The Japanese Language in Palau

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Foreword

In this report we examine the state of the Japanese language, in many various forms, in modern day Palau (Belau). The science of linguistics generally concentrates on language in its spoken form, and rightly so, but in this report we have made a special effort to include visual illustrations of points we are trying to make about spoken language usage by the inclusion of photographs of signage, in other examples of written language such as those found in Palau's linguistic landscape.

Concerning the report's title, "The Japanese Language in Palau", we have defined this term to include as many relevant phenomena as possible. We discuss characteristics of Japanese as a language system as it is used in Palau. Some of these characteristics are vestiges of native Japanese dialects, while some show the effects of Japanese having been acquired as a foreign language by Palauans. Furthermore, we include peripheral phenomena such as proper nouns – names of places and people – of Japanese origin. We also examine Japanese-origin loanwords used in the Palauan language. We examine writing as well, with examples of how Japanese *kana* script is used to write the Palauan language.

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1. Historical Background

1.1. Japanese Territorial Expansion in the Pacific

Archeological evidence indicates that the islands of Palau were inhabited as early as 1000 B.C. Linguistic relationships indicate that these people came from Sunda in modern-day Indonesia. Ceramics found in Palauan caves have been dated to 640 B.C. Some money beads used on Palau are thought to have been manufactured in Indonesia as early as 600 A.D. suggesting continuing trade with that region (Etpison 2004:59).

European (and thus European language) influences in Palau date back centuries. Although some European explorers may have spotted the islands centuries earlier, the first major contact with Europeans was in 1783. Nonetheless Europeans interest in the islands was extremely limited until 1885, when the Spanish asserted their claim over the other foreign powers lurking in the region. The Germans took over in 1899 when Spanish power worldwide was diminished as a result of the Spanish-American War on the opposite side of the globe. The Japanese influence in Palau dates back to the 1890's when traders and merchants such as Yokō Tōsaku began to make their way to Palau. Land purchases on Palau made by his company Tōshinsha date back to the Spanish Era (Peattie 1988:22-24). During the chaos of World War I, Japan took Palau from the Germans (1914) and this occupation was subsequently recognized by the League of Nations (1919).

1.2. Japanese Language Educational Policy

Japanese language education in Palau began in 1914 as soon as the Japanese took over the islands. Neither the Spanish nor the Germans had attempted to establish a comprehensive school system for the locals (although missionaries had established some schools), but under the Japanese a comprehensive system of education in the Japanese language was established for native Palauans. From 1917, textbooks for teaching Japanese to the new South Sea islander members of the empire were published (Figure 1).

Pictures and some vocabulary reflect the local environment (Figure 1). Education conducted in Japanese continued until the end of the Second World War.

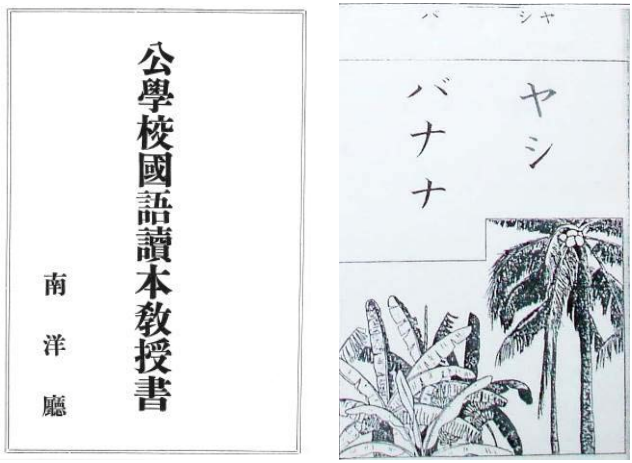


Figure 1. Textbook for non-native speakers of Japanese

2. The Usage of Japanese Names in Palau

2.1. Japanese surnames among Palauans of Japanese descent

We will examine five topics concerning the use of Japanese names in Palau. The first three deal with surnames (last names). In Palau one finds many people with Japanese surnames. Some of these people have Japanese ancestors, such as the proprietors of Asanuma Enterprise or Yano Store, prominent businesses in Koror. Many other prominent Palauans, including the family which produced President Kuniwo Nakamura (1992-2000), have Japanese roots. In Palau, one occasionally sees the names of Palauans written in kanji. Although Japanese themselves write their names in the Western order when they use romanization, they never do so when using kanji, so to see kanji representations in which the surname comes after the given name is quite an unusual sight. Figure 2 shows the stone of two Palauan men who passed away in the 1970s, engraved 三郎和地 (Saburo Wachi) and 正美浅沼 (Masami Asanuma) with the surnames last.

Figure 2. Japanese name of Palauan people written in Western order

In a television interview for the Open University of Japan (filmed 2010/9/17; initially broadcast 2011/7/1), former Palauan Senator Santy Asanuma told the author (Long) about his grandfather who came from Hachijo Island. Indeed Asanuma is a common Hachijo name. Because of the immigration history (Long & Imamura 2013), Okinawan names are also

prominent in Palau. In the same educational television show, Long also interviewed Ms. Humiko Kingzio (金城文子) who spoke of her Okinawan ancestry. Her surname is indeed one of the most widespread in Okinawa.

2.2. Japanese Surnames among ethnic Palauans

Although the presence of Japanese surnames in Palau is interesting, it is obviously not unique. Admittedly one finds Japanese surnames in abundance in places like Sao Paulo, Honolulu or Vancouver as well. What makes the profusion of Japanese surnames in Palauans remarkable is that many Palauans with Japanese surnames make no claim to Japanese ancestry. Two such people were interviewed by Long for the Open University of Japan educational television show mentioned above. Mr. Olkeriil Kazuo described how his family came to have that Japanese surname, and Mrs. Remusei Tabelual explained about her adopting the name Fumiko Horikomi during her years of study in Japan during World War II.

The widespread adoption of Japanese names is unique to Palau even among the former South Seas (*Nan'yo-cho*) colonies of Japan, those islands which are now the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas, the Federated States of Micronesia and the Republic of the Marshall Islands. In places such as Saipan, islanders had adopted the practice of surnames during the Spanish era. Hence when the Japanese took over, islanders had already taken Spanish surnames and had no need of adopting Japanese ones. The situation of the Palauans was similar in that they did not have a tradition of using surnames (individuals belong to maternal clans but this is not part of one's name), but the laissez-faire administration of the Spanish and Germans in Palau meant that islanders still had not adapted surnames when the Japanese arrived. Modern civil government practices, such as birth certification, marriage licenses, property inheritance, taxes, etc., required the adoption of surnames, and under the Japanese administration Palauans began to use them.

Some chose traditional Palauan names or words for their surnames, such as

Olkeriil or Remengesau but others chose Japanese names. Thus today we find Japanese surnames even among families with no Japanese blood. For example, in an oral history collection compiled by Maki Mita (2009), one woman speaks of her father's job possibilities being limited because he was Palauan, so we can be certain her family is not of Japanese descent. Nonetheless, the family's surname is Kazuma. This is an example of Palauans adopting a Japanese given name for their own surname. Next we will examine two more related phenomena.

2.3. Japanese surnames with *–sang* affixed

In Palau, there are a notable number of families with Japanese surnames to which the Japanese term of respect *-san*, (the equivalent of the English Mr., Mrs., etc.) has been permanently affixed. In Palauan it becomes *–sang* for phonological reasons. If one visits the Belau National Museum, one finds the surnames Oikawasang and Yamazakisang among the exhibits, but these names are not found in current phone directories and all information the authors have been able to gather from Palauans indicates that these surnames have not been carried down to the present. Other names are quite visible in Palau. One prominent Palauan family with such a name is the Katosangs, which have produced Senators and cabinet ministers (Figure 3).

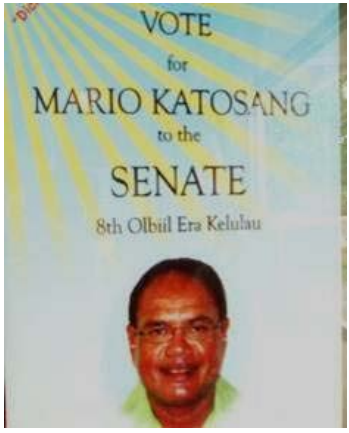


Figure 3. Surnames fused with Japanese respect term *-sang*

2.4. Palauan Surnames based on Japanese given names

Many Palauan families have surnames which come from Japanese given names (what in English are referred to as "first names"). One such person appearing in the television interviews mentioned above is Mr. Olkeriil Kazuo. The name Kazuo is a given name in Japan, not a surname, but his family has taken it as their surname. Many prominent families in Palau such as the Umetaro family, which has produced past cabinet ministers, have such "first names for last names" (Figure 4). Other Palauan surnames derived from Japanese given names include Hideo, Hideyos, Ichiro, Kikuo, Kintaro, Kioshi, Koichi, Kotaro, Masaharu, Nobuo, Tadao, Saburo, Sadao and many others.

Figure 4. Election poster for Mr. Warren S. Umetaro

2.5. Japanese Given names used among Palauans

One does not have to search long to find Japanese given names used in Palau. When one author (Long) wanted to interview Palauans with Japanese names for a Japanese educational show in 2010, he had only to stand in front of a Koror convenience store for a half hour and ask customers their names to find a half dozen such people to interview. A simple walk about town shows the abundance of Japanese given names in Palau. The photo on the left in Figure 5 shows a Japanese given name in the name *Singichi Ikesakes Memorial Law Library*. On the right is a senate election poster for Masayuki "Yuki" Adelbai. The list of former Palauan Presidents and Koror High Chiefs (*Ibedul*) include names like Haruo Remeliik and Yutaka M. Gibbons.

Figure 5. Japanese given names used in Palau

Below we will examine the following topics: (1) Japanese given names among Palauans born during the Japanese era, (2) Japanese given names among Palauans born in the 1980s and 1990s, (3) Japanese surnames used as given names in Palau, (4) the use of Japanese words as given names, and (5) the formation of new given names on the basis of Japanese-sounding models.

Many elderly Palauans' given name consists only of a Japanese name, or of a Japanese name used they use alongside their Palauan given name. This is true not only Palauans with Japanese ancestry but among ethnic Palauans as well. Such people are among those the authors have met and interviewed

personally such as Sato Remoket, Tokie Morei and Remusei Fumiko Tabelual. Since these people were born during the Japanese reign, it is easy to explain their parents' inclination towards Japanese names.

There are innumerable cases of Japanese given names among young people today as well. A look at high school class yearbooks reveals the following given names for Palauans born in the late 1980s and 1990s: Kazue, Tamae, Katsumi, Sato and Yamato.

In the previous section we saw that Japanese given names have become surnames in Palau. We also find the opposite phenomenon as well, in which Japanese surnames are used as given names in Palau. A look at the 2010 Palauan telephone directory reveals that the Ongklungel family has an individual name Okada, and the Mtoched family a person whose given name is Yamamoto. Other individuals have given names such as Yanagi, Koshiba, Oda, Morimatz, Oyama, Ongino, Okada, Katosang, Simane, Yashiro and Yamada. In certain cases these phenomena even coincide to produce the unusual situation of an individual who names appear to Japanese people completely reversed. We saw in the last section that Palau has the Nobuo family and the Ichiro family. A look at the 2010 Palauan telephone directory reveals individuals in these families named Matsuoka Nobuo and Tani Ichiro. In the interest of clarity, we reiterate that in Japan Matsuoka and Tani are surnames while Nobuo and Ichiro are common given names.

It is a common observation that linguistic norms are less stringent among non-natives than among native populations. This laxness is evident when Palauans select Japanese given names for their children as well. Of course, one finds unusual given names in Japan as well, but in Japan one might encounter such names once in a thousand or in ten thousand people, whereas in the tiny population of Palau, it takes no effort at all to find such unusual names. One finds Palauans with Japanese common nouns such as Shogun and Oiran, for example, as their given names.

Finally, not only does one find Palauans who have Japanese given names

like Masaharu and Hideko, but also people who have “Japanese-sounding” names which are non-existent (or at the least, extremely rare) in Japan, such as Tumiko (Wahl 2000: 183), Hinao, Kasko, Kazumoto, Kirino, Mitaro, Naemi, Nagomi, Nanumi, Otoichi, Sieko, Umai, Urako, Yosuko and Yonami (2010 Palauan telephone directory).

2.6. Formation of Nicknames in Palaua

Another feature which we found interesting is the manner in which given names are abbreviated to form nicknames in Palau. In Japanese, as in English, the more common way to do this is to use the beginning of the name and omit the end. This is how Pat or Jo(e) are derived from Patrick/Patricia and Joseph/Josephine. True, Western languages can shorten Elizabeth to Liz or Beth and Antonio to Tony, but these posterior shortening seem less common than the anterior ones. In Palau one finds an abundance of this type of posterior-type truncations. Such people use the latter half of their names rather than the former half of their names to form nicknames. For example, Olympia becomes Pia, Elizabeth to Sabeth, and Faustina becomes Tina. In the English world, if Victorio was truncated it would likely be to Vic, but in Palau, it becomes Torio.

This is an example of how Palauan culture has retained it own character even in the midst of Japanese and English influences. While Palau shows an openness to importing names from different languages, it does not simply conform to all the practices involved with naming in those cultures. One of the main sources of names may be foreign cultures, but Palauans nonetheless have their own way of abbreviating these names which differs from the way used with the original names.

3. The Usage of Japanese Place Names (Toponyms) in Palau

In Palau, we find the influence of Japanese not just in people's names, but in place names as well. A suburban area east of Koror's city center is known today as *Mokko*, as revealed in the names *Mokko Village Apt.* and *DNR Mokko Retail Store* (Figures 6 and 7; the use of initials in business names is extremely common in Palau). The place name *Mokko* dates back to the Japanese era and refers to the Woodworking Vocational School which was located in the area (Figure 8). The school name came to refer to the neighborhood and it continues to do so decades after the school itself has ceased to exist.

Figure 6. *Mokko* 'wood-working school' in the name of an apartment house

Figure 7. *Mokko* in a retail store name

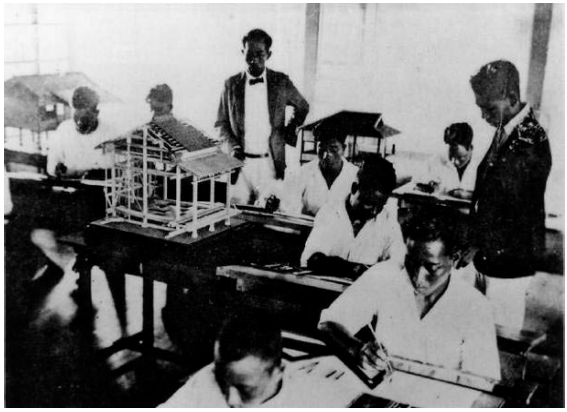


Figure 8. *Mokko* (wood-working school) in 1932

The area of Arai State just across the bridge from Koror Island to Babeldaob Island is today known as Renrak. This comes the Japanese word *renraku* ‘connection’ and comes from the pre-war period when no bridge joined the two islands and a *renraku-sen* ‘connecting boat, ferry’ connected them instead. Even a United Nations map prepared in December 2012 (OCHA 2012) contains the place name Renrak (Figure 9).

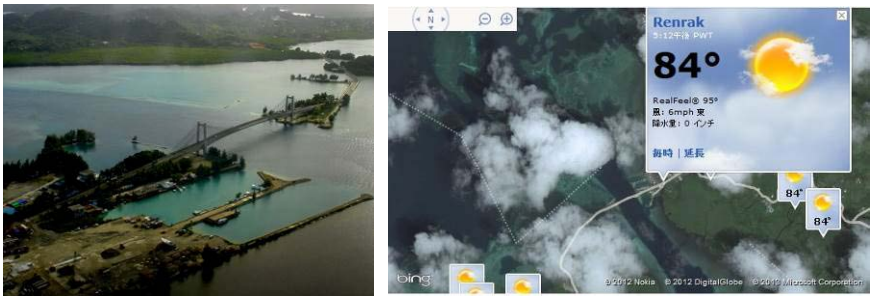


Figure 9. Aerial photos showing the area known as Renrak

Figure 9. Map listing the toponym Renrak

There are other cases in which Japanese common nouns have become proper nouns (place names) in Palau. One such word is *todai* 'lighthouse' (Figure 10). These are originally common nouns, and may be considered as such in Palauan as well, but the reality is that in the small geographical area that is Palau, the words are strongly associated with specific spots and as such are close to proper nouns (place names).

Figure 10. *Todai* 'lighthouse'

A pamphlet published by the Palau Conservation Society for Ngarchelong State shows how *Todai* has come to be used as a proper noun in Palau. This is clear in its lack of definite or indefinite articles and it use of an initial capital letters (not "the *todai*" or "a *todai*", but "Todai"). It contains the following (underlining added by the present authors).

Todai Communications Center

> The Japanese occupied Palau from 1918 to 1945. Todai served as a Communications Center and a headquarters during World War II. Completed in 1936, Todai was built entirely by hand without the use of vehicles. Rocks and cement were carried from the nearby Ollei Port by Palauans from Ngarchelong and neighboring Ngaraard. From its amazing vantage-point, Todai offers a nearly 360 degree view of the adjacent reefs and waters. Today Todai stands as a testament to Palau's varied political and cultural history. State employees at the Badrulchau and Todai historical sites can assist with permits on weekends. (Ngarchelong State Government, 2013)

A similar shift from a common noun to a proper noun is seen with the *taki* of Ngardmau State (Figure 11). It is referred to on the official State homepage as "Taki Falls" and "Taki Waterfall" (Ngardmau 2013), and the area surrounding it is know as "Taki Nature Reserve".

Figure 11. *Taki* 'waterfall'

Many Palauan places names are difficult to pronounce for outsiders and mispronunciations resulted in dual names for the major regions of Palau (i.e. the states and islands of Koror). These foreigner pronunciations seem to have been formed well before the Japanese era by the various waves of European power-holders, but they were certainly codified and used by the Japanese. The list below (Table 1) shows some of the spelling variations (and in some cases the underlying pronunciation variation they represent) found in current usage. We have included the common katakana representation for reference.

Table 1. Variation in Palauan Place Names

Palau, Belau, パラオ
Aimeliik, Imeliik, アイメリーク
Airai, アイライ
Angaur, Ngeaur, アンガウル
Arakabesan, Ngerkebesang, Ngarkebesang, アラカベサン
Babeldaob, Babelthuap, バベルダオブ
Hatohobei, Tobi, Tochobei, Hatobei, ハトベイ
Kayangel, Ngcheangel, カヤンゲル
Koror, Oreor, コロール
Malakal, Ngemelachel, マラカル
Melekeok, Melekeiok, マルキヨク
Ngaraard, Ngerard, ガラルド
Ngarchelong, Ngerchelong, アルコロン
Ngardmau, Ngerdmau, ガラツマオ
Ngatpang, Ngetbang, ガスパン
Ngchesar, Ngesar, エサール
Ngeremlengui, Ngaremlengui, アルモノグイ
Ngiwal, オギワル
Pelilieu, Beliliou, ペリリュー
Sonsorol, ソンソロル

4. Palauan words of Japanese origin (loanwords)

The Japanese language left its mark on Palau and its language. One area in which this is clear is the large number of loanwords (borrowings) which come from Japanese. Because both the Spanish and German administrations of Palau each lasted only a decade and a half, and because neither colonizer took a boots-on-the-ground approach to the administration of the islands, neither language left much of a linguistic influence. Compared to the Chamorro language of Guam and the other Marianas Islands, for example, which has been inundated by the Spanish language to the extent that even greetings, numerals and some pronouns are borrowed from the colonial language, Palauan shows an extremely small amount of Spanish influence. German language influence is equally minute. According to Josephs, Japanese is the major contributor of loanwords, followed by English in second place, with Spanish and German showing a "much weaker impact" (1979:146). Another source who claims to have counted the dictionary entries lists the following statistics for the total number of loanwords found in a Palauan dictionary, according to source language: Japanese 62.9%, English 23.4%, Spanish 9.3%, German 4.2%, Others 0.2% (Engelberg 2006).

