

ASPECTS OF LENGO GRAMMAR

by

PAUL UNGER

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We accept this thesis as conforming to the required standard

.....  
J. Randolph Radney, Ph.D.; Thesis Supervisor

.....  
Emma Pavey, Ph.D.; Second Reader

.....  
Bonnie Henson, Ph.D.; Third Reader

TRINITY WESTERN UNIVERSITY

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## ABSTRACT

Lengo (language code [lgr]), an Austronesian Oceanic language, is a member of the Gela branch of the Southeast Solomonian subgroup. Lengo is spoken by some 14,000 people of north and east-central Guadalcanal province, Solomon Islands. While there are brief references to Lengo in the literature, there is no comprehensive treatment of the grammar. This thesis begins to fill the void of studies of Lengo in particular and of Guadalcanal languages in general.

This thesis presents an overview of some of the more readily evident features of Lengo grammar. Following a section presenting the phonology of Lengo, there are sections covering word, phrase, clause, and sentence syntax. Items of particular interest in this grammar are the case of vowel raising and harmony in certain third person singular inalienably possessed nouns, a distinct set of cardinal numerals for “custom” (Pijin *kastom*) stories, tense / aspect / mood prefixes which join to subject reference pronouns (including one for a mood described as 'apprehensive'), processes by which verbs derive from nouns and nouns derive from verbs, a particle analysed as a 'realis locative', and a discussion of Lengo's various serial verb constructions.

Along with a presentation of Lengo's geographic and familial situation in the Southeast Solomonian language family and a brief discussion of orthography issues as appendices, a selection of texts from my fieldwork in Guadalcanal (c. 2002-2006) are included. Four of those included here were recorded and transcribed with the help of Lengo speakers. The fifth was given to me in hand-written form.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A project like this is never the product of one person. Those who helped deserve credit and thanks.

I thank my Lengo friends who took the time to talk, had the patience to explain, and had the grace to gently correct as I learned their language.

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## ABBREVIATIONS AND OTHER CONVENTIONS

The abbreviations used in this grammar are given below.

A	agent	LIM	limiter ( <i>po</i> )
ABIL	abilitive ( <i>tangomana</i> )	LOC	locative ( <i>i, tena</i> )
ADV	adverb	N	noun
ALT	alternative ( <i>pa, p-</i> )	NEG	negative
APPR	apprehensive ( <i>b-</i> )	NR	nominaliser
ART	article ( <i>a, na</i> )	o/O	object
CAUS	causative ( <i>-Caghini</i> )	PAU	paucal ( <i>tu-, -tu-, -tu</i> )
CLF	classifier	PFCT	perfective ( <i>g-</i> )
COM	comitative ( <i>kolu</i> )	PL	plural
COMP	complementiser ( <i>thi, tha</i> )	POC	ProtoOceanic
COND	conditional ( <i>ghua</i> )	PREP	preposition
CONJ	conjunction ( <i>ma, m-</i> )	PS	possessor pronoun / person
DAT	dative ( <i>vani</i> )	PURP	purpose ( <i>ne</i> )
DEM	demonstrative ( <i>deni, deri, dini</i> )	R	recipient
DEO	deontic ( <i>ba</i> )	RDP	reduplication
DES	desiderative ( <i>ngao</i> )	RECP	reciprocal ( <i>vi-</i> )
DIR	directional	REFL	reflexive ( <i>tibo</i> )
DO	direct object	REL	relative pronoun ( <i>thi, tha</i> )
DU	dual ( <i>ko-, -ko-, -ko</i> )	RL	realis ( <i>t-</i> )
EMPH	emphatic ( <i>ne</i> )	S	subject
EP	emphatic pronoun	SG	singular
EX	exclusive	s.o.	someone
FUT	future ( <i>ba</i> )	sp.	species
GEN	genitive ( <i>ni</i> )	SRP	subject reference pronoun
IMPF	imperfective ( <i>bo</i> )	s.t.	something
IN	inclusive	T	theme
INST	instrumental ( <i>ghini</i> )	TAM	tense / aspect / mood
INT	interrogative	TR	transitiviser ( <i>-Ci</i> )
INTJ	interjection	V	verb
INTS	intensifier ( <i>koto, ne</i> )	V <sub>i</sub>	intransitive verb
IO	indirect object	V <sub>t</sub>	transitive verb
IRR	irrealis ( <i>k-</i> )		

This thesis was typed using the Gentium font.<sup>1</sup> The text of languages other than English is rendered in *italics*. Boldface type is used in Lengo text in an attempt to highlight the feature(s) under consideration in a given example. Grammatical glosses

<sup>1</sup> Gentium was used for the simple reason that Times New Roman does not have a single-story 'a' nor an open-bowl 'g', both of which are needed to express phonetic data in Lengo. The Gentium font is freely available at: <http://scripts.sil.org/Gentium>.

are presented in SMALL CAPS following, as nearly as possible, the abbreviations for interlinear morpheme translation appended to the Leipzig Glossing Rules.<sup>2</sup> Interlinear examples have a Lengo line (with morpheme breaks indicated with the appropriate punctuation), a gloss line, and a free translation line.

Lengo *ma k-ami soni iti-i vati tuthivo-gu inau*  
 Gloss CONJ IRR-1EX.PL throw up-o:3PL journey's.end waterfront.landing-PS:1SG EP:1SG  
 Free 'at journey's end we may throw [the sticks] up at my own water-front landing'

It is important to note that while emphatic (EP), object (o), and possessor (PS) pronouns are indicated with abbreviations before the appropriate person and number (e.g., *inau EP:1SG*), the subject reference pronoun is indicated with person and number only. From time to time a fourth line is included. This is to indicate a morphophonemic process, as with *teme* 'father-PS:3SG' below, or elision (e.g., *teigha na* → *te'na*; *deni* → *de*). In these examples, the morpheme breaks and/or full words are indicated on the second line.

Lengo *a J. te dea kolua a teme i leo ni pono*  
 Morpheme a J t-e dea kolu-a a tama-a i leo ni pono  
 Gloss ART J RL-3SG go COM-o:3SG ART father-PS:3SG LOC inside GEN bush  
 Free 'J. went with his father to the bush'

When necessary square brackets [ ] are used in the free translation line to indicate non-overt items (such as 2SG 'you' in imperative sentences) and other extraneous information. An asterisk (\*), unless otherwise noted, marks ungrammatical sentences. Finally, for reasons of privacy, the proper names of persons and places are represented by a capital letter in Lengo examples. I hope that this helps, and doesn't distract, the reader.

<sup>2</sup> The Leipzig glossing rules are available at <http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>, while <http://www.unm.edu/~wcroft/Papers/TypAbbrev.pdf> provides a somewhat larger set of abbreviations. I have created some of my own abbreviations as they were not in either list.

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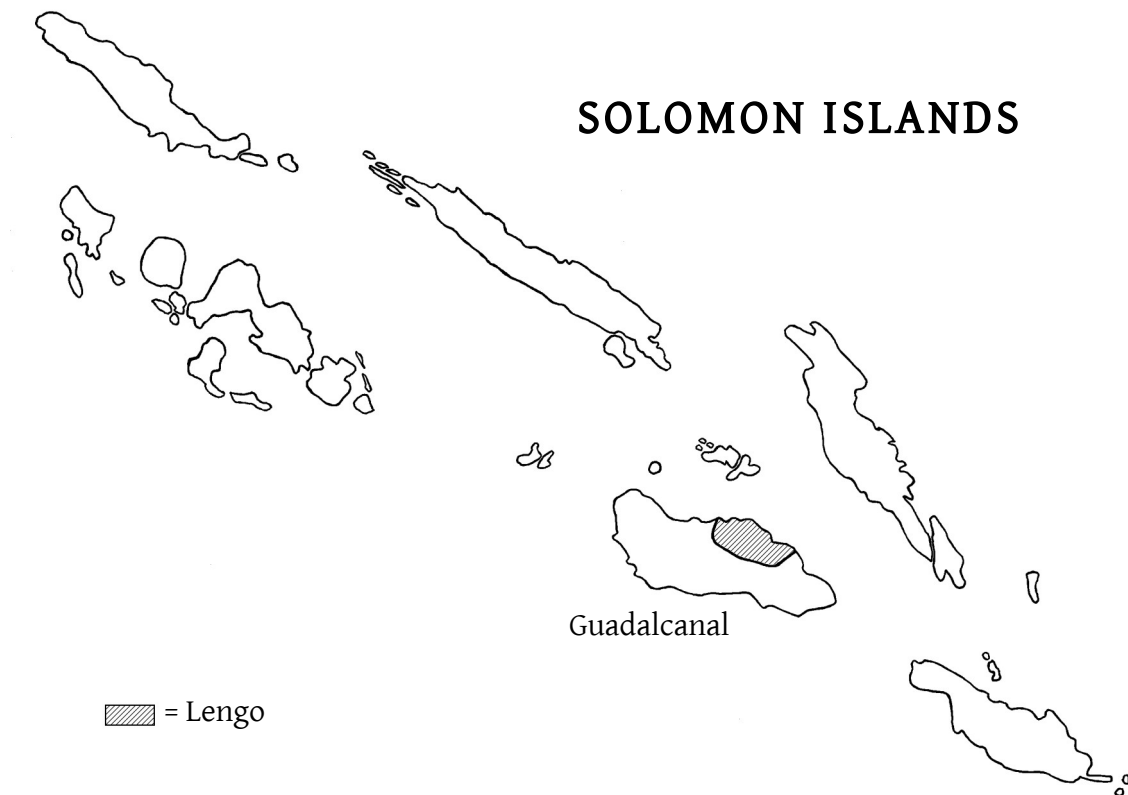
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## 1 INTRODUCTION

Lengo (language code [lgr]) is an Oceanic language that belongs to the Central-Eastern Southeast Solomonian branch of the vast Oceanic language family tree. Lengo is spoken by some 14,000 people on north and east central Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands.

Illustration 1: Lengo language area shows the region of Guadalcanal that is predominantly Lengo speaking.



*Illustration 1: Lengo language area*

Although the socio-political unrest of mid-2000 and the aftermath<sup>3</sup> have changed the situation somewhat, there is a significant population of other language speakers employed at the various palm oil plantations spread throughout the fertile Guadalcanal

<sup>3</sup> A helpful overview of the “ethnic tension” is provided by Fraenkel, Jon. 2004. *The Manipulation of Custom: From uprising to intervention in the Solomon Islands*. Canberra: Pandanus Books.

plain. The long term effect this will have on Lengo remains to be seen. There are four recognised dialects of Lengo: Aola, Paripao, Reko, and Tasimboko (Gordon 2005:637). In my experience, the differences are in terms of pronunciation and not morphological or syntactic variation.

According to the Ethnologue map of Solomon Island languages (Gordon 2005:884),<sup>4</sup> Lengo is bordered by Ghari to the west, Malango to the south west, Birao to the south, and Longgu to the east. Interestingly, Bughotu (southern Santa Isabel) is held to be more closely related linguistically to Lengo than the immediate neighbour Longgu (a Malaitan isolate). Lengo's closest linguistic neighbour is Gela, some 30 km across Sealark Channel to the north.<sup>5</sup>

Language examples, except as noted, are from my data. This is comprised of texts—oral and written—and some additional elicited material. The texts were collected in Aola ward of Guadalcanal, though some samples came from East Tasimboko and Paripao wards, over a four year period from 2002-06. It should be noted that the data were not collected with the express purpose of constructing a grammar; in fact somewhat different data would have been collected if such was the case. Having said that, I have tried to represent the data fairly, not purposely excluding examples that might contradict a generalisation I have identified. Contradictory examples—troubling though they may be for someone sorting out a grammar—have been included at various points in this grammar.

Much of my fieldwork was done using Solomon Islands Pijin, the lingua franca of

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<sup>4</sup> Available online at: [http://www.ethnologue.com/show\\_map.asp?name=SB](http://www.ethnologue.com/show_map.asp?name=SB).

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix A: Southeast Solomon language family. Unfortunately, there are no published descriptions available for Birao, Ghari, or Malango. The nature of the similarities and differences between these languages and Lengo is, at present, difficult to establish.

Solomon Islands, as a metalanguage. As many descriptive linguists will well understand, coming up with a suitable gloss when working with two languages is no mean feat. The truth of this is not minimised when working with three. There are instances in which Pijin seems to capture the essence of a Lengo word or construction more ably than English. In those instances Pijin is provided for those who may benefit from its inclusion. For those who do not reap these sparse benefits, the English gloss will have to do.

This grammar is organised according to the general layout found in Lynch, Ross, and Crowley (2002). Their work, over the years and in that volume, represents somewhat of a standard for Oceanic languages. Where there is a standard it seems prudent to follow it. Of course, there are points at which this grammar will, out of necessity, depart from their layout, but it is hoped that this grammar will 'fit' into the larger Oceanic linguistic world.

## 2 PHONOLOGY

As is often the case with Oceanic languages, the inventories of both consonants and vowels in Lengo is fairly small, there are few (if any) allophones, and complex articulations are generally avoided in careful speech. Stress is, with few exceptions in my lexicon, found on the penultimate syllable. The exceptions, in which stress is on the final syllable, are: [ˈmbeˈmbe] 'grassland' (compare [ˈmbeˈmbe] 'butterfly'), [iˈnau] 'EP:1SG', and [saˈkai] 'one'. Tone is not contrastive. Syllable structure is (C)V(V).

### 2.1 Phonemes

#### 2.1.1 Consonants

Lengo has 15 consonants.

p	t	k
b	d	g
v	ð	ʎ
m	n	ŋ
	r	
	l	

Figure 2.1: Consonants

Voiced stops are prenasalised ([ˈmb], [ˈnd], [ˈng]). The voiced 'labial' fricative varies regionally between bilabial (/β/) and labiodental (/v/), with the latter being far more common. The voiced dental fricative /ð/ also varies regionally with apical /z/. The phone /z/ is especially prevalent in the region surrounding Ruavatu, but is rare elsewhere. Note the lack of both a voiceless 'labial' and 'velar' fricative counterpart (/f/ and /x/) for those that are voiced (/v/ and /ʎ/).<sup>6</sup> Some minimal pairs are shown in (1).

---

<sup>6</sup> Maddieson (1984:46) observes, “Generally, the existence of a given voiced fricative in the inventory of a language implies the presence of the voiceless counterpart in the inventory.”

- (1)
- |                                    |                                      |                                 |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| a. [pa] 'or'                       | b. [ate] 'lung'                      | c. [siki] 'any'                 |
| [ <sup>m</sup> ba] 'FUT'           | [a <sup>n</sup> de] 'thatch rib'     | [si <sup>n</sup> gi] 'dry'      |
| d. [sisi <sup>m</sup> bo] 'splash' | e. [poto] 'rotten'                   | f. [tu <sup>n</sup> gu] 'story' |
| [sisivo] 'breeze'                  | [poso] 'straight'                    | [tuyu] 'overlap'                |
| g. [tu <sup>m</sup> bu] 'relative' | h. [ma <sup>n</sup> de] 'right side' | i. [ <sup>n</sup> gata] 'pound' |
| [tumu] 'fall'                      | [mane] 'male'                        | [ŋata] 'strong'                 |
| j. [mamu] 'bait'                   | k. [ <sup>n</sup> dai] 'child'       | l. [ <sup>n</sup> deni] 'this'  |
| [manu] 'bird'                      | [rai] 'awaken'                       | [ <sup>n</sup> deri] 'that'     |
| m. [eno] 'lay down'                | n. [ɣani] 'eat'                      | o. [tu <sup>n</sup> du] 'drip'  |
| [eŋo] 'fly (noun)'                 | [ɣali] 'build'                       | [ðu <sup>n</sup> du] 'sit'      |
| p. [tave] 'flood'                  | q. [ðara] 'feast row'                | r. [u <sup>n</sup> du] 'friend' |
| [aðe] 'give'                       | [sara] 'arrive'                      | [uru] 'dive'                    |
| s. [u <sup>n</sup> du] 'friend'    | t. [uru] 'dive'                      |                                 |
| [ulu] 'head'                       | [ulu] 'head'                         |                                 |

### 2.1.2 Vowels

There are six vowels in Lengo.

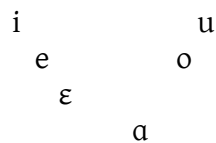


Figure 2.2: Vowels

The front open mid vowel /ε/ is quite rare, appearing in five words in the data:

[kε<sup>n</sup>de] 'crisp potato', [kε<sup>n</sup>di] 'bottle', [mεmεle] 'choose', [tεtε] 'chop', and [tεtεte] 'hill'.

Some minimal pairs are given in (2).

- (2)
- |                                |                     |   |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|---|
| a. [ni] 'GEN'                  | b. [vuti] 'pull'    | c. [kε <sup>n</sup> de] 'crisp potato'    |
| [ne] 'PS:3SG'                  | [voti] 'break'      | [ɣe <sup>n</sup> de] 'yellow-leaf greens' |
| d. [ <sup>n</sup> deni] 'this' | e. [aro] 'shoulder' |   |
| [ <sup>n</sup> dani] 'day'     | [ara] 'they'        |   |

Vowel sequences, examples of which are shown in (3), are not uncommon.

- (3)
- |                        |                            |                          |
|------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. [mai] 's.o. comes'  | b. [ɣaoka] 'female, woman' | c. [ɣau] 'knife'         |
| d. [deɑ] 's.o. goes'   | e. [kei] 'basket'          | f. [leo] 'inside'        |
| g. [leu] 's.o. fights' | h. [bulia] 'scar'          | i. [vatie] 'fourth'      |
| j. [lio] 'neck'        | k. [niu] 'coconut'         | l. [doɑ] 's.o. is blind' |
| m. [iɣoe] 'EP:2SG'     | n. [loi] 'frog'            | o. [dou] 'heart'         |
| p. [bua] 'betelnut'    | q. [tue] 'one shell'       | r. [kui] 'skink'         |

Aside from /ɛ/, which is never found following or followed by another vowel, there are two vowel sequences, /ae/ and /uo/, which do not occur. Every other vowel sequence is found in the language.

There are what seem, on first hearing, to be long vowels. Further analysis reveals that these are in fact two vowels of the same quality that happen to be one following the other across a morpheme boundary, as in (4)a. and b.

- (4)
- a. *ara pitu-u*  
 3PL wait-o:1SG  
 'They await me.'
- b. *me garaa tine*  
 m-e gara-a tina-a  
 CONJ-3SG pull-o:3SG mother-ps:3SG  
 'and it [the crocodile] pulled his mother'

These are interpreted as VV sequences.<sup>7</sup>

There is a single word in my lexicon of approximately 2500 words, that appears to have a long vowel that does not occur across a morpheme boundary: [koo] 'deadfall; a tree rotting on the ground'. It is distinct from the subject reference pronoun [k-o] 'IRR-2SG' and the modal verb [kou] 'unwilling'.

## 2.2 Phonotactics

### 2.2.1 Syllable structure

Lengo syllables are (C)V(V). There are no closed syllables in Lengo, that is there

<sup>7</sup> Note that when -a 'ps:3SG' joins to a word ending in /a/ as in [tina-a], the two /a/s raise to an /e/ resulting in [tine]. This is discussed below beginning on page 9.



are no syllable final consonants, nor are there consonant clusters.<sup>8</sup> CV syllables are by far the most common, though V and CVV syllables are also prevalent. Some examples are provided in (5).

- (5) a. [u] '1SG'  
 b. [tu] 's.o. stands'  
 c. [tau] 'spouse'  
 d. [e.o] 'yes'  
 e. [i.nau] 'EP:1SG'

Vowel sequences have predictable syllabification. If  $V_1V_2$  are high-mid, high-low, mid-mid, or mid-low they are members of different syllables. If, however,  $V_1V_2$  are low-mid, low-high, mid-high, or high-high they are members of the same syllable. Finally, if  $V_1V_2$  are the same they are members of the same syllable. The data from (3) above are presented again, this time with syllable breaks indicated.

- (6) a. [mai] 's.o. comes'    b. [ɣao.ka] 'female, woman'    c. [ɣau] 'knife'  
 d. [de.a] 's.o. goes'    e. [kei] 'basket'    f. [le.o] 'inside'  
 g. [le.u] 's.o. fights'    h. [bu.li.a] 'scar'    i. [va.ti.e] 'fourth'  
 j. [li.o] 'neck'    k. [niu] 'coconut'    l. [do.a] 's.o. is blind'  
 m. [i.ɣo.e] 'EP:2SG'    n. [loi] 'frog'    o. [dou] 'heart'  
 p. [bu.a] 'betelnut'    q. [tu.e] 'one shell'    r. [kui] 'skink'

The one exception to the syllabification rules above is that the vowels in the mid-high vowel sequence /eu/ are members of different syllables, as is shown in (6)g.

Syllable structure at morpheme boundaries follows these syllabification rules.

Consider the data in (7).

- (7) a. [pi.tu-u] 'wait-o:1SG'  
 b. [tau.-a] 'spouse-ps:3SG'

In (7)a. the syllable structure is CV.CVV. The VV sequence that results when the two morphemes come together is heard as a double /uu/. The situation in (7)b. is somewhat

<sup>8</sup> Loan words such as [kliniki] 'clinic' and [spedi] 'spade, shovel', which have consonant clusters, are not considered in this analysis.

more complex. The low-high vowel sequence /au/ is part of a CVV syllable. The morpheme /-a/, following as it does the high vowel /u/, is a member of a different syllable. The resulting syllable structure is CVV.V.

### 2.2.2 Elision and contraction

Lengo speakers are given to collapsing certain words in what amounts to elision. Some examples from natural speech are given in (8).

- (8) a. [sakai] → [skai] 'one'  
b. [siki] → [ski] 'any'  
c. [siki pilea] → [skpilea] 'around, approximately'

When slowed down, however, the words are restored to their lexical forms. What is evident here is that consonant clusters, which are not found when words are uttered in isolation, are present in connected speech.

There are some Lengo words that are shortened by most speakers. When shortened, these words take on a 'heavy sound' (Lengo speaker description) on the first syllable. So *mamala* 'lightweight' becomes *mala*, with a somewhat heavy emphasis on the first syllable. This is to differentiate *mala* 'lightweight' from *mala* 'naked'. I learned this during a volleyball game. Someone was described as being *mala tupa* 'light for jumping'; I didn't get it quite right and called him *mala tupa* 'naked nut' . . . I had been perplexed for some time by what appeared to be an aspirated /k/ on *kau* 'crab' that distinguished it from *kau* 'dog', as it was the only instance of the apparent aspiration. A somewhat wider distribution might be expected if aspirated /k/ was indeed a Lengo phoneme. At the volleyball game I was given a partial list, given in (9), of shortened words that take on this 'heavy sounding' quality.

- (9) a. [kaku] → [kau] 'crab'; cf. [kau] 'dog'  
 b. [kikilu] → [kilu] 's.o. demands more'; cf. [kilu] 'plant sp.'  
 c. [mamala] → [mala] 's.t. is lightweight'; cf. [mala] 'naked', [mamala] 'tree sp.'  
 d. [papara] → [para] 's.o. accuses another'; cf. [para] 's.t. is hot'  
 e. [poporo] → [poro] 's.o. is clothed'  
 f. [tutupa] → [tupa] 's.o. jumps'; cf. [tupa] 'nut sp.'  
 g. [vavaŋa] → [vaŋa] 's.t. is sharp'; cf. [vaŋa] 's.o. eats'

It should be said that the difference is not one of tone—high versus low—but emphasis.

With some speakers the head actually moves forward when uttering the first syllable of some of these words.<sup>9</sup>

Elision is widespread in normal speech (that is, not slowed down for 'Lengo as a second language' speakers). In English, for example, one finds: do not → don't; would not → wouldn't. Some examples of elision, marked here with an apostrophe ('), are:

- (10) a. [para na aɔo] → [para n'aɔo] 'it's hot (lit., hot ART sun)'  
 b. [e teiŋa siki tave] → [e te'si'tave] 'it [the river] is not flooded'  
 c. [ke sakai ni] → [kes'k'i] 'before'  
 d. [teiŋa na V] → [te'na V] 'NEG ART V'

The disappearance of /a/ from the article *na* is quite regular and predictable before words that begin with /a/. It is not dropped before the other vowels. The negative *teigha*, which is followed by *na* 'ART', is frequently shortened to *te'na*. This is not the same as *tena* 'LOC'.

### 2.3 Morphophonemics

There is an interesting two-step morphophonemic process in Lengo. It involves vowel raising and vowel harmony in third person singular directly possessed nouns.

When *-a* 'PS:3SG' joins to a noun that ends in low vowel /a/, the two /a/s are raised to a single mid vowel /e/. In addition, any /a/ further left in the word harmonises with the

<sup>9</sup> Spectral analysis of these 'heavy sounding' words, though beyond the scope of this paper, would make an interesting topic for further investigation.

word-final /e/. This continues until a vowel other than /a/ is found, in which case any /a/ to the left of the intervening mid or high vowel remains /a/. This vowel raising does not affect mid (/e/, /o/) or high (/i/, /u/) vowels. Example (11) demonstrates -a 'ps:3sg' joining to nouns that do not end in /a/.

- (11) a. *kuli* 'ear' + -a 'ps:3sg' → *kulia* 'ear-ps:3sg; her ear'  
 b. *abe* 'armpit' + -a 'ps:3sg' → *abea* 'armpit-ps:3sg; his armpit'  
 c. *livo* 'tooth' + -a 'ps:3sg' → *livoa* 'tooth-ps:3sg; its tooth'  
 d. *ulu* 'head' + -a 'ps:3sg' → *ulua* 'head-ps:3sg; her head'

Example (12) demonstrates -a 'ps:3sg' joining to nouns ending in the low vowel /a/.

- (12) a. *gha* 'oral.clf' + -a 'ps:3sg' → *ghe* 'oral.clf-ps:3sg'  
 b. *lima* 'hand' + -a 'ps:3sg' → *lime* 'hand-ps:3sg'  
 c. *longa* 'landward' + -a 'ps:3sg' → *longe* 'landward-ps:3sg'  
 d. *vunga* 'hair' + -a 'ps:3sg' → *vunge* 'hair-ps:3sg'  
 e. *atha* 'name' + -a 'ps:3sg' → *ethe* 'name-ps:3sg'  
 f. *ghalagha* 'up-coast' + -a 'ps:3sg' → *gheleghe* 's.t.'s up-coast side'  
 g. *ghanaghana* 'thinking' + -a 'ps:3sg' → *gheneghene* 'thinking-ps:3sg'

Examples of an intervening non-low vowel that disrupts /a/ harmony are given in (13).

- (13) a. *kabula* 'inner thigh' + -a 'ps:3sg' → *kabule* 'inner thigh-ps:3sg' (not \**kebule*)  
 b. *vanua* 'village' + -a 'ps:3sg' → *vanue* 'village-ps:3sg' (not \**venue*)

The object pronoun suffix -a 'o:3sg' has the same shape as the possessor person suffix -a 'ps:3sg'. However, when -a 'o:3sg' is joined to a verb that ends in low vowel /a/, the two /a/s are not raised to an /e/ but become a double /aa/. This is evident in (14).

- (14) a. *ghu-vi dea-a* 'shout-tr go-o:3sg'  
 b. *gara-a* 'pull-o:3sg'

The examples in (15) nicely demonstrate the difference in vowel harmony between possessive pronoun -a 'ps:3sg' and object pronoun -a 'o:3sg'. In (15)a. *sapa* 'seaward' is used as a noun of direction possessed by *vae* 'house', while in (15)b. *sapa* is used as a verb indicating motion toward the sea.

(15) a. *pala sepe*                    *ni vae*  
       *pala sapa-a*                    *ni vae*  
       side seaward-PS:3SG GEN house  
       'seaward side of the house'

      b. *sapaa*                    *na thinaghe*  
       *sapa-a*                    *na thinaghe*  
       seaward-o:3SG ART canoe  
       'launch the canoe' (lit. '[lift it] seaward the canoe')

In (15)a. -a 'PS:3SG' sets off a process of vowel raising and harmonisation. Note that the process of vowel harmony is restricted to the word, that is, the /a/s in the preceding word *pala* 'side' are not affected by the process which *sapa* 'seaward' undergoes. In (15)b. -a 'o:3SG' does not set off the vowel raising and harmonisation process.

### 3 NOUNS, PRONOUNS AND NOUN PHRASES

To the category 'noun' belong words for persons, places, and things. Nouns can be inflected as directly possessed nouns<sup>10</sup>, they are preceded by an article, they are sometimes modified by adjectives / stative verbs, and they can act as modifiers in attributive constructions. Lengo has an extensive set of pronouns that distinguishes four persons (first person inclusive and exclusive, second person, and third person), and four numbers (singular, plural, dual, and paucal), but no gender.<sup>11</sup> In addition to the paradigmatic pronouns, there is a reflexive pronoun stem to which direct possessor pronoun suffixes are joined to distinguish person and number and an interrogative / relative pronoun pair that distinguishes between human and non-human. Demonstratives distinguish between singular and plural proximal, medial, and distal reference.

#### 3.1 Nouns

In Lengo words for persons, places, and things (including concepts and abstractions) are nouns. Nouns can be derived from verbs, can be inflected as directly possessed nouns,<sup>12</sup> are most often preceded by an article, are sometimes modified by adjectives / stative verbs, and can act as modifiers in attributive constructions (e.g., *gari ghaoka* 'child female; girl', *vae ato* 'house leaf; i.e., a house with a sago palm leaf roof' [as distinct from *vae kava* 'house copper; i.e., a house with a tin roof']).

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<sup>10</sup> In keeping with the larger Oceanic tradition, possession is discussed under the labels direct and indirect possession. This is intended as a means to distinguish the syntax of possession from the semantics of possession. Semantically, possession is either alienable or inalienable. Syntactically, this is expressed with free possessor person pronouns (indirect / alienable) or possessor person suffixes joined to the possessed noun (direct / inalienable).

<sup>11</sup> There are two words that distinguish gender in Lengo: *thogho* 'same-sex sibling' and *vavine* 'opposite-sex sibling'. Otherwise the general terms *ghaoka* 'female' and *mane* 'male' are used.

<sup>12</sup> That is, semantically inalienable.

### 3.1.1 Derivation and inflection

Verbs are derived from nouns by a process of stem-initial CV reduplication.

- (16)      noun                                  verb  
a. *vothe* 'paddle'      → *vo~vothe* 's.o. paddles a canoe'  
b. *vugho* 'fishing net' → *vu~vugho* 's.o. nets fish'

In these instances CV reduplication is a process of verbification (although compare verb derivation (page 77) where nouns are derived from verbs by a similar process of stem-initial CV reduplication).

Intensification of a noun is also achieved by stem-initial (V)CV reduplication.<sup>13</sup>

- (17) *K-ami sake long-a-i na leoni nimami na agu~agutu.*  
IRR-1EX.PL carry landward-O:3PL ART all PS:1EX.PL ART RDP~thing  
'We take all our "cargo" (lit., thing.thing) ashore with us.'

Earlier in this text—one concerning my family going by canoe to the capital city—the non-reduplicated form of *agutu* is used.

- (18) *k-ami oni nimami na agutu*  
IRR-1EX.PL prepare PS:1EX.PL ART thing  
'we prepare our "cargo"'

Here, at the outset of the story, our cargo is considered somewhat manageable; that is, the author hasn't fully considered (or recalled) the lot of cargo that we tend to take with us when we travel. After describing the process of choosing what we will take with us and what we will leave behind, carrying it all to the seaside, and loading it into the canoe the magnitude of the *agutu* has grown in the speaker's mind. So when it comes time to describe the unloading of our cargo, it has grown to *agu~agutu*. The noun is 'intensified' through reduplication of stem-initial VCV.

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<sup>13</sup> With reference to reduplication Sapir (1921:76) comments that "Nothing is more natural than the prevalence of reduplication, in other words, the repetition of all or part of the radical element. The process is generally employed, with self-evident symbolism, to indicate such concepts as distribution, plurality, repetition, customary activity, increase of size, added intensity, continuance".

In another example the noun *dae* 'child [offspring]' is found reduplicated.

- (19) *ga~gara na vua ga~gara na da~dae m-e ga~gara ngata na dadae*  
 RDP~pull ART crocodile RDP~pull ART RDP~child CONJ-3SG RDP~pull strong na da~dae
- me gara tine me gagara laka na vua*  
 m-e gara tina-a m-e ga~gara laka na vua  
 CONJ-3SG pull mother-PS:3SG CONJ-3SG RDP~pull also ART crocodile  
 'the crocodile pulled; the child pulled—and the child pulled hard; and his  
 mother pulled, and the crocodile also pulled'

In this example, the child of the woman (*tina* 'mother') attempts to pull her out of a crocodile's grasp. Earlier in this text the non-reduplicated form *dae* 'child' is used twice for the same referent.<sup>14</sup> Child is reduplicated at this point in the text because, while he is indeed the woman's offspring, he is not the small boy the term might seem to imply.<sup>15</sup> He is a grown man with the strength and courage to engage in such a life and death struggle. To reflect the fact that while this man is indeed a 'child' he is also a man, that the noun is larger than the hearer might expect, the noun is reduplicated. There is an intensity, a sense of increased magnitude, with reduplicated nouns.<sup>16</sup>

The single inflectional process to which nouns are subject is that directly possessed nouns are inflected for possession person, as in (20).

- (20) *na vae-gu*  
 ART house-PS:1SG  
 'my house'

The syntactic category of direct possession indicates the semantic notion of inalienable possession.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Both instances—*te ghuvia a daea* 'she shouted to her son' and *me rongoa a daea* 'and her son heard her'—are used prior to the struggle with the crocodile.

<sup>15</sup> There are two words for 'child' in Lengo: *dae* and *gari*. The former indicates a child with particular reference to his or her lineage (i.e., 'descendant of') while the latter indicates a pre-pubescent person.

<sup>16</sup> It should be noted that *agu-agutu* and *da-dae* are not anomalies such as stuttering or hesitation.

<sup>17</sup> See page 46ff for more discussion.



### 3.1.2 Noun classes and articles

There are two particles in Lengo—*a* and *na*—either of which are found before nearly every noun.<sup>18</sup> The temptation is simply to assign them to the category 'article'. The situation, however, is not that simple. The category 'article' is usually thought to have something to do with a noun's definiteness.<sup>19</sup> In Lengo, the particles *a* and *na* do not play any apparent role in marking referentiality, that is, an item's status as new or given, referential or non-referential in a context. Further, *a* and *na* co-occur with the demonstratives, which indicates that they probably belong to a different class from 'determiners'. But the more the widely accepted definition of 'article' is stretched to try to fit the function of these particles, the less satisfying it is. The difficulty in terms of these Lengo particles is with the definite / indefinite connotations that the label 'article' carries.

Three options for naming these particles present themselves: 1. come up with unique (and opaque) labels such as “noun class marker one” and “noun class marker two”; 2. following Haspelmath (2007), capitalise the label “article” and render it language specific (e.g., Lengo Article) to gain the reader's understanding that it is

<sup>18</sup> There are some instances of nouns that do not take an article: personal names in series—other than the first—do not have one; neither do nouns following the locative *i*; nor does the second noun of certain possessive / genitive constructions (an N possessed by a possessed N and N *ni* N). The articles are also found with other classes of words than nouns: interrogative and relative pronouns (*thi / tha*), demonstratives, and verbs in certain contexts. These exceptions are discussed below.

<sup>19</sup> Two sample definitions for 'article' are: “a particle that indicates a noun's definite or indefinite reference, and new or given status” (from SIL's glossary of linguistic terms; accessed July 2007 at <http://www.sil.org/linguistics/GlossaryOfLinguisticTerms/WhatIsAnArticle.htm>); and “a subclass of determiners which displays a primary role in differentiating the uses of nouns; . . . a distinction is usually made into definite and indefinite types, partly on semantic and partly on grammatical grounds” (Crystal 2003:33). Both make reference to a definite / indefinite distinction. Dryer (2007a:158) removes this limitation from his definition of article when he writes, “Although these words do not vary for definiteness, what they share with articles in European languages is the fact that they are a set of words which occur with high frequency in noun phrases and which vary for certain grammatical features of the noun phrase . . . Under this notion of 'article', the coding of definiteness is not a defining feature, but simply one of the many grammatical features of noun phrases that articles often code.”

referring to something article-like but that doesn't fit exactly the widely held definitions of 'article';<sup>20</sup> or, 3. call them 'articles', describe their uniqueness, and demonstrate their use. The latter approach is followed here. Dixon (1988:114) appears to lean in a similar direction when he writes of Boumaa Fijian, another Oceanic language: “It is an established part of the Fijian grammatical tradition to use the term 'article' here, although it is being used in an unusual sense.” Unfortunately, Dixon does not describe what is unusual about it. Ross (2004:500) notes of Oceanic languages that, typologically, “Noun phrases in canonic languages usually consist minimally of article + noun, with a distinction between a common article and a personal article that is used with a proper personal name, a kin term used to name someone, or a disjunctive pronoun.”<sup>21</sup> What follows will demonstrate that although the term 'article' is used in this grammar it indicates an article of a particular type.

It is difficult to draw any kind of line between definite and indefinite, new and given, when it comes to *a* and *na*. They do not help distinguish between definite / indefinite, referential / non-referential, identifiable / non-identifiable, specific / non-specific, or activated / non-activated information about an item in context. The first and all following references to a noun are invariably found with the same form of the appropriate article: *a* for named humans and *na* for unnamed humans and non-humans.

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<sup>20</sup> Haspelmath (2007:6) opines, “I would not recommend the use of opaque names to descriptive linguists. Opaque names may be justified by theoretical considerations, but they are not practical because they are very hard to remember. The best solution is to use familiar terms for mnemonic reasons, but to capitalize them in order to emphasize that the categories are 'proper names'”. Following this logic, it seems that every grammatical category term would need to be capitalised and preceded by the particular language name of the one under study as every grammatical category is realised somewhat differently in different languages. If the uniqueness of the category's realisation in the language being described is adequately explained, the capitalisation of terms seems superfluous.

<sup>21</sup> Crowley (2002a:527) identifies two articles in related Gela: *a* 'proper' and *na* 'common definite subject and object'.

“New” information in a discourse is often marked with the same particle as those instances in which it is “given” information. Compare (21)a. and b., which are sequential sentences in a text.

- (21) a. *u dea m-u tu-ri thai-a t-i na aliva.*  
 1SG go CONJ-1SG step-TR arrive.at-O:3SG RL-LOC ART centipede  
 'I went and I stepped on a centipede.'
- b. *T-e mai na aliva e mai pasu i riki-gu.*  
 RL-3SG come ART centipede 3SG come bite LOC digit-PS:1SG  
 'The centipede came, it came and bit my toe.'

In the text, *aliva* 'centipede' is introduced as new information in what is here example (21)a. The noun *aliva* 'centipede', for this first and all following instances in the text, is found with *na* 'ART', as in (21)b. This demonstrates, at least in terms of referential marking, that there is not properly a distinction between definite and indefinite reference with *a* / *na*—the same particle does both jobs. The particles *a* and *na* on their own are unmarked as to definiteness.<sup>22</sup>

The only distinguishing parameter with reference to *a* and *na* is that of humanity, and even this must be qualified. There are two distinct noun classes with which *a* and *na* are used. The first class is made up of “named” humans. Proper names and terms of close kinship (e.g., *dae* 'child, descendant', *tama* 'father', *tau* 'spouse', and *tina* 'mother') are found with the article *a*.<sup>23</sup> All other nouns—human and non-human,

<sup>22</sup> There are, however, larger constructions involving both articles that do provide specific / non-specific reference. These are *a DEM na* 'ART DEM ART' and *a sakai na* 'ART one ART' respectively. See below.

<sup>23</sup> Names have a special place in Lengo society. In fact, there are strictly held name “taboos”—persons of certain relationship to the speaker whose names are never spoken. This holds true for people of higher status than the speaker: one's parents and one's spouse's parents are never referred to by name. Nuclear family terms are used for father and mother and the term *tabu* [ta<sup>m</sup>bu] 'forbidden' is used for father- and mother-in-law. For those of same or lesser status (i.e., spouse and children), their name is not strictly *tabu*. Two less strictly held conventions are to refer to uncles and aunts as 'father' and 'mother', and to people with the same name as the speaker as simply 'name'. These titles are, for all intents and purposes, the person's name.

animate and inanimate—are found with the article *na* 'ART' (e.g., *gari* 'child, youth (with no reference to descent)', *ghaoka* 'woman', *mane* 'man', *tinoni* 'person', *vae* 'house', *vua* 'crocodile').

The article *a* is found with a class of nouns comprised of named humans. Proper names and kin terms that function as names populate this class. Example (22) serves to illustrate.

- (22) *a J. te dea kolua a teme i leo ni pono*  
*a J t-e dea kolu-a a tama-a i leo ni pono*  
 ART J RL-3SG go COM-O:3SG ART father-PS:3SG LOC inside GEN bush  
 'J. went with his father to the bush'

The name *J.* and the kin term *tama* 'father' are both preceded by the article *a*.

Interestingly, *tama* 'father' can be used as a proper name (as in the preceding example) and as a common noun. Consider its use in (23).

- (23) *ma I. igeia na tama-dira na tinoni ni A.*  
 CONJ I EP:3SG ART father-PS:3PL ART person GEN A  
 'and I. he is their father, the people of [tribe] A.'

Here *tama* 'father' is preceded by *na*, the common article. What differentiates the two uses of *tama* 'father' in (22) and (23), and informs the hearer which class of noun is being invoked, is the form of the article.

Example (24) demonstrates the use of the article *a* as a pronoun. The first sentence shows the article *a* before the proper name *H.*

- (24) a. *U tavu-a a H.* b. *A nga.*  
 1SG find-O:3SG ART H ART DEM:SG  
 'I'm looking for H.' 'She's over there.'

The second sentence of example (24) has the same article *a* acting as a pronoun before a demonstrative. In this instance *a* 'ART' stands for the proper noun '*H.*' where one might

expect one of the subject pronouns *e* '3<sub>SG</sub>' or *igeia* 'EP:3<sub>SG</sub>'.

Early on it was difficult to hear the article *a* in sentences like the first of (24), as the object marker *-a* 'o:3<sub>SG</sub>' got fused together with *a* 'ART'. It was only by identifying *a* 'ART' following emphatic pronouns, as in (25), that it was possible to distinguish *a* 'ART' following singular object marker *-a*.

- (25) *I<ko>ghami a P. ami-ko dea i nughu.*  
<DU>EP:1EX.PL ART P 1EX.PL-DU go LOC river  
'P. and I, we two go to the river.'

While in (24) the article was difficult to hear, it was there. Before directly possessed nouns, however, the article *a* is optional.<sup>24</sup> Most times, as in (26)a. and b., *a* is present.

- (26) a. *E ghani-a na vua a tina-mu!*  
3<sub>SG</sub> bite-O:3<sub>SG</sub> ART crocodile ART mother-PS:2<sub>SG</sub>  
'A crocodile is biting your mother!'
- b. *e ghu-vi-a a dae-a*  
3<sub>SG</sub> shout-TR-O:3<sub>SG</sub> ART child-PS:3<sub>SG</sub>  
'she shouted to her son'

When heard in a stream of connected speech the article *a* is fused with the preceding /a/s of, in these examples, *vua* 'crocodile' and *ghu-vi-a* 'shout-TR-O:3<sub>SG</sub>'.

However, during transcription with Lengo speakers, it often emerges. But sometimes, as

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<sup>24</sup> Crowley (2002a:527) notes of Gela that, "In object position, personal names are obligatorily preceded by the article /a/, while the article is optional before suffixed nouns." As evidence of this he provides two examples:

*e inu beti a Stephen*  
3<sub>SG</sub>:PAST drink water ART Stephen  
'Stephen drank water'

and,

*geva ku riγi-a (a) tama-gu*  
later 1<sub>SG</sub>:FUT see-3<sub>SG</sub> ART father-1<sub>SG</sub>  
'later I will see my father'

Here ( ) indicates optionality and γ is the voiced velar fricative. Because of orthography issues, Crowley "decided to represent forms in phonemic rather than orthographic script" (526).

with *dae-miu* 'child-PS:2PL' in (27) below, a 'ART' is not there.

- (27) *ighamu so~soko na ti~tina ma na ta~tama a thi t-e logho*  
 EP:2PL RDP~finish ART RDP~mother and ART RDP~father ART REL RL-3SG have  
 Ø *dae-miu i B. skol*  
 child-PS:2PL LOC B school  
 'all you mothers and fathers who have your children at B. school'

This is particularly interesting because the article *a* is not fused with a preceding /a/. In fact, the expected object marker on *logho* (-a 'o:3SG' or -i 'o:3PL') is also absent.

The other article, *na* 'ART', is found before common nouns. In (28) two animate non-human nouns are found with the article *na*.

- (28) *I vi ga t-e dea ga na igha e tumuri po na vonu.*  
 LOC where there RL-3SG go there ART fish 3SG follow LIM ART turtle  
 'Wherever the fish went the turtle just followed.'

In (29) *na* 'ART' is found with the animate non-human noun *kau* 'dog' and the already noted human exception *mane* 'man'.

- (29) *A deni na ghai t-e ne abu ghini-a na kau na mane.*  
 ART DEM:SG ART stick RL-3SG EMPH hit INST-O:3SG ART dog ART man  
 'This is the stick with which the man really hit the dog.'

Example (29) also demonstrates the 'specific' construction *a deni na* 'ART DEM ART' used to reference *ghai* 'stick'.

In all the examples of the article *na* presented to this point the article has directly preceded the noun. This is not always the case. There are two classes of words—quantifiers and indirect possessor pronouns—that can be found between *na* 'ART' and the noun. In (30) an intervening quantifier *leoni* 'all, every' is present.

- (30) *Ighamu na leoni tinoni k-amu rongo mai!*  
 EP:2PL ART all person IRR-2PL listen come  
 'Everyone—listen up!'

In (31) both a quantifier (*balu* 'some') and an indirect possessor pronoun (*nigua* 'ps:1SG') are found between *na* and the noun.

- (31) *U ngao-a k-ami-tu dea tura-i na balu nigua koga*  
 1SG want-O:3SG IRR-1EX.PL-PAU go carry-O:3PL ART some ps:1SG stick  
 'I want we few to go carry my sticks'

The situation found in (31) is only the case when a quantifier is involved. Without a quantifier the article follows the indirect possessor pronoun and directly precedes the noun as in (32).

- (32) *m-u dea i vae ni talu-a nigua na Bible*  
 CONJ-1SG go LOC house GEN leave-O:3SG my ART bible  
 'and I went to my house to leave my Bible'

Example (33) nicely demonstrates the different contexts in which the two articles are used.

- (33) *A thi na ethe a daemu ia?*  
 a thi na atha-a a dae-mu ia  
 ART REL ART name-PS:3SG ART child-PS:2SG DEM  
 'What is your child's name?'

The human article *a* 'ART' is found twice: once before the human relative pronoun *thi* and again before the close kinship term *dae* 'child', while *na* 'ART' is found before the common, and in this case possessed, noun *ethe* 'name-PS:3SG'.

There are a number of contexts in which a noun does not take an article. In addition, there are a number of word classes besides nouns that are found with an article.

An article does not appear before nouns following the locative *i*.<sup>25</sup> One could well say *i leghai* 'LOC garden' but not *\*i na leghai*; *i Honiara* 'LOC Honiara' but not *\*i a Honiara* 'LOC ART Honiara'. In fact, proper place names, when they take an article, take *na* 'ART'.

<sup>25</sup> Dixon (1988:115) reports the same phenomenon in Boumaa Fijian.

- (34) *nimiu na thara tibo-miu t-i ighamu na K.*  
 ps:2PL ART feast.row REFL-PS:2PL RL-LOC EP:2PL ART K  
 'your feast.row yourselves, you [community] K.'

Another context in which the article is not used where it might be expected is before the possessed noun of a possessed noun as in (35). This type of construction is considered a single unit and takes a single article.

- (35) *e dea otia na lime Ø tine*  
*e dea oti-a na lima-a tina-a*  
 3SG go grab-O:3SG ART hand-PS:3SG mother-PS:3SG  
 'he went and grabbed his mother's hand'

This could be less-freely glossed as 'he went and grabbed it the hand of her [the] mother of him'.

Genitive constructions of the type N *ni* N are also bereft of an article on the subordinate noun; an article appears on the first noun only.

- (36) *na vua ni Ø niu*  
 ART fruit GEN coconut  
 'the fruit of the coconut'

Again, this is considered a single unit and takes a single article.

Finally, the article *a* 'ART' does not appear following the conjunction *ma* 'and' when more than one proper noun is listed.

- (37) *I<tu>ghami a B. ma Ø R. ma Ø P. ma Ø L. t-ami-tu uru.*  
 <DU>EP:1EX.PL ART B CONJ R CONJ P CONJ L RL-1EX.PL-PAU dive  
 'We few—B., R., P., L., [and I]—we few went diving.'

The article *a* is found before the first name only.

The particles *a* / *na* are found with a variety of other word classes other than nouns. The marked-for-human particle *a* is found before the human interrogative / relative pronoun *thi*, and demonstratives (e.g., *a nga inau* 'ART DEM EP:1SG; I choose that



one'). The marked-for-common particle *na* is found before the non-human animate and inanimate interrogative / relative pronoun *tha*, and verbs found following certain modal verbs of aspect and negation. The particle *a* is never found in the place of *na* before verbs and while *na* does co-occur with demonstratives it is never found directly before one (e.g., *na mane deni* 'ART man DEM' and not \**na deni*; compare *a deni*, which is grammatical; see (29)). The different environments in which *a* and *na* are found are displayed in (38).

(38)		<i>a</i>		<i>na</i>
	noun	___ N ("named" humans)		___ N (common)
	interrogative / relative pronoun	___ <i>thi</i> (human)		___ <i>tha</i> (non-human)
	demonstrative	___ DEM		___ N (common) DEM
	verb			___ V

The human interrogative / relative pronoun *thi* is preceded by the article *a*. In

(39) *thi* functions as the interrogative pronoun 'who'.

(39)	<b>A</b>	<b><i>thi</i></b>	<i>na</i>	<i>atha-mu</i>	<i>ighoe?</i>
	ART	INT	ART	name-PS:2SG	EP:2SG
				'Who is your name?'	

In (40) *thi* has the role of relative pronoun 'who'.

(40)	<i>ighamu</i>	<i>so~soko</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ti~tina</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ta~tama</i>	<b><i>a</i></b>	<b><i>thi</i></b>	<i>t-e</i>	<i>logho</i>
	EP:2PL	RDP~finish	ART	RDP~mother	and	ART	RDP~father	ART	REL	RL-3SG	have
	<i>dae-miu</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>B.</i>	<i>skul</i>							
	child-PS:2PL	LOC	B	school							
	'all you mothers and fathers who have your children at B. school'										

In both instances *thi* is preceded by *a* 'ART'. Note in (40) that the intensified forms of *tina* 'mother' and *tama* 'father' do not have the expected article *a*, but *na*. That is because here the terms are not being used to name kin (as in (22) above) but to refer in a more general sense to all mothers and fathers.

In (24) and (29) examples of the article *a* before demonstratives were given. The same is evident in (41). In (29) and (41) the demonstrative refers to an inanimate object.

- (41) *A nga inau.*  
ART DEM:SG EP:1SG  
 'I [choose] that one.'

Example (41) was spoken by a person indicating which fruit from among many she wanted at a local market. Here the designation “named human” for the noun class marked by *a* 'ART' is clearly stretched, but the article *na* is never used before a demonstrative.

The article *na* is before the non-human interrogative pronoun *tha* in (42).

- (42) *Na tha t-o ghoni-a?*  
ART INT RL-2SG do-O:3SG  
 'What are you doing?'

The 'what' of (42) is the thing being done. When *tha* functions as a non-human complementiser it also takes *na* 'ART'.

- (43) *Inau ba k-u tugu vani-ghamu na tha ba k-e sara*  
EP:1SG FUT IRR-1SG tell DAT-O:2PL ART COMP FUT IRR-3SG arrive  
 'I will tell to you what is going to happen'

The 'what' of (43) is that which is going to happen.

The article *na* can also be found before a verb in certain contexts. This kind of construction is often translated by Lengo speakers as an infinitive, as in (44).

- (44) *Ruke na agutu nga, na tavu niu.*  
second ART something DEM:SG ART find coconut  
 'The second step is to find some coconut.'

In the examples in (45) the article *na* is found between the verb and preceding modal verbs of desire and ability (*ngao, tangomana*) or negation (*teigha, tabu, kou*). These modal verbs are discussed in more depth below (see page 154ff), but for now observe the

position of the article *na* in (45).

