A GRAMMAR OF SAKAO.
A GRAMMAR OF THE NORTHERN DIALECT OF SAKAO,
A MELANESIAN LANGUAGE OF ESPIRITU SANTO (NEW HEBRIDES)

by

Jacques Bernard Michel GUY

This thesis was submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Australian National University.

December 1972
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost my thanks go to R.P. Linossier, ainsi qu'aux Soeurs de la mission de Port-Olry, for their help in all matters and their hospitality.

To informants, but they will never read these lines.

And to my supervisors, i.e. Prof. Wurm, Drs. Dutton, Laycock, Tryon, Voorhoeve, for their encouragements, suggestions and - let us say it - prodding that kept these lazy bones going.

1. My heart bleeds for Dr. Dutton who, having the misfortune of not being away during the final stages of my writing up, had more than his share of the fall-out.
τον δ' ἐκπλάξοντ' ἀνοι θέροειν
καὶ μελέδωναι.

Sappho.
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1. Tourébiou  [tsure'biu]
2. Tolomako
3. Malao
4. Bilibil  [pili'pili]
5. Tasiriki
6. Waylapa
Sakao place-names:

Dionn Isl.  Øjon
Hog-Harbour  Îlek
Kolé  γælæ
Lotoror  lototor
Lowérié  loworjé
Port-Olry  laðamað
Rakara  rajkar
Sakao Isl.  laðhi
Walraoul  lybjal-ra-jal
INTRODUCTION
INTRODUCTION

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.

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

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.

4. The phonetic symbols used are those recommended by the International Phonetic Association, except for the alveolar trill, which is noted r, 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. p̃, m̃, ̂p̃, ̃m.

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

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, Tolomakoj and Akei, unphonemicized.

1. Also known as Marina, Big Bay, Tikipi
The third section, entitled "Phonology", comprises five parts:
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 Alyet.

[Eugène Alyet, 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 morphophonological changes occurring within the phonological phrase, and with the structure of Sakao words.

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)', 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. οφδω, οφδη and οφδδ 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

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

description, construct and suffixing morphs are considered to constitute two separate categories of morphemes; thus \( \alpha \beta \gamma \delta \) 'head' is said to be a construct morpheme, and \( \alpha \beta \delta \gamma \) a suffixing one; the form \( \alpha \beta \delta \varepsilon \) is then treated as an allomorph of the suffixing morpheme \( \alpha \beta \delta \gamma \), 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.

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 third 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.

5E. The sixth section, entitled "Syntax", is concerned with sentence-level syntax and is organized on the same principles as the Grammar.

---

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 (cf p.12)
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 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.

5F. The seventh section is an appendix containing:
a) Notes on the divers 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.

6. Orthography.

6A. The symbol # marks the beginning of an utterance.

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. γam-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. æβyð-amarkar 'heads of children', lìki-mar 'near the chimney-stacks'.

c) Elsewhere, by a space.

6C. Obligat orily lost consonants (cf p.35) 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.

6D. The semi-consonants, ñ and j, are normally left out in those environments where they are almost always lost (cf pp. 35-36). E.g. uyð for uwypo 'jungle'.

6E. When given out of context and without their regime, construct morphemes are written followed by the symbol = , and suffixing morphemes followed by a hyphen, the lower allomorph only being given, if available.  

6F. In the syntax, square brackets [ ] are used to show phrase boundaries. E.g. [kam][malam] '[this person][came]'.

6G. Punctuation. A slash (/) denotes a sentence-

1. Deacon (1929:467)
2. The basic form can be derived from the lower allomorph, but not vice versa. Cf p.51)
final stative intonation (cf p. 18), and two raised dots ("·") a sentence-medial suspensive intonation (cf p.19). The question-mark and the semi-colon are used to denote respectively the interrogative intonation (cf p. 18) and the sentence-medial expectative intonation (cf p.19).
GENERALITIES ON THE SAKAO LANGUAGE
0.1 Generalities

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.

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 Dzele. A southern dialect is spoken in and south of Hog-Harbour, and differs from Sakao only on minor points of grammar and phonetics.

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 pp 134-135.

0.2 Typology

1. Tryon (forthcoming) tentatively distinguishes between two language types in the New Hebrides, i.e. Oceanic and "Melanesian", the former being characterized 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.

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 Tourebiou 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).

3. Stops. Like most languages of the northern New Hebrides, Sakao has only one series of stops, as against two (voiceless and prenasalized voiced) for most languages of the southern islands. E.g. Tolomako, Akei and Sakao have three stops: p, t, k, and Vao seven: p, p', t, k, mb, mb, nd.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tolomako</th>
<th>Akei</th>
<th>Vao</th>
<th>Sakao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na 'bu'lluku</td>
<td>na 'bu'lluku</td>
<td>'bu'llukh</td>
<td>u'lyy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na 'reku</td>
<td>na 'pa'lluku</td>
<td>'mba'llukh</td>
<td>æ'βy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na 'poe</td>
<td>na 'poe</td>
<td>'nambo</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na 'toa</td>
<td>na 'toa</td>
<td>'nato</td>
<td>noβ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table is continued on next page
4. To the interlabials of Vao usually correspond Sakao dentals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tolomako</th>
<th>Akei</th>
<th>Vao</th>
<th>Sakao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na 'yutu</td>
<td>na 'utu</td>
<td>na 'yuth</td>
<td>nọọ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na 'toɓu</td>
<td>na 'toɓu</td>
<td>na 'toɓ</td>
<td>o'ọọ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na 'po'talî</td>
<td>na 'po'talî</td>
<td>ìẹte</td>
<td>ìọcẹ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na 'para</td>
<td>na 'para</td>
<td>ne 'la</td>
<td>a'bar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na 'oɓo</td>
<td>na 'aka</td>
<td>nu 'akh</td>
<td>a'ay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lost post-tonic vowel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tonic vowel of Tolomako or Akei</th>
<th>a, e or o</th>
<th>i or u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>òe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
<td>òe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i or u</td>
<td>òe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lost post-tonic vowel</th>
<th>i or u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>òe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>òe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>òe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i or u</td>
<td>òe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tolomako</th>
<th>Sakao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na 'tsi'yo ku</td>
<td>æsu'gæy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na 'tsi'yo na</td>
<td>ðsu'gnon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'tsi'yo</td>
<td>æ'sæŋ e'hi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tolomako</th>
<th>Sakao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na 'taka</td>
<td>a'ðaγ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na 'teru</td>
<td>æ'ðær</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na 'sule</td>
<td>æ'hæl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na 'natṣi</td>
<td>ð'næs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na 'yuTu</td>
<td>nəð</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na 'toa</td>
<td>nəð</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na a'bua</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na 'yatṣi</td>
<td>nar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na ðe'tali</td>
<td>i'ðæl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na yat'a'tia</td>
<td>a'ðði</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na b'u'luna</td>
<td>u'læn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sakao (prefixes)</th>
<th>Realis</th>
<th>Irrealis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st sg.</td>
<td>am</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd sg.</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>zero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd sg.</td>
<td>mV₁</td>
<td>y₁</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indefinite</td>
<td>tım</td>
<td>ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st incl. pl.</td>
<td>tım</td>
<td>ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd excl. pl.</td>
<td>yım</td>
<td>y₁</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others pl.</td>
<td>yım</td>
<td>y₁</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note 1. is a vowel assimilating to that of the following syllable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vao (prefixes)</th>
<th>Realis</th>
<th>Irrealis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st sg.</td>
<td>nom</td>
<td>yu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd sg.</td>
<td>yom</td>
<td>yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd sg.</td>
<td>mo</td>
<td>ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st incl. pl.</td>
<td>rım</td>
<td>ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st excl. pl.</td>
<td>kım</td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pl.</td>
<td>kem</td>
<td>ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pl.</td>
<td>nam</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tolomako (clitics)</th>
<th>Realis</th>
<th>Irrealis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st sg.</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd sg.</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>oi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd sg.</td>
<td>mo</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st incl. pl.</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st excl. pl.</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>kai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pl.</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>koi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pl.</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>ti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
0.2.10. Sakao verbal stems may combine to form close-knit verbal strings that may incorporate an object. A suffix, \( +n \), 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 have made intransitive. This suffix is probably related to the Tolomako preposition \( ne \) (preceding proper nouns and pronouns), which marks an indirect object, an instrumental, or a locative.
CHAPTER I

PHONOLOGY
Phonological phrase

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

Intonation

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

1.3 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 ërëëë té 'a HUGE pygmy'.

1.4 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.

1.5 A phrase-final intonation characterized by a sharp drop in pitch-level denotes the end of a stative sentence, and is noted herein by a slash, i.e. /.

1.6 A phrase-final intonation characterized by a sharp rise in pitch-level denotes the end of an interrogative sentence, and is noted herein by a question-mark, i.e. ?.
1.7 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. "·."

1.8 A phrase-final intonation characterized 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.

Stress

1.9 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.

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

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

Phoneme inventory

1.12 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSONANTS</th>
<th>Bilabials</th>
<th>Prepalatals</th>
<th>Postpalatals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>p [p]</td>
<td>t [t]</td>
<td>k [k]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>β [β]</td>
<td>δ [δ]</td>
<td>γ [γ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m [m]</td>
<td>n [n]</td>
<td>η [η]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-consonants</td>
<td>w [w]</td>
<td>j [j]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frictionless</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h [h]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibilant</td>
<td></td>
<td>s [s]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flap or roll</td>
<td>r [r]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td></td>
<td>r [r]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td>l [l]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VOWELS</th>
<th>Front unrounded</th>
<th>Front rounded</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back rounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High close</td>
<td>i [i]</td>
<td>y [γ]</td>
<td>i [i]</td>
<td>u [u]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid close</td>
<td>é [e]</td>
<td>ó [ɔ]</td>
<td>ò [ɔ]</td>
<td>o [ɔ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid open</td>
<td>e [ɛ]</td>
<td>œ [œ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low open</td>
<td>a [a]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DIPHTHONGS

æ [æ] and œ[œ]

NB. The diphthongs are historically derived from the vowels æ and œ, which became diphthongized morpheme-finally except in suffixing and construct morphemes. The phonemic status of at least the diphthong æ is well attested by the loanwords apəon 'pound sterling' and apaos 'pouch'.

1. Depending on speakers.
Consonants contrast in the following words:

- p [pʰr] to be near it
- t [tʰr] to stop it
- k [kʰr] that
- kʰ [kʰr] this
- β [βʰpr] he said it
- βʰ [βʰr] he lies
- θ [θʰr] there
- θʰ [θʰr] here
- y [ɣr] to swim
- m [mʰr] that
- n [nʰr] to urinate
- q [qʰr] to cry
- w [wʰr] that one
- j [jʰr] we (inclusive)
- h [hʰr] to be windy
- s [sʰr] to split it
- r [ɾʰr] to simmer
- rʰ [ɾʰ] to stay
- n [ɾʰ] to rest
- l [lʰs] to cut it

Consonant length:

- p [pʰ] it nips him
- pp [pʰpʰ] short
- t [tʰ] to catch it with a snare
- tt [tʰtʰ] to accuse him
- k [kʰ] to hold it
- kk [kʰkʰ] magically powerful
- β [βʰnɾ] it bears fruit
- ββ [ββʰapɾ] it is hairless
- y [ɣr] we (exclusive)
- yy [ɣɣr] to pull it down
- δ [δʰa] some
- δδ [δδʰa] pregnant
n n ey [neγ] my penis
nn nney [nneγ] for me to drink
w weδ [weð] this one
ww wwe [wwe] to ache

Semi-consonants versus vowels:

j jeδ [jetδ] here
i iεδ [iεδ] four
w wyδ [wyδ] to moisten it
u uyδ [uyδ] jungle

Vowels and diphthongs:

i ni [ni] he, she, it
é né [ne] axe
e ne [ne] a tree (Bichelamar: nakavika)
a na [na] then
y iyδ [iyδ] to go around it
é lεδ [lεδ] outside
ë læδ [læδ] to surpass it
u ñur [ñur] he castrated it
ö βóp [βoʊp] he strangled him
βóy [βoʊ] it is white
o βoy [βoʊ] also
d βoy [βoʊ] Mr. Owl
i hi [hi] who?
y hy [hy] to blow on it
u hu [hu] to tilt it
é né [ne] axe
ë nε [ne] a tree (Bichelamar: naus)
ö nó [no] turtle
e neδ [neδ] dead
æ naδ [naδ] thus
o noδ [noδ] fowl
1.0.0

1.13 Finer phonetic description of phonemes

1. Stops. Stops are voiceless and unaspirated.

2. Fricatives. Fricatives are voiced.

3. Nasals. Nasals are normally voiced, except phrase-finally or preceding a voiceless phone, in which environments they occur optionally unvoiced. E.g. manaryp [mana'rygp] 'he took a breath'.

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

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

6. The trill R. The trill R is a cvoiceless lamino-alveolar fricative trill.
7. Prepalatals. The prepalatals ʈ, ɖ, and ɳ are apico-dental. Intervocally, a short ɖ may optionally be realized as a flap instead of a fricative.

8. Postpalatals. The articulation of the postpalatals k, ɣ, and ɳ 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 realized as a stop instead of a fricative. E.g. eneyl̃yɛl [ɛnɛ'ɡl̃yɛl] 'afternoon', ɻɛɣɻɪa [ɻɛ ɡrɪ'a] 'when he stood up'. In such environments ɣ still contrasts with k; e.g. eneyl̃yɛl [ɛnɛ'ɡl̃yɛl] 'afternoon' versus eseklɛɣ [ɛsɛ'klɛɣ] 'my nephew'.