There are various ways to gauge the effect Japanese has had on the Palauan language. In section 5, we examine entries in a Palauan dictionary. In this section, we look at the linguistic landscape (linguascape) of Palau. Linguists tend to concentrate on spoken language, and understandably so, but the written language used in public spaces, like signage, plays a major role in constructing the physical environment in which a speaker conducts his everyday life. Sections of a town with signs in immigrant languages can be comforting to minority residents. On the other hand, they can be seen as older residents are a threatening sign of encroachment. Chinese signage in places like New York or San Francisco can also serve as a draw for tourists who crave a bit of exoticism close to home. The fact that bilingual signage in areas such as Northern Ireland, Quebec or Belgium can be highly contentious

and be a target for vandalism is commonly mentioned in linguistic texts and reference books.

In a place like Palau, signage containing Palauan words of Japanese origin serves as a day-to-day visual reminder of the languages influence for locals and can serve to educate otherwise uninterested and uninformed outsiders (like Japanese scuba diving tourists) on the island nations linguistic past. In the following sections we will look at examples of Japanese loanwords in Palauan signage and use these and opportunities to discuss linguistic interesting characteristics of such loanwords such as phonological adaptation of semantic shift.

4.1. Use of Japanese loanwords for foods

One semantic field in which one finds an abundance of Japanese words in Palau is food related words. The menu on the left in Figure 12 contains the words, *yaki soba*, *yaki niku*, *teriyaki*, *udong*, *miso*, *tonkatsu*, *yasai tempura* and *bento*. The one on the right shows *oyako donburi*, *futairo donburi*, *yakitori*, *kushi katsu*, *katsudong*, *tsukemono* and *bento*.

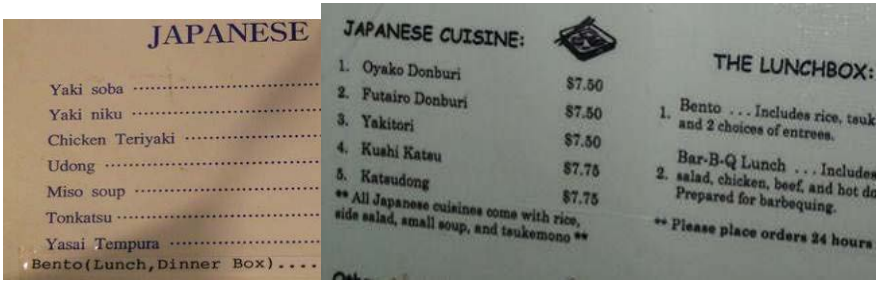


Figure 12. Japanese words seen in menus

Figure 13 shows the use of the Japanese-origin word *katsu* in a store display selling pork cutlet box lunches. All of the writing on the box is in Chinese, not Japanese. This is an interesting word because it itself is a loanword into Japanese from the English word *cutlet*. The loanword *nappa*

in Figure 14 has undergone a semantic shift. In Japanese it applies to loose leafy 'greens' such as those of the daikon radish or the turnip. In Palauan (and in other parts of the Pacific, such as in Hawaiian English), *nappa* refers to a thicker leafed Asian vegetable which forms a tight head called the 'long cabbage'.

Figure 13. *Katsu* 'cutlet'

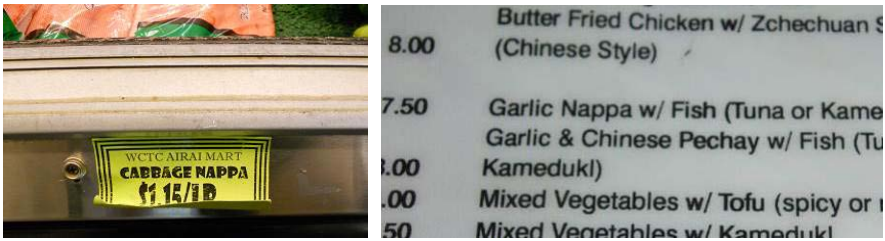


Figure 14. *Nappa* 'greens' in supermarket and restaurant

In addition to semantics, there are interesting points to be made here in the phonology of loanwords as well. The Japanese word *udon*, for example, uses the spelling "ng", rather than the "n" used in Japanese Romanization. In Japanese the final nasal sound is alveolar, while in Palauan it becomes velar, and this subtle pronunciation difference is reflected in the spelling "udong" (Figure 15). The same phenomena can be seen in the spelling "katsudong". The words *katsudong* and *donburi* (both seen in Figure 12) both contain the

same morpheme *don* 'bowl', and this relationship would be clear in Japanese. In Palauan spellings, however, this is less clear since the word final position becomes /ng/. Interestingly, in the University of Hawaii Press's *New Palauan-English Dictionary*, the spellings *tamango domburi* 'rice topped with egg' and *tamango udong* 'noodles topped with egg' both appear. To be clear, *domburi* and *udong* do not derive from the same morpheme (as was the case with *katsudong* and *donburi*), rather our point here is that in Japanese these are phonemically the same /doN/ (the capital /N/ represents the Japanese syllabic nasal phoneme), but are spelled phonetically (rather than phonemically) in Palauan. The nasal sound in *domburi* is spelled with an "m" to show the phonetic shape this phoneme takes when it comes before a bilabial consonant such as /b/.

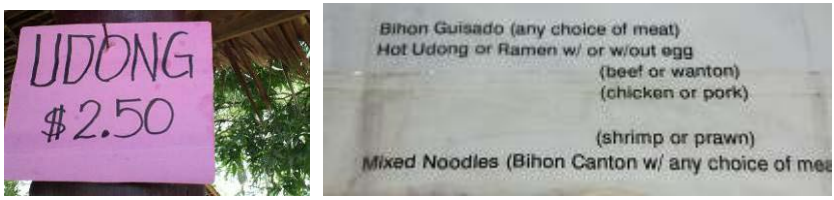


Figure 15. *Udong* 'type of noodle' in a sign and a menu

To notice semantic differences, one has to order certain dishes. In Japan, *yaki soba*, for example, is fried noodles, but ironically not soba noodles. In Palau, *yaki soba* is actually soba (buckwheat) noodles which are stir fried. Another interesting semantic change is in the word *bento* (all four signs in Figure 16 and visible in Figure 27). In Japanese this word is used to mean a boxed lunch containing the traditional Japanese meal of rice and other foods (fish, vegetables). In Palau, interestingly, there has been semantic expansion in not one but two directions. One the one hand, the Palauan meaning of *bento* has expanded even to include non-rice meals like sandwiches (personal communication Momotaro Timothy Rafael, 2012/06). On the other hand, the term *bento* in Palau includes even box lunches that are not take-out but rather

eaten at the restaurant (what would be termed various types of *go-zen* in Japan).

Figure 16. *Bento* 'box lunch', *tama* 'deep fried cakes'

The menus in Figure 12 would of course be of benefit to Japanese tourists and as such could also have been included in section 8. We have reserved that section however for signage that can be judged as exclusively aimed at Japanese. One reason we can make the case that the Japanese words here are aimed at the locals is that they are in the Roman alphabet rather than being written with the Japanese script. (Although the Roman alphabet is used to write proper nouns like place names and people's names, it is almost never used to write common nouns in Japan.) We can also assume that locals are supposed to know these Japanese words, in other words that these are considered "loanwords" rather than "foreign words". This judgment can be made because these words appear with no translations or explanations. In other words, *yaki soba* is not explained (as 'stir fried noodles'). By contrast a

a sign containing the word *minshuku* (seen later in this report as Figure 49) also contains the word *motel* on it, indicating (as other evidence corroborates) that the word *minshuku* is not a word which is expected to be understood by Palauans who don't speak Japanese.

Figure 16 contains another Japanese-origin food word besides *bento*. In smaller print the sign at the lower left reads *tama tuu/mini donut.* The word is visible at the upper right as well. *Tama* means 'ball' in Japanese but in Palauan it has come to be used for 'deep-fried cakes' about the size of a tennis ball. This is the same type of food referred to in Okinawa as *saataa andagii* or in Ogasawara as simply *donuts*. *Tuu* is the Palauan word for banana, so these are selling banana flavored fried cakes. The spelling *tamma* is seen as well (Figure 17).

There is further semantic expansion of *tama* beyond this. In Palau (as in Japan) the word may refer to 'light bulbs' as well, but only incandescent light bulbs because of their somewhat spherical shape. Using *tama* for 'light bulb' is less common among younger speakers but it found in speakers middle-aged and over. In Palauan, the term may refer to the compact spiral-shaped fluorescent tubes as seen in Figure 18. Thus word *tama* was originally applied to light bulbs because of a "form analogy", but the semantic field of the term has recently expanded because of a "function analogy" thus: *tama* 'spherical object, especially for play' --> 'spherical object made of deep-fried batter' or 'spherical object to provide light' --> 'object (of any shape) to provide light'.

Figure 17. Alternative spelling of *tama*, "tamma"

Figure 18. Semantic expansion of the word *tama*

Some Japanese-derived food terms in Palauan show the effects of phonological adaptation or semantic shift; in a few cases they provide topics for morphological discussion as well. Figure 19 photos show the use of the word *musubi* 'rice ball'. In Japanese the word is almost always fused with the polite prefix *–o*, as *o-musubi*. With many words (*uchi*, *o-uchi* 'house'), this prefix is optional, but with a few words (*o-cha* 'tea'), the prefix is rarely dropped. The Japanese term *o-musubi* is such a word, so there is a slight morphological difference between the Japanese source and the loanword in Palauan. Another interesting aspect is the label on the left combines a loanword of Japanese origin (*musubi*) with a loanword from Hawaiian (*aloha*). A *musubi* (in Japanese and in Palauan) is rice shaped as a ball, cube or triangle wrapped in seaweed. In Palau, it is commonly called *aloha musubi* if it has spam on top. Interestingly, the term *aloha musubi* is not used in Hawaii itself.

This case brings to mind food names like *French fries* (used in the US but not in France) or *americkan koohii* (used in Japan and Korea but not in the US).

Figure 19. *Aloha Musubi* 'spam and egg rice ball'

Many Japanese-derived Palauan words show the effects of the pronunciations being adapted to the Palauan phonological system. *Abrabang* 'deep-fried bread' (Figure 20) comes from the Japanese *abura-pan* (literally oil-bread) and reveals three different phonological adaptations. Firstly, we have seen how Japanese syllable nasals change to Palauan /ng/ sounds and this change is seen in this word as well. Secondly, the initial consonant change from *pan* to *bang* reminds us that Palauan does not distinguish between voiced and voiceless plosives such as /g/ and /k/ (as we will examine more closely in the next section) and /b/ and /p/ (consider the fact that the name of the nation is written both as Palau and as Belau). Thirdly, the dropping of the /u/ in *abra* seems at first glance to be the result of vowel de-voicing which occurs commonly in front vowels (/i/ and /u/). We must be remind ourselves, however, that such devoicing only occurs when vowels are sandwiched between voiceless consonants, and not following voiced consonants like /bu/. We must thus look for another explanation, such as the removal of the vowel to prevent the occurrence of the syllable /bu/. Syllables can be stressed (as in /a-BU-ra/ which would differ greatly from the original Japanese pronunciation), but the spelling "abra" could only be syllabized as /ab-ra/ or /a-bra/, either of

which is closer to the original pronunciation.

This is a good place to point out that the spelling of *abrabang* used in the photo begins with a vowel, while the spelling in the dictionary becomes *chaburabang*, with the initial "ch" indicating prevocalic glottal stop. Palauan dictionaries list only a few words (most of them functional morphemes) which begin /a/ without the initial glottal stop. The number of words beginning with "cha" indicates that the initial glottal stop is the phonotactic rule. The tiny number of words without the initial glottal stop indicates that no minimal pairs are uncommon and thus that the initial glottal stop before /a/ is a phonological rule. Thus *aburabang* and *chaburabang* can only be pronounced one way and the spelling "ch" is likely considered unnecessary by native users. In fact, native Palauan speakers often explain the "ch" spelling as being "silent letters".

Figure 20. *Abrabang* 'deep-fried bread'

Figure 21 shows a package of the deep-fried crunchy sweet *karingtong*, derived from the Japanese *karintou*, particularly popular in Okinawa. We see, at the end of the second syllable, the substitution of the velar nasal /ng/ for the syllable nasal /N/ of Japanese. The addition of the velar nasal at the end of the word is more difficult to account for. One possibility (which the authors

admittedly have not thoroughly investigated) is that the Palauan phonotactic rules forbid the /o/ at the end of words. A casual glance through a Palauan dictionary revealed few indigenous Palauan words ending in /o/ (although there appears to be no such rule against final /u/).

Figure 21. *Karintong* 'deep fried snack'

The types of Japanese food item names one comes to expect to see in foreign countries becomes quite predictable. Grocery store items like *tofu* and *shiitake*, *natto* have become standard fare, but the sight of not only a single product but an entire aisle marker hawking *arare* was a surprise to the authors (Figure 22).

Figure 22. An aisle at a Koror grocery sells *arare* 'dry snacks'

The examples of Japanese loanwords we have seen thus far have been used

individually, perhaps giving the false impression that they occupy an isolated place in the language. This is mainly due to the semantic nature of the words (food terms in signage, rather than contained in sentences). The last sign in this section (Figure 23) shows the Japanese-derived word *kohi* 'coffee' used in a phrase, *abai er a kohi* 'house of coffee'.

Figure 23. *Abai er a kohi* 'house of coffee'

4.2. Use of Japanese loanwords for concrete nouns

Japanese-origin loanwords for food items are common in languages like English as well as Palauan, because the foods themselves are (were) new to American or Palauan culture. One area in Palauan differs from languages like English is in the plethora of Japanese-origin words for objects which are not necessarily connected to Japanese culture. In this section we will look at some such concrete nouns.

The Japanese word *denwa* has entered Palauan as *dengua*. Interestingly we find a slight difference in the usage (and "usage" is the more appropriate term here, not "meaning") of the Palauan word *dengua* and the Japanese *denwa*. In Japanese a cell phone or mobile phone is called a *keitai denwa*. While it is very common to shorten this to simply *keitai*, it is not shortened to simply *denwa*. Thus a young person searching in their purse or back pack would say *keitai ga mitsukaranai* 'I can't find my cell' but not *denwa ga mitsukaranai* 'I can't find my phone'. Compare this with English where both are used.

Just as in English and Japanese, the Palauan word *dengua* can refer to a telephone call as well as the machine which one uses to make such a call. The sign in Figure 24 contains a usage in this sense. It is a sign at the sea shore warning people that the adjacent ocean is under *buai* ‘a temporary fishing moratorium to let stock replenish’ and that fishing is prohibited. It lists the fines (from 100 to a hefty 1,000 dollars) and also a number to which one can phone in information on suspected offenders.

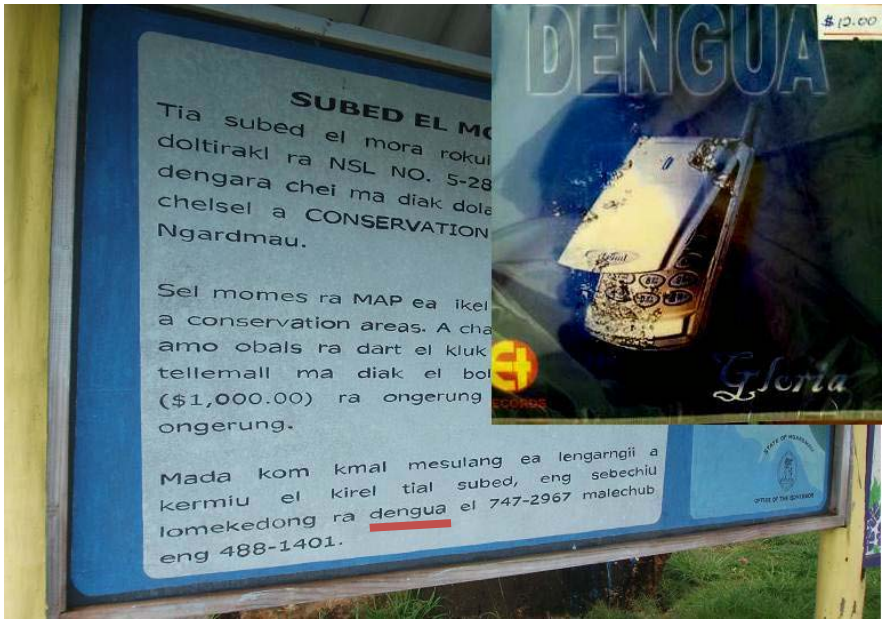


Figure 24. *Dengua* ‘phone’

Gomi is the Japanese word for garbage, but it has been borrowed into Japanese as *komi* (Figure 25). We will discuss the phonological situation which has lead to this change. In Palauan’s phonological inventory, one finds /ng/ and /k/, but not /g/ or /n/ (Table 2). Because of this, Japanese /g/ is sometimes substituted by /k/ in Palau. This works out fine in words like *keskomu* ‘pencil eraser’, from the Japanese word *keshi-gomu*, because /k/ is

voiced in word-medial position (in other words, k-sounds become g-sounds in the middle of a word) in Palauan anyway. Consider the person's name Olkeriil, which is pronounced like "olgeriil". Since *keskomu* comes out sounding like *kesgomu*, to Japanese ears the Palauan word sounds recognizable. However, since Palauan has no /g/, Japanese words which start with /g/ (like *gomi* 'trash') also have to use a /k/ as in the Palauan word *komi* 'trash'. But here the initial /k/ remains voiceless (it stays a /k/ sound), so the word comes out sounding quite unrecognizable to Japanese ears.

Figure 25. *Komi* 'garbage'

Initial /k/ sounds in Japanese are fine because they come out that way in Palauan, so *kōhosha* 'candidate' still sounds voiceless like it did in Japanese. But word-medial /k/ in Japanese becomes voiced in Palauan, rendering the words unrecognizable to Japanese ears. For example, 'phosphate' (which has

been an important resource in Palau and is thus common in conversation) is *ringko* in Palauan, from the Japanese word *rinkō*. Remember that although the spelling (and underlying phonemic form) has a /k/, it undergoes word-medial voicing and sounds like *ring-go*. To Japanese ears, this word sounds like the word for 'apple'.

Table 2 Phonological Correspondences in Japanese-origin loanwords

Japanese phoneme	Palauan phoneme	loanword example
/g/ initial	/k/ phonetically [k]	Jp *gomi* >Pal. *komi* 'trash'
/g/ medial	/k/ phonetically [g]	Jp *keshigomu*> Pal. *keskomu* 'eraser'
/k/ initial	/k/ phonetically [k]	Jp *kōhosha* > Pal. *kohosia* 'candidate'
/k/ medial	/k/ phonetically [g]	Jp *rinkō* > Pal. *ringko* 'phosphate'
/g/	/ng/	Jp *ringo* > Pal. *ringngo* 'apple'
/N/	/ng/	Jp *ringo* > Pal. *ringngo* 'apple'

To make matters more complicated, the word for 'apple' has also been borrowed from Japanese into Palauan, but in this case, the Palauan phoneme /ng/ has been substituted for Japanese /g/. This substitution is also common. For example, the surname Kumagai becomes Kumangai (not Kuman-gai, but Kuma-ngai) in Palauan (Figure 26). Palauan also often substitutes /ng/ for the Japanese syllabic nasal /N/, so 'apple' becomes *ringngo*. Consequently, to Palauans the words for 'apple' and 'phosphate' are distinguishable, but to Japanese ears the Palauan pronunciations sound almost the same.

