

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

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To informants, but they will never read these lines.

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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' ἐπιπλάζοντ' ἄνοαι φέροειν
καὶ μελέδωναι.

Sappho.

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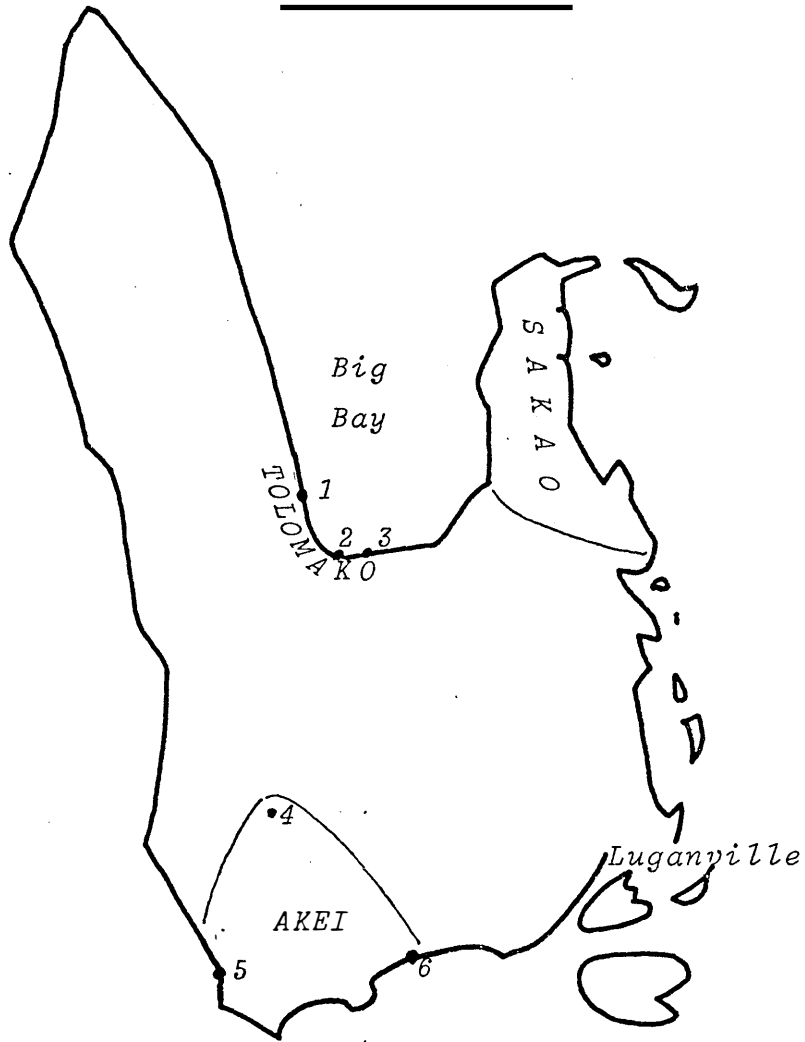
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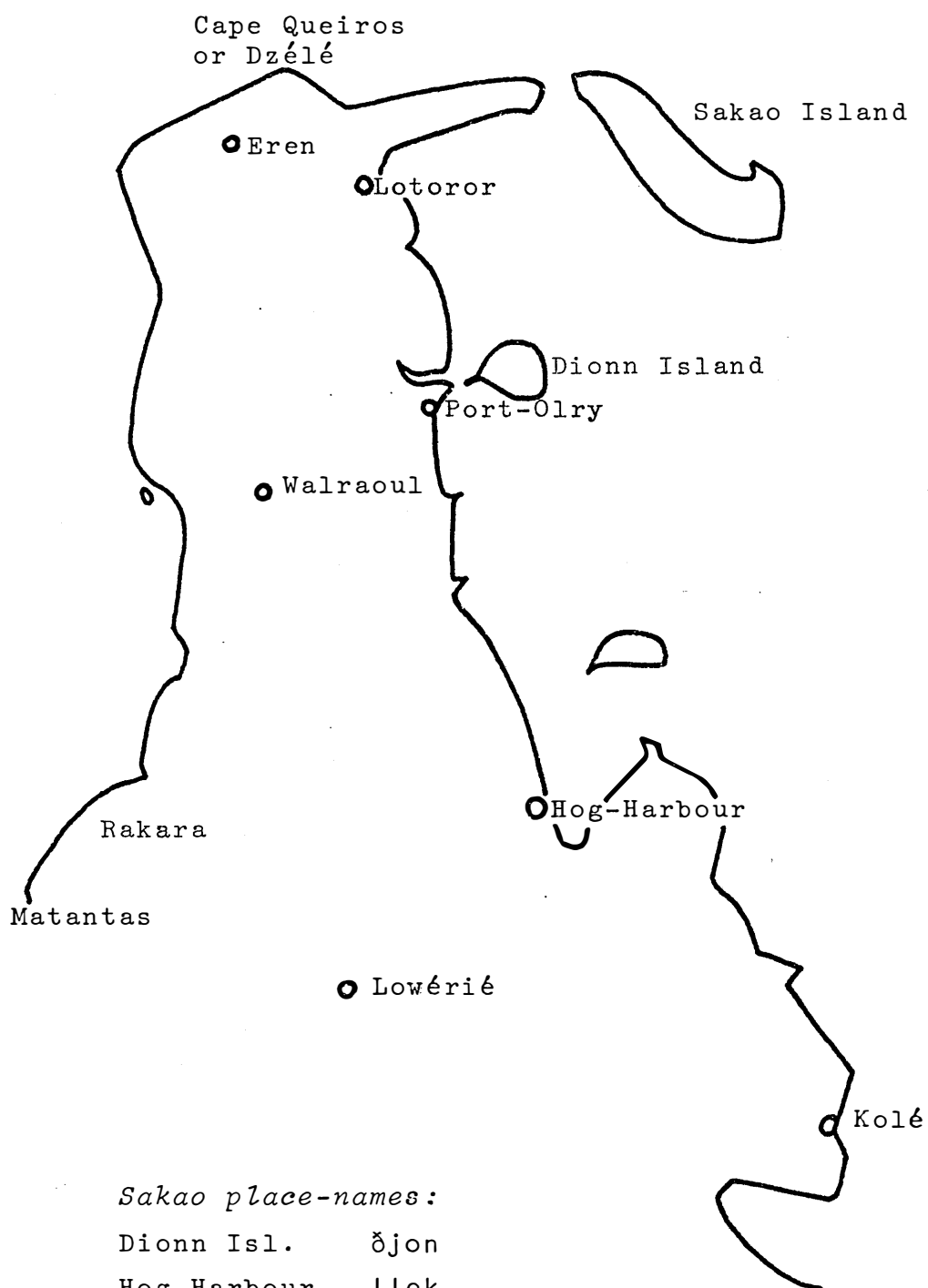
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ESPIRITU SANTO



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

S A K A O



Sakao place-names:

Dionn Isl.	ðjon
Hog-Harbour	llek
Kolé	γælə
Lotoror	lotoror
Lowérié	loworjé
Port-Olry	laðamaβ
Rakara	rajkar
Sakao Isl.	laðhi
Walraoul	lyβjéla-ra-jéla

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

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

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. *p̄*, *m̄b*, *β*, *m̄*.

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, Tolomako¹ and Akei, unphonemicized.

1. Also known as Marina, Big Bay, Tikipi

00 5B. 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.

5C. The fourth section, entitled "Morphology", deals with morphemes and their inflections. Since references to the morphology are made in earlier sections, it is necessary to give here an explanation of the notions underlying that chapter.

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

and inflectional.

Suffixing morphs always occur bound to an immediately following suffix which is either a personal pronominal suffix -- usually denoting possession -- or an ancillary pronominal suffix itself immediately followed by another morpheme¹.

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. æβðæ, æβðy and æβyð 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. ulu-ni-vanua 'head of land' i.e. 'mountain'.

description, construct and suffixing morphs are considered to constitute two separate categories of morphemes; thus æβyð 'head' is said to be a construct morpheme, and æβðy a suffixing one; the form æβðæ is then treated as an allomorph of the suffixing morpheme æβðy, 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. γ am-ré-ra-jan-hoß "they follow it, dragging pigs as they go', where ra 'pig', jan 'to go' and hoß '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. æþyð-amarkar 'heads of children', liki-mar 'near the chimney-stacks'¹.

c) Elsewhere, by a space.

6C. Obligatorily 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, w and j, are normally left out in those environments where they are almost always lost (cf pp. 35-36). E.g. uyð for uwyð '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 available².

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, $\bar{p}$, t, k, mb, $\bar{m}\bar{b}$, nd.

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

Tolomako	Akei	Vao	Sakao	
na βu ^l luku	na βu ^l luku	βu ^l luk ^h	u ^l lyy	my hair
na ^l reku	na pa ^l tuku	mba ^l tuk ^h	æ ^l βðyy	my head
na ^l poe	na ^l poe	^l nambo	nɔβ	pig
na ^l toa	na ^l toa	^l nato	nɔð	fowl

This table is continued on next page

Tolomako	Akei	Vao	Sakao	
na 'yutu	na 'utu	na 'yuth	nøð	louse
na 'toβu	na 'toβu	na 'toβ	æ'ðø	sugar-cane
na βe'tali	na βo'tali	βete	i'ðei	banana
na 'para	na 'para	ne'la	a'βar	spider
na 'oβo	na 'aka	nu'akh	a'ay	canoe

4. To the interlabials of Vao usually correspond Sakao dentals.

Tolomako	Akei	Vao	Sakao	
na ne'neku	na me'meku	mēmekh	æ'nœy	my tongue
na 'natsi	na 'matsi	na 'mas	ε'nes	fish
na ya'tani	na a'pani	yaṁḁan	a'ðen	sail

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

		Lost post-tonic vowel		
		a, e or o	i or u	
Tonic vowel of Tolomako or Akei	a	a	ε	Sakao
	e	ɐ	æ	
	o	ɔ	œ	
	i or u	æ	y	

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:

Tolomako	Sakao	
na tsi ¹ yoku	æsu ¹ ŋæy	my mouth
na tsi ¹ yona	ɔsu ¹ ŋɔn	his mouth
na ¹ tsiyo na ¹ siyo	æ ¹ sæŋ e ¹ hi	the beak of the kingfisher

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

Tolomako	Sakao	
na ¹ taka	a ¹ ðay	banian-tree
na ¹ teru	æ ¹ ðær	post
na ¹ sule	æ ¹ hæɪ	stone
na ¹ natsi	ɛ ¹ nɛs	fish
na ¹ yutu	nøð	louse
na ¹ toa	nɔð	fowl
na a ¹ βua	no	turtle
na ¹ yatsi	nar	black biting ant
na βe ¹ tali	i ¹ ðɛɪ	banana
na yata ¹ tia	a ¹ ðði	moon
na βu ¹ luna	u ¹ læn	his hair

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.