9. Consonant length. Long consonants are realized 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 realized by all alike as two successive articulations. E.g. ppɛ 'short' is, in men's speech, [þþɛ], and in women's and young male children's speech [p(e)'pe]; whereas rrʊ 'both' is realized by all as [r(u)'ru].

10. Stressed vowels. Under stress, vowels are cardinal, except ɣ which is retracted, less rounded, i.e. [ɣ\epsilon].

The vowel ɫ, when under primary stress, is realized in the same way as ɣ, i.e. [ɣ\epsilon].

11. Unstressed vowels. In unstressed positions, the distinction between vowels becomes much less clearly defined, as they become centralized 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 neutralized. Hence unstressed vowels are close when the vowel of the following syllable is high, and open when it is low. E.g. ehi [e\'hi] 'kingfisher', jeha [j\'kha] 'west', o\'\'u [o\'\'u] 'hole', ora [\'\'ra] 'sow'.

The vowel 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.

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

1.14 Vowel harmony

1. Five morphovowels are required to account for Sakao vowel harmony.
   a) The morphovowel $, unspecified for height, fronting or backing, rounding or unrounding, has but the feature of vocalicity.
   b) The morphovowel $ is high, but unspecified for fronting or backing, rounding or unrounding.
   c) The morphovowel $ is rounded, back, but unspecified for height.
   d) The morphovowel $ is mid, front, but unspecified for rounding or unrounding.
   e) The morphovowel $ is high, front, but unspecified for rounding or unrounding.
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.

3. Morphovowel $ (rules are ordered)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environments</th>
<th>$</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 --ji</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>$jil is 'killing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 --wu</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>$wup is 'having castrated it'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 --Ct</td>
<td></td>
<td>disregard Ct. E.g. treat $ in $βŋan as if it were in the environment --ŋan, which yields aβŋan 'its branch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 --a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>$ay is 'canoe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 --Ca</td>
<td></td>
<td>disregard it. E.g. treat $ in $βra, the partitive of $ra i.e. ara 'pig' as if it were in the environment --ra, which yields aβra 'a bit of pork'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) the partitive infix β</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) C1/2</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>$ssaru is assaru 'language'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) bilabial followed by C</td>
<td>ae</td>
<td>$βlayen is αβlayen 'sorcerer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) CC</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>$rja is erja 'standing up'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table is continued on next page
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environments</th>
<th>$</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6 --C followed by a front rounded vowel, p or a diphthong</td>
<td>ð</td>
<td>$ssy$ is ðssy 'hut' $mpl$ is ðmpl 'cycad'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 --C followed by a front unrounded vowel If C is:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) bilabial followed by (C)</td>
<td>ð</td>
<td>$ðð$ is ðð 'drum' $we$ is ðwe 'rope'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) other</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>$kñ$ is kñ 'ornament' $ññ$ is ðñ 'kingfisher'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 --C followed by a back rounded vowel</td>
<td>ð</td>
<td>$ðð$ is ðð 'pawpaw' $mμ$ is ðμμ 'shadow'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 1.14.4 Morphovowel Y (rules ordered)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environments</th>
<th>Y</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 w--j followed by a front rounded vowel, ꞏ or a diphthong</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>wYjǎ ō is wujǎ ō 'to carry it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 w--j followed by a front unrounded vowel</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>wYjǎ y is wijd y 'to gape'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 w--j followed by a back rounded vowel</td>
<td></td>
<td>does not occur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 --j or j--</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>jĩn e is jine 'to wait'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 --w or w--</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>wYryō is wuryō 'to bite it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 h--Cl followed by a front rounded vowel, ꞏ or a diphthong</td>
<td>ꞏ</td>
<td>hYgœn is hygœn 'to creep up to him'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 h--Cl followed by a front unrounded vowel</td>
<td>ꞏ</td>
<td>hYgœ is hiŋœ 'to carry it on the head'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table is continued on next page
The morphovowel Y (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environments</th>
<th>Y</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>h--Cl followed by a back rounded vowel</td>
<td>does not occur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 9            | other | i | pYli/>

5. Morphovowel 0 (rules ordered)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environments</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>--Cy</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--Ci</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>or</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--Cu</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>or</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>other</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes 1. All cases of foreign borrowings, except, maybe, kusijak 'little finger' (k0sYjak?)
2. 0 is $ in some morphemes, o in others.
### 1.14.6 Morphovowel E (rules ordered)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environments</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>E Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1 --C followed by a front rounded vowel, ð or a diphthong | æ | $\text{mE}¥\text{æ}¥\text{æ}$ is $\text{æ}¥\text{æ}¥\text{æ}$ 'mist'  
|                            |   | $\text{¥E}¥\text{ø}¥\text{ø}¥\text{ø}$ is $\text{ø}¥\text{ø}¥\text{ø}$ 'its behind' |
| 2 other                    | e | $\text{sE}¥\text{k}¥\text{ley}$ is $\text{es}¥\text{k}¥\text{ley}$ 'my nephew' |

### 7 Morphovowel I (rules ordered)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environments</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 --βː</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>$I¥\beta\text{je}¥\text{din}$ is $\gamma¥\beta¥\text{je}¥\text{din}$ 'its middle'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 2 --C followed by a front unrounded vowel, ð or a diphthong | y | $\text{Is}¥\text{án}$ is $\gamma¥\text{s}¥\text{án}$ a fish species  
|                            |   | $I¥\beta¥\text{ø}¥\text{ø}¥\text{ø}¥\text{ø}$ is $\gamma¥\beta¥\text{ø}¥\text{ø}¥\text{ø}$ 'shark'  
|                            |   | $I¥\text{t}¥\text{j}¥\text{ø}¥\text{ø}¥\text{ø}$ is $\gamma¥\text{t}¥\text{j}¥\text{ø}¥\text{ø}¥\text{ø}$ 'thing' |
| 3 other                    | i | $I¥\text{r}¥\gamma$ is $I¥\text{r}¥\gamma$ 'my body'  
|                            |   | $I¥\text{h}¥\text{ø}$ is $I¥\text{h}¥\text{ø}$ 'yam'  
|                            |   | $I¥\beta¥\gamma$ is $I¥\beta¥\gamma$ a sprite's name |

Note 1. This environment is probably generalizable to: -- bilabial followed by C.
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 Alyet's treatment of the morphovowel 0 for which he has v in some morphemes and o in others.

1.16 Consonants, vowels and diphthongs

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

1. Stops are aspirated phrase-finally. E.g. mijilp [mi\jil\ph] 'he struck it'.

2. Fricatives are voiceless phrase-finally, or preceding a voiceless phone. E.g. moroy/ [mo\r\ox] 'he heard it'.

3. Phrase-finally, r is followed by a weak echo of the preceding vowel. E.g. makar [ma\kar\a] 'it is red'.

4. The fricative ð is apico-interdental.

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

5. The diphthong æœ is replaced by the vowel æ.
Nota. There are no diphthongs in Hog-Harbour.
1.16.6  The vowel i representing the morphovowel 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.

7. Word-medially, the following vowels are lost:
a) a vowel representing the morphovowel $.  
b) a in environment --C followed by a. E.g. nhalhal for nahalhal 'light'.  
c) a vowel representing the morphovowel E in environment --C followed by e, é, æ, or é. E.g. æbræn 'its nest' for æbræn.  
d) the vowel o representing the morphovowel O in environment --C followed by o or ô.

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.

8. The fricative γ becomes a stop phrase-finally or word-finally following a front, non low vowel. E.g. ðeneγ 'my father' is [ðe'ẽg], roγ/ 'listen' is [rɔɡ].

9. The vowels é, æ and ô, and, but much more rarely, γ and e, are diphthonguized as respectively [ei], [œi], [œ], [œi] and [æg] when final of a morpheme other than a construct or suffixing one. E.g. né 'axe' is [nei] instead of [ne], nó 'turtle' is [noo] instead of [no].
1.16.10 The trill $\text{r}$ is replaced by $\text{r}$. This is a feature of so many idiolects that $\text{r}$ will probably have disappeared in Sakao as a phoneme distinct from $\text{r}$ within a decade or so. The trill $\text{r}$ has already been replaced by $\text{r}$ everywhere word-finally, where it is still attested in Hog-Harbour. E.g. $\text{jor 'we (inclusive)'}$ is $\text{jør}$ in Hog-Harbour. An intermediary form $\text{jør}$ is found in the northern subdialect of Lotoror.

11 Both $\text{r}$ and $\text{r}$ are realized as voiced trills. This is probably an overcompensation for the tendency to replace $\text{r}$ by $\text{r}$, and is a divergence found in idiolects showing mainly influences from Hog-Harbour and Lowérié.

1.17 Vowel harmony

1. The morphovowel $\$ $ 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 $\text{a}$, $\text{e}$ or $\text{ø}$), to $\$ $ totally assimilating to the following vowel. E.g. $\text{æβðγγ ($βðγγ') 'my head'}$ may be heard $\text{æβðγγ or γβðγγ.}$

2. The morphovowel $\text{Ø}$ varies between $\text{u}$ and $\text{o}$ in environments $\text{--Cy or --Cu. This divergence is extremely common, and very few speakers indeed will have the same vowel in either of these environments; most will have } \text{u in some words, o in others, but few will have } \text{u and o freely alternating.}$
1.17.3 The morphovowel I is only sometimes heard as i instead of y. E.g. yβæl 'shark' (Iβæl) is but rarely heard as Iβæl.

1.18 Morphophonological alterations

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

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.

3. The following morphophonological changes are obligatory:

Within the phrase (rules ordered)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The segment</th>
<th>in environment</th>
<th>becomes</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 V</td>
<td>--C</td>
<td>VhSV</td>
<td>mðaha mam 'this shore' for mðah mam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 C</td>
<td>--SC</td>
<td>lost</td>
<td>kam malam 'this person came' as ka malam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 β</td>
<td>--p or p--</td>
<td>lost</td>
<td>jaβwarf βoγ 'don't even speak' as jaβwarf oγ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Within a word, or a close-knit string of words (shown herein by intervening hyphens or raised dots. Cf pp. 6-7)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The segment</th>
<th>in environment</th>
<th>becomes</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>--n</td>
<td>lost</td>
<td>okur-nąő 'shell of a coconut' as oku-nąő</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Probability</th>
<th>Lost segment</th>
<th>In environment</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>almost</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>i--</td>
<td>ijar for ijar 'garden'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>always</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>--i</td>
<td>ajilp for ajilp 'I'll kill him'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>often</td>
<td>j₁</td>
<td>--e</td>
<td>ejekar for ejekar 'crab'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>or --é</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sometimes</td>
<td>j₁</td>
<td>--a</td>
<td>aja for aja &quot;what?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>almost</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>u--</td>
<td>uyő for uyő 'jungle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>always</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>--u</td>
<td>awup for awup 'I'll castrate it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>often</td>
<td>w₁</td>
<td>--o</td>
<td>awos for awos 'I'll dream'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>or --ó</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table is continued on next page
### Probability Lost segment In environment Examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Probability</th>
<th>Lost segment</th>
<th>In environment</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>very seldom</td>
<td>w&lt;sup&gt;l&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>--p</td>
<td>αωμ-αι for αωμι-αι 'rat's tail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very often</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>C--SC</td>
<td>ττότ for ττότ 'let's cut it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sometimes</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>any</td>
<td>ασηνγαγγ for ασιγαγγ 'my mouth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>often</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>phrase-medially</td>
<td>μαγαζδερι for μαγαζδερι 'he knows it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sometimes</td>
<td>δ or γ</td>
<td>--HS</td>
<td>σανδτ for σανδτ 'cut it off'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very often</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>--jr</td>
<td>jάρ jρεπ 'they all' as jέ jρεπ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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. γ'όρ ni for γώρ ni 'let her hang herself'.

The above optional rules are not ordered relatively to one another, so that several of them may apply recurrently to the same segment or segments. E.g. βέ κεφ for βέ γκεφ for βέ γικεφ 'when he took it'.

#### 1.19 WORD STRUCTURES

Here follow some observations on the structure of Sakao words. They apply only to uninflected, non-compound words bare of suffixes.
1. Excepting those cases when a consonant has been lost due 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. aay 'canoe', which is nway in Hog-Harbour, comes from an older form away, still attested by its allomorph way in ləβər-way 'on (top of) a canoe', i.e. 'by canoe'.

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

3. Medially of a polysyllabic word, one finds the vowel and morphovowels a, E, O and Y. E.g. alawa ($iawa) 'mud', ejenal ($jEnal) 'hawk', oβosa ($βosa) 'lizard', siŋer (siŋer) 'to be bright'.

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

If that word is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>construct</th>
<th>a  e  ē  æ  ø  ð  o  ó  i  y  u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>suffixing</td>
<td>a  ē  æ  ø  o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) lower allomorph</td>
<td>a  æ  ø  o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) other</td>
<td>e  ē  æ  ø  o  ó  i  y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>a  e  ē  æ  ø  o  ó  i  y  u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note the complementary distribution of the diphthongs æø and ðø and the vowels æ and ø.
1.19.5. In a closed final syllable, one finds the vowels:

\[
\text{a e é ø e ø o ó y}
\]

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

6. Word-initially and intervocally, one finds single consonants, short or long, and clusters of two consonants. E.g. hirkö 'to carry him one one's shoulders', ssaru 'to speak', rle 'to send him on an errand', aðði 'moon'.

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'.

