THE IMPACT OF BORROWING ON PALAUAN

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1. INTRODUCTION

Within the last century alone, the Palau Islands of the Western Carolines have been under the influence of four different foreign administrations. Spanish culture, gradually introduced into Palau after the annexation of the islands by Spain in 1686,[1] lasted until the end of the Spanish-American War. In 1899 Spain sold the islands, together with other possessions in the Carolines group, to Germany, which administered them briefly until the armistice terminating World War I. After World War I, the League of Nations granted Japan a mandate to the Carolines, including Palau. In spite of its withdrawal from the League in 1935, Japan did not relinquish the mandated islands, but instead put them to its own military and economic use. Palau's principal town, Koror, was made the administrative headquarters of all the Caroline Islands, and the islands of Peleliu and Angaur, south-west of Koror, were heavily fortified. Japan's defeat in World War II marked the end of its control over Palau and the Carolines, and on July 19, 1947, the United States was granted United Nations trusteeship over the area (henceforth called the Trust Territory of the Pacific), which is now in the process of termination.

The impact of four different non-indigenous languages — three European and one Asiatic — upon the language of Palau has been understandably great. Large numbers of lexical items borrowed from Spanish, German, Japanese, and English are used frequently in everyday speech. As we might expect, the majority of these represent names for items or concepts originally alien to Palauan culture, but it is clear that quite a few foreign borrowings have also replaced, or at least come into competition with, native lexical items. Many borrowed words have been 'Palauanised' to some degree or other — that is, they have been subjected to the complex derivational and inflectional processes of Palauan noun and verb morphology and have been introduced into certain characteristic syntactic constructions. Although many foreign lexical items have been taken into Palauan without any change in meaning, a significant number show a rather wide variety of semantic modification and distortion. Judging from a purely statistical count of foreign borrowings and from the over-all effect of Palauanisation, the influence of Japanese has obviously been the most pervasive, in spite of the fact that Japan controlled Palau for less than three decades. From the same points of view, English comes in second (and will presumably continue to have a strong influence), while Spanish and German, respectively, show considerably weaker impact.

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2. PALAUAN LOAN WORD PHONOLOGY

In general, the influx of foreign words into Palauan (PAL) has had surprisingly little effect on the language's phonological system. With a few relatively minor exceptions, foreign borrowings are always modified or distorted to conform with the phonemes and phonotactics of PAL, and in many interesting cases, these borrowings undergo phonological rules just as if they were native stems. The inventory of phonemes and phoneme combinations has increased only slightly under the influence of foreign sounds: most obvious is the appearance of the fricative /h/ (pronounced [h] in words of Jp. and Eng. origin and [x] in several items from Sp.) and the affricates /ts/ (corresponding to Jp. [č] or [t͡s] and Eng. [č]) and /dz/ (corresponding to Jp. [ǰ]). Whereas chronologically older loanwords from Sp., Ger., and Jp. have been almost totally assimilated into the PAL phonological system, more recent loanwords from Eng. do not exhibit the same degree of Palauanisation. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that they represent the newest wave of foreign intruders and also to the fact that many educated speakers of the younger generation are essentially bilingual with Eng. Since these speakers have learned the correct Eng. pronunciation, they often preserve it when Eng. words are borrowed into PAL conversation.

In an attempt to illustrate the overwhelming tendency to reinterpret foreign borrowings in terms of the PAL phonological system, the sections below present a somewhat simplified sketch of PAL phonology[2] in which various classes of sounds are examined with emphasis on their occurrence in loanword vocabulary. Reference is made where necessary to the phonological systems of the contributing languages and to the relevant orthographic and (for Jp.) Romanisation systems.

2.1. Palauan consonants and their use in loanwords

In the chart below, the PAL consonant phonemes are presented in standard PAL orthography according to manner and point of articulation:

Chart of PAL consonants

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

Figure 1

As we will see below, the rather restricted consonantal system of PAL requires considerable distortion of nonindigenous consonantal sounds that have no exact PAL counterparts.

2.1.1.

There are only two *labial* consonant phonemes in PAL — namely, nasal m and non-nasal b. The bilabial nasal m poses no problem and is used in loanwords whenever the contributing language has m, as the following examples illustrate:

(1)	Loan	Source[3]	PAL[4]	
Sp.	maíz	*corn*	maís	
	medalla	*religious medal*	medália	
Ger.	Maschine	*machine, motor*	mesíl	
	Turm	*tower*	turm	*steeple*
Jp.	mado	*window*	mádo	
	maguro	*tuna*	manguró	
Eng.	movie		mubí	
	rum		rrom	*liquor*

The non-nasal labial phoneme b is a bilabial stop with two major allophones. Syllable-initially before an l or a vowel, the *voiced* allophone [b] occurs (e.g. blái [bláy] *house*, bilís [bilís] *dog*, rubák [rubák^h] *old man*). Adjacent to another consonant in the same syllable (except l) and in word-final position, we find the *voiceless* allophone [p] (e.g. btuch [ptu?] *star*, tbak [tpak^h] *my spittle*, chab [?ap] *ashes*).

All labial obstruents in words borrowed from Sp., Ger., and Eng. are reinterpreted as the appropriately conditioned allophone of PAL /b/. Thus, the stops p and b and the fricatives f and v all become PAL /b/,[5] as the following indicate:

(2)	Loan	Source	PAL	
Sp.	padre	*priest*	badré	
	Pascua	*Easter*	Baskuá	
	plato	*plate, dish*	belatóng	
	purgatorio	*purgatory*	burkatório	
	trompeta	*trumpet, bugle*	trombetáng	
	bandera	*flag, banner*	bangderáng	
	barril	*barrel*	barríl[6]	
	Biblia	*Bible*	Bíblia	
	botella	*bottle*	butiliáng	
	diablo	*devil*	diablóng	
	calabaza	*pumpkin*	kal(e)basáng	
	calabozo	*dungeon, cell*	kelebús	*jail, prison*
	sábado	*Saturday*	sebadóng	
	cebolla(s)	*onion(s)*	sebuliás[7]	
	farol	*lantern*	barór	*table lamp*
	virhén	*virgin*	birhén	
(3) Ger.	Papier	*paper, document*	babiér	*paper, letter, book*
	Post	*post office*	bost	
	Kapitän	*captain*	kabitéi	
	Lampe	*lamp, lantern*	lámbei	
	Schlips	*necktie*	slibs	
	Brief	*letter*	beríb	
	Bild	*picture*	bilt	*holy picture*
	Schraube	*screw*	seráub	

	Tafel	*blackboard*	tabér	
	Fenster	*window*	béngster	
	Grammophon	*phonograph*	karmobói	
	Maschinengewehr[8]	*machine-gun*	mesilkebiér	
	auswendig	*by heart*	chausbéngdik	*memorise*
(4) Eng.	pipe		báeb	*pipe, windpipe*
	piston		bistóng	
	present		breséngt	
	aspirin		chasberíng	
	hospital		osbitár	
	company		kombalíi	
	sheep		sib	
	box		baks	
	beer		biáng	
	bishop		bisób	
	club		klab	
	table		tébel	
	flour		blauáng	*bread*
	office		obís	
	softball		sabtból	
	valve		barb	
	verandah		berangdáng	
	glove		kurób	
	navy		neibí	
	shovel		sébel	

As the words in (2-4) illustrate, any labial from Sp., Ger., or Eng. becomes PAL /b/ realised phonetically as the indicated allophone in the selected examples below:

(5) [b]

(i) syllable-initially, before l:

Sp. diablo = PAL diablóng [diablóη]

Eng. flour = PAL bláuang [bláwaη]

(ii) syllable-initially, before a vowel:

Sp.	Biblia	= PAL	Bíblia	[bíblia]
	padre	= PAL	badré	[badré]
	farol	= PAL	baróor	[baróor]
	sábado	= PAL	sebadóng	[səbaðóη]
Ger.	Bild	= PAL	bilt	[bilt^h]
	Post	= PAL	bost	[bost^h]
	Papier	= PAL	babiér	[babiér]
Eng.	piston	= PAL	bistóng	[bistóη]
	box	= PAL	baks	[baks]
	valve	= PAL	barb	[barp]
	table	= PAL	tébel	[tébəl]

(6) [p]

(i) adjacent to consonant other than l in same syllable:

Ger. Schlips = PAL slibs [slips]

Eng. present = PAL breséngt [preséntʰ]

softball = PAL sabtból [saptból]

(ii) word-finally:

Ger.	Brief	= PAL	beríb	[bəríp]
	Schraube	= PAL	seráub	[səráwp]
Eng.	pipe	= PAL	báeb	[báɛp]
	club	= PAL	klab	[klap]

A few exceptions exist, of course, to the patterns of loanword phonology described above. In several borrowings from Eng., the labio-dental fricative f is not changed into /b/, but instead remains as [f]. PAL words showing this innovating pronunciation are, for example, féngda *fender*, and taifún[9] *typhoon*. In addition, the initial and medial p's of Sp. Papa *pope* are also pronounced [p] in PAL Papa.[10] The PAL word bostól *apostle* is a rendition of Sp. apóstol, but the initial a- was evidently misinterpreted as the PAL prenominal particle a, resulting in bostól being taken as the independent noun.[11] The PAL noun Sebangiól *Spain* is derived from the Sp. adjective español *Spanish*; in this word, pronounced [səbaŋyól], the initial vowel e [ɛ] has been dropped and a [ə] has been inserted to avoid a rather infrequent PAL word-initial consonant cluster sb-. Finally, in a word like PAL nebtái from Eng. *necktie*, we observe an unusual switching from one grave consonant to another (k to b).

The Jp. bilabial stops p[12] and b are borrowed into PAL in the expected way — that is, they are rendered as the appropriately conditioned allophone of PAL /b/. Thus, the examples below require no special explanation:

(7)	Loan Words		PAL	
Jp.	bunpō	*grammar*	búmbo	
	denpō	*telegram*	démbo	
	hinpyōkai	*exhibition, fair*	himbiókai	
	kenpei	*military policeman*	kembéi	*police*
	senpūki	*electric fan*	sembukí	
	nappa	[*dialect*] *greens*	náppa	*(long) cabbage*
	bara	*rose*	bára	
	bengoshi	*lawyer*	bengngós	
	bun	*minute, part*	bung	
	ashiba	*scaffolding*	chásiba	
	dobu	*ditch*	dóbu	
	kyabu[13]	*carburetor*	kiáb	

In Jp. the phoneme /h/ has three allophones, distributed as follows: before u in the syllable /hu/ (written as fu in the Romanisation used here), /h/ is pronounced as a voiceless bilabial fricative [Φ]; before i in the syllable /hi/ and before y in /hya, hyu, hyo/, it is pronounced as a voiceless palatal or prevelar fricative [ç] similar to the fricative in standard Ger. ich *I*);[14] and before other vowels in the syllables /ha, he, ho/, it is a glottal fricative similar to Eng. /h/. Although there is one rare example — PAL kangngob (< Jp. kangofu *nurse*) — in which an allophone of Jp. /h/ has become an allophone of PAL /b/, the allophones of Jp. /h/ are normally borrowed into PAL as a new phoneme /h/ with a single allophone, the (voiceless) glottal fricative [h].[15] The following PAL loanwords containing /h/ ([h]) are subclassified according to the original Jp. syllable containing the /h/:

(8)

	Loan Source		PAL	
ha [ha]	haizara	*ashtray*	haisára	
	hanafuda	*Jp. card game*	hanahúda	
	hashi	*chopsticks*	hási	
	hantai	*opposite*	hantái	
	harau	*pay (for)*	haráu	
hi [ç̈i]	hinpyōkai	*exhibition, fair*	himbiókai	
	himitsu	*secret*	hímits	
	kōhī	*coffee*	kohí	
fu [Φu]	ifukuro	*paunch of stomach*	chihúkuro	
	furansu	*France*	huráns	
	fūsen	*balloon*	huséng	
	fūtō	*envelope*	húto	
	futsū	*common, usual*	hútsu	
	mafurā	*muffler, scarf*	mahurá	
he [he]	henji	*answer, reply*	henzí	
ho [ho]	hokori	*dust*	hokorí	
	hon	*book*	hong	
	hontō	*main island*	hónto	*Babeldaob*
	mahōbin	*thermos bottle*	mahóbing	
	mihon	*sample*	míhong	

Until the large influx of Jp. vocabulary, /h/ was not really well established as a phoneme of PAL. During the Sp. period, a few words had been borrowed in which Sp. (orthographic) g or j, both pronounced as the voiceless velar fricative [x], were rendered in PAL as [x] or [h]. These two phones are in free variation even today in such words as the following:[16]

(9)

	Loan Source		PAL	
Sp.	Virgen	*Virgin*	birhén	
	angél	*angel*	changhél	
	Jesús	*Jesus*	Hesús	
	cajón	*box, chest*	káhol	*wooden box, coffin*

Once /h/ was established as a PAL phoneme after the introduction of many Jp. lexical items, the way was paved for assimilating certain Eng. loanwords containing this sound. Thus, in the words below, Eng. /h/ becomes PAL /h/:

(10)

Eng.	helmet	hermét
	home run	homráng
	hose	hos
	hotel	hotér

In a few cases, however, the Eng. /h/ is lost, as in

(11)

Eng.	hinge	íings
	hospital	osbitár
	horse	uós

2.1.2.

