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A GRAMMAR OF THE NORTHERN DIALECT OF SAKAO

by

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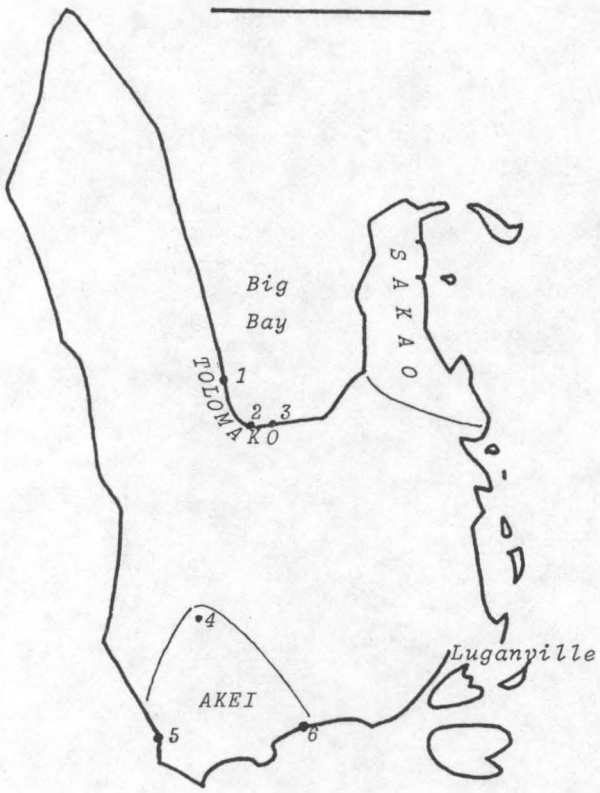
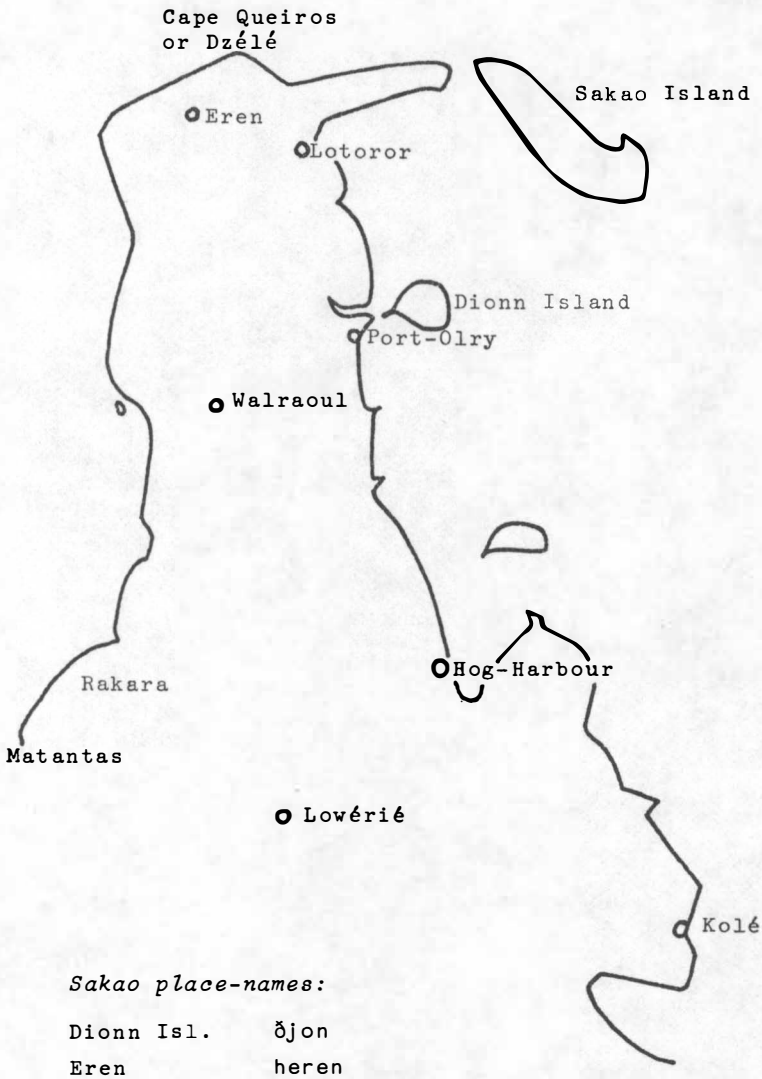
ESPIRITU SANTO



1. *Tourébiou* [tsure'βiu]
2. *Tolomako*
3. *Malao*
4. *Bilibil* [pili'pili]
5. *Tasiriki*
6. *Waylapa*

MAP 1

S A K A O



Sakao place-names:

Dionn Isl.	ðjon
Eren	heren
Hog-Harbour	llek
Kolé	ɣœlœ
Lotoror	lotoror
Lowérié	loworjé
Port-Olry	laðamaβ
Rakara	rajkar
Sakao Isl.	laðhl
Walraoul	lyβjœl-ʀa-jœl

MAP 2

00. INTRODUCTION

00.1. This study is based on a corpus totalling about one hundred thousand morphemes collected or elicited mainly in Port-Olry (Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides) over a period April to August 1970 and May 1971 to February 1972.

00.2. Place names are spelt as they appear on the map of Espiritu Santo published by the Institut Géographique National (Paris).

00.3. Languages, dialects and subdialects are designated by the names under which they are known to their speakers, or, if no such name is available, by the name of the island or the village where they are, or used to be, spoken.

00.4. The phonetic symbols used are those recommended by the International Phonetic Association, except for the alveolar trill, which is noted ʀ, the proper symbol not being available in the typefaces used. The interlabials of Vao are noted by the symbols for bilabials surmounted by a dash, e.g. p̄, m̄b̄, β̄, m̄.

00.5. This work comprises seven sections of which this introduction is the first.

00.5A. The second section is concerned with generalities about the Sakao language, its genetic relationship with other languages of the New Hebrides, and is illustrated by brief comparative word-lists of Sakao, Vao, Tolomako[1] and Akei, unphonemicised.

00.5B. The third section, entitled "Phonology", comprises five parts:

---

[1]Also known as Marina, Big Bay, Tikipi.

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a) The first part defines the phonological phrase and examines the intonation and stress patterns.

b) The second part gives a phoneme inventory with a list of minimal pairs, followed by a fine phonetic description.

c) The third part describes the system of regressive vowel harmony - a peculiar feature of Sakao - as functioning in the speech of the main informant, Eugène Alɣet.

> [Eugène Alɣet, aged 55, of Port-Olry, is the repository of traditional songs and tunes and is considered by his fellow-villagers to speak a pure brand of Sakao, i.e. free of influences from the southern dialect of Hog-Harbour and from Tolomako, another language spoken in Port-Olry by people originary from Big Bay.]

d) The fourth part consists of observations on the phonological divergences found to occur between idiolects.

e) The fifth part deals with the obligatory and the optional morpho-phonological changes occurring within the phonological phrase, and with the structure of Sakao words.

00.5C. The fourth section, entitled "Morphology", deals with morphemes and their inflections. Since references to the morphology are made in earlier sections, it is necessary to give here an explanation of the notions underlying that chapter.

Sakao morphs and morphemes can be divided into two main categories: free and bound. Bound morphs and morphemes are further dividable into construct, suffixing, enclitic, determining and inflectional.

Suffixing morphs always occur bound to an immediately following suffix which is either a personal pronominal suffix - usually denoting possession - or an ancillary pronominal suffix itself immediately followed by another morpheme.[1]

Construct morphs always occur bound to an immediately following morpheme other than a pronominal suffix.

Enclitic morphs are represented by one morpheme which always occurs bound to an immediately following morpheme with which it fuses.

Determining morphemes are those morphemes which always occur following - immediately or mediately - another morpheme which they determine.

Inflectional morphemes are markers of grammatical categories such as number, mode, aspect, etc.

There is most often a one-to-one correspondence between suffixing and construct morphs, e.g. arko and ark both mean *'trunk (of a tree)'*,

---

[1] This ancillary pronominal suffix, -n, is related to the Fijian ni, e.g. ulu-ni-vanua *'head of land'*, i.e. *'mountain'*.

but the former is a suffixing morph, the latter a construct one. This correspondence often involves three morphs, two of which are suffixing ones, e.g. œβðœ, œβðy and œβyð all mean *'head'*; the former two are suffixing morphs, the first one being used with the 3rd person singular and 1st person inclusive plural pronominal suffixes, the other with other pronominal suffixes; the latter is a construct morph. Finally, some suffixing morphs have no construct counterpart and vice versa. For reasons purely of ease of description, construct and suffixing morphs are considered to constitute two separate categories of morphemes; thus œβyð *'head'* is said to be a construct morpheme, and œβðy a suffixing one; the form œβðœ is then treated as an allomorph of the suffixing morpheme œβðy, and called "lower allomorph".[1]

Finally, a morpheme immediately following a construct morpheme or a pronominal suffix immediately following a suffixing morpheme is said to fulfill the function of regime, and a morpheme determining a preceding morpheme or morphemes to fulfill the function of expansion.

00.5D. The fifth section, entitled "Grammar", is concerned with phrase-level syntax, and comprises three parts.

In the first part, phrase formulae are given stating the constituents of each type of phrase, *excluding all regimes and expansions*.

In the second part, all regimes and expansions - some obligatory, some optional - of the phrase-constituents are given, thus enabling all phrase-types to be generated.

In the thid part, expansions which follow phrases as hitherto generated are given. These expansions may determine the referent of the phrase as a whole or certain morphemes contained in the phrase.

00.5E. The sixth section, entitled "Syntax", is concerned with sentence-level syntax and is organised on the same principles as the Grammar.

In a first part, sentence formulae are given with, for basic constituents, phrases with their expansions and regimes as defined in the Grammar. These sentence formulae are, like the phrase formulae of the Grammar, reduced to the barest essentials.

In a second part are detailed the four syntactic processes by which these sentence formulae can be - in the proper sense of the term this time - expanded. These processes are: supplementation (covering apposition and relative clauses), complementation (roughly corresponding to

---

[1] The vowel of the lower allomorph is usually lower than that of the basic form. Moreover, the suffixes requiring the use of the lower allomorph derive from forms containing a low vowel (see 0.2.5.).

the use of relator-axis phrases), adjunction (akin to coordination) and juxtaposition (unmarked coordination).

The third part deals with non-sentential forms such as interjections.

00.5F. The seventh section is an appendix containing:

a) Notes on the diverse ways of expressing numbers above ten.

b) A sample text, translated and parsed.

c) A text in Hog-Harbour and its equivalent in Port-Olry. Interlinear and running translations are provided.

d) A bibliography.

e) An index.

00.6. *ORTHOGRAPHY*

00.6A. The symbol # marks the beginning of an utterance.

00.6B. Word boundaries are marked:

a) By a raised dot, i.e. · , between elements of a compound word, when the boundary tends to disappear in fast speech, resulting in the preceding syllable becoming unstressed.

b) By a hyphen:

between a verb or an adjective and its expansions and between these expansions themselves, e.g. ɣam-ré-ra-jan-hoβ *'they follow it, dragging pigs as they go'*, where ra *'pig'*, jan *'to go'* and hoβ *'to follow it'* are expansions of ré *'to drag it'*.

Between a construct morpheme other than a non-syllabic construct preposition, and its regime, e.g. œβyð-amarkar *'heads of children'*, lɨki-mar *'near the chimney-stacks'*[1].

c) Elsewhere, by a space.

00.6C. Obligatorily lost consonants (see 1.7.4.) are written when followed by a word boundary, and left out elsewhere, e.g. kam malam *'this person came'* where the m of kam is lost.

00.6D. The semi-consonants, w and j, are normally left out in those environments where they are almost always lost (see 1.7.4.), e.g. uyð for uwyð *'jungle'*.

00.6E. When given out of context and without their regime, construct morphemes are written followed by the symbol = , and suffixing morphemes

---

[1] Deacon (1929:467).

followed by a hyphen, the lower allomorph only being given, if available.[1]

00.6F. In the syntax, square brackets ([]) are used to show phrase boundaries, e.g. [kam] [maɪam] '[*this person*] [*came*]'.

00.6G. Punctuation

A slash (/) denotes a sentence-final non-interrogative intonation (see 1.2.4.), and two raised dots (¨) a sentence-medial suspensive intonation (see 1.2.6.). The question-mark and the semi-colon are used to denote respectively the interrogative intonation (see 1.2.5.) and the sentence-medial expectative intonation (see 1.2.7.).

[1]The basic form can be derived from the lower allomorph, but not vice versa (see 2.6.2.).

0. GENERALITIES ON THE SAKAO LANGUAGE

0.1. *INTRODUCTORY REMARKS*

0.1.1. Sakao is a Melanesian language of Espiritu Santo (New Hebrides) spoken by approximately 1000 inhabitants of the north-eastern peninsula of the island in and north of the villages of Kolé and Lowérié.

0.1.2. This study is concerned with the northern dialect of Sakao, henceforth referred to as Sakao, which is spoken north of Hog-Harbour up to Cape Queiros or Dzélé. A southern dialect is spoken in and south of Hog-Harbour, and differs from Sakao only on minor points of grammar and phonetics.

0.1.3. Very little study had been done previously on this language, only word-lists of Port-Olry and Hog-Harbour and partial translations of the Bible in Hog-Harbour being available. Cf. Bibliography.

0.2. *TYPOLOGY*

0.2.1. Tryon (1972:70) tentatively distinguishes between two language types in the New Hebrides, i.e. Oceanic and "Melanesian", the former being characterised by a simple phonology and morphology and a high content of proto-Oceanic lexical forms, the latter by complex phonologies and morphologies and a higher content of proto-Austronesian forms.

Sakao then would distinctly belong to the "Melanesian" type as regards its phonology and morphology, but very much less so as regards its lexicon.

For its phonology and morphology are indeed complex, but its lexicon shows more affinities with the Oceanic-type languages of the New Hebrides than with the "Melanesian"-type ones.

0.2.2. Sound correspondences between Sakao and three other New Hebridean languages shall now be briefly examined, the aforesaid languages being Tolomako, an Oceanic-type language spoken on the western coast of Big Bay (Espiritu Santo) from Tourébiou to Malao and by part of the population of Port-Olry, Akei, an Oceanic-type language spoken within a triangle Tasiriki-Bilibil-Waylapa (Espiritu Santo), and Vao, a "Melanesian"-type language spoken on the island of Vao, off the north-eastern coast of Malekula (alias Mallicolo).

0.2.3. Stops

Like most languages of the northern New Hebrides, Sakao has only one series of stops, as against two (voiceless and prenasalised voiced) for most languages of the southern islands, e.g. Tolomako, Akei and Sakao have three stops: p, t, k, and Vao seven: p, p̄, t, k, mb, m̄b̄, nd.

To the stops of Tolomako, Akei and Vao usually correspond Sakao fricatives, and to their fricatives, Sakao semi-consonants or zero, e.g.

Tolomako	Akei	Vao	Sakao	
na βuˈɬuku	na βuˈɬuku	βuˈɬukʰ	uˈɬyɣ	*my hair*
na ˈɾeku	na paˈtuku	mbaˈtukʰ	œˈβðyɣ	*my head*
na ˈpoe	na ˈpoe	ˈnambo	nɔβ	*pig*
na ˈtoa	na ˈtoa	ˈnato	nɔð	*fowl*
na ˈɣutu	na ˈutu	naˈɣutʰ	nøð	*louse*
na ˈtoβu	na ˈtoβu	naˈtoβ̄	œˈðø	*sugar-cane*
na βeˈtali	na βoˈtali	β̄ete	iˈðɛl	*banana*
na ˈpara	na ˈpara	neˈɬa	aˈβar	*spider*
na ˈoβo	na ˈaka	nuˈakʰ	aˈaɣ	*canoe*

0.2.4. To the interlabials of Vao usually correspond Sakao dentals:

Tolomako	Akei	Vao	Sakao	
na neˈneku	na meˈmeku	m̄em̄ekʰ	œˈnœɣ	*my tongue*
na ˈnatsi	na ˈmatsi	naˈm̄as	ɛˈnɛs	*fish*
na ɣaˈtani	na aˈpani	ɣam̄b̄an	aˈðɛn	*sail*

0.2.5. The post-tonic vowels of Tolomako, Akei and Vao are lost in Sakao and tonic vowels diversify as per the following table (overleaf):

Tonic vowel of Tolomako or Akei		Last post-tonic vowel: a, e or o	Last post-tonic vowel: i or u	Sakao
	a	a	ɛ	
	e	ɒ	œ	
	o	ɔ	œ	
	i or u	œ	y	

Note. This table is valid for most cases of Tolomako or Akei tonic vowels followed and preceded by a consonant other than a fricative.

0.2.6. This vowel diversification resulting from the loss of post-tonic vowels is one of the causes of the great morphological complexity of Sakao, e.g. the case of obligatorily possessed nouns:

Tolomako	Sakao	
na tsiˈɣɔku	œsʁˈŋœɣ	*my mouth*
na tsiˈɣona	ɔsʁˈŋɔn	*his mouth*
na ˈtsiɣo na ˈsiɣo	œˈsœŋ eˈhi	*the beak of the kingfisher*

0.2.7. To the article na corresponds in Sakao polysyllabic nouns an initial vowel or, for some, zero, and in monosyllabic nouns an initial n, e.g.

Tolomako	Sakao	
na ˈmatsa	aˈmas	*club*
na ˈteru	œˈðœr	*post*
na ˈsule	œˈhœl	*stone*
na ˈnatsi	ɛˈnɛs	*fish*
na ˈɣutu	nøð	*louse*
na ˈtoa	nɔð	*fowl*
na aˈβua	no	*turtle*
na ˈɣatsi	nar	*black biting ant*
na βeˈtali	iˈðɛl	*banana*
na ɣataˈtia	aˈðði	*moon*
na βuˈluna	uˈlœn	*his hair*

0.2.8. In its personal pronouns, Sakao has retained the fourfold distinction singular-dual-trial-plural. The trial, however, has taken on the meaning of a limited plural (from three to usually about ten), e.g. table on next page.

	TOLOMAKO	SAKAO
Singular		
1st person	i ˈnau	jæn
2nd	i ˈniɣo	i
3rd	i ˈnie	ni
Plural		
1st inclusive	i ˈɣitse	jɒr
1st exclusive	i kaˈnamu	ɣam
2nd	i kaˈniu	ɣe
3rd	i ˈɣire	jør
Dual		
1st inclusive	i ɣitseˈrua	jɔˈro
1st exclusive	i kanamuˈrua	ɣamˈru
2nd	i kaniˈrua	ɣʉˈru
3rd	i ɣireˈrua	jɒˈru
Trial		
1st inclusive	i ɣitseˈtolu	jɒrˈðœl
1st exclusive	i kanamuˈtolu	ɣamˈðœl
2nd	i kaniˈtolu	ɣðœl
3rd	i ɣireˈtolu	jærˈðœl

0.2.9. The inflection of Sakao verbs for person, however, does not quite correspond to the personal pronouns. For Sakao has an indefinite person covering the meanings of French on, German man, and of all dual and trial Sakao personal pronouns. Besides, verbal personal prefixes present only a threefold distinction for person in the plural: 1st inclusive, 2nd exclusive (i.e. *'you but not they'*), and all others. Those prefixes seem to be more closely related to Vao than to Tolomako, e.g.

SAKAO (prefixes)	Realis	Irrealis
1st sg.	am	a
2nd sg.	m	zero
3rd sg.	mV[1]	ɣɨ
Indefinite	tɨm	tɨ
1st incl. pl.	tam	ta
2nd excl. pl.	ɣɨm	ɣɨ
others pl.	ɣam	ɣa

[1] V is a vowel partially assimilating to that of the following syllable.

VAO (prefixes)	Realis	Irrealis
1st sg.	nom	ɣu
2nd sg.	ɣom	ɣo
3rd sg.	mo	ɣa
1st incl. pl.	ʁam	ʁa
1st excl. pl.	kam	ka
2nd pl.	kem	ke
3rd pl.	nam	na

TOLOMAKO (clitics)	Realis	Irrealis
1st sg.	a	ai
2nd sg.	o	oi
3rd sg.	mo	i
1st incl. pl.	te	ti
1st excl. pl.	ka	kai
2nd pl.	ko	koi
3rd pl.	te	ti

0.2.10. Sakao verbal stems may combine to form close-knit verbal strings that may incorporate an object. A suffix, ɨn, adds a participant to verbs or close-knit verbal strings or restores the transitivity of those verbal strings which the incorporation of adverb-like elements has made intransitive. This suffix is probably related to the Tolomako preposition ne (ni preceding proper nouns and pronouns), which marks an indirect object, an instrumental, or a locative.

CHAPTER 1: PHONOLOGY

1.1. *PHONOLOGICAL PHRASE*

1.1.1. A Sakao utterance preceded and followed by a pause constitutes a phonological phrase, henceforth in this chapter called phrase.

1.2. *INTONATION*

1.2.1. Except for the parts affected by expressive or phrase-final intonation, the pitch of a phrase is level.

1.2.2. Expressive intonation may affect any stressed vowel of a phrase, or, in the case of expressive reduplication in verbs, any vowel, even unstressed. It consists in the lengthening of the affected vowel, which is then pronounced crescendo on a higher pitch-level than that of the rest of the phrase. Expressive intonation is noted herein by the triplication of the vowel thus affected, e.g. orru βriiiβ tέ *'a HUGE pygmy'*.

1.2.3. Phrase-final intonation is that of the last syllable or syllables of a phrase. Its pitch is level, but may be lower, or higher than, or level with that of the rest of the phrase.

