

# LOAN WORDS IN PULUWAT<sup>1</sup>

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## 1. HISTORICAL SURVEY

Study of loan words, sometimes a kind of detective work, is important in its revelations of structure and sometimes of non-linguistic history. Phonemic, morphological, and syntactic modifications of the original shapes of loans may delineate clearly the structure of the receiving language. Insight as to the productivity of bound morphemes is afforded: those affixed to loan words were productive at the time the loan was borrowed. Outside contacts may be reflected in the receiving language, even some predating European contact, and in the case of Puluwat, a Trukic language some 125 miles west of Truk, these loans are stratified and can be dated approximately or even sharply as a result of the abruptness of the termination of Spanish, German, and Japanese regimes in what is now the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands under the administration of the United States.

Loans seem to have entered the Puluwat language in the following sequence. (1) A very few early loans, probably the names of five food plants and an animal from Spanish in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. (2) Hundreds of loans from English via traders and from the whalers who sailed Micronesian waters in the early nineteenth century until the 1860's, with heaviest concentration in the latter part of this period. (3) Loans brought to Truk by American Protestant missionaries who were first on Ponape in 1852, in the Mortlocks in 1873, and on Truk in 1884 or 1885. A Ponapean, Artie Moses, introduced Christianity on Uman in the Truk lagoon in 1879. The vast majority of the new Christian words were of English origin, with a handful from the languages of Ponape and the Mortlocks. (4) More words from Spanish, mostly Catholic. Spanish fathers and brothers were in Truk near the beginning of Spanish rule in 1885. Trukese Christian terms gradually filtered through to Puluwat, but permanent missions were not established there

until after World War II. (5) A very few loans from German, presumably during the German rule of the Caroline and Marshall Islands (1899-1914). German Protestants were established in Truk in 1907 (Krämer, 1932:37), but most religious terms for both faiths had already been taken from English, Spanish, or Ponapean. (6) Hundreds of words from Japanese introduced during the Japanese period (1914-1945). (7) A few post-1945 words from American English, some concerned with government, as *hayikæm high commissioner* and *peʔeeyik brig, prison*.

In all these stages except the first, words reached Puluwat via Truk, the only exception being that during World War II thousands of Japanese service men and many Korean laborers were stationed on Puluwat, hence words of Japanese origin on Puluwat and on Truk are not always the same. Most words of Japanese origin, however, did filter through Truk; some took a long journey from America to Japan to Truk and to Puluwat. Some of these are listed in section 4.

Loans, like all words, are evanescent, and one drives out the other. With *pictures* on Puluwat came the loan *pikisæ*; the native name *niyos* was used on Truk along with the English loan, but on Puluwat *liyos* was kept for images and dolls; and now the Japanese loan *sashin* is heard daily by anyone bearing a camera or picture book. Similarly a carpenter, formerly a *kamætæ*, is now, thanks to Japan, a *tayikû*. Names of people, too, are stratified in even more conspicuous way. Persons born before 1910 may have baptismal Christian names, but mostly are known only by pagan names. Those born in Japanese times very commonly have Japanese names such as *Teʔuwo*, *Toshiwo*, *Miciko*, or *Mineko*; most of those born on Puluwat after 1945 have been given Biblical names by the priest. No infant today has a Japanese name.

## 2. MODIFICATIONS

Foreign words taken into Puluwat are modified according to Puluwat structure, and meanings are extended or reduced. Many English nouns become verb-nouns, as Kaatolik *Catholic* and *to be Catholic* and *Sæætæn Satan*, a kind of unpleasant bur, and *to sin*. Many form derivatives with Puluwat affixes, as transitives (*peenit*, *peenit-iy paint*, *paint-it*) directionals (*wiikk*, *wiikkee-tæ*, *wiikkee-tiw wick*, *turn up a wick*, *turn down a wick*), attributive suffixes forms and directionals (*kiiy*, *ki-æ-n*, *kiyaa-læ key*, *key-of*, *unlock-with-key*), and causatives (*sukuul*, *yæ-sukuul school*, *to teach or study*). Some words have extended meanings, as some of the above and *ceepel table*, *chair*, *to sit or feast at a table* and *filæyik flag*, *chief*, *to be a chief*. The Japanese loan *pacinکو* refers on Puluwat only to a *slingshot*; the common Japanese institution, slot-machine parlour, called by the same name in Japanese, has not gone to Puluwat.

The modifications of foreign words are most noticeable in phonology. The phonemes of Puluwat are listed here, and in sections 3. and 4., their replacements of English and Japanese phonemes in loans from these languages.

