A Grammar of Ughele

An Oceanic language of Solomon Islands

Benedicte Haraldstad Frostad

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B. H. Frostad
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A Grammar of Ughele

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Promotores: Prof. dr. N. Enfield
Prof. dr. P. C. Muysken
Copromotor: Dr. A. Terrill

Manuscriptcommissie:
Prof. dr. K. Versteegh
Prof. dr. G. Senft (Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics)
Dr. B. Evans (Australian National University)

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Abbreviations and conventions

Abbreviations and conventions are as indicated below. Interlinear glosses are in accordance with the Leipzig Glossing Rules (LGR), with additions for items not represented in LGR.

Language names and historical conventions

POc	Proto Oceanic
SIP	Solomon Islands Pijin

Phonological conventions

C	consonant
V	vowel
σ	syllable, syllable boundary

Syntactic categories

A	transitive subject
O	object
S	intransitive subject

Morphological conventions

-	morpheme boundary
=	clitic boundary
.	separates several metalanguage elements rendering one element in Ughele
:	separates elements of portmanteau morphemes

Pronouns

1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
EXCL	exclusive
INCL	inclusive
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
SG	singular

Nominals and nominal morphology

ART	article
ATTR	attributive

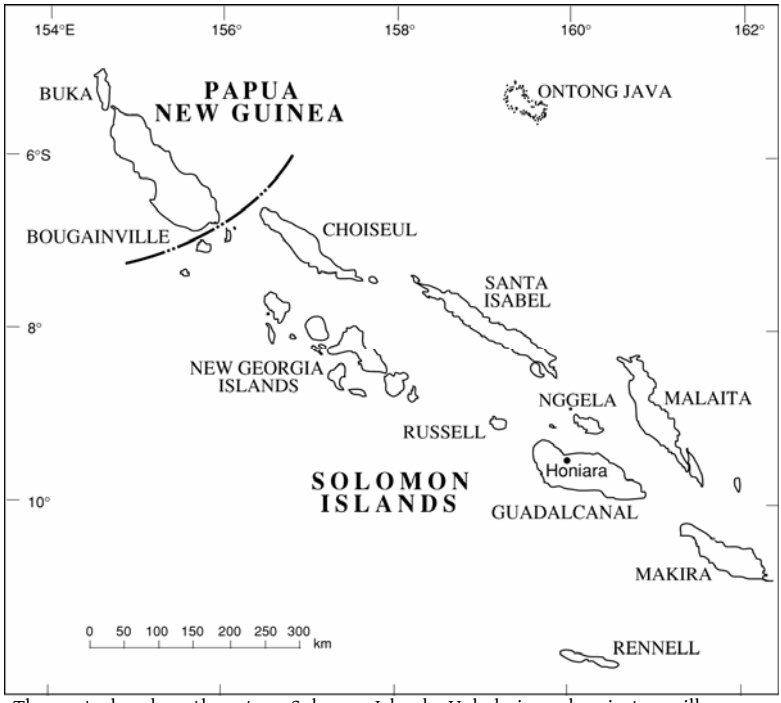
CARD	cardinal
COM	common noun article
DEM	demonstrative
FOC	focus
INS	instrumental
LOC	locative
LocP	locative phrase
N	noun
NP	noun phrase
NOM	nominal
PERS	personal noun article
POSS	possessive
POSSM	possessum
POSSR	possessor
PP	prepositional phrase
PRO	pronoun
QUA	quantifier
RED	reduplication
REL	relative

Verbs and verbal morphology

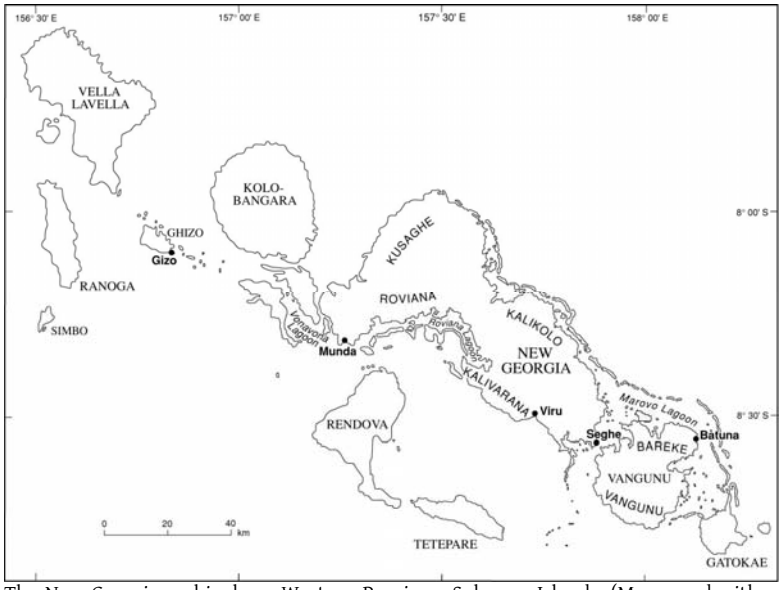
CAUS	causative
CL	clause
DISTR	distributive
DUR	durative aspect
IMP	imperative
IRR	irrealis mood
OBJ	object agreement
PASS	passive
PRF	perfect aspect
SBJ	subject agreement
SVC	serial verb construction
TR	transitive
V	verb
VP	verb phrase

Example references

conv	conversation (between two or more speakers)
elic	elicited text
nar	narrative (monologue)



The central and northwestern Solomon Islands. Ughele is spoken in two villages on the island of Rendova, part of the New Georgia archipelago in Western Province.



The New Georgia archipelago, Western Province, Solomon Islands. (Maps used with permission from the Department of Social Anthropology, University of Bergen, Norway).

1 The Ughele language

Ughele is an Austronesian language spoken in two villages, Ughele and Egholo, along the northwestern coast of Rendova Island in western New Georgia, Western Province, Solomon Islands. According to Lewis (2009), there were 1,200 speakers of Ughele in 1999. The language was undocumented, save some lexical data that is to be found in Tryon and Hackman (1983), and had no written standard prior to the project this thesis is based upon.

1.1 Geographic location

1.1.1 Solomon Islands

Solomon Islands is a sovereign state and member of the Commonwealth of Nations. It consists of 922 islands of various sizes that altogether make up a land area of 27, 556 km^2. The bigger islands are the main island of New Georgia in Western Province, Guadalcanal in Central Province, Makira (formerly San Christobal) in Makira-Ulawa Province, Malaita in Malaita Province, Santa Isabel (often just referred to as Isabel or Ysabel) in Isabel Province, and Choiseul in Choiseul Province (Engholm 1993). Approximately 80 languages are spoken throughout Solomon Islands, most of which belong to the Meso-Melanesian subgroup of Oceanic languages. There are also Polynesian languages and non-Austronesian (Papuan) languages spoken in the Solomon Islands.

1.1.2 The two Ughele speaking communities on Rendova

Ughele is an Austronesian language spoken in two coastal villages, Ughele and Egholo, situated on the northernmost part of Rendova Island in Western New Georgia, Western Province, Solomon Islands. The villages are inhabited by two distinct ethnic communities. Ughele is a monolingual community, whereas Egholo is a bilingual community, where one part speaks Ughele and the other part Roviana. The percentage of inhabitants in Egholo speaking each language remains unknown to this date. Although, an approximate correspondence between a language and an ethnic group is the norm in Solomon Islands, situations in which a language is shared by several ethnic groups or in which two languages are spoken within one and the same ethnic group, such as in Egholo, are not uncommon (Ross 1988: 5). The Ughele speech community in its broadest sense thus includes the Ughele community and the Ughele speaking part of Egholo, and the Ughele language in its broadest sense is the language as spoken by both communities. This thesis was written in collaboration with, and is based on data from, the Ughele community only (see 3.2.1 for reasons why this community was chosen). It is

a description of the Ughele language as spoken by members of the Ughele community on Rendova. Whenever the term *the Ughele speech community* is used in the following, it refers to speakers of Ughele from Ughele village. The other language spoken in Egholo, Roviana, is also spoken on the neighbouring island of New Georgia.

The Ughele language has had the name of the biggest ethnic community speaking it for as long as anyone can remember, and there is no apparent disagreement with members of the other Ughele speaking community, Egholo, as for the name of the language.

1.1.3 Neighbouring languages

The Oceanic languages spoken in the New Georgia archipelago that are typologically in close affiliation with Ughele are described in 1.2.2. The non-Ughele speaking part of the Egholo community speaks Roviana, the main language of the New Georgia Island and the lingua franca of Western Province. The Papuan language Touo is spoken in the rest of the villages on Rendova to the south, the largest of which are Baniata and Lokoru. The Touo language has also been referred to as Mbaniata/Baniata (Tryon and Hackman 1983, Frahm 1998) and Lokoru (Tryon and Hackman 1983) in the literature.

Papuan languages in western Melanesia are typologically distant from each other, as well as from other Oceanic (Austronesian) languages in the area (Ross 1988: 13). The diversity of the Oceanic languages spoken in the New Georgia archipelago has been attributed to contact with the many non-Austronesian languages in the area. Due to the scarcity of material published on the Touo language it remains a subject for further studies which features it may share with Ughele and to what extent the two languages have loaned from each other.

The body of literature about the languages spoken in the area is very limited. A comparative list of lexical items by Tryon and Hackman (1983) features Ughele as well as several neighbouring languages. Terrill and Dunn have done work on the Papuan language on Rendova, Touo, culminating in several articles (Terrill and Dunn 2003, Dunn 2005), and Frahm (1998) wrote an MA Thesis on Baniata (Touo) serial verb constructions. Corston-Oliver has written a grammar sketch (Corston-Oliver 2002) and a description of the ergative system (Corston 1996) in Roviana, spoken in the Roviana lagoon of New Georgia island, and functioning as a lingua franca throughout Western Province. Evans and Hviding are currently working on the Marovo language, spoken in the Marovo lagoon on New Georgia island. Publications by Evans on Marovo include Evans and Ross (2001) and Evans (2008), amongst others. Davis (2003) has written a grammar of the Hoava language, spoken on the northern coast of New Georgia island. For more information about literature on languages related to Ughele, see Section 1.2.2.

1.2 Linguistic affiliation

1.2.1 Linguistic affiliation of the Ughele language

The language groups of the Oceanic subgroup of Austronesian languages are traditionally divided into three regions: Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia (Lynch et al. 2002: 4). Geographically, Solomon Islands is part of an area referred to as Island Melanesia (the Melanesian region, except mainland Papua, New Guinea) which also comprises New Britain, New Ireland, Bougainville, Vanuatu, and New Caledonia. There is no Melanesian subgroup of Oceanic languages. Rather, the Oceanic languages spoken in Melanesia fall in under different subgroups of Oceanic languages (Lynch et al. 2002: 10) Likewise, the Island Melanesians, are defined as a group based on geographic location, rather than shared genetic inheritance (Spriggs 1997: 1). This group comprices communities of different ethnicities and speaking languages belonging to different languages families. The language situation in the Oceanic language speaking area is complex, especially in Island Melanesia. Oceanic languages in Melanesia and Micronesia have changed more radically than those spoken in Polynesia, and there are a number of Polynesian languages spoken here known as Polynesian outliers. Island Melanesia has some 400 languages spoken by less than 2 million people altogether (Lynch et al. 2002: 10, 20).

The number of Oceanic languages spoken in Solomon Islands is estimated to be 56, of which 6 are Polynesian outliers (Lynch et al. 2002: 10). The average number of speakers for a Solomon Islands or Papua New Guinea language is 4000 (Lynch et al. 2002: 12).

An overview of the linguistic affiliation of the Ughele language is found below (from Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002: 4, 879, 883-4):

Proto Austronesian
˅
Proto Malayo-Polynesian
˅
Proto Central/Eastern Malayo-Polynesian
˅
Proto Eastern Malayo-Polynesian
˅
Proto Oceanic
˅
Western Oceanic linkage
˅
Meso-Melanesian cluster
˅
New Ireland/Northwest Solomonic linkage
˅
St. George linkage
˅

Northwest Solomonic linkage

˅

New Georgia/Ysabel family

˅

New Georgia linkage

˅

Ughele

Ughele is considered to belong to the Northwest (NW) Solomonic group of the Oceanic languages. The NW Solomonic languages can be defined geographically as all the Oceanic languages spoken between Nissan Island in the northwest to the boundary between Maringe and Butogu on the Southern tip of Santa Isabel (Ross 1988: 213). The languages in this group share a few lexical and structural innovations which give us reason to believe that they might have descended from a single source, Proto NW Solomonic. However the innovations are too few to be sure. The shared innovations are outlined in Ross (1988: 218-223, 226-256), one of which is mentioned in Section 1.2.2 below.

1.2.2 Affiliated languages

Ughele belongs to the New Georgia (NG)/St. Isabel[1] family of the NW Solomonic languages. A shared feature of the NW Solomonic languages is that their non-3rd person free pronouns often reflect a sequence ART-*r* PRO (Ross 1988: 247-248). In the languages in the NG/St. Isabel such forms are only found in free 1st person pronouns (Ross 1988: 14) such as *a-r-au* in Roviana and Ughele, *a-r-a* in Ghanongga, and *a-r-ao* in Marovo. The family consists of two linkages. The languages Kia, Kokota, Laghu, Zaozao, Blablanga, Maringe, and Gao belongs to the St. Isabel linkage. Ross' (1988: 13) studies using the neighbour-joining method shows that the NG linkage subgroups neatly into a western subgroup (Roviana, Hoava, Kusaghe and Ughele), an eastern NG subgroup (Marovo, Bareke and Vangunu), and a subgroup for the languages spoken on the islands to the west of the New Georgia archipelago (Nduke, Simbo, Lungga and Ghanongga).

[1] St. Isabel is also referred to as Ysabel in the literature on Oceanic languages.

There are not many descriptions of languages in the New Georgia / St. Isabel family of Oceanic languages. Whole grammars only exist of (Hoava (Davis 2003) and Kokota (Palmer 2009). A sketch grammar of Kokota (Palmer 2002) is also found in Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002), which also includes a grammar a sketch of Roviana (Corston-Oliver 2002). A description of the ergative system (Corston 1996) also exists for Roviana. Various articles by Evans exist on Marovo (Evans and Ross 2001; Evans 2008). A grammar sketch and lexical data of Maringe (also known as Cheke Holo) are found in White et al. (1988). A grammar sketch of Kia (also known as Zabana) exists in the form of an MA thesis by Fitzsimons (1989). Lexical data for Ughele, Roviana and Marovo is found in Tryon and Hackman (1983).

1.3 Typological sketch

Ughele has a set of phonemes consisting of 18 consonants /p; b; t; d; k; g; ʤ; m; n; ŋ; r; s; h; v; z; ɣ; w; l/ (4.1) and 5 vowels /i; u; e; o; a/ (4.2). There is voicing distinction in plosives, and all voiced plosives are prenasalized. There is a distinction between an oral /g/ and nasal /ŋ/ velar plosive, although it can be difficult to differentiate between them as the oral velar plosive is realized with various degrees of prenasalization and occationally is realized as a full nasal. The syllable structure is CV, with the exception of non-lexicalized loan words (4.3). The following combination of vowel sounds is realized as diphthongs: /ae; ai; ao; au; ei; oi; ou/. See Chapter 4 for more information about Ughele phonology.

Ughele has two open word classes: nouns (5.1) and verbs (5.2). Nouns and verbs may have identical forms. Adjectival verbs (5.2.1) represent a subclass of verbs and may, unlike other verbs, undergo derivation to become attributive nominal modifiers. Other word classes include pronouns (5.3), quantifiers (5.4), numerals (5.5), prepositions (5.6), adverbs (5.7), conjunctions (5.8), demonstratives (5.9), negation particles (5.10), articles (5.11), aspect and mood marking particles (5.12) and interjections (5.13). Nouns and subclasses of verbs are derived by means of affixation and morphological processes, derivational and other bound morphology is described in Chapter 6.

Pronouns distinguish between 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular and plural, and between inclusive and exclusive for 1st person plural. There are five sets of pronominal morphemes (see Chapter 5 and 7): a set of independent pronouns (5.3.1), a set of attributive suffixes (5.3.6) used to indicate the person and number of the possessor on directly possessed nouns and to indicate the person and number of an NP referent when suffixed to attributive nominal modifiers; a set of object clitics (5.3.4); a set of preverbal subject clitics (5.3.2) and a set of postverbal subject pronouns (5.3.3). Preverbal subject clitics are not portmanteau forms combining with tense, aspect or mood function of verbs, as attested in several languages in the northwestern Solomon Islands, but they do occur suffixed to the imperative marker *ma* (7.2.2), a feature Ughele shares with the neighbouring languages

Hoava (Davis 2003: 150) and Roviana (Evans 2008: 400 / Waterhouse 1949: 68).

Nouns are generally not inflected for number, though one exception is attested in the data, namely *vazi-na* 'place' vs. *vazi-di* 'places', where an attributive pronominal suffixes indicates the number of the noun (7.1.9). Subclasses of personal vs. common nouns can be distinguished on the basis of which articles they may occur with (7.1.1). A subclass of local nouns can, unlike other nouns, occur in relational constructions (7.1.2).

There are three articles: one common (*na*) (7.3.1), one personal (*e*) (7.3.2), and one focal (*ai*) (7.3.3). The article precedes the noun. Demonstratives follow the noun and distinguish between number and relative distance. There is a pair of demonstratives marking close (*pi/pila* (SG) / *pire* (PL)), one pair marking intermediate (*za* (SG) / *zara* (PL)), and one remote distance (*pioi* (SG) / *piroi* (PL)) to a reference point (often the speaker and/or addressee) (7.4).

The numeral system is decimal with separate lexical items for 20, 30, 100 and 1000. Ordinals are derived by means of a combination of the causative prefix *va-* and the nominal infix <*in*>. Numerals follow the NP they enumerate, and other than demonstratives, they represent the only strategy available to indicate the number of an NP that does not have an adjective modifying it (except in the case of *vazi* 'place' described above) (7.6).

Adjectives are a subclass of verbs, referred to as adjectival verbs in the following, and occur with all verbal morphology (12.1). Inflected forms can modify nouns, in which case the adjective has an attributive suffix indicating the number and person of the NP it modifies. These attributive nominal modifiers follow their head noun (7.2.6).

There are two main types of possessive constructions, direct (9.2) and indirect. Directly possessed nouns have an attributive suffix indicating the person and number of the possessor. There are two types of indirect possessive constructions, one in which the possessed noun is followed by the preposition *ta* (9.3) or *taga* (9.4) followed by the possessor noun, and another where a possessive pronoun marks the NP as possessed and indicates the person and number of the possessor (9.5). The direct and indirect possessive constructions roughly correspond to semantically inalienable and alienable possession, respectively.

Causative verbs are derived by means of the addition of the causative prefix *va-* (12.2.1). The distributive prefix *vari-* derives reciprocal forms (12.2.2). Passive verbs are derived by the passive prefix *ta-* (12.2.3). Transitive verbs are marked as such by either of the transitive suffixes *–i* or *–ni*, and/or an object enclitic (12.4). The object enclitic indicates the person and number of the object. Aspect and mood are expressed through preverbal particles (14.1) or serialized verbs occupying peripheral slots in the internal structure of serial verb constructions (SVC) (14.2). Ughele is a heavily serializing language and verbs can serialize on the nuclear and core layer of the clause structure. A nuclear layer SVC involves a complex nucleus made up of two or more verbs sharing all aspect and mood marking morphology

and all arguments and with nothing intervening between them (15.2). A core layer SVC involves verbs being multiple nuclei within the same clause sharing one or more core arguments (15.3). The functions of verbs in SVCs depend on their position within the internal structure of the SVC. The more peripheral the slot is in the SVC structure, the more grammaticalized is the meaning of the verb. No verbs that cannot occur as independent verbs occur are considered parts of SVCs.

Equational clauses are expressed by simple juxtaposition of noun phrases and have no copula. Unmarked constituent order is VO (18.3). Ughele is nominative-accusative in its formal marking of core syntactic roles, with object agreement marking on verbs and object NPs restricted to a postverbal position (unless focused).

Peripheral arguments are mainly PPs, but may also be expressed by means of indirect possessive constructions (18.5). Ughele has a small set of prepositions, with the most frequent being the locative and temporal *pa* (7.7).

Negation is expressed by means of negation particles preceding a verb (18.8) or NP (8.9 and 7.5).

Relative clauses follow the head noun and are often, but need not be, introduced by the relative pronoun *pu* (21.1). *Pu* is also used as a conjunction in some complement clauses (20.3). Coordination may either be asyndetic (19.1) or with a conjunction (19.2). Adverbial clauses are linked to the main clause by a conjunction or verb (see Chapter 22). Cosubordinate clauses are structurally similar to coordinate clauses with zero anaphora in one clause, but semantically similar to adverbial clauses (see Chapter 23).

There are four ways to mark narrow focus. A focal article may occur with a noun (24.5). Independent pronouns for 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person singular and 3rd person plural get the focal prefix *a-* (24.2). Focal subjects may be marked by a postverbal subject pronoun (24.4). Finally, focal objects are fronted to a preverbal position (24.3). Interestingly, Ughele has clause initial topics in TSV(O) sequences, a feature of several Oceanic languages, among them Tolai (Ross 1988: 227; Mosel 1984: 140), but not of any other NW Solomonic language (Ross 1988: 228).

Ughele has a switch-function reference tracking system, with one participant being monitored across multiple clauses with the verbal morphology indicating the function of the participant in each clause. Preverbal subject clitics mark same subject in clauses referring to continuous events, with or without the conjunction *ma* with which the clitics form a phonological word. This use of preverbal subject marking is only found in one other language in the area, namely the closely related language Marovo (see Chapter 25).

1.4 Summary

Ughele is spoken by two communitites on Rendova Island in the New Georgia archipelago in Western Province, Solomon Islands. Other languages spoken in close georgraphical proximity to Ughele are the Papuan language

Touo, and the Oceanic languages Roviana, Hoava, Kusaghe, Marovo, Bareke and Vangunu. The said Oceanic language all belong to the same linkage of Oceanic languages, namely the New Georgia linkage, as do Ughele.

2 The Ughele language community

Ughele is spoken by two communitites on the island of Rendova. It is the mother tongue of all indigenous inhabitants of Ughele village, and half of that of Egholo village, the other half speaking Roviana, the main language of the New Georgia Island and the lingua franca of Western Province. As mentioned in Section 1.1.2, the data this thesis is based on was collected in Ughele village, and whenever the term 'Ughele speech community' is used in the following, it refers to the Ughele speakers in Ughele village.
It was difficult to find any information about the Ughele community upon the start of this project. Consulting anthropologists Edvard Hviding at the University of Bergen and Shankar Aswani at the University of California at Santa Barbara, both having worked in New Georgia for decades, confirmed the impression that there were hardly any descriptions to be found. The limited ethnographic and sociolinguistic information provided in this chapter constitutes the only description of the Ughele community published to this date. The information was provided through passive participant observation, interviews, conversations, and diverse but scarce secondary material.

2.1 Historical context

2.1.1 Early history

The first settlement in Island Melanesia is considered to have taken place about 40, 000 years ago in the Pleistocene Epoch (Spriggs 1997: 3, 23). The settlers are assumed to have come by sea from the then-continent Sahul (comprising Australia, New Guinea and several islands) (Spriggs 1997: 25), and the Pleistocene occupation of Manus in the Admiralty Islands represents the longest known open-ocean voyage at the time (Spriggs 1997: 23). The next settlement was by the Austronesian Lapita culture and took place much later. The earliest Lapita sites are found in the Bismarck archipelago from around 3500 years ago (Spriggs 1997: 71). The nature of the linguistic legacy of the Lapita culture remains unclear, but an interesting account is given in Spriggs (1997: 96-8). What became of the Lapita settlements is also uncertain. The production of their characteristic pottery seems to have ceased around 2000 BP (Spriggs 1997: 162). To this date, no archaeological findings exist that suggest a Lapita settlement in New Georgia, but immediately post-Lapita settlement has been discovered here (Spriggs 1997: 128), and this is also the only part of Solomon Islands where there is evidence of a post-Lapita ceramic production (Spriggs 1997: 173).
The European discovery of Solomon Islands is attributed to the Spanish noble man Álvaro de Mendaña de Neira who reached Santa Isabel in 1568. He gave Solomon Islands its name (Engholm 1993). The United Kingdom

declared a protectorate over Solomon Islands, part by part, over a period from 1893 to 1899 (Engholm 1993), from which Solomon Islands gained independence in 1978.

The power structure in the Solomon Islands, as in Melanesia generally (Sahlins 1970: 205), has historically been in the form of many self governing, politically independent ethnic communities, rather than one overarching political body. The strength and unity of a community did, and still does, depend largely on the personal qualities of its chief and the degree of subordination to him by other individuals in the community. In New Georgia, a chief's qualities as a leader in war were particularly important. Ughele chiefs were expected to exercise bravery in war and feud, and the bravery of former chiefs, such as the legendary chief Pirikukuti, in battles and headhunting raids is the topic of many an Ughele legend. Succession to chieftainship in Ughele, as generally in New Georgia, was, and still is, controlled by inherited rank, unlike many other regions in Solomon Islands. Chiefs are succeeded by first sons or other close male relatives if there are no sons.

Little is known of the historical context of the Ughele community. Accounts by Hodge (1972) and Molia (2000), the chief of the Ughele community, Vili Lianga, as well as legends told by other members of the Ughele community recorded for this project, hold head hunters from Ughele under the lead of chief Gangani, son of said chief Pirikukuti, at least partially responsible for the depopulation of the neighbouring island, Tetepare, around 1860. According to Molia (2000), the Tetepare islanders were contaminated by an epidemic of chronic dysentery from foreign whalers operating in the Solomons from about 1790 and for most of the 19th century. When head hunters from Lokoru and Ughele arrived on Tetepare on a raid the epidemic had already kicked in, and they found unburied bodies scattered across the island. The head hunters are said to have beheaded the few survivors they could find. Hodge's (1972) account of the battle of Daepago gives a far more dramatic version:

> "Gangani, chief warrior of Ughele and son of chief Pirikukuti, led his troop to Tetepare. They landed at Tofa village and attacked a group of villagers who were fishing. They almost slaughtered the entire population of Daepago. Dead bodies were left unburied at Tofa and Daepago, and evidence of bones can be seen around the Tofa and Daepare regions to this date. The survivors (villagers of the two villages) left Tetepare for nearby islands."
>
> "Tetepare islanders were taken as captives and held as slaves. Tetepare women taken as captives with no custom marriage would automatically lose ownership of Tetepare land, which is said to be of great significance to the abandonment of Tetepare customs, language and way of life."

According to Aswani (2000) and Aswani and Sheppard (2003: 63), however, war parties from Roviana and Marovo were responsible for the depopulation of Tetepare, combined with the above mentioned epidemic. Hviding (1996:

109), attributes the tragic faith of the Tetepare people to the activity of headhunters both from Marovo, Roviana and Rendova:

> "Stories are told about how the Tetepare people were wiped out by the Marovo, Roviana, and Rendova people through a succession of headhunting raids and sorcery attacks …"

The most detailed account of traditional headhunting raids and customs in Ughele are recordings from the chief of the Ughele community, Vili Lianga. According to Lianga, head hunters from Ughele would do raids in other New Georgian villages, Simbo, Vella Lavella, Ghangonga, Kolombangara, St. Isabel and the Russell Islands. They are reported to have reached as far as to Guadalcanal once. Before commencing a headhunting raid, offerings to spirits would be done by the shrines located in the inland of the village. The head hunters would be armed with clubs, spears and particular axes exclusively used for headhunting (*zeke*), and they would also carry shields. Lianga explained that a small idol (*ligomo*) wrapped in leaves was put in the bow of the war canoe (*tomoko*), to assist the head hunters with navigation and in battle. The *ligomo* would be asked for advise on the way, and give answers by moving in specific directions. In this manner, the *ligomo* would provide predictions about details of the battle. The head hunters would also ask the *ligomo* for advise on how they would attack, whom to kill (only certain persons, only men, men and women, men, women and children, or everyone including livestock), and which skulls to bring back, and the *ligomo*'s advice would be followed carefully. From Lianga's description, it seems as if *ligomo* refers to what is commonly known by its Roviana name *nguzunguzu* in Western Province. Hviding (p.c.) reports that a *ligomo* in the neighbouring languages, Roviana and Marovo, refers to a a small packet containing teeth, hair, and other remains of ancestors, and questions whether it may refer to a *nguzunguzu* in Ughele. Whether there has been a mix up of expressions in Lianga's report is uncertain. Lianga explained that heads of enemies would be brought back wrapped in fragrant leaves from a plant known in Ughele as *leilei* in the bow of the canoe, in order to avoid the headhunters paddling back home to be too affected by the smell of the rotting flesh. Cleaned skulls would be kept in shrines, and there were separate shrines for women's skulls. Children would sometimes be taken as captives (*tinotu*) by Ughele head hunters. Most *tinotu* would be kept as slaves (*nabulu*). However, a *tinotu* could, if lucky, be adopted into a family, marry a member of the Ughele community, and gain full status as a co-resident (as described for the corresponding group of captives *butubutu maena*, in Marovo by Hviding (1996: 154)). A few *tinotu* would be selected as subjects of ritual offerings. They would lead comfortable (though constrained) lives until they were killed for specific ceremonies by drowning, and eaten. There were ways in which members of the Ughele community could save a *tinotu* from his or her fate. The ritual killing and consumption of a *tinotu* would only happen on very rare occasions. The sacrifice of children taken as captives by head hunters is also reported to have taken place in Roviana (Aswani and Sheppard 2003: 561) and Marovo (Hviding 1996: 422), where such children

were referred to as *veala*. Chiefs in Ughele would keep young unmarried women as prostitutes (*bibibolo*) whose services were available to visiting chiefs who would pay for their services in shell money. A similar practice is described for Roviana by Aswani and Sheppard (2003: 63).

People in New Georgia maintain kinship links among different New Georgian clans as well as with clans outside New Georgia due to their history as voyagers, and bilateral kin connections can be traced back to captives taken from one clan to another (Hviding 1996: 92). The Western Province, and New Georgia in particular, was a stronghold of maritime traders, and of head hunters until headhunting was banned by the new British Protectorate administration in 1893. The ban is reported to have been received by the Western Solomons clans with some relief, as by the 1880s, the headhunting had reached a level where population numbers both within New Georgia as well as more distant islands affected by the raids, such as St. Isabel, the Russell Islands and Guadalcanal, was decreasing dramatically (Hviding 1996: 109-114). For this reason, records from elderly members of the various communities in New Georgia report that it was not only due to the official ban but also to local initiative that the headhunting practice was abandoned, as it had come to represent a significant threat to many lagoon communities (Hviding 1993: 38).

Extensive trade and warfare goes far back in the history of the people of New Georgia. Barter and interisland trade expeditions may have taken place as early as – or even prior to - the 16th century (Amherst and Thomson 1901 and Aswani and Sheppard 2003: 558). It was observed by the first Europeans who made contact. Communities in New Georgia developed advanced marine technology, built war-canoes (*tomoko*), and did not only conduct head-hunting expeditions within New Georgia, but also went as far as Isabel, Choiseul, the Russell Islands, Savo and Guadalcanal (Hviding 1995: 92). A tomoko could travel further than 200 kilometres. Head hunters from Roviana and western New Georgia went northwards to Choiseul and St. Isabel, whereas head hunters from Marovo would go eastwards to the Russell Islands and Guadalcanal (Hviding 1993: 36). As noted above, chief Vili Lianga reports that head hunters went as far as from Ughele to Guadalcanal. Shrines with trophy skulls (*boso sorope*), shell money and other ritual objects, as can be found throughout New Georgia, are said to have been plentiful in Ughele. Few shrines remain in Ughele today. According to some members of the community, the contents of the shrines were traded to French anthropologists. Ovens (*oputu*) to prepare offerings are reported to have been located near the shrines.

Different types of shell valuables were used for different purposes. Unfortunately, no good overview of the historical use of the various types of shell valuables in Ughele has been recorded to this date. Names of common shell valuables in Ughele, such as *hokata*, and *poata*, are identical in the neighbouring language, Roviana (Aswani and Sheppard 2003: 64). *Vinasari*, decorative shell ornaments, reported to occasionally have been used in barter in Roviana (Aswani and Sheppard 2003: 64), are reported only to have been

used in rituals in Ughele. Shell money dominated the local commerce in New Georgia, long after European steel was introduced, and didn't give way to the European money until the second decade of the 20th century (Aswani and Sheppard 2003: 562).

2.1.2 Recent history

Solomon Islands' former capital, Tulagi, was destroyed during the Second World War. Today's capital, Honiara, was developed after the war on the remains of the American army base on Guadalcanal (Jourdan 1995a: 144). In the period of 1998–2004, Guadalcanal underwent a civil war. This period is often referred to as an 'ethnic conflict', mainly between Guadalcanalans and Malaitans. In Solomon Islands, this period is known as the 'tension'. A detailed account of the tension is found in Moore (2004). The Solomon Islands Government's request for outside help to cope with the country's civil unrest was answered by the Australian led police and military Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI), which arrived in Solomon Islands in 2003 and is still present today. The 'tension' scared both individuals and businesses out of Honiara. Many individuals and families went back to settle in the villages they or their parents had once left, and several businesses moved to Western Province, especially its commercial centre, Gizo, creating new jobs for people in the province. On the 2nd of April 2007, Western Province was affected by a tsunami caused by an 8.1 magnitude earthquake centered only 25 miles from Gizo. Gizo was most affected, where whole villages were swept away by the giant wave, but houses were also destroyed in other places in Western Province, among them Ughele.

2.2 Present context

2.2.1 Identity in Solomon Islands

Often, there is no national sentiment present in post-colonial states when these gain independence, and citizens of new nations who have never had to think of themselves as one people continue to define their identity in terms of their ethnic or linguistic community (Jourdan 1995a: 133). In Solomon Islands, where culturally and linguistically diverse ethnic groups are lumped together in one nation, this is very much the case. Even in the capital, Honiara, kinship continues to occupy the primary function in the organization of social relationships (Jourdan 1995a: 144). Berg (2000: 6-7) describes the important difference between the concepts associated with the SIP terms *haos* and *hom* among Solomon Islanders residing in Honiara, *haos* being little else than the geographic place where one's house is, *hom* being the village one came from. According to Jourdan (1995a: 127-128), there are three factors that are crucial to foster a nationhood. Each of them creates a common frame of reference, raises national consciousness, spreads nationalist ideology, and cuts across ethnic and linguistic boundaries. The first is a school system, the second a united language community, and the third the development of

popular culture. None of these are fully present and available to all Solomon Islanders.

Schooling is not mandatory in Solomon Islands, and the availability of educational institutions varies greatly from place to place. Some regions have none at all, and some can provide schooling up to high school level, as in Ughele. School fees are expensive by local standards, and few families can afford to send all their children to school. High schools are significantly more expensive than primary schools, and a high school education is often considered unnecessary for women who will soon reach an age when they will marry and have children to care for. Jourdan (Jourdan 1995a: 139) points out how the impact of the school system on the nation as a whole is not immediate. It is often felt that the education has little relevance for people in the villages (Jourdan 1995a: 138), and in urban areas, young people are often disappointed to find that an education fails to provide a job they consider appropriate (Jourdan 1995a: 139). Moreover, the nation lacks a uniform school system. Solomon Islands' educational institutions are mostly run by the various denominations present in the country (Jourdan 1995a: 136). The two schools in Ughele, Buruku Community Primary School and Buruku Community High School, are run by the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

As for national community of language, the closest one gets is Solomon Islands Pijin (SIP), a creole brought back as a pidgin from Queensland by indentured laborers. It was used as a means of communication between Solomon Islanders and European traders during the 19th century (Hviding p.c.), and its usage spread with the establishment of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate in 1893 (Jourdan 1995a: 139). Solomon Islanders have been far more reluctant to embrace SIP than their neighbours, Papua New Guinea and Vanuatu, where the respective creoles, Tok Pisin and Bislama, were given status as official languages and regarded as symbols of unity and independence (Jourdan 1995a: 140). When working with the dictionary (see 2.3.3) in Ughele, the idea of having both English and SIP translations of Ughele lexical entries was rejected by the Ughele Community. An Ughele dictionary would be an important document to the community, and members of the speech community expressed that it was not desirable to have it degraded by SIP translations. For most Solomon Islanders, SIP is a tool to overcome the country's great linguistic diversity, and it is not regarded as an indigenous language. Nonetheless, many Solomon Islanders are born and raised in Honiara speaking SIP, and the status of the language is viewed upon with more pride here, as it represents an alternative to the colonial language, English, which still has a very dominating role in Solomon Islands.

A popular culture is on the rise in Honiara (Jourdan 1995a: 141-143; Jourdan 1995b; Berg 2000; Hægland 2010). The urban community is expressing itself through art and music, the latter often with lyrics in SIP. Hægland (2010) described the increasingly active and influential contemporary music scene in Honiara in his MA thesis. Contemporary music from Honiara does occationally find its way into bigger villages in other

provinces, but it is debatable to what extent Honiara's new, urban culture has any influence on young Solomon Islanders in rural areas such as Ughele.

2.2.2 Ughele identity

In a national context, members of the Ughele community do not only perceive themselves as Ughele, but also as people from 'the West'. The various ethnic communities in Western Province share many aspects of their lifestyles, history, traditions, and traditional artifacts – everything a Solomon Islander would refer to as *kastom* (see 2.2.6). In addition to that, they share an economic environment. Within the region itself, they represent different ethnic groups, but on a national level, people from Western Province report that they identify themselves as 'Westerners'. As described in Section 1.2.1, most of the various ethnic communities in Western Province have a shared linguistic legacy. Not only do the Oceanic languages spoken in Western Province group together in the same linkage, Western Province also has its own lingua franca, Roviana. Although Solomon Islands Pijin is also widely used in Western Province, it is rare for a province in Solomon Islands to have its own lingua franca.

2.2.3 Ughele village

The island group of New Georgia consists of a compact cluster of mountainous volcanic islands. The village of Ughele is situated on the northwestern coast of the volcanic island of Rendova, one of the bigger islands in Western province. Ughele stretches from its black, sandy beach to the steep hillsides of the volcano, Luma Lilisi. The hillsides of Luma Lilisi were recently habitated as the villagers fled the tsunami sweeping over much of Western Province in 2007 after which some families decided to settle permanently in the hills rather than to move back to the seaside. Half of the village, the area of Elomana and part of Buruku, are situated within a lagoon, which somewhat reduced the damage when the tsunami washed over the habitation on the beach in 2007 (see 2.1.2). Many families live in leaf houses consisting of sago palm panels, but an increasing number of families are building permanent houses in timber with iron roofs. Depending on weather conditions, a leaf house can last from five and up to twelve years. Leaf panels can be replaced when damaged. Many households own pieces of land for subsistence farming. Gardens are mostly located on the hillsides of Luma Lilisi and coconut plantations closer to the shore. The once rich rainforest surrounding the village and stretching from the village to the hillsides of Luma Lilisi, is rapidly decreasing due to extensive logging (see 2.2.10).

2.2.4 Ughele family, marriage and kinship

As described for other communities in Western Province (Hviding 1996: 132-137; Berg 2000: 138), kinship in Ughele is bilateral. An individual is considered to be a member of both her mother and father's clans, and thus has part in, and the right to make use of, everything the clan owns. Land is

often owned by clans, (*kastom land*) and is allocated in specific ways. The birth-ascribed entitlement to both clans and their possessions is not changed by marriage. As Hviding points out for the people of Marovo (1996: 133), this system makes it difficult to differentiate between different groups within the community. In some respects, there are patrilinear biases. Members of the community have one given name and one surname. Women adopt their husband's name when marrying and children are known by the father's name. Wives and children may choose to use his given name or surname as their own surname. As a rule, marriages in Ughele are virilocal, but it is not uncommon that young couples with their children move back and forth between the village of the husband and that of the wife. Some couples are uxorilocal. Practicalities, such as where there is enough land to build a house, where there are jobs and schools, the availability of good kastom land, and similar factors also play a role.

A household is shared by the nuclear family, sometimes with a few members of the extended family, such as grandparents or grandchildren and daughters or sons in law. Ughele households, as well as the community as a whole, are patriarchal, though it seems that paternal authority is on the decrease, at least on the part of young male family members. Women have little authority, but in Ughele as everywhere else, some claim more authority than others. For today's 60-year olds and older members of the community, marriages were arranged by the bride and groom's families. The practice of arranged marriages is now abandoned, and young men and women in Ughele choose their partners themselves. Some restrictions apply, most importantly marriages should be hypergamous. Women should marry men from a clan with a rank equal to or higher than their own. Whereas it is considered shameful for women to marry down, this is not the case for men. Community members report that marriage between first cousins is considered incest and taboo (*tabu*). Hviding (p.c.) adds that marriage between second cousins is usually not allowed in the New Georgia archipelago either. Polygyny used to be a widespread practice and is still practised some places in Solomon Islands. Chiefs, in particular, were often expected to take more than one wife. Vili Lianga resports that it is not, however, practiced in Ughele. Bride prices, which in some regions can represent significant value, in the form of shell money, are now abandoned in Ughele. Hviding (p.c.) reports that rather than bride prices, small scale exchange of valuables between the two families was more common in the West.

2.2.5 Agriculture and fishing

Most families depend on subsistence agriculture and small scale reef and open water fishing. As mentioned, Rendova has rich, volcanic soil. Staple crops are cassava and sweet potato, sometimes supplemented by other root crops common in the Solomon Islands, such as yam, pana and taro. Bananas, plantains, beans, leafy greens and some fruit are also grown. A diverse variety of fish and shellfish is caught, with the main fish being skipjack tuna (*makazi*). On a daily basis, fresh fish has been widely replaced with locally

produced tinned tuna, but most families can provide fresh fish for the Sabbath lunch on Saturdays. Ughele has a small marketplace on the village jetty where sporadic markets take place whenever a ship stops by. What is on offer varies enormously. It may include fresh fish, crops such as sweet corn, varieties of leafy greens (referred to as *slippery cabbage* throughout the Solomon Islands), cassava, sweet potatoes, varieties of bananas and plantains, and roasted ngali nuts, depending on what is in season and what is available. Sometimes the market has little else than a few hands of bananas, other times it has bread buns, cassava pudding and fried fish. Traditional cooking is done over open fire or in earth ovens (*moto*). Puddings are made from grated cassava and coconut milk or from sago palm starch and coconut milk.

Women carry out the most of the agricultural and domestic work with the occasional assistance of men. Open water fishing is mostly done by men, whereas women take part in reef fishing. Fishing is usually done from a canoe, with poles or nets, or by divers with slings. How to make and use traditional fishing equipment crafted from plant material and shell, such as the *japu*, a type of fishnet made from rope, and the decorative *ghaili*, a big fishhook made from shell and turtle shell, used exclusively for fishing *makazi* and indigenous the New Georgia islands, is considered an important part of *kastom* knowledge (2.2.6). Reef fishing is done from small dugout paddle canoes, whereas fishing on the open ocean is done from bigger dugout canoes with outboard motors. The *makazi*, in particular, is of great significance for Ughele and other communities in Western Province.

Villagers have a rich knowledge of the local marine and terrestrial biodiversity. When recording names of species of plants and animals, consultants demonstrated a systematic local classification system with a repertoire of taxa grouped into subcategories, families and species. A similar complex classification system has also been recorded and documented for nearby Marovo by Hviding (2005: xxii). Other than food, plants are extensively used for natural medicine, magic, building materials, fishing tools and house utensils.

2.2.6 Kastom

Throughout Solomon Islands as well as in many other places in the Pacific, practices that are considered to be indigenous, as well as those of the past are referred to as *kastom*. A thorough description of the notion of *kastom* in Solomon Islands is found in Berg (2000; 12-15). *Kastom* is defined locally. There is no nationwide, homogenizing *kastom* (Jourdan 1995a: 145). The symbols, artifacts and traditions presented to tourists as Solomon Islands *kastom*, are bits and pieces taken from various regions. The *nguzunguzu* (possibly *ligomo* in Ughele) is often used to symbolize Solomon Islands, but it is an artifact ethnic communities other than the ones found in Western Province cannot relate to. Polynesian dances from Bellona are often marketed as typical dances from the Solomon Islands but do not resemble dances practised in Melanesian communities. In Ughele, ancient cooking and fishing

methods and devices, in particular, are considered *kastom*. Another part of *kastom* is various taboos, among them name taboos. Personal names of elderly people and spirits should not be mentioned. Instead, elderly women and men are referred to as *oreke* 'old woman' and *maroke* 'old man', respectively.

Members of the Ughele language community reports that communities in New Georgia unite in a massive *kastom* celebration every New Year's Eve. Former warfare and headhunting times are remembered in a parade of war canoes sailing from village to village, staging raids and taking captures. Traditional New Georgian war canoes (*tomoko*) were richly ornamented, could hold up to thirty men, and were propelled exclusively by paddling (Hviding 1995: 98). The canoes used for the above mentioned celebration are smaller replicas.

2.2.7 Economy and political organization

Solomon Islands is divided into nine provinces, supervised through fairly autonomous provincial administrations. Ughele is under the Provincial Administration in Gizo. However, decisions taken on higher level have limited influence on the villages, that have always been very autonomous.
As elsewhere in Western Province, the chiefly line in Ughele claim descent from divine ancestral beings (*mateana*), and this genealogical association is necessary to become a chief (*bangara*). Chiefs are succeeded by first sons, or other close male relatives if there are no sons. Apart from chiefly succession, there are no known descent rules promoting the notion of exclusively patrilineality.

Since the 'tension', Western Province, and Gizo in particular, has been the hub of what little tourism can be found in Solomon Islands. Solomon Islands has great potential for tourism, and is especially attractive for divers due to its many pristine coral reefs and the many WWII ship and plane wrecks so popular with divers. However, the political instability, lack of infrastructure, transportation limitations, and chloroquine resistant malaria are factors that keep the tourists away. The Western Province, however, has managed to build up a small tourism industry which caters for a small number of divers, WWII enthusiasts, and Australian members of the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands force (RAMSI) on short

leaves. There are dive centres in Gizo, Munda and the Marovo Lagoon. Gizo has a hotel and several hostels, the latter usually referred to as guest houses. Resorts are found on a few, mostly uninhabited, islands in Western Province. They include Fatboys and Sanbis on opposite sides of Babanga Island[2] near Gizo, Zipolo Habu on the island of Lola near Munda, Uepi Island Resort in the Marovo Lagoon, and an eco-resort on the now uninhabited island of Tetepare. Finding employment here is considerably easier than in the rest of the country, where employment is scarce, even in Honiara (Jourdan 1995a: 139; Berg 2000), and many places non-existent. Some members of the Ughele community find work in the bigger villages, Munda and Gizo, and carvers from Ughele, renowned for their skilfulness, deliver wood and stone carvings for sale to tourists to shops in Gizo and Honiara. Tourists finding their way to Western Province do not belong to the average middle class charter kind and the amounts of backpackers travelling through the region annually can be counted on one hand. Solomon Islands is expensive to reach by air, and food, transport and even very basic accommodation is expensive. Affluent people visit the islands, mostly male. They are passionate divers or on the search for WWII relics, mainly coming from Australia, New Zealand, USA, China or Japan. They bring with them expensive dive and camera equipment, travel between the islands in fast fibreglass or aluminium boats, eat airborne meat, and some are even flown in from Australia in a private jet. The materialism and luxurious lifestyle of tourists visiting Western Province does not only provide jobs, it also causes bitter feelings among young Solomon Islanders, as well as opportunism. Thanks to paid work and sale of carvings, a monetary economy has found its way into Ughele and other villages in Western Province. Families in Ughele consume kerosene oil for their lamps, petrol for their boats, sugar, salt, wheat flour, locally produced tinned tuna, palm oil, rice, noodles, onions, clothes, sandals, and in some cases even tinned meat, products imported mainly from China, Australia and Papua New Guinea. They also buy local produce, such as vegetables, fruit, fish, shells, baskets and mats on sporadic markets in Ughele, and regular markets in Munda and Gizo.

[2] Also sometimes referred to as Mbambanga Island.

2.2.8 The Seventh-day Adventist church and traditional beliefs

According to oral records from Ughele community members, the Seventh-day Adventist (SDA) Church was adopted by the village elders around 1920. It is reported to have earlier been rejected by the villagers when the British tradesman and plantation owner Norman Wheatley first tried to introduce it to the village during a visit a few years before, after having adopted the faith himself during a stay in Australia where he was treated in a SDA hospital. Most SDA villagers abstain from tobacco, coffee, tea, betel nut, and alcoholic beverages. Betel nut is not sold on the market, unlike in most markets in Solomon Islands. Youth between 10 and 16 years of age are active Pathfinders, women are active in the Dorcas, and villagers of all ages attend Sabbath School every Saturday. Ughele villagers generally have good knowledge about the SDA Church and of biblical texts and are more than happy to discuss these subjects whenever a chance comes up, and many community members spend a lot of time on bible studies. The chiefly Lianga family were instrumental in introducing the Seventh-day Adventist Church to Ughele.

Adherence to the SDA church takes place alongside belief in spirits of land and sea, and in magic. An extensive tradition of healing practices and natural medicine is kept alive. Worshipping and offerings to spirits, on the other hand, is reported no longer to be practiced. Belief in individuals with the power to perform witchcraft, often referred to as *waelman* 'wild men' in SIP, is widespread in Solomon Islands. It is uncertain whether their witchcraft is considered to be an acquired skill or biological. Sourcerers would every now and then be pointed out to me in Ughele, with warnings that they might cast malevolent spells, either on behalf of others or themselves.

2.2.9 Mobility

People in the New Georgia archipelago, including members of the Ughele community, have a rich history of inter-island travelling, an activity that is still maintained. The only means to get to and from the island is by boat. It is also the only way to get from village to village on the island itself, where the hilly and rugged topography of the volcanic island of Rendova and the significant distance between villages makes ground transport difficult, if possible at all. Maritime travel by means of passenger and transport ships for longer journeys, and by dugout canoes with outboard motors for shorter trips for example to Gizo, remains the only means of transportation for the people of Ughele. Flights to Gizo or Honiara from Munda are expensive and not accessible to most people. Canoes are for the most part made locally, carved out of single tree trunks. Ughele only has a few canoe builders, and the craft is passed on from father to son. A detailed account of the production of similar canoes in Marovo is found in Hviding (1995: 102-3). Considering the limited availability of transport, the mobility of Ughele villagers is nothing short of impressive. Men in particular, but also women and sometimes whole families, move from island to island, either for temporary visits or migrating.

Some young couples with their children can better be described as island nomads. Travels are frequent and sometimes seemingly impulsive. Whenever a ship arrives at the remains of what used to be a big jetty before it was washed away by the 2007 tsunami and people in Ughele are informed of where the ship is heading, a few individuals may decide to use the opportunity to go to other islands to see relatives. This leads to Ughele villagers often finding it difficult to keep track of each other's whereabouts. The durations of the travels are often unpredictable. Ships suddenly changing routes, being offered money for picking up timber at one location, instead of taking passengers to another, is not unheard of. The personal travel activity of teachers is a problem for the community, as it is often impulsive, rarely involves informing the school, and there are no replacements. Junior high school students showed up at school every morning for four months in 2008, only to walk home disappointed, as the teacher had disappeared and nobody knew when or if he would be back. No one had heard anything from him but he had been observed in Honiara.

2.2.10 The challenge of logging

The often aggressive activity of Asian logging companies represent an environmental and political challenge throughout the Western Province (Hviding 2005: xvi). It is not only accompanied by environmental damage, but also financial exploitation, as villagers are not aware of the value of the timber and virtually give it away (Spriggs 1997: 271). Furthermore, the logging companies pay timber royalties to customary landowning groups (Hviding 2005: xvi) and the distribution of loyalties from logging companies can, and often does, generate conflicts among members of social groups with land ownerships in Ughele, as in the rest of the region (Hviding 2005: xxxi). The people of Ughele village are affected by an Indonesian logging company that has been operating in the outskirts of the village for the past few years. Hviding (p.c.) reports of logging activity in Ughele as early as in 1996. Consequences include polluted drinking water, general pollution, loss of natural resources, and damaged plantations.

2.3 Sociolinguistic situation

2.3.1 The status of the Ughele language

Ughele is spoken as a mother tongue in the villages of Ughele and Egholo. As mentioned in 1.1.2, it is spoken as a first language by all individuals native to Ughele village and by half of the population of Egholo. The other half speaks the closely related language Roviana. It is also spoken as a second language by a considerable amount of individuals with Touo as a mother tongue (Terrill and Dunn 2003). Ughele speakers, however, report that few are able to speak or even understand Touo. Most Ughele speakers are multilingual and speak either SIP, Roviana (the neighbouring language spoken in the Roviana Lagoon used as a lingua franca in the Western Province) or both. Teachers and members of the community that went to

school during the time of the British Protectorate speak English, which is rarely spoken by younger members of the community. Most speakers of Ughele understand and speak some Roviana, and many speakers of Roviana report to understand some Ughele. Some members of the community even claim that Ughele and the related languages spoken in western and eastern New Georgia, mainly Roviana and Marovo, are mutually intelligible, and that speakers of Ughele who do not speak Roviana can make themselves understood in their own tongue when visiting the island of New Georgia.

Curiously, members of other communities in New Georgia consequently claim that Ughele is not a genuine language. It is claimed that the Ughele community took elements from Roviana and Marovo and constructed it. This was not only reported to me, but also to anthropologist Edvard Hviding working in eastern New Georgia (Hviding p.c.). Not only are members of other communities in New Georgia sceptical towards the Ughele language, the community is often portrayed as fierce, hostile and violent by many outsiders, possibly due to extensive headhunting activities in the past, in particular the dramatic battle on Tetepare. This sentiment is not shared by members of the Ughele language community, who are proud of their language and consider it a pity that Ughele has not had a written standard until now. The substantial overlap with Marovo and Roviana and the partial mutual intelligibility suggest that these languages probably are more similar than what Solomon Islanders are used to for other languages in the area possibly being the reason for speakers of other languages to consider Ughele not to be a genuine language. Mutual intelligibility, as Hudson (1999: 35) points out, is a matter of degree. How mutually intelligible two varieties should be to constitute two different languages is not clear. Another important point stressed by Hudson (1999: 356) is that intelligibility depends on the speaker's motivation and ability, rather than being a property of the language itself. Any reader comparing morphosyntactic features in Ughele and Roviana and in Ughele and Marovo will find that there are substantial differences.

Duranti (1997: 76) distinguishes between centripetal and centrifugal forces working on language, both terms originally used by Bakhtin (1981). Political and institutional forces that impose a variety of language on a community on the cost of another are centripetal. Forces that, instead, push speakers away from a common language and towards differentiation are centrifugal. The main centripetal forces in the Ughele community are English and Roviana. School children are taught in English, and all learning materials are in English, which is the only language members of the Ughele community are taught to read and write. English is also the language used in church and related activities (which encompass the lives of Ughele villagers to a larger extent than school, as the latter is not available for everybody), such as Sabbath School. Roviana, the main language of the neighbouring island of New Georgia, has a dominant role as the lingua franca in Western Province, and elder members of the community complain that younger

speakers of Ughele are making use of more and more Roviana terms at the cost of Ughele ones.

Nothing is known about the linguistic history of any of the Ughele speaking communities. Ughele has been spoken by members of the Ughele community for as long as any of its members can recall, and no information about the history of the Ughele and Roviana languages in Egholo could be obtained. Whether and to what extent there are specific linguistic variants for ceremonial use or used by sorcerers (2.2.8) is not known. Members of the Ughele community reported not to understand everything sorcerers say, a tendency Hviding (p.c.) reports to be common in the New Georgia area.

2.3.3 Literacy

There is no official language of Solomon Islands, but English is used in official documents and in schools. Solomon Islands Pijin (SIP) is used as a lingua franca throughout the country. English is the only written language used in schools. The literacy rate was estimated to be a little more than 50% in 1999 (Solomon Islands Census Office 1999). Members of the Ughele community consider it to be regrettable that children don't learn to read and write their own language, but English, and during the work with this project, speakers of Ughele have proved to be fairly consistent in their orthography when writing their own language. Although many speakers of Ughele are able to read biblical texts in Roviana and Marovo, they state they would prefer to able to read these texts in Ughele.

Speakers of Ughele are unusually lucky to have both a local primary and secondary school. Most teachers and students are from the Ughele community and speak Ughele as a mother tongue. This situation is unusual in Solomon Islands. Written English is used in Ughele in school as well as in church services and other church related activities including the Sabbath School. Bible texts in written Roviana and Marovo are used privately. Literacy in English is low in the younger generation but good among members of the community who went to school during the British Protectorate. Students attending secondary school read simple texts in English with difficulty despite having been taught in English since first grade. Acknowledging the need to reach individuals in the language community with little or no command of English, especially the elderly, has led a member of the Ughele community, school teacher Massie Lianga to translate more than 30 psalms and hymns from English to Ughele, which are performed by a local choir by the name *Go Tell*.

Schoolteachers and students were positive about the idea of increasing the use of Ughele in school and have made significant contributions to the work on a first reading book in Ughele for primary school children. The primary school children in Ughele created most of the material used in the reading book. They had few problems writing sentences in Ughele for the first time without any instruction and used a fairly coherent orthography. The reading book presents every letter in the alphabet and the numbers from 1 to 10 on separate pages each with a simple sentence

containing words starting with the letter or with the number in question, with an illustration. In addition to that, in contains riddles, simple stories and children's songs. The headmaster of Buruku Primary School, Douglas Vaghi, contributed with riddles and stories.

As part of the work with this thesis, a word list was assembled with the assistance of Ughele speakers Hukari Navo and Vili Lianga. The word list has an introductory grammar sketch and roughly 1400 entries with English translations and descriptions. Names in Ughele for all plants and animal species featured in Coleman (2005) were recorded. We have not been able to check the accuracy of Coleman's classification and pictures with a biologist.

Hard copies of the reading book, the dictionary and a selection of audio and text material will be sent to Ughele and digital versions will be made available on the Bergen-based *Western Solomons Research Database* making it possible for speakers of Ughele to access, download, and comment on this information. Some of the material is made available at the time of writing.

2.3.4 Contact with other speech communities

Little is known about the degree of contact between speakers of Ughele and those of its neighbouring Papuan language, Touo. Other than members of a church choir from Ughele visiting Baniata, one of the Touo speaking villages, once, I didn't experience much travelling between Ughele and the Touo speaking villages. Some Ughele speakers speak a bit of Touo, and report that it is common among Touo speakers to speak Ughele, a claim that is confirmed by Terrill and Dunn (2003). Travelling between Ughele and Egholo and the Touo speaking villages requires long boat trips. Whereas Ughele villagers would travel to the local commercial centre, Roviana speaking Munda, on the neighbouring island of New Georgia, several times a week, visits to other villages on Rendova seems to happen more rarely.

2.4 Summary

Ughele is spoken by two language communitites on the island of Rendova, Western Province, Solomon Islands. Whereas it is the first language of all indivisuals native to Ughele village, it is spoken by half of the population in the village of Egholo. The other half speaks the closely related language Roviana. Only data from the community of Ughele village were available for this thesis.

Having abandoned its historical activity as headhunters and inter-island traders, villagers in Ughele today are engaged in subsistence agriculture and fishing, craftmanship (canoe building and wood and stone carving) and in some cases paid work. Chieftainship is controlled by inherited rank in Ughele, and the current chief of the community is Vili Lianga. Factors that help to keep Ughele a healthy language are the speakers pride in their own language and will and effort to spread its usage to context where English has been used until now. The villagers of Ughele is in the

fortunate position to have a local both primary and secondary school, where most of the students and teachers are speakers of Ughele. Ughele school children, the principal and other community members have been instrumental in creating a first reading book for primary school children in Ughele and establishing a written standard. As of today, English is the only language used in school, church and church related activities. Other dominating languages are the national lingua franca, Solomon Islands Pijin and the local lingua franca, Roviana.

3 Data and methodology

3.1 The corpus of data used in this thesis

The data this thesis is based on consist of elicited and natural speech, about half of which is recorded on audio or video. Monologues make up most of the data, such as descriptions of different kinds, stories from personal experiences, fairy tales and legends. In addition to this come conversations, songs, rhymes, riddles, proverbs, jokes, and various types of elicitation. Elicited data include everything from answers to questionnaires, descriptions of pictures and videos, short interviews, and example sentences obtained in conversations about various subjects, example sentences that came up when various metalinguistic issues were discussed during transcription sessions. The data also include some conversations with two or three participants. A short overview of the corpus of data on which this thesis is based is found in Tables 3.1-3.3. A more detailed account of the contents of the corpus of data is found in the appendix. All data is in the Ughele language and all contributors are mother tongue speakers of the language.

In all, the recorded part of the corpus consists of roughly 13 hours of audio and video recordings. In addition to that, most of the elicitation was done without any audio or video recording, but transcribed directly with the assistance of Ughele speaking consultants, due to power management problems in the field site. In the cases where the elicitation sessions were recorded, only the responses to the elicitation tasks were recorded, excluding posing of questions, in-between conversation and pauses in order to make the most out of the power available. All data gathering was conducted in Ughele village and transcribed with the assistance of one or more Ughele speaking consultant(s). English and SIP were used as a working language. The speech data gathered are considered to be true grammatical sentences in Ughele, as they are recorded instances of spontaneous speech by native speakers, and were judged grammatical by the consultants contributing to the transcription process. Each session was collected into separate databases in Toolbox. In addition, all session databases were merged into one larger database comprising all data recorded, easing the process of comparing results from different sessions.

Table 3.1 Overview of audio data

Description		Length (h:mins)	(Total)
			9 h 27 mins
Conversations:	Fishing methods and the production of fishing equipment Carving	40 mins	
Descriptions:	Fishing methods and the production of fishing equipment Cooking methods and food preservation Rope making Canoe carving The coral reef outside Ughele village, how it is damage by pollution and other damage and its consequences Head hunting WWII Other historical events Stories from childhood and other personal experiences Movies	2 h 45 mins	
Elicitation:	The 'frog story' The location of people and objects relative to each other Description of photo sets from the village and other places in Solomon Islands Caused Positions Cut & Break	3 h 16 mins	
Legends and fairy tales		2 h 22 mins	
Proverbs and jokes		20 mins	
Songs		1 h 25 mins	

Table 3.2 Overview of video data

Format	Description	Length (h:mins)	(Total)
			3 h 30 mins
Conversations:	Body parts	1 h 32 mins	
	Greetings and gestures		
	Fishing		
Descriptions:	The production of ropes and other artifacts	2 h 4 mins	
	Canoe carving		
	How to build a leaf house		
	Local plants and their usage		
	Social structures within the community		
	Head hunting		
	Historical events		
Interviews		10 mins	
Legend		12 mins	
Songs		23 mins	

Table 3.3 Overview of data not recorded on audio or video

Description	
Compilation of texts, poems, riddles and songs for an Ughele reading book.[3]	
Elicitation:	Expressions related to head hunting
	Lexical items
	Comparative expressions
	Possessive constructions
	Verb derivation
	Temporal and spatial reference
	Reference to participants
	Adjectival verbs and attributive nominal modifiers derived from them
	Reflexives and reciprocals
	Mene 'first' and *pele* 'next'
	Le 'so'
	Clause types
	Based on parts of the Lingua Questionnaire
	Proto-Oceanic lexicon questionnaire
	Questionnaire: typological relations in adpositions and cases
	Questionnaire: event integration
	More examples of event integration

3.2 Fieldwork

Except from a set of lexical entries in Tryon and Hackman (1983) and a set of translated sentences collected by Bethwyn Evans that she generously shared with me, neither the Ughele language nor the Ughele community have ever been studied before. There was little, if any, material to study before commencing own data gathering in the field. The field work was aimed at recording as much natural spoken text as possible, regardless of the nature of the texts. The latter often depended on consultants' wishes to communicate particular stories or descriptions. Some elicitation was found necessary, especially to get a better understanding of the expression of spatial location.

[3] *Buka tiro pa Ughele* is a reading book in Ughele for primary school children. Most of the material in the book was made by the students at Buruku Primary School and headmaster Douglas Vaghi. The book was edited by Frostad with the asssistance of Hukari Navo and Vili Lianga. An electronic version can be downloaded from http://westernsolomons.uib.no/docs/Frostad,%20Benedicte/Frostad_2011_Ughele_reading_book.pdf.

3.2.1 Choice of language community

As described in 1.1.2, there are two ethnic communities where the Ughele language is spoken, monolingual Ughele and bilingual Egholo. Ughele was chosen as the locus for the research for this thesis for practical reasons. First, there was no way of knowing whether or to what extent the Ughele language was spoken in Egholo at the planning stage of this project. There were no means available through which the communities on Rendova could be contacted. Second, Ughele is the community with the largest number of Ughele speakers, and thus offers a better availability of consultants than Egholo. Third, for logistic reasons, it was not possible to work with both communities.

3.2.2 Fieldwork practicalities

Three fieldtrips were scheduled for this project, of which two were carried out and the third cancelled. The cancellation was due to time limitations and an ever increasing processing time for the research permit, which needs to be renewed every year, with the Ministry of Education in Honiara. During the first field trip, it took roughly a month to obtain a research permit and a visa for the duration of the field work period, during the second trip it took even longer. In both cases, both applications were sent several months in advance, but the applications could not be found either at the Ministry of Education or the Immigration Office in Honiara. Another application had to be submitted immediately after arriving in Honiara, but continuous pressure had to be put on the offices for any progress to be made, hindering travels to the field site.

Power management became an ever increasing problem during both stays in the field, as the solar panel stopped working on both occasions. A few times, we were able to rent a generator or have our car battery charged at the Indonesian logging company site just outside the village.

3.2.3 Consultants

In Ughele village, I stayed with, and enjoyed the generous hospitality of Win and Mex Pada's family. The family members contributed significally to this project. In all, 41 consultants from Ughele village have contributed to this thesis. The consultants are both men and women ranging from 14 to 85 years of age, who all speak Ughele as a mother tongue. Contributors who were not involved in transcription and translation were, in principle, not paid, but only received small gifts to compensate for their time and as a token of gratitude. Their participation was thus based on interest in the project and willingness to contribute and help. Another important factor was the time a speaker had available to contribute. Members of the Ughele community spend significant amounts of time on clearing and tending small scale plantation, fishing, Bible studies and other church related activities, community meetings and house work. In addition, some have paid work.

Table 3.4 Contributors

Women		Men	
Age group	Number	Age group	Number
10-20	4	10-20	1
20-30	1	20-30	2
30-40	2	30-40	3
40-50	2	40-50	1
50-60	2	50-60	4
60-70	2	60-70	7
70-80	2	70-80	5
80-90	1	80-90	2
Total women	16	Total men	25

The greater part of the work with transcribing and translating the data was done with Hukari Navo. Hukari Navo is a partially retired schoolteacher. He speaks perfect English, had a good understanding of the work we did, and he is a brilliant transcriber. Members of my host family, Mex Pada, Christina Philips and Daisy Pada, as well as Liobo Masokolo, Massie Lianga and particularly the chief of the Ughele community, Vili Lianga, also contributed significally to this work. Hukari Navo, Massie Lianga and Vili Lianga have all had long careers as primary and secondary school teachers. All three showed great interest in the project, especially in developing a written standard for the language and producing a dictionary.

Consultants were motivated and ready to answer most questions, so in this respect communicating with men and recording information about typical men's activities didn't prove more difficult for the female fieldworker than communicating with women. Recruiting women as consultants as well as involving women in transcription and translation proved difficult, not so much because of language barriers as most women in Ughele have a good demand of SIP, but rather due to lack of faith in their own competence in the women and their busy schedule compared to that of the men. The women-men ratio is thus unbalanced. Older members of the community make up a larger proportion of the consultants than younger. The reason for this was a strong wish from the community to have traditional stories, legends and historical accounts only known by these elderly individuals represented in the data and recorded. Other than this, elderly individuals had more time and showed more interest in the project. Many elderly individuals had little or no command or SIP or English, in which case another community member would translate.

3.3 Theoretical framework for the linguistic analysis

Theoretically, the analysis this thesis is based on draws on various functionalist theories of grammar, such as Functional Grammar (Foley and Van Valin 1984; Dik 1997a and b) and Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin and LaPolla 2004; Van Valin 2005), elements from Radical Construction Grammar (Croft 2001) and cognitive grammar (Langacker: 1991), as well as numerous of sources in the general typological and

descriptive literature (Shopen 2007a, 2007b, 2007c; Terrill 2003; and Foley 1991; to mention a few). Rather than to keep the whole analysis within one theoretical framework, bits and pieces from different frameworks are used where they are considered to be most fit to describe the phenomena in question. When working on a descriptive project, one is often reminded that one's work should be as theory independent as possible. However, no linguistic analysis can be done without a theoretical basis. Even the most stripped down linguistic theories, such as Basic Linguistic Theory, are linguistic theories. When writing this thesis, I have tried to keep the text as readable as possible and include a minimum of formalism.

3.4 Summary

The corpus of data this thesis is based on lends itself to spoken texts recorded in Ughele village in the period 2007-2008. Most of the data is not recorded on audio and video due to power shortage in the field, in addition to that comes 9 hours and 27 minutes of audio and 3 hours and 30 minutes of video recordings. All the data has been transcribed with the assistance of one or more consultant speaking Ughele as a first language. 41 consultants contributed to the corpus, of them 16 women and 25 men, all native to Ughele village.

The theoretical framework the thesis is based on lends itself primarily to various functionalist linguistic frameworks, but also makes use of elements from other frameworks where it is considered suitable for the analysis in question.

4 Phonology

This chapter gives a short introduction to phonological units, stress patterns and phonological rules in Ughele. The strings of language are described in a canonical phonemic transcription, separating each word as if the words had been spoken one at a time, isolated from the context of preceding and following words. The purpose of the transcription is to provide a unique identification for every segment, using one symbol per segment. Fine phonetic detail is not addressed.

Section 4.8 describes the orthography used in the consecutive chapters and its few deviations from the phonological symbols used in the phonological transcription.

4.1 Consonants

4.1.1 Inventory of segmental phonemes

Ughele has 18 consonant phonemes. The consonant phoneme inventory is as shown below.

Table 4.1 Inventory of consonant phonemes

p	b			t	d		k	g	
						ʤ			
	m				n			ŋ	
					r				
		v		s	z			ɣ	h
			(w)						
					l				

There are no consonant clusters in Ughele, save in a few cases of optional vowel deletion in fast speech (see Section 4.5.1). Loanwords from English or SIP that are lexicalized into Ughele get extra vowels, intervening between two consonants in a cluster and at the end of words ending with a consonant.

/skul/ 'school'	SIP	/si.ku.lu/ 'school'; 'study'	Ughele
/bɒks/ 'box'	English	/bu.ke.se/ 'box'; 'container'	Ughele
/bʌkɪt/ 'bucket'	English	/ba.ke.te/ 'bucket'	Ughele

4.1.2 Stops

Ughele has bilabial, alveolar and velar stops. Voicing is a distinctive feature. There are unvoiced and voiced pairs for all plosives (p/b; t/d; k/g). Minimal pairs include:

Voiced / unvoiced bilabial stops (b/p):
/ba/ 'but'
/pa/ LOC

Voiced / unvoiced alveolar stops (d/t)
/made/ 'four'
/mate/ 'die' or 'dead'

Voiced / unvoiced velar stops (g/k)
/poga/ 'make pudding' or 'pudding'
/poka/ 'nail'

All voiced stops are prenasalised. The degree of prenasalisation of the segments varies from speaker to speaker, and the precise parameters of variation are uncertain. The pronunciation varies from no audible nasalization at all to almost fully nasalized segments.

b→[b]~[ⁿb]
d→[d]~[ⁿd]
g→[g]~[ⁿg]

There are nasal and oral pairs for all voiced stops (b/m; d/n; g/ŋ). The distinction between the nasal and non-nasal velar stop, can be difficult to make at times for the linguist, as the latter is prenasalised and there is a significant variation among speakers as to the degree of prenasalisation. Speakers distinguish between them in all cases, and there are minimal pairs. A practice of transcribing prenasalised segments with two symbols, one symbol representing the nasal part of the segment, and another representing the non-nasal (i.e. [ⁿb], [ⁿd], and [ⁿg], would be transcribed *mb*, *nd*, and *ng* respectively) in the writing systems of neighbouring languages influenced informants and caused some inconsistency in the transcription, which initially led to some doubt as to the difference between the two segments. Minimal pairs distinguishing between nasal and non-nasal segments include:

Voiced bilabial nasal (m) and non-nasal (b)
/ma/ IMP
/ba/ 'but'

Voiced alveolar nasal (n) and non-nasal (d)
/na/ COMM
/da/ NEG

Voiced velar nasal (ŋ) and non-nasal (g)
/mamaŋa/ ‘open’
/mamaga/ ‘fish species’

Minimal pairs showing the difference between place of articulation in stop segments are:

Voiced bilabial / alveolar / velar stops (b/d/g)
/mabo/ ‘tired’
/mado/ ‘happy’
/mago/ ‘spirit; devil’

Unvoiced bilabial / alveolar / velar stops (p/t/k)
/pa/ LOC
/ta/ POSS
/ka/ NEG

Voiced bilabial / alveolar / velar nasals (m/n/ ŋ)
/madi/ ‘obey’
/nadi/ ‘sagopalm pudding’
/ ŋadi/ ‘sharp; long’

4.1.3 The alveolar trill

The alveolar trill (r), as in /'arozo/ ‘rope’, is the only rhotic segment.

4.1.4 Fricatives

Ughele has labiodental, alveolar, velar, and glottal fricatives. The labiodental (v) and velar (ɣ) fricatives are voiced, and the glottal (h) is unvoiced. The only functional voice distinction is between an unvoiced (s) and a voiced (z) alveolar fricative. Minimal pairs include:

Voiced / unvoiced alveolar fricatives (z/s)
/zoi/ ‘penis’
/soi/ ‘hot beverage’

Minimal pairs illustrating the difference between place of articulation in fricative segments include:

Voiced labiodental / alveolar / velar fricatives (v/z/ ɣ)
/voi/ ‘put’
/zoi/ ‘penis’
/ ɣoi/ ‘you’

Unvoiced alveolar / glottal fricatives (s/h)
/pusa/ ‘tie’

/puha/ ‘wipe’

4.1.5 The affricate /ʤ/

The postalveolar affricate (ʤ) may be realized as a palatal nasal stop [ɲ] word-initially, but this happens rarely and seems to be speaker dependent.

ʤ→[ʤ]~[ɲ]

Thus *ngajiri* ‘angry’ may be pronounced either ['ŋaʤiri] or ['ŋaɲiri].

4.1.6 Approximants

There are two approximants, one alveolar lateral (l), and one labial velar (w). The labial velar approximant (w) only occurs in a small set of loanwords from English and Roviana.

Original forms of loans				Ughele		
vuaseni	/ ßwaheni/	‘year’	Roviana	*vuaseni*	/waseni/	‘year’
window			English	*vuida*	/wida/	‘window’
week			English	*vuiki*	/wiki/	‘week’
win			English	*vuini*	/wini/	‘win’

Consultants insisted on transcribing /w/ as *vu* (see 4.7), possibly partly reflecting the lexical rule where /u/ is realized as /w/ when two syllables are merged, which is the case in *vuaseni* [ßwaheni] in Roviana (Corston-Oliver 2002: 468). As /w/ is rarely used, there are no attested minimal pairs distinguishing the alveolar lateral (l) and the labial velar (w) approximants.

4.1.7 Distinctive features

Distinctive features for Ughele consonant segments are shown in Table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2 Distinctive features for Ughele consonants

	p	b	t	d	k	g	ʤ	m	n	ŋ	r	v	s	z	ɣ	h	w	l
Consonantal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+
Sonorant	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
Approximant	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
Voice	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
Spread	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
Nasal	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Lateral	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+

Minimal pairs distinguishing segments on the basis of place of articulation, voicing and nasality are given for stops in 4.1.2, fricatives in 4.1.4, approximants in 4.1.6. Minimal features distinguishing segments on the basis of manner of articulation include:

Voiced alveolar plosive (d) and fricative (z):

/mada/ ‘let’
/maza/ ‘flesh’

Unvoiced alveolar plosive (t) and fricative (s)
/tabu/ ‘holy; forbidden’
/sabu/ ‘hunt; fish’

Voiced velar plosive (g) and fricative (ɣ)
/gu/ -POSS:1S
/ɣu/ ‘just’

4.2 Vowels

4.2.1 Inventory of segmental phonemes

Vowel segments in Ughele are differentiated on the basis of place of articulation (front/back) and degree of stricture (open/close-mid/close). Lip rounding is not phonemic. There are two segments articulated with lip rounding, the close-mid back vowel (o) and the close back vowel (u). There does not appear to be any significant variation in vowel length, which is not phonemic. The five vowel inventory in Ughele is close to five of Jones’ six cardinal vowels (Laver 1995: 274), and is typical for Oceanic languages.

Table 4.3 Inventory of vowel phonemes

i		u
e		o
	a	

4.2.2 Distinctive features

Ughele has three front (a; e; i), two back (o; u) and no central vowel phonemes. Minimal pairs distinguishing vowels on the basis of place of articulation include:

Close-mid front (e) and back (o) vowels
/veke/ ‘flying fox’
/veko/ ‘bald’

Close front (i) and back (u) vowels
/ɣami/ ‘we; us (EXCL)’
/ɣamu/ ‘you (PL)’

One vowel segment is articulated with an open (a), two with a close-mid (e; o), and two with a close (i; u) degree of stricture. Minimal pairs

distinguishing between vowel segments on the basis of degree of stricture include:

Open (a) and close-mid (e) front vowels
/patu/ ‘stone’
/petu/ ‘mangrove’

Open (a) and close (i) front vowels
/tina/ ‘thousand’
/tini/ ‘body’

Close-mid (e) and close (i) front vowels
/neka/ ‘slippery cabbage’
/nika/ ‘fire’

Close-mid (o) and close (u) back vowels
/kopi/ ‘lake’
/kupi/ ‘pick’

4.2.3 Vowel sequences

Vowel sequences can be part of the same syllable or occur at syllable breaks, depending on which segments are combined. The following sequences are diphthongized. The first segment is syllabic in all diphthongs but /ia/, where the second diphthong is syllabic.

a	+	e	→	a͡e	/va͡e/	‘be like’
a	+	i	→	a͡i	/ba.la͡i.ri/	‘blue’
a	+	o	→	a͡o	/ba.ka.ra͡o/	‘frog’
a	+	u	→	a͡u	/ra͡u/	PRO:1SG
e	+	i	→	e͡i	/be͡i/	‘drink’
i	+	a	→	i͡a	/ i͡a /	PRO:3SG
o	+	i	→	o͡i	/vo͡i/	‘put’
o	+	u	→	o͡u	/lo.lo͡u/	‘big pandanus’

Diphthongs are shorter than two consecutive vowels but slightly longer than a single vowel, and they do not extend more than one syllable.

Sequences of vowels that do not undergo diphthongisation, where both segments are syllabic and part of two separate syllables, include:

e	+	a	→	e.a	/le.a.na/	‘good; well’
e	+	o	→	e.o	/e.o/	‘megapode’
e	+	u	→	e.u	/se.se.u/	‘grass’
i	+	e	→	i.e	/ri.e/	‘they; them’
i	+	o	→	i.o	/ki.ki.o/	‘little kingfisher’
i	+	u	→	i.u	/ni.u/	‘small’
o	+	a	→	o.a	/ka.lo.a/	‘depart’
o	+	e		o.e	/to.e/	‘fall’

u	+	a	→	u.a	/ɣu.a/	‘say’
u	+	e	→	u.e	/ma.nu.e/	‘possum’
u	+	i	→	u.i	/u.i/	‘call’

Vowel sequences with /u/ + /o/ were not found in the corpus.

4.3 Syllable structure

With the exception of a few loanwords not lexicalized into Ughele, all syllables are open, that is, they have no codas. Syllables consist of a nucleus, which in most cases are preceded by an onset.

$$\sigma \rightarrow (C)V$$

The nucleus consists of a single vowel or a diphthong (see 4.2.3), and the onset consists of a single consonant. There are no consonant clusters, except in a few cases of optimal vowel deletion on fast speech (see 4.5.1) and a few English or SIP loanwords that not lexicalized into Ughele. Only the latter category may have syllables with codas. The onset can be any consonant. The nucleus can be any vowel or diphthong, as given in 4.2.3.

Most lexical roots in Ughele consist of one, two or three syllables. There is a handful of roots with four syllables. Most four syllable roots are nouns referring to classes or species of plants and animals, but there are a few nouns with a more general meaning, such as /pa.la.ba.tu/ ‘chief; husband’, /sa.pu.e.le/ ‘stringed bag’, /bi.bi.bo.lo/ ‘prostitute’, /ze.te.pa.de/ ‘church’, and /ma.la.bu.ru/ ‘breeze’.

4.3.1 Onsets

Most syllables in Ughele have an onset, consisting of a single consonant. As virtually all syllables are open in Ughele, all consonants can occur as onsets in syllables. Syllables can be without an onset, consisting only of a vowel or diphthong nucleus. Syllables without onsets are most frequent word initially and at morpheme boundaries. All vowels can be the nucleus of a syllable without an onset. The only circumstance under which syllables may have complex onsets, are when vowels are elided in fast speech, as described in Section 4.5.1.

4.3.2 Nuclei and codas

A nucleus can consist of any vowel or diphthong. Only loanwords that are not lexicalised into Ughele may have codas, such as /mi.sis/ ‘missis’ or /hed.mas.ta/ ‘headmaster’, though in most cases these get additional vowels to preserve the syllable structure of the language (see 4.1.1).

4.4 Lexical phonological rules

This section deals with non-stress related phonological rules that are on the word level and do not apply across word boundaries. Post-lexical phonological rules are described in Section 5.

4.4.1 Final vowel elision with the transitive suffix *–i*

Final vowels on verbs are elided when the verb takes the transitive suffix *–i*.

$V \rightarrow \emptyset$ / _ $]_V$ i$]_{TR}$

tavete	'do'	+	-i	TR	→	taveti	'do TR; make'

4.4.2 Vowel elision at morpheme boundaries

There are two derivations in which vowels in unstressed syllables are obligatory deleted when followed by an identical vowel at a morpheme boundary. The 3rd person plural object marker *–i* is deleted when it follows any of the transitive markers *–i* and *–ni*.

i → Ø / $]_V$ i$]_{TR}$ _
i → Ø / $]_V$ ni$]_{TR}$ _

doɣoro[4]	'take; get'	+	-i	TR	+	-i	OBJ:3PL	→	doɣori	'see them'
hiva	'want'	+	-ni	TR	+	-i	OBJ:3PL	→	hivani	'want them'

A nominalization derivation in Ughele involves reduplication of the initial syllable of a verb stem combined with the suffix *–aini*/*-ani*. The final /a/ in the underlying word is deleted when *–aini*/*-ani* is suffixed:

a → Ø / _] aini$]_{NOM}$

zuda	'tree'	+	red-..-a̯ini	NOM	→	zuzuda̯ini	'forest

[4] Final vowels on verbs are elided when the verb takes the transitive suffix *–i* (see 4.5.2).

There is no general rule by which identical vowels merge. For instance, both front closed vowels /i/ are kept when the distributive prefix *vari-* is added to the verb *iranga* 'laugh'. Both are syllabic and part of separate syllables.

vari-	DISTR	+	iraŋa	'laugh'	+	-i	OBJ:3PL	→	va.ri.i.ra.ŋi	'laugh together'

4.5 Post-lexical phonological rules

This section describes phonological rules that apply across word boundaries. Lexical rules are described in Section 4.4.

4.5.1 Vowel elision in fast speech

The vowel of an unstressed penultimate syllable in a word with three or more syllables may be dropped if it is identical to the vowel in the final syllable. The rule is optional and only applies to fast speech. In the rule formulae below, α represents the identity of the vowel. Both vowels must be identical for the rule to apply.