1.2.4. A phrase-final intonation characterised by a sharp drop in pitch-level denotes the end of a non-interrogative sentence, and is noted herein by a slash, i.e. / .

1.2.5. A phrase-final intonation characterised by a sharp rise in pitch-level denotes the end of an interrogative sentence, and is noted herein by a question-mark, i.e. ? .

1.2.6. A phrase-final intonation with no change in pitch-level from that of the rest of the phrase denotes a sentence-medial suspensive

statement and is noted herein by two raised dots, i.e. ¨ .

1.2.7. A phrase-final intonation characterised by a moderate drop in pitch-level denotes a sentence-medial expectative statement, and is noted herein by a semi-colon, i.e. ; . Such an intonation indicates that more is to follow, the speaker having hitherto but been introducing the elements of his narration.

1.3. *STRESS*

1.3.1. Primary stress occurs either on the last word-final syllable to occur before the part of the phrase affected by phrase-final intonation, or on the last syllable of the phrase.

1.3.2. Secondary stress occurs on the final syllable of words, unless this final syllable contains the vowel ɨ, in which case it occurs on the penultimate. Monosyllabic particles, however, are most often unstressed, except in careful, slow speech.

1.3.3. Stress is realised as loudness and length of the vowel it affects, primary stress being louder than secondary stress.

1.4. *PHONEME INVENTORY*

1.4.1. Consonants, Vowels and Diphthongs

Sakao has sixteen consonants and semi-consonants, semi-consonants functioning, for all phonological purposes, as consonants, twelve vowels and two diphthongs. Consonant length is phonemic.

CONSONANTS	Bilabials	Prepalatals	Postpalatals
Stops	p [p]	t [t]	k [k]
Fricatives	β [β]	ð [ð]	ɣ [ɣ]
Nasals	m [m]	n [n]	ŋ [ŋ]
Semi-consonants	w [w]	j [j]	
Frictionless			h [h]
Sibilant		s [s]	
Flap or roll[1]		r [r]	
Trill		ʀ [ʀ]	
Lateral		l [l]	

[1] Depending on speakers.

VOWELS	Front unrounded	Front rounded	Central	Back rounded
High close	i [i]	y [y]	ɨ [ɨ]	u [u]
Mid close	é [e]	œ́ [ø]		ó [o]
Mid open	e [ɛ]	œ [œ]		o [ɔ]
Low open	a [a]			ɒ [ɒ]

DIPHTHONGS

ɑo [ɑɔ̯] and œə [œe̯]

NB. The diphthongs are historically derived from the vowels ɒ and œ, which became diphthonguised morpheme-finally except in suffixing and construct morphemes. The phonemic status of at least the diphthong ɑo is well attested by the loanwords apɑon *'pound sterling'* and apɑos *'pouch'*.

1.4.2. Minimal Pairs

Consonants contrast in the following words:

p	pɒr	[pɒr]	*to be near it*
t	tɒr	[tɒr]	*to stop it*
k	kɒr	[kɒr]	*that*
	ker	[kɛr]	*this*
β	βɒrp	[βɒrp]	*he said it*
	βer	[βɛr]	*he lies*
ð	ðɒr	[ðɒr]	*there*
	ðer	[ðɛr]	*here*
ɣ	ɣer	[ɣɛr]	*to swim*
m	mɒr	[mɒr]	*that*
n	nɒr	[nɒr]	*to urinate*
ŋ	ŋɒr	[ŋɒr]	*to cry*
w	wɒr	[wɒr]	*that one*
j	jɒr	[jɒr]	*we (inclusive)*
h	hɒr	[hɒr]	*to be windy*
s	sɒr	[sɒr]	*to split it*
r	rɒr	[rɒr]	*to simmer*
	ró	[ro]	*to stay*
ʀ	ʀó	[ʀo]	*to rest*
l	lɒs	[lɒs]	*to cut it*

Consonant length:

p	pé	[pe]	*it nips him*
pp	ppé	[ppe]	*short*
t	ti	[ti]	*to catch it with a snare*
tt	tti	[tti]	*to accuse him*
k	ke	[kɛ]	*to hold it*
kk	kkes	[kkɛs]	*magically powerful*
β	βanr	[βanr]	*it bears fruit*
ββ	ββapr	[ββapr]	*it is hairless*
ɣ	ɣam	[ɣam]	*we (exclusive)*
ɣɣ	ɣɣam	[ɣɣam]	*to pull it down*
ð	ða	[ða]	*some*
ðð	ðða	[ðða]	*pregnant*
n	neɣ	[nɛɣ]	*my penis*
nn	nneɣ	[nnɛɣ]	*for me to drink*
w	weð	[wɛð]	*this one*
ww	wwe	[wwɛ]	*to ache*

Semi-consonants versus vowels:

j	jeð	[jɛð]	*here*
i	ieð	[iˈɛð]	*four*
w	wyð	[wyð]	*to moisten it*
u	uyð	[uˈyð]	*jungle*

Vowels and diphthongs:

i	ni	[ni]	*he, she, it*
é	né	[ne]	*axe*
e	ne	[nɛ]	*a tree (Bichelamar:* nakavika*)*
a	na	[na]	*then*
y	lyð	[lyð]	*to go around it*
ǽ	lǽð	[løð]	*outside*
œ	lœð	[lœð]	*to surpass it*
u	βup	[βup]	*he castrated it*
ó	βóp	[βop]	*he strangled him*
	βóɣ	[βoɣ]	*it is white*
o	βoɣ	[βɔɣ]	*also*
ɒ	βɒɣ	[βɒɣ]	*Mr Owl*
i	hi	[hi]	*who?*
y	hy	[hy]	*to blow on it*
u	hu	[hu]	*to tilt it*
é	né	[ne]	*axe*
ǽ	nǽ	[nø]	*a tree (Bichelamar:* naus*)*

ó	nó	[no]	*turtle*
e	neð	[nɛð]	*dead*
œ	nœð	[nœð]	*thus*
o	noð	[nɔð]	*fowl*
a	nar	[nar]	*fence*
ɒ	nɒr	[nɒr]	*to urinate*
ɨ	hɨn	[hɨn]	*because*
	ɣɨtɨryp	[ɣɨtɨˈryp]	*he will look at it*
ɣ	hyn	[hyn]	*pull it!*
	ɣɨtyryp	[ɣɨtyˈryp]	*he might swallow it*
œə	mœsœəp	[mœˈsœ̝ːp]	*it cracked*
ɑo	masɑop	[maˈsɑ̟ːp]	*he guessed*
ǿ	ky-sǿp	[ˈkyˈsøp]	*steal it!*
œ	jil-sœp	[ˈjilˈsœp]	*kill him!*
a	nessar	[nɛˈssar]	*broken*
ɒ	mœsɒrp	[mœˈsɒrp]	*he split it*
o	mosorp	[mɔˈsɔrp]	*it barked*

ɨ versus zero:

ɣapɨlyð	[ɣapɨˈlyð]	*they quarrel*
aplan	[aˈplan]	*its pith*
œlɨkyɣ	[œlɨˈkyɣ]	*my skin*
olkleɣ	[ɔˈlklɛɣ]	*my hand*
atasli	[ataˈsli]	*a kind of grass*
esɨlét	[ɛsɨˈlet]	*worm*

1.5. *NOTES ON PHONOLOGY*

1.5.1. Finer phonetic description of phonemes

1.5.1.1. *Stops*

Stops are voiceless and unaspirated.

1.5.1.2. *Fricatives*

Fricatives are voiced.

1.5.1.3. *Nasals*

Nasals are normally voiced, except phrase-finally or preceding a voiceless phone, in which environments they occur optionally unvoiced, e.g. manaryŋp [manaˈryŋ̥p] *'he took a breath'*.

1.5.1.4. *The sibilant* s

The sibilant s is a voiceless, lamino-alveolar grooved fricative.

1.5.1.5. *The flap or roll* r

The flap (or roll, depending on speakers) r is, again depending on speakers, apico- or lamino-alveolar.

1.5.1.6. *The trill* ʀ

The trill ʀ is a voiceless lamino-alveolar fricative trill.

1.5.1.7. *Prepalatals*

The prepalatals t, ð, and n are apico-dental. Intervocalically, a short ð may optionally be realised as a flap instead of a fricative.

1.5.1.8. *Postpalatals*

The articulation of the postpalatals k, ɣ, and ŋ varies between dorso-palatal (next to a high front vocoid) and radico-uvular (next to a low back vocoid).

Within a word and immediately preceding r or l, ɣ is realised as a stop instead of a fricative, e.g. eneɣlyl [ɛnɛˈglyl] *'afternoon'*, βé ɣria [βe griˈa] *'when he stood up'*. In such environments ɣ still contrasts with k, e.g. eneɣlyl [ɛnɛˈglyl] *'afternoon'* versus esekleɣ [ɛsɛˈklɛɣ] *'my nephew'*.

1.5.1.9. *Consonant length*

Long consonants are realised by men as a single articulation accompanied by length or tension, or both, and by women and young male children as two successive articulations of the same consonant separated by a very short vowel coloured by the following vowel. Long r, however, is realised by all alike as two successive articulations, e.g. ppé *'short'* is, in men's speech, [ppe], and in women's and young male children's speech [p(e)ˈpe]; whereas rru *'both'* is realised by all as [r(u)ˈru].

1.5.1.10. *Stressed vowels*

Under stress, vowels are cardinal, except y which is retracted, less rounded, i.e. [y̟ˤ].

The vowel i, when under primary stress, is realised in the same way as y, i.e. [y̟ˤ].

1.5.1.11. *Unstressed vowels*

In unstressed positions, the distinction between vowels becomes much less clearly defined, as they become centralised and as their degree of rounding or unrounding becomes less marked. Furthermore, the distinction *close* versus *open* disappears, so that the contrast between the two series of mid vowels is neutralised. Hence unstressed vowels are close when the vowel of the following syllable is high, and open when it is low, e.g. ehi [e̞ˈhi] *'kingfisher'*, jeha [je̞ˈha] *'west'*, oβu [o̞ˈβu] *'hole'*, ora [ɔ̝ˈra] *'sow'*.

The vowel ɨ is very short, high, central. Its closeness or openness, rounding or unrounding are unspecified and tend to be influenced by the following phones, vocoids influencing it for closeness or openness, and rounding or unrounding, and bilabial contoids for rounding only.

1.5.1.12. *Diphthongs*

Diphthongs are realised as off-glides, and always occur in stressed positions.

1.5.2. Vowel harmony

1.5.2.1. Five matres vocalium are required to account for Sakao vowel harmony.

> The term **matres vocalium** has been coined here after that of the **matres lectionis** of Hebrew to provide an easy means of accounting for the system of vowel harmony. A **mater vocalium** is a vowel phoneme some distinctive features of which are wholly determined by its phonological environment.

a) The mater vocalium $, unspecified for height, fronting or backing, rounding or unrounding, has but the feature of vocalicity.

b) The mater vocalium Y is high, but unspecified for fronting or backing, rounding or unrounding.

c) The mater vocalium O is rounded, back, but unspecified for height.

d) The mater vocalium E is mid, front, but unspecified for rounding or unrounding.

e) The mater vocalium I is high, front, but unspecified for rounding or unrounding.

1.5.2.2. In the following tables, C1 represents a short consonant, C2 a long consonant, C1/2 a single consonant, short or long, CC a consonant cluster, C either a single consonant, short or long, or a consonant cluster, and (C) a consonant, short or long, or a consonant cluster, or zero.

1.5.2.3. *Mater vocalium* $ (rules are ordered)

	ENVIRONMENTS	$	EXAMPLES
1	--ji	i	$jil is ijil *'killing'*
2	--wu	u	$wup is uwup *'having castrated it'*
3	--Cɨ		disregard Cɨ, e.g, treat $ in $βɨŋan as if it were in the environment --ŋan, which yields aβɨŋan *'its branch'*
4	--a	a	$aɣ is aaɣ *'canoe'*
5	--Ca --Cɑo		
	If C is: a) the partitive infix β		disregard it, e.g. treat $ in $βra, the partitive of $ra, i.e. ara *'pig'* as if it were in the environment --ra, which yields aβra *'a bit of pork'*.
	b) Cl/2	a	$ssaru is assaru *'language'*
	c) bilabial followed by C	œ	$βlaɣen is œβlaɣen *'sorcerer'*
	d) CC	e	$rja is erja *'standing up'*
6	--C followed by a front rounded vowel, ɒ or a diphthong	œ	$ssy is œssy *'hut'* $mɒl is œmɒl *'cycad'*
7	--C followed by a front unrounded vowel - if C is:		
	a) bilabial followed by (C)	œ	$βé is œβé *'drum'* $we is œwe *'rope'*
	b) other	e	$ken is eken *'ornament'* $hi is ehi *'kingfisher'*

This table is continued on next page.

	ENVIRONMENTS	$	EXAMPLES
8	--C followed by a back rounded vowel	o	$só is osó *'pawpaw'* $mmu is ommu *'shadow'*

1.5.2.4. *Mater vocalium* Y (rules are ordered)

	ENVIRONMENTS	Y	EXAMPLES
1	w--j followed by a front rounded vowel, ɒ or a diphthong	u	wYjœ̀ð is wujœ̀ð *'to carry it'*
2	w--j followed by a front unrounded vowel	i	wYjaɣ is wijaɣ
3	w--j followed by a back rounded vowel	does not occur	
4	--j or j--	i	jYne is jine *'to wait'*
5	--w or w--	u	wYryð is wuryð *'to bite it'*
6	h--Cl followed by a front rounded vowel, ɒ or a diphthong	y	hYŋœn is hyŋœn *'to creep up to him'*
7	h--Cl followed by a front unrounded vowel	i	hYŋé is hiŋé *'to carry it on the head'*
8	h--Cl followed by a back rounded vowel	does not occur	
9	other	ɨ	pYlɨð is pɨlyð *'to quarrel'*

1.5.2.5. *Mater vocalium* 0 (rules are ordered)

	ENVIRONMENTS	0	EXAMPLES
1	--Cy	o	p0kyl is pokyl *'crooked'*
	--Ci	o or u	$m0sik is omosik or omusik *'music'*[1]
	--Cu	o or ɒ[2]	r0su is rosu *'to sit'* n0ru is nɒru *'to mourn'*
2	other	o	$β0sa is oβosa *'lizard'*

Notes:
1. All cases of foreign borrowings, except, maybe, kusijak *'little finger'* (k0sɣjak?).
2. 0 is ɒ in some morphemes, o in others.

1.5.2.6. *Mater vocalium* E (rules are ordered)

	ENVIRONMENTS	E	EXAMPLES
1	--C followed by a front rounded vowel, ɒ or a diphthong	œ	$mEɣœə is œmœɣœə *'mist'* $ɣErɒn is œɣœrɒn *'its behind'*
2	other	e	$sEkleɣ is esekleɣ *'my nephew'*

1.5.2.7. *Mater vocalium* I (rules are ordered)

	ENVIRONMENTS	I	EXAMPLES
1	--βj[1]	y	IβjEðin is yβjeðin *'its middle'*
2	--C followed by a front rounded vowel, ɒ or a diphthong	y	Isɛ́n is ysɛ́n *a fish species* Iβɛ́l is yβɛ́l *'shark'* Itjɒt is ytjɒt *'thing'*

Note 1. This environment is probably generalizable to: -- bilabial followed by C.

This table is continued on next page.

ENVIRONMENTS		I	EXAMPLES
3	other	i	Ireɣ is irеɣ *'my body'* Ihɔ́ is ihɔ́ *'yam'* Iβɔ́ɣ is iβɔ́ɣ *a sprite's name*

1.6. *INDIVIDUAL VARIATIONS*

By individual variations are meant divergences between idiolects. But it may also happen that an idiolect "borrows" from another. The divergence thus borrowed will usually be restricted to one or a few words. Such a divergence is found in Eugène Alɣet's treatment of the mater vocalium O for which he has ɒ in some morphemes and o in others.

1.6.1. Variations in consonants, vowels and diphthongs

The following individual variations are probably due to the influence of the southern dialect.

1.6.1.1. Stops are aspirated phrase-finally, e.g. mijilp [miˈjilpʰ] *'he struck it'*.

1.6.1.2. Fricatives are voiceless phrase-finally, or preceding a voiceless phone, e.g. moroɣ/ [mɔˈrɔx] *'he heard it'*.

1.6.1.3. Phrase-finally, r is followed by a weak echo of the preceding vowel, e.g. makar [maˈkarᵃ] *'it is red'*.

1.6.1.4. The fricative ð is apico-interdental.

NB. The above divergences are regular features of Hog-Harbour.

1.6.1.5. The diphthong œə is replaced by the vowel œ.

Note: There are no diphthongs in Hog-Harbour.

1.6.1.6. The vowel i representing the mater vocalium I is replaced by u or y in a few words. This seems to be an influence of Lowérié or Hog-Harbour, e.g. ijar *'garden'* is nujar in Lowérié and nyjar in Hog-Harbour.

1.6.1.7. Word-medially, the following vowels are lost:

a) a vowel representing the mater vocalium $.

b) a in environment --C followed by a, e.g. nhalhal for nahalhal *'light'*.

c) a vowel representing the mater vocalium E in environment --C followed by e, é, æ, or ǽ, e.g. æβrœn *'its nest'* for æβærœn.

d) the vowel o representing the mater vocalium 0 in environment --C followed by o or ó. NB. These seem to be influences of Lowérié, e.g. ara ($ra) *'pig'* is nara in Hog-Harbour, and nra in Lowérié; aðalan ($ðalan) *'cloud'* is naðalan freely alternating with neðlan in Hog-Harbour and is nðlan in Lowérié.

The following divergences are not likely to be due to influences of the southern dialect.

1.6.1.8. The fricative ɣ becomes a stop phrase-finally or word-finally following a front, non-low vowel, e.g. ðeneɣ *'my father'* is [ðɛˈnɛg], roɣ/ *'listen'* is [rɔg].

1.6.1.9. The vowels é, ǽ and ó, and, but much more rarely, y and e, are diphthonguised as respectively [eɪ], [øɪ], [oɷ], [ɣɪ] and [ɛe] when final of a morpheme other than a construct or suffixing one, e.g. né *'axe'* is [neɪ] instead of [ne], nó *'turtle'* is [noɷ] instead of [no].

1.6.1.10. The trill ʀ is replaced by r. This is a feature of so many idiolects that ʀ will probably have disappeared in Sakao as a phoneme distinct from r within a decade or so. The trill ʀ has already been replaced by r everywhere word-finally, where it is still attested in Hog-Harbour, e.g. jɒr *'we (inclusive)'* is jǽʀ in Hog-Harbour. An intermediary form jǽr is found in the northern subdialect of Lotoror.

1.6.1.11. Both ʀ and r are realised as voiced trills. This is probably an overcompensation for the tendency to replace r by ʀ, and is a divergence found in idiolects showing mainly influences from Hog-Harbour and Lowérié.

1.6.2. Variations in vowel harmony

1.6.2.1. The mater vocalium $ shows the widest range of variations, varying from being a central fronted vowel, low or mid depending on speakers, unspecified for rounding or unrounding, but otherwise unaffected by its environment (and therefore notable by a, e or æ), to $ totally assimilating to the following vowel, e.g. æβðyɣ ($βðyɣ) *'my head'* may be heard aβðyɣ or yβðyɣ.

1.6.2.2. The mater vocalium 0 varies between ɒ and o in environments --Cy or --Cu. This divergence is extremely common, and very few speakers indeed will have the same vowel in either of these environments; most

will have ɒ in some words, o in others, but few will have ɒ and o freely alternating.

1.6.2.3. The mater vocalium I is only sometimes heard as i instead of y, e.g. yβǽl *'shark'* (Iβǽl) is but rarely heard as iβǽl.

1.7. *MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL ALTERATIONS*

1.7.1. Morphophonological changes occur within phrases, some obligatorily, some optionally, and involve in all cases but one the loss of a phoneme.

1.7.2. In the following tables, **V** denotes a vowel, **C** a consonant, member or not of a cluster, **SC** stands for *same consonant*, **SV** for *same vowel*, and **HS** for *homorganic stop*.

1.7.3. The following morphophonological changes are obligatory:

Within the phrase (rules ordered)

The segment		*in environment*	*becomes*	**EXAMPLES**
1	Vh	--C	VhSV	mŏaha mam *'this shore'* for mŏah mam
2	C	--SC	lost	kam malam *'this person came'* as ka malam
3	β	--p or p--	lost	jaβwarp βoɣ *'don't even speak'* as jaβwarp oɣ

Within a word, or a close-knit string of words (shown herein by intervening hyphens or raised dots (see 00.6B.)

The segment	*in environment*	*becomes*	**EXAMPLES**
r	--n	lost	okur-nœð *'shell of a coconut'* as oku-nœð

1.7.4. The following morphophonological changes are optional and apply after the obligatory changes have taken place.

Probability	*Lost segment*	*In environment*	EXAMPLES
almost always	j	i--	iar for ijar *'garden'*
very often	j	--i	aiɪp for ajiɪp *'I'll kill him'*
often[1]	j	--e or --é	eekar for ejekar *'crab'*
sometimes[1]	j	--a	aa for aja *'what?'*
almost always	w	u--	uyð for uwyð *'jungle'*
very often	w	--u	aup for awup *'I'll castrate it'*
often[1]	w	--o or --ó	aos for awos *'I'll dream'*
very seldom[1]	w	--ɒ	œɒɪ-ɑo for œwɒɪ-ɑo *'rat's tail'*
very often	ɨ	C--SC	ttót for tɨtót *'let's cut it'*
sometimes	ɨ	C--	œsŋœɣ for œsɨŋœɣ *'my mouth'*
often	h	phrase-medially	mœɣœðeri for mœɣœðheri *'he knows it'*
sometimes	ð or ɣ	--HS	sœŋɒt for sœŋɒðt *'cut it off'*
very often	r	--jr	jǽr jrép *'they all'* as jǽ jrép

Note 1. And only word-medially.