The Puluwat consonants include /p pw t c k f s h m mw n ŋ l r ʀ w y/. /pw mw/ are velarized bilabials, /c/ is an alveolar affricate, /r/ is a retroflex vocoid, and /ʀ/ is a double-tap trill. The stops are unaspirated and voiceless except that medially they are slightly voiced. The vowels are /i e æ/ (front unrounded), /ü ə a/ (central unrounded), and /u o œ/ (back rounded). The syllable consists of C (or C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>1</sub>) + V (or V<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>) ± C (or C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>1</sub>); the final C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>1</sub> geminates are not necessarily the same as the first. Words begin with consonants but end with either vowels or consonants. Although no nongeminate vowel clusters occur, phonetic long vowels are considered double vowels, rather than positing an extra phoneme of length, or nine additional vowel phonemes. This treatment matches that of the consonants, also analyzed, in spite of the lack of clusters, as short and double. Dyen's study of Trukese has influenced this analysis.

As mentioned before, many words reached Puluwat via Trukese. Some follow Trukese correspondences to English rather than Puluwat correspondences.

English to Puluwat:	h:h	hama <i>hammer</i>
	l:l	layimes <i>limes</i>
English to Truk to Puluwat:	h:∅:w, y, ∅	wæŕūs <i>horse</i> , yama <i>hammer</i> (∅ after consonants)
	l:n:n	naate <i>ladder</i> , peenit <i>belt</i>

A few Puluwat words have Puluwat /l/ corresponding to English /n/ or /ŋ/ (*lampa number*, *sitaakil stocking*). This may be due to hypercorrection: the Puluwat know that many Trukese words with /n/ *should be* /l/ in their language, but they are not always sure which ones.

Similarly, words of English origin that travelled via Japanese can be detected by irregular use of /l r/, as in *ŕancyi launch*.

Such words are footnoted in Table 1. (Nom) following a Puluwat word indicates a Nomuinito source for the word recorded in Honolulu, the informants being two students from the atoll of that name, the language of which is very close to Puluwat. Such words may or may not be known on Puluwat.

## 3. ENGLISH LOANS

The English loans are too numerous to list here. The correspondences of English phonemes and Puluwat ones are given in Table 1. English /d ʒ/ are not represented in the loans. English *Suzie* and *hammer* each have two shapes in Puluwat.

TABLE 1

Phonemes				
ENGLISH	PULUWAT	PULUWAT EXAMPLES		
p	p	<u>p</u> aayip <i>pipe</i>	<u>S</u> apaan <i>Japan</i>	
	pw	<u>p</u> wayipwayi <i>pawpaw</i>		siip <u>w</u> <i>ship</i>
t	t	<u>t</u> akises <i>taxes</i>	pw <u>t</u> ətə <i>butter</i>	pwakit <u>t</u> <i>bucket</i>
	c	<u>c</u> eepel <i>table</i>	pw <u>a</u> ɛl <i>button</i>	minic <u>i</u> <i>minute</i>
	s			kimilis <u>i</u> <i>gimlet</i>
	∅			koŋki <u>r</u> i <i>concrete</i>
k	k	<u>k</u> apitin <i>captain</i>	pwakit <u>k</u> <i>bucket</i>	wiik <u>k</u> <i>week</i>
	kk			wiikk <u>k</u> <i>wick</i>
	t		pat <u>o</u> <i>tobacco</i>	
	∅			wotop <u>a</u> y (Nom) <i>auto bike</i>
b	p	<u>p</u> isikit <i>biscuit</i>	kap <u>e</u> t <i>cupboard</i>	wasta <u>a</u> p <i>washtub</i>
	pw	<u>p</u> wətə <i>butter</i>		
d	t	<u>t</u> ikiŋi <i>degree</i>	naat <u>e</u> <i>ladder</i>	
	c	<u>c</u> ek <i>duck</i>		te <u>r</u> ee <u>c</u> <i>thread</i>
	s	<u>s</u> imiso <u>o</u> n <i>demijohn</i>		
g	k	<u>k</u> apina <i>governor</i>	y <u>a</u> lik <u>i</u> t <u>o</u> ŋ <i>alligator</i>	
c	c	<u>c</u> een <i>chain</i>		
	s	<u>s</u> enis-i <u>y</u> <i>change</i>	pikis <u>e</u> a <i>picture</i>	
j	c	<u>ç</u> ən <i>John</i>		
	s	<u>S</u> apaan <i>Japan</i>	pa <u>a</u> si <u>s</u> e <i>passenger</i>	
f	f	<u>f</u> ileyik <i>flag</i>		laay <u>i</u> f <i>knife</i>
θ	t	te <u>r</u> ee <u>c</u> <i>thread</i>	Kaat <u>o</u> lik <i>Catholic</i>	
s	s	<u>S</u> uusi <i>Suzie</i>	pa <u>a</u> si <u>s</u> e <i>passenger</i>	p <u>ə</u> ss <i>pass</i>
	ss			pwo <u>o</u> ss <i>boss</i>

