



Universiteit  
Leiden  
The Netherlands

## A grammar of Cheke Holo

Boswell, F.A.

### Citation

Boswell, F. A. (2018, November 21). *A grammar of Cheke Holo*. LOT dissertation series. LOT, Utrecht. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/67082>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/67082>

**Note:** To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/67082> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

**Author:** Boswell, F.A.

**Title:** A grammar of Cheke Holo

**Issue Date:** 2018-11-21

# **A Grammar of Cheke Holo**

Published by

LOT

Trans 10

3512 JK Utrecht

The Netherlands

Phone: +31 30 253 6111

Email: [lot@uu.nl](mailto:lot@uu.nl)

<http://www.lotschool.nl>

ISBN: 978-94-6093-303-5

NUR 616

Copyright © 2018: Fredrick Boswell. All rights reserved.

# **A Grammar of Cheke Holo**

## **Proefschrift**

ter verkrijging van

de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,

op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof.mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker

volgens besluit van het

College voor Promoties

te verdedigen op woensdag 21 november 2018

klokke 13.45 uur

door

Fredrick Alvin Boswell

geboren te Macon

in 1958

**Promotores**

Prof.dr. M.A.F. Klamer

Prof.dr. L.J. de Vries (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)

**Promotiecommissie**

Prof.dr. M.G. Kossman

Dr. E.H. van Lier (Universiteit van Amsterdam)

Prof.dr. M.P.G.M. Mous

Prof.dr. C.J.W. Zwart (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen)

To Rev. Andrew Piaso

Anglican priest

translator *extraordinaire*

mentor, friend







## Acknowledgements

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to many people for their technical help and varying levels and types of encouragement. I notice that most authors seem to leave a mention of family to the end, as if to perhaps save the best for last. Instead, I would like to “front for emphasis” my acknowledgement first to my wife Bekah, sons John and David, and daughter Kathryn. I fondly remember the years we lived together among the Cheke Holo people as some of the best years of our lives. Upon leaving residence, your encouragement to me to take up and complete this grammatical description is a treasure beyond measure. *Teḡio fara!* I would certainly be remiss if I also didn't mention in the family section my close friends in Nareabu village who supported us, taught us their language and culture and patiently endured this American family throughout most of the 1990s. I especially want to acknowledge the late Fr Ezekiel Leguvaka and his wife the late Rosanna Leguvaka, Selwyn Fihu, Mastus Lithu, and of course, Fr Andrew Piaso. There are many others in Nareabu and on Santa Isabel island who have contributed, and the list grows long very quickly. Professor David Ringer is a “friend closer than a brother”, and I also mention him in this family section. His decades-long support to pursue God's calling is immeasurable.

David Bosma has constantly enriched me with his insights into the technical aspects of the language, his collected data, and his reflections on language use and community life. All of this was gathered over several years of preceding me among the Cheke Holo. The house in Nareabu which he built and which I inherited, the channels he opened for providing an office, and the networks of relationships he established are also gratefully acknowledged.

Geoffrey White figures prominently into this book. I am quite confident that this work would not have been possible without him, due to his indispensable spearheading of the publication of the Cheke Holo dictionary effort, and his groundbreaking analysis of Cheke Holo anthropology. Even though we have only personally met once, I feel like I have spent innumerable days with him! Geoffrey, I stand on your shoulders. The same can be said for Bill Palmer. I remain quite grateful for Bill's groundbreaking work on a neighboring language.

A number of linguist colleagues in Dallas and elsewhere have provided various kinds of significant help. Though I am somewhat fearful that I will miss someone's excellent contribution, I venture to mention the following with appreciation: John Watters, Peter Wang, Tammi Bramlett, Ralph Hill, Paul Frank, Gary Simons, Steve Echerd, Rene van den Berg, Thomas Payne, Paul Kroeger, Mary Ruth Wise, Mike Cahill, Ken Olson, Pete Unseth, Michael Boutin, Peggy Connett, Max Cobbey, Jan Crowell, Ken Zook, Susanna Imrie, Kirby O'Brien, David Bendor-Samuel, Oran West, Don Johnson, and Marshall Schultz. David Alexander Ross has stood with me through thick and thin, constantly moving me forward with his prayerful support. Michael Cochran and the SIL Language Software Development team provided the

FieldWorks software which has been my constant companion in my data analysis. Thank you! What a gift.

There have been many individuals and organizations which have supported me in this work for over three decades. Thank you.

Finally, I extend my appreciation to my academic degree promoter Dr Marian Klamer of Universiteit Leiden and my co-promoter, Dr Lourens de Vries of Vrije Universiteit. You have been with me on a long journey! Your keen insights, energetic contributions, and impressively quick turnaround on submitted materials in the midst of very heavy teaching and work loads to make this book a reality are gifts beyond words. You have encouraged me to persevere on this marathon, and strive for success. You have believed in me. Thank you. I also wish to acknowledge with deep appreciation the members of my doctoral committee, Prof.dr. M.P.G.M. Mous (secretary), Prof.dr. Maarten Kossman, Dr. Eva van Lier, and Prof.dr. Jan-Wouter Zwart.

While I am grateful to many, I note that all errors and shortcomings remain my own.

*Soli Deo Gloria.*

## Table of Contents

1	Introduction to the language.....	1
1.1	Introduction .....	1
1.2	Basic overview of the language setting .....	1
1.3	Background research and methodological approach .....	4
1.4	Notes on the socio-cultural aspects of the CH people .....	6
1.4.1	The impact of the Anglican church.....	6
1.4.2	Sources of livelihood .....	7
1.4.3	Clans and origins .....	7
1.4.4	Land ownership .....	7
1.5	Language use and viability.....	7
1.5.1	Contexts of use and language choice .....	7
1.5.2	Multilingualism and language attitudes .....	7
1.5.3	Viability.....	8
1.5.4	Loan words .....	9
1.6	Previous linguistic investigations of Cheke Holo.....	9
1.7	Investigative materials on other Isabel languages .....	11
1.8	Summary of this grammatical description.....	11
2	Phonology .....	15
2.1	Introduction .....	15
2.2	Phoneme charts .....	15
2.3	Description of the contrastive features of phonemes.....	17
2.3.1	Consonants.....	17
2.3.2	Vowels.....	23
2.4	Allophony.....	24
2.4.1	Phoneme /r/.....	24
2.4.2	Vowel realized as glide: /i/ -> [j] .....	25
2.4.3	Vowel realized as glide: /u/ -> [w] .....	25
2.5	Syllable patterns .....	25
2.6	Consonant clusters.....	28
2.7	Vowel sequences .....	32
2.8	Glide formation .....	34
2.9	Stress .....	35
2.9.1	Stress in underived root words.....	35
2.9.2	Stress in morphologically complex words.....	36
2.10	Argumentation for the presence of clitics.....	37
2.11	Phonological considerations in nominalization .....	40
2.12	Reduplication.....	43
2.12.1	Full reduplication .....	45
2.12.2	Partial, or “White’s rule” reduplication .....	46
2.12.3	Syllable reduplication .....	47
2.13	Orthographic conventions.....	50
2.13.1	Orthography of this book and its history.....	50
2.13.2	Bosma’s suggested revised orthography .....	51
2.13.3	Affirmation of historical representation.....	54

2.13.4	A further revision? .....	54
2.14	Summary .....	54
3	Nominals .....	57
3.1	Introduction .....	57
3.2	Nouns .....	57
3.2.1	Semantic and morphosyntactic classification .....	57
3.2.2	Morphosyntactic criteria to distinguish nouns .....	59
3.2.3	Alienable and inalienable nouns .....	61
3.2.4	Common nouns that refer to people.....	62
3.2.5	Proper nouns .....	68
3.2.6	Kinship nouns .....	74
3.2.7	Compound nouns .....	85
3.2.8	Count and mass nouns .....	88
3.2.9	Borrowed nouns.....	89
3.2.10	Temporal nouns .....	91
3.2.11	Directionals .....	92
3.3	Pronouns.....	95
3.3.1	General information.....	95
3.3.2	Singular pronouns .....	95
3.3.3	Non-singular pronouns .....	97
3.3.4	Emphatic and reflexive pronouns .....	99
3.3.5	The expression of reciprocity .....	101
3.3.6	Indefinite pronouns .....	101
3.3.7	Demonstrative pronouns .....	102
3.4	Summary .....	103
4	Verbs.....	105
4.1	Introduction .....	105
4.2	Structural features .....	106
4.2.1	Reduplication.....	106
4.2.2	Direct object marking enclitics .....	106
4.2.3	Causative <i>fa-</i> .....	106
4.2.4	Completive aspect marking enclitics <i>hi</i> and <i>hila</i> .....	110
4.2.5	Continuative aspect marking enclitic <i>u</i> .....	111
4.2.6	Verb classes .....	112
4.2.7	Ambitransitive verbs.....	114
4.2.8	Semantically defined verb classes .....	115
4.2.9	Summary.....	132
5	Adjectives, Adverbs, Prepositions .....	133
5.1	Adjectives.....	133
5.1.1	Introduction .....	133
5.1.2	Age descriptor adjectives.....	133
5.1.3	Dimension descriptor adjectives .....	134
5.1.4	Value descriptor adjectives .....	135
5.1.5	Color descriptor adjectives .....	136
5.1.6	Physical characteristics descriptor adjectives .....	136
5.1.7	Human propensity descriptor adjectives .....	137

5.1.8	Summary.....	139
5.2	Adverbs .....	139
5.2.1	Introduction .....	139
5.2.2	Modality adverbs .....	140
5.2.3	Directional adverbs.....	141
5.2.4	Epistemic adverbs.....	142
5.2.5	Summary.....	143
5.3	Prepositions .....	144
5.3.1	Introduction .....	144
5.3.2	Preposition <i>ka</i> 'at, in, for, by, on (LOC)' .....	144
5.3.3	Other prepositions.....	146
5.3.4	Summary.....	148
6	Other Word Classes .....	149
6.1	Conjunctions .....	149
6.1.1	Introduction .....	149
6.1.2	Conjunctions grouped by function.....	149
6.2	Interjections.....	151
6.3	Determiners.....	152
6.3.1	Demonstratives .....	152
6.4	Interrogatives.....	175
6.5	Quantifiers and numerals.....	176
6.5.1	Quantifiers .....	176
6.5.2	Numerals.....	177
6.5.3	Summary of discussion of quantifiers and numerals .....	183
6.6	Summary of chapter .....	184
7	Noun Phrase .....	187
7.1	Introduction .....	187
7.2	Structure of the noun phrase.....	187
7.3	Head of a noun phrase.....	188
7.4	Minimal noun phrase.....	189
7.5	Modifiers of the noun phrase.....	190
7.5.1	Possession.....	190
7.5.2	Quantifiers and numerals .....	202
7.5.3	Focus marker .....	202
7.5.4	Adjectives .....	203
7.5.5	Determiners .....	203
7.5.6	Relative clauses .....	203
7.6	Noun phrase coordination .....	205
7.7	Summary .....	207
8	Verb Phrase.....	209
8.1	Introduction.....	209
8.2	Head of a verb phrase.....	209
8.3	Structure of the verb phrase.....	209
8.3.1	Pre-verbal elements .....	209
8.3.2	Post-verbal elements.....	221
8.4	Variable verbal positioning: immediate aspect marker <i>la</i> .....	227

8.5	Verb phrase coordination .....	228
8.6	Summary .....	229
9	The Clause .....	231
9.1	Introduction .....	231
9.2	Constituent order .....	231
9.2.1	Subjects .....	236
9.2.2	Objects .....	238
9.2.3	Oblique constituents .....	239
9.3	Clause types .....	240
9.3.1	Copular verbal clauses .....	240
9.3.2	Non-verbal clauses .....	246
9.3.3	Imperative clauses .....	247
9.3.4	Interrogatives .....	249
9.3.5	Negative clauses .....	252
9.3.6	Relation between two nominal phrases .....	254
9.4	More on clause combinations .....	254
9.4.1	Introduction .....	254
9.4.2	Subordinate clauses .....	254
9.4.3	Serial verbs .....	262
9.4.4	Clause conjoining through juxtaposition .....	265
9.4.5	Clause conjoining with linking devices .....	265
9.5	Information presentation .....	265
9.5.1	Quotative <i>egu</i> .....	265
9.5.2	Focus marker <i>si</i> .....	269
9.5.3	Pragmatic emphasis marker <i>e</i> .....	271
9.6	Summary .....	272
	Appendix A: Cheke Holo Texts .....	275
	A.1 Narrative .....	275
	A.2 Procedural .....	278
	A.3 Condolence .....	281
	A.4 <i>Thoutonu Photo</i> , or Historical Narrative .....	283
	A.5 <i>Thoutonu Tifa</i> , or Custom Story .....	290
	A.6 Poem .....	294
	Appendix B: Catalogue of Texts Corpus .....	299
	Bibliography .....	305
	Curriculum Vitae .....	317
	Summary in English .....	310
	Samenvatting in het Nederlands .....	313

## Listing of Tables

Table 1: CH Consonants.....	16
Table 2: CH Vowels .....	16
Table 3: CH Consonants as onset .....	27
Table 4: CH consonants as coda.....	28
Table 5: CH Consonant Clusters .....	29
Table 6: Nominalization of verbs: voiceless stops .....	41
Table 7: Nominalization of verbs: liquids .....	41
Table 8: Nominalization of verbs: voiced velar fricative .....	42
Table 9: Nominalization of verbs: voiceless glottal fricative .....	42
Table 10: Nominalization of verbs: prefixing /na/.....	43
Table 11: Table of historical representation of the orthography.....	51
Table 12: Suggested Revisions to Orthography .....	53
Table 13: Selected Functions of Noun Sub-classes .....	59
Table 14: Personal Names in CH.....	70
Table 15: CH Nouns: Individual’s Role or Status .....	71
Table 16: CH Nouns: Roles or Status in the Church of Melanesia.....	73
Table 17: CH Kinship Terms.....	74
Table 18: CH Singular Pronouns.....	95
Table 19: CH Direct Object Enclitics.....	96
Table 20: CH Non-singular pronouns.....	98
Table 21: CH Emphatic and Reflexive Singular Pronouns.....	99
Table 22: CH Emphatic and Reflexive Non-singular Pronouns .....	100
Table 23: Specificity Set of CH Demonstrative Pronouns .....	102
Table 24: Proximity Set of CH Demonstrative Pronouns.....	103
Table 25: Comparison of CH Semantic Verbal Classes .....	131
Table 26: Type One of CH Demonstratives .....	154
Table 27: Type Two of CH Demonstratives.....	161
Table 28: Type Three of CH Demonstratives.....	166
Table 29: Specificity Set of CH Demonstrative Pronouns .....	172
Table 30: Proximity Set of CH Demonstrative Pronouns.....	173
Table 31: Comparison of CH Demonstrative Adjective Types .....	175
Table 32: CH Numerals.....	178
Table 33: CH Ordinals.....	182
Table 34: Pre-Head NP Constituents .....	188
Table 35: Post-Head NP Constituents .....	188
Table 36: CH Possession Enclitics and Pronouns.....	191

## Listing of Figures

Figure 1: Map of Solomon Islands within South Pacific Region.....	2
Figure 2: Language Map of Solomon Islands.....	3
Figure 3: Map of Santa Isabel.....	4

## Abbreviations

1	1st Person	LOC	Locative
2	2nd Person	M	Masculine
3	3rd Person	N	Non
A	Subject of Transitive Verb	NEG	Negation
ALN	Alienable Possession	NP	Noun Phrase
ADJ	Adjective	NOM	Nominalization
ADV	Adverb	NSP	Non-specific
AN	Austronesian	O	Transitive Object
ASP	Aspectual	OBJ	Object Marker
CAUS	Causative Prefix	OBL	Oblique
CH	Cheke Holo	OC	Oceanic
COM	Comitative	ORD	Ordinal
COMPL	Completive	PAU	Pause
CMPR	Comparative	PL	Plural
COND	Conditional	POSS	Possessive
CONJ	Conjunction	PREP	Preposition
CONT	Continuative	PRF	Perfective
COP	Copulative	PRN	Pronoun
DEM	Demonstrative	PROX	Proximal
DIR	Directional	PRS	Present State of Affairs
DIST	Distal	PSS	Past State of Affairs
DU	Dual	PST	Past Tense
DUR	Durative	PUR	Purposive
EMP	Emphasis	Q	Question Word
EXP	Experiencer Possession	RECP	Reciprocal
F	Feminine	RED	Reduplication
FOC	Focus	REL	Relative Clause
FOOD	Edible Word Class	REP	Repetitive action
FUT	Future	REFL	Reflexive
IMM	Immediate Aspect	S	Subject of Intransitive Verb
IMPF	Imperfective	SG	Singular
INA	Inalienable Possession	SP	Specific
INCL	Inclusive	SS	Speech Sound
INCP	Inceptive Aspect	SUB	Subordinate
INJ	Interjection	TR	Trial
K.O.	Kind of	VP	Verb Phrase







## 1 Introduction to the language

### 1.1 Introduction

This chapter presents in sections 1.2 and 1.3 a basic overview of the Cheke Holo language, including geographical setting, extent of its current use, and background research and methodological approach relevant to the study. In 1.4 are notes on the socio-cultural aspects of the language. In 1.5 language use and viability are briefly surveyed, including discussion on current contexts of use and the influx of multilingualism. Section 1.6 catalogues previous linguistic investigations on Cheke Holo and in 1.7 the investigative materials produced for other Isabel languages. Section 1.8 offers an overall survey of the grammatical aspects of the Cheke Holo language, particularly those which are discussed in this book.

### 1.2 Basic overview of the language setting

Cheke Holo, often referred to by its speakers in shortened form as Holo, and referred to throughout this book as CH, is an Austronesian language found primarily on most of the southern geographical third of Santa Isabel<sup>1</sup> island of Solomon Islands.

CH is spoken by at least 10,840 people as their first language, with perhaps 1,500 of these speakers classified as monolingual.<sup>2</sup> It is one of seven languages spoken on Santa Isabel. Potentially, a couple of thousand people speak CH as a second or third language, particularly as it is the dominant language of Isabel, both in terms of numerical strength and in population expansion to other language areas.<sup>3</sup> Among themselves, CH speakers often refer to their own language as *Cheke Tahati*, ‘our (incl) talk/language’. But in talking about their language and identifying it to an outsider, they would never refer to it this way (one reason being that the pronoun *tahati* includes the one being spoken to). CH as a language name means ‘language

---

<sup>1</sup> Before Solomons independence in 1978, Isabel was spelled Ysabel. One notes this frequent spelling on maps. In every day usage, Santa Isabel is shortened to “Isabel”.

<sup>2</sup> Over the past many years, there has been a fair-sized population of CH speakers living in the capital city Honiara, historically in the Vura/Naha and Kukum residential areas, and as of this writing, in the sections of Tuavaruhu, Gegema, and Talise. The population of CH-speaking residents in Honiara is unknown.

<sup>3</sup> Speakers of the other languages of Isabel have attested during the last 40 years that they have worried that CH would ‘take over the island’ (particularly noted at the beginning of this period in Simons 1978). As members of other language groups considered beginning Bible translation work, and conveyed that interest to me, one of their reasons for doing so was because they were afraid that if their language was not preserved and used in worship, then CH would overtake them. Palmer discusses the dominance of CH (Palmer 2009a:2) as do Whiteman and Simons (1978:6).

## 2 A Grammar of Cheke Holo

of the bush’ or ‘language of the interior of the island.’ The two major dialects, Maringe and Hograno, are located in the southern half of Isabel on the eastern and western sides of the island, respectively. They differ only by very few lexical items.<sup>4</sup> Their phonological structures are almost identical, though one major difference is noted.<sup>5</sup> CH, whose ISO 639-3 language identifier code is mrn, is classified in the *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009) as Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, Western Oceanic. The boundaries of the language group stretch from the village of Gnulahaghe southeast to Kuma’ihai. It is located on the Hograno coast in several villages in Kia District, and also in scattered villages in Gao-Bughotu Region (Lewis 2009).<sup>6</sup>

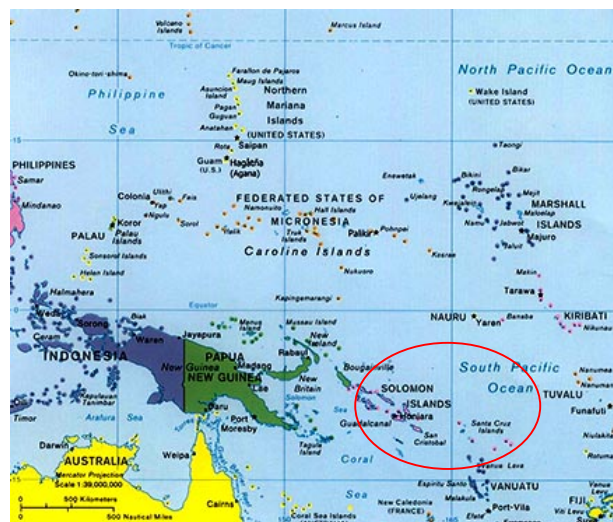


Figure 1: Map of Solomon Islands within South Pacific Region  
(used by permission of www.worldatlas.com)

<sup>4</sup> The lexical differences are listed in the preface of the Cheke Holo New Testament. Historically, the language was called ‘Maringe’ (and now spelled Mariñe), but the Hograno dialect speakers would not read anything with this term as the identifier. As a result, a neutral language name, Cheke Holo, or just Holo, was agreed upon. There is ongoing evidence that the two dialect groups are working much closer together than they ever have before, and this is quite encouraging, particularly as they are joined together in one church diocese which depends on effective cooperation.

<sup>5</sup> David Bosma noted (personal interview, 1999) that in the Hograno dialect, /b/ can occur as the implosive /b<sup>h</sup>/, in a few words such words as /nab<sup>h</sup>ai/, ‘light’. The Maringe dialect cognate word is /nap<sup>h</sup>ae/. I do not have further data on this, nor know of any rules or predictable environments for the occurrence of this implosive in Hograno.

<sup>6</sup> The significant break between Western and Eastern Oceanic is found at the southern border of the Cheke Holo language area where Cheke Holo meets the Bughotu language (Tryon and Hackman 1983, Lewis 2009).



#### 4 A Grammar of Cheke Holo



**Figure 3: Map of Santa Isabel (courtesy of CartoGIS Services, College of Asia and the Pacific, The Australian National University)**

The fieldwork related to this book occurred in the populated areas just south of Buala, which is noted above on the map on the southeastern side of the island. The Anglican diocesan office is located in an area adjacent to Buala.

In the listing of Oceanic Languages by Sub-Groupings (Lynch, Crowley, Ross 2002:884),<sup>7</sup> CH falls within the Meso-Melanesian Cluster, St. George Linkage, Northwest Solomonian Linkage, New Georgia/Isabel family.

### 1.3 Background research and methodological approach

I moved with my family from the USA to Solomon Islands in 1988. We initially spent four months in Madang, Papua New Guinea in a culture and language orientation programme and then eventually arrived in Honiara, the capital of Solomons, in February of 1989. After making initial journeys to the village of Nareabu in April 1989, which is just south of the provincial capital of Buala, we began our official residency in May, 1989, and I began language learning of CH. We occupied the house which had been built by SIL's David Bosma, who preceded me

---

<sup>7</sup> I point out that 'Maringe' is misspelled in their classification as 'Mainge'.

there in residence, working in linguistics and translation at the request of the Anglican diocese.

My primary task was to serve as a translation advisor to the CH Translation Committee, and to work closely with Anglican priest Rev. Fr. Andrew Piaso, who has served since 1986 as the main CH Bible translator. My work has included providing exegetical help and checking of Fr. Piaso's manuscripts. In order to do this, I had to learn to read, write, and speak the CH language. Building upon materials produced by those who had preceded me in analyzing the language, notably Bosma and American anthropologist Geoffrey White of the East-West Center in Honolulu, and personal interaction with both men, I began my own journey into the language.

Initial fieldwork was conducted in residence among the CH people just south of Buala in Nareabu village for three years from 1989-1992. From 1992-1998, I lived in the capital of Honiara, and continued to work in CH linguistics and in translation related work, often making trips back to Santa Isabel. I remained heavily involved with the team that completed the translation of The New Testament and its subsequent publication in 1994 by The Bible Society in the South Pacific. The volume immediately sold out, and was reprinted two years later, and again promptly sold out. A third printing was delivered to the island for distribution in June 2007. From 1994 to the present, I have continued to work on Old Testament translation materials with Fr. Piaso, handling these through intensive on-site work with him, and also through off-site checking by correspondence. Fifteen percent of the Old Testament was published in 2005, and as of June 2018, more than 90% of the entire Old Testament is in various stages of drafting and revision. These translation materials continue to undergo consultant and community improvement.

Since leaving Solomon Islands' residency in 1998, I have made eight field trips to the Solomons, returning in 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2012, 2015, 2017, and 2018. I also met with Fr. Piaso in Melbourne in 2001. We have also consulted by Skype telephony on aspects of the book that surfaced during my writing. I have been delayed until now in completing this project due to other work duties which prevented me from giving any significant attention to its furtherance.

This grammar description contains over 1000 numbered language examples based on data collected from two main sources: 1) several hours of recorded CH texts of various genres, ranging from short greetings to 45 minute talks on a variety of topics, and 2) approximately 40 written texts of various genres, including poetry, personal letters, myths, and narratives. For the audio recordings, it is noted that most speakers were educated on the village/provincial level, except for Fr. Piaso, who is a Solomons seminary graduate. Most of the recordings are from 2006, during which the most focused period of linguistic research took place, though many date back to the late 1970s/early 1980s. There are a number of recordings that technically form part of the available corpus, but at the time of writing they were not transcribed or entered into SIL's FieldWorks software for further analysis. The cataloguing of this

## 6 A Grammar of Cheke Holo

data is contained in Appendix B: Catalogue of Texts Corpus. The entire database and record of CH texts will be deposited with the SIL Language and Culture Archives. These archives use a DSpace repository ([www.dspace.org](http://www.dspace.org)) to manage long-term preservation and access to digital materials. Elicitation for discovery or documentation of specific grammatical features was used, but very infrequently. Except for the written materials listed in Appendix B which were compiled by Bosma, the transcriptions were done both by myself, and also with a variety of assistants.

Additionally, dictionary examples from White (1988) were occasionally used. White's dictionary, published in the *Pacific Linguistics* series, is a major contribution to the field of linguistics studies in the Solomons. Due to the availability of this dictionary, there is not a glossary accompanying this book.

This grammatical description is theory neutral, utilizing a basic linguistic theory. Comparative examinations are made as appropriate with other languages within the Austronesian (AN) family and Oceanic (Oc) sub-groupings. As Gravelle (2004:22) mentioned for Meyah, "it attempts to describe the language on its own terms, rather than force the language into a theoretical model." Like Gravelle, I do not attempt to describe how the language came into being or focus on historical comparative analysis.

Joel Fagan (1986:1), in compiling his research of the Mono-Alu language which is to the northwest of CH, noted that "of the more than 50 Austronesian languages spoken in the Solomon Islands, few have been described in detail." The purpose of this book is to provide a description of the phonology, word classes (including various semantic categories of classification), morphology, and syntax of one of those 50-plus Austronesian languages, the Cheke Holo language.

### 1.4 Notes on the socio-cultural aspects of the CH people

#### 1.4.1 The impact of the Anglican church

"The people of Santa Isabel are heirs to one of the great stories of socio-religious transformation in the Pacific Islands region" (White 1991). One can easily say that to be a member of the CH language group is to be an Anglican. The island was vigorously evangelized by Church of Melanesia missionaries in the late 1800s and early 1900s, and a comprehensive and systematic network of Anglican teaching, forms of worship and church administration were implemented. Indeed the influence of the church has penetrated and influenced all aspects of daily life, from the morning and evening prayer services held in every CH village, to the blessing of the crops, to the recognition and following of 'big men', or leaders, who for the most part are church men. I have yet to meet anyone on the island who did not profess to be a Christian. Since the church influences so much of daily village life, it is perhaps natural that a fairly significant number of lexical items relating to the Church of Melanesia have become embedded in the lexicon, and these are briefly discussed in



section 3.2.5.4. Also, the pervasive influence of the Anglican Church and Christianity is reflected in many examples used as evidence in this book.

#### **1.4.2 Sources of livelihood**

For the most part, the CH people are subsistence farmers and fishermen. Salaried jobs are few on Isabel, mostly available to those working for the provincial government in some capacity, such as school teachers. Every family seems to be connected in some way to a wage earner, and within Solomons' social norms the wage earner is expected to pass on to the family at least part of the fruit of their labor. Money is important for paying school fees, food, buying petrol for outboard motors, purchasing fares on ships running between the island and the capital, and other regular events of life.

#### **1.4.3 Clans and origins**

The CH declare that there were originally two clans from which all CH speakers descended, *Thauvia* 'white parrot', and *Phosamogo* 'green parrot.' Oral transmission of CH history suggests that perhaps due to incest, a third clan arose, called *Nakmeru Funei* 'eagle'. The clans are not distinguished by language. There are normally two chiefs per village, one each from the original two clans. Chiefs would appoint a son as successor, but as noted in my research, currently the election of chiefs is a democratic process based on voting in those who demonstrate leadership, organization, good communication skills, and mediation of problems.

#### **1.4.4 Land ownership**

Land use is one of the most important facets of life in Solomon Islands. For the most part, land is controlled by the family line system. On Isabel, the controlling line is matrilineal.

### **1.5 Language use and viability**

#### **1.5.1 Contexts of use and language choice**

The use of CH as a first language among CH speakers is perhaps best described as 'vigorous'. Except for school, and that due to government mandates on nation-wide instruction in English, CH is the language of choice in every major area of life, including home, work, and church. The language is vigorously spoken by children. What could be described as 'language pride' permeates every aspect of CH society.

#### **1.5.2 Multilingualism and language attitudes**

Whiteman and Simons (1978) described the pervasive multilingualism throughout Isabel. Since the publication of their linguistic survey, there is no indication that speakers of CH or any other Isabel language have lessened their ability to at least

## 8 A Grammar of Cheke Holo

“hear” (their term), if not converse, to a limited degree in neighboring languages of the island.

Whiteman and Simons further said that CH was the most important and dominant language of the island, as it has the highest number of speakers. During their survey, many of those interviewed said they believed that one day CH would be spoken throughout the island. This is an indication of the pervasive spread of CH.

For the older male population, Bughotu at the far southern end of Isabel is perhaps more familiar than others due to the fact that Bughotu was the church language incorporated in worship and religious instruction (and presumably early schooling) throughout the island by the early Anglican missionaries. Occasionally in CH worship services, a catechist will still rely on early scripture translation materials in Bughotu for reading or prayer. However, these materials are no doubt non-communicative to most in attendance, particularly the youth. I did notice that prior to the publication of the CH New Testament, the use of Bughotu did decrease when the Solomons Pijin New Testament was released to the public in 1993, as catechists chose it over Bughotu. Though certainly not universally true in the language group, there was a marked tendency to prefer any Solomons language reading over English. While English is certainly a prestige language, it is used to communicate (by those few who are able) primarily with visiting “whiteskins” and is not used between CH speakers.

The following factors are noted as contributing to multilingualism among speakers of Isabel languages. 1) Regular ship travel to and from Honiara enables multilingual contexts, as members of different language groups travel in close proximity and regularly hear and converse not only in their own but also in neighboring languages (should they have language facility to do so). 2) The incredibly active church programs of the Church of Melanesia (COM) enable cross-linguistic fertilization in various contexts. 3) The high school youth who are chosen to attend provincial secondary schools spend a few, if not several, years in cross-linguistic situations with members of other language groups of Isabel. 4) The provincial capital of Buala and neighboring village of Jejevo, which are located in CH-speaking territory, form a hub of activity for buying, selling, and church and government business. This activity center has a constant flow of speakers of the various Isabel languages. 5) Inter-marriage with speakers of other Isabel language groups.

### 1.5.3 Viability

In light of the fact that CH remains in vigorous use throughout the language group in every context, and also that the population has increased 30% from the late 1980s, CH does not appear to be in danger of losing its viability in the current generation. CH will no doubt continue to change with the times, particularly with the ageing of younger speakers who have incorporated an increasing range of English-based or Solomons Pijin lexical items (and even grammatical features) into their everyday

speech. Because of its recognized dominance on Isabel, CH is widely regarded as the trade language of the island.

#### 1.5.4 Loan words

There are several loan words noted in the corpus and used in the language examples in this book. These are primarily and markedly, though not exclusively, used by speakers under age 35. The texts recordings of a female school teacher in her early 20s is quite noticeable for the loan words in widespread use in her personal lexicon.

Many of the loan words in use are for those which do not have a ready equivalent in CH, such as an outboard engine, or *injini*. At the same time, creeping multilingualism among younger speakers also demonstrates a departure from ‘standard’ words such as *thabukna* ‘family’ and the substitution of loan words, as noted in section (3.2.9). Even so it is noted in that section that in telling his story, the speaker used both *thabukna* and *family* in the same text. My observation is that this code-switching is quite pervasive and unpredictable among younger speakers. A focused diachronic and synchronic study of loan words and language viability in CH would be viewed as a very important contribution to the documentation of language use on Isabel.

There are a number of English loan words found in CH language examples throughout this book. In the CH language lines, these are rendered orthographically as English words, as illustrated by the use of *dictionary* in (1). One indicator that these are English words is the identical rendering of the word in both the language example line and the gloss line. An illustration of Solomons Pijin words in a CH utterance is (2), where the Pijin term *kastom* is found. Such loans are given an English gloss. For *kastom*, the gloss is ‘custom’.

(1) *Mare neke eni kaisei u dictionary*  
 3PL PST do one DEM dictionary  
 ‘They made a dictionary.’

(2) *Iara fatutuani ka kastom*  
 1SG believe LOC custom  
 ‘I believe in custom ways.’

#### 1.6 Previous linguistic investigations of Cheke Holo

Sidney Ray (1926) compiled basic lexical and grammar notes on several languages of Isabel, including CH. No one has ever published an extensive typological description of CH nor has anyone published on the discourse features of the language.

Anthropologist Darrel Whiteman and linguist Gary Simons (1978) conducted a socio-linguistic survey on Isabel in the late 1970s. Their findings were not published beyond a mimeographed report. The survey data which they gathered was useful for

## 10 A Grammar of Cheke Holo

determining language boundaries, language affinities, and speaker preferences regarding language use. Their basic conclusions are still valid, highlighted by the fact that CH remains the predominant language among the seven spoken on Isabel. They did not see the influence lessening of the impact and spread of CH.

David Bosma undertook basic linguistic field work on Isabel for several years (1979-1986). Bosma's major focus was training of mother-tongue Bible translators throughout the island, and he did not do extensive linguistic documentation. Besides basic word lists, Bosma (1981) published in mimeo form *Life in our Village*, which was a written compilation of oral narratives from four different villagers on various aspects of daily life, such as men's and women's work, fishing, and house building. He provided semi-literal English translations as part of the volume.

Darrel Whiteman (1983) documented his research of CH culture from his base at Gnuluhage village, which is just north of the provincial capital of Buala. He combined his wider experience of Melanesian cultural investigation in his work at the Melanesian Institute in Goroka, Papua New Guinea, with his specific observations on CH. For CH, he noted as did White, the predominant cultural factor and influence of the Anglican church upon social organisation, activities, and leadership.

Richard Naramana (1987), a CH Anglican priest, published a paper on CH culture in a Solomons' journal. He documents a wide range of topics, though apparently his opening discussion on the origins of the clans on Isabel reflects one of his main interests. Naramana describes (1987:41) the problems he encountered in accessing the information:

I had great difficulty in trying to get the precise information about the lines in the areas studied. The few old men interviewed were suspicious of what I was doing, because no one had done it before. I didn't belong to their family clans; it was thought that I was digging up past stories in order to raise disputes between them and their descendants. Suspicion has resulted from our fear of being victimised by people who practice black magic for revenge, not only for current disagreements, but also for past troubles. Currently, disputes over land have become a root of suspicion, so much so, that elders refused to tell me things, hoping to avoid starting more trouble.

But Naramana eventually broke through the barriers and was able to document the origin of the clans, the history of chiefs and behavior protocols associated with them, various general ceremonies and feasts, historical weapons, dances, prostitution used for acquisition of custom jewels, current social activities, marriage decisions related to finding suitable mates for children, and ceremonies associated with marriage. Publications by indigenous CH authors are rare. Two other notable examples are Lagusu's (1986) article regarding ceremonies associated with the ancient Knabu gods, and Vilasa's (1986) on sacrifice. Both Lagusu and Vilasa are university-educated, and their articles were published in English.

As noted previously in section 1.3, Geoffrey White (1988) published a CH dictionary as part of the *Pacific Linguistics* series. White relied on research conducted by David Bosma to complement his own. Included in the beginning of that volume is a brief twenty-five page grammar sketch. His sketch focuses on a basic description of features of morphology and word classes. As an anthropologist, White's purpose was to document culture and describe the ethnography, but he felt that he could not do that adequately without good linguistic research. Hence, his brief grammar observations and 4,700 word dictionary came into being. Though he himself notes in his preface that he is aware of his shortcomings, I have found his observations and conclusions to be very insightful and they have proved tremendously helpful to me as I learned the language. Over the years, I have been making notes as I have interacted with White's published observations and my work is intended to fill in gaps which he noted. In many places in this book, I interact with White's published conclusions via content footnotes. Apart from his published anthropological research, which is quite extensive, White published a consonant chart in Tryon (1995).

### **1.7 Investigative materials on other Isabel languages**

After R.H. Codrington's (1885) linguistic survey recorded in *The Melanesian Languages*, which for Isabel focused on Bughotu and Gao, investigations of Isabel languages apart from Cheke Holo have been undertaken mainly by three major contributors. Bill Palmer has by far been the most active of the three. Palmer's most thorough work to date on another Isabel language is his dissertation on the grammar of Kokota (Palmer 2009a), a neighboring language to the north of CH. Throughout this book, comparisons are made between CH and Kokota, as they are related languages, though Kokota is definitely more closely related to Zabana. CH and Kokota are quite different in many aspects. He limits the scope of his work to grammatical features which are sentence level and below. Among several other studies, he has published on Kokota sonorants (1999).

Additionally, Matthew Fitzsimmons completed an M.A. thesis at Auckland University in 1989 on the grammar of the Zabana language, which is spoken on the far northern end of Isabel. John Bruner of SIL lived among the Bughotu-speaking people of southern Isabel from 1997-2008, and produced four brief papers outlining basic grammar and culture analysis of the Bughotu people. The translation of the New Testament in Bughotu was completed in 2009, and the translation of the New Testament into Zabana is nearing completion as of this writing.

### **1.8 Summary of this grammatical description**

There are 31 CH consonantal phonemes and five vowel phonemes. CH phonology includes several outstanding features, including consonant clusters, voiceless continuants, and phonological phenomena involved in verb nominalization.

## 12 A Grammar of Cheke Holo

Regardless of word class, the underlying position of phonological stress on the word root is on the penultimate syllable. The predominant syllable pattern is one of open syllables.

In CH grammar, nominalization of verbs occurs in four different phonemic environments: 1) those which begin with voiceless stops, 2) verbs that begin with liquids /l/ and /r/, 3) verbs which begin with a voiced velar fricative, /ɣ/, and 4) verbs that begin with the voiceless glottal fricative /h/. There is an additional nominalization process, and it is one that is not phonologically motivated. This process involves the prefixing of /na/ to a certain set of verbs to realize a nominal form.

Reduplication of the verb stem is quite common in CH. The verb is the predominant word class which reduplicates, and usually serves the purpose of intensification or prolonging of action. There are three types of reduplication: full, partial, and syllable.

CH words are analyzed in open and closed classes. The open classes in CH are nouns, verbs, and adjectives. The nature of CH adjectives is such that there is a very large inventory, with White cataloguing more than 200 lexical items as adjectives in his CH dictionary. The closed classes are pronouns, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, interjections, interrogatives, numerals, quantifiers and determiners, of which in CH there are four distinct types of demonstratives. Pronouns, interrogatives, demonstratives, numerals and quantifiers can function as heads of phrases.

CH does have an inventory of compound nouns, though certainly not nearly as rich as some other Austronesian languages. There is also an inventory of nouns which are compounded with adjectives to yield metaphorical, figurative expressions. CH has four singular pronouns. A gender distinction is made in the third person singular, though this contrast is very rare in Oceanic languages. In fact, CH is the only known Oceanic language in Solomon Islands where this occurs. There are 16 non-singular pronouns showing distinction between plural, dual, and trial, as well as inclusivity and exclusivity in first person, and masculine and feminine in third person. Emphasis and reflexivity are marked in CH by the same pronoun. Reciprocity is expressed in CH not by a pronoun but by a circumfix.

Two CH determiners, namely demonstratives and quantifiers, prominently distinguish nouns from verbs. Four types of demonstratives are attested in CH. Basic distinctions occur between specificity and number, and whether or not the noun modified is distinguished by either being proximal or distal. Secondly, the distinction for the proximal demonstrative is based on relative distance, and is either proximal spatially from deictic center or proximal contextually from the nominal argument which has already been stated in the communication event. Articles are not attested in CH.

Possession is a prominent feature of CH. CH nouns demonstrate fairly typical Oceanic distinctions between alienability and inalienability. In terms of alienable possession, CH alienable nouns consist of two classes: those which are edible and those which are non-edible. Each class is marked by a separate possessive inflected pronoun preceding the noun. In terms of inalienable possession, these nouns can be categorized by kin relationships, part-whole relationships, and some human emotions. Inalienable possession is marked by seven possessive enclitics hosted by the inalienable noun. A grammatical construction of possession is used in CH to indicate negation, and can also be used to mark specificity. Possession is marked within the predicate for the experiencer of certain CH verbal and non-verbal event notions, with patterns similar to the marking for possession within the NP for alienable and inalienable noun classes.

CH has an inventory of two sets of demonstrative pronouns. The pronouns in each set have the root *teu-* plus an enclitic which signifies number and either specificity or proximity of the noun which it modifies.

CH verbs express actions, processes, and states. Verbs in CH are distinguished from nouns by a combination of syntactic and morphological properties. Verbs in CH are categorized as both transitive and intransitive, and the distinctions are syntactically motivated or derived. Additionally, there is an inventory of ambitransitive verbs. Morphologically, verbs differ from nouns in that aspect-marking enclitics are cliticized to verbs. CH has a fairly broad inventory of semantically derived verb classes, including states of being verbs, motion verbs, position verbs, and utterance verbs.

CH has a fairly broad inventory of adjectives which can be described both as limiting and descriptive. Instead of its members being uninflected, certain semantic sub-classes of CH adjectives are inflected by possession-marking enclitics, completive aspect enclitics, and derived by the causative prefix *fa-*. Adjectives can be used in both predicate and attributive functions when following the nominal head they modify.

Adverbs occur extensively in CH, modifying mostly verbs and adjectives, and also modifying a clause. Semantic classifications of adverbs are recorded for various sub-classes including modality, direction, and epistemic.

It is not possible to describe CH as predominantly either a left-headed language or right-headed language, in that various inventories of modifiers of the head of the NP are distributed both to the left and right of the head noun.

The CH noun phrase (NP) is a structure headed by a noun, pronoun, or a proper noun. The NP can include a variety of modifiers, and function as an argument of a verb in the clause. It can also operate as a non-verbal predicate. Noun phrase coordination is expressed by coordinating conjunctions and by juxtaposition.

## 14 A Grammar of Cheke Holo

The CH verb phrase (VP) is a structure headed by a verb. The VP does not require but can include a variety of modifiers, a single category of verbal inflection, and the presence of enclitics which mark transitivity or aspect. By itself the CH VP can form a clause. The structure of the VP includes a significant number of pre-verbal and post-verbal constituents. Among these are the pre-verbal elements which mark aspect, tense, negation and purpose. The post-verbal elements include an array of enclitics in various environments, such as those which mark direct objects. Aspect markers occur extensively in CH, marking completive, continuative, inceptive and non-specific aspect.

The two-way distinction of past and non-past is the most useful descriptor for the CH tense system. One of the main justifications for classifying CH as past/non-past rather than future/non-future is that past is the most prominent time action indicated by CH tense markers. Adjuncts are usually used to indicate non-past. Clause types are described as verbal and non-verbal, equative, copular, attributive, adverbial, subordinate, imperative, interrogative, and negatives.

Various other outstanding features of CH include: 1) CH is an SVO language. 2) The causative prefix *fa-* is the main verbal derivation occurring in CH. 3) Serial verbs are quite common in CH. The most commonly occurring serial verb constructions in CH involve motion verbs in second position. 4) Focus, or prominence within a single clause, is signaled by the focus marker *si*. 5) There is a quotative marker *egu* which is fairly ubiquitous in the language. Its four functions range from simple quote or speech content margins to signaling inquiry of confirmation of information. 6) Pragmatic emphasis in CH is often signaled by the presence of the emphatic marker *e* or by the ordering of words in the clause or sentence.



## 2 Phonology

### 2.1 Introduction

CH phonology includes several noteworthy features. Among these are consonant clusters, voiceless continuants, and phonological phenomena involved in verb nominalization. The number of consonantal phonemes is 31 and there are five vowel phonemes. These are described and contrasted in sections 2.2 and 2.3. Allophony in CH is not significant, but what does occur is noted in section 2.4. Syllable patterns are all open, as described in 2.5. Consonant clusters and vowel sequences are many in number and frequency, and these are described in sections 2.6 and 2.7. Assimilation is fairly unremarkable, but what is active is noted in 2.8. As discussed in section 2.9, stress follows typical Oceanic conventions of occurring primarily in penultimate position in multi-syllable words. Argumentation for the presence of clitics in CH is presented in section 2.10. Nominalization by means of phonological processes occurs in four different phonemic environments, and is described in 2.11. Reduplication (section 2.12) is quite common in CH, predominately on verbs. Finally, the interplay between phonological considerations and orthographic conventions, including the somewhat intense history of suggested changes to some culturally-entrenched orthographical representations, receives an overview in 2.13.

### 2.2 Phoneme charts

The following Tables present the CH phonemes. The analysis of the consonants here differs slightly from that of White (1988), though the vowels are classified identically.<sup>8</sup> In Table 1, the orthographic representations of the consonants are indicated in parenthesis next to the phoneme, as are the vowels in Table 2.

---

<sup>8</sup> There are three primary differences with White (1988:x-xi): 1) White classified the voiceless velar fricative as voiced aspirated, rather than as voiceless. It should be represented as voiceless. 2) White includes semi-vowel /w/ in his phoneme chart. He notes that /w/ only occurs in Solomons Pijin loan words that have come into common use in CH. I omit /w/ due to its non-occurrence in CH (i.e. non-borrowed) words. 3) White proposed that the voiced flap /ɾ/ is a phoneme, but I posit instead that the trill /r/ is underlying, and that [ɾ] and [r] are allophones. The total number of consonantal phonemes is 31, as opposed to White's number of 32. As mentioned, I do not analyse /w/ as a phoneme, and this accounts for the basic difference in the totals.

Table 1: CH Consonants  
(note: CH orthographic representations are in parentheses)

		Labial	Alveolar	Palato- alveolar	Velar	Glottal
<b>Stops &amp; affricates</b>	vl	p (p)	t (t)	tʃ (ch)	k (k)	ʔ (')
	<b>aspirated</b>	p <sup>h</sup> (ph)	t <sup>h</sup> (th)		k <sup>h</sup> (kh)	
	vd	b (b)	d (d)	dʒ (j)	g (ḡ)	
<b>Fricatives</b>	vl	f (f)	s (s)		x (gh)	h (h)
	vd	v (v)	z (z)		ɣ (g)	
<b>Nasals</b>	vl	m̥ (mh)	n̥ (nh)	ɲ̥ (gnh)	ŋ̥ (ñh)	
	vd	m (m)	n (n)	ɲ (gn)	ŋ (ñ)	
<b>Lateral approximants</b>	vl		l̥ (lh)			
	vd		l (l)			
<b>Trill</b>	vl		r̥ (rh)			
	vd		r (r)			

Table 2: CH Vowels  
(note: CH orthographic representations are in parentheses)

	Front	Central	Back
<b>Close</b>	i (i)		u (u)
<b>Mid</b>	e (e)		o (o)
<b>Open</b>		a (a)	

## 2.3 Description of the contrastive features of phonemes

All CH sounds are produced with egressive lung air.

### 2.3.1 Consonants

It is important to present data which shows that the phonemes listed on the charts do indeed contrast, and are not just allophones of each other. I will show the consonants contrasted within their natural classes or categories word initially and medially, where applicable.

#### Stops and Affricates

The stops differ as to place of articulation: labial, alveolar, velar, and glottal. All stops except the glottal contrast between voiced, voiceless, and aspirated. Examples follow of minimal pairs (or near minimal pairs) to illustrate the contrasts.

(3) /p/ and /ph/

/paja/ ['pa.ja] 'bitter, sour'

/p<sup>h</sup>aja/ [p<sup>h</sup>a.ja] 'adze, or poisonous snake'

(4) /p/ and /b/

/posa/ ['po.sa] 'to arrive at'

/bosa/ ['bo.sa] 'to churn up water'

(5) /b/ and /p<sup>h</sup>/

/buka/ ['bu.ka] 'uncooked'

/p<sup>h</sup>uka/ [p<sup>h</sup>u.ka] 'wild banana'

(6) /t/ and /t<sup>h</sup>/

/toga/ ['to.ga] 'be well settled'

/t<sup>h</sup>oga/ [t<sup>h</sup>o.ga] 'one thousand'

/tout<sup>h</sup>oru/ [tou.'t<sup>h</sup>o.ru] 'see flickering lights'

/t<sup>h</sup>outoru/ [t<sup>h</sup>ou.'to.ru] 'lightning bug'

(7) /t/ and /d/

/tapa/ ['ta.pa] '1DU.INCL'

/daka/ ['da.ka] 'stamp down'

/dadalu/ [da.'da.lu] 'wash face'

/tataha/ [ta.'ta.ha] 'one by one'

## 18 A Grammar of Cheke Holo

(8) /t<sup>h</sup>/ and /d/

/t<sup>h</sup>amna/ [t<sup>h</sup>am.na] ‘type of wood used for firewood’

/daŋna/ [dʌŋ.na] ‘to fast, abstain’

/t<sup>h</sup>oka/ [t<sup>h</sup>o.ka] ‘final outcome, resolution’

/dok<sup>h</sup>a/ [do.k<sup>h</sup>a] ‘dig a hole’

(9) /k/ and /g/

/klopa/ [klo.pa] ‘break’ (as in ‘an arm breaks’)

/glopa/ [glo.pa] ‘wall section between posts’

/kreso/ [kre.so] ‘lie on back with legs raised’

/greto/ [gre.to] ‘dried coconut leaf’

(10) /k/ and /k<sup>h</sup>/

/kato/ [ka.to] ‘to cut down with an axe’

/k<sup>h</sup>ato/ [k<sup>h</sup>a.to] ‘to encounter, meet’

/keli/ [ke.li] ‘good’

/k<sup>h</sup>eʔi/ [k<sup>h</sup>e.ʔi] ‘teeth’

/paka/ [pa.ka] ‘lower elevation’

/fak<sup>h</sup>aek<sup>h</sup>ae/ [fa.k<sup>h</sup>ae.k<sup>h</sup>ae] ‘to tease’

(11) /k<sup>h</sup>/ and /g/

/k<sup>h</sup>adza/ [k<sup>h</sup>a.dza] ‘cough’

/gadʒu/ [ga.dʒu] ‘tree’

/goya/ [go.ɣa] ‘bark used to blacken’

/k<sup>h</sup>oga/ [k<sup>h</sup>o.ga] ‘section of fishing net’

(12) /ʔ/ and ∅

/biʔo/ [bi.ʔo] ‘big’

/bio/ [bi.o] ‘nautilus shell’

(13) /ʔ/ and /k/

/p<sup>h</sup>aʔu/ [p<sup>h</sup>a.ʔu] ‘head’

/p<sup>h</sup>aki/ [p<sup>h</sup>a.ki] ‘tree of red dye’

- (14) /ʔ/ and /h/  
 /hiʔo/ ['hi.ʔo] 'take'  
 /hihi/ ['hi.hi] 'pry apart'

The affricates differ between voiced and voiceless palatal articulation, and this is illustrated with the following minimal pairs:

- (15) /dʒ/ and /tʃ/  
 /dʒa/ ['dʒa] 'sandbar'  
 /tʃa/ ['tʃa] 'stick, poke'  
 /tʃau/ ['tʃau] 'banana'  
 /dʒau/ ['dʒau] 'perhaps'

### Fricatives

The contrasts between fricatives generally pattern those of the contrasts between stops, except for the fact that aspirated fricatives do not occur. Thus, the fricatives differ in the labial, alveolar, velar, and glottal points of articulation, and between voiced and voiceless, except for the glottal fricative, which is only voiceless.

Examples of minimal pairs (or near minimal pairs) to illustrate the contrasts:

- (16) /ɣ/ and /x/  
 /xao/ ['xao] 'be raised, as one leg resting on another'  
 /ɣao/ ['ɣao] 'pull on a bowstring'
- (17) /g/ and /ɣ/  
 /aga/ ['a.ga] 'drink without touching container to mouth'  
 /aɣa/ ['a.ɣa] 'brightly shine'  
 /gaoyat<sup>h</sup>o/ [gao.'ɣa.t<sup>h</sup>o] 'thought' (noun)  
 /ɣaoyat<sup>h</sup>o/ [ɣao.'ɣa.t<sup>h</sup>o] 'to think' (verb)
- (18) /k/ and /x/  
 /kaokamo/ [kao.'ka.mo] 'repeatedly steer canoe from front paddle'  
 /gaxamu/ [ga.'xa.mu] 'wedding feast'
- (19) /kh/ and /x/  
 /kakamo/ [ka.'k<sup>h</sup>a.mo] 'arm and finger measurement'  
 /gaxamu/ [ga.'xa.mu] 'wedding feast'

## 20 A Grammar of Cheke Holo

(20) /h/ and /x/

/hamu/ ['ha.mu] 'bail out a canoe'

/gaxamu/ [ga.'xa.mu] 'wedding feast'

(21) /k/ and /ɣ/

/kari/ ['ka.ri] 'untie thatch'

/ɣari/ ['ɣa.ri] 'stunted in growth'

(22) /f/ and /v/

/fara/ ['fa.ra] 'very much'

/vaɾa/ ['va.ɾa] 'hardwood tree'

/farayaɖo/ [fa.ra.'ɣa.do] 'playfully insert syllables into one's name'

/varadaki/ [va.ra.'da.ki] 'twenty'

/tafo/ ['ta.fo] 'meet someone'

/rave/ ['ra.ve] 'cut a canoe'

(23) /f/ and /p/

/fala/ ['fa.la] 'cut-nut tree'

/pala/ ['pa.la] 'carry on the shoulder'

(24) /s/ and /z/

/sisi/ ['si.si] 'flower'

/zizi/ ['zi.zi] 'play recklessly and freely'

### Nasals

The nasals differ in four points of articulation: labial, alveolar, palatal, and velar, and contrast between voiced and voiceless.

Examples of minimal pairs (or near minimal pairs) to illustrate the contrasts:

(25) /m/ and /m̥/

/meke/ ['me.ke] 'inceptive aspect'

/m̥eke/ ['m̥e.ke] 'dog'

/nomi/ ['no.mi] '2PL alienable possessive pronoun'

/nom̥i/ ['no.m̥i] 'to hear'

(26) /n/ and /ŋ/

/nara/ ['na.ra] 'east wind'

/ŋara/ ['ŋa.ra] 'search'

/naʔa/ ['na.ʔa] '3SG.F pronoun'

/ŋaʔa/ ['ŋa.ʔa] 'put'

(27) /ŋ/ and /ŋ̃/

/ŋigru/ ['ŋi.gru] 'flood'

/ŋ̃igru/ ['ŋ̃i.gru] 'move by force'

(28) /ŋ/ and /n/

/ŋali/ ['ŋa.li] 'shake'

/nali/ ['na.li] 'quickly'

/ŋala/ ['ŋa.la] 'just/only'

/nalafe/ [na.'la.fe] 'type of vine used in canoe construction'

(29) /n/ and /ŋ̃/

/naŋaho/ [na.'ŋa.ho] 'feast presented by husband to wife's mother'

/ŋ̃aŋo/ ['ŋ̃a.ŋo] 'agitated'

/mana/ ['ma.na] '3SG pronoun'

/noŋari/ [no.'ŋa.ri] 'fragrant'

(30) /ɲ/ and /ɲ̃/

/ɲafa/ ['ɲa.fa] 'rest'

/ɲ̃aya/ ['ɲ̃a.ɣa] 'wither'

(31) /ɲ/ and /ŋ/

/noɲa/ ['no.ɲa] '3SG alienable possessive pronoun'

/naŋa/ ['na.ŋa] 'worry'

(32) /m/ and /n/

/maŋa/ ['ma.ŋa] 'open mouth widely'

/naŋa/ ['na.ŋa] 'worry'

/malu/ ['ma.lu] 'rough sea'

/nalu/ ['na.lu] 'philodendron plant'

## 22 A Grammar of Cheke Holo

(33) /m/ and /ŋ/

/mage/ [ˈma.ge] ‘tense up, as in argument’

/ŋaye/ [ˈŋa.ɣe] ‘rise or surface’

(34) /m/ and /ŋ̃/

/glima/ [ˈgli.ma] ‘five’

/gliŋ̃o/ [ˈgli.ŋ̃o] ‘k.o. vine’

(35) /m/ and /ŋ/

/maja/ [ˈma.ja] ‘rainbow’

/ŋaja/ [ˈŋa.ja] ‘scalding hot’

(36) /ŋ/ and /ŋ̃/

/ŋagu/ [ˈŋa.gu] ‘want possessions’

/ŋ̃aya/ [ˈŋ̃a.ɣa] ‘wither’

### Lateral approximants and trills

The lateral approximants and trills are all alveolar, and in both sets contrast between voiced and voiceless.

Examples of minimal pairs (or near minimal pairs) show the contrasts:

(37) /l/ and /l̃/

/liligi/ [li.ˈli.gi] ‘roll back and forth on surface of the water’

/lĩigi/ [li.ˈlĩ.gi] ‘peel off skin’

/balu/ [ˈba.lu] ‘with’

/bãlu/ [ˈba.̃lu] ‘bird’

(38) /r/ and /r̃/

/ṛana/ [ṛa.na] ‘startle’

/rane/ [ra.ne] ‘becoming daylight’

/ruṛu/ [ru.ṛu] ‘slide down a tree’

/ruruja/ [ru.ru.ja] ‘feel heartburn’

(39) /l/ and /r/

/laka/ [ˈla.ka] ‘sticks together, like mud or wet flour’

/raka/ [ˈra.ka] ‘cook in stone oven without wrapping in a parcel’



- (40) /l/ and /r/  
 /baɭu/ ['ba.ɭu] 'bird'  
 /bruɭu/ ['bru.ɭu] 'recede from flooded state'

### 2.3.2 Vowels

Similar to Palmer's (2009a:14) comments that the Kokota vowel inventory "reflects the widespread Oceanic five vowel system", the contrast between the five CH vowel phonemes are maintained in terms of front, central and back, and close, mid and open. The only central vowel is open. There is no recognizable phonemic length distinction, consistent again with data from Kokota (Palmer, *ibid*).

#### Vowel contrasts

- (41) /i/ and /e/  
 /yigri/ ['yi.gri] 'to sprout young shoots'  
 /gegre/ ['ge.gre] 'large stones placed at edge of a stone oven'

- (42) /o/ and /u/  
 /yodo/ ['yo.do] 'aim directly toward'  
 /yudu/ ['yu.du] 'flooded'

- (43) /a/ and /e/  
 /basa/ ['ba.sa] 'form a large sore'  
 /besa/ ['be.sa] 'ground frog'

- (44) /a/ and /o/  
 /hana/ ['ha.na] 'eight'  
 /hono/ ['ho.no] 'load'

- (45) /i/ and /u/  
 /iru/ ['i.ru] 'misbehave'  
 /uru/ ['u.ru] 'hang down'

- /tafri/ ['ta.fri] 'go around aimlessly'  
 /tafru/ ['ta.fru] 'cover over'

- (46) /i/ and /a/  
 /ifu/ ['i.fu] 'blow'  
 /afi/ ['a.fi] 'wipe after defecating'

## 24 A Grammar of Cheke Holo

/buli/ ['bu.li] 'cowrie shell'

/bula/ ['bu.la] 'k.o. tree'

(47) /i/ and /o/

/bihi/ ['bi.hi] 'find something sought after'

/boho/ ['bo.ho] 'full after eating'

(48) /a/ and /u/

/bosa/ ['bo.sa] 'splash, churn up water'

/bosu/ ['bo.su] 'pig'

(49) /o/ and /e/

/dadalo/ [da.'da.lo] 'bald, featherless'

/dadale/ [da.'da.le] 'smooth stone in ocean'

(50) /e/ and /u/

/kheda/ ['k<sup>h</sup>e.da] 'k.o. canoe'

/khuda/ ['k<sup>h</sup>u.da] 'be kind, nice'

### 2.4 Allophony

Most phonemes of CH have only one allophone; thus there is very little variation in the pronunciation or realization of the phonemes. The following allophones are noted where more than one allophone occurs for the particular phoneme.

#### 2.4.1 Phoneme /r/

Phoneme /r/ is pronounced as a tap [ɾ] when occurring after a stressed vowel, and as a trill when occurring before a stressed vowel. When occurring word initially, the /r/ is trilled, slightly (but definitely trilled nonetheless) and this is true whether the /r/ is stressed or unstressed. An example which shows how stress and syllable onset affect flapping and trilling in CH is found in the common word /tore/. This word is used to express surprise or sudden reaction of disbelief. When spoken softly, without loud voice or a registry of intonation that calls attention to the outburst of surprise of the listener, the stress is definitely on the first syllable, and the second syllable begins with the flapped allophone of /r/. But, when the exclamation /tore/ is used to vigorously express very sudden amazement at the received information, the process reverses: the second syllable receives the stress, and the /r/ is trilled and not flapped.

Thus, /r/ ---> [ɾ] / 'V\_

----> [r] / \_\_\_'V

Examples:

/mare/ ---> ['ma.re] '3PL pronoun'  
 /bara/ ---> ['ba.ra] 'fence'  
 /repa/-----> ['re.pa] '3DU.F pronoun'  
 /tore/-----> [to.'re] 'wow!; exclamation of surprise'

#### 2.4.2 Vowel realized as glide: /i/ -> [j]

The vowel /i/ becomes a palatal glide [j] when occurring before vowel /a/.

/iara/ > [jara] '1SG pronoun'  
 /iayo/ > [jayo] '2SG pronoun'  
 /p<sup>h</sup>ia/ > [p<sup>h</sup>ja] 'two'

#### 2.4.3 Vowel realized as glide: /u/ -> [w]

The vowel /u/ becomes labial semi-vowel [w] when occurring before vowel /a/.

/sua/ > [swa] 'child'  
 /tuana/ > [twana] 'this'

### 2.5 Syllable patterns

The predominant CH syllable pattern is one of open syllables. In fact, CH speakers are well known in the Solomons for transforming closed syllables of borrowed English words into open syllables.<sup>9</sup> The following syllable patterns stand as distinct and usual syllables in various word formations:

V /e/ 'pragmatic emphasis marker'  
 CV/ka/ 'locative preposition'  
 CCV/kla/ 'fall with light noise on impact'  
 CVV/mae/ 'man'  
 CCVV/groi/ 'discussion'

<sup>9</sup> Though this is common, it is not a universal nor necessarily predictable pattern. The CH transform English 'engine' to *injini* and 'fiber [canoe]' to *faiba*, but the English word 'letter' is represented as *letas*. I have no rules to suggest which can usefully predict the variation, but can only plead CH speakers' preference. (N.B. The use of examples of a few loan words from English should not lead one to conclude that CH extensively employs CVC and VC syllable patterns in its language-inherent lexicon.) The tendency to transform closed syllables into open is a bit more predictable with the use of borrowed proper names, in that most all end with an open syllable. For example, CH speakers refer to someone named David as '*Deveti*' /deveti/, and John is called '*Jone*' /dʒone/.

The open syllable pattern, however, is not universal throughout the lexicon. As contrasted with consonant clusters occurring word initially, which is discussed in section 2.6, there are four consonantal sequences which occur word medially, namely /mn/ as in /gromno/ ‘darkness’, /ɲn/ as in /daɲna/ ‘fasting’, /m̥b/ as in /kofubom̥boi/ ‘miracle’, and /ŋg/, as in /goŋgotu/ ‘jealousy’. There are numerous occurrences in the lexicon of the /mn/ and /ɲn/ consonantal sequences, while /m̥b/ and /ŋg/ only occur in the two lexical items which are cited.<sup>10</sup> These are analyzed as sequences across syllable boundaries rather than consonant clusters. The two words /gromno/ and /daɲna/ represent the syllable patterns CCVC.CV and CVC.CV respectively, and thus CVC and CCVC are to be included in the distinct syllable patterns in CH listed above.

But, how can one determine which consonant sequences should be divided to form the syllable coda of one syllable and the onset of the next, as opposed to sequences which are same-syllable clusters, functioning to form an onset of the next syllable? The answer lies in whether or not the consonant sequence in question ever forms the onset in the initial syllable of words. Thus, for example, the common sequence /gr/ would never be divided between the /g/ and /r/ to form a coda of one syllable and an onset of the next. This is a consonant cluster found word initially in several words, such as /groɣe/ ‘discussion’. When /gr/ occurs word medially, as in /thagru/ ‘backside’, the syllables are /tha.gru/, not \*/thag.ru/.

Regarding the many consonant sequences in CH, the only ones which participate in forming codas of syllables are those which never occur word initially. These consonantal sequences are /mn/, /ɲn/, /m̥b/, and /ŋg/. Thus, all sequences described here which fit this sequencing pattern have as the first member of the sequence either a voiced or voiceless bilabial nasal, or a voiced or voiceless velar nasal.

There are five CH clusters with /n/ in the second position in the cluster, such as /sn/ in /snagla/ ‘free’. But the /sn/ is found both word initially as noted and as word medially in /nasnaplu/ ‘unconscious’. In the case of the latter, the cluster does not divide to form coda and onset, but only forms an onset. Another way of describing this is to say that /mn/, /ɲn/, /m̥b/, and /ŋg/ are unique because each of these sequences must be preceded by a V to be functional in the language. Otherwise, these sequences do not occur in CH.

In summary, all CH consonants can occur as both word-initial onset and as word-internal onset. This is shown in the following table.

---

<sup>10</sup> There are 32 lexical entries with the /ɲn/ sequence, and 50 lexical occurrences of /mn/.

Table 3: CH Consonants as onset  
(x=attested, - = not attested)

Onset	p	p <sup>h</sup>	b	t	t <sup>h</sup>	d	tʃ	dʒ	k	k <sup>h</sup>	g	ʔ	f	v	s	z	x	ɣ	h
Wd initial	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Wd medial	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Onset	m̥	m	n̥	n	ɲ̥	ɲ	ŋ̥	ŋ	l̥	l	r̥	r							
Wd initial	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x							
Wd medial	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x							

None of the CH consonants can occur word-final coda. For the word-medial codas as described above, the following table shows the four consonants that can occur in that coda position.

Table 4: CH consonants as coda  
(x = attested, - = not attested)

Coda	p	p <sup>h</sup>	b	t	t <sup>h</sup>	d	tʃ	dʒ	k	k <sup>h</sup>	g	ʔ	f	v	s	z	x	y	h
Wd Final	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wd medial	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Coda	ᵐ	m	ᵑ	n	ɲ	ɲ	ŋ	ɰ	l̥	l	ɾ	r							
Wd Final	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-							
Wd medial	x	x	-	-	-	-	x	x	-	-	-	-							

**2.6 Consonant clusters**

CH is noted by speakers of other Solomon Islands’ vernaculars as relatively distinctive because of its prevalent consonant clusters. Two other Isabel languages, Blablanga and Kokota, both to the north of CH, also have consonant clusters. Both of these two language groups are related to CH, and are quite small in number of speakers. Both have a reasonably high rate of cognancy with CH, though Blablanga is closer to CH and Kokota is more closely related to Zabana in the far north of Isabel. Of the 22 clusters found in CH (see Table 5), 18 occur both word initially and word medially. The remaining four, /tr/, /bn/, /vl/, /sl/, only occur word initially.

Table 5: CH Consonant Clusters

(x = attested, - = not attested)

Cluster	pl	pr	tr	bl	bn	br	km	kn	kɲ	kl	kr
Wd initial	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Wd medial	x	x	-	x	-	x	x	x	x	x	x
Cluster	gl	gr	fn	fl	fr	vn	vl	vr	sn	sl	sr
Wd initial	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Wd medial	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	x	-	x

General observations:

- 1) None of the aspirated stops in CH is followed by a consonant.
- 2) Neither the voiced nor voiceless velar fricative is followed by a consonant, though the voiced velar stop occurs often in consonant clusters.
- 3) In terms of numbers of occurrence in actual lexical items, /r/ and /l/ are the predominantly occurring second members of the clusters, but there is also a reasonably high frequency of /m/ and /n/.
- 4) There are no restrictions as to certain vowels following certain consonant clusters. The clusters can be followed by any of the five phonemic vowels.
- 5) No velar or glottal consonants form the second member of a cluster.
- 6) All of the clusters listed are found word initially or syllable initially and thus form syllable onsets.

### 30 A Grammar of Cheke Holo

The following listing contains the consonant clusters in CH with representative examples. A word initial occurrence is listed first, and the second entry is a word medial example for those clusters which occur in that position.

(51) /pl/

/ploŋo/ ['plo.ŋo] 'hike over a hill'

/snaplu/ ['sna.plu] 'pull out of a long object'

(52) /pr/

/prosa/ ['pro.sa] 'clap'

/naprai/ ['na.prai] 'sun'

(53) /bl/

/blau/ ['blau] 'steal'

/kakabla/ [ka.'ka.bla] 'bite off skin of nut'

(54) /bn/

/bniha/ ['bni.ha] 'burst, break open'

/bnilo/ ['bni.lo] 'slip out'

(55) /br/

/braŋo/ ['bra.ŋo] 'wither'

/mobra/ ['mo.bra] 'sting'

(56) /tr/

/tro/ ['tro] 'drop with a light splash'

(57) /kl/

/klaja/ ['kla.ja] 'be bald'

/bukla/ ['bu.kla] 'visibly pregnant'

(58) /km/

/kmana/ ['kma.na] 'lot of'

/glikmu/ ['gli.kmu] 'be silent'

(59) /kn/

/knabe/ ['kna.be] 'buy or sell a pig'

/naʔikno/ [na.'ʔi.kno] 'people'



(60) /kɲ/

/kɲao/ [ˈkɲao] ‘subsiding water, such as after a flood’

/nakɲe/ [ˈna.kɲe] ‘goatfish’

(61) /kr/

/kroya/ [ˈkro.ɣa] ‘empty, deserted’

/bukrei/ [ˈbu.krei] ‘heap, pile’

(62) /gr/

/groma/ [ˈgro.ma] ‘frog’

/magra/ [ˈma.gra] ‘to fight’

(63) /gl/

/glima/ [ˈgli.ma] ‘five’

/doglo/ [ˈdo.glo] ‘straight, correct’

(64) /fr/

/frane/ [ˈfra.ne] ‘brave’

/dofra/ [ˈdo.fra] ‘awake’

(65) /fl/

/flalo/ [ˈfla.lo] ‘fly’

/ji fla/ [ˈji.flə] ‘leave’

(66) /fn/

/fnuda/ [ˈfnu.da] ‘faint’

/jafnu/ [ˈja.fnu] ‘surprised with disappointment’

(67) /vr/

/vra/ [ˈvra] ‘bolt, leap up’

/fayavru/ [fa.ˈɣa.vru] ‘load or pack in’

(68) /vl/

/vlada/<sup>11</sup> [ˈvla.da] ‘leave or arrive suddenly’

(69) /vn/

/vnahe/ [ˈvna.he] ‘cut with a sharp object’

---

<sup>11</sup> This is the only known occurrence of this cluster in CH.

## 32 A Grammar of Cheke Holo

(70) /sl/

/sloʔo/<sup>12</sup> ['slo.ʔo] ‘fall into or through a hole’

(71) /sn/

/snakre/ ['sna.kre] ‘allowed’

/brisna/ ['bri.sna] ‘crush, shatter’

(72) /sr/

/sruma/ ['sru.ma] ‘get something in the eye’

/fasre/ ['fa.sre] ‘strike against, as a match against a box’

### 2.7 Vowel sequences

While there are many vowel sequences in CH, there is no evidence that these sequences are accounted for as phonemic diphthongs. This is also true for neighboring Kokota. However Palmer (2009a:15) did describe diphthong formation in Kokota: “This [absence of phonemic diphthongs] is demonstrated by speaker syllabifications, in which every vowel in a sequence is syllabified separately. However, in normal speech certain non-identical VV sequences regularly undergo a process of diphthong formation.”

One criterion relevant to CH diphthong formation is the same as Palmer (2009a:16) employs in describing Kokota, namely “relative height”. That is, if a sequence contains two front vowels, two back vowels, or a sequence with /a/ as the first vowel, then that sequence is eligible for diphthong formation. Examples include:

(73) /a/ and /e/

/mae/ ['mae] ‘man’

(74) /a/ and /i/

/fai/ ['fai] ‘k.o. tree, used for canoes’

(75) /a/ and /o/

/ao/ ['ao] ‘that one’

(76) /a/ and /u/

/au/ ['au] ‘exist/be.at’

---

<sup>12</sup> This is the only known occurrence of this cluster in CH.

(77) /e/ and /i/  
/mei/ ['mei] 'come'

(78) /o/ and /u/  
/fou/ ['fou] 'like this'

However, no diphthong is formed in which the second vowel is not higher than the first. Thus, [ea], found in [beata] 'calm sea,' is not a diphthong, and neither is [ia] in [iago] 'you' (SG).<sup>13</sup> Other examples follow.

(79) /e/ and /a/  
/beata/ [be.'a.ta] 'calm sea'

(80) /i/ and /a/  
/iago/ [i.'a.go] '2SG'

(81) /o/ and /a/  
/maloa/ [ma.'lo.a] 'open air/sky'

(82) /u/ and /a/  
/bua/ ['bu.a] 'few'

(83) /i/ and /e/  
/siesi?e/ [si.e.'si.?e] 'lower edge of fishing net'

(84) /o/ and /e/  
/toe/ ['to.e] 'spy in the distance'

(85) /u/ and /e/  
/brue/ ['bru.e] 'chase away'

---

<sup>13</sup> The CH speakers show this syllabification principle brilliantly when singing certain songs, and hence provide support for the basis of relative height as a determining factor. In the songs, the second singular pronoun *iago* is clearly pronounced with a syllable division between the *i* and *a*, as in *i-a-go*.