NB. When w or j is lost following a consonant, the following vowel becomes slightly lengthened, which will be shown herein by an apostrophe, e.g. ɣ'óp ni for ɣwóp ni *'let her hang herself'*.

The above optional rules are not ordered relatively to one another, so that several of them may apply recurringly to the same segment or segments, e.g. βé kep for βé ɣkep for βé ɣɨkep *'when he took it'*.

1.8. *WORD STRUCTURES*

Here follow some observations on the structure of Sakao words. They apply only to uninflected, non-compound words bare of suffixes.

1.8.1. Excepting those cases when a consonant has been lost due to the application of one of the optional morphophonological changes above, a vowel cannot be immediately followed by another vowel. The only exceptions to this rule are represented by nouns with an initial sequence aa ($a), which can however be traced back to an older sequence awa ($wa), e.g. aaɣ *'canoe'*, which is nwaɣ in Hog-Harbour, comes from an older form awaɣ, still attested by its allomorph waɣ in lœβɒr-waɣ *'on (top of) a canoe'*, i.e. *'by canoe'*.

1.8.2. Initially of a polysyllabic word, one finds only the vowels and matres vocalium a, o, u, I and $, e.g. aðði *'moon'*, ora *'sow'*, ula *'palm-tree'*, isa (Isa) *'friend'*, ara ($ra) *'pig'*.

1.8.3. Medially of a polysyllabic word, one finds the vowel and matres vocalium a, E, O and Y, e.g. alawa ($lawa) *'mud'*, ejenal ($jEnal) *'hawk'*, oβosa ($βOsa) *'lizard'*, sɨŋer (sYŋer) *'to be bright'*.

1.8.4. Word-finally, one finds the following vowels and diphthongs.

If that word is: / construct	a	e	é	œ		œ́	ɒ		o	ó	i	y[1]	u[1]
suffixing:													
a) *lower allomorph*	a			œ			ɒ		o				
b) *other*		e	é	œ		œ́			o	ó	i	y[1]	
other	a	e	é		œə	œ́		ɑo	o	ó	i	y[1]	u[1]

Note 1. Does not occur following j.

Note the complementary distribution of the diphthongs œə and ɑo and the vowels œ and ɒ.

1.8.5. In a closed final syllable, one finds the vowels:

a e é œ œ́ ɒ o ó y[1]

Note the absence of diphthongs and of the high vowels i and u.

[1] i following j, e.g. jil *'to strike it'*, jir *'to twist it'*. See 1.8.4., Note 1.

1.8.6. Word-initially and intervocalically, one finds single consonants, short or long, and clusters of two consonants, e.g. hirké *'to carry him on one's shoulders'*, ssaru *'to speak'*, rle *'to send him on an errand'*, aðði *'moon'*.

1.8.7. Word-finally, one finds single short consonants and clusters of two consonants, e.g. he *'to live'*, heð *'bad'*, hert *'to sing'*, eðenm *'devil'*.

1.8.8. Semi-consonants and the trill ʀ do not occur word-finally.

1.8.9. The trill ʀ and j and h never occur long.

1.8.10. Simple reduplication

A simple reduplication is a CVC segment doubled (C representing a short consonant, the second one different from the first one). A great many words are composed of or contain a simple reduplication, e.g. karkar *'clean'*, œkɒrkɒr *'hermit crab'*, nahalhal *'light'*, harβorβor *'cowardly'*, nokonkon *'round'*, aɣarɣar *'swallow'*, eherher *'blow-pipe'*, œhynhyn *'hillock'*, keðkeð *'afraid'*, anatnat *'hornet'*.

The two rules hereunder (paragraphs 1.8.11. and 1.8.12.) do not apply in simple reduplications.

1.8.11. Homorganic stops, fricatives and/or nasals do not occur contiguously.

1.8.12. If one calls *homothesis* the vowel a when the following syllable contains a, or the vowel o when the following syllable contains o, ó, u or Y, or the vowel u when the following syllable contains u or Y, or the mater vocalium E when the following syllable contains e, é, œ, œ́, œə, ɑo or E, or the mater vocalium I when the following syllable contains i, y or Y, or the mater vocalium O when the following syllable contains o, ó or O, or the mater vocalium Y in all environments, i.e. as per table on the following page, then, homotheses do not occur word-initially nor between two homorganic stops, fricatives and/or nasals. *There are but a few exceptions to this rule, the most common being the suffixing noun* ðana- *'father'*.

The vowel or mater vocalium	*is a homothesis if the following syllable contains:*
a	a
o	o, ó, u or Y
u	u or Y
E	e, é, œ, œ́, œə, ɑo or E
I	i, y or Y
0	o, ó or 0
Y	any vowel or mater vocalium

1.8.13. Finally, homotheses never occur between two identical consonants.

1.9. *LIAISON*

An n occurs sporadically, following a vowel and preceding a noun starting with $ or a verbal string or a verb in the first person singular, e.g. tɨm'aβɨ|ja|-perer ɒ| ɣe *nœpœs* ɣamsor *'they had not been walking for long and (i.e. when) the dogs barked'*; jœn βa *n*ajan *'I shall go'*.

This n is a surviving evidence of a lost consonant still attested in Hog-Harbour, e.g. to Sakao noun-initial $ corresponds in Hog-Harbour an initial n or n$, and, in Hog-Harbour, the verbal personal prefixes are, for the singular:

	1st person	*2nd person*	*3rd person*
Irrealis	naɣ	nɨɣ	ɣɨ
Realis	nam	nɨm	m

Compare with the Sakao prefixes p. 9.

CHAPTER 2: MORPHOLOGY

2.1. *NUMBER*

2.1.0. Sakao has four numbers: singular, dual, trial and plural. The trial is in fact a limited plural referring to numbers from three to about ten.

2.1.1. Only personal pronouns and personal pronominal suffixes, however, are specified for all four numbers. Some morphemes are inflectable for the plural only (e.g. nominal demonstratives), some are inherently specified for one number only (e.g. personal demonstrative pronouns, inherently singular; the free noun rru *'two persons'*, inherently dual; the free noun rki *'people'*, inherently trial). Many morphemes are unspecified and uninflectable for number, but may become specified, most often at least partially, by an expansion (e.g. a numeral or a determining morpheme itself specified for number). Many morphemes, finally, are unspecifiable for number (e.g. verbs, modal particles).

2.1.2. The following table (on next page) sums up and details the general remarks contained in the preceding paragraph.

EXAMPLES:

1. **Uninflectable morpheme:** ara *'pig'* or *'pigs'*; determined by an uninflected nominal demonstrative: ara mam *'this pig'*; by an inflected nominal demonstrative: ara mamɨr *'these pigs'*; by an uninflected nominal demonstrative and a numeral: ara mam ieð *'these four pigs'*.

2. **Inflectable morpheme:** aðœn *'relative'*; when uninflected: aðœn *'relative'* (sg.); when uninflected and determined by an uninflected nominal demonstrative: aðœn mam *'this relative'*; and by a numeral: aðœn mam ðœl *'these three relatives'*; when inflected: raðœn *'relatives'*, and determined by an inflected nominal demonstrative: raðœn mamɨr *'these relatives'*.

3. Inherently trial morpheme: rki *'people'*, determined by an uninflected nominal demonstrative: rki mam *'these people'*, and by a numeral: rki mam ieð *'these four people'*.

MORPHEME		determined by a phrase expansion consisting of:			
		nominal demonst.		a numeral and, optionally, a nominal demonstrative uninflected for plural	other
		uninfl.	infl.		
uninflectable for the plural		singular	plural	as specified by numeral	unspecified
inflectable for plural	uninflected	singular		as specified by numeral	singular
	inflected		plural		plural
inherently singular		singular			singular
inherently dual		dual		cf. Note 1	dual
inherently trial		limited plural		as specified by numeral	limited plural

Note 1. The inherently dual noun rru *'two persons'* may be determined by the numeral ru *'two'*, e.g. rru ɒm or rru ɒm ru *'those two people'*.

Abbreviations: infl. = inflected for plural; uninfl. = uninflected for plural.

2.2. *PARTITIVE*

Class I nouns other than those starting with $β or $ɒ, nominalised adjectives and nominalised adjectivoids are inflectable for the partitive, unless they are regimes, in which case they remain uninflected, e.g. aβra *'a bit of pork'* from ara *'pig'*; oβoneð *'a bit of meat'* from oneð *'meat'*; oβró *'some water'* from oró *'water'*.

Nouns and nominalised adjectives and adjectivoids inflected for the partitive are further inflectable for the irrealis by prefixing t, e.g. taβra *'a bit of pork'* (irrealis); toβró *'some water'* (irrealis).

2.3. *IRREALIS*

2.3.1. Partitives and, unless they are regimes, class I and II nouns, nominalised adjectives and adjectivoids, and numerals other than the definite and the interrogative ones are inflectable for the irrealis.

2.3.2. Meaning

The existence of the referent of a word in the irrealis is either

doubted, or negated, or regarded as a mere prospect, e.g. per maaβɣœðheri wé tɨmhœ́ tetté *'the padre did not know whether they had run away from SOMETHING'*; jetar mœrœmp βé¨ arœsp taðœŋœn ité *'God thought [and] said: "I will make A MAN"'*; wé mnarɑo¨ symp tœnœð ité *'if you are thirsty, drink A COCONUT'*; aɣœnp na taja ité? *'WHAT shall I eat now?'*; ɨ¨ ðenem ité meré *'you, you don't have A father*[1]*'*; jép œme¨ akep tara ité hœm *'make the sun shine, and I'll give you A PIG'*; topel ité ɣɨré *'let it not be ANOTHER ONE'*; aker tosoltja ðlru tɨhein *'I'll put two soldiers to guard it'*; mœtɒrp taðœŋœn ité meré aja *'he met with A MAN or something [else]'*; tetté βa meré llɒð *'there wasn't ANYTHING yet on the earth'*.

2.4. *DEMONSTRATIVES*

2.4.0. Sakao has a wealth of demonstrative words, as can be seen from the table below.

DEMONSTRATIVE WORDS

				pronouns					
		nominal	deic	clsl	locative	general	persn.	retro.	adject.
present	immediate	mam(ɨr)	non	nnon	ðað(ɨr)	wa(rɨr)	kamam		ðamam
	mediate	ɒm(ɨr)	ni	nni	ðɒm(ɨr)	wɒm(ɨr)	kam		ðɒm
	remote	nóm(ɨr)	njó	nnjó	ðóð(ɨr)	ó(rɨr)	kamóm		ðomóm
non-present	immediate	með(ɨr)	nœð	nnœð	jeð(ɨr)	weð(ɨr)	kameð	okomeð	ðemeð
	mediate	mer(ɨr) *or* ker(ɨr)	nœr	nnœr	ðer(ɨr)	wer(ɨr)	kaker	okomer	ðemer
	remote	mɒr(ɨr) *or* kɒr(ɨr)	nɒr	nnɒr	ðɒr(ɨr)	wɒr(ɨr)	kakɒr	okomɒr	ðœmɒr
tacit		krym(ɨr)	neri	nneri	ðeri(rɨr)	weri(rɨr)	kakrym	ukkrym	ðemeri
interrogative		me *or* mé			je				ðemé *or* ðé

Abbreviations: deic = deictic, clsl = clausal, persn. = personal, retro. = retroactive, adject. = adjective.

[1] ðana- *'father'* belongs to a class of nouns which is not inflectable for the irrealis.

2.4.1. The terms *immediate*, *mediate* and *remote* have been chosen for series of demonstratives rather than other terms such as *close*, *near*, *far*, as they convey better the Sakao meanings which are not necessarily spatial, e.g. you notice a boat in the distance and ask your interlocutor: aaɣ móm ton hi njó? *'THAT boat, maybe who THERE?'*, i.e. *'who could that be in that boat?'* using remote demonstratives. He, on the other hand, might answer: œhœn̈ am'aβɣœðheri aaɣ ɒm mβɒrp *'no, I don't see THAT boat you said'* using a mediate demonstrative, or: hɑö aaɣ mam amɣœðheri *'yes, I know THIS boat'* using the immediate demonstrative.

2.4.2. Present demonstratives refer to present states of affairs, non-present demonstratives to non-present states of affairs, i.e. future or past, e.g. a man left a fish on a stone; when he comes back to fetch it, instead of his fish, he finds a young girl sitting on that stone. He tells her: Jœn amkœl enes kɨté apɨtjœ-rsa ðer lœsymt-ejeð ker/ *'I'm looking for a fish I left HERE on top of THIS stone'*, using non-present demonstratives. Or, you ask your informant: "What do you call this?" pointing to a rafter of the nakamal and using the present immediate demonstrative: wa tɨβɒrɨn aja? *'THIS is called what?'*; he then touches the rafter, wanting to make sure that it is indeed the one you meant, and asks back: wer? *'THIS ONE?'* using the non-present, mediate demonstrative.

2.4.3. Tacit demonstratives refer to unexpressed or previously agreed upon things, e.g. mɣœð kakrym? *'did you see THE PERSON IN QUESTION?'*, jorɔ́ tɨppe ðeri *'let's meet AT THE APPOINTED PLACE'*, lœβyŋ-eren krym *'on the day AGREED UPON'*.

2.4.4. Interrogative demonstratives elicit information, e.g. mryrp je? *'WHERE do you come from?'*, mðé non? *'WHAT have you been DOing now?'*, wari mam rœr mɨlrɔ́ ton je non? *'WHERE could this husband [of mine] be?'*.

2.4.5. Nominal demonstratives and locative and general demonstrative pronouns other than the interrogative ones are inflectable for the plural (inflection shown in brackets in the table on previous page) by suffixing ɨr following a consonant, rɨr following a vowel, e.g. ara mam *'this pig'*, ara mamɨr *'these pigs'*, ðað *'here'*, ðaðɨr *'at these places'*, wa *'this one'*, warɨr *'these'*. General demonstrative pronouns may be determined by a phrase expansion consisting of a numeral other than té *'a, one'* (indefinite), kɨté *'a, one'* (definite), ða *'some, several'* (indefinite), kɨða *'some, several'* (definite) and ðé *'how many?'*.

2.4.6. Personal and retroactive pronouns are inherently singular, e.g. kamam *'this person'*.

2.4.7. Other demonstratives are unspecified and uninflectable for number.

2.4.8. Nominal demonstratives correspond to the demonstrative adjectives of English, e.g. ara mam *'THIS pig'*.

2.4.9. Demonstrative deictics correspond to locative demonstratives as used colloquially in English, e.g. ara mam non *'this HERE pig'*.

2.4.10. Clausal demonstratives are unsupplementable and constitute subthemes or predicates on their own, e.g. nnjó βa *'still THAT ONE'*, i.e. *'there is still one left'*; nnon non jœn *'[as for] THIS ONE here, [it was] me'*.

2.4.11. Locative demonstrative pronouns refer to a place or, when inflected for the plural, places, e.g. ðóð *'there'*, ðóðir *'at those places, around there'*.

2.4.12. General demonstrative pronouns refer to things, concrete or abstract, or to animals or persons, e.g. timhyp wa *'they shot HIM'*; wa eɣeni *'THIS [is] a tree'* or *'THIS [is] wood'*; wa ton meɣe je? *'THIS maybe goes where?'*, i.e. *'what could be the reason for this custom?'*

2.4.13. Personal demonstrative pronouns refer to persons, e.g. kamam βé ɣitari *'when THIS PERSON went in'*.

2.4.14. Retroactive demonstrative pronouns refer to concrete things, or to animals or persons just noticed by the speaker, e.g. a man finds an infant abandoned by a stream and says: jœn βa najan awwein okomer *'I shall go and feed THIS ONE'*. Or, walking ahead on the path, the guide turns to you, pointing to a tree, and says: jaβwysp okomer̈ oɣolað *'don't touch THIS ONE, it's a nangalat'*.

2.4.15. Demonstrative adjectives express manner, e.g. wɒr mœðœmɒr *'that is LIKE THAT'*, móé? *'WHAT are you DOing?'*, eteðemeð *'SUCH a thing'*.

2.5. *NUMERALS*

2.5.1. Numerals are:

tɛ́	*'a, one'* (indefinite)	ieð	*'four'*
kɨtɛ́	*'a, one'* (definite)	lɛ́n	*'five'*
ða	*'some'* (indefinite)	lɛ́n·ara	*'six'*
kɨða	*'some'* (definite)	lɛ́n·ere·ru	*'seven'*
ðɛ́	*'how many?'*	lɛ́n·ere·tœl	*'eight'*
ru	*'two'*	lɛ́n·ere·peð	*'nine'*
ðœl	*'three'*		

NOTE. Numbers above *ten* are expressed by numeral verbs.

2.5.2. The difference of meaning between definite and indefinite numerals is apparent from the following example: having asked for directions to go to a village, you are told: hoβr ɒl ahal¨ wɛ́ mɣœð œnœð kɨtɛ́ haβyl *'just follow the road, when you see a (definite) coconut-tree, go west'*.

2.5.3. Numerals other than kɨtɛ́, ða, kɨða and ðɛ́ may be inflected for the distributive provided that they are not regimes, by prefixing taal (probably from tɛ́ ɒl *'just one'*), e.g. ɣamky aɣt-esɨlen taalieð *'they give EACH four one-shilling coins'*.

2.5.4. Numerals other than the definite ones, and which are not distributive nor regimes may be inflected for the irrealis, tɛ́ and ða prefixing i, ieð prefixing ð and others prefixing ði, e.g. itɛ́ *'one'*, ðiru *'two'*, ðieð *'four'*.

2.6. *SUFFIXING MORPHEMES*

2.6.1. Suffixing morphemes comprise suffixing nouns, prepositions and pronouns, and all end with a vowel.

2.6.2. Vowel alternance occurs in many suffixing morphemes, an allomorph differing by its final vowel being used with the third person singular and first person plural inclusive pronominal suffixes. These suffixes are historically derived from suffixes containing a low vowel, as attested by Tolomako and Akei:

Tolomako	Akei	Sakao	
na nataku	na mataku	mðeɣ	*my eyes*
na natana	na matana	mðan	*his eyes*
na natatsa	na mataka	mðar	*our eyes*

These two suffixes are therefore called *low*, and the allomorphs they require *lower*.

Vowel alternance occurs as shown in the following table:

Final vowel of lower allomorph	*Final vowel (other)*	EXAMPLES
a	e	mǒeɣ *my eyes* mǒan *his eyes*
ɒ	œ	œðœɣ *my faeces* œðɒn *his faeces*
o	œ	œrlœɣ *my throat* orlon *his throat*
œ	y	œryɣ *my teeth* œrœn *his teeth*

Except in the case of a few suffixing morphemes ending with o, which do not show vowel alternance, all suffixing morphemes which end with a, ɒ, o or œ preceding a low suffix show vowel alternance. For this reason, when such a morpheme is given without its regime, only the lower allomorph is provided, e.g. œrœ- *'teeth'*.

In a few suffixing morphemes, vowel alternance extends to the penultimate syllable, e.g. ðeneɣ *'my father'*, ðanan *'his father'*, lɨkyɣ *'near me'*, lœkœn *'near him'*.

2.7. *CONSTRUCT MORPHEMES*

2.7.1. Construct morphemes comprise construct nouns, prepositions and pronouns, and most of them end with a consonant, e.g. ark= *'trunk'*, nǽl= *'hair, feathers of'*, œβyð= *'head of'*, asask= *'flesh of'*. Those which end with a vowel are identical with the corresponding suffixing morphemes, e.g. œnœ= *'tongue'*, suffixing: œnɒ-; aro= *'face'*, suffixing: aro- (no vowel alternance).

2.8. *NOUNS*

2.8.0. Nouns fall into three classes as regards their inflections.

2.8.1. Class I nouns are inflected for the irrealis and the partitive, class II nouns for the irrealis only, and class III nouns which are kinship terms are inflected for the plural. The class III nouns rru

'two persons' and rki *'people'* are respectively inherently dual and trial.

2.8.2. Class I nouns are divided into three subclasses:

a) Class Ia contains nouns other than kinship terms, starting, when uninflected, with the mater vocalium $, e.g. ara *'pig'*, orɔ́ *'water'*, œβlaɣen *'sorcerer'*, ehi *'kingfisher'*.

b) Class Ib contains nouns other than kinship terms, starting, when uninflected, with a vowel or mater vocalium other than $, e.g. iðel *'banana'*, ulœ- *'hair, feathers'*, ulœh *'maggot'*, ora *'sow'*, aro- *'face'*, ark= *'trunk'*.

c) Class Ic contains nouns other than kinship terms, which, when uninflected, start with n, e.g. non *'sand'*, noð *'fowl'*, né *'axe'*, nœ́r·kar *'sacred stones*[1]*'*.

2.8.3. Class II contains four nouns which, when uninflected, start with mð, i.e. mða- *'eye'*, mðe *'a kind of haunting sprite'*, mðah *'shore'*, mðoβ *'a kind of breadfruit'*.

2.8.4. Class III contains kinship terms and a few nouns referring to persons, all starting with a consonant other than n or a cluster other than mð, e.g. mana- *'(man's) brother'*, utie- *'(woman's) sister'*, kɒt *'boy'*, kœ́ *'girl'*, rkl *'people'*.