	h	<u>H</u> uuhi <i>Suzie</i>		
h	w <sup>1</sup>	<u>w</u> æ̃rūs <i>horse</i>		
e	y <sup>1</sup>	<u>y</u> ama <i>hammer</i>		
	h	<u>h</u> ama <i>hammer</i>		
v	f	<u>f</u> ayiyolet <i>violet</i>	Sitif <u>e</u> n <i>Steven</i>	sitof <u>s</u> tove
ʒ	s	<u>s</u> aac <i>shirt</i>	pisopw <i>bishop</i>	
	siy <sup>3</sup>		Ruus <u>i</u> ya <i>Russia</i>	
z	s		Suus <u>i</u> <i>Suzie</i>	suus <u>s</u> hoes
	h		Huu <u>h</u> i <i>Suzie</i>	
m	m	<u>m</u> oŋkiy <i>monkey</i>	ama <u>h</u> ammer	Tam <u>T</u> om
	mw	<u>m</u> wasin <i>machine</i>		pūruum <u>w</u> <i>broom</i>
n	n		kap <u>i</u> ŋa <i>governor</i>	kapit <u>i</u> n <i>captain</i>
	l <sup>2</sup>	<u>l</u> aayif <i>knife</i>		
ŋ	ŋ			řii <u>ŋ</u> <i>ring</i>
	l <sup>2</sup>			sitaak <u>l</u> <i>stocking</i>
r	ř	<u>ř</u> i <u>i</u> ŋ <i>ring</i>		yiy <u>ř</u> <i>year</i>
	∅	yaay <u>i</u> n <i>iron</i>		pw <u>ə</u> t <u>ə</u> <i>butter</i>
l	l	<u>l</u> ayimes <i>limes</i>	y <u>ə</u> lik <u>i</u> t <u>o</u> ř <i>alligator</i>	suku <u>l</u> <i>school</i>
	ll			wi <u>ll</u> <i>wheel</i>
	n <sup>1</sup>	<u>n</u> aat <u>ə</u> <i>ladder</i>	y <u>a</u> nt <u>ə</u> ře <i>altar</i>	yik <u>e</u> n <i>eagel</i>
	nn <sup>3</sup>		pin <u>n</u> u <i>pillow</i>	
w	w	<u>w</u> iik <i>week</i>	ma <u>a</u> nu <u>w</u> a <i>man-of-war</i>	
y	y	<u>y</u> iy <u>ə</u> ř <i>year</i>		
hw	w	<u>w</u> i <u>ll</u> <i>wheel</i>		
∅	w	<u>w</u> otopay (Nom) <i>auto bike</i>		
∅	y	<u>y</u> aay <u>i</u> n <i>iron</i>		

<sup>1</sup>via Trukese; Trukese ∅ corresponds to English h, and Trukese n to English l. Puluwat w- and y- are frequently ∅ in Trukese and English.

<sup>2</sup>via Trukese, hypercorrection.

<sup>3</sup>via Trukese, probably a spelling pronunciation.

Intrasyllabic consonant clusters are commonly not retained as such, an interconsonantal unstressed vowel being inserted, as indicated in Table 2. In a few loans, one of the consonants is lost.

TABLE 2

Phonemes		
ENGLISH	PULUWAT	PULUWAT EXAMPLES
pl-	pel-	peleey <i>play</i>
pr-	poř-	Pořostan <i>Protestant</i>
tr-	ř-	řawsis <i>trousers</i>
bl-	pel-	pelææk <i>block</i>
br-	peř-	peřeeyik <i>brig</i>
	piř-	piřæs <i>brass</i>
	pũř-	pũřuumw <i>broom</i>
kr-	kiř-	koŋkiřiy <i>concrete</i>
-ks	-kises	takises <i>tax</i>
gl-	kil-	kilas <i>glass</i>
gr-	kiř-	kiřiis <i>grease</i>
fl-	fil-	filayik <i>flag</i>
fr-	fiř-	fiřayin <i>fry</i>
θr-	teř-	teřeec <i>thread</i>
sp-	sep-	Sepeyin <i>Spain</i>
	sip-	sipana <i>spanner</i> , sipay <i>spy</i> , sipuun <i>spoon</i>
st-	sit-	Sitifen <i>Steven</i> , sitof <i>stove</i>
-st	-st	yiist <i>yeast</i>
	-s	yiis <i>yeast</i> , pææs <i>past</i>
sk-	suk-	sũkuul <i>school</i>
-mp	-m	lam <i>lamp</i>
	-mw	paamw <i>pump</i>
-nt	-nit	peenit <i>paint</i> , seřpenit <i>serpent</i>
	-nis	senis <i>cent</i>
	-n	simen <i>cement</i> , Pořostan <i>Protestant</i>
-ŋk	-ŋk	yinŋ <i>ink</i>

-nj	-nis	senis-iiy <i>change</i>
-nz	-n	řowun <i>rounds</i>
-lt	-nit	peenit <i>belt</i>
	-l	sæel <i>salt</i>
-lk	-lik	milik <i>milk</i>
rlz	-řles	Kařles <i>Charles</i>

With some words variation occurs. Persons knowing English might say kimlis *gimlet* and yiist *yeast*, while a less acculturated person would say kimilis and yiis.