## 34 A Grammar of Cheke Holo

(86) /o/ and /i/

/gloi/ ['glo.i] 'small bag worn over shoulder'

(87) /u/ and /i/

/fahui/ [fa.'hu.i] 'finish'

(88) /e/ and /o/

/k<sup>h</sup>oveo/ [k<sup>h</sup>o.'ve.o] 'small misty cloud, fog'

(89) /i/ and /o/

/fio/ ['fi.o] 'small skin covering nuts'

(90) /u/ and /o/

/uoʔuo/ [u.o.'ʔu.o] 'crazy'

(91) /e/ and /u/

/dedeu/ [de.'de.u] 'earring'

(92) /i/ and /u/

/fagriu/ [fa.'gri.u] 'teach, advise'

### 2.8 Glide formation

In regards to assimilation, the combination of /m/ and /u/ becomes [m<sup>w</sup>] when the /u/ occurs before /a/ and /e/. Strictly speaking, the /u + a/ would not be classified as a diphthong, but is a vowel sequence. Examples:

(93) /muana/ > [m<sup>w</sup>ana] 'peace'

(94) /mueŋe/ > [m<sup>w</sup>eŋe] 'tiny red biting insect'

This same pattern occurs when Isabel speakers pronounce the name of the provincial capital, Buala, as [b<sup>w</sup>ala].

## 2.9 Stress

### 2.9.1 Stress in underived root words

Regardless of word class, the stress on the word root is regularly on the penultimate syllable. The following examples of word roots (i.e. non-derived environments which exclude affixes, clitics, and compounds) illustrate this. Syllable boundaries are marked with a full stop, and stress is marked with a diacritic.

Two syllable words:

- (95) /daka/ [ˈda.ka] ‘step foot onto’  
 (96) /mana/ [ˈma.na] ‘3SG pronoun’

Three syllable words:

- (97) /bakala/ [ba.ˈka.la] ‘wide canoe paddle’  
 (98) /kekedo/ [ke.ˈke.do] ‘burned on the outside’

Four syllable words:

- (99) /maṗahayei/ [ma.ṗa.ˈha.ɣei] ‘want, desire’  
 (100) /hamerane/ [ha.me.ˈra.ne] ‘morning’<sup>14</sup>

An expectation of total uniformity regarding the underlying penultimate stress rule on word roots is incorrect. During a period of almost three decades of listening to conversations, I have noted that occasional words deviate from the stress rule and have acquired their own stress patterns, and there is no apparent reason for the variation, whether examining them in isolation on word level or on a higher phonological level such as the sentence. The inventory of words which show this variation is low, and an examination of various potential factors, such as phonemic environments or number of syllables in the words under question does not reveal any structural reason for the change. The following common words deviate, and show stress on initial or antepenultimate syllables:

- (101) /t<sup>h</sup>outonu/ [t<sup>h</sup>o.u.to.nu] ‘story’  
 (102) /p<sup>h</sup>aloho/ [p<sup>h</sup>a.lo.ho] ‘bow’  
 (103) /la.la.hu/ [la.la.hu] ‘play’

Example of stress on ultimate syllable:

- (104) /ṅo.ro.ˈra/ [ṅo.ro.ˈra] ‘deep sea’

---

<sup>14</sup> This word may have originally been a compound noun. The word *rane* is a CH word in current use meaning ‘daylight is breaking’. However, /ha.me/ is not a known CH word.

### 2.9.2 Stress in morphologically complex words

Within derived words, the word root maintains penultimate syllable stress, but any additional suffixes or clitics also bear final stress. This is shown in the following examples. In (105), stress occurs on the /ha/, which is the penultimate syllable of the word root, and in (106) on the enclitic /ni/ ‘3<sup>rd</sup> singular object marker enclitic’. In (107), stress is again found on the /ha/, the penultimate syllable of the word root, while the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular object marker enclitic /ni/ is not stressed, but the stress falls on the following enclitic, the completive aspect marker /hi/.

(105) /ma.ja.'ha.ɣei/ *magnahagei* ‘want/desire’

(106) /ma.ja.'ha.ɣei.'ni/ *magnahagei=ni* ‘want/desire = 3SG.OBJ’

(107) /ma.ja.'ha.ɣei.'ni.'hi/ *magnahagei=ni=hi* ‘want/desire = 3SG.OBJ = COMPL’

In example (108), the word root /t<sup>h</sup>a.'bu.si/ ‘same sex sibling/brother’ carries penultimate stress, but with the addition of the enclitic /ja/ ‘3SG.POSS’ in (109) the enclitic is also stressed.

(108) /t<sup>h</sup>a.'bu.si/ ‘brother’

(109) /t<sup>h</sup>a.'bu.si.'ja/ ‘brother of him’

For words derived by the causative prefix /fa/, the syllable stress also remains on the penultimate syllable of the root, as in (111).

(110) /'bra.hu/ ‘long’

(111) /fa.'bra.hu/ ‘lengthen/cause to be longer’

The word root can undergo reduplication (which typically denotes durative action) in addition to the causation derivation. This morphological derivation does not affect the penultimate stress pattern on both the word root and the derived word as shown in (112).

(112) /fa.ba.'bra.hu/ ‘repeatedly lengthen’

However, with the derived word serving as host to an enclitic, the enclitic is also stressed. In example (113), as in (109), stress is shown on the enclitic, which in this example is /di/ ‘3<sup>rd</sup> plural object marker’:

(113) /fa.ba.'bra.hu.'di/ ‘cause them to repeatedly lengthen’

As with example (114), an additional enclitic receives stress:

(114) /fa.ba.'bra.hu.di.'hi/ ‘cause them to repeatedly lengthen to completion point’

Compounding of nouns shows that each of the word roots that make up the compound demonstrates penultimate stress, as shown in (115) - (117):

- (115) /'kha.kla.'si.tha/ *khakla* 'leaf' + *sitha* 'k.o. nut' = 'scorpion fish'  
 (116) /'a.pu.'bla.hi/ *apu* 'wash' + *blahi* 'holy' = 'baptism'  
 (117) /'k<sup>h</sup>o.ra.'ma.la.'k<sup>h</sup>u.ku/ *k<sup>h</sup>ora* 'hole' + *mala* 'PUR' + *k<sup>h</sup>uku* 'defecate' = 'anus'

In reduplication, the stress remains on the penultimate syllable of the word root, as shown in (118):

- (118)  
 /'no.lo/ 'walk'  
 /no.'no.lo/ 'walk about'

For transitive verbs which are reduplicated, the stress patterns on word root and enclitics in example (119) are similar to those shown in examples (113) and (114).

- (119)  
 /'i.ju/ 'read'  
 /i.'ju.ju/ 'reading'  
 /i.'ju.ju.'ni/ 'reading it'  
 /i.'ju.ju.ni.'hi/ 'reading it completely'

## 2.10 Argumentation for the presence of clitics

CH demonstrates several morphemes that are bound forms. These include the following:

- the set of direct object enclitics is described in sections 4.2.2 and 8.3.2.1, and listed in Table 19
- two aspectual clitics, namely those that encode completive aspect with =*hi(la)* (described in section 8.3.2.3), and continuative aspect by =*u* (described in section 8.3.2.4)
- the enclitics which mark possession, listed in Table 36.

The reasons for describing these as clitics rather than either free word forms, or bound forms which are affixes, are discussed here:

First, they are indeed bound forms, not free forms, in that they cannot appear as independent words and are not independent of their hosts.

Second, as bound forms, they can attach to different hosts. This would nullify them from being considered as affixes, as affixes do not demonstrate freedom of stem selection. It is also noted that they attach at the end of phrases.

### 38 A Grammar of Cheke Holo

Third, these CH surface elements are separate grammatical elements (following Dixon, 2010a:221), and each is to be regarded as a separate grammatical word. These are not able to stand alone in CH, and as such, each is unable to make a phonological word by itself.

Verbs are the hosts for the direct object enclitics and for the completive and continuative aspectual clitics. The direct object enclitic must attach as enclitic to the host verb as, in (120), rather than either as a proclitic, or as a free form, occurring in a position other than enclitic, as in the two examples in (121):

(120) *mana cheke=ni*  
3SG.M talk=3SG.OBJ  
'He says it.'

(121) \**mana ni=cheke*  
3SG.M 3SG.OBJ=talk  
\*'he says it'

\**mana ni cheke*  
3SG.M 3SG.OBJ talk  
\*'he says it'

The analysis of the completive and continuative aspect markers is identical to that of direct object enclitics. The aspect markers both must attach as enclitic to the verb host, as in (122) and (124), rather than either as a proclitic or as a free form occurring in a position other than enclitic, shown in ungrammatical examples (123) and (125):

(122) *mana mei=hi*  
3SG.M come=COMP  
'He came-finish.'

(123) \**mana hi=mei*  
3SG.M COMP=come  
\*'he finish come'

(124) *mana mei=u*  
3SG.M come=CONT  
'He keeps coming.'

(125) \**mana u=mei*  
3SG.M CONT=come  
\*'he continues come'



Possession in CH is discussed in section 7.5.1. For the purpose of describing the presence of possessive enclitics, it is noted briefly that the CH possessive enclitics attach to both noun and verb hosts. First, clitics attaching to nouns is illustrated in examples (126) and (127):

(126) *Phoko = gna      mana    na      theome no = ġu*  
 shirt=3SG.POSS 3SG.M DEM<sup>15</sup> NEG ALN=1.SG.POSS  
 ‘His shirt, not mine.’

(127) *Phoko = gna      ukru mana    na      theome phoko = gna      vega*  
 shirt=3SG.POSS red 3SG.M DEM NEG shirt=3SG.POSS white  
 ‘His red shirt, not his white one.’

The possessive clitic must attach to the host noun and it cannot attach to the modifier of the noun. Thus, in attempting to change the hosts for the clitics in the previous example (127), the following construction in (128) is not attested:

(128) \**Phoko ukru = gna      mana    na      theome phoko    vega = gna*  
 shirt red=3SG.POSS 3SG.M DEM NEG shirt white=3SG.POSS  
 \*‘his red shirt, not his white one’

In the following triad of examples with a compound noun, contrast is shown by the possessive clitic attaching only to the head noun and not to either member of the compound noun construction which modifies the head noun:

(129) *suġa = gna      mae bi’o*  
 house=3SG.POSS man big  
 ‘house of the big man’

(130) \**suġa      mae = gna      bi’o*  
 house man = 3SG.POSS big  
 \*‘house of the man big’

(131) \**suġa      mae    bi’o = gna*  
 house man big = 3SG.POSS  
 \*‘house of the man big’

However, in example (132) the possessive enclitic attaches to the second member of a compound noun in a noun phrase when that head of phrase is further modified.

<sup>15</sup> The DEM ‘demonstrative’ gloss is used frequently in this book. In section (6.3.1), the various types of demonstratives in CH are discussed and more explicit glosses are given. Elsewhere, the DEM gloss is left underspecified so as to keep the length of the gloss line limited.

## 40 A Grammar of Cheke Holo

The possessive enclitic does not attach to the edge of the noun phrase, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (133).

(132) *suḡa mae bi'o=gna Nareabu*  
house man big=3SG.POSS Nareabu  
'house of the big man of Nareabu'

(133) \**suḡa mae bi'o Nareabu=gna*  
house man big Nareabu=3SG.POSS  
\*'house of the man big Nareabu'

In addition to possessive enclitics attaching to nouns, the verb can also serve as host for the possessive enclitic, as illustrated in (134). The enclitic attaches to the edge of the verb phrase, rather than to the noun phrase following, as in (135).

(134) *mei=gna mae Billy*  
come=3SG.POSS male Billy  
'Coming of Billy.'

(135) \**mei mae Billy=gna*  
come male Billy=3SG  
\*'come Billy of him.'

Stress distribution on the enclitics is illustrated in section 2.9.2.

### 2.11 Phonological considerations in nominalization

In CH grammar, nominalization of verbs occurs in four different phonemic environments. One environment is verbs which begin with voiceless stops. These verbs are nominalized through aspiration of the initial voiceless stops.

Table 6: Nominalization of verbs: voiceless stops

Verb	Nominalized form
/pukri/ 'to braid'	/p <sup>h</sup> ukri/ 'rope'
/pore/ 'to comb'	/p <sup>h</sup> ore/ 'comb'
/tatasu/ 'to sweep'	/t <sup>h</sup> atasu/ 'broom'
/toyu/ 'to poke a stick into'	/t <sup>h</sup> oyu/ 'stick for poking'
/koʔu/ 'to drink'	/k <sup>h</sup> oʔu/ 'water'
/kudʒo/ 'to make smoke'	/k <sup>h</sup> udʒo/ 'smoke'

Secondly, verbs that begin with liquids /l/ and /r/ are nominalised by the addition of /g/ before the liquid.

Table 7: Nominalization of verbs: liquids

Verb	Nominalized form
/lehe/ 'to die'	/glehe/ 'death'
/lapi/ 'to lick'	/glapi/ 'tongue'
/leka/ 'to shape the lines of a canoe's prow'	/gleka/ 'the shaped lines'
/roye/ 'to discuss'	/groye/ 'discussion'
/ragi/ 'to dance'	/gragi/ 'dance'
/rofo/ 'to be hungry'	/grofo/ 'hunger'

The third regular pattern of nominalization occurs with verbs which begin with a voiced velar fricative, /ɣ/. They are nominalized by changing the fricative to a stop.

Table 8: Nominalization of verbs: voiced velar fricative

Verb	Nominalized form
/γusna/ ‘to question’	/gusna/ ‘question’
/γeri/ ‘to travel on river’s edge’	/geri/ ‘edge of river’
/γoɾa/ ‘to paddle’	/goɾa/ ‘paddle’
/γapa/ ‘to stride’	/gapa/ ‘stride’

The fourth regular pattern of nominalization involves verbs that begin with the voiceless glottal fricative /h/. This fricative changes to voiceless alveolar nasal /ŋ/.

Table 9: Nominalization of verbs: voiceless glottal fricative

Verb	Nominalized form
/huge/ ‘to swell up’	/ŋuge/ ‘boil/sore’
/huga/ ‘to put on a belt’	/ŋuga/ ‘belt’
/hamu/ ‘to scoop’	/ŋamu/ ‘bailer’
/hogri/ ‘to change’	/ŋogri/ ‘changed’
/haru/ ‘to tie’	/ŋaru/ ‘knot’
/haburu/ ‘to join two end floats’	/ŋaburu/ ‘float ends’

CH speakers describe the overall pattern for this formation of nominalization by saying that the initial sound of the verb is “strengthened”. One can see from the examples and tables that in nominalizing verbs, the initial segment of the word shows a modification of the syllable onset. In some cases, a segment is added, such as with /h/ and /g/, while in other cases a phonological feature is altered ( $\gamma > g$ ) or added ([nas]).

A summary of the nominalization rules is as follows:

$C_{vl}V > C^h_{vl}V$   
 $LV > gLV$  (where  $L = /l/$  or  $/r/$ )  
 $yV > gV$   
 $hV > \eta V$

There is an additional nominalization process, and it is one that is not phonologically motivated. Even so, its description is arbitrarily placed here for reference with the other nominalization processes. This process involves the prefixing of /na/ to a certain set of verbs to realize a nominal form, as illustrated in Table 10. This set does not appear to be defined by morphological, phonological, or word class grounds, but is a lexicalized set of verbs which receive the nominalizing prefix.

Table 10: Nominalization of verbs: prefixing /na/

Verb	Nominalized form
/məyʉ/ 'to be afraid'	/naməyʉ/ 'fear'
/moja/ 'to be dry'	/namoja/ 'reef'
/fnera/ 'to wound'	/nafnera/ 'wound'
/ugra/ 'to fish'	/naʔugra/ 'fishing'
/uṃu/ 'to go fast'	/naʔuṃu/ 'speed'
/blau/ 'to steal'	/nablau/ 'thievery'
/taṃi/ 'to cry'	/natāṃi/ 'crying'

## 2.12 Reduplication

Reduplication of the first CV syllable of the verb stem is quite common in CH. The verb is the predominant word class which reduplicates, while there is some evidence for adjective reduplication, as described in section 4.2.3.3, and also occasional evidence of noun reduplication. It is noted in the following examples that there are various types of reduplication represented, including the copy of the first syllable, the CVV of the first syllable, or the entire root. The purpose in this first section is to show the various purposes of reduplication as a general notion, rather than describe the various structural types. That description will follow, starting in 2.12.1.

#### 44 A Grammar of Cheke Holo

Verbal reduplication serves two main purposes.<sup>16</sup> The first purpose is the most common, and that is to prolong or intensify the event or action which is being referred to, illustrated in (136) and (137).<sup>17</sup>

(136) /filo/ > /fifilo/  
'look' > 'gaze'

(137) /tʃuru/ > /tʃutʃuru/  
'pierce' > 'sew up'

The second function of verbal reduplication is to change intransitive verbs to transitive verbs, as in (138).

(138) /fruni/ > /fufruni/  
'to be covered' > 'to cover something'

As mentioned, noun reduplication does occur though it is not widespread. It functions to note diversity of the noun:

(139) /soa/ > /soasoa/  
'stripe' > 'multi-color stripes'

Another documented purpose of noun reduplication is establishing a figurative use for the reduplicated form from the root noun, as in (140), (141) and (142).

(140) /sua/ > /suasua/  
'child' > 'banana seed pod'

(141) /tʃau/ > /tʃautʃau/  
'banana' > 'kidney'

(142) /buri/ > /buiburi/  
'biting fly' > 'gossip'

Another function of noun reduplication is deriving a verb from a noun, as in the following three examples.

---

<sup>16</sup> Lynch *et al* (2002:44) mentions common purposes of reduplication in Oceanic as randomness of action, repetition, actor and patient plurality, and derivation of intransitive from transitive verbs. The latter function is reversed in CH as noted in the description, that is, the derivation of transitive verbs from intransitive.

<sup>17</sup> It is noted here that many of the reduplicated verbal forms are listed in the CH dictionary without full documentation of meaning. Where the meaning has not been explicitly stated, it is understood that duration, intensity, or repetition is intended. This follows White's indication of the main functions of this process.

- (143) /bela/ > /beabela/  
 ‘wooden platform’ > ‘to stack up firewood’
- (144) /beku/ > /bebeku/  
 ‘burial ground’ > ‘to bury’
- (145) /tʃara/ > /tʃatʃara/  
 ‘rubbish’ > ‘be untidy’

There are three types of reduplication, classified as full reduplication; partial reduplication; and syllable reduplication. Each is now examined in turn.

### 2.12.1 Full reduplication

At least fifty-three examples of full reduplication are listed in the CH dictionary corpus. Of these, sixteen show productive reduplication. That is, sixteen fully reduplicated forms are comprised of root words which are identified as single lexical items which undergo reduplication. The other thirty-eight words have fully reduplicated forms, but those reduplicated forms are described as lexically reduplicated. That is, the root form within the word does not constitute a separate word in CH. In terms of semantic grouping, approximately one third of the members of this class exhibit some meaning related to motion or posture. Examples of productive and non-productive forms include the following.

Productively reduplicated forms:

- (146) /bue/ > /buebue/  
 ‘to fan’ > ‘to keep fanning’
- (147) /vra/ > /vravra/  
 ‘jump up’ > ‘be quick to act’
- (148) /ʔiju/ > /ʔijuʔiju/  
 ‘read’ > ‘keep reading’
- (149) /toe/ > /toetoe/  
 ‘spy’ > ‘stare at’

For fully reduplicated words, examples of non-productive forms, of which the non-reduplicated form does not constitute a word in CH, include:

- (150) /losoloso/ ‘flail with arms and legs’  
 (151) /ʔaloʔalo/ ‘twitch legs when sleeping’

(152) /grumagrama/ ‘commotion made by a pack of dogs chasing a pig in the forest’

(153) /ʔodoʔodo/ ‘walk in a slow, stooped fashion’

### 2.12.2 Partial, or “White’s rule” reduplication

According to White (White 1995:790) CH reduplication is formed by deleting the second consonant of a CVCV shape and thus producing a first syllable which is CVV in a resulting CVVCVCV word. This partial reduplication is here classed as “White’s rule” reduplication, following his major proposition regarding reduplication.<sup>18</sup> Thus,

(154) /bela/ > /beabela/  
 ‘wooden platform’ > ‘stack up firewood’

(155) /tʃari/ > /tʃaitʃari/  
 ‘run’ > ‘move swiftly’

(156) /heta/ > /heaheta/  
 ‘strong (adj.)’ > ‘be strong/assertive’

(157) /nuri/ > /nuinuri/  
 ‘wind’ > ‘breezy’

It is noted here that the rule also extends to a CCVCV shape, as in the following example. The initial CC is retained in the reduplicated form.

(158) /bligo/ > /bliobligo/  
 ‘wave hand/fan flame’ > ‘wave lighted stick on road’

Non-productive reduplicated CCVCV forms include:

(159) /knauknaru/ ‘rough surface’

---

<sup>18</sup> White indicates that this is the overall, underlying reduplication process in CH, and he does not distinguish between the three classes in the way that I am proposing. He does not address full reduplication, and for the reduplication operation which I term syllable reduplication, he says (1990:790) that “it is also common in pronunciation to drop the second vowel in the double vowel syllable.” However, in the examples he gives, there is only one which is of the double-vowel type, as the rest are non-same vowels. White’s proposal for the underlying reduplication pattern means that there is no third class, but simple speaker preference on the large set of words which undergo what I term syllable reduplication. However, to capture the broad and noticeable pattern and indicate this as a reduplication class, I have proposed the syllable reduplication class as underlying for that large group of words, rather than projecting an arbitrary sort of variation of the partial, “White’s rule” class in which speakers simply drop the second vowel.



- (160) /groirovi/ ‘large stone overhanging water’  
 (161) /grouromu/ ‘riddle’

The dictionary corpus shows a total of at least sixty-seven occurrences of this type reduplication, and at least forty-two of these are productively reduplicated. Unlike the fully reduplicated class, there does not appear to be a significant semantic grouping within this class. Nor does there appear to be any phonological, morphological, or semantic grounds for suggesting the motivation of this type reduplication as opposed to full reduplication.

There are two examples of this partial reduplication showing two of the same vowels successively occurring after the reduplication process, and in this case, the second vowel elides. This is because same successive vowels do not occur in CH without an intervening glottal stop. Thus, in example (162), the second /a/ in the reduplicated form elides, and yields /brabrana/ as the reduplicated form.<sup>19</sup> The process might thus be described as:

- (162) /brana/ > /braa/ + /brana/ > /brabrana/  
 ‘hot’ > ‘warm/lukewarm’

The same process is observed in (163):

- (163) /fagrougrounu/ ‘procrastinate’, and not \*/fagrouugrounu/

### 2.12.3 Syllable reduplication

Reduplication of the first syllable occurs in at least sixty-two lexical items, and all but one of these is productively reduplicated. There does not appear to be phonological, morphological, or semantic evidence to suggest a motivating difference in this process from either of the other two. Examples include:

- (164) /nolo/ > /nonolo/  
 ‘to walk’ > ‘go walking about’
- (165) /daḷa/ > /dadala/  
 ‘cut skin’ > ‘repetitive cutting of skin’
- (166) /haṇa/ /hahaṇa/  
 ‘hurry’ > ‘out of breath’

---

<sup>19</sup> It is perhaps reasonable to suggest that these examples would cause one to rename this class “White’s rule (amended)” rather than “White’s rule”. However, since these are the only two examples discovered in the corpus which yield a successive vowel environment, the anomaly is simply noted here.

## 48 A Grammar of Cheke Holo

(167) /beku/ > /bebeku/  
'burial ground' > 'to bury'

(168) /vahi/ > /vavahi/  
'choose' > 'process of choosing'

There are at least five words in this class which have an initial consonant cluster. Two of these have a /km/ cluster, and this cluster is reduplicated in the echo syllable formation.

(169) /kmeri/ > /kmekmeri/  
'blink' > 'keep blinking'

(170) /kmokhu/ > /kmokmohu/  
'stop' > 'continue to cease'

However, for words in this class which have an initial consonant cluster, and the second C in the cluster is /r/, the C elides when the echo syllable is formed.

(171) /froʔ/ > /fofroʔ/  
'squeeze' > 'keep squeezing'

(172) /breku/ > /bebreku/  
'break' > 'keep breaking'

(173) /fruni/ > /fufruni/  
'cover' > 'cover completely'

### 2.12.3.1 Reduplication of vowel-initial words

If the stem has only a V as the initial syllable and the word is of the form VC(C)V or VV, then a glottal stop is added after the reduplication of the initial V to form the reduplication.<sup>20</sup> This is illustrated in examples (174) - (176):

(174) /aknu/ > /aʔaknu/  
'strike' > 'beat'

(175) /afi/ > /aʔafi/  
'wipe after defecating' > 'hold defecation in hand'

---

<sup>20</sup> Or, this can be further described as following from the underlying realization that all seemingly vowel initial words actually start in a glottal stop phonemically.

- (176) /ei/ > /eʔei/  
 ‘do’ > ‘repeatedly do’

### 2.12.3.2 Aspiration

In syllable reduplication, occasional aspiration of /t/ is noted in certain words.<sup>21</sup> The occurrence of this aspiration is not predictable. In the reduplication process of each of the following, the /t/ of the root is aspirated in the reduplicated word:

- (177) /taji/ > /tat<sup>h</sup>aji/  
 ‘take care’ > ‘continue to take care’
- (178) /tora/ > /tot<sup>h</sup>ora/  
 ‘open’ > ‘keep open’
- (179) /tuge/ > /tut<sup>h</sup>uge/  
 ‘hammer’ > ‘keep hammering’

However, in the following words, the /t/ of the root is not aspirated. There is no apparent phonological, morphological, or semantic reason for the differences from the lexical items noted above which do exhibit aspiration.

- (180) /tok<sup>h</sup>i/ > /totok<sup>h</sup>i/  
 ‘bump into’ > ‘keep bumping into’
- (181) /tohi/ > /totohi/  
 ‘peel’ > ‘keep peeling’
- (182) /tutu/ > /tututu/  
 ‘fight with fists’ > ‘keep fighting with fists’

### 2.12.3.3 Voicing alternations on nasals

There is evidence of voicing alternation on a nasal during reduplication. The word /maku/ ‘strong’ is acted upon by the causative prefix /fa/ to yield /famaku/ ‘to make strong’. However, in the reduplicated form of /famaku/, the voiced nasal becomes voiceless:

- (183) /famaŋakhu/ ‘to continue to make strong’

---

<sup>21</sup> There is also one example of this in the full reduplication class. The motion verb (common to the major semantic grouping of that class) /tei/ ‘to go’ becomes /teit<sup>h</sup>ei/ ‘journey’.

### 2.12.3.4 Multiple reduplicated forms

The reduplication of /filo/ ‘look’ patterns after more than one class. First, /filo/ reduplicates to /fifilo/ ‘to gaze at’, following the syllable reduplication class. Also, /filo/ follows the pattern of the “White’s rule”, partial class, to reduplicate to /fiofilo/ meaning to ‘watch over’, or ‘care for’. Thus, there are two reduplication processes noted on the same root. However, full reduplication of the root, \*/filofilo/, is not attested in the data.

The multiple forms can also be observed in the reduplication of /fota/ ‘to divide’, namely /fofota/ and /foafota/, though there is not an apparent difference in meaning between the reduplicated forms. The two are variant forms meaning ‘to continue in the divided state’. As similarly noted for /filo/, the fully reduplicated form of the root, /fota/, is not attested.

## 2.13 Orthographic conventions

### 2.13.1 Orthography of this book and its history

The orthography used in this book is based on that which is described in Table 1 for consonants and Table 2 for vowels.

David Bosma (personal communication, 1998), has provided the bulk of the background information pertinent to this section. He reported that while he and White both attempted to apply their phonological analyses to what they regarded as an improved orthography, these efforts were met with firm resistance by CH speakers. Linguists and missionaries from the late 19th and early 20th centuries helped the CH people to write down their language, and the orthography used at that time has in turn been passed down to successive generations of CH speakers.<sup>22</sup> It is still in use in what I term the historical orthographic representation. Bosma particularly made a studied attempt to revise the orthography for the benefit of CH speakers. Before discussing Bosma’s proposed revised orthography, the consonantal

---

<sup>22</sup> It is obvious that there is a need to uncover some sources, oral or written, which can help us to determine exactly how the Cheke Holo language was first written, and then analyse any changes which may have occurred between then and now. Ray (1926) provided the earliest published documentation of the language, but a history of the actual spelling by the people themselves is unfortunately not available. All I have ever been told is, “This is the way we have always written it.” Further interaction yields the information that “early missionaries wrote it down.” That statement generates many more questions than it answers, but does indicate there is some history which needs uncovering. I know of no current source for accessing that information. Interestingly, Besnier (1995:xv) says the same for Nukulaelae, stating “how Nukulaelae Islanders developed historically the orthographic system that they currently use to write their language is undocumented. One can surmise that they tailored it on the orthography that London Missionary Society missionaries devised in the early nineteenth century for Samoan.” The CH orthography was perhaps fashioned after work done by missionaries in Bughotu, which as noted, served as the “church language” for the island for many years.

phonemes are listed in Table 11 with corresponding information on how CH speakers have historically represented their orthography.

Table 11: Table of historical representation of the orthography  
(note: Consonantal Phonemes are described next to the Historical Representation)

ConPhoneme	HistRepresentation	ConPhoneme	HistRepresentation
p	p	ɣ	g
p <sup>h</sup>	ph	x	gh
t	t	h	h
t <sup>h</sup>	th	m	m
k	k	ᵿ	mh
k <sup>h</sup>	kh	n	n
ʔ	∅	ᵿ	nh
b	b	ŋ	ñ
d	d	ᵿ	ñh
g	ḡ	ɲ	gn
tʃ	ch	ɲ	gnh
dʒ	j	l	l
f	f	l̥	lh
s	s	r	r
v	v	r̥	rh
z	z		

### 2.13.2 Bosma's suggested revised orthography

The basic revision, as described by Bosma (personal communication 1998), concerned the representation of two different sound patterns: 1) those reflecting a range of voiceless consonants, and 2) those reflecting voiced velar stops and nasals. He suggested twelve changes in the orthography.<sup>23</sup>

As noted in Table 12, all of the nasals, laterals, and trills have voiceless counterparts. The voiceless sound was described by Bosma as the production of the consonantal sound preceded by a puff of air. He represented this sound in the language by the letter 'h' preceding the consonant. The voiced stops /b d g/ all have voiceless and voiceless aspirated phonemic counterparts, but Bosma's suggested

<sup>23</sup> For a fuller description of this history, see Boswell, F., 2001.

## 52 A Grammar of Cheke Holo

orthographical changes were not directed at any features related to these phonemes, since they were written in an easily reproduced way. In the same type patterning, Bosma felt another adjustment was needed with the representation of the voiceless continuants /ɸ/ and /ɸ̄/. Thus, for example, /ɸoti/ ‘prevent’ was spelled *hloti*.

The representation of the voiced velar fricative presented another type challenge and the possible adjustment was thus different in that the ‘h’ took a position following rather than preceding the consonant. Bosma represented the /ɣ/ as ‘gh’.<sup>24</sup>

The second type of sound pattern requiring orthographic adjustment concerned the occurrence of voiced velar stops and nasals. Bosma proposed an adjustment for the voiced velar stops when occurring before lateral or trill continuants. Thus, in the word /glimai/ ‘five’, the CH people had always represented the velar stop with what they called a ‘g bar’ or  $\bar{g}$ , and spelled it as in *ḡlimai* ‘five’. Bosma proposed doing away with the ‘g bar’ representation in these environments, because even though /g/ and /ɣ/ phonemically contrast, the voiced velar fricative /ɣ/ never occurs before /l/ or /r/, and thus the contrast is neutralized.

Bosma’s same idea held for the representation of voiced velar nasal /ŋ/ and voiceless velar nasal /ɸ̄/. He felt that the /ŋ/ could be represented as ‘ng’ rather than as  $\bar{n}$ , or ‘n bar’. Unlike /g/, the /ŋ/ occurs in non-predictable environments. Following the same pattern as other voiceless nasals, the /ɸ̄/ would be written as ‘hng’.

Bosma’s major effort at demonstrating and promoting the new orthography was the publication of the book, *Life in our village: short stories from Nareabu, Santa Isabel, Solomon Islands* (1981b). A few years later, after gathering his own data, White prepared to publish his dictionary in this new orthography as outlined below in Table 12. Phonemes which are affected by the revised orthography are marked by an asterisk before the phoneme.

---

<sup>24</sup> It is noted that at the time of Bosma’s suggested revision, he had not yet identified in his research the voiceless velar fricative phoneme /x/. If he had, it is logical that he would have applied the same principle of representing a voiceless phoneme with ‘h’ to indicate what he called the ‘puff of air preceding the sound’. And thus, the representation for the voiceless velar fricative would have been ‘hgh’, as noted in Table 12, and it is counted as one of the 12 changes that I cite.

Table 12: Suggested Revisions to Orthography  
 (note: ConPhoneme=Consonantal Phoneme; HistRepresentation=Historical Representation; BosmaSuggestion=Bosma Suggested Revision)

ConPhoneme	HistRepresentation	BosmaSuggestion
p	p	p
p <sup>h</sup>	ph	ph
t	t	t
t <sup>h</sup>	th	th
k	k	k
k <sup>h</sup>	kh	kh
*ʔ	∅	,
b	b	b
d	d	d
*g	ḡ	g
tʃ	ch	ch
dʒ	j	j
f	f	f
s	s	s
v	v	v
z	z	z
*ɣ	g	gh
*x	gh	hgh
h	h	h
m	m	m
*ṁ	mh	hm
n	n	n
*ṅ	nh	hn
*ṇ	n̄	ng
*ṅ̄	n̄h	hng
*ṇ̄	gn	ng
*ṅ̄̄	gnh	hgn
l	l	l
*l̄	lh	hl
r	r	r
*r̄	rh	hr

### 2.13.3 Affirmation of historical representation

Despite Bosma and White's best efforts at promoting the new orthography, the CH speakers were not satisfied. It was felt that the early orthographic rendering of CH was sufficient overall, and should not be modified. After all, if it could be read and written, why change to a new orthography.<sup>25</sup>

Bosma acceded to the wishes of the people and the local translators and he encouraged publication with the long-standing orthography. All books published in the language since then have used the original orthography. These volumes include White's dictionary (White 1988), children's Bible story books (Piaso 1992a, 1992b), a book of stories published by the National Literacy Committee (Boswell, F. 1991), pre-reading books (Boswell, B. 1991a, 1991b), the New Testament (Committee 1993; reprinted 1995 and 2007), comics (Piaso 1999a, 1999b), Bible story books (Piaso n.d.), Old Testament portions (Committee 2005), and the reprinting of the CH hymnal, *Khoje Blahi*, in 2016.

### 2.13.4 A further revision?

As of this writing in June 2018, the CH speakers are being introduced to yet another possibility for orthographic changes. This effort is being led by the current Bible translation team of the Diocese of Isabel of the Church of Melanesia. Ironically, this trial orthography notably does away with the diacritics which Bosma sought in the 1970s to remove for ease of typing. The suggested revisions are motivated by the word processing input of their work on the Old Testament translation. While future publications might incorporate some or all these proposed changes, the historical orthography is still 'official' and in use. For example, as noted in the previous section, the CH Hymn Book (*Khoje Blahi*) was reprinted in 2016 with the historic, current orthography.

## 2.14 Summary

The CH phoneme inventory consists of 31 consonants and 5 vowels. Most phonemes have only one allophone. CH phonology demonstrates predominantly open syllables, though there are some rare exceptions. Namely, of the 22 consonant sequences in CH, there are four which participate in forming codas of syllables. It is noted that these four clusters are those which never occur word initially. These consonantal sequences are /mn/, /ŋn/, /mb/, and /ŋg/. Four syllable words are attested in the language, though words of three syllables or less comprise the usual word length. CH syllable patterns are attested as showing regular penultimate

---

<sup>25</sup> The only change incorporated was the use of an apostrophe to represent the glottal stop. It is noted that while accepted as a useful representation, it was not consistently applied in orthographic renderings.



syllable stress, though there are a few lexical items which demonstrate either ultimate or initial stress on a three syllable word. Nominalization in certain phonological environments is a significant feature of CH phonology. These four environments are: nominalization of verbs which begin with voiceless stops, verbs which begin with liquids, verbs which begin with voiced velar fricatives, and verbs which begin with voiceless glottal fricative. Reduplication of the first CV syllable of the verb stem is quite common in CH. The verb is the predominant word class which reduplicates. There are various types of reduplication represented, including the copy of the first syllable, the CVV of the first syllable, or the entire root.

Linguists and missionaries from the late 19th and early 20th centuries helped the CH people to write down their language, and the orthography used at that time has in turn been passed down to successive generations of CH speakers. That orthography is still in use. It is the one used in this book, and is described for consonants in Table 1 and for vowels in Table 2.



### 3 Nominals

#### 3.1 Introduction

CH has a large, open class of nouns. These are classified by semantic and morphosyntactic features, as discussed in sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2. CH nouns demonstrate fairly typical Oceanic distinctions between alienability and inalienability, as described in section 3.2.3. This chapter describes in detail various categorizations of nouns, including those which reference people (3.2.4); proper nouns (3.2.5); kinship nouns (3.2.6); compound nouns (3.2.7) and their various compound constructions with other nouns, with verbs, and with adjectives; count and mass nouns (3.2.8); borrowed nouns (3.2.9); temporal nouns (3.2.10); and, directionals (3.2.11). CH pronouns occur as subjects and objects, and syntactically in the head position of a noun phrase or in a possessor relationship to a noun. CH has four singular pronouns (3.3.2), and 16 non-singular pronouns (3.3.3). A gender distinction is made in the third person singular, though this contrast is very rare in Oceanic languages. Non-singular pronouns show distinction between plural, dual, and trial, as well as inclusivity and exclusivity in first person, and masculine and feminine in third person. Emphasis and reflexivity are marked in CH by the same pronoun (3.3.4). Reciprocity is demonstrated in CH not by a pronoun but by a circumfix (3.3.5). There is an indefinite pronoun *ihei* co-occurring with *mae* ‘man’ as *mae ihei* and glossed as ‘someone’ (3.3.6). There are two sets of demonstrative pronouns (3.3.7) marking specificity and proximity. They are introduced in this chapter, but described more fully in section 6.3.1.6.

#### 3.2 Nouns

Nouns in CH are distinguished from verbs and other word classes by certain semantic and morphosyntactic criteria as described in the following sections.

##### 3.2.1 Semantic and morphosyntactic classification

Semantically, nouns prototypically denote entities (which are time-stable concepts) while verbs refer to events (which are non-time stable concepts). Despite not having been classified this way for any Isabel language (or any other Austronesian/Oceanic language in Solomons that I know of), I follow Ezard (1997:51-52) to propose that CH nouns can be grouped into four main classes according to the response given to four basic interrogatives. (This is an expansion from what Lynch *et al* (2002:37) describes for regular classification in Oceanic of “personal, local, or common” nouns.) Each class in turn is composed of several subclasses. While these serve as convenient groupings for cataloguing purposes, it is noted that various members of the noun classes are marked with morphosyntactic features such as possessor clitics and gender (biological, rather than linguistic) reference markers. These features will be discussed in turn.

Class A: Personal Nouns (response to question word *hei* ‘who’)

- (a) personal names — Fihu, Rose
- (b) reference to humans — *mae* ‘man’, *sua* ‘child’
- (c) kinship terms — *ido* ‘mother’, *nebu* ‘uncle’
- (d) reference to position — *velepuihi* ‘teacher’, *funei* ‘chief’

Class B: Place Nouns (response to question word *heva* ‘where’)

- (a) place names — Nareabu, Jejevo
- (b) locational names — *holo* ‘the interior/bush’, *thoñna* ‘sea’
- (c) directional names — *magati* ‘south-eastward’, *raru* ‘towards the sea’

Class C: Time Words (response to question word *niha* ‘when’)

- (a) relative time — *nathui* ‘tomorrow’, *gōgnaro* ‘now’
- (b) absolute time — *narane* ‘day’, *boñi* ‘night’

Class D: Common Nouns (response to question word *unha* ‘what’)

- (a) body parts — *khame* ‘arm’, *tatha* ‘eye’
- (b) quantifiers — *keha* ‘another one’, *khata* ‘small portion’
- (c) abstract nouns — *namha* ‘love’, *glealea* ‘happiness’
- (d) food — *gā’usa* ‘betel nut’, *bosu* ‘pig’
- (e) other nouns — *suḡa* ‘house’, *mola* ‘canoe’

The classes mentioned are prototypical, and are not necessarily restrictive. That is, nouns which occur in one class are not necessarily confined to that class, but can occur in another as well. In describing these further, I catalogue these in Table 13, which identifies selected features for each of these classes. Namely, the Table identifies whether or not these are inflected by pronominal clitics, inflected for possession or pluralization, and syntactically catalogued as to whether or not these occur with adjectives, quantifiers, biological gender markers, or demonstratives.

Table 13: Selected Functions of Noun Sub-classes

(The A, B, C, or D Class corresponds with each of the ‘main’ classes described above, and the A-E under each main class refers to the sub-classes, also as described above. For each feature, += attested, - = not attested)

Function	Class A Personal Nouns				Class B Place Nouns			Class C Time Words		Class D Common Nouns				
	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	A	B	A	B	C	D	E
INFLECTIONS pronominal clitic possessed plural form	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+
SYNTAX with adjective with quantifiers with gender marker with demonstrative	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+
	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

### 3.2.2 Morphosyntactic criteria to distinguish nouns

CH nouns can productively be classified according to the following morphosyntactic criteria. First, syntactically, nouns fill the head slot of noun phrases.

(184) *mola na*  
canoe DEM  
‘this canoe’

(185) *ḡaju bi'o fara*  
tree big very  
‘very big tree’

Secondly, CH nouns combine with attributes and demonstratives. Two CH determiners, namely demonstratives and quantifiers, prominently distinguish nouns from verbs. The presence of articles is not attested in CH. Determiners are discussed in section 6.3.1. In example (186), the personal noun *nalha'u* ‘male’ is modified by the proximal demonstrative *gne*, ‘this’.

(186) *Mae nalha'u gne n̄ala jateu te mae bi'o = gna*  
 man male DEM just like PRS man big=3SG.POSS

*te = u ka thabukna = gna na*  
 PRS=CONT LOC family=3SG.POSS DEM  
 'This man is the one that is like the big man (i.e. 'prominent leader') of the family.'

However, by way of contrast, the following is not attested, as the CH verb is not modified by a determiner:

(187) \**Mana mei gne*  
 3SG.M come DEM  
 \*He comes this.'

In example (188), two proper nouns, one singular (*Keke*, man's name) and one plural (*Tasiu*, members of a church missionary group) are modified with the proximate singular demonstrative *gne* 'this', and the proximate plural demonstrative *ḡre* 'these'. (These 'distance' distinctions are discussed further in section 6.3.1.2.)

(188) *Egume mae Keke gne pukuni togo = di fara*  
 CONJ man Keke DEM truly help=3PL.OBJ very

*mae Tasiu ḡre egu*  
 man k.o.church.order DEM like.that  
 'And so, Keke truly helped these Tasiu a lot, like that.'

Thirdly, nouns in CH can be modified by adjectives and quantifiers. These quantifiers can be numerals, ordinals, and definite or indefinite amounts. This is illustrated in section 6.5 in a discussion of numerals and quantifiers.

Fourthly, it is noted that while nouns can be possessed (189), this is not a contrastive feature in CH, as verbs can also be possessed (190).

(189) *suḡa = gna mae Fred*  
 house = 3SG.POSS man Fred  
 'house of Fred'

(190) *mei = gna mae Fred*  
 come = 3SG.POSS man Fred  
 'coming of Fred'

When possessive pronouns or clitics occur with verb roots, these are nominalized, as described in section 7.5.1.3. The semantic categories in which possessors can

occur are personal nouns (e.g. those referring to humans, kinship terms, reference to position) and most common nouns.

### 3.2.3 Alienable and inalienable nouns

CH has alienable and inalienable nouns. This semantic distinction between alienable possession as possession which can be terminated, and inalienable which cannot be terminated, corresponds to Lynch *et al*'s (2002:37,41) discussion on common Oceanic categorization of direct and indirect possession and the usual resulting morphosyntactic patterns. That is, direct possession corresponds to semantic inalienability and indirect possession corresponds to semantic alienability.

In terms of alienable possession, CH alienable nouns consist of two classes: those which are edible<sup>26</sup> (*ḡano* 'food', *khumara* 'potato', *bosu* 'pig') and those which are non-edible (*mola* 'canoe', *suḡa*<sup>27</sup> 'house' and *ḡaju* 'tree'). Each class is marked by a separate possessive inflected pronoun (i.e. the 'root' *ge-* plus enclitics for edible, and *no-* plus enclitics for non-edible) preceding the noun. See section 7.5.1 for a fuller description, including the listing of alienable possession pronouns in Table 36.

In terms of inalienable possession, various CH noun-relationships can be described as being in an inalienably possessed relationship with their possessor. These nouns can be categorized by kin relationships (*kheto* 'spouse'), part-whole relationships (including body parts, such as *gahe*, 'foot'), and some human emotions (e.g. *di'anagnafa* 'sadness'). Inalienable possession is marked by possessive enclitics hosted by the inalienable noun. See Table 36 for a listing of inalienable possession enclitics, and the descriptions of inalienable possession in section 7.5.1.

Example (191) shows kinship terms in an alienable possessed relationship with the possessor pronoun.

(191) *Nei mei au ka iara no=ḡu sua re*  
 CONJ come be LOC 1SG ALN=1SG.POSS child PL

*no=ḡu ḡra=ḡu iara egu*  
 ALN=1SG.POSS grandchildren=1SG.POSS 1SG like.that  
 'And, my children and grandchildren have come to stay.'

<sup>26</sup> These are not only consumable, but also can be parted with, as in sold or bartered. The same can certainly be said for certain members of the non-consumable group of alienable nouns.

<sup>27</sup> *Suḡa* is one example of a lexical item which exhibits free variation of both alienable (*no=gna suḡa* 'his house') and inalienable (*suḡa=gna* 'his house') possession marking.

Next, (192) is an example of a common noun, *thonu* ‘story’, in possessor relationship, as well as a kinship noun, *khera=ḡu* ‘my friend’, in an inalienable possession relationship.

- (192) *No=ḡu thonu iara na khera=ḡu ro*  
 ALN=1SG.POSS story 1SG DEM friend=1SG.POSS PL  
 ‘That’s my story, my friends.’

Possession is a prominent feature of CH, and is thus discussed at length in the chapter on the noun phrase, starting in section 7.5.1.

### 3.2.4 Common nouns that refer to people

#### 3.2.4.1 People in general

There are nouns that refer to people in general, and others which refer to females, males, and children. The term *naikno* is used in a generic sense to indicate ‘people’. There is also a specialized sense in which *naikno*, when modified by *bi’o* ‘big’, indicates ‘older woman’, as discussed in section 3.2.4.2. *Naikno* can be used with a pronoun to designate a group of people who have an identity from a particular place. In referring to the people as a group which belong to a particular place, the usual syntactic pattern is *naikno* + possessive suffix, followed by place name, as in example (193). However, example (194) illustrates the optional omission of the possessive suffix, doing so without any apparent change of meaning.

- (193) *Naikno=di Nareabu ḡre mare magnahage=di scone*  
 people=3PL.POSS Nareabu DEM 3PL want=3PL.OBJ scone  
 ‘These people of Nareabu, they want scones!’

- (194) *Jame naikno Isabel ḡre teuna believe kolho ka kastom*  
 perhaps people Isabel DEM DEM believe just LOC custom  
 ‘About this, maybe these Isabel people just believe only in custom ways.’

#### 3.2.4.2 Females

As mentioned previously in this section, the general word for people, *naikno*, also designates ‘older adult female’ when modified by *bi’o* ‘big’.<sup>28</sup> As such it is often a term of respect for such a woman. In the following example, the census taker in

<sup>28</sup> CH is a matrilineal society. Since the CH *naikno* ‘people’ trace their lineage through the females, it is not known if this is the reason that the word *naikno* is used of females in an extended specialized sense, but it is perhaps at least one possible historically-based explanation.



Nareabu is reporting the number of people in the village and recapping the groups he counted.

- (195) ...*sua naikno bi'o mae bi'o egu gna namono gne*  
 ...child people big man big like.that 3SG.POSS place DEM  
 '[that's the count, including] children, older women, and the older men in this village, like that.'

Apart from *naikno* used to designate females, there are two other nouns referring to female which occur in CH, *ḡa'ase* and *nakrupe*. The corpus shows a large number of co-occurrences of *ḡa'ase* with words for 'child', doing so to distinguish male and female offspring. However, *ḡa'ase* is the generic word for female, and it can be used to indicate a female of any age. In (196), the speaker is recounting that a friend of a woman in labor can stay with her during delivery. Thus, the *ḡa'ase* in focus is that of a female of child-bearing age.

- (196) *Uve, khera=gna ḡa'ase re na nu keha naikno re theo*  
 Yes friend=3SG.POSS female PL DEM CONJ other people PL not.be  
 'Yes, friends of this woman [can stay] but not other people.'

In the following example, the speaker employs *ḡa'ase* co-occurring with *nalha'u* 'male' to indicate the desire of an engaged couple to marry.

- (197) *Repa fari-magnahage-i no=di kolho ḡa'ase nalha'u re*  
 3DU.F RECP-want-RECP ALN=3PL.OBJ just female male PL  
 'Just the two of them, the female and male, want each other.'

In (198), *ḡa'ase* is used in a general, collective noun sense, and it functions as the subject of the sentence.

- (198) *Ḡa'ase gne te mala fa-brahu=gna vike*  
 female DEM PRS PUR CAUS-long=3SG.POSS line  
 'It is that the females are the ones that lengthen the family line.'

*Nakrupe* is used of an older woman. Inherent in the meaning of the term is the sense of honor and respect accorded to achievement of many years of life and the perceived accompanying wisdom. Thus this is a special term used by the population to refer to a group of women who are due extra respect. In the following example, *nakrupe* co-occurs (though not obligatorily) with *naikno* 'people/women'.

- (199) *Mare eha mae funei re naikno nakrupe funei*  
 3PL shout man chief PL people woman chief

*mae prisi egu*  
 man priest like.that

‘They the chiefs shouted out [to gather] honored women, the chiefs and the priests, like that.’

The term has also taken on special significance when referring to two of the most important women in the (CH) world: the Virgin Mary and the Queen of England. *Nakrupe* is the term used for many years by the church to refer to the Queen of England in the intercessory prayer section of the *Buka Tharai* ‘Prayer Book’. It is used to refer to the Virgin Mary in the Magnificat section in Luke’s Gospel. Thus, the idea of ‘older woman due respect’ is not in focus in these exceptions, but instead the focus is restricted to ‘due exceptional respect, and that not based on longevity.’

*Thau* is used to denote either a particular group of women, or women in a collective sense.

- (200) *Puhi te keli na e thuatufa fa-ge=di*  
 way REL good DEM EMP share CAUS-FOOD=3PL.OBJ

*thau te au rofo*  
 women REL be hungry

‘This way that is really good [is] to share food with women that are hungry.’

*Thau* can be modified for specificity. For example, to indicate a group that consists primarily of older women, then *thau* is modified by the adjective *bi’o* ‘big’ in the immediately following syntactic slot, as in (201). Likewise a group of nurses is indicated by *thau nosi* ‘women nurses’ in (202). Or, to indicate just one of the members of the *thau* group under discussion, the quantifier *kaisei* ‘one’ can appear in the immediately preceding syntactic slot, as in (203).

- (201) *Thau bi’o are egu te theo naikno=di te*  
 women big PL like.that PRS not.be people=3PL.POSS REL

*rei~regi=di teure*  
 DUR~care.for=3PL.OBJ DEM

‘It is like that, that these older women [are the ones] that have no one that looks after them.’

(202) *Jare me fa-karha ka mae dokta ne keli ne thau*  
 there INCP CAUS-live LOC man doctor PST good PST women

*nosi ne keli ne egu*  
 nurse PST good PST like.that

‘There the birth deliveries were done well by the doctors and by the group of nurses who did a good job, like that.’

(203) *Ne filo=ni n̄a tahati kaisei thau bi’o te bukla*  
 PST see=3SG.OBJ NSP 1PL.INCL one women big REL pregnant

*te=u nu tahati la lase=ni=hila te au*  
 PRS=CONT CONJ 1PL.INCL IMM know=3SG.OBJ=COMPL PRS be

*sua te=u na’a na egu*  
 child PRS=CONT 3M>F DEM like.that

‘If we see one of the older women that is pregnant, then it is that we already know that she has children.’

Further, *thau* is modified by a relative clause, indicating poor women (204), or women of a particular clan (205). Typically, as shown in both examples, *thau* is the head of the NP, and the relative clause which modifies this head occurs in post-head syntactic position.

(204) *Filo kokhoni=di thau te kuma*  
 look mercy=3SG.OBJ women REL poor  
 ‘Look with pity upon the older women that are poor.’

(205) *Neke nalha’u Thauvia n̄a iago nu iago theome tañomana*  
 PST male Thauvia NSP 2SG CONJ 2SG NEG able

*teke tolagi ka thau te Thauvia na egu*  
 PSS marry LOC women REL Thauvia DEM like.that

‘If you were a boy from the Thavia clan, then it was that you were not able to marry from the women that are in the Thavia clan, like that.’

### 3.2.4.3 Male

*Nalha’u* is the word to indicate male, and is the generic male term counterpart to *ḡa’ase*, which is described in section 3.2.4.2. For an adult, it occurs in tandem with *mae* ‘man’, as in *mae nalha’u*, to indicate adult male. For a boy, it occurs in tandem with *sua* ‘child’, as in *sua nalha’u*.

(206) *Mae nalha’u neke tei uḡra visi*  
 man male PST go fish k.o.vine  
 ‘The men went visi vine fishing.’

- (207) *Iara au fati sua nalha'u*  
 1SG be four child male  
 'I have four boys.'

Nouns that refer to males directly by name are obligatorily marked by *mae* 'man', as in *mae Philip* 'man Philip'. There is no similar device to indicate females, though there is an optional female compound noun term *ido* 'mother' used to identify women of special status. When *mae* 'man' occurs without referring to a specific man, it is modified by count modifiers, such as *kaisei mae* 'one man' or *keha mae* 'some men'.

- (208) *Theo kaisei mae Malaita te au ka u plantesin*  
 not.be one man Malaita REL be LOC DEM plantation  
 'There isn't any man from Malaita that [is] at that plantation.'

- (209) *Eguteuna te au ka ministri tei tafri balu=di*  
 CONJ PRS be LOC ministry go all.about COM=3PL.POSS

*keha mae*

some man

'And it is that they are members of the ministry that go all about everywhere with some men.'

Apart from occurring with individual men's names, *mae* can reference a group of men from a specific place, such as men from a certain island, doing so without inflection:

- (210) *Uve u puhi te fari-hotei=di mae*  
 yes DEM problem REL RECP-middle=3PL.POSS man

*Guadalcanal mae Malaita ġre*

Guadalcanal man Malaita DEM

'Yes, [this is about] the problem that [occurred] between these men of Guadalcanal and these men of Malaita.'

*Mae* is used in a general sense to indicate a male who is in a particular profession, such as teaching.

- (211) *Ka gehati mae teacher=di jare re keha*  
 LOC 1PL.EXCL man teacher=3PL.POSS there PL some

*mae=di overseas*

man=3PL.POSS overseas

'Among us there are some men teachers who are from overseas.'

Or, *mae* is used to simply indicate a male worker. Note the possessive and non-possessive forms in the following two examples, both of which are common and appear in free variation.

(212) *mae ḡloku*  
 man work  
 ‘worker/servant’

(213) *Mae=gna ḡloku iago na e kaikaliti koba laña egu*  
 man=3SG.POSS work 2SG DEM EMP ready always also like.that  
 ‘You his servant, it is that you are always ready also, like that.’

As discussed, *mae* is inflected to indicate possession and identification. In this example, a plural possessive marker is used in tandem with a place name.

(214) *Gehati keha mae=mi Isabel*  
 1PL.EXCL some man=1PL.EXCL.POSS Isabel  
 ‘Some of us men from Isabel.’

Whereas White (1988) glossed both *mae* and *nalha’u* as ‘man’ in his dictionary,<sup>29</sup> there are similarities which yield synonymy, but also several differences.

Regarding similarities, they each can be modified by a number.

(215) *Eguteuna au thilo sua kaisei ḡa’ase pheī nalha’u egu*  
 CONJ be three child one female two male like.that  
 ‘And I have three children, one girl and two boys, like that.’

(216) *Theo kaisei mae Malaita te jare na*  
 not.be one man Malaita REL there DEM  
 ‘There is no man from Malaita that is there.’

A further similarity is that both *mae* and *nalha’u* occur with both CH terms for children, *sua* and *thugna*, both of which are discussed in section 3.2.6.4. The following pair of examples shows *mae* occurring with *sua* and *thugna*.

(217) *Phei mae sua Tholana theome doḡlo*  
 two man child Tholana NEG straight  
 ‘Two boys from Tholana are not right.’

(218) *Tifa na mae thu=gna neke Tasiu*  
 time.before DEM man child=3SG.POSS PST k.o.church.order  
 ‘A long time ago, his son was a Tasiu [church missionary].’

---

<sup>29</sup> He also listed ‘boy’ and ‘male’ as meanings for *nalha’u*.

In terms of differences between the male reference terms, *nalha'u* co-occurs with *ḡa'ase* as a descriptive reference of the sexes of a family's children, but *mae* does not co-occur with *ḡa'ase* in this function.

(219) *Eguteuna tei n̄a re'e ido=gna kma=gna*  
 CONJ go NSP 3PL.F mother=3SG.POSS father=3SG.POSS

*u ḡa'ase nalha'u ḡre me*  
 DEM female male DEM INCP  
 'And these parents of the boy (and) girl are going.'

Another difference is that *mae* does not obligatorily occur with *nalha'u*, but when referring to an adult, *nalha'u* always occurs with *mae*, as in (220), doing so except when *ga'ase* 'female' is also part of the subject, as in the previous example, (219).

(220) *Repa ke pulo ka suḡa=gna mae nalha'u na*  
 3DU.F PRF return LOC house =3SG.POSS man male DEM  
 'The two of them return to the house of the man.'

### 3.2.5 Proper nouns

Proper nouns are numerous in CH. In Isabel culture, this tends to revolve around four categories: 1) people's names, 2) the role or status of certain important people, 3) geographic place names, 4) terms related to the Church of Melanesia (COM).

In agreement with Kroeger's description (2005:46), proper nouns in CH differ from common nouns in that they are not modified by adjectives. However, CH proper nouns are modified by determiners, though this is not expected following Kroeger's (*ibid*) general categorization that proper nouns are not modified by determiners. Proper nouns refer to "specific individuals that both speaker and hearer can identify", and thus they do not require "various devices that render nouns more identifiable" (Payne 1997:39). Those devices include various possessors and relative clauses. CH proper nouns do not follow the Austronesian pattern pointed out by Payne (1997:39), in which special markers are used with proper names.

#### 3.2.5.1 People's names

Males in CH are regularly identified with *mae* 'man' as the lead member of a compound noun, such as *mae Fred* 'man Fred'. However, speakers do not have a consistent pattern of how they refer to the actual, specific names of males. CH males are named either at birth or at their *suita tabu* 'baptism' with what is referred to in Solomons as a "Christian name".<sup>30</sup> This name may or may not have anything to do

<sup>30</sup> This term is also found in Australian English. In light of Australian influence on various levels of Solomons society, it is reasonable to suggest this as the origin of this term in Solomons.

with a name referred to in Christian Scripture or Christian history. Thus the operative ‘Christian’ designator may not be relevant, but may simply be the name of a Westerner who was known by or in some kind of relationship with the family.

Additionally, males are often referred to by their *kastom* ‘custom’ name, such as Fihu or Lithu, rather than Selwyn or Mastus, their Christian names. However, there does not seem to be any kind of definitive pattern for this practice. There is a marked propensity to shorten names. Thus, the Christian name Godfrey is commonly rendered Fre /[fre], for example. Also, for certain names, only the last syllable is used, and then that syllable is commonly opened if not already so. Thus, a man Titus (spelled Taetus) in CH, is called /tus/ + /i/, or Tusi. There is no set pattern for determining or predicting this. The names which are shortened in this way are done so on an individual basis and though this is a common practice, they vary from person to person. Stress is usually found on the penultimate syllable.

Unlike the compound nouns which designate a male’s name, there is no corresponding compound noun construction which regularly indicates a female’s name. However, there is an optional term of respect for woman who have a significant place in CH society, such as the wife of a long-serving priest. This would entail the compound noun construction with the word *ido* ‘mother’, as in literally *ido Rosanna* ‘mother Rosanna,’ with the functional meaning as ‘the honored older woman, Rosanna.’ As such, the use of ‘mother’ is not in focus as an actual familial term or one with biological implications.

As similarly seen with males, there are irregular patterns for referring to the female along with a propensity for shortening. Also, married females often take the *kastom* name of their husbands, though it is not a given that they will be called by that name. For members of Nareabu community, Rose Lithu, for example, who is married to Lithu, is commonly known as Rose, or more fully as *Rose Lithu* when further distinguishing from any other Roses is needed.

This brief discussion is summed up by the following table.

Table 14: Personal Names in CH

Males, regularly designated by compound nouns	Females, optionally designated by compound nouns	Christian name	Kastom name	Christian and Kastom name combined	Shortened name
<i>mae Fred</i> 'man Fred'	<i>Rosanna</i> ; or for those with special status, <i>Ido</i> <i>Rosanna</i> 'mother Rosanna'	Taetus	Puhi	Taetus Puhi	Teatus > Tusi

### 3.2.5.2 CH nouns referring to an individual's role or status

Within this subcategory of proper nouns are several domains of CH nouns used in reference to an individual's role or status, and they are listed in the following table for reference.





term used for capital.<sup>31</sup> Though various designations might be found on some official government maps, natural landmarks such as mountains or rivers do not have CH names, but are just referred to as *tho gele bi'o* 'big hill/mountain', or *kho'u bi'o* 'big water=river'.

#### **3.2.5.4 Terms related to roles within the Church of Melanesia (COM)**

A local congregation of the Anglican Church of Melanesia (COM) is found in every Isabel village. Thus, a number of proper names have emerged from this entity, outlined in the following table.

---

<sup>31</sup> I have never heard a CH speaker refer to Buala as 'capital', though this is a common term in Solomons government references.

Table 16: CH Nouns: Roles or Status in the Church of Melanesia

Domain	CH Nouns	English gloss	Notes
priest	<i>mae prisi</i> <i>mae prisi retired</i> <i>mama</i> <sup>32</sup>	‘priest’ ‘retired priest’ ‘father’	<i>mae prisi</i> has replaced <i>mae mala fafara</i> (‘man for making sacrifice’) which was in earlier use in CH
priest in charge of a district	<i>mae nohi</i> <i>mae distrik</i> <i>mae d.p.</i>	‘priest of an area’ ‘district priest’ ‘d.p.’=abbreviation	d.p. seems to be coming into greater use
priest in charge of a region	<i>mae senior (priest)</i> <i>mae s.p.</i>	‘senior priest’ ‘s.p.’=abbreviation	oversees several COM districts in his region
bishop (of Isabel Diocese)	<i>mae bishop</i> <i>mae bishop retired</i>	‘bishop’ ‘retired bishop’	based in Jejevo
priest-in-training	<i>mae dikon</i>	‘deacon’	seminary graduate who serves a two year internship before ordination
catechist	<i>mae velepuhi</i>	‘catechist/teacher’	traditional CH term still used
	<i>mae catechist</i>	‘catechist’	this English term is unpredictably used
	<i>mae diuti</i>	‘catechist for current rotation’	the one who serves according to the assigned duty roster
Melanesian brotherhood missionary group	<i>mae Tasiu</i>	‘Tasiu’	full member of religious order
	<i>mae novis</i>	‘novice’	in-training for full membership
Bishop’s staff members	<i>mae vikar</i> <i>Diocesan sekrateri</i>	‘Vicar General’ ‘Diocesan secretary’	Bishop’s #2 man administrative leader
	<i>mae youth</i>	‘youth leader of Diocese’	

<sup>32</sup> *Mama* can be used both referentially and vocatively. As the latter, the priest’s Christian name immediately follows, such as *mama Andrew*.

### 3.2.6 Kinship nouns

The CH inventory of kinship nouns includes both generational and family terms as described in the following sections. These are typically marked syntactically with characteristics of direct possession and semantic inalienability for person and number by possessive pronominal enclitics. One notable exception is indicated by one of the child terms (*sua*, as described in the following table). In terms of vocative address, all of the kinship terms in Table 17, except those in the descent group and family domains, could be used vocatively. But the two most commonly used are *ido* ‘mother’ and *mama* ‘father’. The terms *ido* and *mama* are used vocatively without inflection. It is noted that the inflected possessive form of *mama* ‘father’ uses the stem *kma-*. For those kinship terms which are word stems, such as *khera-* ‘friend’, the vocative address would obligatorily include the inalienable first person singular enclitic. Thus the vocative term *khera=gu ro!* ‘my friends!’, for example, is commonly used to call village friends together for assembly. As described later in this section, taboo words occur within the domain of words designating in-laws. Birth order differentiation is lexically and not morphologically derived. A summary of the CH kinship terms is found in Table 17.

Table 17: CH Kinship Terms

(note: kinship terms which only occur with pronominal enclitics are marked with †)

Descent Group	<i>kokholo</i> (an untraceable lineage) <i>vike</i> (a traceable lineage)	Inalienable possession: <i>vike=gna</i> ‘his lineage’
Family	<i>thabukna</i> ‘biological family’ <i>thariakna</i> (synonym, but less common)	Inalienable possession: <i>thabukna=gna</i> ‘his family’
Parent	<i>ido</i> ‘mother’ <i>mama</i> ‘father’ † <i>kma-</i> ‘father’ <i>idogna kmagna</i> ‘parents’	Inalienable possession: <i>ido=gna</i> ‘his mother’ <i>kma=gna</i> ‘his father’
In-laws	† <i>nañho-</i> ‘mother-in-law’ <i>mama</i> ‘father-in-law’ <i>iva</i> ‘sibling-in-law’	Inalienable possession: <i>nañho=gna</i> ‘his mother-in-law’
Siblings	† <i>grega-</i> ‘cross-sex siblings’; ‘cousins’ † <i>thabusi-</i> ‘same sex siblings’ (esp. refers to males) † <i>tahi-</i> ‘younger sibling’ OR parallel cousin, same sex <i>nebu</i> (male-oriented term) ‘mother’s brother’ OR ‘sister’s son’	Inalienable possession: <i>grega=gna</i> ‘his cousin’

Spouse	<i>kheto</i> (either sex)	Inalienable possession: <i>kheto=gna</i> 'his wife'
Aunt/uncle	<i>fa-pea</i> 'make-two/second' + <i>ido</i> 'mother' OR + <i>kma-</i> 'father'	Inalienable possession: <i>fapea ido=gna</i> 'his aunt'
Child	‡ <i>thu-</i> 'child', root used for relational referential of either sex, and followed by <i>ḡa'ase</i> 'female' to indicate 'girl' or <i>nalha'u</i> 'male' to indicate 'boy'  <i>sua</i> 'child, baby, offspring' (not necessarily a kinship term, though it is in some contexts, nor is it a referential. It is contrasted with <i>thu-</i> , which is always referential.)	Inalienable possession: <i>thu=gna ḡa'ase</i> 'his female child'  Inalienable possession: <i>sua=ḡu</i> 'my child' OR Alienable possession (in free variation with inalienable marking): <i>no=ḡu sua</i> 'my child'; <i>sua</i> also can stand alone without possession marking, unlike <i>thu-</i>
Grandparent	<i>ku'e</i> 'older man/grandparent'  <i>kave</i> 'older woman/grandparent'	Inalienable possession: <i>ku'e=gna</i> 'his grandfather'
Grandchild	‡ <i>ḡra-</i> 'grandchild of either sex'; root is used for relational referential of either sex; if necessary for distinction, then the root is followed by <i>ḡa'ase</i> 'female' to indicate 'grand daughter' or <i>nalha'u</i> 'male' to indicate 'grandson'	Inalienable possession: <i>ḡra=ḡu</i> 'my grandchild (of either sex)'  <i>ḡra=ḡu nalha'u</i> 'my grandson'
Friend	‡ <i>khera-</i> an acquaintance, someone in the person's social circle, and not necessarily genealogically or biologically related	Inalienable possession: <i>khera=gna</i> 'his friend'

### 3.2.6.1 Descent group

The concept of *kokholo* is a descent group without traceable genealogy (White 1988:91). Anthropological discussion of *kokholo* is considerable but outside the scope of this book, though it is a popular topic among CH speakers.<sup>33</sup> It often appears as a common noun without inflection, as in example (221).

(221) *Tiatifa na kokholo gne au phia nafnata kokholo egu ñala*  
 before DEM clan DEM be two kind clan like.that just

*na*<sup>34</sup>

DEM

‘In time before there were just two clans, like that.’

In referring to his own clan, a speaker recounted the following, about *kokholo*, which is marked by the enclitic *ḡu*. Inflection does occur but is not common in the corpus.

(222) *Neuba neke kokholo=ḡu iara neke au Hovikoilo*  
 even.though PST clan=1SG.POSS 1SG PST be Hovikoilo

*ba... re'e na mei au*

or (other.places) 3PL.F DEM come be

‘Even though my clan was in Hovikoilo and other places, they came and stayed.’

*Vike* refers to a descent group, but does not necessarily refer to the distant (and unknown) past as *kokholo*, and is thus more traceable. However, there is textual evidence that CH speakers use the two indiscriminately and interchangeably.

(223) *Te pukuni khoto=gna Nareabu gne gehati pheï vike*  
 PRS really owner=3SG.POSS Nareabu DEM 1PL.EXCL two clan

*aro ñala Phosamogo Thauvia*

DEM just Phosamogo Thauvia

‘It is that we, those clans of Phosamogo and Thavia, are actually the true owner of Nareabu land.’

<sup>33</sup> As found in the corpus, several CH speakers wrote or recorded texts related to this term.

<sup>34</sup> The two clans referenced are *Thauvia* ‘white parrot’ and *Phosamogo* ‘green parrot’. However, the corpus does show that CH speakers use *vike* with these same clan names. There is some lexical and semantic overlap and the terms cannot be restricted to use with either *vike* or *kokholo*.

- (224) *Kheto iara gne karha mei ka vike Phosamogo*  
 spouse 1SG DEM live come LOC clan Phosamogo  
 'My spouse was born in the Phosamogo clan.'

This kinship noun, *vike*, can be inflected for person and number. In example (225) it serves as the head of the noun phrase.

- (225) *Tuana me vike=ḡu iara me na kafe*  
 DEM INCP clan=1SG.POSS 1SG INCP DEM all

*balu=ḡu iara*  
 with=1SG.POSS 1SG  
 'Like that, my clan is all with me.'

### 3.2.6.2 Family

*Thabukna* is used to indicate biological family of grandparents, parents, and children. While some language shift is underway, in that the younger generation is using the English term 'family',<sup>35</sup> *thabukna* is the usual term, while *thariakna* is a less-used synonym. Morphologically, these family terms are inflected with a possessive pronominal enclitic (such as =*gna* in the examples which follow) to indicate whose family is being referenced.

- (226) *Greetings ka iago gotilo thabukna=gna mae Boswell*  
 Greetings LOC 2SG 2PL family=3SG.POSS man Boswell  
 'Greetings to you individually and collectively, who are in the family of Boswell.'

- (227) *Mae nalha'u gne n̄ala jateu te mae bi'o=gna*  
 man male DEM just be.like PRS man big=3SG.POSS

*te=u ka thabukna=gna na*  
 PRS=CONT LOC family=3SG.POSS DEM  
 'The man is like [the one] that [is] the ongoing big man/leader of his family.'

### 3.2.6.3 Parents

CH distinguishes between mother (*ido*) and father (*mama*). Each of these is inflected with the inalienable possessive enclitic to indicate relationship with the speaker or a person referred to by the speaker. However, the inflected possessive

<sup>35</sup> In a text from a young man Cecil who is in his early 30's, he repeatedly uses the lexical item *family*. However, I do have other evidence from the same speaker of his use of *thabukna*. From analysis, there is no apparent patterning for his word choice, but his code-switching can be described as 'fluid'.

78 A Grammar of Cheke Holo

form of *mama* is the stem *kma-*, rather than *mama*. Thus, as in example (229), the 3SG possessive form of *mama* is *kma=gna*, rather than *\*mama=gna*.<sup>36</sup>

(228) *Ido=ḡu iara na Rebekah*  
 mother=1SG.POSS 1SG DEM Rebekah  
 ‘My mother is Rebekah.’

(229) *Kma=gna Rebekah mae George*  
 father=3SG.POSS Rebekah man George  
 ‘Rebekah’s father [is] George.’

CH has no single term for parents. Parents are identified by a noun phrase which obligatorily includes the juxtaposition of words for mother (*ido*) in first position followed by the possessive stem form of father (*kma-*), and both followed by an inflected pronominal clitic which indicates the relationship of the speaker to the parents of mention.

(230) *Tifa na neke u Ø lelhegu ka*  
 time.before DEM PST DEM [marriage] depends LOC

*ido=gna kma=gna egu mae nalha’u na*  
 mother=3SG.POSS father=3SG.POSS like.that man male DEM

*nei lelhegu ka ido=gna kma=gna*  
 CONJ depends LOC mother=3SG.POSS father=3SG.POSS

*u ḡa’ase na*  
 DEM female DEM

‘A long time ago it [i.e. from context of the story, ‘it’=‘marriage’ and it is what *u* modifies as an emphatic demonstrative] depended on the parents of the man and the parents of the woman.’

The terms for mother and father can occur also as stems without inflection, usually in the vocative. In this example, they are used together in an opening statement in a letter.

(231) *Uve mama ge ido thofno ḡlea fara teke riso ari*  
 yes father CONJ mother truly happy very PSS write go

*ta=mi*  
 EXP=1PL.EXCL.OBJ

‘Well, father and mother, it was that I was very happy writing to you.’

<sup>36</sup> The reason for this variation is unknown, though a suggestion could be made for phonological simplicity (i.e. two syllables instead of three).



### 3.2.6.4 Child

There are two types of child terms in CH. One is *sua*, which indicates a small child (perhaps 10 years and younger), or often specifically a baby. The child term *sua* is not obligatorily possessed, and often occurs without inflection, as in example (232).

- (232) *Āoro sua fara!*  
 all child very  
 ‘All these children are a lot!’

Unlike other kinship nouns, somewhat remarkably, the corpus demonstrates both inalienable (233) and alienable (234) possession marking for *sua*. These possession markings appear to be in free variation for unknown reasons.

- (233) *sua=ḡu iara na*  
 child=1SG.POSS 1SG DEM  
 ‘This child of me.’

- (234) *no=ḡu sua iara na*  
 INA=1SG.POSS child 1SG DEM  
 ‘This child of me.’

The stem *thu-* indicates the second CH term for ‘child’, and is a referential term for ‘offspring’, obligatorily marked for inalienable possession, as in:

- (235) *thu=gna Fred*  
 child=3SG.POSS Fred  
 ‘Fred’s child’

Both *sua* and *thu-* are used in a pre-posed position to *nalha’u* ‘male’ or *ga’ase* ‘female’ to indicate the sex of the child. Representative illustrations include the following two examples:

- (236) *sua nalha’u*  
 child male  
 ‘boy’

- (237) *thu=gna ḡa’ase Jone*  
 child=3SG.POSS female John  
 ‘John’s daughter’

There are several distinctives of each term. First, *sua* ‘small child’ carries a high functional load of modifiers, particularly quantifiers, being either numbers or those quantifiers which are indefinite.

- (238) *Ġoro sua kmana fara*  
 all child lot.of very  
 ‘There are so many children!’