2.8.5. Inflection for the partitive

a) Class Ia nouns infix β between their initial mater vocalium $ and the following phoneme, nouns in aa ($a) then recovering their historically lost w, e.g. ara *'pig'*, partitive: aβra *'a bit of pork'*; aaɣ *'canoe'*, partitive: aβwaɣ *'part of a canoe, one side of a canoe'*.

b) Class Ib nouns prefix $β, e.g. ireɣ *'my body'*, partitive: œβireɣ *'part of my body, one side of my body'*; ulyɣ *'my hair'*, partitive: oβulyɣ *'part of my hair, one of my hairs'*.

c) Class Ic nouns replace their initial n for $β, e.g. naβ *'firewood'*, partitive: aβaβ *'some firewood, part of a heap of firewood'*.

2.8.6. Inflection for the irrealis

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[1] cf. Deacon (1929:467): 'in one hand he carries a club, in the other a basket of sacred stones (thongiurkar)', i.e. aðaŋ-œ́r·kar 'nœ́rkar-*basket*'.

a) Class Ia and Ib nouns prefix t, e.g. ara *'pig'*, irrealis: tara; ora *'sow'*, irrealis: tora.

b) Class Ic nouns replace their initial n for t, e.g. né *'axe'*, irrealis: té; noð *'fowl'*, irrealis: toð.

c) Class II nouns prefix ti, e.g. möoβ *'breadfruit'*, irrealis: timöoβ.

2.8.7. Inflection for the plural

a) Kinship terms starting with wa lose their initial w and prefix ra, e.g. wakœr *'wife'*, plural: raakœr

b) Kinship terms starting with a consonant prefix ri, e.g. meneɣ *'my brother'*, plural: rimeneɣ *'my brothers'*.

c) Kinship terms starting with a vowel prefix r, e.g. utiem *'your sister'*, plural: rutiem *'your sisters'*.

2.8.8. Inflection for regime

Some class Ic nouns are inflected, some optionally, some obligatorily, for regime, by replacing their initial n for Ij, e.g. ne- *'penis'* is obligatorily inflected for regime, thus becoming ije-, e.g. oró-je- *'sperm'* (literally: *'water of penis'*; for the loss of initial i cf. p. 37); non *'sand'*, is optionally inflected for regime, e.g. lon or lion *'in the sand'*, where it is regime of the construct preposition l= *'in, at, on'*.

When regime, the suffixing noun œβðœ- *'head'* takes the form βœðœ-βiðy-, e.g. lohu-βœðœn *'in the space above his head'*, lohu-βiðyɣ *'in the space above my head'*.

2.8.9. Loss of initial $, n or I

Nouns lose their initial $, n or I in the following environments (see table, next page):

If the noun is	\$ *is lost*	n *is lost*	I *is lost*
non-initial member of a compound noun	almost always[1]	always	almost always[1]
included object	always	always	almost always[1]
regime of a construct preposition or pronoun			
a) ending with a vowel	always	always	almost always[1]
b) ending with a consonant	never	always	never
regime of a construct noun			
a) ending with a vowel	always	always	almost always[1]
b) ending with a consonant	often[2]	always	almost always[1]
regime of the interrogative pronoun hi *'which?'*	always	never if open monosyllabic word, otherwise, always[3]	always

Notes:

1. The few cases when the initial was retained seem to alternate freely with those when it was lost.

2. No fast rule could be found. The initial tends to be retained when its loss would result in a sequence of three or more consonants or a sequence of two homorganic stops, fricatives and/or nasals. But exceptions are numerous and seemingly unpredictable.

3. For example, hi éð *'which star?'* from néð *'star'*; but hi né *'which axe?'* from né *'axe'*.

2.8.10. Nouns are further dividable into two great categories: bound and free, the former comprising suffixing, construct and enclitic nouns.

2.8.11. The enclitic noun \$tE

There is only one enclitic noun, \$tE *'thing'* which is prefixed to its expansions. Its allomorphs are given in the table overleaf:

when preceding:	$tE *is:*	EXAMPLES
té kɨté kkri tɨβle	fused	etté *'something'* etikté *'a certain thing'* ettikri *'small things'* ettɨβle *'ordinary thing'*
móm(ɨr)	$tO	otomóm *'that thing'*
a vowel	$t	œtɒm *'that thing'*
a morpheme the 1st syllable of which (disregarding a syllable containing ɨ) contains a	$ta	atamam *'this thing'* atakɨða *'certain things'*
elsewhere	$tE	eteheð *'bad things'*

Note the idiomatic meaning of $tEhɒ- as *'garden'*, e.g. œtœhœɣ *'my garden'*.

2.8.12. Noun formation

Nouns are formed by derivation or/and composition.

A) By derivation:

a) Names of tools are formed by prefixing $ to verb stems the first syllable of which contains a (disregarding a syllable containing ɨ), and by prefixing a to other verb stems, e.g. aujéð *'pole for carrying loads'*, from wujéð *'to carry it on a pole'*; aɣel *'digging stick'* from ɣel *'to dig'*. In some names of tools of older formation, a change of vowel has occurred in the verb stem, e.g. aras *'a kind of weapon'*, from rɒs *'to hit it with a missile'*, ajél *'pestle'* from jil *'to strike it'*. The nouns asjer *'messenger, servant'*, ahor *'catamite'*[1], aljé *'lineage'* are almost certainly formed in the same way from sjer *'to send him'*, hor *'a verb expressing the reaching of sexual maturity in males'*, and ljé *'to spit it, to lay [an egg]'*.

b) Abstract nouns are formed by prefixing $ to verb stems, e.g. œjém *'work'* from jém *'to work'*, ejerkeð *'obscene language'* from jerkeð *'to swear'*. Note the extraordinary formation of elhe-tor *'eternal life'*

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[1]Oliveau (1911:338): "La pédérastie existe et aboutit dans l'île d'Espiritu Santo à la formation d'un ménage bizarre composé du mari, de la femme et d'un jeune Canaque qui a droit aux faveurs de la femme."

from he *'to live'*, the adverb tor *'always'* and the perdurative prefix i.

B) By composition:

a) A free noun is followed by another noun which determines it, e.g. olom-akat *'car-house'*, e.g. *'garage'*.

b) A construct noun is amalgamated to its regime and, owing to the loss of the word-boundary, its final syllable becomes unstressed, unstressed ɒ becoming a, e.g. anaðhal *'door'* from œnɒð-hal *'opening of the road'*.

c) A free noun or a construct noun is followed by a verb which determines it, e.g. enes-hol *'animal-fly'*, i.e. *'bird'*; orǿ-ɣer *'water-flow'*, i.e. *'stream, river'*; nǽl-sys *'feather-peel'*, i.e. *'falling star'*.

C) By the above processes combined:

For example, arǿ-tin *'can-opener'* from rǿ *'to open it'* and etin *'can, tin'*; ason-ɣor-ulé- *'shoes'* from son *'to slip it [on]'*, ɣor *'to conceal it, to block it'*, and ulé- *'feet'*; nar-sœŋ-pere *'long-beaked nar'* from nar *'a fish species'*, œsœŋ= *'mouth, beak'* and pere *'long'*.

As regards their category (free, suffixing, construct or enclitic) derived nouns are free, and compound nouns belong to the same category as their last component if it is a noun, and are free if their last component is a verb.

2.9. *PRONOUNS*

There are thirteen classes of pronouns:

1. Clausal demonstrative pronouns
2. Locative demonstrative pronouns
3. General demonstrative pronouns
4. Personal demonstrative pronouns
5. Retroactive demonstrative pronouns
6. Locative pronouns
7. Proper pronouns
8. The interrogative pronoun hi *'who, which?'*
9. Locative proper pronouns
10. Iterative pronouns
11. Possessive pronouns
12. Ordinal pronouns
13. Personal pronouns.

2.9.1. Demonstrative pronouns have been treated in 2.4.

2.9.2. Locative pronouns are:

jel	*north*
ys	*south*
jeha	*west*
jehu	*east*
tyl	*above*
jeðan	*below*
jer	*right*
jenar	*left*
jettær	*far*
jeðe	*in the end*
manó	*today*
manpór	*yesterday*
mantœlœŋ	*the other day*
lakren	*tomorrow*
onaɣ	*the day after tomorrow*
wœtœn	*three days hence*
hinjer	*soon, or recently (less than a day away)*
hinjóm	*soon, or recently (less than a generation away)*
mœrœŋ	*before, long ago*
matjer	*in the remote past*
laŋ	*when? (in the future)*
malaŋ	*when? (in the past)*

Note. The first six pronouns of the above list may function as supplements, in which case they take respectively the forms mel, mys, maha, mohu, mɨtyl and maðan.

2.9.3. Proper pronouns are proper names such as alɣet, sœk, hallyŋ (men's names), kǽ-βrlβ, armœhœr (women's names). They are usually derived from or composed of verb and/or noun stems, class Ia nouns often losing their initial $, e.g. sœk from œsœk *'mosquito'*, βɒɣ from œβɒɣ *'owl'*, nɑo *'rat'*, eJeð *'stone'*; tœlpys from tœl *'to tread it'* and pys *'extinguished'*, i.e. *'he who puts out a fire by treading on it'*.

2.9.4. The interrogative pronoun hi, e.g. hi ɣɨtalmœrœŋ? *'who will go first?'*. See also 3.3.3.5.

2.9.5. Locative proper pronouns are place-names, e.g. kanal *'Luganville'*, jœkkyl *'Yakoul'*.

2.9.6. Iterative pronouns are derived from numerals by the prefixation of ða *'time'*, e.g. ðaru *'twice'*, ðaieð *'four times'*.

2.9.7. There are three possessive pronouns, which are derived from the benefactive/possessive prepositions. They are:

a) menne-, menne= which refers to potables, e.g. menneɣ *'mine [water or coconut etc. for drinking]'*.

b) mana-, mene= which refers to edibles. It is not subject to vowel alternance and, with the 1st person singular pronominal suffix for regime, takes the form miniŋ instead of manaɣ, e.g. manan *'his [something to eat]'*, mene-ra *'the pigs' [food]'*.

c) mœhɒ-, mœhœ= which refers to other possessions, e.g. mœhœɣ njó *'that's mine'*, mœhœ-ryr *'white men's'*. See also 3.3.3.1.

2.9.8. Ordinal pronouns are:

tu	*the second one*
tœl	*the third one*
iet	*the fourth one*
kœlɛ́n	*the fifth one*
kora	*the sixth one*
koru	*the seventh one*
retœl	*the eighth one*
repeð	*the ninth one*
saɣyl	*the tenth one.*

For example, βé ɣitép kora *'when it reaches the sixth [day]'*, hyr ðóð njó kora milró lœn *'for there the sixth [guard] stays in it'*.

2.9.9. Personal pronouns are:

	Singular	*Plural*	*Dual*	*Trial*
1st pers.incl.		jɒr	joró	jɒr·ðœl
1st pers.excl.	Jœn	ɣam	ɣamru	ɣamðœl
2nd pers.	i	ɣé	ɣiru	ɣðœl
3rd pers.	ni	jɛ́r	joru	jɛ́r·ðœl

2.10. *PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES*

There is a one-to-one correspondence between personal pronouns and personal pronominal suffixes (see table overleaf):

	Singular	*Plural*	*Dual*	*Trial*
1st pers.incl.	ɣ	r	ró	rðœl
1st pers.excl.	ɣ	ɣam	ɣamru	ɣamðœl
2nd pers.	m	ɣé	ɣiru	ɣðœl
3rd pers.	n	ŋœ́r	ŋoru	ŋœ́r·ðœl

Note. The 3rd person singular and 1st person inclusive plural pronominal suffixes are low (see 2.6.2.).

2.10.1. Pronominal suffixes occur suffixed to suffixing morphemes, e.g. lym *'in YOU'*, œβðyŋœ́r *'THEIR heads'*, məeɣðœl *'YOUR eyes'*, œrœn *'HIS teeth'*.

2.10.2. The ancillary pronominal suffix n occurs suffixed to suffixing morphemes to which it relates its immediately following expansion (see 3.3.1.4.b), 3.3.2.1.b), 3.3.3.1.a)). It denotes an individualised relationship, e.g. compare aaɣ enen œryr *'the boat OF a white man'* with aaɣ ene-ryr *'white man's boat'*, so that its expansions hardly ever refer to animals or objects, unless these are designated by a pronoun or are especially set apart from others, e.g. asaskyn ara mam *'the flesh OF this pig (NOT of that one)'*.

Note. The trial personal pronouns and trial personal pronominal suffixes may be determined by a phrase expansion (see 3.4.) consisting of a numeral from *three* upwards, e.g. ɣamðœl lœ́n *'the five of us'*, aaɣ eneŋœ́r·ðœl ieð *'the boat belonging to the four of them'*.

2.11. *PREPOSITIONS*

2.11.0. Prepositions are divided into four categories: locative, benefactive/possessive, possessive and directional.

2.11.1. There are two locative prepositions:

a) The preposition lœ-, construct l= *'in, at, on, to, from'* denotes general location in space or in time, e.g. amryrp liar *'I come FROM the garden'*[1], milró lyβjœ́l *'he stays IN the nakamal'*, lehié mɒr *'(IN) that year'*, timtinét lyn té *'they start [counting] FROM one'*.

Its construct form fuses with the nouns œlɒð *'ground'*, olom *'house'*, œnɒð= *'eye, opening, cutting edge'*, œnɒt= *'underside'*, and analo-ðe

[1]The idea of *'from'* is conveyed here by the verb ryr.

'surf', to give, through the loss of the initial vowel and the lengthening of the following consonant: llɒð, llom, nnɒð=, nnɒt=, nnalo-ðe.

b) The preposition lœkœ- (liky-), construct liki= *'near'*, which denotes spatial proximity, e.g. mereyp <u>liky</u>n œβtɒr *'he cried AT* œβtɒr*<u>'s</u> <u>PLACE</u>'*, yaβysp nœ́m eheð <u>liki</u>-wakœr *'they had been whoring'* (literally: *'they had done bad work NEAR women'*), majan <u>lœkœ</u>n *'he went TO his PLACE'*.

2.11.2. Benefactive/possessive prepositions may denote either benefaction or possession, e.g. akep tara ité <u>hœm</u> *'I will take a pig FOR YOU'*, i.e. *'I'll give you a pig'*; ara <u>hœm</u> *'YOUR pig'*.

There are three benefactive/possessive prepositions, which are:

a) na-[2], ne= which refers to edibles. When it has for regime the 1st person singular pronominal suffix, it takes the form niŋ instead of nay, e.g. taβra ité <u>niŋ</u> *'[give] ME a bit of pork'*, yamkelam osó <u>ne</u>-ra *'they bring pawpaws FOR the pigs'*; timkœə <u>nan</u> *'they cook FOR HIM'*.

b) nne-, nne= which refers to potables, e.g. toβró ité nney *'[give] me some water'*; œnœð nnem *'your coconut [for drinking]'*.

c) hɒ-, h=, a general benefactive/possessive preposition referring to the cases not covered by the other benefactive or possessive prepositions, e.g. compare kep tara ité <u>hœm</u> *'take a pig FOR YOU'* and kep tara ité <u>nam</u> *'take a pig FOR YOU TO EAT'*.

NB. When reference is made to a benefactive preposition, this means a benefactive/possessive preposition taken in a benefactive sense, e.g. in kep tara ité hœm, hœ- is a benefactive preposition, whereas in œnœð nnem, nne- is a possessive preposition, i.e. *'your coconut'*.

2.11.3. Possessive prepositions may denote only possession, never benefaction. There are four possessive prepositions:

a) ia- (no construct form) is used for shadows or vomit, e.g. ommu <u>ia</u>n *'HIS shadow'*, olu <u>iey</u> *'MY vomit'*.

b) βa- (no construct form) is used for smells, e.g. wé yineð timmihyp <u>œβœ</u>n <u>βa</u>n *'if he had been dead, one would have smelled HIS ODOUR'*.

c) na- (no construct form) denotes relationships of dweller to dwelling, inhabitants to country, protagonists to events, e.g. aðœŋœn <u>ne</u>n loworjé *'people OF Lowerie'*; aðœŋœn <u>nan</u> *'ITS inhabitant'* or *'ITS protagonist'*.

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[1] No vowel alternance.

d) $na-, $ne= is used:

1. for possessions considered as indispensable, e.g. atjœn anan *'HIS walking-stick' (an old man's)*, atjœn hɒn *'his walking-stick' (a young man's)*; œryr eneɣ *'MY clothes' (which I am wearing now)*, œryr hœɣ *'my clothes'*.

2. with a few nouns such as aaɣ *'canoe'*, aðawal *'head-rest'*, e.g. aaɣ eneɣ *'MY canoe'*.

3. for parts of a whole, e.g. œwyl anan *'ITS wheel'*, œplaŋ anan ða mormor *'several of ITS boards were rotten'*; wari anar *'OUR penises'* (literally: *our husbands*. But *'our husbands'* in the proper sense is raari[1] hɒr).

Some body parts, however, require the general possessive preposition hɒ-, h=. Such are essi *'breasts'* and *viscera*, which, being attached to the rest of the body by only a few veins and sinews are possibly regarded as less intimately connected to it than other parts, e.g. essi hɒn *'HER breasts'*, œpekar hɒn *'ITS liver'*, okon hœɣ *'MY heart'*.

4. to denote close relationships of dependency, for instance, when the existence of one member of the relationship is not conceivable without that of the other member, e.g. œmɒn anan *'ITS heaping'*, i.e. *'the heap formed by it'*; anaðnað enen rki watyr *'the sign OF the chiefs'*, i.e. *'the sign by which one can tell a chief'*; enes anan *'ITS colour'*; aβla enen kamam *'the succubus OF this person'*, i.e. *'the succubus that took her bodily appearance'*.

5. in the same meaning as na- above, e.g. aðœŋœn enen loworjé *'people of Lowerie'*.

2.11.4. Directional preposition

There is but one directional preposition, denoting movement to or from something or someone. Its uses are very limited and it does not seem to be any longer capable of new constructions. See 3.3.1.3., 3.3.3.3.b) and c), and 3.3.6.1.c). Thus ejeðu karoɣ *'the sweat OFF my face'* formed after œlɒð kuléɣ *'the dirt OFF my feet'* was rejected by informants. The suffixing form kœ- is found mainly in directional complements (see 3.3.6.1.c)) and the construct form k= as an expansion of ordinal pronouns (see 3.3.3.3.b)).

2.12. *VERBAL INFLECTIONS*

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[1]Here a kinship term, hence inflected for the plural.

2.12.1. Verbal inflections are fairly complex and it is necessary here to anticipate on the following chapter. Verbs may take a number of expansions (see 3.8.ff.), which, without going *here* into details, are:

a first order expansion

a second order expansion also called included object

a third order expansion also called directional complement

a fourth order expansion

a fifth order expansion consisting of adverb-like constituents.

Finally, certain verbs may take a special kind of expansion called appellative complement.

2.12.2. Verbal strings

By definition, a verbal string consists of a verb, not itself an expansion of another verb, and all its expansions.

The initial verb of a verbal string is called initial verb and is said to be string-initial.

Except for the case when they are part of a gerund or a participle, verbal strings are obligatorily inflected for person and the irrealis/realis mode. They may further be inflected for the definitive or prospective modes, for aspects (perdurative, perfective, continuative), negative voice, and participation.

2.12.3. Inflection for person and the realis or the irrealis

2.12.3.0. Inflection for person and the realis or the irrealis is by fused fourth order prefixes to the initial verb. These prefixes are:

	Singular			*Plural*			*Indefinite*
	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd	
Irrealis	a	Ø	ɣɨ	ta	ɣɨ	ɣa	tɨ
Realis	am	m	m$	tam	ɣɨm	ɣam	tɨm

Morphophonemic changes:

a) Preceding a bilabial, the m of the realis prefixes am, tam, ɣɨm, ɣam and tɨm, and the third person realis prefix m$ are lost. Then, if that bilabial is a w, it becomes β; if it is β initial of a tensed verb[1], it is lengthened, e.g. apót *'I'll break it'* from am + pót, βwe *'it aches'* from m$ + wwe, aβɒrp *'I said it'* from am + wɒrp, ɣaββor-nes *'they*

[1] See 2.12.8.

spear fish' from ɣam + βor, the tensed form of wor *'to spear it'*.

b) The second person singular realis prefix m is lost preceding m (regular application of the morphophonological rules in 1.7.3.), e.g. mœl *'you go south'* from m + mœl.

c) The mater vocalium $ of the 3rd person singular realis prefix becomes ɨ preceding consonant-clusters the first element of which is not a semi-consonant, and is lost preceding the perdurative prefix, e.g. mɨrle *'he sent him'* from m$ + rle, mɨrja *'he stood up'* from m$ + rja, mɨllam *'he keeps coming'* from m$ + perdurative prefix + lam, mɨlssaru *'he keeps speaking'* from m$ + perdurative prefix + ssaru. But mejrewe *'he plants yams'* from m$ + jrewe.

d) The vowel ɨ of the irrealis prefixes becomes $ preceding a consonant cluster the first member of which is a semi-consonant, and is lost preceding a vowel or a short semi-consonant not member of a cluster, e.g. tejrewe *'let's plant yams'* from tɨ + jrewe, tjan *'let's go'* from tɨ + jan; but: ɣɨlam *'let him come'* from ɣɨ + lam, ɣɨwwe *'it will ache'* from ɣɨ + wwe.

2.12.3.1. *Person*

Except in the singular, there is no one-to-one correspondence between the personal pronouns and the person prefixes.

a) The indefinite person covers the meanings of the French on, German man, and of all the dual and trial personal pronouns, e.g. tɨmjan *'we, you or they two or a few go'* or: 'on va', 'man geht'.

b) The 3rd person singular also covers inanimate, plural subjects, e.g. ere-ɣeni mamɨr βɛ́rβɛ́r-reɣreɣ *'these leaves are* [lit.: *is*] *extremely large'*.

c) The first person plural is inclusive, e.g. tamjan *'we (inclusive) went'*.

d) The second person plural is exclusive of the third, e.g. ɣɨmɣœð *'you saw it (but they did not)'*.

e) The third person plural covers the remaining meanings, e.g. ɣamɣœnp *'they, or we (exclusive) or you (and they) ate it'*.