8. Semi-consonants and the trill r do not occur word-finally.

9. The trill r and j and h never occur long.

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', økørkør 'hermit crab', nahālal 'light', harborbor 'cowardly', nokonkon 'round', ayaryar 'swallow', eherher 'blow-pipe', øhynhyn 'hillock', keðkeð 'afraid', anaññat 'hornet'.
The two rules hereunder (paragraphs 11 & 12) do not apply in simple reduplications.

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

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 morphovowel E when the following syllable contains e, é, æ, á, æe, ao or E, or the morphovowel I when the following syllable contains i, y or Y, or the morphovowel O when the following syllable contains o, ó or 0, or the morphovowel Y in all environments, i.e. as per the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The vowel or morphovowel</th>
<th>is a homothesis if the following syllable contains:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>o, ó, u or Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>u or Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>e, é, æ, á, æe, ao or E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>i, y or Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>o, ó or 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td>any vowel or morphovowel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ḍana- 'father'.

13. Finally, homotheses never occur between two identical consonants.
1.20 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. \( \text{tim'ap} \text{jal-} \text{perer } \text{ə} \) \( \text{γe mə} \text{məs} \text{γam} \text{sol} \) 'they had not been walking for long and (i.e. when) the dogs barked'; \( \text{jæn } \text{bə nə} \text{jan} \) '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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Irrealis</strong></td>
<td>nay</td>
<td>niγ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Realis</strong></td>
<td>nam</td>
<td>nim</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compare with the Sakao prefixes p.15.
CHAPTER II

MORPHOLOGY
2.1. NUMBER

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.

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 unspecifed 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. 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 mamir 'these pigs'; by an uninflected nominal demonstrative and a numeral: ara mam ieò 'these four pigs'.
2. Inflectable morpheme: aðän 'relative'; when uninflected: aðän 'relative' (sg.); when uninflected and determined by an uninflected nominal demonstrative: aðän mam 'this relative'; and by a numeral: aðän mam ñeòl 'these three relatives'; when inflected:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MORPHEME</th>
<th>determined by a phrase expansion consisting of:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nominal demonst.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uninflectable for the plural</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inflectable</td>
<td>uninflected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for plural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inflected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inherently singular</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inherently dual</td>
<td>dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inherently trial</td>
<td>limited plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**Abbreviations:**  
infl. = inflected for plural, uninf. = uninflected for plural.
raðán 'relatives', and determined by an inflected nominal demonstrative: raðán mamir 'these relatives'.

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

2.2 PARTITIVE

Class I nouns other than those starting with $p$ or $q$, nominalized adjectives and nominalized 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'; oβrő 'some water' from oró 'water'.

Nouns and nominalized adjectives and adjectivoids inflected for the partitive are further inflectable for the irrealis by prefixing $t$. E.g. taβra 'a bit of pork' (irrealis); toβrő 'some water' (irrealis).

2.3. IRREALIS

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

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 maαβγαðheri we timhô tettê 'the padre did
not know whether they had run away from something'; jetar mœmœmp bé' arcœp tœœnœn ité 'God thought [and] said:"I will make a man''; wë mnarao symp tœœnœn ité 'if you are thirsty, drink a coconut'; aœmp na taja ité? 'what shall I eat now?'; i" ðenem ité mere 'you, you don't have a father'; jëp oœme" akep tara ité hœm 'make the sun shine, and I'll give you a pig'; topel ité yiré 'let it not be another one'; aker tosotja ðiru tihein 'I'll put two soldiers to guard it'; mœtœrp tœœnœn ité mere aja 'he met with a man or something [else]'; tetëtë ða mere lëpö 'there wasn't anything yet on the earth'.

2.4 DEMONSTRATIVES

0. Sakao has a wealth of demonstrative words, as can be seen from the table on page 46.

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: aay möm ton hi njö? 'that boat, maybe who there?' i.e. 'who could that be in that boat?' using remote demonstratives. He, on the other hand, might answer: œhœn" am'œbœðheri aay œm mœtœrp 'no, I don't see that boat you said' using a mediate demonstrative, or:

1. Œana- 'father' belongs to a class of nouns which is not inflectable for the irrealis.
### DEMONSTRATIVE WORDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>nominal</th>
<th>deic</th>
<th>clsl</th>
<th>locative</th>
<th>general</th>
<th>persn.</th>
<th>retro.</th>
<th>adject.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>present</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>immediate</td>
<td>mam(+r)</td>
<td>non</td>
<td>nnon</td>
<td>δαδ(+)r</td>
<td>wa(r+r)</td>
<td>kamam</td>
<td>δαμαμ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mediate</td>
<td>wum(+)r</td>
<td>nɪ</td>
<td>nni</td>
<td>δδm(+)r</td>
<td>wam(+)r</td>
<td>kam</td>
<td>δδm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remote</td>
<td>mɒm(+)r</td>
<td>njø</td>
<td>nnjø</td>
<td>δδδ(+)r</td>
<td>(r+r)</td>
<td>kamóm</td>
<td>δομόμ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>non-present</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>immediate</td>
<td>meδ(+)r</td>
<td>naδδ</td>
<td>nnaδδ</td>
<td>jeδ(+)r</td>
<td>weδ(+)r</td>
<td>kameδ</td>
<td>okomeδ</td>
<td>δεμεδ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mediate</td>
<td>mer(+)r</td>
<td>nær</td>
<td>nnær</td>
<td>δer(+)r</td>
<td>wer(+)r</td>
<td>kaker</td>
<td>okomer</td>
<td>δεμερ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remote</td>
<td>mør(+)r</td>
<td>nør</td>
<td>nnør</td>
<td>δmor(+)r</td>
<td>wør(+)r</td>
<td>kakør</td>
<td>okomør</td>
<td>δαμορ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tacit</td>
<td>krym(+)r</td>
<td>neri</td>
<td>nneri</td>
<td>δeri(r+)r</td>
<td>weri(r+)r</td>
<td>kakrym</td>
<td>ukkrym</td>
<td>δεμερι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interrogative</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>or</td>
<td>mé</td>
<td>je</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>δε</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Abbreviations:** deic = dēctic, clsl = clausal, persn. = personal, retro. = retroactive, adject. = adjective.
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 had 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: jan amkæl enes kité apitjæ-rsa ðer læsymt-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 tiðorîn 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.

3. Tacit demonstratives refer to unexpressed or previously agreed upon things. E.g. myæð kakrym? 'did you see the person in question?', joró tîppe ðeri 'let's meet at the appointed place', læbyŋ-eren krym 'on the day agreed upon'.

4. Interrogative demonstratives elicit information. E.g. mryrp je? 'where do you come from?', møé non? 'what have you been doing now?', warî mam rær miró ton je non? 'where could this husband [of mine] be?'.

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 p.46) by suffixing ıır following a consonant, rır following a vowel. E.g. ara mam 'this pig', ara mamıır 'these pigs', ṭađı 'here', ṭađır 'at these places', wa 'this one', warır 'these'. General demonstrative pronouns may be determined by a phrase expansion consisting of a numeral other than té 'a, one' (indefinite), kité 'a, one' (definite), ḏa 'some, several' (in-definite), kiḍa 'some, several' (definite) and ṭe 'how many?'.

6. Personal and retroactive pronouns are inherently singular. E.g. kamam 'this person'.

7. Other demonstratives are unspecified and uninflectable for number.

8. Nominal demonstratives correspond to the demonstrative adjectives of English, e.g. ara mam 'this pig'.

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

10. Clausal demonstratives are unsupplementable and constitute subthemes or predicates on their own. E.g. nnjó ṣa 'still that one' i.e. 'there is still one left'; nnon non jen [as for] this one here, [it was] me'.

11. Locative demonstrative pronouns refer to a place or, when inflected for the plural, places. E.g. ṭọọ 'there', ṭọọır 'at those places, around there'. 
12. General demonstrative pronouns refer to things, concrete or abstract, or to animals or persons. E.g. tîmhyp wa 'they shot him'; wa eyenì 'this [is] a tree' or 'this [is] wood'; wa ton meye je? 'this maybe goes where?' i.e. 'what could be the reason for this custom?'

13. Personal demonstrative pronouns refer to persons. E.g. kamam bé yîtari 'when this person went in.'

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: jën bé najen awweën 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: jaBWysp okomer" oyołaó 'don't touch this one, it's a nangalat'.

15. Demonstrative adjectives express manner. E.g. wọr maaBemnør 'that is like that', môé? 'what are you doing?', eteBemnô 'such a thing'.

2.5. NUMERALS

1. Numerals are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>té</td>
<td>'a, one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kité</td>
<td>'a, one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da</td>
<td>'some'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiđa</td>
<td>'some'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| ñé       | 'how many?'
| ru       | 'two'     |
| ñeël     | 'three'   |
| iëdó      | 'four'    |
| lâñ       | 'five'    |
| lâñ•ara   | 'six'     |
| lâñ•ere•ru | 'seven'   |
| lâñ•ere•tâl | 'eight'   |
| lâñ•ere•peõ | 'nine'    |
Nota. 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: ḥoḥr ṿl ahaḥ "wé ṿnh ḥaṣ ḫtē ḥา ḫy! 'just follow the road, when you see a (definite) coconut-tree, go west'. Whereas wé ṿnh ḥaṣ ḫtē ḥaḥy! would be absurd, meaning: 'when you see a (indefinite, i.e. any) coconut-tree, go west'.

3. Numerals other than ḥtē, ḏa, ḥdā and ḏē may be inflected for the distributive provided that they are not regimes, by prefixing ṭaḥ (probably from ṭē ḥl 'just one'). E.g. ṣamk[y ṣaṭ-eṭe n ṭaḥie ḏō 'they give each four one-shilling coins'.

4. Numerals other than the definite ones, and which are not distributive nor regimes may be inflected for the irrealis, ṭē and ḏa prefixing ṭ, ie ḏ prefixing ḏ and others prefixing ṭe ḏ. E.g. ḫtē 'one', ḏi ṭe ḥ 'two', ḏi ḏē ḏ 'four'.

2.6 SUFFIXING MORPHEMEs

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

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 matakun  möey  my eyes
na natana  na matana  möaan  his eyes
na natatsa  na mataka  möar  our eyes

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

Vowel alternance occurs as shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final vowel of lower allomorph</th>
<th>Final vowel (other)</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>möey  my eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>möaan  his eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>oööey  my faeces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>oööan  his faeces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>œ</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>œööey  my throat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>œööon  his throat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>œ</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>œööy  my teeth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>œööen  his teeth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, æ, 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. œœœ- 'teeth'.

In a few suffixing morphemes, vowel alternance
extends to the penultimate syllable. E.g. δενεγ 'my father', δαναν 'his father', ικγγ 'near me', λεκλεν 'near him'.

2.7 CONSTRUCT MORPHEME

1. Construct morphemes comprise construct nouns, prepositions and pronouns, and most of them end with a consonant. E.g. ark = 'trunk', ναλ = 'hair, feathers of', αβγδ = 'head of', ασασκ = 'flesh of'. Those which end with a vowel are identical with the corresponding suffixing morphemes. E.g. ανα = 'tongue', suffixing: ανα-; aro = 'face', suffixing: aro- (no vowel alternance).

2.8 NOUNS

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

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 ίγι 'two persons' and ίκι 'people' are respectively inherently dual and trial.

2. Class I nouns are divided into three subclasses:

a) Class Ia contains nouns other than kinship terms, starting, when uninflected, with the morphovowel $. E.g. ara 'pig', ορο 'water', αβλαγεν 'sorcerer', εΌι 'kingfisher'. 
b) Class Ib contains nouns other than kinship terms, starting, when uninflected, with a vowel or morphovowel other than $. E.g. iõel 'banana', ulæ- 'hair, feathers', ulæh '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', noõ 'fowl', né 'axe', nér·kar 'sacred stones'.

3. Class II contains four nouns which, when uninflected, start with mõ. I.e. mõa- 'eye', mõe a kind of haunting sprite, mõah 'shore', mõoβ a kind of breadfruit.

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 mõ. E.g. mana- 'man's) brother', utie- '(woman's) sister', kot 'boy', kē 'girl', rki 'people'.

5. Inflection for the partitive.

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

b) Class Ib nouns prefix $β. E.g. irey 'my body', partitive: òβirey 'part of my body, one side of my body'; ñyy 'my hair', partitive: òβûyy 'part of my hair, one of my hairs'.

1. Cf Deacon (1829:467): 'in one hand he carries a club, in the other a basket of sacred stones (thongiurkar)'. I.e. aðan-år·kar 'nørkar-basket'.
c) Class Ic nouns replace their initial n for $\beta$. E.g. na$\beta$ 'firewood', partitive: a$\beta$a$\beta$ 'some firewood; part of a heap of firewood'.

6. Inflection for the irrealis.

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; nóô 'fowl', irrealis: toô.

c) Class II nouns prefix ti. E.g. môô$\beta$ 'breadfruit', irrealis: töôô$\beta$

7. Inflection for the plural.

a) Kinship terms starting with wa lose their initial w and prefix ra. E.g. wakær 'wife', plural: raakær.

b) Kinship terms starting with a consonant prefix ri. E.g. mene$\gamma$ 'my brother', plural: rime$\gamma$ 'my brothers'.

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

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. orô-je- 'sperm' (literally: 'water of penis'; for the loss of initial i of p. 55); non 'sand', is
optionally inflected for regime, e.g. Iōn or Iōn 'in the sand', where it is regime of the construct preposition I = 'in, at, on'.

When regime, the suffixing noun αβων- 'head' takes the form βων- βίγγι-: E.g. Iōhu-βων 'in the space above his head', Iōhu-βίγγι 'in the space above my head'.