$V_\alpha \rightarrow Ø / C_0 _ C_0 V_\alpha \#$

/'suriki/ 'evening'	→	/'surki/
/'pulese/ 'return'	→	/'pulse/
/'sinevara/ 'plantation; garden'	→	/'sinevra/

4.5.2 Intervocalic /i/ becomes /j/

The close palatal vowel /i/ becomes a palatal approximant /j/ when between two vowel segments.

$i \rightarrow j / V _ V$

The /j/ segment forms a syllable with the vowel following it. An exception is when the following vowel is /i/ (see 4.4.2).

va-	CAUS	+	vae	'be.like'	+	-i	+	-a	OBJ:3PL	→	va.va.e.ja	'make.like'

4.5.3 Deletion of the first syllable in reduplicated words

Reduplication always applies to the initial or, less frequently, the two first syllables in Ughele (see Chapter 6). The reduplicated syllable is optionally deleted in fast speech. The two syllables must be identical for the rule formulated below to apply.

$\sigma_i \rightarrow Ø / \# _ _ \sigma_i$

/va.va.ga.sa/ ‘morning’ → /va.ga.sa/

4.6 Stress

4.6.1 Root stress

One-syllable words get primary stress on their only syllable. Generally speaking, there are two primary stress patterns for word roots with more than two syllables. Primary stress is assigned to the penultimate (a) or antepenultimate (b) syllable. Stress is not a distinctive feature in Ughele, and there is no set of vowels that trigger one or the other stress pattern. However, stress is influenced by the presence of diphthongs, as will be seen further below. It is lexically determined which words each of the stress rules below apply to.

Alternate rules for assigning primary stress:
a) V → [+stress] / _ σ #
b) V → [+stress] / _ σ σ #

It follows from these rules that the rightmost foot of the word may have a maximum of three syllables, one strong and one or two weak. Words with diphthongs represent the only exceptions to these rules. In words with diphthongs, the diphthong in the rightmost foot always gets primary stress.

V → [+stress] / [+diphthong] C_0 _ ((σ) σ) #

Primary stress is not assigned to diphthongs in the leftmost foot. Thus /ao/ in the initial syllable gets secondary stress as usual in [kaọ'kana] ‘village; place’. Secondary stress is always assigned to the first syllable.

V → [+stress] / # C_0 _

Examples include:

No. of syllables	Primary stress on the penultimate syllable		Primary stress on the antepenultimate syllable		Primary stress on diphthong	
2	'aba 'batu 'zeke	‘spider’ ‘head’ ‘kill’	n.a.		'baɛ̯re 'baɪ̯ka pa'kao̯	‘friend’ ‘bag’ ‘goat fish’
3	ˌpa'zuna ˌgo'ana kao̯'kana ˌno'nogha	‘place’ ‘bush’ ‘village; place’ ‘know’	ˌikana ˌarozo ˌpaleke	‘person’ ‘rope’ ‘carry’	ˌbaka'rao̯ ˌvivi'neɪ̯ ˌvizo'roɪ̯	‘frog’ ‘story; tell’ ‘before’
4	ˌmate'ana ˌpala'batu ˌluju'vaka	‘spirit; angel’ ‘husband; chief’ ‘sweet potato’	ˌsi'nipara ˌma'ghoghoso ˌma'maneke	‘wash hands’ ‘heal’ ‘woman; wife’		

There are some cases where affixation leads to stress shifts, which are described below in 4.6.3-4.6.6.

4.6.2 Morphologically complex words with no primary stress shift

For derived verbs with either of the derivational morphemes *va-* CAUS, *vari-* DISTR and *ta-* PASS and derived nouns with the nominal prefix *ara-* that have underlying verbs of two and more syllables, there is no shift in primary stress. The prefix is assigned secondary stress.

va	CAUS	+	'mate	‘die’	ˌva'mate	‘kill’
vari	DISTR	+	'pera	‘fight’	ˌvari'pera	‘fight each other’
ta	PASS	+	'zalanga	‘heal’	ˌta'zalanga	‘be healed’
ara	NOM	+	'ghore	‘descend’	ˌara'ghore	‘underneath’

The same holds for reduplicated verbs and nouns.

RED	PROGR	+	'doŋo	‘see’	ˌdo'doŋo	‘see PROGR’
RED	NOM	+	'tavete	‘do; work V’	ˌta'tavete	‘work N’

And for independent pronouns with the focal prefix *a-*.

a	FOC	+	'rau̯	PRO:1SG	ˌa'rau̯	FOC-PRO:1SG

For derived verbs with one-syllable roots, primary stress is assigned to the prefix, unless the second syllable has a diphthong, in which case the diphthong gets primary stress and the prefix gets secondary stress, as described for roots in Section 4.6.1.

va	CAUS	+	'ko	‘be; stay’	'vako	‘put’
va	CAUS	+	'lao̯	‘go’	ˌva'lao̯	‘bring; give’

Where derived causative verbs have either of the transitive suffixes *–i* and *–ni*, the rule below, and primary stress is assigned to the transitive suffix, whereas the secondary stress stays on the first syllable.

va CAUS + ko 'be; stay' + ni TR + a OBJ:3SG ˌvako'nia 'put it'

4.6.3 Stress shift with the transitive suffixes *–i* and *–ni* on verbs

In verbs with either of the transitive suffixes *–i* and *–ni*, primary stress is assigned to the transitive suffix. As seen in 4.4.1, verb roots with the transitive marker –i suffixed to it get final vowel elision, and the suffix forms a syllable with the preceding consonant, if there is one. The secondary stress stays on the first syllable. Thus we have:

'doɣoro 'see' + i TR + -a OBJ:3SG ˌdoɣo'ria 'see it'
ˌvivi'nei 'tell' + ni TR + -a OBJ:3SG ˌvivinei'nia 'tell it'

4.6.4 Stress shift with the nominal infix *<in>*

In nouns derived from verbs by means of the nominal infix *<in>*, primary stress is assigned to the second syllable.

$V \rightarrow [+stress] / in]_{NOM} _$

The first syllable gets secondary stress.

in NOM + 'paleke 'carry' ˌpi'naleke 'burden'

4.6.5 Stress shift with the nominal suffix *–a(i)ni*

A means of deriving nouns from verbs in Ughele is by a combination of reduplication and the nominal suffix *–a(i)ni*. The first vowel or diphthong in the suffix is assigned primary stress. With derived nouns and other cases of reduplication, secondary stress is assigned to the second syllable. That is, it stays on the first syllable of the underlying form.

RED NOM + 'maruvu 'enter' + aini NOM ma ˌmaruvu'aini 'entrance'

4.6.6 Stress shift with attributive pronoun suffixes

Attributive pronoun suffixes index possessor when suffixed to nouns, and derive nominal attributives from adjectival verbs. In both cases, the syllable before the suffix is assigned primary stress and the first syllable gets secondary stress. In the rule formulae below, α represents the attributive suffix which may have several forms.

$V \rightarrow [+stress] / _\ \alpha]_{ATTR}$

'baɣo	'name'	+	na	ATTR:3SG	ˌba'ɣona	'his/her/its name'
'moso	'sick'	+	di	ATTR:3PL	ˌmo'sodi	'sick PL'

4.7 The word

There are not many criteria that help us to define phonological words. First and foremost, words must end with a vowel. Loanwords with codas that are lexicalized into Ughele get vowels added to them, as demonstrated in 4.1.1. Consonant clusters as the result of optional vowel elision in fast speech (see 4.5.1) may only occur in a word final syllable, and not across word boundaries. This is a weak criterion to identify words, however, as this process is optional, only occurs in fast speech, and only applies if the vowels in the final and penultimate syllables are identical. Mainly, it is the stress patterns described in 4.6 which help us define words. Secondary stress can only be assigned to a word-initial syllable. Primary stress is assigned to the penultimate or antepenultimate syllable of underived words, unless there is a diphthong (see 4.6.1), or otherwise as specified by lexical rules (4.6.3-4.6.6), where affixes give stress shifts. Morphologically, words can be identified by means of roots and the presence of bound morphology, and the order these occur in, as described for nominals in Chapter 7 and for verbs in Chapter 12.

4.8 The Ughele orthography used in this thesis

Ughele is written in the Latin alphabet. The graphemes in the Ughele orthography are for the most part identical with the IPA symbols given in Tables 4.1 and 4.3, but deviate in the following points – both apply to consonants: (1) in three cases, two symbols represent a single phoneme; *gh* represent the velar fricative /ɣ/; *ng* represent the velar nasal stop /ŋ/; and *vu* represent the labial velar affricate /w/. Since Ughele has no consonant clusters, and /w/ only occurs in a small set of loanwords (see 4.1.6), this is unproblematic. (2) The symbol *j* does not represent a palatal approximant, but the postalveolar affricate /ʤ/.

Table 4.4 Consonant phoneme vs. grapheme chart

IPA	p	b	t	d	k	g	ʤ	m	n	ŋ	r	v	s	z	ɣ	h	w	l
Ughele orthography	*p*	*b*	*t*	*d*	*k*	*g*	*j*	*m*	*n*	*ng*	*r*	*v*	*s*	*z*	*gh*	*h*	*vu*	*l*

Table 4.5 Vowel phoneme vs. grapheme chart

IPA	Phoneme	i	e	a	u	o
Ughele orthography	Grapheme	*i*	*e*	*a*	*u*	*o*

4.8 Summary

Ughele has 18 consonant and 5 vowel phonemes. Voicing is a distinctive feature for all stop articulations and for alveolar fricatives. The only rhotic phoneme is an alveolar trill. Lip rounding is not a distinctive feature for vowels, neither is vowel lenght. All syllables are open, consisting of a

nucleus with or without an onset. Primary stress is on the penultimate or antepenultimate syllable of lexical roots. Some bound morphology is associated with stress shifts. It is mainly on the basis of stress patterns that phonological words can be identified in Ughele. With a few exceptions, each phoneme is represented by one single grapheme in the Ughele orthography used in this thesis.

5 Parts of speech

This chapter provides a brief introduction to different parts of speech in Ughele with reference to further description in subsequent chapters. The various parts of speech are defined on the basis of a combination of semantic, morphological and syntactic criteria. There are two main open classes of words in Ughele: nouns (5.1) and verbs (5.2). In addition to these, there is a class of attributive nominal modifiers derived from adjectival verbs that are likely to be open (5.2.1). Closed classes include:

pronouns	(5.3)	demonstratives	(5.9)
quantifiers	(5.4)	negation marking particles	(5.10)
numerals	(5.5)	articles	(5.11)
prepositions	(5.6)	aspect and mood marking particles	(5.12)
adverbs	(5.7)	interjections	(5.13)
conjunctions	(5.8)		

Many identical forms can function as both nouns and verbs in Ughele. Following Langacker (1987: 54) this will not be considered to be a reason to doubt whether there is a noun/verb distinction in Ughele. The forms have properties specific to either nouns or verbs when used in particular constructions. Below, words that occur with typical verbal morphology and as heads of VCs are analyzed as verbs, and words that have typical nominal morphology and occur as heads of NPs (with the exception of pronouns) are analyzed as nouns. Nouns and verbs with identical forms will thus be considered homophonous, rather than ambiguous between the two classes. As will be seen in Chapter 7, there are arguments in favour of an analysis of some nouns that are homophonous with verbs as derived from the corresponding verbs by means of conversion.

According to the definition of verbs used in this thesis, adjectives will be considered to be a subclass of verbs as they take verbal morphology and serialize with verbs, although in many cases they denote properties of participants or manner, rather than events or states. As mentioned above, attributive nominal modifiers are derived from the subclass of adjectival verbs.

5.1 Nouns

Above, it was stated that many forms in Ughele may function both as verbs and as nouns, and that they will be analyzed as nouns in circumstances where they exhibit semantic and morphosyntactic properties associated with nouns, and as verbs if they show semantic and morphological properties associated with verbs. Semantically, nouns as a word class corresponds to Langacker's

(1987: 58) definition, namely words designating a region of some domain, be it time, space, abstract constructs or some other domain. Morphologically, they may take pronominal attributive suffixes, and nominalizing derivational morphology if derived from verbs. Syntactically, they may be modified by articles, demonstratives, attributive nominal modifiers derived from adjectival verbs, and by relative clauses, and they may occur as part of noun compounds, and as possessum or possessor in possessive constructions. Nouns and their morphological properties are described in Chapter 7 on nominals and nouns as heads of NPs are described in Chapter 8.

Nouns can be derived from verbs by means of morphological processes as well as four different affixes. An overview of the derivational morphology on nouns is found in Chapter 6, and the derivations are described in Chapter 7.

Subclasses of nouns can be distinguished on the basis of syntactic criteria. Ughele makes a two-way distinction between personal and common nouns, with some common nouns belonging to a subclass of local nouns. A subclass of personal nouns can occur with the personal article *e*, all other nouns with the common article *na*. Local nouns are a subclass of nouns that can be part of a relational construction (7.1.2). There is also a two-way distinction between directly and indirectly possessed nouns, with directly possessed nouns having a preference for direct possessive constructions and indirectly possessed nouns for indirect possessive constructions when being possessum.

Table 5.1 Subclasses (and tentative subclasses) of nouns in Ughele

Subclass	Properties	See
Personal	Takes the personal article *e*	7.1.1
Common	Takes the common article *na*	7.1.1
Local	Can occur in local constructions	7.1.2
Directly possessed	Occurs as possessum only in or mainly in direct possessive constructions	7.1.3
Indirectly possessed	Occurs as possessum only in or mainly in indirect possessive constructions	7.1.3

All classes mentioned above are usual in Oceanic languages (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002: 37), but the distinction between directly and indirectly possessed nouns seems less clear cut in Ughele than it appears to be in other Oceanic languages. As will be seen in Chapter 9, although many nouns are lexically either directly or indirectly possessed, some nouns can be possessum in both direct and indirect possessive constructions, depending on the nature of the relation between possessum and possessor.

Nouns are not inflected for number, (with the exception of the noun *vazi* 'place' described in 7.1.9). Demonstratives (1), of which there are singular and plural forms, numerals (2), or a combination of both (3), indicate whether the noun has single or plural reference.

(1) *(..) meke ta-zalanga* ***ikana pila.***
and PASS-heal person DEM:SG
'(..) and this person was healed.'

(*Ghinorena linotu pa Ughele*, 009, nar)

(2) *Vivinei-ni-a rau* ***ka made mazi.***
tell-TR-OBJ:3S PRO:1SG CARD four sibling
'I (will) tell you aout four sisters.'

(*Ka made vineki pu patu*, 001, nar)

(3) *Pa* ***kaike vuaseni*** *ghogho-i rau*
LOC one year own-OBJ:3PL PRO:1SG

ka ngeta mola pire.
CARD three canoe DEM:PL
'I owned these three canoes for one year.'

(*Poss.*, 002, elic)

In addition to demonstratives and numerals, nouns may be modified by quantifiers and attributive nominal adjectives. The latter are derived from adjectival verbs by the addition of an attributive suffix, as described in 5.2.1. A few nouns represent mass nouns and appear with singular modifiers also when referring to multiple entities (see 7.1.9). The attributive suffix indicates the number and person of the noun or pronoun it modifies. The forms of the attributive suffixes are given below in 5.3.6. NPs predicating clauses are described in Chapter 17.

5.2 Verbs

Semantically, verbs denote events or states. Morphologically, they take transitive suffixes, object marking clitics, and verbal derivational morphology. Transitive verbs usually occur with either of the transitive markers *–i* or *–ni*. Although there are verbs that are transitive when having the suffix and intransitive without it, the transitive suffixes are not derivational. As described in Chapter 12, intransitive counterparts cannot be found for many verbs occurring with a transitive suffix. Moreover, verbs

which take the transitive suffixes (4) may also occur unsuffixed but transitive (5), taking a direct object NP.

(4) *Maghoghoso ia doghor-i-a ia na l<in>otu*
heal PRO:3SG see-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:3SG COMM <NOM>pray

pila ke naghe ia ***hiva-ni-a*** *ia.*
DEM:SG CONJ say PRO:3SG want-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:3SG

'(As) he recovered, he discovered the religion (and) he said he wanted to adopt it (lit. wanted it).'

(*Ghinorena linotu pa Ughele*, 010, nar)

(5) *Meke naghe na koburu pi,*
and speak COMM child DEM:SG

Ei, rau ***hiva*** *gua parika.*
EXCL PRO:1SG want POSS:1SG bow

'And this child said, Hey, I want my (own) bow.'

(*Sologou*, 154, nar)

The various means of transitive marking and the differences between them are described in Chapter 12. Causative, distributive and passive verbs are derived from verb roots by means of affixation, as described in Chapter 12. An overview of derivational affixes is found in Chapter 6. Ughele is a highly serializing language and serial verb constructions (SVCs) are frequently used to express complex events. As will be seen in Chapter 15, SVCs can be analysed as consisting of two layers, a nucleus and a periphery. The nucleus contains the lexical head of the construction and the peripheral layer contains verbs modifying those in the nucleus. Certain verbs in SVCs can be used to mark aspect, mood and direction. The functions of verbs in SVCs depend on their position within the SVC structure. Verbs serialize on both the nuclear and core layer of the clause structure.

Transitive verbs usually carry a pronominal object agreement clitic, which indicates the number and person of the direct object. The forms of the object clitics are given in 5.3.4 below. An object clitic is not obligatory on transitive verbs, but verbs heading transitive clauses rarely occur without them. There are two sets of pronominal subject agreement markers, one preverbal and one postverbal. The forms are given in 5.3.2 and 5.3.3, respectively. Preverbal subject agreement clitics occur with the imperative mood particle *ma* (18.7.1), the conjunction *ma* (19.2.2), and in certain

complex clauses expressing continuous events (25.3.6). Postverbal subject agreement clitics mark focus, as described in 24.4.

Aspect and mood may be marked by preverbal particles (14.1) or verbs in SVCs (14.2).

5.2.1 Adjectival verbs

Contrary to the cross-linguistic tendency for languages without tense marking to have noun-like adjectives (Stassen 1997), adjectives are a subclass of verbs in Ughele. Adjectival verbs denote properties, including colour terms. The class of adjectival verbs is very large, and possibly open. Examples of adjectival verbs include the following terms.

ari 'be important'	*mabo* 'be tired'
besu 'be blind'	*ngada* 'be silent'
dodore 'be naked'	*piru* 'be wild'
ekeze 'be long'	*sago* 'be busy'
ghadiana 'be cold/shivering'	*tapata* 'be impossible/difficult'
kosima 'be ripe'	*votiki* 'be different'
lavata 'be big'	*zingi* 'be full'

The class of adjectival verb includes a closed set of colour terms which includes the following lexemes.

balairi 'be pink'	*duli* 'be black'
bubula 'be red'	*geava* 'be white'
buma 'be green/blue'	*keo* 'be gray'
bupara 'be brown'	*meava* 'be yellow'

More adjectival verbs are found in the word list included in the Appendix, where they are marked as such. Adjectival verbs correspond to the class referred to as verb-like adjectives in Dixon (2004: 14), but they show such an amount of verbal properties that they are analysed as a subclass of verbs in this thesis (12.1). Adjectival verbs differ from other stative verbs in that nominal modifiers can be derived from them by the addition of an attributive suffix. In the example below, *ghoghoghamu* 'rich', derived from *ghoghogha* 'be rich', modifies the noun *ikana* 'person'.

(6) *Ghoi* [*ikana ghoghogha-mu*]$_{NP}$ *ghoi pada*
PRO:2SG person rich-ATTR:2SG PRO:2SG fit

lao sena rie vineki ghogho-di.
go get PRO:3PL girl rich-ATTR:3PL
'You, you are a rich man fit to go and get the rich girls.'
(*Vinamarido*, 025, nar)

The attributive suffix is sometimes omitted on frequently used adjectival verbs, such as *lavata* 'big' and *site* 'small', used as nominal modifiers.

(7) *Mezi* ***lavata*** *ba me site?*
knife big or and small
'A big knife or a small (one)?'

(*Conv. about a carved bowl*, 060, conv)

Further description of nominal modifiers derived from adjectival verbs is found in Chapter 8.2.5.

5.3 Pronouns

Personal pronouns distinguish between 1st, 2nd and 3rd person, and singular and plural number. There are separate forms for inclusive and exclusive 1st person plural. The inclusive form has an extension that includes the addressee, whereas the extension of the exclusive form excludes it. Paradigms of personal pronominal forms include independent pronouns, attributive suffixes, object marking clitics, and two sets of subject agreement markers. All these pronominal paradigms are widespread in Oceanic languages (Lynch Ross and Crowley 2002: 35-36). As demonstrated in Chapter 7, there is partial, in some cases full, overlap between the forms.

5.3.1 Independent pronouns

The forms of the independent pronouns are as given in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Independent pronouns

		SG	PL
1	INCL		*ghita*
	EXCL	*rau*	*ghami*
2		*ghoi*	*gho/ghamu*
3		*ia*	*rie*

Independent pronouns can co-occur in a clause with coreferential agreement marking and NPs, as described in Chapter 16. Focal pronouns are marked as such by means of the focal prefix *a-*, as described in 24.2.

5.3.2 Preverbal subject clitics

Subject agreement occurs infrequently in Ughele clauses. There are two sets, one preverbal and one postverbal. The set of preverbal subject agreement clitics is given below. The matrix partially overlaps with that of the attributive suffixes in Table 5.6 below. The partial overlap of the two sets is a typical feature for New Georgian languages (Corston-Oliver 2002: 471, 477-8; Davis 2003: 35, 98; Evans 2008: 400, 405).

Table 5.2 Preverbal subject partial clitics

		SG	PL
1	INCL		*da*
	EXCL	*gu*	*ma*
2		*mu*	*mu*
3		*na*	*di*

As mentioned, preverbal subject clitics occur obligatorily with the imperative mood particle *ma*, as described in 14.1.3, as well as with the homophonous conjunction *ma*, as described in Chapter 20. The relation between the homophonous particle and the conjunction is unclear. The New Georgian languages, Hoava and Roviana, each have a tense or mood marking particle *ma* which takes a preverbal subject enclitic (Davis 2003: 150; Evans 2008: 400). Finally, preverbal subject clitics also occur independently, marking continuous topic in complex clauses, as described in 25.3.6. This, and their occurrence with the conjunction *ma* are features Ughele shares with Marovo. Evans (2008) suggests that the use of subject markers to mark continuous topic in Marovo may have developed from a similarity between a tense, mood or aspect marker *ma* and the conjunction *ma* in Marovo. However, there is no evidence for a tense, mood or aspect marker *ma* in Marovo. Ughele has both a mood marker *ma* and a conjunction *ma*, both of which take preverbal subject marking, as well as independent preverbal clitics marking same subject in continuous clauses, which can be argued to be in favour of Evans' theory.

5.3.3 Postverbal subject pronouns

The forms of the postverbal subject pronouns are given in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3 Postverbal subject pronouns

		SG	PL
1	INCL		*nada*
	EXCL	*gua*	*mami*
2		*mua*	*miu*
3		*nana*	*dia*

Postverbal subject pronouns mark focus, as described in Chapter 24.

5.3.4 Object marking enclitics

Object agreement enclitics occur on transitive verbs, as described in Chapter 13, and indicate the person and number of direct objects. They are not obligatory on transitive verbs, but there are few occurrences of verbs in transitive clauses without them in the corpus. The forms of the object enclitics are as indicated in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4 Object enclitics

		SG	PL
1	INCL		*-ghita*
	EXCL	*-(a)u*	*-ghami*
2		*-(a)gho*	*-ghamu*
3		*-a*	*-ni*

5.3.5 Preposed possessor markers

Preposed possessor pronouns represent one of two strategies to mark indirect possession, as described in 9.5. The pronouns precede the possessed noun and indicate the person and number of the possessor.

Table 5.5 Preposed possessor pronouns

		SG	PL
1	INCL		*nada*
	EXCL	*gua*	*mami*
2		*mua*	*miu*
3		*nana*	*dia*

5.3.6 Attributive suffixes

When suffixed to the noun *vazi* 'place', they either mark single or plural reference, (7.1.9). They mark nouns as directly possessed and indicate the person and number of the possessor 9.2. The forms for the attributive suffixes are as given in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6 Attributive suffixes

	SG	PL
INCL		*-da*
EXCL	*-gu*	*-mami/a*
	-mu	*-miu*
	-na	*-di*

The noun *mata* 'eye' in (8) refers to the possessed item and the 1st person singular attributive suffix *–gu* refers to the possessor. In addition to the suffix, there may be a coreferential NP referring to the possessor, such as the 1st person singular pronoun *rau* in (8).

(8) *Zighiti ghighiri mata-gu rau pire.*
hurt very eye-ATTR:1SG PRO:1SG DEM.PL
'My eyes are hurting a lot.'

(*All poss. constr.*, 003, elic)

Attributive suffixes also derive attributive nominal modifiers (7.5) from adjectival verbs (12.1). Finally they combine with the reflexive noun *tale-*, as in (9) and (10) in reflexive clauses (18.4.1).

(9) *Ghaza rau tale-gu.*
wash PRO:1SG REFL-ATTR:1SG
'I washed myself.'

(*Notes 10.11.08*, 01, elic)

Reflexive verbs are often marked as such by a combination of *pulese* in an SVC and *tale-* with an attributive suffix.

(10) [*Gura lemono pulese-ni-au*]$_{SVC}$ *tale-gu*
can hear return-TR-OBJ:1SG REFL-ATTR:1SG

gua sini-gu.
POSS:1SG breath-ATTR:1SG
'I could hear my own breathing (lit. I could hear myself my breath).'

(*Refl. elic.*, 005, elic)

5.3.7 Relative and interrogative pronouns

Other pronouns include the relative pronoun *pu* (see 7.2.7) and interrogative pronouns (see 7.2.8).

5.4 Quantifiers

The following quantifiers are attested in the corpus.

zoku 'many'	*kaizea* 'every'
dodoru 'all'	*kakea* 'some'
daketonga 'none'	

Quantifiers precede their head nouns, and modify them by adding information about the number of their referents.

(11) *Egho, le pazuna voi-a na buba meke*
OK so there put-OBJ:3SG COMM dry.nut and

ko *pa* ***zoku zidara, zoku vuaseni.***
be/stay LOC many month many year

'OK, so we put the dry nuts there and they last for many months, many years.'

(Bororo, 037-8, nar)

The class of quantifiers does not include numerals, which have a different position in the NP (see Chapter 8) and can take verbal derivational morphology, which quantifiers cannot.

5.5 Numerals

Ughele has a decimal system with separate lexical items for 'hundred' and 'thousand', as is usual in Oceanic languages (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002: 39). There is also separate forms for 'twenty' and 'thirty'. The forms for 1-10, 20, 100 and 1000 are as indicated below. The underived single forms for 'one' and 'two' are never used without the cardinal marker *ka*, with which the form for 'one' forms a phonological word. The form for 'one' in derived constructions and compounds is *meke*.

kaike 'one'	*onomo* 'six'
rua 'two'	*juapa* 'seven'
ngeta 'three'	*alu* 'eight'
made 'four'	*niki* 'nine'
lima 'five'	*maneghe* 'ten'
siokona 'twenty'	*ghoghoto* 'hundred'
tolo ngavulu 'thirty'	*tina* 'thousand'

Forms for 30, 40, 50, 60, 70,80 and 90 are formed by a compound of the forms from 'four' to 'nine', and *ghavulu* referring to a unit of ten. Unlike the others, the form for 'three', *tolo*, in *tolo ghavulu* 'thirty' differs from the form for 'three', *ngeta*, above.

made ghavulu 'forty'
lima ghavulu 'fifty'
etc.

Other numbers are formed by compounds.

maneghe meke 'eleven'	*siokona meke* 'twenty one'
maneghe rua 'twelve'	*siokona rua* 'twenty two'
maneghe ngeta 'thirteen'	

tina niki ghoghoto maneghe made 'one thousand nine hundred and fourteen'

Underived cardinal numerals precede their head noun (12), as is usual in western Melanesian languages (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002: 39), but follow pronouns (13).

(12) *Turu rie* ***ka made*** *vineki meke ka rua koreo.*
stand PRO:3PL CARD four girl and CARD two man
'Four girls and two men are standing.'

(*Rec.*, 029, elic)

(13) *Vari-saba rie* ***ka ru.***
DISTR-marry PRO:PL CARD two
'The two got married.'

(*Vinarimado*, 032, nar)

There is a separate lexical item for 'first', *kenu*. Other ordinals are derived from the cardinal forms by means a combination of the causative prefix *va-* and the nominal infix <*in*>, as described in 7.6.

(14) *(..) meke na l<in>otu* ***v<in>a-rua*** *a-ia*
and COMM <NOM>worship <NOM>CAUS-two FOC-PRO:3SG

na SDA.
COMM SDA
'(..) and the second religion, that was the SDA.'

(*Vinailiri ghinizo pa rineka vaka lao pa rineka Ughele*, 016, nar)

When counting, speakers of Ughele include the cardinal marker *ka* in *ka rua* 'two', but not in forms for 'three' and upwards.

5.6 Prepositions

Ughele has a set of 4 prepositions, locational *pa*; directional *ko*; possessive *ta* (with the infrequent alternative forms *tai* and *te*); and possessive *taga* (see 7.7 for a description of each). PPs in possessive constructions are described in 9.3-9.4. PPs as temporal and spatial locational phrases are described in 10.1 and 11.1.1, respectively. PPs as beneficiaries are described in 16.2.1.

5.7 Adverbs

Adverbs are used to indicate location in time or space. Temporal adverbs are described in Section 5.7.1 and spatial in 5.7.2.

5.7.1 Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs attested in the corpus include the following terms.

kokonana 'suddenly'	*vugho* 'tomorrow'
kapiri 'now'	*nginoroi* 'today'
vizoroi 'before'	*parai* 'yesterday'
repere 'the day after tomorrow'	*reporoi* 'the day before yesterday'

Unless focused (see Chapter 24), temporal adverbs follow the verb complex.

(15)

Na	*avara*	*makazi*	*pu*	*doghor-i-a*	*ghita*	***parai***
COMM	school	bonito	REL	see-TR-OBJ:3SG	PRO:1PL.INCL	yesterday

ghore	*vura,*	*ta-doghoro*	*pa*	*totozo*	***nginoroi***	*vae*	*pi.*
descend	exit	PASS-see	LOC	time	today	like	DEM.SG

'The big school of bonito that we saw go down yesterday usually appears at this time of the day.'

(*Gen. 02 2008*, 003, elic)

5.7.2 Spatial adverbs

Location in space is usually indicated by a PP, but there are also four locational adverbs. The locational adverbs distinguish between deictic distances, following the same system as demonstratives. The adverb *tani* (16) marks close distance to a reference point, usually being the speaker or addressee, *pazuna* (17) intermediate or not specified, and *paiza* (18) distant. Like temporal adverbs, spatial adverbs follow the verb complex.

(16) *Egho, loka* ***tani*** *gho ngeta, (..)*
OK wait here PRO:2SG three
'OK, wait here you three, (..)'

(*Ghaili*, 055, nar)

(17) *Ko nana* ***pazuna*** *kaike jipolo.*
be SBJ:3SG there one j.
'There was a jipolo[5].'

(*Sodo*, 006, nar)

(18) *Tama-na mama taga rau ko* ***paiza*** *ai Kele.*
father-ATTR:3SG father POSS PRO:1SG be there FOC K
'My father's father was there, Kele.'

(*Inuke taga rau pa zuda*, 026, nar)

In addition to these three, there is an interrogative spatial adverb, *vei* 'where'.

(19) *Ei, Siro,* ***vei*** *lao ghoi?*
INTRJ S. where go PRO:2SG
'Hey Siro, where are you going?'

(*Siro 1*, 001, nar)

[5] A species of plant.

5.8 Conjunctions

The most frequent conjunction is *me(ke)* 'and', which conjoins phrases (20) and clauses (21).

(20) *Vari-tiai* [[*ghami pa Lokoru*]$_{NP}$ ***meke*** [*ghami pa*
DISTR-meet PRO:1PL.EXCL LOC L. and PRO:1PL.EXCL LOC

Ughele]$_{NP}$]$_{NP}$ *pa Muda vuiki lao ia.*
U. LOC M. week go PRO:3SG

'We from Lokoru and Ughele meet in Munda last week'

(*Not. 20.12.07*, 001, elic)

(21) [*Moso na ikana pi*]$_{CL}$ [***meke***
sick COMM person DEM.SG and

kai gura ta-zalanga pa Solomon]$_{CL}$]$_{COORD}$.
NEG can PASS-heal LOC S.

'The person got sick and he could not get well again in the Solomons.'

(*Ghinorena linotu pa Ughele*, 006, nar)

Complex NPs linked by *me(ke)* are described in 8.4.1, coordinate clauses in 19.2.1, and intensifying cosubordinate clauses in 23.3. The conjunction *ma* 'and then' links continuous clauses, and has an obligatory subject clitic. The conjunction *babe* 'or' links clauses in disjunctive coordinations. The conjunctions *ba* and *mana* 'but' link clauses in adversative coordinations. The conjunction *le* 'so' links clauses in causal coordinations. All these conjunctions linking clauses in coordinations and the coordinative constructions they occur in, are described in Chapter 19.

The conjunction *pana* 'for' links manner (22.1.2) and purpose (22.2.1) adverbial clauses to their main clauses. *Puna* 'because' links reason adverbial clauses to their main clause. The conditional conjunction *polo* 'if' links conditional adverbial clauses to their main clause. All conjunctions linking adverbial clauses to main clauses are described in Chapter 22.

5.9 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are distinguished according to deictic distance. One pair marks close distance to a reference point which is often speaker/hearer, one intermediate, and one distant. All three have pairs of singular and plural forms.

Table 5.7 Demonstrative particles

	SG	PL
near	*pi(la)*	*pire*
intermediate	*za*	*zara*
distant	*pioi(la)*	*piroi*

The forms marking intermediate distance tend to be the least marked and in some Oceanic languages also have other functions, such as to serve as a 3rd person pronoun (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002: 38). In Ughele, the singular form of the intermediate distance demonstrative *za* is homophonous with the interrogative pronoun, which can also be used to refer to a non-spesicif 3rd person participant, as in sentences such as (22).

(22) *Kai ghilan-i-a rau vae na **za** selu pa za ia.*
NEG know-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:1SG be.like COMM what follow LOC what PRO:3SG
'I don't know what he was chasing where.'
(*Ghinore na linotu pa Ughele*, 022, nar)

Further description of the demonstrative particles and their use is found 7.4.

5.10 Negation particles

There are three negation particles: two negating predicates in clauses, and one negating NPs. The most frequent negation particle, *kai*, negates verbal predicates in realis clauses, as described in 18.8. The particle precedes the predicate it modifies (23).

(23) *Kao na tina-di mana*
look COMM mother-ATTR:3PL but

kai doghor-i rie ka ru.
NEG see-OBJ:3PL PRO:3PL CARD two
'They saw their mother but she didn't see them.'
(*Kelko Bakua meke Jiro Vore*, 015, nar)

Da(pu) (18.8) negates two different types of predicates. It negates single modal verbs or serializations with modal verbs, such as *gura zuzuru* 'can lift' in (24).

(24) *Ei mana na b<in>alabala ghita ipu dapu gura zuzuru.*
INTRJ but COMM <NOM>think PRO:1PL.INCL REL NEG can lift
'Oh, but our thinking (was) that (it) could not be lifted.'
(*Ghinore ta na kabania*, 028, nar)

It also negates verbs with irrealis mood, which, if negated by *dapu*, do not always show any other irrealis marking morphology. When *dapu* does co-occur with the irrealis marker *site*, it follows it (25).

(25) *Lao me lao me site dapu tuturei beto tughu.*
go and go and IRR NEG be.fast finish also
'They would go out (for long) and they wouldn't finish early.'
(*Japu conv.*, 009, conv)

The negation particle *ka(ti)* negates nominal predicates (26), as described in Chapter 17.

(26) *Na kodo kati na ngosara*
COMM coconut.drink NEG COMM dry.coconut

pu a-rie na muna.
REL FOC-PRO:3PL COMM coconut.meat
'Kodo is not the dry coconut from the (soft) coconut meat.'
(Kodo, 004, nar)

5.11 Articles

Like most western Melanesian languages (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002), Ughele has articles, and makes a two-way distinction between personal and common nouns. The personal article *e* occurs with personal nouns (27), proper nouns referring to persons, and the common article *na* with common nouns (28).

(27) *Mai tutuv-i-a puta ghai kiza* ***e Aku.***
come meet-TR-OBJ:3SG be.at/sleep PRO:1PL QUA[6] PERS A.
'They met Aku there.'

(*Aku*, 005, nar)

(28) *Madegho-ni-a rau* ***na noki.***
fear-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:1SG COMM snake
'I am afraid of snakes.'

(*Gen. 2008*, 051, elic)

The focal article *ai* marks the noun it modifies as focused (29), as described in 24.5.

(29) *Muti ghore-ni-a rie* ***ai Ngarupere.***
send.for descend-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:3PL FOC N
'They sent for NGARUPERE.'

(*Ngarupere*, 009, nar)

Articles make no number distinction. The article precedes the noun it modifies and co-occurs with other nominal modifiers, as described in Chapter 8.

[6] It is unclear what the exact function and meaning of *kiza* are.

5.12 Aspect and mood particles

There are two ways to mark aspect and mood in Ughele, either by means of a limited set of particles (14.1), or by verbs in SVCs (14.2). There is one aspect marking particle, *lea*, marking perfect aspect, and two mood marking particles, *site* and *ma*, marking irrealis and imperative mood respectively. Aspect and mood particles immediately precede the verb (30).

(30) *Egho, rie na g<in>izo ipu*
OK PRO:3PL COMM <NOM>sing REL

[*lea iliri*]$_{VC}$ *rau tata kakea tolongavulu g<in>izo.*
PRF translate PRO:1SG near some thirty <NOM>sing

'OK, the songs that I have translated are nearly thirty songs.'

(*Vinailiri ghinizo pa rineka vaka lao pa rineka Ughele*, 009, nar)

The particles are described in Chapter 14.

5.13 Interjections

The following interjections are attested in the corpus. They are used to (1) attract attention (1), express surprise (2) or dissatisfaction (3), or a combination of these, as noted in Table 5.8 below.

Table 5.8 Interjections

	1	2	3
Ei!	x	x	
Kaiza!		x	x
Si!		x	x
Ka rua! (Lit. two)		x	x
Ka rua ka ngeta! (Lit. two three)			x

5.14 Summary

Ughele has two open word classes, nouns and verbs. The latter includes what is most probably an open subclass of adjectival verbs. Given that all adjectival verbs have the potential to undergo derivation to become attributive nominal modifiers, the class of adjectival nominal modifiers is probably also open. Closed word classes include pronouns, quantifiers, numerals, prepositions, adverbs, conjunctions, demonstratives, articles, interjections, and particles marking negation, aspect and mood.

Subclasses of nouns include a class of common vs. one of personal nouns, and a class of local nouns. Nouns can be directly or indirectly possessed, but this is not always lexically dependent. Only one noun is attested in the corpus that inflects for number.

Causative, distributive and passive verb forms are derived from verb roots (and can also be derived from stems that are derived forms themselves) by means of derivational affixes. Most transitive verbs are marked as such by a transitive suffix and have an object agreement enclitic. Verbs serialize on the nuclear and core layer of the clause structure, and aspect and mood marking is achieved by a small set of particles or by serialized verbs.

Pronouns distinguish between 1st, 2nd and 3rd person and singular vs. plural number, with separate forms for inclusive and exclusive in 1st person plural. Pronouns include sets of independent pronouns, attributive suffixes, possessive pronouns, object agreement clitics, two sets of subject agreement markers, a relative pronoun and a set of interrogative pronouns.

Ordinal numerals are derived from cardinal forms by means of affixation. Ughele has one locational and temporal, one directional, and two possessive prepositions.

Spatial adverbs and demonstratives make a three way distinction based on deictic distance, between close, intermediate and distant distance to a reference point. Demonstratives inflect for number.

Conjunctions link NPs and clauses in coordinations, as well as adverbial and cosubordinate clauses to its main clause.

There are three articles, marking nouns as personal, common or focused.

6 Bound morphemes and morphological processes

This chapter provides an overview of enclitics, affixes and morphological processes and their functions, with references to the parts of the grammar where they are described further. Enclitics are used for subject and object agreement and fill specific discourse functions. Affixes are mostly derivational, deriving verb or noun stems from roots or other stems, ordinal numerals from cardinal ones, and nominal modifiers from adjectival verbs. Reduplication of verbs mark high intensity and aspect, and derive noun stems from verb stems. Finally, noun stems are derived from verb stems by conversion.

6.1 The word in Ughele

The word as a grammatical unit in Ughele corresponds to the phonological word, as defined in Section 4.7. Furthermore, the word in Ughele is the smallest unit that can form a clause or sentence on its own. Many a clause in Ughele does not consist of more than a verb. That the word is the smallest unit that can stand as a sentence on its own does not mean that all words can have this function. No conjunctions or prepositions, for instance, are attested as making up a whole sentence.

A word in Ughele may consist of a root alone, or the root may be partly (and in a few cases fully) reduplicated and/or have affixes and clitics. The previous chapter provided an overview of classes of independent words, and the current one provides an overview of the bound morphology that can occur with them.

6.2 Clitics and partial clitics

Verbal enclitics on transitive verbs mark object agreement. The forms of the enclitics are given in 5.3.4. Subject agreement marking clitics occur obligatorily with the imperative mood marker *ma* and the conjunction *ma*, and also occur unbounded in complex clauses expressing continuous events. Both enclitics follow their host stem or particle.

Table. 6.1 Clitics

Enclitic		Root/stem/particle	Function	Described in
See 5.3.4	OBJ	V	Marks object agreement on nearly all transitive verbs	5.3.1 and Chapter 12
See 5.3.2	SBJ	Imperative mood particle	Marks subject agreement and occurs obligatorily as cliticized to the imperative mood marker *ma*.	Chapter 7
		Conjunction	Marks same subject agreement and is obligatorily cliticized to the conjunction *ma* in coordinate clauses	Chapter 19

6.3 Affixes

Most affixes are stem derivational morphemes, deriving noun stems from verb stems, or members of one subclass of verbs from another. The underlying verbs in both types of derivations may be a root or a derived stem. A combination of the nominal infix <*in*> and the causative prefix *va-* derives ordinal numerals from cardinal ones. Attributive possessive suffixes (5.3.6) have three functions. When suffixed to possessum nouns, they mark direct possession, and indicate the number and person of the possessor. 3rd person forms mark inflects the noun *vazi* 'place' for number (7.1.9). Finally, attributive suffixes derive nominal modifiers from adjectival verb stems (5.2.1 and 7.5). The focal prefix *a-* marks pronouns and question particles as focused.

Table 6.2 Nominal affixes

Affix		Underlying root/stem	Function	Described in
<*in*>	NOM	V	Derives nouns from verbs	Section 7.1.5
			Derives cardinal numerals from ordinal ones in combination with the causative marking prefix *va-*	Section 5.5 and Chapter 8
ara-	NOM:LOC	V	Derives nouns referring to locations from verbs	Section 7.1.7
See 5.3.6	ATTR	N	Marks direct possession and refers to the possessor	Section 9.1
		V	Derives attributive nominal modifiers from adjectival verbs and indicates the number and person of the referent of the noun modified	Section 5.2.1 and Chapter 8
		N	Marks number on the verb *vazi* 'village; place' and possibly other nouns	Section 5.1.2 and Chapter 7
a-	FOC	Pronouns; question particles	Marks focus on independent pronouns	Chapter 24

The main function of verbal affixes is valence changing derivations. Affixes derive causative, distributive and passive verb stems. The main function of the two transitive suffixes is to mark verbs as transitive and encode types of transitivity (see Chapter 12).

Table 6.3 Verbal affixes

Affix		Underlying root/stem	Function	Described in
-i	TR	V	Marks transitivity on verbs	Chapter 12 and 15
-ni	TR	V	Marks transitivity on verbs	Chapter 12 and 15
va-	CAUS	V	Derives morphological causatives from other verbs	Chapter 12 and 15
			Derives cardinal numerals from ordinal ones in combination with the infix <*in*>	Section 5.5, Chapter 8
vari-	DISTR	V	Derives distributive verbs from other verbs	Chapter 12
ta-	PASS	V	Derives passive verbs from other verbs	Chapter 12

6.4 Reduplication

Reduplication of the initial syllable of verb roots has three functions. It can intensify the meaning of verbs, mark progressive aspect, and derive nouns stems from verb stems. Reduplication of adjectival verb stems with an intensifying meaning is particularly frequent (see Chapter 12).

Table 6.4 Reduplication of verbs

Underlying root/stem	Function	Described in
V	Intensifying	Chapter 12
V	Marks progressive aspect	Chapter 12
V	Derives nouns from verbs	Chapter 7

There are also a few cases of full reduplication of two-syllable verb roots in the data (see Chapter 12). It is not clear whether and to what extent this reduplication differs from the common reduplication where only the first syllable of a verb root is reduplicated.

6.5 A combination of reduplication and suffixation

Two constructions deriving noun stems from verb stems involve a combination of reduplication of the initial syllable and a nominalizing suffix. The suffixes *–a(i)ni* and *–ana* are not involved in any other constructions than these.

Table 6.5 Nominalizing reduplication and suffixation

Affix		Underlying root/stem	Function	Described in
CV ... *-a(i)ni*	NOM: INS	V	Derives instrumental nouns from verbs	Section 7.1.6
CV ... *-ana*	NOM	V	Derives nouns from verbs	Chapter 7

6.6 Conversion

Many verbs and nouns have identical root forms, and the semantic meaning of certain nouns suggests that they may be derived from verbs by conversion (see 7.1.8).

Table 6.6 Nominalizing conversion

Underlying root/stem	Function	Described in
V	Derives nouns from verbs	Chapter 7

6.7 Summary

Clitics mark object and subject agreement. Derivational affixes derive nouns from verbs, subclasses of verbs from other verbs and ordinal numerals from cardinal ones. Reduplication derives nouns from verbs, and marks intensity or progressive aspect for verbs. Nouns can also be derived from verbs by means of conversion.

7 Nominals

This chapter deals with the various nominal parts of speech. The internal structure of full NPs is described separately in Chapter 8.

7.1 Nouns

7.1.1 Personal vs. common nouns

Personal nouns include names of persons and places, as well as certain kinship terms. Personal nouns referring to persons are distinguished from common nouns in that they may have the optional personal article *e* (31), and do not take the common article *na*.

(31) *Vangunu vagaza meke lao nana tu*
wake.up morning and go SBJ:3SG EMPH

pa Kiri ***e*** *Vevo.*
LOC K. PERS V.
'Vevo wakes up one morning and goes to Kiri.'

(*Vevo 1*, 001, nar)

Only common nouns may have the article *na* (32). The common article *na* does not distinguish between number or determined versus non-determined nouns.

(32) ***Na*** *ighana lea jito.*
ART fish PRF cook.in.earth.oven
'The fish is cooked [in an earth oven].'

(*Gen. not.*, 007, elic)

Both proper (33) and common (34) nouns may have the focal article *ai* (see Chapter 24 for a description of its function).

(33) *Kaike* ***ai*** *Peni me kakea koreo*
one FOC P. and some boy/man

ghore lao pa Berosi meke (..)
descend go LOC B. and
'One, Peni, and some boys went down to Berosi and (..)'

(*Aku*, 004, nar)

(34) *Totozo pu topoai dodoru ighana pire*
time REL depart all fish DEM:PL

ai *kiso ke-kenu.*
FOC shark RED-first
'When all the fish departed, the shark was leading (lit. was first).'

(*Sodoko Kekenu*, 011, nar)

Finally, common nouns can be derived from verbs by means of affixation, reduplication and conversion (zero-derivation), as described in 7.1.4-7.1.8. All means of derivations described below are commonly used to derive nouns from verbs in Oceanic languages (Lynch et al. 2002: 38).

7.1.2 Local nouns

Local nouns are a subset of nouns that may occur in relational constructions. A relational construction is a type of inalienable possessive construction, in which a local noun is marked by an attributive suffix pronoun which agrees in number and person with the entity something is located in relation to (35), as described in 10.2.

(35) *Pisa rau me voi lao*
break PRO:1SG and put go

pa ***korapa-na*** ***na raro.***
LOC continue-ATTR:3SG COMM pot
'I break (them) and put them into the pot.'

(*Za tavetia ghoi?*, 002, elic)

7.1.3 Directly and indirectly possessed nouns

It is problematic to postulate the existence of other subclasses of nouns than the ones defines above in Ughele, such as alienably and inalienably possessed nouns. As can be seen in Chapter 9, which possessive constructions a noun can be the possessum of is partly lexically determined and partly dependent on the nature of the relation between the possessum and the possessor. There is also fluidity in the system, and in some cases one and the same lexical noun may be possessum in several different possessive constructions, even though many nouns have a strong preference for one particular construction. With the exception of a set of kinship terms that can only be the possessum in direct possessive constructions, to distinguish between classes of nouns on the basis of which constructions they occur in and whether they are directly or indirectly possessed in Ughele is far from as straightforward as it seems to be in many other Oceanic languages (Lynch et al. 2002: 37).

7.1.4 Noun derivation by reduplication

There is a very small set of nouns derived from verbs by means of reduplication attested in the corpus. It concerns the following forms.

ta-taluarai 'departure'	*taluarai* 'depart'
ta-tavete 'work N'	*tavete* 'do; work V'
ghi-ghilanai 'knowledge'	*ghilana* 'know'
ro-rodo 'something that hangs'	*rodo* 'hang'

As can be seen from the derived noun *ghighilanai* 'knowledge', derived from the verbs *ghilana* 'know' with the transitive suffix *–i*, the underlying forms are verb stems, and not roots.

7.1.5 Noun derivation with the infix <*in*>

The most widespread derivation of nouns from verbs is by means of the infix <*in*>. The derivation is productive, and underlying verb forms may be derived stems themselves. (36) shows a noun derived from a derived distributive, (37) from a causative, and (38) from an underived verb, respectively.

(36) *Tavet-i-a rie na* ***v<in>ari-ghara***
do-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:3PL COMM <NOM>DISTR-gather

lavata.
big
'They prepared a big feast.'

(*Sodoko Kenu*, 019, nar)

(37) *Pa vevelu nginoroi pila hiva*
LOC evening today DEM:SG want

vivinei-ni-a rau na ***v<in>a-kina*** *namu.*
tell-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:1SG COMM <NOM>CAUS-cook food
'This evening I want to tell you about a cooking (method).'

(*Guso*, 001, nar)

(38) ***L<in>otu*** *ke-kenu a-ia na Methodist.*
<NOM>pray RED-first FOC:PRO:3SG COMM Methodist
'The first denomination was the Methodist (church).'

(*Vinailiri ghinizo pa rineka vaka lao pa rineka Ughele*, 015, nar)

The infix *<in>* also derives nouns from verbs in several other Oceanic languages (Lynch et al. 2002: 38). The outcome of the derivation may be various types of nouns, most commonly nouns that describe the activity denoted by the underlying verb.

7.1.6 Noun derivation by reduplication and the suffix *–a(i)ni*

Instrumental nouns are derived from verb stems by means of a combination of reduplication of the first syllable and the suffix *–ani* (39)-(40) or *–aini* (41). It is unclear what the difference is between the two suffix forms.

(39) *Za* ***za-zae-ani****?*
what RED-ascend-NOM
'What ladder?'

(*Rhyme 1*, 039, nar)

(40) ***Mi-misu-ani*** *polo mi-misu ghita.*
RED-husk.coconut-NOM so RED-husk.coconut PRO:1PL.INCL
'A stick for husking coconuts so that we can husk coconuts.'

(*Kevin's tree guide*, 034, nar)

(41) *Porak-i-a* *na* *vineki* *na* ***va-va-ko-aini***
break-TR-OBJ:3SG COMM girl COMM RED-CAUS-be-NOM

havoro.
flower
'The girl broke the vase.'

(*Event integr.*, B1, elic)

The extension of instrumental nouns also include nouns referring to locations (42)-(44).

(42) *(..) le* *a-ia* *na* *bose* *pa*
for FOC-PRO:3SG COMM boss LOC

vanua ***gha-ghani-aini.***
house RED-eat-NOM
'(..) for he is the manager of the restaurant.'

(*Ratatouille*, 088, nar)

(43) *Lao* *pa* *vanua* *ia* *ko* *na*
go LOC house PRO:3SG DIR COMM

ma-maruvu-aini *kali* *mudi-na.*
RED-enter-NOM side back-ATTR:3SG
'He entered the house through the rear entrance.'

(*Event integr.*, A2, elic)

(44) *Kobu-a* *ia* *na* ***so-soghoru-aini.***
break-OBJ:3SG PRO:3SG COMM RED-sit-NOM
'He broke the chair.'

(*Event integr.*, E27, elic)

7.1.7 Noun derivation by the prefix *ara-*

A small set of nouns are derived from directional verbs by means of the prefix *ara-* (45)-(46). The noun indicates location relative to some reference point.

(45) *Sake pa* ***ara-zae*** *dedekuru na*
sit LOC NOM-ascend house.post COMM

koreo site meke (..)
boy small and
'The little boy is sitting on top of the house post and (..)'

(*Mayer's Frog Story*, 053, elic)

(46) *(..) meke na sirado korapa tatava viloro*
and COMM wasp DUR fly d.d.┐

ko na dia vori
DIR COMM POSS:3PL nest

pa ***ara-mai*** *kaike bae site.*
LOC NOM-come one cave little
'(..) and the wasps fly about towards their nest inside a hole (lit. cave) (in the tree).'

(*Mayer's Frog Story*, 023, elic)

7.1.8 Noun derivation by conversion

There are several pairs of verbs and nouns with identical forms in Ughele. The meaning of some pairs makes it plausible that the noun may have been derived from the verb, whereas the opposite might be the case for certain other pairs. The pair *vivinei* 'tell' and *vivinei* 'story' below is an example of the former, where the noun refers to an outcome of the action denoted by the verb.

(47) *V<in>a-rua* ***vivinei*** *pu si* ***vivinei-ni-a***
<NOM>CAUS-two story REL IRR tell-TR-OBJ:3SG

rau pa vevelu nginoroi pila
PRO:1SG LOC evening today DEM:SG

na *t<in>avete-na* *na* *kodo.*
COMM <NOM>do-ATTR:3SG COMM kodo

'The second story I will tell today is (about) the preparation of kodo[7].'

(*Kodo*, 001, nar)

(48) *A-ia* *na* ***vivinei*** *site* *pila.*
FOC-PRO:3SG COMM story small DEM:SG

'That was a small story.'

(*Ka rua habili lavata*, 031, nar)

7.1.9 Number marking on nouns and mass nouns

As mentioned in 5.1, and as is generally the case in Oceanic languages (Lynch et al. 2002: 37), number is not marked on nouns. The only exception in Ughele is the noun *vazi* 'place', which has obligatory number marking distinguishing between singular (49) and plural (50).

(49) *Egho,* *doghor-i-a* *ghoi* *vazi-**na*** *pi.*
OK see-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:2SG place-SG DEM:SG

'OK, you see that place.'

(*Kevin's tree guide*, 013, nar)

(50) *Ghore-a* *na* *kabani* *meke*
descend-OBJ:3SG COMM company and

[7] A coconut drink.

*mai jalo-i na vazi-**di** pire.*
come destroy-OBJ:3PL COMM place-PL DEM:PL
'The company took it all down and destroyed these places.'
(*Kevin's tree guide*, 015, nar)

The number is marked by means of a 3rd person attributive suffix, and the noun resembles a relational construction with a local noun (described in 10.2) from which it might have grammaticalized. Other nouns are unmarked and can refer to both singular (51) and plural referents (52).

(51) *Beto ia puta pa nana tema na*
finish PRO:3SG sleep LOC POSS:3SG bed COMM

***koreo** site za meke (..)*
boy small DEM:SG and
'This little boy is sleeping in his bed and (..)'
(*Mayer's Frog Story*, 003, elic)

(52) *Ka ngeta **koreo** lao zae ngosara.*
CARD three boy go ascend coconut
'Three boys start climbing a coconut palm.'
(*Text b.*, 038, nar)

Where common nouns have plural referents, they are more often than not modified by a numeral, as in (52).
Some nouns are mass nouns, meaning that they appear as having singular reference even when referring to multiple entities. As nouns are generally not inflected for number, this becomes apparent only when these nouns are coreferential with a pronoun of some sort. The pronoun may take the form of an independent pronoun, an attributive suffix, and object enclitic or a subject clitic. In (53) *nula* 'nut' is coreferential with the 3rd person subject marking clitic *nana*. The noun *nula* refers to several nuts in the narrative this example is taken from (as can be seen from the English translation), but is treated as a noun with singular reference.

(53) *Na nula pi turu nana*
COMM nut DEM:SG stand SBJ:3SG

pa zolozo tu.
LOC ground EMPH
'The nuts were on the ground.'

(*Ka rua koboru sali nula*, 001-5, nar)

7.2 Pronouns

Ughele's pronominal system is typical for Oceanic languages (as outlined in Lynch et al. 2002: 35). It includes contrasts between singular and plural, and 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person, with separate inclusive and exclusive forms for 1st person plural. The inclusive form has an extension that includes the addressee, whereas the extension of the exclusive form excludes it. There are no gender distinctions. There are six sets of pronoun forms, as indicated in table 7.1.

Table 7.1 Personal pronoun paradigms

Person and number	Ind.	preV SBJ	postV SBJ	-OBJ	POSS	-ATTR
1 SG	*rau*	*gu*	*gua*	*-(a)u*	*gua*	*-gu*
2 SG	*ghoi*	*mu*	*mua*	*-(a)gho*	*mua*	*-mu*
3 SG	*ia*	*na*	*nana*	*-a*	*nana*	*-na*
1 PL INCL	*ghita*	*da*	*nada*	*-ghita*	*nada*	*-da*
1 PL EXCL	*ghami*	*ma*	*mami*	*-ghami*	*mami*	*-mama*
2 PL	*ghamu*	*mu*	*miu*	*-ghamu*	*miu*	*-miu*
3 PL	*rie*	*di*	*dia*	*-ni*	*dia*	*-di*

As is the case in many Oceanic languages (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002: 35-36), there are partial formal similarities, and in some cases a complete overlap between independent and bound pronominal forms. Each set of pronoun forms is described below.

7.2.1 Independent pronouns

Independent pronouns may head NPs. They can be subjects, direct objects, or indirect objects as complements to prepositions, refer to possessors and possessums in possessive constructions, and to peripheral arguments as complements in PPs. The forms are given in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2 Independent pronouns

		SG	PL
1	INCL		*ghita*
	EXCL	*rau*	*ghami*
2		*ghoi*	*gho/ghamu*
3		*ia*	*rie*

Oceanic languages often have distinct dual series of pronoun forms, usually including an element historically linked to the numeral 'two' (Lynch et al.

2002: 35). Whereas it would be too strong a claim to say that Ughele has a distinct set of dual forms, the numeral following a pronoun with dual reference *ka ru* (54) is a slightly reduced form of the cardinal numeral *ka rua*.

(54) *(..) meke naghe* ***rie*** ***ka*** ***ru,***
and say PRO:3PL CARD two

ghita ***ka*** ***ru*** *kai tuturei kaloa polo (..)*
PRO:1PL.INCL CARD two NEG quick leave if
'(..) and the two said, we [two] won't leave quickly if (..)
(*Ka rua koboru sali nuli*, 042-43, nar)

No other numeral forms occur as reduced when modifying pronouns. Whereas numerals modifying nouns precede their head, numerals modifying pronouns follow it, as in (54).

7.2.2 Preverbal subject partial clitics

Ughele has two sets of subject marking pronouns, both of which only occur in certain constructions. Preverbal subject pronouns are partial clitics. They occur obligatorily as cliticized to two particles, the homophonous imperative mood marker *ma*, and the conjunction *ma*, and they occur as independent forms marking continuous topic in complex clauses denoting sequential events. The forms are given in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3 Preverbal subject partial clitics

		SG	PL
1	INCL		*da*
	EXCL	*gu*	*ma*
2		*mu*	*mu*
3		*da*	*da*

The set of preverbal subject markers in Ughele has forms very similar to those of preverbal subject markers in Hoava, Marovo and Roviana (Evans 2008: 400, Davis 2003: 35), all neighbouring languages in the New Georgia archipelago in Solomon Islands' Western Province. With the exception of the 1st person plural exclusive and 2nd person plural forms, the forms of the preverbal subject pronouns are identical to the attributive pronouns shown below in Table 7.6. The similarity between the two paradigms is also shared by the before mentioned neighbouring languages (Corston-Oliver 2002: 471, 477-8, Davis 2003: 35, 98, Evans 2008: 400, 405). Evans (2008: 404-5) points out that some of the forms of preverbal subject markers in Marovo are significantly different from those reconstructed for Proto-Oceanic, and are identical to those of possessor marking suffixes in Marovo and she suggests

that the forms of preverbal subject markers in Marovo have come to be based on the forms of the possessor markers through analogical change. This was possible because of similarity and partial overlap between the forms of the subject markers and those of possessor marking suffixes. As can be seen from Table 7.1, there is a significant overlap between the sets in Ughele as well.

As mentioned above, the preverbal subject pronouns cliticize to the homophonous imperative mood marker *ma* (55) and the conjunction *ma* (56).

(55) *Aria, ma=da va-mate-a na nini, (..)*
hurry IMP-SBJ:1PL.INCL CAUS-die-OBJ:3SG COMM giant
'Hurry, let's kill the giant, ...'

(*Ka rua koboru sali nuli*, 038, nar)

(56) *Sosopu mene ghoi*
wash first PRO:2SG

ma=da lao pa sinevara.
then=SBJ: 1PL.INCL go LOC garden
'Wash yourself first, then we go to the garden.'

(*Mene*, 002, elic)

It is common for preverbal subject markers to occur with specific tense, aspect or mood markers in Northwest Solomonic languages. Preverbal subject markers are often portmanteau forms in Melanesian languages, but not in the languages in New Georgia, where preverbal subject marking pronouns are cliticized to tense and aspect marking particles. They follow the tense or mood marker *ma* in Hoava and Roviana (Waterhouse 1949; Davis 2003: 150; Evans 2008: 400), but the construction in (56), in which the preverbal subject pronoun is cliticized to the conjunction *ma* is only attested in Marovo and Ughele. Constructions with the imperative mood marker *ma* are described in 14.1.3, and constructions with the conjunction *ma* in Chapter 19.2.2.

The preverbal subject pronouns also occur as free morphemes marking continuous topic in complex clauses denoting sequential events. Preverbal subject pronouns may be the only representation of the subject, or else they may agree with an NP referring to the subject. In (57), the first clause (CL1) is an example of the latter construction, and the second (CL2) an example of the first.

(57) *Vura ghighiri makazi*
go.out very bonito

[*mana daketonga di sena*
but nothing SBJ:3PL get

rie ngeta koboru]$_{CL1}$
PRO:3PL three child

[*le di ghore pulese*]$_{CL2}$.
so SBJ:3PL descend return

'Plenty of bonito were breaking the water but the three boys got nothing so they went back.'

(*Ghaili*, 006, nar)

Preverbal subject marking pronouns occurring as unbound morphemes and with this function are not attested in any other New Georgian languages than Marovo and Ughele.

7.2.3 Postverbal subject pronouns

Whereas the other pronoun paradigms described in 7.2 are widespread across Oceanic languages (Lynch et al. 2002: 35-36), the post verbal subject pronouns are rare. The forms of the post verbal subject pronouns in Ughele are given in Table 7.4.

Table 7.4 Postverbal subject pronouns

		SG	PL
1	INCL		*nada*
	EXCL	*gua*	*mami*
2		*mua*	*miu*
3		*nana*	*dia*

Whereas there is a significant overlap between preverbal subject marking pronouns and possessive suffix forms, as described above, the set of postverbal subject marking pronouns is identical to that of preposed possessive pronouns. A set of postverbal subject marking pronouns are also found in Marovo. In both languages, they mark various types of focus, as described in 24.4.

(58) *Ka made mazi pire*
CARD four sibling DEM:PL

hiva lao suve dia.
want go swim SBJ:3PL
'The four sisters wanted to go swimming.'
(*Ka made vineki pu patu*, 002, nar)

The postverbal subject marking pronoun refers to the focused constituent. The clause may or may not contain an NP which is coreferential to the subject marker.

7.2.4 Object clitics

Bound object marking morphology on verbs is usually present in Oceanic languages (Lynch et al. 2002: 36). Ughele has a set of pronominal enclitics marking object agreement. The forms are indicated in Table 7.5.

Table 7.5 Direct object clitics

		SG	PL
1	INCL		*-ghita*
	EXCL	*-(a)u*	*-ghami*
2		*-(a)gho*	*-ghamu*
3		*-a*	*-ni*

The object clitics only mark direct object. Indirect objects are expressed by means of PPs (see Chapter 16). There are several reasons why object pronouns should be considered clitics, rather than inflectional affixes. First, the addition of an object pronoun has no phonological implications for the verb it attaches to. Second, they are not obligatory and there are rare examples of verbal clauses without an object clitic on the transitive verb (see 18.3). It is uncertain what the difference is between the cases where verbs occur with and without object clitics, but there are no specific lexical verb forms that never combine with object clitics in transitive clauses. On the other hand, they only occur with verb stems, and in that respect they are similar to affixes, which exhibit a high degree of selection with respect to their hosts, as opposed to clitics (Zwicky and Pullum 1983: 503). The object clitic may be the only element in the clause referring to the object (59) or it may have a coreferential NP, as the 2nd person singular pronoun *ghoi* in (60).

(59) *Ei, kai en-ene legho ghoi*
hey NEG RED-walk very PRO:2SG

*leke lao kakea va-mate-**gho**,*
lest go some CAUS-die-PRO:2SG

ghua rie ngeta naghe lao.
say PRO:3PL three speak go

'Hey, don't walk (around like that) lest someone will kill you, said the three.'

(*Sologou*, 211, nar)

(60) *Polo lao rau baeri-gho ghoi*
if go PRO:1SG befriend-OBJ:2SG PRO:2SG

si lao mama ta ghoi
then go mother POSS PRO:2SG

*ngajiri-ni-**gho** **ghoi**.*
be.angry-TR-OBJ:2SG PRO:2SG

'If I go ahead and befriend you, your mother will become angry with you.'

(*Vinarimado*, 012, nar)

7.2.5 Preposed possessive pronouns

Preposed possessive pronouns represents one of three indirect possessive marking strategies in Ughele (see Chapter 9). The forms are given in Table 7.6. As mentioned above and as can be seen from Table 7.1, the forms are identical to the set of postverbal subject marking pronouns.

Table 7.6 Preposed possessive pronouns

		SG	PL
1	INCL		*nada*
	EXCL	*gua*	*mami*
2		*mua*	*miu*
3		*nana*	*dia*

Constructions with preposed possessive pronouns are described in 9.5.

7.2.6 Attributive suffixes

The set of pronouns suffixes given in Table 7.7 corresponds to the set described as "possessive suffixes" in most Oceanic languages. However, referring to the possessor in direct possessive constructions is just one of several functions this set of suffixes have in Ughele. They always occur as attributive suffixes on nouns and are thus referred to as attributive suffixes here.

Table 7.7 Attributive suffixes

		SG	PL
1	INCL		*-da*
	EXCL	*-gu*	*-mami/a*
2		*-mu*	*-miu*
3		*-na*	*-di*

Attributive suffixes are used in direct possessive constructions, where they either agree with the possessor noun or else may be the only expression of the possessor. Direct possessive constructions are described in 9.2. Attributive pronouns are also used to derive nominal attributive modifiers from adjectival verbs in which case they indicate the number and person of the referent of the head noun (61) (see 7.5).

(61) *A-ia* *kaike* *vivinei* *panoghoto-**na**.*
FOC-PRO:3SG one story short-ATTR:3SG
'That was a short story.'

(*Ngarupere*, 047, nar)

Palmer (2009: 105) argues that bound direct possessive indexes in the neighbouring language Kokota are clitics, rather than affixes, as they may attach either to the possessum noun itself or its nominal modifier. No examples of nouns modified by nominal modifiers in indirect possessive constructions could be found for Ughele. However, as can be seen below, the attributive pronoun attaches to the first noun in a compound consisting of two nouns, as in *tazi vineki* 'female sibling; sister' in (62).

(62) *So-soghoru* *turang-i-a* *rau* [*na* *tazi-**gu*** *vineki*]$_{NP}$.
RED-sit meet-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:1SG COMM sibling-ATTR:1SG girl
'I sat down with my sister.'

(*Comit.*, 002, elic)

However, attributive pronouns do show a lower degree of selection with respect to their hosts than do object pronouns. The former attaches both to possessum nouns and nominal modifiers derived from adjectival verbs and the latter only to verb stems. This said, there are good reasons why attributive pronouns should be considered affixes rather than clitics. According to Muysken (1981: 289), the base and output of word derivation may belong to different categories, whereas the same is not true for cliticization. Attributive pronouns derive nominal modifiers from adjectival verbs, and in this respect behave like affixes rather than clitics. Furthermore, syntactic rules can apply to affixed words but not to clitic groups (Zwicky and Pullum 1983: 504). Whereas object pronouns can not intervene between verbs serialized on the nuclear layer of the clause structure, (62) shows that attributive pronouns can intervene between nouns in a compound. Finally, the affixation of attributive pronouns does have phonological implications for the word it modifies (see Chapter 4).

7.2.7 Relative pronoun *pu*

The relative pronoun *pu* 'who/which' introduces indirect speech clauses and relative clauses. Its two functions are described in 20.3 and 21.1, respectively.

7.2.8 Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronoun *zei* 'who' refers to animate and *za* 'what' to inanimate participants, as described in Chapters 7, 17 and 18. Other interrogative pronouns include *vei* 'where', *zale* 'why', *viviza* 'how many', *viza* 'how', and *kamuza* 'when' (see 18.6.2). When occuring without nominal modifiers in the periphery of a clause, modifying the entire clause, it is uncertain whether the forms represent an interrogative pronoun or an adjective derived from one.

7.3 Articles

Articles do not distinguish between numbers or definiteness. The article *na* only modifies common nouns, the personal article *e* modifies proper nouns referring to persons, and the focal article *ai* modify both common and proper nouns marking them as focused.

7.3.1 The common noun article *na*

The article *na* occurs with common nouns. (63) shows *na* modifying a noun with singular reference and (64) a noun with plural referent.

(63) *(..) meke naghe* [***na*** *tama-gu*]$_{NP}$, *(..)*
and say COMM father-ATTR:1SG
'(..) and my father said (..)'

(*Ka rua habili lavata*, 001, nar)

(64) *Mujari ghami* [***na*** *buna* *pire*]$_{NP}$,
crush PRO:1PL.EXCL COMM plant.species DEM:PL

mixi-ni ko [***na*** *onone geava*]$_{NP}$.
mix-TR DIR COMM sand white
'We crushed (lit. hammered) these buna leaves and mixed them with white sand.'

(*Ka rua habili lavata*, 012, nar)

As nouns generally do not inflect for number in Ughele, whether an NP refers to one or more participants can only be known from contextual clues or the use of numerals and/or demonstratives. In (63) the speaker refers to his father, of which in a traditional Solomon Islands family context, there is only one. In (64) the noun is modified by a demonstrative inflected for plural number.

7.3.2 The personal article *e*

The personal article *e* only occurs with proper names referring to persons.

(65) *Na* *keki* *tavet-i-a* [***e*** *Benedicte*]$_{NP}$
COMM cake do-TR-OBJ:3SG PERS B.

a-ia *si* *lao* *rau*
FOC-PRO:3SG IRR go PRO:1SG

gito-a *pi.*
bake.in.earth.oven- OBJ:3SG DEM:SG
'The cake Benedicte made is the one I will bake (in the earth oven).'

(*Za tavetia ghoi?*, 003, elic)

It is uncertain whether the article has any other function than to identify the referent of its head noun as a person, and under what conditions it does and does not occur. Proper nouns referring to persons do not obligatorily have the personal article *e*.

7.3.3 The focal article *ai*

The focal article *ai* marks proper and common nouns as focused, as described in 24.5.

7.4 Demonstratives

There are three pairs of demonstratives, all with a singular and a plural form. They are distinguished according to deictic distance. One pair marks close distance to speaker/hearer, one intermediate, and one distant.

Table 7.7 Demonstrative particles

	SG	PL
near	*pi(la)*	*pire*
intermediate	*za*	*zara*
distant	*pioi(la)*	*piroi*

Demonstrative particles modify proper and common nouns and follow the noun they modify.

(66) *Na bae pi na bae ta na habili, (..)*
comm cave DEM:SG COMM cave POSS COMM bumphead.parrot.fish
'This cave is the cave of the bumphead parrot fish.'
(*Ka rua habili lavata*, 006, nar)

7.5 Attributive nominal modifiers

As mentioned in 5.2, adjectives represent a a subclass of verbs in Ughele. Attributive nominal modifiers are derived from adjectival verbs by means of attributive suffixes (shown in Table 7.7). The derivation is productive and frequent. (67) below shows *lamana* 'be.deep' as a verb predicating a clause and (68) shows the derived form *lamanana* 'deep' modifying an NP.

(67) *Na kopi pi* ***lamana.***
comm lake DEM:SG deep
'This lake is deep.'
(*adj.*, 046, elic)

(68) *Pi na kopi* ***lamana-na.***
DEM:SG COMM lake deep-ATTR:3SG
'This is a deep lake.'

The attributive nominal suffixes indicate the number and person of the referent of the head noun.

7.6 Numerals

The numerals are based on a decimal system, and as often is the case for decimal number systems in Oceanic languages (Lynch et al. 2002: 39), there are separate items for 'hundred' and 'thousand'. There are also separate items for 'twenty' and 'thirty'.

kaike	'one'	*onomo*	'six'
rua	'two'	*juapa*	'seven'
ngeta	'three'	*alu*	'eight'
made	'four'	*niki*	'nine'
lima	'five'	*maneghe*	'ten'
siokona	'twenty'	*ghoghoto*	'hundred'
tolaghavulu	'thirty'	*tina*	'thousand'

Forms for 40, 50, 60, 70, 80 and 90 are formed by a compound of the forms from 'four' to 'nine', and *ghavulu* referring to a unit of ten (which is distinct from *maneghe* 'ten'). The form for 'three', *tolo*, in *tolo ghavulu* 'thirty' differs from the form above.

made ghavulu 'forty'
lima ghavulu 'fifty'
etc.

Other numbers are formed by compounds.

maneghe meke 'eleven'
maneghe rua 'twelve'
maneghe ngeta 'thirteen'

siokona meke 'twenty one'
siokona rua 'twenty two'

tina niki ghoghoto maneghe made 'one thousand nine hundred and fourteen'

The numerals forms for 200-900 and 2000-9000 consist of compounds with an initial numeral for 2-9 and *ghoghoto* or *tina* referring to units of hundreds and thousands, respectively. This does not apply to 100 and 1000 that are simply represented as *ghoghoto* 'hundred' and *tina* 'thousand', respectively. Underived cardinal numerals precede head nouns and follow head pronouns.

(69) *Pire* [*ka rua oreke maroke*]$_{NP}$
DEM:PL CARD two old.woman old.man

ta rie kali kuzae pire.
POSS PRO:3PL side bush DEM:PL
'These are two old people [lit. an old woman (and) and old man] from the bush.'

(*Solabration photo set*, 023, elic)

(70) *Kao na tina-di*
look COMM mother-ATTR:3PL

mana kai doghor-i [*rie ka ru*]$_{NP}$.
but NEG see-OBJ:3PL PRO:3PL CARD two
'Their mother looked but could not see the two.'

(*Kelko Bakua meke Jiro Vore*, 015, nar)

In both cases they may have the cardinal marker *ka* or else no marking. It is unclear what the difference is between the construction with and without the cardinal marker. Numerals can also be the only element in the clause expressing the argument in headless clauses (71).

(71) *Meke lao kaduvu tu pa zidara* [*na* ***ka*** ***ru*** *pire*]$_{NP}$.
and go arrive EMPH LOC moon COMM CARD two DEM:PL
'And the two (of them) arrived on the moon.'

(*Kelko Bakua meke Jiro Vore*, 013, nar)

Ordinal numeral forms are derived from cardinal numeral roots from 'two' and upwards by means of a combination of the causative prefix *va-* and the nominal infix <*in*> (40).

(72) *A-ia* *na* *l<in>otu*
FOC-PRO:3SG COMM <NOM>pray

pu ghore *ke-kenu*
REL descend RED-first

meke na *l<in>otu* ***v<in>a-rua***
and COMM <NOM>pray <NOM>CAUS-two

a-ia *na* *SDA.*
FOC-PRO:3SG COMM SDA
'That was the denomination that came down (here) first and the second denomination was SDA[8]'

(*Vinailiri ghinizo pa rineka vaka lao pa rineka Ughele*, 016, nar)

A nominal attributive derived form the verb *kenu* 'be first; win' is used to express the meaning 'first'. In (73) *kenu* is reduplicated, marking emphasis.

(73) *A-ia* *kaike ikana* *pu gharo*
FOC-PRO:3SG one person REL maybe

ikana ***ke-kenu*** *ko pa ghami*
person RED-be.first be LOC PRO:1PL.EXCL

pa Ughele tani pu vae-na *gura*
LOC U. here rel be.like-ATTR:3SG can

[8] The Seventh-day Adventist Church.

tiro-a *na* *muziki, ghua, meke (..)*
read-OBJ:3SG COMM music say and

'He was the person who perhaps was the (very) first person staying here with us in Ughele who could read music, and (..)'

(*Vinailiri ghinizo pa rineka vaka* lao pa rineka Ughele, 013, nar)

7.7 Prepositions

The preposition *pa* is by far the most frequent preposition, heading PPs indicating location in time (74) and space (75).

(74) *(..) meke dodoru totozo* ***pa madighe pa elege***
and all time LOC day LOC past

rie *ghore* *tusa na* *medarai.*
PRO:3PL descend fish COMM m

'(..) and they went down (to) fish medarai at any time of the day in the past.'

(*Tusa medarai*, 002, nar)

(75) *Kaloa tu* *ia* *lao tu* ***pa Australia.***
leave EMPH PRO:3SG go EMPH LOC A

'He left and went to Australia.'

(*Ghinorena linotu pa Ughele*, 007, nar)

The preposition *ko* can be used with the meaning 'with' (76).

(76) *Rau* *site selu* ***ko ghoi*** *lao pa Egholo.*
PRO:1SG IRR follow with PRO:2SG go LOC E

'I will go with you to Egholo.'

(*Elic. 16.10.07*, 001, elic)

Direction is for the most part indicated by directional verbs in SVCs, as described in Chapter 15, but the preposition *ko* is also used to indicate direction towards a participant (77).

(77) *Meke zae pulese lao* ***ko na maroke***
and ascend return go DIR COMM old.man
'And they went back up to the old man'

(*Ghaili*, 090, nar)

Ko frequently heads PPs referring to indirect objects, as described in Chapter 16. In addition to these come the two possessive prefixes *ta* and *taga* described in 9.3.

7.8 Summary

There is a two way distinctiom between personal and common nouns. The former takes the article *e* and the latter the article *na*. Local nouns represent a subclass of nouns that can occur in relational constructions. Nouns can be directly or indirectly possessed, this being partly lexically dependent and partly dependent on the nature of the possessive relation between possessor and possessum. Nouns may be derived from verbs by means of reduplication, affixation and conversion. With the exception of one single noun, *vazi* 'place', nouns do not inflect for number.

Pronouns contrast between 1st, 2nd and 3rd person and singular vs. plural number. For 1st person plural, there are separate inclusive and exclusive forms. Sets of personal pronouns include independent pronouns, preverbal and postverbal subject agreement markers, object agreement clitics, possessive pronouns, and attributive suffixes. Other pronouns include a relative pronoun and a set of interrogative pronouns.

Demonstratives distinguish between singular and plural and between close, intermediate and distant deictic distance.

Attributive nominal modifiers express properties of the referents of the NPs they modify, and are derived from adjectival verbs.

The numeral system is decimal with separate items for '20', '30', '100'and '1000'. Cardinals may be marked by a cardinal marker preceding the numeral. Ordinal forms are derived from cardinal ones by means of affixation.

There is a locative and temporal, one directional and two possessive prefixes in Ughele.

8 Noun phrases

This chapter is concerned with the internal structure of noun phrases (NPs). The various nominal parts of speech occurring in NPs were described separately in Chapter 7. NPs can be arguments of clauses, predicates of clauses, or complements of prepositions. NPs as predicates are described separately in Chapter 17. NPs can be headed by nouns or pronouns, and NPs in their simplest form consist of a head alone, or modified by articles, demonstratives, quantifiers, numerals, and nominal attributives derived from adjectival verbs. Pronouns take fewer modifiers than nouns (see 8.3). All modifiers are optional, including the articles. Simple NPs headed by nouns are described in 8.2 and those headed by pronouns in 8.3. More complex NPs involve noun coordination (8.4), appositional NPs (8.5), PPs (8.7), and relative clauses (8.8). Heads can be ellipsed in cases where their referent(s) are retrievable from the context. Headless NPs are described in 8.6.

8.1 The structure of noun phrases

Zwicky (1993: 276-277) gives several criteria for identifying heads in syntactic constructions, one of which states that the head is the characterizing participant in the construction. Hence, the meaning of the construction of a whole is a subtype of that of the head, and it is the head which determines the syntactic category of the construct. In NPs, pronouns and nouns give the main meaning and other nominal parts of speech modify it by adding additional information about it. If one considers the final NP in (78), it is *viu* 'bird' which provides the main meaning to the NP. This information is modified by the article and the nominal attributive.

(78) *Zioni* [*na* ***viu*** *le-lea-na*]$_{NP}$.
Z. ART bird RED-good-ATTR:3SG
'Zioni is a very nice bird.'

(*Zioni na viu*, 001, nar)

Furthermore, the pronominal suffix on the nominal attributive agrees with the head noun or pronoun in person and number, and the demonstrative in number. Complex NPs can have NPs as heads.
Little variation is permitted in the order of the constituents in Ughele NPs, but as will be demonstrated in 8.2 and 8.3, there are some differences between NPs headed by nouns and by pronouns. The order of constituents in the respective NPs is given in 8.2 and 8.3.

8.2 Noun phrases headed by nouns

Noun phrases headed by nouns may have simple or complex head nouns. Noun phrases with complex and simple nouns have the same structure, as no unbound morphemes can come between the nouns in a compound (bound morphemes, on the other hand, may, as demonstrated in (62). NPs headed by nouns may be modified by articles, demonstratives, numerals, quantifiers, nominal attributives derived from adjectival verbs, and relative clauses. The structure of NPs headed by nouns is as indicated below.

$$[(\text{ART})\ (\text{QUA})\ (\text{NUM})\ \text{N}\ (\text{ATTR})\ (\text{DEM})]_{\text{NP}}$$

All modifiers can be combined in the same phrase, as shown below. (79) combines an article, an attributive modifier and a demonstrative.

(79) *A-ia* [***na*** *vivinei* ***site*** ***pila***]$_{\text{NP}}$.
FOC-PRO:3SG ART story small DEM:SG
'That was the little story.'
(*Ka rua habili lavata*, 031, nar)

(80) combines two quantifiers and a numeral.

(80) *(..) me lao rie popoka-ni-a* [***dodoru***
and go PRO:3PL hammer-TR-OBJ:3SG all
zoku ***ngavulu*** *likilae tingitonga*]$_{\text{NP}}$.
many unit.of.ten thing something
'(..) and they carved (lit. hammered) several tens of things.'
(*Solabration photo set*, 020 2/7, elic)

(81) combines an article and a quantifier.