In recounting the population increase in the village in recent years due to an explosion in the number of births, the speaker used *kmana* ‘lot.of’ three times in one sentence (239), occurring both before and after *sua*, in addition to other modifiers related to quantity:

- (239) *Gehati namono=gna kmana tahu fara sua kmana*  
 1PL.EXCL place=3SG.POSS lot.of heavy very child lot.of

*kmana sua fara*  
 lot.of child very  
 ‘We of the village have increased to really very, very many children!’

The term for birth is *karha sua*, literally ‘live (=as a verb) child’.

- (240) *Gehati na ame tifa karha sua teuna iago kaikaliti*  
 1PL.EXCL DEM before time.before live child DEM 2SG ready

*kaisei nhiġra koba*  
 one month always  
 ‘Before we-excl give birth, you always stay ready a month in advance.’

Indication of relationship of a child to a parent (‘my child’, ‘his child’, etc.) usually occurs with the *thu-* root, as in (241), though there is evidence that this referential function is used with *sua* and a word containing the alienable root *no-* with a possessive enclitic (242).

- (241) *Mama Kwaiti ia mae thu=gna nalha'u ia*  
 Father Kwaiti DEM man child=3SG.POSS male DEM  
 ‘Father Kwaiti was his son.’

- (242) *Nei mei au ka iara no=ġu sua re*  
 CONJ come be LOC 1SG ALN=1SG.POSS child PL  
 ‘And my children have come to stay with me.’

Another difference between *sua* and *thu-* is that *sua* is not used in vocative expressions. The inalienable root *thu-* affixed by the 1<sup>st</sup> person possessive suffix is used in natural speech as a vocative.

- (243) *Kaisei thonu na egu agne si ia thu=ġu-o*  
 one story DEM like.that here FOC DEM child=1SG.POSS-SS  
 ‘One story was like that, here my child.’

The referential function of *thu-* in relation to parents is extremely common in CH. This is another difference from *sua*, in that *sua* is not used in this fashion, illustrated contrastively by examples (244) and (245).

(244) *thu=gna*                    *mae*   *Gerry*  
 child=3SG.POSS   man   Gerry  
 ‘Gerry’s child’

(245) \**sua=gna*                    *mae*   *Gerry*  
 child=3SG.POSS   man   Gerry  
 \*‘Gerry’s child’

(246) *Mae tifa*                    *re neke*   *vavahi*   *kolho*   *thu=di*  
 man time.before   PL   PST   choose   just   child=3PL.POSS

*the=di*  
 REFL=3PL.POSS  
 ‘In time before, they just chose their own children.’

Another difference between the two child terms is that the *thu-* term for child does not often occur with quantifiers as does *sua*, but there are a few examples of this happening, as in the following example.

(247) *Komnisi ge Fre re au fati thu=di ga'ase*  
 Komnis   CONJ   Fre   PL   be   four   child=3PL.POSS   woman  
 ‘Komnis and Fre have four daughters!’ (lit.: ‘four female children exist [belonging to] Kominis and Fre’)

### 3.2.6.5 Spouse

The term for spouse is the kinship noun *kheto*. There are no separate terms in CH to distinguish between husband and wife. The determination of either in communication is made from context. The spouse term is not used as a vocative, though it is used without inflection (as opposed to the functional ‘stem forms’ of many other kinship nouns).

A male story teller references a question from his wife, and he uses *kheto* without inflection:

(248) *E thuru dofra ba? Egu kheto iara na egu.*  
 CONJ   sleep   awake   Q   like.that   spouse   1SG   DEM   like.that  
 ‘“Are you awake or asleep?” like that my wife said.’

In (249), the male story teller was referring by name to his sister (known to me, and mentioned in a previous sentence) and in reference to her, he used *kheto* to describe the current activities of her husband:

- (249) *Kheto=gna na te loku na*  
 spouse=3SG.POSS DEM PRS works DEM  
 'It is that her (=Dora's) husband [who is the one] that works.'

### 3.2.6.6 Siblings

The terms for sibling include those of same and opposite sex, used in reference either to another sibling in the communication context or in reference to the speaker. It is noted that for all of the CH sibling terms of address, vocatives are not marked for possession, while the referential terms are inalienably marked. The stem *thabusi-* is used to refer to same-sex sibling. White noted in his dictionary entry that this especially refers to males, or brothers.

- (250) *Mae thabusi=gna mae Diamana Andrew Gedi*  
 man same.sex=3SG.POSS man Diamana Andrew Gedi  
 'The brother of Diamana is Andrew Gedi.'

The stem *grega-* refers to cross-sex siblings or cousins. It is inalienable, and thus not used without inflection. I note that some degree of language change, due most likely to the influence of English and Solomon Islands (SI) Pijin, have caused in some instances *grega-* to be used equivalent to the English 'sister.' However, this shift has not been significantly documented.<sup>37</sup>

- (251) *Ġrega=g̃u*  
 cross.sex.sibling=1SG.POSS  
 'My sister (or brother)'

- (252) *La fa-nomho cheke ka ido=gna*  
 IMM CAUS-hear talk LOC mother=3SG.POSS

*kma=gna g̃rega=gna khera=gna u*  
 father=3SG.POSS cross.sex=3SG.POSS friend=3SG.POSS DEM

*g̃a'ase na nei nalha'u na egu*  
 female DEM CONJ male DEM like.that

'The announcement goes out to the parents, siblings, and friends, of the woman and man.'

<sup>37</sup> Unfortunately, recorded data is lacking to support this, though I did first encounter the following in conversation in the early 1990s. A lady was describing the activities of her same-sex sibling ('sister') and instead of using *thabusi-*, she used *grega-*. I began to be aware that this shift was taking place, but the extent of it is not known. I have personally heard the same shift occurring in both Papua New Guinea and Solomons Pidgins, where historically, *brata* ('brother') was intended to be same-sex, but it seems now that *brata* and *sista* ('sister') have developed into English equivalents.

Also there are terms which account for a distinction between older and younger brother. The stem *tahi-* is used for the younger sibling or parallel cousin of the same sex.

- (253) *Mae Pita ge mae Aduru tahi=gna na*  
 man Peter CONJ man Andrew younger.brother=3SG.POSS DEM  
 'Peter and his younger brother Andrew.'

*Nebu* is a male-oriented kinship term, referring either to a mother's brother or a sister's son. The determination of whether the *nebu* is older or younger than the speaker, and hence whether it is referring to the equivalent of the English terms 'uncle' or 'nephew', is known from communication context. The term *nebu* is used without inflection as a vocative, and with inflection to indicate reference of *nebu* in relation to the speaker.

In the following example, *nebu* co-occurs with *glegu-*, which is a stem referring to a sister's child, used by a male speaker. The speaker is referring to his sister's son.

- (254) *Mae nebu=g̃u g̃legu=g̃u*  
 man uncle/nephew=1SG.POSS sister's.child=1SG.POSS

- la theo kheto=gna na*  
 IMM not.be spouse=3SG.POSS DEM  
 'My nephew, who is the son of my sister, isn't married.'

### 3.2.6.7 In-laws

The category of in-laws is comprised of *nañho-*, 'mother-in-law'; the usual word for 'father', *mama*, which can be used in context to refer to father-in-law; and *iva*, which refers to 'siblings-in-law'. Each can be inflected with the possessive pronominal enclitic to indicate reference and then can be followed by the actual name of the in-law, such as *nañhogna Oliva* 'the mother-in-law of Oliva.'

It is noted that the category of in-laws comprises the main language taboo domain in CH.<sup>38</sup> An utterance in violation of taboo names would trigger the payment of compensation, such as a pig, to the offended party. That is, the three in-law terms indicated above are substituted in speech for the actual *kastom* or Christian names by which the individual is known. For example, if a man's wife's mother is named *Rosanna*, he would never refer to her referentially or vocatively as *Rosanna*, but instead would refer to her as *nañho=g̃u* 'my mother-in-law'.

<sup>38</sup> CH taboos are consistent with patterns noted by Simons (1982).

### 3.2.6.8 Aunt and uncle

The aunt and uncle terms are derived from *mama* ‘father’ or *ido* ‘mother’ preposed by a construction of the ordinal term *pea* ‘two’ and the causative prefix *fa-*. Thus, a man’s aunt is *fapea ido* or ‘second mother’, and his uncle is *fapea mama* ‘second father.’ In vocative address for the aunt and uncle terms, the ordinal construction is dropped.

### 3.2.6.9 Grandparent

CH does not employ specific referential terms for grandparent, though *ku’e* ‘older man (seemingly, at least 65 or 70 years)’ and *kave* ‘older woman (seemingly, at least 65 or 70 years)’ are frequently used to indicate this kinship domain.<sup>39</sup> Both terms are marked for inalienable possession, illustrated in example (255) by *ku’egna*.

- (255) *Vido glose ku’e=gna ido=mu gne si ia*  
 piece land old.man 3SG.POSS mother=2SG.POSS DEM FOC DEM  
 ‘The piece of land that belonged to the grandfather of your mother.’

It is noted that *ku’e* is so general for older men that this particular kinship relationship is not easily deduced. A man might describe his father with this term in conversation, and the hearer would recognize that “the old man” was the subject of the reference. The old man is most likely a grandfather, but the term itself would not indicate this.

The same can be said for *kave*, as seen in this data which has both *ku’e* and *kave* in the same sentence in a reference to the practice long ago of custom medicine.

- (256) *Ku’e=di kave te mei=di fa-blahi*  
 old.man=3PL.POSS old.woman PRS come=3PL.POSS CAUS-holy  
  
*teuna kolho na*  
 DEM just DEM  
 ‘It is that their old men and old women come to just bless this.’

### 3.2.6.10 Grandchild

For grandchild, the common CH term is the stem *g̃ra-* plus inalienable possession marking.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup> White (1988) notes that *ku’e* and *kave* are used vocatively, but not referentially, as terms for grandfather and grandmother respectively. They certainly could be, though I am not certain that a younger person addressing an older person could not use *ku’e* or *kave* even if they are not related to them.

<sup>40</sup> It is noted that the Solomons Pijin term *grandi* ‘grandchild’ is coming into common use among CH speakers to refer to grandchildren.

- (257) *Theome* Ø *ḡra=ḡu* *ka* *suḡa* *foḡra*.  
 NEG be grandchild=1SG.POSS LOC house sick  
 'There aren't any of my grandchildren at the hospital.'

### 3.2.7 Compound nouns

CH has an inventory of compound nouns, though certainly not nearly as rich as some other Austronesian languages.<sup>41</sup> The inventory of endocentric compounds are nouns which may be modified by another noun, or by a verb, and these are left-headed compounds. By far, the most common of these constructions includes *mae*, 'man'. Examples of noun modified by noun include:

- (258) *mae vaka*  
 man ship  
 'white man'
- (259) *suḡa tharai*  
 house prayer  
 'church'
- (260) *narane suḡa*  
 day house  
 'house day', metaphorically: 'church feast day'

Similarly, the word *cheke*, which indicates 'talk' or 'communication', and is used in CH both as a noun and a verb, can be modified by the noun *vaka* 'ship' to indicate the language of 'white men':

- (261) *cheke vaka*  
 talk ship  
 'English (language)'

As mentioned, a noun can be modified by a verb, as shown in another example using the noun *vaka*:

- (262) *vaka flalo*  
 ship to.fly  
 'airplane'

There are morphologically complex nominals which involve the joining of two normally independent words. For those which are single phonological words and exocentric compounds in which neither constituent is considered the head, these can

---

<sup>41</sup> Van den Heuvel (2006:90f), for example, documents an extensive compounding system and resulting compound noun inventory in Biak.

take the form of body part plus animal to yield a common noun. Phonological stress falls on the penultimate syllable. One such example is:

- (263) *ḡlapi saba*  
 tongue lizard  
 ‘canoe paddle in the shape of a lizard tongue’

Another sequence is nouns which represent two vegetation species compounding to form an animal name.

- (264) *khakla sitha*  
 leaf ngali-nut  
 ‘scorpionfish’

Yet another sequence involves the compounding of the noun for body waste plus an animal name (thus indicating the result of an action by the animal) to yield a common animal name:

- (265) *khuku mheke*  
 feces dog  
 ‘rat’

There is also an inventory of nouns which are compounded with adjectives to yield metaphorical, figurative expressions.<sup>42</sup> The inventory is represented as follows. In the first column below is a list of nouns which are body parts, and in the next two columns to the right are lists of adjectives. The method used for discovering idioms from noun + adjective compounding was to indicate to a language consultant a noun (such as ‘nose’) and then cite individual members from the list of adjectives (such as ‘swollen’) to see if the consultant identified the two as a compound which formed a metaphor. The constituent order in CH is body part + modifier, or N + ADJ = figurative expression. Below the two columns is a compilation of the attested idioms from this compounding, with the English gloss first representing the literal renderings of the noun and adjective, followed by the resulting CH figurative expression or expressions. The male reference marker *mae* is added by default in speech to each expression to yield further compounding of the order man + body part + ADJ = described-individual. Thus, in describing an individual with the compound *pha’u* ‘head’ + *beti* ‘swollen’, *mae* is added to the first slot in the constituent order to yield *mae pha’u beti*, or ‘man head swollen: proud man.’

---

<sup>42</sup> This discovery in CH was made by applying the described methodology in this paragraph, which was proposed by Darryl Wilson after his success in using it in the language in Papua New Guinea in which he worked (Wilson 1990:4-6). Andrew Piaso served as the source for this CH data, gathered in February 1991 in a personal interview.



Nouns:

*nehu* 'nose'  
*pha'u* 'head'  
*khuli* 'ear'  
*nagnafa* 'heart'  
*tatha* 'eye'  
*khame* 'hand'  
*gahe* 'foot'  
*khakla* 'hair'  
*foflo* 'mouth'

Adjectives:

*beti* 'swollen'  
*brahu* 'long'  
*sokmo* 'short'  
*bi'o* 'big'  
*ikoi* 'small'  
*tahu* 'heavy'  
*boto* 'wet'  
*pari* 'under'  
*maku* 'hard'  
*pila* 'soft'

*thona* 'dirty'  
*gae* 'clean'  
*majagani* 'new'  
*breku* 'break'  
*brana* 'hot'  
*thoe* 'shallow'  
*fodu* 'full'  
*beso* 'empty'  
*romno* 'dark'  
*meqli* 'deaf'

Resulting idioms from the compounding:

*nehu brahu* 'nose long: one seeking food'  
*pha'u brahu* 'head long: proud'  
*pha'u beti* 'head swollen: proud'  
*pha'u bi'o* 'head big: proud'  
*pha'u sokmo* 'head short: ignorant'  
*pha'u tahu* 'head heavy: smart'  
*pha'u boto* 'head wet: doesn't care'  
*pha'u pari* 'head under: understand'  
*pha'u maku* 'head hard: stubborn'  
*pha'u thona* 'head dirty: stupid'  
*pha'u gae* 'head clean: good mind'  
*pha'u majagani* 'head new: new brain=fresh thinking(?)'  
*pha'u fodu* 'head full: smart'  
*pha'u beso* 'head empty: stupid'  
*pha'u romno* 'head dark: stupid'  
*khuli meqli* 'ear deaf: deaf'  
*khuli thona* 'ear dirty: listens to rubbish stories'  
*khuli thoe* 'ear shallow: forgetful'  
*khuli romno* 'ear dark: hears but doesn't follow'  
*nagnafa brahu* 'heart long: aerobic capacity; additional use: extensive thinking'  
*nagnafa sokmo* 'heart short: not a deep thinker'  
*nagnafa ikoi* 'heart small: not generous'  
*nagnafa tahu* 'heart heavy: generous'  
*nagnafa maku* 'heart hard: doesn't change his mind'  
*nagnafa pila* 'heart soft: simple-minded'  
*nagnafa thona* 'heart dirty: dirty-minded'  
*nagnafa gae* 'heart clean: pure'  
*nagnafa majagani* 'heart new: state after repentance'  
*nagnafa brana* 'heart hot: holding strong opinion'

*nagnafa thoe* ‘heart shallow: shouts’  
*nagnafa romno* ‘heart dark: dark-hearted/evil(?)’  
*tatha brahu* ‘eye long: desire another woman’  
*tatha sokmo* ‘eye short: poor’  
*tatha thona* ‘eye dirty: looks at rubbish things’  
*tatha romno* ‘eye dark: doesn’t plan’  
*khame brahu* ‘hand long: thief’  
*khame tahu* ‘hand heavy: jealousy’  
*khame thona* ‘hand dirty: thief’  
*khame gae* ‘hand clean: doesn’t steal’  
*khame breku* ‘hand break: loses money’  
*gahe beti* ‘foot swollen: elephantiasis’  
*gahe bi’o* ‘foot big: friendless, despised’  
*khakla bi’o* ‘hair big: long-haired’  
*khakla thona* ‘hair dirty: doesn’t bathe’  
*foflo bi’o* ‘mouth big: angry’  
*foflo sokmo* ‘mouth short: argumentative’  
*foflo maku* ‘mouth hard: doesn’t like to talk’  
*foflo thona* ‘mouth dirty: speaks with rubbish words’  
*foflo majagani* ‘mouth new: talks well, articulate’  
*foflo breku* ‘mouth break: not quiet but fighting; additional use: laughs’

Representative sentence examples from the above data include the following:

(266) *Mae Fred te mae khuli thoe*  
 man Fred PRS man ear shallow  
 ‘It is that Fred is forgetful.’

(267) *No=ḡu sua te au nagnafa tahu*  
 INA=1SG.POSS child REL be heart heavy  
 ‘My child that is generous.’

(268) *Mae George mae foflo majagani*  
 man George man mouth new  
 ‘George is an articulate man.’

### 3.2.8 Count and mass nouns

Mass nouns cannot be pluralized, whereas the opposite is true for count nouns (Kroeger 2005:66-67). Examples of CH mass nouns include the following:

*chopu* ‘mud’  
*nuri* ‘wind’  
*thoñna* ‘sea’

Count nouns in CH<sup>43</sup> include:

*khuma* 'dog'  
*suḡa* 'house'  
*ḡaju* 'tree'

Thus, following the pluralizing distinction above, these forms are not allowed in CH, namely plural forms for mass nouns, such as *\*chopu re* ('plural mud'), *\*nuri re* ('plural wind'), *\*toñna re* ('plural sea'). However, the count nouns do take regular pluralized forms: *khuma re* 'plural dogs', *suḡa re* 'plural houses', *ḡaju re* 'plural trees'.

Also, mass nouns cannot be modified by determiners which indicate 'many' or 'few'. Thus, the following are not legitimate in CH: *\*kmana chopu* ('lot.of mud'), *\*kmana nuri* ('lot.of wind'), *\*kmana toñna* ('lot.of sea'). However, mass nouns can be modified by a determiner that typically relates to size, such as *bi'o* 'big' or *ikoi* 'small'. And, the basic determiner can be emphasized, as in example (269) for *bi'o fara* 'very big.'

(269) *Nuri bi'o fara*  
 wind big very  
 'Very big wind.'

Count nouns cannot be used in their singular form with the determiner that indicates 'some'. Thus, the following are not legitimate count noun constructions: *\*keha khuma* ('some dog'), *\*keha suḡa* ('some house'), *\*keha ḡaju* ('some tree'). Quantifiers are expressed for the count nouns by such terms as *kmana* 'lot.of', or *ḡoro* 'all'. The constituent order is typically QUANTIFIER + N + (INTENSIFIER), as in example (270).

(270) *Kmana khuma fara*  
 lot.of dog very  
 'Many, many dogs!'

### 3.2.9 Borrowed nouns

While CH language use is quite vigorous among all ages of speakers, language shift and change is occurring. It is noted that there is a significant and growing inventory of borrowed nouns which is becoming part of everyday CH talk. Most of the borrowed terms are from English, though a few are from Solomon Islands Pijin.<sup>44</sup> In

<sup>43</sup> I am omitting discussion of two borrowed English and SI Pijin count nouns which are very common terms heard among CH speakers: *kilo* 'kilogram', used for measuring purchased rice or flour, and *gallon* 'gallon', used for buying petrol for the ubiquitous outboard motors which travel the coastlines.

<sup>44</sup> One example of the latter is the increasing use among CH speakers of the Pijin term *staka* 'many/plenty'. Instead of describing an abundance of something with solely CH terms as

terms of signaling the presence of borrowed nouns in CH talk, the demonstrative *u* (as discussed in section 6.3.1.5) is often employed in a pre-posed position to a borrowed noun. It is surmised that the use of the emphatic demonstrative in pre-position to the borrowed term is an inherent device for signaling attention to it, as a type of pragmatic emphasis, as a non-original CH lexical item. Examples from the corpus include the following list. English glosses are not given, as the gloss is the same as the word used. However, brief words of explanation are offered for a few of the terms.

While one will readily note that almost all of the borrowed terms in the following list do not replace any indigenous CH words, as there are no terms in CH for ‘generator’ or ‘annual general meeting’, there are a few notable exceptions. These include ‘seven’ and ‘space’. In checking the source of the information, it is interesting that one was an older speaker in his 60s, while another was in his 30s, and thus age was not necessarily a factor in the choice of using a borrowed term. An exact explanation for the speaker’s preference is indeterminable, but the speaker felt comfortable in saying ‘seven’ instead of *fitui* and ‘space’ instead of the CH term *vido*. Perhaps it is due to usage in the community and the incorporating of these particular terms in every day language use.

*u sailing boat*  
*u premier*  
*u plantation*  
*u Trinity*  
*u council of chiefs*  
*u automoto engine*  
*u lifeboat*  
*u drum*  
*u petrol*  
*u government*  
*u Kangaroo Ground (i.e. town in Australia)*  
*u workshop*  
*u security*  
*u budget proposal*  
*u generator*  
*u bylaw*  
*u Central Hospital*  
*u prediction*  
*u annual general meeting*  
*u seven*  
*u central Maringe*  
*u vote*  
*u Awareness Course*

---

*kmana(=di) fara* ‘lot.of(=3PL.POSS) very’, it is common to hear *staka(=di) fara* ‘plenty(=3PL.POSS) very’.

*u Elder Brother (leadership position in Church of Melanesia)*  
*u Household (community of Church of Melanesia missionaries)*  
*u army*  
*u class (i.e. school class)*  
*u system*  
*u parents*  
*u aggregate*  
*u space*  
*u dictionary*

A few sentential examples using the above data:

(271) *Iara kaisei u budget proposal*  
 1SG one DEM budget proposal  
 'I (have/am making) a budget proposal.'

(272) *Thilo namono te tei edi u Awareness Course ka mare*  
 three place PRS go do DEM Awareness Course LOC 3PL  
 'It is three places that (we) go to do an Awareness Course for them.'

(273) *Mana thufa kaisei u generator ka gehati*  
 3SG.M share one DEM generator LOC 1PL.EXCL  
 'He shares a generator with us.'

### 3.2.10 Temporal nouns

In CH, temporal notions are indicated as nouns. The syntactic evidence for this is: 1) the temporal terms are modified by various types of demonstratives, as in example (274), 2) temporal terms can occur as the heads of NPs as in (275), and 3) as the objects of prepositions, (276). These terms are also possessed, which is a non-exclusive feature of nouns (277). There are at least thirteen CH nouns which fit this category: *gognaro* 'now', *ginei* 'earlier', *ginau* 'later', *gnora* 'yesterday', *nathu'i* 'tomorrow', (*nathu'i*) *nauriha* 'day after tomorrow', *tifa* 'earlier in time', *hamerane* 'morning', *naublatha* 'mid-day', *grafī* 'afternoon/evening', *boñi* 'night', *narane* 'day', *finoga* 'year'. The borrowings of English days of the week are also considered time words. There is no CH term for week, but the Solomons Pijin term *wiki* 'week' is regularly used. Representative examples include the following:

(274) *Ġognaro gne iara tei uḡra sasa egu*  
 Now DEM 1SG go fishing fish like.that  
 'This time now I am going fishing, like that.'

(275) *Tifa na mae kue ḡre fafara=di bosu ra*  
 Time.before DEM man old.man DEM sacrifice=3PL.OBJ pig PL  
 'In time before, these old men sacrificed pigs.'

(276) *Iara tei uḡra sasa ka grafi ia egu*  
 1SG go fishing fish LOC evening DEM like.that  
 ‘I went fishing last evening, like that.’

(277) *Mae Billy jame thokei varadaki finoga=gna*  
 man Billy perhaps arrive twenty year=3SG.POSS  
 ‘Billy is perhaps 20 years old now.’

In consideration of contrastive placement of these nouns in a sentence, there are no apparent differences marked by syntactic ordering. The meaning in the following pair of examples is identical. Any difference posited between the two would be based on either speaker preference or some kind of pragmatic emphasis reflected in fronting of constituents:

(278) *Ġinei ia iara neke tei Buala*  
 earlier DEM 1SG PST go Buala  
 ‘Earlier, I went to Buala.’

(279) *Iara neke tei Buala ġinei ia*  
 1SG PST go Buala earlier DEM  
 ‘I went to Buala earlier.’

### 3.2.11 Directionals

The CH identify spatial relations with a fairly small set of directional terms outlined below. However, while this description is found in the discussion of nouns in this book, it is noted that they may not even be nouns at all, but perhaps best categorized as somewhere between nouns and prepositions. In favor of classifying these as nouns is evidence that they can be modified by a demonstrative (see example 286) and they can apparently serve as the head of a noun phrase (example 287). However, they cannot be possessed, which speaks for classifying these as something other than noun, perhaps as preposition. Another reason for positing these as nouns is that four of the six (excepting *paka* ‘towards the lower elevation’ and *kliga* ‘up/above’) noted in the sub-sections which follow are used to indicate each of the four corners of direction at which dancers should bow to an appreciative audience at the end of a performance, doing so on command of the dance leader. For example, the leader will say “*Ke magati!*” ‘south-eastward’, and as a unit the dancers will turn towards the ‘lower’ or southeasterly end of Santa Isabel and bow.

Aware of these factors, and admittedly within a sphere of ambiguity of classification, in this grammatical description these are classified as members of Noun Class B (section 3.2.1), Place Nouns, answering the question *heva* ‘where’. Each of the members of this set of nouns usually occurs with the directional auxiliary *ke*, though its co-occurrence is optional. It is noted that these are not cardinal directions, but are speaker-oriented directionals. That is, the location referenced depends on the location of the speaker towards

general directions of the island rather than corresponding to cardinal points on a compass.

**3.2.11.1 *Magati* ‘towards lower end of island’ or ‘south-eastward’**

*Magati* refers to the geographical orientation towards the lower end of Santa Isabel island. This is south-eastward from the deictic center of CH land.

(280) *Mare na mei magati mei thuru Tholana tanhi nanhai*  
 3PL DEM come lower.end come sleep Tholana time eight

*ka Sade*  
 LOC Sunday

‘They will come from towards the lower end of Isabel and sleep at Tholana at 8:00 on Sunday.’

**3.2.11.2 *Mosu* ‘towards top end of island’ or ‘north-westward’**

*Mosu* refers to geographical orientation towards the top end of the island. The top end of Santa Isabel is positioned towards the northwest from the deictic center of CH land.

(281) *Narane te mala mei fa-khaekale te=u*  
 day PRS PUR come CAUS-look.out.enemy PRS=CONT

*ka mala mei=gna thara ka thiba ke mosu*  
 LOC PUR come=3SG.POSS army LOC side DIR top.end

‘It is that this is the day for coming to look out for the enemies that are the army coming from towards the top end of the island side.’

**3.2.11.3 *Mhata* ‘towards the interior’ or ‘southward’**

*Mhata* indicates a direction towards the interior, away from the sea, and is used generally as a southward orientation.

(282) *Kaisei mae ke mhata te mala reireghi=ni*  
 One man DIR towards.interior PRS PUR guard=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘One man whose job was to guard it was [stationed] towards the interior.’

**3.2.11.4 *Raru* ‘towards the sea’ or ‘northward’**

*Raru* refers to a spatial orientation related to the sea, ‘out to sea’, or overseas. As commonly happens with the other directionals, *raru* occurs with the auxiliary directional marker *ke*.

(283) *Ke raru ġro'e neke phei ġrofo*  
 DIR to.sea destroy PST two fall.down  
 ‘Towards the sea-direction, the two of them fell down and were destroyed.’

It can occur without the directional marker *ke*.

- (284) *pala lao ka mola na me raru ka nakhapra*  
 carry towards LOC canoe DEM INCP to.sea LOC reef  
 ‘...began to carry [it] to this canoe [which is] towards the sea on the other side of the reef.’

### 3.2.11.5 *Paka* ‘towards the lower elevation’, or ‘towards the coast’

*Paka* indicates a direction towards a lower elevation, and often towards the coast.<sup>45</sup>

- (285) ...*apu chopu koba tahati ke paka Nareabu ra*  
 ...bathe mud always 1PL.INCL DIR down Nareabu PL  
 ‘...we-incl always bathed [i.e. played] in the mud together in the lower-elevation-places of Nareabu.’

### 3.2.11.6 *Kligna* ‘up/above’

*Kligna* refers to a spatial orientation related to the ‘area above’, which can range from the sky, or even farther out than the visible sky to the heavens, to an area just above the speaker (depending on the communication context). As stated in the introduction to this section, one argument for positing this directional as a noun is that it can be modified by modifiers which typically modify nouns. In example (286) *kligna* is modified by the demonstrative *gne* ‘proximal singular demonstrative’.

- (286) *Fa-su~suplu hage chainsaw na thafo=ni*  
 CAUS-DUR-break up chainsaw DEM meet=3SG.OBJ

*teke chainsaw ke kligna gne*  
 PSS chainsaw DIR above DEM  
 ‘It was that this chainsaw broke through up at the top over that [area where] I was sawing.’

In the following example *kligna* refers to an area above the kitchen, and serves as head of the noun phrase.

---

<sup>45</sup> From Nareabu, *paka* is often used to refer to an area north of Buala. *Paka* refers to the location of people working during the Christmas season at the special garden which grows food for end-of-year celebrations. I mention this because if one were to use a compass, the location would be closer to north. However, in regards to island orientation, the garden which is *paka* would be situated on a somewhat westerly direction towards the coast, and also at a lower elevation, which is the base meaning of this term.



(287) *Kaisei g̃lepo te keli ta=g̃u na tanki suḡa*  
 one thing REL good EXP=1SG.POSS DEM tank house

*rumu mala apu kitchen egu kligna*  
 enter for bathe kitchen like.that above

‘One thing that I am really happy about is that the water tank enters into the house for washing from the area above the kitchen, like that.’

### 3.3 Pronouns

#### 3.3.1 General information

Grammatically, CH pronouns occur as subjects and objects, and syntactically in the head position of a noun phrase or in a possessor relationship to a noun. Examples of each are found in the sections which follow, except for possessions, which are described in section 7.5.1.

#### 3.3.2 Singular pronouns

There are four singular personal pronouns in CH, as given in Table 18. A gender distinction is made in the third person, though as Lynch *et al* (2002:35) point out, this contrast is very rare in Oceanic languages.<sup>46</sup> The 3<sup>rd</sup> singular pronoun *mana* is characterized as a masculine pronoun. It is used when men are speaking, and also when men refer to men. The 3<sup>rd</sup> singular pronoun *na’a* is characterized as feminine, and is used when a female is speaking. When a male refers to a female, he uses *na’a*. When a female refers to either males or females, she uses *na’a* in both instances, and the gender differentiation is known from context of speech communication. The forms of *mana* and *na’a* are the same, respectively, when used as subjects and objects. Also there is no difference in their forms in possession constructions.

Table 18: CH Singular Pronouns

1SG	<i>iara</i>
2SG	<i>iago</i>
3SG.M	<i>mana</i>
3SG.F	<i>na’a</i>

In example (288), the singular pronoun serves as subject of the sentence:

(288) *Iara mei Honiara ka faidu*  
 1SG come Honiara LOC meeting  
 ‘I came to Honiara for a meeting.’

<sup>46</sup> Lynch *et al* (2002:35) note that this gender distinction is found in CH, and also in Papua New Guinean languages in southern New Britain and in Kilivila of the Trobriand Islands.

In example (289) the 1SG singular pronoun form occurs grammatically in this sentence as subject while the 2SG singular pronoun occurs as the object of the preposition *ka*.

- (289) *Iara riso ari ka iago balu ġlealea*  
 1SG write go LOC 2SG with joy  
 ‘I am very happy to write to you.’

In example (290), a male speaker is referring to a male, and the pronoun used is *mana*. Grammatically, *mana* is the subject of the sentence.

- (290) *Mana tei snivi ka u narane Thursday*  
 3SG.M go be.lost LOC DEM day Thursday  
 ‘He got lost on that Thursday.’

From context, a female speaker is referring to a female, *na’a*, in example (291). *Na’a* is the direct object of the verb.

- (291) *Iara neke filo=ni na’a ka taon*  
 1SG PST see=3SG.OBJ 3F>F LOC town  
 ‘I saw her in town.’

From context, a female speaker is referring to a male with *na’a* in example (292). In this sentence, *na’a* serves as the subject.

- (292) *Na’a tei uġra sasa gnora ka grafi ia*  
 3F>M go fishing fish yesterday LOC afternoon DEM  
 ‘He went fishing yesterday afternoon.’

When the pronouns occur grammatically as the object of a transitive verb, the transitive verb will be marked with one of the direct object enclitics in Table 19.

Table 19: CH Direct Object Enclitics

Person	Singular	Plural
1 INCL	= <i>gau</i>	= <i>gita</i>
1 EXCL		= <i>gami</i>
2	= <i>nigo</i>	= <i>gami</i>
3	= <i>ni</i>	= <i>di</i>

Syntactically, the pronoun will occur immediately after the encliticized verb, as in example (293).

- (293) *Bishop te mala mei te taofi=ni mana ka narane tuana*  
 bishop PRS PUR come PRS ordain=3SG.OBJ 3SG.M LOC day DEM  
 ‘It is that the bishop came for the purpose of ordaining him on that day.’

While the usual syntactic pattern holds in (294) for the verb phrase position of the enclitic and the personal pronoun which follows (as in the following example, this is *legu=gau iara* ‘follow=1SG.OBJ 1SG’), it is noted here that CH writers do not conventionally represent orthographically the 1SG or 2SG enclitics attached to the verb with which they cliticize. This is only usually done for the 3SG and 3PL object enclitics *ni* and *di* (as shown in the previous example, (293), for *ni*).

- (294) *Mana magnahage mei legu=gau iara Nareabu*  
 3SG.M want come follow=1SG.OBJ 1SG Nareabu  
 ‘He wanted to follow me to Nareabu.’

It is noted here that there is a noticeable but randomly occurring and unpredictable ellision of the *n* on the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular object enclitic =*ni* by certain speakers of certain transitive verbs on random occasions. Thus *legu=ni* ‘follow=3SG.OBJ’ can be spoken as *legui*, or *lase=ni* ‘know=3SG.OBJ’ can be uttered as *lasei*. This free variation ellision does not happen if the root verb ends in *i*, but theoretically could happen after all other vowels.

Each of the singular personal pronouns can function in a possessor relationship. This is illustrated in various sub-sections to section 7.5.1.

### 3.3.3 Non-singular pronouns

The 16 CH non-singular pronouns are given in Table 20. As is true for singular pronouns, non-singular pronouns can occur as subjects and objects. This is attested in examples (295), (296), and (297). Syntactically these non-singular pronouns occur in the head position of a noun phrase as in (298), or in a possessor relationship to a noun as shown by (301). All categories of non-singular pronouns demonstrate inclusive and exclusive opposition in the first person, illustrated by the two occurring in the same sentence in (302). One distinction of the non-singular pronouns is that for purpose of clarity (where required) by the speaker, the one spoken to or the one spoken about is often overtly stated, and this noun occurs in the syntactic slot immediately following the pronoun. This is shown in example (303). In such cases the Pronoun + the Noun referred to by the pronoun function as the NP. The pronoun is the head of the NP, and the noun modifies the head.

It is noted that the trial form *tilo* ‘three’ is related to the CH numeral *thilo* ‘three’, which is the same form found in the trial third masculine non-singular pronoun, *thilomare*. There is no synchronic evidence that in the plural form of these pronouns, that *hati* is another form of *fati* ‘four’, but it is possible that these are historically related. CH cardinal numeral forms are discussed in section 6.5.2.1.

Table 20: CH Non-singular pronouns

		Root	Dual	Trial	Plural
1	INCL EXCL	<i>ta-</i> <i>ge-</i>	<i>ta-pa</i> <i>ge-pa</i>	<i>ta-tilo</i> <i>ge-tilo</i>	<i>ta-hati</i> <i>ge-hati</i>
2		<i>go-</i>	<i>go-pa</i>	<i>go-tilo</i>	<i>go-tilo</i>
3	M F	<i>-mare</i> <i>re-</i>	<i>phia-mare</i> <i>re-pa</i>	<i>thilo-mare</i> <i>re-tilo</i>	<i>hati-mare</i> <sup>47</sup> <i>re-hati, re-'e</i>

The following are illustrated examples of this pronoun set:

- (295) *Uve ka narane ḡognaro gne tahati te gatho*  
 yes LOC day now DEM 1PL.INCL PRS think

*fa-pulo=di u tharuña=di mae tuḡre*  
 CAUS-back=3PL.OBJ DEM spirit=3PL.POSS man DEM  
 ‘Well, on this day it is that we-incl remember/think-back-to the departed spirits of these men.’

- (296) *Gotilo thono ḡle'a fara te filo=gau na egu*  
 2PL really happy very PRS see=1SG.OBJ DEM like.that  
 ‘It is that you-pl are really happy to see me, like that.’

The non-singular pronoun serves as object of the preposition in this sentence:

- (297) *Thofno teḡio fara ka gotilo*  
 truly thank.you very LOC 2PL  
 ‘I truly want to thank you-pl.’

In the following sentence, *phiamare* is the head of the noun phrase, and serves as subject of the verb *au* ‘be’.

- (298) *Phiamare au khabru ta=di*  
 3DU.M be pain EXP=3PL.POSS  
 ‘The two of them are in pain’ Or, literally, ‘the two of them exist in a state of pain.’

Referring to the direct object enclitics listed in Table 19, the plural enclitic markers attach to a verb, or to the preposition *rañhi* (which as mentioned in section 5.3.3, could be described as a verbal preposition), and are then followed by the non-singular pronoun. An example is:

<sup>47</sup> As attested by the corpus, *mare* is often used as a shortened form in everyday speech and writing for 3PL, without the prefix *hati-*.

- (299) *Mana mei toutonu rañhi=gita tahati*  
 3SG.M come story DIR=1PL.INCL 1PL.INCL  
 ‘He came and storied to us-incl.’

However, it is noted that the presence of the non-singular pronoun is optional, depending either on speaker preference, or if whether or not the overt non-singular pronoun is needed for clarity. The meaning in the previous example could also legitimately be uttered as in (300):

- (300) *Mana mei toutonu rañhi=gita*  
 3SG.M come story DIR=1PL.INCL  
 ‘He came and storied to us-inclusive.’

For purposes of specification, the members of the set referred to by the non-singular pronoun are overtly stated in the following three examples:

- (301) *Gotilo Honiara fa-le-lehe egu*  
 2PL Honiara CAUS-DUR~die like.that  
 ‘You people of Honiara kill [people], like that.’
- (302) *Gehati gne au ka namono au tahati Nareabu ia*  
 1PL.EXCL DEM be LOC village be 1PL.INCL Nareabu DEM  
 ‘We-excl stayed in our-incl village of Nareabu.’
- (303) *Gopa Jone ke fiñri mei ñognaro*  
 2PL.DU John DIR return come now  
 ‘You and John need to return now.’

### 3.3.4 Emphatic and reflexive pronouns

In many languages “the reflexive and emphatic structures are formally unrelated” (Schachter 1985:27), but this is not true for CH. The speech intents of emphasis and reflexivity are marked in CH by the use of the same pronoun. This pronoun consists of the root marker *the-* and a singular or plural possessive enclitic resulting in the pronoun forms summarized in Table 21 and Table 22. The emphatic and reflexive pronouns can occur with singular or non-singular personal pronouns or nouns.

Table 21: CH Emphatic and Reflexive Singular Pronouns

Person	Pronoun	Gloss
1	<i>the=ñu</i>	‘myself’
2	<i>the=mu</i>	‘yourself’
3	<i>the=gna</i>	‘himself’

Table 22: CH Emphatic and Reflexive Non-singular Pronouns

Person	Pronoun	Gloss
1.INCL	<i>the=da</i>	'ourselves. inclusive'
1.EXCL	<i>the=mi</i>	'ourselves. exclusive'
2	<i>the=mi</i>	'yourselves'
3	<i>the=di</i>	'theirselves'

For languages in which the reflexive and emphatic pronouns are the same, the “function and distribution are quite different” (Kroeger 2005:137). Namely, reflexive pronouns carry “their own semantic role and grammatical relation” quite distinctly from their antecedents. Emphatic pronouns, though, “highlight the identity of some other phrase, namely the phrase which functions as their antecedent.”

Thus, in CH the following reflexive function (REFL) is noted in example (304). *Mana* ‘3SG.M’ is doing an action, namely ‘cutting’ in relation to ‘himself’, *thegna*. *Thegna* has its own semantic role and grammatical relation.

- (304) *Mana kato the=gna*  
 3SG.M cut REFL=3SG.POSS  
 ‘He cut himself.’

Similarly, the next example describes an action that children took regarding themselves, and semantically and grammatically this fits the reflexive pattern:

- (305) *Te dofra the=di si ia sua re*  
 PRS awaken REFL=3PL.POS FOC DEM child PL  
 ‘It is that the children awakened themselves [in the big storm].’

In example (306) *thegu* is emphatic, rather than reflexive, as *thegu* “highlights the identity of some other phrase, namely the...antecedent” (Kroeger 2005:137), which in this case is the speaker who is referring to himself in 1SG.

- (306) *Iara the=gu na au kolho ka veranda na*  
 1SG EMP=1SG.POSS DEM be just LOC veranda DEM  
 ‘I myself was just staying on this veranda.’

The content of example (307), though, is not as easily categorized. This sentence describes a person who is staying in a house by himself. While one could propose that pragmatically this is emphatic, in that he is staying by himself (and with no one else), it does seem that this is primarily reflexive, and perhaps secondarily emphatic. Morphosyntactically, there are no clear clues as to the best category of analysis, as the morphosyntax could signal either. Judgment is left to the analyst to examine particularly the wider speech context.

- (307) *Mana au kolho the=gna ka suḡa repa*  
 3SG.M be just REFL=3SG.POSS LOC house 3DU.F  
 ‘He just stays by himself at their house.’

The same could be said for the content of example (308). If the speaker is noting that he works for himself (rather than for somebody else), then the content is most likely reflexive (as the semantic role and grammatical relation could in fact be what Kroeger (2005:137) calls “an independent status within the clause”). If he is emphasizing that he himself is all alone, then the speech intent is emphasis, as there is no independent status noted by the pronoun, but instead the identity of some other phrase is highlighted. Again, this is best determined from context.

- (308) *Uve iara loku the=ḡu kolho*  
 yes 1SG work REFL=1SG.POSS just  
 ‘Yes, I just work for myself/by myself.’

### 3.3.5 The expression of reciprocity

There is no reciprocal pronoun in CH, or one which indicates a mutual relationship. However, reciprocity, while not extremely common, is indicated by the use of the circumfix *fari-i* (glossed as RECP) co-occurring with transitive verbs. Additionally, the verb is followed by a personal pronoun (311) indicating who is agent of the reciprocal action. This is described according to this morphosyntactic representation: *fari-ROOT-i* (+ADV) + PERSONAL or REFLEXIVE PRONOUN. Thus, both personal pronouns and reflexive pronouns can be used as objects.

- (309) *Repa na teke theome fari-magnahage-i repa na*  
 3DU.F DEM PSS NEG RECP-want-RECP 3DU.F DEM  
 ‘It was that the two of them didn’t want each other.’
- (310) *Fari-magnahage-i kolho the=di*  
 RECP-want-RECP just REFL=3PL.POSS  
 ‘[They] just want each other.’
- (311) *Fari-lase-i repa*  
 RECP-know-RECP 3DU.F  
 ‘Those two know each other.’

### 3.3.6 Indefinite pronouns

The CH indefinite pronoun is *ihei* and is clearly related to the Q-word *hei* ‘who’ (see section 9.3.4.2). It occurs singly, or co-occurs in a NP with *mae* ‘man’, and when so doing, the resulting *mae ihei* is best glossed ‘someone’. Grammatically *ihei*, or the NP *mae ihei*, can function as a subject, as in (312) and (313), and as an object in example (314), being the object of the verbal action *vavahi* ‘choose’, and in (315), as the object of the preposition *rañhi* plus the 3SG transitive-marking enclitic *ni*.

(312) *Eguteuna ihei teke theo mola teke egu ana na*  
 CONJ who PSS not.be canoe PSS like.that DEM DEM

*lao kheḡra=u kolho ka nusu*  
 towards stand=CONT just LOC sand  
 ‘And whoever it was that didn’t have a canoe [that is the one] that just stood over there on the shore.’

(313) *Ḡognaro na mae ihei te mala mae funei na*  
 time.now DEM man who REL PUR man chief DEM

*mavitu=gna namono na te vavahi mana na*  
 people=3SG.POSS village DEM PRS choose 3SG.M DEM  
 ‘These days, whoever is [the one] that [will be] for chief, it is that the people of the village choose him.’

(314) *E mavitu teke vavahi ne mae ihei te naba=gna*  
 CONJ people PSS choose PST man who REL fit=3SG.POSS

*te mala mae chifi ka namono na*  
 REL PUR man chief LOC village DEM  
 ‘And it was that the people chose whoever was fit to be chief for this village.’

(315) *Theome au gaogatho foa~fota rañhi=ni ihei*  
 NEG be thinking DUR~separate DIR=3SG.OBJ who  
 ‘There is no reason to separate anyone.’

### 3.3.7 Demonstrative pronouns

CH has two sets of demonstrative pronouns. In this section they are introduced briefly through lists, and a fuller discussion of these, including comparisons and contrasts, is found in section 6.3.1.6. The pronouns in each set have the root *te(u)*-plus a clitic which signifies number and either specificity or proximity of the noun which it modifies. The first set is described in terms of specificity and number, and listed in Table 23.

Table 23: Specificity Set of CH Demonstrative Pronouns

	Specific	Gloss	Non-Specific	Gloss
Singular	<i>te(u)=na</i>	‘this one’	<i>te(u)=ia</i>	‘that one’
Plural	<i>te(u)=re</i>	‘these ones’	<i>te(u)=ra</i>	‘those ones’

The second set of demonstrative pronouns in CH refers to the notion of proximity, either spatially or referentially to the speaker.



Table 24: Proximity Set of CH Demonstrative Pronouns

	Proximate	Gloss	Distal	Gloss
Singular	<i>te(u)=gne</i> <i>te(u)=ana</i>	‘this one’	<i>te(u)=gno</i> <i>te(u)=ao</i>	‘that one’
Plural	<i>te(u)=gre</i> <i>te(u)=are</i>	‘these ones’	<i>te(u)=gro</i> <i>te(u)=aro</i>	‘those ones’

### 3.4 Summary

Nouns in CH comprise a large, open word class. These nouns are classified by semantic affinities, and also by morphosyntactic criteria. These morphosyntactic criteria distinguish CH nouns from verbs in three ways: 1) syntactically, nouns fill the head slot of noun phrases; 2) CH nouns combine with attributes and demonstratives; and 3) nouns in CH can be modified by adjectives and quantifiers. It is noted that while nouns can be possessed, this is not a contrastive feature in CH, as verbs can also be possessed. CH has alienable and inalienable nouns. This semantic distinction between alienable possession as possession which can be terminated, and inalienable which cannot be terminated, corresponds to common Oceanic categorization of direct and indirect possession and the usual resulting morphosyntactic patterns. Identification of males in CH is done by an obligatory compound noun construction marked by the first member of the construction as *mae* ‘man’. There is no corresponding obligatory compound noun structure to identify females. There is a fairly large number of borrowed nouns, particularly from English, attested as in use in CH, and their presence is often marked by the preceding emphatic demonstrative *u*. There are five directional words in CH, and these are classified as nouns. However, the evidence for this is regarded as inconclusive, as they do show some affinity with prepositions.

CH pronouns occur as subjects and objects, and syntactically in the head position of a noun phrase or in a possessor relationship to a noun. There are four singular personal pronouns in CH and 16 non-singular pronouns. A gender distinction is made in the third person singular, though this contrast is very rare in Oceanic languages. One distinction of the non-singular pronouns is that for purpose of clarity (where required) by the speaker, the one spoken to or the one spoken about is often overtly stated, and this noun occurs in the syntactic slot immediately following the pronoun. Regarding reflexive and emphatic pronouns, CH differs from many languages in that for CH, the speech intents of emphasis and reflexivity are marked by the use of the same pronoun. There is no reciprocal pronoun in CH, or one which indicates a mutual relationship. However, reciprocity, while not extremely common, is indicated by the use of the circumfix *fari-i* co-occurring with transitive verbs. CH has two sets of demonstrative pronouns. The first set is described in terms of specificity and number, and the second set refers to the notion of proximity, either spatially or referentially to the speaker.



## 4 Verbs

### 4.1 Introduction

The class of verbs is the grammatical category whose lexemes express the least time-stable concepts (Givón 1984:52f.). CH verbs express actions, processes, and states. Verbs in CH are distinguished from nouns by a combination of syntactic and morphological properties as described in the following sections. Structurally, there are morphological features of verbs which are not present with nouns. First, verbs undergo reduplication to encode durative aspect. Secondly, transitive verbs are cliticized with direct object marking enclitics. Thirdly, verb roots are prefixed with the causative prefix *fa-*. Fourthly, verb roots are suffixed with aspect markers, both continuative and completive. Verbs in CH are not marked for tense, person, or subject agreements. In terms of transitivity, verbs in CH are categorized as both transitive and intransitive, and the distinctions are syntactically motivated or derived (4.2.6). CH has a set of ambitransitive verbs that occur with no morphological change to distinguish them as either intransitive or transitive.

In terms of distributional properties, verbs in CH can serve as the head of verb phrases and predicates of clauses. First, the head of the VP can be transitive, as in:

- (316) *Iago lase=ni suḡa tarai bi'o Bara*  
 2SG know=3SG.OBJ house prayer big Bara  
 'You know the big church at Bara?'

The head can be intransitive:

- (317) *Iara theome ke gnokro fa-keli*  
 1SG NEG PRF sit CAUS-good  
 'I didn't sit comfortably [on the airplane].'

Or the head can be a stative verb:

- (318) *Mana au kolho ka namono leu~legu narane*  
 3SG.M be just LOC village DUR~every day  
 'He just stays in the village every day.'

CH also has dynamic and non-dynamic verbs (4.2.8.7), and a number of semantically defined verb classes (4.2.8). Morphological features distinct to a particular semantic class are noted in the analysis. There are four different phonological processes in CH which result in the nominalization of verbs. Those processes are described under CH phonology in section 2.11.

## 4.2 Structural features

### 4.2.1 Reduplication

Reduplication is described under CH phonology in section 2.12. Without repeating analysis, details or examples, it is simply noted here that reduplication of CH verbs does occur, and distinguishes nouns from verbs. Adjectival forms do undergo reduplication, but only with the presence of the CH verbal causative marker *fa-* in a resulting verbal derivation. Reduplication of verbs serves two primary purposes: 1) to encode durative aspect, which indicates a prolonging or intensification of the verbal notion, and 2) to enable transitive verbs to be derived from intransitive verbs. Additionally, reduplication of certain verbs derives nouns.

### 4.2.2 Direct object marking enclitics

Enclitics which mark the presence of a direct object are listed in Table 19. These occur for both singular and plural objects.<sup>48</sup> Examples of this structural feature of verbs include the following:

(319) *Iara fa-riu~riu fara mala hiro=ni kaisei mae*  
 1SG CAUS-DUR~try very PUR seek=3SG.OBJ one man  
 ‘I kept trying very hard to find someone.’

(320) *Phei kokholo teuḡre kilo=di mae Thauvia ge mae Phosamogo*  
 two clan DEM call=3PL.OBJ man Thauvia CONJ man Phosamogo  
 ‘These two clans are called the Thauvia and Phosamogo.’

(321) *Mei ne tore=nigo iago mala atha=ni ḡlegu ia*  
 come PST ask=2SG.OBJ 2SG PUR take=3SG.OBJ later DEM  
 ‘[He] came and asked you to take it later.’

(322) *Theome tañomana gotilo mei te filo=gami gehati*  
 NEG able 2PL come PRS see=2PL.OBJ 1PL.EXCL  
 ‘It is that you aren’t able to come see us.’

### 4.2.3 Causative *fa-*

The causative prefix *fa-* is the main verbal derivation occurring in CH, though it is not a motivating structure unique to verbs. Overall, this causative process occurs with verbs and adjectives in at least 400 instances in my corpus. Semantically, the causative function enables an event, process or state ‘to cause to happen’. Various derivational processes and results are observed, starting in section 4.2.3.1. These include 1) deriving transitive verbs from intransitive verbs; 2) derivation of verbs from adjectives, resulting in either a reduplicated or non-reduplicated verb; and, 3)

<sup>48</sup> In written communication, all object enclitics appear as separate words from the verb to which they cliticize, except for *ni* ‘3SG.OBJ’ and *di* ‘3PL.OBJ’. This is simply a convention of written CH.

causation in serial verb constructions. Regarding which adjectives of which semantic classes can undergo the causation process, basically all members of the dimension class, value class, and some of the physical characteristics class (such as *ḡae*, ‘clean’ and *thona* ‘dirty’) and human propensity class (*ḡlea* ‘happy’ and *noli* ‘crazy’) undergo the process. There is no apparently ordered or predictable environment in which this process occurs upon these certain adjectives.

#### 4.2.3.1 Transitive verb derivation

Syntactically, the causative prefix *fa-* enables transitive verbs to be derived from intransitive verbs. Illustrating this with the intransitive verb *lehe* ‘die’, the addition of the causative prefix *fa-* results in the transitive verb *fa-lehe* ‘make-die’ or ‘kill’. Also, a direct object enclitic (such as *=ni* ‘3SG.OBJ’) is optional, as is a noun or pronoun functioning as direct object (such as *mana* ‘3SG.M’). With optionality noted in brackets, the following illustrates this derivational process:

*lehe* ‘die’  
 > *fa-lehe* ‘make-die’  
 > *fa-lehe (=ni) (mana)* ‘make die (3SG.OBJ/something) (him)’

Thus, the syntactic expression of this transitive verb phrase formation on the stem is *fa-VERB* + optional ENCLITIC + the optional separate NOUN/PRONOUN. This is shown in examples (323) and (324).

(323) *Keha naikno re magnahagei fa-lehe=gau iara egu*  
 some people PL want CAUS-die=1SG.OBJ 1SG like.that  
 ‘Some people want to kill me, like that.’

(324) *Theome ki fa-jifla=di mare*  
 NEG banish CAUS-leave=3PL.OBJ 3PL  
 ‘[He] doesn’t drive them out.’

In example (325), the direct object Noun/Pronoun does not overtly occur in sequential syntactic order after the enclitic, but is understood from the context of the second VP (*rofo mana* ‘he was hungry’).

(325) *Mana fa-gamu=ni nei rofo mana teke=u ana*  
 3SG.M CAUS-eat=3SG.OBJ CONJ hungry 3SG.M PRS=CONT DEM  
 ‘It was that he was continuing to feed him, and he was hungry.’

Yet another variation of the full syntactic expression is found in example (326). Here the verb *karha* ‘live’ has been transitivized by the causation prefix to yield ‘cause to live/give birth’. But the direct object marking enclitic is missing in example (327). The same verb is used with the direct object marking enclitic and there is no apparent grammatical difference. Note that in both cases the *=di* enclitic occurring with *thu-* is a possessive marker rather than an object marker.

- (326) *Fa-karha sua thu=di re*  
 CAUS-live baby child=3PL.POSS PL  
 '[She] gave birth to their children.'

- (327) *Re'e e tei ka klinik mala fa-karha=di*  
 3PL.F EMP go LOC clinic PUR CAUS-live=3PL.OBJ

*thu=di re*  
 child=3PL.POSS PL  
 'They especially go to the clinic to birth their children.'

#### 4.2.3.2 Derivation of verbs from adjectives

Causative marker *fa-* is prefixed to adjectives to derive a verb, such as is the case with *namo* 'near' > *fa-namo* 'to cause to come near'. Thus, *fa-* + ADJ yields a verb, either transitive or stative, as shown in the following examples. Examples (328) through (331) show resulting transitive verbs:

- (328) *Ġa'ase gne te mala fa-brahu=gna vike*  
 female DEM PRS PUR CAUS-long =3SG.POSS clan  
 'It is that the woman-folk are for causing the increase of the clan!'

- (329) *Mare fa-di'a no=di suġa*  
 3PL CAUS-bad ALN=3PL.POSS house  
 'They ruined their house.'

- (330) *Loku fa-keli<sup>49</sup> visi=gna gotilo*  
 hold CAUS-good k.o.vine=3SG.POSS 2PL  
 'You-pl, hold on tight to/of the visi vine.'

- (331) *Mae prisi me fa-blahi simede tuana*  
 man priest INCP CAUS-holy cementing DEM  
 'The priest began blessing that tombstone memorial service.'

An example of the creation of a stative verb from causative prefixation:

- (332) *Thono fa-iho<sup>50</sup> fara nāla*  
 truly CAUS-not.know very just  
 '[He] was truly, very confused.'

<sup>49</sup> The corpus shows far more instances of causative prefixation on this word *keli* 'good' than any other CH word. *Fakeli* occurs 41 times.

<sup>50</sup> In writing, CH speakers traditionally represent the *fa-* + V-initial verb/adjective with the glottal stop ('apostrophe') marking the morpheme boundary before the V. Thus, *fa+iho=fa'iho*.

#### 4.2.3.3 Reduplication of causative verbs

Not only are verbs derived from adjectives by the process of causation as described in section 4.2.3.2, but the resulting verbal derivation can also undergo reduplication. This is demonstrated in the following illustrations by use of the adjective *doḡlo* ‘straight’. First, the causative prefix attaches to the adjective, resulting in a causative transitive verb:

*doḡlo* > *fa-doḡlo*  
 ‘straight’ > ‘make-straight [something]’

Then, the resulting transitive verb reduplicates, encoding durative action which is typically indicated by CH reduplication:

*fa-doḡlo* > *fa-do~doḡlo*  
 ‘make-straight [something]’ > ‘continue to make-straight [something]’

Optionally, transitivity is marked by the direct object enclitic attaching to the resulting transitive verb, doing so on either the reduplicated or non-reduplicated form:

*fa-doḡlo=ni*                      *fa-do~doḡlo=ni*  
 ‘make-straight=3SG.OBJ’      ‘continue to make-straight=3SG.OBJ’

Several examples of this reduplication include the following:

- (333) *Frank gne mala fa-do~doḡlo kaisei project*  
 Frank this PUR CAUS-DUR~straight one project  
 ‘Frank’s job is to continue improving a particular project.’
- (334) *Loku fa-ḡa~ḡae thobi horo thobi the=mi*  
 work CAUS-DUR~clean garden build garden REFL=1PL.POSS  
 ‘Keep working to clean and prepare our garden area.’
- (335) *Fa-fo~fodu ne=u khara'o ra ne=u ne hui*  
 CAUS-DUR~full PST=CONT basket PL PST=CONT PST finish  
 ‘They kept filling up the baskets continuing until they finished.’
- (336) *Eguteuna fa-fno~fnonu peapile ṅala iago*  
 CONJ CAUS-DUR~sharp both.sides just 2SG  
 ‘And you keep sharpening both sides.’

#### 4.2.3.4 Causation in serial verb constructions

In verb phrases the *fa-* can prefix to certain adjectives to form the second verb in a serial verb construction. The first verb can either be stative as in (337) or active as in (338).

(337) *Mana au fa-brahu jare*  
3SG.M be CAUS-long there  
'He stayed there a long time.'

(338) *Eha fa-bi'o fara gehati*  
shout CAUS-big very 1PL.EXCL  
'We shouted very loudly!'

Occasionally, two causative prefixed verbs occur in serial construction, as in example (339). Note that if the overt direct object were present (in this case *na'a* '3SG.F'), it would occur after the second verb of the serial construction.

(339) *Kaisei ġlepo te eni iago na fa-gamu fa-keli ka toñna*  
one thing REL do 2SG DEM CAUS-eat CAUS-good LOC sea  
'One thing that you do is to feed [her]<sup>51</sup> well from the sea.'

#### 4.2.4 Completive aspect marking enclitics *hi* and *hila*

Morphologically, verbs differ from nouns in that aspect-marking enclitics are cliticized to verbal predicates. The completive aspect enclitic *hi* cliticizes to both transitive and intransitive verbs. Examples of completive aspect with transitive verbs:

(340) *Mae Fred gne mei la filo=hi egu namono*  
man Fred DEM come IMM see=COMPL like.that village  
'Fred has come and has seen, like that, the village.'

(341) *La namo sukhai pari namo pa'e koko=hi gehati egu*  
IMM near fall down near fall down=COMPL 1PL.EXCL like.that

*suga*  
house

'We have almost torn down completely and thrown away the house, like that.'

The following are examples of completive aspect marking on intransitive verbs:

(342) *Nu iara mei=hi hamerane*  
CONJ 1SG come=COMPL morning  
'But I came in the morning.'

<sup>51</sup>The gloss 'her' is known from the context of the story.



- (343) *Iara la tolagi=hi te au thilo sua*  
 1SG IMM marry=COMPL PRS be three children  
 ‘It is that I am married [and] I have three children.’

In many instances in the corpus, *hi* combines with aspect marker *la* to form a separate enclitic, occurring in the syntactic order V + *hila*, doing so with or without *la* separately preceding the V. It is reported that *hila* gives increased emphasis to the act of completion.<sup>52</sup>

- (344) *Eigna mare jifla=hila kmana finoga jare*  
 for 3PL leave=COMPL lot.of years there  
 ‘For they left there many years ago.’
- (345) *Ġa’ase na atha=hila mei sua nalha’u na*  
 female DEM take=COMPL come child male DEM  
 ‘The woman has already brought the boy.’
- (346) *Tuna kulu karha=hila phej sua Salome ia*  
 DEM first born=COMPL two child Salome DEM  
 ‘There were already two children born to Salome.’
- (347) *Iara ġlea=di=hila te fati te au thu=di ġa’ase*  
 1SG happy=3PL.OBJ=COMPL PRS four PRS be child=3PL.POSS female  
 ‘I am completely happy that there are four daughters [in the family].’

The post-V enclitic *hila* often co-occurs with pre-V immediate aspect marker *la*. Semantically, this indicates that ‘at this point in time, we can say that this particular action is now finished.’ This is demonstrated in the following examples.

- (348) *La gnafa=hila gehati hiro sileni koba*  
 IMM finish=COMPL 1PL.EXCL seek money always  
 ‘We have already finished looking for money.’
- (349) *La eni=hila gehati nakarha teugne*  
 IMM do=COMPL 1PL.EXCL life DEM  
 ‘This is the life that we have made now made (for ourselves).’

#### 4.2.5 Continuative aspect marking enclitic *u*

The continuative aspect enclitic *u* cliticizes only to intransitive verbs. Examples of this are illustrated in (350) and (351).

- (350) *Ofo=u tanhi fati!*  
 wait=CONT cry four  
 ‘Keep waiting until 4:00!’

<sup>52</sup> Personal interview with Andrew Piaso, November, 2001.

- (351) *Keha theome gnafa=u ro=di chu'u re*  
 some NEG finish=CONT want=3PL.POSS breast PL  
 'Some of them are not yet finished wanting to breastfeed.'

The CH continuative aspect is contrasted with completive aspect in the following pair of examples. The first example is marked for continuative aspect:

- (352) *Dadi gehati mami gehati na re'e*  
 father 1PL.EXCL mother 1PL.EXCL DEM 3PL.F

*tei=di=u*  
 go=3PL.POSS=CONT  
 'Our father and mother are continuing to go.'

In (353), the content is the same as the previous example except that the completive aspect marker is substituted for the continuative aspect marker used in (352):

- (353) *Dadi gehati mami gehati na re'e*  
 father 1PL.EXCL mother 1PL.EXCL DEM 3PL.F

*tei=di=hi*  
 go=3PL.POSS=COMPL  
 'Our father and mother have already gone.'

#### 4.2.6 Verb classes

CH has two verb classes which are based primarily on syntactic criteria, transitive and intransitive. Transitive verbs have two core arguments, a subject and object, while intransitive verbs have only the subject as core argument.

##### 4.2.6.1 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs express action such as *akni* 'hit', *atha* 'take', *fatei* 'send', *pulo* 'return to', and *horo* 'build'. The transitive verb consists of 1) a stem (or derived form with causative *fa-*), 2) an optional direct object-marking enclitic, plus 3) an optional aspect-marking enclitic. This is linearly expressed by slot notation for the transitive verb as: STEM (+OBJ)(+ASP) and is illustrated in the following triad of examples. In (354), the optional enclitics are not present. The meaning encoded by the transitive verb occurring in stem only is that the speaker is referring to the act or process of seeing, or looking for, an undefined, non-specified airplane:

- (354) *Iara filo vaka flalo*  
 1SG see ship fly  
 'I see/look.for (an) airplane.'

In example (355), the third singular object enclitic means that the speaker is referring to a specific or particular airplane she is seeing:

- (355) *Iara filo=ni vaka flalo*  
 1SG see=3SG.OBJ ship fly  
 'I see the airplane.'

Further, in example (356), the addition of the completive aspect enclitic means that the speaker is referring to a specific or particular airplane she saw in an action now completed:

- (356) *Iara filo=ni=hi vaka flalo*  
 1SG see=3SG.OBJ=COMPL ship fly  
 'I see-completed an airplane.'

This is illustrated further with a different triad of examples. In example (357), the speaker is referring to the general process of *vavahi*,<sup>53</sup> 'choosing', a paramount chief:

- (357) *Tuana te mala va~vahi na mae paramount chief egu*  
 DEM REL PUR DUR~choose DEM man paramount chief like.that  
 'It is that [way/process] for choosing the paramount chief, like that.'

If the direct object enclitic is present with the transitive verb, as in (358), then the speaker is referring to the choosing of a particular person (named outside this sentence) as the paramount chief:

- (358) *Tuana te mala va~vahi=ni na mae paramount chief*  
 DEM REL PUR DUR-choose=3SG.OBJ DEM man paramount chief  
 'It is that [way/process] for choosing so-and-so as the paramount chief, like that.'

If the completive aspect marker enclitic is present with the transitive verb and the direct object marking enclitic, as in (359), then the speaker is referring in context to the completed process of naming a specific person (identified outside this sentence) as the paramount chief.

---

<sup>53</sup> The *hi* in *vavahi* is not a separate morpheme, namely the completive aspect marker. The *hi* is part of the root verb *vahi*.

- (359) *Tuana te mala va~vahi=ni=hi na mae*  
 DEM REL PUR DUR-choose=3SG.OBJ=COMPL DEM man

*paramount chief egu*

paramount chief like.that

‘It is that [way/process] now completed for choosing so-and-so as the paramount chief, like that.’

Another factor is observed in example (360) as to whether or not an enclitic is present. Here the transitivity is indicated by a prepositional phrase:

- (360) *Re'e e tei ka klinik ġro n̄a*  
 3PL.F PUR go LOC clinic DEM NSP  
 ‘Those two of them then go to a clinic.’

#### 4.2.6.2 Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs express processes or activities such as *koje* ‘sing’, *tanhi*, ‘cry’, *raġi* ‘dance’, *gnokro* ‘sit’, *nolo* ‘walk’, *thuru* ‘sleep’, or *keġra* ‘stand’. The intransitive verb consists minimally of a stem and optional inflection for aspect. This is represented as STEM(+ASP). The following are examples of how the arguments of intransitive verbs are expressed.

- (361) *Mana thuru*  
 3SG.M sleep  
 ‘He sleeps.’

- (362) *Mana thuru=hila*  
 3SG.M sleep=COMPL  
 ‘He has already gone to sleep.’

- (363) *Theome haru visi theome gnokro gehati n̄a=u*  
 NEG tie k.o.vine NEG sit 1PL.EXCL NSP=CONT  
 ‘If we haven’t tied the visi vine we can’t sit down yet.’

#### 4.2.7 Ambitransitive verbs

CH has a set of ambitransitive verbs of the S=A type (following Dixon 2010b:124-126). CH does not demonstrate the S=O type. Thus, as in Kambera (Klamer 1998:146-147), these CH verbs occur as either intransitive or transitive with no morphological change occurring to distinguish between the two. Each of these verbs can have a semantic valence of one, as indicated in the first instantiation noted, and also a semantic valence of two, as noted in the second use of the verb.

The following list is not exhaustive for CH but representative, and demonstrates that this is not an uncommon verbal feature. An illustration of this type verb for *nomhi* ‘to hear’ is:

*mana nomhi*: ‘he hears’ or, in the frame used in this section, ‘X hears’  
*mana nomhini kaisei naoḡla*: ‘he hears a voice/sound’ or, ‘X hears Y’

The verbs in this set include the following:

<i>ima</i>	1. X eats (polite form) 2. X eats Y
<i>gamu</i>	1. X eats 2. X eats Y
<i>filo</i>	1. X sees 2. X sees Y
<i>lase</i>	1. X knows 2. X knows Y
<i>nomhi</i>	1. X hears 2. X hears Y
<i>ofo</i>	1. X waits 2. X waits for Y
<i>ko’u</i>	1. X drinks 2. X drinks Y
<i>tarai</i>	1. X prays 2. X prays for Y
<i>iho</i>	1. X doesn’t know 2. X doesn’t know Y
<i>cheke</i>	1. X says 2. X says Y
<i>fariuriu</i>	1. X tries 2. X tries Y

#### 4.2.8 Semantically defined verb classes

CH has semantically defined verb classes, the main ones of which are listed in this section. Beyond a listing of representative (rather than complete) members of each class, any morphosyntactic differences are noted in the various sections.

##### 4.2.8.1 Weather expressions

The semantic domain of ‘weather expressions’ is not easily classified, because members of the class of CH weather verbs exhibit properties common to both verbs and nouns. Perhaps this is why some refer to these weather expressions as “weather verbs”, in that they reflect “meteorological events” (Kroeger 2005). The CH inventory of weather expressions include the two most commonly occurring, namely

*nakhete* ‘rain’ and *nuri* ‘wind’, and others include *rerekha* ‘cold temperature’, *aho* ‘fine weather’, and *romno* ‘dark clouds’.<sup>54</sup>

A comparison of verbal and nominal distinctions is helpful for attempting to classify typologically these weather expressions. First, some members of the class occur in syntactic environments which exhibit verbal distinctions. For example, *aho* ‘fine’, is the head of the VP, occurring with the syntactically-preceding verbal feature of aspect marking:

- (364) *La aho si ḡognaro gne*  
 IMM fine FOC now DEM  
 ‘It’s currently fine weather.’

Weather expression *aho* occurs as a predicate nominal in example (365):

- (365) *Te aho ke nakhete fara*  
 PRS fine.weather PRF rain very  
 ‘It is fine weather after the big rain.’

Other weather expressions such as *romno* are modified adverbially with an intensification adverb *fara*, as in (366) and (367), and this is further evidence for classifying these expressions as verbs, as CH verbs are modified by adverbs:

- (366) *Mae piloti na romno fara*  
 man pilot DEM dark very  
 ‘The pilot [said], “It’s really dark!”’ (flying into a storm)

- (367) *Nakhete fara!*  
 Rain very  
 ‘It is really raining a lot!’

Regarding negation, weather expressions pattern verbs, in that the expression is negated by the adverbial *theome* ‘not’, rather than with a form involving the negative existential verb *theo*:

- (368) *Te theome nuri blahi*  
 PRS NEG wind holy  
 ‘It is not (a) cyclone.’

Semantically, the notion of weather is a non-time stable event, and by that criterion can be classed as a verb rather than a noun, which is a time stable entity.

<sup>54</sup>For this domain, *romno* describes a condition of the sky caused by dark, threatening clouds, as opposed to the common use of *romno* used to describe the dark of night.

However, weather expressions also appear with common nominal distinctions and features. The nominal *nuri* ‘wind’ describes the state of weather in which ‘the wind is blowing’ or ‘windy’, and is variously modified from the root concept of ‘wind’ with varying degrees of force. First, the weather expression *nuri* occurs as the head of the NP and is modified by a demonstrative:

- (369) *Nuri na mei*  
 wind DEM come  
 ‘This wind comes.’

Secondly, CH nouns, not verbs, are modified by adjectives. The CH weather expression can be modified by an adjective:

- (370) *Nuri bi'o na mei*  
 wind big DEM come  
 ‘This big wind comes.’

In the following NP, the adjectival modifier *bi'o* ‘big’ is modified by the adverb *fara* ‘very’:

- (371) *nuri bi'o fara*  
 wind big very  
 ‘very big wind’

The weather expression *nuri* occurs with other adjectival modifiers, as in examples (372) and (373). The modifiers occur in both post-position and pre-position to the head:

- (372) *nuri tahu na*  
 wind heavy DEM  
 ‘this very strong wind’

- (373) *famane nuri na*  
 fine wind DEM  
 ‘this fine wind’

These ‘wind weather expressions’ do not occur with a subject, but they are a kind of nominal predicate. That is, there is no expression indicating the equivalent notion of ‘the wind blows’, where wind would be identified as a subject separate from the notion expressing ‘blowing’. In CH, *nuri* encodes the semantic representation ‘wind-blows’.<sup>55</sup> Thus, this is further evidence for identifying these weather

---

<sup>55</sup> This is contrasted, for example, with Solmons Pijin, in which the subject would be indicated by a form of the 3SG pronoun *hemi*, as in *hemi win tumas*, ‘3SG wind very’ or ‘it is very windy.’ CH does not utilize an equivalent 3SG pronoun as subject with weather expressions.

expressions as nouns rather than verbs, even though negation of them patterns that of verbs.

*Nakhete* is modified by an attributive phrase in (374), and that attribution is contrasted with a negative adverbial marker occurring with the adjective describing *nakhete* ‘rain’ in (375):

(374) *Nakhete na keli*  
rain DEM good  
‘This rain is good.’

(375) *Nakhete na theome keli*  
rain DEM NEG good  
‘This rain is not good.’

The verbal action usually associated with *nuri* ‘wind’ and *nakhete* ‘rain’ is *mei* ‘come’, as in (376) and (377). In the next two examples, *nakhete* ‘rain’, occurs in both instances as subject with the verb *mei* ‘come’. However, the order can switch from *nakhete* + V in example (376) to V + *nakhete* (377).

(376) *Nakhete mei*  
rain come  
‘Rain comes.’

(377) *Thuru lao=i la mei nakhete re rerekha fara*  
sleep towards=CONT IMM come rain PL cold very  
‘We were sleeping when the rains came, and it was very cold.’

While *mei* ‘come’ is the usual verb occurring with *nuri* ‘wind’, *nuri* co-occurs occasionally with *e’ei* ‘do’, as in (378):

(378) *E’ei thono pukuni nuri te raru te bi’o fara*  
do really truly wind REL seaward REL big very  
‘[There] was a wind that came in from the sea that was truly very big.’

In the previous example, (378) *nuri* is also described by wind that blows in from *raru*, the ‘direction of the sea’, as opposed to the mountains. Syntactically, the nominal *nuri* occurs in the slot preceding the relative clause syntactically initialized by *te* ‘REL’. In example (379), *nuri* is modified further by another word within the ‘wind’ domain, which is *khoburu*, describing a seasonal, strong, westerly blowing. The weather expression *ara* is the word used to indicate the same seasonal activity from the east.