Figure 26. The Prominent Surname Kumangai'

Returning once more to Figure 25, we see here different signs with the word *komi* 'trash' (< Jp. *gomi*). The sign at top is above the trash can at the Belau National Museum. At lower left is a from a picnic table, admonishing patrons to take responsibility for their trash. At lower right is an oil drum being used for an outdoor trash can.

In Japanese *tane* is the generic word for 'seed'. Hence, just as with its English equivalent, it would be odd to walk into a store and ask to buy simply *tane* without specifying what kind. Whether the seeds are for planting or for eating, this context would require the speaker to ask for a specific kind of seeds. In contrast, when *tane* is used in Palauan (Figure 27), the word does not refer to seeds in general (the Palauan term *chius* already serves this function; Humiko Kingzio PC 2012/2) but to a type of seeds eaten as a snack.

Figure 27. Japanese loanword *tane* 'edible seed'

In Figure 28, we see the Japanese-origin Palauan words *benjo* 'toilet', *siashing* 'photograph' and *arukor* alcohol'. Figure 29 shows a tee-shirt for sale at a local shop. The shirt pictures a beach with only sandals on it. The price tag identifies it as the "*zori* t-shirt".

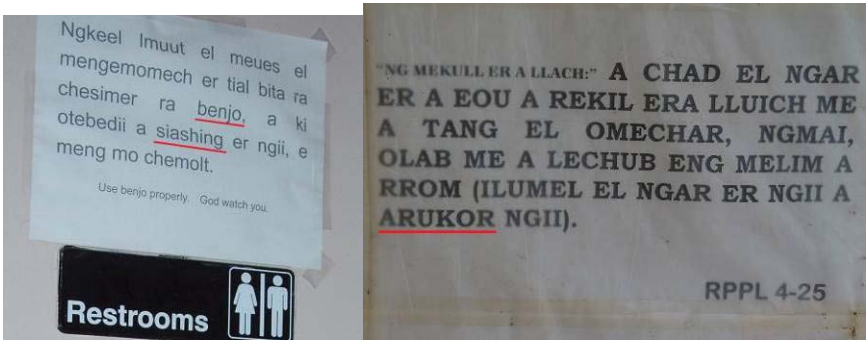


Figure 28. *Benjo* 'toilet', *siashing* 'photo', *arukor* 'alcohol' in posted notices

Figure 29. *Zori* 'sandals'

Figure 30 shows the loanword *sumi* 'charcoal' used at three different stores. In all three the word is used in tandem with the English *charcoal*. Our survey of Japanese loanwords in the Palau dictionary (see section 5 below) revealed that the English loanword charcoal is increasing in usage, but from the looks of local signage, the Japanese-origin word is holding its ground.

Figure 31 is a notice, containing the word *dengki* 'electricity', posted in a Koror restaurant in 2008. At the time electricity prices had increased to the point that some local businesses had had to shorten their business hours. We again see the used of the "ng" spelling discussed above.

Figure 30. *Sumi* 'charcoal'

To our valued customers:

Due to increased cost of electricity, it has become necessary to **CLOSE** at 8pm from Monday to Saturday and also **CLOSE** all day Sunday, beginning next Sunday, Sept 14, 2008.

We ask for your support and thank you so much for your business.

Me er kau el kmal **Klou a Ututelem el Customer** er kemam:

Ng ngarbab el cheral a dengki ma uchul aki mo **CLOSE** ra 8pm sel Monday el mo Saturday. Aki direk el mo CLOSE ra bek el Sunday, lomuchel ra Sept 14, 2008. Ke meral mesulang el mlei.

Figure 31. *Dengki* 'electricity'

4.3. Use of Japanese loanwords for abstract nouns

Many languages borrow words for animals and plants, the dishes made from them, and other objects like *sumi* or *dengua* which can be handed from a speaker of the sender language (the source of the loanwords) to a speaker of the receiver language. We see loanwords of this type even in cases where the sender language is seen as culturally inferior by speakers of the receiver language. Words from Ainu which entered Japanese, for example, such as *konbu* 'kelp', *todo* 'sea lion', *ottosei* 'fur seal', *rakko* 'sea otter', and *tonakai* 'reindeer'. Words which European explorers and settlers borrowed from the Aboriginal languages of Australia show the same trend: *koala* and *wombat* (both from the Dharug language), *kangaroo* (Guugu Yimithirr), *billabong* (Wiradjuri), and so on. When Europeans entered the Americas, in spite of their view of indigenous cultures as inferior, they borrowed from them words like *alpaca*, *jerky* (both from the Quechua language), *avocado*, *tomato* (Nahuatl), *tobacco*, *potato* (Taino), *chipmunk*, *hickory*, *moccasin* and *tomahawk* (Algonquin). While it is true that some terms for more abstract concepts such as *caucus* (also from Algonquin) were borrowed from American Indians, these are few and far between. Abstract concepts are more likely to be borrowed from the languages of cultures one sees as superior to one's own, and thus ones which can be learned from. This is the situation we see in English and Japanese which in centuries past borrowed half of their modern vocabularies from Latin and Chinese, respectively. All of this is goes towards saying that the Palauan language has borrowed not just concrete nouns from Japanese but terms for more abstract concepts as well.

The billboard in Figure 32 is trying to raise Palauans' awareness of illness and encourages them to undergo *kensa* 'medical examination'. This campaign was specifically aimed at the influenza. Figure 33 is from an election poster. (Palau has been called the most over-governed nation on earth, so election posters are ubiquitous.) It prominently contains the term *keizai* with the English translation 'economics' in the following line. Figure 34 contains a

term related to a facet of economics, *siobai* ‘business, commerce’, which the Japanese instilled into Palau life.

Figure 32. *Kensa* ‘medical examination’

Figure 33. *Keizai* ‘economy’

Figure 34. *Siobai* ‘business, commerce’

Sengkyo has come to mean ‘to vote’ in Palauan, while retaining the original Japanese of ‘election’ as well (Figure 35). Other Japanese-origin words found in these campaign posters are *kohosia* ‘candidate’ and even *hutsu* ‘common’. Palauan orthography was not standardized when these words came into use and as a result we find variation in spellings. The spelling used in modern-day Palauan dictionaries, *sengkio*, more closely reflects the languages phonological structure.

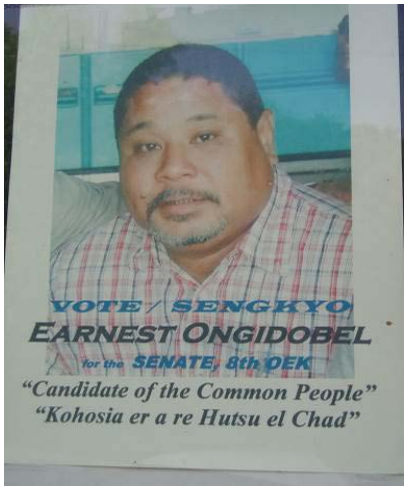


Figure 35. *Sengkyo* ‘vote, election’, *kohosia* ‘candidate’, *hutsu* ‘common’

It may seem odd that words pertaining to democratic elections have entered Palauan from Japanese since the realization of Palauan self determination did not come until well after the Japanese era was over. One must remember, however, that the decision-makers of Palau in the latter half of the 20th century were people of the age that had been educated under the Japanese (see chapters 6 and 7 on the language choices made by the framers of Palau's many constitutions). So even though the modern election system did not start under Japanese rule, the vocabulary to describe it was acquired during that time. Indeed the word *daitorio* 'president' is used in Palauan as well, although the word order is different from Japanese. Thus the 5th President of the Republic of Palau was known as "*Daitorio* Kunio Nakamura" rather than "Nakamura Kunio Daitōryō". Another fact one has to remember is that although there were no national elections under the Japanese, *sengkyo* for class leaders were held at pre-war schools, both those for Japanese children and those for Palauan children alike (interview with Masaharu Tmodrang, 2013/03).

Many other school terms entered the Palauan vocabulary from Japanese. These include *bumpo* 'grammar', *bungsu* 'fraction', *chanzang* 'mental arithmetic', *chundo* 'physical exercise', *daingak* 'university', *iotsieng* 'kindergarten', *kokubang* 'blackboard', *kumi* 'group', *kurangd* 'playground', *kureiong* 'crayon', *manneng* 'fountain pen', *mokko* 'wood-working school', *mondai* 'problem', *oengdang* 'cheerleading squad', *ouskeng* 'to give test', sensei 'teacher', and *teng* 'grade, test score', to name a few.

Figure 36 shows more school vocabulary in the form of the sheet music for a song called *Engsok* 'school outing', written by the imminent Palauan songwriter Ymesei O. Ezekiel.

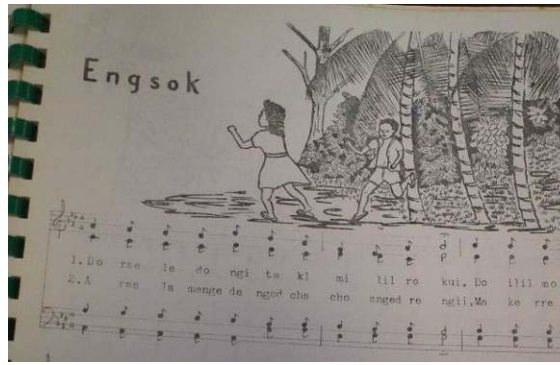


Figure 36. *Engsok* (*ensok*) ‘class outing’

Figure 37 contains the word *basio* ‘place’, a seemingly unlikely candidate for a loanword. Most of the other words examined thus far, *keizai* ‘economics’ *siobai* ‘business’, *sengkyo* ‘election’, *kohosia* ‘candidate’, *kensa* ‘medical exam’, and so on, are terms for new ways to doing things, or at least new ways of viewing things, that were brought in by the Japanese.

Figure 37. *Basio* ‘place’

How do we account for such a non-modern, non-specific, non-technical term like ‘place’ then? Actually, it is not at all odd that such a term should be incorporated into a language as a loanword. To understand this phenomenon we need to understand the concepts of hyponym and hypernym. Hyponyms are words included within another word’s semantic field, so *bear*, *dog* and cat are all hyponyms of *animal*. *Animal*, in turn, is the hypernym of these terms. If we think of words as belonging to a semantic hierarchy, going from specific to general, we could imagine *Cesky Terrier* < *Terrier* < *dog* < *carnivore* < *mammal* < *organism*. People are aware that the more hyponymic (specific) a word is the more likely it is to be non-everyday vocabulary, but the same thing is true the more hypernymic (general) a word is as well. Hence *dog* is more basic vocabulary than either *Bull Terrier* or *mammal* are. To put this another way, words in the middle levels (like *dog*, *cat*, *bear*, *tree*, *grass*) are more likely to be everyday terms than either the hyponyms of these words or the hypernyms of these words. Furthermore, in language like English the words in the middle levels are more likely to be word indigenous to English (words from Anglo-Saxon, Old English), while words at either extreme are more likely to be loanwords from languages like Latin.

It is illogical to believe that the Palauan language lacked a word for ‘place’ before the Japanese *basio* was borrowed. Indeed, the English word *place* is a loanword from French, which replaced the Old English word *stede* (source of *homestead*, *steadfast*, *steady*). A quick look at the New Palauan-English Dictionary reveals the language has indigenous words for many concrete concepts like *ongereoll* ‘fishing place’, *tungl* ‘sacred place’, *mocheuekl* ‘hiding place’ etc. but lacked a hypernym to include all these, just as English always had words for concrete objects like *tree*, *grass* and *bush*, but until a few hundred years ago lacked a hypernym like *plant* (borrowed from French) to group these all together.

Figure 38 also contains a word, which at first glance appears to be a surprising choice for a loanword, but which in fact fits into a more general

pattern in linguistics. The word is *siukang* 'custom' from the Japanese *shūkan*, a word with the same core meaning. The sign on the left reads *Ng diak el siukang*, meaning literally 'it (domestic violence) is not a custom'. The poster on the right explains that "Intangible cultural heritage" includes things such as *klengar er a rechad* 'life histories', *cheldecheduch* 'oral histories', *klechad* 'social & cultural practices', *duch* 'knowledge & skills', *ngloik* 'performing arts', *klechedaol* 'social & cultural landscapes', *blekerdelir a rengalek* 'cultural values', and *siukang* 'ceremonies, rituals, festive events'. The last term is a Japanese-origin loanword. It may seem a contradiction in terms that some of the most important and valued aspects of indigenous culture required a foreign term to describe them. However, in parts of the Pacific where Britain or the US were the foreign overlords, the English word *custom* (*kustom* in many Pacific pidgins) is used to describe the same type of indigenous culture. (Indeed the English word custom itself originates in French.)

One factor in the understanding the borrowing of *siukang* may have to do with the concept of hypernym. In other words, Palauan had words to describe things like *buuldiil* 'pregnancy divining ceremony', *omesurech* 'ceremonial hot bath', '*ngasech* and *omengat* 'first-born ceremony' *and kemeldiil* 'funerals', but in a sense it needed a single term to group these terms together. However, there is a more appropriate concept that is relevant here, that of the retronym. A retronym is a newly coined word to describe some that used to be the norm (and thus didn't formerly require a special label). For example, in English we only had *telephones*, but after a special kind called *cell phones* came along, we needed a new term like *landline phone* to describe that which used to need no special name. Similarly the term *snail mail* was coined as a retronym after *e-mail* came along. The retronym *silent movie* became necessary only after the advent of *talkies*, and so on. When Pacific cultures began to incorporate foreign and modern ways of doing things into their lives, they suddenly need to go back and find a new word (and *siukang* or

kustom fit the bill) to describe what, up to that point, had been simply 'the way things are'.

Figure 38. *Siukang* 'custom'

4.4. Japanese loanwords in adjectives

We will examine in this section abstract words of a different type, not nouns, but adjectives. We have photos of only one term in this category, *abunai* 'dangerous' which is currently popular on fashion items (Figure 39).

Figure 39. *Abunai* 'dangerous' in clothing and car fashion

Borrowings of Japanese into English and other European languages are overwhelmingly limited to nouns, but Palauan has no shortage of adjective, verbs, phrases and other parts of speech which do not fit this model. Some of the stative verbs in Japanese are used like adjectives in Palauan. These include words like *chauanai* 'inappropriate, mismatching' and its opposite *chatter* 'appropriate, fit, becoming'. Just glancing at words which beginning with the pre-vowel glottal stop ("ch" in standard orthography) we find words like *charai* 'harsh', *chabarer* 'to get angry, violent', *chaiamar* 'to apologize', and *chakimer* 'to give up', to name just a few.

4.5. Japanese loanwords for technical vocabulary

Japanese loanwords are commonly found in technical vocabulary such as the names of various strains of tubers (Figure 40).

Figure 40. Japanese names for various tuber species strains

At the Palau Community College's Agriculture Experiment Station in

Ngaremlengui State on Babeldaob, we saw displays on new strains, including *nikangets* (二ヶ月 lit. ‘two months’), *ningsing* (人参, lit. ‘carrot’, although as is obvious in the photograph, this is the name of a potato, not an actual carrot), *dokoiso* (どっこいしょ, ‘expression used when lifting’ like *heave-ho*) and *ishiobing* (一升瓶, lit. ‘a two liter bottle’).

5. The Current Usage of Japanese Loanwords in Palauan

In this section, we will examine how the Japanese loanwords are used in this age. We interviewed Palauan speaker, Masaharu Tmodrang (Figure 41), who had been a teacher of history and assisted with projects such as the *Palauan Reference Grammar* (Josephs 1975). He speaks English and Palauan, but not Japanese, which made him an ideal person to inform us which Japanese-origin words listed in the dictionary were still used. We asked him about all 537 Japanese loanwords found in *New Palauan-English Dictionary* (1977) to see if the words were still used and to verify their meanings in Palauan.

Figure 41. Mr. Masaharu Tmodrang, Imamura, Long

Below, we have listed the information obtained from Masaharu Tmodrang in the form of Table 3. The "Word" column lists the Palauan word of Japanese origin using the spelling of the dictionary. The "Jap." column the original Japanese word from which the Palauan loanword derives. Many of the words have changed in meaning, but these changes are not reflecting the Japanese word here. The "Meaning" column shows the current Palauan meaning(s) whether they are the same as the original Japanese meaning or not. The "Use" column uses the following symbols:

- ○ used currently by middle-aged or younger speakers who do not speak the Japanese language

△ still used but not by younger speakers

× not used by middle-aged or younger speakers

＞ Palauan word has a narrower meaning than the original Japanese word

＜ Palauan word has significantly shifted in meaning from original

Table 3. Current Usage of Palauan Loanwords from Japanese

Word	Jap.	Use	Meaning	Comment from Sensei Masaharu Tmodrang (SMT)
baiking	ばい菌	○	disease, germ	commonly used
bakudang	爆弾	×	dynamite, bomb	not commonly used because there is a Palauan word *dub*
bakuhats	爆発	△	explode	not used by young people
bakutsi	博打	△	gambling	not used by young, young use *twenty one* or *gambling*
bando	バンド	○	belt	
bangk	パンク	○	flat tire	
bangngo	番号	△	number	rarely used, young people use *number*, older people use the word to refer to dancing steps (‘one, two, one, two’), also used in sense of ‘what is your (phone) number?’
bara	バラ	○	rose	the only word for ‘rose’
barikang	バリカン	○	hair clipper	commonly used
basio	場所	○	place	very commonly used even young people
bastaor	バスタオル	○	bath towel	commonly used
bata	バター	○	butter	commonly used
bengngos	弁護士	△	lawyer	interchangeable with *lawyer*, younger people use *lawyer* more, people over 40 years old use *bengngos* more
benia	ベニヤ	○	plywood	
bento	弁当	○＜	food taken to eat at another place	used everywhere
bento bako	弁当箱	○	lunch box	commonly used
benzio	便所	○	toilet	commonly used
berangu	プラグ	○	spark-plug	commonly used

bio	秒	○	second(in time)	
bioing	病院	×	hospital	most people use *hospital*
bioing seng	病院船	×	hospital ship	
boi	ボーイ	△	servant	used only a little, now use *maid*, dictionary lists *didelboi* as Japanese, but it does not seem to be accurate
boks	ボックス	○	large wooden trey with legs	container, almost like a table, made of wood
bokso	牧草	○	elephant grass	
bokungo	防空壕	○	pit, tunnel for storage	interchangeable with word *cave*, natural cave is called *chii*, *bokungo* is for manmade cave
bomado	ポマード	○	pomade	specific for one with hair tonics with scents; now *gels* are also used, but *bomado* is still used
bongkura	ボンクラ	×	dull, slow-witted	because of the meaning word has fallen into disuse
boruu	ボール	○	ball	not *ball*
bozu	坊主	○	shaved head	
botang	牡丹	○	type of flower	used for the flower and for clothes buttons
botang	ボタン	○	button	used for the flower and for clothes buttons
budo	ブドウ	○＜	capulin, panama cherry tree	not grape (as in Japanese) , but for the fruit of a tree
bumpo	文法	×	grammar	now *grammar* is used
bung	文	○	minute	
bungsu	分数	×	fraction	not known, now *fraction* is used
bussonge	仏桑花	○	hibiscus	
buta buta buta	ブタブタブタ	○	pigs, way of calling pigs	
chabarer	暴れる	○	get angry, violent	
chabunai	危ない	○	dangerous	