(81) *(..) meke vura mai* [***na*** ***dodoru*** *kutu*]$_{\text{NP}}$.
and exit come art all rat
'(..) and all the rats came out.'
(*Vinailiri ghinizo pa rineka vaka lao pa rineka Ughele*, 004, nar)

(82) combines an article and a numeral.

(82) *(..) meke mai veveo rie ka ru pu*
and come lie PRO:3PL CARD two REL

lea ta-poni [***na ka rua*** *mago*]$_{NP}$*, ghua.*
PRF PASS-feed ART CARD two spirits say
'(..) and the two (of them) lied (and said) that the two spirits had been fed.'

(*Vinasibi*, 024, nar)

(83) combines a quantifier and a nominal attributive.

(83) *Doghor-i-i ghoi* [***kakea*** *ikana* ***bebei-di***]$_{NP}$*?*
see-TR-OBJ:3PL PRO:2SG some person drunk-ATTR:3PL
'Did you see any drunk people?'

(*Gen. 2008*, 182, elic)

(84) combines a quantifier and a demonstrative.

(84) *(..) me topoai* [***dodoru*** *ighana* ***pire***]$_{NP}$*.*
and departed all fish DEM:PL
'(..) and all the fish left.'

(*Sodoko Kekenu*, 010, nar)

(85) combines a numeral and a nominal attributive.

(85) *Rie ka ru pire* [***ka ru*** *bangara* ***lavata***]$_{NP}$ *meke (..)*
PRO:3PL CARD two DEM:PL CARD two chief big and
'The two (of them) were great chiefs and (..)'

(*Vinasibi*, 004, nar)

And finally, (86) combines a numeral and a demonstrative.

(86) [***Ka made*** *mazi* ***pire***]$_{NP}$ *hiva lao suve dia.*
CARD four cousin DEM:PL want go swim SBJ:3PL
'These four cousins wanted to go swimming.'

(*Ka made vineki pu patu*, 002, nar)

8.2.1 Articles

Nouns can occur with either of the three articles: the personal article *e* (87), the focal article *ai* (88), or the common article *na* (89), all preceding the noun.

(87) *(..) meke naghe* [***e*** *Peni*]$_{NP}$, *(..)*
and say PERS P.
'(..) and Peni said, (..)'

(*Aku*, 009, nar)

(88) *Ko nana kaike ikana bagho-na ia*
be SBJ:3SG one person name-POSS:3SG PRO:3SG

[***ai*** *Noman Wheatley*]$_{NP}$.
FOC:ART N. W.
'There was a man by the name of Norman Wheatley.'

(*Ghinorena linotu pa Ughele*, 002, nar)

(89) *A-ia* [***na*** *sasanana*]$_{NP}$ *vizoroi.*
FOC-PRO:3SG ART habit before
'That was the habit before.'

(*Varizeke*, 053, nar)

Articles also precede quantifiers (90) and numerals (91).

(90) *Palabatu ta ia lao sabu dodoro tingitonga,*
husband POSS PRO:3SG go hunt all thing

kukula, na bakarao, kuni, na noki,
shore.frog COMM frog cricket COMM snake

[***na*** *dodoru tingitonga*]$_{NP}$ *pa goana.*
COMM all thing LOC bush

'Her husband went hunting for everything, shore frogs, frogs, crickets, snakes, everything in the bush.'

(*Sologou*, 062-63, nar)

(91) *Egho,* [***na*** *kaike s<in>abu*]$_{NP}$ *tavete malao-ni-a*
OK COMM one <NOM>fish do use.to-TR-OBJ:3SG

rie vizoroi na japu.
PRO:3PL before COMM j.

'OK. A fishing tool that they always used to make before is the japu.'

(*Conv. about the japu*, 001, conv)

8.2.2 Demonstratives

There are three pairs of demonstratives, each with separate singular and plural forms (given in 7.4). Demonstratives agree with the head noun in number. They fill the last slot in the internal structure of the NP, and thus follow their head noun (92)-(94).

(92) *(..) meke ta-zalanga* [*ikana* ***pila***]$_{NP}$.
and PASS-heal person DEM:SG

'(..) and this person healed.'

(*Ghinorena linotu pa Ughele*, 009, nar)

(93) *Ikana pu kaduvu kenu-a* [*volozo* ***pioi***]$_{NP}$,
person REL arrive first-OBJ:3SG boundary DEM:SG

a-ia site pu ikana.
FOC-PRO:3SG IRR REL person.

'The person who reaches the goal first, s/he will be the winner (lit. person).'

(*Sodoko Kekenu*, 005, nar)

(94) ***Ukala-i*** *kaike ka rua miniti*
pass-OBJ:3PL one CARD two minute

meke selele [*na habili* ***pire***]$_{NP}$.
and intoxicated COMM bumphead.parrot.fish DEM:PL
'One or two minutes pass and the bumphead parrot fish get intoxicated.'

(*Karua habili lavata*, 014, nar)

As the last element in an NP, demonstratives also follow nominal attributives (95).

(95) [*Na havoro meava* ***pioi***]$_{NP}$ *dongo lea.*
COMM flower yellow DEM:SG look nice
'The yellow flower looks beautiful.'

(*Adj/verb*, 066, elic)

8.2.3 Quantifiers

Quantifiers precede their head noun (96).

(96) [***Zoku*** *viu*]$_{NP}$ *mai sake me maghoghozo.*
many bird come sit and rest
'Many birds come to sit and rest.'

(*Zuda rereke*, 007, nar)

Quantifiers and numerals rarely occur together in one and the same NP. The only common construction involving a combination of quantifiers and numerals in the corpus is *zoku ngavulu* 'many tens'. The quantifier precedes the numeral, as in (80) and (97).

(97) *(..) meke* [***zoku ngavulu*** *v<in>ido-vido*]$_{NP}$ *vae-na*
and many unit.of.ten <NOM>RED-write like-ATTR:3SG

lao rie meke va-sari-a na p<in>edina
go PRO:3PL and CAUS-decorate-OBJ:3SG COMM <NOM>paint

na mamago-na na kusale pi.
COMM picture-POSS:3SG COMM turtle DEM:SG
'(..) and many tens of words (lit. writings) like that they decorated the picture of the turtle (with).'

(*Solabration*, 020 7/7, elic)

8.2.4 Numerals

Numerals (described in 7.6) precede the noun they modify, as demonstrated in (98) where the cardinal numeral construction consisting of the cardinal marker *ka* and the numeral *made* 'four' modifies the noun *mazi* 'cousin'.

(98) *Vivinei-ni-a rau* [***ka made*** *mazi*]$_{NP}$.
tell-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:1SG CARD four cousin
'I will tell (you about) four cousins.'

(*Ka made vineki pu patu*, 001, nar)

As can be seen from (98) above, numerals follow articles and quantifiers.

8.2.5 Nominal attributives

Nominal attributives are derived from adjectival verbs by means of attributive suffixes agreeing with their nominal head in number and person (see 7.5). They follow the nouns they modify (99) and, as mentioned above, precede demonstratives (100).

(99) *Ghevuzu uke-a* [*ngosara* ***ghele-na***]$_{NP}$.
wind fall-OBJ:3SG coconut long-ATTR:3SG
'The wind (made) the tall coconut tree fall (over).'

(*Text book*, 023, nar)

(100) *Rau dapu tuge-a* [*na mezi* ***pako-na*** *pi*]$_{NP}$.
PRO:1SG NEG hold-OBJ:3SG COMM knife blunt-ATTR:3SG DEM:SG
'I cannot use this blunt knife (lit. I am not holding this blunt knife).'

(*Adj/verb*, 082, elic)

Nominal attributives derived from adjectival verbs that refer to colours may (101), but need not (102), occur with attributive suffixes.

(101) *A-ia* *pu* [***geava-na*** *pioi* *za*]$_{NP}$
FOC-PRO:3SG REL white-ATTR:3SG DEM:SG DEM:SG

a-ia *na* *poata* *Malata.*
FOC-PRO:3SG COMM shell.ring Malaita
'The wite one is a Malaitan shell ring.'

(*Solabration photo set*, 007, elic)

It is uncertain why nominal attributives referring to colours sometimes occur with the suffixes, such as in (101), and sometimes not, as in (102).

(102) *Mujari* *ghami* *na* *buna* *pire,*
hammer PRO:1PL.EXC COMM species.of.plant DEM:PL

mikisi-ni *ko* [*na* *onone* ***geava***]$_{NP}$.
mix-TR DIR COMM sand white
'We crushed (lit. hammered) the buna and mixed it with white sand.'

(*Karua habili lavata*, 012, nar)

There are also other, very frequent nominal attributives that may occur without attributive suffixes, such as *ghele* 'long' (103), *lavata* 'big' (104), and *site* 'small' (48).

(103) *Bilikiki* *ene* *ukala* *pa* [*babanaini* ***ghele***]$_{NP}$.
species.of.bird walk over LOC beach long
'The bilikiki walks across a long beach.'

(*Bilikiki*, 001, nar)

(104) [*Ka* *rua* *habili* ***lavata***]$_{NP}$ *selele*
CARD two bumphead.parrot.fish big intoxicated

mate, meke (..)
die and

'The two big bumphead parrot fish died (from) intoxication and (..)'

(*Ka rua habili lavata*, 014, nar)

(105) *A-ia* [*na vivinei* ***site*** *pila*]$_{NP}$.
FOC-PRO:3SG COMM story little DEM:SG

'That was the little story.'

(*Karua habili lavata*, 031, nar)

8.3 Noun phrases headed by pronouns

Other than nouns, NPs can also be headed by independent pronouns. Pronouns may only be modified by demonstratives and numerals. The structure of NPs headed by pronouns is as follows.

[PRO (NUM) (DEM)]$_{NP}$

The order of the constituents is identical to NPs headed by nouns, with the exception of the position of numerals. Whereas numerals precede head nouns, they follow head pronouns.

8.3.1 Demonstratives

Demonstratives follow their head pronoun, with which it agrees in number (106)-(107).

(106) [*A-ia* ***pila***]$_{NP}$ *na tomoko.*
FOC-PRO:3SG DEM:SG COMM war.canoe

'This is a war canoe.'

(*Solabration photo set*, 016 1/10, elic)

(107) *Mai ko pa Munda ia meke*
come be LOC M. PRO:3SG and

tavet-i-a na t<in>avete bisinis [*rie* ***pire***]$_{NP}$.
do-TR-OBJ:3SG COMM <NOM>do business PRO:3PL DEM:PL

'He came to stay in Munda and they ran a business.'

(*Ghinore na linotu pa Ughele*, 004, nar)

As in NPs headed by nouns, demonstratives also occupy the last slot in the NPs structure in NPs headed by pronouns, and thus follow numerals (108).

(108) *Mono-au* [*rie* *ngeta* ***pire***]$_{NP}$ *meke* *lea-gu.*
massage-OBJ:3SG PRO:3PL three DEM:PL and good-ATTR:3SG
'These three massaged me and I became well.'
(*Inuke taga rau pa zuda*, 030, nar)

8.3.2 Numerals

Plural pronouns may, and do more often than not, occur with numerals indicating the exact number of referents. The numeral follows its pronoun head (109).

(109) *Pulese* *mai* *tu* *pa* *kaokana* *pi* [*ghai* ***ka*** ***ru***]$_{NP}$
return come EMPH LOC village DEM PRO:1PL.EXCL CARD two

sena-i *na* *repi* *na* *besini.*
get-OBJ:3PL COMM coconut.grater COMM basin
'We two returned to the village (and) fetched the coconut grater (and) the basin.'
(*Karua habili lavata*, 017, nar)

8.4 Coordination of noun phrases

8.4.1 Conjunctive coordination of noun phrases

Conjunctive coordination of NPs that refer to entities considered to be closely connected to each other, especially couples of individuals or pairs of persons, may be expressed by simple juxtaposition of the NPs (110)-(112).

(110) [*Mama* *papa*]$_{CONJ}$ *ta* *rie* *made* *mate.*
mother father POSS PRO:3PL four die
'The mother and father of the four were dead.'
(*Made koreo me tazina vineki*, 003, nar)

(111) *(..) vanua pu turu-a ka rua* [*oreke maroke*]$_{\text{CONJ}}$.
house REL stand-OBJ:3SG CARD two old.woman old.man
'(..) house that the [two, the] old woman and man built.'

(*Solabration photo set*, 014 5/5, elic)

(112) *(..) meke lemo-ni rie* [*oreke maroke*]$_{\text{CONJ}}$ *ta ghami.*
and hear-TR PRO:3PL old.woman old.man POSS PRO:1PL.EXCL
'(..) and our old women and men understand (lit. hear).'

(*Vinailiri ghinizo pa rineka vaka lao pa rineka Ughele*, 036, nar)

The expression of NPs or clauses expressing closely connected entities or states of affairs by asyndetic conjunction and of NPs or clauses expressing less closely connected entities or states of affairs by syndetic conjunction, is a common feature in Oceanic languages (Haspelmath 2004: 13, Moyse-Faurie and Lynch 2004: 482-483). Note that the coordinated NPs may be part of the structure of another NP, as in (110)-(112) where the conjunctive coordination *mama papa* 'mother and father' is head of the possessive construction modified by the PP *ta rie* 'their'. This is also the case in (114)-(115) below.

Generally, NPs are linked by the conjunction *me(ke)* 'and', which also links clauses in conjunctive coordinations (113)-(115).

(113) *Sena ghoi* [*mazo me pego*]$_{\text{CONJ}}$ *meke (..)*
get PRO:2SG axe and adze and
'Will you get the axe and the adze and (..)'

(*Sore,* 005, nar)

(114) [*Zoku ikana me koburu*]$_{\text{CONJ}}$ *hiva lao ghighiri-a.*
many person and child want go very-OBJ:3SG
'Many adults and children would really like to go there.'

(*Miso kukuru*, 025, nar)

(115) *Koreo za ko me podalai talotanga*
boy DEM:SG be and start sorry

[*dodoru suriki meke madighe*]$_{CONJ}$ *me kabo.*
every night and day and cry

'The boy stayed (with her) and he started to get sad every night and day and (he) cried.'

(*Vinarimado*, 071, nar)

8.4.2 Disjunctive coordination of noun phrases

Disjunctive coordination of NPs may be asyndetic, by simple juxtaposition of the NPs (116)-(118).

(116) *(..) me dia pele* [*kaike ka rua maroke*]$_{DISJ}$
and SBJ:3PL next one CARD two old.man

pu ghilan-i-a na muziki ko ghami (..)
REL know-TR-OBJ:3SG COMM music POSS PRO:1PL.EXCL

'(..) and next there were two or three old men who knew our music (..)'

(*Vinailiri ghinizo pa rineka vaka lao pa rineka Ughele*, 025, nar)

(117) *Ukala-i* [*kaike ka rua miniti*]$_{DISJ}$ *meke selele*
pass-TR one CARD two minute and intoxicated

na habili pire.
COMM bumphead.parrot.fish DEM:PL

'Two or three minutes pass and these bumphead parrot fish get intoxicated.'

(*Ka rua habili lavata*, 014, nar)

(118) [*Ka rua ngeta*[9] *madighe*]$_{DISJ}$ *tu ghani ghami*
CARD two three day EMPH eat PRO:1PL.EXCL

ka rua habili lavata rie.
CARD two bumphead.parrot.fish big PRO:3PL

'For two or three days we ate the two big bumphead parrot fish.'

(*Ka rua habili lavata*, 026, nar)

Or it may be through the use of the conjunction *babe* 'or' (119)-(121), which also links clauses in disjunctive coordinations.

(119) *(..) le kaike tingitonga leana tughu pu be iliri*
so one thing good also REL if translate

na [*g<in>izo babe r<in>eka*]$_{DISJ}$, *uve, puna (..)*
COMM <NOM>sing or <NOM>speak yes because

'(..) so that is a good thing if (one) translates songs or words, yes, because (..)'

(*Vinailiri ghinizo pa rineka vaka lao pa rineka Ughele*, 038, nar)

[9] The cardinal form *rua* 'two' never occurs without the cardinal marker *ka*, whereas other forms, such as *ngeta* 'three' do.

(120) *Site loka rau* [*ka rua babe ngeta*]$_{DISJ}$ *madighe.*
IRR wait PRO:1SG CARD two or three day
'I will wait for (another) two or three days.'

(*Post. gen. 2008*, 009, elic)

(121) *Vizoroi daketonga salt, mana lobe tilingi va-lao-ni-a*
before NEG salt but water salt CAUS-go-TR- OBJ:3SG

ghoi pa [*peleta babe za*]$_{DISJ}$.
PRO:2SG LOC plate or what
'Before, there was no salt, but they would put salt water on a plate or something (like that).'

(*Guso*, 044, nar)

The difference is between asyndetic (116)-(118) and syndetic (119)-(121) disjunctive NPs remains unlear.

8.4.3 Adversative coordinations of noun phrases

There are few examples of adversative coordination of NPs in the data. (122) shows the conjunction *mana* 'but' linking the two NPs.

(122) *Gura va-mai-ni-a ghoi* [*na mezi lavata*
can CAUS-come-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:2SG COMM knife big

mana kati na mezi site]$_{ADVERS}$.
but NEG COMM knife small
'Can you give me the big knife and not the small knife?'

(Gen. 08, 026, elic)

8.5 Appositional noun phrases

In some cases a pronoun is modified by an appositional NP which gives more specific information about the referent. As pointed out by Evans (1995: 251) for similar constructions In Kayardild, such a construction involves successive restriction of reference. The speaker gives a general reference first, namely a pronoun, and quickly adds an appositional NP with more

specific information about the reference, as he decides that the hearer is not or will not be able to identify the referent (123)-(125).

(123) *Zae lao pa korapa goana rie me lao kao*
ascend go LOC inside bush PRO:3PL and go look

[*ia* [*na voruku*] NP]NP *pego-a rie na mola.*
PRO:3SG COMM wild.taro carve-OBJ:3SG PRO:3PL COMM canoe
'They went up into the bush to find it, the wild taro (which) they carved a canoe (from).'

(*Vivineina koba*, 003, nar)

(124) *(..) meke ligomo site toj-i-a vazi-na*
and idol IRR tell-TR-OBJ:3SG place-ATTR:3SG

ko [*rie* [*na kana*] NP]NP, *ghua.*
be PRO:3PL COMM enemy say
'(..) and the little idol told (them) where they, the enemies were (lit. the place of the enemy), say.'

(*Varizeke*, 009, nar)

(125) [*Rie* [*na muziki tisa*] NP]NP *taga rau,* [*rie* [*ikana vaka*] NP]NP,
PRO:3PL COMM music teacher POSS PRO:1SG PRO:3PL person ship

va-ghi-ghilana tughu rie na muziki mana (..)
CAUS-RED-know also PRO:3PL COMM music but
'They, my music teachers, the Europeans, they knew a lot about music but (..)'

(*Vinailiri ghinizo pa rineka vaka lao pa rineka Ughele*, 025, nar)

Appositional NPs occur frequently. Whereas the corresponding pronominal forms *ia* and *rie* in the closely related language Marovo are both independent pronouns and articles marking NPs as definite (*ia* for singular and *rie* for plural) and the corresponding definite articles *sa* and *eri* in Hoava seem to have been derived from pronouns according to Davis (2003: 55), there is no such regularity in Ughele. Definite NPs may, but need not, contain both a pronominal form and a noun, making it less likely that the forms mark NPs as definite.

8.6 Headless noun phrases

In cases where their referent(s) are retrievable from the context or from the discourse, heads may be ellipsed, resulting in a headless NP. Headless NPs may consist of quantifiers, nominal attributives derived from adjectival verbs, numerals, and demonstratives. The examples below show headless NPs with a nominal quantifier (126), a nominal attributive derived from an adjectival verb (127), a numeral (128), and a demonstrative (129).

(126) *(..) meke mai va-via-i pa batu pire*
and come CAUS-clear-TR LOC head DEM:PL

va-via pai-ni [*dodoru poje*]$_{NP}$ *vae*
CAUS-clear throw-TR all rotten be.like

pu ko ukala meke (..)
REL be over and

'(..)and they would come and clean up these heads clearing out and throwing away all (that are) rotten like (those) that are superfluous.'

(*Varizeke*, 047, nar)

(127) *Lea tako-ni-a ghoi* [*lavata-na*]$_{NP}$*?*
PRF have-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:2SG big-ATTR:3SG

'Have you got a bigger one?'

(*Gen. 08*, 030, elic)

(128) *Meke lao kaduvu tu*
and go arrive EMPH

pa zidara [*na ka ru pire*]$_{NP}$.
LOC moon COMM CARD two DEM:PL

'And the two arrived on the moon.'

(*Kelko Bakua meke Jiro Vore*, 013, nar)

(129) [*Pi*]$_{NP}$ *kaike tingitonga tapata-na v<in>a-site,*
DEM:SG one thing difficult-ATTR:3SG <NOM>-CAUS-little

na *tingitonga* *pila.*
COMM thing DEM:SG

'This is a difficult thing, this thing.'

(*Vinailiri ghinizo pa rineka vaka lao pa rineka Ughele*, 003, nar)

The fact that the ellipsed head controls the agreement on the modifiers that do have agreement, such as the attributive suffix on the nominal attributive derived from an adjectival verb in the headless NP in (130), shows that these NPs have an ellipsed head.

(130) [*Votiki-na*]$_{NP}$ *nana* *r<in>eka* *ia.*
different-ATTR:3SG POSS:3SG <NOM>speak PRO:3SG

'His language is a different one.'

(*Gen. 2008*, 162, elic)

8.7 Prepositional phrases

Prepositional phrases modify NPs in possessive constructions (see 9.3-9.4). They are also adjuncts of clauses expressing beneficiaries and goals (both described in 16.2.1), and spatial and temporal location (see 10.1 and 11.1.1). The preposition precedes the NP it modifies (131).

(131) *Zae* *ghami* *lao* [*pa* [*goana*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$.
ascend PRO:1PL.EXCL go LOC bush

(*Bubupa*, 002, nar)

The prepositions used in Ughele are described in 7.7. As pointed out by Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 68), non-predicative prepositions, such as (131), have no independent place within the semantic representation of the clause. Rather, their function is to mark arguments of the verb, NPs, which will be considered the true heads of non-predicative PPs here. Nonetheless, all phrases involving prepositions, including non-predicative PPs, are labeled PPs in this thesis (as well as in Van Valin and LaPolla 1995), according to traditional practice. The heads of PP predicates, on the other hand, will be considered to be its preposition (see Chapter 17), following Van Valin and LaPolla (1995: 68).

8.8 Relative clauses

For a description of the internal structure of relative clauses and their relation to the main clause, see Chapter 21. Relative clauses modify nouns (132) and pronouns, and follow their heads.

(132) *Na* [*vineki* [*pu palek-i-a na lobe*]$_{\text{REL CL}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$ *zae kaloa.*
COMM girl REL carry-TR-OBJ:3SG COMM water ascend leave
'The girl who was carrying the water [went up (and)] left.'

(*Ka made vineki pu patu*, 022, nar)

(133) [*A-ia* [*pu mai ko rau*]$_{\text{REL CL}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$ *tani pa Ughele.*
FOC-PRO:3SG REL come DIR PRO:1SG here LOC U.
'That is what came to me here in Ughele.'

(*Vinailiri ghinizo pa rineka vaka lao pa rineka Ughele*, 032, nar)

For a description of relative clauses as predicates, see Chapter 17.

8.9 Negation of noun phrases

8.9.1 Negation with *daketonga*

The negative pronoun *daketonga* is used alone (134), or modified by an appositional NP giving more specific information about its referent (135). Its approximate meaning is 'none'or 'nothing'.

(134) *Na eo* [***daketonga*** [*pa dodoru zolozo*]$_{\text{NP}}$]$_{\text{NP}}$.
COMM m.s.¬ NEG LOC all world

Pa Simbo daketonga. Pa Ranonga daketonga.
LOC S. NEG LOC R. NEG
'There are no Melanesian scrubfowl any place on earth. There are none on Simbo. There are none on Ranonga.'

(*Takumata eo*, 001-2, nar)

(135) *Puna* [***daketonga*** [*na* *kakea* *votiki* *s<in>abu*]$_{NP}$]$_{NP}$
because NEG COMM some different <NOM>fish

pele, *ve?* *A-ia* *na* *s<in>abu* *ta* *rie* *vizoroi.*
next yes FOC-PRO:3SG COMM <NOM>fish POSS PRO:3SG before
'Because there weren't any other (ways of) fishing, right? That was the fishing (method) of people (lit. them) before.'

(*Conv. arozo*, 011, conv)

It is possible that what is described in this thesis as pronouns, *daketonga* and *tingitonga* 'something', consist of two elements, *dake*/*tingi* and *tonga*. Whereas *dake* is attested as a negation marker, *tingi* and *tonga* are not attested as independent words or particles.

8.9.2 Negation with *kati*

NP predicates are negated with the negative particle *kati*. (136) shows *kati* negating a headless NP, (137) shows a complex NP with a pronoun modified by an NP negated by *kati* while (138) shows *kati* negating a prepositional possessive construction.

(136) *Ka* *rua* *bulokotuhae-di.* *Ka* *rua* [***kati***
CARD two round-ATTR:3PL CARD two NEG

[*bulokotuhae-di*] $_{NP}$]$_{NP}$, *me* *sotu* *pa* *hatara.*
round-ATTR:3PL and sit LOC floor
'Two are round. Two are not round and sit on the floor.'

(*Solabration photo set*, 009, elic)

(137) *Vizoroi* *lao* *tu* *rie* *ikana* *Ughele* *lao* *ke-kenu*
before go EMPH PRO:3PL person U. go RED-first

paiza, pa *zidara,* [***kati*** [*rie* [*ikana* *vaka*]$_{NP}$]$_{NP}$]$_{NP}$, *meke (..)*
there LOC moon NEG PRO:3PL person ship and
'Before the people from Ughele went and they were the first there, on the moon, not the Europeans, and (..)'

(*Zae iburu*, 008, nar)

(138) *(..) puna ghoi ghilan-i-a na r<in>eka ta rie*
because PRO:2SG know-TR-OBJ:3SG COMM <NOM>speak POSS PRO:3PL

ikana vaka [***kati*** [*r<in>eka ta rie dodoru ikana*]$_{NP}$]$_{NP}$.
person ship NEG <NOM>speak POSS PRO:3PL all person

'(..) because you know that the language of the Europeans is not everybody's language.'

(*Vinailiri ghinizo pa rineka vaka lao pa rineka Ughele*, 038, nar)

8.10 Summary

NPs can have nouns and pronouns as heads. Nouns can be modified by articles, demonstratives, numerals, quantifiers and attributive nominal modifiers. Articles, quantifiers and numerals precede nouns, and demonstratives and attributive nominal modifiers follow them. Demonstratives agree with their head nouns for number. Attributive nominal modifiers have attributive suffixes that agree with the head for person and number.

Pronouns can be modified by demonstratives and numerals, both following their pronominal head. Demonstratives agree with the head for number.

NPs may combine in conjunctive, disjunctive and adversative coordination. Conjunctive NPs with referents that are considered to be closely related are asyndetic, other NP conjunctions are syndetic. It is uncertain what conditions the use of a conjunction in disjunctive coordination of NPs.

Pronouns may be modified by an appositional NP. Heads may be ellipsed in NPs, thus quantifiers, attributive nominal modifiers, numerals and demonstratives may represent a headless NP.

Prepositions precede the NP they modify. Relative clauses follow their head. There are two nominal negation marking particles.

9 Possessive constructions

This chapter is concerned with the various types of possessive constructions and the nature of the possessive relations they refer to, with a short introduction in 9.1. Ughele has one direct (9.2) and three indirect possessive constructions. The latter includes prepositional constructions with *ta* (9.3) and *taga* (9.4), and possessive constructions with possessive pronouns (9.5).

9.1 Types of possessive constructions, the relations they express, and fluidity

Like most Oceanic languages (Palmer and Brown 2007: 199), especially the ones found in Island Melanesia (Lynch 1998: 122), Ughele encodes possession in two ways, with direct and indirect possessive constructions, and discriminates between different types of indirect possessive constructions. Direct possessive constructions involve possessor agreement suffixation on the possessum noun (9.2). There are three types of indirect possessive constructions. Two indirect possessive constructions express the possessor through a PP, one with the possessive preposition *ta* (9.3), and the other with the preposition *taga* (9.4). In the third type of indirect possessive construction, the possessor is expressed by a possessive pronoun modifying a possessum noun (9.5).

As will be seen in the following, the choice of possessive construction is partly lexically dependent and partly depends on the relation between the possessor and the possessum. Since the choice of possessive construction often depends on the relation between possessor and possessum, postulating classes of nouns on the basis of which possessive constructions they can occur in is problematic. In addition, there is a certain fluidity to the possessive system in Ughele, that is, some nouns can occur in different possessive constructions without any apparent semantic difference. Some nouns occur in two or three different constructions without any apparent difference in the semantic relation between possessor and possessum. However, many nouns are what Lichtenberk (2009: 262) refers to as *relational*, in that they strongly favour a certain relation between possessum and possessor. As described in 9.2.5, a few kinship terms are inherently inalienable and one can argue that these nouns form a lexical class. Other nouns have a strong preference for certain constructions, though they may occur in others.

As is common in Oceanic languages (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002: 37, Ross 1988: 15), the semantic distinction between alienable and inalienable possession plays a role in the choice of possessive construction. The alienable-inalienable distinction should rather be considered a continuum than a binary factor in Ughele. The figure below gives a picture of the overall

tendency. In a scale where inalienable possession is to the far left and alienable possession to the far right, the possessive relations to the far left are expressed by direct constructions, followed by prepositional possessive constructions with *ta*, prepositional possessive constructions with *taga*, and finally possessive constructions with possessive pronouns..

Inalienable possession	←----------		**Alienable possession**
direct	*ta* construction	*taga* construction	POSSR pronoun

Direct possessive constructions take inherently inalienable kinship terms, body parts and other items being part of a whole (the whole being the possessor) as referents of possessum nouns. These are items that are commonly considered as inalienable in the contexts of possessive systems of Oceanic languages (Lichtenberk 2009: 264-268). The range of items that can be referents of possessum nouns in direct possessive constructions overlaps with those of prepositional possessive constructions with *ta* (a construction that also expresses many relations which are usually not considered to be inalienable). A few entities that can be referents of possessum nouns in prepositional possessive constructions with *taga* overlap slightly with those of direct possessive constructions and constructions with *ta*, though constructions with *taga* mostly express relations considered to be alienable, as do constructions with possessive pronouns. There is little overlap between entities being referents of possessum nouns in possessive constructions with possessive pronouns and those of direct possessive constructions and prepositional possessive constructions with *ta*. It is important to note that this description and the table below only show tendencies. There are no examples of one and the same noun simultaneously being modified by possessive morphology from more than one possessive construction.

	Direct POSS constr.	*ta* PP POSS constr.	*taga* PP POSS constr.	Possessive pronoun
Body parts	X	X	(X)	
Bodily products	X			
Other body related items	X	X		
Part of a whole[10]	X			
Kinship terms	X	X	(X)	
Spatial relations	X			
Unowned possession	X	X		(X)
Actions carried out		X	(X)	
Actions undergone			X	
Ownership			X	X

9.2 Direct possessive constructions

9.2.1 The structure of direct possessive constructions

The direct possessive construction in Ughele is identical to the direct possessive construction reconstructed for Proto Oceanic and present in many Oceanic languages (Lynch et al. 2002: 75-76). The possessum noun carries a pronominal attributive suffix that indexes the possessor for person and number.

(139) *Zighiti ghighiri* ***mata-gu*** *rau pire.*
hurt very eye-ATTR:1SG PRO:1SG DEM:PL
'My eyes hurt really bad (lit. these eyes of mine hurt really bad).'
(*All poss.*, 003, elic)

The forms of the possessor suffixes were given in Table 5.6 and are repeated here for convenience.

[10] Other than body parts.

Table 9.1 Attributive suffixes

		SG	PL
1	INCL		*-da*
	EXCL	*-gu*	*-mama/i*
2		*-mu*	*-miu*
3		*-na*	*-di*

The same pronominal suffix forms are used to derive attributive nominal modifiers (7.5) from adjectival verbs (12.1).

The possessor is often encoded by a noun phrase which is cross-referenced on the possessum noun by a possessive suffix.

(140) *Ghorehe* ***bagho-na*** ***tingitonga.***
gh. name-ATTR:3SG thing
'Ghorehe is the name of the thing.'

(*Ghorehe*, 001, nar)

Direct possessive constructions mainly express inalienable possession. Inalienable possession implies that the possessor has little if any control of the fact of possession. Inalienable possession in Ughele expressed by direct possessive constructions includes part whole relations, including body parts. In addition, certain kinship terms are expressed with direct possessive constructions (9.2.5). However, the correspondence between specific semantic possessive relations and structural possessive constructions is not absolute. The same noun may occur in several types of constructions, without there being a semantic difference. Many relations that can be expressed with a direct possessive construction can also be expressed by an indirect prepositional possessive construction with the preposition *ta*. Kinship terms that are inherently inalienable (9.2.5) do not occur in other constructions than the direct possessive construction.

9.2.2 Body parts

Body parts terms show a strong preference for direct possessive constructions.

(141) *Na* ***izumata-na*** *na kineha ta na mamaneke ia*
ART face-ATTR:3SG ART shape poss art woman PRO:3SG

lao na mago sobe sena-i ia
go ART spirit change get-OBJ:3PL PRO:3SG
'The spirit took on her face and her shape, and (..)'

(*Sologou*, 012, nar)

(142) *Gharo-a* ***mudi-gu!***
scratch-OBJ:3SG back-ATTR:1SG
'Scratch my back!'

(*Gen. not.*, 004, elic)

(143) *Niki noki dake* ***livo-di.***
nine snake NEG tooth-ATTR:3PL
'Nine toothless snakes (lit. Nine snakes no teeth).'

(*Text book*, 017, nar)

Although body part terms show less fluidity than other nouns, some of them also occur in prepositional possessive constructions with *ta* (see 9.3.2) and *taga* (see 9.4.1). The nouns *ulu* 'hair' and *tini* 'body', the latter exemplified below, are the only body part terms in the corpus to occur in three different possessive constructions, the direct possessive construction, and prepositional possessive constructions with both *ta* and *taga*.

(144) *Vineki za podalai ghogho rie* ***tini-na.***
girl DEM start become.thin PRO:3PL body-ATTR:3SG
'As for the girl, her body started to get thin.'

(*Vinarimado*, 069, nar)

(145) *Vae-na* *lea* *sobe* ***tini*** ***ta*** ***ia***
like-ATTR:3SG PRF change body POSS PRO:3SG

vae-na *lea* *ge-geava.*
like-ATTR:3SG PRF RED-white
'It was as if her body had changed and she had become white.'

(*Vinarimado*, 070, nar)

(146) *Lao* *ia* *mono-i* ***tini*** ***taga*** ***rau.***
go PRO:3SG massage-OBJ:3PL[11] body POSS PRO:1SG
'He started to massage my body.'

(*Inuke taga rau pa zuda*, 020, nar)

It is uncertain what conditions the use of one type of possessive construction rather than another in cases such as (144)-(146). All examples make reference to a person's physical body, and none of them can be said to refer to it more indirectly than the others. No systematic study of speaker variation has been done to this date. Whether there might be variation between the speakers in different age groups or whether there might be gender dependent or dialectal differences remains a subject for further studies.

9.2.3 Bodily products and other body-related items

Physical products of bodies such as voice (147), breath (148), and other body related items, such as a person's reflection (in the water) (149), can be referents of possessum nouns in direct possessive constructions.

[11] A physical body (of a human being) has plural reference in Ughele, as can also be seen from (144), where *tini* ' body' is referred to by the 3rd person plural independent pronoun *rie*, and (146) where it has a coreferential 3rd person plural object clitic.

(147) *Lobere na* ***mamalaingi-mu.***
melodious ART voice-ATTR:2SG
'Your voice is melodious.'

(*Adj.*, 005, elic)

(148) *Gura lemono pulese-ni-au tale-gu gua* ***sini-gu.***
can hear return-TR-OBJ:1SG REFL-ATTR:1SG SBJ:1SG breath-ATTR:1SG
'I could hear my own breathing.'

(*Refl. elic.*, 005, elic)

(149) *(..) mana na* ***mamago-na*** *vae-na lao ko*
but COMM reflection-ATTR:3SG like-ATTR:3SG go DIR

na biani pi le (..)
COMM well DEM so
'(..) but her reflection could be seen in this well (lit. her reflection like went to this well) so (..)'

(*Sologou*, 060, nar)

Entities strongly associated with the body can also be referents of prepositional constructions with *ta*, but do not occur in the two other possessive constructions.

9.2.4 Part-whole relations other than body parts

Whereas body parts are mostly inherently inalienable and have a strong preference for direct possessive constructions, other entities tend to be referents possessum nouns in direct possessive constructions because of their relation to the possessor as part of a whole. The pronoun expressing the possessor in (150), *ia*, refers to a sago palm. The possessum noun *tete* 'stem' has a possessive suffix co-referencing with *ia*. In (151), there is no possessor noun, and the only representation of the possessor is the 3rd person singular possessive pronoun suffix on *kali* 'side'.

(150) *(..) meke na* ***tete-na*** *ia si lao ghami*
and COMM stem-ATTR:3SG PRO:3SG IRR go PRO:1PL.EXCL

maso-a me tavete-ni-a pa nadi.
cut-OBJ:3SG and make-TR-OBJ:3SG LOC sagopalm.pudding
'(..) and we cut its stem and make sago palm pudding of it.'

(*Kevin's tree guide*, 007, nar)

(151) *Kai leana polo vae-na kaike* ***kali-na***
NEG good if like-ATTR:3SG one side-ATTR:3SG

site vae-na zulu.
IRR like-ATTR:3SG burn
'It is not good if one of its sides gets burnt.'

(*Guso*, 032, nar)

9.2.5 Kinship terms

Which kinship terms occur in direct possessive constructions is lexically determined rather than semantically. Some are inherently inalienable and only occur in direct possessive constructions. These include *tazi* 'sibling', *tina* 'mother', *tama* 'father', *buhuhi* 'grandchild/grandparent', *buhi* 'aunt/uncle', and *mazi* 'cousin'.

(152) *Sabu rie ngeta pulese mai si lao rie ngeta*
fish pro:3pl three return come IRR go PRO:3PL three

toji-ni-a ***tazi-di*** *pana raro-i*
tell-TR-OBJ:3SG sibling-ATTR:3PL to cook-OBJ:3PL

na ighana.
COMM fish
'The three (of them) went fishing (and when they) returned they would tell their sister to cook the fish.'

(*Made koreo me tazina vineki*, 007, nar)

(153) *Beto paiza rau mai kaduvu na* ***tina-gu*** *meke (..)*
finish there PRO:1SG come arrive COMM mother-ATTR:1SG and
'I was there and my mother came and (..)'

(*Inuke taga rau pa zuda*, 025, nar)

(154) ***Tama-gu*** *rau meke na tama-na*
father-ATTR:1SG pro:1sg and COMM father-ATTR:3S

na tama-na ia rie ko pa Javete.
COMM father-ATTR:3SG PRO:3SG PRO:3PL be LOC J
'My father and his father's father, they lived in Javete.'

(*Vinasibi*, 001, nar)

(155) ***Mazi-gu*** *rau na vineki ia.*
cousin-ATTR:1SG PRO:1SG COMM girl PRO:3SG
'This girl is my cousin.'

(*Pre. poss. pro.*, 013, elic)

Other kinship terms occur in prepositional possessive constructions with *ta*, as described in 9.3.4.

9.2.6 Spatial relations

What Lichtenberk (2009: 266) refers to as relator nouns occur as the possessum of direct possessive constructions. In (156)-(157) a possessive suffix is added to *tia* 'side' and *matau* 'right' to express the spatial relations 'in front of me' and 'on the right side of the lamp', respectively.

(156) *Soghoru pa kali* ***tia-gu*** *rau.*
sit LOC side front-ATTR:1SG PRO:1SG
'(He) is sitting in front of me.'

(*Loc. sem.*, 009, elic)

(157) *Mexi soghoru pa kali* ***matau-na*** *juke.*
M. sit LOC side right-ATTR:3SG lamp
'Mex is sitting on the right side of the lamp.'

(*Locations*, 001, elic)

9.2.7 Unowned possession

What Langacker (1995: 56) refers to as unowned possession, such as someone's name (158) or the preparation of a drink by the name of *kodo* (159), can be expressed by direct possessive constructions.

(158) *Sologou bagho-na na mago za.*
S. name-ATTR:3SG COMM spirit DEM
'Sologou was the name of the spirit.'

(*Sologou*, 143, nar)

(159) *V<in>a-rua vivinei pu si vivinei-ni-a rau pa*
<NOM>CAUS-two story REL IRR tell-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:1SG LOC

vevelu nginoroi pila na t<in>avete-na na kodo.
evening today DEM COMM <NOM>do-ATTR:3SG COMM k
'The second story I want to tell (you) today is (about) the preparation of kodo.'

(*Kodo*, 001, nar)

9.3 Indirect prepositional possessive constructions with *ta*

9.3.1 The structure of prepositional possessive constructions

Ughele has two indirect possessive constructions that are prepositional in nature, one involving the preposition *ta* and the other *taga*. The two constructions are structurally identical. The possessum noun is followed by a PP, consisting of the possessive preposition and the possessor expressed by an NP. Prepositional possessive constructions with *ta* (160) and *taga* (161), in this case with identical possessum nouns, can be seen below.

(160) *Kololuka* ***na vivinei ta ghita pa Ughele.***
K. COMM story POSS PRO:1PL.INCL LOC U
'Kololuka is the story of us in Ughele.'

(*Ghaili*, 102, nar)

(161) *A-ia ghu* ***na vivinei site taga rau.***
FOC-PRO:1SG EMPH COMM story little POSS PRO:1SG
'That was my little story.'

(*Kelko Bakua meke Jiro Vore*, 017, nar)

Several Oceanic languages express possession in prepositional constructions with reflexes of **ta*, a preposition reconstructed for Proto Oceanic that marks possession or location (Pawley 1973: 148-150; Ross 1988: 103-106). It is not unlikely that one or both of the possessive prepositions in Ughele may be a reflex of **ta*. Whereas reflexes of **ta* often have pronominal possessive suffixes when marking possession (Ross 1988: 105), this is not the case for Ughele prepositional constructions, where possessors are always expressed by an NP and are not cross-referenced on the possessive preposition. Lynch et al. (2002: 79) finds that in languages that have prepositional possessive constructions with reflexes of **ta*, it is usually the only indirect possessive construction or it is used as an alternative to possessive classifiers. Neither is the case for Ughele, which has an additional indirect possessive construction with preposed possessive pronouns (9.5), like its neighbouring language Roviana (Corston-Oliver 2002: 78-79), and no possessive classifiers.

The prepositional possessive construction with *ta* is the most frequent possessive construction in the corpus.

9.3.2 Body part terms

Although body part terms have a strong preference for direct possessive constructions (9.2.2), some of them do occur in prepositional possessive constructions with *taga* (see 9.4.1) and *ta*.

(162) *Na ghumi pa **aze ta ia.***
COMM beard LOC chin POSS PRO:3SG
'The beard on his chin.'

(*ara-ADJ/VERB*, 008, elic)

(163) *Talinga ta ia rodo ghore beto*
ear POSS PRO:3SG hang descend finish

*me **ghuju ta ia** lavata tughu.*
and mouth POSS PRO:3SG big also
'His ears are hanging down and his mouth is also huge.'

(*Solabration*, 025, elic)

9.3.3 Body related items

Whereas most body related items are referents of possessum nouns in direct possessive constructions, some are referents of complement possessum nouns of *ta*, such as *kineha* 'shape'.

(164) ***Na kineha ta na mamaneke*** *ia*
COMM shape POSS ART woman PRO:3SG

lao na mago sobe sena-i ia beto meke (..)
go COMM spirit change get-OBJ:3PL PRO:3SG finish and
'The spirit took the shape of the woman and (..)'

(*Sologou*, 012, nar)

Properties of one's body, such as *veko* 'baldness' (165) and *puri* 'pregnancy' (166) can also be referents of possessum nouns in *ta* constructions.

(165) *Bakala vura na* ***veko ta ia.***
clear exit COMM baldness POSS PRO:3SG
'His baldness is showing.'

(*ara-ADJ/VERB*, 096, elic)

(166) *(..) meke na* ***puri ta ia***
and COMM pregnancy POSS PRO:3SG

ko va-ko nana, puna (..)
be CAUS-be SBJ:3SG because
'(..) and her pregnancy stayed as it was, because (..)'

(*Sologou*, 236, nar)

9.3.4 Kinship terms

To the degree that any noun classes can be established on the basis of which possessive constructions they appear in, the small set of kinship terms occurring in possessive constructions in the corpus separates relatively neatly into two sets. One set of kinship terms only occurs in direct possessive constructions (9.2.5), and another has a strong preference for prepositional possessive constructions with *ta*. The latter includes *kalaso* 'wife'; *rorotu* 'sister/brother in law'; *sasa* 'baby'; and the polysemous nouns *oreke* 'old woman/mother/grandmother'; *maroke* 'old man/father/grandfather'; *palabatu* 'chief/husband'; *vineki* 'girl/daughter'; and *koreo* 'boy/son' when used as kinship terms.

(167) *Gharo kai zingi na pili ta na kaike mamaneke,*
maybe NEG full COMM basket POSS COMM one woman

na kalaso ta na bangara.
COMM wife POSS COMM chief
'Perhaps the basket of one woman, the wife of the chief, wasn't full.'

(Sologou, 008, nar)

(168) *A-ia* ***na palabatu ta ia,***
FOC-PRO:3SG COMM husband POSS PRO:3SG

ghua na mamaneke.
say COMM woman
'He is her husband, said the woman.'

(*Sologou*, 277, nar)

(169) *Lao* ***na mamaneke ta ia*** *meke*
go COMM woman POSS PRO:3SG and

va-lao-ni-a ia na lobe ia meke (..)
CAUS-go-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:3SG COMM water PRO:3SG and
'His wife went and gave him some water and (..)'

(*Sologou*, 111, nar)

The polysemous nouns *palabatu* 'husband/chief' (170) and *mamaneke* 'wife/woman' (171) show fluidity in that they also occur in prepositional possessive constructions with *taga*.

(170) *Polo ghore mai* ***palabatu taga rau*** *(..)*
if descend come husband POSS PRO:1SG
'If my husband comes (..)'

(*Sologou*, 096, nar)

(171) *Kati* ***mamaneke taga rau*** *tughu*
NEG woman POSS PRO:1SG also

ko nana ko rau pi.
be SBJ:3SG DIR PRO:1SG DEM
'She is not my wife this one who is staying with me.'

(*Sologou*, 233, nar)

One might expect terms like *palabatu* and *mamaneke*, having one relational and one non-relational meaning ('husband' and 'wife' vs. 'chief' and 'woman') to show tendencies to occur in direct possessive constructions when having relational meanings and indirect constructions if not. However, (170) and (171) both show *palabatu* and *mamaneke* with relational meanings as possessum in indirect possessive constructions.

9.3.5 Unowned possession

Like direct possessive constructions, prepositional possessive constructions with *ta* can also express unowned possession.

(172) *Rau* ***na palabatu ta na bubutu.***
PRO:1SG COMM chief POSS ART community
'I am the chief of the community.'

(*Introducing Vili Lianga*, 03, nar)

9.3.6 Actions carried out

Constructions in which the referent of the possessor noun is the actor and the possessum noun refers to the action carried out are, with few exceptions (see 9.4.3), prepositional possessive constructions with *ta*.

(173) *Egho, site vivinei-ni-a rau*
OK IRR tell-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:1SG

na ***gh<in>ore ta na kabania*** *pa vazileana Ughele.*
COMM <NOM>descend POSS ART company LOC village U.
'OK, I will tell you a story about the arrival of the (logging) company to the village of Ughele.'

(*Ghinore ta na kabania*, 001, nar)

9.4 Prepositional possessive constructions with *taga*

Structurally, prepositional constructions with *taga* are no different from those with *ta*. See 9.3.1 for a description of the structure of both constructions.

9.4.1 Body part and kinship terms

Body part terms have a strong preference for direct possessive constructions (9.2.2). A few of them do show some fluidity, in that they occur in prepositional possessive constructions with *ta* (see 9.3.2) and *taga*.

(174) *Zighiti ghighiri* ***na kabele taga rau.***
hurt very COMM arm POSS PRO:1SG
'My arm is hurting a lot.'

(*All poss.*, 002, elic)

(175) *Tavelaza* ***na kikoreke taga rau.***
twist COMM ankle POSS PRO:1SG
'I twisted my ankle.'

(*Non-ag.* subj., 007, elic)

As shown earlier in the text, two kinship terms, *palabatu* 'husband/chief' (170) and *mamaneke* 'wife/woman' (171), occur in *taga* constructions.

9.4.2 Owned items

Most entities that occur as referents of possessum nouns as complements of *taga* are owned items, such as *buka* 'book' and *babu* 'bamboo stick' below.

(176) *Pa vei tughu va-ko-a ghoi*
LOC where EMPH CAUS-be-OBJ:3SG PRO:2SG

na buka taga rau?
COMM book POSS PRO:1SG
'Where did you put my book?'

(*Ghu*, 005, elic)

(177) *Egho, ghoi palek-i-a* ***na babu taga rau!***
OK PRO:2SG carry-TR-OBJ:3SG COMM bamboo POSS PRO:1SG
'OK, you carry my bamboo stick!'

(*Ka made vineki pu patu*, 010, nar)

9.4.3 Actions undergone

Constructions in which the referent of the possessor noun is the undergoer of the action or event referred to by the possessum noun tend to be prepositional possessive constructions with *taga*.

(178) ***<In>uke taga rau*** *pa zuda*
<NOM>fall POSS PRO:1SG LOC tree
'My fall from a tree'

(*Inuke taga rau pa zuda*, title, nar)

9.5 Indirect possessive constructions with possessor pronouns

9.5.1 The structure of indirect possessive constructions with possessive pronouns

The last type of possessive construction consists of a possessum noun modified by a preposed possessive pronoun expressing the possessor. The construction may have a NP expressing the possessor, such as that expressed by the 2nd person singular pronoun *ghoi* in (179), or it may not, as in (180).

(179) *Ghila-ni-a rau* ***mua rineka ghoi.***
know-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:1SG POSS:2SG language PRO:2SG
'I understand your language (Lit. I know your language.)'

(*Gen.*, 160, elic.)

(180) *Leana ghighiri ko* ***na mua v<in>aritokai*** *ko (..)*
thank very DIR COMM POSS:2SG <NOM>DISTR-help DIR
'Thank (you) very much for your collaboration with (..)'

(*Inscr.*, 001, elic)

The forms of the possessive pronouns were given in 7.2.5 and are repeated here.

Table 9.2 Possessor pronouns

		SG	PL
1	INCL		*nada*
	EXCL	*gua*	*mami*
2		*mua*	*miu*
3		*nana*	*dia*

9.5.2 Unowned possession

As demonstrated in (179)-(180), possessive constructions with possessive pronouns can express unowned possession.

9.5.3 Owned possession

Body part terms rarely occur as possessums in possessive constructions with indirect possessive pronouns, neither does the construction express any other part-whole relations between possessum and possessor. Possessive constructions with possessive pronouns mainly describe ownership relations (the possessum is owned by the possessor).

(181) ***Nana*** ***ghaili*** *lao ghai ngeta rabul-i-a makazi.*
POSS:3SG fishhook go PRO:1PL three lose-TR-OBJ:3SG bonito
'You three lost his fishhook to the bonito.'

(*Ghaili*, 054, nar)

9.6 Benefactive constructions with possessive morphology

PPs with the possessive preposition *ta* and possessive clitics are also used to mark beneficiaries in benefactive constructions, as described in 16.2.

(182) *Sali okete* ***tai*** ***nose*** ***rau.***
pick ngali.nut POSS daughter PRO:1SG
'I picked ngali nuts for my daughter.'

(*Benefactives*, 002, elic)

(183) *Ghoghona kao* ***gua*** ***viu,*** *ghua ia,*
shoot look SBJ:1SG bird say PRO:3SG

le ghoi kagu tavete mai-ni-a kaike gua parika.
so PRO:2SG must make come-TR-OBJ:3SG one POSS:1SG bow

'I will shoot birds (for myself), he said, so you have to make me a bow.'

(*Sologou*, 156, nar)

Identical constructions used both to mark possessor and beneficiaries are found in several Oceanic languages (see Song 1997; Song 1998; Lichtenberk 2002). The form *tai* in (182) is a combination of the possessive pronoun *ta* and the personal pronoun *e*. The personal pronoun *e* rarely occurs with other than proper nouns in Ughele. It is not uncommon, however, for NPs such as 'my daughter' in (182) to be treated as personal as if they were proper nouns generally in Oceanic languages (Ross p.c.).

9.10 Summary

Ughele has two main types of possessive constructions, direct and indirect. Direct possessive constructions involve direct possessor agreement marking on the possessum noun by means of attributive pronominal suffixes. Direct possessive constructions express inalienable possession. There are three different indirect possessive constructions. Two are prepositional, and the third marks possession by means of a possessor pronoun preceding the possessum noun. The indirect possessive constructions refer both to alienable and inalienable possession, but mainly to the former. The choice of possessive constructions is partly lexically determined and partly dependent on the nature of the relationship of possessor and possessum. Some verbs are lexically either directly or indirectly possessed, others show strong preference for a particular construction. There seems to be a considerable overlap of possessive relations that can be expressed by direct possessive constructions and prepositional constructions with the preposition *ta*.

10 Spatial expressions

The expression of location in time and space is achieved by the use of various parts of speech, often in combination. Expressions encoding temporal, and especially spatial location and direction are pervasive in the data. Clauses without it are the exception, rather than the rule. For these reasons, it was considered appropriate to devote a short chapter each to the description of spatial and temporal expressions. This chapter concerns phrases referring to location in space. Phrases referring to location in time are described in Chapter 11. Spatial expressions will be taken here to be any part of a clause that encode the spatial relation between two entities, *x* and *y*. Following Frostad (2006: 6), two possible types of relations will be considered, one in which *x* is located in relation to *y* and one where *x* moves in relation to *y*. Jackendoff's (1983: 161-187) terms for *x* and *y* will be used here, namely 'theme' and 'location' respectively for the first type of relation and 'theme' and 'path' for the second. Talmy (1985) considers the maintenance of stationary location as a kind of motion event and refers to *x* as 'figure' and *y* as 'ground'. The 'path' refers to a course followed by the theme, of which there are different types: the origin point from where the theme is moving is referred to as 'source'; the endpoint of the theme's movement as 'goal'; when the theme moves in relation to some point in the interior of the path, this is the 'route'; and finally, 'direction' refers to spatial, temporal and deictic direction. Locative phrases as peripheral arguments are generally marked by prepositions. Like most Oceanic languages (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002: 51), Ughele has a small set of prepositions (10.1), and other peripheral arguments are expressed by complex constructions involving a local noun heading a relational construction being modified by a preposition (10.2). Deictic location and direction are expressed through locational adverbs (10.3), a small set of demonstratives expressing personal deixis (10.4), and serialized verbs (10.5).

10.1 Simple PPs

Ughele has a small set of prepositions, a locative preposition *pa*, a directional and locative relative preposition *ko*, and the possessive prepositions *ta* and *taga*. Constructions involving *ta* and *taga* were described in Chapter 9. Both *pa* and *ko* are used to express a range of different meanings. All prepositions precede the NP being part of the PP. *Pa* expresses location in time (see 11.1.1) and space. It covers meanings that would have to be translated by the use of several different prepositions in English, such as 'in' (184), 'from' (185), and 'at' (186).

(184) *(..) meke mai kaduvu* ***pa*** *Munda ia.*
and come arrive LOC M. PRO:3SG
'(..) and he arrived in Munda.'

(*Ghinorena linotu pa Ughele*, 020, nar)

(185) *Na kutu pila ghovete kaloa nana*
COMM rat DEM:SG run leave SBJ:3SG

pa *vanua.*
LOC house
'This rat ran away from the house.'

(*Ratatouille*, 091, nar)

(186) *Ko rie* ***pa*** *vanua.*
stay PRO:3PL LOC house
'They were staying at home.'

(*Ratatouille*, 003, nar)

Pa encodes the relation between theme and goal in (184), theme and source in (185), and theme and location in (186). The addresseee of an utterance must know from the context or spatial information encoded in the verbs used (see 10.5), which relation *pa* refers to. *Pa* gives no information as to whether the theme is in relation to a location or a path, and in the latter case, whether the path is a goal or a source. Furthermore, *pa* does not specify the topographic configuration of either the theme or the location/goal.

The relational preposition *ko* expresses the relation of a theme to a location (187), or goal (188).

(187) *Soghoru tata* ***ko*** *na tazi-na.*
sit near DIR COMM sibling-ATTR:3SG
'He is sitting near his sibling.'

(*Loc sem*, 003, elic)

(188) *Rau site selu* ***ko*** *ghoi lao pa Egholo.*
PRO:1SG IRR follow DIR PRO:2SG go LOC E.
'I will go with you to Egholo (lit. I will follow you to Egholo).'
(*Elic. 16.10.07*, 001, elic)

As is the case with *pa*, *ko* does not specify whether the theme is in relation to a location or a path.The meaning of *ko* is less general than that of *pa*, however. The theme is either in relation to a location or to a path that can only be a goal.Where the theme is in a relation with a location, *ko* encodes that it is in the vicinity of it, never on top of it, under it or in any other topographic configuration with respect to the location.

As the two prepositions there are in Ughele have very general meanings, more specific information about spatial relation is encoded in other parts of speech, mainly by means of nominal relational constructions (10.2) and verbs (10.5), the latter often as part of verb serializations.

10.2 Local nouns and relational constructions

According to Levinson (2003: 102), spatial nominals tend to belong to a minor form class cross-linguistically. Oceanic languages generally have three subclasses of nouns: proper, common and local, but Ughele has no lexical class of local nouns. There is a class of derived local nouns and it is the constructions they can occur in that make them local nouns. Local nouns in Ughele can be defined as the class of nouns that can be the head of what will be referred to as a relational construction here, following Ross (2004b: 190). A relational construction is a type of direct possessive construction (for a description of direct possessive constructions, see 9.2) in which a local noun, referring to a relational location, is marked by an attributive suffix pronoun which agrees in number and person with the entity something is located in relation to.

local noun	-attributive suffix	(noun)
relation	location/path	(location/path)

As is the case for inalienable possessive constructions in general, the pronominal suffix may be the only reference to the possessor in a relational construction (189), or there may be a co-referential possessor noun, following the possessum noun, as in (190).

(189) *Beto meke a-ia lao loka nana*
finish and FOC-PRO:3SG go wait SBJ:3SG

pa ***vura-na.***
LOC outside-ATTR:3SG
'And she went and waited outside.'

(*Sologou*, 100, nar)

(190) *Soghoru pa* ***kenu-na tevolo.***
sit LOC front-ATTR:3SG table
'He is sitting in front of the table.'

(*Loc sem*, 010, elic)

Relational constructions may code intrinsic frame of reference, as in (190)-(192).

(191) *Voze ghore pa kolo na vineki ghore*
paddle descend LOC river COMM girl descend

lao pa ***vura-na kolo.***
go LOC exit-ATTR:3SG river
'She paddled down the river towards the river mouth.'

(*Event integration*, E8, elic)

(192) *Soghoru nana pa kapa-na ia mamago*
sit SBJ:3SG LOC beside-ATTR:3SG PRO:3SG picture

pu ko nana pa ***mudi-na ia.***
REL be SBJ:3SG LOC behind-ATTR:3SG PRO:3SG
'It is sitting beside the picture which is in the back.'

(*Solabration photo set*, 019 3/3, elic)

Intrinsic frame of reference is typically described by nouns, and as seems to be a cross-linguistic tendency (Levison 2003: 105), many nouns referring to intrinsic reference are also names of human and animal body parts, such as

mudi ‘back’ in (192). See 7.1.2 for a description of local nouns. Relational constructions are widespread in Oceanic languages, often as complements to prepositions (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002: 51), and also reconstructed for Proto Oceanic (Ross 2004b: 184). As seen above in (189), relational constructions may also refer to the relative frame of reference. According to Levison (2003: 107), terms referring to relative frame of reference are often extensions of terms used to refer to intrinsic frame of reference. That this holds in Ughele can be seen from the use of *vura* in (189) and (191). *Vura* has intrinsic frame of reference and refers to a part of the river in (191), whereas it has relative frame of reference and refers to the space outside a house in (189). Relational constructions resemble constructions with nominal attributives derived from adjectival verbs modifying nouns (see 7.5) in structure. Constructions involving the form *mudi* may seem particularly confusing as not only is the form used to refer to a body part, it is also shared by a nominal attributive (193) and local noun (194).

(193) *(..) si koba talotanga malao na*
IRR use.to sorry use.to COMM

koboru mudi-na *pi.*
child last-ATTR:3SG DEM:SG
‘(..) the last boy always felt sorry.’

(*Made koreo me tazina vineki*, 009, nar)

(194) *(..) me podalai-ni-a pele a-ia*
and start-TR-OBJ:3SG next FOC-PRO:3SG

agoro-na pa ***mudi-na*** ***sore*** *pi.*
above-ATTR:3SG LOC backside-ATTR:3SG canoe DEM:SG
‘(..) and next, I start with the upper part of this canoe’s rear end.’

(*Sore*, 013, nar)

However, the constructions differ in two important respects. In (193) the derived attributive *mudi* modifies the noun head *koboru* ‘child’, which it follows. In the relational construction in (194) the local noun *mudi* is modified by another NP *sore pi* ‘this canoe’ which it precedes.

10.3 Locational adverbs

There are two locative adverbs expressing deictic location, *tani* ‘here’ (195) and *paiza* ‘there’ (196).

(195) *(..) meke podalai* ***tani*** *na l<in>otu.*
and start here COMM <NOM>pray
'(..) and (they) established the denomination here.'

(*Ghinore na linotu pa Ughele*, 034, nar)

(196) *(..) meke ko dia* ***paiza*** *ka rua*
and be SBJ:3PL there CARD two

habili ko na bae.
bumphead.parrot.fish DIR COMM cave
'(..) and two bumphead parrot fish were (living) there in the cave.'

(*Ka rua habili lavata*, 009, nar)

The adverbs generally follow the verb complex. They may, however be fronted if marked for focus and thus precede the verb (197).

(197) *Beto me* ***paiza*** *eko rau.*
finish and there lie PRO:1SG
'And there I lay.'

(*Inuke taga rau pa zuda*, 023, nar)

There may be a coreferential PP and locative adverb in the same clause, as in (198)-(199).

(198) *(..) meke mai ke-kenu* ***pa Ughele tani*** *a-ia.*
and come RED-first LOC U. here FOC-PRO:3SG
'(..) and he came here to Ughele first.'

(*Ghinorena linotu pa Ughele*, 025, nar)

(199) *Lao rie* ***pa kiliniki paiza.***
go PRO:3PL LOC clinic there
'They went there to the clinic.'

(*Vinarimado*, 066, nar)

10.4 Demonstratives

Demonstratives represent another means to encode relative spatial location. They follow a system based on relative distance, and distinguish between near (proximal), intermediate and distal with respect to a reference point, which in most cases is the speaker or addressee. This system is one of two common demonstrative systems in Oceanic languages, the other being based on person (Ross 2004b: 177). See 7.4 for more information abou demonstratives.

10.5 Verbs expressing direction and location

10.5.1 Verbs expressing location

The most general verb used to denote the location of both animate (200) and non-animate (201) entities is the existential verb *ko* 'be'.

(200) *Rau* ***ko*** *pa agoro-na meke (..)*
PRO:1SG be LOC above-ATTR:3SG and
'I was staying in the top (of a tree) and (..)'

(*Inuke taga rau pa zuda*, 011, nar)

(201) *(..) zoku vuaseni site* ***ko*** *ia pa vanua meke (..)*
many year IRR be PRO:3SG LOC house and
'(..) it will stay in the house for many years and (..)'

(*Boboro*, 027, nar)

When used to denote location, *ko* simply expresses that its argument is located somewhere, and gives no information about the theme or its configuration with respect to the location. The corresponding derived causative *va-ko* means 'put', and gives no information about the properties or configuration of either theme or goal.

(202) *Beto me paiza si lao rie* ***va-ko-a.***
finish and there IRR go PRO:3PL CAUS-be-OBJ:3SG
'And they would go and put her there.'

(*Vinarimado*, 089, nar)

(203) *(..) polo* ***va-ko-a*** *rie tokoro bo polo (..)*
if CAUS-be-OBJ:3SG PRO:3PL taboo testicle if
'(..) if they put a testicle taboo (on it) (then) if (..)'

(*Tokoro*, 003, nar)

(202) describes a woman who dies and is buried by her father and husband, and (203) describes a taboo being put on a tree or a piece of land.
A small set of posture verbs that is used to denote human and animal posture is often also used to denote the location of non-animate entities, encoding infomation about the properties of the theme referent and the configuration of the theme with respect to the location (Levinson 2003: 103, Newman 2002). Hellwig (2003) and Frostad (2006) argue that the use of posture verbs to denote the location and configuration of non-animate entities is a metaphorical extension of their use to denote animate posture. Verbs used to denote animate sitting, standing, lying and hanging, in particular, are used in this sense cross-linguistically (Newman 2002, Hellwig 2003, Frostad 2006), and also in Ughele. The verb *sake* 'sit' is used both to denote human (204) and other animate (205) posture and the location of non-animate entities (206).

(204) *Beto na mamaneke ia* ***sake*** *va-ko*
finish COMM woman PRO:3SG sit CAUS-be

nana pa ulu.
SBJ:3SG LOC top
'The woman sat still in the (tree) top.'

(*Sologou*, 069, nar)

(205) *Na igol* ***sake*** *pa ka-ike kakabele zuda meke (..)*
COMM eagle sit LOC one RED-branch tree and
'An eagle is sitting on a tree branch and (..)'

(*Where are you*, 034, elic)

(206) *Na tevolo pa korapa vanua*
COMM table LOC inside house

sake *nana na bokese.*
sit SBJ:3SG comm box
'A box is sitting on the table inside the house.'

(*Caused pos.*, 27, elic)

Whereas the posture verb *soghoru* 'sit' may only encode the posture of animate subject referents (207)-(208).

(207) *(..) meke* ***soghoru*** *se-sena rie ka ru.*
and sit RED-eat PRO:3PL CARD two
'(..) and the two (of them) sit (down) and eat.'

(*Vinasibi*, 018, nar)

(208) *Le korapa na kutu pila* ***soghoru*** *meke (..)*
so continue COMM rat DEM:SG sit and
'The rat was sitting and (..)'

(*Ratatouille*, 044, nar)

Sake is used to denote the location and configuration of relatively compact entities, which are not considered to be elongated vertically or horizontally. The verbs *turu* 'stand' and *eko* 'lie' are used to describe the location and configuration of entities that are elongated vertically and horizontally, respectively. *Turu* 'stand' denotes animate posture (209) and non-animate entities with a vertical elongation, such as a tree (210).

(209) *(..) korapa* ***turu*** *meke vari-vivinei rie ka ru.*
continue stand and DISTR-tell PRO:3PL CARD two
'(..) the two (of them) are standing (and) chatting.'

(*Ratatouille*, 016, nar)

(210) *Pa kapa kolo kaike zuda lavata*
LOC side river one tree big

turu *kapa nana.*
stand side SBJ:3SG
'A big tree is standing by the river side.'

(*Where Are You?*, 043, elic)

Eko 'lie' denotes animate posture (211) and the location and configuration of enitites with a horizontal elongation (212).

(211) *Na ragheze* ***eko*** *nana ia*
comm crocodile lie SBJ:3SG PRO:3SG

mamanga va-ko na ghuju-na.
open CAUS-be COMM mouth-ATTR:3SG
'A crocodile is lying (with) his mouth open.'

(*Solabration*, 001, elic)

(212) *Ka rua zeke* ***eko*** *dia rie.*
CARD two ax.used.for.headhunting lie SBJ:3PL PRO:3PL
'Two axes are lying (there).'

(*Solabration*, 005, elic)

The verb *rodo* 'hang' is used to denote suspended items (213).

(213) *(..) pa kaike kakabelena na zuda site*
LOC one RED-branch-ATTR:3SG COMM tree small

rodo *nana kaike vori sirado lavata*
hang SBJ:3SG one nest wasp big
'(..) on the branch of a small tree hangs a huge wasp nest.'

(*Where Are You?*, 022, elic)

10.5.2 Serialized verbs expressing direction and location

As described in 15.2.6-15.2.7 and 15.3.5, one of the many functions of verbs with a modifying function in serial verb constructions is to mark spatial and deictic direction and location. The motion and direction verbs *ghore* 'descend', *zae* 'ascend', *vura* 'exit', following the head verb of a nuclear or

core SVC have absolute frame of reference. They mark either spatial direction (214) or location (215).

(214) *Dodoru na eo pa Ughele pi* ***tatava zae***
all COMM megapode LOC U. DEM:SG fly ascend

rie lao tu pa oka pioi me (..)
PRO:3PL go EMPH LOC sky DEM:SG and
'All the megapodes in Ughele here flew up into the sky (lit. (and) went to the sky there and (..)'[12]

(*Takumata eo*, 009, nar)

(215) *(..) meke na meki ta ia* ***eko sake zae***
and COMM dog POSS PRO:3SG lie sit ascend

lao *ko na logu.*
go DIR COMM sheet
'(..) and his dog is lying up on the bed.'

(*Frog, 'Where Are You?'*, 003, elic)

The two verbs *mai* 'come' (216) and *lao* 'go' as the final verb in a nuclear or core SVC mark deictic direction.

(216) *(..) le* ***voze pulese mai*** *ghami mana (..)*
so paddle return come PRO:1PL.EXCL but
'(..) so we paddled back but (..)'

[12] As can be seen from this example, there is a certain overlap between the use demonstratives and locative adverbs.

(*Inuke taga rau pa zuda*, 032, nar)

(217) *(..) me kakea koreo* ***ghore*** ***lao*** *pa Berosi meke (..)*
and some boy descend go LOC B. and
'(..) and some boys went down to Berosi and (..)'

(*Aku*, 004, nar)

The functions and positions of verbs with similar meanings in SVCs are widespread across Oceanic languages, and Ross (2004a: 311-314) shows how direction marking verbs in SVCs have grammaticalized into post-verbal directional clitics in some Oceanic languages.

10.6 *Vei* 'where'

There is one interrogative noun referring to location in space, namely *vei* 'where'. As will be seen in Chapters 17 and 18, both the noun and its homophonous verb can be predicates of clauses. *Vei* as a peripheral argument is always clause-initial. It may (220)-(221) or may not (218)-(219) be modified by the preposition *pa*. It is uncertain what conditions the persence of the preposition.

(218) ***Vei*** *lao ghamu? ghua ia.*
where go PRO:2PL say PRO:3SG
'Where are you going? he said.'

(*Aku*, 006, nar)

(219) ***Vei*** *doghor-i-a ghoi, ghua lao rie.*
where see-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:2SG say go PRO:3PL
'Where did you see him, they said.'

(*Sologou*, 268, nar)

(220) ***Pa vei*** *mai mu ghoi?*
LOC where come SBJ:2SG PRO:2SG
'Where are you coming from?'

(*Que.*, 001, elic)

(221) ***Pa vei*** *sena ghoi?*
LOC where get PRO:2SG
'Where did you get (her)? By the well.'

(*Sologou*, 127, nar)

For a description of *vei* as a predicate in a clause, see Chapter 17.

10.7 Summary

The spatial relations between a theme and a location may be expressed by a simple PP indicating location, by a relational construction with a locative noun, by stative and directional verbs, and by the interrigative pronoun *vei* 'where'.

11 Temporal expressions

Temporal expressions in Ughele are expressed by nouns. They modify NPs or clauses as external arguments with or without prepositions, and may be modified by demonstratives. Nouns expressing location and direction in time are described in 11.1, temporal adverbial clauses are described in 11.2, and temporal adverbs in 11.3. Relational constructions expressing time are described in 11.1.2. The interrogative noun *kamuza* 'when' is analyzed in 11.4.

11.1 Nouns with temporal reference

A frequent means to express a location in time is by the generic noun *totozo* 'time' modified by a relative clause (222), as will be seen in 11.1.2. In such constructions, *totozo* may best be translated to English using the interrogative pronoun *when*.

(222) [***Totozo*** [*lao* *rau* *zuvu* *virolai* *rau* *pa* *dodoru*
time go PRO:1SG dive around PRO:1SG LOC all

lobe *tilingi*]$_{\text{REL.CL}}$]$_{\text{Periph.NP}}$ *lao* *rau* *doghor-i* *kakea* *zaghauru*
water salt go PRO:1SG see-OBJ:3PL some coral

ta *ghita* *vae-na* *ka* *lea-di*
POSS PRO:1PL.EXCL like-ATTR:3SG neg good-ATTR:3SG

'When I went diving all around in the sea, I noticed (lit. started to see) that some of our coral (reefs) seemed not to be in good shape (lit. were like no good).'

(*Na liniana ta na saghauru*, 007, nar)

Other nouns referring to units of time are *vuaseni* 'year', *zidara* 'month', *vuiki* 'week', *aoa* 'hour', and *miniti* 'minute'. The three latter nouns are loans from English or SIP. In addition to these, Ughele has four nouns referring to the times of the day. They follow the taxonomy described in Ross (2003: 289) for expressions for times of the day in Oceanic languages, with separate taxa for night and daytime and three subdivisions for daytime.

Night	*suriki*	
Daytime	- Morning	*vavagaza*
	- Day/mid-day	*madighe*

- Afternoon *vevelu*

English names for week days are used, and no such terms are attested in Ughele. Naming systems based on lunar months exist in several Oceanic languages, but are more common in Micronesia and Polynesia than Melanesia (Ross 2003: 287). Ughele has had a set of expressions for lunar months, consultants report, but most of the Ughele lunar month expressions seem to have been lost, as the English calendriar month names have taken over. Ross (2003: 287) reports that naming systems based on lunar month in Oceanic languages are less arbitrary than month names in the Gregorian calendar, and that the lunar months names often have a recognizable meaning. Three lunar month names occur in the Ughele corpus. *Gharumu kara* 'November' and *gharumu leana* 'December' were translated as 'the month of the sea crabs' and 'the month of the land crabs', respectively. It is uncertain whether the expressions themselves reflect their given translations. There is a possibility that the noun *gharumu* 'land crab' might be used with a generic reference to crabs of both types, and that *gharumu kara* and *gharumu leana* refer to species of crabs. There is also a possibility that *leana* 'good' in the second expression is used to express the fact that land crabs are particularly plentiful or particularly good for eating during this period. The noun *kara*, which by itself is only attested with the meaning 'parrot', does not seem to be part of the first explanatory expression, unless it is part of the name of a crab species. *Tabuna* is translated with 'May', and whether it has any other meaning is uncertain. As in many Oceanic languages, the generic noun meaning 'month' *zidara* also means 'moon'.

The following nouns used to express distances in time measured by days are found in the corpus:

ngetoi	'two days before yesterday'
reporoi	'the day before yesterday'
parai	'yesterday'
nginoroi	'today'
vugho	'tomorrow'
repere	'the day after tomorrow'

Ross (2003: 322) reports that several Oceanic languages have expressions meaning 'two days after tomorrow". No equivalent expression is found in the corpus for Ughele, which on the other hand, contains the noun *ngetoi* meaning 'two days before yesterday'. There is a significant similarity between the two forms *repere* 'the day after tomorrow' and *reporoi* 'the day before yesterday', but further research is required to determine whether they have developed from the same root historically. Other nouns indicating deictic directed distance are *kapiri* 'now' and *mudi* 'later'. *Mudi* 'later' also refers to the body part 'back', and it is homonymous with the local noun *mudi* and the adjectival verb *mudi*, both of which can be translated with

'behind'. The only noun found in the corpus used to indicate vague (non-deictic) directed distance in time is *vizoroi* '(in) the past'.

11.1.1 NPs and PPs

NPs headed by nouns expressing direction and location in time, as peripheral arguments (adjuncts) of clauses, do not need to carry a locative marker in the form of a preposition, although they may have one. (223) shows an NP indicating duration of time, (224) vague directed distance in time, and (225)-(226) deictic distance in time. The nouns take nominal modifiers, such as numerals (223) and demonstratives (225)-(226).

(223) ***Ngeta madighe*** *va-dada ghami ia.*
three day CAUS-sundry PRO:1PL.EXCL PRO:3SG
'For three days, we dry it in the sun.'

(*Pogasimono*, 006, nar)

(224) *A-ia sasanana* ***vizoroi.***
FOC-PRO:3SG habit past
'That was the habit in the past.'

(*Varizeke*, 032, nar)

(225) ***Kapiri pi*** *site gizo rau.*
now DEM:SG IRR sing PRO:1SG
'Now, I will sing.'

(*Sologou*, 170, nar)

(226) *Meke* ***nginoroi pi*** *rie ka ru*
and today DEM PRO:3PL CARD two

ikana Ughele rie korapa ko dia
person U. PRO:3PL continue be SBJ:3PL

pa zidara.
LOC moon
'And to this day, the two men from Ughele, they remain on the moon.'

(*Zae iburu*, 012, nar)

NPs with temporal reference that are not modified by prepositions are more frequent than temporal PPs. It is uncertain what motivates the use of prepositions in temporal expressions. For instance, it is unclear in what way the use of *vizoroi* in (224) differs from that of *pa vizoroi* in (228). PPs with the preposition *pa* may be used to express location in space (see 10.1), and also in time (227)-(228).

(227) ***Pa vevelu nginoroi pila*** *rau hiva*
LOC evening today DEM:PL PRO:1SG want

vivinei-ni-a ghughuana tusa medarai.
tell-TR-OBJ:3SG method fish.with.pole fish.species
'This evening I would like to tell you about a method to fish medarai with a pole.'

(*Tusa medarai*, 001, nar)

(228) *Pila kaike namu ta-tavete ko rie* ***pa vizoroi.***
DEM.SG one food PASS-do DIR PRO:3PL LOC past
'This was a dish made for them in the past.'

(*Kodo*, 002, nar)

11.1.2 Relational constructions with *totozo* 'time'

As noted before, a relational construction (Ross 2004b: 190) is a type of direct possessive construction (for a description of direct possessive constructions, see 9.2) in which a local noun is marked by an attributive suffix pronoun which agrees in number and person with the entity something is located with relation to. Relational constructions with local nouns referring to spatial location were described in 10.2. Relational constructions can also be headed by the local noun *totozo* 'time' (229)-(230), which seems to be the only derived local noun referring to time. The constructions are part of temporal PPs.

(229) *(..)* ***pa totozo-na*** *ia totozo ta na ure sipala.*
LOC time-ATTR:3SG PRO:3SG time POSS COMM fruit bush.apple
'(..) at this time it was the time of the bush apple (fruit)s.'

(*Inuke taga rau pa zuda*, 007, nar)

(230) *Beto ia ko l<in>otu tani podalai zoku-di tughu*
finish PRO:3SG be <NOM>pray here start all-ATTR:3PL also

rie kiza ma-maroke raku bapatazu
PRO:3PL all RED-old.man join baptise

***ko na totozo-na** ia.*
DIR COMM time-ATTR:3SG PRO:3SG

'After the religion was established here, all the old men joined (to be) baptized at that time.'

(*Ghinorena linotu pa Ughele*, 035-36, nar)

11.2 Temporal adverbial clauses

As will be seen in Chapter 22, adverbial clauses with the verb *beto* 'finish' as the initial verb in core layer serial verb constructions are used to indicate relative location in time (231).

(231) [*Beto ghami paleke mai-ni-a pa*
finish PRO:1PL.EXCL carry come-TR-OBJ:3SG LOC

vanua]$_{ADV.CL}$ *lao ghami pai-ni-a*
house go PRO:1PL.EXCL throw-TR-OBJ:3SG

sikana okete.
skin ngali.nut

'After we carry them (lit. it) home, we start to skin the ngali nuts.'

(*Pogasimono*, 003, nar)

11.3 Temporal adverbs

Ughele has several temporal adverbs, listed in 5.7.1. Some are homophonous with the nouns listed in 11.1. Temporal adverbs can also be derived from the adjectival verbs *kenu* and *mudi* by means of reduplication. They may be used to express deictic direction in time. *Kekenu*, derived from *kenu* 'first', can be used in the sense of 'early' (232).

(232) *Mai* ***ke-kenu!***
come RED-first
'Come early!'

(*Elic. 17.10.07*, 002, elic)

Similarly, *mumudi*, derived from *mudi* 'last', can be used as 'late' (233).

(233) *Mai* ***mu-mudi.***
come RED-late
'S/he comes late.'

(*Not. 16.10.07*, 061, elic)

However, the occurrences of the said adverbs are limited to a few elicited sentences in the data.

11.4 *Kamuza* 'when'

The interrogative pronoun *kamuza* 'when' is infrequent in the data. As a peripheral argument, it is always clause-initial (234). There are no examples in the corpus of *kamuza* modified by a preposition.

(234) ***Kamuza*** *site mai ghoi?*
when IRR come PRO:2SG
'When are you coming?'

(*Not. 16.10.07*, 063, elic)

For the use of *kamuza* as a predicate, see Chapter 17.

11.5 Summary

Temporal expressions may consist of nouns with temporal reference, NPs expressing location or direction in time, relational constructions with *totozo* 'time', temporal adverbial clauses, temporal adverbs and the interrogative pronoun *kamuza* 'when'.

12 Simple verbs

Verbs were defined as a word class in Ughele in Chapter 5. Chapters 12-15 concern morphemes related to the verb complex, including the verb roots themselves. Verbs in Ughele may occur as single stems or they may serialize. They take derivational affixes, and aspect, mood and person marking in the form of clitics and free-standing morphemes. Simple verbs in Ughele may consist of a single, underived stem or have derivational affixes. Verbs in Ughele may undergo causative (12.2.1), distributive (12.2.2) or passive (12.2.3) derivations, and they may form serial verb constructions on the nuclear and core layer of the clause structure. This chapter describes verb stems, before moving on to person marking in Chapter 13, and aspect and mood marking in Chapter 14, and verb serialization in 15. As will be seen in 12.4, no straightforward distinction between one lexical class of transitive and one of intransitive verbs can be made in Ughele The same form may occur as transitive in one clause and intransitive in another without having undergone any valence-changing derivation or carrying a transitive marking morpheme. A subgroup of adjectival verbs can distinguished from other verbs in Ughele based on which derivations the verbs may undergo.

When predicating transitive clauses verbs rarely occur without object agreement marking suffixes (see 13.1), and may carry either of the transitive suffixes *–i* or *–ni* (see 12.4). Subject agreement marking morphemes only occur under special circumstances (see 13.2-13.3, 14.1.3, 24.4 and 25.3.6). Aspect and mood may be marked on the verb complex by particles (14.1) or verbs in serial verb constructions (14.2). Modality is expressed by modal verbs in serial verb constructions (see 15.3.3).

12.1 Adjectival verbs

Ross (1998: 236) describes three types of adjectives found in Oceanic languages. A language may have a class of adjectives proper, distinct from nouns and verbs, or adjectives as a subclass of either nouns or verbs. The latter case is true for Ughele. Adjectival verbs differ from other stative verbs, such as *ko* ‘be/stay’, *ghilana* ‘know’, and *soghoru* ‘sit’, in two respects. They may be derived to form attributive nominal modifiers, as described in 7.5. Adjectival verbs function like all other stative verbs when used as predicates. First, they undergo verbal derivation. Like other intransitive verbs, adjectival verbs may undergo causative derivation by means of the causative prefix *va-* (see 12.2.1). (235) shows the adjectival verb *manighi* ‘be hot’ and (236) its corresponding derived causative verb.

