

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. [t͡s] or [t͡ʃ] and Eng. [t͡ʃ]) and /dz/ (corresponding to Jp. [d͡z]). 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 phonology² 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 voiced	b	t d		k	ch
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	<i>corn</i>	maís
	medalla	<i>religious medal</i>	medália
Ger.	Maschine	<i>machine, motor</i>	mesíl
	Turm	<i>tower</i>	turm <i>steeple</i>
Jp.	mado	<i>window</i>	mádo
	maguro	<i>tuna</i>	manguró
Eng.	movie		mubí
	rum		rrom <i>liquor</i>

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

	Tafel	<i>blackboard</i>	tabér	
	Fenster	<i>window</i>	béngster	
	Grammophon	<i>phonograph</i>	karmobói	
	Maschinengewehr ⁸	<i>machine-gun</i>	mesilkebiér	
	auswendig	<i>by heart</i>	chausbéngdik	<i>memorise</i>
(4)	Eng. pipe		báeb	<i>pipe, windpipe</i>
	piston		bistóng	
	present		breséngt	
	aspirin		chasberíng	
	hospital		osbitár	
	company		kombalfi	
	sheep		sib	
	box		baks	
	beer		biáng	
	bishop		bisób	
	club		klab	
	table		tébel	
	flour		bláuáng	<i>bread</i>
	office		obís	
	softball		sabtbói	
	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 [diablón]

Eng. flour = PAL bláuáng [bláwaŋ]

(ii) syllable-initially, before a vowel:

Sp. Biblia = PAL Bíblia [bíblia]

padre = PAL badré [badré]

farol = PAL barór [barór]

sábado = PAL sebadóng [səbaðóŋ]

Ger. Bild = PAL bilt [bilt^h]Post = PAL bost [bost^h]

Papier = PAL babiér [babiér]

Eng. piston = PAL bistóng [bistón]

box = PAL baks [baks]

valve = PAL barb [barp]

table = PAL tébel [tébel]

(6) [p]

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

Ger. Schlips = PAL slibs [slips]

Eng. present = PAL breséngt [presént^h]

softball = PAL sabtbói [saptból]

(ii) word-finally:

Ger.	Brief	=	PAL	beríb	[beríp]
	Schraube	=	PAL	seráub	[seráwp]
Eng.	pipe	=	PAL	báeb	[báep]
	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 taifún⁹ *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 [sebaŋyól], 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 p¹² 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	<i>grammar</i>	búmbo	
	denpō	<i>telegram</i>	démbo	
	hinpyōkai	<i>exhibition, fair</i>	himbiókai	
	kenpei	<i>military policeman</i>	kembéi	<i>police</i>
	senpūki	<i>electric fan</i>	sembukí	
	nappa	[<i>dialect</i>] <i>greens</i>	náppa	(<i>long</i>) <i>cabbage</i>
	bara	<i>rose</i>	bára	
	bengoshi	<i>lawyer</i>	bengngós	
	bun	<i>minute, part</i>	bung	
	ashiba	<i>scaffolding</i>	chásiba	
	dobu	<i>ditch</i>	dóbu	
	kyabu ¹³	<i>carburetor</i>	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 [ɸ]; 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	<i>ashtray</i>	haisára
	hanafuda	<i>Jp. card game</i>	hanahúda
	hashi	<i>chopsticks</i>	hási
	hantai	<i>opposite</i>	hantái
	harau	<i>pay (for)</i>	haráu
hi [çi]	hinpyōkai	<i>exhibition, fair</i>	himbiókai
	himitsu	<i>secret</i>	himits
	kōhī	<i>coffee</i>	kohí
fu [φu]	ifukuro	<i>paunch of stomach</i>	chihúkuro
	furansu	<i>France</i>	huráns
	fūsen	<i>balloon</i>	huséng
	fūtō	<i>envelope</i>	húto
	futsū	<i>common, usual</i>	hútsu
	mafurā	<i>muffler, scarf</i>	mahurá
he [he]	henji	<i>answer, reply</i>	henzí
ho [ho]	hokori	<i>dust</i>	hokorí
	hon	<i>book</i>	hong
	hontō	<i>main island</i>	hónto
	mahōbin	<i>thermos bottle</i>	mahóbing
	mihon	<i>sample</i>	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	<i>Virgin</i>	birhén
	ángel	<i>angel</i>	changhél
	Jesús	<i>Jesus</i>	Hesús
	cajón	<i>box, chest</i>	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 [t^h] occurs, while in all other environments (i.e. word-initially and word-internally) the unaspirated variant [t] is found (compare chat [ʔat^h] *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 [dep, ðep] *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 [tbak^h] *my dynamite*) and [θ] occurring before /k/ and /ŋ/ (e.g. dngod [θŋoð] *tattoo needle*). Intervocally and word-finally, /d/ is normally realised as the voiced allophone [ð] (e.g. medak [meðak^h] *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	<i>good-bye</i>	adiós	[aðiós]
	diablo	<i>devil</i>	diablóng	[diablóng, ðiablóng]
	sandía	<i>type of watermelon</i>	sangdiáng	[sanðiáng]
	soldado	<i>soldier</i>	soldáu ¹⁸	[solðáu]
Ger.	Turm	<i>tower</i>	turm	[turm] <i>steeple</i>
	Post	<i>post office</i>	bost	[bost ^h]
	Rad [rat] ¹⁹	<i>bicycle</i>	rrat	[řath]
	Schwester	<i>nun, sister</i>	suestér	[swestér]
Jp.	tane	<i>seed</i>	táne	[táne]
	ten	<i>grade, point</i>	teng	[teŋ]
	tosen	<i>ferry boat</i>	toséng	[toséŋ]
	bentō	<i>box lunch</i>	bénto	[bénto]
	amate iru	<i>(be) left over, plenty</i>	chamattér	[ʔamat:ér]
	dai	<i>platform</i>	dái	[dái, ðái]
	doisu	<i>Germany</i>	Dóis	[dóis, ðóis]
	bakudan	<i>bomb</i>	bakudáng	[baguðáng]
Eng.	bucket		báket	[báget ^h]
	court		kort	[korth]
	store		stoáng	[stoáng]
	time		táem	[táem]
	dance		dangs	[dans, ðans]
	bid		bíd	[bið] <i>auction, bidding</i>
	(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 [bet^h] (< Eng. bed), kat [kat^h] (< Eng. (playing) card), kolt [kolt^h] (< Eng. gold), rot [rot^h] (< Eng. rod), and toktáng [toktán] (< 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 /ʃ/ or /ʒ/. 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 [ʃ] or the palatal affricates [č] and [j].

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.	<i>Dios</i>	<i>God</i>	<i>diós</i>
	<i>cruz</i> ²⁰	<i>cross</i>	<i>kerús</i>
	<i>gracia</i> ²¹	<i>grace</i>	<i>krásia</i>
	<i>santo</i>	<i>saint</i>	<i>sángto</i>
Ger.	<i>Fenster</i>	<i>window</i>	<i>béngster</i>
Jp.	<i>sao</i>	<i>pole, rod</i>	<i>saó</i> <i>fishing pole</i>
	<i>sensei</i>	<i>teacher</i>	<i>sénsai</i>
	<i>sumi</i>	<i>charcoal</i>	<i>súmi</i>
	<i>bussōge</i>	<i>hibiscus</i>	<i>bussóngé</i>
Eng.	<i>school</i>		<i>skúul</i>
	<i>sauce</i>		<i>sos</i>
	<i>police</i>		<i>bulís</i>

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] (= [dʒ]) – 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.	<i>zuga</i>	<i>drawing, picture</i>	<i>sungá</i>
	<i>zubon</i>	<i>pants, trousers</i>	<i>subóng</i>
	<i>zurui</i>	<i>sty, foxy</i>	<i>surúi</i>
	<i>zōri</i>	<i>rubber thongs</i>	<i>sóri</i>
	<i>zeitaku</i>	<i>luxurious</i>	<i>séitak</i>
	<i>haizara</i>	<i>ashtray</i>	<i>haisára</i>
	<i>kanzume</i>	<i>canned goods</i>	<i>kansumé</i>
	<i>kizu</i>	<i>injury, scar</i>	<i>kísu</i>