chabura bang	油パン？	○	fried bean paste bun	
chabura sasi	油さし	×	oil can	not known at all
chaiamar	謝る	○	apologize	used even by young, interchangeable with English *apologize*
chaiko detsiu	相子でしょ	○	term meaning ‘draw’ or ‘even’ in the game of *ziankeng*	still a common activity among children
chainoko	合いの子	△	half-caste child	somewhat used, but young people use English word *half*
chais keeki	アイスケーキ	○	popsicle	
chais kurim	アイスクリーム	○	ice cream	
chakimer	諦める	△	surrender	old people use, young people use *give up*
chamatter	余ってる	○	be left over	
chambang	アンパン	○	baked bean-paste bun	
chami	網	○	screen(for windows)	
chana kangari	穴かがり	×	button hole	not known
changar	あがる	○	increase, get nervous	‘nervous’, as in when one gives a speech
changari	あがり	○	rise, increase	
changko	餡子	○	bean paste	probably used, but terms like *champan* and *chaburapan* are more common
chansing	安心	○	feel relaxed, at ease	
chanzang	暗算	△	mental arithmetic	not very common
chanzeng	安全	○	Safe	

charai	荒い	○	harsh	
charumi-nium	アルミニウム	×	aluminum	English word *aluminum* is more common
chasangao	朝顔	×	plant in morning glory family	not known at all
chasebo	汗疹	○	rash	
chasiba	足場	○	scaffolding	
chasuart	アスファルト	○	asphalt	
chatter	合っている	○	appropriate, same, match	
chauanai	合わない	○	inappropriate, not matching	commonly used
chauts	アウト	○	out(in baseball)	commonly used, but perceived as being from English, not Japanese
chazi	味	○	taste	pronounced /aji/
chazino moto	味の素	○	flavor enhancer	written on containers of the product
chea	エア	△	air	for putting in tires (considered Japanese). young people would say it more like English word
cheio	栄養	○	nutrition	
cheisei	衛生	○	sanitation	
cheki	液	○＞	battery acid	
chi	胃	○	stomach	
chibatter	威張っている	×	arrogant	rarely used, only by older people, younger people use English
chihukuro	胃袋	×	stomach	not know at all (only *chi* is used)
chikes	生簀	○	fish farm	
chimi	意味	○	meaning	used even among young, interchangeable with *meaning*
chiro	色	○	color	interchangeable with English *color*

chirochiro	いろいろ	○	different colour, different people, anything that's different	
chisiobing	一升瓶	○	large (half gallon) bottle	only for certain size, only for container regardless of contents
chitabori	板彫り	○	story board	
chito	糸	△	thread	think it is still used, but not that common, for people who sew they use the word, but now the people who sew now are mostly Pilipino word
choisii	美味しい	○	tasty, delicious	commonly used
chokura	オクラ	○	okra	
chomote nangio	表南洋	○	territory outside of Japanese Pacific mandate	only this term (not *Pacific Island)* is used
chos	押す	○＞	getting too close in marbles	used in a marble game (called *tama*, not *bii dama*); when players cheat and put their marker beyond a certain line, this is called *chos*. The name of a snack comes from this word as well.
chosarai	おさらい	○	a kind of game	more common among young people, same as *chotedama* which is also known among older people, *ouchosarai* is a verb meaning to play this game
chosiruko	お汁粉	○	powdered sweet bean soup	known
chosoroi	お揃い	○	of same clothes, wearing the same cloth	very commonly used
chotemba	おてんば	×	flirtatious	only rarely used
choto	音	○	sound	used also by young

chotobai	オートバイ	○	motorcycle	motorcycle of any size, *rat* from German means 'bicycle'
chude	腕	○＞	bicep	not used for 'arm' which is the Japanese meaning, young people use *muscle* more, but the two are interchangeable
chundo	運動	○	physical exercise	interchangeable with Eng. loanword *exercise*
chundon gutsu	運動靴	△	athletic shoe	not used by young people who use *shoes*, Palau word *oachoer*
chuntens	運転手	△	driver	young people use *driver*
chusangi	兎	○	rabbit	
chusui	薄い	○	thin, weak, light	very common, used in the sense of mixing drinks or when ink or computer print is not dark enough to read, cannot be used in sense of thin boards, etc.
chuts(i)us	映す, 移す	○＜	take a photo copy a picture	needs no affix to make it a verb, also used for transfer files from USB flash memory to hard disc
dai	台	○	platform	for a machine to sit on
daia	ダイヤ	×	diamond	only English *diamond* is used
daikong	大根	○	radish	commonly used
daiksang	大工さん	○	carpenter	
dainamo	ダイナモ―	○	generator	thought of as a Japanese word, used as a technical term, *dainamo* is use for the part that actually generates, *mesil er a dengki* is used for the whole generator machine
daingak	大学	○	university	as with Palau Community College
daitai	大体	○	generally	used in sense of 'generally how many people are coming', not used for 'okay' as dictionary says
daitorio	大統領	○	president	

daiziob	大丈夫	○	fine, all right	very commonly used
datsio	脱腸	○	hernia	used as a technical medical term
demado	出窓	×	enclose sitting space	
dempo	電報	○ >	telegram	used for ‘telegram’, but more commonly for ‘long distance two way short wave, ham radio’ common on places like Hatohobei where there were no phones
dengki	電気	○	electricity	very commonly used
dengkibu	電気部	○	power plant	
dengki basira	電気柱	○	electric pole	commonly used
dengki skongki	電気蓄音機	×	electric phonograph	*skonki* was used only for hand-cranked phonographs, now *turntable* is used
tama er a dengki	球 er a 電気	○	light bulb	sometimes shortened to just *tama*
dengu	デング	○	dengue fever	
dengua	電話	○	telephone	also use *oudengua* but only for the call itself, not for the machine, the machine is only called *dengua*, meanings are differentiated
dents(i)	電池	○	battery	interchangeable with *battery*, used by young people, only used for small dry cell batteries, but cars they used *battery*
dobu	溝	○	ditch	very commonly used
dois	ドイツ	○	Germany	*Germany* is not used
dok	毒	○	poison	
dokurits	独立	○	independence	used more as a formal term as in the congress, young people use *independence* more
dongu	道具	○	tool	very commonly used

dongu bako	道具箱	○	toolbox	
dorobo	泥棒	×	robber	Palauan word *merechorech* is used
dosei	どうせ	△	anyway	commonly used with older people, pronounced as /dose/ not /dosei/
dotei	土手	×	rampart, terrace	not known
ensok	遠足	○ ＜	picnic	very common, used for family picnics, but also for school trips, meaning has changed
haburas	歯ブラシ	△	toothbrush	young people say *toothbrush* or *brush*
hadaka	裸	○	nude, naked	not only for ‘completely nude’, but also for ‘shirtless’
hadasi	裸足	○	bare-footed	
haibio	肺病	△	tuberculosis	rarely used now, now *TB* is used
haisara	灰皿	×	ashtray	now *ashtray* is used
haisia	歯医者	△	dentist	used but now use *dentist* or *dental* interchangeably
haitsio	蝿帳	○	cabinet	
hake	刷毛	○	paint brush	*brush* is for teeth
hambung	半分	△	half	used only by older people; in some cases Palauan words are used more by educational policy. A 2010 language commission had this word as one of their recommendations for replacement
hanabi	花火	○	fireworks	commonly used
hanahuda	花札	○	a kind of card game	
hang	班	○ ＞	hamlet	in Japanese used as *ippan*, *nihan* ‘squad 1, squad 2’, but not used as number like this in Palauan; see *minatohang*
hangkats	ハンカチ	○	handkerchief	commonly used

hansubong	半ズボン	△	shorts	young people use *shorts*, but young understand this word as well
hantai	反対	○	opposite	
harau	払う	○	to pay	very common
hasi	箸	○	chopsticks	
hatoba	波止場	△	pier, dock	English or Palauan words used more now, but young know meaning
hats	蜂	○	bee	commonly used, not for 'honey bee', but for the insects that build dirt nests in eaves and attack you
heia	部屋	○	room	interchangeable with *rooms*, also *ouheia* (Palauan prefix, verb)
henzi	返事	○	answer (to question)	
hinbiokai	品評会	○	fair, exhibition	celebration with displays and games, a fair
himits	秘密	△	secret	only old people use it now
hokori	ほこり	○	dust	very common
hong	本	○	book	always used, rather than *book*
honto	本島	○	Babeldaob	used as alternate name of Babeldaob Island
hosengka	ホウセンカ	○	garden balsam	
hotai	包帯	○	bandage	interchangeable with *bandage*
huda	札	×	name tags	now English *name tags* is used
hu(i)riping	フィリピン	○	Philippines	just for place name, not for people; pronouced [h], not [f]
hurans	フランス	○	France	not /h/ sound, but /f/
huseng	風船	○	balloon	more common than *balloon*
huto	封筒	○	envelope	commonly used, interchangeable with *envelope*
hutsu	普通	○	common, ordinary	commonly used, not just for people but for anything

iakiu	野球	○	baseball	commonly used even by young people
iakkotsiang	やっこちゃん	○	parrots	
iaksok	約束	○＞	promise	*iaksok* is not used for meaning of ‘appointment’ as in Jap., but for ‘engagement between boy and girl’; there is a similar word in Palauan but that is more like ‘agreement’
iama	山	○＞	raised hairdo at front of hair	not used for ‘mountain’ as in Japanese, because for this Palauan word *rois* is used; *iama* is used for a hair style when the hair is combed up and back into a ‘mountain of hair’
ianangi	柳	○	willow tree	
iasai	野菜	○	vegetable	
iasai bune	野菜船	×	boat for transporting vegetables	not used anymore, during Japanese time they used boats for bringing vegetables, etc.
iasui	安い	○	cheap	used among young people
iasumba	休む場	○	bench of resting	used, bench to sit on or to sleep on
iorosku	宜しく	○	regards, greetings	used by younger people as well, used as a parting greeting, also in sense of ‘give my regards to (a third person)’ or as in ‘he sends his regards’, but not used upon first meeting someone as in Jap.
iotei	予定	○	schedule	
iotsieng	幼稚園	○	kindergarten	interchangeable with *kindergarten*
kaba	カバー	△	armor, cover	some people use it but not common
kabaiaki	蒲焼	○＞	canned eel	canned eel only, not way of cooking as in Japanese

kabur	かぶる	○ ＜	flip over one's shoulder and throw him down	commonly used, wrestling term
kaer	帰る	○	return home	used even by young people
kai	貝	○	shell	this is the only word for this concept; so ingrained in the language that SMT thought it was indigenous Palauan word
kaisia	会社	×	company	rarely used now
kaker	かける	○	to express, to complain	as in *kaker a monku* to make a complaint
kakine	垣根	○	fence	used for metallic chain link fence or barbed wire fence, distinguished from wooden fence
kamang	鎌	○	sickle	
kamatsiri	カマチリ	○ ＜	tree name, place name	now this is also the name of a place, close to Eptison museum, so named because there was a store there named *Kamachiri*
kanadarai	かなだらい	○	small basin	this is the only word used, *tarai* is also used for bigger ones
kanaria	カナリア	○	canary	
kangkei	関係	○	connection	used among young people as well
kangkeister	関係している	○	related to, involved in	used for any kind of connection like of a person to a crime, not used for romantic relationships
kangkodang	観光団	△	tourist	now *tourist* is used more
kangngob	看護婦	△	nurse	*nurse* is used more now
kanibisket	カニビスケット	○	crab biscuit	shortened to *bisket*, now Palauan word *brel* used also; this product is packaged and imported from Japan
kansoki	乾燥期	○	dry season	(*not in dictionary)
kansok	観測	○ ＞	weather bureau	
kansume	缶詰	○	canned food	

kantang	簡単	○＞	simple, plain	used in sense of ‘simple clothing’
kanzia	患者	×	patient	Palauan word *smecher* is used
karas, glas	ガラス	○＞	(window) glass	used for ‘window panes’ and not for ‘drinking glasses’ which are only *glass*
kare	カレー	×	curry	pronounced as English *curry*
kasorin	ガソリン	×	gasoline	often shortened to *gas*, but *gasorin* is also common
kastera	カステラ	×	plain yellow cake	*cake* or *pancake* is more common; SMT has never seen or tasted *kastera*
kata	型	○	style, shape	
katai	硬い	○＞	stubborn	for person who is stubborn, hard to persuade, *oukatai* is a verb, to be stubborn
kataki	仇	△	enemy	perhaps used; but not for meaning of ‘revenge’ as dictionary states, for this younger speakers would use the Palauan word; if young people knew *kataki* at all, it would be in the meaning as ‘enemy’
katangami	型紙	△	sewing pattern	maybe used in dress shops, but not common
katate	片手	○	dexterous	used by younger speakers as well
katatsumuri	蝸牛	○	African snail	there is no Palauan word for this animal, this is with shell
katori sengko	蚊取線香	○	mosquito coil	used now shortened just to *sengko*, so young kids know
kats	勝つ	○	to win	
kats	カツ	○	cutlet	very common, but only used in combinations like *pork kats*, not alone

katsudo	活動	○	movie	young people also use this, but only for theater movies, not for DVD or television movies for which *movie* is used; see *oukatsudo*
katsukang	活動館	○	movie theatre	
katsuo	鰹	○	bonito	*maguro* and *katsuo* are not distinguished by ordinary Palauans (as it is the case in Japanese) , but fish market professionals do make a distinction; *yellow fin* is also used
katsuo busi	鰹節	△	dried bonito	word remains but the object is not found in Palau anymore
katsuo seng	鰹船	○	bonito-fishing boat	
kaua	革	○ ＞	leather shoes	used only for shoes, *oukawa* is 'to wear leather shoes', the word may be used for leather things other than shoes, but not commonly
kauar	変わる	△ ＞	to change	only rarely used anymore, used for 'changes in wind direction'
keikak	計画	○	plan	commonly used, especially 'economic or political plans'
keisang	計算	○	calculate	
keizai	経済	○	economics	
kekka	結果	○	result	
kembei	憲兵	×	police	only *polic*e is used now
kengri	権利	×	right	SMT does not know this word at all
kensa	検査	○	inspection, medical check up	used mostly for medical check ups, but also maybe for boats, etc.
keskomu	消しゴム	○	pencil eraser	young people use *eraser* also but they use this word also
kes	消す	○	to erase	
kiab	キャブ	○	carburetor	

kiabets	キャベツ	○	cabbage	commonly used
kikanai	効かない	△	ineffective	used only among old people
kilo	キロ	○	kilogram	not pronounced /kiro/
kimots	気持ち	○	feeling	
kinga tskanai	気がつかない	△	be unaware	maybe used by older people
kingatsku	気がつく	△	notice	maybe used by older people
kingko	金庫	×	safety box	
kintama	金玉	△	testicles	used by older people
kirioke	霧避け	○	projecting eaves	
kisets	気絶	○	faint, lose consciousness	used by young people as well
kisu	傷	○	scar	The pronunciation /kizu/ is also used
kiter	聞いている	○	effective or strong	
kitsingai	気違い	○	crazy	
kitte	切手	×	postage stamp	not known at all
kiubio	急病	△＞	heart attack	*heart attack* is used more now
kobito	小人	○	midget	
kohi	コーヒー	○	coffee	most common word for coffee
kohosia	候補者	○	candidate	Not in dictionary, because dictionary was made during U.S. time when there were no elections. When elections came, the Americans used *candidate* but *kohosia* came to be used more in 1970s and 1980s because elders understood it.
koi	濃い	○	(liquid) thick or strong	used for drinks like coffee, or dark colors etc.

koibito	恋人	×	sweetheart	not known at all
kokubang	黒板	△	blackboard	known but they use *blackboard* now
komakai	細かい	○	detailed	used for person; not for stingy person as in dictionary
komatter	困ってる	○	be in trouble	be in trouble including financial trouble
komeng	御免	○	I'm sorry	mostly used term, common for apologies
komi	ごみ	○	trash	most common term
komibako	ごみ箱	△	trash can	used, but younger people use *trash can* or Palauan word *blil a komi*
komu	ゴム	○	rubber	rubber for sling shots, not for tires, not for rubber for preventing pregnancies
komunoki	ゴムの木	○	Indian rubber tree	
komuteib	ゴムテープ	○	elastic in pant waists	used for elastic in pant waists
kona	粉	○	detergent	used only for detergent, not for cooking flour, but also finely ground substances
konasob	粉ソープ	○	detergent	
kongro	コンロ	○	kerosene stove	used also for small portable electric stove. Not generally used for large gas cook top
kori	氷	○＞	shaved ice	more than ice cubes, *ice* is used for blocks of ice
korira	ゴリラ	○	gorilla	
kosi	腰	○	waist, hips, buttocks	commonly used; SMT's pronunciation is "koshi"
kosio	故障	○	broken	used as in sense of 'my boat is broken down'
kosui	香水	○	perfume	*perfume* is also used, but *kosui* is more common

kotai	答え	○	answer (to math problem)	*answer* is more common, but both are used
kotouar	断る	○	refuse	commonly used
kotsiosensei	校長先生	△	principal	used only among older people, *principal* is much more common
kozukai	小遣い	○	allowance	*allowance* is more common but they are interchangeable, they sometimes use (when asked) *o-kozukai* (the prefix *o-* is used to make some nouns polite in Japanese)
ksai	臭い	×	bad smell	not heard often anymore
ksari	鎖	○	neck chain	for animals; not for 'chains to pull a car or ship', the Palauan word *bonbatel* is used for that
kse	癖	○	habit	commonly used for good habits (as well as bad) like getting children to brush their teeth everyday
meringel a kse	癖	○	to be strict	*meringel* is something that hurts you
kudamono	果物	○＞	passion flower	used not for 'fruit' as it does in Japanese, only the name of passion flower plant which bears an edible fruit, English word *fruits* or Palauan *rodech* are used for general fruit term
kukobokang	空港母艦(＞航空母艦)	×	aircraft carrier	
kuma	熊	○	bear	interchangeable with *bear*
kumade	熊手	○	rake	small gardening hand rake
kumi	ゴム	○	rubber	
kumi	組	○	group	now *team* is also used
kungreng	訓練	×	military training	now *exercise* is used

kurangd	グラウンド	○	playground	also for baseball grounds like *Asahi kurand*
kureiong	クレヨン	○	crayon	
kurismas	クリスマス	○	Christmas	pronunciation sounds like Japanese
kurob	グローブ	○	baseball glove	gloves for gardening or work we use *glove*
kutsibeni	口紅	○	lipstick	used even by younger people but they use *lipstick* as well
kuzira	鯨	○	whale	used also among young; there is an indigenous word *medob*, which younger Palauans do not know
mado	窓	○	window	used even among young people; *demado* is not used
mahobing	魔法瓶	○	thermos	
mahongani	マホガニー	○	mahogany tree	common, imported species
mahura	マフラー	△	muffler, scarf	rarely used, but neither is *scarf*, because of climate
maikake	前掛け	×	apron	*apron* is used
maingami	前髪	×	bangs	not used by younger people; shaved heads are popular with boys
make	負け	○	loser; lose	used among young people, not noun, only verb
mame	豆	○	bean	
manaita	まな板	○	cutting board; chopping block	
mang	万	△	ten thousand	used by old people, not younger
mangnga	マンガ	○＜	cartoon	
manguro	マグロ	○	Yellow fin tuna (Thunnus albacores)	
manneng	万年(筆)	△	fountain pen	used by elderly only, younger people say only *pen*
masku	マスク	×	mask	not used, only *mask*