PAL has two contrasting *dental* stops, voiceless /t/ and voiced /d/. The phoneme /t/ has two allophones: word-finally, an aspirated variant [tʰ] occurs, while in all other environments (i.e. word-initially and word-internally) the unaspirated variant [t] is found (compare chat [ʔatʰ] *smoke* with tang [taŋ] *one*). The allophonic variation of /d/ is somewhat more complex, however. Word-initially before a vowel, /d/ is pronounced as either of the voiced allophones [d] or [ð], with the former more likely to occur in rapid, casual speech. Thus, two possible pronunciations are heard for words such as dub [dup, ðup] *dynamite* and deb [dɛp, ðɛp] *sugar cane*. Word-initially before a consonant, the pronunciation of /d/ varies between the voiceless allophones [t] and [θ], with [t] appearing before /b/ and /m/ (e.g. dbak [tbakʰ] *my dynamite*) and [θ] occurring before /k/ and /ng/ (e.g. dngod [θŋoð] *tattoo needle*). Intervocalically and word-finally, /d/ is normally realised as the voiced allophone [ð] (e.g. medak [məðákʰ] *my eye*, bad [bað] *stone*). In final position, /d/ sometimes begins as [ð] and trails off into the voiceless variant [θ].

Dental or alveolar stops from Sp., Ger., Jp., and Eng. are simply borrowed into PAL as the appropriately conditioned variants of /t/ or /d/, and in a few loanwords from Jp. geminate t is also permitted. Note the examples below, which all conform to this principle:

(12)

	Loan Source		PAL	
Sp.	adiós[17]	*good-bye*	adiós	[aðiós]
	diablo	*devil*	diablóng	[diablóŋ, ðiablóŋ]
	sandía	*type of watermelon*	sangdiáng	[sanðiáŋ]
	soldado	*soldier*	soldáu[18]	[soldáw]
Ger.	Turm	*tower*	turm	[turm] *steeple*
	Post	*post office*	bost	[bostʰ]
	Rad [rat][19]	*bicycle*	rrat	[řatʰ]
	Schwester	*nun, sister*	suestér	[swɛstér]
Jp.	tane	*seed*	táne	[tánɛ]
	ten	*grade, point*	teng	[tɛŋ]
	tosen	*ferry boat*	toséng	[toséŋ]
	bentō	*box lunch*	bénto	[bénto]
	amatte iru	*(be) left over, plenty*	chamattér	[ʔamat:ér]
	dai	*platform*	dái	[dái, ðái]
	doisu	*Germany*	Dóis	[dóis, ðóis]
	bakudan	*bomb*	bakudáng	[baguðáŋ]
Eng.	bucket		báket	[bágɛtʰ]
	court		kort	[kortʰ]
	store		stoáng	[stoáŋ]
	time		táem	[táɛm]
	dance		dangs	[dans, ðans]
	bid		bid	[bið] *auction, bidding*
	(re)bound		bangd	[banð]

A small, but significant, number of exceptions appear among Eng. loanwords, most of which involve reinterpretation of Eng. word-final (or, less frequently, word-initial) /d/ [d] as PAL /t/. Thus, we find PAL bet [bɛtʰ] (< Eng. bed), kat [katʰ] (< Eng. (playing) card), kolt [koltʰ] (< Eng. gold), rot [rotʰ] (< Eng. rod), and toktáng [toktáŋ] (< Eng. doctor). Two other unusual examples

include PAL bos (< Eng. boat), in which a final stop has been rendered as a fricative, and ballás (< Eng. ballast), in which the word-final consonant cluster has been simplified. Interestingly enough, there are no attested examples of Eng. loanwords containing orthographic th ([θ] or [ð]), so it is not known how these phones would be interpreted in PAL.

2.1.3.

PAL has only one indigenous fricative phoneme, the *alveolar* spirant /s/, with a single allophone [s]. There is no voiced counterpart /z/, and no *palatal* fricatives such as /š/ or /ž/. The total absence of palatal articulations in PAL results in several interesting distortions when PAL adopts Sp., Ger., Jp., or Eng. words containing the palatal fricative [š] or the palatal affricates [č] and [ǰ].

To take the simpler cases first, loanwords containing [s] pose no problem when borrowed, as the [s] merely becomes PAL /s/ (with geminate /s/ also being accepted from Jp.). Several representative examples are given below:

(13)

	Loan Source		PAL	
Sp.	Dios	*God*	diós	
	cruz[20]	*cross*	kerús	
	gracia[21]	*grace*	krásia	
	santo	*saint*	sángto	
Ger.	Fenster	*window*	béngster	
Jp.	sao	*pole, rod*	saó	*fishing pole*
	sensei	*teacher*	sénsei	
	sumi	*charcoal*	súmi	
	bussōge	*hibiscus*	bussónge	
Eng.	school		skúul	
	sauce		sos	
	police		bulís	

When Jp. words containing the syllables za, zu, ze, and zo are borrowed into PAL, the syllable-initial z — pronounced in Jp. either as the voiced fricative [z] or the voiced affricate [ʒ] (= [d͡ʒ]) — is normally devoiced to PAL /s/ [s]. This change, which is resisted by many speakers of the older generation with a knowledge of Jp., is illustrated in the examples below:

(14)

	Loan Source		PAL
Jp.	zuga	*drawing, picture*	sungá
	zubon	*pants, trousers*	subóng
	zurui	*sly, foxy*	surúi
	zōri	*rubber thongs*	sóri
	zeitaku	*luxurious*	séitak
	haizara	*ashtray*	haisára
	kanzume	*canned goods*	kansumé
	kizu	*injury, scar*	kísu

A small number of Eng. borrowings with /z/ [z] also exhibit devoicing to PAL /s/ [s] — e.g. PAL breséngt (< Eng. present), PAL hos (< Eng. hose), and PAL kíis *key* (< Eng. keys).[22]

Because PAL lacks any palatal fricatives such as /š/ or /ž/, the nearest equivalent — namely, /s/ [s] — is substituted for the [š] of contributing languages. In Ger. and Eng. /š/ is a separate phoneme whose major allophone [š] is pronounced with concomitant lip rounding. Note the examples below:

(15)	Ger.	Schrank	*cupboard, shelf*	serángk[23]
		Schraube	*screw*	seráub
		Schlips	*necktie*	slibs
		Maschine	*machine*	mesíl
	Eng.	shovel		sébel
		sheep		sib
		bishop		bisób
		Marshall (Islands)		Marsiál

In Jp., [š] is not an independent phoneme but actually an allophone of /s/ that occurs before the high front vowel /i/ and the palatal glide /y/. This sound, which is not accompanied by lip rounding and is somewhat tenser, higher, and further back than its Eng. counterpart, is found in the Jp. syllables shi, sha, shu, and sho (phonemically /si/, /sya/, /syu/, and /syo/, respectively). It is adopted into PAL as /s/ [s], as the following examples illustrate:

(16)	Loan Source		PAL
Jp.	shashin	*photo*	siasíng
	shina	*China*	Sína
	shōbai	*business*	sióbai
	shūkan	*custom, habit*	siúkang
	shiken	*test, exam*	skeng[24]
	basho	*place, locality*	básio
	haisha	*dentist*	háisia
	mushiba	*cavity*	musibá

PAL has adopted a considerable number of loanwords from Jp. containing the affricates [č] and [ǰ]. These affricates (voiceless and voiced, respectively) are articulated in Jp. as dental stops released into palatal fricatives (therefore, they might be more accurately characterised by the phonetic symbolisations [t͡š] and [d͡ž]). These sounds occur in Jp. in the same environments as [š] — namely, before the high front vowel /i/ and the palatal glide /y/ — and represent allophones, respectively, of /t/ and /z/. These allophones are found in the syllables chi, cha, chu, cho (phonemically /ti/, /tya/, /tyu/, /tyo/) and in the syllables ji, ja, ju, jo (usually analysed phonemically as /zi/, /zya/, /zyu/, /zyo/). The Jp. affricates [č] and [ǰ] have had an overt influence on the PAL phonological system, since they have been reinterpreted as the PAL affricates [c] and [ʒ], which are not native to the language. It is only in loanwords from Jp. (and Eng.) that we hear PAL [c] and [ʒ], which are affricates consisting of a dental stop released into an alveolar fricative, perhaps more accurately represented as [t͡s] and [d͡z]. When we compare the original Jp. [t͡š] and [d͡ž] with their PAL counterparts [t͡s] and [d͡z], we notice two important facts. First, the fricative portion of the affricate (a palatal articulation in Jp.) becomes an alveolar fricative in PAL, a natural distortion considering the fact that PAL has no palatal fricatives but only the alveolar fricative /s/ [s]. Second, the development of PAL [d͡z], while filling a gap in the pattern, introduces

the voiced affricate articulation [z] into the PAL phonological system as part of the affricate [d͡z]. In the examples of (17) below, we find cases of Jp. [t͡ʃ] (Romanised ch) = PAL [t͡s] (orthographic ts), and in the examples of (18), there are instances of Jp. [d͡ʒ] (Romanised j) = PAL [d͡z] (orthographic z):

(17)	Loan Source		PAL	
Jp.	chōshi	*condition, state*	tsiǫ́s	
	chūbu	*(inner) tube*	tsiúb(u)	
	chūi (suru)	*be careful*	tsiuí	
	bakuchi	*gambling*	bakutsí	
	ochiru	*fall, fail (exam)*	otsír	
	denchi	*battery*	dénts(i)	
	kimochi	*feeling*	kimóts	
	machi	*town, city*	máts(i)	*capital, main town*
	kechi	*stingy*	kets	
	mōchō	*appendix*	mótsio	*appendicitis*
(18)	jakki	*(car) jack*	ziákki	
	jū	*gun, rifle*	ziú	
	neji	*screw*	nézi	
	aji	*taste, flavour*	cházi	
	benjo	*toilet*	bénzio	
	daijōbu	*all right, OK*	daiziób	

In (17) above, we have seen examples in which Jp. ch ([t͡ʃ]) is rendered as PAL ts ([t͡s]). In addition, the Jp. affricate ts [t͡s] (an allophone of the phoneme /t/ that occurs only before the high back vowel u), also gets adopted into PAL as ts. This straightforward correspondence is illustrated in the examples below:

(19)	Loan Source		PAL	
Jp.	tsubame	*barn swallow*	tsubáme	
	tsunami	*tidal wave*	tsunámi	
	himitsu	*secret*	hímits	
	katsuo	*bonito*	kátsuo	
	nimotsu	*baggage*	nímots	
	dokuritsu (suru)	*become independent*	dokuríts	*independent*
	utsusu	*take (photo of)*	chuts(i)ús[25]	

Looking at loanwords from Eng., we observe that Eng. ch [t͡ʃ] as well as the consonant cluster ts is borrowed into PAL as ts [t͡s]. Eng. ts corresponds to PAL ts in several cases where the plural of an Eng. noun ending in t has been reinterpreted as a PAL singular (cf. fns. 7 and 22) — e.g. PAL cháuts (< Eng. outs (in baseball)) and PAL dónats (< Eng. doughnuts). Eng. ch becomes PAL ts in items such as tsésa (< Eng. (beer) chaser), tsiokkolét (< Eng. chocolate), and tsuingám (< Eng. chewing gum).[26]

In this complex area of PAL loanword phonology, there are bound to be some exceptions or irregularities. The small, but significant, number of these all involve cases in which [t͡ʃ] or [d͡ʒ] of the contributing language is rendered as the PAL fricative /s/ [s] rather than the expected innovating affricate ts [t͡s] or z [d͡z]. This simplification is observed in words such as PAL kusaráng (< Sp. cuchara *spoon*), PAL suklatéi *cocoa tree* (< Sp. chocolate *chocolate*), PAL sidósia (< Jp. jidōsha *auto*), PAL sikáng (< Jp. jikan *hour*), PAL ſings (< Eng. inch or hinge),[27] and PAL masés (singular) (< Eng. matches).

2.1.4.