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 [š̥] is pronounced with concomitant lip rounding. Note the examples below:

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

In Jp., [š̥] 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	<i>photo</i>	siasíng
		shina	<i>China</i>	Sína
		shōbai	<i>business</i>	sióbai
		shūkan	<i>custom, habit</i>	siúkang
		shiken	<i>test, exam</i>	skeng ²⁴
		basho	<i>place, locality</i>	básio
		haisha	<i>dentist</i>	háisia
		mushiba	<i>cavity</i>	musibá

PAL has adopted a considerable number of loanwords from Jp. containing the affricates [č] and [j̥]. 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 [t̪č̥] and [d̪j̥]). These sounds occur in Jp. in the same environments as [š̥] — 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 [j̥] have had an overt influence on the PAL phonological system, since they have been reinterpreted as the PAL affricates [c] and [z], which are not native to the language. It is only in loanwords from Jp. (and Eng.) that we hear PAL [c] and [z], which are affricates consisting of a dental stop released into an alveolar fricative, perhaps more accurately represented as [f̪s] and [d̪z]. When we compare the original Jp. [t̪č̥] and [d̪j̥] with their PAL counterparts [f̪s] and [d̪z], 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 [d̪z], while filling a gap in the pattern, introduces

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

(17)	Loan Source	PAL		
Jp.	chōshi	<i>condition, state</i>	tʃiʃs	
	chūbu	<i>(inner) tube</i>	tʃiúb(u)	
	chūi (suru)	<i>be careful</i>	tʃiui	
	bakuchi	<i>gambling</i>	bakutʃi	
	ochiru	<i>fall, fail (exam)</i>	otsʃr	
	denchi	<i>battery</i>	dents(i)	
	kimochi	<i>feeling</i>	kimots	
	machi	<i>town, city</i>	mats(i)	<i>capital, main town</i>
	kechi	<i>stingy</i>	kets	
	mōchō	<i>appendix</i>	motsio	<i>appendicitis</i>
(18)	jakki	<i>(car) jack</i>	ziákki	
	jū	<i>gun, rifle</i>	ziú	
	neji	<i>screw</i>	nézi	
	aji	<i>taste, flavour</i>	cházi	
	benjo	<i>toilet</i>	bénzio	
	daijōbu	<i>all right, OK</i>	daiziób	

In (17) above, we have seen examples in which Jp. ch ([tʃ]) is rendered as PAL ts ([tʃ]). In addition, the Jp. affricate ts [tʃ] (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	<i>barn swallow</i>	tsubáme
	tsunami	<i>tidal wave</i>	tsunámi
	himitsu	<i>secret</i>	himits
	katsuo	<i>bonito</i>	kátsuo
	nimotsu	<i>baggage</i>	nímots
	dokuritsu (suru)	<i>become independent</i>	dokuríts <i>independent</i>
	utsusu	<i>take (photo of)</i>	chuts(i)ús ²⁵