- (45) a. *o ghua ngao-a na ghali-a siki* 'extra flavour'  
 2<sub>SG</sub> if want-o:3<sub>SG</sub> ART make-o:3<sub>SG</sub> any extra flavour  
 'if you want to make any “extra flavour”'
- b. *t-amu tangomana na ta-tagho*  
 RL-2<sub>PL</sub> able ART RDP~go.fish  
 'you are able to go fishing'
- c. *ami-ko teigha na ta~tavu thai-a na kei*  
 1<sub>EX.PL-DU</sub> NEG ART RDP~find arrive.at-o:3<sub>SG</sub> ART basket  
 'we couldn't find the basket'
- d. *Tabu na lavi-a na ghau: b-e ghado-gho.*  
 NEG ART grab-o:3<sub>SG</sub> ART knife APPR-3<sub>SG</sub> pierce-o:2<sub>SG</sub>  
 'Don't grab the knife: no good it cuts you!'
- e. *Kou na vanga na igha.*  
 NEG ART eat ART fish  
 'The fish are unwilling to eat [the bait].'

The presence of the article *na* in these instances treats the verb following a modal verb somewhat like a noun while retaining its verbal properties (notably the fact that it still takes the object suffix when required).

Stative verbs can be nominalised with the article.<sup>26</sup>

- (46) *k-a ne rongo-ni-a: na sule ma na pile, Ø ghaoka ma na mane,*  
 IRR-1<sub>IN.PL</sub> EMPH hear-TR-o:3<sub>SG</sub> ART big CONJ ART small woman CONJ ART man
- Ø gari mokoni, Ø gari ghaoka*  
 child post-pubescent girl child woman  
 'we all will listen to her: the big and the small, [the] women and the men, post-pubescent girls, pre-pubescent girls'

Note that in (46) neither *ghaoka* 'woman, female', nor the serial nouns *gari mokoni* 'child [female] post-pubescent' and *gari ghaoka* 'child female [pre-pubescent]', have an article

<sup>26</sup> The phrase *na sule ma na pile* here refers to people—part of the 1<sub>IN.PL</sub> *ka*. The speaker is delineating inclusive opposites: important (cf. *mane sule* 'big [i.e., important, respected] man') and not so important, women and men, and so on. This reading is substantiated in other texts.

preceding.<sup>27</sup> As with (27) above, it is difficult to explain this.

Despite the fact that the articles in Lengo do not distinguish definite and indefinite reference, there are constructions that provide specific and non-specific reference. Specific reference is signalled by *a* DEM *na* N while non-specific is by *a sakai na* N 'ART one ART N'. Example (47) demonstrates specific reference with the construction *a* DEM *na* N.

- (47) *a deni na ghai t-e ne abu ghini-a na kau na mane*  
 ART DEM:SG ART stick RL-3SG EMPH hit INST-O:3SG ART dog ART man  
 'This is the stick with which the man really hit the dog.'

The noun *ghai* 'stick' is given specific status with this construction.

Example (48) serves to demonstrate non-specific reference.

- (48) *m-ara-ko dea thai-a a sakai na kokomu kikiki*  
 CONJ-3PL-DU go arrive.at-O:3SG ART one ART island small  
 'and they two arrived at a small island'

The turtle and the fish were trying to outdo one another: diving deep, going under rocks, and so on. They were each unable to best the other until *marako dea thaia a sakai na kokomu kikiki* 'they arrived at a small island'. This could have been any of the approximately 990 islands that make up Solomon Islands (or, indeed, any other island in the vast Pacific). The construction *a sakai na* 'ART one ART' marks this as non-specific, new information in the context. The next mention of the island is marked with a demonstrative.

- (49) *m-e tagu iti tena maone tena kokomu ia*  
 CONJ-3SG crawl up LOC sand LOC island DEM  
 'and it [the turtle] crawled up on the sand on that island'

<sup>27</sup> Another example of this involving inanimate objects is: *ara kuki rais ara kuki viuvi ma na ti* 'they cooked rice, they cooked potato and tea'. While there is an article before the final noun *ti* 'tea', neither *rais* 'rice' nor *viuvi* 'potato' have an article.

Here the reference is clearly 'specific'.

### 3.2 Pronouns

Lengo has a rich set of pronouns with over 90 forms in the categories of emphatic, subject reference, object, and direct and indirect possessor pronouns (see Figure 3.1: Pronouns). Lengo distinguishes four persons (1 inclusive (IN), 1 exclusive (EX), 2, 3) and four numbers (singular (SG), plural (PL), dual (DU), and paucal (PAU)), but no gender. In addition to these, there are human (*thi*) and non-human (*tha*) pronouns that have both interrogative and relative functions, and a reflexive pronoun stem (*tibo*) to which direct possessor pronouns join to indicate person and number.

	emphatic	subject reference	object (e.g., V-u)	possessor (direct) (e.g., N-gu)	possessor (indirect general)	possessor (indirect oral consumable)
singular						
1	<i>inau</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>-gu</i>	<i>ni-gu-a</i>	<i>gha-gu-a</i>
2	<i>ighoe</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>-gho</i>	<i>-mu</i>	<i>ni-mo-a</i>	<i>gha-mu-a</i>
3	<i>igeia</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-a, -na</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>ghe</i>
plural						
1 IN	<i>ighita</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>-ghita</i>	<i>-da</i>	<i>no-da</i>	<i>gha-da</i>
1 EX	<i>ighami</i>	<i>ami</i>	<i>-ghami</i>	<i>-mami</i>	<i>ni-mami</i>	<i>gha-mami</i>
2	<i>ighamu</i>	<i>amu</i>	<i>-ghamu</i>	<i>-miu</i>	<i>ni-miu</i>	<i>gha-miu</i>
3	<i>igeira</i>	<i>ara</i>	<i>ira, -ra, -i</i>	<i>-dira</i>	<i>no-dira</i>	<i>gha-dira</i>
dual (ko)						
1 IN	<i>i&lt;ko&gt;ghita</i>	<i>a-ko</i>	<i>-ko-ghita</i>	<i>ko- -da</i>	<i>ko-no-da</i>	<i>ko-gha-da</i>
1 EX	<i>i&lt;ko&gt;ghami</i>	<i>ami-ko</i>	<i>-ko-ghami</i>	<i>ko- -mami</i>	<i>ko-ni-mami</i>	<i>ko-gha-mami</i>
2	<i>i&lt;ko&gt;ghamu</i>	<i>amu-ko</i>	<i>-ko-ghamu</i>	<i>ko- -miu</i>	<i>ko-ni-miu</i>	<i>ko-gha-miu</i>
3	<i>i&lt;ko&gt;ira</i>	<i>ara-ko</i>	<i>-ko-ira</i>	<i>ko- -dira</i>	<i>ko-no-dira</i>	<i>ko-gha-dira</i>
paucal (tu)						
1 IN	<i>i&lt;tu&gt;ghita</i>	<i>a-tu</i>	<i>-tu-ghita</i>	<i>tu- -da</i>	<i>tu-no-da</i>	<i>tu-gha-da</i>
1 EX	<i>i&lt;tu&gt;ghami</i>	<i>ami-tu</i>	<i>-tu-ghami</i>	<i>tu- -mami</i>	<i>tu-ni-mami</i>	<i>tu-gha-mami</i>
2	<i>i&lt;tu&gt;ghamu</i>	<i>amu-tu</i>	<i>-tu-ghamu</i>	<i>tu- -miu</i>	<i>tu-ni-miu</i>	<i>tu-gha-miu</i>
3	<i>i&lt;tu&gt;ira</i>	<i>ara-tu</i>	<i>-tu-ira</i>	<i>tu- -dira</i>	<i>tu-no-dira</i>	<i>tu-gha-dira</i>

Figure 3.1: Pronouns

First person non-singular (i.e., PL, DU, PAU) has inclusive (IN) and exclusive (EX) forms. Inclusive has within its scope the addressee(s) (e.g., *i<ko>ghita* '<sub>DU>EP:1IN.PL</sub>; we

two—you and I') while exclusive does not include the addressee(s) within its scope (e.g., *i-<ko>ghami* '<sub><DU>EP:1EX.PL</sub>; we two—she and I but not you').

Number has a four-way distinction in Lengo. The first distinction is between singular (SG) and non-singular (PL, DU, PAU). Plural is non-singular non-specific, that is to say it can be used to mark two to an infinite number of referents. Within non-singular there is a further distinction between specific and non-specific. Dual (DU) is used for two and only two referents, while paucal (PAU) is used to indicate three or more.<sup>28</sup> While dual stands out as quite distinct (two and only two), the distinction between plural and paucal is not always immediately apparent. What it comes down to is a matter of specificity: paucal is used when speakers want to delimit the range of referents. So, for example, when someone is addressing a large crowd with instructions for an upcoming feast and bases their speech on what happened at the last feast, the paucal form may be used to indicate those “few” who were at the last feast (despite the fact that they numbered over one hundred people).

The single instance of a distinction based on animacy among personal pronouns is *-i* 'o:3PL' which is used for inanimate objects only (e.g., *talū-i na koga* 'put.down-o:3PL ART stick; put the sticks down'). All other third person pronouns are used for both animate and inanimate reference (e.g., *na koga ira* 'ART stick EP:3PL; the sticks' and *na mane ira* 'ART man EP:3PL; the men'). As mentioned above, the relative / interrogative pronouns *thi* and *tha* distinguish animate from inanimate.

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<sup>28</sup> Ross (2004:498) notes, “in some languages there is also a trial or a paucal or occasionally both, again marked by a morpheme derived from a numeral.” It is possible that the Lengo paucal form is derived from *tolu* 'three', something along the lines of: *tolu* 'three' → *t[ol]u* → *tu* 'PAU'.

### 3.2.1 Emphatic

The Lengo emphatic pronoun provides participant reference outside of the verb phrase. The emphatic pronoun is used for subjects, objects and possessors. It can stand on its own, but is often used together with a noun phrase. The set of emphatic pronouns is given in (50).

(50)	1IN	1EX	2	3	
	SG	(i)nau	(i)ghoe	i(gei)a	
	PL	(i)ghita	(i)ghami	(i)ghamu	i(gei)ra
	DU	(i)-ko-ghita	(i)-ko-ghami	(i)-ko-ghamu	(i)-ko-ira
	PAU	(i)-tu-ghita	(i)-tu-ghami	(i)-tu-ghamu	(i)-tu-ira

The elements in parentheses are not always spoken when the emphatic pronoun is used.<sup>29</sup> This can lead to confusion when attempting to sort out participant reference, especially in light of the fact that, when the parenthetical parts are dropped, the non-singular object pronouns are identical to their emphatic pronoun counterparts.<sup>30</sup> When emphatic and object pronouns appear similar, the subject reference pronoun plays an important role in sorting out participant reference (see page 168), especially given the variable nature of Lengo subject ~ object word order.

In (51) both clauses employ the emphatic pronoun. The actors in each clause are given emphasis by means of this optional pronoun even though both are indicated with subject reference pronouns in the verb phrases.

(51)	<i>ara-ko gara iti-a</i>	<i>na thinaghe</i>	<i>i&lt;ko&gt;ira</i>	<i>m-u</i>	<i>ghe</i>	<i>tapa</i>	<i>inau</i>
	3PL-DU pull up-O:3SG ART canoe	<DU>EP:3PL CONJ-1SG	continue run	EP:1SG			
	'they two pulled up the canoe and I continued to run'						

A more “literal” translation is: 'they two pulled up the canoe they two and I continued

<sup>29</sup> For most of these I have not been able to determine the conditions that give rise to the shortened forms. The one that seems consistent is the emphatic use of *ira* 'EP:3PL' with objects. See (56) and (57).

<sup>30</sup> This is not unique to Lengo—the English pronoun *you* presents its own challenges, serving as it does as second person singular ~ plural, subject ~ object pronoun.

to run I'. Note that both instances of the emphatic pronoun are found following the verb in their respective clauses, while their corresponding subject reference pronouns (*ara-ko* and *m-u*) are found before the verbs. The role of the emphatic pronoun here is to reiterate the subjects and, by so doing, help differentiate the actors one from the other. That is to say, that the 1<sub>SG</sub> actor *m-u* / *inau* was not involved in pulling up the canoe (even though he rode in it and would normally be expected to help), nor did the 3<sub>PL</sub> actors *ara-ko* run at this point in the narrative (they did run after their friend once the canoe was ashore). The fact that the 1<sub>SG</sub> actor had been bitten by a centipede has a lot to do with the distinction of actors and actions: the one bitten hightailed it home while his companions took care of other details before they followed.

When a first person non-singular form of the emphatic pronoun is used, the speaker does not receive explicit mention, although his companion(s) do.<sup>31</sup>

- (52) a. *I<ko>ghami a P. ami-ko dea i nughu.*  
 <DU>EP:1EX.PL ART P 1EX.PL-DU GO LOC river  
 'We two, P. [and I], we two went to the river.'
- b. *I<tu>ghami a B. ma R. ma P. ma L. t-ami-tu uru.*  
 <PAU>EP:1EX.PL ART B CONJ R CONJ P CONJ L RL-1EX.PL-PAU dive  
 'We few—B., R., P., L. [and I]—we few went diving.'
- c. *m-ami-tu dea talu iti i<tu>ghami B. ma N.*  
 CONJ-1EX.PL-PAU go put up <PAU>EP:1EX.PL B CONJ N  
 'we few put them up: we few B. and N. [and I].'

The narrator does not receive specific mention in these examples, though he is definitely included among the participants by virtue of the first person plural emphatic pronoun form. Note in these examples that the subject noun phrase follows the emphatic pronoun. This is always the case when they co-occur.

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<sup>31</sup> Compare Lengo 'we few X and Y and Z' to English 'X, Y, Z, and I'.



When a non-singular emphatic pronoun is not used for the speaker and her companions, the speaker can be made explicit along with her companions by using a singular form of the emphatic pronoun, such as *inau* 'EP:1SG' in (53).

- (53) a. *Tena Sade rodo inau ma S. kolu-a T. ami-tu thivo*  
LOC Sunday evening EP:1SG CONJ S COM-O:3SG T 1EX.PL-PAU go.down  
 'Sunday evening I and S. with T. we few went down'
- b. *Inau, S. ma T. ami-tu dea*  
EP:1SG S CONJ T 1EX.PL-PAU go  
 'I, S., and T., we few went'

There is no evidence that this type of construction for naming multiple participants raises the profile / status of the speaker over against her companions in contrast to a non-singular form of the emphatic pronoun (as in (52)). It is worth noting of (51) above that it comes in the middle of the source text. Example (53)a. comes at the beginning of the same text; and in (53)a. the emphatic pronoun *inau* is found before the verb. So while the emphatic pronouns in (51) help contrast the respective actors, the emphatic pronoun coming as it does at the beginning of (53)a., before the subject reference pronoun + V, serves an enumerating function for the main actors of the story—the narrator *inau* 'I' and his friends.

Example (54) presents evidence of the emphatic pronoun being used to indicate possessor person. In (54) the possession type is direct as indicated by the nouns affixed by the first person possessor pronoun suffix *-gu*.

- (54) a. *ma k-ami soni iti-i vati tuthivo-gu inau*  
CONJ IRR-1EX.PL throw up-O:3PL journey's.end waterfront.landing-PS:1SG EP:1SG  
 'at journey's end we may throw them up at my own water-front landing'
- b. *ara gito-a t-i m-ara lavi dea-a na kei-gu inau*  
3PL steal-O:3SG RL-LOC CONJ-3PL take go-O:3SG ART basket-PS:1SG EP:1SG  
 'they stole it and they took it away my basket "mine"'

The emphatic pronoun may also indicate indirect possessor person, as in the case of *noda* 'our' in (55).

- (55) *t-e vonu noda na commitment ighita*  
RL-3SG full PS:1IN.PL ART commitment EP:1IN.PL  
 'it is full [i.e., big to overflowing], our own commitment'

Despite that fact that possessor person is the syntactic category in view (and not subject), the emphatic nature of this pronoun is evident. The owner of the possessed noun is emphasised by the emphatic pronoun. In (54)a., b., and (55) the emphatic pronoun is a different person and number from the subject of the sentence (*k-ami* 'IRR-1EX.PL' in (54)a., *ara* '3PL' in (54)b., and *t-e* 'RL-SPR:3SG' in (55)). It is, however, the same person and number as the possessor. This means that the emphatic pronoun is not standing pronominally for the subject but for the possessor. There is no evidence in Lengo of a repeated possessor pronoun, no instance of, for example, *\*noda na X noda*. The emphatic pronoun fills the role of emphasising possessor person.

In (56) the object, the noun phrase *na koga* 'the sticks', is marked by the plural inanimate object pronoun suffix (-i) on the verb and emphasised with the pronoun *ira*.

- (56) *K-ami-tu longa dea ma k-ami-tu dea tura-i na koga ira.*  
IRR-1EX.PL-PAU landward go CONJ IRR-1EX.PL-PAU go carry-O:3PL ART stick EP:3PL  
 'We will go landward and we will go carry the sticks.'

Since the retrieval of the sticks is the goal of the author's story in (56), they are called to the hearer's attention at this point—the outset—of the text. The use of the emphatic pronoun is a significant means for doing this.

Again, in (57) both the third person plural versions of object pronoun and emphatic pronoun are used.

- (57) *t-e rongo-ni-ra na kau ma na ira*  
 RL-3SG hear-TR-O:3PL ART dog CONJ ART EP:3PL  
 'it [the crocodile] hears the dogs and the others [boys]'

The suffix *-ra* indicates that the verb *rongo* 'hear' has an animate 3PL object. The dogs and the boys who imitate dogs are, taken together, the plural object of the transitivised verb *rongo-ni-ra* 'hear-TR-O:3PL'. The free form *ira* 'EP:3PL' is used pronominally for the young boys who tease the crocodiles by barking like dogs.

An intriguing use of the first person singular emphatic pronoun is shown in (58).

- (58) *B. k-o dea tugu vani-a nga inau*  
 B IRR-2SG go tell DAT-O:3SG DEM:SG EP:1SG  
 'B., go tell her—who is actually me— . . . '

Here *inau* 'EP:1SG' is used as part of a third person reference to the storyteller in the story she is telling that involves her.<sup>32</sup>

### 3.2.2 Subject reference

The subject reference pronoun is a verb phrase constituent which indexes subject arguments. The subject reference pronoun:

1. is, with few exceptions, the first constituent of the verb phrase.<sup>33</sup> In these rare instances when a subject reference pronoun is not present, the verb lacking a subject reference pronoun is part of a larger chain of clauses in which the subject is clearly understood. It is also optional in imperative sentences;
2. is affixed for TAM (e.g., *ba k-u dea* 'I will go'),<sup>34</sup> and dual or paucal number;
3. has word-level stress;
4. is juxtaposed to noun phrases in predicate nominal constructions (e.g., *e na ghaoka* 'she [is] a woman').

<sup>32</sup> This is discussed in more depth in relation to demonstratives on page 71.

<sup>33</sup> The auxiliaries *ba* 'future' and *boro* 'impossible future' precede the subject reference pronoun.

<sup>34</sup> The subject reference pronoun can remain unmarked ( $\emptyset$ ; indicative), or be prefixed by a TAM marker: *g-* 'perfective', *t-* 'realis', *k-* 'irrealis', or *b-* 'apprehensive'. The prefixes *m-* 'CONJ' and *p-* 'ALT' also join to the subject reference pronoun, but as conjunctions and not as TAM markers. See page 87ff for more discussion.

Given this particle's role of indexing subject person and number for the verb as well as indicating the TAM signature of the clause, it is closely related to the verb. If this was the limit of the subject reference pronoun's role its classification would not pose such a problem. It is when the subject reference pronoun is found as part of predicate nominal constructions that classificatory difficulties arise. According to Payne (1997:114-19), a predicate nominal will consist, at a minimum, of two juxtaposed noun phrases with variants of this including the addition of a copula as verb, pronoun, an invariant particle, or a derived form. The available options for describing this morpheme are either a subject indexing particle that belongs to the verb phrase or a pronoun. The difficulty is that this class of morphemes is both at the same time.

In the pronoun section of their typological overview of Oceanic languages, Lynch *et al.* (2002) observe that, “There are generally several separate paradigms of pronominal forms.” The third pronoun paradigm they note, and the one of interest here, is,

Subject: most languages have one or more sets of preverbal morphemes—usually clitics, but sometimes prefixes or free forms—which indicate the person and number of the subject. In Melanesian languages these are often portmanteau forms which combine with the expression of the tense/aspect/mood categories of the verb (§3.2; in the grammar sketches these are often handled under the verb phrase) (35).

In section 3.2 they explain further that,

It is in the area of verbal morphology and verb phrase syntax that Oceanic languages generally exhibit the greatest complexity. Oceanic languages generally have preposed verbal morphemes, falling into two basic types, according to whether these morphemes are free or prefixed. . . Straddling the divide between free and prefixing systems are those in which a morphologically complex preverbal marker expresses a combination of subject and TAM categories (45).

It is into this class that Lengo's pre-verbal subject reference pronouns fall. Keesing (1988) provides much the same analysis when he writes,

I have argued that at the very 'core' of Oceanic syntax lies a clause structure minimally comprising a VP incorporating a subject reference pronoun and (in transitive clauses) an object-marking pronoun. The subject NP is an optional expansion on this VP, as is an object NP. Once subject reference is established, with an explicit noun or contextually, reference is maintained in subsequent clauses with subject reference pronouns within the VPs: there are no subject NPs in such clauses (145).<sup>35</sup>

Following Keesing I use the term subject reference pronoun for this particle.

One difficulty presented by this analysis is that these subject reference pronouns do not pattern after nouns in that they occupy different—and cannot occupy the same—spaces in a clause. According to Payne (1997:43) pronouns are, “free forms (as opposed to affixes) that function alone to fill the position of a noun phrase in a clause. They normally have all the distributional properties of noun phrases.” This is not true of the subject reference pronoun: it does not share the distributional properties of noun phrases.

Another difficulty this analysis presents is that of the subject reference pronoun's role in marking time. The subject reference pronoun is discussed as part of the verb phrase because of the range of TAM markers which affix to it. The subject reference pronoun's role in carrying TAM marking is unmistakable. It is difficult to find reference in the literature to the marking of time on a subject marker; much of what has been written seems to assume that time is marked on the verb or with some sort of auxiliary to the verb.<sup>36</sup> Nordlinger and Sadler (2004), however, have evidence that

<sup>35</sup> This accurately describes the situation in Lengo with the exception that subject noun phrases continue to be found after subject reference has been established, as demonstrated above in the discussion of the emphatic pronoun.

<sup>36</sup> Payne (1997:237) at least makes allowance for TAM marking on the verb phrase: “All TAM operations are most often associated with the verbal word (for polysynthetic languages) or verb phrase (for more

contradicts those assumptions.

A standard assumption in linguistic theory is that features relevant to the clause as a whole are associated with a clausal head. In more concrete terms, this translates into the assumption that clausal features such as tense/aspect/mood (henceforth TAM) are encoded by verbs, verb-like auxiliary elements or particles . . . However, this assumption is incorrect. In many languages dependent nominals and nominal modifiers may also be inflected for tense, aspect and mood interpreted with respect to the clausal predication (1).

This provides the space required to analyse the Lengo subject marking particle as a pronoun with TAM marking as part of the verb phrase.

The Lengo subject reference pronouns are shown in (59).<sup>37</sup>

(59)	1 <sub>IN</sub>	1 <sub>EX</sub>	2	3
SG		<i>u</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>e</i>
PL	<i>a</i>	<i>ami</i>	<i>amu</i>	<i>ara</i>
DU	<i>a-ko</i>	<i>ami-ko</i>	<i>amu-ko</i>	<i>ara-ko</i>
PAU	<i>a-tu</i>	<i>ami-tu</i>	<i>amu-tu</i>	<i>ara-tu</i>

That the subject reference pronoun is best considered a free standing pronoun, and not an affix or a (pro)clitic to the verb, is confirmed by the fact that a number of words—including the TAM auxiliaries *ba* 'DEO' and *bo* 'IMPF', and adverbs *ne* 'EMPH', *sakai ni* 'before', *soko* 'finish', and *tighi* 'firstly'—can come between the subject reference pronoun and the verb.<sup>38</sup>

The subject reference pronoun, and especially its role in marking TAM, receives a more detailed treatment in the discussion of the verb phrase. Briefly, however, consider example (52) again, re-presented here as (60).

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isolating languages).”

<sup>37</sup> Ross (1988:365), in Table 38: Subject Pronominal Clitics of Selected Oceanic Languages, gives Lengo forms of *atu* '1IP' (1 inclusive plural) and *amo* '2P' (2 plural). I analyse *a-tu* as '1<sub>IN.PL-PAU</sub>' and I hear '2<sub>PL</sub>' as [amu].

<sup>38</sup> See the relevant sections for examples.

- (60) a. *I<ko>ghami a P. ami-ko dea i nughu.*  
 <DU>EP:1EX.PL ART P 1EX.PL-DU go LOC river  
 'We two, P. [and I], we two went to the river.'
- b. *I<tu>ghami a B. ma R. ma P. ma L. t-ami-tu uru.*  
 <PAU>EP:1EX.PL ART B CONJ R CONJ P CONJ L RL-1EX.PL-PAU dive  
 'We few—B., R., P., L. [and I]—we few went diving.'
- c. *m-ami-tu dea talu iti i<tu>ghami B. ma N.*  
 CONJ-1EX.PL-PAU go put up <PAU>EP:1EX.PL B CONJ N  
 'we put them up: we few B. and N. [and I].'

The subject reference pronoun agrees with the subject noun phrase in person and number; it is always found before the verb; and it is marked for TAM.

Most often, there is a single subject reference pronoun per clause with a single TAM argument.<sup>39</sup> Only rarely, and in a limited number of forms, are serial subject reference pronouns found. These are *m-k-* forms with single syllable subject reference pronouns, specifically *m-u k-u* 'CONJ-1SG IRR-1SG', *m-o k-o* 'CONJ-2SG IRR-2SG', *m-e k-e* 'CONJ-3SG IRR-3SG', and *m-a k-a* 'CONJ-1IN.PL IRR-1IN.PL' as in (61).<sup>40</sup>

- (61) *k-o dea ta~tagho m-o k-o lavi mai-a*  
 IRR-2SG go RDP~fish CONJ-2SG IRR-2SG take come-O:3SG  
 'you go fishing and bring what you catch'

A more literal translation of this is, '[imperative] you go fishing and you [imperative] you take come it [i.e., what you catch]'. With the multi-syllable forms a subject reference pronoun marked for TAM (*g-*, *t-*, *k-*, or  $\emptyset$ ) is found at the beginning of the first clause and either subject reference pronouns marked with the conjunction *m-* in consecutive clauses (e.g., *t-ara . . . m-ara . . . m-ara*) or the full conjunction *ma* before *k-* marked subject reference pronouns (e.g., *ma k-ara*) in consecutive clauses. What is not

<sup>39</sup> While there may be more than one subject reference pronoun per clause, this latter assertion is invariable: each subject reference pronoun can take only one prefix.

<sup>40</sup> The prefixes *m-* 'CONJ' and *p-* 'ALT' do double duty as clause and TAM conjunctions. For a discussion of *p-k-* forms see page 196.

found is, for example, \**m-ara k-ara*.

### 3.2.3 Object

Object pronoun suffixes, shown in (62), index object arguments on the verb constituent(s) of the verb phrase.<sup>41</sup> Serial verb constructions may have more than one indexing object suffix—one per verb—when there is more than one object-type argument.

(62)	1IN	1EX	2	3
	SG	-u	-gho	-a
	PL	-ghita	-ghami	-ghamu
				-ra (animate)
				-i (inanimate)
	DU	-ko-ghita	-ko-ghami	-ko-ghamu
	PAU	-tu-ghita	-tu-ghami	-tu-ghamu
				-ko-ira
				-tu-ira

The object pronoun suffix joins to verbs to index the object.

- (63) a. *Pitu-u!*  
 wait-o:1SG  
 'Wait for me!'
- b. *Ara pitu-u.*  
 3PL wait-o:1SG  
 'They await me.'
- c. *O pitu-a na thinaghe?*  
 2SG wait-o:3SG ART canoe  
 '[Are] you awaiting a canoe?'

The object is not always—indeed, not often—indicated with a full noun phrase.

One thing of note concerning the object pronouns is that there is a distinction between animate and inanimate in third person plural. Compare the examples in (64).

- (64) a. *t-e rongo-ni-ra na kau ma na ira*  
 RL-3SG hear-TR-O:3PL ART dog CONJ ART EP:3PL  
 'it [the crocodile] hears the dogs and the others [boys]'

<sup>41</sup> Simons (1977:12-13) makes the case that in Ghaimuta, “The one syllable object pronouns [-u, 'o:1SG', -go 'o:2SG', -a 'o:3SG', -ra 'o:3PL'] are written as suffixes to the verb” (Simons 1977:12). The multi-syllable forms [(*ko-/tu-*)*gita / gami / gamu / ira*] are, according to Simons, free forms. Cf. Payne (1997:42-44).



b. *e pulu-i na ghola na ghaoka*  
 3SG roll.up-o:3PL ART pudding ART woman  
 'the woman rolls up the puddings'

The animate objects—dogs and boys—are marked on the verb with *-ra* in (64)a., while in (64)b. the inanimate objects—puddings—are marked with *-i*.

When there is a single verb and two objects in a sentence—one direct and the other indirect—the indirect object is marked on the verb with an object pronoun suffix, while the direct object is not. So in (65) a single object is indexed on the verb despite the fact that there are both recipient (*-gho* 'o:2SG') and theme (*na buka* 'ART book' and *na igha* 'ART fish') arguments in the sentences.

- (65) a. *u athe-gho na buka*  
 1SG give-o:2SG ART book  
 'I gave you the book'
- b. *A thi t-e athe-gho na igha?*  
 ART who RL-3SG give-o:2SG ART fish  
 'Who gave you the fish?'

In Lengo there are never two objects marked on the verb: *\*u athe-gho-a na buka* and *\*u athe-a-gho na buka* are ungrammatical. By way of contrast, consider (66), which is a serial verb construction with two object-type arguments. Here the book remains the direct object / theme and is marked on the first verb with an object pronoun suffix while the indirect object / recipient is marked on the second verb.

- (66) *u athe-a vani-gho na buka de*  
 1SG give-o:3SG DAT-o:2SG ART book DEM:SG  
 'I'm giving you this book'

The introduction of a second verb allows the indexing of a second object argument.

The object pronoun can also be used in genitive constructions, as in (67).

- (67) *E bo ghilaghana t-i na sanga ni ghita.*  
 3SG IMPF know RL-LOC ART talk GEN O:1IN.PL  
 'He almost knows our language.' (lit., 'the language of us')

Here there is no object pronoun marked on the verb—it is part of the larger object genitive marked by *ni* 'GEN'.

Finally, it is worth pointing out the similarity of form but the significant difference of meaning between *-a* 'o:3SG' and *-a* 'ps:3SG'. Compare the role of *-a* in (68).

- (68) a. *m-e rongo-a a dae-a t-e ghu-vi dea-a*  
 CONJ-3SG hear-o:3SG ART child-ps:3SG RL-3SG shout-TR go-o:3SG  
 'and her son heard her, the one she shouted to'
- b. *M-e ribe sakai na ghaoka m-e ghu-ghu; e ghu-vi-a*  
 CONJ-3SG surprise one ART woman CONJ-3SG INTS-shout 3SG shout-TR-o:3SG
- a dae-a.*  
 ART child-ps:3SG  
 'Surprised, one of the women started shouting; she shouted to her son.'

It is important to remember that *-a* 'o:3SG' joins to verbs while *-a* 'ps:3SG' joins to nouns, possessive classifiers *ni* 'GEN' and *gha* 'oral', and reflexive *tibo*. In (68)a., *-a* 'o:3SG' is joined to the directional *dea* 'go' following *ghu-vi* 'shout-TR'. In (68)b. the *-a* attached to *ghu-vi* 'shout-TR' is 'o:3SG' whereas the *-a* joined to *dae* 'child' is 'ps:3SG'.

### 3.2.4 Direct possessor

The direct possessor pronouns, used with inalienably possessed nouns, are presented in (69).

- |      |                |                  |                 |                  |
|------|----------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| (69) | 1IN            | 1EX              | 2               | 3                |
| SG   |                | <i>-gu</i>       | <i>-mu</i>      | <i>-a, -na</i>   |
| PL   | <i>-da</i>     | <i>-mami</i>     | <i>-miu</i>     | <i>-dira</i>     |
| DU   | <i>ko- -da</i> | <i>ko- -mami</i> | <i>ko- -miu</i> | <i>ko- -dira</i> |
| PAU  | <i>tu- -da</i> | <i>tu- -mami</i> | <i>tu- -miu</i> | <i>tu- -dira</i> |

There are two forms of the 3SG bound possessor pronoun: *-a* and *-na*. Of these, *-a* is the

more common (though recall the vowel raising involved when *-a* 'ps:3SG' joins to a noun that has a final /a/). The bound possessor pronoun *-na* is found only with a few words: *tua-na* 'leg-ps:3SG; his leg' (compare *vanua-a* which becomes *vanu-e* 'village-ps:3SG; her village' with vowel raising); *vua-na* 'fruit-ps:3SG; its fruit'; and *de-dea-na* 'nr-go-ps:3SG; her going'. There are also cases of words—for example *dae* 'child' and *vae* 'house'—that are found with either *-a* or *-na*, depending on the speaker (i.e., some say *dae-a* 'child-ps:3SG; his child' while others say *dae-na* 'child-ps:3SG; his child').

These suffixes attach to the directly possessed noun, as in (70).

- (70) a. *na vae-gu*  
ART house-ps:1SG  
 'my house'
- b. *ko-ghanaghana-dira na ghaoka dini*  
DU-thinking-ps:3PL ART woman DEM:PL  
 'those two women's thinking'

See page 47 for a more complete discussion of direct possession.

### 3.2.5 Indirect possessor

There are two classes of indirectly possessed nouns: the “oral consumable” class indicated with the classifier *gha* and another “general” class indicated with the classifier *ni*. To each of these classifiers is joined the set of direct possessor pronoun suffixes to indicate person and number. The “general” indirect possessor pronouns, used with alienably possessed nouns, are in (71).

(71)	1 <sub>IN</sub>	1 <sub>EX</sub>	2	3
	SG	<i>ni-gu-a</i>	<i>ni-mo-a</i>	<i>ne</i>
	PL	<i>no-da</i>	<i>ni-mami</i>	<i>ni-miu</i>
	DU	<i>ko-no-da</i>	<i>ko-ni-mami</i>	<i>ko-ni-miu</i>
	PAU	<i>tu-no-da</i>	<i>tu-ni-mami</i>	<i>tu-ni-miu</i>
			<i>tu-no-dira</i>	

There are a few things to note about the indirect possessor pronoun set. First, that the

form of the classifier *ni* is different in 1<sub>IN</sub> and 3 person (*no* and *ne*). Second, that the 1<sub>SG</sub> and 2<sub>SG</sub> forms appear to have a 3<sub>SG</sub> object pronoun suffix *-a* that indexes the possessed noun (see (72)a. and (73)b.). The singular form is used even when the possessed noun is plural and *-i 'o:3PL'* would be expected in terms of number agreement. The plural forms of the general possessor pronouns do not have an object pronoun suffix (see (72)b., c. and (73)c.). Finally, the 2<sub>SG</sub> form has a slight lowering of the vowel in the direct possessor suffix—from /-mu/ to /-mo/ (compare *-mu 'ps:2SG'* in (69)). Morpheme breaks of a few representative indirect possessor pronouns are shown in (72).

- (72) a. *ni-gu-a* 'CLF-PS:1SG-O:3SG'  
 b. *ko-ni-mami* 'DU-CLF-PS:1EX.PL'  
 c. *no-da* 'CLF-PS:1IN.PL'

The syntax and semantics of possession is discussed in more depth below. For now, note that the free indirect possessor pronoun precedes the possessed noun with its article. The possessor for whom the pronoun stands may be indicated by a noun phrase following the possessed noun, as in (73)a.

- (73) a. *ne na be O.*  
 PS:3SG ART pig O  
 'O.'s pig'
- b. *ni-gu-a na Bible*  
 CLF-PS:1SG-O:3SG ART Bible  
 'my Bible'
- c. *k-ami oni ni-mami na agutu*  
 IRR-1EX.PL prepare CLF-PS:1EX.PL ART thing  
 'we prepare our things' [i.e., cargo]

In (73)a. the possessor, O., is made explicit with a noun phrase following the possessed noun (*na be*), while in (73)b. and c. only the possessor pronoun and the possessed noun are found. In all three examples the indirect possessor pronoun is at the beginning of

the noun phrase.

The “oral consumable” indirect possessor pronouns are used for things consumed via the mouth (e.g., food and tobacco). These are presented in (74).

(74)	1 <sub>IN</sub>	1 <sub>EX</sub>	2	3
	SG	<i>gha-gu-a</i>	<i>gha-mu-a</i>	<i>ghe</i>
	PL	<i>gha-da</i>	<i>gha-mami</i>	<i>gha-dira</i>
	DU	<i>ko-gh-ada</i>	<i>ko-gha-miu</i>	<i>ko-gha-dira</i>
	PAU	<i>tu-gha-da</i>	<i>tu-gha-miu</i>	<i>tu-gha-dira</i>

While this set differs from the “general” class of indirect possessor pronouns in that the form of the classifier remains the same for all persons and numbers,<sup>42</sup> this set is the same in that the 1 and 2<sub>SG</sub> forms retain the 3<sub>SG</sub> object suffix *-a*. Additionally, the direct possessor suffix for 2<sub>SG</sub> retains its high vowel quality /-mu/.

The food in (75) is specified with a noun phrase *na vudi lepa* 'ART ripe bananas'.

(75)	<b><i>Gha-mu-a</i></b>	<i>na vudi lepa.</i>
	oral.CLF-PS;2 <sub>SG</sub> -O;3 <sub>SG</sub>	ART banana ripe
		'[Here is a] ripe banana for you to eat.'

That the banana is the possession of a 2<sub>SG</sub> participant is indicated by *gha-mu-a* 'oral-PS;2<sub>SG</sub>-O;3<sub>SG</sub>'.

### 3.2.6 Reflexive

The Lengo reflexive is formed by adding direct possessor pronoun suffixes to the stem *tibo* 'REFL'. It decreases the valence of a verb, as in (76).

(76)	a.	<i>ba k-o ne dea thudu t-i tena ovu ni vanua-mu;</i>
		FUT IRR-2 <sub>SG</sub> EMPH go sit RL-LOC LOC group GEN village-PS;2 <sub>SG</sub>
		<i>thara tibo-miu t-i</i>
		feast REFL-PS;2 <sub>PL</sub> RL-LOC
		'you will go sit in your village group; eat among yourselves'

<sup>42</sup> The 3<sub>SG</sub> form is a case of vowel raising: *gha* + *-a* 'PS;3<sub>SG</sub>' → *ghe*.

- b. *U toka tibo-gu.*  
 1SG cut REFL-PS:1SG  
 'I cut myself.'

In (76)b., the transitive verb *toka* 'cut' would normally have a suffix to indicate the object. Here the object suffix is dropped and the verb is followed by a valence-reducing reflexive.

The reflexive also serves as a kind of emphatic possessive pronoun, as in (77).

- (77) *na tha t-o lavi mai-a, na vanga tha t-o ghali mai-a*  
 ART REL RL-2SG take come-o:3SG ART food REL RL-2SG make come-o:3SG  
  
*tena Sarere, ba k-e oli tena nimoa na thara tibo-mu*  
 LOC Saturday FUT IRR-3SG return LOC PS:2SG ART feast.ROW REFL-PS:2SG  
 'what you bring, the food that you make on Saturday, it will return to your own feast row'

The same 'emphatic' behaviour in relation to possession is found with the emphatic pronoun as mentioned in the discussion on page 31.

### 3.2.7 Interrogative / relative

Lengo has two interrogative / relative pronouns: *thi* (human) and *tha* (non-human). They are not marked for number. The interrogative / relative pronoun *thi* always appears with a 'ART' preceding, while *tha* is found with *na* 'ART'.<sup>43</sup>

In (78) examples of *thi* and *tha* as relative pronouns are presented.

- (78) a. *na tinoni ketha a thi ga deni ba k-e mai lau-a*  
 ART person different ART REL there DEM FUT IRR-3SG come take-o:3SG  
  
*pile-a na vanga de*  
 little.bit-o:3SG ART food DEM  
 'a different person who is over there will come take a bit of this food'
- b. *na vanga tha t-o ghali mai-a tena Sarere, ba k-e oli*  
 ART food REL RL-2SG make come-o:3SG LOC Saturday FUT IRR-3SG return

<sup>43</sup> This gives some indication that a human / non-human distinction between the Lengo articles *a* and *na* may have been stronger at some point in the past. See page 17 for more discussion.

*tena nimoa na thara tibo-mu*  
 LOC PS:2SG ART feast.ROW REFL-PS:2SG  
 'the food that you make [and] bring on Saturday will return to you in your feast row'

The function of *thi* and *tha* within relative clauses is discussed below (page 198).

In (79) examples of *thi* and *tha* as interrogative pronouns are found.

(79) a. A **thi** *t-e athe-gho na igha?*  
 ART INT RL-3SG give-o:2SG ART fish  
 'Who gave you the fish?'

b. Na **tha** *t-o ghoni-a?*  
 ART INT RL-2SG do-o:3SG  
 'What are you doing?'

The pronouns *thi* and *tha* do double duty as interrogative pronouns 'who' and 'what' respectively. The role of *thi* and *tha* in posing content questions is discussed below (page 185ff).

### 3.3 Basic noun phrase structure

The Lengo noun phrase is minimally comprised of a noun. While the article is rarely omitted, it is absent from time to time and must be considered optional. Beyond this there are optional indicators of possessor (direct and indirect) person and number, along with adjectives and demonstratives.

(80) (PS) (NUM) (EP) (ART) N (-PS) (ADJ) (DEM)

The direct possessor pronoun (-PS) is the only affix found in the noun phrase.

Some coordinate noun phrases are joined by the conjunction *ma* 'CONJ', as *na sule ma na pile* 'the big and the small' are in (81), while others are simply juxtaposed, as are *gari mokoni, gari ghaoka* 'young teen girls, young girls'.

(81) *k-a ne rongo-ni-a: na sule ma na pile, ghaoka ma na mane,*  
 IRR-1IN.PL EMPH hear-TR-O:3SG ART big CONJ ART small woman CONJ ART man

*gari mokoni, gari ghaoka*  
 child post-pubescent girl child female  
 'we all will listen to her: the big and the small, [the] women and the men, post-pubescent girls, pre-pubescent girls'

Disjunct noun phrases are joined by the conjunction *pa* 'or'.

(82) *Gari mane pa na gari ghaoka?*  
 child boy or ART child girl  
 'Is it a boy or a girl?'

### 3.3.1 Possession

Possession is a somewhat complex subject in the Oceanic family of languages.

There is an interplay between semantics and syntax that results in distinct possessive constructions for nouns of particular classes. According to Ross,

Possessive construction systems in canonic languages are defined along four parameters (Lichtenberk 1985, Ross 1998c): a. whether the possessed noun is alienable or inalienable; b. how many subtypes of alienable possession occur; c. whether the possessor is a pronoun, a common noun phrase, or a personal noun phrase; d. whether a noun phrase possessor is specific or non-specific (2004:511).

Given the interplay between semantics and syntax, there is overlap among these parameters, especially with points c. and d. Lengo also has a verb of possession, *logho* 'have', that operates both with and independently of the possessive constructions for nouns. The discussion that follows will address these parameters in turn in an attempt to demonstrate possession constructions in Lengo.

Lengo nouns fall into one of three classes: inalienable or alienable. Kinship terms, body parts, and certain locations / directions are considered inalienably possessed. There is another set of nouns which, although they do not belong to the inalienable categories attested in many other Oceanic languages, nevertheless are used with the inalienable possession construction type. For the purposes of this grammar, I



consider these inalienable.<sup>44</sup> Most other nouns are alienable. Within the alienable set of nouns there are two classes: an oral consumable class (food and tobacco) and a general class.

Before going further, and in keeping with the larger Oceanic tradition, it is necessary to distinguish between semantic and syntactic categories when discussing possession. Palmer states the case succinctly:

Oceanic languages typically have two distinct constructions for marking nominals to index their possessor. In one, the ‘direct’ construction, possessor-indexing suffixes attach directly to the possessum noun, while in the other ‘indirect’ construction the suffixes attach to one of several possessive classifiers or bases, rather than the possessum noun itself. This is often referred to as a distinction between an inalienable construction and an alienable one. However, although those terms do capture the prototypical functions of the constructions, they refer to semantics, not morphology or syntax (2007:1).

For the purposes of this description the terms direct and indirect possession are used to describe the bound and free form possessor constructions with the understanding that these represent the semantic categories of inalienable and alienable possession respectively. These parameters are represented on the chart in (83).

(83) Possession Constructions

possession type	direct		indirect	
semantics	inalienable		alienable	
class	item	location / direction	oral	general
syntax	bound pronoun		free pronoun	

Direct possession is the construction type used for the class of nouns to which belong body parts, kin terms, and certain locations / directions. With these nouns, possession is expressed with a possessor pronoun suffix attached directly to the

<sup>44</sup> Lynch (1973:75) proposes the term semi-alienable for such a set; that is, nouns that, “may be thought of as being normally part of the possessor but somehow removable under certain ill-defined circumstances.”

possessed noun. The examples in (84) demonstrate direct possession constructions for a body part ((84)a.), kin term ((84)b.), and locations ((84)c. and d.).

- (84) a. *na aro-gu mauli t-e rasa*  
 ART shoulder-PS:1SG left RL-3SG tear  
 'my left shoulder tore'
- b. *Ai! E ghani-a na vua a tina-mu!*  
 hey 3SG bite-O:3SG ART crocodile ART mother-PS:2SG  
 'Hey! The crocodile is biting your mother!'
- c. *Ba ku kabia na gilul i pala sepe na vaegu.*  
 ba k-u kabi-a na gilul i pala sapa-a na vae-gu  
 FUT IRR-1SG dig-O:3SG ART hole LOC side seaward-PS:3SG ART house-PS:1SG  
 'I am going to dig a hole to my house's seaward side.'
- d. *m-e eno ti ko-levugha-mami t-i a J. g-i na gari*  
 CONJ-3SG lay RL-LOC DU-between-PS:1EX.PL RL-LOC ART J PFCT-LOC ART child  
 'and he lay down between J. [and I], the boy did'

In (84)c. the direction *sapa* 'to seaward' is inalienably possessed by the side of the house.<sup>45</sup> In (84)d. the location *levugha* 'between' is directly possessed by J. and the storyteller.

Dual and paucal forms appear as prefixes to the possessed noun with a direct possessor pronoun suffix, as in (84)d. and (85).

- (85) *A ko-dae-mami e belo.*  
 ART DU-child-PS:1EX.PL 3SG ring.bell  
 'Our two's child is ringing the bell.'

In addition to the possessor person suffix joined to the directly possessed noun, the possessor can also be specified by an emphatic pronoun following the possessed noun, as in (86).

<sup>45</sup> Of course, the respective sides of the house also possess 'upcoast', 'downcoast', and 'to landward' directions. In fact, depending on the orientation of a piece of timber, a person can cut the end that is pointing in the 'upcoast', 'downcoast', 'to landward' or 'to seaward' direction.

- (86) *na kei-gu inau kolu-a na batere i leo*  
 ART basket-PS:1SG EP:1SG with-O:3SG ART battery LOC inside  
 'my basket—mine, with the battery inside'

This is not the only context in which Lengo uses two distinct forms to indicate aspects of the same thing; emphatic pronoun and subject reference pronoun are used to indicate subject, and dual pronouns and the numeral *ruka* 'two' are used together in the data to specify number (see example (114)).

A directly possessed noun may itself be directly possessed, as (87) demonstrates. Here *e* '3SG', the actor who went and grabbed, possesses the mother who in turn possesses the hand. The direct possessor pronoun suffix is applied to both inalienable nouns. Note that the second noun, *tine* 'mother', does not have an article preceding.

- (87) *e dea otia na lime tine*  
 e dea oti-a na lima-a tina-a  
 3SG go grab-O:3SG ART hand-PS:3SG mother-PS:3SG  
 'he went and grabbed his mother's hand'

This could be less-freely glossed as 'he grabbed it the hand of her [the] mother of him'.

The chart provided in (88) shows constructions for the direct / inalienable possession constructions discussed thus far.

(88) Possession Constructions

possession type	direct		indirect	
semantics	inalienable		alienable	
class	item	location / direction	oral	general
syntax	<b>N-PS</b>	<b>LOC-PS</b>		

This will be filled out further as each aspect of possession in Lengo is discussed.

There is a significantly large set of nouns which do not fall into the widely attested inalienably possessed noun category of Oceanic languages (i.e., kin, body parts, and certain directions), but which in Lengo take the direct possessor construction.

Some Lengo words that do not fall within the commonly attested category of inalienable possession in Oceanic languages, but take the direct possession form, are: *atha* 'name', *ghanaghana* 'thinking, opinion', *kei* 'basket', *leghai* 'garden', *leo* 'want, desire', *mauri* 'someone lives' (e.g., *mauri-dira* 'their living'), *pera* 'basket', *thinaghe* 'canoe', *tuthivo* 'waterfront landing', *vae* 'house', *vanga* 'food', *vanua* 'village', and *vua* 'fruit (as belonging to a tree)'. It may well be that this set has always existed in Lengo, though further research might show whether the changes wrought by the relatively recent introduction of a cash economy have altered the terms of possession in Lengo society.<sup>46</sup> The examples in (89) show some of these in context.

- (89) a. *Gari k-amu mai thanga-u na turu-vaghini-a na vae-gu.*  
 boy IRR-2PL come help-O:1SG ART erect-CAUS-O:3SG ART house-PS:1SG  
 'Boys, come help me stand up my house [posts].'
- b. *A thi na atha-mu ighoe?*  
 ART INT ART name-PS:2SG EP:2SG  
 'What is your name?'
- c. *Ara gito-a na kei-gu!*  
 3PL steal-O:3SG ART basket-PS:1SG  
 'They stole my basket!'
- d. *E leo-mu na inu beti bithi?*  
 3SG want-PS:2SG ART drink water cool  
 'Do you want a cold drink?' (lit., 'Is your desire a cold drink?')

Despite the fact that in (89)c. the speaker was alienated from his *kei* 'basket' when someone stole it, it is marked with the direct / inalienable possessor construction.

There are two classes of indirectly possessed nouns: a class of oral consumables (i.e., food and tobacco) and a general class. The oral consumable class is marked by the classifier *gha* together with the appropriate direct possession suffix for possessor

<sup>46</sup> It is difficult, however, to see how items such as 'name', 'thinking', and 'desire' would be so affected.

person and number.<sup>47</sup> The general class is marked by a form of the classifier *ni* 'GEN' together with the appropriate person and number direct possession suffix. These classifier pronouns are found before the noun phrase of which the possessed noun is a part.

The set of pronouns for the class of possessed oral consumables is given on page 43. These have a classifier stem *gha* 'oral.CLF' to which the direct possessor pronoun suffixes join.<sup>48</sup> Example (90) shows how this possessive classifier is used.

- (90) *gha-mu-a*        *na vudi*    *lepa*  
 oral.CLF-PS:2SG-O:3SG ART banana ripe  
 '[Here is a] ripe banana for you to eat.'

While the more literal translation 'your oral-consumable ripe banana' is rather bulky, it is an accurate reflection of the meaning of (90).

While a number of Oceanic languages have separate possession classes for food and drink, Lengo does not seem to distinguish the two. In fact, the oral consumable class may well include anything that is taken into the body via the mouth. In (91) this form is used for a cigarette.

- (91) *U pulu-a gha-gu-a*        *na piala*.  
 1SG roll-O:3SG oral.CLF-PS:1SG-O:3SG ART cigarette  
 'I'm rolling my oral.consumable cigarette.'

While this is the only example in the data of something being taken into the body via the mouth that is not 'food' per se, it is widely attested.

The oral consumable possession construction is filled in on the chart below.

<sup>47</sup> The oral consumable classifier *gha* is not the Lengo generic noun for food; *vanga* 'food' is that. Given that *gha* is not the generic 'food' noun, it is considered a classifier in this description.

<sup>48</sup> As previously noted, the 1SG and 2SG forms also have the 3SG object pronoun suffix attached.

## (92) Possession Constructions

possession type	direct		indirect	
semantics	inalienable		alienable	
class	item	location / direction	oral	general
syntax	N-PS	LOC-PS	<b><i>gha-ps NP</i></b>	

It remains to discuss the general possession construction.

The general class of indirect possession is marked by a form of the genitive *ni* along with a direct possessor pronoun suffix. As with possessed oral consumables, in the cases of the 1<sub>SG</sub> and 2<sub>SG</sub> alienable specific forms, there is the addition of the 3<sub>SG</sub> object pronoun suffix *-a*.<sup>49</sup> The set of pronouns for the class of general possession is given on page 41. The general possessor pronoun appears before the possessed noun with its article, as in (93).