- (379) *Teke mei nuri bi'o khoburu gne*  
 PSS come wind big west DEM  
 'It was that this big west wind came.'

In example (380) *nuri* also occurs as the object of the instrumental preposition *ka*, which is another argument for *nuri* as a nominal:

- (380) *Iara mei ka nuri na*  
 1SG come LOC wind DEM  
 'I come on the wind.' (used in a figurative speech poem, "spoken" by a bird)

To conclude: semantically, CH weather expressions favor verbal classification as non-time stable events. Syntactically, there is good evidence for classifying them as either verbs or nouns, though they seem to pattern more like nouns than verbs, and thus my conclusion is that they are more likely to be nouns. Typologically and somewhat arbitrarily, though, they are placed in this grammatical description under the topic of verbs, particularly in this section of semantically defined verb classes. But, taking into account both semantic and syntactic criteria as described in this section, "weather verbs" is not a clear nor accurate term for what I've referred to as CH "weather expressions". "Weather expressions" is thus used instead of "weather verbs" to indicate the ambiguity of classification.

#### 4.2.8.2 States of being verbs

The CH verbal semantic domain of states of being include *au*<sup>56</sup> 'exist/be.at', *theo* 'not.be/not.exist', *foḡra* 'sick', *karha* 'live', and *lehe* 'be.dead'. Syntactically, the members of this class occur in the usual order of NP + state-of-being verb + (verbal modifier(s)). It is noted that *karha* 'live' (384) appears to function as a predicate nominal. Syntactically, it appears to be followed by an adjectival modifying environment rather than an adverb as the fourth member in the above syntactic order.

- (381) *Mana au kolho ka namono leu~legu narane*  
 3SG.M be just LOC village DUR~every day  
 'He just stays in the village every day.'
- (382) *Roda na foḡra*  
 Roda DEM sick  
 'Roda is sick.'

<sup>56</sup>This word, when used as a one word question-answer, is attested in the language and means 'I don't know.' Its predominant use, however, is as a state of being verb.

- (383) *Mary na lehe*  
 Mary DEM be.dead  
 ‘Mary is dead.’
- (384) *Nu mana karha keli tuna kolho*  
 CONJ 3SG.M live good that just  
 ‘But [concerning] he is living, that is just good.’  
 Or: ‘His living is just alright.’

#### 4.2.8.3 Involuntary process verbs

These are “one-argument verbs in which the argument undergoes a change in state, does not act with volition, does not necessarily move through space, and is not the source of some moving object” Payne (1997:55). Members of the class of CH verbs in the semantic domain of involuntary processes include *kotu* ‘grow’ and *lehe* ‘die’. The CH verb for ‘born’ is not classified in this category, as the serial verb construction *karha mei* ‘live come=born’ does not meet the criteria listed above. The usual syntactic construction is NP + Verb. The verb can occur with inflection for aspect, as in (387).

- (385) *U gnaro e kotu ka glose*  
 DEM vine EMP grow LOC ground  
 ‘The vine grows in the ground.’
- (386) *Mana thokra lehe ka u thoñna*  
 3SG.M almost die LOC DEM sea  
 ‘He almost died in the sea.’
- (387) *Jame theo=di mare ne mana lehe=hi mae Hendere*  
 perhaps not.be=3PL.POSS 3PL PST 3SG.M die=COMPL man Henry  
 ‘If they had not been there, Henry probably would have died.’

#### 4.2.8.4 Bodily function verbs

Members of the class of CH verbs in the semantic domain of bodily functions include *buibuhi* ‘sweat’, *tanhi* ‘cry’, *dadara* ‘bleed’, *kuku* ‘defecate’, *si’i* ‘pass gas’, and *chihe* ‘sneeze’. Though members of this class may often be treated onomatopoeically (Payne 1997:56), *chihe* ‘sneeze’ appears to be the only one that is treated in such a manner. These verbs can co-occur with an adverbial modifier, such as *fa-keli* ‘CAUS-good’, shown in (389).

- (388) *Eguteuna tanhi kolho na’a ne=u*  
 CONJ cry ADV 3M>F PST=CONT  
 ‘And she just kept crying.’

- (389) *Mare mala eni suḡa toilet mala kuku fa-keli*  
 3PL PUR do house toilet PUR defecate CAUS-good  
 ‘They need to make an outhouse so that they can defecate properly.’

#### 4.2.8.5 Motion verbs

Members of the class of CH verbs in the semantic domain of motion include the intransitive verbs *mei* ‘come’, *tei* ‘go’, *ari*, ‘go’, *nolo* ‘walk’, and *chari* ‘run’. It is not unusual for members of this class to combine in serial verb fashion to indicate direction of the motion action, as in *nolo tei* ‘walk go (away from the speaker, or to a designated location)’. Instead of syntactically occurring in immediate succession, these two class members can also be linked by the REL marker, as in (391). The verbs occur with inflection for aspect, as in example (392).

- (390) *Ġa'ase gne ne nolo*  
 female DEM PST walk  
 ‘This woman was walking.’
- (391) *Phiamare... filo=i sasa te chari te mei*  
 3DU.M see=3SG.OBJ fish REL run REL come  
 ‘The two of them see the fish hurrying toward them.’ (lit. ‘they two see the fish that run that come’)
- (392) *Nu iara mei=hi hamerane*  
 CONJ 1SG come=COMPL morning  
 ‘And I came in the morning.’

It is noted in this section that there are two motion words used in CH to denote ‘go’, namely *tei* and *ari*. Though *tei* shows predominant use as the motion verb indicating ‘go’, *tei* and *ari* are synonyms, and both the following examples are attested as synonymous in meaning and function.

- (393) *Mana tei Buala.*  
 3SG.M go Buala  
 ‘He goes to Buala.’
- (394) *Mana ari Buala.*  
 3SG.M go Buala  
 ‘He goes to Buala.’

However, there are differences in how they are used. First, *ari* is the motion verb used in the second position of the serial verb construction used with the verb *tusu* ‘give’ in first position. Thus, example (395) is attested, but (396) is not attested.

(395) *Tusu ari ka mana*  
 give go LOC 3SG.M  
 'Give it to him.'

(396) \**Tusu tei ka mana*  
 give go LOC 3SG.M  
 \*'Give it to him.'

Both *tei* and *ari* can be prefixed with the causative marker *fa-*. *Fa-tei* 'make go' is a legitimate CH construction, used of causing a person to go somewhere.

(397) *Fa-tei mae igne ka suḡa*  
 CAUS-go man DEM LOC house  
 'Send this man to the house.'

In contrast with *fa-tei*, used for causing a person to go somewhere, *fa-ari* 'make go' is used of causing an object to go to someone. Thus, in handing something to someone, *fa-ari* would be used and not *fa-tei*:

(398) *Fa-ari sileni ka mana*  
 CAUS-go money LOC 3SG  
 'Cause the money to go to him.' or, 'Give the money to him.'

*Ari* is used in an extended sense to indicate time that has gone past, particularly *wiki* 'week' or *finoga* 'year'. Motion verb *tei* is not used this way. The distal singular demonstrative *ia* follows the motion verb in this typical construction:

(399) *Mae Gerry neke tei Fiji ka finoga te ari ia*  
 man Gerry PST go Fiji LOC year REL go DEM  
 'Gerry went to Fiji last year.'

#### 4.2.8.6 Position verbs

Members of the class of CH verbs in the semantic domain of position include *keḡra* 'stand', *gnokro* 'sit', *ḡefe* 'hang', and *tuthurupuku* 'kneel'. While the position verbs can occur without modifier, they are often modified by an adverb, indicating further the motion enacted to achieve the position as in 'stand up' (400) or 'sit down' (403). The purpose of the position, or the qualitative nature of the position, is sometimes marked, as in (401) and (404). Members of this class are also used to describe a metaphorical position, such as *keḡra* indicating 'stand as a candidate for election' in (402), or *gnokro* 'sit for an exam'.

(400) *Keḡra hage gu thu=mi ḡa'ase gepa gne*  
 stand up like.that child=1PL.EXCL female 1DU.EXCL DEM  
 'Like this, this daughter of ours stood up.'

- (401) *Mare te keḡra fo~foto=ni*  
 3PL REL stand DUR~block=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘They [are the ones] that stood, blocking it.’
- (402) *Mana magnahagei keḡra Isabel*  
 3SG.M want stand Isabel  
 ‘He wants to stand (as a candidate for election) on Isabel.’
- (403) *Tarai hui gnokro sukha gamu fodu*  
 pray finish sit down eat full  
 ‘When prayer was finished we sat down to eat together.’
- (404) *Iara theome ke gnokro fa-keli*  
 1SG NEG PRF sit CAUS-good  
 ‘I was not sitting comfortably.’
- (405) *Aonu me tuthurupuku mana ke ulu=gna mae bisop*  
 CONJ INCP kneel 3SG.M DIR front=3SG.POSS man bishop  
 ‘And so, he began kneeling before the bishop.’

#### 4.2.8.7 Action verbs

Payne (1997:58,59) describes the difference in the verbs in the action class with those in action-processes (section 4.2.8.8) as basically differing in whether or not the patient is distinctly affected or not. In the action class, the patient is not overly affected as the patient is in action-processes. Thus, members of the class of CH verbs in the semantic domain of action include *raḡi* ‘dance’ and *koje* ‘sing’, and these are further described as dynamic in that they involve change.

- (406) *Neubane au ḡra=ḡu re iara tei ka*  
 even.though be grandchildren=1SG.POSS PL 1SG go LOC

*komido raḡi egu*

Mother’s.Union dance like.that

‘Even though I have grandchildren, I went to the Mother’s Union meeting and danced, like that.’

- (407) *Kafe koje me gnafa gehati fateo*  
 all sing INCP finish 1PL.EXCL all  
 ‘We were all singing until we all finished.’

Non-dynamic verbs in this class include *fiofilo* ‘look at’ and *thuru* ‘sleep’. When used metaphorically, the prolonging of the ‘look at’ action, can be glossed in English as ‘inspect,’ as in (408). Further, these non-dynamic action verbs are often

found in a syntactic environment which includes modifiers of the action in respect to quality, as in (409), or the one to whom the action is directed, as in (408).

- (408) *Repa e fio~filo ka ihei te nanaba*  
 3DU.F PUR DUR~look.at LOC anyone REL fit  
 ‘They two have the purpose of keep looking/inspecting for finding anyone that might fit.’

- (409) *Mana ke thuru kmu kolho*  
 3SG.M PRF sleep quiet just  
 ‘He just slept quietly.’

The action of ‘sleeping’ is modified by a locative, as in ‘sleep in the bush’ (410) or ‘on a mat’ (411), and that modifier occurs in the slot immediately after the action verb.

- (410) *Tuare loku=di hui tuana thuru mhata*  
 DEM work=3PL.OBJ finish DEM sleep bush  
 ‘When they completed that work they slept in the bush.’

- (411) *Thuru the=mi ... jare re te thuru sape=hi*  
 sleep REFL=1PL.EXCL ... there PL PRS sleep bed=COMPL  
 ‘It is that we slept there by ourselves sleeping on a mat.’

#### 4.2.8.8 Action process verbs

Members of the class of CH verbs in the semantic domain of action processes include *falehe* ‘kill’, (*fa-*)*akni/aknu*<sup>57</sup> ‘hit’, *blalho* ‘dissolve’ and *nhubra* ‘burn’. Conceptually, verbal action classified in this domain is characterized by the patient being distinctly affected, such as a ship (in the role of patient) burning, described in example (415). Syntactically, some members of this class (particularly *falehe* ‘kill’) exhibit an optional direct object enclitic before the optionally occurring, overtly-stated affected patient, as in *nigo* ‘2SG.OBJ’ in (413). It is not unusual for members of the class to be inflected for transitivity as in (414).

- (412) *Na egu nu blalho kolho me theome lehe n̄ala moho*  
 CONJ like.that CONJ dissolve just INCP NEG die just k.o.fish  
 ‘Otherwise it (the poison) will just dissolve and the moho won’t die.’

- (413) *Me nheta n̄a iago nu iara ari akni=nigo*  
 INCP strong COND 2SG CONJ 1SG go hit=2SG.OBJ  
 ‘If you are strong I will go hit you.’

<sup>57</sup> These two words are in free variation.

- (414) *Fa-lehe=ni naikno=gna bligi ba*  
 CAUS-die=3SG.OBJ people=3SG.POSS easy Q  
 ‘Killing people is easy, isn’t it?’

- (415) *Theome di’anagnafa tahati te nhubra Ligomo*  
 NEG sad 1PL.INCL PRS burn Ligomo  
 ‘It is that we are not sad that the Ligomo ship burned.’

Some members of the class occur in serial and generate what might be described as a more specific concept within the wider domain of meaning represented by the constituent elements. For example, *aknu* ‘hit’ occurs with *falehe* ‘kill’ to represent the concept of murder.

- (416) *Teke aknu fa-lehe mae tifa re na*  
 PSS hit CAUS-die man old PL DEM  
 ‘It was that the old men murdered.’

The verbal action is intensified through adverbial modification, as indicated by *fa-heta* ‘CAUS-strong’ in (417):

- (417) *Thara na fa-aknu fa-heta n̄ala*  
 warrior DEM CAUS-hit CAUS-strong just  
 ‘The group of warriors just vigorously attacked.’

#### 4.2.8.9 Factive verbs

Members of the class of CH verbs in the semantic domain of factives, or verbs that describe an entity coming into existence, include in its inventory *horo* ‘build’, *eni* ‘do/make’, *vuha* ‘start (something)’, and *khapru mei* ‘gather together’. This ‘coming into existence’ ranges from the physical construction of a house or canoe, as in (418) and (419), to the launching of an event such as a church feast day (420), the actual feast meal (421), or the startup of an army (422). As in several other semantic word classes, the verb is modified by an adverb to describe the quality of action (423), or occurs in a serial string with another verb (424).

- (418) *Mare mala eni suḡa toilet*  
 3PL PUR make house toilet  
 ‘They should build an outhouse.’

- (419) *Mare horo thomoko*  
 3PL make k.o.canoe  
 ‘They make a thomoko canoe.’

- (420) *Eni narane suḡa tuana*  
 do day house DEM  
 ‘That is done at that church feast day.’

- (421) *Gnafa teuna me eni n̄a gaḡhamu na*  
 finish DEM INCP do NSP feast DEM  
 ‘When that is finished, they make a feast.’
- (422) *Mae north Mala tuare mare te eni hage kaisei u ami*  
 man north Malaita DEM 3PL REL make up one DEM army  
 ‘The north Malaitans [are] the ones that started an army.’
- (423) *Mae magnahage eni fa-keli egu*  
 man want do CAUS-good like.that  
 ‘The man wants to do this well, like that.’
- (424) *Tahati na khapru mei mala fa-nomho thonu cheke*  
 1PL.INCL DEM gather come PUR CAUS-hear story talk  
 ‘We will gather in order to hear a story.’

#### 4.2.8.10 Cognition verbs

The class of CH verbs in the semantic domain of cognition include two prominent members in its inventory, *lase* ‘know’ and *gaogatho* ‘think’. An additional common member is *iho* ‘not.know’. Class members demonstrate the presence of direct-object marking enclitics as in (425), (426) and (427). Also, these class members are not uncommonly modified by various adverbs in the immediately following syntactic slot, as in (429).

- (425) *Mare naikno lase=ni puhi=gna mana*  
 3PL people know=3SG.OBJ way=3SG.POSS 3SG  
 ‘They, the people, know his manner.’
- (426) *Theome ra'e lase=ni fa-keli nañha=gna*  
 NEG really know=3SG.OBJ CAUS-good name=3SG.POSS
- mae chaplain tuana*  
 man chaplain DEM  
 ‘I’m not really sure of the name of that chaplain.’

- (427) *Mae nalha'u ḡre e theome gaogatho=di ka*  
 man male DEM EMP NEG think=3PL.OBJ LOC

*ido=di kma=di*  
 mother=3PL.POSS father=3PL.POSS  
 ‘These boys are not really thought about by their parents.’

The experiencer of the cognitive process of ‘not.know’ is designated by means of a possession construction, void of the presence of an overt personal pronoun such as



1SG or 1PL. In this construction, a possessive enclitic attaches to the alienable possessive pronoun root.

- (428) *Iho*            *no=ḡu=ni*  
 not.know ALN=1SG.POSS=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘I don’t know it.’

Cognition verbs may be prefixed by the causative marker *fa-*, and the conceptual result is to indicate the causation or creation of a particular cognitive state.

- (429) *Fa-iho*                    *fara*  
 CAUS-not.knowing    very  
 ‘It’s really confusing!’

#### 4.2.8.11 Sensory experience verbs

Members of the class of CH verbs in this semantic domain include *filo* ‘see’, *nomhi* ‘hear’, *habo* ‘touch’, and *haimi* ‘perceive’. When specifying the object of the sensory experience, these class members demonstrate inflection by the direct-object marking enclitic as in (431) and (432). Also the presence is noted of completive aspect enclitics, as in (432). Further, similar to non-dynamic action verbs, members of this class are often found in a syntactic environment which includes modifiers indicating to what or whom the verbal action is directed, as in (433).

- (430) *Iara kulu interest kolho ta=di funu tifa funu sua*  
 1SG first interest just EXP=3PL.POSS start before start child

=ḡu            *nomhi na nā Merika tugne me*  
 =1SG.POSS hear DEM NSP America DEM INCP

‘I first became interested in them (i.e. the Americans) starting at the time when I was a small child, beginning to hear this about America.’

- (431) *Tahati sua naikno teura ne nomhi=ni nā belo*  
 1PL.INCL child woman DEM PST hear=3SG.OBJ NSP drum  
 ‘All of us children and women, were hearing the drum...’

- (432) *Mae bi'o gne la me filo=ni=hi suḡa na*  
 man big DEM IMM INCP see=3SG.OBJ=COMPL house DEM  
 ‘This big man has already looked at this house.’

- (433) *Mana filo lao=ni te=u=hila tahati na*  
 3SG.M look.at towards=3SG.OBJ PRS=CONT=COMPL 1PL.INCL DEM  
 ‘It is that he had already been looking towards us.’

(434) *Naiknore ne habo=ni no=gna phoko na*  
 people PST touch=3SG.OBJ ALN=3SG.POSS clothing DEM  
 ‘People touched his clothing.’

(435) *Mare la theo=hi haimi=ni mamaja na*  
 3PL IMM not.be=COMP feel=3SG.OBJ shame DEM  
 ‘They don’t completely feel shame.’

#### 4.2.8.12 Utterance verbs

The most commonly occurring member of the class of CH verbs in the semantic domain of utterance is *cheke* ‘talk’. Others include *eha* ‘shout’ and *buiburi* ‘gossip’. Evidence for verbal classification include the following several features. First, the verb occurs with aspectual marking either in the preceding or following slots in the predicate clause, as in (436) and (437).

(436) *Dora la cheke bi'o lañau ka gehati ia*  
 Dora IMM talk big also LOC 1PL.EXCL DEM  
 ‘Dora was speaking strongly to us.’

(437) *Ġrafi=gna na mana eha eha ña=u*  
 afternoon=3SG.POSS DEM 3SG.M shout shout NSP=CONT  
 ‘This afternoon, he just keeps shouting.’

The action of the utterance is directed towards an entity, and is marked by the oblique *ka* as in (438), in the next example (439) by the preposition *rañhi* with the direct object marking enclitic *ni*, and also by the direct-object marking enclitic in the following two examples, (440) and (441). The most plausible explanation for the variations is speaker preference. There do not appear to be any outstanding semantic differences.

(438) *Cheke ka gotilo mae vaka ra egu*  
 talk LOC 2PL man ship PL like.that  
 ‘Talk to you white people, like that.’

(439) *Iara na cheke rañhi=ni mae Beimers*  
 1SG DEM talk DIR=3SG.OBJ man Beimers  
 ‘I will talk to Beimers.’

(440) *Uve iara te cheke=ni mae bisop*  
 yes 1SG PRS talk=3SG.OBJ man bishop  
 ‘Yes, it is that I talk to the bishop.’

(441) *Khetho=di*      *thu=di*      *teure* *theome* *cheke=di*  
 spouse=3PL.POSS child=3PL.POSS DEM NEG talk=3PL.OBJ

*iara nañha=di*  
 1SG name=3PL.POSS

‘Of their spouses and children, I couldn’t speak their names.’

The causative prefix *fa-* is used with an utterance verb, and the effect is to ‘cause a discussion’ or perhaps ‘inquire’, when used with *cheke* ‘talk’, as in (442).

(442) *Mana fa-cheke keha nabrou mala hara sileni Merika*  
 3SG.M CAUS-talk some road PUR seek money America  
 ‘He inquired about some way for finding financial help from America.’

The causative prefix *fa-* is used with an utterance verb that has undergone reduplication, and the effect semantically of both morphological processes is to indicate the causation of a discussion that becomes on-going, as in (443).

(443) *Phiamare fa-che~cheke na teuna*  
 3DU.M CAUS-DUR~talk DEM DEM  
 ‘The two of them are discussing this.’

Utterance verbs are used in direct and indirect speech. The usual frame for direct speech is Nominal + (Tense Marker) + Utterance Verb + *egu*, followed by the content of the direct speech. Importantly, direct speech usually shows evidence in the content of the utterance of a first or second person pronoun or reference, as in (444):

(444) *Mana ne cheke egu tiro=ḡu*  
 3SG.M PST talk like.that refuse=1SG.POSS  
 ‘He said like this, “I refuse!”

However, that same event could be rendered with indirect speech, as in example (445). Structurally, noted differences from direct speech can include: 1) the use of an auxiliary time marker *te* or *teke* in the speech margin; 2) the speech verb (*cheke*) could be inflected with a direct object enclitic; and, 3) a third singular pronoun or referent is found in the speech content:

(445) *Mana teke cheke=ni mana tiro=gna egu*  
 3SG.M PRS talk=3SG.OBJ 3SG.M refuse=3SG.POSS like.that  
 ‘It is that he said that he refused, like that.’

As an observed point for reference and future study, direct speech is not only the most common in terms of usage, but when asked for a rendering of an explanation of an utterance, it would not be unusual for a CH speaker to do so invariably with a direct speech frame. In other words, the original speaker or author’s intent might in

fact have been indirect speech, but the default representation of that speech by another individual in recounting that event would indeed be with a method that employs direct speech. A representative example is (446), showing the direct speech indicated within the usual direct speech frame cited previously, and with content reported by a first person pronoun. A man is recounting the declaration of his friend who said he did not take the knife. Instead of using indirect speech to say that he did not do that, the retelling would characteristically be with direct speech.<sup>58</sup>

(446) *Mana ne cheke egu iara theome atha=ni*  
 3SG.M PST talk like.that 1SG NEG take=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘He said, like.that, “I didn’t take it!”’

It is noted in this section that there are CH utterances associated with the genres of shouted speech, and their characteristics and functions are described at some length in Boswell (2002). Briefly summarized, these utterances are in common use, and are described in CH as *cheke poapola* ‘talk-command’ or ‘ordering done with a shouting voice’. Culturally, shouted speech is a natural expression of the importance and centrality of CH community and corresponding authority structures. Shouted speech has a very strong hortatory function, based upon the authority of village chiefs. Basically, this speech phenomenon serves as a vehicle by which the language community is called into action, and thus is a catalyst for organizing and moving ahead as a community-wide unit, both in daily business and for certain special functions. While *cheke poapola* is the cover term for describing this language phenomenon in general terms, there are three distinct genres which arise from *cheke poapola*:

- *loku fodu* ‘work together’, which is shouted speech throughout the village calling people to gather to perform a community-shared task
- *tufa ġano* ‘share food’, which is shouted speech during a feast to divide up food according to villages or notable attendees
- *cheke thaġru* ‘talk behind’, which is shouted speech performed during the departure of honored guests.

Analysis of these genres shows that there are certain speech *formulae* and progression of orders associated with each; there is marked rising intonation over the final syllable of particular ‘shouts’; and, the break from one line of shout to another is often accompanied by the tag speech sound *hu!*, which has no lexical or grammatical meaning, and is found nowhere else in the language.

#### 4.2.8.13 Manipulation verbs

Members of the class of CH verbs in the semantic domain of manipulation include (*chai*)*chagi* ‘lie, deceive’, *majora* ‘betray’, and *huhugu* ‘force’.

---

<sup>58</sup> Further study is needed to verify this, but the use of direct speech in this type recounting of an event seems to be especially true when pragmatic emphasis is needed.

(447) *Chagi kolho si g̃a'ase teuana ia*  
 lie just FOC female DEM DEM  
 'That girl was simply lying.'

(448) *Mana huhugu=ni na'a*  
 3SG.M force=3SG.OBJ 3M>F  
 'He forced her.'

It is suggested that the reduplicated form in (449) indicates either an on-going process or on-going effect of the manipulation. The presence of the direct object marking enclitic is also noted in the same example.

(449) *Mana chai~chagi=gau iara*  
 3SG.M DUR~deceive=1SG.OBJ 1SG  
 'He is lying to me.'

#### 4.2.8.14 Comparison of CH semantically-motivated verbal classes

In Table 25, the predominant structural features of the semantically-motivated verbal classes are presented for comparison.

Table 25: Comparison of CH Semantic Verbal Classes  
 (note: x= attested in CH)

Verbal Class	Derived for CAUS	Inflected for Transitivity	Inflected for Aspect	Notion is possessed by experiencer	Modified by Adjectives	Modified by adverbs	In serial verb const.
Weather					x	x	x
States			x	x		x	x
Involuntary processes	x		x			x	x
Bodily functions			x			x	
Motion	x	x	x			x	x
Position	x		x			x	x
Action			x			x	x
Action processes	x	x	x			x	x
Factives	x	x	x			x	x
Cognition	x	x	x	x		x	x
Sensory exp.	x	x	x			x	x
Utterance	x	x	x			x	x
Manipulation	x	x	x			x	x

#### 4.2.9 Summary

CH has transitive, intransitive, stative, and a fairly large set of ambitransitive verbs of the S=A type. For transitive verbs, there is often an enclitic which marks the presence of a direct object, but this is not required. The absence of the enclitic can indicate that the speaker is referring either to a process indicated by the transitive verb, or to an unrealized, non-specific object within the communication context. The causative prefix *fa-* occurs often on CH verbs, and does so as well in a VP on adverbial modifiers. Among other functions, this prefix motivates the derivation of transitive verbs from intransitive verbs. An example of this is *lehe* ‘die’ > *fa-lehe* ‘make.die/kill’. This action of causation also motivates the derivation of certain verbs from adjectives, such as *di’a* ‘bad’ > *fa-di’a* ‘to make.bad/ruin’. Two aspect marking enclitics are attested, two for complete and one for continuative aspect.

This grammatical description of CH differentiates 13 semantically-defined categories of verbs. One of those, “weather expressions”, receives the most treatment in this analysis as it is the most contested. CH weather expressions favor verbal classification as non-time stable events. Thus, semantically, they resemble verbs. However, syntactically, there is good evidence for classifying them as either verbs or nouns, though they seem to pattern more like nouns than verbs. “Weather expressions” is thus used instead of “weather verbs” to indicate the ambiguity of classification. A summary comparison of all 13 semantically-defined categories shows that verbs in all classes are modified by adverbs, and all are inflected for aspect (excepting weather expressions). And, the verbs denoting motion, action processes, factives, sensory experience, cognition, utterance, and manipulation have more in common with each other syntactically than do those in other categories.

## 5 Adjectives, Adverbs, Prepositions

This chapter discusses the word classes of adjectives (section 5.1), adverbs (section 5.2), and prepositions (section 5.3). Various groupings, or sub-classes (where applicable) of each class are described and illustrated, and distinguishing features of each class are presented.

### 5.1 Adjectives

#### 5.1.1 Introduction

For Oceanic languages, “if an Oceanic language has a class of genuine adjectives at all, it is likely to be a small closed set of forms which is defined by the fact that its members are uninflected and can be used both as a predicate and attributively when they directly follow the nominal head that they modify” (Lynch *et al* 2002:40).

CH, however, differs from this Oceanic typology on two of the three counts. 1) Instead of being a “small, closed set”, CH has a broad inventory of adjectives. White catalogued more than 200 lexical items as adjectives in the CH dictionary. While this author does not necessarily vouch for that number and for all of those classified as such in his dictionary, the number is indeed large. 2) Instead of its members being uninflected, certain semantic sub-classes of CH adjectives are inflected by possession-marking enclitics, completive aspect enclitics, and the causative prefix *fa-*, from which are derived verbs or adverbs. Each characteristic is noted in the relevant sections which follow. 3) Regarding Lynch *et al*'s comment that adjectives can be used in both predicate and attributive functions when following the nominal head they modify, this is true for CH.

This word class in CH shares some similarities with intransitive verbs, such as reduplication (4.2.1), and the same negator (9.3.5). All CH descriptive adjectives except *famane* ‘fine/excellent’ occur in the syntactic slot immediately following the head noun which they modify. Various sub-classes of CH adjectives are grouped in semantic domains, and are discussed in the following sections. Structural and morphological distinctive features of those members are noted.

#### 5.1.2 Age descriptor adjectives

CH adjectives which indicate age include among its members *majagani* ‘new/young’, *bi'o* ‘old/grown’ and *tifa* ‘old’. These members modify the head from an immediate post-nominal syntactic position, as in (450). The adjective *tifa* ‘old’ is usually used to modify a person as in (450), whereas *majagani* ‘young’ seems to have a much broader range of nouns which it modifies, including inanimate objects (451). The adjectives in this class can be inflected for possession, as shown in (451).

(450) *Kaisei neigano teke eni mae tifa re*  
 one feast PSS do man old PL  
 ‘It was that a feast was given by the old men.’

(451) *Loku bi'o te kaikaliti suḡa tarai majagani=gna kava na*  
 work big PRS ready house prayer young=3SG.POSS tin.roof DEM  
 ‘It is a lot of work that [is done] to prepare the new church [with] this tin roof.’

### 5.1.3 Dimension descriptor adjectives

CH adjectives which indicate dimension include among its members *bi'o* ‘big’, *ikoi* ‘small’, *brahu* ‘long/tall’, *sokmo* ‘short’, *krepa* ‘wide’, and *ḡobro* ‘narrow’. In this class, these adjectives describe the dimension of physical, inanimate nouns (452), humans (453) and (455), and weather expressions (454). In the case of humans, *bi'o* ‘big’ and *iko* ‘small’ can be extended to metaphorical use. As illustrated in (455), the adjectives in this class can be inflected for possession.

(452) *Mae Fred gne mei la filo=hi egu namono krepa*  
 man Fred DEM come IMM see=COMPL like.that village wide  
 ‘Fred has come and seen how wide the village is.’

(453) *Mae brahu ruma mei ka assembly*  
 man long enter come LOC assembly  
 ‘The tall man entered the assembly.’

(454) *U si nuri bi'o kolho gema*  
 DEM FOC wind big just friend  
 ‘Friend, it was just a big wind!’

(455) *Iara mae bi'o=ḡu Ḣurena*  
 1SG man big=1SG.POSS Ḣurena  
 ‘I am the leader from Ḣurena.’

For purposes of intensification, an adverb fills the syntactic slot immediately following the dimension adjective.

(456) *Pukuni ḡloku bi'o fara*  
 truly work big very  
 ‘This is really very big work.’

These adjectives commonly function as predicate adjectives, as in:



- (457) *Cheke re ka mae bisop iko-i fara*  
 word PL LOC man bishop small-COMP very  
 ‘The bishop said, “This is very small!”’ (referring in context to an amount of money)

Also, members of this class can be derived for causation, illustrated in reference to an utterance verb (458), and a stative (459).

- (458) *Eha fa-bi'o fara gehati*  
 shout CAUS-big very 1PL.EXCL  
 ‘We shouted extremely loud.’
- (459) *Donuts te au fa-bi'o=gna Buala*  
 donuts PRS be CAUS-big =3SG.POSS Buala  
 ‘It is that donuts have really become popular in Buala.’

#### 5.1.4 Value descriptor adjectives

CH adjectives which indicate value include among its members *keli* ‘good’, *di'a* ‘bad’, and *famane* ‘fine’. In the NP, these adjectives occur syntactically post-nominally to the head (460), except for *famane*, which occurs both pre-head and post-head, as in the utterance (461) which illustrates both positions. The NPs in the latter example are bracketed.

- (460) *Gamu kha'agi khame di'a te peko ia*  
 eat fire hand bad REL crooked DEM  
 ‘That fire burned his hand that is bad.’
- (461) [*Famane nuri keli fara*] [*ḡaḡafa famane*]  
 fine wind good very breeze fine  
 ‘It was a fine wind, very good, an excellent breeze!’

Members of this class are inflected for possession (462) and completive aspect (463), and used predicatively in the latter and therefore marked for aspect. The members can also be derived by causation (462) and (464), with the latter illustrating a transitive, causative verb derived by causation of the adjective.

- (462) *Fi~filo fa-keli ka tei nakhapra keli=gna*  
 DUR~look.at CAUS-good LOC go reef good=3SG.POSS  
 ‘They will keep watching well/alertly and go to the reef if it is good.’
- (463) *Suḡa gotilo te namo di'a=hi gile ia*  
 house 2PL PRS near bad=COMPL until DEM  
 ‘It is that your house is almost completely ruined.’

- (464) *Mare fa-di'a no=di suḡa*  
 3PL CAUS-bad ALN=3PL.POSS house  
 'They ruined their house.'

Members of this class commonly function as predicate adjectives, as illustrated in the following three examples:

- (465) *Ḡoro sua ra keli*  
 all child PL good  
 'All those children are good.'

- (466) *Keha suḡa di'a keha suḡa keli*  
 some house bad some house good  
 'Some houses are bad and some houses are good.'

- (467) *Nakhete na theome keli*  
 rain DEM NEG good  
 'This rain is not good.'

### 5.1.5 Color descriptor adjectives

CH adjectives which indicate color comprise a very small set, including only the following among its members: *vega* 'white', *pipito* 'black/blue', *karha*<sup>59</sup> 'green', *ukru* 'red', and *rija* 'yellow'. These adjectives are not inflected for possession or aspect, but can be inflected with the prefix *fa-* to derive verbs, as in example (469). All occur post-nominal to the head of the NP, and can function, as in (468) and (470), as predicate adjectives.

- (468) *suḡa ukru*  
 house red  
 'red house'

- (469) *Mana fa-ukru=ni suḡa na*  
 3SG.M CAUS-red=3SG.OBJ house DEM  
 'He made-red this house [as with paint].'

- (470) *Mae pipito fara jare*  
 man black very there  
 'There are a lot of black men there!' (commenting on the deep hues of the dark-skinned people of Western province)

### 5.1.6 Physical characteristics descriptor adjectives

CH adjectives which indicate physical characteristics include among its members *maku* 'hard', *pila*, 'soft', *tahu* 'heavy', *salhu* 'smooth', *brana* 'hot (water)', *rifu*

---

<sup>59</sup> This is the same word for 'live'.

‘cold (water)’, *gae*, ‘clean’ and *thona* ‘dirty’. As with other sub-classes of adjectives, the adjectives which indicate physical characteristics regularly occur post-nominal to the head of the NP, and also function as predicate adjective. Both of these features are shown in (471) and (472). These adjectives can be derived to become a transitive, causative verb, as in (473).

(471) *Ġaju pukuni ġaju maku*  
 tree really tree hard  
 ‘That wood is really hard!’

(472) *Keha vaka mae Malaita mae Westi mae Santa Cruz thona fara*  
 some ship man Malaita man West man Santa Cruz dirty very  
 ‘Some ships of Malaita, Western province, and Santa Cruz are very dirty!’

(473) *Mala ne tolagi na'a jare fa-maku=ni me=u*  
 PUR PST marry 3M>F there CAUS-hard=3SG.OBJ INCP=CONT

*ġlose tuana*  
 land DEM  
 ‘She married there and that began to strengthen her claim to the land.’

### 5.1.7 Human propensity descriptor adjectives

CH adjectives which indicate human propensity include among its members *ġoġhotu*, ‘jealous’, *ġlea* ‘happy’, *di'anagnafa* ‘sad’, *frane* ‘brave’, *noli* ‘crazy’, *jaġlo* ‘surprise’, and *mhagu* ‘fear’. These adjectives are not easily classified in terms of word class differentiation. The reason for this is that they actually do show characteristics in regards to possession which would lend to their classification as nominals. Namely, some demonstrate alienable possession by the experiencer, as in (474) and (475), while others are inflected with inalienable possession marking, shown in (476) and (477). The curious difference seems to be that the inalienably marked ones only occur with *ġlea* ‘happy’ and *di'anagnafa* ‘sad’, while the others in this sub-class take alienable possession marking. The variable alienable and inalienable possession marking is noted as an anomaly. One of the key factors for keeping this sub-class as adjective is that each member is modified by adverbs, and adverbial modifiers are not attested with CH nominals. Also, the happy/sad grouping takes direct-object marking enclitics, as described below in (478) and (479). Direct-object marking enclitics is also not attested for CH nominals.

(474) *Di'a fara ka iara tei ka Sol Air mhagu no=ġu*  
 bad very LOC 1SG go LOC Sol Air fear ALN=1SG.POSS  
 ‘It’s really bad for me to go on Solomon Airlines, as I am afraid.’

(475) *Uve jaġlo no=ġu iara*  
 yes surprise ALN=1SG.POSS 1SG  
 ‘Yes, I am surprised!’

138 A Grammar of Cheke Holo

(476) *Nu thofno hui di'anagnafa=ḡu fara te lose*  
 CONJ really finish sad=1SG.POSS very PRS lose  
 'But it was that I was really sad that the outcome was losing.'

(477) *Kaisei ḡlepo te theome ḡlea=gna iara*  
 one thing REL NEG happy=3SG.POSS 1SG  
 'It is one thing that I am not happy about.'

Members of this class are also inflected for transitivity with the direct-object marking enclitic, as illustrated in (478) and (479).

(478) *Gume tuana teke di'anagnafa=ni gepa thu=gna*  
 CONJ DEM PSS sad=3SG.OBJ 1DU.EXCL child=3SG.POSS

*ḡa'ase*  
 female

'Therefore, [for] that [reason], it was that the two of us were sad towards our daughter.'

(479) *Egume iara ḡlea=di=hila te fati te*  
 CONJ 1SG happy=3PL.OBJ=COMPL PRS four PRS

*au thu=di ḡā'ase*  
 be child=3PL.POSS woman

'Therefore it is that I am very happy that there are four daughters.'

Members of this class often function as predicate adjective, illustrated in (480).

(480) *Tuana me iara ḡlea fara*  
 DEM INCP 1SG happy very  
 'That's why I began to be very happy.'

The propensity is commonly intensified, as demonstrated in (481) through (484), in which the intensity of the fear, sadness, or surprise is marked by both adjectival and adverbial modifiers.

(481) *mhagu tahu*  
 fear heavy  
 'very fearful'

(482) *mhagu fara*  
 fear very  
 'extremely fearful'

(483) *Mare na di'anagnafa fara*  
 3PL DEM sad very  
 'They are very sad.'

(484) *U jaḡlo no=ḡu bi'o fara*  
 DEM surprise ALN=1SG.POSS big very  
 'That surprise was extremely big.'

### 5.1.8 Summary

CH has a broad inventory of adjectives, and these are grouped according to semantic domains. Members of all domains except color adjectives are inflected by possession-marking enclitics or completive aspect enclitics. All domains can derive verbs by the use of the causative prefix *fa-*. CH adjectives perform predicate and attributive functions when following the nominal head they modify. This word class in CH shares some similarities with intransitive verbs, such as reduplication, and the same negator. All CH descriptive adjectives except *famane* 'fine/excellent' always occur in the syntactic slot immediately following the head noun which they modify. *Famane* does occur post-noun, but in some cases, pre-noun as well.

## 5.2 Adverbs

### 5.2.1 Introduction

Adverbs modify constituents other than nouns, and as such, occur extensively in CH, modifying mostly verbs and adjectives, and also modifying a clause. Semantic classifications of adverbs are recorded for various sub-classes including modality, direction, and epistemic. There is no attestation of temporal adverbs. Traditional temporal adverbial ideas reflecting notions of 'early', 'later', 'now', etc., are not classified in CH as adverbs, but as nouns. The reason is that syntactically, each of the traditional 'temporal notions' demonstrates criteria for noun classification. Patterns of occurrence of adverbs related to serial verb constructions will be deferred to the section on serial verbs, section 9.4.3.

The verbal adverbs occur linearly adjacent to the verb, either pre-verbally or post-verbally. The grammatical ordering of adverbs, as to whether they occur either pre-verbal or post-verbal, is not predictable for the semantic sub-class of which they are members, as members of the same class often demonstrate both pre- and post-verbal syntactic ordering. In fact, all of the sub-classes demonstrate both positions of ordering.

Unlike what occurs with nouns, verbs, and adjectives, pronominal clitics do not attach to adverbs. Negation of adverbs is identical to that of verbs. One syntactic feature of CH adverbs is that members of certain sub-classes occur in pairs on the same side or on the opposite side of the verb which they modify. This doubling serves to bring greater emphasis to the modification of the verbal action.

### 5.2.2 Modality adverbs

Modality adverbs modify verbs and adjectives and basically indicate *how* something is done. This category includes words which contribute the concepts of speed, intensification, and restriction to the verbal or adjectival notion. They are also briefly described here, grouped according to their regular occurrence as post-verbal, or both pre- and post-verbal.

Post-verbal:

speed: *umhu* ‘quick’, *gosei* ‘fast’, *rauga*<sup>60</sup> ‘slow’

Pre- and post-verbal, depending on the adverb:

intensification: *fara* ‘very’, *thono/thofno*<sup>61</sup> ‘real, genuine’, *ra’e* ‘really’<sup>62</sup>

restrictive: *fiti*, *khogla*, *kolho*, *nāla* ‘just, only, simply’

Modality adverbs in the intensification class can occur in pairs, doing so on either side of the verb being modified in the linear order of ADV + VERB +ADV. The adverbs *thono/thofno* ‘truly’ and *ra’e* ‘really’ always occur pre-verb, and pair with the single member of the intensification sub-class that occurs in a post-verb position, *fara* ‘very’. These follow the linear order of ADV + VERB +ADV. Semantically, this pairing intensifies further the verbal notion. A further note on *ra’e* is that it is the intensification modality adverb whose regular function is to strengthen negation, as in (486) with a predicate adjective and in (487) with a transitive verb. Example (488) illustrates *ra’e* occurring and encoding positive intensification with a predicate adjective. Syntactic ordering of these adverbs is mentioned in the discussion of the CH verb phrase in sections 8.3.1.3 and 8.3.2.2.

(485) *Thofno g̃lea fara*  
truly happy very  
‘Truly, very happy.’

(486) *Theome ra’e keli*  
NEG really good  
‘It’s not really good.’

(487) *Mare theome ra’e lase=di ka thotonu ka Bible*  
3PL NEG really know=3PL.OBJ LOC story LOC Bible  
‘They don’t really know the Bible story.’

(488) *Ġognaro vido tura ra’e la chopu di’a fara*  
now place DEM really IMM mud bad very  
‘Now these places have really bad mud.’

<sup>60</sup> I note that the Pijin term *slou* ‘slow’ is becoming much more common among CH speakers.

<sup>61</sup> I classify these as being in free variation.

<sup>62</sup> Another intensification adjective in occasional use in CH is *pukuni* ‘truly’. But it is a Bughotu language word, and I have omitted it from this listing.

The restrictive function of the modality adverb indicates a restriction on the extent of the action indicated by the verb. This notion of restriction is reflected in the translation lines of the examples which follow. Four members of the sub-class are synonyms, and reflect meanings of ‘just, only, simply’. Two of these, *fiti* and *khoḡla*, occur pre-verb, and two occur post-verb, *kolho*, and *nāla*. Illustrations include:

- (489) *Eguteuna fiti vavahi tuana gotilo re*  
 CONJ just choose DEM 2PL PL  
 ‘And you-pl just choose that [option and no other].’
- (490) *Khoḡla jifla=ni Anglican*  
 Just leave=3SG.OBJ Anglican  
 ‘[He] just leaves the Anglican church [without any other action].’
- (491) *Mana nomhi=ni kolho*  
 3SG.M hear=3SG.OBJ just  
 ‘He just listens [and doesn’t do anything else].’
- (492) *Mare te jifla nāla*  
 3PL PRS leave just  
 ‘It is that they just leave [and don’t do anything else].’

Similarly to those in the sub-class of intensification, these adverbs in the modality sub-class can occur in pairs, doing so on either side of the verb being modified in the linear order of ADV + VERB +ADV. The adverbs *khoḡla* ‘just, only’ and *fiti* ‘just, only’, pair with *kolho* ‘just, only’. There is no attestation of *nāla* in its regular post-verb position pairing with another member of the class in a pre-verb position.

- (493) *Theome fiti ofo kolho egu*  
 NEG just wait just like.that  
 ‘He just didn’t wait, like that.’
- (494) *Iara theo mae comiti mae khoḡla cheke kolho*  
 1SG not.be man committee man just talk just  
 ‘I am not on the committee, I am just a man who only just talks/[is a spokesman].’

### 5.2.3 Directional adverbs

CH adverbs which indicate direction include *jare* ‘there’, *delei* ‘(somewhat) far away’, *agno* ‘distal; over there’, *agne*<sup>63</sup> ‘proximate; here’, and *pari* ‘lower/below’. The placement of the adverb is variable. The directional adverb usually occurs post-

<sup>63</sup> It is noted that the adverbs *agno* ‘distal direction’ and *agne* ‘proximate direction’ are obviously similar in form to the distal and proximate demonstratives, as described in 6.3.1.

verbal, as in (495). But as noted below in example (498), it can occur pre-verbal and sentence initial.

- (495) *Mae ne edi fa-keli suḡa delei egu*  
 man PST do CAUS-good house far.away like.that  
 ‘The man built well the house away over there, like that.’

The direction adverb occurs post-verbal (but not necessarily adjacent to the verb itself) and sentence final, illustrated in (496) and (497).

- (496) *Mana au fa-brahu jare*  
 3SG.M be CAUS-long there  
 ‘He has been there a long time.’

- (497) *Khebu sukha pari*  
 mango fall below  
 ‘The mango fell down below.’

The direction adverb *jare* can also occur pre-verbal, sentence initial to emphasize the direction which modifies the verbal notion:

- (498) *Jare jifla ia te lou-loku=ni mana*  
 there leave DEM PRS DUR~work=3SG.OBJ 3SG  
 ‘It was that he left there where he had been working.’

Not uncommonly, the direction adverbs *jare* ‘there’ and *agno* ‘distal; over there’ form a constituent with the place name to designate specifically where the action is occurring which is referred to by the direction adverb, as in (499), (500), and (501).

- (499) *Ḡognaro au Bishop’s Dale jare Honiara*  
 now be Bishop’s Dale there Honiara  
 ‘Now [he is] at Bishop’s Dale there in Honiara.’

- (500) *Mare lalahu bi’o jare Makira*  
 3PL play big there Makira  
 ‘They are competing a lot there in Makira.’

- (501) *Sunday na me tei nā ofo agno Kaevanga*  
 Sunday DEM INCP go NSP wait there Kaevanga  
 ‘This Sunday, [we] will start to go and wait there at Kaevanga.’

#### 5.2.4 Epistemic adverbs

Epistemic adverbs indicate the speaker’s commitment to the truth of the clause. There are at least five CH adverbs which fit this category: *tutuani* ‘truly’, *jame* ‘perhaps’, *jou* ‘perhaps (used as a question, asking for confirmation)’, *(fane)fou*



‘possibly’, and *ba* ‘maybe’. Adverbs *tutuani* and *jame* usually occur sentence and/or clause initial as in (502), (503), and (504), while *jou* and *fou* usually occur sentence and clause final, as illustrated in (504) and (505). *Ba* occurs pre-verb to indicate uncertainty, shown in (507). Also, it is seen in (504) that *jame* is in sentence-initial position and *jou* is in sentence-final position. It is suggested that this ‘doubling’ of the epistemic adverbs gives even less certainty to the statement of fact than if one of the epistemic verbs occurred by itself.

(502) *Tutuani fara*  
 true very  
 ‘Very true [what I’m telling you]!’

(503) *Jame pheī narane kolho*  
 perhaps two day just  
 ‘Maybe it will just be two days.’

(504) *Jame ke au ka mae bishop e jou*  
 perhaps REP be LOC man bishop EMP perhaps  
 ‘Perhaps the bishop will come stay again?’

(505) *Egu ame fa-mei=ni kolho naikno fou*  
 like.that before CAUS-come=3SG.OBJ just people possibly  
 ‘And maybe it will possibly be like that before the people come?’

(506) *Ġa’ase bi’o fara jou=hila Ista ia*  
 woman big very perhaps=COMPL Esther DEM  
 ‘Esther must be a very big girl by now!’

(507) *Mae provins ġro ba mei lañau*  
 man province DEM maybe come also  
 ‘Those provincial workers might come.’

### 5.2.5 Summary

CH adverbs occur linearly adjacent to the verb, either pre-verbally or post-verbally. The syntactic position is not predictable for the semantic sub-class of which they are members, as members of the same class often demonstrate both pre- and post-verbal syntactic ordering. In fact, all of the sub-classes demonstrate both positions of ordering. Pronominal clitics do not attach to adverbs.

One syntactic feature of CH adverbs is that members of certain sub-classes occur in pairs on the same side or on the opposite side of the verb which they modify. This doubling, especially in the modality class, serves to bring greater emphasis to the modification of the verbal action. However, in the epistemic sub-class this doubling of the adverbs gives even less certainty to the statement of fact than if one of the epistemic verbs occurred by itself. Four members of the modality sub-class are not

distinguished semantically, but are synonyms indicating ‘just, only, simply’. Other temporal notions demonstrate criteria consistent with noun classification.

### 5.3 Prepositions

#### 5.3.1 Introduction

For Oceanic languages that are VO, “non-core nominal arguments in a clause are generally marked by adposed constituents” that are “typically prepositions” (Lynch *et al* 2002:51). CH has a fairly limited inventory of prepositions, all of which mark non-core nominal arguments.<sup>64</sup> They are listed here:

*ka* ‘at, in, for, by, on’  
*ke* ‘to/towards (a place)’  
*rañhi* ‘to/towards (a recipient)’  
*balu* ‘with’  
*eigna* ‘about’

Prepositions immediately precede the head noun of the NP which serves as the object of the preposition. This is seen in most of the examples which follow in this discussion. There are occasionally some intervening constituent elements in the prepositional phrase, such as a negative existential verb in example (519). Also, the co-occurrence of adjectives in the immediately following syntactic slot, particularly with preposition *ke*, as in example (520), is noted in section 5.3.3. Transitivity marking enclitics occur with *rañhi* (523), while possession enclitics occur with *balu*, as in example (526). In terms of placement in clause and sentence, prepositional phrases usually occur at the end of clauses rather than at the beginning. The preference of ordering is not predicated on any known syntactical restriction.

#### 5.3.2 Preposition *ka* ‘at, in, for, by, on (LOC)’

The multi-functional *ka* is by far the most common CH preposition.<sup>65</sup> In general, *ka* marks location. This is described as a very underspecified, non-specific kind of location, which gets its more specific interpretation through the other elements it combines with in the clause. For example, *ka* marks a direction when it occurs in combination with a motion verb *tei* ‘go’:

(508) *Jack neke tei ka suḡa repa*  
 Jack PST go LOC house 3DU.F  
 ‘Jack went to their house.’

<sup>64</sup> In light of Durie’s (1988) study of what is referred to as Oceanic ‘verbal prepositions’, one could argue that two of the prepositions, *rañhi* and *balu*, share some characteristics with those cited in his study and could perhaps be classified in this way. Though inconclusive at this point, it is noted here that this is an area worthy of further study for these CH prepositions. Additionally, preposition *eigna* is described in this book as primarily a conjunction and secondarily as a preposition.

<sup>65</sup> *Ka* occurs in the analyzed corpus 1193 times. Its usual Solomons Pijin gloss is ‘long’.

*Ka* marks a location to a direction when it occurs in combination with a directional verb *pulo* ‘return’ (509) or an activity verb *hara* ‘seek’ (510):

(509) *Uve mare ke pulo ka namono*  
 yes 3PL PRF return LOC village  
 ‘Yes, they returned to the village.’

(510) *Gehati hara dofi=ni ka suḡa ka namono*  
 1PL.EXCL seek blind=3SG.OBJ LOC house LOC village  
 ‘We looked but didn’t find anyone at the house in the village.’

*Ka* also marks location in relation to perception verbs like *filo* ‘see’ (511), or posture verbs like *gnafa* ‘rest’ (512):

(511) *Uve te filo=ni ka TV Honiara*  
 yes PRS see=3SG.OBJ LOC television Honiara  
 ‘Yes, it is what I see on TV in Honiara.’

(512) *Tei gnafa ka ḡaju te elo*  
 go finish LOC tree REL float  
 ‘[He] went and rested on the wood that was floating.’

The notion of location is metaphorically extended to all kinds of non-spatial domains, such as location in particular human relations:

(513) *Pukuni ḡloku bi'o fara ka thabukna=di re*  
 truly work big very LOC family=3PL.POSS PL  
 ‘Truly the work was very big for their family.’

*Ka* marks a location in discourse (514), and in time, as in example (515).

(514) *Ka tuana me di'a ta=di ña mae Malaita*  
 LOC DEM INCP bad EXP=3PL.OBJ NSP man Malaita  
 ‘In regards to that, they were angry at the Malaitans.’

(515) *Mae Guadalcanal tuana na te eni New York ka namba*  
 man Guadalcanal DEM DEM PRS do New York LOC number

*eleven*

eleven

‘That which happened to the Guadalcanal people is like what happened in New York on the eleventh [of September].’

For signaling physical location of, or destination related to, common nouns, *ka* is obligatorily used. However, *ka* is not attested with proper nouns as locations or destinations. This is shown in the following grouping of examples:

- |                                 |                           |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (516) <i>mana tei ka namono</i> | <i>*mana tei namono</i>   |
| 3SG.M go LOC village            | 3SG.M go village          |
| ‘He goes to the village.’       | *‘He goes village.’       |
| <br>                            |                           |
| <i>mana tei Buala</i>           | <i>*mana tei ka Buala</i> |
| 3SG.M go Buala                  | 3SG.M go LOC Buala        |
| ‘He goes to Buala.’             | *‘He goes Buala.’         |

*Ka* marks a location in space in examples (517) and (518), denoting a malefactive and a benefactive recipient, respectively:

- (517) *Khegra hage mae Billy thogei thutuna ka mae Hendere*  
 stand up man Billy begin slap LOC man Henry  
 ‘Billy stood up and began slapping Henry.’
- (518) *Iara riso ari ka iago balu glealea*  
 1SG write go LOC 2SG COM happy  
 ‘I write to you with joy.’

*Ka* marks a location on an impersonal referent in (519), occurring with an abstract noun like *nafu* ‘purpose’.

- (519) *Fiti koko sileni kolho ka theo nafu=di*  
 just throw.out money only LOC not.be purpose=3PL.POSS  
 ‘Just throwing away money for no purpose.’

### 5.3.3 Other prepositions

Besides the multi-functional *ka* there are four other CH prepositions, and all are used with a single or small range of specific functions, namely *ke* ‘to (a place)’ and ‘comparatively’, *rañhi* ‘to (a recipient)’, *balu* ‘with’, and *eigna* ‘about/concerning’, (though it is noted that *eigna* usually occurs as a conjunction and rarely occurs as a preposition). Like *ka*, prepositions *ke* and *eigna* are not recipient to cliticization, while *rañhi* and *balu* are roots which do accept clitics. *Rañhi* is marked for transitivity and *balu* for possession. As such, the latter two are classified as prepositions but with their verb-like features, they could be regarded as the second verb in a serial verb construction. Serial verbs are discussed in section 9.4.3.

Preposition *ke* can be used to indicate a directional notion in conjunction with a noun such as *lamna* ‘inside’, *hotei* ‘middle’, *pari* ‘down’, and *hage* ‘up’. All of these nouns occurring with *ke* can receive enclitics indicating possession. This is

illustrated by (520). *Ke* is also used with a spatial relator noun that has no possessive clitic, such as *paka* ‘lower elevation’, illustrated by (521).

(520) *Ġobi lepo ġano te au ke lamna=gna thoñna na*  
 one.hundred thing food REL be DIR inside=3SG.POSS sea DEM  
 ‘All the food that is inside the sea.’

(521) *Apu chopu koba tahati ke paka Nareabu ra*  
 bathe mud always 1PL.INCL DIR lower.elevation Nareabu PL  
 ‘We-incl always played in the mud in the low parts of Nareabu.’

Preposition *ke* is used to signal a comparative relationship, as in (522), doing so syntactically by preceding a noun which can be acted upon by a pronominal enclitic indicating possession.

(522) *Mana ke ulu=gna mae Samson*  
 3SG.M CMPR first=3SG.POSS man Samson  
 ‘He is bigger/older than Samson.’

The preposition *rañhi* functions similarly to the recipient function of *ka*, in that it indicates recipient of a speech act or the recipient of something which is given, as shown in (523) and (524). Interestingly in example (524), both *ka* and *rañhi* are used in the same sentence but in separate prepositional phrases to indicate recipient.

(523) *Mae pulis mala mei toutonu rañhi=gita tahati*  
 man police PUR come story DIR=1PL.INCL.OBJ 1PL.INCL  
 ‘The police come to story to us.’

(524) *Thofno teġio fara ka gotilo ka unha no=mi*  
 truly thank.you very LOC 2PL LOC what ALN=1PL.EXCL.POSS

*te=u te tusu mei ba te theo ba rañhi=gami*  
 PRS=CONT REL give come or PRS not.be or DIR=1PL.EXCL.OBJ

*tharakna*  
 family

‘Truly [I give] thanks very much to you-pl for what it is that you have given to us-excl, or if you have not been able to give to our family [thank you for what you have done].’

The preposition *balu* has a comitative function:

(525) *Teḡio fara ka iago Rebekah balu thu=mu Jone*  
 thank.you very LOC 2SG Rebekah COM child=2SG.POSS John

*Deveti nei Ista tura*  
 David CONJ Esther these

‘Thanks very much to you Rebekah along with these your children John, David, and Esther.’

Optionally, pronominal enclitics can attach to *balu* to indicate possession, as shown in (526). This differs from *rañhi* ‘to’, which accepts object enclitics.

(526) *Mana me au balu=gna ñala Mama Hehebala*  
 3SG.M INCP be COM=3SG.POSS just father Hehebala  
 ‘He was just with Fr Hehebala.’

#### 5.3.4 Summary

CH has a limited inventory of prepositions. The most frequently occurring is *ka*, which describes a very underspecified, non-specific kind of location or direction. Specificity comes through the other elements it combines with in the clause. Despite its commonly-occurring function as a locative marker, one somewhat surprising syntactic feature of *ka* is that it is not used in a prepositional phrase to mark location of a proper noun. *Ka* is only used in a prepositional phrase to mark location of a common noun. Of the other four CH prepositions, *rañhi* ‘to/towards a person’ and *balu* ‘with’ both are inflected by enclitics. *Rañhi* is marked for transitivity and *balu* for possession. As such, they could perhaps be classified as verbal prepositions, identified in Oceanic studies by Durie (1988). Asserting verb-like status, they would then occur as the second member of a serial verb construction. However, this conclusion requires additional research, both for CH and related languages, before this conclusion is validated.

## 6 Other Word Classes

This chapter discusses the word classes of conjunctions (section 6.1), interjections (section 6.2), determiners (section 6.3), interrogatives (section 6.4), and quantifiers and numerals (section 6.5). CH determiners, interrogatives, numerals and quantifiers can be used as heads of NP. Various groupings, or sub-classes (where applicable) of each class are described and illustrated, and distinguishing features of each class are presented.

### 6.1 Conjunctions

#### 6.1.1 Introduction

All CH conjunctions occur between the elements they conjoin. These coordinators in CH link various constituents: nouns, NPs, verbs, VPs, dependent clauses, independent clauses, and combinations thereof. They are now listed with glosses, grouped according to function, and illustrated.

#### 6.1.2 Conjunctions grouped by function

Conjunctive coordinators between nouns are:

- nei* ‘and (joins nouns and noun phrases)’
- nu* ‘and (joins two nouns or more than two proper nouns)’
- ge* ‘and (joins two, and only two, proper names)’
- e* ‘and (joins two or more noun phrases whose head nouns are proper nouns)’

These conjunctions are illustrated in examples (527) - (530):

- (527) *Faidu mae funei nei thu=gna Isabel*  
 meet man chief and child=3SG.POSS Isabel  
 ‘Meeting of the chiefs of Isabel and their children.’

- (528) *Greetings ka iara Godfrey nu famili ka iago*  
 greetings LOC 1SG Godfrey and family LOC 2SG  
 ‘Greetings from me Godfrey and family to you.’

- (529) *Everlyn ge Lilian nañha=di re*  
 Everlyn and Lilian name=3PL.POSS PL  
 ‘Their names are Everlyn and Lilian.’

- (530) *Tarai ka Gerry e Melinda thabukna=gna*  
 pray LOC Gerry and Melinda family=3SG.POSS  
 ‘[He] prayed for Gerry and Melinda and family.’

A disjunctive coordinator between nouns is *ba* ‘or’:

- (531) *Uḡra sasa moho ba buma ba keha sasa*  
 fishing fish k.o.fish or k.o.fish or other fish  
 ‘They fish for moho or buma or some other kind of fish.’

An adversative coordinator between verb phrases is *nu* ‘but’:

- (532) *Iara loku legu narane nu ḡognaro gnafa kolho*  
 1SG work every day but now finish just  
 ‘I work every day but now I am just resting.’

Clausal coordinators between sentences or verb phrases are:

- na* ‘and (joins sentences)’  
*nu* ‘and (joins verb phrases)’  
*eguteuna* ‘and (joins sentences)’  
*aonu* ‘and so (continues the narrative)’  
*egume* ‘therefore (joins the previous statement to a resulting statement)’

These are illustrated in examples (533) - (537):

- (533) *Na kilo=ni theo mae*  
 and call=3SG.OBJ not.be man  
 ‘And they invite no one.’
- (534) *Aonu tarai nu mae prisi titiono egu*  
 and.so pray and man priest preach like.that  
 ‘And so [there was] prayer and the priest preached, like that.’
- (535) *Tuna gnafa eguteuna na'a na ḡlea=ni*  
 DEM finish and 3SG DEM happy=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘That finished and she was happy.’
- (536) *Aonu naba=gna keha ḡlima nhiḡra*  
 and.so fit=3SG.POSS some five month  
 ‘And so that took about five months.’
- (537) *Egume iara ḡlea=di te fati te au*  
 therefore 1SG happy=3PL.OBJ PRS four REL be  
  
*thu=di ḡā'ase*  
 child=3PL.POSS female  
 ‘Therefore it is that I am happy there are four daughters.’



CH has two causal coordinators between sentences, and they are synonymous without discernible differences in meaning:

*naugna* ‘for, because’

*eigna* ‘for, because’

(538) *Naugna mana te mae vaka gne*  
 because 3SG.M PRS man ship DEM  
 ‘Because it is that he is a white man.’

(539) *Eigna theo mae ka ġeri=ġu iara*  
 because not.be man LOC side=1SG.POSS 1SG  
 ‘Because there was nobody on my side.’

## 6.2 Interjections

The semantic range of CH interjections covers exclamation or emotional response. It is noted that the members of this word class also occur in other word classes, such as the noun *mae* ‘man’, or the verb *theo* ‘not.be’. However, when used as a singular, emotional response, they are classified as interjections. The function of each interjection is to express surprise at an event or statement. The inventory<sup>66</sup> includes the following:

*mae* ‘man!’

*ei/sei* ‘ah!’

*theo* ‘not.be!’

*gema* ‘friend!’

*tore* ‘wow!’

Use of these interjections is illustrated in the following examples. The first is a typical use of a single interjection, occurring sentence initial:

(540) *Tore doglo si au*  
 wow correct FOC be  
 ‘Wow! That’s right!’

Example (541) contains two of the five interjections accounted for in CH. One, *Mae!* ‘Man!’, forms a single sentence, preceding a sentence that ends with another interjection *gema!* ‘friend!’.

---

<sup>66</sup> It is noted here that the English word and expression ‘you!’ (said in a very sharp voice with forceful, rising, and lengthened intonation) has been in use for some time among CH as a borrowed interjection. It is used in conversation to disagree with a playful statement someone has made about a situation, or more commonly about the person being addressed in conversation. It is omitted from this inventory as it is not a CH word.

- (541) *Mae! Iago jafra fara gema!*  
 Man! 2SG wrong very friend!  
 ‘Man! You are very wrong, friend!’

It is not unusual for three interjections to be found in a short span of narrative. Two of the three in the following example form separate sentences:

- (542) *Sei! Mae! Thosei si'i gema!*  
 Ah! man NEG pass.gas friend  
 ‘Ah! Man! Don’t pass gas, friend!’

### 6.3 Determiners

“Determiners typically provide information about definiteness, number (singular vs. plural) and (in the case of demonstratives) distance from the speaker.” As such, “articles and demonstratives are the most common types of determiners” (Kroeger 2005:89). CH has a somewhat complex inventory of demonstratives (section 6.3.1), and a set of commonly used quantifiers (section 6.5). CH has no attestation of articles.

#### 6.3.1 Demonstratives

##### 6.3.1.1 Demonstrative adjectives: Introduction

“Demonstratives in Oceanic languages usually make a three-way distinction based either on person—near speaker, near addressee, near neither or near a third person—or on relative distance—proximal, intermediate, distal—or on a mixture of both” (Ross 2004:177). However, Lynch *et al* (2002:39) do allow that other Oceanic languages “make only a simple proximate/distal distinction.”

The notion of CH demonstratives follows the distinctions indicated by Lynch *et al* and shows variation to this Oceanic patterning described by Ross. Firstly, in regards to the “usual system” described by Ross, CH does make only a two-way distinction—proximal and distal, thus omitting the notion of intermediate. While White classified various demonstratives in his dictionary as ‘visible’ or ‘present’, the data in my corpus shows that visible is not a primary determining factor to the concepts of proximal or distal. For example, something may in fact be proximal *and* visible, but likewise something else classified as proximal may not be visible. Thus, the concept of spatially proximal to the deictic center is more useful, and visibility does not factor in to the determination of these distinctions. This is another difference with the Kokota system described by Palmer (2009a).<sup>67</sup>

Secondly, the distinction for the proximal demonstrative is based on relative distance and is either proximal *spatially* from deictic center or proximal *contextually*

<sup>67</sup> For Kokota, Palmer (2009a:72) gives evidence for five categories of relationship with deictic center: touching, within reach, nearby, potentially visible and not visible.

from the nominal argument which has already been stated in the communication event. That is, while the spatial distinction is somewhat easily discernable in that an object, person, or place is physically near or distant to the deictic center (which is usually the speaker), the contextual distinction is based on whether or not the nominal argument is known to speaker and listener and whether or not that argument has been referred to previously in the discourse. Thus, there is a temporal distance as well. This is illustrated in the following sections.

Four types of demonstratives are attested in CH. The first type, discussed in section 6.3.1.2, is more common than the other three, and consists, as do two other types, of four members. There are two singular and two plural demonstratives, marking proximal and distal distinctions. For the second type (section 6.3.1.3), in terms of general features, these co-occur with nouns and they primarily function to modify nouns. These four words comprise a set in which each word is a derivation of the base form of *(i)gn\*/ḡr\**. The third type of CH demonstratives (section 6.3.1.4) can co-occur with nouns they modify, but they apparently function more as heads of NP than do those in the first set. These four words in the third set comprise a set in which each word is a derivation of the base form of *an\*/ar\**. Type Four (section 6.3.1.5) has one member, namely *u*. This type differs from the others by not showing the proximal/distal distinction, nor does it mark singular and plural distinctions, nor does it serve as the head of a noun phrase. *U* exhibits a special function of marking pragmatic emphasis.

Concerning the glossing conventions for the presentation of these demonstratives, the distal and proximate distinctions are marked in this section of the book, but are only referred to as demonstratives elsewhere in the book so as to keep the length of the gloss line limited. The singular and plural distinction is also marked in this section, but not elsewhere in this book. For Type One plural demonstratives, they are glossed in this book as PL, as they are the predominant plural markers in the language. The plural markers found in the other types are simply glossed as demonstratives.

### 6.3.1.2 ‘na’ Demonstratives: Type One

The Type One demonstratives are given in Table 26. They combine with nouns and pronouns and always occur post-posed to that which they modify, as shown in examples (543) and (544). They do not function as the head of a noun phrase. Their distinctive spatial features from deictic center of the speaker refer both to 1) nearness on the part of the speaker as to that which is known or shared-contextually with the hearer, or 2) in regards to time orientation, that which is being modified is something occurring either past or non-past. Pragmatically, they contrast with Type Two demonstratives in that they do not mark emphasis.

Table 26: Type One of CH Demonstratives

	Proximate	Distal
Singular	<i>na</i> ‘this’	<i>ia</i> ‘that’
Plural	<i>re</i> ‘these’	<i>ra</i> ‘those’

The most prominent member of this set is the singular proximate *na*. The following example is representative of its occurrence:

- (543) *Mana neke babana suḡa na*  
 3SG.M PST build house DEM.PROX.SG  
 ‘He built this house.’

In the previous example, the proximate notion here refers to any or all of the following:

- The house in reference is known to the speaker and to the hearer;
- The mention of the house refers to one that is currently known or present.

The function of *na* is contrasted in the same example with *ia* as the demonstrative:

- (544) *Mana neke babana suḡa ia*  
 3SG.M PST build house DEM.DIST.SG  
 ‘He built that house.’

In the previous example, (544), the distal notion refers to any or all of the following:

- The house in reference is perhaps not personally known to the speaker and/or to the hearer;
- The mention of the house refers to one in existence from a previous time frame.

Example (545) shows both singular demonstratives occurring separately in reference to the same noun, but sequentially in the narrative. Their distinctive features become clear (and the N + DEM are underlined for ease of comparison):

- (545) *Mae funei ne cheke egu ka no=gna mae gloku*  
 man chief PST talk like.that LOC ALN=3SG man work  
na  
 DEM.PROX.SG  
 ‘Chief said like this to his man servant,’

- Hata mei naflahi ia!*  
 Take come knife DEM.DIST.SG  
 ‘Bring that knife!’

*Aonu mana hata ne mei naflahi na ka mae funei.*  
 CONJ 3SG.M take PST come knife DEM.PROX.SG LOC man chief  
 ‘And so he brought this knife to (the) chief.’

When the knife is first mentioned in the narrative, the demonstrative modifying knife is *ia*. It is referenced with the distal singular marker because it is a knife not in the physical presence of the chief. It is non-specific (perhaps similar to “a” knife or “any” knife in English). It is ‘that knife’ that is not close at hand, and which has not been in reference in the story to this point.

In the next sentence, when the knife is brought to the chief, the demonstrative modifying knife is *na*. The knife is referenced with the proximate singular marker because it is a single knife now in the presence of the speaker, the chief. Also ‘this knife’ is now close at hand spatially.

A noted difference with members found in the other types of demonstratives, is that it is not uncommon for two members of this type, namely *na* and *ia*, to co-occur consecutively with each other, and in either order (*na* (PROX) + *ia* (DIST)), or (*ia* (DIST)+ *na* (PROX)). There are no known restrictions on their linear order of occurrence. Structurally, there is a nesting of elements within the clause, and the nouns they each modify occur anaphorically. Functionally, one demonstrative modifies one noun in the phrase or clause, and the other modifies another, with modification depending on the deictic center of the speaker in relation to the elements. In example (546), the distal demonstrative *ia* modifies *thoutonu*, story, which in terms of time reference and deictic center refers to events of the past; the proximal demonstrative *na* modifies *thuḡu*, child, who is still present:

(546) *Thoutonu=gna thu=gu ula-lahu iara na*  
 story=3.POSS child=1S.POSS first-ORD 1SG DEM.PROX.SG  
*ia*  
 DEM.DIST.SG

‘That [was] the story of this first child of me.’

An another example of this nesting of demonstratives is (547). In this example, the distal *ia* modifies *taon* ‘town’, which is spatially far from the deictic center of the speaker; the proximal *na* modifies *Honiara* (the capital city), which is referentially close, or known, to the deictic center of the speaker:

(547) *Keha re po~phoru Malaita keha re au nāla Honiara*  
 Some PL DUR~hide Malaita some PL be just Honiara

*ka taon ia na*  
 LOC town DEM. DIST.SG DEM.PROX.SG

‘Some of the Malaita people were hiding and some of the ones just living in this Honiara were [hiding] in that town.’

The Type One demonstratives figure prominently in modifying notions of time. The proximal marker *na* modifies non-past notions. In each of the following pair of examples of non-past time notions, indicated by temporal nouns (as described in section 3.2.10) modified by demonstratives, an attempt to substitute the proximal demonstrative with the distal demonstrative is not permissible. They are not permissible because only the proximal modifier interacts with non-past time notions.

With *ḡognaro*, ‘now/currently’:

(548) *Ḡognaro na iara tei Buala*  
 now DEM.PROX.SG 1SG go Buala  
 ‘Now I go to Buala.’

(549) \**Ḡognaro ia iara tei Buala*  
 now DEM.DIST.SG 1SG go Buala  
 \*‘Now-past I go to Buala.’

With *nathui* ‘tomorrow’:

(550) *Nathui na iara tei Buala*  
 Tomorrow DEM.PROX.SG 1SG go Buala  
 ‘Tomorrow I will go to Buala.’

(551) \**Nathui ia iara tei Buala*  
 Tomorrow DEM.DIST.SG 1SG go Buala  
 \*‘Tomorrow-past I will go to Buala.’

With *ḡinau* ‘later/in the future’

(552) *Ḡinau na iara tei Buala*  
 Later DEM.PROX.SG 1SG go Buala  
 ‘Later I will go to Buala.’

(553) \**Ḡinau ia iara tei Buala*  
 Later DEM.DIST.SG 1SG go Buala  
 \*‘Later-past I will go to Buala.’

In using the same sentence frame and form of argumentation, the following time notions indicated by temporal nouns attest the use of the distal demonstrative *ia* and the impermissibility of the proximate demonstrative *na*.

With *ḡinei* ‘earlier’:

(554) *Ḡinei ia iara tei Buala*  
 earlier DEM.DIST.SG 1SG go Buala  
 ‘Earlier I went to Buala.’

- (555) \**Ġinei na iara tei Buala*  
 earlier DEM.PROX.SG 1SG go Buala  
 \*‘Earlier-non-past I went to Buala.’

With *gnora* ‘yesterday’:

- (556) *Gnora ia iara tei Buala*  
 earlier DEM.DIST.SG 1SG go Buala  
 ‘Yesterday I went to Buala.’

- (557) \**Gnora na iara tei Buala*  
 earlier DEM.PROX.SG 1SG go Buala  
 \*‘Yesterday-non-past I went to Buala.’

A further pair of contrastive examples shows the proximal and distal distinctions:

- (558) *Iara tei Buala ka ġrafi na*  
 1SG go Buala LOC afternoon DEM.PROX.SG  
 ‘I go to Buala (at a) non-past afternoon’ or ‘I am going to Buala this afternoon.’