What of intersyllabic consonant combinations in Puluwat loan words? Some of those noted are listed below; English phonemes precede the colons.

ps:	kapsayis <i>capsize</i>
θm:	yařitmetik <i>arithmetic</i>
řb:	waspesin <i>washbasin</i>
st:	Pořostan <i>Protestant</i>
řt:	wastaap <i>washtub</i>
mb:	læmpa <i>number</i>
ms:	Samison <i>Samson</i>
nd:	kilandeř <i>calender</i>
ns:	konsel <i>council</i>
ŋk:	moŋkiy <i>monkey</i>
ŋl:	Yiŋles <i>English</i>
lf:	yelfapet <i>alphabet</i>
rk:	Mařekūs <i>Marcus</i>
rm:	kæēřman <i>corpsman</i>
rp:	seřpenit <i>serpent</i>

Vowel correspondences follow, with the English vowels first, and the Puluwat correspondences after the colons. The English values are based on mid-Western American.

i, I: i, as in wiik *week* and minic *minute*

e: e, as in ceepel *table*

æ: æ, a, aa, as in *pæəs past*, *takises taxes*, and Sapaan *Japan*

ə: ə, a, o, e, uu, as in *pwæətə butter*, *pwacel button*, *pisopw bishop*, *cek duck*, and Ruusiya *Russia*

a: a, o, œ, as in Kařles *Charles*, Pořostan *Protestant*, and Cœn *John*

u: u, ũ, as in pũřuumw *broom*

o: o, as in sitof *stove*

ɔ: œ, a, o, as in sœəl *salt*, vantaře *altar*, and pwooss *boss*

Post-vocalic r-colouring is not retained.

#### 4. JAPANESE LOANS

Some Japanese loan words were themselves loans in Japanese, mostly from English, as many baseball terms and those listed below. Some of them endured rather surprising changes in meaning.

kompani *friend* (English *company* to Japanese kompani *friend* /Kakluchi 1955:395/)

kũřānto *playground* (English *ground* to Japanese guraundo)

məřaařiyə *spray* (English *malaria* to Japanese marariya *malaria*; this in spite of the nonexistence of malaria in the Carolines)

pancũ *underpants* (Nom) (English *pants* to Japanese pantsu)

posto *post office* (English *post* to Japanese posuto *mail-box*)

řamũni *marble* (*in the game*) (English *lemonade* to Japanese ramune *lemonade*: some Japanese soft drinks are bottled with a loosely fitted marble at the top which prevents drinking too fast)

řanciy *launch* (English *launch* to Japanese ranchi *launch*)

sipiřiņũ *singlet* (English *spring coat* to Japanese supurin-gu koto *spring coat*)

tařakũ *truck* (Nom) (English *truck* to Japanese torakku *truck*)

tiřoņkaņ (*oil*) *drum* (English *drum can* to Japanese doramu kan *drum can*)

One word in Puluwat was probably a loan from France via Japan:

kafeye *coffee shop* (French *café cafe* + -ya, Japanese *shop*)

There follows a sampling of relatively well-known words of Japanese origin. Some of them, such as kacito, seem rather archaic to



present-day Japanese. The Japanese spellings of the source words in this and in the previous list are according to the partially phonemic Hepburn romanization system. Japanese glosses are given only if they differ from the Puluwat glosses (see *koyeŋ*, *tempo*). Some words in the list have more meanings in Japanese than in Puluwat (as *pacin̄ko*), but these additional meanings are not listed. A few derivatives with Puluwat affixes are also given.

- cawaŋ* (Nom) *rice bowl* (*chawan*)  
*cikoŋki* (Nom) *phonograph* (*chikuonki*)  
*citosa* *vehicle* (*jidōsha*)  
*cintoŋi* *children's relay* (*jintori*)  
*Cooseŋ* *Korea* (*Chōsen*)  
*coŋi* *slippers* (*zōri*)  
*cūūmoŋ*, *cūūmoŋ-elæ* *to order* (*chūmon*; *-elæ* is a Puluwat suffix meaning *direction away*)  
*firosiki* *cloth for bundle* (*furoshiki*)  
*fūūto* *envelope* (*fūtō*)  
*hana(?)* *hibiscus flower* (*hana flower*)  
*hikooki* *airplane* (*hikōki*)  
*kacito* *moving picture* (*katsudō*)  
*kama* *kettle* (*kama*)  
*kanŋof* *nurse* (*kan-gofu*)  
*kappa* *raincoat* (*kappa*)  
*kapū* *Truk Trading Company* (*kabu stocks*)  
*kasi* *steering wheel* (*kaji*)  
*kayin̄ŋ* *navy, sailor* (*kaigun*)  
*kikancu* *machine gun* (*kikanjū*)  
*kinisiy* *pakūtaŋ* *large bomb* (*genshi atomic + bakudan bomb*)  
*kooŋi* *ice* (*kōri*)  
*koyeŋ* *playground* (*kōen park*)  
*kūŋuma* *wagon* (*kuruma*)  
*manniŋ* *pen* (*mannen-hitsu*)  
*namaaykiy* *impertinent* (*namaiki*)  
*nape* *kettle* (*nabe*)