- (93) *m-u dea i vae ni talu-a ni-gu-a na Bible*  
 CONJ-1SG go LOC house GEN leave-O:3SG GEN-PS:1SG-O:3SG ART bible  
 'and I went to my house to leave my Bible'

The noun for whom the possessor pronoun stands can be made explicit with a noun phrase following. This is shown in (94).

- (94) *ni-miu na thara tibo-miu t-i ighamu na K.*  
 GEN-PS:2PL ART feast.ROW REFL-PS:2PL RL-LOC EP:2PL ART K  
 'your feast.row yourselves, you [community group] K.'

Here, while *nimiu* adequately indicates the possessor persons, their identity is more fully specified by the emphatic pronoun *ighamu* and the noun phrase *na K*. (the name of the community group being discussed).

The addition of the general indirect / alienable possession construction completes the chart below.

<sup>49</sup> It is difficult to say whether this has been added to the 1 and 2<sub>SG</sub> forms or dropped from the others.

## (95) Possession Constructions

possession type	direct		indirect	
semantics	inalienable		alienable	
class	item	location / direction	oral	general
syntax	N-PS	LOC-PS	<i>gha</i> -PS NP	<i>ni</i> -ps(-O) NP

It also completes the discussion of direct and indirect possession. But it does not exhaust the subject of possession in Lengo. Two topics of discussion remain. First, the possessive verb *logho* 'have'; and second, the use of the general indirect possession classifier *ni* in an array of possessive constructions detailed below.

The possessive verb *logho* 'have' sometimes supplants and sometime works together with the possessed noun constructions discussed above. Consider (96).

- (96) a. *leoni ghai doku ara logho vua-dira doku*  
 all tree good 3PL have fruit-PS:3PL good  
 'every good tree has good fruit'
- b. *e lavi-a a tau-na ma ne na tinoni thairo ma na leoni*  
 3SG take-O:3SG ART spouse-PS:3SG CONJ PS:3SG ART person work CONJ ART all  
  
*agutu t-e logho-i*  
 thing RL-3SG have-O:3PL  
 'he took his spouse and his servants and everything he had'

In (96)a. the possessive verb is followed by a possessed noun. The *vua* 'fruit' are marked for possession twice as indicated by the 3PL agreement between the subject reference pronoun *ara* and the direct possessor *-dira*. This is reflected in the more literal translation 'all good trees they have fruit belonging to them [that is] good'. Example (96)b. is quite different. In the first two clauses possession is marked directly (*tau-na* 'spouse-PS:3SG; his spouse') and indirectly (*ne na tinoni thairo* 'PS:3SG ART person work; his servants') on the nouns. The third clause marks possession with a verb. The final clause in (96)b. does not mark possession indirectly on the noun as, for example, *ma ne na leoni*

*agutu* 'CONJ PS:3SG ART all thing; and everything [else] of his', though such a possession construction could well have been used (compare *kami sake longai na leoni nimami na aguagutu* 'we carried to landward all our things').

Example (97) demonstrates the use of *logho* as a nominal modifier.

- (97) *a J. a sakai na mane logho; ara vonu na dae-na ma ne na*  
ART J ART one ART man have 3PL many ART child-PS:3SG CONJ PS:3SG ART
- tinoni thairo*  
person work  
 'J. [was] a rich man; many [were] his children and his servants'

Payne (1997:112) notes the “semantically empty” nature of verbs such as *logho* that function as predicate adjectives and / or copular verbs in possession clauses.

The discussion of Lengo possession concludes with the prepositional use of the general possession classifier *ni*. This possession construction is treated separately from the others because it is of a different syntactic and semantic type. When *ni* is used as a preposition it can be found between two nouns (N *ni* N), between two verbs (V *ni* V), and between a preposition of location and a noun (*i* PREP *ni* N). When found between two nouns, *ni* indicates a purpose, characteristic, or part-whole relationship between the two nouns.<sup>50</sup> In V *ni* V constructions, *ni* contributes a sense of purpose. And in *i* PREP *ni* N constructions, the relationship is of a possessed location. A further distinction of these constructions from those discussed previously is that the possession person suffixes do not appear in this type of construction.

When in the company of two nouns (N *ni* N), *ni* can indicate purpose, characteristic, or part-whole relationships: *vae ni vanga* 'house for food [preparation],

<sup>50</sup> Crowley (2002a:529), notes that, “Purposive, characteristic and part-whole noun phrases are formed by means of the preposition /*ni*/, which appears between two nouns.”



kitchen' indicates the purpose of the house; *ghaoka ni S.* 'S. woman; woman from S.' indicates an identifying characteristic of the woman; and *rau ni simiu* 'leaf of simiu plant' indicates a part-whole relationship between leaf and plant.

When in the company of two verbs (i.e., *V ni V*), *ni* indicates purpose. Examples of this include *pitu ni sukeri* 'wait for the purpose of removing [hot stones from boiling water]', and *thudu ni saluva* 'sit for the purpose of talking'. The verbs can be separated by an adverbial phrase in addition to *ni*. In the sentence *m-u dea i vae ni talu-a nigua na Bible* 'and I went to the house to put my Bible' the location, *i vae* 'LOC house', is an adverbial phrase modifying the verb *dea* 'go'. The genitive preposition *ni* still indicates a relationship of purpose between the two verbs *dea* 'go' and *talua* 'put'.

Spatial and temporal prepositional phrases must be in a genitival relationship to a noun as indicated by *ni*. In *i leo ni pono* 'LOC inside GEN bush' the space—inside—is a location possessed by the bush. Similarly, in *i levugha ni rodo* 'LOC middle GEN night' the time—middle—is a part of the larger night. The genitive preposition *ni* marks the relationship of the locative preposition to the noun.

While the discussion above covers the more common uses of the genitive preposition *ni*, there are other, more idiomatic, uses of the particle. In the sentence *thairo ni vae ni kolivuti* 'work on behalf of “house of prayer” [i.e., church]' the relationship of *vae* 'house' to *kolivuti* 'prayer' as indicated by *ni* is one of purpose, as discussed above. The relationship of the verb *thairo* 'work' to the remainder of the clause, however, is not covered by purpose, character, nor part-whole relationships. This is, rather, a genitive of benefit or advantage. Though the dative is a more common means to express this, the genitive *ni* is also pressed into service to express this.

Finally, there is the idiom *ke sakai ni V* 'before [of a future] V'.<sup>51</sup> If one was to try to break it down one might come up with *k-e sakai ni* 'IRR-3SG one GEN'. In the end, it is probably best treated as irreducible. There is, however, a sense of 'genesis' in the idiom: 'before' is the antecedent of an ensuing event. In that light *ni* plays a genitival role.

### 3.3.2 Numerals and number-marking

Lengo has a decimal number system with cardinal and ordinal variants. The cardinal numbers are given in (98). In addition to the 'common' cardinal numbers, which are used in day-to-day interactions, there is also a set of '*kastom*' cardinal numbers;<sup>52</sup> that is, a special set of numerals that are used in the telling of custom stories.

(98)	Common cardinal numbers <sup>53</sup>	'Kastom' cardinal numbers
	<i>sakai</i> 'one; 1'	<i>kea</i> 'one; 1'
	<i>ruka</i> 'two; 2'	<i>ura</i> 'two; 2'
	<i>tolu</i> 'three; 3'	<i>lotu</i> 'three; 3'
	<i>vati</i> 'four; 4'	<i>tave</i> 'four; 4'
	<i>lima</i> 'five; 5'	<i>mila</i> 'five; 5'
	<i>ono</i> 'six; 6'	<i>no</i> 'six; 6'
	<i>vitu</i> 'seven; 7'	<i>tivu</i> 'seven; 7'
	<i>alu</i> 'eight; 8'	<i>rau</i> 'eight; 8'
	<i>thiua</i> 'nine; 9'	<i>beta</i> 'nine; 9'
	<i>thangavulu</i> 'ten; 10'	<i>taleru</i> 'ten; 10'
	<i>thangetu</i> 'hundred; 100'	<i>thangetu</i> 'hundred; 100'
	<i>togha</i> 'thousand; 1 000'	<i>togha</i> 'thousand; 1 000'
		<i>mola</i> 1 000 000?
		<i>maua</i> 1 000 000 000?
		<i>vuthia</i> 1 000 000 000 000?
		<i>uki</i> 1 000 000 000 000 000?
		<i>lega</i> 'countless'

<sup>51</sup> A variation of this is *g-SRP sakai ni V* which means 'before [of a past] V'. See (102)c.

<sup>52</sup> *Kastom* is the body of customary practises, stories, and beliefs of a Solomon Islands people. Custom story (Pijin *kastom stori*) is the name for the myths and legends of Solomon Islands peoples. Among other things, they attempt to describe why things are the way they are (origins, practises, etc.).

<sup>53</sup> The numbers one through ten reflect, almost exactly, the POC numerals Lynch *et al.* (2002:72) have reconstructed.

There is fairly widespread knowledge of the existence and members of the set of *kastom* cardinal numbers (i.e., those who report it give a consistent set), but they do not appear in any of my texts. There is some conjecture among Lengo speakers as to whether this set of numbers is borrowed from Birao, a neighbouring language, but I was unable to confirm it. What is evident is that these numbers are, by and large, variations of the Lengo cardinal numbers. Consider the '*kastom*' number *lotu* 'three'. Switch the consonants ( $/C_1VC_2V/ \rightarrow /C_2VC_1V/$ ) and the result is cardinal number *tolu* 'three'. The same process works for *tave* (*vati*) 'four' (although the quality of the final vowel is slightly different), *mila* (*lima*) 'five', and *tivu* (*vitu*) 'seven'. It also works for *ura* if one allows for a dropped initial /k/ ( $[k]ura \rightarrow ruka$ ); for *no* if one allows for a dropped initial /o/ ( $[o]no \rightarrow no$ ); and for *rau* if one allows that /r/ and /l/ are allophones (*rau*  $\rightarrow$  *alu*).

Creating compounds with the twelve 'common' cardinal numbers yields higher numbers. Examples are given in (99).

- (99) a. *thangavulu sakai* 'ten one; 11'  
 b. *thangavulu ruka* 'ten two; 12'  
 c. *ruka thangavulu* 'two ten; 20'  
 d. *ruka thangavulu sakai* 'two ten one; 21'  
 e. *sakai thangetu ruka thangavulu ruka* 'one hundred two ten two; 122'  
 f. *ruka thangetu ruka thangavulu ruka* 'two hundred two ten two; 222'

Multiples of ten are formed with a number from two to nine followed by *thangavulu* 'ten', as in (99)c. and d. In the case of the "teens", *thangavulu* is not preceded by *sakai* 'one'. The same does not hold true for the "hundreds" and "thousands": one hundred and one thousand are preceded by *sakai* 'one' (as in (99)e.).

There are lexical items for certain groups of ten. Included are *ivolo* 'ten garden

rows', *kua* 'ten eggs', *panga* 'ten live animals', *pigu* 'ten shells' (e.g., dry coconuts, live crabs, seashells), and *voragha* 'ten eel fish'. These can be compounded with other cardinal numbers, as in (100):

- (100) a. *pigu* 'ten shells'  
 b. *pigu ruka* 'ten shells two; 12 shells'  
 c. *ruka pigu ruka* 'two ten shells two; 22 shells'

Other exact 'tens' can be marked with an emphatic *matapono*.

- (101) *ruka thangavulu matapono*  
 two ten "even"  
 'twenty "even"'

Numerals belong to the class of stative verbs. Numbers may stand as the head of a predicate in Lengo.<sup>54</sup> Given that there is no existential / copula in Lengo, and that they follow the subject reference pronoun, the numerals are the predicate heads in the sentences of (102).

- (102) a. *Doku t-i t-e vati!*  
 good RL-LOC RL-3SG four  
 'Four [children] is enough!' (lit., 'it is good it's only four [children]')
- b. *E ngitha na ivolo ni pana?*  
 3SG how.many ART ten.garden.row GEN pana  
 'How many ten.garden.rows of *pana* [are there in your garden]?'  
  
*Lima teigha m-e ono na ivolo.*  
 five NEG CONJ-3SG six ART ten.garden.row  
 '[There are] five, or if not, six ten-garden-rows.' (i.e., fifty or sixty rows)
- c. *ami-ko tumuri-a na theutu g-ami-ko sakai ni sara dea ga;*  
 1EX.PL-DU follow-O:3SG ART road PFCT-1EX.PL-DU one GEN arrive go DEM  
  
*e ruka toni thevu tena nughu*  
 3SG two times across LOC river  
 'we two followed the road before we arrived there; two times [we had to go] across the river'

<sup>54</sup> Dixon (1988:8) notes of Fijian that, "numbers constitute a distinct word class, with greatest similarity to verbs".

d. *e utha e vati thangavulu na dani ma na rodo m-e obo*  
 3SG rain 3SG four ten                    ART day and ART night CONJ-3SG flood  
*na maramana udolu*  
 ART earth whole  
 'it rained fourty days and nights and it flooded the whole earth'

The examples in (102) pattern the same as the quantifiers *avo* 'many' and *vonu* 'full, many', which are also stative verbs (see discussion and examples on page 64).<sup>55</sup>

In addition to filling the role of predicate head as stative verbs, numbers can also be nominal modifiers, as in (103).

- (103) a. *Sakai tena ovu sakai, ruka, tolu, vati, m-e dea tena lima.*  
 one LOC group one two three four CONJ-3SG go LOC five  
 'One to group one, two, three, four, and going [all the way] to five.'
- b. *ighami na ovu lima*  
 EP:1EX.PL ART group five  
 'we, group five'

In (103)a., group one, *sakai*, is the location indicated by *tena* 'loc'. The speaker, discussing the seating arrangement of an upcoming feast, maintained that there would be a feast row for each village group—none would be left out or combined with another because they were smaller than the others. Each group—identified by number—would have its own place.

Ordinal numbers, for the most part, are variations of the 'common' cardinal numbers given in (98) above. The set of ordinal numbers is given in (104).

<sup>55</sup> Lynch *et al.* (2002:72) observe that POC numerals had dual status of adjectival verbs and nouns.

(104)	<i>tighi</i>	'first; 1 <sup>st</sup> '
	<i>ruke</i>	'second; 2 <sup>nd</sup> '
	<i>tolue</i>	'third; 3 <sup>rd</sup> '
	<i>vatie</i>	'fourth; 4 <sup>th</sup> '
	<i>lime</i>	'fifth; 5 <sup>th</sup> '
	<i>onoe</i>	'sixth; 6 <sup>th</sup> '
	<i>vitue</i>	'seventh; 7 <sup>th</sup> '
	<i>alue</i>	'eighth; 8 <sup>th</sup> '
	<i>thiue</i>	'ninth; 9 <sup>th</sup> '
	<i>thangavulue</i>	'tenth; 10 <sup>th</sup> '

With the exception of *tighi* 'first', and the numbers that end with /a/ (*ruka* 'two' and *lima* 'five'), the ordinal numbers are the cardinal counterparts with an -e suffix. In the cases of *ruka* and *lima* the final /a/ is deleted before the addition of -e.

Number, that is singular and plural, is not marked on the Lengo noun. Compare examples (105)a. and b. below. In (105)a. all the nouns—*ghai* 'stick', *kau* 'dog', and *mane* 'man'— are 'singular' while in (105)b. they are all 'plural'.

- (105) a. A *deni na ghai t-e ne abu ghini-a na kau na mane.*  
ART DEM:SG ART stick RL-3SG EMPH hit INST-O:3SG ART dog ART man  
 'This is the stick with which the man really hit the dog.'
- b. A *dini na ghai t-ara ne abu ghini-ra na kau na mane.*  
ART DEM:PL ART stick RL-3PL EMPH hit INST-O:3PL ART dog ART man  
 'These are the sticks with which the men hit the dogs.'

As is evident, the nouns *ghai* 'stick', *kau* 'dog', and *mane* 'man' are not inflected for number. All indication of number is handled by singular and plural pronouns: demonstrative pronouns (*deni / dini*), subject reference pronouns (*e / ara*), and object pronouns (*-a / -ra*). A common means for marking singular and plural number for objects is with third person object pronouns affixed to the verb phrase. Numerals are also used to mark number: *sakai* 'one' for singular and others for plural. A final means for marking number are the quantifiers *siki* 'a, any', *balu* 'some', and *leoni* 'all, every'

expressing the poles of little and much as well as a medial number.

Perhaps the most common means for marking number is with subject and object pronouns which stand in relation to the verb. Given the near obligatory nature of the subject reference pronoun, subject number is often indicated by it. Similarly, object number is most often marked by the indexing object pronoun suffix. Singular is marked by the object pronoun suffix *-a* 'o:3SG' on the verb phrase, as in (106).

- (106) *m-u dea i vae ni talu-a nigua na Bible*  
CONJ-1SG go LOC house GEN leave-O:3SG PS:1SG ART bible  
 'and I went to my house to leave my Bible'

Only one Bible was left at the speaker's house.

Plural can be marked by the object pronoun suffix *-i / -ra* 'o:3PL'. In (107) *-i* is found on the intransitive verb *lebo* 's.o. / s.t. floats'. The addition of the object pronoun *-i* makes the verb transitive (i.e., 's.o. floats s.t.') and the noun (present elsewhere in the text but only indexed with a pronoun here) plural.

- (107) *m-ami-tu dea lebo-i laka t-i*  
CONJ-1EX.PL-PAU go float-O:3PL also RL-LOC  
 'we'll also float them [sticks for rafters]'

In (108) the plural object pronoun suffix is attached to the directional *longa* 'landward'.

- (108) *K-ami sake longa-i na leoni nimami na agu~agutu.*  
IRR-1EX.PL carry landward-O:3PL ART all PS:1EX.PL ART RDP~thing  
 'We take all our cargo ashore with us.'

The 'plural' markers are multiplied in (108). Note the agreement between *longa-i* 'landward-O:3PL' and *leoni* 'all, every'. Given that reduplication can indicate intensification of a noun, the reduplication of *agutu* 'thing' to *agu-agutu* 'cargo' is yet another way to mark plurality.

The quantifier *siki* 'one, any' is also found before nouns (with the exception of

proper nouns) to indicate number. If the articles *a* and *na* could be neatly described as 'definite', *siki* would be a good candidate for an 'indefinite' article. As the discussion of articles shows, however, *a* and *na* are used for both definite and indefinite references (see page 15ff). Example (109) is fairly straightforward: one house is being torn down (because it has begun to fall apart) to make room for 'any' house to be built in its place.

- (109) *rosi-a na vae ni M. ni ghoni tughu-a ga siki vae vaolu*  
 remove-o:3SG ART house GEN M GEN build change-o:3SG there any house new  
 'tear down M.'s house in preparation for making a new one in its place'

The type of house to be built—leaf or 'copper'; for sleep, food preparation, or storage of an outboard engine—is not specified; it is just time to tear the old one down to make room for a new one. Similarly, in (110) *siki* points to 'any' bowl—which one doesn't really matter, the substance in question just has to go in something lest it make a mess.

- (110) *k-o talu dea i tena siki popo*  
 IRR-2SG put go LOC LOC any bowl  
 'you put [it] inside a bowl'

In (111) *siki* 'any' quantifies the number of people the crocodile might eat.

- (111) *k-ara masi vana-thi mate-a t-i k-e sakai ni ghani mate-a siki tinoni.*  
 IRR-3PL must shoot-TR die-o:3SG RL-LOC IRR-3SG one GEN bite die-o:3SG any person  
 'they must shoot it [a crocodile] dead before it bites dead a person.'

The speaker could have said *balu* 'some' or—heaven forbid—*leoni* 'all, every', but presenting the best case scenario (which in this case is still pretty bad), she chose *siki* 'one, any'.

As seen earlier in (108), plural can also be marked by the plural particle *leoni* 'all, every'. The quantifier *leoni* can also emphasise the plurality of the subject, as in (112).

- (112) *Ighamu na leoni tinoni k-amu rongo mai!*  
 EP:2PL ART all person IRR-2PL listen come  
 'Everyone—listen up!'



Given the presence of the plural pronouns, *ighamu* 'EP:2PL' and *k-amu* 'FUT-2PL', (112) has abundant 'plural' marking. In light of this, it might seem sufficient to leave the marking of plurality to the pronouns, but the quantifier *leoni* 'all' is added for emphasis.

The medial quantifier *balu* 'some' is also used to mark plurality. In (113) *balu* 'some' is in agreement with *vani-ra* 'DAT-O:3PL' and modifies *gari* 'child'.

- (113) *ami-tu dea bosa vani-ra balu gari laka* “Mai...”  
 1EX.PL-PAU go tell DAT-O:3PL some child more come  
 'we went and told some more boys, “Come . . .”'

Although not all (*leoni*) the boys are addressed, *balu* 'some' indicates that there were more than one.

Though sometimes apparently redundant, plural can also be marked by numerals. The subject reference pronoun in (114) already indicates two persons with the dual marker *-ko* 'DU', but that does not prevent a speaker from further specifying that there are two people with a numeral.

- (114) *ara-ko ruka na ghaoka*  
 3PL-DU two ART woman  
 'they two two women'

Finally, plural is marked by demonstratives:

- (115) *Ara-ko g-ena na ghaoka dini*  
 3PL-DU PFCT-3SG:SAY ART woman DEM:PL  
 'These two women said . . .'

As (115) shows, there is not always agreement between person and number. Quote margins and relative / interrogative pronouns have only singular forms. Here the subject reference pronoun and demonstrative are both plural, but the quote margin *g-ena* 'PERF-3SG.say' is singular.

There is another example of lack of agreement of number in (116). The

unwanted things (*ngao-i* 'want-o:3PL') are the same as the staying thing, which is referred to by the third person singular subject reference pronoun (*t-e mono / k-e mono*).

- (116) *Na tha t-e mono t-ami teigha na ngao-i ba k-e mono.*  
ART what RL-3SG stay RL-1EX.PL NEG ART want-o:3PL FUT IRR-3SG stay  
 'What stays—what we don't want—will stay.'

The interrogative / relative pronouns *thi / tha* are unmarked for number. They do, however, always take a 3<sub>SG</sub> subject reference pronoun, even when the relativised noun phrase is plural, as in (116).

Agreement of number with *leoni* 'all' is evident in the examples in (117).

- (117) a. *ami-ko kere-ra na leoni igha t-ami-ko lavi*  
1EX.PL-DU burn-o:3PL ART all fish RL-1EX.PL-DU caught  
 'we cook the fishes that we caught'
- b. *leoni ghai doku ara logho vua-dira doku*  
all tree good 3PL have fruit-PS:3PL good  
 'all good trees have good fruit(PL)'

In (117)a. the 3<sub>PL</sub> object pronoun suffix *-ra* is in agreement with plural *leoni* 'all'. In

(117)b. *leoni* 'all' is in agreement with the 3<sub>PL</sub> subject reference pronoun *ara*.

Another way to mark everything without exception is (so)~*soko* '(RDP)~finish', as in (118).

- (118) *igeira so~soko na be i leo ni pilu*  
EP:3PL RDP~finish ART pig LOC inside GEN fence  
 'all the pigs inside the fence'

Reduplicated *sosoko*—'finish' intensified—is used with pronominal reference while *leoni* 'all' modifies nouns.

### 3.3.3 Nominal modifiers

There are an interesting variety of nominal modifiers, sometimes behaving as adjectives and at other times as stative verbs. There are instances of nominal modifiers

that appear rather adjectival found following the noun they modify. Examples are given in (119).

- (119) a. *e mai na kau asi*  
 3<sub>SG</sub> come ART dog wild  
 'a wild dog is coming'
- b. *siki vae sule*  
 any house big  
 'a big house'
- c. *na vunga vulogo*  
 ART hair black  
 'black hair'

In these examples the nominal modifiers *asi* 'wild', *sule* 'big', and *vulogo* 'black' follow the nouns they modify.

Often, the same nominal modifier can be used as a stative verb. Consider the examples in (120).

- (120) a. *e asi na kau*  
 3<sub>SG</sub> wild ART dog  
 'wild dog' (lit., 'it is wild the dog')
- b. *Ghoni sule-a.*  
 make big-o:3<sub>SG</sub>  
 'Make a big one.'
- c. *e vonu t-i na tagi*  
 3<sub>SG</sub> full RL-LOC ART tank  
 'the tank is full'
- d. *e bithi na beti*  
 3<sub>SG</sub> cool ART water  
 'the water is cool'
- e. *e vonu t-i na niulu t-e mo-mono i beti na vua*  
 3<sub>SG</sub> many RL-LOC ART year RL-3<sub>SG</sub> RDP-stay LOC river ART crocodile  
 'the crocodile stayed many years in the river'

Compare (119)a. to (120)a. In (119)a. *asi* 'wild' functions as a direct nominal modifier

while in (120)a. the same word functions as head of a verb phrase.<sup>56</sup> The nominal modifier *sule* 'big' in (119)b. takes on verb-like properties when it is inflected with an object indexing suffix in the serial verb construction in (120)b. The one class of words that functions only as nominal modifiers—and not as stative verbs—is colours.

In (121) examples of compound nouns modified by “adjectives” are given.

(121) a. *gari ghaoka kiki*  
 child female small  
 'small girl'

b. *E leo-mu na inu beti bithi?*  
 3SG want-PS:2SG ART drink water cool  
 'Would you like a drink of cool water?' (lit., 'Is your desire a cold drink?')

Given the variable nature of these words—sometimes behaving as verbs and at other times as adjectives (compare (120)d. to (121)b.)—they are grouped under the banner 'nominal modifiers'.

### 3.3.4 Demonstrative

The demonstrative often co-occurs with some form of the article.<sup>57</sup> There are two basic constructions in which demonstratives occur. The first is *na* N<sub>DEM</sub> (e.g., *na mane deni* 'ART man<sub>DEM</sub>; this man'). The second is *a*<sub>DEM</sub> *na* N (e.g., *a deni na ghai* 'ART<sub>DEM</sub> ART stick; this is the stick'). There are proximal (near), medial (unmarked for distance; “neither here nor there”), distal (far), singular, and plural demonstratives.<sup>58</sup> The Lengo demonstratives provide spatial and temporal reference. The set of demonstratives is provided in (122).

<sup>56</sup> See Ross (2004:505) where he calls these stative or 'adjectival' verbs a subclass of intransitive verbs.

<sup>57</sup> Dryer (2007a:162) notes “In such languages in which definite articles co-occur with demonstratives or occur in different positions in the noun phrase, there is little justification for a grammatical notion of determiner.” It is for this reason that 'determiners' are not discussed in this grammar.

<sup>58</sup> Lynch, Ross, Crowley (2002b:72) make a three-way distinction among demonstratives between near speaker, near hearer, and near neither.

(122)		Singular	Plural
	Proximal	<i>de(ni)</i>	<i>di(ni)</i>
	Medial	<i>nga</i>	<i>ngi</i>
	Distal	<i>deri</i>	

Note that *deni* and *dini* are sometimes shortened to *de* (see (124)) and *di* (see (126)) respectively. Also note that there is no plural form of the distal demonstrative.

In (123) the narrator is keen to point out that it is the Saturday close at hand, the Saturday that is a day away (this text having originated on the Friday preceding), on which the feast will take place.

(123)	<i>Sarere</i>	<b><i>deni</i></b>	<i>ba</i>	<i>k-a</i>	<i>ghali-a</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>thara.</i>
	Saturday	DEM:SG	FUT	IRR-1IN.PL	make-o:3SG	LIM	ART	feast
	'This Saturday we will make a feast.'							

The phrase *Sarere ke mai* 'Saturday, the one that will come' was available to the speaker, but she chose to say *Sarere deni* 'this Saturday' to indicate temporal deixis.

In (124) the narrator is pointing at a photograph of people loading copra bags into a canoe, explaining what the different participants were doing when the picture was taken. The demonstratives *de* / *deni* specify which person in the picture is being referred to. This was accompanied by pointing at each 'man' in the picture.

(124)	<i>Na</i>	<i>mane</i>	<b><i>de</i></b>	<i>e</i>	<i>sake</i>	<i>vani-a</i>	<i>sakai</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>mane</i>	<b><i>deni</i></b>	<i>ni</i>	<i>tura.</i>
	ART	man	DEM:SG	3SG	lift	DAT-O:3SG	one	ART	man	DEM:SG	GEN	carry
	'This man lifts one for this other man to carry.'											

Since the photo was within pointing distance of the speaker, the images of the men were 'proximate' to the speaker; as such the same form of the demonstrative is used for both. It was the physical pointing that accompanied the spoken demonstratives that distinguished the referents, not the demonstratives alone.

Example (125) demonstrates the plural form of the proximal demonstrative and

its agreement with the third person dual subject reference pronoun *ara-ko*.<sup>59</sup>

- (125) *Ara-ko g-ena na ghaoka dini*, “...”  
 3PL-DU PFCT-3SG:say ART woman DEM:PL  
 'They two, these women, said, “...”'

The shortened form of the plural proximal demonstrative *dini* is shown in (126).

- (126) *i-<ko>ira di a sakai na udu la~laka*  
 <DU>EP:3PL DEM ART one ART friend RDP~also  
 'these two were best friends'

While the distal counterpart of *deni*—that is, *deri*—is attested by Lengo speakers, it appears only once in the data. This occurrence is given in (127).

- (127) *I vi ga na vae ni minista? I deri.*  
 LOC where there ART house GEN minister LOC DEM:SG  
 'Where is the minister's house?' 'That way.' or 'That [far] location.'

The house was out of sight to both speakers. Accordingly, its location was indicated with the distal demonstrative.

The *nga* / *ngi* pair of demonstratives present a special case. It can be used of something or someone unmarked for proximity. Rather, *nga* / *ngi* refers to something or someone medial. Example (128) presents the case of a person speaking on behalf of a group of people (the community of H.) who were responsible for the preparation and distribution of feast food to four other communities.

- (128) *Ighami nga ba k-ami ne athe na tha t-ami tangomana vani-ghamu.*  
 EP:1EX.PL DEM:SG FUT IRR-1EX.PL EMPH give ART REL RL-1EX.PL able DAT-O:2PL  
 'We will give what we are able to you.'

None of the other members of community H. were with the narrator at the time she was speaking (she being alone on a stage), but the demonstrative *nga* includes them

<sup>59</sup> Note, however, that the third person singular quote margin *g-ena* does not agree with the third person dual subject reference pronoun *ara-ko* in number. As is discussed on page 206, there are no plural quote margins in Lengo.

with the speaker. It would not have been appropriate to use either *deni* nor *deri* in this context. The speaker is not referring to 'this we' as opposed to 'that we'; she is referring to a group scattered throughout her audience (therefore 'medial') identified by their membership in a community (specific and demonstrable).

In (129) the narrator was with another person, but only the narrator awoke; his companion remained asleep. Thus the use of the demonstrative *nga* to specify himself / single himself out.

(129) *E roropo u rai mai inau nga m-u bere dea*  
 3SG morning 1SG awaken come EP:1SG DEM:SG CONJ-1SG look go  
 'In the morning I woke up—just me—and looked around'

To say *inau deni* would not work: the speaker is not referring to 'this me' as opposed to 'that me'. But he is referring to himself and not his companion. What *nga* does here is denote a specific 'me', but 'me' at a distance; in this case, distant in time and space from the speech event,<sup>60</sup> therefore 'medial'. Consider (41) again (*a nga inau* 'I choose that one'), where the speaker was selecting food at the market. She chose one specific fruit from among many, but none of them were in her hand (it is *tabu* 'forbidden' to handle food at market before it is purchased). In that sense *nga* is 'medial': not so far away as to be out of sight (*deri*), but not in hand either (*deni*).

Based on these examples, one might well ask whether *nga* is a demonstrative reserved for people. Example (130)b. indicates otherwise. The first sentence, (130)a., is included to provide some context for (130)b. which shows *nga* specifying an idea, a possible ('medial') course of action, rather than a person.

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<sup>60</sup> This example comes from a text in which the narrator described the events of the previous day in the capital city, some 80km distant.

- (130) a. *Ma k-ami-tu mai soni ga i T. t-ami-tu ghua vulo.*  
 CONJ IRR-1EX,PL-PAU come throw there LOC T RL-1EX,PL-PAU if willing  
 'We will come throw them [sticks for rafters] ashore at T. if we are willing.'
- b. *Teigha nga ba k-ami-tu lebo saliu*  
 NEG DEM:SG FUT IRR-1EX,PL-PAU float overshoot  
 'Barring that, we will float farther downstream'

The speaker was not sure which course they were going to take. An in between, neither here nor there, demonstrative is most fitting in such a case. Further research could explore whether the use of *deni* or *deri* would have increased or decreased the likelihood of the second option in (130)b., though the modal verb *teigha* 'NEG' is never heard with a demonstrative other than *nga*.

Example (131) comes as the “second thing” to do in a recipe for making tapioca pudding.

- (131) *Ruke na agutu nga, na tavu niu.*  
 second ART thing DEM:SG ART find coconut  
 'The second thing is to find some coconut.'

The interesting thing is that—from an outsider's perspective—this is not precisely the second step of the recipe: the author indicates that after you go get some tapioca from the garden you bring it home, peel the skin, wash it, scrape it, and put it inside a bowl. There are five things to do with the tapioca, five sub-steps between the “first” thing of getting tapioca and the “second” thing of finding coconut. And once a coconut is found, there is another set of sub-steps that follow: husking it, breaking it, scraping out the meat, and squeezing out the milk. So, again, from a non-Lengo speaker's perspective, finding a coconut may well be the second main thing to do, but it is not precisely the second thing done. A question for further research is whether the medial demonstrative *nga* downplays the precision of the thing demonstrated, and whether



the proximal demonstrative *deni* would be used if the text was organised differently.

There is some significant specification in (132). The speaker, after recounting how he and his friends had gone to the bush that morning to get some sticks to build a kitchen, pointed to them from the place where he was telling the story—about 5 meters away—and said:

- (132) *Talu-i na koga nga ga tena puku ni gavigha nga*  
leave-O:3PL ART stick DEM:SG there PREP underneath GEN apple DEM:SG  
'We left those sticks—the ones here under that apple tree'

The sentence continues:

- (133) *m-ami-tu mai atheathe po t-i de ga.*  
CONJ-1EX.PL-PAU come rest LIM RL-LOC DEM:SG here  
'and we came to rest a bit here.'

It seems, based on (132) and (133), that *de(ni) ga* and *nga ga* are somewhat distinct; the 'here' of the sticks is not so far from the 'here' of the immediate location of the conversation, but far enough to be expressed differently. Example (128) and, to a lesser extent, (130) indicate a similar thing—*deni* would not work in those examples.

As (134) shows, *nga* can also indicate 'there' in addition to 'here' (which is normally indicated by *deni*).

- (134) “*U tavu-a a H.*” “*A nga.*”  
1SG find-O:3SG ART H ART DEM:SG  
'I'm looking for H.' 'She's over there.'

The person who responded *a nga* did not know exactly where H. was, but indicated that she was 'over in that general direction'.

Examples (135) and (136) merit some further explanation. The construction *nga inau* is a device for the subject to 'hide' behind (this is different from *a nga inau* in (41) [by virtue of the article *a*] and *inau nga* in (129)). Notice that the medial demonstrative

comes before the pronoun it specifies (only *inau* 'EP:1SG'), which is opposite to the normal noun / pronoun + demonstrative order. In a culture where speaking certain people's names is taboo—in fact, where these people (relatives by marriage) are referred to as *tabu* 'forbidden'—there are also situations in which one feels the need to 'hide' oneself. So in (135) the speaker (S) is requesting L. to go ask P. for some betelnut for himself (S).

- (135) *L. k-o dea thuge-a na bua i te a P. ena nga inau.*  
 L IRR-2SG go ask-o:3SG ART betelnut LOC LOC ART P 3SG:say DEM:SG EP:1SG  
 'L., go ask P. for some betelnut, so says the over-here-I.'

Now, S doesn't want L. to go to P. and say, for example, “Hey P., S wants some betelnut; have you got any for him?” That would blow S's cover. Instead, S uses *nga inau* 'the-over-here-I'—and expects L. to do the same<sup>61</sup>—to preserve his 'hidden' identity.

Example (136) is somewhat more complicated. It comes from a text in which the speaker (the object of the dative *vani-a*) was being spoken of by a third party. So A (the speakers of the reported speech ['these two women' in the text]) was telling B (B. in the text) to go tell something to C (the person telling the story).

- (136) [*Ara-ko g-ena na ghaoka dini,*] “*Plis, ngata [vani-gho B., k-o dea*  
 3PL-DU PFCT-say:3SG ART woman DEM:PL please strong DAT-o:2SG B IRR-2SG go  
 A B

*tugu vani-a] [nga inau] veghe na thara [t-e bosa] ia*  
 story DAT-o:3SG DEM:SG EP:1SG like ART feast RL-3SG tell DEM  
 B<sub>con't</sub> C C

[*ghami tena agri ighami,*] *g-i geia ena.*  
 ighami teigha na agri ighami g-i geia ena  
 EP:1EX.PL NEG ART agree EP:1EX.PL PFCT-LOC EP:3SG say:3SG  
 A

'These two women said, “Please, we strongly ask you B, go tell me-over-here that the feast she's talking about—we don't agree with it,” so they said.'

<sup>61</sup> S expects L. to say something like, “Hey P., *nga inau* wants some betelnut; have you got any for him?”

The construction *nga inau* specifies a participant who does not want to be named in a story she is telling in which she herself is involved. This squares with the medial, neither-here-nor-there nature of the demonstrative *nga*.

A final pronoun *ia* is included in the discussion of demonstratives because, even though it may be an incomplete form of *i(gei)a* 'EP:3SG', it is used as a demonstrative.<sup>62</sup> The demonstrative *ia* in (137) is being used to refer to a specific child—the one playing on the ground just over there.

- (137) A *thi na ethe*            *a daemu*    ***ia?***  
a *thi na atha-a*        *a dae-mu*    *ia*  
ART REL ART name-PS:3SG ART child-PS:2SG DEM  
'What is your child's name?'

This could be more woodenly translated, 'Who is the name of your child, that one?'

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<sup>62</sup> *Ia* is also a demonstrative in Solomon Islands Pijin.

#### 4 VERBS AND VERB PHRASES

The verb stands at the heart of the Lengo clause. In fact, a clause can be made up of a single verb (e.g., imperative *Mai!* 'Come!' and prohibitive *Tabu!* 'Don't!').

A bare intransitive verb is the basic form of the Lengo verb. Reduplication of a verb's stem-initial CV can have one of two effects: it can turn the verb into a noun or signal intense / continuous action. Transitive verbs are derived from intransitive verbs either with a *-Ci* suffix (where C is a non-predictable consonant) plus an object pronoun suffix, or with just an object pronoun suffix. The set of verbs that take the *-Ci* suffix is quite small. The object pronoun suffix joins to the final verb of the verb phrase.

Lengo verbs are distinguished as either being A-type or U-type (Ross 2004:504) based on the role of the subject in corresponding transitive / intransitive forms. With A-type verbs the subject of the intransitive form corresponds to the agent of the same verb's transitive form. With U-type verbs the subject of the intransitive form corresponds to the undergoer of the verb's transitive form as a new agent is supplied.

Tense / aspect / mood (<sub>TAM</sub>) is not indicated on the verb but with a set of prefixes on the near obligatory subject reference pronoun. Given the close connection between <sub>TAM</sub> and the verb, the <sub>TAM</sub> + subject reference pronoun construction will be discussed in this section. In conjunction with the <sub>TAM</sub>-marked subject reference pronouns, there is a set of semi-auxiliary verbs that contribute to the varieties of <sub>TAM</sub>.

Serial verb constructions play a significant role in Lengo verb formation. Serial verb constructions express meanings of:

1. direction ( $V_1(\text{movement}) V_2(\text{direction})$ );
2. sequence ( $V_1(\text{movement}) V_2(\text{action}); V_1(\text{become}) V_2(\text{state})$ );
3. cause ( $V_1(\text{action}) V_2(\text{result})$ );

4. manner (V<sub>1</sub>(action) V<sub>2</sub>(manner));
5. ambiance (V<sub>1</sub>(action) V<sub>2</sub>(sub-event));
6. comitative (V<sub>1</sub> *kolu*+object);
7. dative (V<sub>1</sub> *vani*+object);
8. instrumental (V<sub>1</sub> *ghini*+object);
9. modal (V<sub>modal</sub> *na* V(-O)).

Finally, there are two means available to the Lengo speaker to change the valence of a verb: the causative suffix *-Caghini* (again, where C is a non-predictable consonant), and the reciprocal prefix *vi-*.

#### 4.1 A-type and U-type verbs

Lengo verbs are distinguished as either being A-type or U-type based on the role of the subject in corresponding transitive / intransitive forms.<sup>63</sup> In the case of A-type verbs, verbs that are *inherently dynamic* (Ross 1998:21), the subject of the intransitive form corresponds to the agent of the verb's transitive form. U-type verbs, verbs that are *inherently stative* or that when intransitive “imply some unmentioned agent” (Ross 1998:22), differ in that the subject of the intransitive form becomes the undergoer of the verb's transitive form as a new agent is supplied. Compare (138)a. and b., intransitive and transitive examples of a Lengo A-type verb.<sup>64</sup>

- (138) a. *k-ami-tu lebo tave mai i nughu*  
 IRR-1EX.PL-PAU float current come LOC river  
 S V  
 'we will float downstream in the river'
- b. *m-ami-tu dea lebo-i laka t-i*  
 CONJ-1EX.PL-PAU go float-O:3PL also RL-LOC  
 S V-O  
 'and we'll also float them [sticks]'

<sup>63</sup> Ross (2004:504) uses the terms A- and U-type to describe these verbs (for 'actor' and 'undergoer' respectively). Other Oceanists (cf. Dixon 1988:45, 200) call them A and O verbs ('transitive subject' and 'object'). The phenomenon they are describing is one and the same.

<sup>64</sup> “S” and “O” in (138) mark the subject and object indexing elements of the sentences. Both subject and object are indicated with full noun phrases elsewhere in the text.

The verb *lebo* 'float' in (138)a. is intransitive as there is no object argument in the sentence. When a second argument like *-i 'o:3PL'* is added, as in (138)b., the subject of the intransitive remains the agent of the transitive verb form and the added argument becomes the undergoer.

Now consider (139)a. and b., examples of a U-type verb in intransitive and transitive sentences.

- (139) a. *e pulu [na ghola]*<sup>65</sup>  
 3<sub>SG</sub> roll.up ART pudding  
 S V NP<sub>S</sub>  
 'the pudding is [being] rolled up'
- b. *e pulu-i [na ghola] [na ghaoka]*  
 3<sub>SG</sub> roll.up-O:3<sub>PL</sub> ART pudding ART woman  
 S V-O NP<sub>O</sub> NP<sub>S</sub>  
 'the woman rolls up the puddings'

In (139) *na ghola* 'the pudding', the subject-as-undergoer of the intransitive form of *pulu* 'roll.up' in (139)a., becomes the object-as-undergoer of the transitive form *pulu-i* 'roll them up' when the agent *na ghaoka* 'the woman' is added in (139)b. It is important to note that (139)a. does not constitute a passive form—it is active in every sense. Lynch *et al.* (2002:45) note that, “Passive constructions are only very rarely encountered in the languages of Melanesia” and they are absent from Lengo. Nor, it should also be said, is (139)a. reflexive. There is no second argument present in (139)a.; the subject noun phrase *na ghola* 'the pudding' is referenced by *e '3<sub>SG</sub>'*. Example (139)a. contains a single argument: *na ghola* 'the pudding'. By way of contrast, (139)b. presents two arguments: the subject *na ghaoka* 'the woman' referenced by *e '3<sub>SG</sub>'* and the object *na ghola* 'the pudding' referenced by *-i 'o:3<sub>PL</sub>'*. The noun phrase object *na ghola* 'the pudding' is

<sup>65</sup> [Square brackets] are used here to demarcate the subject and object noun phrases.

indexed by *-i* '0:3PL' and not *e* '3SG'. Ross (2004:504) notes that, “In some canonic [ProtoOceanic] languages there is a subclass of intransitive verbs which . . . denote a one-participant semantic relation with a potential second participant, but the subject of the verb is the undergoer.” It is the lack of such a construction in English that requires the misleading passive gloss in (139)a.

## 4.2 Verb derivation and inflection

The Lengo verb is prone to a variety of derivational processes while only a single inflectional process is possible.

### 4.2.1 Derivation

Verb are subject to two derivational processes. The first process derives nouns from intransitive verbs by stem-initial CV reduplication. A second process involves the derivation of transitive verbs from intransitive verbs with a transitive suffix and/or an object pronoun suffix.

The derivational process of stem-initial CV reduplication of a verb changes it into a noun. Some examples of this are given in (140).

- (140)
- | verb                            | noun   |
|---------------------------------|--|
| a. <i>digi</i> 's.t. is closed' | → <i>di~digi</i> 'door'                                  |
| b. <i>tughu</i> 's.o. changes'  | → <i>tu~tughu</i> 'change (monetary)'                    |
| c. <i>dea</i> 's.o. goes'       | → <i>de~dea</i> 'program, event, proceedings, goings on' |
| d. <i>rongo</i> 's.o. hears'    | → <i>ro~rongo</i> 'news'                                 |

In (141) *digi* 'close' is shown in a number of distinct forms.

- (141)
- |    |           |                    |                      |                       |           |                             |
|----|-----------|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-----------------------------|
| a. | <i>e</i>  | <b><i>digi</i></b> | <i>na</i>            | <i>vae</i>            |           |                             |
|    | 3SG       | close              | ART                  | house                 |           |                             |
|    |           |                    |                      | 'the house is closed' |           |                             |
| b. | <i>ba</i> | <i>k-a</i>         | <b><i>digi-a</i></b> | <i>noda</i>           | <i>na</i> | <i>de-dea</i>               |
|    | FUT       | IRR-1IN.PL         | close-O:3SG          | PS:1IN.PL             | ART       | NR~GO                       |
|    |           |                    |                      |                       |           | 'we will close our program' |

- c. *na di~digi ni vae*  
 ART NR~close GEN house  
 'the house door' (lit., 'the closer of the house')

In (141)a. and b. *digi* 'close' is used as a verb in intransitive and transitive clauses respectively. In (141)c., however, *digi* 'close' is reduplicated and nominalised. In instances such as this, reduplicated CV is considered a nominaliser (<sup>NR</sup>; although compare verb derivation (page 13) where stem-initial CV reduplication is used in a process of verbification).

The second derivational process involves intransitive verbs becoming transitive. Some transitive verbs are derived from intransitive forms by means of a transitivising suffix *-Ci* (<sup>TR</sup>; where the consonant C is non-predictable).<sup>66</sup> Following the transitiviser is some form of the object pronoun suffix. Those verbs that undergo this derivational process do not appear to constitute a large set. Some examples include:

- (142) a. *bere* 'see' → *bere-ngi-a* 'see it'  
 b. *ghu* 'shout' → *ghu-vi-a* 'shout at / to s.o.'  
 c. *mataghu* 'fear' → *mataghu-ni-a* 'fear it'  
 d. *rongo* 'hear' → *rongo-ni-a* 'hear it'<sup>67</sup>  
 e. *sara* 'arrive' → *sara-vi-u* 'arrive at me'  
 f. *sivo* 'breeze' → *sivo-li-a* 'the wind blows something'  
 g. *tavu* 'search' → *tavu-ti-a* 'find s.t.'  
 h. *uru* 'dive' → *uru-vi-a* 'dive for it'

<sup>66</sup> Pawley (1973:114) remarks, "In passing it should be noted that in many daughter languages the final consonant of the POC [Proto Oceanic] verb stem has been reassigned to the transitive suffix . . . The morpheme cuts in example sentences thus often isolate suffixes with the shapes *-Ci* and *-Caki(ni)* rather than [POC] *-i* or *-aki(ni)*."

<sup>67</sup> The verb *rongo* 's.o. hears' has two transitive forms: *rongo-ni-a* and *rongo-a*. The form with the transitivising suffix is far more common. In fact, the form without the transitivising suffix, *rongo-a*, occurs only once in the data, in the sentence:

*m-e rongo-a dae-a t-e ghu-vi dea-a a tau-a nga*  
 CONJ-3SG hear-O:3SG child-PS:3SG RL-3SG shout-TR go-O:3SG ART spouse-PS:3SG DEM  
 'and he, the [other woman's] child, heard her, she who shouted to him, his spouse'

This is a complex sentence involving three referents (mother of child [grown, married], [male] child / spouse (the one who heard his wife call him), and [female] spouse), and a relative clause. Given the complexity and that this is the only example of this form of transitive *rongo* 'hear', it is difficult to say with any certainty why in this instance *rongo* 'hear' does not take the transitivising suffix.



When it is said that the consonant of the transitivity suffix *-Ci* is non-predictable, this can be so even for the same stem. When *bere* 'see' is derived to a second person singular transitive, the form of the *-Ci* suffix is *-ni* (i.e., *bere-ni-gho* 'see you') as in (143)a. (compare (142)a.). Some examples of these in context are given in (143).

- (143) a. *Ba k-u ghe bere-ni-gho.*  
FUT IRR-1SG continue see-TR-O:2SG  
 'I'll see you later.'
- b. *m-u ghoni-a na pou t-ami uru-vi-a tena rodo*  
CONJ-1SG prepare-O:3SG ART b.d.m. RL-1EX.PL dive-TR-O:3SG LOC night  
 'I prepared the *beche-de-mer* that we dove for during the night'

For contrast, consider the examples in (144).

- (144) a. *m-u bere dea i vunga ni bake raisi*  
CONJ-1SG look go LOC on.top GEN bag rice  
 'I looked away on top of the rice bag'
- b. *m-ami-ko dea uru i T.*  
CONJ-1EX.PL-DU go dive LOC T  
 'we two go dive at T.'

Here *bere* 'look, see' and *uru* 'dive' are intransitive.

Other verbs do not take the transitivity suffix *-Ci*, but are nonetheless rendered transitive with an object suffix. First consider intransitive *lebo* 's.o. / s.t. floats' in (145).

- (145) *K-ami-tu lebo tave mai i nughu.*  
IRR-1EX.PL-PAU float current come LOC river  
 'We'll float with the river current.'

In (146), however, *lebo* 'float' becomes transitive with the addition of the inanimate object pronoun suffix *-i*.

- (146) *m-ami-tu dea lebo-i laka t-i*  
 CONJ-1EX.PL-PAU go float-o:3PL also RL-LOC  
 'we'll also float them [sticks for rafters]'

Here there is no evidence of the transitivity suffix *-Ci*.

It was mentioned above that the object pronoun suffix follows the transitivity suffix. This is not always true. There are instances of verb serialisation in which the first verb is a derived transitive (as evinced by the *-Ci* transitivity suffix) and the second verb carries the object suffix. The examples in (147) demonstrate this.

- (147) a. *t-e ghu-vi dea-a a tau-a*  
 RL-3SG shout-TR go-o:3SG ART spouse-PS:3SG  
 'she shouted to her spouse'
- b. *ba k-amu bere-ngi ghilaghana-ra tena agutu t-ara ghali*  
 FUT IRR-2PL see-TR understand-o:3PL LOC thing RL-3PL do  
 'you will understand them by seeing the things they do'
- c. *k-ara masi vana-thi mate-a t-i k-e sakai ni ghani mate-a*  
 IRR-3PL must shoot-TR die-o:3SG RL-LOC IRR-3SG one GEN bite die-o:3SG  
*siki tinoni*  
 any person  
 'they must shoot it dead before it bites a person to death'

This shows that, in fact, the object pronoun suffix joins to the final verb of the verb phrase but that the first verb still has a transitive form.

Of some interest are the examples in (148) of nouns that appear to derive directly to transitive verb forms (following the *-Ci* suffix pattern).

- (148) a. *ghavi* 'tongs' → *ghavi-thi-a* 's.o. pinches s.t.'  
 b. *ithu* 'nose' → *ithu-ri-a* 's.o. sniffs s.t.'

They do not go through the stem-initial CV reduplication noun-to-verb derivation process before undergoing the *-Ci* suffix intransitive-to-transitive derivation process.

### 4.2.2 Inflection

The single inflectional process Lengo verbs undergo is that of reduplication to indicate intense and/or continuous action.<sup>68</sup> Reduplication takes two forms with a two syllable word (i.e.,  $C_1V_1.C_2V_2$ ). The first involves reduplication of the first syllable,  $C_1V_1-$ . The second and more complex form involves reduplication of both syllables but with the omission of the second consonant,  $C_1V_1V_2-$ . It is not clear what conditions prompt the use of either the first or the second type of reduplication with a given word.

The first type of reduplication,  $C_1V_1-$ , is shown in example (149).