- (559) *Iara tei Buala ka ġrafi ia*  
 1SG go Buala LOC afternoon DEM.DIST.SG  
 ‘I went to Buala (at a) previous afternoon.’

Because there are no explicit and time-specific notions (such as *ġinei*, ‘earlier’) present in examples (558) and (559), either the proximal or distal demonstratives can be used to modify the noun *ġrafi*, ‘afternoon.’ Depending on the demonstrative used, the time of action of ‘going to Buala’ is either past or non-past. While a speaker could in fact use the overt tense marker *neke* (‘PST’) in this sentence frame, it is not needed with the distal *ia*, because the distal encodes the past action.

There is another time word, *tifa* (‘time.before’), that is attested as permissible with both singular demonstratives of this set.

- (560) *Tifa na mare maġra bi’o fara*  
 time.before DEM.PROX.SG 3PL fight big very  
 ‘In this time before they fought hard.’

- (561) *Tifa ia mare maġra bi’o fara*  
 time.before DEM.DIST.SG 3PL fight big very  
 ‘In that time before they fought hard.’

The distinction between these two legitimate sentences, shown in examples (560) and (561), is that when using the proximal *na*, the deictic center of the speaker is not

specific regarding speaker participation or personal involvement in the event. In the sentence with distal *ia*, the speaker is reportedly one who witnessed or was involved in the actual past event. Though not fully described, this time word notion thus appears to be in special relation to the other time words, in that speaker evidentiality is inherently present in a more discernible way than with the other time word notions.

The next pair of examples demonstrates a possible contrastive time orientation in terms of distal and proximate. This is not a definitive indication of their contrastive meaning, as that would be require a wider communication context. The syntactic device alone, in this pair of examples, does not encode the time orientation, but the different demonstratives show legitimate possible contrast. In the first example, (562), the chief has not yet died (and thus the chief is ‘proximate [to us]’, or ‘still near us in life’). This not-past time notion is indicated by the proximate demonstrative *na*, and the chief is discussed in a hypothetical future scenario. In the second example, (563), the chief has died and the information structure employs *ia* as the distal demonstrative. That is, the chief’s life is ‘distal [to us]’, or ‘in the past’, because he has died, and thus *ia* indicates the past event.

(562) *Kate lehe mae funei na keha na*  
 when die man chief DEM.PROX.SG some DEM.PROX.SG

*tugu=ni mana*  
 change=3SG.OBJ 3SG.M  
 ‘When this chief dies, this someone replaces him.’

Example (563) is the same sentence, except that the notion of chief is modified by *ia*:

(563) *Kate lehe mae funei ia keha na*  
 when die man chief DEM.DIST.SG some DEM.PROX.SG

*tugu=ni mana*  
 change=3SG.OBJ 3SG  
 ‘When that chief died, this someone replaced him.’

The singular demonstratives of this set show restrictions of use when denoting specificity in modifying an indefinite-number quantifier *keha* ‘some’ (which can be singular or plural) and which functions as the head of a NP. Examples in the corpus are in fact numerous of this syntactic relationship. Only the proximal *na* is attested as permissible. The distal demonstrative *ia* never modifies the indefinite-number quantifier such as *keha*. Thus, (564) is allowable and (565) is not allowable.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>68</sup> The corpus shows almost 250 occurrences of *keha* ‘some’, and it is never modified by *ia*.



(564) *Keha na iara jaola teḡio*  
 some DEM.PROX.SG 1SG also thank  
 ‘This [is] another [thing for what] I also want to say thanks.’

(565) \**Keha ia iara jaola teḡio*  
 some DEM.DIST.SG 1SG also thank  
 \*‘That [is] another [thing for what] I also want to say thanks.’

The two plural members of this set are *re* (PROX) and *ra* (DIST). The same conditions are present as for the singular demonstratives of this set, in that they are post-posed to the noun they modify, and the demonstratives by themselves do not function as the head of the noun phrase. Similarly to the singular members of the set, their distinctive spatial features from deictic center of the speaker refer to nearness on the part of the speaker as to that which is known or shared-contextually with the hearer. In contrast to the singular members of this set, there is no attested time orientation of that which is being modified as something occurring either past or non-past. Example (568) shows the use of the proximal plural demonstrative for a past event. While the focus marker *si* co-occurs with the singular members of this type, and there are no known restrictions on co-occurrence with the plural markers, neither of these plural members is attested to occur with the focusing marker *si* and thus indicate a distinctive emphatic or intensification modifying of the noun. Focus marker *si* is discussed in section 9.5.2.

In each of the following four examples, the noun modified by the plural proximal demonstrative *re* modifies nominal notions which are known to the hearer, physically visible at the time of the communication, and/or previously introduced in the discourse.

(566) *Mana fa-jifla mae Malaita re gnafa*  
 3SG.M CAUS-leave man Malaita DEM.PROX.PL all

*Isabel ka plantesin*  
 Isabel LOC plantation  
 ‘He forced out the Malaitans from all the plantations on Isabel.’

(567) *Komnisi ge Frey re au fati thu=di ḡa'ase*  
 Komnis CONJ Frey DEM.PROX.PL be four child=3PL.POSS female  
 ‘Komnis and Frey have four daughters.’

(568) *Mae tifa re neke vavahi kolho thu=di*  
 man old DEM.PROX.PL PST choose just child=3PL.POSS

*the=di*  
 REFL=3PL.POSS  
 ‘These old men just chose their own children.’

- (569) *Ido=di re Honiara*  
 mother=3PL.POSS DEM.PROX.PL Honiara  
 ‘Their mothers are in Honiara.’

The plural demonstrative *ra* is less frequent in the corpus than *re*. In each of the following three examples, the distal *ra* modifies nouns which do not point or refer to entities specifically known or identified by the speaker. The bracketed, alternate free translations more fully express the function of *ra*. If *re* were used in the following examples instead of *ra*, the contrast would show the gloss rendered not as ‘general/non-specific plural ones’, but ‘specific/specifically-known ones’. In example (570), the gloss would thus be: ‘All the children (either known, or referred to specifically) are doing well.’ The glosses in examples (571) and (572) would similarly reflect such a rendering.

- (570) *Ġoro sua ra keli*  
 all child DEM.DIST.PL good  
 ‘All the children (or: the children in general, not referring to specific ones) are doing well.’
- (571) *Mae Makira ra neke charter Ligomo*  
 man Makira DEM.DIST.PL PST charter Ligomo  
 ‘The men from Makira (or: some Makira men, not-specifically identified or known to the speaker) chartered the Ligomo ship.’
- (572) *Egu mae vaka ra ke pu~pulo Honiara*  
 like.that man ship DEM.DIST.PL PRF DUR~return Honiara  
 ‘Like that the whites (or: the whites in general, not-specifically referring to any particular ones) returned to Honiara.’

### 6.3.1.3 ‘igne’ Demonstratives: Type Two

The demonstratives which are classified as Type Two demonstratives are listed in Table 27 and contrast with the demonstratives in Type One (section 6.3.1.2). While both co-occur with the nouns they modify, the Type Two demonstratives can serve independently of nouns as heads of NP, but the Type One demonstratives do not. Also, the Type One demonstratives modify pronouns, but the Type Two demonstratives do not. Demonstratives of both Types One and Two modify time words. The notions of proximate and distal (described in section 6.3.1.1) are true for both types, referring to being either physically or spatially proximate to the deictic center or contextually proximate to the argument placed in the communication information within the broader discourse notion. The converse is true for distal. The labels in Table 27 are used to reflect the proximate and distal distinctions.

Table 27: Type Two of CH Demonstratives

	Proximate	Distal
Singular	<i>igne/gne</i> ‘this’	<i>igno/gno</i> ‘that’
Plural	<i>iḡre/ḡre</i> ‘these’	<i>iḡro/ḡro</i> ‘those’

Examples of each demonstrative of Type Two are now presented, and analysis and comments offered regarding the proximate and distal distinctions.

It is noted that in each of the next three examples that if *na* ‘PROX’ of Type One were used instead of *igne* ‘PROX’ of Type Two, the pragmatic emphasis in modifying the noun would be lessened. Thus, the demonstratives of Type Two carry more pragmatic emphasis than do those in Type One.

In example (573), apart from pragmatics considerations, the village being modified by the demonstrative is physically proximate to the speaker:

(573) *Mana tei thokei=u ka namono igne*  
 3SG.M go arrive=CONT LOC village DEM.PROX.SG  
 ‘He went till he arrived at this village.’

In example (574), the male being modified is the one referred to previously in the story and who is in fact in focus. This individual is not physically present during the telling. Thus, *mae igne* ‘this man’ is “near” to the deictic center contextually rather than spatially.

(574) *Mae igne mae vaka mei e mala ho~horo*  
 man DEM.DIST.SG man ship come EMP PUR DUR~make

*toutonu tahati ka Cheke Holo*  
 story 1PL.INCL LOC Cheke Holo  
 ‘This white man came and storied to us in the Cheke Holo language.’

In example (575), Fred is physically present with the speaker, and the speaker is sending a recorded message to Fred’s family.

(575) *Me ḡlea fara te filo=ni Fred igne egu*  
 INCP happy very PRS see=3SG.OBJ Fred DEM.PROX.SG like.that  
 ‘It is that I am very happy to see this Fred, like that.’

In example (576), the demonstrative is actually the initial word in the lead sentence of an expository discourse genre. In that position, it does serve as the head of the noun phrase. This contrasts with Type One demonstratives in that Type One demonstratives never serve as the head of a noun phrase.

(576) *Igne*                    *thoutonu=gna*      *mae Jone*  
 DEM.PROX.SG story=3SG.POSS man John  
 ‘This is the story of John.’

(577) *Igne*                    *mae=gna*              *Nareabu*  
 DEM.PROX.SG man=3PL.POSS Nareabu  
 ‘This is a man of Nareabu.’

The differences between the demonstrative forms with and without the initial *i* (*igne/gne*) appear to be two: 1) *gne* never occurs sentence initial or as the head of a noun phrase, whereas the demonstrative form *igne* does occur sentence initial and as the head of a noun phrase. Thus, the *i-* form serves as a demonstrative pronoun, as in examples (576) and (577). Demonstrative *gne* occurs post-posed to the noun it modifies, and never as a demonstrative pronoun. As such, example (578) is not attested in the language as legitimate.

(578) \**gne*                    *mae=gna*              *Nareabu*  
 DEM.PROX.SG man=3PL.POSS Nareabu  
 \*Note: there is no translation of this because *gne* only modifies a noun to which it is post-posed, and there is none.

2) The *i-*initial form of the demonstrative focuses more on the specificity of the actual noun being modified. Thus, in (581), the demonstrative serves to point out ‘this particular female’, and in (582) ‘this particular village’. This is contrasted with the information in (579), where ‘the particular net’ is not in focus, but instead ‘a net.’ The same can be said for (580), in which the reference is to the church members rather than the members of this particular church. If the latter case were the focus, then no doubt *igne* would have been used. Both forms are allowable syntactically. The same distinctions can be made for the other examples below.

In the following example, the *fañna* ‘net’ being modified by *gne* is not spatially near, but contextually near in terms of reference within the narrative.

(579) *Mare me korho hage u khukru=gna fañna*  
 3PL INCP pull up DEM corner=3SG.POSS net

*gne*  
 DEM.PROX.SG  
 ‘They begin pulling up the corners of a net.’

In (580), the speaker (who is included in the subject *gehati* ‘1PL.EXCL’) is an integral ‘part of’ the *khiloau* ‘church’, and it is in this sense that the relative distance is near.

- (580) *Egu gehati khiloau gne au keli kolho*  
 like.that 1PL.EXCL church DEM.PROX.SG be good just  
 ‘Like that, we Christians are doing okay.’

Example (581) shows the specificity of the noun being modified. This noun, ‘*ḡa’ase*’, is spatially close to the speaker.

- (581) *ḡa’ase igne la ḡa’ase bi’o=hila*  
 female DEM.PROX.SG IMM female big=COMPL  
 ‘This female is now a big girl.’

In example (582), the village is the deictic center of the speaker’s spatial reference, and thus the singular proximate form of the demonstrative is used, also functioning to mark specificity of ‘this village’.

- (582) *Te pukuni khoto=gna namono igne*  
 PRS truly owner=3SG.POSS village DEM.PROX.SG  
 ‘It is that [they are] truly the owner of this village.’

Similarly to the distinction made between the demonstratives *igne* and *gne*, the *igno/gno* pair distinction can also be made in terms of differences in specificity and particularity of the noun being modified with which the demonstrative co-occurs. Also, *gno* never occurs sentence initial or as the head of a noun phrase, whereas the demonstrative form *igno* does occur sentence initial and head of noun phrase, and as such, in this form it can function as a demonstrative pronoun.

The speaker refers in (583) to a cooking drum that is physically away in the distance from him.

- (583) *Fa-lao pari ka dram igno*  
 CAUS-towards low LOC drum DEM.DIST.SG  
 ‘Put the wood under the drum over there.’

In (584) the demonstrative *igno* ‘DEM.DIST.SG’ occurs here as a demonstrative pronoun meaning ‘that one’, and also refers to an object distant from the deictic center (which is the speaker).

- (584) *Kaisei ḡlepo te filo tei te=u iara ulu igno*  
 one thing REL see go PRS=CONT 1SG before DEM.DIST.SG  
 ‘One thing that I am looking at in front of me is that one.’

In (585) the story teller is not in the *namhata* ‘bush’, which is the location of the event under description by the story teller.

(585) *Tei si iago e atha khakla ġaju gnarho egu ka*  
 go FOC 2SG CONJ take hair tree vine like.that LOC

*namhata gno*

bush DEM.DIST.SG

‘You go get the tree leaves and vine, like that, from over there in the bush.’

The demonstrative is used in a special sense to modify days of the week, as something that is temporally (rather than spatially) separate from the deictic center:

(586) *Mei thuru Tholana tanhi nhanai ka Sade gno*  
 come sleep Tholana cry eight LOC Sunday DEM.DIST.SG  
 ‘[They] came and slept at Tholana at 8:00 on last Sunday.’

In (587) the locative *delei* ‘over there’ gives a contextual clue as to the physical location of the man who is being referred to as *mae gno* ‘man over there’:

(587) *Mae ne edi fa-keli suġa delei egu mae*  
 man PST do CAUS-good house over.there like.that man

*gno*

DEM.DIST.SG

‘The man that repaired the house over there, like that, was a man from over there.’

*Iġre/ġre* are the proximate and plural markers in this set of demonstratives. In (588) the demonstrative is syntactically in the post-position slot to the noun it modifies, namely *finoga* ‘year’.

(588) *Eġuteuna te legu=di thilo finoga iġre*  
 CONJ PRS follow=3PL.OBJ three year DEM.PROX.PL

*teuna jifla mana*

DEM leave 3SG.M

‘And it is that after these three years, that he departs.’

As with the singular members of Type Two, the plural demonstrative can occur sentence initial (589) and as head of the noun phrase:

(589) *Iġre mae=di Tholana*  
 DEM.PROX.PL man=3PL.POSS Tholana  
 ‘These [are] men of Tholana.’

In (590), the demonstrative co-occurs with the noun it modifies, but does so in preposition to the noun as opposed to its unmarked/default post-position. With the modified noun present in post-position, the demonstrative is neither the head of the noun phrase or functioning as a demonstrative pronoun. It is noted that the plural

proximate demonstrative of Type One, *re*, modifies or pluralizes *ḡrada*, ‘our grandchildren’.

(590) *Iḡre*                      *ḡra=da*                      *tapa*                      *re*  
 DEM.PROX.PL grandchild=1PL.POSS 1DU.INCL DEM.PROX.PL

*me*    *ḡlea=di=hi*                      *gepa*  
 INCP happy=3PL.OBJ=COMPL 1DU.EXCL  
 ‘These grandchildren of ours have made us happy.’

In examples (591), (592), and (593), *ḡre* is used, and consistent with the other members of this set, the role of this member of the pair without the word initial *i*- does not emphasize as much the specificity of the noun. That is, if the specificity were in focus by the use of *iḡre* instead of *ḡre*, the pragmatic function would be (in order of the examples): these particular people, these particular children, and these particular men, contrasted simply with ‘we people (which are these that are mentioned)’, ‘the children (that are mentioned)’, and ‘the men (that are mentioned)’, all of which are simply pointed to in the communication context rather than emphasized in the context.

(591) *Tahati*    *naikno*    *ḡre*                      *e*    *kmana*  
 1PL.INCL people DEM.PROX.PL EMP lot.of

*pui~puhi=da*  
 DUR~way=1PL.POSS  
 ‘We people have had many problems.’

(592) *Sua*    *ḡre*                      *te*    *iho*                      *loku*  
 child DEM.PROX.PL PRS not.knowing. work  
 ‘It is that the children don’t know how to work.’

(593) *Mae*    *te*    *au*    *ka*    *namono*    *Malaita*    *ḡre*  
 man REL be LOC place Malaita DEM.PROX.PL  
 ‘These men that are from Malaita.’

The distal and plural demonstratives of this set are *iḡro/ḡro*. In each of the examples in this section, the notion of distal is related to spatial distance removed from the deictic center. This follows the functional pattern of the other plural distal members in the types of CH demonstratives.

(594) *Thoḡele*    *ke*    *holo*    *Buala*    *iḡro*  
 hill DIR bush Buala DEM.DIST.PL  
 ‘...those hills above Buala.’

- (595) *Tarai mae īgro*  
 pray man DEM.DIST.PL  
 ‘Those men from over there pray.’
- (596) *Mae provins ġro ba mei lañau*  
 man province DEM.DIST.PL perhaps come also  
 ‘Those men who work for the province might also come.’

### 6.3.1.4 ‘ao’ Demonstratives: Type Three

The distal members of the third set of CH demonstratives show a marked propensity in the corpus for occurring independently and functioning as heads of NP. This is in contrast to the demonstratives of Type One, but similar to the *i-* forms of Type Two. Thus, these are not described as primarily co-occurring with nouns. However, the same is not true for the proximate members of Type Three, as these always co-occur with nouns.<sup>69</sup> Like those in Type Two, the demonstratives of Type Three do not co-occur with pronouns. Like all other types, Type Three demonstratives co-occur with time words. This set of demonstratives is listed in Table 28.

Table 28: Type Three of CH Demonstratives

	Proximate	Distal
Singular	<i>ana</i> ‘this one’	<i>ao</i> ‘that one’
Plural	<i>are</i> ‘these ones’	<i>aro</i> ‘those ones’

*Ao* is the distal and singular demonstrative of this set. When co-occurring with nouns the demonstrative *ao* appears to be a synonym with *igno* (and not *gno*) in most cases. The function of *ao* apparently includes specificity of the noun which it modifies, and thus is closer to *igno* than to *gno* as a synonym. At present the distinction offered between *ao* and *igno* as word choices is speaker preference rather than semantic range of the nouns modified, contextual information, or syntactic evidence. For example, in (597) and (598), apparently *igno* could be substituted for *ao* without a change of meaning.

- (597) *Ka khata=gna ġaogatho ao*  
 LOC little.bit=3SG.POSS thinking DEM.DIST.SG  
 ‘That is a little bit of (my) thinking.’

<sup>69</sup> There are one or two examples in the corpus where *ana* is separated across sentence boundaries from the noun to which it refers, but the noun is modified nonetheless by the demonstrative functioning anaphorically in the wider discourse.



(598) *Keha pheī thu=mi ġre keha gne*  
 some two child=2PL.POSS DEM.PROX.PL some DEM.PROX.SG

*tei ka sikolu ao*  
 go LOC school DEM.DIST.SG  
 ‘These two of our children [and] this other one go to that school.’

Examples (599), (600) and (601) demonstrate the sentence-initial positioning of this demonstrative and the marked propensity for occurring as head of the NP. Also, it is substantiated often in the corpus and demonstrated in examples (600) and (601) that in this position, *ao* often co-occurs with the focus marker *si*.

(599) *Ao thoutonu=di phiamare re*  
 DEM.DIST.SG story=3PL.POSS 3DU.F PL  
 ‘That is the story of the two of them.’

(600) *Ao si=ni me ke te maġra bi'o lañau*  
 DEM.DIST.SG FOC=3SG.OBJ INCP PRF PRS fight big also

*Malaita na ka tuana*  
 Malaita DEM.PROX.SG LOC DEM  
 ‘That is how it [happened] that the big fight started on Malaita, like that.’

(601) *Ao si me edi ñala mare fati baebale*  
 DEM.DIST.SG FOC INCP do just 3PL four shelter

*na*  
 DEM.PROX.SG  
 ‘That is how they made four shelters.’

The distal and plural demonstrative of this set is *aro*. The somewhat lengthy example (602) was chosen for the purpose of illustrating a compound subject co-occurring with the anaphoric demonstrative *aro*. (Note: in the interest of space and readability, the gloss for *re* which occurs seven times in this example sentence is simply noted as PL. If done with consistent representation for the other demonstrative glosses in this section of the book, it would be DEM.PROX.PL.)

(602) *Batu hage bi'o re mae Khogudi bi'o re mae Lañana bi'o re*  
 lead up big PL man Khogudi big PL man Lañana big PL

*mae Khofrosu bi'o re mae Tofidi bi'o re aro mae bi'o*  
 man Khofrosu big PL man Tofidi big PL DEM.DIST.PL man big

*re te au balu=gna mae mala ome re*  
 PL REL be COM=3SG.OBJ man PUR adultery PL

‘The big men from Khogudi, Lañana, Khofrosu, and Tofidi, those big men are the ones who arose with the men who committed adultery.’

The demonstrative *aro* occurs sentence initial in (603) either as the predicate adjective or as a preposed modifier of the predicate nominal.

- (603) *Aro keha noli keli=ḡu iara re*  
 DEM.DIST.PL some crazy good=1SG.POSS 1SG DEM.PROX.PL  
 ‘Those are some crazy things that made me happy.’

The proximate and singular demonstrative of this set is *ana*. It occurs sentence final (604), co-occurs with the focus marker *si* (605), and often assumes final position in a prepositional phrase (606).

- (604) *Mare na mala te soni haidu ana*  
 3PL DEM.PROX.SG PUR PRS meet meeting DEM.PROX.SG  
 ‘It is that they come to meet at this meeting.’

- (605) *Cheke na ka nohi tahati suḡa mala au si*  
 talk DEM.PROX.SG LOC area 1PL.INCL house for be FOC

*ana*

DEM.PROX.SG

‘This talk to our region [was] that it [i.e. the meeting] would be in this house.’

- (606) *Naikno ḡoro sua ... ne keḡra ke ulu=gna mae prisi*  
 people all child PST stand DIR front=3SG.POSS man priest

*ana*

DEM.PROX.SG

‘The women and all the children were standing in front of this priest.’

The demonstrative *are* is the proximate and plural member of this set. The demonstrative *are* modifies the nominal which is the object of the preposition *mae* ‘man’ in the following example, doing so syntactically from the obligatory post-posed position.

- (607) *Eguteuna fiti vavahi ka mae te=u kolho*  
 CONJ just choose LOC man PRS=CONT just

*are*

DEM.PROX.PL

‘And it is that they are just choosing from among these men that are [here].’

As with each of the other types of demonstratives, Type Three demonstratives modify time words:

- (608) *Iara neke tei Honiara ka finoga ao*  
 1SG PST go Honiara LOC year DEM.DIST.SG  
 ‘I went to Honiara that year.’

### 6.3.1.5 ‘*u*’ Demonstrative: Type Four

The demonstrative *u* is the only member of Type Four Demonstratives, and is the most different of the CH demonstratives.<sup>70</sup> These characteristics are now described briefly in turn. The members of the other sets of demonstratives do not by themselves mark pragmatic emphasis or prominence, but *u* marking emphasis is attested as its chief function. In written English, the gloss in the following example would be represented as ‘THIS news that is good’. (Note: each of the translation line glosses in this section reflects this style of all caps for the pragmatic emphasis feature of this demonstrative.)

- (609) *U nonomho te keli*  
 DEM news REL good  
 ‘THIS news that is good.’

First, in terms of distinctiveness, while the demonstratives in the other three types regularly occur post-posed to the noun they modify, *u* regularly occurs pre-posed to the noun it modifies:

- (610) *U jaḡlo no=ḡu bi'o fara*  
 DEM surprise ALN=1SG.POSS big very  
 ‘THIS very big surprise of me.’

- (611) *Iara au Kolokhofa ka u narane tuana*  
 1SG be Kolokhofa LOC DEM day DEM  
 ‘I was at Kolokhofa on THAT day.’

However, even with the attribution of pre-positioning as a recurring feature of normal word order, *u* also occurs post-posed in a cleft construction (as described by Lambrecht, 1994). In the cleft construction, it occurs post-posed to the element which it modifies, but pre-posed to a particular modal adverb marking specificity, namely *n̄ala*. The function of determiner *u* in this construction is a heightened emphasis of its pragmatic-marking feature. This is shown in the following examples.

<sup>70</sup> White (1988) classified *u* as an article that functions as a universal quantifier, occurring before abstract nouns. I do not know what he intended by ‘universal quantifier’, and he does not explain it. And, it is quite common in the corpus for *u* to occur before nouns that are other than abstract. However, it is clear that it cannot be an article, as *u* is found numerous times in the corpus to occur not in the presence of a noun but post-posed to a pronoun. Also, the function of quantifier cannot be accounted for, as it occurs with singular and plural nouns, and also is found to occur with a cardinal or ordinal number.

- (612) *Mana u n̄ala mala bana=gna suḡa=gna*  
 3SG.M DEM just PUR build=3SG.POSS house=3SG.POSS  
 ‘He [is] just THIS [one] building his house.’  
 Or, ‘Specifically this [guy], he, is the one building his house.’

- (613) *Keli u n̄ala*  
 good DEM just  
 ‘THIS [is] just good’, Or, colloquially, ‘Things are going ok!’

- (614) *Mare te keli fara u n̄ala Isabel*  
 3PL PRS good very DEM just Isabel  
 ‘It is specifically THOSE Isabel people that are very good.’

- (615) *Nu iara na fa-ari ka khata*  
 CONJ 1SG DEM.PROX.SG CAUS-go LOC little.bit

- no=u sileni u n̄ala iago*  
 ALN=2SG.POSS money DEM just 2SG  
 ‘But I will send just a little bit of THAT money that specifically belongs to you.’

The members of the other three types of demonstratives mark distinction between proximal and distal, but *u* does not. Also, the other three types mark distinction between plural and singular, but *u* does not, as it occurs with nouns of either number. In example (616), *u* occurs with a singular nominal:

- (616) *U thotounu=gna mae Keke*  
 DEM story=3SG.POSS man Keke  
 ‘THIS story [is] about [Harold] Keke.’

In example (617), *u* occurs with a plural nominal notion:

- (617) *U ḡoro sua re ka naikno*  
 DEM all child DEM.PROX.PL LOC people  
 ‘All THOSE children [that are] among the people.’

Unlike the members of Types Two and Three, but similar to Type One, it cannot serve as the head of the noun phrase, though it does modify the noun which is the head of the noun phrase:

- (618) *Mare loku tharai egu u tothogo ka puhi ka mae Isabel*  
 3PL work pray like.that DEM help LOC way LOC man Isabel  
 ‘They do spiritual work like that [which is] THIS help [for] the problem among Isabel people.’

- (619) *Uve u puhi te fari-hotei=di mae Guadalcanal*  
 yes DEM way REL RECP-middle=3PL.POSS man Guadalcanal

*mae Malaita ġre*

man Malaita DEM.PROX.PL

‘Well, THIS problem that [is] between the Guadalcanal men [and] Malaita men...’

Demonstrative *u* can co-occur with other demonstratives, as previously illustrated in example (611), doing so in a sort of double modifying role. In the following example, *u* serves to mark the prominence of THIS geographical place (*u Honiara*), while the demonstrative from Type Two, *ġre*, modifies the noun as well indicating the number of the noun (*mae* ‘man’) being modified.

- (620) *Tuana te balu=di mae u Honiara ġre*  
 DEM PRS with=3PL.POSS man DEM Honiara DEM.PROX.PL

*egu*

like.that

‘It is that, that [is the group] with THESE men from Honiara, like that.’

As with each of the other three types of demonstratives, Type Four demonstrative *u* co-occurs with time words:

- (621) *Iara neke tei Merika ka u finoga te ari ia*  
 1SG PST go America LOC DEM year REL go DEM.DIST.SG  
 ‘LAST year, I went to America.’

Of the four types of demonstratives, the one with the featured propensity for co-occurring with borrowed nouns is *u* of set four. One can surmise that the reason for this propensity is that it serves to highlight the presence of an element in the communication which is not within the ‘established’ CH lexicon. This is also described in section 3.2.9. The following is a representative short list of the borrowed nouns, all attested within the corpus:

*u prediction*

*u annual general meeting*

*u seven*

*u central Maringe*

*u vote*

### 6.3.1.6 Demonstrative pronouns

CH has two sets of demonstrative pronouns. The pronouns in each set have the root *teu-* plus an enclitic which signifies number and either specificity or proximity of the

noun which it modifies. The first set is described in terms of specificity and number, and listed in Table 29.

Table 29: Specificity Set of CH Demonstrative Pronouns

	Specific	Gloss	Non-specific	Gloss
Singular	<i>t(e)u=na</i>	‘this one’	<i>t(e)u=ia</i>	‘that one’
Plural	<i>t(e)u=re</i>	‘these ones’	<i>t(e)u=ra</i>	‘those ones’

Phonologically, each is in free variation with a form in which the *e* elides. Thus, each is also often pronounced and written as *tuna*, *tuia*, *ture*, and *tura* respectively. The notion of specificity indicates a specific or general referent of the pronoun. It is illustrated through contrasting examples which follow, explicated in the translation line of the examples.

- (622) *Te au ġano khuarao teu=na*  
 PRS be food k.o.fishing DEM.PRN=SP.SG  
 ‘There is this (specifically identified as to kind and amount of singular type of) food (resulting from) khuarao fishing.’ And note: the specificity is probably not just known from communication context, but identified by the speaker by pointing of either fingers or lips to a pile of food.
- (623) *Te au ġano khuarao teu=ia*  
 PRS be food k.o.fishing DEM.PRN=NSP.SG  
 ‘There is that (non-specifically identified as to kind and amount of singular type of) food (resulting from) khuarao fishing.’
- (624) *Ġognaro vido teu=re ra'e la chopu di'a fara*  
 now place DEM.PRN=SP.PL really IMM mud bad very  
 ‘Now these places (that is, referring specifically to these areas or places to which the speaker is/has been referring to in this communication) are really very muddy.’
- (625) *Ġognaro vido tu=ra ra'e la chopu di'a fara*  
 now place DEM.PRN=NSP.PL really IMM mud bad very  
 ‘Now those places (being referred to but which are just spoken of generally and which do not point to any specific areas or places) are really very muddy.’

The second set of demonstrative pronouns are classified according to proximity, either spatially or contextually to the speaker. These mirror the functional description and characteristics of the demonstrative adjectives described in section 6.3.1. Phonologically, as with the free variation noted in the specificity class, the *e* can elide in each member of the set, and the first syllable is then pronounced *tu* instead of *te*.

The demonstrative pronouns in each grouping of the proximity class in Table 30 have two sets of pronouns (e.g. singular proximate: *teugne*, *teuana* ‘this one’), indicated on separate and adjoining lines, and each has the same meaning. The pronouns are best described as synonyms and the variation is described by speaker choice.

Table 30: Proximity Set of CH Demonstrative Pronouns

	Proximate	Gloss	Distal	Gloss
Singular	<i>t(e)u=gne</i> <i>t(e)u=ana</i>	‘this one’	<i>t(e)u=gno</i> <i>t(e)u=ao</i>	‘that one’
Plural	<i>t(e)u=gre</i> <i>t(e)u=are</i>	‘these ones’	<i>t(e)u=gro</i> <i>t(e)u=aro</i>	‘those ones’

The notion of proximity is illustrated in the examples which follow. The first pair illustrates and contrasts the singular and distal proximate demonstrative pronouns:

- (626) *Fa-tilo*      *kokholo* *teu=gne*                      *kilo=ni*      *kokholo*  
CAUS-three line      DEM.PRN=PROX.SG      call=3SG.OBJ line

*hotei*  
middle

‘The third line, this one (that I am referring to that is figuratively speaking, close) is called the middle line.’

- (627) *Fa-tilo*      *kokholo* *teu=gno*                      *kilo=ni*      *kokholo*  
CAUS-three line      DEM.PRN=DIST.SG      call=3SG.OBJ line

*hotei*  
middle

‘The third line, that one (that I am referring to that is either not close in relation to our family line or which is distant from us in terms of being from time before) is called the middle line.’

The second pair illustrates and contrasts the plural and distal proximate demonstrative pronouns:

- (628) *Au suḡa*      *iko=di*                      *tu=are*  
be house small=3PL.POSS      DEM.PRN=PROX.PL  
‘These ones (i.e. the ones close to or in view of the speaker and/or identified in context) are their small houses.’

- (629) *Au suḡa*      *iko=di*                      *tu=aro*  
be house small=3PL.POSS      DEM.PRN=DIST.PL  
‘Those ones (over there, i.e. not close to the speaker at the time of utterance or not close in terms of relative distance) are their small houses.’

### 6.3.1.7 Summary

Four types of demonstrative adjectives are attested in CH. Type One, whose most commonly occurring member is the singular proximal *na*, is a more common Type than the other three, and consists, as do Type Two and Type Three, of four members. Type Four only has one member, *u*. A table of selected syntactic comparative features is given below in Table 31. The proximal/distal distinction for Types One, Two, and Three is based on 1) time of the event being described, whether near or far to current reality or time progression, or 2) to spatial distance in deictic reference from the speaker. In terms of general features, these co-occur with nouns and pronouns and they primarily function to modify nouns and pronouns.

Type Two demonstratives co-occur with nouns and they primarily function to modify nouns. As with those of Type Three, these demonstratives do not modify pronouns. The four members of Type Two comprise a type in which each word is a derivation of the base form of  $(i)gn^*/\bar{g}r^*$ . Syntactically, they follow the nouns they modify. However, the members of this type of demonstratives do not necessarily co-occur with nouns that are being modified, but can themselves be heads. These CH demonstratives are either singular or plural.

The third type of CH demonstratives can co-occur with nouns they modify, but they function as heads of NP, which is unlike Type One which cannot function as heads, and is similar to Type Two, whose members in certain forms do function as head of the noun phrase. However, the members of Type Three seem to occur more regularly as head of the noun phrase than do those of Type Two. These four words in Type Three comprise a type in which each word is a derivation of the base form of  $an^*/ar^*$ . These CH demonstratives are either singular or plural.

Type Four has one member, namely *u*. This type differs from the others by not showing the proximal/distal distinction, nor does it mark singular and plural distinctions, nor does it serve as the head of a noun phrase. While some might suggest analyzing *u* as an article instead of a demonstrative, there is attestation of *u* modifying pronouns, and this feature nullifies it from functioning as an article. Unlike members of the other types of demonstratives, there is evidence that *u* exhibits a special function of marking pragmatic emphasis.



Table 31: Comparison of CH Demonstrative Adjective Types  
 (+ = attested in the language; - = not attested)

	Proximal/Distal Distinction	Head of NP	Modify N	Modify Pronoun	Modify Time words
<i>na</i> Type One	+	-	+	+	+
<i>igne</i> Type Two	+	+	+	-	+
<i>ao</i> Type Three	+	+	+	-	+
<i>u</i> Type Four	-	-	+	+	+

Also, by way of summary, there are two classes of CH demonstrative pronouns. The pronouns in each set have the root *t(e)u-* plus an enclitic which signifies number and either specificity or proximity of the noun which it modifies.

#### 6.4 Interrogatives

The inventory of content interrogatives in CH includes the following:

*hei* 'who'  
*unha* 'what'  
*heva* 'where'  
*aheva* 'which'  
*neha* 'why'  
*niha* 'when'  
*naugna unha* 'why' (lit. 'because what')  
*fa-neha/fa-unha* 'how' (lit. 'CAUS-why'/'CAUS-what')

Representative illustrations include:

(630) *Unha egu?*  
 what like.that  
 'What [is going on] like.that?'

(631) *Cheke=ni aheva gne?*  
 speak=3SG.OBJ which DEM  
 '[He] said which [is] this?'

Each interrogative is optionally followed syntactically by the focus marker *si*. Examples (632) and (633) demonstrate this structure.

(632) *Naugna unha si iago ia?*  
 because what FOC 2SG DEM  
 ‘Why [do] you?’ or ‘Why are you doing that?’

(633) *Hei si ia?*  
 who FOC DEM  
 ‘Who was it?’

The features and functions of interrogatives are discussed in relation to clause types in section 9.3.4.

## 6.5 Quantifiers and numerals

### 6.5.1 Quantifiers

A set of CH quantifiers modify nouns and indicate number. Quantifiers indicate either definite or indefinite amounts.

The list of definite quantifiers include:

*gnafa* ‘all’<sup>71</sup>  
*leulegu* ‘every one [of them]’

Indefinite quantifiers include:

*keha* ‘some’  
*kmana* ‘large, indeterminate number; lot.of’  
*katha* ‘little bit’

Syntactically, both definite and indefinite quantifiers are preposed to the nominal they modify, as in examples (634) and (635).

(634) *leulegu suḡa*  
 every.one house  
 ‘every house’

(635) *keha suḡa*  
 some house  
 ‘some house(s)’

---

<sup>71</sup> The meaning of the modifier *gnafa* ‘all’ is related to the verbal idea of *gnafa* ‘finish’, as in ‘finish all activity=rest’, or ‘completed’.

Indefinite quantifier *kmana* ‘lot.of’ can occur before or after the nominal it modifies. In occurring post-nominally, *kmana* can occur in a relative clause, as in (637).

(636) *Naikno kmana fara*  
 people lot.of very  
 ‘[It is] very much a lot of people.’

(637) *Naikno te kmana fara*  
 people REL lot.of very  
 ‘[There are] a lot of people [there].’

CH uses *gnafa* ‘all’, in combination with the relative clause marker *te*, to indicate ‘all’, specifically ‘all identified as a unit whole’.

(638) *Tahati te gnafa na tei Buala ġinau na*  
 1PL.INCL REL all DEM go Buala later DEM  
 ‘It is that all [of] us-incl will go to Buala later.’

In CH a total grouping is indicated by *legu*, reduplicated as *leu~legu*. The quantifier *legu* refers to every individual one, contrasted with *gnafa*, which focuses on the sum of the members and identifies those members as a collective group. *Legu* is used with temporal nouns, such as day or month:

(639) *Legu narane boñi=gau World Cup kolho*  
 every day night=1SG.OBJ World Cup just  
 ‘Every day and night all I do is watch the World Cup!’

The reduplicated form *leu~legu* modifying a temporal notion indicates an indefinitely re-occurring quantification of the temporal notion:

(640) *Leu~legu hamerane tarai leu~legu ġrafi tarai*  
 DUR~every day pray DUR~every evening pray  
 ‘Every morning and every evening we have prayer service.’

## 6.5.2 Numerals

CH has cardinal and ordinal numbers. Cardinals are discussed in section 6.5.2.1, and ordinals in section 6.5.2.2.

### 6.5.2.1 Cardinal numbers

CH cardinal numbers are used for counting. The CH counting system utilizes lexical items for numerals one to nine, for multiples of ten from ten to ninety, and for hundred, thousand and million. There is no CH lexical entry for zero, but when this value is needed for whatever reason, CH speakers borrow from Pijin. In such cases the /z/ changes to /j/, and is pronounced as *jero*. The following table gives an

inventory of CH numbers and also shows a comparison between CH and Proto-Oceanic (POC) numerals one to ten.<sup>72</sup>

Table 32: CH Numerals

	CH	POC
1	<i>kaisei</i>	*tasa
2	<i>phei</i>	*rua
3	<i>thilo</i>	*tolu
4	<i>fati</i>	*pat, pati
5	<i>ġlima</i>	*lima
6	<i>namno</i>	*onom
7	<i>fitu</i>	*pitu
8	<i>nhana</i>	*walu
9	<i>nheva</i>	*siwa
10	<i>nabotho</i>	*sa-ngapuluq
20	<i>varadaki</i>	
30	<i>thilofulu</i>	
40	<i>phiatutu</i>	
50	<i>ġlima salei</i>	
60	<i>namno salei</i>	
70	<i>fitu salei</i>	
80	<i>nhana salei</i>	
90	<i>nheva salei</i>	
100	<i>ġobi</i>	
1,000	<i>thoga</i>	
1,000,000	<i>mola</i>	

<sup>72</sup> POC data from Lynch *et al* (2002:72).

CH employs a regular decimal system, in that numbers 11-19 take the form of the number 10, *nabotho*, plus ‘one’ *kaisei* for 11, thus *nabotho kaisei*, and so forth up to 19. Each of the numbers between multiples of ten form numbers in the same fashion until reaching the next designator of multiples of ten. For example, the number 42 is represented as *phiatutu* ‘40’ plus *phei* ‘2’, thus *phiatutu phei*.

In looking at the multiples of 10, it is interesting to note the patterns and word compositions. The word for ‘10’ *nabotho*, and the word for ‘20’, *varadaki*, do not appear to have any lexical connection to other words which designate ‘tens’. Thus, *nabotho* ‘10’ is not \**kaisei* plus/of (‘something representing 10’), nor is 20 ‘two tens’, or \**phei nabotho*. However, starting with the word for 30, the tens are formed by one of the CH numerals plus some kind of tens designator. For example, ‘30’, *thilofulu*, is *thilo* (three) + the morpheme *fulu*. The exact meaning of *fulu* is unknown. It seems to be used only as a numeric designation for the value of certain multiples of ten. The word *fulu* is not used separately in the language. The etymology of 40 is *phia* (form of two) + *tutu*. Unlike *fulu*, *tutu* is found in CH, but outside the numeral domain. *Tutu* is a verb for ‘hammer’ or ‘pound’. As a numeral designator, *tutu* might in fact refer to groups of 20, and so *phiatutu* appears to be ‘two groups of 20’, or ‘two groups of something totalling 40’ but that is not confirmed. There is no known historical clue as to its meaning. For 50 through 90, each of the multiples includes the base number plus *salei*, the exact meaning of which is unknown though it is some form of ‘tens.’ Like *fulu*, the tens designator for 30, *salei* is not found elsewhere in the language. Other numbers in the language are realized by complex number forms, using the principal numeral roots in combination with each other. Selective examples include the following:

(641) *phei ḡobi*            *fitu-salei*  
two hundred    seven-tens  
‘two hundred seventy’

(642) *nhana thoga*    *phei ḡobi*    *varadaki*    *kaisei*  
eight thousand    two hundred    twenty    one  
‘eight thousand two hundred twenty-one’

The CH numbers function as adjectives, designating how many of a certain noun:

(643) *kaisei suḡa*  
one    house  
‘one house’

(644) *phei khurao sasa*  
two net    fish  
‘two nets of fish’

(645) *thilo mae prisi*  
 three man priest  
 ‘three priests’

(646) *fati khuma*  
 four dog  
 ‘four dogs’

An example of a complex number used in a sentence to announce the results of a fund-raising effort:

(647) *Phei thoga fati ġobi phiatutu dola teke kaha=di*  
 two thousand four hundred forty dollar PSS count=3PL.OBJ

*mae bi'o ġre*  
 man big DEM  
 ‘It was that these big men counted 2,440 dollars.’

CH numerals can be nominalized. This occurs with an *-i* suffix appended to the CH number. It is noted that for CH numbers that end in /i/, there is no doubling of the [i] in nominalization. Thus, *kaisei* ‘one’ would be both the number root form, and the surface-realized nominalized form, though the underlying form is /kaisei+i/. The same would be true for other numbers, such as *phei* ‘two’ or *ġobi* ‘hundred’. This nominalizing feature of the *-i* suffix in CH is shown in the following example (648), and the number is not only nominalized, but serves as the head of the noun phrase:

(648) *Namha na n̄ala te ulu ka thilo-i ġre*  
 love DEM just PRS front LOC three-NOM DEM  
 ‘It is that love is the front (i.e. most important) of these three.’

Other evidence of this nominalizing is seen in the common compound noun for time of day. The word *tanhi*, which is both the noun and verb form for ‘cry’, but used metaphorically in CH as the noun for ‘time’, compounds with a nominalized number. Thus ‘four o’clock’ is *tanhi* ‘time’ plus nominalized *fati(-i)* ‘four’, thus:

(649) *Tanhi fati(-i)*  
 Time four(-NOM)  
 ‘Four o’clock.’

CH also demonstrates a variation in the representation of the number two, with both *phei* and *phia* in use and at times used interchangeably as adjectives, even with the same nouns. Thus, through analysis of the occurrences of the two, at times they do appear to be synonymous terms. The following examples are attested in the language as adjectival uses:

(650) *phei mae*  
two man  
'two men'

(651) *phia mae*  
two man  
'two men'

However, there are two differences noted: 1) *phei* 'two' is the nominalized form (as described above in this section). 2) The most apparent distinction is that *phia* 'two' is used rather than *phei* 'two' when designating a 'group of two'. This is seen in the CH number for 40, cited in Table 32, as *phia.tutu*, which is described in extended meaning as 'two groups of 20', or 'two groups of something totalling 40'. Interestingly, the number for 40 is not the adjective *phei* 'two' plus the CH number for 20, *varadaki*, or \**phei varadaki*. This 'group of two' meaning for *phia*, used to designate two nouns that occur in pairs, is illustrated by the following two examples:

(652) *phia tatha=gna re*  
two eye=3SG.POSS PL  
'his two eyes'

(653) *Meri ge Mafa phia greḡa=gna re*  
Mary and Martha two sister=3SG.POSS PL  
'Mary and Martha [are] his two sisters.'

A further notion of two resembles in form both *phia* and *phei*, and it is *pea*. It is used in CH only to indicate 'two parts', and is equivalent to the notion of 'two halves'.

(654) *Mana ne atha ḡaju ne breku pea egu*  
3SG.M PST take wood PST break two.pieces like.that  
'He took the wood and broke it into two pieces, like that.'

It is further noted that *pea* 'two parts' is the word for 'two' which is used in the representation of the CH ordinal 'second', as described in section 6.5.2.2.

### 6.5.2.2 Ordinal numbers

Ordinals are regularly formed by preposing the causative marker *fa-* to the cardinal numeral. It is literally 'make' + the number.<sup>73</sup>

(655) *Fa-thilo kokholo teugne*  
CAUS-three clan DEM  
'This is the third clan.'

<sup>73</sup> The same is true in SI Pijin. 'Third', for example, is *mek-tri*, or in English 'make-three.'

This ordinal number formation is irregular with six of the ten cardinal numbers, ‘first’, ‘second’, ‘fifth’, ‘eighth’, ‘ninth’, and ‘tenth’. For ‘first’, the expected derivation would be *\*fa-kaisei*, ‘make-one’, derived from the consistent patterning *fa* + numeral. However, there are two irregularities in the formation of ‘first’: 1) *kaisei* ‘one’ is not used, but *ulu* is used, meaning ‘front’. 2) This is the only ordinal in which the *fa-* ‘causative marker’ prefix is not used, but the suffix *-lahu* is used, which is an ordinal marker indicating ‘end point’. The marker *-lahu* is also used in CH with *legu* ‘behind, as in *legu-lahu*, ‘last-end.point’ or ‘lastly’, and with *bi’o* in *bi’o-lahu* ‘big-end.point’ or ‘biggest’. Thus, the notion of ‘first’ is *ulu-lahu* ‘front-end.point’, and is represented in the following example:

(656) *Iara mei Honiara ka u faidu ulu-lahu ia*  
 1SG come Honiara LOC DEM meeting one-ORD DEM  
 ‘I came to Honiara to that first meeting.’

‘Second’ is also irregular in the sense that the causative prefix *fa-* is used with *pea* ‘two pieces’ instead of with the cardinal number for ‘two’ *phei*. Thus, ‘make two/second’ is *fa-pea*, and not *\*fa-phei*.

The third irregularity is a pattern shared by ‘fifth’, ‘eighth’, ‘ninth’, and ‘tenth’, in that there is elision of either the first consonant, or the first syllable. With the observed regular patterning in CH, the expected form for ‘fifth’ is *\*fa-glima* ‘make-five’. However, the initial consonant “g” elides, and the form is *fa-lima*. For ‘eighth’ and ‘ninth’, the expected forms are *\*fa-nhana* and *\*fa-nheva*, respectively. But for both words, the initial voiceless nasal [ŋ] elides, and the initial sound is “h”. Thus, instead of simply initial consonant elision, resulting in *\*fa-ana* for ‘eighth’, the “h” inserts, forming the first syllable of *ha-*, as in *fa-hana*. Similarly, ‘ninth’ is *fa-heva*. For ‘tenth’, the expected form is *\*fa-nabotho* ‘make-ten’, but the first syllable elides, and the attested form is *fa-botho*. Numbers of any size can form ordinals, though it is observed that they are not used widely above the basic inventory of numeral roots. The CH ordinals are listed in the following table.

Table 33: CH Ordinals

	CH Numeral Base	CH Ordinal
1	<i>kaisei</i>	<i>ulu-lahu</i>
2	<i>phei</i>	<i>fa-pea</i>
3	<i>thilo</i>	<i>fa-thilo</i>
4	<i>fati</i>	<i>fa-fati</i>
5	<i>glima</i>	<i>fa-lima</i>
6	<i>namno</i>	<i>fa-namno</i>
7	<i>fitu</i>	<i>fa-fitu</i>
8	<i>nhana</i>	<i>fa-hana</i>
9	<i>nheva</i>	<i>fa-heva</i>
10	<i>nabotho</i>	<i>fa-botho</i>



Ordinals are used adjectivally to modify nouns. For example, the ordinal is used to specify the birth order of a child:

- (657) *Fa-thilo sua iara na mae Robert*  
 CAUS-three child 1SG DEM man Robert  
 ‘My third child is Robert.’

Ordinals are commonly used to signify various points in speech making, narrative texts, or the genre of greetings, all of which depend on ordering of information. In such instances, the ordinal is a nominative, modified consistently by the demonstrative *na*. It is not unusual to begin a speech or letter by using the ordinal ‘firstly’, as in the following example of greetings sent via recording:

- (658) *Ulu-lahu na iara mei greetings ka iago*  
 one-ORD DEM 1SG come greetings LOC 2SG  
 ‘Firstly, I give greetings to you.’

After making the first point of a public speech, the speaker could then make the second point, starting with *fa-pea* ‘second’.

- (659) *Fa-pea na iara keli ta=ḡu fara teke mei*  
 make-two DEM 1SG good EXP=1SG.POSS very PSS come

*agne egu*

here like.this

‘Secondly, I am very happy that it was that I came here, like this.’

The speaker could stop at any of the ordinal numbering of points in the speech, or simply conclude with *legu-lahu*, ‘lastly’:

- (660) *Legu-lahu na iara cheke teḡio fara*  
 Follow-ORD DEM 1SG talk thank.you very  
 ‘Lastly, I say thank you very much.’

### 6.5.3 Summary of discussion of quantifiers and numerals

CH non-numerical quantifiers modify nouns to indicate both definite and indefinite amounts. They regularly occur pre-posed to the noun they modify. There are two modifiers, *gnafa* ‘all’, and *kmana* ‘lot.of’, that also show regular and arbitrary occurrence post-posed, both with and without placement in a relative clause. The CH counting system utilizes cardinal numbers for numerals one to nine, for multiples of ten from ten to ninety, and for hundred, thousand and million. CH employs a regular decimal system, in that numbers 11-19 take the form of the number 10, *nabotho*, plus ‘one’ *kaisei*, for 11, thus *nabotho kaisei*, and so forth up to 19. The other numbers between tens pattern the same way.

The form of CH numbers marking ‘tens’ varies widely. With adjectival function, these typically occur pre-posed to the noun they modify. The numbers *nabotho* ‘10’ and *varadaki* ‘20’ do not have any lexical connection to word forms which show one of the cardinal numbers combining with a word form designating tens, as do all the multiples of tens from 30-90. Numbers 30 and 40 are formed in the usual CH pattern of cardinal number plus some word that designates tens or a grouping of tens, but 30 and 40 each have a different tens designator. Numbers 50-90 pattern consistently with a cardinal number plus some kind of tens designator that is consistent to each multiple of tens in this set of 50-90, but that tens designator is not found in any of the tens below 50, and is noted that this designator is not found anywhere else in the language as a word form.

CH numerals can be nominalized. This occurs when an *-i* suffix is appended to the CH number. It is noted that for CH numbers that end in /i/, there is no doubling of the [i] in the surface level realization of the nominalization. The resulting nominalized form occurs as the head of a noun phrase.

CH ordinals are formed by pre-posing the causative marker *fa-* to the numeral. This ordinal number formation is irregular with six of the ten cardinal numbers, ‘first’, ‘second’, ‘fifth’, ‘eighth’, ‘ninth’, and ‘tenth’. Depending on the ordinal, the irregular formation varies. The range of variation includes the absence of a cardinal number in the ordinal formation, which is true of ‘first’ and ‘second’. The word form for ‘first(ly)’ *ulu-lahu*, also utilizes a suffix, *-lahu*, that is only found elsewhere in the language in the formation of the words for ‘last(ly)’, *legu-lahu*, and with *bi’o* in *bi’o-lahu* ‘big-end.point’ or ‘biggest’. Thus, both *ululahu* ‘first’ and *legulahu* ‘last’ are ordinals in the sense that they are words which order information, but they are not ordinals formed from cardinal numbers or their word forms. ‘Second’ is irregular in the sense that the causative prefix *fa-* is used with *pea* ‘two pieces’ instead of with the cardinal number for ‘two’ *phei*. Thus, ‘make two/second’ is *fa-pea*, and not *\*fa-phei*. Further, in the formation of ‘fifth’, ‘eighth’, and ‘ninth’ there is an elision of an initial consonant, and in the formation of ‘tenth’, there is an elision of the initial syllable, with both elisions occurring when prefixed by *fa-* to form the ordinal. CH ordinals function both nominally and adjectivally. The nominal function is frequently used in speech-making or narrative progression.

## 6.6 Summary of chapter

The inventory of CH conjunctions numbers 13. They conjoin nouns, noun phrases, clauses, sentences, and serve in disjunctive and adversative roles, and mark causal propositions.

The semantic range of CH interjections covers exclamation or emotional response. The function of each is to express surprise at an event or statement. There are six interjections in common use.

Four types of demonstrative adjectives are attested in CH. A summary description is found in section 6.3.1.7. Proximal and distal distinctives play a prominent role in distinguishing the members of Types One, Two, and Three. Type Four, which has one member, *u*, is the most different of the four types, in that it does not show the proximal/distal distinctions, it cannot serve as the head of a noun phrase, it does not distinguish between singular and plural nouns or pronouns, and it serves in a preposition to the noun or pronoun that it modifies. Demonstrative pronouns are also common in the language, with two sets of these described. One set marks specificity, and the other proximity.

The inventory of CH interrogatives numbers 9 lexical items. Each interrogative is optionally followed syntactically by the focus marker *si*.

A set of CH quantifiers modify nouns and indicate number. Quantifiers indicate either definite or indefinite amounts. CH has cardinal and ordinal numbers. CH has base numeral forms up to one million, indicated by the lexical item, *mola*. The form of CH numbers marking 'tens' varies widely. CH numerals can be nominalized when an *-i* suffix is appended to the CH number. CH ordinals are formed by preposing the causative marker *fa-* to the numeral. However, this ordinal number formation is irregular with six of the ten cardinal numbers.



## 7 Noun Phrase

### 7.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the noun phrase. As described in section 7.2 through 7.4, the CH noun phrase (NP) is a structure headed by a noun, pronoun, or a proper noun. The NP can include a variety of modifiers, and function as an argument of a verb in the clause. It can also operate as a non-verbal predicate. The modifiers are described in various subsections of section 7.5. The discussion on possession (7.5.1) is the most extensive. CH possession patterns Oceanic typology of alienable and inalienable distinctives, and is a prominent feature of the language. Other topics under the heading of modifiers of the noun phrase include quantifiers and numerals (7.5.2), the role of focus marker *si* with demonstratives in the NP (7.5.3), adjectives (7.5.4), determiners (7.5.5), and the structure and function of relative clauses (7.5.6). Noun phrase coordination is the subject of section 7.6. Appositional noun phrases are discussed in section 9.3.6.

### 7.2 Structure of the noun phrase

If we assume the noun is the head of the noun phrase, it is not possible to describe CH as predominantly either a left-headed language or right-headed language, in that various inventories of modifiers of the head of the NP are distributed both to the left and right of the head noun. The impossibility of describing the CH NP as predominantly one or the other is shown in the following two examples. In example (661), the head noun *suḡa* ‘house’ is modified by two constituents: adjective *bi’o*, and the demonstrative *gne*.

(661) *suḡa bi’o gne*  
 child big DEM  
 ‘this big house’

In example (662), the nominal head of the NP *suḡa*, the same lexical item used in example (661), is modified by two preposed constituents.

(662) *kmana fara suḡa*  
 lot.of very house  
 ‘very many houses’

Typologically, regarding Oceanic languages, Lynch *et al* (2004:40) mention that “if a language has articles and/or number markers, these usually precede the head noun.” In CH, this is true for number markers, however as stated previously, there are no articles attested in the language. As for other modifiers, some generally occur pre-head, including the alienable possessive pronoun, certain quantifiers, and the focus marker, while a number of modifiers occur post-head. Determiners often mark the final NP boundary, and certain quantifiers mark the initial NP boundary. An example of how CH allows several elements to be included in the NP is illustrated in example (663):

- (663) *suḡa bi'o=gna Rosanna bi'o gne*  
 house big=3SG.POSS Rosanna big DEM  
 'This big house of important Rosanna.'

The order of the elements of the CH NP is described by the following Tables, Table 34 and Table 35. The optional constituents are noted in parentheses. It is noted that there are no restrictions attested against co-occurrence of the constituents with other pre-head or post-head constituents. The order of pre- and post-head constituents of the NP, all of which are indicated as optional by the brackets in the following tables, is not prescribed by their linear representation in the following tables. The Tables are merely showing which constituents optionally occur on either side of the head noun. Note that the elements DEM refer to Demonstratives, and these are discussed in sections 6.3.1.2 through 6.3.1.7. The kinds of constituents that can fill the various slots of the NP are summarized in Table 34 and Table 35:

Table 34: Pre-Head NP Constituents  
 (Possessor)(Attributive) (Quantifier) (Numeral) (DEM *u*)(Focus) HEAD

Table 35: Post-Head NP Constituents  
 HEAD (Possessor) (Attributive) (REL) (Quantifier) (Possessive) (Focus) (DEM Types 1-3)

### 7.3 Head of a noun phrase

The head of the NP is typically a common noun, proper noun, or pronoun. Various types of head nouns are illustrated in the following examples:

Common noun:

- (664) *Mola na plulu*  
 canoe DEM sink  
 'The canoe sank.'

Proper noun (in a construction that contains two NPs in a non-verbal predication):

- (665) *Isabel gne kaisei khiloau kolho*  
 Isabel DEM one church just  
 'Isabel has just one church.'

Pronoun:

- (666) *Mana rofo fara*  
 3SG.M hungry very  
 'He was very hungry.'

Inalienable body-part noun:

- (667) *Khame di'a te peko ia*  
 arm bad REL crooked DEM  
 'The bad arm that is crooked.'

Kinship noun:

- (668) *Me cheke n̄a kma=gna gne ka ḡa'ase gne*  
 INCP talk NSP father=3SG.POSS DEM LOC female DEM  
 'His father began speaking to this woman...'

Interrogative head noun:

- (669) *Ihei te ḡinau mei?*  
 who REL later come  
 'Who [is it] that comes later?'

Head nouns that have been previously introduced (and are thus understood in the discourse) can be omitted from subsequent reference. Thus, the head noun in these contexts is ellipsed, or empty. In such environments, the ellipsis is modified by a quantifier, as in (670), or by a numeral, illustrated in (671).

- (670) *Theome kmana ∅ kolho egu*  
 NEG lot.of 'thing' just like.that  
 'There just weren't many [things]'

- (671) *Mae atha kaisei ∅ gu pheī ∅ gu egu kolho*  
 man take one 'thing' like.that two 'thing' like.that like.that just  
 '[That] man takes just one or two [things], like that.'

#### 7.4 Minimal noun phrase

Any of the constituents which can be identified as head of the noun phrase can occur alone as head of the noun phrase. Hence, the minimal noun phrase consists of just the head, illustrated by the following examples. In (672), the pronoun *iara* '1SG', and in (673), the interrogative *unha* 'what', are minimal noun phrases.

- (672) *Iara nomhi=ni*  
 1SG hear=3SG.OBJ  
 'I hear it.'

- (673) *Unha teke fa-lao ka iago*  
 What PSS CAUS-towards LOC 2SG  
 'What was it that he gave to you?'

In (674), two minimal noun phrases, *rafi* ‘evening’, and *iara* ‘1SG’, occur consecutively in the same sentence.

- (674) *Rafi iara ke pulo ka namono*  
 evening 1SG PRF return LOC village  
 ‘In the evening I returned to the village.’

## 7.5 Modifiers of the noun phrase

The modifiers of the CH noun phrase and their constituent order are discussed in the following sections.

### 7.5.1 Possession

#### 7.5.1.1 Introduction

There are many possession relationships indicated by the CH NP, indicating that a noun, or an entity, is in some kind of relation to another entity. Perhaps one could argue that this notion could be termed “relationship” rather than “possession”, but since the notion of possession is in such widespread use in Austronesian studies, this is the term of choice.

First, in terms of typology, CH follows the typological patterning of a majority of Oceanic languages, as described by Lynch *et al* in (2002:40). Namely, for direct possession constructions, “a possessor suffix is attached directly to the possessed noun, while with indirect possession, an uninflected possessed noun is either preceded or followed by an independent possessive constituent, which is itself marked with one of the possessor suffixes.” An example of direct possession is example (675):

- (675) *Gahe=gna mae Michael*  
 foot=3SG.POSS man Michael  
 ‘Michael’s foot.’

Example (676) shows the indirect possession referenced in the above description:

- (676) *No=gna nhimara mae Michael*  
 ALN=3SG.POSS axe man Michael  
 ‘Michael’s axe.’

CH demonstrates both alienable and inalienable possession.<sup>74</sup> The structural features of direct and indirect possession are contrastive for each classification. That is,

<sup>74</sup> *Suḡa* ‘house’ is one example of a lexical item which exhibits free variation of both alienable (*no=gna suḡa* ‘his house’) and inalienable (*suḡa=gna* ‘his house’) possession marking.



direct possession in CH reflects the CH category of inalienable possession, and indirect possession follows the description of CH alienable possession.

In terms of alienable possession, CH alienable nouns consist of two classes: those which are edible<sup>75</sup> (*ḡano* 'food', *khumara* 'potato', *bosu* 'pig') and those which are non-edible, or general (*mola* 'canoe', *nhimara* 'axe', and *ḡaju* 'tree'). Both classes are marked by a separate possessive inflected pronoun preceding the noun, as listed in Table 36.

In terms of inalienable possession, various CH noun relationships can be described as being in an inalienably possessed relationship with their possessor. These nouns can be categorized by kin relationships (e.g. *kheto* 'spouse') and by part-whole relationships (including body parts, such as *gahe*, 'foot'). Inalienable possession is marked by seven possessive enclitics hosted by the inalienable noun. These are listed in Table 36.

Table 36: CH Possession Enclitics and Pronouns

PERSON/ NUMBER	ALIENABLE POSSESSION ENCLITICS USED WITH PRONOUNS	ALIENABLE POSSESSION PRONOUNS USED WITH GENERAL NOUNS	ALIENABLE POSSESSION PRONOUNS USED WITH EDIBLE NOUNS	INALIENABLE POSSESSION ENCLITICS USED WITH NOUNS	EXPERIENCER POSSESSION PRONOUNS USED WITH EVENTS
1SG	=ḡu	no=ḡu	ge=ḡu	=ḡu	ta=ḡu
2SG	=u	no=u	ge=u	=mu	ta=mu
3SG	=gna	no=gna	ge=gna	=gna	ta=gna
1PL.INCL	=da	no=da	ge=da	=da	ta=da
1PL.EXCL	=mi	no=mi	ge=mi	=mi	ta=mi
2PL	=mi	no=mi	ge=mi	=mi	ta=mi
3PL	=di	no=di	ge=di	=di	ta=di

Also, it is noted that when possessive pronouns or clitics occur with verb roots, these are nominalized, and nouns are derived from these verb forms.

Alienable and inalienable possession show morphosyntactic contrast in two ways. First, they contrast in the form of the possessive marker for 2SG in 2SG constructions. Contrastive examples of alienable possession (677) and inalienable possession (678) show this.

(677) *no=u*                      *phoko iago na*  
 ALN=2SG.POSS    shirt    2SG DEM  
 'your shirt'

<sup>75</sup> These are not only consumable, but also can be parted with, as in sold or bartered. The same can certainly be said for certain members of the non-consumable group of alienable nouns.

- (678) *ḡaogatho=mu*                      *iago na*  
           thinking=INA.2SG.POSS    2SG DEM  
           ‘your thinking’

Secondly, they show contrast in the hosts to which the enclitics attach. Namely, alienable possession enclitics attach to pronouns, that being either the edible *ge=* pronoun root or the general pronoun root *no=*, while inalienable possession enclitics attach directly to the noun classified as inalienable. Thus, in re-forming the previous examples into (679) and (680), neither of the following two examples are legitimate:

- (679) \**phoko=mu*                      *iago na*  
           shirt=INA.2SG.POSS    2SG    DEM  
           \*‘your shirt’

- (680) \**no=u*                      *ḡaogatho*                      *iago na*  
           INA=2SG.POSS    thinking=INA.2SG.POSS    2SG DEM  
           \*‘your thinking’

That is, even though in example (679) the attempted construction shows a noun, *phoko* ‘shirt’, being directly possessed with a 2SG inalienable possessive clitic, the example is not legitimate because a CH speaker would never demonstrate ‘directly possessing’ a *phoko* ‘shirt’. Likewise for example (680), CH language use demonstrates that a speaker would not indirectly possess *ḡaogatho*, ‘thinking’, but instead would represent the ‘possession of thinking’ with the direct possession construction in previous example (678).

### 7.5.1.2 Alienable noun possession

Edible nouns are classified under the domain of alienable nouns, and thus demonstrate alienable possession. The form of edible noun possession is the possessive pronoun ‘root’ or base *ge-* plus the seven alienable possession enclitics in Table 36.<sup>76</sup> For all other alienable possessions, CH speakers use the possessive pronoun root *no-* plus the same seven enclitic possession markers. A corresponding pronoun optionally occurs after the noun in both cases, but its presence is much less common than when occurring with inalienable nouns.

Thus, ‘his canoe’ can be represented by the alienable noun example below (POSS + noun + pronoun).

<sup>76</sup> There is a somewhat rare idiom used with the base *ge-*, and that is one in which the word *heta*, ‘strength’, co-occurs with *ge* + pronominal clitic. Thus, *heta ge=gna* ‘strength FOOD=3SG.POSS’ is an idiom indicating ‘he possessed strength/he was strengthened’.

- (681) *no=gna*                    *mola mana*  
 ALN=3SG.POSS    canoe 3SG  
 'his canoe'

But a CH speaker would more usually omit the pronoun following the noun, with the meaning identical in (682) to that of example (681):

- (682) *no=gna*                    *mola*  
 ALN=3SG.POSS    canoe  
 'his canoe'

In the case of edible nouns, the pronoun following the noun which serves as possessum is optionally included, as in (683) and (684).

- (683) *ge=g̃u*                        *khumara iara*  
 FOOD=1SG.POSS    potato 1SG  
 'my potato'

- (684) *ge=u*                         *g̃ano (iago)*  
 FOOD=2SG.POSS    food (2SG)  
 'your food'

The same object may be classified as edible and non-edible, depending on context, and thus alienable possession is marked differently in both cases. If the object is classified contextually as edible, then the expected *ge-* root plus possessive pronoun marker is used, and for non-edible classification, the *no-* root is used. A CH speaker could describe his pig, and in simply describing this pig which he owns, the alienable possession would be rendered as *no-* plus the possessive pronoun enclitic:

- (685) *no=g̃u*                        *bosu iara*  
 ALN=1SG.POSS    pig 1SG  
 'my pig'

But, if he is describing the pig meat which he is eating, then he will say:

- (686) *ge=g̃u*                        *bosu iara*  
 FOOD=1SG.POSS    pig 1SG  
 'my pig(meat)'

Also, there is evidence of non-morphologically marked possession, as in (687) and (688). The possessed nouns in example (687), *suḡa* 'house', and in (688), *sua* 'child' serve as the head of the NP, and neither head is marked by a possessive pronoun enclitic. There are arbitrary occurrences where this is true, due both to context and also to syntax. Namely, a free pronoun can be used to encode possession when following the head noun in a NP in what is semantically understood to be a possessed relationship and there is no morphologically marked possession to

indicate a different possessor. In such cases of free pronoun encoding possession, the meaning is identical with that of a noun phrase in which an enclitic is present in the syntax. The possessor *iara* '1SG' follows the possessed noun in syntactic order in the NP. The following two examples demonstrate this.

(687) *Suḡa iara na hui ḡrofo pae=hi*  
 house 1SG DEM finish fall.down collapse=COMPL  
 'This house of mine completely collapsed.'

(688) *Kaisei sua iara tei ka USP Honiara*  
 one child 1SG go LOC USP Honiara  
 'One of my children goes to University of the South Pacific in Honiara.'

### 7.5.1.3 Inalienable noun possession

There are several categories of inalienably possessed nouns which are described in this section. First, in natural speech, all kin terms are inalienably possessed.<sup>77</sup> Examples of inalienable possession for kin relationships show that the usual form of the possessed noun is stem plus possession-marking enclitic followed by the corresponding pronoun as in (689). Though this corresponding pronoun is not obligatory, it often occurs in natural speech as in (690). This is particularly important in this example as the inalienably possessed noun *kheto* 'spouse' is not inflected (i.e., if it were, then it would be represented as *kheto=mu* 'your spouse'), but this possession relationship of 'your spouse/wife' is indicated by the free pronoun *iago* '2SG'.

(689) *Eḡuteuna thu=mu iago ḡro*  
 CONJ child=INA.2SG.POSS 2SG DEM  
 'And those are your children.'

(690) *Nu kma=gna kheto iago igne ido=gna*  
 CONJ father=INA.3SG.POSS spouse 2SG DEM mother=3SG.POSS  
 Lit. 'But her [your wife's] father, this one is her [your wife's] mother.'  
 Free: 'But he is the father of your wife's mother.'

Example (691) shows a kind of compound possession as it relates to kinship. The possessed noun *ḡrega-* 'sister' is the head of the NP and is preceded by a non-numerical quantifier and is followed by another possessed noun which functions to modify the head.

<sup>77</sup> Unlike Kokota (Palmer 2009a:142), CH does not attribute differences in alienability to younger and older kin.

(691) *Iago mala fa-nañha=gna sua gne ka keha*  
 2SG PUR CAUS-name-3SG.POSS child DEM LOC other

*grega=gna ido=mu na*  
 sister=INA.3SG.POSS mother=INA.2SG.POSS DEM

‘You are the one who is to name this child belonging to the other sister of your mother.’

The domain of kin relationships extends to family line or clan. Membership in a family line or clan is also described with an inalienably possessed NP, involving the possessed nouns *kokholo* or *vike*, both of which refer to ‘clan’.

(692) *Vike=mu iago na au Nareabu gognaro na*  
 line=INA.2SG.POSS 2SG DEM be Nareabu now DEM  
 ‘Your line is now existing in Nareabu.’

Body parts are inalienably possessed, and these are described within the notion of part-whole relationship, in that the body part is possessed by the “whole” of the person, which is often referenced syntactically in CH by a pronoun:

(693) *Gahe=mu iago te klopa na*  
 leg=INA.2SG.POSS 2SG REL broken DEM  
 ‘Your leg that is broken.’

Various components of the human being are also inalienably possessed. These include names, such as Peter in (694), and also *tharuña*, ‘spirit’, *phaña*, ‘breath’, and *naoḡla* ‘voice’.

(694) *Nañha=mu iago na Peter*  
 name=INA.2SG.POSS 2SG DEM Peter  
 ‘Your name is Peter.’

Inanimate part-whole relationships are also inalienably possessed and described with a possessive NP. Members of this category include such physical objects as flowers, branches, doors, sources of rivers, and sago leaf used in house building. While the possessed noun may be followed in the genitive construction by the possessor as in (695), it may be absent, as in (696), in which case the notion of the possessor is known from the wider context.

(695) *Pha’u=gna kho’u te bi’o fara*  
 head=INA.3SG.POSS water REL big very  
 ‘The head/source of the river that is very big right now.’

(696) *Apo=gna na ke ulu ana*  
 wake=INA.3SG.POSS DEM DIR front DEM  
 ‘This wake (of the sea) was in the front (of us).’

Other part-whole relations include the following categories. Examples are given for each of the following, notions which include geographical affiliation/place of origin (697), measurement (698), roles/jobs (699), quantity (700), appropriateness (702), journey (703), timing/order (704), and emotion (705). The syntactic order of the inalienable possession NP construction is possessum (+ possessive pronoun enclitic) followed by the possessor. The nominal notions listed are the following:

## Geographical affiliation of residence

- (697) *Mae=mu Bara iago na*  
 man=INA.2SG.POSS Bara 2SG DEM  
 ‘You are a man from Bara village.’

## Measurement

- (698) *Na-hage=mu iago na phe i mita kolho*  
 NOM-long=INA.2SG.POSS 2SG DEM two meter just  
 ‘Your height is just two meters.’

## Roles/jobs

- (699) *Velepui=gna kindergarten na gehati Nareabu gne*  
 teacher=INA.3SG.POSS kindergarten DEM 1PL.EXCL Nareabu DEM  
 ‘[She is a] teacher of this kindergarten that we [have] in Nareabu.’

## Quantity

- (700) *Ke kmana=gna kokholo hotei na egu*  
 PRF lot.of=INA.3SG.POSS clan middle DEM like.that  
 ‘There were many clans in the middle [of the genealogical line], like that.’

CH also demonstrates inalienable possession in relation to events. First, the sub-categories of events possession in CH include those associated with ‘life/living’ (such as birth and death, example (701)). In the NP, the possessor (*mae bi’o* ‘old man’) follows a verb (*lehe* ‘die’) nominalized by the possessive clitic.

- (701) *Eigna taem lehe=gna mae bi’o gne*  
 because time die=INA.3SG.POSS man big DEM

*khera=gna lusim mana*  
 friend=INA.3SG.POSS leave 3SG  
 ‘For at the time of this big man’s dying, his friend left him.’

Other examples of this events possession sub-category include the following:

## Appropriateness

- (702) *Theome naba=gna                      ḡloku translation*  
 NEG    fitting=INA.3SG.POSS    work    translation  
 ‘This is not fitting for the work of translation.’

## Journey

- (703) *Thei=mu                      iago na ka Made*  
 journey=INA.2SG.POSS    2SG    DEM    LOC    Made  
 ‘Your journey will be on Monday.’

## Timing/order

- (704) *Eguteuna te legu=di                      thilo finoga iḡre teuna*  
 CONJ    PRS    follow=INA.3PL.POSS    three    year    DEM    DEM

*jifla mana*  
 leave    3SG

‘And it was that after this [time period of] these three years, that he departed.’