- noři, nořii-niy *paste* (nori; -niy is a transitivizing suffix)
- paciŋko *sling shot* (panchinko)
- pakiŋ *fine, penalty* (bakkin)
- pakûtaŋ *dynamite* (bakudan)
- payikiŋ *bacteria* (baikin)
- peŋkiyo (Nom) *study* (benkyō)
- pinco *outhouse* (benjo)
- piyuuying *hospital* (byōin)
- putayico *army general* (butai + chō)
- řawo(?) *container* (rao bamboo pipe stem)
- řeecooko *icebox* (reizōko)
- řensû *practice* (renshū)
- řikiŋŋŋ *army* (rikugun)
- řimpiye *gonorrhoea* (rimbyō)
- sasing, sasing-iiy *picture, camera, to take a picture* (shashin;  
-iiy is a transitivizing suffix)
- sasimi *raw fish* (sashimi)
- sekiita *wooden form for pouring cement* (seki sluice + ita board)
- sense *teacher* (sensei)
- seři *water cress* (seri)
- sikooki *airplane* (hikōki)
- simpurŋ (Nom) *newspaper* (shimbun)
- sipa *Japanese grass* (shiba)
- sooko *storehouse* (sōko)
- sœmw *old person* (rare) (sōmu manager)
- tama *light bulb* (tama)
- tamacikiy *to play marbles* (tamatsuki billiards)
- tamwosi *foot fungus* (tamushi)
- tayikû *carpenter* (daiku)
- taiho *cannon* (taihō)
- tempo *radio transmitting* (dempō telegram)
- tempuřa *doughnuts* (tempura fried food)

- tenki *electric light* (denki)  
 tenko, tenko-niy *roll call* (tenko; -niy is a transitivizing suffix)  
 teppang *concrete trough* (teppan *iron or steel plate*)  
 toomin *Pacific islander* (tōmin *islander*)  
 tootay *lighthouse* (tōdai)  
 topin *pitcher (for a liquid)* (dobin)  
 Tosiwo *Toshio (male name)*  
 wokasi *candy* (o-, honorific + kashi)  
 wootay *bandage* (hōtai)  
 wosiřiko *flour soup* (o-, honorific + shiruko *bean soup*)  
 wuton *noodles* (udon)  
 yaci *bee* (hachi)  
 yakan *pitcher (for pouring)* (yakan)  
 yakiyuw, yakiyufəŋann *baseball, play baseball* (yakyū; fəŋann is a  
     Puluwat suffix *together*)  
 yami, yamii-niy *screen, as on a window* (ami *net*; -niy is a  
     transitivizing suffix)  
 yatake *garden* (hatake)  
 yappiyo, yappiyo-niy *radio broadcast* (happyō *announcement*)  
 yayikiw *to receive rations* (haikyū)  
 yayinoko *mixed blood* (ainoko)  
 yeeyitay *soldier, sailor, navy, army* (heitai)  
 yen *dollar* (en, the basic monetary unit of Japan)  
 yetto *let me see!* (ē-to)  
 yisoŋashi *busy* (isogashii)  
 yito *well (for water)* (ido)

The term **consonant combination** refers to intersyllabic juxtaposition of nongeminate consonants. In Japanese such combinations consist of nasal + a consonant. Japanese precedes the colon and Puluwat follows.

- mp: tempuřa  
 nt: cintoři  
 nts: pancú

nk:	paciŋko
mb:	simpuŋ
mby:	řimpiya
nd:	kũřænto
ng:	kanŋof (n-g, not the velar nasal)
nky:	peŋkiyo
nj:	pinco
ns:	sense
nsh:	řensũ

The five Japanese vowels are retained in Puluwat. In addition to these five, Puluwat has /æ ũ ə œ/. /æ/ has been noted in *kũřænto playground* and *wootəy bandage*. Final /-u/ in Japanese is less rounded than /u/ in other positions, and is regularly replaced by /ũ/ in Puluwat (*kapũ, rensũ, sipiřiŋũ, tařakũ, tayikũ*). /æ/ has been noted only in *řimpiya*, and /œ/ has not been discovered. Vowels between voiceless consonants or in utterance-final position are frequently voiceless in fast Japanese, but are voiced in Puluwat, as in *fikosiki* and *kafeye*, or omitted, as in *kanŋof* (from *kan-gofu*). Final long vowels in Japanese are short in Puluwat, perhaps by analogy with such Puluwat words as *teete to sew* and *tũutũ to bathe*, but more likely because final long vowels in Japanese under certain conditions are not as long as vowels in other positions, differing principally from some final short vowels in Japanese in that they are always voiced.