PAL has two *velar* consonant phonemes, the stop /k/ and the nasal /ŋ/. The phoneme /k/ has three major allophones, distributed as follows: in word-final position, the aspirated allophone [k^h] occurs[28] (e.g. brak [$prak^h$] *taro*, derúmk [ðərúmk^h] *thunder*); intervocalically, /k/ is realised as the voiced stop [g] (e.g. rekás [rəgás] *mosquito*, mekeáld [məgeáldˇ] *hot*); and elsewhere (i.e. word-initially or word-medially adjacent to another consonant) /k/ has the unaspirated allophone [k] (e.g. kar [kar] *medicine*, skors [skors] *cane*. When [k] and [g] are contained in loanwords from Sp., Ger., Jp., and Eng., these sounds are simply converted into the appropriately conditioned allophones of PAL /k/. Thus, the examples below require no further explanation:

(20)

Loan Source			PAL
Sp.	carro	*pushcart, waggon*	karróng
	católico	*Catholic*	katolík
	Pascua	*Easter*	baskuá
	manteca	*lard*	mangtekáng
	gracia	*grace*	krásia
	iglesia	*church*	ikelésia
Ger.	Kapitän	*captain*	kabitéi
	Mark	*mark (monetary unit)*	mak
	Schrank	*cupboard, shelf*	serángk
	Gummi	*rubber*	kúmi
Jp.	kai	*shell*	kái
	kakine	*fence*	kákine
	garasu	*glass*	karás
	ginkō	*bank*	kíngko
	gomen	*pardon me*	koméng
Eng.	clock		klok
	cake		kéik
	tank		tangk
	guitar		kitá
	glove		kurób
	bucket		báket

The velar nasal phoneme /ŋ/ (orthographic ng) has two major allophones — [n] and [ŋ] — whose distribution is by and large determined by a principle of assimilation. Before the dental stops /t/ and /d/, the alveolar fricative /s/, and the liquid /r/, the more forward dental variant [n] is used; this allophone is spelled ng in all native PAL words — e.g. lúngs [yuns] *island*, merángd [meránð] *(type of) coral*. Phonemic /n/ [n] is totally lacking in native PAL vocabulary as the consequence of a very early sound change in which proto-Austronesian /*n/ and /*ñ/ became /l/ in various positions except that before /t/, /d/, etc., thus relegating [n] to the status of an allophone of /ŋ/. The resulting resistance to [n] in prevocalic or word-final position was at least partially viable through the Ger. times, as attested from the following borrowings from Sp. and Ger. in which the [n] of the contributing language was taken into PAL as [l]:

(21)

	Loan Source		PAL	
Sp.	cajón	*box, chest*	káhol	*wooden box, coffin*
	cañón	*cannon*	kaliól[29]	
	campana	*bell*	kambaláng[30]	
	Marianas	*Marianas (Islands)*	Marialás	
Ger.	Maschine	*machine*	mesíl	
	Grammophon	*phonograph*	karmoból	

However, we also find examples of Sp. borrowings containing prevocalic [n] in which the [n] was retained in PAL, thus indicating the beginning of a trend to accept this sound in a wider number of environments. Such examples (in which PAL orthographic n is used rather than ng) include keristiáno (< Sp. cristiano *Christian*), komunión (< Sp. comunión *Holy Communion*), and koróna (< Sp. corona *crown*). With the large influx of Jp. vocabulary, prevocalic [n] gradually became established as a possible PAL articulation, and this situation has by and large continued through the present period of Eng. borrowings.[31] In the list below, representative examples are taken from Jp. and Eng. in which prevocalic [n] is adopted without change into PAL:

(22)

	Loan Source		PAL
Jp.	nasu	*eggplant*	nas
	nikibi	*pimple, acne*	níkibi
	negi	*green onion*	néngi
	nori	*glue, paste, starch*	nóri
	okane	*money*	okáne
	tane	*seed*	táne
	abunai	*dangerous*	chabunái
Eng.	navy		néibi
	nurse		nurs
	gardenia		kadénia
	tennis		ténis

In borrowed words containing [n] before dentals or alveolars, PAL simply uses the [n] allophone of /ŋ/. By convention, this [n] is spelled ng in borrowings from Sp., Ger., and Eng., but spelled only as n in loanwords from Jp. These potentially confusing orthographic conventions are to be kept in mind when examining the lists below:

(23)

	Loan Source		PAL	
Sp.	bandera	*flag, banner*	bangderáng	
	manta	*black cloth*	mangtáng	*woollen blanket, cotton*
	santo	*saint (m.)*	sángto	
Ger.	Fenster	*window*	béngster	
	auswendig	*by heart*	chausbéngdik	*memorise*
Eng.	pound		bongd	
	dance		dangs	
	inch, hinge		íings	
	ground		kurángd	*playground*
	Sunday		sángdei	*Sunday, week*

(24)

Jp.	bentō	*box lunch*	bénto
	denchi	*battery*	dénts(i)

ensoku	*picnic, outing*	ensók
mondai	*problem*	móndai
ninjin	*carrot*	nínzin *type of sweet potato*

The second allophone of /ŋ/ — namely, [ŋ] — is used in native PAL words in all positions where the allophone [n] is excluded. In other words, [ŋ] is of much wider distribution than [n] because it occurs prevocalically (both in word-initial and medial positions), word-finally, and before the velar stop /k/, the glottal stop /ʔ/, and the liquid /l/. Some examples of the [ŋ] allophone of /ŋ/ in native words are given below:

(25)	prevocalically:	ngau	*fire*
		ngor	*mouth*
		mengílt	*put oil on*
		ongéu	*steering wheel, rudder*
	word-finally:	bung	*flower*
		reng	*heart, spirit*
		ding	*ear*
	before /k/, /ʔ/, /l/:	ngklek	*my name*
		omengkángk	*lay on ground*
		Ngchésar	*village in E. Babeldaob*
		nglóik	*dance*
		nglái	*taken, brought*

In PAL words of foreign origin, the sound [ŋ] (always spelled ng) appears from several sources. First of all, in Ger., Jp., and Eng., [ŋ] is probably best analysed not as an independent phoneme, but rather as an allophone of /n/ before velar consonants. Since the combination *velar nasal* [ŋ] + *velar stop* is natural in PAL (cf. 25 above), it is borrowed without modification, as the examples below indicate:

(26)	Loan Source		PAL	
Ger.	schenken	*send*	sengk	*gift on child's first birthday*
	Schrank	*cupboard, shelf*	serángk	
Jp.	denki	*electricity*	déngki	
	hankachi	*handkerchief*	hangkáts	
	hōsenka	*garden balsam*	hoséngka	
	kankei	*relationship*	kángkei	
	kankōdan	*tourist group*	kangkódang	*tourist*
	katorisenko	*mosquito coil*	katoriséngko	
Eng.	bank		bangk	
	monkey (card game)		mongkíi	
	sunglasses		sangklás[32]	
	soft-drink		sobdríngk	
	tank		tangk	
	trunk		torángk	

In a large number of PAL loanword items, [ŋ] occurs word-finally. One of the major sources of this [ŋ] is a word-final [n] in the contributing language. Thus, Jp. word-final n (phonetically a nasalised version of the preceding vowel and, for many speakers, somewhat velarised) is invariably taken into PAL as [ŋ], as the examples below indicate:

(27)

	Loan Source		PAL
Jp.	barikan	*hair clippers*	barikáng
	byōin	*hospital*	bioíng
	botan	*button*	botáng
	bun	*minute, part*	bung
	daikon	*radish*	dáikong
	yōchien	*kindergarten*	iotsiéng
	sen	*line, wire*	seng
	udon	*noodles*	udóng

The same phenomenon is observed in Eng. borrowings, where word-final Eng. [n] is pronounced in PAL as [ŋ]:[33]

(28)

Eng.	piston	bistóng	
	aspirin	chasberíng	
	drum (can)	deromukáng	*water drum*
	home run	homráng	
	curtain	katéng	
	sign	saíng	

A second major source of word-final [ŋ] in loanwords is clearly due to excrescence. In most native PAL words, an excrescent word-final [ŋ] appears after the vowels a, o, and u when the word in question appears in isolation (e.g. when being cited), in sentence-final position, or sentence-internally before a major pause. To take a typical example, the PAL intransitive verb mong *go* has no excrescent [ŋ] within a sentence, as in (29a), but does take this [ŋ] sentence-finally, as in (29b):

(29)

a.	Ng mo er a skuul	*He's going to school.*
b.	Ng mong.	*He's going.*

A good number of Sp. words ending in a and o take an excrescent word-final [ŋ] in PAL. When the word in question is used sentence-internally (not before a pause), the [ŋ] is normally lost. Some representative examples include the following:

(30)

Sp.	bandera	*flag, banner*	bangderáng
	plato	*dish, plate*	belatóng
	botella	*bottle*	butiliáng
	diablo	*devil*	diablóng
	martillo	*hammer*	martilióng
	Misa	*Mass*	Misáng

Interestingly enough, many loanwords from Jp. end in the vowels a, o, and u, but virtually none of them exhibit excrescent [ŋ].[34] Why Jp. borrowings should have been resistant to this phenomenon is quite mysterious, especially because many Eng. borrowings, which were of course chronologically later, were clearly susceptible to it. In the majority of Eng. loanwords below, note the loss of word-final Eng. [r] and its replacement in PAL by the vowel [a] followed by an excrescent [ŋ]:

(31)	Eng.	verandah	berangdáng
		beer	biáng
		flour	blauáng
		master	mastáng
		store	stoáng
		doctor	tóktang
		number	lámbang

A few exceptions to this pattern exist — e.g. PAL botéto (< Eng. potato), PAL kitá (< Eng. guitar), and PAL tsésa (< Eng. (beer) chaser).

In certain dialects of Jp. such as Tokyo standard, the voiced velar stop /g/ is pronounced between voiced sounds as a nsasl ([ŋ]). Since the standard dialect was used by government officials and taught in the Palau schools during the Jp. period, it is not surprising that most Jp. words with intervocalic /g/ [ŋ] were borrowed into PAL with [ŋ]. Some typical examples are listed here:

(32)	Loan Source		PAL
Jp.	agaru	*rise, increase*	changár
	dōgu	*tool*	dóngu
	yanagi	*willow*	ianángi
	maegami	*bangs*	maingámi
	maguro	*tuna*	manguró
	saigo	*last time*	sáingo
	tamago	*egg*	tamángo

In the standard dialect of Jp., when a syllable ending in n is followed by a syllable beginning with g, the resulting sound is something like a long velar nasal — e.g. bangō [baã^{ŋ}ŋo:] *member*. A similar long velar nasal is pronounced in the corresponding PAL loanword and is represented by the orthographic sequence ngng:

(33)	Jp.	bangō	*number*	bángngo
		bengoshi	*lawyer*	bengngós
		kangofu	*nurse*	kangngób
		ringo	*apple*	ríngngo
		songai	*(financial) loss*	sóngngai

2.1.5.

The PAL *glottal* stop phoneme /ʔ/ (orthographic ch) has no allophonic variation, and is pronounced [ʔ] in all positions (word-initial, word-internal, and word-final) — e.g. charm *animal*, chisél *news of him*, mechéd *shallow*, dechór *standing*, táoch *mangrove channel*, and búuch *betel nut*. None of the languages contributing loanwords to PAL has phonemic glottal stop, although in Jp. vowel-initial words are normally pronounced with an excrescent prevocalic glottal stop both in isolation and within sentences. The same phenomenon tends to occur in Eng., especially when vowel-initial items are uttered in isolation. Most Jp. and Eng. loanwords in this category have been borrowed into PAL with word-initial glottal stop, as the following sampling of vocabulary indicates:

(34)

	Loan Source		PAL	
Jp.	aburasashi	*oil can*	chaburasási	
	abunai	*dangerous*	chabunái	
	eisei	*sanitation*	chéisei	
	imi	*meaning*	chímí	
	oto	*noise, sound*	chóto	
	uri	*melon, cucumber*	chúri	*muskmelon*
	usui	*(liquid) weak*	chusúi	
Eng.	ambulance		chambelángs	
	air (for tyre, etc.)		chéa	
	ice		cháis	
	okra		chókura	

There are, of course, cases in which the PAL form lacks the initial glottal stop — e.g. PAL ensók (< Jp. ensoku *picnic, outing*), PAL okáne (< Jp. okane *money*), PAL usángi (< Jp. usagi *rabbit*), PAL obís (< Eng. office), and PAL osbitár (< Eng. hospital).

The Jp. syllables wa, ya, yu, and yo, which begin with glides, are adopted into PAL as two separate syllables — that is, w and y become full vowels. When PAL word-initial u or i has developed from this source, there is no word-initial glottal stop. Several representative examples are PAL uáta (< Jp. wata *cotton*), PAL uatasibúne (< Jp. watashibune *ferry boat*), PAL iákiu (< Jp. yakyū *baseball*), PAL iásai (< Jp. yasai *vegetables*), PAL iaksók (< Jp. yakusoku *promise*), and PAL iótei (< Jp. yotei *plan, schedule*).

2.1.6.