Singular	Tolomako	Sakao
1st person	i 'nau	jæn
2nd	i 'niyo	i
3rd	i 'nie	ni

Plural

1st inclusive	i 'yitse	jør
1st exclusive	i ka'namu	ɣam
2nd	i ka'niu	ɣe
3rd	i 'yire	jør

Dual

1st inclusive	i yitse'rua	jɔ'ro
1st exclusive	i kanamu'rua	ɣam'ru
2nd	i kani'rua	ɣa'ru
3rd	i yire'rua	jɔ'ru

Trial

1st inclusive	i yitse'tolu	jør'ðæɪ
1st exclusive	i kanamu'tolu	ɣam'ðæɪ
2nd	i kani'tolu	ɣðæɪ
3rd	i yire'tolu	jær'ðæɪ

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

others. Those prefixes seem to be more closely related to Vao than to Tolomako. E.g.

Sakao (prefixes)	Realis	Irrealis
1st sg.	am	a
2nd sg.	m	zero
3rd sg.	mV ¹	ɣi
Indefinite	tim	ti
1st incl. pl.	tam	ta
2nd excl. pl.	ɣim	ɣi
others pl.	ɣam	ɣa

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

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

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

0.2.10. Sakao verbal stems may combine to form close-knit verbal strings that may incorporate an object. A suffix, *in*, 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* (*ni* 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 βriiiβ 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 +, 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.

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

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

DIPHTHONGS

ao [aɔ] and œə [œɐ]

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

1. Depending on speakers.

Consonants contrast in the following words:

p	pər	[pər]	to be near it
t	tər	[tər]	to stop it
k	kər	[kər]	that
	ker	[kɛr]	this
β	βərɸ	[βərɸ]	he said it
	βer	[βɛr]	he lies
ð	ðər	[ðər]	there
	ðer	[ðɛr]	here
ɣ	ɣer	[ɣɛr]	to swim
m	mər	[mər]	that
n	nər	[nər]	to urinate
ŋ	ŋər	[ŋər]	to cry
w	wər	[wər]	that one
j	jər	[jər]	we (inclusive)
h	hər	[hər]	to be windy
s	sər	[sər]	to split it
r	rər	[rər]	to simmer
	ró	[ro]	to stay
R	Ró	[Ro]	to rest
l	lɒs	[lɒs]	to cut it

Consonant length:

p	pé	[pe]	it nips him
pp	ppé	[ppe]	short
t	ti	[ti]	to catch it with a snare
tt	tti	[tti]	to accuse him
k	ke	[kɛ]	to hold it
kk	kkes	[k ɛs]	magically powerful
β	βanr	[βanr]	it bears fruit
ββ	ββapr	[ββapr]	it is hairless
ɣ	ɣam	[ɣam]	we (exclusive)
ɣɣ	ɣɣam	[ɣɣam]	to pull it down
ð	ða	[ða]	some
ðð	ðða	[ðða]	pregnant

n	ney	[nɛɣ]	my penis
nn	nney	[nnɛɣ]	for me to drink
w	weð	[wɛð]	this one
ww	wwe	[wwɛ]	to ache

Semi-consonants versus vowels:

j	jeð	[jɛð]	here
i	ieð	[i ^l ɛð]	four
w	wyð	[wyð]	to moisten it
u	uyð	[u ^l yð]	jungle

Vowels and diphthongs:

i	ni	[ni]	he, she, it
é	né	[ne]	axe
e	ne	[nɛ]	a tree (Bichelamar: <i>nakavika</i>)
a	na	[na]	then
y	iyð	[lyð]	to go around it
ǣ	lǣð	[lɔð]	outside
ǽ	lǽð	[læð]	to surpass it
u	βup	[βup]	he castrated it
ó	βóp	[βop]	he strangled him
	βóɣ	[βoɣ]	it is white
o	βoɣ	[βɔɣ]	also
ɒ	βɒɣ	[βɒɣ]	Mr. Owl
i	hi	[hi]	who?
y	hy	[hy]	to blow on it
u	hu	[hu]	to tilt it
é	né	[ne]	axe
ǣ	nǣ	[nǣ]	a tree (Bichelamar: <i>naus</i>)
ó	nó	[no]	turtle
e	neð	[nɛð]	dead
æ	næð	[næð]	thus
o	noð	[nɔð]	fowl

a	nar	[nar]	fence
ɒ	nɒr	[nɒr]	to urinate
i	hin	[hin]	because
	ɣitiɾyp	[ɣiti ¹ ɾyp]	he will look at it
y	hyn	[hyn]	pull it!
	ɣityɾyp	[ɣity ¹ ɾyp]	he might swallow it
æ	mææp	[mæ ¹ sæp]	it cracked
ao	masaop	[ma ¹ saɔp]	he guessed
é	ky-sép	[¹ ky ¹ søp]	steal it!
æ	jil-sæp	[¹ jil ¹ sæp]	kill him!
a	nessar	[nɛ ¹ ssar]	broken
ɒ	mæsɒrp	[mæ ¹ sɒrp]	he split it
o	mosorp	[mɔ ¹ sɒrp]	it barked

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. manaryɾp [mana¹ɾyɾp] '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 voiceless lamino-alveolar fricative trill.

7. Prepalatals. The prepalatals t , δ , and n are apico-dental. Intervocally, a short δ may optionally be realized as a flap instead of a fricative.

8. Postpalatals. The articulation of the postpalatals k , γ , and η 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 , γ is realized as a stop instead of a fricative. E.g. $ene\gamma ly$ [$\epsilon ne^l g ly$] 'afternoon', $\beta \acute{e} \gamma ria$ [$\beta e gri^l a$] 'when he stood up'. In such environments γ still contrasts with k ; e.g. $ene\gamma ly$ [$\epsilon ne^l g ly$] 'afternoon' versus $esekley$ [$\epsilon se^l k ley$] '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. $pp \acute{e}$ 'short' is, in men's speech, [ppe], and in women's and young male children's speech [$p(e)^l pe$]; whereas rru 'both' is realized by all as [$r(u)^l ru$]

10. Stressed vowels. Under stress, vowels are cardinal, except γ which is retracted, less rounded, i.e. [$\gamma^{\leftarrow}$]

The vowel i , when under primary stress, is realized in the same way as γ , i.e. [$\gamma^{\leftarrow}$]

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^hhi] 'kingfisher', jeha [jɛ^hha] 'west', oβu [o^hβu] 'hole', ora [o^hra] 'sow'.

The vowel *i* 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 Y is high, but unspecified for fronting or backing, rounding or unrounding.
- c) The morphovowel O is rounded, back, but unspecified for height.
- d) The morphovowel E is mid, front, but unspecified for rounding or unrounding.
- e) The morphovowel I 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)

	Environments	\$	Examples
1	--ji	i	\$jil is ijil 'killing'
2	--wu	u	\$wup is uwup 'having castrated it'.
3	--Cɪ		disregard Cɪ. E.g. treat \$ in \$βɪŋan as if it were in the environment --ŋan, which yields aβɪŋan 'its branch'
4	--a	a	\$aɣ is aaɣ 'canoe'
5	--Ca --Cao		
	If is: a) the part- itive infix β		disregard it. E.g. treat \$ in \$βra, the partitive of \$ra i.e. ara 'pig' as if it were in the environment --ra, which yields aβra 'a bit of pork'.
	b) C1/2	a	\$ssaru is assaru 'language'
	c) bilabial followed by C	æ	\$βlayen is æβlayen 'sorcerer'
	d) CC	e	\$rja is erja 'standing up'

This table is continued on next page

Environments		\$	Examples
6	--C followed by a front rounded vowel, ɐ or a diphthong	æ	\$ssy is æssy 'hut' \$mɔl is æmɔl 'cycad'
7	--C followed by a front unrounded vowel If C is:		
	a) bilabial followed by (C)	æ	\$βé is æβé 'drum' \$we is æwe 'rope'
	b) other	e	\$ken is eken 'ornament' \$hi is ehi 'kingfisher'
8	--C followed by a back rounded vowel	o	\$só is osó 'pawpaw' \$mmu is ommu 'shadow'

1.14.4 Morphovowel Y (rules ordered)

Environments		Y	Examples
1	w--j followed by a front rounded vowel, ɐ or a diphthong	u	wYjæð is wujæð 'to carry it'
2	w--j followed by a front unrounded vowel	i	wYjay is wijay 'to gape'
3	w--j followed by a back rounded vowel	does not occur	
4	--j or j--	i	jYne is jine 'to wait'
5	--w or w--	u	wYryð is wuryð 'to bite it'
6	h--Cl followed by a front rounded vowel, ɐ or a diphthong	y	hYŋæn is hɣŋæn 'to creep up to him'
7	h--Cl followed by a front unrounded vowel	i	hYŋé is hiŋé 'to carry it on the head'

This table is continued on next page

The morphovowel Y (continued)

Environments		Y	Examples
8	h--Cl followed by a back rounded vowel		does not occur
9	other	i	pYlið pilyð "to quarrel"

5. Morphovowel 0 (rules ordered)

Environments		0	Examples
1	--Cy	o	p0kyl is pokyl 'crooked'
	--Ci	o or u	\$m0sik is omosik or omusik 'music', ¹
	--Cu	o or v ²	r0su is rosu 'to sit' n0ru is n0ru 'to mourn'
2	other	o	\$β0sa is oβosa 'lizard'

Notes 1. All cases of foreign borrowings, except, maybe, kusijak 'little finger' (k0sYjak?)

2. 0 is v in some morphemes, o in others.

1.14.6 Morphovowel E (rules ordered)

Environments		E	E Examples
1	--C followed by a front rounded vowel, ɸ or a diphthong	æ	\$mEyæ is æmæyæ 'mist' \$yErɔn is æyærɔn 'its behind'
2	other	e	\$sEkley is esekley 'my nephew'

7 Morphovowel I (rules ordered)

Environments		I	Examples
1	--βj ¹	y	IβJEðin is yβjeðin 'its middle'
2	--C followed by a front unrounded vowel, ɸ or a diphthong	y	Isæn is ysæn <i>a fish species</i> Iβæl is yβæl 'shark' Itjɔt is ytjɔt 'thing'
3	other	i	Irey is irey 'my body' Ihó is ihó 'yam' Iβóy is iβóy <i>a sprite's name</i>

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 Alÿet's treatment of the morphovowel 0 for which he has ɒ 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^hjilp^h] 'he struck it'.
2. Fricatives are voiceless phrase-finally, or preceding a voiceless phone. E.g. moroɣ/ [mo^hrɔx] 'he heard it'.
3. Phrase-finally, r is followed by a weak echo of the preceding vowel. E.g. makar [ma^hkar^a] 'it is red'.
4. The fricative ɸ is apico-interdental.

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

5. The diphthong æɐ 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. *æβræn* 'its nest' for *æβæræn*.
- d) the vowel *o* representing the morphovowel *O* in environment --C followed by *o* or *ó*.