Looking at loanwords from Eng., we observe that Eng. ch [tʃ] as well as the consonant cluster ts is borrowed into PAL as ts [tʃ]. 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 [tʃ] or [dʒ] of the contributing language is rendered as the PAL fricative /s/ [s] rather than the expected innovating affricate ts [tʃ] or z [dʒ]. This simplification is observed in words such as PAL kúsaráng (< Sp. cuchara *spoon*), PAL suklatéi *cocoa tree* (< Sp. chocolate *chocolate*), PAL sidósia (< Jp. jidōsha *auto*), PAL sikáng (< Jp. jikan *hour*), PAL íngs (< 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] occurs²⁸ (e.g. brak [prak^h] *taro*, derúm^h [ðerúm^h] *thunder*); intervocalically, /k/ is realised as the voiced stop [g] (e.g. rekás [rægás] *mosquito*, mekeáld [mægéáld] *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	<i>pushcart, waggon</i>	karróng
	católico	<i>Catholic</i>	katolík
	Pascua	<i>Easter</i>	baskuá
	manteca	<i>lard</i>	mangtekáng
	gracia	<i>grace</i>	krásia
	iglesia	<i>church</i>	ikelésia
Ger.	Kapitän	<i>captain</i>	kabitéi
	Mark	<i>mark (monetary unit)</i>	mak
	Schrank	<i>cupboard, shelf</i>	serángk
	Gummi	<i>rubber</i>	kúmi
Jp.	kai	<i>shell</i>	kái
	kakine	<i>fence</i>	kákine
	garasu	<i>glass</i>	karás
	ginkō	<i>bank</i>	kíngko
	gomen	<i>pardon me</i>	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 [mēránð] (*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	<i>box, chest</i>	káhol	<i>wooden box, coffin</i>
	cañón	<i>cannon</i>	kaliól ²⁹	
	campana	<i>bell</i>	kambaláng ³⁰	
	Marianas	<i>Marianas (Islands)</i>	Marialás	
Ger.	Maschine	<i>machine</i>	mesíl	
	Grammophon	<i>phonograph</i>	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*), komuniún (< Sp. comunión *Holy Communion*), and koróna (< Sp. corona *crow*). 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	<i>eggplant</i>	nas	
	nikibi	<i>pimple, acne</i>	níkibi	
	negi	<i>green onion</i>	néngi	
	nori	<i>glue, paste, starch</i>	nóri	
	okane	<i>money</i>	okáne	
	tane	<i>seed</i>	táne	
	abunai	<i>dangerous</i>	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	<i>flag, banner</i>	bangderáng		
	manta	<i>black cloth</i>	mangtáng	<i>woollen blanket, cotton</i>	
	santo	<i>saint (m.)</i>	sángto		
Ger.	Fenster	<i>window</i>	béngster		
	auswendig	<i>by heart</i>	chausbéngdik	<i>memorise</i>	
Eng.	pound		bongd		
	dance		dangs		
	inch, hinge		íngs		
	ground		kurángd	<i>playground</i>	
	Sunday		sángdei		<i>Sunday, week</i>
(24)	Jp.	bentō	<i>box lunch</i>	bénto	
		denchi	<i>battery</i>	dénts(i)	

ensoku	<i>picnic, outing</i>	ensók	
mondai	<i>problem</i>	móndai	
ninjin	<i>carrot</i>	nínzin	<i>type of sweet potato</i>

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

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	<i>send</i>	sengk
	Schrank	<i>cupboard, shelf</i>	serángk
Jp.	denki	<i>electricity</i>	déngki
	hankachi	<i>handkerchief</i>	hangkáts
	hōsenka	<i>garden balsam</i>	hoséngka
	kankei	<i>relationship</i>	kángkei
	kankōdan	<i>tourist group</i>	kangkódang
	katorisenko	<i>mosquito coil</i>	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 <i>hair clippers</i>	barikáng
	byōin <i>hospital</i>	bioíng
	botan <i>button</i>	botáng
	bun <i>minute, part</i>	bung
	daikon <i>radish</i>	dáikóng
	yōchien <i>kindergarten</i>	iotsiéng
	sen <i>line, wire</i>	seng
	udon <i>noodles</i>	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 <i>water drum</i>
		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	<i>He's going to school.</i>
	b.	Ng mong.	<i>He's going.</i>

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 <i>flag, banner</i>	bangderáng
		plato <i>dish, plate</i>	belatóng
		botella <i>bottle</i>	butiliáng
		diablo <i>devil</i>	diablóng
		martillo <i>hammer</i>	martilióng
		Misa <i>Mass</i>	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	lámbarang

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 nasal ([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	<i>rise, increase</i>	changár
	dōgu	<i>tool</i>	dóngu
	yanagi	<i>willow</i>	ianángi
	maegami	<i>bangs</i>	maingámi
	maguro	<i>tuna</i>	manguró
	saigo	<i>last time</i>	sáingo
	tamago	<i>egg</i>	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 [baŋ^oŋo:] *member*. A similar long velar nasal is pronounced in the corresponding PAL loanword and is represented by the orthographic sequence ngng:

(33) Jp.	bangō	<i>number</i>	bángngo
	bengoshi	<i>lawyer</i>	bengngós
	kangofu	<i>nurse</i>	kangngób
	ringo	<i>apple</i>	ríngngo
	songai	<i>(financial) loss</i>	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*, chísel *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:

	Loan Source	PAL		
(34)	Jp. aburasashi	<i>oil can</i>	chaburasási	
	abunai	<i>dangerous</i>	chabunái	
	eisei	<i>sanitation</i>	chéisei	
	imi	<i>meaning</i>	chími	
	oto	<i>noise, sound</i>	chóto	
	uri	<i>melon, cucumber</i>	chúri	<i>muskmelon</i>
	usui	<i>(liquid) weak</i>	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 usáagi (< 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 /l/ 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. [r̄] 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	<i>lantern</i>	barór
	sal	<i>salt</i>	sar
	azucár	<i>sugar</i>	sukál ³⁶
Ger.	Tafel	<i>blackboard</i>	tabér
	Papier	<i>paper, document</i>	babiér — babilngél ³⁷ <i>paper, letter, book</i>

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Eng. valve	barb
belt	bert <i>fan belt</i>
ball (in baseball)	bor
helmet	hermé't
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		kasínóma <i>cancer</i>
card		kat <i>playing cards</i>
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/ [ř] and Sp. /ř/, 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	ε	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 <i>bottle</i>	butiliáng (o>u, e>i)
	cebollas <i>onions</i>	sebuliás <i>onion</i> (o>u)
	chocolate <i>chocolate</i>	suklátei <i>cocoa tree</i> (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 [səbaðŋ] (< 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 [məsí] (< 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, [ɪ, 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]	> band	bangd
	valve	barb
PAL [a]	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. [ɪ] vs. [i], [ʊ] 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.	[ɪ, i]	>	bid	[bɪd]	bid
	PAL	[i] (tense)		piston	[pɪstɛn]	bistóng
				sheep	[ʃɪp]	sib
				keel	[kɪl]	kil
	Eng.	[ʊ, u]	>	puss	[pʊs]	bus
	PAL	[u] (tense)		pool	[pʊl]	bul
				room	[rum]	rum
	Eng.	[ɛ, e]	>	bed	[bɛd]	bet
	PAL	[ɛ] (lax)		tennis	[tɛnɪs]	tenís
				save	[sev]	seb
				chaser	[tʃɛsər]	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 [tɛɪp] (< Eng. tape), and PAL kéik [kɛɪk^h] (< Eng. cake). Furthermore, some full vowels or diphthongs of Eng. are reduced to PAL [ə] in unstressed syllables – e.g. PAL chambeláns [ʔambəláns] (< Eng. ambulance) and PAL chasberíng [ʔasbərín] (< 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 cháís [ʔays] (< Eng. ice)) or as the diphthong [æ] (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- [ʃr] 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 <i>grass, pasture</i>	boksó <i>elephant grass</i>
	kuse <i>habit</i>	kse
	rekishi <i>history</i>	réksi
	shitagi <i>underwear</i>	stángi <i>petticoat</i>
	shiken <i>test, exam</i>	skeng
	hikōki <i>aeroplane</i>	skóki ⁴²
	tsukemono <i>pickles</i>	(t)skemóno ⁴³

(44)	bengoshi	<i>lawyer</i>	bengngós
	doisu	<i>Germany</i>	Dóis
	doku	<i>poison</i>	dok
	hachi	<i>bee</i>	háts
	himitsu	<i>secret</i>	hímits
	kangofu	<i>nurse</i>	kangngób
	keikaku	<i>plan</i>	kéikak
	shokuminchi	<i>colony, settlement</i>	siokumíns ⁴⁴
(45)	mokuteki	<i>purpose</i>	mokték
	shikaku	<i>square</i>	skak
	yakusoku	<i>promise</i>	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	<i>towel</i>	táor
		sarumechTru	(Jp. brand name)	sarmetsír <i>liniment</i>
		amate iru	<i>left over, plenty</i>	chamattér
		kiite iru	<i>effective</i>	kitér
		kotowaru	<i>refuse</i>	kotouár
		tebukuro	<i>glove</i>	teb(u)kuró
		daijōbu	<i>all right, OK</i>	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 [kme:ð] *near*, díil [ði:l] *abdomen*, dekéol [ðegó: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.	sarumechTru	(Jp. brand name)	sarmetsír	<i>liniment</i>
		kōhī	<i>coffee</i>	kohí	
		kyūri	<i>cucumber</i>	kiúri	
		senpūki	<i>electric fan</i>	sembukí	
		rajiētā	<i>radiator</i>	raziéta	
		kōsui	<i>perfume</i>	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	<i>bacillus, bacterium, germ</i>	baikíng <i>unsanitary, unhygienic</i>
bozu	<i>Buddhist priest, monk, shaven head</i>	bózu <i>(head) completely shaved</i>
asebo ⁴⁷	<i>prickly heat, heat rash</i>	chásebo <i>broken out in prickly heat</i>
aji	<i>taste, flavour</i>	cházi <i>tasty</i>
haibyō	<i>lung disease, TB</i>	háibio <i>sick with TB</i>
hanbun	<i>half</i>	hámbung <i>half-witted, simple-minded</i>
kama	<i>sickle, hook</i>	kámang <i>(arm) twisted/crippled</i>
jiman	<i>pride, vanity</i>	simáng <i>vain, boastful</i>
tamanegi	<i>onion</i>	tamanéngi <i>(head) completely shaved</i>
tamagogata	<i>ovoid figure</i>	tamangongáta <i>egg-shaped, oval</i>

