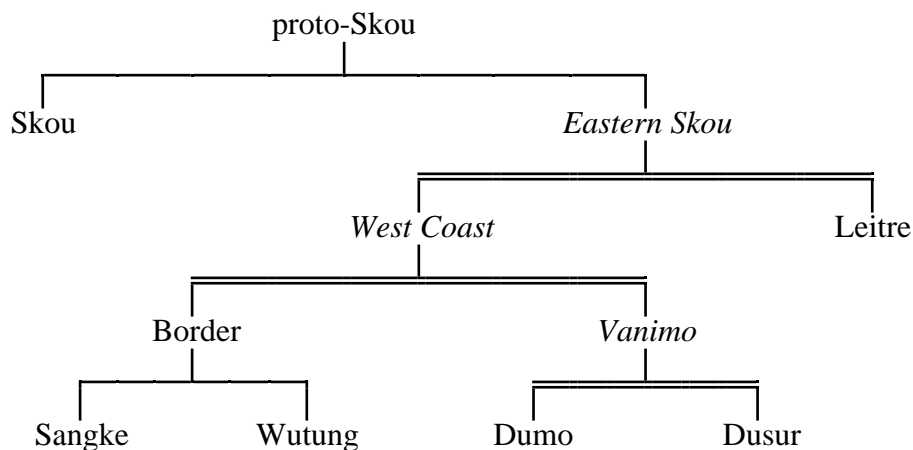


Skou extras

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Figure 1. The Skou family



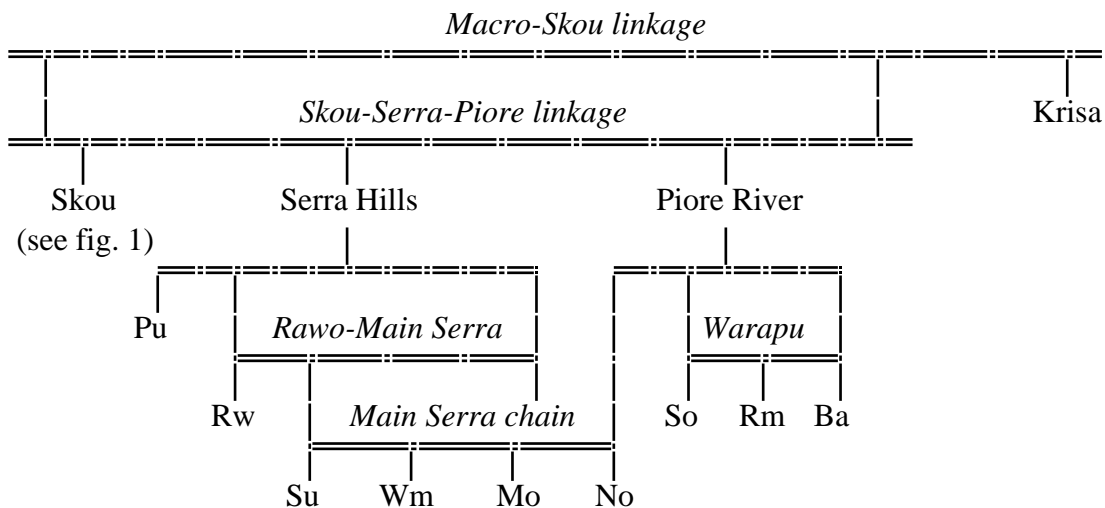
Map 3. The Skou languages



Table 4. Some phonological changes in languages of the Skou family

	Skou	Eastern Skou				Leitre
		West Coast		Dumo	Dusur	
		Border				
	Sangke	Wutung				
*t	r	t	t	t	t	t
*ʈ	ʈ	u / i	u / i	u / i	u / i	u / i
*q ^w	p	tʃ	tʃ	d	d	b
*j	t	t	t	d	d	s
*tʰ	r	hl	hl	t	t	t
*f	f	f	f	ϕ	p	p

Figure 2. The Macro-Skou family



Ross (1980) presented a sketch of the Dumo language, which represents in many ways a subset of the grammatical patterns found in Skou. From a Dumo perspective, the salient differences between it and Skou involve the lack of consonant clusters in Skou, the differences in segmental phonologies, and the case marking system in Skou. The elaborations of multiple agreement found in Skou are not a feature of Dumo, nor is the gender system.