matsi	町	△	capital; main town	used by elderly, not by younger, the pronunciation is /mats/, not /matsi/
mauar	回る	○	turn	
mauas	回す	○	turn	
maze kohang	混ぜご飯	○	rice mixed with vegetables, meat, etc	
mazui	不味い	×	bad-tasting; (person) unskilled or unsuccessful (in persuasion)	
meromi	醪	○ >	liquor	made from tapioca; from Japanese word *moromi* ‘unrefined sake’
mihong	見本	○	sample; example	
minatobasi	港橋	○	bridge connecting Koror with Ngemelachel	proper noun, used just for bridge, not for surrounding area
minatohang	港藩	△ >	section of Koror between Neco store and T-dock	people only say *hang*, as in either *Medilai-hang* or *Hang-medelai*; see *hang*
mios	みよし	×	prow	
mitsumata	三つ又	○	three-pronged farming implement	
mokar	儲かる	○	gain profit from	even used by young
moktek	目的	○	purpose; function	even used by young
mondai	問題	○	problem; difficulty; dispute	even used by young
mongk	文句	○	complaint; criticism	even used by young
motsio	盲腸	○	appendicitis	both for appendix and disease
musiba	虫歯	○	cavity; rotted tooth	

musing	無尽	△	cooperative enterprise	taking turns to collect money to loan to each other, used to buy television or pay child's tuition
musubi	むすび	○	rice ball, aloha musubi	not used often, not used in general, just for spam rice ball, *aloha musubi*. bowl is *donburi*
nakas/ nangas	流し	○	sink	even used by young
namari	鉛	×	lead or similar metal used as weight (e.g. on fishnet) or melted into various shapes for different purposes	only *tama* is used
namer	なめる	△ ＞	to challenge; hold in contempt; make a fool of	only used by elderly
nangio sakura	南洋桜	○	flame tree	also use just *sakura*
nappa	菜っ葉	○	long cabbage	
nas	茄子	○	eggplant	*nasubi* (used as in some Japanese dialects) is not used
nengi	ネギ	○	green onion	
nenneng	ねんね	○	sleep (baby talk)	used only in joking, child's word
nezi	ねじ	○	screw	interchangeable with *screw*
nezimauas	ねじ回し	○	screwdriver	interchangeable with *screw driver*
nikibi	ニキビ	○	pimple; acne	used even by young
niku	肉	×	meat (especially, beef)	not common, *meat* is more common
nimots	荷物	×	baggage; luggage	rarely used
ningio	人形	○	doll	*oningio*, also use *doll*
ninzin	ニンジン	○ ＜	potato with orange colored inside	red sweet potato, pronounced /ninsin/

nitske	煮付け	○	fish cooked with sugar, vegetables, and small amount of liquid	
niziu	二十	△	twenty(often used in counting change)	only used when talking to elderly
nori	糊	○	glue; paste; starch (e.g., for clothes, preparing dessert, etc)	used for ‘paste’, but young use *glue*
nori	海苔	○	seaweed	
o(i)eng	応援	○	praise; honor; acclaim; support (players in a game, etc)	*oeng*, young use this word; used as verb as in *te mle oeng* ‘they were cheering’
o(i)engdang	応援団	○	cheering section	*oeng dang*; (without the /i/ listed as optional in dictionary: not used much by young people;
okane	お金	×	money(often used in joking context)	now Palauan word *udoud* is used for all kinds of money
okasi	お菓子	△	candy; sweets	young people use *snack*, elderly use this word
okiak(sang)	お客さん	○	guest	used for ‘audience’, shortened form is more common
omiange	おみやげ	○	gift; souvenir	used along with *present*
oni	鬼	△	demon	used when playing tag, but young people may not play this, *kau oni*
osime	おしめ	○	diaper	commonly used
osimekaba	おしめカバー	△	diaper cover	now disposable diapers are used, so no covers anymore
oto	音	○	noise; sound	general term, good or bad sounds
otsir	落ちる	○	fail (on a test, in a race, etc)	used for object falling; also *ochir er a tes*t ‘to fail a test’, *ochir er a senkyo* ‘to loose an election’, also in sense of ‘to loose a foot race’

otsuri	おつり	○ ＜	benefit; recompense; advantage	originally in Japanese, *otsuri* was ‘change, received after paying for something’. Palauan meaning has changed and is used for ‘benefit’; for example ‘what would be the benefit of building something in that spot?’ i.e. because it is close or convenient.
otsuriganai	おつりがない	○ ＜	having no benefit	*otsuri ga nai* in Japanese is a sentence meaning ‘I (We) don’t have change’, but it has morphed into single expression in Palauan
ouasi	ou 足	○ ＞	walk or go on foot	‘on foot’, as opposed to by car, etc.
oubakutsi	ou 博打	○	play twenty-one (card game)	not general term, for general gambling *card* is used
ouchosarai	ou おさらい	○	play chosarai (girl's game)	
oudengua	ou 電話	○	have a telephone; make a telephone call	not for receiving a call, but for making a call or talking on the phone
oudokurits	ou 独立	○ ＞	act independently	not used for political independence of a nation as it does in Japanese, although *dokuritsu* as just noun is used for politics
ouhanahuda	ou 花札	○	play hanahuda	
ouheia	ou 部屋	○	use as one's room	used in sense of ‘you use room number 3’, or ‘H K Motel has six rooms’
ouiakiu	ou 野球	○	play baseball	
oukatai	ou 硬い	○ ＞	present (oneself) as inflexible; take inflexible position; stick to position	in sense of ‘just being stubborn’
oukatsudo	ou 活動	○	own or run a theater	

oukaua	ou 皮	○	wear leather shoes	
oumangnga	ou 漫画	○ ＜	used as verb for someone joking around	
oumondai	ou 問題	○	argue; express opposition; make difficulties	
ouoni	ou 鬼	○	play game of tag	
ousasimi	ou 刺身	○	have sashimi	
ouskeng	ou 試験	○	to give test; examine	in the sense of a teacher giving students an academic test; but *test* is used more common
oustangi	ou 下着	△	wear petticoat or slip	rarely used, and when used for women only; *stangi* is used only for women's slips and those are rarely worn
ousunga	ou 図画	○ ＞	make picture or drawing; paint (face) with cosmetics	commonly used, not just pictures, but architectural diagrams
outabi	ou 足袋	△	wear canvas shoes	used only for that particular type of shoes
outeib	ou テープ	○ ＞	make or have tape recording of	not to make a tape, but to own a tape
ou ziangkempo	ou ジャンケンポ	○	play *ziangkempo* (child's game)	
ouzori	ou 草履	○	wear rubber thongs	
raiskare	ライスカレー	○	rice curry	*curry rice*, used in Japanese, is not used
ranningngu	ランニング	○	sleeveless T-shirt; tank-top	
razieta	ラジエーター	○	radiator (of automobile)	
razio	ラジオ	○	radio	young people also use English *radio*, /j/ sound often becomes /zh/ sound

rekodo	レコード	△	phonograph record	word not known by younger people because there is not any of those in Palau
reksi	歴史	○	history	used interchangeably with *history*
rengnga/ renga	レンガ	○	brick	red ones are *renga*, white ones are *blocks*
renrak	連絡	○	area of Koror where (formerly) ferry crossed to Babeldaob; also 'organize, to set in motion'	place name for the area near the bridge (on the Koror side); also used for 'make preparations between two people'
rimbio	淋病	○	venereal disease	
ringngo	リンゴ	○	apple	interchangeable with *apple;* 'phoshpate' is *ringko*; this [k] may change to [g] but the [g] sound is phonemically distinguished from nasal [ng], so the words are not homonyms
Rosia	ロシア	○	Russia	
sabis	サービス	○	bonus; special service; tip; give something special to; do something special for; give bonus or tip to	used only for free extras received
sabisi	さびしい	○	lonely	
saidang	サイダー	×	cider; soft-drink	*soft drink* is used
saingo	最後	○	last time; end (of relationship)	
saireng	サイレン	○	siren	
sak/ siak	尺	△ ＞	unit of measure; foot small house	used by technicians; originally was '0.3 meters', but now used for '1 meter'

sakura	桜	○	cherry tree	‘flaming tree’, there is also a smaller tree (there is no English or Palauan name) brought by Japanese
saladaoil	サラダオイル	○	salad oil	
sambas	桟橋	○	dock with piers	
samui	寒い	△	cold	young people use English *cold*
sandits	算術	×	arithmetic	now use *math* or Palauan *ochur*
sangkak	三角	△	triangle	use *triangle*
sao	竿	○	pole used for fishing, support, etc.(usually bamboo)	not used for laundry pole
sarmetsir	サルメチール	○	liquid medicine; liniment	
sarumata	猿股	△	panties; underpants	*sarumata* is for men; now use *matang,* for men and women;
sasimi	刺身	○	sashimi; raw fish	
sbiido	スピード	○	speed (up)	as in *mle sbiido* ‘was speeding’
sbots	スポーツ	×	sports	use English *sports*
sbringngu	スプリング	○	t-shirt; jersey	
seikats	生活	△	life	only used by elderly
seiko	成功	○	succeed (in business) prosper	used interchangeably with *success*, usually for business, but also for other successes as well
seinendang	青年団	○	young people's club or society; youth group (sexually segregated)	women can join now as well
seitak/ zeitak	ぜいたく	○ ＞	luxurious; high-class; selected; having luxurious tastes.	used mostly for a person who is very clean, *seitak a rengul* ‘a person who is very choosy’

seizi	政治	×	politics	use *politics*; political words came from Japanese language even during the American time, because the generation who were in power could speak Japanese; class elections already existed
sekkak	せっかく	○	go to special effort or trouble for; make a point of	*sekkak el mei* ‘you went to all the trouble to come here’
sembuki	扇風機	○	electric fan	interchangeable with *fan*
semmong	専門	△＞	expert; specialist	older people still use, ‘an expert in ---’; younger people use *expert*
seng	線	○	insulated wire; electric wire; cable	general term for any wire
sengkio, sengkyo	選挙	○	election; vote	common
senko	線香	○	syn. *katorisengko*	
sensei	先生	○	teacher	*kl sensei* ’being a teacher’ now *kocho sensei* is English *principal*; the word order *Sensei Masaharu* is more common; used only for educators, not for politicians, physicians, etc.
siasing	写真	○	photograph	
siasingki	写真機	△	camera	now *camera*
siats	シャツ	△	shirt	
sibai	芝居	○	play; skit	*ousibai* ‘to be in a play’, *chad er a sibai* ‘actor’
sidosia	自動車	○	car; automobile	*ousidosia* ‘to own a car’
sikang/ sikan	時間	○	hour	
simang	自慢	○	vain; boastful	*ousimang* ‘to show off’; SMT thought this was a Palauan word
simbai	心配	○	worry	

simbung	新聞	○	newspaper	interchangeable with *newspaper*
simer	閉める	△	strangle; choke; close; turn off (water etc.)	rare; use English *close*
Sina	シナ	○	China	very common
singio	信用	○	trust; reputation	
sintsiu/ sintsu	真鋳	○	brass; copper	there is not much copper
sinzo	心臓	×	heart	now use *heart*
siobai	商売	○	business	
siobang/ siopang	食パン	○	loaf of bread	
siokumins	植民地	○	farm colony	now mostly historical term; places where the Japanese stayed
sionga	生姜	○	ginger	
sioning	証人	○	witness	interchangeable with *witness*
sioningdai	証人台	○	witness stand	interchangeable with *witness stand*
siorai	将来	○	future	
siotots	衝突	○	crash; collision	used for glasses hitting together for ‘cheers’ (*not in dictionary)
siraber	調べる	○	check, investigate or interrogate (someone)	
sirangkao	知らん顔	○	face feigning ignorance; innocent face	/k/ is voiced; young adults use this, but high school students use *pretend*
sisiu	刺繍	△	embroidery	rare
sits	シーツ	○	(linen) sheet	
siuarake	皺だらけ	○	having wrinkles on the skin	*siua* is used for skin, face, sheets, clothes

siukang	習慣	○＜	custom; habit (especially, bad); idiosyncrasy	funerals, for example are conducting in a customary way can be used for ‘bad habits’ in negative way
skak	四角	○	square	
skamaer	捕まえる	○＜	confront; face; corner; catch; get hold of; put (person) on the spot	not be used in sense of ‘confronting problems’
skareter	疲れている	○	tired	
skarister	しっかりしている	○	(person) serious, conservative or self controlled or straight-laced or not easily swayed	means ‘diligent’
skato	スカート	△	skirt	use Palauan word *saeang*
skemono, tsukemono	漬物	○	pickles; condiments	
skeng	試験	○	test; examination	
skidas	引出	○	drawer (of desk, table, etc)	
skoki	飛行機	○	airplane	
skongki	蓄音機	△	(manual) phonograph	rare, used for electric and crank phonographs
skozio/ skojo	飛行場	○	airport	
sodang	相談	△	discussion	used by elderly
soko	倉庫	○	storage area; shed	very common even among young
song	損	○	take a loss; waste (time)	
songngai	損害	○	(financial) loss	
sori/zori	草履	△	rubber thongs, slippers	

sorobang	算盤	×	abacus	only use calculators now
sotets	ソテツ	×	cycad	
sotsungiosei	卒業生	×	graduate	now use *graduate*
sotsungiosiki	卒業式	×	graduation ceremony	now use *graduation*
stangi	下着	△	petticoat; slip	(see *oustangi*)
subong/ zubong	ズボン	○	trousers; pants	*hang subong* 'short pants'
sudare	簾	○	rolling bamboo curtain	only for bamboo curtain
suika	西瓜	○	watermelon	interchangeable with *watermelon*
sumi	炭	○	charcoal	*charcoal* is used more, but *sumi* is now coming back; now used in *kongro* for weekend barbeques
sumitsubo	墨壺	×	carpenter's tool for marking lumber (*kitalong*)	
sung	寸	○ >	unit of measure (close to inch)	originally equivalent to '1.19 inches', but has come to mean 'one inch'
sunga/ zunga	図画	○	picture; drawing	
surui/ zurui	ずるい	○	sly; foxy; sneaky; shrewd	
tabi	足袋	△	canvas shoe	
tada	タダ	○	(for) free; free of charge	
taia	タイヤ	○	(rubber) tire	
Taiheio	太平洋	△	Pacific Ocean	used in historical sense, used for 'Pacific Islands' not for 'Pacific Ocean'
taiko	太鼓	○	drum	used not only for Japanese drums but for rock band drums, etc. as well

takai	高い	○	expensive; (person) of high status	used just for prices; but *outakai* is when someone aspires to be something greater than their true capabilities
taki	滝	○	waterfall	
tama	玉	○	marble; fried flour ball	not for ball bearings as in dictionary but for (1) light bulbs, (2) food, (3) marbles
tamanengi	玉ねぎ	○	onion; (head) completely shaved	
tamango	卵	×	egg	use English or Palauan word
tamango domburi	卵丼	○	rice topped with egg	
tamango ngata	卵型	△	egg-shaped	only used by elderly, now used Palauan word *terpengais*
tamango udong	卵うどん	○	noodles topped with egg	
tana	棚	○	shelf; cabinet	
tane	種	○	seed	commonly used as generic term for any seed; Palauan only has many specific words for seeds,
tansiobi	誕生日	○	birthday; birthday party	
taor	タオル	○	towel	
bastaor	バスタオル	○	bath towel	
taorer	倒れる	○	faint; collapse	only for person
tarai	たらい	○	large basin	wood, metal
tatami	畳	○	floor mat	only used for Japanese tatami not for Palauan mats
tatemai	建前	○	action of building frame of house	
tauas, tauasi	束子	○ ＜	scrubbing brush	any brush, both pronunciations; ‘paint brush’ is *hake*

tebukuro	手袋	○	glove; mitten	
teng	点	○	grade; point; score	test school, baseball scores
tengami	手紙	△	letter; correspondence	elder speakers
tengki	天気	×	weather	use *weather*
tengus	天蚕糸	○	cat-gut; plastic fishing line	
tento	テント	○	tent	
tenzio	天井	○	ceiling	also use *ceiling*
teppo	鉄砲	△	hand of cards in *hanahuda*	not used for pistol, only known by those who play *hanahuda*
todai	灯台	○ >	lighthouse	specifically for Ngarelong lighthouse, because there are no others
tokas	融かす	○	make (something) melt	to melt something using fire such as sugar
toker	融ける	○	melt; die of embarrassment	for ice to melt, also idiom for *embarrassment* is used
tokoia	床屋	△	barber	only used by elderly
tokuni	特に	○	especially; particularly	elders use this very much, not so much among young
tomer	止める	○	stop (blood, car, person, etc); restrain	stop a person from doing something, stop bleeding, stop a car
torak	トラック	○	truck	
toseng	渡船	×	ferry-boat	
tsios	調子	○	condition	used for person, automobile, etc. *tsios el* ‘his, its condition’
tsitsibando	乳バンド	○	brassiere	
tsiub(u)	チューブ	○	inner tube of tire	
tsiui	注意	△	watch out for (one's behavior); warn (someone)	younger people use *warning*

tsizim	縮む	○	shrink	
tsubame	燕	○	barn swallow	
tsunami	津波	○	tidal wave	
tsurubasi	鶴橋	○	pick-axe	just hand tool, not big machines
uata	綿	○	cotton	just cotton balls, not cotton fabric
uatasibune	渡し船	×	ferry-boat	
udong	うどん	○	noodles	
utsinangio	内南洋	×	territory of Japanese Pacific manmade	
ziabong	ジャボン	○	pomelo; shaddock	large fruit, like grapefruit
ziakki	ジャッキ	○	(car) jack	
ziangkempo	じゃんけんぽん	○	'scissors-rocks-paper'	
zibiki	字引	△	dictionary	
ziteng	辞典	×	dictionary	
ziu	銃	×	gun; rifle	now the Palauan word *boes* (which originally meant 'blow gun') is used
ziu	自由	△	freedom (to do as one wishes)	young use *freedom*

Many of the semantic changes are noteworthy. Traditional measurement words like *sung* and *sak* have been retained but they now are merely synonyms for 'inch' and 'meter' rather.

There are some interesting cases of the Palauan language itself being updated with the introduction of modern concepts. Technically speaking, this is a topic of Palau language studies and not Japanese but a couple of examples should prove interesting anyway. The Japanese word *ziu* was introduced for 'gun', because the Palauan language had no such term. As time passed,

however, Palauans rejected this Japanese loanword, choosing to recycle an indigenous Palauan word (*boes*, originally meaning ‘blow gun to shoot darts’) for this new concept. Similarly the Palauans borrowed the Japanese word *bakudang* ‘bomb’. One of the uses of this new technology has been to pitch small bombs into coral reefs, the shock waves stun the fish making easier to harvest. In traditional Palauan fishing techniques, the roots of the tree known as *dub* were pitched into shallow waters to stun fish for the same purpose. As a result, Palauans have rejected the Japanese loanword and recycled their indigenous word *dub* to mean ‘bomb’.

It is also noteworthy what a large number of abstract concepts have been borrowed from Japanese into Palauan. Here we have based our judgment of what is abstract and what is concrete, not on some theoretical criteria, but rather on our whether it is possible to convey the meaning of a word by pointing to something. For example, even though both *chainoko* ‘mixed race’ and *daikusang* ‘carpenter’ both describe kinds of people, we determined that it would be easier to demonstrate that a person was a *daikusang* (pantomiming hammering a nail) than to somehow pantomime that a person was of mixed race.

6. The Usage of Japanese Writing in Palau

As we have seen the Japanese language (i.e. the spoken language) established in Japan before the war and remained long after the Japanese administration was over. Not only did Japanese as a complete language system remain, but individual words from the language entered the Palauan language as loanwords. In the sense that these individual words could be used by speakers who did not speak carry on a conversation in Japanese, we can think of the words of becoming independent from the Japanese language. We review these facts here because we find something of a parallel in the Japanese writing system. Let us explain.