From these lists, a table of Japanese to Puluwat correspondences is derived (Table 3). Certain apparent differences are actually only orthographic:

JAPANESE SYMBOL	PULUWAT SYMBOL
-g-	-ŋ-
ch	c
nk	ŋk
Ū	V <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub>
ai	ay

The Japanese phoneme /n/ and its allophones before other consonants [-m -n] are syllables; following consonants are in different syllables. Such correspondences have been listed.

For meanings of the Puluwat examples in Table 3, and Japanese source words, see the preceding lists of Japanese loans.

TABLE 3

Phonemes		PULUWAT EXAMPLES	
JAPANESE	PULUWAT		
p	p	<u>p</u> aciŋko	si <u>p</u> iŋiŋu
pp	pp		te <u>pp</u> aŋ
ppy	ppiy		ta <u>pp</u> iyō
t	t	<u>t</u> amwosi	ya <u>t</u> ake
k	k	<u>k</u> asi	hi <u>k</u> ooki
kk	k		pa <u>k</u> iŋ
ky	kiy		ya <u>k</u> iyuw
b	p	<u>p</u> akūtaŋ	na <u>p</u> e
by	piy	<u>p</u> iyuuyiŋ	
d	t	<u>t</u> empo	ci <u>t</u> osa
g	k	<u>k</u> insiy	
	ŋ		yi <u>s</u> oŋashi
ts	c		ka <u>c</u> ito
ch	c	<u>c</u> ūmoŋ	pa <u>c</u> iŋko
j	c	<u>c</u> itosa	
	s		ka <u>s</u> i
f	f	<u>f</u> irosiki	ka <u>f</u> eje      ka <u>ŋ</u> o <u>f</u>
s	s	<u>s</u> asimi	Co <u>s</u> en
sh	s	<u>s</u> asiŋ	ta <u>m</u> wosi
h	s	<u>s</u> ikooki	
	h	<u>h</u> ikooki	
	y	<u>y</u> atake	
z	c	<u>c</u> oŋi	ŋe <u>c</u> ooko
m	m	<u>m</u> anniŋ	cū <u>m</u> oŋ
	mw		ta <u>m</u> wosi
n	n	<u>n</u> ape	ki <u>n</u> isiy
	ŋ		pa <u>k</u> ūtaŋ

nn	nn		manniŋ
r	ř	řikiŋŋ	coři
w	w		cawaŋ
∅	w	wokasi	Tosiwo
∅	y	yito	kayinŋ

## 5. COMPARISON OF ENGLISH AND JAPANESE CORRESPONDENCES

Some correspondences of Puluwat to English and Japanese are similar. Voiceless stops and affricates replace voiced ones in both (except for -g- in Japanese, as noted below). The trilled /ř/, and not the retroflex /r/, replace all English and Japanese r's. Puluwat /pw/ was not noted in Japanese loans, and /mw/ only in the one word, *tamwosi* (from *tamushi*), whereas in loans from English both velarized and plain labials replace /p b m/ sporadically. Puluwat /s/ corresponds to English /t d c j s ʃ h/ and to Japanese j, s, sh, h. The phoneme /g/ in Japanese has in Tokyo dialect an [ŋ] allophone in non-initial position, and the Puluwat reflex is /ŋ/, as in *yisoŋashi busy*. The phoneme /n/ in Japanese has the allophone [ŋ] before velar stops and finally, and these are /ŋ/ in Puluwat, as in *pachiŋko sling shot* and *pakūtaŋ dynamite*. In English loans, long consonants were noted only in *wiikk wick*, *wiill wheel*, and *pwooss boss*; perhaps some final consonants are released more forcefully in English than in Puluwat; sometimes they were hard for a foreigner to hear. The long consonants in Japanese loans coincided with those of the Japanese sources, except for a single /k/ in *pakiŋ penalty* from *bakkin*, and in *tařakū truck* from *torakku*.

In conclusion, it would seem that it is easier for a Puluwat to pronounce Japanese words than English words, principally because of the difficulties with English consonant clusters versus their lack in Japanese, if one except /py ky by/. The relatively unfamiliar sounds a Puluwat encounters in English are /θ v d ʒ/ plus /b d g j ʒ z/. In Japanese he has the latter group plus py, ky, by, ts. The Japanese stops are unaspirated, the vowels without off-glides, as in Puluwat, and long consonants and vowels occur in both languages.

## 6. LOANS FROM OTHER SOURCES

The third source of loan words in Puluwat is Spanish, and these were introduced into Puluwat in two widely separated times, one perhaps as long ago as 1676, and other after about 1885. The number of words is small, the names of five food plants and probably a cat in the first group, and twelve words relating to Catholicism in the second.

The five plants and the cat are listed below, with their names in various languages.