2.12.3.2. *Realis and irrealis*

The irrealis mode is used:

a) in temporal verbal phrases referring to the past or the present (cf. 3.2.2.), e.g. βé ɣɨtari *'when HE WENT IN'*.

b) in themes[1] expressing contrary-to-fact conditions or circumstances, e.g. wé etemeð ɣɨlrɔ́ *'if THERE HAD BEEN such a thing'*; wé tjaβroɣ-sœlp aanen jetar *'if THEY HAD NOT DISOBEYED the word of God'*.

c) in rhemes[2] referring to the future or to a contrary-to-fact present or past, e.g. hinjer ɣɨpɔ́r *'soon IT WILL BE NIGHT'*, wé tjaβroɣ-sœlp aanen jetar tɨlrɔ́ lœhɒn βoɣβoɣ *'if they had not disobeyed the word of God, THEY WOULD HAVE STAYED in the good place'*.

d) expressing the jussive or the optative, e.g. ɣé ɣjan ɣɨhyp ɔ́ *'you GO [and] SHOOT that one'*, lam lɨkyɣ *'COME to me!'*, aβton ɣɨtoɣ *'I think that it will rain'* or *'I hope THAT IT WILL RAIN'*.

The realis mode is used:

a) in temporal verbal phrases referring to the future (cf. 3.2.2.), e.g. wé mroɣ ehl kɨté *'when YOU HEAR a kingfisher'*, œβyŋ-eren ðllén·ara wé meset *'when six days HAVE ELAPSED'*, i.e. *'after six days'*.

b) with quotative verbs, irrespectively of the mode that the meaning would require, e.g. wé eteðemeð ɣɨlró tyl laðði œmerika ɣamewɒrp ɣaβé *'if there had been such a thing up there on the moon, the Americans would have said so, THEY WOULD HAVE SAID: "..."'*.

c) in themes expressing non-contrary-to-fact conditions or circumstances, e.g. lté malam *'if anyone COMES'*, wé mnarɑɔ̈ symp tœnœð lté *'if YOU ARE THIRSTY, drink a coconut'*.

d) in rhemes referring to a non-contrary-to-fact present or past, e.g. té βé ɣɨneð̈ tɨm'aβðœ́r *'when someone dies, THEY DON'T BURY HIM'*.

2.12.4. Inflection for the definitive or the prospective

2.12.4.1. The definitive mode expresses the idea of an action or state to be regarded as final and not subject to revision. It is marked by a third order prefix me to the initial verb, e.g. amewɒrp *'I said it (and I will not repeat it)'*.

2.12.4.2. The prospective mode expresses a future prospect (usually an unpleasant one). It is marked by a third order prefix to the initial verb, consisting of t plus the same vowel as that of the syllable immediately following, e.g. jaβrosur ðað̈ œnœð ɣɨteʀer *'don't sit here, coconuts MIGHT fall'*, wa malakar non̈ ɣɨtyhyp té lœr *'this one is angry*

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[1] See 4.2.3.

[2] See 4.2.

now, he MIGHT shoot one of us'.

2.12.5. Inflection for the negative voice

The negative voice is marked by a second order prefix ɟaβ to the initial verb. β is lost preceding m and ɟ is almost always lost in those environments where it is otherwise optionally lost (see 1.7.4.), e.g. maapǽ *'it is not full'* from m$ + ɟaβ + pǽ; m'amǽp? *'didn't you ask about it?'* from m$ + ɟaβ + mǽp.

2.12.6. Inflection for aspects

2.12.6.0. There are three aspects: perdurative, perfective and continuative, which are not mutually exclusive, since the same verbal string may be inflected for all three at once, or for the perdurative and the continuative, or the perfective and the continuative (but not for the perdurative and the perfective without the continuative).

2.12.6.1. The perdurative expresses a lasting action or state. It is marked by a first-order prefix ɨl to the initial verb, ɨ being lost string-initially or following a vowel. l is lost preceding another l, which is then lengthened, if it is not already long, e.g. amɨlrǿ *'I was staying'* from am + ɨl + rǿ; amɨllam *'I kept coming'* from am + ɨl + lam; amɨllé *'I was bathing'* from am + ɨl + llé; alrǿ *'I will stay'* from a + ɨl + rǿ; lrǿ *'you will stay'* from Ø + ɨl + rǿ.

2.12.6.2. The perfective aspect is marked by a first order suffix p or t which occurs:

a) if the verbal string contains the directional prefix rɨ (see 3.3.6.1.c)1.), suffixed to the morpheme immediately preceding, e.g. ɣaβœ́t-nœðp-rɨlam laðaɣ *'they plucked coconuts, throwing them to the baskets'* (lit.: *they pluck it-coconut-come in baskets*).

b) otherwise, suffixed to the final constituent of the verbal string, e.g. ɣamrosu-lyð-hoβ-jrép *'they sat all around it'*.

2.12.6.3. The perfective suffix p simply expresses the perfective aspect, which, in Sakao, implies the carrying out of the action to its logical conclusion, e.g. compare amhy enes ru *'I shot at two birds'*, amhyr enes ru (continuative) *'I shot at two birds (and missed)'*, amhyp enes ru (perfective) *'I shot two birds'*. In the case of verbs of motion, the perfective often implies a return to rest after movement, e.g. mejerðyɣ *'he ran'*, mejerðyɣp *'he ran (AND STOPPED)'*. With other verbs,

the perfective often implies the return to the conditions prior to the action or state, e.g. amhaβylp *'I went west* [i.e. *to Big Bay*] *AND I AM BACK NOW'*.

2.12.6.4. The perfective suffix t, besides the perfective aspect, expresses ideas of ablation such as by cutting off or carrying away, of separation such as by enclosing, and, by extension of meaning, of circular motion or shape, e.g. amrét œrɒk-olkleɣ *'I cut my finger OFF'* as against amrép œrɒk-olkleɣ *'I cut my finger'; motót œβðœn 'she hacked its head OFF'*, motóp ulén *'he cut his leg (with an axe)'*, ɣamket aaɣ té ɣamlam *'they took a boat and came'*, timryt nar-yβjœl *'they built a fence AROUND the nakamal's yard'*, timjartelt *'they built an enclosure'*, aaɣ mœlyðt urœr *'the boat went around the island (IN A CLOSED CIRCLE)'*, as against aaɣ mœlyðp urœr *'the boat went around the island (IN AN OPEN CURVE)*, olom ɒm timrumt *'that house* [*which*] *they had DIVIDED INTO rooms'* (rum *'to "room"'* from the Bichelamar **rum** *'a room'*), orru ɒm βé ɣiholt-rilam *'when that pygmy came flying IN CIRCLES'*, βilét ni *'he turned himself ROUND'*, i.e. *'he turned round'*.

2.12.6.5. If, however, the perfective suffix is to occur suffixed to an included object or a fifth order expansion, only the suffix p may be used, regardless of the meaning, e.g. ɣaβœt-nœðp-rjan laðaɣ *'they plucked coconuts, throwing them to the baskets'* (lit.: *they pluck it-coconuts-go to baskets*), amré-βoɣβoɣpin *'I cut it* [*off*] *well'*.

2.12.6.6. The verb kœl *'to seek'* takes the form kœlœ preceding the perfective suffix p, e.g. amkœlœp *'I found it'*.

2.12.6.7. The continuative aspect is marked by a second order suffix r to the final constituent of the verbal string, unless the verbal string contains a directional preposition or the directional morpheme kl (see 3.3.6.1.c)1.), in which case it must remain uninflected for the continuative.

The continuative expresses the continuation of a state or the non-completion of an action to its logical conclusion, e.g. βé ɣwanr *'when it bears fruit'* as against βé ɣwanp (perfective) *'once it has borne fruit'*, mœðɒlr *'he was carrying it'* as against mœðɒlp (perfective) *'he carried it (and, having carried it, laid it down)'*, amhyr enes ru *'I shot at two birds (and missed)'* as against amhyp enes ru (perfective) *'I shot two birds (and killed them)'*.

2.12.6.8. When a verbal string is inflected for the perfective and the

continuative at once, it expresses the continuation of a state resulting from a perfected or interrupted action, e.g. Of the sole, the Sakaos say: jetar mœɣœntr (perfective-continuative) *'God ate it off and let it go'*; amhypr enes ru *'I shot two birds and left them'*, timtteré-ɣorpr anaðhal *'they closed the door (and it remained closed)'*.

2.12.6.9. The aspect suffixes are lost when following a morpheme ending with a consonant cluster, e.g. ɣamhert *'they sang'* (continuative or perfective aspect unspecifiable).

2.12.7. Inflection for participation

2.12.7.0. By definition, the participants of an inflected verbal string constitute its *participation*. One of the participants, the subject, is always marked by the fourth order prefix to the initial verb.

2.12.7.1. There are four possible participations:

a) The subjective participation, i.e. the verbal string has only one participant: a subject, e.g. amlam *'I came'*.

b) The objective participation, i.e. the verbal string has two participants: a subject and an object, e.g. am'llp *'I killed it'*.

c) The instrumentive participation, i.e. the verbal string has two participants: a subject and an instrument, e.g. meneðin *'he was dying of it'*.

d) The triple participation, i.e. the verbal string has all three participants: subject, object and instrument, e.g. mlllpin *'he struck him with it'*.

2.12.7.2. In order to determine the participation of a verbal string it is necessary to determine first the transitivity of the same verbal string uninflected.

As regards transitivity, verbs and verboids (i.e. determining verb-like morphemes) fall into three categories: intransitive, transitive, and in-transitive.

To determine the transitivity of a given verbal string:

a) First determine the transitivity of the part of that string that extends from the initial verb inclusively to the fifth expansion exclusively, disregarding intransitive verbs and verboids and directional complements. *Then* (rules ordered):

1. if this part of the string ends with an appellative complement,

it is ɨn-transitive.

2. if it ends with an included object, it is intransitive.

3. if it ends with a transitive verb or verboid, it is transitive, and has the same transitivity as that verb or verboid (i.e. transitive or ɨn-transitive).

4. otherwise, it is intransitive.

b) Then, if a fifth order expansion other than the adverb jrέ *'all'* occurs in the whole string, and if the part of the string the transitivity of which has just been determined is transitive or ɨn-transitive, the whole verbal string is *detransitivised*. Otherwise, its transitivity is the same as that of the aforesaid verbal string, e.g. ɣœðherl-βoɣβoɣ *'know-well'*: ɣœðherl is transitive, a fifth order expansion other than jrέ occurs (βoɣβoɣ), hence ɣœðherl-βoɣβoɣ is detransitivised. In rό-βoɣβoɣ *'stay-well'*, rό is intransitive, hence rό-βoɣβoɣ is intransitive. In wel-rɨlam-jrέ *'call-come-all'*, wel-rɨlam is transitive (wel is transitive and rɨlam, a directional complement, is to be disregarded); there is a fifth order expansion: the adverb jrέ. Hence the whole verbal string is transitive.

c) Now, verbal strings other than those containing a directional preposition or the directional morpheme kl (these must remain uninflected for participation and the continuative aspect) are inflectable for participation by suffixing a third order suffix ɨn to their final constituent, e.g. ɣœðherl-βoɣβoɣɨn *'to know it well'*.

d) The participation of the verbal string can now be determined from the following table:

If the verbal string is:	*uninflected for participation*	*inflected for participation*
ɨn-transitive	does not occur[1]	objective
transitive	objective	triple
detransitivised	subjective	objective
intransitive	subjective	instrumentive

Note 1. ɨn-transitive verbal strings are obligatorily inflected for participation.

2.12.7.3. *The participants*

Except for the subject (see 2.12.7.0.), the participants of verbal strings are unspecified for person and number.

a) The subject is that of the initial verb, e.g. mœttœɣ-sa-nes *'he starts birds'* (lit.: *he tracks it - fly off - birds*).

b) The object is that of the last transitive verb or verboid of the string, e.g. mœrœŋ-hoβ ohe *'he went all over the village mourning [his wife]'*, literally: *he mourned her - follow it village*.

c) The instrument denotes the necessary means of the action or state expressed by the verbal string. These means may be:

1. strictly instrumental, e.g. mɨlɨin amas *'he strikes it WITH A CLUB'*.

2. causal, e.g. petjatpɨn akyr-ɣenɨ té *'he stumbled ON A ROOT'*, kae mejeɣarɨn apel *'Cain was jealous OF ABEL'*, merretpɨn atamam *'he was startled AT THIS THING'*, œpœs ɣamsorpɨn jœn *'the dogs barked AT ME'*.

3. essential to the subject, e.g. jetar morópɨn ðœl *'God stays OF THREE'*, i.e. *'God consists OF THREE'*, oJó mam mœrypɨn ina *'this snake sprouted AS YAMS'*.

4. locative, e.g. mosonép-rɨtarɨɨn œβðœn oβu *'it pushed its head in THROUGH THE HOLE'*, œβðœn makarpɨn oβu *'its head was sent flying THROUGH THE HOLE'*.

2.12.8. Tensing of initial verb

When a verbal string contains an included object, the initial consonant of its initial verb undergoes certain changes provided that it is short, followed by a vowel, and that the initial verb is neither repetitive nor intensive. Verbs which have undergone such changes are called *tensed*.

a) an initial w optionally becomes β.

b) an initial r optionally becomes ʁ.

c) other consonants become long, except j, h and ʁ, which remain unchanged.

2.13. *VERBS AND VERBOIDS*

2.13.0. As regards their inflection and distribution in the phrase, verbs (which are free morphemes) and verboids (which are bound determining morphemes) fall into five categories.

2.13.1. Adjectives, which are those intransitive verbs which express qualities ascribed to persons, animals, or things, e.g. kar *'red'*, βrɨβ *'large, big'*, βɨŋœn *'heavy'*, pere *'long'*. Adjectives may, besides

functioning as verbs proper (e.g. makar *'it is RED'*, βé ɣɨβrɨβ *'when it is BIG'*) qualify nouns (cf. 3.8.1.a)), or modify verbs (cf. 3.8.1.e)2.), e.g. ara kri té *'a SMALL pig'*, ɣœn-krɨpɨn etenar *'eat A LITTLE food'*.

Three adjectives have a distributive form: βrɨβ *'big'*, distributive: βérβér; krɨ *'small'*, distributive: kkrɨ or kɨkrɨ; βyr *'black'*, distributive: βyrβyr. The distributive form is used when the subject or the referent qualified is not singular, e.g. ara kkrɨ *'small pigs'*, ɣaβé ɣaβérβér *'when they are big'*. When functioning as a fifth order expansion of a verb, the distributive adjective βérβér means *'often'*, e.g. joru tɨmró-βérβér *'they two stay often'*, i.e. *'they are often together'*.

When an expansion and following a consonant, the adjective heð *'bad'* takes the form eheð, e.g. nœm eheð *'bad work'*, mβys-eheðpɨn *'you did it wrongly'*.

2.13.2. Verbs proper, which may be transitive, ɨn-transitive, or intransitive, e.g. haré *'to reward him'*, hœ *'to run away'*, sal *'to swing'*, sjer(ɨn) *'to send him'*, ŋɨ(ɨn) *'to grant it'*.

Some transitive verbs are reflexive, i.e. their object must be supplemented by a personal pronoun agreeing with their subject, e.g. œnɒð-me βé ɣɨsœlp nɨ *'when the sun appeared'*, literally: *'when the sun showed ITSELF'*.

2.13.3. Directional verbs and verboids

a) Directional verbs are those verbs which, expressing motion to, from or through, may function either as verbs proper or as elements of a directional complement determining the direction of an action or the relative location of a state, e.g. maɲan *'he WENT'*, mokoβrép-rɲan *'he threw it AWAY'*, moró-rɲan *'he stays ON THE FAR SIDE'* (lit.: *'stay-go'*). Directional verbs are:

hatœr	*to go north*
mœl	*to go south*
haβyl	*to go west*
hu	*to go east*
ɲan	*to go*
lam	*to come*
kersa	*to go up*
saŋœr	*to go down*
tatœr	*to go out*
tarɨ	*to go in*
talpœr	*to return*
ɣe	*to go by*

ɣe	*to go where?*
jǽ	*to go near*[1]

b) directional verboids occur only in directional complements with the prefix rɨ. Three directional verboids were found in the corpus:

sa	*up*
su	*down*
tœr	*out*

For example, meke-rsa *'he put it up'*, meke-rsu *'he put it down'*, meke-rtœr *'he took it out'*.

2.13.4. Other verboids occur only as second order expansions of verbs. Six such verboids were found in the corpus:

tyt	*one at a time, bits by bits*
ryr	*fast, firmly, steadily*
sœβ	*to death*
sǽ	*stealthily*
sé	*whilst waiting for it*
hyr	*in order to get it*

The latter two are transitive, the former two intransitive. As for sǽ and sœβ, since they occur only as expansions of transitive verbs, it was not possible to determine whether they are transitive or intransitive.

For example, tɨmjeɨ-tytp-rɨsu *'they jumped down ONE AT A TIME'*, té-ryr *'hold it FIRMLY'*, ɣamtœɨ-sœβ ara ɒm *'they tread that pig TO DEATH'*, mœky-sǽp *'he stole it'* (lit.: *he took it STEALTHILY*), ɣamkœə-sé aarɨ *'they cooked WHILST WAITING FOR the men'*, aɨam-hyr-metrɨn *'I will come TO GET IT later'*.

2.13.5. Defective verbs

Defective verbs are not expandable, and are inflected only for person and the realis or the irrealis. The most common defective verbs are:

a) Numeral verbs, which are:

ter	*hundred*
mœn	*thousand*

and compounds formed of ɣœɨ *'ten'* and a numeral from one to nine, i.e.

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[1] Rare. Mainly found as member of directional complements, with the tentative directional prefix, to express tentative action, e.g. akœɨ-ɣjǽp *'I'll TRY TO look for it'*.

ɣœltέ	*ten*
ɣœlru	*twenty*
ɣœlðœl	*thirty*
ɣœlleð	*forty*
ɣœlɛ́n	*fifty*
ɣœlɛ́n·ara	*sixty*
ɣœlɛ́n·ere·ru	*seventy*
ɣœlɛ́n·ere·tœl	*eighty*
ɣœlɛ́n·ere·peð	*ninety*

For example, aðœŋœn ɣam<u>ɣœltέ</u> *'TEN persons'*.

b) Quotative verbs, which are wé *'to say or think'* and βton *'to believe'*. Quotative verbs are always in the realis, irrespectively of the mode that the meaning would require, and they always occur immediately followed by a quotation, direct or indirect, which may be any utterance. The 2nd and 3rd person singular of βton are irregular, being respectively mβoton and βoton.

c) The ancillary verbs stat *'to start'* (borrowed from Bichelamar) and jar, expressing the immediate past, e.g. am'ar alam *'I just arrived'*, βé ɣɨstat œjɛ́m *'when he started to work'*.

d) The negative verb ré *'not to be'*, which occurs always in the third person singular, e.g. taðœŋœn ltέ me<u>ré</u> *'there wasn't anyone'*, noβ ɣɨ<u>ré</u>¨ ere ɒl tɨkyn *'let it not be male pigs, only intersex pigs'*.

e) The verb ɣyn *'to have name'* was found only in the third person singular realis, followed by a proper pronoun or the interrogative pronoun hi *'who?'*, e.g. mœɣyn hi? *'what is his name?'*, mœɣyn ser *'his name was Ser'*, aasém mœɣyn hi? *'your name is called who?'*, i.e. *'what is your name?'*, aaséɣ mœɣyn sak *'my name is Jacques'*.

2.14. *VERB FORMATION*

Verbs are formed by derivation:

2.14.1. Intensive verbs expressing assiduity and/or protraction are formed by prefixing to a verb stem a segment consisting of the initial consonant of that verb stem plus the vowel of its first syllable affected by expressive intonation, e.g. ðɒɒðɒl from ðɒl *'to carry it'*. If the consonant to be thus repeated is long, it becomes short, e.g. tœœœtœɣ *'to track it assiduously and/or at length'*, from ttœɣ *'to track it'*; tɨmɣœœœɣœn βé ɣɨhœr tɨmjan tɨmjes *'they ate it at length [and] when it was finished they went for a walk'*; mɨlró ton ehlé ðœl meré leð¨

mɨlróóóró *'he stayed for maybe three or four years, he stayed for a long time'.*

2.14.2. Repetitive verbs expressing either repetition or reciprocity are formed by the total reduplication of a CVC segment (C representing a single short consonant, the second one different from the first one) of a verb stem, provided that it is either stem-final or followed by a consonant, and that it is not part of a simple reduplication (cf. 1.18.10.), e.g. holhol *'to fly repeatedly'* from hoi *'to fly'*, pokylkyl *'bent in several places'* from pokyl *'bent'*, koβkoβré *'to throw things repeatedly'* from koβré *'to throw it'*; mɣœð aðœŋœn ɣamɨlyelyel *'you see people busy DIGGING AND DIGGING'*, joru tɨβé tɨnɒsnɒsr joru *'when they ARE IN LOVE WITH EACH OTHER'*, ɣamɨlhoβhoβ jér *'they keep FOLLOWING EACH OTHER'.*

In some expressions the repetitive has a diminutive meaning, e.g. merenren *'it is hardly daytime, it is dawn'*, as against meren *'it is daytime'*, pórpór *'it is becoming dark'* as against pór *'it is night'.*

Note. A verb may be at once repetitive and intensive, e.g. mœkœœækœl *'he looked for it assiduously and repeatedly'* from kœl *'to seek it'.*

2.14.3. Verbs are derived from free nouns

a) by deleting the initial $ of class Ia nouns, e.g. ðenm *'to change oneself into a devil'* from eðenm *'devil'*, ra *'to change oneself into a pig'* from ara *'pig'.*

b) by prefixing j to the initial l of class Ib nouns, e.g. jisa *'to become friends'* from isa *'friend'.*

c) by replacing the initial n of class Ic nouns by j, e.g. jém *'to work'* from ném *'work'*, joβ *'to kill pigs'* from noβ *'male pig'.* Note: This derivation does not seem to be any longer productive.