Palauan has two *liquids* with phonemic status — /l/ and /r/. The phoneme /l/ is a lateral articulation similar to Eng. /l/: it shows no allophonic variation and can occur 'long' ([l:] = phonemic /ll/ and orthographic ll). The phoneme /r/ is a flap r [r] very similar to Jp. /r/, and when two r's occur phonemically in sequence (/rr/ = orthographic rr) the result is a trilled r, not unlike Sp. [r̃] but often pronounced with considerable friction. In spite of the fact that PAL has both /l/ and /r/ in contrast (e.g. lisél *its coconut tree* vs. risél *its root*), these phonemes are often interchanged in loanwords, as we will see below. The instability of an absolutely clearcut contrast between /l/ and /r/ is evidenced not only by such loanwords but also by certain native pairs of free variants (e.g. merrédel — merréder *leader* and ílkr — ílkl *outside*) exhibiting an interchange of these sounds. While there are a few examples in which r of the contributing language is taken into PAL as l, in the great majority of cases non-indigenous l is adopted as PAL r:[35]

(35)

Sp.	faról	*lantern*	barór	
	sal	*salt*	sar	
	azucár	*sugar*	sukál[36]	
Ger.	Tafel	*blackboard*	tabér	
	Papier	*paper, document*	babiér — babilngél[37]	*paper, letter, book*

Eng.	valve	barb	
	belt	bert	*fan belt*
	ball (in baseball)	bor	
	helmet	hermét	
	hospital	osbitár	
	hotel	hotér	
	keel	kir[38]	
	glove	kurób	

Interestingly enough, when words are borrowed from Jp., which has only /r/ and no /l/, there is never any distortion: all Jp. /r/ [r] become PAL /r/ — e.g. PAL chíro (< Jp. iro *colour*).

Even though PAL has word-final r and r before other consonants (e.g. ngor *mouth*, skors *cane*, dart *one hundred*), when r occurs in these positions in loanwords, it is often lost. Thus, Ger. Mark *mark (monetary unit)* becomes PAL mak *fifty cents*, and r is lost word-finally in the Eng. words of (31) and before a consonant in the following additional items:

(36)

	Loan Source	PAL	
Eng.	carcinoma	kasinóma	*cancer*
	card	kat	*playing cards*
	market	makít	
	horse	uós	

It is not known to what extent, if any, exposure to Eng. r-less dialects might have influenced the pronunciation of the PAL words in (31) and (36).

The phoneme sequences /ll/ and /rr/ in loanwords also reveal some distortions. Thus, Sp. barril *barrel* shows a lengthening of the l in PAL barríll, and while this very same word and karrong (< Sp. carro *pushcart, wagon*) show a correspondence between PAL /rr/ [r̃] and Sp. /r̃/, in loanwords rrat (< Ger. Rad *bicycle*) and rrom *liquor* (< Eng. rum) we find an idiosyncratic doubling of the r.

2.2. PAL vowels and their use in loanwords

The following chart presents the six vowels of PAL classified in terms of tongue height and relative tongue advancement:

Chart of PAL vowels

Tongue height	Tongue Advancement: front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	ɛ	ə	o
low		a	

Figure 2

There are five full vowels in PAL — /i/, /u/, /ɛ/ (orthographic e), /o/, and /a/ — which occur in stressed or unstressed syllables. In addition, there is one reduced vowel — [ə] (also orthographic e) — whose occurrence is restricted to unstressed syllables (very much like Eng. [ə] *schwa*). Vowels in loanwords are taken into PAL according to the following general principle: full vowels in the contributing language are normally pronounced as the PAL vowel closest to them in articulation unless they happen to fall in an unstressed syllable of the PAL word, in which case they are sometimes pronounced as [ə].[39]

2.2.1.

Both Sp. and Jp. happen to have, like PAL, a simple system of five full vowels — namely, i, u, e, o, and a. Unlike PAL, however, they have no reduced vowel such as [ə] that occurs in unstressed syllables. Because there is no 'conflict' with the PAL five-vowel system, loanwords from Sp., and Jp. are only rarely taken into PAL with any modification of vowel quality. The only cases of distortion involve vowel raising in Sp. loanwords — e.g.

(37)

	Loan Source		PAL	
Sp.	botella	*bottle*	butiliáng	(o>u, e>i)
	cebollas	*onions*	sebuliás	*onion* (o>u)
	chocolate	*chocolate*	suklátei	*cocoa tree* (o>u)

In addition, full vowels in several Sp. words are reduced to [ə] in an unstressed syllable of the PAL form — e.g. PAL kelebús [kələbús] (< Sp. calabozo *jail, prison*) and PAL sebadóng [səbaðóŋ] (< Sp. sábado *Saturday*). By contrast, the full vowels of Jp. loanwords are never reduced to [ə] even when they occur unstressed in the corresponding PAL form, as many previous examples will attest.

Although the vowel system of Ger. is much more complex than that of PAL, there is little indication of distortion during borrowing. The lack of loanwords containing, for example, the front rounded vowels ü and ö of Ger. is probably due to the small statistical sample (since at most 25 loanwords from Ger. are attested). At any rate, the only phenomenon of interest we find in loanwords from Ger. involves the reduction of full vowels to [ə] in an unstressed syllable of the PAL form — e.g. PAL mesíl [məsíl] (< Ger. Maschine *machine, motor*).

The Eng. vocalic system is very rich, with a relatively large number of single vowels (e.g. in the author's dialect, [I, i, U, u, ɛ, e, ɔ, o, ʌ, a, æ]) and several diphthongs ([aw, ay, ɔy]). When the Eng. vocalic system is 'translated' into PAL, numerous changes and distortions occur, and we find quite a significant number of exceptions and irregularities. The major modifications to be discussed below all involve cases in which a vowel of Eng. (e.g. [æ, ʌ, ɔ]) has no direct PAL equivalent and is therefore rendered as a PAL vowel contiguous to it in terms of articulation.

The Eng. low front vowel [æ] is almost always borrowed as PAL low central [a], as the list below illustrates:

(38)

	Loan Source	PAL
Eng. [æ] > PAL [a]	band	bangd
	valve	barb
	dance	dangs
	stamp	stamb

Only in one unusual case is Eng. [æ] taken into PAL as [ɛ] — i.e. PAL bek (< Eng. bag).

The Eng. mid central (stressed) vowel [ʌ] is borrowed either as PAL low central [a] or PAL mid back [o], in each case preserving one of the positional features of the original Eng. vowel. Examples of both of these situations are given below:

(39)

			Loan Source	PAL
Eng.	[ʌ]	>	bucket	báket
PAL	[a]		doughnuts	dónats
			club	klab
Eng.	[ʌ]	>	pump	bomb
PAL	[o]		cup	kob
			rum	rrom

The Eng. lower mid back vowel [ɔ] is borrowed as the PAL mid back vowel [o], as shown below:

(40)

			Loan Source	PAL
Eng.	[ɔ]	>	ball	bor
PAL	[o]		sauce	sos

Eng. has several pairs of contrasting lax vs. tense vowels — i.e. [I] vs. [i], [U] vs. [u], and [ɛ] vs. [e].[40] Since PAL has only one vowel corresponding to each of these pairs, the Eng. lax vs. tense contrast is neutralised in loan-words, as the following data illustrate:

(41)

Eng.	[I, i]	>	bid	[bId]	bid
PAL	[i] (tense)		piston	[pístən]	bistóng
			sheep	[šip]	sib
			keel	[kil]	kil
Eng.	[U, u]	>	puss	[pUs]	bus
PAL	[u] (tense)		pool	[pul]	bul
			room	[rum]	rum
Eng.	[ɛ, e]	>	bed	[bɛd]	bet
PAL	[ɛ] (lax)		tennis	[tɛ́nIs]	tenís
			save	[sev]	seb
			chaser	[čésər]	tsésa

In addition to the above, some Eng. tense vowels become long vowels or diphthongs in PAL — e.g. PAL kíis [ki:s] (< Eng. keys), PAL skúul [sku:l] (< Eng. school), PAL téib [tɛyp] (< Eng. tape), and PAL kéik [kɛykʰ] (< Eng. cake). Furthermore, some full vowels or diphthongs of Eng. are reduced to PAL [ə] in unstressed syllables — e.g. PAL chambelángs [ʔambəláns] (< Eng. ambulance) and PAL chasberíng [ʔasbəríŋ] (< Eng. aspirin).

The Eng. diphthongs [aw] and [ay] are adopted into PAL with much irregularity. In some cases, Eng. [aw] remains a diphthong in PAL (e.g. PAL sáusab [sáwsap] (< Eng. soursop)), while in others it becomes the single vowel a (e.g. PAL kurángd (< Eng. ground)) or the single vowel o (e.g. PAL bongd (< Eng. pound)). Eng. [ay] is either pronounced as a similar diphthong in PAL (e.g. PAL cháis [ʔays] (< Eng. ice)) or as the diphthong [aɛ] (e.g. PAL báeb [báɛp] (< Eng. pipe)).

Some of the more unusual PAL renditions of Eng. vowels are undoubtedly due to spelling pronunciations. Thus, in words like the following, the PAL vowel corresponds to the Eng. orthographic vowel rather than to the actual Eng. phonetic vowel:

(42)

Loan Source		PAL
Eng.	pocket	bokkét
	bishop	bisób
	altar	chaltár
	deacon	díakon
	clock	klok
	compass	kómbas

2.2.2.

In a small number of loanwords from Sp., Ger., and Eng., the PAL form shows an excrescent [ə] between the two consonants that form a cluster in the contributing language. Since kr, sr, and dr are not possible as word-initial consonant clusters in PAL, it is natural that a [ə] would be inserted in the PAL form to obviate an unpronounceable sequence. Thus, cr- initials from Sp. are rendered in PAL as kər- (e.g. PAL keristiáno (< Sp. cristiano *Christian*) and PAL kerús (< Sp. cruz *cross*)), and schr- [šr] initials from Ger. become PAL sər- (e.g. PAL serángk (< Ger. Schrank *cupboard, shelf*) and PAL seráub (< Ger. Schraube *screw*)); in addition, Eng. drum (can) becomes PAL deromukáng. An excrescent [ə] may appear as well, however, between the consonants of clusters that are themselves acceptable in native PAL words — e.g. kl, sb, and br. This unpredictable and sporadic phenomenon is observed in such examples as PAL ikelésia (< Sp. iglesia *church*), PAL Sebangiól *Spain* (< Sp. español *Spanish*), and PAL beríb (< Ger. Brief *letter*).

2.2.3.

In Jp. the high vowels i and u are characteristically devoiced between voiceless consonants and in word-final position after a voiceless consonant.[41] Since such voiceless vowels have a very low audibility, it is not surprising that they are very often omitted in PAL loanwords. In the words of (43) below, the omitted voiceless vowel of Jp. is interconsonantal, in the examples of (44) it is word-final, and in (45) it occurs in both positions:

(43)

Loan Source			PAL	
Jp.	bokusō	*grass, pasture*	boksó	*elephant grass*
	kuse	*habit*	kse	
	rekishi	*history*	réksi	
	shitagi	*underwear*	stángi	*petticoat*
	shiken	*test, exam*	skeng	
	hikōki	*aeroplane*	skóki[42]	
	tsukemono	*pickles*	(t)skemóno[43]	

(44)	bengoshi	*lawyer*	bengngós
	doisu	*Germany*	Dóis
	doku	*poison*	dok
	hachi	*bee*	hats
	himitsu	*secret*	hímits
	kangofu	*nurse*	kangngób
	keikaku	*plan*	kéikak
	shokuminchi	*colony, settlement*	siokumíns[44]
(45)	mokuteki	*purpose*	mokték
	shikaku	*square*	skak
	yakusoku	*promise*	iaksók

In most PAL loanwords from Jp., the high back vowel u is deleted after r; u is also deleted sporadically after certain other voiced consonants. Examples of this phenomenon are illustrated below:

(46)	Loan Source		PAL	
Jp.	taoru	*towel*	táor	
	sarumechīru	(Jp. brand name)	sarmetsír	*liniment*
	amatte iru	*left over, plenty*	chamattér	
	kiite iru	*effective*	kitér	
	kotowaru	*refuse*	kotouár	
	tebukuro	*glove*	teb(u)kuró	
	daijōbu	*all right, OK*	daiziób	

2.2.4.

Of the five full vowels of PAL, four can occur long (orthographically, ee, ii, oo, and uu). Phonetically, these long vowels are not only greater in length than the corresponding single vowels but also are followed by a slight gliding articulation, at least for many speakers. Native words containing long vowels include kméed [kmɛ:ð] *near*, díil [ði:l] *abdomen*, dekóol [ðəgó:l] *cigarette*, and búuch [bu:ʔ] *betel nut*.[45] As we observed in 2.2.1. above, some PAL loanwords from Eng. contain long vowels as renderings of Eng. tense vowels — to repeat one example, PAL kíis [ki:s] (< Eng. keys). Given the fact that PAL has long vowels both in the native phonology and in Eng. loanword phonology, it is very surprising that there has been a total resistance to borrowing long vowels from Jp. Thus, even though Jp. has long equivalents for all five vowels (Romanised as ā, ī, ū, ē, and ō), there is not a single case in which PAL has not shortened a corresponding Jp. long vowel. A few of the numerous examples of this across-the-board, yet puzzling, phenomenon are provided below:

(47) Jp.	sarumechīru	(Jp. brand name)	sarmetsír	*liniment*
	kōhī	*coffee*	kohí	
	kyūri	*cucumber*	kiúri	
	senpūki	*electric fan*	sembukí	
	rajiētā	*radiator*	raziéta	
	kōsui	*perfume*	kosúi	

3. PAL LOANWORD MORPHOLOGY

The PAL morphological system has been surprisingly flexible in the extent to which it has allowed loanwords to be integrated, as illustrated by the fact that many borrowed noun and verb stems participate in characteristic native inflectional and derivational patterns. In addition, lexical items from diverse grammatical classes in the contributing languages have been readily borrowed into PAL as members of the several major native parts of speech, often accompanied by interesting shifts of meaning.

