reciprocal prefixes somewhat, since we can now say that they all basically begin with *k*. Some reciprocal verbs pronounced with initial *cha-* are given below, together with the related imperfective transitive verb or the related state verb:

(13)

Reciprocal Verb	*Related Transitive Verb (in Imperfective Form) or Related State Verb*
chachęlebęd 'hit each other'	męngęlebęd 'hit'
chachuiu 'look closely at each other'	męnguiu 'read, look closely at'
chachędęchęduch 'converse with each other'	męngędęchęduch 'converse'
chachęroid 'far from each other'	chęroid 'far'
chacheche 'jealous of each other'	męcheche 'jealous'

For some Palauan speakers, such as those living in the north of Babeldaob, the assimilation rule resulting in *cha-* is not applied, and therefore *ka-* is used as the reciprocal prefix in the verbs of 13.

SAMPLE SENTENCES WITH RECIPROCAL VERBS

10.3. In this section we will look at a few more examples of how Palauan reciprocal verbs are used in sentences. Most of the reciprocal verbs are taken from the lists or discussions in **10**.2.3–4 above.

(14) a. Aki mle katękoi ęr se ęl mondai er a elii.
'We talked with each other about that problem yesterday.'

b. A Droteo mę a Hirosi a millim a rrom e mlo {chachęlebęd / kachęlebęd}.
'Droteo and Hirosi drank (a lot of) liquor and started hitting each other.'

c. A Satsko mę a Toki a kęsilęk a bilir.
'Satsko and Toki are washing each other's clothes.'

d. A Droteo mę a Helen a mle kasoes ęr a kęsus.
'Droteo and Helen saw/met each other last night.'

e. Tę mle kaodęnge er se ęr a taem ęr a mękęmad.
'They knew each other during the war.'

In 14c above, we have a reciprocal sentence which has been made **transitive** by the addition of the **object noun phrase** *bilir* 'their clothes'. This object noun phrase is a **possessed noun** (cf. **3**.1) in which the **3rd pers. pl. human possessor suffix** *-ir* refers to the same persons as the subject of the sentence (*Satsko mę a Toki* 'Satsko and Toki'). Transitive reciprocal sentences like 14c are interpreted rather differently from "simple" (nontransitive) reciprocal sentences like 1, which we repeat here for convenience:

(1) A Droteo mę a Toki a kaingęseu.
'Droteo and Toki are helping each other.'

In 1, both persons are affected **directly** by the reciprocal action of helping: Droteo is being helped by Toki and Toki is being helped by Droteo. In 14c, however, the effect of the reciprocal action is **indirect**. In this sentence Satsko is not being washed by Toki, nor vice versa; rather, both persons are receiving the beneficial effect of similar actions which are directed at something external—namely, each other's clothing (*bilir*).

Other transitive reciprocal sentences whose structure and interpretation are similar to 14c are given below. For ease of reference, the object noun phrase has been italicized:

(15) a. A Tony mę a Cisco a chachuiu a *hong ęr tir*.[12]
'Tony and Cisco are reading each other's books.'

b. A Kiosi mę a Droteo a kęluchęs a *babier*.
'Kiosi and Droteo are writing each other letters.'

c. A Toki mę a Droteo a blęchoel ęl kęrengęs[13] a *tękingir*.
'Toki and Droteo always listen to/take advice from each other.'

d. Aki mle kasoes a *chuungam*.
'We could see each other's shadows.'

e. Tę kęka a *kęlir*.
'They're eating each other's food.'

In 15c-e, the possessor suffix on the object noun agrees with the subject of the sentence. Thus, the *-am* of *chuungam* 'our shadows' agrees with the 1st pers. pl. excl. pronoun *aki* 'we (excl.)', and *-ir* of *tękingir* 'their voices' and *kęlir* 'their food' agrees with the 3rd pers. pl. human subjects *Toki mę a Droteo* 'Toki and Droteo' and *tę* 'they'.

EXTENDED FUNCTIONS OF THE RECIPROCAL PREFIX

10.4. In the sections above, we have seen that the primary function of

the Palauan reciprocal prefix is to derive verbs denoting actions or states which have a **direct or indirect mutual effect** on two or more persons. In this section, we will examine two interesting cases in which the abovementioned primary function of the reciprocal prefix seems to have been extended or modified.

A rather natural extension of the use of the reciprocal prefix is found in the derivation of reciprocal verbs from the stems of **intransitive action verbs**. Since intransitive action verbs do not take an object, but rather denote activities in which only the subject himself can be involved, reciprocal verbs related to them cannot possibly imply mutual effect. Instead, reciprocal verbs of this type denote activities which two or more persons do together or in a group. Observe the sentences below:

(16) a. Aki mle chachiuaiu.
'We were all asleep.'

b. A rengalęk a kaidęrurt.
'The children are running together.'

c. A rubak a mle kadęręborb ęr a chęlsel a bai.
'The old men were sitting together inside the men's house.'

The reciprocal verbs in 16a-c are related to the stems of intransitive action verbs as follows: *chachiuaiu* 'sleep with each other (in the same room, etc.)'—*męchiuaiu* 'sleep', *kaidęrurt*[14] 'run with each other'—*ręmurt* 'run', and *kadęręborb*[14] 'sit together'—*ręborb* 'sit'. These verbs all imply that the subjects are doing some activity jointly—e.g. sleeping in the same place, sitting in the same place, etc.—although no reciprocity is involved. However, some Palauan speakers feel that sentences like 16a-c have a special connotation of "group spirit" or "togetherness". For example, *kadęręborb* 'sit together' of 16c seems to include the idea of some special comradeship existing between the men who were sitting together.

Another extended function of the reciprocal prefix is to weaken certain commands or suggestions, or make them more polite. In this usage, the reciprocal prefix *ka-* is added directly to the **hypothetical** forms of verbs (cf. **4**.10 and **4**.10.1–9). Its presence suggests that the speaker and the person addressed are somehow mutually involved in the decision at hand; often there is a strong sense of the speaker's concern or sympathy. Note the contrast between the following pairs of sentences:

(17) a. Kurael ęl mo ęr a blik.
'I'd better go home.'

b. Kakurael ęl mo ęr a blik.
'Why don't I go home.'

(18) a. Molim a kęrum!
'Take your medicine!'

b. Kamolim a kęrum.
'Let's take your medicine.'

(19) a. Domoes a bęlochęl.
'We're to shoot pigeons.'

b. Kadomoes a bęlochęl.
'Let's shoot pigeons.'

In the a- sentences of each pair, there is a strong **imperative** connotation—that is, the action is something which the speaker feels must be done (either by himself or someone else). The addition of *ka-* in the b- sentences, however, changes these imperative sentences into mild or polite suggestions. The only hypothetical form which does not permit *ka-* is the 1st pers. pl. **exclusive**; in other words, we do not have forms like **kakimorael* or **kakimolim*. This is because the function of *ka-* under discussion here is to involve the person spoken to in the decision, whereas the use of 1st pers. pl. exclusive forms automatically excludes that person.

Some additional examples of this use of *ka-* are given in the sentences below:

(20) a. Kamonguiu ęr tia ęl hong, e dęsękau ęl kmo kę mo pass ęr a test ng diak.
'Read this book and let's see whether or not you pass the test.'

b. Kalębo lęmęchiuaiu a Toki, e dęsa ęl kmo ng mo ungil ng diak.
'Let's have Toki go to bed and we'll see if she gets better.'

c. Kabęskak tilęcha ęl oluchęs.
'How about giving me that pencil?'

11 Reduplication and Further Verb Affixation

TYPES OF VERB DERIVATION

11.1. In several of the preceding chapters we have attempted to describe in detail how the many different types of Palauan verbs are derived. Thus, in chaps. 5 and 6, we showed how certain important grammatical **affixes** such as the **verb marker**, the **imperfective marker,** the **past tense marker, hypothetical pronouns, object pronouns**, etc. combine with **verb stems** to derive **action verbs, state verbs, imperfective** and **perfective verb forms, ergative verb forms, hypothetical verb forms,** and the like. In chap. 7, we specifically treated the many subclasses of **derived state verbs**, and in chaps. 9 and 10 we examined the derivational patterns for **causative verbs** and **reciprocal verbs.**

Although we have already covered many aspects of Palauan verb derivation, as summarized above, our discussion of it is not yet complete. Therefore, in this chapter we will concentrate on the three major derivational processes which remain to be described. We will focus most of our attention on the process of **reduplication,** which involves **repeating** or **reduplicating** part (or, less frequently, all) of a verb stem. The patterns of reduplication are complex and often highly irregular, and we will therefore examine only the most commonly used (or **productive**) processes, together with the different types of meaning change which result from reduplication. In this chapter we will also discuss two **suffixes** which are important in verb derivation—the **predictive suffix** *-u*, which expresses the speaker's **prediction** that the action of the verb is about to happen, and the **inchoative suffix** *-a*, which denotes an action or state which has just come about—i.e., which is new or unexpected.

Previous Examples of Reduplication

11.1.1. At several points in the text we have already made passing reference to reduplicated verb forms, though we did not analyze them in detail. In **7.2**, for instance, we noted that certain state verbs referring to **size** or **dimension** show a reduplicated part. Thus, *kekęre* 'small' obligatorily contains the reduplicated initial syllable *ke-*, while the addition of this same syllable is optional in *(ke)kęmangęt* 'tall, long' and *(ke)kędeb* 'short'.[1] Further, in **7.5–6** we saw that some verbs derived with the prefixes *bę-* and *bękę-* require the verb stem to be partially reduplicated, as in *bęchachas* 'sooty' (from *chas* 'soot, ash'), *bękęlilangęl* 'cry a lot' (from *langęl* 'crying'), *bękęsechęsechęr* 'get sick often' (from *sechęr* 'sickness'), etc. Finally, in **10.2.3** we observed reciprocal verbs like *kakęrker* 'ask each other' (from *ker* 'question') and *kasusuub* 'imitate each other' (cf. *męsuub* 'study, imitate'), where all or part of the verb stem is (optionally) reduplicated before adding the **reciprocal prefix** *ka-*.

In the examples given above, it seems that the reduplication of all or part of a verb stem has no particular meaning or function; rather, this reduplication is a kind of "grammatical device"[2] which is applied—quite unpredictably—when we derive state verbs, reciprocal verbs, and the like from certain verb stems. In the majority of instances, however, the reduplication of a verb stem does result in a significant change of meaning. Practically all types of verbs can undergo the process of reduplication, and speakers often do not agree with each other on the correct form or meaning. Therefore, some of the reduplicated forms discussed in the sections below may not be part of your own "active" speech, although you may understand them and hear other speakers use them.

REDUPLICATION OF SIMPLE STATE VERBS

11.2. **Simple state verbs** (i.e., those consisting of a single morpheme or meaning-bearing unit—cf. **7.1**) are normally reduplicated by taking the initial consonant of the stem, adding the vowel *e* (pronounced as the full vowel [ɛ]), and prefixing this extra syllable to the whole verb stem. If we represent the stem-initial consonant as C_1 (where *C* stands for "consonant" and the subscript numeral 1 identifies the first or initial consonant of the stem), then we can say that the reduplicated forms of simple state verbs are derived by prefixing the sequence C_1e to the verb stem. Observe the examples below:

(1)

Reduplicated Form	*Related Simple State Verb*
bebeot 'fairly easy/cheap'	beot 'easy/cheap'
dedękimęs 'kind of wet'	dękimęs 'wet'
seseękool 'rather playful'	sękool 'playful'
kekędung 'fairly well-behaved'	kędung 'well-behaved'
bebubong 'somewhat senile'	bubong 'senile'
sesongęrengęr 'kind of hungry'	songęrengęr 'hungry'

As the English equivalents for the reduplicated forms of 1 show, the function of reduplication with state verbs is to **qualify** or **weaken** the meaning of the verb or give it a **more tentative** or **less definite** quality. Therefore, the English translations usually contain qualifying words such as 'kind of', 'somewhat', 'fairly', 'rather', etc. The use of the reduplicated state verbs of 1 is illustrated in the sentences below. Very often, the expression *ko ęr a* 'kind of, somewhat' precedes the reduplicated verb and gives an added connotation of tentativeness:

(2) a. Ng ko ęr a bebeot a chęral a klok ęr a Hong Kong.[3]
'The prices for watches are pretty low in Hong Kong.'

b. Ng dedękimęs a bilek e le ak killii a chull.[4]
'My clothes are kind of wet because I got caught in the rain.'

c. Ak ko ęr a sesongęrengęr e ng di chętik ęl omęngur.
'I'm kind of hungry but I don't want to eat.'

Reduplication of Possessed Nouns

11.2.1. The possessed nouns *soak* 'my liking', *soal* 'his liking', etc. and *chętik* 'my disliking', *chętil* 'his disliking' etc. (see **17**.1) can be reduplicated with a similar weakening of meaning. While *chętik—chechętik* follows the pattern for simple state verbs observed in **11**.2 above, *soak—sosoak* involves a repetition of the first syllable of the possessed noun. The use of these words is illustrated in the following sentences:[5]

(3) a. A Droteo a ko ęr a sosoal ęl mo ęr a chei.
'Droteo would sort of like to go fishing.'

b. Ng chechętik ęl męrael.
'I don't feel much like leaving.'

Even though words like *soak* 'my liking', *chętik* 'my disliking', etc. are nouns, they permit the process of reduplication, which is otherwise restricted to verbs. This unusual phenomenon may be due to the fact that these nouns are rather like state verbs in meaning—that is, liking or disliking something is a kind of "state of mind". Interestingly enough, the possessed nouns under discussion translate into English most naturally as verbs—i.e., *soak* 'I *like*...', *chętil* 'he *dislikes*...', etc.

REDUPLICATION OF STATE VERBS IN *mę-*

11.3. State verbs consisting of the **verb marker** *mę-* and a **verb stem** (cf. **7**.1) are normally reduplicated by adding a syllable of the form C_1e. This involves the same pattern as that observed in **11**.2 above, except that the verb marker prefix remains at the beginning of the word. A weakening of meaning is also involved, as in the following examples:

(4)

Reduplicated Form	*Related State Verb in* mę-
mętetongakl 'fairly tall'	mętongakl 'tall'
mękekekad 'kind of itchy'	mękekad 'itchy'
męchechęsa 'kind of busy'	męchęsa 'busy'
męsesulaul 'kind of sleepy'	męsulaul 'sleepy'
męchechuu 'fairly shady'	męchuu 'shady'
męleliliut 'fairly thin'	męliliut 'thin'
mędedęnge 'be somewhat familiar with'	mędęnge 'know'
mętetitur 'be rather unfamiliar with'	mętitur 'not know how (to), not be capable of'

A few intransitive state or action verbs which contain the **metathesized verb marker** after the initial consonant of the stem (cf. **6**.2) follow the same rule of adding a reduplicated syllable of the form C_1e. In these cases, however, the metathesized verb marker remains within the stem, as in the examples below:

(5)

Reduplicated Form	*Related State Verb With Metathesized Verb Marker*
sesmechęr 'kind of sick'	smechęr 'sick'
sesmau 'sort of used to'	smau 'used to'
chechuarm 'sort of suffer'	chuarm 'suffer'

The sentences below illustrate the use of the reduplicated forms of 4 and 5:

(6) a. A Droteo a ko ęr a męchechęsa mę ng diak lsębęchel ęl mong.
'Droteo is rather busy, so he can't go.'

b. Ak ko ęr a męsesulaul mę ak mochu[6] męchiuaiu.
'I'm kind of sleepy, so I'll be going to bed.'

c. A dęlal a di sesmechęr mę ng diak loureor ęr a sers.
'His mother is kind of sick, so she's not working in the garden.'

REDUPLICATION OF DERIVED STATE VERBS

11.4. Some derived state verbs containing both the **resulting state infix** *-(ę)l-* and the **anticipating state suffix** *-(ę)l* (cf. 7.8.2) may be reduplicated, although the resulting forms are not particularly common. Again, a reduplicated syllable of the form C_1e is prefixed to the derived state verb, as in the following:

(7) *Reduplicated Form*	*Related Derived State Verb*[7]
ngengęltachęl 'not well cleaned'	ngęltachęl 'cleaned'
ngenglęmodęl 'not well mopped'	nglęmodęl 'mopped'
ngenglęmull 'not well cut'	nglęmull 'cut (grass)'

As the English equivalents show, the reduplicated forms of 7 exhibit a rather unusual change of meaning: they describe states resulting from the **incomplete** or **inadequate** performance of some task.

Some state verbs derived with the prefix *bękę-* (cf. 7.6 and 7.6.1) are reduplicated by inserting the syllable *ke* between the two syllables of *bękę-*. The reduplicated forms exhibit a weakening of meaning, as in the following:

(8) *Reduplicated Form*	*Related State Verb in* bękę-
bękekęsius 'rather vulgar in speech'	bękęsius 'vulgar in speech'
bękekętękoi 'rather talkative'	bękętękoi 'talkative'
bękekęsęngoręch 'smell rather like a pig's house'	bękęsęngoręch 'smell like a pig's house'

COMPLEX PATTERNS OF REDUPLICATION

11.5. As we have seen in the sections above, the relatively simple reduplicative pattern C_1e accounts for the reduplicated forms of quite a few Palauan state verbs. There are some state verbs, however, whose reduplicated forms follow a much more complicated pattern, which can be symbolized as $C_1eC_1V(C_2)$. This

formula indicates that the reduplicated sequence is composed of two syllables: the first syllable—C_1e—is equal to the simpler pattern of reduplication with which we are already familiar, while the second syllable—$C_1V(C_2)$—represents a new element. The second syllable consists of the initial consonant of the verb stem (C_1), followed by some vowel (hence, our use of the cover symbol *V* for "vowel"), followed optionally by the second consonant of the verb stem (C_2). The vowel of $C_1V(C_2)$ appears as *ę* (schwa) if the verb stem has a single full vowel; if the verb stem has a vowel cluster, however, the vowel of $C_1V(C_2)$ will normally be one of the vowels found in this cluster. Thus, the reduplicated syllable $C_1V(C_2)$ shows the effects of **vowel reduction** (cf. 1.4.4 and 3.4) and **vowel cluster reduction** (cf. 3.4.3).

The examples below, which are the reduplicated forms of some state verbs in *mę-*, follow this complex but quite productive pattern. Note that the reduplicated sequence is placed after the verb marker and before the full verb stem:

(9) *Reduplicated Form*	*Related State Verb in* mę-
męsesusaul 'kind of tired'	męsaul 'tired'
mędedękdakt 'kind of afraid'	mędakt 'afraid'
męsesisaik 'kind of lazy'	męsaik 'lazy'
męreręngęringęl 'kind of difficult'	męringęl 'difficult'
mękekęrkar 'half awake'[8]	mękar 'awake'

Let us now isolate the second syllable—$C_1V(C_2)$—of the reduplicated sequence and compare it with the verb stem:

(10) $C_1V(C_2)$	*Verb Stem*[9]
-su-	saul 'tiredness'
-dęk-	dakt 'fear'
-si-	saik 'laziness'
-ręng-	ringęl 'pain, difficulty'
-kęr-	kar '(state of) being awake'

We can see clearly that a single full vowel in the verb stem is reduced to *ę* in $C_1V(C_2)$, while a vowel cluster in the verb stem is reduced to a single full vowel in $C_1V(C_2)$.

The reduplicated forms of 9, which exhibit a weakening of meaning, are used in sentences like the following:

(11) a. Ak ko ęr a męsesusaul mę ak mochu ręmei.
'I'm rather tired, so (I guess) I'll be going home.'

b. A ngęlękek a mędedękdakt a dęrumk.
'My child is rather afraid of thunder.'

REDUPLICATION OF INTRANSITIVE ACTION VERBS

11.6. Some **intransitive action verbs** have reduplicated forms which follow the patterns C_1e or $C_1eC_1V(C_2)$ observed for state verbs in **11**.2–5 above. If the intransitive action verb happens to have the metathesized verb marker (cf. **6**.2), then its reduplicated form shows this marker as a prefix *mę-*. Observe the following examples:

(12)

Reduplicated Form		*Related Intransitive Action Verb*	
męchechiis	'keep avoiding/ sneaking out'	chęmiis	'run away'
męrerębęrebęt	'fall one by one'	ruebęt	'fall'
męleluluut	'keep returning'	lmuut	'return'
męrerorael[10]	'walk aimlessly'	męrael	'walk'
męsesilil[11]	'fool around'	milil	'play'

While *męchechiis* 'keep avoiding/sneaking out' is reduplicated with C_1e, the other forms above are reduplicated with $C_1eC_1V(C_2)$. In *męrerębęrebęt* 'fall one by one', the second syllable of the reduplicated sequence shows C_2 as *b*, and for purposes of pronunciation a *ę* is inserted between this *b* and the *r* of the following verb stem.

As the English equivalents for the reduplicated forms of 12 show, the function of reduplication with intransitive action verbs is different from what we have already encountered for state verbs. In general, reduplicated intransitive action verbs involve actions which are **continued** or **repeated** without conscious intention in a habitual, absent-minded, or even compulsive way. It is very difficult to find suitable English translations for reduplicated intransitive action verbs when they are used in sentences; therefore, the translations given for the sentences below are rather free:

(13) a. A rdęchel a lius a męrerębęrebęt.
'The coconuts are falling one by one.'

b. A Moses a di blęchoel ęl męrerorael a lęklębęsei.
'Moses is always wandering around at night.'

c. Ak męrael e ko ęr a di męleluluut a ręnguk.
'I'm leaving but I don't know if I really want to (lit., my mind keeps returning).'

d. A Toki a di męsesilil e a blai a di diak lękęltmokl.
'Toki just fools around and the house doesn't get cleaned.'

In **7**.3 we saw that a few intransitive verbs like *mękar* 'be awake, wake up', *dęngchokl* 'sit, sitting', etc. can function both as **state verbs** and **action verbs** since they have past tense forms with the auxiliary *mle* or with the infix *-il-*, respectively. Further evidence for the dual role of such intransitive verbs can be found in the fact that some of them exhibit one reduplicated form with the qualifying or weakening meaning characteristic of **reduplicated state verbs** and another reduplicated form with the repetitive or habitual interpretation characteristic of **reduplicated intransitive action verbs.** A typical example is the intransitive verb *mękar* 'be awake, wake up', which has the reduplicated form *mękekęrkar* 'half awake' (listed in 9 above), as well as the reduplicated form *mękęrkar* 'keep waking up', which contains only $C_1V(C_2)$ as the reduplicated syllable. Some intransitive verbs have only a single reduplicated form, but one which can be interpreted in two ways. For example, *ręborb* 'sit (like a man)' has the reduplicated form *mędedęrębor*b[12], which can mean either 'squat (i.e., sit more or less the way men do)' or 'sit around'.

REDUPLICATION OF TRANSITIVE ACTION VERBS

11.7. So far, we have examined the various forms and meanings which result from reduplicating the stems of (intransitive) state verbs and intransitive action verbs. In this section, we will look at the reduplicative patterns relevant to **transitive action verbs,** dealing first with their **ergative** forms and later with their **imperfective** forms.

The **ergative** forms of transitive verbs (cf. **5**.4) can be reduplicated according to three different patterns: the first two—C_1e and $C_1eC_1V(C_2)$—are familiar to us from above, while the third—$C_1V(C_2)$—is merely the second pattern minus the first syllable. It is impossible to predict which of these three reduplicative patterns will apply to a particular verb stem, and there is some disagreement among speakers as to the correctness of forms. The reduplicated forms of ergative verbs all have the special meaning 'easy to...'. In the examples below, the reduplicated syllable has the form C_1e:

(14)

Reduplicated Form		*Related Ergative Verb Form*	
męchechęsimęr	'easy to close'	męchęsimęr	'be/get closed'

męchechęlebęd 'easy to hit'	męchęlebęd 'be/get hit'
mętetękoi 'easy to talk to'	mętękoi 'be/get talked to'
męseseseęb 'flammable'	męseseęb 'be/get burned'

In the following examples, the reduplicated form is derived with the pattern $C_1eC_1V(C_2)$:

(15)

Reduplicated Form	*Related Ergative Verb Form*
mędedęngędangęb 'easy to cover'	mędangęb 'be/get covered'
obebibuid 'easy to glue'	obuid 'be/get glued'
mękekikiut 'easy to clear'	mękiut 'be/get cleared'
męlelęchęluchęs[13] 'easy to write on'	męluchęs 'be/get written'
męlelęchęlechęt 'easy to tie'	męlechęt 'be/get tied'

Notice that, for pronunciation purposes, an extra *ę* must be added between C_2 of the reduplicated sequence and the following verb-stem-initial consonant in words like *mędedęngędangęb* 'easy to cover', *męlelęchęlechęt* 'easy to tie', etc.

The examples below show ergative verb forms reduplicated with $C_1V(C_2)$:

(16)

Reduplicated Form	*Related Ergative Verb Form*
męngingiokl 'easy to cook'	męngiokl 'be/get cooked (starch)'
męsusuub 'easy to study'	męsuub 'be/get studied'
męchichuiu 'easy to read'	męchuiu 'be/get read'
męręmram 'easy to mix'	męram 'be/get mixed'
obęlębalęch 'easy to shoot with a slingshot'	obalęch[14] 'be/get shot with a slingshot'
obebeu 'breakable'	obeu 'be/get broken'

The reduplicated ergative verb forms listed in 14–16 above are used in sentences such as the following:

(17) a. Ng kmal męchechęlebęd a otęchel a Droteo.
'Droteo's pitches/throws of the ball are easy to hit.'

b. Tia ęl sers a mękekikiut e le ng mla ęr ngii a chull.
'This garden is easy to clear because there's been some rain.'

c. A kiuid a obęlębalęch.
'Blackbirds are easy to shoot with a slingshot.'

d. Alii. Tilęcha ęl butilia a obebeu!
'Watch out—that bottle is breakable!'

The three patterns of reduplication observed above can also be applied to the **imperfective** forms of transitive verbs, but the resulting forms exhibit much variation from speaker to speaker. The meaning of reduplicated imperfective verbs is similar to that observed in **11.6** above for intransitive action verbs: the action is repeated or continued absent-mindedly or without any conscious intent.

Many imperfective verbs, when reduplicated, essentially follow the $C_1V(C_2)$ pattern, except that the **imperfective marker** (cf. **5.5**) appears as *-l-*, *-ng-*, or *-m-* directly before the reduplicated sequence. Thus, in the reduplicated forms below, the imperfective marker is found preceding the reduplicated syllable but not preceding the full verb stem:

(18)

Reduplicated Form	*Related Imperfective Verb Form*
męlębtub 'keep spitting'	męlub 'spit'
męngęmkimd 'keep trimming'	męngimd 'cut (hair), trim'
męngikiis 'keep digging'	męngiis 'dig'
męngęlka[15] 'keep eating'	męnga 'eat'
omeboes 'shoot indiscriminately'	omoes 'shoot'
omebeu 'keep breaking'	omeu 'break'
omęlębalęch 'play around with a slingshot'	omalęch 'shoot with a slingshot'

Whereas an imperfective verb form like *męlub* 'spit' has the basic structure

(19) *verb marker* + *imperfective marker* + *verb stem*
mę + l + tub

the corresponding reduplicated form *męlębtub* 'keep spitting' has approximately the following basic structure:

(20) *verb marker* + *imperfective marker* + C_1VC_2 + *verb stem*
mę + l + tęb + tub

In 19, the initial consonant *t* of the verb stem *tub* 'spit' is deleted following the imperfective marker, giving *męlub*. In 20, however, the imperfective marker appears directly before the reduplicated sequence C_1VC_2 and not the verb stem, and therefore it is the initial consonant *t* of the reduplicated sequence *tęb* which gets deleted, while that of the verb stem remains intact. The different

position of the imperfective marker therefore accounts for the phonetic form of *męlębtub* 'keep spitting'. The other reduplicated forms of 18 can be explained in exactly the same way.

Some verbs in which the imperfective marker appears as *-l-* have reduplicated forms derived according to the $C_1eC_1V(C_2)$ pattern, except that the imperfective marker *-l-* is taken as C_1. The reduplicated forms of such verbs will therefore contain three occurrences of the consonant *l*, as in the examples below:

(21)

Reduplicated Form		*Related Imperfective Verb Form*	
męlelęmęlamęch	'chew constantly'	męlamęch	'chew'
męlelęmęlimęt	'keep bailing'	męlimęt	'bail'
męleltęlatęch[16]	'clean compulsively'	męlatęch	'clean'
męlelębęlobęch	'keep chopping'	męlobęch	'chop'

In the reduplicated forms of 21, *l* appears first in the syllable C_1e, then in the syllable $C_1V(C_2)$, and finally before the verb stem itself (whose initial consonant has been deleted).

Another pattern used for deriving the reduplicated forms of imperfective verbs essentially involves adding a syllable of the form C_1e. As in the examples of 18, the imperfective marker is removed from its position before the full verb stem and shifted to a position directly preceding the reduplicated syllable. Unlike the examples of 18, however, the initial consonant of the reduplicated syllable is not deleted, even though the imperfective marker precedes. This rather unexpected phenomenon is observed in the examples below:

(22)

Reduplicated Form		*Related Imperfective Verb Form*	
męngchechęlebęd	'keep hitting'	męngęlebęd	'hit'
męngchechuiu	'keep reading, read a lot'	męnguiu	'read'
ombebękall	'sail/drive around'	omękall	'sail, drive'
ombibtar[17]	'keep swinging'	omtar	'swing'

While an imperfective verb form like *męngęlebęd* 'hit' has the basic structure

(23) *verb marker* + *imperfective marker* + *verb stem*

mę + ng + chęlebęd

the corresponding reduplicated form *męngchechęlebęd* 'keep hitting' is structured as follows:

(24) *verb marker* + *imperfective marker* + C_1e + verb stem

mę + ng + che + chęlebęd

In 23, the verb-stem-initial consonant *ch* is deleted following the imperfective marker, giving *męngęlebęd* 'hit'. In 24, however, this deletion rule for some reason does not apply to the initial consonant *ch* of the reduplicated syllable, and we simply get *męngchechęlebęd* 'keep hitting'.

The reduplicated forms of some imperfective verbs are derived like those of 22 above, except that the reduplicated syllable $C_1V(C_2)$ is also added. A couple of examples, including an alternate reduplicated form of *męnguiu* 'read', are given below:

(25)

Reduplicated Form		*Related Imperfective Verb Form*	
męngchechichuiu	'keep reading, read a lot'	męnguiu	'read'
męngkekikiut	'keep clearing'	męngiut	'clear'
ombebibail	'wrap, clothe'	omail	'clothe'

The reduplicated imperfective verbs listed in 18, 21, 22, and 25 above can be used in sentences like the following:

(26) a. A Hermana a męręchęrachęd a rengul mę ng di męlębtub.
'Hermana feels rather nauseous, so she keeps spitting.'

b. Ng diak a blatong e le a Toki a di omebeu ęr a bek ęl sils.
'There aren't any plates because Toki keeps breaking them every day.'

c. Ng di soal ęl męlelęmęlamęch e diak loureor.
'He just likes to chew (betel nut) and doesn't do any work.'

d. Ngara mę kę di męngchechęlebęd ęr a rengalęk?
'Why are you always hitting the children?'

REDUPLICATION OF VERBS IN *ou-* AND *o-*

11.8. Verbs which contain the prefix *ou-* (cf. **6**.1.1) and verbs derived with the verb marker *o-* which irregularly lack the imperfective marker (cf. **6**.1, ex. 3) have reduplicated forms, but a large variety of patterns is observed. Note, for example, the forms below:

(27)

Reduplicated Form		*Related Verb in* ou- *or* o-	
ouseęchęlei	'be sort of friends with'	ouęchęlei	'be friends with'

oungengęroel	'keep scolding (mildly)'	oungęroel	'scold'
oururenq	'miss, be nostalgic for'	oureng	'wish for'
okiklukl	'keep coughing'	oklukl	'cough'
okęrker	'ask around'	oker	'ask'
osisiu	'same'	osiu	'joined'

Whatever the form of the reduplicated syllable in the examples of 27, it is always placed after the prefix *ou-* or *o-*. In *ouseseçhęlei* 'be sort of friends with' and *oungengęroel* 'keep scolding (mildly)', the reduplicated syllable is C_1e. In *oururenq* 'miss, be nostalgic for' and *okiklukl* 'keep coughing', however, the reduplicated syllables *ru* and *ki* contain totally unexpected vowels (cf. note 17 above). Finally, *okęrker* 'ask around' and *osisiu* 'same' involve the $C_1V(C_2)$ pattern of reduplication.

The meanings of the reduplicated forms of 27 are rather difficult to predict. While *ouseseçhęlei* 'be sort of friends with' shows the weakening of meaning observed for state verbs (cf. **11**.2–5 above), *oungengęroel* 'keep scolding (mildly)', *oururenq* 'miss, be nostalgic for', *okiklukl* 'keep coughing', and *okęrker* 'ask around' involve the connotation of continued or repeated action observed for action verbs (cf. **11**.6–7 above). Note, further, that the meaning of reduplicated *osisiu* 'same' is not easily predictable from that of non-reduplicated *osiu* 'joined'.

The following sentences illustrate the use of the verbs of 27:

(28) a. Ak okiklukl e le ak smechęr ęr a tęretęr.
'I keep coughing because I'm sick with a cold.'

b. Ng di ouseseçhęlei ęr a Toki mę ng sębęchel ęl kie ęr a blil.
'He's sort of close to Toki, so he can stay at her house.'

c. Ak di oururenq ęr a taem ęr a Siabal.
'I feel nostalgic about the Japanese times.'

REDUPLICATION OF CAUSATIVE VERBS

11.9. **Causative verbs** (cf. chap. 9) can also undergo reduplication. Those causative verbs derived with the prefix *omę(k)-* (cf. **9**.2.1) show an unusual pattern of reduplication: an extra syllable—*ke* or *ki*—is inserted between the *ę* (which may then be deleted) and the *k* of the prefix. A few examples are given below:

(29)

Reduplicated Form		*Related Causative Verb in* omę(k)-	
omękekęsiu	'roughly copy'	omękęsiu	'compare, copy'

omękikdakt	'frighten...a little'	omękdakt	'frighten'
omkiksau	'sort of make... used to'	omęksau	'make...used to'

Causative verbs derived with the prefix *ol(ę)-* (cf. **9**.2.2) have reduplicated forms which follow the familiar patterns C_1e or $C_1eC_1V(C_2)$. The reduplicated portion is added after the causative prefix, as in the following examples:

(30)

Reduplicated Form		*Related Causative Verb in* ol(ę)-	
olteterau	'sell a little at a time'	olterau	'sell'
oltetębętobęd	'keep taking out'	oltobęd	'take out'
olękekęrkar	'keep trying to wake up (gently)'	olękar	'wake up'
oltetęmętom	'keep poking out'	oltom	'poke out'

As the English equivalents for the reduplicated forms in 29 and 30 show, the function of reduplication seems to differ according to whether the related causative verb is prefixed with *omę(k)-* or *ol(ę)-*. In the former case, the reduplicated form involves a weaker or more tentative connotation, while in the latter case, the reduplicated form involves a repetitive meaning. The following sentences illustrate the use of the above reduplicated causative verbs:

(31) a. A Toki a omękekęsiu ęr a bilel ęr a bilel a Hermana.
'Toki is making her dress roughly like Hermana's.'

b. Ak di oltetęrau a iasai e męchęrar a mlik.
'I'm just selling vegetables a little at a time and then I'll (be able to) buy my car.'

c. A ngikęl a oltetęmętom ęr a mędal ęr a bad.
'The fish keeps poking his head out of the coral.'

REDUPLICATION OF RECIPROCAL VERBS

11.10. As we saw in **10**.2.3, ex. 12, some **reciprocal verbs** exhibit an optional reduplicated syllable. The majority of speakers cannot recognize any difference in meaning between the reduplicated and non-reduplicated forms of reciprocal verbs; therefore, only a single English gloss is provided for the examples below:

(32)

Reduplicated Form	*Related Reciprocal Verb*
kadękdakt	kędakt 'fear each other'
kasusuub	kęsuub 'imitate each other'
kasisiik	kęsiik 'look for each other'
karuruul	kęruul 'make..for each other, protect each other'
kakęrker	kęker, kaker 'ask each other'

In the examples of 32, the reduplicated syllable $C_1V(C_2)$ is added after the reciprocal prefix *ka-*.

"FOSSILIZED" REDUPLICATION

11.11. There are many Palauan words—mostly state verbs—whose phonetic form leads us to suspect that they were once derived by processes of reduplication. At earlier stages of the Palauan language, reduplication was probably even more widespread than it is today. Over a long period of time, many words which had originally been derived by reduplication gradually changed in form and meaning. As a result, we have quite a few words today which contain "fossilized" remains of reduplication which many Palauan speakers do not even recognize.

Among simple state verbs, the following seem to contain fossilized reduplicated portions, which we have italicized:

(33) *ki*kiongęl 'dirty'
chel*el*eu 'pale'
*cha*chau 'stunted, empty (of nuts)'
kęd*i*dai 'high'
dęch*u*dęch 'muddy'

A couple of state verbs in *mę-* whose stems probably have reduplicated portions include the following:

(34) mę*si*siich 'strong'
mę*kęl*ękolt 'cold'
mę*ręch*erachęd 'nauseous'

In **4**.9.4 we mentioned some of the variant forms of the Palauan **object pronouns**. We saw that the 3rd pers. pl. human object pronoun, which is usually *-tęrir*, turns up as *-titęrir* obligatorily in *ngoititęrir* 'take them' and optionally in *obę(ti)tęrir* 'carry them'. The most plausible explanation for the additional syllable *ti* is that it is a fossilized trace of reduplication.

THE PREDICTIVE AND INCHOATIVE SUFFIXES

11.12. In this and the following sections, we will examine two different suffixes which when added to verb stems bring about important changes in meaning. The **predictive suffix** *-u* is used to designate an action which is about to happen—i.e., one which the speaker judges to be imminent. The **inchoative suffix** *-a* makes reference to a new or unexpected action or state, one which has just begun or is in its beginning stages.[18] Both of these suffixes are always stressed, with the result that various kinds of **vowel reduction** (cf. **1**.4.4, **3**.4, **3**.4.1–3, and **6**.4) and **vowel blending** (cf. **6**.3.2) are observed in the verb forms to which they are attached. Further, both suffixes require an additional *-ng* when they occur in sentence-final position (cf. **1**.3.3). The predictive suffix *-u* can attach only to **intransitive action verbs** and to the **ergative** and **imperfective** forms of some **transitive action verbs**, while the inchoative suffix *-a* can attach to these verb types and to **state verbs** as well. Therefore, any verb form which takes *-u* can take *-a*, but not necessarily vice versa.

Predictive and Inchoative Forms of Intransitive Action Verbs

11.12.1 **Intransitive action verbs** can take both the predictive and inchoative suffixes, as in the examples below:

(35)

Predictive Form	*Inchoative Form*	*Related Intransitive Action Verb*
sobęku 'about to fly'	sobęka 'starting to fly'	suebęk 'fly'
rurtu 'about to run'	rurta 'starting to run'	ręmurt 'run'
męrolu 'about to leave'	męrola 'starting to leave'	męrael 'leave'
robętu 'about to fall'	robęta 'starting to fall'	ruebęt 'fall'
tobędu 'about to go out'	tobęda 'starting to go out'	tuobęd 'go out'
longęlu 'about to cry'	longęla 'starting to cry'	lmangęl 'cry'

In *suébęk* 'fly' and *ruébęt* 'fall', we observe the **metathesized verb marker** *-u-* (cf. **6**.2) adjacent to *e* in a stressed syllable. In the predictive and inchoative forms *sobękú* 'about to fly' and *sobęká*

'starting to fly', however, the vowel cluster *ue* comes to appear in an unstressed syllable. Here, just as in the case of the 3rd pers. sg. object present perfective forms cited in **6**.3.2, the metathesized verb marker *-u-* **blends** with the following *e* in an unstressed syllable to give the vowel *o*. (Recall that the **vowel triangle** shows *o* to be phonetically halfway between *u* and *e*). The same phenomenon accounts for the predictive and inchoative forms of *lmangęl* 'cry', except that the metathesized verb marker *-m-* first changes to *-u-* in an unstressed syllable (cf. **6**.3.2). Thus, we have the following derivation for *longęlú* 'about to cry':

(36) mę + langęl + ú (basic form = verb marker + verb stem + predictive suffix) →

l + mę + angęl + ú (by metathesis of verb marker) →

l + m + angęl + ú (by deletion of *ę*) →

l + u + angęl + ú (by change of verb marker to *u* in unstressed syllable) →

l + ongęl + ú (by vowel blending)

The remaining predictive and inchoative forms of 35 above show no unfamiliar phonetic changes. In *tobędú* and *tobędá*, for example, the vowel cluster *uo* of *tuóbęd* 'go out' has reduced to a single vowel in an unstressed syllable. And in *rurtú* and *rurtá*, the metathesized verb marker has been deleted before the high back vowel *u* (cf. **6**.3.3); thus, we have the following derivation for *rurtú* 'about to run':

(37) mę + rurt + ú (basic form = verb marker + verb stem + predictive suffix) →

r + mę + urt + ú (by metathesis of verb marker) →

r + m + urt + ú (by deletion of *ę*) →

r + u + urt + ú (by change of verb marker to *u* in unstressed syllable) →

r + urt + ú (by deletion of verb marker)

Finally, in *męrolú* and *męrolá*, we notice that the *ae* of the stem *ráel* 'road' has reduced to the single vowel *o* in an unstressed syllable (cf. note 10 above).

In the pairs of sentences below, we illustrate how the predictive and inchoative forms of 35 are used. Recall that these forms are spelled and pronounced with a final *-ng* when they occur at the end of a sentence.

(38) a. A skoki a sobękung.
'The plane is about to take off.'

b. A skoki a sobękang.
'The plane is taking off/starting to fly.'

(39) a. Ak męrolu er a elęchang.
'I'm about to leave now.'

b. A Toki a męrolang.
'Toki is beginning to leave/is just leaving.'

(40) a. A ngalęk a longęlung.
'The child is about to cry.'

b. A Droteo a milękekui a ngalęk mę ng longęlang.
'Droteo teased the child, so he's begun to cry.'

Predictive and Inchoative Forms of Ergative Verbs

11.12.2. When the predictive and inchoative suffixes are added to the **ergative** forms of transitive verbs, the resulting words have the expected interpretations 'about to be/get...' and 'has begun to be/get...', respectively, as in the examples below:

(41)

Predictive Form	*Inchoative Form*	*Related Ergative Verb*
obosu 'about to be/get shot'	obosa 'has begun to be/get shot'	oboes 'be/get shot'
męchęlębędu 'about to be/get hit'	męchęlębęda 'has begun to be/get hit'	męchęlebęd 'be/get hit'
męręsmu 'about to be/get sewn'	męręsma 'has begun to be/get sewn'	męrasm 'be/get sewn'
mętęmęllu 'about to break down'	mętęmęlla 'has begun to break down'	mętęmall 'break down'

You should have no difficulty identifying the kinds of vowel reduction and vowel cluster reduction which have taken place in the predictive and inchoative forms of 41.

The following pairs of sentences show the use of the predictive and inchoative forms given in 41:

(42) a. A bęlochęl a obosu ęr a Droteo.
'The pigeons are about to be/get shot by Droteo.'

b. A bęlochęl a obosa ęr a Droteo.
'The pigeons have begun to be/get shot by Droteo.'

(43) a. Ng męchęlębędu a ngalęk ęr a dęmal.
'The child is about to get hit by his father.'

b. Ng męchęlębęda a ngalęk ęr a dęmal.
'The child has begun to be/get hit by his father.'

Predictive and Inchoative Forms of Imperfective Verbs

11.12.3. **Imperfective** verbs which take both predictive *-u* and inchoative *-a* include the following:

(44)

Predictive Form	*Inchoative Form*	*Related Imperfective Verb*
męlękingu[19] 'about to talk'	męlękinga[19] 'starting to talk'	męlękoi 'talk'
omękęllu 'about to drive/sail'	omękęlla 'starting to drive/sail'	omękall 'drive, sail'
męngęsmęru 'about to shut'	męngęsmęra 'starting to shut'	męngęsimęr 'shut'
omręchu 'about to spear'	omręcha 'starting to spear'	omuręch 'spear'
męlęchęlbu 'about to wash'	męlęchęlba 'starting to wash'	męlęcholb 'wash'

In addition to rules of vowel reduction and vowel cluster reduction, a rule of **vowel deletion** (cf. 3.4.1) affects the predictive and inchoative forms in 44. Can you tell which rule applies where?

Some sentence pairs containing the predictive and inchoative forms of 44 are given below:

(45) a. A Droteo a męlękingu ęr a dęmal a Toki ęl kirel a chębęchiięlir.
'Droteo is about to talk to Toki's father about their marriage.'

b. A Droteo a męlękinga ęr a dęmal a Toki ęl kirel a chębęchiięlir.
'Droteo has started talking to Toki's father about their marriage.'

(46) a. A Toki a męlęchęlbu ęr a ręngalęk.
'Toki is about to bathe the children.'

b. A Toki a męlęchęlba ęr a ręngalęk.
'Toki has begun to bathe the children.'

The sentences below contain further examples of the inchoative forms of imperfective verbs. The addition of *ko ęl*[20] 'just' reinforces the connotation that a new or unexpected action has taken place in the very recent past.

(47) a. Ak ko ęl męsuba e le ng mla męrael a Droteo.
'I've finally gotten to study because Droteo has left.'

b. Ak ko ęl rongęsa a chais.
'I've just heard the news.'

c. A Droteo a ko ęl omęchęla ęl męsuub.
'Droteo has just begun to study.'

Inchoative Forms of State Verbs

11.12.4. **State verbs** can generally take the inchoative suffix *-a*, although they cannot take the predictive suffix *-u*. The function of *-a* with state verbs is to show that a **change of state** is in progress; in most cases, the state in question is unwanted and therefore unexpected. Observe the following examples:

(48)

Inchoative Form	*Related State Verb*
mękęlękęlta 'getting cold'	mękęlękolt 'cold'
mękelda 'getting warm'	mękeald 'warm'
songęrengęra 'getting hungry'	songęrengęr 'hungry'
kikęngęla 'getting dirty'	kikiongęl 'dirty'
męrengęla 'getting sore'	męringęl 'sore'
męchęręchęra 'getting salty'	męchęrochęr 'salty'
sochęra 'getting sick'	smechęr 'sick'
bęręlma 'getting watery/flat-tasting'	bęralm 'watery, flat-tasting'
mędękta 'becoming frightened'	mędakt 'afraid'
męrka 'getting ripe'	maręk 'ripe'
mękęrenga[21] 'waking up'	mękar 'awake'
klunga[22] 'getting big'	klou 'big'
ungia[23] 'becoming good, improving'	ungil 'good'
chęlla 'getting rainy'	chull 'rainy'

Some state verbs take *-o* or *-e* as an inchoative suffix instead of *-a*. This appears to be an unpredictable property of verbs such as the following:[24]

(49)

Inchoative Form	*Related State Verb*
męde 'starting to die'	mad 'dead'
dęchęro 'standing up (process)'	dęchor 'stand'
męchęde 'getting shallow'	męched 'shallow'
doknge 'getting together'	dmak 'together'
męknge 'getting bad, worsening'	męngit 'bad'

The following sentences illustrate the use of the inchoative verbs listed in 48 and 49:

(50) a. Tia ęl delmęrab a kmal mękeldang.
'This room is getting very warm.'

b. A chimak a kikęngęla mę ng kirek ęl mo męlębal.
'My hands are getting dirty, so I've got to wash them.'

c. A ngalęk a mękęręnga ęr a chęrrodęch.
'The child is waking up because of the noise.'

d. A bdęluk a męręngęlang.
'I'm getting a headache.'

e. A kall a {męchęręchęrang / bęręlmang}.
'The food's getting (too) {salty / flat}.'

f. A eangęd a ungia mę dorael.
'The weather's improving, so let's go.'

g. Ng męde a ngau.
'The fire is (just) dying out.'

h. A ręngalęk a doknge a ręngrir.
'The children are starting to get along with each other.'

i. Ng chęlla mę lak dorael.
'It's getting rainy, so let's not go.'

Predictive and Inchoative Forms of *mo*

11.12.5. The verb *mo* 'go' has *mochu* as its predictive form and *mocha* as its inchoative form; the appearance of *-ch-* before the suffixes *-u* and *-a* is unpredictable.[25] Some sentences containing these forms are given below:

(51) a. Ak mochu ęr a mubi.
'I'm about to go to the movie.'

b. Ng mochu ęr ngii a chull.
'It's about to rain.'

c. A tangk a mochu mui.
'The tank is about to get full.'

d. Ak mochu męrek ęl męsuub.
'I'm about to finish studying.'

e. A Toki a mochu omęngur.
'Toki is about to eat.'

f. A Droteo a ko ęl mocha ęr a Guam.
'Droteo should just be arriving in Guam.'

g. A Droteo a ulęrrimęl ęr a Helen mę ng ko ęl mocha męlaşęm ęl męnga a ngikęl.
'Droteo persuaded Helen to finally try to eat fish.'

Reciprocal verbs, causative verbs, and verbs formed with the prefix *ou-* do not take either the predictive suffix *-u* or the inchoative suffix *-a*. To express predictive or inchoative meanings with these types of verbs, *mochu* and *mocha*, respectively, are required as auxiliaries or "helping" words. Observe the following examples:

(52) a. A ręngalęk a mochu kaiuękako.
'The children are about to start teasing each other.'

b. A Toki a mochu omęka ęr a ręngalęk.
'Toki is about to feed the children.'

c. A Romana a mocha oureor.
'Romana is starting to work.'

d. Tę mocha kaingęseu.
'They're starting to help each other.'

The Predictive Word *ku*

11.12.6. Identical in function to the predictive suffix *-u* is the independent **predictive word** *ku* (*kung* when in sentence-final position), which can immediately follow any type of verb. Since *ku* does not cause any kind of vowel reduction or deletion in the verb stem which precedes it, we analyze it as a separate word rather than as a suffix. The use of *ku* is illustrated in the sentences below; like the predictive suffix *-u*, its closest English equivalent is 'about to'.

(53) a. Ak męnguiu ku ęr a hong.
'I'm about to read the book.'

b. A Toki a olękar ku ęr a ręngalęk.
'Toki is about to wake up the children.'

c. Ak męlim ku e le ng męchęde a ręnguk.
'I'll have something to drink (now) because I'm getting thirsty.'

d. Kę mękęra kung?
'What are you about to do?'

e. Alii. A stoa a męchęsimęr kung.
'Hey! The store's about to close.'

f. Ak męsuub ku e le ng ngar ęr ngii a skeng ęr a klukuk.
'I'll be studying now because there's a test tomorrow.'

g. Ak męrolu kung.
'I'm just about to leave.'

h. A Toki a mochu omęngur kung.
'Toki is about to eat.'

As examples like 53g–h show, it is possible to have both the predictive suffix *-u* and the independent predictive word *ku* in the same sentence. Note further that 53h and 51e are identical in meaning.

12 Imperfective vs. Perfective Verbs

MEANING OF IMPERFECTIVE VS. PERFECTIVE VERB FORMS

12.1. In previous chapters we have already given extensive consideration to the **internal structure** of imperfective and perfective verb forms. Thus, in **5**.5 we saw that these two types of verbs have different basic structures, as given below:

(1) a. imperfective verb forms: *verb marker* + *imperfective marker* + *verb stem*

b. perfective verb forms: *verb marker* + *verb stem* + *object pronoun*

We also discussed in detail each of the elements found in the basic structures of 1: in chap. 6 we examined the **verb marker** and showed how it **metathesizes** in perfective verb forms; in **5**.5 we saw how the variants of the **imperfective marker** can be determined from the following **verb stem**; and in **4**.9 and **4**.9.4 we classified the **object pronouns** which are characteristically suffixed to perfective verb forms.

The abovementioned discussions, together with the many lists and step-by-step derivations presented in chaps. 5 and 6, have shown us how to distinguish between imperfective and perfective verbs from a **formal** point of view. In this chapter, then, we will examine how the two types of verbs contrast with each other in terms of **meaning** and **use**. As native speakers of Palauan, you may find the basic distinctions to be described below rather difficult to grasp. This is because you have learned to make them so automatically (or unconsciously) that you do not think in terms of analyzing them. The same is true, of course, for the native speakers of any language; thus, without any assistance from a linguist or teacher, most English speakers, for example, would be totally unaware of the extremely complex way in which they use the English tense system.

The distinction between imperfective vs. perfective verb forms is found only among **transitive verbs** (cf. **5**.1.1); with one or two exceptions, these are all **transitive action verbs.** As their names imply, **perfective** verb forms describe actions which the speaker views as **completed** (or **perfected**), while **imperfective** verb forms do not. Instead, imperfective verb forms denote actions which the speaker considers as **incomplete**—i.e., actions which are still **in progress**[1] and have not yet reached their point of completion or termination. A particular action can be viewed as complete or incomplete regardless of when it actually occurs; therefore, we will find that both perfective and imperfective verbs can occur in all tenses—past, present, and future.

By way of introduction, let us review the following two sentences, which we already presented in **5**.5 (examples 59a–b):

(2) a. A Droteo a milęnguiu ęr a hong er a elii.
'Droteo was reading the book yesterday.'

b. A Droteo a chiliuii a hong er a elii.
'Droteo read the book yesterday.'

In the sentences above, we observe the **past imperfective** form *milęnguiu* and the **past perfective** form *chiliuii*. Because both *milęnguiu* and *chiliuii* are past tense forms, they necessarily have a common element of meaning: that is, they both indicate that the subject (*Droteo*) performed the action of reading at some time point in the past (*elii* 'yesterday'). But the similarity ends here, since the two verb forms involve a very basic difference in the speaker's viewpoint. Thus, in 2a the speaker uses imperfective *milęnguiu* 'was reading' to focus on the past action as it was going on or in progress. The action is described as having continued for some period of time, but no claim is made that it was completed. In other words, it is entirely possible that Droteo still has some of the book to read. By contrast, the speaker's use of perfective *chiliuii* 'read (completely)' in 2b views Droteo's reading of the book as a completely finished past action. It is implied that Droteo has no more of the book to read.

Some further pairs of contrasting sentences are given below:

(3) a. A ngalęk a milęnga a ngikęl.
'The child was eating the fish.'

b. A ngalęk a killii a ngikęl.
'The child ate up the fish.'

(4) a. A Cisco a millim a rrom.
'Cisco was drinking liquor.'

b. A Cisco a ngilęlmii a rrom.
'Cisco drank up the liquor.'

Notice that the **past imperfective** forms in the a-sentences are best translated with English **past progressive** forms (*was/were... -ing*), while the **past perfective** forms in the b-sentences have English equivalents like *ate up* and *drank up*, in which a word like *up* (called a **particle** or **intensifier** by English grammarians) imparts a special connotation of completion to the actions *eat* and *drink*. In the a-sentences, use of an imperfective verb implies that the action in question did not totally exhaust or consume the object: in other words, in 3a, the speaker assumes that there was still some fish left after the child was eating, and in 4a, the subject (*Cisco*) did not drink all of the liquor. By contrast, use of a perfective verb in the b-sentences implies that the objects (*ngikęl* 'fish' and *rrom* 'liquor') were totally used up.

IMPERFECTIVE VS. PERFECTIVE VERB FORMS IN VARIOUS TENSES

12.2. As we have seen in examples 2–4 above, the use of imperfective vs. perfective forms in the **past tense** results in a very clear contrast in meaning. Similar, or related, contrasts in meaning are found when we observe imperfective and perfective forms in other tenses. For example, in the pair of sentences below, the **auxiliary word** *mla* (cf. **5**.3.2.1) precedes the imperfective and perfective forms of the action verb *męngiis* 'dig' and refers to an event or activity in the very **recent** past:

(5) a. Ak mla męngiis ęr a kliokl.
'I've been digging the hole.'

b. Ak mla kiięsii a kliokl.
'I've (completely) dug the hole.'

In 5a, the speaker's use of imperfective *męngiis* implies that although he has been engaged in the activity of digging the hole, the task is not yet complete; on the other hand, use of perfective *kiięsii* in 5b is a clear assertion that the job of digging the hole has been completely finished. A similar distinction of meaning is found in the sentences below, which contain the imperfective and perfective forms of the **causative verb** *omękikiongęl* 'make... dirty' (cf. **9**.2.1.3 and **9**.4, ex. 22e):

(6) a. A rękangkodang a mla omękikiongęl ęr a kędęrang.
'The tourists have been making the beach dirty.'

b. A rękangkodang a mla mękikingęlii a kędęrang.
'The tourists have (totally) messed up the beach.'

Example 6b, with perfective *mękikingęlii*, has a much stronger connotation of "finality" than 6a, where imperfective *omękikiongęl* leaves open the possibility that the process of dirtying up the beach might not reach its ultimate (unpleasant or irreversible) conclusion.

As we saw in **5**.3.2.1, the auxiliary *mla* can also be used to express **past experience**—i.e., to make a statement or ask a question about whether someone has had the experience of doing something. With transitive verbs, this connotation of past experience is conveyed by using the **imperfective** form after *mla*, as in the a-sentences below. These sentences contrast, of course, with the b-sentences, which contain a **perfective** form following *mla*:

(7) a. Kę mla męruul a kall ęr a Sina?
'Have you ever made Chinese food?'

b. Kę mla rullii a kall ęr a Sina?
'Have you finished making the Chinese food?'

(8) a. Kę mla męnguiu ęr tia ęl hong?
'Have you ever read this book?'

b. Kę mla chuięuii tia ęl hong?
'Have you finished reading this book?'

While the a-sentences above are interpreted as **general** questions about one's past experience, the b-sentences are questions about whether some activity was completed on a **single, specific** occasion.

Imperfective and perfective verb forms can be preceded by the auxiliary *mo* to designate actions in the **future** (cf. **5**.3.3). There is nothing unusual about the meaning difference between *mo* + *imperfective verb* and *mo* + *perfective verb*, as the following pair of sentences shows:

(9) a. Ak mo męngiis ęr a kliokl ęr a klukuk.
'I'll be digging the hole tomorrow.'

b. Ak mo kiięsii a kliokl ęr a klukuk.
'I'll (completely) dig the hole tomorrow.'

In 9a, *mo* + imperfective *męngiis* implies that the activity of digging will be going on tomorrow, but nothing is said about whether or not the task will be completed. By contrast, in 9b *mo* + perfective *kiięsii* expresses the speaker's conviction that the job can be finished tomorrow. Another pair of sentences similar to 9a–b is the following:

(10) a. Aki mo męnga a kall ęl ngar ęr a icebox.
'We'll eat some of the food in the icebox.'

b. Aki mo kma a kall ęl ngar ęr a icebox.
'We'll eat up the food in the icebox.'

While *mo* + imperfective *męnga* in 10a implies that only some of the food will be eaten—i.e., the object *kall* 'food' will not be totally consumed by the action of eating—the sequence *mo* + perfective *kma* in 10b makes it clear that the object will be completely used up (cf. our discussion of examples 3–4 above).

The **present tense** forms of imperfective and perfective verbs also show an important contrast in meaning. Imperfective verb forms in the present tense, as we have seen in **5**.3.1, have two possible functions. Their primary function is to designate an action which is going on or in progress at the present moment—i.e., at the time when the speaker utters the sentence. This function is observed in the following sentences:

(11) a. A John a męngęsbrebęr ęr a blik.
'John is painting my house.'

b. Ak męlasęch ęr a mlik er a elęchang.
'I'm carving my canoe now.'

A secondary function of imperfective verb forms in the present tense is to express **general statements** or **habitual statements**, as in the examples below:

(12) a. A John a męngęsbrebęr a blai.
'John paints houses (as a profession).'

b. Ak męlasęch a mlai.
'I carve canoes (as a profession).'

Unlike the sentences of 11, which refer to **specific** occasions, the examples of 12 look at certain actions in a **general** way. Thus, while 11a would only be true if the subject (*John*) were actually painting the speaker's house at the moment of the speaker's utterance, 12a could be uttered at any time because it is simply a statement about what the subject does **habitually** (as a profession, etc.). Notice, further, that the **specific** occasions designated in 11a–b require **specific** objects; therefore, the **possessed nouns** *blik* 'my house' of 11a and *mlik* 'my canoe' of 11b must be preceded by the **specifying word** *ęr* (cf. **2**.7). By contrast, the **general** statements expressed in 12 can only involve objects of the most **general** type. Here, the **unpossessed nouns** *blai* 'house' and *mlai* 'canoe' are not introduced by the specifying word *ęr* and merely

refer to houses or canoes in general—i.e., 'any house at all', 'any canoe at all', etc.

As opposed to the above, Palauan perfective verb forms in the present tense have a very different, and rather special, function. To repeat what we said in **4**.9.2, perfective verb forms in the present tense are used to denote actions or events which the speaker considers **imminent**—i.e., actions or events which are just about to occur or which are likely to occur in the very near future. Compare, for example, the following two sentences:

(13) a. Ak męluchęs ęr a babier er a elęchang.
'I'm writing the letter now.'

b. Ak luchęsii a babier er a elęchang (mę kę męsang).
'I'll write the letter right now (so you can see me do it).'

In 13a, imperfective *męluchęs* simply denotes that the action of writing is taking place (i.e., in progress) at the present moment, while in 13b perfective *luchęsii* implies that the speaker is just about to start writing the letter.

Because present perfective verb forms have the above-mentioned connotation of imminency, they are often found in sentences which are used as **warnings** or **precautionary suggestions.** A few typical examples are given below:

(14) a. Alii. A ngalęk a chubęlii a milk!
'Watch out! The child's about to spill the milk!'

b. Alii. A malk a kolii a bęras!
'Hey! The chicken's about to eat the rice!'

c. Alii. A sensei a cholębędau!
'Watch out! The teacher is going to hit you (by accident)!'/
'The teacher will hit you (if you misbehave).'

FURTHER EXAMPLES OF CONTRAST BETWEEN IMPERFECTIVE AND PERFECTIVE VERB FORMS

12.3. In this section we will look at additional pairs of sentences that involve constructions in which the use of imperfective vs. perfective forms results in a significant difference in meaning. Observe, for example, the sentences below:

(15) a. Ng sębęchem ęl męnga a ngikęl?
'Are you able to eat fish?'

b. Ng sębęchem ęl kolii a ngikęl?
'Can you eat up the fish?'

In the sentences of 15, the possessed noun *sębęchem* 'your ability' is followed by a group of words (*męnga a ngikęl* or *kolii a ngikęl*) which gives us specific information about the type of ability involved. This group of words is preceded by *ęl*, which, as we will see in **17**.7, **relates** it to the possessed noun *sębęchem*. While the use of imperfective *męnga* in 15a results in a **general question**, the use of perfective *kolii* in 15b makes reference to a **specific instance** or occasion. In other words, in 15a, some person X asks another person Y whether or not Y is an eater of fish: perhaps X is concerned that Y might not be used to eating fish regularly, or perhaps X is just inquiring in a polite way whether or not Y likes fish. In 15b, on the other hand, X is asking Y whether Y can eat up some particular fish. While 15b can only be uttered on some particular occasion when the fish is actually there on the table, etc., 15a is of course not restricted in this way. The following sentences show the same type of contrast:

(16) a. Ng sębęchem ęl męlim a biang?
'Are you able to drink beer?'

b. Ng sębęchem ęl ngilmii a imęlem ęl biang?
'Can you drink up all your beer?'

Note that the object in 16a is **general** (*biang* 'beer'), while that in 16b is very **specific** (*imęlem ęl biang* 'your (drink of) beer').

In the sentences below, we observe the possessed nouns *soak* 'my liking' and *kirek* 'my obligation', which are in the same class as *sębęchem* 'your ability' of 15 and 16 above (see chap. 17). These possessed nouns are related by the word *ęl* to groups of words which provide specific information about one's liking or one's obligation:

(17) a. Ng soak ęl męnguiu ęr a hong.
'I want to read (some of) the book.'

b. Ng soak ęl chuięuii a hong.
'I want to (completely) read the book.'

(18) a. Ng kirek ęl męngiis ęr a kliokl.
'I've got to be digging the hole.'

b. Ng kirek ęl kiięsii a kliokl.
'I've got to (completely) dig the hole.'

The meaning contrast found in the sentence pairs of 17–18 should already be familiar to us from examples 3–6 above. Thus, in 17a and 18a the action is viewed as being in progress, but not necessarily completed, while in 17b and 18b it is seen as being completed.

IMPERFECTIVE VS. PERFECTIVE VERB FORMS AND SPECIFIC OBJECTS

12.4. In **2.7** we noted that the **specifying word** *ęr* must always precede **specific singular** objects. The presence or absence of the specifying word *ęr* results in an important difference in meaning, as the sentences below illustrate:

(19) a. Ak ousbech ęr a bilas ęr a klukuk.
'I need the boat tomorrow.'

b. Ak ousbech a bilas ęr a klukuk.
'I need {a boat / the boats} tomorrow.'

While objects marked with *ęr* (e.g. *ęr a bilas* 'the boat' of 19a) are automatically interpreted as **specific singular** objects, those not marked with *ęr* (e.g. *a bilas* 'a boat, the boats' of 19b) allow for a wider range of interpretation, as indicated.

The use of the specifying word *ęr* is restricted in two interesting ways. First, it never occurs with sentence subjects, but only with sentence objects; and second, it can only precede the objects of **imperfective** verbs. With the objects of **perfective** verbs, use of the specifying word *ęr* is prevented, as the ungrammaticality of 20b shows:

(20) a. Ak chillębędii a bilis.
'I hit the dog.'

b. *Ak chillębędii ęr a bilis.

If we review all of the example sentences so far given in this chapter, we will see that they meet the abovementioned restrictions on the distribution of the specifying word *ęr*.

It is possible to speculate on the reasons why the specifying word *ęr* cannot precede the objects of perfective verbs. Every perfective verb form, you will recall, contains an **object pronoun** suffix. Since all Palauan pronouns refer to specific persons ('I, me', 'he, him', etc.), it seems as if perfective verb forms, which include a pronoun in the form of a suffix, focus on the completion of an action **with reference to some specific object.** In other words, Palauan perfective verb forms in and of themselves imply a specific object, and use of *ęr* to further indicate the specificity of the object would be redundant and therefore unnecessary. Thus, *ęr* would be prevented in a sentence like 20b since it would add nothing new to the meaning which was not already supplied by the perfective verb form itself.

CONTEXTUAL RESTRICTIONS ON THE USE OF IMPERFECTIVE VS. PERFECTIVE VERB FORMS

12.5. As we have seen in the sections above, imperfective and perfective verb forms contrast with each other in terms of certain fundamental differences of function and meaning. Our analysis of the nature of these differences is confirmed when we look at the **contextual** (or **environmental**) **restrictions** on the occurrence of the two types of forms. In other words, we can find or construct contexts in which one type of verb form (imperfective or perfective) is completely natural while the other is strange or contradictory. The differences of acceptability are undoubtedly due to the compatibility—or lack of compatibility—between the meaning of the imperfective or perfective form in question and the meaning of the other elements in the context.

To take our first example, observe that there is nothing at all unusual about 21a below, but 21b seems to make no sense:

(21) a. Ak mla męnguiu ęr a hong e ng di dirkak kbo kmęrek.
'I have been reading the book, but I haven't finished it yet.'

b. ??Ak mla chuięuii a hong e ng di dirkak kbo kmęrek.

The key to the difference in acceptability between 21a and 21b lies, of course, in the fact that 21a has an imperfective verb form while 21b has a perfective verb form. In the sentences above, each of these verb forms has been placed in the context of the expression *e ng di dirkak kbo kmęrek* 'but I haven't finished yet', which clearly states that the subject (*ak* 'I') has not yet completed reading the particular book. Because imperfective *mla męnguiu* of 21a implies that the subject has so far read some of the book, but not all of it, *e ng di dirkak kbo kmęrek* is "logical" and makes sense. By contrast, since perfective *mla chuięuii* of 21b explicitly states that the subject has finished reading the book, it is contradictory, and therefore unacceptable, to add *e ng di dirkak kbo kmęrek*, which implies exactly the opposite.[2]

The very same phenomenon accounts for the following examples, in which the imperfective and perfective forms of *męngiis* 'dig' occur in the future tense and the content of the expression introduced by *e ng di* 'but' is somewhat different:

(22) a. Ak mo męngiis ęr a kliokl ęr a klukuk e ng di diak kudęnge ęl kmo ng sębęchek ęl rokir ng diak.
'I'll be digging the hole tomorrow, but I don't know whether or not I can finish it.'

b. ??Ak mo kiięsii a kliokl ęr a klukuk e ng di diak kudęnge ęl kmo ng sębęchek ęl rokir ng diak.

Example 22a makes perfect sense, but 22b involves a contradiction and is therefore unacceptable. The contradiction in 22b can be explained as follows: on the one hand, *mo kiięsii* implies the speaker's intention to complete the task of digging the hole at some future date (*klukuk* 'tomorrow'), while on the other hand, the content of the expression *e ng di diak kudęnge ęl kmo ng sębęchek ęl rokir ng diak* 'but I don't know whether or not I can finish it' expresses the speaker's doubt about finishing this very same task.

If the context mentions a **span of time** with a specific beginning point and end point, only sentences containing imperfective verb forms are acceptable, as the following example shows:

(23) a. A Droteo a milęngiis ęr a kliokl ęr a euid ęl klok ęl mo eai ęl klok ęr a tutau.
'Droteo was digging the hole from 7 o'clock to 8 o'clock this morning.'

b. ??A Droteo a kilisii a kliokl ęr a euid ęl klok ęl mo eai ęl klok ęr a tutau.

In the sentences of 23 we have the time span expression *ęr a euid ęl klok ęl mo eai ęl klok* 'from seven o'clock to eight o'clock'.[3] Since this expression designates a one-hour stretch of time, it can occur together with imperfective *milęngiis* in 23a, which views the activity of digging as it was **in progress**—i.e., as having a **duration**. By contrast, this same time span expression cannot occur together with perfective *kilisii* in 23b without sounding strange. This is because *kilisii* focuses our attention on the very moment when the activity of digging was completed, and therefore a sentence like 23b would seem to imply that the moment of completion lasted a whole hour, which is of course impossible.

Not all contexts are like those of 21–23 above in restricting the use of imperfective and perfective verb forms. In the sentences below, for example, which contain a **time clause** introduced by *er se ęr a* 'when' (see **22**.2), both the imperfective and perfective forms of *męnguiu* 'read' can occur, with a difference in interpretation:

(24) a. Ak milęnguiu ęr a hong er se ęr a lęme a Toki.
'I was reading the book when Toki arrived.'

b. Ak chiliuii a hong er se ęr a lęme a Toki.
'I had finished reading the book when Toki arrived.'

In 24a, the speaker was in the process of reading the book (but had not completed reading it) when Toki arrived, while in 24b the speaker had already completed reading the book by the time of Toki's arrival.

THE TRANSITIVE VERB *omes*

12.6. The Palauan verb *omes* 'see' needs special consideration because the meanings of its imperfective and perfective forms differ from each other in a way which is not entirely predictable from our discussion above. Before examining this difference in meaning, let us review a few of the representative perfective forms of *omes*:[4]

(25)

Person and Number of Object Pronoun	*Present Tense*	*Past Tense*
1st pers sg	męsękak 'see me'	milsękak 'saw me'
3rd pers sg	męsa 'see him/her/it'	milsa 'saw him/her/it'
3rd pers pl hum	męs(ę)tęrir 'see them'	milstęrir 'saw them'
3rd pers pl non-hum	mes 'see them'	miles 'saw them'

The imperfective vs. perfective forms of *omes* convey the following differences of meaning. Use of imperfective *omes* (past: *ulęmes*) generally implies **purposeful** or **intentional** seeing on the part of the subject. Therefore, the most appropriate English equivalents are words or expressions like 'meet', 'get together with', 'visit', 'meet and talk to', 'look at', 'watch', etc. By contrast, use of the perfective forms of *omes* connotes **unintentional, unplanned,** or **casual** seeing by the subject. The best English equivalents in this case would perhaps be expressions like 'happen to see' or 'get a glimpse of'.

The difference under discussion here is not really incompatible with our previous analysis of the difference between imperfective and perfective verb forms (cf. **12**.1–2 above). Thus, it does not seem unusual that the imperfective forms of *omes* should be used to describe "serious" actions of seeing whose **durational** or **progressive** quality the speaker would be likely to focus upon. Similarly, we would expect the perfective forms of *omes* to be chosen for describing casual or chance actions of seeing which are brief in duration and which the speaker would be likely to view as quickly completed. In the following sentence pairs, the

rather free English equivalents are designed to make the above-mentioned distinction clear; in each pair, the a-sentence contains an imperfective form of *omes*, while the b-sentence contains a perfective form:

(26) a. Ak ulęmes ęr a John er a elii.
'I met and talked to John yesterday.'

b. Ak milsa a John er a elii.
'I happened to see John yesterday.'

(27) a. Ng soak ęl omes ęr a Droteo.
'I want to see (and talk to) Droteo.'

b. Ng soak ęl męsa a Droteo.
'I want to get a look at Droteo.'

(28) a. Ak mlo ęr a kędęra er a elii ęl mo omes a bilas ęl mle kaidęsachęl.
'Yesterday I went to the beach in order to watch the boats racing.'

b. Ak mlo ęr a kędęra er a elii e miles a bętok ęl bilas ęl mle kaidęsachęl.
'Yesterday I went to the beach and happened to see a lot of boats racing.'

The sentences below further illustrate the use of the imperfective vs. perfective forms of *omes* 'see'.

(29) a. Ng dimlak a techęllek ęl omes ęr a ręsęchęlik.
'I didn't have an opportunity to get together with my friends.'

b. Ak mle ęl me omes ęr a John.
'I came in order to see John.'

c. Ng dimlak a techęllek ęl mes a charm.
'I didn't have a chance to get a look at any animals.'

d. Ak miles a bętok ęl mętongakl ęl blai ęr a Hawaii.
'I saw a lot of tall buildings in Hawaii.'

THE TRANSITIVE VERB *orrengęs*

12.7. The imperfective vs. perfective forms of the verb *orrengęs* 'hear' often exhibit a distinction of meaning similar to that described for *omes* in **12.6** above. Before discussing this distinction, we shall list some of the perfective forms of *orrengęs*:

(30)

Person and Number of Object Pronoun	*Present Tense*	*Past Tense*
1st pers sg	rongęsak 'hear me'	rirengęsak 'heard me'

3rd pers sg	rongęsii 'hear him/her/it'	rirengęsii 'heard him/her/it'
3rd pers pl hum	rongęstęrir 'hear them'	rirengęstęrir 'heard them'
3rd pers pl non-hum	ręmengęs 'hear them'	rirengęs 'heard them'

Use of imperfective *orrengęs* (past: *ulęrrengęs*) implies **intentional** hearing by the subject over a relatively long duration of time: therefore, the most suitable English equivalent is 'listen to'. By contrast, use of the perfective forms of *orrengęs* connotes **unexpected** or **casual** hearing by the subject which is completed in a comparatively short duration of time: the best English equivalent is '(happen to) hear'. This distinction in meaning is found in the pair of sentences below:

(31) a. Ak ulęrrengęs ęr a Toki ęl oukita.
'I was listening to Toki play the guitar.'

b. Ak rirengęsii a Toki ęl oukita.
'I heard/happened to hear Toki play the guitar.'

The sentences below further illustrate the use of imperfective vs. perfective forms of *orrengęs* 'hear':

(32) a. Kę ulęrrengęs a radio er a elii?
'Did you listen to the radio yesterday?'

b. Ak rongęstęrir a ręchad ęl męngęrodęch.
'I (can) hear the people making noise.'

c. Ng soak ęl rongęsii a chisel a Toki er se ęr a lębo ęr a Merikel.
'I want to hear about what Toki did when she went to America.'

d. Kę rirengęsii a dęrumk ęr a kęsus?
'Did you (happen to) hear the thunder last night?'

13 Directional Verbs

THE THREE DIRECTIONAL VERBS OF PALAUAN

13.1. In this chapter we will examine a special subgroup of Palauan **intransitive action verbs**—namely, the **directional verbs** *mo* 'go', *eko* 'go', and *me* 'come'. As we saw in **5**.1.1, Palauan intransitive action verbs denote actions which involve only a **doer**, but no **receiver**. In other words, intransitive action verbs do not take **objects** because they name actions in which only the doer can participate rather than describing actions which are directed at someone or something else. The intransitive action verbs *mo* 'go', *eko* 'go', and *me* 'come' are called **directional verbs** because they all indicate movement in a particular direction. This common element of meaning undoubtedly accounts for some of the grammatical features which they share. Before examining these grammatical features in detail, let us first discuss how the three directional verbs differ from each other in meaning.

MEANING AND USE OF THE DIRECTIONAL VERBS

13.2. The directional verb *me* corresponds to English 'come' and refers to movement **towards** the place where the speaker is, was, or will be. This verb contrasts with both *mo* and *eko*, which refer to movement **away from** the place where the speaker is, was, or will be and therefore correspond most closely to English 'go'. The difference in meaning between *mo* and *eko* depends in an important way on the location of the person addressed or spoken to (i.e., the hearer). The directional verb *eko* has the very specific function of designating movement by the speaker or some third party **towards** the **supposed** or **real** present, past, or future location of the person addressed. By contrast, the directional verb *mo* is much broader in scope, since it describes movement by anyone—

speaker, hearer, or some third party—**away from** the locations of the speaker and hearer.