9. Loss of initial $, n or I

Nouns lose their initial $, n or I in the following environments:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>If the noun is</th>
<th>$ is lost</th>
<th>n is lost</th>
<th>I is lost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>non-initial member of a compound noun</td>
<td>almost always $\dagger$</td>
<td>always</td>
<td>almost always $\dagger$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>included object</td>
<td>always</td>
<td>always</td>
<td>almost always $\dagger$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regime of a construct preposition or pronoun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) ending with a vowel</td>
<td>always</td>
<td>always</td>
<td>almost always $\dagger$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) ending with a consonant</td>
<td>never</td>
<td>always</td>
<td>never</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regime of a construct noun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) ending with a vowel</td>
<td>always</td>
<td>always</td>
<td>almost always $\dagger$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) ending with a consonant</td>
<td>often $\ddagger$</td>
<td>always</td>
<td>almost always $\dagger$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regime of the interrogative pronoun hi 'which'</td>
<td>always</td>
<td>never if open monosyllabic word, otherwise, always $\S$</td>
<td>always</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. E.g. hi éó 'which star? from néó 'star'; but hi né 'which axe?' from né 'axe'.

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

11. The enclitic noun $tE

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>when preceding:</th>
<th>$tE is:</th>
<th>Examples:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tő</td>
<td>ettő 'something'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki tő</td>
<td>etikőtő 'a certain thing'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kkri</td>
<td>etikőri 'small things'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiβle</td>
<td>etitőlőle 'ordinary thing'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mőm(ír)</td>
<td>$tO</td>
<td>otomőm 'that thing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a vowel</td>
<td>$t</td>
<td>oetőm 'that thing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a morpheme thellst syllable of which (disregarding a syllable containing i) contains a</td>
<td>$ta</td>
<td>atamőm 'this thing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elsewhere</td>
<td>$tE</td>
<td>etetőhő 'bad things'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note the idiomatic meaning of $tEhő- as 'garden', e.g. oetőhőy 'my garden'.
12. Noun formation. Nouns are formed by derivation or/and composition. By derivation:

a) Names of tools are formed by prefixing $ to verb stems the first syllable of which contains a (disregarding a syllable containing $), and by prefixing a to other verb stems. E.g. aujéò 'pole for carrying loads', from wujéò 'to carry it on a pole'; ãyel 'digging stick' from ãyel '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 ròs 'to hit it with a missile', ajéòl 'pestle' from jìl 'to strike it'. The nouns asjer 'messenger, servant', ahor 'catamite', aljéò 'lineage' are almost certainly formed in the same way from sjér 'to send him', hor a verb expressing the reaching of sexual maturity in males, and ljéò 'to spit it, to lay [an egg]'.

b) Abstract nouns are formed by prefixing $ to verb stems. E.g. øjéòm 'work' from jéòm 'to work', ejerkeò 'obscene language' from jérkeò 'to swear'. Note the extraordinary formation of elhe-tór 'eternal life' from he 'to live', the adverb tor 'always' and the perdurative prefix $.

By composition:

a) A free noun is followed by another noun which determines it. E.g. ołom-akat 'car-house' i.e. 'garage'.

---

1. Oliveau (1911:338): "La pédérestie 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."
b) A construct noun is amalgamated to its regime and, owing to the loss of the word-boundary, its final syllable becomes unstressed, unstressed \( \tilde{\eta} \) becoming a. E.g. ana\(\tilde{\eta}\)hal 'door' from \(\tilde{\omega}n\omega\tilde{\eta}-ha\)l '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'; or\(\omega\)-yer 'water-flow' i.e. 'stream, river', n\(\tilde{\omega}\)-sys 'feather-peel', i.e. 'falling star'.

By the above processes combined:

E.g. ar\(\omega\)-tin 'can-opener' from r\(\omega\) 'to open it' and et\(\iota\)n 'can, tin'; ason-\(\gamma\)or-ul\(\epsilon\) 'shoes' from son 'to slip it [on]', \(\gamma\)or 'to conceal it, to block it', and ul\(\epsilon\) 'feet'; nar-s\(\omega\)n-pere 'long-beaked nar' from nar a fish species, \(\omega\)s\(\omega\)n = '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 pp. 45-49.

2. Locative pronouns are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jel</td>
<td>north</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ys</td>
<td>south</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jeha</td>
<td>west</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jehu</td>
<td>east</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyl</td>
<td>above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jeðan</td>
<td>below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jer</td>
<td>right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jenar</td>
<td>left</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jettær</td>
<td>far</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jeðe</td>
<td>in the end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manó</td>
<td>to-day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manpór</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mantælæn</td>
<td>the other day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lakren</td>
<td>to-morrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onay</td>
<td>the day after to-morrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wætnæn</td>
<td>three days hence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hinjer</td>
<td>soon, or recently (less than a day away)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hinjóm</td>
<td>do (less than a generation away)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mæræn</td>
<td>before, long ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matjer</td>
<td>in the remote past</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nota. The first six pronouns of the above list may function as supplements, in which case they take respectively the forms me₁, my₁, maha₁, mohu₁, mityl₁ and maðan₁.
2.9.3. Proper pronouns are proper names such as alyet, sæk, hallyŋ (men's names), kɗ-wriŋ, armæhæ (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. sæk from øsæk 'mosquito', ðąŋ from øδąŋ 'owl', nɑo 'rat', ejeo'stone'; tæl'pys from tæl 'to tread it' and pys 'extinguished', i.e. 'he who puts out a fire by treading on it'.

4. The interrogative pronoun hi. E.g. hi yɪtalmoæræŋ? 'who will go first?'. Cf also 3.5.5.

5. Locative proper pronouns are place-names. E.g. kanaŋ 'Luganville', jækkyŋ 'Yakoul'.

6. Iterative pronouns are derived from numerals by the prefixation of ða 'time'. E.g. ðaru 'twice', ðaiəd 'four times'.

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. menneyŋ 'mine [water or coconut &c 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 mën in instead of manŋ. E.g. manan 'his [something to eat]', mene-ra 'the pigs' [food].

c) mæho-, mæhoe= which refers to other possessions. E.g. mæhoeŋ njó 'that's mine', mæhoe-ryr 'white men's'. Cf also 3.5.1.
2.9.8. Ordinal pronouns are:

- **tu** the second one
- **tæl** the third one
- **iæt** the fourth one
- **kælæn** the fifth one
- **kora** the sixth one
- **koru** the seventh one
- **retæl** the eighth one
- **repeð** the ninth one
- **sæyl** the tenth one

E.g. βέ γιτέπ kora 'when it reaches the sixth [day]', hyr δοδ ηγό kora mîrî læn 'for there the sixth [guard] stays in it'.

9. Personal pronouns are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Trial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st pers. inc.</td>
<td>jɔr</td>
<td>joró</td>
<td>jɔr·ðæl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pers. exc.</td>
<td>jœn</td>
<td>ḳam</td>
<td>ḳamru</td>
<td>ḳamðæl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pers.</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>γé</td>
<td>γíru</td>
<td>γðæl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pers.</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>jär</td>
<td>joru</td>
<td>jær·ðæl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. Pronominal suffixes. There is a one-to-one correspondence between personal pronouns and personal pronominal suffixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Trial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st pers. inc.</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>ró</td>
<td>rðæl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pers. exc.</td>
<td>γ</td>
<td>γam</td>
<td>γamru</td>
<td>γamðæl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pers.</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>γé</td>
<td>γíru</td>
<td>γðæl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pers.</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ðær</td>
<td>ðoru</td>
<td>ðær·ðæl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nota. The 3rd person singular and 1st person inclusive plural pronominal suffixes are low (cf 2.6.2 pp. 50-51)

Pronominal suffixes occur suffixed to suffixing morphemes. E.g. lym 'in you', ωβδυγοτ 'their heads', μδεγοε 'your eyes', ωερε 'his teeth'.

2.10.2. The ancillary pronominal suffix 俄 occurs suffixed to suffixing morphemes to which it relates its immediately following expansion (cf 3.3.4b, 3.4.1b, 3.5.1a). It denotes an individualized relationship, e.g. compare aay eene ωεγωρ 'the boat of a white man' with aay ene-γωρ '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 oam 'the flesh of this pig (not of that one)'.

Nota. The trial personal pronouns and trial personal pronominal suffixes may be determined by a phrase expansion (cf 3.9) consisting of a numeral from three upwards. E.g. γαμδεω λεν 'the five of us', aay eνεγε-δεω λεδ 'the boat belonging to the four of them'.

2.11. PREPOSITIONS

0. Prepositions are divided into four categories: locative, benefactive/possessive, possessive and directional.
2.11.1. There are two locative prepositions:

a) The preposition \( \text{iæ-} \), *construct* \( = '\text{in, at, on, to from}' \) denotes general location in space or in time. E.g. \( \text{amryrpl ijar 'I come from the garden'} \)\(^1\), \( \text{milro lyβjεl 'he stays in the nakamal', lehiε mор '(in) that year', timtinēt lyn tē 'they start [counting] from one'.} \)

Its construct form fuses with the nouns \( \text{œlβδ 'ground', olom 'house', œnδε 'eye, opening, cutting edge', œnεt 'underside', and analo-δε 'surf', to give, through the loss of the initial vowel and the lengthening of the following consonant: llöδ, llom, nnoδε, nnoεt, nnało-δε.} \)

b) The preposition \( \text{laakæ- (llky-)} \), *construct* \( \text{llki= 'near', which denotes spatial proximity.} \)

E.g. \( \text{mereyp llkyn œstovr 'he cried at œstovr's place', yαβyσp nαm eheδ liki-wakær 'they had been whoring' (literally:'they had done bad work near women'), majan laakεn 'he went to his place'.} \)

2. Benefactive/possessive prepositions may denote either benefaction or possession. E.g. \( \text{akep tαra ītε hom 'I will take a pig for you' i.e. 'I'll give you a pig'; ara hom 'your pig'.} \)

There are three benefactive/possessive prepositions, which are:

a) \( \text{na-} \), \( \text{ne= which refers to edibles. When it has for regime the 1st person singular pronominal suffix, it takes the form nis instead of nay.} \)

E.g. \( \text{tαβra ītε nis ' [give] me a bit of pork', yamkεlam osó ne-ra 'they bring pawpaws for the pigs'; timkæε nan 'they cook for him'.} \)

---

1. The idea of 'from' is conveyed here by the verb ryr.
2. No vowel alternance.
b) nne-, nne= which refers to potables. E.g. ṭọbró ité nney ' [give] me some water'; ìnà àà nìm 'your coconut [for drinking]'.

c) hə-, 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 həm 'take a pig for you' and kep tara ité nám '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 həm, hə- is a benefactive preposition, whereas in ìnà àà nìm 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 ian 'his shadow', olu iey 'my vomit'.

b) βa- (no construct form) is used for smells. E.g. wé γine đ timmîhyp aβən βan '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. aâxen nen loworjé 'people of Lowerie'; aâxen nán 'its inhabitant' or 'its protagonist'.

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

1. for possessions considered as indispensable. E.g. atjæn anan 'his walking-stick' (an old man's), atjæn hən 'his walking-stick' (a young man's); øyər eney 'my clothes' (which I am wearing now),
my clothes'.

2. with a few nouns such as aay 'canoe', aðawal 'head-rest'. E.g. aay eney 'my canoe'.

3. for parts of a whole. E.g. aewyl anan 'its wheel', aýlan anan δa mormor 'several of its boards were rotten'; warí anar 'our penises' (literally: our husbands. But 'our husbands' in the proper sense is raari ḧor).

Some body parts, however, require the general possessive preposition ḥa-, ḥ=. 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 ḥon 'her breasts', aypekar ḥon 'its liver', okon ḥey '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. aðany 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. aðwegën enen lwojñe '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. Cf pp 93,
96 and 99. Thus ejeðu karōy 'the sweat off my face' formed after aλυδ kulēy 'the dirt off my feet' was rejected by informants. The suffixing form kœ- is found mainly in directional complements (cf p.99) and the construct form k= as an expansion of ordinal pronouns (cf p. 96).

VERBAL INFLECTIONS

Verbal inflections are fairly complex and it is necessary here to anticipate on the following chapter. Verbs may take a number of expansions (cf 3.8. p.97ff), 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 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 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.

2.13 Inflection for person and the realis or the irrealis.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Indefinite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>3rd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrealis</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Realis</td>
<td>am</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Morphophonemic changes:

a) Preceding a bilabial, the m of the realis prefixes am, tam, yim, yam and tim, 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, it is lengthened. E.g. apöt 'I'll break it' from am + pót, βwe 'it aches' from m$ + wwe, aβðpřp 'I said it' from am + wðpřp, γaβðpr-nes 'they spear fish' from yam + 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 1.18.3 p.34). E.g. mæl 'you go south' from m + mæl.

c) The morphovowel $ of the 3rd person singular realis prefix becomes i preceding consonant-clusters the first element of which is not a semi-consonant, and is lost preceding the perdurative prefix. E.g. mìrle 'he sent him' from m$ + rle, mìrja 'he stood up' from m$ + rja, mìllam 'he keeps coming' from m$ + perdurative

1. Cf p.76
prefix + lam, m+ssaru 'he keeps speaking'
from m$ + perdurative prefix + ssaru. But
mejrewe 'he plants yams' from m$ + jrewe.

d) The vowel i of the irrealsis 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 ti + jrewe, tjan 'let's go'
from ti + jan; but: Yi+lam 'let him come' from
Yi + lam, Yi+wee 'it will ache' from Yi + wee.