- (149) *soko m-ami-tu biku de~dea m-e dea roropo*  
finish CONJ-1EX.PL-PAU sleep RDP~GO CONJ-3SG go morning  
'then we few slept on and on and it went to morning'

This example comes from a story in which two men who were sleeping were joined by a third—who laid down right between them—in the middle of the night. In the morning the third man was gone, along with one of the other two men's baskets. Reduplicated *dedea* 'go go' here has the dual sense of continuous and intense action: the men slept until morning (continuous) but they also slept so deeply (intense) that they didn't awaken when the third man got up and stole the basket (which is surprising given that he was right between them). The duration has inherent within it a measure of intensity. The non-reduplicated form of *dea* 'go' is used of “time” going to morning. This does not

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<sup>68</sup> Ivens (1933:166) states of Bughotu that, “The general idea conveyed by reduplication is that of intensification of meaning: *hiohiro* 'to search earnestly'; but this is not always the case, and many verbs occur only in reduplicated form”, and of the language of 'Florida' (Gela) that, “The effect of reduplication is to increase the sense of frequency of the action or to intensify the meaning”. (1937:1102). More recently, Blevins (2003:499) reports that in Bughotu and Cheke Holo (a Northwest Solomonic language from Santa Isabel) “Reduplication of a verb stem marks emphasis, intensity, frequency, or duration”, and Lynch *et al.* (2002:44) remark that, “Reduplication is almost universally used in Oceanic verbal morphology, as well as in noun derivation. It expresses a wide range of meanings, including randomness of action, repetition, and plurality of actors and patients.” See also Sapir (1921) in footnote 13.

have the continuous or intense sense since it is part of the normal, expected order of things.

The same continuous and intense action of a reduplicated verb is in (150).

- (150) *ga~gara na vua ga~gara na da~dae m-e ga~gara ngata na*  
 RDP~pull ART crocodile RDP~pull ART RDP~child CONJ-3SG RDP~pull strong ART  
*dadae me gara tine me gagara laka na vua*  
 da~dae m-e gara tina-a m-e ga~gara laka na vua  
 RDP~child CONJ-3SG pull mother-PS:3SG CONJ-3SG RDP~pull also ART crocodile  
 'the crocodile pulled; the child pulled—and the child pulled strong; and his  
 mother pulled, and the crocodile also pulled'

In this story a mother going to bathe in the river was attacked by a 4-metre-long crocodile. Her adult child came to help her and a tug-of-war between child and crocodile ensued, with the woman in between. Note that every time the crocodile or the child 'pulls' that a reduplicated form of the verb is used but that when the mother pulls the verb is not reduplicated. The crocodile and the child are pulling continuously and vigorously; the mother, losing courage and strength (not to mention a fair amount of blood), is able to pull but on a different level of magnitude from the others. The duration of the crocodile and the child's pulling has inherent within it the intensity of a life and death struggle. The story continues:

- (151) *de~dea m-e ngata na da~dae m-e gara-a lithi soni-a*  
 RDP~go CONJ-3SG strong ART RDP~child CONJ-3SG pull-o:3SG out from-o:3SG  
*na vua me gara iti maia mo a tine*  
 na vua m-e gara iti mai-a mo a tina-a  
 ART crocodile CONJ-3SG pull up come-o:3SG more ART mother-PS:3SG  
 'as things went the child was strong and he pulled her out from the crocodile  
 and he pulled her up come more his mother'

Here the non-reduplicated forms of *gara* 'pull' indicates more conclusive, non-continuous action.

The second type of reduplication,  $C_1V_1V_2-$ , is shown in (152).

- (152) *M-e thai-a mo na dani t-ara-ko ghunughunu-a m-ara-ko*  
 CONJ-3SG arrive-O:3SG more ART day RL-3PL-DU plan-O:3SG CONJ-3PL-DU

*vui~vuni-a na visaghiri. Doku na igha t-i t-e vui~vuni-a.*  
 RDP~start-O:3SG ART competition good ART fish RL-LOC RL-3SG RDP~start-O:3SG  
 'The day arrived that they two had planned for and they started the  
 competition. OK, the fish actually started it.'

Later in the story, when it was the turtle's turn to take the lead, *vuni* 'start' is not reduplicated.

- (153) *m-e atheathe ki-kiki po na igha ga m-ara-ko g-e sakai ni*  
 CONJ-3SG rest RDP~small LIM ART fish there CONJ-3PL-DU PFCT-3SG one GEN

*vuni-a po t-i na visaghiri*  
 start-O:3SG LIM RL-LOC ART competition  
 'and the fish rested a bit there before they two started the competition'

The difference in meaning between the two forms—reduplicated and not—is subtle but significant. The turtle and the fish engaged in a game of follow-the-leader. The fish got first shot at trying to outdo the turtle. The competition was the fish's to lose; it had only to find one thing that the turtle couldn't do and it was the winner. But try as it might, the more agile fish couldn't outdo the turtle. The fish got the favoured starting position in the competition, but surprisingly it couldn't capitalise on it. The reduplicated form of *vuni* 'start' indicates the measure of importance given to the first start. This is in contrast to the non-reduplicated form of *vuni* 'start' used with the turtle in (153). While it is true that the turtle got its turn to lead in the competition, its start was anticlimactic in comparison to the fish's—it does not have the intensity of the first 'start'. The point here is that there is a contrast between the two 'starts', that of the fish and the turtle, and the fish's start is intensified, given greater importance, by means of

the reduplication.

### 4.3 Valence changing constructions

The number of arguments a verb can take may be altered with valence changing mechanisms for: causative, reflexive, and reciprocal. While the causative and reciprocal involve verb inflection, the reflexive makes use of a form of the direct possessor pronoun joined to a free stem, *tibo* 'REFL'.<sup>69</sup>

#### 4.3.1 Causative -*Caghini*

The causative in Lengo is formed by adding the suffix *-Caghini*, followed by an object pronoun suffix, to an intransitive verb. The consonant C differs with different roots; C is not predictable phonologically.<sup>70</sup> The causative may be best viewed in comparison to an intransitive form of the same verb stem. First, consider an example of intransitive *tumu* 'fall' in (154).

- (154) *e tumu na vua ni niu*  
3SG fall ART fruit GEN coconut  
'the coconut fell'

Here the subject-as-undergoer *na vua ni niu* 'the coconut fruit' is referenced by the subject reference pronoun *e* '3SG'. Compare this to example (155).

- (155) *na ara sivo-li-a m-e tumu-laghini-a na vua ni niu*  
ART wind breeze-TR-O:3SG CONJ-3SG fall-CAUS-O:3SG ART fruit GEN coconut  
'the wind blew it and it [the wind] caused the coconut fruit to fall'

In (155) the valence of the intransitive verb *tumu* 'fall' is increased with the causative suffix *-Caghini* and the object indexing suffix *-a* 'o:3SG'. As this example shows, when a

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<sup>69</sup> The discussion of the reflexive on page 43 covers the subject sufficiently and it will not be discussed further here.

<sup>70</sup> The non-predictable nature of C in *-Caghini* is also the case with the transitivising suffix *-Ci*. Unfortunately, the data do not provide an instance which would indicate whether C is the same for causative and transitive affixes for a particular verb root.

causer (*na ara* 'the wind') is added as an argument to the U-type verb *tumu* 'fall', the valence of the verb is increased with the addition of *-Caghini*. With the addition of a subject-as-causer, the causee, in this case the coconut, is demoted to direct object.

The similarity between the instrumental *ghini* and the causative *-Caghini* is intriguing. Haspelmath and Müller-Bardey (2001:9) comment that, “The instrumental applicative exhibits a certain tendency to acquire a causal (reason) and a stimulus function (like the English preposition through), the latter in turn having affinities to the directive applicative (e.g. in Oceanic languages; compare Ross 1988:375-377).” It certainly seems to be the case in Lengo that the instrumental has, in a more grammaticalised form, taken on a causative function.

#### 4.3.2 Reciprocal *vi-*

In Lengo, reciprocal is marked by the prefix *vi-* 'RECP' and the plural object suffix *-i*. Both *na kau* 'the dog' and *na be* 'the pig' are agent and patient of *ghani* 'bite' in (156).

(156) *na kau ma na be t-ara-ko vi-ghani-i*  
ART dog CONJ ART pig RL-3PL-DU RECP-bite-O:3PL  
 'the dog and the pig bit each other'

The agent is dual (*tarako*), the patient is plural (*-i*), and the prefix *vi-* indicates that subject and object are the same referent. The agent / patient relationship is more difficult to see in (157) as they are both subsumed in the pronouns *ira* 'EP:3PL' and *ara* '3PL', but *vi-* 'RECP' with plural subject and object pronouns makes the point clear without needing to delineate specific participants with lexical noun phrases. The reciprocity of action, that the members of *ara* 'they' helped each other, is marked by *vi-*.

(157) *Ara vi-thanga-i na mane ira i tena leghai.*  
3PL RECP-help-O:3PL ART man EP:3PL LOC LOC garden  
 'Those men help each other in the garden.'

In (158) a curious instance of the plural object suffix is found in *vi-leu-thi*.

(158) *Ara-ko leta t-i vini vi-leu-thi; na leoni bona*  
 3PL-DU not.know RL-LOC actually RECP-fight-O:3PL ART all time

*ara-ko vi-doku-i po t-i i levu m-i levu.*

3PL-DU RECP-good-O:3PL LIM RL-LOC LOC side CONJ-LOC side

'They didn't actually know how to fight each other; they were always just good to each other—from one side and the other side.'

That this is a reciprocal construction is confirmed by the second reciprocal of the sentence—the goodness comes from both sides (*i levu m-i levu* 'LOC side CONJ-LOC side')—but this is the only instance of the plural object suffix *-thi* in the data. Whether this form of the plural object suffix is unique to reciprocals remains a question for further research.

#### 4.4 Verb phrase structure

The basic Lengo verb phrase is comprised of a number of constituent classes, some obligatory and others not. These are:

1. verb: obligatory; can stand alone in imperative clauses; is either dynamic or stative; can carry the optional transitivity suffix (-*Ci*) and/or the object indexing suffix (in serial verb constructions the final verb carries the object suffix)
2. subject reference pronoun: nearly obligatory (optionally present in imperative clauses); found before the verb; carries TAM marking and provides a subject indexing component (in addition to subject NP and emphatic pronoun)
3. auxiliary: optional; found before the verb, either before or after the subject reference pronoun; contributes aspects of TAM
4. adverb: optional; found after the subject reference pronoun, either before or after the verb; indicates time, manner, and degree
5. conditional: optional; found between the subject reference pronoun and the verb.

The position of these constituents in the verb phrase is illustrated in (159).

(159) (AUX) SRP (COND) (AUX) (ADV) V(-*Ci*/-*O*) (ADV)

This is the basic Lengo verb phrase. Serial verb constructions present an array of



variants from the basic verb phrase. These are discussed in section 4.8 (see page 135ff).

It is important to maintain a distinction between phrase level and clause level constituents, especially in terms of determining something such as a “basic word order”. The phrase level subject and object indexing constituents—the subject reference pronoun and the object suffix—are considered as part of the verb phrase and are, for the intents and purposes of deciding on a “basic word order”, opaque at the clause level.<sup>71</sup>

#### 4.5 Pre-verb particles

In addition to the subject reference pronoun with its TAM prefixes, there are a number of TAM auxiliaries that appear before the verb. These are *ba* 'FUT', *boro* 'impossible FUT', and *bo* 'IMPF'. The conditional *ghua* 'COND' and the adverb *ne* 'EMPH' also precede the verb. The auxiliaries *ba* 'FUT' and *boro* 'impossible future' are found before the subject reference pronoun while the remainder are found following it (i.e., between the subject reference pronoun and the verb). The order of constituents is given in (160).

(160)	(AUX tense)	TAM prefix-	SRP	(COND)	(AUX aspect)	(ADV)	V
	{	<i>ba</i>	{	<i>ghua</i>	<i>bo</i>	<i>ne</i>	
	}	<i>boro</i>	}				
			{				
			<i>g-</i>				
			<i>t-</i>				
			∅				
			<i>k-</i>				
			<i>b-</i>				

##### 4.5.1 TAM prefixes

The role of the subject reference pronoun in relation to TAM brings the discussion to that part of the grammar which can give some insight into how Lengo speakers conceive of time: their attitude toward it and their dealings with it. Perhaps a few

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<sup>71</sup> See page 166ff for more discussion of argument structure at the clause level.

episodes from my experience of Lengo daily life will help shed some light on time and the Lengo attitude toward time.

The Lengo people belong to an island nation, Solomon Islands. There are over 900 islands in Solomon Islands and much travel is done by 6 to 7 metre, outboard engine powered, fibreglass boats. I vividly remember the first time my family and I rode as passengers in one of these boats on a journey from the capital city Honiara to the community in which we were invited to live. We consulted with the driver beforehand and, after receiving permission to travel with him, set ourselves to the task of packing and preparing to be at the beach for the “scheduled” departure time: 1 p.m.<sup>72</sup> We arrived at half past twelve and were pleased to see a calm sea and a few others prepared to leave. “Great,” we thought. “A light load and fine seas—it should be a quick trip!” We had hoped for that, especially since it was to be our first time on the open ocean with our two small children. *De~de~dea* 'RDP~RDP~go; much much later' (compare Pijin *go go*), we were still waiting at the beach, only now we had two cranky children, the daylight remaining was fast slipping away, and the sea was being tossed by late afternoon winds and appeared to be getting rougher by the minute. We seemed to be the only ones agitated by the apparent “delay”, and more than once wondered aloud if maybe we should try another day. We were assured by the others who were waiting that we would be leaving soon. In due time one last person arrived with his cargo, it was quickly loaded, the rest of the passengers climbed on board, and we were off (three hours 'late').

It took some time for us to realise that things don't necessarily happen

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<sup>72</sup> We were told, *ba k-ami dea i tena sakai ni kiloko* 'we'll go at one o'clock'.

according to “schedule”; things happen—feasts, meetings, departures, and so on—when those who have been invited (especially the *big men / women*, i.e., 'important people') are present and ready for the event to begin. People, and especially maintaining relationship with them, are more important than the clock and keeping a schedule. This practise of putting people before clocks is referred to locally as “Solomon time” and it is markedly different from time as I conceive it (i.e., clock-governed-time); “Solomon time” is people-governed, and people tend to be less predictable (though more interesting!) than clocks.

In another episode, we were chatting with an older gentleman on his veranda and were off-handedly made aware that he had intended to go to his garden to work that day. Amid much apology, we began to excuse ourselves so he could go do his work, at which he waved his hand dismissively and said, “Don't worry! What I don't get done in my lifetime will be there for my children to do, and what they don't get done will be there for their children. So stay and talk—the work will always be there; we're not.”

Both of these episodes, from my perspective, have to do with the 'future': a boat scheduled to depart at a certain time in the future; an unfinished task looming in the future. The Lengo perspective is different from mine. In the boat story there were some things *realis* (not all of which were known to us) and others *irrealis*. The scheduled departure time was, from my perspective, something fixed and certain (though still future); what could be more 'real' than 1 o'clock p.m.? In a Lengo speaker's perspective, however, it was clearly *irrealis*. What was *realis* to the driver (and probably the other passengers as well) was that passengers X, Y, and Z had come to town with him in the morning and had committed to return to the village with him that afternoon. While

passengers X and Y were ready and waiting at the beach, passenger Z—for whatever reason—was not, and the boat was not going to leave until Z was ready. The people involved and their relationships to one another were on a level of reality / actuality that outweighed an unrealised time in the future. Similarly, in the second story, there were certain realities that outweighed work unrealised; people, and especially those people on your veranda, are realis while work in the future—even very necessary, life-sustaining work—is irrealis.

These two episodes reflect an understanding of time that contrasts with my sense of time. And herein lies an opportunity to make an important point of clarification: I do not claim to fully understand Lengo TAM. It seems that Lengo TAM is broadly divided into realis and irrealis moods, and that all other shades of tense, aspect, and mood fall within one or the other of these major categories.<sup>73</sup> Thinking in terms of realis / irrealis is a stretch for a mother-tongue English speaker like myself. I tend to think in the supposed 'hard and fast' categories of tense—past, present, and future—along with a variety of aspects. Mood is limited to subjunctive and imperative, while a realis / irrealis distinction is rarely considered. The situation seems to be the complete reverse with Lengo speakers. It is not the case that past, present, and future are unknown categories, nor that aspect is absent, but they are not the major categories and they are not expressible outside of the major categories of realis / irrealis.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Ross (2004:500) notes that in Oceanic languages typologically, “There is usually a distinction between realis (R) and irrealis (IRR) mood and often between various aspects.” In a footnote to this he adds that, “There is typically no tense as such in canonic languages. The irrealis by default denotes the future, though it also has other uses. The realis denotes present and PAST. However, there are exceptions to these generalisations.”

<sup>74</sup> Givón (1984:272) maintains that, “The division within the TAM notional space into tense, aspect and modality is far from spurious. In one way or another, these three represent three different *points of departure* in our experience of time . . . In describing the three major categories and their sub-components or variants, we will initially maintain the pretense that each forms a separate, self-

There are six prefixes that attach to the subject reference pronoun: *g-* 'perfective', *t-* 'realis', *b-* 'apprehensive', *k-* 'irrealis', *m-* 'and', and *p-* 'or'. These latter, *m-* and *p-*, do not play a TAM marking role.<sup>75</sup> When the unmarked form is included, there are five forms of the subject reference pronoun to account for with reference to TAM. Sorting these forms out has been a challenge. There is no single neat category that they all fit into. There are a number of Southeast Solomonic languages that show evidence of a distinction between realis and irrealis mood. The situation in Lengo seems more complex than these two categories are able to account for. According to Crowley (2002a:532), Gela shows evidence of past, present and future tense.<sup>76</sup> Again, Lengo appears to have more going on with the subject reference pronoun than three tenses. Indeed, Lengo seems to have an overriding savour of mood mixed with subtle tones of aspect, and, to maintain balance, a dash of tense. These may be best viewed as residing on a continuum as in Figure 4.1.

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contained functional domain. Such pretense is convenient for the purpose of exposition, but is probably ultimately not warranted. Synchronically, diachronically and ontogenetically, TAM categories are interconnected, as well as connected to other regions of our conceptual map” (italics his). With reference to this last point, it is intriguing that Lengo TAM is directly linked, in the form of a prefix, to a subject reference pronoun; time is understood in relation to person.

<sup>75</sup> They do, however, play a TAM maintaining role. That is, the TAM signature of the subject reference pronoun preceding applies to an *m-* or *p-* marked subject reference pronoun.

<sup>76</sup> Crowley's analysis of Gela  $\emptyset$ -SRP as 'past' and *t*-SRP as 'present' is curious. In fact, there is some inconsistency in the glosses he provides for certain examples:  $\emptyset$ -SRP is glossed both 'future' and 'past'; *t*-SRP is variously glossed as 'non.future', 'past', and 'present'. He is, however, consistent in glossing *k*-SRP as 'future'. I suspect that, given the familial relationship between Gela and Lengo and also the similarity of the forms *t-* and *k-*, this is a mere typological error—that *t-* is meant to be 'past' and  $\emptyset$  'present'. Going further, one might be forgiven for speculating whether *t-* is in fact 'realis' and *k-* 'irrealis'. Unfortunately, I was unable to discuss this with Crowley before his untimely passing. Another description of Gela (Coombe 2002 [unpublished m.s.]) claims that *k-* marks future and that *t-* marks past continuous or completive while  $\emptyset$  marks present continuous.

realis				↔		irrealis	
immutable				↔		mutable	
past				↔		future	
<i>g-</i>	<i>t-</i>	∅		<i>b-</i>	<i>k-</i>		
	realis				irrealis		
			indicative	apprehensive	imperative/cohortative		
perfective		imperfective (SRP + <i>bo</i> )					
						possible future ( <i>ba + k-</i> )	impossible future ( <i>boro + k-</i> )

Figure 4.1: TAM continuum

This is one way to represent the Lengo TAM markers; it is not the only way. But what this representation does is show those TAM markers that are polar counterparts of one another: realis / irrealis modality, perfective / imperfective aspect, and indicative / imperative mood (*b-* 'apprehensive' does not have a polar counterpart), and possible / impossible future tense. The TAM prefixes *t-* and *k-* represent the middle grounds of realis and irrealis moods respectively in Lengo. To either side of these 'centres' are TAM markers that tend toward more firmly entrenched or more fuzzily realised manifestations of the centres.<sup>77</sup> The unmarked form occupies the conceptual space between realis and irrealis: it indicates realis at some times and irrealis at others, and when combined with *bo* becomes imperfective (i.e., an event or state that is moving out of irrealis and into realis but remains, at the moment of utterance, with one foot in each).

An alternate representation of Lengo's TAM notional space is given in Figure 4.2.

<sup>77</sup> “Tense, aspect, and mode are sometimes difficult to tease apart . . . Operators that occur in the TAM areas of the verb or verb phrase are likely to have indistinct semantic ranges” (Payne 1997:234).

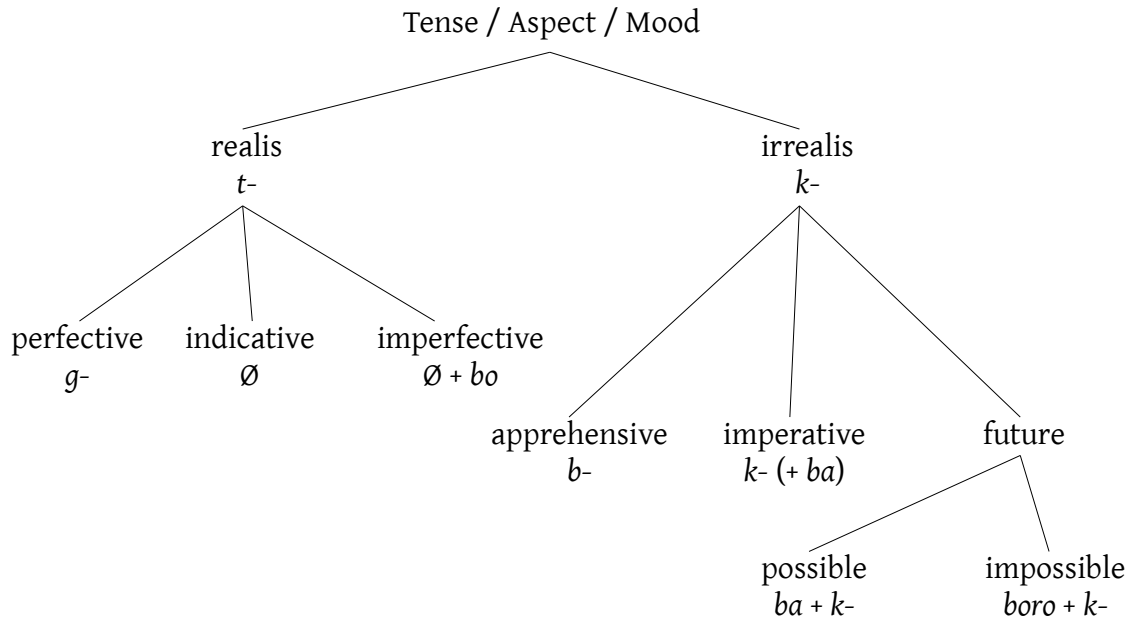


Figure 4.2: TAM tree

Here the separation of TAM into the broad categories of realis and irrealis is represented.

#### 4.5.1.1 Perfective *g-*

Perfective aspect, an event or state viewed as a whole, is marked on the subject reference pronoun with the prefix *g-*.<sup>78</sup> The TAM prefix *g-* is a prototypical example of the realis mood. Consider (161).

- (161) *Ma na bona t-u gari vaolu m-e doku na thuli-gu ni bebeu g-u*  
 CONJ ART time RL-1SG boy young CONJ-3SG good ART body-PS:1SG GEN play PFCT-1SG
- tangomana na bebeu, mena deni u ghua thairo kikiki ba k-e viti.*  
 able ART play LOC DEM:SG 1SG COND work little FUT IRR-3SG pain  
 'And when I was a young boy my body [felt] good for play and I was able to play,  
 but now if I work a little bit it hurts.'

The "event" is the realis time 'when I was a young boy'. The ability to play, however—

here marked with perfective *g-*—is viewed as a whole. It is not broken down into

<sup>78</sup> "Perfectivity indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation" (Comrie 1976:16). This is distinct from perfect aspect which "normally describes a currently relevant state brought about by the situation (normally an event) expressed by the verb" (Payne 1997:239).

individual games or periods of play, that is, it is not broken into separate phases (as indeed the period 'when I was a young boy' is a separate phase from 'but now' as the narrative continues). Rather it is the whole of the boy's ability to play that is in view.

In (162) three instances of the perfective marker *g-* are found, including one instance of it affixed to the temporal / spatial locative *i*.

- (162) *Balu bona ba k-e teigha na tavu-ti-a na be, m-e teigha na*  
 some time FUT IRR-3SG NEG ART find-TR-O:3SG ART pig CONJ-3SG NEG ART  
*tavu-ti-a na kau, ma na mamanu veghe t-e ngao-a na ghani-ra*  
 find-TR-O:3SG ART dog CONJ ART animal like RL-3SG like-O:3SG ART eat-O:3PL  
*m-e teigha na tavu-ti-ra g-e gora g-e ne tangomana*  
 CONJ-3SG NEG ART find-TR-O:3PL PFCT-3SG hungry PFCT-3SG purpose able  
*na ghani tinoni ia; g-i na vua*  
 ART bite person DEM PFCT-LOC ART crocodile  
 'Some times it will not find a pig, and it will not find a dog, and the animals like  
 it wants to eat and it doesn't find them [so] it's hungry; [that's why] it was able  
 to bite that person; that's the way of a crocodile'

Here, after describing the scarcity of suitable food (pigs, dogs, and so on), the villagers' inability to deal with problem crocodiles since the surrender of their firearms (during the national "firearms amnesty"), and the young boys' riverside tauntings of the beasts, the interlocutor responds to the question, "How is it possible that a crocodile bit someone?!" The response is punctuated by the perfective aspect. That is, because when a crocodile can't find pigs, dogs, or any other kind of food it favours, it is hungry. The entire state of the crocodile's hunger is in view here. And when a crocodile is hungry it is possible for it to eat a person. Here, the main event of the conversation—a recent crocodile attack in the village—is in view. The individual events of the attack—the stealth leading up to the attack, the struggle, the beginning or the end of the attack—



are not so much in view here as the event, viewed as a whole (from causes to consequences), of a crocodile biting a person.

The summary statement *gi na vua* 'that's the way of a crocodile' is, again, perfective. The particle *gi* is an instance of the perfective realis marker *g-* attached to the locative *i*.<sup>79</sup> Given the situation as described in (162), the speaker resigns himself to the fact that in the conceptual space surrounding crocodiles, that's the way things are: they are ruled by their stomachs. Crocodiles have behaved this way since the beginning of time and there is no indication that they will change any time soon; *gi na vua* . . .<sup>80</sup>

#### 4.5.1.2 Realis *t-*

If *g-* is perfective, a prototypical realis, then *t-* represents the middle ground of the realis mood. Given the conceptual overlap between past and present with both being under the umbrella of realis mood, it is easy to mistake *t-* 'realis' as a marker of past tense. Example (163) certainly appears to be past tense, as it describes an event that happened the day before.

- (163) *I<tu>ghami a B. ma R. ma P. ma L. t-ami-tu uru.*  
 <PAU>EP:1EX.PL ART B CONJ R CONJ P CONJ L RL-1EX.PL-PAU dive  
 'We few—B., R., P., L., [and I]—we few went diving.'

However, to understand *t-* as marking past tense would introduce difficulties in (164).

- (164) *A thi ighoe t-o mono i buriti dea k-o gharasu mai.*  
 ART REL EP:2SG RL-2SG stay LOC back go IRR-2SG move come  
 'You who are at the back [of the house], move this way.'

In (164) the speaker is exhorting those who, at the time of utterance, are (present) at the back of the house. To understand it as 'you who were at the back' would not make sense in light of the imperative *ko gharasu mai* 'IRR-2SG move come'. If they were (past) at

<sup>79</sup> The particle *g-i* is discussed in the section on *t-i* 'realis locative' (page 122).

<sup>80</sup> Compare Pijin *hem nao krokodael*.

the back they no longer are (present) there to respond to the command to move toward the speaker from there. Additionally, to understand *mono* 'exist, stay' as 'situated' or some equivalent (leaving a reading with the continuing result of a past event like 'those of you who situated [past] yourselves at the back of the house') does not do justice to the meaning of *mono* 'exist, stay' (compare Pijin *stap*). The word *mono* 'exist, stay' has to do with the current state, not the events that led up to the current state. An understanding of *t-* as realis, however, removes these difficulties. Understanding *t-* as a marker of realis mood makes sense of both (163) and (164), the one past and the other present. The TAM marker *t-* marks realis, but is unmarked for past or present tense.

In (165) two realis statements about the people of village K. are given: that there are many people in K. and that they are able to fish.<sup>81</sup>

(165) *Ighamu na K. t-ara vonu koto na tinoni t-amu tangomana na ta-tagho.*  
 EP:2PL ART K RL-3PL full very ART person RL-2PL able ART INTS-fish

*K-o dea ta-tagho m-o k-o lavi mai-a.*

IRR-2SG go INTS-fish CONJ-2SG IRR-2SG take come-O:3SG

'You [village] K.—there are very many people [in K. village]—you are able to fish. You go fishing and you bring what you catch.'

Because the first two clauses are realis, the speaker is able to command them to go fishing and to bring what they catch.

In (166) a good example of the contrast between realis and irrealis is found.

(166) *na tha t-ami ngao-a na lavi dea-i ba k-ami lavi dea-i*  
 ART what RL-1EX.PL want-O ART take go-O:3PL FUT IRR-1EX.PL take go-O:3PL  
 'what we want to take we will take'

<sup>81</sup> Note the three different 'persons' used to address the hearer(s) (i.e., the people of village K.) in (165): second person singular, second person plural, and third person plural. While switching from second person plural to singular may be explained as the speaker moving from general to specific reference in order to make the message more applicable to individuals, it is difficult to explain the shift from second person *ighamu* to third person *tara* and back again to *tamu*.

The wanting-to-take, marked by *tami*, is realis while the actual taking, the *kami* clause, remains, as yet, unrealised. The distinction here is not one of tense—past and future<sup>82</sup>—but of realis and irrealis.

This contrast is also evident in (167). Here, looking ahead to a feast, the hosts promised to give what they were able to those who came.

- (167) *Ighami nga ba k-ami ne athe na tha t-ami tangomana vani-ghamu.*  
 EP:1EX.PL DEM:SG FUT IRR-1EX.PL EMPH give ART REL RL-1EX.PL able DAT-O:2PL  
 'We here, we will give what we are able to you.'

The ability is not past tense; it is the ability realised at the yet-to-arrive time of the giving.

An example of future realis is given in (168).

- (168) *na vanga tha t-o ghali mai-a tena Sarere ba k-e oli tena*  
 ART food REL RL-2SG make come-O:3SG LOC Saturday FUT IRR-3SG return LOC  
*nimoo na thara tibo-mu*  
 PS:2SG ART feast.ROW REFL-PS:2SG  
 'the food that you make [and] bring on Saturday, it will return to your own feast row'

Saturday was the next day with reference to the time this was spoken. But the speaker was able to say, with some certainty using the realis mood, that the food you prepare and bring (realis) to the feast will be (irrealis future) available to you in your feast row—it won't end up in another row.

Finally, in (169) some examples of present realis are found. The temporal time space is identified as 'now'—the locative demonstrative pair *tena deni* meaning something like 'this location [in time]'.

- (169) *tena deni u thudu le po ni bungu-ti-ra po na gari vaolu*  
 LOC DEM 1SG sit still LIM GEN watch-TR-O:3PL LIM ART child new

<sup>82</sup> Lengo does have a future marking morpheme *ba* 'FUT'. See page 104 for discussion.

*t-ara ghali-a na thairo pukua t-e viti na aro-gu*  
 RL-3PL do-O:3SG ART work because RL-3SG hurt ART shoulder-PS:1SG  
 'now I just sit still to just watch the youths that do the work because my  
 shoulder hurts'

The speaker, firmly situated in the present 'now' (note the unmarked first person subject reference pronoun *u*), comments that he is currently watching the young boys working because his shoulder still hurts. The youths working and the shoulder hurting are not past events. Indeed, it is the ongoing pain in the shoulder that prevents the speaker from working himself and forces him to sit and watch. The realis mood, and not past tense, make the most sense of these kinds of situations.

#### 4.5.1.3 Unmarked Ø

The unmarked subject reference pronoun is just that: unmarked. On its own it gives no indication of TAM. The unmarked subject reference pronoun is the form most commonly used with stative verbs, and when used with dynamic verbs is ambiguous in its TAM signature. The label 'indicative' springs to mind with reference to the unmarked subject reference pronoun.<sup>83</sup> The unmarked subject reference pronoun can be followed by the particles *bo* 'IMPF' and *ti* 'RL-LOC'—both of which alter its 'time signal'.

Example (170) below begins to shed some light on the nature of the unmarked subject reference pronoun.

(170) *e vonu na tagi*  
 3SG full ART tank  
 'the tank is full'

Here, as statives often are, the verb *vonu* 'full' is found with the unmarked subject reference pronoun. The speaker in (170) makes a simple declaration as to the amount of water in the tank. Now, the tank in question wasn't full to the brim; the speaker having

<sup>83</sup> Crystal (2003:299) notes that the indicative is often the unmarked form of a verb paradigm.

just run his hand up the side of the tank as it was beginning to catch the morning sun, was able to tell from the temperature differential that the tank was about two thirds full. Compare the sentence *e vonu ti na tagi* 'the tank is full [to capacity]'. The addition of *ti* 'RL-LOC' lends a realis element to the declaration of the tank's fullness.<sup>84</sup> This second sentence was used to describe a water tank with water flowing out the top during a tropical downpour—there was no question as to the amount of water in the tank: it was full—really full!

Another example, this time involving a dynamic verb, is given in (171). This sentence is the opening sentence of a text describing an injury that prevented the speaker from participating in the day's work. At the time of utterance the work was ongoing and the scene was being set. The unmarked subject reference pronoun, the indicative mood, is most appropriate in this context.

- (171) *I ngeni deni ami thairo ni vae ni kolivuti.*  
LOC today this 1EX.PL work GEN house GEN pray  
 'Today we work on behalf of the church.'

The next sentence in the text, however, is marked realis.

- (172) *na bona t-u thairo*  
ART time RL-1SG work  
 'while I worked'

Here, the speaker begins to recount what happened minutes previously to aggravate an old shoulder injury, leaving him unable to continue working.

When *bo* 'IMPF' combines with the unmarked subject reference pronoun—the only form of the subject reference pronoun with which *bo* is found—the combination indicates imperfective aspect. Nuances of the particle *bo* are discussed below, but for

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<sup>84</sup> The realis locative *ti* is discussed on page 119ff.

now consider examples (173) and (174). Example (173)a. came in response to the question asked of someone walking past a veranda: *o bo dea i vi?* '2<sub>SG</sub> IMPF GO LOC where; where are you going?'

(173) a. *U bo dea po i vae-a V.*  
 1<sub>SG</sub> IMPF GO LIM LOC house-PS:3<sub>SG</sub> V  
 'I'm just going to V.'s house.'

b. *U dea po i vae-a V.*  
 1<sub>SG</sub> GO LIM LOC house-PS:3<sub>SG</sub> V  
 'I just went to V.'s house.' or 'I just go [habitual] to V.'s house.'

Example (173)a. has a clear sense of underway-ness, that the speaker is in the act of going. Example (173)b., lacking *bo* as it does, may be punctual, iterative, or habitual, but it is not imperfective.

In (174) note that, even though the event happened *i bongi* 'last night', the subject reference pronoun is unmarked for TAM. It is, however, found together with *bo*.

(174) *I bongi ara-ko bo dea pogho ara-ko ruka na ghaoka.*  
 LOC last.night 3<sub>PL-DU</sub> IMPF GO bathe 3<sub>PL-DU</sub> two ART woman  
 'Last night they two were going to bathe they two two women.'

The speaker was intent on communicating the imperfective nature of the women's 'going' by avoiding a subject reference pronoun marked for realis mood (i.e., *t-*; in which the imperfective is not possible).

#### 4.5.1.4 Irrealis *k-*

The TAM prefix *k-* 'IRR' is found in four environments representing five facets of TAM: irrealis, possible and impossible future, and imperative and deontic mood.

irrealis	<i>k</i> -SRP
possible future	<i>ba</i> + <i>k</i> -SRP
impossible future	<i>boro</i> + <i>k</i> -SRP
imperative/cohortative	<i>k</i> -SRP
deontic	<i>k</i> -SRP + <i>ba</i>

Figure 4.3: TAM indications of *k*-

As was the case with *t*- 'RL', which is easily mistaken for past tense, *k*- is easily mistaken for future tense. Further analysis shows, however, that *k*- is best understood as irrealis mood. Though in certain environments *k*- does combine with other elements to indicate future tense or imperative or deontic mood, none of these is the overarching role of *k*-. The TAM marker *k*- indicates irrealis mood, within which are found the imperative and, with the auxiliaries *ba* 'FUT' and *boro* 'impossible FUT', varieties of future tense and deontic mood.

That future, imperative and deontic are marked, in whole or in part, by *k*- 'IRR' is not surprising. There is a sense of irrealis in the imperative and deontic moods—the action has not happened yet, though it is strongly expected that it will happen. Future also has a significant level of irrealis, as noted by Givón: “the future is a clear irrealis tense, dealing with hypothetical, possible, uncertain states or events that have not yet occurred” (1984:285). In this analysis, future tense is a subset of irrealis mood. At the same time future has a measure of certainty with regards to actually happening. This is marked by *ba* 'FUT' in Lengo to distinguish it from irrealis, the latter having no overt indication (or expectation) of ever being realised. So in terms of expectation of happening (i.e., becoming realis) Lengo has, from high to low: imperative / cohortative / deontic → future → irrealis → impossible future. Again, however, it must be said that imperative and deontic mood and future tense are best understood as being

within the scope of irrealis. Future tense is irrealis, but irrealis is not necessarily future tense. Likewise, imperative and deontic moods are irrealis, but irrealis is not imperative or deontic.

The basic meaning of *k-* 'IRR' is demonstrated in (175). The *thudukolu* 'meeting' is a planned, though as yet unrealised, event. The meeting can only be talked about in the irrealis mood.

- (175) *U ngao-a maghe tangomana na bosa i ropo k-e sakai ni sara*  
 1SG want-O:3SG if possible ART tell LOC tomorrow IRR-3SG one GEN arrive  
*na bona veghe k-a ghe thudukolu.*  
 ART time like IRR-1IN.PL continue sit.together  
 'I want, if possible, to talk tomorrow before the time arrives, the time we meet.'

A sentence such as (175)—one that remains at the level of possibility on many levels—is most appropriately marked as irrealis. Indeed, the speaker further downplays the status of the meeting with the use of *veghe* 'like' (Pijin *olsem*). At this point he can speak of it only as a semblance of a meeting.

There is an interesting case of irrealis in (176).

- (176) *Roropo rukana k-o pelu vani-u ruka na vugho*  
 morning day.after.tomorrow IRR-2SG purchase DAT-O:1SG two ART net  
*k-u ne vu~vugho ko-gha-da igha.*  
 IRR-1SG so.that RDP~net DU-oral.CLF-PS:1IN.PL fish  
 'Next tomorrow morning you buy for me two nets so that I can net some fish for us to eat.'

There is a sense of indeterminacy right from the outset. The time signature is *roropo rukana* 'day after tomorrow [in the] morning'. Why the delay? Why not tomorrow morning? Why not now?! The reason is that this was not a serious request; it was more of an 'if-the-planets-line-up-and-you-are-willing' kind of request, a testing of the



waters, so to speak. It was put off for two days to give the hearer time to “forget” or come up with some other excuse for not satisfying the suggestion. 'It would be nice if you would buy me a couple of fishing nets, and if you did I would even catch some fish for you!', might better capture the sense of (176). This is prototypical irrealis: there is no commitment to the reality—or even the potential reality—of getting some fishing nets. It would be exciting if it happened, but there is no real expectation that it will.

Aside from marking irrealis, there are four other TAM features within the scope of *k-*: possible and impossible future, and imperative and deontic mood. These will be discussed in more depth in subsequent sections.

#### 4.5.1.5 Apprehensive *b-*

The TAM prefix *b-* is used to warn the addressee of the predictable—though as yet unrealised—negative outcome of his actions in order to help him avoid such an outcome. The label I use to describe *b-* is 'apprehensive'. This, following Lichtenberk,<sup>85</sup> captures both the ability of the speaker to foresee (i.e., apprehend) the danger of the situation and the fear (i.e., apprehension) of the speaker. As such, *b-* marks another aspect of irrealis mood. There is an element of irrealis conditional mood with *b-*: if the listener does not heed the speaker's warning and continues with the current course of action the outcome is fixed and certain—unpleasant, to be sure, but certain nonetheless. So at the same time as there is a sense of irrealis conditionality to *b-*, there is also a sense of declarative certainty. Overarching this mix is a concern best described as preventative.<sup>86</sup> Consider (177).

<sup>85</sup> Lichtenberk (1995:295) discusses apprehensional-epistemic modality in To'abaita (Southeast Solomonian) noting, “there is apprehension—typically on the part of the speaker—that a potential (undesirable) situation may turn out to be so.”

<sup>86</sup> See Hockett (1958:237) for reference to a mood meaning 'God forbid that X should happen' in Fox

- (177) *Bere-ngi-ko-ghamu: b-amu-ko tumu!*  
 look-TR-DU-O:2PL    APPR-2PL-DU    fall.down  
 'Look out, you two: you're going to fall!'

The speaker—foreseeing a dire outcome—issues a clear warning: change your course of action or face the consequences! But it's more than just a declarative 'you're going to fall down', as the English gloss feebly conveys. It's a 'you're going to fall down and hurt yourselves [and I don't want to have to take you to the clinic so get down from the top of that coconut tree]!' kind of warning. In fact, Lengo speakers gloss *b-* phrases with Pijin *nogud*. So (177) would be glossed in Pijin as *nogud iutufala foldaon* 'it would be a shame (i.e., no good) for you two to fall'. The speaker is keen to help the hearer avoid the negative consequences.

To the same end (178) is, from time to time, spoken to young children.

- (178) *Tabu na lavi-a    na ghau: b-e    ghado-gho!*  
 NEG    ART    grab-O:3SG    ART    knife    APPR-3SG    pierce-O:2SG  
 'Don't grab the knife: no good it cuts you!'

The speaker's interest is in helping the child avoid the inevitable cut that would come if she was to pick up a sharp knife.

#### 4.5.2 TAM auxiliaries

##### 4.5.2.1 Future *ba*

Ross (1988:103), in one of few references to Lengo in the literature, notes that, “it is possible that POC [Proto Oceanic] had a future-marking morpheme *\*ba* . . . which has retained its phonological independence in Lengo.”<sup>87</sup> His accompanying example (4.10) is included here as (179).<sup>88</sup>

(Mesquakie; Algonquian) language.

<sup>87</sup> Readers not familiar with the conventions of historical and comparative linguistics should note that Ross uses the \*asterisk to mark the proto-form and not non-grammaticality.

<sup>88</sup> Note that PCL = possessive classifier and P = possessive. Also, the addition of 'tomorrow' to the free

- (179) *a para ba k-e-dea i leo-na na ne-na etea*  
 ART Para FUT FUT-S:3S-go.up PREP inside-P:3S ART PCL-P:3S canoe  
 'Para will get into his canoe tomorrow.'

According to many Lengo speakers, *ba* is the short form of *nganiba* 'soon, later, sometime (today?)'. It seems that *nga.ni.ba* is a compound word, composed of *nga* 'medial demonstrative', *ni* 'GEN', and *ba* 'FUT'; a neither-here-nor-there sometime of the future. Example (180) demonstrates the use of *nganiba*.

- (180) *E ghua logho bo-bona vata i nganiba na nulavi m-ami-tu dea*  
 3SG COND have RDP~time later LOC later ART afternoon CONJ-1EX.PL-PAU go  
*lebo-i laka ti.*  
 float-O:3PL also RL-LOC  
 'If there is still time, later in the afternoon, we few will also float them [down the river].'

There is a sense of specificity introduced with *i nganiba na nulavi* 'later [in] the afternoon'. The reduplicated *bo~bona vata* 'RDP~time later' is much more general than *i nganiba na nulavi* by means of which the time is narrowed down to 'sometime in the afternoon' (though it remains imprecise).

Future *ba* is consistently used in conjunction with the subject reference pronoun modifying TAM marker *k-* 'IRR'. The particle *ba* is found both before and after *k-* SRP. In the overwhelming majority of instances in my texts, *ba* is found preceding *k-* SRP.<sup>89</sup> In these, *ba* is clearly a future-marking morpheme, as Ross observed. As such, future is the only tense that is marked overtly in Lengo,<sup>90</sup> but even so it works in conjunction

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translation is open to question as later Ross glosses the same data as simply 'Para will get into his canoe' (372). The futurity of the event is not indicated here with the lexical time word *ropo* 'tomorrow'. Another difference Ross introduces in the latter citation of the same data is that *k-e-dea* is glossed as '*TA-S:3S-go.up*', where *TA* indicates 'tense/aspect marker'. My analysis of *k-* as 'irrealis' and the lack of *ropo* 'tomorrow' from (179) makes the role of *ba* 'FUT' somewhat clearer.

<sup>89</sup> When *ba* follows the subject reference pronoun it marks deontic mood. See below.

<sup>90</sup> Lengo makes a two-way distinction in terms of tense: future and non-future. Within future tense there is a further distinction between possible and impossible (see below).

with irrealis mood. That (181) has yet to happen, is expected to happen in the future, is clear from the locative phrase *i ropo* 'tomorrow'.

(181) *I ropo ba k-u dea.*  
LOC tomorrow FUT IRR-1SG go  
 'Tomorrow I will go.'

The weather—and especially predictions concerning weather to come—is a frequent topic of discussion. And so even though one might not hear (182) every morning, it is heard quite often.

(182) *Ba ke para n' atho.*  
*ba k-e para na atho*  
FUT IRR-3SG hot ART sun  
 'The sun will be hot [today].'

And it is often true: the sun is hot at some point during the day (as, at 9 degrees south of the equator, one would expect). Although just as often—and often on the same day—it would rain, before which, of course, one would hear *ba ke utha* 'it's going to rain'.

In (183) a statement is being made by someone who was about to give instructions to a large group of people concerning a feast that was being planned for the next day.

(183) *Inau ba k-u tugu vani-ghamu na tha ba k-e sara tena Sarere.*  
EP:1SG FUT IRR-1SG tell DAT-O:2PL ART COMP FUT IRR-3SG arrive LOC Saturday  
 'I will tell you what will happen on Saturday.'

Both the near future telling-of-the-plans and the more distant future yet-to-arrive events of Saturday are presented with the future marking *ba*.

Likewise, the second clause of (184) has a level of futurity: “you” have to throw it before “I” can catch it. Note that the first clause (*ko bila mai* 'you throw come') is imperative while the second (*ba ku dala* 'I will catch') is indicative.

- (184) *K-o bila mai; ba k-u dala.*  
 IRR-2SG throw come FUT IRR-1SG catch  
 'You throw [it] here; I'll catch [it].'

The imperative clause—*ko bila mai*—is not preceded by *ba* 'FUT', but the second non-imperative clause—*ba ku dala*—is preceded by *ba* and is clearly in the future.

#### 4.5.2.2 Impossible future *boro*

The auxiliary *boro* 'impossible' is the polar counterpart of *ba* 'FUT'. While *ba* marks (possible) future—that 'X has a good chance of happening', *boro* indicates impossible future—that 'X has no chance of happening because it is not possible for X to happen.' The auxiliary *boro* 'impossible' precedes the subject reference pronoun and occupies the same position as *ba* 'FUT'; that is to say, the future is either possible (*ba*) or impossible (*boro*) but never both. Consider example (185). This is part of a discussion between two people who were trying to decide which of them would tell to me a story. The response to the question *ba ke gere thivoi?* 'will he write them [i.e., the speaker's words] down?' is given in (185).

- (185) *Teigha! Boro k-e gere thivo-i; ba k-e rikordi po.*  
 NEG impossible IRR-3SG write down-O:3PL FUT IRR-3SG record LIM  
 'No! It's impossible for him to write them [words] down [as you're speaking]; he will just record [them].'

The negative *teigha* is the retort to the polar question that had been posed, while *boro* 'impossible' provides some rationale: it is not physically possible to write as quickly as someone speaks (especially, in my case, in an acquired language). Comparing the question to the answer, it certainly stands out that *boro* and *ba* occupy the same space in the clause before the subject reference pronoun: [*ba / boro*] *ke gere thivoi* 'he [will / will not (because it is impossible)] write them down'. It is also important to note that

both *boro* and *ba* are always in the context of the irrealis-marked *k-SRP*.

Example (186) arose as part of an address regarding the preparations for a feast. People were encouraged to bring food for their 'group' (there are five groups in the community) to supplement what the hosts would provide. A concern was that food people brought as a supplement for their group would be incorporated into the host's food and distributed to the other groups. Example (186) addressed this concern.

(186) *Boro k-e ghe dea tena ovu sakai.*  
 impossible IRR-3SG continue go LOC group one  
 'It is impossible for it [the fish you caught] to go to group one.'

Even though it might conceivably have been possible for a group's supplementary food to go to another group, it was considered so undesirable as to be impossible.

In (187), sitting separate is unrealised and, as far as this speaker is concerned, will defy the laws of possibility if it is realised.

(187) *pukua na thara deni boro k-a tovothi thudu*  
 because ART feast DEM impossible IRR-1IN.PL separate sit  
 'because at this feast it will be impossible for us to sit separate'

To reinforce this, after telling the members of village group five that they cannot sit, for example, with village group one, the speaker continues:

(188) *na ovu ni vanua-mu ba k-o ne dea thudu t-i tena ovu*  
 ART group GEN village-PS:2PL FUT IRR-2SG EMPH go sit RL-LOC LOC group  
  
*ni vanua-mu thara tibo-mu t-i*  
 GEN village-PS:2PL feast REFL-PS:2PL RL-LOC  
 'you will really go sit in your group—feast among yourselves'

With the repetition of *ovu ni vanuamu* 'your village group' and the reflexive *tibomu*, the speaker is intent on making her point that sitting separate from one's group is not what she wants to happen at the feast. The use of *boro* 'impossible' in (187) does this with one

word; (188) reinforces it.

#### 4.5.2.3 Deontic *ba*

There are four instances in the data in which *ba* follows *k*-SRP.<sup>91</sup> In each instance there is a sense of obligation, of ought-ness best described as deontic. Consider the examples in (189).

- (189) a. “E *ghani-u na aliva! K-a-tu oli ba t-i,*” *una m-u tapa.*  
3SG bite-O:1SG ART centipede IRR-1IN.PL-PAU return DEO RL-LOC 1SG:say CONJ-1SG run  
'A centipede bit me! We need to go back [home],’ I said and I ran.
- b. *Mai k-a ba turu-vaghini-a na vae-a T.*  
come IRR-1IN.PL DEO stand.up-CAUS-O:3SG ART house-PS:3SG T  
'Come, we all need to stand up T.'s house.'
- c. *N., k-o ba iti mai.*  
N IRR-2SG DEO up come  
'N., you come up [on stage to address the audience].'
- d. *ighoe a H. k-o tura nimoa na matau k-o oli dea i vanua*  
EP:2SG ART H IRR-2SG carry PS:2SG ART axe IRR-2SG return go LOC village  
*inau ba k-u tura na kei ni ghole dini ma k-a ba i vanua.*  
EP:1SG FUT IRR-1SG carry ART basket GEN greens DEM:PL CONJ IRR-1IN.PL DEO LOC village  
'H., you carry your knife to return to the village; I will carry the basket of these greens and let's all go to the village [before night falls].'

Each of these sentences is irrealis, as indicated by *k*-. And while the presence of *ba* could lead to an analysis of 'future', the sense in each of these is not adequately captured by a simple future. These sentences are just short of commands, but somewhat stronger than suggestions, that is, somewhere between 'must' and 'should'. The deontic mode, according to Payne (1997:246), “expresses the subject's duty or obligation to perform the irrealis act expressed by the verb.” The companions of the person bitten by the

<sup>91</sup> In (189)a. *ba* is found following the subject reference pronoun and the verb. While this does not follow the ordering of the other three examples, it clearly does not follow the ordering of a future construction, in which *ba* is before the subject reference pronoun + verb.

centipede in (189)a. have a duty to accompany him home to ensure he gets there safely and to help him if he cannot. Lengo society holds it as a high duty to assist others to build their houses, as in (189)b. The N. of (189)c. is obliged to take the stage so that the program can continue uninterrupted. And the speaker and his companions in (189)d. need to get on their way back to the village lest darkness overtake them on the trail.

In summary, the future must have *ba* before irrealis *k-SRP* but when *ba* follows irrealis *k-SRP* (and sometimes the verb as well) the result is a deontic mode.