2.14.4. Other derivations, which are no longer productive, are:

a) intransitive verbs from transitive verbs, formed by the prefixation of jer and/or the changing of a vowel, e.g.

TRANSITIVE		INTRANSITIVE	
ɣœn	*to eat it*	ɣen	*to eat*
ɣœl	*to dig it*	ɣel	*to dig*
ɣœt	*to sting him*	jerɣet	*to itch*
kœð	*to insult him*	jerkeð	*to swear*
tɒr	*to prevent him*	jertar	*to put a taboo*
ɣon	*to be bitter to him*	jerɣon	*bitter*

sé	*to cure him*	se	*to cure*
lyɣ	*to transfer it*	jelyɣ[1]	*to commute*

b) causative verbs are formed from intransitive ones by prefixing JE and changing the vowel.

INTRANSITIVE		CAUSATIVE (TRANSITIVE)	
ɣen	*to eat*	Jœɣœn	*to feed him*
nɒð	*to wake up*	Jenað	*to wake him up*

2.15. *ADVERBS*

Adverbs are determining morphemes which mainly occur as fifth order expansions of verbs. Three adverbs occurred in the corpus:

tor	*always, uninterruptedly*
usi	*very, much, a lot*
jré	*all, completely*

(this list is probably exhaustive)

For example, ɣappe-tor ðɒr *'they always meet there'*, pere-usi *'it is very long'*, tɨmesyk-jrépɨn wɒmɨr *'we have finished borrowing all those [pigs]'*.

2.16. *ADNOMINA*

An adnomen is a determining morpheme. Adnomina determine substantive-like words, i.e. nouns, pronouns, numerals, nominalised adjectives and adjectivoids. Three adnomina were found in the corpus:

tɨkyn	*only, alone*
jrép	*all, whole*
nɒttur	*exactly, properly*

(this inventory is probably exhaustive)

For example, nɨ tɨkyn mɨlró *'he stayed ALONE'*, té tɨkyn *'ONLY one'*, lreɣ jrép βwe *'my WHOLE body aches'*, Jœr jrép ɣamlam *'they ALL came'*, ðanan nɒttur *'his father (NOT AN UNCLE)'*.

2.17. *ADJECTIVOIDS*

Adjectivoids are determining morphemes which, as first order expansions, qualify nouns (cf. 3.3.1.a)), and, as fifth order expansions,

[1] The r of jer is lost.

modify verbs (cf. 3.8.1.e)3.). Two adjectivoids occurred in the corpus:

pel *other, different*
tɨβle *plain, ordinary*

(this inventory is probably not exhaustive)

For example, aðœŋœn pel té *'a different person'*, œhy tɨβle *'ordinary rifle'*.

2.18. *NOMINALISED ADJECTIVES AND NOMINALISED ADJECTIVOIDS*

Nominalised adjectives and nominalised adjectivoids are substantive-like free morphemes formed by prefixing o (or, optionally, u when the following syllable contains a high vowel) to adjectives and adjectivoids, e.g. okar *'red one(s)'* from kar *'red'*, ukrl *'small one'* from krl *'small'*, opel *'different one(s)'* from pel *'different'*, utɨβle *'ordinary one(s)'* from tɨβle *'ordinary'*.

Nominalised adjectives and adjectivoids are unspecified and uninflectable for number, e.g. osɨβɒð *'sick one'* or *'sick ones'*.

2.19. *PARTICIPLES*

Participles are substantive-like free morphemes formed by prefixing o (or, optionally, u when the following syllable contains a high vowel) to verbal strings uninflected for person and the realis or the irrealis, e.g. orœsp ɒl jɒr mɨltɨry-hoβ jɒr *'HE WHO MADE us keeps looking after us'*, olɣœn-sǽ lðel nlŋ *'THE ONES WHO KEPT STEALING* (lit.: *eating stealthily*) *my bananas'*, olrópr lurœr ɣamɨlha *'THOSE WHO HAD STAYED in the island kept on dancing'*.

2.20. *GERUNDS*

Gerunds are substantive-like free morphemes formed by prefixing $ to verbal strings uninflected for person, the realis or the irrealis, the definitive or the prospective, and the negative voice, e.g. ɣamnɒs œɣœn urœŋ *'they liked TO EAT lobster'*, mɣœðherl œmǽ-ɣjœpɨn *'you can TRY AND ASK HIM ABOUT IT'*, amsœkɒl eneð-saɣlé *'I'm afraid of DYING YOUNG'*.

Note. Participles and gerunds are unspecified and uninflectable for number.

2.21. *MODAL PARTICLES*

Modal particles are determining morphemes that modify the referents

of phrases. There are eight modal particles:

2.21.1. The modal particle rɨβyl covers the meanings of the English *'again, anew'*, e.g. eðenm móm mohoβ rɨβyl joru *'that devil FOLLOWED them AGAIN'*; opolɣaβ mœhœr ɣe œsœl rɨβyl *'the opolghav dance is finished and [it is] THE FLUTE AGAIN'*, jœn asyr-hop rɨβyl orru pel té *'I WILL TELL AGAIN another pygmy [-story]'*.

2.21.2. The modal particle ɒl expresses the idea that the referent of the phrase occurs or participates in an event on its own, as distinct from others. It is translatable by the English *'just, only'*, e.g. ða ɣam'll ere ɒl *'some kill ONLY INTERSEX PIGS'*, motoɣ ɒl *'it does nothing but rain'*, aljœ ɒl¨ aljœ ɒl *'each lineage separately'* (lit.: *lineage on its own, lineage on its own*).

In a derived sense, ɒl often expresses the speaker's genuine or feigned unconcern (like in English *'just'*), e.g. ettɨβle¨ ajan ɒl ajað *'who cares* (lit.: *ordinary thing*), *I'LL JUST GO and get killed'*.

2.21.3. The modal particle rœr has an adversative meaning, e.g. mœɣœð rœr aakœr sere kɨté *'HE SAW INSTEAD [of what he was looking for] a nubile girl'*, nœl·sys rœr *'falling stars, on the other hand...'*.

2.21.4. The modal particle na expresses the idea of newness: new action, new participants, new circumstances etc., e.g. jɒr·ðœl na tɨðemé? *'what shall WE do NOW?'*, aarl na té tɨkyn mɨlró *'AND there was only one MAN'*.

When expanding a verbal phrase, na often expresses the inceptive (French: 'se mettre à'), e.g. motoɣ na *'it's raining now'*, 'voilà qu'il se met à pleuvoir'.

2.21.5. The modal particle βa covers the same meanings as the English *'still, yet'* (adversative excepted), e.g. maaβhœr βa *'it is not finished yet'*. When expanding a nominal phrase, it denotes that its referent continues or awaits partaking in an event or series of events, e.g. hɑo¨ jœn βa *'all right, ME NOW'*, i.e. *'it's my turn now'*.

2.21.6. The modal particle le expresses certainty or resolve, e.g. meré βa¨ ɣor le œtɒm *'not yet, DO STOP that thing [the tape-recorder]'*.

2.21.7. The modal particle pe denotes a correction or a more likely alternative, e.g. ora meré¨ ere pe *'it is not a sow, BUT AN INTERSEX PIG'*; ser βé jɒr taryr¨ ðjɒn pe *'Ser said: "Let's shed our skins"...*

NO, HIS MOTHER [SAID THAT]'.

2.21.8. The modal particle βyn expresses uncertainty or irresolution, e.g. jœn βyn atari-pɒrp i? *'MAY I go inside with you?'.*

2.22. *OTHER MORPHEMES*

Other morphemes (directional morpheme ki, adjuncts) will be discussed in the Grammar and the Syntax as they occur.

CHAPTER 3: GRAMMAR

3.0. There are two main types of phrases: verbal and nominal.

3.1. *NOMINAL PHRASES*

Nominal phrases are further dividable into two basic types: stative and completive.

3.1.1. A stative nominal phrase consists of any one of the following:

a) a noun, e.g. ara *'pig'*.

b) a pronoun other than a locative or an iterative pronoun, e.g. nɪ *'he'*, kam *'this person'*.

c) a numeral other than a definite one, e.g. ʈé *'one, someone'*.

d) a nominalised adjective or adjectivoid, e.g. okar *'red one(s)'*.

e) a participle, e.g. orœsp *'he/they who made it'*.

f) a gerund, e.g. eke-rkɪ *'removing it'*.

3.1.2. A completive nominal phrase consists of any one of the following:

a) a locative preposition, e.g. ɪym *'in you'*.

b) a benefactive preposition, e.g. hœɣ *'for me'*.

c) a locative pronoun, e.g. ðað *'here'*, kanaɪ *'in Luganville'*.

d) an iterative pronoun, e.g. ðaʈé *'once'*.

e) a noun in the irrealis, denoting place or time, e.g. ʈœhɒn *'[some] place'*.

f) mœhœn[1] immediately followed by a gerund, e.g. mœhœn œɣœn *'in*

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[1] For example, the possessive pronoun mœhɒ- with the ancillary pronominal suffix n for regime.

order to eat it'.

3.2. *VERBAL PHRASES*

Verbal phrases are dividable into two basic types: stative and temporal.

3.2.1. Stative verbal phrases are subdivided into three types: general, auxiliary, and quotative.

a) A general stative verbal phrase consists of a verb other than a quotative verb, e.g. mœhyp *'he shot him'*, ɣamɣœð *'they saw it'*.

b) An auxiliary stative verbal phrase consists of the defective ancillary verb jar (expressing the immediate past) or stat *'to start, begin'* immediately followed by a gerund, e.g. am'ar alam *'I just arrived'*; ɣamstat œjém *'they start work'*.

c) A quotative verbal phrase consists of a quotative verb immediately followed by a quotation, direct or indirect, which may be any utterance, e.g. βé hu *'he said: "Wow!"'*.

3.2.2. A temporal verbal phrase consists of a general or auxiliary verbal phrase introduced by the quotative verb wé *'to say'* immediately preceding.

If the temporal verbal phrase refers to the past or the present, the quotative verb wé is inflected for the realis and the same person[1] as that of the verbal phrase it introduces, which is itself inflected for the irrealis, e.g. aβé ajan *'when I go'* or *'when I went'*.

If the temporal verbal phrase refers to the future, the quotative verb wé is uninflected and the verbal phrase it introduces is in the realis, e.g. wé amjan *'when I go'* (future).

3.3. *EXPANSIONS AND REGIMES OF PHRASE-CONSTITUENTS*

3.3.1. Nouns

3.3.1.1. Free nouns[2] may take:

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[1] Individual variation: in some speakers' idiolects, the quotative verb wé is inflected for the 3rd person singular in all cases.

[2] A free noun can have only one first order expansion. Hence it may not be determined by more than one adjective, since when two adjectives occur, the second one determines the first one, not the preceding noun. A second adjective determining a noun in English has to be rendered in Sakao by a supplementation, e.g. *'the small white pig'* is ara kri βóɣ *'the small pig [which] is white'* or ara wóɣ mɨkrɨ *'the white pig [which] is small'* or ara wóɣ ukrɨ *'the white pig, the small one'*, etc.

a) a first order expansion consisting of an adjective or an adjectivoid, e.g. ara βérβér *'big pigs'*, ara tɨβle *'plain, ordinary pigs'*. This adjective may itself take an expansion consisting of another adjective, e.g. apu βérβér-ðɒm *'headdresses big like that'*.

b) a second order expansion consisting of a possessive preposition, e.g. wakœr hœm *'your wife'*, osot kar hœm *'your red shirt'*.

3.3.1.2. The noun rkl *'people'* may, instead of the above expansions, be expanded by the locative pronouns tyl *'above'* (meaning in this case the Sakao plateau), jeha *'west'* (meaning in this case Big Bay), e.g. rkl tyl *'Sakao men-bush'*, rkl jeha *'people of Big Bay'*.

3.3.1.3. Two cases of free nouns expanded by a directional preposition occurred in the corpus, i.e. œlɒð kulé- *'the dirt OFF the feet'* and œnɒð kere-tenar *'[one's] place at a banquet'* (lit.: *'room OFF the food-leaves'*).

3.3.1.4. Suffixing nouns are obligatorily immediately followed by a regime consisting of any one of the following:

a) a personal pronominal suffix, e.g. ðeney *'MY father'*, möar *'OUR eyes'*.

b) the ancillary pronominal suffix, which is itself obligatorily immediately followed by an expansion consisting of any one of the following:

1. a noun, e.g. ðenen amarkar *'the father OF THE CHILD'*.

2. a pronoun other than a personal pronoun or a possessive pronoun, e.g. ðenen kam *'the father OF THIS PERSON'*.

3. a numeral other than a definite one, e.g. walðyn té *'SOMEONE'S child'*.

4. a nominalised adjective or adjectivoid, e.g. olœn uβrɨβ mɒr *'the tail OF that BIG ONE'*.

5. a participle, e.g. walðyn orœsp jɒr *'the son OF HIM WHO MADE US'*.

3.3.1.5. Construct nouns are obligatorily immediately followed by a regime consisting of a noun, e.g. œβyð-amarkar *'CHILDREN'S heads'*, ærɒk-olkɨa- *'twigs OF HAND'*, i.e. *'fingers'*.

3.3.1.6. The enclitic noun $tɛ *'thing'* is obligatorily immediately followed by an expansion consisting of one of the following:

a) an adjective or an adjectivoid, e.g. eteðemeð *'SUCH a thing'*, ettɨβle *'ORDINARY thing'*. The enclitic noun may in this case take a second order expansion consisting of a possessive preposition, e.g. ettɨβle hɒn *'HIS ordinary things'*, i.e. *belt, ammunition and tobacco pouches, and pipe.*

b) one of the numerals tɛ́ *'a, one'*, kɨtɛ́ *'a certain'*, ða *'some, several'*, kɨða *'certain'*, e.g. etikté *'A CERTAIN thing'*.

c) a nominal demonstrative, e.g. atamamɨr *'THESE things'*.

d) a benefactive/possessive preposition, e.g. atanam *'YOUR EDIBLE things'*.

3.3.2. Prepositions

3.3.2.1. Suffixing prepositions are obligatorily immediately followed by a regime consisting of any one of the following:

a) a personal pronominal suffix, e.g. lyɣ *'in ME'*.

b) the ancillary pronominal suffix, itself immediately followed by an expansion consisting of one of the following:

1. a noun, e.g. raðɛ́n hœn aakœr *'the relatives OF THE WOMAN'*.
2. a pronoun other than a personal pronoun or a possessive pronoun, e.g. œhy hœn ó *'the rifle OF THAT ONE'*.
3. a numeral other than a definite one, e.g. œhy hœn té *'SOMEONE'S rifle'*.
4. a nominalised adjective or adjectivoid, e.g. nan ukkri mɒrɨr *'food FOR those LITTLE ONES'*.
5. a participle, e.g. œhy hœn ohyp ó *'the rifle OF THE ONE WHO SHOT that one'*.
6. if the preposition is a possessive one, a locative pronoun[1], e.g. œβɒt-warɨ enen mœrœŋ *'the oldsters of long ago'*; rki nen tyl *'people of above'*, i.e. *'men-bush'*.

3.3.2.2. Construct prepositions are obligatorily immediately followed by a regime consisting of a noun, e.g. lœjɛ́m *'at work'*, aaɣ ene-ryr *'white men's boat'*.

3.3.3. Pronouns

3.3.3.1. *Possessive pronouns*

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[1] Individual variation (influence of Hog-Harbour): or a locative preposition, e.g. rki nen lohe *'people of IN THE VILLAGE'*.

a) Suffixing possessive pronouns take the same obligatory regimes as possessive prepositions. The suffixing possessive pronoun mœhɒ- may besides take for regime the ancillary pronominal suffix followed by an expansion consisting of a gerund, in which case it has a purposive meaning, e.g. mœhœn ɨɨɨp *'in order to KILL HIM'*.

b) Construct possessive pronouns are obligatorily immediately followed by a noun, e.g. menne-ra *'something to drink for THE PIGS'*.

3.3.3.2. *Locative pronouns*

a) The locative pronoun matjer *'long ago'* may take an expansion consisting of the adverb usɨ *'very'*, e.g. matjer usɨ *'very long ago'*.

b) The locative pronoun mœrœŋ *'before'* may take an expansion consisting of either the adverb usɨ *'very'* or the suffixing directional preposition kœ- with the 3rd person singular pronominal suffix for regime, i.e. mœrœŋ usɨ *'long ago'*, mœrœŋ kœn *'before it, previously'*.

c) The locative pronoun ɨakren *'tomorrow'* may take an expansion consisting of the directional preposition kœ- with the third person singular pronominal suffix for regime, i.e. ɨakren kœn *'on the following day'*.

3.3.3.3. *Ordinal pronouns*

a) Ordinal pronouns may take an expansion consisting of the suffixing directional preposition kœ- with the 3rd person singular pronominal suffix for regime, e.g. tœɨ kœn *'the third one [of them]'*.

b) Alternatively, ordinal pronouns from two to six may take an expansion consisting of the construct directional preposition k= with the noun amar *"chimney-stack"*[1] for regime, thus forming the names of five of the six "chimney-stacks" built to the south of the nakamal for the ritual of Vuriar (œβyrjɒr) and Vuriaru (œβyrjɒr-ru or eðenm-œβyrjɒr)[2], e.g. tu kamar *'second chimney-stack'*.

c) Alternatively, the ordinal pronoun sayyɨ *'tenth'* may take an expansion consisting of the construct directional preposition k= with, for regime, a noun formed by prefixing $ to a numeral verb stem. This construction yields ordinal pronouns for ten and multiplies of ten, e.g. sayyɨ kœyœɨté *'tenth'* (same meaning as sayyɨ), sayyɨ kœyœɨru *'twentieth'*

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[1] Cf. Deacon (1929:467).

[2] The six "chimney-stacks" to the north of the nakamal are unnamed.

etc. until sayyl keter *'hundredth'*. sayyl kœmœn *'thousandth'* is unused.

3.3.3.4. Proper pronouns denoting persons may take an expansion consisting of the particle yiru *'and companions'*, e.g. kuslak yiru *'Little Finger and his companions'*.

3.3.3.5. The interrogative pronoun hi *'who?'* may take either one of the following:

a) an expansion consisting of the particle yiru *'and companions'*, e.g. hi yiru? *'who?'* (plural).

b) a regime consisting of a free noun, unexpanded. hi then takes the meaning of *'which...?'*, e.g. hi hy? *'which rifle?'*, hi aðœŋœn? *'which person?'*, hi ðð? *'which star?'*.

3.3.4. Numerals

The numeral tɛ́ *'one, someone'* may take an expansion consisting of a possessive preposition, e.g. tɛ́ enen tyl *'one of above'*, i.e. *'a man-bush'*.

3.3.5. Nominalised adjectives and adjectivoids

Nominalised adjectives and adjectivoids may take an expansion consisting of a possessive preposition, e.g. okar anan *'the red of it'*, i.e. *the red part(s) of something*.

3.3.6. Verbs

3.3.6.1. Verbs (other than defective ones, which are not expandable) may take:

a) a first order expansion provided that no other first order expansion of a verb precedes in the verbal string. This first order expansion consists of either one of the following:

1. a verboid, e.g. yamtœl-sœβ *'they tread it TO DEATH'*, amtɛ́-ryr-usirin *'I held it very FIRMLY'*.

2. if the verb expanded is transitive, an intransitive verb describing the result of the action expressed by the transitive verb it expands on its object (which is then the logical subject of this intransitive verb), e.g. mœttœy-sa-nes *'he starts birds'* (lit.: *he tracks it FLY OFF birds*).

b) a second order expansion, or included object, consisting of either one of the following:

1. a free noun, unexpanded, uninflected, e.g. mœttœy-sa-nes *'he*

starts BIRDS'.

2. a suffixing noun with a personal pronominal suffix for regime, the suffixing noun being uninflected, e.g. ɣamtté-olkleŋérpr *'they hold (THEIR) HANDS'*.

NB. The second order expansion may occur only if the verb to be expanded is either transitive or in-transitive, or if it has a first order expansion consisting of a transitive verboid, and if no other included object occurs in the verbal string.

c) a third order expansion, provided that no other third order expansion precedes in the verbal string. This third order expansion, or directional complement, consists of either one of the following:

1. the directional prefix rɨ[1] prefixed to one of the following:

- a directional verb or verboid, unexpanded, e.g. ke-rlam *'hand it over'* (lit.: *take it - come*).

- the directional preposition kœ- or k=, e.g. meke-rkyn eseβyr *'he took it* (i.e. *'gave it'*) *to the sorcerer'*.

- the directional morpheme kl, expressing movement away from somewhere, e.g. meke-rkl *'he removed it'*.

2. the directional prefix ɣɨ[2] prefixed to a directional verb, unexpanded. This prefix denotes tentative movement, e.g. meɣer-ɣɨhatœr *'he swam to the north to see, to feel the way'*.