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. timjan
'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-γeni kama mmir βebras-
reyrey 'these leaves are [lit.: is] extremely
large'.

c) The first person plural is inclusive. E.g.
τamjan 'we (inclusive) went'.

d) The second person plural is exclusive of the
third. E.g. γimγεδ 'you saw it (but they did
not)'.

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

2. Realis and irrealsis.

The irrealsis mode is used:
a) in temporal verbal phrases referring to the past or the present (cf 3.2.2 p.91). E.g. 
βέ ἵταρι 'when he went in'.

b) in themes\(^1\) expressing contrary-to-fact conditions or circumstances. E.g. 

\[ \text{wé etemeð γιλρό} \]ʼ "if there had been such a thing"; 
\[ \text{wé tjaβroy-σęp aanen jetar} \]ʼ "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. 

\[ \text{hinjer γύπορ} \]ʼ "soon it will be night", 
\[ \text{wé tjaβroy-σęp aanen jetar tιλρό} \]ʼ "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. ἤ ἑ ἵ ὁ υ π ὁ ὁ ʼ "you go [and] shoot that one", 
\[ \text{lα μ λικγγ 'come to me!'} \], 
\[ \text{aβτον γίτογ} \]ʼ "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 p.91). E.g. 

\[ \text{wé mroy ehi kιτέ 'when you hear a kingfisher'}, \text{ αβγγ-ερεν} \]ʼ "after six days'.

d) with quotative verbs, irrespectively of the mode that the meaning would require. 

E.g. 
\[ \text{wé etedeμεδ γιλρό} \]ʼ "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

---

1. Cf 4.2.3 p.106
2. Cf 4.2. p.106
conditions or circumstances. E.g. ité malam 'if anyone comes', wé mnarao" symp tænæð ité 'if you are thirsty, drink a coconut'.

d) in rhemes referring to a non-contrary-to-fact present or past. E.g. té βé ψíneð" tímâβðøer 'when someone dies, they don't bury him'.

2.14 Inflection for the definitive or the prospective

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.

amewærp 'I said it (and I will not repeat it)'.

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 δað" aænæø ψitiører 'don't sit here, coconuts might fall', wa malakar non" ψityhyp té lør 'this one is angry now, he might shoot one of us'.

2.15 Inflection for the negative voice. The negative voice is marked by a second order prefix jaβ to the initial verb. β is lost preceding m and j is almost always lost in those environments where it is otherwise optionally lost (cf 1.18.4 p.35). E.g. maize 'it is not full' from m$ + jaβ + på; m'amáp? 'didn't you ask about it?' from m$ + jaβ+ mæp.
2.16 Inflection for aspects.

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).

1. The perdurative expresses a lasting action or state. It is marked by a first-order prefix \( t \) to the initial verb, \( t \) being lost string-initially or following a vowel. \( t \) is lost preceding another \( t \), which is then lengthened, if it is not already long. E.g. am\( t \)r\( t \) 'I was staying' from am + \( t \)l + r\( t \); am\( t \)l\( t \) 'I kept coming' from am + \( t \)l + lam; am\( t \)l\( t \) 'I was bathing' from am + \( t \)l + ll\( t \); al\( t \)r\( t \) 'I will stay' from a + \( t \)l + r\( t \); \( l \)r\( t \) 'you will stay' from \( \emptyset + \)\( t \)l + r\( t \).

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 \( r \) (cf 3.8.lcl p.98), suffixed to the morpheme immediately preceding. E.g. \( \gamma \alpha \theta \epsilon t-\eta\varepsilon p-\)r\( t \)lam \( \lambda \delta \alpha \gamma \) '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. \( \gamma m r o s u-\lambda \delta-\delta p-\)r\( t \) 'they sat all around it'.

3. The perfective suffix \( p \) simply expresses the perfective aspect, which, in Sakao, implies the carrying out of the action to its logical con-
clusion. 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. mejerðyy 'he ran', mejerðyyr 'he ran (and stopped)'

With other verbs, the perfective often implies the return to the conditions prior to the action or state, e.g. amhaβyrl 'I went west [i.e. to Big Bay] and I am back now'.

2.16.4. 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. amréλ æρk-olkley 'I cut my finger off' as against amrép æρk-olkley 'I cut my finger'; motö₁æβöen 'she hacked its head off', motö₂ ulén 'he cut his leg (with an axe)', γamke₁ aay té γamlam 'they took a boat and came', τimryt₁ nar-γβjé₁ 'they built a fence around the nakamal's yard', τimjartel₁ 'they built an enclosure', aay mælyö₁ urer 'the boat went around the island (in a closed circle)', as against aay mælyö₂ urer 'the boat went around the island (in an open curve), olom ðm timrumt₁ 'that house [which] they had divided into rooms' (rum 'to "room"' from the Bichelamar rum 'a room'), orru ðm βé γiholi-rįlam 'when that pygmy came flying in circles', βiłé₁ ni 'he turned himself round' i.e. 'he turned round'.

2.16.5. 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. γαβατ-μααδρ-ριαν λαβαγ 'they plucked coconuts, throwing them to the baskets' (lit.: they pluck it-coconuts-go to baskets'), αμρέ-βοβοβοβιν 'I cut it [off] well'.

6. The verb καλ 'to seek' takes the form καλε preceding the perfective suffix p. E.g. amκαλαε 'I found it'.

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 ki (cf 3.8.1cl p.99), 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. βέ γωανρ 'when it bears fruit' as against βέ γωανρ (perfective) 'once it has borne fruit', μααδργ 'he was carrying it' as against μααδρρ (perfective) 'he carried it (and, having carried it, laid it down)', αμ馅ρ ενες ρυ 'I shot at two birds (and missed)' as against amρυρ ενες ρυ (perfective) 'I shot two birds (and killed them)'.

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: jεταρ μαγενίρ (perfective-continuative) 'God ate it off and let it go'; amρυρ ενες ρυ 'I shot two birds and left them', Τιμτερε-γορρρ αναδαλ 'they
closed the door (and it remained closed).

9. The aspect suffixes are lost when following a morpheme ending with a consonant cluster. E.g. ɣamḥer 'they sang' (continuative or perfective aspect unspecifiable).

2.17 Inflection for participation

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.

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'ilp 'I killed it'.

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

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

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 \( +n \)-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 \( +n \)-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 \( +n \)-transitive).

4. otherwise, it is intransitive.

b) Then, if a fifth order expansion other than the adverb \( j\acute{r}\acute{e} \) 'all' occurs in the whole string, and if the part of the string the transitivity of which has just been determined is transitive or \( +n \)-transitive, the whole verbal string is \textit{detransitivized}. Otherwise, its transitivity is the same as that of the aforesaid verbal string. E.g. \( \gamma\acute{o\ddot{\alpha}h\acute{e}ri-\beta\acute{o}\gamma\beta\acute{a}y \) 'know-well': \( \gamma\acute{o\ddot{\alpha}h\acute{e}ri \) is transitive, a fifth order expansion other than \( j\acute{r}\acute{e} \) occurs (\( \beta\acute{o}\gamma\beta\acute{a}y \)), hence \( \gamma\acute{o\ddot{\alpha}h\acute{e}ri-\beta\acute{o}\gamma\beta\acute{a}y \) is \textit{detransitivized}. In \( \acute{r}\acute{o}-\beta\acute{o}\gamma\beta\acute{a}y \) 'stay-well', \( \acute{r}\acute{o} \) is intransitive, hence \( \acute{r}\acute{o}-\beta\acute{o}\gamma\beta\acute{a}y \) is intransitive. In \( \acute{w}\acute{e}l-\acute{r}\acute{i}\acute{l}\acute{a}m-\acute{j}\acute{r}\acute{e} \) 'call-come-all', \( \acute{w}\acute{e}l-\acute{r}\acute{i}\acute{l}\acute{a}m \) is transitive (\( \acute{w}\acute{e}l \) is transitive and \( \acute{r}\acute{i}\acute{l}\acute{a}m \), a directional complement, is to be disregarded); there is a fifth order expansion: the adverb \( j\acute{r}\acute{e} \). Hence the whole verbal string is transitive.
c) Now, verbal strings other than those containing a directional preposition or the directional morpheme kî (these must remain uninflected for participation and the continuative aspect) are inflectable for participation by suffixing a third order suffix in to their final constituent. E.g. γανθερι-βογογιν 'to know it well'.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>If the verbal string is:</th>
<th>uninflected for participation</th>
<th>inflected for participation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in-transitive</td>
<td>does not occur(^1)</td>
<td>objective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitive</td>
<td>objective</td>
<td>triple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>detransitivized</td>
<td>subjective</td>
<td>objective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intransitive</td>
<td>subjective</td>
<td>instrumentive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

3. The participants. Except for the subject, (cf 2.17.0 p.73), the participants of verbal strings are unspecified for person and number.

a) The subject is that of the initial verb. E.g. καταναγ-σα-νες '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. μαραν-οβο μο '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. *miilin amas* 'he strikes it with a club'.

2. causal. E.g. *petjatpin akyr-yeni té* 'he stumbled on a root', *kae mejejärin apel* 'Cain was jealous of Abel', *merretpin atamam* 'he was startled at this thing', *æpæs yamsorpin jæn* 'the dogs barked at me'.

3. essential to the subject. E.g. *jetar morón  dài* 'God stays of three' i.e. 'God consists of three', *ojó mam mærpin ina* 'this snake sprouted as yams'.

4. locative. E.g. *mosonép-ritarin æβðæn oðu* 'it pushed its head in through the hole' *æβðæn makarpin oðu* 'its head was sent flying through the hole'.

2.18 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 *R*.

c) other consonants become long, except *j*, *h* and *R*, which remain unchanged.
2.19 VERBS AND VERBOIDS

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

1. Adjectives, which are those intransitive verbs which express qualities ascribed to persons, animals, or things. E.g. kar 'red', βriβ 'large, big', biηen 'heavy', pere 'long'. Adjectives may, besides functioning as verbs proper (e.g. makar 'it is red', βé γιβρη when it is big) qualify nouns (cf 3.3.1a p.92), or modify verbs (cf 3.8.1e2 p. 100). E.g. ara kri te 'a small pig', γαν-κρηπιν etenar 'eat a little food'.

Three adjectives have a distributive form: βriβ 'big', distributive: βαρβαρ; kri 'small', distributive: κκρι or κκρι; βυρ 'black', distributive: βυρβυρ. The distributive form is used when the subject or the referent qualified is not singular. E.g. ara κκρι 'small pigs', γαβέ γαβαρβαρ 'when they are big'. When functioning as a fifth order expansion of a verb, the distributive adjective βαρβαρ means 'often'. E.g. jorú timró-βαρβαρ 'they two stay often' i.e. 'they are often together'.

When an expansion and following a consonant, the adjective heò 'bad' takes the form eheò. E.g. nòm eheò 'bad work', mòys-eheòpìn 'you did it wrongly'.
2. Verbs proper, which may be transitive, in-transitive, or intransitive. E.g. haré 'to reward him', hê 'to run away', sal 'to swing', sjér(in) 'to send him', nj(i)n 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. ænð-me βé γisælp ni 'when the sun appeared', literally: 'when the sun showed itself'.

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. maján 'he went', mokošrép-rjan 'he threw it away', moró-rjan he stays on the far side' (lit: 'stay-go'). Directional verbs are:

- hatær to go north
- mæl to go south
- haβyl to go west
- hu to go east
- jan to go
- lam to come
- kersa to go up
- saŋær to go down
- tätær to go out
- tari to go in
- talpær to return
- ye to go by
- ye to go where?
- jë to go near

1. Rare. Mainly found as member of directional complements, with the tentative directional prefix, to express tentative action. E.g. akæl-γišæp 'I'll try to look for it'.
b) directional verboids occur only in directional complements with the prefix ri. Three directional verboids were found in the corpus:

    sa    up
    su    down
tær  out

E.g. meke-rsa 'he put it up', meke-rsu 'he put it down', meke-rtær 'he took it out'.

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

    tyr  one at a time, bits by bits
    ryr  fast, firmly, steadily
    sæβ  to death
    sē   stealthily
    s̥  whilst waiting for it
    hyr  in order to get it

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

E.g. tɪmje₁-tyr-p-rısı 'they jumped down one at a time', té-yr 'hold it firmly',
    ɣamčε₁-sæβ ara pm 'they tread that pig to death', mœky-şêp 'he stole it' (lit: he took it stealthily), ɣamkœ₁-sé aari 'they cooked whilst waiting for the men', aam-hyr-meṭrin 'I will come to get it later'.
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
- møen thousand

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

- γελτέ ten
- γελιμεν twenty
- γεληδε thirty
- γελιεδ forty
- γελιεν fifty
- γελεν·ara sixty
- γελεν·ere·ru seventy
- γελεν·ere·teel eighty
- γελεน·ere·peδ ninety

E.g. aδωγεν γαμγελτέ 'ten persons'.

b) Quotative verbs, which are ωέ 'to say or think' and βτον '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 βτον are irregular, being respectively μβτον and βτον.

c) The ancillary verbs stat 'to start' (borrowed from Bichelamar) and jar, expressing the immediate past. E.g. am'ar alam 'I just arrived', βέ γιστατ οεјάμ 'when he started to work'.
d) The negative verb ré 'not to be', which occurs always in the third person singular. E.g. taọọọọ ité meré 'there wasn't anyone', noβ γiřé" ere ŋl tikoŋ 'let it not be male pigs, only intersex pigs'.

e) The verb γyn '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. māγyn hi? 'what is his name?', māγyn ser 'his name was Ser', aṣẹm māγyn hi? 'your name is called who?' i.e. 'what is your name?', aṣẹγ māγyn sak 'my name is Jacques'.