#### 4.5.2.4 Imperfective *bo*

As was discussed above, ongoing action is indicated by *bo* 'IMPF'. The auxiliary *bo* 'IMPF' appears only with a subject reference pronoun unmarked for TAM as in (190).

- (190) “O *bo dea i vi?*”      “*Oleole po.*”  
 2SG IMPF go LOC where stroll LIM  
 'Where are you going?' 'Just walking around.'

The question was asked of someone on the go, someone walking past the questioner (as the answer indicates). The 'on-the-go-ness' is marked by imperfective *bo*. The subject reference pronoun *o* '2SG' is unmarked for TAM.

The sense of underway-ness is also evident in (191).

- (191) a. *i bongi ara-ko bo dea pogho ara-ko ruka na ghaoka*  
 LOC last.night 3PL-DU IMPF go bathe 3PL-DU two ART woman  
 'last night they two [were] going to bathe they two women'
- b. *ara-ko dea pogho m-e tighi thivo sakai na ghaoka m-e tumu-ri-a*  
 3PL-DU go bathe CONJ-3SG first down one ART woman CONJ-3SG follow-TR-O:3SG
- a sakai e thivo m-e theo-a na beti m-e vuli iti ma*  
 ART one 3SG down CONJ-3SG scoop-O:3SG ART water CONJ-3SG pour up CONJ



*na ruke e theo-a na beti m-e vuli dea i beti*  
 ART second 3SG scoop-O:3SG ART water CONJ-3SG pour go LOC water  
 'they two go bathe and first one woman [went] down and the other one  
 followed; she [went] down and she scooped some water and poured it  
 upstream and a second [time] she scooped some water and she poured it  
 across stream'

c. *m-e thivo ni bo dea pogho m-e mai na vua*  
 CONJ-3SG down GEN IMPF go bathe CONJ-3SG come ART crocodile  
 'and she [went] down for going bathing and a crocodile came'

In this extended example there are two women going to the river to bathe in the evening. Since crocodiles are known to inhabit the river, local practise is to scoop water in a bucket and pour some upstream, across stream, and downstream to trick a crocodile into thinking that perhaps a dog or a pig has fallen into the water. The hope is that any crocodile lurking in the dark on the riverbank will go after the “prey” and thereby alert the bathers to its presence. The particle *bo* 'IMPF' is found at the opening of the story and again after the parenthetical explanation of the local river bathing practise. In both instances it is in the context of *dea pogho* 'go bathe'; the women were not going to pour water on the river or taunt crocodiles—they just wanted to clean up after a long day of working in the garden and sweating over a cooking fire. Their primary purpose, their main intent, was to go bathe and the storyteller makes this point by putting it in the imperfective mode. It is as if to say, “while activity A (*bo dea pogho* 'going to bathe') was underway activity B (*theoa na beti* 'scoop the water') took place, and both A and B were interrupted by C (*mai na vua* 'come a crocodile'); but A is what was in process when B and C happened.”

The subject reference pronoun in (191)a. is unmarked for TAM, as is consistent with the context in which *bo* 'IMPF' can appear. While in (191)c. it appears that *bo*

appears with a marked subject reference pronoun, in actual fact the conjunction *m-* carries the TAM signature of the preceding subject reference pronoun not marked with conjunction *m-*, which in the case of (191)a. is, indeed, unmarked (*ma na ruke e theoa na beti* 'and the second [time] she scooped the water').

Considering the function of imperfective *bo* and the realis locative *ti* together is instructive.<sup>92</sup> The examples in (192) show *bo* preceding and *ti* following the verb while the subject reference pronoun is unmarked for TAM.

- (192) a. *E bo ghilaghana t-i na sanga ni ghita.*  
           3SG IMPF know           RL-LOC ART language GEN O:1IN.PL  
           'He almost knows our language.'
- b. *E bo ghaghare t-i na vonu.*  
           3SG IMPF near           RL-LOC ART full  
           'It's almost near full.'

The realis locative *ti* indicates the realisation of an event / state, but imperfective *bo* indicates that the realisation remains ongoing. What results is an 'almost'—the full realisation of the event / state is held off as it remains in process. The effect of these two particles on an indicative sentence is to indicate something on the cusp of realisation; an imperfective realis. This is best rendered by English 'almost' (Pijin *kolsap*). Obviously, 'knowing' a language (as in (192)a.) is not something that happens in an instant. Indeed, it may well be impossible to pinpoint just when one knows a language. It is a progressive act: while some parts are known well, others are not known at all, and still others remain only partially known. There are elements of realis mood and imperfective aspect involved in this kind of knowing. In Lengo this is expressed with an indicative subject reference pronoun in the company of imperfective *bo* 'IMPF'

<sup>92</sup> The realis locative *ti* is discussed in more detail beginning on page 119.

and the realis locative *ti*.

#### 4.5.2.5 Continuous *ghe*

The auxiliary verb *ghe* 'continue' is found before the main verb and indicates continuation of a previously initiated event. The auxiliary nature of *ghe* is confirmed by the fact that it never occurs on its own.

(193) a. *m-u ghe tapa inau*  
CONJ-1SG continue run EP:1SG  
'and I continued to run'

b. *m-ami-tu ghe mai talu thivo-i po t-i na koga*  
CONJ-1EX.PL-PAU continue come put down-O:3PL just RL-LOC ART stick

*m-ami-tu ghe thanga-ra po t-i*  
CONJ-1EX.PL-PAU continue help-O:3PL just RL-LOC  
'we few continued coming, just put the sticks down, and we few just continued to help them'

c. *k-o ne teigha t-i na tangomana na ghe thuge na tha*  
IRR-2SG EMPH NEG RL-LOC ART able ART continue ask ART what

*ba k-a ghali-a tena Sarere*  
FUT IRR-1IN.PL do-O:3SG LOC Saturday  
'[after receiving these instructions] you are not able to continue to ask what we will do on Saturday'

In each of the examples in (193) there is the sense that the verb which *ghe* 'continue' precedes had already been undertaken and is merely being continued. In (193)a., for example, a few sentences earlier the author, having just been bitten by a centipede, dropped his things and, as he recounted it, *mu tapa po ti tapa mu olimai* 'I just ran, ran and I returned [home]'. After his friends ask where he is going he responds that a centipede has bitten him and then *mu ghe tapa inau* 'I continued to run.' The first instances of *tapa* 'run' represent the initiation of the event whereas the instance of *tapa* 'run' modified by *ghe* 'continue' picks up where the running left off before being

interrupted by the friends' question.

It is important to distinguish *ghe* 'continue' from *bo* 'imperfective'. Both *ghe* 'continue' and *bo* 'imperfective' have a share of progressive aspect, but they represent different kinds of progress. Whereas *ghe* 'continue' allows an author to pick up where an activity left off, there is no 'leaving off' with *bo* 'imperfective'. With *ghe* 'continue' the author is able to jump from instance to instance of an activity over the course of a text, resuming the activity after 'interruptions', whereas with *bo* 'imperfective' the activity in its entirety—interruptions notwithstanding—is understood. In this regard, the imperfective and the perfective are polar counterparts.

#### 4.5.3 Conditional *ghua*

The function of the conditional *ghua* 'if' is discussed in the section concerning complex clauses, beginning on page 203. Here it is to be noted that a conditional clause in Lengo has *ghua* 'if' as part of the protasis (condition). The particle *ghua* 'if' is never in first position in the clause; rather, it is postpositive, that is, most often in second position (following the subject reference pronoun) and sometimes third position (following the subject reference pronoun and the verb; see (196)) in the clause. The protasis (condition) may precede or follow the apodosis (result). The apodosis is most often, though not always, in irrealis mood. Consider example (194).

- (194) *o ghua ngao-a na ghali-a siki 'extra flavour' t-i i leo-a*  
2SG if want-O:3SG ART make-O:3SG any extra flavour RL-LOC LOC inside-O:3SG  
  
*t-i nimoa na thara k-o ghali mai-a*  
RL-LOC PS:2SG ART feast.ROW IRR-2SG make come-O:3SG  
'if you want to make any "extra flavour" inside your feast row you make [and]  
bring it'

Here the protasis (*o ghua ngaoa na ghalia* 'if you want to make') precedes the apodosis

(*ko ghali maia* 'you make [and] bring it'); the conditional *ghua* is in second position following the subject reference pronoun; and the apodosis is in irrealis mood. The presence or absence of any 'extra flavour' is conditional on the listener and their culinary skills.

In (195) there are two instances of *ghua* 'if': one at the beginning and the other at the end of a plan to retrieve some building materials from the bush. There are two conditions in this example: the first concerns time and having enough of it and the second people's willingness. The result of the first is that they would float with the river current; the result of the second is that they would throw the sticks ashore at village T.

- (195) *e ghua logho bo~bona vata i nganiba na nulavi m-ami-tu*  
 3SG if have RDP~time continue LOC later ART afternoon CONJ-1EX.PL-PAU  
*dea lebo-i laka t-i k-ami-tu lebo tave mai i nughu ma*  
 go float-O:3PL also RL-LOC IRR-1EX.PL-PAU float current come LOC river CONJ  
*k-ami-tu mai soni iti-i ga i T. t-ami-tu ghua mavulo*  
 IRR-1EX.PL-PAU come throw up-O:3PL there LOC T RL-1EX.PL-PAU if willing  
 'if time remains later in the afternoon and we also float them [sticks] we will  
 float with the river current and we will throw them up at [village] T. if we are  
 willing'

The first condition precedes its apodosis. The second condition follows its apodosis. The apodosis for both the first and the second conditions is in irrealis mood. What is interesting is that the second protasis is stated in realis mood. Tense / aspect / mood in relation to conditionals is discussed in more depth on page 203.

Example (196) demonstrates that *ghua* can be found in third position in a clause.

- (196) *e dea ghua i namo na vonu m-e tumuri po na igha*  
 3SG go if LOC deep ART turtle CONJ-3SG follow just ART fish  
 'if the turtle went deep the fish just followed'

The conditional *ghua* is found after the subject reference pronoun and the verb. Though this is not common, it is not impossible. A second thing to note from this example is that the apodosis is not in irrealis mood. This is because in this example the condition was met at the time of telling.<sup>93</sup>

#### 4.5.4 Emphatic *ne*

The emphatic particle *ne* 'EMPH' adds a dimension of intensity to a sentence. The particle *ne* 'EMPH' is found between the subject reference pronoun and the verb.

- (197) a. *m-u ne tapa inau*  
CONJ-1SG EMPH run EP:1SG  
 'and I really ran'
- b. *m-u ne vasangi viti koto*  
CONJ-1SG EMPH feel pain very  
 'and I really feel a lot of pain'
- c. *k-amu ne rongo-ni-a*  
IRR-2PL EMPH hear-TR-O:3SG  
 'you definitely [need to] hear this'

The examples in (197) could conceivably do without *ne* 'EMPH' but they would be missing the urgency and/or intensity that this particle provides.

#### 4.6 Post-verb particles

There is a smaller set of verbal modifiers that are found following the verb than those that are found preceding. These are adverbs of degree: intensive (*koto* 'very') and diminutive (*po* 'LIM; just'). In addition to these there is the flexible particle *ti* 'RL-LOC'.

- (198) V (ADV) (ti)  
 { *koto* }  
 { *po* }

Of the pre-verb particles discussed above there is little restriction between

<sup>93</sup> In (194) and (195) the results remained, at the time of the utterance, unrealised.

combinations with the post-verb particles. The TAM prefixes and auxiliaries co-occur freely with the post-verb particles. There are restrictions, however, with the pre-verb adverbs. The only evidence of a pre-verb particle co-occurring with a post-verb one is *ne* 'EMPH' and *koto* 'very'. These together mark a heightened intensity.

#### 4.6.1 Degree *koto* / *po*

There are two post-verbal markers of degree in Lengo: an intensive particle *koto* 'very' and its diminutive counterpart *po* 'just'. These are in addition to the pre-verb degree marker *ne* 'EMPH'. In (199)a. the feeling of pain is marked twice for intensity: once with *ne* 'EMPH' preceding the verb and again with *koto* 'very' following.

- (199) a. *Pisa na aro-gu m-u ne vasangi viti koto tena de.*  
 dislocate ART shoulder-PS:1SG CONJ-1SG EMPH feel pain very LOC DEM  
 'My shoulder dislocated and now I really feel a lot of pain.'

- b. *t-ara vonu koto na tinoni*  
 RL-3PL many very ART person  
 'they are very many the people'

In (199)b. the verb has a single modifier of intensity. Though not quite as intense in degree as (199)a., it is more than if *koto* 'very' was absent.

The degree word *po* 'just' is used to minimize or lessen the effect of a word. The limiter *po* is always found after the word it modifies. When used with nouns or pronouns *po* can serve to decrease the magnitude of the item. So the subject *geia* 'EP:3SG' in (200) is reduced, despite the fact that it was a rather lengthy story (i.e., there is a measure of false humility present).

- (200) *Geia po-a na tugu t-u tangomana na tugu-a.*  
 EP:3SG LIM-O:3SG ART story RL-1SG able ART story-O:3SG  
 'It's all the story I'm able to tell.'

Note the 3SG object suffix joined to *po* in this example. In the absence of an existential

verb to which to join, it is here indexing *na tugu* 'the story'. Similarly, the relative pronoun *tha* in (201) is reduced so as not to appear to be putting too onerous a demand on the groups.

- (201) *na tha po t-ami ngao-a vani-ghamu na leoni group*  
 ART REL LIM RL-1EX.PL want-O:3SG DAT-O:2PL ART every group  
 'what we want from every group is just . . . '

The limiter *po* may also accentuate the limited scope of a noun.

- (202) *Ma N. po ma B. t-ara-ko iti dea.*  
 CONJ N LIM CONJ B RL-3PL-DU up go  
 'And just N. and B., they two went up.'

In (202) *po* 'just' is used to indicate that, of those people present, only N. and B. went up.

The numeral *sakai* 'one' is limited in (203) to indicate that the event was, most unfortunately, going to happen for only one day as opposed to two or three days.

- (203) *sakai po na dani*  
 one LIM ART day  
 'just one day [no more]'

But it is with verbs that *po* plays its part most often. Here, as an adverb, *po* is comparable to English 'just' or Pijin *nomoa*, as in the examples in (204).

- (204) a. *Ba k-u tu po.*  
 FUT IRR-1SG stand LIM  
 'I'll just stand [i.e., I don't need a chair].'
- b. *Teigha! Boro k-e gere thivo-i; ba k-e rikordi po.*  
 NEG NEG IRR-3SG write down-O:3PL FUT IRR-3SG record LIM  
 'No! It's impossible for him to write them [words] down [as you're speaking]; he will just record [them].'
- c. *I vi ga t-e dea ga na igha e tumuri po na vonu.*  
 LOC where there RL-3SG go there ART fish 3SG follow LIM ART turtle  
 'Wherever the fish went the turtle just followed.'

In (204)c. the turtle didn't do any more or any less than the fish—it just followed, doing



exactly what the fish did.

#### 4.6.2 Realis locative *ti*

The particle *t-i* 'RL-LOC' provides realis mood with a subject reference pronoun unmarked for TAM. In (205) *ti* indicates something about the stealing of a basket.

(205) *ara gito-a t-i na kei*  
3PL steal-O:3SG RL-LOC ART basket  
'they stole the basket'

Just what *ti* indicates here will require some explanation since, as Symons 1987 (unpublished ms) observes, “The use of *ti* does not succumb to easy analysis.” The particle *ti*, and what seem to be its companions, *mi* and *gi*, is one of those particles that are found in a wide variety of contexts. Analysis of something so apparently flexible is no easy task. The fact that there does not seem to be anything similar in related languages (neither Gela nor Bughotu), nor in Proto Oceanic makes the analysis that much more difficult.<sup>94</sup> Add to that the complexity of working with Solomon Islands Pijin as a metalanguage (and its inherent paucity of vocabulary and expression) and analysis becomes difficult indeed. It was only by becoming more confident in my analysis of TAM markers and the locative *i* that a solution began to emerge.

It would be instructive to consider the distribution of *ti* before delving into its analysis. The particle *ti* occurs: after dynamic verbs (transitive and intransitive), stative verbs, adverbs, negative modal verbs, numerals, and quote margins; after nouns, pronouns, reflexive pronouns, prepositions, the degree word *po* 'just' (this is actually quite frequent), and interrogative words.

This leaves a fairly complex situation to untangle. What could possibly account

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<sup>94</sup> I have a copy of an unpublished Gari dictionary, and there is a word *ti* in it, but it is a conditional with *Ti kau vano*. 'If I go.' as an example sentence. This does not resemble the function of *ti* in Lengo.

for the wide variety of contexts *ti* appears in? What grammatical particle can modify verbs, nouns, pronouns, and other modifiers? Lengo speakers, when transcribing texts, will often render *ti* as Pijin *finis nau* or *hem nau*, which could, in turn, be translated as English 'that's it' (lit., 'finish now') or 'so be it' (lit., 'it [is] now').<sup>95</sup> When trying to describe what *ti* might mean, they offered suggestions such as “everything is finished” and “a satisfaction word”, that *ti* represents some sort of conclusion. In short, realis locative *ti* serves to declare the word, phrase, or clause it modifies as temporally or spatially located in the reality of the context of the utterance.

Given that Lengo has a realis marker *t-*, and that native speaker intuition consistently points toward things like 'finis', 'satisfaction', and 'conclusion', it seemed natural to begin looking in that direction. But is realis marking *t-* really joining itself to the locative *i*? It certainly seems to be, and following are some reasons why.

As an entry point into the discussion of *ti*, consider (206)a. and b. They are quite similar in some respects, but markedly different in others.

(206) a. *t-ara mono i lighi-a na tetete i U.*  
 RL-3PL stay LOC beside-O:3SG ART hill LOC U.  
 'they are beside [at the base of] the hill at U.'

b. *m-ami thudu t-i lighi ni vae-a M.A.*  
 CONJ-1EX.PL sit RL-LOC beside GEN house-PS:3SG M.A.  
 'we sat beside M.A.'s house'

The phrase structure of both examples is quite similar: a subject reference pronoun is followed by a verb, what looks like a form of the locative *i*, and the preposition *lighi* 'beside'. The preposition *lighi* 'beside' is obligatorily preceded by *i* 'Loc'.<sup>96</sup> Intriguingly,

<sup>95</sup> Note the temporal component (*nau* 'now') common to both of the Pijin renderings. Lengo *i* 'Loc' marks both spatial and temporal locations.

<sup>96</sup> The relationship between prepositions and the locative *i* is discussed on page 179.

however, in (206)b. it is found with *ti*. The question that needs to be answered is is this a prefixed locative or something else? The bound nature of prepositions is a good reason to favour the former: there should be some form of the locative *i* preceding *lighi*. The reasons why this analysis is preferred are discussed in what follows.

In Lengo, one means for marking TAM is with a set of prefixes on the subject reference pronoun. The Lengo TAM prefixes are: perfective (*g-*), realis (*t-*), irrealis (*k-*), and apprehensive (*b-*). The subject reference pronoun is also found in unmarked form, that is, not marked with a TAM prefix and therefore not marked with a TAM signature. The conjunctions *m-* 'and' and *p-* 'or' may also join to the subject reference pronoun but they do not indicate TAM; rather, they maintain the TAM signature of the previously marked subject reference pronoun. Given this, compare the difference between the prefixes on the subject reference pronouns in (206)a. and b.: *t-* 'RL' and *m-* 'CONJ' respectively. Example (206)a. is clearly in realis mood while, apart from the larger context, it is not clear what is the TAM signature of (206)b.<sup>97</sup> In the source text from which (206)b. comes, one has to go back ten consecutive subject reference pronouns—all marked with the conjunction *m*—before coming to one marked differently. As it turns out, it happens to be *t-* 'RL'.

As was pointed out above, (206)a. and b. also differ in the form of the locative preceding the preposition *lighi* 'beside': *i lighi* and *ti lighi* respectively. What could account for this difference? Given the 'distance' from the nearest subject reference pronoun overtly marked for TAM in (206)b.—ten pronouns previous—it appears that the

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<sup>97</sup> Given the conjunction *m-*'s position in the TAM marking slot (before the subject reference pronoun), it preempts TAM marking and is compelled to carry the TAM signature of the previous subject reference pronoun.

speaker re-establishes the realis 'tone' in his narrative with a locative marked with realis mood: *ti*.

Both clauses are in realis mood: (206)a. by virtue of *t-ara* and (206)b. by the presence of the realis locative *ti*. This despite the fact that—or, better, precisely because—the subject reference pronoun in (206)b. is marked with the conjunction *m-*. That is, because the subject reference pronoun is marked as conjoined it cannot take the realis TAM marker *t-*. Realis locative *ti* allows realis mood to be marked in a clause when the realis TAM marking *t-* is unable to fill the TAM slot on the subject reference pronoun.

The prefixes *g-* 'perfective' and *m-* 'conjunction' also affix to the locative *i* and form temporal and spatial aspectual and conjoined constructions respectively.

(207) a. *“g-ami tena agri ighami,” g-i gea ena*  
*g-ami teigha na agree ighami g-i gea e-na*  
 PFCT-1EX.PL NEG ART agree EP:1EX.PL PFCT-LOC EP:3SG 3SG:say  
 “we don't agree,” they said'

b. *g-i na vua*  
 PFCT-LOC ART crocodile  
 'that's the way crocodiles are'

c. *ara-ko leta t-i vini vi-leu-th-i; na leoni bona*  
 3PL-DU 'no save' RL-LOC actually RECP-fight-TR-O:3PL ART all time

*ara-ko vi-doku-i po t-i i levu m-i levu*  
 3PL-DU RECP-good-O:3PL LIM RL-LOC LOC side CONJ-LOC side  
 'they two never fought each other; they two were always just good to each other—from [one] side and [the other] side'

d. *t-ara be~bere-ngi-a dea i beti m-i tathi*  
 RL-3PL RDP~see-TR-O:3SG go LOC river CONJ-LOC ocean  
 'they watched it [a crocodile] in the river and in the sea'

In the vast majority of cases *ti* appears with the unmarked and *m-* prefixed subject reference pronoun. In these instances *ti* marks realis mood. Compare the

following.

- (208) a. *e mai*  
3<sub>SG</sub> come  
'he comes' or 'he came'
- b. *t-e mai*  
RL-3<sub>SG</sub> come  
'he comes' or 'he came'
- c. *e mai t-i*  
3<sub>SG</sub> come RL-LOC  
'he came "finis"'

Example (208)a. presents a simple (i.e., unmarked for TAM) sentence. Due to the unmarked subject reference pronoun, the status of his coming is not clear—whether realis or irrealis, just begun, ongoing or completed, repeatedly or just once, past, present, or future. It could be any of the above. Example (208)b., in contrast, is marked realis with *te* 'RL-3<sub>SG</sub>'; the fact of the subject's coming is established. Again, however, the hearer does not know enough to say whether he is coming or he has come, whether he comes repeatedly or just this once. The addition of *ti* in (208)c. adds considerably to the understanding of the nature of the coming as compared to (208)a. and b. Despite the fact that the subject reference pronoun is not marked for TAM, (208)c. is understood to mean that his coming is realis, completed, not repeated, and past.

It is rare for *ti* to appear in clauses featuring *k-* 'irrealis' and *t-* 'realis' prefixed subject reference pronouns. In the case of the latter, realis mood is already marked in sentences where a *t-* prefixed subject reference pronoun is used, and with reference to the former, mixing realis and irrealis mood is, most often, contradictory.<sup>98</sup> In my collection of texts there is a single sentence (with two instances) of *ti* occurring with a

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<sup>98</sup> The realis future is very rarely encountered in Lengo.

subject reference pronoun marked for realis mood (*t*-SRP). In the same sentence there is also one of two examples of *ti* appearing with the irrealis marked subject reference pronoun (*k*-SRP; the other instance is in (214)). Example (209) is part of a strongly worded announcement by a village chief. “This is the way it is,” he is saying in the larger context. “These things are established and they will not change. Don't come later on saying that you didn't understand my announcement.”

- (209) *na vanga t-e mai t-i, vanga vuru t-e mai t-i, tha ba k-amu*  
 ART food RL-3SG come RL-LOC meat dish RL-3SG come RL-LOC REL FUT IRR-2PL  
*ghali-a ighamu tovothi na rurutu ni vanua ba k-amu rongoni-a t-i*  
 make-O:3SG EP:2PL separate ART group GEN village FUT IRR-2PL hear-TR-O:3SG RL-LOC  
*ngeni de*  
 today DEM  
 'the food and meat dishes are already prepared; what you different groups will prepare you will hear today, at this time'

In (209) *ti* is used together with realis and irrealis marked subject reference pronouns to give strong emphasis to the fixed and established nature of the facts—those that already exist (that some food is ready in H. village) and those that have yet to be heard but, with a strong measure of certainty, will be (that you are responsible to prepare some food yourself, which you will—without doubt—hear about shortly). The final clause of (209), *ba kamu rongonia ti ngeni de* 'you will hear it today', has a TAM signature of future realis. The certainty of the people's hearing in the future is established by *ti*.

Contrast this with the sentences in (210).

- (210) a. *ara rongoni-a po teigha na ghani-ra na kau*  
 3PL hear-TR-O:3SG LIM NEG ART eat-O:3PL ART dog  
 'they just heard it [a crocodile] only ate dogs'  
 b. *pukua na mamamu veghe ia na vua t-e rongoni-ra na kau ma*  
 because ART animal like DEM ART crocodile RL-3SG hear-TR-O:3PL ART dog CONJ

*na ira ba k-e tapa dea ni ghuru-ra*  
 ART EP:3PL FUT IRR-3SG run go GEN chase-O:3PL  
 'because an animal like that—a crocodile, it hears the dogs and the others  
 [and] will run go to chase them'

There is no indication of TAM on the third person plural subject reference pronoun *ara* in (210)a. As was the case with (208)a. above, the status of their hearing is unclear—whether realis or irrealis, just begun, ongoing or completed, repeatedly or just once, past, present, or future. And (210)b., as was the case with (208)b. above, is marked realis with *te* '3SG'; the fact of the subject's hearing is established. Again, however, the hearer does not know enough to say whether the crocodile is hearing or it has heard, whether it hears repeatedly or just this once. Verbs of motion and verbs of perception behave similarly with reference to the realis marking properties of *ti*.

A question remains: Why not just use *t-SRP* to indicate realis mood—why introduce *ti*? The answer is that there are instances where it is preferable, and others where it is necessary, to mark the subject reference pronoun other than realis (*t-*), but that at the same time there is a realis sense that needs to be included at some point of the utterance. In these instances *ti* is used. For example, in (211) and (212), *ti* marks realis mood with a temporal locative where the verb phrase is otherwise unmarked for TAM (by virtue of the use of an unmarked subject reference pronoun).

(211) *Ami-tu dea t-i i pono.*  
 1EX.PL-PAU GO RL-LOC LOC bush  
 'We few went to the bush.'

Example (211) presents an interesting case. If *ti* is really 'RL-LOC', there seems to be a locative following a locative. However, it is worth bearing in mind that the locative *i* marks both temporal and spatial location. The location *i pono* 'LOC bush' is spatial while

*dea ti* 'go<sub>RL-LOC</sub>' is temporal. The temporal / spatial nature of the locative *i* will come up again when instances of *ti* being used with nouns are discussed below.

Again, in (212) where the subject reference pronoun is unmarked for TAM, the sentence is placed in realis mood by virtue of *ti*.

- (212) *Eh, ara gito-a t-i na kei!*  
 INTJ 3PL steal-O:3SG RL-LOC ART basket  
 'Hey, they stole the basket!'

The thief and the basket were gone. The statement is in realis mood, despite the lack of the expected marking on the subject reference pronoun.

The situation with stative verbs, as in (213), is much the same: *ti* marks realis mood in an otherwise unmarked-for-TAM clause.

- (213) *E vonu t-i na tagi.*  
 3SG full RL-LOC ART tank  
 'The tank is full [and overflowing].'

Compare *e vonu na tagi* 'the tank is full'. In this latter case the tank is merely 'not empty'. In (213), the falling rain water is spilling out the top of a tank filled to capacity.

The negative modal verb *teigha* also undergoes the influence of *ti*, as in (214).

- (214) *Ba k-u teigha t-i na mono varongo i vanua.*  
 FUT IRR-1SG NEG RL-LOC ART stay quiet LOC village  
 'I really won't be sitting around in the village.'

The speaker, after enumerating a list of things he was responsible to do in the capital city and other provinces during the upcoming year, was overcome with the realisation of (214); it crossed his face like a cloud on a sunny day. It was not a realisation with some 'fudge factor' built into it. The negative did not leave any 'room to move'; it was a sure, a fixed, a complete negative. There was no way out of the responsibilities and he would really not be spending much time in his village.



It is worth asking of (215) whether *ti* is modifying the verb *leboi* 'float' or the adverb *laka* 'also'. That is, is it the 'floating' that the speaker wishes to establish as realis, or the 'also-ness' of the floating?

- (215) *e ghua logho bo-bona vata i nganiba na nulavi m-ami-tu*  
 3SG if have RDP~time continue LOC later ART afternoon CONJ-1EX.PL-PAU  
*dea lebo-i laka t-i*  
 go float-O:3PL also RL-LOC  
 'if there's still time later in the afternoon, we'll also float them (down-river)'

Some more information about the situation will help clarify. The speaker had been looking all over the village for his boys and finally found them near our house. He wanted to take them into the bush to retrieve some house-building materials that he had set aside previously. Having spent considerable time looking for his boys, the time left to get the job done was short (and telling me the story left him even less!). They needed to walk some two hours, gather the timber, carry it to the river and then, if there was still time, they would also float it down the river to the village. But the floating, as the text continues to make clear, had two options: to a half-way point where they would throw it up on the riverbank and carry it the rest of the way the next day (to avoid travelling during darkness in crocodile infested waters), or all the way to the ocean and along the beach to the waterfront by his house. This either / or nature of the 'floating' makes it unlikely that *ti* is modifying *leboi* 'float them'. Consider the case of *laka* 'also'. Example (215) opens with a conditional (*e ghua* '3SG COND'), which lends a measure of uncertainty (in the form of a conditional) to the sentence. The speaker really wants the 'also' to happen, though; he doesn't want to have to go back to the bush again tomorrow. He indicates this with *laka ti*.

Numerals can also be modified with *ti*, as in (216).

- (216) “*E ngitha t-i niulu-a?*” “*Thangavulu tolu t-i na vula.*”  
 3SG how.much RL-LOC year-PS:3SG ten three RL-LOC ART moon  
 'How old is he?' 'Thirteen months.'

The situation involved one woman asking another how old her toddler was. They hadn't seen one another for some time so while the woman who asked could tell by looking at the child that he was approximately one year old she couldn't recall exactly how old he was. And this is what she asked by framing the question with the realis locative *ti*. The addition of *ti* indicates a desire to 'locate' the child's actual age with a certain amount of precision. So even though the question was asked in *niulu* 'years', the answer—in response to the request for a more precise response—came in *vula* 'months' (lit., 'moons'). The realis temporal locative works well in the mother's response to establish and confirm the precision of the number of months.

Quote margins are also verbal and may be modified by *ti*.

- (217) “*O doku,*” *ena t-i na vonu.*  
 INTJ good say:3SG RL-LOC ART turtle  
 "“Oh good,” said the turtle.'

Interestingly, quote margins are rarely marked for TAM. The few instances there are in my texts are of the type *mena* 'CONJ-say:3SG' and *gena* 'PFCT-say:3SG'. The absence of *tena* 'RL-say:3SG' may be to avoid confusion with similar wordforms *tena* 'LOC' and *te[igha] na* 'NEG ART'.<sup>99</sup> Of course, realis mood can be readily, and unambiguously, marked on quote margins with *ti*.

As one might expect, *ti* appears with prepositions in a spatial locative way with, of course, realis overtones. In (218) the first instance of *ti* modifies the verb phrase o

<sup>99</sup> Although *mena* 'and / but now' could easily be confused with *mena* 'CONJ-say:3SG'.

*ghua ngaoa na ghalia* 'suppose you want to make' and its object complement *siki* "extra flavour" 'any extra flavour'. It forms a conditional presumed true for the sake of argument. It is the second *ti*, however, the one that modifies the preposition *i leoa* 'Loc inside', that is of interest here.

- (218) *O ghua ngao-a na ghali-a siki 'e.f.' t-i i leo-a t-i*  
 2SG if want-o:3SG ART make-o:3SG any e.f. RL-LOC LOC inside-o:3SG RL-LOC  
*nimoo na thara k-o ghali mai-a.*  
 PS:2SG ART feast.row IRR-2SG make come-o:3SG  
 'If you want any "extra flavour" in your feast row, you make it and bring it.'

The second *ti* gives emphasis to the location of the 'extra flavour'—inside your feast row, not outside (i.e., distributed to a different feast row). The particle *ti* establishes spatially where the 'extra flavour' is to appear. If this was *i leoa nimoo na thara ti*, with *ti* modifying the noun *thara*, there would be some place other than a different *thara* 'feast row' that the extra flavour could end up—in someone's house, for example—and therefore the *thara* 'feast row' was being specified with the spatial realis locative.

A second example of *ti* with a preposition is in (219). Again, it is the second instance of *ti* in the sentence that is of interest at this point.

- (219) *Biku inau m-u rai mai inau m-e eno t-i*  
 sleep EP:1SG CONJ-1SG wake come EP:1SG CONJ-3SG lay.down RL-LOC  
*ko-levugha-mami t-i a J. g-i na gari mane.*  
 DU-between-PS:1EX.PL RL-LOC ART J PFCT-LOC ART child man  
 'I was sleeping and I woke up and laying right between J. and me there was a youth [who wasn't there when I went to sleep].'

There is an element of shock in (219). It comes from a text recounting the night that the narrator's basket had been stolen. He was in town with a friend, J., sleeping in a semi-public place when, in the middle of the night, he awoke to find a third person asleep

with them. And not only with them but between them—right between them! It is *ti*, the realis locative, that narrows the focus to 'right between'; *kolevughamami* 'between us two' is one thing, but *kolevughamami ti* 'right between us two' is quite another. The particle *ti* highlights the unexpected nature of the sleeping youth's location.

What began as a pesky little particle<sup>100</sup> is somewhat more tractable with the analysis provided. Though a 'realis locative' is, as far as I know, not attested in other Oceanic languages, it is a surprisingly flexible particle in Lengo.

The situation becomes somewhat more complex outside the verb phrase. How is it possible to account for a noun or a pronoun with realis mood? Consider (220).

- (220) *Mo~mono t-i sakai na dani na vonu t-i ma na igha.*  
 RDP~stay RL-LOC one ART day ART turtle RL-LOC CONJ ART fish  
 'Once upon a time there was a turtle and a fish.'

The stative verb *mono* 'stay; exist, remain' is directly modified by *ti*—part of a story-telling formula along the lines of 'once upon a time'. Here the temporal sense of the realis locative at work. But *na vonu ti* 'ART turtle RL-LOC' is found later in the sentence. It is not the case that the second *ti* is merely dislocated from the verb; while reduplication for emphasis is a feature of Lengo, \**ti ti* is never found. So it seems to be the case that *ti* here is modifying the noun *vonu*. And in case the reader might think (220) is an anomaly, later in the same story an identical situation is found as shown in (221).

- (221) *Doku na igha t-i t-e vuivuni-a.*  
 ok ART fish RL-LOC RL-3SG start-o:3SG  
 'Ok, the fish started it [the competition].'

In (220) and (221), *ti* functions almost as an emphatic demonstrative. These sentences

<sup>100</sup> A pesky little particle is “a morpheme that is either lexically contentless or behaves in a text in a manner that is anomalous with regard to its usual lexical content, and is intractable to grammatical analysis” (<http://www.sil.org/linguistics/GlossaryOfLinguisticTerms/WhatIsAPeskyLittleParticle.htm>).

come from a 'custom story'—a story about why things are the way they are. While both *vonu* 'turtle' and *igha* 'fish' are modified by *ti*, it happens at different points in the story—they are never both modified by *ti* at the same time. Example (220) comes as the opening line of the story. Here at the outset the turtle is highlighted by *ti*. The turtle, as the 'winner' of the competition, is the hero of the story. In fact, due to the nature of the competition—a game of follow-the-leader—the fish dies: it follows the turtle onto the shore but cannot make it back to the water. So in (220) *ti* serves to establish the turtle as the protagonist. In order to wrest the spotlight away from the turtle, when the fish sets out as the 'leader' in (221) it is marked with *ti*.

The 'demonstrative' function of *ti* is apparent when it follows an emphatic pronoun.

(222) *ma inau t-i na tighi mane; t-u kabi*  
 CONJ EP:1SG RL-LOC ART first man RL-1SG dig  
 'and I was the first man; I dug'

Here *inau ti* 'EP:1SG RL-LOC' is also, in a way, an emphatic. There were a number of young men at the job site, a number who used the shovel to dig. Later in the text, one young man even grabbed it from the hands of another deemed to be digging too slowly. But the narrator, *inau ti* 'EP:1SG RL-LOC'—and not another—was first. The fact that he was first among many is marked emphatically by *ti*.

The reflexive pronoun can also be modified by *ti* to specify more exactly. In (223) group K. is being used as an example for the rest of the village groups of what will happen during the upcoming feast.

(223) *Boro k-e ghe dea tena group sakai, boro tena group ruka, ba k-e*  
 NEG IRR-3SG continue go LOC group one NEG LOC group two FUT IRR-3SG

*masi ba oli ba tena nimiu na thara tibo-miu t-i ighamu na K.*  
 must FUT return FUT LOC PS:2PL ART feast.row REFL-PS:2PL RL-LOC EP:2PL ART K  
 'It cannot go to group one, it cannot go to group two; it must return to your  
 feast row—yourselves [group] K.'

A main point of concern in the text is that the larger village groups will not have enough food allotted to them by the sponsoring group. The narrator goes to great lengths to assure people that the food that belongs to them will get to their group and to no other. It is difficult to break the lengthy Lengo possessive phrase *nimiu na thara tibo-miu ti ighamu na K.* into something equivalent in English, but 'your feast row you yourselves alone K.' comes close. The role of *ti* is, again, as an emphatic demonstrative, a realis substantiator.

The particles *po* 'LIM' and *ti* work so closely together that at times they seem to be a single word: *poti*. Indeed, many Lengo speakers consider it one. Even if it is a single word, however, it is surely a compound of the two. For the purposes of this grammar *po* and *ti* are analysed as two words. The construction *po ti* is most commonly present following a verb, as in (224).

(224) *m-ami-tu mai atheathe po t-i de ga*  
 CONJ-1EX.PL-PAU come rest LIM RL-LOC DEM there  
 'we came just to rest here' or 'we came to just rest here'

The construction *po ti* serves to diminish and establish, to limit and lend substance, to the verb. What *po* takes away from the verb *ti* gives back, so that the action (or state, in the case of statives) is not given too much emphasis, on the one hand, nor too little, on the other. In (224) it was not excruciating labour that the people were resting from (thus *po*), but they had worked, the sun was hot, and they were resting nonetheless (thus *ti*); it was not undeserved rest (*ti*), but there was work left to do and they couldn't

remain idle for long (*po*).

Example (225) is an equative clause in which the subject pronoun is juxtaposed to a subject noun phrase, and in this case, interposed with *po ti*.

(225) *Geia po t-i na theutu.*  
EP:3SG LIM RL-LOC ART way  
'[That's] just the way [we need to do it].'

This example is from a text in which two people were discussing the implications of a recent crocodile attack at the river near the village. The conversation quickly turned to how to eliminate the threat. Upon coming up with a plan of action, the originator of the plan uttered (225). He acknowledged that it was all they needed to do (*po*), that it needed to be implemented as soon as possible (*ti*).

The analysis of *ti* is complex, all the more so in light of its wide distribution. However, the analysis provided here—that of a realis locative, a substantiator in time and space (as context requires)—makes some sense in all the contexts in which *ti* is found. Given that Lengo separates the TAM notional space into the broad categories of realis and irrealis, the presence of an independent and highly flexible realis marking particle is not surprising. What is unexpected is its shape, that is, a 'realis locative'.

#### 4.7 Verb negation

There are a number of ways to negate a verb in Lengo. There is a grammatical negator, a discontinuous morpheme, that surrounds the verb being negated. This is supplemented by a variety of modal verbs with negative meanings that are part of serial verb constructions (see page 154ff). These range in meaning from a strong prohibitive to a lack of willingness.

Lengo's most grammaticalised negator is the discontinuous morpheme *mo . . .*

*mo* 'NEG . . . NEG'. This negator is the only 'discontinuous' morpheme in Lengo. The negative construction *mo . . . mo* surrounds the verb being negated as in (226).

- (226) a. *K-amu mo saponu mo!*  
IRR-2PL NEG loud NEG  
 'Be quiet!' (lit., 'You(PL)—not so loud!')
- b. *Mo ole mo.*  
NEG walk NEG  
 'Don't walk.'
- c. *Mo thaghata leo mo.*  
NEG bad inside NEG  
 'Don't worry.'

An intriguing use of the *mo . . . mo* negative construction is found in the following quote from a letter to the editor of the national newspaper.

Moreover, a lot of Lengo people, young and old, nowadays increasingly incorporate English words with language when conversing. For instance, 'you must come' in English, is interpreted as, *ko mo ghe teigha mo na mai* in Lengo. But many people now increasingly use 'must' instead of *ko mo ghe teigha mo*. As a result today in Lengo language people will say something like *ko must mai ti*, inserting 'must' (the English word, 'must') instead of saying *ko mo ghe teigha mo na mai*' (Alfred Mane, "Have Ride [sic; pride] in Your Language", Solomon Star, 9 August 2004).

During some four years in a Lengo speaking context, I never heard anything but English 'must' (or Pijin *masi*) in Lengo conversation (see examples (111) and (223)). This is not surprising, given that the substance of the above letter was an encouragement for Lengo speakers to strive to maintain their language in the face of significant pressure from other languages (notably English and Solomon Islands Pijin).

Despite its infrequent use, this example of the negative *mo . . . mo* deserves a closer look. The segment of text is presented in (227).



- (227) *k-o mo ghe teigha mo na mai*  
 IRR-2SG NEG continue NEG NEG ART come  
 'you must come' (lit., 'you must not not continue to come')

What Lengo does here is apply a double negative to affect a strong affirmative with deontic modality. The verb *mai* 'come' is negated by *teigha* 'NEG'. As is the case with verbs negated by the modal *teigha* 'NEG', *mai* 'come' is nominalised and becomes *na mai* 'ART come'. The negative modal *teigha*, being head of the verb phrase, is in turn negated by *mo...mo*. The auxiliary of aspect, *ghe* 'continue', is within the discontinuous negative *mo...mo*. A demonstration of the possible progression from imperative through negative imperative to strong imperative is shown in (228)a.-c.

- (228) a. *k-o ghe mai*  
 IRR-2SG continue come  
 'you, continue coming'
- b. *k-o ghe teigha na mai*  
 IRR-2SG continue NEG ART come  
 'you, don't continue coming'
- c. *k-o mo ghe teigha mo na mai*  
 IRR-2SG NEG continue NEG NEG ART come  
 'you must come'

It is impossible to say whether this is a one-step or a two-step process, that is, whether a speaker actually goes through the second step represented in (228)b. or whether (228)c. follows directly on (228)a. in moving from an imperative to a strong imperative. What is certain, however, is that the complexity of this construction is avoided by borrowing the Pijin form *masi* 'must'.

#### 4.8 Verb serialisation

Serial verb constructions are prevalent in Lengo. As evidence of this first consider two verbs, *tapa* 'run' and *tumuri* 'follow', in separate examples in (229). In

(229)a. and b. *tapa* 'run' and *tumuri* 'follow' are the solitary verbal heads of their respective clauses.

(229) a. "K-a-tu oli ba t-i," una m-u **tapa**.  
 IRR-1IN.PL-PAU return FUT RL-LOC 1SG:say CONJ-1SG run  
 "We need to go back now," I said and I ran.'

b. I vi ga t-e dea ga na igha e **tumuri** po na vonu.  
 LOC where there RL-3SG go there ART fish 3SG follow LIM ART turtle  
 'Wherever the fish went the turtle just followed.'

In (230), however, they together form the verbal head of the clause.

(230) m-ara-ko **tapa tumuri-u**  
 CONJ-3PL-DU run follow-O:1SG  
 'and they two ran after me'

The serial verb construction *tapa tumuri* 'run.after' expresses a single action; has a single subject (referenced by *arako* 'they two') and a single object (-u 'o:1sg'); does not have a connective word between the verbs (i.e., they belong to the same clause); and has a single TAM signature (*m-* 'CONJ', which carries the TAM signature of the preceding TAM marker). These characteristics are consistent with the criteria for analysing it as a serial verb.<sup>101</sup>

Lynch *et al.* (2002) identify five semantic types of verb serialisation in Oceanic languages.

1. directional / positional: the first verb expresses movement, the second the direction of that movement or the position reached as a result of that movement;
2. sequential: the first verb expresses movement, the second the action that follows the movement. A purposive relationship between the actions is usually implied;
3. causative: the first verb is transitive, the second expresses the result of the action of the first. The object of the first verb is subject of the second;

<sup>101</sup> See Crowley 2002b:19.

4. manner: the second verb expresses how the action of the first verb was performed;
5. ambient: the implicit (third person singular) subject of the second verb is the sub-event expressed by the first. The second verb is often 'finish', expressing completive aspect or sequence ('and then') (47ff).<sup>102</sup>

Evidence of each of these types is found in Lengo. In addition to these, Pawley (1973) and later Crowley (2002b) make mention of prepositional verbs ~ verbal prepositions for such semantic categories as comitative, dative and instrumental (among others). These, too, are common in Lengo. A serial verb construction indicating purpose has the genitive *ni* between the verbs. Finally, there are modal serial verb constructions in Lengo in which the second verb is preceded by an article. The following chart provides an overview of Lengo's various serial verb constructions.

	Serial verb constructions	Non-serialised alternatives
Directional	V + V <sub>dir</sub> (-O)	
Sequential	V <sub>dir</sub> + V <sub>t</sub> -O V <sub>i</sub> + V <sub>t</sub> -O	
Causative	V <sub>t</sub> + V <sub>t</sub> -O	V <sub>i</sub> -Caghini-O <sup>103</sup>
Manner	V <sub>i</sub> + V(-O)	
Ambient	V + soko(-O)	
Comitative	V + kolu-O	
Dative	V + vani-O	V <sub>t</sub> -IO DO <sup>104</sup>
Instrumental	V + ghini-O	
Modal	V + na V(-O)	

Figure 4.4: Types of Lengo serial verb constructions

Each of these is discussed in turn below.

<sup>102</sup> “The term 'ambient' derives from Chafe (1970:101-2), and an ambient verb makes a general predication about the world without referring to any particular participants, such as: It pours in Suva most of the time. Ambient serial constructions are those in which a serialized verb makes some kind of qualification about the manner in which an action is performed, with the manner being expressed by means of a serialized stative verb” (Crowley 2002b:41).

<sup>103</sup> See the discussion of Causative on page 84.

<sup>104</sup> See the discussion of transitive verbs with two objects on page 175.

#### 4.8.1 Directional

There are a number of words that indicate direction in Lengo. These include *mai* 'come, toward', *dea* 'go, away from', *thai* 'arrive at',<sup>105</sup> *iti* 'up' and *thivo* 'down', as well as “cardinal” directions *boko* 'down.coast', *ghalagha* 'up.coast', *longa* 'landward', and *sapa* 'seaward'. These are found following the verb they supply a directional component to. When directional words are found in a serial verb construction with a transitive verb, the directional takes the object pronoun suffix that would otherwise attach to the transitive verb.<sup>106</sup>

The directional words are used with reference to the narrator's perspective:<sup>107</sup> one can *athe dea* 'give go' to another or ask another to *athe mai* 'give come' to herself; one can *sara mai* 'arrive come' or *sara dea* 'arrive go'. The sentences in example (231) illustrate this. They are the second and the final sentences respectively in a story recounting a trip to the river, the location of the narrator's garden. The narrator's deictic centre is his home village. The story opens with: *ikoghami a Paul amiko dea i nughu* 'we two Paul [and I] we two go to the river'.<sup>108</sup> It continues:

- (231) a. *ami-ko tumuri-a na theutu g-ami-ko sakai ni sara dea ga*  
 1EX.PL-DU follow-O:3SG ART path 1EX.PL-DU one GEN arrive go DEM  
 'we two follow the path before we arrive there'
- b. *mamiko sara mai te nulavi ti i vanua*  
 m-ami-ko sara mai tena nulavi t-i i vanua  
 CONJ-1EX.PL-DU arrive come LOC afternoon RL-LOC LOC village  
 'and we two arrive in the afternoon in the village'

Arrival at the destination is marked with *sara dea* 'arrive go' and arrival back in his

<sup>105</sup> The directional *thai* 'arrive at' expresses arriving at the goal of an action: if looking, fastening one's gaze on an object; if searching, finding what is sought, and so on. Cf. Pijin *kasem*.

<sup>106</sup> This behaviour is seen in (233)a. and b., (234), (235)a, (236), (237)a., and (238) in this section.

<sup>107</sup> While a good number of the texts in my collection are first person narrative, there are some that indicate that this applies to the more general deictic centre of the text, as in (236) below.

<sup>108</sup> Note the use of *dea* 'go' as head of the verb phrase.

village is rendered as *sara mai* 'arrive come'. Given that the narrator is situated in the village while recounting the trip, the directionals *dea* 'go, away from' and *mai* 'come, toward' reflect the relationship of the two points of arrival to the place where the narrator is at the time he tells the story.

It needs to be said near the outset of the discussion that the verbs that function as directionals can also appear as the head of a verb phrase. The sentences in (232) demonstrate this.

- (232) a. **Mai** *na vothe*.  
 come ART paddle  
 '[Hand me] the paddle.'
- b. *m-e mai na ara sule m-e kovo-thi-a na vae*  
 CONJ-3SG come ART wind big CONJ-3SG collapse-TR-O:3SG ART house  
 'and a big wind came and it collapsed the house'
- c. *Ba k-o dea i leghai?*  
 FUT IRR-2SG go LOC garden  
 'Will you be going to the garden?'
- d. *m-e thai-a mo na dani t-ara-ko ghunughunu-a*  
 CONJ-3SG arrive.at-o:3SG ? ART day RL-3PL-DU plan-o:3SG  
 'it arrived, the day they had planned for'
- e. *t-ara iti-a na thinaghe*  
 RL-3PL up-o:3SG ART canoe  
 'they beached (lit., upped-it) the canoe'
- f. *m-ami-tu sapa-a na thinaghe*  
 CONJ-1EX.PL-PAU seaward-o:3SG ART canoe  
 'we few [carry] the canoe seaward' (lit., seaward-it the canoe)

In each of these examples—in imperative and indicative sentences—the head verb is a word that also, in other contexts, can function as a second verb in a directional serial verb construction.

It is the phenomenon of these words combining with other verbs as directional

verbs that is of interest here. Directional verbs are found following verbs of motion, speech, and perception.

Directional verbs combine with verbs of motion, as in example (233).<sup>109</sup>

(233) a. *ami-ko teigha na ta~tavu thai-a na kei*  
 1EX.PL-DU NEG ART RDP~find arrive.at-o:3SG ART basket  
 'we couldn't find the basket'

b. *k-o talu dea-a i te siki popo*  
 k-o talu dea-a i tena siki popo  
 IRR-2SG put go-o:3SG LOC LOC any bowl  
 'you put it inside a bowl'

c. *m-e pasu mai i riki-gu na aliva*  
 CONJ-3SG sting come LOC digit-ps:3SG ART centipede  
 'and it bit [me] on my toe the centipede'

In the first two of these examples the object suffix joins to the directional verb.

The context from which example (233)c. comes is helpful in demonstrating the nature of the difference between the dynamic and directional uses of these verbs.

Consider the use of *mai* 'come' in (234).

(234) *u dea m-u tu-ri thai-a t-i na aliva, tu-ri*  
 1SG go CONJ:1SG stand-TR arrive.at-o:3SG RL-LOC ART centipede stand-TR  
  
*thai-a t-i na aliva t-e mai pasu i riki-gu, m-e*  
 arrive.at-o:3SG RL-LOC ART centipede RL-3SG come sting LOC digit-ps:1SG CONJ-3SG  
  
*pasu mai i riki-gu na aliva m-u...; na bona t-e mai ghani-u*  
 sting come LOC digit-ps:1SG ART centipede CONJ:1SG ART time RL-3SG come bite-o:1SG  
  
*laka po na koba po; na bona t-e mai ghani-u m-u kimu-a*  
 also LIM ART hermit.crab LIM ART time RL-3SG come bite-o:1SG CONJ:1SG kick-o:3SG

<sup>109</sup> This set includes: *alo* 'beckon', *athe* 'give', *bila* 'throw', *gara* 'pull', *ghali* 'make, do', *gharasu* 'move', *lavi* 'take', *lebo* 'float', *lusa* 'load', *oli* 'return', *rai* 'awaken', *sara* 'arrive', *sovo* 'join', *talv* 'put', *tapa* 'run', *thevu* 'cross', *tovothi* 'separate', and *vuli* 'pour', among others.