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 (49) are found from Sp. and Eng. sources. These are given below:

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

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 <i>dangerous</i>	chabunái
	usui <i>(liquid) weak</i>	chusúi
	komakai <i>detailed, thorough, stingy</i>	komakái
	koi <i>(liquid) strong</i>	kói
	kusai <i>bad-smelling</i>	ksái
	omoshiroi <i>interesting, funny</i>	omosirói ⁵⁰
	sabishii <i>lonely</i>	sabisí
	zurui <i>sly, foxy, sneaky</i>	surúi
	takai <i>expensive</i>	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 <i>dull, slow-witted</i>	bongkurá
	iroiro <i>various, diverse, miscellaneous</i>	chirochíro <i>many-coloured, (children of particular woman) fathered by different men</i>
	otenba <i>pert, saucy</i>	chotémba <i>(woman) loose/fast/flirtatious</i>
	daijōbu <i>all right, OK</i>	daiziób
	kantan <i>simple, brief</i>	kantáng
no-type	kēchi <i>stingy, miserly</i>	kets
	zeitaku <i>luxurious, high-class</i>	séitak
	osoroi <i>(clothes, etc.) of uniform style</i>	chosorói
	daitai <i>general, main, rough</i>	daitái <i>all right, OK⁵¹</i>
	hadaka <i>naked</i>	hadaká <i>naked, bare-breasted</i>
	hadashi <i>barefooted</i>	hadási
	hantai <i>opposite, dissenting</i>	hantái
	futsū <i>common, usual</i>	hútsu
	katate <i>(with) one hand</i>	kataté <i>(with) one hand, dexterous</i>
	kichigai <i>crazy, insane</i>	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
	amate iru (be) left over/plenty, more than enough	chamátter
	atte iru (be) suitable/appro- priate (for each other)	chattér ⁵²
	kankei shite (be) related to/ iru connected with	kangkeistéer
	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 become independent (-suru)	dokuríts 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	haráú
	yakusoku promise	iaksók ⁵⁴
	(-suru)	
	kaburu put on/wear (hat)	kabúr flip (person) over one's shoulder and throw down
	kensa (-suru) inspect, exam- ine, (medically)	kénsa ⁵⁴
	kotowaru refuse	kotouár
	mawasu turn, screw	mauás
	shimeru close, strangle, choke	simér strangle, choke, turn off (e.g. water)
	shiraberu examine, inves- tigate	sirabér
	chūi (-suru) be careful, watch out for	tsiui 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	<i>blow up, explode</i>	bakuháts	
	(-suru)			
	ayamaru	<i>apologise to</i>	chiamár	
	katsu	<i>win</i>	kats ⁵⁶	
	kawaru	<i>change</i>	kauár	<i>(condition of wind)</i>
				<i>change</i>
	kizetsu	<i>faint</i>	kiséts	
	(-suru)			
	makeru	<i>lose</i>	máke ⁵⁷	
	mawaru ⁵⁸	<i>turn/go around</i>	mauár	
	mōkaru	<i>make profit, gain</i>	mokár	
	shinpai	<i>worry</i>	símbai	
	(-suru)			
	son (-suru)	<i>lose money,</i> <i>incur loss</i>	song	
	seikō (-suru)	<i>succeed</i>	séiko	
	taoreru	<i>fall, collapse</i>	taorér	
Eng.	drive		doráib	<i>drive around in car</i>
	go ahead		kohéi	<i>go ahead/forward, advance</i>