Before the war, although Western missionaries had developed Roman alphabet spelling systems for Palauan, it remained largely a written language. When the Japanese began public education in the mid 1910's, they used Palauan only a bridge language in early elementary school, requiring students to learn spoken Japanese quickly and shifting to all Japanese instruction by the second year of school. The Japanese writing system was taught as well, at least the basics of it. Children were taught to read and write the katakana syllabary, the hiragana syllabary and some basic kanji. In this sense Palauan was used at schools but not taught. Palauan children were taught to read and write neither Palauan nor English.

As a result most of the people educated during the Japanese period are not used to reading the Roman alphabet (*romaji*). (There are exceptions to this. One notable exception is Humiko Kingzio, who has collaborated with us for many years. But she learned the alphabet spelling system for Palauan and also to speak, read and write English because she attended business college after the war and taught public school for several years.) In modern day Palau, one may see Palauan words of Japanese origin (such as *tane*, *komi*, *tama*, etc.) and these are of course written in the alphabet because the Palauan language is. But when Japanese is written as a language it is in the Japanese writing system; one does not see Japanese phrases written in *romaji*. The

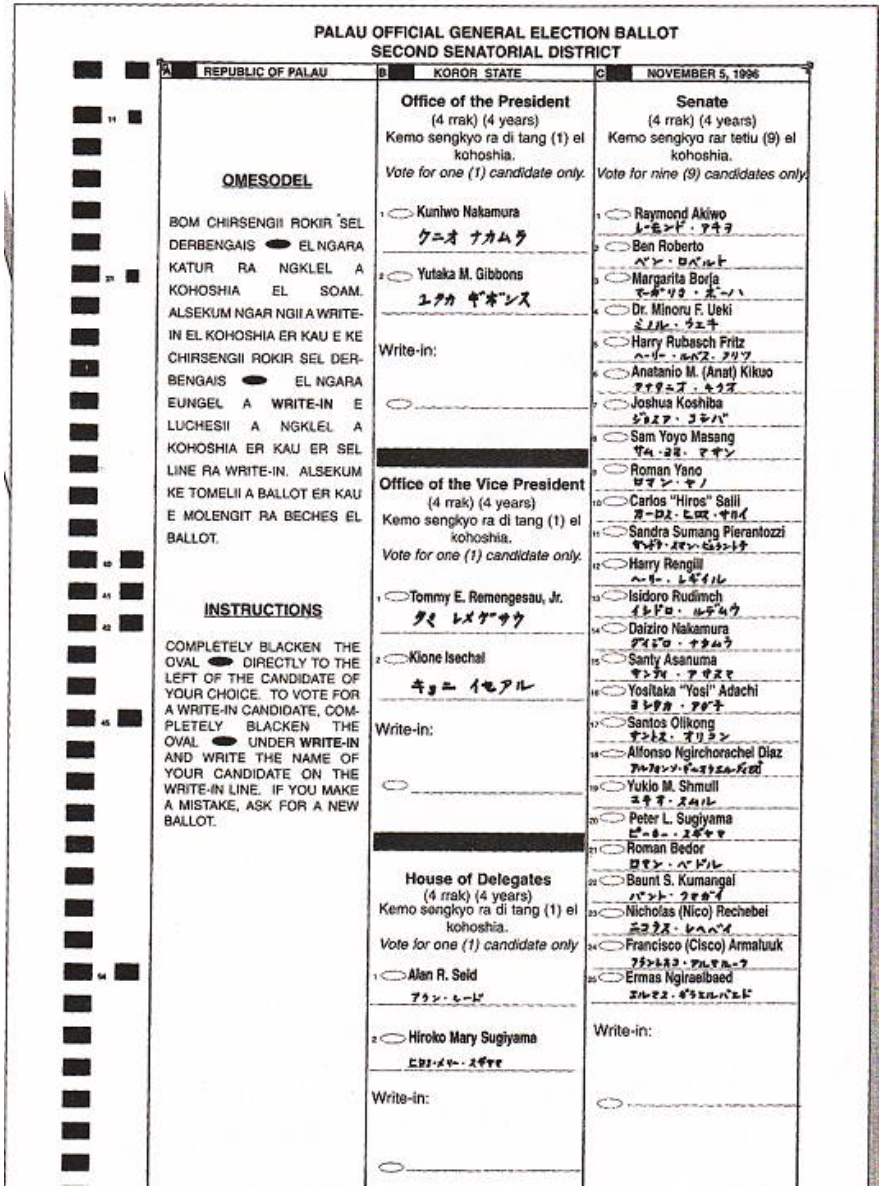
authors have made multiple research trips to Palau over the past few years, carefully photographing and cataloging related signage, as well as talking to elderly Palauans about their writing habits, but we can not recall ever seeing a single example of Japanese sentences written in *romaji*.

We have however many examples of the opposite, that is, of the Japanese writing system being used not to write the Japanese language but to write Palauan.

First, Japanese katakana is used in printing the names of Palauan. Examples of this usage are found on ballots for various elections (Figure 42). To clarify, it is not only names of Japanese origin which are represented in Japanese writing (katakana) but ethnic Palauan names as well. In other words, katakana is used not because the names are of Japanese origin, but because there are Palauan citizens for whom the only intelligible form of writing is Japanese writing. They are more accustomed to and more comfortable with Japanese writing than with the Roman alphabet.

Second, the Japanese writing is the one chosen by the pre-war generation when they hand-write their own names. This usage is found in the signatures of the signers of the constitutions of the various states of Palau (Figure 43). Since this usage is in the public realm and it used to write people's names, on the surface it may seem similar to the ballot usage discussed above, but on further consideration there are fundamental differences between the two usages. Central among these is the fact that this is a choice on the part of the writers themselves, whereas the ballot example was a choice made by others for the benefit of readers.

Third, in Palau there are numerous groups of elders who get together regularly to sing old songs (Friday Night Club, Ngaraklim; Figure 86). These people hand-write the lyrics to the songs and assemble home-made *uta-hon* 'song books' (Figure 44). Many of the songs are in Japanese which would explain the transcriber's use of Japanese katakana; the significant point here is that katakana is used even to transcribe the Palauan portions of the songs.



PALAU OFFICIAL GENERAL ELECTION BALLOT
SECOND SENATORIAL DISTRICT

A REPUBLIC OF PALAU | B KOROR STATE | C NOVEMBER 5, 1996

OMESODEL

BOM CHIRSENGII ROKIR SEL DERBENGAIS ⬬ EL NGARA KATUR RA NGKLEL A KOHOSHIA EL SOAM. ALSEKUM NGAR NGII A WRITE-IN EL KOHOSHIA ER KAU E KE CHIRSENGII ROKIR SEL DERBENGAIS ⬬ EL NGARA EUNGEL A **WRITE-IN** E LUCHESII A NGKLEL A KOHOSHIA ER KAU ER SEL LINE RA WRITE-IN. ALSEKUM KE TOMELII A BALLOT ER KAU E MOLENGIT RA BECHES EL BALLOT.

INSTRUCTIONS

COMPLETELY BLACKEN THE OVAL ⬬ DIRECTLY TO THE LEFT OF THE CANDIDATE OF YOUR CHOICE. TO VOTE FOR A WRITE-IN CANDIDATE, COMPLETELY BLACKEN THE OVAL ⬬ UNDER **WRITE-IN** AND WRITE THE NAME OF YOUR CANDIDATE ON THE WRITE-IN LINE. IF YOU MAKE A MISTAKE, ASK FOR A NEW BALLOT.

Office of the President
(4 rrak) (4 years)
Kemo sengkyo ra di tang (1) el kohoshia.
Vote for one (1) candidate only.

1 ⬭ Kuniwo Nakamura
クニオ ナカムラ

2 ⬭ Yutaka M. Gibbons
ユタカ ギボンス

Write-in:
⬭ _____

Office of the Vice President
(4 rrak) (4 years)
Kemo sengkyo ra di tang (1) el kohoshia.
Vote for one (1) candidate only.

1 ⬭ Tommy E. Remengesau, Jr.
タミ レメゲサウ

2 ⬭ Klone Isechal
キョニ イセアル

Write-in:
⬭ _____

House of Delegates
(4 rrak) (4 years)
Kemo sengkyo ra di tang (1) el kohoshia.
Vote for one (1) candidate only

1 ⬭ Alan R. Seid
アラン・シード

2 ⬭ Hiroko Mary Sugiyama
ヒロコ・メアリー・スギヤマ

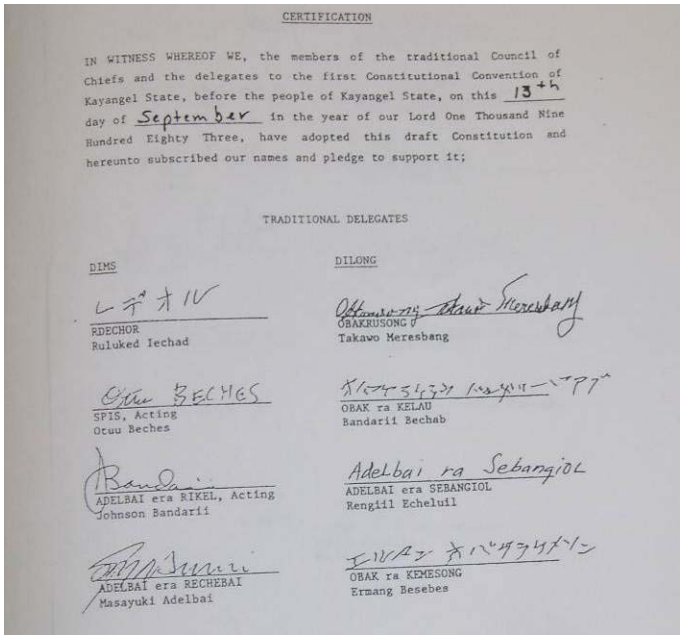
Write-in:
⬭ _____

Senate
(4 rrak) (4 years)
Kemo sengkyo rar tetiu (9) el kohoshia.
Vote for nine (9) candidates only.

1 ⬭ Raymond Akiwo
レモンド・アキヲ
2 ⬭ Ben Roberto
ベン・ロベルト
3 ⬭ Margarita Borja
マーガリタ・ボーハ
4 ⬭ Dr. Minoru F. Ueki
ミノル・ウエキ
5 ⬭ Harry Rubasch Fritz
ハリー・ルバス・フリツ
6 ⬭ Anatanio M. (Anat) Kikuo
アナタニオ・キクヲ
7 ⬭ Joshua Koshiba
ジョエア・コシバ
8 ⬭ Sam Yoyo Masang
サム・ヨヨ・マサン
9 ⬭ Roman Yano
ロマン・ヤノ
10 ⬭ Carlos "Hiros" Salii
カーロス・ヒロス・サライ
11 ⬭ Sandra Sumang Pierantozzi
サンドラ・スマン・ピュラントヂ
12 ⬭ Harry Rengiil
ハリー・レギイル
13 ⬭ Isidoro Rudimch
イシドロ・ルデムウ
14 ⬭ Daiziro Nakamura
ダイジロ・ナカムラ
15 ⬭ Santy Asanuma
サンティ・アサヌマ
16 ⬭ Yositaka "Yosi" Adachi
ヨシタカ・アダチ
17 ⬭ Santos Olikong
サントス・オリヨン
18 ⬭ Alfonso Ngirchorachel Diaz
アルフォンソ・ゲーヨラエル・ディアス
19 ⬭ Yukio M. Shmull
ユキヲ・スムル
20 ⬭ Peter L. Sugiyama
ピーター・スギヤマ
21 ⬭ Roman Bedor
ロマン・ベドル
22 ⬭ Beunt S. Kumangai
ベント・クマガイ
23 ⬭ Nicholas (Nico) Rechebei
ニコラス・レヘベイ
24 ⬭ Francisco (Cisco) Armaluuk
フランシスコ・アルマルーク
25 ⬭ Ermas Ngiraelbaed
エルマス・ゲラエルバエド

Write-in:
⬭ _____

Figure 42. Use of Katakana to write names on election ballot (Davis 2002: 127)



CERTIFICATION

IN WITNESS WHEREOF WE, the members of the traditional Council of Chiefs and the delegates to the first Constitutional Convention of Kayangel State, before the people of Kayangel State, on this 13th day of September in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred Eighty Three, have adopted this draft Constitution and hereunto subscribed our names and pledge to support it;

TRADITIONAL DELEGATES

DIMS

レデオル
RDECHOR
Ruluked Iechad

Otuu BECHES
SPIS, Acting
Otuu Beches

ADELBAI era RIKEL, Acting
Johnson Bandarii

ADELBAI era RECHEBAI
Masayuki Adelbai

DILONG

OBAKRUSONG
Takawo Meresbang

OBAK ra KELAU
Bandarii Bechab

Adelbai ra Sebangiol
ADELBAI era SEBANGIOL
Rengiil Echeluil

OBAK ra KEMESONG
Ermang Besebes

Figure 43. Katakana signatures on state constitution

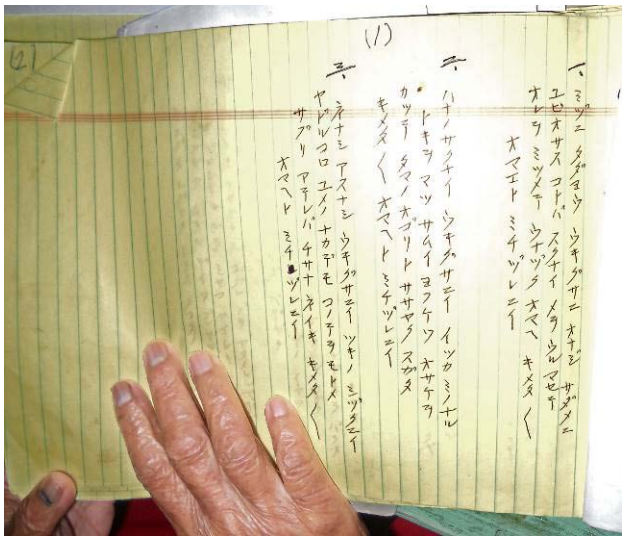


Figure 44. Katakana used to write song lyric

Fourth, and most surprising, is the use of Japanese katakana to write Palauan correspondence and diaries. Several Palauans of the post-war generation have told us that their parents or grandparents regularly kept diaries written in katakana. In some cases the people who related this information to us could not read the Japanese syllabary and thus could not tell if the syllabary were being used to record the Japanese language or Palauan. But in other cases people have specifically reported that such diaries used Japanese writing to record the Palauan language. Our most cherished linguistic informant Humiko Kingzio has told us that she used (and to an extent still uses) the Japanese script to write things like Palauan postal correspondence. Rather than provide an actual example of such a letter, we asked her to compose a sample with a parallel Japanese translation (Figure 45).

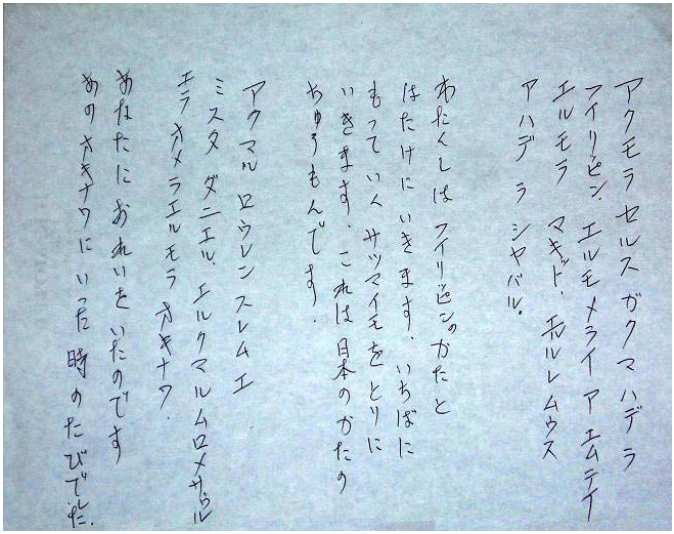


Figure 45. Usage of Japanese Characters to Write Palauan

7. Japanese as a Constitutionally Recognized Official Language in Palau

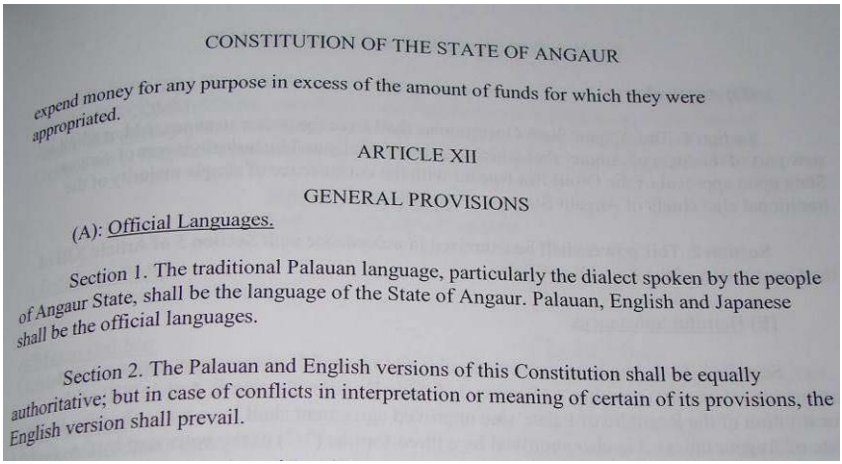
In the entire world there is only one constitution which specifically mentions Japanese as an official language. Surprisingly this is not the constitution of Japan. Nowhere in the Japanese constitution does it specifically mention an official language. The only constitution in the world which specifies the official status of Japanese is the State Constitution of the Angaur in the Republic of Palau (Figure 46). To be clear, Article XII begins its General Provisions with a declaration of the Official Languages of the state. Section 1 here reads, "The traditional Palauan language, particularly the dialect spoken by the people of Angaur State, shall be the language of the State of Angaur. Palauan, English and Japanese shall be the official languages." We can think of the local dialect as the "State Language" and Japanese, English and Palauan as the "Official Languages", though the wording does not make it clear whether the writers of this constitution had a clear and concrete of what this difference (if any) this semantic distinction is meant to entail in actual language usage. Section 2 states, "The Palauan and English versions of this Constitution shall be equally authoritative; but in the case of conflict in interpretation or meaning of certain of its provisions, the English version shall prevail".

The authors, along with many other scholars in Japan, have been interested in the question of how this special designation of Japanese found its way into the Angaur state constitution. We have put this question to many knowledgeable people, including Toshiwo Akitaya, Victorio Uherbelau, Sabeth Vereen, Horace Rafael and Maria Gates-Meltel but it difficult to obtain definitive answers to such to such a complex question. The answers we have received can be paraphrased as follows:

1. Almost all of the elders at the time of the writing of the constitution could speak Japanese.
2. Many important political, economic, administrational terms in the

Palauan language itself are loanwords from the Japanese language, a fact which points to not only its importance in general, but its indispensability in these fields in specific.

3. Angaur continued to maintain a strong link with Japan even after the war. The primary aspect of this relationship was the maintenance of the phosphate mining operation on Angaur from the mid 1940's to the mid 1950's. A secondary aspect was the steady number of Japanese visitors who came to the islands in the 1960's and 1970's. All of these were periods in which few Japanese lived in or visited the main islands of Palau.



CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF ANGAUR

expend money for any purpose in excess of the amount of funds for which they were appropriated.

ARTICLE XII

GENERAL PROVISIONS

(A): Official Languages.

Section 1. The traditional Palauan language, particularly the dialect spoken by the people of Angaur State, shall be the language of the State of Angaur. Palauan, English and Japanese shall be the official languages.