*m-e tumu lithi*

CONJ-3SG fall beside

'I went and I stepped right on a centipede, [I] stepped right on a centipede that came stung my toe, and it stung come my toe the centipede and I . . . ; when it came bit me [it felt like] just a hermit crab; when it came bit me I kicked it and it fell beside'

Of the four times that *mai* 'come' is found in this section of text, three times it is first in a serial verb construction and once it is found last. When *mai* 'come' is first in a serial verb construction it is used as a dynamic verb, that is, a verb of motion as part of a sequential serial verb construction (see below). While it is true that the storyteller stepped on the centipede, he lets the hearer know that the centipede played its part in stinging him. The centipede had to orient itself so as to sting the speaker, it had to—in a dynamic sense—'come' sting him. When *mai* 'come' is last in a serial verb construction, as it is in the second instance in (234), it is not being used in a dynamic sense but a directional one. There is an important shift of the narrative spotlight due to this shift from dynamic to directional *mai* 'come'. The narrator begins with his role of stepping on the centipede (*u dea mu turi thai ti na aliva* 'I went and I stepped right on a centipede'). He repeats his role (*turi thai ti na aliva* 'stepped right on a centipede') but—and significantly—drops any reference to himself; the expected subject reference pronoun is absent. At this point the spotlight swings to the centipede and its active role in stinging him, expressed by the relative clause *te mai pasu i rikigu* 'that came stung my toe'. With the next clause, however, the spotlight begins to swing back to the narrator. The narrator begins to set up for some sort of statement, possibly about his response to the sting (*me pasu mai i rikigu mu . . .* 'it bit [me] on my toe and I . . . '), but he delays this to comment on how the sting felt. Because there is no passive in Lengo, the centipede

retains its active role in stinging the narrator, but with the use of directional *mai* 'come' the orientation of the spotlight has changed. The listener is invited to take the narrator's perspective on the centipede's sting—its bite was directed at the narrator. From the centipede's perspective it 'stung go' whereas from the narrator's perspective the centipede 'stung come'. It was a sting directed toward the narrator's perspective.

In (235)a. and b. there is a three verb serial verb construction—*dea* 'go' + V(motion) + V(direction).

(235) a. *m-u ghoni soko-i m-ami-tu dea talu iti-i*  
CONJ-1SG make finish-O:3PL CONJ-1EX.PL-PAU go put up-O:3PL

*i<tu>ghami B. ma N.*  
<PAU>EP:1EX.PL B and N

'I finished making them and we went and put them up, B. and N. [and I]'

b. *k-ami-tu dea thua sapa i mata ni beti*  
IRR-1EX.PL-PAU go pole seaward LOC eye GEN river  
 'we few will pole seaward to the river mouth'

In these examples *dea* 'go' is not functioning as the directional complement but as another dynamic verb; the directionals are *iti* 'up' and *sapa* 'seaward'.

Directionals, especially *dea* 'go' and *mai* 'come', also combine with the verb of speech / address *ghu* 'shout'. Whether one addresses another (*dea*) or is addressed by another (*mai*) is indicated by the directionals.

(236) *t-e ghu-vi dea-a a tau-a*  
RL-3SG shout-TR go-O:3SG ART spouse-PS:3SG  
 'she shouted to her spouse'

This does not conform to the subtype, based on the transitivity of the first verb, as presented in Lynch *et al.* (2002:47). They claim that if the first verb is transitive that the moving (or, more generally, acting) thing or person is object of the first verb and



subject of the second. In (236) the acting person is subject of both verbs.

Finally, directionals are seen to play a role in relation to verbs of perception, as with *bere* 'see' and *rongo* 'hear' in (237).

- (237) a. *teigha siki agutu k-ami-ko bere-ngi thai-a i<ko>ghami*  
NEG any something IRR-1EX.PL-DU see-TR arrive.at-o:3SG <DU>EP:1EX.PL  
 'we two didn't fasten our gaze on anything [i.e., what we were looking for]'
- b. *Ighamu na leoni tinoni k-amu rongo mai.*  
EP:2PL ART all person IRR-2PL listen come  
 'You, all the people—listen here [i.e., in the speaker's direction]!'

The situation in (238) is quite different from that found in (237)b.

- (238) *k-amu mai rongo-ni-a na tha ba k-a ghali-a*  
IRR-2PL come hear-TR-o:3SG ART COMP FUT IRR-1IN.PL do-o:3SG  
 'come listen to what we're going to do'

In (238) the speaker is coaxing people to move closer to him so that they can hear what he has to say without him having to shout or strain his voice, whereas (237)b. is an attention-getting introduction. The people are already nearby, but distracted and talking among themselves; they just need to be encouraged to direct their listening attention toward the speaker. Examples (237)b. and (238) reinforce the difference that word order makes with, for example, *mai* 'come'. When *mai* 'come' is at the beginning of a serial verb construction it is dynamic, that is, a verb of motion. When it follows another verb in a serial verb construction, as in (237)b., it indicates direction.

#### 4.8.2 Sequential

A second type of serial verb construction is, according to Lynch *et al.*, sequential. In this type the first verb expresses movement while the second verb indicates an action following the movement. The sequential ordering of the verbs suggests a relationship of purpose between the verbs. Consider example (239).

- (239) *m-ara-ko tapa tumuri-u*  
 CONJ-3PL-DU run follow-O:1SG  
 'and they two ran after me'

The verb of motion is the first verb: *tapa* 'run'. The second verb, *tumuri* 'follow' is the action that follows the movement. The first verb necessarily precedes the second. 'They two' began to run and their running was with the purpose of following 'me'. They did not just run aimlessly—they ran after someone, here with the purpose of coming to the storyteller's aid.

Example (240) provides more evidence of a sequential type serial verb construction.

- (240) *I tena sanga-dira, muri na gilua na sipsip nga, t-e bere doku*  
 LOC LOC speech-PS:3PL behind ART skin-PS:3SG ART sheep DEM RL-3SG look good

*m-i leoa na dou-dira nga t-e veghe na kau asi. Ba k-amu*  
 CONJ-LOC inside ART heart-PS:3PL DEM RL-3SG like ART dog wild FUT IRR-2PL

*bere-ngi ghilaghana-ra tena agutu t-ara ghali.*  
 see-TR understand-O:3PL LOC thing RL-3PL do

'In their speech, behind a sheep skin, it looks good but inside their heart it is like a wild dog. You will understand them by seeing the things they do.'

In this example the first verb, while not a verb of 'motion' per se, is necessarily preliminary to the second verb. Understanding 'them' is contingent on seeing the things 'they' do. Despite the fact that there are two verbs, however, they are so closely related, so much of a piece, that the two together form a serial verb construction with a single meaning: 'see understand'.

Another common type of sequential serial verb construction involves the verbs of direction—*dea* 'go' and *mai* 'come'—in first position. When in this position *dea* and *mai* are dynamic and not directional.

- (241) a. *m-u dea thuge-a a J. J. o teigha na bere na kei-gu?*  
 CONJ-1SG go ask-o:3SG ART J. J. 2SG NEG ART see ART basket-PS:1SG  
 'and I went and asked J., "J., you haven't seen my basket?"'
- b. *m-ara ghe dea tura-a niu tena thinaghe*  
 CONJ-3PL continue go load-o:3SG coconut LOC canoe  
 'and they continue going loading coconut in the canoe'
- c. *e mai biku kolu-ko-ghami*  
 3SG come sleep accompany-DU-o:1EX.PL  
 'he came sleep with us two'
- d. *k-amu mai rongo-ni-a na tha ba k-a ghali-a*  
 IRR-2PL come hear-TR-o:3SG ART COMP FUT IRR-1IN.PL do-o:3SG  
 'you come hear what we will do'

In the examples in (241) the first verbs in the serial verb constructions—*dea* and *mai*—are verbs of physical motion with a subsequent action expressed by a second verb.

A final type of sequential serial verb constructions also involves *dea* 'go' in first position. If the preceding sequential serial verb constructions are typified as 'motion-action', this type might be best characterised as 'become-state'. Consider (242).

- (242) *m-e dea kola po t-i na igha*  
 CONJ-3SG go tired LIM RL-LOC ART fish  
 'and the fish just became tired'

In this example *dea* 'go' does not express physical motion, rather it indicates the sense of moving from the state of having energy to tiredness.

#### 4.8.3 Causative

A third type of serial verb construction is one that forms a causative. The first verb is the action while the second indicates the outcome of the first. This is shown in example (243).

- (243) *k-ara masi vana-thi mate-a t-i k-e sakai ni ghani mate-a*  
 IRR-3PL must shoot-TR die-o:3SG RL-LOC IRR-3SG one GEN bite die-o:3SG

*siki tinoni*  
 any person  
 'they must shoot it to death before it bites a person to death'

The narrator's concern was with a crocodile in the river that had recently mauled someone. It needed to be killed before it killed someone! The two serial verb constructions are necessary to indicate the ultimate ends the narrator was referring to. They could well shoot the crocodile, but to really take care of the problem they needed to 'shoot die' it. The crocodile could bite someone (as it had; fortunately, the person escaped with serious but non-life threatening injuries), but it needed to be dealt with before it 'bite died' someone. The second verb, *mate* 'die', is the result of the first verb; the verbs are in a causal relationship.

#### 4.8.4 Manner

The fourth type of serial verb construction that Lynch *et al.* mention is one that indicates manner. In manner serial verb constructions the second verb “expresses how the action of the first verb was performed” (2002:47). In (244) the stative verb *segghi* 'quick' describes the manner in which the hearer is meant to *mai* 'come'.

(244) *K-o dea bosa vani-a S. k-e mai se~segghi!*  
 IRR-2SG go tell DAT-O:3SG S IRR-3SG come RDP~quick  
 'Go tell S. he must come quickly!'

The CV reduplication here indicates intensity—i.e., very quickly; it is difficult to understand the function of the reduplication here as continuous or repetitive. In (245) the non-reduplicated form of the verb *segghi* is found.

(245) *kabi B. m-e teigha na sara soko segghi-a m-e dea B.V.*  
 dig B CONJ-3SG NEG ART arrive finish quick-O:3SG CONJ-3SG go B.V.

*me laua tulithia na spedi lime me kabi soko*  
*m-e lau-a tulithi-a na spedi lima-a me kabi soko-a*  
CONJ-3SG grab-o:3SG take.out-o:3SG ART spade hand-ps:3SG CONJ-3SG dig finish-o:3SG  
 'B. was digging but he did not arrive quickly at finishing and B.V. went and grabbed the spade from his hand and he finished digging it'

Here *seghi* 'quick' describes how B. failed to dig. In fact, he took so long to dig the post hole he was working on that someone actually grabbed the shovel out of his hand to finish the job. Note that in this example *seghi* 'quick', the third and final verb in the series, is inflected with an object pronoun suffix.

The speaker in (246) uses a serial verb construction of manner to indicate that he would not have much quiet time in his village during the upcoming year.

(246) *Ba k-u teigha t-i na mono varongo i vanua.*  
FUT IRR-1SG NEG RL-LOC ART stay quiet LOC village  
 'I really won't be sitting around in the village.'

The second verb, *varongo* 'quiet', describes the manner in which the first verb, *mono* 'stay', is carried out. Note here that the entire serial verb construction is negated by *teigha* 'NEG'.

#### 4.8.5 Ambient

Lynch *et al.* mention a final type of serial verb construction—ambient. This type is defined by Crowley (2002b:61) as “a construction in which a verb is serialized to another verb, but in which there is no specific referent associated with the subject of the serialized verb, and the verb simply describes a general predication.” Lynch *et al.* (2002:49) note that “the second verb is often 'finish', expressing completive aspect or sequence ('and then')”. This type of serial verb construction is evident in (247).

(247) *m-u ghoni-a t-i na tughuru ni tu i levugha ni enoana*  
CONJ-1SG make-o:3SG RL-LOC ART post GEN stand LOC between GEN jackpost

*ma na ghai-be-tina. M-u ghoni soko-i m-ami-tu dea*  
 and ART main.crossbeam CONJ-1SG make finish-O:3PL CONJ-1EX.PL-PAU go

*talū iti tu-ghami B. ma N. Dea m-ami-tu talū iti soko-i*  
 put up PAU-EP:1EX.PL B and N go CONJ-1EX.PL-PAU put up finish-O:3PL  
 'I made the posts for standing between the jackposts and the main crossbeam. I finished making them and we few went and put them up, we few B. and N. [and I]. [Time] went and we few finished putting them up'

The completive aspect supplied to the serial verb construction by the verb *soko* 'finish' is clearly evident.<sup>110</sup> The second instance of *soko* 'finish' in (247) could be seen as part of a three verb serial verb construction or as a directional serial verb construction embedded within an ambient serial verb construction ([*talū iti*] *sokoi* '[put up] finish').

Example (248) is another example of the completive aspect *soko* 'finish' brings to serial verb constructions.

(248) [U] *pogho soko m-u dea pogho mami. Soko m-u dea tughu*  
 1SG bathe finish CONJ-1SG go bathe fresh.water finish CONJ-1SG go change

*m-u belo nulavi i nea.*  
 CONJ-1SG ring.bell afternoon LOC yesterday  
 'After swimming in the ocean I went and bathed in fresh water. [Having] finished I went and changed [my clothes] and rang the [church] bell yesterday afternoon.'

In a serial verb construction the verb *soko* is only ever found following another verb. It is, however, also found clause initially, as in the second sentence of (248). In such instances *soko* joins clauses at a discourse level along the lines of: '[having] finished [X], I did Y.'

#### 4.8.6 Prepositional verbs

There are a handful of devices available in Lengo to bring oblique arguments

<sup>110</sup> The verb *soko* 'finish' is a lexical perfect (that is, "a grammaticalization of the current relevance, at the moment of utterance, of an event or state that occurred prior to the moment of utterance" [<http://www.sil.org/linguistics/GlossaryOfLinguisticTerms/WhatIsAPerfect.htm>]).

into closer relationship with the head verb. These are comitative *kolu*, dative *vani*, and instrumental *ghini* prepositional verbs.<sup>111</sup> To each of these an object pronoun suffix is joined to indicate person and number.

#### 4.8.6.1 Comitative *kolu*

The comitative prepositional verb, which indicates the notion of accompaniment (someone acting or being with another), is expressed by *kolu*.<sup>112</sup> The comitative *kolu* is cross referenced to its object noun phrase with an object pronoun suffix which agrees in person and number. The prepositional verb *kolu* + object pronoun suffix follows the verb it complements and is followed by the object noun phrase, as in (249).

- (249) A *J. te dea kolu a teme i leo ni pono.*  
 a J t-e dea kolu-a a tama-a i leo ni pono  
 ART J RL-3SG go COM-O:3SG ART father-PS:3SG LOC inside GEN bush  
 'J. went with his father to the bush.'

The object noun phrase can be dropped as in (250)a. and b.

- (250) a. *m-e biku kolu-ko-ghami*  
 CONJ-3SG sleep COM-DU-O:1EX.PL  
 'and he slept with us two'
- b. *ami talu kolu-i*  
 1EX.PL put COM-O:3PL  
 'we put them [the sticks] together'

When the NP<sub>o</sub> is dropped, the larger context is the only place to access the referenced object.

<sup>111</sup> Pawley (1973:142) explains, "The term 'prepositional verb' was used by Codrington and other early grammarians of certain disyllabic forms which connect a verb with its grammatical object. Like transitive verbs and transitive suffixes (and unlike true prepositions), such forms are always followed by an object pronominal suffix. A verb which precedes a prepositional verb is often formally intransitive, i.e., does not carry a transitive suffix or pronominal suffix."

<sup>112</sup> Shades of *kolu*'s meaning are found in the compound words *thudu.kolu* 'meeting (lit., sit together)' and *vanga.kolu* 'feast (lit., eat together)'.

#### 4.8.6.2 Dative *vani*

The dative prepositional verb *vani*, again with an indexing object pronoun suffix, behaves at different times as dative and benefactive, expressing meanings of 'to', 'for', and 'with reference to'.<sup>113</sup>

Example (251) demonstrates the most common use of the Lengo dative: to “point” to the indirect object, here the semantic 'goal'.

- (251) a. *inau ba k-u tugu **vani-ghamu** na tha ba k-e sara*  
 EP:1SG FUT IRR-1SG tell DAT-O:2PL ART COMP FUT IRR-3SG arrive  
 'I will tell to you what's going to happen'
- b. *u athe-a **vani-gho** na buka de*  
 1SG give-O:3SG DAT-O:2SG ART book DEM:SG  
 'I am giving you this book'<sup>114</sup>

The dative *vani* can be dislocated from a serial verb construction, as in (252).

- (252) *m-ami-tu dea toka-a na koga **vani-a** na kisini C*  
 CONJ-1EX.PL-PAU go cut-O:3SG ART stick DAT-O:3SG ART kitchen C  
 'we few went to cut sticks for C.'s kitchen'

Here there is a subject switch. The subject of the first part of the serial verb construction—*dea tokaa*—is *mamitu* 'we few'. The subject of *vania* is *na koga* 'the sticks', which were the object of *dea tokaa*.

A somewhat different shade of the Lengo dative is seen in (253). The preposition *vani* here is acting as a benefactive with the meaning 'for (the benefit of)'.

- (253) *Roropo rukana k-o pelu **vani-u** ruka na vugho*  
 morning day.after.tomorrow IRR-2SG buy DAT-O:1SG two ART net

<sup>113</sup> Cf. POC *\*pani*, concerning which Pawley (1973:143) observes, “is reconstructible as an independent verb meaning 'to give'. In languages which reflect this form as a prepositional verb its function is most often as a dative.”

<sup>114</sup> Compare transitive clauses with two objects in (303).



*k-u ne vu~vugho ko-gha-da igha.*  
 IRR-1SG so.that RDP~net DU-ORAL.CLF-PS:1IN.PL fish  
 'Next tomorrow morning you buy for me two nets so that I can net some fish  
 for us to eat.'

Note in (253) that the object of the dative is expressed (-u 'o:1sg) while the object of the verb *pelu* 'buy' is not. It seems that the object of the prepositional verb *vani* has more topical presence than the object of the head verb *pelu*; that is, the (potential) recipient is more 'affected' than what he may receive.

#### 4.8.6.3 Instrumental *ghini*

The instrumental is indicated by the preposition *ghini* + an object pronoun suffix. Ross (1988:377) makes some interesting observations about the supposed 'reflex' of Proto Oceanic \*-aki[ni]<sup>115</sup> 'instrumental' in Lengo. "In Lengo (Guadalcanal) (i) we find many reflexes of the variant \*-akini; (ii) some of these appear to be separable from the verb (not as reflexes of \*akini but of \*kini) and used as a prepositional verb; and (iii) the uses of \*-akini go far beyond the confective, reffective, or instrumental of Western Oceanic".<sup>116</sup> The observation of particular interest here is his second. He provides four examples of \*-akini in Lengo, two of which are included below as (254) and (255).

(254) *e-pusi-aghini-a na rave*  
 s:3SG-chop-AKI-O:3SG ART axe  
 'He chopped it with an axe.'<sup>117</sup>

(255) *e-pusi-a na ghai ghini-a na rave*  
 s:3SG-chop-O:3SG ART tree PREPV-O:3SG ART axe  
 'He chopped the tree with an axe.'<sup>118</sup>

<sup>115</sup> In (2004:507ff) Ross uses a variant of this Proto Oceanic form: \*-akin[i].

<sup>116</sup> Ross (1988:417) explains, "I adopt the terms confective and reffective from Harrison (1982), who in turn borrows them from Arms (1974). A confective participant is typically a concomitant, occasionally an instrument, with a verb of motion (e.g. the coconuts in he came with the coconuts). A reffective participant is 'typically a stimulus (source, cause, reason or beneficiary)' (Harrison 1982:189-190), usually with a verb expressing a psychological state or action (e.g. John in He thought about John)."

<sup>117</sup> Where AKI = POC form \*-aki[ni].

<sup>118</sup> Where PREPV = prepositional verb.

The only apparent difference between the two examples is the presence of the NP<sub>o</sub> *na ghai* 'ART tree' in (255). It seems that *ghini* is doing the same thing in both examples: indicating an object as instrument. It also seems that, given the analysis of *pusi-a* 'chop-o:3SG' in (255), it would make sense to look for the same kind of thing in (254). Indeed, (254) could be parsed as I have done in (256).

(256) *e pusi-a ghini-a na rave*  
 3SG chop-o:3SG INST-o:3SG ART axe  
 'he chopped-it with-it an axe'

When compared to (255), *na ghai* 'the tree' is the understood (i.e., dropped) NP<sub>o</sub> of *pusi-a* 'cut-o:3SG'.

Example (256) has different morpheme cuts from Ross. He, arguing for an underlying POC form *\*-aki[ni]* 'instrument', views *aghini* in (254) as an affix to the verb *pusi* 'chop'. I, on the other hand, understand the initial *a* of Ross' *aghini* as an object suffix on the verb *pusi* and *ghini* 'INST' as a new word. Interestingly, Ross presents precisely this analysis in his second example ((255) above)—apparently an alternate of the first—with the one difference being that *ghini* is analysed as a prepositional verb. This begs the question of (254) and (255): which analysis is to be preferred? And why two such different analyses of such similar data? I am inclined to say that, in Lengo, a single analysis of *ghini* as a prepositional verb marking 'instrument' is more coherent with the data.

Examples (257) and (258) are provided as corroborating examples of this analysis. These are from my own data. In (257) the object of *bila-a* 'shoot-o:3SG' is not made explicit with a lexical noun phrase, but the context identified 'it' as a pig. The object indexed by the instrumental *ghini-a* is *na watu* 'a stone'.

- (257) *U bila-a ghini-a na watu m-e sipu.*  
 1SG shoot-o:3SG INST-o:3SG ART stone CONJ-3SG flee  
 'I shot it [a pig] with a stone and it fled.'

This is similar to Ross' first example, (254) above. The stone is the instrument used to shoot “the pig”, the omitted object of *bila-a* 'shoot-o:3SG'.

The indexing of objects in (258) is straightforward; the noun phrase objects are found immediately following the respective object pronoun suffixes. This is remarkably similar to Ross' example in (255).

- (258) *e ghoti-a na ghai ghini-a na ghau*  
 3SG prune-o:3SG ART tree INST-o:3SG art knife  
 'he pruned the tree with a knife'

The knife is the instrument used to prune the tree. So while object omission is possible in Lengo, it need not affect the analysis of the instrumental *ghini*. Examples where the object is present should be used to interpret those in which it is absent.

Example (259) also presents the instrumental in the form *ghini*. It does, however, raise another question: where is the object marker on the verb *abu* 'hit'? The object marker *-a* on the instrumental *ghini* points to *na ghai* 'ART stick', and one would expect there to be an object marker on the verb *abu* 'hit' to point to the direct object *na kau* 'ART dog'.

- (259) *A deni na ghai t-e ne abu ghini-a na kau na mane.*  
 ART DEM:SG ART stick RL-3SG EMPH hit INST-o:3SG ART dog ART man  
 'This is the stick with which the man really hit the dog.'

The object of *abu* is marked in (261), but not here in (259).

Interestingly, the object noun phrases of the head verb and the instrumental can switch places with no additional marking, as in (260), though there is a corresponding change in meaning.

(260) A *deni na kau t-e ne abu ghini-a na ghai na mane.*  
ART DEM:SG ART dog RL-3SG EMPH hit INST-O:3SG ART stick ART man  
 'This is the dog which the man hit with the stick.'

Note that despite the fact that *na kau* 'the dog' and *na ghai* 'the stick' have 'switched' places, *na ghai* 'the stick' remains the object of the instrumental *ghini*.

Example (261), with its much reworked word order (and omission of the demonstrative), provides somewhat of a corrective lest one began to think that *abu* 'hit' didn't take an object marker.

(261) *T-e abu-a na kau ghini-a na ghai na mane.*  
RL-3SG hit-O:3SG ART dog INST-O:3SG ART stick ART man  
 'The man hit the dog with the stick.'

In light of (261), how is the lack of object marking on the verb in (259) and (260) explained? Given that the role of the instrumental is to increase the valence of the verb, it makes some sense that the object of the instrument is indexed while the object of the verb is not. The valence-increased item is given a marked place in the clause while other objects are optionally left unmarked.

#### 4.8.7 Modal

Lengo expresses five modes with serial verb constructions. These are abilitive (*tangomana*), desiderative (*ngao*), negative (*teigha*), prohibitive (*tabu*), and non-volitive (*kou*). The modal verb comes first in the serial verb construction while the second verb is preceded by an article. The presence of an article before the second verb does not make it a deverbal noun (i.e., derived noun) since it does not follow the derivational pattern found in Lengo (stem-initial CV reduplication; see page 77) and it retains the verb properties of intransitive-to-transitive derivation with the *-Ci* suffix and argument indexing with an object pronoun suffix where applicable. The second verb may best be

considered an infinitive form that is treated like a noun but retains verbal properties.<sup>119</sup>

#### 4.8.7.1 Abilitive *tangomana*

The actual or supposed ability to undertake an action is expressed by the modal verb *tangomana*. It says nothing about actually performing the action; merely being able to do so. For example, being able to fish, as in (262)a., does not entail that one actually fishes; just that the ability to do so exists.

- (262) a. *t-amu tangomana na ta~tagho*  
 RL-2PL able ART RDP~fish.with.a.hook.and.line  
 'you are able to [go] fishing'
- b. *t-o tangomana na mate-a*  
 RL-2SG able ART die-O:3SG  
 'you are able to kill it'
- c. A *thi ighoe t-o mono i buriti dea k-o gharasu mai k-o*  
 ART rel EP:2SG RL-2SG stay LOC back go IRR-2SG move come IRR-2SG  
*ne rongo-ni-a k-o ne teigha t-i na tangomana na ghe thuge*  
 EMPH hear-TR-O:3SG IRR-2SG EMPH NEG RL-LOC ART able ART continue ask  
*na tha ba k-a ghali-a tena Sarere*  
 ART COMP FUT IRR-1IN.PL do-O:3SG LOC Saturday  
 'You who are at the back you move this way [so that] you hear [and] you are not able to continue asking what we will do on Saturday.'

In (262)b. the second verb of the serial verb construction, *matea* 'kill it', indexes the object *na vua* 'the crocodile' which is understood from the larger context. The second verb maintains its verbal properties. Likewise, the final verb of the serial verb construction in (262)c., *thuge* 'ask' is modified by the TAM auxiliary *ghe* 'continue'. Nouns do not take auxiliaries of aspect in Lengo; despite being preceded by an article, *thuge* retains its verbal properties.

<sup>119</sup> These modal serial verb constructions are consistently translated by Lengo speakers with a Pijin (*fo*) or an English (to) infinitive.

#### 4.8.7.2 Desiderative *ngao*

The desire to do something is expressed with the modal verb *ngao*. This is evident in (263).

- (263) a. *Na bona t-u thairo u ngao-a po na tugu tauni-a*  
ART time RL-1SG work 1SG want-O:3SG LIM ART tell around-O:3SG  
*na aro-gu t-e viti.*  
ART shoulder-PS:1SG RL-3SG hurt  
'While I worked I just wanted to tell about my shoulder that hurts.'
- b. *o ghua ngao-a na ghali-a siki 'extra flavour' t-i i*  
2SG if want-O:3SG ART make-O:3SG any extra flavour RL-LOC LOC  
*leo-a t-i nimoa na thara k-o ghali mai-a*  
inside-O:3SG RL-LOC PS:2SG ART feast.row IRR-2SG make come-O:3SG  
'if you want to make any "extra flavour" inside your feast row you make and bring it'

In (263)a. a serial verb construction is found following the article following *ngao*. The position *tauni* 'around' is a member of the direction / position class of verbs discussed in directional serial verb constructions on page 138.

Another means for expressing desire is with *leo* 'want, desire'.

- (264) *e leo-gu na inu beti bithi*  
3SG want-PS:1SG ART drink water cool  
'I want a cold water drink' (lit. 'it [is] my desire [to have] a cool water drink')

The 'desire' is the subject of the clause. The first person singular agent enters the clause as a direct possession suffix on the verb. The 'cold water drink' is the object, but the slot where it should be marked on the verb is taken by the direct possession suffix.

#### 4.8.7.3 Negative *teigha*

By far the most common and versatile negator in Lengo is the modal verb *teigha*

'NEG; no, none'.<sup>120</sup> When *teigha* is used, the verb following is preceded by an article. The

<sup>120</sup> See Dixon (1988:40) for a discussion of Fijian "semi-auxiliary verb" *sega* 'NEG'.

resulting construction *teigha na V* is often—and sometimes confusingly (compare *tena* 'Loc')—shortened to *tena* (i.e., *te[igha] na*) as (265) demonstrates.

- (265) “*gami tena agri ighami,*” *gi gea ena*  
 g-ami teigha na agri ighami g-i gea ena  
 PFCT-1EX.PL NEG ART agree EP:1EX.PL PFCT-LOC EP:3SG 3SG:say  
 “‘we don't agree,’ they said’

Similarly *teigha siki* is often shortened to *te si*, as in *te[igha] si[ki] tave* ‘[the river] is not flooded’ (Pijin *no eni flood*).

Example (266) serves to demonstrate the full form of *teigha* and the article.

- (266) a. *na tha t-e mono t-ami teigha na ngao-i ba k-e mono*  
 ART what RL-3SG stay RL-1EX.PL NEG ART want-O:3PL FUT IRR-3SG stay  
 ‘what stays—what we don't want—will stay’  
 b. *ami-ko teigha na ta-tavu thai-a na kei*  
 1EX.PL-DU NEG ART RDP~find ‘arrive.at’-O:3SG ART basket  
 ‘we couldn't find the basket’

Words can be interposed between *teigha* and *na*, as *ti* is in (267).<sup>121</sup>

- (267) *E teigha t-i na mono varongo!*  
 3SG NEG RL-LOC ART stay quiet  
 ‘He simply cannot be still!’

A polar question can be asked:

- (268) *Ba k-o dea o teigha?*  
 FUT IRR-2SG go OR NEG  
 ‘Are you going or not?’

and answered:

- (269) *O bo dea i leghai? Teigha.*  
 2SG IMPF go LOC garden NEG  
 ‘Are you going to the garden?’ ‘No.’

with *teigha*.

Likewise, a content question can be answered with *teigha*. In (270) the negative

<sup>121</sup> Cf. (227) where *mo* ‘NEG’ comes between, and (276) where *laka ti* ‘also RL-LOC’ is found in this position.

verb constitutes a one word answer.

- (270) *E ngitha na igha t-o lavi? Teigha.*  
 3SG how.many ART fish RL-2SG take NEG  
 'How many fish did you catch?' 'None.'

Example (271) is somewhat more complex. Given that numbers are stative verbs in Lengo it is not surprising that they can also be negated. In this example, the respondent did not know the exact number of rows of the root crop *pana* that had been planted. He framed his estimate as a partial negative, as if to say, “Don't hold me to this, but it's somewhere around five or six ten-garden-rows.”

- (271) Q: *E ngitha na ivolo ni pana?*  
 3SG how.many ART ten.garden.row GEN pana  
 'How many ten.garden.rows of *pana* [are there in your garden]?'  
 A: *Lima teigha m-e ono na ivolo.*  
 five NEG CONJ-3SG six ART ten.garden.row  
 'Five, or if not, six ten.garden.rows [i.e., 50 or 60].'

Note that in this example the negated number is not preceded by an article.

Further evidence for the verbal nature of *teigha* is its use in the response to a polar question as in (272).

- (272) A *P. t-e mai? Teigha vata.*  
 ART P RL-3SG come NEG continue  
 'Has P. come?' 'Not yet.'

Here it is modified by the adverbial *vata* 'stop, start, continue'.<sup>122</sup>

#### 4.8.7.4 Prohibitive *tabu*

Another common negative is the word *tabu* 'prohibitive (with consequences); forbidden'. The word *tabu* is especially common to hear from parents correcting their

<sup>122</sup> The word *vata* might be best described as a valency changing / 'change (and sometimes maintenance) of state' word: if something is started *vata* “stops” it, if something is stopped *vata* “starts” it, and if something is expected to start / stop *vata* “continues” it.



children. Parents will blurt *tabu* to mean anything from 'Stop!' to 'Don't!' to 'Quit it!' to 'Leave it alone!' and so on. In short, *tabu* can be a quick corrective (to those children who heed it). The word is by no means, however, reserved for parent / child interactions. It has significant religious and social uses. Burial sites and the place(s) where the spirits of the dead go are *tabu*; gardens, houses, and canoes (among other things), can be made *tabu* by assigning specific consequences (by means of a curse) to the item that will affect any unauthorised person who might access the item; speaking the name of a close relative is *tabu* (indeed, such persons are referred to as *tabu*—that's their 'name', for all intents and purposes); God, and anything associated with God, is *tabu* (though the meaning in such contexts is closer to 'sacred, holy' than 'forbidden'; see Bender and Beller 2003).

The consequence associated with *tabu* is sometimes explicitly stated, as in (273).

- (273) **Tabu** *na lavi-a na ghau: b-e ghado-gho.*  
NEG ART grab-o:3SG ART knife APPR-3SG pierce-o:2SG  
 'Don't grab the knife: no good it cuts you!'

Again, notice the article preceding the verb following *tabu: na lavi-a*. At other times the consequence is an unspoken 'or else . . . ', as in (274).

- (274) **Tabu** *le~leu!*  
NEG RDP~fight  
 'Don't fight!'

In this example the verb following *tabu* is not preceded by an article.

#### 4.8.7.5 Non-volitive *kou*

The negator *kou* 'unwilling', an modal verb like *teigha* and *tabu*, also comes before the verb it negates. And, like *teigha* and *tabu*, the verb it negates is preceded by an article.

(275) **Kou** na vanga na igha.  
NEG ART eat ART fish  
 'The fish are unwilling to eat [the bait].'

While it is true that the fish are not eating, what is in view here is their unwillingness to eat. The modal verb *kou* is a negative with a reason: unwillingness.

Note in (276) that the article *na* is separated from the negator *kou* by *laka ti* 'also RL-LOC'. Finding these adverbs here is consistent with the analysis of *kou* as a modal verb.

(276) *Ma na tha laka e kou laka t-i na lighu-ni-a ghini-a igha deni*  
CONJ ART REL also 3SG NEG also RL-LOC ART pass-TR-O:3SG INST-O:3SG fish DEM  
  
*m-e ghe laka po t-i tena maone.*  
CONJ-3SG continue also LIM RL-LOC LOC sand  
 'And what's more, he [the fish] was unwilling to be passed by him [the turtle] so this fish also just continued onto the sand.'

The fish's actions would ultimately lead to its untimely demise, but its unwillingness to be beaten by the turtle was more important than continuing to live. Clearly there is a strength to the unwillingness of *kou* that is greater than mere ambivalence.

## 5 CLAUSE STRUCTURE

In Lengo there are clauses both with and without verbs. The three types of clauses that do not require a verb are equatives (where, in fact, verbs are prohibited), possessives, and interrogatives. A stative or dynamic verb is found in the remainder of Lengo clauses. Verb clauses are of the types intransitive and transitive. Each of these clause types may be found in the imperative or the indicative mood.

Lengo's basic word order is verb initial. Identifying a basic word order with the three traditional constituents—verb and lexical subject and object noun phrases—has proven elusive.<sup>123</sup> Noun phrase subjects and objects are conspicuous by their absence in discourse once initial reference has been established, and a subject or object noun phrase can—depending on the pragmatic situation—be placed before or after the verb. Crowley (2002b:36) notes of Oceanic languages in general that, “clauses in which both subject and object are realized as noun phrases are relatively infrequent in discourse.” This is certainly the case in Lengo, where very often the only subject-like constituent in a clause is the verb phrase's subject reference pronoun. However, conflating phrase and clause level constituents, that is mistaking this subject indexing constituent with the subject of the clause, only leads to confusion. When a clause contains a subject noun

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<sup>123</sup> As Dryer (2007b:80) points out, “The normal understanding of what we mean when we talk about the basic order of subject, object, and verb, or of just subject and verb, or of just object and verb, is that of the order when the subject or object is a noun, rather than a pronoun, or more accurately, a lexical noun phrase, i.e. a noun phrase headed by a noun, rather than a noun phrase consisting of just a pronoun. In some languages, like English, pronouns exhibit a distribution that differs very little from that of lexical noun phrases, so that it makes little difference whether one includes pronouns or not in discussing the position of subjects and objects. But in many other languages, pronouns exhibit word order properties that differ considerably from lexical noun phrases, either because the syntactic rules of the language treat them differently, or because the pragmatic rules are such that their distribution is rather different . . . It should be emphasized that although the position of lexical subjects and objects is crucial in determining basic order at the clause level, the position of pronominal subjects and objects, if different from that of lexical subjects and objects, is just as important in giving a complete description of word order in the language.”

phrase, an emphatic pronoun as subject, and a subject reference pronoun, deciding which is the subject of the clause is somewhat clearer when the subject reference pronoun is analysed as an indexer at the level of the verb phrase (see page 86). Given the relative rarity of subject and object noun phrases, their positional freedom within the clause, and the analysis of the subject reference pronoun as a verb phrase constituent, the most that can be said about basic word order is that Lengo is verb initial.

In terms of Nichols's (1986) head / dependent marking criteria, Lengo is best described as a split-marking language, that is, that a roughly equal number of heads and dependents are marked in the language. Directly possessed nouns are marked for possessor person and number and verbs are marked for object. On the other hand, indirect possession is not marked on the head noun but on a dependent classifier and TAM is marked on an indexer within the verb phrase and not on the verb itself.

## **5.1 Verbless clauses**

Verbless clauses are of three types: equative, possessive, and interrogative. They are all characterised by the juxtaposition of a pronoun with a noun phrase. The first two are discussed below, while interrogative clauses are discussed in depth in section 6.

### **5.1.1 Equative**

As is true typologically of Oceanic languages, an equative verbless clause in Lengo is “expressed by simple juxtaposition of noun phrases with no intervening verb” (Lynch *et al.* 2002:49). An emphatic pronoun is used in (277):

(277) *Inau a P.*  
 EP:1SG ART P  
 'I [am] P.'

and a subject reference pronoun in (278):

(278) *E na ghaoka.*  
 3SG ART woman  
 'She [is] a woman.'

Examples (277) and (278) represent predicate nominal constructions with no copular verb between the two NPs.

### 5.1.2 Possessive

A verbless possessive clause involving a directly possessed noun is shown in the second clause of (279). The possessed noun is juxtaposed to the possessor with no intervening verb.

(279) *A. te loghoa a sakai na tubue na ethe a L.*  
 A t-e logho-a a sakai na tubu-e na atha-a a L  
 A<sub>RL-3SG</sub> have-O:3SG ART one ART relative-PS:3SG ART name-PS:3SG ART L  
 'A. had a relative [with him]; his name [was] L.'

By way of contrast, the first clause of (279) has a verb of possession (*logho* 'have') between the possessor and the possessed noun.

### 5.1.3 Interrogative

A verbless interrogative clause involves the juxtaposition of a question phrase to a noun phrase.

(280) a. *A thi na atha-mu ighoe?*  
 ART INT ART name-PS:2SG EP:2SG  
 'What is your name?'  
 b. *Na vula tha?*  
 ART moon INT  
 'Which month [is it]?'

There is no copular element between the question phrase and noun phrase.

## 5.2 Verb clauses: core arguments

Verbal clauses are of two types: intransitive and transitive. In the vast majority of Lengo sentences the verb has a subject indexer (in the form of a subject reference pronoun) preceding the verb and, in the case of transitive clauses, an object indexer (in the form of an object pronoun suffix) joined to the verb.<sup>124</sup> The near obligatory nature of the subject reference pronoun has much to do with the fact that TAM is marked on it. A subject noun phrase, at times in the form of an emphatic pronoun and at other times as a lexical noun phrase, is optional. In transitive clauses an object noun phrase is also optional. Both subject and object noun phrases, when included, are normally found following the verb phrase. An optional prepositional phrase can come before or after the optional noun phrase subject and/or noun phrase object, as is shown in (281).

(281) VP (PP)  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} (NP_s) \\ (NP_o) \end{array} \right\}$  (PP)

Either subject or object noun phrase may—for pragmatic reasons—precede the verb phrase, though never both at the same time. An optional prepositional phrase may also precede the verb phrase.

The valence of a Lengo verb is increased for causatives (see page 84), but prepositional verbs as part of serial verb constructions are used to introduce comitative, dative, and instrumental arguments. Two valence decreasing constructions used in Lengo are reflexive and reciprocal (see page 43 and 85 respectively).

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<sup>124</sup> I compare the situation in Lengo to Dixon's (1988:242) concise statement of the core arguments of Boumaa Fijian: "A predicate (P) must involve pronominal reference to the subject and, if it is transitive, to the object; these are the core constituents".

### 5.2.1 Intransitive

An intransitive clause is, at a minimum, comprised of a verb phrase, that is a subject reference pronoun and a verb.

- (282) *u biku*  
 1SG sleep  
 VP  
 'I sleep'

Since there is no subject noun phrase it is impossible to comment on basic constituent order at this point.

There are also instances of both a VP—with its subject reference pronoun—and an emphatic pronoun in indicative intransitive clauses. As is seen in (283), the subject reference pronoun precedes the verb while the emphatic pronoun follows it.

- (283) a. *u biku [inau]*<sup>125</sup>  
 1SG sleep EP:1SG  
 VP S  
 'I sleep'
- b. *m-u ghe tapa [inau]*  
 CONJ-1SG continue run EP:1SG  
 VP S  
 'and I continued to run'

Here it can be said that basic constituent order is VS.

A subject can be more fully expressed with a VP subject reference pronoun, an emphatic pronoun, and a subject noun phrase as in (284).

- (284) *k-ami thairo [ighami na ghaoka ma na mane]*  
 IRR-1EX.PL work EP:1EX.PL ART woman and ART man  
 VP S  
 'we will work we women and men'

Given the presence of a subject noun phrase following the VP, the basic constituent

<sup>125</sup> [Square brackets] are used in the source text line in this and the following section to demarcate subject and object noun phrases.

order is still VS.

A NP subject following the VP can be separated from it by a prepositional phrase, as in (285).

- (285) *e dea i rughu ni vatu [na igha]*  
 3SG go LOC beneath GEN stone ART fish  
 VP PP S  
 'the fish went beneath a stone'

There are very few instances of a subject noun phrase preceding the VP in an intransitive clause. Some examples follow.

- (286) a. [*I<tu>ghami a B. ma R. ma P. ma L.*] *t-ami-tu uru.*  
 <PAU>EP:1EX.PL ART B CONJ R CONJ P CONJ L RL-1EX.PL-PAU dive  
 S VP  
 'We few—B., R., P., L. [and I]—we few went diving.'
- b. [*a A.*] *e thaghataleo vata po pukua t-e teigha na*  
 ART A 3SG bad.inside continue LIM because RL-3SG NEG ART  
 S VP
- logho-a siki dae-na*  
 have-o:3SG any child-ps:3SG  
 'A. just continued to worry because he didn't have any children'

Note that in (286)a. the emphatic pronoun 'stays with' the subject noun phrase when it is moved before the VP. Emphatic pronouns and subject noun phrases are in appositional relationship in Lengo, that is, when both emphatic pronoun and subject noun phrase are used they either both precede or both follow the VP; they are never separated by a VP.

### 5.2.2 Transitive

The inflection of transitive verbs has already been discussed in the section dealing with the verb and verb phrase in section 4. Here the concern is with their relation to the rest of the clause, especially how the multiple arguments of a transitive



verb are, or are not as the case may be, realised in the clause.

Within the verb phrase there is a fixed, invariable order of argument indexing constituents (see page 86). There is, however, no fixed, invariable order of constituents at the clause level. While verb-initial orders (that is, VS and VO) are most basic, it is impossible to state that either VSO or VOS is basic. Both orders are equally common in the data. Non-basic orders include either subject or object noun phrases before the VP, but never both at the same time.

A simple indicative transitive clause is given in (287).

- (287) *m-u*    *kimu-a*  
      CONJ-1SG kick-o:3SG  
          VP  
      'and I kicked it'

Here the clause consists of a verb phrase in which the agent is referenced by a subject reference pronoun (having been established by a noun phrase previously in the text) while the patient is marked by the third person object suffix *-a*. There is no lexical noun phrase subject or object in (287).

Example (288) has a noun phrase subject, *na aliva* 'the centipede', after the VP.

- (288) *E* *ghani-u* [*na aliva*]!  
      3SG bite-o:1SG ART centipede  
          VP                   S  
      'A centipede bit me!'

Here evidence begins to unfold for which constituent is what. In (288) the 3<sub>SG</sub> subject reference pronoun *e* can be identified as the biting centipede and *-u* as the 1<sub>SG</sub> one who was bit.<sup>126</sup>

In (289) a lexical object noun phrase, *na thara* 'ART feast', follows the verb.

<sup>126</sup> In Lengo society a person biting a centipede would be considered off norm. In fact, nothing that can do harm to a person is eaten for food (e.g., shark, snake, crocodile, centipede, etc.).

- (289) *Sarere deni ba k-a ghali-a po [na thara].*  
 Saturday DEM FUT IRR-1IN.PL make-O:3SG LIM ART feast  
 VP O  
 'This Saturday we will make a feast.'

Here again subject and object can be sorted out based on person and number. The object noun phrase *na thara* 'the feast' is 3<sub>SG</sub> and is indexed by the 3<sub>SG</sub> object pronoun suffix *-a*. There is no noun phrase corresponding to the 1<sub>IN.PL</sub> subject reference pronoun in person or number, leaving a noun phrase object, but no noun phrase subject. So to summarise, thus far there is evidence of a single noun phrase in a sentence: either a noun phrase subject or a noun phrase object following the VP.

Both subject and object noun phrases may be found following the VP in an indicative transitive clause, as in (290).

- (290) *t-ara iti-a [na thinaghe] [i-<ko>ira]*  
 RL-3PL up-O:3SG ART canoe <DU>EP:3PL  
 VP O S  
 'they two beached (lit., upped it) the canoe'

Here the third person dual emphatic pronoun *ikoira* is referenced by the third person subject reference pronoun *tara* in the VP.<sup>127</sup> The object noun phrase, *na thinaghe* 'the canoe', is marked in the VP with the 3<sub>SG</sub> object pronoun suffix *-a*. It is more difficult to tell that the object is singular, as nouns are not inflected to show number. In this case, though, *na thinaghe* 'the canoe' is assumed to be singular as there is no indication elsewhere in the clause for number. So in (290) word order remains SVO. The same constituent order is evident in (291).

<sup>127</sup> This is curious, as normally the dual subject reference pronoun *tarako* (rather than *tara*) would have been expected to stand in agreement with *ikoira*. While both *tara* and *ikoira* are non-singular, this provides some evidence that while the dual form is always and only two the more general plural form indicates two and more (see page 28 for more discussion).

- (291) *M-e ghani mate-a [na koivo] [na kau].*  
 3s eat die-3s ART snail ART dog  
 VP O S  
 'The dog ate the snail and killed it.' (Symons §4.2.4, (18))

Of course, it would be a strange situation indeed for a snail to bite a dog. So while semantically (291) is quite clear, syntactically it is part of the larger puzzle. The larger puzzle is apparent in (292) where the order of the noun phrases following the VP is reversed, with the noun phrase subject preceding the noun phrase object.

- (292) a. *Ai! E ghani-a [na vua] [a tina-mu]!*  
 hey 3SG bite-o:3SG ART croc ART mother-PS:2SG  
 VP S O  
 'Hey! The crocodile is biting your mother!'
- b. *E ghani-a [na kau] [na be].*  
 3SG bite-o:3SG ART dog ART pig  
 VP S O  
 'The dog bit the pig.'

In these examples the object is no longer adjacent to the object indexing pronoun on the VP. Constituent order alone is insufficient to sort out the arguments of a transitive verb. Again, based on semantics, it is highly improbable that a woman would bite a crocodile, but given the possibility of variable noun phrase subject ~ object ordering following the VP, the syntax of constituent order does not allow the hearer to entirely rule it out. Example (292)b. has the potential to clarify the situation considerably as semantically, both the dog and the pig are capable of biting the other. Unfortunately, the data does not include a Lengo phrase equivalent to 'the pig bit the dog'.

The examples in (291) and (292) indicate that, in Lengo, the location of noun phrase subject and object is 'free'. This raises the issue of how to determine which noun phrase is subject and which is object when there are two noun phrases of the same

person and number following the VP.<sup>128</sup> Consider (293) in which both S and O are 3SG.

(293) *E ghani-a [na kau] [a M.]*  
3SG bite-O:3SG ART dog ART M  
VP S O  
'The dog bit M.'

In this example there is little hope of sorting out which noun phrase is filling what syntactic role based on person or number. Nor can participants be sorted out based on their position in the clause. Based on the evidence of (290) and (291) it might be expected that the noun phrase *na kau* 'ART dog' is object, given that it is adjacent to object indexing suffix on the VP. Example (292), however, presents the opposite case. In fact, in (293) *na kau* 'ART dog', the noun phrase immediately following the verb, is S.<sup>129</sup>

This example was presented to me as something of a puzzle, something for the 'language learner' to figure out. "Who bit whom?" I was asked. I had a good guess, but I gamely played along. Changing the order of the two sentence final noun phrases, as in (294), brought some scattered laughter.

(294) \**E ghani-a [a M.] [na kau].*  
3SG bite-O:3SG ART M ART dog  
'M. bit the dog.'

"M. wouldn't bite a dog," people said. While this would seem to imply a basic word order of VSO, a few minutes of restatement by moving constituents around (e.g., *na kau e ghania a M.* and *a M. e ghania na kau*) revealed that they had no way of knowing 'who bit whom' apart from a larger context.<sup>130</sup> Given the admissibility of (290)-(293) and the

<sup>128</sup> Compare Dixon (1988:8) who says of Fijian that, "A predicate will generally come first in any clause, followed by noun phrases. Where both subject and object NPs occur, subject-object and object-subject orders are equally common in texts, although object-subject is generally preferred in elicitation . . . Any NP (sometimes even two NPs) can be topicalised and moved to the front of a clause, but there should normally be some 'marker' of the NP(s) in the predicate."

<sup>129</sup> Of course, this would be most likely semantically.

<sup>130</sup> If this seems surprising, see (301) below where the object is found before the V and the subject after.

rejection of (294) as laughable by Lengo speakers, there appears to be something operating at a semantic level that determines the order of subject and object noun phrases following a transitive verb. That is, if *na kau* 'ART dog' is permissible as subject following the VP in the syntactic frame presented in (293) and *a M.* 'ART M.' is not allowed in the same position in (294) (or is allowed but results in a laughable meaning), there must be something other than syntax that is at work to allow the one syntactic ordering and disallow the other. A possible explanation involving a hierarchy of animacy is explored below.

Recall that Lengo differentiates between animate and inanimate objects in 3<sub>PL</sub> (see page 38). Lengo also differentiates between human and non-human animate forms with interrogative / relative pronouns (page 44) and articles (page 15). Since differentiation according to animacy is at work elsewhere in Lengo, it is not entirely novel to suggest that a hierarchy of animacy may also be at work here.<sup>131</sup> I propose the following as a hierarchy of animacy for Lengo:

human → animate non-human → inanimate

with a more finely-grained hierarchy of animate non-humans than is shown. My observation of Lengo society is that pigs—as an indicator of wealth—rank near the top of animate non-humans. Dogs, on the other hand, seem to be quite low among the

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<sup>131</sup> Donohue (1999) pursues the idea of animacy as a means for sorting out the order of arguments in Asmat, a language of Papua New Guinea. He states, “Appealing to the animacy of the arguments in Asmat as a means of modeling the orders of the suffixes is not without its merits. Consider these two examples: (1) *Por-n-ém.* 'see-1<sub>SG,O</sub>-2<sub>SG,A</sub>; You saw me', and (2) *Por-i-n.* 'see-1<sub>SG,A</sub>-2<sub>SG,O</sub>; I saw you.' Despite the suffixes showing the syntactic roles of the arguments that they index, we can see that there is a requirement operating that makes the actual order of the two affixes independent of the syntactic roles, and depends on the animacy of the arguments, with the 1<sub>SG</sub> suffix in both cases being placed closer to the verb, despite its marking subject in one case, and object in the other” (414). Ultimately, a hierarchy of animacy does not account for all instances in Asmat, but he notes an example of one language where it does: “The prefixal system of verbal agreement in Yimas (Papua NewGuinea, Foley 1991; similar facts hold in Abinomn of West Papua) orders two prefixes according to animacy” (417).

ranks of animate non-humans; they are, at best, neglected (the exception would be a dog kept for hunting and/or guard purposes). It is not clear whether crocodiles and sharks would be higher or lower than pigs, but given that there are crocodile and shark priests who interact with them on the people's behalf, they must surely rank quite high. It is also not clear where reptiles and fish would reside on the scale. Invertebrates, such as snails and *beche-de-mer*, are at the bottom of the animate non-human category. With that suggested animacy scale in mind, consider examples (290), (291), (292)a., and (293), in which both subject and object noun phrases are found following the VP. In each of these examples, the member highest on the animacy scale is found at the end of the clause, regardless of whether the noun phrase in question has the role of agent or undergoer in the clause. In (295), an overview of the preceding examples, the most animate noun phrase, the one farthest from the VP, is agent.