In order to illustrate the above-mentioned differences, let us observe how the (italicized) directional verbs are used in the dialogs below:

(1) A: Ng sębęchem ęl *me* ęr a blik ęr a klukuk?
'Can you come to my house tomorrow?'

B: Chochoi. Ng sębęchek ęl *eko* ęr a blim ęr a klukuk.
'Yes, I can come to your house tomorrow.'

(2) A: Ng sębęchem ęl *mo* ęr a blik ęr a klukuk?
'Can you come/go to my house tomorrow?'

B: Chochoi. Ng sębęchek ęl *mo* ęr a blim ęr a klukuk.
'Yes, I can come/go to your house tomorrow.'

Note, first of all, that the sentences in the dialogs 1 and 2 involve some **future** event, since they contain the **temporal phrase** *ęr a klukuk* 'tomorrow' (see **14**.6). Though the English equivalents for the sentences of 1 and 2 do not reflect it very clearly, most Palauan speakers feel that the two dialogs describe very different situations. In dialog 1, A's use of *me* 'come' implies his **intention** to be at home at the time of B's (hoped-for) arrival, and B's use of *eko* 'go' indicates B's belief or conviction that A will indeed be there to greet him. In dialog 2, however, A's use of *mo* 'go' clearly implies that he does not intend to be home at the time of B's arrival: it is possible, for example, that A is requesting B to go to his (A's) house on some type of business or errand, even though A himself will not be there. B's use of *mo* in his response to A reaffirms the implication that A will not be or is not expected to be present.[1]

When *eko* 'go' is used, the past, present, or future location of the person addressed is usually his own house, as in 1B, but it is also possible for some other location to be involved, as the following sentences illustrate:

(3) a. Bo ęr a bita e a Droteo a ekong.
'Go next door, and Droteo will be along (soon).'

b. Bo ęr a blil a Toki e ak ekong.
'Go to Toki's house, and I'll be along (soon).'

c. Ak eko mę mchiięlak.
'I'll be there, so wait for me.'

Note, further, that sentences like the following

(4) a. Ng sębęchek ęl eko ęr a party ęr a klukuk.
'I can come to your party tomorrow.'

b. A Droteo a dilu ęl kmo ng sębęchel ęl eko ęr a party ęr a klukuk.
'Droteo said that he can come to your party tomorrow.'

imply nothing more than that the person addressed will be (or is expected to be) at the party; though the party might indeed be held at his house, other locations are certainly possible—in other words, the person addressed may be hosting a party at the community hall, etc.

The past tense forms of the directional verbs are provided below:

(5) *Present Tense*	*Past Tense*
me 'come'	mle[2] 'came'
eko 'go'	ilęko 'went'
mo 'go'	mlo 'went'

The past tense forms of *me* 'come' and *mo* 'go' are derived simply by **infixing** the past tense marker *-l-* (cf. **5**.3.2) after word-initial *m*, which is the verb marker.[3] The past tense form of *eko* shows the past tense marker *il*; though this morpheme is normally **infixed** after the initial consonant of a verb form, it is **prefixed** in the case of *eko*, which begins with a vowel. Note, further, that the initial vowel *e* of *eko* is reduced to a *ę* in the past tense form *ilęko*.

The basic distinctions of meaning among the three directional verbs are of course retained in the past tense forms as well. Observe, therefore, the following pairs of contrasting sentences:

(6) a. A Droteo a mle er a Belau.
'Droteo came to Palau.'

b. A Droteo a mlo er a Belau.
'Droteo went to Palau.'

(7) a. Ak ilęko ęr a blim er a elii e kę mle[4] dibus.
'I went to your house (to see you) yesterday and (discovered) you were out.'

b. Ak mlo ęr a blim er a elii e kę mle dibus.
'I happened to go to your house yesterday and (discovered) you were out.'

The meaning difference between 6a and 6b is rather straightforward and needs little comment: *mle* 'came' designates movement

towards the speaker's location (*Belau* 'Palau'), while *mlo* 'went' implies movement **away from** the speaker's location. The distinction between 7a and 7b, however, is more subtle. In 7a, with *ilęko*, the speaker **expected** the person addressed to be home yesterday, but discovered he wasn't, while in 7b, with *mlo*, the speaker merely happened to drop by at the house of the person addressed, not necessarily assuming that he would be there.

The sentences below further illustrate the use of *me*, *mo*, and *eko*. In each sentence, we have italicized the **directional phrase** (see **14**.3), which is a type of **relational phrase** that designates the **goal** or **termination point** of the movement involved. As you can see, a directional phrase consists of the relational word *ęr* (in this case, more or less equivalent to English 'to') followed by a noun phrase naming the place (or event such as party, etc.) which serves as goal or termination point.

(8) a. Kę me *ęr a Merikel* er oingarang?
'When are you coming to America?'

b. A Droteo a soal ęl eko *ęr a ochęraol.*
'Droteo wants to come to your money-raising party.'

c. A sęchęlim ng mlo *ęr a skuul* er a elęchang?
'Did your friend go to school today?'

d. Kę mo *ęr a che*[5] ęr a klukuk?
'Are you going fishing tomorrow?'

DIRECTIONAL VERBS FOLLOWED BY ACTION VERBS

13.3. The directional verbs *me*, *mo*, and *eko* frequently occur directly followed by a transitive or intransitive action verb in expressions like *me męngętmokl* 'come and clean', *mo męngędub* 'go and swim, go swimming', and the like. Expressions of this kind simply mean that at some present, past, or future time, someone comes or goes to a particular place and performs the designated activity there. The distinctive meanings of the three directional verbs are of course preserved in such expressions, whose structure we can summarize with the formula *directional verb + action verb*. Observe the following examples:

(9) a. A Toki a mle męngętmokl ęr a blik ęr a tutau.
'Toki came and cleaned my house this morning.'

b. Ng sębęchem ęl me męngędub ęr a blik?
'Can you come (and) swim at my house?'

c. A Toki ng ilęko męruul a kall er a elii?
'Did Toki come to your place and prepare food yesterday?'

d. A ręsęchal a mlo męlasęch a mlai er a elęchang.
'The men went making canoes today.'

e. Ak mo męngędub ęr a diong.
'I'm going swimming at the stream.'

If a past action is involved, as in 9a, 9c, and 9d, then only the directional verb, but not the directly following action verb, is marked for the past tense. We will postpone further discussion of this phenomenon until **15**.1, where we will observe similar restrictions against the occurrence of the past tense in various types of Palauan **dependent clauses.**

THE DIRECTIONAL VERBS AND FUTURE TIME

13.4. The **present tense** forms of the directional verbs *me*, *mo*, and *eko* can often be interpreted as referring to **future** time, especially when they are accompanied by **temporal phrases** (cf. **14**.6) denoting future time such as *ęr a klukuk* 'tomorrow', *er tia ęl me ęl rak* 'next year', etc. Compare, for example, the following two sentences:

(10) a. A sęchęlik a me er a elęchang.
'My friend is coming now.'

b. A sęchęlik a me ęr a klukuk.
'My friend is coming/will come tomorrow.'

In 10a the present tense form *me* 'come' indeed refers to an action which is happening at the present moment (i.e., at the time when the speaker utters the sentence); this is made clear by the accompanying temporal phrase *er a elęchang* 'now'. In 10b, however, the very same present tense form *me* 'come' is used to refer to an action which is expected to happen in the future, at the time point designated by the temporal phrase *ęr a klukuk* 'tomorrow'. Like 10b, the sentences below involve a future action or event, except that they contain the directional verbs *mo* and *eko*:

(11) a. A Droteo a mo ęr a Guam er tia ęl me ęl rak.
'Droteo is going/will go to Guam next year.'

b. Ak eko ęr a blim ęr a kębęsęngei.
'I am coming/will come to your house tonight.'

As the translations for 10b, 11a, and 11b show, the English directional verbs *come* and *go* resemble Palauan directional verbs in an important way since their **present progressive** forms—e.g., *am/is/are coming*, *am/is/are going*, etc.—are commonly used to convey a **future** meaning.

Since the present tense forms of the directional verbs *me*, *mo*, and *eko* can be used to designate future time, as we have just seen above, it is not surprising to observe a similar function for sequences consisting of the present tense form of a directional verb followed by an action verb (cf. **13**.3 above). Thus, in the examples below, *me / mo / eko + action verb* refers to an action in the future:

(12) a. A Toki a me milil ęr a klukuk.
'Toki will come play tomorrow.'

b. Ak eko męsuub ęr a klukuk.
'I'll come study at your place tomorrow.'

c. A Toki ng eko męngętmokl ęr a blim ęr a tela ęl klok?
'At what time will Toki come clean your house?'

d. Kę mo męsuub ęr a Merikel er tia ęl me ęl rak?
'Are you going to study in America next year?'

e. Ak mo omes ęr a John ęr a kębęsęngei.
'I'm going to see John this evening.'

f. Kę mo chuięuii a hong ęr a klukuk?
'Are you going to (completely) read the book tomorrow?'

In the sentences above, the three directional verbs are used as **auxiliary** (or "helping") words because they provide important information about the tense of the immediately following action verb. Other auxiliary words which we have seen so far include *mle* 'was, were', which is used to indicate the past tense of **state verbs** (cf. **5**.1.3), and *mla*, which indicates a **recent past event** or **past experience** (cf. **5**.3.2.1).

How can we explain the fact that the **present tense** forms of Palauan directional verbs can function to express **future** actions or events? It appears as if the basic meaning of these verbs, which is to describe movement across **physical space** from one location to another, has been extended to cover "movement across time" from one "location in time" to another—namely, from **present** to **future**. This kind of meaning change, in which directional verbs shift their reference from **space** to **time**, is found quite commonly in the languages of the world. Thus, in English, the directional verb *go* indicates future time in sentences like *I'm going to study tomorrow*.

THE DIRECTIONAL VERB *mo* AND CHANGE OF STATE

13.5. In **13.4** above we saw that the present tense form of the directional verb *mo* 'go' can be used with a following **action verb** to describe a **future** action or event. In this section, we will examine how *mo* (in any tense) can be used together with a **state verb** (cf. **5**.1.2–3 and chap.7) to designate a **change of state**. Palauan **change of state expressions** have the structure *mo* + *state verb* and usually correspond to English expressions such as 'become...', 'get...', etc. The change of state can occur at different points in time, as the following sentences illustrate:

(13) a. A lsękum ak omęngur ęr a uum, e ak mo smechęr.
'Whenever I eat at the cafeteria, I get sick.'

b. A eangęd a soal ęl mo mękngit.
'It's likely the weather will get/take a turn for the worse.'

c. A ngęlękem ng mo ungil ęl smechęr er oingarang?
'When will your child get better (from his sickness)?'

d. Aki mlo kaodęnge ęr a Guam.
'We got acquainted with each other in Guam.'

e. A bęchik a mlo smechęr er a elii.
'My wife got sick yesterday.'

f. A odoim a mla mo bękębau.
'The food has become smelly (spoiled).'

g. A ududek a mla mo diak.
'My money has run out.'

In 13a, the change of state is happening repeatedly, while in 13b–c it will take place in the future; thus, the present tense of *mo* followed by a state verb can designate either a recurrent change of state or a future change of state. In 13d–g, the change of state occurred at some time point in the past, with *mlo* + *state verb* in 13d–e and *mla mo* + *state verb* in 13f–g distinguishing relatively **remote** vs. relatively **recent** past time points, respectively.[6]

All of the sentences of 13 draw our attention to a **resulting state**—that is, to a state which has come about as the result of some process of change. This resulting state is **explicitly** (or **overtly**) expressed by the particular state verb which follows *mo*. By contrast, the **initial state**—i.e., the state which existed when the process of change began—is not overtly expressed, but merely **implied** in the sentences of 13. For example, in 13f, the state verb *bękębau* 'smelly' describes the present state of the food (resulting, say, from the food's having been left in a warm place) and is

contrasted with an implied initial (or earlier) state in which the opposite was the case (namely, the food was fresh and edible). In the same way, *mla mo diak* '(lit.) has become nonexistent' of 13g describes the present unfortunate state of the speaker's finances; this state represents the end result of a process of change which began with the opposite state—namely, one in which the speaker had adequate financial resources.

As the above discussion shows, Palauan change of state expressions of the form *mo* + *state verb* necessarily involve two time points—one is the time point of the implied initial (or earlier) state and the other is the time point of the overtly-expressed resulting (or later) state. Here, too, we can see how the original function of the directional verb *mo*, which is to describe movement across **physical space** from one place to another, has been expanded to include "movement across time" from one "location in time" (the initial or earlier state) to another (the resulting or later state) (cf. our discussion at the end of **13**.4 above).

In order to describe a change of state which is in the process of happening at the present moment (i.e., at the time the speaker utters the sentence) we use the noun *omęrael* 'process' in one of its **possessed forms** (e.g., *omęrolek*, *omęrolel*, etc.), followed by *ęl* and a change of state expression. The word *omęrael*, which also means 'trip', is an **action noun** derived by prefixing *o-* to the intransitive action verb *męrael* 'walk, travel' (cf. **8**.6). This verb is in turn derived by prefixing the verb marker *mę-* to the verb stem *rael*, an independently-occurring noun meaning 'road' (cf. **6**.1). In the sentences below, we illustrate the use of *omęrael* to describe a change of state which is occurring at the present moment:

(14) a. Ak omęrolek ęl mo ungil ęl smechęr ęr a tęretęr.
'I'm in the process of getting better from my cold.'

b. A bęluu ęr a Hawaii a omęrolel ęl mo kikiongęl.
'The land in Hawaii is getting dirty/polluted.'

c. A skuul a omęrolel ęl mo męsekęd.
'The school is getting (more and more) crowded.'

d. A tangk a omęrolel ęl mo mui.
'The tank is getting filled.'

e. A sils a omęrolel ęl mo męringęl.
'The sun is getting hotter (and hotter).'

In the examples of 14, the possessed forms of *omęrael* 'process' must agree with the sentence subject. Thus, in 14a, the *1st pers. sg.*

subject *ak* requires *omęrolek*, while in 14b–e the various *3rd pers. sg.* subjects require *omęrolel*. For a detailed discussion of *ęl*, which links the possessed forms of *omęrael* with the following change of state expression, see chap. 15.

The abovementioned use of *omęrael* 'process' followed by a change of state expression does not represent the only way of describing a current change of state. As we saw in **11**.12.4, the **inchoative** forms of state verbs—e.g. *mękęlękęlta* 'getting cold' (cf. *mękęlękolt* 'cold'), *mękngte* 'getting bad, worsening' (cf. *mękngit* 'bad'), etc.—are also used in this way in sentences like the following:

(15) a. Tia ęl delmęrab a kmal mękęlękęltang.
'This room is getting very cold.'

b. A eangęd a mękngte mę lak dorael.
'The weather's getting worse, so let's not go.'

Change of State Expressions With Noun Phrases

13.5.1. It is also possible to have change of state expressions in which the directional verb *mo* 'go' is followed by a **noun phrase** that identifies a **profession** or **nationality**, or classifies individuals or things into a particular category. Some typical change of state expressions of this type are observed in the sentences below:

(16) a. A Masaharu a soal ęl mo {sensei / toktang}.
'Masaharu wants to become a {teacher / doctor}.'

b. A Toki a mla mo chad ęr a Merikel.
'Toki has become an American citizen.'

c. A Oreor a mla mo matsi er a Belau.
'Koror has become the capital of Palau.'

SPECIAL VERBAL EXPRESSIONS WITH *mo*

13.6. There are a few Palauan words which must always occur preceded by a directional verb. The resulting expressions, of which *mo męrek* 'finish' and *mo/me ręme* 'go/come home' are perhaps the most common, function as verbs. Observe, for example, the following sentences, which contain instances of *mo męrek* 'finish':

(17) a. Kę mo męrek ęr a subęlem er oingarang?
'When are you going to finish your homework?'

b. Ak mlo męrek ęr a urerek er a elii.
'I finished my work yesterday.'

In the sentences above, *mo męrek* is used as an **imperfective transitive verb**: in other words, it is followed by a **specific object** which is marked with the **specifying word** *ęr* (cf. **2**.7). The word *męrek*, which is in some way related to the imperfective transitive verb *męrkui* 'finish'[7], never changes its form. Therefore, in order to indicate the past tense with *mo męrek*, it is the directional verb *mo* which must take the past tense marker *-l-*, as in 17b.

The use of *mo/me ręme* 'go/come home' is illustrated in the sentences below:

(18) a. Ak mo ręme ęr a beluak.
'I'm going to return to my country.'

b. Ak ulęmęngur e me ręmei.
'I ate dinner and came back home.'

c. A Droteo a mlo ręmei.
'Droteo went home.'

d. Bo mrei!
'Go home!'

e. Be mrei!
'Come home!'

The expressions *mo/me ręme* are used in the examples of 18 as **intransitive action verbs**. The word *ręme*, even though it cannot occur independently as a verb, nevertheless has one of the important characteristics of Palauan intransitive action verbs, since it appears to contain the **metathesized verb marker** *-(ę)m-* (cf. **6**.2). As 18c shows, the form of *ręme* does not change in the past tense, but instead the past tense marker *-l-* is infixed into the directional verb *mo*. In 18d–e, we observe the **imperative** (or command) forms of *mo/me ręme*; the structure of these forms will be explained in **19**.5.

14 Relational Phrases

DISTRIBUTION AND FUNCTION OF RELATIONAL PHRASES

14.1. The speaker of Palauan, like the speaker of any other language, always has a choice as to how much information he will convey in the sentences which he produces. For example, in answer to a question like 'What were you doing yesterday?', a Palauan speaker might simply say

(1) Ak milsuub.
'I was studying.'

But if the speaker wanted to provide more information about what he did than is expressed in 1, he might give an answer like

(2) Ak milsuub ęr a skuul.
'I was studying at school.'

In 2, the addition of the sequence *ęr a skuul* 'at school' gives the hearer a more detailed picture of the activity involved by indicating the **place** (or location) where the studying was done. In a similar way, 3b below supplies more information than 3a because it contains *er a elii* 'yesterday', which specifies the **time** when the subject (*Droteo*) read the book:

(3) a. A Droteo a chiliuii a hong.
'Droteo (completely) read the book.'

b. A Droteo a chiliuii a hong er a elii.
'Droteo (completely) read the book yesterday.'

Although the expressions *ęr a skuul* 'at school' and *er a elii* 'yesterday' of 2 and 3b provide the hearer with different pieces of information (**place where** vs. **time when**, respectively), they nevertheless have the common characteristic of putting some action (such as studying, reading a book, etc.) into perspective by **relating** it to a place (e.g. *skuul* 'school') or time (e.g. *elii* 'yesterday') of occurrence. For this reason, expressions like *ęr a skuul* and *er a elii* are called **relational phrases**. All relational phrases consist of the **relational word** *ęr* followed by the appropriate words—a single noun or a noun phrase—to indicate such pieces of information as place where, time when, and the like.

Because relational phrases occur so commonly in Palauan, we have already made mention of them at various points in the text, and even analyzed them to some extent. In **5.2**, for example, we saw that two of the main sentence types of Palauan can be summarized according to the following formulas:

(4) a. subject noun phrase + transitive verb phrase (+ object noun phrase) (+ relational phrase)

b. subject noun phrase + intransitive verb phrase (+ relational phrase)

In the formulas above, which show the relative order of the major parts of Palauan sentences, we have placed the term "relational phrase" in parentheses because the occurrence of this element is **optional**. In other words, Palauan sentences do not necessarily have to contain a relational phrase in order to be complete; rather, as we mentioned at the beginning of this section, relational phrases can be added freely to sentences depending on how much extra information the speaker wishes to supply. Since more than one relational phrase can occur in a given sentence, as we will see in **14.7** below, the formulas we presented in 4 will require some modification.

In discussing examples 2 and 3b above, we said that the relational phrases found in those sentences serve to put some **action** into perspective by relating it to a particular place of occurrence, time of occurrence, or the like. As it turns out, our analysis was purposefully oversimplified, since relational phrases can also put **states** into perspective by providing certain types of information. Thus, in the sentences below, we observe relational phrases occurring together with different types of state verbs:

(5) a. A sęchęlik a mle dibus *er a elii*.
'My friend was out/away from home yesterday.'

b. A Droteo a ngar *ęr a sers*.
'Droteo is in the garden.'

c. A sensei a smechęr *ęr a tęretęr*.
'The teacher is sick with a cold.'

In the sentences above, the italicized relational phrases provide us

with different types of information about the several states involved. In 5a *er a elii* 'yesterday' tells us **when** the past state *mle dibus* 'was out/away from home' occurred, in 5b *ęr a sers* 'in the garden' describes **where** the subject is located (for further discussion of the **existential verb** *ngar* 'exist, be (located)' see **18**.2), and in 5c *ęr a tęretęr* 'with/because of a cold' gives the **cause** of the state designated by *smechęr* 'sick'.

The italicized expressions in the examples of 5 represent only three out of many types of relational phrases found in Palauan. In the sections below, we will classify Palauan relational phrases according to the many different kinds of information they convey. As our discussion proceeds, we will see that the single Palauan relational word *ęr* corresponds to a large variety of English relational words, including 'in', 'at', 'on', 'to', 'from', 'of', 'out of', 'because of', 'for', etc.; and sometimes—as in the case of *er a elii* 'yesterday'—the English equivalent contains no relational word at all.

LOCATIONAL PHRASES

14.2. Any relational phrase which indicates the **location** of some action or state is a **locational phrase**. In each of the sentences below, the italicized locational phrase narrows down the scope of an action or activity by indicating its place of occurrence:

(6) a. A Toki a oureor *ęr a bangk*.
'Toki is working at the bank.'

b. A ręngalęk a mililil *ęr a kurangd*.
'The children were playing at the playground.'

c. A Toki a męsilęk a bilel *ęr a daob*.
'Toki is washing her clothes in the ocean.'

d. Ng sębęchem ęl okęrdak *ęr tiang*?
'Can you let me off here?'

e. A John a mlad *ęr a Merikel*.
'John died in America.'

In the relational phrases of 6, the noun following the relational word *ęr* is introduced by the word *a*, unless it is a **demonstrative word** like *tia* 'this place, here' of 6d (cf. **2**.6 and see **24**.3) or a pronoun.

The following sentences contain locational phrases (italicized) which supply us with further information about particular states:

(7) a. A John a mle smechęr *ęr a Hawaii*.
'John was sick in Hawaii.'

b. A ngalęk a mle męchiuaiu *ęr a delmęrab*.
'The child was sleeping in the room.'

c. A Droteo a mle dęngchokl *ęr a kingall*.
'Droteo was sitting on the chair.'

d. Ak mla *ęr a blil a Toki* er a elii.
'I was at Toki's house yesterday.'

e. A taod a kirel ęl ngar *ęr a katur*, mę a oliich a kirel ęl ngar *ęr a kadikm*.
'The fork must be on the left, and the spoon must be on the right.'

f. A sensei a ngar *ęr a uum*.
'The teacher is in the kitchen.'

Sentences 7d-f contain the existential verb *ngar* 'exist, be (located)' (past tense: *mla* 'existed, was (located)'), which is almost always followed by a locational phrase.[1] In more complex sentences, the sequence *ngar* + *locational phrase*, when preceded by *ęl*, specifies the **means of transportation** used to move from one place to another. This is observed in sentences like the following, which we will examine more carefully in **15**.5:

(8) Ak mlo ęr a stoa ęl ngar ęr a sidosia.
'I went to the store by car.'

In order to ask a **question** about the location of some action or state, we use the locational phrase *ęr ker*, which consists of the relational word *ęr* followed by the **question word** *ker* 'where?'.[2] Thus, examples 6a, 6c, 7d, and 7f above would be possible answers to the following questions containing *ęr ker* 'where?':

(6a') A Toki ng oureor ęr ker?
'Where does Toki work?'

(6c') A Toki ng męsilęk a bilel ęr ker?
'Where is Toki washing her clothes?'

(7d') Kę mla ęr ker er a elii?
'Where were you yesterday?'

(7f') A sensei ng ngar ęr ker?
'Where is the teacher?'

The structure of the above question sentences will be explained in detail in **20**.5.

LOCATIONAL PHRASES WITH NOUNS DESCRIBING SPATIAL RELATIONSHIPS.

14.2.1. Palauan has a fairly large class of nouns which are used to describe **spatial relationships** such as *above/on top of* vs. *below/under*, *in front of* vs. *in back of*, and the like. Two nouns of this type are used in the sentences below:

(9) a. A Droteo a ngar *ęr a* {*bab* / *eou*}.
'Droteo is {up there / down there}.'

b. A Droteo a kie *ęr* a {*bab* / *eou*}.
'Droteo lives {upstairs / downstairs}.'

In the italicized locational phrases of 9a-b we find the nouns *bab* 'area/space above' and *eou* 'area/space below'. These nouns do not name a specific place (such as *skuul* 'school' or *blik* 'my house') but instead designate an **area of space** which is "defined" in relation to something else. Thus, in 9a-b, *bab* and *eou* refer to areas of space above and below the spot where the speaker of the sentence is located.[3]

Now, with 9a-b above, let us compare sentences like the following:

(10) a. A katuu a męchiuaiu *ęr a bebul a tebęl*.
'The cat is sleeping on (top of) the table.'

b. A bilis a męchiuaiu *ęr a eungel a tebęl*.
'The dog is sleeping under(neath) the table.'

The italicized parts of 10a-b are also locational phrases, but ones in which the nouns *bab* 'area/space above' and *eou* 'area/space below' occur in their **possessed forms** (cf. chap. 3). In other words, the possessed nouns *bebul* and *eungel* have a 3rd pers. sg. possessor suffix (*-ul* or *-el*) which agrees with the following "possessor" *tebęl* 'table'. Therefore, the expressions *bebul a tebęl* and *eungel a tebęl* mean, respectively, 'the top of the table'[4] and 'the space underneath the table'. It is important to recognize that although expressions like *eungel a tebęl* 'under(neath) the table' and *chimal a Droteo* 'Droteo's hand' are identical in structure (i.e., they both consist of a possessed noun followed by another noun), their meanings are actually quite different. As we saw in 3.6–7, an expression like *chimal a Droteo* is a **noun phrase of possession** in

which *Droteo* is the actual possessor of something (*chimal* 'his hand') which is an inseparable part of him. In the case of *eungel a tebęl*, however, *eungel* 'the space underneath it' is obviously not a part of the table but merely an area of space defined in relation to the table.

In the following sentences, we observe locational phrases in which the relational word *ęr* is followed by *bebuk* 'space above me' and *eungek* 'space below me', which have the 1st pers. sg. possessor suffixes *-uk* and *-ek*, or by *bebmam* 'space above us' and *eungam* 'space below us', which have the 1st pers. pl. excl. possessor suffixes *-mam* and *-am*:

(11) a. A klok a ngar ęr a bebuk.
'The clock is up there above me.'

b. A katuu a męchiuaiu ęr a eungek.
'The cat is sleeping underneath me (i.e., under my chair).'

c. A Satsko a kie ęr a {bebmam / eungam}.
'Satsko lives {upstairs / downstairs} from us.'

In order to express the relationships *in front of* vs. *in back of*, Palauan makes use of several different words, including *mad* 'front' (which is probably an extended use of *mad* 'eye, face') and *rębai* 'area/space in back of (a building)' (which seems to be related to the nouns *blai* 'house, building' and *bai* 'community house'). These words are used in sentences like the following, in which the locational phrases have been italicized:

(12) a. Ng ngar ęr ngii a kęrrękar *ęr a mędal a blik*.
'There are trees (right) in front of my house.'

b. A mlim a ngar *ęr a rębai ęr a blik*.
'Your car is in back of my house.'

Like *bab* (*bebuk*, *bebul*, etc.) and *eou* (*eungek*, *eungel*, etc.) above, *mad* 'front' can take **possessor suffixes**: thus, in 12a we have the possessed noun *męda*l 'its front'[5] followed by the "possessor" *blik* 'my house'. By contrast, the noun *rębai* 'area/space in back of (a building)' cannot take any possessor suffixes—i.e., it is **unpossessible** (cf. 3.8). In order to express a "possessor" with *rębai*, it is therefore necessary to use a relational phrase introduced by *ęr* such as *ęr a blik* of 12b.

With 12a above, contrast the following sentence:

(13) Ng ngar ęr ngii a kęrrękar *ęr a ngęlo ęr a blik*.
'There are trees (in the general area) in front of my house.'

It is difficult to find suitable English translations to express the difference in meaning between 12a and 13. While use of *męd*al in 12a implies that the trees are very close to the house (possibly providing it with shade), *ngęlo* of 13 implies that the trees are relatively far away (perhaps across the road). Note further that *ngęlo* 'area/space in front of (a building) (relatively far away)', like *rębai* 'area/space in back of (a building)', is an unpossessible noun.

In the following pairs of sentences, we notice a contrast in meaning similar to that observed between 12a and 13 above:

(14) a. A Toki a mirrael *ęr a męd*al *a Droteo.*
'Toki was walking right in front of Droteo.'
b. A Toki a mirrael *ęr a uche ęr a Droteo.*
'Toki was walking somewhere in front of Droteo.'

(15) a. A Toki a dilęngchokl *ęr a ullel*[6] *a Droteo.*
'Toki sat right in back of Droteo.'
b. A Toki a dilęngchokl *ęr a uriul ęr a Droteo.*
'Toki sat somewhere behind Droteo.'

In the a-sentences above, *męd*al and *ullel* designate locations directly in front of or in back of Droteo, while in the b-sentences the (unpossessible) nouns *uche* and *uriul* are less precise and refer, in a more general way, to locations anywhere ahead of or behind Droteo. Thus, it is possible for 14b, for example, to refer to a situation in which Toki was walking along a trail ahead of Droteo, but far enough away to be out of his sight. Another common use of *uche* and *uriul* is observed in the following example:

(16) A Droteo a męlęcholb ęr a {uche / uriul} ęr a omoachęl.
'Droteo is bathing {upstream / downstream}.'[7]

In addition to describing the **spatial** relationships *in front of* vs. *in back of*, the nouns *uche* and *uriul* have also come to be used in a **temporal** sense to express the ideas of *before* vs. *after*, respectively. This extension of meaning is observed in the following simple sentences:

(17) a. Ak mo *ęr a uchei.*
'I'll go first (i.e., *before* anyone else).'
b. Ak mo omęngur *ęr a uriul.*
'I'll eat later (i.e., *after* doing some other things).'

Since the italicized relational phrases of 17a–b refer to points in time, they are technically **temporal phrases** (see **14**.6 below).

Because *uche* and *uriul* can be used in a **temporal** as well as a **spatial** sense, the sentences of 14b and 15b above are actually **ambiguous**—that is, they can be interpreted in two different ways. Thus, 14b can also mean 'Toki left before Droteo did', and 15b has the additional interpretation 'Toki sat down after Droteo did.' For further discussion of the temporal uses of *uche* and *uriul*, see **22**.2.1.[8]

In the sentences below, the italicized locational phrases contain the Palauan nouns *chęlsel* 'inside' and *ikrel* 'outside':

(18) a. Ng ngar ęr ngii a oluchęs *ęr a chęlsel a skidas.*
'There is a pencil inside the drawer.'
b. Ng ngar ęr ngii a rękung *ęr a chęlsel a blsibs.*
'There is a crab inside the hole.'
c. A bilas a ngar *ęr a chęlsel a* {*taoch.* / *omoachęl*}.[9]
'The boat is in the {channel / river}.'
d. Ng ngar ęr ngii a restorangd *ęr a chęlsel a ii.*
'There is a restaurant inside the cave.'
e. A ngikęl a ręmurt *ęr a chęlsel a bad.*
'The fish are swimming in the coral.'
f. Ng ngar ęr ngii a chędib *ęr a chęlsel a kall.*
'There are black ants in the food.'
g. A Toki a dęngchokl *ęr a ikrel a blil.*
'Toki is sitting outside her house.'

While *ikrel* of 18g is a possessed form of the independently-occurring noun *iikr* 'area/space outside',[10] *chęlsel* 'inside' of 18a–f is an **obligatorily possessed noun** (cf. **3**.5).

Additional Examples of Nouns Describing Spatial Relationships

14.2.2. The italicized locational phrases in the sentences below illustrate a few more Palauan nouns which describe spatial relationships:

(19) a. A blik a ngar *ęr a bita ęr a skuul.*
'My house is {next door to / across the street from}[11] the school.'
b. A Toki a mle dęngchokl *ęr a bita ęr a dęmal.*
'Toki was sitting next to her father.'
c. A blik a ngar *ęr a dęlongęlel*[12] *a blil a Toki mę a Droteo.*
'My house is between Toki's house and Droteo's house.'

d. A Babęldaob a ngar *ęr a diluchęs*[13] *ęr a Oreor*.
'Babeldaob is north of Koror.'

e. Ng ngar ęr ngii a kęrrękar *ęr a bęlngel*[14] *a sęrsek*.
'There is a tree in the middle of my garden.'

f. A Toki a mle dęngchokl *ęr a bęlngel a blai*.
'Toki was sitting in the middle of the house.'

g. Ng ngar ęr ngii a bilas *ęr a bęlngel a omoachęl*.
'There is a boat in the middle of the river.'

h. Ak milęngędub *ęr a tkul*[15] *a daob*.
'I was swimming at the ocean's edge.'

i. Ng ngar ęr ngii a bętok ęl komi *ęr a tkul a rael*.
'There's a lot of trash at the edge/side of the road.'

j. A skuul a dęchor *ęr a mobędul*[16] *a kędęrang*.
'The school is situated in the general direction of the beach.'

In the examples of 10, 12–16, and 18–19 above, we have seen how expressions like *bebul a tebęl* 'top of the table', *rębai ęr a blik* 'area/space in back of my house', and the like are used in locational phrases to give specific information about various kinds of spatial relationships. Since they are noun phrases, it is not surprising that the expressions under discussion can also be used as **sentence subjects** or **objects**. A few examples are given below:

(20) a. A *bebul a tebęl* a mla mo dękimęs.
'The top of the table has gotten wet.'

b. A *chęlsel a skidas* a kirel ęl mo ngętachęl.
'The inside of the drawer must be cleaned.'

c. A *dęlongęlel a blil a Toki mę a Droteo* a kikiongęl.
'The area between Toki's house and Droteo's house is dirty.'

d. A bilas a ulękiu a *eungel a did*.
'The boat passed under the bridge.'

e. A bilas a ulękiu a *dęlongęlel a chelębachęb*.
'The boat passed between the Rock Islands.'

In 20a–c, the italicized noun phrases are sentence subjects, while those in 20d–e are sentence objects.

DIRECTIONAL PHRASES

14.3. Any relational phrase which indicates the **goal** or **termination point** of some action involving movement is called a **directional phrase**. Directional phrases commonly follow the **directional verbs** *me* 'come', *mo* 'go', and *eko* 'go' (cf. chap. 13) and simply identify

the place to which a person comes or goes. Directional phrases can also occur with other verbs or expressions involving movement such as *tmuu* 'enter', *soisęb* 'enter', *męrael ęl mo*. . . 'walk to', *ręmurt ęl mo*. . . 'run to', and the like.[17] Because both locational phrases and directional phrases identify places, all of the locational phrases discussed in **14**.2 and **14**.2.1–2 above have the potential of being used as directional phrases, given the proper context.

In the sentences below, the italicized relational phrases function as directional phrases because they tell us the goal or termination point of movement:

(21) a. A Toki a mle *ęr a blik* er a elii.
'Toki came to my house yesterday.'

b. A John a mo *ęr a Guam* ęr a klukuk.
'John is going to Guam tomorrow.'

c. A beab a {tiluu / silisęb}[18] *ęr a blsibs*.
'The mouse went into the hole.'

d. A Toki a {rirurt / mirrael} ęl mo *ęr a blil a Droteo*.
'Toki {ran / walked} to Droteo's house.'

e. Ak mo *ęr a* {*bebul* / *eungel*} *a rois*.
'I'm going to the {top / foot} of the mountain.'

f. Bo mtuu *ęr a chęlsel a blai*.
'Go inside the house.'

g. A rękung a tiluu *ęr a dęlongęlel a bad*.
'The crab went between the stones.'

h. A Droteo a rirędękekl *ęr a daob*.
'Droteo jumped into the water.'

i. A Toki a ngilelt *ęr a męsei*.
'Toki sank down into the taro patch.'

In 21e-g, the directional phrases contain some of the nouns describing spatial relationships which we examined in **14**.2.1–2 above.

In the examples of 21, the verbs or expressions of movement which precede the italicized directional phrases are **intransitive** because they do not involve any **objects**. It is also possible to have sentences in which directional phrases occur with **transitive** verbs or expressions of movement—i.e., ones which take objects. Usually, verbs or expressions of this kind involve putting something

somewhere, or transferring something from one place to another. Some common examples include *męlęcha* 'put', *omęche* 'leave',[19] the **causative verbs** *oltuu* 'put into' and *olsisęb* 'put into' (cf. **9**.2.2), and expressions like *olab a ilumęl ęl mo. . .* 'bring drinks to', *nguu a bęchik ęl mo. . .* 'take my wife to', etc.[20]

In the examples below, the directional phrases are italicized, and the objects of the transitive verbs are in bold type:

(22) a. A Toki a lilia a **komibako** *ęr a eungel a tebęl.*
'Toki put the wastebasket under the table.'

b. Lak molęcha a **omotsia** *ęr a bebul a tebęl.*
'Don't put the toys on the table.'

c. A ręngalęk a milęche a **bętok ęl komi** *ęr a sers.*
'The children left lots of trash in the garden.'

d. A John a milęchire a **hong** *ęr a chęlsel a skidas.*
'John left the book in the drawer.'

e. Aki {ultungii / ulsisębii}[21] a **John** *ęr a chęlsel a mlai.*
'We pushed John into the car.'

f. A ngalęk a ulęngelt a **chimal** *ęr a merikengko.*
'The child sank his hands into the flour.'

In the following examples, directional phrases follow more complex expressions whose structure we will not explain until **15**.7.1; again, the directional phrase has been italicized and the object has been printed in bold type:

(23) a. Ak olab a **ilumęl** ęl mo *ęr a party.*
'I'm bringing drinks to the party.'

b. A John a nguu a **bęchil** ęl mo *ęr a ochęraol.*
'John is taking his wife to the money-raising party.'

In order to ask a question about the goal or termination point associated with some verb or expression involving movement, we use the directional phrase *ęr ker* 'where? (=to what place?)', which is identical in structure to the locational phrase *ęr ker* 'where? (= in/at what place?)' mentioned at the end of **14**.2 above. Thus, examples 21b, 21d, 22a, and 23b would be possible answers to the following questions containing *ęr ker* 'where? (= to what place?)':

(21b') A John ng mo ęr ker ęr a klukuk?
'Where is John going tomorrow?'

(21d') A Toki ng {rirurt / mirrael} ęl mo ęr ker?
'Where did Toki {run / walk} to?'

(22a') A Toki ng lilia a komibako ęr ker?
'Where did Toki put the waste basket?'

(23b') A John ng nguu a bęchil ęl mo ęr ker?
'Where is John taking his wife (to)?'

Further Types of Directional Phrases

14.3.1. All of the examples given in **14**.3 above contain directional phrases which follow (transitive or intransitive) verbs or expressions which designate **movement** in a particular direction. There appears to be a special subtype of directional phrase that occurs after verbs which, rather than designating movement, name certain kinds of actions or states which are characteristically directed at some particular **goal**. Often, the goal itself seems to be the reason for the action or state. Directional phrases of this kind, which point out the goal (or, possibly, reason), are italicized in the sentences below:

(24) a. A ngalęk a lmangęl *ęr a* {*dęmal* / *kiande*}.
'The child is crying for {his father / candy}.'

b. Ak mędęues *ęr a ngikęl.*
'I have an appetite/taste for fish.'

c. A John a ulęchęrchur *ęr a oltobędęchur.*
'John laughed at the joke.'

In 24a the child is crying in order to get something he wants—in other words, the **goal** of his crying is to obtain the presence of his father, or candy. In 24b the subject's appetite is directed towards a particular desired object or goal—namely, fish—and in 24c the subject's laughter was directed at (and caused by) the joke. Several other examples containing the special subtype of directional phrase under discussion are given below. Notice that the English equivalents usually include 'for', 'at', or 'about':

(25) a. A ręchad a mle męknigit a ręngrir *ęr a katsudo.*
'The people were sad about the movie.'

b. A ręchad a mle kakoad *ęr a kall.*
'The people were fighting with each other over/for food.'

c. Aki mle chachędęchęduch *ęr a bętok ęl mondai.*
'We talked about lots of problems.'

SOURCE PHRASES

14.4. Any relational phrase which indicates the **point of origin** of some action involving movement is a **source phrase**. Source phrases, like locational and directional phrases, identify places; therefore, most of the locational and directional phrases treated in the sections above can also function as source phrases, provided there is a suitable context. Such contexts are usually provided by intransitive action verbs like *tuobęd* 'come out', *suebęk* 'fly (out)', *ruebęt* 'fall (from)', and the like, which focus our attention on the point of origin or source (rather than termination point) of the action. Observe the sentences below, in which the italicized source phrases follow various intransitive action verbs:

(26) a. A rękung a tilobęd *ęr a blsibs.*
'The crab came out of the hole.'

b. A bęlochęl a mla suebęk *ęr a kęrrękar.*
'The pigeon has flown out of the tree.'

c. A Toki a rirebęt *ęr a chęldukl.*
'Toki fell off the dock.'

d. A ngalęk a miltengęl *ęr a kęrrękar.*
'The child climbed down from the tree.'

e. A katuu a rirędękekl *ęr a chędęuel a blik* ęl mo ęr a kęrrękar.
'The cat jumped from the roof of my house into the tree.'

f. A John a rirurt *ęr a kędęrang* ęl mo ęr a stoang.[22]
'John ran from the beach to the store.'

In the sentences below, the italicized relational phrases are also source phrases, except that the preceding verb is transitive. The object of the transitive verb is given in bold type:

(27) a. Aki ultębędii[23] a **John** *ęr a chęlsel a mlai.*
'We pulled John out of the car.'

b. Ak milęngaus ęr **ngak** *ęr a til a Toki.*
'I got myself some betel nut out of Toki's purse.'

FURTHER TYPES OF SOURCE PHRASES

14.4.1. There is a subtype of source phrase where the noun phrase following the relational word *ęr* refers to a **human being**. Source phrases of this kind identify the person from whom something is received, the person from whom some information is heard, the person from whom some skill is learned, etc. Observe, for example, the italicized source phrases in the sentences below:

(28) a. Ak milleng a udoud *ęr a Droteo.*
'I borrowed some money from Droteo.'

b. Ak rirengęs a chisel a Toki *ęr a sęchęlik.*
'I heard the news about Toki from my friend.'

c. Ak milsuub a omęluchęs ęl tękoi ęr a Siabal *ęr a chad ęr a Siabal.*
'I learned Japanese writing from a Japanese person.'

d. Ak milsuub a omęruul ęl mlai *ęr a dęmak.*
'I learned canoe-making from my father.'

In order to ask a question about the source, we use a source phrase consisting of the relational word *ęr* followed by the question word *ker* 'where?' (or sometimes *ngara* 'what?') if the source is a place, or *tęcha* 'who?' if the source is a human being. Thus, examples 26a and 28b above would be possible answers to the following questions:

(26a') A rękung ng tilobęd ęr {ker / a ngarang}?
'Where did the crab emerge from?'

(28b') Kę rirengęs a chisel a Toki er tęchang?
'From whom did you hear the news about Toki?'

CAUSE PHRASES

14.5. Relational phrases are often used to indicate the **cause** of some state or condition (or, less frequently, action). Such **cause phrases** consist of the relational word *ęr* followed by a word or expression which could be an appropriate cause for the particular state or condition. As the following sentences show, many Palauan cause phrases correspond to English phrases introduced by 'with' or 'from':

(29) a. Ak smechęr *ęr a tęretęr.*
'I'm sick with a cold/I've got a cold.'

b. A dęmal a Droteo a mlad *ęr a kiubio.*
'Droteo's father died of a heart attack.'

c. Ak {męsaul / skareter} *ęr a klędoraib.*
'I'm tired from (so much) driving around.'

d. Ng kekęre a ręnguk *ęr a kleald.*
'I'm very uncomfortable from the heat.'

e. A bilek a mlo cheisęch *ęr a* {*chęmachęl* / *tuu*}.

'My clothes got stained with {betel nut (juice) / banana juice}.'

f. A ochik a męked *ęr a udęl.*
'My foot is itchy from the grass.'

g. A Toki a chuarm *ęr a dęlęngchęklel.*
'Toki is suffering because of her living conditions.'

h. A bilsęngek a riręchoręch *ęr a eolt.*
'My boat sank in the storm.'

i. A bilek a mla mo kikiongęl *ęr a* {*dęchudęch* / *rasęch*}.[24]
'My clothes have gotten soiled with {mud / blood}.'

j. A Droteo a męchęsa *ęr a subęlel.*
'Droteo is busy with his studies.'

k. A ngalęk a milkar *ęr a chęrrodęch.*
'The child woke up from the noise.'

Since cause phrases name things rather than places or persons, questions about the cause of some state or condition are formed by using the question word *ngara* 'what?' following the relational word *ęr*. Sentences 29c and 29j, for example, would be possible responses to questions like the following:

(29c') Kę męsaul ęr a ngarang?
'What are you tired from?'

(29j') A Droteo ng męchęsa ęr a ngarang?
'What is Droteo busy with?'

TEMPORAL PHRASES

14.6. Relational phrases which name the time of an action or state are called **temporal phrases**. In temporal phrases, the noun phrase following the relational word *ęr* can be a single word, as in *ęr a klukuk* 'tomorrow', *er a elii* 'yesterday', etc., or a group of words, as in *ęr tia ęl me ęl rak* 'next year', *ęr a ta ęl klok* 'at one o'clock', etc. As we saw in **5**.3 and **5**.3.1–3, Palauan temporal phrases can refer to specific time points in the **present**, **past**, or **future**. In the sentences below, for example, the italicized temporal phrases designate time points in the future:

(30) a. A John a mo męrael *ęr a klukuk.*
'John is going to leave tomorrow.'

b. Ng mo ęr ngii a party *ęr a kębęsęngei.*
'There will be a party this evening.'

c. A sęchęlik a mo ęr a Merikel *ęr tia ęl me ęl rak.*
'My friend is going to America next year.'

In 30a–b, the future time points represented by the italicized temporal phrases are relatively close to the present moment (i.e., the moment when the speaker utters the sentence), while the future time point in 30c is relatively distant or remote.

The sentences below have temporal phrases denoting past time points:

(31) a. A ngęlękek a chilitii a skuul *er a elii.*
'My child skipped school yesterday.'

b. A bęchik a mle smechęr *ęr a kęsus.*
'My wife was sick last night.'

c. A Tadasi a mlo bęchiil *ęr tia ęl mlo męrek ęl rak.*
'Tadasi got married last year.'

The past time points in 31a–b are relatively recent (i.e., close to the present moment), while the past time point in 31c is in the relatively distant past.

The temporal phrase *er a elęcha* 'now, today' can refer to the present moment or to the "general" present in sentences like the following:

(32) a. A Toki a męchiuaiu *er a elęchang.*
'Toki is sleeping now.'

b. Tę ngar ęr ngii a rębętok ęl chad ęr a Siabal ęl me er a Belau *er a elęchang.*
'There are a lot of Japanese coming to Palau now/these days.'

This temporal phrase can also designate time points before and after the moment when the sentence is uttered, but on the same day. Note, therefore, the examples below:

(33) a. A sęchęlim a mla me *er a elęchang.*
'Your friend has come just now.'

b. Ak milsa a sensei *er a elęchang.*
'I saw the teacher today.'

c. Kę mo ęr a che *er a elęchang*?
'Are you going fishing today?'

Below is a partial listing of some of the more common Palauan temporal phrases which are used to identify various points in time:

(34) a. *today and its parts*:

er a elęcha	'now, today'

er a (elęcha ęl) tutau	'this morning'
ęr a suelęb	'this noon, this afternoon'
ęr a kębęsęnge	'this evening'
ęr a klębęse	'tonight'

b. *time points in the past*:

er a elii	'yesterday'
ęr a kęsus	'last night'
ęr a tutau er a elii	'yesterday morning'
ęr a idęliseb	'the day before yesterday'
ęr a idęlsębel[25]	'three days ago'
ęr a uche ęr a idęlsębel[26]	'four or more days ago'
ęr tia ęl mlo męrek ęl sande/buil/rak[27]	'last week/month/year'
ęr se ęl mlo męręk ęl sande/buil/rak[28]	'the week/month/year before last'
ęr se ęr a (taem ęr a) mękęmad	'during the war'
ęr se ęr a taem ęr a Siabal[29]	'during the Japanese times'
ęr a ireęchar	'in earlier times (at least ten years ago)'
ęr a ititiumd	'in ancient times'

c. *time points in the future*:

ęr a klukuk	'tomorrow'
ęr a tutau ęr a klukuk	'tomorrow morning'
ęr a kębęsęnge ęr a klukuk[30]	'tomorrow evening'
ęr a ngiaos	'the day after tomorrow'
ęr a ngiosel[31]	'three days from now'
ęr a ikrel ngiosel[32]	'four or more days from now'
ęr tia ęl me ęl sande/buil/rak[33]	'next week/month/year'
ęr se ęl me ęl sande/buil/rak[34]	'the week/month/year after next'

d. *hours of the day*:

ęr a ta ęl klok	'at one o'clock'
ęr a eru ęl klok	'at two o'clock'
ęr a ede ęl klok mę a tędobęch	'at three-thirty'

ęr a tęruich ęl klok ęr a tutau/klębęse	'at ten o'clock in the morning/evening'
ęr a suelęb	'at noon'
ęr a suelęb ęr a klębęse	'at midnight'
ęr a tęruich mę a eru ęl klok ęr a klębęse	'at twelve midnight'

e. *days of the week*:

ęr a kot ęl ureor	'on Monday'
ęr a ongeru ęl ureor[35]	'on Tuesday'
ęr a sabado	'on Saturday'
ęr a sande	'on Sunday'

f. *months of the year*:

ęr a kot ęl buil	'in January'
ęr a ongeru ęl buil	'in February'
ęr a ongede ęl buil	'in March'

g. *days of the month:*

ęr a euid ęl kębęsęngil (a ongeuid ęl buil)[36]	'on the seventh (of July)'
ęr a tęruich mę a eua ęl kębęsęngil (a kot ęl buil)	'on the fourteenth (of January)'
ęr a lluich mę a elolęm ęl kębęsęngil (a elęcha ęl buil)	'on the twenty-sixth (of this month)'

h. *frequency of occurrence*:

ęr a bek ęl tutau	'every morning'
ęr a bek ęl sils	'every day, daily'
ęr a bek ęl buil	'every month, monthly'
ęr a rokui ęl taem	'all the time'
ęr a bebil ęr a taem	'sometimes'

Several sentences containing the temporal phrases of 34h, which designate how frequently a particular action occurs, are presented below:[37]

(35) a. A Toki a me męngętmokl ęr a blik ęr a bek ęl tutau.
'Toki comes and cleans my house every morning.'

b. Ak mo ęr a Guam ęr a bek ęl buil.
'I go to Guam every month.'

c. Ak mo ęr a katsudo ęr a bebil ęr a taem.
'I sometimes go to the movies.'

Temporal phrases designating specific time points such as hours of the day, days of the month, months of the year, etc. can be used to indicate the beginning point of some limited period or span of time during which a given activity is pursued. In such cases, the temporal phrase is always complemented by an expression of the form *ęl mo + temporal phrase*, which corresponds to English 'until. . . ' and indicates the time point at which the activity ends. Observe the following examples:

(36) a. A Toki a męngętmokl ęr a blai ęr a eai ęl klok ęl mo (ęr a) etiu ęl klok.
'Toki cleans the house from eight o'clock until nine o'clock.'

b. Ak mo kie ęr a Siabal ęr a ongeim ęl buil ęl mo (ęr a) ongeuid ęl buil.
'I'll be living in Japan from May until July.'

In 36a-b, the expressions *ęl mo* (*ęr a*) *etiu ęl klok* 'until nine o'clock' and *ęl mo* (*ęr a*) *ongeuid ęl buil* 'until July' are **dependent clauses** (see **15**.7) which specify the end-points of the activities involved. The presence of *ęr a* after *mo* 'go' is optional, as indicated by the parentheses.

In order to ask a question about the time of an action or state, we use a temporal phrase consisting of the relational word *ęr* followed by the question word *oingara* 'when?'[38] Thus, examples 30c, 31c, and 33b above would be possible answers to the following questions:

(30c') A sęchęlim ng mo ęr a Merikel er oingarang?
'When is your friend going to America?'

(31c') A Tadasi ng mlo bęchiil er oingarang?
'When did Tadasi get married?'

(33b') Kę milsa a sensei er oingarang?
'When did you see the teacher?'

SENTENCES WITH MORE THAN ONE RELATIONAL PHRASE

14.7. As you may have noticed in examples like 7d, 21a, 21b, and 30c above, many Palauan sentences contain two (or possibly even more than two) relational phrases, depending on how much information the speaker wishes to supply. Thus, in 7d,

(7d) Ak mla ęr a blil a Toki er a elii.
'I was at Toki's house yesterday.'

the first relational phrase is a **locational phrase,** while the second is a **temporal phrase.** Similarly, in 21b

(21b) A John a mo ęr a Guam ęr a klukuk.
'John is going to Guam tomorrow.'

we observe a **directional phrase** followed by a **temporal phrase.**

Examples 7d and 21b above show that if a temporal phrase and some other kind of relational phrase occur together in the same sentence, the temporal phrase always comes second. This principle is further illustrated in the examples below, where a temporal phrase (in italics) is preceded by some other kind of relational phrase (in bold type):

(37) a. *directional phrase designating characteristic goal + temporal phrase* (cf.25b):
A ręchad a mle kakoad **ęr a kall** *ęr se ęr a taem ęr a mękę-mad.*
'People fought over food during the war.'

b. *source phrase indicating place + temporal phrase* (cf.26c):
A Toki a rirebęt **ęr a chęldukl** *ęr a kęsus* e riros.
'Toki fell off of the dock last night and drowned.'

c. *source phrase indicating human being + temporal phrase* (cf.28a):
Ak milleng a udoud **ęr a Droteo** *er a elii.*
'I borrowed some money from Droteo yesterday.'

d. *cause phrase + temporal phrase*:
A ręngęlękek a mlo smechęr **ęr a ręktir a ręchad ęr a Dois** *er a elii.*
'My children came down with the German measles yesterday.'

It is also possible for two kinds of temporal phrases to appear in the same sentence. In such cases, speakers prefer to place the temporal phrase indicating the frequency of occurrence, or the greater time span, in final position. Observe the examples below:

(38) a. A rubak a me ęr a blik ęr a etiu ęl klok ęr a bek ęl tutau.
'The old man comes to my house at nine o'clock every morning.'

b. A John a mle ęr a euid ęl klok ęr a kęsus.
'John arrived at seven o'clock last evening.'

Since Palauan sentences can contain more than one relational phrase, as we have just seen, the formulas for Palauan sentence types presented in 4 above must be modified, since they incorrectly imply that at most, only one relational phrase can appear in a given Palauan sentence. Thus, we will need to replace the formulas of 4 with something like the following:

(39) a. subject noun phrase + transitive verb phrase (+ object noun phrase) (+ relational phrase)^{n}

b. subject noun phrase + intransitive verb phrase (+ relational phrase)^{n}

In the above formulas, the "raised *n*" notation (borrowed from mathematics) will be interpreted to mean that relational phrases can occur in a given sentence any "reasonable" number of times. Thus, sentences with one or two relational phrases are common; those with three, such as 38a above, occur occasionally; and those with four (or more) are quite rare.

RELATIONAL PHRASES USED TO EXPRESS COMPARISON

14.8. Another major function of Palauan relational phrases is to express **comparison** between two persons or things. Observe how the italicized relational phrases are used in the examples below:

(40) a. A Droteo a męsisiich *ęr a Toki.*
'Droteo is stronger than Toki.'

b. A ręchad ęr a Merikel a mękekęmangęt *ęr a ręchad ęr a Siabal.*
'Americans are taller than Japanese.'

c. A Toyota a ungil ęl mlai *ęr a Datsun.*
'A Toyota is a better car than a Datsun.'

d. A kall ęr a uum a mękngit *ęr a kall ęr a restorangd.*
'The food at the cafeteria is worse than the food at the restaurant.'

e. A ududek a mękęsai *ęr a ududem.*
'I have less money than you.'

The noun phrases following *ęr* in the italicized relational phrases of 40 are being compared to the sentence subject with respect to a particular quality—strength, height, etc. In such a relationship of comparison, it is always the sentence subject which is interpreted as possessing the particular quality in a greater or higher degree.

FURTHER TYPES OF PALAUAN RELATIONAL PHRASES

14.9. Although we have analyzed a large variety of Palauan relational phrases in the sections above, there are still quite a few types which we have not yet mentioned. Some of these types of relational phrases have already been examined in detail in earlier chapters. For example, in 3.8–9, we looked at the structure of **possessor phrases** and **characterizational phrases**. These are relational phrases which occur directly following **nouns** in examples like the following:

(41) delmęrab *ęr ngak* 'my room'
sensei *ęr a Toki* 'Toki's teacher'

chad *ęr a Siabal* 'Japanese'
hong *ęr a sęchęlik* 'my friend's book'

ngalęk *ęr a skuul* 'student'
kall *ęr a Sina* 'Chinese food'

Can you tell which of the italicized relational phrases of 41 are possessor phrases, and which are characterizational phrases?

In addition, we saw in **5**.4 that a relational phrase can be used following an **ergative** verb form to identify the **cause** or **agent** responsible for the event designated by the ergative verb. Relational phrases of this kind are italicized in the ergative sentences below:

(42) a. Alii, kę męgul *ęr a ngau*!
'Watch out, you'll get burned by the fire!'

b. A kall a mla męka *ęr a katuu.*
'The food has been eaten by the cat.'

Some Palauan speakers find the examples of 42 rather awkward and prefer to omit the relational phrase.

From time to time, you will undoubtedly observe sentences in which relational phrases are used in such a way that they do not fit neatly into any of the categories—e.g. locational phrase, cause phrase, temporal phrase, etc.—discussed in this chapter and elsewhere. The sentences below contain relational phrases of this kind, which are difficult to classify and do not occur very frequently:[39]

(43) a. Ak ulęmękędo ęr a Toki *ęr a dengua.*
'I called Toki on the phone.'

b. Ak mo omęchar ęr ngii *ęr a kleim ęl kluk.*
'I'll buy it for $5.'

c. A delmęrab ęr ngak a chęlsbrebęr *ęr a bęcheleleu.*
'My room is painted white.'

d. A blai a rruul *ęr a kęrrękar.*
'The house is made of wood.'

e. A blik a {kmeed / chęroid} *ęr a blil a Toki.*
'My house is {near / far from} Toki's house.'

f. A tęde *ęr tir* a chiliis.
'Three of them escaped.'

g. Ng chętik a omęlmil a Droteo *ęr a rrom.*
'I dislike Droteo's drinking of liquor./I dislike the way Droteo drinks (so much) liquor.'

h. Ng chętik a omęngęlir a rengalęk *ęr a kiande.*[40]
'I dislike the way the children are eating (so much) candy.'

i. A tękoi ęr a Merikel a kmal {męringęl / beot} *ęr a Droteo.*
'English is very {difficult / easy} for Droteo.'

j. Tia ęl blai a {ungil / męknigit} *ęr ngak* e le ng chęroid ęr a rechad.
'This house is {good / bad} for me because it's far from people.'

k. Ng ngar *ęr a mong.*
'It's further over there.'

l. Ng ngar *ęr a mei.*
'It's closer this way.'

m. Ng ngar *ęr a me mong.*
'It's further in back of me.'

The sentences above show the following further uses of relational phrases introduced by the relational word *ęr*: **means of communication** (43a), **price** (43b), **medium** or **material** (43c-d), **relationship of distance** (43e), **relationship of whole to part** (43f), **object** (43g–h), and **person affected** (43i–j). Examples 43k–m appear to contain locational phrases, but they are extremely unusual in that verb forms (the directional verbs *mo* or *me*—cf. chap. 13) follow *ęr* instead of the expected noun phrases.

15 Dependent Clauses

CHARACTERISTICS OF DEPENDENT CLAUSES

15.1. Palauan, like every other language, has many different grammatical patterns for combining relatively simple sentences into more complex ones. Such patterns of complex sentence formation allow speakers to express various types of relationships between what would otherwise be isolated or disconnected thoughts. Notice, for example, that the simple sentences of 1 and 2 below can be combined in two possible ways to yield the more complex sentences 3a and 3b:

(1) A Droteo a ulęba a oluchęs.
'Droteo had/was using a pencil.'

(2) A Droteo a milluchęs a babier.
'Droteo was writing a letter.'

(3) a. A Droteo a ulęba a oluchęs ęl męluchęs a babier.
'Droteo was using a pencil to write a letter.'

b. A Droteo a milluchęs a babier ęl oba a oluchęs.
'Droteo was writing a letter with a pencil.'

The formal difference between 3a and 3b results, of course, from combining the simple sentences 1 and 2 in opposite orders. This formal difference in turn accounts for an important difference in meaning, which we will briefly explain here (more discussion will be given below). In 3a, the second part of the sentence—namely, *ęl męluchęs a babier* '(in order) to write a letter'—explains the **purpose** for which the subject (*Droteo*) used a pencil, which is the activity described in the first part of the sentence—*a Droteo a ulęba a oluchęs* 'Droteo was using a pencil'. For this reason, the sequence *ęl męluchęs a babier* of 3a will be called a **purpose clause**. In 3b, however, the second part of the sentence—namely, *ęl oba a oluchęs* 'using a pencil, with a pencil'—does not explain the pur-

pose of the activity mentioned in the first part of the sentence. Instead, *ęl oba a oluchęs* specifies the **instrument** (*oluchęs* 'pencil') used in carrying out the activity expressed by *a Droteo a milluchęs a babier* 'Droteo was writing a letter'. For this reason, we will call sequences like *ęl oba a oluchęs of* 3b **instrument clauses.**

Although we will discuss and illustrate Palauan purpose clauses and instrument clauses in greater detail below, we now know enough about sentences 3a–b above to make the following observations. Even though 3a and 3b differ from each other in that the former contains a purpose clause and the latter contains an instrument clause, the two sentences nevertheless share some important features. First, the word *ęl* appears between the two parts of each sentence. Next, in the second part of each sentence—i.e., in both the purpose clause and the instrument clause—there is no overtly-expressed subject: that is, *ęl* is followed immediately by a verb form.[1] And, finally, the verb following *ęl* appears in the **present tense** (*męluchęs* 'write' or *oba* 'use, have'), even though sentences 3a and 3b describe **past** actions.

In spite of the fact that the purpose and instrument clauses of 3a–b lack subjects as well as any marker for the past tense, the speaker of Palauan nevertheless knows exactly how to interpret the meaning of these sentences. In interpreting a sentence like 3b, for example, the speaker of Palauan automatically understands the subject of the instrument clause *ęl oba a oluchęs* 'using a pencil, with a pencil' to be identical to that of the first part of the sentence—namely, *Droteo*. In other words, it goes without saying that in 3b one and the same person—*Droteo*—was the writer of the letter and the user of the pencil.[2] Furthermore, the speaker knows that the time when the instrument (*oluchęs* 'pencil') was used is identical to that of the verb *milluchęs* 'wrote' in the first part of the sentence—namely, **past**.

To summarize our discussion in the paragraph above, we can see that even though the purpose and instrument clauses in 3a–b have no subject and no past tense marker, speakers nevertheless understand them as if they indeed did contain these two elements. This phenomenon is due to the fact that the speaker's correct interpretation of the purpose or instrument clause **depends on** (or is derived from) information found elsewhere in the sentence—i.e., in the preceding clause. In other words, the first part of the sentence tells the speaker what the (understood) subject and tense of the purpose or instrument clause should be. Because the correct interpretation of purpose and instrument clauses

therefore depends on information found in another part of the sentence, purpose and instrument clauses will be classified under the general term **dependent clause**. The word *ęl*, which appears at the beginning of every dependent clause, will be called a **dependent clause introducer**.

Examples 1–3 above therefore show that two simple Palauan sentences like 1 and 2 can be combined in such a way as to form more complex sentences like 3a–b. In the formation of complex sentences of this kind, one of the simple sentences 1 or 2 becomes a **dependent clause**, while the other becomes an **independent** (or **main**) **clause**. In sentences like 3a–b, the independent clause comes first and the dependent clause follows. The term "independent" is appropriate for the first clause in 3a–b since this clause, which contains a subject and a verb fully specified for tense, could occur alone—or independently—as a separate sentence of Palauan, as examples 1–2 prove. By contrast, dependent clauses cannot occur alone as separate sentences because they are incomplete or deficient, as we have seen above. Purpose clauses and instrument clauses are only two of many different types of Palauan dependent clauses, as we will see in the sections below.

PURPOSE CLAUSES

15.2. Any dependent clause which explains the **purpose** for which some action is performed is a **purpose clause**. In the (italicized) purpose clauses of the sentences below, there is no overtly-expressed subject, and the verb appears in the present tense even when the sentence designates a past activity or event:

(4) a. A Droteo a {ulęba / ulusbech} a biskang *ęl omuręch ęr a ngikęl.*
'Droteo {was using / needed} a spear to spear the fish.'

b. Ak ousbech a udoud *ęl mo męchar a bail.*
'I need money to (go) buy clothes.'

c. Ak ulusbech ęr a Droteo *ęl męruul ęr a subęlek.*
'I needed Droteo to (help me) do my homework.'

d. A Droteo a ngiluu a mlai *ęl mo męchar a biang.*
'Droteo took the car in order to go buy beer.'

e. Kę okiu ker *ęl mo ęr a kędęrang*?
'What route do you take to get to the beach?'

f. Ng ngar ęr ngii a bilem *ęl mo ęr a party*?
'Do you have clothes to go to the party with?'

g. Ng ngar ęr ngii a bento ęr kau *ęl mo ęr a chei*?
'Do you have your lunch for when you go fishing?

In the sentences above, it is not difficult to understand why we classify the italicized dependent clauses as purpose clauses. In 4b, for instance, the dependent clause *ęl mo męchar a bail* '(in order) to (go) buy clothes' explains the purpose for which the subject (*ak* 'I') needs the money. And in 4d, *ęl mo męchar a biang* '(in order) to go buy beer' expresses the subject's purpose in using the car. Sentences 4f–g ask questions about the existence or availability of things which will serve a particular purpose or function: in 4f, the speaker wants to know if the hearer has proper clothes for the party, and in 4g, he wants to know if the hearer has brought along a lunch which he can eat while fishing.

Purpose Clauses Containing Directional Verbs

15.2.1. Palauan sentences with purpose clauses often exhibit the following pattern: the independent clause contains one of the three directional verbs *me* 'come', *mo* 'go', or *eko* 'go' (cf. chap. 13), and the (dependent) purpose clause contains an expression of the form *directional verb* + *action verb* (cf. **13**.3) in which the directional verb matches that of the independent clause. In the following sentences, which explain the subject's purpose in coming or going to a particular place, the two occurrences of a given directional verb have been italicized:

(5) a. A sęchęlik a *me* ęr a blik ęl *me* męsuub.
'My friend is coming over to my house to study.'

b. Ng sębęchek ęl *eko* ęr a blim ęl *eko* ręmuul a kall.
'I can come to your house to prepare the food.'

c. Ak *mlo* ęr a kędęra ęl *mo* męngędub.
'I went to the beach in order to go swimming.'

d. A Droteo a *mlo* ęr a stoa ęl *mo* omęchar a kall.
'Droteo went to the store to buy food.'

e. Ak *mo* ęr a Siabal ęl *mo* męsuub a tękoi ęr a Siabal.
'I'm going to Japan in order to study Japanese.'

Even though the second occurrence of a given directional verb does not seem to add anything to the meaning of the purpose clauses in 5, it is nevertheless required if the sentence is to be grammatical. Thus, in sentences with the structure *independent clause* + *purpose clause*, any directional verb occurring in the independent clause must be repeated in the purpose clause. The repeated directional verb found in the purpose clause appears in the present tense form, regardless of the time of the event which the sentence designates.

In view of the above discussion and material presented in **13**.4, we can easily explain the difference in meaning between the following contrasting sentences:

(6) a. Ak mo męruul a kall.
'I'm going to prepare the food.'

b. Ak mo (ęr a blil a Toki) ęl mo męruul a kall.
'I'm going (to Toki's house) in order to prepare the food.'

Since the directional verb *mo* 'go' is being used in 6a to designate **future** time, 6a is merely an assertion by the speaker that he plans (or intends) to prepare food in the relatively near future. In 6b, however, the activity of preparing the food is expressed in the **purpose clause** *ęl mo męruul a kall* '(in order) to prepare the food'; therefore, 6b is a sentence in which the speaker explains his **purpose** in going somewhere (e.g. Toki's house). Because of this meaning difference, 6a might be an answer to a question like 'What are you going to do now?' whereas 6b would be a possible response to the question 'Why are you going (to Toki's house)?'

Purpose Clauses Following Nouns

15.2.2. As the sentences in 4–5 above show, Palauan purpose clauses normally occur in complex sentences following an independent clause. It is also possible for purpose clauses to appear following **noun phrases of possession** (cf. **3**.7) containing the **possessed forms** of the nouns *techall* 'opportunity, chance' and *taem* 'time'. The sentences below contain possessed nouns like *techęllek* 'my opportunity', *techęllem* 'your opportunity', *temek* 'my time', *temel* 'his/her time', etc.; here, the **possessor suffixes** *-ek*, *-el*, *-em*, etc. identify the person who has the time or opportunity to do something:

(7) a. Ng ngar ęr ngii a temem *ęl mo milil ęr a kębęsęngei*?
'Do you have time to play this evening?'

b. Ng diak a temek *ęl mo ęr a party*.
'I don't have time to go to the party.'

c. Ng mo ęr ngii a techęllem *ęl mo ęr a Siabal*?
'Will you have a chance to go to Japan?'

d. Ng dimlak a techęllel a Droteo *ęl omes ęr a ręsęchęlil*.
'Droteo didn't get an opportunity to get together with his friends.'

e. Ng di kea a techęllek *ęl mo ęr a skuul.*
'I no longer have the opportunity to go to school.'

In the examples above, we interpret the italicized portions as purpose clauses because they explain the purpose to which some period of time is to be directed or devoted. Thus, in 7b, for instance, the speaker says he has no time which he can devote to going to the party; and in 7e, the speaker claims to have no opportunity (or free time) which he can direct towards the activity of going to school. As expected, the purpose clauses in 7 above always contain present tense verb forms, and they do not have any expressed subjects. Here, the understood subject of the purpose clause is interpreted as being identical to the person referred to by the particular possessor suffix attached to the nouns *techall* or *taem*. For example, in 7e, the person who no longer has the opportunity to go to school—namely, the speaker of the sentence ('I')—is the same as the person identified by the 1st pers. sg. possessor suffix *-ek* in the possessed noun *techęllek* 'my opportunity/chance'.[3]

INSTRUMENT CLAUSES

15.3. Any dependent clause which identifies the **instrument** used to carry out a particular action or activity is called an **instrument clause**. Instrument clauses always contain the verb *oba* 'use/have/hold it'[4] followed by a noun phrase object which names the instrument used. Thus, in 3b above, repeated here for convenience,

(3b) A Droteo a milluchęs a babier *ęl oba a oluchęs.*
'Droteo was writing a letter with a pencil.'

the independent clause *a Droteo a milluchęs a babier* 'Droteo was writing a letter' is followed by the (dependent) instrument clause *ęl oba a oluchęs* 'using a pencil, with a pencil', in which *oba* 'use/have/hold it' happens to take the **instrument noun** *oluchęs* 'pencil' (cf. **8.6**) as its object. Because the independent clause and the instrument clause in 3b both have their own verbs (*milluchęs* 'was writing' and *oba* 'use/have/hold it', respectively), the word-for-word equivalent for a sentence like 3b would be something like 'Droteo was writing a letter using/holding a pencil'. The most suitable English translation, however, uses a phrase introduced by (the **preposition**) *with*.

Recall that we have already used the term "instrument" in our discussion of a particular type of Palauan **noun derivation**:

thus, in **8.6** we saw that Palauan **instrument nouns** are derived by replacing the verb marker of an imperfective verb form with the prefix *o-*, as in *męluchęs* 'write'—*oluchęs* 'pencil', *męles* 'cut'—*oles* 'knife', etc. In our present discussion, we are using the term "instrument" in a somewhat less technical sense, since Palauan instrument clauses do not necessarily have to contain an instrument noun in *o-* as does the instrument clause in 3b. Thus, in the sentences below, the italicized instrument clauses contain words like *taod* 'fork', *biskang* 'spear', etc., which are not instrument nouns in the technical sense defined above but which nevertheless identify the "instrument" (tool, utensil, etc.) with which a particular activity or task is performed:

(8) a. A Droteo a męnga a ngikęl *ęl oba a* {*taod* / *chimal*}.
'Droteo is eating the fish with {a fork / his hand}.'

b. Ak {milkodir / ulęmuręch} a ngikęl *ęl oba a biskang.*
'I {killed / speared} a fish with a spear.'

c. Ak milęngiis ęr a kliokl *ęl oba a sebęl.*
'I was digging the hole with a shovel.'

d. A Droteo a chillebęd a bilis *ęl oba a kęrrękar.*
'Droteo hit the dogs with a stick.'

e. A Droteo ng millękosęk ęr a tech *ęl oba a ngarang*?
'What was Droteo cutting the meat with?'

f. A ręchad ęr a Sina a omęngur *ęl olab a hasi.*
'The Chinese eat with chopsticks.'

g. A rengalęk ęr a skuul a męruul a subęlir *ęl olab a manneng.*
'The students do their homework with fountain pens.'

As the above examples show, the instrument involved is normally something inanimate (i.e., non-living) such as a spear, a shovel, etc.; but once in a while, some part of the body such as the hand (*chimal* of 8a) can function as the instrument. Example 8e is a question about what instrument the subject (*Droteo*) was using to cut the meat—hence, the occurrence of the question word *ngara* 'what?' as object of *oba* in the instrument clause. The instrument clauses of 8 of course show the two major defining characteristics of Palauan dependent clauses: first, they have no overtly-expressed subject; and second, they have present tense verb forms, even when the sentence describes a past action or activity, as in 8b–e.

PURPOSE AND INSTRUMENT CLAUSES WITH PAST TENSE VERB FORMS

15.4. In the sections above, we emphasized the fact that Palauan purpose and instrument clauses normally have present tense verb forms, even when the verb of the preceding independent clause is in the past tense and therefore indicates a past event. A considerable number of Palauan speakers, however, can use sentences in which the verb of both the independent clause and the following purpose or instrument clause appears in the past tense. As a typical example, observe the pair of sentences below, which have a purpose clause:

(9) a. Ak ulęba a sebęl ęl męngiis ęr a kliokl.
'I was using a shovel to dig the hole.'

b. Ak ulęba a sebęl ęl milęngiis ęr a kliokl.
'I used a shovel to dig the hole.'

The only formal difference between 9a and 9b above is that the tense of the verb in the dependent clause is **present** vs. **past**, respectively. While some speakers think that 9a and 9b are identical in meaning, others feel there is a rather subtle difference between them, which we will attempt to explain below.

In a sentence like 9a, the speaker uses the present tense form of *męngiis* 'dig' in the purpose clause if he considers the action involved to have been in progress when some other past event occurred. In 9a, this interrupting or coinciding past event is merely implied, but not expressed; if we wish to express such an event, we can put 9a in the context of a **time clause** (see **22**.2) like *er se ęr a lęme a Droteo* 'when Droteo came', as in the following:

(9a') Ak ulęba a sebęl ęl męngiis ęr a kliokl er se ęr a lęme a Droteo.
'I was using a shovel to dig the hole when Droteo came by.'

As opposed to 9a, example 9b contains the past tense form of *męngiis* 'dig' in the purpose clause. Here, the speaker views the action involved as a total, completed experience, and no reference is made to some other event which may have interrupted it or coincided with it. Thus, while 9a would be an answer to a question like 'What were you using to dig the hole when Droteo saw you yesterday?' 9b is simply an answer to the question 'What did you use to dig the hole yesterday?' Furthermore, since 9b seems to focus on a total, completed event, it would be strange to place it in the context of a time clause like *er se ęr a lęme a Droteo* 'when Droteo came', which draws our attention to a past action as it was

in progress. Thus, while 9a' above is a natural sentence, the following is contradictory and unacceptable (hence, no English equivalent is given):[5]

(9b') ??Ak ulęba a sebęl ęl milęngiis ęr a kliokl er se ęr a lęme a Droteo.

MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION CLAUSES

15.5. Any dependent clause which specifies the **means of transportation** used to move from one location to another can be called a **means of transportation clause**. Dependent clauses of this type always contain the **existential verb** *ngar* 'exist, be (located)' (see **18**.2), followed by a **locational phrase** (cf. **14**.2). The locational phrase after *ngar* consists of the relational word *ęr* followed by a noun phrase which names any kind of vehicle—e.g., car, train, boat, etc. The following sentences contain typical means of transportation clauses:

(10) a. Ak mlo ęr a Siabal ęl ngar ęr a skoki.
'I went to Japan by plane.'

b. A Droteo a blęchoel ęl mo ęr a skuul ęl ngar ęr a sidosia.
'Droteo always goes to school by car.'

c. A Masaharu a mlo ęr a Merikel ęl ngar ęr a diall.
'Masaharu went/has gone to America by ship.'

Because the independent clause and the means of transportation clause in the sentences above both have their own verbs, a sentence like 10a would have a word-for-word equivalent something like 'I went to Japan being in a plane.' Such a sentence is of course unacceptable in English, which must use a phrase introduced with (the preposition) *by* to express the means of transportation.

Notice that the order of clauses can be reversed in the sentences of 10 above. Thus, in addition to 10a, we can have the following sentence, which is identical in meaning:

(11) Ak mla ęr a skoki ęl mo ęr a Siabal.
'(lit.) I was in a plane going to Japan.' = 'I went to Japan by plane.'

The dependent clause *ęl mo ęr a Siabal* 'going to Japan' in 11 is best classified as a **specifying clause** (see **15**.7 below).

Like the purpose and instrument clauses discussed in **15**.2–3 above, the means of transportation clauses in 10 have no overtly-expressed subject. As expected, the subject of the means of trans-

portation clause is understood to be identical to that of the preceding independent clause. Furthermore, the existential verb *ngar* 'exist, be (located)' appears in the present tense in examples like 10a and 10c, even though the event in question occurred in the past. Some Palauan speakers can also use means of transportation clauses containing the past tense form of the existential verb *ngar*; thus, with 10c, compare the following sentence:

(12) A Masaharu a mlo ęr a Merikel ęl mla ęr a diall.
'Masaharu went to America by ship.'

For those speakers who feel there is a meaning distinction between 10c and 12, the difference in interpretation resembles that mentioned in **15**.4 above with reference to purpose and instrument clauses. Thus, in 10c, use of the present tense form *ngar* 'exist, be (located)' in the dependent clause refers to some state which is still in progress and not yet finished. Therefore, 10c implies that the subject (*Masaharu*) is still on the ship traveling to America. In 12, however, the past tense form *mla* 'existed, was (located)' indicates that the speaker views the state of being on the ship as a total, completed experience. For this reason, 12 implies that Masaharu is no longer on the ship, but has already reached his destination.

The following sentence asks a question about the means of transportation used; therefore, the question word *ngara* 'what?' appears in the locational phrase following *ngar*:

(13) Ng mlo ęr a skuul ęl ngar ęr a ngarang?
'How did he go to school?'

ACCOMPANIMENT CLAUSES

15.6. Any dependent clause which identifies the person with whom some action or activity is being done is termed an **accompaniment clause**. Palauan accompaniment clauses always contain the very special word *obęngkel* 'be together with', which expresses the idea of accompaniment. The term "accompaniment" refers to a relationship between human beings (or, sometimes, animals) such that the individuals involved are doing something together—i.e., in the same place and at the same time. The word *obęngkel* is unique in Palauan in that it has the characteristics of both a **verb** and a **noun**. Just like any verb in *o-*, *obęngkel* has a past tense form in *ul(ę)-* —namely, *ulębęngkel* 'was together with' (cf. **5**.3.2); furthermore, its distribution is like that of verbs, since it directly follows

the subject of the sentence (see 14 below). At the same time, however, *obęngkel* behaves like an **obligatorily possessed noun** (cf. **3**.5) because it must always contain a **possessor suffix**; this possessor suffix agrees in person and number with the person who is accompanying the subject in the pursuit of a particular activity. The characteristics of *obęngkel* described above are illustrated in the following simple sentences:

(14) a. Ak ulębęngkel a Toki er a elii.
'I was with Toki yesterday.'

b. Ak ulębęngktęrir[6] a ręsęchęlik er a elii.
'I was with my friends yesterday.'

In both 14a and 14b, the "accompaniment" word *obęngkel* appears in its past tense form. In each sentence, however, the possessor suffix on *obęngkel* is different because it must agree in person and number with whoever accompanied the subject (*ak* 'I') in performing the activity. Thus, in 14a, the possessor suffix *-el* agrees with the 3rd pers. sg. noun *Toki*, while in 14b, the possessor suffix *-tęrir* agrees with the 3rd pers. human pl. noun *ręsęchęlik* 'my friends'. Except for the fact that the *o-* of *obęngkel* changes to *ul(ę)-* in the past tense, phrases like *ulębęngkel a Toki* 'together with Toki, in Toki's presence' and *ulębęngktęrir a ręsęchęlik* 'together with my friends, in my friends' presence' of 14 seem to be no different from the **noun phrases of characterization** discussed in **3**.7.

In the sentences below, the special word *obęngkel* occurs in the italicized accompaniment clause introduced by *ęl*:

(15) a. Ak mlo ęr a kędęra *ęl obęngkel a Droteo.*
'I went to the beach with Droteo.'

b. Ng sębęchem ęl mo *ęl obęngkek*?
'Can you go with me?'

c. Ak mililil *ęl obęngktęrir a ręsęchęlik.*
'I was playing with my friends.'

d. Ng soak ęl mo męngędub *ęl obęngkem.*
'I want to go swimming with you.'

The order of clauses can be switched in the examples of 15 above. Thus, in addition to 15a, we can have the following sentence, which has the same meaning:

(16) Ak ulębęngkel a Droteo ęl mo ęr a kędęrang.
'(lit.) I was together with Droteo going to the beach.' = 'I went to the beach with Droteo.'

As we will see in **15.7** below, the dependent clause in 16 is a type of **specifying clause.**

Like the other kinds of dependent clauses described in the sections above, accompaniment clauses never have an overtly-expressed subject. In addition, the accompaniment word *obęngkel* can appear in the present tense, even when the whole sentence involves a past action or event, as in 15a and 15c above. For some speakers, there is a contrast between the use of the present vs. past tense form of *obęngkel* in the dependent clause. Thus, with 15c, for instance, compare the sentence below:

(17) Ak mililil ęl ulębęngktęrir a ręsęchęlik.
'I played with my friends.'

The difference in meaning between 15c and 17 should now be familiar to us: while 15c implies that the subject (*ak* 'I') was playing with his friends when some other interrupting or coinciding event occurred, 17 describes a past event as a totality without reference to any other intervening event. For this reason, 15c could be an answer to a question like 'What were you doing when Droteo came?' and could occur in the following context:

(15c') Ak mililil ęl obęngktęrir a ręsęchęlik er se ęr a lęme a Droteo.
'I was playing with my friends when Droteo came.'

By contrast, 17 would be an answer to a question like 'What did you do (yesterday)?'. Therefore, putting it in the context supplied by 15c' would result in an "illogical" sentence:

(17') ?? Ak mililil ęl ulębęngktęrir a ręsęchęlik er se ęr a lęme a Droteo.

In order to ask a question about who accompanied someone in doing something, we use an accompaniment clause containing the question word *tęcha* 'who?', as in the following:

(18) Kę mlo ęr a party ęl obęngkel tęchang?
'Whom did you go to the party with?'

SPECIFYING CLAUSES

15.7. So far we have classified Palauan dependent clauses into four types (purpose, instrument, means of transportation, and accompaniment) on the basis of the particular kinds of meanings they convey. This convenient classification should not prevent us from recognizing that the four types of clauses are basically very similar in function. All of them have the common function of **specifying**, **qualifying**, or **giving further information** about the action, activity, or event of the preceding independent clause. Thus, in 8b, for example, the instrument clause *ęl oba a biskang* 'using a spear, with a spear' provides us with further information about the subject's killing of the fish by telling us what he killed it with; and in 15a the accompaniment clause *ęl obęngkel a Droteo* 'together with Droteo' specifies or narrows down the scope of the action of the independent clause—the subject's going to the beach—by telling us who accompanied the subject to the beach. Thus, the four types of dependent clauses discussed in the sections above could all be identified by the broader "cover" term **specifying clause**. We will restrict our use of this term, however, to any dependent clause which, while fulfilling the rather general function of specifying or narrowing down the scope of the action or state of the preceding independent clause, neverthless cannot be conveniently assigned to any of the four categories of dependent clauses described above. The use of such specifying clauses is illustrated in the following examples:

(19) a. A Droteo a ulureor *ęl męngęsbrebęr a blai.*
'Droteo was working/used to work painting houses.'

b. A sęchęlik a mla ęr a diall *ęl me ęr a Belau.*
'(lit.) My friend was in a ship coming to Palau.' = 'My friend came to Palau by ship.'

c. A Toki a ulębęngkel a Droteo *ęl mo ęr a party.*
'(lit.) Toki was together with Droteo going to the party.'
='Toki went to the party with Droteo.'

d. A Toki a mle dęngchokl *ęl kmeed ęr a Droteo.*
'Toki was seated near Droteo.'

In 19a, the italicized specifying clause **narrows down** or **limits** the scope of the action of working expressed in the independent clause: in other words, *ęl męngęsbrebęr a blai* 'painting houses' describes the particular kind of work involved. In 19b-d, the specifying clauses all serve to narrow down the scope of various **states** described by the independent clauses. Thus, in 19b, *ęl me ęr a Belau* 'coming to Palau' explains the circumstances under which the subject (*sęchęlik* 'my friend') was on the ship, while in 19c *ęl mo ęr a party* 'going to the party' clarifies the circumstances under which the subject (*Toki*) was with Droteo. Finally, in 19d, *ęl kmeed ęr a Droteo* 'near Droteo' gives us specific information about where the subject (*Toki*) was seated.

The grammatical characteristics of the specifying clauses in 19 above are identical to those of the other dependent clauses so far examined; in addition, some speakers can use specifying clauses containing past tense verb forms, with the expected difference in meaning. Since we have mentioned these phenomena so many times in the sections above, no further discussion will be necessary here.[7]

Specifying Clauses Containing Directional Verbs

15.7.1. There are many Palauan sentences in which an independent clause containing a verb indicating **movement** is followed by a specifying clause containing one of the three **directional verbs** *me* 'come', *mo* 'go', or *eko* 'go' (cf. chap. 13). In such sentences, the specifying clause narrows down the scope of the action designated in the preceding independent clause by indicating the **direction of movement**. As we saw in **14**.3, verbs involving movement are of two types: **intransitive** movement verbs like *męrael* 'walk, travel', *ręmurt* 'run', etc. simply describe how someone or something moves from one location to another, while **transitive** movement verbs like *oba* 'carry, bring, take' and *męlai* 'bring, take'[8] describe how some person or thing is transferred from one location to another.

In the examples below, the specifying clauses containing directional verbs follow independent clauses which have intransitive movement verbs:

(20) a. Ak mirrael ęl mo ęr a Belau.
'I travelled to Palau.'

b. A Droteo a męrael ęl mo ęr a stoang.
'Droteo is walking to the store.'

c. A Toki a rirurt ęl me ęr a blik.
'Toki ran to my house.'

d. Ng sębęchem ęl ridękekl ęl mo ęr a bitang?
'Can you jump to the other side?'

The sentences below are similar to those of 20 except that they also contain a **source phrase** (cf. **14**.4), which tells us the place where the movement began or originated:

(21) a. A katuu a rirędękekl ęr a chędęuel a blik ęl mo ęr a kęrrękar.
'The cat jumped from the roof of my house into the tree.'

b. Ak mirrael ęr a katsudokang ęl mo ęr a kędęrang.
'I walked from the theater to the beach.'

Since the examples of 20–21 contain two clauses and therefore two verbs, their word-for-word translations are rather different from the English equivalents given. Thus, a sentence like 20c means, literally, 'Toki ran coming to my house'. In the English equivalent, the directional verb *me* 'come' of the specifying clause is not translated, and the (prepositional) phrase *to my house* suffices to convey the meaning. Note, further, that the specifying clause structure is essential to the meaning of the sentences in 20. Thus, if we remove *ęl me* from 20c, we get the following sentence, which is quite different in meaning:

(22) A Toki a rirurt ęr a blik. 'Toki was running at my house.'

Here, the relational phrase *ęr a blik* 'at my house' tells where the action of running took place and therefore should be classified as a **locational phrase** (cf. our discussion in chap. 14, note 22).

The following sentences resemble those of 20 except that the independent clause contains a transitive movement verb. For ease of reference, the object of the transitive movement verb has been italicized:

(23) a. Ak ullab a *ilumęl* ęl mo ęr a party.
'I brought drinks to the party (as my share/contribution).'

b. Ng tęcha a ulęba a *John* ęl eko ęr a blim?
'Who took John to your house?'

c. A Droteo a ngilai a *ilumęl* ęl me ęr a party.
'Droteo brought/carried the drinks to the party.'

d. Ak nguu a *bęchik* ęl mo ęr a ochęraol.
'I'm taking my wife to the money-raising party.'

e. Ak ngoititęrir a *ręsęchęlik* ęl mo ęr a ochęraol.
'I'm taking my friends to the money-raising party.'

f. Ng soak ęl oldurokl ęr a *ngęlękek* ęl mo ęr a Merikel.
'I want to send my child to America.'

g. A sensei a ulduruklii a *dempo* ęl mo ęr a Saibal.
'The teacher sent the telegram to Saipan.'

As the above examples show, the transitive movement verbs *oba* 'carry, bring, take', *męlai* 'bring, take', and *oldurokl* 'send' can take either human or non-human objects. The specifying clause structure is required in the sentences of 23 to express the desired meaning of transferring someone or something from one location to another. Thus, if we attempt to remove *ęl me* from a sentence like 23c, we get the following, whose meaning is very different:

(24) A Droteo a ngilai a *ilumęl ęr a party*.
'Droteo brought party-drinks.'

Here, the object of *ngilai* 'brought' is the **noun phrase of characterization** *ilumęl ęr a party* 'party-drinks', which consists of the noun *ilumęl* 'drink' followed by the **characterizational phrase** *ęr a party* 'for the party' (cf. **3**.7–9).

Specifying Clauses Following *lmuut*

15.7.2. A common Palauan sentence type involves a specifying clause preceded by an independent clause containing the intransitive action verb *lmuut* 'return'. In the sentences below, the specifying clause has a directional verb:

(25) a. A Droteo a lmuut ęl mo ęr a Belau ęr a klukuk.
'Droteo is going back to Palau tomorrow.'

b. A John a liluut ęl me ęr a Hawaii er a elii.
'John came back to Hawaii yesterday.'

In the examples of 25, the specifying clause simply clarifies whether the place to which the subject is returning is in a direction away from (as in 25a) or towards (as in 25b) the speaker's location.

It is also possible to have examples like 25 above in which any action verb at all occurs in the specifying clause. In such cases, the verb *lmuut* conveys the more general meaning 'do (something) again/a second time'. Some typical sentences are now given:

(26) a. Ak liluut ęl męnguiu ęr a hong.
'I reread the book.'

b. A delmęrab ęr ngak a kikiongęl mę a Toki a lmuut ęl me męngętmokl ęr ngii.
'My room's dirty, so Toki will come clean it up again.'

c. Ak liluut ęl dmu ęr a Droteo ęl ua se ng diak lsębęchek ęl mong.
'I repeated to Droteo that I cannot go.'

Specifying Clauses Following *dmak*

15.7.3. In **15**.6 above, we examined sentences like the following, which express accompaniment:

(27) A Toki a mlo ęr a kędęra *ęl obęngkel a Droteo*.
'Toki went to the beach with Droteo.'

Recall that the italicized **accompaniment clause** in 27 contains the unusual word *obęngkel* 'be together with'. Now, with 27, compare the following sentence, which is quite similar in meaning:

(28) A Toki mę a Droteo a dilak *ęl mo ęr a kędęrang*.
'Toki and Droteo went to the beach together.'

In 28, the italicized specifying clause is preceded by an independent clause containing the intransitive verb *dmak* 'be together' (past: *dilak*). Both 27 and 28 imply that two persons (*Toki* and *Droteo*) carried out the same activity (going to the beach) in each other's company—i.e., at the same time and in the same place. The only difference between the two sentences involves where the speaker's attention or interest is focused. Thus, in 27, the speaker is interested mainly is Toki's activities—that is, in what happened from Toki's point of view; in 28, however, the speaker is focusing more or less equal attention on the two individuals involved. The sentences below are similar in structure and interpretation to 28; the italicized specifying clause tells us what activity the subjects did in each other's company:

(29) a. A Toki mę a Droteo a dmak *ęl męsuub ęr a library*.
'Toki and Droteo are studying together at the library.'

b. A ręsęchęlik a dilak *ęl męngiis ęr a kliokl*.
'My friends were digging the hole together.'

As the sentences of 28 and 29 show, the subject of *dmak* 'be together' must always be **plural:** thus, in 28 and 29a, the two nouns *Toki* and *Droteo* are joined by the **connecting word** *mę* 'and' (see **25**.4) to form a plural subject, and in 29b, the plural prefix *rę-* (cf. **2**.5) in *ręsęchęlik* 'my friends' indicates that this word refers to two (or more) individuals. A similar restriction concerning the subjects of **reciprocal verbs** was observed in **10**.1.

Different in meaning from 29a above is the following sentence:

(30) A Toki mę a Droteo a męsuub ęr a library ęl terung.
'Toki and Droteo are both studying at the library.'

While 29 implies that Toki and Droteo are studying at the library in each other's company (sitting side-by-side, etc.), 30 simply states that both persons are at the library studying, not necessarily in each other's company. In 30, the implication that both Toki and Droteo are studying at the library **individually** is supplied by the specifying clause *ęl teru* '(lit.) as two (people)', in which the **number word** *teru* refers to two human beings (see **24**.4, ex. 27).

The contrast in meaning between 29a and 30 is observed in the following pairs of sentences as well:

(31) a. A rengalęk a dilak ęl remurt.
'The children were running together.'

b. A rengalęk a rirurt ęl terung.
'The children were both running.'

(32) a. Aki dmak ęl męlękoi a tękoi ęr a Merikel.
'We speak English simultaneously/all together (during a language drill, etc.).'

b. Ng sębęcham ęl męlękoi a tękoi ęr a Merikel ęl tedei.
'The three of us can speak English.'

While 31a means that the children were running together (side-by-side), 31b simply says that each of the two children was running (possibly in different directions). Similarly, while 32a implies that the several persons represented by the subject *aki* 'we' repeat words or sentences of English in unison (as part of a language drill, etc.), 32b has no connotation of simultaneous performance of the same action and merely says that the three persons are able to speak English.

The following sentences further illustrate the use of specifying clauses containing number words referring to human beings:

(33) a. A Toki mę a Droteo a smechęr ęl terung.
'Both Toki and Droteo are sick.'

b. Ak mlo ęr a kędęra ęl di ngak ęl tang.
'I went to the beach alone.'

In 33a, the specifying clause *ęl teru* '(lit.) as two (people)' simply states that each of the subjects (*Toki* and *Droteo*) is sick. And in 33b, the succession of specifying clauses *ęl di ngak* '(lit.) as only myself' and *ęl ta* '(lit.) as one (person)' implies the participation of only one person—namely, *ak* 'I'—in the activity of going to the beach.[9]

Specifying Clauses Containing the Perfective Forms of *męrkui*

15.7.4. In **4**.9 and **4**.9.1–2 we saw that Palauan perfective verb forms show different **object pronoun** suffixes depending on the person and number of the object. Observe, therefore, the contrasting (past) perfective forms of *męlim* 'drink' in the following sentences:

(34) a. Ak ngilęlmii a biang.
'I drank up the bottle of beer.'

b. Ak ngilim a biang.
'I drank up the bottles of beer.'

Since both 34a and 34b contain perfective verb forms, they designate a completed past event involving the total consumption of the object *biang* 'beer' (cf. **12**.1). What differentiates them is whether the object is interpreted as **singular** or **plural**: thus, in 34a, the object pronoun suffix *-ii* on *ngilęlmii* 'drank it up' refers to a singular object ('bottle of beer'), while in 34b, the *Ø* **(zero)** object pronoun suffix on *ngilim* 'drank them up' implies a plural object ('bottles of beer').

Now, with 34a-b compare the following sentences:

(35) a. Ak ngilęlmii a biang *ęl rokir*.
'I drank up the whole bottle of beer.'

b. Ak ngilim a biang *ęl rokui*.
'I drank up all the bottles of beer.'

In 35a-b, the addition of the specifying clauses *ęl rokir* and *ęl rokui* places special emphasis on the fact that the action of drinking the beer expressed in the independent clause was performed in an exhaustive manner—that is, in a manner resulting in the total consumption of all the beer (one bottle or several bottles) that was available. Most Palauan speakers feel there is no difference in meaning, except for emphasis, between 34a and 35a, and between 34b and 35b.

As the pair of examples in 35 shows, the specifying clause *ęl rokir* must be used when a **singular** object is involved, while *ęl rokui* is required with a **plural** object. Therefore, *ęl rokir* always follows independent clauses containing 3rd pers. sg. object perfective verb forms (e.g. *ngilęlmii* 'drank it up' of 35a), while *ęl rokui* follows independent clauses with 3rd pers. pl. (non-human) object perfective verb forms (e.g. *ngilim* 'drank them up' of 35b). Further pairs like 35a-b are listed below:

(36) a. Kę mla chuięuii a hong ęr kau ęl rokir?
'Have you read all your book?'

b. Kę mla chęmuiu a hong ęr kau ęl rokui?
'Have you read all your books?'

(37) a. A Droteo a lilęchęsii a babier ęl rokir.
'Droteo wrote the letter completely.'

b. A Droteo a liluchęs a babier ęl rokui.
'Droteo wrote all the letters completely.'

In examples 35–37 above, the specifying clauses *ęl rokir*

and *ęl rokui* refer to the **object** of the perfective verb in the independent clause. Thus, in 37a-b, for instance, the specifying clauses tell us about one or more letters (*babier*) which were written completely. It is also possible for the specifying clauses *ęl rokir* and *ęl rokui* to refer to the **subject** of the verb in the independent clause, as illustrated below:

(38) a. A bilek a mla mo dękimęs ęl rokir.
'This piece of clothing of mine has gotten totally soaked.'

b. A bilek a mla mo dękimęs ęl rokui.
'All of my clothes have gotten completely wet.'

(39) a. A kęlek a mla męka ęl rokir.
'My food has been totally eaten.'

b. A kęlek a mla męka ęl rokui.
'All of my (various kinds of) food has been eaten up.'

(40) A ręchad ęl mla ęr a skoki ęl rirebęt a di mlad ęl rokui.
'All of the people who were in the plane that crashed died.'

The verb forms *rokir* and *rokui* observed in the specifying clauses of the examples above are related structurally to the present perfective forms of the verb *męrkui* 'finish (completely, entirely)' (past: *mirrękui*). The principal perfective forms of *męrkui* are listed below:

(41)

	Present	*Past*
3rd pers. sg. object	rokir	rirękir
3rd pers. pl. (non-human) object	rukui	rirękui

The use of these forms is illustrated in the following sentences:

(42) a. Ak rirękir a urerek er a elii.
'I completed my work/job yesterday.'

b. Ak rirękui a urerek er a elii.
'I completed my (various) tasks yesterday.'

(43) a. Kę mla rokir a termpaper ęr kau?
'Have you finished your term paper?'

b. Kę mla rukui a termpaper ęr kau?
'Have your finished your term papers?'

(44) Ak mla rukui a klde ęl hong.
'I've completely finished (reading) three books.[10]

It appears that the specifying clauses *ęl rokir* and *ęl rokui* observed in examples 35–40 above contain, respectively, the 3rd pers. sg. and pl. object present perfective forms of *męrkui* 'finish (completely, entirely)'. Notice, however, that the 3rd pers. pl. object present perfective form of *męrkui* is *rukui*, while the corresponding form in the specifying clause is *rokui*. The change of vowel in the first syllable of these forms is not clearly understood.

Regional Variation in the Use of *ęl rokir* and *ęl rokui*

15.7.4.1. Some regional variation is observed in the use of the specifying clauses *ęl rokir* and *ęl rokui*. In Angaur and Peleliu (islands south of Koror), speakers use these specifying clauses in a manner exactly opposite from that described above: *ęl rokir* follows 3rd person **plural** object perfective verb forms, while *ęl rokui* follows 3rd person **singular** object perfective verb forms. The following are typical examples of this regional variation:

(45) a. KOROR, BABELDAOB

Aki mla kma a kall ęl rokui.
'We've eaten up all the (various kinds of) food.'

b. ANGAUR, PELELIU

Aki mla kma a kall ęl rokir.
'We've eaten up all the (various kinds of) food.'

(46) a. KOROR, BABELDAOB

Ak mla kolii a blauang ęl rokir.
'I've eaten up the whole loaf of bread.'

b. ANGAUR, PELELIU

Ak mla kolii a blauang ęl rokui.
'I've eaten up the whole loaf of bread.'

Specifying Clauses Designating Periods of Time

15.7.5. A specifying clause containing an expression denoting a period (or duration) of time can be used to indicate how long the activity or state of the preceding independent clause continues. Some typical examples are given below:

(47) a. A Droteo a mlo ęr a Guam ęl {ede ęl klębęsei / ta ęl buil}.
'Droteo went to Guam for {three days / one month}.

b. A Toki a mla ęr a Merikel ęl ta ęl rak.
'Toki was in America for one year.'

c. Ak milsuub ęr a Siabal ęl eru ęl buil.
'I studied in Japan for two months.'

d. A Toki a milęchiuaiu ęl ta ęl sils.
'Toki slept the whole day.'

If a period of time is expressed in terms of a beginning point and an end (or termination) point, we use a **temporal phrase** to indicate the former (cf. **14**.6) and a specifying clause of the form *ęl + mo + temporal phrase* 'until' to indicate the latter. Observe the sentences below:

(48) a. Ak mla ęr a beluak *ęr a kot ęl ureor* ęl mo (ęr a) sabadong.
'I was in my village from Monday until Saturday.'

b. A Toki a męngętmokl ęr a blik *ęr a etiu ęl klok* ęl mo (ęr a) tęruich ęl klok.
'Toki cleans my house from nine o'clock until ten o'clock.'

In the sentences above, the italicized temporal phrases designate the "source" in time—i.e., the time point when some activity or state begins. In the directly following specifying clause, the directional verb *mo* 'go' is used to indicate "movement across time" from an earlier time point to a later one (cf. our discussion at the end of **13**.4), and the *ęr a* portion of the temporal phrase can be optionally deleted.

When the speaker is interested only in the termination point of some activity or state, he can simply use a specifying clause of the form *ęl + mo + temporal phrase* 'until', as in the sentences below:

(49) a. Ak mo kie ęr tia ęl mo (ęr a) sabadong.
'I'll be (living) here until Saturday.'

b. Kę milękar ęl mo (ęr a) tela ęl klok ęr a kęsus?
'Until what time were you up last night?'

c. Kau a chęrręuek ęl mo ęr a kodall.
'You're my enemy until death.'

Specifying Clauses in Sentences Designating Manner

15.7.6. Specifying clauses are also frequently used in sentences which describe the **manner** or way in which some activity is done. Usually, the independent clause contains a state verb designating a particular quality, and the following specifying clause identifies the action or activity which is characterized by this quality. Observe the following examples:

(50) a. A Santos a dachęlbai *ęl męlasęch a mlai.*
'Santos is skilled in carving canoes.'

b. A Droteo a {bękęrurt / bękętimęl} *ęl męngikai.*
'Droteo is a {fast / slow} swimmer.'

c. A Droteo a mle {męrechęd / meoud} *ęl mo ęr a blil a Toki.*
'Droteo arrived {early / late} at Toki's house.'

d. A Droteo a mle {klou / kekęre} a ngęrel *ęl męngitakl.*
'Droteo was singing {loudly / softly}.'

e. A Toki a kmal mle męringęl *ęl oureor.*
'Toki was working very hard.'

f. A Toki a mle ungil *ęl ngotęchii a mlai.*
'Toki did a good job cleaning the car.'

In 50a, the state verb *dachęlbai* 'skilled' names a quality of the subject (*Santos*), and the following italicized specifying clause designates the activity to which that quality applies. Similarly, in 50d, the expressions *mle klou a ngęrel* '(lit.) his voice was big' and *mle kekęre a ngęrel* '(lit.) his voice was small' describe qualities which characterize the action of singing denoted by the specifying clause. All of the remaining examples of 50 can be explained in a parallel way.

Often, speakers can switch the order of clauses in sentences like those of 50, giving the following, whose meanings are essentially the same:

(50c') A Droteo a milęngitakl ęl (mle) {klou / kekęre} a ngęrel.
'Droteo was singing {loudly / softly}.'

(50d') A Toki a ulureor ęl kmal (mle) męringęl.
'Toki was working very hard.'

Notice the optionality of the past tense auxiliary word *mle* preceding the state verb of the specifying clause.

Specifying Clauses Following Special Verbs

15.7.7. There are a small number of special verbs in Palauan which always must be followed by a specifying clause. These verbs are unusual in that they denote rather abstract concepts which we would not ordinarily expect to be expressed by verb forms. Observe, for example, the sentence below:

(51) Ak blęchoel *ęl męruul a kęlel a Droteo.*
'I always prepare Droteo's food.'

Even though it translates as English 'always', the word *blęchoel* of 51 seems to be a verb because it is preceded by a subject (*ak* 'I') and followed by a specifying clause.[11] This specifying clause (italicized) identifies the activity which the subject is always pursuing. Further evidence that *blęchoel* is a verb—more specifically, a **state verb**—is seen in the fact that it takes the auxiliary word *mle* in the past tense (cf. **5**.1.3), as the following examples show:

(52) a. Ak mle blęchoel ęl mo ęr a che ęl obęngkel a dęmak.
'I always used to go fishing with my father.'

b. A Droteo a mle blęchoel ęl męleng a udoud.
'Droteo always used to borrow money.'

Some further sentences containing *blęchoel* are given below:

(53) a. Ng blęchoel ęl ngmasęch a ręngum.
'You're always getting angry.'

b. A Droteo mę a Toki a blęchoel ęl kaungęroel.
'Droteo and Toki are always quarreling with each other.'

c. A ręmęsaik a blęchoel ęl diak a kęlir.
'Those who are lazy are always running out of food.'

d. A John a blęchoel ęl diak losuub.
'John never studies.'

In the examples below, we illustrate the use of several other unusual verbs which resemble *blęchoel* 'always':

(54) (*di*) *tęlkib* '(only) a little':

a. Ak di tęlkib ęl sębęchek ęl męngędęchęduch.
'I can only talk a little.'

b. Ak mle tęlkib ęl smechęr er a elii.
'I was a bit sick yesterday.'

(55) *dirrek* 'also':

a. Ak dirrek ęl męsuub a tękoi ęr a Siabal.
'I'm also studying Japanese.'

b. A Droteo a dirrek ęl sensei.
'Droteo is also a teacher.'

c. A Toki ng dirrek ęl mong?
'Is Toki going too?'

(56) *ko* 'just':

a. A Toki a ko ęl rongęsa a chais.
'Toki has just heard the news.'

b. Ak ko ęl męsubang.
'I've just gotten (a chance) to study.'

In 56a–b, the specifying clause following *ko* 'just' contains an **inchoative** verb form (cf. **11**.12.3).

16 Object Clauses

STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF OBJECT CLAUSES

16.1. In **5**.1.1 we pointed out that Palauan **transitive verbs** name actions which involve a **doer** and a **receiver**. The receiver—the person, animal, or thing affected by the action in question—appears as the **sentence object** following the transitive verb. You should have no trouble identifying the noun phrases which function as sentence objects in the examples below:

(1) a. Ak milsa a Droteo ęr a party.
'I saw Droteo at the party.'

b. A buik a mo omęka ęr a bilis.
'The boy will feed the dog.'

c. Ak lilęngir a mlil a Droteo.
'I borrowed Droteo's car.'

d. A John a milęngitakl a chęlitakl ęr a Siabal.
'John was singing Japanese songs.'

The transitive verbs in 1 can only take **concrete** nouns as objects; thus, all of the objects in the examples above can be easily perceived by one or more of our five senses (sight, hearing, touch, taste, and smell).

There is an important class of Palauan transitive verbs which can take both concrete objects and objects describing actions or activities. Compare the a- and b-sentences in the examples below:

(2) a. Ak mla mo męrek ęr a subęlek.
'I have finished my homework.'

b. Ak mla mo męrek *ęl męruul a kall.*
'I have finished preparing the food.'

(3) a. A Droteo a milsuub a tękoi ęr a Merikel.
'Droteo was studying English.'

b. A Droteo a milsuub *ęl męruul a mlai* ęr a demal.
'Droteo learned how to make canoes from his father.'

While the objects of *mo męrek* 'finish, stop' and *męsuub* 'study, learn' in the a-sentences above are concrete (*subęlek* 'my homework' and *tękoi ęr a Merikel* 'English'), the objects of these same verbs in the b-sentences designate certain actions or activities—preparing food, making canoes—rather than things. In the a-sentences, the objects of *mo męrek* 'finish, stop' and *męsuub* 'study, learn' are simply **noun phrases**, preceded by the word *a* (cf. **2**.6), and, if appropriate, by the **specifying word** *ęr* (cf. **2**.7). By contrast, the italicized objects in the b-sentences have the structure of **dependent clauses**, as we will see below.

In discussing the grammatical characteristics of Palauan dependent clauses, we mentioned in **15**.1 that dependent clauses are incomplete or deficient in two important respects. First of all, dependent clauses never contain an overtly-expressed subject; and second, the verb of the dependent clause can be in the present tense, even when the verb of the preceding independent clause is in some past tense and the whole sentence therefore designates a past action or event. Both of these features are observed in the italicized portions of 2b and 3b above: there is no subject following *ęl* where we would expect one, and the verb directly following *ęl* is in the present tense, even though both sentences describe past activities. In spite of the fact that the italicized portions of 2b and 3b therefore lack subjects and marking for the past tense, speakers of Palauan nevertheless have no difficulty interpreting them. Thus, just as in the case of the various dependent clauses described in chap.15, Palauan speakers automatically know that the understood subject of *męruul* 'make, prepare' in the italicized portions of 2b and 3b is identical to that of the preceding clause. In 2b, for example, it goes without saying that the person who prepared the food (i.e., the understood subject of *męruul a kall* 'prepare the food') is the same person who recently **finished** that very same activity—namely, the subject of the first clause *ak* 'I'. Furthermore, speakers know that the activities described by the **present** tense forms of *męruul* 'make, prepare' in the italicized portions of 2b and 3b really took place in the **past**, at time points identical to those of *mla mo męrek* 'has finished' and *milsuub* 'learned'.

From the discussion above, we can see that the italicized portions of 2b and 3b should be analyzed as **dependent clauses** since their complete interpretation **depends on** information about the subject and the tense which is found in the preceding independent clause. In order to distinguish them from the many other

types of dependent clauses examined in chap. 15, we will identify the dependent clauses of 2b and 3b as **object clauses**. An object clause is therefore a subtype of dependent clause which is used in "object position" immediately following certain transitive verbs like *mo męrek* 'finish, stop' and *męsuub* 'study, learn'. If we compare the a- and b-sentences of 2–3 above, we can see that an object clause designating an action or activity can substitute for or replace a "simple" noun phrase object denoting something concrete.

One further grammatical characteristic of object clauses should be mentioned here. As we saw in chap. 15, many Palauan speakers can use past tense verb forms in purpose clauses, instrument clauses, and the like. By contrast, object clauses cannot contain past tense verb forms under any circumstances. Therefore, a sentence like the following is impossible (cf. 2b):

(4) *Ak mla mo męrek ęl mirruul a kall.

OBJECT CLAUSES FOLLOWING *omuchęl* AND *mo męrek*

16.2. In this and the following sections, we will examine some of the most commonly used verbs which can be followed by object clauses. Most of these verbs also take concrete objects naming persons or things. In this section we will show how object clauses are used following the transitive verbs *omuchęl* 'begin' and *mo męrek* 'finish, stop'. Sentences containing the sequence *omuchęl/mo męrek + object clause* simply tell us that the subject begins or finishes a particular activity; the activity which is begun or finished is of course expressed by the words of the object clause.

In the examples below, the object clause following *omuchęl* 'begin' has been italicized:

(5) a. Ak mo omuchęl *ęl męngiis ęr a kliokl* ęr a klukuk.
'I'm going to begin digging the hole tomorrow.'

b. A Droteo a ulęmuchęl *ęl męsuub a tękoi ęr a Merikel* er se ęr a mękęmad.
'Droteo began to study English during the war.'

As the examples above show, an object clause can be followed by a relational phrase: thus, the **temporal phrases** *ęr a klukuk* 'tomorrow' and *er se ęr a mękęmad* 'during the war' (cf. **14**.6) designate the time at which some activity will begin or did begin.

The transitive verb *omuchęl* 'begin' can also have a concrete noun phrase as object, as in the sentences below:

(6) a. Kędę mo omuchęl ęr a blai ęr a klukuk.
'We'll begin (to build) the house tomorrow.'

b. Kę mo omuchęl ęr a urerem ęr oingarang?
'When are you going to begin your work?'

When *omuchęl* is used as a **transitive** verb, as in the examples of 5 and 6 above, its subject must always be **animate** (or living)—usually a human being. It is also possible for *omuchęl* to be used as an **intransitive** verb, in which case its subject will be **inanimate** (or non-living). The intransitive use of *omuchęl* is observed in the sentences below:

(7) a. A meeting a mo omuchęl ęr a euid ęl klok.
'The meeting will begin at seven o'clock.'

b. A kęrrękęriil ęr a Droteo a ulęmuchęl er a elii.
'Droteo's trial began yesterday.'

Since *omuchęl* is an intransitive verb in the sentences of 7, these sentences of course do not contain any object noun phrases.

As we saw in **13**.6, the special verbal expression *mo męrek* 'finish, stop' consists of the directional verb *mo* 'go' and *męrek*, a difficult-to-analyze form of the verb *męrkui* 'finish.' The sequence *mo męrek* always appears as a unit, and it functions as a transitive verb. In the sentences below, *mo męrek* 'finish, stop' is followed by an object clause, which has been italicized:

(8) a. Ak mlo męrek *ęl ręmurt* ęr a eai ęl klok.
'I stopped running at eight o'clock.'

b. Ak mlo męrek *ęl męsuub a tękoi ęr a Merikel* ęr tia ęl mlo męrek ęl rak.[1]
'I finished studying English last year.'

c. Ak mla mo męrek *ęl męruul ęr a blai.*
'I've finished working on the house (for today).'

d. A Droteo a mla mo męrek *ęl bęchiil.*
'Droteo is no longer married.'[2]

e. Kę mla mo męrek *ęl omęngur*?
'Have you finished eating?'

f. Kę mla mo męrek *ęl męlamęch a dękool*?
'Have you finished smoking your cigarette?'

g. A Droteo a mo męrek *ęl męngiis ęr a kliokl* ęr a klukuk.
'Droteo will finish digging the hole tomorrow.'

The examples in 8 show us many interesting facts about the form and meaning of *mo męrek* 'finish, stop'. As we saw in **13**.6, the form of *męrek* does not change when this verbal expression

is put in the past tense. Instead, the past tense marker *-l-* is infixed into the directional verb *mo* to give *mlo męrek*, as observed in 8a–b. Examples 8c–f show that the **auxiliary word** *mla* (cf. **5**.3.2.1) is simply placed before *mo męrek* to indicate **recent past** time; and in 8g we see that *mo męrek*, which contains the present tense form of the directional verb *mo*, can be used to denote a **future** event (cf. **13**.4), as evidenced by the accompanying temporal phrase *ęr a klukuk* 'tomorrow'.

As the English equivalents for the sentences of 8 indicate, the sequence *mo męrek* + *object clause* always refers to the stopping or finishing of something on a **particular instance or occasion**. In 8f, for example, the speaker is asking someone on a particular occasion (say, before a class is to begin) whether or not he has finished smoking. Such a question is quite different in meaning from the following:

(9) Kę mla choitii a omęlamęch ęl dękool?
'Have you quit/given up smoking cigarettes?'

As opposed to 8f, 9 asks the person addressed whether he has quit or stopped the **habitual** action of smoking. In 9, the object of *mla choitii* 'has quit' (cf. imperfective *męngoit* 'quit, throw away') is a noun phrase containing the **derived action noun** *omęlamęch* '(action of) smoking' (cf. **8**.6); the structure of sentences like 9 will be examined further in **17**.8.[3]

The verbal expression *mo męrek* 'finish, stop' need not be followed by an object clause as in the examples of 8 above; thus, as the examples below illustrate, *mo męrek* can also take a concrete object (cf. 2a above):

(10) a. Kę mla mo męrek a kall?
'Have you finished (preparing) the food?'

b. Kę mla mo męrek ęr a skuul?
'Have you finished your schooling?'

c. Ak mla mo męrek ęr a urerek.
'I've finished my work/job (for the day).'

When *mo męrek* is used as a **transitive** verb, as in 8 and 10 above, its subject must be animate (usually human). But when *mo męrek* is used intransitively, as in the following sentences, its subject will be inanimate:

(11) a. A meeting a mo męrek ęr a etiu ęl klok.
'The meeting will end at nine o'clock.'

b. A chull a mla mo męrek.
'The rainy season has ended.'

OBJECT CLAUSES FOLLOWING TRANSITIVE STATE VERBS

16.3. In **7**.4 we noted that the small class of Palauan **transitive state verbs** can be identified by the following two features: first, like all other transitive verbs, they can take objects; and second, like all other state verbs, they have past tense forms derived with the auxiliary *mle* 'was, were'. Two transitive state verbs—*męduch* 'know how (to), be skilled at' and *mętitur* 'not know how (to), not be capable of'—can be followed by concrete objects as well as object clauses. In the sentences below, these verbs appear followed by concrete objects:

(12) a. Ak męduch ęr a ochur.
'I'm good at math.'

b. Ak mętitur ęr a misil ęr a sidosia.
'I don't know anything about (fixing) car motors.'

When *męduch* 'know how (to), be skilled at' and *mętitur* 'not know how (to), not be capable of' take object clauses, they express the subject's ability or lack of ability, respectively, to do some activity or task. The following sentences illustrate these verbs in both the present tense and past tense followed by object clauses:

(13) a. Ak męduch ęl omękall a sidosia.
'I know how to drive a car.'

b. A Droteo a mle męduch ęl męlękoi a tękoi ęr a Siabal e ng di ng mla obes.
'Droteo used to know how to speak Japanese, but he has forgotten.'

(14) a. A John a mętitur ęl męngikai.
'John doesn't know how to swim.'

b. Ak mle mętitur ęl męlękoi a tękoi ęr a Siabal er se ęr a taem ęr a mękęmad.
'I didn't know how to speak Japanese at the time of the war.'

In **13**.5 we saw that the directional verb *mo* 'go' can be used as an auxiliary word preceding state verbs to designate a **change of state**. Since *męduch* 'know how (to), be skilled at' and *mętitur* 'not know how (to), not be capable of' are state verbs, they can also occur with *mo* to denote a change of state. Note the following examples:

(15) a. Ak mle mętitur ęl mengikai e ng di ak *mla mo męduch.*
'I used to be unable to swim, but (now) I've learned how.'

b. A rubak a mle męduch ęl męlękoi a tękoi ęr a Ruk e ng di ng *mla mo mętitur.*
'The old man used to know how to speak Trukese, but (now) he's no longer able to.'

FURTHER EXAMPLES OF OBJECT CLAUSES

16.4. In this section, we will look at two more verbs which allow concrete objects as well as object clauses. Since there is nothing unusual about the grammatical behavior of these verbs, we will simply list examples without comment.

In 16 below, the transitive verb *męlaseṃ* 'try' is followed by a concrete object, while in 17 it takes an object clause:

(16) a. Kę mla męlaseṃ ęr a sasimi?
'Have you tried out/tasted the sashimi?'

b. Kę mla męlaseṃ ęr ngak?
'Are you challenging me?'

c. Kę mla męlaseṃ ęr a Droteo?
'Have you tried (to ask/consult) Droteo?'

d. Kę mla cheseṃii[4] a mlim?
'Have you tried out/checked your car?'

(17) a. Ak millaseṃ ęl męnga ęr a ngikęl.
'I tried to eat the fish.'

b. Kę mla męlaseṃ ęl omękall a sidosia?
'Have you ever tried driving a car?'

c. Ak mla męlaseṃ ęl męruul ęr a subęlek, e ng di ng kmal męringęl.
'I've tried to do my homework, but it's very difficult.'

d. Kę mla męlaseṃ ęl męlękoi ęr a John?
'Have you tried talking to John?'

The transitive verb *męsuub* 'study, learn' is used with a concrete object in 18 below, and with an object clause in 19 (cf. 3a vs. 3b above):

(18) a. Ak mo męsuub ęr a reksi er a Belau.
'I'm going to study Palauan history.'

b. A Satsko ng milsuub a ngarang?
'What was Satsko studying?'

(19) a. Ak milsuub ęl męluchęs a tękoi ęr a Siabal er se ęr a mękęmad.
'I learned how to write Japanese during the war.'

b. Kę milsuub ęl omękall a sidosia er oingarang?
'When did you learn to drive a car?'

SENTENCES WITH TWO OBJECTS

16.5. So far we have only seen object clauses whose unexpressed subject is understood to be identical to that of preceding transitive verbs such as *omuchęl* 'begin', *mo męrek* 'finish, stop', *męduch* 'know how (to), be skilled at', *mętitur* 'not know how (to), not be capable of', *męlaseṃ* 'try', and *męsuub* 'study, learn'. There are some cases, however, in which the unexpressed subject of the object clause is understood differently, as in the example below:

(20) A Toki a milęngętakl ęr a Helen ęl mo ęr a bulis.
'Toki persuaded Helen to go to the police with her.'

In 20, the subject (*Toki*) influenced some other person (*Helen*) to do a particular action (i.e., go to the police). In other words, the action of going to the police was carried out by the person persuaded (*Helen*) rather than the person doing the persuading (*Toki*). Therefore, the unexpressed subject of the object clause *ęl mo ęr a bulis* 'go to the police' is not identical to *Toki*, the subject of *milęngętakl* 'persuaded', but rather to *Helen*, the noun immediately following *milęngętakl*. The verb *milęngętakl* in 20 thus appears to be followed by a succession of two objects, the first one naming the person influenced or affected by the persuasion and the second one—an object clause—describing the action pursued as a result of the persuasion.

In the sentences below, we observe an over-all structure identical to that of 20 above. This "two object" structure is typical with the verbs *olęngęseu* 'help', *olisęchakl* 'teach', and *olduręch* 'tell, ask'. In other words, these verbs not only involve a person who is helped, taught, or asked (the first object), but also some kind of an activity which the person is helped, taught, or asked to do (the second object). For purposes of clarity, we have italicized the first object in the examples below; the person referred to by this object is, of course, the understood subject of the following object clause. Note, in addition, that the first object will be expressed by an **object pronoun suffix** (cf. **4**.9) if a **perfective** form of *olęngęseu*, *olisęchakl*, or *olduręch* is used:

(21) a. Ak ullęngęseu *ęr a Toki* ęl męruul a subęlel.
'I helped Toki do her homework.'

b. Ng sębęchem ęl ngosu*kak*[5] ęl mo chosbęrbęrii a blik?
'Can you help me paint my house?'

c. Ak ngilsu*tęrir a ręsęchęlik* ęl męngętmokl ęr a blai.
'I helped my friends clean the house.'

d. A rubak a ullisęchakl *ęr a Droteo* ęl męlasęch a mlai.
'The old man taught Droteo how to carve canoes.'

e. A ręchad ęr a Arabia a uldęrch*ętęrir*[6] *a ręchad ęr a Siabal* ęl mękodętęrir a ręchad ęr a skojo.
'The Arabs told the Japanese to kill the people at the airport.'

f. Ak uldęrch*ii a John* ęl mękodir a Toki.
'I told John to kill Toki.'

g. A sensei a uldęrch*ak* ęl mo ęr a Guam.
'The teacher told me to go to Guam.'

17 Processes of Sentence Formation: Subject Shifting and Preposing of Possessor

FOUR SPECIAL POSSESSED NOUNS

17.1. We have already had occasion to mention a special group of **obligatorily possessed nouns** (cf. 3.5) which refer to certain basic ideas such as liking, disliking, ability, and obligation. These nouns are used in sentences like the following, which we repeat from 3.11:

(1) a. Ng soak a biang.
'I like beer.'

b. Ng chętil a rrom.
'He dislikes liquor.'

c. Ng sębęchir ęl mong?
'Can they go?'

d. Ng kirem ęl mong?
'Do you have to go?'

Even though the English equivalents for the above examples contain verbs (*like, dislike*) or verbal expressions (*can go, have to go*), we should not be misled into thinking that the corresponding Palauan sentences necessarily contain verbs to express the same ideas. For example, sentences 1a and 1b do not contain any verbs at all, but instead have the possessed nouns *soak* 'my liking' and *chętil* 'his disliking' followed by concrete nouns such as *biang* 'beer' and *rrom* 'liquor'. Thus, these sentences seem to mean something like 'My liking is beer' and 'His disliking is liquor', respectively.[1]

We know that words like *soak* 'my liking', *chętil* 'his disliking', *sębęchir* 'their ability', and *kirem* 'your obligation' of 1 above must be nouns because their form varies according to whose liking, disliking, ability, or obligation is involved. These four words are to be classified as **obligatorily possessed nouns** because

they each must take one of the sets of **possessor suffixes** described in 3.3. Since these words occur so frequently in Palauan sentences, we shall list their possessed forms below:

(2)

Possessor Suffix	*Noun of Liking*	*Noun of Disliking*
1st pers sg	soak	chętik
2nd pers sg	soam	chętim
3rd pers sg	soal	chętil
1st pers pl incl	soad	chętid
1st pers pl excl	somam	chętimam
2nd pers pl	somiu	chętimiu
3rd pers (hum) pl	sorir	chętirir
	Noun of Ability	*Noun of Obligation*
1st pers sg	sębęchek	kirek
2nd pers sg	sębęchem	kirem
3rd pers sg	sębęchel	kirel
1st pers pl incl	sębęched	kired
1st pers pl excl	sębęcham	kiram
2nd pers pl	sębęchiu	kiriu
3rd pers (hum) pl	sębęchir	kirir

The forms given above show that the noun of ability and the noun of obligation have possessor suffixes belonging to the *e*-set, while the noun of liking and the noun of disliking take possessor suffixes belonging to the *a*-set and the *i*-set, respectively. The only irregularity we observe is in certain forms of the noun of disliking: in the "plural possessor" forms *chętimam*, *chętimiu*, and *chętirir*, we note the unexpected insertion of *i* before the consonant-initial suffixes *-mam*, *-miu* and *-rir* (cf. 3.3, ex. 4).

Before we can adequately explain the grammatical structure of the sentences in 1, we must take a preliminary look at an important Palauan sentence type—namely, the **equational sentence**. As we will see in **18**.6, an equational sentence is one in which two noun phrases are **equated** with each other. In the present tense, Palauan equational sentences contain no verb at all, but merely consist of a subject noun phrase followed by another noun phrase. Note the examples below:

(3) a. Ak ngalęk ęr a skuul.
'I'm a student.'

b. A Droteo a sensei.
'Droteo's a teacher.'

The sentences of **3** simply make a statement of the form "A is B": in other words, in 3a the subject noun phrase *ak* 'I' is asserted to belong to the class of individuals designated by the second noun phrase *ngalęk ęr a skuul*[2] 'student', and in 3b the subject noun phrase *Droteo* is said to belong to the class of individuals referred to by the second noun phrase *sensei* 'teacher'. In the past tense, Palauan equational sentences contain the auxiliary word *mle* 'was, were', which joins the two noun phrases. Thus, with 3a–b, compare the following examples:

(4) a. Ak mle ngalęk ęr a skuul.
'I was/used to be a student.'

b. A Droteo a mle sensei.
'Droteo was/used to be a teacher.'

SUBJECT SHIFTING

17.2. In order to understand the structure of sentences 1a–b above, we shall first propose that they are basically **equational sentences**. In other words, sentences 1a–b are derived by a certain grammatical process from sentences like the following:

(1') a. A biang a soak.
'Beer is what I like.'

b. A rrom a chętil.
'Liquor is what he dislikes.'

The sentences in 1' are equational sentences containing two noun phrases; in each case, the subject noun phrase (*biang* 'beer' or *rrom* 'liquor') is being equated with one of the special possessed nouns discussed in **17**.1 above. Therefore, the interpretation of 1'a–b follows the "A is B" pattern, and the two sentences literally mean something like 'Beer is my liking' and 'Liquor is his disliking' (which of course are not good English sentences).

Now, the equational sentences in 1' are used relatively rarely by Palauan speakers. Such sentences would only be uttered if the speaker wishes to emphasize or single out a particular thing as the thing he likes or dislikes. Thus, 1'a implies, for example, that it is beer and only beer (out of a choice of several different beverages) that the speaker has developed a taste for. For some reason, the equational sentences in 1' must usually undergo a modification in

form before they can be spoken as natural, fully acceptable sentences of Palauan. This modification in form is brought about by the very important process of **subject shifting**, which we have already touched upon in **4**.7. In order to see how subject shifting works, let us look at sentences 1a–b together with their respective "source" sentences 1'a–b, as in the following scheme:

(5) *Source Sentence*		*Resulting Sentence*
a. A biang a soak.	→	Ng soak a biang. 'I like beer.'
b. A rrom a chętil.	→	Ng chętil a rrom. 'He dislikes liquor.'

Depending on whether we are looking at the process of change in 5a–b from the viewpoint of the **source sentence** or the **resulting sentence**, our interpretation of the arrow notation will be expressed differently. Thus, if we are focusing our attention on the source sentence, the arrow means that the source sentence is "changed into" or "transformed into" the resulting sentence. On the other hand, if our discussion is from the viewpoint of the resulting sentence, the arrow is interpreted to mean that the resulting sentence "results from" or "is derived from" the source sentence.

In 5 above, the resulting sentences are derived from the source sentences by the process of **subject shifting**. This process shifts the subject noun phrase of an (equational) source sentence to the right of the second noun phrase. Thus, in the resulting sentences of 5, *biang* 'beer' and *rrom* 'liquor'—the subject noun phrases in the source sentences—have come to appear to the right of the possessed nouns *soak* 'my liking' and *chętil* 'his disliking'. When a sentence subject gets shifted in this way, a **trace** of it remains in its original position in the form of a **non-emphatic pronoun** (cf. **4**.2 and **4**.7). Because the shifted noun phrase subjects *biang* 'beer' and *rrom* 'liquor' in the examples of 5 are **3rd pers. sg.** nouns, the **pronominal trace** which they leave behind is the 3rd pers. sg. non-emphatic pronoun *ng*. Thus, the pronominal traces which occupy the original subject position in the resulting sentences of 5 **agree with** the shifted noun phrase subjects *biang* 'beer' and *rrom* 'liquor'.

The analysis given above may seem unconvincing and unnecessary until we see that the process of subject shifting is quite widespread in Palauan and must therefore be included as part of any adequate description of the language. To illustrate this point,

let us repeat our discussion of examples 23–24 in **4**.7, which are given as 6–7 below:

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

(7) a. A ralm a mękęlękolt. 'The water is cold.'
b. Ng mękęlękolt a ralm.

To Palauan speakers, the a- and b-sentences in 6–7 above are equally acceptable and natural. While the a-sentences have their subjects at the beginning, as we would expect, in the b-sentences these same subjects have been shifted to the right of the verb phrases (*mla me* 'has come' and *mękęlękolt* 'cold'). In other words, the b-sentences are derived from the a-sentences by the process of subject shifting, and since the shifted subjects (*Droteo* in 6 and *ralm* 'water' in 7) are 3rd pers. sg. nouns, they leave the pronominal trace *ng* in their original position. If the shifted subject is human plural, then the pronominal trace which it leaves behind is the 3rd pers. human pl. non-emphatic pronoun *tę*. Thus, with 6, compare the examples below:

(8) a. A ręsęchęlim a mla mei. 'Your friends have come.'
b. Tę mla me a ręsęchęlim.

In the b-sentences of 6–8, the verb phrase is not introduced by the word *a* because it has come to be preceded by a non-emphatic pronoun—namely, the pronominal traces *ng* or *tę* (cf. **4**.2).

Practically every Palauan sentence of the form *subject noun phrase + intransitive verb phrase* (+ *relational phrase*) or *subject noun phrase + transitive verb phrase* (+ *object noun phrase*) (+ *relational phrase*) (cf. **5**.2) can be transformed by the process of subject shifting. This change in form does not result in any change of meaning for many speakers; therefore, we will find that the a- and b-sentences of 6–8 above are often used interchangeably. Some speakers, however, use the a- vs. b-sentences in rather different situations. Thus, though both members of 8 say that the hearer's friends have arrived, their implications are different: 8a, with "normal" word order, is used to express new or unexpected information and therefore implies that the speaker had no advance knowledge that the visitors would come, while 8b, with "shifted" word order, seems to confirm an event which the speaker was waiting for or expecting.

To summarize what we have said above, the process of subject shifting will account for the following two types of derivations:

(9) *Source Sentence* → *Resulting Sentence*

a. A biang a soak. → Ng soak a biang.
'I like beer.'

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

The processes of change in 9a and 9b are identical in that the subject of the source sentence is shifted and a pronominal trace is left in its place. What differentiates the two examples, however, is the following. First, in 9a, which is an equational sentence, the subject is shifted to the right of the second **noun phrase**, while in 9b, which is an intransitive sentence, the subject is moved to the right of the **verb phrase**. Second, in 9a, subject shifting is nearly **obligatory**, since the source sentence is used only rarely, while the resulting sentence (with shifted subject) is the usual way of expressing the idea involved. By contrast, in 9b, both the source sentence and the resulting sentence are common and acceptable; therefore, the application of subject shifting is just **optional**. Why subject shifting is nearly obligatory in 9a but optional in 9b seems to be a matter of style which we cannot predict or explain. Rather, all we can do is describe the situation by saying that equational sentences containing possessed nouns like *soak* 'my liking' and *chętil* 'his disliking' must usually undergo the process of subject shifting. This accounts for the fact that such sentences nearly always have *ng* (a pronominal trace) in initial position and another noun (the shifted subject) following the possessed noun. As we will see below and in later chapters, there are other Palauan sentence types which resemble sentences containing *soak*, *chętil*, etc. in that subject shifting is either obligatory or, at least, preferred.

PREPOSING OF POSSESSOR

17.3. In the examples below, we observe some further instances of subject shifting. In each case, the shifted subject (italicized) happens to be a **noun phrase of possession** (cf. 3.7) with a specifically-mentioned third person possessor:

(10) *Source Sentence* → *Resulting Sentence*

a. A *chimal a Droteo* a męringęl. → Ng męringęl a *chimal a Droteo*.
'Droteo's hand hurts.'

b. A *ochil a mlik* a tęlęmall. → Ng tęlęmall a *ochil a mlik*.
'The wheel of my car is broken.'

c. A *rękil a Toki* a lluich mę a etiu. → Ng lluich mę a etiu a *rękil a Toki*.
'Toki's age is 29.'/'Toki is 29 years old.'

d. A *ultutęlel a babier* a klou. → Ng klou a *ultutęlel a babier*.
'The letter is (very) important.'

Since both the source sentences and the resulting sentences of 10 are natural and acceptable, the process of subject shifting is optional in the examples above. Some speakers, however, tend to prefer the sentences with shifted subjects.

Now, with the resulting sentences of 10, compare the following sentences, which are identical in meaning:

(11) a. A *Droteo* a męringęl a chimal.
'Droteo's hand hurts.'

b. A *mlik* a tęlęmall a ochil.
'The wheel of my car is broken.'

c. A *Toki* a lluich mę a etiu a rekil.
'Toki's age is 29.'

d. A *babier* a klou a ultutęlel.
'The letter is (very) important.'

The examples of 11 represent a very common sentence type in Palauan whose structure is best understood if we assume that the examples of 11 are derived from the resulting sentences of 10 by a special grammatical process called **preposing of possessor**. In comparing the two sets of sentences, we see that the specific possessors *Droteo*, *mlik* 'my car', *Toki*, and *babier* 'letter', which were originally shifted to the right in 10 as part of the italicized shifted subjects *chimal a Droteo* 'Droteo's hand', *ochil a mlik* 'wheel of my car', etc., are optionally **moved back** to sentence-initial position in 11, where they substitute for the pronominal trace *ng*; at the same time, the possessed nouns *chimal* 'his hand', *ochil* 'its wheel', etc. come to appear in sentence-final position. This process is called "preposing of possessor" because a specific possessor is removed from the (shifted) noun phrase of possession of which it is a part and **preposed** (or moved forward) to the beginning of the sentence. The type of preposing under discussion here is only possible if the preposed noun phrase is a **possessor**. Thus, if we try to prepose a noun phrase which is not a possessor, as in the example below, we get a completely ungrammatical sentence:

(12) A John a chillębędii a bilis.
'John hit the dog.'→
*A bilis a John a chillębędii.

If we accept the validity of the grammatical processes of **subject shifting** and **preposing of possessor**, we can easily explain the unusual order of words in the sentences of 11, as well as the fact that the preposed noun phrases (which at first glance look like subjects) are actually interpreted as the possessors of the various possessed nouns found in sentence-final position.Thus, a sentence like 11a is ultimately derived from the **source sentence** of 10a by the following steps:

(11a') A *chimal a Droteo* a męringęl. (source sentence)→
Ng męringęl a *chimal a Droteo*. (by subject shifting)→
A *Droteo* a męringęl a chimal. (by preposing of possessor)

In derivations such as 11a', it is very important that the subject shifting and preposing of possessor rules be applied in the order indicated: in other words, the possessor is preposed **after** it has been moved to the right (together with the rest of the noun phrase of possession of which it is a part) by the subject shifting rule.

In the additional examples below, the order of words in the first (or independent) clause is due to the application of the subject shifting and preposing of possessor rules. The preposed possessor has been italicized, and the possessed noun which has been left "isolated" at the end of the clause has been given in bold type. The second clause, which is introduced by *mę* 'and so' (see chap. 25), is added to make the sentences sound more complete; this clause describes some action or state which **results from** (or is a consequence of) the action or state of the preceding clause:

(13) a. A *Droteo* a mlo ęr a Guam a **bęchil** mę ak mo męruul a kęlir.
'Droteo's wife went to Guam, so I'm going to prepare their (i.e., the family's) food.'

b. A *sęchęlik* a smechęr a **dęmal** mę ak mo omes ęr tir.
'My friend's father is sick, so I'm going to visit them.'

c. A *Toki* a milseseb a **blil,** mę ng kie ęr a blik.
'Toki's house burned down, so she's staying at my place.'

d. A *Satsko* a mlo ęr a skuul a **rengęlękel** mę ng diak a chad ęr a blil.
'Satsko's children have gone to school, so there's no one at home.'

e. A *ngęlękek* a tęlęmall a **rrat** ęr ngii mę ng kirel ęl di męrael ęl mo ęr a skuul.
'My child's bicycle is broken, so he's got to walk to school.'

In 13e, the original noun phrase of possession is *rrat ęr a ngęlękek* 'my child's bicycle', in which the possessor is expressed in a **possessor phrase** introduced by the **relational word** *ęr* because the noun *rrat* 'bicycle' is **unpossessible** (cf. 3.8). When the possessor is preposed in such cases, a trace of it must be left in the form of a pronoun following the relational word *ęr*. Since the relational word *ęr* can only be followed by **emphatic** pronouns (cf. 4.3), the pronominal trace in 13e must be the 3rd pers. sg. emphatic pronoun *ngii*.

Let us now return to some sentences containing the possessed nouns *soal* 'his/her liking' and *chętil* 'his/her disliking'. If a specific third person possessor is mentioned, we get sentences like the following:

(14) a. Ng soal a Droteo a biang. 'Droteo likes beer.'
b. A Droteo a soal a biang.

(15) a. Ng chętil a Toki a sasimi. 'Toki dislikes sashimi.'
b. A Toki a chętil a sasimi.

The sentences above can be easily explained in terms of the rules of subject shifting and preposing of possessor. Thus, the derivation of 14a and 15a follows the pattern given in 5 above, since these sentences show the shifted subjects *biang* 'beer' and *sasimi* 'sashimi'. In other words, 14a and 15a are derived by subject shifting from equational sentences in which the first noun phrase is *biang* or *sasimi* and the second noun phrase contains *soal* or *chętil* followed by a specific possessor. These equational sentences are the **source sentences** in the scheme below:

(16)

Source Sentence	*Resulting Sentence*
a. A biang a soal a Droteo.→	Ng soal a Droteo a biang. 'Droteo likes beer.'
b. A sasimi a chętil a Toki.→	Ng chętil a Toki a sasimi. 'Toki dislikes sashimi.'

Just as in the examples of 5, the application of the subject shifting rule to the source sentences of 16 is nearly obligatory, since the occurrence of these source sentences is quite rare.

The b-sentences of 14–15 are derived from the a-sentences by preposing the possessor, but the conditions under which this rule applies are somewhat different from what we described

earlier. Thus, in deriving 14b from 14a, for example, we note that the possessor *Droteo* can be preposed even though it was never moved to the right as part of a shifted subject. In order to account for the correct ordering of words in 14b, however, we must still assume that the preposing of possessor rule applies after the subject shifting rule. The step-by-step derivation of 14b is therefore as follows:

(17) A biang a soal a Droteo. (source sentence) →
Ng soal a Droteo a biang. (by subject shifting) →
A Droteo a soal a biang. (by preposing of possessor)

SUBJECT SHIFTING AND PREPOSING OF POSSESSOR WITH EXPRESSIONS CONTAINING *reng*

17.4. In this section we will examine another common Palauan sentence type in which the processes of subject shifting and preposing of possessor play an important role. Palauan has a very large number of expressions consisting of a possessed form of the abstract noun *reng* 'heart, spirit' followed by an intransitive verb—usually a state verb. These expressions are used to express emotional states, feelings, personality traits, and the like. Often, it is difficult or impossible to predict the exact meaning of these expressions from the meaning of the independently-occurring intransitive verb, as the following examples indicate:

(18) a. Ng ungil a rɛnguk.
'I'm happy.'

b. Ng klou a rɛngul a sensei.
'The teacher is patient.'

c. Ng smechɛr a rɛngmam.
'We're homesick.'

In the sentences above, we can see the connection between the two meanings of *ungil* 'good'—'happy', *klou* 'big'—'patient', and *smechɛr* 'sick'—'homesick', but we have no consistent way of predicting how the meaning will change when the particular intransitive (state) verb is associated with the abstract noun *reng* 'heart, spirit'.

Before discussing the grammatical structure of the sentences of 18, we shall list some of the most commonly-used expressions with *reng*. The gloss given in parentheses is the meaning which the intransitive verb has when it occurs independently (i.e., without *reng*):

(19) ngmasɛch a rɛngul	'angry'	('rise')
kɛsib a rɛngul	'angry'	('perspiring')
mɛched a rɛngul	'thirsty'	('shallow')
mɛkngit a rɛngul	'be in a bad/sad mood'	('bad')
beot a rɛngul	'easygoing, nonchalant, unmotivated'	('easy')
mɛsisiich a rɛngul	'hardworking, well-motivated'	('strong')
bɛralm a rɛngul	'lazy, unmotivated'	('watery')
mɛchitɛchut a rɛngul	'easily discouraged'	('weak')
kekɛdeb a rɛngul	'short-tempered'	('short')
kekɛre a rɛngul	'uncomfortable'	('small')
mɛsaul a rɛngul	'not feel like'	('tired')
suebɛk a rɛngul	'worried'	('fly')
songɛrengɛr a rɛngul	'have a strong desire for'	('hungry')
diak a rɛngul	'inconsiderate, impolite'	('isn't, doesn't exist')

It is easy to see that the examples of 18 are derived by the process of subject shifting. In other words, we propose that 18a–c have the following source sentences:

(18') a. A rɛnguk a ungil.
('I'm happy.')

b. A rɛngul a sensei a klou.
('The teacher is patient.')

c. A rɛngmam a smechɛr.
('We're homesick.')

The sentences in 18' are not acceptable to any speakers, however, and we must therefore conclude that subject shifting is **obligatory** if the sentence contains a special expression with *reng* 'heart, spirit'. If we follow the subject shifting analysis proposed here, we can easily explain what would otherwise be two rather unusual facts about sentences like 18. First of all, such sentences always end in a noun phrase of possession which contains a possessed form of *reng*; this is of course due to the fact that the sentence subject is always obligatorily shifted. Second, sentences of this kind always begin with *ng*; this *ng* is the pronominal trace which appears in the spot originally occupied by the shifted 3rd pers. sg. noun phrase subject.

If we compare a sentence like 18b with the following, which is identical in meaning,

(20) A sensei a klou a rẹngul.
'The teacher is patient.'

we see immediately that the process of **preposing of possessor** (cf. **17**.3 above) also applies to sentences containing noun phrases of possession with *reng*. Since both 18b and 20 are perfectly acceptable sentences, the rule which preposes the possessor is of course **optional** rather than obligatory. A couple of examples parallel to 18b and 20 are given below; the preposed possessor has been italicized:

(21) a. Ng suebẹk a rẹngul a Droteo. 'Droteo is worried.'
b. A *Droteo* a suebẹk a rẹngul.

(22) a. Ng mẹched a rẹngrir a rẹsẹchẹlik. 'My friends are thirsty.'
b. A *rẹsẹchẹlik* a mẹched a rẹngrir.

PREPOSING IN RECIPROCAL SENTENCES

17.5. In **10**.1 we noted that **reciprocal verbs** must always have **plural** subject noun phrases. One type of plural subject consists of two single nouns or two noun phrases joined by the **connecting word** *mẹ* 'and' (cf. **25**.4), as shown in the examples below:

(23) a. A Droteo mẹ a Toki a kausẹchẹlei.
'Droteo and Toki are friends.'
b. A tẹkoi ẹr a Ruk mẹ a tẹkoi er a Belau a kakẹrous.
'Trukese and Palauan are different.'
c. A rẹchad ẹr a Merikel mẹ a rẹchad ẹr a Sina a mle kauchẹraro.
'The Americans and the Chinese used to be enemies.'

Just like any other subject noun phrase, the plural subject noun phrases in 23 can be moved to the right of the verb by the process of subject shifting explained in **17**.2 above. Thus, when we apply subject shifting to 23a–c, we get the following sentences, which are equivalent in meaning:

(24) a. Tẹ kausẹchẹlei a Droteo mẹ a Toki.
'Droteo and Toki are friends.'
b. Ng kakẹrous a tẹkoi ẹr a Ruk mẹ a tẹkoi er a Belau.
'Trukese and Palauan are different.'
c. Tẹ mle kauchẹraro a rẹchad ẹr a Merikel mẹ a rẹchad ẹr a Sina.
'The Americans and the Chinese used to be enemies.'

Because the shifted subjects in 24a and 24c designate human beings, the 3rd pers. human pl. non-emphatic pronoun *tẹ* is used as a pronominal trace. In 24b, however, the pronominal trace is *ng* because this pronoun substitutes for the **non-human** plural noun phrase *tẹkoi ẹr a Ruk mẹ a tẹkoi er a Belau* 'Trukese and Palauan' (cf. **2**.4).[3]

The sentences of 24 can be further changed (or transformed) by a process of preposing, but one which differs somewhat from that already discussed in the sections above. Before explaining what is involved, let us compare the sentences below with those of 24:

(25) a. A Droteo a kausẹchẹlei ngii mẹ a Toki.
'Droteo is friends with Toki.'
b. A tẹkoi ẹr a Ruk a kakẹrous ngii mẹ a tẹkoi er a Belau.
'Trukese is different from Palauan.'
c. A rẹchad ẹr a Merikel a mle kauchẹraro tir mẹ a rẹchad ẹr a Sina.
'The Americans used to be enemies of the Chinese.'

In the sentences of 25 we note that the first noun or noun phrase of the shifted subjects of 24 has been moved back to sentence-initial position, where it replaces the pronominal traces *ng* or *tẹ*. This type of preposing is different from the process of **preposing of possessor** in two important respects. First, the preposed noun or noun phrase is, of course, not a possessor, but rather the first member of a plural noun phrase of the form *A mẹ B*. Second, when the first member of (shifted) *A mẹ B* is preposed, a trace of it must remain in the form of an **emphatic** pronoun. This accounts for the occurrence of *ngii* in 25a–b, where the preposed noun phrase is singular, and for the occurrence of *tir* in 25c, where the preposed noun phrase is plural.

To summarize what we have said above, the sentences of 24 are derived from those of 23 by subject shifting, while those of 25 are in turn derived from those of 24 by the special process of preposing just described. Note the sample derivation below, which relates 23a, 24a, and 25a:

(26) A *Droteo mẹ a Toki* a kausẹchẹlei. (source sentence) →
Tẹ kausẹchẹlei a *Droteo mẹ a Toki.* (by subject shifting) →
A *Droteo* a kausẹchẹlei *ngii mẹ a Toki.* (by preposing of first member of *A mẹ B*)

As the English equivalents for 25 show, the sentences with pre-

posed subjects involve a change of viewpoint. Thus, in 23a and 24a, for example, the speaker is paying more-or-less equal attention to both members of the plural subject (*Droteo* and *Toki*), while in 25a the speaker's attention is focused more on the person designated by the preposed noun (*Droteo*).

In some reciprocal sentences, the plural subject is a noun phrase of possession in which the possessor is a sequence of the form *A mę B*. Thus, in the sentence below,

(27) A *blękęrdęlir a Droteo mę a Toki* a kakngodęch.
'The personalities of Droteo and Toki are different from each other.'

the possessed noun *blękęrdęlir* 'their personalities' has the 3rd pers. human pl. possessor suffix *-ir*, which agrees with the following plural possessor *Droteo mę a Toki* 'Droteo and Toki'. Now, the italicized subject noun phrase of 27 can be moved to the right of the verb by the process of subject shifting, resulting in the sentence below:

(28) Ng kakngodęch a *blękęrdęlir a Droteo mę a Toki.*
'The personalities of Droteo and Toki are different from each other.'

Since the sequence *Droteo mę a Toki* of 28 is a possessor, it can be moved back to sentence-initial position by the process of preposing of possessor which we described in **17**.3 above. We therefore obtain the following sentence:

(29) A *Droteo mę a Toki* a kakngodęch a blękęrdęlir.
'Droteo and Toki are different in personality.'

SUMMARY OF PROCESSES AFFECTING PALAUAN WORD ORDER

17.6. In **17**.2–5 above, we have seen how two major grammatical processes—**subject shifting** and **preposing**—bring about striking changes in the **word order** of Palauan sentences. These processes are of wide applicability in Palauan and can account for many types of sentences other than those dealt with above. Thus, as we will see in later chapters, the processes of subject shifting and preposing not only play an important role in the formation of **questions** and **passive** sentences, but they also affect sentences containing **negative verbs**, **existential verbs**, and **time clauses**.

In addition to the major processes of subject shifting and preposing, there are a few relatively minor processes which

affect the word order of Palauan sentences. Perhaps the most obvious of these is found in sentences containing the verb *msa* 'give', which characteristically takes two objects.[4] Thus, in the examples below, the first object—the **person** who receives what is given—is italicized, while the second object—the **thing** which is given—is printed in bold type:

(30) a. Ak mils*a a Helen* a **omiange**.
'I gave Helen a souvenir.'

b. Ak mils*tęrir a ręsęchęlik* a **hong**.
'I gave my friends a book.'

c. Ak mo męs*kau* a **udoud**.
'I'm going to give you some money.'

d. A Droteo a mils*kak* a **present**.
'Droteo gave me a present.'

As the examples above show, the verb *msa* 'give' is unusual in the following respects. First of all, this verb seems to have only **perfective** forms, but no imperfective forms. Second, the various object pronoun suffixes found in these perfective forms agree in person and number with the first object—namely, the **person** receiving what is given—rather than with the second object, which identifies the **thing** given. Thus, in 30a, the form *milsa* 'gave (it to) him/her' has the 3rd pers. sg. object pronoun suffix *-a*,[5] which agrees with the following specific 3rd pers. sg. object *Helen*. By contrast, *milstęrir* 'gave (it to) them' of 30b has the 3rd pers. human pl. object pronoun suffix *-tęrir* because the following noun *ręsęchęlik* 'my friends' is human plural. Finally, the second object can never be preceded by the **specifying word** *ęr* (cf. **2**.7); therefore, there is no overt way of marking this object as **specific** vs. **non-specific** or **singular** vs. **plural**. For this reason, the object *hong* in 30b could also be interpreted to mean '(some) books', 'the book', or 'the books'.

In the sentences of 30, the order of the two objects can be reversed. The process which brings about this change in word order is of relatively minor significance in that its application is limited to sentences containing the verb *msa* 'give'. If the first object is singular, as in 30a, reversing the order of the two objects usually results in a sentence which is identical in meaning and equal in acceptability—namely,

(31) Ak milsa a omiange a Helen.
'I gave a souvenir to Helen.'[6]

If, however, the first object is plural, as in 30b, interchanging the two objects results in a rather awkward sentence which some Palauan speakers accept but others reject—i.e.,

(32) ?Ak milstęrir a hong a ręseçhęlik.
'I gave a book to my friends.'