NB. These seem to be influences of Lowérié. E.g. ara (\$ra) 'pig' is nara in Hog-Harbour, and nra in Lowérié; ađalan (\$đalan) 'cloud' is nađalan freely alternating with neđlan in Hog-Harbour and is nđlan in Lowérié.

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

8. The fricative *y* becomes a stop phrase-finally or word-finally following a front, non low vowel. E.g. *đeneŷ* 'my father' is [ðɛ'nɛg], *roy/* 'listen' is [rɔg].

9. The vowels *é*, *é* and *ó*, and, but much more rarely, *y* and *e*, are diphthongized as respectively [eɪ], [øɪ], [oo], [ɣɪ] and [ɛg] when final of a morpheme other than a construct or suffixing one. E.g. *né* 'axe' is [neɪ] instead of [ne], *nó* 'turtle' is [noo] instead of [no].

1.16.10 The trill $\mathfrak{R}$ is replaced by $\mathfrak{r}$. *This is a feature of so many idiolects that $\mathfrak{R}$ will probably have disappeared in Sakao as a phoneme distinct from $\mathfrak{r}$ within a decade or so. The trill $\mathfrak{R}$ has already been replaced by $\mathfrak{r}$ everywhere word-finally, where it is still attested in Hog-Harbour. E.g. $\mathfrak{j}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{r}$ 'we (inclusive)' is $\mathfrak{j}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{r}$ in Hog-Harbour. An intermediary form $\mathfrak{j}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{r}$ is found in the northern subdialect of Lotoror.*

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

1.17 Vowel harmony

1. The morphovowel $\mathfrak{S}$ 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 $\mathfrak{a}$, $\mathfrak{e}$ or $\mathfrak{ae}$), to $\mathfrak{S}$ totally assimilating to the following vowel. E.g. $\mathfrak{ae}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{d}\mathfrak{y}\mathfrak{y}$ ($\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{d}\mathfrak{y}\mathfrak{y}$) 'my head' may be heard $\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{d}\mathfrak{y}\mathfrak{y}$ or $\mathfrak{y}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{d}\mathfrak{y}\mathfrak{y}$.

2. The morphovowel $\mathfrak{O}$ varies between $\mathfrak{v}$ and $\mathfrak{o}$ in environments $--\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{y}$ or $--\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{u}$. *This divergence is extremely common, and very few speakers indeed will have the same vowel in either of these environments; most will have $\mathfrak{v}$ in some words, $\mathfrak{o}$ in others, but few will have $\mathfrak{v}$ and $\mathfrak{o}$ freely alternating.*

- 1.17.3 The morphovowel I is only sometimes heard as i instead of y. E.g. yβéI 'shark' (IβéI) is but rarely heard as iβéI.

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)

The segment		in environment	becomes	Examples
1	V	--C	VhSV	mǎaha mam 'this shore' for mǎah mam
2	C	--SC	lost	kam malam 'this person came' as ka malam
3	β	--p or p--	lost	jaβwarp βoy 'don't even speak' as jaβwarp oy

Within a word, or a close-knit string of words
(shown herein by intervening hyphens or raised
dots. Cf pp. 6-7)

The segment	in environment	becomes	Examples
r	--n	lost	okur-næð 'shell of a coconut' as oku-næð

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

Probability	Lost segment	In environment	Examples
almost always	j	i--	iar for ijar 'garden'
very often	j	--i	aillp for ajillp 'I'll kill him'
often	j ^l	--e or --é	eekar for ejekar 'crab'
sometimes	j ^l	--a	aa for aja "what?"
almost always	w	u--	uyð for uwyð 'jungle'
very often	w	--u	aup for awup 'I'll castrate it'
often	w ^l	--o or --ó	aos awos 'I'll dream'

This table is continued on next page

Probability	Lost segment	In environment	Examples
very seldom	w ¹	--p	æp -ao for æw ¹ -ao 'rat's tail'
very often	t	C--SC	ttót for títót 'let's cut it'
sometimes	t	any	æsɛæɣ for æstɛæɣ 'my mouth'
often	h	phrase-medially	mæɣæðeri for mæɣæðheri 'he knows it'
sometimes	ð or ɣ	--HS	sæɛpt for sæɛpðt 'cut it off'
very often	r	--jr	jér jrép 'they all' as jé jrép

Note 1. And only word-medially

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

The above optional rules are not ordered relatively to one another, so that several of them may apply recurringly to the same segment or segments. E.g. βé kep for βé ɣkep for βé ɣtkep '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 læβw-r-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 (\$lawa) 'mud', ejenal (\$jEnal) 'hawk', oβosa (\$βOsa) 'lizard', siŋer (sYŋer) 'to be bright'.

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

If that word
is:

construct	a	e	é	æ	ǣ	ɐ	o	ó	i	y	u
suffixing											
a) <i>lower allomorph</i>	a			æ		ɐ	o				
b) <i>other</i>		e	é	æ		ǣ	o	ó	i	y	
other	a	e	é	æ	ǣ		ao	o	ó	i	y u

Note the complementary distribution of the diphthongs æ and ao and the vowels æ and ɐ.

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

a e é æ ǣ ɐ o ó y

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

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

7. Word-finally, one finds single short consonants and clusters of two consonants. E.g. he 'to live', heđ 'bad', hert 'to sing', eđenm 'devil'.

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

9. The trill ʀ 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', ækørkør 'hermit crab', nahalhal 'light', harþorþor 'cowardly', nokonkon 'round', aɣarɣar 'swallow', eherher 'blow-pipe', æhynhyn 'hillock', keðkeð 'afraid', anatnat '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, é, ææ, 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 O, or the morphovowel Y in all environments, i.e. as per the following table:

The vowel or morphovowel	is a homothesis if the following syllable contains:
a	a
o	o, ó, u or Y
u	u or Y
E	e, é, æ, é, ææ, ao or E
I	i, y or Y
O	o, ó or O
Y	any vowel or morphovowel

then, homotheses do not occur word-initially nor between two homorganic stops, fricatives and/or nasals. *There are but a few exceptions to this rule, the most common being the suffixing noun ðana- 'father'.*

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. tim'aβiljal-perer ɒl ye næpæs ɣamsor 'they had not been walking for long and (i.e. when) the dogs barked'; jæn βa najan '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:

	<i>1st person</i>	<i>2nd person</i>	<i>3rd person</i>
<i>Irrealis</i>	nay	nɪɣ	ɣɪ
<i>Realis</i>	nam	nɪm	m

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 unspecified and uninflectable for number, but may become specified, most often at least partially, by an expansion (e.g. a numeral or a determining morpheme itself specified for number. Many morphemes, finally, are unspecified 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 ieð* 'these four pigs'.

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

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

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

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

raðén 'relatives', and determined by an inflected nominal demonstrative: raðén 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 ieð 'these four people'.

2.2 PARTITIVE

Class I nouns other than those starting with \$β or \$p, 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'; oβró '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*); toβró '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 maaβyæðheri wé timhá tetté 'the padre did

not know whether they had run away from something'; jetar mærcæmp βé" aræsp taðænæn ité 'God thought [and] said: "I will make a man"; wé mnarao" symp tænæð ité 'if you are thirsty, drink a coconut'; aȳænp na taja ité? 'what shall I eat now?'; i" ðenem ité meré 'you, you don't have a father¹'; jép æme" akep tara ité hæm 'make the sun shine, and I'll give you a pig'; topel ité ȳiré 'let it not be another one'; aker tosoltja ðiru tihein 'I'll put two soldiers to guard it'; mætørp taðænæn ité meré aja 'he met with a man or something [else]'; tetté βa meré llpð '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*: aȳ móm ton hi njó? 'that boat, maybe who there?' *i.e.* 'who could that be in that boat?' *using remote demonstratives*. *He, on the other hand, might answer*: æhæn" am'aβȳæðheri aȳ pm mβørp 'no, I don't see that boat you said' *using a mediate demonstrative, or*:

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

DEMONSTRATIVE WORDS

		pronouns							
		nominal	deic	clsl	locative	general	persn.	retro.	adject.
present	immediate	mam(†r)	non	nnon	ðað(†r)	wa(r†r)	kamam		ðamam
	mediate	ɔm(†r)	ni	nni	ðɔm(†r)	wɔm(†r)	kam		ðɔm
	remote	móm(†r)	njó	nnjó	ðóð(†r)	ó(r†r)	kamóm		ðomóm
non-present	immediate	með(†r)	næð	nnæð	jeð(†r)	weð(†r)	kameð	okomeð	ðemeð
	mediate	mer(†r) or ker(†r)	nær	nnær	ðer(†r)	wer(†r)	kaker	okomer	ðemer
	remote	mɔr(†r) or kɔr(†r)	nɔr	nnɔr	ðɔr(†r)	wɔr(†r)	kakɔr	okomɔr	ðæmɔr
tacit		krym(†r)	neri	nneri	ðeri(r†r)	weri(r†r)	kakrym	ukkrym	ðemeri
interrogative		me or mé			je				ðemé or ðé

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

hao" aay mam amyæðheri 'yes, I know this boat'
using the immediate demonstrative.

- 2.4.2. Present demonstratives refer to present states of affairs, non-present demonstratives to non-present states of affairs, i.e. future or past. E.g. *a man 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: jæn amkæl enes kité apitjé-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 tißðrin 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 tippe 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?', mðé non? 'what have you been doing now?', wari mam rær miłró 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 *ir* following a consonant, *rir* following a vowel. E.g. *ara mam* 'this pig', *ara mamir* 'these pigs', *ǎǎǎ* 'here', *ǎǎǎir* 'at these places', *wa* 'this one', *warir* '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*), *ǎa* 'some, several' (*indefinite*), *kiǎa* 'some, several' (*definite*) and *ǎé* '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* *βa* 'still that one' ie. 'there is still one left'; *nnon non jæn* [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. *ǎǎǎ* 'there', *ǎǎǎir* 'at those places, around there'.

12. General demonstrative pronouns refer to things, concrete or abstract, or to animals or persons. E.g. *tĩmhyp wa* 'they shot him'; *wa eyeni* '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 yĩtari* '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: jæn ßa najan awwe+n 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: jaßwysp okomer" oyolað* 'don't touch this one, it's a nangalat'.

15. Demonstrative adjectives express manner. E.g. *wor mæðæmør* 'that is like that', *mðé?* 'what are you doing?', *eteðemeð* 'such a thing'.

2.5. NUMERALS

1. Numerals are:

té	'a, one' (<i>indefinite</i>)	ieð	'four'
kité	'a, one' (<i>definite</i>)	lén	'five'
ða	'some' (<i>indefinite</i>)	lén·ara	'six'
kĩða	'some' (<i>definite</i>)	lén·ere·ru	'seven'
ðé	'how many?'	lén·ere·tæl	'eight'
ru	'two'	lén·ere·peð	'nine'
ðæl	'three'		

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: hoβr vl aha!* "wé mʏæð ænæð kité haβyl 'just follow the road, when you see a (definite) coconut-tree, go west'. Whereas wé mʏæð ænæð té haβyl would be absurd, meaning: 'when you see a (indefinite, i.e. any) coconut-tree, go west.'

