

Boswell, F.A.

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Author: Boswell, F.A.

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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:

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(843) Tei phiamare
go 3DU.F
'The two of them go.'
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In certain syntactical constructions, particularly when the time word *kate* 'when' is used sentence initial, the regular word order is VOS:

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(844) Kate lude=ni khiba iara na glea fara when discover=3SG.OBJ papaya 1SG DEM happy very 'When I discover a papaya, [I am] very happy.'
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While documented non-rigid constiuent 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. Rose He interacts with White's statement on SV and VS distribution, and following Ross (1988) concludes that CH is in fact a VSO language. However, my position is that SVO is definitely the pragmatically unmarked order. The reasoning behind this conclusion is now presented.

Kroeger (2004:141)⁸² 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)

 $^{^{80}}$ Palmer does not indicate any personal facility in the CH language or work with native speakers on his analysis and conclusions.

⁸¹ CH topic and focus is one area of study that outside researchers such 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.

⁸² 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 cooccurring 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 verbinitial 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 subjectinitial. 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 ellicitation 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 ellicitation 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 ellicitation 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 n̄a 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 ellicitation 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 ellicited 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 na mare ka mae Malaita gre 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 maḡra mae NEG want=3SG.OBJ 3PL PRS fight man

Guadalcanal nei mae Malaita gre
Guadalcanal CONJ man Malaita DEM
'It is that they didn't want fighting among these Guadalcanal and Malaitan men.'

(853) *Hara gehati* Ø 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 na 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.). ⁸³ 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 Hendere 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, 3rd 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.

⁸³ 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.⁸⁴ A simple example taken in isolation from its discourse is (861).

(861) Ø theome tanomana=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.'

Ø 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 Ø me tei na ofo agno Kaevanga.

Sunday DEM INCP go NSP wait there Kaevanga
'On Sunday, [we] began going and waiting over there at Kaevanga village.'

⁸⁴ 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.

- Ø 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.'
- Ø Vavahi Isabela ne tei na Samosodu. choose Isabela PST go NSP Samosodu '[We] chose the Isabela ship and went to Samosodu.'
- Ø 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) $\bar{G}a'ase$ na no=gna $\bar{g}loku$ na te mala female DEM ALN=3SG.POSS work DEM PRS PUR

'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 ḡlepo te eni iara na re ḡinau hiro ron̄o* first-ORD thing PRS do 1SG DEM PL FUT seek money

u te daeva \(\bar{g}\)lala 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).

- (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 <u>g</u>lealea 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 nala
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 teu\(\bar{g}\)re 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 gano
 3SG.M be food
 'He is.at food.'
 Or, 'He has food.'
- (878) Mana au <u>g</u>loku 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 \(\bar{g}\)ano 3SG.M be LOC food *'He is.at food.'

 *Or, 'He has food.'
- (883) *Mana au ka gloku
 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 gaogatho lañau 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/outhority to a

'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 su\u00e4a
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 glepo
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 they 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 grioriso 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 \(\bar{g}\)ognaro
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) Ḡaju bi'o fara theome ḡaju 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 nāla
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 $ra\bar{g}i$ 'dance', mei 'come', or cheke 'talk', without a subject expressed.

```
(919) Raği! 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^{nd} person singular alienable possessive marker. 85 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!'
```

 $\it Ba$ as a 'possibility marker', or simply described as 'perhaps', can be used in imperatives with adults to indicate politeness. 86

⁸⁵ 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 2nd singular alienable possessive marker is used to represent the addressee.

⁸⁶ 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. 87 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.

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

⁸⁷ 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 bli\bar{g}i 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 magra man Henry man good 3SG.M NEG fight 'Henry is a good man, he doesn't fight.'
- (951) Mae⁸⁸ 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 gano tugre 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 lañau 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.'

⁸⁸ 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 \(\bar{g}a'ase Kathi ia \)*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, coreferrent 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, continuining the information from the previous clause or sentence, as in (971).

(971) Mala tei au mhata Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday
PUR go be bush Thurday 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 gloku na e ofo ka old.woman DEM ALN=3SG.POSS work DEM PUR wait LOC

suฐa

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 ḡaju 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* gognaro 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 suğa iara na ğoro sua mağra 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 nala 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

nāla iago kate lonā 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, $\bar{n}a$, as shown in (982) and (983). One example of occurrence without the aspect marker is (984).

(982) Sobo no=u mola na ame koko n̄a 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 gnafa na gotilo no=mi gloku 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 nhi\u00e4ra 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 gloku 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 gra=gu re iara tei ka
even.though be grandchild=1SG.POSS PL 1SG go LOC
```

Komido ra\(\bar{g}i\) 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 na 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 $ne \ \bar{n}a \ nu$ 'if...then' or by jame 'perhaps'. The most prominent construction is $ne \ \bar{n}a \ nu$ 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 $\bar{n}a$ + 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 ña mae paramount chief nu CONJ PST DUR~die NSP man paramount chief CONJ

mae council of chiefs \(\bar{g}re\) 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 rheta na 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'.

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 $\bar{n}a +$ conjunction nu.

- (992) Ne theome mei na 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 na 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 \(\bar{g}a'\)ase na'a magnahage=ni thu=gna na perhaps one female 3F>F want=3SG.OBJ child=3SG.OBJ DEM

te kenha=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). 89

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'. ⁹⁰ 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.'

⁸⁹ 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 constrast 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]."

⁹⁰ 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 verb₂, 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 verb₂, 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 verb₁ and verb₂ positions. Most CH verbs which occur in serial verb constructions can occur in either verb order. In example (1001) above, *loku* 'work' occurs as verb₁, and in (1002), *loku* occurs as verb₂.

(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 verb₁. For example, *nolo* 'walk' is one verb that only occurs serially in first position, illustrated in example (1003):

(1003) Mana ğinau na nolo mei ka gehati 3SG.M later DEM walk come LOC 1PL.EXCL 'He will walk to us-excl later.'

This is constrasted with *fada* 'throw', which is only attested as occurring as verb₂, 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 gano 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:

mei 'come' tei 'go'	mei au 'come be' tei apu 'go bathe'	tusu mei 'give come' ofo tei 'wait go'
ari 'go'	ari akni 'go hit'	falalase ari 'reveal go'
atha 'take' au 'exist/to.be'	atha mei 'take come' au tei 'be go'	tei atha 'go take' thuru au 'sleep be'
cheke 'talk'	cheke mei 'talk come'	tugu cheke 'change talk'
nolo 'walk' tusu 'give'	nolo tei 'walk go' tusu ari 'give go'	
chari 'run'	chari tei 'run go'	

Activity/Desire:

loku 'work' loku tarai 'work pray' atha loku 'take work' magnahagei 'want' magnahagei gamu 'want eat' atha magnahagei 'take want' atha fada '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) Gurena au keli kolho naikno sua au keli lañau Gurena be good just people children be good also 'Things are okay in Gurena 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 magra 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).

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:

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.

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.

(1017) Magnahagei teke eni gano 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 <u>gu</u> DEM discuss CONJ CAUS-talk hide just LOC line like.that

kokholo \underline{gu} te=u $the=\underline{\bar{g}u}$ 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 \(\bar{g}\) are \(\bar{g}\) lepo 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

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:

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:

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 <u>not</u> 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 nala 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 lan̄au
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 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 e

- (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:

te=u ḡoro 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 verb₁ or verb₂ 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 verb₁. 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.