Perhaps 32 is of questionable acceptability because the 3rd pers. human pl. object pronoun suffix *-tęrir* has come to appear next to a singular, non-human noun (*hong* 'book').[7]

DEPENDENT CLAUSES RESULTING FROM SUBJECT SHIFTING

17.7. As we have seen above, the process of subject shifting accounts for sentences in which the nouns of liking and disliking (*soal* and *chętil*) are directly followed by concrete nouns or noun phrases. Now, with a sentence like 1a, repeated here for convenience,

(1a) Ng soak a biang.
'I like beer.'

compare the following:

(33) Ng soak ęl męlim a biang.
'I want to drink some beer.'

While *soak* is followed by the concrete noun *biang* 'beer' in 1a, the sequence following *soak* in 33 has some of the characteristics of **dependent clauses** mentioned in chap. 15. First of all, this sequence is introduced by *ęl*, and second, it does not contain any overtly-expressed subject. We nevertheless know that the understood subject of *męlim* 'drink' is the same as the person identified by the possessor suffix on *soak*—namely, the speaker (*ak* 'I'). If we put a sentence like 33 into the past tense, we have further evidence that the sequence introduced by *ęl* is a dependent clause. Thus, in the sentence below,

(34) Ng mle soak ęl męlim a biang.
'I wanted to drink some beer.'

the verb form *męlim* remains in the present tense even though the whole sentence designates a past situation.

Just as we derived example 1a by subject shifting according to the following scheme,

(5a) *Source Sentence*		*Resulting Sentence*
A biang a soak.	→	Ng soak a biang. 'I like beer.'

we propose that subject shifting is also responsible for examples like 33, except that the structure of the source sentence is more complex. Observe, therefore, the following:

(35) *Source Sentence*		*Resulting Sentence*
[Ak męlim a biang] a soak.	→	Ng soak ęl męlim a biang. 'I want to drink some beer.'

The source sentence of 35 is of course not spoken in Palauan, but must always be transformed into the resulting sentence. Let us now explain the process of derivation schematized in 35. While the source sentence of 5a has a single noun (*biang* 'beer') as its subject, we propose that the "real" subject of the source sentence of 35 is the **bracketed** sentence *ak męlim a biang* 'I drink beer.' In other words, the subject of *soak* does not necessarily have to be a concrete noun, as it is in 5a, but it can also be a **whole activity** which involves a subject (or doer) and a verb phrase. The bracketed **sentence** in subject position in 35 symbolizes the fact that in this example the subject of *soak* is the whole activity *ak męlim a biang* 'I drink beer.' Thus, the source sentences in both 5a and 35 are **equational sentences** in which the subject is being equated with the noun phrase *soak*; the only difference is that in 35 an (abstract) activity rather than a concrete thing is being asserted as the speaker's desire.

If we formulate the source sentence of 35 as described above, we can easily account for the resulting sentence of 35 in terms of processes and principles with which we are already familiar. Furthermore, we can see that the derivation of sentences like 1a and 33 (= the resulting sentences of 5a and 35) is really very similar in that the process of subject shifting is involved in both cases. Now, let us look at the derivation of 35 in detail. In this example, subject shifting applies to the **whole bracketed sentence** *ak męlim a biang*, since this sequence is the subject of *soak*. The application of subject shifting results in the following structure:

(35') [Ak męlim a biang] a soak. → Ng soak [ak męlim a biang].

The resulting sentence of 35' is still not a spoken sentence of Palauan, but it is "halfway there" in the sense that it contains sentence-initial *ng*, which of course is a **pronominal trace** left behind by the shifted subject. Two further changes are necessary to transform the resulting sentence of 35' into a full-fledged grammatical sentence—namely, into 33 (= the resulting sentence of 35). These changes turn the shifted subject *ak męlim a biang* into a **dependent clause**—i.e.,

(36) Ng soak [ak męlim a biang]. → Ng soak ęl męlim a biang.
'I want to drink some beer.'

In 36, the subject *ak* 'I' of the shifted bracketed sentence is deleted because the possessor suffix on *soak* already makes it clear that the drinker of the beer will be the speaker. In other words, the subject *ak* 'I' of the bracketed sentence is deleted under **identity** with the pronominal possessor of the preceding possessed noun *soak*. In addition, the word *ęl* is inserted to introduce the shifted sequence. The resulting sentence of 36 has therefore come to contain the dependent clause *ęl męlim a biang*.

In the discussion above, we have seen that the process of subject shifting accounts for both of the sentences 1a and 33, repeated here as 37a–b:

(37) a. Ng soak a biang.
'I like beer.'/'I'd like some beer.'

b. Ng soak ęl męlim a biang.
'I want to drink some beer.'

What differentiates 37a from 37b is that in the former example, a concrete noun phrase has been shifted, while in the latter example, an (abstract) bracketed sentence has been shifted. This difference in shifted subject correlates with the following consistent difference in meaning. Example 37a, with a concrete noun phrase following *soak*, can be either a **general statement** ('I like beer.') or a statement of the speaker's desire on a **specific occasion** ('I'd like some beer.') By contrast, example 37b, with a dependent clause following *soak*, can only be a statement about a specific occasion. A similar contrast in interpretation is found in sentences containing the noun of disliking *chętil*. Thus, with 37a–b compare the following pair of sentences:

(38) a. Ng chętirir a sasimi.
'They dislike sashimi.' /'They don't want any sashimi.'

b. Ng chętirir ęl męnga a sasimi.
'They don't want to eat any sashimi.'

As we have seen above, the possessed forms of *soal* 'his/her liking' and *chętil* 'his/her disliking' can be followed by shifted subjects which are either concrete noun phrases or (abstract) bracketed sentences. In other words, *soal* and *chętil* occur in equational source sentences of the form *noun phrase* + *soal/chętil* or [*sentence*] + *soal/chętil*. As opposed to *soal* and *chętil*, the obligatorily possessed nouns *sębęchel* 'his/her ability' and *kirel* 'his/her obligation' (cf. **17**.1 above) cannot occur in an equational source sentence whose subject is a concrete noun phrase; therefore, source sentences containing these two special nouns can only be of the form [*sentence*] + *sębęchel / kirel*.[8] For this reason, the possessed forms of *sębęchel* and *kirel* are always followed by shifted subjects which are (abstract) bracketed sentences that take the form of dependent clauses. This is the case in 1c–d above and in examples like the following:

(39) a. Ng sębęchek ęl eko ęr a blim ęr a klukuk.
'I can come to your house tomorrow.'

b. A Droteo a sębęchel ęl ousbech ęr a mlik.
'Droteo can use my car.'

c. Ng kirek ęl męnguiu ęr tia ęl hong.
'I have to read this book.'

d. A Toki a kirel ęl męsuub er a elęchang.
'Toki has to study today.'

In deriving 39b and 39d, the processes of subject shifting and preposing of possessor must both be applied. The step-by-step derivation of 39b is therefore as follows:

(40) a. [A Droteo a ousbech ęr a mlik] a sębęchel a Droteo.
(source sentence) →

b. Ng sębęchel a Droteo [a Droteo a ousbech ęr a mlik].
(by subject shifting applied to bracketed sentence) →

c. Ng sębęchel a Droteo ęl ousbech ęr a mlik.
(by dependent clause formation) →

d. A Droteo a sębęchel ęl ousbech ęr a mlik.
(by preposing of possessor).

In step c, we use the term "dependent clause formation" to refer to the rules which introduce *ęl* and delete the subject (*Droteo*) of the bracketed sentence under **identity** with the preceding occurrence of *Droteo* as possessor of *sębęchel*. Since the sentence in 40c is an acceptable Palauan sentence, application of the preposing of possessor rule to derive 40d is merely optional.[9]

SUBJECT SHIFTING AND DERIVED ACTION NOUNS

17.8. At the end of the preceding section, we noted that the possessed forms of *soal* 'his/her liking' and *chętil* 'his/her disliking' can be followed by shifted subjects which are either concrete noun phrases or (abstract) bracketed sentences. In this section, we will

examine a third type of sequence which can follow the possessed forms of *soal* and *chętil*—namely, abstract noun phrases containing **derived action nouns** in *o-*. These action nouns, as we saw in 8.6, are derived simply by prefixing *o-* to transitive or intransitive action verbs—e.g., we have *omęluchęs* 'writing' from *męluchęs* 'write', *omilil* 'playing' from *milil* 'play', and so on. Derived action nouns designate actions or activities as **abstract** or **general** concepts and are used in examples like the following:

(41) a. A *omęruul ęl kall* a urerir a rędil.
'Preparing food is women's work.'

b. A *omęnguiu ęl tękoi ęr a Sina* a kmal męringęl.
'Reading Chinese is very difficult.'

c. Ak chilitii a *omęlamęch ęl dękool.*
'I gave up/quit smoking cigarettes.'

In 41a–b, the action nouns *omęruul* 'preparing' and *omęnguiu* 'reading' are part of the italicized **subject noun phrases**, while in 41c the action noun *omęlamęch* 'smoking' is found in the italicized **object noun phrase**. Since *omęruul*, *omęnguiu*, and *omęlamęch* are derived from **transitive** verbs (*męruul* 'make, prepare', *męnguiu* 'read' and *męlamęch* 'smoke, chew') they can be associated with objects. These objects are always introduced by *ęl*, which therefore precedes *kall* 'food', *tękoi ęr a Sina* 'Chinese', and *dękool* 'cigarettes' in 41a–c above.[10]

In the examples below, possessed forms of *soal* and *chętil* are followed by shifted subjects which contain derived action nouns in *o-*.

(42) a. Ng soak a omęlim ęl biang.
'I like drinking beer.'

b. Ng soam a {omęngędub / omęsuub / omęrael}?
'Do you like {swimming / studying / traveling}?'

c. A Toki a chętil a omęruul ęl kall.
'Toki dislikes preparing food.'

d. Ng chętik a omęlamęch ęl buuch.
'I dislike chewing betel nut.'

e. A sensei a chętil a omęngęrodęch ęr a klas.
'The teacher doesn't like people making noise in class.'

As expected, the source sentences for 42a–e are equational sentences in which the subject noun phrase contains a derived action noun. Thus, 42c, for example, is derived in the following manner:

(43) a. A omęruul ęl kall a chętil a Toki.
(source sentence) →

b. Ng chętil a Toki a omęruul ęl kall.
(by subject shifting) →

c. A Toki a chętil a omęruul ęl kall.
(by preposing of possessor).

Because derived action nouns in *o-* designate actions or activities as **abstract** or **general** concepts, as mentioned above, it is no surprise that the examples of 42 are interpreted as **general** statements (or questions) rather than as statements (or questions) about **specific occasions**. Because 42a, for example, is a general statement, it contrasts in meaning with 33, which refers to a specific occasion. Both of these examples are now repeated here for purposes of comparison:

(44) a. Ng soak a omęlim ęl biang.
'I like drinking beer.'

b. Ng soak ęl męlim a biang.
'I want to drink some beer.'

As the English equivalents show, the sentences of 44 are quite different from each other in meaning. In 44b, which has a dependent clause following *soak*, the action of drinking beer refers to a specific occasion. Therefore, this sentence would be used by the speaker at the very moment when he has a desire to drink beer. By contrast, example 44a, which has a derived action noun following *soak*, views the action of drinking beer in a general (or perhaps, habitual) sense. For this reason, 44a could be spoken **at any time** as an expression of the speaker's habit or preference, but would not be appropriate to express the speaker's momentary desire to drink beer. In other words, 44b would be a suitable answer to the question 'What would you like to drink?', while 44a would not.

The contrast in meaning between 44a–b is paralleled in the pairs of sentences below, which contain possessed forms of *chętil* 'his/her disliking' and *sębęchel* 'his/her ability':

(45) a. A Toki a chętil a omęruul ęl kall.
'Toki dislikes preparing food.'

b. A Toki a chętil ęl męruul a kall.
'Toki doesn't want to make the food.'

(46) a. Ng sębęchem a omęlim ęl rrom?
'Are you capable of drinking liquor?'

b. Ng sębęchem ęl męlim a rrom?
'Can you have a drink of liquor?'

Example 46a is a rather challenging question in which the hearer is being asked whether he has the ability—i.e., strength or maturity—to drink liquor. By contrast, 46b is simply an invitation to drink liquor and implies nothing about the hearer's "prowess" as a drinker.

Possessed Forms of Derived Action Nouns

17.8.1. Just like any other nouns, the derived action nouns in *o-* discussed above can take the various **possessor suffixes**. The resulting possessed forms can be used in sentences with *soal* and *chętil*, as follows:

(47) a. A sensei a soal a omęsubek ęr a tękoi ęr a Merikel.
'The teacher likes the way I'm studying English.'

b. Ng soam a omęlmęchel a Droteo ęr a dękool?
'Do you like Droteo's smoking (so many) cigarettes?'

c. A dęmak a chętil a omęręllek ęr a party.[11]
'My father dislikes my having (so many) parties.'

d. Ng chętik a omęlmil a Cisco ęr a rrom.
'I dislike the way Cisco drinks (so much) liquor.'

e. Ng chętik a omililel a Droteo ęr a klębęsei.
'I don't like Droteo's fooling around (so much) at night.'

In the possessed forms *omęsubek* 'my studying' (cf. *męsuub* 'study'), *omęlmęchel* 'his smoking' (cf. *męlamęch* 'smoke'), *omęręllek* 'my preparing' (cf. *męruul* 'make, prepare'), and *omęlmil* 'his drinking' (cf. *męlim* 'drink'), you should be able to recognize certain patterns of **vowel reduction** and **vowel deletion** (cf. **3**.4 and **3**.4.1–3). Note, further, that the objects following these possessed nouns must be expressed by a **relational phrase** (cf. **14**.9). Thus, the objects *tękoi ęr a Merikel* 'English' of 47a, *dękool* 'cigarettes' of 47b, *party* of 47c, and *rrom* 'liquor' of 47d are all preceded by the relational word *ęr*.

As the English equivalents for the sentences in 47 are designed to show, the possessed forms of action nouns in *o-* always imply that the habitual action in question is a **fact**—i.e., that it is being pursued regularly by the person referred to by the possessor suffix. Thus, in 47b, for instance, the speaker **assumes** (or **presupposes**) it is a fact that Droteo smokes a lot of cigarettes and then asks the hearer whether he approves of this fact. Similarly, in 47e the speaker recognizes the fact that Droteo does a lot of fooling around and then offers his (negative) opinion or judgment about this fact.

In 47b, 47d, and 47e, where a specific 3rd person possessor is mentioned, this possessor always identifies the **agent**—i.e., the person who is doing the action denoted by the possessed action noun in *o-*. Thus, in *omęlmęchel a Droteo* 'Droteo's smoking' of 47b, the "possessor" *Droteo* is the one who is pursuing the activity of smoking. Occasionally, we will observe expressions of the form *possessed action noun in* o- + *specific possessor* which are interpreted differently from those of 47b, 47d, and 47e. Thus, in the examples below, the italicized "possessors" actually designate the **objects** of the actions denoted by the possessed action nouns in *o-*:

(48) a. A omęręllel a *mlai* a kmal męringęl.
'(The method of) making canoes is very difficult.'

b. Ak mla męlasęm ęr a omęręllel a *kall ęr a Sina*, e ng di ng diak lsębęchek.
'I've tried (the method of) preparing Chinese food, but I'm not good at it.'

Soal AND *Chętil* FOLLOWED BY HYPOTHETICAL VERB FORMS

17.9. The possessed forms of *soal* and *chętil* can be followed by **hypothetical verb forms** (cf. **4**.10) to convey the idea "X wants/does not want Y to do something". Observe the following sentences:

(49) a. A sensei a soal *a kusuub*.
'The teacher wants me to study.'

b. A dęmak a chętil *a kuruul a party*.
'My father doesn't want me to have parties.'

c. Ng soak *a rengalęk a lomengur*.
'I want the children to eat.'

d. Ng chętik *a ngęlękek a lolamęch a dękool*.
'I don't want my child smoking cigarettes.'

e. A ręsęchęlik a sorir *a chobong*.
'My friends want you to go.'

In each of the sentences above, one person (or group of persons) *X* wants or doesn't want another person (or group of persons) *Y*

to do something. While X is identified by the possessor suffix on *soal* or *chętil*, Y is expressed by the **hypothetical pronoun** which is prefixed to the hypothetical verb form. Furthermore, if X or Y is a third person, then a specific noun may be mentioned. In 49a, for example, X—the person desiring something—is identified by the specific noun *sensei* 'teacher' and the 3rd pers. sg. possessor suffix on *soal*, while Y—the person who is expected to do something—is identified by the 1st pers. sg. hypothetical pronoun prefix *ku-* 'I' on *kusuub*. Similarly, in 49e, X is identified by the specific plural noun *ręsęchęlik* 'my friends' and the 3rd pers. human pl. possessor suffix on *sorir*, while Y corresponds to the 2nd pers. (sg. or pl.) hypothetical pronoun prefix *cho-* 'you' on *chobong*.

It appears that the italicized portions of 49a–e are actually instances of **conditional clauses**. As we will see in **19**.1, Palauan conditional clauses express events as **possible occurrences** rather than as **real facts**; this important feature of their interpretation is observed in the following example:

(50) *A kbo ęr a Guam*, e ak mo omes ęr a Toki.
'If I go to Guam, then I'll see Toki.'

In 50, the event "I go to Guam" is not a real occurrence but instead one which is **hypothesized** or put forth as a **possibility**. For this reason, the italicized conditional clause of 50 corresponds to English sequences introduced by 'if'. As the examples of 49 and 50 show, Palauan conditional clauses contain **hypothetical verb forms** (which characteristically designate **unreal** or **hypothesized** events—hence, the term **hypothetical**) and are introduced by the **conditional clause marker** *a* 'if'. If we are correct in assuming that the italicized portions of 49a–e are conditional clauses, then we should recognize that the English equivalents for these examples are rather free. For instance, we have translated 49a as 'The teacher wants me to study', but a word-for-word translation would be something like 'The teacher would like it *if I studied*.' Both the free translation and the more literal translation are really equivalent, however, since they both imply that the speaker has not been studying and that the teacher would like the situation to change.

Since the sentences of 49 contain conditional clauses and therefore express **possible** events, their meaning is quite different from the examples of 47, in which the possessed forms of action nouns in *o-* clearly refer to **real** events (i.e., **facts**). This contrast

is observed in the following pairs of sentences (= 47a vs. 49a and 47c vs. 49b):

(51) a. A sensei a soal a omęsubek.
'The teacher likes my studying (so hard).'

b. A sensei a soal a kusuub.
'The teacher wants me to study.'

(52) a. A dęmak a chętil a omęręllek ęr a party.
'My father dislikes my having (so many) parties.'

b. A dęmak a chętil a kuruul a party.
'My father doesn't want me to have parties.'

In the a-sentences above, the possessed forms *omęsubek* 'my studying' and *omęręllek* 'my making (a party)' describe activities or events which are actual facts, and the possessed forms *soal* and *chętil* express some third person's opinion about these facts. By contrast, the activities described by *kusuub* '(if) I study' and *kuruul* '(if) I make (a party)' in the b-sentences are not real facts at the present moment, but are events which some third party would react favorably or unfavorably to **if they occurred**.

FURTHER DISCUSSION OF THE FOUR SPECIAL POSSESSED NOUNS

17.10. In the sections above, we have examined the most important aspects of the meaning and use of the four possessed nouns *soal*, *chętil*, *sębęchel*, and *kirel*. In this section we will mention some further details about each of these words.

a. *soal* and *chętil*.

As we have seen above, *soal* and *chętil* are opposite in meaning. Therefore, 53a below usually has 53b as its opposite:

(53) a. Ng soak ęl mong.
'I want to go.'

b. Ng chętik ęl mong.
'I don't want to go.'

It is also possible to derive an opposite of 53a by adding the **negative verb** *diak* 'isn't, doesn't exist' (see chap. 18); thus, we have

(54) Ng diak lsoak[12] ęl mong.
'I (really) don't want to go.'

Though 53b and 54 are interchangeable in many contexts, some

speakers feel that 54 is more emphatic, blunter, or less polite than 53b.

The 3rd pers. sg. possessed form of *soal* can also be used in the meaning 'look as if', as shown in the examples below:

(55) a. A eangęd a soal ęl mo ungil ęr a klukuk.
'The weather looks as if it might be good tomorrow.'

b. A chull a soal ęl mo ęr ngii ęr a kębęsengei.
'It looks as if it's going to rain tonight.'

c. A ngais a soal ęl ruebęt mę bo mungil ęl orrekęd.
'The eggs look as if they'll fall out, so hold on to them carefully.'

In a related meaning, the 1st pers. sg. possessed form *soak* corresponds to 'feel as if', as in the following:

(56) Ak kmal mędingęs mę ng soak ęl mo smechęr.
'I'm very full, so I feel as if I'll be sick.'

The uses of *soal* and *soak* described here imply that the speaker has **evidence**—through observation or direct personal experience—that some event is going to take place. Thus, 55a–b, for example, are predictions based on the speaker's observation of some natural phenomenon—e.g., the condition of the sky.

b. *sębęchel.*

In our discussion above, we referred to *sębęchel* as a noun of "ability": in other words, *sębęchel* expresses the fact that someone is **able** to do something because he has the time (or opportunity) to do it, or has the physical capacity to perform the task involved. In addition to this meaning, *sębęchel* can also express the fact that someone has **permission** to do something: in this case, someone is **able** to do something in the sense that no one else is preventing or forbidding his doing it. Often, it is only the context or situation which tells us whether *sębęchel* refers to **ability** or **permission**. Therefore, the following sentences are **ambiguous** when examined in isolation (the same is true for 1c, 39a–b, and 46b above):

(57) a. Ng sębęchek ęl mo er a mubi ęr a klukuk.
'I can go to the movies tomorrow.' (= 'I have time to go to the movies tomorrow.'/'I have permission to go to the movies tomorrow.')

b. Ng diak lsębęchem ęl mo ęr a che er a elęchang?
'Can't you go fishing now?' (= 'Aren't you able to go fishing now?'/'Aren't you allowed to go fishing now?')

As 57b shows, the possessed forms of *sębęchel* remain ambiguous when they are preceded by the **negative verb** *diak* 'isn't, doesn't exist'. It is also interesting to note that the best English equivalent for *sębęchel*—namely, *can*—is ambiguous in the same way.

c. *kirel.*

In the examples 39c–d above, we saw that the possessed forms of *kirel*, when followed by a dependent clause, convey the idea of **obligation** or **necessity**. The possessed forms of *kirel* can also be associated with **derived action nouns** in *o-*, in which case they imply that someone is **suited** to performing a particular activity. This usage is normally found in negative sentences like the following:

(58) a. A omęsuub ęl ochur a diak lękirel a Droteo.
'Studying math is not something Droteo is suited for.'

b. A omęlim ęl biang a diak lękirir a rengalęk ęr a skuul.
'Drinking beer isn't meant for students.'

Instead of a derived action noun in *o-*, a derived abstract noun in *klę-* (cf. **8**.5) may be associated with *kirel*, as in the example below:

(59) A klsensei a diak lękirek ęl ureor.
'Being a teacher isn't meant for me.'

When sentences like 39c–d are turned into negative sentences by adding *diak* 'isn't, doesn't exist', the resulting meaning is either 'must not' or 'doesn't have to'. Note the following examples:

(60) a. Ng diak lękirek ęl męlim a biang.
'I must not drink beer.'

b. Ng diak lękirem ęl mo sensei. Ng kirem ęl mo toktang.
'You must not become a teacher; you must become a doctor.'

c. Ng diak lękirir ęl mong.
'They don't have to go.'

A noun phrase of possession containing a possessed form of *kirel* can be used as a kind of **specifying clause** (cf. **15**.7) to identify the person who **benefits** from some activity or the thing which is the **cause** or **purpose** of some activity. Such specifying clauses are italicized in the sentences below:

(61) a. Ak męngętmokl ęr a blai *ęl kirel a Toki.*
'I'm cleaning the house for Toki.'

b. Ak męruul aika ęl kiriu.
'I'm doing these things for you.'

c. A rengalęk ęr a skuul a męsuub *ęl kirel a test.*
'The students are studying for the test.'

d. Ak mo męruul a kall *ęl kirel a party.*
'I'm going to make food for the party.'

e. A Droteo a mle suebęk a rengul *ęl kirel a test.*
'Droteo was worried about the test.'

f. Aki milengętmokl ęr a bęluu *ęl kirel a eisei.*
'We were cleaning up our village for the sake of proper sanitation.'

d. *The Four Possessed Nouns and Various Tenses.*

As we saw in 4a–b above, Palauan equational sentences in the past tense contain the auxiliary word *mle* 'was, were'. This auxiliary is also used to indicate the past tense in sentences containing the possessed forms of *soal*, *chętil*, *sębęchel*, and *kirel*, since such sentences are basically of the equational type (cf. our discussion in **17**.2). Note, therefore, the examples below:

(62) a. Ng *mle* soak ęl mo ęr a chei.
'I wanted to go fishing.'

b. A Toki a *mle* chętil ęl męruul a kall.
'Toki didn't want to prepare the food.'

c. Ng *mle* sębęchem ęl mo milil er a elii?
'Were you able/allowed to go out and play yesterday?'

d. Ng *mle* kiram ęl męsuub.
'We had to/were supposed to study.'

e. A Droteo a *mle* kirel ęl oureor ęr a Guam, e ng di ng mlo ęr a Hawaii.
'Droteo was supposed to work in Guam, but he went to Hawaii (instead).'

In order to indicate the future tense in an equational sentence, we use the directional verb *mo* 'go' as an auxiliary. In such cases, use of *mo* not only designates a future event but also implies a **change of state** (cf. **13**.5.1). Observe the following equational sentences in the future tense:

(63) a. A ngęlękek a *mo* sensei.
'My child is going to become a teacher.'

b. A Toki ng *mo* chad ęr a Merikel er oingarang?
'When is Toki becoming an American citizen?'

Since sentences with *soal*, *chętil*, *sębęchel*, and *kirel* are equational sentences, they too use *mo* 'go' as an auxiliary to indicate future tense. The following examples are typical:

(64) a. Ng *mo* sębęchem ęl me ęr a blik ęr a klukuk?
'Will you be able to come to my house tomorrow?'

b. Ng *mo* soam ęl męsuub ęr a klukuk?
'Will you be wanting to study tomorrow?'

To express a **past** change of state in equational sentences, we use *mlo* or *mla mo* (for relatively remote vs. recent past, respectively), as in the sentences below:

(65) a. Kę *mlo* sensei er oingarang?
'When did you become a teacher?'

b. A ngęlękel a Toki a *mla mo* padre.
'Toki's child has become a priest.'

Equational sentences containing the four possessed nouns under discussion also use *mlo* and *mla mo* to designate changes of state in the past, as illustrated below:

(66) a. Ng *mlo* soak a sasimi er se ęr a kngar ęr a Siabal.
'I got to like sashimi when I was in Japan.'

b. A Toki a *mla mo* chętil ęl męsuub a ochur.
'Toki has gotten to dislike studying math.'

c. A Satsko a *mlo* sębęchel ęl mo ęr a Guam.
'Satsko had the opportunity to go to Guam.'

d. Ng *mla mo* kirek ęl mo ręmei.
'It's gotten to the point where I have to go home.'

18 Negation

AFFIRMATIVE VS. NEGATIVE SENTENCES

18.1. The sentences of Palauan, like those of every language, can be classified into **affirmative** and **negative** types. While an affirmative sentence **asserts** (or **affirms**) the occurrence of some action, event, state, condition, etc., a negative sentence **denies** such occurrence. In other words, a negative sentence makes a statement of the sort 'someone is *not* doing something', 'such and such is *not* the case', 'X is *not* Y', 'there is*n't*/are*n't* any Z', etc. Mostly all Palauan negative sentences contain some form of the **negative verb** *diak* 'isn't, doesn't exist', which we will examine in detail in **18**.3 below.

To familiarize ourselves with the idea of negation, let us compare a few affirmative sentences with their negative counterparts:

(1) a. A Toki a męnguiu ęr a hong.
'Toki is reading the book.'

b. A Toki a diak longuiu ęr a hong.
'Toki isn't reading the book.'

(2) a. A ngęlękek a smechęr.
'My child is sick.'

b. A ngęlękek a diak lsechęr.
'My child isn't sick.'

(3) a. A Droteo a sensei.
'Droteo is a teacher.'

b. A Droteo a diak lsensei..
'Droteo isn't a teacher.'

It is easy to see that the b-sentences above are the **denials** (or, in a sense, **opposites**) of the a-sentences. Thus, while la is a **transitive sentence** which asserts that a particular **agent** or **doer** (*Toki*) is performing a certain activity (reading the book), 1b denies that

the agent is engaged in that same activity. In a parallel way, 2a is an **intransitive sentence** in which the subject (*ngęlękek* 'my child') is asserted to be in a particular state (*smechęr* 'sick'), while 2b denies that the subject is in this state. Finally, 3a is an **equational sentence** (see **18**.6 below) which asserts a relationship of equivalency between two noun phrases (*Droteo* and *sensei* 'teacher'), while 3b denies this relationship.

In each of the b-sentences above, the verb or noun directly following the negative verb *diak* must be prefixed with a **hypothetical pronoun** (cf. **4**.10) which **agrees** in person and number with the agent or doer (if the sentence is **transitive**, as in 1) or the subject (if the sentence is **intransitive** or **equational**, as in 2 and 3). Thus, in 1b and 2b we observe the **hypothetical verb forms** *longuiu* and *lsechęr*; *longuiu* is derived by replacing the verb marker *mę-* of the corresponding imperfective transitive verb *męnguiu* 'read' with the 3rd pers. sg. hypothetical pronoun prefix *lo-*, and *lsechęr* is formed by prefixing the **reduced variant** *l-* of the 3rd pers. sg. hypothetical pronoun (cf. **4**.10.4) to *sechęr*, which is the stem of the intransitive state verb *smechęr* 'sick'. In 3b, the noun directly following *diak*—namely, *sensei* 'teacher'—also shows the reduced variant *l-* of the 3rd pers. sg. hypothetical pronoun. The appearance of the hypothetical pronouns after *diak* in the b-sentences above can be explained in a very straightforward way, as we will see in **18**.4 below.

AFFIRMATIVE VS. NEGATIVE EXPRESSIONS OF EXISTENCE

18.2. When a speaker of Palauan wishes to introduce a piece of information into a conversation for the first time, he will often use sentences of the following kind:

(4) a. Ng ngar ęr ngii a *oles* ęr a chęlsel a skidas.
'There's a knife inside the drawer.'

b. Ng ngar ęr ngii a *mlik*.
'I have a car.'

c. Ng mla ęr ngii a *ududel a Toki*.
'Toki had money.'

d. Ng mla ęr ngii a *blai* ęr tiang.
'There used to be a house here.'

e. Ng mla ęr ngii a *ilumęl* ęr a party.
'There were drinks at the party.'

The sentences above are used when the speaker wants to assert

the existence of something which he believes represents **new information** for the hearer. In other words, the italicized noun phrases of 4 **introduce** the hearer for the first time to (the existence of) the items in question. Thus, if a speaker utters 4a, for example, his hearer is presumably finding out for the first time about the existence of a knife (*oles*) in the drawer. For this reason, 4a would appear naturally in a dialog such as the following:

(5) A: Ngara a ngar ęr ngii ęr a chęlsel a skidas?
'What is there inside the drawer?'

B: Ng ngar ęr ngii a oles (ęr a chęlsel a skidas).
'There's a knife (inside the drawer).'

A's question implies that he does not know what is inside the drawer; therefore, it is obvious that *oles* 'knife' in B's response constitutes a new piece of information. Because A's question has already specified the location involved, the parenthesized **locational phrase** *ęr a chęlsel a skidas* 'inside the drawer' (cf. **14**.2.1–2) may be omitted in B's response.

Now, sentence 4a should be distinguished from the following:

(6) A oles a ngar ęr a chęlsel a skidas.
'The knife is inside the drawer.'

While *oles* 'knife' is new information for the hearer in 4a, in 6 this same noun represents old information to which the hearer has already been introduced. In other words, 6 can only be used when the identity of *oles* 'knife' is clear—i.e., when both speaker and hearer know what particular knife they are talking about. For this reason, 6 would be used in a dialog such as the following:

(7) A: A oles ng ngar ęr ker?
'Where is the knife?'

B: A oles[1] a ngar ęr a chęlsel a skidas.
'The knife is inside the drawer.'

Since *oles* in 7B is old information, the new information which this sentence conveys must be represented by the locational phrase *ęr a chęlsel a skidas* 'inside the drawer'. This is in fact the case, since 7A is a question asking for information about the location of the knife.

Sentences like 4a–e, which assert the existence of something or introduce something into a conversation as new information, are called **affirmative expressions of existence**. Such sentences always contain some form of the special sequence *ngar ęr ngii* 'there is/are'. As examples 4c–e show, *ngar ęr ngii* 'there is/are' changes to *mla ęr ngii* 'there was/were' in the past tense. These sequences are rather difficult to analyze because their meaning cannot be readily explained in terms of their form. They appear to be a combination of the **existential verb** *ngar* 'exist, be (located)' (past: *mla* 'existed, was (located)'[2]) and the **relational phrase** *ęr ngii*. As we will see below, this relational phrase, which consists of the relational word *ęr* followed by the 3rd pers. sg. emphatic pronoun *ngii*, is probably a kind of **locational phrase** (cf. **14**.2). Therefore, the literal meaning of *ngar ęr ngii* and *mla ęr ngii* seems to be something like 'exists in it' and 'existed in it', respectively. Because of this difficulty of analysis, it is perhaps better to think of *ngar ęr ngii* and *mla ęr ngii* as single, indivisible units with the meaning 'there is/are' or 'there was/were'.[3] A similar problem is observed for the future tense form of *ngar ęr ngii* 'there is/are', which is *mo ęr ngii* 'there will be'. Though best dealt with as a single unit, this sequence most likely consists of the future tense auxiliary *mo* 'go' and the relational phrase *ęr ngii*.

The **state verb** *ngar* which is found in the sequences *ngar ęr ngii* and *mla ęr ngii* is normally used as an **existential verb** which denotes the existence of someone or something in a particular location. As in 6 above, the existential verb *ngar* 'exist, be (located)' always occurs in sentences followed by a **locational phrase**, which simply tells us where someone or something is. This locational phrase has been italicized in the examples below:

(8) a. A mlik a ngar *ęr a męd al a blai*.
'My car is in front of the house.'

b. A Ngchesar a ngar *ęr a Babęldaob*.
'Ngchesar is located on Babeldaob.'

c. A Helen a mla *ęr a bitang*.
'Helen was next door.'

Because *ngar* is always followed by a locational phrase,[4] we tentatively proposed above that the relational phrase in *ngar ęr ngii* and *mla ęr ngii* is of the locational type. The existential verb *ngar* is unusual in that it has the irregular past tense form *mla* 'existed, was (located)'. This form is probably closely related to the **auxiliary word** *mla*, which is used to denote recent past time or past experience (cf. **5**.3.2.1).

The following sentences are additional examples of affirmative expressions of existence:

(9) a. Ng ngar ęr ngii a {hong ęr ngak / uldęsuek}.
'I have {a book / an idea}.'

b. Ng ngar ęr ngii a kęrim?
'Do you have a question?'

c. Ng mo ęr ngii a ochęraol ęr a klukuk.
'There will be a money-raising party tomorrow.'

d. Ng mo ęr ngii a sukal ęr a imęlem?
'Will you take sugar in your drink?'

e. Ng mochu ęr ngii a chull.
'It's about to rain.'

f. Ng mla ęr ngii a temel a Toki ęl mo ęr a party.
'Toki had time to go to the party.'

In 9e, *mochu* is the **predictive** form of *mo* 'go' (cf. **11**.12.5). Therefore, the sequence *mochu ęr ngii* means something like 'there is about to be'.

As we might expect, all of the **affirmative expressions of existence** discussed above can be transformed into **negative expressions of existence** by using some form of the negative verb *diak* 'isn't, doesn't exist'. Like their affirmative counterparts, negative expressions of existence introduce something into a conversation as new information, but at the same time they **deny** the existence of this particular thing. In the list below, we give the negative expressions of existence which correspond to some of the sentences of 4 and 9 above:

(4b') Ng diak a mlik.
'I don't have a car.'

(4c') Ng dimlak a ududel a Toki.
'Toki didn't have any money.'

(4d') Ng dimlak a blai ęr tiang.
'There wasn't any house here.'

(4e') Ng dimlak a ilumęl ęr a party.
'There weren't any drinks at the party.'

(9b') Ng diak a kęrim?
'Don't you have any questions?'

(9f') Ng dimlak a temel a Toki ęl mo ęr a party.
'Toki didn't have any time to go to the party.'

As examples 4c', 4d', 4e', and 9f' show, the past tense form of the negative verb *diak* is *dimlak* 'wasn't, didn't exist'. Before analyzing *dimlak* and other related forms of the negative verb, we will first concern ourselves with the grammatical structure of the various affirmative and negative expressions of existence observed in this section.

Subject Shifting in Affirmative and Negative Expressions of Existence

18.2.1. All of the affirmative and negative expressions of existence presented in **18**.2 above are identical in over-all structure: first, all of these sentences begin with the 3rd pers. sg. nonemphatic pronoun *ng*; second, this *ng* is immediately followed by verb phrases containing *ngar* (*ęr ngii*) or *diak*; and finally, the subject of the sentence—namely, the thing whose existence is being asserted or denied—appears directly after the verb phrase. These are precisely the three major features which identify sentences that have been derived by the process of **subject shifting** (cf. **17**.2). Thus, we propose that all affirmative and negative expressions of existence are derived by subject shifting from **source sentences** of the form

(10) subject noun phrase + {*ngar ęr ngii* / *diak*}

Therefore, sentences 4b, 4c, 4b', and 9f' would be derived according to the following scheme:

(11)

Source Sentence		*Resulting Sentence*
a. A *mlik* a ngar ęr ngii.	→	Ng ngar ęr ngii a *mlik*. 'I have a car.'
b. A *ududel a Toki* a mla ęr ngii.	→	Ng mla ęr ngii a *ududel a Toki*. 'Toki had money.'
c. A *mlik* a diak.	→	Ng diak a *mlik*. 'I don't have a car.'
d. A *temel a Toki ęl mo ęr a party* a dimlak.	→	Ng dimlak a *temel a Toki ęl mo ęr a party*. 'Toki didn't have any time to go to the party.'

When the italicized (3rd person) subjects are moved to the right of the verb phrase by the subject shifting rule, the pronominal trace *ng* appears in their place. Because the source sentences of 11 are not acceptable (or, at best, very awkward) to Palauan speakers, we conclude that application of the subject shifting

rule is **obligatory**: in other words, the source sentences of 11 must be transformed into the resulting sentences of 11 in order to become acceptable utterances of Palauan.[5]

The resulting sentences of 11b and 11d can be further transformed by the **preposing of possessor** rule (cf. **17**.3). Thus, the possessor *Toki* of both examples, which was moved to the right of the verb phrase as part of the shifted subjects *ududel a Toki* 'Toki's money' and *temel a Toki ęl mo ęr a party* 'Toki's time to go to the party', can be **preposed** to sentence-initial position, where it replaces the pronominal trace *ng*. We therefore get the following sentences, which are identical in meaning:

(12) a. A Toki a mla ęr ngii a ududel.
'Toki had money.'

b. A Toki a dimlak a temel ęl mo ęr a party.
'Toki didn't have any time to go to the party.'

Unless we accept the validity of the subject shifting and preposing of possessor rules, we have no reasonable way of accounting for the order of words observed in sentences like 12a–b.

In our discussion above, we implied that any source sentence of the form *subject noun phrase* + *diak* must undergo **obligatory** application of the subject shifting rule. One notable exception to this claim is found among sentences containing *mo* + *diak*, in which the auxiliary *mo* designates a **change of state** (cf. **13**.5). Observe the following examples, in which the source sentences and resulting sentences have the same meaning:

(13)

Source Sentence		*Resulting Sentence*
a. A *ududek* a mla mo diak.	→	Ng mla mo diak a *ududek*. 'My money has run out.'
b. A *chull* a mla mo diak.	→	Ng mla mo diak a *chull*. 'The rain has stopped.'
c. A *urerel a rubak* a mlo diak.	→	Ng mlo diak a *urerel a rubak*.[6] 'The old man lost his job.'

The sentences of 13 describe changes of state in which the italicized subject noun phrases *ududek* 'my money', *chull* 'rain', and *urerel* 'his work' became **non-existent**—i.e., stopped, disappeared, became used up, etc. Thus, in spite of their English equivalents, these examples really mean something like 'My money has become non-existent', 'The rain has become non-existent', and 'The old man's work became non-existent'.

Interestingly enough, the source sentences of 13 are perfectly acceptable to Palauan speakers, and therefore we must conclude that the subject shifting rule is only **optional** in cases like this. It is not very clear why subject shifting should be optional in 13 but obligatory in 11. However, we can speculate that subject shifting is obligatory only with affirmative and negative expressions of existence, as in 11. Therefore, one possible reason why this rule is not obligatory in 13 would be that the sentences of 13 somehow do not qualify as negative expressions of existence. Now, recall that negative expressions of existence introduce something into a conversation as **new information** and at the same time **deny** its existence. The sentences of 13, however, do not do this since in order to say that something has become non-existent (has run out, disappeared, etc.), it is necessary to assume that this very same thing existed in the first place. Therefore, the italicized subjects of 13 do not introduce new information, but designate things which were already presumed to be part of the hearer's knowledge. Instead, the new information in the sentences of 13 is actually conveyed by the change of state expressions themselves. Thus, in 13a, for example, the fact that the speaker has money (*ududek*) is not new information, but the fact that his money ran out (*mla mo diak*) is. In this way, then, the sentences of 13 probably do not qualify as negative expressions of existence, and therefore the subject shifting rule need not apply to them obligatorily.

THE NEGATIVE VERB *diak*

18.3. Now that we have seen how the negative verb *diak* is used in negative expressions of existence, let us examine the various forms which it can take. The negative verb *diak* is best classified as an **intransitive state verb**. Because it is a state verb, it can be used together with the auxiliary *mo* 'go' to denote a **change of state**, as we saw at the end of the preceding section.

The past tense form of *diak* 'isn't, doesn't exist' is *dimlak* 'wasn't, didn't exist'. At first glance, the form *dimlak* seems very difficult to explain, since it appears to contain an unusual **infixed** variant of the past tense marker—namely, *-ml-*. But if we assume that *diak* is a state verb, at least some of the apparent irregularity is resolved. Now, since *diak* is a state verb, we would expect that its past tense would be formed like that of all other state verbs—i.e., by using the auxiliary *mle* 'was, were' (cf. **5**.1.3). Thus, we

would expect the past of *diak* to be *mle diak*. Even though *mle diak* does not occur, it nevertheless seems to be a plausible **source** for *dimlak*: here, a special type of **metathesis** (cf. **6**.2) takes place in which the whole word *mle* exchanges positions with the first syllable *di* of *diak*. The resulting sequence is *di-mle-ak*, which then becomes *dimlak* after deletion of the *e*. This appears to be the only possible way of accounting for the mysterious *-ml-* in *dimlak*.

There is further evidence that the negative verb *diak* combines with other words (or morphemes) in strange ways. Thus, we also observe the negative word *dirkak* 'not yet, not ever', which is used to express the fact that some action or event has so far not taken place. The following pair of sentences gives us a clue about the structure of *dirkak*:

(14) a. Ak dirk mẹnguiu ẹr a hong.
'I'm still reading the book.'

b. Ng dirkak kunguiu ẹr a hong.
'I haven't read the book yet.'

In 14a, the **qualifying word** *dirk* 'still' (see **24**.6) **affirms** that the subject (*ak* 'I') has been reading the book over some period of time and is continuing to read it at the present moment. In 14b, however, *dirkak* **denies** that the subject has ever read the book (and of course implies that he is not reading it now). In other words, *dirkak* describes a kind of state characterized by the fact that the subject has **still not** gotten around to reading the book. When viewed this way, 14b seems to be a **denial** (or opposite) of 14a and as such should contain the negative verb *diak*. We propose that 14b indeed does contain *diak*, but as part of the word *dirkak*. In other words, the source of *dirkak* in 14b seems to be the sequence *dirk* + *diak*, which phonetically becomes *dirkak* by deletion of the second occurrence of the syllable *di*. Notice that the negative verb *dirkak* 'not yet, not ever' in 14b is followed by the hypothetical verb form *kunguiu*, in which the 1st pers. sg. hypothetical pronoun prefix *ku-* (corresponding to the agent—i.e., the person reading the book) has replaced the verb marker *mẹ-* of imperfective *mẹnguiu* 'read'.

We should distinguish carefully between the meanings of *dimlak* 'wasn't, didn't exist' and *dirkak* 'not yet, not ever', which are contrasted in the pairs of sentences below:

(15) a. Ng dimlak kbo ẹr a Guam.
'I didn't go to Guam.'

b. Ng dirkak kbo ẹr a Guam.
'I haven't ever gone to Guam.'

(16) a. A Toki a dimlak loruul a kall ẹr a Sina.
'Toki didn't make Chinese food.'

b. A Toki a dirkak loruul a kall ẹr a Sina.
'Toki hasn't ever made Chinese food.'

In the a-sentences above, use of *dimlak*—the past tense form of *diak*—refers to something which did not happen on a **single, specific occasion**. By contrast, use of *dirkak* in the b-sentences implies that something failed to take place **repeatedly** or on **many occasions**. For this reason, the b-sentences are interpreted to mean that someone has never had the **experience** of doing something. Therefore, sentences like 15b and 16b are common answers to questions about **past experience**, which contain the auxiliary *mla* (cf. **5**.3.2.1). Note the following dialogs:

(17) A: Kẹ mla mo ẹr a Guam?
'Have you ever gone to Guam?'

B: Ng diak. Ng dirkak kbong.
'No, I haven't.'

(18) A: A Toki ng mla mẹruul a kall ẹr a Sina?
'Has Toki ever made Chinese food?'

B: Ng diak. Ng dirkak loruul.
'No, she hasn't.'

As in 14b, the negative verb *dirkak* can also refer to some event which as of the present moment has not yet occurred. In such cases, *dirkak* corresponds to 'not yet', as in the sentences below:

(19) a. A ngalẹk a dirkak lẹbo lẹmẹchiuaiu.
'The child hasn't gone to sleep yet.'

b. Ng dirkak kbo kmẹrek ẹr a subẹlek.
'I haven't finished my homework yet.'

As we will see in **19**.1.3, the negative verb *diak* can itself have a hypothetical form—namely, *lak*. This form, too, exhibits the unusual phonetic nature of *diak*, since we have every reason to believe that *lak* has its source in *lẹ* + *diak*, which consists of the 3rd pers. sg. hypothetical pronoun *lẹ-* followed by the negative verb. In deriving *lak*, we delete the first syllable *di* of *diak*. A similar deletion is observed in the past tense hypothetical form *lẹmlak*, which is clearly derived from *lẹ* + *dimlak*.

HYPOTHETICAL VERB FORMS FOLLOWING *diak*

18.4. At the beginning of **18**.1 above, we observed negative sentences like the following (= 1b and 2b):

(20) a. A Toki a diak longuiu ęr a hong.
'Toki isn't reading the book.'

b. A ngęlękek a diak lsechęr.
'My child isn't sick.'

As mentioned in **18**.1, the negative verb *diak* is followed by **hypothetical verb forms** in the examples of 20. In the transitive sentence 20a, the *lo-* of *longuiu* refers to the doer or agent (*Toki*), and in the intransitive sentence 20b, the *l-* of *lsechęr* refers to the subject (*ngęlękek* 'my child'). Now, with 20a–b compare the following sentences, in which the doer or subject corresponds to the speaker:

(21) a. Ng diak kunguiu ęr a hong.
'I'm not reading the book.'

b. Ng diak ksechęr.
'I'm not sick.'

The hypothetical verb forms of 21 have 1st pers. sg. hypothetical pronoun prefixes, while those of 20 have 3rd pers. sg. hypothetical pronoun prefixes. In addition, the examples of 20 show the specific noun phrases *Toki* and *ngęlękek* 'my child' in sentence-initial position.

The structure of the negative sentences in 20–21 can be easily explained in terms of the **subject shifting rule** and two rules which are peculiar to sentences containing *diak*. In **18**.2.1 above we saw that sentences which constitute negative expressions of existence are derived simply by applying the subject shifting rule (obligatorily) to source sentences of the form *subject noun phrase* + *diak*. We propose that the negative sentences of 20–21 are derived in exactly the same way, except that in their source sentences the subject noun phrase is actually a **bracketed sentence**. Our method of analysis here is identical to that used in **17**.7, where we proposed that the possessed nouns *soal* 'his liking' and *chętil* 'his disliking' can occur in two types of source sentences—namely, *subject noun phrase* + *soal/chętil* or [*sentence*] + *soal/chętil*. Recall that when the subject of *soal* or *chętil* is a bracketed sentence, subject shifting results in a **dependent clause** construction, as in the following derivation:

(22) *Source Sentence* → *Resulting Sentence*
[Ak męlim a biang] a soak. → Ng soak ęl męlim a biang.
'I want to drink some beer.'

Let us first analyze the sentences of 21, which we propose have the following source sentences:

(23) a. [Ak męnguiu ęr a hong] a diak.
('I'm not reading the book.')

b. [Ak smechęr] a diak.
('I'm not sick.')

In the source sentences of 23, the negative verb *diak* is preceded by a subject noun phrase consisting of a complete bracketed sentence; the bracketed sentence names an action or state whose occurrence is being denied. The subject shifting rule applies obligatorily to 23a–b, giving the following structures:

(24) a. Ng diak [ak męnguiu ęr a hong].
('I'm not reading the book.')

b. Ng diak [ak smechęr].
('I'm not sick.')

When the bracketed sentence is moved to the right of the verb phrase by the subject shifting rule, the pronominal trace *ng* automatically appears in its place in sentence-initial position. Now in order to transform 24a–b into the actually-spoken sentences 21a–b, we need to apply a rule which derives the correct **hypothetical verb forms** in the shifted bracketed sentences. This rule involves transforming the non-emphatic pronoun *ak* 'I' (the agent or subject of the bracketed sentence) into the corresponding hypothetical pronoun *ku-* or *k-*, and prefixing it to the directly following verb, thereby deriving a hypothetical verb form. As part of this process, the verb following *ak* changes, too (cf. **6**.2.1): thus, in 24a the verb marker *mę-* of imperfective *męnguiu* is lost and replaced by *ku-*, and in 24b the metathesized verb marker *-m-* of the state verb *smechęr* is lost when *k-* is prefixed. As a result of these changes, the structures of 24a–b are transformed into the acceptable sentences of 21a–b.

The appearance of **hypothetical verb forms** in the shifted bracketed sentences following *diak* can be easily understood if we consider that these forms are used in a large variety of grammatical constructions to express **hypothetical** events or situations —i.e., ones which do not really occur but which are supposed, assumed, imagined, wished for, etc. Because the negative verb

diak **denies** the occurrence of something, any event or situation described in a sentence with *diak* would be **unreal** in the sense that it did not occur. For this reason, the appearance of hypothetical verb forms after *diak* seems rather natural and "logical".

Now let us return to the negative sentences of 20a–b, in which a specific noun phrase (*Toki* in 20a and *ngęlękek* 'my child' in 20b) is found in sentence-initial position. We propose that the source sentences for 20a–b are as follows:

(25) a. [A Toki a męnguiu ęr a hong] a diak.
('Toki isn't reading the book.')

b. [A ngęlękek a smechęr] a diak.
('My child isn't sick.')

Applying the subject shifting rule to 25a–b, we get the following structures:

(26) a. Ng diak [a Toki a męnguiu ęr a hong].
('Toki isn't reading the book.')

b. Ng diak [a ngęlękek a smechęr].
('My child isn't sick.')

Because the shifted bracketed sentences of 26a–b contain a specific 3rd pers. agent (*Toki* in 26a) or subject (*ngęlękek* 'my child' in 26b), they must be transformed by a special rule which is based on the principle that the specific 3rd pers. agent or subject cannot remain in the initial position of the bracketed sentence. In other words, the noun phrases *Toki* and *ngęlękek* must be either shifted to sentence-final position or preposed to sentence-initial position. At the same time, the verb form of the bracketed shifted sentence must become hypothetical; the resulting hypothetical verb form takes the 3rd pers. sg. hypothetical pronoun prefixes *lo-* or *l-*, which **agree** with the agent or subject of the bracketed sentence.

If the specific 3rd pers. agent or subject is shifted to sentence-final position, 26a–b will be transformed into the following sentences:

(27) a. Ng diak longuiu ęr a hong a *Toki*.
'Toki isn't reading the book.'

b. Ng diak lsechęr a *ngęlękek*.
'My child isn't sick.'

Though grammatical, examples 27a–b are used less frequently than 20a–b above, in which the specific 3rd pers. agent or subject has been preposed to sentence-initial position, where it replaces

the pronominal trace *ng*. These examples are repeated as 28a–b below:

(28) a. A *Toki* a diak longuiu ęr a hong.
'Toki isn't reading the book.'

b. A *ngęlękek* a diak lsechęr.
'My child isn't sick.'

FURTHER EXAMPLES OF NEGATIVE SENTENCES

18.5. In the negative sentences of 20 and 21 above, we observed two different types of hypothetical verb forms following *diak*. Thus, in 20a and 21a *longuiu* and *kunguiu* are hypothetical forms of the **imperfective (transitive) verb** *męnguiu* 'read', while in 20b and 21b, *lsechęr* and *ksechęr* are hypothetical forms of the **(intransitive) state verb** *smechęr* 'sick'. Before looking at negative sentences containing other types of hypothetical verb forms, let us examine some further sentences containing the two types we have just mentioned:

(29) *diak* followed by hypothetical forms of **imperfective (transitive) verbs:**

a. A Droteo a dimlak lolim a biang.
'Droteo didn't drink any beer.'

b. Ng diak molamęch a dękool?
'Don't you smoke cigarettes?'

c. Ng dirkak kimoruul a kall ęr a Siabal.
'We've never made Japanese food.'

d. A ręsęchęlik a dimlak longiis ęr a kliokl.
'My friends didn't dig the hole.'

(30) *diak* followed by hypothetical forms of **(intransitive) state verbs:**

a. A Toki a diak lsęngęrengęr.[7]
'Toki isn't hungry.'

b. A mlid a diak lęklou.
'Our car isn't that big/big enough.'

c. A mubi a dimlak lęmękngit.[8]
'The movie wasn't bad.'

d. Ng dimlak lęmęched a chei.
'The tide wasn't low.'

In the examples above, the **tense** of the whole sentence is determined by the form of the negative verb (*diak* vs. *dimlak* vs. *dirkak*). Therefore, the hypothetical verb form directly following

diak always appears in the present tense, even though the whole sentence may refer to past time (as in 29a, 29c–d, and 30c–d).

Since nearly all types of verbs can have hypothetical forms, Palauan negative sentences are by no means confined to the ones listed in 29–30 above. Thus, in the groups of examples below, we observe *diak* followed by further types of hypothetical verb forms:

(31) *diak* followed by hypothetical forms of **intransitive action verbs** (including **directional verbs**[9]):

a. A rengalęk a diak loilil ęr a sers.
'The children aren't playing in the garden.'

b. Ngara mę ng dimlak mlangęl?
'Why didn't you cry?'

c. Ng diak chome ęr a party?
'Aren't you coming to the party?'

d. Ng dimlak kbo ęr a skuul er a elii.
'I didn't go to school yesterday.'

e. Ng dirkak kibo ęr a Guam.
'We've never gone to Guam.'

(32) *diak* followed by hypothetical forms of **perfective (transitive) verbs**[10]:

a. Ng dimlak kbosii a babii.
'I didn't shoot the pig.'

b. A Tony a dimlak lęngęsuir a Satsko ęl męngętmokl ęr a blai.
'Tony didn't help Satsko clean the house.'

c. A Droteo a dimlak lleng a hong.
'Droteo didn't borrow the books.'

d. Ng dimlak kkęrir a sensei ęr a teng ęr ngak.
'I didn't ask the teacher about my grade.'

(33) *diak* followed by hypothetical forms of the **existential state verb** *ngar*:

a. A ngęlękem a diak lęngar ęr a skuul.
'Your child isn't at school.'

b. A sensei a dimlak lęngar ęr tiang.
'The teacher wasn't here.'

(34) *diak* followed by hypothetical forms of **ergative verbs**[11]:

a. A kall a dirkak lęmęruul.
'The food hasn't been made yet.'

b. A biang a dimlak lęmęngim.
'The beer wasn't drunk up.'

(35) *diak* followed by hypothetical forms of **complex verb phrases**[12]:

a. A Toki a dirkak lębo lęmęrek ęr a urerel.
'Toki hasn't finished her work yet.'

b. A ngęlękek a diak lębo lungil ęl smechęr.
'My child isn't getting any better.'

c. Ng diak kbo kuruul a kall.
'I'm not going to make the food.'

d. Ngara mę ng dimlak chobo mrei?
'Why didn't you go home?'

EQUATIONAL SENTENCES: AFFIRMATIVE AND NEGATIVE

18.6. The structure of Palauan **equational sentences** is relatively simple because they merely consist of a subject noun phrase followed by another noun phrase. The term **equational sentence** is used because the two noun phrases involved are always understood as being **equal** or **equivalent** to each other. In other words, if the two noun phrases in an equational sentence are A and B, the equational sentence simply asserts that "A is B": the subject noun phrase is equated with or included in the category of individuals or things designated by the second noun phrase. Observe the following equational sentences in the present tense:

(36) a. Ak ngalęk ęr a skuul.
'I'm a student.'

b. Kędę chad ęr a omęnged.
'We're fishermen.'

c. A dęmak a sensei.
'My father's a teacher.'

d. Tia a mlil a Toki.
'This is Toki's car.'

e. Tilęcha a blai.
'That's a house.'

f. Ng mlik.
'It's my car.'

In order to derive sentences which **deny** that "A is B", we simply apply the rules of subject shifting and preposing (cf. **18.4**) to source sentences of the form [*equational sentence*] + *diak*. Thus, in deriving the negative counterpart of 36a, we begin with the following source sentence:

(37) [Ak ngalęk ęr a skuul] a diak.
('I'm not a student.')

The subject shifting rule applies to the whole bracketed sentence, which is moved to the right of *diak* to give

(38) Ng diak [ak ngalęk ęr a skuul].
('I'm not a student.')

To obtain a grammatical sentence, the subject *ak* 'I' of the shifted bracketed sentence must be changed into a hypothetical pronoun and prefixed to the following noun phrase. Thus, we have

(39) Ng diak kngalęk ęr a skuul.
'I'm not a student.'

If the subject of the shifted equational sentence is a specific third person noun phrase, then it cannot remain in the initial position of the equational sentence (cf. the discussion following 26a–b above). For example, when the source sentence for the negative counterpart of 36c—namely,

(40) [A dęmak a sensei] a diak.
('My father's not a teacher.')

undergoes the subject shifting rule, we get the following structure:

(41) Ng diak [a dęmak a sensei].
('My father's not a teacher.')

Now, the subject of the shifted bracketed sentence—*dęmak* 'my father'—must either be moved to sentence-final position or preposed to sentence-initial position. Applying one or the other of these processes yields the following two grammatical sentences:

(42) a. Ng diak lsensei a dęmak.
'My father isn't a teacher.'

b. A dęmak a diak lsensei.
'My father isn't a teacher.'

Most speakers prefer to use 42b, in which the noun phrase *dęmak* 'my father' has been preposed.

The negative counterparts of the other examples of 36 are derived according to the analysis presented above. Note, therefore, the following sentences:

(43) a. Ng diak dęchad ęr a omęnged.
'We're not fishermen.'

b. Tia a diak lęmlil a Toki.
'This isn't Toki's car.'

c. Tilęcha a diak lęblai.
'That's not a house.'

d. Ng diak lęmlik.
'It's not my car.'

Notice that the **negative equational sentence** 43d is different in meaning and structure from the **negative expression of existence** 4b', which we repeat here for convenience:

(44) Ng diak a mlik.
'I don't have a car.'

While 44 has a source sentence of the following form (cf. 11c),

(45) A mlik a diak.
('I don't have a car.')

the source sentence for 43d is different—namely,

(46) [Ng mlik] a diak.
('It's not my car.')

Equational sentences in the past tense use *mle* 'was, were' between the two noun phrases, while those in the future tense use the auxiliary *mo*. The auxiliary *mo* can also designate a change of state in equational sentences. Several examples are given below:

(47) a. A John a mle sensei.
'John was a teacher.'

b. Ak mo toktang.
'I'm going to be a doctor.'

c. A Toki a mlo chad ęr a Merikel.
'Toki became an American citizen.'

The negative counterparts of 47a–c are as follows:

(48) a. A John a dimlak lsensei.
'John wasn't a teacher.'

b. Ng diak kbo ktoktang.
'I'm not going to be a doctor.'

c. A Toki a dimlak lębo lęchad ęr a Merikel.
'Toki didn't become an American citizen.'

Notice that in 48b–c, a hypothetical pronoun is prefixed both to the auxiliary *mo* and to the noun phrase directly following it.

THE NEGATIVE EXPRESSION *di kea*

18.7. The negative expression *di kea*, which probably consists of the word *di* 'only, just' followed by *kea*, corresponds to the English

expression 'no longer'. In other words, *di kea* implies that something which was once the case is no longer the case. The following sentences with *di kea* are presented without explanation, since their derivation parallels that of the various negative sentences analyzed in **18**.2.1 and **18**.6 above:

(49) a. A Toki a di kea {lęngalęk ęr a skuul / lękatungek}.
'Toki is no longer {a student / my girlfriend}.'

b. A John a di kea lęchad ęr a Merikel.
'John is no longer an American citizen.'

c. A blik a di kea lęngar ęr sei.
'My house is no longer located there.'

d. Ng di kea a techęllek ęl mo ęr a skuul.
'I no longer have the opportunity to go to school.'

e. Ng di kea a ngikęl.
'There's no more fish.'

f. Ng di kea kureor ęr a bangk.
'I'm no longer working at the bank.'

The negative expression *di kea* can also express the idea that some expected event failed to take place. In this usage, *di kea* corresponds to English 'not . . . after all', as in the examples below:

(50) a. Ng di kea kbo ęr a Guam.
'(It turns out that) I'm not going to Guam after all.'

b. Ng di kea kbo kureor ęr a skuul.
'(It turns out that) I'm not going to work at the school after all.'

c. A Droteo a di mle kea lębo ęr a mubi.
'(It turned out that) Droteo didn't go to the movies after all.'

As example 50c shows, *di kea* becomes *di mle kea* in the past tense. The addition of *mle* seems to indicate that *kea* functions as a **state verb**, but this still does not give us any clues about the (original or current) meaning of *kea*.[13]

NEGATIVE VERBS AS ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

18.8. The Palauan negative verbs *diak*, *dimlak*, and *dirkak* are commonly used together with the 3rd pers. sg. non-emphatic pronoun *ng* as answers to questions. This phenomenon is observed in the dialogs below:

(51) A: A Droteo ng męsuub a tękoi ęr a Merikel?
'Is Droteo studying English?'

B: Ng diak.
'No. (He's not).'

(52) A: Kę mlo ęr a party ęr a kęsus?
'Did you go to the party last night?'

B: Ng dimlak.
'No. (I didn't).'

(53) A: Ng ngar ęr ngii a kęrim?
'Do you have any questions?'

B: Ng diak.
'No. (I don't).'

(54) A: Kę mla męnga a kall ęr a Firiping?
'Have you ever eaten Filipino food?'

B: Ng dirkak.
'No. (I haven't).'

The **negative responses** given by B in the dialogs above appear to be short sentences which mean something like 'it isn't the case' (for *ng diak*), 'it wasn't the case' (for *ng dimlak*), and 'it hasn't (yet) been the case' (for *ng dirkak*). They contrast, of course, with the word *chochoi* 'yes', which is used as an **affirmative response**.

Questions containing the negative verb *diak* are difficult to analyze because they can be interpreted in at least two different ways. Often, *diak* is simply used to add a degree of **politeness** to questions which function as offers or invitations, as in the examples below:

(55) a. Ng diak monga a bobai?
'Won't you eat some papaya?'

b. Ng diak chome ęr a blik?
'Won't you come to my house?'

Just like their English equivalents, the Palauan negative questions above are merely polite (or indirect) substitutes for the blunter questions 'Will you eat some papaya?' and 'Will you come to my house?' Because the examples of 55 are therefore equivalent in meaning to affirmative questions, speakers would respond to them as if they indeed were affirmative questions. Thus, 55a, for instance, might occur in dialogs like the following:

(56) A: Ng diak monga a bobai?
'Won't you eat some papaya?' =
'Will you eat some papaya?'

B: Chochoi.
'Yes, I will.'

(57) A: Ng diak monga a bobai?
'Won't you eat some papaya?' =
'Will you eat some papaya?'

B: Ng diak. Ng chętik
'No (thanks). I don't like it.'

Now, it is also possible for an example like 55a to be interpreted as a **general question** rather than as an offer or an invitation. Under such circumstances, A is really asking B a question of the form 'Is it the case that you don't eat papayas?' Because this question is interpreted in this way, B's responses to it are different in meaning from those observed in 56–7 above, as the following dialogs illustrate:

(58) A: Ng diak monga a bobai?
'Don't you eat papayas?' =
'Is it the case that you don't eat papayas?'

B: Chochoi. (Ng diak kungang.)
'No, I don't. (I don't eat them.)'

(59) A: Ng diak monga a bobai?
'Don't you eat papayas?' =
'Is it the case that you don't eat papayas?'

B: Ng diak. (Ak męnga ęr a bebil ęr a taem.)
'Yes, I do. (I eat them from time to time.)'

If we think of A's question as really meaning 'Is it the case that you don't eat papayas?', as mentioned above, we can easily explain how B's responses are interpreted. Thus, when B answers *chochoi* in 58, he actually means 'Yes, it *is* the case that I don't eat papayas'. Similarly, B's use of *ng diak* in 59 corresponds to 'No, it is *not* the case that I don't eat papayas—i.e., I *do* eat them'. As the English equivalents show, the way of answering such negative questions in English is quite different.

19 Uses of Hypothetical Verb Forms

CONDITIONAL SENTENCES

19.1. As we saw in **18.4**, Palauan hypothetical verb forms are required following the negative verb *diak* 'isn't, doesn't exist' in certain types of sentences. Hypothetical verb forms are not confined to sentences with *diak*, however, but appear in a large variety of grammatical constructions. Perhaps the most important of these is the **conditional sentence**, which we will describe in detail in this and the following sections.

Palauan conditional sentences consist basically of two parts—a **condition** and a **consequent**—and express the idea that **if** some event, action, state, etc., occurs, **then** something else will happen. The event, action, state, etc. whose occurrence is suggested or put forth as a possibility is the **condition**, while the event which it would bring about or which would result from it is called the **consequent**. The meaning of these two terms will become clear from the following example:

(1) A lęngar ęr ngii a ududek, e ak mo ęr a Guam.
'If I had money, (then) I'd go to Guam.'

In the above conditional sentence, the **condition** *a lęngar ęr ngii a ududek* 'if I had money' is followed by the **consequent** *e ak mo ęr a Guam* 'then I'd go to Guam'. The consequent designates an event (going to Guam) which could take place **only if** the preceding condition were met or "satisfied"—i.e., if the situation designated by *a lęngar ęr ngii a ududek* 'if I had money' were to become an **actual fact**. At the moment of utterance, however, this condition has not been satisfied, and the speaker is merely viewing the idea of having money as a **possibility** which will hopefully become true.

In example 1 above, both the condition and the consequent are expressed by **clauses** which contain their own subject and verb. In the **conditional clause** *a lęngar ęr ngii a ududek* 'if I had

money', which is introduced by the word *a* 'if',[1] the noun phrase *ududek* 'my money' is the subject of the hypothetical verb form *lęngar ęr ngii* 'if there existed'.[2] Following the conditional clause is the **consequential clause** *e ak mo ęr a Guam* 'then I'd go to Guam', where *ak* 'I' is the subject of the directional verb *mo* 'go'. This clause is introduced by the word *e* '(and) then' (see **25**.1), and unlike the preceding conditional clause, its verb is not in the hypothetical form.

Since conditional clauses describe **hypothetical** or **possible** events or states—i.e., ones which are not real but which instead are supposed, imagined, hoped for, etc.—it is quite understandable why they should contain hypothetical verb forms, since such forms commonly designate **unreal** events or states. Thus, the reason for using hypothetical forms in conditional clauses is the same as that for using hypothetical forms in sentences containing the negative verb *diak* (cf. **18**.4), since in the latter case, too, we are dealing with unreal—i.e., non-occurring—events or states.

Conditions in the Present or Future

19.1.1. If the hypothetical verb form in a conditional clause is in the present tense, then the events or states designated by the condition and the consequent are imagined as occurring either at the present moment or at some time point in the future. The verb of the consequential clause may be in the present or future tense, as the following examples show (cf. 1 above):

(2) a. A kudęnge a tękoi ęr a Siabal, e ak męrael ęl mo ęr a Siabal.
'If I knew Japanese, (then) I'd travel to Japan.'

b. A kbo ęr a Guam er tia ęl me ęl rak, e ak mo kie ęr a blil a sęchęlik.
'If I go to Guam next year, (then) I'll stay at my friend's house.'

c. A kisa a John ęr a klukuk, e ak dmu ęr ngii.
'If I see John tomorrow, (then) I'll tell him.'

d. A lęme a Droteo ęr a klukuk, e ng me kie ęr a blik.
'If Droteo comes tomorrow, (then) he'll stay at my house.'

e. A lębo lsechęr a ngęlękek, e ng diak lębo ęr a skuul.
'If my child gets sick, (then) he won't go to school.'

f. A lęme a chull, e kę ngmai a sęlękęlek.
'If it rains, (then) please bring in my laundry.'

g. A lębęskak a udoud a dęmak, e ak rullii a party.
'If my father gave me money, (then) I'd have a party.'

If the subject (or agent) in a conditional clause is a specific third person noun phrase, as in 2d–g, then it must occur to the right of the (hypothetical) verb phrase. Thus, the position of the specific third person noun phrases *Droteo*, *ngęlękek* 'my child', *chull* 'rain', and *dęmak* 'my father' in 2d–g is due to a rule which is rather similar to the **subject shifting rule** discussed in **17**.2. In the case of conditional clauses, the subject (or agent) must be shifted obligatorily, since a sentence like the following (cf. 2f) is ungrammatical:

(2f') *A chull a lęme, e kę ngmai a sęlękęlek.

Conditions in the Past

19.1.2. If the hypothetical verb form of the conditional clause and the (non-hypothetical) verb form of the consequential clause are both in the past tense, then the condition and the consequent are imagined as having occurred at some time point in the past. Thus, with 1, 2a, and 2g above, compare the following sentences:

(3) a. A lębla ęr ngii a ududek, e ak mlo ęr a Guam.
'If I had had money, (then) I would have gone to Guam.'

b. A kble kudęnge a tękoi ęr a Siabal, e ak mirrael ęl mo ęr a Siabal.
'If I had known Japanese, (then) I would have travelled to Japan.'

c. A lębilskak a udoud a dęmak, e ak riręllii a party.
'If my father had given me money, (then) I would have had a party.'

In 3a we see that *mla*—the past tense form of the existential verb *ngar* (cf. **18**.2)—appears as *bla* when a hypothetical pronoun is prefixed; and in 3b the auxiliary *mle* (which functions to mark the past tense with a state verb like *męd̨enge* 'know'—cf. **5**.1.2) has likewise changed to *ble* before the addition of the hypothetical pronoun. The alternation between *m* and *b* observed here was discussed at length in **6**.2.1.

Conditional Clauses Containing *diak*

19.1.3. When the negative verb *diak* is used in a conditional clause, the resulting sentence will mean something like 'if such-and-such is not/had not been the case, then...' Observe the examples below, in which a present or future condition is involved:

(4) a. A lak lębo a Droteo, e ng diak kbong.
'If Droteo doesn't go, (then) I won't go.'

b. A lak losuub a Toki, e ng mo otsir ęr a test.
'If Toki doesn't study, (then) she'll fail the test.'

c. A lak a ududem, e ng diak chobo ęr a mubi.[3]
'If you don't have any money, (then) you won't go to the movies.'

Since the verb fololwing *a* 'if' in a conditional clause must always be in the hypothetical form, we can conclude that *lak* is the hypothetical form of the negative verb *diak*. It is likely that *lak* is a shortened (or contracted) version of *lę* + *diak*, which would be the expected hypothetical form (i.e., *hypothetical pronoun* + *verb stem*) in the present tense. Can you explain why *lak* is itself followed by hypothetical verb forms in examples 4a and 4b?

Now consider the sentences below, which designate a past condition:

(5) a. A lęmlak a ududel a Droteo, e ng dimlak lębo ęr a Guam.
'If Droteo hadn't had the money, (then) he wouldn't have gone to Guam.'

b. A lęmlak lębo ęr a bita mę llęngir a oles a Toki, e ng dimlak lsębęchek ęl ręmuul a ngikęl.
'If Toki hadn't gone next door and borrowed a knife, (then) I wouldn't have been able to prepare the fish.'

In the conditional clauses of 5 we would expect the hypothetical verb form to consist of the 3rd pers. sg. hypothetical pronoun *lę-* followed by *dimlak*, the past tense form of the negative verb. But instead of *lę* + *dimlak*, we observe the hypothetical form *lęmlak*. We conclude that in this case, too, a shortening or contraction has occurred, or—stated differently—the syllable *di* of *diak* has been deleted.

PERMUTATION OF CONDITIONAL AND CONSEQUENTIAL CLAUSES

19.2. Although the order *conditional clause* + *consequential clause* is much preferred in the conditional sentences given above, Palauan speakers sometimes **permute** the two clauses—i.e., they put the consequential clause first and the conditional clause last. Thus, with 4c and 5a above, compare the following examples, whose meaning is identical:

(4c') Ng diak chobo ęr a mubi a lak a ududem.
'You won't go to the movies if you don't have any money.'

(5a') A Droteo a dimlak lębo ęr a Guam a lęmlak a ududel.

'Droteo wouldn't have gone to Guam if he hadn't had the money.'

As the examples above show, a consequential clause which has been moved to sentence-initial position is no longer introduced by *e* '(and) then'.

There are certain types of conditional sentences in which permutation of the conditional and consequential clauses is preferred, or even required. Observe, for example, the sentences below, which are **general questions** about the way of doing something:

(6) a. A ręchad er a Belau tę mękęra a loruul a bękai?
'How do Palauans make pottery?'

b. Kę mękęra a chomoruul a ilaot?
'What do you do to make coconut syrup?'

General questions like 6a–b are usually phrased in the following way: a consequential clause containing the special question word *mękęra* 'do what?' (see **20**.7) precedes a conditional clause which describes a particular activity. Thus, 6a–b actually mean something like 'What do Palauans do if they make pottery?' and 'What do you do if you make coconut syrup?'[4] Other types of sentences in which permutation of the conditional and consequential clauses takes place will be discussed in **19**.3–4 below.

FURTHER TYPES OF CONDITIONAL CLAUSES

19.3. The Palauan conditional clauses we have so far examined are characterized by the following features: (i) the verb following *a* 'if' must be in the hypothetical form, and (ii) a specific third person subject must be shifted to the right of the verb phrase. In this section, we will discuss three types of clauses which, though conditional in meaning, do not exhibit the abovementioned features.

In order to express a future condition, it is possible to use a conditional clause introduced by *a lsękum* 'if'. Observe, for example, the sentences below:

(7) a. A lsękum ak mo ęr a Guam, e ak mo kie ęr a blil a Tony.
'If I go to Guam, (then) I'll stay at Tony's house.'

b. A lsękum a Droteo a mo ęr a skuul ęr a klukuk, e ng mo omes ęr a sensei.
'If Droteo goes to school tomorrow, (then) he'll see the teacher.'

c. A lsękum ng diak a ududem, e ng diak lsębęchem ęl mo ęr a mubi.
'If you don't have money, (then) you can't go to the movies.'

d. A lsękum ng ungil a che, e tę mo ęr a chei.
'If the tide is good, (then) they'll go fishing.'

In the conditional clauses introduced by *a lsękum* 'if', the verb occurs in its "normal" (i.e., non-hypothetical) form. Furthermore, a specific third person subject need not be shifted to the right of the verb phrase, as the position of *Droteo* in 7b illustrates. Although it is very difficult to analyze conditional clauses with *a lsękum* 'if', we can speculate that the sequence *a lsękum* is itself a combination of *a* 'if' and a "fossilized" hypothetical verb form *lsękum* (in which the *l-* appears to be the 3rd pers. sg. hypothetical pronoun prefix). If *lsękum* is indeed a hypothetical verb form, then this might explain why no further hypothetical verb forms are required in the conditional clause.