2.20 VERB FORMATION

Verbs are formed by derivation:

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. ðọọọọ from ðọl 'to carry it'. If the consonant to be thus repeated is long, it becomes short. E.g. taọọọγ 'to track it assiduously and/or at length', from òọγ 'to track it'; timyọọọγ βẹ γiher timjan timjes 'they ate it at length [and] when it was finished they went for a walk'; miłrọ ton ehié ḍọl meré ilei: miłrọọọro 'he stayed for maybe three or four years, he stayed for a long time'.

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 1.19.10 p.38). E.g. holhol 'to fly repeatedly' from hol 'to fly', pokylkyl 'bent in several places' from pokyl 'bent', koβkoβré 'to throw things repeatedly' from koβré 'to throw it'; μγεδ αδεγεν γαμινελελ 'you see people busy digging and digging', joru tιβέ ῥινονσάρ joru 'when they are in love with each other', γαμινοβοβόβ jόρ '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', πόρπόρ 'it is becoming dark' as against πόρ 'it is night'.

Nota. A verb may be at once repetitive and intensive, e.g. μακαμακακακακα 'he looked for it assiduously and repeatedly' from κακα 'to seek it'.

3. Verbs are derived from free nouns
a) by deleting the initial $ of class Ia nouns. E.g. οδεμ 'to change oneself into a devil' from οδενμ 'devil', ra 'to change oneself into a pig' from ara 'pig'.

b) by prefixing j to the initial i of class Ib nouns. E.g. jίσα 'to become friends' from jίσα 'friend'.

c) by replacing the initial n of class Ic nouns by j. E.g. jάμ 'to work' from nάμ 'work', joβ 'to kill pigs' from noβ 'male pig'. Nota. This derivation does not seem to be any longer productive.
2.20.4. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>γæn to eat it</td>
<td>γen to eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γæl to dig it</td>
<td>γel to dig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γæt to sting him</td>
<td>jerγet to itch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>κæδ to insult him</td>
<td>jerκδ to swear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τδρ to prevent him</td>
<td>jertar to put a taboo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γon to be bitter to him</td>
<td>jerγon bitter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sε to cure him</td>
<td>se to cure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lγγ to transfer it</td>
<td>jelγγ(^1) to commute</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Causative (transitive)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>γen to eat</td>
<td>jæγen to feed him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ννδ to wake up</td>
<td>jενδ to wake him up</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The r of jer is lost.
2.21 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)

E.g. yappe-tor ðor 'they always meet there', pere-usi 'it is very long', timesyk-jrépín womir 'we have finished borrowing all those [pigs]'.

2.22 ADNOMINA

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

- tikyn only, alone
- jrép all, whole
- nøttur exactly, properly

(This inventory is probably exhaustive)

E.g. ni tikyn mítro 'he stayed alone', té tikyn 'only one', irey jrép bwe 'my whole body aches', jær jrép yamlam 'they all came',ðanam nøttur 'his father (not an uncle)'.


2.23 ADJECTIVIOIDS

Adjectivoids are determining morphemes which, as first order expansions, qualify nouns (cf 3.3.1a p.92), and, as fifth order expansions, modify verbs (cf 3.8.1e3 p.100). Two adjectivoids occurred in the corpus:

pel other, different
ṭīβe plain, ordinary

(This inventory is probably not exhaustive)

E.g. aḍanān pel té 'a different person', ạḥy
ṭīβe 'ordinary rifle'.

2.24 NOMINALIZED ADJECTIVES & NOMINALIZED ADJECTIVIOIDS

Nominalized adjectives and nominalized 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', ukri 'small one' from kri 'small', opel 'different one(s)' from pel 'different', utīβe 'ordinary one(s)' from āṭīβe 'ordinary'.

Nominalized adjectives and adjectivoids are unspecified and uninflectable for number. E.g. osīβnō 'sick one' or 'sick ones'.
2.25 PARTICIPLES

Particples 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. oresp u
jor military-hoβ jor 'He who made us keeps looking after us', olγen-sō ēdel niŋ 'the ones who kept stealing (lit: eating stealthily) my bananas', olrópr lurur ɣambilha 'those who had stayed in the island kept on dancing'.

2.26 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. ɣamnás eyen urẹn 'they liked to eat lobster', myeðheri əmē-y-lēpin 'you can try and ask him about it', əmsækəl eneð-saylē 'I'm afraid of dying young'.

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

2.27 MODAL PARTICLES

Modal particles are determining morphemes that modify the referents of phrases. There are nine modal particles:

1. the modal particle riβyl covers the meanings of the English 'again, anew'. E.g. eðem mōm
mohoβ riβyl joru 'that devil followed them again';
2.27.2. The modal particle \( \text{DI} \) 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. \( \text{DI} \) 'some kill only intersex pigs', \( \text{DI} \) 'it does nothing but rain', \( \text{DI} \) 'each lineage separately' (lit: lineage on its own, lineage on its own).

In a derived sense, \( \text{DI} \) often expresses the speaker's genuine or feigned unconcern (like in English "just"). E.g. \( \text{DI} \) 'who cares (lit: ordinary thing), I'll just go and get killed'.

3. The modal particle \( \text{rer} \) has an adversative meaning. E.g. \( \text{rer} \) 'he saw instead [of what he was looking for] a nubile girl', \( \text{rer} \) 'falling stars, on the other hand...'.

4. The modal particle \( \text{na} \) expresses the idea of newness: new action, new participants, new circumstances &c. E.g. \( \text{na} \) 'what shall we do now?', \( \text{na} \) 'and there was only one man'.

When expanding a verbal phrase, \( \text{na} \) often expresses the inceptive (French 'se mettre à') E.g. \( \text{na} \) 'it's raining now', 'voilà qu'il se met à pleuvoir'.

\( \text{opolyâr mæhər ye œsəl riβyl \ 'the opolghav dance is finished and [it is] the flute again',} \)
\( \text{jæn asyr-hop riβyl orru pel té 'I will tell again another pygmy [-story]'}. \)
6. The modal particle βa covers the same meanings as the English 'still, yet' (adversative excepted). E.g. maaβhær 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. hoo” jœn βa 'all right, me now' i.e. 'it's my turn now'.

7. The modal particle le expresses certainty or resolve. E.g. meré βa” yor le ætum 'not yet, do stop that thing [the tape-recorder]'.

8. The modal particle βyn expresses uncertainty or irresolution. E.g. jœn βyn atari-porp i? 'may I go inside with you?'.

9. 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 jør taryr” ðjœn pe 'Ser said:"Let's shed our skins"... no, his mother said [that]'.

2.28 OTHER MORPHEMES

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

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

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

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. ni 'he', kam 'this person'.
   c) a numeral other than a definite one. E.g. té 'one, someone'.
   d) a nominalized adjective or adjectivoid. E.g. okar 'red one(s)'.
   e) a participle. E.g. oræsp 'he/they wò made it'.
   f) a gerund. E.g. eke-ri 'removing it'.

2. A completive nominal phrase consists of any one of the following:
   a) a locative preposition. E.g. lym 'in you'.
   b) a benefactive preposition. E.g. hæy 'for me'.
   c) a locative pronoun. E.g. ðåð 'here', kanal 'in Lusiana'.
   d) an iterative pronoun. E.g. ðaté 'once'.
   e) a noun in the irrealis, denoting place or time. E.g. tæhøn '[some] place'.
   f) màhøn immediately followed by a gerund. E.g. màhøn ægøn 'in order to eat it'.

1. I.e. the possessive pronoun màhøn- with the ancillary pronominal suffix n for regime.
3.2 Verbal phrases are dividable into two basic types: stative and temporal.

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. mæhyp 'he shot him', yamæød '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'; yamstatæjam '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!"'.

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

   If the temporal verbal phrase refers to the past or the present, the quotative verb we is inflected for the realis and the same person as that of the verbal phrase it introduces, which is itself inflected for the irrealis. E.g. aβéajan 'when I go' or 'when I went'.

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

1. Individual variation: in some speakers' idiolects, the quotative verb we is inflected for the 3rd pers. sg. in all cases.
EXPANSIONS AND REGIMES OF PHRASE-CONSTITUENTS

3.3 NOUNS

1. Free nouns may take:
   a) a first order expansion consisting of an adjective or an adjectivoid. E.g. ara βέρβερ 'big pigs', ara τίβλε 'plain, ordinary pigs'. This adjective may itself take an expansion consisting of another adjective. E.g. άρπ βέρβερ-δόμ 'headaddresses big like that'.
   b) a second order expansion consisting of a possessive preposition. E.g. wákær hæm 'your wife', osot kar hæm 'your red shirt'.

2. The noun rki 'people' may, instead of the above expansions, be expanded by the locative pronouns τύλ 'above' (meaning in this case the Sakao plateau), jeha 'west' (meaning in this case Big Bay). E.g. rki τύλ 'Sakao men-bush', rki jeha 'people of Big Bay'.

1. 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 kři βόγ 'the small pig [which] is white' or ara wόγ micri 'the white pig [which] is small' or ara wόγ ukři 'the white pig, the small one' etc.
3.3.3. Two cases of free nouns expanded by a directional preposition occurred in the corpus, i.e. øŋŋó kulé- 'the dirt off the feet' and øŋŋó kere-tenar '[one's] place at a banquet' (lit: 'room off the food-leaves').

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

   a) a personal pronominal suffix. E.g. øeney 'my father', mën '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. øenen amarkar 'the father of the child'.

      2. a pronoun other than a personal pronoun or a possessive pronoun. E.g. øenen kam 'the father of this person'.

      3. a numeral other than a definite one. E.g. wåløyn té 'someone's child'.

      4. a nominalized adjective or adjectivoid. E.g. øløn uþriβ mør 'the tail of that big one'.

      5. a participle. E.g. wåløyn orøsp jør 'the son of Him who made us'.

5. Construct nouns are obligatorily immediately followed by a regime consisting of a noun. E.g. øyó- amarkar 'children's heads', ørøk-olklæ- 'twigs of hand' i.e. 'fingers'.

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

a) an adjective or an adjecitvooid. E.g. etêdeemê 'such a thing', etêbiêle 'ordinary thing'. The enclitic noun may in this case take a second order expansion consisting of a possessive preposition. E.g. etêbiêle hœn 'his ordinary things' i.e. belt, ammunition and tobacco pouches, and pipe.

b) one of the numerals té 'a, one', kîtê 'a certain', ða 'some, several', kîða 'certain'. E.g. etîktê 'a certain thing'.

c) a nominal demonstrative. E.g. atamâmîr 'these things'.

d) a benefactive/possessive preposition. E.g. atanam 'your edible things'.

3.4. PREPOSITIONS

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

a) a personal pronominal suffix. E.g. lyê 'in me'.

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

1. a noun. E.g. raðâm hœn aaker 'the relatives of the woman'.

2. a pronoun other than a personal pronoun or a possessive pronoun. E.g. øhy hœn â 'the rifle of that one'.

3. a numeral other than a definite one. E.g. øhy hœn té 'someone's rifle'.

4. a nominalized adjective or adjectivoid. E.g. nan ukkri morir 'food for those little ones'.

5. a participle. E.g. ohy hæn ohyp o 'the rifle of the one who shot that one'.

6. if the preposition is a possessive one, a locative pronoun. E.g. æ̃pdt-wari enen mææŋ 'the oldsters of long ago'; rki nen tyl 'people of above' i.e. 'men-bush'.

2. Construct prepositions are obligatorily immediately followed by a regime consisting of a noun. E.g. læjém 'at work', aay ene-ryr 'white men's boat'.

3.5 PRONOUNS

1. Possessive pronouns.
   a) Suffixing possessive pronouns take the same obligatory regimes as possessive prepositions. The suffixing possessive pronoun mæhð- 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. mæhæn ili p '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'.

2. Locative pronouns.
   a) The locative pronoun matjer 'long ago' may take an expansion consisting of the adverb usu 'very'. E.g. matjer usu 'very long ago'.

1. Individual variation (influence of Hog-Harbour): or a locative preposition. E.g. rki nen lohe 'people of in the village'.

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

c) The locative pronoun lækren 'to-morrow' may
take an expansion consisting of the directional
preposition kæ- with the third person singular
pronominal suffix for regime, ie. lækren kæ
'on the following day'.

3. Ordinal pronouns.

a) Ordinal pronouns may take an expansion consisting
of the suffixing directional preposition kæ- with
the 3rd person singular pronominal suffix for
regime. E.g. tæl kæn '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" 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 (œβyrjær) and Vuriaru (œβyrjær-ru or
eðenm-œβyrjær). E.g. tu kamar 'second chimney-
stack'.

c) Alternatively, the ordinal pronoun sàyyl '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 multiples of ten. E.g. sàyyl kæøæê'té 'tenth',

1. Cf Deacon (1929:467)
2. The six "chimney-stacks" to the north of the
nakamal are unnamed.
(same meaning as sayyl), sayyl kæwèru 'twentieth' &c until sayyl ke'ter 'hundredth'. sayyl kæmæn 'thousandth' is unused.

4. Proper pronouns denoting persons may take an expansion consisting of the particle yìru 'and companions'. E.g. kusìak yìru 'Little Finger and his companions'.

5. The interrogative pronoun hi 'who?' may take either one of the following:
   a) an expansion consisting of the particle yìru 'and companions'. E.g. hi yìru? '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 aðoŋæŋé? 'which person?', hi ˈéð? 'which star?'.