3.1. Change of part-of-speech affiliation during borrowing

In the majority of cases, as we would expect, PAL has borrowed a foreign lexical item as a member of the indigenous grammatical class that most closely corresponds to the original class membership in the contributing language. Thus, most borrowings that are nouns in Sp., Ger., Jp., and Eng. also function as nouns in PAL. To take only one typical example, the loanword sensei *teacher*, a noun in Jp., also is used as a noun in PAL and can occur in three basic nominal positions — i.e. as sentence subject, sentence object, and after the preposition er *of, to, etc.* Each of these is illustrated in the sentences below:

(48) a. A sensei a ungil. *The teacher is good.*

b. Ak milsa a sensei. *I saw the teacher.*

c. Tia a hong er a sensei. *This is the teacher's book (= book of the teacher).*

3.1.1.

Whereas most non-indigenous nouns are borrowed as PAL nouns, a significant number are also adopted into PAL as ***state verbs***. As opposed to ***action verbs***, which designate actions, activities, or events that involve an active participant, PAL state verbs describe states, qualities, or conditions that temporarily or permanently characterise persons or things. Syntactically, action verbs can be distinguished from state verbs in terms of the pattern of past tense formation: action verbs use an infix -il- (e.g. mengaus *weave* — milengaus *was weaving*), while state verbs use the auxiliary mle *was, were* (e.g. ungil *good* — mle ungil *was good*). PAL state verbs normally correspond to Eng. adjectives (and, as we will see below, to various classes of modifying words in Jp.), but not always: thus, for instance, the PAL state verb medengei *know* (cf. past mle medengei *knew*) has an Eng. verb (know) as its nearest equivalent.[46]

Most of the cases in which a foreign noun is borrowed into PAL as a state verb come from Jp. Because the part-of-speech affiliation is changed, the meaning of the lexical item is also modified, but in a fairly consistent manner: thus, as the glosses for the PAL state verbs in (49) below indicate, the PAL meaning is something like 'characterised by/similar in appearance to [the referent of the original Jp. noun]'.

(49)

	Jp. Noun	PAL State Verb	
baikin	*bacillus, bacterium, germ*	baikíng	*unsanitary, unhygienic*
bozu	*Buddhist priest, monk, shaven head*	bózu	*(head) completely shaved*
asebo[47]	*prickly heat, heat rash*	chásebo	*broken out in prickly heat*
aji	*taste, flavour*	cházi	*tasty*
haibyō	*lung disease, TB*	háibio	*sick with TB*
hanbun	*half*	hámbung	*half-witted, simple-minded*
kama	*sickle, hook*	kámang	*(arm) twisted/crippled*
jiman	*pride, vanity*	simáng	*vain, boastful*
tamanegi	*onion*	tamanéngi	*(head) completely shaved*
tamagogata	*ovoid figure*	tamangongáta	*egg-shaped, oval*

In addition to being used in PAL as state verbs, some of the items in (49) can also be used as nouns (e.g. cházi *taste, flavour*, kámang *sickle*, and tamanéngi *onion*).

A few examples following the pattern of (50) are found from Sp. and Eng. sources. These are given below:

(50)

		Noun	PAL State Verb	
Sp.	diablo	*devil*	diablóng	*terrible, awful*
	calabozo	*dungeon, cell*	kelebús	*jailed, in prison*
	martillo	*hammer*	martilióng	*clumsy, ungraceful*
Eng.	curve		kab	*curved*
	butterfly		báterflai	*(person) fickle/prone to changing one's mind*
	you-drive (car)		iudoráibu	*(woman) loose/fast.*[48]

All of the words in (50) except báterflai can also be used in PAL as nouns.

Several PAL loanwords illustrate other types of shifts in part-of-speech affiliation resulting from the process of borrowing. Thus, the two Eng. adjectives *English* and *American* are the source for the PAL nouns Ingklís *England* and Merikél *America*.[49] In addition, a few Jp. nouns were adopted into PAL as intransitive verbs — e.g. PAL v.i. chanzáng *add, do sums* (< Jp. n. anzan *mental arithmetic/calculation*) and PAL v.i. sbíido *speed up* (< Jp. n. supiido *speed*). As a final example of interest, the Ger. adverbial auswendig *by heart/memory* is turned into a transitive verb in PAL — i.e. chausbéngdik *know/learn thoroughly, memorise*.

3.1.2.

There are three major classes of modifying words in Jp., all of which are borrowed into PAL as state verbs. Jp. *adjectivals* are forms that inflect for tense and other categories: for example, in the present tense, they take the suffix -i and in the past tense the suffix -katta (e.g. usui *(liquid) weak* — usukatta *(liquid) was weak*). When Jp. adjectivals are adopted into PAL they are invariably taken in the present tense (-i) form, as the examples below illustrate:

(51)

Jp. Adjectival		PAL State Verb
abunai	*dangerous*	chabunái
usui	*(liquid) weak*	chusúi
komakai	*detailed, thorough, stingy*	komakái
koi	*(liquid) strong*	kói
kusai	*bad-smelling*	ksái
omoshiroi	*interesting, funny*	omosiróí[50]
sabishii	*lonely*	sabisí
zurui	*sly, foxy, sneaky*	surúi
takai	*expensive*	takái

Jp. *nominal adjectivals* are non-inflecting noun-like elements that are divided into two subclasses according to whether they must be linked to a following modified noun by the particle na or the particle no (e.g. kantan na koto *simple matter* vs. futsū no koto *usual matter*). Nominal adjectivals from both subclasses are taken into PAL as state verbs, as shown in the examples of (52) below:

(52)

	Jp. Nominal Adjectival		PAL State Verb	
na-type	bonkura	*dull, slow-witted*	bongkurá	
	iroiro	*various, diverse, miscellaneous*	chirochíro	*many-coloured, (children of particular woman) fathered by different men*
	otenba	*pert, saucy*	chotémba	*(woman) loose/fast/ flirtatious*
	daijōbu	*all right, OK*	daiziób	
	kantan	*simple, brief*	kantáng	
	kechi	*stingy, miserly*	kets	
	zeitaku	*luxurious, high-class*	séitak	
no-type	osoroi	*(clothes, etc.) of uniform style*	chosoróí	
	daitai	*general, main, rough*	daitái	*all right, OK*[51]
	hadaka	*naked*	hadaká	*naked, bare-breasted*
	hadashi	*barefooted*	hadási	
	hantai	*opposite, dissenting*	hantái	
	futsū	*common, usual*	hútsu	
	katate	*(with) one hand*	kataté	*(with) one hand, dexterous*
	kichigai	*crazy, insane*	kitsingái	

Many stative expressions in Jp. consist of a verb in its gerund form (with the suffix -te) followed by the auxiliary verb iru *be, exist* — e.g. tsukarete iru *(be) tired* from tsukareru *get tired*). A few of these -te iru expressions have been borrowed into PAL as state verbs: in the resulting PAL forms, of course, the identity of the separate Jp. morphemes (verb stem, suffix -te, and auxiliary verb iru) has been obscured. Some representative examples of this interesting phenomenon are listed below:

(53)	Jp. Stative Expression		PAL State Verb
	amatte iru	*(be) left over/plenty, more than enough*	chamátter
	atte iru	*(be) suitable/appropriate (for each other)*	chattér[52]
	kankei shite iru	*(be) related to/ connected with*	kangkeistér
	kiite iru	*(be) effective/ efficacious*	kitér
	tsukarete iru	*(be) tired*	(t)skáreter

A small number of Jp. intransitive verbs have been converted into PAL state verbs. In every case, the Jp. intransitive verb is of a special type consisting of a noun followed by the verb suru *do*. In the PAL form, however, the verb suru is omitted:

(54)	Jp. Intransitive Verb		PAL State Verb	
	dokuritsu (-suru)	*become independent*	dokurits	*independent*
	koshō (-suru)	*break down, go out of order*	kósio	*broken, out of order*
	panku (-suru)	*get punctured, blow out*	bangk	*(tyre) flat/punctured*[53]

3.1.3.

Most transitive and intransitive verbs from Japanese and English are borrowed into PAL without any change in part-of-speech affiliation. Thus, the examples in (55-6) below are rather straightforward, with the semantic changes being of most interest:

(55)	Jp. or Eng. Transitive Verb		PAL Transitive Verb	
Jp.	harau	*pay for*	haráu	
	yakusoku (-suru)	*promise*	iaksók[54]	
	kaburu	*put on/wear (hat)*	kabúr	*flip (person) over one's shoulder and throw down*
	kensa (-suru)	*inspect, examine, (medically)*	kénsa[54]	
	kotowaru	*refuse*	kotouár	
	mawasu	*turn, screw*	mauás	
	shimeru	*close, strangle, choke*	simér	*strangle, choke, turn off (e.g. water)*
	shiraberu	*examine, investigate*	sirabér	
	chūi (-suru)	*be careful, watch out for*	tsiuí	*watch out for (one's behaviour), warn (person)*
	ōen (-suru)	*support, cheer*	o(i)éng	*praise, honour, acclaim*
	tsukamaeru	*catch, seize, arrest*	(t)skamáer	*confront, face, corner*

Eng.	stop	stob
	sign	saíng[55]
	bake	béik

(56)

	Jp. or Eng. Intransitive Verb		PAL Intransitive Verb	
Jp.	bakuhatsu (-suru)	*blow up, explode*	bakuháts	
	ayamaru	*apologise to*	chaiamár	
	katsu	*win*	kats[56]	
	kawaru	*change*	kauár	*(condition of wind) change*
	kizetsu (-suru)	*faint*	kiséts	
	makeru	*lose*	máke[57]	
	mawaru[58]	*turn/go around*	mauár	
	mōkaru	*make profit, gain*	mokár	
	shinpai (-suru)	*worry*	símbai	
	son (-suru)	*lose money, incur loss*	song	
	seikō (-suru)	*succeed*	séiko	
	taoreru	*fall, collapse*	taorér	
Eng.	drive		doráib	*drive around in car*
	go ahead		kohéi	*go ahead/forward, advance*

As exceptions to the above, a few intransitive verbs or expressions of Jp. have been reinterpreted as PAL transitive verbs. The most striking examples are PAL v.t. changár *promote* (< Jp. v.i. agaru *rise, increase*)[59] and PAL v.t. kingátsku *notice, be aware of* (< Jp. v.i. ki ga tsuku *take notice of, be attuned to*).[60]

3.2. Paradigmatic features of loanwords

PAL native morphological structure is extremely varied and rich, with highly developed systems of inflection and derivation. Transitive verbs occur in both imperfective and perfective forms, with each type composed of characteristic morphemes and the perfective forms involving a whole paradigm of incorporated pronominal object suffixes. In addition, transitive verbs have related stative forms (the so-called resulting and anticipating state verbs to be explained in 3.2.1. below) as well as derived reciprocals, causatives, and numerous reduplicated forms. Intransitive verbs and state verbs have inchoative forms ('is beginning to..., is becoming...') and predictive forms ('is about to (become)...') and also exhibit derived reciprocals, causatives, and reduplicatives. Finally, the great majority of nouns are inflected with suffixes that indicate the person and number of the possessor (see 3.2.2. below).

3.2.1.

While complete coverage of the derivational morphology of PAL verbs is beyond the scope of this paper,[61] the following illustration will suffice to describe those categories relevant to loanword morphology. Given a basic noun

stem such as chelébed *whip, club, anything to hit with,* the following forms can be derived:

(57)	a.	*ergative*	mechelébed	*gets hit*	milechelébed	*got hit*
	b.	*imperfective*	mengelébed	*hits, is hitting*	milengelébed	*was hitting*
	c.	*perfective*	cholebedák	*hits me*	chillebedák	*hit me (past)*
			cholebedáu	*hits you (sg.)*	chillebedáu	*hit you (sg.)*
			cholebedíi	*hits him/her/it*	chillebedíi	*hit him/her/it*
	d.	*resulting state verb*	chellébed	*(in a state of having been) hit*		
	e.	*anticipating state verb*	chelebedáll	*is/needs to be hit*		

Both the ergative and imperfective forms begin with the verb marker me- (o- in verbs formed from b-initial stems) and inflect for the past tense by infixing the past tense marker -il- after the word-initial consonant. In the imperfective form, an additional morpheme — the imperfective marker ng (l or m in other environments) — appears before the stem chelébed, whose initial consonant has been deleted.[62] The perfective forms consist basically of the stem chelébed (but note the change of vowel: the o of cholebed- is most likely a phonetically modified, infixed form of the verb marker) followed by a series of suffixed pronominal objects — e.g. -ák *me,* -áu *you (sg.),* -íi *him/her/it,* and so on. The past tense of perfective forms also involves infixing the past tense marker -il- after the word-initial consonant. The two state verbs — resulting and anticipating — are used as nominal modifiers with rather specialised meanings. The resulting state verb, formed by infixing -(e)l- after the word-initial consonant, describes the state or condition that some person or object is in as a result of having undergone the related action, while the anticipating state verb, formed by suffixing -áll (or -(e)l), focuses on some person or object as being expected or required to undergo that action.

