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## A grammar of Cheke Holo

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## 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 n̄ala*  
 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 n̄ala 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 pheisua 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.

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<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 naoġla*: ‘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

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<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’.

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<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.