(235) *Egho, pa vanua rau*
OK loc house pro:1sg

me ***manighi*** *le mai eko ghua tani*
and be.hot so come lie say here

pana eko malairi, ghua.
to lie cold say

'OK, I was in the house and (I) was warm so I came (and) lay down here to lie and cool down, say.'

(*Za tavetia ghoi?*, 003, nar)

(236) *(..) meke zulu-a rie onone*
and burn-OBJ:3SG PRO:3PL sand

va-manighi-a *rie.*
CAUS-be.hot-OBJ:3SG PRO:3PL

'(..) and they burn the sand (and) [they] warm it up.'

(*Inuke taga rau pa zuda*, 021, nar)

Second, adjectival verbs take verbal mood and aspect marking particles, such as the irrealis mood marking *site* (237).

(237) ***Site poje*** *me site sumanga sikare.*
IRR rot and IRR smell ugly

'(They) would rot and smell bad.'

(*Varizeke*, 043, nar)

Finally, adjectival verbs form part of serial verb constructions (238), as described in Chapter 15.

(238) [*Lao soru* ***ukalai-ni-au***]$_{SVC}$ *rau me (..)*
go jump be.over-TR-OBJ:1SG PRO:1SG and

'(They) started to jump over me and (..)'

(*Inuke taga rau pa zuda*, 019, nar)

12.2 Verb derivational prefixes

For the most part, derivational processes involve a change in valency. There are three derivational prefixes, the causative prefix *va-*, the distributive prefix *vari-*, and the passive prefix *ta-*. As will be seen in Sections 12.2.1 and 12.2.2 below, verbs derived by means of *va-* and *vari-* may be part of constructions that differ semantically and structurally, and do not always involve a change in valence. Verbs may undergo multiple derivations. (239) shows the verb *mate* 'die' with passive and causative derivational morphology.

(239) *Polo eongo polo ghua na*
if massacre if say COMM

ligomo pioi dodoru site ***ta-va-mate.***
spirit DEM:SG all IRR PASS-CAUS-die
'In the case of a massacre, if the spirit says so, then everything would be killed.'

(*Varizeke*, 036, nar)

12.2.1 The causative prefix *va-*

The primary function of the causative prefix *va-* is to derive transitive morphological causative verbs (241)-(243) from change of state (240) or state (242) verbs. The underlying verbs will generally be intransitive when used alone. This derivation is highly productive.

(240) *(..) meke ngusu na nini meke* ***mate.***
and drown COMM giant and die
'(..) and the giant drowned and died.'

(*Ka rua koboru sali nuli*, 054, nar)

(241) *Aria, mada* ***va-mate-a*** *na nini,*
hurry let CAUS-die-OBJ:3SG COMM giant

ghua rie ka ru.
say PRO:3PL CARD two
'Hurry, let's kill the giant, said the two.'

(*Ka rua koboru sali nuli*, 021, nar)

(242) *(..) meke rie ngeta maneke* ***ko*** *dia.*
and PRO:3PL three mother.and.child be SBJ:3PL
'(..) and the three, mother and children, stayed (behind).'

(*Kelko Bakua meke Jiro Vore*, 004, nar)

(243) *(..) meke* ***va-ko-i*** *pa koimua sore*
and CAUS-be-OBJ:3PL LOC bow canoe

beto meke (..)
finish and
'(..) and they put them in the bow of the canoe and (..)'

(*Varizeke*, 041, nar)

Actions denoted by derived causatives do not necessarily involve a high degree of intentionality on the part of the actor involved, or a high degree of agentivity, if you will. The derived causative verb *vamate* 'kill' (241) involves less agentivity than the lexically causative verb *zeke* 'murder' (244).

(244) *(..) meke gura* ***zeke-a*** *rie ka ru*
and can murder-OBJ:3SG PRO:3PL CARD two

Kuripitu meke bao ia rie ka ru.
K. and spear PRO:3SG PRO:3PL CARD two
'(..) and the two managed to kill Kuripitu and they speared him.'

(*Vario*, 015, nar)

There are a few examples of derived causative verbs with underlying verbs denoting other types of events than changes of state. Motion verbs, such as *ghore* 'descend', are common underlying verbs.

(245) *(..) meke* ***va-ghore-a*** *na gatona meke (..)*
and CAUS-descend-OBJ:3SG COMM arm.ring and
'(..) and he took off the arm ring and (..)'

(*Vagho*, 016, nar)

There are also a few examples in the corpus of causative verbs derived from verbs that generally predicate transitive clauses, such as the verb *bei* 'drink', resulting in the morphological causative *va-bei* 'make someone drink'. (246) shows a ditransitive clause with a PP referring to the indirect object.

(246) *(..) meke* ***va-bei-ni-a*** *ko rie koboru*
and CAUS-drink-TR-OBJ:3SG DIR PRO:3PL child

moso.
sick
'(..) and make the sick children drink it.'

(*Kevin's tree guide*, 026, nar)

The children, the actor of the underlying transitive verb, is a peripheral argument in the clause with the derived causative verb, expressed by a PP.

As documented for many other Oceanic languages (Verkerk and Frostad 2013), the causative prefix *va-* also has other functions than deriving morphological causative verbs in Ughele. It will be seen in Chapter 15 that causative adjectival verbs may have an adverbial-like function in serial verb constructions, indicating the manner in which the event denoted by the construction as a whole is carried out. Combined with the nominal infix *–in-*, the prefix *va-* also derives ordinal numerals from cardinal ones (see 7.6).

12.2.2 The distributive prefix *vari-*

The prefix *vari-* derives what will be referred to here as distributive verbs. The underlying verb of all derived distributional verbs is transitive. Most verbs derived by *vari-* denote typical reciprocal situations, in which the object of the underlying verb is the undergoer (247), whereas the subject and object are both the actor and undergoer in the corresponding distributive verb (248).

(247) *(..) lao ia* ***dongo-ni-a*** *tu na lobe*
go PRO:3SG see-TR-OBJ:3SG EMPH COMM water

tu pila na mamagona
EMPH DEM:SG COMM image

ko na mamaneke (..)
DIR COMM woman
'(..) she started to see a mirror image of a woman in the water (..)'

(*Sologou*, 079, nar)

(248) *Na koreo meke na mamaneke pire*
COMM man and COMM woman DEM:PL

turu ***vari-dongo-i*** *rie ka ru meke(..)*
stand DISTR-see-OBJ:3PL PRO:3PL CARD two and
'This man and woman are standing looking at each other and (..)'
(*Rec.*, 33, elic)

Semantically, events expressed by a verb derived by means of *vari-* may be simultaneous (249) or sequential (250).

(249) ***Vari-tiai*** *ghamu pa Lokoru meke*
DISTR-meet PRO:2PL LOC L. and

ghami pa Ughele pa Muda
PRO:1PL.EXCL LOC U. LOC M.

vuiki lao ia.
week go PRO:3SG
'You in Lokoru and we in Ughele met in Munda last week.'
(*Not. 20.12.07*, 01, elic)

(250) *Ka ngeta vineki di* ***vari-kao*** *ghutu.*
CARD three girl SBJ:3PL DISTR-look louse
'The three girls are delousing each other.'
(*Rec.*, 063, elic)

The construction in (249) expresses a situation in which the participants engage simultaneously in a symmetric action, a prototypical reciprocal construction (Evans forthc.). The villagers of one village, Lokoru, and those of another, Ughele, meet each other simultaneously. The construction in (250) has a different temporal setting. Three girls are delousing each other, changing who is delousing and who is deloused sequentially.

Constructions with *vari-* may denote both symmetric and asymmetric situations. The construction in (251) is ambiguous.

(251) ***Vari-selu-i*** *ka rua vaka.*
DISTR-follow-OBJ:3SG CARD two ship
'The two ships are following/chasing each other.'
(*Not. 20.12.07*, 04, elic)

The construction can either describe an asymmetric situation in which the one ship appears behind another sailing together, or a sequential situation parallel to (250) in which two ships are chasing each other, overtaking one another from time to time. The construction in (251) may express different temporal settings and both asymmetric and symmetric situations. The constructions cannot denote a situation in which only one participant is the undergoer and another the actor, such as (252), which is denoted by an underived transitive verb. In (252), Pastor Jones chases the girl and the two participants are not understood to move together, like the ships in (251).

(252) *A-ia ene* ***selu-a*** *Pastor Jones (..)*
FOC-PRO:3SG walk follow-OBJ:3SG P. J.
'It was her Pastor Jones followed (lit. chased / came for) (..)'
(*Ghinorena linotu pa Ughele*, 015, nar)

Verbs derived by means of *vari-* may also occur with only one argument expressed when it is understood from the context that more than one participant was involved. The verb *saba* 'marry' with the distributive prefix is commonly used to describe that someone is married. It is entailed that the marriage involves a reciprocal situation with two participants, and not one.

(253) *Rau lea* ***vari-saba.***
PRO:1SG PRF DISTR-marry
'I am married (lit. I have married).'
(*Introducing Vili Lianga*, 04, nar)

Verbs derived by means of *vari-* may also denote other situations that cannot be understood to be reciprocal, where the subject is not the undergoer and not affected by the action expressed in the verb. Instead of expressing

reciprocity, *vari-* then expresses that the undergoer represents several participants piled together in constructions such as (254).

(254) *(..) meke poga* ***vari-ghara-ni*** *ghami.*
and pound DISTR-gather-TR PRO:1PL.EXCL
'(..) and we pound it together (and thereby mix it).'
(*Kodo*, 012, nar)

One might say that rather than expressing reciprocity, *vari-* marks that several participants are acting or are acted upon together. Situations similar to (254) above are expressed by verbs derived with *vari-* in neighbouring languages, motivating the use of another term than 'reciprocal' for *vari-* constructions. *Vari-* constructions are thus referred to as 'mutual' in Kokota (Palmer 1993: 193) and 'distributive' in Roviana (Corston-Oliver 2002: 481). The latter term is used in this thesis.

12.2.3 The passive prefix *ta-*

The prefix *ta-* derives passive verbs from underlying transitive verbs. The passive is intransitive and has one core argument representing the undergoer. Most passives correspond to what are considered prototypical or basic passives in the typological literature (Shibatani 1985 and Keenan et al. 2007). They are derived from transitive, agentive verbs and it is understood that the event denoted by the passive verb is brought about by an external actor, which is not expressed in the clause. The passive derivation reduces the number of arguments by eliminating the actor and making the undergoer the subject. (255) shows the underived verb *tome* 'hide'. The object expressed by an object clitic and the NP *na ighana* 'fish' is the undergoer.

(255) *(..) me site lao ia* ***tome-a*** *na*
and IRR go PRO:3SG hide-OBJ:3SG COMM

ighana pana poni-a na tazi-na
fish because feed-OBJ:3SG COMM sibling-POSS:3SG

ia pi.
PRO:3SG DEM:SG
'(..) and he would go and hide some fish to feed this sister of his.'
(*Made koreo me tazina vineki*, 008, nar)

(256) shows the corresponding derived passive verb. There is no actor, and the subject represents the undergoer.

(256) *Na poata* ***ta-tome*** *pa agoro tevolo.*
COMM shell.money PASS-hide LOC under table
'The shell money was hidden under the table.'
(*Adpositions and cases*, 516a, elic)

In most passive clauses A (the transitive subject of the corresponding transitive verb) is defocused and not mentioned. Semantically, A may be an agent proper, as in (256), or have another role, such as experiencer (257).

(257) *(..) meke* ***ta-doghoro*** *Aleni rane hope.*
and PASS-see A. day holy
'(..) and Aleni was seen on the Sabbath.'
(*Aleni*, 004, nar)

In the examples above the situations expressed all involve an A not expressed in the clause. Derived passive verbs may also denote situations in which there is no understood A involved at all, such as (258), which describes a situation in which the subject referent is not able to recover from an illness.

(258) *(..) meke kai gura ta-zalanga*
and NEG can PASS-heal
pa Solomon.
LOC S.
'(..) and he could not get well in the Solomons.'
(*Ghinore na linotu pa Ughele*, 006, nar)

12.3 Reduplication of verbs

Reduplication of the initial syllable of verbs may derive nouns from verbs (as described in 7.1.4), or it may have an intensifying function, as in (259) and (260).

(259) *(..) meke lao* ***ta-taraza*** *lao tughu*
and go RED-destroy go also

mago ta rie.
spirit POSS PRO:3PL
'(..) and they went ahead and completely destroyed their idols too.'

(*Varizeke*, 031, nar)

(260) *Ikana* ***gu-gura*** *tiro va-leana tughu*
person RED-can read CAUS-good also

na muziki pana gura iliri rie
COMM music so can translate PRO:3PL

na r<in>eka ta na g<in>izo
COMM <NOM>speak POSS COMM <NOM>sing

iliri lao-ni pa r<in>eka ipu, ghua.
translate go-TR LOC <NOM>speak REL say
'A person must really know how to read music too in order to be able to translate the lyrics of the songs [translating them] to a language, say.'

(*Vinailiri ghinizo pa rineka vaka lao pa rineka Ughele*, 008, nar)

There are also a few examples of full reduplication of two-syllable verb roots with the same intensifying functions as shown above.

(261) ***Va-ghesi-ghesi*** *ghighiri-ni-a ghami*
CAUS-RED-proud very-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:1PL.EXCL

mami botu Luma Lilisi.
POSS:1PL.EXCL hill L. L.
'We are very proud of our mountain Luma Lilisi.'

(*Luma Lilisi*, 022, nar)

It is unclear whether or to what extent constructions with a full reduplication of a two-syllable verb differ from the more common constructions with reduplication of the initial syllable.

12.4 Transitivity and transitive marking

No clear-cut distinction can be made between classes of lexically transitive and lexically intransitive verbs. Many verbs may be used both as transitive and intransitive without additional morphology marking them as one or the other. (262) shows the verb *uke* 'fall' as transitive, with an object agreement marking suffix, and (263) shows the same verb as intransitive.

(262) *Ghevuzu* ***uke-a*** *ngosara ghele-na.*
wind fall-OBJ:3SG coconut long-ATTR:3SG
'The wind blew the long coconut palm over.'

(*Textb.*, 023, nar)

(263) *(..) me* ***uke*** *ghore rau.*
and fall descend PRO:1SG
'(..) and I fell down.'

(*Inuke taga rau pa zuda*, 015, nar)

There are two suffixes marking verbs as transitive, *–i* and *–ni*. As demonstrated above in (262), a transitive suffix is not compulsory for a verb to be transitive. The same verb form may appear in transitive clauses with (264) and without (265) a transitive suffix.

(264) *(..) meke* ***tome-ni-gho*** *ia ghoi.*
and hide-TR-OBJ:2SG PRO:3SG PRO:2SG
'[and] he hides you.'

(*Ngarupere*, 026, nar)

(265) *Ei, ghoi gharo* ***tome-a*** *ikana.*
EXCL PRO:2SG maybe hide-OBJ:3SG person
' Hey, maybe you're hiding a person.'

(*Sologou*, 113, nar)

In other words, *-i* and *-ni* do not derive transitive verbs from intransitive. Their function rather seems to be to mark semantic nuances in transitive situations, such as actor's control. The suffixes resemble reflexes of **-i* and **akin(i)* as reconstructed for Proto-Oceanic (POc) (Lynch 2002: 80-83) in other languages in form and function *–i* is a likely reflex of **-i* and *–ni* of **akin(i)* (thought the latter is less clear form-wise). According to Lynch (2002: 44) there is a tendency for objects of verbs suffixed by forms that are considered reflexes of **-i* to be patients. Objects of verbs marked as transitive by forms considered reflexes of **aki(ni)* tend to be locations, goals, instruments or causes, generally things that would be described by an oblique NP rather than a pronoun. Thus verbs marked by assumed reflexes of *–i are generally higher on the transitivity scale according to the criteria outlined in Hopper and Thompson (1980) than verbs marked by assumed reflexes of **aki(ni)*, and if the two transitivity markers in Ughele are reflexes of the POc forms one should expect to find the same tendencies in Ughele.

Both verbs marked as transitive by *–i* and by *–ni* occur with both inanimate and animate object referents, though the tendency to occur with animate object referents seem to be higher for verbs with *–i*, whereas verbs with *–ni* seem to occur mainly with inanimate referents. Generally situations described by verbs with *–i* involve a high degree of volition, and *-i* tends to occur on active verbs, whereas *–ni* tends to occur on stative verbs. However, these are just tendencies and there are exceptions. There are very few examples of the same verb form occurring with both transitive suffixes, and there might also be a possibility that the choice of transitive suffix is lexically determined.

The transitive suffix *–i* is rarely occurs without an object marking enclitic (266).

(266) ***Porak-i-a*** *na vineki na va-va-ko-aini havoro*
break-TR-OBJ:3SG COMM girl COMM RED-CAUS-stay-NOM flower
'The girl broke the flower wase.'

(*Event intergr.*, B1, elic)

A rare exception is (267). The underived form of the verb meaning to 'carry' is *paleke*. In the second instance of the derived transitive verb, the suffixed *–i* could have been a 3rd person object marker as the object refers to more than one entity, namely a set of arrows. In the first, however, the object has a single referent, a bow, and *–i* can not be analyzed as anything other than the transitive suffix. Moreover, the verb *paleke* is not attested with an object marker suffixed directly to the verb without any other transitive morphology.

(267) ***Palek-i*** *tughu ia na parika, palek-i na*
carry-TR EMPH PRO:3SG COMM bow carry-TR COMM

bughiri, beto meke en-ene ia kaike
arrow finish CONJ RED-walk PRO:3SG one

vavagaza meke (..)
morning and

'He took the bow, he took the arrows and then he walked out one morning and (..)'

(*Sologou*, 261, nar)

The transitive suffix *–ni* is usually followed by a object agreement marker, as shown below.

(268) *Na vineki* ***toka-ni-a*** *na koreo.*
COMM girl help-TR-OBJ:3SG COMM boy

'The girl helps the boy.'

(*Not. 161007*, 093, elic)

However, verbs suffixed by *–ni* can also be followed by an NP referring to the object without any object marking.

(269) *Dodoru tingitonga* ***tavete-ni*** *namu rie.*
all thing do-TR food PRO:3PL

'They made all (kinds of) food.'

(*Ratatouille*, 046, nar)

12.5 Summary

Ughele has a subclass of adjectival verbs that differ from other stative verbs in that attributive nominal modifiers can be derived from them.

Causative, distributive and passive verb forms are derived from other verbs by means of derivational affixes. The underlying verb may itself be a derived form.

Reduplication of verbs can express increased intensity.

There is no clear-cut distinction between lexical classes of transitive vs. intransitive verbs. Most transitive verbs are marked by either of the transitive suffixes *–i* and *–ni*.

13 Person marking

Ughele has object marking clitics and two separate sets of subject markers. Object marking clitics, preverbal subject marking partial clitics and postverbal subject marking pronouns all have a fixed position relative to the verb. Whereas transitive verbs rarely occur without an object marking clitic, subject marking morphemes are only present under certain conditions, depending on pragmatics and discourse. Most clauses have no subject marking morphology at all. A subject may be represented by an NP or not be expressed at all.

(270) [*Christina meke rau*]$_{NP}$ *lao suve.*
C. and PRO:1SG go swim
'Christina and I went swimming.'

(*Gen. 08*, 015, elic)

(271) *Soru ul-ulu ghighiri.*
jump RED-top very
'(He) jumped very high.'

(*Adv.*, 005, elic)

13.1 Object marking clitics

Direct objects (core objects) are marked on transitive verbs by object pronoun clitics. The forms were listed in Table 5.1 and are repeated in Table 13.1.

Table 13.1 Object enclitics

		SG	PL
1	INCL		*-ghita*
	EXCL	*-(a)u*	*-ghami*
2		*-(a)gho*	*-ghamu*
3		*-a*	*-ni*

The clitics may be attached directly to the verb stem (272), or they follow the transitive suffix, either *–i* (273) or *–ni* (274).

(272) *Beto paiza rau mai kaduvu na*
finish there PRO:1SG come arrive COMM

*tina-gu meke mono-**au** meke (..)*
mother-ATTR:1SG and massage-OBJ:1SG and
'There I was (and) my mother came and massaged me and (..)'+

(*Inuke taga rau pa zuda*, 025, nar)

(273) *Tavet-**i-a** rie na boboro.*
make-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:3PL COMM b.
'They made boboro[13].'

(*Boboro*, 010, nar)

(274) *Puzi-**ni-a** rie ka ru na*
tie-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:3PL CARD two COMM

ulu-na meke (..)
hair-ATTR:3SG and
'The two tied its hair and (..)'

(*Ka rua koboru sali nuli*, 053, nar)

13.2 Preverbal subject marking clitics

Preverbal subject markers precede the verb complex, the latter consisting of the verb with aspect and mood marking particles, suffixes and clitics. As will be seen in 13.2.1-3, they are partial clitics. They cliticize to certain particles, but may also occur as free forms. All the preverbal subject marking forms are

[13] Name of local dish.

specified for person and number of the subject in the clause. The forms were presented in 7.2.2 and are repeated here for convenience.

Table 13.2 Preverbal subject partial clitics

		SG	PL
1	INCL		*da*
	EXCL	*gu*	*ma*
2		*mu*	*miu*
3		*da*	*da*

With the exception of the 1st person plural exclusive form, there is a complete overlap between preverbal subject markers and adnominal suffixes used to indicate inalienable possession and attributive status of an adjective modifying an NP. The forms were given in 7.2.4 and are repeated here.

Table 13.3 Attributive suffixes

		SG	PL
1	INCL		*-da*
	EXCL	*-gu*	*-mami*
2		*-mu*	*-miu*
3		*-na*	*-di*

The similarity in form of the preverbal subject markers and inalienable possessor marking suffixes is a feature Ughele shares with its three nearest neighbouring languages, Hoava (Davis 2003: 35, 98), Roviana (Corston-Oliver 2002: 471, 477-8), and Marovo (Evans 2008: 400, 405). There is also a significant similarity between the preverbal subject marking forms in the four languages (Evans 2008: 400, Davis 2003: 35). Whereas the preverbal subject markers in Hoava and Roviana are bound, those in Marovo and Ughele are partial clitics. Evans (2008: 404-5) points out that some of the forms of preverbal subject markers in Marovo are significantly different from those reconstructed for Proto-Oceanic and identical to those of possessor marking suffixes in Marovo, and suggests that the forms of preverbal subject markers in Marovo have come to be based on the forms of the possessor markers through analogical change. That this was possible is due to similarity and partial overlap between the forms of the subject markers and those of possessor marking suffixes. Preverbal subject markers cliticize to the homophonous imperative mood marker *ma* (13.2.1) and conjunction *ma* 'then' (13.2.2). They also occur as independent forms indicating pivots in complex clauses (3.2.3).

13.2.1 Preverbal subject marking with the imperative mood marker *ma*

Preverbal subject markers occur with specific TAM marking in many Northwest Solomonic languages. Amongst others, it follows the tense/mood marker *ma* in Hoava, Roviana and Ughele, marking future tense in Hoava (Davis 2003: 150), future tense and imperative mood in Roviana (Evans

2008: 400 / Waterhouse 1949: 68), and imperative mood in Ughele (277)-(276).

(275) *Aria,* ***ma=da*** *va-mate-a na nini,*
hurry IMP=SBJ:1PL.INCL CAUS-die-OBJ:3SG COMM giant

ghua rie ka ru.
say PRO:3PL CARD two
'Hurry, let's kill the giant, said the two.'

(*Ka rua koboru sali nuli*, 021, nar)

(276) *Ei, aria* ***ma=da*** *kaloa,*
hey hurry IMP=SBJ:1PL.INCL leave

ghua rie ka ru koboru.
say PRO:3PL CARD two child
'Hey, hurry, let's leave, said the two boys.'

(*Ka rua koboru sali nuli*, 035, nar)

13.2.2 Preverbal subject marking with the conjunction *ma*

Preverbal subject markers also cliticize to the conjunction *ma* 'then' (277). The conjunction is homophonous with the imperative marker *ma* (277). It conjoins clauses expressing successive events (see Chapter 19). The subject marker indicates that the subject is shared by the conjoined clauses and represents a type of pivot marking (see 25.3.6) (277).

(277) *Vato mai-ni-a mene na juke za*
light come-TR-OBJ:3SG first COMM lamp DEM:SG

beto ***ma=mu*** *paleke mai-ni-a.*
finish then=SBJ:2SG carry come-TR-OBJ:3SG
'Go and light the light first then bring it (up).'

(*Mene*, 003, elic)

The *ma* conjunction with a preverbal subject marking clitic is a feature Ughele shares with Marovo, but which is not attested in any other neighbouring language. Evans (2008) suggests that the *ma* conjunction in Marovo aquired a subject clitic by merging with a homophonous aspect or

mood marker no longer present in Marovo, but as seen above, present in other languages in New Georgia, including Ughele. Examples of this construction are rare in the Ughele data.

13.2.3 Preverbal subject marking as pivot marking

The final type of construction with preverbal subject markers is one in which two or more clauses are conjoined in a coordination (see 19). The preverbal subject markers precede the verb with aspect and mood marking particles and verbal prefixes, and the function is similar to that of the *ma* construction described in Section 13.2.2. The preverbal subject marker is a free form in this construction and indicates that the clauses share their subject and marks a pivot.

(278) *Ka rua vineki* ***di*** *ene tutuv-i*
CARD two girl SBJ:3PL walk meet-OBJ:3PL

meke ***di*** *vari-nagus-i puna vari-mado-i.*
and SBJ:3PL DISTR-hug-OBJ:3PL because DISTR-happy-OBJ:3PL

'Two girls go and greet each other and they hug because they are happy (to see) each other.'

(*Reciprocals*, 29, elic)

(279) *Vura ghighiri makazi mana daetonga* ***di***
go.out very bonito but nothing SBJ:3PL

sena-i le ***di*** *ghore pulese.*
get-OBJ:3PL so SBJ:3PL descend return

'There were plenty of bonito but they got nothing so they went back.'

(*Ghaili*, 005-6, nar)

This construction, as well as the *ma* construction in 13.2.2, is not attested in other languages in New Georgia besides Marovo and Ughele. Evans (2008: 406) suggests that this use of the preverbal subject markers in Marovo developed as sequential primary topics came to be associated with the construction in the *ma* conjunction takes a preverbal subject marking clitic, and preverbal subject markers came to be used to express continuous topic also in other morphosyntactic environments. Whereas Evans (p.c.) reports that the use of preverbal subject markers in Marovo is rare, it is not infrequent in Ughele. However, as will be seen in Chapter 19, preverbal subject marking does not obligatorily occur on conjoined clauses expressing sequential events.

13.3 Postverbal subject marking pronouns

Postverbal subject marking pronouns, as is the case for the two other sets of argument marking, specify the person and number of the subject. The forms were given in Chapter 5 and are repeated here.

Table 13.4 Postverbal subject clitics

		SG	PL
1	INCL		*nada*
	EXCL	*gua*	*mami*
2		*mua*	*miu*
3		*nana*	*dia*

Whereas the preverbal subject markers show a near complete overlap with possessive forms, the paradigms of postverbal subject marking pronoun forms and that of possessive pronouns overlap completely.

Table 13.5 Preposed possessor pronouns

		SG	PL
1	INCL		*nada*
	EXCL	*gua*	*mami*
2		*mua*	*miu*
3		*nana*	*dia*

The system of postverbal subject markers is an innovation shared by the Northwest Solomonic subgroup of Oceanic languages, and is considered to have derived historically from possessive morphology (Ross 1982; Palmer forthc.). The preverbal subject pronoun follows the verb with its suffixes and clitics. The subject markers may be the only element in the clause referring to the argument (280), or they may be combined with a coreferential NP (281).

(280) *Aria kaloa* ***nada****!*
hurry leave SBJ:1PL.INCL
'Hurry, let's leave!'

(*Sologou*, 019, nar)

(281) *Ko* ***nana*** *kaike ikana bagho-na*
be SBJ:3SG one person name-ATTR:3SG

ia ai Noman Wheatley.
PRO:3SG FOC N. W
'There was a person by the name of Norman Wheatley.'

(*Ghinorena linotu pa Ughele*, 002, nar)

Postverbal subject markers may also combine with preverbal subject marking in one and the same clause (282).

(282) *(..) mai, aria,* ***ma=da*** *kaloa* ***nada,***
come hurry IMP=SBJ:1PL.EXCL leave SBJ:1PL.INCL

leke suriki, aria, ghua ia.
lest night hurry say PRO:3SG
'(..) come, hurry, let's leave, lest night falls, hurry, she said.'
(*Sologou,* 026, nar)

As will be described in 24.4, postverbal subject pronouns mark different types of narrow focus.

13.4 Summary

Direct objects are more than often than not marked on transitive verbs by means of object agreement clitics. The clause may or may not contain a coreferential NP.

Subject agreement only occurs under specific circumstances. There is one set of preverbal and one of postverbal subject agreement markers. Preverbal may occur independently or cliticize to either of the homophonous imperative mood marking particle *ma* and the conjunction *ma*.

14 Aspect and mood

Ughele has no tense marking and makes limited use of aspect and mood marking morphology. Marking of aspect and mood is done by means of a small set of particles (14.1) and otherwise through verbs in serial verb constructions (14.2).

14.1 Aspect and mood marking particles

Ughele has a small set of aspect and mood marking particles which includes four members: the irrealis mood marker *site* (14.1.1), the perfect aspect marker *lea* (14.1.2), the imperative mood marker *ma* (14.1.3), and the negation/irrealis mood marker *dapu* (14.1.4). Other than the two morphemes *site* IRR and *dapu* NEG:IRR, none of the particles can be combined in one and the same clause.

14.1.1 The irrealis mood marker *site*

The irrealis mood marking morpheme *site* precedes the verb stem, and no morphemes can intervene between the verb stem and the particle. One common irrealis construal marked by *site* is future events (283).

(283) *Rau* ***site*** *tome-gho* *ghoi.*
PRO:1SG IRR hide-TR-OBJ:2SG PRO:2SG
'I will hide you.'

(*Sologou*, 095, nar)

Site may mark both near future (284), more distant future (285), and future events with no fixed point in time (286).

(284) *Kapiri pi* ***site*** *gizo rau.*
now DEM IRR sing PRO:1SG
'I will sing now.'

(*Sologou*, 170, nar)

(285) *Vugho* ***site*** *mai ia.*
tomorrow IRR come pro:3sg
'He will come tomorrow.'

(*Gen. 2008*, 082, elic)

(286) ***Site*** *lete deri rau.*
IRR plant watermelon PRO:1SG
'I will plant watermelons.'

(*Gen. 2008*, 097, elic)

Site may also be used to mark irrealis mood in clauses referring to other irrealis situations. In (287) the speaker describes the activity of historical headhunters, who would fill the bow of the canoe with enemy skulls upon their return after raiding villages on other islands.

(287) ***Site*** *ta-va-zingi pa koimua sore.*
IRR PASS-CAUS-full LOC front canoe
'The bow of the canoe would be filled.'

(*Varizeke*, 040, nar)

In (288) the event expressed is hypothetical.

(288) ***Site*** *lao pa sinevara ghua rau*
IRR go LOC garden say PRO:1SG

ba sasako le supere ghu.
but lazy so do.nothing EMPH
'I would have gone to the garden, but was lazy so I did nothing.'

(*ba*, 002, elic)

As will be seen in 14.1.4, *site* combines with the portmanteau negation and irrealis mood marker *dapu*.

14.1.2 The perfect aspect marking particle *lea*

As will be shown in 15.2.4 and 15.3.4, aspect marking is often accomplished by means of serialized verbs with aspect marking functions. Ughele also has an aspect marking particle, *lea*, marking perfect aspect. *Lea* immediately precedes the verb stem (289) and follows negation marking, as shown below in (290).

(289) *(..) me* ***lea*** *tavet-i-a rau me*
and PRF do-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:1SG and

ka tolongavulu g<in>izo lea iliri
CARD thirty <NOM>sing PRF translate

rau pa naghe vaka meke iliri
PRO:3SG LOC language ship and translate

mai-ni pa naghe Ughele.
come-TR loc language U.

'(..) and I have done it and thirty songs have I translated from English to Ughele.'

(*Vinailiri ghinizo pa rineka vaka lao pa rineka Ughele*, 033, nar)

(290) *Be vae na kai* ***lea*** *mai na*
if like SBJ:3SG NEG PRF come COMM

l<in>otu meke na ginavuna site
<NOM>pray and COMM government IRR

vae na kaduvu lao ia tu rie
like SBJ:3SG arrive go PRO:3SG EMPH PRO:3PL

Malata lao vari-zeke Pazu.
M. go DISTR-murder there

'If it had not been the case that the religion and the government came, it would have been like they would arrive at Malaita and gone headhunting there.'

(*Varizeke*, 023, nar)

The particle *lea* expresses a range of different types of perfect aspect. (291) shows *lea* expressing the perfect of result, where the event expressed has a continuing result (Comrie 1976: 87).

(291) *Na ighana* ***lea*** *jito.*
COMM fish PRF cook.in.earth.oven
'The fish has been cooked.'

(*Gen. not.*, 007, elic)

In (292) *lea* marks experiental perfect (Comrie 1976: 58-59), a construction expressing a situation that has occurred at least once in the past.

(292) *(..) meke selu lao ia*
and follow go PRO:3SG

dodoru ***lea*** *zuranga pa vaka.*
all PRF board LOC ship
'(..) and he followed all (of them that) had boarded the ship.'

(*Ratatouille*, 026, nar)

As will be seen in 14.2.4, *lea* may combine with *korapa* as a modifying verb in a serial verb construction to express perfect continuous aspect.

14.1.3 The imperative mood marking particle *ma*

Several Oceanic languages, such as Kokota (Palmer 2007: 240-241), have portmanteau morphemes combining subject marking with tense, aspect or mood functions. Such portmanteau forms do not exist in the languages in New Georgia, but as seen in 13.2.1, the tense or mood particle *ma* takes an obligatory subject marking clitic both in Ughele and its neighbouring languages. In Ughele, *ma* marks imperative mood and it takes an obligatory subject marking clitic from the set of preverbal subject agreement markers listed in 13.2.

(293) *Egho, aria* ***ma=da*** *lao sena buna,*
OK hurry IMP=SBJ:1PL.INCL go get b.

ghua ia.
say PRO:3SG
'OK, hurry, let's go and pick buna[i], he said.'

(*Ka rua habili lavata*, 010, nar)

The imperative mood marking particle *ma* is not obligatory in imperative constructions, most of which are unmarked (294), and is used on imperative expressions that are invitations, rather than commands.

(294) *Lao sena mai-ni-a na mezi site!*
go get come-TR-OBJ:3SG COMM knife small
'Go and fetch the small knife!'

(*Site*, 009, elic)

14.1.4 The negation and irrealis mood marker *dapu*

The portmanteau particle *dapu* expresses negation and irrealis mood combined. It negates all constructions in the irrealis mood, and precedes the verb stem.

(295) *(..) si kaloa gua rau me*
if leave SBJ:1SG pro:1sg and

dapu *lao ghami doghoro pulese le (..)*
NEG:IRR go PRO:2PL see return then
'(..) if I went away and wouldn't see you again, then (..)'

(*Made koreo me tazina vineki*, 038, nar)

(296) *Ei, mana na b<in>alabala ghita*
hey but comm <NOM>think PRO:1PL.EXCL

ipu ***dapu*** *gura zu-zuru.*
REL NEG:IRR can RED-lift
'Hey, but our thinking was that it wouldn't be able to lift it.'

(*Ghinore ta na kabania*, 028, nar)

(297) *Rau* ***dapu*** *tuge-a*
PRO:1SG NEG:IRR hold-TR-OBJ:3SG

na mezi pako-na pi.
COMM knife blunt-ATTR:3SG DEM:SG
'I cannot use this blunt knife.'

(*Adj.*, 082, elic)

Dapu may be the only marker of irrealis mood as in (295)-(297), or it can be combined with the irrealis mood marker *site,* as in (298)-(299), which both expresses the negation of hypothetical situations in the future. *Site* precedes *dapu*.

(298) *Egho, polo mai gho ka ru*
OK if come PRO:2SG CARD two

mai kao-ni-a ghutu rau
come look-TR-OBJ:3SG louse PRO:1SG

site dapu *lao rau va-mate ghamu,*
IRR NEG:IRR go PRO:1SG CAUS-die pro:2pl

ghua na nini.
say COMM giant
'OK, if you come and delouse me, I'm not going to kill you, said the giant.'

(*Ka rua koboru sali nuli*, 015, nar)

(299) *(..) meke polo lao ghoi lao sali*
and if go PRO:2SG go pick

meke kasop-i-a ghoi na tokoro
and step.over-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:2SG COMM taboo

bake ia ***site dapu*** *gura ene ghoi.*
b. PRO:3SG IRR NEG:IRR can walk PRO:2SG
'(..) and if you go ahead and pick and overrule (lit. step over) the bake[14] taboo, you won't be able to walk.'

(*Tokoro*, 005, nar)

[14] *Tokoro bake* is a name for one of many types of taboos. None of the consultants could recall ever having known the meaning of *bake*.

Whereas *site* precedes *dapu*, it will be seen in Chapter 18 that other negation particles precede aspect and mood marking particles.

14.2 Aspect marking by serialized verbs

As will be seen in the Chapter 15, the internal structure of serial verb constructions (SVCs), both on the nuclear and core layer of the clause structure, is described in terms of a head and modifiers. The head is the verb that carries the main semantic information in the SVC, and the modifiers are the verbs that modify the head. Among the functions of the modifying verbs is aspect marking, and there are five verbs that have an aspect marking function in SVCs. The verb *lao* marks inceptive aspect, *beto* perfective aspect, *pulese* iterative aspect, *korapa* durative (or continuous) aspect, and *malao* habitual aspect.

14.2.1 Inceptive aspect marking by *lao* 'go'

As will be seen in Chapter 15, the verb *lao* 'go' may have different meanings and functions within an SVC, depending on its position in the construction. When preceding the head, it marks inceptive aspect in core (300) and nuclear layer (301)-(302) serial verb constructions.

(300) *Kaike madighe hiva* [[***lao***] *rie* [*maso-a*]]$_{SVC}$.
one day want go PRO:3PL cut-OBJ:3SG
'One day they wanted to (go ahead and) cut it (down).'

(*Zuda rereke*, 010, nar)

(301) [***Lao*** *soru ukalai-ni-au*]$_{SVC}$ *rau me (..)*
go jump over-TR-OBJ:2SG PRO:1SG and
'They started to jump over me and (..)'

(*Inuke taga rau pa zuda*, 019, nar)

(302) *Lea kaloa tu meke pa zidara tu*
PRF leave EMPH and LOC moon EMPH

[***lao*** *ko*]$_{SVC}$ *dia.*
go be SBJ:3PL
'They left and settled on the moon.'

(*Kelko Bakua meke Jiro Vore*, 016, nar)

Lao marks that the construction focuses on the beginning of the event (300)-(301) or state (302) denoted by the verb in the head.

14.2.2 Perfective aspect marking by *beto* 'finish'

The verb *beto* as a modifying verb in a serial verb construction marks the verb as perfective, that is, the event denoted by the SVC as a whole is complete (Comrie 1976: 21) from beginning to end (303)-(304).

(303) *(..) me naghe rau, Ei, polo* [***beto*** *piruku*]$_{SVC}$
and speak PRO:1SG hey if finish remove.rib

rau kagu zae tughu puna (..)
PRO:1SG must ascend also because

'(..) and I said, Hey, if I have finished removing the mid-rib (of palm leaves), I must climb too because (..)

(*Inuke taga rau pa zuda*, 012, nar)

(304) [***Beto*** *kaduvu mai*]$_{SVC}$ *na l<in>otu*
finish arrive come COMM <NOM>pray

le kai vari-pera legho rie pazuna.
so NEG DISTR-fight very PRO:3PL here

'The religion had come, so we didn't fight much (anymore) here.'

(*Varizeke*, 022, nar)

Beto may also indicate that the event is completed when contrasted to one in the imperfective. As shown in 25.2, a common means to link events is by repeating the event described in the previous sentence in the initial clause of the next complex sentence in the perfective aspect, before moving on to a description of the next event in the following clause (305).

(305) [***Beto*** *ghami voi-a pa baika*]$_{CL1}$
finish PRO:1PL.EXCL put-OBJ:3SG LOC bag

[*me paleke mai-ni-a ghami pa vanua*]$_{CL2}$.
and carry come-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:1PL.EXCL LOC house

'We put it in bags and carry it home.'

(Pogasimono, 002, nar)

Whereas the event in CL1 in (305) is completed, the event in CL2 is about to unfold.

14.2.3 Iterative aspect marking by *pulese* 'return'

The verb *pulese* may have several functions in an SVC (see Chapter 15), one of them being to mark iterative aspect as a modifying verb (306)-(307).

(306) *Beto ghani rie beto me*
finish eat PRO:3PL finish and

lomoz-i-a na ikana za me [*babala*
sweet-TR-OBJ:3SG COMM person DEM:SG and remember

pulese]$_{SVC}$ *ia totozo sasa-na ia.*
return PRO:3SG time baby-ATTR:3SG pro:3sg

'They were eating and this person found it delicious and he remembered his childhood again.'

(*Ratatouille*, 123, nar)

(307) *Egho, na koreo pila kaloa ia*
OK COMM boy DEM:SG leave PRO:3SG

me [*vari-saba* ***pulese***]$_{SVC}$ *nana me (..)*
and DISTR-marry return SBJ:3SG and

'OK, this boy left and he married again and (..)'

(*Vinarimado*, 093, nar)

Pulese indicates that the event denoted by the verb(s) in the head of the construction is repeated one or more times (306)-(307).

14.2.4 Durative aspect marking by *korapa* 'continue/be inside'

The adjectival verb *korapa* as modifying verb in a serial verb construction 15.2.4 marks durative aspect, that is, the situation expressed by the construction lasts for a certain period of time (Comrie 1976: 41), rather than being instantaneous.

(308) *Sali nula rie ka ru meke*
pick nut PRO:3PL CARD two and

pa totozo [***korapa*** *sali*]$_{SVC}$ *nula ka ru*
LOC time inside pick nut CARD two

koreo pire mai na nini meke (..)
boy DEM:PL come COMM giant and
'The two of them picked nuts and as the two were picking nuts the giant came.'

(*Ka rua koboru sali nuli*, 006, nar)

Serial verb constructions marked as durative by *korapa* may be progressive, expressing an event in the process of unfolding (308), or denote a state that lasts for an extended period of time (309)-(310).

(309) *(..) si doghor-i-a ka made vineki pire*
then see-TR-OBJ:3SG CARD four girl DEM:PL

[***korapa*** *soghoru va-ko*]$_{SVC}$ *dia pa lobe tilingi.*
inside sit CAUS-be SBJ:3SG LOC water salt
'(..) then you can see these four girls (still) sitting in the sea.'

(*Ka made vineki pu patu*, 020-21, nar)

(310) *A-rie ghu ka rua tokoro pu*
FOC-PRO:3SG EMPH CARD two taboo REL

[***korapa*** *babala va-ko*]$_{SVC}$ *rau.*
inside remember CAUS-be PRO:1SG
'There are two taboos that I can remember.'

(*Tokoro*, 002, nar)

Korapa may combine with the perfect aspect marking particle *lea* to express perfect continuous aspect (311).

(311) *Na maroke lea* [***korapa*** *ko*]$_{SVC}$ *nana*
COMM old.man PRF inside be SBJ:3SG

pa kololuka.
LOC K
'The old man stayed back (lit. continued to stay) at Kololuka.'

(*Ghaili*, 047, nar)

14.2.5 Habitual aspect marking by *malao* 'use to'

Malao as a modifying verb in a serial verb construction marks habitual aspect, meaning that the event denoted by the construction takes place over an extended period of time (Comrie 1976: 27). Situations expressed by habitual constructions may be iterative, repeating themselves over time (312)-(313), or non-iterative (314).

(312) *Vanua vazi-na* [*vari-saba* ***malao***]$_{SVC}$
house place-ATTR:3SG DISTR-marry use.to

tughu rie.
also PRO:3PL
'The house was the place they usually married.'

(*Vinarimado*, 031, nar)

(313) *A-ia na bae pu* [*lao ko*
FOC-PRO:3SG COMM cave REL go be

malao]$_{SVC}$ *ia na habili.*
use.to PRO:3SG COMM bumphead.parrot.fish
'That was the cave that the bumphead parrot fish usually came to stay (in).'

(*Ka rua habili lavata*, 007, nar)

(314) *(..) mana zoku rie ikana pu kai*
but all PRO:3PL person REL NEG

lao pa sikulu ghore ka [*ghilan-i-a*
go LOC school descend NEG know-TR-OBJ:3SG

malao]$_{SVC}$ *tughu rie na r<in>eka meke (..)*
use.to also PRO:3PL COMM <NOM>speak and
'(..) but all the people who didn't go to school too, they also usually don't know the language and (..)'

(*Vinailiri ghinizo pa rineka vaka lao pa rineka Ughele*, 039, nar)

In (314) the situation expressed by the construction is of a stative nature and although it refers to multiple situations (there are several participants experiencing the same state), it differs from the more prototypical habitual construction, expressing situations that repeat themselves regularly.

14.3 Summary

Ughele has no tense marking morphology, save the use of the irrealis mood marking particle *site* to mark future.

Ughele marks aspect and mood by means of a small set of particles and serialized verbs. The small set of particles mark irrealis and imperative mood and perfect aspect. There is also a portmanteau particle *dapu* marking irrealis mood and negation. Serialized verbs mark inceptive, perfective, iterative, durative and habitual aspect.

15 Serial verb constructions

15.1 Defining serial verb constructions

There is considerable controversy as to the definition of serial verb constructions (SVCs) in the literature, especially between linguists working with different language families (see Senft (2004) for more on this discussion). In this thesis, we will consider a serial verb construction to be a construction of two or more verbs acting together as one predicate, representing one complex event and sharing at least one argument. The components must be attested as independent verbs elsewhere in the corpus of data, and the verb sequence must not contain any conjunctions or other sentence marking connectives or subordination markers. This is a broad definition of SVCs inspired by Foley and Van Valin (1984: 189). As will be seen in the following, it includes junctures of verbs with highly grammaticalized functions (which is also the case in Foley and Van Valin (1984), where, amongst others, French periphrastic causative constructions are analyzed as SVCs (Foley and Van Valin 1984: 198)). A more narrow definition of SVCs is used in much linguistic work, amongst others in Aikhenvald (2006: 1), and it is possible that the constructions described in this chapter would not be considered SVCs within this framework. It will be seen in the following that although the same verb forms may occur as part of SVCs and independent verbs, their meaning and function often differ significantly when used in SVCs rather than as independent verbs.

Following the layered structure of the clause model as defined in Foley and Van Valin (1984: 190-1) and Van Valin and LaPolla (2004: 25-30), we can distinguish between two structurally different types of SVCs in Ughele. Verbs in Ughele can either serialize on the core or on the nuclear layer of the clause structure.

Core layer SVC
$[[V_{1\ Nucleus}]+[V_{2\ Nucleus}]_{\ Core}][_{\ Periphery}]]_{Clause}$

Nuclear layer SVC
$[[V_1+V_{2\ Nucleus}]_{\ Core}][_{\ Periphery}]]_{Clause}$

For a more detailed outline of the structure of clauses and their layers, see Chapter 18. As argued in Foley and Van Valin (1984: 196), tense and mood have scope over the entire clause, and should thus be shared by all verbs in both nuclear and core layer SVCs. As can be seen from the examples below, the particle *site*, which marks irrealis mood and in some cases future tense

(see Chapter 14 for a description of *site*), has scope over all serialized verbs both in a nuclear (315) and a core (316) juncture.

(315) ***Site*** [*lao kao*]$_{SVC}$ *raduvu ghamu, le (..)*
IRR go look leaf PRO:2PL so
'You will go and look for leaves, so (..)'

(*Aku*, 001, nar)

(316) *(..) me* ***site*** [[*lao*] *ia*
and IRR go PRO:3SG

[*tome-a*]]$_{SVC}$ *na ighana puna (..)*
hide-OBJ:3SG COMM fish because
'(..) and he would go and hide some fish in order to (..)'

(*Made koreo me tazina vineki*, 010, nar)

Whereas an NP may intervene between verbs serialized in a core juncture, no element can come between verbs in a nuclear SVC. Both types of SVCs are frequent and highly productive. Although the two types of constructions are structurally different, it will be seen in the following that the verbs in them may express similar functions, and the relations between the verbs are also similar in the two constructions. This is also reported for other Oceanic languages with both constructions (Margetts 2004: 65). There are, however, more possible combinations of functions and meanings (more possible positional slots) in nuclear SVCs than in core SVCs.

In the descriptions of nuclear and core layer SVCs below, the positional and functional relations of the serialized verbs are described in terms of positional slots (see Tables 15.1 and 15.2). Another way to present the same data would be to treat each combination as a type of SVC (Durie 1997: 331-6; Davis 2003: 159-66; Wegener 2003: 187-195; Chambers 2009: 255-317 and many others). This analysis works well for languages with limited possible combinations of verbs in SVCs, but as demonstrated by Margetts (2005) for the Oceanic language Saliba, it is less suitable for languages where the possible combinations are many and the number of verbs in a nuclear SVC can exceed two or three. This is the case for nuclear SVCs both in Saliba and Ughele.

As clauses in Ughele may consist of one single verb, distinguishing serialized verbs from verbs belonging to different clauses is not always straightforward, and in some cases one can only distinguish between the two constructions from a semantic point of view. This will be discussed in Chapter 20, where it will be shown that in some cases, main verbs and verbs

of complement clauses may occur in sequences that show little structural difference to serial verb constructions.

An approach where the functions and positional restrictions on serialized verbs are described in terms of positional slots, such as Margetts' (2005) analysis of SVCs in Saliba, works well when describing SVCs in Ughele. The slots form two distinct layers, an obligatory head, consisting of one or two verb(s), and a layer of modifying verbs preceding or following the head. Following Aikhenvald's (2006: 21-22) distinction between symmetric and asymmetric SVCs, the relation between two verbs in a head is symmetric, and the relation between a head and a modifying verb is asymmetric. Any verb can be a head verb (it seems) whereas only very restricted sets of verbs can fill the slots in the modifying layer.

15.2 Nuclear layer serial verb constructions

Nuclear layer SVCs in Ughele consist of juxtaposed verb stems that share their aspect, tense (where marked by the irrealis marker *site*) and negation value. No pronouns or NPs referring to core arguments can intervene between the verbs. Neither can subject or object agreement markers or aspect and mood marking particles. Aspect marking has scope over the construction as a whole. In (317) aspect marking is by means of the perfect aspect marking particle *lea*, but as will be seen in the following, aspect can also be marked by serialized verbs.

(317) *Lea* [*toka kaloa*]$_{SVC}$ *dia.*
PRF leave depart SBJ:3PL
'They had left.'

(*Sologou*, 031, nar)

If transitive, the SVC as a whole has a single transitive marker and a single object marker suffixed to the last verb (318).

(318) *A-ia ghua-ni-a rau ko gho*
FOC-PRO:3SG say-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:1SG DIR PRO:2PL

ngeta, lao pa Kololuka gho ngeta
three go LOC K. PRO:2PL three

meke [*lao sena pulese mai-ni-a*]$_{SVC}$
and go get return come-TR-OBJ:3SG

gua ghaili, ghua ba rau.
POSS:1SG fishhook say but PRO:1SG

'This is what I tell you, you three go to Kololuka and get back my fishhook, I said.'

(*Ghaili*, 095, nar)

The positional slots in Table 15.1 below represent an abstract overview of the positional and functional relations that are possible in nuclear layer SVCs. A nuclear layer SVC must have two or more of the positional slots filled, and the order of the verbs in the construction is always according to the overview of positional slots given in Table 15.1.

Table 15.1 Layers, slots and functions in nuclear layer SVCs

[		[Head		] Modifying layer		]
V_1	**V_2**	**V_3**	**V_4**	**V_5**	**V_6**	**V_7**
Modal	Aspect	Cause	Effect	Attributive	Direction	
		Manner	Benefactive	Aspect	Spatial	Deictic
		Sequential	Sequential			

The structure of the nuclear SVC consists of two layers, one is the verb(s) being the head of the construction and the other the verb(s) modifying it. An SVC must have a head and it may have a modifying layer. The set of verbs that can be the head of the constructions seems to be open. The set of verbs that can be part of the modifying layer is closed, limited to a few verbs. Thus, the relation between two verbs which are both part of the head can be considered symmetric and the relation between a head verb and a modifying verb as asymmetric.

As mentioned, Ughele can have a large number of possible combinations of serialized verbs in nuclear junctures. Any combination of the slots indicated above is possible. Briefly summarizing, V_1 can only be filled by the modal verbs *hiva* 'want', *kagu* 'must' and *gura* 'can'. V_2 can only be filled by the following aspect marking verbs: *lao* 'inceptive'; *beto* 'perfective'; *korapa* 'durative'. V_3 and V_4 can be transitive, and the valence of V_3 and/or V_4 determines the valence of the SVC as a whole. The sets of verbs that can fill V_3 and V_4 are open. V_5 can be filled by causativized adjectival verbs marking manner or one of the two verbs *pulese* marking iterative aspect and *va-ko* marking extended duration. V_6 codes spatial direction of movement, either by the agent or the patient of the SVC as a whole. Only the following intransitive verbs: *ghore* 'descend', *zae* 'ascend', *pulese* 'return', *kaloa* 'leave', and *vura* 'exit' can fill the slot. V_7 codes deictic direction of movement relative to a reference point, either by the agent or the patient of the SVC as a whole. Only the following intransitive verbs *mai* 'come' and *lao* 'go' can fill the slot. There are, however, restrictions on the order of the serialized verbs with specific functions, which is why positional slots represent them so well. The sets of verbs that can fill the slots in the modifying layer can be highly grammaticalised. One may ask

oneself whether the forms in these positions and with these functions can still be considered verbs. On the other hand, the forms themselves have not undergone any change. The question of to what degree the verbs have grammaticalised too much to be considered verbs proper will have to be left for now. There is little doubt that whereas the verb forms filling the head slots function as lexical verbs, the forms in the modifying layer are less lexical verb-like the more to the periphery of the construction we get. And along an abstract dimension with lexical verbs at one end and grammatical particles at the other, verbs in the modifying slots of nuclear SVCs would be found somewhere between the two. Serialized verbs on the modifying layer differ from particles modifying verbs in that the latter must come before or after the SVC. Furthermore, the functions of the verbs are not so abstract that they do not bear metaphorical resemblance to the meaning of the same verbs forms when used as independent verbs. The remaining parts of this section aim at describing each layer, their positional slots, and the verbs that can fill these, starting with the head in 15.2.1 and continuing with the modifying layer in 15.2.2.

15.2.1 The head of nuclear SVCs

V_3 and V_4, contain the main semantic information in the SVC, and are thus considered the head of the construction. All SVCs must have at least one of these slots filled. Following Croft (2001: 259) the verbs filling these slots can be considered the semantic heads of the construction as they make up the primary information bearing unit. By that is meant that the verb(s) in these slots is the element in the construction that most closely profiles the same as that profiled by the SVC as a whole. The main event denoted by an SVC is identical to that denoted by these verbs. The valence of the SVC is also identical to theirs. Whereas V_3 and V_4 have the function of being the lexical head of the construction, the verbs filling the other slots have the function of operators (in RRG terms (Van Valin and LaPolla 2004: 68-69)), modifying the head. Whereas the following sections describe the relation between the head and verbs that fill the various slots in the modifying layer, this section deals with the relation between verbs filling V_3 and V_4 in a complex head. V_3 and V_4 are the only slots that may be filled by transitive verbs, and it is the transitivity of one or both of these central slots that determines the transitivity of the SVC as a whole. Whereas the sets of verbs that can fill V_3 and V_4 are very big – possibly open, the sets of verbs that can fill the other slots are closed. Thus the relation between V_3 and V_4 is symmetrical, whereas the relation between V_3 and/or V_4 and verbs from any other slots is asymmetrical. Note that some definitions of serial verb constructions in the linguistic literature only comprise combinations of verbs that can fill V_3 and V_4, such as Langacker's (1991: 438) definition of SVCs as two or more sequential verbs in one clause with a seemingly equal status.

Where the head only consists of one verb, the meaning of the verb is identical to that of the same verb form when used independently, outside an SVC. In SVCs that have both V_3 and V_4, the two verbs together represent a

complex event that may be highly lexicalized. In constructions where both V_3 and V_4 are filled, the semantic relations between V_3 and V_4 may be of different kinds. V_3 and V_4 may express simultaneous events (319).

(319) *Ei za! Le* [*salu siko-a*]$_{SVC}$ *gho*
oh what so pick steal-OBJ:3SG PRO:2PL

ka ru nula taga rau,
CARD two nut POSS PRO:1SG

ghua na nini.
say COMM giant
'Hey! So you are picking (and)[15] stealing my nuts, said the giant.'
(*Ka rua koboru sali nuli*, 008, nar)

V_3 may denote a verb being the cause to which the verb denoted V_4 by is the effect (320).

(320) *(..) meke lao ia* [*zulu va-mate-a*]$_{SVC}$
and go PRO:3SG burn CAUS-die-OBJ:3SG

mamaneke mago ia (..)
woman devil PRO:3SG
'(..) and he went and burned the female devil to death (..)'
(*Sologou*, 258, nar)

[15] In some cases, the meanings of SVCs in Ughele can best be translated to English using a single mono-verbal clause. In other cases, such as here, conjunctions that are not present in the Ughele examples will have to be used in the English translations.

The use of morphological causative verbs with reflexes of the Proto Oceanic causative **pa-/*pak*a morphemes, such as causative prefix *va-* in Ughele, to encode results in resultative SVCs such as (320) is common in Oceanic languages (Verkerk and Frostad 2013). Ughele is one of the few languages that use both derived causatives and underived verbs in this function. Whereas the causative verb *va-matea* in the SVC in (320) above denotes a situation that involves high volition on the part of the agent, *mate* may be used in constructions such as (321) in the more general sense of 'finish off', and may also denote situations with inanimate undergoers.

(321) *Ia na namu* [*kina mate*]$_{SVC}$.
PRO:3SG ART food cook die
'The food is cooked.'

(*Sisiliri*, 020, nar)

There seems to be a significant overlap between the two constructions, though, and it is difficult to tell what the difference is between (320) and (322) which both refer to the same situation.

(322) *(..) meke* [*zulu mate pai-ni-a*]$_{SVC}$ *ia na mamaneke ia.*
and burn die throw-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:3SG ART woman PRO:3SG
'(..) and he burnt the woman to death.'

(*Sologou*, 250, nar)

V_3 and V_4 may also denote sequential events (323).

(323) *Palek-i-a ghoi na babu mami*
carry-TR-3SG PRO:2SG COMM bamboo PRO:1PL

[*ghore kulimi*]$_{SVC}$ *lobe tilingi taga rau.*
descend fill water salt POSS PRO:1SG
'You carry the bamboo (pipe) and we go down and fill it with my sea water.'

(*Ka made vineki pu patu*, 011, nar)

Finally, V_3 may indicate the manner in which the action denoted V_4 is carried out (324).

(324) *Kai* [*gura turei pode-a*]$_{SVC}$ *na sasa.*
NEG can fast give.birth-OBJ:3SG COMM child
'She couldn't give birth to the baby fast.'

(*Sologou*, 238, nar)

15.2.2 Modifying verbs in nuclear layer SVCs

The meaning and functions of verbs filling V_1-V_2 and V_5-V_7 differ significantly from the meaning of the same verbs when used independently. Whereas verbs in V_3 and V_4 carry the main lexical information of the SVC as a whole, verbs in V_1-V_2 and V_5-V_7 have highly grammatical functions, indicating manner, aspect, modality and direction. Their role is to modify the information encoded by the head. The head slots are positioned in the centre of the SVC and the modifying slots precede and follow it. The more peripheral the slot is in the SVC structure, that is, the further the verb is from the head, the more grammaticalized is the meaning of the verb.

15.2.3 Verbs in nuclear layer SVCs marking modality

V_1 may be filled by the modal verbs *kagu* 'must', *hiva* 'want', and *gura* 'can'. *Kagu* marks deontic modality.

(325) *Ghoghona kao gua viu, ghua ia,*
shoot look SBJ:1SG bird say PRO:1SG

le ghoi [***kagu*** *tavete mai-ni-a*]$_{SVC}$
so PRO:2SG must make come-TR-OBJ:3SG

kaike gua parika.
one POSS:1SG bow
'I want to shoot birds, he said, so you must make me a bow.'

(*Sologou*, 156, nar)

Hiva marks desiderative modality.

(326) *A-ia na vivinei pu* [***hiva***
FOC-PRO:3SG COMM story REL want

vivinei-ni-a]$_{SVC}$ *rau* *ko* *ghita*
tell-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:1SG DIR PRO:2PL

pa *vevelu* *nginoroi* *pila.*
LOC evening today DEM:SG
'That was the story I wanted to tell you this evening.'

(*Gus*o, 048, nar)

Gura marks ability.

(327) *(..)* *meke* [***gura*** *va-mate-a*]$_{SVC}$ *ka* *ru* *koboru* *pire*
and can CAUS-die-OBJ:3SG CARD two child DEM:PL

na *nini* *(..)*
COMM giant
'(..) and the two boys managed to kill the giant (..)'

(*Ka rua koboru sali nuli*, 055, nar)

15.2.4 Serialized verbs marking aspect

Verbs filling the V_2 and V_5 slots mark different types of aspect. Three verbs can fill V_2, *lao* 'go', *beto* 'finish', and *korapa* 'continue'. *Lao* as V_2 marks inceptive aspect (328).

(328) *(..)* *meke* [***lao*** *do-doghoro*]$_{SVC}$ *rie* *ka* *ru.*
and go RED-see PRO:3PL CARD two
'(..) and the two of them started to watch.'

(*Ratatouille*, 011, nar)

Beto as V_2 marks perfective aspect (329).

(329) [***Beto*** *sena*]$_{SVC}$ *rie* *pa* *Viru* *na* *l<in>otu,*
finish get PRO:3PL LOC V. COMM <NOM>pray

zae *pa* *Marovo* *rie.*
ascend LOC M. PRO:3PL
'(When) the ones at Viru had adopted the faith, they went up to Marovo.'

(*Ghinorena linotu pa Ughele*, 032, nar)

Korapa as V_2 marks durative aspect (330).

(330) *(..) pa totozo* [***korapa*** *sali nula*]$_{SVC}$ *ka ru koreo pire*
LOC time be.inside pick ngali.nut CARD two boy DEM:PL

mai na nini.
come COMM giant
'(..) while these two boys were picking ngali nuts the giant came.'
(*Ka rua koboru sali nuli*, 006, nar)

Serialized verbs marking aspect co-occur with, and have a different position in the verb complex structure from, other aspect markers. Verbs in V_2 follow aspect marking particles, as illustrated in (331), where the aspect marking verb *korapa* follows the perfect aspect marking particle *lea*.

(331) *Na maroke* ***lea*** [***korapa*** *ko*]$_{SVC}$ *nana pa Kololuka.*
COMM old.man PRF be.inside stay SBJ:3SG LOC K
'The old man stayed back at Kololuka.'
(*Ghaili*, 047, nar)

Two aspect marking verbs can fill V_5, *pulese* 'return' and *vako* 'put'. *Pulese* as V_5 marks repeated action or iterative aspect (332).

(332) [*Gizo* ***pulese***]$_{SVC}$ *na vineki pi.*
sing return COMM girl DEM:SG
'This girl sang again.'
(*Mado koreo me tazina vineki*, 036, nar)

Va-ko 'put', a morphological causative verb derived from *ko* 'be/be located', as V_5 marks extended duration (333).

(333) [*Sake* ***va-ko***]$_{SVC}$ *nana pa ulu pi.*
sit CAUS-stay SBJ:3SG LOC top DEM:SG
'She stayed sitting in the (tree) top.'

(*Sologou*, 085, nar)

15.2.5 Attributive verbs in nuclear SVCs

Other verbs that can fill V_5 are verbs with an adverbial-like meaning, indicating the manner in which the event denoted by the verb(s) in the head is carried out. We will refer to these verbs as attributive here. Attributive verbs are morphological causative verbs derived from stative verbs by means of the causative marker *va-*.

(334) *(..) puna ikana polo* [*ghilana* ***va-leana***]$_{SVC}$ *na naghe vaka*
because person if know CAUS-good COMM language ship

site gura meke (..)
IRR can and
'(..) because if a person who knows English well (s/he) can (do it) and (..)'

(*Vinailiri ghinizo pa rineka vaka lao pa rineka Ughele*, 004-6, nar)

Attributive verbs in SVCs with causative markers equivalent to *va-* in Ughele are common in Oceanic languages (Verkerk and Frostad 2013), possibly related to the resultative construction with morphological causative verbs marking results in resultative SVCs described in 15.2.1.

15.2.6 Verbs in nuclear layer SVCs coding spatial direction

Verbs attested as V_6 in nuclear layer SVCs are all inherently directional when used alone, and as V_6 in nuclear layer SVCs, they indicate spatial direction of the movement denoted by the head verb(s). *Zae* 'ascend' marks direction up(wards) (335).

(335) *Dodoru eo pa Ughele pi* [*tatava* ***zae***]$_{SVC}$ *rie*
all megapode LOC U. DEM:SG fly ascend PRO:3PL

lao tu pa oka (..)
go EMPH LOC sky
'All these megapodes in Ughele, they flew up into the sky (..)'
(*Takumata eo*, 008, nar)

Ghore 'descend' marks direction down(wards) (336).

(336) *(..) le* [*voze* ***ghore***]$_{SVC}$ *rie ngeta.*
so paddle descend PRO:3PL three
'(..) so the three of them paddled down.'
(*Made koreo me tazina vineki*, 032, nar)

Vura marks direction 'out(wards)' (337).

(337) *(..) me* [*lao siro* ***vura****-ni-a*]$_{SVC}$ *rie koburu pire me (..)*
and go chase exit-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:3PL child DEM:PL and
'(..) and these children started to chase it out and (..)'
(*Na viu*, 035, nar)

Maruvu 'enter' has a function very similar to the other three motion and direction verbs, and although no example of nuclear layer SVCs with *maruvu* as a modifying verb is found in the corpus, it might be the case that *maruvu* can also fill V_6.

15.2.7 Verbs in nuclear layer SVCs coding deictic direction

Only two verbs can fill V_7, *mai* 'come' and *lao* 'go'. *Mai* and *lao* as V_7 in nuclear layer SVCs code deictic direction of movement relative to a reference point. *Mai* codes direction towards a reference point.

(338) *Ikana vaka* [*paleke* ***mai****-i*]$_{SVC}$ *na bakete meke na teni.*
person ship carry come-OBJ:3PL COMM bucket and COMM tin
'The Europeans brought the buckets and the tins.'
(*Boboro*, 036, nar)

Lao codes direction away from a reference point.

(339) *(..) rie eo* [*tatava* ***lao***]$_{SVC}$ *pa Simbo (..)*
PRO:3PL megapode fly go LOC S
'(..) the megapodes flew away to Simbo (..)'
(*Takumata eo*, 007, nar)

Verbs indicating deictic direction always follow verbs indicating spatial direction (340).

(340) *(..) meke sena ia manue meke* [*buli* ***ghore*** ***lao****-ni-a*]$_{SVC}$
and get PRO:3SG possum and throw descend go-TR-OBJ:3SG

ko rie kiza.
DIR PRO:3PL
'(..) and the caught the possum and he threw it down to them.'
(*Vagho*, 017, nar)

15.3 Core layer serial verb constructions

Core layer SVCs in Ughele share their tense and negation values and at least one core argument. Pronouns and NPs referring to core arguments may come between the verbs, as in (341) where the first person singular pronoun *rau* intervenes between the two serialized verbs *lao* 'go' and *vamate* 'kill'.

(341) *Egho, polo* [[*mai*] *gho karu* [*mai kao-ni-a*]]$_{SVC}$
OK if come PRO:2PL two come look-TR-OBJ:3SG

ghutu rau, site dapu lao rau
louse PRO:1SG IRR NEG go PRO:1SG

va-mate ghamu, ghua na nini.
CAUS-kill PRO:2PL say COMM giant
'OK, if you two come here and delouse me, I am not going to kill you, said the giant.'
(*Karua koboru sali nuli*, 015, nar)

The serialized verbs on the core layer of the clause structure are fully inflected verbs, and if transitive, the verbs have independent transitive markers and object clitics (342)-(343).

(342) *(..) meke* [[*ko-kobu-i na lohe*
and RED-cut-TR COMM bamboo.stick

tavet-i-a sodu-i]]$_{SVC}$ *ia.*
do-TR-OBJ:3SG penetrate-TR OBJ:3SG

'(..) and one cuts the bamboo stick, and work on it making it hollow.'

(*Vivineina babu*, 024, nar)

(343) *(..) me* [[*palek-i-a lao-ni-a*] *pa vazi-na* [*vari-poai*]]$_{SVC}$.
and carry-TR-OBJ:3SG go-TR-OBJ:3SG LOC place-SG DISTR-bury

'(..) and (they) carried her to and put her in the graveyard.'

(*Vinarimado*, 087, nar)

SVCs may, and often do, have nuclear layer SVCs as one of their components (344).

(344) [[*Lao*] *ia* [*tome va-ko-a*]$_{nucl\ SVC}$]$_{core\ SVC}$ *na mamaneke*
go PRO:3SG hide caus-stay-OBJ:3SG COMM woman

pi pa vanua.
DEM:SG LOC house

'She went and hid this woman in the house.'

(*Sologou*, 099, nar)

No core layer SVCs are attested in the corpus that consists of more than two components. As seen above, the components of core layer SVCs may be simple verbs or nuclear layer SVCs (344). Although the functional relations of verbs in core layer SVCs are many, the positional relations are thus few. Whereas all the slots given in Table 15.1 can be combined with each other, the structure of core layer SVCs is limited to a combination of a modifying verb and a head verb or two verbs constituting a complex head with no modifying verbs. The picture is thus far less complex than that of nuclear layer SVCs. Nonetheless, the function and paradigmatic relation between the components of core layer SVCs also depends on their order in the juncture,

and is presented in terms of positional slots in Table 15.2. This is an abstract structural overview of the possible functions and relations between the serialized verbs and is not a representation of the core layer SVC found in the corpus with the highest number of components. The various components must have the order relative to each other given in 15.2.

Table 15.2 Layers, slots and functions in core layer SVCs

[	[Head		] Modifying layer]
V_1	**V_2**	**V_3**	**V_4**
Modal	Cause	Effect	Attributive
Aspect	Manner	Goal	Aspect
	Sequential	Benefactive	Spatial dir
		Sequential	Deictic dir

As components in core layer SVCs often are nuclear layer SVCs, core layer SVCs can be very complex. We will focus on a simplified description here, including only simple verbs as modifying verbs.

15.3.1 Heads of core layer SVCs

Though less complex than nuclear layer SVCs, verbs in core layer SVCs have functions very similar to nuclear layer SVCs, and heads and modifying verbs are identified as for nuclear layer SVCs in 15.2. The central slots, V_2 and V_3, represent lexical units. As they contain the main semantic information in the SVC, they represent the head of the construction. All SVCs must have at least one of these slots filled. A core layer SVC may consist of a simple verb as head and one modifying verb, or a complex head consisting of two verbs and no modifying verbs. The sets of verbs that can fill V_2 and V_3 seems to be open, whereas the sets of verbs that can fill V_1 and V_4 are closed. Thus a relation between V_2 and V_3 is symmetrical, whereas the relation between V_2 or V_3 and V_1 or V_4 is asymmetrical. The relations between the head and modifying verbs are treated in the following sections, whereas this section deals with the relations between two verbs in a head.

Like nuclear SVCs, heads in core layer SVCs may consist of just one verb, in which case the verb has the same meaning and function as when used independently. In core layer SVCs consisting of a complex head, the types of relations that can exist between V_2 and V_3 are similar to that of V_3 and V_4 in nuclear layer SVCs. V_2 and V_3 can express sequential events (345).

(345) *Doghor-i-a ghami sarango-na tini-na okete*
see-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:1PL.EXCL dry-ATTR:3SG body-ATTR:3SG ngali.nut

[[*sena*] *ghami* [*voi-a*]]$_{SVC}$ *pa baika ba pa pili meke (..)*
get PRO:1PL.EXCL put-OBJ:3SG LOC bag but LOC basket and

'When we see that the shell of the ngali nuts are dry, we take them and put them in an ordinary bag or a basket and (..)'

(*Pogasimono*, 006, nar)

V_2 and V_3 can also express simultaneous events (346).

(346) *(..) meke* [[*podalai*] *a-ia* [*zeke palai-ni-a*]]$_{SVC}$
and start FOC-PRO:3SG cut remove-TR-OBJ:3SG

na ara-zae pi.
COMM LOC-ascend DEM:SG
'(..) and I start [it] by cutting away this upper side.'

(*Sore*, 003, nar)

15.3.2 Modifying verbs in core layer SVCs

The meaning and functions of verbs filling V_1 and V_4 differ significantly from the meaning of the same verbs when used independently. Whereas verbs in V_2 and V_3 carry the main lexical information of the SVC as a whole, verbs in V_1 and V_4 have highly grammatical functions, very similar to modifying verbs in nuclear layer SVCs (described in 15.2). Verbs in V_1 indicate modality and aspect, and verbs in V_4 indicate deictic direction. Whereas the class of verbs that can fill V_2 and V_3 is open, the classes of verbs that can fill V_1 and V_4 are closed.

15.3.3 Verbs in core layer SVCs marking modality

The only verbs attested in the corpus as marking modality in core layer SVCs are *gura* 'can' and *sila* 'will'.

(347) *Kai* [[*gura*] *ia* [*tatava zae*]]$_{SVC}$.
NEG can PRO:3SG fly ascend
'It is not a good flyer (lit. it cannot fly high).'

(*Na nao*, 004, nar)

Sila as V_1 in core layer SVCs marks intentional modality.

(348) *A-ia* [[*sila*] *rau* [*gito-a*]]$_{SVC}$.
FOC-PRO:3SG will PRO:1SG bake.in.earth.oven
'That is what I will bake in the earth oven.'

(*Za tavetia ghoi?*, 003, nar)

15.3.4 The verb *lao* marking aspect in core layer SVCs

The only aspect marking verb in core layer SVCs found in the corpus is *lao* 'go', which marks inceptive aspect. It's function is identical to *lao* as V_2 in a nuclear SVC.

(349) [[***Lao***] *ia* [*mono-i*]]$_{SVC}$ *tini taga rau.*
go pro:3sg massage-OBJ:3PL body POSS PRO:1SG
'He started to massage my body.'

(*Inuke taga rau pa zuda*, 020, nar)

15.3.5 The verbs *lao* marking deictic direction in core layer SVCs

Lao 'go' as V_4 in core layer SVCs code direction away from a reference point (350). Its function is identical to *lao* as V_7 in a nuclear layer SVC.

(350) [[*Selu vura-ni-a*] [***lao***]]$_{SVC}$ *rie (..)*
follow/chase exit-TR-OBJ:3SG go PRO:3PL
'They chased (it) out (..)'

(*Na viu*, 024, nar)

As demonstrated above, core SVCs are much less potentially complex and can contain fewer types of verbs (as modifiers) than nuclear SVCs. However, the functions of the verbs that exist in both constructions are very similar. The function of both constructions and the possible differences between them need further study. In Chapter 25, SVCs are briefly compared to other constructions denoting complex events, such as cosubordination and coordination. More studies are needed to find the extension of the use of each construction and their differences and similarities.

15.4 Summary

Ughele is a heavily serializing language, and verbs serialize both on the nuclear and core layer of the clause structure. In both cases, the function and meaning of and the relation between verbs in SVCs depends on the verbs' positions within the internal structure of the SVC.

Verbs in nuclear layer SVCs are juxtaposed with no intervening morphemes and share aspect and negation value. The head verb contributes with the main lexical and semantic content in the SVC, and the other verbs modify it by marking modality, aspect, manner and direction.

Verbs serialized on the core layer share negation value and at least one argument. As in nuclear layer SVCs, the head carries the main lexical

and semantic meaning, and other verbs modify it by marking modality, aspect, manner and direction.

16 Core and peripheral arguments

Subjects and direct objects are core arguments in Ughele. Everything else is an oblique or adjunct. Peripheral arguments (adjuncts) are expressed by the various phrases expressing location in time or space described in Chapters 10 and 11. Direct objects are described in 16.1.1, subjects in 16.1.2, and indirect objects in 16.2. Indirect objects may be expressed by means of PPs (16.2.1) or possessive pronouns (16.2.2).

16.1 Core arguments

16.1.1 Direct objects

Virtually all transitive verbs have object agreement marking enclitics, described in 13.1. As seen in previous chapters and also demonstrated below, object marking clitics agree with a co-referential NP headed by a noun (351) or pronoun (352) in the same clause.

(351) *Tavet-i-**a** rie **na** **boboro**.*
do-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:3PL COMM b.
'They made boboro[16].'

(*Boboro*, 010, nar)

(352) *Pusi kumus-i-**a** rie **ia** me (..)*
tie shut-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:3PL PRO:3SG and
'We tie it shut and (..)'

(*Boboro*, 023, nar)

[16] *Boboro* is the name of a traditional dish.

The clitic may also be the only element referring to the argument, where there is no NP referring to it (353).

(353) *Beto meke vuvu lao-ni-**a** ghami.*
finish and pour go-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:1PL.EXCL
'Then we pour it (in).'

(*Sisiliri*, 016, nar)

The fact that a pronominal object clitic may be – and often is - the only element in the clause referring to the object participant may lead one to consider the clitic to be the true expression of the argument of the verb. The optional co-referential NP would thus be an adjunct with anaphoric agreement with the clitic. However, whereas an NP headed by a noun would contain more lexical information than an object clitic, and can thus be considered to provide additional information to that indicated by the clitic, the same thing cannot be said about an object NP headed by an independent pronoun. A coreferential pronoun would hardly be necessary in a clause with an object clitic as a true argument. As seen in (352) above, the clitic and independent pronoun show the same information about its referent, namely person and number. According to Corbett (2003: 187) the possibility of a pronoun to occur in the same clause as a participant marker in a relatively unmarked way is an indication that the marker is an agreement marker rather than a true argument. As will be seen in 16.1.2, subject NPs are frequently dropped, even where the clause has no other marking of the subject referent. Subject agreement markers only occur under specific pragmatic and discourse circumstances in Ughele. That co-referential object NPs are not always present in the same clause as object marking clitics does not mean that they cannot be agreement targets. Following Corbett (2003: 181), if one considers agreement to reach beyond the clause, pronouns agree with their antecedents.

16.1.2 Subjects

Subjects are optionally expressed by an NP which precedes nominal predicates in nominal clauses (see Chapter 17), and follows immediately after the verb in verbal clauses where it precedes the object NP where there is one (see Chapter 18). The NP may be headed by a noun or pronoun. (354) shows two clauses with no overt subject NP, (355) a clause with a subject NP headed by a noun, and (356) one headed by a pronoun.

(354) *Beto meke sena na arozo*
finish and get COMM rope

meke pusa lao beto meke (..)
and tie go finish and
'And (they) take (some) rope and tie (it) and (..)'

(*Boboro*, 019, nar)

(355) *Moso* ***na*** ***ikana*** ***pi*** *meke (..)*
sick COMM person DEM and
'This person fell ill and (..)'

(*Ghinorena linotu pa Ughele*, 006, nar)

(356) *Mai zunga-ni-a* ***ghami*** *na nika, (..)*
come light-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:1PL.EXCL COMM fire
'We come and light the fire, (..)'

(*Bubupa*, 004, nar)

Verbal clauses may have preverbal subject marking clitics or postverbal subject marking pronouns under special pragmatic and discourse conditions (see Chapters 13, 24 and 25). They will be considered as agreement marking here for the same reasons as object clitics are regarded agreement marking, given above in 16.1.1.

16.2 Indirect objects

Indirect objects are always obliques (non-core arguments) in Ughele. They may be expressed either by means of a PP with the preposition *ko* or a possessor construction.

16.2.1 Benefactive and goal PPs

Where the indirect object is a beneficiary, it may be expressed in two different ways. First, it may be expressed by a PP with the preposition *ko* (357). The indirect object PP precedes the direct object NP.

(357) *(..) meke pulese mai va-lao-ni-a*
and return come CAUS-go-TR-OBJ:3SG

ko na maroke *na ghaili.*
DIR COMM old.man COMM fishhook
'(..) and they returned and gave back the fishhook to the old man.'
(*Ghaili*, 100, nar)

Where indirect objects are goals they are also expressed by means of PPs with *ko*. In clauses with verbs denoting utterances, the general tendency is for the theme to be expressed as a direct object and the goal as an oblique PP, as in (358).

(358) *A-ia site toji-ni-a* ***ko gho***
FOC-PRO:3SG IRR tell-TR-OBJ:3SG DIR PRO:2PL

ngeta *na ghaili.*
three COMM fishhook
'I will tell you three this (about) the fishhook.'
(*Ghaili*, 048, nar)

However, there are exceptions, such as (359) where the goal is the direct object of the verb, as can be seen by the object agreement marking clitic, and the theme is a complement clause.

(359) *(..) meke lao na maroke nanaz-i,*
and go PRO:3SG old.man ask-OBJ:3PL

Ei, sabu-a gho ngeta
hey fish-OBJ:3SG PRO:2PL three

na makazi?
comm bonito
'(..) and the old man asked them, Hey, did you catch any bonito?'
(*Ghaili*, 009-10, nar)

The NP in indirect object PPs such as (357) and (358) will be considered the head of the PP here, as it is an argument of the verb. The function of the preposition is of a case-marking like nature.

16.2.2 Benefactive possessive pronouns

Indirect objects that are beneficiaries can also be expressed by means of a possessor construction, either by a possessor pronoun preceding the NP expressing the theme (360)-(361), or a possessor PP following it (362)-(363).

(360) *Tavete mai-ni-a* ***gua*** *parika (..)*
do come-TR-OBJ:1SG POSS:1SG bow
'Make me a bow (..)'

(*Sologou*, 155, nar)

(361) *Meke naghe na koburu pi,*
and say COMM child DEM:SG

Ei, rau hiva ***gua*** *parika.*
hey PRO:1SG want POSS:1SG bow
'And this child said, Ai, I want a bow (for me).'

(*Sologou*, 154, nar)

(362) *Egho, ghoi palek-i-a na babu*
OK pro:2sg carry-TR-OBJ:3SG COMM bamboo

taga rau*!*
POSS PRO:1SG
'OK, you carry the bamboo (container) for me!'

(*Ka made vineki pu patu*, 010, nar)

(363) *(..) mami ghore kulimi*
SBJ:1PL.EXCL descend fill

lobe tilingi ***taga rau****.*
water salt POSS PRO:1SG
'(..) we will go down (and) fill some water (in it) for me.'

(Ka made vineki pu patu, 011, nar)

16.3 Summary

Core arguments (subjects and direct objects) are represented by NPs and marked by pronominal agreement marking. Neither overt NPs or agreement marking are obligatory, and the argument may not be overtly expressed at all. Indirect objects are represented by either PPs or possessive constructions.

17 Nominal clauses

This chapter concerns independent main clauses with nominal predicates. Nominal clauses are relatively rare in the data, most clauses being verbal. Nominal predicates can be NPs of different kinds or PPs. There is only one core argument, the subject, which is expressed by an NP. Unless focused (364), the predicate follows the argument NP (365)-(366).

(364) ***Pa avara-na Bili*** *na dekuru.*
LOC shoulder-POSS:3SG B. COMM log
'The log is on *Bill's shoulder.*'

(*Adpos.*, 1.1.22, elic)

(365) *Na dekuru* ***pa avara-na Bili.***
COMM log LOC shoulder-POSS:3SG B.
'The log is on Bill's shoulder.'

(*Typ. relat.*, 1.1.22, elic)

(366) *Zioni* ***na viu le-leana.***
Z. COMM bird RED-good
'Zioni is a nice bird.'