NB. The occurrence of a third order expansion containing a directional preposition or the directional morpheme kl prevents a fourth or/and a fifth order expansion from occurring in the verbal string.

d) a fourth order expansion consisting of a verb other than a defective one. This verb expresses the development of the action or state expressed by the verb it expands, and shares the same subject[3], e.g. meke-ɣer-lam *'he took it [he] swam [he] came'*, i.e. *'swimming across, he brought it'*; ɣam-ré-ra-jan-hoβ *'they drag it pigs [they] go [they] follow it'*, i.e. *'they follow [an alignment], dragging the pigs away'*.

NB. The occurrence of a fourth order expansion prevents the verb it expands from taking a fifth order expansion. But the verb which constitutes this fourth order expansion may itself have a fifth order expansion, under the same condition.

Note the difference of meanings between a directional verb as fourth order expansion and as fifth order expansion: meke-lam *'he took it [he] came'* versus meke-rlam *'he took it come'*, the former being translatable by *'he brought it'*, the latter by *'he handed it'*.

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[1]The vowel ɨ is lost preceding a semi-consonant, or when the prefix rɨ is preceded by a vowel or an r in certain verbal strings of frequent occurrence.

[2]The vowel ɨ is lost preceding a semi-consonant.

[3]But not necessarily, if they are both transitive, the same object. Cf. examples in this paragraph.

e) a fifth order expansion, consisting of any one of the following:

1. an adverb, e.g. mœŋɒr-tor *'he cries ALL THE TIME'*.

2. an adjective, e.g. alam-hyr-metrɨn *'I'll come to get it later'* (lit.: *I will come to get it SLOW*). This adjective itself may take an expansion consisting of either another adjective or of an adverb, e.g. mœɣœðheri-βoɣβoɣ-usiɨn *'he knows it VERY well'*, mœɣœðheri-βoɣβoɣ-reɣreɣɨn *'he knows it EXTREMELY well'*.

3. the adjectivoid pel *'other'*, which in this case takes the form ppel, and may itself take an expansion consisting of either the adverb usi *'very'* or the adjective krl *'small'*, e.g. meɣe-ppel-krl *'it goes - other - small'*, i.e. *'it is slightly different'*.

4. the locative pronoun mœrœŋ *'before'*, e.g. am'aβɣœð-mœrœŋɨn *'I had not seen it BEFORE'*.

5. the expression hœn maha *'without knowing, haphazardly'* (formation obscure; maybe maha is *'west'*, i.e. *Big Bay*, hence *'in the manner of non-speakers of Sakao'*), e.g. βɒr-hœn mahapɨn *'he said it WITHOUT KNOWING WHAT HE WAS TALKING ABOUT'*.

6. the suffixing preposition hɒ- with the ancillary pronominal suffix for regime, followed by an ordinal pronoun, denoting the number of times an action has happened, e.g. βé ɣjœhœ-hœn tupɨn *'when she gave birth FOR THE SECOND TIME'*.

3.3.6.2. Alternatively, instead of the above expansions, the verbs ssyl *'to insult him'*, wɒr *'to say it'*, wel *'to call it'*, when string-initial, may take an expansion consisting of a noun, itself expandable. Such an expansion is an appellative complement, e.g. l messyl-analopɨn ɣam *'you insulted us, calling us analo'*[1], ða ɣaβel-rɨðjœŋœ́rɨn" ða ɣaβel-rɨðeneŋœ́rɨn *'some they call "THEIR AUNTS", some they call "THEIR UNCLES"'* (names given to laplap puddings at a wedding).

3.3.6.3. The transitive verb jœk *'to show it'* always occurs string-initially, and may take only an expansion consisting of the directional preposition kœ- or k= without the directional prefix rɨ, e.g. jœk-kyɣ ahal *'show ME the road'*.

3.3.6.4. Some forms attest of no longer productive formations. Such are:

rottœpɒr *'to be near it'* from rǿ *'to stay'* and pɒr *'to be near it'*.

rottoɣon *'to hide'* from rǿ *'to stay'* and ɣon a form only found in a few compound verbs.

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[1] An unidentified fish species.

keroɣon *'to hide it'* from ke *'to take it'* and ɣon.

rotaɬlam *'to come near'* from ró *'to stay'* and ɬam *'to come'*.

kœlsa *'to look up'* and kœlsu *'to look down'*, hǽ·su *'to dive'*, hǽ-sa *'to come to the surface'*, from kœl *'to seek it'*, hǽ *'to flee'*, sa *'up'*, and su *'down'*.

3.4. *EXPANSIONS OF PHRASES*

3.4.0. Phrases, as hitherto generated by the basic phrase formulae and the regimes and expansions of their constituents, may take expansions. These expansions either determine a constituent of the phrase (which itself may be a regime or an expansion of another constituent) or, in the case of modal particles, the referent of the phrase as a whole.

3.4.1. A phrase may take the following expansions:

a) first order expansion consisting of one of the following:

1. a nominal demonstrative, provided that the phrase contains a noun and no previous nominal demonstrative. If the phrase contains several nouns, the nominal demonstrative may determine any one of them.

2. the nominal demonstrative ker *'this'* if the phrase ends with the locative pronoun manó *'today'*. The expression thus formed is translatable by *'nowadays'*, e.g. aðœŋœn enen manó ker *'people of nowadays'*.

3. the nominal demonstrative með *'this'* if the phrase ends with the locative pronoun mœrœŋ *'before'*, e.g. mœrœŋ <u>með</u> *'HERE in the past'*.

b) a second order expansion consisting of the modal particle rɨβyl *'again'*. However, if a 9th or 10th order expansion occurs, this particle comes in 11th order position instead of second.

c) a third order expansion consisting of the modal particle ɒl *'just, only'*.

d) a fourth order expansion consisting of the modal particle rœr *'but'*.

e) a fifth order expansion consisting of the modal particle βoɣ *'too, also'*.

f) a sixth order expansion consisting of the modal particle na *'then'*.

g) a seventh order expansion consisting of the modal particle βa *'still'*.

h) an eighth order expansion consisting of the modal particle le *'certainly'* or of the modal particle βyn *'maybe'*.

i) a ninth order expansion consisting of a numeral provided that:

1. a noun occurs in the phrase, which noun is then determined by that numeral, e.g. œsœl-ɒt-ɣœr hœn œβɒt-warɨ enen mœrœŋ tɛ́ *'A STORY of the oldsters of long ago'*.

2. or that the phrase (disregarding its expansions) ends with a trial personal pronoun or trial personal pronominal suffix, which the numeral then determines, e.g. jœ́r·ðœɨ ɒɨ lœ́n *'just the FIVE of them'*.

3. or that the phrase ends (disregarding its expansions) with a general demonstrative pronoun uninflected for the plural, e.g. wɒm ɒɨ ru *'just those two'*.

4. and provided that the phrase (disregarding its expansions) ends neither with a numeral nor with a nominal demonstrative inflected for the plural.

j) a tenth order expansion consisting of an adnomen, provided that:

1. a 9th order expansion occurs, which this adnomen then determines, e.g. assaru tɛ́ tɨkyn *'ONLY ONE story'*.

2. or that the phrase contains a noun other than an included object or a constituent of an appellative complement, which noun the adnomen then determines, e.g. assaru enen œβɒt-warɨ enen mœrœŋ jrɛ́p *'ALL THE STORIES about the oldsters of long ago'*.

3. or that the phrase ends (disregarding its expansions) with a personal pronoun or a personal pronominal suffix, or a numeral, which the adnomen then determines, e.g. jœ́r jrɛ́p *'all of them'*. When the adnomen determines a numeral, it is shifted to second order position, immediately after that numeral, e.g. tɛ́ tɨkyn ɒɨ *'[just] ONLY ONE'*.

k) an eleventh order expansion: cf. the second order expansion.

l) a twelth order expansion consisting of the modal particle pe *'rather'*.

m) a thirteenth order expansion consisting of a demonstrative deictic, e.g. nœ́r·kar mam ɒɨ na βa non *'this HERE sacred stone'* (lit.: *sacred stone this just then still HERE*).

CHAPTER 4: SYNTAX

4.1. *SENTENCE TYPES AND FORMULAE*

There are two main types of sentences: *major* and *minor*.

4.1.1. Minor sentences

A minor sentence carries information that is sufficient only in a context, e.g. ðóð *'there'* carries sufficient information only as an answer to a question or as an "afterthought" to a major sentence. The phrase ðóð could be developed ad infinitum and still not convey any independent information, e.g. ðóð lyβjœl hœn aatyr ɒm ni rki tyl ða mœrœŋ ɣamhy-ɣœlr ðóð lœmnan βé ɣɨŋor lopór/ *'there in the nakamal of that chief whom some men-bush long ago shot and missed, there on his bed when he was sleeping at night'*.

4.1.1.1. A minor sentence consists of either a completive nominal phrase or a temporal verbal phrase, e.g. ðóð *'there'*, βé ɣɨŋor *'when he sleeps'*.

4.1.2. Major sentences

A major sentence is a statement or a question conveying sufficient information without the help of a context, e.g. eɣenl té njó *'that's a tree'*, mɣe? *'where do you go?'*.

4.1.2.1. A major sentence consists of a rheme optionally preceded by a theme.

4.1.2.2. The rheme conveys the information proper, and consists of a predicate, which is itself constituted by a stative phrase, either verbal or nominal.

4.1.2.3. The theme states the limits and circumstances within which the information contained in the rheme applies. A theme is composed of one or several subthemes, each subtheme defining the limits and circumstances of the subsequent one, e.g. [ɣam][té βé ɣɨneð][tɨm'aβðœr] '[*we* (subtheme)][*when one dies* (subtheme)][*one does not bury him* (rheme)]', i.e. *'we don't bury our dead'*.

4.1.2.4. A subtheme consists of any one of the following:

a) a predicate introduced by wé *'if, as for, whereas'*, e.g. wé [ɪ][mβys-nɒttur] *'if [you][behave correctly]'*; wé [ahaɪ][pere] *'if [the road][is long]'*; wé [ɣé][ɣɨm'aβjan] *'if [you][don't go]'*. If the subject of the predicate is supplemented by a noun, numeral or nominalised adjective or adjectivoid in the irrealis, the introducing particle wé may be left out, e.g. (wé) [ɪté][ɣɨŋor][ɪœn] *'if [anyone][had slept][in it]'*.

b) a temporal verbal phrase, optionally introduced by wé, unless this temporal phrase itself starts with wé, in which case one is left out, e.g. (wé) [βé ɣɨɣe][ɪenes] *'whereas [when he rides][on birds]'*; but: [wé mjan] *'[when you go]'* not introduced by wé.

NB. When several temporal phrases occur in succession, all sharing the same subject and all referring to either the future, or the past or present, all the introducing quotative verbs, except the first one, may be left out, e.g. [βé ɣɨlam][βé ɣɨholtr] or [βé ɣɨlam][ɣɨholtr] *'[when he came][and flew around]'*.

c) a stative or locative nominal phrase optionally introduced by wé, e.g. [ɣam][té βé ɣɨneð] *'[AS FOR US][when one dies]'*; wé [ðað rœr] *'whereas [HERE ON THE CONTRARY]'*.

4.2. *SUPPLEMENTATION*

4.2.0. Generalities

Phrases and predicates may be developed by supplementation. A supplementation is a phrase or a predicate which bears some anaphoric relationship with the phrase or predicate it supplements.

For example, [aatyr][mɪlɪpɨn][ara][amas] *'the chief killed the pig with a club'*, literally: [*chief*][*he killed it with it*][*pig*][*club*]. The phrases [aatyr] *'chief'*, [ara] *'pig'*, and [amas] *'club'* are said to supplement the participants of the predicate [mɪlɪpɨn] *'he killed it with it'*, [aatyr] supplementing the subject, [ara] the object, and [amas] the instrument.

Appositions and relative clauses are rendered in Sakao by supplementations, e.g. [olom ɒm][ɣamŋor][ɪœn] *'the house where they slept'*, lit.:

[*that house*][*they slept*][*in it*], the predicate [ɣamŋor] supplementing the phrase [olom ɒm] through its complementation [lœn] *'in it'*. Or: [rkɨ][ussym-ró] *'people who drink liquor'*, literally: [*people*][*those who drink liquor*] the participle [ussym-ró] supplementing [rkɨ].

Except in a few cases[1], supplementations immediately precede or follow the phrases or predicates they supplement.

By definition, a left supplementation precedes the phrase or predicate it supplements, and a right supplementation follows it.

4.2.1. The supplementations of verbal phrases

A verbal phrase may take:

a) a left supplementation supplementing its subject, and consisting of one of the following:

1. a stative nominal phrase other than a gerund, e.g. [rkɨ][ɣamssym-ró] *'people are drinking liquor'*, literally: [*people*][*they drink liquor*]; [jœn][am'aβɣœðherɨ] *'I don't know'*, literally: [*I*][*I don't know it*].

2. a predicate, e.g. [œβyð-amarkar][βesɨ][meɣer][ðɒr] *'that is why children are disobedient'*, literally: [*children's heads*][*it is hard*][*it goes*][*there*], where the predicate [βesɨ] supplements the subject of [meɣer], and has its own subject supplemented by [œβyð-amarkar]. Note that this construction is the only way of negating nominal predicates, e.g. [jœn][per][meré] *'I am not a padre'*, literally: [*I*][*padre*][*it is not*], i.e. *'that I am a padre is not'*.

b) a right supplementation supplementing its object, and consisting of one of the following:

1. a stative nominal phrase other than a gerund, e.g. [wɒm][mɨɨɨ][ere] *'that one kills intersex pigs'*, literally: [*that one*][*he kills it*][*intersex pig(s)*].

2. a predicate optionally introduced by wé, e.g. [maaβɣœðherɨ] wé [meneð] *'he did not know that she was dead'*, literally: [*he did not know it*] *that* [*she is dead*].

3. if the initial verb is ɣœðherɨ *'to know it'*, nɒs *'to like/love/want it'*, or sœkɒɨ *'to dislike it'*, a gerund, e.g. [jœn][amsœkɒɨ][eneð-saɣlé] *'I don't want to die young'*, literally: [*I*][*I dislike it*][*dying early*]; [té][βé ɣɨnɒs][œɣœn][té] *'when someone wants to eat one'*, literally: [*one*][*when he wants it*][*eating*][*one*]; [amɣœðherɨ][œwys] *'I can do it'*, literally: [*I know it*][*doing it*].

c) a right supplementation supplementing its instrument, and consisting of a stative nominal phrase other than a gerund, e.g. [mɨɨpɨn]

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[1]Compare 4.3.3. p. 76.

[né ɒm] *'he killed him with that axe'*, literally: [*he killed him with it*][*that axe*]; [tɨβaha-ɣorɨn][aron][œryr wóɣ] *'they blindfolded him with a white cloth'*, literally: [*they tied-concealed it with it*][*his face*][*white cloth*].

d) if the verbal phrase contains a non-interrogative demonstrative adjective, a right supplementation supplementing that adjective, and consisting of a phrase, e.g. [mɨlrosu-ðamam non][i] *'he was sitting like you are'*, literally: [*he was sitting - like this*][*you*]; [mβys-ðemerlpɨn][aβɒr-rkym]? *'did you touch him as I told you to?'*, literally: [*you touched - like that him*][*I said it to you*]?

The supplementation of a demonstrative adjective immediately follows the phrase it supplements. The relative order of the other two right supplementations is free, e.g. [milpɨn][ara][amas] or [milpɨn][amas][ara] *'he killed the pig with a club'*.

4.2.2. The supplementations of nominal phrases

A nominal phrase other than a gerund or a participle may take:

a) if it is a predicate, a left supplementation consisting of a stative nominal phrase other than a gerund, e.g. [ó ŋjó][aðaɣ té] *'that is a banian'*, literally: [*that there*][*a banian*]. This construction renders equational sentences.

b) a right supplementation consisting of one of the following:

1. a stative nominal phrase other than a gerund, e.g. [tɨmhop][ahal][ojan][ðóð] *'they followed the road that goes there'*, literally: [*they followed it*][*road*][*the one which goes*][*there*], where [ojan] supplements [ahal].

2. a stative verbal phrase other than quotative, provided that either one of its participants or one of its complementations bears an anaphoric relationship with the nominal phrase being supplemented, e.g. [œβɒt-warl ɒm][manpór][malamp][mœɣyn][nɒru] *'that oldster who came yesterday has name Noru'*, literally: [*that oldster*][*yesterday*][*he came*][*he has name*][*Noru*]; [aðœŋœn ɒm][tɨmhyp][mœɣyn][ŋɒr] *'the name of the man who was shot is Ngor'*, literally: [*that man*][*they shot him*][*he has name*][*Ngor*]; [amas með][tɨm'ilɨn][œβyrjɒr][eɣeni tɨβle ɒl] *'the club with which the pigs of the Vuriar ritual are killed is but a plain stick'*, literally: [*this club*][*they kill it with it*][*Vuriar*][*just plain wood*]; [eseβyr ɒm][tɨmkep][ara té][hɒn] *'the sorcerer to whom they gave a pig'*, literally: [*that sorcerer*][*they took it*][*a pig*][*for him*]; [olom ɒm][moŋor][lœn] *'the house where he sleeps'*, literally: [*that house*][*he sleeps*][*in it*]; [eɣeni][tɨmtteré-ɣorɨn][ahal] *'they are woods with which*

the door is closed', literally: [*wood*][*they stand-block it with it*] [*road*].

3. one of the locative pronouns mel *'north'*, mys *'south'*, maha *'west'*, mohu *'east'*, mɨtyl *'above'*, maðan *'below'*, e.g. [œryr][mel] *'the white man who lives north of here'*, literally: [*white man*][*north*].

4. if the nominal phrase contains a non-interrogative demonstrative adjective, a phrase supplementing this demonstrative adjective, e.g. [œplaŋ ðamam non][mœhœ-ryr] *'wooden boards like those of the white men'*, literally: [*planks like this here*][*white men's*].

5. if the nominal phrase consists of the demonstrative pronoun wɒm, a predicate or a temporal verbal phrase. The pronoun wɒm then takes the meaning of *'when, as'*, e.g. [wɒm nɪ][tamhiŋé-ryr-nɒtturɨn] *'when we have it straight above the head [the sun]'*, i.e. *'at noon'*, literally: [*that there*][*we carry it on the head - straight*]; wé [wɒm nɪ][tɨβé tjetɨlé] *'whereas when they see her off'*, literally: *whereas* [*that there*][*when they see her off*].

4.3. *COMPLEMENTATION*

4.3.0. Generalities

Phrases and predicates may be developed by complementation. Complementations are completive or temporal phrases which explicit the circumstances of the phrase or the predicate they complement.

4.3.1. The complementations of verbal phrases

A verbal phrase other than a quotative one may take for complementations:

a) completive nominal phrases, e.g. [tót][tœnœð ité][nneɣ] *'cut a coconut for me to drink'*, literally: [*cut it off*][*coconut*][*for me to drink*]; [mɪlrosur][ɪyβjœl hɒn] *'he was sitting in his nakamal'*, literally: [*he was sitting*][*in his nakamal*]; [mɪlɪp][ðaru] *'he struck it twice'*, literally: [*he struck it*][*twice*]; ton [majan][tœhɒn] *'he might have gone somewhere'*, literally: *maybe* [*he went*][*place*]; [mryrp][je]? *'where do you come from?'*, literally: [*you had remained*][*where*]?

b) temporal verbal phrases, e.g. [tɨheɨn][wé mŋor][ɪopór] *'they will guard it when you sleep at night'*, literally: [*they will guard it*][*when you sleep*][*at night*].

c) stative nominal phrases denoting length of time or (a recent introduction) distance, e.g. [mɨlró][ehié ðœl] *'he stayed three years'*, literally: [*he stayed*][*three years*]; [amjaljal][ekɪlometa ru] *'I walked*

for two kilometres', literally: [*I walked*][*two kilometres*].

d) a comparative complementation consisting of the quotative verb wé in the 3rd person singular realis, followed by a nominal phrase, e.g. [mɨkrɪ][βé enɪtɪɪ] *'it is as small as a needle'*, literally: [*it is small*][*it says needle*].

e) a stative nominal phrase consisting of the demonstrative pronoun wɒm supplemented by a predicate or a temporal verbal phrase, e.g. [tɨheɨn][wɒm nɪ][wé mŋor] *'they will guard it when you sleep'*, literally: [*they will guard it*][*that there*][*when you sleep*].

4.3.2. The complementations of nominal phrases

A nominal phrase may take for complementations:

a) completive nominal phrases denoting spatial or temporal location, e.g. [eseβyr ɒm té][mœrœŋ][mesɨŋé] *'that sorcerer long ago was wrong'*, literally: [*that sorcerer*][*long ago*][*he was wrong*]; [ara té][ðóð][mœŋɒrŋɒr] *'a pig there is grunting'*, literally: [*a pig*][*there*][*he grunts*].

b) a temporal verbal phrase, e.g. [ara ɒm][mβé jeɪtœr][ɪohe][eherjé té] *'the pig which was there when you arrived at the village was a tusker'*, literally: [*that pig*][*when you came out*][*in the village*][*a tusker*].

c) if it is a predicate, a benefactive completive nominal phrase, e.g. [ara té][hɒn] *'he has a pig'*, literally: [*a pig*][*for him*].

d) a comparative complementation (see 4.3.1.d), e.g. [ere-ɣenɪ βérβér][βé iðeɪ] *'large leaves like banana-leaves'*, literally: [*large tree-leaves*][*it says banana*].