A significant number of loanwords have been Palauanised to the extent that they participate in paradigms similar to (57). Some representative examples are given below in the same format:

(58) PAL n. kíis *key* (< Eng. keys)

a. *erg.* mekíis *gets opened* milekíis *got opened*

b. *impf.* mengíis *opens (with key), unlocks* milengíis *was opening*

c. *pf.* kiisíi *opens it up* kilisíi *opened it up*

d. *res. state vb.* klíis *opened*

e. *antic. state vb.* kisáll *is to be opened*

(59) PAL n. chasuárt *asphalt* (< Eng. asphalt)

a. *erg.* mechesuárt *gets asphalted* milechesuárt *got asphalted*

b. *impf.* mengesuárt *puts asphalt on* milengesuárt *was putting asphalt on*

c. *pf.* chosuertíi *asphalts it over* chilsuertíi *asphalted it over*

d. *res. state vb.* chelsuárt *asphalted*

e. *antic. state vb.* chesuertáll *is to be asphalted*

(60) PAL n. sébel *shovel* (< Eng. shovel)

a. *erg.* mesébel *gets cleared of debris (by shovelling)* milsébel *got cleared of debris (by shovelling)*

b. *impf.* mesébel[63] *shovels, removes debris from* milsébel *was shovelling/removing debris from*

c. *pf.* sobelíi *shovels it out* silebelíi *shovelled it out*

d. *res. state vb.* selébel *shovelled out, cleared of debris*

e. *antic. state vb.* [none]

(61) PAL n. smengt *cement* (< Eng. cement)

a. *erg.* mesméngt *gets cemented* milsméngt *got cemented*

b. *impf.* mesméngt *puts cement on* milsméngt *was putting cement on*

c. *pf.* simengtíi *cements it over* silemengtíi *cemented it over*

d. *res. state vb.* seleméngt *cemented over*

e. *antic. state vb.* smengtáll *is to be cemented*

(62) PAL n. bomk[64] *pump, small boat engine* (< Eng. pump)

a. *erg.* obómk *gets pumped* ulebómk[65] *got pumped*

b. *impf.* omómk *pumps* ulemómk *was pumping*

c. *pf.* memkíi *pumps it out* milemkíi *pumped it out*

d. *res. state vb.* blomk *pumped out*

e. *antic. state vb.* bemkáll *is to be pumped out*

3.2.2.

The great majority of PAL nouns are inflected with *possessor suffixes* to indicate the person and number of a possessor. The categories of possessor expressed in the suffixes correspond exactly to the seven major pronominal distinctions of PAL, as indicated in the list below:

(63)

Category of Pronominal Possessor	Possessor Suffixes
first person singular	-ek, -uk, -ik, -ak
second person singular	-em, -um, -im, -am
third person singular	-el, -ul, -il, -al
first person plural inclusive	-ed, -ud, -id, -ad
first person plural exclusive	-am, -(e)mam
second person plural	-iu, -(e)miu
third person plural (human)[66]	-ir, -(e)rir

Given the phonetic form of an independently occurring noun stem, it is impossible to predict whether the possessor suffix will take the vowel e, u, i, or a in the three singular forms and in the first person plural inclusive form. This is illustrated by the following examples:

(64)

Independent Form		Sample Possessed Form	
reng	*heart, spirit*	rengúk	*my heart, my spirit*
ker	*question*	kerím	*your question*
oách	*leg*	ochíl	*his/her/its leg, their (non-human) legs*
oák	*anchor*	okúd	*our (incl.) anchor*
charm	*animal*	cherмék	*my animal*
chur	*laughter*	cherím	*your laughter*
chur	*tongue*	churál	*his/her/its tongue, their (non-human) tongues*
chur	*rib of coconut frond*	churúd	*our (incl.) frond*

As most of the examples (64) also show, PAL noun stems undergo various types of morphophonemic changes when the possessor suffixes are added. These changes affect the vocalic element in the stem and are due mainly to the shift of stress from the noun stem to the possessor suffixes, which are always stressed. Thus, for example, the a of charm *animal* and the u of chur *laughter* are both reduced to a schwa [ə] (orthographic e) in the possessed forms, where they come to appear in unstressed syllables. Similarly, the diphthong represented by oa in oach *leg* and oak *anchor* is reduced to the single vowel o in the corresponding possessed forms.

With regard to the phenomenon of possession, PAL nouns fall into three classes. The examples of (64) are all *optionally* possessed nouns because the noun stem can occur as an independent word as well as with possessor suffixes. Bound noun stems that must always have a suffixed pronominal possessor are called *obligatorily* possessed nouns — e.g. budek, budem, etc. *my skin, your skin, etc.* or obekuk, obekul, etc. *my older brother, his older brother, etc.* In other words, with obligatorily possessed nouns we do not find independently occurring free forms such as *bud *skin* or *obek *older brother*. Lastly, *unpossessible* nouns are those that never take possessor suffixes. A few native PAL nouns and — as we will see in 4.1. below — the majority of loanword nouns belong to this category. In order to show possession with such lexical items, it is necessary to use a prepositional phrase of the form er *of* + *possessor* — e.g. delmerab er ngii *his room (lit. room of him)* and sensei er ngak *my teacher (lit. teacher of me)*.

A significant number of loanword nouns have been sufficiently Palauanised so as to participate in the paradigm of noun possession illustrated in (63) above — in other words, they have been borrowed as optionally possessed nouns. Some typical examples are listed below, with only the third person singular form given as a representative example:

(65)

	Loan Source		PAL Independent Noun		PAL Possessed Noun	
Ger.	Schraube	*screw*	seráub		serubél	
Jp.	taoru	*towel*	táor		torél	
Eng.	pipe		báeb		bebél	[bɛbél]
	box		baks		beksél	[bəksél]
	(re)bound		bangd	*rebound, bounce*	bengdél	[bənðél]
	dance		dangs		dengsél	[ðənsél]
	keys		kíis		kisél	
	shovel		sébel		sebelél	[səbəlél]
	school		skúul		skulél	
	time		táem		temél	[tɛmél]
	tank		tangk		tengkél	[təŋkél]

As the examples of (65) clearly show, loanword noun stems undergo the very same phonological processes of vowel and diphthong reduction to which native stems are susceptible.

Many loanword nouns, especially vowel-final stems from Jp., are adopted into the paradigm of noun possession with the addition of a stem-final augment of the form -leng- or -(e)ng-.[67] Note the following examples:

(66)

	Loan Source		PAL Independent Noun	PAL Possessed Noun
Ger.	Papier	*paper*	babiér	babilngél
Jp.	kama	*sickle*	kámang	kamelengél
	bando	*belt*	bándo	bandelengél
	kata	*shape*	káta	katelengél
	skāto	*skirt*	skáto	skatelengél
	zubon	*pants*	subóng	subelengél
	tama	*ball*	táma	tamelengél
Eng.	bucket		báket	baketengél
	bamboo		bambúu	bambungél
	bag		bek	bekengél
	boat		bos	besengél
	book		buk	bukelengél
	cup		kob	kebengél
	matches		masés	masesengél
	soap		sob	sebengél

3.2.3.

Loanword stems participate rather freely in a large variety of PAL derivational patterns. Perhaps the derivational affix occurring most frequently with foreign noun stems is the prefix ou-, which derives verbs that designate ownership or use of, control over, or participation in the entity designated by the stem itself. First of all, the use of ou- with native stems is illustrated in the examples below:

(67)

Noun Stem		Derived Verb in ou-	
blái	*house*	oublái	*own a house*
charm	*animal*	ouchárm	*keep a pet*
sers	*garden*	ousérs	*keep a garden, do farming*
secheléi	*friend*	ousecheléi	*have (particular person) as a friend*

The great majority of verbs in ou- formed with loanword stems are intransitive verbs derived from nouns. Note the following examples:

(68)

	Loan Source		PAL Noun		PAL Intransitive Verb	
Ger.	Rad	*bicycle*	rrat		ourrát	*have/own a bicycle*
Jp.	bakuchi	*gambling*	bakutsí	*twenty-one (card game)*	oubakutsí	*play twenty-one*
	ashi	*foot*	[none][68]		ouási	*walk/go on foot (rather than ride)*

	denwa	*telephone*	déngua	oudéngua *have a telephone, make a telephone call*
	yakyū	*baseball*	iákiu	ouiákiu *play baseball*
	shibai	*play*	sibái	ousibái *act in a play*
	jidōsha	*auto*	sidósia	ousidósia *have/own an auto*
	zuga	*picture, drawing*	sungá	ousungá *make a picture/ drawing*
Eng.	basket(ball)		baskét	oubaskét *play basketball*
	card(s)		kat	oukát *play cards*
	store		stoáng	oustoáng *run/own a store*
	tape (recording)		téib	outéib *make/have a tape-recording of*

In a few cases, a borrowed noun prefixed with ou- yields a transitive verb - e.g.

(69)	Loan Source		PAL Noun	PAL Transitive Verb	
Jp.	shirankao	*feigned ignorance*	sirangkáo	ousirangkáo	*pretend that one is innocent*
	shiken	*test, exam*	skeng	ouskéng	*examine, give test to*
Eng.	dance		dangs	oudángs	*dance (particular type of dance)*
	school		skúul	ouskúul	*teach*

Another common PAL prefix is beke-, which is used to form state verbs that designate two divergent and apparently unconnected categories of meaning. First, beke- can be added to noun stems to form state verbs meaning 'prone to..., habitually doing...' Thus, with native stems we have, e.g. beketekoi *talkative* from tekoi *word, speech* and bekesius *swear a lot, talk vividly*, from sius *swearing*. Borrowed noun stems prefixed with beke- and having the connotation of habitual action include PAL mongk *complaint* — bekemongk *always complaining* (cf. Jp. monku *complaint*) and PAL bet *bed* — bekebet *prone to spending a lot of time in bed* (cf. Eng. bed). Second, beke- is also used with noun stems to form state verbs meaning 'having the characteristic smell of...' Native words with this interpretation are, for example, bekecheluch *smell of coconut oil* from cheluch *coconut oil* and bekengikel *smell of fish* from ngikel *fish*. Loanword nouns appearing with the same category of meaning include kosui *perfume* — bekekosui *smell of perfume* (cf. Jp. kōsui *perfume*) and katuu *cat* — bekekatuu *smell of a cat* (cf. Eng. cat).

The process of plural formation in PAL is quite restricted, since the plural prefix re- (r- before a vowel) can only be added to noun stems designating human beings — e.g. chad *person* — rechad *people*, ngalek *child* — rengalek *children*, ekebil *girl* — rekebil *girls*, and so forth. Loanword nouns with human referents can likewise be prefixed with re-, as in sensei *teacher* (< Jp. sensei) — resensei *teachers*, toktang *doctor* (< Eng. doctor) — retoktang *doctors*, etc. In addition, PAL uses a special prefix consisting of the plural morpheme re- followed by another element -chi- to designate nationalities (e.g. Ruk *Truk* — rechiruk *Trukese people*); this prefix, too, can accompany non-indigenous stems, as in Dois *Germany* (< Jp. doisu) — rechidois *Germans* and Merikel *America* (< Eng. American) — rechimerikel *Americans*. Another prefix added to PAL nouns is kl(e)-, which is used to derive abstract nouns meaning something like 'the experience of being...' or 'the act of doing...' Thus, in addition to examples from the native vocabulary such as chad *person, human being*, — klechad *human life, way of life*, we find examples based on loanword stems

such as sensei *teacher* (< Jp. sensei) — klsensei *the experience of being a teacher* and doraib *drive* (< Eng. drive) — kledoraib *the action of driving around in a car*. As one final example of the application of PAL derivational processes to foreign vocabulary, observe how the reciprocal prefix (basic alternant: kau-) can be added to loanword nouns to form related reciprocal verbs — e.g. mondai *problem* (< Jp. mondai) — kaumondai *dispute, argue over* and musing *cooperative enterprise* (< Jp. mujin *mutual financial business*) — kaumusing *participate jointly in a cooperative enterprise*.

4. SYNTACTIC PHENOMENA RELATING TO LOANWORDS

By and large, the PAL syntactic system has readily accommodated the various classes of loanwords that have penetrated into the language. Thus, for example, there is no distinction between native and borrowed nouns in terms of their ability to function as sentence subject, sentence object, and so on. In a like fashion, state verbs from non-indigenous sources are virtually indistinguishable from native state verbs with respect to the characteristic syntactic functions of this grammatical class. Nevertheless, there are two areas worthy of mention in which PAL syntax has been especially flexible in dealing with loanwords, one having to do with nouns and the other with verbs.