3. Numerals other than kité, ða, kiða and ðé may be inflected for the distributive provided that they are not regimes, by prefixing taal (probably from té vl 'just one'). E.g. ʏamky aʏt-esilen taalieð '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, té and ða prefixing i, ieð prefixing ð and others prefixing ði. E.g. ité 'one', ðiru 'two', ðieð '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 matakū	mōey	my eyes
na natana	na matana	mōan	his eyes
na natatsa	na mataka	mōar	our eyes

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

Vowel alternance occurs as shown in the following table:

Final vowel of lower allomorph	Final vowel (other)	Examples
a	e	mōey my eyes mōan his eyes
ɒ	æ	æðœy my faeces ɒðɒn his faeces
o	æ	ærlēy my throat orlon his throat
æ	y	æryy my teeth æræn his teeth

Except in the case of a few suffixing morphemes ending with o, which do not show vowel alternance, all suffixing morphemes which end with a, ɒ, o or æ 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. æræ- 'teeth'.

In a few suffixing morphemes, vowel alternance

extends to the penultimate syllable. E.g.

ðeney 'my father', ðanan 'his father', lĩkyɣ
'near me', lækæn 'near him'.

2.7 CONSTRUCT MORPHEMES

1. Construct morphemes comprise construct nouns, prepositions and pronouns, and most of them end with a consonant. E.g. ark= 'trunk', nœl= 'hair, feathers of', æβɣð= 'head of', asask= 'flesh of'. Those which end with a vowel are identical with the corresponding suffixing morphemes. E.g. ænæ= 'tongue', *suffixing*: ænɒ-; 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 rru 'two persons' and rki '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', oró 'water', æβlayen 'sorcerer', ehi 'kingfisher'.

b) Class Ib contains nouns other than kinship terms, starting, when uninflected, with a vowel or morphovowel other than \$. E.g. iðel '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', noð 'fowl', né 'axe', nér·kar 'sacred stones'¹.

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

4. Class III contains kinship terms and a few nouns referring to persons, all starting with a consonant other than n or a cluster other than mð. E.g. mana- '(man's) brother', utie- '(woman's) sister', kət 'boy', ké '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*: æβirey 'part of my body, one side of my body'; ulyy 'my hair', *partitive*: oβulyy 'part of my hair, one of my hairs'.

1. Cf Deacon (1929:467): 'in one hand he carries a club, in the other a basket of sacred stones (thongiurkar)'. I.e. aðan-ær·kar 'nérkar-basket'.

c) Class Ic nouns replace their initial n for \$β. E.g. naβ 'firewood', *partitive*: aβaβ '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; noð 'fowl', *irrealis*: toð.

c) Class II nouns prefix tɪ. E.g. mðoβ 'breadfruit', *irrealis*: tɪmðoβ

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 rɪ. E.g. meney 'my brother', *plural*: rimeney '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. oró-je-* 'sperm' (*literally: 'water of penis'; for the loss of initial i cf p. 55*); non 'sand', *is*

optionally inflected for regime, e.g. lon or lion 'in the sand', where it is regime of the construct preposition l= 'in, at, on'.

When regime, the suffixing noun æβðæ- 'head' takes the form βæðæ- βiðy- : E.g. lohu-βæðæn 'in the space above his head', lohu-βiðyy 'in the space above my head'.

9. Loss of initial \$, n or I

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

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

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

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

3. E.g. hi éð 'which star?' from néð '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:

when preceding:	\$tE is:	Examples:
té kité kkri tiþle		etté 'something' etikté 'a certain thing' ettikri 'small things' ettiþle 'ordinary thing'
móm(ir)	\$tO	otomóm 'that thing'
a vowel	\$t	ætɒm 'that thing'
a morpheme the last syllable of which (disregarding a syllable containing i) contains a	\$ta	atamam 'this thing' atakiða 'certain things'
elsewhere	\$tE	eteheð 'bad things'

Note the idiomatic meaning of \$tEhɒ- as 'garden',
e.g. ætæhæy '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 i), and by prefixing a to other verb stems. E.g. *aujéð* 'pole for carrying loads', from *wujéð* 'to carry it on a pole'; *ayel* 'digging stick' from *yel* '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 *rps* 'to hit it with a missile', *ajél* 'pestle' from *jil* 'to strike it'. The nouns *asjer* 'messenger, servant', *ahor* 'catamite'¹, *aljé* 'lineage' are almost certainly formed in the same way from *sjer* 'to send him', *hor* a verb expressing the reaching of sexual maturity in males, and *ljé* 'to spit it, to lay [an egg]'.
 b) Abstract nouns are formed by prefixing \$ to verb stems. E.g. *æjém* 'work' from *jém* 'to work', *ejerkeð* 'obscene language' from *jerkeð* 'to swear'. Note the extraordinary formation of *elhe-tor* 'eternal life' from *he* 'to live', the adverb *tor* 'always' and the perdurative prefix *l*.

By composition:

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

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

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

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

By the above processes combined:

E.g. aró-tin 'can-opener' from ró 'to open it' and etin 'can, tin'; ason-γor-ulé- 'shoes' from son 'to slip it [on]', γor 'to conceal it, to block it', and ulé- 'feet'; nar-sæŋ-pere 'long-beaked nar' from nar a fish species, æsæŋ= '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:

jel	north
ys	south
jeha	west
jehu	east
tyl	above
jeðan	below
jer	right
jenar	left
jettær	far
jeðe	in the end
manó	to-day
manpór	yesterday
mantælaen	the other day
lakren	to-morrow
onay	the day after to-morrow
wætæn	three days hence
hinjer	soon, or recently (less than a day away)
hinjóm	d ^o (less than a generation away)
mæraen	before, long ago
matjer	in the remote past

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

2.9.3. Proper pronouns are proper names such as alɣet, sæk, hallɣ (men's names), kǎ-βriβ,, armæhær (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 æsæk 'mosquito', βɔɣ from æβɔɣ 'owl', nao 'rat', ejeð 'stone'; tælpys 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 ɣitalmæærɛŋ? 'who will go first?'. Cf also 3.5.5.

5. Locative proper pronouns are place-names. E.g. kanal 'Luganville', jækkyɪ 'Yakoul'.

6. Iterative pronouns are derived from numerals by the prefixation of ða 'time'. E.g. ðaru 'twice', ðaieð '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. menney '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 minɣ instead of manay. E.g. manan 'his [something to eat]', mene-ra 'the pigs' [food]'.

c) mæhp-, mæhæ= which refers to other possessions. E.g. mæhæɣ njó 'that's mine', mæhæ-ryr 'white men's'. Cf also 3.5.1.

2.9.8. Ordinal pronouns are:

tu	the second one
tæɫ	the third one
iet	the fourth one
kæɫəɲ	the fifth one
kora	the sixth one
koru	the seventh one
retæɫ	the eighth one
repeð	the ninth one
sayyɫ	the tenth one

E.g. βέ γitép kora 'when it reaches the sixth [day]', hyr ðóð njó kora mɪlró læn 'for there the sixth [guard] stays in it'.

9. Personal pronouns are:

	Sing.	Plur.	Dual	Trial
1st pers. inc.		jɔr	joró	jɔr·ðæɫ
1st pers. exc.	jæn	ɣam	ɣamru	ɣamðæɫ
2nd pers.	i	yé	ɣɪru	ɣðæɫ
3rd pers.	ni	jær	joru	jær·ðæɫ

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

	Sing.	Plur.	Dual	Trial
1st pers. inc.		r	ró	rðæɫ
1st pers. exc.	ɣ	ɣam	ɣamru	ɣamðæɫ
2nd pers.	m	yé	ɣɪru	ɣðæɫ
3rd pers.	n	ɲær	ɲoru	ɲær·ðæɫ

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', *æβðyŋær* 'their heads', *mðeyðæl* 'your eyes', *æræn* 'his teeth'.

2.10.2. The ancillary pronominal suffix *n* 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 enen æryr* 'the boat of a white man' with *aay ene-ryr* 'white man's boat', so that its expansions hardly ever refer to animals or objects, unless these are designated by a pronoun or are especially set apart from others. E.g. *asaskyn ara mam* 'the flesh of this pig (not of that one)'.

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. yamðæl lén 'the five of us', *aay enenær·ðæl ieð* '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 *læ-*, *construct* *l=* 'in, at, on, to from' denotes general location in space or in time. E.g. *amryrp l_iar* 'I come from the garden'¹, *mīlró l_yβjæ_i* 'he stays in the nakamal', *lehié mōr* '(in) that year', *tīmtinét l_yn té* 'they start [counting] from one'.

Its construct form fuses with the nouns *æl_nð* 'ground', *olom* 'house', *æn_nð=* 'eye, opening, cutting edge', *æn_nt=* 'underside', and *anal_o-ðe* 'surf', to give, through the loss of the initial vowel and the lengthening of the following consonant: *ll_nð*, *llom*, *nn_nð=*, *nn_nt=*, *nnal_o-ðe*.

b) The preposition *lækæ-* (*liky-*), *construct* *liki=* 'near', which denotes spatial proximity. E.g. *mereyp likyn æβtōr* 'he cried at æβtōr's place', *γaβysp nām eheð liki-wakær* 'they had been whoring' (literally: 'they had done bad work near women'), *majan lækæn* 'he went to his place'.

2. Benefactive/possessive prepositions may denote either benefaction or possession. E.g. *akep tara ité hæm* 'I will take a pig for you' i.e. 'I'll give you a pig'; *ara hæm* 'your pig'.

There are three benefactive/possessive prepositions, which are:

a) *na*-², *ne=* which refer to edibles. When it has for regime the 1st person singular pronominal suffix, it takes the form *nī_n* instead of *nay*. E.g. *taβra ité nī_n* '[give]me a bit of pork', *γamkelam osó ne-ra* 'they bring pawpaws for the pigs'; *tīmkæ 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. toþró ité nney '[give] me some water'; ænæð nnem 'your coconut [for drinking]'.

c) hɒ-, h=, a general benefactive/possessive preposition referring to the cases not covered by the other benefactive or possessive prepositions. E.g. compare kep tara ité hæm 'take a pig for you' and kep tara ité nam '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 hæm, hæ- is a benefactive preposition, whereas in ænæð nnem nne- is a possessive preposition, i.e. 'your coconut'.

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

a) ia- (no construct form) is used for shadows or vomit. E.g. ommu ian 'his shadow', olu iey 'my vomit'.

b) βa- (no construct form) is used for smells. E.g. wé yineð timmihyp æβæn 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. aðænæn nen loworjé 'people of Lowerié'; aðænæn nan '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 hɒn 'his walking-stick' (a young man's); æryr eney 'my clothes' (which I am wearing now),

æryr hæy '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. æwyl anan 'its wheel', æplan anan ða mormor 'several of its boards were rotten'; wari anar 'our penises' (*literally: our husbands. But 'our husbands' in the proper sense is raari¹ hør*).