For some speakers, conditional clauses with *a lsękum* are interchangeable with those that contain *a* 'if' followed by a hypothetical verb form (and a shifted third person subject, if any). For others, however, the two types involve a rather fine difference in meaning, which we will illustrate with the pairs below:

(8) a. A kisa a John ęr a klukuk, e ak subędii.
'If/when I see John tomorrow, I'll tell him.'

b. A lsękum ak męsa a John ęr a klukuk, e ak subędii.
'If I should possibly see John tomorrow, (then) I'll tell him.'

(9) a. A lęme a Droteo, e ng me kie ęr a blik.
'If/when Droteo comes, he'll stay at my house.'

b. A lsękum a Droteo a me, e ng me kie ęr a blik.
'If Droteo should possibly come, (then) he'll stay at my house.'

Though perhaps somewhat exaggerated, the English equivalents in 8–9 above are designed to reflect the following difference in meaning between the a- and b-sentences. In the b-sentences with *a lsękum*, the speaker is rather doubtful that the condition and its consequent will become actual facts, while in the a-sentences with *a* 'if' and a hypothetical verb form, the speaker feels somewhat more confident that the condition and its consequent will become true. For this reason, the a-sentences can sometimes be translated with English 'when', which implies that the future event is expected to occur.

Just like conditional clauses with *a* 'if' and a hypothetical verb form, conditional clauses containing *a lsękum* can be permuted with a following consequential clause. Thus, the sentence below is equivalent to 7d:

(10) Tę mo ęr a che a lsękum ng ungil a chei.
'They'll go fishing if the tide is good.'

In order to express a present (or, sometimes, future) condition, Palauan speakers also make use of conditional clauses introduced by *ulękum* 'if (only)'. This word, which is probably related in some way to the *lsękum* of *a lsękum*, is used when the speaker wishes to emphasize how strongly he desires a particular condition and its consequent to become true. When *ulękum* is used with this connotation, the consequential clause following it is introduced by *mę* '(and) so' (see **25**.1):

(11) a. Ulękum a sensei ęr kęmam a mo ęr a Guam, mę ng mo diak a klas.
'If only our teacher would go to Guam, then we wouldn't have any class.'

b. Ulękum ng ngar ęr ngii a ududek, mę ng mo sębęchek ęl mo ęr a Merikel.
'If only I had some money, then I could go to America.'

As we can see, conditional clauses with *ulękum* are not introduced by *a*. Furthermore, the verb form in such clauses is not hypothetical, nor is the subject shifted. Most Palauan speakers can use *e* instead of *mę* in the sentences of 11; for some, no difference in meaning results, while for others the connotation of strong desire is lost. For the latter group of speakers, the sentences of 11 with *ulękum . . . e* would be equivalent to sentences with *a lsękum . . . e*.

Another commonly-used sentence type with *ulękum* is illustrated below:

(12) a. Ulękum ak kau, e ak mo ęr a Merikel.
'If only I were you, then I'd go to America.'

b. Ulękum ak sensei, e ak olisęchakl ęr a ochur.
'If I could only be a teacher, then I'd teach math.'

In the conditional clauses of 12, *ulękum* is followed by the sequences *ak kau* 'I—you' and *ak sensei* 'I—teacher', which are actually **equational sentences** (cf. **18**.6).

Palauan has yet another type of conditional clause which in certain cases contrasts in meaning with the conditional clauses already described. In the sentences below, we observe conditional clauses introduced by *a kmu* 'if'[5]; again, the verb in this clause is

not hypothetical, nor is the subject shifted. Clauses with *a kmu* can refer to present, past, or future conditions:

(13) a. A kmu ak[6] męd̨ngе a tękoi ęr a Siabal, e ak męrael ęl mo ęr a Siabal.
'If I knew Japanese, (then) I'd travel to Japan.'

b. A kmu ng ngar ęr ngii a ududek, e ak męchęrar a bęchęs ęl mlai.
'If I had money, (then) I'd buy a new car.'

c. A kmu a Droteo a mo ęr a Guam ęr a klukuk, e ng nguu a Toki.
'If Droteo were to go to Guam tomorrow, (then) he'd take Toki.'

d. A kmu ak mle męd̨ngе a tękoi ęr a Siabal, e ak mirrael ęl mo ęr a Siabal.
'If I had known Japanese (at that time), I would have travelled to Japan.'

e. A kmu ak mle kau, e ak mlong.
'If I had been you, I would have gone.'

In 13a–c above, which designate present or future conditions, the conditional clause with *a kmu* expresses a strong belief or conviction on the speaker's part that the condition and its consequent will not become true. Thus, in 13c, for example, *a kmu a Droteo a mo ęr a Guam* 'if Droteo were to go to Guam' implies that Droteo is not really expected to go to Guam, but nevertheless the speaker is speculating what would happen if he did. Because of this implication, conditional clauses with *a kmu* differ subtly in meaning from conditional clauses with *a lsękum* or *a* followed by a hypothetical verb form. Let us therefore repeat 9a–b above as 14a–b and compare them with 14c:

(14) a. A lęme a Droteo, e ng me kie ęr a blik.
'If/when Droteo comes, he'll stay at my house.'

b. A lsękum a Droteo a me, e ng me kie ęr a blik.
'If Droteo should possibly come, (then) he'll stay at my house.'

c. A kmu a Droteo a me, e ng me kie ęr a blik.
'If Droteo were to come, he'd stay at my house.'

In the examples of 14, the speaker shows successively increasing **doubt** about whether the condition and its consequent have any chance of becoming true. Thus, the speaker uses *a* followed by a hypothetical verb form (14a) if he believes there is some reasonable possibility that Droteo will come. If he thinks the possibility

of Droteo's coming is relatively small, however, he will use *a lsękum* (14b). And if he thinks it is very unlikely that Droteo will come, he will choose *a kmu* (14c), as mentioned above.

In sentences designating past conditions, conditional clauses with *a kmu* vs. those with *a* followed by a hypothetical verb form result in different implications. Thus, compare 3b and 13d, which are both repeated below:

(15) a. A kble kudęngе a tękoi ęr a Siabal, e ak mirrael ęl mo ęr a Siabal.
'If I had known Japanese, (then) I would have travelled to Japan.'

b. A kmu ak mle męd̨ngе a tękoi ęr a Siabal, e ak mirrael ęl mo ęr a Siabal.
'If I had known Japanese (at that time), I would have travelled to Japan.'

According to some speakers, 15b implies that the present situation is different from that described in the past conditional clause, while this is not necessarily the case in 15a. In other words, 15b implies that the speaker in fact knows how to speak Japanese now, whereas in 15a it is possible that the speaker still does not know how to speak Japanese.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES OF CONDITIONAL CLAUSES

19.4. A few types of Palauan conditional sentences require special mention because their English equivalents lack words like 'if... then' and therefore tend to obscure the fact that the corresponding Palauan sentences are really conditional. As we will see below, this problem arises with certain conditional clauses consisting of *a* and a following hypothetical form.

In **17.9** we observed that the possessed forms of *soal* 'his liking' and *chętil* 'his disliking' can be followed by hypothetical verb forms to convey the idea 'X wants/does not want Y to do something'. In such sentences, X is expressed by the possessor suffix on *soal* or *chętil* and Y is identified by the pronominal prefix on the hypothetical verb form. In addition, a specific noun phrase may be mentioned if X or Y is a third person. Sentences of this type are illustrated by the following:

(16) a. Ng soak *a Droteo a longętmokl ęr a delmęrab.*
'I want Droteo to straighten up the room.'

b. Ng somam *a chobo mrei.*
'We want you to go home.'

c. Ng soam *a kungęsbrebęr ęr a kbokb*?
'Do you want me to paint the wall?'

d. A Toki a chętil *a rengalęk a loilil ęr a uum.*
'Toki doesn't want the children to play in the kitchen.'

e. Ng chętik *a chobo ęr a party.*
'I don't want you to go to the party.'

In spite of their English equivalents, the Palauan sentences in 16 are most likely conditional sentences in which the (italicized) conditional clause has been permuted with the consequential clause. Since conditional clauses express **unreal** actions, events, states, etc. rather than actual facts, we can see why their use is appropriate in the examples above. Thus, in sentences with *soal*, the conditional clause designates an action or event which is desired or hoped for but which is **not yet real**. In 16a, for instance, the event of the conditional clause—namely, Droteo's straightening up the room—has not yet happened; therefore, the speaker is viewing Droteo's straightening up of the room as a **possible** event and saying that he would be pleased if this possibility became an actual fact. Sentences with *chętil* involve exactly the opposite, since the conditional clause designates an action or event which is **not** desired or hoped for—i.e., one which hopefully will **not** become an actual fact. Thus, in 16d, the event of the conditional clause—namely, the children's playing in the kitchen—has presented itself as a possibility, but Toki does not want it to become an actual fact (because it might inconvenience her, etc.).

Because the examples of 16 are really conditional sentences, their word-for-word translation would be something like 'We would like it *if* you go home' (for 16b) or 'I won't like it *if* you go to the party' (for 16e). The only unusual feature about the italicized conditional clauses of 16 is that a specific third person subject does not need to be shifted. Thus, in 16a and 16d *Droteo* and *rengalęk* 'children' appear at the beginning of the conditional clause, directly following *a* 'if'.[7]

The transitive state verb *mędakt* 'be afraid (of)' can be used with a conditional clause to express the idea 'X is afraid that Y will...' Observe the examples below:

(17) a. A Droteo a mędakt ęr a Toki a lębo lsechęr.
'Droteo is afraid that Toki will get sick.'

b. Ak kmal mle mędakt a kbo kotsir ęr a test.
'I was very much afraid that I would fail the test.'

c. A toktang a mędakt ęr a John a lęmad.
'The doctor is afraid John will die.'

d. Ak mędakt a lębo lak[8] a ududek ęl mo ęr a Merikel.
'I'm afraid I won't have any money to go to America.'

Again, the examples of 17 are conditional sentences in which the conditional clause containing *a* 'if' followed by a hypothetical verb form has been permuted with the consequential clause containing *mędakt* 'be afraid (of)'. If a specific third person noun phrase is mentioned—*Toki* of 17a or *John* of 17c—then it must appear as the **object** of *mędakt*. If we try to translate the sentences of 17 literally, we would get very awkward and unacceptable English sentences such as (for 17a) 'Droteo has fears about Toki, (wondering) if she will get sick.'

Time words like *tutau* 'morning', *suelęb* 'afternoon', etc., can be used in conditional clauses to express the **frequent** or **habitual** occurrence of a particular action. Consider the examples below:

(18) a. A bęchik a oureor ęr a sers *a lętutau.*
'My wife works in the garden in the morning.'

b. A Satsko a soal ęl męsuub *a lęsuelęb.*
'Satsko likes to study in the afternoon.'

c. Ak męruul a kall *a lęklębęsei.*
'I prepare food in the evening.'

The italicized conditional clauses of 18 consist of *a* 'if' followed by time words to which the 3rd pers. sg. hypothetical pronoun *lę-* has been prefixed. Since *lę-* is the hypothetical pronoun corresponding to *ng*, we can conclude that the conditional clauses of 18 really consist of *a* followed by an **equational sentence** (cf. **18**.6). Therefore, these conditional clauses literally mean something like 'if it is morning', 'if it is afternoon', etc. By using a conditional clause like *a lętutau* 'in the morning', the speaker states that a particular event **usually** or **normally** occurs at a designated time. The routine involved, however, is not as regular or fixed as that implied by sentences exhibiting a **temporal phrase** containing *bek* 'each, every' (cf. **14**.6, ex.34h). Thus, 18a is different in meaning from the example below:

(19) A bęchik a oureor ęr a sers ęr a bek ęl tutau.
'My wife works in the garden every morning.'

For further examples containing temporal phrases with *bek* 'each, every', cf. **14**.6, ex. 35.

IMPERATIVE VERB FORMS

19.5. Palauan **imperative verb forms** are used to express **orders** or

commands. Because commands are ordinarily directed at the person addressed—the "you" of the conversation—it is not surprising that imperative verb forms involve **second person pronouns**. As we will see below, Palauan imperative verb forms are actually nothing more than hypothetical verb forms prefixed with the *mo-* or *m-* variants of the second person hypothetical pronoun. We will use the separate term "imperative", however, as a convenient way of distinguishing the special usage under discussion here.

Both the **imperfective** and **perfective** forms of **transitive action verbs** can occur in commands. To derive the imperative forms of imperfective verbs, we simply substitute the second person hypothetical pronoun prefix *mo-* for the verb marker *mę-* of the corresponding imperfective verb. A few such forms are illustrated in the sentences below, which function as orders or commands:

(20) a. Molim a kęrum!
'Drink your medicine!'

b. Mosilęk ęr a bilem!
'Wash your clothes!'

c. Mongiis ęr a kliokl!
'Dig the hole!'

d. Monguiu ęr tia ęl hong!
'Read this book!'

Because there is no distinction between singular and plural for the second person hypothetical pronoun (cf. **4**.10.1), the examples of 20 are ambiguous in that the speaker may be directing the order either to just one person or to a group of two or more persons.

The imperative forms of perfective verbs are derived with the variant *m-* of the second person hypothetical pronoun. This *m-* is always pronounced as a separate syllable—namely, [m̩] (cf. **1**.3.5). All imperative forms of perfective verbs have the structure *hypothetical pronoun* m- + *verb stem* + *object pronoun*. Some typical examples are given in 21 below; in the lefthand column, a **3rd pers. sg.** object pronoun (*-ii*, *-ir*, etc.) has been suffixed to the imperative verb form, while in the righthand column the imperative verb form has the **3rd pers. pl. non-hum.** object pronoun (*Ø*):

(21) *3rd pers. sg. non-hum. object*	*3rd pers. pl. non-hum. object*
a. Mngilmii a imęlem! 'Have your drink!'	Mngim a imęlem! 'Have your drinks!'

b. Msilękii a bail! 'Wash the (piece of) clothing!'	Msilęk a bail! 'Wash the clothes!'
c. Mkiięsii a kliokl! 'Dig the hole (completely)!'	Mkiis a kliokl! 'Dig the holes (completely)!'
d. Mchięuii a hong! 'Read the book (completely)!'	Mchuiu a hong! 'Read the books (completely)!'
e. Mlęchęsii a babier! 'Write the letter (completely)!'	Mluchęs a babier! 'Write the letters (completely)!'
f. Mkęlii a ngikęl! 'Eat up the fish!'	Mka a ngikęl! 'Eat up (all) the fish!'
g. Mngętęchii a mlai! 'Clean up the car!'	Mngatęch a mlai! 'Clean up the cars!'
h. Mlęngir a sebęl! 'Borrow the shovel!'	Mleng a sebęl! 'Borrow the shovels!'
i. Mdęrur a ngikęl! 'Barbeque the fish!'	Mdul a ngikęl! 'Barbeque (all) the fish!'

The examples below are similar, except that the object pronoun suffixes refer to human beings:

(22) *1st or 3rd pers. sg. hum. object*	*3rd pers. pl. hum. object*
a. Mchęlębędii a ngalęk! 'Hit the child!'	Mchęlębędętęrir a rengalęk! 'Hit the children!'
b. Mkimdak! 'Cut my hair!'	Mkimdętęrir a rengalęk! 'Cut the children's hair!'
c. Mtęchęlbii a Toki! 'Bathe Toki!'	Mtęchęlbętęrir a rengalęk! 'Bathe the children!'
d. Msiiękii a Satsko! 'Look for Satsko!'	Msiikętęrir a ręsęchęlim!' 'Look for your friends!'

Because the perfective imperative forms illustrated in 21–22 above are hypothetical verb forms, they of course do not contain the **verb marker** in any of its several variants (cf. **6**.2.1). In this respect, they contrast with the (non-hypothetical) perfective forms listed in **6**.3, in which the **metathesized** verb marker turns up as *-(ę)m-*, *-o-*, or *-u-*. A few of these contrasting forms are pointed out in the list below:

(23) *Perfective Imperative Form of 21–22 (= hypothetical pronoun* m- *+ verb stem + object pronoun)*	*Corresponding Non-Hypothetical Perfective Form (with metathesized verb marker italicized)*
mchiçuii 'Read it (completely)!'	ch*u*içuii 'reads it (completely)'
mchuiu 'Read them (completely)!'	ch*ę*muiu 'reads them (completely)'
mkęlii 'Eat it up!'	k*o*lii 'eats it up'
mka 'Eat them up!'	k*m*a 'eats them up'
mlęngir 'Borrow it!'	l*o*ngir 'borrows it'
mleng 'Borrow them!'	l*m*eng 'borrows them'
mchęlębędii 'Hit him!'	ch*o*lębędii 'hits him'

In order to express commands with **intransitive action verbs**, a sequence of the form *directional verb mo* 'go' + *intransitive action verb* is frequently used. Observe the examples below:

(24) a. Bo momęngur!
'Have your meal!'

b. Bo mdęngchokl!
'Sit down!'

c. Bo mdęchor!
'Stand/get up!'

d. Bo mrei!
'Go home/get out!'

e. Bo męchiuaiu!
'Go to sleep!'

f. Bo mngasęch ęr a bilas!
'Get in the boat!'

g. Bo mkerd ęr tiang[9]!
'Get out here!'

h. Bo mtobęd ęr tiang!
'Get out of here!'

Interestingly enough, the imperative form of *mo* 'go' is simply the **verb stem** *bo* (cf. **6**.2.1, exs. 11–12) rather than the expected

**mbo*—i.e., *hypothetical pronoun + verb stem*. The basic form of imperative *bo* 'go!' may indeed be *m + bo*, but a phonetic rule deletes the initial *m* before a following *b*.[10] A similar phenomenon is found among the imperative forms of various transitive and intransitive verbs whose stems are *b-* initial, as the following examples illustrate:

(25) a. Bosii a bęlochęl!
'Shoot the pigeon!'

b. Bilii a ngalęk!
'Dress the child!'

c. Bręchii a ngikęl!
'Spear the fish!'

d. Bęskak a ududem!
'Give me your money!'

e. Bękiis!
'Get up/wake up!'

The perfective imperative forms of 25a–c are related to the imperfective (transitive) verbs *omoes* 'shoot', *omail* 'dress, wrap', and *omuręch* 'spear', while *bęskak* 'give (it to) me' of 25d is related to perfective *msa* 'give'. The non-hypothetical form for *bękiis* 'get up/wake up!' of 25e is intransitive *mękiis* 'get up/wake up'.

Hypothetical verb forms with first or third person prefixes are sometimes used with an imperative connotation when the speaker feels something must be done by himself or someone else. This connotation is observed in examples like the following:

(26) a. Kurael ęl mo ęr a blik.
'I'd better go home.'

b. Bilii a ngalęk e lorael.
'Dress the child and have/let him go.'

c. Lębo ęr a bita a Droteo mę lęngai a kębui.
'Have Droteo go next door and get some leaves for betel nut chewing.'

d. Domęngur ęr tiang.
'Let's eat here.'

Examples like 26d, in which the 1st pers. pl. inclusive hypothetical pronoun *do-* (or *dę-*) is prefixed to a verb form, are commonly used to express the idea 'let's (do something)'. Further examples will be provided in **19**.6 below.

Palauan **negative** commands are formed simply by using *lak*, the hypothetical form of *diak* (cf. **18**.3), followed itself by a hypo-

thetical verb form with a prefixed second person hypothetical pronoun (*mo-*). The following examples are typical:

(27) a. Lak molim a biang!
'Don't drink beer!'

b. Lak monga a kall!
'Don't eat the food!'

c. Lak mongęrodęch!
'Stop making noise!'

d. Lak molękar ęr a ngalęk!
'Don't wake up the child!'

e. Lak mobes ęl subędii a Droteo!
'Don't forget to tell Droteo!'

It is interesting to note that in negative commands such as those above, any transitive verb following *lak* can only appear in its **imperfective**, but not **perfective**, form. In other words, a sentence like the following is ungrammatical (cf. 27b):

(28) *Lak mkęlii a kall!
('Don't eat the food!')

The reason why perfective forms are prevented after *lak* in sentences like 27a–e seems to be the following: since a negative command orders someone not to **begin** or **continue** a particular activity, it would be redundant and unnecessary to mention **finishing** that same activity, which is what a perfective verb form would imply.

Another way of expressing a negative command is to use a **statement** introduced by *ng diak*, as in the examples below:

(29) a. Ng diak mongęrodęch!
'Don't make noise!'

b. Ng diak molękar ęr a ngalęk!
'Don't wake up the child!'

For some speakers, the examples of 29 differ in meaning from the corresponding commands with *lak*. Thus, 27c might be a command directed at children who have already begun to be noisy, while 29a is a kind of warning which would be uttered even before any noise has started. Similarly, 27d would be directed at someone who has already begun to wake up the child, whereas 29b would be a "precautionary" command spoken while the child is still fully asleep.

If we recall that hypothetical verb forms are characteristically

used to refer to **unreal** actions, events, etc., we can immediately see why they are appropriate in imperative sentences. Thus, when an order or command is given that something be done, the action or event in question **has not yet occurred** and is therefore **unreal**; indeed, the order or command is given precisely so that the particular action or event will become an actual fact. We can therefore see that the use of hypothetical verb forms as imperatives has much in common with the use of hypothetical verb forms in conditional sentences (cf. **19**.1 above) and in negative sentences (cf. chap. 18).

PROPOSITIVE VERB FORMS

19.6. Palauan **propositive verb forms** are used when the speaker wishes to **propose** or **suggest** that he and the hearer(s) perform some action or activity together. Propositive verb forms are actually hypothetical verb forms prefixed with the 1st pers. pl. **inclusive** hypothetical pronoun *do-* or *dę-*. This pronoun is used because the proposed or suggested action **includes** both speaker and hearer(s). Palauan propositive verb forms have English equivalents of the form 'let's (do something)', as the examples below illustrate:

(30) a. Dorael!
'Let's go!'

b. Doilil ęr tiang!
'Let's play here!'

c. Dębo dolim a biang!
'Let's go drink a beer!'

d. Doluchęs!
'Let's write it!'

e. Dęlęchęsii!
'Let's write it (completely)!'

If the verb in the propositive sentence is transitive, as in 30c–e, the hypothetical (propositive) form can be imperfective (as in 30c–d) or perfective (as in 30e). Propositive sentences can also be **negative**, in which case they include *lak*:

(31) a. Lak dongęrodęch.
'Let's not make noise.'

b. Lak dosuub er a elęchang.
'Let's not study now.'

c. Męrkong. Lak doilil.
'Let's not play any more.'

Because propositive sentences involve actions which are proposed or suggested but have not yet taken place, it is not surprising that they contain hypothetical verb forms. In other words, at the moment when a speaker utters a propositive sentence, the action in question is still **unreal** (though it may occur in the very immediate future); therefore, the use of hypothetical verb forms is appropriate.

PASSIVE SENTENCES

19.7. As we mentioned in **5**.1.1, all Palauan **transitive** sentences involve a **doer** (or **agent**) and a **receiver** (or **object**). While the **agent** is the person who performs or carries out a particular action, the **object** is the person, animal, or thing which receives the effect of that action. In Palauan transitive sentences, the agent is normally expressed by the **subject noun phrase**, which **precedes** the transitive verb, while the object is expressed by the **object noun phrase**, which **follows** the transitive verb. This is shown in the sentences below, which contain both imperfective and perfective forms of transitive verbs:

(32) a. A ngalęk a męnga ęr a ngikęl.
'The child is eating the fish.'

b. A sensei a męngęlebęd ęr a ręngalęk.
'The teacher is hitting the children.'

c. A John a milęngęlebęd a bilis.
'John was hitting the dogs.'

d. A sęchęlik a silsębii a blai.
'My friend burned down the house.'

e. A Toki a chiloit a babier.
'Toki threw away the letters.'

In any Palauan sentence, it is the subject noun phrase which is the speaker's focus of interest or attention. In other words, the speaker will try to structure a sentence in such a way that its subject position will be occupied by the noun phrase which he wishes to emphasize or from whose viewpoint he is regarding a particular action or event. In the great majority of cases, the speaker tends to describe an action or event from the viewpoint of the doer or agent, as in the examples of 32. Such sentences, in which the subject noun phrase identifies the agent, are called **active sentences** because they focus upon the agent as **actively** pursuing an activity which is directed at a particular object.

In some cases, however, the speaker wishes to describe a situation from the viewpoint of a particular noun phrase which does not function as agent. Thus, in the examples below it is the **object**—i.e., the thing which **receives** the effect of the action—which appears in sentence subject position and is therefore focused upon:

(33) a. A ngikęl a longa ęr ngii a ngalęk.
'The fish is being eaten by the child.'

b. A ręngalęk a longęlebęd ęr tir a sensei.
'The children are being hit by the teacher.'

c. A bilis a lulęngęlebęd a John.
'The dogs were being hit by John.'

d. A blai a lęsilsębii a sęchęlik.
'The house was burned down by my friend.'

e. A babier a lęchiloit a Toki.
'The letters were thrown away by Toki.'

The sentences of 33, in which the subject noun phrase identifies the object or receiver, are called **passive sentences** because they focus upon the object as **passively** undergoing the action designated by the verb phrase (and performed by the agent).

The active and passive sentences of 32 and 33 convey exactly the same amount of information, except that—as mentioned above—there is a difference in emphasis or point of view. Thus, both 32a and 33a tell us that an act of eating is going on at the present moment, and that the agent and object are a child (*ngalęk*) and a fish (*ngikęl*), respectively. All that is different is the point of view: thus, the speaker would use 32a if he were mainly interested in the child and what the child was doing, while he would use 33a if for some reason he was particularly concerned about the fish and what was happening to it.[11]

If we compare the passive sentences of 33 with the corresponding active sentences of 32, we observe the following differences. Roughly speaking, the noun phrases in subject and object positions have switched places: thus, the object noun phrases of 32 have come to appear in subject position in the passive sentences of 33, while the subject noun phrases of 32 (which designate the agent) have moved to sentence-final position in 33. At the same time, the non-hypothetical verb forms of the active sentences have been replaced by hypothetical verb forms in the passive sentences. In addition, the sequences *ęr ngii* and *ęr tir* appear in the passive sentences 33a–b.

We shall now examine in greater detail the complex combination of changes which relate the active and passive sentences of 32–33. Our explanation will be simpler if we assume that the passive sentences, which are more complicated in structure, are derived from the corresponding active sentences. The "exchange" of object and agent mentioned above actually involves two processes: the agent (= subject noun phrase) of 32 is shifted to sentence-final position in 33, while the object (= object noun phrase) of 32 is **preposed** to sentence-initial position in 33. When the object noun phrase is preposed, a **pronominal trace** of it must remain in its original position. This phenomenon only occurs, however, when the object noun phrase of the active sentence is marked with the **specifying word** *ęr* (cf. **2**.7). Recall that *ęr* can mark a noun phrase as specific only when the preceding transitive verb is **imperfective** and when the object noun phrase is of a particular type. Thus, *ęr* can be used to mark all **sinuglar** noun phrases (whether human or non-human) and any **plural** noun phrase which is **human**; if, however, a **non-human** noun phrase is interpreted as plural, then it cannot be preceded by *ęr*. Now, in the active sentences 32a–c, we can explain the occurrence or non-occurrence of the specifying word *ęr* according to the above principle. Thus, in 32a–b, *ęr* appears before the singular noun phrase *ngikęl* 'fish' or the human plural noun phrase *ręngalęk* 'children', but it cannot occur before non-human *bilis* 'dogs' of 32c if this noun phrase is to be interpreted as plural. Because the specifying word *ęr* therefore occurs only in 32a–b, it is in these sentences that a pronominal trace must remain when the object noun phrase is preposed. Thus, in the passive sentences 33a–b, we observe the pronominal traces *ngii* and *tir* following the specifying word *ęr*. These **emphatic pronouns** (cf. **4**.3) **agree** with the preposed noun phrase which they replace: in 33a, the 3rd pers. sg. emphatic pronoun *ngii* refers to *ngikęl* 'fish', and in 33b, the 3rd pers. human pl. emphatic pronoun *tir* refers to *ręngalęk* 'children'. In the passive sentences 33d–e, we do not see any occurrence of *specifying word ęr + emphatic pronoun* at all, simply because the specifying word *ęr* is prevented following the **perfective** verb forms of the corresponding active sentences 32d–e.

The presence vs. absence of *ęr ngii* in otherwise identical passive sentences results in an important difference of meaning. Observe, therefore, the following pairs of sentences:

(34) a. A Droteo a męnguiu ęr a hong.
'Droteo is reading the book.'

b. A Droteo a męnguiu a hong.
'Droteo is reading the books.'

(35) a. A hong a longuiu ęr ngii a Droteo.
'The book is being read by Droteo.'

b. A hong a longuiu a Droteo.
'The books are being read by Droteo.'

As we saw in **2**.7, exs. 37–38, the presence vs. absence of *ęr* in the active sentences of 34 signals whether the object (*hong* 'book') is (specific) **singular** or **plural**, respectively. Because the passive sentences of 35 are derived from the corresponding active sentences, the presence vs. absence of *ęr ngii* tells us in exactly the same way whether the subject (*hong* 'book') is interpreted as singular or plural. Thus, when *ęr ngii* follows the verb, we know that *hong* is singular, but if no sequence of *specifying word ęr + emphatic pronoun* is found in the sentence, then *hong* is interpreted as plural.

In all of the passive sentences given so far (33 and 35), the hypothetical verb form is prefixed with some variant of the 3rd pers. (sg.) hypothetical pronoun (*lo-*, *lu-*, *lę-*, etc.). This is because the prefixed pronoun in hypothetical verb forms always refers to the **agent** (cf. **4**.10.2), and up to now we have only examined passive sentences with third person agents (*ngalęk* 'child' in 33a, *sensei* 'teacher' in 33b, etc.). It is of course also possible to have first and second person agents in passive sentences, and these will be indicated by the appropriate pronoun prefixes on the hypothetical verb forms. Thus, with 35b, compare the sentences below:

(36) a. A hong a kunguiu.
'The books are being read by me.'

b. A hong a donguiu.
'The books are being read by us (incl.).'

c. A hong a monguiu.
'The books are being read by you.'

If the agent is a first or second person, as in 36, it is "marked" only in the hypothetical verb form—that is, no specific noun phrase designating the agent occurs in sentence-final position. However, if the agent is a third person, then a specific noun phrase designating the agent occurs **optionally**, as in the passive

sentences of 33 and 35. In other words, a specific noun phrase identifying the agent need not be included if the speaker and hearer know who the agent is. Thus, with 35b, compare the following sentence:

(37) A hong a longuiu.
'The books are being read by him/them.'

Given our previous discussions of the general function of hypothetical verb forms—namely, to express **unreal** rather than **actual** events, states, etc.—it is indeed very difficult to understand why hypothetical verb forms should be required in passive sentences. The only speculation we are able to make is that, in some sense, passive sentences are "less real" than active sentences because they view a given event or situation in a less-than-usual way. As we mentioned at the beginning of this section, the speaker usually describes a given action or event from the viewpoint of the **agent**. Therefore, **active sentences** are highly favored because in them, the agent appears in sentence subject position, which is reserved for the noun phrase being given special attention or "prominence". Now, when a speaker uses a passive sentence, he is choosing to describe an action or situation from a somewhat less common or normal viewpoint—namely, that of the **object** or **receiver**, which therefore appears in the subject position of **passive sentences**. If we agree that the less common viewpoint of passive sentences is somehow "less real" than the normal viewpoint of active sentences, then perhaps we can understand why passive sentences require hypothetical verb forms.

Further Examples of Passive Sentences

19.7.1. In the present section we will look at a large variety of Palauan passive sentences. Since we have already analyzed the form and meaning of such sentences, very little additional discussion will be necessary.

In the passive sentences below, we observe the hypothetical forms of imperfective transitive verbs (cf. 33a–c) and in one case the hypothetical form of a transitive state verb (*mędakt* 'be afraid of' in 38g):

(38) a. A bęlochęl a lulęmes ęr ngii a buik.
'The pigeon was being watched by the boy.'

b. A oles a lousbech ęr ngii a Droteo.
'The knife is being used by Droteo.'

c. A Toki a blęchoel ęl lolęngęseu ęr ngii a Droteo ęl męruul a subęlel.
'Toki is always being helped by Droteo to do her homework.'

d. Tia ęl chęlitakl a blęchoel ęl dongitakl ęr ngii ęr a Christmas.
'This song is always sung (by us) at Christmas.'

e. A babier a kulluchęs.
'The letters were being written by me.'

f. A bilis a lomękcharm a Droteo.
'The dogs are being hurt by Droteo.'

g. A dęrumk a lęmędakt ęr ngii a ngalęk.
'(lit.) The thunder is being feared by the child.' = 'The child is afraid of the thunder.'

The passive sentences below illustrate how the hypothetical forms of perfective transitive verbs are used (cf. 33d–e):

(39) a. A buik a lulsa a Tony.
'The boy was seen by Tony.'

b. A ngalęk a ksilębękii.
'The child was kicked by me.'

c. A tolęchoi a lulękęrngii a chęrrodęch.
'The baby was awakened by the noise.'

d. A ngikęl a lękila a bilis.
'The fish were eaten up by the dog.'

e. Ngak a lulękęrngak a Toki.
'I was awakened by Toki.'

f. A kliokl a lękilisii a ręsęchęlik.
'The hole was (completely) dug by my friends.'

g. A present a lębilskak a Droteo.
'A present was given to me by Droteo.'

h. A hong a kbilstęrir a ręsęchęlik.
'A book was given by me to my friends.'

i. A bęras a lękęlii a malk.
'The rice is going to get eaten up by the chicken!'

j. A chęmęlem a lęchęmęchii a ngalęk.
'Your betel nut is going to get chewed up by the child!'

In 39i–j, the present perfective (passive) forms *lękęlii* and *lęchęmęchii* are used to express **warnings** (cf. **12**.2, ex. 14).

Passive Sentences Containing Complex Verb Phrases

19.7.2. If the verb phrase of a passive sentence is complex—i.e., if it

includes auxiliary words like *mo* 'go, become', *mla* (marker for recent past tense), etc.—then the appropriate hypothetical pronoun is normally prefixed to each of its parts. A few typical examples are given below:

(40) a. A ureor a lębla lębo lęmęrek ęr ngii a Droteo.
'The work has been finished by Droteo.'

b. A mubi a lębo lomes ęr ngii a ręngalęk.
'The movie is going to be seen by the children.'

c. Tia ęl babier a kbo kuluchęs ęr ngii.
'This letter will be written by me.'

As we saw in **4**.10.6, Palauan speakers often omit the first occurrence of the hypothetical pronoun with complex verb phrases. This happens most frequently in rapid, informal speech and when the third person hypothetical pronoun is involved. Thus, with 40a–b compare the following acceptable sentences:

(41) a. A ureor a bla lębo lęmęrek ęr ngii a Droteo.
'The work has been finished by Droteo.'

b. A mubi a bo lomes ęr ngii a ręngalęk.
'The movie is going to be seen by the children.'

The first occurrence of the hypothetical pronoun can be omitted in examples like 41a–b because it is **redundant**: in other words, the very same information is supplied by the (identical) hypothetical pronouns which are attached to the other parts of the complex verb phrase.

Passive Sentences and Relational Phrases

19.7.3. The processes by which Palauan passive sentences are formed apply more broadly than we indicated in **19**.7 above, where we only examined passive sentences in which the subject noun phrase corresponds to the **object** (or receiver) of the related active sentence. As we will see below, Palauan has passive sentences in which the subject corresponds to a noun phrase which follows the **relational word** *ęr* in the associated active sentence. In the following pairs of examples, a noun phrase appearing in a **relational phrase** of the active sentence has become the subject of the passive sentence:

(42) a. A Droteo a oureor ęr a stoang.
'Droteo works at the store.'

b. A stoa a loureor ęr ngii a Droteo.
'(lit.) The store is worked at by Droteo.'

(43) a. A Toki a riros ęr tia ęl diong.
'Toki drowned in this river.'

b. Tia ęl diong a lęriros ęr ngii a Toki.
'(lit.) This river was drowned in by Toki.'

(44) a. A ngęlękek a smechęr ęr a tęretęr.
'My child is sick with a cold.'

b. A tęretęr a lsechęr ęr ngii a ngęlękek.
'It's a cold that my child is sick with.'

(45) a. A bęlochęl a silebęk ęr a kęrrękar.
'The pigeon flew out of the tree.'

b. A kęrrękar a lęsilebęk ęr ngii a bęlochęl.
'(lit.) The tree was flown out of by the pigeon.'

In the examples above, we note that the subject noun phrases of the passive sentences have several different functions in the relational phrases of the corresponding active sentences. Thus, in 42 and 43 *stoa* 'store' and *tia ęl diong* 'this river' identify the **location**, in 44 *tęretęr* 'cold' designates the **cause**, and in 45 *kęrrękar* 'tree' refers to the **source**. The passive sentences of 42–45 are unusual in that they all contain **intransitive** rather than transitive verbs; furthermore, the pronominal trace *ngii* appears after the **relational word** *ęr* rather than the **specifying word** *ęr*.

Negative and Conditional Passive Sentences

19.7.4. When passive sentences, which contain hypothetical verb forms, appear with constructions which themselves require hypothetical verb forms, only a single hypothetical verb form is used. Thus, in examples 46a–c we observe **negative passive** sentences with *diak*, and in 46d we have a **conditional passive** sentence:

(46) a. A tękoi er a Belau a diak losuub ęr ngii a John.
'Palauan isn't being studied by John.'

b. A Droteo a dimlak longęlebęd ęr ngii a Tony.
'Droteo wasn't hit by Tony.'

c. A kędęra a dimlak lęmad ęr ngii a Toki.
'The beach wasn't where Toki died.'

d. A biang a lak lolim ęr ngii a sęchęlim, e mnguu e loia ęr a icebox.
'If the beer isn't drunk by your friend, then take it and put it in the icebox.'

20 Questions

YES-NO QUESTIONS

20.1. In every language of the world, there is a distinction between sentences which make **statements** and sentences which ask **questions**. While statements **provide** or **supply** information by describing events, actions, states, etc., questions **ask for** or **demand** information of one type or another. There are many different ways of asking questions in Palauan, and these will be taken up in detail below. In general, our study of the structure of Palauan questions should pose few difficulties, since we are already familiar with most of the grammatical processes involved.

All languages have a basic distinction between **yes-no questions** vs. questions which ask for the **specific identity** of a person, place, thing, etc. When the speaker uses a yes-no question, he simply wants to know whether or not such-and-such is the case; he expects the hearer to answer with 'yes' (*chochoi*) or 'no' (*ng diak*, *ng dimlak*, or *ng dirkak*—cf. **18**.8). The following is a typical yes-no question:

(1) A Droteo ng mlo ęr a skuul?
'Did Droteo go to school?'

If the speaker, however, wishes to know the specific identity of someone or something involved in a particular event, state, etc., he will use a question containing a specific **question word** like *tęcha* 'who?' or *ker* 'where?' Thus, with 1, contrast the following questions:

(2) a. Ng tęcha a mlo ęr a skuul?
'Who went to school?'

b. A Droteo ng mlo ęr ker?
'Where did Droteo go?'

Before examining questions which contain question words, we will first analyze questions of the yes-no type.

If the subject of a yes-no question is a **non-emphatic pronoun** (cf. **4**.2), then the word order of the yes-no question is identical to that of the corresponding statement. The question, however, is distinguished from the statement by the **intonation** (or **pitch**) of the voice: while the statement is uttered with a fairly low, even pitch, falling slightly at the end, the question is spoken with a steadily rising intonation, which remains high at the end. Observe the pairs of sentences below:

(3) a. Kę mle smechęr.
'You were sick.'

b. Kę mle smechęr?
'Were you sick?'

(4) a. Ng milil ęr a sers.
'He/she is playing in the garden.'

b. Ng milil ęr a sers?
'Is he/she playing in the garden?'

(5) a. Tę mlo ęr a che er a elęchang.
'They went fishing today.'

b. Tę mlo ęr a che er a elęchang?
'Did they go fishing today?'

(6) a. Tę chad ęr a Siabal.
'They're Japanese.'

b. Tę chad ęr a Siabal?
'Are they Japanese?'

In the cases below, too, the word order of the question sentence and the corresponding statement sentence is identical:

(7) a. Ng soal a biang.
'He wants some beer.'

b. Ng soal a biang?
'Does he want any beer?'

(8) a. Ng suebęk a ręngrir.
'They're worried.'

b. Ng suebęk a ręngrir?
'Are they worried?'

(9) a. Ng ngar ęr ngii a kęlem.
'There's food for you.'

b. Ng ngar ęr ngii a kęlem?
'Is there any food for you?'

(10) a. Ng diak a chisel a Toki.
'There isn't any news about Toki.'

b. Ng diak a chisel a Toki?
'Isn't there any news about Toki?'

(11) a. Ng dimlak longuiu ęr a hong.
'He didn't read the book.'

b. Ng dimlak longuiu ęr a hong?
'Didn't he read the book?'

In the examples of 7–11, the *ng* in subject position is a **pronominal trace** of a subject which has been shifted to the right of the verb phrase during the normal derivation of the statement sentence (cf. **17**.2 and **17**.7). Again, the intonation pattern is the only factor which differentiates the questions from the statements in these examples.

If the subject of a yes-no question is a specific noun phrase rather than a non-emphatic pronoun, then the question can be expressed in two ways. First, observe the pairs of examples below:

(12) a. A Droteo a mla mei.
'Droteo has arrived.'

b. Ng mla me a Droteo?
'Has Droteo arrived?'

(13) a. A ręsęchęlim a mlo milil ęr a kędęrang.
'Your friends went to play at the beach.'

b. Tę mlo milil a ręsęchęlim ęr a kędęrang?
'Did your friends go to play at the beach?'

Comparison of the yes-no questions of the b-sentences with the corresponding statements of the a-sentences leads us to the simple conclusion that the yes-no questions are derived from the statements by the process of **subject shifting** (cf. **17**.2). Since the shifted subject *Droteo* of 12b is **singular**, the 3rd pers. **sg**. non-emphatic pronoun *ng* appears as a pronominal trace. In 13b, however, the shifted **plural** subject *ręsęchęlim* 'your friends' leaves the 3rd pers. (human) **pl**. pronominal trace *tę*. As expected, the yes-no questions of 12b and 13b are spoken with a rising intonation; this feature of their pronunciation differentiates them from **statement** sentences involving subject shifting, which are pronounced with a low, even pitch. Thus, 12b, for example, contrasts with the following:

(12b') Ng mla me a Droteo.
'Droteo has arrived.'

Now, with the yes-no questions of 12b and 13b, repeated here for convenience, contrast the c-sentences, which are identical in meaning:

(12) b. Ng mla me a Droteo?
'Has Droteo arrived?'

c. A Droteo ng mla mei?

(13) b. Tę mlo milil a ręsęchęlim ęr a kędęrang?
'Did your friends go to play at the beach?'

c. A ręsęchęlim tę mlo milil ęr a kędęrang?

The c-sentences are derived from the b-sentences by optionally **preposing** the shifted subject (*Droteo* in 12 and *ręsęchęlim* 'your friends' in 13) to sentence-initial position. Unlike the instances of preposing observed in chaps. 17 and 18, however, the preposed subject in 12c and 13c simply **precedes**, but **does not replace**, the pronominal traces *ng* and *tę*. The examples below exactly parallel those of 12a–c and 13a–c: the a-sentence is a **statement**, the b-sentence is a yes-no question derived from the a-sentence by **subject shifting**, and the c-sentence is another yes-no question derived by **preposing** the shifted subject of the b-sentence:

(14) a. A dort a męduch[1] ęl kęrrękar. 'Ironwood is a strong tree.'

b. Ng męduch ęl kęrrękar a dort? 'Is ironwood a strong tree?'

c. A dort ng męduch ęl kęrrękar?

(15) a. A ears a mlo dękimęs. 'The sail got wet.'

b. Ng mlo dękimęs a ears? 'Did the sail get wet?'

c. A ears ng mlo dękimęs?

If the subject of a statement sentence is a **noun phrase of possession**, then three acceptable yes-no questions can be formed from it. Thus, in the pair of sentences below,

(16) a. A bęchil a Droteo a klębokęl.
'Droteo's wife is pretty.'

b. Ng klębokęl a bęchil a Droteo?
'Is Droteo's wife pretty?'

the yes-no question of 16b is derived from the statement of 16a by shifting the subject *bęchil a Droteo* 'Droteo's wife', which is a

noun phrase of possession. Now, from 16b, we can form either of the following yes-no questions, which have the same meaning:

(16) c. A bęchil a Droteo ng klębokęl? 'Is Droteo's wife pretty?'

d. A Droteo ng klębokęl a bęchil?

The difference between the derivations of 16c–d is as follows: in 16c, the **whole** shifted subject *bęchil a Droteo* 'Droteo's wife' is preposed, while in 16d only the possessor *Droteo* is preposed, leaving the possessed noun *bęchil* 'his wife' in sentence-final position (cf. our discussion of **preposing of possessor** in **17**.3).

Another example parallel to 16a–d is given below:

(17) a. A chęral a bęras a męringęl. 'The price of rice is high.'/ 'Rice is expensive.'

b. Ng męringęl a chęral a bęras? 'Is rice expensive?'

c. A chęral a bęras ng męringęl?

d. A bęras ng męringęl a chęral?

THE QUESTION WORD *tęcha*

20.2. The question word *tęcha* 'who?' is used when the speaker wishes to know the identity of one or more persons involved in a particular event, state, etc. Observe the examples below:

(18) a. Ng tęcha a sensei ęr kau?
'Who is your teacher?'

b. Ng tęcha a lilęchęsii tia ęl babier?
'Who wrote this letter?'

c. Ng tęcha a mlo ęr a party?
'Who went to the party?'

d. Ng tęcha a milosii a bęlochęl?
'Who shot the pigeon?'

If we try to explain the sentences of 18 in a superficial, non-technical way, we might say that *tęcha* 'who?' must be preceded by *ng* in sentence-initial position when a question is being asked about the identity of the sentence subject. Though this simple explanation will allow us to form question sentences like 18a–d correctly, it nevertheless does not reflect the actual derivation of 18a–d, which we will now examine in detail.

The examples of 18 are derived by the process of subject

shifting from **equational** source sentences of the form *subject noun phrase* + *tęcha* 'who?'. The derivation of 18a is therefore represented according to the following scheme:

(19) *Source Sentence* → *Resulting Sentence*
A sensei ęr kau a tęchang. → Ng tęcha a sensei ęr kau?
'Who is your teacher?'

The equational source sentence of 19 must undergo the process of subject shifting in order to become grammatical. As a consequence of this process, the subject noun phrase *sensei ęr kau* 'your teacher' has come to appear in final position in the resulting sentence of 19, and the pronominal trace *ng* occupies the original subject position. The remaining question sentences of 18 are derived in exactly the same way, except that their source sentences have subjects of a rather special kind, as we will see below.

An important subtype of Palauan equational sentence is illustrated by the examples below:

(20) a. A *mlad* a Droteo.
'The one who died is Droteo.'

b. A *chillębędii a Toki* a John.
'The person who hit Toki is John.'

c. A *olisęchakl a tękoi ęr a Merikel* a Masaharu.
'The one who teaches English is Masaharu.'

d. A *mle ęr a blik er a elii* a Cisco.
'The person who came to my house yesterday is Cisco.'

e. A *soal ęl mo ęr a Siabal* a Maria.
'The one who wants to go to Japan is Maria.'

As the English equivalents indicate, the examples of 20 are used when the speaker wishes to **exhaustively** identify a particular person as the one who is characterized by a particular event, action, state, etc. Thus, 20b emphasizes that it was John and only John (from among the possible persons involved) who hit Toki, and 20e singles out Maria as the person who wants to go to Japan. Because the examples of 20 have the abovementioned connotation of exhaustiveness, they differ in meaning from non-equational sentences containing a subject noun phrase and a verb phrase. Thus, compare 20b with the following:

(21) A John a chillębędii a Toki.
'John hit Mary.'

While 21 simply tells us what John did—namely, hit Mary—and leaves open the possibility that other persons might have done

the same thing, 20b asserts that John alone was the one who performed this action.

In the equational sentences of 20, the italicized subject noun phrases do not contain any noun corresponding to English 'one' or 'person'. In other words, these sentences show that Palauan **verb phrases** (together with any object noun phrase or relational phrase associated with them) can actually function as **noun phrases** with the meaning 'the one who...' or 'the person who...' Since the second noun phrase of 20a–e (*Droteo, John*, etc.) refers to a human being, and since the sentences are equational, it is clear that the italicized subject noun phrases must also refer to human beings.[2] The phenomenon under discussion here is fairly widespread in Palauan; thus, in **2**.5 we saw that **verb phrases** consisting of state verbs (or, occasionally, action verbs) can be prefixed with the plural marker *rę-* to function as **noun phrases** with the meaning 'anyone who is..., those who are...' One example of this type is repeated here:

(22) A iręchar, e a ręmeteet a ulęngęseu ęr a ręmechębuul.
'In earlier times, the rich helped the poor.'

In addition, we saw in **8**.2 that many state verbs derived with the **resulting** or **anticipating state affixes** have come to be used as nouns meaning '(some)thing which is...', as in the examples below:

(23) a. Ng soak ęl męnga a chęlat.
'I'd like to eat a smoked one (= fish).'

b. Ng mle bętok a {sęlesęb / tęlęmall} er se ęr a taem ęr a mękęmad.
'There were lots of things {burned / destroyed} during the war.'

Returning to the question sentences of 18b–d, we can now see that they are derived by subject shifting from equational source sentences whose subjects, like those of 20, are actually verb phrases being used as noun phrases. Therefore, the derivation of 18b–d is schematized as follows:

(24) *Source Sentence* → *Resulting Sentence*

a. A *lilęchęsii tia ęl babier* a tęchang. → Ng tęcha a *lilęchęsii tia ęl babier*?
'Who wrote this letter?'

b. A *mlo ęr a party a* tęchang. → Ng tęcha a *mlo ęr a party*?
'Who went to the party?'

c. A *milosii a bęlochęl* a tęchang. → Ng tęcha a *milosii a bęlochęl*?
'Who shot the pigeon?'

In the examples of 24, the italicized subject of the source sentence is obligatorily shifted to the right of *tęcha* 'who?' in the resulting sentence, and *ng* remains before *tęcha* as a pronominal trace.

When we think more carefully about the meaning of questions like 24a–c, we find further evidence in support of the claim that they are derived from equational source sentences which have a connotation of **exhaustiveness** (cf. our discussion following 20 above). In other words, since a question containing *tęcha* 'who?' asks for the exhaustive identity of the person or persons involved in a particular event, action, etc., then it is only natural that it should be derived from a source sentence which has this very connotation. Thus, given the structure of their source sentences, the questions of 24a–c should really be given English equivalents such as (for 24a) 'Who is the one who wrote this letter?', etc.[3]

Further Types of Questions With *tęcha*

20.2.1. The question sentences of 18a–d, which are derived by subject shifting, can be further transformed by a rule which once again preposes the shifted subject to sentence-initial position (cf. 12–15 above). Thus, with 18a, repeated below for convenience as 25a, compare 25b:

(25) a. Ng tęcha a sensei ęr kau? 'Who is your teacher?'

b. A sensei ęr kau ng tęchang?

In 25b, which is identical in meaning, the shifted subject *sensei ęr kau* 'your teacher' of 25a has been moved back to sentence-initial position, where it precedes the pronominal trace *ng*. The very same process can apply to shifted subjects which are actually verb phrases functioning as noun phrases (cf. our discussion of 20a–e above). Thus, with 18c, repeated below as 26a, compare 26b:

(26) a. Ng tęcha a mlo ęr a party? 'Who went to the party?'

b. A mlo ęr a party ng tęchang?

So far, we have only examined question sentences with *tęcha* 'who?' in which the speaker wishes to know the identity of the agent or subject (in the non-technical sense mentioned following 18). If the speaker wants to know the identity of the **object**—i.e.,

of the person receiving the effect of a particular action—then he can formulate questions with *tęcha* according to two different grammatical patterns. The simpler of the two patterns is illustrated below; here, the question word *tęcha* 'who?' merely occupies the position normally occupied by sentence objects (i.e., following the transitive verb phrase):

(27) a. Kę milsa a tęcha ęr a party?
'Whom did you see at the party?'

b. Kę męngiil ęr tęchang?[4]
'Whom are you waiting for?'

c. A Droteo ng ulęba a tęcha ęl mo ęr a ochęraol?
'Whom did Droteo take to the money-raising party?'

Because *tęcha* 'who?' asks for the identity of a **specific** person, it must always be preceded by the specifying word *ęr* (cf. **2**.7) when the transitive verb is **imperfective**, as in 27b.

The second pattern used for asking questions about the identity of a human object is shown in the examples below:

(28) a. Ng tęcha a chomilsa ęr a party?
'Whom did you see at the party?'

b. Ng tęcha a lulękodir a rubak?
'Whom did the old man kill?'

The questions of 28, like those of 24, are derived by shifting subjects which are actually verb phrases being used as noun phrases; the only difference is that the verb phrase contains a **passive** verb form (cf. **19**.7). Thus, the questions of 28 are derived as follows:

(29) *Source Sentence* *Resulting Sentence*

a. A *chomilsa ęr a party* a tęchang. → Ng tęcha a *chomilsa ęr a party*?
'Whom did you see at the party?'

b. A *lulękodir a rubak* a tęchang. → Ng tęcha a *lulękodir a rubak*?
'Whom did the old man kill?'

Because the italicized subjects of the source sentences of 29 contain passive verb forms, the resulting sentences really mean something like 'Who is the person who was seen by you at the party?' and 'Who is the person who was killed by the old man?'

In addition to its use in questions which ask for the identity of the sentence subject or object, the question word *tęcha* 'who?' can function in other environments where noun phrases normally occur. For example, in the sentences below, *tęcha* follows the relational word *ęr*:

(30) a. Kę milluchęs ęr a babier ęl mo ęr tęchang?
'To whom were you writing the letter?'

b. Kę oba a hong ęr tęchang?[5]
'Whose book do you have?'

And in the following questions, *tęcha* appears as the possessor in a noun phrase of possession:

(31) a. Se ng mlil tęchang?[6]
'Whose car is that?'

b. Tia ng kęlel tęchang?
'Whose food is this?'

Some question sentences showing additional uses of *tęcha* 'who?' are provided below:

(32) a. Kę mlo ęr a party kau mę tęchang?
'With whom did you go the party?'

b. Kę tęchang?
'Who are you?'

c. Ngka ng tęchang?
'Who is this person?'

d. Ng tęcha a ngklel a sęchęlim?[7]
'What's your friend's name?'

e. Tia ęl babier ng tęcha a milluchęs ęr ngii?[8]
'Who was writing this letter?'/ 'This letter—who was writing it?'

f. A blai ng tęcha a silsębii?
'Who burned down the house?'/ 'The house—who burned it down?'

THE QUESTION WORD *ngara*

20.3. The question word *ngara* 'what?' is used when the speaker wants to know the identity of a particular thing (whether concrete or abstract). Question sentences with *ngara* 'what?' exhibit many different patterns, and the derivation of some of them is quite complex. It will be easiest, of course, to begin with the simplest pattern, which is illustrated in the examples below:

(33) a. Kę milęchęrar a ngara ęr a stoang?
'What did you buy at the store?'

b. Tę męsuub a ngarang?
'What are they studying?'

c. Ng mo oba a ngarang?
'What is he going to bring?'

In 33a–c, which are questions about the identity of the sentence object, the question word *ngara* 'what?' simply occurs in the normal position occupied by an object noun phrase—namely, directly following the transitive verb phrase.

If a specific third person subject is mentioned in question sentences like 33a–c, we have sentences like the following:

(34) a. A Droteo ng mirruul a ngarang?
'What did Droteo do/make?'

b. A ręsęchęlim tę ulęba a ngarang?
'What did your friends bring?'

We can easily account for the word order of questions like 34a–b if we propose that they are derived by the already-familar subject shifting and preposing rules and that they have source sentences whose structure parallels that of 33a–c. Thus, 34a is ultimately derived from the following source sentence,

(35) A Droteo a mirruul a ngarang.
('What did Droteo do/make?')

which shows the basic order *subject noun phrase* (*Droteo*) + *transitive verb phrase* (*mirruul*) + *object noun phrase* (*ngarang*). As it stands, 35 is not an acceptable sentence; therefore, it must be further transformed by (obligatory) application of the subject shifting rule. Applying subject shifting to 35 gives us the following grammatical sentence:

(36) Ng mirruul a ngara a Droteo?
'What did Droteo do/make?'

Though 36 is grammatical, many speakers prefer to change it further by moving the shifted subject *Droteo* back to sentence-initial position. When this type of **preposing** takes place, the preposed noun phrase merely **precedes**, but **does not replace**, the pronominal trace *ng* (cf. our discussion of examples 12–15 in **20**.1 above), thus deriving 34a. The analysis described here is summarized in the following step-by-step derivation:

(37) A Droteo a mirruul a ngarang. (source sentence) →
Ng mirruul a ngara a Droteo? (by subject shifting) →
A Droteo ng mirruul a ngarang? (by preposing of shifted subject)

The derivation of 34b is exactly parallel, except that the pronominal trace is *tę* because of the shifted human plural noun phrase *ręsęchęlim* 'your friends'.

The question sentences of 33 can undergo a special rule which preposes the question word *ngara*; this rule seems to be applicable only when *ngara* functions as **sentence object** (cf. note 8 above). Thus, with 33a–b, repeated here for convenience, compare the sentences with preposed *ngara*[9], which are identical in meaning:

(38) a. Kę milęchęrar a ngara ęr a stoang?
'What did you buy at the store?'

b. Ngara kę milęchęrar ęr a stoang?

(39) a. Tę męsuub a ngarang?
'What are they studying?'

b. Ngara tę męsuub?

The question sentences of 34, which contain a specific third person subject, can also be affected by the rule which preposes *ngara*. Thus, with 34a, compare the following grammatical sentence, which has the same meaning:

(40) Ngara ng mirruul a Droteo?
'What did Droteo do/make?'

Example 40 is derived in the following manner. First of all, the source sentence

(35) A Droteo a mirruul a ngarang.
('What did Droteo do/make?')

is transformed by subject shifting into

(36) Ng mirruul a ngara a Droteo?
'What did Droteo do/make?'

At this point, the rule preposing *ngara* is applied, giving 40 above. Preposed *ngara* of 40 precedes, but does not replace, the pronominal trace *ng*. A similar phenomenon was observed in 38b and 39b, where preposed *ngara* precedes, but does not replace, the non-emphatic pronouns *kę* and *tę*.

Some further examples in which *ngara* 'what?' refers to the sentence object are provided below. The various rules mentioned above can account for the different patterns observed:

(41) a. A Droteo ng ulęba a ngara ęl męruul ęr a blai?[10]
'What did Droteo use to build the house?'

b. Ng ulęba a ngara a Toki ęl męlękosęk ęr a tech?[10]
'What did Toki use to cut the meat?'

c. Ngara kę mirruul er a elii?
'What did you do yesterday?'

It is also possible for *ngara* 'what?' to appear as the subject of a **passive sentence** (cf. **19**.7), as in the examples below:

(42) a. Ngara a chomulęchęrar ęr a stoang?
'What did you buy at the store?'

b. Ngara a lurruul ęr ngii a Droteo?
'What did Droteo do/make?'

The passive sentences of 42 are related to **active sentences** such as the following (= 33a and 34a):

(43) a. Kę milęchęrar a ngara ęr a stoang?
'What did you buy at the store?'

b. A Droteo ng mirruul a ngarang?
'What did Droteo do/make?'

When we compare the passive sentences of 42 with the active sentences of 43, we see that the agent and the object have exchanged positions. This accounts for the fact that *ngara* 'what?' has come to appear in subject position in the passive sentences of 42, even though it really designates the **object** of the actions involved. The following characteristics of passive sentences are also observed in 42a–b: the verb form following *ngara* is hypothetical (the prefixes *chomu-* and *lu-* identify the person and number of the agent), and *ęr ngii* follows the verb if the subject of the passive sentence is singular (as in 42b).

Further Types of Questions With *ngara*

20.3.1. Though *ngara* 'what?' is used most frequently as a sentence object, as illustrated by the examples in **20**.3 above, it can also fulfil other functions. Thus, the questions below are **equational sentences** in which the subject noun phrase or the second noun phrase is *ngara*:

(44) a. Ngara a soam?[11]
'What do you want?'/'What would you like?'

b. Ngara a ngklel a 'rrat' ęl tękoi ęr a Siabal?
'What is the word for "bicycle" in Japanese?'

c. Tia a ngarang?
'What's this?'

d. Se a ngarang?
'What's that?'

In the sentences below, the question word *ngara* appears in a relational phrase:

(45) a. A blim ng rruul ęr a ngarang?
'What's your house made out of?'

b. A ręchad tę mle kakoad ęr a ngarang?
'What were the people fighting over?'

c. A beab ng tilobęd ęr a ngarang?
'What (place) did the mouse emerge from?'

d. Ng mlad ęr a ngarang?
'What did he die from?'

Can you distinguish among the several types of relational phrases represented in 45a–d?

The question word *ngara* can be linked to a following noun by the word *ęl*, as in the examples below:

(46) a. *Ngara ęl tękoi* a chomosuub er a elęchang?
'What language are you studying now?'

b. *Ngara ęl mubi* a chobo momes ęr ngii?[12]
'What kind of movie are you going to see?'

c. A bęlochęl ng silebęk ęr a *ngara ęl kęrrękar*?
'Which tree did the pigeon fly out of?'

d. Ng mo *ngara ęl blai* a blim?
'What kind of house will yours be? (i.e., what will it be made out of?)'

When *ngara* **modifies** a following noun in this way (see **24**.2, ex. 12) the resulting meaning is 'which/what/what kind of___?'

In one interesting case, the question word *ngara* can be used to refer to people. Note the contrast in meaning between the following sentences:

(47) a. Tirke ęl teru ęl chad tę ngarang?
'What are those two people? (i.e., what is their profession?)'

b. Tirke ęl teru ęl chad tę rua tęchang?
'Who are those two people?'

In 47a, *ngara* 'what?' asks for information about the **profession** of the two people, while in 47b *tęcha* 'who'?' is a request to have them identified by name.

When followed by the **connecting word** *mę* 'and (so)' (see **22**.1), *ngara* asks a question about the **reason** for something and therefore corresponds closely to English 'why?' Observe the examples below, in which the clause introduced by *mę* designates the action or state for whose occurrence a reason is sought:

(48) a. Ngara mę a Droteo a dimlak lępass ęr a test?
'Why didn't Droteo pass the test?'

b. Ngara mę kę mlo ęr a Saibal?
'Why did you go to Saipan?'

c. Ngara mę ng mle kęsib a ręngum?
'Why were you angry?'

d. Ngara mę a ręsęchęlim a silesęb a blai?
'Why did your friends burn down the houses?'

If the clause introduced by *mę* has a specific third person subject, then this subject can be preposed to sentence-initial position, leaving behind a pronominal trace. Thus, with 48d, compare the sentence below, whose meaning is the same:

(49) A ręsęchęlim ngara mę tę silesęb a blai?
'Why did your friends burn down the houses?'

Another way of asking 'why?' in Palauan is to use *ngara* followed by the obligatorily possessed noun *uchul* 'its reason' (cf. chap. 3, note 17), which is in turn followed by a clause introduced by *mę*. Questions with *ngara uchul mę*... tend to be more serious than those with *ngara mę*...—that is, they ask for a detailed explanation of the real reason behind something. Note the sentences below:

(50) a. Ngara uchul mę kę męrmang?
'What's the (real) reason you're coming?'

b. Ngara uchul mę ng mlo soam ęl męrael?
'Why have you decided to leave?'

THE QUESTION WORD *tela*

20.4. In order to ask a question about the quantity or size of something, we use the question word *tela* 'how much, how many?' The derivation of questions containing *tela* involves the very same processes of subject shifting and preposing discussed in connection with *tęcha* 'who?' and *ngara* 'what?' above. Observe the following examples:

(51) a. Ng tela a klęmęngętem? 'How tall are you?'

b. A klęmęngętem ng telang?

(52) a. Ng tela a chęrmem ęl bilis? 'How many dogs do you have?'

b. A chęrmem ęl bilis ng telang?

(53) a. Tę tela a ręsęchęlim? 'How many friends do you have?'

b. A ręsęchęlim tę telang?

It is easy to see that the a-sentences above are derived by subject shifting from **equational** source sentences of the form *subject noun phrase* + *tela* 'how much, how many?' The b-sentences are in turn derived from the a-sentences by optionally preposing the shifted subject. The step-by-step derivation of 53, for instance, is as follows:

(54) A ręsęchęlim a telang. (source sentence) →
Tę tela a ręsęchęlim? (by subject shifting) →
A ręsęchęlim tę telang? (by preposing of shifted subject).

Since the source sentence of 54 is not grammatical as it stands, subject shifting must be applied to it obligatorily. The resulting sentence, in which the shifted subject *ręsęchęlim* 'your friends' leaves the pronominal trace *tę*, is perfectly acceptable. Therefore, application of the preposing rule in the last step of 54 is merely optional.

If the shifted subject in sentences with *tela* is a noun phrase of possession, then the process of preposing can apply either to the entire shifted subject or to the possessor alone (cf. 16c–d above). Consider the examples below:

(55) a. Ng tela a *chęral a bęras*? 'How much does the rice cost?'

b. A *chęral a bęras* ng telang?

c. A bęras ng tela a chęral?

(56) a. Ng mle tela a *rękil a ngalęk*? 'How old was the child?'

b. A *rękil a ngalęk* ng mle telang?

c. A ngalęk ng mle tela a rękil?

(57) a. Ng mle tela a *teng ęr a Toki*? 'What was Toki's grade?'

b. A *teng ęr a Toki* ng mle telang?

c. A Toki ng mle tela a teng ęr ngii?

The b-sentences above are derived by preposing the entire shifted subject (italicized) of the a-sentence, while the c-sentences are formed by preposing only the possessor. In 57c, a pronominal trace of the preposed possessor *Toki* remains in the form of an emphatic pronoun (*ngii*) following the relational word *ęr*.

Just like *ngara* 'what?', the question word *tela* 'how much,

how many?' can be linked to a following noun by the word *ęl*. The examples below are typical:

(58) a. Ng *tela ęl klok* er a elęchang?
'What time is it now?'

b. Kę me ęr a *tela ęl klok* ęr a klukuk?
'At what time are you coming tomorrow?'

c. Ng *tela ęl ududem* a ngar ęr a bangk?
'How much of your money do you have in the bank?'

d. Tę mle *tela ęl chad* a ilęko ęr a party?
'How many people went to your party?'

e. Kę ngilim a *tela ęl biang*?
'How much (of the) beer did you drink?'

f. Ng *tela ęl ngikęl* a chomękilang?
'How many fish did you eat?'

THE QUESTION WORD *ker*

20.5. The question word *ker* 'where?' is used when the speaker wants to find out the **location** of some action or state, or the **goal** or **source** of an action involving movement. This question word, which cannot be introduced by *a*, always appears in a **relational phrase** in sentence-final position. Observe the examples below, which have non-emphatic pronouns as subjects:

(59) a. Kę milsa a Satsko ęr ker?
'Where did you see Satsko?'

b. Ng męruul ęr ngii ęr ker?
'Where is he making it?'

c. Tę mlo ęr ker er a elii?
'Where did they go yesterday?'

In 59a–b, *ęr ker* 'where? =at what place?' is being used as a **locational phrase** (cf. **14**.2), while in 59c *ęr ker* 'where? = to what place?' functions as a **directional phrase** (cf. **14**.3).

If a question sentence with *ker* has a specific third person subject, then two patterns are possible, as the following examples show:

(60) a. Ng ngar ęr ker a tik? 'Where's my purse?'

b. A tik ng ngar ęr ker?

(61) a. Tę mla ęr ker a ręngalęk? 'Where were the children?'

b. A ręngalęk tę mla ęr ker?

The a-sentences above are derived by the obligatory application of subject shifting to source sentences of the form

(60a') A tik a ngar ęr ker.
('Where's my purse?')

(61a') A ręngalęk a mla ęr ker.
('Where were the children?')

From the a-sentences we can in turn derive the b-sentences by optionally preposing the shifted subject. Several pairs of question sentences similar to 60–61 are now given:

(62) a. Ng chad ęr ker a John? 'Where is John from?'

b. A John ng chad ęr ker?

(63) a. Ng ruoll ęr ker a blim? 'Where is your house to be built?'

b. A blim ng ruoll ęr ker?

(64) a. Ng tilobęd ęr ker a rękung? 'Where did the crab emerge from?'

b. A rękung ng tilobęd ęr ker?

In sentence-final position, and following short verb forms like *mo* 'go', *mla* 'was/were (located)', etc., the relational phrase *ęr ker* is often contracted and pronounced as if it were a single *r* at the end of the preceding word. This phenomenon is observed in the sentences below:

(65) a. Kę ulęmęngur e mo ęr ker? [kuləməŋurɛmor]
'Where did you go after eating?'

b. Kę mla ęr ker? [kəmlar]
'Where have you been?'

THE QUESTION WORD *oingara*

20.6. The question word *oingara* 'when?', which is never introduced by *a*, is used to ask questions about the **time** of an event, action, state, etc. This question word usually appears in sentence-final position as part of the relational phrase *er oingara* 'when?', which is classified as a **temporal phrase** (cf. **14**.6). In the examples below, the sentence subject is a non-emphatic pronoun:

(66) a. Kę me er oingarang?
'When are you coming?'

b. Tę mo ęr a Guam er oingarang?
'When are they going to Guam?'

c. Kę milsa a sęchęlik er oingarang?
'When did you see my friend?'

If a question sentence with *oingara* has a specific third person subject, we get sentences such as the following:

(67) a. A Helen ng mirrael er oingarang?
'When did Helen leave?'

b. A ręsęchęlim tę me męngętmokl ęr a blik er oingarang?
'When are your friends coming to clean my house?'

Can you explain how the question sentences of 67 have been derived?

THE SPECIAL QUESTION WORD *męķęra*

20.7. Palauan has a special verb *męķęra* 'do what?' which can only be used in question sentences. Since *męķęra* is a verb, it can occur in various tenses: thus, we have *milęķęra* or *mlęķęra* in the past tense (cf. **5**.3.2) and *mo męķęra* in the future tense. Some typical sentences containing *męķęra* 'do what?' are given below:

(68) a. Kędę męķęrang?
'What shall we do (now)?'

b. Kę męķęrang?
'What are you doing?'

c. Kę milęķęra er se ęr a lęme a Toki?
'What were you doing when Toki came?'

d. Kę mlęķęra er a elii?
'What did you do yesterday?'

e. Kę męķęra kung[13]?
'What are you about to do?'

f. Ng milęķęra a buik e ruebęt?
'How did the boy fall?'

g. Kę mlęķęra mę ke mle otsir ęr a test?
'How did you fail the test?'

h. Kę mo ęr a Hawaii ęl mo męķęrang?
'What are you going to go to Hawaii for?'

i. A ręchad er a Belau tę męķęra a loruul a bękai?[14]
'What do the Palauans do in making pottery?'

SENTENCES WITH TWO QUESTION WORDS

20.8. When the speaker wishes to know the identity of two or more

persons, things, places, etc., he can formulate a question in which two occurrences of the same question word are joined by the **connecting word** *mę* (see. **25**.4). Some questions of this type are listed below:

(69) a. Kę milsa a tęcha mę a tęcha ęr a party?
'Who (pl.) did you see at the party?'

b. Ng tęcha mę a tęcha a ulębęngkem ęl mo ęr a chelębachęb?
'Who (pl.) went with you to the Rock Islands?'

c. Ngara mę a ngara a chomoruul ęl kirel a party?
'What things are you making for the party?'

d. A Droteo ng mlo ęr ker mę ker?
'What places did Droteo go to?'

e. Kę mlo ęr a Siabal er oingara mę oingarang?
'On what occasions/at what times did you go to Japan?'

21 Direct and Indirect Quotation

DIRECT VS. INDIRECT QUOTATION

21.1. During the course of a conversation, the speaker often wishes to report the statements or assertions of some third party. In so doing, he can make a choice between **direct quotation** and **indirect quotation**. When using **direct** quotation, the speaker repeats someone else's statement or assertion **word for word**—i.e., exactly as the other person stated or asserted it. When using **indirect** quotation, however, the speaker does not repeat someone else's statement in its original form but instead summarizes or rephrases this statement **from his own point of view**. The pair of sentences below will give us a preliminary idea of the difference between the two types of quotation:

(1) a. A Droteo a dilu ęr ngak ęl kmo "Ng soak ęl eko ęr a blim."
'Droteo said to me, "I want to come to your house." '

b. A Droteo a dilu ęr ngak ęl kmo ng soal ęl me ęr a blik.
'Droteo told me that he wants to come to my house.'

In example la, which involves direct quotation, the speaker—who for ease of discussion we shall call *John*—is repeating exactly what Droteo said to him; here, Droteo's word-for-word statement is set off by double quotation marks ("..."). In 1b, however, John does not quote Droteo directly but instead reports from his own viewpoint on Droteo's statement. This difference in viewpoint becomes obvious when we compare the words following *ęl kmo* in la vs. 1b. Since the words set off by double quotation marks in la represent a sentence which Droteo actually addressed to John, this sentence of course exhibits *Droteo's* point of view. Thus, in talking to John, Droteo naturally used *soak* 'my desire' to refer to his own wish, *blim* 'your house' to refer to John's house, and *eko* 'go' to refer to his own action of going to

John's house (recall that the **directional verb** *eko* is specifically used to indicate movement towards the location of the **person addressed**). The three words under discussion must change in 1b, however, because in this sentence the statement which Droteo made to John (the speaker) is now regarded from *John's* point of view. For this reason, John must use *soal* 'his desire' to refer to Droteo's wish, *blik* 'my house' to refer to his own house, and *me* 'come' to refer to Droteo's action (recall that the directional verb *me* indicates movement towards the location of the **speaker**).

As 1a–b show, the sequence *ęl kmo* is used to introduce direct as well as indirect quotation. This sequence characteristically follows verbs of saying like *dmu* 'say' of 1 and—as we will see below—a large variety of verbs involving thinking, belief, and the like. It is perhaps easiest to consider *ęl kmo* as a single unit which serves to introduce clauses that describe someone's statement, thought, belief, etc. From a more technical viewpoint, however, *ęl kmo* and whatever follows it seem to constitute a type of **specifying clause** (cf. **15**.7). Thus, in 1a–b, the sequences introduced by *ęl kmo* give further information about the verb *dilu* 'said' of the preceding independent clause by **specifying** (through direct or indirect quotation) the content of the statement made. While the *ęl* of *ęl kmo* is the **dependent clause introducer** (cf. **15**.1), the exact status of *kmo* is unclear; this word appears to be a special verb which is directly followed by a clause that has the structure of a full sentence and describes someone's statement, thought, belief, etc.[1]

In order to simplify our analysis of direct vs. indirect quotation, we implied above that this distinction is relevant only when the speaker wishes to report what some **third party** has said. As the examples below show, the abovementioned restriction is not at all necessary, since it is also possible for a speaker to report on some statement which he himself (or even the hearer) made at some earlier time:

(2) a. Ak dilu ęr a Droteo ęl kmo "Ng soak ęl eko ęr a blim."[2]
'I said to Droteo, "I want to come to your house." '

b. Ak dilu ęr a Droteo ęl kmo ng soak ęl mo ęr a blil.
'I told Droteo that I wanted to go to his house.'

(3) a. Kau a dilu ęr ngak ęl kmo "Ng soak a biang."
'You said to me, "I want some beer." '

b. Kau a dilu ęr ngak ęl kmo ng soam a biang.
'You told me you wanted some beer.'

In comparing the direct quotation of 2a with the indirect quotation of 2b, can you explain why *eko* must change to *mo* and *blim* must change to *blil*? Can you also explain why *soak* of 3a becomes *soam* in 3b?

INDIRECT QUOTATION AND VERBS OF COMMUNICATION AND MENTAL ACTIVITY

21.2. Two major groups of Palauan verbs are commonly followed by indirect quotations introduced by *ęl kmo*. The first group involves verbs of **communication**—i.e., verbs which denote the **transmission** or **reception** of information. Some typical examples include *dmu* 'say, tell' (cf. note 1 above), *męsubęd* 'notify, tell', *omuachęl* 'tell a tale, boast', *omulak* 'deceive, lie', *outingaol* 'lie', and *orrengęs* 'hear'. These verbs are used in sentences like the following (cf. the b-sentences of 1–3 above), where the clause following *ęl kmo* represents the speaker's summary or rephrasing of what was said, heard, etc.:

(4) a. A Droteo a dilu ęr ngak ęl kmo a Toki a ungil ęl sensei.
'Droteo told me that Toki is a good teacher.'

b. A chad ęr a kansok a dilu ęl kmo ng diak lębo ęr ngii a chull ęr a klukuk.
'The weatherman said that it won't rain tomorrow.'

c. A Droteo a silębędak ęl kmo a dęmal a mla mad.
'Droteo informed me that his father died.'

d. Ng tęcha a silębędau ęl kmo a Toki a mlo ęr a Merikel?
'Who told you that Toki went to America?'

e. A Toki a omuachęl ęl kmo a Droteo a sęchęlil.
'Toki's telling us some story about Droteo being her boyfriend.'

f. A Satsko a ulumulak ęr a Toki ęl kmo a John a ngar ęr ngii a bętok ęl ududel.
'Satsko told Toki a lie (saying) that John has lots of money.'

g. A ngalęk a ulutingaol ęr a Toki ęl kmo a sęchęlil a Toki a mlad.
'The child lied to Toki (saying) that her friend had died.'

h. Ak rirengęs ęl kmo a Cisco a mo ęr a Bulabe.
'I heard that Cisco is going to Ponape.'