## Emotion

- (705) *Iara lase=ni                      te di’anagnafa=mu                      fara*  
 1SG    know=3SG.OBJ    PRS    sadness=INA.2SG.POSS                      very  
 ‘I know it is that your sadness is very [much].’

**7.5.1.4 Event experiencer possession**

Possession is marked within the predicate for the experiencer of certain CH verbal and non-verbal event notions, with patterns similar to the marking for possession within the NP for alienable (section 7.5.1.2) and inalienable noun classes (section 7.5.1.3). In these predicates, the experiencer is marked for possession by an oblique adjunct. This oblique adjunct is a host root *ta-*, and the full possession marker includes an enclitic which designates person and number, as listed in Table 36. The non-verbal predicates are adjectival rather than nominal predicates, and the notions are not unrelated to the possession of events, as described in section 7.5.1.3.

Of importance is to note the difference between possession marked for inalienable nouns which relate to events, (e.g., as illustrated in example 703), and the marking of possession of events by the experiencer, which is discussed in this section. Namely, for the inalienable nouns, “events that an entity is an undergoer of” are directly marked for possession, as stated in section 7.5.1.3. The possession of events is marked by a possessive enclitic upon the experiencer root. To sum, the inalienable





- (708) *Keli ta=ḡu*  
 good EXP=1SG.POSS  
 'I am happy.' lit. 'good to me'

An attributive intensifier optionally follows in the slot following the possession marker:

- (709) *Di'a ta=gna fara*  
 bad EXP=3SG.POSS very  
 'He is really angry.' (lit. '(it is) very bad to him')

The experiencer optionally occurs with the pronoun, doing so in free variation in a slot either pre-posed, as in (710), or post-posed, as in example (711), to the adjective.

- (710) *Iara keli ta=ḡu fara*  
 1SG good EXP=1SG.POSS very  
 'I am very happy.' (lit. '(it is) really very good to me')

- (711) *Keli ta=ḡu fara iara te thoke Vella*  
 good EXP=1SG.POSS very 1SG PRS arrive Vella  
 'It is that I am very happy to arrive at Vella.'

Since the 1PL.EXCL and 2PL experiencer possession enclitics are identical, the experiencer is sometimes overtly distinguished by the full pronoun, as given in (712). This marking will occur unless the person of the experiencer is known from the broader communication context.

- (712) *Keli ta=mi gehati*  
 good EXP=1PL.EXCL.POSS 1PL.EXCL  
 'We are happy.' (lit. '(it is) good for us')

The verbal and adjectival negation marker *theome* is consistently found with the expression of these emotions.

- (713) *Theome keli ta=di*  
 NEG good EXP=3PL.POSS  
 'They aren't happy.' (lit. '(it is) not good to them')

The verbal notion of transferring possession can be indicated in the VP by the predicate possession marker template rather than by the use of a transitive verb. Particularly is this true when the adverbial directional marker *lao* 'towards' is used as found in both examples which follow. In example (715), when discussing the possession of khumara or betel nut, the speaker simply indicated the transfer of possession by the use of the verbless phrase comprised of the causative prefix and the directional adverb followed by the template possession marker.

(714) *Hata lao ta=gna*  
 take towards EXP=3SG.POSS  
 ‘Hand it to him.’ (lit. ‘take (it) towards him (thus) belonging to him’)

(715) *Fa-lao ta=gna*  
 CAUS-towards EXP=3SG.POSS  
 ‘Give it to him.’ (lit. ‘make it go towards him for belonging’)

The verbal notions of experiencing pain, sickness, or dying is expressed in the VP by the predicate possession marker and the corresponding enclitic indicating person and number of the experiencer.

(716) *Au khabru ta=di*  
 be pain EXP=3PL.POSS  
 ‘There is pain for them.’ (lit. ‘there exists pain belonging to them’)

(717) *Tuare te lehe ta=di mae Guadalcanal re*  
 DEM REL die EXP=3PL.POSS man Guadalcanal PL  
 ‘Those that died were men from Guadalcanal.’

The verbal notion of giving and receiving instructions allows for the expression of possession by the experiencer or receiver of the instruction.

(718) *Mana fa-cheke na ta=di*  
 3SG.M CAUS-talk DEM EXP=3PL.POSS  
 ‘He tells them.’ (lit. ‘he causes the talk to belong to them’)

(719) *Naikno gne thono keli ta=di fara ka*  
 people DEM really good EXP=3PL.POSS very LOC

*thu=di re naugna mala phola no=di*  
 child=3PL.POSS PL because PUR order ALN=3PL.POSS

*ta=di*  
 EXP=3PL.POSS

‘These people are very happy with their children because they (i.e. the children) received their instructions (i.e. ‘their’ referring to the people, or adults who gave the instructions)’. [Hence, the children ‘took possession’ of the instructions given to them by the adults.]

In expressing the possession of the verbal notion of desire or interest by the experiencer, the predicate possession marker is used as in the following example:

(720) *Magnahagei gamu khoilo ta=di na*  
 desire eat coconut EXP=3PL.POSS DEM  
 ‘They want to eat coconut.’ (lit. ‘desiring to eat coconut belongs to them’)

A non-living entity, such as a village or a school, is the experiencer in a possessed relationship when describing the non-verbal notion of possessing inhabitants or students. In commenting on the current status of the overwhelming enrollment at the local kindergarten in example (721), one respondent indicated possession by the kindergarten of the students, doing so by using a predicate adjective (*fodu* 'full') and the predicate possession marker along with corresponding enclitic.

(721) *Fodu sua hila ta=gna*  
 full children COMPL EXP=3SG.POSS  
 'It is completely full of children!'

#### 7.5.1.5 Possession of negativity

A grammatical construction marking direct possession of a negator is used in CH to indicate negation, but only with the negative existential *theo*. The verbal negator *theome* is never possessed. In example (722) *theo* is classified as the possessum, cliticized by the 3SG.POSS enclitic =*gna*, and the possessor is *phile* 'side'.

(722) *Naugna jame kafe nalha'u=di n̄ala kaisei thabusi=gna*  
 because perhaps all male=3PL.POSS just one sibling=3SG.POSS

*re au n̄ala ari=gna te theo=gna keha phile na*  
 PL be just go=3SG.POSS PRS not.be=3SG.POSS other side DEM  
 'For perhaps if all the men were just one [as] brothers, then it would be that there wouldn't be anyone on the other side (of the clan).'

In example sentence (723), it is noted that both the negative existential *theo* occurs, as does the verbal negator *theome*. As in the previous example, *theo* is in a possession construction as the possessum, and the possessor is *tahati* '1PL.INCL'.

(723) *Theo=da tahati meuna mare theome tei kikibol*  
 not.be=1PL.POSS 1PL.INCL perhaps 3SG.PL NEG go soccer  
 'If perhaps there are none of us-incl, perhaps they won't go to the soccer game.'

#### 7.5.1.6 Specificity marked by possession construction

Possession in CH can also be used to mark specificity. In example (724), *hamerane* 'morning' is marked for possession by the 3SG.POSS *gna*. However, *hamerane* is not actually possessed, but instead the presence of *gna* marks specificity, which here in conjunction with demonstrative *tuana* 'that' indicates 'that specific morning'.

(724) *Mae bisop mae pris te gnafa jare mei hamerane=gna*  
 man bishop man priest REL all there come morning =3SG.POSS

*tuana*

DEM

‘All the bishops and the priests came there that morning.’

### 7.5.2 Quantifiers and numerals

Quantifiers and numerals are discussed in section 6.5. All numerals always precede the head of the NP. This constituent order is readily seen three times in one storyteller’s description of the composition of their family:

(725) *Eguteuna au thilo sua kaisei g̃a'ase pheī nalha'u*  
 CONJ be three children one female two male

*egu g̃ognaro na*

like.that now DEM

‘And now we have three children, one girl and two boys, like that.’

Quantifiers also always occur pre-head, except for two notable exceptions. The definite quantity marker *gnafa* ‘all’ and the indefinite quantity marker *kmana* ‘lot.of’ occur both pre-head and post-head with no difference in meaning. Pre-head occurrence is illustrated in (726) and a post-head occurrence is illustrated in (727).

(726) *Kmana suḡa te au ka namono*  
 lot.of house REL be LOC village  
 ‘There are a lot of houses in the village.’

(727) *Mae stiuden kmana fara g̃ognaro na*  
 man student lot.of very now DEM  
 ‘The students are very many now.’

### 7.5.3 Focus marker

The focus marker *si* occurs pre-head in the NP (though also post-head within a relative clause; see section 7.5.6). The focus marker is discussed in section 9.5.2. Here is an example of the focus marker occurring pre-head to a NP, *namono gne* ‘village this’.

(728) *Mare theome au ka si namono gne*  
 3PL NEG be LOC FOC village DEM  
 ‘They do not stay at this particular village.’

#### 7.5.4 Adjectives

Adjectives are discussed in section 5.1. In regards to the usual constituent order of adjectives, they regularly occur post-head and in the syntactic slots before demonstratives, as in (729).

- (729) *mae funei bi'o ia*  
 man chief big DEM  
 'That big chief.'

There is one adjective, *famane* 'fine', illustrated in (730), which regularly occurs pre-head.

- (730) *Famane mola teke e'ei mae funei=gna Tholana*  
 fine canoe PSS do man chief=3SG.POSS Tholana  
 'It is a fine canoe that the chief of Tholana made.'

Intensifiers follow adjectives, and occur before the demonstrative as illustrated in (731).

- (731) *mae funei bi'o fara gne*  
 man chief big very DEM  
 'This very big chief.'

#### 7.5.5 Determiners

Demonstratives are CH determiners, and these are discussed in 6.3.1. These occur post-head in the NP, either immediately following the head noun as in (732), or in the NP-final slot (733), separated syntactically from the head noun by an attributive word. Demonstratives occur at the NP-final boundary, and this can be seen in each of the following two examples.

- (732) *Bret ia fa-di-di'a*  
 bread DEM CAUS-DUR~bad  
 'The bread was ruined.'

- (733) *Mei ka naikno ḡognaro ḡre*  
 come LOC people now DEM  
 'Come to these people now.'

#### 7.5.6 Relative clauses

The CH relative clause modifies the head noun within a noun phrase. The ubiquitous relativizer operator is *te*. Syntactically, the free-standing relativizer *te* is the initial element of the relative clause, occurring post-posed to the nominal head. The relative clause post-posed to the nominal head is typical for Oceanic languages (Lynch *et al* 2002:43). Illustrations of the location of the head before the REL

marker can include any of the head constituents listed in Table 34. The head noun is identified as the subject of the relative clause, such as *thomoko* ‘ceremonial canoe’ in (734). The head noun is also found in a non-subject relative clause, such as *ḡaju* ‘wood’ in (735), where the head noun is the direct object of the relative clause.

(734) *Mare horo thomoko te umhu fara*  
 3PL make k.o.canoe REL fast very  
 ‘They build a canoe that is very fast.’

(735) *Jenny neke salo fodu=di ḡaju te gnubra iara ia*  
 Jenny PST gather together=3PL.OBJ wood REL burn 1SG DEM  
 ‘Jenny gathered the wood that I burned.’

The predicate of the relative clause that modifies the head noun can be a verb (736), or adjective (737), or a quantifier as in (738).

(736) *Mare hiro=ni mae David mae igne te jifla Buala*  
 3PL seek=3SG.OBJ man David man DEM REL leave Buala  
 ‘They are looking for this man David that left Buala.’

(737) *Tharuña te Blahi*  
 spirit REL holy  
 ‘Spirit that is holy.’

(738) *Eguteuna me fa-jifla=di mae Malaita*  
 CONJ INCP CAUS-leave=3PL.POSS man Malaita

*te gnafa re*  
 REL all PL  
 ‘And started going out all the men that were Malaitans.’

One noted distinction between *te* marking a relative clause and *te* marking a present or continuing state of affairs (as described in section 8.3.1.7) is that when *te* co-occurs with the indefinite pronoun *ihei* (described in 3.3.6), *te* consistently marks relative clause. In that context, *te* relates the indefinite pronoun to the predicate, whether the predicate be a verb or a predicate adjective. Illustrations include the following:

(739) *Mae ihei te magnahagei te au ka tasiu na*  
 man who REL want REL be LOC k.o.church.order DEM  
 ‘The one who wants to be part of the Tasiu.’

(740) *Mae ihei te keli puhi=gna*  
 male who REL good way=3S.POSS  
 ‘The one who is good in his ways.’

Two relative clauses occurring in recursive fashion can modify one head, as shown in (741). It is worth noting that the two verbs that occur in the relative clauses in this example are verbs that often occur in serial constructions in CH.

- (741) *Mala filo=ni           sasa te   chari te   mei   egu*  
 PUR see=3SG.OBJ fish REL run REL come like.that  
 ‘In order to see the fish that run that come (i.e. hurrying towards), like that.’

### 7.6 Noun phrase coordination

Noun phrase coordination is expressed by coordinating conjunctions and by juxtaposition. The inventory of CH conjunctions (discussed in section 6.1) which coordinate NPs consists of *nei* ‘and (joins nouns and noun phrases)’, *nu* ‘and (joins two nouns or more than two proper nouns)’, and *ge* ‘and (joins two, and only two, proper names)’. A common function of these conjunctions is to join a string of two or more NPs, not unusually with the NP only having one member of the phrase, illustrated in (742) with a compound noun such as *mae Jone* ‘man John’ or a pronoun *iago* ‘2SG’.

- (742) *Greetings ka   mae Jone nei   mae Devet nei*  
 greetings LOC man John CONJ man David CONJ

*iago sua   ḡa'ase Kathi ia*  
 2SG child female Kathi DEM  
 ‘Greetings to you John, David, and you that were a small girl, Kathi.’

- (743) *Iara mei   agne Buala mala faidu   mae funei nei*  
 1SG come here Buala PUR meeting man chief CONJ

*thu=gna*  
 child=3SG.POSS  
 ‘I have come here to Buala for a meeting of the chief and his child.’

As a conjunctive coordinator, *nu* conjoins proper nouns that are listed in a string of two or more proper nouns. The conjunction occurs either after the first NP in the string and before the subsequent juxtaposed NPs as in (744) (starting with the NP *iago Rebekah*), or after a string of juxtaposed constituents and before the final NP in the string (745):

- (744) *Greetings ka iago Rebekah nu   John David Kathi*  
 greetings LOC 2SG Rebekah CONJ John David Kathi  
 ‘Greetings to you Rebekah and John, David, and Kathi.’

(745) *Iara magnahage pass greetings kolho ka Rebekah*  
 1SG want pass greetings just LOC Rebekah

*Kathryn John nu David*  
 Kathryn John CONJ David  
 ‘I want to pass greetings to Rebekah, Kathryn, John, and David.’

The conjunction *ge* has a single function, specifically to join together two (and only two) proper nouns, as in the following example:

(746) *Mare tañomana te tolagi ka mae Thauvia ge mae*  
 3PL able REL marry LOC man Thauvia CONJ man

*Phosamogo re*  
 Phosamogo PL  
 ‘It is that they are able to marry the [members of both clans, the] Thauvia and the Phosamogo.’

Examples of coordination by juxtaposition of two or more noun phrases is demonstrated in (747), and two or more non-verbal clauses in (748). There is no intervening coordinating conjunction.

(747) *Nei mei au ka iara no=ḡu sua re*  
 CONJ come be LOC 1SG ALN=1SG.POSS child PL

*no=ḡu ḡra=ḡu iara egu*  
 ALN=1SG.POSS grandchild= 1SG.POSS 1SG like.that  
 ‘And my children and my grandchildren have come to stay with me, like that.’

(748) *Keha suḡa di’a keha suḡa keli*  
 some house bad some house good  
 ‘Some houses are bad and some houses are good.’

There is no apparent limit on the number of noun phrases which can be coordinated as illustrated in the non-elicited example in (749). In this example, the CH speaker is giving an update on the teacher’s roster of the local school, and he uses no coordinating conjunctions between ten NPs.<sup>78</sup> This example shows both juxtaposition as a means of coordination, and also apposition of NPs.

---

<sup>78</sup> One note on the recording here: the speaker did pause after speaking six NPs to answer a clarifying question that the “one man from Nareabu” was “Steward”; however, even after pausing and returning to the discourse, he did not use any coordinating conjunctions.



(749) *Mae=di Popoheo keha mae kaisei mae na Nareabu*  
 man=3PL.POSS Popoheo other man one man DEM Nareabu

*Galekana kaisei mae na thu=gna mae chairman*  
 Guadalcanal one man DEM child=3SG.POSS man chairman

*Steward mae na Bara kaisei mae*  
 Steward man DEM Bara one man

‘[It is that] there are some men from Popoheo; one man from Nareabu; one man from Guadalcanal; Steward, the son of the chairman; and, one man from Bara.’

### 7.7 Summary

If we assume the noun is the head of the noun phrase, it is not possible to describe CH as predominantly either a left-headed language or right-headed language, in that various inventories of modifiers of the head of the NP are distributed both to the left and right of the head noun. The head of the NP is typically a common noun, proper noun, or pronoun. There are several modifiers of the noun phrase, including quantifiers, possessive relations, adjectives, and determiners.

The common Oceanic notion of possession is quite prominent in CH. There are many possession relationships indicated by the CH NP. Direct and inalienable possession is differentiated from indirect, alienable possession. In alienable possession, CH distinguishes between edible and non-edible, or general nouns, and each of these classes has a separate pronoun root or stem on to which the same set of seven enclitics attach. For inalienable possession, there are a number of semantic domains in which these nouns can be classified, including kin relationships and part-whole relationships. Two major morphosyntactic differences are evident between the alienable and inalienable nouns: 1) the same set of seven enclitics is common to both, except for one exception, and that is in the 2SG; the alienable 2SG possession enclitic is =*u*, and in inalienable 2G possession, the enclitic is =*mu*. 2) More fundamentally in terms of structural differences, alienable possession clitics attach to hosts which are pronoun roots or stems, while inalienable possession enclitics attach to hosts which are nouns. CH arbitrarily employs a free standing pronoun post-posed to both alienable and inalienable possession noun constructions to further identify the possessor. A third class of possession is one for the experiencer of events, and is marked within the predicate for either verbal or non-verbal notions. The experiencer is marked for possession by an oblique adjunct. This oblique adjunct is a host pronoun root *ta-*, and the full possession marker includes an enclitic which designates person and number. The non-verbal predicates of this possession class are adjectival rather than nominal predicates.

In regards to other features of the noun phrase, the CH relative clause modifies the head noun within a noun phrase. The ubiquitous relativizer operator is *te*. Syntactically, the free-standing relativizer *te* is the initial element of the relative

clause, occurring post-posed to the nominal head. Noun phrase coordination in CH is motivated both by coordinating conjunctions and by juxtaposition.

## 8 Verb Phrase

### 8.1 Introduction

“The verb phrase is the central, often the only element in most clauses in most Oceanic languages”, (Lynch *et al*, 2002:84). That observation appears to be true as well for CH. The CH verb phrase (VP) is a structure headed by a verb, as described in section 8.2. The VP does not require but can include a variety of modifiers, a single category of verbal inflection, and the presence of enclitics which mark transitivity or aspect. By itself the CH VP can form a clause. The structure of the VP includes a significant number of pre-verbal and post-verbal constituents. These are described in sub-sections starting in section 8.3. Among these are the pre-verbal elements which mark aspect, tense, negation and purpose. The post-verbal elements include an array of enclitics in various environments, such as those which mark direct objects. Also there are those features which mark completive, continuative, inceptive and non-specific aspect. The chapter concludes in section 8.5 with a brief discussion of VP coordination, which is attested through the use of coordinating conjunctions and juxtaposition.

### 8.2 Head of a verb phrase

The head of a verb phrase is filled only by a verb. That verb may be either transitive (750), intransitive (751), or stative (752).

(750) *Iago filo=ni ido=gna Sera*  
 2SG see=3SG.OBJ mother=3SG.POSS Sera  
 ‘You see his mother Sera.’

(751) *Mae Billy neke mei agne*  
 man Billy PST come here  
 ‘Billy came here.’

(752) *Mae mala au kolho kosi*  
 man PUR be just outside  
 ‘[The] man just stays outside.’

### 8.3 Structure of the verb phrase

There are inventories of elements which form preverbal and postverbal complexes in a somewhat predictable though not necessarily rigid template structure. Forms and structure are described in the following sections. Prepositional phrases are omitted from the following discussion as they can occur either pre- or post-head.

#### 8.3.1 Pre-verbal elements

All pre-verbal elements optionally occur. These include the inceptive aspect marker *me*, immediate aspect marker *la*, tense markers, adverbs, verbal negation device

*theome*, purposive markers *mala* and *e*. The usual order of these elements is linearly represented as:

(INCP) (IMM) (adverbs) (NEG) (PUR) HEAD

Each of these elements is briefly described and illustrated in the following subsections.

### 8.3.1.1 Inceptive aspect marker *me*

Inceptive aspect signals the inception or beginning of the action that is indicated by the verb(s). Rather than simply designating that a particular action occurs, CH often indicates the beginning of that action. In CH, the pre-verbal element *me* encodes this notion of inceptive aspect. This is illustrated in the following pair of simple contrastive examples. In (753), the verb phrase, without aspect, indicates the bare notion of ‘sit’, indicated by the verb *gnokro*:

(753) *Mana gnokro*  
 3SG.M sit  
 ‘He sits.’

However, with the addition of the inceptive aspect marker *me*, the meaning is that he begins to sit:

(754) *Mana me gnokro*  
 3SG.M INCP sit  
 ‘He begins to sit.’

Designation of inceptive aspect is not shown to be restricted to either transitive or intransitive verbs, but is attested as co-occurring with both types. The inception of verbal action is illustrated in the following four examples with transitive verbs in (755) and (756), and with intransitive verbs in (757) and (758).

(755) *Mare me hari=ni u gnara*  
 3PL INCP tie=3SG.OBJ DEM vine  
 ‘They begin to tie that vine.’

(756) *Eguteuna me fa-jifla=di mae Malaita te*  
 CONJ INCP CAUS-leave=3PL.POSS man Malaita REL

*gnafa re*  
 all PL  
 ‘And all the Malaitans begin leaving.’

(757) *Sunday na me tei ña ofo agno Kaevanga*  
 Sunday DEM INCP go NSP wait there Kaevanga  
 ‘This Sunday, [we] begin to go wait over there at Kaevanga.’

(758) *Eguteuna mana me keḡra ke hotei=gna faidu*  
 CONJ 3SG.M INCP stand DIR middle=3SG.POSS meeting  
 ‘And he began to stand in the middle of the meeting.’

Also, not infrequently in discourse, *me* is found in successive VPs, as in example (759).

(759) *Me tufru soru ña mare me korho hage(=di) u*  
 INCP bend down NSP 3PL INCP pull up(=3PL.OBJ) DEM

*khukru=gna fañna gne*  
 corner=3SG.POSS net this  
 ‘They begin bending down and begin pulling up the corners of this net.’

It is noted that the inception of an action in CH is often accompanied by an additional aspectual notion, that of immediacy of action. This is discussed in section 8.3.1.2.

### 8.3.1.2 Immediate aspect marker *la*

In addition to indicating CH verbal action through the presence of the verb, the aspect of the immediacy of that verbal action or state can be indicated. Thus the verbal action can be marked as ‘happening now’. CH marks immediacy of action or state in relation to the verb with the immediate aspect marker *la*. Contrastive examples demonstrate the difference between the bare notion of the verbal action and that of the verb modified by aspect. In (760), the verb phrase, without aspect, indicates the simple notion of ‘sit’, indicated by the verb *gnokro*:

(760) *Mana gnokro*  
 3SG.M sit  
 ‘He sits.’

However, with the addition of the immediate aspect marker *la*, the meaning is that he is now at this time sitting:

(761) *Mana la gnokro*  
 3SG.M IMM sit  
 ‘He is now sitting.’

The immediate aspect marker always occurs pre-verbally with intransitive verbs (as in example 762), but occurs only post-verbally with the stative verb *au* ‘exist/be.at’

(as in example 767). Somewhat curiously and for unknown reasons, it is noted that while *la* occurs extensively in the corpus, it only does so with intransitive or stative verbs, and never with transitive verbs.

(762) *Mare la belo*  
 3PL IMM bell  
 ‘They are bell-ringing.’

(763) *Eguteuna repa n̄a la tei fo~fodu no=di*  
 CONJ 3DU.F NSP IMM go DUR~full ALN=3PL.POSS  
 ‘And the two of them are going together.’

The CH immediate aspect marker *la* co-occurs with the inceptive aspect marker *me*, described in section 8.3.1.1. The co-occurrence of these aspectual notions indicates both the inception and the immediacy of the action. The contrastive examples used previously of the base notion of the verb plus the aspectual markers are employed once again:

(764) *Mana la me gnokro*  
 3SG.M IMM INCP sit  
 ‘He is now beginning to sit.’

The word order of the co-occurrence of these two aspectual markers is considered to be fluid and arbitrary. Thus, the following is also attested as legitimate:

(765) *Mana me la gnokro*  
 3SG.M INCP IMM sit  
 ‘He is now beginning to sit.’

Example (766) shows a successive use of the *la* plus *me* combination. This combination of ‘immediate beginning of verbal action’ can be in a high frequency of successive occurrences throughout a discourse.

(766) *Me la me la me gile la kafe tei lamna*  
 INCP IMM INCP IMM INCP until IMM all go inside

*fañna u sasa ġre*  
 net DEM fish DEM  
 ‘These fish begin going and going until they all begin to go inside the net.’

While listed in the pre-verbal aspect marker section of this book, it is noted that one exception to this syntactical occurrence is that the immediate aspect marker *la* occurs post-verbal with the CH stative verb *au* ‘exist/be.at’, as in example (767). Reasons for this difference in syntactic order are unknown.

- (767) *Mae pakri au la Honiara n̄au*  
 man twins be IMM Honiara NSP  
 ‘The twins are still in Honiara.’

### 8.3.1.3 Pre-head adverbs

CH adverbs in the modality class are discussed in section 5.2.2. Certain modality adverbs which denote intensification always occur pre-verb. The inventory of these elements includes: *thono/thofno* ‘real, genuine’, and *ra’e* ‘really’. These each optionally pair with the single member of the intensification sub-class that occurs in a post-verb position, *fara* ‘very’, as in (768). Also, certain modality adverbs occur in the slot immediately before the verb (e.g. *fiti* ‘just/only’, illustrated by (769)).

- (768) *Thono fa-'iho fara n̄ala*  
 truly CAUS-not.knowing very just  
 ‘It truly just confuses them a lot.’

- (769) *Mana fiti vavahi tuana*  
 3SG.M just choose DEM  
 ‘He just chooses that one.’

### 8.3.1.4 Tense: Introduction

Regarding tense systems, Chung and Timberlake (1985:202) declare that “tense locates the event in time”. This is distinguished from aspect which denotes the “internal temporal structure of the event.” They further state (1985:204) that a two-way distinction between past/non-past or future/non-future is much more usual in the world’s languages than a three way tense system of past, present, and future.

The two-way distinction of past and non-past is indeed the most useful descriptor for the CH tense system, though there are many Oceanic languages which use future/non-future (Frawley 2009:361). One of the main justifications for classifying CH as past/non-past rather than future/non-future is that past is the most prominent time action indicated by CH tense markers. This is one immediate distinction that sways the judgment of analysis for past/non-past. Further, in order to definitely indicate future action, adjuncts need to be employed. As described in section 8.3.1.6 regarding the non-past tense marker, it is difficult to prominently describe CH as future/non-future system due to ambiguity, since the same marker is used in both present time and future time constructions. Hence, the past/non-past orientation in which there is a prominent and undisputed past tense marker seems to more readily fit CH. The non-past is routinely unmarked. Coupled with the use of tense markers is a set of aspect markers which indicate and clarify the temporal structure of the past or non-past event.

### 8.3.1.5 Past tense marker

Past tense in CH is marked by either *ne* or *neke* (and which is sometimes shortened in spoken CH as *ke*), which are tense markers that typically precede the verb(s) in the VP in the immediately prior syntactic slot. Though the two markers do share the common feature of indicating actions or events which occurred in the past, there are some basic distinctions between the two. One is that *ne* can be considered an imperfective past, indicating that an event or action occurred in the past but the action is not indicated as having necessarily concluded at a particular point in time. Tense marker *neke*, however, is perfective, used by the speaker to indicate action which has definitely concluded. The past tense markers *ne* and *neke* are compared in the following pair of examples, (770) and (771):

(770) *Mana ne tei namo rhesna suḡa*  
 3SG.m PST.IMPF go near beside house  
 ‘He was going near the house.’

(771) *Mana neke tei namo rhesna suḡa*  
 3SG.M PST.PRF go near beside house  
 ‘He went (at a point in time) near the house.’

Another distinction is that *ne* is the past tense marker constituent used in conditional clauses rather than *neke* (for more on these conditional clauses, see section 9.4.2.7). This is not unexpected, as the imperfective sense indicated by the use of *ne* in the conditional is “if this situation had been happening or was happening (in the past), then the following would take place.” That is contrasted in (773) with the non-attested use of *neke* as “If you ran fast (past tense) then you will (future, conditionally) fall down.”

(772) *Ne chari n̄a fa-gosei iago nu iago na uka egu*  
 PST.IMPF run NSP CAUS-fast 2SG CONJ 2SG DEM fall like.that  
 ‘If you run fast, you will fall down, like.that.’

(773) \**Neke chari n̄a fa-gosei iago nu iago na uka egu*  
 PST.PRF run NSP CAUS-fast 2SG CONJ 2SG DEM fall like.that  
 \*‘If you ran fast, you will fall down, like.that.’

Aspect and modality markers can occur in syntactic slots on either side of the tense marker, as illustrated next with another equative construction. These aspect markers indicate temporal structure of the event which occurs in the past tense. Here in (774) the speaker uses an immediate aspect marker before the tense marker followed by a completive aspect marker enclitic with the predicate adjective to indicate that the girl Noela has undergone growth, and has now arrived at a ‘big’ state.

(774) *Noela na la neke bi'o=hi ḡognaro na*  
 Noela DEM IMM PST.PRF big=COMPL now DEM  
 ‘Noela has grown up now.’



An adverb can intervene between the past tense marker and the verb, as illustrated in example (775) with the occurrence of the adverb *namo* ‘almost’. An aspect marker occupies the same position in example (776).

(775) *Eha fa-bi'o fara gehati ne namo pa'e suḡa na*  
 shout CAUS-big very 1PL.EXCL PST.IMPF almost fall house DEM  
 ‘We shouted loudly as the house was almost collapsing.’

(776) *Uve Noela na ne la tolagi ka mae nalha'u=gna*  
 yes Noela DEM PST.IMPF IMM marry LOC man male=3SG.POSS

*Ulawa*

Ulawa

‘Well, Noela married a young man from Ulawa.’

Modality adverbs which occur prehead will do so in the syntactic slot between the past tense marker and the verb.

(777) *Ulu-lahu na Ø neke khoḡla sene kolho*  
 first-ORD DEM [3SG] PRF just pick.up just  
 ‘First, [he] just simply picked [it] up.’

The pair of examples (778) and (779) illustrate one semantic difference between the past imperfective *ne* and the past perfective *neke*. In the first one, the speaker indicates that she is glad that she has had born to her (past action) many grandchildren (and those grandchildren are still alive). If she had used *neke*, as in the second example, then she would perhaps be saying that she was glad that she had had, at a point in the past, many grandchildren (but perhaps they are no longer alive?).

(778) *Keli ta=ḡu fara ne kmana ḡra=ḡu*  
 good EXP=1SG.POSS very PST.IMPF lot.of grandchild=1SG.POSS  
 ‘I am glad that I have had many grandchildren (and they are still alive).’

(779) *Keli ta=ḡu fara neke kmana ḡra=ḡu*  
 good EXP=1SG.POSS very PST.PRF lot.of grandchild=1SG.POSS  
 ‘I am glad that I had many grandchildren (and they may or may not be alive any longer).’

This same type distinction between the imperfective and perfective past is illustrated further in (780). The speaker is indicating that this particular leaf has grown in the past (and still does) in their region and hence he used *ne*. Contrastively, if the speaker had used *neke*, he would have been indicating with a punctiliar time concept that in the past the leaf had grown but no longer does and is no longer present.

(780) *Uve ne au kaisei khakla gaju te mala fa-le~lehe*  
 yes PST.IMPF be one leaf tree PRS PUR CAUS-DUR~die

*sasa gehati agne*  
 fish 1PL.EXCL here

‘Well, it is that there has been a particular leaf of a tree used for killing fish here [in this place].’

It is not unusual for the imperfective past tense marker *ne* to occur multiple times in a single sentence, with each one indicating the initial boundary of a verbal or non-verbal predicate, as illustrated in (781) and (782).

(781) *Mei=gna nuri bi'o na ne kokhoni=gami*  
 come=3SG.POSS wind big DEM PST.IMPF mercy=1PL.EXCL.OBJ

*gehati ne khoburu ne kaisei fata na*  
 1PL.EXCL PST.IMPF westerly.wind PST.IMPF one time DEM

‘The coming of this big wind caused us to feel sorry, as the westerly wind blew in [on us] one time.’

(782) *Jare me fa-karha ka mae dokta ne keli*  
 there INCP CAUS-live LOC man doctor PST.IMPF good

*ne thau nosi ne keli ne egu*  
 PST.IMPF woman nurse PST.IMPF good PST.IMPF like.that

‘There the doctor delivered the baby and it was good and there were nurses and that was good and [that’s how it was], like that.’

In this sense of each *ne* indicating the initial boundary of a verbal or non-verbal predicate, it serves to conjoin the information which is presented, doing so in a rather ‘speedy’ narrative style which rapidly moves along the storyline. This feature of *ne* again is the third contrast with *neke*, in that *neke* typically occurs once and establishes the perfective past of the event, and then is not repeated until there is a change of tense, or some reason on the part of the speaker to signal different time of action. This phenomenon is illustrated in the following three-sentence example of the use of *neke* from a travelogue. The past tense perfective marker *neke* is only found in the first sentence, and shows sharp contrast to the examples of *ne* in the previous two examples, (781) and (782).

(783) *Ka nhiḡra July finoga te ari ia iara neke tei westin*  
 LOC month July year REL go DEM 1SG PST.PRF go Western

*provins.*  
 province

‘In the month of July, in the year that just passed, I went to Western Province.’

*Nei thokei Gizo boat thoke Vella.*  
 CONJ arrive Gizo boat arrive Vell  
 ‘And we arrived in Gizo by boat and then arrived in Vella.’

*Nei tei Vonunu au ka suḡa=gna mae Pike.*  
 CONJ go Vonunu be LOC house=3SG.POSS man Pike  
 ‘And we went to Vonunu to stay at Pike’s house.’

The corpus is void of multiple occurrences of *neke* in the fashion of multiple occurrences of imperfective past tense *ne* in the following two examples. A common syntactic construction of SVO order illustrated below shows the NP as subject followed by the VP, which consists of the tense marker + the verb + object.

(784) *Mana neke tolagi Bughotu*  
 3SG.M PST.PRF marry Bughotu  
 ‘He married someone from Bughotu region.’

In the next example, a single occurrence of the past tense marker is used to locate the time of activity of verbs in serial, in this case *tei* ‘go’ and *uḡra* ‘fishing’.

(785) *Sera neke tei uḡra sasa*  
 Sera PST.PRF go fishing fish  
 ‘Sera went fishing.’

*Neke* can be used in an equative construction with a verbless phrase. In such cases, the tense marker will immediately precede that which is being equated on the right side of the semantic equation, which in this case is son=Tasiu.missionary:

(786) *Tifa na mae thu=gna neke Tasiu*  
 time.before DEM man child=3SG.POSS PST.PRF k.o.church.order  
 ‘Previously, his son was a member of the Tasiu [the Melanesian Brotherhood group].’

### 8.3.1.6 Non-past

A non-past action or event can be marked or unmarked. This non-past action or event is occurring either currently or in the future to the actual time frame of the current communication event or narrative. The unmarked non-past tense is illustrated in example (787), and the marked non-past in example (788).

(787) *Uve iara na thoutonu eigna u kokholo gna naikno-i*  
 yes 1SG DEM story about DEM clan 3SG.POSS people-CMPR  
 ‘Well, I tell a story about the clans of the people group.’

- (788) *Mana ġinau na tei Buala*  
 3SG.M FUT DEM go Buala  
 ‘He will go to Buala later.’

If necessary to either distinguish between current time and future time orientation of the event, time auxiliary adjuncts can be used for both. Most commonly used are *ġognaro* ‘now’ and *ġinau* ‘future’, as in examples (789) and (790):

- (789) *Gehati ġognaro na ġlea fara egu*  
 1PL.EXCL now DEM happy very like.that  
 ‘We are now very happy, like that.’

- (790) *Mae tuare ġinau na au payment sua te re*  
 man DEM time.future DEM be payment child PRS PL  
 ‘It is that these men will make payment for the children.’

The non-past tense range of meaning can include something similar to a historical present. That is, the actual event or action being described might have occurred in the past, but the speaker does not use a past tense marker or frame to indicate this. The speaker may simply use the unmarked, non-past tense frame, though the context is definitely referring to a past event within a narrative.

- (791) *Uve iara na cheke rañhi=ni mae Beimers*  
 yes 1SG DEM talk DIR=3SG.OBJ man Beimers  
 ‘Well, I talk(ed) to Beimers.’

### 8.3.1.7 Auxiliary time markers *te* ‘non-past’, and *teke* ‘past’

In addition to its common role as marking relative clause (section 7.5.6), *te* “marks actions and events as an existing state of affairs” (White 1988:xxviii). In such cases, *te* is efficiently glossed as ‘there is’, or ‘it is’, and labeled as PRS for ‘present, or continuing, situation’. The following minimal pair contrasts a proposition with and without *te* marking this state of affairs:

- (792) *Mana mei ka suġa na*  
 3SG.M come LOC house DEM  
 ‘He comes to the house.’

*Te mana mei ka suġa na*  
 PRS 3SG.M come LOC house DEM  
 ‘It is that he comes to the house.’

*Te* marks this “state of affairs” without any attestation of marking pragmatic features such as prominence. Further research is needed to determine prominence or any other function. For example, *te* might in fact give prominence to *mana* ‘3SG.M’ in (792) as the one who comes to the house (contrasted potentially with someone else coming, or ‘he’ not being able to come previously but now is able to, or some other reason). Or, it could possibly mark and emphasize the verbal idea of ‘coming’ as a highlighted continuing state of affairs (which in discourse context, could be the emphasis intended and contrasted with a different state).

This marker is not restricted to a particular syntactic word order, though there is no attestation of *te* occurring sentence final. Not uncommonly, it occurs in either first position in a sentence (793), or secondly, preceded by a conjunction (794).

(793) *Te au=hila mare jame naba=gna varadaki*  
 PRS be=COMP 3PL perhaps enough=3SG.POSS twenty

*finoga egu mare Guadacanal.*  
 year like.that 3PL Guadacanal

‘It is that they have been living in Guadalcanal for perhaps twenty years.’

(794) *Eguteuna te bi'o-lahu na*  
 CONJ PRS big-ORD DEM  
 ‘And it is this biggest [one].’

*Te* marking existing state of affairs co-occurs as well after an initial clause. In example (795) *te* is sequenced with *mala* to indicate a presentation of purpose, glossed as ‘it is for...’, and this is not an uncommon sequencing in CH. In this example it is noted as well that *te* as a REL marker is also found.

(795) *Na baina te keli fara te mala tathago sasa tahati*  
 CONJ bait REL good very PRS PURP fish.w.line fish 1PL.INCL  
 ‘And the bait that is very good, it is for our-incl going line fishing.’

There is no restriction on *te* marking multiple states of affairs in one sentence, as in (796). Here, the time marker *legu* ‘after’ marks the presentation of information for a past event, though in an unmarked form, *te* encodes non-past information:

(796) *Ke legu=gna te faidu mare te keli ka mae bi'o*  
 PRF after=3SG.POSS PRS meeting 3PL PRS good LOC man big

*mae Rove*  
 man Rove

‘It was that after the meeting it was that they were good towards the big man from Rove.’

Incorporating the perfective time feature of the polysemous morpheme *ke*, the marker *teke* also marks a state of affairs. However, while *te* usually marks a non-past event (or depending on time markers present in the sentence, as in the previous example (796), it can mark a past event), *teke* always marks information related to completion of a past event, and as such is glossed as ‘there was’ or ‘it was happening that...’ for ‘past state of affairs’. This is shown in the following two examples.

(797) *Mana magnahagei teke eni kaisei course majagani*  
 3SG.M want PSS do one course new  
 ‘It was that he wanted to do/’take’ a new course.’

(798) *E gnafa jare na teke pulo mei Gizo*  
 CONJ finish there DEM PSS return come Gizo  
 ‘And it was that [when] finished there they returned to Gizo.’

It is noted that when *teke* assumes first position in a sentence, the word order is consistently VSO. This is illustrated by repeating example (797) and changing the order of elements by fronting the state of affairs marker. This yields:

(799) *Teke magnahagei eni mana kaisei course majagani*  
 PSS want do 3SG.M one course new  
 ‘It was that he wanted to do/’take’ a new course.’

Both of these markers *te* and *teke* can be cliticized with the continuative aspect marker *u*. Thus, markers functioning to signal the presentation of information about the state of affairs, *teu* and *teku* indicate ‘it is continuing thus’ or ‘it was continuing thus’.

(800) *Tanhi thiloi teke=u mare ia theo kolho*  
 time three PSS=CONT 3PL DEM not.be just  
 ‘It was that it continued until three o’clock, and they had just not [come yet].’

(801) *Mae prisi egu teke=u mei ka gehati ra*  
 man priest like.that PSS=CONT come LOC 1PL.EX PL

*ka narane suḡa ia*  
 LOC day house DEM

‘Like that it was that the priests were coming to us on that house-day (i.e. church festival day).’

- (802) *Ka namono te au ido=gna kma=gna*  
 LOC place PRS be mother=3S.POSS father=3S.POSS

*ḡra=gna kheto=gna te=u mana re.*  
 grandchild=3S.POSS wife=3S.POSS PRS=CONT 3SG PL

‘In the village, it is that his mother-father (i.e. parents), grandchild, wife, they [are] continuing [there].’

- (803) *Tuana te thoutonu ia te=u Solomon Islands ḡognaro gne*  
 DEM PRS story DEM PRS=CONT Solomon Islands now DEM  
 ‘That which is this story, it is how Solomon Islands continues to be now.’

### 8.3.1.8 Verbal negation *theome*

Verbal negation is discussed with modality adverbs in 5.2.2. Always occurring in a pre-head slot is the verbal negation marker *theome*, as illustrated in (804). The verbal negation marker is contrasted with the negative existential marker *theo*, as discussed in section 9.3.5.

- (804) *Mare theome legu=ni no=di vetula*  
 3PL NEG follow=3SG.OBJ ALN=3PL.POSS law  
 ‘They don’t follow their law’

### 8.3.2 Post-verbal elements

Similar to the pre-verbal constituents, all post-verbal constituents optionally occur. In the case of transitive verbs, the transitivity-marking/direct object-marking enclitic attaches to the verb. It occurs with or without a free NP referring to the object. For intransitive verbs the immediate slot following the verb is optionally filled by the continuative aspect marker *u* or the completive aspect enclitic *hi(la)*, adverbs, the immediate aspect marker *la*, and the indefinite aspect markers *n̄a* and *n̄au*.

Regarding the presence of postverbal aspect markers, their presence is widely attested in Oceanic, as “it is quite common to find postverbal aspect morphemes [in Oceanic] especially for the completive” (Lynch *et al* 2002:85). Postverbal constituent order is represented linearly by the following, and then the constituents are briefly described in the following sub-sections:

HEAD (d.o.enclitic) (d.o. noun/pronoun) (adverbs) (COMPL aspect) (NSP aspect) (CONT aspect)

#### 8.3.2.1 Direct object enclitics and objects

Transitivity-marking direct object enclitics follow the verb. They are typical, but not necessarily required, for transitive verbs, as discussed in 4.2.6.1. The enclitics are listed in Table 19. While the enclitic can express person and number of the direct

object, as in example (805), the typical construction overtly includes the noun or pronoun direct object, as illustrated in (806). Both examples use the verb *filo* ‘see’ and enclitic *ni* ‘3SG.OBJ’:

(805) *Gehati bukrei naikno teke filo=ni theome*  
 1PL.EXCL heap people PSS see=3SG.OBJ NEG

*glea=ni mae referee*  
 happy=3SG.OBJ man referee

‘It was that the group of us people saw it [and] were not happy with the referee.’

(806) *Gepa theome filo=ni mae Billy*  
 1DU.EXCL NEG see=3SG.OBJ man Billy  
 ‘The two of us didn’t see Billy.’

The transitive verb object NP can be separated from the verb by an adverb, as in (807):

(807) *Gepa Billy tei filo=ni koba mum Roda*  
 1DU.EXCL Billy go see=3SG.OBJ always mother Roda  
 ‘Billy and I always go see mom Roda.’

### 8.3.2.2 Post-head adverbs

Adverbs are discussed in section 5.2. As noted there, some adverbs in the modality class which denote intensification occur pre-verb, while others always occur post-verbal (e.g. *fara* ‘very’, illustrated by (808), and *koba* ‘always’, marking duration, shown in (807).

(808) *Mana na thono togo=ni fara kheto=gna na*  
 3SG.M DEM very help=3SG.OBJ very spouse=3SG.POSS DEM  
 ‘He really, truly helps this wife of his a lot.’

Example (809) shows this with a stative/existential verb. Example (810) illustrates this with an intransitive verb, doing so not just with a post-head adverbial modifier of the modality sub-class, but also with one occurring pre-head as well.

(809) *Mana au kolho ka namono*  
 3SG.M be just LOC village  
 ‘He just stays in the village.’

(810) *Nu khoḡla jifla kolho ka Anglican*  
 CONJ just leave just LOC Anglican  
 ‘And they just depart from the Anglican church.’



### 8.3.2.3 Completive aspect enclitic *hi(la)*

Completive aspect is described in section 4.2.4. As noted previously for Oceanic typology in section 8.3.2, CH demonstrates consistency with established post-verbal positioning of completive aspect marking.

*Hi* and *hila* are the CH aspectual enclitics found in post-verbal position, as shown in the examples (812) and (813). The difference in *hi* and *hila* is minor at best.<sup>79</sup> One suggested difference between the two is illustrated in the translations of the pair of examples in (811) in which the *hila* example shows more pragmatic emphasis on the act of completion beyond a simple declarative statement.

- (811) *Mare jifla=hi*                      *Mare jifla=hila*  
       3PL leave=COMPL                3PL leave=COMPL  
       ‘They left.’                        ‘They [already] left!’

- (812) *Mae Colvin pulo=hi*                *ka namono*  
       man Colvin return=COMPL LOC village  
       ‘Colvin has returned to the village.’

- (813) *Iara theome thuru=hila*  
       1SG NEG sleep=COMPL  
       ‘I didn’t sleep [at all].’

It is not unusual for postverbal =*hi(la)* to co-occur with preverbal immediate aspect marker *la*, as indicated in examples (814) and (815). Semantically, one is able to describe this as an action or event which is currently (*la*) and completely (= *hila*) realized. Syntactically, this illustrates the common phenomenon in CH of aspect markers occurring in pairs on either side of the verb, and noted further with the pair *me* and *meu* in section 8.3.2.5.

- (814) *Gehati gognaro na la au=hila mae prisi*  
       1PL.EXCL now DEM IMM be=COMPL man priest  
       ‘This time now we have a priest [here].’

- (815) *Mae bi'o gne la mei filo=ni=hi suḡa na*  
       man big DEM IMM come see=3SG.OBJ=COMPL house DEM  
       ‘The big man has come and already seen the house.’

Example (816) illustrates the order of the completive aspect marker *hila* occurring after the direct object enclitic and before the noun phrase which is the direct object:

<sup>79</sup> Perhaps one could suggest that the presence of the morpheme *la* ‘immediate aspect’ in the *hila* word lends semantic effect to the indication of completed action and its on-going, ‘immediate’ state.

- (816) *Mana snakre=ni=hila mae bi'o na*  
 3SG.M allow=3SG.OBJ=COMPL male big DEM  
 'He permitted the big man [to do something].'

#### 8.3.2.4 Continuative aspect enclitic *u*

The post-verbal continuative aspect enclitic *u* is also discussed in section 4.2.5. It occurs with transitive and intransitive verbs to denote action which is continuative and imperfective (following such aspectual distinctives in Comrie 1976). It may or may not refer to action continuing to the present time of the utterance. Aspectually, it stands in contrast to completive aspect markers *hi* and *hila*. It is not surprising that *u* occurs in tandem with prehead inceptive aspect marker *me*, as *me* indicates the notion of verbal activity which has begun, and *u* indicates that this activity is continuing. Basic examples include (817) and (818).

- (817) *Me bliḡi mare fara jifla=di=u ku~khuru*  
 INCP easy 3PL very leave=3PL.POSS=CONT DUR~send.out

*mala maḡra ra*  
 PUR fight PL

'It became very easy for them to continue sending them out to fight.'

- (818) *Ihei teke theo mola keḡra=u kolho ka nusu*  
 who PSS not.be canoe stand=CONT just LOC sand  
 'It was that whoever didn't have a canoe just kept standing there on the beach.'

Example (819) shows two successive uses of this aspect enclitic in a verb chaining construction in successive VPs. (These are not serial verbs since they do not share the same agent or experiencer, as the people who are mentioned are the ones waiting for the man who has died to resurrect.)

- (819) *Naikno te ḡognaro ke ofo=u keḡra fa-pulo=u*  
 people PRS now PRF wait=CONT stand CAUS-back=CONT  
 'It is that the people [are] now waiting for him to resurrect!'

#### 8.3.2.5 Inceptive and continuative aspect marker *meu*

*Meu* is a postverbal aspect marker which indicates the inception (generated by the common CH inceptive aspect marker *me*) and continuation (generated by the CH continuative aspect marker *u*) of verbal action. It typically occurs in a frame that includes the pre-head constituent *me*, constructed as *me* + HEAD + *meu*, with or without intervening constituents. Example (820) demonstrates no intervening constituents, whereas example (821) does show other constituents, such as purposive marker and a preverbal adverb. It is noted that it is not unusual for *meu* to occur in phrase or clause-final position, as in (822).

- (820) *Hatimare me au me=u agne Haokhogo*  
 3PL.M INCP be INCP=CONT here Haokhogo  
 ‘They began, and continued, staying here at Haokhogo.’
- (821) *Me mala kafe tolagi me=u n̄ala ka pheĩ kokholo*  
 INCP PUR all marry INCP=CONT just LOC two line  
 ‘They all began and continued marrying just in the two clans.’
- (822) *Mare me theome atha fa-jifla=di me=u*  
 3PL INCP NEG take CAUS-leave=3PL.OBJ INCP=CONT  
 ‘They didn’t begin taking and keeping them away.’

### 8.3.2.6 Non-specific aspect markers *n̄a* and *n̄au*

Non-specific aspect indicates the general, non-specific nature of the event. The CH non-specific aspectual markers are *n̄a* and *n̄au*, and they occur post-verbally. In the following example, the speaker is telling that coming to the island on a new regular service is a different ship than the one previously in service, but the exact time of the ship’s coming is either unknown (at least to the speaker), or is not in focus. Hence, the indefinite aspect modifies the verbal notion of ‘come.’ The important information conveyed is that a new ship is indeed now in service and will come at some stage:

- (823) *Mei Isabel n̄a Fin ia*  
 come Isabel NSP k.o.ship DEM  
 ‘That ship Fin will come to Isabel [at some stage].’

The previous example is contrasted in (824), absent the non-specific aspect marker. In (824) the speaker is stating the fact that a ship named Fin comes to Isabel. The timing of that coming, even if non-specific as would be indicated by the aspectual marker *n̄a* in (823), is not intended to be communicated in example (824).

- (824) *Mei Isabel Fin ia*  
 come Isabel k.o.ship DEM  
 ‘That ship Fin comes to Isabel.’

The distinction between *n̄a* and *n̄au* is that *n̄au* indicates a continuity of the event, and this is not unlike other aspect markers such as *meu* which combine a base aspectual notion (e.g. *me* ‘inceptive’) with the continuative aspect marker =*u*. So, the non-specific nature of the event indicated by *n̄a* when standing alone is further described by *n̄au* as continuing indefinitely, or at the least not having a specified (hence, an indefinite) end point. The following triad of examples shows the contrast between the verb without aspect marked in the sentence (825), and the non-specific, general aspect encoded by *n̄a* (826), and the non-specifically continuing aspect marked by *n̄au* (827), with extended meaning indicated in the translation lines.

- (825) *Ġrafi=gna na mana eha eha*  
 afternoon=3SG.POSS DEM 3SG.M shout shout  
 ‘In this afternoon, he shouts (and noting the verbal action of ‘shout’, without modifiers, is the main intention of the statement).’
- (826) *Ġrafi=gna na mana eha eha n̄a*  
 afternoon=3SG.POSS DEM 3SG.M shout shout NSP  
 ‘In this afternoon, he shouts (and it is not known in what manner or for how long or with what content, but he shouts in a certain, non-described fashion).’
- (827) *Ġrafi=gna na mana eha eha n̄a=u*  
 afternoon=3SG.POSS DEM 3SG.M shout shout NSP=CONT  
 ‘In this afternoon, he keeps shouting (and it is a shouting that continues for an undefined period of time).’

While the indefinite aspect marker *n̄a* occurs post-head, it is not unusual for the pre-head position to contain the inceptive aspect marker *me*. In consideration of example (828), conceptually the non-specific aspect marker indicates that he began returning to the village, but beyond that information, nothing specific is known.

- (828) *Aonu me pulo n̄a mana ka namono*  
 CONJ INCP return NSP 3SG.M LOC village  
 ‘And so, he began (at some time) returning to the village.’

The indefinite aspect marker *n̄a* is optional, shown in (829) as a repeat of the base construction of the previous example, (828). A description of the differences between the two follows the example.

- (829) *Aonu me pulo mana ka namono*  
 CONJ INCP return 3SG.M LOC village  
 ‘And so, he began returning to the village.’

The difference between the previous two examples is that in example (828), he began returning but it was at an unspecified or unknown time. Example (829) could more likely occur later in the narrative, after the indefiniteness is already well-established. This tendency is documented in one extended text on net fishing; *n̄a* occurs prominently in the beginning of the long narrative, but after the introduction, it does not occur again.

Further, in example (830), the group began singing at some unspecified time, but there is no indication of what songs they sang, the duration of this event, or any other specific information relevant to the event. Example (831), without the non-specific aspect marker, indicates simply that they began singing. Even though the information about what they sang and for how long is not stated, neither is it intended to be of consideration, as the example focuses simply on the fact of the

inception of the singing. The extended translation line highlights the differences in meaning.

- (830) *Me koje n̄a mala koje soni haidu gne*  
 INCP sing NSP PUR sing gather meeting DEM  
 ‘[They] began singing for the meeting [without indication of what, for how long, or any other specifics related to that event].’
- (831) *Me koje mala koje soni haidu gne*  
 INCP sing PUR sing gather meeting DEM  
 ‘[They] began singing for the meeting [and that is the intended purpose of the statement, that they began to sing].’

Example (832) is a sentence composed of two clauses, the first of which is an independent clause, (whose end point is *mae Malaita ġre*). The sentence describes the going of a group of men and the second a dependent clause further describing that activity. In the independent clause, they begin (inceptive) going out somewhere (to a non-specific destination), and in the dependent clause it is stated that their departure has remained till now (with a non-specified and continuative time frame).

- (832) *Aonu me tei n̄a mare ka mae Malaita ġre me*  
 CONJ INCP go NSP 3PL LOC man Malaita DEM INCP
- jifla n̄a=u te=u ġognaro*  
 leave NSP=CONT PRS=CONT now  
 ‘And it is that they have begun going to these Malaitan men and are leaving now.’

#### 8.4 Variable verbal positioning: immediate aspect marker *la*

One CH aspect marker, *la* ‘immediate aspect’, differs from the others in that it shows variable positioning in regards to the verbal head, and also in terms of combining with other aspectual markers. For example, it occurs pre-head by itself:

- (833) *Mana la jifla*  
 3SG.M IMM leave  
 ‘He is now leaving.’

It occurs in combination with the inceptive aspective marker *me* (and does so with arbitrary order of preceding or following *me* and without change of meaning):

- (834) *Mana la me jifla*  
 3SG.M IMM INCP leave  
 ‘He is now beginning to leave.’

- (835) *Mana me la jifla*  
 3SG.M INCP IMM leave  
 ‘He is now beginning to leave.’

It occurs in pre-head position in combination with the post-head completive marker =*hi*:

- (836) *Mana la jifla=hi*  
 3SG.M IMM leave=COMPL  
 ‘He has now left.’

It occurs post-head with the completive aspect enclitic=*hi*, doing so to strengthen pragmatic emphasis of the verbal notion:

- (837) *Mana jifla=hila*  
 3SG.M leave=COMPL  
 ‘He has left!’ or, ‘He has already left!’

### 8.5 Verb phrase coordination

Coordination of VPs in CH is accomplished by the use of coordinating conjunctions and also by juxtaposition. Described in section 6.1.2 are the VP coordinating conjunctions, primarily *nei*, *eguteuna*, and the disjunctive conjunction *ba*. Those descriptions and examples are not repeated here but simply noted as operative in CH.

In terms of juxtaposition, the VPs not uncommonly coordinate from juxtaposed positions, as in this simple example (838) of two VPs (*fagaja* ‘chat’ and *thuru* ‘sleep’).

- (838) *Na tifa ña jare ña unha fagaja thuru*  
 CONJ before NSP there NSP what chat sleep  
 ‘And in time before there, [they would be doing] something, chatting and sleeping.’

In the longish example (839) of juxtaposition, the initial boundaries of VPs contained within the same sentence are marked three times by the inceptive aspect marker *me*. While there are obviously other VPs in the sentence, in terms of content in the entire utterance, it is interesting that each VP initiated by *me* actually encodes the main activities described by the communication event: the crowd began to gather, the crowd began to sing, the couple to be married began to come.

(839) *Gume thoke=ni narane mala tolagi gne me*  
 CONJ arrive=3PL.OBJ day PUR marry DEM INCP

*khapru n̄a=u mavitu ia me koje n̄a mala koje soni*  
 gather NSP=CONT crowd DEM INCP sing NSP PUR sing meet

*haidu gne me mei n̄a haiñā pheī naikno te tolagi ġre*  
 meeting DEM INCP come NSP ?gather two people REL marry these

*balu=di naikno te mala keġra balu=di repa re*  
 COM=3PL.POSS people PRS PUR stand COM=3PL.POSS 3DU.F PL  
 ‘And so the day arrives for this marrying and all the people start and continue to  
 gather and [they] begin singing, singing for the wedding, and then begin to come the  
 two people who are getting married along with those that are standing with them.’

## 8.6 Summary

The head of a verb phrase in CH is always a verb, either transitive or intransitive. The verb phrase has pre-verbal and post-verbal elements. Predominant pre-head verbal markers are those marking inceptive and immediate aspect, and past and non-past tense. The pre-verbal aspect markers can co-occur with each other, but never do with the past perfective tense marker *neke*. There is evidence of occurrence with the imperfective past *ne*. There is also evidence of pre-head adverb markers, but they are less frequent than the post-head adverbs.

The CH post-verbal elements are numerous. These include direct object enclitics, post-head adverbs, and four aspectual markers: completive, continuative, inceptive and continuative, and non-specific, or general, aspect. Of the four, the completive *=hi(la)*, and the continuative (*=u*) are enclitics. The inceptive and continuative is a compound comprised of the free standing inceptual aspect marker *me* and the continuative *=u* enclitic.

One CH aspect marker, *la* ‘immediate aspect’, differs from the others in that it shows variable positioning in regards to the verbal head, and also in terms of combining with other aspectual markers.

VP coordination in CH is marked by the presence of coordinating conjunctions and also by juxtaposition.





## 9 The Clause

### 9.1 Introduction

A clause is defined here as a grammatical construction having a predicate, which is the head of the clause, plus the core arguments and any non-core arguments. The core arguments, as described in section 9.2.1 and 9.2.2, refer to those constituents, such as verb phrases or noun phrases, which have a grammatical relation of subject or object to the verb in the clause. As such they express the semantic valence of the verbs in the lexicon. The non-core arguments (sections 9.2.3) such as prepositional phrases are peripheral to the core. Clause types are described at some length starting in section 9.3. These various types are verbal and non-verbal, equative, copular, attributive, subordinate, imperative, interrogative, and negatives. If the clause by itself can form a complete sentence it is considered to be independent. That is, the clause is independent of the need for any other informational units in order to form a complete, meaningful thought. Dependent clauses are those which depend on the presence of at least one other informational unit to combine with it to become complete. This combination of clauses forms CH sentences with varying levels of complexity. Clause combinations are described in section 9.4, with extended discussion on various types of adverbial clauses which can function as subordinate clauses (section 9.4.2). Serial verbs are quite common in CH, and these are discussed in 9.4.3. The chapter concludes in section 9.5 with a discussion of select features of information presentation in CH. These include the quotative *egu*, the focus marker *si*, and the pragmatic emphasis marker *e*.

### 9.2 Constituent order

SV(O) is the most commonly occurring CH constituent order. This is illustrated by the following, with a transitive verb (840), intransitive verb (841), and stative verb (842):

(840) *Jenny hiro=ni sileni*  
 Jenny looks=3SG.OBJ money  
 ‘Jenny looks for money.’

(841) *Mana chari*  
 3SG.M run  
 ‘He runs.’

(842) *Mae Robert au kolho ka namono*  
 man Robert be just LOC village  
 ‘Robert just stays in the village.’

But, CH word order is not rigid. In his short grammar sketch included as front matter in his published dictionary, White (1988:xxxiii) rightly deduced that “Cheke

Holo speakers construct both subject-first and verb-first sentences with equal facility.” That is true, such as the following VS illustration:

- (843) *Tei phiamare*  
 go 3DU.F  
 ‘The two of them go.’

In certain syntactical constructions, particularly when the time word *kate* ‘when’ is used sentence initial, the regular word order is VOS:

- (844) *Kate lude=ni khiba iara na ġlea fara*  
 when discover=3SG.OBJ papaya 1SG DEM happy very  
 ‘When I discover a papaya, [I am] very happy.’

While documented non-rigid constituent order may be true, it is not the test for whether or not CH is a SVO or VSO language. Palmer (2009b), who worked in neighboring Kokota language, analyzed 50 main CH clauses from Bosma’s story set (Bosma 1978) and example sentences from White’s dictionary and brief grammar to publish an article on information structure and clause order variation in CH.<sup>80</sup> He interacts with White’s statement on SV and VS distribution, and following Ross (1988) concludes that CH is in fact a VSO language.<sup>81</sup> However, my position is that SVO is definitely the pragmatically unmarked order. The reasoning behind this conclusion is now presented.

Kroeger (2004:141)<sup>82</sup> lists five tests for determining the unmarked, basic word order of a language. These include the following with Kroeger’s comments on each:

- frequency (which order is used most frequently in discourse)
- mood, polarity and voice (relying on indicative and positive statements for analysis)
- distribution (determination of which word order can occur in the greatest number of contexts)
- avoidance of pronouns (because of special pronoun word order properties, avoiding the occurrence of pronouns when considering grammatical constructions)
- priority of subordinate clauses (since main clauses allow more variation in word order, the observation of special restrictions on word order in subordinate clauses might reflect the basic word order of the language)

<sup>80</sup> Palmer does not indicate any personal facility in the CH language or work with native speakers on his analysis and conclusions.

<sup>81</sup> CH topic and focus is one area of study that outside researchers such as Palmer and Ross have been interested in, no doubt due at least in part to the diachronic and synchronic studies of other languages in the region.

<sup>82</sup> Kroeger (2004) mentions that he relied on Bickford (1998:214-216) for a bulk of these, but added the feature of distribution from other studies on markedness.

Before commenting on Palmer's conclusion that VSO "appears to be" the preferred order, it is helpful to consider briefly each of Kroeger's tests. These observations are made on analysis of various genres of at least two dozen random texts from the corpus. Tabulations were kept for the analysis of 495 clauses. Of those, 379 (or 76%) were deemed to be subject-initial, 114 (24%) were verb-initial, and 2 (0.4%) were object initial.

- frequency: While there is certainly a high frequency of both subject and verb initial word order, there is a higher frequency of subject-initial.
- mood: Indicative statements show both orders, but again there is a higher preference in basic, declarative statements for subject-initial.
- distribution: It appears there are only certain syntactic environments where subject-initial constructions are absolutely restricted, such as when co-occurring in the clause with verbal action or event marked by certain aspect markers (notably *me* 'inceptive aspect') or in conditional or subordinate clauses. Otherwise, the unmarked word order in distribution does appear to be subject-initial.
- avoidance of pronouns: Kroeger's comments were heeded in the analysis. Interestingly, a solid majority of the verb-initial constructions have pronouns as subject.
- priority of subordinate clauses: This test definitely reflects not only a verb-initial priority and propensity, but a restriction on subject-initial construction.

In light of this review, it is the conclusion of this writer that the unmarked, basic word order in CH is SVO. Other factors which could account for the differences reached by Palmer and Ross include a much smaller language sample and reliance on White's dictionary data which, as has been shown in numerous places in this book, needs various levels of correction for accuracy.

This conclusion of CH as SVO is reached notwithstanding Kroeger's/Bickford's test on a possible priority of subordinate clauses as noted above. The propensity of subject-initial priority in the other four tests, coupled with the factor of the pronoun avoidance results in VO pattern being necessary for the determination of basic word order, gives weight to this decision. It is noted that more than one of the genres begins with subject-first construction for the first few sentences, and then noticeably moves to either verb-initial or gapped subject distribution (of which there are many). At the ending of the discourse, it is not unusual for the speaker to revert to subject-initial. Thus, the change can possibly be traced to topic and focusing devices. While various genres and speakers certainly influence the choice of constructions, along with the area of study of topic and focus, the weight of proof does indeed seem to rest with subject-initial as the basic, unmarked word order, and that is the word order presented in this grammar as basic for CH.

This analysis based on Kroeger's criteria does not take into account the response of a CH speaker to simple elicitation of various types of sentences and verbs: "How do

you say, ‘George is going to Buala’ (see example (845) or ‘Roda eats fish’ (846) or ‘Billy runs fast’ (847)?” From my 29 years of working in the language, and asking these type elicitation questions in language learning, it is unimaginable to me that the first response of a CH speaker would *not* be one of a subject-initial construction. Indeed, from the above questions, the elicitation answers would be:

(845) *Mae George tei Buala*  
man George go Buala  
‘George goes to Buala.’

(846) *Roda gamu sasa*  
Roda eat fish  
‘Roda eats fish.’

(847) *Mae Billy chari umhu*  
man Billy run fast  
‘Billy runs fast.’

Likewise, I cannot imagine anything other than a response of a verb-initial construction to subordinate or conditional clauses and sentences such as ‘When running fast, Billy falls down, like that’ as in (848), or ‘If Billy runs fast, he will fall, like that’, as in (849). Thus:

(848) *Kate chari umhu mae Billy uka egu*  
when run fast man Billy fall like.that  
‘When running fast, Billy falls down, like that.’

(849) *Ne chari ña umhu mae Billy nu mana na uka egu*  
PST run NSP run man Billy CONJ 3SG.M DEM fall like.that  
‘If Billy runs fast, he will fall.’

While I have relied on Kroeger’s tests for determining word order, this language knowledge regarding declarative, positive statements does carry extra weight for me in my decision. If the answer to these type elicitation questions was verb initial, I believe that the texts studied would indeed reflect that priority as the preference. Native speaker intuitions and first responses to basic language use are not to be ignored. If there were variations to SVO in elicited responses of ‘Roda eats fish’, the variation(s) would no doubt be marked for pragmatic emphasis.

It is noted that variations in constituent word order such as VS are due to various factors, such as restrictions on word order due to the presence and ordering of certain verbal aspect markers (particularly inceptive, see section 8.3.1.1), shown in (850).

- (850) *Aonu me tei n̄a mare ka mae Malaita ġre*  
 CONJ INCP go NSP 3PL LOC man Malaita DEM  
 ‘And so, they went away from these Malaitans.’

However, the most important non-syntactically motivated variation is the fronting of clause constituents for pragmatic emphasis. The most common variation to the unmarked order is VSO, demonstrated in examples (851) through (853).

- (851) *Ke filo=ni gehati mae Billy ke kuchi*  
 PRF see=3SG.OBJ 1PL.EXCL man Billy PRF cut

*pha’u khakla te brahu*  
 head hair REL long  
 ‘We saw Billy, and he had cut (his) hair that was long.’

- (852) *Theome magnahagei=ni mare te maġra mae*  
 NEG want=3SG.OBJ 3PL PRS fight man

*Guadalcanal nei mae Malaita ġre*  
 Guadalcanal CONJ man Malaita DEM  
 ‘It is that they didn’t want fighting among these Guadalcanal and Malaitan men.’

- (853) *Hara gehati ∅ boñi toñana rane*  
 search 1PL.EXCL [for him] night complete become.daylight  
 ‘We really searched [for him] all night and till morning light.’

The marked constituent order in examples (854) and (855) is OSV, and this could be described as a cleft construction:

- (854) *Eguteuna mola na iago fa-nao~namo lañau egu*  
 CONJ canoe DEM 2SG CAUS-DUR~near also like.that  
 ‘And [regarding] this canoe, you also bring it near, like that.’

- (855) *Eguteuna mae tuana mare na na te theome*  
 CONJ man that 3PL DEM DEM PRS NEG

*kilo=ni mae paramount chief ia egu*  
 call=3SG.OBJ man paramount chief DEM like. that  
 ‘And regarding this man, they don’t call him that paramount chief, like that.’

The corpus shows the following example of VOS. The speaker has been describing the burning and sinking of a particular ship, but is now remarking that coming to the island is a different ship:

- (856) *Mei Isabel n̄a Fin ia*  
 come Isabel NSP k.o.ship DEM  
 ‘The ship Fin will come to Isabel [at some stage].’

### 9.2.1 Subjects

CH subjects are represented by nouns or pronouns. Coding features for identifying subjects are discussed by Andrews (1985), but CH is devoid of almost all of them as an exact marker (e.g. case marking, cross-referencing, ellipsis, switch reference, etc.).<sup>83</sup> Preverbal position is one coding feature that is potentially useful for identifying the CH subject, but as discussed in section 9.2, word order varies in CH, so this is determined not to be a consistently reliable feature.

One means of distinguishing between subjects and objects is that a noun or pronoun occurring as object is often marked by a transitivity marking enclitic which precedes it, as demonstrated in numerous places in this book, including (750), (840), and (857). Subjects are typically the unmarked form of nouns and pronouns occurring pre-verbally, while objects are marked syntactically post-verbally with clitics.

Examples of subject which are presented include one with a transitive verb in (857), intransitive verb in (858) and an equative construction in (859).

- (857) *Mare fatutuani=ni Trinity*  
 3PL believe=3SG.OBJ Trinity  
 ‘They believe in the Trinity.’

- (858) *Iara theome ke gnokro fa-keli*  
 1SG NEG PRF sit CAUS-good  
 ‘I didn’t sit well.’

- (859) *Mae Henderē mae keli*  
 man Henry man good  
 ‘Henry [is] a good man.’

Reflexivization is one coding feature that can usefully be employed to designate the subject, as is the case for *mare* ‘3PL’ in (860). That is, the object *thedi* ‘reflexive pronoun, 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural’ is clearly marked as object because it follows the verb and is related in terms of number to the pronominal transitivity marking enclitic. The subject is understood to be the agent which acts on the verb to produce that particular action upon that particular object, or undergoer.

---

<sup>83</sup> White (1988:171) indicated that *si* is a subject marker, but as discussed in section 9.5.3, it is a focus marker. This does not preclude *si* from occurring with a focused constituent identified as the subject, but marking subject is not its function.

- (860) *Nu mare kilo=di the=di mae holiness gu*  
 CONJ 3PL call=3PL.OBJ REFL=3PL.POSS man holiness like.that  
 ‘And they call themselves ‘holiness’, like that.’

Subject gapping is a device freely employed throughout the language. It does not in any way appear to be restricted to any particular genre. Once the subject has been established and remains unchanged in the discourse, it does not need to be repeated.<sup>84</sup> A simple example taken in isolation from its discourse is (861).

- (861)  $\emptyset$  *theome tañomana=hila te fa-lehe=gna kha'agi*  
 [3SG] NEG able=COMPL PRS CAUS-die=3SG.POSS fire

*gne*  
 DEM

‘It is that [he] was completely unable [to do] that [which] caused the fire to extinguish.’

To further illustrate subject gapping, the example (862) shows several sentences in sequence in discourse. Once the subject *gepa Sera* ‘1DU.EXCL Sera’ is established in the example in the first sentence, it is not repeated. The gapped subject 1DU.EXCL is indicated by  $\emptyset$  throughout the narrative.

- (862)  
*Egume gepa Sera ne tei Samosodu ke legu=gna*  
 CONJ 1DU.EXCL Sera PST go Samosodu PRF follow=3SG.POSS

*u vavahi mae funei mala au ka Parliament.*  
 DEM choose man chief PUR be LOC Parliament.

‘And so, Sera and I went to Samosodu after the choosing of the leaders to be in Parliament.’

- $\emptyset$  *Tei ka vaka tei krofu ka Elsie Vulavu tei ka Friday.*  
 go LOC ship go down LOC Elsie Vulavu go LOC Friday  
 ‘[We] went by ship to see Elsie at Vulavu village on Friday.’

- Sunday na  $\emptyset$  me tei nā ofo agno Kaevanga.*  
 Sunday DEM INCP go NSP wait there Kaevanga  
 ‘On Sunday, [we] began going and waiting over there at Kaevanga village.’

<sup>84</sup> This is generally true unless there is a reason for it to be emphasized, or unless the speaker had other pragmatic reasons for doing so. This gapping feature is also true in CH for tense markers, for example. Once the tense is established in a narrative, the overt tense marker does not need to be repeated.

∅ *Ofo=ni Ligomo Vanga Honiara mei.*  
 Wait=3SG.OBJ Ligomo Kaevanga Honiara come  
 '[We] waited at Kaevanga for the Ligomo ship to come from Honiara.'

∅ *Vavahi Isabela ne tei nā Samosodu.*  
 choose Isabela PST go NSP Samosodu  
 '[We] chose the Isabela ship and went to Samosodu.'

∅ *Tei Krismas jare.*  
 go Christmas there  
 '[We] went there and celebrated Christmas.'

### 9.2.2 Objects

The object is typically positioned post-verbal. Often, but not always, the object is marked by attachment of a pronominal enclitic to the verb, and this is a crucial device for distinguishing object from subject. In (863), for example, *mae Billy* is definitely the object of the verb *filo* 'see' because *mae Billy* occurs in post-verbal order and is the singular object indicated by the singular object-marking enclitic. If one posited that *gepa* '1DU.EXCL' could be the object instead of subject, then the response would be that apart from the consideration and justification needed for a pre-verbal object positioning, the enclitic on the verb would have to be *=mi* '1DU.EXCL', rather than *=ni* '3SG.OBJ', as it is in the example:

(863) *Gepa theome filo=ni mae Billy*  
 1DU.EXCL NEG see=3SG.OBJ man Billy  
 'We didn't see Billy.'