Table 10. Skou and Dumo compared

	Skou	Dumo	Comments
1. Stops	p b t j k	b t d ʔ	Dumo lacks palatal or velar stops; Skou lacks alveolar voicing
2. Fricatives	f h	ɸ s	Skou lacks an s; Dumo lacks the glottal fricative ¹
3. Sonorants	r l	l	Skou has added r
4. Syllable pitches	high, low, fall	high, low, fall	identical, with identical tone sandhi (though see 2.xx.xx)
5. Lexical clusters	none	pɪ bɪ mɪ ʔ	Skou lacks clusters
6. Case	ergative, instrumental	none	Dumo lacks case
7. Agreement	clitic, prefix, vowel	prefix, (vowel)	Skou has more elaborate agreement
8. Classification	2 genders and 2 classes	2 classes	Skou shows a more elaborate system
9. Word order	SOV OBL	SOV OBL	identical
10. Valency change	applicatives	none	Dumo has lost the applicatives

Foley's 'benchmarks' for contrast between Austronesian languages in New Guinea and the non-Austronesian languages of the area.

¹ Ross lists /h/ as a phoneme of Dumo, whereas it is in fact found in Dusur, not Dumo, which has a /ʔ/ corresponding to the Dusur /h/.

Table 5. Phonology

		Austronesian	Papuan
1	Vowels	5 vowels	5 vowels + ə; (also 7-vowel; front rounded)
2	Places	P - T - K (~C)	P - T - (C/s) - K
3	Manner	P B; B =±MB	no pattern
4	Fricatives	f v - s - ʋ	fricatives equate to stops: p/ɸ/β; t/r/l; k/g/ɣ few pure fricatives; often just s
5	Liquids	r l	r = l
6	Syllables	(C)V	C(C) V C
7	Stress	'	stress phonemic, unpredictable,
8	Tone	~(tone)	or tone present

Of the five assessable phonological features, Skou scores two each with Papuan languages and Austronesian languages. We shall now examine Skou in terms of morphological properties.

Table 6. Morphology

		Austronesian	Papuan
1	type	close to isolating	agglutinative
2	inflection	little inflectional morph	strong inflectional categories, often fused with TAM
3	derivation	suffix applicatives prefix causatives reduplicate for intransitive	usually SVCs; derivational morphology usually suffixal
4	nominal categories	no number or gender on nouns	usually no number or gender on nouns
5	case	no case, word order strict	case by suffix/enclitic; ACC = DAT, ERG = INSTR or LOC
6	verbal agr	s=V=o	o=V=s, V=o=s, V=s=o
7	TAM	s=TAM=V	V-TAM, or SVCs
8	categoriality	precategoryality rife	strict root category

Morphologically, Skou scores five points with Austronesian and two with Papuan, out of seven assessable features.

Additional features from other authors (Haiman 1980, Reesink 1987) that are commonly used to describe Papuan languages can also be included. These features involve:

		Austronesian?	Papuan
1	numerals	no	based on body parts
2	classification	no	based on existential verbs
3	pronouns	no	reflect <i>na ka [y]a</i> for 1 2 3SG
4	verbal types	no	prevalence of light verbs

Skou is neither convincingly Austronesian nor convincingly 'Papuan'.

Table 7. Syntax

		Austronesian	Papuan
1	phrase	left-headed	right headed
2	clause	SVO	SOV (usually allow OSV)
3	PP	PREP N	N POST
4	DP	DET N	no DET
5	modifiers	N ADJ, N RC	ADJ N, also N ADJ
6	sentence	S CONJ S	S S; S-SWITCH S

Table 11. Lexical materials on Skou over five decades: an short sample

	Cowan, Galis 1937, 1955	Voorhoeve 1971	Moxness 1985	Kalmbacher 1985	Donohue 1998+
'head'	-	ró be	xĩó bí / hĩó bí	'kĩbí	rəbí
'bird'	tân	tãã ~ tana	tã:	tã:	tã
'wing'	fâ	-	fã:	ɸã:	fã
'man'	teba-lên	ba, kébanè	baʔ / ba'le	ba / bale	ba'le
'coconut'	hâh	-	-	-	hã
'stone'	wung	wũ	wũ / wuŋ	wu:	wũ
'rain'	fuh	ifo	fu~ / ɸũ / ɸo	ɸo	fu
'sun'	râh	rãã	rã:	rã:	rã
'fire'	(g)râh	ra	-	-	ra
'canoe'	tàng	-	-	-	tã
'arrow'	tâ	-	-	-	ta
'black'	-	nəmbi	lãmbi	'lambi	lãfi
'two'	hintung	hĩto	hĩtũ	hĩtũ	hĩtũ

(99) *Theo Hans ke=ká=ko, ke=moe ti pá.*
 Theo Hans 3SG.NF=hit=OBV 3SG.NF=return 3SG.NF.go house
 'Theo hit Hans, and then he_(Hans) went home.'

(99) *Theo Hans ke=ká=pa, ke=moe ti pá.*
 Theo Hans 3SG.NF=hit=INSTR 3SG.NF=return 3SG.NF.go house
 'Theo hit Hans, and then he_(Theo) went home.'

Map 2. The Skou villages and other geographic features west of the Tami River