(*Zioni na viu*, 001, nar)

See Chapter 24 for a description of focus in different constructions. Any NP can be a predicate. See Chapter 8 for a description of the internal structure of NPs.

17.1 True nominal and equational clauses

NP predicates may be referential or non-referential. Following Dryer (2007: 233), non-referential predicates will be referred to as true nominal predicates here. Clauses with referential predicates will be referred to as equational, and are described below. True nominal predicates are of an ascriptive nature, and assign certain properties to their subjects (367)-(368).

(367) *Pila* ***kaike namu ta-tavete***
DEM:SG one food RED-do

ko rie pa vizoroi.
DIR PRO:3PL LOC past
'This is a dish of those in the past.'

(*Kodo*, 002, nar)

(368) *Ghoi* ***koreo vanaghogho-mu***
PRO:2SG boy rich-ATTR:2SG

me rau ***vanamamala-gu.***
and PRO:1SG poor-ATTR:1SG
'You are a rich boy and I am poor.'

(*Vinarimado*, 011, nar)

Whereas adjectival verbs are used as predicates, nominal attributives derived from adjectival verbs rarely occur as predicates alone, without a noun they modify. (369) and the last clause in (368) are rare examples of headless nominal predicates with nominal attributives.

(369) *Uve, na ngosara tuge-a ia*
yes COMM coconut hold-OBJ:3SG PRO:3SG

nongolo-na *tughu.*
grown-ATTR:3SG also
'Yes, the coconut she is holding is also a ripe one.'

(*Solabration*, 014, elic)

In equational clauses, the referent of the NP predicate is identified with the subject referent.

(370) *Na bae pi* ***na bae***
COMM cave DEM:SG COMM cave

ta na habili (..)
POSS COMM bumphead.parrot.fish
'This cave was the cave of the bumphead parrot fish (..)'

(*Ka rua habili lavata*, 006, nar)

(371) *A-ia ghu* ***na papa ta***
FOC-PRO:3SG EMPH COMM father POSS

na koboru pi, *ghua*
COMM child DEM:SG say

na mamaneke za.
COMM woman DEM:SG
'He is the father of this child, said this woman.'

(*Sologou*, 282, nar)

17.2 Clauses with possessive predicates

Possessor NPs with an NP referring to the possessor modified by possessive morphology, either a possessive pronoun from the paradigm given in Table 9.2 (372) or one of the possessive prepositions *taga* (373) and *ta* (374), may predicate a nominal clause. The clause expresses a situation in which the subject referent is possessed by the referent of the possessor NP in the possessive predicate.

(372) *Na sasa pi* ***gua rau.***
comm baby DEM:SG POSS:1SG PRO:1SG
'This baby is mine.'

(*Gen. 08*, 097, elic)

(373) *Pila* ***taga rau.*** *Vei ta ghoi?*
DEM:SG POSS PRO:1SG where POSS PRO:2SG
'Here's mine. Where's yours?'

(*Ghu*, 006, elic)

(374) *V<in>a-rua* ***ta na okete.***
<NOM>CAUS-two POSS COMM ngali.nut
'The second is that of the ngali nut.'

(*Ghighila ta na oket*e, 004, nar)

In Chapter 9 the internal structure of possessive constructions and which possessive relations the various constructions express was described. It was demonstrated that, whereas one can distinguish between inalienably and alienably possessed nouns on the basis of which possessive constructions they can be possessum in many Oceanic languages (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002: 37; Ross 1988: 15), this distiction is not straightforward in Ughele. There are certain nouns that only occur as possessum in a particular possessive constructions, but for many nouns it is the nature of the relation between possessor and possessum that determines which construction is used. As described in 9.2.5, there is a set of kinship terms that only occur as possessum in direct attributive possessive constructions, comprising the nouns *tazi* 'sibling', *tina* 'mother', *tama* 'father', *buhuhi* 'grandchild/grandparent', *buhi* 'aunt/uncle', and *mazi* 'cousin'. The set does not include all kinship terms in Ughele. When the possessor is a predicate, however, the possessor is referred to by a PP (375).

(375) *Na mazi vineki ia taga rau.*
COMM cousin girl PRO:3SG POSS PRO:1SG
'The (female) cousin is mine.'

(*Pre. poss. pro.*, 011, elic)

17.3 Locational clauses with PP predicates

Most locational clauses are verbal clauses with the stative verb *ko* 'be/be.at/stay' as a predicate 18.2.2, but locational clauses can also be nominal, with PP predicates referring to the location in which the subject referent is situated (376)-(378).

(376) *Zoku vovotiki tokoro* ***pa n<in>aghe Ughele***
many different taboo LOC <NOM>say U.

mana korapa ghilana va-ko-i rau pire.
but inside know CAUS-stay-TR PRO:1SG DEM:PL
'There are many different taboos in the sayings in Ughele but I only know of these.'

(*Tokoro*, 001, nar)

(377) *Nana kinabe* ***pa kapa patu.***
POSS:3SG basket LOC side stone
'His basket is next to the stone.'

(*Solabration*, 012, elic)

(378) *Na aba* ***pa ara-zae pioila.***
COMM spider LOC NOM-climb DEM:SG
'The spider is there on top.'

(*Adv.*, 001, elic)

Whereas locational clauses with the copula *ko* imply a certain duration of the state of location, the location of the subject referent in nominal locational clauses may be instantaneous.

Following Van Valin and LaPolla (2004: 52) the preposition will be considered the true head of the construction as it is the preposition which licenses the NP. The prepositions may take a local noun, a place name, or any other name referring to a location in time or space as their complement.

17.4 Interrogative nominal clauses with *vei* 'where'

The interrogative pronoun *vei* 'where' as a predicate follows the subject NP, whereas it precedes the core when being a peripheral argument of the clause 18.6.2. In the latter case, it may be part of a PP or simply in adposition in the latter case. As part of a PP, it is only attested as a predicate (379).

(379) *Ghoi* ***pa vei?***
PRO:2SG LOC where
'Where are you?'

(*Vivineina koba*, 014, nar)

When focused, *vei* occurs alone, without a preposition, it takes the focal prefix *a-*, and is fronted, that is, it precedes the subject NP (380).

(380) *Meke nanaza lao ia,*
and ask go PRO:3SG

A-vei *na ghaili?*
FOC-where COMM fish.hook
'And he asked, Where is the fishhook?'

(*Ghaili*, 032, nar)

See Chapter 24 for more information on *vei* constructions with focus.

17.5 Negation of nominal predicates

17.5.1 Negation with *dake* 'without'

Possessive nominal predicates may be negated with the negative preposition *dake* 'without'. Below, the predicates consist in a direct (381) and an indirect (382) possessive construction, and precedes the subject NP.

(381) ***Dake tetepe-na*** *na mola ia.*
NEG sail-POSS:3SG COMM canoe PRO:3SG
'The canoe doesn't have a sail.'

(*Without*, 003, elic)

(382) ***Dake gua totozo rau*** *kapiri pi.*
NEG POSS:1SG time PRO:1SG now DEM:SG
'I don't have time right now.'

(*Gen. 08*, 126, elic)

17.5.2 Negation with *kati* 'not'

As seen above in 17.5.1 possessive nominal predicates are negated by te particle *dake*. Other nominal predicates are negated by means of the negation particle *kati* 'not'. The negation particle precedes the NP it negates and the negated predicate follows the subject NP (383)-(384).

(383) *Na kodo* ***kati na ngosara***
COMM k. NEG COMM coconut

pu a-rie na muna.
REL FOC-PRO:3PL COMM dry.coconut
'Kodo is not (from) coconut that is (a) dry (coconut).'

(*Kodo*, 004, nar)

(384) *Pila* ***kati ghua vanua rau***
DEM:SG NEG say house PRO:1SG

mana ta na tazi-gu koreo.
but POSS COMM sibling-POSS:1SG boy/man
'This is not my house, but my brother's.'

(*R.elic. 08*, RE1, elic)

17.6 Summary

Nominal predicates follow their one argument. They can be NPs, possessive constructions and locational PPs, and be negated by either of the particles *dake* or *kati*.

18 Verbal clauses

This chapter concerns main verbal clauses. Clauses involving core layer serial verb constructions are described in Chapters 15 and other complex clauses in Chapters 19-23. Types of verbal clauses will be characterized in terms of their argument structure. The unmarked constituent order in verbal clauses is VS/VAO (though S and A occationally do occur preverbally without any apparent focus marking function). Clauses with zero transitivity are described in 18.1. The internal structure of intransitive clauses is described in Section 18.2 and transitive in 18.3. Reflexive clauses are described in 18.4. Clauses with oblique arguments are described in 18.5. Interrogative clauses are described in 18.6, imperative clauses in 18.7, and negated clauses in 18.8.

18.1 Verbal clauses with zero transitivity

There are a few clauses with no referential arguments, denoting weather conditions. These clauses have no overt expression of a formal argument. The clause consists of a verb and possibly adjuncts and adverbs (385)-(387).

(385) *Bule ŋginoroi, parai uzina.*
calm today yesterday rain
'It's fine today but yesterday it rained.'

(*elofaranadve*_089_elic)

(386) *Uzana meke paka pa suriki.*
rain and thunder LOC night
'It was raining and thundering in the evening.'

(*Ratatouille*, 002, nar)

(387) *Aria, leke suriki, ghua mamaneke ia.*
hurry lest dark say woman PRO:3SG
'Hurry up, lest it gets dark, said the woman.'

(*Sologou*, 021, nar)

Since these clauses have no semantic arguments, they may be described as having zero-transitivity, as suggested in Dryer (2007: 267). These types of verbs have also been described as 'impersonal', amongst others in Evans (1995: 326-327).

18.2 Intransitive clauses

As mentioned in Chapter 12, no clear cut distinction can be made between lexical classes of intransitive and transitive verb roots. In many cases, one and the same root can be a predicate both in intransitive and transitive clauses with no derivational morphology involved in any of the cases. Thus, valence depends on the clause, rather than on the lexical verb root predicating it. The internal structure of un-focused intransitive verbal clauses is as follows.

$$[(\text{NEG})\ (\text{SBJ})\ (\text{ASP/MOOD})\ \text{V}\ (\text{S})\ (\text{LocP})]_{\text{CL}}$$

The verb is the only obligatory element in the verbal clause. Subject agreement marking only occurs under special circumstances (see 13.2), and will not be dealt with here. Where there is an overt subject NP, the constituent order may be VS (388) or SV (389).

(388) *(..) meke eko rie ka ru meke (..)*
and lie PRO:3PL CARD two and
'(..) and the two (of them) lie down and (..)'

(*Mayer's Frog Story*, 054, elic)

(389) *Hukari soghoru pa kali ghede-gu meke (..)*
H. sit LOC side left-ATTR:1SG and
'Hukari is sitting on my left side and (..)'

(*Loc. 221008*, 019, elic)

In clauses like these, with a retrievable referent corresponding to the subject (unlike the clauses described in 18.1), the argument NP can be, and often is, omitted (390)-(391). In such cases, the argument is usually retrievable from the context, either textually or in the speech situation.

(390) *Zae pa zuda ia.*
ascend LOC tree PRO:3SG
' She climbed the tree.'

(*Gen. 08*, 040, elic)

(391) *Soghoru pa ghutama-na vanua.*
sit LOC outside-ATTR:3SG house
'He is sitting outside the house.'

(*Loc.*, 008, elic)

The presence and absence of overt argument NPs are discussed in Chapter 25. Verbs predicating intransitive clauses may denote stative situations, such as postures (391), existential situations (see 18.1.4), locational clauses (see 18.1.5), and, typically, clauses with adjectival verbs (392)-(393). All these verbs take an experiencer or theme as an argument.

(392) *Aleni ngajiri ia kaike totozo me (..)*
A. be.angry PRO:3SG one time and
'Aleni was angry once and (..)'

(*Aleni*, 001, nar)

(393) *Kazupata ka ru koboru pire.*
feel.shock CARD two child DEM:PL
'These two children were shocked.'

(*Ka rua koboru sali nuli*, 009, nar)

Other verbs typically occurring in intransitive clauses denote changes of state (394) or other spontaneous events (395).

(394) *(..) meke mate pele ai Rore Pegi.*
and die next FOC R. P.
'(..) and Rore Pegi died next.'

(*Sologou*, 302, nar)

(395) *(..) uke pa menoko rau.*
fall LOC soil/ground PRO:1SG
'(..) I fell on the ground.'

(*Inuke taga rau pa zuda*, 017, nar)

Finally, motion verbs are also often intransitive. They may indicate manner of motion (396).

(396) *(..) voze rie pa lamana.*
paddle PRO:3PL LOC deep
'(..) they paddled into the deep sea.'

(*Vivineina koba*, 004, nar)

Or they may indicate spatial (397) or deictic (398)-(399) direction of motion.

(397) *Na koboru ghore pa avara-na Bili.*
COMM child descend LOC shoulder-POSS:3SG B.
'The child got down from Bill's shoulders.'

(*Adpositions and cases*, 1.1.32 b, elic)

(398) *Mai Siro meke (..)*
come S. and
'Siro came and (..)'

(*Siro 2*, 002, nar)

(399) *Lao ghami meke (..)*
go PRO:1PL.EXCL and
'We went and (..)'

(*Ka rua habili lavata*, 004, nar)

18.2.1 Existential clauses with *ko*

The verb *ko* 'be/be.at/stay' may be used in the meaning of 'stay' or 'live' but is also used as a copula in existential constructions (400)-(401). The subject, referring to the participant whose existence is expressed by the clause, always follows the verb.

(400) *Ko nana kaike ikana bagho-na*
be SUB:3SG one person name-POSS:3SG

ia ai Noman[17] *Wheatley.*
PRO:3SG FOC N. W.
'There was a man by the name of Norman Wheatley.'

(*Ghinorena linotu pa Ughele*, 002, nar)

(401) *Ko dia made mazi pire.*
be SUB:3PL four sibling DEM:PL
'There were four siblings.'

(*Made koreo me tazina vineki*, 001, nar)

Existential constructions such as (400)-(401) above represent a common way to start a narrative, often introducing the main participant into the discourse (25.1.1). When introducing a participant to the discourse, the clause often has a post verbal subject pronoun, such as *nana* in (400) and *dia* in (401), marking the argument as focused (24.4).

18.2.2 Locational clauses

Clauses that express the location of a theme have an obligatory adjunct (peripheral argument) expressing the location in time or space. See Chapter

[17] The proper name *Norman* in English has become *Noman* in Ughele.

10 for a description of spatial locational phrases and Chapter 11 for phrases referring to location in time. Locational clauses may have nominal predicates or be expressed by posture verbs or adjectival verbs, but as mentioned in Chapter 17, most locational clauses are predicated with the verb *ko*. As is the case in the existential clauses described above, *ko* also has a copula-like function in locational clauses.

(402) *Egholo ko tata pa Ughele.*
E. be near LOC U
'Egholo is close to Ughele'

(*Elic. 161007*, 007, elic)

(403) *Ko pa vanua ia.*
be LOC house PRO:3SG
'She was at home.'

(*Sologou*, 067, nar)

As seen in 17.3, locational situations such as those denoted by (402) and (403) can also be denoted by locational nominal clauses with a PP predicate. However, locational clauses with *ko* differ from nominal locational clauses in that the situation expressed by the clause is expected to last for a certain amount of time. The verbal predicate also allows for specification of aspect and mood (404), which can only be marked by verbal morphology in Ughele.

(404) *Zoku vuaseni site ko ia*
many year IRR be PRO:3SG

pa vanua meke (..)
LOC house and
'It will stay in the house for many years and (..)'

(*Boboro*, 027, nar)

Posture verbs are mainly used to denote human posture, as in (391) above, but their use may also be extended to denote the location of inanimate participants (405).

(405) *Na nula pi turu nana*
COMM nut DEM:SG stand SBJ:3SG

pa zolozo tu.
LOC ground EMPH
'These nuts were on the ground.'

(*Ka rua koboru sali nuli*, 003, nar)

18.2.3 Clauses with derived distributive verbs

As seen in Chapter 12, clauses with derived distributive verbs mainly indicate reciprocal activities, but they may also be used in a more general sense. Although the subject refers to the whole set of participants, the distributive verb may still be marked for transitivity and take an object agreement clitic (406).

(406) *(..) meke vari-uma-i rie ka ru meke (..)*
and DISTR-kiss-OBJ:3PL PRO:3PL CARD two and
'(..) and the two (of them) kissed and (..)'

(*Ratatouille*, 080, nar)

18.2.4 Clauses with derived passive verbs

In clauses with derived passive verbs, the verb takes an undergoer or theme as its only argument. The S of the passive verbs corresponds to the A of a corresponding underived verb when transitive.

(407) *(..) meke pa hospital ta rie juapa rane*
and LOC hospital POSS PRO:3PL seven day

lao meke ta-zalanga ikana pila.
go and PASS-heal person DEM:SG
'(..) and at the hospital of these seventh day (adventists) this person started to heal.'

(*Ghinorena linotu pa Ughele*, 009, nar)

Passive clauses may have oblique arguments in the form of a PP expressing an agent, effector or source (408).

(408) *A-ia* *kaike vivinei pu ta-toji-ni-a*
FOC-PRO:3SG one story REL PASS-tell-TR-OBJ:3SG

rau ko rie mamaroke vizoroi.
PRO:1SG DIR PRO:3PL RED-old.man past
'That is a story that I was told by the old men from the past.'

(*Sodoko Kenu*, 022, nar)

18.3 Transitive clauses

As mentioned in Chapter 12 and above in 18.1.2, it is difficult make a clear-cut distinction between a lexical class of intransitive verbs and one of transitive ones. Many verb roots occur in both transitive and intransitive clauses with no additional derivational morphology in either case. It is rather the presence of overt argument NPs and possible transitive marking and object agreement marking clitics on the verb that indicate that the clause is transitive. Oblique arguments can only be expressed by PPs or possessive pronouns, as described 16.2. The structure of transitive verbal clauses is as follows.

$$[(\text{NEG})\ (\text{SBJ})\ (\text{A/M})\ \text{V}\ (\text{A})\ (\text{O})\ (\text{LocP})]_{\text{CL}}$$

The verb is the only obligatory element in the verbal clause. Where there are overt subject and object NPs, the un-focused constituent order is VAO (409)-(410). Various means of focus marking, among them constituent order are described in Chapter 24.

(409) *Tavet-i-a* *rie* *na* *v<in>ari-ghara* *lavata.*
do-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:3PL COMM <NOM>DISTR-gather big
'They prepared a big feast.'

(*Sodoko Kenu*, 019, nar)

(410) *Tupa-u* *Elti rau.*
hit-OBJ:1SG E. PRO:1SG
'Elti hit me.'

(*Rec.*, 005, elic)

As shown above for intransitive clauses, one or both argument NP(s) can be omitted. (411) shows a verbal clause with no overt subject NP, (412) with no overt object NP, and (413) with no overt argument NPs at all.

(411) *Lao sipat-i-i na viu zara.*
go shoot-TR-OBJ:3PL COMM bird DEM:PL
'He went and shot those birds.'

(*Sologou*, 160, nar)

(412) *Mado-ni-gho rau.*
happy-TR-OBJ:2SG PRO:1SG
'I love you.'

(*Adj.*, 055, elic)

(413) *Posar-i-a*
hit-TR-OBJ:3SG
'I slap him'

(*Site/lao*, 006, elic)

As will be seen in Chapter 25, zero marking of participants is more likely if the participant in question has low topicality, but as (413) shows, this is not a requirement. The first person interpretation could be derived from the context in the elicitation situation.

As mentioned in Chapter 17, while virtually all transitive verbs have object agreement clitics, subject agreement only occurs under specific pragmatic and discourse circumstances, and will not be discussed here.

Verbs typically occurring as transitive are actions, with an agent as A and a theme or undergoer as O (414).

(414) *Le tavet-i-a Lako na*
so do-TR-OBJ:3SG L. COMM

t<in>avete ta ia pi.
<NOM>do POSS PRO:3SG DEM:SG
'So Lako did his duty.'

(*Vagho*, 045, nar)

They may also be stative situations, such as perceptual (49) and cognitive verbs (416), with an experiencer as A and a theme as O.

(415) *Egho, doghor-i-a ghoi vazi-na pi.*
OK see-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:2SG place-SG DEM
'OK, you see this place.'

(*Kevin's tree guide*, 013, nar)

(416) *Ghila-ni-a rau Kusaghe.*
know-tr-obj:3sg pro:1sg K.
'I know (how to speak) Kusaghe.'

(*Gen. 08*, 172, elic)

18.3.1 Clauses with derived causative verbs

Simple clauses predicated by causative verbs are transitive, and in some cases ditransitive, taking an indirect object (oblique) PP as described in 18.5. Some verbs can occur in both types of clauses, such as *va-lao*, which translates as 'add' in (417) (but as 'give'in most other contexts). The latter meaning is demonstrated in Section 18.5.

(417) *Site va-lao neka.*
IRR CAUS-go slippery.cabbage
'(You) may add slippery cabbage.'

(*Guso*, 025, nar)

The derived causative verbs take an agent or effector as A and a patient or theme as O. The O of the derived causative verb corresponds to the S of the corresponding underived verbs when intransitive.

18.4 Reflexive clauses

Reflexivity may be expressed by means of either of the nouns *tale* or *pulese* with an attributive suffix referring to the one participant of the construction (18.4.1-18.4.2) as O, or by serialized verbs (18.4.2). As most of the available data of reflexive clauses are elicited, it is uncertain how frequent each construction is.

18.4.1 Reflexive clauses with *tale*

One of three possible reflexive constructions involve the noun *tale* which is not encountered outside reflexive constructions in the data and which possibly translates 'self'. The clause itself is transitive and *tale* as the object and an overt subject NP (if there is one), such as the pronoun *rau* in (418), are coreferential.

(418) *Ghaza rau tale-gu.*
wash PRO:1SG REFL-ATTR:1SG
'I washed myself.'

(*Not. 10.11.08*, 01, elic)

The noun *tale* takes an attributive suffix, referring to the one participant involved in the reflexive state of affairs. A similar form is described as a 'reflexive base' in another Northwestern Solomonic language, Kokota, where the form with pronoun suffixes is described under pronouns (Palmer 2009: 71-72). However, as no other pronouns take attributive suffixes in Ughele, it is analyzed as a noun here.

The reflexive marker *tale* often combines with nuclear layer serial verb constructions with the verb *pulese* 'return' in the modifier layer of the SVC (see Chapter 15 for a description of the layered structure of SVCs). As will be seen in 18.3.3, the functions of the verb seem similar to that of *tale*, namely marking the clause as reflexive. Constructions such as (419)-(421), which represent the most frequent type of reflexive clause in the data, are thus doubly marked for reflexivity.

(419) *Beto me lao ia* [*va-mate pules-i-a*]$_{SVC}$
finish and go PRO:3SG CAUS-die return-TR-OBJ:3SG

tale-na na meki pi.
REFL-ATTR:3SG COMM dog DEM:SG
'And this dog went and killed himself.'

(*Vivineina koba*, 023, nar)

(420) *Tale-mu* [*va-bakora pules-i-a*]$_{SVC}$
REFL-ATTR:2SG CAUS-cut-TR-OBJ:2SG return-TR-OBJ:3SG

kabele-mu.
arm-POSS:2SG
'You cut yourself in the arm.'

(*Gen. 08*, 065, elic)

(421) *Gura* [*lemono pulese-ni-au*]$_{SVC}$ *tale-gu*
can hear return-TR-OBJ:1SG REFL-ATTR:1SG

gua sini-gu.
POSS:1SG breath-ETTR:1SG
'I could hear my own breathing.'

(*Refl. 08*, 005, elic)

Not all reflexive clauses have co-referential subjects and objects such as (419). In (420)-(421) the object referent is a part of, rather than equal to, the subject referent.

18.4.2 Reflexive clauses with *pulese*

As seen in (418)-(421) above, serial verb constructions with *pulese* 'return' in the modifying layer of the serial verb construction often combines with the reflexive marker *tale*. Whereas *pulese* is a verb above, part of a serial verb construction taking verbal morphology such as transitive marking and object clitics, it also occurs in reflexive constructions such as (422)-(423). In these constructions, it seems *pulese* has been derived by conversion to become a noun, rather similar to *tale*, taking an attributive suffix.

(422) *Va-bakora pulese-gu rau.*
CAUS-cut REFL-ATTR:3SG PRO:3SG
'I cut myself.'

(*Refl. 08*, 004, elic)

(423) *Vari-ghilana pulese-da ghita.*
DISTR-know REFL-ATTR:1PL.INCL PRO:1PL.INCL
'We understand each other.'

(*Gen. 08*, 171, elic)

Its function is very similar to that of *tale*, and it is unclear what the difference is between constructions such as (424) with *pulese* and (418) with *tale*.

(424) *(..) mana kagu va-ngira-di tughu*
but must CAUS-strengthen-ATTR:3PL also

dia v<in>a-ghesi pulese-di
POSS:3PL <NOM>CAUS-proud return-ATTR:3PL

pa dia r<in>eka.
LOC POSS:3PL <NOM>speak

'(..) but can also strengthen their own pride in their language.'

(*Gen. 02 08*, 011, elic)

The reflexive clause in (425) combines both and thus represents another clause that is doubly marked for reflexivity (just as (419)-(421) above).

(425) *Rie mamaneke doghoro pulese-di*
PRO:3PL woman see REFL-ATTR:3PL

tale-di pa galasi.
REFL-ATTR:3PL LOC glass

'The women saw themselves in the mirror.'

(*Refl.*, 003, elic)

As seen above in (420)-(421), serial verb constructions with *pulese* 'return' marking the construction as reflexive often co-occur with *tale*. The serialization may also express reflexive events without any additional reflexive marking (426).

(426) [*Maso pulese-ni-a*]$_{SVC}$ *rau na kabele-gu.*
cut return-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:1SG COMM arm-POSS:1SG

'I cut myself in the arm.

(*Gen. 08*, 064, elic)

For more information about *pulese* as a modifying verb in serial verb constructions, see Chapter 15.

18.5 Clauses with oblique arguments

As seen in Chapter 16, oblique arguments may either be expressed by a PP or a possessive construction.

18.5.1 Beneficiary PPs

As seen in 16.2.1, beneficiaries may be expressed by a PP with the preposition *ko* following the verb.

(427) *Va-lao-ni-a ko rie ka ŋgeta, (..)*
CAUS-go-TR-OBJ:3SG DIR PRO:3PL CARD three
'(He) gave it to the three(of them) then (..)'

(*Ghaili*, 020, nar)

18.5.2 Beneficiary possessor constructions

In 16.2.2 it was shown that beneficiaries can also be expressed by a possessor construction, it may either be a possessive pronoun (428) from the set given in Table 9.2, or a prepositional possessor construction (429).

(428) *Ghoghona kao gua viu,*
shoot look POSS:1SG bird

ghua ia, le (..)
say OBJ:3SG so
'I (will) shoot some birds for myself, he said, so (..)'

(*Sologou*, 156, nar)

(429) *Palek-i-a na lobe taga rau (..)*
carry-TR-OBJ:3SG COMM water POSS PRO:1SG
'Bring some water for me (..)'

(*Ka made vineki pu patu*, 004, nar)

18.5.3 Goal PPs

As seen in 16.2.1, verbs denoting utterances take themes as direct object and goals such as addressees as indirect objects (obliques). The latter is expressed by means of PPs with the preposition *ko*.

(430) *(..) me naghe Aku reka mai*
and speak A. speak come

ko ghai kiza,
DIR PRO:1PL.EXCL all

Vei lao ghamu? ghua ia.
where go PRO:2PL say PRO:3SG
'(..) and Aku said (speaking) to us two, Where are you going? (he said).'

(*Aku*, 006, nar)

The PP referring to the goal immediately follows the verb and precedes the direct object NP, as in (431), where the indirect object PP *ko ghoi* precedes the direct object NP *na sabu kolubata*.

(431) *Egho, a-rau site vivinei-ni-a*
OK FOC-PRO:1SG IRR tell-TR-OBJ:3SG

ko ghoi na sabu kolubata.
DIR PRO:2SG COMM fishing k.
'OK, I will tell you about kolubata[18] fishing.'

(*Sabu kolubata*, 001, conv)

[18] *Kolubata* refers to a species of fish.

As an argument of the verb, the NP is considered the head of the PP, and the preposition as a modifier (see 18.4.1).

18.6 Interrogative clauses with verbal predicates

18.6.1 Polar questions

Polar questions are interrogative clauses where the speaker typically expects the answer to be either 'yes' or 'no'. The morpho-syntactic structure of polar questions is not different from that of declarative clauses. The un-focused constituent order is VS for intransitive clauses and VAO for transitive clauses.

(432) *Gura iliri-a ghoi pila?*
can translate-OBJ:3SG PRO:2SG DEM:SG
'Can you translate this?'

(*Gen. 08*, 175, elic)

(433) *Va-mate-a gho ngeta makazi?*
CAUS-die-OBJ:3SG PRO:2PL three bonito
'Did you three get (lit. kill) any bonito?'

(*Ghaili*, 030, nar)

18.6.2 Interrogative clauses with question words

Question words in Ughele consist of a set of interrogative pronouns (7.2.8) that are modified by nominal morphology such as articles and demonstratives and occur in PPs. They may be core arguments (434)-(436) or peripheral (437) arguments in the clause. There is also a possibility that the latter, modifying the entire clause, represent a set of adverbs derived and being homophonous with the pronouns (cf. possible temporal adverbs derived from nouns described in Section 11.1).

(434) *Na za hiva-ni-a ghoi?*
COMM what want-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:2SG
'What do you want?'

(*Na za*, 001, elic)

(435) *Zei tavet-i-a?*
who do-TR-OBJ:3SG
'Who did it?'

(*Mixed*, 016, elic)

(436) *Ka viviza viu viviso-di?*
NEG how.many bird colourful-ATTR:3PL
'How many colourful birds (were there) not?'

(*Ughele reading book*, 055, nar)

(437) *Vei lao miu ghua gho ka ngeta?*
where go SBJ:2PL say PRO:2PL CARD three
'Where are the three (of) you going?'

(*Ghaili*, 052, nar)

(438) *Zale kai va-kina keki ia turanga-i pomolo?*
why NEG CAUS-cook cake PRO:3SG meet-OBJ:3PL pomolo
'Why did he not bake a cake with pomolo (lit. adding pomolo)?'

(*Mixed*, 002, elic)

(439) *Kamuza site mai ghoi?*
when IRR come PRO:2SG
'When are you coming?'

(*Not. 16.10.07*, 063, elic)

The NP headed by the interrogative pronoun is always clause-initial. As shown in 24.2, interrogative pronouns can take the focal prefix *a-*.

18.7 Imperative clauses

There are two types of imperative clauses, one marked as imperative by the imperative mood marking particle *ma* and a subject agreement clitic (18.5.1), and an unmarked imperative clause (18.5.2). The difference in meaning and function between them remains unclear.

18.7.1 Imperative clauses with imperative mood particle *ma*

Imperative clauses may be marked as such by the imperative mood marking particle *ma*, described in 14.1.3. *Ma* takes an obligatory preverbal subject agreement clitic, from the set given in 7.2.2.

(440) *Bene Clarice mai, aria,*
B. C. come hurry

ma=da lao pa kisini!
IMP=1PL.INCL go LOC kitchen
'Bene (and) Clarice come, hurry, let's go to the kitchen!'

(*Aria*, 004, elic)

18.7.2 Unmarked imperative clauses

Imperative clauses do not differ morpho-syntactically from declarative clauses. Unmarked word order is VAO. Overt argument marking is optional.

(441) *Lao sena mai-ni-a na mezi site!*
go get come-TR-OBJ:3SG COMM knife small
'Go and fetch the small knife!

(*Site/lao*, 009, elic)

18.8 Negation of verbal predicates

Realis verbal clauses are negated by the negative particle *ka*/*kai* immediately preceding the verb with prefixes and tense and mood marking particles (442)-(443).

(442) *Dai, kai va-mate-a na tuda.*
no NEG CAUS-die-OBJ:3SG COMM child
'No, don't kill the child.'

(*Sologou*, 125, nar)

(443) *(..) meke kai gura meke*
and NEG can and

ngusu na nini meke mate.
drown COMM giant and die

'(..) but it couldn't (get loose) and the giant drowned and died.'

(*Ka rua koboru sali nuli*, 054, nar)

Irrealis clauses are negated by the negation marking particle *dapu*.

(444) *Dapu gura kaloa ia puna*
NEG:IRR can leave PRO:3SG because

lao rie ka ru puzi va-ko-ni-a
go PRO:3PL CARD two tie CAUS-be-TR-OBJ:3SG

pa dadagha zuda na ulu ta ia (..)
LOC root tree COMM hair POSS PRO:3SG

'It would not be able to leave because the two had gone and tied its hair to the root of a tree (..)'

(*Ka rua koboru sali nuli*, 047-48, nar)

18.9 Summary

The unmarked constituent order in verbal clauses is VS/VAO. The verb itself is the only obligatory element in a verbal clause, and may represent an entire clause on its own. Reflexive clauses may either take the noun *tale* 'self' with an attributive suffix as an argument, or be marked as reflexive by the serialized verb *pulese* 'return'. *Pulese* encodes direction back toward the one participant.

Realis verbal predicates are negatied by *ka*/*kai* and irrealis ones by *dapu*.

19 Coordinate clauses

Coordination involves a complex clause where the relation between the composite clauses is symmetric (Haspelmath 2004: 3), in the sense that both are independent clauses, neither of them embedded in or dependent on the other. In Langacker's (1991: 435-438) terms, both clauses have an autonomous profile, as opposed to subordinate (described in Chapters 20-22) and cosubordinate clauses (described in Chapter 23), that lack an autonomous profile. As discussed in Chapters 20-22 on subordinate and Chapter 23 on cosubordinate clauses, defining finiteness is problematic in Ughele. Following Foley and Van Valin (1984: 242), it will suffice to say here that coordinate clauses differ from other complex clauses in that one is neither embedded in nor structurally or semantically dependent on the other. Both coordinands represent main clauses that could occur independently.

Coordinate clauses may be linked by a conjunction (syndetic) or not (asyndetic). Most cases of coordination are syndetic (19.2), but asyndetic coordination does occur, as described in 19.1.

19.1 Asyndetic conjunction

Most coordinate clauses are linked by a conjunction (or coordinand, in Haspelmath's terms 2004: 4). Asyndetic constructions are more common in asymmetric constructions involving main clauses and subordinate or cosubordinate clauses. There are, however, rare exceptions such as (445)-(447). (445) denotes simultaneous events, (446) denotes sequential events, and (447) ia ambiguous and it is not clear whether it denotes sequential or simultaneous events.

(445) *Turu va-tiai meke lao dia*
stand CAUS-face and go SBJ:3PL

[[*vari-nagus-ĩ*]$_{CL}$ [*di vari-mado-i*
DISTR-embrace-OBJ:3PL SBJ:3PL DISTR-happy-OBJ:3PL

vari-vao-ĩ]$_{CL}$].
DISTR-be.like-OBJ:3PL

'(They) stand facing each other and (they) go and embrace each other (and) they're happy (to see each other) and so on.'

(*Rec.*, 001, elic)

(446) [[*Pulese mai ghami*]$_{CL}$ [*zae ghami lao kao ore*]$_{CL}$].
return come PRO:1PL.EXCL ascend PRO:1PL.EXCL go look cassava
'We return and go up (to) look for cassava.'

(*Poga ngosara*, 002, nar)

(447) [[*Maghoghoso ia*]$_{CL}$ [*doghor-i-a ia*
heal PRO:3SG see-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:3SG

na l<in>otu pila]$_{CL}$] *(..)*
COMM <NOM>pray DEM:SG
'He recovered and discovered this religion (..)'

(*Ghinorena linotu pa Ughele*, 004, nar)

In (445), the preverbal subject marker *di* marks *vari-mado-i* as belonging to a different clause than *vari-nagus-i*. There are no indications that *vari-vao-i* belongs to another clause than *vari-mado-i*, and the two will be considered a core layer serial verb construction here. As will be described in Chapter 25, preverbal subject markers indicate continuing topics in coordinated clauses that denote sequential events. In (446) and (447) clauses are distinguished on the basis of their independent (coreferential) pronouns occurring in each clause referring to participants.

Clauses may, and often do, consist of nothing else than the predicate in Ughele, asyndetic coordination can be difficult to distinguish from core layer serial verb constructions. As asyndetic coordinate clauses are thus difficult to identify in the data, it is uncertain to what extent they differ from syndetic coordinate clauses.

19.2 Syndetic coordination

Most coordinative constructions have a conjunction linking the two coordinands. With the exception of the *ma* conjunction, which has a subject clitic indicating the subject of the second clause, there is no evidence suggesting that other conjunctions belong to one clause rather than another.

19.2.1 Conjunction with *meke* 'and'

The frequent conjunction *meke* 'and' links NPs in complex NPs (as described in Chapter 8) and coordinate clauses. Coordinate clauses linked by *meke* 'and' may either denote simultaneous or sequential states of affairs. The coordinands in (448)-(449) denote sequential events.

(448) [[*Ikana vaka lao*]$_{CL}$ [*meke ghore pulese*]$_{CL}$] *mana (..)*
person ship go and descend return but
'The Europeans went and came down again but (..)'

(*Zae iburu*, 019, nar)

(449) [[*Lao na ikana za palek-i-a*
go COMM person DEM carry-TR-OBJ:3SG

na za-zae-ani]$_{CL}$ [*meke lao*
COMM RED-ascend-NOM and go

va-totokaza lao-ni-a pa zuda]$_{CL}$].
CAUS-lean go-TR-OBJ:3SG LOC tree
'The person went and got a ladder and leaned it against a tree.'

(*Caus. Pos.*, 24, elic)

The coordinands in (450)-(451) denote states of affairs that happen simultaneously.

(450) [[*Mai ko pa Munda ia*]$_{CL}$ *meke*
come be LOC M. pro:3sg and

[*tavet-i-a t<in>avete bisinis rie pire*]$_{CL}$].
do-TR-OBJ:3SG <NOM>do business PRO:3PL DEM.PL

'He came and stayed in Munda and they were doing business.'

(*Ghinorena linotu pa Ughele*, 004, nar)

(451) [[*Beto ia ko ta-tavete*]$_{CL}$ *meke*
finish PRO:3SG be RED-do and

[*kaduv-i-a na m<in>oso*]$_{CL}$].
arrive-TR-OBJ:3SG COMM <NOM>be.sick
'He stayed (there) working and the illness reached him.'

(*Ghinorena linotu pa Ughele*, 005, nar)

A common distinction between asyndetic and syndetic coordination in Oceanic languages, is that asyndetic coordination seems to link NPs and clauses expressing items or states of affairs that are thought to be more closely related in the real world than those expressed by syndetic conjunction (Haspelmath 2004: 13, Moyse-Faurie and Lynch 2004: 482-483, 450-453). This tendency is stronger for complex NPs than for complex clauses, though, and also holds for complex NPs in Ughele (see Chapter 8). Following Lehman (1988: 217), it would not be unlikely to expect clauses exhibiting less explicitness of marking (asyndetic) to denote more closely linked events than more explicitly linked clauses (syndetic). However, due to the scarcity of asyndetic coordinative constructions identified in the data, it is difficult to determine what the difference is between syndetic and asyndetic coordination in Ughele, for instance, the difference between constructions such as (445) and conjunctions with *meke* such as (450) and (451). In all constructions, the coordinands denote simultaneous states of affairs. The asyndetic construction is ambiguous, and it is a possibility that the second clause in the coordination in (445) may give the reason for the event denoted by the first clause, this is uncertain. The asyndetic coordinations that could be identified in the data were too few to spot any clear tendencies.

19.2.2 Conjunction with *ma* 'then'

Coordinate clauses that denote sequential events may be linked by the conjunction *ma*. The conjunction takes an obligatory subject agreement clitic, as shown in 13.2.2. Conjunctions with *ma* are rare in the data, and not attested in any other neighbouring languages besides Marovo, where it also takes subject agreement, as mentioned in 13.2.2. Whereas subject markers as free morphemes mark the same subject constructions denoting sequential events (see 25.3.6), subject markers on *ma* may refer to subjects both in same-subject (452) and switch-subject (429) constructions.

(452) [[*Sosopu mene ghoi beto*]$_{CL}$
wash first PRO:2SG finish

[*ma=da lao pa sinevara*]$_{CL}$].
then=SBJ:1PL:INCL go LOC garden
'You will do the washing first and then go to the garden.'

(*Mene*, 002, elic)

(453) [*Palek-i-a na lobe taga rau*]$_{CL}$
carry-TR-OBJ:3SG COMM water POSS PRO:1SG

[*ma=mu* *turei* *zae* *mai,* *ghua* *ia*]$_{CL}$.
then=SBJ:2SG hurry ascend come say PRO:3SG

'Carry some water for me and return up with it fast, she said.'

(*Ka made vineki pu patu*, 004, nar)

Reflexes of the conjunction **ma* which is reconstructed for Proto-Oceanic (Moyse-Faurie and Lynch 2004: 449-450) link NPs and clauses in several Oceanic languages. The conjunction *ma* conjoining clauses in the Rotuman language indicates that the conjoined clauses denote sequential events (Churchward 1940: 28, Moyse-Faurie and Lynch 2004: 471). The use of the *ma* conjunction linking clauses denoting sequential events in Ughele is not frequent and the examples in the data are too few to give a good account of its function. It is worth noticing that while the subjects in the clauses in (452) above are not identical (though the reference of the subject in the second clause includes the reference of the one in the first), this differs from the function of *ma* described from other Oceanic languages, such as Southern Melanesian languages, where *ma* marks same-subject in complex clauses and is never used where the subjects of the conjoined clauses are not co-referential (Moyse-Faurie and Lynch 2004: 456-357).

19.2.3 Disjunction with *babe* 'or'

Coordinate clauses where one clause denotes a state of affairs that is an alternative to that denoted by the other are linked by *babe* 'or'.

(454) [[*Iliri* *g<in>izo*]$_{CL}$ [*babe* *iliri* *r<in>eka*]$_{CL}$]
translate <NOM>sing or translate <NOM>speak

lao *pa* *naghe* *vaka* *me* *(..)*
go LOC language ship and

'To translate songs or to translate words from English (lit. the language of the ships) and (..)'

(*Vinailiri ghinizo pa rineka vaka lao pa rineka Ughele*, 004, nar)

(455) *(..)* *meke* *polo* *hiva-ni-a* *rie* [[*tavete*
and if want-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:3PL do

poga]$_{CL}$ [*babe* *tavete* *jinopi* *mamasi*]$_{CL}$]
pudding or do slippery.cabbage m.

si sena rie meke (..)
IRR get PRO:3PL and

'(..) and if they wanted to make pudding or to make slippery cabbage mamasi, they would get (some) and (..)'

(*Boboro*, 029-030, nar)

(456) *(..) me mai tavuz-i-gho ghoi*
and come clean.by.stroking-TR-OBJ:2SG PRO:2SG

[[*site beto na bo*]$_{CL}$ [*babe site*
IRR finish COMM testicle or IRR

beto na z<in>ighiti pa malegho]$_{CL}$].
finish COMM <NOM>hurt LOC leg

'(..) and comes and strokes you, the (pain in) the testicles will end or the pain in the leg will end.'

(*Tokoro*, 007, nar)

It is uncertain whether *babe* is segmentable into the adversative coordinator *ba* 'but' and possibly another morpheme *be*.

19.2.4 Adversative coordination with *ba* or *mana*

Adversative coordination is binary, and there are never more than two coordinands. There are two conjunctions linking main clauses in adversative coordination, one is *ba* (457)-(458) and the other *mana* (459)-(460). What the difference is between them is unclear.

(457) [[*Kai sarango legho*]$_{CL}$ [*ba*
NEG dry very but

ko vazi lobe va-leana ia]$_{CL}$].
be little water CAUS-good PRO:3SG

'It is not completely dry but a little water is (in it) just fit (for) it.'

(*Kodo*, 020, nar)

(458) [[*Site lao maroke nanaza-ni-a*
IRR go old.man ask-TR-OBJ:3SG

kaike gho ngeta]$_{CL}$ [*ba kai*
one PRO:2PL three but NEG

lemono gho ngeta]$_{CL}$] *le (..)*
hear PRO:2PL three so
'The old man asked you three about one (of you) but you three didn't listen so (..)'

(*Ghaili*, 080-081, nar)

(459) [[*Ghore mai, ghua ia*]$_{CL}$ [*mana*
descend come say PRO:3SG but

kai lemono rie]$_{CL}$] *me (..)*
NEG hear PRO:3PL and
'Come down, he said, but they didn't listen and (..)'

(*Inuke taga rau pa zuda*, 012, nar)

(460) [[*Vura ghighiri makazi*]$_{CL}$ [*mana daketonga*
exit very bonito but nothing

di sena rie ngeta koboru]$_{CL}$] *le (..)*
SBJ:3PL get PRO:3PL three child so
'Plenty of bonito were jumping but the three boys got nothing so (..)'

(*Ghaili*, 005-006, nar)

Both *ba* and *mana* are also used to link NPs in complex NPs (see Chapter 8).

19.2.5 Cause and effect coordination with *le* 'so'

Coordinate clauses are constructions in which the first clause denotes a state of affairs that is the cause of that described by the other, the effect. Cause and effect coordinative clauses are linked by the conjunction *le* 'so' (461)-(462).

(461) *Lao pa sinevara rau meke*
go LOC garden PRO:1SG and

[[*mai na l*<*in*>*emono mate*]$_{CL}$
come COMM <NOM>hear death

[*le ghore pulese rau*]$_{CL}$].
so descend return PRO:1SG
'I went to the garden and the news of the death came so I returned.'

(*le elic.*, 001, elic)

(462) *Vura ghighiri makazi mana* [[*daketonga di*
exit very bonito but nothing SBJ:3SG

sena-i]$_{CL}$ [*le di ghore pulese*]$_{CL}$].
get-OBJ:3PL so SBJ:3PL descend return
'Plenty of bonito were jumping but they got nothing so they went back.'

(*Ghaili*, 006, nar)

As seen previously in other coordinative constructions, continuous topic is marked by a preverbal subject marker in (462), as described in Chapter 25.

19.3 Summary

Most coordinate clauses are syndetic, although there are exceptions. Conjunct clauses may be linked by either of the conjunctions *meke* 'and' and *ma* 'then'. The latter takes an obligatory preverbal subject clitic. Disjunct clauses are linked by *babe* 'or' and adversatice coordinate clauses by *ba* or *mana*, both meaning 'but'. Coordinate clauses where one denotes a cause and the other its effect are linked by *le* 'so'.

20 Complement and reported speech clauses

Subordinate clauses will be defined here as clauses that are embedded as a constituent of their main clause and dependent on or deranked with respect to the latter. It will be assumed here that a higher degree of embedding means a more prototypical case of subordination. In this and the following chapters, we depart from the more prototypical and move towards the more peripheral cases of subordination. Whereas the status as embedded is less clear-cut for adverbial clauses, complement clauses represent what Lehmann (1988: 184-186) defines as a typical instance of embedding and thereby hierarchical downgrading with respect to a main clause, being an argument of the predicate. Foley and Van Valin (1984: 243) also defined an embedded clause as a clause which is the argument of another clause. In this thesis, an embedded clause will be defined as a clause that is an argument of another clause or part of an argument of another clause. Structurally different types of complementation in Ughele can be distinguished on the basis of the type of main verb that takes the complement clause as its argument (20.1), and of whether the construction is asyndetic (20.2) or the complement clause is linked to the main clause by a complementizer (20.3).

In addition to complement clauses, semantically similar clauses denoting reported speech (20.4) are described in this chapter. Reported speech clauses are not core arguments of the main predicate, but they are similar to complement clauses in that they denote what is being uttered. Following Foley and Van Valin (1984: 239) a clause will be considered to be independent if it has independent illocutionary force. In this respect, direct speech clauses differ from other clauses described in this chapter. Direct speech clauses do not depend on their main clause for illocutionary force. A direct speech clause may, for instance, be a question whereas the main clause is an assertion. It is dubious to what degree direct speech clauses constitute subordinate clauses at all.

20.1 Verbs that take complement and reported speech clauses

The various types of complement and reported speech clauses are described separably in 20.2-4. As different types of main verbs are associated with different constructions, a short overview of the various types of main verbs that take complement and reported speech clauses is given first, starting with asyndetic complement clauses. Departing from the less and moving towards to the more grammaticalized predicates that take asyndetic complement clauses, according to the scale presented in Lehman (1988: 204), the

following types of main predicates are attested as taking asyndetic complement clauses in Ughele.

1. Conceptual or perceptual verbs
2. Phasal and modal verbs

Constructions involving each type of main verb will be described in 20.2. Complement clauses in complex clauses with conceptual and perceptual main verbs are direct objects, cross-referenced on the verb by an object clitic. Furthermore, conceptual and perceptual verbs taking complement clauses have transitive marking, and their form is no different from the same verbs occuring with direct object NPs. Phasal and modal verbs with complement clauses form verb sequences with the verb of their utterance clause that show no structural difference to nuclear layer serial verb constructions. It is the semantic nature of the construction rather than the structure that leads to the analysis of construction as a complex clause rather than a serial verb construction. The degree of grammaticalization of the two types of verbs taking complement clauses is in line with Lehman's scale. Unfortunately the occurrences in the data of complement clauses with a complementizer (20.3) are too few to determine which predicates can occur with it. As will be seen in 20.3, this construction differs from asyndetic constructions with complement clauses in that the main predicate can be nominal.

Utterance verbs generally occur with juxtaposed reported speech clauses. Reported speech clauses are not core arguments of the main verb but are semantically similar to complement clauses in that they denote what is uttered. They are thus functionally similar to complement clauses and a complement clause must be used when translating them to English. Utterance verbs are only inflected if a direct object referring to the addressee is present, and it this NP an object clitic refers to, and not the complement clause.

20.2 Asyndetic complement clauses

Main clauses and complement clauses may consist of a single verb in Ughele, and main verbs and the verbs of their complement clauses may form sequences that show little structural difference to nuclear layer serializations (in cases where the main verb does not have transitive morphology) and core layer serializations (in cases where the main has transitive morphology). The lack of structural difference in some languages between serial verb constructions and sequences between verbs belonging to different clauses is also pointed out elsewhere in the literature, among others in Bradshaw (1982: 42), who points out that verbs in serial verb constructions are semantically related in a way that verbs belonging to different clauses are not. Serial verb constructions refer to subparts or aspects of a single overall event, whereas more events are involved where there are complex clauses. The difference is not straightforward, as serialized verbs in many cases refer to subevents that are part of one complex event. There are sequences of verbs in complement clauses and their main verb that are more similar to serial verb constructions

than others. Whereas complement clauses referring to reported speech may have little or nothing in common with their main verb, complement clauses of modal main verbs may be seen as denoting subevents of the event denoted by the main verb.

20.2.1 Complement clauses with inflected main verbs

In complex clauses with a complement clause and a conceptual or perceptual main verb, the verb takes the complement clause as a direct object. The verb has transitive morphology and an object clitic referring to the complement clause. The subject is an experiencer.

(463) *Dodoro totozo ghita ghilan-i-a*
all time PRO:1PL.INCL know-TR-OBJ:3SG

nao kai tatava zae malao.
n. NEG fly ascend use.to
'We have always known (that) the [19]nao never flies high.'

(*Na nao*, 002, nar)

(464) *(..) me lao na ikana pi*
and go COMM person DEM

doghor-i-a ***na kutu pila***
see-TR-OBJ:3SG COMM rat DEM:SG

sika pepa *me (..)*
steal paper and
'(..) and the woman noticed (that) the rat stole a paper and (..)'

(*Ratatouille*, 089, nar)

[19] Type of bird.

The complement clause always follows the main verb. As can be seen from both (463) and (464), there need not be any shared argument between the complement clause and its main clause. The complement clause may not have independent illocutionary force or mood marking.

20.2.3 Complement clauses with uninflected main verbs

Only one phasal main verb, *podalai* 'start' (465)-(467), is found in the corpus that takes complement clauses.

(465) *(..) podalai* ***lao va-sikulua-ni-a.***
start go CAUS-study-TR-OBJ:3SG
'(and) he started to teach him.'

(*Ratatouille*, 062, nar)

(466) *(..) meke podalai* ***sen-i-a ghami.***
and start mix-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:1SG.EXCL
'(..) and we start to mix it (together).'

(*Kodo*, 018, nar)

(467) *(..) me podalai* ***malosoro*** *le (..)*
and start be.weak so
'(..) and she started to become weaker so (..)'

(*Vinarimado*, 061, nar)

The syntactic nature of the construction in (465) is identical to constructions with modal main verbs and complement clauses, such as (468)-(470).

(468) *Kaike madighe hiva* ***lao rie maso-a.***
one day want go PRO:3PL cut-OBJ:3SG
'One day, they wanted to cut it (down).'

(*Zuda rereke*, 010, nar)

(469) *Moso na ikana pi meke*
sick COMM person DEM and

kai gura ta-zalanga pa Solomon.
NEG can PASS-heal LOC S
'The person became sick and he could not recover in the Solomons.'

(*Ghinorena linotu pa Ughele*, 006, nar)

(470) *(..) polo uke ikana*
if fall person

kagu ***soru ukalainia na ikana,*** *ghua.*
must jump cross-tr-obj:3sg comm person express
'(..) if a person falls, (one) must jump over him.'

(*Inuke taga rau pa zuda*, 018, nar)

The verb of the complement clause and the main verb form a sequence that shows little structural difference to a nuclear layer serial verb construction. The clauses have obligatory argument sharing, but as can be seen from (465), the complement clause may have independent aspect marking. The verb *lao* in the nuclear serial verbs construction with *va-sikulu-ni-a* 'teach', indicates inceptive aspect.

20.3 Complement clauses with *pu*

There are a few occurrences in the data where the relative pronoun *pu* functions as a complementizer. This construction differs from the ones described in 20.2 in that the main predicate may be an NP (296).

(471) *Ei mana na b<in>alabala ghita*
hey but COMM <NOM>think PRO:1PL.INCL

ipu dapu gura zu-zuru.
REL NEG can RED-lif
'Hey, but our thinking was that (it) could never lift it.'

(*Ghinore ta na kabania*, 028, nar)

As can be seen from both (296) and the constructions with an utterance verb (472) and a perception verb (473) as a main verb below, the complement clause need not share any argument with its main clause. The complement clause shows no structural dependence other than its complementizer.

(472) *Polo ngi-ngira na ghevuzu*
if RED-strong COMM wind

peja si naghe ghita ***pu***
western.trade.wind then say PRO:1PL.INCL REL

site ure va-leana na okete.
IRR bear.fruit caus-be.good COMM ngali.nut

'If the western trade winds are strong then we say that the ngali nut tree will bear plenty of fruit.'

(*Ghighila ta na okete*, 002, nar)

(473) *Doghor-i-a ia* ***pu tina mate ka rua***
see-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:3SG REL mother die CARD two

ighana pire *(..)*
fish DEM:PL

'He saw that the mother was killing these two fish.'

(*Ka rua habili lavata*, 015, nar)

Due to the scarcity of data, it is not possible to determine which types of complement can be the main complement in these constructions.

20.4 Clauses denoting reported speech

Clauses denoting reported speech are juxtaposed to clauses predicated by utterance verbs, such as *naghe* 'say', *gizo* 'sign', and *nanaza* 'ask'. Reported speech clauses are syntactically similar to adverbial clauses, being peripheral constituents of the main clause. They are semantically similar to complement clauses in that they denote what is being uttered. Not only is their function similar to that of complement clauses, they must also be translated to English using complement clauses. In both respects, the reported speech constructions described here are similar to clauses juxtaposed to perception verbs denoting what is perceived in Samoan (Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992: 616-617). There are two types of complement clauses that denote reported speech, direct and indirect speech clauses. Direct speech (also referred to as 'direct report' clauses (Cristofaro 2003: 98)) clauses, are not structurally

different from independent clauses. They may be independently marked for irrealis mood, as in (474), and as can be seen from (475) and (477) below, they have independent illocutionary force.

(474) *Ni-niu-gu site rau meke*
RED-small-ATTR:1SG small PRO:1SG and

naghe na tama-gu,
say COMM father-POSS:1SG

Ghita site lao pa Bagho lao ko kaike vuiki,
PRO:1PL.INCL IRR go LOC B. go be one week

ghua.
express
'When I was very little (lit. I was very little and) my father said, We will go to Bagho and saty for one week [, he expressed].'

(*Ka rua habili lavata*, 001, nar)

They are juxtaposed to clauses with utterance verbs, such as *naghe* 'say', *nanaza* 'ask', and *gizo* 'sing', but are not core arguments of the utterance verb. It is the NP referring to the addressee which is the direct object of the utterance verb, and it is cross-referenced on the verb by an object agreement marking clitic.

(475) *Ligomo site nanaz-i-a rie,*
spirit IRR ask-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:3PL

Pa vei ko na kana?,
LOC where be COMM enemy

ghua rie.
express PRO:3PL
'They would ask the ligomo, Where is the enemy? [, they expressed].'

(*Varizeke*, 028, nar)

Where there is no mention of an addressee, the verb has no transitive morphology.

(476) *Kaike madighe naghe na kosale,*
one day say comm turtle

hiva-ni ghamu rau ghamu dodoru vovotiki
want-TR PRO:2PL PRO:1SG PRO:2PL all different

ighana pa zolozo pana mai meke vari-voze.
fish LOC world so come and DISTR-race

'One day said the turtle, I want you, all you different fish in the world, to come and race (against each other).'

(*Sodoko Kekenu*, 001, nar)

(477) *(..) meke nanaza na tama-na na*
and ask COMM father-POSS:3SG COMM

tama-gu za, ***Lea poni gho***
father-POSS:1SG DEM PRF feed PRO:2PL

ka ru na beku?, *ghua.*
CARD two COMM idol express

'(..) and my father's father asked, Have you fed the idols [, he expressed].'

(*Vinasibi*, 020, nar)

Whereas utterance verbs take NPs referring to addressees as direct objects when occurring with reported speech clauses (477), they take NPs referring to themes as direct objects (478).

(478) ***Ka lima r<in>eka*** *naghe-ni-i rau.*
CARD five <NOM>speak say-TR-OBJ:3PL PRO:3PL

'I speak five languages.'

(*Gen. 08*, 174, elic)

An optional additional clause with a quotative marking function is usually added after the complement clause. The clause consists of the verb *ghua* 'express' with an optional NP expressing its subject.

(479) *(..) meke naghe ia,* ***Ei, rau kai***
and say PRO:3SG hey PRO:1SG NEG

hiva puna site marube-au, *ghua ia.*
want because IRR be.heavy-OBJ:1SG express PRO:3SG

'(..) and he said, Hey, I don't want to because it will be heavy for me, [he said].'

(*Ngarupere*, 020, nar)

As aspect, mood and person marking are not obligatory on verbs in Ughele, and the verb may, and often does, consist of a single root, distinguishing between finite and infinite verbs is not straightforward. A better clue to determine whether a clause is dependent is whether the clause in question has obligatory argument sharing with the main clause. Whereas direct speech clauses need not share any arguments with their main clause, argument sharing is obligatory for indirect speech clauses, such as (480).

(480) *(..) naghe* ***ia*** ***hiva-ni-a*** ***ia*** *pana (..)*
say PRO:3SG want-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:3SG so

'(..) he said he wanted it so (..)'

(*Ghinorena linotu pa Ughele*, 010, nar)

The subjects of both the indirect speech clause and the main clause in (480) are coreferential.

20.5 Summary

Most complement clauses are asyndetic. The main verb may take an object agreement suffix which is co-referential with the complement clause. Complement clauses may be linked to its main clause by the relative pronoun *pu*.

Direct speech clauses are similar to complement clauses in that they denote a state of affairs that can be considered to be a semantic argument of the main verb. However, direct speech clauses do not show structural dependence of its main clause. Direct speech clauses are not co-referential with object agreement marking on the main verb.

21 Relative clauses

The function of relative clauses is much like that of any other nominal modifier, mainly to provide additional information about its head NP. In Chapter 20, an embedded clause was defined as a clause that is an argument of another clause or part of an argument of another clause. The relative clause is embedded as a constituent of the NP it is part of and whose head it modifies. Relative clauses follow their head and precede demonstratives modifying the whole phrase.

(481) *Ki pa vei tu ko nana ikana*
so LOC where EMPH be SBJ:3SG person

doghor-i-a rau *pi?, ghua ia.*
see-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:1SG DEM say PRO:3SG
'So where is this person (that) I saw?, she said.'

(*Sologou*, 081, nar)

As will be seen in section 21.3, relative clauses modifying nouns in PPs and other locative constructions have a function which is very similar to adverbial clauses, denoting an event which indicates the conditions under which the event denoted by the main verb takes place.

Adjoined relative clauses do not occur in Ughele. All relative clauses form part of a NP, immediately following its head. The unmarked constituent order of a relative clause is the same as in main clauses, VS/VAO.

(482) *A-rie ngeta tingitonga* ***pu tavet-i-i***
FOC-PRO:3PL three thing rel do-TR-OBJ:3PL

ghami pa arozo.
PRO:1PL.EXCL LOC rope
'There are three things that we make rope from.'

(*Zalanga arozo*, 011, nar)

As mentioned in earlier chapters, verbs do not require any obligatory person, aspect or mood marking in Ughele, and it is thus difficult to make a distinction between finite and infinite, or balanced and deranked verbs. Relative clauses may not have independent illocutionary force, but they may be independently marked for irrealis mood (483).

(483) *Site lao ene tome pa ziranga ia*
IRR go walk hide LOC road PRO:3SG

pa church ***pu site va-ghi-ghilana-i gi-gizo***
LOC church REL IRR CAUS-RED-know-OBJ:3PL RED-sing

misinare ta rie pa methodist.
missionary POSS PRO:3PL LOC methodist

'He would go and hide on the road by the church where the Methodist missionaries would rehearse singing.'

(*Vinailiri ghinizo pa rineka vaka lao pa rineka Ughele*, 022, nar)

Relative clauses are potentially recursive and may be complex, as in (484) which shows a complex relative clause modifying the nominal predicate *na sore* 'the canoe' which in turn contains another relative clause, modifying the noun *totozo* 'time'.

(484) *A-ia na sore* ***pu uzi-ni-a***
FOC-PRO:3SG COMM canoe REL use-TR-OBJ:3SG

ghita pire pa kali
PRO:1PL.INCL DEM:PL LOC side

ghore dada pi pa totozo vizoroi
descend sun DEM LOC time past

pu pa totozo vari-pera-i.
REL LOC time DISTR-fight-OBJ:3PL

'That was the canoe we used in the West in the past times which were at the time (they) fought (each other).'

(*Solabration*, 016, elic)

Relative clauses may be syndetic, connected to their head by the relative pronoun *pu*, or asyndetic. There are two main types of relative clauses in

Ughele. Relative clauses may modify NPs being core arguments (21.2) in the main clause or NPs in locative phrases (21.3). (484) above contains both types. The relative clause modifying the core argument *sore* 'canoe' contains another relative clause modifying *totozo* 'time' as part of a PP. We will refer to the first as core relative clauses and the second as peripheral relative clauses. The first type shows obligatory argument sharing with their main clause, the second does not. Both can be asyndetic or linked to their main clause by the relative pronoun *pu*.

21.1 Syndetic and asyndetic relative clauses

A relative clause may be asyndetic, simply juxtaposed to the NP it modifies, or it may be linked to the NP by the relative pronoun *pu*. *Pu* is not inflected for person and number. It is not clear what the functional difference between syndetic and asyndetic relative clauses is. Since both types are used in most of the constructions described below, they are treated as the same construction here and no further attempt to distinguish between them is made here.

21.2 Relative clauses as part of core argument NPs

Relative clauses may modify a core argument NP. There is obligatory argument sharing between the relative clause and its main clause. In (485), the S of the relative clause and the O of the main clause are coreferential.

(485) *Hiva ghilan-i-a rau zei na ighana*
want know-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:1SG who COMM fish

pu rereghe-na pa zolozo.
REL fast-ATTR:3SG LOC world

'I want to know what (lit. who) is the fastest fish in the world (lit. who is the fish (that) is fastest in the world.'

(*Sodoko Kekenu*, 002, nar)

The A of the relative clause is coreferential with the S of the main clause in (486).

(486) *Na koboru* ***pu kave-a na makazi lavata***
COMM child REL pull-OBJ:3SG COMM bonito big

mai za.
come DEM

'The boy who caught (lit. pulled) the big bonito is coming.'

(*Gen. 02 08*, 001, elic)

Core relative clauses may be linked to the main clause by the relative pronoun *pu* (485), or they may be asyndetic (487).

(487) *(..) le na koboru pila podalai talotanga*
so COMM boy DEM:SG start be.sad

babala lao ia totozo
think/remember go PRO:3SG time

lao na vineki za toji-ni-a
go COMM girl DEM tell-TR-OBJ:3SG

na m<in>oso ta ia.
COMM <NOM>be.sick POSS PRO:3SG

'(..) so the boy started to get sad remembering the time (when) the girl told him (about) her illness.'

(*Vinarimado*, 050, nar)

The function of the relative clause is often restrictive, delimiting its referent by specifying it.

21.3 Relative clauses as part of spatial and temporal locational phrases

Relative clauses may also be embedded constituents in spatial and temporal locational phrases. As mentioned, this type of relative clause will be referred to as a peripheral relative clause here. Whereas core relative clauses obligatorily share arguments with their main clause, peripheral relative clauses may (488) but need not share any arguments with their main clause (489).

(488) *Pi na vazi-na* ***lao doghor-i-a rau***
DEM COMM place-ATTR:3SG go see-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:1SG

pa totozo lao pa goana.
LOC time go LOC bush

'This was the place I went to see when I was going to the bush.'

(Ngarupere, 055, nar)

Whereas the S of the relative clause in (488) is coreferential to the A of its main clause, no arguments are shared between the relative clause and the main clause in (489).

(489) *(..) meke pa totozo* ***korapa sali nula***
LOC time be.inside pick nut

ka ru koboru pire
CARD two child DEM:PL

mai na nini.
come COMM giant
'(..) and while the two boys were picking nuts, the giant came.'

(*Ka rua koboru sali nuli*, 006, nar)

Relative clauses modifying nouns in locative and temporal phrases have a function very similar to that of adverbial clauses, specifying when or where the event denoted by the main clause takes place. As will be seen in the following examples, some of them are translated by an adverbial clause in English. They may modify nouns in locative phrases referring to location in space or time. Relative clauses as part of locative phrases referring to location in space occur frequently in the data, modifying various nouns referring to locations, such as *vazi* 'place' (490), *kaokana* 'village' (491), and *lolomo* 'space' (492).

(490) *(..) meke site lao rie lao pa vazi-na*
and IRR go PRO:3PL go LOC place-ATTR:2SG

pu site va-japu malao.
REL IRR CAUS-fish.with.japu use.to
'(..) and they would go ahead and go to the place where they always used to fish [with a *japu*].'

(*Japu conv.*, 003, conv.)

(491) *(..) meke lao ghore pulese pa kaokana* ***pu ko-i-a rie.***
and go descend return LOC village REL be-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:3PL
'(..) and he went back to the village where they lived (lit. the village which they lived (in) [it]).'

(*Sologou*, 206, nar)

(492) *Egho, tingitonga gho-ghorasa pi, kei,*
OK thing RED-scrape DEM ah

rau mamaghoa-na ghighiri ia doghor-i-a
PRO:1SG surprise-ATTR:3SG very PRO:3SG see-TR-OBJ:3SG

lolomo ***pu memehe beto.***
area REL be.smooth finish
'OK, the scraping thing, ah, I (found it) very surprising (when I) saw (that) the area was completely leveled out.'

(*Ghinore ta na kabania*, 033, nar)

Relative clauses that are part of locative clauses referring to location in space may be syndetic, as seen above in (490)-(492), or asyndetic (493).

(493) *Kaloa ghoi meke lao ko pa vazi-na*
leave PRO:2SG and go be LOC place-ATTR:3SG

tavete-ni-i namu *mana (..)*
do-TR-OBJ:3PL food but
'You go and stay at the place (where) they prepare food but (..)'

(*Ratatouille*, 005, nar)

Relative clauses as part of locative phrases referring to location in time may be also asyndetic (494) or linked to the main clause by *pu* (495).

(494) *(..) meke totozo* ***puta barongo na nini***
and time sleep snore COMM giant

babala rie ka ru.
think PRO:3PL CARD two
'(..) and (while) the giant was sleeping and snoring, the two (of them) were thinking.'

(*Ka rua koboru sali nuli*, 030, nar)

(495) *(..) meke totozo* ***pu ene ka ru koboru pire***
and time REL walk CARD two child DEM:SG

mai kaduvu rie ka ru pa nula.
come arrive PRO:3PL CARD two LOC nut
'(..) and as these two boys were walking the two (of them) came across the nuts.'

(*Ka rua koboru sali nula*, 005, nar)

Whereas it was shown above that relative clauses as part of locative phrases referring to location in space may modify various nouns referring to locations, the same situation is not attested for relative clauses in locative phrases referring to location in time. Only *totozo* 'time', as in (494)-(495), and it is possible that these constructions with *totozo* are more grammaticalized than the ones in (490)- (492).

21.4 Summary

Relative clauses may modify NPs being core arguments of the main clause, or NPs in locative phrases. They may, but need not, be linked to its head by the relative pronoun *pu*. Where relative clauses modify core argument NPs, there is obligatory argument sharing between the relative clause and its main clause.

22 Adverbial clauses

Traditionally and in the previous chapters of this thesis, subordinate clauses have been considered to have two distinctive features. First, they are embedded into the main clause. Second, they are grammatically and semantically dependent on the main clause or some element in the main clause. As pointed out in Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 448), whereas the traditional binary distinction between coordination and subordination is more clear cut for Indo-European languages, it is less so for certain other languages, especially not for Papuan languages. Some linguists thus argue that rather than considering the coordination-subordination distinction to be a binary one, it should rather be considered to be a continuum or hierarchy, with one end being more coordinate-like and the other more subordinate-like. Lehmann (1984) also provides a complex hierarchy for degrees of subordination, and Cristofaro (2003: 168) for deranking. Describing asymmetrical complex clauses in Ughele, we have been moving from more to less clear cases of subordinate clauses in Chapters 20–22. Whereas complement clauses represent a clear case of embeddedness, being arguments of the main verb, and relative clauses as part of NPs, their status as subordinate is less clear for adverbial clauses. Apart from embedding, distinguishing between finite versus infinite or deranked versus balanced verbs in Ughele is problematic. As mentioned earlier, verbs in Ughele have no obligatory person, aspect or mood marking. An underived root may thus represent a finite verb.

All adverbial clauses in Ughele make use of special words. They may be verbs, as in some manner and time adverbial clauses, or subordinating conjunctions, as in all other adverbial clauses. Both verbs associated with adverbial clauses and subordinating conjunctions are clause-initial. The adverbial clause may either precede or follow its main clause, depending on which type it is.

Adverbial clauses have an adverbial-like function, expressing the circumstances under which the states of affairs denoted by the main clause takes place (Cristofaro 2003: 185). This function is similar to relative clauses modifying locative phrases (see 21.3), but adverbial clauses differ from these in that they modify the whole clause, and not an NP. Apart from their subordinating conjunctions and use of specific verbs, adverbial clauses in Ughele may not look very different from some coordinations. The main difference between the two constructions lies in their functions, and not in their structure. Following Talmy (1978), Croft (2001: 330-331) finds that there is an asymmetry in the relation between an adverbial clause and its main clause in that the former denotes a cause or precondition for the event in the latter. The complex clause thus represents a Figure-Ground relation with

the main clause being the figure and the adverbial clause the Ground. The adverbial clause gives a topic or frame for the utterance, and the main clause gives the assertion. In Ughele, as in many other languages (Bril 2010: 271), clauses with these functions are detached from their main clauses, being adjuncts.

Not only are function and the subordinating conjunction or special verb criteria by which adverbial clauses can be distinguished from other clause types, they are also the criteria for distinguishing between different types of adverbial clauses. The different adverbial clauses in Ughele are summarized in the table below.

Function	Binding word	Position	Described in
Manner			22.1
	vae '(be) like'	Follows main CL	22.1.1
	pana 'for'	Follows main CL	22.1.2
Purpose			22.2
	pana 'for'	Follows main CL	22.2.1
(neg.)	*leke* 'lest'	Follows main CL	22.2.2
Conditional	*polo* 'if'	Precedes main CL	22.3
Time			22.4
	beto 'finish'	Precedes main CL	22.4.1
	ukala '(be) over'	Precedes main CL	22.4.2
Reason	*puna* 'because'	Follows main CL	22.5

22.1 Manner adverbial clauses

22.1.1 Manner adverbial clauses with *vae* 'be like'

Manner adverbial clauses denote an event or state that indicates the manner in which the event in the main clause is carried out. There are two types of adverbial clauses indicating manner, the first makes use of an attributive nominal modifier derived from the adjectival verb *vae* 'be like, and the second the conjunction *pana* 'for'. The semantic difference between the two constructions is, on the basis of the data available, unclear. The manner adverbial clause follows the main clause in both constructions. In the first construction, the attributive nominal modifier *vae*-ATTR with an attributive suffix links the adjectival clause to its main clause. The adjectival clause is complex, with its predicate *vae-na* taking the clause *hiva moso rau* as a complement.

(496) *Manighi-na tini ta rau* ***vae-na***
hot-ATTR:3SG body POSS PRO:1SG be.like-ATTR:3SG

hiva moso rau.
want sick PRO:1S
'My body was hot as if I was about to become ill.'

(*Adv.*, 053, elic)

Note that the function of *hiva* 'want' above is not to indicate desiderative modality, but rather means 'to be about to'. This use of *hiva* is not attested elsewhere in the data and it is uncertain whether the expression *hiva moso* 'be about to get sick' is idiomatic, or at least lexicalized to some degree.

22.1.2 Manner adverbial clauses with *pana* 'for'

The other manner indicating adverbial clause makes use of the conjunction *pana* 'for' to link the adverbial clause to its main clause.

(497) *Lao pa v<in>ari-pera* ***pana ikana vari-pera.***
go LOC <NOM>DISTR-fight for person DISTR-fight
'I went to the war as a soldier.'

(*Gen.* 02, 023, elic)

The conjunction *pana* is also used in purpose adverbial clauses, as described below in 22.2.1.

22.2 Purpose adverbial clauses

22.2.1 Purpose adverbial clauses with *pana* 'for'

A purpose clause denotes a motivating event which must be unrealized at the time of the event in the main clause (Thompson et al. 2007: 250). Croft argues that purpose clauses "are found in the border region between adverbial subordinate clauses and coordination". There are two main types of purpose clauses in Ughele, one cosubordinate and one adverbial. The cosubordinate purpose clause is described in Chapter 23, and the adverbial clause below. Purpose adverbial clauses follow their main clause, and are linked to the latter by the conjunction *pana* 'for' or 'so that'.

(498) *(..) me site lao ia tome-a*
and IRR go PRO:3SG hide-OBJ:3SG

na ighana ***pana poni-a***
COMM fish for feed-OBJ:3SG

na tazi-na ia pi.
COMM sibling-POSS:3SG PRO:3SG DEM
'(..) and he would go and hide the fish to feed his sister.'

(*Made koreo me tazina vineki*, 010-011, nar)

(499) *(..) le madighe nginoroi pi rau mai*
so day today DEM PRO:1SG come

mai va-katu rau ***pana***
come CAUS-cross PRO:1SG for

vivinei na tingitonga pila, *ghua.*
tell COMM thing DEM:SG express
'(..) so today I came, I came across here to tell (you) about this thing [, express].'

(*Vivineina babu*, 029, nar)

22.2.2 Negative purpose adverbial clauses with *leke* 'lest'

Whereas one might say that the event denoted by a main clause is carried out in order for the event denoted by a purpose clause to happen, the opposite is the case for the relation between what Cristofaro (2003: 158) refers to as negative purpose clauses and their main clause. In the latter, the main clause denotes an event carried out in order for the event in the adverbial clause not to happen. The negative purpose clause follows the main clause to which it is linked by the conjunction *leke* 'lest'.

(500) *Ei, kai enene legho ghoi*
hey NEG RED-walk very PRO:2SG

leke lao kakea va-mate-gho,
lest go some CAUS-die-OBJ:2SG

ghua rie ngeta naghe lao.
express PRO:3PL three say go
'Don't walk around that much lest someone will kill you, said the three.'

(*Sologou*, 211, nar)

(501) *Aria,* ***leke suriki,*** *ghua mamaneke ia.*
hurry lest night say woman PRO:3SG
'Hurry, lest night falls, said the woman.'

(*Sologou*, 020, nar)

Negative purpose clauses such as (500) and (501) are relatively rare in the data.

22.3 Conditional adverbial clauses with *polo* 'if'

A conditional adverbial clause denotes an event that represents the condition that must hold in order for the event denoted by the main clause to take place. Conditional clauses are marked by the clause-initial conjunction *polo* 'if', and precede their main clause.

(502) *Tingitonga pi* ***polo kaloa ia***
thing DEM if leave PRO:3SG

kai gura togholo pulese.
NEG can return return
'This thing, if it leaves it cannot return.'

(*Riddles*, 034, nar)

(503) *Egho,* ***polo mai gho ka ru***
OK if come PRO:2PL CARD two

mai kao-ni-i ghutu rau
come look-TR-OBJ:3PL louse PRO:1SG

site dapu lao rau va-mate ghamu,
IRR NEG GO PRO:1SG CAUS-DIE PRO:2PL

ghua na nini.
express COMM giant
'OK, if you two come and delouse me, I will not kill you, said the giant.'

(*Ka rua koreo sali nuli*, 015-016, nar)

22.4 Time adverbial clauses

An adverbial clause that denotes an event that takes place at a point in time posterior to the one denoted by the main clause is not represented in the data. Sequential coordinations such as (504) may be translated using adverbial clauses with 'before' in English, but none of the clauses in (504) represents a time adverbial clause.

(504) *Hiva sesena mene rau meke lao pa sinevara.*
want eat first PRO:1SG and go LOC garden
'I want to eat before I go to the garden.'

(*Gen.* 08, 105, elic)

The only type of time adverbial clauses found in the data denotes an event that takes place at a point in time anterior to that of the main clause, and must be realized by the time the event denoted by the main clause takes place. There are two types of anterior time adverbial clauses, one is introduced by the verb *beto* 'finish' and the other with the verb *ukala* 'be.over'.

22.4.1 Time adverbial clauses with *beto* 'finish'

In the first type of construction, *beto* 'finish' indicates perfective aspect in a nuclear serial verb construction (as described in 14.2.2), that is, the predicate of the adverbial clause (505). The adverbial clause precedes its main clause.

(505) ***Beto sena rie pa Viru na l<in>otu,***
finish get PRO:3PL LOC V. COMM <NOM>pray

zae pa Marovo rie.
ascend LOC M. PRO:3PL
'After having adopted the religion in Viru, they went up to Marovo.'

(*Ghinorena linotu pa Ughele*, 031, nar)

22.4.2 Time adverbial clauses with *ukala* 'be over'

In the second type of construction, the verb *ukala* 'be over' predicates over the adverbial clause. The adverbial clause may precede (506) or follow (507) the main clause.

(506) ***Ukala-i pulese mai gu pa sinevara***
be.over-TR return come SBJ:1SG LOC garden

site ra-raro rau.
IRR RED-cook PRO:1SG
'I will cook after I return from the garden.'

(*Gen. 08*, 106, elic)

(507) *Site vari-tutuv-i ghita* ***ukala-i madighe sope-na.***
IRR DISTR-meet-TR PRO:1PL.INCL be.over-TR day holy-ATTR:3SG
'We'll meet after the Sabbath.'

(*Post. dur. fut.* 08, 002, elic)

As seen in Chapter 21, relative clauses modifying nouns in locative phrases have functions similar to time adverbial clauses.

22.5 Reason adverbial clauses with *puna* 'because'

A reason adverbial clause denotes an event which is considered to be the reason why the event in the main clause happens. Reason adverbial clauses follow their main clause and are linked to it by the conjunction *puna* 'because'.

(508) *Totozo pu va-turu-au rie rau vae-na*
time REL CAUS-stand-OBJ:1SG PRO:3PL PRO:1SG be.like-ATTR:3SG

ikana pu bebei ghu ***puna kai leana*** *(..)*
person REL drunk EMPH because NEG good
'When they stood me up it was as if it was a drunken person because (I) was not well.'

(*Inuke taga rau pa zuda*, 019, nar)

(509) *Dapu gura kaloa ia* ***puna lao***
NEG can depart PRO:3SG because go

rie ka ru puzi va-ko-ni-a
PRO:3PL CARD two tie CAUS-be-TR-OBJ:3SG

pa dadagha zuda na ulu ta ia *le (..)*
LOC root tree COMM hair POSS PRO:3SG so
'It couldn't leave because the two (of them) had tied its hair to the root of the tree so (..)'

(*Ka rua koboru sali nuli*, 047, nar)

22.6 Summary

Adverbial clauses modify main clauses by giving temporal information about or denoting the manner, purpose or reason for the state of affairs denoted by the main verb. They are linked to the main verb either by conjunctions or by specific verbs. Ughele has manner adverbial clauses, purpose adverbial clauses, conditional adverbial clauses, time adverbial clauses and reason adverbial clauses.

23 Cosubordinate clauses

As mentioned in earlier chapters, complex clauses that have properties in common both with coordinate and subordinate clauses, and would be in the middle range of a coordination-subordination hierarchy, are described here as cosubordinate clauses (following Foley and Van Valin 1984: 242, Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 454, and Croft 2001: 322-323). Cosubordination involves two clauses, one dependent or deranked and the other independent or balanced (Croft 2001: 323). Though cosubordinate clauses are dependent, they differ from subordinate clauses in that they are not embedded as a constituent in the main clause (Foley and Van Valin 1984: 242, Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 454, and Cristofaro 2003: 23). Croft (2001: 322) notes that cosubordinate clauses "span the region between coordination and adverbial subordination", and clauses analyzed as cosubordinate in this chapter have functions that are identical or similar to those associated with adverbial clauses. They obligatorily share subject with their main clause, and cannot have independent illocutionary force. Complex clauses with cosubordinate clauses are not only asymmetric grammatically. The constructions described in this chapter denote complex states of affairs in much the same way as serial verb constructions. Arguably, coordinate clauses may also represent complex events, but given the adverbial-like function of cosubordinate clauses, the states of affairs they denote appear to be more closely connected to that denoted by the main clause than one state of affairs denoted by one coordinand to that of the other.

Few clauses are described as cosubordinate in Oceanic languages. Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992: 651-674) describe a set of different dependent non-embedded clauses in Samoan, amongst other comparative clauses (Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992: 668-669), which are not structurally similar to the comparative clauses in Ughele described in this chapter. Whereas rarely reported on in Oceanic languages, cosubordinate clauses (especially clause chains) are common in Papuan languages (Foley 1986: 175-198, Terrill 2003: 420). Cosubordinate clauses in Ughele, however, have little in common with typical cosubordinate clauses in Papuan languages. Like cosubordinate clauses in Papuan languages, cosubordinate clauses in Ughele obligatorily share subject with their main clause, but there are no switch-reference systems or other sorts of tracking devices to show whether arguments are shared across clauses, as is common in Papuan languages (Terrill 2003: 420, Wegener 2008: 290-293). However, there are Papuan languages that do not have reference tracking morphology on the cosubordinate clauses, such as Lavukaleve (Terrill 2003: 420). Whereas complex clauses involving cosubordination in Papuan languages usually denote sequences of events and carry special morphology marking the temporal relationship between the two

clauses (Terrill 2003: 420, Wegener 2008: 286), sequential clauses are coordinate in Ughele. As will be demonstrated in the following, cosubordinate clauses modify their main clause and have highly grammaticalized functions in Ughele.