4.1.

As mentioned in 3.2.2. above, PAL nouns fall into three classes with regard to the phenomenon of possession. Thus, in addition to optionally possessed nouns and obligatorily possessed nouns which, respectively, may or must occur with possessor suffixes, PAL has a class of unpossessible nouns that never allow these suffixes. In order to express possession with such nouns, PAL speakers use a periphrastic expression consisting of the preposition er *of* followed by the noun (or noun phrase) indicating the possessor. While there is a small class of native PAL unpossessible nouns consisting primarily of items designating animals, plants, or parts of the natural environment, the great majority of loanword nouns fall into the unpossessible category. As was observed in 3.2.2., a significant, but nevertheless quite small, number of borrowed nouns have been assimilated into PAL to the extent that they participate in the paradigm of noun possession shown in (63) — in other words, they have become optionally possessed nouns. Most borrowed nouns, however, remain unpossessible, and their foreign nature is clearly marked syntactically by the necessity of using a periphrastic expression with them to indicate the possessor. This phenomenon is illustrated below:

(70)

Loan Source			PAL Unpossessible Noun	Sample Use of Unpossessible Noun Followed by Periphrastic Expression of Possession
Sp.	rosario	*rosary*	rosário	rosario er a Maria *Mary's rosary*
Ger.	Papier	*paper*	babiér	babier er ngii *his paper/letter*[69]
	Maschine	*machine, motor*	mesíl	mesil er a dengki *generator* (lit., *machine of electricity*)

Jp.	dōgu	*tool*	dóngu	dongu er a kldaiksang[70] *carpentry tools*
	kotai	*answer*	kotái	kotai er a ochur *answer to the math problem*
Eng.	clock		klok *clock, watch*	klok er ngak *my clock/watch*
	store		stoáng	stoa er a Droteo *Droteo's store*

4.2.

As observed at the beginning of 3.1.1., PAL state verbs use the auxiliary mle *was, were* to express the past tense, while action verbs (transitive and intransitive) take the infixed past tense marker -il-. The use of -il- with action verbs of foreign origin is restricted to those few items discussed in 3.2.1. in which a borrowed noun has served as the stem for derived ergative and imperfective forms prefixed with the verb marker me- (or o-) — e.g. imperfective mengiis *open (with a key)* — milengiis *was opening (with a key)* (cf. kiis *key*), etc. Transitive and intransitive action verbs of foreign origin are otherwise impervious to past tense formation with -il-, and instead the native pattern for state verbs is used, since this provides an alternative way (with the auxiliary mle) to mark the past tense overtly. This usage is illustrated in the sentences below: in (71) the borrowed action verb is transitive, while in (72) it is intransitive:

(71) a. v.t. haráu *pay (for)* (< Jp. harau)

A sensei a mle harau a blals.
teacher PAST *pay* *fine*
The teacher paid the fine.

b. v.t. siraber *examine, investigate* (< Jp. shiraberu)

A bulis a mle siraber er tia el tekoi.
police PAST *investigate* *this* *matter*
The police investigated this matter.

c. v.t. skamáer *confront, face, corner* (< Jp. tsukamaeru *catch, seize, arrest*)

Ng techa a mle skamaer er kau?
it who PAST *corner* *you*
Who was it who cornered you?

(72) a. v.i. bakuháts *explode, blow up* (< Jp. bakuhatsu)

Ng mle bakuhats a tangk.
it PAST *explode* *tank*
The tank exploded.

b. v.i. séngkio *vote* (< Jp. senkyo [suru])

A betok el chad a mle sengkio.
many *person* PAST *vote*
A lot of people voted.

c. v.i. saíng *sign name as pledge to abstain from liquor* (< Eng. sign)

A toki a mle saing er a kesus.
PAST *sign* *last* *etc.* *night*
Toki pledged last night to abstain from liquor.

State verbs of foreign origin are identical to native state verbs with respect to the use of mle for the past tense. Thus, we have, for example, ksái *foul-smelling* (< Jp. kusai) — mle kusai *was foul-smelling*, kantáng *simple* (< Jp. kantan) — mle kantang *was simple*, and so forth. In addition, PAL state verbs take the auxiliary mo *go, become* (past tense: mlo) to express a change of state — e.g. ungil *good* — mlo ungil *became good, improved*, mekeald *hot* — mlo mekeald *got hot*, etc. The very same pattern is used as well with state verbs of foreign origin, as in sabisí *lonely* (< Jp. sabishii) — mlo sabisi *got lonely* and kitsingái *crazy, insane* (< Jp. kichigai) — mlo kitsingai *went crazy*.

5. THE SEMANTICS OF LOANWORDS IN PAL

As we have seen in the examples so far given, the great majority of foreign lexical items have been borrowed into PAL with no discernible semantic modification. There are nevertheless quite a few striking cases in which the original meaning of a loanword has undergone significant distortion. It is difficult to propose a clearcut method of categorising the types of semantic change, but as a rough approximation, the following three-way distinction seems reasonable. First, a process of semantic change called *narrowing* or *specification* involves taking a loanword having a general category (or generic) meaning and using it, in the borrowing language, to designate some specific member, subtype, or subclass of the category in question. Second, a process called *widening* and *expansion* involves just the opposite phenomenon — that is, a term with fairly specialised reference in the contributing language is borrowed with a more general or generic meaning, perhaps being used to refer to the whole class of which the original referent is a part or member. Finally, a third process called *extension* or *shift* does not involve the whole-part or part-whole relationships, respectively, of narrowing or widening, but instead hinges on a part-part relationship. In other words, a given term representing a member of some category is shifted or extended to refer to another comember of the same category, or is simply shifted, somewhat imprecisely, to a referent having similar or related properties.

Semantic narrowing or specification is observed in the loanword items listed below:

(73)

Loan Source			PAL	
Ger.	Bild	*picture*	bilt	*holy picture*
	Turm	*tower*	turm	*church tower, steeple*
Jp.	bangō	*number*	bángngo	*identification number, door number, number in batting order (baseball)*
	bokusō	*grass, pasture*	boksó	*elephant grass (used as animal feed)*
	ainoko	*halfbreed, mulatto*	chainokó	*half-Japanese and half-Palauan*
	iroiro	*various, diverse, miscellaneous*	chirochíro	*many-coloured, (children of particular woman) fathered by different men*
	ude	*arm*	chúde	*biceps*
	eki	*liquid, fluid, solution*	chekí	*battery acid*

	hake	*brush*	háke	*paint brush*
	hontō	*main island*	hónto	*Babeldaob*
	kankōdan	*tourist group*	kangkódang	*(individual) tourist*
	kansoku	*observation, survey*	kánsok	*meteorological survey*
	machi	*town, city*	mats	*main town, capital*
	minatohan[71]	*harbour quarter*	minatoháng	*area of Koror between Neco Store and T-Dock*
	nappa[72]	*greens*	náppa	*cabbage*
Eng.	blocks		blaks	*cement blocks*
	ground		kurángd	*playground*
	number		lámbang	*identification number, telephone number*
	sauce		sos	*soya sauce*

In some cases, the PAL word not only preserves the original, more general meaning but also develops a more specialised meaning — e.g.

(74) Ger.	Gummi	*rubber*	kúmi	*rubber, rubber band*
Jp.	bakudan	*bomb*	bakudáng	*bomb, dynamite*
	kata	*shape, form*	káta	*shape, form, frame for weaving*
Eng.	pipe		báeb	*pipe, windpipe*

Semantic widening or expansion appears in loanword items such as the following:

(75) Jp.	baikin	*bacillus, bacterium, germ*	baikíng	*disease*
	boi	*page, waiter, porter, bellhop*	bói	*servant*
	bōkūgō	*air-raid shelter, dugout*	bokungó	*deep hole, pit*
	kenpei	*military policeman*	kembéi	*police*
	rinbyō	*gonorrhea*	rímbio	*venereal disease*
Eng.	rum		rrom	*liquor*

In certain cases, the PAL word maintains the original specific meaning and, in addition, develops a more general meaning — e.g.

(76) Jp.	otsuri	*change (from purchase)*	otsúri	*change (from purchase), benefit, recompense*
	saidā	*cider*	saidáng	*cider, soft-drink*
	tanjōbi	*birthday*	tansióbi	*birthday, birthday party*
Eng.	buoy		bói	*buoy, property marker (on land)*
	Sunday		sándei	*Sunday, week*

The phenomenon of semantic extension or shift is illustrated in the examples below:

(77)	Ger.	Mark	*mark (monetary unit)*	mak	*fifty cents (old value of one mark)*
		schenken	*give, send*	sengk	*gift of money to first-born child by father's family*
	Jp.	budō	*grape*	búdo	*Panama cherry*
		denkibu	*Electric Department*	déngkibu	*power plant*
		han	*fief, feudal domain*	hang	*hamlet*
		mōchō	*appendix*	mótsio	*appendicitis*
		ninjin	*carrot*	ninzín	*type of sweet potato (with orange-coloured inside)*
		sarumata	*shorts, trunks*	saruмáta	*panties*
		tōgan	*wax gourd, Chinese watermelon*	tongáng	*squash*
	Eng.	flour		blauáng	*bread*
		ball four		borhuá	*walk (in baseball)*

In addition, there are cases in which the PAL word maintains the original meaning and develops one or more coexisting or extended meanings — e.g.

(78)

Ger.	Papier	*paper, document*	babiér	*paper, document, letter, book*
Jp.	tama	*ball, marble*	táma	*ball, marble, fried flour ball*
Eng.	cat		katúu	*cat, sweetheart*
	clock		klok	*clock, watch*
	soursop		sáusab	*soursop, spade or heart in cards*[73]

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NOTES

1. The Palau Islands were discovered in 1543 by the Spanish explorer Ruy López de Villalobos, who named them the Arrecifos. It is said that Sir Francis Drake visited the islands in 1579.

2. For a more detailed analysis of the PAL phonological system, see Josephs 1975: Chapter 1.

3. For Sp., Ger., and Eng., the loan source is given in the modern standard orthography. For Jp., the Romanisation system used is that found in Kenkyûsha's *New Japanese-English dictionary*, ed. Koh Masuda (Fourth edition, Tokyo, 1974). This system presents a phonetic (rather than phonemic) spelling of Jp. syllables using Eng. orthographic equivalents for the sounds in question. Thus, the syllables of Jp. are rendered as follows:

a	i	ú	e	o
ka	ki	ku	ke	ko
sa	shi [ši]	su	se	so
ta	chi [či]	tsu [cu]	te	to
na	ni	nu	ne	no
ha	hi	hu [Φu]	he	ho
ma	mi	mu	me	mo
ya		yu		yo
ra	ri	ru	re	ro
wa				
ga	gi	gu	ge	go
za	ji [ǰi]	zu [ʒu]	ze	zo
da			de	do
ba	bi	bu	be	bo
pa	pi	pu	pe	po

In addition to the above, a *palatal glide* can occur between a consonant and a following a, u, or o, as indicated in the following syllables:

kya	kyu	kyo
sha [ša]	shu [šu]	sho [šo]
cha [ča]	chu [ču]	cho [čo]
nya	nyu	nyo
hya	hyu	hyo
mya	myu	myo
rya	ryu	ryo
gya	gyu	gyo
ja [ǰa]	ju [ǰu]	jo [ǰo]
bya	byu	byo
pya	pyu	pyo

Long vowels within a single syllable are indicated by a long mark (e.g. kū, gō, etc.), and geminate consonants are spelled double (e.g. tt, pp, etc.). The symbol n stands for a syllable-final nasal phoneme that assimilates to the initial consonant of the following syllable within the word (e.g. shinpai [šimpay] *worry*, kankei [kaŋkey] *relationship*) and is realised in word-final position as a nasalised version of the preceding vowel (e.g. hon [hoõ] *book*, shinbun [šimbuũ] *newspaper*). In Tokyo dialect, the g in syllable-initial position is usually pronounced [ŋ] word-internally (e.g. negi [nɛŋi] *green onion*). The location of the pitch accent, although marked in Kenkyûsha's Romanisation, is omitted here.

4. The orthographic conventions of PAL should become clear from the ensuing discussions, but note the following equivalents:

PAL orthography	Phonetic equivalent
ch	[ʔ]
ng	[ɲ, ŋ]
d	[ð, θ]
ll	[l:]
rr	[r̃]

In this paper, the primarily stressed syllable of a polysyllabic word is marked with an accent over the vowel or the peak of a diphthong, although no such marking is made in standard PAL orthography. Note, further, that if no PAL gloss is given, the word in question has the same meaning as in the contributing language.

5. Some minor details of pronunciation in the contributing languages are disregarded here. For example, whereas orthographic b and v of Sp. are both pronounced as bilabial stops in word-initial position, intervocalically they are normally articulated as lenis bilabial fricatives. For further details on the Sp. situation, see Stockwell and Bowen 1965:47-48.