Section 2. The Palauan and English versions of this Constitution shall be equally authoritative; but in case of conflicts in interpretation or meaning of certain of its provisions, the English version shall prevail.

Figure 46. Text of Angaur State Constitution

Each of Palau's 16 states has its own constitution and there is a constitution for the Republic of Palau as well, but none of these except Angaur State specify an official role for Japanese (Table 4).

Table 4. Language Designation in Palauan Constitutions

	State	Article (section)	Constitution Languages	Prevailing Language	Official Language(s)
1.	Aimeliik	11(1)	Palauan, English	Palauan	No mention
2.	Airai	12(3)	Palauan, English	English	No mention
3.	Angaur	12(1)	Palauan, English	English	State language= Angaur dialect of Palauan Official languages= Palauan, English and Japanese
4.	Hatohobei	12(1,2)	Hatohobei, English	English	Hatohobei
5.	Kayangel	15(2)	English, Palauan	English	No mention
6.	Koror	10(1)	Palauan, English	Palauan	No mention
7.	Melekeok	12(1)	Palauan, English	Palauan	No mention
8.	Ngaraard	／	No mention, but it is written in English	／	No mention
9.	Ngarchelong	14(1)	English, Palauan	English	No mention
10.	Ngardmau	／	No mention, but it is written in Palauan & English	／	No mention
11.	Ngatpang	／	No mention, but it is written in English	／	No mention
12.	Ngchesar	2(2)	Palauan, English	Palauan	No mention
13.	Ngeremlengui	12(1)	Palauan, English	Palauan	No mention
14.	Ngiwal	11(1,2)	Palauan, English	English	Palauan, English
15.	Pelilieu	11(9)	Palauan, English	English	No mention
16.	Sonsorol	13(1)	English, Sonsorolese	English	English, Sonsorolese
17.	Palau	13(1,2)	Palauan, English	English	National Language= “Palauan Traditional languages” Official Languages= Palauan, English

8. Japanese Language in the Linguascape of Palau

The Japanese language is found a great deal in the linguascape of Palau. Linguascape (or "linguistic landscape") is signage, and can be more accurately defined as having the following four qualities. Linguascape is:

(1) written (as opposed to spoken) language,
(2) used in public places (as opposed to, for example, a sign inside a household that says "God bless this home"),
(3) aimed at unspecified readers (as opposed to, for example, a handwritten note on a shop door that says "Delivery boy, please come to back entrance"),
(4) viewed without conscious effort on the part of the reader (so that the names on products on a store's shelf, or the titles of magazines on a newsstand are part of the linguascape, but the small print listing a product's ingredients or the articles inside a magazine are not part of the linguascape).

The Japanese linguascape in Palau indicates several interesting facts about Palauan society related to Japanese language and people. In this chapter we will examine the following points concerning the linguascape in Palau

1. The significant role which Japanese loanwords play in Palauan (examples of this type of signage were seen in chapter 4).
2. The large linguistic market for the Japanese tourists (seen in the number of Japanese signs and Japanese's order in multilingual signs)
3. The prestige of the Japanese language in Palau.

8.1. Signage for Japanese tourists

In section 4, we saw usages of Japanese words (like *katsu* 'pork cutlet'), but we draw a distinction between the signs we examined there and the ones we deal with in this section. That is, we have reserved this section for signage that can be judged as exclusively aimed at Japanese. The poster for the Belau National Museum (Figure 47) is trilingual (Japanese, English,

Palauan) but the Japanese element in it can be seen as aimed exclusively at Japanese tourists. Similarly, the Japanese element in the *itabori* 'wood carving' gift shop (Figure 48) is also written in the Japanese script as opposed to the Roman alphabet, and can thus be seen as being aim strictly at Japanese customers. Palau's jail prisoners practice wood carving to learn a skill and earn money, and this sign guides tourists toward the shop. In English it reads "prisoner's gift shop" but it in Japanese the characters read いたぼりギフトショップ ('wood carving gift shop') in Japanese hiragana and katakana. However, just as non-native speakers' pronunciation can be difficult to comprehend, so too this writing is quite difficult to for Japanese to read.

Figure 47. Tourist posters written in English and Japanese

Figure 48. Prisoner's Gift Shop

These two signs stand in contrast to those seen in section 4 whose Japanese elements were written in the Roman alphabet and thus were interpreted as being aimed at the local population. This is not to rule out the possibility altogether that Romanization may be aimed at Japanese tourists. The *minshuku* sign in Figure 49, for example is in romaji, but it seems to aimed at Japanese tourists rather than locals. Locals do not ordinarily shop around for motels to stay in, and even if they did, they could understand the part of the sign that reads *motel*.

Figure 49. H. K. Motel also includes the Japanese word *minshuku*

The restaurant signs below are multilingual. Figure 50 is an Indian Restaurant in Koror with a trilingual sign in English, Japanese and Chinese. Figure 51 advertises *hangover soup* in English, Chinese, Korean, Thai and Japanese.

Figure 50. Indian Restaurant Sign in English, Japanese and Chinese

Figure 51. Tourist signs in English, Chinese, Korean, Thai and Japanese

8.2. Non-native errors in Japanese Signage

Some of the Japanese signage found in Palau shows the peculiarities or

errors of a non-native writer. The sign in Figure 52 is for a dive shop in Palau. It reads, “Nous parlons français, Hablamos español,” etc. in seven different languages. The original Japanese printing on the sign has been covered over with a labels which reads,

3. Nihongo de douzo
   Japanese in please

This is grammatically correct and a natural choice of expression in Japanese. The original printing, visible beneath, reads

4. Watashi-tachi wa nihongo wo hanasu
   1st pronoun pl sub. Japanese obj. speak

This expression is a direct translation of the European languages expressions, i.e. “We speak Japanese”, and is an unacceptable Japanese phrase in this context. A sign like this does not inspire confidence in the linguistic skills of its writer.

Figure 52. Japanese sign “We speak Japanese”

Figure 53 shows multilingual signs which betray the fact that their makers did not understand Japanese due to errors in the writing or malformation of the letters themselves. The signs on the left and right read *massaaji* ‘massage’ but the kana letters are malformed. The sign in the middle reads だいへ気 *daiheki*, but it seems what the writer intended was だい人気 *daininki* ‘greatly popular’. Even this would be an unusual way to write what is normally written as 大人気.

Figure 53. Japanese Characters seemingly written by non-natives

Figure 54 is a sign at the lavatory in a hotel guest room. The sign is not something temporarily handwritten on paper, but something the management has gone to great trouble to have professionally made in metal for each of the numerous guest rooms. It reads 生水ので飲むことはできません 'untreated water, can not drink'. The problem is the maker of the sign has made an error in the conjunction 'because'. It should be *nanode*, but it read *node*.

Figure 54. sign in hotel

In Figure 55, we see the sign for the *Cocoro* 'heart' Restaurant. The sign contains many Japanese elements, but there are glaring errors in the last line. These are errors due to the shape of the characters, rather than a linguistic error per se, i.e. one resulting from a misunderstanding of the phonological, lexical, morphological or syntactic structure of the language. Correct Japanese would be ご予約お待ちしております *go yōyaku o-machi shite orimasu* 'we await your reservations', but the maker of the sign has written ご予約あ待ちしてあります, with あ "a" erroneously substituted for お "o". The name of the shop *Cocoro* is given in Japanese, as are the words for 'hotel', 'restaurant' and the words 'Tuesday – Sunday'. The Japanese for 'check-in times' appears but with times not given, so the reader must look at the English side where '6am-midnight' is written. The Japanese includes the words meaning 'open every day of the year', something which is not written on the English side.

Figure 55. *Cocoro Restaurant, A-machi shite arimasu*

The sign in Figure 56 is from a Palauan gas station (petrol stand). The Japanese reads *diezeru nenryō no*, literally 'diesel fuel's'. The の at the end is a connector word for joining possessives or attributives to a noun, as in 'diesel fuel's price' or 'diesel fuel dealers'. A noun must follow the の and since no

noun is present, the phrase is ungrammatical. Moreover, unlike many errors, the cause of this one is difficult to imagine.

Figure 56. Grammatical mistakes in a multilingual sign

The sign in Figure 57 reads “Att Karaoke & Disco Bar”. In Japanese it reads エイテイテイ カテオケ, showing not one, but numerous errors in the Japanese writing system. Although the English usage of lower case letters makes the name appear to be “Att”, the Japanese makes it clear the sign maker intended this to be read “A-T-T”. While “ATT” might not sound like an appealing name for a night club in the world of native English speakers or in Japanese, initials are a common way of naming businesses in Palau as we mentioned with Figure 7. The errors in the Japanese script are rather technical but we will attempt to explain. In Japanese, with initials T would be written not as テイ but as ティ with the second character smaller. As it is written here, in Japanese it would be read as [tei]. The other error is also purely due to the script itself as has nothing to do with pronunciation or grammatical problems. In the word karaoke カラオケ, the character for “te” テ has been erroneously substituted for “ra”ラ. The end result is that this establishment appeals to its Japanese clientele as “Ei Tei Tei Kateoke Baa”.

Figure 57. Mistakes in Japanese Characters

8.3. Prestigious use of Japanese in everyday products

In Palau, as in many parts of Asia or the Pacific, the Japanese language is used gratuitously, in the signs for shops and the labels for many everyday products. This means is there simply as a decoration. Normally language (in its spoken or its written form) conveys a message, but in the case of the products and signs we examine here, the message seems to be only "this product contains Japanese writing and Japan is associated with fashionable and desirable things, thus this product can be associated with fashionableness and desirability".

Figure 58 shows bottles of *mogu-mogu* brand juice. In Japanese *mogu-mogu* means 'to chomp on something with one's mouth closed' or 'to mumble to oneself' (i.e. to speak without opening one's mouth enough). It is difficult to see any reason this name was chosen for a drink. The fact that the product is made in Thailand only makes one more aware on the decorative and superfluous use of Japanese writing and language throughout Asia and the Pacific.

Figure 58. *Mogu mogu* brand fruit drinks

The word *tamako* is printed on the package in Figure 59 in the Japanese kana syllabic script, as たまこ. The word *tamako* does not exist in Japanese, indicating that this is typographical error, an attempt to write *tamago* (たまご) 'egg', but with the diacritical marks indicating voicing of the /k/ into a /g/

having been omitted in error. Oddly the Chinese character 酥 appears beside this, but it would indicate a type of butter, not ‘eggs’, in Japanese. In Chinese it indicates ‘crispy’. The English on the package indeed contains crispy. Although eggs may be indicated in the small-print ingredients, the word does not appear in English in the large decorative printing on the package. All the other Asian writing on the package is Chinese characters and the way they are used indicates they represent the Chinese (not the Japanese) language. All of this suggests that the *tamako* syllabic characters are on the package more as decoration than to convey linguistic information. On the one hand, such quasi-Japanese labels like this often originate outside of Palau, but on the other hand, they do nonetheless make up part of the overall linguascape one encounters in Palau.

Figure 59. *Tamako* cookies (a typographical error for *tamago* ‘egg’)

The items in the photographs below all sport Japanese writing or Romanized words. *Oishi* is the brand new of a line of chip-type snacks made in China (Figure 60). In Japanese *oishii* (with a long /i/) means ‘delicious’. The plates in Figure 61 read *ichiban* ‘number one’ and were in use at a Filipino restaurant in Koror. The *haiku* antiperspirant product in Figure 62 is made by the famous American manufacturer Avon. Along with the previous items they drive home the attraction of the Japanese script (particularly *kana* which, unlike *kanji*, are not shared with China, Taiwan and Korea) and Japanese words (even in Romanization).

Figure 60. *Oishi* brand chips (from Japanese *oishii* 'delicious')

Figure 61. *Ichiban* on plates at a Filipino restaurant in Koror

Figure 62. Avon *Haiku* antiperspirant

The final photo in this section has taken the attraction with Japanese writing to the extreme and it has now become nothing more than a background design for the sign outside this internet café (Figure 63).

Figure 63. Japanese writing used randomly on an internet cafe sign

9. Japanese Language Retention in pre-war speakers

Almost without exception, Palau educated during the Japanese administration (1914-1945) can speak Japanese. Due their age, fewer and fewer such speakers can be found, but those who are alive and healthy are generally extremely eager to speak Japanese. Up to the present, the authors (first Long and later Imamura) have made several trips conducting semi-structured linguistic interviews. Content-wise, these interviews are valuable as oral-histories. They give us insight into the sociolinguistic environment decades ago when these speakers first learned Japanese. Linguistically, they provide valuable information about how humans' brains acquire languages and the errors they make in this effort. The language system of a non-native learner of a language (called "interlanguage") may contain many different types of errors. Some of these can be explained as the result of interference (or transference) from the learner's native language. Other errors are more intriguing in that they can not be explained as first language (L1) interference, but neither are these errors random. It is this type of "systematic errors" in the interlanguage of second language (L2) learners which are of the greatest interest to those of us studying natural language acquisition, as they have the potential to help us more efficiently detect such mislearned elements in future language learners and thus correct them and teach more effectively.

In order to explain L2 errors, one must first explain the target structures of Japanese itself. Because this makes such analysis complex and confusing, we will introduce only a few of our more intriguing finding here. Readers interested in knowing more should consult our papers in Japanese (ロング・今村 2013).

Figure 64. The authors listening to Toshio Akitaya

Figure 65. The authors with Tadao and Kiyoko Ngotel

Many Japanese words are used in Palau which are relic forms, that is they were normal in Japan prior to World War II but in the decades since have fallen out of use there (Table 5). Because Palau and Japan no longer form part of the same speech community, however, this falling out of usage has not spread to Palau. This is the phenomenon of "colonial lag" that Peter Trudgill and

others have pointed to.

Table 5. Relic form in Palauan Japanese

Palau Relic form	Meaning	Contemporary Japanese form
iro megane	'sunglasses'	*sangurasu*
denki bashira	'electric pole'	*denchū*
kidate (no ie)	'wooden (house)'	*mokuzō*
tenki ga kudaru	'weather worsens'	*kuzureru*
buta bako	'jail'	*rōya*
jūgoya	'full moon night'	*mangetsu no yoru*
abura	'fuel'	*sekiyu*

There is a special subgroup of such words which have fallen out of use in Japan because they have become stigmatized there, but this stigmatization has not reached the former colonies like Palau because of the lack of communication between the two speech areas. The examples below illustrate this (Table 6). In prewar Japan, buraku meant simply 'village', but over time the expression *hisabetsu buraku* 'village where the untouchable underclass live', became shortened to simply *buraku*. Today, in Japan, one has to substitute more innocuous terms like *shūraku*. The same is true of the term *kurombo*, which simply meant 'black person' before the war, but has since taken on the derogatory nuances that the English 'nigger' has. Now in Japan, one must use less stigmatized terms like *kokujin*. One could make an argument about the extent to which *kurombo* was derogatory even in pre-war Japan, but regardless of these details, the point still holds that the term is far more offensive in the Japanese of Japan today than it is in the Japanese of Palau. The term *kichigai* 'insane' is heard in Palau today as well. (It has entered the Palauan language itself as the loanword *kitsingai*.) Today this term has become so stigmatized that is generally deemed unfit for broadcast media and one must choose more sensitive expressions such as *atama no*

okashii hito or *seishinbyō kanja*.

Table 6. Relic Forms in Palauan Japanese which have Subsequently become Derogatory in Mainstream Japanese

Word used in Palau	**Meaning in Palau**	**Contemporary nuance in Japan**	**Contemporary Japanese form**
buraku	'village'	'area where underclass lives'	*shūraku*
kurombo	'black person'	'nigger'	*kokujin*
kichigai, kitsingai	'insane'	'nuts', 'a loony'	*atama no okashii hito, seishinbyō kanja*
chainoko	'child of mixed race marriage'	'halfbreed'	*haafu, daburu*

One of the authors (Long) has enquired similar examples in other places which were cut off from mainstream Japanese after the War, such as the Bonin (Ogasawara) Islands and Saipan. There many speakers used words like *kanaka* 'South Sea Islander', *chōsenjin* 'Korean person', *shinajin* 'Chinese person', *kojiki* 'bum', which, although before the war were simply descriptive expressions, have become so stigmatized in the decades since that they are now deemed unacceptable in the classroom and in broadcast media. The use of these "Rip Van Winkle expressions" can have negative effects if listeners misinterpret the user as having bad intentions. This type of misunderstanding occasionally results on Palau when young tourists come and hear these words from the elderly local Palauan speakers of Japanese.

In addition to these relic features of Palauan Japanese, one feature which stands out is the use of interlanguage forms. I will not attempt an explanation of the linguistic term interlanguage here, but suffice it to say these are incorrect features of speech due the language being used by non-natives. One interlanguage expression found in the Japanese of Palauans who are fluent

almost to the point of being native, is the equivalent of the English ‘some’ and will require some explanation.

The example in Table 7 is “A few/ many / some people eat bat.” The point here is that English and Palauan have a paradigm in which modifiers which mean ‘a small amount’ (examples a and b), ‘a large amount’ (d and e) or ‘an unspecified amount’ (g and h) are interchangeable; they are syntactically identical. With the Japanese language, the only way to express an unspecified amount (the equivalent of English *some* or Palauan *sesel*) is to opt for an entirely different syntactic framework, one with which puts the elements of the sentence in almost reverse order. The interlanguage usage has lined up the three quantity modifiers and made them uniform. This was accomplished by using an unrelated expression *aru* and giving it a new function. The expression *aru hito* means (in Standard Japanese) ‘a certain person’ or ‘certain people’. In other words it serves a function quite different from the quantifying expressions like *a few*/*many*/*some*. Rather it (regardless of number) indicates specificity. It sometimes translates into English as some, as in cases like *Ano enkai no toki, aru hito wa koomori wo tabeta* ‘the time of that party, a certain person ate bat’. The interlanguage structure (which is of course an error in Japanese) has eliminated the exception from the paradigm making it more uniform.

Table 7. The interlanguage usage of *aru* in Palauan Japanese, and a comparison with quantity modifiers in Palauan and English

	language variety	**amount**	**sentence examples parsed**		
a.	Stand. Japa.	small	*wazuka na*	*hito wa*	*kōmori wo taberu*
b.	Palauan	small	*bebil*	*el chad*	*menga el olík*
c.	English	small	*a few*	*people*	*eat bat*
d.	Stand. Japa.	large	*ōkuno*	*hito wa*	*kōmori wo taberu*
e.	Palauan	large	*betok*	*el chad*	*menga el olík*
f.	English	large	*many*	*people*	*eat bat*
g.	Stand. Japa.	unspecified	*kōmori wo taberu*	*hito wa*	*iru*
h.	Palauan	unspecified	*sésel*	*el chad*	*menga el olík*
i.	English	unspecified	*some*	*people*	*eat bat*
j.	Palau speakers' interlanguage	unspecified	*aru*	*hito wa*	*kōmori wo taberu*

10. Japanese “pidginoid” of post-war speakers of Angaur

The Palauan island of Angaur has traits which are of great interest to Japanese linguists. Firstly, the constitution of the State of Angaur is the only constitution in the world which officially recognizes the status of the Japanese language. Even the Constitution of Japan (while no one would deny the Japanese language’s place as the language of Japan) does not officially recognize an official language.

Secondly many Palauans have commented that the people of Angaur raised after the Japanese administration of Palau can nonetheless speak the Japanese language to varying extents. The Japanese language was taught on Angaur and throughout Palau from the Japanese takeover following World War I until the Japanese left in defeat after World War II. Thus people raised before the war can speak Japanese because they attended Japanese schools and because they used the language to communicate with both Japanese and non-Japanese citizens of the Japanese Empire (such as Yapese, Chamorros, Carolinians, Koreans, etc.). On the other hand younger speakers today are partial or fluent speakers of Japanese because they studied the language in Palauan schools, studied abroad in Japan, or have worked in Japanese companies. It is the Angaurans who do not fit into any of these categories (usually in their 40s, 50s or 60s) but can nevertheless speak Japanese who are interest to linguists.