23.1 Comparative cosubordinate clauses

As mentioned above, cosubordination is associated with highly grammaticalized constructions in Ughele. Among other features, cosubordinate clauses with *lao* 'go' are used in comparative constructions. As seen throughout the descriptions of complex constructions involving multiple predicates, such as complex clauses and verb serializations, in this thesis, *lao* covers a range of different meanings and functions depending on the construction it occurs in. The constructions in (510)-(511) represent what is described as exceed fixed-case comparative constructions in Stassen (1984, 1985). The construction consists of two predicates, which in the case of Ughele predicates separate clauses. The cosubordinate clause follows the main clause. The predicate of the main clause is a comparative predicate, and the cosubordinate clause is predicated by the verb *lao* which in this case means 'exceed'. Only *lao* can predicate the second clause, and the cosubordinate clause cannot be independently marked for mood or illocutionary force.

(510) *Seritha ngingira-na meke* ***la-lao rau.***
S. strong-ATTR:3SG and RED-go PRO:1sg
'Seritha is stronger than me.'

(*Comp. 08*, 003, elic)

The function of *lao* in comparative constructions such as (510) is that of modifying the predicate in the main clause. While the main clause in (510) asserts that Seritha is strong, the cosubordinate clause expands on this information asserting that Seritha's strength exceeds that of the 1st person singular referent of the object in the cosubordinate clause.

The same construction can also be asyndetic, in which case it cannot easily be told apart from a simple verbal clause. However, if (511) below was a verbal clause in which case *Rivu memeneina* would be an NP rather than a nominal clause, *lao* 'go' would not have had a comparative function.

(511) *Rivu memenei-na lao ai Maizu.*
R. fast-ATTR:3SG go FOC M
'Rivu is faster than Maizu.'

(*Comp. 08*, 001, elic)

There are not many comparative constructions with cosubordinate purpose clauses in the data. In all attested occurrences, the main clause is predicated by a headless NP consisting of an attributive nominal modifier. Whether the main clause may take other types of predicates remains uncertain.

23.2 Cosubordinate purpose clauses

As mentioned in Chapter 22, Ughele has two types of purpose clauses, one adverbial and one cosubordinate. The adverbial purpose clause was described in Chapter 22. The cosubordinate purpose clause differs from the adverbial one in that it is not linked to its main clause by a conjunction, and neither is it embedded as a constituent in it. Croft (2001: 326) finds that some purpose clauses are found "in the border region between adverbial subordination and coordination", and it is here cosubordinate purpose clauses in Ughele are found. Cosubordinate purpose clauses follow their main clause, and modify it much the same way adverbial purpose clauses modify their main clause, by denoting a state of affairs that motivates the state of affairs denoted by the main clause and which must be unrealized at the time of the state of affairs in the main clause

(512) *Korapa lao pa Honiara rau*
be.inside go LOC H. PRO:1SG

lao solu poko.
go buy clothing
'I am going to Honiara to buy clothes.'

(*Gen. 08*, 113, elic)

(513) *Lao rau pa Bagho* ***lao sali okete.***
go PRO:1SG LOC B. go pick ngali.nut
'I'm going to Bagho to pick ngali nuts.'

(*Kevin's tree guide*, 024, nar)

The two clauses obligatorily share subject, and the cosubordinate purpose clause can not be marked independently for mood and illocutionary force. The irrealis marking particle *site* in (514) has scope over the entire complex clause.

(514) *Ghita site lao pa Bagho*
PRO:1PL.INCL IRR go LOC B.

***lao ko kaike vuiki**, ghua.*
go stay one week express
'We will go to Bagho to stay for a week, (he) said.'

(*Ka rua habili lavata*, 001, nar)

23.3 Intensifying *lao* clauses

The cosubordinate clauses in the complex clauses in (515)-(516) are all predicated by the verb *lao* 'go' which has the function of modifying the predicate in the main clause by expressing that the state of affairs denoted by the main clause is intensified. The function of *lao* in these constructions is similar to that of the same verb as a modifying position preceding its head in core serial verb constructions. However, the constructions in (515)-(516) differ from core serial verb constructions in that they contain the conjunction *meke* 'and', which shows that *lao* is predicating a clause of its own and is not serialized to the other verbs in the construction. The cosubordinate clause precedes the main clause, and the clauses have obligatory subject sharing.

(515) *Lao na dada meke kean-i-au rau.*
go art sun and shine-TR-OBJ:1SG PRO:1SG
'The sun blinded me.'

(*Not. conversation about a carved bowl*, 001, conv)

(516) *(..) meke lao meke lao ia vatana-u.*
and go and go PRO:3SG organize-OBJ:1SG
'(..) and he ahead went and organized me.'

(*Inuke taga rau pa zuda*, 019, nar)

The intensifying cosubordinate *lao* clause is not embedded as a constituent in the main clause. It obligatorily shares subject with its main clause, and may not be independently marked for mood or illocutionary force.

23.4 The functions and structure of cosubordinate clauses

Cosubordinate clauses in Ughele have highly grammaticalised functions and are only used in a small set of constructions. Whereas no alternative constructions that can be used to express the comparative situations denoted by the cosubordinate clauses in 23.1 are attested, the function of the two other types of cosubordinate constructions overlaps with that of other constructions. Purpose clauses may be subordinate (see 22.2) or cosubordinate. Syntactically, the constructions differ in that the first is embedded as a constituent of its main clause and the second is not. It is uncertain, though, to what degree adverbial purpose clauses with *pana* (described in 22.2.1) and cosubordinate purpose clauses differ semantically. Generally, predicates linked on a higher layer of the clause structure, such as on the core or peripheral layer, tend to link events that are closer temporally and conceptually than those linked on a lower layer of the clause structure, such as the nuclear layer. It is not clear, however, whether this applies to the two syntactically different purpose constructions. The function of intensifying cosubordinate clauses (described in 23.3) resembles that of verbs intensified by means of reduplication. Also in this case, it is uncertain if or how the two constructions differ semantically.

The function of all three types of cosubordinate clauses in Ughele is to modify their main clause. No cosubordinate clauses denoting sequential or simultaneous events or events that are in a cause and effect relation with that denoted by its main clause are attested. It is only in syntactic structure, not being embedded and in some cases being syndetic, that cosubordinate clauses resemble coordinate clauses, and not in function. A cosubordinate clause resembles subordinate clauses in that the event denoted by the non-main clause is construed in the perspective of that denoted by its main clause. The event denoted by the cosubordinate clause can be said to lack an autonomous profile (Cristofaro 2003: 2), and the cosubordinate clause is thus dependent on its main clause. In a hierarchy with subordinate clauses at one end and coordinate clauses at the other, cosubordinate clauses fall somewhere in between.

23.5 Summary

Cosubordinate clauses depend on but are not embedded in its main clause, and they are only associated with a few, highly grammaticalized constructions in Ughele. Ughele has comparative and purpose cosubordinate clauses, as well as cosubordinate clauses where the verb *lao* ‘go’ is used to mark intensity.

24 Focus

This Chapter concerns the morphosyntactic marking of what is defined as narrow focus in Lambrecht (1994), Van Valin and LaPolla (2004: 208-210), and Van Valin (2005: 69), namely focus that has scope over only one constituent in the clause. This chapter starts with a definition of focus and short overview of different types of foci in 24.1. It continues with a description of the different ways in which focus can be marked morphosyntactically and the various pragmatic functions each focus marking strategy has in Section 24.2-24.5.

24.1 Defining focus and types of foci

The pragmatic function of topicality and focality concerns the speaker's being aware of what is accessible information for the addressee and making use of various linguistic means to form the sentence in a way that helps the addressee to create a proper context for the conversation. This serves to avoid misunderstandings and minimize effort on the part of the speaker. Lambrecht (1994) and Van Valin and LaPolla (2004: 202) distinguish between a pragmatic assertion, namely the proposition expressed in a sentence which the addressee, after having heard it, is expected to know or believe, and a pragmatic presupposition, which is a set of propositions evoked in an utterance which the speaker assumes the addressee already knows or believes at the time of speaking. Focus is the semantic component of a proposition in which the pragmatic assertion differs from the presupposition. Dik (1997: 326) gives a similar definition of focus, namely that focal information concerns the changes that the speaker wishes to bring about in the addressee's integrated pragmatic information. The speaker's focal information is essential for the addressee to integrate into her pragmatic information and the speaker thus makes use of various means to emphasize this information. Van Valin and LaPolla (2004: 206), drawing on Lambrecht (1994), differentiate between different types of foci based on what constitutes the focus domain (what Dik (1997) refers to as focus scope). The main distinction is between narrow focus (Van Valin and LaPolla 2004: 208-210) and broad focus. Narrow focus is when only one constituent is focused, broad focus is when the focus domain encompasses more than one constituent, like predicate focus (Van Valin and LaPolla 2004: 206-207) or sentence focus (Van Valin and LaPolla 2004: 207-208). In addition to types of foci based on the focus domain, Dik differentiates between types of foci on the basis of their pragmatic function, or "communicative point". The main distinction is between focus used to fill an information gap on the part of the speaker, and focus used to mark a contrast of some sort between the focused construction and alternative pieces of information, either presupposed or made explicit

(Dik 1997: 332). There are four different morphosyntactic means to mark narrow focus in Ughele:

- The focal prefix *a-* on independent pronouns
- Fronted object NPs
- Postverbal subject agreement clitics
- The focal particle *ai.*

An overview of the four types of morphosyntactic focus marking and their pragmatic functions is presented in the table below.

Table 24.2.1 Marking of narrow focus

Types of focus and marking:	(*a-*+) preV PRO	fronted OBJ NP	postV SBJ	*ai*
Questioning information gap	x	x	x	
Completive information gap	x	x	x	
Replacing contrast	x	x		
Restrictive contrast	x		x	x
Rejecting contrast		x		
Expanding contrast		x		x
Parallel contrast		x		
Contrast to addressee's expectations			x	

24.2 The focal prefix *a-* on independent pronouns

The focal prefix *a-* occurs on the question particle *vei* and on the 2nd person singular pronoun *ghoi,* the 3rd person singular pronoun *ia*, and the 3rd person plural pronoun *rie*. The prefix has scope over the pronoun and marks it as focused. Pronouns with the focal prefix tend to occur postverbally, as host pronouns usually are fronted (see Section 24.3). In 24.1 above, we distinguished between focus used to fill an information gap and contrastive use of focus. Information gap focus may either be questioning or completive. In questioning focus, the speaker asks a question in order to fill an information gap, like 'WHO is Christina?' or 'WHERE are you going?'. The focal element is marked in the translations by small capitals. In completive focus, the speaker seeks to fill an information gap that she assumes she has.

For instance, it may be the answers to the two questions above, 'THAT is Christina.' or 'I am going to MUNDA.' In the text fragment in (517), *aia* marks completive focus. Three boys go fishing but although there are plenty of bonito[20], they don't catch anything. They think they will have more luck with their old man's *ghaili*, a special fishhook handcrafted from shell only used to fish bonito and a specialty of the Western Solomons. The old man is reluctant to give the boys his *ghaili*, fearing that they will destroy it. Question focus is marked by a postverbal object NP referring to the focal constituent and the 3rd person pronoun *ia* with the focal prefix *a-* refers to the focal constituent in the answer and marks completive focus.

(517) *Ghaili ta ghoi tu hiva-ni ghai ka ngeta.*
ghaili POSS PRO:2SG EMPH want-TR PRO:1PL.EXC CARD three

Ei, dai! Seki-ni-a rau ***a-ia.***
oh no deny-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:1SG FOC-PRO:3SG

A-ia *zotu seki-ni-a rau ko gho ka ngeta*
FOC-PRO:3SG fix deny-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:1SG DIR PRO:2PL CARD three

puna site lao gho ngeta rabutu-i-a.
because IRR go PRO:2PL three destroy-TR-OBJ:3SG

'- Your ghaili is what we three want. - Oh no! I deny you IT. IT I insist on denying you three because you [three] will destroy it.'

(*Ghaili*, 014-16, nar)

The boys manage to persuade the old man to lend them his *ghaili*. They go out fishing again with the old man's *ghaili* with which they have a lot of success, but they eventually end up losing it. When they get back, the old man asks for his *ghaili,* and the three boys respond that they have lost it. When prefixed to *vei* 'where' the focal prefix *a-* marks question focus, where

[20] Term used in SIP (and sometimes in English) to refer to various species of medium-sized fish in the Scombridae family. The corresponding term in Ughele is *makazi*.

the focus is either a destination or location. In (518) it is the predicate, *vei*, that is focused. Other than marking pronouns with *a-*, no other means exist to morphologically mark predicates as focused in Ughele. Again, completive focus is marked in the answer by *aia*.

(518) *Meke nanaza lao ia,* ***a-vei*** *na ghaili?*
and ask go PRO:3S FOC-where COMM fishhook?

Dai. ***A-ia*** *na ghaili rabuto.*
no FOC-PRO:3S COMM fishhook loosen
'And he continued to ask, - WHERE is the ghaili? - No. The ghaili, IT got loose (from the line).'

(*Ghaili*, 032-33, nar)

In (519), (520) and (521), *a-* prefixed to a pronoun marks something corresponding roughly to what Dik defines as replacing contrast focus (Dik 1997: 333). In Dik's replacing contrast focus, the speaker seeks to replace a piece of incorrect information she assumes the addressee to have by some piece of correct information. The following examples differ slightly from Dik's replacing contrast focus in that a piece of known information is replaced by a piece of unknown information. In the example below, the speaker contrasts the *ligomo*, an idol wrapped in leaves put in the bow of war canoes that followed head hunters on their raids and helped them navigate, with the modern compass. The focused constituent is marked as such by *aia*.

(519) *Ligomo* ***a-ia*** *na kaboso ta rie ikana vizoroi.*
ligomo FOC-PRO:3SG COMM compass POSS PRO:3PL person before
'The ligomo, IT was the compass of the people in the past.'

(*Varizeke*, 007, nar)

In a similar example, the speaker contrasts the leaves used for traditional cooking with modern cooking vessels. *Aia* marks replacing contrast focus.

(520) *Pa raduvu ghu* ***a-ia*** *na besini na raro vizoroi.*
LOC leaf EMPH FOC-PRO:3SG COMM basin COMM pot before
'[On the] leaves, IT was the basins and the pots of the past.'

(*Sisiliri*, 004, nar)

A third example of replacing contrast focus is found below, where the speaker compares, and thus contrasts *guso*, a traditional cooking method where food is grilled inside a bamboo pipe, with the modern pot. A focal constituent is marked by *aia*.

(521) ***A-ia*** *vae na raro ta rie na guso.*
FOC-PRO:3SG be.like COMM pot POSS PRO:3PL COMM bamboo.stick
'IT was like a pot to them, the guso.'

(*Guso*, 09, nar)

Pronouns with the focal prefix *a-* can also mark what Dik defines as restrictive focus. In restrictive focus, the speaker seeks to specify or restrict the information, as she thinks the presupposed information of the addressee is too generic. In the following example, the speaker starts by explaining that there are many taboos in Ughele and then emphasizes that he only remembers two of them. The 3rd person plural pronoun *rie* with the focal prefix *a-* marks restrictive focus.

(522) ***A-rie*** *ghu ka rua tokoro pu korapa*
FOC-PRO:3SG EMPH CARD two taboo REL continue

babala *va-ko* *rau,*
remember/think CAUS-be PRO:1SG
'THEY are the two taboos that I can remember,'

(*Tokoro*, 002, nar)

In the next example, a woman is discovered by a female giant, who takes mercy on her and hides her in the house so that her husband will not find and kill her. After having hid the woman inside the house, she tells her that only she herself will go outside, contrasting herself to the woman who will stay hidden inside the house. The 1st person singular pronoun *rau* with the focal prefix *a-* marks restrictive contrast focus.

(523) ***A-rau*** *site vura lao pa vanua, ghua ia.*
FOC-PRO:1SG IRR exit go LOC house say PRO:3SG
'I will go outside the house, she said.'

(*Sologou*, 098, nar)

Where the speaker suspects that there may be some discrepancy between the focused construction and the expectations that the speaker assumes that the addressee makes, the speaker may feel the need to restrict or clarify the information. The following examples contain the marking of focus that is both replacing and restrictive. In the following example, the speakers emphasizes that the *japu*, traditional fishing net handcrafted from rope, was not used to catch all sorts of fish, but only sardines. *Aia* marks restrictive focus.

(524) ***A-ia*** *na* *tingitonga japu malao-i-a* *rie.*
FOC-PRO:3SG COMM thing japu use.TO-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:3PL
'THAT was the thing they used to catch in the japu.'
(*Japu*, 018, conv)

In the following example from a story about two boys who venture into the bush to pick ngali nuts, the speaker emphasizes that it was the nuts on the ground they were looking for, rather than the ones in the tree. *Aia* marks contrastive focus.

(525) ***A-ia*** *lao kao selu-a* *ka* *ru* *koboru*
FOC-PRO:3SG go look follow-OBJ:3SG CARD two child

pi *meke (..)*
DEM:SG and
'THAT was what the two boys were looking for and (..)'
(*Ka rua koreo sali nuli*, 004, nar)

The text fragment in (526) is taken from the same story as (523). A woman has climbed up a tree to look for villages where she may seek protection, the speaker emphasizes that she could only see the smoke from the fires in the villages, and not the fires themselves. *Aia* marks contrastive focus.

(526) *(..)* *beto* *meke* *dongo* *kao* *nika.*
finish and see look fire

A-ia *na* *ghabuzu* *ta* *na* *nika*
FOC-PRO:3SG COMM smoke POSS COMM fire

dongo *kao* *ia* *ia.*
see look PRO:3SG PRO:3SG

'(..) and she saw a fire. IT, the smoke of the fire, was what she saw.'

(*Sologou*, 044, nar)

In the example below, where the speaker explains how the villagers used to go on headhunting raids in the past, the speaker contrasts the habits of the past to those of the present, with which the addressee is familiar. *Aia* refers to the focused constituent, marking replacing contrast.

(527) *Mana* ***a-ia*** *na sasanana ta rie ikana vizoroi, (..)*
but FOC-PRO:3SG COMM habit POSS PRO:3PL person before

'But THAT was the habit of people in the past, (..)'

(*Varizeke*, 024, nar)

As for the 1st and 2nd person plural forms, these do not receive any extra marking when focused. When these forms refer to a focal object, they are fronted to a preverbal position.

24.3 Preverbal object NPs

Fronted object NPs moved to a preverbal position are used to mark questioning and completive gap focus, both demonstrated in the example below from a conversation about wood carvings. Two men are studying and discussing a selection of wood carvings in front of them. They discuss how they are made, what types of wood are used, and their shape. The preverbal position of the object NPs marks them as focused.

(528) *O,* ***le rosewood*** *tavete-ni-a pi?*
oh so rosewood do-TR-OBJ:3SG DEM:SG

Pi ***na rosewood*** *tavete-ni-a rie.*
DEM:SG COMM rosewood do-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:3PL

'- Oh, so it is made from ROSEWOOD?

- They made this from ROSEWOOD.'

(Conv. about a carved bowl, 012-13, conv)

Preverbal object NPs can also mark what Dik refers to as rejecting contrastive focus, where the speaker corrects an incorrect piece of

information she assumes the addressee to have by rejecting it. A woman is staying with a couple of giants. The giants have been hunting game for dinner. The speaker emphasizes that although the giants have brought home all kinds of animals, the woman cannot eat any of them. The object NP, consisting of the NP *dodoru tingitonga pu sabui ka ru pire* 'all the things that these two hunted' comes before the verb *senai* 'get them', which in this case means 'be able to eat it'. The preverbal position of the object NP marks it as focused.

(529) *(..) meke* ***dodoru tingitonga pu sabu-i rie***
and all thing REL hunt-OBJ:3PL PRO:3PL

ka ru pire *kai sena-i mamaneke pi.*
CARD two DEM.PL NEG get-OBJ:3PL woman DEM:SG
'(..) and the woman could not eat ANY OF THE THINGS THAT THESE TWO HAD HUNTED.'

(KELI_so_031-2_nar)

The speaker continues, explaining that the woman could not eat these animals, as she was not used to it, but that she *could* eat pig. The verb initial NP *na mo* 'pig' contrasts it to the other animals, and marks replacing contrast focus.

(530) *Puna kai tara ghani mamaneke pi le*
because NEG be.used.to eat woman DEM:SG so

kai ghani ia. ***Na mo*** *ghu gura*
NEG eat PRO3SG COMM pig EMPH can

ghani na mamaneke ia.
eat COMM woman PRO:3SG
'Because this woman was not used to eat it, she didn't eat it. The woman could eat PIG.'

(*Sologou*, 033-4, nar)

Preverbal object NPs are also used to mark expanding contrast focus (Dik: 1997: 333-4), whereby the speaker seeks to expand the information by adding pieces of information that she assumes are missing on the part of the addressee. In (531), we are back to the situation described in (526), in which

a woman has climbed a tree to look for villages, and the speaker emphasizes that she doesn't only spot fires from the villages, she can also see some hills.

(531) *(..),* ***kakea botu*** *tu doghor-i-a lao na ia.*
some hill EMPH see-TR-OBJ:3SG go COMM PRO:3SG
'(..), she could also see SOME HILLS.'

(*Sologou*, 048, nar)

In the following example, the preverbal object NP *batu mamaneke* 'heads of women' marks what Evans (2010: 8) refers to as parallel contrast focus, where the speaker contrasts subsets of participants. *Batu mamaneke* 'heads of women' is contrasted to *batu koreo* 'heads of men'.

(532) *Kakea totozo* ***batu mamaneke*** *site paleke pulese mai-ni rie,*
some time head woman IRR carry return come-TR PRO:3PL

kakea totozo batu koreo, mana (..)
some time head man but
'Sometimes they brought back HEADS OF WOMEN, sometimes heads of men, but (..)'

(*Varizeke*, 039, nar)

24.4 Postverbal subject agreement clitics

Postverbal subject agreement marking can mark several types of foci. It is frequently used to mark completive focus whereby the focal element is introduced into a piece of discourse (533)-(534). The focus domain of this presentational completive focus may also include new topics. In addition to the postverbal subject agreement marker, there is an NP referring to the focused participant.

(533) *Egho. Ko* ***dia*** *made mazi pire.*
OK stay SBJ:3PL four sibling DEM:PL
'There were four siblings.'

(*Made koreo me tazina vineki*, 001, nar)

(534) *Ko* ***dia*** *na kutu, meki meke na koba.*
be SBJ:3PL COMM rat dog and COMM hermit.crab
'There was the rat, the dog and the hermit crab.'

(*Vivineina koba*, 001, nar)

(535) *Ko* ***nana*** *pazuna kaike jipolo.*
be SBJ:3SG there one jipolo
'There was a jipolo[21].'

(*Sologou*, 006, nar)

Postverbal subject agreement markers are also used to mark questioning information gap focus, as in the following example (536)-(537).

(536) *Vei lao* ***miu*** *ghua gho ka ngeta?*
where go SBJ:2PL say PRO:2PL CARD three
'WHERE are you three going?'

(*Ghaili*, 052, nar)

(537) *Le vei lao* ***mua*** *ghua ghoi?*
so where go SBJ:2SG say PRO:2SG

[21] *Jipolo* is the name of a species of plant. The English translation for this term has not been identified yet.

Lao ***mua*** *pa Kiri ghua?*
go SBJ:3SG LOC K. say
'-So WHERE are you going?
-Are YOU going to KIRI [say]?'

(*Conv.* 4, 001, conv)

Postverbal subject marking can be used to mark restrictive focus. In the following example, three boys have been visiting an old man. The speaker contrasts the old man, who is staying behind, with the three boys who are leaving.

(538) *Na maroke lea korapa ko* ***nana*** *pa Kololuka.*
COMM old.man PRF continue be SBJ:3SG LOC K
'THE OLD MAN stayed back at Kololuka.'

(*Ghaili*, 047, nar)

Another example of postverbal subject agreement clitics used to mark restrictive contrast focus is the following. The husband of a family of four leaves the house to go hunting. The speaker contrasts the mother and two children, who are staying behind, with the husband, who is leaving.

(539) *Beto meke rie ngeta maneke ko* ***dia.***
finish and PRO:3PL three mother.and.child be SBJ:3PL
'And THE THREE, mother and children, stayed.'

(*Kelko Bakua meke Jiro Vore*, 004, nar)

In the next example, several women go into the bush to pick ngali nuts, among them the wife of the chief. A spirit takes the form of the chief's wife and takes her place among the other women, and follows them back to the village. In the first sentence, the speaker contrasts the wife of the chief, who is staying behind in the ngali nut tree with the rest of the women including the spirit, who are paddling home to the village. In the second sentence the speaker contrasts the women who are leaving for the village with the woman staying behind. In the first sentence, a combination of the focal particle *ai* (described below in 24.5) and an NP and the 3rd person singular postverbal subject agreement clitic *nana* marks restrictive focus. In the second sentence, the focal constituent is marked as such by the 3rd person plural postverbal subject agreement clitic *dia*.

(540) *Ai na*[22] *mamaneke ia ko palai* ***nana*** *tu pa*
FOC COMM woman PRO:3SG be throw SBJ:3SG EMPH LOC

opiti. Rie lea voze, lea toka kaloa ***dia.***
bush.apple PRO:3PL PRF paddle PRF depart leave SBJ:3PL
'THE WOMAN was left in the bush apple tree. THEY had paddled away and left.'

(*Sologou*, 30-31, nar)

The focused construction can also be contrasted with the intentions, expectations or wishes of one or more of the participants. This type of contrast can also be expressed by postverbal subject agreement clitics. In these cases, the focus domain may be the predicate, rather than the participant (541).

(541) *Dapu gura ene, site zighit-i-a na malegho meke*
NEG can walk IRR hurt-TR-OBJ:3SG COMM leg and

kagu soghoru va-ko ***mua.*** *Dapu gura ene.*
must sit CAUS-be SBJ:3SG NEG can walk
'You won't be able to walk, the leg will hurt and you must SIT still. You won't be able to walk.'

(*Tokoro*, 006, nar)

Or the focus domain may be one participant, as in the example below.

[22] Curiously, the common noun article *na* and the focal article *ai* occurs together in (540), which seems to be the only example of the two used in one and the same NP in the whole data set.

(542) *Sipat-i-a ghua na oreke meke*
shoot-TR-OBJ:3SG say COMM woman and

a-ia vura ***nana*** *pa vida meke (..)*
FOC-PRO:3SG exit SBJ:3SG LOC window and

'The woman shoots (after) him but HE runs out through the window and (..)'

(*Ratatouille*, 025, nar)

24.5 The focal particle *ai*

The focal article *ai* is used to clarify and expand on information by providing additional pieces of information about the identity of a participant, as in the example below. In (543) *ai* marks an NP with expanding contrast focus, adding information, in this case, the name of the referent of the argument.

(543) *Ko nana kaike ikana bagho-na ia* ***ai*** *Noman Wheatley.*
be SBJ:3SG one person name-ATTR:3SG PRO:3SG FOC N. W.

'There was a man called Norman Wheatley.'

(*Ghinalina linotu pa Ughele*, 002, nar)

In (544)-(545) it marks restrictive contrastive focus. In (544) the speaker emphasises that it was Apo, and not any of the other people present, that came to fetch him. (545) is from a story about a couple of giants that eventually befriend a young family that end up moving into their household. The male giant dies, and his wife, Rore Pegi, and the young family continues their daily life until, one day, her time has come too.

(544) *(..) me senau rau* ***ai*** *Apo me (..)*
and get-OBJ:1SG PRO:1SG FOC A. and

'(...) and APO (came and) fetched me and (..)'

(*Inuke taga rau pa zuda*, 032, nar)

(545) *Beto meke ko paiza rie*
finish and be there PRO:3PL

meke mate pele ***ai*** *Rore Pegi.*
and die next FOC R. P

'And they stayed there and (it was) RORE PEGI (who) died next.'

(*Sologou*, 302, nar)

24.6 Summary

Narrow focus can be marked by means of the focal prefix *a-* on independent pronouns, fronted object NPs, postverbal subject agreement pronouns, and the focal article *ai*.

The focal prefix on pronouns mark questioning information gap, completive information gap, replacing contrast and restrictive contrast focus. Fronted object NPs mark questioning information gap, completive information gap, replacing contrast, rejecting contrast, expanding contrast and parallel contrast focus. Postverbal subject agreement pronouns mark questioning information gap, completive information gap, and restrictive contrast focus, as well as contrasts to addressee's expectations. The focal particle *ai* marks restrictive and expanding contrast focus.

25 Cohesion in discourse

This chapter concerns the morphological marking of coherence in various forms of spoken texts. By coherence is meant the different strategies that exist in the language to link new information to that which has gone before (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 2, Brown and Yule 1983: 10). Unfortunately, limitations on time and data do not allow us an in-depth analysis of discourse organization in Ughele, but a brief description of some discourse marking strategies is provided here. Expressions that mark the start or end of a narrative text are described in Section 25.1, ways in which events can be linked to provide coherence in a text are described in 25.2, and reference tracking within and across sentences in 25.3 and 25.4, respectively.

25.1 Discontinuity

What makes a text a text according to Halliday and Hasan (1976: 2) is its texture - the cohesive relation within and in-between sentences. Before moving on to ways of formally marking cohesion in Ughele in the next section, this section provides a short overview of means to delimit a text. Whereas Sections 25.2-25.4 concern how information in one clause or sentence is linked to that of another (continuity), this section concerns discourse boundaries (discontinuity). A small set of phrases and sentences are used to indicate the start or end of narrative texts in Ughele, we may refer to these as "opening formulas" and "closing formulas". Opening formulas are described in 25.1.1 and closing formulas in 25.1.2.

25.1.1 Opening formulas

There is a limited set of phrases and clauses speakers may use to indicate the beginning of a narrative text in Ughele. We will refer to these as opening formulas here, and they may be one of the following six types:

1. (*Egho*) *Ko nana kaike madighe / kaike totozo*.
   '(OK) One day/Once upon a time there was/were'
2. *Ko* SUB NP (LocP).
   'There was/were NP (LocP).'
3. (*Egho*) DEM NP.
   '(OK) This/that NP.'
4. (*Egho*) (*e*) NP.
   '(OK) NP.'
5. (*Egho*) (LocP) *hiva / site vivinei rau* NP (LocP).
   '(OK) (LocP) I want to tell you about NP (LocP).'
6. *Pila/Aia vivinei ta* NP.
   'This is the story of NP.'

The first structure is exemplified in (546).

(546) ***Ko nana kaike totozo***
be SBJ:3SG one time

ko rie tatamana me
be PRO:3PL family and

na kakea viu pire ko
COMM some bird DEM:PL be

ba vari-pera ko rie ikana
but DISTR-fight DIR PRO:3PL person

'Once upon a time (lit. there was a time) there was a family and there were some birds who were fighting against the family.'

(*Na viu*, 001-002, nar)

It is a highly lexicalized expression, which resembles expressions used in several languages to introduce fairy tales, such as 'Once upon a time (..)' in English. It does not have any other function than to indicate the beginning of a narrative, and in this respect it differs from the other opening formulas in (547)-(552). There is a chance that the expression in may have lexicalized from the type of opening phrase in (547), which in addition to mark the beginning of a narrative also sets the location in time or space in which the story takes place.

(547) *Ko kaike totozo pa goana Berapa, pa zolozo Berapa.*
be one time LOC bush B. LOC mountain B

'Once upon a time in the bush of Berapa, in the mountain of Berapa.'

(*Ghaili*, 001, nar)

The second type is exemplified in (548).

(548) *Ko dia tatamana.*
be SBJ:3PL family

'There was a family.'

(*Kelko Bakua meke Jiro Vore*, 001, nar)

An example of type 3 is given in (549).

(549) *Egho, pi kaike t<in>avete namu vizoroi.*
OK DEM:SG one <NOM>make food before
'OK, this is a way of cooking from the past.'

(*Sisiliri*, 001, nar)

Type four is illustrated in (550).

(550) *E Aleni pi.*
PERS A. DEM:SG
'(There was) this (person called) Aleni.'

(*Aleni*, 001, nar)

In (551), we see an example of type 5.

(551) *Egho, a-rau site vi-vinei-ni-a ko ghoi*
OK FOC-PRO:1SG FUT RED-tell-TR-OBJ:3SG DIR PRO:2SG

na sabu kolubata.
COMM fish silverfish
'OK, I will tell you how to fish silverfish.'

(*Sabu kolubata*, 001, nar)

Finally, (552) illustrates type 6.

(552) *Pila vivinei ta Siro meke Navo.*
DEM:SG story POSS S. and N.
'This is the story of Siro and Navo.'

(*Siro 2*, 001, nar)

(548)-(552) introduce a new topic, either through metalinguistic statements about what is going to be the topic, as in (549)-(552), or through an existential construction such as in (547). Other than introducing participants

or themes and locations, these sentences and phrases are a means to indicate the start of a text. The expressions in (546)-(547) are used to introduce all types of narratives, such as descriptions, jokes, fairy tales (*koro diko*), or legends (*vivinei sinokara*), and are not limited to one genre.

25.1.2 Closing texts

There are three expressions, exemplified in (553), (554) and (555), that speakers may use to indicate that narrative has ended. We will refer to these expressions as closing formulas here.

(553) *A-ia* *ghu.*
FOC-PRO:3SG EMPH
'That's it.'

(*Aku*, 010, nar)

(554) *Beto* *ghu.*
finish EMPH
'Finished/The end.'

(*Vagho*, 057, nar)

(555) *Beto.*
finish
'Finished/The end.'

(*Ghaili*, 103, nar)

As is the case for the opening formulas described in 25.1.1, the two closing formulas may be used to indicate the end of any type of narrative. As described in 25.2.3, the verb *beto* 'finish' is also used to link events in a text, in which case it appears at the start of the second of two linked sentences or clauses.

25.2 Continuity by means of linked events

Ways in which cohesive relations are marked within one and the same sentence are described for serial verbs constructions (SVCs) in Chapter 15, and in Chapters 19-23 for complex clauses. This section gives a short overview and comparison of event linking constructions, before moving on to reference tracking in 25.3-4. First, it will be demonstrated in Section 25.2.1 that the relation between the linked events is reflected in the choice of

sentence internal construction used to denote them, and that the different constructions can be said to form a continuum. At one end of the continuum, one finds SVCs denoting closely related events, and in the other coordinate clauses denoting less closely related ones. Second, a brief description of means to mark cohesion across sentences is provided. This section only deals with constructions that denote complex events where the subevents are fairly distinct and where one clause is not embedded as a constituent in the other and no clause is highly grammaticalised. An account of sentence internal event linking constructions widened to include subordinate clauses would no doubt be interesting, but remains a topic for future research for now.
There are several ways in which events may be linked in a text, ranging from sentence internal constructions:

- Nuclear and core layer serial verb constructions
- Cosubordination
- Coordination

to constructions linking events across sentences:

- Head-tail linkage
- The discourse linking verb *beto* 'finish'

The structural features of serial verb constructions are described in Chapter 15, those of cosubordinated clauses (non-finite, non-embedded clauses) in 23, and those of coordinated clauses in 19. As these constructions are described in previous chapters, only a brief description of how they link events is provided in Section 25.2.1. Previous chapters have only dealt with structures below the sentence level, that is, with no intonational breaks between them. In Sections 25.2.2-3, we will look at two ways to mark coherence in texts that are not restricted to the sentence level. Head-tail linkage, a structure well known from descriptions of discourse marking in Papuan languages, is described in 25.2.2. The marking of coherence in discourse by means of the verb *beto* 'finish' is described in 25.2.3. Intonation breaks between two sentences are indicated by a period.

25.2.1 A hierarchy of sentence internal event linking constructions

Pawley (2008: 17) has demonstrated how expressions in Kalam corresponding to the sentence internal event linking constructions described here can be considered to occupy different stages along a continuum, being more or less like proto-typical clauses. Furthermore, Lane (2008: 135) and Pawley (2008: 19-20) find that the verb order in these constructions is iconic with respect to the events coded and that close association of the subevents is reinforced by the closeness of the verb stems themselves in the construction. It will be demonstrated below that these findings also hold for sentence internal constructions denoting linked events in Ughele. The semantic

closeness of events and the syntactic closeness of the predicates denoting them are clearly related. The most closely associated events, in particular with respect to a temporal relation, are denoted by SVCs, and the least closely associated events by coordinate clauses. The two constructions can be said to form opposite ends of a continuum. Other constructions occupy spaces in the continuum between these two constructions.

One of the functions of serial verb constructions (SVCs) is to unite multiple events into one complex event. In Chapter 15, serialized verbs were described in terms of positional slots, the more peripheral slots being filled by more grammaticalised elements and the verbs in the two most central slots by the verbs denoting the subevents of the complex event denoted by the SVC as a whole. Some of the functions of serialized verbs are to denote simultaneous (556), sequential sub-events (558), or events in a cause-effect relation (323).

(556) *Egho, totozo polo kosima-na vuaseni*
OK time if ripe-ATTR:3SG year

sali sabu *rie paleke mai vanua pisa.*
pick hunt PRO:3SG carry come house break
'OK, at the time of year when it's ripe, they harvest it and carry it home and break it.'

(*Boboro*, 007, nar)

(557) *Palek-i-a ghoi na babu mami*
carry-TR-3SG PRO:2S COMM bamboo PRO:1PL

ghore kulimi *lobe tilingi taga rau.*
go.down fill water salt POSS PRO:1SG
'You carry the bamboo and we go down and fill it with my sea water.'

(*Ka made vineki pu patu*, 011, nar)

(558) *Polo ghovete gho Ka ru*
if run PRO:2PL CARD two

site ***zeke mate*** *ghamu rau.*
IRR murder die PRO:2PL PRO:1SG
'If you two run, I will murder you.'

(*Ka rua koreo sali nuli*, 08-010, nar)

SVCs are the smallest units used to link events. Verbs may be serialized on the nuclear or core layer of the clause structure, and must share at least one core argument. Serialized verbs and their functions are described in detail in Chapter 15.

There is a closer connection between the events of cosubordinate clauses (described in Chapter 23) and their main clauses than between events denoted by coordinated clauses. The events can often be considered as one complex event. There are three types of cosubordinate clauses, and the relation between the event expressed in the cosubordinate clause and that of its main clause is different for each type. A purpose cosubordinate clause denotes the event that is the purpose of the action denoted by the main clause. In (559) *Na tamana sagala* and *lao tutuvia vaka pa vapu* represent different clauses. Note that the verb sequence *sagala lao tutuvia* cannot be a serial verb construction, as it would break the restriction on position in the verb *lao*. Maximally two verbs having the same meaning as they would have as independent verbs can be part of the same nuclear SVC. In addition come verbs modifying these. The verb *lao* may modify other verbs but in that case it must precede or follow the main verb(s), and cannot intervene between them. See Ch. 15 for more information about positional slots in serial verb constructions.

(559) [*Na tatamana sagala* [*lao tutuv-i-a vaka pa vapu*]$_{\text{COSUB}}$]$_{\text{MAIN}}$.
COMM family run go meet-TR-OBJ:3SG ship LOC wharf
'The family ran to the jetty to meet the ship.'
(*Event integr.*, E20, elic)

A simultaneous cosubordinate clause denotes an event that cooccurs temporally with the event denoted by the main clause. The construction in (560) differs from a core SVC in that the periphery (the PP) of the first clause is not shared by the second.

(560) [*Buli patu lao pa zu-zud-aini rie koburu*
throw stone go LOC RED-tree-NOM PRO:3PL child

[*selu-i na meki*]$_{\text{COSUB}}$]$_{\text{MAIN}}$.
follow-OBJ:3PL COMM dog
'The boy threw stones into the woods chasing the dogs.'
(*Event integr.*, E24, elic)

As described in Chapter 23, the definition of cosubordinate clauses used here for Ughele is based on both syntactic and semantic criteria. A single verb may represent a full clause in Ughele and it can be difficult to differentiate between core SVCs and cosubordinate clauses. Only purpose clauses and simultaneous clauses are attested as cosubordinate. No cosubordinate constructions are attested denoting sequential events or cause and effect. As pointed out in Chapter, 23, cosubordinate clauses can be difficult to identify, though.

Coordinate clauses express events in a temporal relationship with the initial clause preceding the next in time. As seen in Chapter 19, they may express simultaneous events, sequential events or events in a cause and effect relation. Below are two coordinate constructions with clauses denoting simultaneous subevents (561) and subevents in a cause and effect relation (562).

(561) [*Rau naghe Ughele*]$_{CL}$ [*meke ghoi naghe Marovo*]$_{CL}$.
PRO:1SG speak U. and PRO:2SG speak M.
'I speak Ughele and you speak Marovo.'

(*Gen. 08*, 170, elic)

(562) [[*Lao sali okete rau*]$_{CL}$ [*mana lea lao rie salu-a*]$_{CL}$]$_{CL}$
go pick nut PRO:1SG but PRF go PRO:3PL pick-OBJ:3SG

[*le kekere pulese ghu rau*]$_{CL}$.
so turn return EMPH PRO:1SG
'I went to pick nuts but they had picked them so I went home.'

(*Le*, 002, elic)

For more information about coordinated clauses, see Chapter 19.

We have seen above that serialized verbs can express sequential and causative events. The difference between events linked by SVCs and coordination lies in the degree to which the linked events can be perceived as a single macro-event. Whereas the events in a cause and event relation in a SVC are so close temporally that they can be considered to constitute one complex event, this is not the case for the two events in the coordinated construction above. As mentioned in Chapter 15, the notion of SVCs as one conceptual event is not necessarily a straightforward one. However, certain features distinguish linked events in SVCs and in coordinations. One notable difference is the temporal closeness of events denoted by SVCs and coordinate constructions. In a causative SVC, the second event happens as an immediate effect of the first. Moreover, at least one participant must be

involved in both events in an SVC, whereas this is not a requirement for events expressed by coordinated clauses. In (562), which also involves causation, the second and third clause share no arguments. The referent of *rie* 'them' in the second clause is not a participant in the third clause, neither is the referent of *rau* 'I' in the third clause a participant in the second. The event in the third clause need not happen immediately after that of the second.

Comparing simultaneous events expressed by SVCs and cosubordinate clauses, as in (556) and (560) respectively, both verbs in the SVC must share arguments making the subevents more closely related than the ones expressed by a cosubordinate clause and its main clause (560). In (560) the main clause and the cosubordinate clause have different object referents.

25.2.2 Head-tail linkage

Sentences where the verb denoting the (last) event of the first sentence is repeated at the beginning of the second sentence, known as *head-tail linkage*, have been extensively described for Papuan languages (Terrill 2003: 469-473 among many others) but not for Oceanic ones. Head-tail linkage occurs widely in the Ughele data. The sequences in (563) and (564) are examples.

(563) *Zae lao pa goana ia lao paleke mai-ni-a*
go.up go LOC bush PRO:3SG go carry come-TR-OBJ:3SG

na raduvu buna] *meke mai pa kapa kolo*
COMM leaf species.of.plant and come LOC side river

meke lao ghami ***mujari.*** ***Mujari*** *ghami*
and go PRO:1PL.EXCL hammer hammer PRO:1PL.EXCL

na buna pire mixi-ni ko na onone geava.
COMM species.of.plant DEM:PL mix-TR DIR COMM sand white

'He went up to the bush and carried back buna leaves and he came down to the riverside and we hammered them. We hammered the these buna (leaves) and mixed it with white sand.'

(*Ka rua habili lavata*, 011-12, nar)

(564) *Totozo lao rie sena na arozo ia lao rie*
time go PRO:3PL get COMM rope PRO:3SG go PRO:3PL

va-dada. ***Va-dada*** *rie me totozo sarango ia lao*
CAUS-sun.dry CAUS-sun.dry PRO:3PL and time dry PRO:3SG go

rie site meke ghujal-i-a.
PRO:3PL IRR and twist-TR-OBJ:3SG

'At the time they go and get the rope, they let it dry in the sun (lit. sun dries it). They let it dry in the sun and when it is dry they will twist it.'

(*Japu*, 006-7, conv)

The repetition of the verb in the second sentence provides given information and this structure, as pointed out by Terrill (2010) for similar constructions in the Papuan language Lavukaleve, structure information between given and new.

25.2.3 Discourse linking by means of the verb *beto* 'finish'

A frequent strategy to mark coherence across sentences is by the use of the verb *beto* 'finish'. The verb *beto* stands alone sentence-internally and is combined with *meke* 'and', which it precedes, when linking sentences. *Beto* appears sentence initially and links the one sentence to another by recapitulating the event in the former sentence and linking it to the event in the current one. The function resembles head-tail linkage and one may argue that *beto* functions as a pro-form of the initial clause in a head-tail linkage construction, representing the previous event.

(565) *Ko rie ka made tamana beto kaloa na palabatu.*
be PRO:3PL CARD four family finish depart COMM husband

Lao sabu. ***Beto*** *meke rie ngeta maneke*
go fish finish and PRO:3PL three mother.and.child

ko dia. ***Beto*** *meke lao tina-di ka ru*
be SBJ:3PL finish and go mother-POSS:3PL CARD two

koboru pire. Va-ngajiri ka ru koboru.
child DEM:PL CAUS-angry CARD two child

'There was a family of four (and) the husband left. He left to go fishing. The three, mother and children, stayed. The mother of these two boys left. The two boys got angry.'

(*Kelko Bakua meke Jiro Vore*, 002-6, nar)

(566) *Lao ia mono-i tini taga rau. Paleke-ni-au rie*
go PRO:3PL massage-tr body POSS PRO:1SG carry-TR-PRO:1SG PRO:3PL

lobe vuvu-au. ***Beto*** *meke lea-gu rau lao*
water splash-OBJ:1SG finish and good-ATTR:1SG PRO:1SG go

rie paleke mai-ni-au pa vanua ko rie Eddie Noma.
PRO:3PL carry come-TR-OBJ:1SG LOC house DIR PRO:3PL E. N.

'He went on and massaged my body. They carried water and splashed it on me. I got better and they carried me to the house of Eddie Noma's family (lit. those of Eddie Noma).'

(*Inuke taga rau pa zuda*, 020-1, nar)

Similar use of verbs to link sentences in discourse has earlier been described for Korowai (Van Enk and De Vries 1997: 120-2), Lavukaleve (Terrill 2003: 473-5) and Lao (Enfield 2007: 458).

25.3 Reference tracking in complex clauses

The reference tracking system in complex clauses corresponds to what is described as *switch-function* in Foley and Van Valin (1984: 322) and Van Valin and LaPolla (2004:287) and *pivot contraints* in Dixon (1998: 154). A particular referent is tracked across clauses with the verbal morphology indicating the function of the referent in each clause. This referent will be referred to as a *pivot*. Dixon (1998: 154) distinguishes between two types of pivot constraints, one in which the coreferential NP must be in S or A function (S/A pivot), and one where the coreferential NP must be in S or O function (S/O pivot). All complex clauses in Ughele except adverbial and relative clauses show an S/A pivot constraint, and are thus syntactically accusative. An undergoer must be the subject of a passive verb to be a pivot, as in the following conjunctive coordination. *Na ikana pi* is the subject of both clauses, and thus a pivot.

(567) *Moso na ikana pi meke*
sick COMM person DEM:SG and

kai gura ta-zalanga pa Solomon.
NEG can PASS-heal LOC S.

'The person got sick and could not be healed in the Solomons.'

(*Ghinorena linotu pa Ughele*, 006, nar)

25.3.1 Coordinated clauses

As described in Ch. 19, the subject in the second clause of a coordination where both (or all if there are more than two clauses involved) clauses have

coreferential arguments often has zero anaphora. As noted, there is an S/A pivot constraint, and the pivot may have S function in both clauses, as in (568)-(570).

(568) *Lao mene pa Muda rau meke site pulese mai.*
go first LOC M. PRO:1SG and IRR return come
'I will go to Munda first and then come back.'

(*Mene*, 08_001, elic)

(569) *Site lao pa sinevara ghua rau*
IRR go LOC garden say PRO:1SG

ba sasako le supere ghu.
but lazy so do.nothing EMPH
'I should have gone to the garden, but I (felt) lazy so I did nothing.'

(*Ba*, 002, elic)

(570) *Na meki kudipi me lao pa kolo.*
COMM dog thirsty and go LOC river
'The dog was thirsty and went to the river.'

(*Adj.*, 040, elic)

Alternatively, the pivot may have S function in the first clause and A function in the second, as in the following examples. *Kakea viu* is the pivot in the second and third clause in (571) and gets zero anaphora in the third clause. *Rie tatamana* in the first clause is coreferential with *rie ikana* in the third but is not an argument of the second clause, and gets a full NP reference in both clauses. *Arau* is S in the first and A in the second clause of (572) and *na koreo* is S in the first and A in the second clause of (573).

(571) *Ko rie tatamana me na kakea viu pire ko*
be PRO:3PL family and COMM some bird DEM:PL be

ba vari-pera malao ko rie ikana.
but DISTR-fight be.inside DIR PRO:3PL person
'There was a family and there were some birds but (they) were always fighting with the people.'

(*Na viu*, 002, nar)

(572) *A-rau tughu kagu selu meke lao sena e Tanguy.*
FOC-PRO:1SG also must follow and go take PERS T.
'I also have to come and along and fetch Tanguy.'

(*Tughu*, 003, elic)

(573) *Na koreo malosoro me kai gura zuru-a na patu.*
COMM boy weak and NEG can lift-OBJ:3SG COMM stone
'The boy is weak and cannot lift the stone.'

(*Adj.*, A059, elic)

As seen in (574), none of the coreferential arguments get zero anaphora in cases where a clause with a non-coreferential argument intervenes between two clauses with coreferential arguments. The coreferential arguments are then expressed by full NPs in both clauses, as in the following example where *rau* in the first and third clause are coreferential. *Linemono mate* 'the news of the death' is the only argument of the second clause.

(574) *Lao pa sinevara rau meke mai na l<in>emono mate*
go LOC garden PRO:1SG and come COMM <NOM>hear death

le ghore pulese rau.
so descend return PRO:1SG
'I went to the garden and the news of the death came so I went back down.'

(*Le*, 001, elic)

25.3.2 Adverbial clauses

Where there are coreferential arguments in adverbial clauses and main clauses, the argument in the adverbial clause has a zero anaphor. (575) shows a reason adverbial clause and (576) a purpose adverbial clause. In both cases, *rau* is the subject of both the adverbial clause and the main clause.

(575) *Totozo pu va-turu-au rie rau vae na*
time REL CAUS-stand-OBJ:1SG PRO:3PL PRO:1SG like COMM

ikana pu bebei ghu puna kai leana me (..)
person REL drunk EMPH because NEG good and
'When they helped me up I was like a drunk person because I wasn't well and (..)'

(*Inuke taga rau pa zuda*, 019, nar)

(576) *Lao pa sikulu rau pana kagu ikana va-ghi-ghilana.*
go LOC school PRO:1SG to must person CAUS-red-know
'I went to school to become a teacher (lit. a knowledgeable person).'

(*Bec.*, 001, elic)

In (577), *na mezi pi* 'this knife' is S in the main clause and A in the purpose adverbial clause.

(577) *Lavata ghighiri na mezi pi pana mezi kinupi.*
big very COMM knife DEM:SG to cut leafy.vegetable
'This knife is too big to chop vegetables.'

(*Gen. 08*, 025, elic)

The S/A pivot constraint does not hold in adverbial clauses. In the following clause, *na nini* is the O of the first clause, the S of the second and the A of the third. *Na nini* has zero anaphora in the second and third clause.

(578) *Mana polo ghita ka ru site vangunu na nini*
but if PRO:1PL.INCL CARD two IRR wake COMM giant

ŋgajiri meke zeke mate ghita.
angry and kill die PRO:1PL.INCL
'But if we wake the giant she will be angry and kill us.'

(*Ka rua koreo sali nuli*, 036, nar)

25.3.3 Cosubordinate clauses

Cosubordinate clauses have zero anaphora with the coreferential argument expressed by an NP in the main clause. In the example below, *rau* is the S of both the main clause and the purpose cosubordinate clause.

(579) *Rau hiva lao pa sinevara lao piki sena mene.*
PRO:1SG want go LOC garden go hoe get first
'I will go to the garden to hoe first.'
(*Conv. 1*, 002, conv)

The same holds for simultaneous cosubordinate clauses, as shown in (580), where *rie koboru* is the S of the main clause and the A of the second.

(580) *Sagala katu pa pavasa rie koburu selu-i*
run cross LOC field PRO:3PL child follow-OBJ:3PL

na kokorako.
COMM chicken
'The children ran across the field chasing the chickens.'
(*Event integr.*, E23, elic)

In the following example *rau* is the S of the *lao* cosubordinate clause, and the A in the main clause.

(581) *Lao rau meke maso kobu-a na zuda.*
go PRO:1SG and cut break-OBJ:3SG COMM tree
'I went and broke the stick (in two).'
(*Notes from Vivinei na babu*, nar)

The S/A pivot constraint holds for all three types of cosubordinate clauses. For more information about cosubordinate clauses, see Ch. 23.

25.3.4 Complement Clauses

Where arguments are coreferential in a complement clause and its main clause, the complement clause may have zero anaphora, as shown in the

example below. *Rie* is the subject of the main clause and the complement clause.

(582) *(..) meke polo hiva-ni-a rie tavete poga, (..)*
and if want-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:3PL make pudding
'(..) and if they want to make pudding (..)'
(*Boboro*, 028, nar)

25.3.5 Relative clauses

As shown in Ch. 21, coreferential arguments get zero anaphora in relative clauses, where the S/A pivot constraint does not hold and all combinations of functions in the respective clauses seem to be possible for coreferential arguments. The argument may have O function in the main clause and A function in the relative clause.

(583) *Doghor-i-a ghoi na ikana pu poko-ni-a sote buma?*
see-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:2SG COMM person REL wear-TR-OBJ:3SG shirt blue
'Can you see the man wearing a blue shirt?'
(*Ci 08*, 001, elic)

It can have O function in the main clause and S function in the relative clause.

(584) *Va-zingi-ni-i rineka pu kai ko.*
CAUS-fill-TR-OBJ:3PL expression REL NEG be
'Fill in the missing words.'
(*Dite*, 006, elic)

The argument can have S function in the main clause and A function in the relative clause.

(585) *Na koboru pu kave-a na makazi lavata mai za.*
COMM child REL pull-OBJ:3SG COMM bonito big come DEM:SG
'The boy who caught (lit. pulled) the big bonito is coming.'

(*Gen. 02*, 001, elic)

Finally, the argument may have S function in the main clause and O function in the relative clause.

(586) *Na avara makazi pu doghor-i-a ghita parai ghore*
COMM school bonito REL see-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:1PL.INCL yesterday descend

vura ta-doghoro pa totozo nginoroi vae pi.
exit PASS-see LOC time now like DEM:SG
'The school of bonito that we saw going down yesterday usually appears (lit. is usually seen) at this time of day.'

(*Gen.* 02-003, elic)

In (585) the verb in the main clause is passive, but this is not a requirement for this combination of functions. In the following example, the argument has S function in the main clause and O function in the relative clause, and the verb in the main clause is not passive.

(587) *Ko kakea tingitonga gura tavet-i-a rau?*
be some thing can do-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:1SG
'Is there something I can do?'

(*Mise*, 014, elic)

25.3.6 Marking of continuous topic in complex clauses

Preverbal subject clitics are used to indicate that the event in one clause follows immediately after the event of another, with no other events intervening between them, and that the subject of one clause is coreferential with the subject in the other. The coreferential arguments have S function in both clauses in (588), and A function in the first and S in the second in (589).

(588) *Ka rua vineki di ene tutuv-i*
CARD two girl SBJ:3PL walk meet-OBJ:3PL

meke di vari-nagus-i
and SBJ:3PL DISTR-hug-OBJ:3PL

puna vari-mado-i.
because DISTR-happy-OBJ:3PL

'Two girls go and greet each other and they hug because they are happy (to see) each other.'

(*Recipr.*, 07, elic)

(589) *Vura ghighiri makazi mana daketonga di sena-i*
go.out very bonito but nothing SBJ:3PL get-OBJ:3PL

le di ghore pulese
do SBJ:3PL go.down return

'Plenty of bonito were breaking the water but they got nothing so they went back.'

(*Ghaili*, 006, nar)

This marking is similar to a switch-reference system (as described in Foley and Van Valin 1984: 322-3; Dixon 1998: 153-4; and Van Valin and LaPolla 2004: 287) in that there is a morpheme that indicates whether the subjects in the two clauses are coreferential. However, as pointed out by Dixon (1998: 167), a switch-reference system always has two markers, one for same-subject and one for different-subject. Ughele only has one marker indicating same-subject and no marker indicating different-subject.

25.4 Reference tracking across sentences

25.4.1 Introducing participants

With few exceptions, 3rd person participants are introduced in a text by a full NP, and tend to have S or O, rather than A function.

(590) *Zoku vovotiki tokoro pa n<in>aghe Ughele*
many different taboo LOC <NOM>speak U.

mana korapa ghilana va-ko-i rau pire.
but continue know CAUS-be-OBJ:3PL PRO:3PL DEM:3PL

'Plenty of taboos are talked of in Ughele but I (only) know these..'

(*Tomoko*, 001, nar)

(591) *Ka ike madighe ka ru koboru taluarai*
CARD one day CARD two child leave

pa kaokana lao sali nula.
LOC village go pick ngali.nut
'One day two boys left the village to pick ngali nuts.'

(*Ka rua koboru sali nuli*, 001, nar)

As described in Section 25.1.1 above, some texts, narratives in particular, are preceded by a small introductory sentence, in which a participant being the new topic is introduced. In these cases, the participant is introduced by an NP in the introductory sentence, and referred to by the same or a slightly reduced form in the sentence that follows.

(592) *E Aleni pi. Aleni ngajiri ia kaike totozo*
PERS A. DEM:SG A. angry PRO:3SG one time

me kaloa ia me lao ko tu pa goana ia.
and depart PRO:3SG and go stay EMPH LOC bush PRO:3SG
'This Aleni. Aleni was angry once and he left and went to stay in the bush.'

(*Aleni*, 001, nar)

(593) *Ko nana kaike ikana bagho-na ia ai Noman*
be SBJ:3SG one person name-POSS:3SG PRO:3SG FOC N.

Wheatley. Noman Wheatley pi ikana vaka.
W. N. W. DEM:SG person ship
'There was a man called Norman Weatley. This Norman Weatley was a Westerner.'

(*Ghinorena linotu pa Ughele*, 003, nar)

(594) *Vivinei-ni-a rau ka made mazi. Ka made mazi pire*
tell-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:1SG CARD four sibling CARD four sibling DEM:PL

hiva lao suve dia.
want go bathe PRO:3PL

'I will tell (the story of) four sisters. The four sisters wanted to go and bathe.'

(*Ka made vineki pu patu*, 001-2, nar)

This type of anaphoric relation between the two sentences is what Brown and Yule (1983: 193) refer to as *repeated form* or *partially repeated form*. One of very few exceptions to this tendency is (159), where *kodo* (the name of a drink based on coconut) is introduced by an NP in the introductory sentence and anaphoric reference is marked by means of a demonstrative pronoun in the next.

(595) *V<in>a-rua vivinei pu si vivinei-ni-a rau pa*
<NOM>CAUS-two story REL IRR tell-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:1SG LOC

vevelu pila na t<in>avete na kodo.
evening DEM:SG COMM <NOM>work COMM type.of.coconut.drink

Pila kaike namu tatavete ko rie vizoroi.
DEM:SG one food RED-make DIR PRO:3PL before

'The second story that I will tell this evening is about the preparation of kodo. This is a (type of) food one made in the past.

(*Kodo*, 001, nar)

Consider also (534), where each participant is introduced by an NP in the grounding sentence, and all of them together in one single pronoun in the sentence that follows.

(596) *Ko dia na kutu, meki meke na koba.*
be SBJ:3PL COMM rat dog and COMM hermit.crab

Ko dia rie ngeta pa kaike lolomo
be SBJ:3PL PRO:3PL three LOC one space

meke hiva lao lamana, ghua.
and want go deep say

'There was a rat, a dog, and a hermit crab. They were at one place and they were going into deep (water).'

(*Vivineina koba*, 001-2, nar)

Exceptions to the use of NPs to introduce participants are the introduction of non-3rd person participants and the few instances which there are of cataphora. The latter are described below in Section 25.4.3. Non-3rd person participants are generally referred to by pronouns rather than NPs throughout texts, including the first reference, as in (597) and (598).

(597) *Pa kaike tina niki ghoghoto onomo ngavulu*
LOC one thousand nine hundred six ten

juapa rau sikulu pa Buruku tani.
seven PRO:1SG study LOC B. here
'In 1967 I went to school here at Buruku.'

(*Inuke taga rau pa zuda*, 001, nar)

(598) *Ni-niu-gu site rau meke naghe na tama-gu,*
RED-small-ATTR:1SG small PRO:1SG and say COMM father-POSS:3SG

Ghita site lao pa Bagho lao ko kaike vuiki, ghua.
PRO:1PL.INCL IRR go LOC B. go stay one week say
'When I was little my father said (lit. I was little and my father said), we are going to Bagho to stay for one week.'

(*Ka rua habili lavata*, 001, nar)

25.4.2 Anaphora

NPs, independent personal pronouns, subject marking clitics, and object marking suffixes can be used to refer to participants in Ughele, and they can all be used to mark anaphoric relation to participants introduced earlier in a text. The main function of subject clitics seems to be the marking of topic and focus oppositions, as described in Section 25.3.6 above and in Chapter 24. Pronouns, subject marking clitics and object marking suffixes do not show gender distinctions. They do, however, distinguish between number and person of participants, which helps to identify referents in discourse. The degree to which participants are specified and disambiguated throughout a text varies considerably from speaker to speaker, rather than from one type of text (story, description, conversation etc) to another. It is difficult to find a pattern in the morphological means used to express anaphoric reference. It can be argued that NPs are used rather than pronouns in some texts and parts of texts to help disambiguate between participants, but as will be demonstrated below, this is not always the case. One example where this seems to be the case, is the story *Vinarimado* 'love', where the speaker (with

one exception) keeps referring to the two main participants by NPs and later in the text to the couple by the third person pronoun *rie*.

(599) *Vae-na lao na koreo pila loloka selu-ni-a*
like-ATTR:3SG go COMM boy DEM:SG RED-wait follow-TR-OBJ:3SG

meke lao na koreo za hiva-ni-a na vineki za.
and go COMM boy DEM:SG want-TR-OBJ:3SG COMM girl DEM:SG

Beto me lao lao na koreo za dongo toto-a
finish and go go COMM boy DEM:SG see stare-OBJ:3SG

na vineki za.
COMM girl DEM:SG

'This boy stalked her and he started to want this girl. This boy was staring and staring at this girl.'

(*Vinarimado*, 006-7, nar)

(600) *Kaduvu totozo vari-saba rie ka ru pa kaike vanua*
arrive time REC-marry PRO:3PL CARD two LOC one house

lavata. Vanua vazina vari-saba malao tughu rie. Dodoru
big house place-ATTR:3SG DISTR-marry use.to also PRO:3PL all

tingitonga tavet-i-a rie pa vanua ia pana
thing make-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:3PL LOC house PRO:3SG to

uzi-ni-a rie ka ru. Vari-saba rie ka ru.
use-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:3PL CARD two DISTR-marry PRO:3PL CARD two

'The time came for the two to marry in a big house, the house where people (lit. they) usually got married. They made everything ready in the house for the two to use. The two married.'

(*Vinarimado*, 006-7, nar)

However, in many texts, the same participant may be referred to by repeated or partially repeated forms of NPs in several consecutive sentences – sometimes throughout a text – without there being any need to disambiguate between participants. In the example below, the same participant is referred to by an NP in several consecutive clauses.

(601) *Kaike madighe ka ru koboru taluarai*
one day CARD two child leave

pa kaokana lao sali nula. Zae kaloa ka ru
LOC village go pick nut go.up leave CARD two

koboru pire lao sali nula. Na nula pi turu nana
child DEM:PL go pick nut COMM nut DEM:SG stand sub:3s

pa zolozo tu. Aia lao kao selu-a
LOC ground EMPH FOC:3SG go look follow-OBJ:3SG

ka ru koboru pi meke totozo pu ene ka
CARD two child DEM:SG and time rel walk CARD

ka ru pire mai kaduvu rie ka ru pa nula.
CARD two DEM:PL come arrive PRO:3PL CARD two LOC nut

'One day two boys left the village to pick nuts. The two boys went up and left to pick nuts. The nuts were on the ground. That is what these two boys were after and as these two boys were walking the two came upon the nuts.'

(*Ka rua koreo sali nuli*, 001-5, nar)

This is the start of the story *Ka rua koboru sali nula* 'Two boys picking nuts'. The only other participant that has been introduced to the text , *nula* 'nut', is a mass noun and has singular reference in the Ughele text (but not in the translation), thus there is no need to disambiguate between participants. The 3rd person pronoun *rie* could only have referred to the two boys. Non-3rd person participants are generally referred to by pronouns rather than NPs. The following example from the same text as the example above, shows the same participant with non-3rd person reference, referred to by pronouns in quoted direct speech.

(602) *Mana polo ghita ka ru vangunu na nini*
but if PRO:1PL.INCL CARD two wake COMM giant

ngajiri meke zeke mate ghita.
angry and kill die PRO:1PL.INCL

'But if we two wake the giant up, s/he will be angry and kill us.'

(*Ka rua koreo sali nuli*, 036-7, nar)

It is worth noting that when reference to plural participants is made, a numeral is frequently added to the pronoun to specify the exact number of referents, as in *ghita ka ru* 'we/us two', as opposed to *ghita* 'we/us'. In none of the above examples does the numeral contribute to disambiguate participants. As can be seen from the full text of the story from which the last examples above are taken, *Ka rua koboru sali nula* 'Two boys picking nuts' which is found in the appendix the 3rd person plural pronoun *rie* could not have referred to the only other participant in the story that has a single entity as its referent.

Following Givón (1983), one should expect pronouns to be used to refer to a participant mentioned in the immediately preceding text. Such a pattern is not always observed in Ughele texts. We have seen examples from texts where participants are referred to by NPs throughout the text, only with a few exceptions. In texts where pronouns are used for anaphoric reference, there seems to be a certain correlation between topicality and the choice of reference marking device. In the text from which the sentences in (603) are taken, the speaker explains how men in the past used to make a specific kind of fishing net from rope. He introduces the protagonist as an NP *rie maroke vizoroi* 'the old men in the past' and continues to refer to them anaphorically by a pronoun *rie* 'they/them' throughout the text. The participant is not referred to in every clause, but needs no introduction by an NP after not being mentioned in a preceding clause. Note that the elicited subject of the second last sentence is *na tinavete na japu* 'the making of/work on the japu', and not *rie*. There is no object marking on *beto* as in the last clause, where *rie* is the subject and na *tinavete na japu* the object. The agent is active, and thus high on Lambrecht's topic acceptability scale (Lambrecht 1994: 165; Van Valin and LaPolla 2003: 204-5).

(603) *Egho kaike s<in>abu pu tavet-i-a*
OK one <NOM>fish REL make-TR-OBJ:3SG

rie maroke vizoroi na japu.
PRO:3PL old.man before COMM j.

Japu kaike s<in>abu-a na tavet-i-a
j. one <NOM>fish-OBJ:3SG COMM make-TR-OBJ:3SG

rie mana pi tingitonga tavete-ni-a
PRO:3PL but DEM:SG thing make-TR-OBJ:3SG

rie pa kaike arozo. Beto meke lao
PRO:3PL LOC one rope finish and go

rie tavet-i-a. Totozo lao rie
PRO:3PL make-TR-OBJ:3SG time go PRO:3PL

sena na arozo ia lao rie va-dada.
get COMM rope PRO:3SG go PRO:3PL caus-sun.dry

Va-dada rie me totozo sarango ia lao
CAUS-sun.dry PRO:3PL and time dry pro:3s go

rie site meke ghujal-i-a. Ghujal-i-a va-niu
PRO:3PL IRR and twist-TR-OBJ:3SG twist-TR-OBJ:3SG CAUS-small

ia rie lao lao lao beto meke lao
PRO:3SG PRO:3PL go go go finish and go

niu pada ia vae pu site lao rie gura
small fit PRO:3SG like REL IRR go PRO:3PL can

tavete-ni-a na japu ghua rie me site
make-TR-OBJ:3SG COMM j. say PRO:3PL and fut

lao rie tavet-i-a na japu. Podalai-ni-a
go PRO:3PL make-TR-OBJ:3SG COMM j. begin-TR-OBJ:3SG

rie na t<in>avete na japu. Lao me
PRO:3SG COMM <NOM>work COMM j. go and

lao me site dapu tuturei beto tughu.
go and IRR NEG fast finish also

Sena zidara tughu me site va-beto-a rie.
get month also and IRR CAUS-finish-OBJ:3SG PRO:3PL

'OK, a fishing device that the old men in the past used to make was the japu. Japu isa fishing device that they made but this thing they made with a rope. They made it (like this). They went and got rope and they dried it in the sun. They dried it and when it was dry they twisted it. They twisted it very thinly until it was thin enough for them to be able to make the japu and (then) they made the japu. They began the work on the japu. It went on and on and didn't finish quickly. It takes them a month to finish it.'

(*Japu*, 003-10, nar)

Other participants in the text, which are all inactive and thus lower on Lambrecht's topic acceptability scale than *rie* and more likely to be referred to by a pronoun, agreement marking or zero-marking, are referred to in a different manner (Lambrecht 1994: 165; Van Valin and LaPolla 2003: 204-5). The type of locally crafted fishing net described in the text is introduced by an NP *na japu* 'the japu' and referred to anaphorically by a repeated form and a substituted form *pi tingitonga* 'this thing' in the next clause. After that,

its only reference is an object enclitic. It is not mentioned over a few clauses, and then introduced by the NP *na japu* again.

In texts like the one from which the example above is taken, the choice of reference tracking device does correlate with high vs. low topicality. However, as we have seen, speakers can choose not to differentiate between participants with high and low topicality by using NPs throughout the text.

25.4.3 Cataphora

Cataphoric reference occurs very rarely. Below are two examples.

(604) *Mai kaduvu pa Ughele ia doghor-i-a rie ia*
come arrive LOC U. PRO:3SG see-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:3PL OBJ:3SG

lemon-i-a rie vae pu hiva-ni-a ia.
hear-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:3PL like REL want-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:3SG

Va-ko pai-ni-a na l<in>otu pi, ghua
CAUS-stay throw-TR-OBJ:3SG COMM <NOM>pray DEM:SG say

rie kiza mamaroke mana (..)
PRO:3PL PL old.man but

'He arrived in Ughele (and) they saw him (and) listened to what he wanted. Throw away that religion, said the old men but (..)'

(*Ghinorena linotu pa Ughele*, 026-7, nar)

(604) is from a description on how the Seventh-day Adventists faith was introduced to Ughele. The sentences in the example describe the first attempt to introduce the faith by a Western trader, which failed miserably. Reference to the elders in the village is made by an independent pronoun twice, and they are not identified before we get to the second sentence where they are referred to by an NP.

(605) *Ko rie pa vanua. Pa suriki-na ia*
be PRO:3PL LOC house LOC evening-ATTR:3SG PRO:3SG

gha-ghani rie na kutu.
RED-eat PRO:3PL COMM rat

'They were at home. In the evening the rats were eating.'

(605) is from a narrative in which the speaker gives her version of the storyline of the cartoon movie Ratatouille. As in (604) the participant is introduced to the text for the first time by the 3rd person pronoun *rie* and not until the second sentence by an NP *rie na kutu* 'the rats'.

25.5 Summary

A limited set of opening and closing formulas are frequently used to indicate the beginning and end of a narrative in Ughele.

Events can be linked by means of nuclear and core layer SVCs, cosubordination, and coordination within a sentence, and across sentences by means of head-tail linkage and the discourse linking verb *beto* 'finish'. There is a clear tendency for events that are considered to be closely related semantically to be denoted by predicates that are closely related syntactically.

Reference tracking in complex clauses follow a switch-reference system where all complex NPs (except adverbial and relative clauses) show an S/A pivot constraint.

3rd person participants are usually introduced to texts by full NPs, and non-3rd participants by pronouns. Participants can be tracked across sentences in various ways, and it is difficult to find a clear pattern here as there is considerable variety from speaker to speaker.

Appendix

A Word lists

A1 About the word lists

Bound morphemes and inflectional particles are not included in any of the word lists. An overview of bound morphemes is found in Chapter 6, and an overview of verbal inflectional particles are found in Chapter 5. The word list in A3 is based on semantic categories. These categories must not be confused with subclasses of different parts of speech. The subclasses are inspired by the ones used in various word lists in Dixon and Blake (1979; 1981; 1983; 1991), as well as Hviding (2005). The distinction between marine and terrestrial life and environment is an important one for members of the Ughele speaking community, as well as neighbouring communities (Hviding 2005). For this reason, animals and plants in the marine and rainforest or plantation environments are listed separately in this word list. Many words may fit more than one category. For instance, *beberu* 'edge' under the location category, might also have been categorized in the places and geography category. The verb *bokala* 'pull' is interpreted as induced motion and categorized in the motion category her, but may also have been categorized in the affected category. In cases where the reader cannot find a word under the expected category, it is recommended that she tries alternative categories or the alphabetical word list in A3. Note that this is no comprehensive dictionary of the Ughele language, but short word lists based on the vocabulary of the corpus this thesis is based upon, and many Ughele words will not be found.

In addition to the ones occurring in the spoken text corpora, names of animal and plant species was collected by consultants identifying species by pictures in Coleman (2005). The accuracy of the classification is uncertain.

A2 Wordlist by semantic categories

Nouns (*Babagho*) (A2.1-A2.9)

A2.1 People and the body (*Ikana meke tini*)

A2.1.1 Body parts

are, *noun*, forehead .
avara, *noun*, shoulder .
aze, *noun*, chin .
baba, *noun*, elbow .
batu, *noun*, head .
bero, *noun*, liver .
beru, *noun*, lip.
bite, *noun*, anus.

bo, *noun*, testicle.

bulo, *noun*, heart.

bumutu, *noun*, buttocks.

doke, *noun*, navel.

ghogho, *noun*, toe.

ghoso, *noun*, saliva.

ghuju, *noun*, mouth.

ghumi, *noun*, beard.

gopu, *noun*, limb which lacks a part (ie. an arm without a hand).

ipipata, *noun*, sweat.

ivivu, *noun*, chest.

izu, *noun*, nose.

izumata, *noun*, face.

kabele, *noun*, 1. arm. 2. hand.

kikoreke, *noun*, ancle.

livo, *noun*, tooth.

malegho, *noun*, leg.

maliri, *noun*, blood.

mata, *noun*, eye.

maza, *noun*, 1. flesh. 2. muscle.

mea, *noun*, tongue.

mimide, *noun*, bone.

monana, *noun*, brain. Sy. **utolo**.

mudi, *noun*, back.

papara, *noun*, cheek.

pepetale, *noun*, foot.

poka, *noun*, nail.

rua, *noun*, neck.

sesemu, *noun*, 1. finger. 2. finger nail.

sika, *noun*, skin.

siku, *noun*, tail.

sisi, *noun*, vulva.

susu, *noun*, breast.

talinga, *noun*, ear.

tatatava, *noun*, wing.

tegere, *noun*, fin.

tia, *noun*, 1. belly. 2. front.

tini, *noun*, body.

tivo, *noun*, tooth.

tutungu, *noun*, knee.

ulu, *noun*, 1. hair. 2. feather; **ulu viu**, *noun*, feather.

utolo, *noun*, brain.

zoi, *noun*, penis.

A2.1.2 Human classification

baere, *noun*, 1. friend. 2. trading partner with whom one is on friendly terms. Sy. **meti**.

bangara, *noun*, 1. chief (generic). 2. chief who claim authority based on descent from significant lineages. Sy. **palabatu**.

bibibolo, *noun*, 1. prostitute (generic). 2. (historically) interim prostitute, managed by the chief, entertaining visiting chiefs and paid for with custom money.

daeva, *noun*, diver.

dokita, *noun*, 1. doctor;. 2. physician.

ikana, *noun*, person.

kalaso, *noun*, wife.

kana, *noun*, enemy.

koboru, *noun*, child.

koreo, *noun*, 1. man. 2. boy.

Kuripitu, *proper noun*, late chief of Keara.

mamaneke, *noun*, 1. woman. 2. wife.

maneke, *noun*, mother and child/children.

maroke, *noun*, old man.

matajonga, *noun*, 1. (from *mata jonga* 'sharp eye') craftsman making shell money. 2. someone who sees things clearly.

matazonga, *noun*, craftsmen manufacturing poata and vinasari.

meti, *noun*, friend. Sy. **baere**.

minalu, *noun*, very small baby.

misinare, *noun*, missionary.

nabulu, *noun*, servant.

oreke, *noun*, old woman.

palabatu, *noun*, 1. chief;. 2. husband. Sy. **bangara**.

pinalabatu, *noun*, chiefdom.

sasa, *noun*, baby.

siama, *noun*, ritual priest (Rov. hiama).

tinonu, *noun*, 1. adopted child. 2. slave. 3. captive, traditionally, a child captured during head hunting raids adopted, held as a slave, or eaten during special ceremonies.

tisa, *noun*, teacher.

tuda, *noun*, child.

varane, *noun*, warrior.

vario, *noun*, a person who has lead a successful headhunting raid.

veveo, *noun*, liar.

vineki, *noun*, girl.

A2.1.3 Kinship

bubuhi, *noun*, grandchild.

bubutu, *noun*, 1. tribe. 2. clan. 3. family.

buhi, *noun*, 1. relative (generic). 2. uncle. 3. aunt.

kiko, *noun*, son.

loa, *noun*, spouse.

mama, *noun*, father. Sy. **tama**.

mama oreke, *noun*, grandmother.

mazi, *noun*, cousin.

nana, *noun*, mother. Sy. **tina**.

nose, *noun*, daughter.

papa maroke, *noun*, grandfather.

roroto, *noun*, inlaw.

tama, *noun*, father. Sy. **mama**.

tamaleana, *noun*, couple.

tazi, *noun*, sibling.

tina, *noun*, mother.. Sy. **nana**.

tomate, *noun*, ancestor.

tugu, *noun*, son/daughter; **tugu koreo**, *noun*, son; **tugu vineki**, *noun*, daughter.

turanga, *noun*, relative.

vavane, *noun*, cousin.

A2.2 Rainforest and plantation life (*Tingitonga pa goana meke sinevara*)

A2.2.1 Terrestrial mammals

kutu, *noun*, rat.

manue, *noun*, possum.

meki, *noun*, dog.

mo, *noun*, pig.

pusi, *noun*, cat.

veke, *noun*, flying fox.

A2.2.2 Terrestrial reptiles

bakarao, *noun*, frog.

geko, *noun*, gecko.

ghughulo, *noun*, lizard.

kukudurubei, *noun*, Mourning Gecko (Lat. Lepidodactylus lugubris), species of lizard in the Gekkonidae (gecko) family, native to Taiwan, China, Sri Lanka, India, Myanmar, West Malaysia, Vietnam, Japan, Indonesia, Philippine Islands, New Guinea, Bismarck Archipelago, Solomon Islands, most islands of the Pacific, Fiji Islands, Rotuma, New Caledonia, Loyalty Islands, Australia, Maldive Islands, Western Samoa, Guam, Society Islands, Mascarenes.

kukula, *noun*, 1. small frog. 2. Shore frog (Lat. Platymantis sp.), genus of frogs in the Ranidae family, of which there are several species in Solomon Islands.

kukuliti, *noun*, lizard.

nareghu, *noun*, iguana.

noki, *noun*, snake.

reghu, *noun*, lizard.

roai, *noun*, White-lipped tree frog (Lat. Litoria infrafrenata).

A2.2.3 Terrestrial birds

bake, *noun*, purple swamphen; (Lat. Porphyrio porphyrio), large bird in the Rallidae (rails).

bakupa, *noun*, White-ribbed Ground-dove (Lat. Gallicolumba jobiensis), species of bird in the Columbidae (pigeon/dove) family.

baruku, *noun*, dove (generic); Island Imperial-pigeon (Lat. Ducula pistrinaria), species of bird in the Columbidae (pigeon/dove) family found in Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands; **baruku zolozo**, *noun*, Pacific Imperial-pigeon, Mountain-dove (Lat. Ducula pacifica), species of pigeon in the Columbidae (pigeon/dove) family, found in American Samoa, the Cook Islands, the smaller islands of eastern Fiji, Kiribati, Niue, the smaller satellite islands of Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, and Wallis and Futuna Islands.

bilizuru, *noun*, Rainbow Lorikeet (Lat. Trichoglossus haematodus), species of Australasian parrot found in Australia, eastern Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, New Caledonia, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu.

duduru, *noun*, Long-tailed Nightjar, coffinbird (Lat. Caprimulgus macrurus), species of nightjar in the Caprimulgidae family found in Solomon Islands, Australia, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Brunei, Cambodia, China, India, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam.

eo, *noun*, Melanesian Megapode; Melanesian Scrubfowl; (Lat. Megapodius eremita), a species of bird in the Megapodiidae family found in Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands.

joveta, *noun*, rooster.

kakia, *noun*, parrot.

kara, *noun*, parrot (generic), generic term for birds in the Psittaciformes order; kara muse, noun, Eclectus Parrot (Lat. Eclectus roratus), species of bird in the Psittacidae family, native to the Solomon Islands, native to Sumba, New Guinea and nearby islands, northeastern Australia and the Maluku Islands.

kekedora, *noun*, Dollarbird (Lat. Eurystomus orientalis), species of Coraciidae (roller), found in east Asia from northern Australia to the Japan archipelago.

kikio, *noun*, Little kingfisher (Lat. Alcedo pusilla), species of bird in the Alcedinidae family native to Australia, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, and the Solomon Islands.

kine, *noun*, Red-flanked Lorikeet (Lat. Charmosyna placentis), (bird) species of parrot in the Psittacidae family found in Indonesia, Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands.

kokorako, *noun*, chicken (Lat. Gallus gallus domesticus).

kokoreo, *noun*, rooster.

kukuporo, *noun*, Claret-breasted Fruit Dove (Lat. Ptilinopus viridis), species of bird in the Columbidae family native to Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, and Solomon Islands.

malagolu, *noun*, Metallic Pigeon, (Lat. Columba vitiensis), medium-sized bird in the Columbidae family found in eastern Indonesia, the Philippines, New Guinea, Solomon

Islands, Fiji, New Caledonia, Samoa and surrounding southwest Pacific islands.

mamangota, *noun*, hen.

manughu, *noun*, Osprey (Lat. Pandion haliaetus), diurnal, fish-eating bird of prey in the Pandionidae family.

pisikile, *noun*, Cicadabird (Lat. Coracina tenuirostris), species of bird in the Campephagidae family found in Australia, Indonesia, Micronesia, Palau, Papua New Guinea, and Solomon Islands.

pitikole, *noun*, Willie Wagtail (Lat. Rhipidura leucophrys), a passerine bird in the Dicruridae family, native to Australia, New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, the Bismarck Archipelago, and eastern Indonesia.

pito, *noun*, Pacific Baza (Lat. Aviceda subcristata), species of bird in the Accipitridae family, found in Australia, the Indo-Malayan peninsula, most of mainland New Guinea and nearby islands and the Solomon Islands.

piupeo, *noun*, White-browed Crake (Lat. Porzana cinerea), species of bird in the Rallidae family, found in Australia, Brunei, Cambodia, Fiji, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Micronesia, New Caledonia, Palau, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Samoa, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Thailand, and Vanuatu.

pulu, *noun*, Spangled Drongo (Lat. Dicrurus bracteatus), species of bird in the Dicruridae family.

seghegho, *noun*, Long-tailed Cuckoo (Lat. Urodynamis taitensis), species of bird in the Cuculidae family, that breeds in New Zealand, and migrates to the islands of the western Pacific in the winter.

sinili manughu, *noun*, Olive-backed Sunbird (Lat. Cinnyris jugularis), species of passerine bird in the Nectariniidae (sunbird) family, found from Southern Asian to Australia.

tarabua, *noun*, kingfisher (generic); Sacred Kingfisher (Lat. Todiramphus sanctus), species of bird in the Halcyonidae (tree kingfisher) family, found in the mangroves, forests, and river valleys of Australia, Fiji, Indonesia, New Caledonia, New Zealand (where the species is also known by its Ma-ori name Ko-tare[2]), Norfolk Island, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, and the Wallis and Futuna Islands.

tiu, *noun*, kingfisher (generic); Common Kingfisher (Lat. Alcedo atthis), species of bird in the Alcedinidae family, found across Eurasia and North Africa.

tome ivu, *noun*, White-bellied Cuckooshrike (Coracina papuensis), species of bird in the Campephagidae family, found in Australia, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, and Solomon Islands.

tu, *noun*, Stephan's Ground Dove (Lat. Chalcophaps stephani), species of bird in the Columbidae family, found in Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, and Solomon Islands.

viu, *noun*, bird; **viu pela**, *noun*, brush cuckoo (lat. Cacomantis variolosus).

vori, *noun*, nest.