The second group of Palauan verbs which can be followed by *ęl kmo* and an indirect quotation includes verbs describing certain types of **mental activity** such as thinking, believing, knowing, and the like. The most common verbs in this class are *omdasu* 'think, believe', *oumęra* 'believe', *męlębędebęk* 'think', *obes* 'forget', and *męduenge* 'know'. Their use is illustrated in the examples below:

(5) a. Ak omdasu ęl kmo a Toki a mo ęr a Guam ęr a klukuk.
'I think/believe that Toki is going to Guam tomorrow.'

b. A sęchęlik a omdasu ęl kmo a Droteo a ungil ęl sensei ęr a Tony.
'My friend thinks that Droteo is a better teacher than Tony.'

c. Ak ulęmdasu ęl kmo ak ngoikau.
'I was thinking I'd take you.'

d. A John a oumęra ęl kmo a sensei a milkodir a męchas.
'John believes that the teacher killed the old woman.'

e. A dęmal a Laurentino a dimlak loumęra ęl kmo ng chilitii a skuul.
'Laurentino's father didn't believe that he skipped school.'

f. A Toki a diak loumęra ęl kmo a Satsko a oumlai.
'Toki doesn't believe that Satsko owns a car.'

g. Ak millębędebęk[3] ęl kmo a Toki a me ęr a klas e ng di dimlak lęmei.
'I was thinking/expecting that Toki would come to class, but she didn't come.'

h. Kę mla obes ęl kmo a Droteo a me ęr a party?
'Have you forgotten that Droteo is coming to the party?'

i. Kę {męduenge[4] / mla mo męduenge} ęl kmo a Ibędul a kmal smechęr?
'{Do you know / Have you found out} that Ibedul is very ill?'

j. Ng dimlak kudęnge ęl kmo a ngęlękek a mle otsir ęr a skeng.
'I didn't know that my child had failed the test.'

k. Ak mle męduenge ęl kmo a Droteo a chilitii a Maria.
'I knew that Droteo had divorced Maria.'

Sentences containing verbs of communication or mental activity followed by *ęl kmo* and an indirect quotation can sometimes be transformed by moving the **subject** of the clause after *ęl kmo* into the position of **object** of the verb of communication or mental activity. When the subject after *ęl kmo* is moved in this way, it must leave behind a **pronominal trace**. Thus, with 4e and 5b above, compare the following sentences, which are essentially equivalent in meaning:

(4e') A Toki a omuachęl ęr a Droteo ęl kmo ng sęchęlil.
'Toki's telling us some story about Droteo being her boyfriend.'

(5b') A sęchęlik a omdasu ęr a Droteo ęl kmo ng ungil ęl sensei ęr a Tony.
'My friend thinks/considers Droteo to be a better teacher than Tony.'

DIRECT AND INDIRECT QUOTATION OF COMMANDS

21.3. In **19**.5 we saw that Palauan **imperative verb forms** are used to express **orders** or **commands**. Since commands are normally directed at the person addressed, it is not surprising that imperative verb forms are really hypothetical verb forms with a prefixed second person hypothetical pronoun. Sentence 6a below is an example of an **affirmative command**, while 6b is a **negative command**:

(6) a. Bo moilil!
'Go play!'

b. Lak mongęrodęch!
'Don't make noise!'

If the speaker wishes to report on an order or command given by himself or someone else, he can use either direct or indirect quotation. If he chooses direct quotation, he repeats the particular command word for word, exactly as it was uttered. Sentences involving the direct quotation of a command simply contain *ęl kmo* followed by an imperative verb form. Thus, observe how the imperative verb forms of 6a–b are used as direct quotations in the examples below:

(7) a. A rubak a dilu ęr a ręngalęk ęl kmo "Bo moilil!"
'The old man said to the children, "Go play!" '

b. A sensei a dilu ęr tir ęl kmo "Lak mongęrodęch!"
'The teacher said to them, "Don't make noise!" '

If the subject of the sentence is the speaker himself (i.e., *ak* 'I'), and the verb of communication (usually, *dmu* 'say') is in the present tense, then the sentence takes on an especially threatening tone, as in the following:

(8) Ak dmu ęr kau ęl kmo "Bo mrei!"
'I'm telling you (again), "Go home!" '

Sentence 8 has the connotation of a threat because it would be used by the speaker to reiterate or repeat an order which he gave at least once before. This original order would simply consist of the affirmative command below:

(9) Bo mrei!
'Go home!'

If the speaker chooses indirect quotation to report on a command given by himself or someone else, he merely summarizes the content of the command rather than supplying the exact words spoken. The structure of sentences involving the indirect quotation of a command will be rather new to us: instead of *ęl kmo*, we have *mę* '(and) so' followed by a clause describing the content of the command. As we will see in **22**.1, the word *mę* '(and) so' is used to introduce an action or event which takes place as a **result** of some other action, state, etc. In the examples below, use of *mę* is appropriate because the clause following it describes the action, event, or situation which occurred (or was expected to occur) as a **result** of the command's being given:

(10) a. Ng tęcha a dilu ęr kau mę kę me ęr tiang?
'Who told you to come here?'

b. A sęchęlim a dilu ęr ngak mę ak mei.
'Your friend told me to come.'

c. A sensei a dilu ęr kęmam mę aki męsuub a tękoi ęr a Merikel.
'The teacher told us to study English.'

d. Ak dilu ęr a ręngalęk mę ng diak loilil ęr a sers.
'I told the children not to play in the garden.'

e. Ak dilu ęr a Droteo mę ng diak longęrodęch.
'I told Droteo not to make noise.'

DIRECT AND INDIRECT QUOTATION OF QUESTIONS

21.4. Just as a speaker can use either direct or indirect quotation to report on a **statement** or a **command** uttered by himself or some other party, so can he choose between these two types of quotation when reporting on a **question** which he or someone else asks. As expected, sentences involving the direct quotation of a question contain *ęl kmo* followed by any question that could occur as an independent sentence (cf. chap. 20). The examples below are typical:

(11) a. A sensei a ulęker ęr a ręngalęk ęl kmo "Kom mla ręmuul a subęliu?"
'The teacher asked the children, "Have you finished doing your homework?" '

b. A Droteo a ulęker ęr ngak ęl kmo "Ng soam a biang?"[5]
'Droteo asked me, "Would you like some beer?" '

c. A sensei a ulęker ęr ngak ęl kmo "Kę mo mękęrang?"
'The teacher asked me, "What are you going to do?" '

d. A Droteo a ulęker ęr ngak ęl kmo "Ng tela a klęmęngętem?"
'Droteo asked me, "How tall are you?" '

As the examples above show, sentences involving the direct quotation of a question use the verb *oker* 'ask' (past: *ulęker*). The directly-quoted questions of 11a–b are of the **yes-no** type (cf. **20**.1), while those of 11c–d contain the **question words** *mękęra* 'do what?' (cf. **20**.7) and *tela* 'how much, how many?' (cf. **20**.4).

In sentences involving the indirect quotation of a question, the question is summarized or re-expressed from the speaker's point of view. Thus, with the directly-quoted questions of 11b–d, compare the following indirectly-quoted questions, in which the (independent or affix) pronouns have changed:

(12) a. A Droteo a ulęker ęr ngak ęl kmo ng soak a biang.
'Droteo asked me if I wanted a beer.'

b. A sensei a ulęker ęr ngak ęl kmo ak mo mękęrang.
'The teacher asked me what I was going to do.'

c. A Droteo a ulęker ęr ngak ęl kmo ng tela a klęmęngętek.
'Droteo asked me how tall I am.'

In the examples below, we observe further cases of indirectly-quoted questions of the **yes-no** type. With indirectly-quoted yes-no questions, the negative expression *ng diak* is often added in sentence-final position; the resulting sequence corresponds closely to English 'if/whether . . . *or not*':

(13) a. Ak ulęker ęr ngii ęl kmo ng sębęchel ęl me ęr a klas ng diak.
'I asked him whether or not he could come to class.'

b. A John a ulęker ęl kmo a Mary ng mlo bęchiil ng diak.
'John asked whether Mary got married or not.'

c. Ng soak ęl mo mędęnge ęl kmo a Droteo ng mlo ęr a skuul er a elii ng diak.
'I'd like to know whether Droteo went to school yesterday or not.'

d. Kę mędęnge ęl kmo a Toki ng mla mo ungil ęl smechęr ng diak?
'Do you know whether or not Toki has gotten better?'

e. Ng diak kudęnge ęl kmo a Hermana ng męduch ęl omękall a sidosia ng diak.
'I don't know whether or not Hermana knows how to drive a car.'

f. Kę mla męlasęm ęl męlękoi ęr a Droteo ęl kmo ng sębęchel ęl męskau a udoud ng diak?

'Have you tried talking to Droteo to see if he can lend you some money or not?'

As the examples of 13 show, the structure of the indirectly-quoted question introduced by *ęl kmo* is identical to that of any independently-occurring yes-no question. Thus, when the yes-no question has a specific third person subject, as in 13b–e, this subject normally occurs in question-initial position before the appropriate pronominal trace, which is *ng* in all of the examples under consideration here. Note, further, that the indirectly-quoted questions of 13 can be preceded by a verb of asking like *oker* 'ask' or by sequences like *ng soak ęl mo mędęnge* 'I'd like to know (if. . .)', *ng diak kudęnge* 'I don't know (if. . .)', etc.

Occasionally, the **subject** of an indirectly-quoted yes-no question is moved to the left of *ęl kmo*, where it comes to function as the **object** of the preceding verb. Two examples illustrating this variety of sentence are given below:

(14) a. Bo ęr a bita mę męsa a Droteo ęl kmo ng mla me ng diak.
'Go next door and see whether Droteo has arrived or not.'

b. Ak omdasu[6] ęr a Toki ęl kmo ng mo ęr a Guam ng diak.
'I wonder whether Toki is going to Guam or not.'

In the sentences below, we observe further instances of indirectly-quoted questions which contain **question words** of various types (cf. 12b–c). With indirectly-quoted questions of this kind, we cannot add *ng diak* to sentence-final position as we did in the examples of 13 and 14. For convenience, the question word in each sentence has been italicized.

(15) a. Ng soak ęl mo mędęnge ęl kmo ng *tela* a dengua ęr kau.
'I'd like to know what your phone number is.'

b. Ak ulęker ęr a chad ęr a stoa ęl kmo {ng *tela* a chęral a bęras / a chęral a bęras ng *telang* / a bęras ng *tela* a chęral}.
'I asked the clerk how much the rice cost.'

c. Ng dimlak lsbędak ęl kmo ng *tęcha* a mlo ęr a party.
'He didn't tell me who went to the party.'

d. Ak ulęker ęr a Toki ęl kmo a Droteo ng me er *oingarang*.
'I asked Toki when Droteo was coming.'

e. A sęchęlik a soal ęl mo mędęnge ęl kmo *ngara* kę milęchęrar.
'My friend wants to know what you bought.'

f. A Toki a ulęker ęr tir ęl kmo {ng mla ęr *ker* a Satsko / a Satsko ng mla ęr *ker*}.
'Toki asked them where Satsko was.'

g. Kę mędęnge ęl kmo *ngara* uchul mę a Toki a chillębędii a ngalęk?
'Do you know why Toki hit the child?'

THE EXPRESSIONS *ęl kmo* AND *ęl ua se*

21.5. With few exceptions, all of the occurrences of *ęl kmo* found in the examples of **21**.1–4 above can be replaced by *ęl ua se*. This expression consists of the dependent clause introducer *ęl* followed by *ua* 'like, as' and *se* 'that'. Thus, in a sentence like the following

(16) A Droteo a dilu ęl ua se ng smechęr.
'Droteo said that he was sick.'

the **specifying clause** introduced by *ęl ua se* gives us further information about the verb *dilu* 'said' by describing the content of the statement made.

For many Palauan speakers, *ęl kmo* and *ęl ua se* can be used with complete interchangeability, regardless of whether direct or indirect quotation is involved. Certain speakers, however, seem to use *ęl ua se* primarily for direct quotation. For other speakers, the use of *ęl kmo* vs. *ęl ua se* involves a difference of implication, as illustrated by the following two examples of indirect quotation:

(17) a. Ak rirengęs ęl kmo a sensei a mlad er a elii.
'I heard (about the fact) that the teacher died yesterday.'

b. Ak rirengęs ęl ua se a sensei a mlad er a elii.
'I heard (something to the effect) that the teacher died yesterday (but is it true?)'

As the rather free English equivalents are designed to show, *ęl kmo* of 17a implies that the speaker is fairly sure about the factuality of what he has heard, while *ęl ua se* of 17b implies that the speaker has doubts about the truth of the event designated by the indirect quotation. Because Palauan speakers show so much variation in the way they use *ęl kmo* and *ęl ua se*, it is difficult to formulate any general principles; therefore, no further discussion will be pursued here.

INDIRECT QUOTATION FOLLOWING NOUNS OF COMMUNICATION

21.6. Certain nouns of communication such as *chais* 'news', *tękoi* 'word, story', and *subęd* 'news, notice' can be followed by indirect quotations introduced by *ęl kmo* or *ęl ua se*. The indirect quotation

supplies the content of the news or story, as in the examples below:

(18) a. Ak rirengęs a chais ęl ua se a sensei a mlad e ng di diak kumęrang.
'I've heard some news (to the effect) that the teacher died, but I don't believe it.'

b. Kę rirengęsii a subęd ęl kmo ng mla ęr ngii a tsunami?
'Have you heard the news that there's been a tidal wave?'

c. Ng męra ęl tękoi ęl kmo a Maria a mlo bęchiil?
'Is it a true story that Maria got married?'

22 Reason Clauses, Result Clauses, and Time Clauses

REASON AND RESULT CLAUSES

22.1. In **15.1** we mentioned that Palauan has many different grammatical patterns for combining simple sentences into more complex ones. More specifically, we saw how two simple sentences like the following

(1) a. A Droteo a ulęba a oluchęs.
'Droteo had/was using a pencil.'

b. A Droteo a milluchęs a babier.
'Droteo was writing a letter.'

can be combined into a single longer sentence in which either 1a or 1b is used as a **dependent clause**. Thus, by combining 1a and 1b in different orders, we derive the following two sentences:

(2) a. A Droteo a ulęba a oluchęs *ęl męluchęs a babier*.
'Droteo was using a pencil to write a letter.'

b. A Droteo a milluchęs a babier *ęl oba a oluchęs*.
'Droteo was writing a letter with a pencil.'

In the complex sentences of 2, the italicized portions are types of **dependent clauses**: in 2a, we have a **purpose clause** (cf. **15.2**), and in 2b we find an **instrument clause** (cf. **15.3**). The dependent clauses of 2, you will recall, have the following characteristics: (i) they are introduced by *ęl*; (ii) they do not have any overtly-expressed subject; and (iii) they normally have a verb in the **present** tense, even when the sentence as a whole designates a **past** action or event.

Now, combining two simple sentences into a single complex sentence containing a dependent clause is not the only way of deriving complex sentences in Palauan. Another way of forming complex sentences is to join two simple sentences by words like

e le 'because' and *mę* '(and) so', which express a particular kind of relationship between two actions, events, states, etc. Thus, the two simple sentences below

(3) a. Ng dimlak kbo ęr a skuul.
'I didn't go to school.'

b. Ak mle smechęr.
'I was sick.'

can be combined in two different orders, giving the following complex sentences:

(4) a. Ng dimlak kbo ęr a skuul *e le* ak mle smechęr.
'I didn't go to school because I was sick.'

b. Ak mle smechęr *mę* ng dimlak kbo ęr a skuul.
'I was sick, so I didn't go to school.'

In the examples of 4, the two simple sentences of 3 have been combined in such a way that they are related in terms of **cause** and **effect**. Thus, in 4a, *e le* 'because' introduces a clause which explains the **cause** or **reason** for the event or situation described in the preceding clause, while in 4b *mę* '(and) so' introduces a clause which explains what happened as a **result** (or consequence) of the state described in the preceding clause. The **reason clause** introduced by *e le* in 4a and the **result clause** introduced by *mę* in 4b are rather different from the dependent clauses (e.g. purpose clauses, instrument clauses, etc.) which we reviewed above. As 4a–b show—and as we will see below—reason and result clauses always have overtly-expressed subjects, and there are no restrictions on the tense of the verb which they contain.

Since Palauan reason clauses are not difficult to understand, we will simply give a few additional examples here:

(5) a. Ng diak lsębęchek ęl mo ęr a party e le ak kmal męchęsang.
'I can't go to the party because I'm very busy.'

b. A ngęlękek a diak lsębęchel ęl mo milil er a elęcha e le ng kirel ęl omęngur.
'My child can't go play now because he has to have dinner.'

c. A ręchad ęr a omęnged a dimlak lębo ęr a che e le ng kmal mle męses a eolt.
'The fishermen didn't go fishing because the wind was very strong.'

Though *e le* 'because' probably consists of the **connecting word** *e* (see **25.1**) and some other element *le*, it will be easiest to consider *e le* as a single unit. Note that when the vowel-initial pronoun *ak*

follows *e le*, as in 5a, the *a* of *ak* is lost; thus, *e le ak* 'because I...' is pronounced [ɛlɛkʰ] (cf. **1**.5.d.5, ex. 54).

Before examining several special types of result clauses, we shall first familiarize ourselves with a few relatively straightforward examples:

(6) a. Ak di mililil mę ak mle otsir ęr a test.
'I just fooled around, so I failed the test.'

b. A Droteo a smechęr mę a dęmal a mo omękędo ęr a toktang.
'Droteo's sick, so his father's going to call the doctor.'

c. Ng męckngit a eangęd mę a ręsęchęlik a diak lębo ęr a chelębachęb.
'The weather's poor, so my friends aren't going to go to the Rock Islands.'

d. A rengalęk a diak a subęlir er a elęcha mę tę mo milil ęr a kędęrang.
'The children don't have any homework now, so they're going to the beach to play.'

e. Ak kmal songęrengęr mę ng soak ęl omęngur.
'I'm very hungry, so I'd like to eat.'

f. Ak mlo ungil ęl smechęr ęr a tęretęr mę ng mle sębęchek ęl mo ęr a party.
'I got better from my cold, so I was able to go to the party.'

g. Ng ngar ęr ngii a bętok ęl subęlam mę ng di kea a techęllam ęl mo milil ęl obęngkem.
'We have so much work that we no longer have any chance to go out with you.'

If *mę* is followed by the vowel *a*, as in 6a–c, then the *ę* of *mę* is deleted. Thus, *mę ak* '(and) so I...' is pronounced [makʰ], and *mę a* (i.e., *mę* followed by *a*, which precedes noun phrases) is pronounced [ma] (cf. **1**.5.d.5, ex.54). Otherwise, the *ę* of *mę* is retained, as in *mę ng* '(and) so he/she/it...' [məŋ] and *mę tę* '(and) so they...' [mətə].

Special Types of Result Clauses

22.1.1. The use of *mę* '(and) so...' to introduce result clauses is quite widespread in Palauan. In this section we will single out several instances of result clauses which might be difficult to recognize as such because their English equivalents are not of the form 'X, so Y'. For example, we have already seen in **20**.3.1 that the question word *ngara* 'what?' (or the sequence *ngara uchul* 'what is the reason that...?') is followed by a clause introduced by *mę*

'(and) so' to ask a question about the cause or reason (i.e. 'why?'). Note the examples below:

(7) a. Ngara mę a Droteo a mle otsir ęr a test?
'Why did Droteo fail the test?'

b. Ngara uchul mę kę mlo ęr a Guam?
'For what reason did you go to Guam?'

In 7a–b the clause introduced by *mę* is really a **result clause** because it is viewed as designating an event that took place as the result of something else. Indeed, the speaker's purpose in asking the question is precisely to find out what that "something else" is—i.e., to find out the cause or reason for the event of the result clause. In 7a, for example, the speaker assumes that the event of Droteo's failing the test resulted from something else which Droteo did or did not do, and it is this "something else"—the cause—which he wishes to know.

The question word *mękęra* 'do what?' (cf. **20**.7) can also be followed by result clauses, as the sentences below illustrate:

(8) a. Kę mlękęra mę kę mle otsir ęr a test?
'How/why did you fail the test?'

b. Ng mlękęra a buik mę ng {rirebęt / riros} ?'
'How did the boy {fall / drown} ?'

The examples of 8, like those of 7, are really questions about the cause or reason for the event designated in the **result clause** introduced by *mę*. The connotation of result can be readily seen if we give 8a–b literal translations such as 'What did you do so that/with the result that you failed the test?' and 'What did the boy do so that/with the result that he fell/drowned?'

The word *klsakl*, which appears to be a **resulting state verb** (cf. 7.7) related to *mękęsakl* 'go wrong', is used in simple questions like the following:

(9) a. Kę klsakl?
'What's wrong with you?'

b. Ng klsakl a chimam?
'What's wrong with your hand?'

Speakers use *klsakl* followed by a result clause to ask about the cause or reason for an **unfavorable** or **undesirable** event. This connotation is clear in the sentences below:

(10) a. Kę klsakl mę ng diak momęngur?
'Why aren't you eating?'

b. Kę mle klsakl mę ng dimlak chobo ęr a party?
'Why didn't you go to the party?'

Translated literally, the examples of 10 mean something like 'What's wrong with you so that/with the result that you're not eating?' and 'What was wrong with you so that/with the result that you didn't go to the party?'

In **21**.3 we observed that the **indirect quotation of a command** involves a clause introduced by *mę* '(and) so', as in the examples below:

(11) a. A sensei a dilu ęr ngak mę ak mo ęr a Guam.
'The teacher told me to go to Guam.'

b. Ak dilu ęr tir mę ng diak lomękikiongęl ęr a delmęrab.
'I told them not to get the room dirty.'

Because the clause introduced by *mę* in 11a–b describes an event or situation which took place (or was expected to take place) as a direct result of the command's being uttered, it is to be analyzed as a result clause.

Similar in structure to the examples of 11 are sentences containing the verb of permission *konge* 'permit, allow'. Observe the sentences below:

(12) a. A Droteo a kilęnge ęr a Toki mę ng mo męngędub.
'Droteo allowed Toki to go swimming.'

b. A dęmal a Satsko a kilęnge mę a Satsko a mo ęr a Hawaii ęl mo ęr a skuul.
'Satsko's father gave her permission to go to Hawaii in order to study.'

The verb of permission *konge* is followed by a result clause in 12a–b because the sequence introduced by *mę* describes an event which occurred (or whose occurrence was facilitated) as a result of the permission being granted.

When the verb of permission *konge* 'permit, allow' is negated, we get sentences involving the denial of permission. In the sentences below, the verb *konge* appears in a hypothetical form following the negative verb *diak* 'isn't, doesn't exist', and the verb of the result clause is also hypothetical:

(13) a. A dęlal a Toki a dimlak lękęnge ęr a Toki mę lousbech ęr a mlai.
'Toki's mother didn't permit her to use the car.'

b. A sensei a dimlak lękęnge ęr a rengalęk mę loilil ęr a obis.
'The teacher forbade the children to play in the office.'

c. Ng diak kkęnge ęr a ngęlękek mę lolim a męringęl.
'I don't let my child drink hard liquor.'

We can understand why the verb of the result clause must be hypothetical in the examples of 13 if we recall (cf. **18**.4) that hypothetical verb forms are characteristically used to designate **unreal** (or non-occurring) events. In other words, the events of the result clauses in 13 are clearly unreal in the sense that their occurrence was (or is) **prevented** or **precluded** by the act of forbidding represented by the negative form of *konge* in the first clause. The negative form of *dmu* 'say, tell' is sometimes used in a similar way, as the following example illustrates:

(14) A Droteo a dimlak lędu ęr a ngalęk mę lębo loilil ęr a sers.
'Droteo didn't give the child permission to play in the garden.'

Similar in structure to the examples of 11 and 12 are the following sentences, which contain further verbs which are commonly followed by result clauses:

(15) a. A Droteo a ulęrrimęl ęr a Maria mę ng ko ęl mocha ęr a party.
'Droteo forcefully persuaded Maria to finally go to the party.'

b. Ak urręmęlii a Toki mę ng męngętmokl ęr a blai.
'I forced Toki to straighten up the house.'

c. Kę mo tsiui ęr kau mę ng diak di molius.
'Watch yourself so you don't swear.'

d. Kę mo kęrękikl mę ng diak chomrebęt.
'Be careful not to fall.'

Sentences like 15c–d, which contain expressions of **precaution** (*kę mo tsiui* 'watch out' or *kę mo kęrękikl* 'be careful') followed by a result clause with a negative verb, are used as rather mild, indirect commands.

The **imperative perfective** forms (cf. **19**.5) of the verb *omęche* 'leave, let (someone) (do something)' (cf. chap. 14, note 19) are commonly followed by a result clause containing a hypothetical verb form. Observe the sentences below, which are requests that someone be permitted to do something:

(16) a. Bęchire a ngalęk mę lębo loilil.
'Let the child go play.'

b. Bęchikak mę kbo kmęchiuaiu.
'Let me go to sleep.'

c. Bęchititęrir mę lębo lousbech ęr a sidosia.
'Let them use the car.'

The use of hypothetical verb forms in the result clauses of 16 is not difficult to understand when we realize that the events described in the result clauses are as yet unreal at the time when the speaker utters the request. In 16a, for instance, the child has not yet begun to play at the moment when the speaker asks someone else to allow the child to do so; indeed, the speaker's very purpose in uttering such a sentence is to make the event of the result clause become an **actual fact**.

The **imperative** (or **propositive**) **perfective** forms (cf. **19**.5–6) of the verb *mẹngiil* 'wait (for)' occur with the rather unusual combination of *mẹ* '(and) so' + *conditional clause* (cf. **19**.1). Observe the examples below:

(17) a. Bo ẹr a blil a Toki e mchiiẹlii a Droteo mẹ a lẹkong, e bo ẹr a stoang.
'Go to Toki's house and wait for Droteo to come; then go to the store (with him).'

b. Mchiiẹlii a Droteo mẹ a lẹbo lẹmẹrek ẹr a urerel, e mdak ẹl mẹrael.
'Wait for Droteo to finish his work, and then leave together.'

c. Dẹchiiẹlii a Satsko mẹ a lomẹkẹdo, e dẹbong.
'Let's wait for Satsko to call, and then let's go.'

d. Bo ẹr a bita e mchiiẹlak mẹ a kekong.
'Go next door and wait for me to come there.'

If the subject of the conditional clause after *mẹ* is a specific third person noun phrase, as in 17a–c, it must be removed from the conditional clause and placed in object position following the perfective form of *mẹngiil*. It is not clear why *mẹngiil* 'wait (for)' should require the unusual construction observed here.

As we have seen in this and the preceding section, the Palauan word *mẹ* '(and) so' serves to introduce result clauses. The word *mẹ* also has other functions, such as joining two or more noun phrases (e.g. *Toki mẹ a Droteo* 'Toki and Droteo') and connecting two sentences which are parallel in structure. These functions will be explained in detail when we examine the **connecting word** *mẹ* in chap. 25.

TIME CLAUSES

22.2. Palauan has a variety of **time clauses** which are used to express a **temporal relationship** between two events, actions, states, etc. Since we have already seen many examples of time clauses introduced by *er se ẹr a* 'when', we will consider this type first. In their most common usage, time clauses with *er se ẹr a* 'when' designate a single **past** event (or, sometimes, state) which took place while some other action or state was in progress. Often, the event of the time clause is interpreted as having interrupted (or intruded upon) this action or state, which is described in the preceding **independent** (or **main**) **clause** (cf. **15**.1). This is true in the examples below:

(18) a. Ak milsuub er a elii er se ẹr a lẹme a Droteo.
'I was studying yesterday when Droteo arrived.'

b. Ak mle dibus er se ẹr a lẹmad a dengki.
'I was away from home when the electricity went out.'

c. A Toki a milẹngẹtmokl ẹr a blai er se ẹr a kbong.
'Toki was cleaning the house when I arrived.'

Though it is easiest to think of *er se ẹr a* 'when' as a single unit which introduces a type of time clause, clearly its structure is much more complex. We speculate that *er se ẹr a* consists of a relational phrase *er se* 'there, at that time' followed by another rather unusual relational phrase in which the relational word *ẹr* is followed by a sequence having the structure of a **conditional clause** (cf. **19**.1). Though similar in structure to conditional clauses—note that the specific third person subjects *Droteo* and *dengki* 'electricity' of 18a–b appear obligatorily in **clause-final position**—the sequences following *er se ẹr a* in 18 are indeed difficult to classify. From a practical (rather than technical) viewpoint, we can say that *er se ẹr a* 'when' requires a following clause which contains a hypothetical verb form. The reason for this phenomenon is obscure: since hypothetical verb forms normally designate **unreal** events, as we have seen in so many previous cases, it is totally mysterious why they should be required in time clauses introduced by *er se ẹr a* 'when', which refer to **actual** (or **real**) events in the past. As we will see below, all types of Palauan time clauses must—for some unknown reason—contain hypothetical verb forms.

Time clauses introduced by *er se ẹr a* 'when' involve other types of temporal relationships than that illustrated in 18. In the examples below, *er se ẹr a* introduces a past event or situation which designates the broad framework within which some other event occurred. Observe the sentences below:

(19) a. Ak milẹchẹrar a hong er se ẹr a kbo ẹr a stoang.
'I bought a book when I went to the store.'

b. A Toki a mlo suebęk a ręngul er se ęr a lak lęme a Droteo.
'Toki got worried when Droteo didn't come.'

c. A Satsko a chiliis er se ęr a lesa a dęleb.
'Satsko ran away when she saw the ghost.'

In 19a, the event of going to the store described in the time clause with *er se ęr a* represents the framework or "context" for the action of buying the book mentioned in the preceding clause. And in both 19b–c, the time clause denotes a "background" event which prompted or caused the event or state described in the clause which precedes.

In yet another usage, time clauses with *er se ęr a* designate an event or state which is **simultaneous with**—i.e., occurs more or less during the same period of time as—another event or state. This meaning is illustrated in the sentences below:

(20) a. Ak mle mędęngęlii a John er se ęr a kngar ęr a New York.
'I knew John when I was in New York.'

b. Ak millamęch a dękool er se ęr a kuruul a kall.
'I was smoking cigarettes while/when I was preparing the food.'

c. Ak milęnguiu ęr a simbung er se ęr a longętmokl ęr a blai a Toki.
'I was reading the newspaper while/when Toki was cleaning the house.'

Recall that the expression *er se ęr a* can be followed by certain noun phrases to form **temporal phrases** (cf. **14**.6, ex. 34b) designating time points in the past. A few temporal phrases of this kind include *er se ęr a sabado* 'last Saturday', *er se ęr a (taem ęr a) mękęmad* 'during the war', and *er se ęr a taem ęr a Siabal* 'during the Japanese times'.

Palauan time clauses introduced by *se ęl* designate an event or state in the **future** which will coincide with some other event or state, as the examples below illustrate:

(21) a. Ak mo olęngull se ęl kbo kmęchas.
'I'm going to take time off (from work) when I'm an old woman.'

b. A Droteo a diak lębo loureor se ęl lębo lęchuodęl.
'Droteo's not going to work when he gets old.'

Time clauses introduced by *se ęl* can also denote an event which **habitually** or **regularly** coincides with another event, as in the following sentences:

(22) a. A eangęd a blęchoel ęl mo męknigit se ęl lębo ęl ngębaręd a eolt.
'The weather always gets bad when(ever) the wind becomes westerly.'

b. A Droteo a męlamęch a dękool se ęl losuub.
'Droteo smokes cigarettes when(ever) he studies.'

It is easiest to consider *se ęl* of 21–22 as a single unit meaning 'when' or 'whenever', even though it probably has a more complicated structure consisting of *se* 'there, at that time' followed by *ęl*, whose function is not clear. In the clause following *se ęl*, hypothetical verb forms are required, and any specific third person subject (*eolt* 'wind' of 22a) must be moved to clause-final position.

Before and After

22.2.1. In order to indicate that a particular action or event occurred **before** or **after** some other action or event, we use time clauses introduced by *ęr a uche ęr a* 'before' and *ęr a uriul ęr a* 'after', respectively. For practical purposes, we can think of these as single units which must be followed by clauses whose structure resembles that of conditional clauses (cf. our discussion of *er se ęr a* 'when' in **22**.2 above). It is clear that they are more complex, however: they consist of the relational phrases *ęr a uche* and *ęr a uriul*, in which the nouns of **spatial relationship** *uche* 'in front of' and *uriul* 'in back of' (cf. **14**.2.1) are used in a **temporal** sense, followed by a rather unusual type of relational phrase in which the relational word *ęr* introduces a clause rather than a noun phrase.

In 23 below, we illustrate the use of time clauses with *ęr a uche ęr a* 'before', while in 24 we give examples of time clauses with *ęr a uriul ęr a* 'after':

(23) a. Ak ulęmuchęl ęl męsuub ęr a uche ęr a kumęngur.
'I began to study before (I had) dinner.'

b. A sęchęlik a mirrael ęr a uche ęr a kbo kmęrek ęr a urerek.
'My friend left before I finished my work.'

c. A skoki a rirebęt ęr a uche ęr a lębo lęmętengęl ęr a skojio.
'The plane crashed before landing at the airport.'

d. Ng ngar ęr ngii a bętok ęl tękoi ęl kirek ęl męruul ęr a uche ęr a kbo ęr a katsudo.
'There are lots of things I've got to do before I go to the movies.'

e. Kę męt̨ik a kęrrękar ęr a uche ęr a chobo ęr a blik.
'You'll find a tree on the way to/before arriving at my house.'

(24) a. Ak mlo męchiuaiu ęr a uriul ęr a lorael a Toki.
'I went to sleep after Toki left.'

b. Ak ulęmuchęl ęl męsuub ęr a uriul ęr a kbo kmeręk ęl omęngur.
'I began to study after I finished having dinner.'

c. A skoki a rirebęt e męseseb ęr a uriul ęr a ltobęd ęr a skojio.
'The plane crashed and burned after leaving the airport.'

d. A daob a mlo męringęl ęr a uriul ęr a lębo ęl ngębaręd a eolt.
'The ocean got rough after the wind became westerly.'

Similar in usage to the "before" and "after" time clauses of 23–4 are **temporal phrases** (cf. **14**.6) in which *ęr a uche* and *ęr a uriul* are followed by a noun phrase designating an event. A typical example is given below:

(25) Aki milsaod a tękoi er a Belau ęr a {uche / uriul} ęr a chęldęchęduch[1] ęr kęmam.
'We discussed the Palauan language {before / after} our meeting.'

Movement of Time Clauses and Time Words

22.2.2. All of the time clauses discussed above can exchange positions with the preceding independent (or main) clause. As a result of this process, the time clause comes to appear in sentence-initial position, as in the examples below:

(26) a. Se ęr a kbo ęr a Guam e ak kilie ęr a blil a Tony.
'When I went to Guam, I lived at Tony's place.'

b. Se ęr a kisa a John, e ak dilu ęr ngii.
'When I saw John, I told him.'

c. Se ęl lębękiis, e tę mo ęr a chei.
'When they get up, they go fishing.'

d. Se ęl losuub a Droteo, e ng męlamęch a dękool.
'Whenever Droteo studies, he smokes cigarettes.'

e. A uche ęr a kbo kmęrek ęr a subęlek, e a Droteo a mirrael ęl mo ęr a blil.
'Before I finished my homework, Droteo went home.'

f. A uriul ęr a loureor ęr a sers a Toki, e ng tilęllib a chimal.
'After Toki worked in the garden, she washed her hands.'

As the above sentences show, two structural changes take place

when the time clause and the independent clause exchange positions. First, if the relational word *ęr* is the first word of the time clause introducer (as in *er se ęr a* 'when', *ęr a uche ęr a* 'before', and *ęr a uriul ęr a* 'after'), then it is deleted when the time clause is moved to sentence-initial position. Second, the shifted independent clause must be introduced by the connecting word *e* 'and (then)' (see **25**.1). The exchange of time clause and independent clause discussed here is, of course, optional, and has no effect on the meaning.

Time words (or expressions) such as *klukuk* 'tomorrow', *iręchar* 'earlier times', *tęruich ęl klok* 'ten o'clock', etc., which normally occur in **temporal phrases** introduced by *ęr*, can also be moved to sentence-initial position. Just as in the case of time clauses, the relational word *ęr* is deleted when a time word (or expression) is moved to the beginning of the sentence, and the following clause must be introduced by *e*. Some typical examples are now given:

(27) a. A klukuk e ak mo ęr a chei.
'Tomorrow I'm going fishing.'

b. A iręchar e a ręmeteet a ulęngęseu ęr a ręmechębuul.
'In earlier times, the rich helped the poor.'

c. Tia ęl mlo męrek ęl rak, e ak mlo ęr a Guam.
'Last year I went to Guam.'

d. A tęruich ęl klok e tę mirrael.
'At ten o'clock they departed.'

e. A ongeru ęl ureor, e tę mle ęr a blik.
'On Tuesday they came to my house.'

The examples above seem to put special emphasis on the time of a particular action or event.

23 Relative Clauses

FUNCTION OF RELATIVE CLAUSES

23.1. In Palauan, as in all other languages, the speaker always has a choice as to how much information he will supply in the sentences which he utters. One of the most common ways of incorporating information into a sentence is to expand a **noun phrase** (cf. **3.6**) by adding to it a sequence called a **relative clause.** Before discussing the grammatical characteristics of relative clauses, we will first examine their function by comparing the sentences in the pairs below:

(1) a. A *rędil* a mlo ęr a kęlębus.
'The woman went to jail.'

b. A *rędil* **ęl silsębii a blai** a mlo ęr a kęlębus.
'The woman who burned down the house went to jail.'

(2) a. Kę męděngęlii a *ngalęk*?
'Do you know the child?'

b. Kę męděngęlii a *ngalęk* **ęl děngchokl ęr a bita ęr a Toki**?
'Do you know the child who is sitting next to Toki?'

(3) a. Kę mla chuięuii a *hong*?
'Have you read the book?'

b. Kę mla chuięuii a *hong* **ęl ngar ęr a bebul a tebęl**?
'Have you read the book which is on the table?'

In the a-sentences above, the italicized **subject** or **object noun phrase** (cf. **2.3** and **3.6**) consists of a **single** noun, while in the b-sentences this noun phrase has been expanded by placing a **relative clause** (in bold type) right after the noun. The parts of the b-sentences in bold type are properly termed "relative clauses" because they **relate** a particular piece of information to the preceding noun. Thus, in 1b, for example,

(1b) A *rędil* **ęl silsębii a blai** a mlo ęr a kęlębus.
'The woman who burned down the house went to jail.'

the relative clause expresses a fact or event—namely, *silsębii a blai* 'burned down the house'—which is being **related to** or **associated with** the preceding noun *rędil* 'woman'. By relating the fact 'burned down the house' to the noun 'woman', the relative clause of 1b serves to **modify, specify,** or **narrow down the identity** of this noun. In other words, the subject noun phrase *rędil* 'woman' of 1a is much vaguer (or less exact) in its reference than the subject noun phrase *rędil ęl silsębii a blai* 'the woman who burned down the house' of 1b, where the relative clause introduced by *ęl* gives detailed information about what the woman did and thereby narrows down her identity. In the b-sentences of 2–3, the relative clauses which are part of the object noun phrases likewise narrow down the identity of the preceding nouns by describing specific **states** which are associated with them.

In the b-sentences of 1–3, the relative clauses have the structure of ordinary sentences except that they are introduced by *ęl* and do not contain any overtly-expressed subject noun phrases. Furthermore, the missing subject noun phrase of the relative clause is understood as being identical to the noun phrase which precedes (or **heads**) the relative clause. In these respects, relative clauses closely resemble the various types of **dependent clauses** which we classified in chap. 15. Two important features distinguish relative clauses from dependent clauses, however. First, relative clauses must always be preceded by a **noun** (called the **head noun**), while dependent clauses are typically preceded by another **clause** (the **independent** or **main** clause—cf. **15.1**). Second, there are no restrictions on the tense of verbs in relative clauses, whereas the verbs of dependent clauses tend to be in the **present** tense, even when the sentence as a whole designates an event or state in the **past.**

To summarize what we have said in this section, Palauan has "expanded" noun phrases with the structure *head noun* + *relative clause*. The **distribution**[1] of such noun phrases is of course identical to that of simpler noun phrases: thus, in 1 the sequence *rędil ęl silsębii a blai* 'the woman who burned down the house' can substitute for the single noun *rędil* 'woman' as **subject noun phrase**, and in 2 the sequence *ngalęk ęl děngchokl ęr a bita ęr a Toki* 'the child who is sitting next to Toki' can replace the single noun *ngalęk* 'child' as **object noun phrase.**

DERIVATION OF RELATIVE CLAUSES

23.2. In order to account correctly for the structure and meaning of

Palauan relative clauses, we propose that "expanded" noun phrases with the structure *head noun + relative clause* are simply derived from sequences in which the head noun is immediately followed by a **whole sentence**. In other words, the (subject) noun phrase *rędil ęl silsębii a blai* 'the woman who burned down the house' of 1b has its source in the following structure:

(4) rędil [a rędil a silsębii a blai]
('the woman who burned down the house')

In order to change 4 into the actually-spoken sequence *rędil ęl silsębii a blai*, we delete the subject *rędil* 'woman' of the **bracketed sentence**[2] because it is **identical** to the preceding head noun, and we insert *ęl* as the **relative clause introducer.**[3] A sequence of the form *head noun + bracketed sentence* such as that in 4 cannot be transformed into a grammatical noun phrase of the form *head noun + relative clause* unless the subject noun phrase of the bracketed sentence is identical to the preceding head noun. If this "identity condition" is not satisfied, then it is impossible to correctly derive a noun phrase of the form *head noun + relative clause*. Thus, a source sequence like the following (cf. 4)

(4') *rędil [a ngalęk a silsębii a blai]
(*'the woman who the child burned down the house')

can never be transformed into a grammatical Palauan structure because the subject (*ngalęk* 'child') of the bracketed sentence is different from the preceding head noun (*rędil* 'woman'). A similar condition holds in English, as the ungrammatical English "equivalent" indicates.

In the sentences below we observe further examples of Palauan relative clauses (italicized):

(5) a. A buik *ęl mle ęr a blik er a elii* a Droteo.
'The boy who came to my house yesterday was Droteo.'

b. A ręsęchal *ęl millatęch ęr a mlai* a męsaul.
'The men who were cleaning the canoe are tired.'

c. Ngke ęl ngalęk *ęl męnguiu ęr a simbung* ng tęchang?
'Who's that child who's reading the newspaper?'

d. Ak riręngęsii a ngalęk *ęl lmangęl.*
'I heard a child (who was) crying.'

e. Ak mildęchęmii a buik *ęl męleseb ęr a blai.*
'I caught a boy (who was) setting fire to the house.'

f. Ng męknigit a ręnguk ęr a sęchęlik *ęl mlad.*
'I'm sad about my friend who died.'[4]

In 5a–c the sequence *head noun + relative clause* functions as **subject noun phrase**, in 5d–e this same sequence functions as **object noun phrase**, and in 5f it appears in a **cause phrase** (cf. **14**.5) introduced by the relational word *ęr*. The relative clauses in 5 can all be derived according to the analysis given above: because the deleted subject of the relative clause would have been identical to the preceding head noun in the source structures of 5a–f, the italicized relative clauses of 5 are automatically understood as having subjects identical to this head noun.

PASSIVE SENTENCES AS RELATIVE CLAUSES

23.3. In all of the examples given so far, the head noun preceding a relative clause identifies the **doer** or **agent** of the relative clause if the latter is derived from a **transitive** sentence. Thus, in 1b, for instance,

(1b) A rędil ęl silsębii a blai a mlo ęr a kęlębus.
'The woman who burned down the house went to jail.'

the head noun *rędil* 'woman' corresponds to what would be the agent in the transitive sentence from which the relative clause is derived—namely,

(6) A rędil a silsębii a blai.
'The woman burned down the house.'

In 6 the agent *rędil* 'woman' appears as the **subject** of the transitive verb *silsębii* 'burned it down', while the thing receiving the effect of the action—namely, *blai* 'house'—appears as the **object** of *silsębii*. As we saw in **19**.7, a transitive sentence like 6 can be transformed in such a way that the agent and the object **exchange** positions. In the resulting **passive sentence**,

(7) A blai a lęsilsębii a rędil.
'The house was burned down by the woman.'

the object of 6—*blai* 'house'—has come to appear in subject position, and the agent—*rędil* 'woman'—has been moved to the end of the sentence. Furthermore, the verb of the sentence has become **hypothetical.**

Now, it is possible to derive relative clauses that are preceded by head nouns which identify the **object** of the relative clause rather than the agent. All we need to do is make sure that the relative clause of the sequence *head noun + relative clause* corresponds to a **passive sentence** and that the abovementioned

identity condition is met. Indeed, it is precisely because of this identity condition that head nouns referring to the object of a relative clause must be followed by relative clauses derived from passive sentences. In other words, only in a passive sentence like 7 would the subject noun phrase (which must be identical to the preceding head noun in order to form a grammatical relative clause) actually refer to the person or thing receiving the effect of the action—i.e., the object of the corresponding active sentence 6. Observe, therefore, the sentence below, in which the head noun *blai* 'house' refers to the object of the relative clause:

(8) A blai ęl lęsilsębii a rędil a blil a Toki.
'The house which the woman burned down/which was burned down by the woman was Toki 's house.'

The sequence *head noun + relative clause* of 8 is derived just like that of 4, except that the bracketed sentence is **passive** in form (=7):

(9) blai [a blai a lęsilsębii a rędil]
('the house which the woman burned down/which was burned down by the woman')

Just as in the case of 4, the subject *blai* 'house' of the bracketed sentence is deleted because it is identical to the preceding head noun, and *ęl* is inserted as the relative clause introducer.

The sentences below illustrate additional instances of relative clauses that are derived from passive sentences:

(10) a. A blai ęl lurruul ęr ngii a Droteo a mle klou.
'The house which Droteo built was big.'

b. A buik ęl kulsa er a elii a Tony.
'The boy whom I saw yesterday was Tony.'

c. A babier ęl moluchęs ęr ngii a mo ęr a sensei.
'The letter you're writing goes to the teacher.'

d. A biang ęl lęngilim a Droteo a mle bętok.
'The amount of beer which Droteo drank was considerable.'

e. A kall ęl mriręllii ng ngar ęr ker?
'Where's the food you made?'

f. Ng ngar ęr ngii a chisel a Toki ęl kudęngei.
'I've got some news to tell you about Toki.'[5]

g. A subęlek ęl kbla kbo kmęrek ęr ngii a kmal mle męringęl.
'The homework which I've just finished was very difficult.'

h. A tękoi ęl lębo losuub ęr ngii a ręngalęk a tękoi ęr a Sina.
'The language that the children are going to study is Chinese.'

In **19**.7.3 we saw that Palauan passive sentences can also be derived by moving into subject position a noun phrase which follows the relational word *ęr* in the corresponding active sentence. Thus, the subject of the following passive sentence

(11) A delmęrab a losuub ęr ngii a Droteo.
'(lit.) The room is (being) studied in by Droteo.'

appears in a **locational phrase** following *ęr* in the corresponding active sentence

(12) A Droteo a męsuub ęr a delmęrab.
'Droteo studies/is studying in the room.'

As we might expect, it is also possible to have sequences of the form *head noun + relative clause* in which the relative clause is derived from a passive sentence like 11 and the head noun therefore identifies the **location, source**, etc., of the action or event designated by the relative clause. This phenomenon is observed in the sentences below:

(13) a. Tia a delmęrab ęl losuub ęr ngii a Droteo.
'This is the room that Droteo studies/is studying in.'

b. Tia a basio ęl lębilosii a bęlochęl ęr ngii a Moses.
'This is the place where Moses shot the pigeon.'

c. Tia a kędęra ęl lęmlad ęr ngii a John er se ęr a mękęmad.
'This is the beach where John died during the war.'

d. A blai ęl lękie ęr ngii a ręchad ęr a Sina ng ngar ęr ker?
'Where's the house that the Chinese live in?'

e. Tia kid a blsibs ęl lętilobęd ęr ngii a beab.
'Here's the hole that the mouse came out of.'

A further type of passive sentence can be formed by moving to sentence-initial position a noun phrase which is part of a **dependent clause** (cf. chap. 15), an **object clause** (cf. chap. 16), or the like. Thus, an active sentence like the following,

(14) A Droteo a millasęm ęl męnga ęr a ngikęl.
'Droteo tried to eat the fish.'

which contains an **object clause** following *millasęm* 'tried' (cf. **16**.4) can be transformed into the passive sentence below:

(15) A ngikęl a lullasęm ęl męnga ęr ngii a Droteo.
'(lit.) The fish was tried to be eaten by Droteo.' = 'Droteo tried to eat the fish.'

The **subject** of 15—*ngikęl* 'fish'—was originally an **object** in 14,

where it follows the (imperfective) transitive verb *mẹnga* 'eat' in the object clause introduced by *ẹl*. When a singular noun phrase object in a dependent clause or object clause is passivized in this way, it must leave behind a **pronominal trace** (cf. **19**.7), as the presence of *ẹr ngii* in 15 indicates. Notice that a sentence like 15 has no acceptable word-for-word equivalent in English.

Now, a passive sentence like 15 can be used as a relative clause following the head noun *ngikẹl* 'fish' in a source sentence such as the following:

(16) A ngikẹl [a ngikẹl a lullaṣẹm ẹl mẹnga ẹr ngii a Droteo] a mle bẹkẹbau.
('The fish which Droteo tried to eat was spoiled.')

By "processing" the relative clause of 16, we get the following grammatical Palauan sentence:

(17) A ngikẹl ẹl lullaṣẹm ẹl mẹnga ẹr ngii a Droteo a mle bẹkẹbau.
'The fish which Droteo tried to eat was spoiled.'

Relative clauses whose derivation follows the pattern of 16–17 are given in the additional examples below:

(18) a. A tẹkoi ẹl kmẹduch ẹl mẹlẹkoi ẹr ngii a tẹkoi ẹr a Siabal.
'The language which I know how to speak is Japanese.'

b. Ng kmal soak ẹl mo omes ẹr a hong ẹl Droteo a dilu ẹl kmo a Toki a milẹnguiu ẹr ngii.
'I'd really like to see the book which Droteo said Toki was reading.'

c. Ng ngar ẹr ngii a ududem ẹl sẹbẹchem ẹl mẹskak?
'Do you have any money you can give me?'

EQUATIONAL SENTENCES AS RELATIVE CLAUSES

23.4. As we saw in **18**.6, an **equational sentence** is one which has the basic structure *noun phrase* + *noun phrase*. In such sentences, the subject noun phrase is **equated with** or **included in** the category of individuals or things designated by the second noun phrase. Equational sentences can serve as relative clauses, as the following types of expressions indicate:

(19) John ẹl sensei
'John the teacher'

JAL ẹl kombalii ẹr a Siabal
'JAL, a Japanese company'

New Delhi ẹl kingall ẹr a government ẹr a India
'New Delhi, the seat of government of India'

blik ẹl {smengt / kẹrrẹkar}
'my house, which is (made of) {cement / wood},

bilsẹngek ẹl chert
'my boat, which is an outboard'

ngẹlẹkek ẹl {rẹdil / sẹchal}
'my {daughter / son}' (lit. 'my child who is a {girl / boy}'),

The expressions of 19 are all derived from sequences of the form *head noun* + *relative clause*, where the relative clause is an equational sentence. Thus, *John ẹl sensei* 'John the teacher' has its source in

(20) John [a John a sensei]
('John the teacher')

The bracketed equational sentence *A John a sensei* 'John is a teacher' of 20 is transformed into a relative clause by deleting the subject *John* under identity with the preceding head noun and inserting the relative clause introducer *ẹl*. For convenience of discussion, we will apply the term **appositional structure** to a sequence like *John ẹl sensei* 'John the teacher', in which one noun phrase is **linked** to another by the word *ẹl* (the relative clause introducer).

By far, the most commonly-used type of appositional structure in Palauan consists of a **noun phrase of possession** (usually a single possessed noun) followed by *ẹl* and another noun (cf. **3**.10). Such appositional structures are used to specify the function which something serves on a particular occasion and refer primarily to categories of food and drink. Several examples, similar to those given in **3**.10, are listed below:

(21) imẹlek ẹl biang
'my (drink of) beer'

kẹlem ẹl udong
'your noodles'

odimel ẹl babii
'his pork'

onguled ẹl kukau
'our taro'

chẹrmek ẹl bilis
'my dog'

The appositional structures of 21 are derived exactly like those of

19. Thus, *imęlek ęl biang* 'my (drink of) beer' has a source of the form *head noun* + *relative clause*—namely,

(22) imęlek [a imęlek a biang]
('my (drink of) beer')

The bracketed equational sentence *A imęlek a biang* 'My drink is beer' of 22 is transformed into a relative clause by processes which are already familiar to us.

RELATIVE CLAUSES CONTAINING STATE VERBS

23.5. In the examples below, the relative clauses introduced by *ęl* contain various types of **state verbs** (cf. chap. 7):

(23) a. A Toki a silsębii a blil a Droteo ęl bęches.
'Toki burned down Droteo's house, which was new.'

b. Ak milęngętakl ęr a bilsęngel a Hirosi ęl tęlęmall.
'I towed Hirosi's boat, which was broken.'

c. A Toki a milęngętmokl ęr a delmęrab ęr a Droteo ęl kikiongęl.
'Toki was straightening up Droteo's room, which was dirty.'

There is nothing unusual about the derivation of the sequences *head noun* + *relative clause* of 23 from structures of the form *head noun* + *bracketed sentence*.

Contrasting in structure with 23a–c above are sentences in which a state verb (or an expression containing a state verb) **precedes** a particular noun and is linked to it by *ęl*. Sequences of the form *state verb* + *ęl* will be considered a type of **modifier** because they **describe**, **modify**, or **give further information about** the immediately **following** noun; other types of modifiers will be discussed in detail in chap. 24. For many Palauan speakers, there is no difference in meaning between sequences of the form *state verb* + *ęl* + *noun* vs. those of the form *head noun* + *ęl* + *state verb* (i.e., relative clauses). For some speakers, however, the sequence *state verb* + *ęl* + *noun* has a different interpretation, as indicated in the examples below (cf. 23a-c):

(24) a. A Toki a silsębii a bęches ęl blil a Droteo.
'Toki burned down Droteo's new house (not his old one).'

b. Ak milęngętakl ęr a tęlęmall ęl bilsęngel a Hirosi.
'I towed the boat of Hirosi's that was broken.'

c. A Toki a milęngętmokl ęr a kikiongęl ęl delmęrab ęr a Droteo.
'Toki was straightening up the room of Droteo's that was dirty.'

While the relative clauses of 23 simply provide additional, non-essential information about the head nouns which they follow, the modifiers of 24 supply essential identifying information to distinguish the modified noun from other items with which it is implied to be in contrast. Thus, comparing 23a and 24a, we see that the relative clause *ęl bęches* of 23a provides us with a certain piece of information about Droteo's house almost as an **afterthought** (i.e., the house which Toki burned down just **happened** to be new), while the modifier *bęches ęl* of 24a identifies or singles out Droteo's *new* house (as opposed to any other houses he may own) as the one which Toki burned down. In a similar way, the modifier *tęlęmall ęl* of 24b makes it clear that it was Hirosi's *broken* boat that the speaker was towing, and not some other boat of Hirosi's; and in 24c *kikiongęl ęl* implies that Toki was cleaning the particular room of Droteo's that was dirty, but not any other of his rooms.

RELATIVE CLAUSES FOLLOWING *chad* AND *klalo*

23.6. Since Palauan has no series of "indefinite" words corresponding to English *someone/anyone*, *something/anything*, etc., it simply makes use of the nouns *chad* 'person, man' and *klalo* 'thing' to express these concepts. Thus, in the examples below, *chad* and *klalo* are used to refer to a person or thing whose identity is not known:

(25) a. Ng ngar ęr ngii a chad ęr tiang.
'Somebody's here.'

b. Ng mlo ęr a stoa ęl mo omęchar a klalo.
'He went to the store to buy something.'

The nouns *chad* and *klalo* are commonly followed by relative clauses, in which case we have expressions corresponding to 'someone/anyone who...' and 'something/anything which...' Observe the examples below:

(26) a. Ng ngar ęr ngii a chad ęl osiik ęr kau.
'There's someone (who's) looking for you.'

b. Ak riręngęsii a chad ęl męngitakl.
'I heard someone singing.'

c. A chad ęl diak lęmęduch ęl męngikai a mo ręmos.
'Anyone who doesn't know how to swim will drown.'

d. Ng ngar ęr ngii a klalo ęl dibus.
'There's something missing.'

e. Ng mla ęr ngii a klalo ęl mla męręchoręch?
'Was there something stolen?'

When the third person singular emphatic pronoun *ngii* is followed by *di* 'only, just' and a relative clause, we get a rather forceful expression corresponding to 'any. . . at all'. The following examples are typical:

(27) a. Ngii di ęl chad a sębęchel ęl rullii tia ęl ureor.
'Anybody at all could do this work.'

b. Ngii di ęl chad er a Belau a sębęchel ęl me ęr tia ęl klab.
'Any Palauan at all can come to this club.'

24 Modifiers

STATE VERBS AS MODIFIERS

24.1. In **23.1** we observed that **relative clauses** serve to **modify, specify,** or **provide identifying information** about the **head nouns** which they follow. Since relative clauses are ultimately derived from **whole sentences** (cf. our discussion in **23.2**), they reflect major Palauan sentence types such as **transitive sentence, intransitive sentence, passive sentence,** and the like. For instance, in the following sequence of the form *head noun + relative clause*

(1) buik *ęl milkodir a bilis*
'the boy who killed the dog'

the italicized relative clause has been derived from the **transitive sentence**

(2) A buik a milkodir a bilis.
'The boy killed the dog.'

The sequence *head noun + relative clause* of 1 of course has its source in the structure below, where the transitive sentence 2 appears as a **bracketed sentence**[1] following the **head noun** *buik* 'boy':

(3) buik [a buik a milkodir a bilis]
('the boy who killed the dog')

Can you explain how the abstract structure of 3 is transformed into the actually-spoken sequence of 1?

Just as a relative clause can have its source in a **transitive sentence**, as 1–3 above illustrate, so can a relative clause be derived from an **intransitive sentence** containing a **state verb**. Thus, as we saw in **23.5**, we can have sequences like the following:

(4) a. delmęrab *ęl kikiongęl*
'room which is dirty'

b. blai *ęl bęches*
'house which is new'

c. chad *ęl smechęr ęr a tęretęr*
'person who is sick with a cold'

d. sensei *ęl męringęl a tękingel*
'teacher who is strict'

Since the italicized relative clauses of 4 contain intransitive state verbs, the bracketed sentences from which they are derived must necessarily be intransitive sentences containing these very same state verbs. Thus, 4c, for example, is derived from the source structure

(4c') chad [a chad a smechęr ęr a tęretęr]
('person who is sick with a cold')

by deleting the identical subject noun phrase *chad* 'person' of the bracketed sentence and inserting the **relative clause introducer** *ęl*.

Now, in addition to the relative clause structure of 4, Palauan has sequences in which a state verb (or an expression containing a state verb) **precedes** a given noun and is **linked** to it by *ęl*. Thus, with 4a–b, which have the structure *noun* + *ęl* + *state verb*, compare 5a–b, in which the word order has been switched to *state verb* + *ęl* + *noun*:

(4) a. delmęrab ęl kikiongęl
'room which is dirty'

b. blai ęl bęches
'house which is new'

(5) a. kikiongęl ęl delmęrab
'dirty room'

b. bęches ęl blai
'new house'

Though some Palauan speakers feel that the opposing word orders of 4–5 result in a significant meaning difference,[2] many others think that the two word orders merely represent a difference in style which has no effect on the meaning.

We will introduce the term **modifier** to distinguish the sequences of *state verb* + *ęl* in 5 from the **relative clauses** (*ęl* + *state verb*) in 4. As we will see throughout this chapter, it will be convenient to have a separate term such as **modifier** to refer to a number of grammatical constructions in which a word or group of words is linked by *ęl* to a **following** noun. The term "modifier" is used because the constructions in question function to **modify**, **specify**, or **give further information about** the noun which they **precede**. Although **relative clauses** perform the same function of modifying or specifying a noun (cf. **23**.1), we will not classify them as modifiers because they **follow** rather than **precede** the modified noun. In other words, we are using **modifier** primarily as a cover term for any construction which **precedes** a noun and is linked to it by *ęl*. So far, we have seen how the word *ęl* joins or relates **dependent clauses** (cf. chap. 15), **object clauses** (cf. chap. 16), and **relative clauses** (cf. chap. 23) to a **preceding independent clause** or **head noun**. Now, as we examine Palauan modifiers, we will see that *ęl* can also be used to relate a word or group of words to a **following** noun (also called a **head noun**).

The type of modifier shown in 5a–b—namely, a single intransitive state verb followed by *ęl*—is very common in Palauan. Some further examples are listed below:

(6) ungil ęl eangęd
'good weather'

męknġit ęl tękoi
'bad/dirty word'

klou ęl bilas
'big boat'

ngodęch ęl chad[3]
'strange person'

bękęsius ęl chad
'person who swears a lot'

męduch ęl kęrrękar
'strong tree/wood'

kekęre ęl blai
'small house; (slang) toilet'

kekęmangęt ęl mlai
'long canoe'

męses ęl buik
'diligent boy'

Certain common **expressions** (i.e., groups of words) containing intransitive state verbs can also be used as modifiers. Note, for example, how the italicized expressions in the sentences below

(7) a. A sensei a $\begin{Bmatrix} męringęl \\ beot \end{Bmatrix}$ *a tękingel.*
'The teacher is $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{strict} \\ \text{easy-going} \end{Bmatrix}$.'

b. A ngalęk a *bęralm a rengul.*
'The child is lazy.'

are used as modifiers in the following examples:

(8) a. {*męringęl* / *beot*} *a tękingel ęl* sensei
'{strict / easy-going} teacher'

b. *bęralm a rengul ęl* ngalęk
'lazy child'

OTHER VERBS AND NOUNS AS MODIFIERS

24.2. As we saw in **24**.1 above, many Palauan modifiers consist of a state verb, or an expression containing a state verb, followed by the "linking" word *ęl*. Not all modifiers containing verbs require **state verbs**, however. For example, a few **intransitive action verbs** such as *me* 'come' and *mo męrek* 'end, stop' are commonly used as modifiers (italicized) in cases like the following:

(9) tia ęl *me ęl* rak
'next year'

tia ęl *mlo męrek ęl* buil
'last month'

The sequences in 9, you will recall, are used with the **relational word** *ęr* to form **temporal phrases** (cf. **14**.6). In addition, we occasionally find Palauan speakers using sequences like the following,

(10) męngitakl ęl chad
'man who is singing'

mlęchęlebęd ęl buik
'boy who was hit/beaten'

in which a **transitive action verb** in its **imperfective** form (*męngitakl* 'sing') or **ergative** form (*mlęchęlebęd* 'was/got hit/beaten') is part of the modifier construction.

In **24**.3–4 below, we will examine two major types of nouns—**demonstratives** and **number words**—which are regularly used as modifiers. In addition to these two types, certain other relatively minor groups of nouns can appear in modifier constructions. Thus, in the sequences below, a word or expression designating a **quantity** is used to modify the following head noun:

(11) bętok ęl kall
'lots of food'

bętok ęl chad
'many people'

kęsai ęl malk
'a bit of chicken'

di tęlkib ęl kall
'a little food'

rokui ęl taem
'all the time'

And in the examples below, the **question words** *ngara* 'what (kind of)?' (cf. **20**.3.1, ex. 46) and *tela* 'how much/many?' (cf. **20**.4, ex. 58) function as modifiers:

(12) ngara ęl tękoi
'what language?'

ngara ęl hong
'what kind of book?'

tela ęl klok
'what time?'

tela ęl udoud
'how much money?'

All of the sequences given in 5–6 and 8–12 above are "expanded" noun phrases with the structure *modifier + head noun* (cf. our discussion of *head noun + relative clause* sequences at the end of **23**.1). Because they are noun phrases, sequences of the form *modifier + head noun* have distributional features identical to those of simpler noun phrases: that is, they occur as **sentence subject** or **object**, or following *ęr* in **relational phrases**. The sentences below illustrate these three distributional "slots":

(13) a. A ngodęch ęl chad a dęngchokl ęr a bita ęr a Toki.
'A strange person is sitting next to Toki.'

b. A Satsko a mirruul a bętok ęl kall ęl kirel a party.
'Satsko was preparing lots of food for the party.'

c. Kę mo ęr a che ęr a tela ęl klok?
'At what time are you going fishing?'

DEMONSTRATIVES

24.3. Palauan has a special group of words which speakers use when

they wish to **point out** or **draw attention to** a particular person, animal, or thing. Such **demonstrative words** (or **demonstratives** for short) are used in simple (equational) sentences like the following:

(14) a. Tia a olęchęsek.
'This is my pencil.'

b. Se a blil a Droteo.
'That is Droteo's house.'

c. Tirke tę rua tęchang?
'Who are those people?'

d. Tia kid a hong.
'Here is a book.'

e. Ngka kid a Droteo.[4]
'Here is Droteo.'

As the examples of 14 show, Palauan demonstratives (e.g. *tia* 'this', *se* 'that', *ngka* 'this person', *tirke* 'those people') are never preceded by the word *a*, which introduces most other Palauan nouns and noun phrases (cf. **2.6**).

In order to use demonstratives correctly, the Palauan speaker must take three factors into account. First, he must choose a different set of demonstratives depending on whether what he is referring to (i.e., the **referent**) is a **person**, **animal,** or **thing.** Second, he must use different forms for **singular** vs. **plural** referents. And, finally, he must consider the **relative distance** of the referent from himself and the hearer.

When making reference to **non-living things,** the Palauan speaker uses the set of demonstrative words given below. In considering the relative distance of the referent from himself and the hearer, the speaker must make a three-way distinction. Thus, different demonstratives must be used to designate (i) something near both the speaker and hearer, (ii) something near the hearer but not the speaker, and (iii) something far from both the speaker and hearer. These three categories of distance are listed across the top of the chart below:[5]

(15) *Demonstratives Referring to Things*

Location of referent:	near speaker and hearer	near hearer but far from speaker	far from speaker and hearer
singular	tia 'this'	tilęcha 'that'	se 'that (over there)'
plural	aika 'these'	ailęcha 'those'	aike 'those (over there)'

Demonstrative words referring to **human beings** can be classified in a parallel way, as the following chart shows:

(16) *Demonstratives Referring to Human Beings*

Location of referent:	near speaker and hearer	near hearer but far from speaker	far from speaker and hearer
singular	ng(i)ka 'this person'	ngilęcha 'that person'	ng(i)ke 'that person (over there)'
plural	tirka 'these people'	tirilęcha 'those people'	tirke 'those people (over there)'

If we compare the demonstratives of 15–16 with each other, we immediately notice some significant structural patterns. Most of these words are composed of two morphemes (or meaning-bearing units), the first one specifying the type of referent (person or thing, singular or plural), and the second specifying the relative distance of the referent from the speaker and hearer. Looking at the demonstratives found in the second column—namely,

(17) tilęcha
'that (thing)'

ailęcha
'those (things)'

ngilęcha
'that person'

tirilęcha
'those people'

—we may conclude that the shared part *-lęcha* (or perhaps *-ilęcha*) is a distinct morpheme which conveys the meaning 'located near hearer but far from speaker' common to these four words. The difference in meaning among the demonstratives of 17 must therefore be due to the fact that different morphemes (*ti-*, *ai-*, *ngi-*, and *tiri-*) are **prefixed** to the shared morpheme *-lęcha*. These four morphemes have distinct meanings, as follows:

(18) ti- 'non-living thing—singular'
ai- 'non-living things—plural'
ngi- 'human being—singular'
tiri- 'human beings—plural'

The different morphemes of 18 combine with the morpheme *-lęcha* to form the contrasting demonstrative words of 17.

The fact that Palauan demonstrative words are organized according to a "logical" system becomes clear to us when we see that the four morphemes of 18 (which specify whether the referent is a person or thing, singular or plural) recur just where we would expect them. While *ti-* 'non-living thing—singular' is somewhat exceptional (see below), the three remaining morphemes occur consistently as follows:

a. *ai-* is found in all demonstrative words referring to plural nonliving things—i.e., *aika* 'these (things)', *ailęcha* 'those (things)', and *aike* 'those (things) (over there)',

b. *ngi-* is found in all demonstrative words referring to a singular human being—i.e., *ng(i)ka* 'this person', *ngilęcha* 'that person', and *ng(i)ke* 'that person (over there)'.[6]

c. *tiri-* is found in all demonstrative words referring to plural human beings—i.e., *tirka* 'these people', *tirilęcha* 'those people', and *tirke* 'those people (over there)'.[7]

We can now see that in addition to the morpheme *-lęcha* 'located near hearer but far from speaker', Palauan demonstrative words also contain the distinct morphemes *-ka* 'located near speaker and hearer' and *ke-* 'located far from speaker and hearer'.

The morpheme *ti-* 'non-living thing—singular' is associated with some irregularities. Thus, where we would expect the demonstrative word **tika* for 'this (thing)', we instead have *tia*, in which the *k* of *-ka* 'located near speaker and hearer' has been lost. In addition, we do not have any demonstrative word like **tike* for 'that (thing) (over there)', but the totally unrelated word *se*, which consists of one morpheme only. The three demonstratives referring to singular non-living things are distinguished from other demonstratives in that they commonly appear in **locational phrases** (cf. **14**.2) with *ęr*, as illustrated below:

(19) ęr tia
'here, in this place'

ęr tilęcha
'there, in that place'

ęr se
'over there, in that place (over there)'

Although Palauan demonstrative words referring to **animals** do not involve any new morphemes or morpheme combinations, they represent an unusual (and unexplainable) mixture of terms from the two sets already given (15 and 16). The demonstrative words referring to animals are listed below:

(20) *Demonstratives Referring to Animals*

Location of referent:	near speaker and hearer	near hearer but far from speaker	far from speaker and hearer
singular	ng(i)ka 'this animal'	ngilęcha 'that animal'	ng(i)ke 'that animal (over there)'
plural	aika 'these animals'	ailęcha 'those animals'	aike 'those animals (over there)'

As the chart in 20 shows, demonstratives referring to singular **human beings** (see 16) are also used to refer to singular **animals**, while demonstratives denoting plural **things** (see 15) also serve to denote plural **animals**.

One of the most commonly-occurring **modifier** constructions (cf. **24**.2 above) in Palauan consists of a **demonstrative word** linked by *ęl* to a following **head noun**. Sequences of this kind are used when the speaker wishes to identify a person, animal, or thing in terms of where it is located with relation to himself and the hearer. The following examples are typical:

(21) tia ęl hong
'this book'

se ęl kęrrękar
'that tree (over there)'

aika ęl kahol
'these boxes'

ng(i)ke ęl ngalęk
'that child (over there)'

tirilęcha ęl sensei[8]
'those teachers'

aika ęl charm
'these animals'

Can you explain why *tia* (but not *ng(i)ka*) is required before the head noun *hong* 'book', why *ng(i)ke* (but not *se*) is required before the head noun *ngalęk* 'child', and so on?

Because the sequences of 21 are "expanded" noun phrases with the structure *modifier* + *head noun*, they have the distributional features common to all noun phrases. Thus, in the sentences below, the sequences of 21 are used as sentence subject or object or as part of a relational phrase with *ęr*:

(22) a. Aika ęl charm a babii.
'These animals are pigs.'

b. Ng(i)ke ęl ngalęk a milosii a malk.
'That child (over there) shot the chicken.'

c. Ng tęcha a lilęchęsii tia ęl hong?
'Who wrote this book?'

d. A bęlochęl a silebęk ęr se ęl kęrrękar.
'The pigeon flew out of that tree.'

NUMBERS

24.4. Palauan **numbers** are used, of course, to count or specify the number of persons, things, etc. being considered. They are much more complicated than English numbers because different sets must be chosen according to the type of thing being counted. In this respect, Palauan numbers resemble Palauan **demonstratives**, which—as we saw in **24**.3 above—occur in three sets depending on whether the referent is a person, animal, or thing.

The numbers of Palauan are found in three **major** sets, which most speakers use frequently and in a uniform manner, and several relatively **minor** sets, which show considerable variation from one speaker to another and which certain speakers (especially younger ones) no longer even use. Like the demonstratives examined above, Palauan numbers by and large form a system in which various morphemes consistently recur. As we will see below, most number words contain a morpheme specifying a number plus another morpheme (a **prefix** or **suffix**) identifying the **class** or **category** of what is being counted.

One major set of Palauan numbers is used for counting various **units of time** such as hours of the clock, days, years, and the like. The numbers in this set (which we will identify as Set I) are listed below:

(23) *Set I*

1	ta	11	tęruich mę a ta
2	eru	12	tęruich mę a eru
3	ede	13	tęruich mę a ede
4	eua	14	tęruich mę a eua
5	eim	15	tęruich mę a eim
6	elolęm	16	tęruich mę a elolęm
7	euid	17	tęruich mę a euid
8	eai	18	tęruich mę a eai
9	etiu	19	tęruich mę a etiu
10	tęruich	20	lluich

Looking at the numbers from 1 to 10 in Set I, we see that except for *ta* 'one' and *tęruich* 'ten', which appear to be single morphemes, all of the numbers consist of the **prefix** *e-* followed by some other morpheme. The prefix *e-* is a separate morpheme which specifically identifies the **category** of things being counted—namely, units of time. This prefix combines with the various **number morphemes**—i.e.,

(24)

-ru	'two'	-lolęm	'six'
-de	'three'	-uid	'seven'
-ua	'four'	-ai	'eight'
-im	'five'	-tiu	'nine'

—to form number words referring to units of time.

The number words between 11 and 20 in Set I are not particularly difficult to analyze. Though *lluich* 'twenty' is best analyzed as a single morpheme, it may in some way be related to *tęruich* 'ten' (note the common sequence *-uich*). The numbers between 11 and 19 are merely expressions of the form 'ten and one', 'ten and two', etc., in which *tęruich* 'ten' is connected by *mę* 'and' (see **25**.4) to the following smaller number.[9]

Palauan number words are commonly used as **modifiers** (cf. **24**.1 above). Thus, in the "expanded" noun phrases below, a number word from Set I is linked by *ęl* to a following **head noun**. Since the number words of Set I are used to count units of time, the head nouns in the sequences below are **time words** such as *sils* 'day', *rak* 'year', etc.:

(25) ta ęl sikang 'one hour'
eru ęl sils 'two days'
ede ęl klębęse 'three nights'
eua ęl kębęsęngil[10] 'the fourth (of some month)'
eim ęl buil 'five months'
elolęm ęl rak 'six years'
euid ęl klok 'seven o'clock'
tęruich mę a ta ęl klok[11] 'eleven o'clock'

Whereas all Palauan speakers use the number words of Set I for counting **units of time**, only certain speakers (mostly of the older generation) use these same words for counting **flat, square** objects such as sheets of paper, books, etc. Such speakers will therefore use noun phrases like the following:

(26) eru ęl babier 'two letters/sheets of paper'
ede ęl hong 'three books'
eua ęl siasing 'four photos'

For counting flat, square objects the majority of Palauan speakers prefer the number words *chimo* 'one', *tęblo* 'two', *klde* 'three', etc., which can refer to a wide range of non-living things (see Set III in 29 below).

A second major set of Palauan number words is used exclusively for counting **human beings**. Thus, with Set I compare the following, which we will designate as Set II:

(27) *Set II*

1	ta	11	tęruich mę a ta
2	teru	12	tęruich mę a teru
3	tede	13	tęruich mę a tede
4	teua	14	tęruich mę a teua
5	teim	15	tęruich mę a teim
6	telolęm	16	tęruich mę a telolęm
7	teuid	17	tęruich mę a teuid
8	teai	18	tęruich mę a teai
9	tetiu	19	tęruich mę a tetiu
10	tęruich	20	lluich

When we compare the number words of Set I and Set II, we can make the following observations:

a. In both sets, the number words for 'one' (*ta*), 'ten' (*tęruich*), and 'twenty' (*lluich*) are identical.

b. In both sets, the number words from 2 to 9 consist of two morphemes—a **prefix** identifying the **class** or **category** of what is being counted plus a **number morpheme**. In Set I, the prefix is *e-*, while in Set II it is *te-*. Both of these prefixes combine regularly with the number morphemes of 24 to form the various number words. While the prefix *e-* refers primarily to units of time, the prefix *te-* designates human beings.

c. In both sets, the number words from 11 to 19 are merely expressions of the form 'ten and one', 'ten and two', etc., where *tęruich* 'ten' is connected to another number by *mę* 'and'. Thus, for example, *tęruich mę a ede* 'thirteen (days, months, etc.)' and *tęruich mę a tede* 'thirteen people' are exactly parallel in structure.