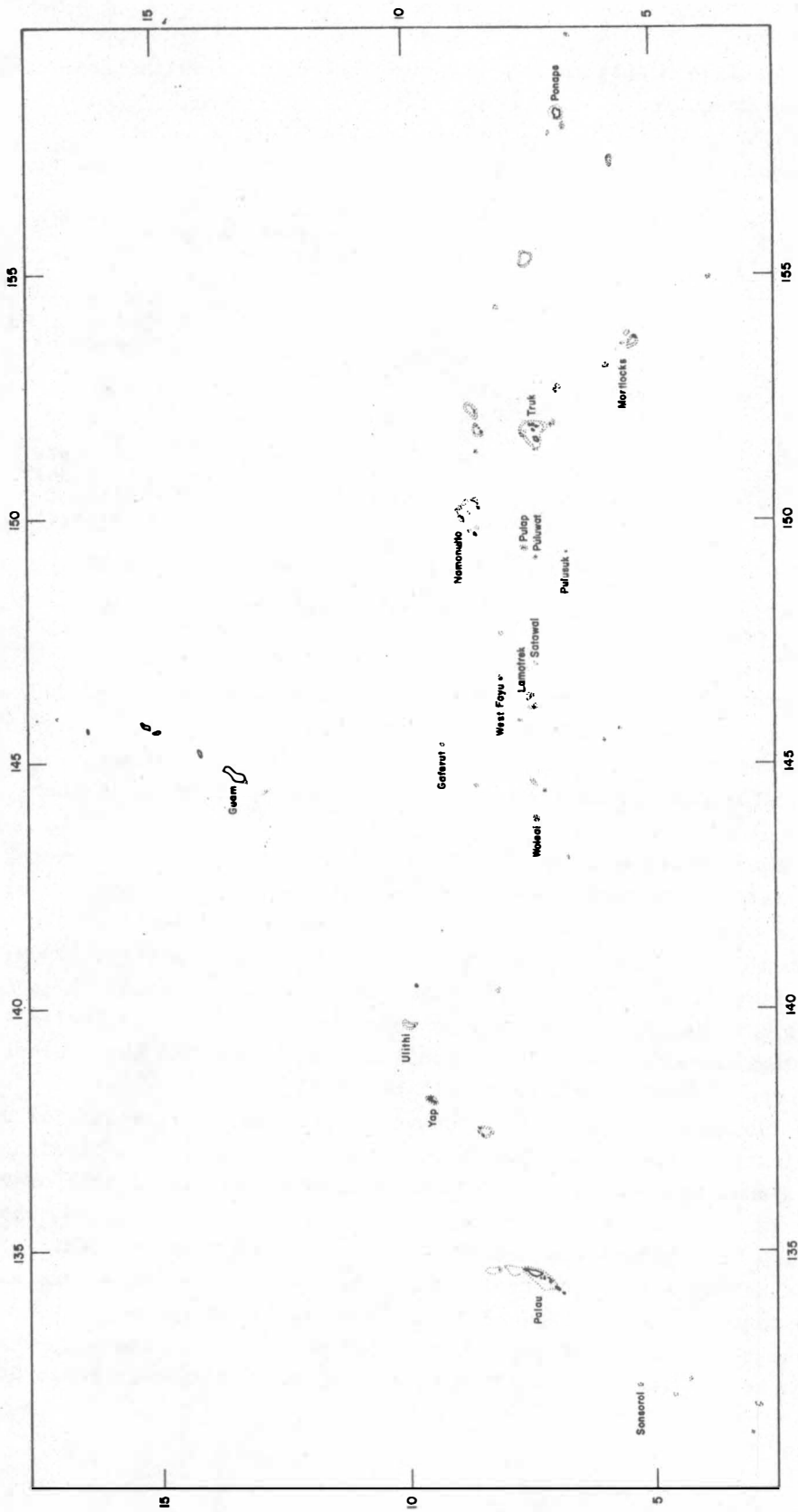
ENGLISH	TRUKESE	PULUWAT	CHAMORRO	SPANISH
<i>cat</i>	kattu	kattu	kato (phonetically katu)	gato
<i>corn</i>	(meyis (kæen	meyis	ma'es	maíz (probably dialect máis, méis)
<i>pineapple</i>	paynapeř	(piņa (pwayinapeř	pinya	piña
<i>pumpkin</i>	pəŋkin	kalamaasa	kalamasa	calabaza (probably dialect calamasa)
<i>sweet potato</i>	kamwu	kæmwuuti	kamote	camote
<i>watermelon</i>	senniya	saliya	chandia	sandía

What is the evidence for thinking these words were introduced at such an early date, rather than during Spanish rule in Micronesia?

The evidence is the known voyaging of the Carolinians, and especially the Puluwat, to Guam, and the known cultivation there of these plants.

The Jesuits were on Guam from 1668 until 1767, and according to W.E. Safford (1905:22) they 'supervised' the cultivation there of 'maize, tobacco, cacao, sweet potatoes, and other plants brought from America'. Safford, a botanist and historian, also asserts (1905:24) 'it is certain that maize was cultivated on Guam as early as 1676'. In 1710 visiting ships were supplied with '24 baskets of Indian corn'. The same account (1905:19-20) mentions muskmelons and watermelons that had been brought in by the Spaniards.