A2.2.4 Terrestrial molluscs

kalo, *noun*, snail species similar to Giant katydids (Lat. Carelia olivacea), Giant katydids was a species of small, air-breathing, land snails, terrestrial pulmonate gastropod mollusks in the Amastridae family, that was endemic to the Hawai' ian Islands.

A2.2.5 Terrestrial insects, arachnids, crustaceans, etc.

aba, *noun*, St. Andrew's cross spider (Lat. Argiope aetherea), species of Argiope (spider) common in Australia.

bubu, *noun*, small insect.

ghonali, *noun*, 1. bee. 2. honey.

ghutu, *noun*, louse.

imimuzu, *noun*, sandfly.

koga, *noun*, Brown Huntsman spider (Lat. Heteropoda venatoria), species of Araneae (spider), found in Asia, some Mascarene and Caribbean islands, the Southeastern US, and Australia.

kokoaza, *noun*, centipede, generic term for arthropods belonging to the class Chilopoda.

kukupo, *noun*, grasshopper (generic); Red-legged Grasshopper (Lat. Melanoplus femurrubrum).

kuni, *noun*, cricket.

liza, *noun*, louse egg.

memene, *noun*, ant.

neneghe, *noun*, 1. scorpion. 2. Horrid stick insect (Lat. Eurycantha horridus).

niniku, *noun*, 1. midge. 2. fly.

omehe, *noun*, 1. Papuan hornbill (Lat.Rhyticeros plicatus). 2. Blyth's hornbill (Lat. Aceros plicatus).

pepele, *noun*, butterfly; **pepele ruta**, *noun*, Dragon fly (Lat. Neurothemis stigmatizonus).

rogo, *noun*, mosquito.

sirado, *noun*, wasp.

sote, *noun*, termite.

tupe, *noun*, coconut crab.

A2.2.6 Terrestrial plants

aghana, *noun*, Screwpine (Lat. Pandanus tectorius), species of Pandanus native to Malesia, eastern Australia, and the Pacific Islands. Sy. lolou.

beti, *noun*, big variety of bamboo.

buni, *noun*, Alexandrian Laurel, Ball-nut (Lat. Calophyllum inophyllum), lar Africa, southern coastal India to Malesia and Australia, and cultivated in several Pacific Islands.

dadagha, *noun*, root.

dekuru, *noun*, log.

edeve, *noun*, Sagopalm (Lat. Metroxylon salomonensis), palm in the Metroxylon family, native to Southeast Asia, Melanesia, and some islands in Micronesia and Polynesia, its starch, sago, is the main ingredient in sagopalm pudding.

geolo, *noun*, Solomon Islands Maple, Siruga (Lat. Campnosperma brevipetiolata), tree in the Anacardiaceae (cashew family/sumac) family.

havoro, *noun*, flower.

ighizi, *noun*, betel leaf, leaf chewed with betelnut.

jejemi, *noun*, Binuang, Erima (Lat. Octomeles sumatrana), species of plant in the Datiscaceae family found in Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, and the Solomon Islands.

jote, *noun*, thorn.

kakabele, *noun*, branch.

kalala, *noun*, Banyan tree; Fig tree (Lat. Ficus spp.), species of tree belonging to the Ficus genus in the Moraceae family.

kangana, *noun*, Betel Nut-palm; Areca Nut-palm (Lat. Areca Catechu), species of palm tree in the Arecales family, native to the tropical Pacific, Asia, and parts of east Africa.

kaze, *noun*, taro.

kinu, *noun*, Cut.nut (Lat. Barringtonia edulis), species of plant in the Lecythidaceae family.

kolu, *noun*, stick.

kubata, *noun*, a ngali nut in its skin.

kubolo, *noun*, green, fresh coconut.

kuli, *noun*, Sour seagrass (Lat. Enhalus acorides).

labete, *noun*, timber.

laini, *noun*, lime.

lekisi, *noun*, salad.

logi, *verb*, log.

lolou, *noun*, big pandanus.

luju vaka, *noun*, sweet potato.

lulungu, *noun*, coconut meat.

manioko, *noun*, papaya.

manono, *noun*, Niugini Palm (Lat. Hydriastele costata), species of plant in the Arecaceae (palm) family.

meda, *noun*, Oceanic Lychee (Lat. Pometia pinnata), species of tree in the Sapindaceae family found in Southeast Asia and Pacific islands.

muna, *noun*, coconut meat.

nanaghi, *noun*, kerosene wood.

naru, *noun*, Ironwood, Horsetail She-oak (Lat. Casuarina equisetifolia), species of plant in the Casuarinaceae family native to Australasia and southeast Asia.

ngosara, *noun*, coconut; **ngosara buma**, *noun*, green coconut; **ngosara memeava**, *noun*, yellow coconut; **aka ngosara**, *noun*, coconut milk, coconut cream; **lolo ngosara**, *noun*, coconut water; **tete ngosara**, *noun*, coconut palm.

nogolo, *noun*, coconut sprout.

odingi, *noun*, dry leaf.

Indicum) tree.

omo, noun, Breadfruit (Lat. Artocarpus altilis), species of flowering tree in the mulberry (Moraceae) family, native to the Malay Peninsula and the western Pacific islands.

opiti, *noun*, Inkori-tree; Otaheite Apple (Lat. Spondias dulcis), species of plant in the Anacardiaceae (cashew/sumac) family, native to Melanesia through Polynesia.

ore, *noun*, cassava.

pamakeni, *noun*, pumpkin.

patuna, *noun*, seed.

pijaka, *noun*, Highland Betel Nut Palm (Lat. Areca macrocalyx), species of plant in the Arecaceae family.

pogala, *noun*, Fish-poison Tree (Lat. Barringtonia asiatica), species of plant in the Lecythidaceae family, found on islands of the Indian Ocean and western Pacific Ocean from Zanzibar east to Taiwan, the Philippines, Fiji, and New Caledonia.

raduvu, *noun*, leaf.

rereke, *noun*, mango.

sakua, *noun*, banana.

sasape, *noun*, 1. pile of leaves floating. 2. pile of rubbish floating.

senada, *noun*, frangipani flower.

seseu, *noun*, grass.

sika zuda, *noun*, bark.

silingiri, *noun*, small type of pandanus with thorns.

sinevara, *noun*, 1. plantation. 2. garden.

sipala, *noun*, bush apple.

sisika, *noun*, trash.

sisipata, *noun*, Malay Apple; Mountain Apple (Lat. Syzygium malaccense), species of plant in the Myrtaceae family, native to Malaysia and Indonesia.

sopi, *noun*, unripe coconut.

sosogho, *noun*, hibiscus flower.

subi, *noun*, bottom of a tree trunk.

susuki, *noun*, small bamboo stick.

tatalise, *noun*, Indian Almond, Wild Almond, Tropical Almond (Lat. Terminalia catappa), large tropical tree in the Combretaceae (Leadwood tree) family, naturalised in a broad belt extending from Africa to Northern Australia and New Guinea through Southeast Asia and Micronesia into the Indian Subcontinent, and more recently introduced to parts of the Americas.

tete, *noun*, trunk.

titighe, *noun*, small coconut palm with yellow coconuts.

ure, *noun*, fruit; ure zuda, fruit from a tree.

varu, *noun*, Hibiscus; Cotton Tree (Lat. Hibiscus tiliaceus), species of flowering tree in the Malvaceae (mallow) family, native to the tropical Africa, Asia, and Europe.

vazara, *noun*, vitex.cofassus (lat. Intsia bijuga).

voruku, *noun*, wild taro.

zapele, *noun*, rosewood.

zoi meki, *noun*, Maiden veil fungi (Dictyophora indusiata).

zuda, *noun*, tree.

A2.3 Marine life and environment (*Tingitonga pa lobe*)

A2.3.1 Marine mammals

ivu, *noun*, whale.

kusui, *noun*, dolphin.

A2.3.2 Marine reptiles

kosale, *noun*, turtle, reptiles of the order Testudines.

ragheze, *noun*, crocodile.

tatavolu, *noun*, turtle.

A2.3.3 Marine birds

belama, *noun*, Frigatebird (Lat. Fregatidae sp.), family of seabirds.

kubeo, *noun*, 1. White-bellied Sea-eagle (Lat. Haliaeetus leucogaster), arge diurnal bird of prey in the Accipitridae family resident from India through southeast Asia to Australia. 2. Brahminy Kite (Lat. Haliastur indus), medium-sized bird of prey in the family Accipitridae found in the Indian subcontinent, Southeast Asia and Australia.

ngara, *noun*, wild duck.

soa, *noun*, heron.

A2.3.4 Fish

avara, *noun*, 1. school of fish (generic). 2. school of bonito.

belekekere, *noun*, Butterflyfish (Chaetodontidae), family of tropical marine fish.

bogu, *noun*, gill.

ghohi, *noun*, 1. barracuda (generic). 2. Great barracuda. Sy. **mara**.

habili, *noun*, bumphead parrot fish (Lat. Bolbometopon muricatum), species of fish in the parrot fish (Lat. Scarinae) family, found on reefs in the Indian and Pacific Oceans.

hebala, *noun*, school of bumphead parrot fish.

ido, *noun*, eel.

ighana, *noun*, fish.

kakati, *noun*, sardin.

kipa, *noun*, damsel, generic term for fish in the Pomacentridae family.

kiso, *noun*, shark.

makazi, *noun*, 1. bonito. 2. small tuna.

mara, *noun*, barracuda. Sy. **ghohi**.

moturu, *noun*, trevally.

novu, *noun*, lionfish.

pakao, *noun*, goatfish.

pipiloti, *noun*, mud skipper.

rereghe, *noun*, school of barracuda.

rovana, *noun*, school of lipa.

solori, *noun*, wrasse.

tarazi, *noun*, surgeonfish.

topa, *noun*, bumphead parrot fish (Lat. Bolbometopon muricatum), species of fish in the parrot fish (Lat. Scarinae) family, found on reefs in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Sy. habili.

udumu, *noun*, school of surgeonfish.

vuhe, *noun*, angelfish.

A2.3.5 Jellyfish, sea anemones, worms, molluscs, etc.

babaroghoso, *noun*, Bubble-tip anemone (Lat. Entacmaea quadricolor), species of Actiniaria (sea anemone) of Indo-Pacific origin.

buki, *noun*, shell.

deo, *noun*, generic term for species of the family Balanidae, a type of arthropod in the Cirripedia infraclass of the subphylum Crustacea.

kukutu, *noun*, Lion's mane sea jelly (Lat. Cyanea capillata), largest known species of Medusozoa (jellyfish), found in the Arctic, northern Atlantic, and northern Pacific Oceans.

vize, *noun*, univalve.

A2.3.6 Marine insects, arachnids, crustaceans etc.

gharumu, *noun*, 1. crab (generic). 2. Land crab (Lat. Cardisoma carnifex), errestrial species of Brachyura (crab) found in coastal regions of eastern Africa and the Indo-Pacific.

hahaka, *noun*, Peacock Mantis shrimp, Green mantis shrimp (Lat. Odontodactylus scyllarus), species of Stomatopoda (mantis shrimp) native to the Indo-Pacific from Guam to East Africa.

joa, *noun*, Imperial shrimp (Lat. Periclimenes imperator), species of Caridea (shrimp) living symbiotically with larger animals, found across the Indo-Pacific.

kaika, *noun*, shell.

koba, *noun*, hermit crab, generic term for decapod crustaceans in the Paguroidea family; **koba lobe**, *noun*, marine hermit crab, generic term for marine species of hermit crabs.

pika, *noun*, Common prawn (Lat. Palaemon serratus).

sikama, *noun*, lobster.

A2.3.7 Marine plants

kakarumu, *noun*, Black Mangrove (Lat. Lumnitzera littorea), species of mangrove in the Combretaceae family, with red flowers.

kinahe, *noun*, Mangrove palm (Lat. Nypa fruticans), plant species in the Arecaceae family, and the only palm considered a mangrove.

lulumutu, *noun*, Turtle weed (Lat. Chlorodesmis hildebrandti), species of algae in the Udoteaceae family.

mamalegho meki, *noun*, Southern funnel weed (Lat. Padina australis), species of algae in the Dictyotaceae family.

petu, *noun*, mangrove (generic); Red mangrove tree (Lat. Rhizophora stylosa); Yellow Mangrove (Lat.

Ceriops tagal); **petu rogha**, *noun*, orange mangrove (Lat. Lat. Bruguiera spp.) , Species of plant in the Rhizophoraceae family.

tototu, *noun*, Grey mangrove tree (Avicennia marina).

A2.4 Abstract nouns

babagho, *noun*, noun.

babala, *noun*, mind.

babaroai, *noun*, bunch.

bagho, *noun*, name.

beku, *noun*, 1. idol. 2. spirit.

binalabala, *noun*, 1. thought. 2. idea.

bobotu, *noun*, heap.

bozo, *noun*, spirit of a conquered enemy.

dinoghoro, *noun*, sight.

eongo, *noun*, 1. massacre. 2. manslaughter.

gegeze, *noun*, side. Sy. **kali**.

geto, *noun*, army.

gharumu kara, *noun*, November (month of the sea crabs).

gharumu leana, *noun*, December (month of the landcrabs).

ghighila, *noun*, proverb.

ghila, *noun*, sign.

ghughuana, *noun*, method.

ginavuna, *noun*, government.

hokoto, *noun*, end.

Igelesi, *noun*, the English language.

inovaga, *noun*, noise.

inuke, *noun*, fall.

Janiti, *proper noun*, name of spirit and former chief.

japu, *noun*, fishing method where a net is used.

jinalo, *noun*, play.

kalase, *noun*, class.

kali, *noun*, side. Sy. **gegeze**.

kenu, *noun*, front.

kesoko, *noun*, sea spirit.

kino, *noun*, 1. condition. 2. life. 3. being.

koboso, *noun*, sentence.

koburu, *noun*, half.

koimoa, *noun*, 1. front. 2. bow, the bow of a canoe or ship.

kolesi, *noun*, college.

koro diko, *noun*, fairy tale.

kukumana, *noun*, play.

leta, *noun*, letter.

ligomo, *noun*, na spirit inhibiting an idol wrapped in leaves, put in the bow of the canoe to help navigation.

likalai, *noun*, thing.

linabe, *noun*, width.

lineana, *noun*, happiness.

linemono, *noun*, news.

linodu, *noun*, depth.

linotu, *noun*, 1. religion. 2. church service. 3. faith.

lobere, *noun*, melody.

lopa, *noun*, hole.

luluara, *noun*, farewell.

mago, *noun*, 1. devil. 2. spirit (Rov. tomate); **mago manighi**, noun, land-fertilizing spirit.

mamalaingi, *noun*, 1. echo. 2. voice.

mate, *noun*, death.

mateana, *noun*, 1. spirit medium. 2. angel. 3. divine ancestral being.

mijoro, *noun*, riddle.

muziki, *noun*, music.

naghe, *noun*, 1. expression. 2. language; **naghe vako**, *verb*, promise.

ngongo, *noun*, speed.

nibaka, *noun*, chiefly monopolization of objects and persons.

ninanaza, *noun*, question.

nini, *noun*, giant.

nuli, *noun*, noise.

oka, *noun*, heaven.

ovaga, *noun*, noise. Sy. **nuli**.

padaraku, *noun*, excercise.

paraemari, *noun*, primary school.

pararanga, *noun*, heat.

pela, *noun*, 1. witch (generic). 2. magician. 3. evil eye. 4. witch who may suck out all somebody's blood and eat his/her intestines by merely looking at him/her.

pinaleke, *noun*, 1. load. 2. burden.

pipiti, *noun*, flag.

pode, *noun*, 1. number. 2. calculus.

puku, *noun*, 1. pile. 2. crowd.

pupuzi, *noun*, bundle.

rineka, *noun*, language. Sy, **vinekala**; **rineka tatavete**, *noun*, verb; **rineka vako**, *noun*, marriage proposal.

sagala, *noun*, race.

sasanana, *noun*, habit.

sikulu, *noun*, school.

simi, *noun*, 1. wrong. 2. sin. 3. guilt.

suriki, *noun*, night.

tabubulo, *noun*, slice.

tamasa, *noun*, god.

tatabe, *noun*, love.

tinalotanga, *noun*, sorrow.

tinavete, *noun*, work.

tinepa, *noun*, request.

tinigo, *noun*, touch.

tino, *noun*, life.

tokoro, *noun*, 1. taboo. 2. warning sign; tokoro bake, bake taboo, if a person does not observe the taboo, her legs will swell and she will be unable to walk; tokoro bo, testicle taboo, if a man does not observe the taboo his testicles will grow big and heavy to the extent that he cannot move around freely.

urena, *noun*, result.

variputi, **noun**, football, soccer.

vinapaghata, *noun*, riddle.

vinariponi, *noun*, gift.

vinariurami, *noun*, salvation.

vinasibi, *noun*, sacrifice.

vinazezekiai, *noun*, excuse.

vinekala, *noun*, language. Sy. **rineka**.

vinido, *noun*, text.

vivinei, *noun*, story; **vivinei sinokarana**, *noun*, 1. legend. 2. true story.

zinea, *noun*, 1. mistake. 2. sin.

zizi, *noun*, slice.

zobi, *noun*, bottom.

A2.5 Artifacts (*Tingitonga votikidi*)

arozo, *noun*, rope.

babatuana, *noun*, pillow.

baika, *noun*, bag.

bao, *noun*, spear. Sy. **soloro**.

baol(o), *noun*, 1. bowl. 2. ball.

bara, *noun*, fence.

barasi, *noun*, brush.

bareke, *noun*, shell money, shell ring used as custom money.

belo, *noun*, bell.

besini, *noun*, basin.

bokese, *noun*, 1. box. 2. suitcase.

bolu, *noun*, pocket.

boso sorope, *noun*, shrine containing skulls of enemies; **boso sorope mamaneke**, *noun*, shrine with skulls of enemy women.

botolo, *noun*, 1. bottle 2. vase.

bughiri, *noun*, arrow. Sy. **piu**.

buka, *noun*, book.

buti, *noun*, shoe.

buturu, *noun*, jetty.

dala, *noun*, head ornament.

dikuru, *noun*, bra.

domigi, *noun*, belt.

dumi, *noun*, short fishing spear.

epata, *noun*, basket. Sy. **pili**.

galasi, *noun*, glass.

gatona, *noun*, arm ring.

ghazo, *noun*, rafter.

hokata, *noun*, arm ring made of shell, shell ring used as amulet and custom money.

ilukeba, *noun*, tool made of rope to climb coconut trees.

juke, *noun*, 1. light. 2. lamp. 3. lantern.

kabania, *noun*, company.

kaboso, *noun*, compass.

kada, *noun*, button.

kaisi, *noun*, 1. case. 2. coffin.

kalo, *noun*, 1. whale tooth (generic). 2. ornamental sperm whale whale tooth.

kapa, *noun*, cup.

kavala, *noun*, file.

kiloko, *noun*, 1. watch. 2. clock.

kinabe, *noun*, 1. bag. 2. basket.

laeni, *noun*, 1. line. 2. rope. 3. string.

lave, *noun*, 1. club. 2. wicker shield.

lekoto, *noun*, 1. machete knife, bush knife.

leveri, *noun*, keel of canoe or ship.

logu, *noun*, 1. cover. 2. sheet.

logui, *noun*, trousers.

lohe, *noun*, 1. bamboo stick. 2. pan flute. 3. whip.

loka, *noun*, lock.

louvaka, *noun*, umbrella.

mamago, *noun*, picture.

masiki, *noun*, mask.

maso, *noun*, axe.

mezi, *noun*, knife.

mijanga, *noun*, rope.

mike, *noun*, guitar.

mimisuani, *noun*, stick used for husking coconuts.

minememezi, *noun*, carving.

mola, *noun*, canoe. Sy. **sore**.

nebe, *noun*, fan.

nepisi, *noun*, 1. thong. 2. ladle.

ninigi, *noun*, mat made from coconut leaves.

oputu, *noun*, 1. oven. 2. sacrifice oven near shrines from the headhunting period.

paipa, *noun*, pipe.

paka, *noun*, gun.

pana, *noun*, scissors.

panga, *noun*, fishing spear with several points.

papaku, *noun*, necklace.

parika, *noun*, bow.

pego, *noun*, adze.

pepa, *noun*, paper.

pili, *noun*, basket.

pinedina, *noun*, paint.

pinu, *noun*, hair pin.

piu, *noun*, arrow. Sy. **bughiri**.

poata, *noun*, large shell money amongst other to pay bride prices.

poko, *noun*, cloth.

pono, *noun*, diaper.

popoka, *noun*, hammer.

popono, *noun*, traditional piece of clothing covering the crouch.

qalo, *noun*, traditional trade exhibition.

raba, *noun*, rubber band.

raro, *noun*, cooking wessel (generic).

repi, *noun*, coconut grater. Sy. **riki**.

riki, *noun*, coconut grater. Sy. **repi**.

ringi, *noun*, ring.

ropoto, *noun*, roof.

roroghaini, *noun*, staircase.

rughusu, *noun*, mortar.

rurujaini, *noun*, stick used to pund nuts in a mortar.

rususu, *noun*, hammock.

sabiri, *noun*, piece of cloth used to carry a child on one's back.

saburu, *noun*, fishing pole.

sakedekuru, *noun*, stilts.

sapuele, *noun*, string bag.

sarapae, *noun*, hat.

sasape, *noun*, shelf above the fireplace in the kitchen.

sepi, *noun*, cupboard.

sigiliti, *noun*, 1. t-shirt. 2. singlet.

sikolo, *noun*, engine.

simede, *noun*, cement.

siosi, *noun*, church.

siponi, *noun*, spoon.

sisikuluaini, *noun*, 1. hammock. 2. liana.

soloro, *noun*, Hawai'ian sling (type of fishing spear).

sope, *noun*, shrine.

sopu, *noun*, soap.

sore, *noun*, canoe.

soropae, *noun*, hat.

sosoghoruani, *noun*, 1. seat. 2. bench. 3. chair.

sote, *noun*, shirt.

suponi, *noun*, spoon.

susumi, *noun*, bow (of a canoe).

susuti, *noun*, comb.

taola, *noun*, towel.

tarabatu, *noun*, pillow.

tatavuzuaini, *noun*, door mat.

tela, *noun*, rubbish basket.

tema, *noun*, 1. mat. 2. bed.

tetepe, *noun*, sail.

tevolo, *noun*, table.

tinighizi, *noun*, weaving.

tipala, *noun*, flip-flop.

tomoko, *noun*, war canoe.

totopili, *noun*, wheel.

tukuru, *noun*, wall.

tutuku, *noun*, 1. cover. 2. wall. 3. door. 4. lid.

ukeana, *noun*, historical shell valuable used by the Kazukuru community.

upahae, *noun*, large shell ornament worn by a senior ritual priest.

vagara, *noun*, net.

vaka, *noun*, ship.

vedara, **noun**, club. Sy. **zeke**.

vidulu, *noun*, key.

vikulu, *noun*, ear ring.

vinasari, *noun*, 1. ornament. 2. shell ornament. 3. flower decoration, intricately patterned shell ornaments used in rituals.

vinetungu, *noun*, fish hook.

voze, *noun*, paddle.

vuida, *noun*, window.

zazaeani, *noun*, ladder. Sy. **zinae**.

zeke, *noun*, 1. axe used for headhunting. 2. murder. Sy. **vedara**.

zinae, *noun*, ladder. Sy. **zazaeani**.

zuzuru, *noun*, 1. crane. 2. lift.

A2.6 Food and drinks (*Namu meke bei*)

aka, *noun*, 1. fat. 2. grease.

anani, *noun*, onion.

bazu, *noun*, yam.

bei, *noun*, 1. drinking water. 2. cold beverage. Sy. **binei**.

bereti, *noun*, bread.

binei, *noun*, drink. Sy. **bei**.

bini, *noun*, bean.

boge, *noun*, taro.

buba, *noun*, dried nut.

bubupa, *noun*, generic term for a range of dishes, prepared by wrapping the food in leaves and roasting it over open fire.

deri, *noun*, watermelon.

ghani, *noun*, meal.

goaza, *noun*, pudding.

guso, *noun*, 1. cooking method where the food in cookied in a bamboo stick over open fire. 2. stuffed bamboo stick use in the before mentioned cooking method.

inata, *noun*, 1. coral. 2. powder from ground coral chewed with betelnut referred to as ' lime' in SIP.

inevana, *noun*, feast.

jito, *noun*, 1. earth oven. 2. dish cooked in an earth oven.

kagele, *noun*, dried nut.

kinupi, noun, slippery cabbage, generic term for green leafy vegetables.

kodo, *noun*, beverage made from fresh coconuts.

mamasi, *noun*, traditional dish with slippery cabbage and a gounded nut paste.

maza, *noun*, meat.

meresena, *noun*, medicine.

minila, *noun*, turmeric.

munisiki, *noun*, bate.

nadi, *noun*, sagopalm pudding.

namu, *noun*, food.

neka, *noun*, generic term for green, leafy vegetables (usually referred to as 'slippery cabbage' in the South Pacific).

nula, *noun*, nut.

oela, *noun*, oil.

poga, *noun*, pudding.

rahi, *noun*, pudding.

rais, *noun*, rice.

soi, *noun*, warm beverage.

supu, *noun*, soup.

tabaka, *noun*, 1. cigarette. 2. tobacco. Sy. **viri**.

tilingi, *noun*, salt.

viri, *noun*, tobacco. Sy. **tabaka**.

zinalanga, *noun*, feast.

zomo, *noun*, turmeric.

zuti, *noun*, sugar cane.

A2.7 Fire and water (*Nika meke lobe*)

bobongo, *noun*, swell. Sy. **poghala**.

boloso, *noun*, wave.

ghabuzu, *noun*, smoke.

lobe, *noun*, water; **lobe tilingi**, *noun*, 1. sea. 2. sea water.

mamara, *noun*, light.

memea, *noun*, flame.

ngongoro, *noun*, foam.

nika, *noun*, fire; **nika pidala**, *noun*, match stick.

piala, noun, 1. cigarette. 2. cigarette smoke.

poghala, *noun*, swell. Sy. **bobongo**.

popone, *noun*, ashes.

pugha, *verb*, steam.

totolo, *noun*, current.

urungu, *noun*, 1. light. 2. flame.

vale, *noun*, shore.

zuzungaina nika, *noun*, fireplace.

A2.8 Celestial and weather

bibigho, *noun*, rainbow.

dada, *noun*, sun; **lodu dada**, *noun*, sunset.

ghaghalea, *noun*, sky.

ghevuzu, *noun*, wind.

kapi, *noun*, lightning.

kovele, *noun*, fog. Sy. **rovu**.

lei, *noun*, cloud. Sy. **omomu** .

malaburu, *noun*, breeze.

malakapi, *noun*, lightning.

omomu, *noun*, cloud. Sy. **lei**.

peja, *noun*, western trade wind.

pipino, *noun*, star.

ranebongi, *noun*, storm.

rovu, *noun*, fog. Sy. **kovele**.

tovogho, noun, wave.

uzana, *noun*, rain.

zidara, *noun*, 1. moon. 2. month.

A2.9 Environment, places and geography (*vazidi*)

babanaini, *noun*, beach.

bae, *noun*, cave.

banga, *noun*, shell.

biani, *noun*, well.

botu, *noun*, 1. mountain. 2. hill.

dedekuru, *noun*, house post.

ghotamana, *noun*, entrance.

ghutama, *noun*, 1. outside. 2. door. 3. entrance. 4. gate.

hatara, *noun*, floor; **hatara labete**, *noun*, timber floor.

ipi, *noun*, small hut.

jajaloani, *noun*, playfield.

joru, *noun*, 1. source. 2. opening. 3. river mouth.

kakatuana, *noun*, bridge.

kaokana, *noun*, 1. place. 2. village. Sy. vazina.

kaokana, *noun*, 1. place. 2. village. Sy. vazina.

Kebo, *proper noun*, islands of Rennel and/or Bellona.

kiliniki, noun, clinic.

Kire, *proper noun*, part of the Ughele village with extensive logging activity.

kisini, *noun*, kitchen.

kogu, *noun*, bay.

kokosiri, *noun*, swamp.

kolo, *noun*, river.

kopi, *noun*, lake.

kosiri, *noun*, mud.

kouva, *noun*, hole. Sy. lopa.

kuzae, *noun*, bush. Sy. goana.

Lauru, *proper noun*, Choisseul.

linao, *noun*, 1. route. 2. way.

lolomo, *noun*, 1. space. 2. habitat.

lose, *noun*, room.

maketi, *noun*, market.

malala, *noun*, clearing.

Malata, *proper noun*, island of Malaita.

menoko, *noun*, 1. soil. 2. ground.

miso, *noun*, island.

Muda, *proper noun*, village of Munda.

ngongosaraini, *noun*, coconut plantation.

nunu, *noun*, earthquake.

onone, *noun*, sand.

paele, *noun*, canoe house.

patu, *noun*, stone; **patu sasa**, *noun*, small stone.

pavasa, *noun*, field.

pazuna, *noun*, place.

popoani, *noun*, grave.

rama, *noun*, crack.

sitoa, *noun*, shop.

sosopo, *noun*, 1. headland. 2. point.

tava, *noun*, copra.

toa, *noun*, mountain. Sy. **botu**.

ulu, *noun*, top.

ungoro, *noun*, dust.

vanua, *noun*, house; **vanua edeve**, *noun*, traditional leafhouse with panels made from sagopalm leaves; **vanua jito**, *noun*, kitchen.

vapu, *noun*, wharf.

vazileana, *noun*, 1. village. 2. beach. Sy. **kaokana**.

volozo, *noun*, boundary.

votu, *noun*, 1. river mouth. 2. beach.

vuapu, *noun*, jetty.

zaga, *noun*, fence.

zaghauru, *noun*, 1. reef. 2. coral.

zetepade, *noun*, church.

ziranga, *noun*, road.

zolozo, *noun*, 1. earth. 2. mountain.

zuzuduaini, *noun*, forrest.

A2.10 Corporeal nouns (other than body parts)

lobe mata, *noun*, tear.

manighi, *noun*, fever.

ngingira, *noun*, strenght.

nguru, *noun*, snort.

nikiti, *noun*, small movement.

podo, *noun*, birth.

poru, *noun*, intercourse.

pupulu, *noun*, body hair.

puri, *noun*, pregnancy.

sini, *noun*, breath.

tae, *noun*, faeces.

tinapodo, *noun*, 1. birth. 2. birthday.

tubu, *noun*, wound.

veko, *noun*, baldness.

vivikuluna, *noun*, plaid.

vovoto, *noun*, egg.

ziningo, *noun*, 1. air. 2. breath.

Verbs (A2.10-A2.17)

A2.10 Adjectival verbs

A2.10.1 Colours

balairi, *adjectival verb*, (be) pink.

bubula, *adjectival verb*, (be) red.

buma, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) green. 2. (be) blue.

bupara, *adjectival verb*, (be) brown.

duli, *adjectival verb*, (be) black.

geava, *adjectival verb*, (be) white.

meava, *adjectival verb*, (be) yellow.

A2.10.2 Dimension and physical properties

aka, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) fat. 2. (be) greasy.

bobozo, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) wet. 2. (be) humid.

bolokotuhae, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) round. 2. (be) circular.

botenge, *adjectival verb*, (be) full.

bubulokutu, *adjectival verb*, (be) round. Sy. **bolokotuhae**.

bule, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) calm. 2. (be) peaceful.

ekeze, *adjectival verb*, (be) long.

ghaghala, *adjectival verb*, (be) deep.

gharuba, *adjectival verb*, (be) .

ghele, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) tall. 2. (be) long.

ghoto, *adjectival verb*, (be) last.

hihite, *adjectival verb*, (be) slow.

inululu, *adjectival verb*, (be) tall.

keana, *adjectival verb*, (be) shine.

keo, *adjectival verb*, (be) grey.

kokoba, *adjectival verb*, (be) empty.

kolobi, *adjectival verb*, (be) deep.

kosima, *adjectival verb*, (be) ripe.

lalabe, *adjectival verb*, (be) flat.

lamana, *adjectival verb*, (be) deep.

lavata, *adjectival verb*, (be) big.

lobere, *adjectival verb*, (be) melodious.

lomozo, *adjectival verb*, (be) sweet.

mamanga, *adjectival verb*, (be) open.

manighi, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) hot. 2. (be) warm.

manivisi, *adjectival verb*, (be) thin.

manoto, *adjectival verb*, (be) comfortable.

mara, *adjectival verb*, (be) hard.

marube, *adjectival verb*, (be) heavy.

memehe, *adjectival verb*, (be) smooth.

mumuru, *adjectival verb*, (be) whole.

nera, *adjectival verb*, (be) hot.

ngada, *adjectival verb*, (be) silent.

ngadi, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) sharp. 2. (be) long.

ngira, *adjectival verb*, (be) strong.

ngudu, *adjectival verb*, (be) silent.

niu, *adjectival verb*, (be) small.

nongolo, *adjectival verb*, (be) grown.

pabuta, *adjectival verb*, (be) thick.

pada, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) enough. 2. (be) sufficient.

pako, *adjectival verb*, (be) blunt.

panoghoto, *adjectival verb*, (be) short.

paso, *adjectival verb*, (be) empty.

peava, *adjectival verb*, (be) very deep.

pejara, *adjectival verb*, (be) flat.

peleju, *adjectival verb*, (be) dirty.

piru, *adjectival verb*, (be) wild.

poje, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) rotten. 2. stink.

purejene, *adjectival verb*, (be) rotten.

rereghena, *adjectival verb*, (be) fast.

ruka, *adjectival verb*, (be) slim.

saba, *adjectival verb*, 1. marry. 2. (be) married.

sarango, *adjectival verb*, (be) dry.

selele, *adjectival verb*, (be) intoxicated.

sibi, *adverbial verb*, smell delicious.

sikare, *adjectival verb*, (be) ugly.

simono, *adjectival verb*, (be) sundried.

site, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) small. 2. (be) little. 3. (be) few.

sosote, adjectival verb, 1. (be) dressed. 2. wear a shirt.

susumi, adjectival verb, 1. (be) sharp. 2. (be) pointy.

tate, *adjectival verb*, (be) open.

tongoto, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) straight. 2. reconcile.

tuli, *adjectival verb*, (be) deaf.

turei, *adjectival verb*, (be) fast.

tuturei, *adjectival verb*, (be) fast. Sy. **memenei**.

ululu, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) tall. 2. (be) high.

vae, *adjectival verb*, (be) like.

vale, *adjectival verb*, (be) shallow.

vanaghogho, *adjectival verb*, (be) rich.

vanamamala, *adjectival verb*, (be) poor.

varibara, *adjectival verb*, (be) parallel.

veko, *adjectival verb*, (be) bald.

vinioro, *adjectival verb*, feel unwell.

viviri, *adjectival verb*, (be) drunk.

viviso, *adjectival verb*, (be) colourful.

vovotiki, *adjectival verb*, (be) different.

zagha, *adjectival verb*, (be) ripe.

zau, *adjectival verb*, (be) far away.

zikari, *adjectival verb*, (be) full. Sy. **zingi**.

zingi, *adjectival verb*, (be) full. Sy. **zikari**.

A2.10.3 Value

ari, *adjectival verb*, (be) important.

gharo, *adjectival verb*, maybe.

ghighiri, *adjectival verb*, (be) very (much). Sy. **legho**.

kaleana, *adjectival verb*, (be) bad.

kolurana, *adjectival verb*, (be) very bad.

lea, adjectival verb, 1. (be) good. 2. (be) nice. 3. (be) correct. Sy. tongotu.

legho, *adjectival verb*, (be) very (much). Sy. **ghighiri**.

sinokara, *adjectival verb*, (be) true.

sope, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) holy. 2. (be) taboo.

tongotu, *adjectival verb*, (be) correct.

A2.10.4 Human propensity

balo, *adjectival verb*, (be) careful.

bebei, *adjectival verb*, (be) drunk. Sy. **viviri**.

besu, *adjectival verb*, (be) blind.

botini, *adjectival verb*, (be) satiated.

dodore, *adjectival verb*, (be) naked.

ghadiana, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) cold. 2. (be) shivering. Sy. malairi.

ghaghari, *adjectival verb*, (be) angry. Sy. ngajiri.

ghesi, *adjectival verb*, (be) proud.

ghogho, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) own; rich. 2. become thin.

gholomo, *adjectival verb*, (be) quiet.

giru, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) single. 2. unmarried.

kazupata, *adjectival verb*, (be) shocked.

kokoi, *adjectival verb*, (be) old.

kono, *adjectival verb*, (be) jealous.

kudipi, *adjectival verb*, (be) thirsty. Sy. **memeha**.

mabo, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) tired. 2. exhausted.

madegho, *adjectival verb*, 1. fear. 2. (be) afraid.

mado, *adjectival verb*, (be) happy.

malu, *adjectival verb*, 1. want. 2. (be) willing.

mamaghoa, *adjectival verb*, (be) surpriced.

mamalaga, *adjectival verb*, (be) poor.

mangungulu, *adjectival verb*, (be) unconcious.

memeke, *adjectival verb*, (be) alone.

ngajiri, *adjectival verb*, (be) angry.

pagala, *adjectival verb*, 1. make noise. 2. (be) noisy.

pepeki, *adjectival verb*, (be) stupid.

popoka, *adjectival verb*, (be) mute.

sago, *adjectival verb*, (be) busy.

saro, *adjectival verb*, (be) angry.

sasako, *adjectival verb*, (be) lazy.

tara, *adjectival verb*, (be) accustomed to.

tona, *adjectival verb*, (be) active.

tupi, *adjectival verb*, (be) nervous.

valeleanai, *adjectival verb*, (be) intelligent.

A2.10.5 Corporeal adjectival verbs

jijigiri, *adjectival verb*, shiver.

malairi, *adjectival verb*, (be) cold.

malosoro, *adjectival verb*, (be) weak.

matakare, *adjectival verb*, (be) suffer from conjunctivitis (an eye infection).

mate, *adjectival verb*, 1. die. 2. dead. 3. dry.

memeha, *adjectival verb*, (be) thirsty.

memenei, *adjectival verb*, (be) fast.

momoso, *adjectival verb*, (be) seasick.

moso, *adjectival verb*, (be) sick.

namana, *adjectival verb*, (be) sore.

ngangasa, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) out of breath. 2. (be) exhausted.

ngingirizi, *adjectival verb*, (be) .

osapa, *adjectival verb*, (be) hungry.

puri, *adjectival verb*, (be) pregnant.

rodoko, *adjectival verb*, (be) drowsy.

A2.10.6 Positions

kapa, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) near. 2. (be) beside.

kekenu, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) first. 2. lead.

korapa, *adjectival verb*, 1. continue. 2. (be) inside.

likohai, *adjectival verb*, (be) around.

mudi, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) last. 2. (be) behind. 3. loose.

opo, *adjectival verb*, 1. turn. 2. (be) upside down.

paere, *adjectival verb*, 1. hide. 2. (be) hidden.

pagaha, *adjectival verb*, 1. separate. 2. divide.

palai, *adjectival verb*, 1. throw away. 2. (be) away.

tata, *adjectival verb*, (be) near.

A2.11 Motion

aria, *verb*, hurry.

atu, *verb*, 1. send. 2. come. 3. clear.

babana, *verb*, tow.

bekulu, *verb*, turn.

bokala, *verb*, pull.

daku, *verb*, pull. Sy. **bokala**.

ene, *verb*, 1. walk. 2. travel; **ene hoboro**, *verb*, walk around aimlessly.

gae, *verb*, shake; move.

gaguzu, *verb*, pull. Sy. **bokala**.

gharunu, *verb*, 1. send. 2. send for.

ghavere, *verb*, crawl. Sy. **rarasa**.

ghore, *verb*, 1. descend. 2. go down.

ghovete, *verb*, run.

gomoro, *verb*, load.

hae, *verb*, chase an animal.

hoboro, *verb*, move around aimlessly.

jalo, *verb*, play.

joloro, *verb*, flow.

juno, *verb*, push.

kaduvu, *verb*, 1. arrive. 2. reach.

kaji, *verb*, play.

kaloa, *verb*, 1. leave;. 2. depart.

kamunu, *verb*, start.

karangai, *verb*, visit.

kasopo, *verb*, 1. step over. 2. jump over.

katu, *verb*, 1. move across. 2. cross.

kave, *verb*, pull.

keba, *verb*, climb.

kekere, *verb*, turn.

kovoro, *verb*, float.

lao, *verb*, go.

lingana, *verb*, turn.

lipisi, *verb*, 1. insert. 2. penetrate.

lodu, *verb*, 1. drown. 2. sink. Sy. **ngusu**.

mai, *verb*, come.

maruvu, *verb*, enter.

muti, *verb*, send for.

nebe, *verb*, spread.

nepisi, *verb*, pour.

ngeru, *verb*, carry.

ngusu, *verb*, 1. dive. 2. drown.

nikiti, *verb*, move.

nozo, *verb*, stop.

ovulae, *verb*, lift.

pai, *verb*, throw.

paleke, *verb*, carry.

papa, *verb*, carry. Sy. **paleke**.

peka, *verb*, dance.

podalai, *verb*, start.

poleni, *verb*, march.

poni, *verb*, 1. feed. 2. give.

ponu, *verb*, swim.

pulese, *verb*, return.

raku, *verb*, 1. join. 2. attend.

rarasa, *verb*, crawl. Sy. **ghavere**.

rikiti, *verb*, move away.

riu, *verb*, move.

roku, *verb*, join.

sagala, *verb*, run.

seki, *verb*, 1. stop. 2. deny.

selu, *verb*, 1. follow. 2. search. 3. chase.

siro, *verb*, chase.

sodoko, *verb*, arrive. Sy. **kaduvu**.

somede, *verb*, jump.

soru, *verb*, jump.

soviaghala, *verb*, 1. slide down. 2. dive.

taliri, *verb*, turn.

taluarai, *verb*, depart.

tapala, *verb*, 1. drift. 2. float.

tatava, *verb*, fly.

tatupai, *verb*, stumble.

tepe, *verb*, sail.

tiai, *verb*, meet.

toe, *verb*, fall.

togholo, *verb*, move backwards.

toko, *verb*, shake.

topili, *verb*, roll.

topoai, *verb*, depart.

tutuvu, *verb*, meet.

ukala, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) over. 2. move over. 3. pass. 4. overcome.

uke, *verb*, fall.

voze, *verb*, paddle.

vura, *verb*, 1. go out. 2. exit.

zae, *verb*, 1. go up. 2. ascend. 3. climb.

zaputu, *verb*, pull.

ziovo, *verb*, scoop.

zobele, *verb*, put between.

zuranga, *verb*, board.

zuru, *verb*, 1. lift. 2. pull.

zuvu, *verb*, dive.

A2.12 Stative

gharuba, *adjectival verb*, 1. just (be/do). 2. (be) new.

ghede, *adjectival verb*, (be) left.

gura, *verb*, can.

kagu, *verb*, must.

ko, *verb*, 1. stay. 2. live. 3. be at. 4. be.

loka, *verb*, 1. wait. 2. stay. 3. last.

malao, *verb*, use to.

matau, *adjectival verb*, (be) right.

sake, *verb*, be on something.

supere, *verb*, do nothing.

to, *verb*, 1. exist. 2. grow. 3. live.

turanga, *verb*, 1. meet. 2. accompany.

varighara, *adjectival verb*, 1. gather. 2. (be) together.

zoma, *adjectival verb*, (be) be among.

zozogho, *verb*, continue. Sy. korapa.

A2.13 Posture and position

eko, *verb*, 1. lie down. 2. lie.

nagusu, *verb*, 1. hang. 2. embrace.

rodo, *verb*, hang.

soghoru, *verb*, sit.

sotu, *verb*, sit down.

tiai, *verb*, face.

totokata, *verb*, lean.

turu, *verb*, stand.

A2.14 Affect

apuru, *verb*, drop.

aza, *verb*, scrape.

baere, *verb*, befriend.

baghere, *verb*, hunt for possum.

bagho, *verb*, 1. call. 2. give name.

bakora, *verb*, cut. Sy. **kobu**.

bei, *verb*, drink. Sy. **binei**.

beto, *verb*, finish.

buli, *verb*, throw.

dada, *verb*, sundry.

dighomo, *verb*, sew leaves together to make panels.

doroni, *verb*, draw.

epulu, *verb*, uncover.

galiri, *verb*, stir.

ghaja, *verb*, 1. rub. 2. clean. 3. wash.

ghali, *verb*, mix.

ghalua, *verb*, grind.

ghani, *verb*, 1. eat. 2. bite. Sy. sesena.

ghara, *verb*, gather.

gharata, *verb*, bite.

gharo, *verb*, scratch.

gharo, *verb*, worship a spirit.

ghasi, *verb*, mark.

ghavoro, *verb*, happen.

ghaza, *verb*, wash.

ghoghona, *verb*, shoot.

gholoa, *verb*, 1. remove meat from a coconut. 2. remove bark from a tree.

ghujala, *verb*, 1. rub. 2. twist.

gito, *verb*, cook in an eart oven.

goaza, *verb*, grate.

gogoto, *verb*, boil.

hohove, *verb*, shape.

hokoto, *verb*, 1. end. 2. complete.

hure, *verb*, win.

ijini, *verb*, borrow.

ilaza, *verb*, 1. put out fire; destroy; spoil.

iliri, *verb*, translate.

ivara, *verb*, cover.

jalara, *verb*, make something flat.

jalo, *verb*, destroy.

japu, *verb*, fish in a traditional manner with a net.

jupe, *verb*, clear.

karu, *verb*, peel.

kavala, *verb*, 1. file. 2. polish.

keba, *verb*, 1. harvest. 2. pick.

keha, *verb*, shape.

kina, *verb*, 1. burn. 2. cook. 3. boil.

kobu, *verb*, 1. cut. 2. slice. 3. break.

koburu, *verb*, cut in half.

kulimi, *verb*, fill.

kumusu, *verb*, shut.

lete, *verb*, plant.

levuzu, *verb*, wipe out.

lilosia, *verb*, squeeze.

loara, *verb*, release.

logu, *verb*, cover.

lopa, *verb*, make a hole.

luba, *verb*, skim.

maghoghoso, *verb*, heal. Sy. **zalanga**.

maso, *verb*, cut.

mimisu, *verb*, husk coconut.

mono, *verb*, 1. press. 2. massage.

mujari, *verb*, grind.

ngedi, *verb*, cut.

palabatu, *verb*, make someone a chief.

pedi, *verb*, paint.

pego, *verb*, carve.

peubu, *verb*, make rope.

piki, *verb*, hoe.

pipiti, *verb*, sew.

piruku, *verb*, remove the mid rib of a palm leaf.

pisa, *verb*, break. Sy. **poraka**.

poa, *verb*, bury.

poga, *verb*, 1. pound. 2. make pudding.

poiri, *verb*, mould.

pokasa, *verb*, hatch.

poki, *verb*, brush.

poraka, *verb*, break.

posara, *verb*, slap.

puha, *verb*, wipe.

pusa, *verb*, tie.

puti, *verb*, kick.

puzi, *verb*, tie.

rabulu, *verb*, lose.

rabutu, *verb*, 1. finish. 2. destroy.

raja, *verb*, 1. collide. 2. hit.

raro, *verb*, cook.

repasa, *verb*, spread.

repi, *verb*, grate. Sy. **riki**.

reva, *verb*, 1. sweep. 2. clear.

riki, *verb*, grate. Sy. **repi**.

ropoto, *verb*, thatch.

ruge, *verb*, defeat.

sabu, *verb*, 1. hunt. 2. fish. 3. harvest.

salo, *verb*, catch.

salu, *verb*, pick.

sari, *verb*, decorate.

sasabukai, *verb*, sacrifice.

sasaki, *verb*, stack.

sauru, *verb*, tie. Sy. **pusa**.

sena, *verb*, 1. take. 2. get.

seni, *verb*, mix.

siko, *verb*, steal.

sinipara, *verb*, wash one's hands.

sino, *verb*, scrape something off a surface using a shell.

sipata, *verb*, shoot.

sisipata, *verb*, shoot with bow and arrow.

so, *verb*, saw.

sobe, *verb*, change.

sodu, *verb*, 1. penetrate; pierce. 2. make hollow.

soi, *verb*, cut.

solu, *verb*, buy.

sore, *verb*, carve out the hull of a canoe.

sosopu, *verb*, wash.

suara, *verb*, break.

suete, *verb*, dig.

sukuai, *verb*, hunt for wild boars with a dog.

suma, *verb*, stab.

takobo, *verb*, break.

tapala, *verb*, waste.

taraza, *verb*, destroy.

taru, *verb*, cover.

tava, *verb*, produce copra.

tavelaza, *verb*, twist.

tavete, *verb*, 1. do. 2. make.

tighizi, *verb*, weave.

tigu, *verb*, 1. touch. 2. reach for.

tingo, *verb*, touch.

toka, *verb*, help.

toketoke, *verb*, tempt.

tokoro, *verb*, to place a taboo (warning sign, curse, or both) on a piece of property.

tome, *verb*, hide.

tonu, *verb*, adopt.

tuge, *verb*, hold.

tuku, *verb*, shut.

tupa, *verb*, hit.

tusa, *verb*, fish with a pole.

tutuku, *verb*, make a wall.

tuvaka, *verb*, repair.

uma, *verb*, kiss.

urami, *verb*, save.

utuvu, *verb*, fetch water.

vagara, *verb*, fish with a net.

valuza, *verb*, fish bonito.

vanama, *verb*, prepare.

vanangitia, *verb*, keep.

varipera, *verb*, fight.

vasare, *verb*, 1. make shell ornament. 2. perform. 3. decorate.

vasibi, *verb*, sacrifice.

vatadoghoro, *verb*, show.

vatana, *verb*, organize.

vatasolu, *verb*, sell.

via, *verb*, 1. clear. 2. clean.

vido, *verb*, write.

voi, *verb*, 1. put. 2. insert.

volozo, *verb*, 1. section. 2. divide.

vovolao, *verb*, insert.

vuvu, *verb*, 1. splash. 2. pour.

vuzi, *verb*, clean someone's body by stroking it.

zalanga, *verb*, 1. heal. 2. make.rope. 3. perform witchcraft.

zea, *adjectival verb*, 1. sin. 2. do something wrong. 3. (be) wrong. 4. fail.

zeke, *verb*, 1. hit. 2. kill. 3. murder. 4. cut.

zeko, *verb*, ring.

zika, *verb*, slice.

zira, *verb*, tear.

zoru, *verb*, lift.

zoto, *verb*, 1. fix. 2. fasten. 3. join. 4. grow.

zotu, *verb*, bite.

zulu, *verb*, burn. Sy. **kina**.

zunga, *verb*, 1. light. 2. burn.

A2.15 Conceptual and Perceptual

babala, *verb*, 1. think. 2. wish. 3. remember.

doghoro, *verb*, see.

dongo, *verb*, 1. see. 2. appear; **dongo lea**, *verb*, look good; **dongo totoa**, *verb*, stare.

ghilala, *verb*, examine.

ghilana, *verb*, 1. know. 2. understand.

hiva, *verb*, want.

kao, *verb*, 1. find. 2. look.

lemono, *verb*, hear.

leosae, *verb*, forgive.

losovi, *verb*, miss.

lotu, *verb*, 1. worship. 2. pray.

mado, *verb*, love. Sy. 1. **tataru**. 2. **tatabe**.

manighi, *verb*, sacrifice the first harvest to the mago manighi (land-fertilizing spirit).

muligi, *verb*, forget.

nonogha, *verb*, 1. know. 2. feel.

okoro, *verb*, admire.

perala, *verb*, stare.

pode, *verb*, count.

podeke, *verb*, try.

poghala, *verb*, realize.

pughu, *verb*, guess.

ro, *verb*, want. Sy. **roghu**.

roghu, *verb*, want. Sy. **ro**.

rorokei, *verb*, peep.

rove, *verb*, hope.

seselu, *verb*, obey.

sikulu, *verb*, 1. learn. 2. study.

sila, *verb*, will.

taghogho, *verb*, need.

tako, *verb*, have.

talotanga, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) sorry. 2. (be) unhappy.

taturu, *verb*, struggle.

tetepa, *verb*, pray.

tiro, *verb*, read.

viloto, *verb*, chose.

A2.16 Utterances, noises and gestures

bako, *verb*, cry.

barongo, *verb*, snore.

ghua, *verb*, say.

gizo, *verb*, sing.

habaroi, *verb*, 1. encourage. 2. praise.

haro, *verb*, praise.

iranga, *verb*, laugh.

jutu, *verb*, blame.

kabo, *verb*, cry.

kuku, *verb*, shout.

naghe, *verb*, 1. speak;. 2. say. Sy. 1. **ghua**. 2. **toji**.

nanaza, *verb*, ask. Sy. **tepa**.

ovaga, *verb*, make noise.

popodeai, *verb*, mention.

reka, *verb*, say.

saro, *verb*, rebuke.

sisipu, *verb*, wave goodbye.

sisire, *verb*, make fun of.

tepa, *verb*, ask.

toji, *verb*, tell.

ui, *verb*, call.

vasire, *verb*, joke.

vatabe, *verb*, answer.

veveo, *verb*, lie.

vivilazana, *verb*, contradict.

vivinei, *verb*, tell.

A2.17 Corporeal

asoa, *verb*, kiss.

boki, *verb*, blow.

gharovo, *verb*, turn into.

ghozo, *verb*, spit.

inseva, *verb*, wash one's face.

ivu, *verb*, blow.

kakadeavala, *verb*, faint.

komolo, *verb*, smile.

kosu, *verb*, cough.

lua, *verb*, womit.

mea, *verb*, lick.

mimi, *verb*, urinate.

ngingizi, *verb*, 1. smile. 2. grin.

nonopo, *verb*, suck.

pakua, *verb*, wear something around one's neck.

pea, *verb*, defeacate. Sy. **tae**.

poko, *verb*, 1. dress. 2. wear.

poru, *verb*, copulate.

puriti, *verb*, nibble.

puta, *verb*, 1. sleep. 2. dwell.

sapete, *verb*, snap.

sesena, *verb*, eat.

si, *verb*, fart silently.

sigo, *verb*, breathe.

sumanga, *verb*, smell.

susuku, *verb*, point.

suve, *verb*, bathe.

tae, *verb*, defaecate. Sy. **pea**.

totopo, *verb*, suck.

vangunu, *verb*, wake up.

variporo, *verb*, copulate.

vazea, *verb*, copulate.

zighiti, *verb*, hurt.

zingo, *verb*, breathe.

A2.18 Quantifiers

dake, *quantifier*, 1. none.

dodoru, *quantifier*, all.

ghagharo, *quantifier*, 1. little. 2. few.

kaizea, *quantifier*, every.

kakea, *quantifier*, some.

vazi, *quantifier*, little.

viviza, *quantifier*, how many.

zoku, *quantifier*, many.

A2.19 Numerals

alu, *numeral*, eight.

ghoghoto, *numeral*, hundred.

juapa, *numeral*, seven.

kaike, *numeral*, one.

kenu, *numeral*, first.

lima, *numeral*, five.

made, *numeral*, four;

maneghe, *numeral*, ten.

ngavulu, *numeral*, unit of ten.

ngeta, *numeral*, three.

niki, *numeral*, nine.

onomo, *numeral*, six.

ru(a), *numeral*, two.

siokona, *numeral*, twenty.

taza, *numeral*, one.

tina, *numeral*, thousand.

tolo ngavulu, *numeral*, thirty.

A2.20 Adverbs

kamuza, *adverb*, when.

kapiri, *adverb*, now.

mene, *adverb*, next.

nginoroi, *adverb*, today.

paiza, *adverb*, there.

parai, *adverb*, yesterday.

pele, *adverb*, next.

repere, *adverb*, on the day after tomorrow.

reporoi, *adverb*, on the day before yesterday.

tani, *adverb*, here.

tu(ghu), *adverb*, also.

vei, *adverb*, where.

vizoroi, *adverb*, before.

vugho, *adverb*, tomorrow.

A2.21 Prepositions

ko, *preposition*, 1. to. 2. towards. 3. with.

pa, *preposition*, 1. on. 2. at. 3. in. 4. to. 5. from.

A2.22 Interjections and particles

da(pu), *irrealis verbal negation particle*, not (IRR:NEG).

dai, *interjection*, no.

daporo, *negation particle*.

ee, *interjection*, uh.

egho, *interjection*, O.K.

ei, *interjection*, hey.

ka, *cardinal numeral marking particle* (CARD).

ka(ti), *nominal negation particle* (NEG).

ka rua, *interjection*, 1. hey there. 2. what; **ka rua ka ngeta**, *interjection*, stop it.

kai, *verbal negation particle* (NEG).

kaiza, interjection, 1. hey there. 2. what.

kati, *negation particle* (NEG).

lea, *perfect aspect marking particle* (PRF).

ma, *imperative particle* (IMP).

si, *interjection*, hey.

si(te), *irrealis particle* (IRR).

uve, *interjection*, yes.

kaiza, *interjection*, 1. hey there. 2. what.

kei, *interjection*, what.

si, *interjection*, hey.

uve, *interjection*, yes

A3 Alphabetical wordlist

aba, *noun*, St. Andrew's cross spider (Lat. Argiope aetherea), species of Argiope (spider) common in Australia.

aghana, *noun*, Screwpine (Lat. Pandanus tectorius), species of Pandanus native to Malesia, eastern Australia, and the Pacific Islands. Sy. lolou.

agora, *verb*, (be) under.

agoro, *noun*, above.

ai, *focal article*.

aiana, *noun*, iron.

aka, *noun*, fat; grease.

aka, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) fat. 2. (be) greasy.

alu, *numeral*, eight.

anani, *noun*, onion.

angoro, *noun*, under(side).

aoa, *noun*, hour.

apuru, *verb*, drop.

araghore, *noun*, 1. below. 2. under.

arazae, *noun*, over.

are, *noun*, forehead.

ari, *adjectival verb*, (be) important.

aria, *verb*, hurry.

arozo, *noun*, rope.

asoa, *verb*, kiss.

atu, *verb*, 1. send. 2. come. 3. clear.

avara, *noun*, 1. shoulder. 2. school of fish (generic). 3. school of bonito.

aza, *verb*, scrape.

aze, *noun*, chin.

ba, *conjunction*, but.

baba, *noun*, elbow.

babagho, *noun*, noun.

babala, *verb*, 1. think. 2. wish. 3. remember.

babala, *noun*, mind.

babana, *verb*, tow.

babanaini, *noun*, beach.

babaroai, *noun*, bunch.

babaroghoso, *noun*, Bubble-tip anemone (Lat. Entacmaea quadricolor), species of Actiniaria (sea anemone) of Indo-Pacific origin.

babatuana, *noun*, pillow.

babe, *conjunction*, or.

bae, *noun*, cave.

baere, *noun*, 1. friend. 2. trading partner with whom one is on friendly terms.

baere, *verb*, befriend.

baghere, *verb*, hunt for possum.

bagho, *noun*, name.

bagho, *verb*, 1. call. 2. give name.

baika, *noun*, bag.

bakala, *adjectival verb*, (be) clear.

bakarao, *noun*, frog.

bake, *noun*, purple swamphen; (Lat. Porphyrio porphyrio).

bakete, *noun*, bucket.

bakisa, *noun*, shell money (Roviana: bakiha), shell ring used as custom money.

bako, *verb*, cry.

bakora, *verb*, cut. Sy. kobu.

bakupa, *noun*, White-ribbed Ground-dove (Lat. Gallicolumba jobiensis), species of bird in the Columbidae (pigeon/dove) family.

balairi, *adjectival verb*, (be) pink.

balo, *adjectival verb*, (be) careful.

banga, *noun*, shell.

bangara, *noun*, 1. chief (generic). 2. chief who claim authority based on descent from significant lineages. Sy. palabatu.

bao, *noun*, spear. Sy. **soloro**.

baol(o), *noun*, 1. bowl. 2. ball.

bara, *noun*, fence.

barasi, *noun*, brush.

bareke, *noun*, shell money, shell ring used as custom money.

barongo, *verb*, snore.

baruku, *noun*, 1. dove (generic). 2. Island Imperial-pigeon (Lat. Ducula pistrinaria), species of bird in the Columbidae (pigeon/dove) family found in Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands; **baruku zolozo**, *noun*, Pacific Imperial-pigeon, Mountain-dove (Lat. Ducula pacifica), species of pigeon in the Columbidae (pigeon/dove) family, found in American Samoa, the Cook Islands, the smaller islands of eastern Fiji, Kiribati, Niue, the smaller satellite islands of Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, and Wallis and Futuna Islands.

batu, *noun*, 1. head. 2. top.

bazu, *noun*, yam.

be, *conjunction*, if.

bebei, *adjectival verb*, (be) drunk. Sy. viviri.

bebeno, *adjectival verb*, (be) hurry; quick.

beberu, *noun*, edge.

bei, *verb*, drink.

bei, *noun*, 1. drinking water. 2. cold beverage.

beku, *noun*, 1. idol. 2. spirit.

bekulu, *verb*, turn.

belama, *noun*, Frigatebird (Lat. Fregatidae sp.), family of seabirds.

belekekere, *noun*, Butterflyfish (Chaetodontidae), family of tropical marine fish.

belo, *noun*, bell.

bereti, *noun*, bread.

bero, *noun*, liver.

beru, *noun*, lip.

besini, *noun*, basin.

besu, *adjectival verb*, (be) blind.

beti, *noun*, big variety of bamboo.

beto, *verb*, finish.

biani, *noun*, well.

bibibolo, noun, 1. prostitute (generic). 2. (historically) interim prostitutes, managed by the chief, entertaining visiting chiefs and paid for with custom money.

bibigho, *noun*, rainbow.

bilizuru, *noun*, Rainbow Lorikeet (Lat. Trichoglossus haematodus), species of Australasian parrot found in Australia, eastern Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, New Caledonia, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu.

binalabala, *noun*, 1. thought. 2. idea.

binei, *noun*, drink. Sy. **bei**.

bini, *noun*, bean.

bite, *noun*, anus.

bo, *noun*, testicle.

boboi, *noun*, species of plant.

bobongo, *noun*, swell. Sy. **poghala**.

bobongo, *verb*, swell.

bobotu, *noun*, heap.

bobozo, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) wet. 2. (be) humid.

boge, *noun*, taro.

bogu, *noun*, gill.

bokala, *verb*, pull.

bokese, *noun*, 1. box. 2. suitcase.

boki, *verb*, blow.

bolokotuhae, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) round. 2. (be) circular.

boloso, *noun*, wave.

bolu, *noun*, pocket.

boso sorope, *noun*, shrine containing skulls of enemies; **boso sorope mamaneke**, noun, shrine with skulls of enemy women.

botenge, *adjectival verb*, (be) full.

botini, *adjectival verb*, (be) satiated.

botolo, *noun*, 1. bottle 2. vase.

botu, *noun*, 1. mountain. 2. hill.

bozo, *noun*, spirit of a conquered enemy.

buba, *noun*, dried nut.

bubu, *noun*, small insect.

bubuhi, *noun*, grandchild.

bubula, *adjectival verb*, (be) red.

bubulokutu, *adjectival verb*, (be) round. Sy. **bolokotuhae**.

bubupa, *noun*, generic term for a range of dishes, prepared by wrapping the food in leaves and roasting it over open fire.

bubutu, *noun*, 1. tribe. 2. clan. 3. family.

bughiri, *noun*, arrow. Sy. **piu**.

buhi, *noun*, aunt; 1. relative (generic). 2. uncle.

buka, *noun*, book.

buki, *noun*, shell.

bule, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) calm. 2. (be) peaceful.

buli, *verb*, throw.

bulo, *noun*, heart.

buma, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) green. 2. (be) blue.

bumutu, *noun*, buttocks.

buni, *noun*, Alexandrian Laurel; Ball-nut (Lat. Calophyllum inophyllum), lar Africa, southern coastal India to Malesia and Australia, and cultivated in several Pacific Islands.

bupara, *adjectival verb*, (be) brown.

buti, *noun*, shoe.

buturu, *noun*, jetty.

da, *pronoun*, we (sbj:1pl.incl).

da(pu), *irrealis verbal negation particle*, not (irr:neg).

dada, *noun*, sun.

dada, *verb*, sundry.

dadagha, *noun*, root.

daeva, *noun*, diver.

dai, *interjection*, no.

dake, *quantifier*, none.

daketonga, *pronoun*, nothing.

daketonga, *quantifier*, none.

daku, *verb*, pull. Sy. **bokala**.

dala, *noun*, head ornament.

daporo, *negation particle*.

dedekuru, *noun*, house post.

deke, *noun*, rear.

dekuru, *noun*, log.

deo, *noun*, type of shell sitting on a stone.

deri, *noun*, watermelon.

di, *pronoun*, they (sbj:3pl).

dia, *pronoun*, 1. they (sbj:3pl). 2. their (poss:3pl).

dighomo, *verb*, sew leaves together to make panels.

dikuru, *noun*, bra.

dinoghoro, *noun*, sight.

dodore, *adjectival verb*, (be) naked.

dodoru, *quantifier*, all.

doghoro, *verb*, see.

doke, *noun*, navel.

dokita, *noun*, 1. doctor. 2. physician.

domigi, *noun*, belt.

dongo, *verb*, 1. see. 2. appear; dongo lea, look good; dongo totoa, stare.

doroni, *verb*, draw.

duduru, *noun*, Long-tailed Nightjar, coffinbird (Lat. Caprimulgus macrurus), species of nightjar in the Caprimulgidae family found in Solomon Islands, Australia, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Brunei, Cambodia, China, India, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam.

duli, *adjectival verb*, (be) black.

dumi, *noun*, short fishing spear.

e, *proper noun marking article*.

edeve, *noun*, Sagopalm (Lat. Metroxylon salomonensis), palm in the Metroxylon family, native to

Southeast Asia, Melanesia, and some islands in Micronesia and Polynesia, its starch, sago, is the main ingredient in sagopalm pudding.

ee, *interjection*, uh.

egho, *interjection*, O.K.

ei, *interjection*, hey.

ekeze, *adjectival verb*, (be) long.

eko, *verb*, 1. lie down. 2. lie.

elege, *noun*, past.

ene, *verb*, 1. walk. 2. travel; **ene hoboro**, *verb*, walk around aimlessly.

eo, *noun*, Melanesian Megapode; Melanesian Scrubfowl; (Lat. Megapodius eremita), a species of bird in the Megapodiidae family found in Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands.

eongo, *verb*, 1. massacre. 2. manslaughter.

epata, *noun*, basket. Sy. **pili**.

epulu, *verb*, uncover.

gae, *verb*, 1. shake. 2. move.

gaguzu, *verb*, pull. Sy. **bokala**.

galasi, *noun*, glass.

galiri, *verb*, stir.

gatona, *noun*, arm ring.

geava, *adjectival verb*, (be) white.

gegeze, *noun*, side. Sy. **kali**.

geko, *noun*, gecko.

geolo, *noun*, Solomon Islands Maple, Siruga (Lat. Campnosperma brevipetiolata), tree in the Anacardiaceae (cashew family/sumac) family.

geto, *noun*, army.

ghabuzu, *noun*, smoke.

ghadiana, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) cold. 2. (be) shivering. Sy. **malairi**.

ghaghala, *adjectival verb*, (be) deep.

ghaghalea, *noun*, sky.

ghaghari, *adjectival verb*, (be) angry. Sy. **ngajiri**.

ghagharo, *quantifier*, 1. little. 2. few.

ghai, *pronoun*, we; us (pro:2pl).

ghaili, *noun*, fishook for fishing bonito.

ghaja, *verb*, 1. rub. 2. clean. 3. wash.

ghali, *verb*, mix.

ghalua, *verb*, grind.

ghami, *pronoun*, we; us (pro:1pl.excl).

ghamu, *pronoun*, you (pro:2pl).

ghani, *verb*, 1. eat. 2. bite. Sy. sesena.

ghani, *noun*, meal.

ghara, *verb*, gather.

gharata, *verb*, bite.

gharo, *verb*, 1. scratch. 2. worship a spirit.

gharo, *adjectival verb*, maybe.

gharovo, *verb*, turn into.

gharuba, *adjectival verb*, 1. just (be/do). 2. (be) new.

gharumu, *noun*, 1. crab (generic). 2. Land crab (Lat. Cardisoma carnifex), errestrial species of Brachyura (crab) found in coastal regions of eastern Africa and the Indo-Pacific; **gharumu kara**, *noun*, November (month of the sea crabs); **gharumu leana**, *noun*, December (month of the landcrabs).

gharunu, *verb*, 1. send. 2. send for.

ghasi, *verb*, mark.

ghavere, *verb*, crawl. Sy. **rarasa**.

ghavoro, *verb*, happen.

ghaza, *verb*, wash.

ghazo, *noun*, rafter.

ghede, *adjectival verb*, (be) left.

ghele, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) tall. 2. (be) long. 3. grow.

ghesi, adjectival verb, (be) proud.

ghevuzu, *noun*, wind.

ghighila, *noun*, proverb.

ghighiri, *adjectival verb*, (be) very (much). Sy. **legho**.

ghila, *noun*, sign.

ghilala, *verb*, examine.

ghilana, *verb*, 1. know. 2. understand.

ghita, *pronoun*, we; us (pro:1pl.incl).

gho, *pronoun*, you (pro:2pl).

ghogho, *noun*, toe.

ghogho, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) own; rich. 2. become thin.

ghoghona, *verb*, shoot.

ghoghoto, *numeral*, hundred.

ghohi, *noun*, 1. barracuda (generic). 2. Great barracuda. Sy. **mara**.

ghoi, *pronoun*, you (pro:2sg).

gholoa, *verb*, 1. remove meat from a coconut. 2. remove bark from a tree.

gholomo, *adjectival verb*, (be) quiet.

ghonali, *noun*, 1. bee. 2. honey.

ghore, *verb*, 1. descend. 2. go down.

ghoso, *noun*, saliva.

ghotamana, *noun*, entrance.

ghoto, *adjectival verb*, (be) last.

ghovete, *verb*, run.

ghozo, *verb*, spit.

ghua, *verb*, say.

ghughuana, *noun*, method.

ghughulo, *noun*, lizard.

ghujala, *verb*, 1. rub. 2. twist.

ghuju, *noun*, mouth.

ghumi, *noun*, beard.

ghutama, *noun*, 1. outside. 2. door. 3. entrance. 4. gate.

ghutu, *noun*, louse.

ginavuna, *noun*, government.

giru, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) single. 2. unmarried.

gito, *verb*, cook in an eart oven.

gizo, *verb*, sing.

goana, *noun*, 1. bush. 2. rainforrest.

goaza, *noun*, pudding.

goaza, *verb*, grate.

gogoto, *verb*, boil.

gomoro, *verb*, load.

gopu, *noun*, limb which lacks a part (ie. an arm without a hand).

gu, *pronoun*, I (sbj:1sg).

gua, *pronoun*, I (sbj:1sg). 2. my; mine (poss:1sg).

gura, *verb*, can.

guso, *noun*, 1. cooking method where the food in cookied in a bamboo stick over open fire. 2. stuffed bamboo stick use in the before mentioned cooking method.

habaroi, *verb*, 1. encourage. 2. praise.

habili, *noun*, bumphead parrot fish (Lat. Bolbometopon muricatum), species of fish in the parrot fish (Lat. Scarinae) family, found on reefs in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Sy. **topa**.

hae, *verb*, chase an animal.

hahaka, *noun*, Peacock Mantis shrimp, Green mantis shrimp (Lat. Odontodactylus scyllarus), species of Stomatopoda (mantis shrimp) native to the Indo-Pacific from Guam to East Africa.

haro, *verb*, praise.

hatara, *noun*, floor; hatara labete, noun, timber floor.

havoro, *noun*, flower.

hebala, *noun*, school of bumphead parrot fish.

hihite, *adjectival verb*, (be) slow.

hiva, *verb*, want.

hoboro, *verb*, move around aimlessly.

hohove, *verb*, shape.

hokata, *noun*, arm ring made of shell, shell ring used as amulet and custom money.

hokoto, *verb*, 1. end. 2. complete.

hokoto, *noun*, end.

hure, *verb*, win.

ia, *pronoun*, he; she; him; her (pro:3sg).

iburu, *noun*, 1. betelnut. 2. betelnut tree.

ido, *noun*, eel.

Igelesi, *noun*, the English language.

ighana, noun, fish.

ighizi, *noun*, betel leaf, leaf chewed with betelnut.

ijini, *verb*, borrow.

ikana, *noun*, person.

ilaza, *verb*, 1. put out fire. 2. destroy. 3. spoil.

iliri, *verb*, translate.

ilukeba, *noun*, tool made of rope used to climb coconut trees.

imimuzu, *noun*, sandfly.

inata, *noun*, 1. coral. 2. powder from ground coral chewed with betelnut referred to as ' lime' in SIP.

inevana, *noun*, feast.

inovaga, *noun*, noise.

inseva, *verb*, wash one's face.

inuke, *noun*, fall.

inululu, *noun*, height.

inululu, *adjectival verb*, (be) tall.

ipi, *noun*, small hut.

ipipata, *noun*, sweat.

iranga, *verb*, laugh.

ivara, *verb*, cover.

ivivu, *noun*, chest.

ivu, *noun*, whale.

ivu, *verb*, blow.

izu, *noun*, nose.

izumata, *noun*, face.

jajaloani, *noun*, playfield.

jalara, *verb*, make something flat.

jalo, *verb*, 1. play. 2. destroy.

Janiti, *proper noun*, name of spirit and former chief.

japu, *noun*, traditional fishing methid where a net is used.

japu, *verb*, fish in a traditional manner with a net.

jejemi, *noun*, Binuang; Erima (Lat. Octomeles sumatrana), species of plant in the Datiscaceae family found in Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, and the Solomon Islands.

jijigiri, *adjectival verb*, shiver.

jinalo, *noun*, play.

jito, *noun*, 1. earth oven. 2. dish cooked in an earth oven.

joa, *noun*, Imperial shrimp (Lat. Periclimenes imperator), species of Caridea (shrimp) living symbiotically with larger animals, found across the Indo-Pacific.

joloro, *verb*, flow.

joru, *noun*, 1. source. 2. opening. 3. river mouth.

jote, *noun*, thorn.

joveta, *noun*, rooster.

juapa, *numeral*, seven.

juke, *noun*, 1. light. 2. lamp. 3. lantern.

juno, *verb*, push.

jupe, *verb*, 1. clear. 2. blame.

ka, *cardinal numeral marking particle* (card).

ka(ti), *nominal negation particle* (neg).

ka rua, *interjection*, 1. hey there. 2. what; ka rua ka ngeta, stop it.

kabania, *noun*, company.

kabele, *noun*, 1. arm. 2. hand.

kabo, *verb*, cry.

kaboso, *noun*, compass.

kada, *noun*, button.

kaduvu, *verb*, 1. arrive. 2. reach.

kagele, *noun*, dry nut.

kagu, *verb*, must.

kai, *verbal negation particle* (neg).

kaika, *noun*, shell.

kaike, *numeral*, one.

kaisi, *noun*, 1. case. 2. coffin.

kaiza, *interjection*, 1. hey there. 2. what.

kaizea, *quantifier*, every.

kaji, *verb*, play.

kakabele, *noun*, branch.

kakadeavala, *verb*, faint.

kakarumu, *noun*, Black Mangrove (Lat. Lumnitzera littorea), species of mangrove in the Combretaceae family, with red flowers.

kakati, *noun*, sardin.

kakatuana, *noun*, bridge.

kakea, *quantifier*, some.

kakia, *noun*, parrot.

kalala, *noun*, 1. Banyan tree. 2. Fig tree (Lat. Ficus spp.), species of tree belonging to the Ficus genus in the Moraceae family.

kalase, *noun*, class.

kalasi, *adjectival verb*, (be) classic.

kalaso, *noun*, wife.

kaleana, *adjectival verb*, (be) bad.

kali, *noun*, side. Sy. **gegeze**.

kalo, *noun*, snail species similar to Giant katydids (Lat. Carelia olivacea), Giant katydids was a species of small, air-breathing, land snails, terrestrial pulmonate gastropod mollusks in the Amastridae family, that was endemic to the Hawai' ian Islands.

kalo, *noun*, 1. whale tooth (generic). 2. ornamental sperm whale whale tooth.

kaloa, *verb*, 1. leave. 2. depart.

kamunu, *verb*, start.

kamuza, *interrogative pronoun*, when.

kamuza, *adverb*, when.

kana, *noun*, enemy.

kangana, *noun*, Betel Nut-palm; Areca Nut-palm (Lat. Areca Catechu), species of palm tree in the Arecales family, native to the tropical Pacific, Asia, and parts of east Africa

kao, *verb*, 1. find. 2. look.

kaokana, *noun*, 1. place. 2. village. Sy. vazina.

kapa, *noun*, cup.

kapa, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) near. 2. (be) beside.

kapi, *noun*, lightning.

kapiri, *noun*, moment.

kapiri, *adverb*, now.

kara, *noun*, 1. parrot (generic), generic term for birds in the Psittaciformes order; kara muse, noun. 2. Eclectus Parrot (Lat. Eclectus roratus), species of bird in the Psittacidae family, native to the Solomon Islands, native to Sumba, New Guinea and nearby islands, northeastern Australia and the Maluku Islands.

karangai, *verb*, visit.

karu, *verb*, peel.

kase, *noun*, taro.

kasopo, *verb*, 1. step over. 2. jump over.

kati, *negation particle*.

katu, *verb*, 1. move across. 2. cross.

kavala, *noun*, file.

kavala, *verb*, 1. file. 2. polish.

kave, *verb*, pull.

kaze, *noun*, taro.

kazupata, *adjectival verb*, (be) shocked.

ke, *conjunction*, therefore.

keana, *adjectival verb*, (be) shine.

keba, *verb*, 1. harvest. 2. pick. 3. climb.

Kebo, *proper noun*, island(s) of Rennel and/or Bellona.

keha, verb, shape.

kei, interjection, what.

kekedora, *noun*, Dollarbird (Lat. Eurystomus orientalis), species of Coraciidae (roller), found in east Asia from northern Australia to the Japan archipelago.

kekenu, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) first. 2. lead.

kekere, *verb*, turn.

kenu, *adjectival verb*, (be) first.

kenu, *numeral*, first.

kenu, *noun*, front.

keo, *adjectival verb*, (be) grey.

kesoko, *noun*, sea spirit.

kikio, *noun*, Little kingfisher (Lat. Alcedo pusilla), species of bird in the Alcedinidae family native to Australia, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, and the Solomon Islands.

kiko, *noun*, son.

kikoreke, *noun*, ancle.

kiliniki, *noun*, clinic.

kiloko, *noun*, 1. watch. 2. clock.

kina, *verb*, 1. burn. 2. cook. 3. boil.

kinabe, *noun*, 1. bag. 2. basket.

kinahe, *noun*, Mangrove palm (Lat. Nypa fruticans), plant species in the Arecaceae family, and the only palm considered a mangrove.

kine, *noun*, Red-flanked Lorikeet (Lat. Charmosyna placentis), (bird) species of parrot in the Psittacidae family found in Indonesia, Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands.

kineha, *noun*, shape.

kinikoko, *noun*, 1. passion. 2, character.

kino, *noun*, 1. condition. 2. life. 3. being.

kinu, *noun*, Cut.nut (Lat. Barringtonia edulis), species of plant in the Lecythidaceae family.

kinupi, *noun*, slippery cabbage, generic term for green leafy vegetables.

kipa, *noun*, damsel, generic term for fish in the Pomacentridae family.

Kire, *proper noun*, part of the Ughele village with extensive logging activity.

kisini, *noun*, kitchen.

kiso, *noun*, shark.

kiti, *noun*, son.

ko, *verb*, 1. stay. 2. live. 3. be at. 4. be.

ko, *preposition*, 1. to. 2. towards. 3. with.

koba, *verb*, use to. Sy. **malao**.

koba, *noun*, hermit crab, generic term for decapod crustaceans in the Paguroidea family; **koba lobe**, *noun*, marine hermit crab, generic term for marine species of hermit crabs.

koboru, *noun*, child.

koboso, *noun*, sentence.

kobu, *verb*, 1. cut. 2. slice. 3. break.

koburu, *noun*, half.

koburu, *verb*, cut in half.

kodo, *noun*, kodo, name of a beverage made from fresh coconuts.

koga, *noun*, Brown Huntsman spider (Lat. Heteropoda venatoria), species of Araneae (spider), found in Asia, some Mascarene and Caribbean islands, the Southeastern US, and Australia.

kogu, *noun*, bay.

koimoa, *noun*, 1. front. 2. bow, the bow of a canoe or ship.

kokoaza, *noun*, centipede, generic term for arthropods belonging to the class Chilopoda.

kokoba, *adjectival verb*, (be) empty. Sy. **paso**

kokoi, *adjectival verb*, (be) old.

kokonana, *adverb*, suddenly.

kokorako, *noun*, chicken (Lat. Gallus gallus domesticus).

kokoreo, *noun*, rooster.

kokosiri, *noun*, swamp.

kolesi, *noun*, college.

kolo, *noun*, river.

kolobi, *adjectival verb*, (be) deep.

kolu, *noun*, stick.

kolurana, *adjectival verb*, (be) very bad.

komolo, *verb*, smile.

kono, *adjectival verb*, (be) jealous.

kopi, *noun*, lake.

korapa, *noun*, inside.

korapa, *adjectival verb*, 1. continue. 2. (be) inside.

koreo, *noun*, 1. man. 2. boy.

koro diko, *noun*, fairy tale.

kosale, *noun*, turtle, reptiles of the order Testudines.

kosima, *adjectival verb*, (be) ripe.

kosiri, *noun*, mud.

kosu, *verb*, cough.

kosui, *noun*, animal.

kouva, *noun*, hole. Sy. **lopa**.

kovele, *noun*, fog. Sy. **rovu**.

kovoro, *verb*, float.

kubata, *noun*, a ngali nut in its skin.

kubeo, *noun*, White-bellied Sea-eagle (Lat. Haliaeetus leucogaster), lar Accipitridae family resident from India through southeast Asia to Australia.

kubeo, *noun*, Brahminy Kite (Lat. Haliastur indus), medium-sized bird of prey in the family Accipitridae found in the Indian subcontinent, Southeast Asia and Australia.

kubolo, *noun*, green, fresh coconut.

kudipi, *adjectival verb*, (be) thirsty. Sy. **memeha**.

kuku, *verb*, shout.

kukudurubei, *noun*, Mourning Gecko (Lat. Lepidodactylus lugubris), species of lizard in the Gekkonidae (gecko) family, native to Taiwan, China, Sri Lanka, India, Myanmar, West Malaysia, Vietnam, Japan, Indonesia, Philippine Islands, New Guinea, Bismarck Archipelago, Solomon Islands, most islands of the Pacific, Fiji Islands, Rotuma, New Caledonia, Loyalty Islands, Australia, Maldive Islands, Western Samoa, Guam, Society Islands, Mascarenes.

kukula, *noun*, 1. small frog. 2. Shore frog (Lat. Platymantis sp.), genus of frogs in the Ranidae family, of which there are several species in Solomon Islands.

kukuliti, *noun*, lizard.

kukumana, *noun*, play.

kukupo, *noun*, 1. grasshopper (generic). 2. Red-legged Grasshopper (Lat. Melanoplus femurrubrum).

kukuporo, *noun*, Claret-breasted Fruit Dove (Lat. Ptilinopus viridis), species of bird in the Columbidae family native to Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, and Solomon Islands.

kukutu, *noun*, Lion's mane sea jelly (Lat. Cyanea capillata), largest known species of Medusozoa (jellyfish), found in the Arctic, northern Atlantic, and northern Pacific Oceans.

kuli, *noun*, Sour seagrass (Lat. Enhalus acorides).

kulimi, *verb*, fill.

kumusu, *verb*, shut.

kuni, *noun*, cricket.