The authors conducted semi-structured linguistic interviews with one such speaker and we will examine what we learned from him below.

The Angauran speaker (Speaker A, a male in his fifties) used sentences in conversation to Japanese native speakers (J) such as the following. (The top lines are the actual utterances. The lower lines are the “glosses”, literal translations word for word.)

1. J: Nhongo hanas -e- masu ka?
   Japanese speak potential polite question marker
   A: Watashi hanasu nihongo.
   I speak Japanese

2. J: Kare atama ii kara. (Because he [listener's nephew] is smart.)
A: Onaji to watashi.
same as me

The intriguing thing about these utterances for linguists is that they do not adhere to Japanese word order. They are grammatically incorrect in Japanese, which would have the word order of sentences 1' and 2'.

1'. Watashi (wa) nihongo ga hanasemasu
I subject Jap. subject speak can formal

2'. Watashi to onaji.
me as same

Some people might look at Speaker A negatively saying that he was "using broken Japanese" or "couldn't speak Japanese correctly". Linguists would see the situation in the exact opposite way. That is, linguists would concentrate on the fact that Speaker A had not simply acquired individual words of Japanese but could arrange them into sentences and conduct a conversation. Linguists would see this ability as evidence of the amazing captivity of human beings' brains to acquire something as complex as language.

It is clear that Angaur is a variety of Japanese, and it is clear the traits which make Angaur Japanese unique are the result of language contact phenomena due to the fact that Japanese has been used in a community where many (and in some periods of time, "all") of the speakers were non-native users of the language. This means Angaur Japanese is a contact variety but the question remains what type of contact language it is should be classified as. Because of the complexity of comparing Angaur Japanese with other types of contact languages, we have drawn up Table 8.

Angaur Japanese is acquired and used as a second language in an area with no native speakers (or almost none). These are similarities it shares with the speech of people studying Japanese in foreign countries like Australia or Korea,

but unlike the interlanguage of speakers who have learned Japanese as a Foreign Language in a classroom situation, many Angauran speakers have not acquired the language through natural language acquisition. Of course there are many such speakers of Japanese as a Second Language living in Japan (Chinese "farm-brides", Filipino bar hostesses, Indonesian cannery workers, Brazilian auto-factory laborers) who speak an interlanguage variety of Japanese learned through natural language acquisition, but these people differ those of Angaur in that they have learned and use the language in an area people by Japanese natives. Japan is full also of speakers who have acquired Japanese in classroom situations, but their situation obviously differs greatly from the speakers in Angaur as well. An obvious comparison which comes to mind is with the Japanese-based Creole language of Taiwan, but there are the differences here are again significant. The most important is that the creolized variety of Taiwan is by definition the first (i.e. native) language (or certainly one of the native languages) of its users. We have found no one from Angaur who makes such a claim about their Japanese. The most salient difference, however, in terms of the language structure itself is that Taiwan Creole Japanese has (again, by definition) undergone the "drastic simplification" associated with pidginization and the subsequent grammatical restructuring typical of creolized languages. In other words, Taiwan Creole has taken grammatical "parts" from Japanese "recycling" and reassembling them in ways that have little to do with Japanese grammar. The result is that when Japanese native speakers hear the Taiwan Creole, it is incomprehensible to the extent that they have little idea what the conversation is about. Angaur Japanese is simplified in the sense that it lacks many of native Japanese's grammatical structures and rules (and in this sense it sounds like "broken Japanese"), but it is certainly comprehensible to Japanese speakers hearing it for the first time. The 19th century Japanese pidgin used in port cities like Yokohama (and probably others) is similar to Angaur Japanese in that it was not the first language of its speakers, but it is more like Taiwan Creole in the

sense that it incomprehensible to native Japanese speakers not accustomed to hearing or speaking it. Another significant difference is that the Yokohama Pidgin was used as a lingua franca between English and Chinese speakers (so-called “tertiary usage”). On Angaur we know that people from Saipan and Yap lived on the island in pre-war and post-war period, respectively, but there is no evidence to suggest that the usage of Japanese between these groups and the Angaurans was a factor in the Angaurans born in the decades after the war being able to speak Japanese. Yokohama Pidgin Japanese did, however, have native Japanese speakers as one of the points on its triangle of users. Other more established types of pidgins, such as the trade pidgins of Melanesia that developed into Tok Pisin, etc. were, and still are, basically in the absence of native speakers of English (the superstratum language of the triangle).

Table 8. Angaur Japanese compared with other contact varieties

	Used as a second language	Used in area without native speakers of superstratum	Natural Acquisition (no formal study)	Used as lingua franca	Drastic simplification (incompre-hensible to natives)
Angaur Japanese pidginoid	○	○	○	×	× simplified but not restructured
Interlanguage JFL	○	○	×	×	×
Natural Acquisition Interlanguage JSL	○	×	○	×	×
Classroom Acquired Interlanguage JSL	○	×	×	×	×
Taiwan Creole Japanese	×	○	○	×	○
Native Japanese	×	×	○	×	×
19th cent. Yokohama Pidgin Japanese	○	×	○	○	○
Afrikaans-type creoloids	×	○	○	×	×
Singapore English-type creoloids	○	○	○	○	×
Trade pidgins	○	○	○	○	○

We must include creoloids in our comparison as well, but the biggest problem here is that the term creoloid has come to describe two quite different types of contact language (with Afrikaans and Singapore English being two typical examples of the two extremes), which only have in common the fact that they both "show signs of the kind of restructuring found in creoles, but to a much lesser degree".

To review, Angaur Japanese is similar to pidgins in that it has not been nativized, in other words, it is acquired as a second language. Like some (but not all) pidgins it is acquired in an area basically void of native speakers of the target (or superstratum) language. Another feature it has in common with pidgins is that is acquired without formal study and as such in grammatically simplified (sounding like "broken Japanese"). We are thus tempted to call Angaur Japanese a pidgin, but as we have said, it lacks the drastic level of simplification which is no doubt hastened by tertiary (lingua franca) usage. In the same way that creoloids resemble creoles but remain closer to the original target (superstratum) varieties, so Angaur Japanese is pidgin-ish variety not a full-fledged pidgin. We suggest therefore that Angaur Japanese be termed a "pidginoid".

11. A Century of Japanese Language and Culture in Palau

In the summer of 2012, Japanese and Palauan scholar collaborated on a Symposium held in Koror. The symposium entitled “Back to the Future: Palau's Japanese Era and its Relevance for the Future” was conceived during discussions between Faustina K. Rehuher-Marugg, Palauan Minister of Community & Cultural Affairs, Howard Charles, instructor in music at Pacific Community College, Junko Konishi, professor of music at Shizuoka University in Japan and Daniel Long, professor of linguistics at Tokyo Metroplitan University. The concept was to provide a public forum for people from many places including Tokyo, Shizuoka, Kochi, Koror, Babeldaob and Taipei to come together and discuss the cultural influences upon Palau in the colonial period, but also to discuss how these cultural influences were important for the future of Palau and its young people. Three important components of the symposium were the participation of young people both Palauan and Japanese, the musical contributions provided by Palauan elders and the active participation of Palauans and Japanese in positions of administration and policy making.

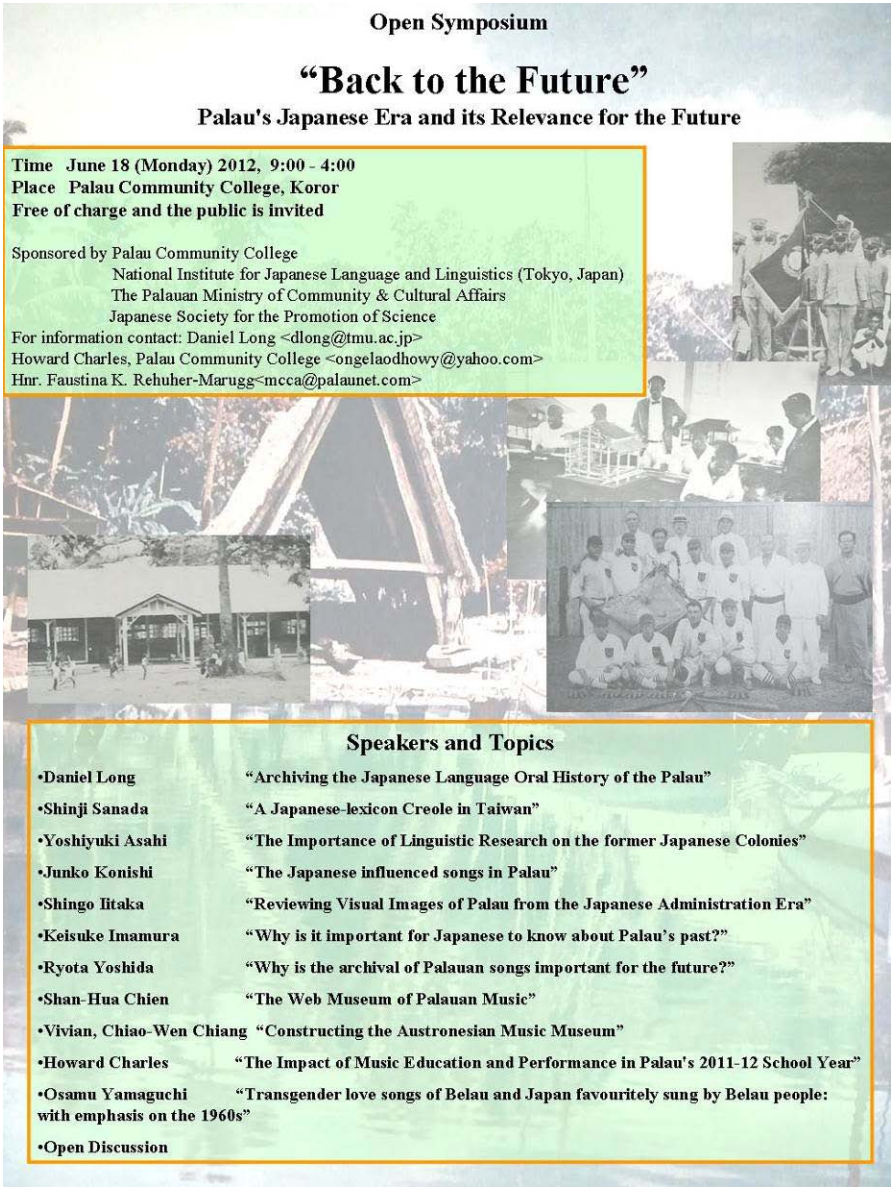


Figure 66. Poster for the Symposium

Figure 67. Welcoming Remarks: Tutii Chilton, Dean of Academic Affairs

Figure 68. Welcoming Remarks: His Excellency Yoshiyuki Sadaoka, Japanese Ambassador to the Republic of Palau

Figure 69. Welcoming Remarks: His Excellency Kerai Mariur, Vice President of the Republic of Palau

One of the present authors, Daniel Long, of Tokyo Metropolitan University, delivered a paper entitled “Archiving the Japanese Language Oral History of Palau for Future Generations”. What follows is an abstract. The speaker discussed the necessity for archiving oral history materials (tape recorded or videotaped interviews) in the Japanese language, so that they can be used a cultural resource for future generations. Thus far in Palau there have been many related contributions, namely (1) numerous museum exhibits curated by the Belau National Museum, (2) many academic papers and books about the Japanese colonial period of Palau written in Japanese, (3) books in printed form of interviews with Palauan elders, particularly the 2009 publication “Palauan Children under Japanese Rule” produced as a volume 87 of the Japanese National Museum of Ethnology’s ethnological reports. Since 2008, Daniel Long and his graduate students have been collecting audio recorded interviews with Palauan elders about their experiences before and during World War II. Some of these interviews can currently be viewed by the Japanese public because they are used in the educational show “Japanese Language and Culture” which began running on Japanese TV in 2011 and will

continue until 2015. The concept for the archives is as follows. Reminiscences are told in the islanders' own words (not rewritten), and are (a) in their own voices (sound recordings), (b) told in Japanese, both so that Japanese people could understand, (c) to emphasize that there was a Japanese period in the islands' past. These recordings will be made available on the internet so that people all over the world (Palauans living throughout the world, Japanese school children, etc.) can listen to them without having to buy discs. What needs to be done in the near future are the following four things. (1) Editing of the tapes to find sections with some content consistency ("stories"). Adding subtitles in Japanese. Deciding whether to add English subtitles or not. (2) Getting the permissions of the speakers (I got their permission to record the interviews for my research at the time the recording were made, now I need to make sure they do not mind having the interviews make public). (3) Technical aspects (how to make the subtitles visible, how large to make them, what color to use, what format to put the data files in, what server to put the files on). (4) Getting the word out. Linking to other resources like the homepages of Pacific Community College, Belau National Museum, the (Japanese) National Language Research Institute homepage

Figure 70. Daniel Long, Tokyo Metropolitan University

Co-author of the current report, Keisuke Imamura, of Tokyo Metropolitan University Graduate School, gave a paper entitled "Why is it important for

Japanese to know about Palau's past?" A summary of the points of the paper follows. Young Palauans know quite a bit about Japan, but Japanese people know almost nothing about Palau. Why is it important for Japanese people to know about Palau's past? Because Palau is intertwined with Japan's 20th century history, so for Japanese, knowing about Palau means knowing about their own past. Let us look at some important facts that the Japanese should know about Palau. The fact that there many fluent speakers of Japanese in Palau is an important historical fact but it also relates to the present as well. Many older Palauans know how to write Japanese. Not only this, but for some Palauan elders, Japanese is the only writing system they know. One of the past Presidents of Palau (Kuniwo Nakamura) is of Japanese descent. Palauan is one of the few languages that incorporates many Japanese words. Palauan people old and young know many songs in the Japanese language. Even among the younger generations of Palauans, many study Japanese in school. In conclusion, we can see that Palau's Japanese era still remains as a part of its culture even today. Learning about this era helps Japanese to know more about Japan and thus about themselves.

Figure 71. Keisuke Imamura

Shingo Iitaka, of Kochi Prefectural University, entitled his paper "Reviewing Visual Images of Palau from the Japanese Administration Era".

In this talk Iitaka discussed the photographic images from the Japanese era of Palau's past. We have an extensive photographic record of the era, including images of the landscape and people as well as photos which make a contribution to the ethnographic heritage of Palau. There was a documentary film called "Lifeline on the Sea: Japan's South Sea Island" which includes movie picture footage of Angaur but also several scenes which seems to have been filmed in Yap. The Japanese movie "Bouquet in the South Sea" has many location shots filmed in Melekeok. These images can be seen as (1) colonial products made by the Japanese, but they are also (2) cultural resources for the post colonial ere as well. All of these visual images are valuable resources for the young people of Palau today and into the future to inform them about the Japanese era. At present there is a necessity and Japanese researchers have a responsibility to consider carefully how they can arrange and catalog these images and then work with Palauan people to return these historical and cultural resources to the local communities.

Figure 72. Shingo Iitaka

Yoshiyuki Asahi, of the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics, delivered a paper entitled "The Importance of Linguistic Research on the former Japanese Colonies". In the paper, the author discussed the use of the Japanese language in places as disparate as Sakhalin and Hawaii. In the former case the language was learned as a second language by the local populations during the Japanese colonial administration and in the latter case

the Japanese language was brought to Hawaii by immigrants looking for a new life who learned English and were bilingual.

Figure 73. Yoshiyuki Asahi

Shinji Sanada, of the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics, Nara University, delivered a paper entitled “A Japanese-lexicon Creole in Taiwan”. An abstract follows. Not only in Palau, but in many parts of Asia and the Pacific live many people who acquired Japanese before or during World War II and retain competency in the language today. Particularly in Taiwan and the islands of Micronesia, the Japanese language continued to be used as a lingua franca among speakers whose native language differed. Moreover, in parts of the Atayal people of Yilan County in Eastern Taiwan, a Japanese-based creole language formed. In this paper we first outline the sociohistorical background of Yilan Creole to establish that it is indeed a creole. We then attempt to clarify the linguistic nature of Yilan Creole through an examination of material by field studies.

Figure 74. Shinji Sanada

Yoshimichi Mizuno, of Kyoto Institute of Technology, was the designated respondent for Sanada's paper putting in the context of the whole area formerly covered by the Japanese Empire.

Figure 75. Yoshimichi Mizuno, Kyoto Institute of Technology

Junko Konishi, of Shizuoka University, entitled her paper "The Importance of archival of Palauan Classic songs, which show Japanese influences". Her abstract follows. A song is thought to be merely "personal fun", however, people share time with others while listening to and/or singing them. From the

historical point of view, a song often tells much more than the facts: it also speaks for what people are thinking. In this presentation, Konishi encouraged Palauan students to notice the importance of archiving Palauan “classical” music, which was influenced by the Japanese music.

Figure 76. Junko Konishi

Ryota Yoshida, of Shizuoka University Graduate School delivered a paper entitled “Archival activities and the transcription with Staff notation”. Yoshida explained his archival activities, based on his interviews with Palauan elders to collect musical materials. Then, he emphasized the convenience of staff notation, which integrates musical information onto a piece of sheet. Producing musical notations makes the songs easier for people to access and perform these songs without the need for electronic equipment.

Figure 77. Ryota Yoshida

George Shan-Hua Chien, of National Taiwan Normal University (NTNU) presented a paper entitled “The Web Museum of Palauan Music”. Chien introduced the Digital Museum of Austronesian Music at National Taiwan Normal University, especially the YAMAGUTI Osamu Collection of Palauan traditional songs from 1965. His research project digitalized the field recordings, notes and photos and combined these in a medium so that they can be simultaneously accessed through the project website.

Figure 78. George Shan-Hua Chien

Vivian, Chiao-Wen Chiang of National Taiwan Normal University, entitled her paper “Constructing the Austronesian Music Museum”. Chiang

explained the technical procedures of digitizing the YAMAGUTI Collection. Then, she introduced examples of sound recordings and field data showing the website in detail.

Figure 79. Vivian, Chiao-Wen Chiang

Howard Charles, of Palau Community College, entitled his paper “The Impact of Music Education and Performance in Palau's 2011-12 School Year”. Charles introduced the music curriculum at Palau Community College, the program for elementary school teachers and the activities of students of the PCC Music Club. They have released their original CDs for fund raising purposes in order to conduct sustainable activities. As an instructor, he emphasized how to transmit the esthetics of Palauan songs.

Figure 80. Howard Charles

Osamu Yamaguchi, of Nanhua University, Taiwan, delivered the final paper entitled, “Transgender love songs of Belau and Japan favouritely sung by Belau people: with emphasis on the 1960s”. He explained traditional Palauan ideas of gender such as that a female often composed the lyrics of chants. Then, referring to the Japanese song, “Kokoni sachi ari”, he discussed how female/gender relationships have changed in Palau.

Figure 81. Osamu Yamaguchi

Figure 82. Closing Remarks: Kathy Kesolei, Senate Vice President

Figure 83. Closing Remarks: Bilung Gloria Salii Queen, Traditional leader

Figure 84. Closing Remarks: The Honorable Faustina K. Rehuher-Marugg, Minister of Community & Cultural Affairs

Figure 85. The students of the Palau Community College Music Club

Figure 86. Ngaraklim performing Japanese songs at the symposium

Figure 87. Kiyoko Ngotel performing her dance of *Ganpeki no haha*

Figure 88. The conference room at Palau Community College

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