3.6 NUMERALS

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

3.7 NOMINALIZED ADJECTIVES & ADJECTIVOIDS

Nominalized 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.

3.8 VERBS

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. यांत्रका-सी ‘they tread it to death’, अम्ब-र्यर-सुरिन ‘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. मैता­य-सा-नेस ‘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. मैता­य-सा-नेस ‘he starts birds’.

2. a suffixing noun with a personal pronominal suffix for regime, the suffixing noun being uninflected. E.g. यांत्रे-ौकलेङ्गर ‘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 is 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 र् prefixed to

1. The vowel i is lost preceding a semi-consonant, or when the prefix र् is preceded by a vowel or an r in certain verbal strings of frequent occurrence.
one of the following:

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

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

- the directional morpheme ki, expressing movement away from somewhere. E.g. meke-rki 'he removed it'.

2. the directional prefix γι prefixed to a directional verb, unexpanded. This prefix denotes tentative movement. E.g. meyer-γιhatær '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 ki 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. E.g. meke-γer-lam 'he took it [he] swam [he] came', i.e. 'swimming across, he brought it'; γam-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

1. The vowel i is lost preceding a semi-consonant.
2. But not necessarily, if they are both transitive, the same object. Cf examples in this paragraph.
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'.

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

1. an adverb. E.g. ṛmga₄₃-pr-₃tor 'he cries all the time'.

2. an adjective. E.g. am₄₄-hyr-m₃trîn '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. ṛmga₄₃heri-₃boγ₃boγ-₃usi₄nin 'he knows it very well', ṛmga₄₃heri-₃boγ₃boγ-reyreyin 'he knows it extremely well'.

3. the adjecitivoid pe₃l 'other', which in this case takes the form pe₃l, and may itself take an expansion consisting of either the adverb usi₄ 'very' or the adjective kri₄ 'small'. E.g. meye-pepe₃l-kri₄ 'it goes - other - small' i.e. 'it is slightly different'.

4. the locative pronoun m₃raen 'before'. E.g. am₃aβγ₃o₃₃-m₃raenin 'I had not seen it before'.

5. the expression ṛm₃en 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. βpr-₃m₃en mahapin 'he said it without knowing what he was talking about'.
6. the suffixed preposition ḫα- with the ancillary pronominal suffix for regime, followed by an ordinal pronoun, denoting the number of times an action has happened. E.g. βέ γαβα-ḫεν ḫुɵpin 'when she gave birth for the second time'.

3.8. 2. Alternatively, instead of the above expansions, the verbs ssyl 'to insult him', wîr 'to say it', wêl '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. i messyl-anaðopîn γâm 'you insulted us, calling us analogi, δα γαβêl-riðiœnêrin' δα γαβêl-riðiœnêrin 'some they call "their aunts", some they call "their uncles"' (names given to laplap puddings at a wedding).

3. The transitive verb jæk 'to show it' always occurs string-initially, and may take only an expansion consisting of the directional preposition kæ- or kê without the directional prefix rî. E.g. jæk-kyy ahal 'show me the road'.

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

rottapër 'to be near it' from rô 'to stay' and për 'to be near it'.

rottøyôn 'to hide' from rô 'to stay' and oyôn a form only found in a few compound verbs.

kerøyôn 'to hide it' from ke 'to take it' and oyôn.

1. An unidentified fish species.
rotallam 'to come near' from ró 'to stay'
and lam 'to come'.

kælsa 'to look up' and kælsu 'to look down',
hé-su 'to dive', há-sa 'to come to the surface',
from kæl 'to seek it', hé 'to flee', sa 'up', and
su 'down'.

3.9 EXPANSIONS OF PHRASES

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.

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
'to-day'. The expression thus formed is trans­
latable by 'nowadays'. E.g. aðæνæν enen manó
ker 'people of nowadays'.

3. the nominal demonstrative með 'this' if
the phrase ends with the locative pronoun mæræŋ
'before'. E.g. mæræŋ með 'here in the past'.
b) a second order expansion consisting of the modal particle rɪβyɪ '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 vɪ 'just, only'.

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

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

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

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

h) an eighth order expansion consisting of the modal particle lə 'certainly' or of the modal particle əβyn '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. əʊsəl - əβt - ɣɔr hən əβət - wəri enen mərəəŋ tə '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. jəɾ əβəl əl lən '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. wəm əl 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 té tikyn '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 aŋɛŋ-wari enen mærɛn jrapid '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. jár jrapid 'all of them'. When the adnomen determines a numeral, it is shifted to second order position, immediately after that numeral. E.g. té tikyn pl 'just] only one'.

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

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

m) a thirteenth order expansion consisting of a demonstrative deictic. E.g. nár kar mam pl na βa non 'this here sacred stone' (lit: sacred stone this just then still here).
CHAPTER IV

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

4.1. 0. A minor sentence carries information that is sufficient only in a context. E.g. ődé 'there' carries sufficient information only as an answer to a question or as an "afterthought" to a major sentence. The phrase ődé could be developed ad infinitum and still not convey any independent information. E.g. ődé lybjál hän aatyr ṣm ni rki tyl ḍa mærgb yamhy-yærl ődé læmnan Ŝé ɣiŋor ʃorɒr/ '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'.

1. A minor sentence consists of either a completive nominal phrase or a temporal verbal phrase. E.g. ődé 'there', Ŝé ɣiŋor 'when he sleeps'.

4.2. 0. A major sentence is a statement or a question conveying sufficient information without the help of a context. E.g. eyenĩ ʃé njó 'that's a tree', mye? 'where do you go?'.

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

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

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. [γαμ][τέ βέ γινεδ][τιμ'αβαρ] 'we (subtheme)
[when one dies (subtheme)][ one does not bury him
(rheme)]' i.e. 'we don't bury our dead'.

4. A subtheme consists of any one of the following:
   a) a predicate introduced by we 'if, as for,
      whereas'. E.g. we [ι][μphys-nottur] 'if [you]
      [behave correctly]'; we [ahal][pere] 'if
      [the road][is long]'; we [γέ][γιμ'αβιαν] 'if
      [you][don't go]'. If the subject of the predicate
      is supplemented by a noun, numeral or nominalized
      adjective or adjectivoid in the irrealis, the
      introducing particle we may be left out. E.g.
      (ώέ) [ίτέ][γινορ][læn] 'if [anyone][had slept]
      [in it]'.

   b) a temporal verbal phrase, optionally introduced
      by we, unless this temporal phrase itself starts
      with we, in which case one is left out. E.g.
      (ώέ) [βέ γιγέ][lænes] 'whereas[when he rides]
      [on birds]'; but: [ώέ mjñan] '[when you go]' not
      introduced by ωέ.

       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. [βέ γιλαμ][βέ γικολτ] or [βέ γιλαμ]
       [γικολτ] '[when he came][and flew around]'.

   c) a stative or locative nominal phrase optionally
      introduced by ωέ. E.g. [γαμ][τέ βέ γινεδ] '[as for
      us][when one dies]'; ωέ [δαδ ραερ] 'whereas [here
      on the contrary]'.

4.3 SUPPLEMENTATION

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.

E.g. [aatyr][miilpin][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 [miilpin] '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 νm][yamnɔr][læn] 'the house where they slept', literally: [that house][they slept][in it], the predicate [yamnɔr] supplementing the phrase [olom νm] through its complementation [læn] 'in it'. Or: [rki][ussym-rô] 'people who drink liquor', literally: [people][those who drink liquor] the participle [ussym-rô] supplementing [rki].

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.

¹. Cf 4.4.3 p.116
4.3. 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. [rki][yaamssym-ro] 'people are drinking liquor' literally: [people][they drink liquor]; [jæn][æm'æβæðæheiri] 'I don't know', literally: [I][I don't know it].

2. a predicate. E.g. [æβyø-amarkar][βesi] [meýer][ðor] 'that is why children are disobedient', literally: [children's heads][it is hard][it goes][there], where the predicate [βesi] supplements the subject of [meýer], and has its own subject supplemented by [æβyø-amarkar]. Note that this construction is the only way of negating nominal predicates. E.g. [jæn][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. [wøm][miil][ere] 'that one kills intersex pigs', literally: [that one][he kills it] [intersex pig(s)].

2. a predicate optionally introduced by wé. E.g. [maaβæðæheri] 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 ἀγαπέω 'to know it', ἀγαπάω 'to like/love/want it', or σιωπάω 'to dislike it', a gerund. E.g. [jæn][amsækɒl][eneʊ-d-saɪlɪ] 'I don't want to die young', literally: [I][I dislike it][dying early]; [tɛ][βɛ ɣɪnɒs][ωɣən] [tɛ] 'when someone wants to eat one', literally: [one][when he wants it][eating][one]; [amγεθερί] [ɔwys] '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. [mɪlpiŋ][nɛ ɒm] 'he killed him with that axe', literally: [he killed him with it][that axe]; [tɪβəhə-ɣɔrɪn] [arɔn][ɔrɪɹ ɹɔɹ] '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. [mɪlro-su-δαμαμ ɥɔn][i] 'he was sitting like you are', literally: [he was sitting - like this][you]; [mɪps-δεμɛrɪpɪn][aβɔɹ-rkɪm]? '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.[mɪlpiŋ] [aɾa][ɑməs] or [mɪlpiŋ][ɑməs][aɾa] 'he killed the pig with a club'.
4.3.2. 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. [ό ηνό][αδαγ έ] '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. [τίμηπ][αηα][οζα][αδδ] 'they followed the road that goes there', literally: [they followed it][road][the one which goes][there], where [οζα] supplements [αηα].

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. [αζοφ-αρι αμ][μαρφρ] [μαζη][μαζη][λορ] 'that oldster who came yesterday has name Noru', literally: [that oldster][yesterday][he came][he has name][Noru]; [αδαγαν αμ][τιμηρ][μαζη][λορ] 'the name of the man who was shot is Ngor', literally: [that man][they shot him][he has name][Ngor]; [αμας μεδ][τιμ'ιλιν] [αζηριφ][εγενα τιβε νι] '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]; [εζηφρ αμ] [τιμκεπ][αρα έ][θον] 'the sorcerer to whom they gave a pig', literally: [that sorcerer][they took it][a pig][for him]; [ολομ αμ][μονο][αν] 'the house where he sleeps', literally: [that house][he sleeps][in it]; [εγενα][τιμτερφ-γοριν][αηα]
'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', mityl 'above', mādan 'below'. E.g. [æryr][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. [æplæŋ đamam non] [mæhæ-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 wôm, a predicate or a temporal verbal phrase. The pronoun wôm then takes the meaning of 'when, as'. E.g. [wôm ni] [tæmhiné-ryr-nttǐrīn] '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 [wôm ni] [tìbí tjeîtìlé] 'whereas when they see her off', literally: whereas [that there][when they see her off].

4.4 COMPLEMENTATION

0. Generalities. Phrases and predicates may be developed by complementation. Complementations are compleitive or temporal phrases which explicit the circumstances of the phrase or the predicate they complement.
4.4. 1. THE COMPLEMENTATIONS OF VERBAL PHRASES

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

a) completive nominal phrases. E.g. [tɔt][tənɔd ité][nney] 'cut a coconut for me to drink', literally: [cut it off][coconut][for me to drink]; [mɪlrosur][lybɔl hɔn] 'he was sitting in his nakamal', literally: [he was sitting][in his nakamal]; [mɪlɔ][ɔaru] 'he struck it twice', literally: [he struck it][twice]; ton [majan] [təhɔn] 'he might have gone somewhere', literally: maybe [he went][place]; [mɔryr][je]? 'where do you come from?', literally: [you had remained][where]?

b) temporal verbal phrases. E.g. [tɨheɪn][wɛ mɔjr][lɔpɔr] '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. [mɪltr][ehi ðe]l] 'he stayed three years', literally: [he stayed][three years]; [amja][jä]l] [ekilɔmətə ru] 'I walked for two kilometers', literally: [I walked][two kilometers].

d) a comparative complementation consisting of the quotative verb wɛ in the 3rd person singular realis, followed by a nominal phrase. E.g. [mikri][bə eniti]l] 'it is as small as a needle', literally: [it is small][it says needle].

e) a stative nominal phrase consisting of the demonstrative pronoun ᵁm supplemented by a predicate or a temporal verbal phrase. E.g. [tɨheɪn][wɔm ni][wɛ mɔjr] 'they will guard it
when you sleep', literally: [they will guard it][that there][when you sleep].

4.4. 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 ãm té][mæræŋ] [mesiŋé] 'that sorcerer long ago was wrong', literally: [that sorcerer][long ago][he was wrong]; [ara té][δόδ][mæŋŋŋɔr] 'a pig there is grunting', literally: [a pig][there][he grunts].

b) a temporal verbal phrase. E.g. [ara ãm][mβé jelːtɔr][lohe][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][hun] 'he has a pig', literally: [a pig][for him].

d) a comparative complementation (cf 4.4.1d p.114). E.g. [ere-γenj βɔrβɔr][βέ iðe]l] 'large leaves like banana-leaves', literally: [large tree-leaves] [it says banana].

4.4. 3. ORDER OF COMPLEMENTATIONS

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

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

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

1. it occurs in a subtheme. E.g. wé [hàen té] [opílu k 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. [amìyəðhérí] wé [hàn][opílu k 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. [h̥y][wəm] '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][øøø][wəhy nm] [tímhýpin][ø] 'he took the rifle with which that one was shot to that place', not: meke-jan wəhy nm tímhýpin ø øøø.