Kuripitu, *proper noun*, late chief of Keara.

kusui, *noun*, dolphin.

kutu, *noun*, rat.

kuzae, *noun*, bush. Sy. **goana**.

labete, *noun*, timber.

laeni, *noun*, 1. line. 2. rope. 3. string.

laini, *noun*, lime.

lalabe, *adjectival verb*, (be) flat.

lamana, *adjectival verb*, (be) deep.

lao, *verb*, go.

Lauru, *proper noun*, Choisseul.

lavata, *adjectival verb*, (be) big.

lave, *noun*, 1. club. 2. wicker shield.

le, *conjunction*, so.

lea, *perfect aspect marking particle* (prf).

lea, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) good. 2. (be) nice. 3. (be) correct. Sy. tongotu.

legho, *adjectival verb*, (be) very (much). Sy. **ghighiri**.

lei, *noun*, cloud. Sy. **omomu**.

leke, *conjunction*, lest.

lekisi, *noun*, salad.

lekoto, *noun*, 1. machete knife, bush knife.

lemono, *verb*, hear.

leosae, *verb*, forgive.

leta, *noun*, letter.

lete, *verb*, plant.

leveri, *noun*, keel of canoe or ship.

levuzu, *verb*, wipe out.

ligomo, *noun*, spirit inhibiting an idol wrapped in leaves, put in the bow of the canoe to help navigation.

likalai, *noun*, thing.

likohai, *adjectival verb*, 1. be) around. 2. surround.

lilosia, *verb*, squeeze.

lima, *numeral*, five.

linabe, *noun*, width.

linao, *noun*, 1. route. 2. way.

lineana, *noun*, happiness.

linemono, *noun*, news.

lingana, *verb*, turn.

linodu, *noun*, depth.

linotu, *noun*, 1. religion. 2. church service. 3. faith.

lipisi, *verb*, 1. insert. 2. penetrate.

livo, *noun*, tooth.

liza, *noun*, louse egg.

loa, *noun*, spouse.

loara, *verb*, release.

lobe, *noun*, water; **lobe mata**, *noun*, tear; **lobe tilingi**, *noun*, 1. sea. 2. sea water.

lobere, *noun*, melody.

lobere, *adjectival verb*, (be) melodious.

lodu, *verb*, 1. drown. 2. sink. Sy. **ngusu**.

lodu dada, *noun*, sunset.

logi, *verb*, log.

logu, *noun*, 1. cover. 2. sheet.

logu, *verb*, cover.

logui, *noun*, trousers.

lohe, *noun*, 1. bamboo stick. 2. pan flute. 3. whip.

loka, *verb*, 1. wait. 2. stay. 3. last.

loka, *noun*, lock.

lolomo, *noun*, 1. space. 2. habitat.

lolou, *noun*, big pandanus.

lomozo, *adjectival verb*, (be) sweet.

lopa, *noun*, hole.

lopa, *verb*, make a hole.

lose, *noun*, room.

losovi, *verb*, miss.

lotu, *verb*, 1. worship. 2. pray.

louvaka, *noun*, umbrella.

lua, *verb*, womit.

luba, *verb*, skim.

luju vaka, *noun*, sweet potato.

luluara, *noun*, farewell.

lulumutu, *noun*, Turtle weed (Lat. Chlorodesmis hildebrandti), species of algae in the Udoteaceae family.

lulungu, *noun*, coconut meat.

ma, *imperative particle* (imp).

ma, *conjunction*, then.

ma, *pronoun*, we (sbj:1pl.excl).

mabo, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) tired. 2. exhausted.

made, *numeral*, four.

madegho, *adjectival verb*, 1. fear. 2. (be) afraid.

madighe, *noun*, day; **madighe sope**, *noun*, 1. Saturday. 2. Sabbath; **madighe vananama**, *noun*, Friday.

mado, *verb*, love. Sy. 1. **tataru**. 2. **tatabe**.

mado, *adjectival verb*, (be) happy.

maghoghoso, *verb*, heal. Sy. **zalanga**.

mago, *noun*, 1. devil. 2. spirit (Rov. tomate); **mago manighi**, *noun*, land-fertilizing spirit.

mai, *verb*, come.

makazi, *noun*, 1. bonito. 2. small tuna.

maketi, *noun*, market.

malaburu, *noun*, breeze.

malagolu, *noun*, Metallic Pigeon, (Lat. Columba vitiensis), medium-sized bird in the Columbidae family found in eastern Indonesia, the Philippines, New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Fiji, New Caledonia, Samoa and surrounding southwest Pacific islands.

malairi, *adjectival verb*, (be) cold.

malakapi, *noun*, lightning.

malala, *noun*, clearing.

malao, *verb*, use to.

Malata, *proper noun*, island of Malaita.

malegho, *noun*, leg.

maliri, *noun*, blood.

malosoro, *adjectival verb*, (be) weak.

malu, *adjectival verb*, 1. want. 2. (be) willing.

mama, *noun*, father. Sy. **tama**.

mama oreke, *noun*, grandmother.

mamaghoa, *adjectival verb*, (be) surpriced.

mamago, *noun*, picture.

mamalaga, *adjectival verb*, (be) poor.

mamalaingi, *noun*, 1. echo. 2. voice.

mamalegho meki, *noun*, Southern funnel weed (Lat. Padina australis), species of algae in the Dictyotaceae family.

mamaneke, *noun*, 1. woman. 2. wife.

mamanga, *adjectival verb*, (be) open.

mamangota, *noun*, hen.

mamara, *noun*, light.

mamasi, *noun*, traditional dish with slippery cabbage and a gounded nut paste.

mamateana, *noun*, 1. witchcraft. 2. magic.

mami, *pronoun*, 1. we (sbj:1pl.excl). 2. our (poss:1pl.excl).

mana, *conjunction*, but.

maneghe, *numeral*, ten.

maneke, *noun*, mother and child/children.

mangungulu, *adjectival verb*, (be) unconcious.

manighi, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) hot. 2. (be) warm.

manighi, *verb*, sacrifice the first harvest to the *mago manighi* (land-fertilizing spirit).

manighi, *noun*, fever.

manioko, *noun*, papaya.

manivisi, *adjectival verb*, (be) thin.

manono, *noun*, Niugini Palm (Lat. Hydriastele costata), species of plant in the Arecaceae (palm) family.

manoto, *adjectival verb*, (be) comfortable.

manue, *noun*, possum.

manughu, *noun*, Osprey (Lat. Pandion haliaetus), diurnal, fish-eating bird of prey in the Pandionidae family.

mara, *noun*, barracuda. Sy. **ghohi**.

mara, *adjectival verb*, (be) hard.

maroke, *noun*, old man.

marube, *adjectival verb*, (be) heavy.

maruvu, *verb*, enter.

masiki, *noun*, mask.

maso, *noun*, axe.

maso, *verb*, cut.

mata, *noun*, eye.

matajonga, *noun*, 1. (from mata jonga ' sharp eye') craftsman making

shell money. 2. someone who sees things clearly.

matakare, *adjectival verb*, (be) suffer from conjunctivitis (an eye infection).

matau, *adjectival verb*, (be) right.

matazonga, *noun*, craftsman manufacturing poata and vinasari.

mate, *adjectival verb*, 1. die. 2. dead. 3. dry.

mate, *noun*, death.

mateana, *noun*, 1. spirit medium. 2. angel. 3. divine ancestral being.

maza, *noun*, 1. flesh. 2. muscle. 3. meat.

mazi, *noun*, cousin.

me(ke), *conjunction*, and.

mea, *noun*, tongue.

mea, *verb*, lick.

meava, *adjectival verb*, (be) yellow.

meda, *noun*, Oceanic Lychee (Lat. Pometia pinnata), species of tree in the Sapindaceae family found in Southeast Asia and Pacific islands.

meki, *noun*, dog.

memea, *noun*, flame.

memeha, *adjectival verb*, (be) thirsty.

memehe, *adjectival verb*, (be) smooth.

memeke, *adjectival verb*, (be) alone.

memene, *noun*, ant.

memenei, *adjectival verb*, (be) fast.

mene, *adverb*, next.

menoko, *noun*, 1. soil. 2. ground.

meresena, *noun*, medicine.

meti, *noun*, friend. Sy. **baere**.

mezi, *noun*, knife.

mijanga, *noun*, rope.

mijoro, *noun*, riddle.

mike, *noun*, guitar.

mimi, *verb*, urinate.

mimide, *noun*, bone.

mimisu, *verb*, husk coconut.

mimisuani, *noun*, stick used for husking coconuts.

minalu, *noun*, very small baby.

minememezi, *noun*, carving.

minila, *noun*, turmeric.

miniti, *noun*, minute.

misinare, *noun*, missionary.

miso, *noun*, island.

miu, *pronoun*, 1. you (sbj:2pl). 2. your (poss:2pl).

mo, *noun*, pig.

mola, *noun*, canoe. Sy. **sore**.

momoso, *adjectival verb*, (be) seasick.

monana, *noun*, brain. Sy. **utolo**.

mono, *verb*, 1. press. 2. massage.

moso, *adjectival verb*, (be) sick.

moturu, *noun*, trevally.

mu, *pronoun*, you (SBJ: 2PL).

mua, *pronoun*, 1. you (SBJ:2SG). 2. your (POSS:2SG).

Muda, *proper noun*, village of Munda.

mudi, *noun*, back.

mudi, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) last. 2. (be) behind. 3. loose.

mujari, *verb*, grind.

muligi, *verb*, forget.

mumuru, *adjectival verb*, (be) whole.

muna, *noun*, coconut meat.

munisiki, *noun*, bate.

muti, *verb*, send for.

muziki, *noun*, music.

na, *common noun article*.

na, *pronoun*, him; her; it (SBJ:3SG).

nabulu, *noun*, servant.

nada, *pronoun*, 1. we (SBJ:1PL.INCL). 2. our (POSS:1PL.INCL).

nadi, noun, sagopalm pudding.

naghe, verb, 1. speak. 2. say. Sy. 1. **ghua**. 2. **toji**.

naghe, *noun*, 1. expression. 2. language; **naghe vako**, *verb*, promise.

nagusu, *verb*, 1. hang. 2. embrace.

nama, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) ready. 2. prepare

namana, *adjectival verb*, (be) sore.

namu, *noun*, food.

nana, *noun*, mother. Sy. **tina**.

nana, *pronoun*, 1. she; he; it (SBJ:3SG). 2. her; his; its (POSS:3SG).

nanaghi, *noun*, kerosene wood.

nanaza, *verb*, ask. Sy. **tepa**.

nareghu, *noun*, iguana.

naru, *noun*, Ironwood, Horsetail She-oak (Lat. Casuarina equisetifolia), species of plant in the Casuarinaceae family native to Australasia and southeast Asia.

nebe, *verb*, spread.

nebe, *noun*, fan.

neka, *noun*, generic term for green, leafy vegetables (usually referred to as 'slippery cabbage' in the South Pacific).

neneghe, *noun*, 1. scorpion. 2. Horrid stick insect (Lat. Eurycantha horridus).

neneme, *noun*, ant.

nepisi, *verb*, pour.

nepisi, *noun*, 1. thong. 2. ladle.

nera, *adjectival verb*, (be) hot.

ngada, *adjectival verb*, (be) silent.

ngadi, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) sharp. 2. (be) long.

ngajiri, *adjectival verb*, (be) angry.

ngangasa, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) out of breath. 2. (be) exhausted.

ngara, *noun*, wild duck.

ngavulu, *numeral*, unit of ten.

ngedi, *verb*, cut.

ngeru, *verb*, carry.

ngeta, *numeral*, three.

ngetoi, *noun*, two days before yesterday.

ngingira, *noun*, strenght

ngingirizi, *adjectival verb*, (be) .

ngingizi, *verb*, 1. smile. 2. grin.

nginoroi, *noun*, today.

nginoroi, *adverb*, today.

ngira, *adjectival verb*, (be) strong.

ngongo, *noun*, speed.

ngongoro, *noun*, foam.

ngongosaraini, *noun*, coconut plantation.

ngosara, *noun*, coconut; ngosara buma, green coconut; ngosara memeava, yellow coconut; aka ngosara, coconut milk; lolo ngosara, coconut water; tete ngosara, coconut palm.

ngudu, *adjectival verb*, (be) silent.

nguru, *noun*, snort.

ngusu, *verb*, 1. dive. 2. drown.

nibaka, *noun*, chiefly monopolization of objects and persons.

nika, *noun*, fire; **nika pidala**, *noun*, match stick.

niki, *numeral*, nine.

nikiti, *verb*, move.

nikiti, *noun*, small movement.

ninanaza, noun, question.

nini, *noun*, giant.

ninigi, *noun*, mat made from coconut leaves.

niniku, *noun*, 1. midge. 2. fly.

niu, *adjectival verb*, (be) small.

noboko, *noun*, fat.

nogolo, *noun*, coconut sprout.

noki, *noun*, snake.

nongolo, *adjectival verb*, (be) grown.

nonogha, *verb*, 1. know. 2. feel.

nonopo, *verb*, suck.

nose, *noun*, daughter.

novu, *noun*, lionfish.

nozo, *verb*, stop.

nula, *noun*, nut.

nuli, *noun*, noise.

nunu, *noun*, earthquake.

o, *conjunction*, or.

odingi, *noun*, dry leaf.

oela, *noun*, oil.

oka, *noun*, heaven.

okete, *noun*, ngali nut, nut from the ngali (Lat. Canarium Indicum) tree.

okoro, *verb*, admire.

omehe, *noun*, 1. Papuan hornbill (Lat. Rhyticeros plicatus). 2. Blyth's hornbill (Lat. Aceros plicatus), lar species inhabiting the forest canopy in the Wallacea and Melanesia.

omo, *noun*, Breadfruit (Lat. Artocarpus altilis), species of flowering tree in the mulberry (Moraceae) family, native to the Malay Peninsula and the western Pacific islands.

omomu, *noun*, cloud. Sy. **lei**.

onomo, *numeral*, six.

onone, *noun*, sand.

opiti, *noun*, Inkori-tree, Otaheite Apple (Lat. Spondias dulcis), species of plant in the Anacardiaceae (cashew/sumac) family, native to Melanesia through Polynesia.

opo, *adjectival verb*, 1. turn. 2. (be) upside down.

oputu, *noun*, 1. oven. 2. sacrifice oven near shrines from the headhunting period.

ore, *noun*, cassava.

oreke, *noun*, old woman.

osapa, *adjectival verb*, (be) hungry.

ovaga, *noun*, noise. Sy. **nuli**.

ovaga, *verb*, make noise.

ovulae, *verb*, lift.

pa, *preposition*, 1. on. 2. at. 3. in. 4. to. 5. from.

pabuta, *adjectival verb*, (be) thick.

pada, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) enough. 2. (be) sufficient.

padaraku, *noun*, excercise.

paele, *noun*, canoe house.

paere, *adjectival verb*, 1. hide. 2. (be) hidden.

pagaha, *adjectival verb*, 1. separate. 2. divide.

pagala, adjectival verb, 1. make noise. 2. noisy.

pai, *verb*, throw.

paipa, *noun*, pipe.

paiza, *adverb*, there.

paka, *noun*, gun.

pakao, *noun*, goatfish.

pako, *adjectival verb*, (be) blunt.

pakua, *verb*, wear something around one's neck.

palabatu, *noun*, 1. chief. 2. husband.

palabatu, *verb*, make someone a chief.

palai, *adjectival verb*, 1. throw away. 2. (be) away.

paleke, *verb*, carry.

pamakeni, *noun*, pumpkin.

pana, *conjunction*, 1. so. 2. for. 3. to. 4. as. 5. in order to.

pana, *noun*, scissors.

panga, *noun*, fishing spear with several points.

panoghoto, adjectival verb, (be) short.

papa, *verb*, carry. Sy. **paleke**.

papa maroke, *noun*, grandfather.

papaku, *noun*, necklace.

papara, *noun*, cheek.

papeka, *noun*, below.

paraemari, *noun*, primary school.

parai, *noun*, yesterday.

parai, *adverb*, yesterday.

pararanga, *noun*, heat.

parika, *noun*, bow.

paso, *adjectival verb*, (be) empty.

patu, *noun*, stone; **patu sasa**, noun, small stone.

patuna, *noun*, seed.

pavasa, *noun*, field.

pazuna, *noun*, place.

pea, *verb*, defeacate. Sy. **tae**.

peava, *adjectival verb*, (be) very deep.

pedi, *verb*, paint.

pego, *noun*, adze.

pego, *verb*, carve.

peja, *noun*, western trade wind.

pejara, *adjectival verb*, (be) flat.

peka, *verb*, dance.

pela, *noun*, 1. witch. 2. magician. 3. evil eye. 4. witch who may suck out somebody's blood and eat his/her intestines by merely looking at him/her.

pele, *adverb*, next.

peleju, *adjectival verb*, (be) dirty.

pepa, *noun*, paper.

pepeki, *adjectival verb*, (be) stupid.

pepele, *noun*, butterfly.

pepele ruta, *noun*, Dragon fly (Lat. Neurothemis stigmatizonus).

pepetale, *noun*, foot.

perala, *verb*, stare.

petu, *noun*, 1. mangrove (generic). 2. Red mangrove tree (Lat. Rhizophora stylosa). 3. Yellow Mangrove (Lat. Ceriops tagal).

petu rogha, *noun*, Oran spp.) , Species of plant in the Rhizophoraceae family.

peubu, *verb*, make rope.

pi(la), *near distance marking demonstrative*, this (DEM:SG).

piala, *noun*, 1. cigarette. 2. cigarette smoke.

pijaka, *noun*, Highland Betel Nut Palm (Lat. Areca macrocalyx), species of plant in the Arecaceae family.

pika, *noun*, Common prawn (Lat. Palaemon serratus).

piki, *verb*, hoe.

pili, *noun*, basket.

pinalabatu, *noun*, chiefdom.

pinaleke, *noun*, 1. load. 2. burden.

pinedina, *noun*, paint.

pinu, *noun*, hair pin.

pioi(la), *distant marking demonstrative*, that (DEM:SG).

pipiloti, *noun*, mud skipper.

pipino, *noun*, star.

pipiti, *verb*, sew.

pipiti, *noun*, flag.

pire, *near distance marking demonstrative*, these (DEM:PL).

piroi, *distant marking demonstrative*, those (DEM:PL).

piru, *adjectival verb*, (be) wild.

piruku, *verb*, remove the mid rib of a palm leaf.

pisa, *verb*, break. Sy. **poraka**.

pisikile, *noun*, Cicadabird (Lat. Coracina tenuirostris), species of bird in the Campephagidae family found in Australia, Indonesia, Micronesia, Palau, Papua New Guinea, and Solomon Islands.

pitikole, *noun*, Willie Wagtail (Lat. Rhipidura leucophrys), a passerine bird in the Dicruridae family, native to Australia, New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, the Bismarck Archipelago, and eastern Indonesia.

pito, *noun*, Pacific Baza (Lat. Aviceda subcristata), species of bird in the Accipitridae family, found in Australia, the Indo-Malayan peninsula, most of mainland New Guinea and nearby islands and the Solomon Islands.

piu, *noun*, arrow. Sy. **bughiri**.

piupeo, *noun*, White-browed Crake (Lat. Porzana cinerea), species of bird in the Rallidae family, found in Australia, Brunei, Cambodia, Fiji, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Micronesia, New Caledonia, Palau, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Samoa, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Thailand, and Vanuatu.

poa, *verb*, bury.

poata, *noun*, large shell money amongst other to pay bride prices.

podalai, *verb*, start.

pode, *noun*, 1. number. 2. calculus.

pode, *verb*, count.

podeke, *verb*, try.

podo, *noun*, birth.

podo, *verb*, give birth.

poga, *noun*, pudding.

poga, *verb*, 1. pound. 2. make pudding.

pogala, *noun*, Fish-poison Tree (Lat. Barringtonia asiatica), species of plant in the Lecythidaceae family, found on islands of the Indian Ocean and western Pacific Ocean from Zanzibar east to Taiwan, the Philippines, Fiji, and New Caledonia.

poghala, *noun*, swell. Sy. **bobongo**.

poghala, *verb*, realize.

poiri, *verb*, mould.

poje, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) rotten. 2. stink.

poka, *noun*, nail.

pokasa, *verb*, hatch.

poki, *verb*, brush.

poko, *noun*, cloth.

poko, *verb*, 1. dress. 2. wear.

poleni, *verb*, march.

polo, *conjunction*, if.

poni, *verb*, 1. feed. 2. give.

pono, *noun*, diaper.

ponu, *verb*, swim.

popoani, *noun*, grave.

popodeai, *verb*, mention.

popodo, *verb*, 1. give birth. 2. lay egg. 3. breed.

popoka, *adjectival verb*, (be) mute.

popoka, *verb*, hammer.

popone, *noun*, ashes.

popono, *noun*, traditional piece of clothing covering the crouch.

poraka, *verb*, break.

poru, *verb*, copulate.

poru, *noun*, intercourse.

posara, *verb*, slap.

pu, *verb*, fart noisily.

pu, *relative pronoun*, 1. who. 2. which. 3. that.

pugha, *verb*, steam.

pughu, *verb*, guess.

puha, *verb*, wipe.

puku, *noun*, 1. pile. 2. crowd.

pulese, *verb*, return.

pulu, *noun*, Spangled Drongo (Lat. Dicrurus bracteatus), species of bird in the Dicruridae family.

puna, *conjunction*, because.

pupulu, *noun*, body hair.

pupuzi, *noun*, bundle.

purejene, *adjectival verb*, (be) rotten. Sy. **poje**

puri, *noun*, pregnancy.

puri, *adjectival verb*, (be) pregnant.

puriti, *verb*, nibble.

pusa, *verb*, tie.

pusi, *noun*, cat.

puta, *verb*, 1. sleep. 2. dwell.

puti, *verb*, kick.

puzi, *verb*, tie.

qalo, *noun*, traditional trade exhibition.

raba, *noun*, rubber band.

rabulu, *verb*, lose.

rabutu, *verb*, 1. finish. 2. destroy.

raduvu, *noun*, leaf.

ragheze, *noun*, crocodile.

rahi, *noun*, pudding.

rais, *noun*, rice.

raja, *verb*, 1. collide. 2. hit.

raku, *verb*, 1. join. 2. attend.

rama, *noun*, crack.

ranebongi, *noun*, storm.

rarasa, *verb*, crawl. Sy. **ghavere**.

raro, *noun*, cooking wessel (generic).

raro, *verb*, cook.

rau, *pronoun*, I; me (PRO:1SG).

reghu, *noun*, lizard.

reka, *verb*, say.

repasa, *verb*, spread.

repere, *noun*, the day after tomorrow.

repere, *adverb*, on the day after tomorrow.

repi, *verb*, grate.

repi, *noun*, coconut grater.

reporoi, *noun*, day before yesterday.

reporoi, *adverb*, on the day before yesterday.

rereghe, *noun*, school of barracuda.

rereghena, *adjectival verb*, (be) fast.

rereke, *noun*, mango.

reva, *noun*, 1. sweep. 2. clear.

rie, *pronoun*, they, them (PRO:3PL).

riki, *noun*, coconut grater.

rikiti, *verb*, move away.

rineka, *noun*, language; **rineka tatavete**, *noun*, verb; **rineka vako**, *noun*, marriage.

ringi, *noun*, ring.

riu, *verb*, move.

ro, *verb*, want. Sy. **roghu**.

roai, *noun*, White-lipped tree frog (Lat. Litoria infrafrenata).

rodo, *verb*, hang.

rodoko, *adjectival verb*, (be) drowsy.

roghu, *verb*, want. Sy. **ro**.

rogo, *noun*, mosquito.

roku, *verb*, join.

rona, *verb*, want.

ronu, *verb*, trust.

ropoto, *verb*, thatch.

ropoto, *noun*, roof.

roroghaini, *noun*, staircase.

rorokei, *verb*, peep.

roroto, *noun*, inlaw.

rovana, *noun*, school of *lipa*.

rove, *verb*, hope.

rovu, *noun*, fog. Sy. **kovele**.

ru(a), *numeral*, two.

rua, *noun*, neck.

ruge, *verb*, defeat.

rughusu, *noun*, mortar.

ruka, *adjectival verb*, (be) slim.

rurujaini, *noun*, stick used to pund nuts in a mortar.

rususu, *noun*, hammock.

saba, *adjectival verb*, 1. marry. 2. (be) married.

sabat, *noun*, Sabbath.

sabiri, *noun*, piece of cloth used to carry a child on one's back.

sabu, *verb*, 1. hunt. 2. fish. 3. harvest.

saburu, *noun*, fishing pole.

sade, *verb*, 1. cover. 2. wrap.

sagala, *verb*, run.

sagala, *noun*, race.

sagasuriki, *noun*, evening.

sago, *adjectival verb*, (be) busy.

sake, *verb*, be on something.

sake, *noun*, top.

sakedekuru, *noun*, stilts.

sakua, *noun*, banana.

salo, *verb*, catch.

salu, *verb*, pick.

sapete, *verb*, snap.

sapuele, *noun*, string bag.

sarango, *adjectival verb*, (be) dry.

sarapae, *noun*, hat.

sari, *verb*, decorate.

saro, *adjectival verb*, (be) angry.

saro, *verb*, rebuke.

sasa, *noun*, baby.

sasa, *verb*, trail.

sasabukai, *verb*, sacrifice.

sasaki, *verb*, stack.

sasako, *adjectival verb*, (be) lazy.

sasanana, *noun*, habit.

sasape, *noun*, 1. pile of leaves floating. 2. pile of rubbish floating.

sasape, *noun*, shelf above the fireplace in the kitchen.

sauru, *verb*, tie. Sy. **pusa**.

seghegho, *noun*, Long-tailed Cuckoo (Lat. Urodynamis taitensis), species of bird in the Cuculidae family, that breeds in New Zealand, and migrates to the islands of the western Pacific in the winter.

seki, *verb*, 1. stop. 2. deny.

selele, *adjectival verb*, (be) intoxicated.

selu, *verb*, 1. follow. 2. search. 3. chase.

sena, *verb*, 1. take. 2. get.

senada, *noun*, frangipani flower.

seni, *verb*, mix.

sepi, *noun*, cupboard.

seselu, *verb*, obey.

sesemu, *noun*, 1. finger. 2. finger nail.

sesena, *verb*, eat.

seseu, *noun*, grass.

si, *verb*, fart silently.

si, *conjunction*, 1. if. 2. then.

si, *interjection*, hey.

si(te), *irrealis particle* (IRR).

siama, *noun*, ritual priest (Rov. hiama).

sibi, *verb*, smell delicious.

sigiliti, *noun*, 1. t-shirt. 2. singlet.

sigo, *verb*, breathe.

sika, *noun*, skin; **sika zuda**, *noun*, bark.

sikama, *noun*, lobster.

sikare, *adjectival verb*, (be) ugly.

siko, *verb*, steal.

sikolo, *noun*, engine.

siku, *noun*, tail.

sikulu, *noun*, school.

sikulu, *verb*, 1. learn. 2. study.

sila, *verb*, will.

silingiri, *noun*, small type of pandanus with thorns.

simede, *noun*, cement.

simi, *noun*, 1. wrong. 2. sin. 3. guilt.

simono, *adjectival verb*, (be) sundried.

sinevara, *noun*, 1. plantation. 2. garden.

sini, *noun*, breath.

sinili manughu, *noun*, Olive-backed Sunbird (Lat. Cinnyris jugularis), species of passerine bird in the Nectariniidae (sunbird) family, found from Southern Asian to Australia.

sinipara, *verb*, wash one's hands.

sino, *verb*, scrape something off a surface using a shell.

sinokara, *adjectival verb*, (be) true.

siokona, *numeral*, twenty.

siosi, *noun*, church.

sipala, *noun*, bush apple.

sipata, *verb*, shoot.

siponi, *noun*, spoon.

sirado, *noun*, wasp.

sire, *noun*, joke.

siro, *verb*, chase.

sisi, *noun*, vulva.

sisika, *noun*, trash.

sisikuluaini, *noun*, 1. hammock. 2. liana.

sisipata, *verb*, shoot with bow and arrow.

sisipata, *noun*, Malay Apple; Mountain Apple (Lat. Syzygium malaccense), species of plant in the Myrtaceae family, native to Malaysia and Indonesia.

sisipu, *verb*, wave goodbye.

sisire, *verb*, make fun of.

site, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) small. 2. (be) little. 3. (be) few.

sitoa, *noun*, shop.

so, *verb*, saw.

soa, *noun*, heron.

sobe, *verb*, change.

sodoko, *verb*, arrive. Sy. **kaduvu**.

sodu, *verb*, 1. penetrate; pierce. 2. make hollow.

soghoru, *verb*, sit.

soi, *noun*, warm beverage.

soi, *verb*, cut.

sokara, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) be soon. 2. (be) close.

solori, *noun*, wrasse.

soloro, *noun*, hawaiian sling (fishing spear).

solu, *verb*, buy.

somede, *verb*, jump.

sope, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) holy. 2. (be) taboo.

sope, *noun*, shrine.

sopi, *noun*, unripe coconut.

sopu, *noun*, soap.

sore, *noun*, canoe.

sore, *verb*, carve out the hull of a canoe.

soropae, *noun*, hat.

soru, *verb*, jump.

sosogho, *noun*, hibiscus flower.

sosoghoruani, *noun*, 1. seat. 2. bench. 3. chair.

sosopo, *noun*, 1. headland. 2. point.

sosopu, *verb*, wash.

sosote, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) dressed. 2. wear a shirt.

sote, *noun*, 1. termite. 2. shirt.

sotu, *verb*, sit down.

soviaghala, *verb*, 1. slide down. 2. dive.

suara, *verb*, break.

subi, *noun*, bottom of a tree.

suete, *verb*, dig.

sukuai, *verb*, hunt for wild boars with a dog.

suma, *verb*, stab.

sumanga, *verb*, smell.

supere, *verb*, do nothing.

suponi, *noun*, spoon.

supu, *noun*, soup.

suriki, *noun*, night.

susu, *noun*, breast.

susuki, *noun*, small bamboo stick.

susuku, *verb*, point.

susumi, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) sharp. 2. (be) pointy.

susumi, *noun*, bow (of a canoe).

susuti, *noun*, comb.

suve, *verb*, bathe.

ta(ga), *possessive preposition*, of.

tabaka, *noun*, 1. cigarette. 2. tobacco. Sy. **viri**.

tabubulo, *noun*, slice.

tabuna, *noun*, May.

tae, *verb*, defaecate. Sy. **pea**.

tae, *noun*, faeces.

taghogho, *verb*, need.

tako, *verb*, have.

takobo, *verb*, break.

talinga, *noun*, ear.

taliri, *verb*, turn.

talotanga, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) sorry. 2. (be) unhappy.

taluarai, *verb*, depart.

tama, *noun*, father. Sy. **mama**.

tamaleana, *noun*, couple.

tamasa, *noun*, god.

tani, *adverb*, here.

taola, *noun*, towel.

tapala, *verb*, 1. drift. 2. float. 3. waste.

tara, *adjectival verb*, (be) accustomed to.

tarabatu, *noun*, pillow.

tarabua, *noun*, kingfisher (generic); Sacred Kingfisher (Lat. Todiramphus sanctus), species of bird in the Halcyonidae (tree kingfisher) family, found in the mangroves, forests, and river valleys of Australia, Fiji, Indonesia, New Caledonia, New Zealand (where the species is also known by its Ma-ori name Ko-tare[2]), Norfolk Island, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, and the Wallis and Futuna Islands.

taraz, *verb*, destroy.

tarazi, *noun*, surgeonfish.

taru, *verb*, cover.

tata, *adjectival verb*, (be) near.

tatabe, *noun*, love.

tatalise, *noun*, Indian Almond, Wild Almond, Tropical Almond (Lat. Terminalia catappa), lar (Leadwood tree) family, naturalised in a broad belt extending from Africa to Northern Australia and New Guinea through Southeast Asia and Micronesia into the Indian Subcontinent, and more recently introduced to parts of the Americas.

tatatava, *noun*, wing.

tatava, *verb*, fly.

tatavolu, *noun*, turtle.

tatavuzuaini, *noun*, door mat.

tate, *adjectival verb*, (be) open.

tatupai, *verb*, stumble.

taturu, *verb*, struggle.

tava, *noun*, copra.

tava, *verb*, produce copra.

tavanama, *verb*, prepare.

tavelaza, *verb*, twist.

tavete, *verb*, 1. do. 2. make.

taza, *numeral*, one.

tazi, *noun*, sibling.

tegere, *noun*, fin.

tela, *noun*, rubbish basket.

tema, *noun*, 1. mat. 2. bed.

tepa, *verb*, ask.

tepe, *verb*, sail.

tete, *noun*, tree trunk.

tetepa, *verb*, pray.

tetepe, *noun*, sail.

tevolo, *noun*, table.

tia, *noun*, 1. belly. 2. front.

tiai, *verb*, meet.

tiai, *verb*, face.

tighizi, *verb*, weave.

tigu, *verb*, 1. touch. 2. reach for.

tilingi, *noun*, salt.

tina, *numeral*, thousand.

tina, *noun*, mother. Sy. **nana**.

tinalotanga, *noun*, sorrow.

tinapodo, *noun*, 1. birth. 2. birthday.

tinavete, *noun*, work.

tinepa, *noun*, request.

tingitonga, *pronoun*, something.

tingo, *verb*, touch.

tini, *noun*, body.

tinighizi, *noun*, weaving.

tinigo, *noun*, touch.

tino, *noun*, life.

tinonu, *noun*, 1. adopted child. 2. slave. 3. captive, traditionally, a child captured during head hunting raids adopted, held as a slave, or eaten during special ceremonies.

tipala, *noun*, flip-flop.

tiro, *verb*, read.

tisa, *noun*, teacher.

titighe, *noun*, small coconut palm with yellow coconuts.

tiu, *noun*, kingfisher (generic); Common Kingfisher (Lat. Alcedo atthis), species of bird in the Alcedinidae family, found across Eurasia and North Africa.

tivo, *noun*, tooth.

to, *verb*, 1. exist. 2. grow. 3. live.

toa, *noun*, mountain.

toe, *verb*, fall.

togholo, *verb*, move backwards.

toji, *verb*, tell.

toka, *verb*, help.

toketoke, *verb*, tempt.

toko, *verb*, shake.

tokoro, *noun*, 1. taboo. 2. warning sign; **tokoro bake**, *noun*, bake taboo, if a person does not observe the taboo, her legs will swell and she will be unable to walk; **tokoro bo**, *noun*, testicle taboo, if a man does not observe the taboo his testicles will grow big and heavy to the extent that he cannot move around freely.

tokoro, *verb*, to place a taboo (warning sign, curse, or both) on a piece of property.

tolo ngavulu, *numeral*, thirty.

tomate, *noun*, ancestor.

tome, *verb*, hide.

tome ivu, *noun*, White-bellied Cuckooshrike (Coracina papuensis), species of bird in the Campephagidae family, found in Australia, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, and Solomon Islands.

tomoko, *noun*, war canoe.

tona, *adjectival verb*, (be) active.

tongoto, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) straight. 2. reconcile.

tongotu, *adjectival verb*, (be) correct.

tonu, *verb*, adopt.

topa, *noun*, bumphead parrot fish (Lat. Bolbometopon muricatum), species of fish in the parrot fish (Lat. Scarinae) family, found on reefs in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Sy. **habili**.

topili, *verb*, roll.

topoai, *verb*, depart.

totokata, *verb*, lean.

totolo, *noun*, current.

totopili, *noun*, wheel.

totopo, *verb*, suck.

tototu, *noun*, Grey mangrove tree (Avicennia marina).

totozo, *noun*, time.

tovogho, *noun*, wave.

tu, *noun*, Stephan's Ground Dove (Lat. Chalcophaps stephani), species of bird in the Columbidae family, found in Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, and Solomon Islands.

tu, *emphatic marker*.

tu(ghu), *adverb*, also.

tubu, *noun*, wound.

tuda, *noun*, child.

tuge, *verb*, hold.

tugu, *noun*, son/daughter; **tugu koreo**, *noun*, son; **tugu vineki**, *noun*, daughter.

tuku, *verb*, shut.

tukuru, *noun*, wall.

tuli, *adjectival verb*, (be) deaf.

tupa, *verb*, hit.

tupe, *noun*, coconut crab.

tupi, *adjectival verb*, (be) nervous.

turanga, *verb*, 1. meet. 2. accompany.

turanga, *noun*, relative.

turei, *adjectival verb*, (be) fast.

turu, *verb*, stand.

tusa, *verb*, fish with a pole.

tutuku, *noun*, 1. cover. 2. wall. 3. door. 4. lid.

tutuku, *verb*, make a wall.

tutungu, *noun*, knee.

tuturei, *adjectival verb*, (be) fast. Sy. memenei.

tutuvu, *verb*, meet.

tuvaka, *verb*, repair.

udumu, *noun*, school of surgeonfish.

ui, *verb*, call.

ukala, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) over. 2. move over. 3. pass. 4. overcome.

uke, *verb*, fall.

ukeana, *noun*, historical shell valuable used by the Kazukuru community.

ulu, *noun*, 1. hair. 2. feather. 3. top; **ulu viu**, *noun*, feather.

ululu, *adjectival verb*, 1. (be) tall. 2. (be) high.

uma, *verb*, kiss.

ungoro, *noun*, dust.

upahae, *noun*, large shell ornament worn by a senior ritual priest.

urami, *verb*, save.

ure, *noun*, fruit; **ure zuda**, *noun*, fruit from a tree.

urena, *noun*, result.

urungu, *noun*, 1. light. 2. flame.

urungu, *verb*, light.

utolo, *noun*, brain.

utuvu, *verb*, fetch water.

uve, *interjection*, yes.

uzana, *noun*, rain.

vae, *adjectival verb*, (be) like.

vagara, *noun*, net.

vagara, *verb*, fish with a net.

vagaza, *noun*, morning.

vaka, *noun*, ship.

vale, *adjectival verb*, (be) shallow.

vale, *noun*, shore.

valeleanai, *adjectival verb*, (be) intelligent.

valuza, *verb*, fish bonito.

vanaghogho, *adjectival verb*, (be) rich.

vanama, *verb*, prepare.

vanamamala, *adjectival verb*, (be) poor.

vanangitia, *verb*, keep.

vangunu, *verb*, wake up.

vanua, noun, house; **vanua edeve**, *noun*,traditional leafhouse with panels made from sagopalm leaves; **vanua jito**, *noun*, kitchen.

vapu, *noun*, wharf.

varane, *noun*, warrior.

vari, *noun*, hibiscus tree.

varibara, *adjectival verb*, (be) parallel.

varighara, *adjectival verb*, 1. gather. 2. (be) together.

vario, *noun*, a person who has lead a successful headhunting raid.

varipera, *verb*, fight.

variporo, *verb*, copulate.

variputi, *noun*, soccer.

varu, *noun*, Hibiscus; Cotton Tree (Lat. Hibiscus tiliaceus), species of flowering tree in the Malvaceae (mallow) family, native to the tropical Africa, Asia, and Europe.

vasare, *verb*, 1. make shell ornament. 2. perform. 3. decorate.

vasibi, *verb*, sacrifice.

vasire, *verb*, joke.

vatabe, *verb*, answer.

vatadoghoro, *verb*, show.

vatana, *verb*, organize.

vatasolu, *verb*, sell.

vavagaza, *noun*, morning.

vavane, *noun*, cousin.

vazara, *noun*, vitex.cofassus (lat. Intsia bijuga).

vazea, *verb*, copulate.

vazi, *quantifier*, little.

vazileana, *noun*, 1. village. 2. beach.

vedara, *noun*, club. Sy. zeke.

vei, *pronoun*, where.

vei, *adverb*, where.

veke, *noun*, flying fox.

veko, *adjectival verb*, (be) bald.

veko, *noun*, baldness.

vevelu, *noun*, evening.

veveo, *noun*, liar.

veveo, *verb*, lie.

via, *verb*, 1. clear. 2. clean.

vido, *verb*, write.

vidulu, *noun*, key.

vikulu, *noun*, ear ring.

viloto, *verb*, chose.

vinaliri, *noun*, translation.

vinapaghata, *noun*, riddle.

vinariponi, *noun*, gift.

vinaritoai, *noun*, struggle.

vinariurami, *noun*, salvation.

vinasari, *noun*, ornament; shell ornament; flower decoration, intricately patterned shell ornaments used in rituals.

vinasibi, *noun*, sacrifice.

vinazezekiai, *noun*, excuse.

vinekala, *noun*, language. Sy. **rineka**.

vineki, *noun*, girl.

vinetungu, *noun*, fish hook.

vinido, *noun*, text.

vinioro, *adjectival verb*, feel unwell.

viri, *noun*, tobacco. Sy. **tabaka**.

viu, *noun*, bird; **viu pela**, *noun*, brush cuckoo (lat. Cacomantis variolosus).

vivikuluna, *noun*, plaid.

vivilazana, *verb*, contradict.

vivinei, *noun*, story; **vivinei sinokarana**, *noun*, 1. legend. 2. true story.

vivinei, *verb*, tell.

viviri, *adjectival verb*, (be) drunk. Sy. bebei

viviso, *adjectival verb*, (be) colourful.

viviza, *quantifier*, how many.

viviza, *pronoun*, how many.

viza, *pronoun*, how.

vize, *noun*, univalve.

vizoroi, *noun*, past.

vizoroi, *adverb*, before.

voi, *verb*, put; insert.

volozo, *noun*, boundary.

volozo, *verb*, 1. section. 2. divide.

vori, *noun*, nest.

voruku, *noun*, wild taro.

votu, *noun*, 1. river mouth. 2. beach.

vovolao, *verb*, insert.

vovotiki, *adjectival verb*, (be) different.

vovoto, *noun*, egg.

voze, *noun*, paddle.

voze, *verb*, paddle.

vuapu, *noun*, jetty.

vuaseni, *noun*, year.

vugho, *noun*, tomorrow.

vugho, *adverb*, tomorrow.

vuhe, *noun*, angelfish.

vuida, *noun*, window.

vuiki, *noun*, week.

vura, *verb*, 1. go out. 2. exit.

vuvu, *verb*, 1. splash. 2. pour.

vuzi, *verb*, clean someone's body by stroking it.

za, *interrogative pronoun*, what.

za, *intermediate distance marking demonstrative*, this, that (DEM:SG).

zae, *verb*, 1. go up. 2. ascend. 3. climb.

zaga, *noun*, fence.

zagha, *adjectival verb*, (be) ripe.

zaghauru, *noun*, 1. reef. 2. coral.

zaghivu, *adjectival verb*, pound

zalanga, *verb*, 1. heal. 2. make.rope. 3. perform witchcraft.

zale, *pronoun*, why.

zangana, *adjectival verb*, (be) ripe.

zapele, *noun*, rosewood.

zaputu, *verb*, pull.

zara, *intermediate distance marking demonstrative*, these, those (DEM:PL).

zau, *adjectival verb*, (be) far away.

zazaeani, *noun*, ladder. Sy. **zinae**.

zea, *adjectival verb*, 1. sin. 2. do something wrong. 3. fail.

zei, *interrogative pronoun*, who.

zeke, *noun*, 1. axe used for headhunting. 2. murder.

zeke, *verb*, 1. hit. 2. kill. 3. murder. 4. cut. 5. ring.

zetepade, *noun*, church.

zidara, *noun*, 1. moon. 2. month.

zighiti, *verb*, hurt.

zika, *verb*, slice.

zikari, *adjectival verb*, (be) full. Sy. **zingi**.

zinae, *noun*, ladder. Sy. **zazaeani**.

zinalanga, *noun*, feast.

zinea, *noun*, 1. mistake. 2. sin.

zingi, *adjectival verb*, (be) full. Sy. **zikari**.

zingo, *verb*, breathe.

zininga, *noun*, 1. air. 2. breath.

ziovo, *verb*, scoop.

zira, *verb*, tear.

ziranga, *noun*, road.

zizi, *noun*, slice.

zizika, *noun*, rubbish.

zobele, *verb*, put between.

zobi, *noun*, bottom.

zoi, *noun*, penis; **zoi meki**, *noun*, Maiden veil fungi (Dictyophora indusiata).

zoku, *quantifier*, many.

zolozo, *noun*, 1. earth. 2. mountain.

zoma, *adjectival verb*, (be) be among.

zomo, *noun*, turmeric.

zoru, *verb*, lift.

zoto, *verb*, 1. fix. 2. fasten. 3. join. 4. grow. 5. bite.

zozogho, *verb*, continue. Sy. **korapa**.

zuda, *noun*, tree.

zulu, *verb*, burn.

zunga, *verb*, 1. light. 2. burn.

zuranga, *verb*, board.

zuranga, *noun*, 1. road. 2. way.

zuru, *verb*, 1. lift. 2. pull.

zuti, *noun*, sugar cane.

zuvu, *verb*, dive.

zuzuduaini, *noun*, forrest.

zuzungaina nika, *noun*, fireplace.

zuzuru, *noun*, 1. crane. 2. lift.

B Texts

I Ka rua habili lavata

Ni-niu-gu site rau meke naghe na tama-gu,
RED-small-ATTR:1SG small PRO:1SG and say COMM father-POSS:1SG
'(When) I was little, my father spoke,'

ghita site lao pa Bagho lao ko kaike vuiki, ghua.
PRO:1PL.INCL IRR go LOC B. go be one week say
'we will go to Bagho and stay for a week, (he) said.'

Egho, pa rane Sunadae-na na vuiki a-ia topoai ghami.
OK LOC day Sunday-POSS:3SG COMM week FOC-PRO:3SG depart PRO:1PL.EXCL
'OK, on Sunday (lit. the Sunda-day of the week), that is when we departed.'

Sena ghami na mola meke va-zurang-i
take PRO:1PL.EXCL COMM canoe and caus-load-OBJ:3PL
'We took the canoe, [and] we loaded it'

ghami mami tingitonga meke toka.
PRO:1PL.EXCL POSS:1PL.EXCL thing and depart
'with our things and we left.'

Lao ghami meke ghore mene pa Sagoma pa kolo meke ko nana kaike bae.
go PRO:1PL.EXCL and descend first LOC S. LOC river and be SBJ:3SG one cave
'We went and we came down to Sagoma first, to a river, and there was a cave there.'

Na bae pi na bae ta na habili, vae puta na topa.
COMM cave DEM:SG COMM cave POSS COMM b.p. like sleep COMM b.p.
'This cave was the cave of the bumphead parrot fish, like (where) the bumhead parrot fish slept.'

A-ia na bae pu lao ko malao na habili,
FOC-PRO:3SG COMM cave REL go be use.to COMM b.p..
'That was the cave where the bumphead parrot fish would always come to stay,'

na bae ta na topa meke ghilan-i-a na tama-gu.
COMM cave POSS COMM b.p. and know-TR-OBJ:3SG COMM father-POSS:1SG
'the cave of the bumphead parrot fish and my father knew that.'

Le aria, ma=da ghore lao ghilan-i-a mene, ghua ia.
so hurry must=SBJ:1PL.INCL descend go know-TR-OBJ:3SG first say PRO:3SG
'So hurry, we must go down and check first, he said.'

Le ghore lao ghami meke zuvu lao ia ia na bae
so descend go PRO:1PL.EXCL and dive go PRO:3SG PRO:3SG COMM cave
'So we went down and he dived [it] the cave'

meke ko dia paiza ka rua habili ko na bae.
and be SBJ:3PL there card two b.p. DIR COMM cave
'and there were two bumbpead parrot fish in the cave.'

Le naghe ia, egho, aria ma=da lao sena buna, ghua ia. Raduvu buna.
so speak PRO:3SG OK hurry must=SBJ:1PL.INCL go get b. say PRO:3SG leaf b.
'So he spoke, OK, we must hurry (and) get (some) buna[23], he said. Buna leaves.'

Zae lao pa goana ia lao paleke mai-ni-a na raduvu buna
ascend go LOC bush PRO:3SG go carry come-TR-OBJ:3SG COMM leaf b.
'He went up to the bush and brought back buna leaves'

meke mai pa kapa kolo meke lao ghami meke mujar-i.
and come LOC side river and go PRO:1PL.EXCL and pound-OBJ:3PL
'[and] (he) came to the riverside and we went ahead and pounded them.'

Mujar-i ghami na buna pire,
pound-OBJ:3PL PRO:1PL.EXCL COMM b. DEM:SG
'We pounded this buna and'

mixi-ni-i ko na onone geava.
mix-TR-OBJ:3PL DIR COMM sand yellow
'mixed it with yellow sand.'

Meke totozo pu mixi ia paleke sena-i na tama-gu meke
and time REL mixed PRO:3SG carry get-OBJ:3PL COMM father-POSS:1SG and
'And when it was mixed my father took it and'

zuvu-ni-i ia poizi-ni-i buna pila
dive-TR-OBJ:3P PRO:3SG poison-TR-OBJ:3PL b.p. DEM:SG
'dived (down to) poison the bumphead parrot fish'

me paleke lao nebe-ni-i ia pa korapa bae pi na buna.
and carry go spread PRO:3SG LOC inside cave DEM:SG COMM b.
'and he brought it (down) and spread it in the cave.'

[23] Species of plant, unknown which.

Ukalai kaike ka rua miniti meke selele na habili pire.
pass one card two minute and get.intoxicated COMM b.p. DEM:PL

'One or two minutes passed and the bumphead parrot fish got intoxicated.'

Ka rua habili lavata selele mate meke lao na tama-gu sena-i
CARD two b.p. big get.intoxicated die and go COMM father-POSS:1SG get-OBJ:3PL

'Two big bumphead parrot fish were poisoned to death'

meke lao na tama-gu sena-i
and go COMM father-POSS:1SG get-OBJ:3PL

'and my father took them'

me va-zurang-i na mola.
and CAUS-load-OBJ:3PL COMM canoe

'and loaded them into the canoe.'

Doghor-i-a ia pu tina mate ka rua ighana pire naghe,
see-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:3SG REL mother dead CARD two fish DEM:3PL speak

'(When) mother saw these two dead fish, she spoke'

pulese ghamu rie me lao sena repi, ghua ia.
return PRO:2PL and and go get coconut.grater say PRO:3SG

'go back and fetch the coconut grater, she said.'

Le a-rau meke kasin taga rau, ghai ka ru voze pulese.
so FOC-PRO:3SG and cousin POSS PRO:1SG PRO:1PL.EXCL CARD two paddle return

'So I and my cousin, the two of us paddled back.'

Pulese mai tu pa kaokana pi ghai ka ru
return come EMPH LOC village DEM:SG PRO:1PL.EXCL CARD two

'The two of us went back to the village'

sena-i na repi na besini.
get-OBJ:PL COMM coconut.grater COMM basin

'and fetched the coconut grater and a basin.'

Beto meke toka pulese ghami.
finish and depart return PRO:1PL.EXCL

'(Then) we returned back.'

Ghai ka ru lao beto meke ukala-i lao pa Bagho ghami.
PRO:1PL.EXCL CARD two go finish and cross-TR go LOC B. PRO:1PL.EXCL

'The two of us left and we crossed over to Bagho.'

Kaduvu pa Bagho ghami paiza va-ko k<in>o ghami.
arrive LOC B. PRO:1PL.EXCL there CAUS-be <NOM>be pro:1pl.excl

'We arrived at Bagho where (we) had set up the camp (lit. life).'

Kaike vuiki site ko-i-a ghami paiza.
one week IRR be-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:1PL.EXCL there

'We would stay there for one week.'

Lao tavet-i-a ghami na ighana pa vevelu-na ia
go do-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:1PL.EXCL COMM fish LOC evening-ATTR:3SG PRO:3SG

'We started to prepare the fish in the evening'

lao sena kaze rie mai va-jito.
go get taro PRO:3PL come CAUS-cook.in.earth.oven
'(and) we got taro (that was) cooked in the earth oven.'

Sena ore va-jito meke poga rahi ghami.
get cassava CAUS-cook.in.eart.oven and make.pudding pudding PRO:1PL.EXCL
'(We) got cassava cooked in an earth oven and we made pudding.'

Va-jito ghami na ighana na rahi meke
CAUS-cook.in.earth.oven PRO:1PL.EXCL COMM fish COMM pudding and
'(We) cooked the fish (and) pudding the earth oven and'

vevelu ia vae na tavet-i-a ghami kaike namu lavata.
evening PRO:3SG like COMM do-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:1PL.EXCL one food big
'(this) evening we prepared (something) like a feast.'

Meke ghani ghami na ighana pire.
and eat PRO:1PL.EXCL COMM fish DEM:3SG
'And we ate these fish.'

Ka rua ngeta madighe tu ghani ghami ka rua habili lavata rie.
CARD two three day EMPH eat PRO:1PL.EXCL CARD two b.p. big PRO:3PL
'(For) two (or) three days we ate the two big parrot fish.'

Puna lavata ghighiri me kai zoku ghami lao paiza
because big very and NEG many PRO:1PL.EXCL go there
'Because (they were) very big and we were not many (who) went there'

vae na ghami tatamana ghu lao paiza meke
like COMM PRO:1PL.EXCL family EMPH go there and
'like, the family went there and'

tavet-i-a kaike t<in>avete lavata.
do-TR-OBJ:3SG one <NOM>do big
'and did a lot of work.'

Ko paiza ghami pa kaike vuiki ia tavet-i-a pa sinevara ghu.
be there PRO:1PL.EXCL LOC one week PRO:3SG do-TR-OBJ:3SG LOC garden EMPH
'We stayed for a week working on the plantation.'

Recorded on the 10th of November '08
Transcribed on the 11th of November '08

II Ka rua koboru Sali nuli

Kaike madighe ka ru koboru taluarai pa kaokana lao sali nula.
one day CARD two child depart LOC village go pick nut
'One day two children left the village (to) pick nuts.'

Zae kaloa ka ru koboru pire lao sali nula.
ascend leave CARD two child DEM:SG go pick nut
'The two children left (and) went up to pick nuts.'

Na nula pi turu nana pa zolozo tu.
COMM nut DEM:SG stand SBJ:3SG LOC earth EMPH
'These nuts (lit. the nut) were [standing] on the ground.'

A-ia lao kao selu-a ka ru koboru pi
FOC-PRO:3SG go look follow-OBJ:3SG CARD two child DEM:SG

'Those (lit. that) were what the two children were looking for'

meke totozo pu ene ka ru koboru pire mai kaduvu rie ka ru pa nula.
and time REL walk CARD two child DEM:PL come arrive PRO:3PL CARD two LOC nut

'and (as) these two children were walking, the two came upon the nuts (lit. nut).'

Sali nula rie ka ru meke pa totozo sali nula ka ru koreo pire
pick nut PRO:3PL CARD two and LOC time pick nut CARD two men DEM:PL

'The two picked the nuts and while as (lit. at the time (when)) these two boys were picking nuts'

mai na nini meke mai doghor-i-i pa ghai nula
come COMM giant and come see-TR-OBJ:3PL LOC PRO:1PL.EXCL nut

'came a giant and (it) came and saw that we[24] were holding the nuts (lit. the nuts were on us)'

meke naghe nini ko ghai ka ru,
and speak giant DIR PRO:1PL.EXCL CARD two

'and the giant spoke to the two'

Ei, za! Le salu siko-a gho ka ru nula taga rau, ghua na nini.
hey what so harvest steal- PRO:2PL CARD two nut POSS PRO:1SG say COMM giant
OBJ:3SG

'Hey, What (is this)! So you're [picking and] stealing my nuts,'

ghua na nini.
say COMM giant

'said the giant.'

Kazupata ka ru koboru pire. Ghovete, ghua, rie ka ru mana kai gura
feel.shock CARD two child DEM:PL run say PRO:3PL CARD two but NEG can

'These two boys were shocked. (They could) run, say, the two (of them) but they couldn't

Polo ghovete gho ka ru site zeke mate rau, le na nini.
if run PRO:2PL CARD two IRR kill die PRO:1SG so COMM giant

'If you two run I'll kill you, so'

[24] It is not known why the narrator switches to first person iin this part of the story.

kai ghovete ka ru koboru pire, naghe
NEG run CARD two child DEM:PL say

'don't run, (you) two kids, said the giant.'

Naghe ka ru koboru, Ei, plis ghighiri!
say CARD two child hey please very

'The two boys said, Hey, please!'

Kai va-mate ghami, ghua ka ru koboru pire.
NEG caus-die PRO:1PL.EXCL say CARD two child DEM:PL

'Don't kill us, said the these two boys.'

Egho, polo mai gho ka ru mai kao-ni-a ghutu rau
OK if come PRO:2PL CARD two come look-TR-OBJ:3SG louse PRO:1SG

'OK, if you two come and delouse me,'

site dapu lao rau va-mate ghamu, ghua na nini.
IRR IRR:NEG go PRO:1SG CAUS-die PRO:2PL say COMM giant

'I won't kill you, said the giant.'

Le ghore kaloa rie ngeta na nini me rie ka ru koboru me lao pa kolo
so descend leave PRO:3PL three COMM giant and PRO:3PL CARD two child and go LOC river

'So the three (of them) went down to the river, the giant and the two boys'

meke lao eko na nini meke kao ghutu ka ru koboru pire.
and go lie COMM giant and look louse CARD two child DEM:PL

'and the giant lied down and the thw two boys looked (for) lice.'

Kao-ni-a na ghutu rie ka ru rodoko na nini meke puta.
look-TR-OBJ:3SG COMM louse PRO:3PL CARD two be.sleepy COMM giant and sleep

'While the two looked for lice and the giant got tired and fell asleep.'

Meke barongo na nini meke totozo puta barongo na nini babala rie ka ru.
and snore COMM giant and time sleep snore COMM giant think PRO:3PL CARD two

'And the giant snored and as the giant was sleeping and snoring the two were thinking.'

Aria, ma=da va-mate-a na nini, ghua rie ka ru.
hurry IMP=SBJ:1PL.INCL CAUS-die-OBJ:3SG COMM giant say PRO:3PL CARD two

'Hurry, we have to kill the giant, said the two.'

Mana rie ka ru ghighiri na nini. Na nini lavata legho.
but PRO:3PL CARD two very COMM giant COMM giant big very

'But they feared the giant. The giant was very big.'

Dapu gura mate na nini,
IRR:NEG can die COMM giant

'The giant couldn't die,'

mana tavet-i-a rie ka ru kaike v<in>a-zezekiai lavata.
but do-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:3PL CARD two one <NOM>CAUS-excuse big

'but the two came up with a great solution.'

O, site vae pi ghita ka ru beto
oh IRR be.like DEM:SG PRO:1PL.INCL CARD two finish

'Oh, this is how we two'

meke site va-mate-a na nini,
and IRR CAUS-die-OBJ:3SG COMM giant

'are going to kill the giant,'

naghe kaike koboru, polo puta ia ghoi si kao ghutu meke
say one child if sleep PRO:3SG PRO:2SG IRR look louse and

'said one (of the) boys, while (lit. if) it sleeps you'll look for lice and'

meke polo puta sena-i dodoru ulu ta ia
and if sleep get-OBJ:3PL all hair POSS PRO:3SG

'and while (lit. if) (it) sleeps (I'll) take all of her hair'

meke puzi-ni-i dadagha zuda.
and tie-TR-OBJ:3PL root tree

'and tie it to the root of a tree.'

Le selu-a rie ka ru na b(in)alabala ia.
so follow-OBJ:3SG PRO:3PL CARD two COMM <NOM>think PRO:3SG

'And (lit. so) the two followed the plan.'

Kaike koboru puzi-ni-i na ulu ta na nini pa dadagha zuda.
one child tie-TR-OBJ:3PL COMM hair POSS COMM giant LOC root tree

'One boy tied the hair of the giant to a tree.'

Puzi va-ngira beto-i pa dadagha zuda na ulu ta na nini.
tie CAUS-be.strong finish-OBJ:3PL LOC root tree COMM hair POSS COMM giant

'(He) tied the hair tight to the tree root.'

Kaike koboru korapa kao ghutu.
one child continue look louse

'One boy was looking for lice.'

Meke totozo pu korapa puzi-a rie ka ru na ulu-na nini
and time REL continue tie-OBJ:3SG PRO:3PL CARD two COMM hair-POSS:3SG giant

'And as the two were tieing the giant's hair'

pa dadagha zuda meke pa totozo pu korapa rodoko barongo na nini pila
LOC root tree and LOC time REL continue be.sleepy snore COMM giant DEM:SG

'to the tree root and as this giant was sleepy and snoring'

ghore na luturu paka pa zolozo meke naghe rie ka ru,
descend COMM lightning thunder LOC earth and say PRO:3PL CARD two

'thunder and lightning hit the earth and the two said,'

Aria, ma=da kaloa, ghua rie ka ru.
hurry IMP=SBJ:1PL.INCL leave say PRO:3PL CARD two

'Hurry, we must go, said the two.'

Mana polo ghita ka ru site vangunu na nini meke site mate ghita,
but if PRO:1PL.INCL CARD two IRR awake COMM giant and IRR die PRO:1PL.INCL

'But if we wake the the giant up it will kill us,'

le ma=da ko. Ko lao rie ka ru lemono lao.
so IMP=SBJ:1PL.INCL be be go PRO:3PL CARD two hear go

'so we must stay. The two stayed and listened.'

Ghua rie ka ru, Mai na ghore kolo lavata.
say PRO:3PL CARD two come COMM descent river big
'The two said, low tide (of the) river is coming.'

Mai na kolo ghore. Ghore na kolo kapiri pila meke naghe rie ka ru,
come COMM river descend descend COMM river now DEM:SG and say PRO:3PL CARD two
The river went down. The river went down at that moment and the two said,'

Ghita ka ru kai tuturei kaloa polo tata kaduvu
PRO:1PL.INCL CARD two NEG fast leave if be.near arrive
'We don't leave [fast] until it is close to the low'

na ghore kolo pi.
COMM descent river DEM:SG
'tide of this river.'

Site soru kaloa ghita ka ru. Site ma na ghore kolo.
IRR jump leave PRO:1PL.INCL CARD two IRR come COMM descent river
'We will jump over (it and) leave. The low tide of the river is coming.'

Come tarua na nini pila meke pu totozo tarua na kolo
come leave COMM giant DEM:SG and REL time leave COMM river
'(They) would leave this giant and when they leave the river'

na nini site taturu dapu gura kaloa.
comm giant IRR struggle IRR:NEG can leave
'the giant will struggle (and) not be able to leave.'

Dapu gura kaloa ia puna lao rie ka ru puzi va-ko-ni-a
IRR:NEG can leave PRO:3SG because go PRO:3PL CARD two tie CAUS-be-TR-OBJ:3SG
'It won't be able to leave because the two tied'

pa dadagha zuda na ulu ta ia. Le totozo pu kaduvu mai na kolo pi
LOC root tree COMM hair POSS PRO:3SG so time REL arive come COMM river DEM:SG
'its hair to the tree root. So when this high tide (lit. river) comes'

mai tarua na kolo na nini pi kaloa ka ru koboru pire
come leave COMM river comm giant DEM:SG leave CARD two child DEM:PL
'(they) left the river (and) the giant (and) these two boys jumped'

na nini. Mai na ghore kolo meke mai taru sokar-i-a.
COMM giant come COMM descend river and come cover complete-TR-OBJ:3SG
'(over) the giant. The tide came and covered it completely.'

Meke taturu na nini pana ghovete kao ghua mana kai gura.
and struggle COMM giant for run look say but NEG can
'And the giant struggled to escape but it could not.'

Puzi-ni-a rie ka ru na ulu-na meke kai gura
tie-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:3PL CARD two comm hair-POSS:3SG and NEG can
'The two had tried its hair [and] (so) it could not'

meke ngusu na nini meke mate.
and drown COMM giant and die
'and the giant downed and died.'

Vae-na meke gura va-mate-a ka ru koboru pire
be.like-ATTR:3SG and can CAUS-die-OBJ:3SG CARD two child DEM:SG

(That is what it) was like and the the two boys managed to kill'

na nini pa zolozo.
COMM giant LOC earth

'the giant on the the earth.'

Recorded on the 9th of November '08
Transcribed on the 10th of November '08

III Kelko Bakua meke Jiro Vore

Ko dia made tatamana.
be SBJ:3PL four family

'(There) was a family (of) four.'

Ko rie ka made tatamana beto meke kaloa na palabatu.
be PRO:3PL CARD four family finish and depart COMM husband

'The family (of) four stayed (there) and the husband left.'

Lao sabu. Beto meke rie ngeta maneke ko dia.
go fish finish and PRO:3PL three mother.and.child be SBJ:3PL

'(He) went fishing. The three, mother and children, stayed (behind).'

Beto meke lao tina-di ka ru koboru pire.
finish and go mother-POSS:3PL CARD two child DEM:PL

'And the two children's mother went (away).'

Ngajiri rie ka ru koboru meke lao zae ko na iburu.
be.angry PRO:3PL CARD two child and go ascend DIR COMM betelnut.tree

'The two children became angry and climber a betelnut tree.'

Lao zae pa iburu rie ka ru koboru pire. Beto meke zae kaloa.
go ascend loc betelnut.tree PRO:3PL CARD two child DEM:PL finish and ascend leave

'The two children went ahead and climbed the betelnut tree. They climbed away.'

Zae kaloa rie ka ru koboru rie. Lao lao.
ascend leave PRO:3PL CARD two child PRO:3PL go go

'The two children climbed away. (They) went (on and on).'

Beto meke ghele na iburu zae lao lao tu.
finish and be.long COMM betelnut.tree ascend go go EMPH

'And the betelnut tree grew (and grew).'

Meke lao kaduvu tu pa zidara na ka ru pire.
and go arrive EMPH LOC moon COMM CARD two DEM:PL

'And the two arrived on the moon.'

Beto meke lao katu tu pa zidara rie ka ru koboru pire.
finish and go move.across EMPH LOC moon PRO:3PL CARD two child DEM:PL

'And this two children climbed across to the moon.'

Kao na tina-di mana kai doghor-i-i rie ka ru.
look comm mother-OBJ:3PL but NEG see-TR-OBJ:3PL PRO:3PL CARD two

'The mother looked but could not see the two.'

Lea kaloa tu meke pa zidara tu lao ko dia.
PRF leave EMPH and LOC moon EMPH go be SBJ:3PL

'They had left and were on the moon.'

A-ia ghu na vivinei site taga rau. Meke beto.
FOC-PRO:3SG EMPH COMM story small POSS PRO:1SG and finish

'That was my little story. Finish.'

Recorded on the 29th of October '08
Transcribed on the 10th of November '08

IV Tokoro

Zoku vovotiki tokoro pa n<in>aghe Ughele
many different taboo LOC <NOM>say U.

'There are many taboos in Ughele hearsay'

mana korapa ghilana va-ko-i rau pire. Kaike tokoro bo.
but continue know CAUS-be-OBJ:3PL PRO:1SG DEM:PL one taboo testicle

'but I am thinking (of these). One is the testicle taboo.'

V<in>a-rua na tokoro bake.
<NOM>CAUS-two COMM taboo b.

'The second is the bake taboo.

A-rie ghu ka rua tokoro pu korapa babala va-ko rau.
FOC-PRO:3PL EMPH CARD two taboo REL continue remember CAUS-be PRO:1SG

'These (are) the two taboos that I remember.'

Na tokoro bo, polo va-ko-a rie tokoro bo
COMM taboo testicle if CAUS-be-OBJ:3SG PRO:3PL taboo testicle

'The testicle taboo, if they put the testicle taboo (on something)'

polo lao ghoi kasop-i-a o babe lao sali-a rie
if go PRO:2SG jump.over-TR-OBJ:3SG or but or pick-OBJ:3SG PRO:3PL

'if you ignore it (lit. jump over it) and (lit. but) pick'

na tingitonga ia
COMM thing PRO:3SG

'these things'

si lavata na bo. Polo lao rie va-ko-a na tokoro bake
if/then be.big COMM testicle if go PRO:3PL CAUS-be-OBJ:3SG COMM taboo bake

'then the testicles will grow. If the put the bake taboo (on something)'

meke polo lao ghoi sali meke kasop-i-a ghoi
and if go PRO:2SG pick and jump.over-TR-OBJ:3SG PRO:2SG

'and if you go (ahead and) pick and ignore (lit. jump over)'

na tokoro bake ia
COMM taboo testicle PRO:1SG

'the bake taboo'

site dapu gura ene ghoi. Dapu gura ene.
IRR IRR:NEG can walk PRO:2SG IRR:NEG can walk

'you (will) not (be able to) walk. (You will) not (be able to) walk.'

Site zighit-i-a na malegho
IRR hurt-TR-OBJ:3SG COMM leg

'The leg will hurt'

Soghoru va-ko mua. Dapu gura ene.
sit CAUS-be SBJ:2SG IRR:NEG can walk

'You sit put. (You) can not walk.'

Me polo mai puta tu ikana-na tokoro bo o bake
and if come sleep EMPH person-POSS:3SG taboo testicle or b.

'And if the person (affected by) the testicle or bake taboo falls asleep'

me mai ta-vuzigho ghoi site beto na bo
and come PASS-clean.body PRO:2SG IRR finish COMM testicle

'and you come and clean (her/his body) the testicle (problem) will stop'

babe site beto na z<in>ighiti pa malegho.
or IRR finish COMM <NOM>hurt LOC leg

'or the pain (in the) leg will stop.'

Recorded and transcribed on the 12th of November '08

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Nederlandse samenvatting

Een grammatica van het Ughele
Een Oceanische taal uit de Salomonseilanden

Deze dissertatie is de eerste beschrijving van het Ughele, een Oceanische taal gesproken op de Salomonseilanden, gelegen in de Stille Oceaan ten oosten van Nieuw-Guinea. De korte inleiding op de taalgemeenschap waarin het Ughele wordt gesproken in Hoofdstuk 2 is tot nog toe de eerste beschrijving van die taalgemeenschap.

Hoofdstuk 1 introduceert het Ughele, bespreekt waar het gesproken wordt en wat haar taalkundige affiliatie is. Ughele wordt gesproken in twee dorpen, Ughele en Egholo, op het eiland Renova in het noordwesten van New Georgia, Western Province, Salomonseilanden. In naburige dorpen worden andere talen gesproken: de Papoea (niet-Austronesische) taal Touo (ook bekend als Mbaniata/Baniata en Lokuru, naar de namen van de grotere dorpen waarin het wordt gesproken) en een handvol Oceanische talen die tot dezelfde groep behoren als Ughele, de zogenaamde New Georgia Linkage. Deze talen, waaronder het Roviana, Hoava, Kusaghe, Marovo, Bareke, en Vangunu, worden allemaal in de New Georgia archipel gesproken. Hoofdstuk 1 eindigt met een korte typologische inleiding op het Ughele, met referenties naar de volgende hoofdstukken, waarin ieder aspect van het Ughele verder wordt beschreven.

Hoofdstuk 2 beschrijft de taalgemeenschap waarin het Ughele gesproken wordt. Het wordt als eerste taal gebruikt door alle mensen die geboren zijn in het dorp Ughele, en door de helft van de mensen die geboren zijn in het dorp Egholo. De andere helft van de inwoners van Egholo spreekt Roviana. Er is alleen etnografische informatie over de gemeenschap van het dorp Ughele beschikbaar. Er worden enkele pagina's gewijd aan een etnografische en sociolinguïstische beschrijving. De belangrijkste factoren die het voortbestaan van het Ughele in gevaar brengen zijn het spreken van het Engels, de enige taal die gebruikt wordt op school, in de kerk en bij kerk-gerelateerde activiteiten, de landelijke lingua franca Solomon Island Pijin, en de plaatselijke lingua franca Roviana. De sociolinguïstische factoren die bijdragen aan het behoud van het Ughele zijn de trots van de sprekers van het Ughele op hun eigen taal, gepaard met hun interesse om het Ughele te behouden, en de ontwikkeling van een gestandaardiseerde schrijftaal.

Hoofdstuk 3 geeft een kort overzicht van de data die voor deze dissertatie gebruikt zijn, de Ughele sprekers die eraan hebben bijgedragen en een aantal praktische zaken. Omdat het gebrek aan elektriciteit een groot probleem was tijdens het veldwerk zijn de meeste data direct opgeschreven. Daarnaast zijn er geluidsopnamen (9 uur en 27 minuten) en video-opnamen (3 uur and 30 minuten) gemaakt. Zestien vrouwelijke en vijfentwintig mannelijke sprekers hebben bijgedragen als informanten en daarmee alle data over het Ughele geproduceerd. De ratio tussen vrouwen en mannen is helaas niet helemaal gebalanceerd, omdat het veel gemakkelijker bleek om mannen te rekruteren dan vrouwen. Alle data zijn getranscribeerd met de hulp van een of meerdere moedertaal sprekers van het Ughele. Engels of Solomon Islands Pijin werden daarbij gebruikt als werktaal. Het theoretisch kader van deze dissertatie is vooral geschoeid op verschillende functionele theorieën, voornamelijk Role and Reference Grammar, maar elementen van andere, niet-functionalistische theorieën en informatie vanuit de literatuur over taaldocumentatie en typologie zijn ook gebruikt waar passend om de verschillende taalkundige fenomenen te beschrijven.

Hoofdstuk 4 is een korte inleiding op de fonologische elementen, metrische processen en fonologische regels van het Ughele. Ughele heeft 18 medeklinkers en 5 klinkers. Er zijn verschillende stemhebbende en stemloze plosieven en één paar stemhebbende en stemloze fricatieven. Alle stemhebbende plosieven zijn genasaliseerd. De lengte van klinkers en lip ronding zijn geen relevante kenmerken van de fonologie van het Ughele. Sommige combinaties van klinkers resulteren in tweeklanken. Er zijn geen clusters van medeklinkers. Alle syllaben zijn open, bestaande uit een coda en een optionele onset. De klemtoon valt op de voorlaatste of voor-voorlaatste syllabe van een stamvorm. Bepaalde affixen veranderen de plaatsing van de klemtoon.

Hoofdstuk 5 bestaat uit een kort overzicht van de verschillende woordklassen. De open woordklassen zijn zelfstandig naamwoorden en werkwoorden, en wellicht een klasse van bijvoeglijke bepalingen (die op een nog steeds productieve wijze afgeleid worden van een subklasse van de werkwoorden). Gesloten woordklassen zijn de klassen van: persoonlijk voornaamwoorden, onbepaalde voornaamwoorden, telwoorden, voorzetsels, bijwoorden, voegwoorden, demonstratieven, lidwoorden, tussenwerpsels, en verschillende partikels voor aspect, modus, en negatie.

Hoofdstuk 6 is een kort overzicht van de gebonden morfemen en morfologische processen. Gebonden morfemen bestaan uit affixen en clitica. Morfologische processen zijn reduplicatie en derivatie door middel van conversie.

Hoofdstuk 7 behandelt nominale morfemen in het Ughele. Dit zijn zelfstandig naamwoorden, persoonlijk voornaamwoorden, lidwoorden, demonstratieven, bijvoeglijke bepalingen, telwoorden, en voorzetsels. Subklassen van persoonlijke en algemene zelfstandig naamwoorden kunnen onderscheiden worden op basis van het gebruik met het persoonlijk lidwoord *e*. Er is ook een subklasse van zelfstandig naamwoorden die locatie uitdrukken. Deze kunnen, in tegenstelling tot andere zelfstandig naamwoorden, onderdeel zijn van een relationele constructie. Zelfstandig naamwoorden kunnen afgeleid worden van werkwoorden door middel van reduplicatie, affixatie, of conversie. De persoonlijke voornaamwoorden worden gekenmerkt door een onderscheid tussen de eerste, tweede, en derde persoon en een onderscheid tussen enkelvoud en meervoud, met een inclusief-exclusief onderscheid voor de eerste persoon meervoud. Er is één persoonlijk, één algemeen, en één focus lidwoord. Demonstratieven worden gekenmerkt door een onderscheid in afstand tot een bepaald referentie punt tussen dichtbij, tussenliggend, en ver, en een onderscheid tussen enkelvoud en meervoud. Hoofdstuk 8 geeft een overzicht van de structuur van de naamwoordgroep. Zelfstandig naamwoorden en voornaamwoorden kunnen als syntactisch hoofd van de naamwoordgroep dienen. Lidwoorden en onbepaalde voornaamwoorden komen voor het hoofd en bijvoeglijke bepalingen en demonstratieven komen na het hoofd. Telwoorden komen vóór zelfstandig naamwoorden, maar ná voornaamwoorden. Complexe naamwoordgroepen kunnen syndetisch of asyndetisch zijn.

Hoofdstuk 9 behandelt het onderscheid tussen de twee belangrijkste soorten van bezittelijke constructies in het Ughele, directe en indirecte bezittelijke constructies. Er zijn drie soorten indirecte en één soort directe bezittelijke constructies. Of een zelfstandig naamwoord het hoofd kan zijn in ieder van deze constructies wordt bepaald door de betekenis van het zelfstandig naamwoord of door de aard van de relatie tussen de modificeerder en het hoofd.

Hoofdstuk 10 behandelt de uitdrukkingen gebruikt om ruimtelijke locatie en richting aan te duiden. Hoofdstuk 11 behandelt de uitdrukkingen die gebruikt worden voor temporele locatie en richting.

Hoofdstuk 12 beschrijft de woordklasse van de werkwoorden. Een subklasse van werkwoorden die eigenschappen uitdrukken onderscheidt zich van andere werkwoorden in dat zij gebruikt kunnen worden voor de afleiding van bijvoeglijke bepalingen. Causatieve, distributieve, en passieve werkwoorden kunnen worden afgeleid met behulp van affixen. De reduplicatie van werkwoorden heeft een intensiverende functie. Transitiviteit hoeft niet verplicht te worden gemarkeerd als het zinsdeel transitief is, maar dit wordt wel vaak gedaan. De markering kan bestaan uit een transitief suffix, een cliticum dat refereert aan het lijdend voorwerp, of beide.

Hoofdstuk 13 behandelt de markering van het onderwerp en het lijdend voorwerp in Ughele. De meeste werkwoorden in transitieve zinsdelen hebben een cliticum voor het lijdend voorwerp. Het onderwerp wordt alleen in speciale omstandigheden gemarkeerd.

Hoofdstuk 14 beschrijft de uitdrukking van aspect en modus, wat gedaan kan worden middels partikels of middels werkwoorden met een bepalende functie in zogenaamde seriële werkwoordsconstructies.

Hoofdstuk 15 beschrijft deze seriële werkwoordsconstructies. In het Ughele kunnen werkwoorden zowel op de zogenaamde nuclear layer als op de core layer van de structuur van het zinsdeel in seriële werkwoordsconstructies worden gebruikt. In nuclear seriële werkwoordsconstructies kan geen enkel morfeem tussen de werkwoorden komen te staan, terwijl in core seriële werkwoordsconstructies naamwoordgroepen die naar argumenten refereren tussen de werkwoorden kunnen komen te staan. In beide soorten seriële werkwoordsconstructie vormen één of twee werkwoorden het hoofd en zijn de andere werkwoorden bepalingen. De functie van werkwoorden in seriële werkwoordsconstructies is afhankelijk van de positie van het werkwoord binnen de constructie. Als het werkwoord zich in de periferie van de constructie bevindt is het een functiewoord. De bepalingen van werkwoorden in seriële werkwoordsconstructies refereren aan modaliteit, aspect, manier van handelen, en richting.

Hoofdstuk 16 geeft een overzicht van de mogelijkheden om de argumenten uit te drukken. Het lijdend voorwerp kan worden uitgedrukt met een voorzetselconstituent of met een persoonlijk voornaamwoord.

Hoofdstuk 17 beschrijft de structuur van zinsdelen met nominale predicaten. Hoofdstuk 18 beschrijft de structuur van zinsdelen met verbale predicaten.

De Hoofdstukken 19 tot en met 23 behandelen complexe zinnen in het Ughele. Nevenschikking wordt beschreven in Hoofdstuk 19. Nevenschikking kan syndetisch of asyndetisch zijn. Complementen en het uitdrukken van directe en indirecte rede worden besproken in Hoofdstuk 20. Relatieve zinnen worden beschreven in Hoofdstuk 21. Relatieve zinnen kunnen asyndetisch zijn of door middel van een relatief voornaamwoord gemarkeerd worden. Bijwoordelijke bepalingen worden besproken in Hoofdstuk 22. Deze kunnen aan de hoofdzin gekoppeld worden door middel van een voegwoord of een werkwoord. Zogenaamde cosubordinate clauses worden beschreven in Hoofdstuk 23. Deze cosubordinate clauses hebben functies die lijken op die van bijwoordelijke bepalingen omdat ze afhankelijk zijn van de hoofdzin, maar ze zijn onderscheiden van bijwoordelijke bepalingen omdat ze niet ingebed zijn in de hoofdzin.

Hoofdstuk 24 behandelt de manier waarop zogenaamde narrow focus (focus markering op één constituent) uitgedrukt kan worden in het Ughele. Focus kan worden uitgedrukt met een focus affix op

voornaamwoorden, fronting van het lijdend voorwerp naar een positie vóór het werkwoord, clitica die het onderwerp aanduiden na het werkwoord, en een focus affix op zelfstandig naamwoorden.

Hoofdstuk 25 bespreekt de manier waarop cohesie wordt uitgedrukt in een discours. Behandeld worden onder andere uitdrukkingen die gebruikt worden om het begin of het eind van een tekst te markeren, constructies die gerelateerde gebeurtenissen uitdrukken, en reference tracking in één zin en van zin tot zin.

De dissertatie heeft een appendix da is opgedeeld in twee delen. Het eerste deel bevat een tweetal woordenlijsten, de eerste alfabetisch georganiseerd en de tweede opgedeeld per semantische categorie. Het tweede deel bevat vier teksten in het Ughele, met interlineaire glossen en een Engelse vertaling, om de lezer een idee te geven van de data waar de dissertatie op is gebaseerd.

Curriculum vitae

Benedicte Haraldstad Frostad studied Arabic, Philosophy and Linguistics at the University of Oslo (Norway), where she received her M. A. degree in linguistics in 2006.. Her M. A. thesis was descriptive work on the Äiwoo language based on own data collected in the field in the southeastern Solomon Islands, as part of the inter-disciplinary research project Identity Matters: Movement and Place, funded by The Research Council of Norway. She was lucky to be able to contiue working with another language of the Solomon Islands for her Ph. D. at Radboud University in Nijmegen (The Netherlands), starting in 2007. The Ph. D. thesis is a description of Ughele, a language of the northwestern Solomon Islands, part of the research projects Reconstructing Prehistoric Language Contact in the Solomon Islands and Languages in Contact, funded by The Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research. Other than research, Frostad has worked with speech synthesis and automatic speech recognition software for Nuance Communications International (Belgium), first as a text-to-speech developer in 2006 and later as a linguistic engineer in 2011-2012.