Some body parts, however, require the general possessive preposition hɔ-, .h=. Such are essi 'breasts' and viscera, which, being attached to the rest of the body by only a few veins and sinews are possibly regarded as less intimately connected to it than other parts. E.g. essi hɔn 'her breasts', æpekar hɔn 'its liver', okon hæy '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. æmɔn 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. aðæŋæn enen loworjé 'people of Lowerie'.

2.11.4. Directional preposition. There is but one directional preposition, denoting movement to or from something or someone. Its uses are very limited and it does not seem to be any longer capable of new constructions. Cf pp 93,

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

96 and 99. Thus *ejeðu karoγ* 'the sweat off my face' formed after *ælpð kuléγ* 'the dirt off my feet' was rejected by informants. The suffixing form *kæ-* 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:

	Singular			Plural			Indefinite
	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd	
Irrealis	a	∅	γi	ta	γi	γa	ti
Realis	am	m	m\$	tam	γim	γam	tim

Morphophonemic changes:

a) Preceding a bilabial, the m of the realis prefixes am, tam, γim, γam 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 verb¹, it is lengthened. E.g. apót 'I'll break it' from am + pót, βwe 'it aches' from m\$ + wwe, aβwɾp 'I said it' from am + wɾp, γaββor-nes 'they spear fish' from γam + 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. mæɪ 'you go south' from m + mæɪ.

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. mɪrɪe 'he sent him' from m\$ + rɪe, mɪrja 'he stood up' from m\$ + rja, mɪllam 'he keeps coming' from m\$ + perdurative

1.. Cf p.76

prefix + lam, mĩlssaru 'he keeps speaking' from m\$ + perdurative prefix + ssaru. But mejrewē 'he plants yams' from m\$ + jrewē.

d) The vowel *i* of the irrealis prefixes becomes *ɛ* 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. tejrewē 'let's plant yams' from t*i* + jrewē, tjan 'let's go' from t*i* + jan; but: *ɣ*ĩlam 'let him come' from *ɣ*i + lam, *ɣ*ĩwwe 'it will ache' from *ɣ*i + wwe.

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. tĩmjan '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-*ɣ*eni mamĩr βárβár-re*ɣ*re*ɣ* 'these leaves are [lit.: is] extremely large'.

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

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

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

2. Realis and irrealis.

The irrealis mode is used:

a) in temporal verbal phrases referring to the past or the present (cf 3.2.2 p.91). E.g. βέ γιτari 'when he went in'.

b) in themes¹ expressing contrary-to-fact conditions or circumstances. E.g. wé etemeð γιlró 'if there had been such a thing'; wé tjaβroy-sælp aanen jetar 'if they had not disobeyed the word of God'.

c) in rhemes² referring to the future or to a contrary-to-fact present or past. E.g. hinjer γipór 'soon it will be night', wé tjaβroy-sælp aanen jetar γilró læhøn βoyβoy '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. yé γjan γihyp ó 'you go [and] shoot that one', lam likyy 'come to me!', aβton γitoγ '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. wé mroy ehi kité 'when you hear a kingfisher', æβyη-eren ðilón·ara wé meset 'when six days have elapsed' i.e. 'after six days'.

b) with quotative verbs, irrespectively of the mode that the meaning would require. E.g. wé eteðemeð γilró tyl laðði æmerika γamewørp γaβé '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 tæneð 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 yineð'' tim'aβðér
 '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.

amewɔrp '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 ðað'' æneð yit^{er}er 'don't sit here,
 coconuts might fall', wa malakar non'' yit^yhyp
 té lær '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. maapé 'it is not full' from m\$ + jaβ
 + pé; m'amép? 'didn't you ask about it?' from
 m\$ + jaβ+ máp.

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 *il* to the initial verb, *i* being lost string-initially or following a vowel. *l* is lost preceding another *l*, which is then lengthened, if it is not already long. E.g. *amilró* 'I was staying' from *am* + *il* + *ró*; *amillam* 'I kept coming' from *am* + *il* + *lam*; *amillé* 'I was bathing' from *am* + *il* + *llé*; *alró* 'I will stay' from *a* + *il* + *ró*; *lró* 'you will stay' from $\emptyset$ + *il* + *ró*.

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 *ri* (cf 3.8.1cl p.98), suffixed to the morpheme immediately preceding. E.g. *γαβέτ-νæðp-rilam laðay* '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. *γamrosu-lyð-hoβ-jrép* '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)', amhypp 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', mejerðyypp 'he ran (and stopped)'. With other verbs, the perfective often implies the return to the conditions prior to the action or state, e.g. amhaßylp '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. amrétt ærpk-olkley 'I cut my finger off' as against amrép ærpk-olkley 'I cut my finger'; motótt æßðæn 'she hacked its head off', motópp ulén 'he cut his leg (with an axe)', yamket aay té yamlam 'they took a boat and came', timrytt nar-yßjél 'they built a fence around the nakamal's yard', timjartelt 'they built an enclosure', aay mælyðtt urær 'the boat went around the island (in a closed circle)', as against aay mælyðpp urær 'the boat went around the island (in an open curve)', olom om timrumtt 'that house [which] they had divided into rooms' (rum 'to "room"' from the Bichelamar rum 'a room'), orru om þé yiholdtt-rilam 'when that pygmy came flying in circles', þiléttt 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. *γaβæt-næðp-rjan laðay* 'they plucked coconuts, throwing them to the baskets' (lit.: they pluck it-coconuts-go to baskets'), *amré-βoyβoyp̄in* 'I cut it [off] well'.

6. The verb *kæl* 'to seek' takes the form *kælæ* preceding the perfective suffix *p*. E.g. *amkælæp* '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. *βé γwanr* 'when it bears fruit' as against *βé γwanp* (perfective) 'once it has borne fruit', *mæðv̄lr* 'he was carrying it' as against *mæðv̄lp* (perfective) 'he carried it (and, having carried it, laid it down)', *amhyr enes ru* 'I shot at two birds (and missed)' as against *amhyp enes ru* (perfective) 'I shot two birds (and killed them)'.

8. When a verbal string is inflected for the perfective and the continuative at once, it expresses the continuation of a state resulting from a perfected or interrupted action. E.g. Of the sole, the Sakaos say: *jetar mæyæn̄r* (perfective-continuative) 'God ate it off and let it go'; *amhypr enes ru* 'I shot two birds and left them', *t̄imtteré-γorpr anaðhal* '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. *ɣamherɪ* '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. *amɪam* 'I came'.

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

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

d) The triple participation, i.e. the verbal string has all three participants: subject, object and instrument. E.g. *miɪlpɪn* '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 in-transitive

To determine the transitivity of a given verbal string:

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

Then, (rules ordered)

1. if this part of the string ends with an appellative complement, it is in-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 in-transitive).

4. otherwise, it is intransitive.

b) Then, if a fifth order expansion other than the adverb *jré* 'all' occurs in the whole string, and if the part of the string the transitivity of which has just been determined is transitive or in-transitive, the whole verbal string is *detransitivized*. Otherwise, its transitivity is the same as that of the aforesaid verbal string.

E.g. *γæðheri-βoyβoy* 'know-well': *γæðheri* is transitive, a fifth order expansion other than *jré* occurs (*βoyβoy*), hence *γæðheri-βoyβoy* is *detransitivized*. In *ró-βoyβoy* 'stay-well', *ró* is intransitive, hence *ró-βoyβoy* is intransitive. In *wel-rilam-jré* 'call-come-all', *wel-rilam* is transitive (*wel* is transitive and *rilam*, a directional complement, is to be disregarded); there is a fifth order expansion: the adverb *jré*. Hence the whole verbal string is transitive.

c) Now, verbal strings other than those containing a directional preposition or the directional morpheme *ki* (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. *γæðheri-βoyβoyin* 'to know it well'.

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

If the verbal string is:	uninflected for participation	inflected for participation
<i>in</i> -transitive	does not occur ¹	objective
transitive	objective	triple
detransitivized	subjective	objective
intransitive	subjective	instrumentive

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. *mættæy-sa-nēs* '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. *mæræn-hoß ohe* 'he went all over the village mourning [his wife]', literally: he mourned her - follow it village.

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

1. strictly instrumental. E.g. *miilɪn amas* 'he strikes it with a club'.

2. causal. E.g. *petjatpin akyr-yeni té* 'he stumbled on a root', *kae mejeyarin 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 moróin ðœl* 'God stays of three' i.e. 'God consists of three', *ojó mam mærypin ina* 'this snake sprouted as yams'.

4. locative. E.g. *mosonép-ritariin æððæn oβu* 'it pushed its head in through the hole'
æððæn makarpin oβu '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 *ɾ*.

c) other consonants become long, except *j*, *h* and *ɾ*, 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', βiηæn 'heavy', pere 'long'. Adjectives may, besides functioning as verbs proper (e.g. makar 'it is red', βέ γiβriβ 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 té 'a small pig', γæn-kripin etenar 'eat a little food'.

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

When an expansion and following a consonant, the adjective heð 'bad' takes the form eheð. E.g. nám eheð 'bad work', mβys-eheðpin 'you did it wrongly'.

2. Verbs proper, which may be transitive, in-transitive, or intransitive. E.g. haré 'to reward him', hée 'to run away', sal 'to swing', sjer(in) 'to send him', ŋi(in) '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. majān 'he went', mokoβrép-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
tatær	to go out
tari	to go in
talpær	to return
γe	to go by
γe	to go where?
jée	to go near ¹

1. Rare. Mainly found as member of directional complements, with the tentative directional prefix, to express tentative action. E.g. akæl-γjée '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:

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

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

E.g. *timjel-tytp-risu* 'they jumped down one at a time', *té-ryr* 'hold it firmly', *γamtæl-sæß ara ɒm* 'they tread that pig to death', *mæky-sép* 'he stole it' (lit: he took it stealthily), *γamkæə-sé aari* 'they cooked whilst waiting for the men', *alam-hyr-metrin* '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
mæn	thousand

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

γæ té	ten
γæ ru	twenty
γæ ðæ	thirty
γæ ieð	forty
γæ áén	fifty
γæ áén·ara	sixty
γæ áén·ere·ru	seventy
γæ áén·ere·tæ	eighty
γæ áén·ere·peð	ninety

E.g. aðæŋæn γamyγæ|té 'ten persons'.

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

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

d) The negative verb *ré* 'not to be', which occurs always in the third person singular. E.g. *taðæn ité meré* 'there wasn't anyone', *noß γiré* 'ere pl tikyn '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. *mæγyn hi?* 'what is his name?', *mæγyn ser* 'his name was Ser', *aasém mæγyn hi?* 'your name is called who?' i.e. 'what is your name?', *aaséγ mæγyn 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. *ðnnðnl* from *ðnl* 'to carry it'. If the consonant to be thus repeated is long, it becomes short. E.g. *tæætæγ* 'to track it assiduously and/or at length', from *tæγ* 'to track it'; *timγææγæn βé γihær timjan timjes* 'they ate it at length [and] when it was finished they went for a walk'; *mílró ton ehié ðæl meré ieð* 'mílróóóró' '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', koþkoþré 'to throw things repeatedly' from koþré 'to throw it'; mʏæð aðænæn ʏamillyelyel 'you see people busy digging and digging', joru tiþé tinnsnpsr joru 'when they are in love with each other', ʏamillhoþhoþ jær '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', pórþór 'it is becoming dark' as against þór 'it is night'.