6. In the PAL form, the final l of Sp. barril has been idiosyncratically lengthened.

7. Note that the Sp. plural form cebollas was reinterpreted in PAL as a singular.

8. In Ger. orthography, w stands for [v].

9. In this word, the final nasal is pronounced [n] rather than [ŋ] — hence, the unusual spelling with n rather than ng.

10. Indeed, the irregular spelling of PAL Papa with p's is intended to highlight this exception.

11. For a detailed discussion of PAL a, see Josephs 1975: Section 2.6. When adopting certain PAL nouns and place names, Eng. speakers also had trouble with PAL a, interpreting it as an integral part of the stems in question. Thus, in Eng. texts, we find the PAL community house bai being referred to as an abai and the villages of Irrai and Imeliik spelled as Airai and Aimeliik.

12. In Jp. itself, /p/ is a rather restricted phoneme, occurring only geminate in words of native origin. Otherwise, the occurrence of /p/ is limited to borrowings from Chinese and Eng. and to a special class of 'onomatopoeic' vocabulary. See McCawley 1968:77ff. for further details.

13. Jp. kyabu (longer alternant: kyaburetā) is itself a borrowing from Eng. A significant number of PAL loanword items can be traced through Jp. (from which they were directly borrowed) to their ultimate Eng. source. Thus, in certain cases, characteristic distortions of the original Eng. pronunciation clearly suggest direct borrowing from Jp. — e.g. Jp. and PAL bando *belt* (< Eng. band); Jp. puragu *plug* — PAL berangu *spark plug* (< Eng. plug); Jp. and PAL kanaria *canary* (< Eng. canary); Jp. and PAL masku *mask* (< Eng. mask); Jp. merikenko *flour* (< Eng. American + Jp. ko *powder*) — PAL merikengko *flour;* Jp. ranningu *athletic shirt* — PAL ranningngu *athletic shirt* (< Eng. running [shirt]); Jp. rajiētā *radiator* — PAL razieta *radiator* (< Eng. radiator). In other cases, however, it is very difficult to tell whether a given loanword was taken directly from Jp. or from its original Eng. source — e.g. PAL batteri (cf. Eng. battery, Jp. batterī), PAL chea (cf. Eng. air, Jp. ea), PAL dainamo (cf. Eng. dynamo, Jp. dainamo), PAL saireng (cf. Eng. siren, Jp. sairen).

14. In some dialects of Jp. (e.g. downtown Tokyo), /hi/ is pronounced [ši] rather than [çi].

15. Many speakers of the older generation, who still have knowledge of Jp. and spoke the language fluently during the period of the mandate, tend to maintain the original Jp. pronunciation for the allophones of /h/. Thus, for example, the initial fricative of PAL hútsu *common, usual* (cf. Jp. futsū) will often be heard as [Φ] or [f] rather than [h].

16. In present-day PAL, [x] appears in the words of (9) and sporadically among younger speakers as a replacement for the [kʰ] allophone of /k/ when the sound in question occurs word-finally after a stressed vowel Thus, for such speakers, chermék *my animal* is pronounced as [ʔərméx] rather than as [ʔərmékʰ]. Interestingly enough, it is reported that as late as the Ger. times, many PAL speakers (at least the older generation) pronounced the present-day phoneme /ʔ/ as [x]. Following Ger. orthographic conventions, the letters ch were used to spell this sound (cf. Ger. doch [dɔx] *therefore*), and this spelling has remained standard even after the phonetic change from [x] to modern-day [ʔ]. Only one loanword with [h] appears to have been taken from Ger. — namely, the PAL interjection hall *stop!* (cf. Ger. Halt! *stop!*). The origin of the unusual h-initial pair hngong (exclamation to draw attention to a pleasant smell) and hngob (exclamation to draw attention to an unpleasant smell) is obscure.

17. Intervocalically, Sp. /d/ is actually pronounced as a lenis voiced fricative similar to [ð]. Cf. note 5 and see Stockwell and Bowen 1965:44-47.

18. The loss in PAL of the second d of soldado is probably due to the fact that the Sp. sound is so lenis (cf. note 17) as to appear nearly inaudible to non-native speakers. This phenomenon is mentioned by Stockwell and Bowen 1965.

19. In Ger. (morphophonemically basic) voiced stops are automatically devoiced in word-final position. Thus, the /d/ at the end of Rad was heard as [t] and borrowed into PAL as /t/ (realised word-finally as [t^h]). The same phenomenon is observed for Ger. Bild [bilt] *picture* – PAL bilt [$bilt^h$] *holy picture*.

20. The sound represented by word-final orthographic z in Sp. is either [s] or [θ].

21. Sp. orthographic 'soft' c (i.e. c before i or e) is pronounced either as [s] or [θ]. Cf. note 20.

22. In all of these examples, Eng. /z/ [z] is represented by orthographic s. PAL kís is used as a singular although borrowed from the Eng. plural keys (cf. note 7).

23. In this and the following example, a schwa [ə] (orthographic e) has been inserted to avoid the prohibited consonant cluster sr.

24. In Jp. shiken, the high front vowel i is voiceless between two voiceless consonants – i.e. we have [ši̥kɛẽ]. In PAL, the voiceless vowel [i̥] is lost completely – hence, skeng [skɛŋ]. For more discussion of this phenomenon see 2.2.3. below.

25. Note the unexpected optional i in the PAL form, indicating that the Jp. word might have been misinterpreted as *uchusu by some speakers.

26. A good number of younger speakers with a knowledge of Eng. pronounce these words with initial [t͡š] rather than [t͡s]

27. Because both the [t͡š] of inch [Int͡š] and the [d͡ž] of hinge [hInd͡ž] become PAL s and the h of Eng. hinge is lost, the PAL form íings is homophonous.

28. Note the similarity to the phoneme /t/, which also has an aspirated allophone [t^h] word-finally (cf. 2.1.2.).

29. Sp. orthographic ñ represents a palatised nasal – hence, the appearance of i in the PAL counterpart.

30. Word-final PAL ng will be discussed presently.

31. Even a few Eng. borrowings show the change of n to l – e.g. PAL lámbang (< Eng. number), kombalíi (< Eng. company), and Lukiléi (< Eng. New Guinea).

32. In this interesting example, PAL has [ŋ] before [k] even though the Eng. source does not have [ŋ] (due, undoubtedly, to the morpheme boundary intervening between the final nasal of sun and the initial velar of glasses). Note, in addition, that in the PAL form, the Eng. plural suffix has been omitted.

33. Interestingly enough, no examples were observed of Eng. loanwords with word-final [ŋ]. One or two exceptions exist to the pattern observed here – e.g. PAL taifún (< Eng. typhoon), where word-final Eng. [n] = PAL [n].

34. One notable exception to this statement is PAL kámang *(arm) twisted/ crippled* (< Jp. kama *sickle, hook*).

35. Note, in addition, the existence of a rule in the native phonology that requires the assimilation of /l/ in certain morphemes to an /r/ elsewhere in the word. Thus, while the basic form of the past tense infix is /-il-/, as in milleseb *burned* (cf. meleseb *burn*) and chilarm *suffered* (cf. chuarm *suffer*), the l changes to r in such forms as mirrael *travelled* (cf. merael *travel*) and riros *drowned* (cf. remos *drown*).

36. In this example, the a of azucár has evidently been analysed as the PAL prenominal particle a, thus leaving -zucár (= PAL sukál) as the independent noun (cf. note 11).

37. Babilngél *his paper/letter/book* is the third person singular possessed form of babiér. Note the change of r to l in the possessed form and see 3.2.2. below for further discussion.

38. The form kil is also used by some speakers.

39. Although the occurrence of stress is probably predictable within the native phonology (see Wilson 1972:39-42), there do not appear to be any consistent patterns governing stress in loanword phonology. Whether the contributing language has a stress accent system (as in Sp., Ger., and Eng.) or a pitch accent system (as in Jp.) does not seem to matter: it is virtually impossible to predict which syllable of the PAL loanword will receive primary stress. Clearly, much more research is needed in this challenging area.

40. The tense vowels in these pairs are sometimes analysed phonetically as diphthongs — i.e. [iy], [uw], and [ey].

41. There are some further conditioning factors that determine whether or not a given high vowel will devoice (e.g. the location of the pitch accent within the word and the number of devoiceable vowels potentially occurring in adjacent syllables), but these are not relevant to the present discussion. For a complete analysis of Jp. vowel devoicing, see Han 1962:17-45.

42. In this word, Jp. h before i [ç i] becomes s in PAL with concomitant loss of the vowel. Similar examples are Pal. skózio (< Jp. hikōjō *airport*) and PAL skidás (< Jp. hikidashi *drawer*).

43. With the loss of devoiced u, the PAL form gets an initial cluster tsk-, which is optionally simplified to sk-. Another similar example is PAL (t)skáreter (< Jp. tsukarete iru *tired*).

44. In this word, Jp. ch [t͡ɕ] gives PAL ts; and after the loss of the word-final devoiced vowel, the consonant cluster nts simplifies to ns.

45. Alternate pronunciations, including the glide articulation, are [kmɛ:ʏð] [ðiːʏ] [ðəgó:ʍ], and [buːʍʔ]

46. For a more detailed discussion of the syntactic and semantic properties of PAL state verbs, see Josephs 1975: Chapter 7.

47. This is a slang form for standard asemo.

48. This PAL state verb illustrates a humorous semantic shift from the original meaning of the Eng. noun.

49. In comparing Eng. **American** with PAL Merikel, we again observe the phenomenon in which an initial a- in the source word has been interpreted as the prenominal particle a, thus leaving -merican as the basis for the independent PAL noun. Cf. notes 11 and 36.

50. This word is also used in PAL as a noun meaning *joke*.

51. Note the unpredictable meaning distortion here, possibly influenced by contamination from daiziob, which has the same meaning and is partially similar phonetically.

52. The Jp. negative equivalent of atte iru — namely, awanai *not suitable/appropriate (for each other)* — is also borrowed into PAL as chauanái.

53. This word is also used as an intransitive verb in PAL — i.e. it can also have the meaning *go flat, get punctured, blow out.*

54. The PAL forms can also be used as nouns with the meanings, respectively, *(a) promise, (b) inspection, examination.*

55. PAL saíng (note the unusual accentuation) is also used as a noun meaning *sign* and as an intransitive verb meaning *sign name (especially as pledge to abstain from liquor).*

56. PAL kats is also used as a noun meaning *winner.*

57. PAL máke is also used as a noun meaning *loser.*

58. Jp. mawaru is the intransitive partner of mawasu (cf. (55) above).

59. The PAL form changár is also used as an intransitive verb meaning *(salary, etc.) increase, (person) get excited/nervous.*

60. PAL has also borrowed the negative equivalent kingatskanái *not be aware of, not notice* (< Jp. ki ga tsukanai).

61. The many details omitted here can be found in Josephs 1975: Chapters 5-7, 9-12.

62. In other words, the basic form of imperfective mengélebed is (verb marker) me- + (imperfective marker) -ng- + (stem) chelébed, and by a special morphological rule, the initial ch of the stem is deleted directly following the imperfective marker.

63. In the imperfective forms of some verbs with s-initial stems, the imperfective marker is idiosyncratically absent, thus making the imperfective forms homophonous with the ergative forms. This phenomenon is also observed in example (61).

64. Note the unusual dissimilation of word-final b to k in this form. An alternant without dissimilation — i.e. bomb — is also in use.

65. In verbs with o- as the verb marker, the past tense is formed by replacing o- with ule-. The sequence ule- may be a phonologically changed form of (verb marker) o- + (past tense marker) -il- in which the contiguous vowels mid back o and high front i have blended to yield high back u. See Josephs 1975:6.3.2. for more discussion of the phenomenon of vowel blending in PAL.

66. The suffixes -ir and -(e)rir designate *human* plural possessors only. In order to express a non-human plural possessor, the third person singular suffixes -el/-ul/-il/-al are required, thus resulting in some potential ambiguity.

67. The -ng- augment is also found in the possessed forms of certain native stems — e.g. bas *charcoal* — besengél, bilás *boat* — bilsengél, úum *kitchen* — umengél, and téu *width* — tengél.

68. Interestingly enough, there is no independent PAL noun asi *foot* but only the derivative ouasi.

69. The borrowed noun babiér *paper, letter* is 'semi-possessible' because some speakers use possessor suffixes (e.g. babilngél *his paper/letter* of (66)) while others indicate possession with a periphrastic expression, as given here.

70. Kldaiksang *being a carpenter* is an abstract noun formed by adding the prefix kl(e)- (cf. the last paragraph of 3.2.3. above) to the borrowed noun daiksang *carpenter* (< Jp. daiku *carpenter* + san [title of address]).

71. This term is archaic in Jp.

72. This is a Jp. dialect word.

73. The meaning shift here is based on an analogy between the shape of the soursop fruit and that of the heart and spade symbols in cards. To distinguish hearts from spades the following terms are used: bekerekard el sausab *heart (lit. red soursop)* and chedelekelek el sausab *spade (lit. black soursop)*.

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