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

- 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* milsébel *got cleared of debris (by shovelling)*
 b. *impf.* mesébel⁶³ *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. bomk⁶⁴ *pump, small boat engine* (< Eng. pump)
 a. *erg.* obómk *gets pumped* ulebómk⁶⁵ *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 <i>heart, spirit</i>	rengúk <i>my heart, my spirit</i>
	ker <i>question</i>	kerím <i>your question</i>
	oách <i>leg</i>	ochíl <i>his/her/its leg, their (non-human) legs</i>
	oák <i>anchor</i>	okúd <i>our (incl.) anchor</i>
	charm <i>animal</i>	chermék <i>my animal</i>
	chur <i>laughter</i>	cherím <i>your laughter</i>
	chur <i>tongue</i>	churál <i>his/her/its tongue, their (non-human) tongues</i>
	chur <i>rib of coconut frond</i>	churúd <i>our (incl.) frond</i>

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 <i>screw</i>	seráub	serubél
	Jp. taoru <i>towel</i>	táor	torél
	Eng. pipe	báeb	bebél [bebél]
	box	baks	beksél [bæksél]
	(re)bound	bangd <i>rebound, bounce</i>	bengdél [bæŋdél]
	dance	dangs	dengsél [ðæŋsél]
	keys	kíis	kiséi
	shovel	sébel	sebelél [səbəlél]
	school	skúul	skulél
	time	táem	temél [tæmél]
	tank	tangk	tengkél [tæŋkél]

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	<i>paper</i>	babiér	babilngé
Jp.	kama	<i>sickle</i>	kámang	kamelengé
	bando	<i>belt</i>	bándo	bandelengé
	kata	<i>shape</i>	káta	katelengé
	skāto	<i>skirt</i>	skáto	skatelengé
	zubon	<i>pants</i>	subóng	subelengé
	tama	<i>ball</i>	táma	tamelengé
Eng.	bucket		báket	baketengé
	bamboo		bambúu	bambungé
	bag		bek	bekengé
	boat		bos	besengé
	book		buk	bukelengé
	cup		kob	kebengé
	matches		masés	masesengé
	soap		sob	sebengé

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 <i>ou-</i>
	blái <i>house</i>	oublái <i>own a house</i>
	charm <i>animal</i>	ouchárm <i>keep a pet</i>
	sers <i>garden</i>	ousérs <i>keep a garden, do farming</i>
	secheléi <i>friend</i>	ousecheléi <i>have (particular person) as a friend</i>

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 <i>bicycle</i>	rrat	ourrát <i>have/own a bicycle</i>
Jp.	bakuchi <i>gambling</i>	bakutsí <i>twenty-one (card game)</i>	oubakutsí <i>play twenty-one</i>
	ashi <i>foot</i>	[none] ⁶⁸	ouási <i>walk/go on foot (rather than ride)</i>

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 <i>feigned ignorance</i>	sirangkáo	ousirangkáo <i>pretend that one is innocent</i>
	shiken <i>test, exam</i>	skeng	ouskémg <i>examine, give test to</i>
Eng.	dance	dangs	oudángs <i>dance (particular type of dance)</i>
	school	skúul	ouskúul <i>teach</i>

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. *beketeki* *talkative* from *teko* *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 *musung 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.	<i>rosario rosary</i>	<i>rosário</i>	<i>rosario er a Maria Mary's rosary</i>
Ger.	<i>Papier paper</i>	<i>babiér</i>	<i>babier er ngii his paper/ letter⁶⁹</i>
	<i>Maschine machine, motor</i>	<i>mesíl</i>	<i>mesil er a dengki generator (lit., machine of electricity)</i>