The same type reasoning would apply as well to (864). The object *sua* 'children, indicated as 'plural children' by the plural proximal demonstrative *re* is not only post-verbal, the usual position of the object, but is the object indicated by the 3rd plural enclitic *=di*. There is no other syntactical indication of a plural nominal in the example.

(864) *Ġa'ase na no=gna ġloku na te mala*  
 female DEM ALN=3SG.POSS work DEM PRS PUR

*taji=di nāla sua re*  
 care.for=3PL.OBJ just child PL  
 'It is that this woman has this work of hers that is for the purpose of caring for her children.'

While a compelling feature of a CH object is its typical post-verb placement, whether the word order structure is SVO or VSO, it is noted however, that for special pragmatic emphasis reasons, the object can also occur sentence first, such as in (865) and (866).



(865) *Mae vaka mae Keke theome magnahagei*  
 man white man Keke NEG want  
 ‘Mr. Keke doesn’t want the white men.’ (lit. ‘The white men Keke doesn’t want’)

(866) *Ulu-lahu ġlepo te eni iara na re ġinau hiro roñō*  
 first-ORD thing PRS do 1SG DEM PL FUT seek money

*u te daeva ġlala te salim*  
 DEM PRS dive k.o.shell PRS sell

‘The first of the things that I do will be to seek money, it will be [by] that diving for trocus shells and selling them.’

### 9.2.3 Oblique constituents

CH has a small range of prepositions which are discussed in terms of their identification and function in section 5.3. For the purpose of this section of the book, it is noted that these prepositional phrases express oblique constituents.

Positionally, these obliques occur in various positions, principally preceding a main or dependent clause as in (867) and (868) or following the main or dependent clause as in (869), (870), and (871). The recipient of the verbal action of ‘giving’ in (871) is identified with an oblique, rather than as a direct object. There is evidence of a double oblique construction following the main clause in (872).

(867) *Ka tuana me di’a ta=di ñala mae Malaita re*  
 LOC DEM INCP bad EXP=3PL.POSS just man Malaita PL  
 ‘Because of that, the Malaitans began to be angry.’

(868) *Ka vido tuana mare ke kusu egu u gnara gne*  
 LOC place DEM 3PL PRF cut like.that DEM vine DEM  
 ‘At that place they cut like that the vine.’

(869) *Mare me nha’a hage sasa na ka mola na*  
 3PL INCP put up fish DEM LOC canoe DEM  
 ‘They begin putting the fish up in the canoe.’

(870) *Mare ke pulo ka namono*  
 3PL PRF return LOC village  
 ‘They returned to the village.’

(871) *Iara neke tufa ka mana*  
 1SG PST give/share LOC 3SG.M  
 ‘I gave [it] to him.’

- (872) *Iara riso ari ka iago balu g̃lealea*  
 1SG write go LOC 2SG COM happy  
 ‘I write to you with joy.’

### 9.3 Clause types

#### 9.3.1 Copular verbal clauses

There are three CH copular verbs found in verbal clauses, *au* ‘exist/be.at’, *theo* ‘not.be/not.exist’, and *jateu(la)* ‘be like something’.

##### 9.3.1.1 Copular verb *au* ‘exist/be.at’

The CH copular verb *au* has the root meaning concept of ‘exist/be.at’. In this book, *au* is usually glossed in examples as ‘be’, doing so for reasons of keeping the length of the gloss line limited. The copular verb *au* is not inflected for number, person, or tense, but it can be inflected for aspect. Syntactically, it always occurs postposed to the subject/agent and is also postposed to the tense aspect marker if one is present in the clause. The three functions of the copular verb are to encode existence, location, and possession.

First, it encodes existence, and as such it is intransitive, as in (873) and (874).

- (873) *Kaisei au n̄ala*  
 one be just  
 ‘There is just one.’

- (874) *Mana au kolho*  
 3SG.M be just  
 ‘He just stays [doing nothing in particular].’

Secondly, as a transitive verb it encodes location, as in (875), and means ‘exist/be.at’. However, *au* does not take an object clitic.

- (875) *Mana au kosi ka namono*  
 3SG.M be outside LOC village  
 ‘He is outside the village.’

There are examples in the corpus of the copular verb occurring clause initial, and the subject is clause final, doing so for reason of emphasizing the location:

- (876) *Au kosi ka khiloau mae teuḡre*  
 be outside LOC church man DEM  
 ‘Outside the church are these men.’

Third, in addition to the functions of existence and location, the copular *au* ‘exist/be.at’ also occurs in clauses expressing possession.

- (877) *Mana au ġano*  
 3SG.M be food  
 'He is.at food.'  
 Or, 'He has food.'
- (878) *Mana au ġloku*  
 3SG.M be work  
 'He is.at work.'  
 Or, 'He has work.'
- (879) *Mana au namno thugna*  
 3SG.M be six children  
 'He is.at six children.'  
 Or, 'He has six children.'
- (880) *Mana au khabru*  
 3SG.M be pain  
 'He is.at pain.'  
 Or, 'He has pain.'
- (881) *Mana theome au glealea*  
 3SG.M NEG be joy  
 'He not is.at joy.'  
 Or, 'He does not have joy.'

In expressing this notion of possession, *au* is not used with the locative preposition *ka*. Thus, neither of the following two examples are attested as legitimate in CH:

- (882) \**Mana au ka ġano*  
 3SG.M be LOC food  
 \*'He is.at food.'  
 \*Or, 'He has food.'
- (883) \**Mana au ka ġloku*  
 3SG.M be LOC work  
 \*'He is.at work.'  
 \*Or, 'He has work.'

The copular *au* 'exist/be.at' also occurs in a predicative possession, following Heine's genitive schemata, or "X's Y exists" (1997:47). This possession is noted in a clause with a possessive pronoun enclitic as in the following two examples. The typical syntactic structure is subject + (REL) + *au* + POSS.

- (884) *Mare au no=di ḡaogatho laṅau*  
 3PL be ALN=3PL.POSS thought also  
 ‘They also have thoughts [on the matter].’  
 Or, literally: ‘Existing to them also are thoughts.’

- (885) *Mana te au no=gna nolagi te mala*  
 3SG.M PRS be ALN=3SG.POSS power REL PUR

*vahi=ni mae ihei*  
 choose=3SG.OBJ man who  
 ‘It is that he has power/authority to choose someone.’  
 Or, literally: ‘It is that power exists belonging to him for choosing someone.’

Copular verb *au* can be inflected with the completive aspect marker =*hi(la)*. There is no evidence in the corpus of inflection with any other aspect marker.

- (886) *Mana au=hi jare*  
 3SG.M be=COMP there  
 ‘He is already there.’

- (887) *Gehati ḡognaro na la au=hila mae prisi*  
 1PL.EXCL now DEM IMM be=COMPL man priest  
 ‘This time now we have a priest [here].’

The copular verb occurs with negation, illustrated in (888) with a negative declarative statement, and in (889) with a negative imperative. It is always postposed in the clause to the negative marker.

- (888) *Mare theome au ka si namono gne*  
 3PL NEG be LOC FOC place DEM  
 ‘They are not at this village.’  
 Or, literally: ‘They are not being at this particular village.’

- (889) *Thosei au agno*  
 NEG be there  
 ‘Don’t stay there!’

Word order is important when *au* co-occurs with an active verb and is followed by a locative prepositional phrase. The following word order is attested as permissible:

- (890) *Mana thuru au ka suḡa*  
 3SG.M sleep be LOC house  
 ‘He sleeps in the house.’

But the following is not permissible:

- (891) \**Mana au thuru ka suḡa*  
 3SG.M be sleep LOC house  
 \*‘He stays/exists sleeps at the house’

This ordering is not grammatical because *au* is a secondary verb to the main verb. Thus, the permissible word order of the elements must be: subject + verb + *au* + PREP + OBJ. Not permissible is the order of subject + *au* + verb + PREP + OBJ.

### 9.3.1.2 Copular verb *theo* ‘not.exist/not.be’

The CH copular verb *theo* encodes that something does not exist or is not being. The copular verb *theo* is not inflected for number, person, or tense, but it can be inflected for aspect and for marking possession. Copular *theo* regularly occurs preposed to the subject or agent and clause initial. This is shown in (892).

- (892) *Theo mola bi'o na*  
 not.be canoe big DEM  
 ‘There isn’t a big canoe.’ Or, ‘There is not being a big canoe.’

However, for emphasis, *theo* can occur postposed to the agent, and clause final:

- (893) *Iara theo*  
 1SG not.be  
 ‘[In regards to] me it is not.’ Or, ‘For me, there is not anything.’

*Theo* demonstrates two of the three functions of the copular verb *au* ‘exist/be.at’ (section 9.3.1.1), encoding existence and possession. *Theo* is intransitive, and does not mirror the transitivity feature of *au*. It encodes existence, or ‘negative existence’:

- (894) *Theo kaisei ḡlepo*  
 not.be one thing  
 ‘There is not one thing.’ or ‘There is nothing.’

- (895) *Theo kaisei naikno te lehe*  
 not.be one person REL die  
 ‘[There is] no one that [has] died.’

*Theo* also encodes possession. Possession is overtly marked on the copular verb by a possession marking enclitic.

- (896) *Jame theo=di mare ne mana lehe=hi mae Hendere*  
 perhaps not.be=3PL.POSS 3PL PST 3SG.M die=COMPL man Henry  
 ‘If there had not been there, Henry would have died.’

- (897) *Te theo=gna keha phile na*  
 PRS not.be=3SG.POSS other side DEM  
 ‘It is that there is nothing on the other side.’

*Theo* also encodes possession semantically, doing so without the presence of a possession marking enclitic, as in example (898). It is also noted in this example that the word order is VS, as the negative existential notion is fronted for emphasis.

- (898) *Theo kolho iara re*  
 not.be just 1SG PL  
 ‘There are just not things [belonging to] me.’ Or, ‘I just don’t have any.’

The function of *theo* as ‘negative existence’ closely overlaps with the semantic notion of ‘negative possession’:

- (899) *Theo sileni Nareabu gne theo sileni fara*  
 not.be money Nareabu DEM not.be money very  
 ‘There is no money in/belonging to Nareabu village, there is very much no money!’

*Theo* shows further evidence of being classified as a verb in that *theo* can be modified by an adverb, doing so in an identical manner to *au* ‘exist’:

- (900) *Theo kolho*  
 not.be just  
 ‘It is just not existing/being.’

Identically with *au*, *theo* can be cliticized with the completive aspect marker =*hi(la)*. There is no evidence of inflection with any other aspect marker.

- (901) *Theo=hila*  
 not.be=COMPL  
 ‘There is absolutely nothing.’

- (902) *Mare la theo=hi haimi=ni mamaja na*  
 3PL IMM not.be=COMPL feel=3SG.OBJ shame DEM  
 ‘They don’t completely feel shame.’

One question arises regarding the co-occurrence of the verbal negator *theome* with the copular verb of being, *au*. Namely, is it possible that the following pair of examples encode the same meaning? The answer is that they do in fact mean the same, but it is noted that while the *theome au* example (903) is grammatical, it is not to be regarded as usual and satisfactory speech. A CH speaker would consistently use *theo*, as in (904). The reason is no doubt related to the fact that the simple, negative existential verb *theo* is the preferred choice.

(903) *Mana theome au sileni*  
 3SG.M NEG be money  
 ‘He is not at money.’ Or, ‘He doesn’t have any money.’

(904) *Mana theo sileni*  
 3SG.M not.be money  
 ‘There is not money existing at him.’ Or, ‘He doesn’t have any money.’

Structurally, the verbal negator *theome* (described in section 9.3.5) does not demonstrate the verbal features of the negative existential *theo*. Unlike *theo*, it is not inflected for aspect or possession, nor is it modified by adverbs. Convincingly, it does not encode negative existence, as does *theo*. From the above example, (904), *theome* cannot function as a negative existential copular verb, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (905). Instead, it must have an overtly stated verbal notion in order to negate:

(905) \**Mana theome sileni*  
 3SG.M NEG money  
 \*‘He negative money’

### 9.3.1.3 Copular verb *jateu(la)* ‘be like something’

The copular verb *jateu(la)* means to ‘be like something’. It has one function, namely that of encoding comparative existence. The optional *-la* form could be a vestige of the immediate aspect marker, but this is not verified. It is not inflected for number, person, tense, or aspect. Syntactically, it always occurs postposed to the subject/agent and preposed to that which is being compared. This is demonstrated in the following examples.

(906) *Na’a jateula Bekah*  
 3F>F be.like Bekah  
 ‘She is like Bekah.’

(907) *Kaisei mae pastor jare na to~thogo fara ka gehati*  
 one man pastor there DEM DUR~help very LOC 1PL.EXCL

*jateula mae chaplain na*  
 like man chaplain DEM  
 ‘One pastor there helped us a lot like a chaplain [would help us].’

The verbal negator *theome* occurs between the subject agent and the copular verb:

(908) *Na’a theome jateula Bekah*  
 3F>F NEG be.like Bekah  
 ‘She is not like Bekah.’

There is evidence of *jateula* occurring clause initial, illustrated in (909) and (910). Often this happens between sentences, as the information from the previous sentence is compared with that which follows. Also, *jateula* is not uncommonly followed by the non-past time auxiliary marker *te*, as in (910). Thus:

(909) *Jateula tuana egu*  
 be.like DEM like.that  
 ‘It is like that [previously mentioned], like that [is how it is].’

(910) *Jateula te cheke=ni ka u ġrioriso te blahi na*  
 like PRS talk=3SG.OBJ PREP DEM writing REL holy DEM  
 ‘It is like that which is said in the holy writing.’

The verbal negative markers *theome* (for indicative statements) and *thosei* (for imperative statements) both occur with *jateula*, and do so immediately preposed. *Theo* ‘not be/not exist’ does not co-occur with *jateula*.

(911) *Thosei jateula egu mae Philip*  
 NEG be.like like.that man Philip  
 ‘Don’t be like Philip, like that.’

(912) *Mana theome jateula mae Philip*  
 3SG.M NEG be.like man Philip  
 ‘He is not like Philip.’

### 9.3.2 Non-verbal clauses

#### 9.3.2.1 Non-verbal clauses with adjectival predicates

The main semantic content of an attributive clause can be expressed by an adjective. CH makes frequent use of predicate adjectives, as in (913). Clauses with adjectival predicates are equative. Attributive clauses follow the standard subject predicate order.

(913) *Mae bi'o fara ġognaro*  
 man big very now  
 ‘[The] man is very big now.’ (meaning: ‘He is now an important man.’)

In a text in which the speaker recounted his recent chainsaw work, he described the trees as very large and not small.

(914) *Ġaju bi'o fara theome ġaju ikoi*  
 tree big very NEG tree small  
 ‘The trees were very big, they weren’t small trees.’



Examples (915) and (916) are provided to show the existence of non-verbal clauses both of which occur with the adjective *keli* ‘good’, functioning as attributive clauses.

(915) *Me keli kolho tahati*  
 INCP good just 1PL.INCL  
 ‘We are okay.’

(916) *Keli u n̄ala*  
 good DEM just  
 ‘It’s just good.’ Or, colloquially: ‘It’s going okay.’

In (917), a string of predicate adjectives is demonstrated.

(917) *Keha vaka mae Malaita mae Westi mae Santa Cruz thona fara*  
 some ship man Malaita man West man Santa Cruz dirty very  
 ‘Some of the ships from Malaita, the Western province, and Santa Cruz are very dirty.’

In the case of an example that shows negation, the negative marker immediately precedes the predicate adjective, as in (918).

(918) *Gehati theome naba*  
 1PL.EXCL NEG fit  
 ‘We are not qualified.’

### 9.3.3 Imperative clauses

Imperatives in CH consist of the command verb, such as *raḡi* ‘dance’, *mei* ‘come’, or *cheke* ‘talk’, without a subject expressed.

(919) *Raḡi!*  
 dance  
 ‘Dance!’

(920) *Prosa!*  
 clap  
 ‘Clap!’

(921) *Mei!*  
 come  
 ‘Come!’

When *mei* ‘come’ is used imperatively it is often accompanied by a downward hand motion, in which the fingers are pulled in a rapid motion toward the palm of the hand.

Not uncommonly, *atha* ‘take’ will occur as a command verb, but often in a serial verb construction with *mei* ‘come’, such as:

- (922) *Atha mei naflahi*  
 take come knife  
 ‘Bring the knife.’

Depending on the command verb, the verb can be inflected with an object marking enclitic, as in (923).

- (923) *Cheke=ni mana*  
 talk=3SG.OBJ 3SG.M  
 ‘Tell him.’

Optionally, the command verb can be followed either by the second person singular or plural pronoun, or the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular alienable possessive marker.<sup>85</sup> These two possibilities are illustrated thus:

- (924) *Mei si iago*  
 come FOC 2SG  
 ‘You come!’

- (925) *Tei no=u*  
 go ALN=2SG.POSS  
 ‘You go!’

When the pronoun overtly occurs in the imperative expression, the focus marker *si* can precede the pronoun in the post-verbal slot, as in (924) and (926).

- (926) *Mei si gotilo*  
 come FOC 2PL  
 ‘You-pl come!’

*Ba* as a ‘possibility marker’, or simply described as ‘perhaps’, can be used in imperatives with adults to indicate politeness.<sup>86</sup>

---

<sup>85</sup> One possibility for explaining the occurrence of the phenomenon of this use of the alienable possessive marker is that the person is told to go from ‘the place to which they are in an alienably possessed relationship.’ The place itself is ellipsed, and the 2<sup>nd</sup> singular alienable possessive marker is used to represent the addressee.

<sup>86</sup> In terms of politeness, the use of the emphasis marker *si* with imperatives when speaking to adults is not appropriate. This is the exact opposite of Palmer’s hypothesis (2009b) for CH as he compared the use of *si* in imperatives in Kokota.

- (927) *Tei ba gotilo e fari hio~hiro keha vido te keli*  
 go perhaps 2PL PUR RECP DUR~seek some place REL good  
 ‘It would perhaps be good for you-pl to go and seek among yourselves for a  
 place that is good.’

As described in section 9.3.5 on negation, imperatives in CH are negated through the use of the imperative negation marker *thosei* occurring in a pre-verbal slot.

- (928) *Thosei gamu sitha fala khoilo*  
 NEG eat k.o.nut k.o.nut coconut  
 ‘Don’t eat sitha nut, fala nut or coconut.’

### 9.3.4 Interrogatives

#### 9.3.4.1 Yes-No questions

There are two primary ways that Yes-No, or polar, questions are formed in CH: 1) by rising intonation, and 2) by the use of the particle *ba*.

First, regarding the feature of rising intonation, this is contrasted with non-rising intonation in a declarative sentence.<sup>87</sup> Thus the same statement in CH can be interpreted as a declarative statement in (929) due to non-rising or falling intonation over the final syllable, and a yes-no question in (930) due to rising intonation over the length of the sentence.

- (929) — — — — — ↘  
*mana neke tei ka namono*  
 3SG.M PST go LOC village  
 ‘He came to the village.’

- (930) — — — — — ↗  
*mana neke tei ka namono*  
 3SG.M PST go LOC village  
 ‘Did he come to the village?’

Secondly, the particle *ba* is used to generate yes-no questions, functioning as a type of tag question. *Ba* occurs in sentence final position, as illustrated in examples (931) and (932) as the unmarked form, and the expected answer is yes. Rising intonation over *ba* is typical for these examples. *Ba* used as a question tag marking polar questions is related to the disjunction *ba* ‘or’. In such cases, *ba* occurs in the penultimate syntactic slot in the sentence and is marked by the following negative marker *theo*, as in (933). There is falling intonation over the *ba theo* sequence. In

<sup>87</sup> These two contrastive examples were created for the purpose of this section. Unfortunately, they are not documented with audio recordings but are vouched for by my many years in the language as allowable and common CH renderings of this language feature.

this construction, the speaker's intent is not necessarily affirmative but more probably neutral and the speaker is thus seeking a yes or no answer.

(931) *Fa-lehe=ni naikno=gna bliḡi ba*  
 CAUS-die=3SG.OBJ people=3SG.POSS easy perhaps  
 'Killing people is easy, isn't it?'

(932) *Mana thokei kolho ba*  
 3SG.M arrive just perhaps  
 'He just arrived, right?'

(933) *Mana la tolagi=hi ba theo*  
 3SG.M COMPL marry=COMPL perhaps not.be  
 'Is he perhaps already married or not?'

#### 9.3.4.2 Content questions

Content questions contain a question word. The inventory of content interrogatives in CH includes the following:

*unha* 'what'  
*heva* 'where'  
*hei* 'who'  
*aheva* 'which'  
*neha* 'why'  
*naugna unha* 'why' (lit. 'because what')  
*fa-neha/fa-unha* 'how' (lit. 'CAUS-why/'CAUS-what')  
*niha* 'when'  
*niha* 'how many/how much'

Examples include the following:

(934) *Eni unha?*  
 do what?  
 'What are you doing?'

(935) *Tei heva?*  
 go where  
 'Where are you going?'

(936) *Gopa hei?*  
 2DU.PL who  
 'You-two who [are going]?' Or, 'Who is going with you?'

- (937) *Aheva gne te keli na?*  
 which DEM REL good DEM  
 'Which one is that [which is] good?'
- (938) *Gotilo ke pulo neha?*  
 2PL PRF return why  
 'Why did you-pl come back?'
- (939) *Naugna unha teke pulo mei mana na?*  
 because what PSS return come 3SG.M DEM  
 'Why it is that he came back?'
- (940) *Fa-unha te eni bret ia?*  
 CAUS-what PRS do bread DEM  
 'How is that bread was made?'

The difference in *niha* as meaning 'how many'/'how much', and 'when' is contextual, both in communication context for the speaker and hearer, and in syntactic context. Regarding syntactic form, when asking how much of something, *niha* is followed by a count noun, such as *niha sileni* 'how much money'? Co-occurring with *tanhi* 'time' as in *tanhi niha*, it means 'when', as in 'what time?' (literally, 'how much time?'). Or, if someone mentions an activity or event that will take place or which has taken place, *niha* is the content question seeking the answer as to 'when'. Uses of *niha* are illustrated in (941) and (942).

- (941) *Niha sileni?*  
 how.much money  
 'How much money?'
- (942) *Iara neke tei Buala.*  
 1SG PST go Buala.  
 I went to Buala.

*Niha?*  
 when  
 When?

*Gnora.*  
 yesterday.  
 Yesterday.

Several characteristics are noted regarding the ordering and function of CH interrogatives:

1) CH interrogatives can occur clause initial, as in (937) and (939), and clause final as in (936) and (938). There are no known restrictions for clause initial or clause final positioning for each interrogative.

2) CH interrogatives can occur post-verbal, pre-focus, as illustrated in (945).

3) Quite prominently, there are no restrictions on any of the CH interrogatives being followed in the adjacent syntactic slot by the focus marker *si* (which is described in section 9.5.2). Illustrations include (943), (944), and (945). The occurrence in the adjacent slot is not obligatory, however, as shown by the numerous examples at the beginning of this section.

(943) *Hei si ana kaisei belo?*  
 who FOC DEM one bell  
 ‘Who is the one who rings the bell?’

(944) *Unha si ia?*  
 what FOC DEM  
 ‘What happened?’

(945) *Tanhi unha si iago ia?*  
 cry what FOC 2SG DEM  
 ‘What are you crying about?’

Rhetorical questions do occur, but rarely. The primary function of rhetorical questions in CH is for the purpose of scolding. Examples (946) and (947) illustrate this function. Perhaps it is noteworthy that both examples syntactically employ the focus marker *si* plus demonstrative immediately following the interrogative.

(946) *Gaogatho unha si ana ia gema egu iara egu*  
 thinking what FOC DEM DEM friend like.that 1SG like.that  
 ‘“What are you thinking, man, like that?” that’s what I said, like that.’

(947) *Gema thodo unha si ao ia*  
 friend lazy what FOC DEM DEM  
 ‘Hey, why are you lazy?’

### 9.3.5 Negative clauses

Negation of verbal action in all moods but imperative is indicated by the word *theome* occurring pre-V in the VP with both transitive verbs as illustrated in (948) and (949), and intransitive verbs in (950) and (951).

(948) *Mare theome legu=ni no=di vetula*  
 3PL NEG follow=3SG.OBJ ALN=3PL.POSS law  
 ‘They don’t follow their laws.’

(949) *Gepa theome filo=ni mae Billy*  
 1DU.EXCL NEG see=3SG.OBJ man Billy  
 ‘We didn’t see Billy.’

(950) *Mae Hendere mae keli mana theome maḡra*  
 man Henry man good 3SG.M NEG fight  
 ‘Henry is a good man, he doesn’t fight.’

(951) *Mae<sup>88</sup> gauha mana theome bukla jateu bosu egu*  
 man possum 3SG.M NEG pregnant like pig like.that  
 ‘The possum doesn’t bulge during pregnancy in the same way as a pig.’

A negative imperative, or prohibitive, is indicated by *thosei* at the beginning of the VP, occurring usually in the syntactic slot directly preceding the verb. The subject of the verb is usually not indicated, as is common for imperatives.

(952) *Thosei gamu ḡano tuḡre*  
 NEG eat food DEM  
 ‘Don’t eat these foods.’

(953) *Thosei au agno*  
 NEG be there  
 ‘Don’t stay there.’

But addressees may be explicitly mentioned:

(954) *Nu gotilo prisi ra thosei tolagi fari kokholo laṅau egu*  
 CONJ 2PL priest PL NEG marry RECP clan also like.that  
 ‘But also you priests, don’t marry inside your clan.’

Though usually the negation imperative *thosei* occurs in the syntactic slot immediately before the verb in (955), this is not always the case. Sometimes, there are other elements in the VP which intervene, such as an aspect marker and/or adverb, as shown in (956) and (957).

(955) *Thosei gamu sitha*  
 NEG eat ngali  
 ‘Don’t eat ngali nut.’

(956) *Thosei ke gamu sitha*  
 NEG REP eat ngali  
 ‘Don’t keep eating ngali nut.’

---

<sup>88</sup> The use of *mae* here indicates ‘animal species’ rather than ‘male of the human species’!

- (957) *Thosei ke kulu gamu*  
 NEG REP first eat  
 ‘Don’t keep eating beforehand.’

Comparing the prohibitive *thosei* with the verbal negator *theome*, and using the above three examples, it is noted that verbal negation is formed the same way:

- (958) *Theome gamu sitha*  
 NEG eat ngali  
 ‘Doesn’t eat ngali nut.’

- (959) *Theome ke gamu sitha*  
 NEG REP eat ngali  
 ‘Doesn’t keep eating ngali nut.’

- (960) *Theome ke kulu gamu*  
 NEG REP first eat  
 ‘Doesn’t keep eating beforehand.’

### 9.3.6 Relation between two nominal phrases

Appositional noun phrases are common in CH, particularly with pronouns followed by more specific information about the noun. The corpus shows that the usual construction and constituent order is a pronoun + description of the person, either with a descriptive NP as in (961), or pronoun followed by the proper noun, as in (962).

- (961) *Iago sua ḡa’ase Kathi ia*  
 2SG child female Kathi DEM  
 ‘You were that young girl, Kathi.’

- (962) *Greetings ka iara Godfrey*  
 greetings LOC 1SG Godfrey  
 ‘Greetings from me, Godfrey.’

## 9.4 More on clause combinations

### 9.4.1 Introduction

Interclausal relations between adverbial clauses, subordinate clauses and matrix clauses are described in this section. Other clausal relations are also described, including information on serial verbs and clause conjoining through the use of conjunctions and juxtaposition.

### 9.4.2 Subordinate clauses

In this section are described several types of adverbial, subordinate clauses, functioning as an argument of the main or matrix clause. The adverbial type clauses



identified in CH are purpose (section 9.4.2.1), time (9.4.2.2), reason (9.4.2.3), concessive (9.4.2.5), counterfactual (9.4.2.6), and conditional (9.4.2.7). The following subsections describe and explicate these types.

#### 9.4.2.1 Adverbial purpose clause with *mala* and *e* ‘purpose’

One common CH type of adverbial clause supplements the predicate in the matrix clause by indicating purpose. The most frequently occurring purposive marker is *mala* utilized in these type clauses, and it introduces an embedded clause, giving that clause a purpose function. The purposive marker *mala* indicates the purpose of the action undertaken by the agent. It occurs in the slot immediately before the verb. In the following examples, purposive clause marker *mala* occurs with intransitive verbs in (963) and (964), and with a stative verb in (965):

(963) *Iara mala mei agne*  
1SG PUR come here  
‘I came for the purpose of being here.’

(964) *Eguteuna belo mala tarai*  
CONJ bell PUR pray  
‘And then there was a bell for prayer.’

(965) *Iago mae mala au kolho kosi*  
2SG man PUR be just outside  
‘You [are the] man for staying outside.’

*Mala* introduces purpose clauses, the subject of which is not expressed but coreferent with the subject of the main verb as in examples (966) and (967):

(966) *Iara fariuriu fara mala hiro=ni kaisei mae*  
1SG try very PUR seek=3SG.OBJ one man  
‘I tried very hard to find one man.’

(967) *Mae nalha'u gne lañau te mala rei~regi=di*  
man male DEM also PRS PUR DUR~care.for=3PL.OBJ  
‘It is that this man is also to look out for them.’

Syntactically, it occurs in the first position of the subordinate clause, as in (968) and (969). It is noted that regularly these purpose clauses have a gapped subject, co-referent to the subject indicated in the subordinate clause.

(968) *Tei hara pophosa mala ei nifu*  
go search bamboo PUR make panpipe  
‘[They] went searching for bamboo in order to make panpipes.’

- (969) *Iara mei agne Buala mala faidu mae funei nei thu=gna*  
 1SG come here Buala PUR meet man chief CONJ child=3SG.POSS

*Isabel*

Isabel

‘I came here to Buala for the meeting of the Isabel chiefs and their children.’

The purposive marker also occurs immediately after a subject NP, as in (970).

- (970) *Ka tuana hila vido mala fada iago na egu*  
 LOC DEM COMPL place PUR throw 2SG DEM like.that  
 ‘At that time [which is] completed, this place is [used] for you throwing.’

While the purpose clause generally occurs after the main clause and gapped subject in sentence final position, with a gapping strategy in the discourse, it can occur in first position, continuing the information from the previous clause or sentence, as in (971).

- (971) *Mala tei au mhata Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday*  
 PUR go be bush Thursday Friday Saturday Sunday  
 ‘For going to stay in the bush Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday.’

It is observed that purposive marker *mala* often occurs in CH in sequence with the auxiliary time marker *te*:

- (972) *Baina keli fara te mala tathago sasa tahati*  
 bait good very PRS PUR fishing.with.hooks fish 1PL.INCL  
 ‘It is very good bait for us to use for hook fishing.’

- (973) *Kaisei mae te mala baubatu=di mavitu*  
 one man PRS PUR lead=3PL.OBJ crowd  
 ‘There is one man for leading the crowd.’

While *mala* is the more usual purposive marker, *e* also occurs in the identical syntactic slot and functions similarly. Its use is illustrated in a declarative statement in (974), and in an imperative in (975).

- (974) *Kaekave na no=gna ḡloku na e ofo ka*  
 old.woman DEM ALN=3SG.POSS work DEM PUR wait LOC

*suḡa*

house

‘The older woman’s work is to keep the house.’ (lit. ‘the older woman’s work is for the purpose of waiting at/keeping the house’)

- (975) *Tei si iago e atha khakla ġaju gnarho egu*  
 go FOC 2SG PUR take leaf tree vine like.that  
 ‘You go and take leaves and vines.’

*E* and *mala* can co-occur, doing so in the order of *e mala* (976) or *mala e* (977). It is not known if this dual occurrence indicates an increased pragmatic emphasis, though at least it is suggested that the combination of *e mala* in (976) might indicate the adverbial idea of ‘purposefully’.

- (976) *Gehati ġognaro e mala te=u kava=hi*  
 1PL.EXCL now PUR PUR PRS.CONT tin.cover=COMPL  
 ‘It is that we now have purposefully put a tin-roof (on it).’

- (977) *Hio~hiro keha vido te keli mala e soru*  
 DUR~seek some place REL good PUR PUR down  
 ‘[We are] seeking a place that is good for the purpose of staying (there).’

#### 9.4.2.2 Adverbial time clause with *kate* ‘when’

One common CH type of adverbial clause indicates a temporal relation to the predicate of the matrix. The time marker *kate* ‘when’ (and much less frequently, *kani* ‘while’) is utilized in these type clauses. Syntactically, *kate* always occurs clause initial, and is followed by a verb. It is never preceded by a subject. Word order in example (978) is VOS, which is the usual word order in this subordinate clause type.

- (978) *Kate jifla suġa iara na ġoro sua maġra no=di*  
 when leave house 1SG DEM all child fight ALN=3PL.POSS  
 ‘When I leave the house, all the children fight.’

- (979) *Kate lehe=gna mae bi’o na kmana naikno tanhi fara*  
 when die=3SG.POSS man big DEM lot.of people cry very

*egu*

like. that

‘When this big man died, many people cried much, like that.’

It is noted that the subject can be covert as in (980). Sententially, the time clause occurs both initially as in (980) and in the final clause of the sentence, as in (981).

- (980) *Kate au mei keli u n̄ala*  
 when be come good PRS just  
 ‘When coming to stay, it’s just okay.’

(981) *Nu iara na fa-ari ka khata no=u sileni u*  
 and 1SG DEM CAUS-go LOC bit ALN=2SG.POSS money DEM

*ñala iago kate loña Janice ge Denny are*  
 just 2SG when arrive Janice CONJ Denny PL  
 ‘And I will send you just a little of that money of yours when Janice and Denny arrive.’

#### 9.4.2.3 Adverbial time clause with *ame* ‘before’

In addition to temporal clauses utilizing *kate*, ‘when’ (section 9.4.2.2), there is another CH type of adverbial clause indicating a temporal relation to the predicate of the matrix. The time marker *ame* ‘before’ is utilized in these type clauses. Syntactically, as with *kate*, ‘when’, *ame* always occurs clause initial, and is followed by a verb. It is never preceded by a subject. It often co-occurs with a post-posed indefinite aspect marker, *ña*, as shown in (982) and (983). One example of occurrence without the aspect marker is (984).

(982) *Sobo no=u mola na ame koko ña u baina*  
 anchor ALN=2SG.POSS canoe DEM before throw NSP DEM bait

*na*  
 DEM  
 ‘Anchor your canoe before throwing the bait [in the water].’

(983) *Ame gñafa ña gotilo no=mi ġloku na gotilo tei*  
 before finish NSP 2PL ALN=2PL.POSS work DEM 2PL go

*Buala egu*  
 Buala like.that  
 ‘Before finishing your work, you-pl go to Buala, like that.’

(984) *Ame karha sua teuna iago kaikaliti kaisei nhiġra koba egu*  
 before live child DEM 2SG prepare one month always like.that  
 ‘Before giving birth you prepare always for one month, like that.’

#### 9.4.2.4 Adverbial reason clause with *naugna* ‘because’

One type of adverbial clause supplements the matrix predicate by indicating the reason for the event or action indicated by the predicate. The adverbial reason marker is *naugna* and it occurs in the first position of the subordinate clause. Sententially, the reason clause occurs both initially as in (985) and in the final clause of the sentence, as in (986).

(985) *Naugna mare naikno lase=ni puhi=gna mana*  
 because 3PL people know=3SG.OBJ way=3SG.POSS 3SG.M

*u no=gna ḡloku no=gna baubatu egu*  
 DEM ALN=3SG.POSS work ALN=3SG.POSS lead like.that

*mae tuana te magnahage=ni mare te mala mae chifi*  
 man DEM PRS want=3SG.OBJ 3PL PRS PUR man chief

*mana te=u*  
 3SG.M PRS=CONT

‘Because they the people know his way, his work, and his leadership, like that, it is that man they want to be their chief.’

(986) *Me iara cheke ka mae bisop naugna phei thoga dollar*  
 INCP 1SG talk LOC man bishop because two thousand dollar

*kolho kaisei finoga ka translation*  
 only one year LOC translation

‘I began talking to the bishop because [there was] only two thousand dollars for one year of translation work.’

#### 9.4.2.5 Adverbial concessive clause with *neubane* ‘even though’

One type of adverbial clause supplements the predicate in the matrix by indicating concession related to the event or action indicated by the predicate. The adverbial concessive clause marker is *neubane* ‘even though’, and it occurs in the first position of the subordinate clause. Sententially, *neubane* could occur sentence medially, but there seems to be a preference for sentence initial.

(987) *Neubane au ḡra=ḡu re iara tei ka*  
 even.though be grandchild=1SG.POSS PL 1SG go LOC

*Komido raḡi egu*  
 k.o.ladies.group dance like.that

‘Even though my grandchildren are here, I go to the Komido ladies group and dance, like that.’

#### 9.4.2.6 Adverbial counterfactual clause with *na egu nu* ‘otherwise/lest’

One type of adverbial clause supplements the predicate in the matrix by indicating a counterfactual event related to the event or action indicated by the predicate. The adverbial counterfactual clause marker is *na egu nu* ‘otherwise/lest’, or literally ‘and like.that but’. Syntactically, as is common with other adverbial clauses, the adverbial marker occurs in the first position of the subordinate clause. Sententially, the counterfactual clause occurs initially only. Example (988) is a two sentence example to demonstrate the operation of the clause within the discourse.

(988) *Thosei gamu sitha fala khoilo egu kate tei ukli*  
 NEG eat k.o.nut k.o.nut coconut like.that when go pick.leaf

=*gna na egu. Na egu nu blalho kolho me theome*  
 =3SG.POSS DEM like.that. lest/otherwise dissolve only INCP NEG

*lehe n̄ala moho ba buma.*  
 die just k.o.fish CONJ k.o.fish

‘Don’t eat sitha nut or fala nut or coconut, like that, when going to pick the leaves [for khori fishing], like that. Otherwise just dissolving [will be the leaf that is put into the water to kill them] and the moho fish and buma fish just won’t be dying.’

#### 9.4.2.7 Adverbial conditional clauses with *ne n̄a nu* ‘if...then’

Conditional clauses in CH always occur prior to the main clause. Conditional clauses of whatever semantic sub-type are constructed in two different ways, with the conditional indicated by either *ne n̄a nu* ‘if...then’ or by *jame* ‘perhaps’. The most prominent construction is *ne n̄a nu* and shows a distinctive syntactic pattern of five elements which occur according to the following basic pattern:

past tense marker *ne* + Verb + non-specific aspect marker *n̄a* + Subject + conjunction *nu*.

In CH, there is a distinct intonational rise and pause at the final boundary of the conditional clause. This conditional clause patterning is illustrated in (989) with the use of an intransitive verb, *lehe* ‘die’.

(989) *Eguteuna ne le~lehe n̄a mae paramount chief nu*  
 CONJ PST DUR~die NSP man paramount chief CONJ

*mae council of chiefs ġre na te salo fodu mare*  
 man council of chiefs DEM DEM PRS gather together 3PL

*te mala va~vahi mae ihei te mala paramount chief na*  
 PRS PUR DUR~choose man who REL PUR paramount chief DEM  
 ‘If the paramount chief [should at a non-specific time] die, it is that the council of these chiefs will gather together for the purpose of choosing the one who is to be this [new] paramount chief.’

Example (990) shows variation in the verb slot, in that it is filled by a predicate adjective, and the subject slot is filled by a dual subject, *mhata* ‘bush’ and *phegra* ‘old garden site’.

(990) *Ne rtheta n̄a mhata ba phegra teuna nu repa*  
 PST strong NSP bush CONJ old.garden.site DEM CONJ 3DU.F

*ginau tobi egu*  
 FUT clear like.that

‘If the bush [should be found to be] as non-specified heavy or if it’s an old garden site then the two of them will clear the brush, like that.’

Prepositional phrases can be found within the conditional clause as oblique arguments. Example (991) shows that the head of the noun phrase is followed by two prepositional phrases which are oblique arguments of the nominalized verb *nomhi=ni* ‘hear it’.

(991) *Ne nomhi=ni n̄a belo te belo ka tanhi nhanai ka*  
 PST hear=3SG.OBJ NSP bell PRS bell LOC cry eight LOC

*Sade na nu tahati na khapru mei*  
 Sunday DEM CONJ 1PL.INCL DEM gather come

‘If it is when generally hearing the bell that rings at 8:00 on Sunday, then we will gather together.’

In negative conditional clauses, the negativity marker, either the verbal negator *theome* (992), or the negative existential *theo* (993), occur after the initial constituent of the conditional, namely *ne* ‘past tense’. The convention for indicating ‘if not’ is past tense marker *ne* + negative *theome/theo* + indefinite aspect marker *n̄a* + conjunction *nu*.

(992) *Ne theome mei n̄a iago nu iago rofo egu*  
 PST NEG come NSP 2SG CONJ 2SG hungry like.that  
 ‘If you don’t come, you will be hungry, like that!’

(993) *Eguteuna me ne theo n̄a nu mana ke pulo kolho*  
 CONJ INCP PST not.be NSP CONJ 3SG.M PRF return just  
 ‘And if he does not, then he just goes back.’

The second type of conditional clause is one initialized by *jame* ‘perhaps’, which is followed by a NP. This type conditional clause is illustrated positively in (994) and negatively in (995), and the latter serves as an example of a counterfactual conditional clause. At the final boundary of the conditional clause, there is a rise in intonation and then a pause before the speaker moves to the main clause.

(994) *Jame kaisei ḡa'ase na'a magnahage=ni thu=gna na*  
 perhaps one female 3F>F want=3SG.OBJ child=3SG.OBJ DEM

*te keñha=gna kma=gna na*  
 PRS to.name=3SG.POSS father=3SG.POSS DEM

'If the woman wants a baby girl, it is that she names her after her father.'

(995) *Jame theo=di mare ne mana lehe=hi mae Hendere*  
 perhaps not.be=3PL.POSS 3PL PST 3SG.M die=COMPL man Henry  
 'If they had not been there, Henry would have died.'

### 9.4.3 Serial verbs

'A serial verb construction is one in which a single clause contains two or more verbs, neither of which is an auxiliary... The two or more verbs ... normally function together to express a single event; but because both verbs contribute to the meaning of the clause, the resulting expression is semantically more complex than the meaning of either verb on its own' (Kroeger 2004:226-227). Also, among other characteristics, the two verbs share a single intonation contour and at least one semantic argument (Kroeger 2004:229).<sup>89</sup>

Serial verbs are quite common in CH, with the most commonly occurring serial verb constructions in CH involving the CH motion verbs *tei* 'go', *ari* 'go', and *mei* 'come'.<sup>90</sup> Semantically, the two verbs in serial join to simply describe a single event (i.e. *atha/hata* 'take' + *mei* 'come' = *hata mei* 'brought').

(996) *Chari tei ka suḡa*  
 run go LOC house  
 'Run to the house.'

(997) *Mae Philip neke cheke mei ka iara*  
 man Philip PST talk come LOC 1SG  
 'Philip told to me.'

<sup>89</sup> This follows closely with Crowley (2002:19), who proposes that serial verb constructions involve two or more verbs that share the following features: 1) tight restrictions on the nominal arguments associated with each verb; 2) no contrast in basic inflectional categories; 3) no grammatical or intonational marking of clause boundaries between the verbs. Crowley also notes (2002:17) that "there is a considerable amount of structural diversity to be found within this general category [of serial verbs]."

<sup>90</sup> Keesing (1991:334) makes certain conjectures about the function of CH serial verbs, doing so with minimal data from White's dictionary and grammar (1988) and comparing them to serial verb phenomena in Solomons Pijin and the Malaitan language, Kwaio. He surmised that *tei* 'go' and *mei* 'come' will likely function as the initial verbs in CH serial verb sequences. However, Keesing's conjecture is not true for CH.



- (998) *Hata mei buka ka iara*  
 take come book LOC 1SG  
 'Bring the book to me.'

However, sometimes the two join not necessarily to encode a single event, but to express an idiom, as in (999), where *loku* 'work' *ofo* 'wait' = 'waited with effort' or 'waited anxiously'. In such cases, one of the verbs encodes the manner of the activity encoded by the other verb.

- (999) *Gehati neke loku ofo=u ka vaka te mei*  
 1PL.EXCL PST work wait=CONT LOC ship REL come  
 'We kept waiting anxiously for the ship that [was] to come.'

Also noted in the above example (999) is that the aspect marking enclitic attaches to verb<sub>2</sub>, which is the attested syntactic slot for aspect marking enclitics. This is identical for enclitics which marks transitive serial verb constructions, in that the enclitic attaches to verb<sub>2</sub>, as in (1000):

- (1000) *Te kmana nafnata baina te atha magnahage=di*  
 PRS lot.of kind bait REL take want=3PL.OBJ  
 'It is that there are many kinds of bait that they want to take.'

Intransitive serial verb constructions are common, such as in (1001).

- (1001) *Mare loku tarai egu*  
 3PL work pray like.that  
 'They work-pray [i.e. lead worship services], like that.'

There are no known restrictions as to CH verbs demonstrating occurrence in both verb<sub>1</sub> and verb<sub>2</sub> positions. Most CH verbs which occur in serial verb constructions can occur in either verb order. In example (1001) above, *loku* 'work' occurs as verb<sub>1</sub>, and in (1002), *loku* occurs as verb<sub>2</sub>.

- (1002) *Mae agne atha loku ka engine*  
 man here take work LOC engine  
 'The man here takes work on the engine.'

There is attestation that certain verbs only occur in one position or the other, and if they do occur in only one position, the predominant position is as verb<sub>1</sub>. For example, *nolo* 'walk' is one verb that only occurs serially in first position, illustrated in example (1003):

- (1003) *Mana ġinau na nolo mei ka gehati*  
 3SG.M later DEM walk come LOC 1PL.EXCL  
 'He will walk to us-excl later.'

This is contrasted with *fada* ‘throw’, which is only attested as occurring as verb<sub>2</sub>, as in (1004):

- (1004) *Iago na atha fada balu wire gu*  
 2SG DEM take throw COM wire like.that  
 ‘You take [it] and throw it with the wire, like that.’

There is evidence in the corpus for three verbs in serial succession, as in (1005):

- (1005) *Keha fata re theome naiknore hata mei hiro scone na*  
 some time PL NEG people PL take come seek scone DEM  
 ‘Sometimes people don’t bring [money when] looking for scones.’

There is also evidence for a serial verb construction with four verbs in succession (1006). However, even though four occur in succession in the example, it is probably best to analyze *gorha* ‘paddle’, *hata* ‘take’, and *tei* ‘go’ as the verbs in serial (meaning ‘paddle taking [it] away’), and the second *hata* ‘take’ as the beginning of a new clause headed by the transitive verb *hata* ‘take’, followed by the object *ḡano* ‘food’. For such analysis, the two clauses would be conjoined by juxtaposition, a device not unusual in CH (see section 9.4.4).

- (1006) *Legu fata na gorha mei keha gorha hata tei hata ḡano*  
 every time DEM paddle come some paddle take go take food  
 ‘Sometime [they] paddle in, and sometimes [they] paddle away and take food.’

The following is a listing of the most common CH verbs which occur in serial construction, and examples of attested positioning of that verb in either or both verb positions. They are divided up into two categories, that of Directional/Positional and Activity/Desire:

Directional/Positional:

<i>mei</i> ‘come’	<i>mei au</i> ‘come be’	<i>tusu mei</i> ‘give come’
<i>tei</i> ‘go’	<i>tei apu</i> ‘go bathe’	<i>ofo tei</i> ‘wait go’
<i>ari</i> ‘go’	<i>ari akni</i> ‘go hit’	<i>falalase ari</i> ‘reveal go’
<i>atha</i> ‘take’	<i>atha mei</i> ‘take come’	<i>tei atha</i> ‘go take’
<i>au</i> ‘exist/to.be’	<i>au tei</i> ‘be go’	<i>thuru au</i> ‘sleep be’
<i>cheke</i> ‘talk’	<i>cheke mei</i> ‘talk come’	<i>tugu cheke</i> ‘change talk’
<i>nolo</i> ‘walk’	<i>nolo tei</i> ‘walk go’	
<i>tusu</i> ‘give’	<i>tusu ari</i> ‘give go’	
<i>chari</i> ‘run’	<i>chari tei</i> ‘run go’	

Activity/Desire:

<i>loku</i> ‘work’	<i>loku tarai</i> ‘work pray’	<i>atha loku</i> ‘take work’
<i>magnahagei</i> ‘want’	<i>magnahagei gamu</i> ‘want eat’	<i>atha magnahagei</i> ‘take want’
<i>fada</i> ‘throw’	<i>atha fada</i> ‘take throw’	

#### 9.4.4 Clause conjoining through juxtaposition

It is not unusual for CH clauses to be conjoined through juxtaposition. The following is one such example, and is one in which both clauses are independent. The first independent clause concludes after *kolho* ‘just’:

(1007) *Ĝurena au keli kolho naikno sua au keli lañau*  
 Ĝurena be good just people children be good also  
 ‘Things are okay in Ĝurena village, and the women and children are also okay.’

#### 9.4.5 Clause conjoining with linking devices

Various CH conjunctions serve to join clauses (and information on higher levels). These are listed and discussed in section 6.1.2.

### 9.5 Information presentation

#### 9.5.1 Quotative *egu*

*Egu* (and its occasionally shortened form *gu*) is perhaps best described as a word marking a quote or report, and as such in its basic form, it is assigned the descriptor of quotative (following what Corston similarly described in Roviana, as in Lynch *et al* 2002:486). A major cross-language attestation is found in Solomons Pijin with the commonly occurring *olsem* ‘like that’. The English gloss which attempts to capture its function marking the quotative material (whether direct or indirect speech) is ‘like.that’, as in ‘like that is how it happened’, illustrated in (1008):

(1008) *Mana ne cheke egu iara babao fara*  
 3SG.M PST talk like.that 1SG tired very  
 ‘He said like that, “I am very tired.”’

There are four functions of *egu* that are analyzed from the corpus. First, it is used as an indicator of quote margin or speech content, both cataphorically, as in the previous example, (1008), and anaphorically, as in (1009):

(1009) *Me filo lao mare me keli ta=di mae*  
 INCP look towards 3PL INCP good EXP=3PL.POSS man

*Guadalcanal mae Pitu na egu*  
 Guadalcanal man Pitu DEM like.that  
 ‘“They looked and they were happy with the Guadalcanal men”, like that is what Pitu said.’

Secondly, *egu* is used to recap the quoted information immediately presented in the previous clause(s).

(1010) *Me toutonu=ni cheke egu te roḡri=ni*  
 INCP story=3SG.OBJ talk like.that PRS discuss=3SG.OBJ

*te=u=hila tahati*  
 PRS=CONT=COMPL 1PL.INCL  
 ‘[They] began storying [about it] with that talk like that, [and] that is what we were discussing.’

Third, *egu* is used declaratively or interrogatively in a sentence initial position as a signal for confirming quoted information immediately presented in the previous clause(s).

(1011) *Egu u phia nafnata puhi tolagi na ia*  
 like.that DEM two kind way marriage DEM DEM  
 ‘Like that [which I’ve just described] are the two kinds of ways of marriage.’

(1012) *Ke maḡra mae Billy ka mae Hendere. Egu phiamare.*  
 PRF fight man Billy LOC man Henry. like.that 3DU.F  
 ‘Billy and Henry fought [each other]. Like that is what they two of them did.’

(1013) *Egu gehati namono gna lao kmana tahu fara*  
 like.that 1PL.EXCL village 3SG.POSS towards lot.of heavy very

*sua kmana kmana sua fara*  
 child lot.of lot.of child very  
 ‘Like that [from what I’ve described, it is clear that] we have in our village an extreme abundance of many, many children!’

*Egu* is used interrogatively in a sentence initial position as a request for confirmation of previously presented quoted information. The syntactic construction for this confirmation function can either be *egu* as the only constituent in the sentence as in (1014), or *egu* followed by elements pragmatically emphasized and positioned clause final, as shown in (1015) and (1016). Each of the following three examples

(1014), (1015), and (1016), could actually be freely translated into English with the same translation, namely ‘Really?’ (in terms of seeking confirmation of what has just been communicated), though I have attempted below to make some distinction between each example. The intonation pattern in these short confirmation of information requests markedly rises over (1014) but falls on (1015).

(1014)  $\nearrow$   
*Egu*  
 Like.that  
 ‘Really?’ OR ‘Like that [which you’ve described] is what happened?’

The previous example shows slight contrast with the following, in that the following might show a touch of doubt that needs resolution. Thus the presence of the focus marker and the question word:

(1015) —            —    ↘  
*egu*            *si*    *ba*  
 like.that    FOC    Q  
 ‘That’s how it happened, like that (with a touch of doubt that needs resolution)?’

The following also begins with *egu* but shows the need for confirmation of something which happened in the past, or distally related to the deictic center of the speaker. That distal element is in focus in this construction. Regarding intonation, there is usually rising intonation over the final part of the utterance.

(1016) —            —    ↗  
*egu*            *si*    *ia*  
 like.that FOC    DEM  
 ‘That’s how it happened?’

Fourth, *egu* also marks a slight pause in the delivery of content, as the communicator gives time for the receiver to process the quoted information. The pause function is more plausibly accounted for in the middle of longish utterances, such as the following from a single sentence. The four occurrences of *gu* are underlined. The second *gu* is analyzed primarily as an affirmative marker of what has preceded, and even in this position, it carries a function of pause in the information load.

268 A Grammar of Cheke Holo

(1017) *Magnahagei teke eni ġano lao gu ka mama=mi*  
 want PSS do food towards like.that LOC father=2PL.POSS

*na gu iara, balu=di thu=mi re teuna, iara*  
 DEM like.that 1SG COM=3PL.POSS child=2PL.POSS PL DEM 1SG

*na roge ba fa-cheke poru kolho ka vike gu*  
 DEM discuss CONJ CAUS-talk hide just LOC line like.that

*kokholo gu te=u the=ġu re kolho, te mala*  
 clan like.that PRS=CONT REFL=1SG.POSS PL just PRS PUR

*kulu kaikaliti=di te=u oho bosu re tobi ġare ġlepo teure.*  
 first ready=3PL.OBJ PRS=CONT watch pig PL clear garden thing DEM  
 ‘If it was that I wanted to give food to your father along with your children, then I  
 will be discussing this secretly only with the family line or clan of mine in order to  
 prepare beforehand to be watching the pigs, digging the gardens and things like  
 that.’

This same pause function is proposed for the first occurrence of *egu* in the following  
 utterance. In the second occurrence of *egu*, the function of affirmation or recap of  
 the preceding information is the analysis.

(1018) *Loku fa-keli visi=gna gotilo sasa=gna na*  
 work CAUS-good vine=3SG.POSS 2PL fish=3SG.POSS DEM

*mei=gna ne jifla sasa egu n̄a=u mei*  
 come=3SG.POSS PST leave fish like.that NSP=CONT come

*te au ka fañna egu rane*  
 PRS be LOC net like.that become.daylight  
 ‘You-PL work make-good [i.e. hold tightly to] the vine [so that] when the fish come  
 [and try to] leave, like that they will come [to] that which is [their position] in the  
 net like what [I’ve described], in the morning.’

In a final note on this section, there is evidence of *gu* and *egu* occurring  
 consecutively in a sort of nesting fashion, doing so with *gu* preceding *egu*. As such,  
 it appears that the *gu* affirms the information to which it is most closely aligned  
 syntactically, and the *egu* will recap or affirm the information of the entire utterance.  
 Thus, in (1019) the *gu* affirms the fact that ‘holiness’ is the name of their group, and  
 the *egu* recaps and affirms the information presented in the entire utterance.

- (1019) *Nu mare kilo=di the=di mae holiness gu*  
 CONJ 3PL call=3PL.OBJ REFL=3PL.POSS man holiness like.that  
*egu*  
 like.that  
 ‘And they call themselves “holiness”, like that, [and] like.that [is how it is]’.

### 9.5.2 Focus marker *si*

“Focus involves one argument (or the predicate) being accorded prominence within a single clause” (Dixon 2010a:174). In CH, that prominence is signaled by the focus marker *si*. The prominence could fall within a range of functions, including pragmatic emphasis, new information, contrast, or interrogatives. Each of these uses are noted in the examples which follow, where applicable. In the following representative occurrence of this marker, a father is recounting the failure of an arranged marriage and the subsequent wrong moral path which his daughter chose. At one point he mentions the grief experienced by him and his wife, and in recounting this grief, the focus marker *si* gives prominence to the pragmatic emphasis of grief experienced by the subject:

- (1020) *Di’agnafa si gepa ka tuana ia*  
 sad FOC 1DU.EXCL LOC DEM DEM  
 ‘We especially [had/experienced] that sadness from that [which happened].’

Focus marker *si* also occurs in CH as a particle with the second person plural singular pronoun. This occurrence is in imperative clauses. The function is pragmatic emphasis on the addressee:

- (1021) *Tei si iago!*  
 go FOC 2SG  
 ‘You go!’

*Si* occurs with each of the four types of demonstrative adjectives, though not attested for each member of each type. Theoretically, there is no reason to suggest that there are any restrictions on *si* occurring with each member of every type. It is simply not yet attested in the language in common speech. In the following, this focus feature is described briefly for each type.

For Type One demonstratives (as described in section 6.3.1.2):

The member of this set which most usually co-occurs with *si* is the distal demonstrative *ia*. Interestingly, its use is attested primarily in questions. The first example is a content question, and the focus marker occurs post-posed to the interrogative *unha*, ‘what’:

- (1022) *Unha si ia*  
 what FOC DEM  
 ‘What that?’ Or, functionally: “What specifically happened?”

This question is in the form of confirmation request of new information contained in a reported event, with the quotative *egu* in first position of the clause, ‘like.that’:

- (1023) *Egu si ia*  
 like.that FOC DEM  
 ‘Like that, [is] that specifically [what happened]?’

For the ‘*igne*’ Type Two demonstratives (section 6.3.1.3), the previous same content question in example (1022) above is attested with the final element as *gne* ‘proximal singular’. Consistently occurring pre-positionally as with Type One demonstratives, the focus marker occurs in this example pre-posed to the demonstrative:

- (1024) *Unha si gne*  
 what FOC DEM  
 ‘What this?’ Or, functionally: “What specifically is this?”

In a declarative sentence, the focus marker *si* provides contrastive focus (they are not from this village, but from another):

- (1025) *Mare theome au ka si namono gne*  
 3PL NEG be LOC FOC village DEM  
 ‘They are not existing in this village.’ Or, functionally: “They are not from this specific village [and thus are from somewhere else].”

For the ‘*ao*’ Type Three Demonstratives (section 6.3.1.4), *si* usually, but not always, occurs post-posed to the demonstrative, and in this example marks introduction of new information in the narrative:

- (1026) *Ao si me edi n̄ala mare fati baebale na*  
 DEM FOC INCP do just 3PL four shelter DEM  
 ‘This is specifically how they just began to build four shelters.’

But in this example, the *si* is pre-posed to the demonstrative of this type. The function of the focus marker is prominent pragmatic emphasis of the object:

- (1027) *Iara filo=ni n̄a mae Merika si are*  
 1SG see=3SG.OBJ NSP man America FOC DEM  
 ‘Especially those American men were what I was seeing.’

For the ‘*u*’ Type Four Demonstrative (section 6.3.1.5):

As with the usual order of the focus marker occurring with members of Type Three, and contrasted with Types One and Two, the focus marker *si* occurs post-posed to



the demonstrative of Type Four. In the following example, the narrator is describing a major wind storm. He gives prominence by the function of contrastive focus in the second sentence to the fact that the wind was simply a “big wind” and not a cyclone, as stated in sentence one in the example:

- (1028) *Theo theome nuri blahi.*  
 not.be NEG wind holy  
 ‘No, [it was] not a forbidden-wind (i.e. cyclone).’

*U si nuri bi'o kolho gema.*  
 DEM FOC wind big just friend  
 ‘That was specifically just a big wind, friend.’

Not only does *si* join with a postposed pronoun or demonstrative to mark focus, it also co-occurs with the 3SG enclitic *ni*. In such a construction, *ni* cliticizes to the phrase, and *si* serves to indicate the importance of the proposition. It occurs clause-initially in the following example, and also clause-finally as illustrated in the subsequent example, (1030). In clause final position, it does seem that the importance of the proposition is indicated even more.

- (1029) *Ao si=ni me ke te maḡra bi'o laṅau*  
 DEM FOC=3SG.OBJ INCP PRF PRS fight big also

*Malaita na ka tuana*  
 Malaita DEM LOC DEM  
 ‘This is specifically how it [happened] that the big fight started on Malaita, in that way.’

- (1030) *Atha mei keha ṅa na si=ni*  
 bring come some NSP DEM FOC=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘Bring another one!’

### 9.5.3 Pragmatic emphasis marker *e*

One mechanism for indicating pragmatic speaker emphasis is the use of the emphatic marker *e* in the syntactic slot immediately preceding the information which is to be emphasized. That is, instead of using an emphasizing device such as intonational prominence, the speaker can choose to employ *e* in appropriate communication situations and syntactic environments. As such, it functions as an intensifier. Thus, in (1031), to emphasize that the bishop is especially very happy, the speaker uses *e* before the verbless phrase which indicates happiness. The same can be said for the emphasis on tall in (1032), and for the prohibited activity in (1033). Other relevant examples from section 9.4.2.1 on the use of purposive *e* could also be used, and are noted as relevant for conveying the function of pragmatic emphasis, especially when occurring in combination with purposive *mala*.

(1031) *Mae bisop e keli ta=gna fara*  
 man bishop EMP good EXP=3SG.POSS very  
 ‘The bishop is really very happy!’

(1032) *Fio~filo=di famane mae naikno e brahu*  
 DUR~see=3PL.OBJ fine man people EMP tall  
 ‘They kept looking at the fine men that are really tall.’

(1033) *Mae nalha'u gne theome tañomana te a'aknu=ni*  
 man male DEM NEG able REL strike=3SG.OBJ

*tutu=ni te=u ido=gna kheto=gna*  
 hit=3SG.OBJ PRS=CONT mother=3SG.POSS spouse=3SG.POSS

*eigna e thono blahi fara*  
 because EMP truly holy very  
 ‘This man does not strike or hit his mother or spouse because that is truly, really a prohibited action.’

A chaining of successively emphasized and juxtaposed elements is indicated by the successive use of *e* in the following example:

(1034)  $\emptyset$  *neke legu=ni ña kokholo ka kma=di na*  
 PST follow=3SG.OBJ NSP line LOC father=3PL.POSS DEM

*te=u ġoro sua re teuna e theo e jafra fara*  
 PRS=CONT all child PL DEM EMP not.be EMP wrong very  
 ‘It is that if they followed the line of their fathers all the children doing this would not be good, this would be very wrong.’

## 9.6 Summary

Though not rigid, basic and common sentence construction in CH shows that SV(O) is the most commonly occurring constituent order. Variations to this regular word order are due both to emphasis and to certain syntactical constructions, particularly when the time word *kate* ‘when’ is used sentence initial. Then the word order is VOS.

There are three CH copular verbs found in verbal clauses, *au* ‘exist/be.at’, *theo* ‘not.be/not.exist’, and *jateu(la)* ‘be like something’. These various copular verbs encode existence, location, possession, and comparison. The copular verbs *au* and *theo* are not inflected for number, person, or tense, but can be inflected for aspect and for marking possession. *Jateu(la)* is not inflected. There are instances in which CH employs non-verbal clauses. In these non-verbal clauses, CH predicate adjectives occur in attributive clauses.

There are several types of CH adverbial clauses, functioning as an argument of the main or matrix clause. Some of these types and their constructions are subordinate clauses and some are not. The adverbial type clauses identified in CH are purpose, time, reason, concessive, counterfactual, and conditional.

Serial verbs are quite common in CH. There are no known restrictions as to CH verbs demonstrating occurrence in either verb<sub>1</sub> or verb<sub>2</sub> positions. Most CH verbs which occur in serial verb constructions can occur in either verb order, but for those which only occur in one position, the predominant position is as verb<sub>1</sub>. There is evidence in CH for three verbs and four verbs in serial succession. CH clauses combine through juxtaposition and with linking devices.

CH demonstrates various devices for information presentation. Quotative *egu* is a commonly-occurring word in CH, and is referenced cross-linguistically with other Solomons languages. CH *egu* marks at least four distinct functions: First, it is used as an indicator of quote margin or speech content. Secondly, *egu* is used to recap the quoted information immediately presented in the previous clause(s). Third, *egu* is used declaratively or interrogatively in a sentence initial position as a signal for confirming quoted information immediately presented in the previous clause(s). Fourth, *egu* is used interrogatively in a sentence initial position as a request for confirmation of previously presented quoted information. There is one focus marker in CH, *si*, marking prominence within a clause. *Si* occurs with each of the four types of demonstrative adjectives, though it is not attested for each member of each type. CH marks pragmatic emphasis with the marker *e* in the syntactic slot immediately preceding the information which is to be emphasized. That is, instead of using an emphasizing device such as intonational prominence, the speaker can choose to employ *e* in appropriate communication situations and syntactic environments.



## Appendix A: Cheke Holo Texts

This section contains six CH texts of different genres. The first three were recorded orally and transcribed. Intonation and pause are marked with the following signs: “#” indicates falling intonation, “+” indicates rising, and “...” indicates level intonation. The final three are written texts. Each one was an entry in a national literacy competition held in 1991.

### A.1 Narrative

Jafet Aujare (male, 70s) told this story in Honiara in June, 2006 about the first time that he met SIL's David Bosma. He expressed his complete amazement at hearing “this white man” speak the CH language at a meeting of the Isabel Provincial Assembly.

1. *Uve, kaisei fata na iara... kani au gu n̄a ka provincial*  
*Uve, kaisei fata na iara kani au gu n̄a ka provincial*  
 yes one time DEM 1SG when be like.that NSP LOC provincial

*assembly na.#*  
*assembly na*  
 assembly DEM

One time I was at the provincial assembly.

2. *Kaisei narane posa mae vaka au n̄ala filo noḡuni*  
*Kaisei narane posa mae vaka au n̄ala filo no=ḡu=ni*  
 one day arrive man ship be just see ALN=1SG.POSS=3SG.OBJ

*n̄a iara egu.#*  
*n̄a iara egu.*  
 NSP 1SG like.that

One day a white man was there that I saw, like that.

3. *Mae vaka tugne tuna au n̄ala filo iho noḡuni*  
*Mae vaka tugne tuna au n̄ala filo iho no=ḡu=ni*  
 man ship this DEM be just see not.know ALN=1SG.POSS=3SG.OBJ

*n̄a iara egu#*  
*n̄a iara egu*  
 NSP 1SG like.that

Concerning this white man, that one was just there that I saw but I did not know who he was, like that.

4. *Mae bi'o, mae brahu eguteuna ruma ruma mei ka assembly*  
*Mae bi'o, mae brahu eguteuna ruma ruma mei ka assembly*  
 man big man long CONJ enter enter come LOC assembly

*gne ka taem tuana na ña hila kaisei vido te mala*  
*gne ka taem tuana na ña hila kaisei vido te mala*  
 this LOC time DEM DEM NSP COMPL one place REL PUR

*fasnaḡlani mana te chekeni mana thegna*  
*fa-snaḡla=ni mana te cheke=ni mana the=gna*  
 CAUS-free=3SG.OBJ 3SG.M REL talk=3SG.OBJ 3SG.M REFL=3SG.POSS

*ka assembly na #*  
*ka assembly na.*  
 LOC assembly DEM

This man was big, and he was tall and he entered into the assembly at that time, and [he said that] on the day after tomorrow he wanted an opportunity to be up front and speak by himself to the assembly.

5. *Mala ruruthagna thegna... hei + thegna na +*  
*Mala rurutha=gna the=gna... hei the=gna na*  
 PUR explain=3SG.POSS REFL=3SG.POSS who REFL=3SG.POSS DEM

*gusna nogna ḡloku + mana na + egu na #*  
*gusna no=gna ḡloku mana na egu na*  
 question ALN=3SG.POSS work 3SG.M DEM like.that DEM

He himself would explain who he was and answer questions about his work, and that's how it went.

6. *Gume lisa laoni gehati vido snaḡla mala*  
*Gume lisa lao=ni gehati vido snaḡla mala*  
 CONJ put towards=3SG.OBJ 1PL.EXCL place free PUR

*cheke mana na.#*  
*cheke mana na.*  
 talk 3SG.M DEM

And so we made some time available for him to talk.

7. *Na egu nu cheke mae vaka egu jau mana gne*  
*Na egu nu cheke mae vaka egu jau mana gne*  
 CONJ like.that CONJ talk man ship like.that perhaps 3SG.M DEM

*filodi                    naugna   mana   te   mae vaka gne.#*  
*filo=di                  naugna   mana   te   mae vaka gne.*  
 look=3PL.OBJ   because   3SG.M REL   man ship DEM

I reckon we thought upon seeing him that he would probably talk like white men talk for he was a white man!

8. *Ke   cheke   fei   mae Mariñe   mana   teuna...iho   keliḡu*  
*Ke   cheke   fei   mae Mariñe   mana   teuna, iho   keli=ḡu*  
 PRF talk   DIR man Mariñe   3SG.M DEM not.know good=1SG.POSS

*n̄a   iara   ka   filogna                    mana   na   n̄au#                    egu   si   la*  
*n̄a   iara   ka   filo=gna                    mana   na   n̄a=u                    egu   si   la*  
 NSP 1SG LOC see=3SG.POSS 3SG.M DEM NSP=CONT   like.that FOC IMM

*ba#*

*ba*

Q

When he talked in Mariñe, I was really baffled to see him do this!

9. *Chekeni                    thegna                    mae vaka gne   iara mae Bosma iara*  
*Cheke=ni                    the=gna                    mae vaka gne   iara mae Bosma iara*  
 talk=3SG.OBJ REFL=3SG.POSS man ship DEM 1SG man Bosma 1SG

*si   ia   noḡu                    ḡloku na   ke   tutugu*  
*si   ia   no=ḡu                    ḡloku na   ke   tu~tugu*  
 FOC DEM ALN=1SG.POSS work DEM PRF DUR~change

*cheke vaka igne   ka   cheke Mariñe ka   u   buka blahi gne#*  
*cheke vaka igne   ka   cheke Mariñe ka   u   buka blahi gne.*  
 talk ship DEM LOC talk Mariñe LOC DEM book holy DEM

This is what he said by himself without any help, "I am Bosma and my work is to translate the Bible from the white man language into the the Mariñe language."

10. *Egu   si   la   ba#   ia   tuana teke jaḡlo   noḡuni                    iara*  
*Egu   si   la   ba   ia   tuana teke jaḡlo   noḡu=ni                    iara*  
 like.that FOC IMM Q DEM DEM PSS surprise ALN=1SG.POSS 1SG

*mae vaka te   cheke Mariñe na.#*  
*mae vaka te   cheke Mariñe na.*  
 man ship PRS talk Mariñe DEM

Like that in my questioning it was that I was very surprised that this white man was speaking Cheke Mariñe.

11. *Ke legugna tuao na dofi noḡuni*  
*Ke legu=gna tuao na dofi no=ḡu=ni*  
 PRF behind=3SG.POSS that DEM don't.see ALN=1SG.POSS=3SG.OBJ

*gilei thoke n̄ala ḡognaro gne. #*  
*gilei thoke n̄ala ḡognaro gne.*  
 until arrive just now DEM

After that I haven't see him from then until now.

12. *Heva mana te au teuna iho noḡuni. +*  
*Heva mana te au teuna iho no=ḡu=ni.*  
 where 3SG.M PRS be this not.know ALN=1SG.POSS=3SG.OBJ

Where he is I don't know.

13. *Egu n̄ala te laseni iara touthonugna mae vaka teugne.*  
*Egu n̄ala te lase=ni iara touthonu=gna mae vaka teugne.*  
 like.that just PRS know=3SG.OBJ 1SG story=3SG.POSS man ship DEM

Just like that, I know that is the story of this white man.

## A.2 Procedural

This procedural-descriptive text on *simede* is from Rev. Andrew Piaso (male, 70s), told to me in Nareabu in July, 2006. *Simede* is a very special CH cultural event, at which time family, friends, and relatives of a deceased loved one remember that person with gift-giving, speeches, and most importantly, the cementing (hence the quasi-transliterated term from English to CH of *simede*) of the grave and tombstone of the deceased.

1. *Uve, u simededi naikno te lehe ḡre + kaisei ḡlepo bi'o fara*  
*Uve, u simede=di naikno te lehe ḡre kaisei ḡlepo bi'o fara*  
 yes DEM cement=3PL.POSS people REL die DEM one thing big very

*ka vikegna, kheragna egu naikno te lehe gne. #*  
*ka vike=gna, khera=gna egu naikno te lehe gne.*  
 LOC clan=3SG.POSS friend=3SG.POSS like.that people REL die DEM

Alright, the tombstone dedication ceremony ("cementing") for someone who has died is a very big thing to the clan and friends of the person who died.

2. *Uve, mare foli simede + te mala simede na + ka narane*  
*Uve, mare foli simede te mala simede na ka narane*  
 yes 3PL buy cement REL PUR cement DEM LOC day



*tugno te mala simede na u mei te kulu mala kaikaliti*  
*tugno te mala simede na u mei te kulu mala kaikaliti*  
 DEM REL PUR cement DEM DEM come PRS first PUR ready

*tevo mare na egu tahati ka narane tuana ia*  
*tevo mare na egu tahati ka narane tuana ia*  
 table 3PL DEM like.that 1PL.INCL LOC day DEM DEM

*teke + u narane te mala simede na.*  
*teke u narane te mala simede na.*  
 PSS DEM day REL PUR cement DEM

Well, they buy cement in order to cement on the day for cementing that is coming so that they will be ready with the table (i.e. tombstone) for us-incl on that day for cementing.

3. *Aonu... nodi ġloku legulahu rañhini*  
*Aonu no=di ġloku legu-lahu rañhi=ni*  
 CONJ ALN=3PL.POSS work behind-ORD DIR=3SG.OBJ

*kmadihu idodihu ku'edihu*  
*kma=di-hu ido=di-hu ku'e=di-hu*  
 father=3PL.POSS-SS mother=3PL.POSS-SS old.man=3PL.POSS-SS

*kavedihu te lehe tuana na tuana jateula lañau*  
*kave=di-hu te lehe tuana na tuana jateula lañau*  
 old.woman=3PL.POSS-SS REL die that DEM DEM be.like.that also

*nodi ġloku legulahu rañhidi mana te mare simede.#*  
*no=di ġloku legu-lahu rañhi=di mana te mare simede.*  
 ALN=3PL.POSS work behind-ORD DIR=3PL.OBJ 3SG.M PRS 3PL cement

And the last work done for their father, their mother, their old relatives of that person who died is also their work done for their cementing.

4. *Eguteuna... thoke nu narane te mala simede gne.*  
*Eguteuna thoke nu narane te mala simede gne.*  
 CONJ arrive CONJ day REL PUR cementing DEM

And then the day arrives for the cementing.

5. *Ka tuana te mala simede tekeu ana.*  
*Ka tuana te mala simede teke=u ana.*  
 LOC DEM REL PUR cementing PSS=CONT DEM.

At that time it is that the cementing begins.

6. *Me khapru naiknore mei pulei nusu,*  
*Me khapru naiknore mei pulei nusu,*  
 INCP gather people come carry sand

*pulei gaogaje, goro mae te mala simede ana.*  
*pulei gaogaje, goro mae te mala simede ana.*  
 carry k.o.shell all men REL PUR cementing DEM

Then the people gather and haul sand, they haul shells; that's what all the men do at the cementing.