(295)	Example	NP <sub>1</sub> (undergoer)	NP <sub>2</sub> (agent)
	(290)	VP <i>na thinaghe</i> 'the canoe'	<i>ikoira</i> 'they two [men]'
	(291)	VP <i>na koivo</i> 'the snail'	<i>na kau</i> 'the dog'

However, in (296) the most animate noun phrase, the one farthest from the VP, is undergoer.

(296)	Example	NP <sub>1</sub> (agent)	NP <sub>2</sub> (undergoer)
	(292)a.	VP <i>na vua</i> 'the crocodile'	<i>a tinamu</i> 'your mother'
	(293)	VP <i>na kau</i> 'the dog'	<i>a M.</i> 'M.'

So in (292)a., for example, *a tinamu* 'your mother' is found at the end of the clause following *na vua* 'the crocodile' because human mothers are higher on the animacy scale than crocodiles. This hierarchy of animacy also helps to explain (294) which, by all appearances, is syntactically correct but for some reason is not acceptable semantically. Of course, this explanation requires an understanding of Lengo culture when it might

seem to a non-Lengo person that both noun phrases are at the same place on the animacy hierarchy, as in (291) and (292)b. In cases in which both noun phrase subject and object follow the verb and their level of animacy is demonstrably different, this is a plausible explanation for an apparent flexibility in post-verb noun phrase order.

Having said that, it is not common to find both subject and object noun phrases (lexical or pronominal) following the VP.<sup>132</sup> It is, I think, significant that there are no instances in my data of both agent and undergoer noun phrases at the same level on the hierarchy of animacy following the VP: the use of the animacy scale would fail in such instances. Rather, subject reference pronouns and object pronoun suffixes often carry the subject / object indexing load which leaves room for a single subject or object noun phrase following the VP or, alternately, either subject or object noun phrase before the VP and the other following.

The discussion now turns to non-basic word orders. The emphatic pronoun is found at the beginning of a clause when the subject is in focus, as in (297).

(297) *inau ba k-u tugu vani-ghamu [na tha ba k-e sara]*  
 EP:1SG FUT IRR-1SG tell DAT-O:2PL ART COMP FUT IRR-3SG arrive  
 S VP COMP<sub>o</sub>  
 'I will tell you what will happen'

Lynch *et al.* (2002:49) confirm that, “the presence of an independent pronoun as subject or object marks contrast or focus,” and, “Most Oceanic languages have fairly fixed basic constituent orders, but generally allow the movement of constituents to clause-initial position in order to express topicalisation” (50). The object complement (introduced by *na tha* 'ART COMP') is not marked on the verb with an object pronoun suffix.

<sup>132</sup> Lynch *et al.* (2002:49) maintain that, in Oceanic languages, “clauses in which both subject and object are realised as noun phrases are rare in discourse. Clauses often consist only of a verb phrase, with its clitics or affixes coreferencing subject and object.”

Both a subject noun phrase and an emphatic pronoun may appear at the beginning of a transitive clause, as in (298).

- (298) [A. ma L. i<ko>ira ru~ruka] ara-ko logho-ra ara vonu na mamanu  
 A and L <DU>EP:3PL RDP~tWO 3PL-DU have-o:3PL 3PL many ART animal  
 S VP COMP<sub>o</sub>  
 'A. and L. they two, [the] two [of them], they had many animals'

The order of subject noun phrase and emphatic pronoun can be reversed, as in (299).

- (299) [ighoe a H.] k-o tura-a [nimoa na matau]  
 EP:2SG ART H IRR-2SG carry-o:3SG PS:2SG ART axe  
 S VP O  
 'you, H., you carry your axe'

In both (298) and (299) the subject is placed before the verb complex to put it in a place of prominence. In (300) the emphatic pronoun is further emphasised with a demonstrative.

- (300) *Ighami nga* ba k-ami ne athe na tha t-ami tangomana vani-ghamu.  
 EP:1EX.PL DEM:SG FUT IRR-1EX.PL EMPH give ART REL RL-1EX.PL able DAT-o:2PL  
 'We here will give what we are able to you.'

An object can also be placed at the beginning of a transitive clause, as in (301) and (302). Again, the effect is one of pragmatic focus: pointing out the importance of the item found first in the clause.

- (301) [*Lima na thara*] ba k-a ghali-a ighita tena Sarere deni.  
 five ART feast.row FUT IRR-1IN.PL make-o:3SG EP:1IN.PL LOC Saturday DEM:SG  
 O VP S  
 'Five feast-rows we will make this Saturday.'

In (301) the five feast rows are the object of *ghali-a* 'make-o:3sg'. The speaker, intent on making clear the fact that there is to be one feast row per village group—that no one would be left out—places the crucial object at the front of the sentence.

Example (302) is the 'title' of a recorded text—a short preamble that the speaker



gave to provide the hearer with an overview of the story.

- (302) *Na tugu-a [na ghaoka] t-e ghani-a [na vua].*  
ART story-O:3SG ART woman RL-3SG bite-O:3SG ART crocodile  
O VP S  
'The story of the woman the crocodile bit.'

Here again, the participant of prominence is placed at the beginning of the clause. That *na ghaoka* 'the woman' is the object makes the fact that she is found at the beginning of the clause that much more striking. Note that in (302) there is no syntactic means to differentiate subject from object. They cannot be sorted by means of subject or object indexing constituents since they are both third person singular. The animacy scale also does not help since one noun phrase precedes and the other follows the verb phrase. The listener is left to rely on her understanding of the way the world is (that is, that women don't bite crocodiles) and either have it confirmed or challenged during the course of the story. In this case it is confirmed: the crocodile bit the woman.

There is a type of transitive clause that includes two objects but is not properly a ditransitive clause. The data do not contain any convincing examples of prototypical ditransitive constructions, that is a verb with three noun phrase arguments. Indeed this seems to be somewhat of a rarity in Oceanic languages as Ross comments that,

POC verbs had a valency of either one or two, that is, they were either intransitive or transitive. There were probably no trivalent/ditransitive verbs, i.e., verbs whose role structures required or allowed three noun phrases without case marking, but we cannot be certain about this, as some modern languages do have trivalent verbs (Manam, Hoava) (1988:20),

and again (2004:510) that, "Fijian, like other canonic languages, has no ditransitive verbs."<sup>133</sup> While Lengo argument indexing does allow for three nominal clause

<sup>133</sup> I'm not sure, based on Ross' description (2004:492), whether Lengo is a 'canonic language'. Lengo is within the Southeast Solomonian family of the Oceanic subgroup (5.a of Table 2 (Ross 2004:494)).

constituents with a combination of noun phrases and pronouns, there are never three noun phrases as arguments.

In (303) there are three arguments present: a subject as agent (A; referenced by *u* '1<sub>SG</sub>'), an object noun phrase as theme (T), and an indirect object *-gho* 'o:2<sub>SG</sub>' indexing the recipient (R).

- (303) a. *u athe-gho na buka*  
           1<sub>SG</sub> give-o:2<sub>SG</sub> ART book  
           A   V-R       T  
           'I gave you the book'
- b. *A thi t-e athe-gho na igha?*  
      ART INT RL-3<sub>SG</sub> give-o:2<sub>SG</sub> ART fish  
                   A   V-R       T  
      'Who gave you the fish?'

Interestingly, the verb is affixed with the object pronoun *-gho* 'o:2<sub>SG</sub>' (here indexing the assumed recipient argument 'you'), while there is no trace of the object pronoun *-a* 'o:3<sub>SG</sub>' to reference the theme arguments—*na buka* 'the book' and *na igha* 'the fish'. Given that the verb is able to index a single argument, it is recipient that is referenced in these instances and not theme.<sup>134</sup>

Two arguments can be indexed in a dative serial verb construction as there are two verbs, each able to index an argument. Consider example (304).

- (304) *u athe-a vani-gho na buka de*  
       1<sub>SG</sub> give-o:3<sub>SG</sub> DAT-o:2<sub>SG</sub> ART book DEM:SG  
       A   V-T       V-R       NP<sub>T</sub>  
       'I am giving you this book'

In this example the recipient is indexed on the dative verbal preposition *vani*, while the theme is indexed on the dynamic verb *athe* 'give'. A serial verb construction such as this

<sup>134</sup> One area of further research at this point is whether the animacy hierarchy I proposed earlier applies here; that is, whether the item highest on the scale is marked with an object pronoun.

is the only way to index both recipient and theme arguments.

### 5.3 Verb clauses: peripheral arguments

Locatives are expressed with prepositional phrases in Lengo. The locative markers *i* 'loc' and/or *tena* 'loc' come at the beginning of the location phrase. When both locatives are present *i* always precedes *tena*. The locative prepositions *i* and *tena* mark both temporal and spatial locations. They each cover a comprehensive range of prepositional meanings: to, at, in, during, onto, from, and so on (compare Pijin *long*).

In (305) there are four instances of the two Lengo locatives.

(305) [***tena*** *Sade rodo t-i*] [***i*** *W.*] *i<ko>ghami a J. t-ami-ko biku;*  
LOC Sunday night RL-LOC LOC W <DU>EP:1EX.PL ART J RL-1EX.PL-DU sleep  
LOC<sub>time</sub> LOC<sub>space</sub>

*biku [tena vae ni vanga] [i W.]*  
sleep LOC house GEN food LOC W  
LOC<sub>space</sub> LOC<sub>space</sub>

'On Sunday night, at W., we two—J. [and I]—we slept; slept in the kitchen at W.'

There are two prepositional locative phrases in each clause of (305): one temporal and one spatial in the first clause, and two spatial in the second. Both locations are found before the verb in the first clause while in the second they are found after the verb. There is no subject reference pronoun in the second clause, though it is understood who the subject is in the second clause by the verb's tail ~ head linkage to that of the first clause. The second clause is a recapitulation of the first, with the addition of a more specific location (*tena vae ni vanga* 'in the kitchen').

The locatives *i* and *tena* operate independently of one other and also in conjunction with one another to mark temporal and spatial locations. Temporal locatives can be introduced with any of the following constructions:

- (306) a. *i* NP<sub>time</sub>  
 b. *i tena* NP<sub>time</sub>  
 c. *tena* NP<sub>time</sub>

The order \**tena i* NP<sub>time</sub> is not grammatical.

In the first prepositional phrase of (307) *i* alone is followed by a noun phrase of time, while in the second *i tena* is followed by a noun phrase of time.

- (307) *I ropo ba i tena thangavulu kiloko u ngao-a ighamu*  
 LOC tomorrow FUT LOC LOC ten o'clock 1SG want-O:3SG EP:2PL  
 'Tomorrow at ten o'clock I want you to ...'

It is examples like this that have caused me to struggle to find any distinction between the two locatives. Indeed, a quick glance at (311) below, the continuation of example (307) in the source text, reveals both locatives indicating a spatial location.

In (308) *tena* 'loc' is found alone before *Sarere* 'Saturday', a noun phrase of time.

- (308) *Lima na thara ba k-a ghali-a ighita tena Sarere*  
 five ART feast-row FUT IRR-1IN.PL make-O:3SG EP:1IN.PL LOC Saturday  
 'Five feast-rows we'll make on Saturday.'

A temporal locative phrase can be found preceding (as in (307)) or following (as in (308)) the verb.

The temporal locative *tena* followed by a demonstrative has the meaning 'now' (lit., 'LOC DEM'; i.e., this point in time).<sup>135</sup> In (309) *tena* DEM 'now' helps to describe the time of the verb *vasangi viti*.

- (309) *pisa na aro-gu m-u ne vasangi viti koto tena de*  
 dislocate ART shoulder-PS:1SG CONJ-1SG EMPH feel pain very LOC DEM  
 'my shoulder dislocated and now I feel a lot of pain'

It is a very real now. The conjunctive counterpart of *tena*, that is *mena*, does not appear in post-verb position; its use is reserved for clause conjoining purposes.<sup>136</sup>

<sup>135</sup> Recall that the demonstrative *deni* can be shortened to *de*. See page 66.

<sup>136</sup> The discussion of the conjunctive locative *mena* is found on page 193.

When marking spatial locations, *i* and *tena* are again found together and on their own. Spatial locatives can be introduced with any of the following constructions.

- (310) a. *i* NP<sub>space</sub>  
 b. *i tena* NP<sub>space</sub>  
 c. *tena* NP<sub>space</sub>

Again, the order \**tena i* NP<sub>space</sub> is not grammatical.

In (311) (which is the continuation of (307)) *i* and *tena* are found together marking the spatial locative.

- (311) *ba k-amu mai i tena vae ni kolivuti*  
 FUT IRR-2PL come LOC LOC house GEN pray  
 'you will come to church'

In (312) *i* alone marks the location.

- (312) *gharasu mai ighamu i vae ni vanga*  
 move come EP:2PL LOC house GEN eat  
 'move this way, you in the food-house'

In (313) *tena* alone carries the locative-marking load.

- (313) *m-e tagu iti tena maone tena kokomu ia*  
 CONJ-3SG crawl up LOC sand LOC island DEM  
 'and it crawled up on the sand at that island'

If there is any way to account for two locative markers working sometimes together and at other times alone in the same environments, it is not evident to me.

The only apparent distinction between *i* and *tena* is in relation to a fairly large set prepositions. With these the locative marker *i* 'Loc' is obligatorily present while *tena* 'Loc' is obligatorily absent. These prepositions of both time and space include: *i leo* 'inside', *i muri* 'behind', *i nagho* 'in front', *i rughu* 'underneath', *i teghea* 'atop', *i levugha* 'between', *i ropo* 'morning', *i nea* 'yesterday', *i nganiba* 'later', *i boko* 'downcoast', *i*

*ghalagha* 'upcoast', *i longa* 'landward', and *i sapa* 'seaward',<sup>137</sup> among others. These locative constructions are used to indicate spatial or temporal location in relation to a noun.

- (314) a. *Ba ku kabia na gil*u* i pala sepe na vaegu.*  
 ba k-u kabi-a na gil*u* i pala sapa-a na vae-gu  
 FUT IRR-1SG dig-O:3SG ART hole LOC side seaward-PS:3SG ART house-PS:1SG  
 'I am going to dig a hole to my house's seaward side.'
- b. *e ghua logho bobona vata i nganiba na nulavi m-ami-tu*  
 3SG if have time continue LOC later ART afternoon CONJ-1EX.PL-PAU
- dea lebo-i laka t-i*  
 go float-O:3PL also RL-LOC  
 'if there is still time later in the afternoon, we will also float them [down the river]'

The locations are sometimes in a genitival relationship—as marked by *ni* 'GEN'—to the nouns they describe.

- (315) a. *e dea i rughu ni vatu na igha*  
 3SG go LOC underneath GEN stone ART fish  
 'the fish went underneath of the stone'
- b. *tal*u*-i i leo ni popo*  
 put-O:3PL LOC inside GEN bowl  
 'put them inside of a bowl'

So in (315)a., for example, *rughu* 'underneath' is possessed by *vatu* 'stone'.

<sup>137</sup> Though there are certainly times that *boko* 'downcoast', *ghalagha* 'upcoast', *longa* 'landward' and *sapa* 'seaward' correspond quite closely to west, east, south and north, one could become very disoriented indeed if one merely substituted "compass" directions for the more fluid orientations the Lengo cardinal directions indicate. As for distinguishing 'upcoast' from 'downcoast', it has been explained to me that Marau Sound (what I would call the eastern tip of Guadalcanal) is the 'top' of the island. It is widely acknowledged as the place where the spirits of the dead reside.

## 6 IMPERATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES

### 6.1 Imperative and cohortative sentences

The imperative can, at a minimum, be indicated by a bare verb as in (316).

- (316) a. **Mai!**  
come  
'[You,] come here!'
- b. **Biku!**  
sleep  
'[You, go to] sleep!'

In these examples the irrealis marked subject reference pronoun is absent.

More commonly—and more completely—a verb in the imperative is preceded by a subject reference pronoun with irrealis marking (*k-SRP*), as in (317).

- (317) *K-o mai!*  
IRR-2SG come  
'You, come [here]!'

The use of the irrealis marked subject reference pronoun (*k-*) for the imperative mood indicates that there is no commitment to the reality of the event in the imperative.

There is a significantly high desire / expectation for the event to become a reality, but at the time of utterance the event is not yet a reality.

A subject may be more fully expressed in an intransitive imperative with an emphatic pronoun following the verb (here with the directional *mai* 'come'), as in (318).

- (318) *k-o gharasu mai ighoe*  
IRR-2SG move come EP:2SG  
'you move this way, you!'

This can be expanded to include a lexical noun phrase following the verb, as in (319).

- (319) *k-ami thairo ighami [na ghaoka ma na mane]*<sup>138</sup>  
IRR-1EX.PL work EP:1EX.PL ART woman CONJ ART man  
'we must work, we women and men'

In (319) three constituents describe the subject: the subject reference pronoun *ami* '1<sub>EX.PL</sub>' affixed for TAM, the emphatic pronoun *ighami* 'we' following the verb, and the conjoined noun phrases *na ghaoka ma na mane* 'the women and the men' following the emphatic pronoun. Recall that when an emphatic pronoun and a subject noun phrase are both present, the subject noun phrase always follows the emphatic pronoun.

These same constituents—emphatic pronoun and lexical noun phrase (and only in that order)—may also be found before the subject reference pronoun + verb, as in (320).

- (320) *Ighamu [na leoni tinoni] k-amu rongo mai!*  
 EP:2PL ART all person IRR-2PL listen come  
 'Everyone—listen here!'

The effect of this is to topicalise the subject.

What sets the imperative apart from the future is the use (or not) of *ba* 'FUT' and *boro* 'impossible FUT'. The presence and placement of the future marking particle *ba* or *boro* is important as a means to distinguish future from imperative, as in (321).

- (321) *K-o bila mai; ba k-u dala.*  
 IRR-2SG throw come FUT IRR-1SG catch  
 'You throw [it] here; I'll catch [it].'

At the time of utterance, neither the throw nor the catch have taken place—they both remain unrealised. But they are unrealised in different ways. The first clause, *ko bila mai* 'you throw [it] here', is imperative and awaits the hearer's compliance. The second, *ba ku dala* 'I will catch [it]', is distinguished from the first with future-marking *ba*, and awaits an object to catch. While either *ba* or *boro* is obligatory with the future, it is not

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<sup>138</sup> [Square brackets] are used in the source text line in this section to demarcate subject and object noun phrases.



with the imperative. Syntactically, what sets the imperative apart from irrealis is unclear. Further studies in this area might concentrate on whether *ba* is in the process of being dropped from imperative sentences, that is, whether it was previously more obligatorily present following *k-SRP* than it is now.

Object arguments are added to imperative verbs as they are with indicative forms—with an object pronoun suffix or noun phrase.

- (322) a. **Talu-a!**  
 put.down-o:3SG  
 '[You,] put it down!'
- b. **Mai na vothe.**  
 come ART paddle  
 '[You,] hand [me] the paddle.'

Note that there is no object pronoun suffix on the verb in (322)b. It is difficult to explain this departure from the norm.

There is evidence of what appears to be a third person imperative in (323).

- (323) *K-o dea bosa vani-a S. k-e mai se~segghi.*  
 IRR-2SG go tell DAT-O:3SG S IRR-3SG come RDP~quickly  
 'You, go tell S. he [must] come quickly.'

While the first clause is second person imperative, the second clause—*ke mai seseghi* 'he [must?] come quickly'—is a command to a third person. Significantly, the second clause is also in irrealis mood, so it seems to fulfill all the criteria of an imperative.

## 6.2 Interrogative sentences

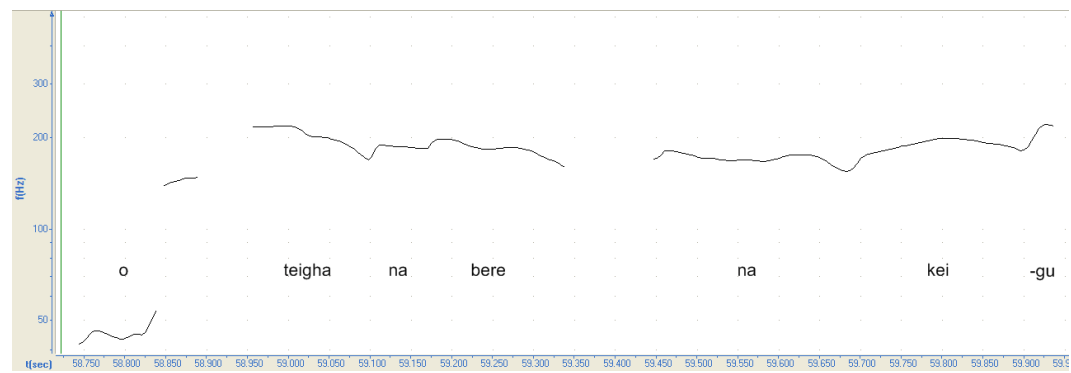
Interrogative sentences are of three types in Lengo: polar, leading, and content. Two types—polar and leading questions—are indicative sentences marked by intonation, while the third type—content question—is marked by the presence of interrogative pronouns.

### 6.2.1 Polar questions

Polar, or yes / no, questions are in the form of indicative sentences. What sets them apart is their intonation. In (324) intonation falls progressively from *teigha* to the second occurrence of *na*, and then rises over the final word *kei-gu*.

- (324) *o teigha na bere na kei-gu?*  
2SG NEG ART see ART basket-PS:1SG  
'you haven't seen my basket?'

The intonation contour is shown in Illustration 2: Polar question pitch track.



Responses to negative polar questions are interesting. If one answered *eo* 'yes' to (324) it would mean that 'yes, I have not seen your basket'. Conversely, a negative answer *teigha* 'no' would mean, 'no, I have seen it'.

When the alternative *o teigha* 'or<sub>NEG</sub>' is added at the end of the sentence, intonation rises over the main part of the sentence and then follows a low-high-low contour over the final segments *o teigha*. So in (325) intonation rises from *ba* to *dea*, then starts low at *o*, and then goes high to low over *teigha*.

- (325) *Ba k-o dea o teigha?*  
FUT IRR-2SG go OR NEG  
'Are you going or not?'

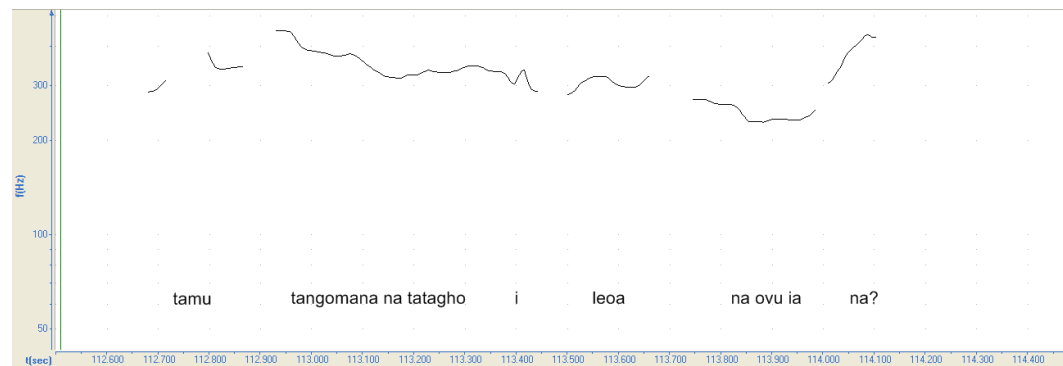
### 6.2.2 Leading questions

Leading questions<sup>139</sup>, or polar questions for which an answer is assumed, are possible in Lengo. Syntactically, a leading question in Lengo has the form of an indicative sentence, as polar questions do above, but the rise in intonation is reserved for the additional 'leading question marking' particle *na* at the end of the sentence.

Consider (326).

- (326) *t-amu tangomana na ta-tagho i leo-a na ovu ia, na?*  
RL-2PL able ART RDP~fish LOC inside-o:3SG ART group DEM INTJ  
'you in that group are able to go fishing, right?'

The pitch track of (326) is given in Illustration 3: Leading question pitch track.



Even though (326) is posed as a question, it is assumed to be true that the group of people being addressed are in fact able to go fishing. So while a question is asked, the answer is assumed by the speaker.

### 6.2.3 Content questions

Content questions, with the exception of *tha* 'which', are similar in form to each other. There are ways to ask who, what, where, when, and how much. Except in the case of *tha* 'which', the interrogative pronoun is always found at the beginning of a content

<sup>139</sup> Dryer (2007b:93) defines a leading question as one in which, “the speaker makes an assumption as to what the answer will be.”

question.

The construction *a thi*, the “human” article *a* and interrogative pronoun *thi*, is used to ask 'who?'

(327) a. **A thi** *t-e athe-gho na igha?*  
ART INT RL-3SG give-o:2SG ART fish  
'Who gave you the fish?'

b. **A thi** *na atha-mu ighoe?*  
ART INT ART name-PS:2SG EP:2SG  
'What is your name?'

The construction *na tha*, the “non-human” article *na* and interrogative pronoun *tha*, is used to pose the question 'what?'

(328) **Na tha** *t-o ghoni-a?*  
ART INT RL-2SG do-o:3SG  
'What are you doing?'

Example (328) demonstrates the inanimate use of *na tha*. The animate, non-human use of the interrogative *tha* is shown in (329).

(329) *m-ara-ko thuge-u, “Na tha t-e ghani-gho?”*  
CONJ-1EX.PL-DU ask-o:1SG ART INT RL-3SG bite-o:2SG  
'and they two asked me, “What bit you?”'

Unfortunately, a centipede had bitten the narrator.

The construction *na N tha* is used to ask 'which ~ what kind?' types of questions. The noun under question is interposed between the article *na* and the interrogative pronoun *tha*.

(330) a. **“Na beti tha?”** *“Merazine.”*  
ART liquid INT medicine  
'What kind of liquid is that?' 'Medicine.'

b. **Na vula tha?**  
ART MOON INT  
'Which month [is it]?'

With the *na tha* construction there is an unlimited range of possible answers whereas with *na N tha* the range of answers is limited to the range of possibilities presented by the noun.

The question 'where?' is asked with *i vi* 'LOC where'.

- (331) “*I vi t-o bo dea?*” “*Oleole po.*”  
LOC where RL-2SG IMPF go stroll LIM  
 'Where are you going?' 'Just walking around.'

In the case of a verbless question, *vi* can take the object pronoun *-a* as in (332).

- (332) *I vi-a na vae-mu?*  
LOC where-O:3SG ART house-PS:2SG  
 'Where is your house?'

There is a certain level of specificity introduced with the use of *ga* 'there'.

- (333) *I vi ga t-o bo dea?*  
LOC where there RL-2SG IMPF go  
 'Where are you going?'

The person who asks *i vi* 'LOC where' with *ga* 'there' is looking for a specific location as an answer. Example (333) is asked of a passerby, wondering where, specifically, he's off to.

The construction *e ngitha* '3SG how.much' is used to ask questions concerning quantity ('how many ~ much?').

- (334) a. “*E ngitha t-i niulu-a?*” “*Thangavulu tolu t-i na vula.*”  
3SG how.much RL-LOC year-PS:3SG ten three RL-LOC ART moon  
 'It is how much, his years?' 'Thirteen months.'
- b. *E ngitha na matea?*  
3SG how.much ART price  
 'It is how much the price?'

'When' questions are also formed with *ngitha* 'how.much' as part of the question formula, however, in the place of *e* '3SG' is found *i* 'LOC'.

(335) *I ngitha t-o mai?*  
LOC how.much RL-2SG come  
'When did you come?'

The locative, in its temporal sense, lends the dimension of time to the question.

## 7 COMPLEX SENTENCES

Clauses can be joined as either coordinate or subordinate. Coordinate clauses are of the types simultaneous, sequential, and alternate. Subordinate clause types in Lengo are relative, purpose, reason, and conditional. Relative clauses can be restrictive or non-restrictive with distinct forms for each.

### 7.1 Coordinate clauses

Coordinate clauses are of the following types in Lengo: simultaneous ('while'), sequential ('and, but'), and alternate ('or'). Simultaneous and sequential clauses are joined by a form of the conjunction *ma* 'and, but' while alternate clauses are joined by a form of the conjunction *pa* 'or'. Both *ma* and *pa* can drop their /a/ and join to the subject reference pronoun as *m-* and *p-*. In this regard—that is, that they are joined as prefixes to the subject reference pronoun—they behave like the TAM marking prefixes. Given that they supplant other TAM markers by occupying their slot at the front of the subject reference pronoun, *m-* and *p-* carry the TAM signature of the preceding subject reference pronoun. There are instances of up to ten sequential clauses, that is, ten clauses marked with *m-* 'CONJ', between clauses whose subject reference pronouns are marked for TAM.<sup>140</sup>

#### 7.1.1 Simultaneous

When two clauses describe simultaneous actions or states one of them is introduced with the time phrase *na bona* 'ART time; while, when'. The clause introduced with *na bona* is a dependent clause. It is always in realis mood (marked by *t-SRP*) while the independent clause can be unmarked, marked perfective (by *g-SRP*), or joined by a

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<sup>140</sup> There is an example of this in “Yesterday”, the fourth text in Appendix C.

subject reference pronoun marked with the conjunction *m-*. The *na bona* clause may be the initial clause, as in (336)a. and (337)a., though it may also be non-initial, as in (336)b.

(336) a. **Na bona** *t-ami thudu m-ara ghoni 'engini'*.  
ART time RL-1EX.PL sit CONJ-3PL fix engine  
 'While we sit they fix the engine.'

b. *e thudu na bona t-e gholi*  
3SG sit ART time RL-3SG scrape.COCONUT  
 'she sits while she scrapes coconut'

The differences between (336)a. and b. deserve further comment. In (336)a. the dependent *na bona* 'while' clause comes first whereas in (336)b. the *na bona* clause comes second. In (336)b. the first clause is fully independent but in (336)a. there is a certain level of interdependence between the clauses. Clearly the *na bona* 'while' clause is dependent, setting the scene for an independent clause describing the nuclear action or state. But the second clause—*mara ghoni engini* 'they fix the engine'—is dependent on the preceding clause by virtue of the obligatory clause conjunction *m-*. As is discussed below in the section on sequential clauses, *m-* is prefixed to the subject reference pronoun of a clause that follows sequentially on the preceding clause. When a *na bona* clause follows another clause, as in (336)b., the independence of the first clause is unmistakable. When, however, a *na bona* clause precedes another clause, there is an interdependent relationship between them.

In (337)a., the speaker's 'good body' was simultaneous with being a 'young boy' and being 'able to play'. In (337)b., however, the clause beginning with *m-e na deni* 'CONJ-3SG ART DEM' marks a shift in time from 'when' (i.e., some time in the past) to 'now'.

(337) a. **Ma na bona t-u** *gari vaolu m-e doku na thuli-gu ni bebeu*  
CONJ ART time RL-1SG boy young CONJ-3SG good ART body-PS:1SG GEN play



*g-u tangomana na bebeu*  
 PFCT-1SG able ART play  
 'And when I was a young boy my body felt good for play and I was able to play'

b. *m-e na deni u ghua thairo kikiki ba k-e viti.*  
 CONJ-3SG ART DEM;SG 1SG COND work little FUT IRR-3SG pain  
 'but now if I work a little bit it will hurt.'

It is difficult to understand (337)a. and b. as being simultaneous. While in (337)a. the clauses are simultaneous to one another, there is a significant time lapse between (337)a. and b.

### 7.1.2 Sequential

Sequential clauses are joined with a form of the conjunction *ma* 'and, but', as in (338) and (339). In (338) two separate events are found—landward going and carrying—joined by the conjunction *ma*.

(338) *K-ami-tu longa dea ma k-ami-tu dea tura-i na koga ira.*  
 IRR-1EX.PL-PAU landward go CONJ IRR-1EX.PL-PAU go carry-PL ART stick EP:3PL  
 'We will go landward and we will go carry them, the sticks.'

The speaker was at a seaside village describing his plan for the day: to go retrieve some house building materials he had set aside at the base of a hill some distance inland. He had to go landward to get to the sticks before he could carry them.

Example (339) demonstrates two other means used to join sequential clauses.

(339) *Rosi-a na ato, m-e rosi-a na tiba, m-ami kere,*  
 tear-o:3SG ART leaf.panel CONJ-3SG tear-o:3SG ART timber CONJ-1EX.PL burn  
*vuti na tughuru, rosi talaghini-a ruka na vae t-e sovo.*  
 pull ART post tear completely-o:3SG two ART house RL-3SG join  
 '[We] pulled down the leaf-roof panels, took down the timber, we burned [the rubbish], pulled the posts [out of the ground]; [we] tore down completely the two houses that were joined.

The first means used to mark sequential ordering in (339) is with the conjunction *m-*.

Burning the rubbish (*kere*) follows temporally on taking down the timber (*rosi-a na tiba*) which in turn follows temporally on taking down the leaf-roof panels (*rosi-a na ato*). Each of the 'following' clauses are introduced with a subject reference pronoun marked with the prefix form of the conjunction *m-*.<sup>141</sup> The second approach to clause conjoining in (339) is juxtaposition. Pulling the posts out of the ground (*vuti na tughuru*) which follows temporally on taking down the timber, is not introduced with a conjunction. Rather, it immediately follows the preceding clause.

There is one example in the data, presented in (340), of an *m-* clause that does not appear to be conjoined to another earlier clause.

- (340) *I nea te roropo i muri-a na lotu m-u dea*  
*i nea tena roropo i muri-a na lotu m-u dea*  
 LOC yesterday LOC morning LOC behind-O:3SG ART worship CONJ-1SG go
- i vae ni talu-a nigua na Bible.*  
 LOC house GEN put-O:3SG PS:1SG ART Bible  
 'Yesterday in the morning after church I went to [my] house to leave my Bible.'

Example (341) is the first sentence of a text in which the speaker recounts what he did the previous day. Being the first sentence, there is no preceding clause for this to join to. The subject reference pronoun marked with *m-* is curious in this instance.

While as a native English speaker it would be nice to have recourse to a separate contrastive conjunction (i.e., 'but'), there is no essential difference between 'and' and 'but' in Lengo. So in the following examples, where an English speaker might prefer a gloss of 'but', Lengo speakers continue to use the same word *ma* 'and'.

<sup>141</sup> Simons (1986:28) presents five aspects encoded by To'abaita subject pronouns (To'abaita is a fellow member of the Southeast Solomonian language family from north Malaita). The one of interest here is that which she calls 'serial'. "In narrative discourse, the general form is used at the outset of an event and the serial form is used in all following clauses which are linked to it by a continuity of action and participants." The sense of continuity of action and participant(s) expressed by a subject pronoun with 'serial' aspect is quite intriguing with reference to Lengo *m-* 'CONJ'.

- (341) a. *U ngao-a na iti niu m-e viti na tua-gu.*  
 1SG want-O:3SG ART up coconut CONJ-3SG pain ART leg-PS:1SG  
 'I want to climb the coconut [tree] and my leg hurts.'
- b. *E utha m-e lalai.*  
 3SG rain CONJ-3SG stop.raining  
 'It was raining and it stopped.'

Clearly the clauses marked with *m-e* above are in contrast with the clauses preceding; the subject of (341)a. would be up the tree if his leg didn't hurt. It is the 'but' that prevents him from going up. But there is no way to mark adversative clauses in Lengo other than with the conjunction *ma*.

The locative *tena* has a clause conjoining counterpart, *mena* 'but now'. It is used to join two clauses, the second of which stands in contrast to the first. The locative *mena* is another case of *m-* 'conjunction' taking the place of *t-* 'realis' at the beginning of a word.<sup>142</sup> Whereas *tena* adds an emphatic 'now' to a clause,<sup>143</sup> *mena* adds the 'now' with an additional contrastive element: 'but now'. Consider the examples in (342).

- (342) a. *t-ara be~bere-ngi-a dea i beti m-i tathi m-ara rongo-ni-a*  
 RL-3PL RDP~see-TR-O:3SG go LOC river CONJ-LOC sea CONJ-3PL hear-TR-O:3SG  
*po teigha ghani-ra na kau mena ia e dea ghani tinoni t-i*  
 just NEG bite-O:3PL ART dog LOC DEM 3SG go bite person RL-LOC  
 'they watched it [a crocodile] go in the river and the ocean and they heard it  
 ate nothing but dogs but now it has gone and bitten a person'
- b. *Ma na bona t-u gari vaolu m-e doku na thuli-gu ni bebeu g-u*  
 CONJ ART time RL-1SG boy young CONJ-3SG good ART body-PS:1SG GEN play PFCT-1SG  
*tangomana na bebeu, mena deni u ghua thairo kikiki ba k-e viti.*  
 able ART play LOC DEM:SG 1SG COND work little FUT IRR-3SG pain  
 'And when I was a young boy my body [felt] good for play and I was able to  
 play, but now if I work a little bit it hurts.'

In both examples *mena* 'Loc' is followed by a demonstrative which helps situate the

<sup>142</sup> Cf. *m-i* 'CONJ-LOC' and *t-i* 'RL-LOC' in (342)a.

<sup>143</sup> The sentence following (342)b. in the source text begins *tena deni u thudu le po* 'now I just sit still'.

temporal location at the deictic centre of the text.

When the second of two conjoined clauses is in irrealis mood (*k-*) and the subject reference pronoun of that clause is a single syllable (i.e., *u* '1SG', *o* '2SG', *e* 'ESG', or *a* '1IN.PL'), the conjunction *ma* joins with a subject reference pronoun of the same person and number and precedes the irrealis marked subject reference pronoun (e.g., *m-e k-e sobo* 'CONJ-3SG IRR-3SG float; and it floats'; *m-o k-o sau-i* 'CONJ-3SG IRR-3SG wash-O:3PL; and you wash them'). If the subject reference pronoun is one of the multiple syllable forms (i.e., *ami*, *amu*, *ara*), the conjunction *ma* is found (e.g., *ma k-ami dea* 'CONJ IRR-1EX.PL go; and we go').

The conjunction *ma* / *m-* is not found before *t-* or *g-* prefixed subject reference pronouns in the same way they are found before *k-SRP*. Instead, where a sentence is marked, for example, realis (*t-SRP*) at the outset and a coordinate clause is added, the subject reference pronoun in the second clause is marked with *m-*. The prefix *m-* takes on the aspect of *t-*, forming a composite TAM / conjunction marker.<sup>144</sup>

The conjunction *m-* also joins to the locative *i* (compare *g-i* and *t-i*).

(343) *Ara-ko leta t-i vini vi-leuth-i; na leoni bona ara-ko*  
 3PL-DU 'no save' RL-LOC actually RECP-fight-O:3PL ART all time 3PL-DU

*vi-doku-i po t-i i levu m-i levu.*

RECP-good-O:3PL LIM RL-LOC LOC side CONJ-LOC side

'They never fought each other; they were always just good to each other—from both sides.'

Rather than *\*i levu i levu* in (343), *i levu m-i levu* 'LOC side CONJ-LOC side' is used. The second locative in a series of locatives is conjoined by *m-* (there is no evidence in the data of

<sup>144</sup> Compare yet another description of Gela: “The copula *ma* 'and' is compounded with the verbal particle *e* in the form *me*, and is used thus to carry on the tense significance even when the tense of the preceding verb is past, the subject not being further expressed” (Ivens 1937:1095).

three or more locatives in series).

In example (344) there is an interesting use of *m-* 'CONJ' as indicating a sort of alternation relation.

(344) *E ngitha na ivolo ni pana?*  
3SG how.many ART ten.garden.row GEN pana  
'How many ten.garden.rows of *pana* [are there in your garden]?'

*Lima teigha m-e ono na ivolo.*  
five NEG CONJ-3SG six ART ten.garden.row  
'Five, or if not, six ten.garden.rows.'

This presents a kind of middle ground between conjunction and alternation. The speaker, not knowing exactly how many garden rows of *pana* (a root crop) he has, frames his answer in a *teigha m-e* construction: 'could be five; could be six; somewhere around that many'. It is curious that, given how this kind of an answer leans more toward alternation (see below) than conjunction, that the *m-* conjunction form is used.

### 7.1.3 Alternate

Alternates are joined by *pa / p-* 'or'. With *pa / p-* the situation is much the same as with *ma / m-*, in that it is sometimes presented as an affix on the subject reference pronoun in the TAM slot. This raises the important question of whether or not there is TAM associated with *pa / p-*. At first glance, one would be inclined to say 'no'—conjunctions do not normally have TAM. But consider the following: when one is presented with alternatives, as is the case with *pa / p-* 'or', the alternatives remain—at the moment and for the purposes of the utterance—unrealised. It is expected that one of the alternates will be (or already is) realised, but to the speaker the alternates remain mere possibilities. Seen in that light, *pa / p-* exhibits shades of irrealis mood, or at least a (potential) shift from irrealis to realis. However, until more convincing proof arises

that *pa / p-* does in fact indicate TAM, it will be analysed as a conjunction.

The examples in (345) demonstrate the role of *pa / p-* 'or' in holding together two alternates.

- (345) a. *Gari mane pa na gari ghaoka?*  
child boy ALT ART child girl  
'Is it a boy or a girl?'
- b. *ko mo lubathia moa pe dea*  
2sg NEG let.3sg NEG or.3sg go  
'Don't let it out (release it) or it will run away.' [Symons, 3.5.3]
- c. *O oti-ra p-ara dea?*  
2SG hold-o:3PL ALT-3PL go  
'Are you holding them or did they go?'
- d. *Ba k-u oti-a p-u k-u lubathia.*  
FUT IRR-1SG hold-o:3SG ALT-1SG IRR-1SG release-o:3SG  
'I will hold it or I will release it.'

The conjunction *pa / p-* 'or' behaves exactly the same as *ma / m-* 'and, but' with reference to serial single-syllable subject reference pronouns one of which is marked irrealis, as (345)d. demonstrates.<sup>145</sup> In addition to the irrealis marked subject reference pronoun (*k-u*) a subject reference pronoun marked with the alternate conjunction *p-* is found (*p-u*). Multi syllable subject reference pronouns behave as does *ara* '3PL' in (345)c.

Another means for presenting alternatives, as has been shown in (344) above, is with the construction *teigha ma / m-* '[if] not, then!'. When using this construction the speaker holds significantly less commitment to the alternatives than with *pa / p-*. There is an openness to options further up and down the scale of alternatives that the speaker has presented.

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<sup>145</sup> See the discussion on page 37.

## 7.2 Subordinate clauses

Subordinate clauses of complement, relative, purpose, reason, and condition types are found in Lengo. Subordinate clauses normally follow main clauses, though they can be moved ahead of the main clause for the purpose of topicalisation.

### 7.2.1 Complement

Complement clauses in Lengo are introduced by the complementiser *a thi / na tha* 'ART COMP'.<sup>146</sup> The presence of the article indicates the nominal nature of the complement clause. The examples in (346) illustrate.<sup>147</sup>

- (346) a. *k-amu mai rongo-ni-a [na tha ba k-a ghali-a]*  
IRR-2PL come hear-TR-O:3SG ART COMP FUT IRR-1IN.PL do-O:3SG  
'you come listen to what we will do'
- b. *e ghilaghana-a [na tha t-e doku vani-ghita]*  
3SG know-O:3SG ART COMP RL-3SG good DAT-O:1IN.PL  
'he knows what is good for us'
- c. *ba k-a ghe memele k-a ghilaghana-a [a thi ba k-e]*  
FUT IRR-1IN.PL continue choose IRR-1IN.PL know-O:3SG ART COMP FUT IRR-3SG  
*tangomana lavi-ghita tena niulu vaolu]*  
able take-O:1IN.PL LOC year new  
'we will choose, we will know who will be able to lead us in the new year'
- d. *ba k-u tugu vani-ghamu [na tha ba k-e sara tena Sarere]*  
FUT IRR-1SG tell DAT-O:2PL ART COMP FUT IRR-3SG arrive LOC Saturday  
'I will tell you what [is going] to happen on Saturday'

The complement clause as nominalised VP serves as an object argument to the head verb.

In each of the examples in (346) the object complement follows the verb.

Example (347) demonstrates an entirely different ordering.

<sup>146</sup> Again, the difference between *a thi* and *na tha* is humanity: the former is used for humans and the latter for all else.

<sup>147</sup> The complement clauses in these examples are indicated with square brackets.

(347) [na tha ba k-amu ghali-a] ighamu tovothi na rurutu ni vanua  
 ART COMP FUT IRR-2PL do-O:3SG EP:2PL separate ART group GEN village

ba k-amu rongo-ni-a t-i ngeni de  
 FUT IRR-2PL hear-TR-O:3SG RL-LOC today DEM  
 'what you different village groups will do you will hear today'

In (347)—a preamble to instructions for a feast—the object complement of *rongo* 'hear it' is found at the beginning of the sentence.

### 7.2.2 Relative

Relative clauses are common in Lengo. Both subject and object noun phrases are modified by relative clauses. The most common form that a Lengo relative clause takes is of a postnominal externally headed clause and is realised as a clause in realis mood following the modified head.<sup>148</sup> It is not surprising to find a relative clause, which is by nature descriptive, to be set in realis mood.<sup>149</sup> There are also a few instances of relative clauses in which the pronoun *thi*, in these cases a relative pronoun marked 'human', takes the place of the relativised noun. There is no overt marking to differentiate restrictive from non-restrictive relative clauses.

A noun phrase subject may be relativised with a clause in realis mood. Example (348) shows the subject noun phrase *na tinoni* 'the people' followed by a relative clause *t-ara kuki* 'they cooked'.<sup>150</sup>

(348) *m-ara lavi mai-a [na vanga] [na tinoni [t-ara kuki]]*  
 CONJ-3PL take come-O:3SG ART food ART person RL-3PL cook  
 VP O S Rel<sub>s</sub>  
 'the people who cooked [it] brought the food'

As is evident, the relative clause follows the head noun. Example (349), an intransitive

<sup>148</sup> This is consistent with Payne's (1997:326) observation that, "Languages which are dominantly VO in main clause constituent order always have postnominal relative clauses."

<sup>149</sup> It needs to be made clear that not every clause marked realis is relative.

<sup>150</sup> In the following examples the various constituents are delimited with [square brackets].



sentence, also features a postnominal relative clause.

- (349) *m-e thai mo [na dani [t-ara-ko ghunughunu-a]]*  
 CONJ-3SG arrive more ART day RL-3PL-DU plan-o:3SG  
 VP S Rel<sub>s</sub>  
 'and the day that they planned for arrived'

In both (348) and (349), the relativised subject is after the verb. A topicalised subject, that is, a subject at the beginning of a sentence, may also be relativised as in the examples in (350).

- (350) *[na ghai [t-e doku]] boro k-e ghoe thaghata [na vua-na]*  
 ART tree RL-3SG good impossible IRR-3SG produce bad ART fruit-PS:3SG  
 S Rel<sub>s</sub> VP O  
 'it's impossible for a tree that's good to produce poorly its fruit'

Despite the relative clause's location before the verb, it still follows the noun it relativises.

A subject noun phrase may also be relativised with the relative pronoun *thi*. This type of relative clause is apparently only used for humans as subject; the data does not contain any examples of *thi* used with relativised human objects, nor any instances of the non-human pronoun *tha* used with relativised non-human subjects or objects.

Example (351) demonstrates this type of relative clause.

- (351) a. *[na tinoni ketha [a thi ga deni]] ba k-e mai lau-a*  
 ART person different ART REL there DEM FUT IRR-3SG come take-o:3SG  
 S Rel<sub>s</sub> VP  
  
*[pilea na vanga de]*  
 little.bit ART food DEM  
 O  
 'a different person who is over there, he will come take a bit of this food'
- b. *[a thi [ighoe] t-o mono i buriti dea] k-o gharasu mai*  
 ART REL EP:2SG RL-2SG stay LOC back go IRR-2SG move come  
 Rel<sub>s</sub> - S - Rel<sub>s</sub> VP  
 'you who are at the far back move this way'

Example (351)b. presents an interesting case. The subject, the second person singular emphatic pronoun *ighoe* 'you', is interposed between the relative pronoun and the remainder of the relative clause.

A noun phrase object is relativised with the same type of construction: a clause in realis mood. Consider the examples in (352).

- (352) a. *m-u ghoni-a [na pou [t-ami uru-vi-a tena rodo]]*  
 CONJ-1SG prepare-O:3SG ART b.d.m. RL-1EX.PL dive-TR-O:3SG LOC night  
 VP O Rel<sub>o</sub>  
 'I prepared the *beche-de-mer* that we dove for during the night'
- b. *ami-ko kere-ra [na leoni igha [t-ami-ko lavi]]*  
 1EX.PL-DU burn-O:3PL ART all fish RL-1EX.PL-DU caught  
 VP O Rel<sub>o</sub>  
 'we cook the fishes that we caught'
- c. *tena deni u thudu le po ni bungu-ti-ra po [na gari vaolu*  
 LOC DEM 1SG sit still LIM GEN watch-TR-O:3PL LIM ART child new  
 VP O  
 [*t-ara ghali-a na thairo*]]  
 RL-3PL do-O:3SG ART work  
 Rel<sub>o</sub>  
 'now I just sit still to just watch the youths that do the work'

As is the case with a relativised subject noun phrase, the relative clause is found following the relativised object.

### 7.2.3 Purpose

There are two means for marking a purpose clause in Lengo. The first is with the genitive *ni*.<sup>151</sup> Found before a verb, *ni* is a genitive of purpose.<sup>152</sup> Normally, the subject reference pronoun is dropped before the verb of purpose. So where one might expect to find a subject reference pronoun in (353) before the verb of purpose *tughia* 'hammer

<sup>151</sup> According to Crowley (2002a:529) Gela also uses *ni* to indicate PURP/CHAR/POSS (purpose / character / possession).

<sup>152</sup> Other aspects and uses of the genitive *ni* have been discussed beginning on page 54.

s.t.' (i.e., \**m-ara-tu iti dea ni [m-ara-tu] tughi-a na kava*), it is absent.

- (353) *m-ara-tu iti dea ni Ø tughi-a na kava vete oti na tughuru*  
CONJ-3PL-PAU up go GEN hammer-O:3SG ART copper PURP hold ART post  
'they climbed up to hammer the iron for holding the posts'

Likewise, in (354) \**m-u dea i vae ni [m-u] talu-a nigua na Bible* is not found.

- (354) *muri-a na lotu mu dea i vae ni Ø talu-a nigua na Bible*  
behind-O:3SG ART worship CONJ-1SG go LOC house GEN leave-O:3SG my ART bible  
'after church I went to my house to leave my Bible'

Again, the subject reference pronoun is absent before *talua* 'leave something', the verb of purpose. Ross (2004:522) notes that in Longgu, a Southeast Solomonian language which borders Lengo, “desententialisation [of adverbial and complement clauses] is atypically widespread and brings about coreferential subject deletion.” Ross indicates that it is not the norm for canonic Oceanic languages to delete coreferential subjects in purpose clauses, and cites Longgu as somewhat of an exception. Lengo ought to be added to the list of exceptions as it also makes common practise of coreferential subject deletion, but it is not strictly obligatory (see (356) below).

In the case of a complex verb—in (355) a serial verb marked imperfective (*bo dea pogho* 'going to bathe')—*ni* stands at the beginning of the construction.

- (355) *M-e thivo ni bo dea pogho m-e mai na vua.*  
CONJ-3SG down GEN IMPF go bathe CONJ-3SG come ART crocodile  
'As she was going down to bathe a crocodile came.'

While it is most common for the subject reference pronoun to be dropped before the purposed verb, it is possible to include it. When the subject reference pronoun is present, it is found following *ni*, as in (356).

- (356) *k-o duara niu ni k-o pulu-i*  
IRR-2SG pour coconut GEN IRR-2SG roll.up-O:3PL  
'you pour the coconut so that you can roll them'

A second means for marking purpose is with *ne* 'so that'. The particle *ne* is found between the subject reference pronoun and the verb. Whereas with *ni* the subject reference pronoun may be deleted (as demonstrated above), the subject reference pronoun is never dropped in a *ne* purpose clause.