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

3. Verbs are derived from free nouns

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

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

c) by replacing the initial n of class Ic nouns by j. E.g. jém 'to work' from néem 'work', joþ 'to kill pigs' from noþ '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.

Transitive		Intransitive	
ȳæn	to eat it	ȳen	to eat
ȳæl	to dig it	ȳel	to dig
ȳæt	to sting him	jerȳet	to itch
kæð	to insult him	jerkeð	to swear
tør	to prevent him	jertar	to put a taboo
ȳon	to be bitter to him	jeryon	bitter
sé	to cure him	se	to cure
lyȳ	to transfer it	jelyȳ ¹	to commute

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

Intransitive		Causative (transitive)	
ȳen	to eat	jæȳæn	to feed him
nøð	to wake up	jenað	to wake him up

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-jrépin wpmir '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
nottur	exactly, properly

(This inventory is probably exhaustive)

E.g. ni tikyn mlró 'he stayed alone', té tikyn 'only one', irey jrép þwe 'my whole body aches', jér jrép yamlam 'they all came', ðanan nottur 'his father (not an uncle)'.

2.23 ADJECTIVOIDS

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
tɪβle	plain, ordinary

(This inventory is probably not exhaustive)

E.g. aðæŋæn pel té 'a different person', æhy tɪβle 'ordinary rifle'.

2.24 NOMINALIZED ADJECTIVES & NOMINALIZED ADJECTIVOIDS

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', utɪβle 'ordinary one(s)' from tɪβle 'ordinary'.

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

2.25 PARTICIPLES

Participles are substantive-like free morphemes formed by prefixing *o* (or, optionally, *u* when the following syllable contains a high vowel) to verbal strings uninflected for person and the realis or the irrealis. E.g. *oræsp* *vi* *jør* *miltiry-hoß* *jør* 'He who made us keeps looking after us', *olγæn-sæ* *iðel* *niŋ* 'the ones who kept stealing (lit: eating stealthily) my bananas', *olrópr* *lurær* *γamilha* '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. *γamnɔs æγæn* *uræn* 'they liked to eat lobster', *mγæðheri æmæ-γjæpin* 'you can try and ask him about it', *amsækɔl eneð-saylé* '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 *rißyl* covers the meanings of the English 'again, anew'. E.g. *eðenm móm* *mohoß rißyl* *joru* 'that devil followed them again';

opolɣaβ mæhær ɣe æsæl riβyl 'the opolghav dance is finished and [it is] the flute again', jæn asyr-hop riβyl orru pel té 'I will tell again another pygmy [-story]'.
 .

- 2.27.2. The modal particle *ɒl* expresses the idea that the referent of the phrase occurs or participates in an event on its own, as distinct from others. It is translatable by the English 'just, only'. E.g. *ða ɣam'il ere ɒl* 'some kill only intersex pigs', *motoɣ ɒl* 'it does nothing but rain', *aljé ɒl" aljé ɒl* 'each lineage separately' (lit: lineage on its own, lineage on its own).

In a derived sense, *ɒl* often expresses the speaker's genuine or feigned unconcern (like in English "just"). E.g. *ettɪβle" ajan ɒl* *ajað* 'who cares (lit: ordinary thing), I'll just go and get killed'.

3. The modal particle *rær* has an adversative meaning. E.g. *mæɣæð rær aakær sere kité* 'he saw instead [of what he was looking for] a nubile girl', *nél·sys rær* 'falling stars, on the other hand...'.
 .

4. The modal particle *na* expresses the idea of newness: new action, new participants, new circumstances &c. E.g. *jɒr·ðæl na tɪðemé?* 'what shall we do now?', *aari na té tɪkyn* *mɪlró* 'and there was only one man'.

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

6. The modal particle βa covers the same meanings as the English 'still, yet' (adversative excepted). E.g. $maa\beta h\ddot{e}r\ \beta a$ '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. $hao''\ j\ddot{a}n\ \beta a$ 'all right, me now' i.e. 'it's my turn now'.

7. The modal particle le expresses certainty or resolve. E.g. $mer\acute{e}\ \beta a''\ yor\ le\ \ddot{a}t\ddot{o}m$ 'not yet, do stop that thing [the tape-recorder]'.
 8. The modal particle βyn expresses uncertainty or irresolution. E.g. $j\ddot{a}n\ \beta yn\ atari-p\ddot{o}rp\ i?$ 'may I go inside with you?'.

9. The modal particle pe denotes a correction or a more likely alternative. E.g. $ora\ mer\acute{e}''\ ere\ pe$ 'it is not a sow, but an intersex pig'; $ser\ \beta\acute{e}\ j\ddot{o}r\ taryr''\ \ddot{o}j\ddot{o}n\ pe$ '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 ¹made it'.
- f) a gerund. E.g. eke-rki '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. hæγ 'for me'.
- c) a locative pronoun. E.g. ðað 'here', kanal 'in Luganville'.
- d) an iterative pronoun. E.g. ðaté 'once'.
- e) a noun in the irrealis, denoting place or time. E.g. tæhɒn '[some] place'.
- f) mæhæn¹ immediately followed by a gerund. E.g. mæhæn æγæn 'in order to eat it'.

1. I.e. the possessive pronoun mæhɒ- 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', γamyæð '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'; γamstat æjém '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 wé 'to say' immediately preceding.

If the temporal verbal phrase refers to the past or the present, the quotative verb wé is inflected for the realis and the same person¹ as that of the verbal phrase it introduces, which is itself inflected for the irrealis. E.g. aβé ajan 'when I go' or 'when I went'.

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

1. Individual variation: in some speakers' idiolects, the quotative verb wé 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 βérβér 'big pigs', ara tɪβle 'plain, ordinary pigs'. This adjective may itself take an expansion consisting of another adjective. E.g. apu βérβér-ðm 'headdresses big like that'.

b) a second order expansion consisting of a possessive preposition. E.g. wakær 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 tyl 'above' (meaning in this case the Sakao plateau), jeha 'west' (meaning in this case Big Bay). E.g. rki tyl '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 kri βóγ 'the small pig [which] is white' or ara wóγ mikri 'the white pig [which] is small' or ara wóγ ukri '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. ælþð kulé- 'the dirt off the feet' and ænþð 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. ðeney 'my father', mðar 'our eyes'.

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

1. a noun. E.g. ðenen amarkar 'the father of the child'.

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

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

4. a nominalized adjective or adjectivoid. E.g. olæn uþriþ mþr 'the tail of that big one'.

5. a participle. E.g. walðyn oræsp jþr 'the son of Him who made us'.

5. Construct nouns are obligatorily immediately followed by a regime consisting of a noun. E.g. æþyð-amarkar 'children's heads', ærþk-olkla- '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 adjectivoid. E.g. eteðemeð 'such a thing', ettiβle 'ordinary thing'. The enclitic noun may in this case take a second order expansion consisting of a possessive preposition. E.g. ettiβle hən 'his ordinary things' *i.e. belt, ammunition and tobacco pouches, and pipe*.
- b) one of the numerals té 'a, one', kité 'a certain', ða 'some, several', kiða 'certain'. E.g. etikté 'a certain thing'.
- c) a nominal demonstrative. E.g. atamamir '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. ɪyɣ 'in me'.
- b) the ancillary pronominal suffix, itself immediately followed by an expansion consisting of one of the following:

1. a noun. E.g. raðæn hən aakær 'the relatives of the woman'.

2. a pronoun other than a personal pronoun or a possessive pronoun. E.g. æhy hən ó 'the rifle of that one'.

3. a numeral other than a definite one. E.g. æhy hən té 'someone's rifle'.

4. a nominalized adjective or adjectivoid.

E.g. nan ukkri mörir 'food for those little ones'.

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

6. if the preposition is a possessive one, a locative pronoun¹. E.g. æþt-wari enen mæraen '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. læjæm '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 iilp '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 usi 'very'. E.g. matjer usi '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 *mæræn* '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. *mæræn usi* 'long ago', *mæræn kæn* 'before it, previously'.

c) The locative pronoun *lakren* 'to-morrow' may take an expansion consisting of the directional preposition *kæ-* with the third person singular pronominal suffix for regime, ie. *lakren kæn* '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"¹ for regime, thus forming the names of five of the six "chimney-stacks" built to the south of the *nakamal* for the ritual of *Vuriar* (*æβyrjɔr*) and *Vuriaru* (*æβyrjɔr-ru* or *eðenm-æβyrjɔr*)². E.g. *tu kamar* 'second chimney-stack'.

c) Alternatively, the ordinal pronoun *sayyl* '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. *sayyl kæyælté* 'tenth',

1. Cf Deacon (1929:467)

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

(same meaning as saɣyl), saɣyl kæɣælru 'twentieth' &c until saɣyl keter 'hundredth'. saɣyl kæmæn 'thousandth' is unused.

4. Proper pronouns denoting persons may take an expansion consisting of the particle ɣiru 'and companions'. E.g. kusiak ɣiru '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 ɣiru 'and companions'. E.g. hi ɣiru? '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 aðæŋæn? 'which person?', hi éð? 'which star?'.

3.6 NUMERALS

The numeral té 'one, someone' may take an expansion consisting of a possessive preposition. E.g. té enen tyl '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. γ amtæ|-sæß 'they tread it to death', amté-ryr-usirín '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. mættæy-sa-nes 'he starts birds' (lit: he tracks it fly off birds).

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

1. a free noun, unexpanded, uninflected. E.g. mættæy-sa-nes 'he starts birds'.

2. a suffixing noun with a personal pronominal suffix for regime, the suffixing noun being uninflected. E.g. γ amtte-olklenærpr '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 $r\dot{i}$ ¹ prefixed to

¹. The vowel $\dot{i}$ is lost preceding a semi-consonant, or when the prefix $r\dot{i}$ 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-rlam 'hand it over' (lit: take it - come).
- the directional preposition kœ- or k=. E.g. meke-rkyn eseþyr '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 γi^1 prefixed to a directional verb, unexpanded. This prefix denotes tentative movement. E.g. meyer- γi hatær '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 subject². E.g. meke- γ er-lam 'he took it [he] swam [he] came', i.e. 'swimming across, he brought it'; γ am-ré-ra-jan-hoß '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. mænpr-tor 'he cries all the time'.

2. an adjective. E.g. alam-hyr-me|in '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. mæyæðheri-βoyβoy-usiin 'he knows it very well', mæyæðheri-βoyβoy-reyreyin 'he knows it extremely well'.
| |

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

4. the locative pronoun mæraen 'before'. E.g. am'aβyæð-mæraenin 'I had not seen it before'.