Because the number words of Set II refer exclusively to human beings, they can only occur preceding **human head nouns**, as in the following:

(28) teru ęl chad 'two people'
teim ęl sensei 'five teachers'
tetiu ęl buik 'nine boys'
tęruich mę a tede ęl chad[12] 'thirteen people'

A third major set of Palauan number words is used in counting animals and a large variety of non-living things. Observe the words below, which constitute Set III:

(29) *Set III*

1	chimo	11	tachęr mę a chimo
2	tęblo	12	tachęr mę a tęblo
3	klde	13	tachęr mę a klde
4	kloa	14	tachęr mę a kloa
5	kleim	15	tachęr mę a kleim
6	kllolęm	16	tachęr mę a kllolęm
7	klęuid	17	tachęr mę a klęuid
8	kleai	18	tachęr mę a kleai
9	kltiu	19	tachęr mę a kltiu
10	tachęr	20	lluich

Comparing the number words of Set III with those of Sets I and II (cf. 23 and 27 above), we can make the following statements:

a. The number words *chimo* 'one', *tęblo* 'two', and *tachęr* 'ten' in Set III are completely different from the comparable number words in the other two sets. The word *lluich* 'twenty', however, is the same.

b. The number words from 3 to 9 in Set III consist of the already familiar structure *prefix* + *number morpheme*. Here, the prefix *kl-* (lengthened in several cases by the vowel *e* or *ę*) is added to the various number morphemes shown in 24. The number morpheme *-ua* 'four' irregularly changes to *-oa* when *kl-* is prefixed.

c. The number words from 11 to 19 in Set III resemble those of Sets I and II in that they follow the pattern 'ten and one', 'ten and two', etc.

Since the Set III number words refer to animals as well as

non-living things, they typically occur as **modifiers** in "expanded" noun phrases like the following:

(30) chimo ęl malk 'one chicken'
tęblo ęl blai 'two houses'
klde ęl hong 'three books'
kloa ęl ringo 'four apples'
kleim ęl kluk 'five dollars'
kllolęm ęl lius 'six coconuts'
klęuid ęl kahol 'seven boxes'
tachęr ęl uel 'ten turtles'

Numbers Above 20

24.4.1. So far we have only discussed Palauan numbers between 1 and 20. The numbers above 20 follow familiar patterns and are therefore not difficult to analyze. First we shall examine those numbers which are **multiples of 10**—namely,

(31)	30	okede	70	okeuid
	40	okoua	80	okai
	50	okeim	90	oketiu
	60	okolęm	100	dart

Except for *dart* 'one hundred', which is a single morpheme, the number words listed above consist of two morphemes—the **prefix** *ok-* (lengthened in most cases by *e* or *o*) and one of the **number morphemes** listed in 24. In *okolęm* 'sixty' the first *l* of the number morpheme *-lolęm* 'six' is lost when *ok-* is prefixed. Like *lluich* 'twenty', the number words in *ok-* (and *dart* 'one hundred' as well) are used in all three major number sets (cf. 23, 27, and 29 above). The prefix *ok-* indicates that the accompanying number (morpheme) is to be multiplied by 10.

Just as the numbers between 11 and 19 have the structure 'ten and one', 'ten and two', etc., the numbers between 21 and 29, 31 and 39, etc. take the form 'twenty and one', 'thirty and one', and so on. Such numbers are used as modifiers in the examples below:

(32) a. lluich mę a teru ęl chad
'twenty-two people'

lluich mę a tęblo ęl blai
'twenty-two buildings'

b. okede mę a eim ęl sils
'thirty-five days'

okede mę a teim ęl sensei
'thirty-five teachers'

c. okeuid mę a etiu ęl rak
'seventy-nine years'

okeuid mę a kltiu ęl kluk
'seventy-nine dollars'

Can you explain why the number 22 must have the form *lluich mę a teru* before the head noun *chad* 'person', but takes the form *lluich mę a tęblo* before the head noun *blai* 'house'? Does the same principle hold for the other pairs?

Numbers which are **multiples of 100** are formed by using a number word from Set I as a modifier of *dart* 'one hundred'. Thus, we have *eru ęl dart* 'two hundred', *ede ęl dart* 'three hundred', *eua ęl dart* 'four hundred', etc. The number 1000 and its multiples are formed in a similar way—i.e., *ta ęl telael* 'one thousand', *eru ęl telael* 'two thousand', *ede ęl telael* 'three thousand', and so on.

Minor Number Sets

24.4.2. In this section we will list several Palauan number sets that are of relatively minor importance because their use is infrequent or restricted in some way. Our comments on these number sets will accordingly be very brief.

When counting off one number after another—i.e., when saying "one—two—three" etc. in sequence—Palauan speakers use the group of number words below (Set IV):

(33) *Set IV*

1	ta	7	uid
2	oru	8	iai
3	ode	9	itiu
4	oua	10	machod
5	oim	11	machod mę a ta
6	malo	12	machod mę a oru, etc.

While *ta* 'one', *malo* 'six', and *machod* 'ten' are single morphemes, the number words from 2 to 5 and from 7 to 9 in Set IV consist of a prefix (*o-*, *u-*, or *i-*) followed by a number morpheme (cf. 24). Set IV number words higher than 10 (i.e., *machod mę a ta* 'eleven', *machod mę a oru* 'twelve', etc.) are very infrequently used.

In order to count long things such as pencils, fish, canoes, bananas, and the like, most Palauan speakers use the number

words in Set III. However, certain speakers (mostly in the older generation) use the following special number words (Set V) for counting between one and five long objects:

(34) *Set V*

1 teluo
2 eruo
3 edeuo
4 euaiuo
5 eimuo

The number words of Set V all contain the **suffix** *-uo*. In the numbers from 2 to 5 this suffix is added to the corresponding number words of Set I, with minor phonetic changes. Thus, the final *u* of *eru* 'two' is deleted when *-uo* is suffixed to form *eruo* 'two (long objects)'; and an extra *i* is inserted when *eua* 'four' combines with *-uo* to give *euaiuo* 'four (long objects)'. The number *teluo* 'one (long object)' is formed by adding *-uo* to what appears to be a special number morpheme *tel-* 'one'.

Another number set which involves a suffix (rather than a prefix) is the following (Set VI), which is used occasionally to count bunches of bananas:

(35) *Set VI*

1	teliud	6	elolɇmiud
2	ereiud	7	euidiud
3	edeiud	8	eaiud
4	euaiud	9	etiuiud
5	eimiud	10	tɇruich ɇl iud

The number words of Set VI show a general pattern already familiar to us. Thus, in the numbers from 2 to 9 a suffix of the form *-iud* is added to the corresponding number word of Set I, with certain small phonetic changes. (Can you identify these changes in the number words *ereiud* 'two bunches' and *eaiud* 'eight bunches'?) In *teliud* 'one bunch', the suffix *-iud* has been added to a special number morpheme *tel-* (cf. the *tel-* of *teluo* 'one (long object)' in Set V).[13] Finally, in *tɇruich ɇl iud* 'ten bunches' *iud* is used as a separate word—i.e., as a **head noun** preceded by the modifier *tɇruich* 'ten'.

Use of Number Words in Sentences

24.4.3. In 25, 26, 28, 30, and 32 above we gave many examples of how

number words can be used as modifiers of a following head noun. Such sequences, which have the structure *number word* + *ɇl* + *head noun*, function as **noun phrases** and therefore occur regularly as sentence subject or object, or as part of a relational phrase introduced by *ɇr*. A few sentences showing the distribution of these "expanded" noun phrases (italicized) are given below:

(36) a. A Droteo a mlo ɇr a che ɇr a *euid ɇl klok*.
'Droteo went fishing at seven o'clock.'

b. A *dart ɇl chad* a mle ɇr a ochɇraol.
'One hundred people came to the money-raising party.'

c. A rɇngalɇk a milkoad a *tachɇr ɇl uel*.
'The children killed ten turtles.'

d. Ng tɇcha a milskau a *kleim ɇl kluk*?
'Who gave you five dollars?'

As the examples of 36 illustrate, "expanded" noun phrases containing number words as modifiers must always be introduced by the word *a* (cf. **2**.6).

Ordinal Numbers

24.4.4. Palauan **ordinal** numbers, which correspond to English 'first', 'second', 'third', etc., are used to indicate the **order** or **rank** of something. The ordinal numbers from 1 to 10 are listed below:

(37) kot 'first'
ongeru 'second'
ongede 'third'
ongeua 'fourth'
ongeim 'fifth'
ongelolɇm 'sixth'
ongeuid 'seventh'
ongeai 'eighth'
ongetiu 'ninth'
ongetɇruich 'tenth'

Except for the special word *kot* 'first', which is a single morpheme, the ordinal numbers of 37 all consist of at least two morphemes. It is difficult to decide between the following two analyses: either a prefix *ong-* is added to the number words of Set I, or a prefix *onge-* combines with the number morphemes of 24.

We have already seen how ordinal numbers are used in certain types of time expressions. Thus, in **14**.6, ex. 34e we examined

temporal phrases containing the following expressions for the first five **days of the week**:

(38) kot ęl ureor 'Monday'
ongeru ęl ureor 'Tuesday'
ongede ęl ureor 'Wednesday'
ongeua ęl ureor 'Thursday'
ongeim ęl ureor 'Friday'

The expressions of 38 are "expanded" noun phrases in which an ordinal number serves as a modifier of the head noun *ureor* 'work'. Therefore, the literal meaning of *kot ęl ureor, ongeru ęl ureor*, etc. is something like 'the first (day of) work', 'the second (day of) work', etc.

We also saw in **14**.6, ex. 34f that the **months of the year** are expressed in Palauan as follows:

(39) kot ęl buil 'January'
ongeru ęl buil 'February'
ongede ęl buil 'March'
ongeua ęl buil 'April'
ongeim ęl buil 'May'
ongelolęm ęl buil 'June'
ongeuid ęl buil 'July'
ongeai ęl buil 'August'
ongetiu ęl buil 'September'
ongetęruich ęl buil 'October'
ongetęruich mę a ta ęl buil 'November'
ongetęruich mę a ongeru ęl buil 'December'

As 39 shows, all of the expressions for the months of the year contain an ordinal number serving as a modifier of the head noun *buil* 'month'. These expressions therefore have the literal meanings 'the first month', 'the second month', and so on.

The expressions below further illustrate the use of ordinal numbers as modifiers:

(40) kot ęl chad 'first man'
ongeru ęl sils 'second day'
ongede ęl babii 'third pig'
ongetęruich ęl ngalęk 'tenth child'

Ordinal Numbers Followed by Specifying Clauses

24.4.4.1. As we saw in **15**.7.7, Palauan has a small number of special verbs which must always be followed by a **specifying clause** (cf. **15**.7) introduced by *ęl*. Such verbs—e.g. *blęchoel* 'always (=invariably do)', *dirrek* 'also', and *ko* 'just'—are somewhat difficult to understand because their closest English equivalents do not happen to be verbs. These special verbs (italicized) are used in sentences like the following:

(41) a. Ak *blęchoel* ęl męruul a kęlir.
'I always prepare their food.'
b. A sęchęlik a *dirrek* ęl mong.
'My friend is also going.'
c. A Droteo a *ko* ęl męsubang.
'Droteo's just gotten (a chance) to study.'

Like *blęchoel* 'always', *dirrek* 'also', and *ko* 'just' of 41, the ordinal number *kot* 'first' can be followed by a specifying clause. Thus, in the sentences below, *kot* corresponds to 'do first' or 'do (something) before/ahead of someone else', and the specifying clause introduced by *ęl* designates the activity involved:

(42) a. Kę kot ęl mo omęngur.
'You go ahead and eat first.'
b. Kę ma[14] kot ęl mo ęr a skuul, e ngak ekong.
'You go on ahead to school, and then I'll follow.'
c. Ak kot ęl ręmurt.[15]
'I'll run first (in the race, etc.).'

When *kot* 'first' is followed by a specifying clause containing a **state verb**, the resulting meaning corresponds to English *-est* in words like *biggest, fastest*, etc. In other words, *kot + ęl + state verb* indicates that someone or something possesses a certain quality in a higher degree than anyone or anything else being considered. The following examples are typical:

(43) a. A John a kot ęl kebęlu ęl ngalęk ęr a skuul.
'John is the stupidest student.'
b. Ng tęcha a kot ęl bękęrurt?
'Who runs the fastest?'
c. A Oreor a kot ęl klou ęl beluu er a Belau.
'Koror is the biggest town in Palau.'

EXPRESSIONS WITH TWO OR MORE MODIFIERS

24.5. In the sections above we have seen that Palauan demonstratives, numbers, state verbs, and even action verbs can be used as modifiers. For purposes of simplicity, we only gave examples in which a particular head noun is preceded by a single modifier (e.g. *tia ęl hong* 'this book', *klou ęl mlai* 'large car', etc.). As the following examples indicate, however, it is often the case that a head noun is preceded by a sequence of two (or more) modifiers:

(44) tia ęl me ęl buil
'next month'

tia ęl mlo męrek ęl rak[16]
'last year'

tirka ęl teru ęl chad
'these two men'

tirke ęl tede ęl ungil ęl sensei
'those three good teachers'

ngka ęl kekęre ęl babii
'this small pig'

aike ęl kloa ęl charm
'those four animals'

klde ęl męchętngaid ęl oluchęs
'three thin pencils'

Observing a three-modifier expression like *tirke ęl tede ęl ungil ęl sensei* 'those three good teachers', we find that the normal order of modifiers is *demonstratives—numbers—state (or action) verbs.*

QUALIFYING WORDS

24.6. So far we have examined a large number of expressions with the structure *modifier + ęl + head noun*, in which a modifier (a demonstrative, number, state verb, etc.) modifies or narrows down the identity of the head noun to which it is linked by *ęl*. In this section we will briefly look at another kind of modification—one in which a **qualifying word** like *kmal* 'very', *di* 'only', etc. **qualifies** or **limits** the meaning of a **directly-following verb**. Thus, in the examples below, we list the commonest qualifying words, together with examples showing how they are used in "expanded" verb phrases of the form *qualifying word + verb*:

(45) *kmal* 'very, often'

a. Ng kmal ungil a rręllem.
'What you've made is very good.'

b. Ng kmal mle męknǵit a eangęd.
'The weather was very poor.'

c. A Droteo a kmal diak losuub.
'Droteo hardly ever studies.'

(46) *di* 'only, just'[17]

a. A dengua a di osisiu.
'The phone (number) is just the same (as before).'

b. A sęchęlik a mlo ęr a Guam ęl di mo milil.
'My friend went to Guam just to fool around.'

c. A ngęlękek a di diak losuub.
'My child just doesn't ever study.'

d. Ak di milsuub a tękoi ęr a Merikel er a elii.
'All I did was study English yesterday.'

e. Ng di ngar ęr kau.
'It's up to you.'

(47) *dirk* 'still'

a. Ng dirk ngar ęr ngii a kall?
'Is there still any food left?'

b. A ngęlękem a dirk męchiuaiu.
'Your child is still sleeping.'

(48) *locha* 'perhaps'

a. Ak locha mo ęr a skuul ęr a klukuk.
'Perhaps I'll go to school tomorrow.'

b. Tę locha mla mo smechęr.
'Perhaps they've gotten sick.'

(49) *kilo* 'almost, nearly, what if. . . ?'[18]

a. A ngęlękek a kilo {mad / ręmos}.
'My child almost {died / drowned}.'

b. A bilsęngek a kilo mo ęr a uche ęr a klaidęsachęl.
'My boat almost won the race.'

c. Kilo mo a Droteo?
'What if Droteo went?'

25 The Connecting Words *mę* and *e*

REVIEW OF COMPLEX SENTENCES WITH *mę* AND *e*

25.1. In preceding chapters we have observed numerous examples of complex sentences which are formed by joining two simpler sentences with the words *mę* 'and (so)' or *e* 'and (then)'. These words are called **connecting words** because they **connect** two simple sentences into one and relate the ideas which they represent. Thus, in **22**.1 we saw that two simple sentences such as those in 1a–b below can be joined by the connecting word *mę* 'and (so)' to form the more complicated sentence of 2:

(1) a. A bęchik a mle smechęr.
'My wife was sick.'

b. Ng dimlak kbo ęr a party.
'I didn't go to the party.'

(2) A bęchik a mle smechęr mę ng dimlak kbo ęr a party.
'My wife was sick, so I didn't go to the party.'

When the two independently-occurring sentences 1a–b are joined by the connecting word *mę* 'and (so)' to form the more complex sentence 2, they become **clauses** of this more complex sentence. In other words, 1a has become the **independent** (or **main**) **clause** of 2, while 1b has become a **result clause**. The connecting word *mę* 'and (so)' not only serves to join both clauses of 2 but also functions to **introduce** the result clause, which explains what happened as a result (or consequence) of the state described in the preceding independent clause.

The following are additional examples of complex sentences in which *mę* 'and (so)' connects an independent clause with a following result clause:

(3) a. Ng mla mo męknġit a eangęd mę ng diak lsoak ęl mo ęr a Peleliu.
'The weather's become bad, so I don't want to go to Peleliu.'

b. Kę mlękęra mę kę rirebęt ęr a chęldukl?
'How did you fall off the dock?'

c. A sensei a dilu ęr ngak mę ak olęngęseu ęr a Toki.
'The teacher told me to help Toki.'[1]

As we saw in **22**.1, the simple sentences 1a–b can also be combined to form a complex sentence of the following type:

(4) Ng dimlak kbo ęr a party e le a bęchik a mle smechęr.
'I didn't go to the party because my wife was sick.'

In 4, the independently-occurring sentences of 1 have been combined in the opposite order from that observed in 2, and they have been joined instead by the connecting word *e* (followed by *le*). In other words, 1b has become the **independent clause** of 4, while 1a has become a **reason clause**. The connecting word *e* and the element *le* are best considered as a single unit which joins the two clauses of 4 and at the same time introduces the reason clause, which explains the cause or reason for the event or situation described in the preceding independent clause.

Use of the connecting word *e* 'and (then)' is of course not confined to the expression *e le* 'because'. Thus, as discussed in **19**.1 and **19**.3, *e* is characteristically used in Palauan **conditional sentences** to join the **conditional clause** and the **consequential clause**. Observe, therefore, the conditional sentences below:

(5) a. A lęngar ęr ngii a ududek, e ak mo ęr a Guam.
'If I had money, (then) I'd go to Guam.'

b. A lsękum ng ungil a eangęd, e tę mo ęr a chei.
'If the weather's good, (then) they'll go fishing.'

In 5a–b, *e* serves to introduce a consequential clause, which describes an event (or state) which can take place **only if** the event (or state) of the preceding conditional clause becomes an **actual fact**. In 5a, for example, the consequential clause *e ak mo ęr a Guam* '(then) I'd go to Guam' describes an event which would **result from** or **be a consequent of** the realization of the event of the conditional clause *a lęngar ęr ngii a ududek* 'if I had money'.

When a **time clause** (cf. **22**.2 and **22**.2.2) exchanges positions with an independent clause and thereby comes to appear at the beginning of a sentence, the following independent clause must be introduced by the connecting word *e* 'and (then)'. Thus, compare the a-sentences with the b-sentences in the pairs below:

(6) a. Ak kilie ęr a blil a Tony er se ęr a kbo ęr a Guam.
'I lived at Tony's place when I went to Guam.'

b. Se ęr a kbo ęr a Guam, e ak kilie ęr a blil a Tony.
'When I went to Guam, I lived at Tony's place.'

(7) a. A Droteo a męlamęch a dękool se ęl losuub.
'Droteo smokes cigarettes whenever he studies.'

b. Se ęl losuub a Droteo, e ng męlamęch a dękool.
'Whenever Droteo studies, he smokes cigarettes.'

Whereas the a-sentences of 6–7 have an independent clause followed by a time clause, the b-sentences have a structure in which a time clause in sentence-initial position is joined to the following independent clause by the connecting word *e*. The connecting word *e* must also be inserted when a **time word** (or expression) such as *klukuk* 'tomorrow' or *eim ęl klok* 'five o'clock' has been (optionally) shifted to sentence-initial position, as in the following:

(8) a. A klukuk e ng me ęr a blik.
'Tomorrow he's coming to my house.'

b. A eim ęl klok e a ręsęchęlim a mirrael.
'At five o'clock your friends departed.'

FURTHER USES OF THE CONNECTING WORD *mę*

25.2. We have already seen that the connecting word *mę* is used to relate a **result clause** to a preceding **independent clause** and that in such cases *mę* corresponds to English 'so' or 'and so'. The connecting word *mę* can also be used to join two independent clauses which are parallel in structure and which present information of more-or-less equal significance. In such cases, *mę* simply establishes a rather loose connection between the events, states, etc. designated by the independent clauses and therefore corresponds to English 'and' rather than 'so' or 'and so'. Observe the examples below:

(9) a. A Merikel a klou ęl beluu, mę a Belau a kekęre ęl beluu.
'America is a big country, and Palau is a small country.'

b. A bilek a bęcheleliu, mę a bilel a Droteo a bękęrękaręd.
'My shirt is white, and Droteo's shirt is red.'

c. A Droteo a ngalęk ęr a skuul, mę a Toki a sensei.
'Droteo is a student, and Toki is a teacher.'

d. A Toki a mo ęr a sers, mę a Droteo a mo ęr a chei.
'Toki is going to (work in) the garden, and Droteo is going fishing.'

e. Ak męriik ęr a mękęsokęs, mę a Toki a męlemęd ęr a ulaol.
'I'm sweeping the yard, and Toki's mopping the floor.'

It is not difficult to recognize that the independent clauses connected by *mę* 'and' in the examples above are parallel in structure and convey parallel kinds of information. The two independent clauses of 9b, for instance, consist of a **subject noun phrase** (*bilek* 'my shirt' and *bilel a Droteo* 'Droteo's shirt') followed by an **intransitive state verb** (*bęcheleliu* 'white' and *bękęrękaręd* 'red'), and both of them describe the color of someone's clothes. In a similar way, the independent clauses of 9e each contain a **subject noun phrase** (*ak* 'I' and *Toki*), a **transitive action verb** (*męriik* 'sweep' and *męlemęd* 'mop'), and an **object noun phrase** (*mękęsokęs* 'yard' and *ulaol* 'floor'), and both of them describe household activities which their respective subjects are pursuing. Can you see that 9a, 9c, and 9d also contain clauses which are parallel in structure?

The connecting word *mę* 'and' also occurs in **imperative sentences**, which are used to give orders or commands (cf. **19**.5). In the examples below, each of the clauses connected by *mę* contains an imperative verb form:

(10) a. Bo ęr a bita mę mlęngir a oles.
'Go next door and borrow a knife.'

b. Bo ęr a blil a Toki mę mchętęklii a ngalęk.
'Go to Toki's house and carry the child back.'

c. Bo ęr a blim mę bo bad.[2]
'Go home and go to sleep.'

THE EXPRESSION *mę a lęchub*

25.2.1. The connecting word *mę* occurs with the words *a lęchub* to form *mę a lęchub*, an expression corresponding to English 'or'. Because the origin of *a lęchub* is obscure, it is easiest to consider *mę a lęchub* as a single unit. When *mę a lęchub* joins two clauses, the second clause is often introduced by the connecting word *e*.[3] Note the following examples:

(11) a. A ręsęchal a mo ęr a che mę a lęchub e tę mo męliich a lius.
'The men (either) go fishing, or they go make copra.'

b. Kę mo ęr a katsudo mę a lęchub e kę mo ęr a party?
'Are you going to the movies, or are you going to the party?'

c. Kę męrael mę a lęchub e kę di kiei?
'Are you leaving, or will you stay?'

As the above examples show, *mę a lęchub* is used to connect two

alternative courses of action which the speaker is describing or asking about. In the question sentences 11b–c the connecting word *mę* can be omitted, resulting in a slight change of meaning for certain Palauan speakers. Whereas 11b–c with *mę* seem to imply that the person asking the question prefers the second of the two alternatives mentioned, this connotation is lost when *mę* is omitted. Thus, someone uttering 11c would really prefer the person addressed to stay rather than go; example 11c without *mę*, however, would imply that the speaker has no particular preference about which of the two alternatives the hearer should choose.

FURTHER USES OF THE CONNECTING WORD *e*.

25.3. As reviewed in **25.1** above, the connecting word *e* is used in **conditional sentences** to introduce the **consequential clause**. Because the consequential clause names an event, state, etc. which can come about **only if** the event, state, etc. of the preceding **conditional clause** has become a reality, the consequential clause necessarily **follows** the conditional clause in time. For this reason, the connecting word *e* which introduces consequential clauses takes on a **temporal** meaning and corresponds closely to English 'and then'.

The abovementioned temporal meaning of *e* 'and then' is reflected in the complex sentences below, where the second clause (introduced by *e*) names an event, state, etc. which follows (or is expected to follow) that of the first clause:

(12) a. A Toki a me e męngętmokl ęr a blai.
'Toki comes and (then) cleans the house.'

b. Tę męruul ęr a kall e męrael.
'They make the food and then (they) leave.'

c. Ak luchęsii a babier e mo send ęr ngii.
'I'll write the letter and then send it off.'

Although there is no overtly-expressed subject in the second clause of each of the examples above, speakers automatically interpret this clause as having a subject identical to that of the preceding clause. Thus, it seems as if a sentence like 12b has its source in the following:

(12ɔ') Tę męruul ęr a kall e tę męrael.
'They make the food, and then they leave.'

Most Palauan speakers would transform the rather awkward

sentence of 12b' into 12b by deleting the subject *tę* 'they' of the second clause. Such deletion is possible, of course, only because the subject *tę* 'they' of the second clause is identical to that of the first clause. Thus, in sentences like 12a–c a single subject (that of the first clause) is sufficient for the proper interpretation.

In the sentences below, which involve past time, the event of the second clause (introduced by *e*) is asserted to have followed that of the first clause:

(13) a. Ak milles ęr a ngikęl e milęngat ęr ngii.
'I cut the fish and (then) smoked it.'

b. Ak dilsęchii a mlai e chilsbęrbęrii.
'I carved the canoe and (then) painted it.'

c. A Toki a ulęmęngur e mirrael.
'Toki ate and (then) left.'

d. Ng mirrael a Droteo e ak mlo męchiuaiu.
'Droteo left, and (then) I went to sleep.'

In 13a–c the subject of the second clause has been deleted because it is identical with that of the first. However, in 13d each clause has a different subject (*Droteo* in the first clause[4] and *ak* 'I' in the second), and therefore the subject of the second clause cannot be deleted.

In the examples of 13, each of the clauses connected by *e* contains a verb in the **past** tense. It is also possible to have sentences such as the following, where the verb of the first clause is in the **past** tense, but the verb of the clause introduced by *e* is in the **present** tense:

(14) a. Ak milles ęr a ngikęl e męngat ęr ngii.
'I cut the fish and (then) smoked it.'

b. Ak dilsęchii a mlai e chosbęrbęrii.
'I carved the canoe and (then) painted it.'

c. A Toki a ulęmęngur e męrael.
'Toki ate and (then) left.'

d. Ng mirrael a Droteo, e ak mo męchiuaiu.
'Droteo left, and (then) I went to sleep.'

The difference between the sentences of 13 vs. 14 is very difficult to pinpoint because the opinions of speakers vary so widely. Some speakers feel that use of the past vs. present tense in the second clause has no effect whatsoever on the meaning; for these speakers, the past tense morpheme (*-il-* or *-l-*) can presumably be omitted from the verb of the second clause in 14a–d because the past

tense verb form in the first clause already provides enough information about the time of the events or actions in question.

Other speakers feel that the sentences of 13 differ from those of 14 in terms of whether the speaker is emphasizing or focusing on the event of the first clause or that of the second clause. Thus, the tense sequence *past—past* of 13 seems to emphasize the importance of the action in the second clause, while the tense sequence *past—present* of 14 puts focus on the action in the first clause. For this reason, 13b and 14b would be responses to different questions, as the following dialogs illustrate:

(15) A: Kę chilsbęrbęrii a mlai?
'Did you paint the canoe?'

B: (cf. 13b) Chochoi. Ak dilsęchii (a mlai) e chilsbęrbęrii.
'Yes. I carved it and (then) painted it.'

(16) A: Kę dilsęchii a mlai?
'Did you carve the canoe?'

B: (cf. 14b) Chochoi. Ak dilsęchii (a mlai) e chosbęrbęrii.
'Yes. I carved it and (then) painted it.'

In 15, A's question to B shows that A is interested in whether or not B painted the canoe; therefore, it is appropriate for B to use the tense sequence *past—past* in his response, since this sequence places emphasis on the event which A is interested in. The situation in 16 is just the opposite: here, A wants to know whether or not B carved the canoe, and the tense sequence *past—present* in B's response focuses more attention on this event than on the event of painting the canoe.

Certain Palauan speakers distinguish between the sentences of 13 and 14 in yet another way. For these speakers, the tense sequence *past—past* of 13 involves a succession of two completed events in the past, while the tense sequence *past—present* of 14 involves a completed past event followed by an incomplete (or ongoing) present event. Thus, the meanings of 13b vs. 14b, repeated here for convenience, would differ as indicated in the English translations:

(13b) Ak dilsęchii a mlai e chilsbęrbęrii.
'I carved the canoe and (then) painted it.'

(14b) Ak dilsęchii a mlai e chosbęrbęrii.
'I carved the canoe and now I'm painting it.'

In 12–14 above, we gave sentences in which the connecting word *e* 'and then' establishes a **sequential** time relationship between the two clauses which it joins. Thus, in all of those sentences, the clause following *e* designates an event, state, etc. which takes place (or took place) **after** the event, state, etc. of the clause preceding *e*. As we shall now see, the connecting word *e* is not restricted to such cases of sequential time relationship. For example, we observe that *e* establishes a **simultaneous** time relationship in the sentences below: here, the two clauses joined by *e* designate events, states, etc. which are happening **at the same time**. In such cases, *e* corresponds to English 'while' rather than 'and then':

(17) a. A Droteo a milęnguiu a hong, e a Toki a milęchiuaiu ęr a ulaol.
'Droteo was reading books {and / while} Toki was sleeping on the floor.'

b. Ak milluchęs a babier, e a sęchęlik a mirruul a kall.
'I was writing letters {and / while} my friend was preparing food.'

c. Ak milęnguiu ęr a simbung e omęngur.
'I was reading the newspaper while eating.'

d. Ngara mę kę di dęchor e omęngur?
'Why are you standing up while eating?'

e. Kę omęngur e męngędęchęduch?
'(Why) are you eating and talking at the same time?'

f. A Droteo a chad ęr a omęnged e chad ęr a sers.
'Droteo is both a fisherman and a farmer.'

g. Ng kmal smechęr e mętkung.
'He's very sick and about to die.'

In 17a–b the clauses joined by *e* have different (overtly-expressed) subjects, while in 17c–g the subject of the second clause has been deleted because it is identical to that of the first clause.

The connecting word *e* can also be used to join two clauses which are put into relatively strong **contrast** with each other. A few typical examples are given below:

(18) a. A malk a beot a chęral, e a ngais a męringęl a chęral.
'Chickens are cheap, but eggs are expensive.'

b. A Droteo a mętongakl, e a Toki a kekędeb.
'Droteo is tall, but Toki is short.'

c. A sils a ngmasęch ęr a chongos, e mo ngmelt ęr a ngębard.
'The sun rises in the east {and / but} sets in the west.'

The sentences of 18 are similar to those of 9 above in that the clauses joined by the connecting word are parallel in structure.

THE EXPRESSION *e ng di*

25.3.1. The connecting word *e* occurs with the words *ng di* to form *e ng di*, an expression corresponding to English 'but'. Though written as three words and having a literal meaning something like 'and (then) it's just that. . . ', the expression *e ng di* is best considered a single unit which functions to connect two clauses which are in contrast or opposition with each other. The use of this expression is illustrated in sentences like the following:

(19) a. A Toki a mle soal ęl mo ęr a Guam, e ng di ng mla mo diak a ududel.
'Toki wanted to go to Guam, but her money ran out.'

b. Ak mlo ęr a party e ng di a Droteo a dimlak lsębęchel ęl mong.
'I went to the party, but Droteo couldn't go.'

c. Ak ilęko ęr a blim e ng di kę mle dibus.
'I came to your house, but you were out.'

COORDINATE NOUN PHRASES

25.4. When two or more nouns (or noun phrases) are joined by the connecting word *mę*, we have a **coordinate noun phrase**. Since **coordinate** means 'equal in status or rank', it is appropriate as an identifying term for the type of noun phrase under discussion, simply because each of the nouns (or noun phrases) in a coordinate noun phrase functions equally in the sentence. Thus, in the sentence below, where the coordinate noun phrase *Droteo mę a Toki* 'Droteo and Toki' occurs in sentence subject position, both of the nouns joined by *mę* (*Droteo* and *Toki*) serve equally as subjects of the verb *mirruul* 'prepared':

(20) A Droteo mę a Toki a mirruul a kall.
'Droteo and Toki prepared the food.'

Because both *Droteo* and *Toki* are interpreted equally as subjects of *mirruul* 'prepared' in 20, a good number of linguists would propose that 20 is derived from a source sentence containing two **parallel** clauses joined by *mę* (cf. **25**.2 above), one clause having *Droteo* as the subject of *mirruul* and the other having *Toki* as the subject of *mirruul*. This source sentence is given below:

(21) A Droteo a mirruul a kall, mę a Toki a mirruul a kall.
'Droteo prepared the food, and Toki prepared the food.'

Although grammatical, the source sentence 21 is somewhat awkward because each of the clauses repeats the sequence *mirruul a kall* 'prepared the food'. For this reason, Palauan speakers normally transform 21 into the shortened or condensed version 20. When this transformation takes place, the subjects *Droteo* and *Toki*, which are the only dissimilar elements in the clauses of 21, are combined into a coordinate noun phrase (*Droteo mę a Toki*) functioning as sentence subject. In addition, only a single occurrence of the sequence *mirruul a kall* 'prepared the food', which is common to both clauses of 21, appears after the coordinate noun phrase subject of 20.

Because coordinate noun phrases are a type of noun phrase, they of course have the same distributional characteristics as other noun phrases. Thus, in the example below, we observe a coordinate noun phrase functioning as **sentence object** (rather than **sentence subject**, as in 20):

(22) A Toki a ousbech a babier mę a oluchęs.
'Toki needs some paper and a pencil.'

In this example, each member (*babier* 'paper' and *oluchęs* 'pencil') of the coordinate noun phrase *babier mę a oluchęs* 'paper and pencil' functions as the object of *ousbech* 'need'. Thus, it is likely that 22 is derived from a source sentence containing two **parallel** clauses connected by *mę*, one clause having *babier* 'paper' as the object of *ousbech* and the other having *oluchęs* 'pencil' as the object of this same verb. This source sentence is represented below:

(23) A Toki a ousbech a babier, mę a Toki a ousbech a oluchęs.
'Toki needs some paper, and Toki needs a pencil.'

The source sentence 23 is extremely awkward to say, and therefore all Palauan speakers would automatically transform it into 22. By this process of transformation, the objects *babier* 'paper' and *oluchęs* 'pencil', which are the only different elements in the clauses of 23, are condensed into a coordinate noun phrase (*babier mę a oluchęs* 'paper and pencil') serving as sentence object. Since the same subject-verb sequence (*a Toki a ousbech* 'Toki needs') occurs in each clause of 23, it appears only once in the shortened sentence 22.

The examples below further illustrate the use of coordinate noun phrases (italicized) as **sentence subject**:

(24) a. A *rengalęk ęr a skuul mę a ręsensei ęr tir* a mlo ęr a Guam.
'The students and their teachers went to Guam.'

b. A *blil a Toki mę a blil a Satsko* a milseseb.
'Toki's house and Satsko's house burned down.'

c. *Kau mę ngak* a mo ęr a stoang.
'You and I will go to the store.'

d. A *Droteo mę ngak* a mlo ęr a party.
'Droteo and I went to the party.'

e. Ng *tęcha mę a tęcha* a ulębengkem ęl mo ęr a Hawaii?
'Who (pl.) went with you to Hawaii?'

f. *Ngara mę a ngara* a chomoruul ęl kirel a party?
'What things are you making for the party?'

In 24c–d the coordinate noun phrase contains one or two **emphatic pronouns** (cf. **4**.4), and in 24e–f two occurrences of the same **question word** (*tęcha* 'who?' or *ngara* 'what?') are joined by *mę* to form a coordinate noun phrase (cf. **20**.8).

In the sentences below, we further illustrate the use of coordinate noun phrases (italicized) as **sentence object**:

(25) a. Ak mla męnga a *diokang mę a ngikęl mę a chęmang*.
'I've eaten tapioca, fish, and crab.'

b. Ak milsa a *Droteo mę a Toki mę a Helen* er a elii.
'I saw Droteo, Toki, and Helen yesterday.'

c. Ak milstęrir a *rengalęk ęr a skuul mę a ręsensei ęr tir*.
'I saw the students and their teachers.'

Even though the coordinate noun phrase objects of 25b–c both involve groups of individuals and are therefore **plural**, the form of the preceding **perfective verb** (*milsa* vs. *milstęrir*) is determined by whether the **directly following** noun phrase (i.e., the first member of the coordinate noun phrase object) is itself **singular** or **plural**. Thus, *milsa* 'saw him/her/it' is required in 25b because the immediately following noun phrase (*Droteo*) is singular, whereas *milstęrir* 'saw them' must occur in 25c because it directly precedes the plural noun phrase *rengalęk ęr a skuul* 'students'.

The sentences below show how coordinate noun phrases (italicized) can occur in further distributional "slots" commonly filled by noun phrases:

(26) a. Tia a delmęrab ęr a *Droteo mę a Toki*.
'This is Droteo and Toki's room.'

b. Ak mlo shopping ęr a *Ala Moana mę a Waikiki*.
'I went shopping at Ala Moana and Waikiki.'

c. Kę mlo ęr *ker mę ker*?
'What places did you go to?'

d. Ng mlo ęr a Merikel er *oingara mę oingarang*?
'On what occasions did he go to America?'

In all of the examples above, a coordinate noun phrase is part of a **relational phrase** introduced by *ęr* (cf. chap. 14). Can you identify the type of relational phrase involved in each of the sentences of 26?

In **17**.2 we saw that the subject noun phrase of any Palauan sentence can be **shifted** to the right of the verb phrase, leaving the appropriate **pronominal trace** in the original subject position. Coordinate noun phrases in sentence subject position can also be shifted in this manner, as the following pairs illustrate:

(27) a. A Droteo mę a Toki a kausęchęlei. 'Droteo and Toki are friends.'

b. Tę kausęchęlei a Droteo mę a Toki.

(28) a. A Helen mę a sęchęlil a mlo ęr a mubi. 'Helen and her friend went to the movies.'

b. Tę mlo ęr a mubi a Helen mę a sęchęlil.

In 27b and 28b above, which involve subject shifting, the 3rd pers. (human) pl. **non-emphatic pronoun** *tę* 'they' remains as a pronominal trace because the shifted coordinate noun phrase subjects are (human) plural.

Now, sentences 27b and 28b can be further transformed by taking the first member of the shifted coordinate noun phrase and moving it back to sentence-initial position, where it replaces the pronominal trace *tę*. When this process of **preposing** takes place (cf. **17**.5), a pronominal trace of the preposed noun phrase—this time in the form of an **emphatic pronoun**—must appear in the position of the first member of the shifted coordinate noun phrase. These changes are seen clearly in the following sentences, which are derived from 27b and 28b, respectively:

(27) c. A Droteo a kausęchęlei ngii mę a Toki.
'Droteo is friends with Toki.'

(28) c. A Helen a mlo ęr a mubi ngii mę a sęchęlil.
'Helen went to the movies with her friend.'

Because the preposed subjects of 27c and 28c (*Droteo* and *Helen*)

are singular, the 3rd pers. sg. emphatic pronoun *ngii* 'he, she, it' appears in the position from which these subjects have been removed.

Coordinate Noun Phrases With *mę a lęchub*

25.4.1. In **25**.2.1 above we saw that the expression *mę a lęchub* 'or' can be used to connect two clauses. This expression can also join two nouns (or noun phrases), resulting in a coordinate noun phrase of the form *A mę a lęchub B* 'A or B'. Observe the examples below:

(29) a. A Cisco mę a lęchub a Tony a me ęr a party.
'Either Cisco or Tony is coming to the party.'

b. Ng tęcha a ungil ęl sensei? Ng Toki mę a lęchub a Droteo?
'Who's a better teacher—(is it) Toki or Droteo?'

Notes

CHAPTER 1

1. The symbol *ę* is used in this text to identify one of the ways in which the Palauan letter *e* is pronounced. See **1**.4.2. below for a complete discussion.

*2. Some speakers pronounce final *k* as a voiceless velar fricative [x] if a vowel precedes and if the syllable is stressed—e.g. *chęrmek* [ʔərméx] 'my animal'. This phenomenon appears to be more common among younger speakers.

3. The phonetic symbol [ŋ] represents a velar nasal pronounced as a separate syllable. See **1**.3.5 below.

*4. In this word, the second *r* actually comes from the infix *-l-*, which forms **resulting state verbs** (see **7**.7 for a complete explanation). The form *rruul* 'made, done' is derived from *r-l-uul* by a process of **total assimilation**: when *l* follows *r*, it changes to *r*, resulting in the sequence *rr* [r̄]. Resulting state verbs in which the infix *-l-* does not change include *kla* 'eaten' and *nglim* 'drunk (up)'.

5. In this example, which is actually a two-word sentence, the pronunciation of the word *ng* 'it' changes to (syllabic) [m̩]: in other words, the pronunciation of *ng* 'it' **assimilates** to that of the initial bilabial consonant *b* [b] of the following word (cf. *ng bilis* [m̩bilis] 'it's a dog'). Another case in which the pronunciation of *ng* 'it' assimilates to that of the initial consonant of the following word was observed in 18—namely, *ng til* [n̩til] 'it's her purse'.

6. A few one-syllable words which always or nearly always occur unstressed are found to contain *ę*—e.g., *tę* 'they', and *ęr* 'of, to, at, in.'

*7. If we were to spell the words under discussion as *omdasw*, *ochadw*, and *kwokw*, it would no longer be necessary to treat them as a special category, since they would be similar to the items of 31 in having a word-final **consonant cluster**. Thus, the appearance of the schwa release would be regular rather than exceptional. Because the Palauan spelling system uses only *u* and *i* (but not *w* or *y*), it tends to obscure the generality of certain phonological processes. Another case in point is *tęruich* 'ten', which is pronounced with a schwa release: [təruyʔə]. If this word were spelled with a final consonant cluster—*tęruych*—then the appearance of the schwa release would make more sense. The author agrees with Wilson 1972 that in a generative-

phonological analysis of Palauan it is necessary to set up underlying forms containing *w* and *y* and that, ideally, the orthography should reflect these forms.

*8. The words under discussion are **resulting state verbs** (see 7.7 and cf. note 4 above). They are formed by infixing *-l-* after the first consonant of (verb) stems like *tub* 'spit', *dangęb* 'cover', *seseb* 'burn', and *chat* 'smoke'. While the resulting state verbs given in 33 require a schwa to intervene between the *t*, *d*, *s*, or *ch* of the stem and the following *l*, this is not necessary in other resulting state forms like *kla* 'eaten', *nglim* 'drunk (up)', and *bloes* 'shot'.

*9. The actual pronunciation of these examples could be explained more clearly if the Palauan spelling system used *w* and *y* in addition to *u* and *i*. These words would then be spelled as follows: *chuywiy* 'reads it', *kiysiy* 'digs it', *kiwtiy* 'cuts it', and *siwsiy* 'cures it'. The appearance of [ə] would be due to the fact that consonant clusters like *yw* or *y*/*w*+C could not occur and would have to be broken up by an intervening schwa (cf. the nonoccurrence of *tl*, *dl*, *sl*, etc. illustrated in 33). To take a further example, note how the current Palauan spelling of *męchiuaiu* 'sleep' gives us little clue to the actual pronunciation of the word—namely, [məʔiwáyəwə]. This pronunciation could easily be predicted if the spelling were *mechiwayw*: the final schwa release would be due to the (underlying) final cluster *-yw*, while the schwa between *y* and *w* would serve to break up a non-permissible consonant cluster.

10. The letter *h*, as in *hong* 'book', is found almost exclusively in words borrowed from Japanese or English (see **1**.5.f below and note 11).

11. The letter *h* is used only very rarely in the spelling of native Palauan words. The most obvious examples are found in the unusual pair of words *hngong* (exclamation to draw attention to a pleasant smell) and *hngob* (exclamation to draw attention to an unpleasant smell). Another possible example is *hal* 'stop!', but this word might be borrowed from German *Halt* 'stop, halt'.

CHAPTER 2

1. Recall that the asterisk mark * is used in this text to identify any words, expressions, or sentences which cannot or do not appear in the Palauan language.

2. When referring to certain common household animals such as dogs, pigs, etc., some Palauan speakers can use the plural pronoun *tę*, which, as mentioned above, normally implies a human plural subject. Thus, these speakers accept a dialog like the following, in which *tę* refers to two or more dogs:

   A: A bilis tę męk̦rang? 'What are the dogs doing?'
   B: Tę kaiuętoir e̦r a sers. 'They're chasing each other in the garden.'

3. In another group of pronouns, too, we can see the importance of the distinction between human and non-human. As we will see in **4**.9, there is a set of **object** pronouns which appear as endings on action words (**verbs**). The various pronouns in this set have many

different forms, of which several are illustrated in bold type in the words *chillębęd***ak** 'hit me', *chillębęd***au** 'hit you', *męd̦engę̦l***ii** 'knows him/her/it', and *mils***tęrir** 'saw them'. Among this set of object pronouns, the ending *tęrir* is used only if the object referred to is **human plural**; for **non-human plural** (i.e., animals and living or non-living things), no ending is added to the verb. Observe, therefore, the following sentences, in which we have forms of *omes* 'see':

   a. Ak milstęrir a rę̦sęchę̦lim. 'I saw your friends.'
   b. Ak miles a bętok e̦l ius. 'I saw lots of crocodiles.'
   c. Ak miles a bętok e̦l bilas. 'I saw lots of boats.'

The use of *tęrir* vs. no ending when referring to something plural is exactly parallel to the above-mentioned use of the subject pronouns *tę* and *ng*.

4. This sentence describes the distribution of duties for a Palauan money-raising party (*ochęraol*).

5. As these forms show, the words *ngika* 'this person' and *ngike* 'that person' are often shortened by omitting the vowel *i*.

6. Actually, these sentences can be interpreted in yet other ways, since the distinction between specific vs. non-specific is also not found among subject nouns. The translations given for 36a–b involve specific noun subjects, but we can also interpret these sentences as having non-specific noun subjects. Thus, 36a, for example, can also mean 'A dog is sleeping there.' or 'Some dogs are sleeping there.'

CHAPTER 3

1. In **1**.5.d.4 we simply referred to these suffixes as **possessor pronouns** in order to keep the presentation relatively uncomplicated.

2. Much of the information in this and the following sections is given in Mancill and Woods 1969:35–46, where many useful lists of words and forms are provided.

*3. Wilson 1972, §§ 3.3–4 suggests that the *u*, *i*, and *a* of these suffixes are really part of the underlying forms of noun stems. In other words, there are underlying **vowel-final** noun stems like *rengu*, *buchi*, and *chara*, which simply add *-k*, *-m*, etc. as possessor suffixes and in which the final underlying vowel deletes in the independent forms. Contrasting with this type are underlying **consonant-final** noun stems like *charm* 'animal', *udoud* 'money', etc., which add *-ek*, *-em*, etc. as possessor suffixes.

4. As the English equivalents imply, the forms *bęchęmam* and *bęchęrir* refer to one single spouse who has two or more husbands (or wives). By contrast, the words *rębęchęmam* 'our (excl.) spouses' and *rębęchęrir* 'their spouses', which have the plural prefix *rę-*, make reference to more than one spouse.

5. Note the loss of one of the *l*'s in the possessed forms of *kall* 'food'.

6. Note the complete loss of the syllable *chę-* in the possessed form of this word. The same phenomenon is observed in *chędam* 'father'—*dęmal* 'his father'.

7. Another example of this type is *dui* 'title'—*dial* vs. *dui* 'coconut frond (for burning)'—*diul*.

8. See 3.4.4 below for a discussion of the phonetic changes observed in *biskęlęngel*.
*9. The possessed form of *ralm* 'water' is derived approximately as follows. The underlying form is **ralm* + *él*; first, the *a* following *r* is deleted in unstressed syllable, giving **rlm* + *él*; then, the initial cluster of three consonants is simplified to give the surface form *lmel*.
10. In the possessed form of *klęngit* 'sin', the sequence *-lę-* has been lost completely. Furthermore, the *ng* of the possessed form becomes syllabic between two consonants, giving [kŋtíl].
11. See 3.4.4 below for a discussion of the *ng* which appears in the possessed forms of *bilas* 'boat'. Some of the possessed nouns given in subsequent word lists will also show this *ng*.
12. Oddly enough, both *tet* 'handbag' and *tut* 'breast' have identical irregular forms for the first person plural exclusive, second person plural, and third person plural. These are *dętmam*, *dętmiu*, and *dętęrir*, respectively. Note the unpredictable alternation between initial *t* and *d*.
13. This discussion is based on Wilson 1972, §§ 2.4.3.3 and 3.6, where a much more detailed analysis is provided.
14. The hyphens on both sides of the consonant in the notation *-ng-* imply that other parts of the word must follow and precede.
15. The possessed forms of *katuu* 'cat' have a special meaning—*katungel* 'his/her sweetheart', etc.
16. This word also appears in an expression like *bęrdel a kim*, where it refers to the inside surface of a clam shell.
17. Note that this expression contrasts in meaning with *uchul a chęldę-chęduch* 'reason for the meeting'.
18. Many other kinds of Palauan relational phrases exist. These will be discussed in detail in chap. 14.
19. This noun is not as fully assimilated as the others, since we can also hear *babier ęr ngak* 'my letter', *babier ęr ngii* 'his letter', etc. Note also the rather unusual alternation between *r* of the independent form and *l* of the possessed forms.
20. If we were to translate this and the above expression literally (i.e., word-for-word), we would have 'matters/things of the house' for *tękoi ęr a blai*, and 'matters/things of the road' for *tękoi ęr a rael*.
21. This and the above expression are used primarily in a religious context and mean, literally, 'country of fire' and 'country of the sky'. In normal conversation, the word *babęluadęs* is used for 'heaven'.
22. This possessed form is very irregular, since the *-lu-* of the independent form *ilumęl* 'drink' is lost completely.
23. A word-for-word translation of this expression would be something like 'car for playing'.
24. This expression means, literally, 'food of war'.
*25. Expressions like *imęlek ęl biang* consist of a head noun (*imęlek*) followed by a relative clause (*ęl biang*) whose source is an equational sentence (*A imęlek a biang*. 'My drink is (a) beer.') The literal translation of *imęlek ęl biang* is therefore 'my drink which is (a) beer'. See **23**.4 for justification and explanation of this analysis.

26. Notice the unusual phonetic changes in the possessed forms of *ongraol*: *r* is deleted and the vowel cluster *ao* changes to *u*.
27. This expression seems to be used only on formal occasions; it is more common to say *kęlek ęl tuu*.
28. Notice the loss of *-chę-* in the possessed form of *chęmachęl*.

CHAPTER 4

1. These two terms are taken from Mancill and Woods 1969:46.
2. Recall that *mę* and a following *a* are pronounced [ma].
3. Many speakers pronounce the coordinate noun phrase in this sentence with [mə] between the two nouns. In other words, it appears as if the question noun *tęcha* 'who?' is optionally preceded by *a* in this construction. A similar phenomenon is found in noun phrases of possession containing *tęcha*, as illustrated in the following sentence:
   Tia a mlil (a) tęchang? 'Whose car is this?'
4. When the possessed form of *reng* 'heart' is used with the verb *suebęk* 'fly', we obtain the special meaning '(someone) is worried'. For a discussion of other special expressions with *reng*, see **17**.4.
5. In this sentence, *ng* could refer to someone other than Toki if that person's identity were clear from the context. Therefore, 37b might also mean 'Toki said that he is going.'
6. Because there is a *Ø*-suffix in *cholébęd* [ʔolɛ́bəð], the stress remains on the second syllable; therefore, the vowel *e* [ɛ] of this syllable does not reduce to *ę* [ə].
7. *Olękiis* is a **causative verb** related to the **intransitive action verb** *mękiis* 'get up, wake up (naturally); stand up'. See **5**.1.1 and **9**.2.2 for further details.
8. Notice that the third person singular object pronoun appears as *-ir* in this perfective form. See **4**.9.4 below for more details.
*9. *Olękar* is a **causative verb** related to the **intransitive action or state verb** *mękar* 'wake up, be awake'. See **7**.3 and **9**.2.2 for further details.
10. The inserted *ę* under discussion here is the only sound which differentiates certain perfective forms of *omes* 'see' from those of *omes* 'give'. The perfective forms of the latter verb are *męskak* 'gives (it to) me', *męskau* 'gives (it to) you', *msa* 'gives (it to) him/her', *męstęrir* 'gives (it to) them', etc.
11. Another verb in which *l* appears in the perfective forms is *męnga* 'eat'—*kolii* 'eats it'.
12. This added syllable seems to be a kind of **reduplication** (see **11**.11).
*13. Strictly speaking, *-lim* is not a verb stem but rather a sequence consisting of the *-l-* allomorph of the **imperfective marker** (see **5**.5) and a reduced form of the verb stem *ŋim* 'drink'.
*14. For a possible explanation of this change from *o* to *u*, see chap.5, note 4.
15. For certain speakers, replacing *mo-* by *chomo-* in a sentence like this results in a kind of contrastive emphasis (cf. **4**.2 above). Thus, we also have the following:
   A babier ęl *chomo*luchęs ęr ngii a mo ęr a Droteo.
   'The letter yóu're writing goes to Droteo.'

16. For a technical explanation of this alternation between *m* and *b*, see **6**.2.1. Note, further, that Palauan speakers also change *m* to *b* in the hypothetical forms of *me* 'come' when certain types of grammatical constructions are involved. In the sentences below, for example, we have **relative clauses** (see chap. 23):

a. A kall ęl *kbe* kuruul ng kęlel a tęchang? 'For whom is the food which I'm coming to prepare?'

b. A blai ęl *lębe* longęt-mokl ęr ngii a Toki a blil a Droteo. 'The house which Toki is coming to clean is Droteo's house.'

In the sentences above, the verbs following *kbe* and *lębe* are also hypothetical verb forms. Further examples of this kind, in which two adjacent verbs each have prefixed hypothetical pronouns, will be considered in **4**.10.6 below.

17. Notice that the third person hypothetical pronoun *lę-* further reduces to *l-* before the vowel-initial (state) verb *ungil* 'good'
18. Reduction of *lę-* to *l-* is also observed in this word.

CHAPTER 5

1. Although use of *mle* 'was, were' as an auxiliary word with state verbs probably developed from *mle* 'came', the past tense form of the intransitive action verb *me* 'come', it will be preferable to regard these items as separate words.

*2. The surface form *ul*(*ę*)- is probably derived from underlying *o-il-* (i.e., the verb marker prefix *o-* followed by the past tense marker *-il-*). The mid back vowel *o* and the high front vowel *i* assimilate to each other to yield the single high back vowel *u*.

3. Though difficult to prove, it is possible that the causative prefixes listed here actually consist of the verb marker prefix *o-* followed by some other (causative) morpheme. See **9**.2.1.1 and **9**.2.2.1 for further discussion.

*4. The surface forms of hypothetical pronouns like *lu-*, *du-*, etc. are probably derived from underlying sequences of the form *lo-il-*, *do-il-*, etc., which consist of the basic forms of the hypothetical pronoun prefixes followed by the past tense marker *-il-*. The *u* in *lu-*, *du-*, etc. is derived by "mutual" assimilation of the mid back vowel *o* and the high front vowel *i*, resulting in the single high back vowel *u*. Recall that the same process may account for the derivation of the surface form *ul*(*ę*)- from underlying *o-il-* (cf. note 2 above).

5. Though possibly related, the auxiliary word *mla* and the existential state verb *mla* 'was/were (located)' (see chap. 18) are best considered as separate words.

6. The use of *ng diak* 'no' in B's response is quite interesting. Notice that, as in the case of 51–53, *ng diak* is normally the negative response to **yes-no questions** (see **20**.1). In 54, however, B's use of *ng diak* serves to tell A that the assumption of A's question—namely, that B has yet to paint his canoe—is not correct.

7. Much of the analysis presented here and in subsequent paragraphs is based on Wilson 1972: 120–128.

CHAPTER 6

1. Note that the verb stem *chur* 'laughter' must be repeated (or **reduplicated**—see chap. 11) in order to form the intransitive verb *ochęrchur* 'laugh'.
2. The basis for this observation is found in Wilson 1972:107.
3. The hypothetical form of *me* 'come' also appears as *lęme*. Cf. chap. 4, note 16.
4. Notice that the **auxiliary word** *mla* (cf. **5**.3.2.1), which is probably related to *mla* 'was (located)', also has hypothetical forms with *b*—e.g. *kbla*, *lębla*, etc.
5. Rather exceptionally, some speakers use *smęseb* instead of *suęseb*—in other words, these speakers fail to apply the rule which normally changes the metathesized verb marker to *-u-* if there is a bilabial consonant in the stem.
6. Even though the Ø object pronoun suffix has no phonetic content (i.e., does not correspond to any actual sounds), we include it in 18 and similar derivations in order to show that the **basic structure** of perfective forms like *duálęm* is identical to that of all other perfective forms—namely, *verb marker* + *verb stem* + *object pronoun*. In the final step of 18, which results in the actually-pronounced form, the Ø object pronoun is deleted.

*7. The *ę* in question is always found in an unstressed syllable and therefore appears to be the reduced form of one of the full vowels (cf. **1**.4.4). Which full vowel is actually the source of the *ę* cannot be determined, however. See Wilson 1972:24–29 for further discussion.

8. For further discussion of this type of phonetic rule, see **6**.4 below.

CHAPTER 7

1. The state verb *męsaul* 'tired' is found in the commonly-used expression *kę kmal męsaul*. This sequence, which literally means 'You are very tired', is used as an equivalent of English 'Thank you'.
2. The same is true for *kędeb* and *kekędeb*, both of which mean 'short'.
3. Some speakers feel that 12a and 12b differ in meaning as follows. In 12a, *mle dęngchokl* denotes a **completed past state**: in other words, it is implied that the subject (*Hermana*) was sitting here at some time in the past but is no longer sitting here at the present moment. By contrast, *dilęngchokl* designates a past action whose effect is still continuing: that is, the subject sat down here and is still sitting here. For some speakers, the following two sentences differ in a parallel way:

a. Ak mle smechęr. 'I was sick (but no longer am).'

b. Ak silechęr. 'I've been sick (and still am).'

4. For further information on the grammatical properties of certain Palauan transitive state verbs, see **16**.3 (*męduch* and *męteitur* followed by **object clauses**) and **21**.2 (*mędęnge* followed by various structures).
5. When associated with the word *reng* 'heart, spirit', the state verb *bęralm* describes someone's personality, as in the sentence

Ng bęralm a ręngul a sęchęlim.

'Your friend is lazy/unmotivated.'

See **17**.4 for more details.

6. When applied to a person, the state verb *bęchachau* can mean 'stupid', as in the sentence
   Ng bęchachau a bdęlul a John. 'John is stupid/empty-headed.'
7. The related **intransitive action** verb is *ręmurt* 'run', in which the verb marker has metathesized and appears as the infix *-ęm-* (cf. **6**.2).
8. The related transitive verb, in its imperfective form, is *męlungęl* 'smell'.
9. The second *ę* of *bękę-* is deleted before the initial vowel *u* of the stem *ureor* 'work'.
10. In this word, *sękę-* has unexpectedly shortened to *sę-*.
11. If we consider the basic form of this word to be *sękę + kęr + ker*, where the stem *ker* 'question' has been totally repeated, then the actually-pronounced form *sękęrker* is derived by dropping one of the two identical sequences *-kę-*.

*12. Wilson 1972: 89–90 proposes that in cases such as *lęngiil* 'is to be borrowed' and *chętuul* 'is to be smoked' the basic forms of the verb stems are **vowel-final**—i.e. *lengi* and *chatu*. In forms which do not contain a suffix, such as the imperfective verbs *męleng* 'borrow' and *męngat* 'smoke (fish)', the stem-final vowel is deleted. If there is a suffix, however, as in the anticipating state forms, the stem-final vowel remains and becomes long.

*13. This analysis is based on Dyen 1971:248, where the concept of "morphophonemic formula" is introduced.

CHAPTER 8

1. The two uses of *sęlokęl* are illustrated in the sentences below. In sentence a, *sęlokęl* is an anticipating state verb meaning 'is/needs to be washed', while in b, a **possessed form** of *sęlokęl* is used as a noun meaning 'your laundry'.
   a. A bilek a kirel ęl sęlokęl. 'My clothes need to be washed.'
   b. Ng bętok a sęlękęlem? 'Do you have a lot of laundry?'
2. In the possessed forms of *kall* 'food'—i.e., *kęlek, kęlel, kęlem*, etc.—the sequence *ll* is shortened to a single *l*.
3. In the possessed forms of *ilumęl* 'drink'—i.e., *imęlek, imęlel, imęlem*, etc.—the whole syllable *-lu-* has been dropped. Such deletion of a complete syllable is very rare.
4. As perfective forms like *songosii* 'cook it' (cf. **6**.3.j) show, the stem of this verb has an initial *s*—i.e., *sęngoes*. The *k* in *klęngoes* 'meat or fish stew' is due to a rather unusual phonetic rule which changes *s* to *k* before *l* (cf. **7**.8, ex.32).
5. Recall (cf. **7**.7) that the second *r* in *rruul* is due to assimilation of the resulting state infix *l* to the preceding verb-stem-initial *r*.
6. In the possessed forms of *rruul* 'thing which is made/done'—i.e., *rręllek, rręllel, rręllem*, etc.—the long *uu* has rather exceptionally reduced to a *ę* (cf. the examples at the end of **3**.4.2). In addition, the *l* has doubled (cf. **6**.5.e).
7. Notice that the verb-stem-final *s* observed in *męluchęs* 'write, draw' and *męngiis* 'dig' has changed to *k* before the *l* of the anticipating state suffix. Cf. **7**.8, ex.32 and note 4 above.
8. Another instance of the rule changing *s* to *k* before *l* is observed in this word. Cf. notes 4 and 7 above.
9. The *rr* in this word is due to assimilation. Cf. note 5 above.
10. Recall that *męchiuaiu* can be either a state verb or an action verb (cf. **7**.3).
11. This sentence means, literally, 'The thinness (from poverty) in China is very great.'
12. Some of the derived nouns listed here and in 6 and 7 above are due to Mancill and Woods 1969:33–4.
13. In *klungel* and the other possessed forms of *kllou* 'size, thickness', one of the *l*'s is lost, the vowel cluster *ou* reduces to *u*, and *ng* is inserted before the possessor suffix (cf. **3**.4.4).
14. While *klęmangęt* 'length, height' can refer to human beings (as in 10b) or to things (as in 10c), *kldidai* 'height' is restricted to things.
15. Notice the unusual insertion of the vowel cluster *-ao-* into this derived noun.
16. Notice that the *o* of the state verb changes to *u* in the derived noun.
17. While *klęmędęnge* refers to someone's knowledge of things (e.g., language), *klaodęnge* of 12d has to do with two (or more) persons' knowledge of each other.
18. It is not very clear whether *klobak* and *rubak* are actually related words.
19. A rare case in which *o-* substitutes for the verb marker in an **intransitive** verb to derive an instrument noun is observed in *osebęk* 'wing'—*suebęk* 'fly'. In this example, the **metathesized** verb marker *-u-* of *suebęk* (cf. **6**.2) is missing in the derived instrument noun because it has been replaced by the prefix *o-*.

CHAPTER 9

1. Many speakers also use this form to express the related meaning 'build'. Some speakers, however, distinguish between *omękdęchor* 'make...stand' and *omękędęchor* 'build'. The source and function of the additional *ę* in the latter form is a mystery.
2. The full vowel *o* of *osiu* 'joining' reduces to *ę* in the causative verb *omękęsiu* 'compare, imitate'.
3. The initial *m* of *mad* 'dead' changes to *o* when the prefix *omęk-* is added. This change of *m* to *o* may be due to a phonetic rule of **dissimilation** similar to that observed in **6**.1 and **6**.2. In other words, the *m* of *mad* dissimilates from the *m* in the causative prefix *omęk-* and becomes *o*.
4. In order to avoid possible confusion in the discussion to follow, we should point out here that the sequence *-mę-* found in *omę(k)-* is not the same as the *mę-* which we have dealt with extensively as the major variant of the **verb marker** (cf. **6**.1). The *-mę-* of *omę(k)-* does not represent a single unit or morpheme which has structural significance; as we will see in **9**.2.1.1, it actually consists of one morpheme (the **imperfective marker** *-m-*) and part of another (the *-ęk* of the **causative marker** *bęk*).

5. Some speakers delete the *ę* of the prefix between the consonants *m* and *ng*. Thus, we sometimes have *omngim* 'make...drink' and *omngamęch* 'make...chew, make...smoke'.
6. For a discussion of the *l* in this verb stem, cf. **6**.5.b.
7. *Mukdakt* is one of the **ergative** forms of causative *omękdakt* 'frighten'. See **9**.5 below.
8. Though translated identically, *oltuu* and *olsisęb* are somewhat different in meaning; this meaning difference is parallel to that found between *tmuu* and *soisęb*, the action verbs to which they are related. While *soisęb* implies difficulty in entering (perhaps because the entrance is too narrow, etc.), *tmuu* is more neutral in connotation. Therefore, *olsisęb* means 'make (someone) enter with difficulty, force/push into', while *oltuu* lacks the connotation of force and simply means 'put into, make...enter'.
9. Most of the observations in this paragraph are due to Jo Ann Flora (personal communication). See also Wilson 1972:153.
10. This is essentially the position taken in Wilson 1972:150–155.
11. *Suebęk a ręngul*, which means, literally, 'his heart flies', is one of many expressions consisting of an intransitive (action or state) verb and a possessed form of *reng* 'heart, spirit'. Expressions of this kind are used commonly in Palauan to denote feelings, emotions, or character traits. See **17**.4 for more details.
12. In the perfective forms *mękęlii* and *milękęlii*, we note the presence of the final *l* of the verb stem *kal* 'eat'. For further discussion, cf. **6**.5.b.
13. The appearance of *-l-* in the perfective forms *męngęlmii* and *milęngęlmii* indicates that the verb stem for 'drink' contains an *l*. This *l* also turns up in the related noun *ilumęl* 'drink, beverage'.

*14. The sequence *ul(ę)-* is probably derived from *o-* (the verb marker prefix) followed by *-il-* (the past tense marker). Cf. chap.5, note 2.

CHAPTER 10

*1. Our explanation of "reciprocity" here is quite oversimplified. For a discussion of the logical properties of Palauan reciprocal sentences, see Wilson 1972:180–200.
2. The independently-occurring noun *ngęseu* 'help, assistance' is used in sentences like the following:
   a. Ak ulęngit a ngęseu ęr a chim. 'I need a helping hand.'
   b. Ak ulęngit a ngęseu ęr a udoud. 'I need some financial help.'
   The bound verb stems *toir* and *dingęl* can be prefixed with *o-* to derive the nouns *otoir* '(action of) chasing' and *odingęl* 'visit'. The exact identity of this *o-* prefix is not clear, though it is probably related to the *o-* which is used to derive **instrument** and **action nouns** (cf. **8**.6). The derived nouns *otoir* and *odingęl* are shown in the following sentences, where they are used in a **possessed form** (cf. chap.3):
   c. A otirel a babii a męringęl ęl tękoi. 'Catching a pig is a difficult task.'
   d. A odngęlel a Surech ęl me er a Belau a bek ęl buil. 'Surech's visits to Palau take place every month.'

3. This sentence means, literally, 'The cars met each other.'
4. This is the past tense form of *oumękęmad* 'make war on'. Recall (cf. **6**.1.1) that the past tense forms of verbs in *ou-* are derived by replacing the *o* of *ou-* with *ul-*.
5. The (bound) verb stem *sbech* needs to be partially repeated (note the extra syllable *-si-*) before the reciprocal prefix *kau-* can be added. For further discussion of this and other types of **reduplication**, see chap. 11.
6. The form of this noun indicates that it is derived by simultaneously adding the **resulting state infix** *-(ę)l-* and the **anticipating state suffix** *-(ę)l* to a verb stem (cf. **8**.2, ex. 5). Notice that the *-ll-* of *ngęllakęl* 'joke' is shortened to a single *l* in the derived verbs *oungęlakęl* 'joke with' and *kaungęlakęl* 'joke with each other'.
7. It is also possible to have the reciprocal verb *kausęsęchęlei*, in which the extra syllable *-sę-* represents a **reduplicated** portion of the stem *sęchęlei* 'friend' (see chap. 11 and cf. note 5 above). The word *kausęsęchęlei* implies a weaker, more casual friendship than *kausęchęlei*, as the English equivalent for the following indicates:
   Ngak mę a Droteo a kausęsęchęlei. 'Droteo and I are sort of friends.'
8. The reciprocal verb *chachęlebęd* 'hit each other' is also possible. See **10**.2.4. below.
9. The *-o-* in this verb appears to be a reduced variant of the verb marker *mę-* of *mędęnge* 'know' (cf. **6**.1).
10. This verb is also discussed in **10**.2.4 below.
11. The additional *k* following the reciprocal prefix in *kakngodęch* is unpredictable. Some speakers also pronounce this word with a *ę* between the *k* and the *ng*—i.e., *kakęngodęch*.
12. Here, the possessor of *hong* 'book' is expressed with a **possessor phrase** consisting of the **relational word** *ęr* and the pronoun *tir* 'they'. A possessor phrase of this kind is required because *hong* 'book' is an **unpossessible noun** (cf. **3**.8).
13. This reciprocal verb is related to the causative verb *orrengęs* 'hear'. For some speakers there is a contrast between *kęrengęs* 'listen to/take advice from each other' and *kaiuęrengęs* 'hear each other'.
14. Note the unusual appearance of the extra syllable *-dę-* in this reciprocal verb.

CHAPTER 11

1. In other words, for 'tall, long' we have either *kekęmangęt* or *kęmangęt*, and for 'short' we have either *kekędeb* or *kędeb*. Addition of the reduplicated initial syllable does not change the meaning in any way.
2. We used the term "grammatical device" in a similar way in **8**.3 with reference to the function of the **resulting state infix** *-(ę)l-* in deriving nouns from intransitive verbs.
3. In the sentence below, the reduplicated form of *beot* 'easy' occurs with a possessed form of *reng* 'heart, spirit' (see **17**.4) to yield an expression meaning 'be undecided (about something), not take (something) seriously':

Ng ko ęr a bebeot a ręngul a Droteo ęr a omęrael ęl mo ęr a Hawaii. 'Droteo is rather undecided about travelling to Hawaii.'

4. The special expression *męnga ęr a chull* '(lit.) eat the rain' corresponds to English 'get caught in the rain'. Its use is illustrated in the following additional sentences:
   a. Lak monga ęr a chull e kę mo smechęr. 'Don't get caught in the rain or you'll get sick.'
   b. Ak killii a chull mę ak mlo smechęr. 'I got caught in the rain, so I got sick.'
5. Some speakers also use reduplicated forms of the possessed nouns *kirek/kirel* 'my/his obligation', etc. and *sębęchek/sębęchel* 'my/his ability', etc. These reduplicated forms are illustrated in sentences like the following:
   a. Ng kekirek ęl mong. 'I sort of have to go.'
   b. Ng sesębęchek ęl męlękoi a tękoi ęr a Siabal. 'I can sort of speak Japanese.'
6. For a discussion of *mochu* 'about to go', see **11**.12.5 below.
7. The related imperfective transitive forms for these verbs are *męlatęch* 'clean', *męlemd* 'mop', and *męlamęl* 'cut (grass)'.
8. Some of these verbs have additional reduplicated forms lacking the first syllable of $C_1eC_1V(C_2)$. For example, the forms *męsisaik*, *męręngęringęl*, and *mękęrkar* are all acceptable, though *mękęrkar* has a very different meaning, as we shall see in **11**.6 below.
9. All of these verb stems can occur independently as nouns.
10. The *o* in the $C_1V(C_2)$ syllable of *męrerorael* also occurs in the possessed forms of *rael* 'road'—e.g. *rolek* 'my road', *rolel* 'his road', etc. Note also *omęrael* 'trip'—*omęrolek* 'my trip', etc.
11. The reduplicated form *męsesilil* is unpredictable: possibly the *s* was part of the verb stem at some earlier stage of the language. Compare *męiusęch* 'calm (sea)' and its reduplicated form *męsesiusęch* 'rather calm'.
12. Evidence from this form and from the **reciprocal verb** related to *ręborb*—namely, *kadęręborb* 'sit with each other' (cf. chap.10, note 14) seems to indicate that the verb stem in question is *dęręborb* and that, for unknown reasons, the initial syllable *dę-* drops in the simple intransitive form.
13. Some speakers omit C_2 when producing this form, giving *męlelęluchęs*.
14. Some speakers reduplicate this ergative verb form according to the $C_1eC_1V(C_2)$ pattern, giving *obebęlębalęch*.
15. Notice the appearance of *l* as C_2 in the reduplicated syllable. This is further evidence that the basic stem for 'eat' is indeed *kal* (cf. **6**.5.b).
16. The pattern of reduplication is slightly different here, since the *a* of *męlatęch* 'clean' has been deleted in *męleltęlatęch* 'clean compulsively'. The *a* in question is deleted in other forms of this verb as well—note, for example, the derived state verb *ngęltachęl* 'cleaned' (cf. **7**.8.2).
17. In *ombibtar* 'keep swinging', the reduplicated syllable has the form C_1i instead of C_1e. This represents a much less common pattern.

18. The technical term **inchoative** is ultimately derived from a Latin verb meaning 'begin'.
19. The *-ng-* inserted before the predictive and inchoative suffixes also turns up in *tękingek* 'my words', *tękingel* 'his words', etc., which are the possessed forms of the related verb stem *tękoi* 'word, language' (cf. **3**.4.4).
20. For further discussion of this construction, see **15**.7.7.
21. The extra *-ng-* in *mękęręnga* 'waking up' is unpredictable.
22. The *-ng-* occurring before the inchoative suffix in *klunga* 'getting big' also appears in *klungek* 'my size'/*klungel* 'his size', etc., which are the possessed forms of *kllou* 'size', a noun derived from *klou* 'big' (cf. chap.8, note 13).
23. Note the unusual loss of the *l* of *ungil* 'good' before the inchoative suffix.
24. A small number of action verbs also take *-o* or *-e* for the inchoative instead of *-a*. Among them are *(mo) męrek* 'finish'—*męrko* 'is just finishing', *omęngur* 'eat (a meal)'—*omęngro* 'starting to eat', and *omes* 'see'—*męsęnge* 'has just seen'.

*25. It is possible that the *-ch-* is inserted between *mo* and the following suffixes *-u* and *-a* to prevent vowel blending or vowel cluster reduction, which would obscure the identity of the suffix. This possibility was suggested to me by Donald Topping.

CHAPTER 12

1. Focusing on this aspect of the meaning of imperfective verbs, Wilson 1972:120–128 uses the term **progressive** instead of **imperfective**. Similarly, she uses the term **progressive affix** for what we have been calling the **imperfective marker**.
2. Any possible English equivalent for 21b would likewise be contradictory and unacceptable—e.g., *'I've read the book completely, but I haven't finished it yet.'
3. This time span expression is a special type of **temporal phrase**. See **14**.6 for further details.
4. For a more complete list, see **4**.9.4, ex. 53.

CHAPTER 13

*1. Notice the English equivalents for the sentences in 1 and 2. In 1B, the speaker uses *come* because he expects A (the person addressed) to be awaiting his arrival: B seems to be looking at the situation from A's viewpoint. In dialog 2, the use of either *come* or *go* appears possible to describe a situation in which A does not intend to be at home upon B's arrival, but note the following difference surrounding the circumstances of the dialog itself. If A is now at home (say, talking to B on the telephone) but does not intend to be at home tomorrow, he can say the following to B:

Can you come to my house tomorrow (to feed the dogs)?

But if A is not at home now (say, talking to B on the street) and furthermore does not intend to be at home tomorrow, he can say the following to B:

Can you go to my house tomorrow (to feed the dogs)?