Kotzebue, who called at 'Guaham' (Guam) in 1817, wrote (1821:207) of visits of the Carolinian canoes to Guam in 1788. The Carolinians 'said that they had always been trading with the inhabitants of the island, and only left off when the white people settled here, whose cruelty they themselves had witnessed. In 1788 they made this voyage again, after a long interval, to purchase iron'. Kotzebue was also told that eighteen canoes collected each April at Lamureck (Lamotrek), whence they went to 'Fojo, a desert island north of Lamureck, which they reach in two days and rest there; and in three days more reach Guaham.'





The gathering place was not Lamotrek, but according to Meinecke (quoted by Riesenberq and Kaneshiro, 1960:285 with approval) the canoes assembled at Gaferut rather than at West Fayu.

Riesenberq and Kaneshiro state that Kittlitz in 1827 encountered Carolinian natives at Faraulep who spoke 'fluent Spanish, an ability no doubt acquired on visits to Guam'.

Krämer (1917:180) lists early charts showing Puluwat as Luguen (said to be a Sonsorol name for Puluwat) in 1710, as O Puluot (Leguischel) in 1721, and as Poloat in 1804. These names indicate the travelling propensities of the Carolinians that entailed exposure to Spanish, and that Europeans knew of Puluwat a hundred years or so before it was 'discovered'. Known references to Carolinian voyages in their own islands and to the Marianas have been conveniently assembled by Riesenberq (1965).

We would suspect that the five plants were garnered between 1676 (when corn was being cultivated on Guam) and the years in the latter part of the same century when the intense warfare on Guam put an end to visits from the Carolines. The Puluwat canoemen may have introduced the plants more than a hundred years before the 'discovery' of their island by Ibargoitia in 1801.

As for the cat, Kotzebue (1821:187) states that its name on all the islands from Mogemug (Ulithi) to Pelli (Palau) in the west and Ulea (Woleai) in the east is gato, from Spanish; a number of cats, Kotzebue was told, had been left long before on Mogemug and had been scattered subsequently on the other islands. One might suspect an English origin, but kattu would be aberrant on three counts: Puluwat a replacing a, a double tt, and the addition of a paragogic vowel. The single Spanish-via-Chamorro aberrancy would be the double tt; in Chamorro o and u vary freely in final unstressed position.

How do we know that the plants and the cat may not have been introduced to Truk at an early date, but did not reach Puluwat until much later? The obvious answer is that the Puluwat, and not the Trukese, were the famous voyagers. Truk with its streams and saffron, was itself a target, and the Trukese could more easily obtain metal from the ever-voyaging low islanders than by braving the seas themselves.

The other words of Spanish origin concern Catholicism, and were probably introduced near the beginning of Spanish rule. In the list that follows, the Spanish names follow the Puluwat glosses in parentheses; glosses follow for the Spanish originals only if they differ from those of Puluwat.

fəlin Ɣamos *Palm Sunday* (Domingo de Ramos; the Puluwat name is literally sacred palm branches)  
 kəuniyo *communion* (comuni6n)  
 maateƔe *nun, mother* (madre)  
 misa *mass* (misa)  
 misiyon *mission* (misi6n)  
 paateƔe *father, priest* (padre)  
 Paska *Easter* (Pascua)  
 ƔosaaƔiyo *rosary (prayer, religious medal)* (rosario)  
 sakaƔamento *sacrament* (sacramento)  
 salaatoƔ *Promoters of the Holy Name Society* (celador curator)  
 salaatoƔa *Female Promoters of the Holy Name Society* (celadora female curator)  
 yeƔmano *lay brother* (hermano)

Only a few words are of German origin:

kinteƔ *children's Protestant school* (Kinder children)  
 kiyuufeƔ or kilifeƔ *suitcase* (Koffer ?)  
 maak *money* (Mark, almost never heard today on Puluwat)  
 meeteƔ *meter, to measure length* (Meter)  
 sepelin *airplane* (Zeppelin, Trukese, known but not used on Puluwat, where the term is hikooki from Japanese)  
 siike *goat* (Ziege)  
 Toowis *German, Germany* (Deutsch)

These words probably reached Puluwat via Truk.

Words apparently of Ponapean origin include kansino *confess*, sownkoa, sownpetək *religious official*, wuwanpoƔon *Protestant pastor*, and sakaw *alcoholic drink*, this taking its name from the famous nonalcoholic Piper methisticum of Ponape. The Mortlock greeting Ɣaan əllim (*day good*) was introduced everywhere in the Truk District as a more civilized greeting than *where are you going?* or *where did you come from?*; now both mission and pre-mission greetings are used. The Mortlock word for *thank you*, kilissow, also caught on rapidly. (In both of these forms, the Trukese replaced Mortlock /l/ by their /n/, but Puluwat learned the original /l/.)

N O T E

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