(357) a. *U ngao-a na dea laka inau k-u ne lavi-a nigua na ghau.*  
 1SG want-O:3SG ART go also EP:1SG IRR-1SG so.that get-O:3SG my ART knife  
 'I want to go also so that I can get my knife.'

b. *Roropo rukana k-o pelu vani-u ruka na vugho*  
 morning day.after.tomorrow IRR-2SG purchase DAT-O:1SG two ART net

*k-u ne vu~vugho ko-gha-da igha.*  
 IRR-1SG so.that RDP~net DU-Oral.CLF-PS:1IN,PL fish

'Next tomorrow morning you buy for me two nets so that I can net some fish for us to eat.'

A final means for marking purpose is with *vete*. Whereas *ni* and *ne* mark an agent's purposive action, *vete* has more of a sense of something's reason for existence. Consider (358).

(358) *m-ara-tu iti dea ni tughi-a na kava vete oti na tughuru.*  
 CONJ-3PL-PAU up go GEN hammer-O:3SG ART iron PURP hold ART post  
 'they climbed up to hammer the iron for holding the posts.'

Here the purpose of the 'iron'<sup>153</sup>—to hold the posts in place—is in view.

#### 7.2.4 Reason

Reason clauses follow the main clause they substantiate. A reason clause is introduced with *pukua* 'because' and are always found in realis mood (*t-SRP*).

(359) a. *Oh, t-e ghani-a tinoni ia pukua t-e gora.*  
 INTJ RL-3SG bite-O:3SG person DEM because RL-3SG hungry  
 'Oh, it bit that person because it was hungry.'

<sup>153</sup> Iron (Pijin *kava* 'copper') is a generic term for metal among Lengo speakers.

b. *t-ara ghali-a na thairo pukua t-e viti na aro-gu*  
 RL-3PL do-O:3SG ART work because RL-3SG pain ART shoulder-PS:1SG  
 'they are doing the work because my shoulder hurts'

A reason is negated within the subordinate clause, as in (360).

(360) *a A. e thaghataleo vata po pukua t-e teigha na logho-a*  
 ART A 3SG bad.inside continue LIM because RL-3SG NEG ART have-O:3SG  
  
*siki dae-na*  
 any child-PS:3SG  
 'A. just continued to worry because he didn't have any children'

This amounts to an “X because not Y” type of clause.

### 7.2.5 Conditional

The Lengo conditional, as was discussed in relation to the verb phrase on page 114 and following, is marked with *ghua* 'if'. Here it remains to discuss some of the pragmatic aspects of the use of the conditional *ghua*. The conditional is found with three varieties of TAM marking on the accompanying subject reference pronoun: unmarked, realis (*t-*), and irrealis (*k-*). Each of these bears significantly on the meaning of the conditional.

An unmarked subject reference pronoun used in conjunction with *ghua* may indicate a 'zero conditional', that is, a conditional whose probability of happening is as good as certain. Consider the examples in (361).

(361) a. *ma na bona t-u gari vaolu m-e doku na thuli-gu ni bebeu g-u*  
 CONJ ART time RL-1SG boy young CONJ-3SG good ART body-PS:1SG GEN play PFCT-1SG  
  
*tangomana na bebeu, m-e na deni u ghua thairo kikiki ba k-e viti*  
 able ART play CONJ-3SG ART DEM:SG 1SG COND work little FUT IRR-3SG pain  
 'and when I was a young boy my body [felt] good for play and I was able to play, but now if I work a little bit it hurts'

b. *e dea ghua i namo na vonu m-e tumuri po na igha*  
 3SG go if LOC deep ART turtle CONJ-3SG follow just ART fish  
 'if the turtle went deep the fish just followed'

A 'first conditional', that is, a conditional whose level of probability is likely, can be introduced with either an unmarked or realis subject reference pronoun, as in (362).

(362) a. *Ma k-ami-tu mai soni iti ga i T. t-ami-tu ghua mavulo.*  
 CONJ IRR-1EX.PL-PAU come throw up there LOC T RL-1EX.PL-PAU if willing  
 'And we will throw [the sticks] up at T. if we are willing.'

b. *e ghua logho bobona vata i nganiba na nulavi m-ami-tu*  
 3SG if have time continue LOC later ART afternoon CONJ-1EX.PL-PAU

*dea lebo-i laka t-i*  
 go float-O:3PL also RL-LOC

'if there is still time in the afternoon [and we do not know if there will be or not], we will also float them [down the river]'

c. *o ghua ngao-a na ghali-a siki 'e.f.' t-i i leo-a t-i*  
 2SG if want-O:3SG ART make-O:3SG any e.f. RL-LOC LOC inside-O:3SG RL-LOC

*nimoo na thara k-o ghali mai-a*  
 PS:2SG ART feast-food IRR-2SG make come-O:3SG

'if you want any "extra flavour" in your feast-food [and I do not know if you do or not], you make it and bring it'

The irrealis marked subject reference pronoun together with *ghua* indicate a 'second conditional'—one whose probability is unlikely to be realised in the future.

(363) *m-e k-e ghua teigha tu-mana-miu nga geia po na tha t-ami*  
 CONJ-3SG IRR-3SG if NEG PAU-enough-PS:2PL there EP:3SG LIM ART REL RL-1EX.PL

*tangomana ighami*  
 able EP:1EX.PL

'and if it's not enough for you, it's all that we're able [to do] . . . '

The expectation is that what 'we' have done *will* be enough. As such, there is no contingency plan (if there was a backup plan it would indicate an expectation that it *wouldn't* be enough).

The conditional *magi* 'suppose' introduces an assumption that is presented as a hypothesis for argument's sake. There is an element of 'condition' in *magi* statements, but it is only to carry the argument forward; the 'possibility' is as good as done.

Consider (364), which is from a conversation following a crocodile attack.

(364) *Vana-thi mate-a magi veghe na agotha ni mate-a tavu-a na theutu*  
 shoot-TR die-o:3SG if like ART hunt GEN die-o:3SG find-o:3SG ART path

*i vi ga t-o tangomana na mate-a.*  
 LOC where there RL-2SG able ART die-o:3SG

'If [you want to] shoot it dead—like hunt it to death—find a way that you are able to kill it.'

The assumption is that everyone does want the crocodile shot dead. Since that is the case, it remains to find a way to make it happen.

Clause conjoining is a significant part of Lengo grammar and discourse. The brief treatment that coordinate (simultaneous, sequential, and alternate) and subordinate (relative, purpose, reason, and conditional) complex clauses received here could be fruitfully explored in greater depth. For the present, I leave it to another researcher to rise to that challenge.

## 8 REPORTED SPEECH

There are a number of ways to indicate reported speech in Lengo. The first is with a quote margin comprised of an optional TAM marker ( $\emptyset$  or  $g-/m-$ ), a singular form of the subject reference pronoun, and  $-na$  'say':  $(TAM-)SRP-na$ . There are no plural forms.

(365)	prefix	SRP	'say'
	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \emptyset \\ g- \\ m- \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} u \\ o \\ e \end{array} \right\}$	$-na$

By far the most common form of the quote margin is  $m-SRP-na$ . The next most common form is unmarked subject reference pronoun +  $na$ . There is a single example of  $g-SRP-na$  in the data (see (368) below). There is no evidence, however, of  $t-SRP-na$  'RL-SRP-say' nor  $k-SRP-na$  'IRR-SRP-say'.

The quote is in the frame: (quote margin) “quoted speech” (quote margin). That is, the quote margin can be found before, after, or surrounding the quoted speech. In

(366) the quote margin is before the quote.

(366)	<i>Soko</i>	<b><i>m-ena</i></b>	<i>T,</i>	“ <i>Gari, k-amu mai thanga-u.</i> ”
	finish	CONJ-3SG:say	T	boys
				IRR-2PL
				come
				help-O:1SG
				'Then T. said, “Boys, come help me.”'

In (367) the quote margin is after the quote.

(367)	“ <i>K-a-tu</i>	<i>oli</i>	<i>ba t-i,</i> ”	<b><i>una</i></b>	<i>m-u</i>	<i>tapa.</i>
	IRR-1IN.PL-PAU	return	FUT	RL-LOC	1SG:say	CONJ-1SG
						run
						'“We need to go back now,” I said and I ran.'

In (368) the quote margin elements are found both before and after the quote. This latter construction is, however, rare.

(368)	<i>Ara-ko</i>	<b><i>g-ena</i></b>	<i>na ghaoka dini,</i> “ . . . ,”	<i>g-i</i>	<i>igeira</i>	<b><i>ena.</i></b>
	3PL-DU	PFCT-3SG:say	ART	woman	DEM:PL	PFCT-LOC
					EP:3PL	3SG:say
						'Those two women said, “ . . . ,” they said.'



Note in (368) that there is a lack of agreement in number between *ara-ko* '3<sub>PL-DU</sub>', *dini* 'DEM:PL', *igeira* 'EP:3<sub>PL</sub>' and *g-ena* 'PFCT-3<sub>SG</sub>:say'. The pronouns *ara-ko*, *dini* and *igeira* are plural while the quote margin *g-ena* is singular. Given that this quote marker is limited to singular forms of the subject reference pronoun, agreement in number is not always possible. The lack of agreement between non-singular subjects and singular quote margins gives rise to clauses with two forms of the subject reference pronoun.

In order to circumvent this 'lack of agreement', there is another quote margin at the Lengo speaker's disposal. It is the dative *bosa vani* 'say<sub>DAT</sub>' + object person pronoun.

- (369) *ami-tu dea bosa vani-ra balu gari laka* "Mai..."  
 1EX.PL-PAU go speak<sub>DAT-O:3PL</sub> some boys more come  
 'we few went and spoke to some more boys, "Come ..."'

Here the person and number of the speaker(s) is not constrained as it is above with the *SRP-na* construction.

Quoted speech can also be introduced with verbs of speech such as *ghu* 'shout' and *thuge* 'ask'.

- (370) a. *E ghu-vi-a dae-a, "Ai! E ghani-a na vua*  
 3<sub>SG</sub> shout-TR-O:3<sub>SG</sub> child-PS:3<sub>SG</sub> INTJ 3<sub>SG</sub> bite-O:3<sub>SG</sub> ART crocodile  
*a tina-mu," ena.*  
 ART mother-PS:2<sub>SG</sub> 3<sub>SG</sub>:say  
 'She shouted to her son, "Hey! The crocodile is biting your mother," she said.'
- b. *m-u dea thuge-a a J, "J, ...?" Ena, "..."*  
 CONJ-1<sub>SG</sub> go ask-O:3<sub>SG</sub> ART J J 3<sub>SG</sub>:say "..."  
 'I asked J, "J, ...?" He said, "...'

Given, though, that *ena* '3<sub>SG</sub>:say' is stated at the end of (370)a. but absent from b. (*ena* in (370)b. is the quote margin preceding J.'s response), it seems that *thuge* 'ask' is a closer equivalent to the speech margin subject reference pronoun + *na* than *ghu* 'shout'. The

quote margin subject reference pronoun + *na* is used for statements and *thuge* 'ask' for questions.

Questions posed and answers given can be presented back to back, with quote margins before the question and after the answer to differentiate the speakers.

(371) *m-ara-ko thuge-u, "...?" "...," una m-u tapa*  
CONJ-3PL-DU ask-O:1SG 1SG:say CONJ-1SG run  
 they two asked me, "...?" "...," I said and I ran

The same holds true for quoted indicative statements from different interlocutors: they can also be presented back to back with quote margins before the first and after the second quote to differentiate the speakers.

(372) *M-ena po t-i, "... "..." ena t-i na vonu.*  
CONJ-3SG:say LIM RL-LOC 3SG:say RL-LOC ART turtle  
 It just said, "... "..." the turtle said.

Lengo quote margins stand out for the lack of plural forms. While speakers are not averse to using a singular quote margin for plural participants, they do have recourse to the dative serial verb construction *bosa vani* + object person pronoun to ensure agreement of number.

## 9 CONCLUSION

This grammar presents some of the more readily evident features of the Southeast Solomonian language Lengo. I have presented an overview of the phonology along with more detailed discussions of word, phrase, clause, and sentence level syntax. Given the paucity of grammar descriptions available for Solomonian languages, it is my hope that this grammar will prove useful for typological or comparative work in the region. Of course, there are some aspects of Lengo that have not been covered to the depth they deserve in this description and there remains significant room for further exploration and discovery about the syntax of Lengo.

At the level of phonology, Lengo is interesting for the predictable process of vowel harmony in the case of third person singular possessive *-a* joining to words ending in /a/. The two /a/s raise to an /e/ as does any consecutive /a/ to the left (e.g., [lima] 'hand' + [-a] 'ps:3SG' → [lime] 'her hand'; [atha] 'name' + [-a] 'ps:3SG' → [ethe] 'his name'). Any vowel to the left other than /a/ disrupts the harmonisation process (e.g., [kabula] 'inner thigh' + [-a] 'ps:3SG' → [kabule] 'his inner thigh').

Nouns are divided into classes based on possession type—direct (semantically inalienable) and indirect (semantically alienable)—and also based on which article—common or proper—they take. The articles are not marked for definiteness; the same article is used for definite and indefinite reference. Verbs can be derived from nouns by a process of stem-initial CV reduplication.

Lengo has a rich paradigm of pronouns. They include emphatic, subject reference, object, and possessor. There are four persons (1 inclusive / exclusive, 2, and 3) and four numbers (singular, plural, dual, and paucal). In addition to these there are

reflexive and interrogative / relative pronouns. The latter have animate and inanimate forms.

Verbs are divided into two types—A-type and U-type—based on the role of the subject in corresponding transitive and intransitive forms. With A-type (dynamic) verbs, the subject of the intransitive corresponds to the agent of the verb's transitive form. With U-type (stative) verbs, the subject of the intransitive becomes the undergoer of the transitive. Intriguingly, in the same manner as above, nouns can be derived from verbs by the same process of stem-initial CV reduplication.

The verb phrase is interesting for the subject indexing subject reference pronoun which is inflected for TAM. This verb phrase constituent takes prefixes for perfective aspect (*g-*), and realis (*t-*), irrealis (*k-*), and apprehensive (*b-*) moods. Imperative mood and future tenses (possible and impossible) are expressed within the irrealis mood. An unmarked subject reference pronoun expresses indicative mood and, with the auxiliary *bo*, imperfective mood.

Lengo makes extensive use of serial verb constructions. The various types include directional, sequential, causative, manner, and ambient. There are also prepositional verbs that express comitative, dative, and instrumental meanings. Finally, modal verbs are used to indicate abilitive, desiderative, negative, prohibitive, and non-volitive moods.

Since much of my attention was given to word, phrase, and clause level structures, profitable study could be made in the area of complex clauses. In particular, the roles of the clause conjoining particles *ma* / *m-* 'and' and *pa* / *p-* 'or' and their relationship to the TAM affixes is not entirely clear. When *m-* or *p-* join to the subject

reference pronoun they displace any TAM-marking prefix that might otherwise be there. Complement and relative clauses, though discussed briefly, could also be explored to greater depth.

In conclusion, I suspect there are any number of motivations for a work like this. Kenneth Pike, the American linguist, developed the analogy of the world's languages as an orchestra—each 'instrument' adding a unique timbre to the collection of instruments and the whole orchestra being somehow less should one instrument be absent.<sup>154</sup> After spending four years in a Lengo community, my motivation for writing a grammar of their language is to let the Lengo “voice” be heard. It is a beautiful voice, as each language is. My dream is that some day a Lengo speaker will set this warbling rendition aside and let the world hear Lengo as it was meant to be heard.

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<sup>154</sup> <http://www.wycliffe.ca/wordalive/archive/2004winter/index.html>

## APPENDIX A: Southeast Solomon language family

Lynch *et al.* (2002:110) and the Ethnologue (Gordon 2005:637) have slightly different presentations of the Southeast Solomon language family tree.<sup>155</sup>

Lynch, Ross, Crowley	Ethnologue
Southeast Solomon Family <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bugotu/Gela/Guadalcanal family               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bugotu</li> <li>• Gela/Guadalcanal                   <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gelic: Gela and Lengo</li> <li>• West and South Guadalcanal<sup>156</sup></li> </ul> </li> </ul> </li> <li>• Lonngu/Malaita/Makira               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lonngu</li> <li>• Malaita/Makira                   <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sa'a, Ulawa and Uki</li> <li>• Makira</li> <li>• Malaita                       <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 'Are'are, Oroha, Marau</li> <li>• central and northern Malaita</li> </ul> </li> </ul> </li> </ul> </li> </ul>	Southeast Solomon (26) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gela-Guadalcanal (7)               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bughotu (1)</li> <li>• Bughotu</li> <li>• Gela (2)                   <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gela</li> <li>• Lengo</li> </ul> </li> </ul> </li> <li>• Guadalcanal (4)               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Birao</li> <li>• Ghari</li> <li>• Malango</li> <li>• Talise</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Malaita-San Cristobal (19)               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Malaita (14)                   <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lonngu (1)                       <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lonngu</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Northern (9)</li> <li>• Southern (4)                       <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 'Are'are</li> </ul> </li> </ul> </li> <li>• San Cristobal (5)</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

The differences between the trees are evident. Where both language family trees agree, however, is that Lengo and Gela are “siblings”, whereas Lengo's immediate geographical neighbours are “cousins” (with Lonngu, and to a greater extent 'Are'are, having somewhat distant familial relationships despite their geographical proximity). The map in Illustration 4: Lengo language neighbours shows Lengo in geographic relation to

<sup>155</sup> The reader should note that only the languages proximate to Guadalcanal—Lonngu and 'Are'are—are included in the Malaita-San Cristobal branch of the Ethnologue tree. There are seventeen other languages from that branch that are not listed here. The tree from Lynch *et al.* is presented as it appears in their work. It is also worth mentioning that “Makira” and “San Cristobal” are different names for the same island.

<sup>156</sup> In the discussion accompanying their language tree, Lynch *et al.* mention the West Guadalcanal-Talise-Malango-Birao group of languages. I assume their West Guadalcanal is the Ethnologue's Ghari.

surrounding languages.

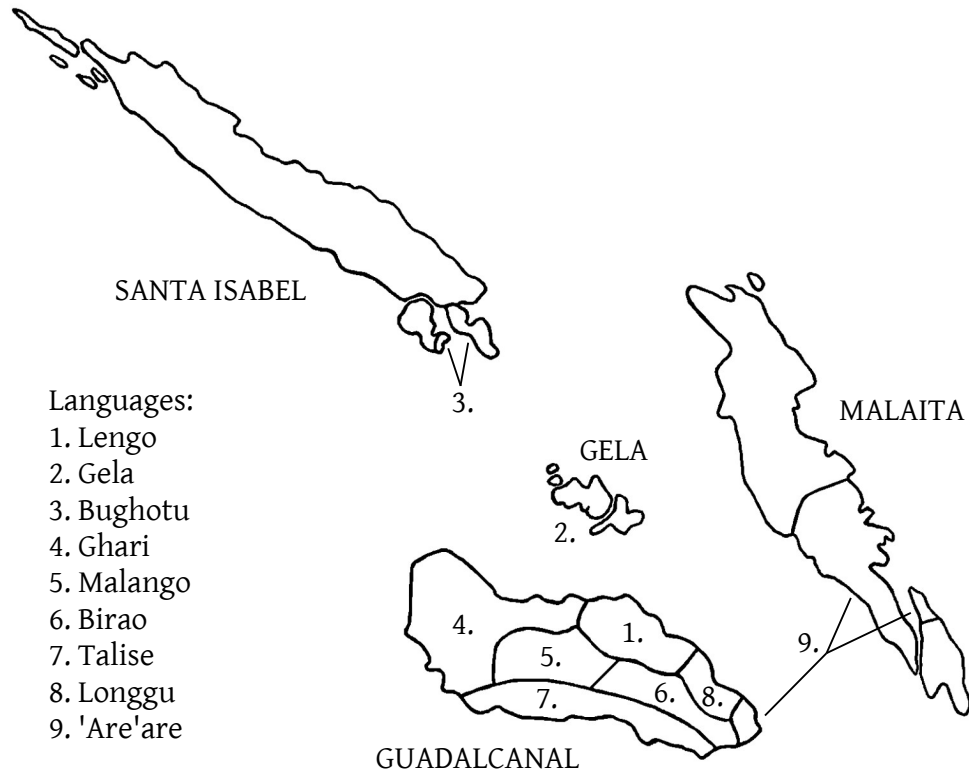


Illustration 4: Lengo language neighbours

## APPENDIX B: Orthography

There are three orthographies in use among Lengo writers. People tend to follow the 'conventions' of their respective church denominations based on what the various churches have introduced and adopted over the past century.<sup>157</sup> Even so, the orthographies are not necessarily used consistently, even by the same author. It is the prenasalised /g/ that lies at the middle of the issue. Or the /ŋ/. Or . . . Actually, it depends where one begins. Figure 9.1: Orthography options presents some of the decisions that have been made by the various churches to come up with letters or groups of letters to represent the sounds in the language:

IPA	Anglican	Catholic	United
ŋ	'bar-over-n' <sup>158</sup>	'ng'	'g' or 'n'
ᵑg	'g'	'ngg'	'q'
ɣ	'gh'	'g'	'gh'

Figure 9.1: Orthography options

IPA /i<sup>ᵑ</sup>geia/ 'EP:3SG', for example, could be written as: *igeia*, *inggeia*, or *iqeia*. Obviously, if the letter 'g' is used to represent one of these three sounds ([ɣ], [ᵑg], or [ŋ]), some other letter(s) have to be used for the other two. Given that prenasalised [ᵑb] and [ᵑd] are written by all Lengo writers as 'b' and 'd', I have chosen to do the same with [ᵑg], writing it as 'g'.<sup>159</sup> In the interests of avoiding diacritics, I decided against the bar-over / bar-under-n, opting rather for the digraph 'ng'. Finally, given that two of the three

<sup>157</sup> This is a complex issue and beyond the scope of the present paper, but it should be noted that none of these orthographies were introduced specifically for Lengo. The United church, for example, has its greatest sphere of influence in Western Province of Solomon Islands where Roviana was adopted as the "church language". However, there are a few United church villages in the Lengo language area and the Roviana / United church orthography has been adopted by and adapted to Lengo in those villages.

<sup>158</sup> This is not reproduceable on a computer without resorting to the use of a specialised font. For example, Doulos SIL can produce 'bar-over-n' (ñ) with the 'combining diacritic mark' U+0304. It is somewhat easier to reproduce on a typewriter. Sometimes technology constrains . . .

<sup>159</sup> Simons (1977:11) writes that, "This solution deserves special consideration for the future if a system of standardized alphabets for Guadalcanal languages is to be adopted."



orthographies use the digraph 'gh' for the velar fricative, and that the 'g' is already being used (for pre-nasalised 'g', above), it seems a better choice than coming up with something new such as, for example, employing an otherwise 'unused' consonant such as c, f, j, q, w, x, y, or z. The orthography used in this thesis is given in (373).

(373)

IPA	ɑ	<sup>m</sup> b	<sup>n</sup> d	e	<sup>ŋ</sup> g	ɣ	i	k	l	m	n	ŋ	p	r	s	t	ð/z	u	β/v
Lengo	a	b	d	e	g	gh	i	k	l	m	n	ng	p	r	s	t	th	u	v

## APPENDIX C: Sample texts

Our Family goes to H.

*Ighami tamadae ami bo dea i H. Vuivuni ba k-ami oni~oni nimami*  
EP:1EX.PL father.child 1EX.PL IMPF go LOC H start FUT IRR-1EX.PL RDP~prepare PS:1EX.PL  
We family are going to H. At the outset we will prepare our

*na agutu. Na tha t-ami ngao-a na lavi dea-i, ba k-ami lavi dea-i.*  
ART thing ART REL RL-1EX.PL want-o:3SG ART take go-o:3PL FUT IRR-1EX.PL take go-o:3PL  
cargo. What we want to take we will take.

*Na tha t-e mono t-ami teigha na ngao-i ba k-e mono oli i vae.*  
ART REL RL-3SG stay RL-1EX.PL NEG ART want-o:3PL FUT IRR-3SG stay return LOC house  
What stays, what we don't want, will stay back at the house.

*Soko ba k-ami lavi dea-i i tathi vathai; ba k-ami dea talu-i ga.*  
finish FUT IRR-1EX.PL take go-o:3PL LOC sea shore FUT IRR-1EX.PL go put-o:3PL there  
Then we will take them to the sea shore; we will go put them there.

*K-ami sakai ni sake thivo-a na thinaghe m-e k-e sobo i tena tathi,*  
IRR-1EX.PL one GEN lift down-o:3SG ART canoe CONJ-3SG IRR-3SG float LOC LOC sea  
At the outset we lift down the canoe and it floats on the sea,

*k-ami sakai ni lusa-ngi na tha t-ami ngao-a na lavi dea-i. Soko k-ami*  
IRR-1EX.PL one GEN load-TR ART COMP RL-1EX.PL want-o:3SG ART take go-o:3PL finish IRR-1EX.PL  
at the outset we load what we want to take go. Then we

*sakai ni togha. Na bona k-ami togha ba k-ami kolivuti. Kolivuti soko k-ami*  
one GEN board ART time IRR-1EX.PL board FUT IRR-1EX.PL pray pray finish IRR-1EX.PL  
board [the canoe]. When we are aboard we will pray. After praying we

*sakai ni dea. K-ami dea ma k-ami dea ma k-ami dea sara i H. Ba*  
one GEN go IRR-1EX.PL go CONJ IRR-1EX.PL go CONJ IRR-1EX.PL go arrive LOC H FUT  
go. We go and we go and we go [until we] arrive at H.

*k-ami-tu longa ma k-ami sake longa-i na leoni nimami na*  
IRR-1EX.PL-PAU landward CONJ IRR-1EX.PL lift landward-o:3PL ART every PS:1EX.PL ART  
We few will [go] ashore and we lift landward all our

*agu~agutu. I muri-a k-ami sakai ni sake longa-a na thinaghe.*  
RDP~thing LOC behind-o:3SG IRR-1EX.PL one GEN lift landward-o:3SG ART canoe  
cargo. After that we lift landward the canoe.

Soko k-ami tavu theutu-mami ni dea i vae-mami t-e mono i tetete.  
 finish IRR-1EX.PL find way-PS:1EX.PL GEN go LOC house-PS:1EX.PL RL-3SG stay LOC hill.  
 Then we find our way to go to our house that is on the hill.

### The Woman and the Crocodile

Na tugu-a na ghaoka t-e ghani-a na vua. I bongi ara-ko bo  
 ART story-O:3SG ART woman RL-3SG bite-O:3SG ART crocodile LOC last.night 3PL-DU IMPF  
 The story about a crocodile that bit a woman. Last night they two were

dea pogho ara-ko ruka na ghaoka. Ara-ko dea pogho m-e tighi thivo a sakai na  
 go bathe 3PL-DU two ART woman 3PL-DU go bathe CONJ-3SG first down ART one ART  
 going to bathe, they two two women. They two went to bathe and one woman went  
 down first,

ghaoka, m-e tumuri-a a sakai. E thivo m-e theo-a na beti m-e  
 woman CONJ-3SG follow-O:3SG ART one 3SG down CONJ-3SG scoop-O:3SG ART water CONJ-3SG  
 and one followed. She went down and she scooped some water and

e vuli iti ma na ruke e theo-a na beti m-e vuli dea i beti.  
 3SG pour up CONJ ART second 3SG scoop-O:3SG ART water CONJ-3SG pour go LOC water  
 she poured it up[stream] and the second [time] she scooped some water and she  
 poured it across the river.

M-e thivo ni bo dea pogho m-e mai na vua. Mai na vua  
 CONJ-3SG down GEN IMPF go bathe CONJ-3SG come ART crocodile come ART crocodile  
 And she was going down to bathe and a crocodile came. A crocodile came

m-e mai gara-a. E gara-a m-e lavi dea-a. M-e ribe sakai  
 CONJ-3SG come pull-O:3SG 3SG pull-O:3SG CONJ-3SG take go-O:3SG CONJ-3SG surprise one  
 and it came [and] pulled her. It pulled her and it took her. And one of the women was  
 surprised

na ghaoka m-e ghu~ghu, e ghu-vi-a dae-a, "Ai! E ghani-a na  
 ART woman CONJ-3SG RDP~shout 3SG shout-TR-O:3SG child-PS:3SG INTJ 3SG bite-O:3SG ART  
 and she shouted, she shouted to her [the 'first' woman's] child, "Hey! A

vua a tina-mu," e-na. Ma na vua e gara-a t-i na ghaoka  
 crocodile ART mother-PS:2SG 3SG-say CONJ ART crocodile 3SG pull-O:3SG RL-LOC ART woman  
 crocodile is biting your mother," she said. And the crocodile pulled the woman

m-e gara dea m-e oti nga~ngasi na ghaoka tena buburu. Ga~gara na vua  
 CONJ-3SG pull go CONJ-3SG hold RDP~tight ART woman LOC grass RDP~pull ART crocodile  
 and it pulled and she, the woman, held tightly to the grass. The crocodile pulled

*m-e rongo-a dae-a t-e ghu-vi dea a tau-a ga m-e tapa*  
 CONJ-3SG hear-o:3sg child-PS:3SG RL-3SG shout-TR go ART spouse-o:3SG there CONJ-3SG run  
 and he, her child, heard her, the one who shouted to her spouse there and he ran

*me mai. E mai me dea otia na lime tine me*  
 m-e mai e mai m-e dea oti-a na lima-a tina-a m-e  
 CONJ-3SG come 3SG come CONJ-3SG go hold-o:3SG ART hand-PS:3SG mother-PS:3SG CONJ-3SG  
 and he came.<sup>160</sup> He came and he went held his mother's hand and he

*gara iti-a. Ga-gara na vua; ga-gara na da-dae; m-e ga-gara ngata na*  
 pull up-o:3SG RDP~pull ART crocodile RDP~pull ART RDP~child CONJ-3SG RDP~pull strong ART  
 pulled her up. The crocodile pulled; the child pulled; and the child pulled

*dadae me gara tine me gagara laka na vua. Dedea me*  
 da~dae m-e gara tina-a m-e ga-gara laka na vua de~dea m-e  
 RDP~child CONJ-3SG pull mother-PS:3SG CONJ-3SG RDP~pull also ART crocodile RDP~go CONJ-3SG  
 strong and the mother pulled and the crocodile also pulled. [As time] went on the child  
 was

*ngata na da~dae m-e gara-a lithi-soni-a na vua. G-e*  
 strong ART RDP~child CONJ-3SG pull-o:3SG out-away-from-o:3SG ART crocodile PERF-3SG  
 strong and he pulled her out away from the crocodile.

*lubathia na vua. Me gara iti maia mo a tine*  
 lubu-thi-a na vua m-e gara iti mai-a mo a tina-a  
 leave-TR-o:3SG ART crocodile CONJ-3SG pull up come-o:3SG more ART mother-PS:3SG  
 The crocodile left off [from attacking] her. And he pulled his mother up toward him  
 more

*m-e ngara koto. E ghani-a na tua-na m-e ghani voda laghi-ni-a*  
 CONJ-3SG injure INTS 3SG bite-o:3SG ART leg-PS:3SG CONJ-3SG bite hole through-TR-o:3SG  
 and she was badly injured. It bit her leg and it bit a hole through

*na lime. Soko po mara lavi itia mara mai tavua na deresa B.*  
 na lima-a soko po m-ara lavi iti-a m-ara mai tavu-a na deresa B  
 ART hand-PS:3SG finish LIM CONJ-3PL take up-o:3SG CONJ-3PL come find-o:3SG ART nurse B  
 her hand. When it was all over they took her up and they came to find the nurse B.

*M-ara vou-a m-ara lavi dea-a i kliniki m-ara*  
 CONJ-3PL carry.on.a.pole.between.two.people CONJ-3PL take go-o:3SG LOC clinic CONJ-3PL  
 They carried her on a stretcher and they took her away to the clinic but they were

<sup>160</sup> The child of the 'first' woman (the one bitten by the crocodile) was the spouse of the 'second' woman (the one who shouted).

*teigha na tangomana na ghoni-a i kliniki m-ara lavi dea-a i Naba Nain*  
 NEG ART able ART make-o:3SG LOC clinic CONJ-3PL take go-o:3SG LOC number nine  
 not able to make her [well] at the clinic and they took her away to Number Nine<sup>161</sup>

*te roropo i ngeni.*  
*tena roropo i ngeni*  
 LOC morning LOC today  
 this morning.

My shoulder hurts

*Doku. I ngeni deni ami thairo ni vae ni kolivuti. Na bona t-u thairo u*  
 good LOC today DEM 1EX.PL work GEN house GEN prayer ART time RL-1SG work 1SG  
 'OK. Today we are working on behalf of the church. When I was working I

*ngao-a po na tugu tauni-a na aro-gu t-e viti. I ngeni u*  
 want-o:3SG LIM ART tell around-o:3SG ART shoulder-PS:1SG RL-3SG hurt LOC today 1SG  
 just wanted to tell about my shoulder that hurts. Today I

*lavi-a na maul hammer m-u rosi-a na vae ki-kiki m-u*  
 take-o:3SG ART maul hammer CONJ-1SG tear.down-o:3SG ART house RDP~little.bit CONJ-1SG  
 took the maul hammer and I broke the house a little bit and I was

*ne ribe na aro-gu mauli t-e rasa rasa m-e viti. Na bona t-e*  
 EMPH surprised ART shoulder-PS:1SG left RL-3SG tear tear CONJ-3SG hurt ART time RL-3SG  
 really surprised that my left shoulder tore—tore and hurt. When it

*viti m-u thudu varongo pukua i thau na bona t-u gari vaolu m-u bebeu*  
 hurt CONJ-1SG sit still because LOC past ART time RL-1SG child young CONJ-1SG play  
 hurt I sat still because in the past, when I was a young boy, I played

*tena rugby na bona t-u mono i college: teacher's college. Na bona t-u bebeu*  
 LOC rugby ART time RL-1SG stay LOC college teacher's college ART time RL-1SG play  
 rugby when I was at college: teacher's college. When I played

*rugby m-e pisa; pisa na aro-gu m-u ne vasangi viti koto*  
 rugby CONJ-3SG dislocate dislocate ART shoulder-PS:1SG CONJ-1SG EMPH feel hurt very  
 rugby it dislocated; my shoulder dislocated and I really feel pain a lot

*tena de. Ma na bona t-u gari vaolu m-e doku na thuli-gu ni bebeu g-u*  
 LOC DEM and ART time RL-1SG child young CONJ-3SG good ART body-PS:1SG GEN play PFCT-1SG  
 now. And when I was a young boy my body was good for play; I was

<sup>161</sup> Number Nine is the common name of the Solomon Island National Referral Hospital.

*tangomana na bebeu. Mena deni u ghua thairo ki-kiki ba k-e viti.*  
 able ART play LOC DEM 1SG COND work RDP~little.bit FUT IRR-3SG hurt  
 able to play. But now if I work a little bit it will hurt.

*Tena deni u thudu le po ni bungu-ti-ra poa na gari vaolu t-ara ghali-a*  
 LOC DEM 1SG sit still LIM GEN watch-TR-O:3PL LIM ART child young RL-3PL do-O:3SG  
 Now I just sit still to just watch the young boys who are doing

*na thairo pukua t-e viti na aro-gu. Geia po. Doku.*  
 ART work because RL-3SG hurt ART shoulder-PS:1SG EP:3SG LIM good  
 the work because my shoulder hurts. That's all. OK.

Yesterday

*I nea te roropo muria na lotu mu dea i vae ni talua*  
*i nea tena roropo muria na lotu m-u dea i vae ni talu-a*  
 LOC yesterday LOC morning behind ART worship CONJ-1SG go LOC house GEN put-O:3SG  
 Yesterday morning, after church, I went to [my] house to drop off

*nigua na bible. Soko ma na tha t-u ghali-a u dea m-u vanga roropo.*  
 PS:1SG ART bible finish CONJ ART REL RL-1SG do-O:3SG 1SG go CONJ-1SG eat morning  
 my Bible. Then what I did [was] I went and I ate [the] morning [meal].

*Vanga roropo soko m-u dea i maketi, dea i maketi m-u dea pelu*  
 eat morning finish CONJ-1SG go LOC market go LOC market CONJ-1SG go pay  
 [I] finished eating [the] morning [meal] and I went to market, [I] went to market and I  
 went [and] bought

*kaleda te P. Soko mu dea i vae mu dea tughu, mu ghonia*  
*kaleda tena P soko m-u dea i vae m-u dea tughu m-u ghoni-a*  
 calendar LOC P finish CONJ-1SG go LOC house CONJ-1SG go change CONJ-1SG make-O:3SG  
 a calendar from P. Finishing [that] I went to [my] house to change and I prepared

*na pou t-ami uru-vi-a tena rodo. Soko m-ami lavi dea-i m-ami*  
 ART b.d.m. RL-1EX.PL dive-TR-O:3SG LOC night finish CONJ-1EX.PL take GO-O:3PL CONJ-1EX.PL  
 the *beche-de-mer* we dove for during [the] night. [When we] finished we took them and  
 we

*kisi kutuni. Tavurake m-ami kuki-i m-ami pungu-i. Soko mena T,*  
 cut belly then CONJ-1EX.PL cook-O:3PL CONJ-1EX.PL dry-O:3PL finish CONJ-3SG:say T  
 gutted them. Then we cooked them and we dried them. [When we] finished T. said,

*“Gari, k-amu mai thanga-u na turu-vaghini-a na vae-gu.” Doku*  
 kids IRR-2PL come help-O:1SG ART stand.up-CAUS-O:3SG ART house-PS:1SG good  
 “Guys, come help me stand up my house.” OK,

*m-ami-tu dea: inau, E., B.V., ami-tu dea; m-ami-tu dea bosa vani-ra balu*  
 CONJ-1EX.PL-PAU go EP:1SG E BV 1EX.PL-PAU go CONJ-1EX.PL-PAU go tell DAT-O:3PL some  
 we few went: I, E., B.V., we few went; and we also said to some

*gari laka, “Mai k-a ba turu-vaghini-a na vae-a T.” Ba ngide. Na bona*  
 kid also come IRR-1IN.PL DEO stand.up-CAUS-O:3SG ART house-PS:3SG T FUT start ART time  
 other kids, “Come, let's stand up T.'s house.” [That's how it] started. At that time

*veghe ia ara rota ara kuki ghole, ara kuki raes, ara kuki viuvi ma na ti i*  
 like DEM 3PL busy 3PL cook greens 3PL cook rice 3PL cook potato CONJ ART tea LOC  
 they were busy they were cooking greens, rice, potato, and tea at

*vae-a T. ma vitu K., L., ma M., ma ira. Tavorake m-ami-tu dea*  
 house-PS:3SG T CONJ kin K L CONJ M CONJ EP:3PL then CONJ-1EX.PL-PAU go  
 T.'s house the kin K., L., and M., and others. Then we few went to

*turu-vaghini-a na vae. Na tha t-ami ghali-a ami-ke lavi leoa na tughuru,*  
 stand.up-CAUS-O:3SG ART house ART REL RL-1EX.PL do-O:3SG 1EX.PL-? take every ART post  
 stand up the house. What we did [was] we took every post,

*ami talu kolu-i, m-ami bere-ngi i vi na tughuru t-e tangomana*  
 1EX.PL put together-O:3PL CONJ-1EX.PL see-TR LOC where ART post RL-3SG possible  
 we put them together, and we saw where [each] post could

*turu-vaghini-a. Soko m-e mai N. laka m-ami maki mo na vae.*  
 stand.up-CAUS-O:3SG finish CONJ-3SG come N also CONJ-1EX.PL mark more ART house  
 stand up. After that N. came too and we [did] more marking [of] the house.

*Tighi agutu t-ami ghali-a ami lavi-a na maki ma vaghatha na vae*  
 first thing RL-1EX.PL do-O:3SG 1EX.PL take-O:3SG ART mark CONJ measure ART house  
 [The] first thing we did [was] we took the measuring [tool] and measured the house

*i vi k-e mono ga. M-ami vaghatha. Vaghatha soko-a m-ami*  
 LOC where IRR-3SG stay there CONJ-1EX.PL measure measure finish-O:3SG CONJ-1EX.PL  
 where it would be. And we measured. [Having] finished measuring

*maki mo m-e poso-a m-ami lavi-a na spedi ma inau na tighi*  
 mark more CONJ-3SG straight-O:3SG CONJ-1EX.PL take-O:3SG ART spade CONJ EP:1SG ART first  
 we marked more and it [was] straight and we took a spade and I [was] the first

*mane t-u kabi. Kabi-a sakai na gilv tavorake m-ara turu-vaghini-a*  
 man RL-1SG dig dig-O:3SG one ART hole then CONJ-3PL stand.up-CAUS-O:3SG  
 person to dig. [I] dug one hole and then they stood up

*na tughuru m-e tu iti. Soko-i e ruke na tuguru m-e kabi a B.*  
 ART post CONJ-3SG stand up finish-o:3PL 3SG second ART post CONJ-3SG dig ART B  
 a post and it stood up. [Having] finished those [things was] the second post and B. dug.

*Kabi a B. m-e teigha na sara soko seghi-a m-e dea B.V. m-e laua*  
 dig ART B CONJ-3SG NEG ART arrive finish quick-o:3SG CONJ-3SG go BV CONJ-3SG grab  
 B. dug but he didn't arrive quickly [at] completion and B.V. went and grabbed

*tulithia na spedi lime me kabi soko. Mami talu itia*  
 tulithi-a na spedi lima-a me kabi soko-a m-ami talu iti-a  
 take.out-o:3SG ART spade hand-ps:3SG CONJ-3SG dig finish-o:3SG CONJ-1EX.PL put up-o:3SG  
 the spade out of his hand and he finished digging. We put up

*sakai na talili i pala ghalagha. Soko mena laka pala boko m-e vati*  
 one ART half LOC side up.coast finish LOC also side down.coast CONJ-3SG four  
 one half on the up-coast side. [Having] finished we stood up four

*na tughuru t-ami turu-vaghini-a. Soko ami turu-vaghini-a laka*  
 ART post RL-1EX.PL stand.up-CAUS-o:3SG finish 1EX.PL stand.up-CAUS-o:3SG also  
 posts on the down-coast side also. [Having] finished we also stood up

*i levugha e ruka, mi minim e ono, na tughuru. Na bona veghe e para koto*  
 LOC between 3SG two I mean 3SG six ART post ART time like 3SG hot very  
 two posts in between, I mean six posts. At that time the sun was very

*n' atho i nea te danikama mara thudu unga. Ma N. po ma B.V.*  
 na atho i nea tena danikama m-ara thudu unga ma N po ma BV  
 ART sun LOC yesterday LOC afternoon CONJ-3PL sit shade CONJ N LIM CONJ BV  
 hot yesterday in the afternoon and they sat [in the] shade. And just N. and B.V.

*t-ara-ko iti dea ma E. m-ara-tu iti dea ni tughu-a na kava vete oti*  
 RL-3PL-DU up go CONJ E CONJ-3PL-PAU up go GEN hammer-o:3SG ART copper PURP hold  
 they two went up—and E.—they few went up and hammered the metal to hold

*na tughuru. O, na ghai-be kolu-a na tughuru. I na soko m-u ghoni-a*  
 ART post oh ART crossbeam with-o3SG ART post LOC ART finish CONJ-1SG make-o:3SG  
 the posts. Oh, the cross-beams with the posts. At the end I made

*t-i na tughuru ni tu i levugha ni enoana ma na ghia-be tina.*  
 RL-LOC ART post GEN stand LOC between GEN jackpost CONJ ART crossbeam mother  
 the posts to stand in between the jackpost and the main cross-beam.



*M-u ghoni soko-i m-ami-tu dea talu iti-i i<tu>ghami B.V. ma N. Dea*  
 CONJ-1SG make finish-o:3PL CONJ-1EX.PL-PAU go put up-o:3PL <PAU>EP:1EX.PL BV CONJ N go  
 I finished making them and we few went [and] put them up, we few B.V. and N. [and I].

*m-ami-tu talu iti soko-i m-ami-tu thua-i soko-i mena soko*  
 CONJ-1EX.PL-PAU put up finish-o:3PL CONJ-1EX.PL-PAU brace-o:3PL finish-o:3PL LOC finish  
 [As things] went we few finished putting them up and we few finished bracing them  
 and [it] [was] done

*ga, m-ena T., “O k-amu sakai ni oli vae ba k-a-ke vanga.” M-ami*  
 there CONJ-3SG:say T oh IRR-2PL one GEN return house FUT IRR-1IN.PL-? eat CONJ-1EX.PL  
 there, and T. said, “Oh, before you all return [to] [your] house we will all eat.” We

*thivo m-ara redim mo-a na vanga K. ma ira. Tavurake m-ara lavi*  
 down CONJ-3PL prepare more-o:3SG ART food K CONJ EP:3PL then CONJ-3PL take  
 [sat] down and they prepared the food, K. and others. Then they took

*thivo-i na vanga m-ami thudu t-i lighi ni vae-a M.A. tena kolova*  
 down-o:3PL ART food CONJ-1EX.PL sit RL-LOC beside GEN house-PS:3SG MA LOC clover  
 down the food and we sat beside M.A.'s house on the clover

*m-ami vanga; vanga m-ami inu ti. Lavi soko-i na vanga lavi dea*  
 CONJ-1EX.PL eat eat CONJ-1EX.PL drink tea take finish-o:3PL ART food take go  
 and we ate; [we] ate and we drank tea. [Having] finished taking (i.e., eating) the food  
 [they] took it away

*m-ara ghe kuki-a na ti m-ami-tu ghe inu ti. Inu ti soko*  
 CONJ-3PL continue cook-o:3SG ART tea CONJ-1EX.PL-PAU continue drink tea drink tea finish  
 and they continued to make tea and we few continued to drink tea. [Having] finished  
 drinking tea

*m-ami-tu thudu ni saluva m-ara dami tinoni dami, piala*  
 CONJ-1EX.PL-PAU sit GEN talk CONJ-3PL chew.betelnut people chew.betelnut smoke  
 we few sat and talked, and those who chew betelnut chewed betelnut [and] those  
 who smoke

*tinoni piala. Soko m-e dea nulavi m-ami tovothi dea i nea.*  
 people smoke finish CONJ-3SG go afternoon CONJ-1EX.PL separate go LOC yesterday  
 smoked. [When that was] done it [was] going [on] afternoon and we went [our]  
 separate [ways] yesterday.

*M-u dea pogho i tathi. Pogho soko m-u dea pogho mami. Soko m-u*  
 CONJ-1SG go bathe LOC sea bathe finish CONJ-1SG go bathe fresh.water finish CONJ-1SG  
 And I went for a swim in the ocean. [Having] swum I went[to have a] fresh-water bath.  
 [Having] finished I

*dea tughu m-u belo nulavi i nea. Geia po-a na tugu t-u*  
 go change CONJ-1SG ring.bell afternoon LOC yesterday EP:3SG LIM-O:3SG ART story RL-1SG  
 went to change and I rang the bell yesterday afternoon.

*tangomana tugua tena bona deni. E tena tuaghai. Geia po. Tagiu.*  
 tangomana tugu-a tena bona deni e teigha na tuaghai geia po tagiu  
 possible story-O:3SG LOC time DEM 3SG NEG ART long EP:3SG LIM thank.you  
 That just the story I'm able to tell at this time. It's not long. That's it. Thank you.

The turtle and the fish<sup>162</sup>

*Momono ti sakai na dani na vonu ti ma na igha. Ikoira di a sakai*  
 mo~mono t-i sakai na dani na vonu t-i ma na igha i<ko>ira dini a sakai  
 RDP~stay RL-LOC one ART day ART turtle RL-LOC and ART fish <DU>EP:3PL DEM ART one  
 'There was one day a turtle and a fish. These two were

*na udu la~laka. Ara-ko leta t-i vini vi-leu-thi; na leoni na bona*  
 ART friend RDP~also 3PL-DU not.know RL-LOC never RECP-fight-O:3PL ART all ART time  
 also friends. They two never fought; all the time

*ara-ko vi-doku-i po t-i levu m-i levu. Mo~mono mo a sakai na dani*  
 3PL-DU RECP-good-O:3PL LIM RL-LOC side CONJ-LOC side RDP~stay more ART one ART day  
 they two were just good to each other from side to side. There was a day,

*ga, m-ara-ko ghunughunu-a t-i na visaghiri. Doku m-e thai-a mo*  
 there CONJ-3PL-DU plan-O:3SG RL-LOC ART contest good CONJ-3SG arrive-O:3SG more  
 they two planned a contest. OK, it arrived

*na dani t-ara-ko ghunughunu-a m-ara-ko vuivuni-a na visaghiri. Doku na igha t-i*  
 ART day RL-3PL-DU plan-O:3SG CONJ-3PL-DU start-O:3SG ART contest good ART fish RL-LOC  
 the day they planned for and they two started the contest. OK, the fish

*t-e vuivuni-a. I vi ga t-e dea ga na igha e tumuri po na vonu.*  
 RL-3SG start-O:3SG LOC where there RL-3SG go there ART fish 3SG follow LIM ART turtle  
 started it. Where the fish went the turtle followed.

*E dea i rughu ni vatu na igha m-e dea po na vonu. E dea ghua i namo*  
 3SG go LOC beneath GEN stone ART fish CONJ-3SG go LIM ART turtle 3SG go COND LOC deep  
 The fish went beneath a stone and the turtle just went. If the fish went extremely deep

*tupi na igha m-e tumuri po na vonu. E na po t-i m-e dea kola po*  
 extreme ART fish CONJ-3SG follow LIM ART turtle 3SG ART LIM RL-LOC CONJ-3SG go tired LIM  
 the turtle just followed. It was just like this

<sup>162</sup> This story was presented to me in written form.

*t-i na igha ga. M-ena po t-i, “O u boro laghini-gho i ghe*  
 RL-LOC ART fish there CONJ-3SG.say LIM RL-LOC oh 1SG impossible through-o:2SG LOC continue  
 and the fish just got tired. It just said, “Oh, I can't outdo

*ighoe ti tena de.” “O doku,” ena ti na vonu. Me atheathe kikiki*  
 ighoe t-i tena deni o doku ena t-i na vonu m-e atheathe ki~kiki  
 EP:2SG RL-LOC LOC DEM oh good 3SG.say RL-LOC ART turtle CONJ-3SG rest RDP~little.bit  
 you at this time.” “Oh good,” said the turtle. The fish rested a little bit

*po na igha ga m-ara-ko g-e sakai ni vuni-a po t-i na visaghiri.*  
 LIM ART fish there CONJ-3PL-DU PFCT-3SG one GEN start-o:3SG LIM RL-LOC ART contest  
 there before they two started again the contest.

*I vi ga t-e dea ga na vonu e tumuri po na igha. E dea ghua*  
 LOC where there RL-3SG go there ART turtle 3SG follow LIM ART fish 3SG go COND  
 Wherever the turtle went the fish just followed. If the turtle

*i namo na vonu m-e tumuri po na igha. T-e dea i vi na vonu m-e*  
 LOC deep ART turtle CONJ-3SG follow LIM ART fish RL-3SG go LOC where ART turtle CONJ-3SG  
 went deep the fish just followed. The turtle went wherever and

*tumuri po na igha. Ara-ko naghonamane m-ara-ko k-e dea thai-a a sakai*  
 follow LIM ART fish 3PL-DU surprising CONJ-3PL-DU IRR-3SG go arrive-o:3SG ART one  
 the fish just followed. They two—and this is surprising—they two went

*na kokomu ki~kiki, m-e tu na vonu m-e tagu iti tena maone tena*  
 ART island RDP~little CONJ-3SG stand ART turtle CONJ-3SG crawl up LOC sand LOC  
 arrived at a little island, and the turtle stood and crawled up on the sand on

*kokomu ia. Ma na tha laka, e kou laka t-i na liguni-a ghini-a igha*  
 island DEM and ART REL also 3SG unwilling also RL-LOC ART pass-o:3SG INST-o:3SG fish  
 the island. And what's more, being unwilling to be outdone by it [the turtle] this fish

*deni m-e ghe dea laka po t-i tena maone. Soko m-e ghe tu*  
 DEM CONJ-3SG continue go also LIM RL-LOC LOC sand finish CONJ-3SG continue stand  
 continued to also just go on the sand. Then the turtle continued and stood

*na vonu m-e ghe tagu oli beti. E na po t-i ga m-e*  
 ART turtle CONJ-3SG continue crawl return sea 3SG ART LIM RL-LOC there CONJ-3SG  
 and continued and crawled back to the sea. It was just like this: it was

*boro po t-i na ghe oli dea i beti na igha m-e soko mate po*  
 impossible LIM RL-LOC ART continue return go LOC sea ART fish CONJ-3SG finish die LIM  
 just impossible for the fish to continue to go back to the sea and it just died.

*t-i. M-e na po ga m-e soko laka po t-i na vatari deni.*  
RL-LOC CONJ-3SG ART LIM there CONJ-3SG finish also LIM RL-LOC ART example DEM  
And that there is just the end also of this parable.'

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