The relative order of complementations is free. Usually, benefactive complementations occur first, then spatial ones, and temporal ones.
4.5. THE COMPLEMENTS AND SUPPLEMENTATIONS OF GERUNDS AND PARTICIPLES

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

4.6. ADJUNCTION

0. Adjunction, a process akin to coordination, is marked by adjuncts. There are four adjuncts: meré 'or', hyr 'for, because', ton 'perhaps', and ye 'and'.

1. The adjunct ton is dubitative and precedes phrases or sentences. E.g. [mi³ro][ðað] ton [e³i³e³a³m] 'he stayed here for maybe three years'.

2. The adjunct meré is alternative and precedes phrases or sentences which it connects to preceding phrases or sentences. E.g. [a³a³e³a³en té] meré [æpæs té] 'a man or a dog'.

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. [γwɔp][ni] hyr [warĩ hɔn] 'let her hang herself because of her husband [who died]'.

4. The adjunct ye is additive and precedes phrases or sentences which it may connect to

1. Pronounced hɔn in fast speech.
preceding phrases or sentences, in which case it is translatable by 'and', 'with (inclusive)'. E.g. joru ye tanjel 'they two with Daniel', i.e. 'Daniel and him'; [ðað] ye [ŷ] 'here and south', i.e. 'south of here'.

When it does not connect to a preceding phrase or sentence, ye is translatable by 'then', 'subsequently'. E.g. ye [ni][bé γikkoðu] ye [aakær] ye [γamttal] 'And when he dances, then the women subsequently hail him'; [aari] [bé γitari] [ïyβjé] [aakær] ye [γamkanele] 'when the man enters the nakamal, the women subsequently withdraw'.

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 ye. E.g. [aakær kri té] meré ton [amarkar wari] 'a small girl or maybe a male child'; ton ye [tital] [ðor] 'And maybe we should stop here'; hyr ye [ðað n] [timhyp] 'because then it's here that they shot him'; hyr ton [bé [wa] [we mæhy-γær] [wa]] 'For maybe he thinks:"When this one shoots and misses this one"'.

6. The adjuncts hyr and meré the latter optionally followed by (ton) may also occur sentence-finally, in which case hyr is to be translated 'because of it', and meré denotes doubt. E.g. meke-rkœn ara té hyr/ 'he gave him a pig for it'; ton γamkaratorpîn æhy γamraréyîn meré ton 'maybe [since] they fired their rifles all the time, they were [driven] crazy by it, were they?"
4.7. JUXTAPOSITION

1. Additive coordination of sentences and verbal phrases is more often by mere juxtaposition than by adjunction with ye. E.g. [ɡəməʊl][tʃʌn] [tɪkə][nəɡəməl] 'Let's go [and] cook for ourselves'.

2. Additive coordination of more than two nominal phrase is sometimes by mere juxtaposition with intervening pauses ("'). E.g. [mərəesp][nəʊ'] [əsəɹkə]'arə]/ 'he made fowls, øsy·kar birds, and pigs.'

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. esəlen taaliæ' taalɾu' taalɔəl/ 'four , or two, or three shillings each'.

4.8. NON-SENTENTIAL FORMS

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

mm (with a rising intonation) 'yes, that's right'
Æ 'yes' acknowledging received information.
əhən 'no'
həo 'all right' expressing approval and announcing subsequent comment or action.
əe 'come on!' an invitation to action.
hu 'wow!' (astonishment or admiration)
ssæ 'fie!' (scorn)
təβə '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 øhy-kar ø/ 'because of the wars, you know'; βriβ ø/ 'really big!'; tjaβwar ø/ 'Good-bye!' (literally: 'Let's not speak!')
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 (e.g. eleven, twenty-five, a hundred and two &c) 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. αδεας γαμηςετε γαβαν ρυ 'twelve persons' (literally: 'they are ten and bear fruit, two). Units may be left unspecified. E.g. γαμηςετε γαβαν βα 'more than ten' (literally: 'they are ten and still bear fruit').

Multiples of one hundred and one thousand are expressed by the numeral verbs τερ 'hundred' and μαεν 'thousand' complemented by an iterative pronoun. E.g. μετερ δαδσι 'three hundred', γαμαεν δαρυ 'they are two thousand'. When lower powers of ten are to be expressed, the use of an iterative pronoun complementing τερ or μαεν becomes obligatory, even for one hundred or one thousand, and those lower powers of ten follow, introduced by the expression ωρον μαεμυν 'its ear pulls it (?). E.g. μαεν δατε′′ ωρον μαεμυν′′ μετερ δαλεν·ερε·πεδ′′ ωρον μαεμυν′′ μαγαλεν·αρα βαν λεν·ερε·πεδ′′ 'one thousand nine hundred and sixty-nine'.
INDIVIDUAL VARIATIONS

1. The verb wan always occurs in the third person singular realis. E.g. ἄδαεγαν γάμγαλτέ βαν ῥυ 'twelve persons'.

2. Numeral verbs occur in the third person singular instead of the third person plural. E.g. ἄδαεγαν μαγγαλτέ βαν ῥυ 'twelve persons'.

3. The expression οβρον μαχύν is replaced by the adjunct ye 'and'. E.g. μαεν δαρυ γε μετερ δαδει 'two thousand three hundred'.

3. Numeral verbs are used as adjectives, E.g. ἄδαεγαν γαλτέ 'ten persons'. Units may even be expressed, introduced by βαν. E.g. ἄδαεγαν γαλτέ βαν ῥυ 'twelve people'.

4. Nouns, unexpandable, are formed from numeral verbs by prefixing $. E.g. κεπ αγαλτέ 'take ten'.
SAMPLE TEXT

# əəsəəl·rru té/ ðəɔər·ješ té; məkərp aða" alə-aða ən" masəaqr leəe/ mosson-nês-hoβ eðe/ məlys eðe majan majan mərəəp eəeni kɪtɛ/ eəeni məd tiβərɪn æəəlyt hæbe·kər/ mərəəp mekersa miɬɛ ɬɛn" miɫkaɫsu" nənər məəəd əəwər-nalo·hal té/ əəwər-nalo·hal meə malam malam" bə ɡɪləm ɹər lətən" bə ɡɪsonp" nənər meke·kersə" mekesɨŋər ɬæbjər·ejeə té ɹər liən/ meker ɬɛn; ni məlys eðe məljan məljan" mækæækækæl·nês mækælkæl·ɣjɛpɬ/

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-chin1. He climbed it [and] he went up [and] he stayed in it, he kept looking down, then he saw a small analohal2. 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[セル] 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.
PARSING OF THE SAMPLE TEXT

1. ðææl·rru  compound free noun  half-spoken, half-sung tale
2. té  numeral, determines n°1 ðææl·rru  a, one
3. ðæær·jes  compound free noun  young, un-married man
4. té  cf n°1; determines n°3 ðæær·jes  a, one
5. ðækyp  3rd pers. sg. realis perfective of ky  he took it
6. ðða  free noun  bow
7. aða  construct noun  child of
8. ðða  cf n°6; regime of aða=  bow
9. hø-  lower allomorph of suffixing preposition of (general possession) hø-
10. n  3rd pers. sg. pronominal suffix  him
11. mææææ  3rd pers. sg. realis he went down of ðææææ
12. l=  construct locative in, on, at preposition
13. ðððe  free noun, regime of n°11 l=  sea
14. møsson  3rd pers. sg. realis he shoots it tensed of son
15. nes  free noun, included object of n°14 son  fish (enes)
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<td>3rd pers. sg. realis it comes of lam</td>
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<td>47.</td>
<td>βɛ</td>
<td>3rd pers. sg. realis when of the quotative verb wɛ, introduces n°48 γilam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
48. γιλαμ 3rd pers. sg. irrealis it comes of lam

49. ὅνε non-present remote there locative pronoun

50. ι= cf n°12 in, at, on

51. ατα- suffixing noun, beneath lower allomorph, regime of n°50 ι=

52. n cf n°10 him

53. βέ cf n°47, introduces when n°54 γισόην

54. γισόην 3rd pers. sg. irrealis he shot it perfective of son

55. ηνον cf n°37 then

56. μεκέ- 3rd pers. sg. realis he takes it of ke

57. κέρσα 4th order expansion he goes up of n°56 ke

58. μεκέσιηνερ 3rd pers. sg. realis he puts it continuative of κέσιηε on

59. ι= cf n°12 in, at, on

60. αβγρ= construct noun, top of regime of n°59 ι=

61. εξεδ free noun, regime of n°60 αβγρ=

62. τέ numeral, determines a, one n°61 εξεδ

63. ὅνε cf n°49 there

64. ι= cf n°12 in, at, on

65. ιόν free noun, regime of n°64 ι=, inflected for regime
66. meker 3rd pers. sg. realis continuable of ke
he puts it

67. læ- cf n°34
in, at, on

68. n cf n°35
it

69. ni 3rd pers. sg. pronoun he

70. mælys 3rd pers. sg. realis of lys
he walks along it

71. eðe free noun
sea

72. miljan 3rd pers. sg. realis perdurative of jan
he keeps going

73. miljan idem
he keeps going

74. mækæekæ kæl kæl 3rd pers. sg. realis intensive repetitive of kæl
he seeks it assiduously & repeatedly

75. nes free noun, included object of n°74 kæl
fish (enes)

76. mækæl kæl 3rd pers. sg. realis repetitive of kæl
he seeks it repeatedly

77. yjápr tentative directional complement, introduced by y and consisting of the directional verb jæ
inflected for the perfective and the continuable 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 (pno) of Hog-Harbour.

Hog-Harbour

# 1αβγ-πότε" ναβαναν να
lohe té γαβη-νοβ γαβη"
jär takersa laðalan/
jär taket terien pperē té" tapos Attempt-tatent-νοβ jår
takersa/ γαμκεp neriei té"
γαποσ/ té mjarerh" ope
mjelrtisa mjarer
læδι-βακεν/ ye ope
dé mkersa mjarer lyn/
γαν γαν dé mkersa mjarerh/
γαμιλ-νοβ-δεμεδειν mkersa
mjan" oró ñõtt mrox"
γαβιπεν/ mjaaajan"
γαβιπεν oró ñõtt mrrerp/
γε γενε" jår jrep γαμκεpν/
γαμκάρ-ζελζε" té mner-mył" té mner-haβył" té mner-hatere" jår boγ
γαμ'αβγεδεε δεε jårję/ nnaŋə'
γε γεδεε" ye mkep nwar pel"
jehu. mkep nwar pel" jel mkep
nwar pel" jeha mkep nwar pel/
moryg nwar té tikyn"
mejaajujaen jår γαβε γαε-er-
δεμεδειν" nnaŋ na nwar boýyae/

Port-OLry

# 1αβγ-πότε" ναβαναν nen
ohe té γαβη-νοβ γαβη"
jår takersa laðalan/
jår taket teren-κασ pperē té"
taposr Attempt-tatent-νοβ jår
takersa/ γαμκεp νερ-κασ té
γαποσ/ té mjarer" ope
té mejelrtisa mjarer
læδι-βακεν anan/ ye ope
té mkepse" mjarer len/
γαν γαν té mkepse mjarer/
γαμιλ-νοβ-δεμεδειν jår mkepse
mjan" oró ñõtt mreeŋ/ rki γαβιπεν/ mjaaajan" nαβαναν oró ñõtt mrēŋr/ ρέ γενε" jår jrep γαμκεpr/
γαμκάρ-ζελζε" té mner-mξε" té mner-hu" té mner-haβył" té mner-hatere/ jår boγ
γαμ'αβγεδεε δεε jårję/ nnaŋə'
ρέ γεδεε" ye mkep asaru pel"
jehu. mkep asaru pel" jel mkep
asaru pel" jeha mkep asaru pel/
moryg asaru té tikyn"
mjaaajan jår γαβε γαε-er-
δεμεδειν" nnaŋ na asaru boýyae/
TRANSLATION (text phonemicized)

I = αβγρ-τέ” naδεγαν nan I = che té
on evening a, persons of in village a
γαβέρ” - ήβ - γαβέ”” jær takersa
they say - follow it they say: "We we shall go up
I = αδαλαν/ jår taket terien ppare té”
to clouds. We shall take bamboo long a,
taposr” tatété” - ήβ
we shall plant it, we shall hold each other - follow
jår takersa/ yamkep nerien té”
it us we shall go up. They took it bamboo a,
γαβέρ” té marjer opel mjelt-risa
they planted it. One stood, other one jumped up
marjer I = αδαλ-βακε nan/ ye opel té
he stood on shoulders his. And other one a
mkersa marjer Iγ-ν/ ye opel té
he went up he stood on him. And other one a
mkersa marjer/ yamilhøβ” - δεμεδίν
he went up he stood. They followed it like this
mkersa mjan” oró lλδ
it went up it went, the one who stayed on ground
ttær mroy” rki γαβίναν/ mjaaajan
extreme he felt it, people were heavy. It went on
naδεγαν oró lλδ ttær
and on person he who stayed on ground extreme
mør/ βé γmø” jår jrép yamnørp/
he fell. When he fell, they all they fell.
yamkar - jajel”” té mør - myl”
They flew jumped all about, one he fell went south,
té mør - hu” té mør - hαβy”” té
one he fell went east, one he fell went west, one
he fell went north. They even did not see one

another them. Then, when it was like this,

in the south he took it language different,

in the east he took it language different, in

the north he took it language different, in the

west he took it language different. Before

language one only, it went on and on they

when they fell like this, then then languages

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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