5. the expression hæen 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-hæen mahapin 'he said it without knowing what he was talking about'.

6. the suffixing preposition *hə-* with the ancillary pronominal suffix for regime, followed by an ordinal pronoun, denoting the number of times an action has happened. E.g. *βé γjəhə-hən tɒpɪn* 'when she gave birth for the second time'.

- 3.8. 2. Alternatively, instead of the above expansions, the verbs *ssyl* 'to insult him', *wɒr* 'to say it', *wel* 'to call it', when string-initial, may take an expansion consisting of a noun, itself expandable. Such an expansion is an appellative complement. E.g. *i messyl-anatopɪn γam* 'you insulted us, calling us *analo*'¹, *ða γaβel-riðjəŋərin* "ða γaβel-riðenənərin '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 *kə-* or *k=* without the directional prefix *ri*. E.g. *jæk-kyɪ ahaɪ* 'show me the road'.

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

rottəpɒr 'to be near it' from *ró* 'to stay' and *pɒr* 'to be near it'.

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

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

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',
hæ·su 'to dive', hæ-sa 'to come to the surface',
from kæl 'to seek it', hæ '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 translatable by 'nowadays'. E.g. aðæŋæn enen manó ker 'people of nowadays'.

3. the nominal demonstrative með 'this' if the phrase ends with the locative pronoun mæcæŋ 'before'. E.g. mæcæŋ með 'here in the past'.

b) a second order expansion consisting of the modal particle $r\beta y l$ '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 νl 'just, only'.

d) a fourth order expansion consisting of the modal particle $r\alpha r$ 'but'.

e) a fifth order expansion consisting of the modal particle $\beta o y$ 'too, also'.

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

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

h) an eighth order expansion consisting of the modal particle $l e$ 'certainly' or of the modal particle $\beta y n$ '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.
 $\alpha s \alpha l - \nu t - y \alpha r$ $h \alpha n \alpha \beta \nu t - w a r i e n e n m \alpha r \alpha \eta$ $t \acute{e}$ '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. $j \acute{e} r \cdot \delta \alpha l \nu l$ $l \acute{o} n$ '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. $w \alpha m \nu l r u$ '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. assar 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. assar enen æβɔt-wari enen mærcəŋ jrép '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. jér jrép 'all of them'. When the adnomen determines a numeral, it is shifted to second order position, immediately after that numeral. E.g. té tikyn vl '[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. nér·kar mam vl 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. *ðóð* 'there' carries sufficient information only as an answer to a question or as an "afterthought" to a major sentence. The phrase *ðóð* could be developed *ad infinitum* and still not convey any independent information. E.g. *ðóð lyβjél hæn aatyr ʊm ni rki tyl ða mærcæŋ ɣamhy-ɣælɾ ðóð læmnan βé ɣĩŋor lopór/* 'there in the nakamal of that chief whom some men-bush long ago shot and missed, there on his bed when he was sleeping at night'.

1. A minor sentence consists of either a completive nominal phrase or a temporal verbal phrase. E.g. *ðóð* 'there', *βé ɣĩŋor* '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. *eɣeni té njó* 'that's a tree', *mɣe?* '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.

SYNTACTIC PROCESSES

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 ɔm] [ɣamɲor][læn] 'the house where they slept', literally: [that house][they slept][in it], the predicate [ɣamɲor] supplementing the phrase [olom ɔm] through its complementation [læn] 'in it'. Or: [rki][ussym-ró] 'people who drink liquor', literally: [people][those who drink liquor] the participle [ussym-ró] 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][ɣamssym-ró] 'people are drinking liquor' literally: [people][they drink liquor]; [jæn][am'aβɣæðheri] 'I don't know', literally: [I][I don't know it].

2. a predicate. E.g. [æβɣð-amarkar][βesi] [meyər][ðɔr] 'that is why children are disobedient', literally: [children's heads][it is hard][it goes][there], where the predicate [βesi] supplements the subject of [meyər], and has its own subject supplemented by [æβɣð-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. [wɔm][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. [maaβɣæðheri] 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 *ȳæðheri* 'to know it', *nps* 'to like/love/want it', or *sækp* 'to dislike it', a gerund. E.g. [jæn][amsækp][eneð-saylé] 'I don't want to die young', literally: [I][I dislike it][dying early]; [té][bé ȳnps][æȳæn] [té] 'when someone wants to eat one', literally: [one][when he wants it][eating][one]; [amyæðheri] [æwys] '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. [miilpín][né nm] 'he killed him with that axe', literally: [he killed him with it][that axe]; [tiβaha-ȳorín] [aron][æryr wóȳ] '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. [miłrosu-ðamam non][i] 'he was sitting like you are', literally: [he was sitting - like this][you]; [mβys-ðemeripín][aβør-rkym]? 'did you touch him as I told you to?', literally: [you touched - like that him][I said it to you]?

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

4.3. 2. THE SUPPLEMENTATIONS OF NOMINAL PHRASES

A nominal phrase other than a gerund or a participle¹ may take:

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

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

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

2. a stative verbal phrase other than quotative, provided that either one of its participants or one of its complementations bears an anaphoric relationship with the nominal phrase being supplemented. E.g. [æβɔt-wari ɔm][manpór][malamp][mæɣyn][nɔru] 'that oldster who came yesterday has name Noru', literally: [that oldster][yesterday][he came][he has name][Noru]; [aðæŋɔn ɔm][timhyp][mæɣyn][ɲɔr] 'the name of the man who was shot is Ngor', literally: [that man][they shot him][he has name][Ngor]; [amas með][tim'ilin][æβyrjɔr][eyeni tiβle ɔl] 'the club with which the pigs of the Vuriar ritual are killed is but a plain stick', literally: [this club][they kill it with it][Vuriar][just plain wood]; [eseβyr ɔm][timkep][ara té][hɔn] 'the sorcerer to whom they gave a pig', literally: [that sorcerer][they took it][a pig][for him]; [olom ɔm][moŋor][lɔn] 'the house where he sleeps', literally: [that house][he sleeps][in it]; [eyeni][timtteré-ɣorin][ahal]

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

3. one of the locative pronouns *mei* 'north',
mys 'south', *maha* 'west', *mohu* 'east', *mityl*
'above', *maðan* 'below'. E.g. [æryr][*mei*]
'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. [æplan ðamam 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 *wom*, a predicate or a
temporal verbal phrase. The pronoun *wom* then
takes the meaning of 'when, as'. E.g. [*wom ni*]
[*tamhiñé-ryr-nøtturin*] '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* [*wom ni*][*tiþé tjetilé*] '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 completive 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. [tót][tænæð ité][nney] 'cut a coconut for me to drink', literally: [cut it off][coconut][for me to drink]; [mīlrosur][lyβjél høn] 'he was sitting in his nakamal', literally: [he was sitting][in his nakamal]; [mīilp][ðaru] 'he struck it twice', literally: [he struck it][twice]; ton [majan] [tæhøn] 'he might have gone somewhere', literally: maybe [he went][place]; [mryrp][je]? 'where do you come from?', literally: [you had remained][where]?

b) temporal verbal phrases. E.g. [tiheɪn][wé mɲor][lopór] '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. [mīlró][ehié ðæl] 'he stayed three years', literally: [he stayed][three years]; [amjaljal] [ekilometa ru] 'I walked for two kilometers', literally: [I walked][two kilometers].

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

e) a stative nominal phrase consisting of the demonstrative pronoun wɔm supplemented by a predicate or a temporal verbal phrase. E.g. [tiheɪn][wɔm ni][wé mɲor] '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 ɔm té][mæɾæŋ] [mesɪŋé] 'that sorcerer long ago was wrong', literally: [that sorcerer][long ago][he was wrong]; [ara té][ðóð][mæŋɔrŋɔr] 'a pig there is grunting', literally: [a pig][there][he grunts].
- b) a temporal verbal phrase. E.g. [ara ɔm][mβé jeltæɾ][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][hɔn] 'he has a pig', literally: [a pig][for him].
- d) a comparative complementation (cf 4.4.1d p.114). E.g. [ere-ɣeni βærβær][βé iðeɪ] '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 ðaté 'once' may precede

the phrase it complements, in which case it takes the meaning of 'almost, nearly'. E.g. [ðaté][arér] 'I nearly fell'; [ðaté][ehié ru] 'almost two years'.

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

1. it occurs in a subtheme. E.g. wé [hæn té] [opɪluk 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. [amyæðheri] wé [hæn][opɪluk 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. [hæy][wɒm] 'let me have that one', 'may I have that one!', literally: [for me][that one].

c) a short complementation may occur between a phrase and its supplementations if these are very lengthy. E.g. [meke-jan][ðóðð][æhy ɒm] [timhypɪn][ó] 'he took the rifle with which that one was shot to that place', not: meke-jan æhy ɒm timhypɪn ó ðóðð.

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

4.5. THE COMPLEMENTATIONS AND SUPPLEMENTATIONS OF GERUNDS AND PARTICIPLES

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

4.6. ADJUNCTION

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

1. The adjunct *ton* is dubitative and precedes phrases or sentences. E.g. [mɪlró][ðað] ton [ehié ðæɪ] '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. [aðæŋæn 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. [ɣwóp][ni] hyr [wari hɒn] '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 hɪn 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 [ys] '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][βé γikkɔβu] ye [aakær] ye [γamtta] 'And when he dances, then the women subsequently hail him'; [aari] [βé γitari][lyβjéi][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 [tita][ðɔr] 'And maybe we should stop here'; hyr ye [ðað ɔl][timhyp] 'because then it's here that they shot him'; hyr ton [βé [wa][wé mæhy-γælr][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 by 'because of it', and meré denotes doubt. E.g. meke-rkæn ara té hyr/ 'he gave him a pig for it'; ton γamkara-torpin æhy γamraréyin 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. [ɣamðæɪ][tʃan] [tʃkæɪ][naɣamðæɪ] '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. [mæɾæsp][noð]" [æsy·kar]"[ara]/ 'he made fowls, æsy·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. esɪlen taalieð" taalru" taalðæɪ/ '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.*

æhæn 'no'

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

ɣe 'come on!' *an invitation to action.*

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

ssæ 'fie!' (*scorn*)

taβé 'maybe' (*indifference or irresolution*)

e or o , *two unstressed particles occurring only at the end of phonological phrases, the former drawing attention to a point of the question or statement preceding, the latter*

*having a mild exclamatory overtone. E.g. hyr
æhy-kar e/ 'because of the wars, you know';
βriβ o/ 'really big!'; tjaβwar o/ 'Good-bye!'
(literally: 'Let's not speak!')*

APPENDIX

EXPRESSING NUMBERS ABOVE TEN

It has been seen that numbers from one to nine are expressed by numerals, and ten and multiples and powers of ten by numeral verbs. Intermediate numbers (*e.g. eleven, twenty-five, a hundred and two &c*) are expressed in divers 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. *aðæŋæn ɣamɣælté ɣaβan ru* 'twelve persons' (*literally: 'they are ten and bear fruit, two*). Units may be left unspecified. E.g. *ɣamɣælté ɣaβan βa* 'more than ten' (*literally: 'they are ten and still bear fruit'*).