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*, *mekeald hot* – *mlo mekeald got hot*, etc. The very same pattern is used as well with state verbs of foreign origin, as in *sabisi 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	<i>picture</i>	bilt	<i>holy picture</i>
Turm	<i>tower</i>	turm	<i>church tower, steeple</i>
Jp. bangō	<i>number</i>	bángngo	<i>identification number, door number, number in batting order (baseball)</i>
bokusō	<i>grass, pasture</i>	boksó	<i>elephant grass (used as animal feed)</i>
ainoko	<i>halfbreed, mulatto</i>	chainokó	<i>half-Japanese and half-Palauan</i>
iroiro	<i>various, diverse, miscellaneous</i>	chirochíro	<i>many-coloured, (children of particular woman)</i>
ude	<i>arm</i>	chúde	<i>fathered by different men</i>
eki	<i>liquid, fluid, solution</i>	chekí	<i>biceps</i>
			<i>battery acid</i>

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

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	<i>rubber</i>	kúmi	<i>rubber, rubber band</i>
Jp. bakudan	<i>bomb</i>	bakudáng	<i>bomb, dynamite</i>
kata	<i>shape, form</i>	káta	<i>shape, form, frame for weaving</i>
Eng. pipe		báeb	<i>pipe, windpipe</i>

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

(75) Jp. baikin	<i>bacillus, bacterium, germ</i>	baikíng	<i>disease</i>
boi	<i>page, waiter, porter, bellhop</i>	bói	<i>servant</i>
bōkūgō	<i>air-raid shelter, dugout</i>	bokungó	<i>deep hole, pit</i>
kenpei	<i>military police-man</i>	kembéi	<i>police</i>
rinbyō	<i>gonorrhoea</i>	rímbo	<i>venereal disease</i>
Eng. rum		rrom	<i>liquor</i>

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

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

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

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

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	<i>paper, document</i>	babiér	<i>paper, document, letter, book</i>
Jp.	tama	<i>ball, marble</i>	táma	<i>ball, marble, fried flour ball</i>
Eng.	cat		katúu	<i>cat, sweetheart</i>
	clock		klok	<i>clock, watch</i>
	soursop		sáusab	<i>soursop, spade or heart in cards</i> 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 [ʃi]	su	se	so
ta	chi [çi]	tsu [cu]	te	to
na	ni	nu	ne	no
ha	hi	hu [ɸu]	he	ho
ma	mi	mu	me	mo
ya		yu		yo
ra	ri	ru	re	ro
wa				
ga	gi	gu	ge	go
za	ji [ji]	zu [zu]	ze	zo
da			de	do
bá	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 [ʃa]	shu [ʃu]	sho [ʃo]
cha [tʃa]	chu [tʃu]	cho [tʃo]
nya	nyu	nyo
hya	hyu	hyo
mya	myu	myo
rya	ryu	ryo
gya	gyu	gyo
ja [ja]	ju [ju]	jo [jo]
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 [ʃimpai] *worry*, kankei [kankei] *relationship*) and is realised in word-final position as a nasalised version of the preceding vowel (e.g. hon [hoŋ] *book*, shinbun [ʃimbuŋ] *newspaper*). In Tokyo dialect, the g in syllable-initial position is usually pronounced [ŋ] word-internally (e.g. negi [neŋi] *green onion*). The location of the pitch accent, although marked in Kenkyūsha'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	[ʧ]
ng	[n, ŋ]
d	[ð, θ]
ll	[l:]
rr	[r̄]

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 *baí* 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. *merikengo flour* (< Eng. *American* + Jp. *ko powder*) — PAL *merikengko flour*; Jp. *ranningu athletic shirt* — PAL *ranninggu 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 [ʃi] 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 [ʃ] 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 [ʔermékx] rather than as [ʔermékʰ]. 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. Intervocally, 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 k'ís 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 [ʃ̥kɛ̥]. 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 [tʃ̥] rather than [tʃ].
27. Because both the [tʃ̥] of inch [Intʃ̥] and the [dʒ̥] of hinge [hIndʒ̥] become PAL s and the h of Eng. hinge is lost, the PAL form íngs 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* [çi] 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* [tʃ] 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 [kme:ʏð] [ði:ʏl] [ðegó:wɪ], and [bu:wʔ]
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 *babier 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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