2. For clarity of presentation, we regard this *mle* (the past tense form of *me* 'come') as a different word from homonymous *mle* 'was, were', which is used as an **auxiliary word** to indicate the past tense with **state verbs**. Ultimately, however, these two words are probably one and the same element. Cf. chap. 5, note 1.
3. The **basic form** of *me* is actually *mę* (verb marker) + *be* (verb stem), and that of *mo* is *mę* (verb marker) + *bo* (verb stem). The phonetic rules which apply to these basic forms to give the actually-pronounced forms are explained in **6**.2.1, ex.12.
4. This *mle* is the auxiliary word *mle* used with **state verbs**. Cf. **5**.1.3 and note 2 above.
5. This directional phrase, which literally means 'to the sea', is used together with the directional verb *mo* to mean 'go fishing'.
6. Note that the change of state expression in 13d consists of *mlo* and the **reciprocal verb** *kaodęnge* 'know each other'. The fact that a verb like *kaodęnge* can appear following *mo* in a change of state expression is further evidence that reciprocal verbs are really a subtype of **state verbs** (for additional discussion of this point, cf. **10**.1, ex. 4). In 13g, the change of state expression consists of *mla mo* and the **negative verb** *diak* 'isn't, doesn't exist' (see **18**.3); here, too, we have evidence that *diak* is actually a state verb.
7. For further discussion of the **perfective** forms of *męrkui* 'finish' and of how they are used in **specifying clauses**, see **15**.7.4.

CHAPTER 14

1. When *mla* 'existed, was (located)' is followed by a locational phrase containing a **specific place name**, the result is an expression indicating what country or place the subject is from, or what place the subject has come or gone from. Note the following:
   a. Ak mla ęr a Ngchesar. 'I'm from Ngchesar.'
   b. Ak mla ęr a Merikel ęl mei. 'I've come from America.'
   c. A Toki a mla ęr a New York ęl mo ęr a Paris. 'Toki went from New York to Paris.'

   In b and c the sequences *ęl mei* and *ęl mo ęr a Paris* are types of **specifying clauses** (see **15**.7).
2. The question word *ker* 'where?' is never preceded (or introduced) by *a* (cf. **2**.6).
3. The nouns *bab* and *eou* can also be used to indicate **rank**, as in the following example:

   A Droteo a ngar ęr a {bab / eou} ęl chad.

   'Droteo is {higher / lower} in rank.'

   They also occur in the expressions *bab ęl daob* '(lit.) upper sea' and *eou ęl daob* '(lit.) lower sea'. The former is the name of Babeldaob (often spelled *Babelthuap* on maps), the large island in the northern part of the Palau group, while the latter refers to the islands south of Babeldaob, including Koror.

4. Observe the following sentence, in which the best English equivalent for *bebul* is 'surface':
   Ng ngar ęr ngii a bętok ęl komi ęr a bebul a daob. 'There's a lot of trash on the surface of the ocean.'
5. *Mędal* can also mean 'his eye' or 'his face'. In addition, it can refer to the point or edge of something, as in *mędal a oluchęs* 'pencil point' and *mędal a oles* 'cutting edge of a knife (including the point)'.
6. Unlike *bab* (*bebuk*, *bebul*, etc.), *mad* (*mędak*, *mędal*, etc.), and other nouns discussed above, *ullel* must always occur with a possessor suffix (*ullek*, *ullel*, etc.). In other words, *ullel* is an **obligatorily possessed noun** (cf. **3**.5)
7. A more literal English translation for this example might be something like

   'Droteo is bathing in the {upper / lower} part of the river.'

8. In some cases, it is very difficult to tell whether *uche* is being used to refer exclusively to space or to time. In the following sentence, for example,
   A bilsęngel a Droteo a mlo ęr a uche ęr a klaidęsachęl.
   'Droteo's boat {came in first in / won} the race.'
   the expression *mlo ęr a uche* 'won' (lit. 'went to the front of') (pronounced as if spelled *mloruche*) seems to blend the concepts of being first in space and being first in time.
9. *Chęlsel* 'inside' is used in cases like this because *taoch* 'channel (in a mangrove swamp)' and *omoachęl* 'river' are viewed as enclosed spaces into which the boat has entered by means of some opening or passageway.
10. The noun *iikr* 'area/space outside' is used in a locational phrase in the sentence below:
    A ręngalęk a milil ęr a iikr.
    'The children are playing outside.'
11. The unpossessible noun *bita* expresses any relationship of **proximity** (i.e., nearness) between two objects—hence, the two possible English equivalents. This word also refers to one half of a coconut (after being split).
12. *Dęlongęlel* is a possessed form of *dęleongęl* 'area/space between', which can also refer to relationships between two individuals or groups of individuals. This meaning is observed in the sentences below:
    a. A dęlongęlel a Droteo mę a Toki a kmal ungil.
       'Droteo and Toki are on very good terms.'
    b. A dęlongęlir a ręsensei mę a ręngalęk ęr a skuul a męknigit.
       'The teachers and students don't get along well with each other.'
    c. A dęlongęlel a John mę a Mary a ko ęr a klsakl.
       'Something is wrong between John and Mary.'
    d. A Korea a mlo dokurits ęr a uriul ęr a mękęmad ęr a dęlongęlel a Merikel mę a Siabal.
       'Korea became independent after the war between America and Japan.'

13. The other points of the compass are *dimęs* 'south', *chongos* 'east', and *ngębard* 'west'. The four nouns designating points of the compass are all unpossessible.
14. The word *bęlngel* 'middle' is an obligatorily possessed noun.
15. The obligatorily possessed noun *tkul* refers to the (outside) edge or corner of anything, as in *tkul a blai* 'corner of the house', *tkul a tebęl* 'edge of the table', *tkul a chęldukl* 'edge of the dock', *tkul a mękęsokęs* 'corner of the yard', etc.
16. The obligatorily possessed noun *mobędul* 'general location/direction' is related to *będul* 'direction, area/space facing onto'. In the sentences below, expressions like *będul a skuul*, etc. are used as **specifying clauses** (see **15**.7) following other verbs:
    a. A Droteo a millutk ęl będul a kbokb.
       'Droteo pointed at the wall.'
    b. A Toki a rirurt ęl będul a skuul.
       'Toki ran in the direction of the school.'
    c. A skuul a dęchor ęl będul a M-dock.
       'The school faces in the direction of M-dock.'
    d. A Toki a mle dęngchokl ęl będul a chęlęchol.
       'Toki was sitting facing the beach.'

    Będul can also mean 'upstream', as in
    e. A Droteo a męlęcholb ęr a będul.
       'Droteo is bathing upstream.'

    With e compare example 16 above.
17. The grammatical structure of sequences such as *męrael ęl mo...* 'walk to' and *ręmurt ęl mo...* 'run to' will be clarified in **15**.7.1.
18. Most speakers feel there is a subtle difference in meaning between *tiluu* (cf. present tense *tmuu*) and *silisęb* (cf. present tense *soisęb*), both of which we have translated as 'went into'. While *silisęb* implies that there was some difficulty in entering (perhaps the hole was too narrow for the mouse), *tiluu* has a more neutral connotation. Cf. chap.9, note 8.
19. The perfective forms of these verbs, which are rather irregular, are listed below according to the usual format:

    a. *męlęcha* 'put':

loia	lilia
locha	lilęcha

    b. *omęche* 'leave':

męchire	milęchire
męche	milęche

    The verb *omęche* 'leave' is used in the very common expression *Bęchire mę a uriul* 'Leave it till later.' The **imperative perfective forms** of *omęche* 'leave' (see **19**.5), when suffixed with the appropriate **object pronoun**, can be followed by the word *mę* '(lit.) so that' and a **hypothetical verb form** to result in expressions corresponding to English 'let (someone) (do something)'. Observe the examples below, which will be explained further in **22**.1.1:
    a. Bęchire a ngalęk mę lębo loilil. 'Let the child go play.'
    b. Bęchikak mę kbo kusuub. 'Let me study.'
    c. Bęchititęrir mę lębo longędub. 'Let them go swimming.'
20. Expressions of this kind will be analyzed in **15**.7.1.
21. The words *ultungii* and *ulsisębii* are the **3rd pers. sg. object past perfective** forms of the **causative verbs** *oltuu* 'put/push in' and *olsisęb* 'put/push in' (cf. **9**.4, ex.24). The meaning difference between these two causative verbs parallels that found between *tmuu* and *soisęb*, the intransitive action verbs to which they are related (cf. chap. 9, note 8, and note 18 above).
22. In this sentence, *ęr a kędęrang* 'from the beach' is interpreted as a source phrase out of contrast with (*ęl mo*) *ęr a stoang* '(going) to the store', which expresses the termination point of the movement. However, if *ęl mo ęr a stoang* is omitted, the resulting sentence
    A John a rirurt ęr a kędęrang. 'John ran at the beach.'
    only makes sense if *ęr a kędęrang* is interpreted as a **locational phrase** meaning 'at the beach' (cf. **14**.2 above). Further analysis of the **dependent clause** *ęl mo ęr a stoang* 'going to the store' will be given in **15**.7.1.
23. The word *ultębędii* 'pulled him out' is the **3rd pers. sg. object past perfective** form of the **causative verb** *oltobęd* 'pull out', which is related to the intransitive action verb *tuobęd* 'come out' (cf. **9**.4, ex. 24).
24. While *cheisęch* 'stained' of 29e refers to a permanent unwashable stain due to such substances as betel nut juice, etc., *kikiongęl* 'dirty, soiled' refers to a temporary state of dirtiness due to such washable substances as mud, blood, soot, etc.
25. *Idęlsębel* is the possessed form of *idęlisęb* 'the day before yesterday'.
26. This expression, containing *uche* 'before', means, literally, 'before/previous to three days ago'.
27. Since these expressions contain *tia* 'this' and *mlo męrek* 'finished', they mean, literally, 'this finished week', etc. Note that the word for *week—sande*—is borrowed from English *Sunday*.
28. Since these expressions contain *se* 'that' and *mlo męrek* 'finished', they mean, literally, 'that finished week', etc.
29. See **22**.2 for a discussion of temporal **clauses** introduced by *ęr se ęr a* 'when', as in the following:
    Ak milsa a John ęr se ęr a kngar ęr a Hawaii.
    'I saw John when I was in Hawaii.'
30. For this and the previous expression, some speakers reverse the order of the parts, giving *ęr a klukuk ęr a tutau* 'tomorrow morning' and *ęr a klukuk ęr a kębęsęnge* 'tomorrow evening'. This reversed order, however, is less preferred.
31. *Ngiosel* is the possessed form of *ngiaos* 'the day after tomorrow'. Note the similar pattern for past time—cf. note 25 above.
32. This expression, containing *ikrel* (the possessed form of *iikr* 'area/space outside'—cf. example 18g and note 10 above), means, literally, 'outside of/beyond three days from now'.
33. Since these expressions contain *tia* 'this' and *me* 'come', they mean, literally, 'this coming week', etc., which also represents acceptable English.
34. Since these expressions contain *se* 'that' and *me* 'come', their literal meaning is 'that coming week', etc.
35. These expressions, containing the **ordinal numbers** *kot* 'first', *ongeru* 'second', etc. (see **24**.4.4), mean, literally, 'the first (day of) work', etc.
36. Since *kębęsęngil* is the possessed form of *kębęsęnge* 'evening', the literal translation of this expression is something like 'on the seventh

evening (of July)'.

37. There are other ways of expressing frequency of occurrence in Palauan. Note, for example, the italicized portions of the sentences below:
    a. A Toki a me mengętmokl ęr a blik *a lętutau*.
       'Toki comes and cleans my house in the morning.'
    b. A ręsęchal a mo męlasęch a mlai *a lęsuelęb*.
       'The men go making canoes in the afternoon.'

    The italicized expressions in a-b are actually **conditional clauses** meaning something like 'if it is morning', etc.; further details on these and other conditional clauses will be given in **19**.4. If we compare example a above with 35a, we note the following difference of meaning. Since 35a contains *bek* 'each, every', it implies that Toki comes and cleans morning after morning, on a very regular basis. Sentence a above, however, merely asserts that Toki usually comes and cleans in the morning (as opposed to the afternoon, for example); furthermore, the routine may not be as regular as that implied in 35a.
38. The question word *oingara* 'when?' is never preceded (or introduced) by *a* (cf. **2**.6)
39. Contrast the following sentences:
    a. Kę milęngęsbrebęr ęr a blai ęl oba a ngarang?
       'What (instrument) did you paint the house with?'
    b. Kę milęngęsbrebęr ęr a blai ęr a ngarang?
       'What color did you paint the house?'

    While sentence a contains the **instrument clause** *ęl oba a ngarang* '(lit.) using what?' and therefore asks the person addressed to name the **instrument** (e.g. brush, roller, etc.) used in painting the house (see. **15**.3), b is similar to 43c and asks a question about the **medium** (or **material**) used in painting the house.
40. See. **17**.8.1 for further discussion of the constructions containing *omęlmil* and *omęngęlir* of 43g and 43h. These constructions contain the possessed forms of the **derived action nouns** *omęlim* 'drinking' and *omęnga* 'eating' (cf. **8**.6).

CHAPTER 15

1. Note, in addition, that the verb form directly following *ęl* is not preceded (or introduced) by the word *a*. As we saw in **2**.6, every Palauan verb form is introduced by *a* unless the preceding subject is a pronoun. In 3a-b, the absence of *a* before the verb forms following *ęl* is probably due to the fact that these verb forms have no overtly-expressed subjects.

*2. In other words, there is a deep structure constraint which requires identity between the subject of the main clause and the subject of the purpose clause introduced by *ęl*. The latter is deleted by an Equi-NP Deletion transformation during the process of derivation.

3. The noun *techall* can also refer to an opening in **physical space**, as the following sentences indicate:
    a. Ng diak a techęllek ęl mo ęr a bitang.
       'I don't have any space/room to get to the other side.'

    b. Ng diak a techęllek ęl soisęb ęr a bas.
       'I don't have any room to get into the bus.'
    c. A rękangkodang a mlo diak a techęllir ęl tuobęd ęr a bas ęl milseseb.
       'The tourists didn't have any room/way to get out of the bus which was burning.'

    The **concrete** meaning of *techall* found in a-c above was probably extended to include the more **abstract** idea of an "opening" or "space" in time, thus resulting in the meaning 'opportunity, chance' observed for *techall* in 7c-e above.
4. The Palauan verb *oba* is unusual in that it has only **perfective**, but no **imperfective** forms. The present perfective forms of *oba* are listed in **4**.9.4, ex. 53; the past perfective forms are derived simply by replacing word-initial *o-* by *ul(ę)-* (e.g. *oba* 'use it'—*ulęba* 'used it', *olab* 'use them'—*ullab* 'used them', etc.) The verb *oba* also means 'carry' or 'take', as in the sentences below:
    a. Ak oba a ngalęk. 'I'm carrying the child.'
    b. Ak ullab a ilumęl ęl mo ęr a party. 'I took drinks to the party.'
5. Recall that we used a similar "contextual" approach in **12**.5 to confirm our analysis of the basic difference in meaning between **imperfective** vs. **perfective** verb forms.
6. The *k* of this word is not pronounced because it is preceded and followed by another consonant. Hence, the phonetic transcription for this word is [uləbəntərir]. Can you explain why the *ng* is pronounced as [n] rather than as [ŋ]?
7. In the following sentences, the italicized specifying clauses contain past tense verb forms; therefore, the sentence describes a totally completed past event. The independent clauses contain **change of state expressions** consisting of the directional verb *mo* 'go' followed by the state verbs *ngęltęngat* 'lucky' and *mękęrior* 'unlucky' (cf. **13**.5).
    a. Ak mlo ngęltęngat *ęl miltik a dart ęl kluk ęr a rael*.
       'I was lucky to find $100 in the road.'
    b. Ak mlo mękęrior *ęl ririid a dart ęl kluk ęl ududek*.
       'I had the misfortune of losing $100 of my money.'
8. The perfective forms of this verb—*nguu* 'bring/ take it', *ngmai* 'bring/ take them (non-hum.)', etc.—are listed in **4**.9.4, ex. 53.
9. If we omit the second specifying clause of 33b, we get the following sentence, which, although grammatical, differs in meaning from 33b: Ak mlo ęr a kędęra ęl di ngak. 'I went to the beach on my own.' The sentence above has the special implication that the subject was able to get to the beach or find his way to the beach without any assistance.
10. Because the expression *klde ęl hong* 'three books' necessarily designates a plural object, it is impossible to have a sentence like the following:
    *Ak mla rokir a klde ęl hong.
    This sentence is ungrammatical because the perfective form *rokir* implies a singular object, and therefore occurrence before *klde ęl hong* is contradictory.

11. For this reason, a more appropriate English equivalent for *blęchoel* might be 'do habitually' or 'invariably do'.

CHAPTER 16

1. Notice that the **temporal phrase** *ęr tia ęl mlo męrek ęl rak* 'last year' happens to contain an occurrence of the past tense form of *mo męrek*. Cf. chap.14, note 27.
2. In 8d, the object clause following *mla mo męrek* contains the **state verb** *bęchiil* 'married' (cf. *buch* 'spouse'). Therefore, a word-for-word translation of this sentence would be something like 'Droteo has finished being married.'
3. The transitive verb *męngoit* 'quit, throw away' has the following perfective forms:

	Present	Past
3rd pers. sg. object	choitii	chilitii
3rd pers. pl. (non-hum) object	chęmoit	chiloit

Some simple sentences containing the imperfective and perfective forms of *męngoit* followed by a concrete object include the following:

a. Ak mo męngoit ęr a komi. 'I'm going to throw away the trash.'
b. A Toki a chilitii a Droteo. 'Toki divorced Droteo.'
c. Ak chilitii a skuul er a elii. 'I skipped school yesterday.'

4. This is the 3rd pers. sg. object present perfective form of *męlasęm* 'try'. The appearance of the full vowel *e* ([ɛ]) in the first syllable is quite unusual (cf. **6**.3.1–2).
5. Some of the present and past perfective forms of *olęngęseu* 'help' (past: *ullęngęseu*) are listed below:

Person and Number of Object	*Present*	*Past*
1st pers.sg.	ngosukak	ngilsukak
2nd pers.sg.	ngosukau	ngilsukau
3rd pers.sg.	ngosuir	ngilsuir
3rd pers. (hum) pl.	ngosutęrir	ngilsutęrir

The set of **object pronoun suffixes** observed in the above perfective forms is identical to that illustrated in **4**.9.4, ex.53, except that the 3rd pers. sg. obj. suffix is *-ir* (cf. **4**.9.4, ex. 54).

6. Some of the present and past perfective forms of *olduręch* 'tell, ask' (past: *ulęlduręch*) are given below:

Person and Number of Object	*Present*	*Past*
1st pers.sg.	odęrchak	uldęrchak
2nd pers.sg.	odęrchau	uldęrchau
3rd pers.sg.	odęrchii	uldęrchii
3rd pers. (hum) pl.	odęrchętęrir	uldęrchętęrir

Since *olduręch* is a **causative verb** in form, its perfective forms follow the patterns for causative verbs described in **9**.4.

CHAPTER 17

1. The noun following words like *soak* and *chętil* does not necessarily have to be inanimate (i.e., non-living) as it is in examples 1a-b. Thus in the sentences below, *soak* and *chętil* are followed by **human** nouns:

a. Ng soak a sensei. 'I like the teacher.'
b. Ng chętil a Satsko. 'He dislikes Satsko.'

2. This is a **noun phrase of characterization**—cf. **3**.7 and **3**.9, ex. 31.
3. Observe the sentences below, which are equivalent to each other in meaning:
   a. Ngak mę a Helen a kausęchęlei. 'Helen and I are friends.'
   b. Aki kausęchęlei ngak mę a Helen.
   Here, the shifted plural subject contains the **emphatic** pronoun *ngak* 'I', which refers to the speaker, and the noun *Helen*. Since the speaker is part of the shifted subject, the pronominal trace in b appears as *aki*, the 1st pers. pl. excl. non-emphatic pronoun.
4. Cf. the discussion in **16**.5, where other sentences containing two objects are analyzed.
5. The 3rd pers. sg. object pronoun suffix *-a* is extremely rare. Cf. **4**.9.4.c and chap. 4, note 10.
6. As the English equivalents for 30a and 31 show, the grammar of English also contains a rule which can interchange the two objects of *give*.
7. Another verb which takes two objects is *olisęchakl* 'teach'. The order of these objects can be reversed, as the following sentences show:
   a. A Toki a olisęchakl ęr a rengalęk a tękoi ęr a Merikel.
   'Toki is teaching the pupils English.'
   b. A Toki a olisęchakl a tękoi ęr a Merikel ęr a rengalęk.
   'Toki is teaching English to the pupils.'
8. For ease of understanding, this discussion has been somewhat oversimplified. See **17**.8.c below.
9. In all of the examples presented in this section, the dependent clause following the possessed forms of *soal*, *chętil*, *sębęchel*, and *kirel* contains an **action verb**. Occasionally, such clauses contain **state verbs**, as in the example below:
   A Droteo a chętil ęl smechęr. 'Droteo dislikes being sick.'
10. Any adequate explanation of the occurrence of *ęl* before the object of *omęruul*, *omęnguiu*, and *omęlamęch* in 41a-c would require a complex, lengthy analysis which would be beyond the scope of the current discussion. Though far oversimplified, it is sufficient to say that the object of a transitive verb must be "marked" with *ęl* when this transitive verb is changed into an action noun by the prefixing of *o-*.
11. This sentence can also be interpreted as 'My father dislikes the things I do at parties.'
12. After the negative verb *diak*, all nouns must be prefixed with the 3rd pers. sg. hypothetical pronoun—hence, *lsoak*. Further discussion of this phenomenon will be provided in chap. 18.

CHAPTER 18

1. In the most natural dialog, this occurrence of *oles* would be **pronominalized** to *ng* 'it' (cf. **4**.8).
2. Though *mla* is *used* as the past tense of *ngar*, it is not really clear whether these words are related to each other.
3. Indeed, the widespread practice of spelling these sequences as single

words—*ngarngii* and *mlarngii*—shows that most Palauans "feel" them to be indivisible units. The spelling used in this text, which was also approved by the 1972 Palau Orthography Committee, is based on the assumption that *ngar ęr ngii* and *mla ęr ngii* each consist of three words which are otherwise always spelled separately. The same discussion applies to *mo ęr ngii* 'there will be' and *mochu ęr ngii* 'there is about to be', which have been spelled as *morngii* and *mochurngii*.

4. The only situation in which *ngar* need not be followed by a locational phrase is illustrated in the sentence below, where this word occurs in the related meaning 'alive':
   A rubak a dirk ngar. 'The old man is still alive.'
5. Recall that subject shifting must also be applied obligatorily in certain other types of sentences. Thus, in **17**.2, we proposed that obligatory subject shifting is the only plausible way to account for sentences containing the special possessed nouns *soal* 'his liking' and *chętil* 'his disliking'—e.g.,
   Ng soal a biang. 'He likes beer.'
   Ng chętik a rrom. 'I dislike liquor.'
6. This sentence can be further transformed by the preposing of possessor rule to give
   A rubak a mlo diak a urerel. 'The old man lost his job.'
7. As we saw in **6**.2.1, hypothetical verb forms normally lack the verb marker. Thus, if we compare hypothetical *lsęngęrengęr* with its non-hypothetical counterpart *songęrengęr* 'hungry', we conclude that the *-o-* in the latter form is due to presence of the verb marker. We therefore assume that *songęrengęr* is derived in the following way:
   mę + sęngęrengęr (basic form = verb marker + verb stem) →
   s + mę + ęngęrengęr (by metathesis of verb marker) →
   s + m + ęngęrengęr (by deletion of *ę*) →
   s + u + ęngęrengęr (by change of verb marker to *u* in unstressed syllable) →
   songęrengęr (by vowel blending)
   The step-by-step derivation above exactly parallels that for certain 3rd pers.sg.obj.present perfective forms (cf. **6**.3.2, especially ex. 23).
8. Though the verb marker is absent in most hypothetical verb forms (cf. **6**.2.1), a notable exception is found among intransitive state verbs which have the prefixed verb marker *mę-* in their pronounced forms. Thus, in the hypothetical forms of *męknġit* 'bad', *męched* 'shallow', etc., *mę-* is not deleted, and we get *lęmęknġit* and *lęmęched*.
9. For a complete listing and discussion of the hypothetical forms of the directional verbs *mo* 'go' and *me* 'come', see **4**.10.
10. Recall (cf. **6**.7) that the basic structure of hypothetical perfective forms is *hypothetical pronoun + verb stem + object pronoun*.
11. Since ergative verbs (cf. **5**.4) simply consist of the sequence *verb marker + verb stem*, their hypothetical forms have the structure *hypothetical pronoun + verb marker + verb stem*. Note that while most hypothetical verb forms lack the verb marker, the hypothetical forms of ergative verbs retain it (cf. **6**.2.1).
12. As we saw in **4**.10.6, complex verb phrases include sequences like *mo męruul* 'will make', *me męngętmokl* 'come and clean', *mo męrek* 'finish', *mo/me ręme* 'come/go back', *mo ungil* 'get better', etc. In the hypothetical forms of such expressions a hypothetical pronoun is often prefixed to each of the parts.
13. We can also speculate that *di kea* might contain a contracted form of *diak* followed by *e* 'and (then)'. Under this approach, suggested to me by Robert Gibson (personal communication), we can at least explain why *di kea* has a negative meaning.

CHAPTER 19

1. It is not clear whether the *a* which introduces Palauan conditional clauses is really a different word from the *a* which introduces all noun phrases and verb phrases (cf. **2**.6). For purposes of simplicity, however, we will refer to the *a* of conditional clauses as a separate word meaning 'if'.
2. The sequence *ngar ęr ngii* 'there is/are', which is used in **affirmative expressions of existence**, is explained in detail in **18**.2.
3. With 4c compare the following sentence, which is somewhat different in structure:
   A lak a ududem, e lak chobo ęr a mubi.
   'If you don't have any money, (then) don't go to the movies.'
   In this conditional sentence, the consequential clause is expressed as an **order** or **command** (see **19**.5 below).
4. With the **general questions** of 6, compare the following **general statements**:
   a. A dębo ęr a che, e ng kired ęl ousbech a chęlais.
      'To go fishing, we need a basket.'
   b. A dolasęch a mlai, e ng męringęl.
      'Carving canoes is difficult.'
   Though interpreted as general statements, a and b above are actually **conditional sentences** which mean something like 'If we go fishing, (then) we need a basket' and 'If we carve a canoe, (then) it's difficult.' The conditional and consequential clauses of these examples can be permuted, resulting in the following sentences:
   a'. Ng kired ęl ousbech a chęlais a dębo ęr a chei.
      'We need a basket to go fishing with.'
   b'. Ng męringęl a dolasęch a mlai.
      'It's difficult carving canoes.'
5. It is not clear how to analyze the word *kmu*. There is some possibility that it is related to the *kmo* of *ęl kmo*, which is used to introduce **quotations** (see **21**.1), or that it is an unusual form of the verb *dmu* 'say'.
6. Following *kmu*, the *a* of *ak* 'I' is deleted. As a result, *a kmu ak* 'if I. . .' is pronounced [akmuk].
7. The following conditional sentence, which exhibits the pattern of 16a-e, contains *lak* in the conditional clause:
   A dęmal a Droteo a soal *a Droteo a lak lolim a biang*.
   'Droteo's father wants him not to drink beer.'
   Since the italicized conditional clause requires a hypothetical verb

form, and since this clause is negative, we would expect to find *lędiak*. This form is not acceptable, however, and we therefore conclude that *lak* is derived from *lę* + *diak* by a phonetic rule of contraction (cf. **18**.3 and exs. 4–5 above).

8. The sequence *lębo lak* is the hypothetical form of *mo diak* 'will not be, will become non-existent'. Here, too, we have evidence that the hypothetical form *lak* is derived from *lę* + *diak* by contraction. Cf. note 7 above and **18**.3.
9. While *ęr tiang* 'here, at this place' functions as a **locational phrase** in this sentence, *ęr tiang* 'here, from this place' functions as a **source phrase** in 24h. Cf. **14**.2 and **14**.4.

*10. In **6**.2.1, exs. 11–12, we observed just the opposite phenomenon—namely, an initial *b* is deleted before a following *m*. This is found in the derivation of *mo* 'go' from basic *mę* + *bo* (i.e., *verb marker* + *verb stem*), where metathesis of the verb marker and deletion of *ę* result in the sequence *b* + *m* + *o*, which becomes *mo* 'go' when the initial *b* is deleted before *m*. The phonetic processes under discussion suggest the following principle: when two bilabial consonants appear (or come to appear) in word-initial position, the first one is always deleted.

11. For a discussion of how Palauan passive sentences differ from **ergative** sentences, see the concluding remarks in **5**.6.

CHAPTER 20

1. The state verb *męduch*, translated here as 'strong', is also used as a (transitive) state verb meaning 'know how (to), be skilled at' (cf. **16**.3).
2. The examples of 20 can also be expressed with subjects containing *chad* 'man, person' followed by a **relative clause** (see chap. 23) which describes or modifies *chad*. Thus, with 20a-b, for example, compare the following equational sentences, which are identical in meaning:

   a. A *chad ęl mlad* a Droteo.
      'The one who died is Droteo.'
   b. A *chad ęl chillębędii a Toki* a John.
      'The person who hit Toki is John.'

   Some linguists would propose that the italicized subjects of 20a–b are derived from those of a and b above by deleting the noun *chad* (which is redundant given the context) and the **relative clause introducer** *ęl*.

*3. In **4**.6, ex.22a-b, we listed negative sentences like the following, which emphatically deny that some person or persons were connected with a particular event:

   a. Ng dimlak lęngak a silsębii a blai.
      'It wasn't me who burned down the house.'
   b. Ng dimlak ltir a milkodir a bilis.
      'It wasn't them who killed the dog.'

   The derivation of a–b, though complicated, should now be clear. Thus the source sentence of a, for example, is the following:

   c. [A *silsębii a blai* a ngak] a dimlak.

   As we saw in chap. 18, the subject of the negative verb *diak* (past: *dimlak*) can be a whole (bracketed) sentence, as in c. In c this bracketed sentence is of the **equational** type, and furthermore its subject (italicized) contains a **verb phrase being used as a noun phrase** (cf. 20 and 24 above). The source sentence c is transformed as follows:
   First, the entire bracketed sentence is moved to the right of *dimlak* by the subject shifting rule, leaving the pronominal trace *ng*:

   d. Ng dimlak [a *silsębii a blai* a ngak].

   Next, since the subject of a shifted **equational** sentence cannot remain in initial position (cf. **18**.6), d must be changed into the following:

   e. Ng dimlak [a ngak a *silsębii a blai*].

   At the same time, the hypothetical pronoun *lę-* must be prefixed to the noun immediately following *dimlak*, thus deriving sentence a.

4. When preceded by the specifying word *ęr* or the relational word *ęr*, the question word *tęcha* 'who?' cannot be introduced by *a*. The reason for this restriction is unclear.
5. A more complicated way of expressing this question is the following, which uses a passive verb:

   Ng tęcha a chomoba a hong ęr ngii?
   'Whose book do you have?'

6. When used as a possessor following a possessed noun, *tęcha* is normally not introduced by *a*. Cf. note 4 above and chap. 4, note 3.
7. As this example indicates, the common way of asking someone's name in Palauan is to use *tęcha* 'who?' together with the appropriate possessed form of *ngakl* 'name'. Therefore, the literal translation for 32e would be 'Who is your friend's name?' (which is of course unacceptable in English).
8. In this and the following sentence, the objects *tia ęl babier* 'this letter' and *blai* 'house' of the transitive verbs *milluchęs* 'was writing' and *silsębii* 'burned it down' have been **preposed.** Questions of this type seem to be used when the things referred to by the objects represent **old** information for the speaker and hearer—i.e., when they have already been introduced into the conversation as a topic of discussion.
9. It is interesting to note that when *ngara* is preposed in this way, it is not introduced by the word *a*.
10. The sequence introduced by *ęl* functions as a **purpose clause** (cf.**15**.2).
11. By applying the rule of subject shifting to this sentence, we get Ng soam a ngarang? 'What do you want?'/'What would you like?'
12. This and the above example are **passive sentences** in which the subject noun phrase (*ngara ęl tękoi* 'what language?' or *ngara ęl mubi* 'what kind of movie?') corresponds to the object of the related active sentence. As we saw in **19**.7.3, the subject noun phrase of a passive sentence sometimes corresponds to a noun phrase which would occur in a **relational phrase** in the associated active sentence. This is true for the examples below:

   a. *Ngara ęl kędęra* a dębo dongędub ęr ngii?
      'What beach are we going swimming at?'
   b. *Ngara ęl delmęrab* a losuub ęr ngii a Droteo?
      'What room is Droteo studying in?'

c. *Ngara ęl blsibs* a lętilobęd ęr ngii a beab?
'What hole did the mouse emerge from?

The italicized subject noun phrases of a-b designate the **location** of an action, while that of c refers to the **source**.

13. For an explanation of the meaning and use of the **predictive word** *ku*, cf. **11**.12.6.
14. For a discussion of this type of sentence, which contains a **conditional clause**, cf. **19**.3.

CHAPTER 21

1. It is possible that *kmo* has developed from a form of the verb *dmu* 'say' (past: *dilu*). Even though we spell various combinations of **nonemphatic pronoun** + *dmu* in a consistent manner—namely, *ak dmu* 'I say', *ng dmu* 'he/she says', *aki dmu* 'we (excl.) say', *tę dmu* 'they say', etc.—*dmu* has a special pronunciation in several cases. After *ak* 'I' and *ng* 'he/she', the *d* of *dmu* changes to [k]; this [k] results from **assimilation** (cf. **1**.3.3) of *d* to the preceding **velar** consonants *k* and *ng*. Because of this assimilation, we have the normal pronunciations [akkmu] and [ŋkmu]. The pronunciation of *dmu* as [kmu] has spread to other forms where there is no phonetic reason for the *d* to change to *k*: thus, many speakers pronounce *tę dmu*, for example, as [təkmu]. Although its final vowel is different, the *kmo* of *ęl kmo* might be related to the "favored" variant [kmu] of *dmu*. This same [kmu] might also appear in the sequence *a kmu* 'if', which introduces a type of **conditional clause** (cf. **19**.3 and chap. 19, note 5).
2. The double quotation marks used in this and similar sentences are merely a convenient (though artificial) device for identifying directly-quoted statements. In actual speech, however, there is no phonetic difference between statements which are directly quoted vs. those which are indirectly quoted. For this reason, 2a is **ambiguous** when spoken—that is, it can also be interpreted as an indirect quotation with the meaning 'I told Droteo that I wanted to go to your house.' Here, of course, *blim* refers to the house of the person to whom this utterance is addressed.
3. The verb *męlębędebęk* can also mean 'think of/about', as in the sentences below:

   a. Ak męlębędebęk ęr a {party / beluak}.
   'I'm thinking about {the party / my home},

   b. Ak millębędebęk ęr a sęchęlik ęl mlo ęr a Merikel er se ęr a lęme a babier ęr ngii.
   'I was thinking of my friend who went to America just when a letter from him arrived.'

   In these sentences, *męlębędebęk* seems to be followed by a special subtype of **directional phrase** which designates the **goal** of some activity or state (cf. **14**.3.1).
4. As we saw in **7**.4, *męduge* is a **transitive state verb** which has **perfective** forms and which can be followed by concrete objects, as in the following:

   a. Ak mle mędęngęlii a Toki er se ęr a lęngalęk.
   'I knew Toki when she was a child.'
   b. Ak mędęngęlii a kotai ęr tia ęl ochur.
   'I know the answer to this math problem.'
   c. A John a mędęnge a tękoi ęr a Sina.
   'John knows Chinese.'

5. Our use of double quotation marks helps to identify this sentence as containing a directly-quoted question. As we will see below, the same sentence without double quotation marks involves an indirectly-quoted question and differs in meaning:
   A Droteo a ulęker ęr ngak ęl kmo ng soam a biang.
   'Droteo asked me if you wanted a beer.'
   In this sentence, *soam* 'your liking' of course refers to the person to whom the utterance is addressed. Whereas there is no phonetic difference between directly-quoted vs. indirectly-quoted **statements** (cf. note 2 above) there is a significant difference in the pronunciation of directly-quoted vs. indirectly-quoted **questions.** While a directly-quoted question (e.g. 11b) ends with a rise in intonation (cf. **20**.1), an indirectly-quoted question (e.g., the example above) does not. A similar discussion can be applied to 11c-d.
6. While *omdasu* corresponds to 'wonder (if...)' in this example, it usually means 'think, believe', as in 5a-c above.

CHAPTER 22

1. The temporal phrases *ęr a uche ęr a chęldęchęduch* 'before the meeting' and *ęr a uriul ęr a chęldęchęduch* 'after the meeting' contrast in meaning with the temporal phrases *ęr a uchęlel a chęldęchęduch* 'at the beginning of the meeting' and *ęr a rsel a chęldęchęduch* 'at the end of the meeting' (cf. **3**.5).

CHAPTER 23

1. The concept of "distribution" is introduced in **2**.1 and **2**.3.
2. Recall that **bracketed sentences** are found only in structures which serve as the (abstract) **source** for sentences that are actually spoken. Bracketed sentences must be shifted, or must have some of their elements deleted, when the **source sentences** of which they are a part are transformed into **actually-spoken sentences.** These concepts are discussed in detail in **17**.2, **17**.7, and **18**.2.1.
3. As we saw in **15**.1 and in chap. 16, the same word *ęl* also functions to introduce **dependent clauses** and **object clauses**. A further use of *ęl* will be observed in chap. 24.
4. This sentence can also be translated as 'I'm sad about my friend's having died.' A similar example is the following:
   A Toki a ungil a ręngul ęr a Droteo ęl męsisiich.
   'Toki is happy that Droteo is well.'
5. This sentence, which translates literally as 'There's some news of Toki which is known by me', has a rather unfavorable connotation—that is, it implies that the news is about something bad, unusual, etc. that Toki did.

CHAPTER 24

1. For a review of how the concept of bracketed sentences is used in the derivation of relative clauses, cf. **23**.2.
2. Since this difference was described in detail in **23**.5, it will not be repeated here.
3. The sequence *ngodęch ęl chad* can also mean 'someone/anyone else', as in the sentence below:
   Ng dimlak a ngodęch ęl chad ęl mle ęr a party?
   'Wasn't there anyone else at the party?'
4. The word *kid* is added to an equational sentence when the speaker wishes to emphatically point out the location of someone or something.
5. Through sheer oversight, the author failed to include yet another set of Palauan demonstrative words representing a fourth category of distance. These omitted items designate persons or things near the speaker but relatively far from the hearer. Thus, the demonstrative words *tie* 'this' and *aile* 'these' should be added to the chart in 15, while the demonstrative words *ngile* 'this person' and *tirile* 'these people' need to be added to the chart in 16. The over-all analysis presented in **24**.3 must also be modified accordingly.
6. The *i* of *ngi-* is deleted optionally before the *k*-initial morphemes *-ka* 'located near speaker and hearer' and *-ke* 'located far from speaker and hearer'. When this *i* is dropped, the word-initial *ng* becomes **syllabic** (cf. **1**.3.5)—i.e., we have *ngke* [ŋkey] and *ngka* [ŋkaŋ].
7. The *i* of *tiri-* is obligatorily deleted before the *k*-initial morphemes *-ka* and *-ke*. Cf. note 6 above.
8. Note that a human noun like *sensei* 'teacher' does not take the plural prefix *rę-* (cf. **2**.5) in constructions of the form *demonstrative* + *ęl* + *noun*. In such cases, the plural prefix *rę-* is unnecessary (or redundant) because the demonstrative word itself automatically designates singular vs. plural. Note, therefore, the contrast between the following:

ngilęcha ęl sensei	'that teacher'
tirilęcha ęl sensei	'those teachers'

   Needless to say, it is also the demonstrative word alone which distinguishes between singular and plural in a pair like the following,

tia ęl hong	'this book'
aika ęl hong	'these books'

   where the head noun is non-human and therefore could never be preceded by rę- anyway.
9. As we will see in **24**.4.3 below, Palauan number words are always preceded by *a* (cf. **2**.6) when they are used in sentences or as part of expressions such as *tęruich mę a ta* 'eleven' or *tęruich mę a eru* 'twelve', etc. In *tęruich mę a ta* 'eleven' the *ę* of *mę* is not pronounced, resulting in [təruyʔəmataŋ] (cf. **1**.5.e, ex. 54). And in *tęruich mę a eru* 'twelve', etc. both the *ę* of *mę* and the *a* before vowel-initial *eru* 'two' are omitted, giving the pronunciation [təruyʔəmɛruŋ] (cf. **1**.5.a, ex. 40).

10. Further expressions of this type are given in **14**.6, ex. 34g.
11. Further expressions indicating hours of the day are found in **14**.6, ex. 34d.
12. Recall that the plural prefix *rę-* can be optionally attached to the number word in expressions like these. Thus, in addition to *teim ęl sensei* 'five teachers' we can have *ręteim ęl sensei*, with no change in meaning. Cf. the discussion in **2**.5, especially ex. 25.
13. It is possible that *teliud* 'one bunch' is a contracted (or shortened) form of what was originally the sequence *ta ęl iud*. This very same structure is actually found in *tęruich ęl iud* 'ten bunches'. It also seems plausible that *teluo* 'one (long object)' of Set V has developed by contraction from a sequence *ta ęl uo*.
14. The word *ma* (not to be confused with *mę a*... [ma] 'and...') also means 'first'. This word does not have to be used together with *kot*, as the following example (equivalent to 42b in meaning) shows:
   Kę ma mo ęr a skuul, e ngak ekong.
   'You go on ahead to school, and then I'll follow.'
15. In the sentence below, the ordinal number *ongeru* 'second' is used in exactly the same way:

Ak ongeru ęl ręmurt.	'I'll run second (in the race, etc.).'

16. **Temporal phrases** containing this and the preceding expression are given in **14**.6, exs. 34b-c.
17. The qualifying word *di* 'only, just' can also precede nouns, as in the following sentences:

a.	Aki di ngalęk ęr a skuul.	'We're just students.'
b.	Ak męnga a di iasai.	'I eat vegetables only.'

18. The qualifying word *kilo* 'almost, nearly' may be the **past tense** form of the special verb *ko* 'just' (cf. **15**.7.7, ex. 56).

CHAPTER 25

1. The Palauan sentences in 3b-c indeed contain result clauses introduced by *mę*, even though this is not directly reflected in the English translations. Detailed discussion of such cases is given in **22**.1.1.
2. The slang expression *mo bad* 'go to sleep' means, literally, 'become (like) a rock'.
3. It is possible that *a lęchub* is some kind of **conditional** expression (cf. **19**.1) in which *a* 'if' is followed by a "fossilized" hypothetical verb form containing the 3rd pers. sg. hypothetical pronoun *lę-*. The fact that the clause following *mę a lęchub* is introduced by *e* lends support to this speculation, since *e* introduces **consequential clauses** which follow **conditional clauses** (cf. **19**.1 and **19**.3).
4. In the clause *ng mirrael a Droteo* 'Droteo left', the subject *Droteo* has been **shifted** to clause-final position, leaving the **pronominal trace** *ng* (cf. **17**.2).

Appendix

Guide to Phonetic Symbols Used in This Textbook

Phonetic Symbol	*Corresponding Letter in Palauan Spelling*	*Sample Palauan Word*
[b]	b	blai [blay] 'house'
[p]	b	brer [prɛr] 'raft'
[t]	t	tkul [tkul] 'its edge'
	d	dmak [tmakʰ] 'together'
[tʰ]	t	chat [ʔatʰ] 'smoke'
[d]	d	dub [dup] 'dynamite'
[θ̬]	d	dngod [θ̬ŋoð] 'tattoo needle'
[ð]	d	mad [mað] 'eye'
[k]	k	ker [kɛr] 'question'
[kʰ]	k	brak [prakʰ] 'taro'
[g]	k	rękas [rəgás] 'mosquito'
[x]	k	chęrmek [ʔərméx] 'my animal'[1]
[ʔ]	ch	charm [ʔarm] 'animal'
[s]	s	sers [sɛrs] 'garden'
[m]	m	mlim [mlim] 'your canoe'
[m̩]	m	mdak [m̩ðákʰ] 'be together!'
[ŋ]	ng	ngor [ŋor] 'mouth'
[ŋ̍]	ng	ngklem [ŋ̍klém] 'your name'
[n]	ng	iungs [yuns] 'island'
	n	nas [nas] 'eggplant'
[n̩]	ng	ngduul [n̩dúwl] 'clam'
[l]	l	rael [ráɛl] 'road'
[l̩]	l	lmuut [l̩múwtʰ] 'return'
[l:]	ll	kall [kál:ə] 'food'
[r]	r	reng [rɛŋ] 'heart, spirit'
[r̩]	r	rsel [r̩sél] 'its end'
[r̃]	rr	rrom [r̃om] 'liquor'
[h]	h	hong [hoŋ] 'book'

1. See chap. 1, note 2.

Phonetic Symbol	*Corresponding Letter in Palauan Spelling*	*Sample Palauan Word*
[j]	j	daijiob [dayjyób] 'all right'
[z]	z	keizai [kéyzay] 'economics'
[i]	i	sils [sils] 'sun'
[u]	u	bung [buŋ] 'flower'
[ɛ]	e	oles [olés] 'knife'
[ə]	ę (sometimes not spelled)	chęlat [ʔəlátʰ] 'smoked (fish)' ralm [rálmə] 'water'
[o]	o	ngor [ŋor] 'mouth'
[a]	a	bad [bað] 'stone'
[y]	i	blai [blay] 'house'
	e	eolt [yóltə] 'wind'
[w]	u	uel [wɛl] 'turtle'
	o	oach [waʔ] 'leg'
[í], [ú], etc. (stressed vowels)	i, u, etc.	chętil [ʔətíl] 'doesn't like'

Glossary of Terms

abstract noun—a noun which identifies a concept, idea, quality, or emotion—i.e., something which lacks any discernible physical attributes and therefore cannot be perceived by any of the five senses.

accompaniment clause—a type of dependent clause which identifies the person(s) with whom the action or activity of the preceding independent clause is being performed.

action noun—a noun which designates an action or activity as an abstract concept. Action nouns are derived by prefixing *o-* to transitive or intransitive action verbs.

action verb—a verb which describes an action, activity, or event.

active sentence—a sentence type in which the agent appears as the subject of a transitive verb and the person, animal, or thing affected by the action of the transitive verb appears as its object. In active sentences, attention is focused on the agent and what the agent does.

affirmative command—an imperative sentence in which the speaker orders the hearer to do something.

affirmative expression of existence—a sentence which asserts the existence of something or introduces something into a conversation as new information.

affirmative sentence—a sentence which asserts or affirms the occurrence of some action, event, state, condition, etc.

affix—a morpheme which cannot occur as an independent word but which must be attached to, or inserted into, another word. The three types of affixes are prefixes, suffixes, and infixes.

affix pronoun—a pronoun which does not occur as a separate word but which must be attached to another word as a prefix or suffix.

agent—the doer of an action; the person who performs, carries out, or causes an action.

allophones—the non-contrastive predictable phonetic varieties of a particular phoneme. The allophones of a given phoneme never provide us with minimal pairs.

alveolar—a consonantal sound involving the alveolar ridge.

alveolar ridge—the hard ridge behind the upper teeth which serves as a point of articulation for the Palauan consonants *s*, *r*, and *l*.

ambiguous—having two (or more) different meanings; interpretable in more than one way.

animate noun—a noun referring to something which is alive and can move by itself—i.e., to a human being or animal.

anticipating state suffix—a suffix of the form *-(ę)l*, *-all*, or *long vowel* + *l* which combines with verb stems to form anticipating state verbs.

anticipating state verb—a state verb formed with the suffixes *-(ę)l*, *-all*, or *long vowel* + *l* which describes the state or condition that someone or something is expected to be in. Many anticipating state verbs function as nouns with special meanings.

appositional structure—a structure of the form *noun phrase of possession* + *ęl* + *noun* in which the two elements linked by *ęl* are equated with each other.

archaic—term used to describe a form or usage which has nearly disappeared from a language.

articulator—a speech organ (or part of a speech organ) which moves and touches some other speech organ during the production of a speech sound.

aspiration—an audible puff of air accompanying the pronunciation of certain Palauan stop consonants.

assimilation—a process by which the pronunciation of a given sound is changed so as to become similar or identical to that of an adjacent or neighboring sound.

auxiliary word—a helping word such as *mo* 'go' or *mle* 'was, were' which accompanies a verb and shows the tense of the verb or some other information.

back vowel—a vowel pronounced with the tongue retracted towards the back of the mouth.

basic stem—an abstract representation of a noun or verb stem which does not occur in actual pronunciation or writing but which allows us to predict the correct pronunciation of the various forms in which it occurs.

basic structure—a formula which shows all of the elements (morphemes) which compose a particular noun or verb form. The elements in the basic structure of a form must often be modified considerably in order to obtain the actually-spoken form.

bilabial—a consonantal sound produced with the two lips.

bound form—a morpheme which can never occur alone as an independent word but must always be connected (or bound) to some other morpheme(s). All affixes and some verb stems are bound forms.

bracketed sentence—a whole sentence which functions as a subject noun phrase in certain source sentences. Bracketed sentences must be moved by the process of subject shifting.

causative marker bęk—a morpheme with causative meaning which is part of the causative prefix *omęk-*.

causative prefix—a prefix of the form *omę(k)-* or *ol(ę)-* which is added to a verb stem to derive a causative verb.

causative verb—a special type of transitive action verb formed with the causative prefix. Causative verbs describe actions in which the subject causes or forces someone or something to perform a particular action or be in a particular state.

cause phrase—a relational phrase which indicates the cause of, or reason for, some state, condition, or action.

central vowel—a vowel pronounced in the center of the mouth with the tongue in "neutral" position—i.e., neither advanced (as for front vowels) nor retracted (as for back vowels).

change of state expression—a sequence consisting of the auxiliary word *mo* 'go, become' and a state verb. Such expressions imply a change from an earlier state to a later, resulting state.

characterizational phrase—a type of relational phrase which characterizes the immediately preceding noun by describing its function, purpose, content, origin, etc.

complex noun—a noun which contains at least two morphemes and is formed by adding certain types of affixes to verb stems or to other nouns.

complex verb form—a verb form which is composed of two or more morphemes.

complex verb phrase—a verb phrase consisting of two or three separate words.

concrete noun—a noun which identifies something that has discernible

physical attributes and can therefore be perceived by one or more of the five senses—i.e., something we can see, hear, touch, taste, or smell.

condition—an event, action, state, etc. whose occurrence is suggested or put forth as a possibility; occurs together with the consequent to form a conditional sentence.

conditional clause—the clause of a conditional sentence which expresses the condition. Conditional clauses contain hypothetical verb forms and are introduced by the conditional clause marker *a* 'if'.

conditional clause marker a—the word, equivalent to English 'if', which introduces Palauan conditional clauses.

conditional sentence—a sentence type consisting basically of two parts—a condition and a consequent—and expressing the idea that *if* some event, action, state, etc. occurs, *then* something else will happen.

connecting words mę **and** e—words which connect two simple sentences into one and relate the ideas which they represent.

consequent—an event, action, state, etc. which takes place as a result or consequence of some other event, action, or state; occurs together with the condition to form a conditional sentence.

consequential clause—the clause of a conditional sentence which expresses the consequent. Consequential clauses are introduced by *e* '(and) then' if they follow the conditional clause.

consonant—a sound produced by partial or complete interruption of the outward air flow.

consonant cluster—a series of two adjacent consonants in the same syllable.

consonant-final (word or stem)—a word or stem ending in a consonant.

consonant-initial (word, stem, or suffix)—a word, stem, or suffix beginning with a consonant.

context—the broad environment of a word, phrase, or sentence; the words or sentences which surround a particular word or sentence and have bearing on its meaning.

contextual restrictions—the restrictions imposed by the context or environment on the correct or acceptable occurrence of particular forms.

contrastive sounds—sounds which contrast with each other (= phonemes) in otherwise identical environments. The sounds represented by Palauan *t* and *d* are contrastive because they occur in the environment *-ub* and therefore differentiate *tub* 'spit' from *dub* 'dynamite'. See also *phonemes, significant sounds.*

coordinate noun phrase—a noun phrase consisting of two or more nouns (or noun phrases) joined by the connecting word *mę*.

demonstrative—a word which is used to point out or draw attention to a particular person, animal, or thing.

dental—a consonantal sound involving the teeth.

dependent clause—a clause without an overtly-expressed subject whose full interpretation depends on information found in the preceding (independent) clause.

dependent clause introducer ęl—a word which appears at the beginning of, and therefore introduces, dependent clauses.

derived action noun—see *action noun.*

derived plural noun—a plural noun formed (or derived) by prefixing the plural prefix *rę-* to a state verb or action verb.

derived state verb—a state verb which is derived by adding one or more affixes to a verb stem or a noun stem.

directional phrase—a relational phrase which indicates the goal or termination point of some action involving movement or the characteristic goal of some action or state.

directional verb—a special type of intransitive action verb which indicates movement in a particular direction.

direct quotation—word for word repetition by the speaker of someone else's statement or assertion.

dissimilation—a process in which the pronunciation of a given sound is changed so as to become different from that of an adjacent or neighboring sound.

distribution (of a sound or word)—the positions (or environments) in which a given sound or word occurs relative to other sounds or words.

duration—the period of time over which an action or state takes place.

emphatic pronoun—a type of independent pronoun which, when used as sentence subject, makes exclusive reference to a person or persons and implies a contrast with other persons who might be (but are not) associated with the action or state in question. Emphatic pronouns also occur after the relational word *ęr* or the specifying word *ęr*, but without any sense of exclusive reference or contrast.

environment—the sound or sounds adjacent or close to some other sound; the word or words adjacent or close to some other word.

equational sentence—a sentence type in which two noun phrases are equated with each other.

ergative sentence—a sentence type containing an ergative verb. In ergative sentences, the subject of the ergative verb is viewed as having undergone the effect of some action, and the agent or cause of this action is de-emphasized.

ergative verb—a verb form consisting of the verb marker and a verb stem which takes as its subject what would be the object of the related transitive verb.

existential (state) verb—a verb which asserts the present or past existence of the subject in a particular location—i.e., *ngar* 'be (located)' and *mla* 'was (located)'.

expanded noun phrase—a noun phrase consisting of a head noun followed by a relative clause or of a head noun preceded by a modifier.

explicit—shown by an actual marker or form; overt.

first person plural exclusive—a pronoun or possessor suffix which refers solely to the speaker and at least one other person associated with him, but which excludes reference to the person(s) spoken to.

first person plural inclusive—a pronoun or possessor suffix which not only makes reference to the speaker (and anyone associated with him) but also includes reference to the person(s) spoken to.

first person pronoun—a pronoun ('I' or 'we') which refers to the speaker of the sentence or the group to which he belongs.

formal—referring to the actual form or structure of a word, grammatical construction, or sentence.

fricative—a consonantal sound involving partial closure or constriction between the articulator and point of articulation, resulting in audible friction.

front vowel—a vowel pronounced with the tongue advanced towards the front of the mouth.

full vowels—the non-neutral vowels *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*, and *a*, which are pronounced with full vowel quality or "color".

future tense—a tense used to describe an action or state which will occur in the future (i.e., at some point in time following that of the utterance). It is represented by the auxiliary *mo* 'go' followed by an action or state verb.

general question—a question about a habit or general truth rather than a specific event.

general statement—a sentence which expresses a broad generalization, habitual occurrence, or general truth rather than a specific event.

glide sounds—sounds characterized by a gliding movement of the tongue towards a high front position (*y*-glide) or high back position (*w*-glide).

glottal—a consonantal sound (usually a stop) involving the glottis (or vocal cords).

glottis—the space between the vocal cords.

grammatical system of a language—the contrasting units of meaning (morphemes or words) and their distribution.

habitual statement—a sentence which describes a habit or repeated action which the subject engages in.

head noun—the noun which precedes a relative clause or follows a modifier construction.

high vowel—a vowel pronounced with the tongue raised high in the mouth and close to the palate.

homonyms—words which are pronounced the same but have distinct meanings. Some nouns are homonyms in their independent forms but have distinct possessed forms.

human noun—a noun which refers to a human being.

hypothetical pronoun—a type of affix pronoun which is prefixed to verbs in a large variety of complex grammatical constructions which involve hypothetical (i.e., unreal) events or situations.

hypothetical verb form—a verb form containing a prefixed hypothetical pronoun and usually lacking the verb marker. Hypothetical verb forms designate unreal, supposed, or imagined events or states rather than real ones.

imminent (action or event)—an action or event which is just about to occur or is likely to occur in the very near future.

imperative verb form—a verb form used to express an order or command. Palauan imperative verb forms are actually hypothetical verb forms prefixed with the second person hypothetical pronoun.

imperfective marker—a morpheme with various forms (*-l-*, *-ng-*, and *-m-*) which functions to mark or identify a particular transitive verb as imperfective. The imperfective marker is placed between the verb marker and the verb stem and causes the initial consonant of the following verb stem to delete.

imperfective verb—a transitive verb form which consists of the verb marker, the imperfective marker, and a verb stem and which de-

signates an action which is in progress and has not been brought to completion or perfection.

implicit—not overtly expressed by some marker or form; implied.

inanimate noun—a noun referring to something which cannot move by itself—i.e., to something other than a human being or an animal.

inchoative suffix -a—a suffix added to verb stems which denotes an action or state that has just come about and is therefore new and unexpected.

independent clause—a clause which precedes a dependent clause or object clause in certain types of complex sentences and which can occur alone as a separate (or independent) sentence because it contains a fully specified subject and verb.

independent form of a noun—the unpossessed form of a noun—i.e., the noun stem without any prefix or suffix.

independent pronoun—a pronoun which occurs as a separate word rather than as a prefix or suffix.

indirect quotation—a summary or rephrasing by the speaker (i.e., from the speaker's point of view) of someone else's statement or assertion.

infix—any morpheme which is inserted into a word.

initial state—a state which existed before some process of change began.

instrument clause—a type of dependent clause which identifies the instrument used in performing the action or activity mentioned in the preceding independent clause.

instrument noun—a concrete noun which designates the tool, implement, or utensil used in performing a particular action.

intentional causation—a type of causation in which the subject of a causative verb means or intends to bring about the action or state in question.

internal structure (of a word)—the structure of a word in terms of the morphemes (stems and affixes) from which it is formed.

intervocalic—appearing between two vowels.

intonation—the rising or falling pitch of the voice, sometimes used to distinguish Palauan questions from statements.

intransitive action verb—a verb which names an action or activity that involves only a doer, but no receiver.

intransitive sentence—a sentence type consisting of a subject noun phrase and an intransitive verb (followed optionally by a relational phrase).

intransitive state verb—a state verb which involves only a sentence subject, but no sentence object.

liquid—a consonant pronounced by making a partial closure in the mouth, but without any audible friction.

locational phrase—a relational phrase which indicates the location or place of some action or state.

long l—a pronunciation of *l* which is held about twice as long as that of the single consonant; spelled *ll* and transcribed phonetically as [l:].

long vowel—a vowel pronounced with greater length than the corresponding short (or regular) vowel. Palauan long vowels are also characterized by a gliding articulation.

low vowel—a vowel pronounced with the tongue low in the mouth, relatively distant from the palate.

main clause—another term for independent clause.

manner of articulation—the way in which a speech sound is produced; involves complete vs. partial stoppage of air flow, nasal vs. non-nasal articulation, etc.

marked forms—forms which are identified or marked by the overt presence of a particular morpheme (usually an affix). For example, Palauan past tense verb forms are easily identified because they always contain the past tense marker *-il-* or *-l-*.

means of transportation clause—a type of dependent clause which specifies the means of transportation used to move from one location to another.

metathesis—a phonetic process in which sounds or groups of sounds exchange positions. As a result of this process, the verb marker *mę-* appears to have been infixed into verb stems as *-(ę)m-*, *-u-*, or *-o-*.

mid vowel—a vowel pronounced with a tongue position somewhere between high (close to the palate) and low (relatively far from the palate).

minimal pair—a pair of words which differ from each other with respect to a single phoneme—e.g. *blai* 'house' vs. *mlai* 'canoe', *chad* 'person' vs. *chat* 'smoke', etc.

modifier—any grammatical construction in which a word or group of words is linked by *ęl* to a following (head) noun.

morphemes—meaning-bearing units which combine with each other in the formation of words; minimal units of meaning.

morphology—the study of how different morphemes combine with each other in the formation of words.

nasal sound—a consonant pronounced with air flowing freely through the nose but not the mouth.

negative command—an imperative sentence in which the speaker orders the hearer not to do something.

negative expression of existence—a sentence which introduces something into a conversation as new information but at the same time denies the existence of this particular thing.

negative sentence—a sentence which denies the occurrence of some action, event, state, condition, etc. Nearly all Palauan negative sentences contain some form of the negative verb *diak*.

negative verb diak—an intransitive state verb, equivalent to English 'isn't, doesn't exist,' which is found in nearly all Palauan negative sentences.

neutral vowel—the mid central vowel *schwa* (phonetically transcribed [ə]), so called because it is articulated in a position which is least extreme or deviant in terms of tongue height and tongue advancement.

non-contrastive sounds—slightly different pronunciations of a phoneme (= allophones) which are usually predictable and automatic and which do not result in minimal pairs.

non-emphatic pronoun—a type of independent pronoun which, when used as sentence subject, refers to a person or persons without any particular sense of emphasis or contrast.

non-human noun—a noun which refers to something which is not human —i.e. to an animal or thing.

non-intentional causation—a type of causation in which the subject of a causative verb does not consciously mean or intend to bring about the action or state in question.

non-specific noun—a noun which does not refer to any particular person, animal, or thing but instead refers to something in a general way.

noun—a word (or part of speech) which names or makes reference to various types of things and living beings.

noun phrase—any single word or group of words which can occur as sentence subject or object, or following the relational word *ɛr*. All Palauan noun phrases must at least contain a noun.

noun phrase of characterization—a noun phrase consisting of either of the following:

(i) a possessed noun with a 3rd pers. sg. or pl. possessor suffix followed by another noun (phrase) which characterizes the possessed noun by describing its function, purpose, content, origin, etc.

(ii) the independent form of an optionally possessed noun followed by a characterizational phrase.

noun phrase of possession—a noun phrase consisting of any of the following:

(i) a single possessed noun.

(ii) a possessed noun with a 3rd pers. sg. or pl. possessor suffix followed by another noun (phrase) which specifies or identifies the possessor.

(iii) an unpossessible noun followed by a possessor phrase.

noun stem—way of referring to a noun when it appears in combination with a prefix or suffix.

number morphemes—morphemes designating numbers that combine with various prefixes to form number words for counting different categories of things.

number word—any word which designates a number. Most Palauan number words consist of a prefix identifying the category of thing being counted followed by a number morpheme.

object clause—a type of dependent clause which is used in sentence object position following certain transitive verbs.

object pronoun—a type of affix pronoun which is suffixed to perfective verb forms and which identifies the person or persons affected by the action of the verb.

obligatorily possessed noun—a noun which has no independent form and must therefore always occur with a possessor suffix.

obligatory—must occur, apply, etc.

optional—may or may not occur, apply, etc.

optionally possessed noun—a noun which may (but does not have to) occur in a possessed form—i.e., a noun which can appear independently as well as with possessor suffixes.

ordinal number—a number used to indicate the order or rank of something—i.e., first, second, etc.

overt—shown by an actual marker or form; explicit.

paradigm—a set or group of related forms.

parts of speech—classes or groups of words in a language whose members have common distributional characteristics.

passive sentence—a sentence type containing the hypothetical form of a transitive verb in which the person, animal, or thing affected by the action of the transitive verb appears in sentence subject position and the agent appears in sentence-final position. In passive sentences, attention is focused on the object and what happens to it.

past tense—a tense used to describe actions or states which occurred or were in progress in the past (i.e. at some point in time preceding the time of utterance).

past tense marker -il- or -l- —a morpheme indicating the past tense which is infixed after the initial consonant of a verb.

perfective verb—a transitive verb form which contains a suffixed object pronoun and which designates an action which is brought to completion or perfection.

permutation—exchange of position (as in the permutation of conditional and consequential clauses).

phonemes of a language—units of sound which contrast with each other and serve to differentiate words from each other. See also *contrastive sounds*, *significant sounds*.

phonetic symbol—a symbol written in square brackets and used to identify the actual pronunciation of a sound—e.g. [b], [ŏ], [a], etc. The phonetic symbol for a sound may not necessarily correspond to the letters used in Palauan spelling—e.g. [ʔ] for *ch*. See also *phonetic transcription*.

phonetic transcription—the system (or practice) of writing down the words of a language in phonetic symbols. Phonetic transcriptions of words are enclosed in square brackets—e.g. [maŏ] for *mad* 'eye'. See also *phonetic symbol*.

phrase—a group of associated words. Palauan has three major types of phrases—noun phrases, verb phrases, and relational phrases.

plural—referring to two or more persons, animals, or things.

plural prefix—a prefix (*rę-* or *r-*) which can be added only to human nouns to form plurals.

point of articulation—the place where contact is made during the production of certain speech sounds.

possessed noun—any noun consisting of a noun stem followed by a possessor suffix.

possession—relationship between a noun stem and a possessor suffix such that the person or thing to which the suffix refers owns or possesses whatever is designated by the noun stem.

possessor phrase—a type of relational phrase which identifies the possessor of the immediately preceding (unpossessible) noun.

possessor suffix—a suffix which is added to a noun stem to designate the possessor.

predictive suffix -u—a suffix added to verb stems which expresses the speaker's prediction that the action of the verb is about to happen.

prefix—any bound morpheme which is attached to the beginning of a word or morpheme.

preposing of possessor—a grammatical process in which a noun phrase designating a possessor is preposed (or moved forward) to sentence-initial position, where it substitutes for a pronominal trace. The possessor to be preposed must already have been moved to the right of the verb phrase as part of a shifted subject.

preposition—term used in English grammar to refer to relating words such as *by*, *with*, *on*, *for*, etc.

present tense—a tense used to describe actions or states which are in progress at the present time (i.e. at the time when the sentence is uttered). The present tense is also used in general statements and habitual statements.

productive—term used to describe a pattern of word formation which is widely used by the speakers of a language in coining new words.

progressive—in progress; in the process of taking place.

pronominalization—a grammatical process by which a noun (or noun phrase) is replaced by a non-emphatic pronoun under certain circumstances.

pronominal trace—a 3rd pers. sg. or pl. non-emphatic pronoun which occurs in sentence-initial position as a result of the grammatical process of subject shifting.

pronoun—a short word referring to persons such as 'I', 'you', 'he', etc.; a word which substitutes for a noun or noun phrase in the proper context.

propositive verb form—a verb form used when the speaker wishes to propose or suggest that he and the hearer(s) perform some action or activity together. Palauan propositive verb forms are actually hypothetical verb forms prefixed with the first person plural inclusive hypothetical pronoun.

purpose clause—a type of dependent clause which explains the purpose of the action or activity mentioned in the preceding independent clause.

qualifying word—a word which qualifies or limits the meaning of a directly following verb.

question—any sentence which asks for or demands information of one kind or another.

question word—a word which occurs in question sentences and is used to ask about the specific identity of a person, place, thing, etc.

reason clause—a clause introduced by *e le* 'because' which explains the cause or reason for the event or state described in the preceding clause.

recent past (tense)—a tense which refers to an event that happened in the recent past (i.e., at a past time point not too distant from that of the utterance itself) or to past experience. It is represented by the auxiliary *mla* followed by an action verb.

reciprocal—affecting each other; having a mutual effect.

reciprocal prefix—a prefix with many variant forms (*kai-*, *kau-*, *kaiuę-*, *kę-*, *ka-*, and *cha-*) which is added to verb stems or nouns to derive reciprocal verbs.

reciprocal verb—a verb formed with the reciprocal prefix which describes a situation in which two or more persons or things are affecting each other in some way.

reduced vowel—the neutral vowel *ę* (schwa), often resulting from the reduction or weakening of the full vowels *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*, and *a* in unstressed syllables.

redundant—containing superfluous or unnecessary information.

reduplicated syllable—a syllable which has been formed by a process of reduplication.

reduplication—a phonetic process which involves repeating (or reduplicating) part or all of a verb stem or noun, usually resulting in a significant change of meaning. Palauan reduplication patterns are very complex and have many irregularities.

relational phrase—any sequence consisting of the relational word *ęr* followed by a noun (phrase) or a pronoun. Relational phrases provide such information as the place or time of an action or state.

relational word ęr—a widely-used Palauan word which functions to express various types of relationships such as location, time, possession, and the like. This word corresponds to English 'on', 'at', 'in', 'from', 'of', etc.

relative clause—a clause introduced by *ęl* which relates a particular piece of information to the preceding (head) noun.

relative clause introducer ęl—a word which appears at the beginning of, and therefore introduces, relative clauses.

result clause—a clause introduced by *mę* '(and) so' which explains the result or consequence of the event or state described in the preceding clause.

resulting sentence—a sentence derived as a result of applying certain grammatical processes to a source sentence.

resulting state—a state which has come about as the result of some process of change.

resulting state infix -(ę)l- —an infix which is inserted after the initial consonant of a verb stem to form a resulting state verb.

resulting state verb—a state verb formed with the infix *-(ę)l-* which is used to describe the state or condition someone or something is in as a result of a particular action. Many resulting state verbs function as nouns with special meanings.

rounded vowel—a vowel pronounced with simultaneous rounding of the lips.

schwa—a mid central vowel occurring only in Palauan unstressed syllables; transcribed phonetically as [ə] and spelled as *ę* in this text.

schwa release—a predictable pronunciation of *schwa* following a consonant cluster in word-final position.

second person pronoun—a pronoun ('you') which refers to the person or persons addressed.

sentence object—the noun or noun phrase which follows a transitive verb and designates the person, animal, or thing affected by the action of the verb.

sentence subject—the noun or noun phrase which appears at the beginning of a sentence preceding the verb or verb phrase.

sentence type—a variety of sentence characterized by a particular sequence of elements. Palauan has sentence types such as transitive sentence, intransitive sentence, ergative sentence, etc.

sequential time relationship—relationship between two clauses joined by the connecting word *e* such that the clause introduced by *e* designates an event, state, etc. which takes place after the event, state, etc. of the preceding clause.

shortening—a phonetic process in which a sequence of two vowels

(i.e., a long vowel or a vowel cluster) shortens to a single vowel.

significant sounds of a language—units of sound which contrast with each other and serve to differentiate words from each other. See also *contrastive sounds, phonemes.*

simple noun—a noun which consists of a single morpheme.

simple noun phrase—a noun phrase consisting of the independent (or unpossessed) form of a noun.

simple state verb—a state verb which consists of a single morpheme.

simultaneous time relationship—relationship between two clauses joined by the connecting word *e* such that the events, states, etc. of both clauses are happening at the same time.

singular—referring to just one person, animal, or thing.

sound system of a language—the contrasting units of sound (= phonemes) and their distribution.

source phrase—a relational phrase which indicates the point of origin of some action involving movement or the person from whom something is received, learned, etc.

source sentence—the sentence from which another sentence is derived by applying grammatical processes such as subject shifting, preposing of possessor, and the like. Some source sentences are themselves grammatical, while other source sentences must obligatorily undergo certain grammatical processes.

spatial relationship—a relationship between the locations of two or more persons or things. Spatial relationships involve such concepts as *on top of* vs. *under, in front of* vs. *in back of, between*, etc.

specific noun—a noun which refers to a particular person, animal, or thing; a noun which is associated with a particular occasion.

specifying clause—a possible cover term for purpose, instrument, means of transportation, and accompaniment clauses, all of which have the common function of specifying, qualifying, or giving further information about the action or activity of the preceding independent clause. Use of this term, however, is restricted to any dependent clause which fulfills the rather general function of specifying or narrowing down the scope of the action or state of the preceding independent clause, but which cannot be conveniently assigned to any of the four types of dependent clauses mentioned above.

specifying word ęr—a word which precedes certain types of sentence objects that refer to specific persons or things.

statement—any sentence which provides or supplies information by describing events, actions, states, etc.

state verb—a verb which describes a state, condition, or quality which temporarily or permanently characterizes a person, animal, or thing.

stop—a consonantal sound in which the outward air flow is completely stopped or interrupted at some point in the mouth or throat.

stressed syllable—the loudest or most prominent syllable in a word; sometimes identified in this text with a stress mark (′).

stress mark—a mark (′) used to identify the stressed (i.e., loudest and strongest) syllable of a word, placed over the (prominent) vowel of the stressed syllable.

subject shifting—a grammatical process in which the subject noun phrase of a sentence is shifted to the right of the verb phrase (or the second noun phrase, if the sentence is equational). When subject shifting occurs, a 3rd pers. sg. or pl. non-emphatic pronoun is left in the original subject position.

suffix—any bound morpheme which is attached to the end of a word or morpheme.

syllabic consonant—(nasal or liquid) consonant which is pronounced as a separate syllable.

syllables—the pulses of air with which a given word is pronounced.

tapped r—a pronunciation of *r* made with a quick tapping movement of the tongue tip against the alveolar ridge.

temporal phrase—a relational phrase which names the time of an action or state.

tense—the time of the action or state designated by a verb.

third person pronoun—a pronoun ('he', 'she', 'it', or 'they') which refers to someone or something the speaker is interested in talking about.

time clause—a clause which is used to express a temporal relationship between two events, actions, states, etc. Time clauses are introduced by such expressions as *er se ęr a* 'when', *ęr a uche ęr a* 'before', and *ęr a uriul ęr a* 'after'.

time word (or expression)—any word (or expression) which identifies a point or period of time in the present, past, or future.

tongue advancement—the relative degree of advancement or retraction (front, central, or back) of the tongue during the pronunciation of a given vowel.

tongue height—the relative height (high, mid, or low) of the tongue in the mouth during the pronunciation of a given vowel.

transitive action verb—a verb which names an action or activity that involves both a doer (or agent) and a receiver (or object); a verb identifying an action which is done to or directed at some person, animal, or thing.

transitive sentence—a sentence type consisting of a subject noun phrase, a transitive verb, and an object noun phrase (followed optionally by a relational phrase).

transitive state verb—a state verb (usually referring to a mental state or ability) which involves both a subject and an object.

trilled r—a series of two or three tapped *r*'s pronounced in rapid succession; spelled *rr* and transcribed phonetically as [r̄].

unaspirated—not involving aspiration—i.e., not accompanied by an audible puff of air.

unmarked forms—forms which convey a particular meaning in spite of the fact that they do not contain any overt morpheme (or marker) for that meaning. For example, Palauan present tense verb forms (e.g. *męsuub* 'study', *męnguiu* 'read', etc.) are identified by the absence of any overt tense marker.

unpossessible noun—a noun which cannot take possessor suffixes.

unrounded vowel—a vowel pronounced without any simultaneous rounding of the lips.

unstressed syllable—any syllable in a word other than the loudest and strongest.

utterance—the act of saying (or uttering) a sentence.

velar—a consonantal sound involving the velum.

velum—the membrane behind the soft palate which serves as a point of articulation for the Palauan consonants *k* and *ng*.

verb—a word (or part of speech) which describes an action or state.

verb marker—a morpheme with various forms (*mę-*, *-m-*, *-u-*, *-o-*, etc.) which functions to mark or identify a particular word as a verb.

verb of communication—a verb which denotes the transmission or reception of information—i.e., a verb involving saying, telling, hearing, etc.

verb of mental activity—a verb which denotes such mental processes as thinking, believing, knowing, and the like.

verb phrase—any single word or group of words which follows the sentence subject and describes an action or state in which the sentence subject is involved.

verb stem—a morpheme (sometimes occurring as an independent noun) which combines with various affixes to form different types of verbs.

vocal cords—a set of elastic membranes in the larynx which can vibrate, producing voiced sounds.

voiced sound—a sound pronounced with a simultaneous vibration of the vocal cords.

voiceless sound—a sound pronounced without any simultaneous vibration of the vocal cords.

voicing—the "buzzing" sound produced when air passes between the vocal cords and causes them to vibrate.

vowel—a sound produced by holding the tongue in various positions in the mouth without any contact or friction.

vowel blending—a phonetic process in which two vowels in an unstressed syllable change or blend into a single vowel. The resulting vowel preserves phonetic features from each of the original vowels.

vowel cluster—a series of two adjacent vowels in the same syllable, as in *oách* 'leg' and *ngáu* 'fire'. Usually, one of the vowels in a vowel cluster is stressed.

vowel cluster reduction—a phonetic process in which a vowel cluster is reduced to a single vowel (or sometimes ę) in an unstressed syllable.

vowel deletion—the loss of a vowel under certain circumstances (usually in unstressed syllables).

vowel-final (word or stem)—a word or stem ending in a vowel.

vowel-initial (word, stem, or suffix)—a word, stem, or suffix beginning with a vowel.

vowel qualities—the different vowel sounds which are produced by changing the position of the tongue.

vowel reduction—a phonetic process, found in Palauan and many other languages, in which a full vowel (*i*, *u*, *e*, *o*, or *a*) reduces to the weaker, more neutral mid central vowel *schwa* under certain conditions.

vowel triangle—a triangular configuration which schematizes the relative positions of articulation of the vowels.

word-final(ly)—occurring at the end of a word.

word-initial(ly)—occurring at the beginning of a word.

word-internal(ly)—occurring within or inside a word.

yes-no question—a question which can be answered by 'yes' or 'no' and which asks whether or not such-and-such is the case.

zero object pronoun—an object pronoun which has no actual phonetic realization but which nevertheless is of structural significance because it contrasts with the other object pronouns. The zero object pronoun (symbolized as Ø) refers to non-human plural objects.

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