7. *Loku nā mare narane tuana simedegna na. +*  
*Loku nā mare narane tuana simede=gna na.*  
 work NSP 3PL day DEM cementing =3SG.POSS DEM

That's the work they do on the cementing day.

8. *Gnafa simede tuna mei nā mae prisi me*  
*Gnafa simede tuna mei nā mae prisi me*  
 finish cementing DEM come NSP man priest INCP

*fablahi simede tuana.*  
*fa-blahi simede tuana.*  
 CAUS-holy cementing DEM

When the cementing is finished, the priest begins to bless that cementing.

9. *Eguteuna + me... gaogamu mare lealea legulahu te simede tuana...*  
*Eguteuna me gaogamu mare lealea legu-lahu te simede tuana.*  
 CONJ INCP feast 3PL happy behind-ORD PRS cementing DEM

And they begin to feast and they are happy at the conclusion of that cementing.

10. *Me narane bi'o ka naikno te mei khapru teu*  
*Me narane bi'o ka naikno te mei khapru te=u*  
 INCP day big LOC people REL come gather PRS=CONT

*ka narane simede ka narane tuana nekeu. #*  
*ka narane simede ka narane tuana neke=u.*  
 LOC day cementing LOC day DEM PST=CONT

It's a big day for the people that come gather for that cementing day like that.

11. *Ao la narane te gatho tahuni mare mae teke*  
*Ao la narane te gatho tahu=ni mare mae teke*  
 DEM IMM day PRS think heavy=3SG.OBJ 3PL man PSS

*lehegna te + mei loku legulahu mare rañhidi mana*  
*lehe=gna te mei loku legu-lahu mare rañhi=di mana*  
 die=3SG.POSS PRS come work behind-ORD 3PL DIR=3PL.OBJ 3SG

*na narane tuana na. #*  
*na narane tuana na*  
 DEM day DEM DEM

So on this day they regard very highly the man that died, and they have come to do this final work for him on that day.

### A.3 Condolence

This text from Godfrey Tafolehe (male, 30s) is classified by the genre of condolence, but not in the traditional sense of the term. This condolence represents expressions of sorrow shared via recording in July, 2006 in Nareabu for me to pass on to a good friend from Argentina upon news of the defeat of Argentina in the 2006 World Cup soccer tournament.

1. *Iara kaisei mae suporti Solomon Islands suporti*  
*Iara kaisei mae suporti Solomon Islands suporti*  
 1SG one man support Solomon Islands support

*ka iago team + gna Argentina. +*  
*ka iago team=gna Argentina.*  
 LOC 2SG team=3SG.POSS Argentina.

I am a Solomon Islander who supports you and team Argentina.

2. *Nu thofno hui di'anagnafaḡu fara te lose iara kaisei*  
*Nu thofno hui di'anagnafa=ḡu fara te lose iara kaisei*  
 CONJ really finish sad=1SG.POSS very PRS lose 1SG one

*mae suport agne + team gna Argentina. +*  
*mae suport agne team=gna Argentina.*  
 man support here team=3SG.POSS Argentina

282 A Grammar of Cheke Holo

But it is that I am really distressed that they lost because I am a man here that supports team Argentina.

3. *Tuana me hui di'agnafaḡu... egu fara te lose gotilo*  
*Tuana me hui di'agnafa=ḡu egu fara te lose gotilo*  
 DEM INCP finish sad=1SG.POSS like.that very PRS lose 2PL

*mae team Argentina. #*  
*mae team Argentina.*  
 man team Argentina.

That's why I have become very sad because it is that your-pl team Argentina lost.

4. *Iara kaisei mae support ka... World Cup team tifa ia... te*  
*Iara kaisei mae support ka World Cup team tifa ia te*  
 1SG one man support LOC World Cup team before DEM PRS

*posa ḡognaro gne nu... sori fara! #*  
*posa ḡognaro gne nu sori fara!*  
 arrive now DEM CONJ sorry very

I have supported their World Cup team from before till now but I'm very sorry!

5. *Nogu ḡaogatho, noḡu nagnafa egu ka*  
*No=gu ḡaogatho, no=ḡu nagnafa egu ka*  
 ALN=1SG.POSS thinking ALN=1SG.POSS heart like.that LOC

*team gna Argentina. #*  
*team=gna Argentina.*  
 team=3SG.POSS Argentina

My thoughts, my heart, like that, is with team Argentina.

6. *Uve, kate suport gne pukuni iago na ke win fapulo*  
*Uve, kate suport gne pukuni iago na ke win fa-pulo*  
 Yes when support DEM really 2SG DEM REP win CAUS-back

*World Cup gno # noḡu team favorite team mae Argentina # team. #*  
*World Cup gno no=ḡu team favorite team mae Argentina team.*  
 World Cup DEM ALN=1SG.POSS team favorite team man Argentina team

Yes, I am supporting you and really hopeful that you will win back the World Cup, as my favorite team is Team Argentina.

7. *Ġognaro na ke iho noġuni*  
*Ġognaro na ke iho no=ġu=ni*  
 now DEM REP not.know ALN=1SG.POSS=3SG.OBJ

*supportini ihei... jame Italia egu jare egu iara! #*  
*supporti=ni ihei... jame Italia egu jare egu iara*  
 support=3SG.OBJ who perhaps Italy like.that there like.that 1SG

Now, I don't know who I will support (for the remainder of this World Cup)...perhaps team Italy, like that, there is who I will support!

#### A.4 *Thoutonu Photo, or Historical Narrative*

This historical narrative, identified with the indigenous CH genre label of *thoutonu photo*, was written by chief David Nagadi (male, 70s) on the details surrounding the original establishment of the Christian church on Santa Isabel. According to history, the setting is presumably the early part of the twentieth century. This narrative took third place in the national literacy competition.

1. *Igné thonu gne toga meigna khiloau agne Mariñe na.*  
*Igné thonu gne toga mei=gna khiloau agne Mariñe na.*  
 DEM story DEM arrive come=3SG.POSS church here Mariñe DEM

This story is about the coming of the church here in Mariñe.

2. *Mae bi'o te theome laseni te u khiloau te boñihehe*  
*Mae bi'o te theome lase=ni te u khiloau te boñihehe*  
 man big REL NEG know=3SG.OBJ PRS DEM church PRS heathen

*ñā teure.*  
*ñā teure.*  
 NSP DEM

The elders didn't know about the church, as they were heathens.

3. *Kulu au nodi u ka nodi vido agne*  
*Kulu au no=di u ka no=di vido agne*  
 first be ALN=3PL.POSS DEM LOC ALN=3PL.POSS space here

*Mariñe teugne.*  
*Mariñe teugne.*  
 Mariñe DEM

The heathens were the ones beforehand residing here in Mariñe.

284 A Grammar of Cheke Holo

4. *Nekeu e gele soru mei mae nogna mae*  
*Neke=u e gele soru mei mae no=gna mae*  
 PST=CONT PUR stand.erec down come man ALN=3SG.POSS man

*nheta Hehebala re vuha Lageba.*  
*nheta Hehebala re vuha Lageba.*  
 strong Hehebala PL start Lageba.

The strong men belonging to Hehebala came down here, starting at Lageba.

5. *Tei ba gotilo e fari hiohiro keha vido te keli mala e*  
*Tei ba gotilo e fari hio~hiro keha vido te keli mala e*  
 go Q 2PL PUR RECP DUR~seek another place REL good PUR PUR

*soru e au tahati ka vido te thono boñihehe ña teu*  
*soru e au tahati ka vido te thono boñihehe ña te=u*  
 down PUR be 1PL.INCL LOC space REL really heathen NSP PRS=CONT

*ke paka re egudi mae Hehebala gne.*  
*ke paka re egu=di mae Hehebala gne.*  
 DIR west PL like.that=3PL.POSS man Hehebala DEM

Hehebala said like this, "You-pl go and look among these places for a good one for us-incl to settle on, a place that is truly heathen like the ones down the coast."

6. *Aonu keli u ñala egu mare me soru pha'udi*  
*Aonu keli u ñala egu mare me soru pha'u=di*  
 CONJ good DEM just like.that 3PL INC down head=3PL.POSS

*Dara ge Sei bi'o.*  
*Dara ge Sei bi'o.*  
 Dara CONJ Sei big

And so they said it was good and they went down, led by Dara and Big Sei.

7. *Gorha me soru mare me loña gu mare ka ġloha Buma*  
*Gorha me soru mare me loña gu mare ka ġloha Buma*  
 paddle INCP down 3PL INCP arrive like.that 3PL LOC valley Buma

*gne filo tafri tuna theome keli ñala tuana ke sage mare*  
*gne filo tafri tuna theome keli ñala tuana ke sage mare*  
 DEM see all.about DEM NEG good just DEM PRF mount 3PL



And then the leader of the people said, "Where are these warriors from?" And then they snatched up just their shields and axes and went to sea after them.

12. *Theo gehati kolho si gne mama ku'e gu.*  
*Theo gehati kolho si gne mama ku'e gu.*  
 not.be 1PL.EXCL just FOC DEM father elder like.that.

"We aren't doing anything in regards to this (war or raiding), father," the old men said like that.

13. *E unha egu si gotilo ia egu mana ao si me*  
*E unha egu si gotilo ia egu mana ao si me*  
 CONJ what like.that FOC 2PL DEM like.that 3SG.M DEM FOC INCP

*cheke n̄a mae Dara gne tagna.*  
*cheke n̄a mae Dara gne ta=gna.*  
 talk NSP man Dara DEM EXP=3SG.POSS

Then Dara said, "Well, what are you doing?"

14. *Gehati gne mei hara kaisei vido ia iago mala mei*  
*Gehati gne mei hara kaisei vido ia iago mala mei*  
 IPL.EXCL this come seek one place DEM 2SG PUR come

*khiloau na egu si gne egu mare tagna.*  
*khiloau na egu si gne egu mare ta=gna.*  
 church DEM like.that FOC DEM like.that 3PL EXP=3SG.POSS

"We-excl have come looking for a (suitable) place. Will you allow the church to come here?" they said to him.

15. *Uve mei si gotilo e ari tahati agno egu n̄a mae bi'o*  
*Uve mei si gotilo e ari tahati agno egu n̄a mae bi'o*  
 yes come FOC 2PL PUR come 1PL.INCL here like.that NSP man big

*N̄arai teu igne me talidi me tei jare ba*  
*N̄arai te=u igne me tali=di me tei jare ba*  
 N̄arai PRS=CONT DEM INCP lead=3PL.POSS INCP go there maybe

*teugne neu.*  
*teugne ne=u.*  
 DEM PST=CONT

"Alright, you-pl come and we-incl we will go over there." That's what the big man N̄arai said and he led them over there, this is what happened.



16. *Ao si me falalalse n̄a mana vido teu*  
*Ao si me fa-la~lase n̄a mana vido te=u*  
 DEM FOC INCP CAUS-DUR~know NSP 3SG.M space PRS=CONT

*gne tadi.*  
*gne ta=di.*  
 this EXP=3PL.POSS

And so he showed the place to them.

17. *Ao si me edi n̄ala mare fati baebale na jare bao*  
*Ao si me edi n̄ala mare fati baebale na jare bao*  
 DEM FOC INCP do just 3PL four lean.to DEM there maybe

*neu si ia*  
*ne=u si ia .*  
 PST=CONT FOC DEM

And so they began making four lean-to shelters there perhaps where he was leading them.

18. *Aonu ke mei mare meke toga ka mae bi'o gne me*  
*Aonu ke mei mare meke toga ka mae bi'o gne me*  
 CONJ PRF come 3PL INCP arrive LOC man big DEM INCP

*tothora n̄a kaisei sua ka mae bi'o gne gehati gne magnahagei*  
*tothora n̄a kaisei sua ka mae bi'o gne gehati gne magnahagei*  
 open NSP one child LOC man big DEM 1PL.EXCL DEM want

*te hata kaisei sua ka iago e mala thoke ka mae mama Hebala*  
*te hata kaisei sua ka iago e mala thoke ka mae mama Hebala*  
 REL take one child LOC 2SG PUR PUR arrive LOC man father Hebala

*si ia mala nu facheke lao gehati ka mare egu*  
*si ia mala nu fa-cheke lao gehati ka mare egu*  
 FOC DEM PUR CONJ CAUS-talk towards 1PL.EXCL LOC 3PL like.that

*gu mare ka mae bi'o N̄arai gne tuna mala cheke faneha egu*  
*gu mare ka mae bi'o N̄arai gne tuna mala cheke faneha egu*  
 like.that 3PL LOC man big N̄arai this DEM PUR talk how like.that

*mana facheke na tadi.*  
*mana fa-cheke na ta=di.*  
 3SG.M CAUS-talk DEM EXP=3PL.POSS

And so they came back and arrived at the big man, asking for one child from the big man saying, “We-excl want to take one child from you so that we can go to Mama Hebala and tell him and those who are there about what has happened, telling them what the big man N̄arai said about all this.”

19. *Eguteuna tonu lao n̄a mare tagna gehati gne*  
*Eguteuna tonu lao n̄a mare ta=gna gehati gne*  
 CONJ story towards NSP 3PL EXP=3SG.POSS 1PL.EXCL DEM

*mala thoke lao nu ka mana.*  
*mala thoke lao nu ka mana.*  
 PUR arrive towards CONJ LOC 3SG.M

And so we storied to them about it when we-excl arrived at him (Hehebala).

20. *Uve gehati la tei la denihila vido te mala ari*  
*Uve gehati la tei la deni=hila vido te mala ari*  
 yes 1PL.EXCL IMM go IMM find=COMPL place REL PUR go

*te au tahati na ia mama la pukuni snakrenihila*  
*te au tahati na ia mama la pukuni snakre=ni=hila*  
 PRS be 1PL.INCL DEM DEM father IMM truly allow=3SG.OBJ=COMPL

*mae bi'o khotogna vido tugne te thugna na te la*  
*mae bi'o khoto=gna vido tugne te thu=gna na te la*  
 man big owner=3SG.POSS place DEM PRS child=3SG.POSS DEM PRS IMM

*thathalei te la mei gehati igne egu mare si me keli fara*  
*thathalei te la mei gehati igne egu mare si me keli fara*  
 lead PRS IMM come 1PL.EXCL DEM like.that 3PL FOC INCP good very

*sua tugne mana mei nu ka iara egu n̄ala mana me au*  
*sua tugne mana mei nu ka iara egu n̄ala mana me au*  
 child DEM 3SG.M come CONJ LOC 1SG like.that just 3SG.M INCP be

*balugna n̄ala mama Hehebala neke u sua mana na*  
*balu=gna n̄ala mama Hehebala neke u sua mana na*  
 with=3SG.POSS just father Hehebala PST DEM child 3SG.M DEM

*nu sua ḡa'ase.*  
*nu sua ḡa'ase.*  
 CONJ child female.

“Well, we-EXCL have gone and discovered a place for us-INCL to go and live, father. The big man who is the owner has definitely made it available. This child is the one who led us to this property we are referring to. They are very nice. His child came with me.” He came to stay with Mama Hebala and his daughter.

21. *Egu ana ia Alesi Ḡou egu nañhagna na ao si*  
*Egu ana ia Alesi Ḡou egu nañha=gna na ao si*  
 like.that DEM DEM Alesi Gou like.that name=3SG.POSS DEM DEM FOC

*me soru n̄a mare binaboli teugne me rhoru soru n̄a khiloau gne*  
*me soru n̄a mare binaboli teugne me rhoru soru n̄a khiloau gne*  
 INCP down NSP 3PL migrate DEM INCP sit down NSP church DEM

*jare bao egu gnea tore nu bao teugne nañhagna kaisei*  
*jare bao egu gnea tore nu bao teugne nañha=gna kaisei*  
 there maybe like.that DEM ask CONJ maybe DEM name=3SG.POSS one

*na'itu bi'o meu egu si ana ia tuao si me iara*  
*na'itu bi'o me=u egu si ana ia tuao si me iara*  
 spirit big INCP=CONT like.that FOC DEM DEM DEM FOC INCP 1SG

*na tarai falelehe si na'itu tuana ia thuḡu ro*  
*na tarai fa-le~lehe si na'itu tuana ia thu=ḡu ro*  
 DEM pray CAUS-DUR~die FOC spirit DEM DEM child=1SG.POSS PL

*mala nu koko nañha tuana me mala fanañha ka*  
*mala nu koko nañha tuana me mala fa-nañha ka*  
 PUR CONJ throw.away name DEM INCP PUR CAUS-name LOC

*noḡu naprona theḡu ia egu si iara na*  
*no=ḡu naprona the=ḡu ia egu si iara na*  
 ALN=1SG.POSS haven REFL=1SG.POSS DEM like.that FOC 1SG DEM

*ia thuḡu ro egu*  
*ia thu=ḡu ro egu.*  
 DEM child=1SG.POSS PL like.that

The name of that daughter was Alesi Ḡou. And so, they migrated and the church was established there. “Ask the name of the chief evil spirit,” he said. “For I want to cast out that evil spirit, my children, so that his name will be removed and I will be able to call this my own haven,” like that.

22. *Mana me fakni na tahati nañha te Buala teugna*  
*Mana me fakni na tahati nañha te Buala teu=gna*  
 3SG.M INCP hit DEM 1PL.INCL name PRS Buala DEM=3SG.POSS

*egu si ia tore tuana ñala thoke mei ulugna khilou*  
*egu si ia tore tuana ñala thoke mei ulu=gna khilou*  
 like.that FOC DEM ask DEM just arrive come first=3SG.POSS church

*agne Mariñe gne tuana kolho si ia thonu iara na.*  
*agne Mariñe gne tuana kolho si ia thonu iara na.*  
 here Mariñe DEM DEM just FOC DEM story 1SG DEM

He hit it (the evil spirit), and we-incl named it/the place ‘Buala’, like that. That is just how Christianity first came here to Mariñe. That is my story.

22. *Ka vido te au suğagna mae Mama Hehebala tuna te*  
*Ka vido te au suğa=gna mae Mama Hehebala tuna te*  
 LOC place PRS be house=3SG.POSS man father Hehebala DEM PRS

*fanañhani mare na kilo mama gu eguni vido*  
*fa-nañha=ni mare na kilo mama gu egu=ni vido*  
 CAUS-name=3SG.OBJ 3PL DEM call father like.that like.that =3SG.OBJ place

*te au suğa mana na.*  
*te au suğa mana na.*  
 PRS be house 3SG.M DEM

At the place where Mama Hehebala’s house was located they named it after father. That is the place where his house was located.

### A.5 *Thoutonu Tifa*, or Custom Story

This is a legend, myth, or “custom story” (identified indigenously as *thoutonu tifa*, ‘story from time before’) written by Mastus Lithu (male, 40s) for the 1991 national literacy competition. He took first place honors for this submission. The storyline is based upon events surrounding a father’s request to his son to check his head for lice. The son refuses, so the father cuts him into two pieces. Then the man asks his daughter to do the same, and she responds only with crying, as she is quite distraught over her brother’s death. The father has compassion on her, and uses some vines and leaves from the bush as a remedy to put the son back together.

1. *Kaisei mae au phei thugna, nalha’u ge ġa’ase.*  
*Kaisei mae au phei thu=gna, nalha’u ge ġa’ase.*  
 one man be two child=3SG.POSS male CONJ female

A man had two children, a boy and a girl.

2. *Au keli gu meu retilo tharakna.*  
*Au keli gu me=u retilo tharakna.*  
 be good like.that INCP=CON 3TR.F family

The three of them lived well together in their family.

3. *Me cheke n̄a kmadi gne ka mae nalha'u gne mala*  
*Me cheke n̄a kma=di gne ka mae nalha'u gne mala*  
 INCP talk NSP father=3PL.POSS DEM LOC man male DEM PUR

*e fini thelini gu ba mae kmadi gne facheke*  
*e fini theli=ni gu ba mae kma=di gne fa-cheke*  
 PUR seek lice=3SG.OBJ like.that maybe man father=3PL.POSS DEM CAUS-talk

*na ka mae thugna nalha'u gne.*  
*na ka mae thu=gna nalha'u gne.*  
 DEM LOC man child=3SG.POSS male DEM

Their father told the boy to look for lice on his head.

4. *"Filo theli koba si ia thodoi," gu mae nalha'u*  
*"Filo theli koba si ia thodo=i," gu mae nalha'u*  
 look lice always FOC DEM refuse=3SG.OBJ like.that man male

*gne neu.*  
*gne ne=u.*  
 DEM PST=CONT

"I always look for lice and I'm tired of it", the boy said like that.

5. *Keḡra hage n̄a mae kmadi gne me cheke, "Gema,*  
*Keḡra hage n̄a mae kma=di gne me cheke, "Gema,*  
 stand up NSP man father=3PL.POSS DEM INCP talk, "Hey,

*thodo unha sao ia?" gu mae kmagna gne.*  
*thodo unha si ao ia?" gu mae kma=gna gne.*  
 refuse what FOC DEM DEM like.that man father=3SG.POSS DEM

The father stood up and said, "Why do you refuse me doing this?"

6. *Me atha naflahi na me vurikusini n̄ala mana pheii vido*  
*Me atha naflahi na me vurikusi=ni n̄ala mana pheii vido*  
 INCP take knife DEM INCP slash=3SG.OBJ just 3SG.M two place

*neu*  
*ne=u*  
 PST=CONT

He took his knife and cut him into two pieces.

7. *Filo egu teu ġregagna na khusu pheĩ hila*  
*Filo egu te=u ġrega=gna na khusu pheĩ=hila*  
 look like.that PRS=CONT sister=3SG.POSS DEM cut two =COMPL

*thinigna mana re.*  
*thini=gna mana re.*  
 body=3SG.POSS 3SG.M PL

His sister saw that his body was cut into two pieces.

8. *Me tanhi soru kolho ña sua ġa'ase gne neu.*  
*Me tanhi soru kolho ña sua ġa'ase gne ne=u.*  
 INCP cry down just NSP child female DEM PST=CONT

The young girl began to cry.

9. *Ke fachekei kmadi gne ka sua ġa'ase*  
*Ke fa-cheke=i kma=di gne ka sua ġa'ase*  
 REP CAUS-talk=3SG.OBJ father=3PL.POSS DEM LOC child female

*gne mala ke fini thelini ñala gu kmagna gne*  
*gne mala ke fini theli=ni ñala gu kma=gna gne*  
 DEM PUR REP seek like=3SG.OBJ just like.that father=3SG.POSS DEM

*neu.*  
*ne=u.*  
 PST=CONT

Their father told the girl to look for lice in his head.

10. *Eguteuna tanhi kolho na'a neu.*  
*Eguteuna tanhi kolho na'a ne=u.*  
 CONJ cry just 3M>F PST=CONT

And she just cried.

11. *"Tanhi unha si iago ia?" gu kmagna gne ka*  
*"Tanhi unha si iago ia?" gu kma=gna gne ka*  
 cry what FOC 2SG DEM like.that father=3SG.POSS DEM LOC

*ḡa'ase gne.*  
*ḡa'ase gne.*  
 female DEM

“Why are you crying?” the father said to the girl.

12. *Eguteuna ne vurikusini iago ḡregaḡu na,*  
*Eguteuna ne vurikusi=ni iago ḡrega=ḡu na,*  
 CONJ PST slash=3SG.OBJ 2SG brother=1SG.POSS DEM

*gu ḡa'ase gne facheke na ka kmagna na .*  
*gu ḡa'ase gne fa-cheke na ka kma=gna na*  
 like.that female DEM CAUS-talk DEM LOC father=3SG.POSS DEM

*neu*  
*ne=u.*  
 PST=CONT

"Because you cut my brother in half," the girl said to her father.

13. *Me cheke nā kmagna gne ka ḡa'ase gne,*  
*Me cheke nā kma=gna gne ka ḡa'ase gne,*  
 INCP talk NSP father=3SG.POSS DEM LOC female DEM

*Tei si iago e atha khakla ḡaju gnarho egu ka namhata gno.*  
*Tei si iago e atha khakla ḡaju gnarho egu ka namhata gno.*  
 go FOC 2SG PUR take hair tree vine like.that LOC bush DEM

The father to the girl, “Go and bring some leaves and vines from the bush.

14. *Mala nu toku fruni iago thinigna mana re egu.*  
*Mala nu toku fruni iago thini=gna mana re egu.*  
 PUR CONJ cover cover 2SG body=3SG.POSS 3SG.M PL like.that

Do that so you can wrap up his body, like that.”

15. *Me mei nā solha, duki, gu re me ke mereseni mare .*  
*Me mei nā solha, duki, gu re me ke mereseni mare*  
 INCP come NSP brown.ant red.ant like.that PL INCP PRF medicine 3PL

*egu.*  
*egu.*  
 like.that

The brown and red ants began to come and they were like medicine.

16. *Ao sini me ke thoñana ña thinigna mae*  
*Ao si=ni me ke thoñana ña thini=gna mae*  
 DEM FOC=3SG.OBJ INCP REP whole NSP body=3SG.POSS man

*sua nalha'u teke phei vido hi na neu.*  
*sua nalha'u teke phei vido=hi na ne=u.*  
 child male PSS two place=COMPL DEM PRS=CONT

And so they covered the body of the boy that was in two pieces.

17. *Me ke keğra hage ña mana neke me ke fari filoi,*  
*Me ke keğra hage ña mana neke me ke fari filo-i,*  
 INCP PRF stand up NSP 3SG.M PST INCP REP RECP see-RECP

*kubae gu ña mana ka ġregagna na neu.*  
*kubae gu ña mana ka ġrega=gna na ne=u.*  
 greet like.that NSP 3SG.M LOC sister=3SG.POSS DEM PST=CONT

He stood up again and they looked at each other and he began again to greet his sister.

### A.6 Poem

While there have been many CH songs written over the years (found particularly in the CH Hymnbook *Khoje Blahi*, which is used throughout the language group), this is the only published CH poem that I know of. It was composed by Norman Vavahe (male, 15) for the 1991 national literacy competition. He was awarded second place for its submission. It is a fanciful riddle told by a *gleñaha*, or a type of frigate bird. The bird describes himself at some length without revealing exactly who he is, and then comes to the end and asks, “Who am I?”

1. *Iara kaisei mae nañhaji*  
*Iara kaisei mae nañhaji*  
 1SG one man bird

I am a bird

2. *te thono ġlea koba legu rane*  
*te thono ġlea koba legu rane*  
 PRS very happy always every become.daylight

that is very happy every breaking of daylight.

3. *eguteuna iara au phei bagi gu te brahu*  
*eguteuna iara au phei bagi gu te brahu*  
 CONJ 1SG be two wing like.that REL long



And I have two wings that are long

4. *teuna iara thiniḡu na pipito egu*  
*teuna iara thini=ḡu na pipito egu*  
 DEM 1SG body=1SG.POSS DEM black like.that

and my body is black

5. *iara teuna khaklaḡu na brahu*  
*iara teuna khakla=ḡu na brahu*  
 1SG DEM hair=1SG.POSS DEM long

and my hair is long

6. *nu fagano sesere fara egu*  
*nu fagano sesere fara egu*  
 CONJ fine shell.inlay very like.that

and very fine inlay shell

7. *Fofloḡu iara na e fnonu te nabagna*  
*Foflo=ḡu iara na e fnonu te naba=gna*  
 mouth=1SG.POSS 1SG DEM PUR sharp PRS fit=3SG.POSS

My mouth is adequately sharp

8. *mala thako khata sasa kate rofo noḡu na*  
*mala thako khata sasa kate rofo no=ḡu na*  
 PUR catch some fish when hungry ALN=1SG.POSS DEM

for catching some fish when I'm hungry.

9. *Noḡu ḡloku iara na, teuna flalo nu*  
*No=ḡu ḡloku iara na, teuna flalo nu*  
 ALN=1SG.POSS work 1SG DEM DEM fly CONJ

My work is to fly and

10. *ke tei gnafa ka ḡaju te elo ka*  
*ke tei gnafa ka ḡaju te elo ka*  
 REP go all LOC tree REL float LOC

to keep returning for rest on wood that is floating

11. *thibuhi g̃ro egu*  
*thibuhi g̃ro egu*  
 wave DEM like.that

on those waves out there like that.

12. *Kate narane te nuri fara na*  
*Kate narane te nuri fara na*  
 when day REL wind very DEM

When the day is very windy

13. *iara ke flalo hage magati, mosu ka maloa kligna*  
*iara ke flalo hage magati, mosu ka maloa kligna*  
 1SG REP fly high east west LOC sky above

I fly east, west up in the sky above

14. *Ne filogau iara n̄a gotilo nu,*  
*Ne filo=gau iara n̄a gotilo nu,*  
 PST see=SG.OBJ 1SG NSP 2PL CONJ

If you-pl see me

15. *gotilo thono g̃lea fara te filogau na egu*  
*gotilo thono g̃lea fara te filo=gau na egu*  
 2PL very happy very REL see=1SG.OBJ DEM like.that

you-pl will be very happy to see me

16. *Te filo sukhagami iara na*  
*Te filo sukha=gami iara na*  
 PRS see down=1PL.EXCL 1SG DEM

If it is that I descend to you

17. *iara thono g̃le'a fara ka nomi namono ba*  
*iara thono g̃le'a fara ka no=mi namono ba*  
 1SG very happy very LOC ALN=2PL.POSS village or

*nomi g̃lalaba*  
*no=mi g̃lalaba*  
 ALN=2PL.POSS public.place

I will be very happy in your village or your village meeting place

18. *Aonu keha naikno re me tafradi n̄a mare egu*  
*Aonu keha naikno re me tafra=di n̄a mare egu*  
 CONJ some people PL INCP dodge=3PL.POSS NSP 3PL like.that

And so I dodge some people

19. *Ka noḡu nanheta re me tafradi n̄a*  
*Ka no=ḡu nanheta re me tafra=di n̄a*  
 LOC ALN=1SG.POSS strength PL INCP dodge=3PL.OBJ NSP

*mare egu*  
*mare egu*  
 3PL like.that

By my strength I dodge them

20. *Tuame iara kaisei nañhaji te ḡlea fara ka nauthoḡlu gne*  
*Tuame iara kaisei nañhaji te ḡlea fara ka nauthoḡlu gne*  
 CONJ 1SG one bird REL happy very LOC world DEM

Therefore I am one bird that is very happy in this world

21. *Fagusnaḡu iara*  
*Fa-gusna=ḡu iara*  
 CAUS-question=1SG.POSS 1SG

I have a question

22. *Iara mae hei?*  
*Iara mae hei*  
 1SG man who

Who am I?



### Appendix B: Catalogue of Texts Corpus

The following is a record of texts compiled for analysis and reference in this study. For the audio recordings, it is noted that most speakers are educated on village/provincial level, except for Andrew Piaso, who is a Solomons seminary graduate. After the name of the recording, in parenthesis is the length in minutes of the recording. Speaker's sex and age is indicated in the parenthesis after the speaker's name. In regards to the age, in some cases it refers to the approximate decade of age during the recording. Unless otherwise indicated, all of the texts were recorded by F. Boswell. The entire database and record of CH texts will be deposited with the SIL Language and Culture Archives. These archives use a DSpace repository ([www.dspace.org](http://www.dspace.org)) to manage long-term preservation and access to digital materials.

<b>Recording</b>	<b>Speaker</b>	<b>Place and year of recording</b>	<b>Genre</b>
GNAP1 Guale fight (15)	A.Piaso (m,70)	Honiara,2001	narrative
GCGT1 Team Condolence (1.5)	G.Tafolehe (m,30)	Nareabu,2006	condolence
GNJA1 Daughters married (9.5)	J.Aujare (m,70)	Honiara,2006	narrative
GNJA2 First saw Bosma (2.5)	J. Aujare (m,70)	Honiara,2006	narrative
GNDN1 Early Isabel (10)	D. Nagadi (m,50)	Nareabu,1980	narrative
GGCP1 Greetings (4.5)	Cecil,L'lea(m,30)	Nareabu,2006	greetings
GGAF1 Greetings (1.5)	A.Fihu (f,60)	Nareabu,2006	greetings
GGGT1 Greetings (1)	G.Tafolehe(m,30)	Nareabu,2006	greetings
GGNG1 Greetings (3.5)	N.Grace (f,50)	Nareabu,2006	greetings
GGMP1 Greetings (2.5)	M.Phao (f,60)	Nareabu,2006	greetings
GGRS1 Greetings (1)	R.Safrodi (m,70)	Nareabu,2006	greetings
GGRN1 Greetings (1.5)	R.Oliva (f,20)	Nareabu,2006	greetings
GGAH1 Greetings (1)	A.Havi (f,30)	Nareabu,2006	greetings
NGTD1 Greetings (7)	T.Diamana(m,50)	Buala,2006	greetings
Greetings (1)	N.Grace (f,50)	Nareabu,2006	greetings
GGML1 Greetings (2)	M.Lithu(m,60)	Nareabu,2006	greetings
GDML1 Population (2.5)	M.Lithu(m,60)	Nareabu,2006	descriptive
GDML2 Spiritual life (2)	M.Lithu(m,60)	Nareabu,2006	descriptive
GDML3 St Barnabas Day (6)	M.Lithu(m,60)	Nareabu,2006	descriptive

300 A Grammar of Cheke Holo

GDML4 Marriage (3.5)	M.Lithu(m,60)	Nareabu,2006	descriptive
GDML5 Houses (4)	M.Lithu(m,60)	Nareabu,2006	descriptive
GDML6 Barasile school (5)	M.Lithu(m,60)	Nareabu,2006	descriptive
GDML7 Kindergarten (3)	M.Lithu(m,60)	Nareabu,2006	descriptive
GNML1 The big wind (4)	M.Lithu(m,60)	Nareabu,2006	narrative
GNML2 On priests (7)	M.Lithu(m,60)	Nareabu,2006	narrative
GPAP1 Choosing Chiefs (5)	A.Piaso (m,70)	Honiara,2001	procedural
GTAP1 Vonunu trip (9.5)	A.Piaso (m,70)	Honiara,2001	travel log
GPAP2 Chief choosing (5.5)	A.Piaso (m,70)	Honiara,2001	procedural
GPAP3 COM ordination (7)	A.Piaso (m,70)	Honiara,2001	procedural
GPAP4 On marriage (5)	A.Piaso (m,70)	Honiara,2001	procedural
GPAP5 Simedede (2.5)	A.Piaso (m,70)	Nareabu,2006	procedural
GDAP1 On Tasiu (4)	A.Piaso (m,70)	Honiara,2001	descriptive
GNSF1 Flying in Sol Air (1)	S. Fihu (m,60)	Nareabu,2006	narrative
GPSF1 Going Fishing (2)	S. Fihu (m,60)	Nareabu,2006	procedural
GDSF1 Work of a cathecist (2)	S. Fihu (m,60)	Nareabu,2006	descriptive
GHSF1 Say something! (1.5)	S. Fihu (m,60)	Nareabu,2006	hortatory
GNGT1 Sol Air flight (5.5)	G.Tafolehe(m,30)	Nareabu,2006	narrative
NGDGT1 Chainsaw work (4.5)	G.Tafolehe(m,30)	Nareabu,2006	descriptive
GNET1 On various (19.5)	E.Toremana (f,20)	Nareabu,2006	narrative
GPCP1 WorldCup prediction (2)	C.Pannel (m,30)	Nareabu,2006	prediction?
GPCP2 Winner prediction (1)	C.Pannel (m,30)	Nareabu,2006	prediction?
GDCP1 Brazil soccer (2.5)	C.Pannel (m,30)	Nareabu,2006	descriptive
GDCP2 Bread making (5.5)	C.Pannel (m,30)	Nareabu,2006	descriptive
GNCP1 Government help (5)	C.Pannel (m,30)	Nareabu,2006	narrative
GWCP1 Family news (3)	C.Pannel (m,30)	Nareabu,2006	news
GDCP7 Kamaosi school (3)	C.Pannel (m,30)	Nareabu,2006	descriptive
GDCP8 Cecil on customs (3.5)	C.Pannel (m,30)	Nareabu,2006	descriptive
GNAP2 Billy lost in woods (5)	A.Piaso (m,70)	Honiara,2001	narrative
GNAP3 Piaso Christmas (17)	A.Piaso (m,70)	Honiara,2001	narrative
GNAP4 Ligomo 4 wreck (5)	A.Piaso (m,70)	Honiara,2001	narrative

GDAP2 Kangaroo spotting (2.5)	A.Piaso (m,70)	Honiara,2001	descriptive
GNAP5 No petrol for Sol Air (2)	A.Piaso (m,70)	Honiara,2001	narrative
GDBB2 Visi vine fishing (2.5)	B.Bogese (m,40)	Nareabu,1980	descriptive
GDBB1 Fishing gagaolo (3)	B.Bogese (m,40)	Nareabu,1980	descriptive
Fishing with baskets (3.5)	B.Bogese (m,40)	Nareabu,1980	descriptive
GDCP6 childbirth (7)	C.Pannel (m,30)	Nareabu,2006	descriptive
GDCP3 Solomon Games (1.5)	C.Pannel (m,30)	Nareabu,2006	descriptive
GNAP7 Keke on motor bike (1)	A.Piaso (m,70)	Nareabu,2006	narrative
GDAP3 The church on Isabel (4)	A.Piaso (m,70)	Nareabu,2006	descriptive
GNAP6 Billy and Henry (1)	A.Piaso (m,70)	Nareabu,2006	narrative
GDCP4 Canoe to shore (1)	C.Pannel (m,30)	Nareabu,2006	descriptive
GDCP5 David Nagadi's death (4)	C.Pannel (m,30)	Nareabu,2006	descriptive
GDSF2 Ramsi (2)	S. Fihu (m,70)	Nareabu,2006	descriptive

**Total time of these texts  
in minutes: 264**

#### Extra texts

GDRB1 Going to the reef (2)	R.Bogese (f,18)	Nareabu,1989	descriptive
GTGW1 <i>Thautaru</i> history (2)	Thogosalovillage	Thogosalovillage,1980	thautaru(history)
GDRB2 Clearing the garden (2)	R.Bogese (f,18)	Nareabu,1989	descriptive
GNFT1 Geoffrey White tour (3)	F.Thogosalovillage (m,50)	Nareabu,1989	narrative
GDFT1 On clans (3)	F.Thogosalovillage (m,50)	Nareabu,1989	descriptive
GNAP7 Cyclone Ida (3)	A.Piaso (m,70)	Nareabu,1989	narrative
Letter from Piaso	A.Piaso (m,70)	1989	letter
GPNV1 Norman on gleñaha	N.Vavaha(m,18)	1989	poem
GKML1 Fini theli	M.Lithu(m,40)	1989	kastom
GDBB3 Khorifishing	B.Bogese(m,40)	1989	descriptive
GDEL1 Khorifishing	Fr.Ezekiel(m,60)	1989	descriptive
GSGB1 Gideon Bana sermon	G.Bana(m,30)	1989	sermon

302 A Grammar of Cheke Holo

GDRL1 Kokholo	Rosanna L.(f,60)	1989	descriptive
GNDN2 Church comes to Isabel	D.Nagadi(m,60)	1989	narrative
GDDN1 On fishing	D.Nagadi(m,60)	1989	descriptive
GDLT1 Khorī fishing	L.Toremana(m,40)	1989	descriptive

Additional audio texts  
recorded in 2006 in Nareabu  
(recording length in parenthesis  
after the title):

Kokholo (16)	M. Lithu (m,60)	history
Mother's Union Games (3)	A.Fihu(f,60)	descriptive
Bible Cricket (3.5)	A.Fihu(f,60)	descriptive
Bishop news (7.5)	S.Fihu(m,60)	conversation
Passion of the Christ (6)	S.Fihu(m,60)	descriptive
Found a coin! (19)	N.Grace(f,50)	descriptive
Bishop installation (3.5)	A.Piaso(m,70)	descriptive
Solomon Games (4)	S.Fihu(m,60)	narrative
King George VI school (4)	C.Pannel(m,30)	descriptive
Narane Suga (5.5)	C.Pannel(m,30)	descriptive
Sports at school (7.5)	C.Pannel(m,30)	descriptive
Staying with wantoks (5.5)	C.Pannel(m,30)	descriptive
World Cup news (2.5)	C.Pannel(m,30)	descriptive
Alardyce school (11)	L. Muana(m,30)	descriptive
Canoe making (4)	L. Muana(m,30)	descriptive
Fishing (2)	L. Muana(m,30)	descriptive
Family (3)	L. Muana(m,30)	news
His wife (3.5)	L. Muana(m,30)	descriptive
Logging work (0.5)	L. Muana(m,30)	descriptive
American child in Solomons (2)	L. Muana(m,30)	descriptive
Travails of childbirth (3)	L. Muana(m,30)	descriptive

Texts orally collected and transcribed in 1981 in Nareabu village, contributed by David Bosma for the publication *Life in our Village* (speaker's ages estimated). All are classified



as descriptive genre. These are in the database of texts.

The men and their work	G.Fulegu(f,10)
The women and their work	M.Lithu(m,30)
The clan system	G.Fulegu(f,10)
An arranged marriage	B.Bogese(m,40)
Childbirth	G.Fulegu(f,10)
Children	G.Fulegu(f,10)
Old people	G.Gasegita(f,20)
Leadership	G.Fulegu(f,10)
Values and etiquette	G.Fulegu(f,10)
Law and order	M.Lithu(m,30)
Religion	M.Lithu(m,30)
Sickness and healing	M.Lithu(m,30)
Death and burial	M.Lithu(m,30)
Socializing	M.Lithu(m,30)
Possessions	M.Lithu(m,30)
Gardening	G.Gasegita(f,20)
Fishing	B. Bogese(m,40)
Hunting	M.Lithu(m,30)
Crafts	G.Gasegita(f,20)
House building	G.Gasegita(f,20)



## Bibliography

- Barlaan, Rodolfo Rosario, 1999. *Aspects of Focus in Isnag*. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- Besnier, Niko, 1995. *Literacy, Emotion, and Authority: Reading and Writing on a Polynesian Atoll*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Bickford, Albert. 1998. *Tools for Analyzing the World's Languages: Morphology and Syntax*. Dallas: SIL.
- Bloomfield, Leonard, 1933. *Language*. New York: Henry Holt.
- Bolinger, Dwight, 1954. "Meaningful Word Order in Spanish." *Boletin de Filologia*, Universidad de Chile, Tomo 8.
- Bosma, D. (ed.), 1981. "Standardised Alphabets for Santa Isabel Languages: A Recommended Spelling for the Languages of Santa Isabel, Solomon Islands." (Mimeo, 23 pp).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1981. "Life in our Village: Short Stories from Nareabu, Santa Isabel, Solomon Islands." (Mimeo, 43 pp).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1984. "Holo (Maringe) Dictionary." (Mimeo, 45 pp).
- Boswell, Bekah., 1991a. *Buka 1 ka Cheke Holo* (Book One in Cheke Holo). Nareabu: Cheke Holo Translation Committee.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1991b. *Buka 2 ka Cheke Holo: Kaikaliti mala Iu'iju* (Book Two in Cheke Holo: Ready for Reading). Nareabu: Cheke Holo Translation Committee.
- Boswell, Freddy (ed.) 1991. *Buka Thoutonu ka Cheke Holo* (Story Book in Cheke Holo). Honiara: National Literacy Committee. (Mimeo, 18 pp).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 2001. "Cheke Holo Orthography: Local Tradition Clashes with a Linguist's Concerns." *Notes on Literacy* 27(1): 3-12.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 2002. "The Genres of 'Shouted Speech' in Cheke Holo." *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 22(1): 35-43.
- Burt, Ben, 1994. *Tradition and Christianity: The Colonial Transformation of a Solomon Islands Society*. Langhorne, PA: Harwood Academic Publishers.
- Chafe, Wallace, 1976. "Givenness, Contrastiveness, Definiteness, Subjects, Topics, and Point of View," in Charles Li (ed.), *Subject and Topic*. New York: Academic Press.
- Chomsky, Noam, 1957. *Syntactic Structures*. The Hague: Mouton.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1965. *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Christian, Imanuel Gulabbahi, 1983. "Linguistic and Cultural Analysis of Three Gujarati Folktales." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Arlington.
- Chung, Sandra and Alan Timberlake. "Tense, Aspect and Mood", in *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*, Volume 3. Cambridge: CUP.
- Clark, H. H. and E. V. Clark, 1977. *Psychology and Language*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Codrington, R.H. 1885. *The Melanesian Languages*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Committee on Cheke Holo Translation, 1993. *U Nonomho te Keli ka Cheke Holo* (The New Testament in Cheke Holo). Suva, Fiji: Bible Society in the South Pacific.

- \_\_\_\_\_, 2005 (ed.) *Keha Buka ka Old Testament re ka Cheke Holo* (Some Books of the Old Testament in Cheke Holo). Suva, Fiji: Bible Society in the South Pacific.
- Comrie, B., 1976. *Aspect*. Cambridge: CUP.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1981. *Language Universals and Linguistic Typology: Syntax and Morphology*. Chicago: University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1989. "Morphological Typology", in *Language Universals and Linguistic Typology*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. pp 42-51.
- Corston, S.H., 1996. *Ergativity in Roviana, Solomon Islands*. Pacific Linguistics B-113. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Croft, William, 1991. *Syntactic Categories and Grammatical Relations: The Cognitive Organization of Information*. Chicago: University Press.
- Crowley, Terry, 2001. "The Indigenous Linguistic Response to Missionary Authority in the Pacific." *Australian Journal of Linguistics*, 21:2, pp. 239-260.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 2002. *Serial Verbs in Oceanic: A Descriptive Typology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Crowley, Terry, John Lynch, Jeff Siegel, and Julie Piau, 1995. *The Design of Language: An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics*. Auckland: Longman.
- Dixon, R.M.W., 2010a. *Basic Linguistic Theory. Volume 1: Methodology*. Oxford: University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 2010b. *Basic Linguistic Theory. Volume 2: Grammatical Topics*. Oxford: University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 2012. *Basic Linguistic Theory. Volume 3: Further Grammatical Topics*. Oxford: University Press.
- Deverell, B., and Deverell G., eds., 1986. *Pacific Rituals: Living or Dying*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, USP, in association with the Pacific Theological College.
- Durie, Mark. 1988. "Verb Serialization and 'Verbal Prepositions' in Oceanic Languages." *Oceanic Linguistics*, 27:1, pp. 1-23.
- Ezard, Bryan. 1997. *A Grammar of Tewala*. Pacific Linguistics, C-137. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Fagan, Joel L., 1986. *A Grammatical Analysis of Mono-Alu (Bougainville Straits, Solomon Islands)*. Pacific Linguistics B-96. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Fitzsimons, Matthew, 1989. "Zabana: A Grammar of a Solomon Islands Language." Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Auckland.
- Frawley, William, 2009. *Linguistics Semantics*. New York: Routledge.
- Givón, Talmy, 1979. *On Understanding Grammar*, New York: Academic Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1984. *Syntax: A Functional-Typological Introduction*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Gravelle, Gilles, 2004. "Meyah: An East Bird's Head language of Papua, Indonesia." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Vrije Universiteit.
- Greenberg, Joseph H., 1966. (ed.) *Universals of Grammar*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 2002. *Understanding Morphology*. London: Arnold.
- Heine, Bernd. 1997. *Possession: Cognitive Sources, Forces, and Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: CUP.

- Hopper, Paul J., 1979. "Aspect and Foregrounding in Discourse," in Givón (ed.), *On Understanding Grammar*. New York: Academic Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and Sandra A. Thompson, 1980. "Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse," *Language*, 56:251-299.
- Keenan, Edward J. 1985. "Relative Clauses," in *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*, Vol. 2. Cambridge: CUP.
- Keesing, Roger, 1991. "Substrates, Calquing and Grammaticalization in Melanesian Pidgin", in *Approaches to Grammaticalization*, Vol. 1, ed. Elizabeth Closs Traugott and Bernd Heine. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 314-342.
- Kingston, Peter K.E., 1973. "Repetition as a Feature of Discourse Structure in Mamaindé." *Notes on Translation* No. 50:13-22.
- Klamer, Marian. 2010. *A Grammar of Teiwa*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1998. *A Grammar of Kambera*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Kroeger, Paul, 1993. *Phrase Structure and Grammatical Relations in Tagalog*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 2004. *Analyzing Syntax: A Lexical-Functional Approach*. Cambridge: CUP.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 2005. *Analyzing Grammar: An Introduction*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Ladefoged, Peter, 1982. *A Course in Phonetics*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Ladefoged, Peter and Ian Maddieson, 1996. *The Sounds of the World's Languages*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lagusu, H., 1986. "Smoke and Ashes for the Knabu Gods." in Deverell and Deverell, *Pacific Rituals*, eds., pp. 48-55.
- Lambrecht, Knud, 1994. *Information Structure and Sentence Form: Topic, Focus, and the Mental Representations of Discourse Referents*. New York: Cambridge.
- Lawton, Ralph, 1993. *Topics in the Description of Kiriwina*. Pacific Linguistics D-84, Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Levy-Bruhl, L., 1914. "L'expression de la Possession dans les Langues Melanesiennes." *Memoire de la Societe de Linguistique de Paris*. 19,2:96-104.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1985. *How Natives Think*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Lewis, M. Paul, 2009. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. 16th edition. Dallas: SIL.
- Li, Charles N., 1976. *Subject and Topic*. New York: Academic Press.
- Lichtenberk, Frantisek, 1985. "Possessive Constructions in Oceanic Languages and in Proto-Oceanic". In Andrew Pawley and Lois Carrington, eds. *Austronesian Linguistics at the 15<sup>th</sup> Pacific Science Congress*. Pacific Linguistics C-88:93-140. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Longacre, Robert E., 1996. *The Grammar of Discourse*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New York: Plenum Press.
- Lyons, John, 1977. *Semantics*. 2 vols. Cambridge: CUP.
- Lynch, John, 1973. "Verbal Aspects of Possession in Melanesian Languages," in *Working Papers in Linguistics* 5, 9:1-29. Honolulu: University of Hawaii.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1978. *A Grammar of Lenakel*. Pacific Linguistics B-55. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

- \_\_\_\_\_, 1996. "Proto Oceanic Possessive-Marking." In *Oceanic Studies: Proceedings of the First International Conference on Oceanic Linguistics*, Pacific Linguistics C-133. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and Malcolm Ross and Terry Crowley, 2002. *The Oceanic Languages*. Richmond, UK: Curzon Press.
- Naramana, Richard, 1987. "Elements of Culture in Hograno/Maringe, Santa Ysabel." *O'o: A Journal of Solomon Islands Studies*. 3:41-57.
- Obata, Kazuko. 2003. *A Grammar of Bilua*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Palmer, Bill. 2009a. *Kokota Grammar*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication No. 35.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 2009b. "Clause Order and Information Structure in Cheke Holo." *Oceanic Linguistics*. 48:1. pp. 213-249.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1999. "Voiceless Sonorants—Phonemes or Underlying Clusters?" *Australian Journal of Linguistics*, Vol. 19, No. 1:77-88.
- Payne, Thomas. 1997. *Describing Morphosyntax: A Guide for Field Linguists*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Piaso, Aduru, (trans.), n.d. *Mae Noa nei Kaisei Nabriitha Bio (Noah and the Big Flood)*, authored by Penny Frank, first published in English, 1986. Oxford: Lion Publishers.
- \_\_\_\_\_, n.d., *Mae Abraham, Kheragna God (Abraham, Friend of God)*, authored by Penny Frank, first published in English, 1986. Oxford: Lion Publishers.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1999a. *Devet: Kaisei Sitei te Theome Mhagu (David: A Boy That Is Not Afraid)*. Bible Society Comics series. Raiwaqa, Fiji: Bible Society in the South Pacific.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1999b. *Kaisei Mae King te Fnakno Fara (A King That Is Very Honored)*. Bible Society Comics series. Raiwaqa, Fiji: Bible Society in the South Pacific.
- Quakenbush, Steve, 2003. "Philippine Linguistics from an SIL Perspective: Trends and Prospects," *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*, 34:1, pp. 1-27.
- Ray, Sidney H., 1926. *A Comparative Study of the Melanesian Island Languages*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Reesink, Ger P. 1986. *Structures and their Functions in Usan: A Papuan Language of Papua New Guinea*. Studies in Language Companion Series, Vol. 13. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Ross, D.A., 1987. "A Pilot Study of Diachronic Discourse Features." Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Texas at Arlington.
- Ross, M.D., 1988. *Proto Oceanic and the Austronesian Languages of Western Melanesia*. Pacific Linguistics C-98. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1998a. "Proto-Oceanic Adjectival Categories and Their Morphosyntax." *Oceanic Linguistics*, 37:1, pp. 85-119.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1998b. "Possessive-like Attributive Constructions in the Oceanic Languages of Northwest Melanesia." *Oceanic Linguistics*, 37:2, pp. 234-276.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 2004. "Demonstratives, Local Nouns and Directionals in Oceanic languages: a Diachronic Perspective", in *Deixis and Demonstratives in Oceanic Languages*, ed., Gunter Senft, pp. 175-204. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Schachter, Paul. 1985. "Parts-of-speech Systems," in *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*, ed., Timothy Shopen. Volume 1. Cambridge: CUP.

- Seiler, Hansjakob, 1983. *Possession as an Operational Dimension of Language*. Tübingen: Naar.
- Shopen, Timothy. 1985. *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*. 3 Volumes. Cambridge: CUP.
- Silzer, Peter James, 1983. "Ambai: An Austronesian language of Irian Jaya, Indonesia." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Australian National University.
- Simons, Gary, 1982. "Word Taboo and Comparative Austronesian Linguistics." *Pacific Linguistics* C76:157-226. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Tryon, D. T. and B. D. Hackman, 1983. *Solomon Islands Languages: An Internal Classification*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, C-72.
- Tryon, D.T., ed. 1995. *Comparative Austronesian Dictionary: An Introduction to Austronesian Studies*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Uhlenbeck, E.M. 1992. "General Linguistics and the Study of Morphological Processes." *Oceanic Linguistics* 31.1.1-11.
- Van den Heuvel, Wilco. 2006. *Biak: Description of an Austronesian Language of Papua*. Utrecht: LOT.
- Vilasa, E., 1986. "The Fafara Ritual of Santa Ysabel," in Deverell and Deverell, eds., *Pacific Rituals*, pp. 56-65.
- Watson-Gegeo, K. A. and Geoffrey White, 1990. (eds.) *Disentangling: Conflict Discourse in Pacific Societies*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Welchman, Henry. 1889-1908. *Diary, Missionary Life in the Melanesian Islands*. 12 volumes. Canberra: National Library of Australia microfilm m728, 805-6.
- Whaley, Lindsay J. 1997. *Introduction to Typology*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- White, Geoffrey M., and Francis Kokhonigita and Hugo Pulomana, 1988. *Cheke Holo (Maringe/Hograno) Dictionary*. Pacific Linguistics, C-97. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- White, Geoffrey, M., 1978. "Big Men and Church Men: Social Images in Santa Isabel, Solomon Islands." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, San Diego.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1991. *Identity Through History: Living Stories in a Solomon Islands Society*. *Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology*, Volume 83, Cambridge: CUP.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1995. *Maringe*, in *Comparative Austronesian Dictionary: An Introduction to Austronesian Studies*, edited by Darrell Tryon. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter. Part 1, Fascicle 2, pp. 787-791.
- Whiteman, D.L., and G. Simons, 1978. "The Languages of Santa Isabel, Solomon Islands: A Sociolinguistic Survey." (Mimeo).
- Whiteman, D.L. 1983. *Melanesians and Missionaries: An Ethnohistorical Study of Social and Religious Change in the Southwest Pacific*. Pasadena, CA: William Carey.
- Wilson, Darryl, 1990. "Idiom Discovery Procedure." *Notes on Linguistics*, 49:4-6.
- Zeva, Ben, 1983. "Church and State on Isabel," in *Solomon Islands Politics*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies.

## Summary in English

This book provides a synchronic description of the phonology, word classes (including various semantic categories of classification), morphology, and syntax of the Cheke Holo (CH) language. CH is an Austronesian language of the Oceanic subgroup, spoken by 11,000 speakers on Santa Isabel island in the Solomon Islands. This grammar contains over 1000 examples sentences, and is based on language data collected between 1989-2017. The data set comprises: (1) several hours of recorded CH texts of various genres, ranging from short greetings to 45 minute talks on a variety of topics, and (2) approximately 40 written texts of various genres, including poetry, personal letters, myths, and narratives.

**Chapter 1** provides an introduction to the CH language and discusses the research methodology used for this study. Notes on the socio-cultural aspects of the CH people are provided, which includes the considerable impact of the Anglican church on the culture and language. The predominance of CH among the other seven languages of Santa Isabel is discussed, concluding that the influence and vitality of CH remains firm.

**Chapter 2** is a description of CH phonology and includes several noteworthy features such as numerous consonant clusters and vowel sequences, voiceless continuants, and phonological phenomena involved in verb nominalization. The number of consonantal phonemes is 31 and there are five vowel phonemes. Regardless of word class, the underlying position of phonological stress on the word root is on the penultimate syllable. The predominant syllable pattern is one of open syllables. Reduplication of the verb stem is quite common in CH. The verb is the predominant word class which reduplicates, and usually serves the purpose of intensification or prolonging of action. There are three types of reduplication: full, partial, and syllable. In CH grammar, the shape of the prefix that nominalizes verbs depends on their initial consonant. Verbs that begin with voiceless stops, liquids, a voiced fricatives /y/ or a voiceless fricative /h/ each take a different nominalized form.

Nominals are discussed in **Chapter 3**. CH has a large, open class of nouns. These are classified by semantic and morphosyntactic features. CH nouns demonstrate fairly typical Oceanic distinctions between alienability and inalienability. Various categorizations of nouns are described in some detail, including those which reference people; proper nouns; kinship nouns; compound nouns and their various compound constructions with other nouns, with verbs, and with adjectives; count and mass nouns; borrowed nouns; temporal nouns; and, directionals. CH pronouns occur as subjects and objects, or in a possessor relationship to a noun. CH has four singular pronouns, and 16 non-singular pronouns. A gender distinction is made in the third person singular, though this contrast is very rare in Oceanic languages. Non-singular pronouns show distinction between plural, dual, and trial, as well as



clusivity in first person and gender in third person. CH has two sets of demonstrative pronouns which mark specificity and proximity.

Verbs are discussed in **Chapter 4**. CH verbs express actions, processes, and states. Verbs in CH are distinguished from nouns by a combination of syntactic and morphological features. Structurally, there are morphological features of verbs which are not present with nouns. First, verbs undergo reduplication to encode durative aspect. Secondly, transitive verbs are cliticized with direct object marking enclitics. Thirdly, verb roots are prefixed with the causative prefix *fa-*. Fourthly, verbs are suffixed with aspect markers, both continuative and completive. Verbs in CH are not inflected for tense, person, or subject agreements. Apart from transitive and intransitive verbs, CH has a set of ambitransitive verbs that are used in both intransitive or transitive constructions without a morphological distinction.

**Chapter 5** describes the word classes of adjectives, adverbs, and prepositions. CH has a broad inventory of adjectives, differing from many other Oceanic languages which have a small, closed number of adjectives. And, differing again from many other Oceanic languages, certain semantic sub-classes of CH adjectives are inflected by possession-marking enclitics, completive aspect enclitics, and the causative prefix *fa-*. In concert with Oceanic typology that adjectives can be used in both predicate and attributive functions when following the nominal head they modify, this is true for CH. This word class in CH shares some similarities with intransitive verbs, such as being able to be reduplicated, and occurring with the same negator. Adverbs modify constituents other than nouns, and as such, occur extensively in CH, modifying verbs and adjectives, and also modifying clauses. Semantic classifications of adverbs are recorded for various sub-classes including modality, direction, and epistemic. The verbal adverbs occur linearly adjacent to the verb, either pre-verbally or post-verbally. Unlike what occurs with nouns, verbs, and adjectives, pronominal clitics do not attach to adverbs. One syntactic feature of CH adverbs is that members of certain sub-classes occur in pairs on the same side or on the opposite side of the verb which they modify. This doubling serves to bring greater emphasis to the modification of the verbal action. CH has a fairly limited inventory of prepositions, all of which mark non-core nominal arguments. The multi-functional *ka* is by far the most common CH preposition. In general, *ka* marks location. This is described as an underspecified or non-specific kind of location. Prepositions immediately precede the head noun of the NP which serves as the complement of the preposition. Prepositional phrases usually occur at the end of clauses.

**Chapter 6** discusses the word classes of conjunctions, interjections, determiners, demonstratives, interrogatives, and quantifiers and numerals. CH demonstratives make a two-way distinction between proximal and distal. Unlike some other Oceanic languages, CH does not attest the notion of intermediate. Four types of demonstratives are attested in CH. Three of these mark proximal and distal distinctions but one type does not make this distinction, nor does it mark singular and plural distinctions, nor does it serve as the head of a noun phrase. It does mark a

special pragmatic focus. The inventory of CH interrogatives numbers nine lexical items. Each interrogative is optionally followed syntactically by the focus marker *si*. A set of CH quantifiers modify nouns and indicate number. Quantifiers indicate either definite or indefinite amounts. CH has cardinal and ordinal numbers. CH has numeral forms up to one million. The form of CH numbers marking 'tens' varies widely. CH ordinals are formed by pre-posing the causative marker *fa-* to the numeral. However, this ordinal number formation is irregular with six of the ten cardinal numbers.

The CH noun phrase (NP) is described in **Chapter 7**. The NP can include a variety of modifiers. If we assume the noun is the head of the noun phrase, it is not possible to characterize CH as predominantly either a left-headed language or right-headed language, in that various inventories of modifiers of the head of the NP are distributed both to the left and right of the head noun. The NP can operate as verbal argument but also as a non-verbal predicate. CH possessive constructions receive extensive treatment in this chapter. CH possession patterns Oceanic typology of alienable and inalienable distinctions, and is a prominent feature of the language. Other topics under the heading of modifiers of nominals include quantifiers and numerals, the role of focus marker *si* with demonstratives in the NP, and the structure and function of relative clauses.

The verb phrase is described in **Chapter 8**. The CH verb phrase (VP) is a phrase headed by a verb. The VP can include a variety of optional modifiers. Enclitics on the verb mark transitivity or aspect. By itself the CH VP can form a clause. The VP can include a significant number of pre-verbal and post-verbal constituents. Among these are the pre-verbal elements which mark aspect, tense, negation and purpose. The post-verbal elements include an array of enclitics such as those which mark direct objects. Also there are markers of completive, continuative, inceptive and non-specific aspect. The two-way distinction of past and non-past is the most adequate descriptor for the CH tense system. One of the main justifications for classifying CH as past/non-past rather than future/non-future is that past is the most prominent time action indicated by CH tense markers.

**Chapter 9** is the concluding chapter, and covers the topic of the CH clause. A clause is defined as a grammatical unit having a predicate plus the core arguments and any non-core arguments. The core arguments refer to those constituents, such as verb phrases or noun phrases, which have a grammatical relation of subject or object to the verb in the clause. The non-core arguments such as prepositional phrases are peripheral to the core. CH is described as an SVO language. Clause types are categorized as verbal and non-verbal, equative, copular, attributive, subordinate, imperative, interrogative, and negatives. Clause combinations are described with extended discussion on various types of adverbial clauses which can function as subordinate clauses. Serial verbs are quite common in CH. The chapter concludes with a discussion of select features of information presentation in CH. These include the quotative *egu*, the focus marker *si*, and the pragmatic emphasis marker *e*.

## Samenvatting in het Nederlands

Dit boek biedt een synchrone beschrijving van de fonologie, woordsoorten (met verschillende semantische categorieën van classificatie), morfologie en syntaxis van het Cheke Holo (CH). Het CH behoort tot de Oceanische groep van de Austronesische taalfamilie, en wordt gesproken door 11,000 sprekers op Santa Isabel Island in Solomon Islands. Dit boek is gebaseerd op taaldata die werd verzameld tussen 1989-2017 en bevat meer dan 1000 voorbeeldzinnen. De dataset omvat (1) meerdere uren opgenomen CH teksten van diverse genres, van korte begroetingen tot gesprekken van 45 minuten over verschillende onderwerpen, en (2) ongeveer 40 geschreven teksten van diverse genres, waaronder poëzie, persoonlijke brieven, mythes en verhalen.

**Hoofdstuk 1** biedt een introductie in de CH taal en beschrijft de onderzoeksmethode voor deze studie. Er worden diverse observaties gedaan ten aanzien van de sociaal-culturele aspecten van de CH sprekers, zoals de aanzienlijke invloed die de Anglicaanse kerk heeft op hun cultuur en taal. De dominantie van het CH over de andere zeven talen van Santa Isabel wordt besproken, en geconcludeerd wordt dat de invloed en vitaliteit van CH onveranderd sterk is.

**Hoofdstuk 2** beschrijft de fonologie van het CH. Vermeldenswaardige kenmerken van het CH zijn o.a. de vele consonantclusters en vokaalsequenties in de taal, de stemloze continuanten, en de fonologische aspecten die bij werkwoordsnominalisatie een rol spelen. Het CH heeft 31 medeklinkers en 5 klinkers. Klemtoon valt op de voorlaatste lettergreep van een wortelvorm. De meest voorkomende lettergreep in het CH is een open lettergreep. Reduplicatie van de werkwoordsstam komt regelmatig voor in CH. Meestal zijn het werkwoorden die redupliceren, hetgeen intensivering of verlenging van de activiteit uitdrukt. Er zijn drie vormen van reduplicatie: reduplicatie van het volledige woord, een deel van het woord, en van een lettergreep. In de grammatica van het CH is de vorm van het prefix dat werkwoorden nominaliseert afhankelijk van de beginklank van het werkwoord. Werkwoorden die beginnen met een stemloze plofklank, een /l/ of /r/, een stemhebbende fricatief /y/ en een stemloze fricative /h/ hebben elk een andere genominaliseerde vorm.

Nominale elementen zijn het onderwerp van **Hoofdstuk 3**. CH heeft een grote, open woordklasse van naamwoorden. Deze worden als zodanig geïdentificeerd op grond van semantische en morfosyntactische kenmerken. Naamwoorden in CH maken onderscheid tussen vervreemdbaar bezit en onvervreemdbaar bezit. Diverse categorisaties van naamwoorden worden in detail beschreven, zoals naamwoorden die naar personen verwijzen; eigennamen; verwantschapstermen; nominale samenstellingen in hun combinaties met andere naamwoorden, werkwoorden en adjectieven; telbare en niet-telbare naamwoorden; geleende naamwoorden, en naamwoorden voor tijd en voor richting. De pronomina in CH worden als subject en object gebruikt, of drukken de bezitter van een naamwoord uit. CH heeft vier

## 314 Samenvatting in het Nederlands

voornaamwoorden voor enkelvoud, en zestien voor meervoud. Het voornaamwoord voor derde persoon enkelvoud onderscheidt geslacht, een onderscheid dat zeldzaam is in Oceanische talen. Niet-enkelvoudsvormen onderscheiden naast meervoud, ook dualis en trialis. Het CH heeft twee groepen van aanwijzende voornaamwoorden die specificiteit en nabijheid uitdrukken.

Werkwoorden, besproken in **Hoofdstuk 4**, drukken acties, processen en statussen uit en worden onderscheiden van naamwoorden op grond van hun syntactische en morfologische kenmerken. Er zijn diverse morfemen die op werkwoorden en niet op naamwoorden kunnen voorkomen. Ten eerste kunnen werkwoorden reduplicatie ondergaan. Ten tweede kunnen transitieve werkwoorden een object enclitic hebben. Ten derde kunnen werkwoordsstammen het causatief prefix *fa-* krijgen. Ten vierde hebben werkwoorden aspectuele suffixen om continuatief en completief uit te drukken. CH werkwoorden zijn niet verbogen voor tijd, en verbuigen niet met de persoon van het subject. Naast transitieve en intransitieve werkwoorden heeft het CH ook een set van ‘ambi-transitieve’ werkwoorden die in zowel transitieve als intransitieve constructies gebruikt worden zonder dat de werkwoordsvormen van elkaar verschillen.

**Hoofdstuk 5** beschrijft de bijvoeglijk naamwoorden, bijwoorden en voorzetsels. Het CH heeft een groot aantal bijvoeglijk naamwoorden, en verschilt hiermee van veel andere Oceanische talen, die een kleine, gesloten klasse van adjectieven hebben. En, eveneens in contrast met andere Oceanische talen, in CH kunnen bepaalde soorten adjectieven in CH worden verbogen met voornaamwoordelijke possessor enclitics, completive aspect, en het causatief prefix *pa-*. Net als in andere Oceanische talen, kunnen adjectieven in CH die op een nomen volgen functioneren als predicaat of als attribuut. De adjectieven in CH vertonen overeenkomsten met intransitieve werkwoorden: ze kunnen ook reduplicatie ondergaan en gebruiken dezelfde negatie. Bijwoorden zeggen iets over niet-nominale constituenten, en als zodanig modifieren ze in het CH werkwoorden en adjectieven, maar ook zinnen. De bijwoorden worden besproken volgens de semantische sub-klassen van modaliteit, richting en epistemie. Het verbale adverbium komt direct voor of direct achter het werkwoord. In tegenstelling tot naamwoorden en werkwoorden kunnen adverbia geen pronominal clitics hebben. Een syntactisch kenmerk van adverbia van bepaalde sub-klassen is dat ze in paren kunnen voorkomen voor of na het werkwoord dat ze bepalen. Een dergelijke verdubbeling geeft nadruk aan de bepaling. CH heeft een beperkt aantal voorzetsels, en allemaal markeren zij nominale argumenten die geen grammaticale kernrol hebben in de zin. Het multifunctionele woord *ka* is veruit het meest gebruikte voorzetsel in CH. In het algemeen drukt *ka* een locatie uit, die hier wordt beschreven als onder- of niet-gespecificeerd van aard. Voorzetsels gaan altijd vooraf aan het naamwoord dat het hoofd is van de NP die als complement van het voorzetsel functioneert. Voorzetselgroepen komen gewoonlijk aan het eind van de zin.

**Hoofdstuk 6** beschrijft de woordsoorten van voegwoorden, tussenwerpsels, bepaalde lidwoorden, aanwijzende voornaamwoorden, vraagwoorden,

hoeveelheidswoorden en telwoorden. De aanwijzende voornaamwoorden in het CH maken een onderscheid tussen ‘proximal’, nabij, en ‘distal’, veraf. CH verschilt van andere Oceanische talen in het niet hebben van een woord voor de tussenliggende afstand ‘intermediate’. Er zijn vier soorten aanwijzende voornaamwoorden in CH. Drie daarvan markeren proximal en distal, de vierde markeert dit onderscheid niet, noch het verschil tussen meervoud en enkelvoud. Het kan ook niet het hoofd van een naamwoordsgroep zijn. Het markeert een speciaal soort pragmatische focus. CH heeft negen vraagwoorden. Elk vraagwoord wordt optioneel gevolgd door de focus markeerder *si*. Een set hoeveelheidswoorden modificeren nomina en geven aantal aan. Hoeveelheidswoorden geven bepaalde of onbepaalde hoeveelheid aan. CH heeft hoofd- en rangtelwoorden. De CH telwoorden gaan tot een miljoen. De vorm van de decimalen in het CH varieert. De rangtelwoorden worden gevormd door het causatieve voorvoegsel *fa-* aan het hoofdtelwoord te hechten. Deze afleiding van rangtelwoorden is echter onregelmatig in zes van de tien hoofdtelwoorden.

De CH naamwoordsgroep (NP) wordt beschreven in **Hoofdstuk 7**. The NP kan diverse modificeerders bevatten. Als het naamwoord wordt beschouwd als het hoofd is van de NP, dan kan CH niet worden gekarakteriseerd als een voornamelijk linkshoofdige of rechtshoofdige taal, omdat de verschillende modificeerders van het hoofd van de NP zich zowel links als rechts daarvan bevinden. De NP kan als werkwoordsargument maar ook als non-verbaal predicaat functioneren. De bezitsconstructies van het CH worden uitvoerig besproken in dit hoofdstuk. Deze constructies drukken de typisch Oceanische onderscheiding uit tussen vervreemdbaar en onvervreemdbaar bezit en vormen een prominent onderdeel van de taal. Andere onderwerpen die vallen onder de rubriek van modificeerders van nomina zijn hoeveelheidswoorden en telwoorden, the rol van de focus markeerder *si* in combinatie met demonstrativa in de NP, en de structuur en functie van de betreffende bijzin.

De werkwoordsgroep (VP) wordt beschreven in **Hoofdstuk 8**. De CH VP is een woordgroep met een werkwoord als hoofd. De VP kan een aantal optionele modificeerders bevatten. Enclitics op het werkwoord markeren transitiviteit of aspect. De CH VP kan zelfstandig een zin vormen. De VP kan een aanzienlijk aantal preverbale en postverbale constituenten bevatten. De preverbale elementen markeren aspect, tijd, negatie en doel. De postverbale elementen zijn clitics zoals de clitics die objecten uitdrukken en aspectuele markeerders voor completief, continuatief, inceptief en niet-specifiek aspect. De tweedeling tussen verleden tijd vs. niet-verleden tijd beschrijft het CH systeem van tijdsmarkering op de meest adequate wijze. Een van de voornaamste redenen om deze tweedeling te gebruiken in plaats van toekomstige tijd vs. niet-toekomstige tijd is dat verleden tijd de meest prominente tijdsmarkering is in het CH.

**Hoofdstuk 9** is het slothoofdstuk en behandelt de CH ‘clause’. Een clause wordt gedefinieerd als de grammaticale eenheid met een predicaat, plus de kernargumenten en niet-kern argumenten. De kernargumenten zijn constituenten,

## 316 Samenvatting in het Nederlands

zoals werkwoordsgroepen en naamwoordsgroepen, die een grammaticale relatie als subject of object hebben ten aanzien van het werkwoord in de zin. De niet-kern argumenten zoals voorzetselgroepen zijn perifeer aan de kern. CH wordt beschreven als een SVO taal. De beschreven zinstypen zijn verbaal, niet-verbaal, equatief, copulair, attributief, onderschikkend, bevelend, vragend, en negatief. Zinscombinaties worden beschreven aan de hand van diverse typen adverbiale zinnen die onderschikkend zijn. Seriele werkwoorden zijn worden veel gebruikt in het CH. Het hoofdstuk sluit af met een bespreking van kenmerken van informatie presentatie in het CH, waaronder de quotatieve markeerder *egu*, de focus markeerder *si*, en de markeerder van nadruk *e*.

## **Curriculum Vitae**

Fredrick Alvin Boswell was born on 25 March, 1958 in Macon, United States. In 1981 he obtained his Master of Arts degree in Biblical Studies from Oral Roberts University, United States. In 1980-1981 he served as a graduate teaching fellow at Oral Roberts University, and during 2001-2002 he was a guest lecturer in Bible Translation at Baylor University's Truett Theological Seminary. Early in his career, he worked as a Christian pastor for six years. Since 1987, he has been a member of the staff of SIL International, serving as a translation consultant with the Solomon Islands Group from 1987 to 1999. From 1999-2018 he has worked in the International Administration office of SIL, as International Translation Coordinator, Vice President of Academic Affairs, and International Executive Director/CEO. After finishing his eight-year term of office as CEO in 2016, he began serving as a Senior Translation Consultant for SIL. From 1989 to the present he has studied Cheke Holo and has been involved in Cheke Holo Bible translation and the literacy efforts of the Anglican Diocese of Isabel in the Solomons. In 2016 Fredrick Boswell was admitted as a PhD researcher at Leiden University Centre for Linguistics, with a research project on a linguistic description of Cheke Holo.