Multiples of one hundred and one thousand are expressed by the numeral verbs *ter* 'hundred' and *mæn* 'thousand' complemented by an iterative pronoun. E.g. *meter ðaðæɪ* 'three hundred', *ɣamæn ðaru* 'they are two thousand'. When lower powers of ten are to be expressed, the use of an iterative pronoun complementing *ter* or *mæn* becomes obligatory, even for one hundred or one thousand, and those lower powers of ten follow, introduced by the expression *oβron mæhyn* 'its ear pulls it (?)'. E.g. *mæn ðaté" oβron mæhyn" meter ðalæn·ere·peð" oβron mæhyn" mæɣælæn·ara βan læn·ere·peð* 'one thousand nine hundred and sixty-nine'.

INDIVIDUAL VARIATIONS

1. The verb *wan* always occurs in the third person singular realis. E.g. *aðæŋæn ɣamɣælté βan ru* 'twelve persons'.
 2. Numeral verbs occur in the third person singular instead of the third person plural. E.g. *aðæŋæn mæɣælté βan ru* 'twelve persons'.
 3. The expression *oβron mæhyn* is replaced by the adjunct *ɣe* 'and'. E.g. *mæn ðaru ɣe meter ðaðæɪ* 'two thousand three hundred'.
 3. Numeral verbs are used as adjectives, E.g. *aðæŋæn ɣælté* 'ten persons'. Units may even be expressed, introduced by *βan*. E.g. *aðæŋæn ɣælté βan ru* 'twelve people'.
 4. Nouns, unexpandable, are formed from numeral verbs by prefixing *\$*. E.g. *kep æɣælté* 'take ten'.
-

PARSING OF THE SAMPLE TEXT

1.	æsæl·rru	compound free noun	half-spoken, half-sung tale
2.	té	numeral, determines n°1 æsæl·rru	a, one
3.	æmþr·jes	compound free noun	young, un- married man
4.	té	cf n°1; determines n°3 æmþr·jes	a, one
5.	mækyp	3rd pers. sg. realis perfective of ky	he took it
6.	ǣða	free noun	bow
7.	alð=	construct noun	child of
8.	aða	cf n°6; regime of alð=	bow
9.	hþ-	lower allomorph of suffixing preposition hþ-	of (general possession)
10.	n	3rd pers. sg. pronominal suffix	him
11.	masaŋær	3rd pers. sg. realis of saŋær	he went down
12.	l=	construct locative preposition	in, on, at
13.	eðe	free noun, regime of n°11 l=	sea
14.	moisson	3rd pers. sg. realis tensed of son	he shoots it
15.	nes	free noun, included object of n°14 son	fish (enes)

16.	hoβ	4th order expansion of n°14 son	he follows it
17.	eðe	free noun	sea
18.	mælys	3rd pers. sg. realis of lys	he walks along it
19.	eðe	free noun	sea
20.	majan	3rd pers. sg. realis of jan	he goes
21.	majan	idem	he goes
22.	mæræðp	3rd pers. sg. realis perfective of ræð	he climbed it
23.	eɣeni	free noun	tree
24.	kité	definite numeral, determines n°23 eɣeni	a certain
25.	eɣeni	cf n°23	tree
26.	með	non-present, immediate nominal demonstrative, determines n°25 eɣeni	this
27.	tɪβwɾɪn	indefinite realis of wɾɪ inflected for par- ticipation (triple)	one says it by it
28.	æβælyt	free noun	bourao
29.	h=	construct possessive preposition, expands n°28 æβælyt	of
30.	æβe·kar	compound free noun, regime of n°29 h=	"red-chin"
31.	mæræðp	cf n°22	he climbed it
32.	mekersa	3rd pers. sg. realis of kersa	he goes up

33.	mílró	3rd pers. sg. realis perdurative of ró	he kept staying
34.	læ-	suffixing locative preposition, lower allomorph	in, at, on
35.	n	cf n°10; regime of n°35 læ-	it
36.	mílkælsu	3rd pers. sg. realis perdurative of kælsu	he kept look- ing down
37.	nnør	non-present remote clausal demonstrative pronoun	then
38.	mæȳæð	3rd pers. sg. realis of ȳæð	he sees it
39.	æwør=	construct noun	small of
40.	nalo-hal	compound free noun regime of n°39 æwør=	fish species (analo-hal)
41.	té	numeral, determines n°39 æwør=	a, one
42.	æwør=	cf n°39	small of
43.	nalo-hal	cf n°40	fish species
44.	með	cf n°26, determines n°39 æwør=	this
45.	malam	3rd pers. sg. realis of lam	it comes
46.	malam	idem	it comes
47.	þé	3rd pers. sg. realis of the quotative verb wé, introduces n°48 ȳílam	when

48.	γilam	3rd pers. sg. irrealis of lam	it comes
49.	ðɔr	non-present remote locative pronoun	there
50.	l=	cf n°12	in, at, on
51.	ata-	suffixing noun, lower allomorph, regime of n°50 l=	beneath
52.	n	cf n°10	him
53.	βé	cf n°47, introduces n°54 γisonp	when
54.	γisonp	3rd pers. sg. irrealis perfective of son	he shot it
55.	nnɔr	cf n°37	then
56.	meke-	3rd pers. sg. realis of ke	he takes it
57.	kersa	4th order expansion of n°56 ke	he goes up
58.	mekesɪŋer	3rd pers. sg. realis continuative of kesɪŋe	he puts it on
59.	l=	cf n°12	in, at, on
60.	æβyr=	construct noun, regime of n°59 l=	top of
61.	ejeð	free noun, regime of n°60 æβyr=	stone
62.	té	numeral, determines n°61 ejeð	a, one
63.	ðɔr	cf n°49	there
64.	l=	cf n°12	in, at, on
65.	ion	free noun, regime of n°64 l=, inflected for regime	sand (non)

66.	meker	3rd pers. sg. realis continuative 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.	mætys	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.	mækææækæl 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.	γjæpr	tentative directional complement, introduced by γ and consisting of the directional verb jé inflected for the perfective and the continuative	trying to come near it and quitting before completion

TEXT IN HOG-HARBOUR

WITH LITERAL EQUIVALENT IN PORT-OLRY

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

Hog-Harbour

læβyŋ-pór té" naðæŋæn nan
lohe té ɣaβɔr-hoβ ɣaβé"
jér takersa laðalan/
jér taket terien ppere té"
taposr" tatété-hoβ Jér
takersa/ ɣamkep nerien té"
ɣaposr/ té marjerh" opel
mjelt-risa marjer
læðɔl-βarke nan/ ɣe opel
té mkersa" marjer lyn/
ɣe opel té mkersa marjerh/
ɣamilhoβ-ðemeðin mkersa
mjan" oró ilɔθ ttær mrox"
rki ɣaββiŋæn/ mjaaajan"
naðæŋæn oró ilɔθ ttær mRer^e/
bé grer^e" Jér jrép ɣamRerph/
ɣamkar-jeljel" té mRer-myl"
té mRer-hu" té mRer-haβyl"
té mRer-hatær^æ/ Jér βoy
ɣam'aβɣæðɣæð Jér^æ/ nnɔr^ə"
bé ɣiðemeθ" ys mkep nwar pel"
jehu. mkep nwar pel" jel mkep
nwar pel" jeha mkep nwar pel/
mɔryŋ nwar té tikyn"
mjaaajan Jér ɣaβé ɣarer-
ðemeθ" nnɔr na nwar βorye/

Port-Olry

læβyŋ-pór té" aðæŋæn nen
ohe té ɣaβɔr-hoβ ɣaβé"
jɔr takersa laðalan/
jɔr taket tereŋ.kar pere té"
taposr" taté-hoβ jɔr
takersa/ ɣamkep ereŋ.kar té
ɣaposr/ té marjer" opel
té mejelt-risa marjer
læðɔl-βarke anan/ ɣe opel
té mekersa" marjer læn/
ɣe opel té mekersa marjer/
ɣamilhoβ-ðemeðin Jér mekersa
majan" oró ilɔð ttær moroy"
rki ɣaβiŋæn/ majaaajan"
naðæŋæn oró ilɔð ttær meRer/
bé ɣiRer" Jér jrép ɣamRerp/
ɣamkar-jeljel" té meRer-mæl"
té meRer-hu" té meRer-haβyl"
té meRer-hatær/ Jér βoy
ɣam'aβɣæðɣæð Jér/ nnɔr"
bé ɣiðemeð" ys mekep assaru
pel" jehu mekep assaru pel"
jel mekep' assaru pel" jeha
mekep assaru pel/ mææŋ
assaru té tikyn" majaaajan
Jér ɣaβé ɣarer-ðemeð" nnɔr
na assaru βorye/

TRANSLATION (text phonemicized)

l= æβyŋ-pór té" naðæŋæn nan l= ohe té
on evening a, persons of in village a
 γαβɔr - hoβ γαβέ" jær takersa
they say - follow it they say: "We we shall go up
 l=aðalan/ jær taket terien ppere té"
to clouds. We shall take bamboo long a,
 taposR" tatété -hoβ
we shall plant it, we shall hold each other -follow
 jær takersa/ γamkep nerien té"
it us we shall go up. They took it bamboo a,
 γaposR té marjer opel mjelt-risa
they planted it. One stood, other one jumped up
 marjer l=æðɔl-βarke nan/ γe opel té
he stood on shoulders his. And other one a
 mkersa marjer ly-n/ γe opel té
he went up he stood on him. And other one a
 mkersa marjer/ γamilhoβ - ðemeðin
he went up he stood. They followed it like this
 mkersa mjan" oró llɔð
it went up it went, the one who stayed on ground
 ttær mroy" rki γαββinæn/ mjaaajan
extreme he felt it, people were heavy. It went on
 naðæŋæn oró llɔð ttær
and on person he who stayed on ground extreme
 mRer/ βé γRer" jær jrép γamRerp/
he fell. When he fell, they all they fell.
 γamkar - jaljel" té mRer - myl"
They flew jumped all about, one he fell went south,
 té mRer - hu" té mRer - haβyl" té
one he fell went east, one he fell went west, one

mRer - hatær/ jér boy gam'aβγῶδγῶδ
he fell went north. They even did not see one
 jér/ nnør" βé γiðemeð"
another them. Then, when it was like this,
 ys mkep nwar pel"
in the south he took it language different,
 jehu mkep nwar pel"
in the east he took it language different, in
 jel mkep nwar pel" jeha
the north he took it language different, in the
 mkep nwar pel/ mōryg
west he took it language different. Before
 nwar té tikyn" mjaaajan jér
language one only, it went on and on they
 γαβέ γarer - ðemeð" nnør na nwar
when they fell like this, then then languages
 βorye/
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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