4.3.3. Order of complementations

Complementations occur following the phrase they complement, and its supplementations, except in the following cases:

a) the iterative pronoun ðaté *'once'* may precede the phrase it complements, in which case it takes the meaning of *'almost, nearly'*, e.g. [ðaté][aʀer] *'I nearly fell'*; [ðaté][ehɪé ru] *'almost two years'*.

b) a completive phrase consisting of a benefactive preposition occurs preceding the phrase it complements if:

1. it occurs in a subtheme, e.g. wé [hœn té][opɨluk té] *'if/when one has a cow'*, literally: *if* [*for one*][*a cow*].
2. or if it occurs as the complementation of a predicate which is

itself a supplementation, e.g. [amɣœðheri] wé [hɒn][opɨluk té] *'I know that he has a cow'*, literally: [*I know it*] *that* [*for him*][*a cow*].

3. or if it complements a nominal predicate in an optative sense, e.g. [hœɣ][wɒm] *'let me have that one', 'may I have that one!'*, literally: [*for me*][*that one*].

c) a short complementation may occur between a phrase and its supplementations if these are very lengthy, e.g. [meke-jan][ðóð][œhy ɒm] [tɨmhypɨn][ó] *'he took the rifle with which that one was shot to THAT PLACE'*, not: meke-jan œhy ɒm tɨmhypɨn ó ðóð.

The relative order of complementations is free. Usually, benefactive complementations occur first, then spatial ones, and temporal ones.

4.4. *THE COMPLEMENTATIONS AND SUPPLEMENTATIONS OF GERUNDS AND PARTICIPLES*

Gerunds and participles take the same complementations and right supplementations as verbal phrases. When predicates, participles take the same left supplementations as nominal phrases. Gerunds take no left supplementations.

4.5. *ADJUNCTION*

4.5.0. Adjunction, a process akin to coordination, is marked by adjuncts. There are four adjuncts: meré *'or'*, hyr[1] *'for, because'*, ton *'perhaps'*, and ɣe *'and'*.

4.5.1. The adjunct ton is dubitative and precedes phrases or sentences, e.g. [mɨlró][ðað] ton [ehié ðœl] *'he stayed here for MAYBE THREE YEARS'*.

4.5.2. The adjunct meré is alternative and precedes phrases or sentences which it connects to preceding phrases or sentences, e.g. [aðœŋœn té] meré [œpœs té] *'a man OR a dog'*.

4.5.3. The adjunct hyr is explicative, denoting cause or purpose, and precedes phrases or sentences which it connects to preceding phrases or sentences, e.g. [ɣwóp][ni] hyr [wari hɒn] *'let her hang herself BECAUSE of her husband* [*who died*]*'*.

4.5.4. The adjunct ɣe is additive and precedes phrases or sentences

[1]Pronounced hɨn in fast speech.

which it *may* connect to preceding phrases or sentences, in which case it is translatable by *'and', 'with (inclusive)'*, e.g. joru ɣe tanjel *'they two with Daniel'*, i.e. *'Daniel and him'*; [ðað] ɣe [ys] *'here and south'*, i.e. *'south of here'*.

When it does not connect to a preceding phrase or sentence, ɣe is translatable by *'then', 'subsequently'*, e.g. ye [ni][βé ɣɨkkɒβu] ye [aakœr] ye [ɣamttal] *'AND when he dances, THEN the women SUBSEQUENTLY hail him'*; [aarl][βé ɣɨtarl][lyβjœ́l][aakœr] ye [ɣamkanele] *'when the man enters the nakamal, the women SUBSEQUENTLY withdraw'*.

4.5.5. The four adjuncts are not mutually exclusive, and, were they to occur all preceding the same phrase, their order would be: meré hyr ton ɣe, e.g. [aakœr kri té] meré ton [amarkar warɨ] *'a small girl OR MAYBE a male child'*; ton ye [tɨtal][ðɒr] *'AND MAYBE we should stop here'*; hyr ye [ðað ɒl][tɨmhyp] *'BECAUSE THEN it's here that they shot him'*; hyr ton [βé [wa][wé mœhy-ɣœlr][wa]] *'FOR MAYBE he thinks: "When this one shoots and misses this one"'*.

4.5.6. The adjuncts hyr and meré, *the latter optionally followed by* ton, may also occur sentence-finally, in which case hyr is translatable by *'because of it'*, and meré denotes doubt, e.g. meke-rkœn ara té hyr/ *'he gave him a pig FOR IT'*; ton ɣamkara-torpɨn œhy ɣamraréɣɨn meré ton *'maybe [since] they fired their rifles all the time, they were [driven] crazy by it, WERE THEY?'*

4.6. *JUXTAPOSITION*

4.6.1. Additive coordination of sentences and verbal phrases is more often by mere juxtaposition than by adjunction with ɣe, e.g. [ɣamðœl] [tjan][tɨkœə][naɣamðœl] *'LET'S GO [and] COOK for ourselves'*.

4.6.2. Additive coordination of more than two nominal phrases is sometimes by mere juxtaposition with intervening pauses (¨), e.g. [mœrœsp] [noð]¨[œsy·kar]¨[ara]/ *'he made fowls, œsy·kar birds, and pigs'*.

4.6.3. Alternative coordination of a phrase containing or consisting of a numeral, and a following phrase consisting of a numeral is often by juxtaposition with a pause (¨), e.g. esɨlen taalieð¨ taalru¨ taalðœl/ *'four, or two, or three shillings each'*.

4.7. *NON-SENTENTIAL FORMS*

Not included in the preceding discussion were the following non-sentential forms:

mm (with a rising intonation) *'yes, that's right'*

œ *'yes'* acknowledging received information

œhœn *'no'*

hɑo *'all right'* expressing approval and announcing subsequent comment or action

ɣe *'come on!'* (an invitation to action)

hu *'wow!'* (astonishment or admiration)

ssœ *'fie!'* (scorn)

taβé *'maybe'* (indifference or irresolution)

e or o, two unstressed particles occurring only at the end of phonological phrases, the former drawing attention to a point of the question or statement preceding, the latter having a mild exclamatory overtone, e.g. hyr œhy-kar e/ *'because of the wars, YOU KNOW'*; βrɪβ o/ *'REALLY big!'*; tjaβwar o/ *'Good-bye!'* (literally: *'Let's not speak!'*)

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APPENDIX

EXPRESSING NUMBERS ABOVE TEN

It has been seen that numbers from one to nine are expressed by numerals, and ten and multiples and powers of ten by numeral verbs. Intermediate numbers (for example, *eleven, twenty-five, a hundred and two,* etc.) are expressed in diverse ways depending on speakers. One of these ways, which is believed to be historically the original one, others being seemingly influenced by Bichelamar or Tolomako, will be detailed, after which individual variations will be given.

Numbers up to ninety-nine are expressed by a verbal phrase consisting of a numeral verb, followed by the verb wan *'to bear fruit'*, inflected for the same person and mode as the preceding numeral verb, and itself followed by a numeral, e.g. aðœŋœn ɣamɣœlté ɣaβan ru *'twelve persons'* (literally: *'they are ten and bear fruit, two'*). Units may be left unspecified, e.g. ɣamɣœlté ɣaβan βa *'more than ten'* (literally: *'they are ten and still bear fruit'*).

Multiples of one hundred and one thousand are expressed by the numeral verbs ter *'hundred'* and mœn *'thousand'* complemented by an iterative pronoun, e.g. meter ðaðœl *'three hundred'*, ɣamœn ðaru *'they are two thousand'*. When lower powers of ten are to be expressed, the use of an iterative pronoun complementing ter or mœn becomes obligatory, even for one hundred or one thousand, and those lower powers of ten follow, introduced by the expression oβron mœhyn *'its ear pulls it (?)'*, e.g. mœn ðaté¨ oβron mœhyn¨ meter ðalén·ere·peð¨ oβron mœhyn¨ mœɣœlén·ara βan lén·ere·peð *'one thousand nine hundred and sixty-nine'*.

INDIVIDUAL VARIATIONS

1. The verb wan always occurs in the third person singular realis, e.g. aðœŋœn ɣamɣœlté βan ru *'twelve persons'*.

2. Numeral verbs occur in the third person singular instead of the third person plural, e.g. aðœŋœn mœɣœlté βan ru *'twelve persons'*.

3. The expression oβron mœhyn is replaced by the adjunct ɣe *'and'*, e.g. mœn ðaru ɣe meter ðaðœl *'two thousand three hundred'*.

4. Numeral verbs are used as adjectives, e.g. aðœŋœn ɣœlté *'ten persons'*. Units may even be expressed, introduced by βan, e.g. aðœŋœn ɣœlté βan ru *'twelve people'*.

5. Nouns, unexpandable, are formed from numeral verbs by prefixing $, e.g. kep œɣœlté *'take ten'*.

SAMPLE TEXT

œsœl·rru té/ œmɒr·jes té; mœkyp aða¨ alð-aða hɒn¨ masaŋœr leðe/ mosson-nes-hoβ eðe/ mœlys eðe majan majan mœrœðp eɣenɪ kɨté/ eɣenɪ með tɨβɒrɨn œβœlyt hœβe·kar/ mœrœðp mekersa mɨlró lœn¨ mɨlkœlsu¨ nnɒr mœɣœð œwɒr-nalo-hal té/ œwɒr-nalo-hal með malam malam¨ βé ɣɨlam ðɒr latan¨ βé ɣɨsonp¨ nnɒr meke-kersa¨ mekesɨŋer lœβyr-ejeð té ðɒr llon/ meker lœn; nɪ mœlys eðe mɨljan mɨljan¨ mœkœœœkœlkœl-nes mœkœlkœl-ɣjœ́pr/

TRANSLATION

[This is] a half-spoken, half-sung tale. [There was] a young unmarried man; he took [his] bow, his arrows, [and] he went down to the sea. He followed the seashore, shooting at fish. He walked along the seashore, he went [and] he went [and] he climbed a tree. This tree is called the bourao of the red-chin[1]*. He climbed it [and] he went up [and] he stayed in it, he kept looking down, then he saw a small analohal*[2]*. This small analohal came [and] came, when it came there beneath him, [and] when he shot it, then he carried it up, [and] he put it on top of a stone there on the beach. He put it on it; [as for] him[self] he walked along the seashore, he kept going [and] he kept going, he looked for fish assiduously and repeatedly, he tried repeatedly to look for [fish] but eventually gave up.*

---

[1]An unidentified bird species.

[2]An unidentified fish species. Literally: *'floating spittle'*.

PARSING OF THE SAMPLE TEXT

1.	œsœl·rru	compound free noun	*half-spoken, half-sung tale*
2.	té	numeral, determines No.1 œsœl·rru	*a, one*
3.	œmɒr·jes	compound free noun	*young, unmarried man*
4.	té	cf. No.1; determines No.3 œmɒr·jes	*a, one*
5.	mœkyp	3rd pers. sg. realis perfective of ky	*he took it*
6.	aða	free noun	*bow*
7.	alð=	construct noun	*child of*
8.	aða	cf. No.6; regime of alð=	*bow*
9.	hɒ-	lower allomorph of suffixing preposition hɒ-	*of* (general possession)
10.	n	3rd pers. sg. pronominal suffix	*him*
11.	masaŋœr	3rd pers. sg. realis of saŋœr	*he went down*
12.	l=	construct locative preposition	*in, on, at*
13.	eðe	free noun, regime of No.11 l=	*sea*
14.	mosson	3rd pers. sg. realis tensed of son	*he shoots it*
15.	nes	free noun, included object of No.14 son	*fish* (enes)
16.	hoβ	4th order expansion of No.14 son	*he follows it*
17.	eðe	free noun	*sea*
18.	mœlys	3rd pers. sg. realis of lys	*he walks along it*
19.	eðe	free noun	*sea*

20.	majan	3rd pers. sg. realis of jan	*he goes*
21.	majan	*idem*	*he goes*
22.	mœrœðp	3rd pers. sg. realis perfective of ræð	*he climbed it*
23.	eɣenɨ	free noun	*tree*
24.	kɨté	definite numeral, determines No.23 eɣenɨ	*a certain*
25.	eɣenɨ	cf. No.23	*tree*
26.	með	non-present, immediate nominal demonstrative, determines No.25 eɣenɨ	*this*
27.	tɨβɒrɨn	indefinite realis of wɒr inflected for participation (triple)	*one says it by it*
28.	œβœlyt	free noun	*bourao*
29.	h=	construct possessive preposition, expands No.28 œβœlyt	*of*
30.	œβe·kar	compound free noun, regime of No.29 h=	*"red-chin"*
31.	mœrœðp	cf. No.22	*he climbed it*
32.	mekersa	3rd pers. sg. realis of kersa	*he goes up*
33.	mɨlró	3rd pers. sg. realis perdurative of ró	*he kept staying*
34.	lœ-	suffixing locative preposition, lower allomorph	*in, at, on*
35.	n	cf. No.10; regime of No.34 lœ-	*it*
36.	mɨlkœlsu	3rd pers. sg. realis perdurative of kœlsu	*he kept looking down*
37.	nnɒr	non-present remote clausal demonstrative pronoun	*then*

38.	mœɣœð	3rd pers. sg. realis of ɣœð	*he sees it*
39.	œwɒr=	construct noun	*small of*
40.	nalo-hal	compound free noun regime of No.39 œwɒr=	*fish species* (analo-hal)
41.	té	numeral, determines No.39 œwɒr=	*a, one*
42.	œwɒr=	cf. No.39	*small of*
43.	nalo-hal	cf. No.40	*fish species*
44.	með	cf. No.26, determines No.39 œwɒr=	*this*
45.	malam	3rd pers. sg. realis of lam	*it comes*
46.	malam	*idem*	*it comes*
47.	βé	3rd pers. sg. realis of the quotative verb wé, introduces No.48 ɣɨlam	*when*
48.	ɣɨlam	3rd pers. sg. irrealis of lam	*it comes*
49.	ðɒr	non-present remote locative pronoun	*there*
50.	l=	cf. No.12	*in, at, on*
51.	ata-	suffixing noun, lower allomorph, regime of No.50 l=	*beneath*
52.	n	cf. No.10	*him*
53.	βé	cf. No.47, introduces No.54 ɣɨsonp	*when*
54.	ɣɨsonp	3rd pers. sg. irrealis perfective of son	*he shot it*
55.	nnɒr	cf. No.37	*then*
56.	meke-	3rd pers. sg. realis of ke	*he takes it*
57.	kersa	4th order expansion of No.56 ke	*he goes up*

58.	mekesɨŋer	3rd pers. sg. realis continuative of kesɨŋe	*he puts it on*
59.	ɨ=	cf. No.12	*in, at, on*
60.	œβyr=	construct noun, regime of No.59 ɨ=	*top of*
61.	eJeð	free noun, regime of No.60 œβyr=	*stone*
62.	tɛ́	numeral, determines No.61 eJeð	*a, one*
63.	ðɒr	cf. No.49	*there*
64.	ɨ=	cf. No.12	*in, at, on*
65.	ɨon	free noun, regime of No.64 ɨ=, inflected for regime	*sand* (non)
66.	meker	3rd pers. sg. realis continuative of ke	*he puts it*
67.	ɨœ-	cf. No.34	*in, at, on*
68.	n	cf. No.35	*it*
69.	nɨ	3rd pers. sg. pronoun	*he*
70.	mœlys	3rd pers. sg. realis of lys	*he walks along it*
71.	eðe	free noun	*sea*
72.	mɨɨjan	3rd pers. sg. realis perdurative of jan	*he keeps going*
73.	mɨɨjan	*idem*	*he keeps going*
74.	mœkœœœkœɨkœl	3rd pers. sg. realis intensive repetitive of kœl	*he seeks it assiduously and repeatedly*
75.	nes	free noun, included object of No.74 kœl	*fish* (enes)
76.	mœkœɨkœl	3rd pers. sg. realis repetitive of kœl	*he seeks it repeatedly*

77.	ɣjǽpr	tentative directional complement, introduced by ɣ and consisting of the directional verb jǽ inflected for the perfective and the continuative	*trying to come near it and quitting before completion*

TEXT IN HOG-HARBOUR
WITH LITERAL EQUIVALENT IN PORT-OLRY

Consonants are noted phonetically in both texts.
Informant: Pastor Titus Path (pɒð) of Hog-Harbour.

Hog-Harbour	Port-Olry
# lœβyŋ-pór té˝ naðœŋœn nan	# lœβyŋ-pór té˝ aðœŋœn nen
lohe té ɣaβɒr-hoβ ɣaβé˝	ohe té ɣaβɒr-hoβ ɣaβé˝
jǽʀ takersa laðalan/	jɒr takersa laðalan/
jǽʀ taket terien ppere té˝	jɒr taket tereŋ·kar pere té˝
taposʀ˝tatétέ-hoβ jǽʀ	taposr˝ taté-hoβ jɒr
takersa/ ɣamkep nerien té˝	takersa/ ɣamkep ereŋ·kar té
ɣaposʀ/ té marjeʀʰ˝ opel té	ɣaposr/ té marjer˝ opel
mjelt-rɨsa marjeʀ	té mejelt-rɨsa marjer
lœðɒl-βarke nan/ ɣe opel	lœðɒl-βarke anan/ ɣe opel
té mkersa˝ marjeʀ lyn/	té mekersa˝ marjer lœn/
ɣe opel té mkersa marjeʀʰ/	ɣe opel té mekersa marjer/
ɣamɨlhoβ-ðemeðɨn mkersa	ɣamɨlhoβ-ðemeðɨn jǽr mekersa
mjan˝ oró llɒθ ttœr mrox˝	majan˝ oró llɒð ttœr moroɣ˝
rki ɣaββɨŋœn/ mjaaajan˝	rki ɣaβɨŋœn/ majaaajan˝
naðœŋœn oró llɒθ ttœr mʀerᵉ/	naðœŋœn oró llɒð ttœr meʀer/
βé gʀerᵉ˝ jǽr jrép ɣamʀerpʰ/	βé ɣɨʀer˝ jǽr jrép ɣamʀerp/
ɣamkar-jeljel˝ té mʀer-myl˝	ɣamkar-jeljel˝ té meʀer-mœl˝
té mʀer-hu˝ té mʀer-haβyl˝	té meʀer-hu˝ té meʀer-haβyl˝
té mʀer-hatœrœ/ jǽr βoɣ	té meʀer-hatœr/ jǽr βoɣ
ɣam'aβɣǽðɣǽð jǽrœ/ nnɒrə˝	ɣam'aβɣœðɣœð jǽr/ nnɒr˝
βé ɣɨðemeθ˝ ys mkep nwar pel˝	βé ɣɨðemeð˝ ys mekep asaru
jehu mkep nwar pel˝ jel mkep	pel˝ jehu mekep assaru pel˝
nwar pel˝ jeha mkep nwar pel/	jel mekep assaru pel˝ jeha

Hog-Harbour	Port-Olry
mɒryŋ nwar té tɨkyn¨ mjaaajan jǽr ɣaβé ɣaʀer- ðemeθ¨ nnɒr na nwar βorɣe/	mekep assaru pel/ mœrœŋ assaru té tɨkyn¨ majaaajan jǽr ɣaβé ɣaʀer-ðemeð¨ nnɒr na assaru βorɣe/

TRANSLATION
(text phonemicised)

l= œβyŋ-pór té¨ naðœŋœn nan l= ohe té ɣaβɒr - hoβ ɣaβé¨
on evening a, persons of in village a they say - follow it they say:

JǽR takersa l=aðalan/ jǽr taket terlen ppere té¨
"We we shall go up to clouds. We shall take bamboo long a,

taposʀ¨ tatétté -hoβ jǽR takersa/
we shall plant it, we shall hold each other -follow it us we shall go up."

ɣamkep nerien té¨ ɣaposʀ té marjeʀ opel té mjelt-rɨsa
They took it bamboo a, they planted it. One stood, other one jumped up

marjeʀ l=œðɒl-βarke nan/ ɣe opel té mkersa marjeʀ ly-n/
he stood on shoulders his. And other one a he went up he stood on him.

ɣe opel té mkersa marjeʀ/ ɣamɨlhoβ - ðemeðɨn
And other one a he went up he stood. They followed it like this

mkersa mjan¨ oró llɒð ttœr mroɣ¨
it went up it went, the one who stayed on ground extreme he felt it,

rkɨ ɣaββɨŋœn/ mjaaajan naðœŋœn oró llɒð
people were heavy. It went on and on person he who stayed on ground

ttœr mʀer/ βé ɣʀer¨ jǽr jrép ɣamʀerp/ ɣamkar
extreme he fell. When he fell, they all they fell. They flew

- jeljel¨ té mʀer - myl¨ té mʀer - hu¨
jumped all about, one he fell went south, one he fell went east,

té mʀer - haβyl¨ té mʀer hatœr/ jǽr βoɣ
one he fell went west, one he fell went north. They even

ɣam'aβɣǽðɣǽð jǽr/ nnɒr¨ βé ɣɨðemeð¨ ys
did not see one another them. Then, when it was like this, in the south

mkep nwar pel¨ jehu mkep nwar
he took it language different, in the east he took it language

pel¨ jel mkep nwar pel¨ jeha
different, in the north he took it language different, in the west

mkep nwar pel/ mɒryŋ nwar té tɨkyn¨
he took it language different. Before language one only,

mJaaaJan Jǿrɣaβéɣaʀer - ðemeð¨ nnɒr na nwar
it went on and on they when they fell like this, then then languages

βorɣe/
it was many.

One evening, the people of a village said: "Let's climb to the clouds. Let's take a long bamboo and plant it, and let's climb it, each one holding the next one". They took a bamboo and planted it. One of them stood; another jumped up and stood on his shoulders. And another one came up and stood on him. They kept on climbing [that bamboo] in this fashion, up and up. The one right down on the ground felt the weight of the others. Eventually, the one right down on the ground fell. As he fell, they all fell. They fell all about, one fell to the south, one to the east, one to the west, one to the north. They could not even see one another. Then the one in the south took a different language, the one in the east took a different language, the one in the north took a different language. Before, there had been only one language, until they fell like this. Then there were many languages.

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